

La vie et l'œuvre du compositeur autrichien Joseph Anton Bruckner (1875-1885)

AB 74 : 1875

12 janvier 1875 : « Il ne me reste plus maintenant que le Conservatoire pour subsister, ce qui serait insuffisant pour n'importe qui. Il a fallu que j'emprunte de l'argent en septembre dernier, et encore plus récemment pour ne pas mourir de faim. Personne ne me vient en aide. Heureusement, des gens de l'extérieur m'ont demandé de leurs donner des leçons. Sans cette opportunité, j'étais résigné à quêter. J'aimerais me rendre à l'étranger pour me dénicher un poste permanent mais vers qui pourrais-je me tourner ? Il serait si facile pour mes ennemis de me chasser du Conservatoire et je suis si surpris qu'ils ne l'aient pas encore fait. Je suis malheureux ; je n'ai plus de joie de vivre. Tous ces efforts ont mené absolument nulle part. J'aimerais tant récupérer mon ancien poste à Linz ou encore retourner en Angleterre. Voilà ma situation. Mais que puis-je donc faire ? » (Anton Bruckner, 51 ans.)

Puis, par miracle (ou le plus heureux des hasards) , August Göllerich, père, est élu comme député Libéral au Parlement autrichien. Il va développer des liens étroits avec le Ministre de l'instruction publique, Karl Ritter von Stremayr. C'est à la demande de celui-ci qu'Anton Bruckner expédiera une 3e (et ultime) lettre à la faculté de musique de l'Université de Vienne afin d'obtenir un poste d'assistant professeur (non rémunéré) d'harmonie et de contrepoint. Elle va finalement porter ses fruits ! Une directive provenant des instances supérieures viendra changer la donne. À l'unanimité, ni le corps professoral ni Eduard Hanslick ne s'objectent à cette nomination.

August Göllerich, père

Homme politique allemand, le nationaliste August Göllerich, père, est né le 2 juillet 1819 à Piacenza, en Italie. Il grandit dans une famille de la classe moyenne de la capitale de Haute-Autriche, Linz ; plus précisément, au 16 de la « Baumbachstraße » . Une plaque commémorative nous rappelle son passage dans cette demeure. Son épouse Maria, née Nowotny (1818-1889) , est aussi originaire de Linz.

Personnalité engagée aux idées progressistes, il se joint à l'Association littéraire des auteurs libéraux de Wels. Il devient président-secrétaire du Conseil municipal et contribue à la formation de l'Union des pompiers de Haute Autriche. Son successeur comme maire, John Schauer Welser (1884-1904) , prendra la relève dans ce dossier.

Par la suite, August Göllerich, père, est élu au Conseil Impérial du « Land » (« Landtag » ou parlement provincial) puis au Parlement national (« Reichstag ») comme député du Parti Libéral en plus d'être le leader en chambre pour sa région, la Haute-Autriche. Le chef du gouvernement est à ce moment le prince Adolf von Auersperg. Göllerich, père, va développer des liens étroits avec le Ministre de l'instruction publique, Karl Ritter von Stremayr. À partir de 1875, ce tandem aidera grandement la situation viennoise d'Anton Bruckner. En plus de siéger au « Landtag » et au « Reichstag » , August Göllerich, père, s'est impliqué dans la Société chorale masculine (« Männergesangverein ») de Wels et l'Association des chanteurs Salzbourgeois de Haute-Autriche (« Oberösterreichisch-salzburgischer Sängerbund ») . Bruckner était depuis fort longtemps un musicien apprécié pour son rôle dans la vie culturelle de Wels.

Restreindre le pouvoir du Clergé était une façon indirecte de critiquer l'absolutisme, les Libéraux au parlement autrichien se sont efforcés de veiller à ce que la Constitution ait préséance juridique sur le Concordat. Le leader Libéral en Chambre, August Göllerich (père) , dira en 1869 : « Éloignons-nous du Concordat et finissons-en avec ce déni de toutes nos libertés et nos droits ! » .

August Göllerich, père, meurt dans le village de Wels, le 23 août 1883.

La Vienne de Bruckner dans les années 1870

(Doctor Andrea Harrandt, Music Collection, Austrian National Library.)

« It is all too late. To run-up debts diligently and, then, enjoy the fruits of my diligence and lament the stupidity of my move to Vienna in a debtor's prison - that could be my ultimate fate. I have lost 1,000 Schillings in annual income and, as yet, there has been nothing to compensate for it, not even a grant. I am not able to have my 4th Symphony copied. » (1)

These are the words Bruckner wrote to Moritz von Mayfeld, on 13th February 1875. Only one day later, on 14th February 1875, Bruckner made the 1st sketch for the 2nd movement of his 5th Symphony. Why was Bruckner in such a deep depression ? What was his situation in Vienna ? And what happened around Bruckner ? Was he aware of what was going on, did he really live in his time, in Vienna ?

Bruckner moved to Vienna in 1868, to follow Simon Sechter as a professor of harmony and counterpoint at the Vienna Conservatory. From 1870 to 1874, he also worked as a teaching assistant in piano, organ, and theory at the Teacher Training Institute of Saint-Anna. In 1875, he became the Court Organist « apparent » which meant unpaid - then vice-archivist and 2nd singing teacher of the boy choristers in the « Hofmusikkapelle » . In 1878, he finally he became a member of the « Kapelle » . (2)

When Bruckner settled in Vienna, the city had changed a lot since his 1st journeys to the capital. The « compromise » with Hungary, in 1867, resulted in the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. And Vienna was the absolute centre of it, a capital with about 600,000 inhabitants. It was a new era of political and economical Liberalism which was only interrupted by the stock-market crash, in 1873. In 1859, the Emperor gave his consent for the « regulation and improvement of the residence and capital of the Empire » . This began with the removal of the main-parts of the city walls and, at the end of the 1860's, the new « Ringstraße » was ready to use. The « Ringstraße » was also a symbol of the rise of the middle-classes and economic prosperity. Important public buildings like the town-hall, government offices and museums, and also distinctive private palaces were built.

It is notable that Bruckner lived for some years also on the « Ringstraße » . In 1876, he moved from his 1st Viennese apartment to the so-called « Heinrichhof » , which was situated in front of the Opera House. Planned by Theophil Hansen, it was typical of the so-called « Ringstraße » style. In 1877, Bruckner moved on to another apartment in the house of his student Anton von Ölzelt-Newin, near « Schottenring » and in front of the « Ringtheater » . In both

flats, he lived on the top-floor with a grand view.

Of interest in this context are, of course, the buildings in which the musical life of the city took place. The old Opera House, the so-called « Kärntnertheater » (which was situated where, today, you can find the Hôtel Sacher) had become too small, especially for the performances of Richard Wagner Operas. A new building was opened near the old, in 1869. Until this time, Vienna had no great concert-hall. In 1870, the building of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » was opened as a new and important concert-hall. So, the expanding city of Vienna had the chance to become the musical capital of Europe.

« How much Bruckner would have imbibed of the cultural atmosphere in Vienna is uncertain », writes Doctor Crawford Howie in his biography. (3) We always have to remember that Bruckner had free entrance to the concerts and to the Opera House, as he wrote to Johann Baptist Schiedermayr in December 1868. But it is a big question how often he made use of this privilege. Before he came to Vienna, he wrote that he could improve his musical awareness by « hearing music of high-quality in Vienna ». (4)

And Moritz von Mayfeld wrote to Bruckner : (5)

« I am very envious of the many beautiful things you are able to hear in Vienna, in contrast to the very meagre fare which is served here », by which he meant in Linz.

The year when Bruckner started his 5th Symphony was full of remarkable events in the cultural life of Vienna. What follows is a survey of some significant happenings in Vienna, from winter 1874-1875 until spring 1878, when Bruckner finished his new Symphony.

21 February 1875 : Richard Wagner arrived in Vienna to stay for some weeks. He arranged concerts for his planned Festival in Bayreuth and conducted 3 concerts in Vienna, on 1st and 15th March, and on 6th May. For the 1st time, the public could hear parts of « Götterdämmerung » such as scenes from the 1st Act, Siegfried's Journey to the Rhine, Siegfried's Death and the Funeral March, and the last scene of the 3rd Act with Amalie Friedrich-Materna and Franz Glatz. Did Bruckner hear this concert which was called « the biggest cultural event of 1875 » ? (6) But not everybody in Vienna appreciated Wagner. The satirical paper « Der Floh » (The Flea) wrote :

« It is over, this terrible week, in which Richard Wagner reigned over the musical life in Vienna. »

On 3rd March, Bruckner made the 1st sketch of the 1st movement of the 5th Symphony and, the next day, he was invited to a « soirée » at Josef Standthartner's apartment where Wagner and Josef Rubinstein gave a recital of the 3rd Act of « Götterdämmerung » .

Only a few days later, Karl Goldmark's « Königin von Saba » (Queen of Saba) had its world-premiere in Vienna, on 10th March 1875. It was a great success, although « it played 4 hours ». (7)

Eduard Hanslick wrote : (8)

« From Meyerbeer and Wagner, he acquired the emotion in singing, the mass-effects, the splendour of the Orchestra, but, also, the excess of all these 3 things. »

In March 1875, Anton Rubinstein again came to Vienna, to give 3 concerts as a pianist. Bruckner had met him in Munich, in 1865, for the performance of « Tristan und Isolde » . Did they meet now again in Vienna ? Some years before, in December 1871, when Rubinstein was conductor of the concerts of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , he performed Franz Liszt's Oratorio « Christus » , in the composer's presence with Bruckner as organist. Once Bruckner said about Rubinstein as a pianist, that he was « the greatest artist since Wagner's death » . (9) As a composer, Rubinstein was « too conservative » for Bruckner, which means that he totally avoided the new orientation. (10)

On 8th April, Franz Liszt, coming from Budapest, arrived in Vienna to stay here for some days « en route » to Weimar via Munich. 10 days later, on 18th April 1875, Johannes Brahms made his farewell appearance as conductor of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » concerts, with the 1st performance of the Oratorio « Odysseus » by Max Bruch. The same day, Bruckner started the composition of the Trio of the 5th Symphony.

On 1st July, Bruckner was nominated as a vice-archivist and, on 12th July, he made another attempt to secure a lectureship at the University. (13) During the summer, he also tried a new approach to promote his music. In a letter to the Vienna Philharmonic, on 1st August, he wrote that he had finished his 4th Symphony some months ago, and that he had had the opportunity to hear only one of his Symphonies, the 2nd, in Vienna. Now, he proposed to the Orchestra his 3rd Symphony, dedicated to Richard Wagner. He also mentioned Wagner's and Liszt's opinions of the work. In the autumn, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra played the 3rd Symphony in a so-called « Novitätenprobe » (Rehearsal of New Works) , but it failed.

On 23rd October 1875, Hans Richter conducted the 1st performance of Georges Bizet's « Carmen » , in Vienna (it was also the 1st performance in a German-speaking country) and, on 1st November, Richard Wagner came again to Vienna where he heard the next-day a performance of Verdi's « Missa da Requiem » now conducted by Hans Richter, and attended also some performances in the Opera House : « Carmen » , « Die Königin von Saba » , « Die Afrikanerin » and « Die Zauberflöte » . (14)

Wagner's « Tannhäuser » was performed for the 1st time in the « Paris version » of 1861, on 22nd November. A revival of « Lohengrin » followed on 15th December. Eduard Hanslick was the only one to comment that it was unpardonable not to honour François-Adrien Boieldieu for his 100th birthday, on 16 December.

On 20th February 1876, Bruckner conducted his 2nd Symphony in the 3rd « Gesellschaftskonzert » of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Eduard Hanslick wrote about the performance : (15)

« Each movement was applauded without opposition ; at the end, however, when an enthusiastic faction in the hall carried its clapping and shouting to an excess and kept starting-up again, the other part of the audience protested

loudly and hissed repeatedly. »

On 1st March, Wagner arrived in Vienna again for a short visit to conduct his « Lohengrin » , 1 day later.

In March 1876, Camille Sains-Saëns, on his Austrian tour, gave several concerts in Vienna, also performing his « Danse macabre » , on 19th March, which « electrified the public » , according to a newspaper report. (16)

On 24th April 1876, Bruckner gave his inaugural lecture at the University and, on 29th April, he proposed himself to Constantin Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst for the position as a vice-conductor of the « Hofkapelle » .

On 16th May 1876, Bruckner finished the Finale of the 5th Symphony and, 2 days later, he completed his thorough check of the movement. The same day, a revival of Giuseppe Verdi's « Ernani » was performed at the Opera House.

In August, Bruckner went to Bayreuth to see the new « Der Ring des Nibelungen » , afterwards, he spent his holiday in Saint-Florian. In Bayreuth, he got to know Wilhelm Tappert, a music-critic from Berlin, who wanted to promote Bruckner's music.

In October, Bruckner wrote to him : (17)

« And so, I have lived in Vienna since 1868, bitterly regretting that I moved here as I do not have any support, recognition or means of subsistence. »

This reminds us of what Bruckner wrote to Moritz von Mayfeld, in February 1875. But Bruckner's situation in Vienna was not so bad as he always used to complain. Having grown-up in modest circumstances, he always struggled for financial security.

Concert life was going on. In October 1876, Pablo de Sarasate came to Vienna to give 2 successful concerts in Vienna. On 17th December 1876, Johannes Brahms conducted his 1st Symphony which received a very indifferent welcome from the public and the critic. Brahms was unable to live-up to the expectations which had been put on him. (18) On 31st December 1876, Bruckner finished his chorus, « Das hohe Lied » .

On 5th March 1877, the 1st performance of Wagner's « Die Walküre » , in Vienna, took place in the presence of the Emperor, etc. , but with many deleted passages which made the Opera difficult to understand. On 11th March, Bruckner attended the 3rd performance of this Opera.

He marked this event also in his personal calendar : (19)

« Sonntag 11. Marz, Migräne ganzer Tag und Walküre. »

(Sunday, 11 March, migraine the whole-day and « Walküre » .)

This is one of the very few cultural events we can fix in Bruckner's life.

On 27th September, there was once again a « Novitätenprobe » (Rehearsal of New Works) of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Bruckner noted in his personal calendar : (20)

« Donnerstag den 27. September 1877, 3te Ablehnung meiner Wagner-Sinfonie Nr. 3. »

(Thursday, the 27 September 1877, 3rd rejection of my « Wagner Symphony » No. 3.)

Once again, the Symphony had failed.

On 28th October, Johann Herbeck died, and nobody felt greater loss than Bruckner. He considered Herbeck to be his only real friend and his enthusiastic pioneer whom he now had lost. It was Herbeck who planned to perform the 3rd Symphony. Under his direction, perhaps, the Symphony would have won more success.

The performance of the 3rd Symphony, on 16th December 1877, with the « Gesellschafts-Orchester » under Bruckner's direction, was a « débâcle ». The composer's interpretation and the work's length contributed fundamentally to its rejection. (21)

Eduard Hanslick wrote :

« Instead of a critique, therefore, we would rather simply confess that we have not understood his gigantic Symphony. »

The 1st 3 movements seemed to have been fairly well-received, but the audience began to drift-out during the Finale.

Hanslick reported :

« Even before Bruckner raised the baton, part of the audience began to stream-out of the hall and this exodus assumed ever great proportions after each movement, so that the Finale, which exceeded all its predecessors in oddities, was only experienced to the very end by a small number of hardy adventurers. »

Only a few friends like Gustav Mahler, Josef Schalk and Rudolf Krzyzanowski remained in the concert-hall. In August Göllerich's opinion, it was the public who failed, and not Bruckner. But it was also after this concert that the music-publisher Theodor Rättig offered to print the Symphony. He did so, and the 3rd Symphony was the 1st work of Bruckner to be published in Vienna.

Only 2 weeks later, on 30th December 1877, Johannes Brahms' 2nd Symphony, on its 1st performance by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra under Hans Richter, did not win a « great, general success », and Hanslick wrote that it was not the best of farewells to the year 1877.

We can also read in the press that :

« The applause was in inverse proportion to the worth of the novelty. »

At this time, Brahms, who had also taken-up residence in Vienna, in 1868, was, in contrast to Bruckner, a composer who had already « arrived ». He lived as an independent professional composer with the financial security of royalties from his music-publisher Simrock, and soon played a leading role in Vienna's musical life. (22)

There is no comment by Bruckner about Brahms and his music during this period, neither in his letters nor in his personal calendar, and Brahms also did not mention Bruckner very often. It is amazing to think that 2 composers, who were living in the same city for more than 25 years, had so little contact. They both had in common the fact that neither was married which, in the social climate of the time, was only possible in such a big city as Vienna.

According to a « résumé » in the « Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt », on 1st January 1878 :

« It was a bad year for Symphonies. Too many of them came-out of the repertory of our concert institutions, so many failed. »

On the same day, Bruckner began to compose the Adagio of the 5th Symphony which he completed only 3 days later.

On 24th January 1878, « Das Rheingold » was the next part of the « Ring » to be performed in Vienna. On 1st February, Bruckner was announced a real member (« wirkliches Mitglied ») of the « Hofkapelle ». In April, Franz Liszt came to Vienna and played through the 5th, making favourable comments which Bruckner relayed to Richard Wagner in May.

As he had with the 3rd Symphony, in 1874, Bruckner once again gave an order to the painter and writer Josef Maria Kaiser, in Linz, for the dedication page for the 5th Symphony.

(Josef Maria established a correspondence with Anton Bruckner. The Linz calligrapher was also a friend of Adalbert Stifter.)

On 13th October 1878, Bruckner thanked Kaiser in enthusiastic words : (23)

« I have just now seen your newest great Masterwork for the 1st time. I was filled, once again, with astonishment and, at the same time, indescribable joy which moved me to the very heart. I cannot find any words to describe this display of colossal splendour. Magnificent, magnificent ! »

Bruckner signed the dedication score on 4th November 1878 which was the Saint-Day of Karl Borromaus and the Name-Day of Karl von Stremayr, the dedicatee of the 5th Symphony. (24)

A few days later, on 9th November, the 3rd part of Richard Wagner's « Ring », « Siegfried », was performed for the 1st time in Vienna. Especially in « Siegfried », we know about some music that touched Bruckner deeply, for example when Siegfried dreams of his mother or the scene with the woodbird.

In December 1878, Bruckner once again wrote to music-critic Wilhelm Tappert : (25)

« 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. »

On 15th December 1878, the 2nd performance of Johannes Brahms's 1st Symphony took place, but it did not give « unalloyed pleasure » . (26)

With the performance of « Götterdämmerung », on 14th February 1879, the « Ring » was completed in Vienna. The 1st performance of the « Ring » tetralogy took place in May 1879 and was called the greatest cultural event in Vienna, in that year.

Notes

(1) Quoted from : Crawford Howie. « Anton Bruckner - A documentary biography », Volume I : « From Ansfelden to Vienna » , Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter (2002) ; page 291.

(2) Andrea Harrandt. « Bruckner in Vienna » , in : « The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner » , edited by John Williamson, Cambridge University Press (2004) ; page 27.

(3) Crawford Howie. Volume I ; page 214.

(4) Letter from 10 November 1861 to the Vienna Conservatory, in : « Anton Bruckner, Sämtliche Werke, Band 24, Briefe I : 1852-1886 » , 2nd edition, edited by Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider, Vienna (2009) ; page 34.

(5) Letter from 8 November 1868, quoted from : Crawford Howie. Volume I ; page 145.

(6) Theodor Helm. « 50 Jahre Wiener Musikleben (1866-1916) . Erinnerungen eines Musikkritikers » , edited by Max Schonherr, Vienna (1974) ; page 98.

(7) « Neue freie Presse » (11 March 1875) .

(8) « Neue freie Presse » (13 March 1875) .

(9) August Göllerich and Max Auer. « Bruckner » , IV/2 ; page 132.

(10) It seems that they had been in contact because Bruckner mentions in a letter Anton Rubinstein's request for the score of a Symphony.

(11) Performances of Giuseppe Verdi's « Missa da requiem » on 11, 12, 16, and 23 June ; the Opera « Aida » on 19 and 21 June 1875.

(12) August Göllerich and Max Auer. « Bruckner » , IV/2 ; page 576.

(13) Quoted from : Crawford Howie. Volume I ; page 293.

(14) It is also notable that Richard Wagner and his wife Cosima attended a performance of Johannes Brahms' Piano Quartet No. 3, Opus 60, on 18th November 1875. See : Renate und Kurt Hofmann. « Johannes Brahms Zeittafel zu Leben und Werk » , Tutzing (1983) ; page 12.

(15) « Neue freie Presse » (22 February 1876) , quoted from : Crawford Howie. Volume I ; page 298.

(16) Stephen Studd. « Camille Saint-Saëns. A Critical Biography » , London (1999) ; page 111.

(17) 1st October 1876, quoted from : Crawford Howie. Volume I ; page 304.

(18) See : Theodor Helm, page 344.

(19) Elisabeth Maier. « Verborgene Persönlichkeit. Anton Bruckner in seinen privaten Aufzeichnungen » , in : « Anton Bruckner Dokumente und Studien II » , Volume I, Vienna (2001) ; page 47.

(20) Ibidem, page 53.

(21) Andrea Harrandt. « Bruckner in Vienna » , in : « The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner » , edited by John Williamson, Cambridge University Press (2004) ; page 31.

(22) Ibidem, page 31.

(23) « Briefe I » , page 186.

(24) Mus.Hs.6064.

(25) 9 December 1878, quoted from : Crawford Howie. « Anton Bruckner - A documentary biography » , Volume 2 : « Trial, tribulation and triumph in Vienna » , Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter (2002) ; page 337.

(26) « Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt » (17 December 1878) .

Josef Maria Kaiser

The painter and writer Josef Maria Kaiser was born on 01/02/1824 in Kremsmünster, Upper-Austria ; and died on 05/06/1893 in Linz. He was the son of engraver Georg Kaiser (1781-1874) . He studied at the Vienna Academy of Fine-Arts. In 1848, he started to teach art at the Linz secondary school (« Gymnasium ») . In 1853, he exhibited his works at the Art Association of Upper-Austria. In 1867, he was elected its secretary and, in 1874, Board member.

In 1880, he was named curator of the Museum Francisco-Carolinum (Upper-Austrian Provincial Museum) in Linz. (He even elaborated an architecture plan for the erection of a new building.)

In 1892, Kaiser became Board member of the Imperial and Royal Central Council Commission for research and conservation of art and historical monuments. He was a talented draftsman with remarkable delicacy and exactness, particularly in the field of historic-topographic reproductions. He was recognized as a top-calligrapher during his lifetime. As a writer, he also published a book on the History of Upper-Austria.

...

Josef Maria Kaiser, Maler und Schriftsteller : geboren 1.2.1824 in Kremsmünster, Oberösterreich ; gestorben 6.5.1893 in Linz an der Donau. Sohn des Graveurs Georg Kaiser (1781-1874) . Studium an der Wiener Akademie der bildenden Künste und wurde 1848 Zeichenlehrer am Linzer Gymnasium. Seit 1853 stellte Kaiser im Oberösterreichischer Kunstverein aus, dessen Sekretär er 1867 wurde. Seit 1874 Mitglied des Verwaltungsrates, seit 1880 Kustos am Museum Francisco-Carolinum (Landesmuseum) in Linz. 1892 Kaiserlich-Königlich Rates Korrigiert Mitglied der Zentralkommissar für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historische Denkmale. Als Zeichner von besonderer Zartheit und Genauigkeit, insbesondere in der historische-topographische Wiedergabe, auch als Kalligraph zu seiner Zeit viel bewundert, veröffentlichte Kaiser auch Abhandlung über Oberösterreich und versuchte sich sogar als Architekt (Projekt für den Neubau des Landesmuseum) . Kaiser war mit Adalbert Stifter befreundet und stand mit Anton Bruckner in Briefwechsel.

Werke

Bleistiftzeichnungen : Schloß Puchenau, Schweizerhaus in Linz (1856) ; Steyregg (1868) .

Traunstein von Traunkirchen (1868) .

Bildnisse Adalbert Stifters und dessen Frau ; Linz zwischen 1594 und 1610 , Aquarell (1887) Stadtmuseum Linz.

Illustrationen der Prachtausgaben von « Hochwald », « Weihnachtsabend » (« Bergkristall ») und « Abdias » .

Hans Commenda. Materialien zur landeskundlichen Bibliographie Oberösterreich (1891) - Schriftenverzeichnis.

Literatur

Monatsblätter Adler, Jahrgang 3 (1893) ; Seite 185f.

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Justus Schmidt. Linzer Kunstchronik (1951) : Teil 1, Seite 171f. ; Teil 2, Seite 174f.

Marcus Krackowizer.

Franz Xaver Seubert.

Thieme-Becker. Künstlerlexikon.

Alfred von Wurzbach. Niederländisches künstlerlexikon.

Publikation

Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon (1815-1950) , Band 3, Lieferung 12 (1962) ; Seite 183.

...

2 février 1875 : Friedrich « Fritz » Kreisler is born in Vienna. His father is the son of Sigmund Freud's family physician and, also, an amateur violinist who teaches young Fritz his 1st lessons.

13 février 1875 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner à Moritz von Mayfeld.

« It is all too late. To run-up debts diligently and, then, enjoy the fruits of my diligence and lament the stupidity of my move to Vienna in a debtor's prison - that could be my ultimate fate. I have lost 1,000 Schillings in annual income and, as yet, there has been nothing to compensate for it, not even a grant. I am not able to have my 4th Symphony copied. »

WAB 105 : Symphonie n° 5

14 février 1875 - 4 janvier 1878 : WAB 105 - Symphonie n° 5 « Die Katholische » en si bémol majeur pour 2 flûtes, 2 hautbois, 2 clarinettes, 2 bassons, 4 cors, 3 trompettes, 3 trombones, 1 tuba (ajouté en 1877) , timbales, les cordes. Écrite dans une période des plus sombres de l'existence d'Anton Bruckner. Il commence l'Adagio le 14 février 1875. La Ire ébauche de l'ensemble de la Symphonie est achevée le 16 mai 1876. Mais, en août 1877, il relit 3 fois de suite le Finale, reprend le 1er mouvement et révisé l'Adagio. Ce n'est que le 4 janvier 1878 que la 5e Symphonie est terminée. Durée approximative : de 75 à 80 minutes.

Cette composition culmine d'audace combinatoire et elle est sans doute la plus Classique des Symphonies du compositeur qu'il a désigné lui-même comme son : « chef-d'œuvre de contrepoint » à cause de la performance du Finale. La compréhension de cette Symphonie ne nécessite, a priori, aucune analyse. En effet, il suffit de se laisser transporter par la foi inébranlable qui semble se dégager d'une telle musique. Bruckner surnommait d'ailleurs cette œuvre « la Fantastique ». Ce surnom n'a pas été retenu à la postérité.

L'œuvre comprend 2 versions successives ...

Version originale de 1876 :

Dans ces concepts originaux (de février 1875 à mai 1877, Vienne) , la Symphonie est sans tuba et les instruments à cordes jouent un rôle plus important. Le tempo des introductions lentes des 1er et 4e mouvements et du 2e mouvement est noté « alla breve » , c'est-à-dire notablement plus rapide que dans la version de 1878.

En 1997, une Ire tentative de reconstruction des concepts originaux du Finale (Édition Carragan) a été enregistrée par Shunsaku Tsutsumi.

En 2008, Takanobu Kawasaki a tenté de reconstituer les concepts originaux (1875-1877) à partir des manuscrits Mus.Hs.19.477 et Mus.Hs.3162 de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Autriche. Ces concepts ont été enregistrés par Akira Naito.

Selon John F. Berky :

« C'est le meilleur enregistrement actuellement disponible des Ires idées que Bruckner avait eues de cette gigantesque Symphonie. » .

Version de 1876 :

Création à Vienne, le 20 avril 1878, dans une version pour 2 pianos.

Contrairement à d'autres Symphonies de Bruckner, la 5e n'a connu qu'une seule version interprétée par son élève, le chef d'orchestre et disciple Franz Schalk.

Révision et arrangement de Franz Schalk en 1878 :

2 flûtes, 2 hautbois, 2 clarinettes en si bémol, 2 bassons, 4 cors (2 en fa et 2 en mi bémol) , 3 trompettes en do, 3 trombones, 1 tuba, timbales et cordes.

Franz Schalk va remanier l'œuvre de 1892 à 1894 en pratiquant d'énormes coupures. Elle servira de base à l'édition Ludwig Döblinger.

1re édition : édition Ludwig Döblinger, Vienne (1896) ; comprenant les arrangements et les coupures de Franz Schalk.

Création à Graz, le 8 (9) avril 1894, avec Franz Schalk au pupitre.

En décembre 1895, une autre édition de la version Schalk est exécutée à Budapest, sous la direction du chef d'orchestre autrichien Ferdinand Löwe. Il faudra attendre jusqu'en 1935 pour obtenir la version authentique de la Symphonie.

Robert Haas, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Vienne (1935) .

Robert Haas (1888-1960) , Bruckner Gesamtausgabe, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Vienne (1938) .

Ré-édition : Leopold Nowak, Vienne (1951) ; avec quelques changements mineurs.

...

Composée à Vienne en 1875-1876 (1re version) ; révisée en 1876-1878 (2e version) .

2e version (1877-1878) :

G/A (August Göllerich / Max Auer) : V, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Robert Haas (1935) ; ré-édition Brucknerverlag (1949) .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) V, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak (1951) ; 2e édition révisée avec quelques amendements.

EE 10036, Ernst Eulenburg, Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, Octavo-Edition (1969) .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) V, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak (1989) ; 2e édition révisée avec d'autres amendements et l'ajout d'un avant-propos.

Ernst Eulenburg (463) , édition Leopold Nowak (1992) .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) V, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak et Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs (2005) ; 3e édition révisée avec d'autres amendements provenant de Mus.Hs.36.693 en plus de pages additionnelles dans l'avant-propos.

(1) Adagio - Allegro ; (2) Adagio. Sehr langsam ; (3) Scherzo. Molto vivace (Schnell) ; Trio. Im gleichen Tempo ; (4) Finale. Adagio - Allegro moderato.

1re version publiée (1896) : ré-orchestration et recomposition par Franz Schalk, incluant l'addition de cuivres supplémentaires dans le Finale (les « 12 Apôtres ») .

1re édition : D 2080, édition Ludwig Döblinger, Vienne (1896) .

UE 3595, Ernst Eulenburg (63) , Max Steinitzer, Universal-Edition (1912) .

UE 3595, Ernst Eulenburg (463) , Wilhelm Altmann, Universal-Edition (vers 1930) .

I0395, édition Peters (3840e) .

UE 3595, Philharmonia (198) , Universal-Edition ; Wiener Philharmoniker Verlag 198, révisée par Josef Venantius von Wöb

(1) Adagio- Allegro (Mässig) ; (2) Adagio ; (3) Scherzo. Molto vivace ; Trio. Allegretto ; (4) Finale. Adagio- Mässig bewegt.

La liste de la 5e Symphonie fut mise à jour en mai 2010. Remerciements à Takanobu Kawasaki pour avoir fourni d'importantes informations supplémentaires.

...

La Symphonie est en 4 mouvements : Adagio, Allegro moderato - Adagio : sehr langsam - Scherzo : molto vivace - Finale : Adagio, allegro moderato.

Le mouvement de tête est le seul de l'œuvre Symphonique de Bruckner à comporter une introduction lente. La partie principale est un mouvement de sonate bien structuré avec une exposition, un développement et une ré-exposition. La tonalité de l'ensemble est symétrique ; les mouvements extrêmes sont en si bémol majeur et les 2 mouvements du milieu en ré mineur. Le rythme du second mouvement en triolets contraste avec les duolets du thème émis par le hautbois. Enfin, le dernier mouvement est une combinaison grandiose d'une sonate fuguée avec la reprise de thèmes mélangés avec des motifs isolés de tous les mouvements.

Adagio, allegro moderato : Après une introduction lente, les pizzicati solennels des basses soutiennent un canon furtif.

Soudain, on frémit au fortissimo unisono des fanfares de l'orchestre à peu près dans son ensemble. Quand le choral déploie toutes ses forces commence l'Allegro introduit par le trémolo des cordes : les violons bourdonnent ; clarinettes, altos et violoncelles hésitent puis lancent à l'unisson leur cri qui évolue vers un tutti : c'est le 1er thème. Mais cette force recule devant le choral des cordes aux modulations suaves : c'est le second thème. Un 3e thème est donné à la flûte, à la clarinette et au hautbois expressivo. Une lutte intérieure s'instaure et le choral des instruments à vent (déjà entendu dans l'introduction) décide de l'issue du combat. À la reprise, les différents thèmes représentés défilent intacts. Les pizzicati solennels aux basses entendus à l'introduction marquent le début de la partie finale de ce mouvement où les fanfares de l'introduction et le 1er thème s'en donnent à cœur joie.

Adagio : sehr langsam (ré mineur) - Le 2e mouvement est en forme de lied (ABA'B'A") . Le 1er groupe thématique offre aux bois à vent un chant simple, religieux et désolé, sous-tendu par un accompagnement aux cordes en pizzicato, qui est suivi par une descente en 7es. Le 2e groupe thématique est une sorte de marche religieuse que les violons jouent largo assai sur la corde de sol. Lors de la dernière partie, la reprise du 1er groupe thématique est interrompue à 2 reprises par une « échelle céleste » que le compositeur reprendra dans la Coda de la version 1880 de la 4e Symphonie.

Scherzo : molto vivace (ré mineur) - On peut l'appeler tout simplement bal champêtre ; le ton mineur invite à la méditation. Les cordes transforment rapidement le rythme de l'Adagio en un rythme de danse. Ce que les bois donnent à l'unisson et en antithèse présentent une consonance peu engageante, malgré le crescendo qui tente de forcer l'atmosphère. Une valse lente (propre à l'Autriche) , confiée aux 1ers et seconds violons molto piu lent réussit à créer un meilleur climat. Puis, on écoute alternativement la danse rapide et cette valse ; la danse perd de plus en plus sa mélancolie pour devenir joyeuse et la valse lente s'évanouit. Le trio (allegretto) se présente comme une agréable danse à roulades malgré les dissonances du cor.

Finale : Adagio, allegro moderato - Il répète l'introduction mais des appels de clarinettes, brefs et inquiétants s'entendent au loin. Les instruments à vent engagent les 1ers contacts, une courte citation du début de l'Adagio y fait suite (second mouvement) ; dans les basses, des cordes gronde un thème d'attaque construit comme une fugue. Les violons y opposent un second motif d'où naît un épisode semblable à la Siegfried-Idyll de Richard Wagner. Brusquement, le thème de l'attaque s'élance en un unisson puissant soutenu par les cordes puis est repoussé. Un choral allegro assai misterioso ouvre le somptueux développement, une fantaisie fuguée dans laquelle le choral s'oppose au thème d'attaque. Après une courte reprise à la fin de laquelle réapparaît le thème initial du 1er mouvement, une imposante Coda reprend le choral avec en contrepoint le thème d'attaque et le thème initial.

...

Anton Bruckner composa la Symphonie n° 5 en si bémol majeur à une période difficile de sa vie, et l'œuvre semble avoir été poursuivie par la malchance. Mis à part la 9e qui resta inachevée, ce fut la seule Symphonie de son cru qu'il n'entendit jamais exécuter par un orchestre, bien qu'en 1887, plus de 10 ans après son achèvement, il en entendit une version pour 2 pianos interprétée par Josef Schalk et Franz Zottmann, à Vienne. La seule exécution orchestrale qui eût lieu de son vivant, fut donnée à Graz en 1894, sous la baguette de son élève Franz Schalk, mais le

compositeur était déjà trop malade pour y assister. Ce fut d'ailleurs Schalk qui en supervisa la 1^{re} édition, en 1896, peu avant la mort de Bruckner, probablement alors trop malade pour s'opposer aux modifications apportées par Schalk : la ré-orchestration radicale de nombreux passages (allant même jusqu'à incorporer, à la fin, un orchestre de cuivres en coulisse !) ainsi que des coupures trahissant le même manque d'égards (par exemple, la suppression de 122 mesures au milieu du Finale) . La 1^{re} exécution à Vienne (dans la version de Schalk, comme de bien entendu) , eut lieu en 1898 sous la direction de Ferdinand Löwe, et fut assez bien accueillie. L'œuvre entra peu à peu au répertoire, mais il fallut attendre 1937 pour que la partition authentique de Bruckner soit publiée, dans l'édition de Robert Haas. (L'édition ultérieure réalisée par Leopold Nowak, en 1951, est essentiellement la ré-édition de celle de Haas.) De nos jours, la 5^e est considérée comme une des plus grandes réussites Symphoniques de Bruckner, son intensité d'expression et le caractère grandiose de son architecture la plaçant sur un pied d'égalité avec les 3 dernières Symphonies (les nos. 7, 8 et 9) du compositeur.

Bruckner entama la composition de sa 5^e Symphonie en février 1875, peu après avoir ébauché sa 4^e Symphonie, dite « Romantique » . Il commença par la composition du 2^e mouvement, Adagio. Le compositeur était alors dans une situation difficile et déprimante. Il regrettait profondément d'avoir quitté Linz pour venir s'installer à Vienne, la capitale si raffinée de l'Empire, où il avait des difficultés à s'intégrer socialement et où il ne parvenait guère, semble-t-il, à susciter de l'attention pour sa musique. Il était aussi fort tourmenté par un procès intenté contre lui par 2 de ses élèves féminines, à qui il avait enseigné le piano et qui l'accusaient d'avoir eu un comportement offensant à leur égard (la chose semble avoir été due à un malentendu : Bruckner devait finalement être disculpé par le tribunal) . Il ne pouvait donc plus enseigner le piano qu'à des élèves masculins, mais son poste de professeur de piano dans un séminaire viennois était de toute façon sur le point d'être supprimé. Réduit à son maigre salaire d'enseignant au « Konservatorium » de Vienne, il fut forcé d'emprunter de l'argent. Ses lettres de l'époque montrent qu'il était déprimé, et il se pourrait fort que le thème retentissant au hautbois entendu dans l'Adagio, probablement la 1^{re} idée qu'il esquissa pour l'œuvre, ait la force d'un cri intime venu du fond du cœur.

La Symphonie fut achevée dans sa totalité, en mai 1876, mais cette version originale est perdue. Cependant, Bruckner se livra à une révision partielle de l'œuvre pendant les 2 années qui suivirent, et en rédigea une nouvelle partition : c'est cette partition de 1878 qui demeure l'unique source de la musique. À la différence des Symphonies nos. 1 à 4, il n'existe donc pas plusieurs versions rivales de la Symphonie n° 5, dans lesquelles la substance musicale elle-même varie. Bruckner dédia l'œuvre à Karl Ritter von Stremayr, qui était alors le Ministre de l'instruction publique de l'Empire austro-hongrois au sein du gouvernement formé par le prince Adolf von Auersperg.

Toutes les Symphonies de Bruckner sont imposantes et l'épithète de « monumentales » intervient naturellement dans toute discussion s'y rapportant. Cependant, la 5^e est encore plus vaste que toute autre Symphonie antérieurement écrite par Bruckner et, de surcroît, dans cette œuvre, la disposition du matériau, l'ampleur des formes données aux 4 mouvements et la façon dont le compositeur utilise l'orchestre, tout mérite d'être qualifié d'architectural. Pareille à une gigantesque cathédrale Gothique, l'œuvre semble dominer ses auditeurs par son immensité et donne l'impression d'être bâtie avec la solidité d'un roc. Tels les voûtes, les entrelacs et la disposition régulière des grandes masses de pierre d'une cathédrale, cette Symphonie est celle qui montre, au plus haut point, la souveraine Maîtrise du contrepoint possédée par Bruckner, particulièrement dans les textures essentiellement polyphoniques des 3 1^{ers} mouvements et la

massive fugue avec choral formant le corps principal du Finale. Bien que ce soit sous une forme orchestrale absolument authentique, nous entendons ici toute la longue expérience de l'art du contrepoint acquise par Bruckner en sa qualité d'organiste d'église virtuose.

La 5e est également unique à d'autres égards. Le Finale fugué est le seul Finale Symphonique du genre, trouvé chez Bruckner. De plus, il est évident que Bruckner se soucia à un degré peu habituel de créer une unité au sein des mouvements de l'œuvre. Le Finale non seulement débute par les thèmes des 3 mouvements précédents et inclut à son apogée un rappel cyclique d'un thème du 1er mouvement, mais le 1er mouvement et le Finale (qui sont tous les 2 en si bémol majeur) débute aussi sur la même musique, tandis que le 2e et le 3e mouvements (tous les 2 en ré mineur) débute par le même motif d'accompagnement en triolet, aux cordes : créant ainsi une sorte d'arc « thématique-tonal » .

Finalement, la Symphonie n° 5 est la seule Symphonie de Bruckner à débute par une véritable introduction, plutôt que par quelques mesures de prélude préparant à ce qui va venir, comme c'est le cas dans la plupart de ses autres Symphonies. Marquée Adagio, cette introduction débute par le jeu pizzicato d'une contrebasse descendant de plus en plus vers le grave avant de remonter, tandis que violons et altos font fleurir des harmonies révérencieuses plus à l'aigu. Soudain, une idée fortissimo, jouée à l'unisson par tout l'orchestre, se dresse convulsivement, mais les harmonies sévères et majestueuses du chœur des cuivres au grand complet viennent s'y opposer. Ces 2 éléments sont répétés. Le tempo, qui s'accélère en même temps qu'apparaît une remarquable figure de notes pointées, redevient Adagio pour faire entendre une 3e exposition paroxystique du passage aux cuivres, cette fois exécuté par tout l'orchestre. Cette introduction vraiment peu habituelle opérant la juxtaposition difficile de plusieurs idées opposées qui semblent se fixer l'air revêché, suggère déjà les qualités architecturales de l'œuvre tout entière et se termine par des échanges rappelant des cris d'oiseau, entre cor et flûte solistes.

Le mouvement principal, Allegro, commence alors avec un thème agité aux violons et aux violoncelles. Passant à la dominante (fa) , Bruckner expose ensuite un long thème plein d'anxiété au violon sur un accompagnement joué pizzicato rappelant l'ouverture même du mouvement. Un thème plus chaleureux et plus lyrique apparaît en ré bémol aux bois, puis une figure ostinato, jouée fortissimo, monte de la contrebasse et domine le puissant tutti orchestral qui s'ensuit. Cette vaste exposition se termine en fa, et le développement commence par un retour de la musique de l'Introduction, une fois de plus Adagio, mais maintenant en ut majeur avec la musique pour violons / altos fleurissant aux cors et accompagnée par la contrebasse jouant pizzicato. Les idées s'opposant de façon si dramatique se font à nouveau entendre combinées au 1er sujet de l'Allegro, puis le développement se poursuit de façon merveilleusement dramatique en faisant s'entrelacer le matériau de l'Introduction avec celui de l'exposition. Ceci amène à une récapitulation tout aussi dramatique dans laquelle les relations tonales et les rapports entre les différents éléments se trouvent radicalement repensés, puis la Coda débute par l'idée pizzicato initiale du mouvement qui a été accélérée pour atteindre le tempo d'Allegro. La tonalité de si bémol majeur, dans laquelle le mouvement a débuté, ne se trouve pleinement et irrévocablement établie que lors des dernières mesures empreintes d'une assurance sereine, bien que colossale.

Si l'atmosphère caractérisant les mouvements lents de Bruckner tend à être Romantique, élégiaque ou pieuse, le 2e

mouvement Adagio de la Symphonie n° 5 s'avère, pendant la majeure partie de sa durée, austère, renfermé et énigmatique. Il adopte une forme simple : 2 sections contrastées, qui sont toutes les 2 répétées avec des modifications, la 1re revenant une fois de plus pour former sommet et Coda. À l'instar du 1er mouvement, l'Adagio débute par un motif pizzicato ; mais celui-ci, avec ses 6 triolets égaux par mesure, crée un mystérieux rythme concomitant avec la mesure à 2/2 du thème au hautbois joué dolce, mélodie pathétique d'une subtilité exquise. Froide, grise et interrogatrice, cette musique tissée avec une extrême complexité se trouve soudain équilibrée par la chaleureuse tonalité d'ut majeur de la section contrastante, dont la mélodie principale généralement chantante, quasi-hymnique, est entamée par les cordes au grand complet. La 1re section survient une seconde fois pour créer un sommet retentissant, après quoi la mélodie aux cordes fait une seconde apparition ravissante, en ré. Une chatoyante figuration au violon entoure la dernière apparition de la section principale, qui, après avoir atteint un grand moment d'éloquence, s'évanouit de façon plutôt sinistre, mourant sur des pizzicati qui ne causent plus de rythmes concomitants.

Le Scherzo, donnant l'impression d'être doté d'une force musculaire énorme, annonce le mouvement Rondo-Burlesque de la 9e Symphonie de Gustav Mahler par sa dextérité contrapuntique et son élan rythmique. Il s'agit néanmoins, comme pour tous les Scherzos de Bruckner, d'une forme sonate en miniature. La rapide danse à 3/4 aux cordes jouant staccato sur laquelle elle débute, est en fait une transformation du lent accompagnement pizzicato de l'Adagio. Le 1er sujet, aux bois, est empreint d'une sorte d'élan froid et insouciant ; le second, légèrement plus lent, est un « Ländler » autrichien, une valse joyeuse, quoique lente et lourde, débutée par les cordes. Les 2 sujets se trouvent développés au cours d'une danse échevelée qui culmine avec des répétitions triomphantes de l'accord de ré majeur. Le Trio, écrit dans le même tempo, débute alors en si bémol, d'abord aux bois, obstinément ponctué par le cor. Cette danse bucolique constitue une musique changeante, quasi-Mendelssohnienne, malgré une brutale interruption du trombone peu avant la fin. Vient ensuite la reprise littérale du Scherzo.

Comme le 1er mouvement, le Finale est pourvu d'une introduction Adagio. Et d'ailleurs, comme mentionné plus haut, il s'ouvre exactement sur la même musique que celle sur laquelle la Symphonie a débuté. Cette introduction, tout comme celle du 1er mouvement, juxtapose des idées contrastantes, mais ces idées sont les thèmes principaux des 1er et 2e mouvements. Elles sont passées en revue, mais jugées inadéquates (Bruckner emprunta sans doute l'idée au début du finale de la 9e Symphonie de Beethoven) : chacune se trouve accueillie puis renvoyée par une seule petite phrase interrogatrice de 6 notes exécutée par la clarinette soliste descendant d'une octave avant de remonter à nouveau. Après la réapparition du thème pathétique au hautbois du 2e mouvement, 2 clarinettes à l'unisson font entendre la phrase de 6 notes, qui s'avère aussitôt être le motif d'ouverture d'un sujet de fugue coriace débutant aux violoncelles et aux contrebasses. Le mouvement principal repose cependant sur une fusion de la fugue avec la forme sonate, et le sujet de la fugue, qui est présenté avec une exposition de fugue complète, correspond au 1er sujet de la forme sonate.

L'exposition fuguée s'interrompt, et un thème lyrique (non fugué) en ré bémol (le second sujet du mouvement) est annoncé par les violons. Une transition orageuse, fondée sur la figure descendant d'une octave, amène à un grandiose choral de cuivres, dont les cordes font entendre le doux écho, après quoi la 1re partie du mouvement se termine dans une atmosphère séraphique, avec cordes et timbales jouant pianissimo. La section de développement commence alors, il s'agit d'une double fugue complètement résolue, dont le thème du choral, maintenant dépouillé de toute harmonie aux cuivres, fournit le 1er thème, tandis que le sujet incisif dérivé de la figure à 6 notes en constitue le

second.

La fugue est développée avec une Maîtrise du contrepoint et un instinct dramatique prodigieux. À son paroxysme, l'orchestre tout entier joue les 2 sujets combinés, et ceci s'avère aussi être un début de récapitulation. Le thème lyrique revient en fa, à nouveau suivi par la transition orageuse, au sein de laquelle nous entendons maintenant le 1er sujet du 1er mouvement de la Symphonie : autre moyen inattendu par lequel Bruckner cimente tout l'édifice pour lui donner une conception « auto-cohérente » semblant se réfléchir. Dans la Coda, la musique enfle irrésistiblement s'appuyant sur le 1er sujet de la fugue, tandis que d'autres idées lui sont opposées jusqu'à ce que le puissant choral entre en majestueuse augmentation complètement harmonisé pour les cuivres et accompagné par les rythmes du 1er sujet, afin de clôturer l'argument Symphonique de Bruckner en termes si glorieux et, semble-t-il, si inéluctables qu'aucune opposition ne pourrait être tolérée.

...

« Je ne connais qu'un homme qui s'approche de Beethoven, cet homme c'est Bruckner. » (Richard Wagner)

Fils d'instituteur, Anton Bruckner naît à Ansfelden, une paisible bourgade rurale de la Haute-Autriche, dans une petite maison proche de l'église du village. Le jeune garçon vit ses Ires émotions musicales en accompagnant son père, également organiste et sacristain, au monastère de Saint-Florian, dans la commune voisine. Au son des grandes orgues de l'abbaye, au pied desquelles sa dépouille repose aujourd'hui, l'enfant nourrit une profonde ferveur religieuse qui imprènera toute son œuvre.

À l'âge de 16 ans, à la question du choix de son futur métier, il répond laconiquement :

« Maître d'école, comme mon père. »

Pour compléter ses maigres appointements d'instituteur, il joue du violon pour des noces et des kermesses, découvrant ainsi la richesse de la musique populaire autrichienne, dont certains accents se retrouveront dans les Scherzos de ses Symphonies à venir, notamment la 5e. Dans les années 1860, le musicien, devenu organiste professionnel, compose des pièces religieuses et rencontre Richard Wagner, qui devient un ami fidèle.

Bruckner est alors à un moment charnière de sa vie d'artiste : il cherche à exprimer toute sa foi, non plus seulement dans la musique sacrée, mais par le biais d'un moyen d'expression autre, a priori profane, celui de la Symphonie. La création de sa Ire Symphonie en ut mineur, toute de contraste et d'audaces formelles et harmoniques, remporte un succès mitigé, le musicien étant certes estimé (on compare ses talents d'improvisateur à ceux de Jean-Sébastien Bach) , mais le compositeur étant encore incompris.

En 1868, Bruckner est appelé à Vienne pour être professeur au Conservatoire et organiste à la Cour Impériale. Arrivé dans la capitale, le musicien, au comportement maladroit et à l'accent rural, fait l'objet de railleries, sa piété démonstrative et sa tendance à une humilité excessive accentuant son aspect marginal. Malgré cela, il parvient à se

faire une place au sein de la société viennoise, obtenant une chaire à l'Université en 1875 et même un titre de Docteur « honoris causa » en 1891. En dépit des critiques acerbes d'Eduard Hanslick et de l'inimitié affichée de Johannes Brahms, le compositeur peut compter sur de fidèles disciples, au 1er rang desquels Hugo Wolf et Gustav Mahler.

Bruckner, qui fut longtemps en proie au doute, est désormais sûr de sa vocation et de la tâche qu'il s'est fixée : celle de l'édification d'un monument symphonique, véritable cathédrale musicale, dans laquelle il pourra exprimer son ardent mysticisme, mais aussi la véhémence de passions inabouties, lui qui, toute sa vie, cherchera sans jamais y parvenir à fonder un foyer.

La 5e Symphonie, esquissée dès 1875, mais achevée seulement en 1878, ne fut, contrairement aux autres, que très peu remaniée. Bruckner, malade, n'assistera pas à sa création le 8 avril 1894 dans une version abrégée, et mourra sans jamais l'avoir entendue en concert. L'œuvre ne sera donnée dans son intégralité qu'en 1935, à Munich.

Outre l'élan religieux, les conflits intérieurs qui habitent le compositeur sont également perceptibles dans sa musique, ce qui fit dire à Gustave Kars :

« On ne saurait imaginer qu'une œuvre d'une telle portée et d'une telle complexité ait pu être le fruit d'une vie béate, d'où la lutte et le doute auraient été absents. »

Constituée de 4 mouvements, la Symphonie n° 5 s'ouvre par une longue introduction lente, dont plusieurs éléments thématiques se retrouveront dans le reste de l'œuvre, ce qui lui confère une unité formelle et motivique. Un thème de choral joué par les cuivres se dégage, chatoyant, illuminant le discours. L'utilisation de 3 thèmes dans l'Allegro qui suit, donne des effets de contrastes saisissants, où là encore, toute la complexité de la vie intérieure du musicien transparait. L'influence de la musique d'orgue est prégnante, l'orchestration reflétant les jeux mêmes de l'instrument. L'utilisation caractéristique des silences, qui ponctuent et aèrent le discours, peut également rappeler l'écriture pour orgue, qui doit s'accommoder de l'acoustique des églises.

Dans l'Adagio, construit autour de 2 thèmes, les contrastes, toujours présents, accentuent la force discursive, faisant alterner des passages sereins avec des moments plus douloureux. Le Scherzo, lié à l'Adagio précédent d'un point de vue tonal et thématique, a des réminiscences de « Ländler ». Enfin, le Finale fait entendre une double fugue, témoignant du génie contrapuntique du compositeur, qui disait lui-même de cette Symphonie qu'elle était ce qu'il a « fait de mieux en matière de contrepoint » .

Véritable « hymne profane » à la foi, cette œuvre est une pierre indispensable à l'édifice symphonique voulu par Bruckner, à cette église sonore qui chante l'universel plus encore que le sacré.

La 5e Symphonie de Bruckner : correspondance de Berlin (Marcel Remy)

(Le Guide musical, année 44, 1898.)

Par suite d'une courte absence, j'ai dû manquer un récital de Rislér, une séance du Quatuor Halir, où l'on a entendu une œuvre inédite de Felix Weingartner, et encore d'autres choses intéressantes. Mais j'ai pu rentrer à temps pour le second concert Nikisch, où l'on donnait, pour la 1re fois à Berlin, la 5e Symphonie de Bruckner. Elle est presque inconnue. Il y a 4 ans, Schalk l'a fait jouer à Gratz, et Löwe à Budapest. On ne connaît guère d'autre exécution de cette œuvre, qui est encore plus difficile et compliquée que la 7e Symphonie du même Maître, que Dupuis fut seul, je crois, à monter en pays latin. Dans sa 5e Symphonie, Bruckner n'emploie l'orchestre bayreuthien qu'au Finale. À ce moment, l'effet est irrésistible.

L'œuvre est très longue et d'une surcharge contrapuntique à dérouter les plus attentifs. L'exposition de la 1re partie prend un certain temps, par la variété et le nombre des thèmes, qui sont ensuite travaillés avec un art inouï. Tout de suite, on reconnaît le faire, la griffe nerveuse du vieux Maître. Un thème choral des cuivres bref et scandé, une phrase qui n'est que la décomposition de l'accord parfait et se revêt d'une noblesse simple, puis des dessins obstinés, obsédants. Puis, l'enchevêtrement se poursuit sans relâche, avec des trouvailles, des rapprochements imprévus de sonorités et d'harmonies, jusqu'à la péroraison, qui a une belle allure héroïque.

L'Adagio, en mesure ternaire avec un chant de hautbois de rythme binaire, commence comme du Brahms. Mais chez Bruckner, la période est plus courte et toujours rénovée. Les violons chantent sur la 4e corde un thème élégiaque, comme Bruckner seul en trouve. Le Scherzo se relie à l'Adagio directement, le thème d'entrée est le même, pris en mouvement rapide. Le fond du Scherzo est le vieux cadre de Haydn et de Mozart. L'intérêt repose dans le détail du contrepoint, qui s'entrelace parmi les phrases mélodieuses. Le Finale échappe à une description. C'est énorme, effrayant de dimensions, de mise en œuvre, de difficultés maîtrisées. Il y a une double fugue entamée par les gros instruments, puis poursuivie dans un réseau de contre chant et thèmes déjà entendus. Ensuite, vient un choral de cuivre, proche parent du thème du Graal de « Parsifal », à part l'harmonisation chromatique. Les périodes fuguées et déclamées alternent en progression jusqu'à l'entrée du second orchestre formé de 4 cors, 3 trompettes, 3 trombones et un basse tuba. C'est absolument grandiose quand la masse métallique attaque le choral tandis que les gros instruments de l'orchestre chevauchent et que tous les thèmes s'éparpillent aux voix supérieures.

C'est une belle œuvre ; elle ne s'adresse certes pas au grand public. Même pour nombre d'auditeurs sensitifs et d'intellect ouvert, elle a quelque chose d'abstrus, d'énigmatique. Je reconnais volontiers que la musique de Bruckner manque d'effusion. Au moment suprême, où l'on désirerait quelque chose d'éperdu, d'inviabile, où l'on souhaiterait le coup d'aile de Beethoven ou le torrent mélodique de Wagner, le froid et mesuré Bruckner se reprend, coupe court et, avec une ingéniosité inlassable, nous entraîne vers d'autres voies. On ne peut planer, savourer ; il faut encore entendre, non pas, comme on voudrait, avec l'oreille de l'esprit, mais analyser les merveilles savantes qui sont offertes sans relâche.

L'âme de l'auteur était poétique, comme son faire était souverain. Et son œuvre est rarement poétique au sens touchant, sentimental. Il rappelle Leconte de Lisle qui entraîne, sans être lui-même entraîné. Le malentendu entre l'auditeur froissé, irrité et le compositeur impassible provient peut-être de ce que Bruckner a pris le terme Symphonie au sens strict du mot. Son œuvre est presque incompatible avec une exégèse, un parallélisme littéraire. Ce n'est pas un

poème Symphonique où l'auditeur se forge des visions chimériques que l'œuvre exécutée vient renforcer après les avoir suggérées.

L'œuvre de Bruckner n'est que la combinaison souvent géniale des sons et des thèmes. Ses moyens, ses expressions sont volontairement limitées. Mais ses compositions, dans leur dénudation voulue, ont leur beauté spéciale, comme l'eau forte, qui n'utilise que du noir et du blanc, et est susceptible d'expression si profonde. La musique de Bruckner n'est pas pour faire rêvasser les maladifs ; elle est pour la joie des musiciens. Merci à Nikisch d'avoir monté cette œuvre ardue, qui n'a guère été comprise et n'a eu que peu de succès. L'exécution était excellente sans atteindre la perfection, ce qui me paraît impossible avec une partition pareille.

Le soliste était Burmester, le violoniste national allemand. Il a joué un peu faux d'abord, puis juste, puis bien le Concerto de Beethoven. Grand succès. Il y avait encore au programme une Symphonie de Mendelssohn. Nous n'y sommes pas restés. Après la commotion produite par Bruckner, la musique de Mendelssohn n'aurait été qu'agitation dans le vide.

Le passage de Richard Wagner à Vienne au printemps de 1875 attise l'hostilité et l'acharnement de ses adversaires, avec Eduard Hanslick en tête, envers le timide compositeur de Symphonies. Faire l'éloge de sa musique alerte les autorités conservatrices qui redoublent de cruauté grâce à leurs campagnes intensives de dénigrement. Ainsi, les conditions de vie de Bruckner étaient devenues critiques. Citons une de ses lettres, rédigée en janvier : « Il est impossible de subsister avec seulement mon revenu en tant que professeur conférencier au Conservatoire. Je dois toujours emprunter de l'argent sinon c'est la famine. Personne ne propose de m'aider. Le Ministre de l'éducation me fait des promesses, mais il n'y a jamais rien de concret. Si ce n'était du support des quelques étrangers qui étudient avec moi, je serais obligé de mendier. Si j'avais su qu'une si terrible situation m'attendait à Vienne, aucun pouvoir terrestre ne serait parvenu à me faire venir ici. Oh, combien je serais heureux de retourner à mon ancien poste à Linz ! » .

Le chef Benjamin Zander parle de la 5e Symphonie

Bruckner's 5th Symphony was completed in May 1876 and slightly retouched in 1878. It was first printed in a butchered revision from Franz Schalk, in 1896. The authentic final manuscript eventually was published in a 1936 edition by Robert Haas, which differs little from the later one produced by Leopold Nowak. The 5th is the first unconditional success of Bruckner's maturity, and its colossal last movement was described by conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler as « the most majestic Finale » in the entire orchestral literature. In my view, the Fifth is one of Bruckner's greatest Masterpieces, along with the mighty 8th and the unfinished 9th. Those 3 works are the main reasons why I regard Bruckner as the finest Austro-German Symphonist after Beethoven.

A press release quotes Zander :

« In working on the Bruckner 5th, I became aware of how close his music is to Schubert. I avoided the very slow tempi that have become common in contemporary interpretations and emphasized the sprightly, forward moving

urgency of the music. »

Zander's up-front candor is apt : this work can seem pretentious and over-blown when stretched past the 80 minute mark. As noted in reviewing Furtwängler's live Bruckner (« Fanfare » magazine, No. 32, page 4) , my favourite historic 5ths are the urgent 1942 Furtwängler / Berlin Philharmonic (68 min 50 sec) and the wonderfully inflected 1963 Schuricht / Vienna Philharmonic (76 min 05 sec) , a live reading that I hope will be re-issued by « DGG » . However, both of those are mono recordings of a work that craves to be heard in stereo.

Of the various historic stereo accounts lasting less than 80 minutes, my preference is the warmly lyrical 1975 Kempe / Munich Philharmonic (74 min 50 sec) , once on a 2 disc « Odyssey » LP set (regrettably, I missed the deleted CD transfers from « Acanta » and « Scribendum ») . A « guilty pleasure » indulgence in the 5th (it was my « imprint » version, back in the LP days) is the 1958 Jochum / Bavarian Radio (76 min 52 sec) , which is available in a 9 disc Bruckner CD-set (« DGG ») . Jochum had great rapport with the Bavarian Orchestra he founded in 1949, and the string playing is very rhapsodic. However, Jochum's extreme tempo fluctuations lack the internal logic of Furtwängler and the subtler rubato of Schuricht. In a throwback to the discredited Schalk edition, an additional brass band of « 11 Apostles ») (4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones and 1 bass tuba) is heard in the Finale's coda. The effect is stunning but, in so doing, Jochum slows down the tempo by about 30 %, which simply undermines the cumulative momentum that Bruckner surely intended.

To that list of personal favorites, I must now add this quite remarkable new reading from Behjamin Zander and the « Philharmonia » Orchestra, which strikes me as the very finest 5th of the digital era. The recorded sound is terrific, with an enormous dynamic range set against a completely silent background (for hardcore audiophiles, a separate SACD release is also available) . With utmost fidelity to the score's dynamic markings, Zander delivers a well-executed reading that captures all the lilting moods of this challenging work. The playing isn't absolutely perfect (there are 1 or 2 imprecise moments in the strings and a couple of less than optimally balanced brass chords in the Finale) but those amount to little more than minor defects in a grand Master painting. At any rate, perfection is an unachievable goal in a work of such vast scope (although a few recordings out there are perfectly dull) .

What truly cinches the indispensability of this set is its 80 minute bonus discussion disc. I suspect that some jaded collectors will now roll their eyes and think : « Oh boy, just what I need : a musical appreciation disc ! » . If you are one of them, please think again. I can tell you without hesitation that what Zander delivers here is the most profoundly insightful and utterly illuminating discussion of any Classical Masterpiece, in my experience. He is, above all, a superb communicator whose enthusiasm is altogether contagious. Because the 5th is often noted for its « cathedral sound » and lofty architecture, Zander uses the extended metaphor of an actual cathedral's floor plan in discussing each movement of the work (a handy fold-out diagram is included with the booklet notes) . I've been listening to this music for more than 40 years and will freely admit that Zander provided epiphanies for me, at every turn. Zander also quotes extensively from World War I letters that his father wrote as a German soldier stationed on the Russian front (he happened to have a pocket score of the 5th with him that was a birthday gift from the senior Zander's own parents) . This discussion disc also utilizes many illustrations taken from the recording and also from Zander himself on piano. Be prepared for some deeply moving moments.

...

WAB 105 (1875-1876) : Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (« Die Katholische ») . 1876 : 1st concept ; revised in 1878.

« I wouldn't write something like this again for anything in the world. »

(Anton Bruckner)

Bruckner's Symphony No. 5 in B-flat stands at the fulcrum of his Symphonic output. Among his most intellectually daunting creations, the 5th has never attained the popularity of the 4th or 7th Symphonies, and its complexity proved a barrier to performance during the composer's lifetime. It was given only twice, and then never as Bruckner intended.

As is typical of the composer's works, Bruckner's 5th was the product of a lengthy gestation. Work began on the great Adagio on February 14, 1875 ; then came the opening movement and Scherzo, with the monumental Finale reaching completion in May 1877. Even then, however, Bruckner was not satisfied, and he was not finished with his modifications until January 4, 1878. He dedicated the work to Carl von Stremeyr, Austria's enlightened and sympathetic Minister for education and culture, who had been instrumental in helping Bruckner secure a professorship at Vienna University.

This is the only Bruckner Symphony to begin with a slow introduction, and the opening motif is heard again at the start of the Finale. The devotional atmosphere of the outset leads to an Allegro of raw power ; its ostinato dotted-rhythm figure eventually gives way to a more subdued secondary idea, beginning with pizzicato strings. Dialogue between horn and flute heralds the development section, though again the relentlessness of the dotted motif becomes obsessive. It even continues to dominate the colossal Coda.

The oboe begins the languid, deeply eloquent Adagio, against a triplet accompaniment from pizzicato lower strings. The rhythmic connection between this supporting device and the beginning of the 1st movement Allegro only becomes clear when the 2nd theme arrives, cast in rich, deep harmonies for full strings. As the movement continues, the 2 thematic groups are reviewed in turn, as Bruckner explores their contrapuntal possibilities to the fullest. Most of the Scherzo's material has already been heard previously in the Symphony, and the links with the pizzicato opening of the slow movement, now presented at a much faster tempo and now played arco (with the bow) , soon become apparent. The Trio section affords effective contrast, and brings a shift in key from D minor to the Symphony's home key of B-flat.

Many commentators discuss the influence of the Finale of Beethoven's « Choral » Symphony upon the last movement of Bruckner's 5th, though, in fact, the resemblances hardly extend beyond the opening of the movement. Whereas Beethoven reviews themes from earlier in his work, and then dismisses them, the germinal thematic idea of Bruckner's Finale derives clearly enough from the major themes that have gone before. What follows is an extraordinarily masterful display of contrapuntal skill ; this Sonata movement also contains an astounding double fugue, though 3 distinct main ideas are present. The last of these, a nobly expansive chorale for full brass returns to crown the mighty

resolution of the Symphony, in its unforgettably powerful Coda.

...

The Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major (**WAB 105**) of Anton Bruckner was written in 1875-1876, with a few minor changes over the next few years. It was 1st performed in public on 2 pianos by Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann on 20 April 1887, at the « Bösendorfersaal », in Vienna. The 1st orchestral performance was conducted by Franz Schalk, in Graz, on 8 April 1894. (Bruckner was sick and unable to attend : he never heard this Symphony performed by an Orchestra) . It was dedicated to Karl Ritter von Stremayr, Minister of education in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Symphony is sometimes referred to as the « Tragic », « Church of Faith », or « Pizzicato » Symphony.

The Symphony was written at a time of much trouble and disillusionment during the composer's life, a Court suit (from which he was exonerated) , a reduction in salary. It is not outwardly a work of storm and stress, but it is a piece of « working out » , one of his most contrapuntally intricate works.

The Symphony requires an instrumentation of one pair each flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, with 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones and 1 bass tuba along with timpani and strings. Also note that, in its original form, the Symphony was scored without a tuba. This was added in 1878, at the same time that Bruckner added a tuba to the 2nd version of the Symphony No. 4.

The Symphony is in 4 movements :

1. Introduction (Adagio) - Allegro in B-flat major.

2. Adagio. Sehr langsam in D minor.

3. Scherzo. Molto vivace in D minor.

4. Finale (Adagio) - Allegro moderato in B-flat major.

Movements 1, 2 and 4 begin with pizzicato strings, hence the nickname « Pizzicato » . The pizzicato figures are symmetrical, in the sense that the outer movements share one figure while the middle movements share a different figure.

The work begins with a majestic slow introduction, which progresses into a main movement in Sonata form whose opening theme in B-flat hints also at G-flat. Like much of Bruckner's music, the exposition of this movement has 3 main key regions instead of the usual 2.

The main material of the slow movement and Scherzo are very similar, heard of course at different tempos and

launching different developments.

The Finale opens in the same way as the 1st movement, but veers-off soon to gradually introduce new material which becomes the source of the themes of the Allegro moderato, another Sonata form which contains in its course fugal and chorale sections of elaborate counterpoint.

The Symphony is the only one of Bruckner's 9 that begins with a slow introduction. However, all the others except the Symphony No. 1 begin with sections that are like introductions « in tempo », easing into the main material like the opening of Beethoven's 9th.

The 1876 version is still unpublished.

In 1997, a 1st attempt of reconstruction of the 1876 version, by including in the Finale music from the « 1876 1st Concept » (Edited by William Carragan) , was recorded by Shunsaku Tsutsumi with the Shunyukai Symphony Orchestra.

In 2008, Takanobu Kawasaki was able to assemble the original concepts (1875-1877) of the Symphony from manuscripts Mus.Hs.19.477 & Mus.Hs.3162 of the Austrian National Library. These original concepts have been recorded by Akira Naito with the Tokyo New City Orchestra.

As commented by John F. Berky :

« It is the best available CD to present some of Bruckner's earlier thoughts for this massive Symphony. »

In its « Original Concepts », the Symphony is scored without a bass tuba and more prominence is given to the string instruments. The tempo of the Adagio introduction of movements 1 and 4, and that of movement 2 are scored « Alla breve » , i.e. , notably faster than in the 1878 version.

...

1876 Version (Haas « Vorlagenbericht » [partial treatment]) .

1878 Version (Haas, Nowak) .

Leopold Nowak, in 1951 :

« It was through the unforgettable performances under Franz Schalk's baton that the divine inspirations of this lone Titan of music (for that is the vision that the 5th conjures-up) came to uplift the hearts of all mankind. Surely, it is from some lonely eminence that these deeply moving utterances make their tremendous impact upon this world of ours, in all its infinite variety. This Symphony reveals the utmost technical Mastery of form, structure, and

instrumentation. For all who have ever set foot in the mighty edifice of its polyphony, its melodic wealth, and its chorale, it remains an unforgettable experience. »

Circa 1890 Version ([Schalk]) .

The 1876 version was composed in the autograph score, now Mus.Hs. 19477, but Bruckner revised the autograph in several phases, in 1877 and early in 1878. Based on the autograph, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle the earliest version of the score ; thus, the 1876 version remains unpublished, although Robert Haas gave a partial treatment of this version in his « Vorlagenbericht » . One part of the 1876 version that can be re-constructed is the beginning of the Finale Coda, leading-up to the final chorale. Aaron Snyder and William Carragan have created a demonstration of this section of the score based on details given in the Haas « Vorlagenbericht » .

The 1878 version (the version that is almost always performed today) can be constructed from the autograph and from the copy score Bruckner presented to Karl von Stremayr (minister of education in the Austro-Hungarian Empire) to whom the Symphony was dedicated. According to William Carragan, the differences between the 1876 and 1878 scores are similar in scale to the differences between the 1866 and 1877 versions of the 1st.

Another copy score, Mus.Hs. 36693, has been found recently, and it contains a few revisions in Bruckner's hand-made, most likely, in the late 1880's or early 1890's. Although this manuscript is un-published, some of Bruckner's modifications in Mus.Hs. 36693 can be found in the 1st printing, published in 1896.

The 1896 edition differs considerably from Bruckner's 1878 version. With the exception of Bruckner's revisions taken from Mus.Hs. 36693, there is reasonable evidence that nearly all other revisions in the 1st printing were made by Franz Schalk prior to the Symphony's premiere in Graz, in 1894. Unfortunately, the « Stichvorlage » , which could show more definitively the extent of Bruckner's involvement, is not extant. Since the 1st printing includes Bruckner's revisions in Mus.Hs. 36693, I list it as an edition of the « circa » 1890 version with modifications by Schalk.

The relations between the sources for the 5th (the autograph Mus.Hs. 19477, the copy score Mus.Hs. 36693, and the 1st edition of 1896 containing substantial revisions by Franz Schalk) are exactly echoed in the sources for the F minor Mass : in addition to the autograph score Mus.Hs. 2105, there is a copy score Mus.Hs. 6015 in which Bruckner entered a few revisions sometime during the years 1890 through 1893. The 1st printing of 1894 includes these changes along with substantial revisions by Josef Schalk. Robert Haas based his edition of the F minor Mass on Mus.Hs. 2105, and Leopold Nowak based his edition on Mus.Hs. 6015.

Bruckner's 5th Symphony : « Original Concepts »

(Edited by Takanobu Kawasaki.)

Anton Bruckner completed the 1st Version of the Symphony No. 5, on May 16, 1876. He completed the 2nd Version, on January 4, 1878. The only autograph (Mus.Hs.19.477) is in the Austrian National Library and has been compiled from 2 different manuscripts :

Ist Movement + Adagio (Group A) .

Scherzo + Finale (Group B) .

Group B has the dates belonging to Version 1 and Version 2 but Group A only has Version 2. In Group A and Group B, the pen that Bruckner used is different. The hand-writing in Group A is thin while the hand-writing of Group B is bold and powerful. Due to a different pen being used in Group B, it is possible to determine what belongs in Version 1 and Version 2. Most of the material in Group B before corrections, thus, belongs in Version 1. However, this is not possible in Group A, so, the only movements wherein we can see Bruckner's 1st concepts are the Scherzo and Finale (Group B) . Due to a different pen being used in Group B, it is often possible to determine what belongs in Version 1 and Version 2, but it is not always completely clear. Bruckner occasionally scratched-out with a razor the one to be corrected and wrote over it. Moreover, he often revised a passage 2 or 3 times. Therefore, it is very difficult to be certain which version belongs to which written section.

I edited my « Original Concepts » with these guidelines : I only used Mus.Hs.19.477 and Mus.Hs.3162 in the Austrian National Library (« ÖNB ») . I did not use other sources except those original materials listed above, but only quoted « viel » at Adagio, bar 163, from Leopold Nowak's « Revisionsbericht » , page 81. (Bruckner added it in the hand-writing copy of Mus.Hs.36.693 in « ÖNB » . It appears in new Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs' Edition, too.) I used this because « ÖNB » « viel » is the original conception of Bruckner, not a later one. I returned all shortened bars and expanded bars to their original form, and I restored those places retouched by Bruckner as much as possible. I deleted the bass tuba and adjusted other brass instruments suitably.

From this score, one part of Bruckner's original concepts can be examined. The major advantage of this score is to obtain the sound of the string instruments that Bruckner originally intended, as this was of major importance to the composer. Today's performances are dominated by the brass instruments. Adding a bass tuba to the Symphony No. 5 is similar to the practice of adding cymbals to the Symphony No. 7.

My edition has been presented as the closest adaptation of what Bruckner's « Original Concepts » of the Symphony No. 5 would be. Like some of Robert Haas' work, it is an amalgamated edition which uses more than 1 version to bring together a unified and musically pleasing edition. In my case, I have amalgamated 2 versions, in an effort to keep this lost version alive. It brings to the listener segments of Bruckner's early work on the Symphony No. 5 that would otherwise never be heard.

(Takanobu Kawasaki, August 2009.)

Referencing the CD booklet of NAITO Bruckner 5th Symphony :

Pages 1-2 : My explanation

Outline of the last paragraph (page 2 ; lines 21-28) :

Robert Haas faithfully reproduced the Autograph. However, I have one comment :

He disregarded the time signatures for change by Bruckner's own in the Adagio. In all cases, Bruckner returned to 4/4, not « alla breve » from 6/4 (or lined 12/8) . With this, a contradiction erupts. Maybe, various discussions might exist about this contradiction. Franz Schalk solved these problems by uniting all rhythm to 4/4 and 6/4.

Pages 3-6 : Directionality of performance by Maestro Naito

He achieved 2 points by this performance :

Performance method of period.

The tempo of « alla breve » in the Adagio.

The essay is the explanation of them.

The outline of this essay is published in the following TBJ :

Page 7 (verso) : 4 music examples for « alla breve » tempo of the Adagio by Naito.

Example 1 : At the beginning of the « Original Version » , perhaps, parentheses of « Sehr langsam » are unnecessary. « Alla breve » : The baton is shaken twice, in 1 bar.

Example 2 : At the beginning of the 1st Edition (Franz Schalk) , the Adagio is exact instead of « Sehr langsam » . 6/4 : The baton is shaken 6 times, in 1 bar.

Example 3 : The B section (bar 31-) is the same tempo as « alla breve » . There are no « alla breve » marks in all the editions but everybody can read « alla breve » with Robert Haas and Leopold Nowak.

Example 4 : Bruckner's instruction at bar 163. In German, it says : It is necessary to perform the melody by the same rhythm sense as « alla breve » , till then. However, the tempo should be made slower.

...

The 1878 version is the version normally performed. It exists in editions by Robert Haas (published 1935) and Leopold Nowak (published 1951) which are almost identical.

The 1896 1st published version, which was also the version heard at the work's premiere, was edited by Franz Schalk.

It is unclear exactly how much of the difference between the 1878 and 1896 versions was due to Bruckner and how much to Schalk, but it is generally agreed that most of the changes were unapproved by Bruckner and inauthentic. Schalk generally made Bruckner's music sound more Wagnerian, mainly by means of re-orchestration. The most obvious differences occur in the Coda of the Finale. In the last few pages, Schalk adds triangle and cymbals, and an offstage brass band. Schalk also made several cuts, mostly in the Finale.

The only recordings of this version are by Hans Knappertsbusch, Leon Botstein and Takeo Noguchi, together with the recording premiere of the Scherzo by Dol Dauber. All other recordings are of 1878 version in either the Robert Haas or Leopold Nowak edition.

...

Original version composed from February 1875 to May 1876. The later revision was made on the same score, so it is not possible to recover this original version, although Robert Haas provided some indications to this effect.

1878 version : A thorough revision was concluded in November 1878. The Robert Haas (1935) and Leopold Nowak (1952) editions of this version don't present any significant difference between them.

Revised version made in 1892-1894 by Franz Schalk and employed in the 1st performance of the work in Graz, on April 8, 1894. It was published in 1896 by Ludwig Döblinger (1st Edition of the work) . Bruckner had very little to do with this revision, that introduces large cuts especially in the Finale.

...

Anton Bruckner composed his Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major at a difficult time in his life and it seemed dogged by ill luck. Apart from his unfinished 9th, it was the only one of his Symphonies which Bruckner never heard performed by an orchestra, though in 1887, more than a decade after its completion, he did hear it played in a version for 2 pianos by Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann in Vienna. The sole orchestral performance in his lifetime took place in Graz, in 1894, under the baton of his pupil Franz Schalk, but the composer was too ill to attend. Schalk supervised its 1st publication in 1896, shortly before Bruckner's death, and Bruckner was presumably too ill to protest at Schalk's drastic re-orchestration of many passages (introducing an off-stage brass band at the end !) and equally insensitive cuts - 122 bars removed from the middle of the Finale, for instance. The 1st Viennese performance (of Schalk's version) occurred in 1898 under Ferdinand Löwe, and was fairly well received ; the work slowly made its way into the repertoire, but Bruckner's authentic score was not published until 1937, in an edition by Robert Haas. (The later, 1951 edition by Leopold Nowak is essentially a re-publication of Haas.) Nowadays, the 5th is regarded as one of Bruckner's supreme Symphonic achievements, ranking with the last 3 Symphonies (7, 8, 9) for intensity of expression and « grandeur » of architecture.

Bruckner began writing the 5th Symphony in February 1875, soon after he had drafted his 4th Symphony, the « Romantic » . He began by composing the Adagio 2nd movement. He was currently in difficult and depressing

circumstances. He much regretted his move from Linz to the sophisticated Imperial capital, Vienna, where he found it hard to fit-in socially and seemed unable to attract much attention to his music. He was anxious, too, about a legal action that had been brought against him by 2 female piano pupils who felt he had behaved insultingly towards them (this seems to have been the result of misunderstandings - Bruckner would eventually be exonerated by the court) . He had, thus, been limited to male piano pupils and this piano-teaching job, at a Viennese seminary, was, in any case, about to be abolished ; reduced to his meagre teaching salary from the Vienna « Konservatorium » , he was forced to borrow money. His correspondence of the time shows him in low spirits, and the plangent oboe theme of the Adagio, probably the 1st idea he drafted for the work, may well have the force of a personal cry from the depths.

The whole Symphony was completed by May 1876, but that original version is lost ; Bruckner revised the work, to some extent, over the next 2 years, writing a new score, and it is this 1878 score which remains the sole source for the music. Symphony No. 5, therefore, unlike Symphonies Nos. 1 to 4, does not exist in a number of competing versions in which the actual musical substance varies. Bruckner dedicated the work to Karl Ritter von Stremayr, who was then Minister of Public Instruction (Minister of Education) for the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the government of Prince Adolf von Auersperg.

All Bruckner's Symphonies are large, and the epithet « monumental » arises naturally in any discussion of them. But the 5th is larger than any Symphony Bruckner had written before and, in it, his disposition of his materials, the broad forms of the 4 movements and the way that he uses the orchestra all deserve, in addition, to be described as architectural. Like a huge Gothic cathedral, the work appears to tower above its listeners and to be built with a rock-like solidity. As in the vaulting, inter-weaving and rhythmic disposition of the great stone masses of a cathedral, this is the Symphony which shows at its most intense Bruckner's sovereign Mastery of counterpoint, in the predominantly polyphonic textures of the 1st 3 movements and in the massive fugue with chorale which forms the bulk of the Finale. Here (though in wholly authentic orchestral guise) , we hear the long experience Bruckner had gained in the contrapuntal arts as a virtuoso church organist.

The 5th is also unique in other ways. The fugal Finale is Bruckner's only Symphonic Finale of this kind. Moreover, Bruckner was clearly concerned in this Symphony, to an unusual degree, with securing unity among the movements. Not only does the Finale begin by quoting the themes of the 3 preceding movements, and include a cyclic recall of a 1st movement theme at its climax, but the 1st movement and Finale (which are both in B-flat major) begin with the same music, while the 2nd and 3rd movements (which are both in D minor) begin with the same accompanimental triplet figure in the strings - creating a kind of tonal-thematic « arch-form » .

Finally, Symphony No. 5 is the only Symphony by Bruckner to open with a formal introduction, rather than (as in most of his other Symphonies) a few prelude, scene-setting bars. Marked Adagio, this introduction begins with a steady falling, then rising pizzicato bass, above which violins and violas open-out into reverential harmony. A sudden fortissimo unison idea rears-up convulsively on full orchestra, only to be countered by stern, majestic harmony in the full brass choir. These 2 elements are repeated. The tempo quickens, with a prominent dotted-note figure, then reverts to Adagio for a 3rd, climactic statement of the brass passage, this time on full orchestra. This highly-unusual introduction, with

several opposing ideas frowning at each other in stark juxtaposition, already suggests the architectural qualities of the whole work, and it concludes with bird-like calls exchanged between solo horn and flute.

The main Allegro movement now sets in with a restless theme on violins and cellos. Moving to the dominant, F, Bruckner next expounds a long, anxious violin theme against a pizzicato accompaniment recalling the movement's very opening. A warmer and more lyrical theme appears in D-flat on the woodwind, and a fortissimo ostinato figure arises from the bass and takes command of the powerful orchestral tutti that ensues. This large exposition closes in F, and the development begins with the music of the Introduction returning, once more Adagio, but now in C major and with the violin / viola music flowering on the horns above the pizzicato bass. The dramatically opposed ideas are heard again in combination with the 1st subject of the Allegro, and the materials of both introduction and exposition are then intertwined as the development continues in magnificently dramatic fashion. This drives to an equally dramatic recapitulation in which the tonal relations and connexions of the various constituents are drastically re-thought, and then the Coda opens with the movement's initial pizzicato idea speeded-up to Allegro tempo. The tonic B-flat major, in which the movement had opened, is not fully and unequivocally established until the serenely but massively confident closing bars.

The mood of Bruckner's slow movements tends to be Romantic, elegiac or devotional ; but the Adagio 2nd movement of Symphony No. 5 is for much of its length austere, withdrawn, enigmatic. The form of the movement is simple : 2 contrasted sections, both repeated with modifications, the 1st recurring, yet, another time to form both climax and Coda. Like the 1st movement, the Adagio begins with a pizzicato pattern - but this, in 6 even triplets to a bar, creates a mysterious cross-rhythm with the 2/2 time of the dolce oboe theme, a melody of exquisite pathetic refinement. Cold, grey, and questing, this intricately woven music is suddenly balanced by the warm C major of the contrasting section, its broadly singing, almost hymn-like main melody led-off by the full strings. The 2nd occurrence of the 1st section creates a sonorous climax, after which the string melody makes a beautiful 2nd appearance, in D. Shimmering violin figuration enfolds the last appearance of the main section, which after reaching an expressive high-point fades-out rather sinisterly, dying away over pizzicati that no longer cause cross-rhythms.

The Scherzo gives the impression of enormous muscular strength, and in its contrapuntal dexterity and rhythmic impulse foreshadows the Rondo-Burleske movement of Gustav Mahler's 9th Symphony. It is, however, like all Bruckner's Scherzos, a miniature sonata-form. The fast 3/4 dance in staccato strings, which opens it, is, in fact, a transformation of the Adagio's slow pizzicato accompaniment. The 1st subject, on woodwind, has a kind of cold insouciant « élan » ; the 2nd, slightly slower, is an Austrian « Ländler » , a gay but slow heavy waltz, led-off by the strings. Both subjects are developed in a wild dance that climaxes in triumphant repetitions of the chord of D major. The Trio, in the same tempo, then begins in B-flat, at 1st on woodwinds obstinately punctuated by horn. This bucolic dance is whimsical, almost Mendelssohnian music, despite a rough interruption from the trombone shortly before the end. The Scherzo is then reprised verbatim.

Like the 1st movement, the Finale has an Adagio introduction - and, indeed, as mentioned above, it opens with the exact same music as that with which the Symphony began. Just as the introduction to the 1st movement juxtaposes contrasting ideas, so does this one : but the ideas are the principal themes of the 1st and 2nd movements. These are

passed in review and found wanting (Bruckner, no doubt, got this idea from the start of the Finale of Beethoven's 9th Symphony) : each is greeted and dismissed by a single quizzical 6 note phrase from a solo clarinet, falling an octave and, then, rising again. After the reappearance of the pathetic oboe theme from the 2nd movement, 2 clarinets in unison give-out this 6 note phrase, which forthwith reveals itself as the opening figure in a hard-bitten fugue subject that starts-up in cellos and basses. The main movement, however, is a fusion of fugue with sonata-form, and the fugue-subject, which is presented in a full fugal exposition, corresponds to the sonata 1st subject.

The fugal exposition breaks-off, and a (non-fugal) lyric theme in D-flat (the movement's 2nd subject) is announced by the violins. A tempestuous transition, based on the falling-octave figure, leads to a grandiose brass chorale, softly echoed by strings, after which the 1st part of the movement closes seraphically on pianissimo strings and timpani. The development section then begins, and proves to be a fully worked-out double fugue in which the chorale theme, shorn now of its brass harmony, is the 1st theme, while the trenchant subject derived from the 6 note figure is the 2nd.

The fugue is developed with staggering contrapuntal skill and dramatic instinct. At its climax, the 2 subjects are combined by full orchestra, and this proves also to be the beginning of a recapitulation. The lyrical theme returns in F, followed, again, by the stormy transition, within which we now hear the 1st subject from the Symphony's 1st movement - another unexpected means by which Bruckner binds the whole edifice into a self-consistent and self-reflecting design. In the Coda, the music builds-up irresistibly on the basis of the 1st fugue subject, with other ideas played-off against it, until the mighty chorale strides in, in majestic augmentation, fully harmonised on the brass, against the rhythms of the 1st subject, to clinch Bruckner's Symphonic argument in terms so glorious and so seemingly inevitable that they can brook no opposition.

...

Anton Bruckner composed his 5th Symphony between 14 February 1875 and 16 May 1876, only to revise it between May 1877 and 4 January 1878 ; he continued to make sporadic changes to it through 1887. Despite all that, in the case of this Symphony, and, in contrast to the 1st 4 and the 8th of his numbered Symphonies, there is only one version that issued from Bruckner's pen. Bruckner heard it only once and, then, only in a 2 piano arrangement by Josef Schalk (1857-1900) . This provisional premiere, as it were, took place in Vienna, on 20 April 1887 - with Schalk and Franz Zottmann (1858-1909) as pianists - and was received with enthusiasm by the public. Because of the work's difficulty and length, its accession into the orchestral repertoire remained out of the question for quite some time. As it was, Bruckner allowed the performance of Schalk's arrangement only after several grueling rehearsals, and the memoirs of Friedrich Klose (1862-1942) , who attended them, strikingly contradict the typical image of Bruckner as a timid, modest person who could be easily persuaded to act against his own interests. The arrangement Schalk prepared for this concert has been lost, but probably corresponded to Bruckner's own (and final) version of the work.

It was only in 1894 that the 5th Symphony appeared for the 1st time in an orchestra concert, namely in Graz, where Josef Schalk's younger brother Franz (1863-1931) , also a Bruckner pupil, was music-director of the « Theater am Stadtpark » there. In the mammoth Bruckner biography that appeared between 1922 and 1937 - begun by August Göllerich junior (1859-1923) , and largely the product of Max Auer (1880-1962) - Auer reports that Schalk added a

choir of brass at the end of the Finale because the regular brass players « were physically no longer able to project the hitherto unimaginable intensifications toward the end of the Finale » . According to Auer, Bruckner approved of the addition himself, which is possible, although documentary evidence to this effect does not exist. It is also impossible to determine whether, during the preparation of the premiere, Schalk made the numerous additional changes to the score that appeared in its 1st printing. In any case, the premiere of the 5th Symphony, on 9 April 1894, was a huge success, with « jubilant applause that would not end » after each movement. A gratifying confirmation for a composer who lay near death, in Vienna, and a great honour for a provincial city - but not quite the beginning of a triumphal procession through the world's concert halls. In the following year, Ferdinand Löwe (1863-1925) conducted the work in Budapest, where it « remained quite uncomprehended » , quite possibly further evidence that Bruckner's musical world was hardly a universal one.

Only upon the overwhelming success of a performance in Vienna by the Kaim Orchestra of Munich (the predecessor of the Munich Philharmonic) under Ferdinand Löwe's direction, on 1 March 1898, did the 5th Symphony set firm foot in the musical world of German-speaking Europe. To be sure, the 4th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Symphonies remained the ones most performed but, from that point on, the 5th Symphony did not lack for significant performances. 3 years later, it even received its 1st American performance (in Boston, on 27 September 1901) and, in 1931, Bruno Walter began his life-long occupation with the Symphonies of Bruckner by stepping-in, on behalf of Franz Schalk who had taken ill, to conduct this Symphony at the « Salzburger Festspiele » .

Prior to the 1st performance of the original version of the 5th Symphony by the Vienna Philharmonic, on 28 October 1935 - the conductor was Siegmund von Hausegger (1872-1948) who, 3 years earlier, had demonstrated, for the 1st time, the artistic superiority of Bruckner's own versions by performing the original version of the 9th Symphony - the Schalk version remained the only available one in print. In 1896, 2 years after its premiere, the Schalk version was published by Ludwig Döblinger in Vienna, 1st in an arrangement for piano, 4 hands (D. 2062, by his brother Josef) and, shortly thereafter, in orchestral score (D. 2080) . Later piano arrangements, also published by Döblinger - for piano, 2 hands by August Stradal (1860-1930) , 1903 ; for 2 pianos, 8 hands by Heinrich von Bocklet (1850-1926) , also 1903 - were also based on Schalk's version.

Compared with Bruckner's own version of the Symphony, Schalk's proves to have frequent and form-disfiguring cuts - most catastrophically in the Finale, the length of which is reduced by almost 25 %. Many passages were re-orchestrated and, in extreme cases (e.g. , at the beginning of the Finale) , even recomposed. In contrast to the version of the 9th Symphony produced by Ferdinand Löwe, or the one of the 4th Symphony by Löwe and Franz Schalk, the latter's work on the 5th Symphony does not seem to follow any particular desire to « Wagnerize » Bruckner's sound world. In fact, the alterations often seem to be simply unmotivated, except perhaps by a desire to simplify the work. This process of simplification affects not just its length and complexity but its affective world as well. Consider the concluding peroration of the Finale : Bruckner conceived it as a chorale prelude in which the weight of the brass is balanced by string parts that, in their lively figurations, add an astonishing lightness, even weightlessness, to the overall impression. Here, as so often in Bruckner, one recognizes him as a true inheritor of the Franz Schubert legacy. Bass tuba and low-string contribute a hint of march character, but their dotted anapests are held in check by the dotted dactyls in the woodwinds. This singularly proficient balancing act (which, unfortunately, escapes the notice of most of

the conductors of the work) is flatted over in the Schalk version until only the march remains, and served-up with the coarsest martial trappings (piccolo trills, extra percussion) besides.

Why, then, re-introduce this by no means authentic and, in part artistically miscarried version, to public attention ? One justification should be convincing to all reasonable observers : even though the Schalk version is authentic, it was still the true and only experience of the work that the listening public had for more than 40 years. To wish it away would be an inhuman act of history cleansing. Recently, other voices in the musical world have found other reasons to not only save it from obscurity but even to promote it. We now know, for instance, that Bruckner did not always accept the changes made by Ferdinand Löwe and the Schalk brothers with reluctance, and that the ideal versions of several works of Bruckner's will, forever, remain mirages. But more ominously : several of the representatives of the Brucknerian « ad fontes » movement were motivated by German nationalist cultural-political attitudes, and worse ones besides ; and we now know, beyond all doubt, as Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt observes, that critical editions of Bruckner's music were produced, in part, in order to cleanse them (so to speak) of the influence of « hyper-cultivated city dwellers » , to use Max Auer's turn of phrase, by which he meant : « Jews » . (One should also admit that, even in the « critical editions » of the Bruckner Society, editorial decisions were made according to judgments motivated by personal taste ; the version of the 8th Symphony by Robert Haas (1886-1960) is probably the most notable example of this. A shame, because Haas' intrusions are, for the most part, musically sensible ones. In any case, the 2 critical editions of this 5th Symphony - by Haas (1935) and the post-War edition (1951) by Leopold Nowak (1904-1991) - are nearly perfectly identical. It should go without saying that Bruckner is hardly guilty of the misuse of his music long after his death, and one should also admit that not every proponent of textual authenticity was a German nationalist or a Nazi. Striving for authenticity was, after all, a leading characteristic of modernism. To regard a performance of the Schalk version as a kind of « denazification » (as James Östreich does, in a 1995 essay in the « New York Times ») is, to put it mildly, perverse ; and Bryan Gilliams's suggestion that the Schalk version moves Bruckner's thought world away from Richard Wagner and toward Franz Schubert is, at best, an act of revisionism for revisionism's sake.

Recordings of the Schalk version of the 5th Symphony are easy enough to find. In contrast to other conductors, Hans Knappertsbusch (1888-1965) always held fast to the inauthentic versions of the Symphonies, and 2 of his performances are artistically particularly noteworthy : a 1956 studio recording for « Decca » with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra (re-edited on CD, in 1995, as « Decca » : 448 582) , and a concert performance, from 19 March 1959, with the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra (released by several companies, but best heard on « Music & Arts » : 1028, 1998 ; or « Music & Arts » : 1105, 2002) . In the digital era, the American conductor, musicologist, promoter of out-of-the-way repertoire and College President Leon Botstein has recorded, in 1998, the Schalk version of the 5th Symphony with the London Philharmonic Orchestra (on « Telarc » : 80509) .

...

Anton Bruckner composed his 5th Symphony, between 1875 and 1878. During this period, in the face of stern opposition from Eduard Hanslick, he was vying for and eventually appointed to a post as lecturer in harmony and counterpoint at the University of Vienna. It has been speculated that his particular concern with these learned musical

matters at this time explains the often extreme contrapuntal textures in the Symphony - especially, the massive double fugue of the Finale.

Bruckner only heard his 5th Symphony performed on 2 pianos. He was too sick to attend the orchestral premiere under the baton of his student, Franz Schalk, in Graz on 8 April, 1894. For the performance Schalk had prepared a much abbreviated new score with a massive re-orchestration including the addition of an extra brass ensemble to accompany the chorale in the Coda of the last movement. This score was printed by Ludwig Döblinger, in 1896, and remained in use until 1935 when Robert Haas published the « Original Version » as it is preserved in the autograph manuscript. Because the editors of the new score were able to demonstrate that Bruckner was not involved in preparations for 1896 edition, the 5th Symphony was held-up as conclusive evidence that the manuscript versions more accurately represented Bruckner's intentions and were, therefore, far superior to the 1st prints. Even though, as research has since shown, the evidence is not nearly so conclusive for many of his other works, the new edition of the 5th Symphony served as a prototype of the « pure » Bruckner score. By extension, according to Christa Brüstle, it became a musical symbol of uncontaminated « innate (German) artistic genius » perfectly suited for National-Socialist propaganda of the 1930's. The new score was performed after the consecration ceremony in Regensburg, in 1937, and again, that same year, at the closing of the Nazi Party convention. Schalk's version has all but disappeared.

At least, one major conductor, Hans Knappertsbusch, refused to learn the work any other way, continuing to perform the Schalk version until his death, in 1965. Referring to the Finale which he heard only in this version, the music-critic Theodor Helm wrote :

« Not Bach, not Beethoven, not Wagner had such an inspiration. It is as though the genius of these 3 Masters has been remolded into a new artistic personality which could be none other than Anton Bruckner. »

...

Anton Bruckner komponierte seine Sinfonie Nr. 5 B-Dur in einem schwierigen Lebensabschnitt, und das Werk schien, vom Pech verfolgt zu werden. Von seiner unvollendeten Neunten abgesehen, war die Fünfte die einzige seiner Sinfonien, die er nie in einer Orchesteraufführung erlebte, und erst 1887, mehr als ein Jahrzehnt nach der Vollendung, wohnte er in Wien einer ersten Darbietung bei - und auch dann nur in einer Fassung für zwei Klaviere, mit Josef Schalk und Franz Zottmann. Die einzige Orchesteraufführung zu seinen Lebzeiten fand 1894 in Graz unter der Leitung seines Schülers Franz Schalk statt, doch inzwischen war die Gesundheit des Komponisten so stark angegriffen, daß er dem Konzert fernbleiben mußte. Auch versagten ihm wohl die Kräfte, um die drastischen Eingriffe Schalks in die Partitur zu verhindern, und die von diesem besorgte Erstausgabe im Jahre 1896, kurz vor Bruckners Tod, wurde durch die unangemessene Neuorchestrierung vieler Passagen (zum Schluß mit einem getrennten Bläserchor hinter der Bühne !) und ebenso ungebührliche Kürzungen (etwa die Streichung von 122 Takten in der Mitte des Finales) entstellt. Die erste Wiener Aufführung (natürlich in der Fassung Schalks) folgte 1898 unter der Leitung Ferdinand Löwes und wurde wohlwollend aufgenommen ; mit der Zeit setzte sich das Werk im Repertoire durch, obwohl die authentische Partitur Bruckners, von Robert Haas redigiert, erst 1937 veröffentlicht wurde. (Die Version Leopold Nowaks von 1951 ist wenig mehr als eine Neuauflage der Haas-Ausgabe.) Heute gilt die Fünfte als eine der herausragenden sinfonischen Leistungen Bruckners, seinen letzten drei Sinfonien (Nr. 7-9) in der Intensität des Ausdrucks und der Erhabenheit ihrer Architektur

durchaus ebenbürtig.

Nicht lange nach Abschluß der Urfassung seiner vierten Sinfonie, der Romantischen, nahm Bruckner im Februar 1875 die Arbeit an seiner Fünften auf. Er begann mit dem Adagio, dem zweiten Satz. Die Umstände waren schwierig und deprimierend. Sein Übersiedeln von Linz nach Wien bedauerte er inzwischen als Torheit, denn in der kultivierten Hauptstadt der Donaumonarchie hatte er es schwer, sich gesellschaftlich einzufügen und mit seiner Musik Anklang zu finden. Zudem entnervte es ihn, daß ihn zwei Klavierschülerinnen wegen beleidigenden Verhaltens angezeigt hatten (allem Anschein nach ein Missverständnis - Bruckner wurde später vor Gericht freigesprochen) . Seine Kontakte waren deshalb auf männliche Klavierschüler beschränkt, und zudem stand ihm die Streichung seiner Hilfslehrerstelle an einer Wiener Lehrerbildungsanstalt bevor ; auf sein mageres Salär vom Wiener Konservatorium reduziert, war er gezwungen, sich zu verschulden. Seine Briefe aus dieser Zeit stehen im Zeichen der Depression, und das klagende Oboenthema des Adagios, wahrscheinlich als erste Idee für das Werk zu Papier gebracht, mag sehr wohl ein Schrei aus tiefer Not gewesen sein.

Im Mai 1876 lag die Sinfonie bereits vollständig vor, obwohl diese Originalfassung heute verschollen ist ; Bruckner unterzog das Werk über die nächsten zwei Jahre hinweg einer Überarbeitung, deren Resultat (die Partitur von 1878) uns als einzige Quelle erhalten ist. Die Sinfonie Nr. 5 wirft also im Gegensatz zu den Sinfonien Nr. 1-4 das Dilemma rivalisierender Fassungen mit unterschiedlicher musikalischer Substanz nicht auf. Bruckner widmete das Werk dem damaligen Minister für Cultus und Unterricht, Karl Ritter von Stremayr, in der österreichischen Regierung des Fürsten Adolf von Auersperg.

Alle Sinfonien Bruckners sind mächtig, sodass sich bei jeder Betrachtung das Attribut « monumental » geradezu aufdrängt. Aber die Fünfte ist mächtiger als alle seine vorherigen Sinfonien, und der Verarbeitung ihrer Mittel, der ausladenden Gestaltung der vier Sätze und der Nutzung der Orchesterkräfte verdankt sie auch den Begriff « architektonisch » . Wie eine riesige gotische Kathedrale scheint sich das Werk über seinen Hörern zu erheben, felsenfest erbaut. So wie die Wölbungen, Verflechtungen und rhythmischen Gefüge der überwältigenden Steinmassen einer Kathedrale bringt diese Sinfonie auf intensivste Weise Bruckners meisterhafte Beherrschung des Kontrapunkt zum Ausdruck - ob in den überwiegend polyphonen Strukturen der ersten drei Sätze oder der massiven Fuge mit Choral, die den Hauptteil des Finales bildet. Hier vermittelt uns Bruckner in durch und durch authentischem Orchestergewand seine lange Erfahrung in der Kontrapunktkunst eines Orgelvirtuosen.

Die Fünfte ist auch in anderer Hinsicht bemerkenswert. Das Fugenfinale ist Bruckners einziger sinfonischer Finalsatz dieser Art. Überdies war Bruckner bei dieser Sinfonie mit besonderer Sorgfalt auf die Geschlossenheit der Sätze bedacht. Nicht nur beginnt das Finale damit, daß es die Themen der drei vorausgegangenen Sätze zitiert und auf seinem Höhepunkt ein Thema des Kopfsatzes in sich steigert, sondern durch die Ecksätze (beide in B-Dur) mit der gleichen musikalischen Anfangsbehandlung und die Mittelsätze (beide in D-Moll) mit der gleichen begleitenden Triolenfigur der Streicher wird ein fester Rahmen geschaffen, eine (wenn man so will) tonal-thematische Bogenstruktur.

Nicht zuletzt ist die Fünfte die einzige Bruckner-Sinfonie mit einer formalen Einleitung, während man von seinen Sinfonien sonst nur einige präludische Takte gewohnt ist. Unter der Bezeichnung Adagio beginnt diese Einleitung mit

einem gleichmäßig ab- und aufsteigenden Basspizzicato, über dem sich Violinen und Bratschen in ehrfurchtsvoller Harmonie offenbaren. Plötzlich konstatiert das volle Orchester fortissimo und konvulsiv ein Unisonothema, dem der Blechbläserchor geschlossen mit strenger, majestätischer Harmonie entgegentritt. Diese beiden Elemente werden wiederholt. Das Tempo beschleunigt sich mit einer markanten, punktierten Figur, bevor es sich zum ursprünglichen Adagio beruhigt und die Blechbläserpassage (nun durch das volle Orchester) ihre dritte, gewichtigste Erklärung findet. Diese höchst ungewöhnliche Einleitung, mit ihren verschiedenen widersprüchlichen Themen in krasser Gegenüberstellung, lässt bereits die architektonischen Qualitäten des Gesamtwerks erkennen und klingt mit Vogelrufen zwischen Solohorn und Flöte aus.

Nun beginnt der eigentliche Allegro-Satz mit einem unruhigen Thema auf den Violinen und Cellos. Bruckner wechselt nach F-Dur, zur Dominante, und legt ein langes, banges Violinthema mit einer Pizzicato-Begleitung dar, die an den Anfang des Satzes erinnert. Ein wärmeres, lyrischeres Thema erklingt in Des-Dur bei den Holzbläsern, und fortissimo erhebt sich eine ostinate Bassfigur, um das folgende mächtige Orchestertutti zu bestimmen. Diese große Exposition schließt in F-Dur, und die Durchführung beginnt mit der Wiederaufnahme der Einleitungsmusik, wobei die Violin- und Bratschenstimmen (erneut Adagio) diesmal in C-Dur von den Hörnern über dem Basspizzicato vorgetragen werden. Die dramatisch kontrastierenden Themen erklingen erneut in Verbindung mit dem Hauptthema des Allegros, und dann werden die Gedanken sowohl der Einleitung als auch der Exposition eingeflochten, während die Durchführung auf herrlich fesselnde Weise voranschreitet. Hieraus ergibt sich eine ebenso dramatische Reprise, in der die tonalen Beziehungen und Verbindungen der verschiedenen Elemente von Grund auf neu durchdacht werden, bevor die Koda mit dem anfänglichen, nun zum Allegro beschleunigten Pizzicatothema einsetzt. Die vollständige Rückkehr zur Tonika B-Dur, in der dieser Satz begonnen hatte, wird erst mit den erhabenen, triumphalen Schlußakkorden unmissverständlich deklamiert.

Die langsamen Sätze Bruckners sind in der Regel romantisch, elegisch oder andächtig gestimmt ; im Gegensatz dazu gibt sich das Adagio der Fünften als zweiter Satz über weite Strecken enthaltsam, verschlossen, enigmatisch. Der Satz hat eine schlichte Form : zwei kontrastierende Sektionen, die beide mit Modifikationen wiederholt werden, wobei der erste Abschnitt dann noch einmal aufgegriffen wird, um Höhepunkt und Koda zu bilden. Ebenso wie der Kopfsatz beginnt auch das Adagio mit einem Pizzicatoschema, das jedoch mit seinen sechs gleichen Triolen pro Takt einen mysteriösen Gegenrhythmus zu dem 2 / 2-Takt des dolce gespielten Oboenthemas erzeugt, einer exquisiten, ergreifenden und vergeistigten Melodie. Kalt, grau und forschend begegnet diese kunstvoll gewirkte Musik plötzlich dem warmen C-Dur der Kontrastsektion, deren weitherzig singendes, nahezu hymnisches Hauptthema von der vollen Streichergruppe eingeleitet wird. Der Wiederauftritt der ersten Sektion bildet einen klangvollen Höhepunkt, dem sich das Streicherthema noch einmal wunderschön in D-Dur anschließt. Schimmernde Violinfiguren umschließen das letzte Erscheinen der Hauptsektion, die nach einer expressiven Krönung unheilvoll ausklingt, während die untermalenden Pizzicati ihren Gegenrhythmus aufgeben.

Das Scherzo vermittelt den Eindruck kraftvoller Stärke und lässt in kontrapunktischer Gewandheit und rhythmischem Trieb bereits die Rondo-Burleske von Gustav Mahlers Neunter vorausahnen. Wie bei all seinen Scherzos folgt Bruckner aber auch hier der Form eines Miniaturhauptsatzes. Das von den Holzbläsern vorgetragene Hauptthema hat einen gewissen kalten, sorglosen Elan ; das etwas langsamer gehaltene Nebenthema ist ein österreichischer Ländler, ein

munterer aber schwerer Walzer, angeführt von den Streichern. Beide Themen entwickeln sich in einem wilden Tanz, der auf seinem Gipfel mit einem wiederholten D-Dur-Akkord triumphiert. Unter Anleitung der hartnäckig vom Horn akzentuierten Holzbläser präsentiert sich daraufhin im selben Tempo das Trio in B-Dur. Dieser bukolische Tanz erinnert in seiner Launigkeit an Mendelssohn, obwohl er kurz vor dem Ende von der Posaune barsch unterbrochen wird. Es folgt eine genaue Rekapitulation des Scherzos.

Ebenso wie der Kopfsatz weist auch das Finale eine Adagio-Einleitung auf - und wie bereits erwähnt, greift es die Anfangsmusik der Sinfonie getreu auf. Dem Beispiel der Einleitung zum Kopfsatz folgend, werden auch hier gegensätzliche Themen miteinander konfrontiert, wobei es sich in diesem Fall um die Hauptthemen der ersten beiden Sätze handelt. Der Stoff wird untersucht und für unzulänglich befunden (Bruckner orientiert sich dabei zweifellos am Beginn des Finales von Beethovens Neunter) : Jedes Thema wird von der Soloklarinette mit einer zweifelnden Sechsen-Phrasen-Phrase, die um eine Oktave abfällt und wieder aufsteigt, zunächst begrüßt, dann aber abgelehnt. Nach dem Wiederauftritt des ergreifenden Oboenthemas aus dem zweiten Satz stimmen zwei Klarinetten unisono diese Sechsen-Phrasen-Phrase an, die sich nunmehr als die Eröffnungsfigur eines nachhaltigen, aus den Cellos und Kontrabässen aufsteigenden Fugenthemas erweist. Der Hauptsatz ist jedoch eine Fusion aus Fugen- und Sonatenform, und das Fugenthema, das in einer vollen Fugenexposition vorgestellt wird, entspricht dem Hauptthema des Sonatensatzes.

Die Fugenexposition bricht ab, und ein (nicht-fugales) lyrisches Thema in Des-Dur (das Nebenthema des Satzes) wird von den Violinen vorgetragen. Eine stürmische Überleitung, basierend auf der abfallenden Oktavenfigur, führt zu einem grandiosen Blechbläserchoral, der von den Streichern weich wiederholt wird ; danach bringen die Streicher und Pauken auf engelhafte Weise den ersten Teil des Satzes pianissimo zum Abschluß. Die folgende Durchführung erweist sich als vollentwickelte Doppelfuge, in der das Choralthema (nun von der Blechbläserharmonie befreit) als Hauptthema auftritt, während das pointierte, aus der Sechsen-Phrasen-Figur abgeleitete Motiv die Rolle des Nebenthemas übernimmt.

Die Fuge ist mit erstaunlichem kontrapunktischen Geschick und dramatischen Instinkt ausgearbeitet. Auf ihrem Höhepunkt verbinden sich die beiden Themen im vollen Orchester, und dieser Moment markiert auch den Beginn einer Reprise. Das lyrische Thema kehrt in F-Dur zurück, abermals gefolgt von einer stürmischen Überleitung, aus der wir jetzt das Hauptthema des Kopfsatzes heraushören - ein weiterer unerwarteter Kunstgriff, mit dem Bruckner die Gesamtstruktur zu einer in sich schlüssigen und reflektierenden Konstruktion bindet. In der Koda baut sich die Musik auf der Basis des ersten Fugenthemas unaufhaltsam auf, von anderen Ideen ergänzt und konfrontiert, bis der mächtige Choral (majestätisch vergrößert und im Blech voll harmonisiert) über den Rhythmen des Hauptthemas ertönt, um die sinfonische Argumentation Bruckners auf derart glorreiche und zwingende Weise abzusichern, daß kein Widerspruch möglich ist.

...

Anton Bruckner hat seine Fünfte Symphonie zwischen 14. Februar 1875 und 16. Mai 1876 komponiert, zwischen Mai 1877 und 4. Januar 1878 umgearbeitet, und bis 1887 sporadisch weiter geändert. Trotzdem liegt in diesem Fall (und im Gegensatz zu den ersten vier und der achten seiner nummerierten Symphonien) nur eine einzige von Bruckner

stammende Fassung vor. Bruckner hat sie nur einmal gehört, und zwar in einer Bearbeitung für zwei Klaviere von Josef Schalk (1857-1900). Diese sozusagen vorläufige Uraufführung fand am 20. April 1887 in Wien vor einem begeisterten Publikum statt, gespielt haben Josef Schalk und Franz Zottmann (1858-1909). Wegen der Länge und Schwierigkeit der Symphonie stand ihre Aufnahme ins Orchesterprogramm noch lange danach in Frage. So erlaubte der Komponist die öffentliche Aufführung von Schalks Bearbeitung erst nach vielen langwierigen Proben, und die Erinnerungen von Friedrich Klose (1862-1942), der dieser beiwohnte, widersprechen auf erstaunliche Weise dem typischen Bild von Bruckner als schüchternem, bescheidenen Menschen, der sich leicht gegen die eigenen Interessen überreden ließ. Die Bearbeitung, die Schalk für dieses Konzert fertigstellte, gilt heute als verschollen, entsprach aber wohl Bruckners eigener, endgültiger Fassung des Werks.

Erst 1894 erklang die Fünfte Symphonie zum ersten Mal in einem Orchesterkonzert, und zwar in Graz, wo Josef Schalks jüngerer Bruder Franz (1863-1931), ebenfalls ein Schüler Bruckners, Kapellmeister des Grazer « Theaters am Stadtpark » war. In der 1922 von August Göllerich Junior (1859-1923) begonnenen, weitgehend von Max Auer (1880-1962) verfassten und 1937 abgeschlossene Mammutbiografie des Komponisten berichtet Auer, Schalk habe am Ende des Finale einen zusätzlichen Bläserchor einsetzen lassen, weil die übrigen Bläser « gegen Schluss des Finale physisch nicht mehr imstande waren, die unerhörten Steigerungen herauszubringen ». Bruckner habe sogar (so Auer) seine Einwilligung dazu gegeben. Das ist durchaus möglich, es fehlen freilich entsprechende Beweise. Es lässt sich auch nicht feststellen, ob Schalk schon während der Vorbereitung auf die Uraufführung die zahlreichen weiteren Änderungen unternahm, die im Erstdruck der Partitur erscheinen. Auf jeden Fall erlebte die Uraufführung der Fünften Symphonie am 9. April 1894 einen großartigen Erfolg, mit « jubelndem, nicht endenwollendem Beifall » nach jedem Satz. Eine erfreuliche Bestätigung für einen Komponisten, der in Wien sterbensnah lag, und eine große Ehre für eine Provinzstadt - aber nicht gerade der Anfang eines Siegeszugs durch die Konzertsäle der Welt. Im folgenden Jahr dirigierte Ferdinand Löwe (1863-1925) das Werk in Budapest, wo es « ziemlich unverstanden blieb », möglicherweise ein weiterer Beweis dafür, daß damals Bruckners musikalisches Welt alles andere als universell galt.

Erst beim überwältigenden Erfolg einer Aufführung des Münchner Kaim-Orchesters (dem Vorgänger der heutigen Münchner Philharmoniker) unter der Leitung von Löwe in Wien am 1. März 1898 hat die Fünfte Symphonie in der deutschsprachigen Musikwelt richtig Fuß gefaßt. Zwar blieben die Vierte, Siebte, Achte, und Neunte Symphonien die meistgespielten, aber es fehlte seitdem nicht an bedeutenden Aufführungen. Drei Jahre später wurde die Fünfte Symphonie in den USA zum ersten Mal aufgeführt (27. September 1901, Boston), und 1931 hat Bruno Walter mit diesem Werk seine lebenslange Beschäftigung mit den Symphonien Bruckners begonnen, als er bei den Salzburger Festspielen für den erkrankten Franz Schalk einsprang.

Bis zur Uraufführung der Originalfassung am 28. Oktober 1935 durch die Wiener Philharmoniker - dirigiert hat Sigmund von Hausegger (1872-1948), der drei Jahre vorher mit seiner Uraufführung der Originalfassung der Neunten Symphonie zum ersten Mal die künstlerische Überlegenheit von Bruckners eigenen Fassungen bewies - blieb die Schalk-Fassung der einzig erhältliche Druck der Fünften Symphonie. Zwei Jahre nach deren Uraufführung, also 1896, erschien sie bei Döblinger in Wien, anfangs in einer Bearbeitung für Klavier vierhändig (D. 2062, von seinem Bruder Josef) und kurz darauf in Partitur (D. 2080). Späteren, sowohl bei Döblinger erschienenen Klavierfassungen - für Klavier zweihändig von August Stradal (1860-1930), 1903; für zwei Klaviere zu acht Händen von Heinrich von Bocklet (1850-

1926) , 1903 - liegt auch die Schalk-Fassung der Symphonie zugrunde.

Verglichen mit Bruckners eigener Fassung der Symphonie erweist die von Schalk zahlreiche, oft formverstümmelnde Kürzungen - am katastrophalsten im Finale, das insgesamt um etwa ein Viertel gekürzt wurde. Viele Stellen wurden uninstrumentiert und in extremen Fällen (zum Beispiel am Anfang des Finale) sogar umkomponiert. Im Gegensatz zu der Fassung der Neunten Symphonie von Ferdinand Löwe oder der Vierten Symphonie von Löwe und Franz Schalk scheint die Arbeit des Letzteren an der Fünften Symphonie nicht auf dem Wunsch zu beruhen, Bruckners Klangwelt zu « wagnerisieren ». Oft kommen die Änderungen einfach nur unmotiviert daher, es sei denn, es sei Absicht gewesen, das Werk zu vereinfachen. Dieser Vereinfachungsprozess betrifft nicht nur seine Länge und Komplexität, sondern auch deren Affektwelt. Man betrachte zum Beispiel den kunst-voll weitschweifenden Schluss des Finale. Bruckner hat ihn als Choralvorspiel konzipiert, in dem das Gewicht der Bläser ausgeglichen wird durch Streicherpartien, deren Belebtheit eine erstaunliche Leichtigkeit (wenn nicht gar Gewichtslosigkeit) beitragen - auch hier, wie sonst so oft, erweist sich Bruckner als wahrer Erbe Schuberts. Basstuba und tiefe Streicher spenden zwar einen Hauch vom Marsch, aber ihre punktierten Anapäste werden durch die punktierten Daktylen der Holzbläser in Schach gehalten. Dieser seltsam gekonnte (und leider von den wenigsten Dirigenten überhaupt wahrgenommene) Balanceakt wird in der Schalk-Fassung plattgewälzt, bis nur der Marsch übrigbleibt, wobei auch die größten Marscheffekte (Pikkolotriller, zusätzliches Schalzeug) nicht fehlen.

Warum also diese weder authentische noch künstlerisch gelungene Fassung wieder an die Öffentlichkeit bringen ? Auch wenn die Fassung unecht ist, war sie für das Publikum für mehr als 40 Jahre das echte und einzige Erlebnis des Werks. Die Schalk-Fassung ist schlicht nicht wegzudenken ohne eine Leugnung der Musikgeschichte. In neuerer Zeit haben andere Stimmen in der Musikwelt Gründe ganz anderer Art gefunden, diese Fassung nicht nur vor der Vergessenheit zu bewahren, sondern gar zu pflegen. Wir wissen zum Beispiel heute, daß Bruckner die Änderungen von Ferdinand Löwe und den Gebrüdern Schalk nicht immer nur widerwillig akzeptierte, und bei manch einem Werk Bruckners wird die ideale Fassung immer eine Fata Morgana bleiben. Aber noch verhängnisvoller : Viele der Vertreter der Brucknerschen ad fontes-Bewegung wurden von deutschnationalen und (noch) zweifelhafteren kulturpolitischen Einstellungen motiviert, und es steht jetzt ausser Zweifel, wie Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt beobachtet, daß die Veröffentlichung von kritischen Ausgaben zum Teil geschah, um Bruckners Werke vom Einfluss « überkultivierter Städtler » (Max Auer) - sprich Juden - zu bereinigen. (Man muß zugeben, daß auch in der « kritischen Ausgaben » der Bruckner-gesellschaft oft nach persönlichem Gutdünken entschieden wurde ; die Fassung der Achten Symphonie von Robert Haas (1886-1960) ist wohl das hervorstechendste Beispiel dafür - was schade ist, denn seine Eingriffe sind meistens musikalisch sinnvoll. Die zwei kritischen Ausgaben dieser Fünften Symphonie - von Robert Haas (1935) und die Nachkriegsausgabe (1951) durch seinen Nachfolger Leopold Nowak (1904-1991) - stehen jedoch in nahezu vollkommener Übereinstimmung. Selbst-verständlich ist Bruckner selbst keineswegs schuld daran, daß sein Werk lange nach seinem Tod missbraucht wurde, und freilich war nicht jeder Verfechter der Authentizität entweder Deutschnationaler oder Nazi, galt doch die Suche nach Authentizität als eines der Hauptcharakteristiken des Modernismus überhaupt. Eine Aufführung der Schalk-Fassung als eine Art « Entnazifizierung » zu charakterisieren (wie James Oestreich in einer 1995 erschienenen Kritik in der « New York Times » schreibt) ist, gelinde gesagt, widersinnig ; und Bryan Gilliams Hinweis, die Schalk-Fassung rückt Bruckners Gedankenwelt weg von Wagner und in die Nähe von Schubert, ist bestenfalls Revisionismus um des Revisionismus willen.

Aufnahmen von der Schalk-Fassung der Fünften Symphonie sind leicht genug zu finden. In Gegensatz zu anderen Dirigenten hat Hans Knappertsbusch (1888-1965) immer an den unauthentischen Fassungen der Symphonien festgehalten, und zwei von seinen Aufführungen zeichnen sich künstlerisch besonders aus : eine Studioaufnahme für Decca aus dem Jahre 1956 mit den Wiener Philharmonikern (jüngstens auf CD : Decca 448 581, 1995) und eine Konzertaufnahme vom 19. März 1959 mit den Münchner Philharmonikern (von mehreren Firmen in Handel gebracht ; qualitätsmässig am besten auf Music and Arts 1028, 1998 ; und Music and Arts 1105, 2002) . In der Digital-Ära hat der amerikanische Dirigent, Musikwissenschaftler, Verfechter ausgefallener Orchesterwerke und Universitätspräsident Leon Botstein die Schalk-Fassung der Fünften Symphonie mit dem London Philharmonic Orchestra aufgenommen (Telarc 80509, 1998) .

The Gramophone Choice

« Telarc » : 2CD80706 - DDD.

(Includes bonus disc of Benjamin Zander discussing Bruckner Symphony No 5.)

Yet, another Bruckner 5th ? Not exactly. The performance, which has its own distinction, comes with an 80 minute bonus disc of unusual quality and interest. Not since the halcyon days of Antony Hopkins « Talking About Music » has there been a commentary as lucid, as approachable and, yet, as musically satisfying as this.

Devised by Zander and his co-producer David Saint-George, it is a multi-faceted essay. Mapping the Symphony has pride of place and is superbly done. It also thrives on a rich array of music examples tucked with consummate skill in, around and beneath the narrative.

Another distinctive touch is his breathing new life into the old cathedral analogy. The CD comes with a foldaway leaflet. On one side is a cathedral floor plan, on the other the structure of the 5th Symphony laid over that same plan. Nor does Zander stop there. His profound and often moving remarks on time, space, spiritual struggle and spiritual renewal grow naturally out of this.

His trump card is his father, Walter Zander, who died in 1993, at the age of 95. In the summer of 1918, while fighting on the Russian front, Walter was sent a score of Bruckner's 5th Symphony by his mother. His letters home with their comments on what the music meant to him have only recently reappeared. These, too, have been woven into the narrative, and very remarkable they are.

Despite his father's urging, Zander did not study the Symphony until he was past 60. Antony Hopkins once said that some of his best scripts were written on works he knew little about before writing. Zander seems to have been similarly blessed, creating a remarkable narrative and complementing it with a performance of great lucidity and drive. If the finely geared playing seems a touch lightweight in places, turning-up the level of the beautifully judged Watford Coliseum recording helps bulk out the vertical dimension.

La version de Franz Schalk de 1894

The work, which is in 4 movements, was written in 1875 and 1876. Bruckner revised it again, in 1878, but never heard the work performed by an Orchestra. It was published in 1896 with the help of Franz Schalk, who conducted the 1st performance. For the published version, large sections were re-orchestrated, the last movement was cut extensively, and a brass choir was added at the end to strengthen the closing bars. At the 1st performance, the added brass were off-stage, but the score explicitly calls for the new brass choir to be « behind the Orchestra on a raised platform ». Either the off-stage placement did not work or there was no room. Some Bruckner devotees may wince at this version, but I believe it makes a fantastic case for the work. In this version, the work should be heard more often and recorded.

The 1st movement is nominally in B-flat major. This can be said because the 1st movement may be one of the most interesting and powerful experiments in the relationship of harmony to the conventions of Symphonic 1st movement Sonata form. The work has a slow introduction (the only one of its kind in Bruckner), which resists a firm tonality and drifts through G-flat into A until the Allegro. But even in the Allegro, tonality always seems to shift, together with wonderful new thematic and rhythmic materials and periodic breaks in the surface continuity. C major, F minor, E major, G minor, B-flat minor, E-flat major-among others - all are explored as this grand, nearly improvisatory harmonic journey makes its way to its massive end, which asserts the B-flat major. This movement is one of the most innovative in the 19th Century literature and bears the marks of Bruckner's genius in using harmonic colour and unexpected relationships to frame the emotionally powerful but intricate and subtle musical structure, in which the matter of a defining tonality is challenged.

The 2nd movement is in D minor and is marked by a lyrical clarity achieved; in part, by simple cross rhythms. The 2nd subject is in C major. Bruckner's melodic genius is evident throughout. The closing bars are particularly notable with the D pedal in the timpani and the quiet close in D major. The 3rd movement Scherzo is in D minor and is typical Bruckner. There is a slower 2nd theme, reminiscent of the Austrian « Ländler » dance. The transition to the Trio, which is not in 3/4 time, is an example of Bruckner's harmonic usage. The F-sharp of a D major triad becomes used as a G-flat. The audience hears the same sustained note from one context immediately become the basis of another unrelated context without warning. In this movement, particularly the Trio, Bruckner's humor and his relationship to Franz Schubert and the 18th Century are audible.

The last movement, after the introduction, is built around the writing of fugues. There is also a stunning chorale. Throughout this massive, multi-subject contrapuntal movement (even in this shorter form), Bruckner's dramatic sense and sonic imagination are breathtaking. For the listener, there will always be 2 outstanding aspects: the constant influence of the sound of the pipe organ on Bruckner's use of the Orchestra and the utterly original attitude to the creation of musical continuities. A majestic structure is built around blocks of sound, closely interrelated musical ideas, and carefully organized counterpoint - all placed in discrete and harmonically unexpected sequences. Bruckner creates his own sense of time and, therefore, the inner journey for the listener, it is likely that the essence of that journey, for Bruckner, was the celebration of faith and a sense of awe; and the expression of the variety and majesty of God's creation through sound.

...

Franz Schalk apparently carried-out his own revision in 1892-1893, in anticipation of performing the work in Graz. Despite his efforts, the work's monumental difficulty required a postponement of the premiere to permit another 6 months of rehearsals. By the time of the 1st performance, on April 9, 1894, Bruckner was too ill to attend. Several elements of Schalk's revision undoubtedly reflect the exigencies of prospective performance with his provincial theatre band. Despite the trials, reports of the premiere's success gratified the ailing composer, who wrote to Schalk, on April 12 :

« I should like to express my deep admiration for your extraordinary artistry and my everlasting gratitude for all you have done for me. You will undoubtedly go on to win the fame you so richly deserve. May God bless you, noble artist and man of genius that you are. Please convey my sincere thanks and profound admiration to the highly-esteemed management and all the excellent performers. Words fail to describe my disappointment at being unable to attend. »

With these words of praise ringing in his ears, it is hardly surprising that Schalk elected to use his revision as basis for the published edition. Schalk later stated that he received Bruckner's specific permission for the augmented brass in the final chorale. This addition is a masterful arrangement, using the (by then, fatigued) orchestral brass to mark the rhythm, while a fresh section of 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, and tuba carries the chorale tune.

Other retouchings Schalk made in the revision arose from a different motivation - his attempt to expand the tonal palette of Bruckner's woodcut-like scoring. We, therefore, hear such oddities as string material handed over to the clarinets (bars 156-159 in the opening movement) , or the piccolo piercing through the orchestral fabric (bars 199 and 482, same movement) . Thematic re-configurings such as the complete inversion of the string figures, at letter G in the opening movement, are merely inexplicable. The substantial cut in the Scherzo reprise also tends to upset the balance between movements. In the absence of documented evidence to the contrary, we must assume that Bruckner never saw these changes until the score was published, shortly before his death.

Bruckner 5th Symphony revised by Franz Schalk

(Takeo Noguchi)

The reviser of the 5th Symphony, Franz Schalk (1863-1931) , was born in Vienna, and was one of Bruckner's favourite pupils along with his brother Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe (who revised the 4th and 9th Symphonies) . Bruckner's 5th Symphony was substantially completed by 1878. Franz Schalk, a conductor of the Opera House in Graz, did not decide to play this Symphony until 1893. He made a number of revisions in Bruckner's original, in order to perform it for a premiere in 1894. The Haas-Nowak edition, which was published later, was also based on the foregoing original, and is in wide use at present.

Let's talk about the organization of musical instruments in the 5th Symphony. In the revised edition, a 3rd flute (and a piccolo played by the player of the 3rd flute) and a contra fagott are added to the wood instrument section. In the

coda of the 4th movement, the separate choral-theme is splendidly played by another group of brass instruments (i.e. , 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, and 1 tuba) and metal percussion (1 cymbal and 1 triangle) .

The overall orchestration has been extensively varied. Further, designation for time and tempo have been also modified or added. Especially, what surprise us is that a total of 100 or more bars have been boldly deleted from the 4th movement. Thus, some people consider that the recapitulation indispensable in the Sonata form is substantially ignored in the revised edition.

Bruckner died in 1896, 2 years after the premiere using the revised edition, and Schalk's revised edition was also published in 1896, in Vienna. The original edition under Robert Haas's revision was 1st published in 1937. Schalk's revised edition has not been used except for by a few conductors (e.g. , Hans Knappertsbusch) since the publication of Haas original edition. At present, Schalk's revised edition is widely considered as being a result of the meddling of one of the composer's pupils.

However, this point of view seems rather incomprehensible to me. This is because I do not think that Schalk revised the composition poorly. Particularly, when I listened to the Coda in the 4th movement, I thought that Schalk's revised edition was much better than the original edition. In the Coda, the number of brass instruments is doubled compared with that in the original edition. This enables the chorales and the fine accompaniment motif to be equally emphasized in a tolerant manner. I was not satisfied with the original edition in which the foregoing elements were no more vivid or clearer than those in the revised edition. Thus, I had been frustrated until I heard the record based on the revised edition. According to Leopold Nowak, Bruckner himself agreed to Schalk's request to increase the number of brass instruments, which I think very reasonable. The 4th movement ends with continuous B-flat major tonic sounds which are not in unison as in the original edition. I am so delighted with this that I want to shout :

« Schalk, you've done it ! »

With respect to my foregoing opinion, those who are very enthusiastic about the original edition would contend that the revised edition is not Bruckner's but Schalk's. However, such insistence does not surprise me at all.

I wonder whether it is possible to prove that the original on which the Haas-Nowak original edition was based was actually completely finished by Bruckner alone. No one can prove that Bruckner finished it without being affected by the opinions of others. Further, there are more highly-acclaimed composers whose compositions that have been arranged by other musicians are evaluated than their originals. Why is not this applicable to Bruckner ?

I would like to insist that both the original edition and the revised edition be played and evaluated. This broad-minded view has not originated from a scholarly interest in searching for the pure-bloodedness of the original, but from the following 2 reasons.

One reason is the historical implication of Schalk's revised edition. It should be noted that Bruckner's 5th Symphony, based on only the revised edition, was in circulation for about 40 years prior to the publication of the original edition in the 1930's. The conductors who were active in the 1st half of the 20th Century played the 5th Symphony based on

Schalk's revised edition and were influenced by this edition. This is a historical fact, regardless of the quality of the revised edition. I cannot help but conclude that it is unreasonable and unnatural that at present, the 5th Symphony is mainly being played based on the original edition.

The other reason is related to the musical importance of Schalk's revised edition. Reviewing the scores vertically, i.e., in view of sounds, the revised edition is not as strong as the original edition but is soft and elegant as a whole. This is because very careful consideration is given to balancing respective musical instruments. For instance, this is clearly proved by the strong sounds produced in the « arpeggio » in the introduction of the 1st movement. Linear brass instruments such as trumpets and trombones are moderate while wood instruments and strings are conspicuous. When the brass instruments are used, their number is reduced, or their dynamics are reduced compared with the other instruments. In the famous fugue of the 4th movement, the main voice is specified to be played « forte » while the other voices are specified to be played « mezzo-forte ». In Schalk's revised edition, brass instruments are added to the wood instruments so as to play a part which is played by either wood instruments or brass in the original edition (e.g., in the part where the choral main-theme is 1st played in the 4th movement). Further, wood instruments accompany strings (e.g., at the beginning of the 1st movement). In other words, Schalk revised the original so as not to make the sounds monotonous.

When reviewing the composition horizontally, the following features are noted : instruments are deliberately changed in long phrases (e.g., the 1st theme in the 2nd movement), and the combination of instruments is changed when repeating a motif. We can say that Schalk revised the original to make the composition more colourful than the original edition. It is new and fresh for the timpani to be played with a motif rhythm as well as with tremolo. Time and tempo are finely varied in accordance with the concept of the composition. For instance, in the 2nd theme of the 1st movement ; 2/2 time is changed to 4/4 time. At the beginning of the 2nd movement in place of 2/2 time, 4/6 time is used for strings, and 4/4 time is used for wind instruments. In the 2nd theme, all the instruments are in 4/4 time so as to be at a slow tempo.

Franz Schalk's revised edition is very interesting in view of the arrangement. It may be criticized in view of the essence of Bruckner's music as believed by a number of Bruckner enthusiasts, but it is very well-organized in view of the orchestration. Some of Schalk's time and tempo requirements are frequently employed when the 5th Symphony is played according to the original edition. This proves that Schalk's revision is justified in that respect.

In other words, Schalk's revised edition features score which is made such that the Symphony can be effectively played by Orchestras. Therefore, I ask that you frankly listen to the revised edition without pre-conception and prejudice.

It is often said that the essence of Bruckner's sounds were deeply influenced by the sounds of organ. If so, it would be better to play his compositions using the organ. When an Orchestra is intending to play the composition, a score which is thoroughly revised for the Orchestra cannot be ignored. In this respect, we can consider that the revised edition improved it rather than changed it for the worse.

The extensive deletion of the 4th movement may be unacceptable to those who consider that the original edition is

the ultimate standard. A number of researchers as well as Leopold Nowak have pointed-out that the deletion of the recapitulation of the 1st and 2nd themes has destroyed the Sonata form of the 4th movement.

However, it is also considered that since the appropriately arranged Coda repeats the main-themes (except for the 2nd theme) a number of times, Schalk might have thought that the Coda resembles the recapitulation. I myself do not think that the 4th movement in Schalk's revised edition is insufficient or poor in terms of form. In fact, I believe that the exposition, the development and the magnificent Coda constitute an excellent 3 part form. Whether or not, it is in the Sonata form, the 4th movement impresses us as if a number of rivulets gradually merge into one large river.

The foregoing comments are simply my personal views on Schalk's revised edition of Bruckner's 5th Symphony. But it is certain that Schalk intended to revise Bruckner's original for his Master's good. It is very difficult for me to believe that Schalk, who was musically and emotionally influenced by his Master, would have dared to make meaningless revisions while his Master had been alive. Perhaps, we should ask ourselves whether or not we understand Bruckner better than Schalk, at that time.

In any case, we should make efforts so that compositions are frequently played and reviewed on the basis of both of the original editions and the revised editions. This is not limited to Bruckner's 5th Symphony. This publication is intended to promote thinking along those lines.

The Japanese 1st performance of the Bruckner's 5th Symphony revised by Schalk was in July 1996, in Tokyo (Furtwängler Institute Tokyo Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Takeo Noguchi) , the live-recording CD of that day was produced (SEELENKLANG : SEK-1) and, in 1998, Leon Botstein recorded this edition for CD with the London Philharmonic Orchestra (TELARC : 80599) . I hope that these performances might be a symptom for the re-evaluation of the Schalk's edition.

I owe this publication to many people. In particular, I express my gratitude to Doctor Günther Brosche and Mrs. Elisabeth Wagner of the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Musiksammlung » , in Vienna, for supplying copies of the 1st edition (Ludwig Doblinger Verlag, 1896) and for the permission to reprint this for the 1st time in Japan.

Karl Ritter von Stremayr

Dédiée à l'un de ses protecteurs à qui il doit sa nomination à l'Université de Vienne : Karl Ritter von Stremayr, personnalité politique autrichienne et Ministre de l'éducation. Il sera ministre-président d'Autriche, du 15 février au 12 août 1879.

Né le 30 octobre 1832 à Graz, Karl Ritter von Stremayr, y étudie le droit puis entre au service du gouvernement. Par la suite, il devient procureur-général et doctorant à l'Université. En 1848-1849, il est fait membre du Parlement de Francfort. En 1868, il est nommé conseiller au Ministère de l'intérieur. De 1870 à 1879, il est nommé Ministre de l'instruction publique alors qu'il entraînera l'abrogation du Concordat de 1855. Il est nommé 9e ministre-président à la tête du conseil de Cisleithanie, après son départ du ministère d'Auersperg en 1879. Il entre au cabinet de son successeur Eduard Taaffe (le 11e vicomte Taaffe et 10e ministre-président de Cisleithanie) comme Ministre de la Justice

mais démissionne en 1880. Il siégea à la Chambre autrichienne des Lords en 1889. Il sera nommé vice-président de la Cour suprême d'Autriche avant de succéder à Anton von Schmerling comme président, après sa démission en 1891. Stremayr prendra sa retraite en 1899. Il meurt le 22 juin 1904 à Pottschach.

...

The Austrian statesman Karl Ritter von Stremayr was born on 30 October 1832 in Graz and died on 22 June 1904 in Pottschach. He served as the 9th Minister-President of Cisleithania.

Stremayr studied law in Graz. He entered the government service and, subsequently, was Attorney-General and docent at the University.

In 1848-1849, he was a member of the Frankfurt Parliament. In 1868, he was appointed councilor in the Ministry of the Interior and, in 1870-1879, was Minister of Public Instruction when he brought about the repeal of the Concordat of 1855. President of the council as the 9th Minister-President of Cisleithania after the going-out of the Auersperg ministry, in 1879. Afterwards, he entered the cabinet of his successor Eduard Taaffe, 11th Viscount Taaffe, 10th Minister-President of Cisleithania, as Minister of Justice, but resigned in 1880. He then was appointed vice-president of the Austrian Supreme Court before succeeding Anton von Schmerling as president after Schmerling's resignation, in 1891.

He retired in 1899. He was called to a seat in the Austrian House of Lords, in 1889.

...

Karl Ritter von Stremayr (geboren 30. Oktober 1823 in Graz ; gestorben 22. Juni 1904 Pottschach, Niederösterreich) war ein österreichischer Politiker, mehrmaliger Minister sowie Ministerpräsident Cisleithaniens, des kaiserlichen Teils Österreich-Ungarns und Präsident des Obersten Gerichtshofes.

Carl Borromäus Anton Franz Seraph Ritter von Stremayr war Mitglied der adeligen Familie Stremayr und war der Sohn des oberösterreichischen Militär-Feldapothekers Franz-Josef von Stremayr (1793-1843) und dessen Ehefrau Caroline, geborene Rieger (1800-1880) .

Er wurde als erstes von neun Kindern in Graz geboren, wo er auch seine Kinderjahre verbrachte. Als sein Vater 1832 befördert und nach Mantua versetzt wurde und die gesamte Familie dorthin übersiedelte, blieb er im Alter von zehn Jahren bei seinen Großeltern in Graz zurück und besuchte weiterhin das Grazer Gymnasium.

Durch die Beförderung seines Großvaters mit folgender Versetzung nach Görtschach / Klagenfurt besuchte er für ein Jahr die sechste Klasse des Klagenfurter Gymnasiums. Als 1839 sein Großvater starb, übersiedelte seine Großmutter mit ihm wieder zurück nach Graz, wo er die Matura ablegte.

Als Übergang zum Universitätsstudium begann er in Wien mit philosophischen Studien, lernte Italienisch, Französisch und

Englisch, später auch Slowenisch und Serbokroatisch und las mit gleichgestimmten Kommilitonen römische und griechische Klassiker.

1841 begann er das Studium der Rechtswissenschaften an der rechts- und staatswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Graz, da er gemäß einem Wunsch seiner Eltern keine Karriere beim Militär anstreben sollte.

Als 1843 sein Vater und seine Großmutter verstarben, hatte er als ältester Sohn die Erhaltung der Großfamilie zu übernehmen, indem er während seines Studiums Privatunterricht erteilte. Eine seiner Schülerinnen war Bertha Hope, die später seine Frau werden sollte.

Im Herbst 1845 schloß er seine juristischen Studien in Graz ab.

1845 begann er die einjährige Zivil- und Kriminalpraxis beim Magistrat Graz und legte im gleichen Jahr die Rechtsreferendarprüfung in Deutsch und Italienisch beim Appellationsgericht in Klagenfurt mit Auszeichnung ab. Dadurch erfolgte bereits 1846 die Promotion zum « Doctor juris utriusque » und nach beendeter Richteramtspraxis trat er als unbesoldeter Konzeptionspraktikant bei der Kaiserlich-Königlich Finanzprokuratur in Graz ein und wurde am 9. November 1846 in den Staatsdienst übernommen. 1846 absolvierte er die Richteramtsprüfung für Deutsch und Italienisch beim Appellationsgericht in Klagenfurt mit Auszeichnung.

Im Zuge der Märzrevolution wurde er als Jurist ohne sein Mitwirken in der « Grazer Zeitung » für die Wahlen zur Frankfurter Nationalversammlung in Frankfurt vorgeschlagen, hatte zu diesem Zeitpunkt aber nur wenige politische Ambitionen. Als er 1848 in Kindberg in einem Rednerwettbewerb seine im Vergleich zu anderen Rednern gemäßigten und realistischen Ziele vortrug, wurde er zum Abgeordneten der Nationalversammlung gewählt und sofort nach Frankfurt entsandt. In Frankfurt wohnte er den letzten Sitzungen des Vorparlaments und den Vorbesprechungen zur Eröffnung der Nationalversammlung bei. Als jüngstes Mitglied der Versammlung und Jugendschriftführer hat er in der Frankfurter Paulskirche als erster die Rednertribüne betreten, um die Begrüßungsadresse des alten Bundestages an die neue Nationalversammlung zu verlesen. Auf der Suche nach Abgeordneten, die seine Ansichten teilten, schloß er sich dem Württemberger Hof, der liberalen Mitte, an.

Der rege Briefverkehr zwischen ihm und seiner zukünftigen Frau war die Basis für die spätere Eheschließung und schildert seine Begeisterungen und Enttäuschungen als Abgeordneter in Frankfurt. In dieser politischen Atmosphäre, deren Überschwänglichkeit und naive Unkenntnis der politischen Realitäten seiner Jugend entsprach, war er als einer von 586 Abgeordneten ambitioniert tätig, erkannte jedoch sehr bald die Unmöglichkeit der Durchsetzung seiner liberalen Hoffnungen. Als die österreichischen Abgeordneten im April 1849 abberufen wurden, kehrte ein enttäuschter und ernüchterter Stremayr 1849 nach Graz zurück.

Als ehemaliger liberaler Frankfurter Abgeordneter beziehungsweise Revolutionär bekam er das schlecht besoldete Amt eines Konzeptionspraktikanten der steirischen Kammerprokuratur. Erst 1850 wurde durch die Ernennung zum Staatsanwalts-Substituten die finanzielle Basis für eine mögliche Ehe geschaffen, die er am 17. Juni 1850 im Grazer Dom mit Bertha Hope einging. Aus dieser Ehe stammen ein Sohn und fünf Töchter :

Bertha, heiratet 1873 Emil Ritter von Hardt (6 Kinder : Ihren beiden Söhnen wurde die Namensvereinigung « Hardt-Stremayr » genehmigt) .

Anna, im Alter von acht Jahren verstorben.

Antonie, verheiratet mit Premierleutnant Richard Lüders (3 Kinder) , verstarb bei der Geburt des 2. Kindes.

Maria, heiratet nach dem plötzlichen Tod ihrer älteren Schwester Antonie 1878 ihren Schwager Leutnant Richard Lüders (nochmals 3 Kinder) .

Karl, im ersten Lebensjahr verstorben.

Caroline, verheiratet mit Johann Edler von Schemua (kinderlose Ehe) .

Nachdem Stremayr das Amt des öffentlichen Anklägers im Rahmen einer von ihm nicht akzeptierten Verfassung zu führen hatte, waren die reaktionären Vorgesetzten mit Stremayrs Amtsführung nicht zufrieden und er wurde bei jeder Gelegenheit zurückgesetzt. Nachdem drei seiner Brüder die militärische Laufbahn eingeschlagen hatten und seine Schwestern durch Handarbeit zum Haushalte beitrugen, hatte er sich nur mehr um die eigene Familie zu kümmern.

Somit habilitierte er sich als Privatdozent für römisches Recht an der Universität Graz und war als Mitarbeiter, später auch unter Pseudonym als Redakteur, bei der Grazer Zeitung journalistisch tätig.

1860 erkrankten er und seine älteren Töchter Bertha, Anna und Antonie lebensgefährlich an Typhus, was die ganze Familie erneut in große finanzielle Not brachte. Schlimmer waren aber der Tod einer Tochter, wie auch den Tod der Magd und der Wärterin.

Aufgrund der Februarverfassung des Jahres 1861 wurden Wahlen für den Steiermärkischen Landtag ausgeschrieben, zu denen er, noch durch die Krankheit geschwächt, ohne sein Zutun als Kandidat für die Stadt Graz aufgestellt wurde. Er wurde zum Landtagsabgeordneten für die Grazer Vorstädte gewählt und saß die folgenden 18 Jahre im Landtag, darunter neun Jahre als Landesausschuss-Mitglied.

Mit einem Male war er die materiellen Sorgen los und konnte ein neues Arbeitsfeld beginnen, indem er weniger politische als organisatorische und administrative Verbesserungen in der landschaftlichen Verwaltung sowie in den staatlichen Gesundheits- und Bildungsanstalten durchsetzen konnte. Deshalb wurde ihm auch die Leitung der Unterrichtsanstalten des Landes, der Technischen Hochschule am Joanneum und der Landes-Oberrealschule übertragen. Den vielfachen Beschäftigungen als Landesausschuss-Mitglied, Staatsanwalts-Substituten, Zivilreferenten des Landesgerichtes, Privatdozent, Direktionsmitglied der I. steirischen Sparkasse und Staatsprüfungskommissär standen Freud und Leid in der Familie gegenüber : 1863 gebar ihm Bertha ein Zwillingsspaar, aber der Sohn starb nach wenigen Monaten. Dieser Schicksalsschlag lag schwer auf seiner Frau, der ab diesen Zeitpunkt trotz kräftigem Gesundheitszustand die Hände und

Füße den Dienst versagten und sie in den Rollstuhl brachten.

Seine administrative Begabungen im steiermärkischen Landtag und in diversen Landesausschüssen blieben nicht verborgen, deswegen wurde er 1868 durch Carl Giskra als Ministerialrat ins Ministerium des Innern berufen.

Dort wurde ihm von Leopold Hasner von Artha im Zuge der Regierungsbildung das Amt des Ministers für Kultus und Unterricht angeboten, das er am 1. Februar 1870 auch annahm. Aber bereits nach wenigen Monaten wurde am 12. April 1870 das Ministerium Hasner (und mit ihm Stremayr) entlassen. Ihm wurde auf seinen Wunsch eine Hofratsstelle am Obersten Gerichts- und Cassationshof gewährt.

Im gleichen Jahr übersiedelte seine Familie, bestehend aus vier Töchtern und seiner Frau, nach Wien.

Überraschend wurde er vom Steiermärkischen Landtag als Abgeordneter des Abgeordnetenhauses in den Wiener Reichsrat entsandt, in dem er sich der Deutschliberalen Partei anschloss.

Bereits am 30. Juni 1870 erfolgte Stremayrs erneute Ernennung zum Minister für Kultus und Unterricht nach Zusicherung des Ministeriums Potocki, die Verfassung nicht anzutasten und ihm in den Fragen seines Ressorts freie Hand zu lassen.

Stremayr trat in Hinblick auf die Verkündung des Dogmas über die Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes für die Aufhebung des Konkordates vom 5. November 1855 ein. Da sich Potocki aber aus religiösen Gründen weigerte, die Vorlage ins Parlament zu bringen, wurde im Kronrat vom 30. Juli 1870 in Anwesenheit des österreichischen Botschafters beim Heiligen Stuhl das Konkordat durch kaiserliches Handschreiben für hinfällig erklärt und der Außenminister mit der formellen Aufhebung beauftragt. Der Kaiser erteilte Stremayr am gleichen Tag den Auftrag, die infolge dieser Änderung nötigen Gesetzesvorlagen für den Reichsrat vorzubereiten.

Am 4. Februar 1871 wurde Stremayr auf seinen Wunsch enthoben und nahm seine Tätigkeit als Hofrat am Obersten Gerichtshof wieder auf.

Nach den Ministerien Potocki, Hohenwart und Holzgethan wurde innerhalb kurzer Zeit das Ministerium Auersperg berufen. Nach Mitarbeit beim Regierungsprogramm erfolgte am 25. November 1871 Stremayrs erneute Ernennung zum Minister für Kultus und Unterricht, welches Amt er diesmal bis zum 12. August 1879 innehatte.

Unter seiner Amtsführung entwickelten sich und andere die Universitäten in Prag und Wien rasch weiter und es wurde eine neue Universität in Czernowitz errichtet. Die Universität Prag wurde noch nicht in eine deutsche und tschechische Universität geteilt und in Wien wurde das Institut für Paläontologie gegründet.

Über sein Verhältnis als Minister zu seinen politischen Freunden meinte Stremayr :

« Das Parteileben bringt es mit sich, daß gar oft nicht das Wohl des Staates, sondern leidiges Parteiinteresse die

Haltung der Abgeordneten im Parlamente bestimmt. Ein Minister aber kann und darf nie und nimmer einer Partei auf diesem Wege folgen. Er muß auch dieser gegenüber seine volle Unabhängigkeit, die Freiheit seiner gewissenhaften Überzeugung wahren, und diese wird nicht selten in seinem Verhältnis zur Krone durch Gründe bestimmt, die er auch seinen Freunden nicht offenbaren kann. »

Die Regelung des Verhältnisses zwischen Staat und Kirche mit weiterer interkonfessioneller Gesetzgebung, der Kulturkampf in Deutschland, der auch für die österreichischen Liberalen große Bedeutung hatte, die Klostersetze und andere brachten oft harte Kämpfe mit sich, die Stremayr so beschrieb :

« Es waren oft harte Kämpfe, welche ich mit dem gnädigsten Monarchen in mündlicher Erörterung meiner Entwürfe durchzumachen hatte, und konnte ich mir auch durch die hartnäckige Vertretung meiner Überzeugung nicht die höchste Gnade und Zufriedenheit erwerben : es gelang mir doch nicht selten, meiner bescheidenen Ansicht Geltung zu verschaffen. Freilich durfte ich mich dabei nicht an mein Portefeuille klammern und mußte stets bereit sein, dasselbe in die Hände dessen zurückzulegen, der es mir Unwürdigem anvertraut hatte. »

Daß ihm seine Prinzipien wichtiger waren, als das Amt des Ministers unbedingt zu behalten, kommt auch bei folgendem zum Ausdruck :

« ... eine Ernennung anders als von mir vorgeschlagen legte ich die Allerhöchste Entschliebung sofort ohne meine Gegenzeichnung zurück und überreichte zugleich mein Entlassungsgesuch. Seine Majestät hatte die Gnade, nach längerer Zeit es von einer Ernennung wieder abkommen zu lassen. »

Familiär konnte er sich 1873 über die Hochzeiten seiner zwei ältesten Töchter freuen, mußte aber 1876 den Tod einer Tochter bei der Geburt ihres zweiten Kindes miterleben. 1878 heiratete seine dritte Tochter den Witwer nach staatlichem und kirchlichen Dispens vom bestehenden Ehehindernis der Schwägerschaft.

Der Versuch, 1879 mit der Verfassungspartei ein neues Ministerium zu bilden, dem er wieder als Minister für Kultus und Unterricht angehören sollte, misslang und brachte das Ende des Ministeriums Auersperg. Stattdessen wurde Stremayr als Senior der übrigen Minister vom Kaiser die Aufgabe übertragen, als Vorsitzender das Kabinett zu führen. Von 15. Februar bis 12. August 1879 amtierte er als Ministerpräsident der österreichischen Reichshälfte Österreich-Ungarns. Das Ministerium Stremayr sollte jedoch nur als Übergangsregierung bis zum Abschluß der geplanten Reichsratswahlen dienen.

Am 12. August 1879 kam es zur Ernennung zum Justizminister, mit gleichzeitiger Leitung des Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht. Das Verhältnis des Ministeriums Taaffe zur Verfassungspartei gestaltete sich immer schwieriger und jeder Schritt zur Versöhnung der widerstrebenden Elemente wurde abgelehnt.

Somit war er zwei Jahre lang Minister für Kultus und Unterricht und gleichzeitig Justizminister. Als solcher erließ er gemeinsam mit dem für die Verwaltungsbehörden zuständigen Taaffe im April 1880 für die Kronländer Böhmen und Mähren je eine Sprachenverordnung zur von Kommentatoren so genannten äußeren Amtssprache, mit dem Ziel, den Tschechen mehr Recht auf ihre Muttersprache im Verkehr mit Verwaltung und Justiz zu geben (die Kundmachung

erfolgte in den beiden Landesgesetzblättern) . Demnach sollte die Sprache der Eingabe oder des Vorsprechenden für die Erledigung maßgebend sein. Stremayr schrieb dazu :

« Die gemeinsam mit Taaffe erlassene Sprachenverordnungen, denen ich nach vielfacher Abschwächung und mit Wahrung des Deutschen als innerer Amtssprache endlich zustimmte, gossen Oel ins Feuer, ohne die Ansprüche der Tschechen zu befriedigen. »

Zur weiteren Behandlung der Sprachenfrage in den böhmischen Ländern siehe Badenische Sprachenverordnung.

Nachdem er die Staatsgeschäfte immer weniger mit seinen Idealen vereinbaren konnte, reichte er mehrere Bitten um Enthebung ein, bis ihnen vom Kaiser am 16. Februar 1880 (Kultus und Unterricht) und am 26. Juni 1880 (Justiz) entsprochen wurde.

Der Ernennung zum 2. Präsidenten des Obersten Gerichts- und Cassationshofes am 29. Juni 1880 folgte ein frostiger Empfang von Seite des ersten Präsidenten von Schmerling, da Graf Taaffe diesen vor der kaiserlichen Ernennung nicht formell um seine Zustimmung ersucht hatte. Innerhalb eines Jahres wurde daraus aber ein sehr freundschaftliches Verhältnis.

1889 wurde Stremayr vom Kaiser zum lebenslänglichen Mitglied des Herrenhauses des Reichsrats ernannt.

Die Ernennung zum ersten Präsidenten des Obersten Gerichtshofes folgte 1891, und 1893 ernannte ihn der Kaiser auf Antrag von Erzherzog Rainer zum Stellvertreter im Kuratorium der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften mit bald darauf folgender Ehrenmitgliedschaft.

Ein schwerer Ohnmachtsanfall, dem eine längere Krankheit folgte, überraschte Stremayr im Frühjahr 1898 in einer Sitzung des Gerichtshofes. Aus Besorgnis über die Weiterentwicklung seiner Heimat und über seinen Gesundheitszustand, der es nicht mehr zuließ, das Amt so auszuüben wie gewohnt, ersuchte er um Versetzung in den Ruhestand, dem der Kaiser mit persönlichem Schreiben nachkam.

Im Frühjahr 1899 fesselte ein schwerer Gichtanfall Stremayr durch Monate an Bett und Zimmer und beraubte ihn des Gebrauches seiner Glieder.

Stremayr hat als Widmung seines Manuskriptes Erinnerungen aus dem Leben. Seinen Kindern und Enkeln erzählt im Jahr 1899 schreiben laßen :

« Indem ich auf ein an Wechselfallen überreiches Leben zurückblicke, drängt sich mir der Wunsch auf, daß die Erfahrungen dieses Lebens meinen Kindern und Enkeln nicht verloren seien, und daß ihnen das Andenken in ihren Vater und Großvater wie ein Bild aus entschwundener Zeit in treuen Zügen erhalten bleibe. Aus diesen Aufzeichnungen sollen sie die Lehre schöpfen, im Unglücke nicht den Muth zu verlieren, im Glücke nicht übermüthig zu werden, aber immer und überall in strenger Pflichterfüllung nicht nach eitlen Gütern der Welt, sondern nach idealer Vervollkommnung des

eigenen Selbst zu streben. Darin mögen sie jene Befriedigung finden, welche die Welt mit allen äußeren Glanz und blendenden Ehren nicht zu gewähren vermag. »

Am 22. Juni 1904 verstarb er im 82. Lebensjahr in Pottschach in Niederösterreich.

Stremayr war der Träger zahlreicher Orden wie des Sankt-Stefans-Ordens, des Großkreuzes des Österreichischen Leopold-Ordens oder des Kaiserlich-Königlich Ordens der Eisernen Krone I. Klasse.

Anton Bruckner widmete seinem Förderer Stremayr 1876 die 5. Sinfonie.

In Graz wurde im Zuge der Erneuerung des Doktordiploms durch die Karl-Franzens-Universität, 1871 die « Stremayrgasse » nach ihm benannt. Vermutlich stand dies auch im Zusammenhang damit, daß er als Minister für Kultus und Unterricht den Neubau der Universität auf stadtsseitigen Teilen des Stadtparks vorschlug, womit die Regierung vom Grundsatz der unbebaut zu bleibenden Liegenschaft abwich.

Schriften (Auswahl) :

Erinnerungen aus dem Leben. Seinen Kindern und Enkeln erzählt. Holzhausen, Wien (1899) .

Franz Schalk

Le chef d'orchestre autrichien Franz Schalk est né le 27 mai 1863 à Vienne et est mort le 3 septembre 1931 à Etlach, Reichenau an der Rax (une commune du district de Neunkirchen en Basse-Autriche) . À partir de 1900, il fut « Kapellmeister » de l'Opéra d'État de Vienne. Entre 1904 et 1921, il fut à la tête de la Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde de Vienne. De 1918 à 1929, il devint directeur musical de l'Opéra d'État de Vienne (entre 1919 et 1924, il partagea ce poste avec Richard Strauß) . Schalk donna la première de l'Opéra de Richard Strauß « La Femme sans ombre » en 1919. Plus tard, Schalk fut impliqué dans la création du Festival de Salzbourg.

La célèbre phrase : « Chaque Théâtre est un asile de fous, mais un Opéra est une maison d'incurables. » provient de lui.

Franz Schalk étudia sous la tutelle de Bruckner. Aujourd'hui, il est surtout connu pour son travail de révision des Symphonies du Maître. Il exécuta la première de la 5e Symphonie en avril 1894, mais dans une version affligée de nombreux changements et coupures, la plupart effectués sans doute sans l'approbation du compositeur, déjà trop faible pour se déplacer à Graz. La version de Schalk fut cependant la 1re à être publiée et la seule à être jouée pendant près de 40 ans. Schalk influença aussi Bruckner dans les révisions de ses 3e, 7e et 8e Symphonies. Dans chaque cas, la version influencée par Schalk fut la 1re version publiée. Alors que beaucoup de critiques ont attaqué Schalk pour ses altérations souvent malheureuses des versions originales des œuvres de Bruckner, d'autres ont rappelé le grand rôle qu'il a joué pour les populariser. Le chef d'orchestre Leon Botstein est un fervent admirateur des versions de Schalk.

Franz Schalk s'impliqua aussi dans la préparation de la 1re édition publiée de la 10e Symphonie de Gustav Mahler, et fut encore accusé d'avoir trafiqué la partition.

Certains des enregistrements de Franz Schalk comme chef d'orchestre ont été préservés et sont disponibles en CD.

...

The Austrian conductor Franz Schalk was born on 27 May 1863 in Vienna and died on 3 September 1931 in Edlach, Reichenau an der Rax (a market town in Lower-Austria) . From 1918 to 1929, he was director of the Vienna State Opera, a post he held jointly with Richard Strauß, from 1919 to 1924. He was later involved in the establishment of the Salzburg Festival.

He studied under composer Anton Bruckner. From 1900, he was 1st « Kapellmeister » of the Vienna Court Opera (« Hofoper ») . Between 1904 and 1921, he was head of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in Vienna. In 1918, he became director of the Vienna State Opera (« Staatsoper ») : successor to the « Hofoper ») but, from 1919, shared the directorship with Richard Strauß, with the well-known composer considered « blatantly (though unofficially) , the ' greater equal ' of the pair » (despite Schalk's recorded renditions of the Beethoven and Schubert 8th Symphonies virtually as distinguished as Strauß' versions of the last 3 Mozart Symphonies, Beethoven's 5th & 7th, and some of the best-known German Overtures) . Tensions resulting from unclear division of responsibility between the 2 men eventually led to Strauß's resignation.

Schalk's most famous quote is :

« Every theatre is an insane asylum, but an Opera theatre is the ward for the incurables. »

Today, he is best-known for his association with Anton Bruckner. He gave the premiere of Bruckner's Symphony No. 5 in 1894, but with numerous cuts and alterations thought by most authorities to have been made without Bruckner's approval. (The composer was too ill to attend the premiere.) Schalk's version of the 5th Symphony was the one chosen for 1st publication, and was the only version heard by audiences for almost 40 years. While many critics have attacked him for his alterations of the original versions of many of Bruckner's most important Symphonies, others credit him for popularizing great works which might otherwise have remained unknown. Present-day conductor Leon Botstein is a prominent advocate of Schalk's versions of Bruckner's music, as was Hans Knappertsbusch.

Schalk was also involved in the early publication of Gustav Mahler's Symphony No. 10. Schalk gave the premiere of Richard Strauß's Opera « Die Frau ohne Schatten » , in 1919.

He died in 1931, aged 68. Some of his work as a conductor has been preserved and is available on CD. Schalk's elder brother Joseph was also a prominent conductor and musician.

...

Franz Schalk (geboren 27. Mai 1863 in Wien ; gestorben 3. September 1931 in Edlach, Gemeinde Reichenau an der Rax, Niederösterreich) war ein österreichischer Dirigent.

Im Jahr 1900 wurde Schalk I. Kapellmeister der Wiener Hofoper. Von 1904 bis 1921 leitete er die Konzerte der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. 1909 bis 1919 war er Lehrer an der Wiener Musikakademie und in den Jahren von 1918 bis 1929 Direktor der Wiener Staatsoper. Von 1919 bis 1924 teilte er sich diesen Posten mit dem Komponisten Richard Strauß. Diese Zeit gilt als Blütezeit der Staatsoper. Schalk war maßgeblich an der Gründung der Salzburger Festspiele beteiligt, außerdem hatte er einen Posten als Dirigent an der Wiener Hofburgkapelle inne.

Franz Schalk war, wie sein älterer Bruder Joseph ein Schüler von Anton Bruckner. Zwar trug er wesentlich dazu bei, Bruckners Symphonien bekanntzumachen, jedoch muß einschränkend erwähnt werden, daß er diese Werke, oft in Gemeinschaftsarbeit mit seinem Bruder und / oder Ferdinand Löwe, für seine Aufführung stark bearbeitete und nicht selten vollkommen entstellte. Markantestes Beispiel ist hier Bruckners 5. Symphonie, deren Uraufführung Schalk 1894 in Graz leitete. Er strich in ihrem Finalsatz über 100 Takte und instrumentierte den verbleibenden Rest, wie die anderen Symphoniesätze auch, völlig neu. In dieser Fassung wurde das Werk schließlich veröffentlicht. Erst in den 1930er Jahren konnte der Musikwissenschaftler Robert Haas die Originalfassungen der fünften wie auch der anderen bearbeiteten Bruckner-Symphonien veröffentlichen. Die Fassungen der Brüder Schalk und Ferdinand Löwes fielen der Vergessenheit anheim.

Schalk wohnte eine Zeit lang im 13. Wiener Gemeindebezirk, Hietzing, in der Eißlergasse 26. 1935 wurde in der Nähe der Franz-Schalk-Platz nach ihm benannt. Seit 1963 verleihen die Wiener Philharmoniker die Franz-Schalk-Medaille in Gold.

...

L'admiration sans bornes de Bruckner pour Richard Wagner (de même que ses tentatives répétées pour obtenir un poste à l'Université) transforme Eduard Hanslick et ses disciples (les critiques Max Kalbeck et Gustav Dömpke) en adversaires vicieux et redoutables.

Heureusement, le chef d'orchestre Hans Richter (un ancien protégé de Richard Wagner) sera nommé directeur musical à Vienne, en cette même année 1875. Il défendra la cause de la musique progressive allemande.

Max Kalbeck

L'écrivain allemand, critique musical et traducteur Max Kalbeck (pseudonyme : « Jeremias Deutlich ») est né le 4 janvier 1850, à Breslau, et est mort le 4 mai 1921, à Vienne. Il est aussi connu sous le pseudonyme de « Jeremias Deutlich » .

En 1861, Max Kalbeck deviendra un des petits-chanteurs de Breslau sous la direction de Leopold Damrosch puis, en

1867, choriste. De 1860 jusqu'à l'obtention de son diplôme, en 1869, il fréquentera le lycée à Sainte-Marie Madeleine de Breslau. À la demande de son père, il ira étudier le droit à Wrocław. En 1872, il fait des études de philologie et de philosophie à l'Université de Munich et des études musicales à l'École Royale de Munich auprès de Joseph Rheinberger (composition), Franz Wüllner (chant choral et lecture de partitions orchestrales) et Joseph Walter (violon). De retour à Breslau, en 1874, il devient 1er critique artistique et musical pour le « Schlesischen Zeitung » puis pour le « Breslauer Zeitung » puis directeur adjoint du Musée des Beaux-arts de Silésie, à Wrocław. En 1880, sur la recommandation du critique Eduard Hanslick, il travaillera comme journaliste pour le « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung ». De 1883 à 1890, il se retrouvera au journal « Die Presse » et, à partir de 1886 jusqu'à sa mort, au « Neue Wiener Tageblatt ». Il deviendra l'un des critiques les plus influents de l'Autriche et sera, comme Hanslick, un farouche opposant à la musique de la Nouvelle école allemande avec, à sa tête, les Franz Liszt, Richard Wagner, Anton Bruckner et Hugo Wolf.

Max Kalbeck (tout comme l'avait fait Hanslick avant lui) deviendra un ami proche de Johannes Brahms et un supporteur inconditionnel de sa musique. Il fera sa rencontre en 1874. De 1904 à 1914, il rédigera une vaste biographie du compositeur en 8 volumes. Kalbeck a également publié la correspondance de Brahms (1918) et des recueils du poète Gottfried Keller et de l'écrivain Paul Heyse.

En plus de la traduction de divers livrets d'Opéra (Tchaïkovski, Smetana, Verdi, Puccini), Max Kalbeck en écrira de nouveaux pour 2 Opéras de Mozart : « Bastien et Bastienne » et « La Finta Giardiniera ». Il révisera le « Don Giovanni » et « Le Nozze di Figaro » dans le cadre des productions de Gustav Mahler à l'Opéra de Vienne. Kalbeck a également écrit les paroles poétiques des chansons retrouvées dans l'Opérette « Jabuka » de Johann Strauß fils. Ses propres poèmes seront mis en musique par son ami Brahms : 1 des 6 Lieder, Opus 86 (« Nachtwandler ») et 1 des 5 Lieder, Opus 104 (« Letztes Glück »), pour chœur mixte à cappella.

En 1925, on nommera le 18^e arrondissement de Vienne en son honneur : le Kalbeckgasse.

(L'acteur et metteur-en-scène Paul Kalbeck est le fils de Max Kalbeck.)

...

The German writer, critic and translator Max Kalbeck (Pseudonym : « Jeremias Deutlich ») was born on 4 January 1850 in Breslau and died on 4 May 1921 in Vienna. He became one of the most influential critics in Austria and was bitterly opposed to the music of Richard Wagner, Anton Bruckner and Hugo Wolf.

Kalbeck studied music in Munich. In 1875, he became the music-critic for the « Schlesische Zeitung » and assistant director of the Breslau Museum. He came to Vienna, in 1880, on the invitation of Eduard Hanslick, 1st as critic of the « Allgemeine Zeitung » and then, from 1886 till his death, of the « Neue Wiener Tagblatt ».

Kalbeck was a close friend and partisan of Johannes Brahms. Kalbeck's principal achievement was his 8 volume biography of that composer, published from 1904 to 1914, which has never been translated into English. Kalbeck also

edited several volumes of Brahms's correspondence and, in 1918, the letters of the poets Gottfried Keller and Paul Heyse, as well as publishing 2 collections of his own music reviews.

Kalbeck wrote new libretti for Mozart's « Bastien und Bastienne » and « La finta giardiniera » ; and he revised those of « Don Giovanni » and « The Marriage of Figaro » for Gustav Mahler's productions at the Vienna « Hofoper » . In addition, he supplied lyrics for the songs in the Operetta « Jabuka » by Johann Strauß junior, the dialogue and plot being the work of Gustav Davis.

Kalbeck also wrote poetry and Johannes Brahms set a few of his verses to music as songs.

He died aged 71.

...

Max Kalbeck (geboren 4. Januar 1850 in Breslau ; gestorben 4. Mai 1921 in Wien) war ein deutscher Musikschriftsteller, Musikkritiker und Übersetzer.

Max Kalbeck (er schrieb auch unter dem Pseudonym « Jeremias Deutlich ») wurde 1861 Sängerknabe in Breslau unter Leopold Damrosch und 1867 Kirchensänger. Von 1860 bis zum Abitur im Jahre 1869 besuchte er das Gymnasium zu Sankt Maria Magdalena in seiner Heimatstadt. Auf Wunsch des Vaters studierte er anschließend Rechtswissenschaften in Breslau. 1872 wechselte er an die Universität München, belegte dort die Fächer Philologie und Philosophie und studierte an der königlichen Musikschule in München bei Joseph Rheinberger (Komposition) , bei Franz Wüllner (Chorgesang, Orchesterspiel Partiturlesen) und bei Josef Walter (Violine) . Zurück in Breslau war er ab 1874 zunächst Kunst- und Musikkritiker bei der Schlesischen Zeitung, dann bei der Breslauer Zeitung und anschließend Direktionsassistent am Schlesischen Museum für bildende Künste in Breslau. 1880 kam Kalbeck auf Empfehlung von Eduard Hanslick nach Wien, zunächst als Kritiker bei der Wiener Allgemeinen Zeitung, der Presse (1883-1890) und von 1886 bis zu seinem Tode beim Neuen Wiener Tagblatt. Er wurde zu einem der einflussreichsten Kritiker in Österreich und war, wie Hanslick, ein heftiger Gegner der Musik von Richard Wagner, Anton Bruckner und Hugo Wolf, deren Werke damals der Neudeutschen Schule zugeordnet wurden.

Andererseits wurde Kalbeck, wiederum wie Hanslick, ein enger Freund und Parteigänger von Brahms, den er 1874 kennengelernt hatte. Als wichtigste Leistung gilt seine 1904 bis 1914 veröffentlichte umfangreiche Biographie dieses Komponisten, die bis heute eine wesentliche musikhistorische Quelle darstellt, ungeachtet einiger zeitgebundener Fehler und der teils sehr subjektiv gefärbten Darstellungen. Kalbeck veröffentlichte außerdem mehrere Bände des Brahms'schen Briefwechsels, daneben 1918 Briefe der Dichter Gottfried Keller und Paul Heyse, weiterhin zwei Sammlungen eigener Kritiken.

Neben der Übersetzung von Opernlibretti insbesondere von Tschaikowski, Verdi, Puccini und Smetana verfasste Kalbeck neue Libretti und andere für Mozarts Bastien und Bastienne und La Finta Giardiniera ; weiterhin revidierte er für Gustav Mahlers Produktionen an der Wiener Hofoper diejenigen von Don Giovanni und Le Nozze di Figaro. Kalbeck steuerte außerdem Gedichte für die Lieder in der Operette Jabuka von Johann Strauß (Sohn) bei. Zwei von Kalbecks

eigenen Gedichten wurden von Brahms vertont (das Klavierlied Nachtwandler, Opus 86 ; 3 sowie Letztes Glück, Opus 104 ; 3 für gemischten Chor a cappella) .

Max Kalbecks Sohn ist der Schauspieler und Regisseur Paul Kalbeck.

Im Jahr 1925 wurde in Wien Währing (18. Bezirk) die Kalbeckgasse nach ihm benannt.

Karl Kraus äußerte sich in seiner satirischen Zeitschrift Fackel über Kalbeck auf seine Weise :

« Er hat einige dürftige lyrische Gedichte geschrieben und einige schon wieder verschollene Operettentexte geliefert, hat fremdländische Opern angeblich ins Deutsche übertragen - Alois Obrist führt in seinen in Leßmann's Musikzeitung (Berlin-Charlottenburg) über " schlechtes Operndeutsch " veröffentlichten Aufsätzen unter den abschreckendsten Beispielen eine erkleckliche Anzahl aus Kalbeck's Feder an - , hat eine ehrfurchtlose " Bearbeitung " des Don Juan gewagt, hat wohl auch einigen Musikunterricht genossen und wurde, da er weder zum Dichter noch zum Musiker taugte, Zeitungskritiker für Literatur und Musik. Als solcher trat er in die Reihe der Wiener Beckmesser, die sich von jenem Wagner's bloß dadurch unterscheiden, daß sie oft nicht einmal die Tabulatur kennen, pflanzte die Anschauungen seines Förderers Hanslick fort, hängt sich, um nicht die Überfuhr zur Unsterblichkeit zu versäumen, an die Frackschöbe Johannes Brahms' und schien gewillt, alles, was neben diesem in Tönen zu empfinden wagte, einer Rache, einer Laune, einem Spaß zu opfern. Denn in diese Wiener Grundstimmung, die ein großes Kunstwerk bedenkenlos für einen kleinen Witz hingibt, hat sich der Breslauer Philister vortrefflich eingelebt. »

Gustav Dömpke

Le critique musical Gustav Dömpke est né en 1853 à Barten, en Prusse orientale, et est mort en 1923 à Königsberg i Preußen. Il fut pendant des décennies le plus influent de sa profession dans la capitale de la Prusse orientale. Dans les années 1870, Dömpke amorce sa carrière comme critique musical au « Königsberg Allgemeine Zeitung » . En 1884, il quitte la Prusse orientale pour se rendre à Vienne où il sera accepté dans le « Cercle » des Eduard Hanslick et Johannes Brahms. Sous leur influence, il deviendra rapidement un adversaire farouche de la nouvelle École allemande. Dans le « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » , il soutient Brahms et les Classiques viennois et pourfend Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt, Hans Pfitzner, Hugo Wolf, Richard Strauß, et, surtout, Anton Bruckner (dont il va cependant vanter le Quintette à cordes en fa majeur) . En 1897, il retournera à Königsberg pour se joindre au « Hartung'sche Zeitung » parce que Königsberg est devenu une ville totalement conquise par la musique de Johannes Brahms. Dömpke sera victime de l'inflation économique après la Première Guerre mondiale.

...

Gustav Dömpke (geboren 1853 in Barten, Ostpreußen ; gestorben 1923 in Königsberg i Preußen) war über Jahrzehnte der einflussreichste Musikkritiker in Ostpreußens Provinzialhauptstadt.

In den 1870er Jahren begann Dömpke als Musikkritiker bei der Königsberger Allgemeinen Zeitung. 1884 ging er von Ostpreußen nach Wien, wo er in den Kreis um Eduard Hanslick aufgenommen wurde und Johannes Brahms

kennenlernte. Unter dessen Einfluss wurde er zum entschiedenen Gegner der Neudeutschen Schule. In der Wiener Allgemeinen Zeitung engagierte er sich so entschieden für Brahms und die Wiener Klassik wie gegen Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt, Hans Pfitzner, Hugo Wolf, Richard Strauß und vor allem Anton Bruckner, dessen F-Dur Streichquintett er allerdings rühmte. 1897 kehrte er nach Königsberg zurück und schrieb für die Hartung'sche Zeitung. Nicht zuletzt durch Dömpke wurde Königsberg zur « Brahms-Stadt » .

Dömpke verarmte in der Inflation nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg.

...

Autour du printemps 1875 : A copy of the score of the 1874 version of the 4th Symphony is made.

1875 : Unsuccessful attempts by Bruckner to have his 1874 version of the 4th Symphony performed.

1er juillet 1875 : Bruckner est nommé vice-archiviste à la « Hofmusikkapelle » et second chef de chœur des petits-chanteurs de Vienne.

Juillet 1875 : Anton Bruckner est nommé Maître conférencier d'harmonie et de contrepoint (sans salaire) à l'Université de Vienne. Il demande à ce que soit ajouté l'enseignement de la théorie musicale au curriculum de sa chaire en musique en tant que professeur d'harmonie et de contrepoint à l'Université de Vienne.

Après maintes sollicitations auprès du Ministère, et sans se préoccuper de ce qu'il s'aliénait définitivement son collègue Eduard Hanslick en marchant par trop sur ses brisées, il obtint en effet, en 1875, la création à son profit (mais, au début, sans émoluments) d'une chaire de musique en théorie musicale ouverte aux étudiants du doctorat en philosophie, où se succédèrent durant 20 années les futurs grands noms de la pensée viennoise et pas seulement des musiciens.

...

Bruckner's biographer, Alfred Orel, reported that, when Bruckner was a lecturer in music theory at the University of Vienna, in the late 1870's, he applied for a professorship in music theory. The decision of the committee that was given the task of evaluating Bruckner's credentials in music theory rejected his application. When one of the professors sought to defend Bruckner by explaining what was involved in the aesthetics of the art of music, a member of the search committee countered with the remark that Bruckner probably had not even kept abreast of the newest research on acoustics provided by Hermann von Helmholtz's « Tonempfindungen » (On the Sensations of tone) , which was required reading for music students at the University.

Alfred Orel. « Anton Bruckner. Das Werk. Die Künstler. Die Zeit » , Vienna / Leipzig (1925) ; page 143. Orel was « Privatdozent » for music history at the University of Vienna, in 1925.

In the 19th Century, Hermann von Helmholtz put acoustics on an entirely new footing. The science of sounds, he argued, had to clarify, first and foremost, how sound was perceived, rather than merely investigate vibrating bodies that happened to be audible but were not different in any respect from other vibrations. His own study of auditory perception, however, went well beyond investigating the physiological process of hearing. The title of his book, « Tonempfindungen » ; « On the Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music » (1863) , even promised to revolutionize music theory. In the introduction, he stated that his aim was to « connect the boundaries of 2 sciences, which, although drawn toward each other by many natural affinities, have hitherto remained practically distinct - I mean the boundaries of physical and physiological acoustics on the one side ; and of musical science and esthetics on the other » .

L'archiduchesse Marie-Valérie de Vienne

1875 : Iers contacts d'Anton Bruckner avec la jeune archiduchesse Marie-Valérie de Vienne.

À partir de 1875 : Bruckner trouve une pitié en l'archiduchesse Marie-Valérie ; grâce à elle, on lui a, malgré toutes les oppositions, accordé un cours d'harmonie de 2 heures le lundi soir à l'Université, dans cette même salle où les mardis, jeudis et samedis professe le redoutable Eduard Hanslick.

...

Après la naissance de l'archiduc héritier Rodolphe en 1858, l'Impératrice s'éloigne de la Cour pour raison de santé. Ayant pris fait et cause pour les Hongrois, elle se réconcilie avec l'Empereur puis, après la création de la double monarchie et leur couronnement à Budapest, lui propose de concevoir un autre enfant (1867) . La souveraine souhaite ardemment un fils qui deviendrait un roi pour la Hongrie. Ce sera une fille. L'Impératrice et reine, défiant la tradition Impériale, donne à cette enfant, en hommage à la Hongrie, un prénom inusité dans les familles royales : Marie-Valérie (Valéria est le nom de la région de Budapest) .

Née en Hongrie, à Ofen (Budapest) , la petite archiduchesse, « l'enfant de la Hongrie » , était le 4e enfant du couple Impérial. Elle était la préférée de sa mère, la Kedvesem (c'est-à-dire : l'unique, en hongrois) , la seule de ses enfants que l'Impératrice eût désirée. Elle est née 10 ans après ses aînés, après le couronnement à Budapest et la création de la double monarchie en 1867. Ce fait a suggéré à quelques-uns que Marie-Valérie n'était pas la fille de l'Empereur et roi, mais du Comte Andrassy, mentor de l'Impératrice et reine. La rumeur mourra avec le temps, tant la ressemblance physique entre Marie-Valérie et son père s'accroît avec les années.

Issue de la maison de Habsbourg-Lorraine, Marie-Valérie est la 3e et dernière fille de l'Empereur François-Joseph Ier d'Autriche et de l'Impératrice Elisabeth d'Autriche (née duchesse Elisabeth en Bavière) . Elle est la sœur cadette de l'archiduc Rodolphe et de l'archiduchesse Gisèle.

Elle a 4 ans quand meurt sa terrible mais affectueuse grand-mère l'archiduchesse Sophie et quand sa sœur Gisèle, âgée de 16 ans, est fiancée (puis mariée l'année suivante) à un cousin, le prince Léopold de Bavière.

Adolescente, elle souffre des taquineries de son frère, l'archiduc Rodolphe, un tant soit peu jaloux de la préférence qu'accorde sa mère à sa plus jeune enfant (la seule qu'elle ait vraiment désirée) .

« Fille de la Hongrie » , l'archiduchesse ne partageait pas avec sa mère l'amour de ce pays. Elle souffrit également de l'amour possessif de l'Impératrice.

...

1875 : Anton Bruckner est nommé second Maître de chant et vice-archiviste à la Chapelle de la Cour (« Hofkapelle »)

Malgré sa Maîtrise incontestée de l'orgue, on rapporte que Bruckner n'a pas toujours accompagné les célébrations liturgiques d'une manière acceptable aux yeux de ses Supérieurs. Ils lui ont souvent reproché un jeu sans lustre qui faisait appel à de simples accompagnements. Cette position ne lui a jamais pris beaucoup de son temps. Peut-être était-il plus intéressé par l'improvisation que l'interprétation stricte des pièces au programme. Lorsque Josef Hellmesberger succéda à Johann Herbeck comme « Hofkapellmeister » , Bruckner devra se résigner à accompagner la Messe de la bénédiction de l'après-midi. Il n'était pas autorisé à jouer lors des grandes Messes. Bruckner présentera occasionnellement à la Chapelle de la Cour ses propres compositions lors de récitals. Tout au long des ses années viennoises, la « Hofkapelle » ne sera pas un terreau propice à la musique moderne.

Un sale tour des étudiants

1875 : Un groupe d'étudiants décida de se payer la tête du professeur Bruckner ... le célèbre célibataire endurci. Ils lui demandèrent la permission de se présenter à son appartement pour lui faire une surprise. La « surprise » s'est avéré être une prostituée notoire de Vienne. Bruckner n'a pas dit un seul mot. Il traversa la pièce et s'agenouilla devant son prie-Dieu. Au-dessus du crucifix se trouvait une image cachée par un petit rideau de couleur verte. Se levant debout, il le tira et se tint en silence devant les étudiants. L'image était celle de sa défunte mère (de qui il avait hérité la foi ardente) exposée dans son cercueil. (Maria Theresia Helm est décédée d'une maladie pulmonaire, le 11 novembre 1860, à sa résidence du 70 « Schmiedhaus » - la maison du forgeron - à Ebelsberg. Son cercueil, qui se trouvait originalement au cimetière d'Ebelsberg, sera relocalisé en 1924 pour se retrouver aux côtés de son mari, Anton « sénior » , dans la cour de l'église paroissiale d'Ansfelden.)

Bien qu'Anton Bruckner dut donner des cours de violon et de chant à ses enfants de chœur en plus de ses heures d'enseignement normal, il sut s'arranger pour donner des cours privés à ses élèves de piano. Parmi ses élèves, l'on peut compter les 3 enfants du notaire Marböck, la fille du magistrat diocésain de Saint-Florian, Georg Ruckensteiner et Aloisia (Louise) Bogner, la fille aînée de son ancien Maître de chant Michaël Bogner.

Krems an der Donau

1875 : Anton Bruckner s'exécute sur l'orgue des frères Mauracher (Josef et Matthäus) de la « Stadtpfarrkirche » de Krems an der Donau.

« Krems an der Donau » est situé au bout de la vallée de Wachau. Le village borde les localités de Stratzing, Langenlois, Rohrendorf bei Krems, Gedersdorf, Traismauer, Nußdorf ob der Traisen, Paudorf, Furth bei Göttweig, Mautern an der Donau, Dürnstein et Senftenberg.

La Ire mention faite de Krems date de l'an 995 par Otton III. On a retrouvé sur ce site la tombe d'un enfant datant de plus de 27,000 ans. Il s'agit de la plus ancienne sépulture découverte en Autriche.

Aux XIe et XIIe siècles, la localité de Chremis (comme on l'appelait alors) était presque aussi grande que celle de Vienne.

Un don de l'Empereur Henri II permit la mise en chantier d'une Ire église, en 1014. La base de la tour-sud qui a survécu nous rappelle l'existence d'une Basilique Romane (avec une tour basse) construite au début du 12e siècle. Ce n'est seulement qu'en 1178 que l'on y associera le nom de Sankt Veit (Vitus) . La nouvelle église paroissiale de Krems est l'un des symboles de la victoire des catholiques au moment de la Contre-Réforme. L'intérieur date du 18e siècle. Le 1er peintre, dessinateur et graveur du style Baroque tardif autrichien, Martin Johann Schmidt (surnommé « Krems » parce que natif de l'endroit) exécutera les 5 fresques qui ornent le plafond.

Krems est le producteur principal de « Marillenschnaps » , une « eau de vie » d'abricot.

Melk et son abbaye

Anton Bruckner se rendra souvent à la ville abbatiale de Melk pour renouer avec son ancien collègue de Saint-Florian, le notaire Josef Marböck (de même que son épouse Marie) . Quant à elles, les 3 filles les plus âgées auront la chance de recevoir des leçons privées de piano du Maître, sur son Bösendorfer de concert, un héritage provenant de son ami et bienfaiteur Franz Sailer, l'ancien secrétaire du monastère. On peut trouver une plaque commémorative (en souvenir des visites couvrant la période 1875-1876) près d'une des fenêtres située au second palier de la maison portant le numéro 12 de la « Hauptstraße » . La basilique est une des Ires destination de pèlerinage en Autriche pour des raisons obscures de guérisons miraculeuses.

(Voir **WAB 124/1/2/3 (1853-1855)** : « Drei Kleines, Vortrags-Stück » , 3 petites études pour piano 4 mains (No.1 en sol majeur de 1853 ; n° 2 sol majeur de 1854 ; n° 3 fa majeur de 1855) . Ces pièces d'apprentissage du piano, faciles à jouer, furent composées lors des leçons privées.

La « Wienerstraße » de Melk mène à la « Rathausplatz » , la place centrale joliment restaurée qui tire son nom de l'Hôtel de ville (« Rathaus ») construit en 1575. La façade fut réaménagée il y a plus de 150 ans. Sa porte d'entrée très élaborée, en bois et en cuivre, représente le point d'attraction de l'édifice.

La fontaine du marché, appelée « Kolomanbrunnen », est un don de l'abbaye. Elle se trouve au centre de la « Rathausplatz ». Une statue de Saint-Coloman trône au sommet.

Avant que la route principale n'atteigne la « Rathausplatz », on peut également apercevoir une plaque commémorative du grand compositeur autrichien, Anton Bruckner.

L'école de l'abbaye de Melk (« Stiftsgymnasium Melk ») est un Gymnasium privé qui se trouve être la plus ancienne école d'Autriche. L'école est située dans la célèbre abbaye de Melk.

Le grand-orgue de l'église abbatiale de Melk est l'œuvre du facteur viennois Gottfried Sonnholz. Il subit, en 1929, des détériorations consécutives à des remaniements. Mais en 1970, le facteur Gregor Hradetzky, de Krems, construisit un orgue à sommier entièrement mécanique (3 claviers, 45 registres, 3,280 tuyaux) qui répond parfaitement aux données acoustiques de l'église.

La salle la plus impressionnante de l'abbaye Baroque de Melk est l'église abbatiale. D'après la volonté de l'abbé et de la communauté des moines, elle devait rendre clairement visible la fonction religieuse de la construction entière ainsi que son orientation vers Dieu. L'inscription située au-dessus du porche de Saint-Benoît dans la 1^{re} cour du monastère (« ABSIT GLORIARI NISI IN CRUCE » : loin de moi la pensée de glorifier autre chose que de la croix) est un leitmotiv qui nous transporte jusqu'à l'église.

Les moines envisagèrent simplement une « Baroquisation » de l'église abbatiale. Mais à partir de 1701, à l'instigation de l'abbé Berthold Dietmayr, l'église fut complètement reconstruite, d'après les plans de Jakob Prandtauer. L'abbé réussit à engager les Maîtres les plus importants pour la décoration intérieure : Antonio Beduzzi (architecture d'intérieur, esquisses pour les fresques) ; Johann Michaël Rottmayr (fresques, tableaux d'autel) ; Paul Troger (tableaux d'autel) ; Giuseppe Galli-Bibiena (plans pour la chaire et le Maître-autel) ; Lorenzo Mattielli (plans pour les sculptures) ; et Peter Widerin (sculptures) .

Sur l'autel latéral à gauche, un sarcophage contient les ossements de Saint-Coloman. L'autel latéral à droite est consacré à Saint-Benoît, mais le sarcophage est vide.

...

Depuis plus de 1,000 ans, Melk est un centre culturel et spirituel en Autriche, d'abord comme château fort de la famille Babenberg et, depuis 1089, comme abbaye bénédictine fondée par le margrave Léopold II. Dès le XII^e siècle, une école est rattachée à l'abbaye et des manuscrits précieux ont été rassemblés et rédigés dans la bibliothèque. Au cours de l'histoire du monastère, des membres du couvent de Melk ont aussi laissé d'importantes traces dans les domaines des sciences naturelles, des lettres et de la musique. Au XV^e siècle, l'abbaye fut le point de départ d'une des réformes monastiques les plus importantes du Moyen-âge, « la Réforme de Melk » et entretint d'étroits rapports avec les humanistes de l'Université de Vienne.

Une expression visible de l'importance de l'abbaye dans l'âge Baroque et de la position exceptionnelle de son abbé d'alors, Berthold Dietmayr, est la magnifique construction Baroque, érigée entre 1702 et 1736 d'après les plans de Jakob Prandtauer à laquelle participèrent quelques-uns des artistes les plus connus de l'époque.

...

En 996, le nom d'« Ostarrîchi » (Autriche) fut mentionné pour la 1re fois dans un document officiel. Ce petit territoire va devenir un énorme Empire. Melk demeurera toujours un centre spirituel et culturel du pays.

Le margrave Léopold Ier de Babenberg reçut comme fief la région qui est maintenant le Sud-Ouest du land de Basse-Autriche. Le château fort de Melk devint sa résidence principale et ses successeurs acquirent des reliques et des trésors précieux. En 1089, le margrave Léopold II fonda le monastère en donnant le château fort à des moines bénédictins provenant de Lambach (Haute-Autriche) . Depuis ce temps, sans aucune interruption, des moines bénédictins vivent et exercent leurs activités en observant la Règle de Saint-Benoît. Dès le XIIe siècle, une école est rattachée au monastère, et, dans la bibliothèque, des manuscrits précieux furent écrits et rassemblés. Au XVe siècle, l'abbaye fut le point de départ d'une des réformes les plus importantes du Moyen-âge, la « Réforme de Melk » et entretint d'étroits rapports avec les humanistes de l'Université de Vienne.

Une expression visible de l'importance de l'abbaye durant la période Baroque et de la position exceptionnelle de son abbé d'alors, Berthold Dietmayr, est la magnifique construction Baroque, érigée entre 1702 et 1736 d'après les plans de Jakob Prandtauer, à laquelle participèrent quelques-uns des artistes les plus connus de l'époque : J. M. Rottmayr, P. Troger, L. Mattielli, A. Beduzzi, J. W. Bergl, P. Widerin. Au XVIIIe siècle, les moines de Melk laissèrent, entre autres, aussi d'importantes traces dans les domaines de l'histoire ou de la musique : les pères Anselm Schramb, Bernhard Pez, Marian Paradeiser, Maximilian Stadler.

Même si l'abbaye de Melk échappa au sort de la fermeture sous l'Empereur Joseph II (1780-1790) , de nombreuses ordonnances Impériales changèrent la vie au monastère. Des « abbés commandataires » furent désignés par l'Empereur ; le séminaire abbatial fut fermé par ordre Impérial et l'école abbatiale fut transférée à Sankt Pölten. À cause de la nouvelle organisation des paroisses sous Joseph II, le nombre des paroisses relevant de l'abbaye de Melk s'accrût à 27, ce qui fut une lourde charge pour les moines parce que certains durent quitter le monastère pour travailler dans les paroisses.

Les guerres napoléoniennes ainsi que l'abolition du système féodal, en 1848, comportèrent de grandes restructurations économiques et difficultés pour l'abbaye. Au XIXe siècle, les moines réalisèrent la 1re restauration intégrale des bâtiments abbatiaux depuis la reconstruction Baroque et l'école ainsi que le pensionnat furent agrandis. Vers 1900, le monastère fut pourvu d'un système de canalisation moderne, d'électricité et de nouvelles conduites d'eau.

De nouveau, les deux Guerres Mondiales entraînèrent de graves problèmes pour l'abbaye. Aux difficultés économiques provoquées par l'inflation s'ajouta, après l'« Anschluß » en 1938, le danger constant de la fermeture du monastère par les Nationaux-Socialistes ; les moines risquaient d'être arrêtés. L'école des bénédictins fut fermée et on

réquisitionna une grande partie des bâtiments abbaciaux pour y installer une école secondaire publique.

Du 21 avril 1944 jusqu'à l'évacuation du 15 avril 1945 se trouvait à Melk, sur le site de la caserne Freiherr-von-Birago, un camp de concentration, extension du camp de Mauthausen. 5,000 personnes environ y perdirent la vie pendant son année d'existence. Il n'en reste aujourd'hui que le crématorium, en tant que mémorial.

Lors des travaux de réparation en 1947, rendus nécessaires à cause des dommages provoqués par des éclats d'obus, la coupole va prendre feu.

...

L'abbaye a été fondée en 1089 lorsque la famille Babenberg décida de déplacer sa capitale. 2 tours, seuls vestiges du château des Babenberg, peuvent encore être vues.

L'abbaye de Melk est une célèbre abbaye bénédictine de Basse-Autriche, faisant partie de la congrégation bénédictine d'Autriche. Située dans la région de Wachau, elle surplombe la ville de Melk, et le Danube. Bien que l'abbaye ait été fondée au XI^e siècle, les bâtiments actuels datent de l'époque Baroque, ils sont l'œuvre de l'architecte Jakob Prandtauer. Après sa mort, en 1726, les travaux sont achevés d'après ses plans par son élève Franz Munggenast. L'École de l'abbaye de Melk est située en l'Abbaye.

Melk doit son nom à la rivière Medjilica (rivière frontalière, en slave) , et est mentionné pour la 1^{re} fois dans un document officiel en 831. Après les guerres menées par Charlemagne contre les Avars, les territoires de l'Est, dont Melk faisait partie, furent administrés par un Comte des Marches. C'est approximativement à cette période que l'on éleva un château fort sur le rocher surplombant le Danube.

Après la bataille du Lechfeld en l'an 955, Othon le Grand remit à Luitpold, de la famille des Babenberg, les anciens territoires de l'Est. En 996, cette Marche est désignée pour la 1^{re} fois sous le nom de Ostarrichi.

Le château fort de Melk était la possession du Comte bavarois Sizo. À l'occasion d'une rivalité entre le duc de Bavière Henri le Querelleur et l'Empereur Othon II, Sizo se rangea aux côtés du Querelleur. Léopold I^{er} de Babenberg prit parti pour l'Empereur, défit Sizo et prit possession du château de Melk, qui devint sa résidence.

Les étroites relations établies entre les Babenberg et les religieux de Melk sont attestées par différents objets d'art et de dévotion qui sont encore en possession de l'abbaye ; par exemple, une relique de la Vraie Croix, offerte par le margrave Adalbert, ou un petit autel portatif de Swanhilde, l'épouse d'Ernest le Valeureux. Le 13 octobre 1014, Henri I^{er} fit transporter à Melk la dépouille mortelle de Saint-Colman, un fils de roi irlandais, mort en martyr (alors qu'il se rendait en croisade en Terre Sainte, il fut pris pour un espion et capturé à Stockerau près de Vienne, puis pendu) . Le 21 mars 1089, Léopold II appela à Melk des Bénédictins de Lambach, en remplacement des Chanoines du chapitre qui y étaient depuis plusieurs décennies. Plus tard, Léopold III attribua au monastère, par une lettre de donation de 1113, des terres situées aux confins de l'ancienne Marche de l'Est, ainsi que très certainement le château des Babenberg à

Melk.

Après que Vienne eut été choisie comme nouvelle résidence des Babenberg, Melk perdit quelque peu les faveurs du souverain, mais le monastère prit un essor rapide et parvint à un grand épanouissement intellectuel et culturel. C'est alors que furent créés une école monastique (mentionnée en 1160) et un atelier de copistes.

Le 14 août 1297 se déclara dans le monastère un terrible incendie qui détruisit presque tous les bâtiments. Grâce aux efforts considérables de l'abbé Ulrich II (1306-1324), il fut possible de reconstruire l'église et les locaux d'habitation, mais on ne parvint pas à rétablir véritablement la situation d'origine. À cela vinrent s'ajouter la peste et les mauvaises récoltes.

Le Concile de Constance (1414-1418) avait décidé de réformer les monastères. Nikolaus Seyringer von Matzen, un moine autrichien formé à Subiaco, fut désigné par Albrecht V pour introduire la réforme dans les abbayes du duché d'Autriche. Melk fut choisie pour point de départ de la réforme et Nikolaus Seyringer fut nommé abbé. Le monastère devint bientôt un modèle de discipline régulière, et le nombre de vocations augmenta. Melk fut chargé de l'inspection, ses conventuels furent nommés abbés dans différents monastères d'Autriche et d'Allemagne du sud. Une grande partie des « manuscrits de Melk » date de cette période.

Comme la Réforme protestante se propageait et que, surtout, le danger turc grandissait, la vie intellectuelle du monastère allait en s'affaiblissant. Melk dut aux interventions des souverains de ne pas disparaître définitivement. L'impulsion qui devait conduire au redressement fut le fait d'un groupe d'Allemands du sud qui entrèrent à Melk après avoir reçu une formation dans les écoles jésuites de leur pays d'origine. En dépit de la Guerre de Trente Ans et de la menace constante que faisaient peser les Turcs, la situation économique se rétablit complètement. Peu à peu, les abbés créèrent les bases financières qui rendirent possibles les grandioses transformations à l'époque du Baroque.

Le 18 novembre 1700 fut élu un jeune abbé de 30 ans, Berthold Dietmayr, qui sut trouver les moyens pour imposer ses idées, malgré les résistances de sa propre communauté. Avec détermination, il se mit à la transformation du monastère, après avoir trouvé en Jakob Prandtauer, architecte de Sankt Polten, un partenaire d'un génie égal au sien. En 40 ans à peine, l'abbaye prit sa forme actuelle. Les artistes Baroques les plus importants d'Autriche y ont mis tout leur talent. À peine achevé, le monastère fut très gravement endommagé par un incendie. L'abbé Berthold mourut peu après. Les travaux furent achevés pendant le ministère de l'abbé Adrian Pliemel. À la mort de Prandtauer, c'est Josef Munggenast qui prit la direction des chantiers. Parallèlement, le monastère connut un renouveau de sa vie intellectuelle et artistique.

Comme tous les courants intellectuels, la philosophie des Lumières ne gagna l'Autriche qu'assez lentement et sous forme édulcorée, mais son influence n'en fut que plus longue. Sous Joseph II (1780-1790) cependant, les idées nouvelles s'imposèrent rapidement. Un décret Impérial imposa aux religieux de passer par le séminaire général de Vienne, où ils recevaient une éducation conforme à l'esprit du siècle. Le monastère échappa à la fermeture, mais eut à supporter de nouvelles servitudes.

Si de nombreux décrets de Joseph II furent rapportés après sa mort, l'esprit jéséphiste n'en persista pas moins jusqu'à l'époque actuelle. Les guerres napoléoniennes et les rétrocessions forcées de terres après la révolution de 1848 entraînent d'importantes charges financières et restructurations économiques. Malgré cela, sous l'abbé Wilhelm Eder (1838-1866), la rénovation devenue urgente de l'ensemble Baroque, ainsi que la création d'un nouveau lycée, furent menées à bien.

Le portail d'entrée

Le visiteur pénètre dans les bâtiments abbaciaux en passant entre 2 imposants bastions, celui du sud fut élevé en 1650 pour servir de fortification, le bastion nord fut édifié par Jakob Prandtauer dans le but d'équilibrer la perspective. 2 statues sur haut piédestal représentent Saint-Léopold et Saint-Colman. Après avoir passé le porche d'entrée octogonal surmonté d'une coupole ouverte, on accède à la 1re cour. Sur la droite, on aperçoit l'une des 2 tours appelées « tours des Babenberg », qui font partie de l'ancien système de fortification.

La façade Est

Elle est dominée par une réplique de la Croix de Melk, qui fait partie du trésor de l'abbaye. L'inscription au fronton rappelle, au plan théologique, la valeur relative de toute grandeur et de toute gloire : « Absit gloriari nisi in cruce » (que par la Croix seule, soit la gloire) . Au-dessus du portail en plein-cintre, se trouve un petit balcon depuis lequel l'abbé saluait ses hôtes, au-dessous figurent les armoiries de l'abbaye, 2 clés d'or croisées sur fond d'azur. On reconnaît, sur 2 petits socles, les 2 Princes des Apôtres, Pierre et Paul, les saints patrons de l'église.

La cour du prélat

Le visiteur passe sous le porche Saint-Benoit (« Benediktihalle ») et se retrouve dans la cour du prélat, à la fois élégante et majestueuse. Le regard se pose d'emblée sur la coupole de l'église et sur les 2 tours qui la flanquent. La fontaine, formée au XVIIIe siècle, a été installée ici au début du XIXe siècle.

L'escalier et la galerie des Empereurs

L'escalier des Empereurs conduit à l'aile d'apparat de l'abbaye et aux appartements Impériaux. Un groupe d'allégorie accompagne un cartouche portant l'inscription « Constantia et Fortitudine » (avec persévérance et bravoure) , devise de l'Empereur Charles VI qui entretint des relations amicales avec la maison et sous le règne duquel eut lieu l'édification de Melk. La partie supérieure de l'escalier en particulier témoigne de la sensibilité et du goût de l'artiste, ainsi que de son sens très sûr des proportions. L'escalier mène au 1er étage à l'aile des Empereurs. Sur le palier, 2 grands portraits de l'Impératrice Marie-Thérèse et de son époux, François III de Lorraine, évoquent la période de construction de cette partie de la maison. Aux murs du couloir des Empereurs s'aligne une série complète des portraits des souverains autrichiens. Les appartements Impériaux ont été, en grande partie, transformés en musée.

La terrasse

Une imposante terrasse dégage la vue sur la façade de l'église. C'est cette solution architecturale qui différencie Melk d'édifices semblables de la période Baroque et qui, malgré les formes Baroques, met en relief son caractère sacré. L'église domine nettement l'ensemble des bâtiments abbaciaux, avec ses tours et avec sa vaste coupole octogonale reconstruites par Josef Munggenast après l'incendie de 1738.

La bibliothèque

La fresque du plafond, peinte par Paul Troger (1731-1732), représente une allégorie de la Foi, elle est le pendant thématique de la Salle de Marbre (« Marmorsaal ») qui met en scène la Sagesse humaine. Autour du personnage central (une femme soutenant dans une main le « Livre aux Sept Sceaux » et « l'Agneau de l'Apocalypse », et s'appuyant de l'autre sur un écu au motif de l'Esprit-Saint sous forme de colombe), évoluent des groupes distincts représentant les 4 vertus cardinales : la sagesse, l'équité, la force et la tempérance. Les statues en bois symbolisent les 4 facultés : le droit, la médecine, la philosophie et la théologie. Le globe terrestre et la sphère céleste sont de Vincenzo Coronelli (1670).

La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Melk renferme environ 85,000 volumes, 1,200 manuscrits du IX^e au XV^e siècles, 800 manuscrits des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, et 850 incunables. Les manuscrits et incunables les plus intéressants sont exposés sous verre.

L'église abbatiale

Les fresques

Les fresques des voûtes de la nef et des bas-côtés sont l'œuvre du maître salzbourgeois Johann Michael Rottmayr. La travée centrale est consacrée à Saint-Benoît, entouré d'allégories représentant la lutte contre le Mal. Sur l'arc avant (le dernier panneau), on distingue une colombe, l'âme de Sainte-Scholastique qui précède dans le ciel celle de son frère Saint-Benoît. Dans la dernière travée, le Saint dans la gloire de Dieu : il a retrouvé sa jeunesse, ainsi qu'aimait à se le représenter l'imagination populaire, et il entre dans la joie du Seigneur.

Les autels latéraux

Ils sont, avec les tribunes, l'œuvre du décorateur de théâtre Antonio Beduzzi, qui leur donna la forme de chapelles. L'ornementation de chacune des chapelles s'inspire de la vie du Saint auquel l'autel est consacré. Les 2 autels du fond sont consacrés à Saint Sébastien, à droite, et à Saint Nicolas, à gauche (peintures de Paul Troger 1746). Les deux suivants ont pour saints patrons, à droite, Saint-Jean Baptiste (M. Rottmayr, 1727) et, à gauche, l'archange Saint-Michel (M. Rottmayr, 1723). Le 3^e autel latéral de droite est appelé autel de Saint-Léopold, le tableau d'autel traite plusieurs scènes inspirées de la tradition de l'abbaye : Léopold I^{er} fait venir à Melk une communauté de chanoines, Léopold II des Bénédictins, Léopold III étend sur Melk une main protectrice. Cette peinture sur cuivre est l'œuvre de Georg Bachmann, 1650. L'autel opposé représente une Adoration des Mages (M. Rottmayr, 1723). La chaire fut réalisée par

un sculpteur de Sankt Pölten, Peter Widerin, sur des esquisses d'Antonio Galli-Bibiena. Les autels du transept, d'Antonio Beduzzi, ont leur inspiration propre. L'autel de droite est consacré à Saint-Benoît. Le groupe pictural représente la mort du Saint au milieu de ses compagnons. À la pointe de l'obélisque, un ange attend l'âme de Saint-Benoît. L'autel latéral de gauche renferme dans un sarcophage les ossements de Saint-Colman. La statue représente le Saint en vêtements de pèlerin, sa prière s'élève jusqu'au ciel. La veilleuse indique que l'autel de Saint-Colman est aussi l'autel du Saint-Sacrement.

Le Maître-autel et la coupole

Les créateurs de la période Baroque s'attachaient, à travers leurs œuvres, à concrétiser une idée. Leur rôle était de trouver la formule architecturale la mieux adaptée à l'idée directrice énoncée par le Maître-d'œuvre. Le sanctuaire et la coupole de l'église abbatiale de Melk illustrent cette démarche. Au-dessus du tabernacle se trouve une tiare. Elle renvoie au Christ, la tête de l'Église, et, en même temps, aux 2 personnages qui se tiennent directement au-dessus du tabernacle : Saint-Pierre, le chef visible de l'Église, et Saint-Paul. Les statues placées à leur droite et à leur gauche représentent des prophètes de l'Ancien Testament, les annonciateurs des 2 Princes de l'Église. Pierre et Paul se séparent avant leur martyre. L'inscription dans le cartouche est un commentaire de leur vie : « Sans juste combat, il n'y a pas de victoire. » . C'est Dieu le Père qui leur remet la couronne de gloire. La croix, signe de victoire, domine l'ensemble. Le thème ainsi traité est celui de l'Église combattante et triomphante. L'homme est considéré respectivement sous les 2 aspects temporel et spirituel. À gauche, devant Dieu le Père, on voit la remarquable statue de Moïse, guide temporel du peuple de Dieu, il désigne du doigt la Table des 10 Commandements. Cette idée se prolonge dans la décoration de la voûte. Un ange présente la loi de Dieu à un souverain. Au-dessus d'eux flotte l'ancien drapeau Impérial, bannière de la puissance temporelle. Sur les arcs du chœur se trouvent, à hauteur de la corniche, des emblèmes de la sphère terrestre : épées, hallebardes, lances. Cette idée se développe encore sur le pilier d'appui est de la coupole, et passe en diagonale sur le pilier ouest. De manière analogue, on trouve de l'autre côté, à la droite de Dieu le Père, Aaron, le guide spirituel du peuple élu, et derrière lui, dans la fresque du plafond, le « zelus christianus » apparaissant à l'Église, au-dessus, le voile de Sainte-Véronique tient lieu de bannière à la sphère spirituelle. L'idée se prolonge sur les arcs doubleaux du chœur et sur les piliers diagonalement opposés du transept. Le thème principal se déploie en un puissant final dans la fresque de la coupole : autour de la Sainte-Trinité évoluent les Saints rattachés à Melk et à l'ordre bénédictin.

La réalisation de l'autel est due à Antonio Beduzzi, les fresques de l'église sont de Michaël Rottmayr, les statues de Peter Widerin (1733) .

Prélats de l'abbaye de Melk

Walther (1224-1247) .

Ulrich II (1306-1324) .

Rodolphe le Fondateur (1358-1365) .

Johannes Fläming (?-1418) .

Nikolaus Seyringer (1418-1425) .

Augustin von Oberhalb (?-1483) .

Wolfgang Schaffenrath (1483-1497) .

Urban Perntaz (1564-1587) .

Caspar Hofmann (1587-1623) .

Reiner von Landau (1623-1637) .

Valentin Embalner (1637-1675) .

? (1675-1679) .

Gregor Müller (1679-1700) .

Berthold Dietmayr (1700-1739) .

Adrian Pliemel (1739-1745) .

Thomas Pauer (1746-1762) .

Urban Hauer (?-1785) .

Christian Fengler (1785-1788) .

Isidor Payrhuber (1788-?) .

Marian Zwinger (1819-1837) .

Wilhelm Eder (1838-1866) .

Clemens Moser (1867-1875) .

Alexander Karl (1875-1909) .

Armand John (1909-1942) .

Anciens étudiants de Melk

Jacobus Gallus (1550-1591) , compositeur de la Renaissance.

Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736-1809) , compositeur.

Karl Kautsky (1854-1938) , théoricien marxiste.

Adolf Loos (1870-1933) , architecte.

Albert Paris Gütersloh (1887-1973) , peintre.

Leopold Vietoris (1891-2002) , mathématicien.

Franz König (1905-2004) , cardinal de l'Église catholique.

Georg de Hohenberg, duc et prince de Hohenberg (né en 1929) .

...

26 août 1875 : Anton Bruckner gives another organ recital in the parish church of Steyr, which again left a deep impression. His concluding improvisation on Georg Friedrich Händel's « Halleluja » elicited rapturous applause. The « several friends » mentioned in the review no doubt included Georg Arminger, the parish priest, who was presumably already playing host to Bruckner in the rectory. The hospitality extended to Bruckner, there, was precious to the composer : as a committed Catholic cultivating a close, life-long relationship with clerics and the life of the Church, he found a congenial environment there that enabled him to concentrate on his work. At the same time, he was able to relax on excursions organized by his friends and to sample the down-to-earth « pub fare » on offer in Steyr and its environs.

The 42 year old Johannes Brahms becomes the most important member of the Austrian Commission for the Conferring of Artists' Scholarships.

The 64 year old Franz Liszt is appointed president of the New Hungarian Academy of Music, in Budapest.

The 32 year old Hans Richter becomes conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, until 1898.

The 28 year old Robert Fuchs obtains a job teaching harmony at the Vienna Conservatory, which he will hold until

1912.

10 septembre 1875 : The 15 year old Gustav Mahler goes to live in Vienna and begins his studies at the Conservatory, studying with :

Julius Epstein : piano (Mahler's major) .

Robert Fuchs : harmony.

Franz Krenn : composition.

Although not actually a pupil of Bruckner, Mahler admires Bruckner's music, attends his lectures, and develops a friendship that will last until Bruckner's death.

2 of Mahler's classmates and closest friends are Hugo Wolf, a talented composer of lieder, and Hans Rott, gifted son of a famous actor, and Bruckner's favourite pupil. All of them fall heavily under the spell of Richard Wagner.

WAB 141

18 septembre 1875 : **WAB 141** - Anton Bruckner esquisse à Vienne 18 mesures de l'Introit de son « Requiem » en ré mineur.

G/A (August Göllerich / Max Auer) : IV/1 (1936) , pages 361-362.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXI/1, édition Hans Bauernfeind - Leopold Nowak (1984) (2001) , page 179.

19 septembre 1875 : Bruckner apporte des coupures à la 2e Symphonie.

Mi-octobre à mi-décembre : The 62 year old Richard Wagner visits Vienna and attends Hans Richter's productions of « Tannhäuser » and « Lohengrin » .

The son of a friend of Adolf von Zemlinsky moves in with the family and brings his piano. The 4 year old Alex is fascinated with the instrument, shows musical talent, and begins taking piano lessons.

25 octobre 1875 : The 45 year old Hans von Bülow tours America, and gives the premiere of Tchaikovsky's 1st Piano Concerto in Boston « Symphony Hall » .

17 novembre 1875 (10h45) : Outside the stage-door of the Vienna Opera House, wherein a rehearsal of « Tannhäuser » is in progress, Hugo Wolf (aged 15) meets Richard Wagner (aged 62) for the 1st time :

« With a truly religious awe, I gazed upon this great Master of Tone. » (Hugo Wolf)

Bruckner est approuvé par le ministère de la Culture comme initialement (jusqu'en 1880) un conférencier non rémunéré dans l'harmonie et le contrepoint à l'Université de Vienne.

18 novembre 1875 : Grâce à l'intervention du député Libéral de Haute-Autriche au Parlement, August Göllerich, père, auprès du Ministre de l'éducation, Karl Ritter von Stremayr, Anton Bruckner (51 ans) est finalement accepté à l'Université de Vienne. Cette nomination en tant qu'assistant professeur d'harmonie et de contrepoint ne signifie pas pour l'instant une augmentation de revenus (il sera rénuméré dans ses fonctions qu'à partir de 1880) mais elle lui permet d'élargir son cercle d'influence ; ce qui semble lui avoir apporté une grande satisfaction. Sa présentation inaugurale comme Maître-conférencier aura lieu le 24 avril 1876.

Ses vieux habits défraîchis, son mouchoir rouge, son large chapeau et son sens de l'humour sauront charmer les étudiants. L'icône du rebelle original face à la conformité viennoise. Ceux-ci voyaient sous le masque du villageois provincial, le visage d'un véritable génie.

Le désir de Bruckner d'aider et de partager ses connaissances musicales avec de jeunes élèves montre sa nature communicative, son altruisme et sa convivialité. Pas beaucoup de grands compositeurs avant lui ont fait preuve d'un tel dévouement.

19 novembre 1875 : Inauguration du nouvel orgue (du facteur Mauracher) à l'église abbatiale de Saint-Florian.

22 novembre 1875 : Jour de première de la nouvelle production de l'Opéra « Tannhäuser » (la version de Paris) de Richard Wagner dirigée à Vienne par le chef Hans Richter ; le tout sous la supervision du compositeur.

15 décembre 1875 : Jour de première de la nouvelle production de l'Opéra « Lohengrin » de Richard Wagner dirigée à Vienne par le chef Hans Richter ; le tout sous la supervision du compositeur.

In Paris, Frédéric Triébert produces his « Système 6 » oboe, which is essentially the same as the most commonly used oboes of the present time. This completes the evolution of the modern orchestral woodwind section which had begun with the release of Theobald Böhm's flute, in 1832.

AB 75 : 1876

L'Alliance avec l'Allemagne et la crise balkanique (1876-1878)

La naissance, en 1871, de l'Empire Allemand conduisit les Habsbourg à ré-orienter leur politique extérieure vers les Balkans. L'intention du Ministre des Affaires étrangères, le Comte hongrois Gyula Andrassy, était de préserver le « statu quo ». Adoptant une attitude amicale envers l'Allemagne, Andrassy promit que l'Autriche-Hongrie n'interviendrait pas

dans les affaires internes à son voisin germanique. En échange, l'Allemagne soutiendrait les tentatives de limiter l'influence de la Russie dans le sud-est de l'Europe. Quand la Russie défait les Ottomans en 1878, l'Autriche-Hongrie, soutenue par l'Allemagne et la Grande-Bretagne, intervint pour empêcher les Russes de s'emparer des toutes les possessions Ottomanes en Europe. C'est le Congrès de Berlin (juin 1878) qui limita les acquisitions russes ; il permit également à l'Autriche-Hongrie d'administrer les ex-provinces ottomanes de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine (occupées puis annexées) . Ce fut la dernière campagne victorieuse de l'armée austro-hongroise.

En 1879, l'Allemagne et l'Autriche-Hongrie signèrent un pacte d'alliance défensive contre la Russie auquel se joignit l'Italie en 1882, formant ainsi la Triple Alliance. Dès sa conception, cette alliance (qui aurait du, selon la Double Monarchie, maintenir la position internationale de l'Autriche-Hongrie) fut dominée par l'Allemagne, laquelle subordonna la Double Monarchie à ses propres intérêts politiques et diplomatiques. Le coup d'État à Belgrade (en 1903) et la création de la Triple Entente (France, Grande-Bretagne et Russie) achevèrent de polariser la situation diplomatique en Europe.

La Serbie, devenue indépendante de l'Empire Ottoman au Congrès de Berlin, devint un « satellite » de l'Autriche-Hongrie jusqu'en 1903, lorsque de nouveaux dirigeants arrivés au pouvoir tentèrent de fédérer tous les Slaves du Sud (yougoslaves) de la monarchie habsbourgeoise, incluant la Bosnie-Herzégovine, en un grand État serbe. Mais, en 1908, après une révolution en Bosnie, au cœur de l'Empire Ottoman, l'Autriche-Hongrie annexa les 2 provinces, mettant l'Europe devant le fait accompli. Les serbes, soutenus par son nouvel allié russe, protestèrent avec véhémence. Il fallut tout le poids de l'Allemagne pour qu'une guerre généralisée soit alors évitée. Cependant, la Serbie sortie victorieuse des guerres balkaniques (1912-1913) et agrandit son territoire d'une partie de la Macédoine aux dépens de la Bulgarie. Les dirigeants austro-hongrois se convainquirent que la guerre avec la Serbie était devenue inévitable.

...

Anton Bruckner demande à devenir professeur avec salaire. Ce qui lui sera refusé. (C'est seulement à partir de 1878 qu'on lui accordera une modeste rémunération qui, avec ce qu'il gagne au Conservatoire, va lui permettre de sortir définitivement de la pauvreté.)

Excédé et déçu, Bruckner écrira la même année :

« Même si j'habite Vienne depuis 1868, je continue à regretter d'y être venu parce que le support, la reconnaissance et les moyens de subsistance continuent à manquer. »

Fort dans l'adversité, Bruckner amorcera une période d'intenses révisions comme celles des 3e et 5e Symphonies, des 3 grandes Messes et il composera même un nouveau Finale pour sa 4e Symphonie.

5 janvier 1876 : The 57 year old Franz von Suppé produces his Operetta, « Fatinitza » , at the Carltheater in Vienna. It proves to be a huge success, running for more than 100 performances, with the March « Vorwärts mit frischem Muth » , proving a particular hit. The Opera, as a whole, is no longer in the popular repertory, but the Overture is

performed as a stand-alone piece.

« Fatinitza » will also run in London and Paris in the next few years.

14 février 1876 : In America, Alexander Graham Bell and Elisha Gray both file their papers at the Patent Office for the invention of the telephone ; Bell beating Gray by just a few hours.

20 février 1876 : Ire représentation à Vienne de la version de 1875-1876 de la 2e Symphonie, sous la direction du compositeur.

2 mars 1876 : Richard Wagner visits Vienna, for the last time, to conduct his Opera, « Lohengrin » . Gustav Mahler finds himself next to Wagner in the coat-room, after a concert, but is too shy to speak to him.

Sometime during 1876 : Gustav Mahler, 15 or 16 years old, composes his earliest surviving piece, the 1st movement of a Piano Quartet in A minor. At the end of his 1st year at the Vienna Conservatory, he wins 2 1st prizes from the Conservatory : one for piano with his playing of a Franz Schubert Sonata ; and one for composition with a Quintet movement. (There is much confusion about Mahler's early Quartets and Quintets : only the Piano Quartet movement has survived intact, and references to Quintets may, in fact, concern this movement.)

Hans Rott's father (a famous comic actor in Vienna) dies. He was crippled in 1874 by a stage accident. He leaves the 17 year old, orphaned and broke. His teacher Anton Bruckner allows Rott to continue his studies at the Vienna Conservatory, free of charge.

Autour du printemps 1876 : Bruckner revises his autograph score. A 2nd copy of the score of the 1874 version of the 4th Symphony is made.

24 avril 1876 : Lors de l'allocution d'ouverture qui se tient dans l'auditorium de la faculté de musique de l'Université de Vienne, le professeur Anton Bruckner, 51 ans, reçoit une ovation monstre de la part de tous les étudiants présents. Elle va durer plusieurs minutes. Une absence remarquée, celle du professeur d'histoire de la musique, Eduard Hanslick.

Il s'exprime d'un ton inspiré à la tribune devant la jeune génération qui embrasse avec tant d'enthousiasme sa cause. Bruckner se plaira à surnommer affectueusement ses élèves et ses admirateurs à l'Université : ses « Gaudeamuses » :

« Gentleman, just as it is the task of any branch of science to order and sift its material according to laws and rules, so the science of music, if I may called it that, as dissected its entire substance down to its very atoms and grouped its elements according to certain laws thus creating a theoretical structure which could also be termed the architecture of music. In my lectures, I shall endeavour to further understanding by precise exposition and to give life to the dry bones of theory by graphic examples bearing un mind the words of Gœthe : " All theory is grey but green the golden tree of life. " . »

Lors de sa Ire conférence à Iéna, le grand poète allemand Friedrich von Schiller a énoncé cette maxime : « Toutes les théories sont grises. Le vert représente l'arbre doré de la vie. » .

Au départ, ils demandaient à ses étudiants de respecter les règles établies par la tradition alors que les audacieux changements de tonalité de ses Symphonies représentaient des innovations radicales.

Les attaques soutenues des critiques viennois envers les compositions de Bruckner amèneront les élèves à se regrouper derrière leur Maître bien-aimé : c'était là son seul espoir. Ils vont lui permettre d'étendre son influence dans la capitale et à l'étranger.

29 avril 1876 : Anton Bruckner writes to Lord Chamberlain Prince Constantin Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, requesting appointment to the vacant position of assistant music-director of the Vienna « Hofkapelle » . He will not be successful.

16 mai 1876 : La 5e Symphonie est terminée (pour le moment) .

Amis et ennemis de Bruckner

During his life time, Bruckner was considered to have been something of a fool by a good many of his contemporaries. Sketches and anecdotes by his pupils, peers, friends and confidantes abound in descriptions of everything from his eccentric manner of dress and rustic accent to his idiosyncratic personal habits. These reminiscences range from the rather cruel, through the bewildered, to those of awed admiration. Johannes Brahms thought him a « poor, deluded person » who wrote « Symphonic boa constrictors » , which, no doubt to Brahms's mind, squeezed the life out of their audiences. The vitriolic and influential pro-Brahms, anti-Wagner critic, Eduard Hanslick was similarly visceral in his condemnation of Bruckner and his work, describing his 3rd Symphony as « A vision of Beethoven's 9th becoming friendly with Wagner's « Valkyries » , and finishing-up trampled under their hooves. » . The conductor Felix Weingartner recalled being soured to Bruckner at Wagner's grave, shortly after the great composer's death, due to Bruckner relating the success of his latest Symphony, in loud, seemingly disrespectful tones.

On a slightly brighter note, his sometime pupil, the violinist Fritz Kreisler found him to be « a man without guile » , who had 2 sets of coordinates in his life : « music and religion » . Other contemporaneous figures and devoted acolytes recall Bruckner as having a « great child like soul » , living « in a world totally foreign to us » or in a florid passage from another pupil, Friedrich Klose, that the devout Roman Catholic Bruckner believed in « the omnipotence, wisdom and benevolence of his God and the promise of a better life after death » . Larger personalities of the day add their weight to the issue, including Gustav Mahler, who had never been an actual pupil of Bruckner's : Bruckner had an untainted happiness, which at times was youthful, almost child like, as well as an inherently trusting nature. Thus, despite the large gap between us, we had a friendly relationship. And so I may, with more right than most, call myself his « pupil » , and I will always do this in grateful admiration.

Guido Adler (1855-1941) : Austrian musicologist and teacher who was one of the founders of modern musicology. Born in Moravia (currently, Ivancice, Czech Republic) . A pupil of Anton Bruckner.

August Wilhelm Ambros : The Austrian composer and music historian (of Czech descent) was born on 17 November 1816 at Mýto, Rokycany District, Bohemia, and died on 28 June 1876, in Vienna. His father was a cultured man, and his mother was the sister of Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773-1850) , the musical archaeologist and collector. Ambros studied at the University of Prague and was well-educated in music and the arts, which were his abiding passion. He was, however, destined for the law and an official career in the Austrian civil service, and he occupied various important posts under the Ministry of justice, music being an avocation.

From 1850 onwards, he became well-known as a critic and essay-writer, and, in 1860, he began working on his « magnum opus » , his « History of Music » , which was published at intervals from 1862 in 5 volumes, the last 2 (1878, 1882) being edited and completed by Otto Kade and Wilhelm Langhans.

August Wilhelm Ambros was professor of the history of music at Prague, from 1869 to 1871. Also in Prague, he seated on the Board of governors in the Prague Royal Conservatory. By 1872, he was living in Vienna and was employed by the Department of Justice as an officer and by Prince Rudolf's family as his tutor. Through his work in Vienna, he was given leave of absence for half the year, in order to let him travel the world to collect musical information to include in his « History of Music » book. He was an excellent pianist, and the author of numerous compositions somewhat reminiscent of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. Ambros died at the age of 59.

Julius Bayer : Austrian organist and Choir-Master in Steyr. A son of Julia Bayer (1862-1921) and a friend of Anton Bruckner. Wrote memoirs about him.

Baron Hans Guido von Bülow (January 8, 1830 - February 12, 1894) was a German conductor, virtuoso pianist, and composer of the Romantic era. One of the most famous conductors of the 19th Century, his activity was critical for establishing the successes of several major composers of the time, especially Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms. Along with Carl Tausig, Bülow was perhaps the most prominent of the early students of Hungarian virtuoso pianist, conductor and composer Franz Liszt. He became acquainted with and eventually married Liszt's daughter Cosima, who later left him for Wagner. Noted for his interpretation of the works of Ludwig van Beethoven, he was one of the earliest European musicians to tour the United States.

Felix Otto Dessooff (1835-1892) : Conductor at Vienna Opera and Vienna Philharmonic (1860-1875) . He was critical of Anton Bruckner's Symphonies.

Ignaz Dorn (1830-1872) : Austrian composer, violinist and conductor. Kapellmeister of the Linz Stadttheater. Encouraged Anton Bruckner to write Symphonies and to study works by Richard Wagner, Hector Berlioz and Franz Liszt.

Friedrich Eckstein (born on 17 February 1861 in Perchtoldsdorf, Lower-Austria - died on 10 November 1939 in Vienna) : A brilliant Austrian philosopher, theosophist, polymath, mathematician and chemist, he was also a passionate music lover. He cultivated a wide circle of acquaintance amongst the leading thinkers, writers and musicians of Vienna. (He was a friend and temporary co-worker of Sigmund Freud.) Eckstein produced multiple books on Bruckner including

some « recollections » .

August Göllerich, Junior. (1859-1923) : A pupil and friend of Anton Bruckner. He wrote a major biography with the assistance of Max Auer entitled : « Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens- und Schaffenbild. » (1922) .

Robert Haas (1886-1960) : Musicologist, conductor and composer born in Prague. Noted editor of Anton Bruckner scores besides Leopold Nowak. The director of the music section of the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) : Music critic of Vienna born in Prague. Promoted neo-Classical music of Robert Schumann and Johannes Brahms. Often launched vicious attacks on Anton Bruckner's work. Major leader of opposition to the Wagnerian faction. Studied law in Prague and received a doctorate from the University of Vienna (1849) .Worked at Ministry of Finance and Education. Music critic for the Viennese newspaper, « Wiener Zeitung » , « Die Presse » , « Neue Freie Press » . Lecturer at University of Vienna from 1856 to 1896. His best-known book is the « The Beautiful in Music » .

Josef Hellmesberger, Senior. (3 November 1828 - 24 October 1893) : Austrian violinist, conductor, and composer born in Vienna, he was the son of musician and pedagogue, Georg Hellmesberger, Senior (1800-1873) , was taught violin by his father at the Vienna Conservatoire. Hellmesberger hails from a family of notable musicians including : brother, Georg Junior (1830-1852) ; son, Josef Junior (1855-1907) ; and son Ferdinand (1863-1940) .

In 1851, Hellmesberger became violin professor at the Vienna Conservatory, artistic director and conductor of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » concerts as well as director of the Vienna Conservatory. After the division of the 2 roles, in 1859, he remained director of the Conservatory, while Johann Herbeck became conductor of the concerts. In 1849, Hellmesberger founded the Hellmesberger Quartet. Later his son, Josef Junior, joined playing 2nd violin. He surrendered leadership and 1st chair to Josef Junior, in 1887. In 1860, he became concert Master of the Court Opera Orchestra and took on various other positions in Vienna's music life. He was professor until 1877, but continued on as director until his death in Vienna.

Josef Hellmesberger, Junior : Austrian composer, violinist and conductor Josef « Pepi » Hellmesberger, Junior was born on 9 April 1855. He was the son of violinist and conductor Josef Hellmesberger, Senior (1828-1893) , who was his 1st teacher. Among his family of notable musicians include : grandfather, Georg, Senior (1800-1873) ; uncle, Georg, Junior (1830-1852) ; and brother, Ferdinand (1863-1940) .

In 1875, Josef « Pepi » Hellmesberger became a member of his father's Hellmesberger Quartet, while, in 1887, he became leader. In 1878, Hellmesberger became solo violinist of the Vienna Court Chapel and professor at the Vienna Conservatory. In 1890, he was the 1st « Hofkapellmeister » at the Vienna Court Opera, and, from 1901 to 1903, he was principal conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic. In 1904-1905, he was « Kapellmeister » at the « Stuttgarter Hoftheater » . His compositions include 22 Operettas, 6 Ballets, dance music and lieder. Josef Hellmesberger, Junior, died in Vienna on 26 April 1907, at the age of 52.

Theodor (Otto) Helm (born on April 9, 1843, in Vienna, and died December 25, 1920, in Vienna) was an Austrian music-critic and writer. His parents, Doctor Julius Helm (1813-1844) and Julie Freiin von Forstern, had married a year earlier, in 1842. Theodor was their only child. Julius Helm died when Theodor was only 1 year old. His mother remarried Karl Müller (1813-1868) , a prominent music-critic from « nobility » , who was largely responsible for introducing young Theodor to Vienna's musical events and salons. Theodor's mother died when he was 15, leaving Theodor in the care of Julius's uncle, Friedrich Draths Schmidt, who was friends of Robert and Clara Schumann.

Johann (von) Herbeck (1831-1877) : An Austrian friend and most ardent supporter of Anton Bruckner. Conductor at Gesellschaftskonzerte (1859) . Professor at the Vienna Conservatory. The director of the Court Opera (1870) . In 1865, he discovered the original score of Franz Schubert's Unfinished Symphony. In 1876, he conducted Johannes Brahms' 1st Symphony. Herbeck was scheduled to conduct the première of Anton Bruckner's 3rd Symphony in 1877. But Herbeck's sudden death forced the composer to conduct the premiere himself.

Carl Hrubý (1869-1940) : An Austrian pupil of Anton Bruckner. Writer on music. Wrote recollections of Anton Bruckner :

« Meine Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner » (1901) , Er. Franz Schalk Verlag, Wien.

Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962) : A pupil of Anton Bruckner and a famous violinist.

Felix von Kraus (1870-1937) : Married to American contralto Adrienne von Kraus-Osborne. Felix von Kraus studied with Anton Bruckner. He wrote memoirs about the composer. The couple lived in Munich (1908-1935) where they both were vocal teachers. Felix was an early interpreter of the works of Johannes Brahms.

Hermann Levi (1839-1900) : A German conductor. Born in Giessen, the son of a Jewish Rabbi. Attended Conservatory in Leipzig. Conducted at Rotterdam, Karlsruhe and Munich. Conducted première of Wagner's « Parsifal » in 1882 and revived Mozart's *Così fan tutte* in 1890. Conducted some of Anton Bruckner's Symphonies such as the 7th. Anton Bruckner worshipped Levi as his Musical Father but it is often mentioned that Levi's rejection of the original version of Bruckner's 8th Symphony caused grave depression for the composer.

Ferdinand Löwe (1865-1925) : An Austrian conductor who was a pupil of Anton Bruckner. He was one of the main popularizers of Bruckner's Symphonies. He would sometimes persuade the composer to rearrange his music in order to make it more palatable to the public. In the case of Bruckner's Symphony No. 9, Löwe himself made significant changes (by editing and publishing) to the harmony, orchestration, phrasing and dynamics before the posthumous première in February 1903. Bruckner's original conception of the Symphony was not heard until 1932 when it was revived by Siegmund von Hausegger, Löwe's successor at Munich. The Symphony is today performed without Löwe's changes.

Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) : Born in Kaliste, Bohemia. Currently, Ivancice, Czech Republic. A pupil of Anton Bruckner. Conductor, symphonist and lieder composer.

Anton Meißner (1855-1932) : An Austrian pupil of Anton Bruckner. Worked as a private secretary of Anton Bruckner in his late years. Wrote recollections of the composer.

Felix Mottl (1856-1911) : Austrian conductor and composer born in Unter Sankt Veit (today Hietzing, Vienna) . His date of birth has been reported variously as 29 July, 24 August, and 29 August. A pupil of Anton Bruckner. Considered as the Wagnerian conductor. Conducted at Bayreuth, in 1876, and the Opera « Tristan und Isolde » , in 1886.

Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922) : A Hungarian conductor. A student of Anton Bruckner at the Conservatory. He conducted the Leipzig Opera, the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Orchestra, the Budapest Opera, the Boston Symphony, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the Philharmonic Orchestra in Hamburg. Conducted the premiere of Anton Bruckner's 7th Symphony in Leipzig, on 30 December 1884.

Leopold Nowak (1904-1991) : Austrian musicologist. A student of Robert Haas. Noted editor of Anton Bruckner scores besides Robert Haas. The director of the music section of the Austrian National Library in Vienna (after Haas) .

Max von Oberleithner (1868-1935) : A pupil of Anton Bruckner. Wrote memoirs about the composer.

Hans Richter or **János Richter** (born on 4 April 1843 - died on 5 December 1916) : An Austrian-Hungarian Orchestral and Operatic conductor born in Raab (in Hungarian : Győr) , Kingdom of Hungary, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Hans Rott (1 August 1858 - 25 June 1884) Hans Rott was an Austrian composer. His music is little known today, though, he received high praise in his time from the likes of Gustav Mahler and Anton Bruckner.

Franz Schalk (1863-1931) : Austrian pupil of Anton Bruckner who often edited and performed his work.

Josef Schalk (1857-1901) : Austrian pupil of Anton Bruckner who often edited and performed his work.

August Stradal (born 17 May 1860 in Teplice, Bohemia - died on 13 March 1930 in Krásná Lipa) : Bohemian pianist and music teacher. A student of Anton Bruckner, he made solo piano arrangements of that composer's Symphonies Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, and 8. His pianistic credentials included studies with both Theodor Leschetizky and Franz Liszt. He received the Czechoslovak State Award, in 1928.

Cosima Wagner (1837-1930) : Born in Bellagio, Lombardy. Daughter of the Hungarian composer Franz Liszt (1811-1886) , the wife of the German Operatic composer Richard Wagner (1813-1883) and the ex-wife of the German conductor Hans von Bülow (1830-1894) . The director of the Bayreuth Festival, from 1883 to 1908.

Rudolf Weinwurm (born in 1835 at Schaidldorf on the Thaja, Lower-Austria - died in 1911 in Vienna) : Austrian jurist, vocal-music composer, musicologist and choir leader. Weinwurm studied law at University of Vienna, but he turned to study music. He won the 1st prize at the Festival of the Choral Societies of Upper-Austria and Salzburg, in 1865.

Hugo Wolf (1868-1903) : Born in Windischgraz, Austria. Currently, Slovenj Gradec, Slovenia. A pupil of Anton Bruckner and a composer of German Lied.

Autres élèves d'Anton Bruckner au Conservatoire (I)

De ce Maître qui entretenait avec eux des relations quasi familiales, la plupart de ses étudiants garderont un souvenir impérissable, l'honorant de multiples façons dans leurs écrits. Certains, comme Gustav Mahler, suivirent ses conférences à la fois au Conservatoire et à l'Université. Bruckner eut, en outre, des élèves privés ; et un Hugo Wolf devait plaider pour lui avec acharnement dans le « Wiener Salonblatt », et se réclamer de lui sans jamais avoir pris ses leçons. Le terme de « Seconde école viennoise » doit donc s'appliquer, non pas au groupe de Schœnberg (qui sera la « 3e ») mais à celui constitué par Anton Bruckner et ses 2 principaux héritiers Hugo Wolf et Gustav Mahler, avec aussi quelques autres noms, comme par exemple Franz Schmidt et Guido Adler. Malgré de grandes divergences de pensée et de style, des affinités musicales frappantes les liaient sur le plan de l'écriture et même de certaines citations explicites ; et l'on ne saurait trop souligner l'antériorité de Bruckner dans les conquêtes de forme et de langage qui allaient marquer la fin du siècle et aboutir à l'éclatement du monde tonal.

Hugo Wolf, élève, compositeur et critique musical à ses heures avait publié un article retentissant au sujet de son professeur. Les 2 génies n'ont cependant jamais développé de liens intimes. La grande différence d'âge y était pour beaucoup. Mais Bruckner adorait le jeune et fougueux créateur. Il avait sa musique en haute estime. Il en sera de même pour Wolf.

L'élève Hugo Wolf

« La vie de Wolf ressemble à un de ses lieder : courte introduction, toute en lutte, explosion, décharge du cœur en une cantilène brûlante, chute dans un épilogue muet : un drame sur une page d'imprimerie. » (Ernst Décsey)

Quant à son œuvre, elle est à l'univers du lied ce que celle de Richard Wagner est à l'univers de l'Opéra : un rocher incontournable.

Hugo Wolf : compositeur autrichien, qui donnait les plus belles espérances, auteur de nombreux Lieder, d'un Opéra : Le Corrégidor (joué avec succès à Graz) , depuis quelques années mort à la vie intellectuelle et interné dans un asile d'aliénés des environs de Vienne.

Introduction

Le centenaire de la mort d'Hugo Wolf en 2003 semblait passer inaperçu au milieu de toutes les autres commémorations. La discrétion qui entoure l'œuvre et la vie de ce compositeur, du moins dans les régions non germanophones, nous prive d'une musique certes ardue mais d'une grande qualité artistique.

La majeure partie du catalogue d'Opus de Hugo Wolf est composée de lieder, un genre qu'il porta à un sommet de perfection. En s'éloignant du modèle d'essence plus populaire pratiqué avant lui par Franz Schubert et Robert Schumann, Wolf impose une connaissance approfondie de la langue allemande, représentant par là un obstacle à la perception instantanée de l'adéquation entre le texte et la musique. Cet élément explique pour une large part la place peu importante tenue par l'œuvre de Hugo Wolf dans la programmation des concerts ainsi que dans le répertoire discographique. Surnommé le « Wagner du lied » à cause de la communauté de langage et des affinités naturelles entretenues avec le Maître de Bayreuth, Wolf conçoit ses lieder comme des Poèmes symphoniques miniatures dans lesquels l'esprit du poème se trouve magnifié. Une osmose se crée entre la musique du langage et le langage musical, générant à la fois les intervalles et le rythme, permettant ainsi à l'auditeur de pénétrer très profondément dans l'univers du poète. Grâce à une sensibilité extraordinaire, Wolf réussit à capter et à transposer en sons les plus infimes variations de l'âme humaine.

Mais l'œuvre ne doit pas faire oublier l'homme qui en fut l'auteur et son destin tragique, celui d'un vrai héros Romantique. La personnalité d'Hugo Wolf se devine peu au travers de son œuvre tant il considérait que l'homme doit tout sacrifier à cette dernière. « L'homme n'est que l'instrument de l'œuvre » .

Sa correspondance avec sa famille et ses amis permet de tracer de lui, le portrait d'un homme tour à tour exalté et déprimé, doutant de lui-même ou au contraire faisant preuve d'un orgueil démesuré. Profondément humain dans ses contradictions, Hugo Wolf fut reconnu en son temps comme un génie de la musique et apprécié aussi bien par les spécialistes que par un vaste public. Dans « Vienne au crépuscule » , l'auteur Arthur Schnitzler fait allusion à la beauté du lied « Auf ein altes Bild » . Il est rare de voir un écrivain rendre ainsi hommage à un musicien contemporain, témoignant de la notoriété acquise par l'œuvre de ce dernier en ce XIXe siècle finissant. Cette gloire recherchée, enfin atteinte, Wolf en eut-il conscience alors qu'il entraît progressivement dans les ténèbres de la folie ?

Études musicales et lers conflits

Hugo Wolf naît à Windischgraz, actuellement Slovenjgradec, en Slovénie, le 13 mars 1860. Il apprend le piano et le violon avec son père, Philipp Wolf, et participe aux petits concerts familiaux grâce auxquels, il découvre l'Opéra italien. Il est courant dans ces réunions d'interpréter au piano des pots-pourris d'airs d'Opéra de Bellini ou de Donizetti. Voici donc ses lres émotions musicales. Son père ayant remarqué ses dons musicaux, Hugo est confié à Sebastian Weixler avec lequel il travaille le piano et approfondit ses connaissances de la théorie musicale.

Après un parcours scolaire difficile, Hugo réalise enfin son rêve d'entreprendre une carrière musicale.

En 1875, il entre au Conservatoire de Vienne où il étudie le piano avec Wilhelm Schenner, l'harmonie avec Robert Fuchs et la composition avec Franz Krenn. Il a pour condisciple Gustav Mahler et découvre, à la même époque, la musique de Richard Wagner qui faisait figure d'avant-garde à Vienne. C'est une véritable révélation pour Hugo Wolf dont le tempérament exalté le pousse à rencontrer Wagner pour lui présenter ses lres compositions et à se convertir aux doctrines du Maître. Parmi ses lers essais, figurent des pièces pour piano, un Concerto pour violon et des lieder (DW7187 - DW7161) .

En 1877, soit après 2 ans de Conservatoire, le jeune rebelle de 17 ans quitte sa classe de composition, trouvant trop académique l'enseignement de Franz Krenn. Cette insolence entraînera automatiquement son expulsion. Il dira même au directeur qu'il sentait qu'il perdait son temps comme étudiant, ce qui lui faisait oublier tout ce qu'il avait déjà appris.

Wolf ne s'inscira à aucune autre institution. Il va décider de prendre le chemin de l'autodidacte, mais à quel prix !

Le Scherzo et le Rondo Final pour grand orchestre (DW7021) sont les seuls mouvements achevés de la Symphonie qu'il entreprit d'écrire dans les années 1876-1877. On y trouve, à côté de l'influence notoire de modèles antérieurs, toute la fougue de sa période de maturité associée à une belle Maîtrise du travail thématique. À la même époque, il commence la composition d'un quatuor à cordes (DW7039) qu'il achèvera en 1884. Cette pièce en 4 mouvements portant le sous-titre « Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren » possède un grand souffle lyrique même si l'influence de Richard Wagner y est très perceptible, notamment dans la 3e partie.

Les témoignages concernant les étrangetés du caractère d'Hugo Wolf ne manquent pas. Ils tracent le portrait d'un être en proie à un monde intérieur contradictoire l'entraînant successivement vers des sommets d'exaltation pour s'effondrer peu après dans des gouffres de mélancolie et de doutes. Cette instabilité se manifeste tout d'abord dans les nombreux déménagements qu'effectua le compositeur tout au long de sa vie.

Hugo Wolf donne des leçons privés aux enfants et commence à composer avec plus de régularité. Il trouve un soutien auprès des parents des enfants auxquels il enseigne la musique et les portes commencent à s'ouvrir devant lui. C'est ainsi, qu'en 1879, il rencontre Johannes Brahms et lui soumet certaines de ses compositions. Le contact avec le compositeur nordique n'est pas bon, Hugo Wolf le qualifie dans une des lettres écrites à ses parents de « pédant nordique ». Cette antipathie pour la personne du compositeur ne se démentira jamais. La même année, Wolf fait la connaissance de Mélanie Köchert, l'épouse d'un bijoutier de la cour de Vienne qui deviendra son amie, sa protectrice autant que sa confidente. Les contacts et les amitiés souvent orageuses que Wolf a su établir dans le milieu de la bourgeoisie viennoise élargissent son univers, lui assurant des vacances au grand air pendant les mois d'été, lui permettant de découvrir la littérature étrangère et lui procurant à l'occasion un emploi ou une retraite pour composer à son aise. C'est ainsi que, en 1881, il est engagé comme chef de chœurs au Théâtre municipal de Salzbourg puis comme « Kapellmeister » en second. Son manque de compétence en tant que chef d'orchestre met un terme à son contrat ; cette expérience ne semble pas l'avoir affecté, il retourne à Vienne et retrouve la vie musicale ardente de la grande ville.

Lors du Festival de Bayreuth, en 1882, Hugo Wolf réussit à dénicher de l'argent pour assister à « Parsifal » à 2 reprises. Il est apparu accablé : « Colossal ! La plus inspirée et la plus sublime création de Wagner. ». Il a réitéré ce point de vue dans une carte postale adressée de Bayreuth, en 1883 : « Parsifal est sans doute, et de loin, la plus belle et la plus sublime composition du monde de l'Art. »

Maturité précoce : du « Quatuor » à « Penthésilée »

À côté d'études qu'il écourtera volontairement dès 1877 (il n'aura pas moins obtenu plusieurs récompenses), les 1res années viennoises sont surtout marquées par la découverte émerveillée du monde musical contemporain « avancé », et d'abord de Richard Wagner, que Wolf approche personnellement dès décembre 1875. C'est l'Opéra qui cristallise à cette époque toutes ses émotions il en entreprend d'ailleurs un lui-même, « König Alboin », dont quelques esquisses ont été conservées. Mais l'œuvre la plus originale des années de Conservatoire est de très loin la Symphonie dont seuls les 2 mouvements terminaux nous sont parvenus (ils ont été publiés sous le titre « Scherzo und Finale für grosses Orchester »), mais qui fut à l'époque menée à bien sous 2 formes différentes. Le Scherzo, notamment, contient déjà des trouvailles très remarquables (le modèle privilégié de Wolf était alors Hector Berlioz).

Menant déjà une vie déréglée, il se satisfait de modestes leçons, et n'occupera que pendant quelques mois, fin 1881, l'emploi de chef de chœur au Théâtre de Salzbourg, sous la direction de Karl Muck. C'est un échec qui portera plus tard ses fruits, car, non seulement il détermine l'ambition de Wolf de s'imposer un jour au théâtre, mais il contribue à lui montrer sa voie, celle du style comique, et à l'éloigner du drame wagnérien.

De sa passion orageuse pour la jeune Valentine (« Wally ») Franck, nièce d'un professeur au Collège de France, à qui il a d'abord donné quelques leçons de piano, émergent 6 Chœurs sacrés d'après Eichendorff (1881). L'écho s'en fait entendre aussi dans l'œuvre majeure de ces années de maturité précoce, le vaste Quatuor à cordes en « ré » mineur, qui portera en suscription ces mots tirés du « Faust » de Goethe : « Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren ! » (Ce ne sera là que le 1er de multiples renoncements !). De dimension beethovénienne (mais le souffle lyrique doit autant à Franz Schubert qu'à Wagner), ce Quatuor, entrepris dès 1878, mais terminé seulement en 1884, sera reconnu dès sa création en février 1903, à la veille de la mort du compositeur, comme une partition prophétique qui influencera notamment 2 des principaux admirateurs de Wolf : Max Reger et Arnold Schœnberg.

Il semble bien que Wolf était sur le point de réaliser la percée qu'il recherchait. Mais le jeune enflammé allait encore au-devant d'une déconvenue avec l'œuvre unique qu'il allait laisser pour l'orchestre, et qui est aussi le legs fondamental de cette 1re partie de sa vie créatrice : l'ambitieux Poème symphonique « Penthésilée », entrepris à l'instigation de Franz Liszt, en 1883, et terminé 2 ans plus tard. Présentée en 1886, lors d'une séance de lecture à vue des « nouveautés » par la Philharmonie de Vienne, l'œuvre devait y être tournée en dérision par le chef conservateur Hans Richter, furieux de voir Wolf, le critique du « Wiener Salonblatt », déchirer à belles dents la musique de « Maître Brahms ». Il est temps aujourd'hui de reconnaître enfin combien « Penthésilée » non seulement surclasse ses modèles lisztien, mais se situe au-delà de toutes les futures productions similaires d'un Richard Strauss : et cela, grâce à la seule connaissance que Wolf pouvait avoir déjà de la Symphonie brucknérienne par les 2 ouvrages de son grand aîné (les Symphonies n° 3 et n° 4) qu'il avait déjà entendus.

Si le propos dramatique (ici, le schéma fourni par Heinrich von Kleist) est traduit avec un surprenant réalisme, l'œuvre de Wolf répond en effet, de surcroît, à une structure Symphonique dont l'unité interne, cimentée par l'intervalle de seconde mineure qui gouverne tous les thèmes, n'est pas moins parfaite que celle qu'on rencontre chez Bruckner, à la même époque. Il s'agit, en fait, du trait d'union historique entre les poèmes symphoniques de Liszt et le « Pelléas et Mélisande » d'Arnold Schœnberg !

...

Les compositions réalisées par Wolf, de 1878 à 1887, témoignent de sa part d'une grande recherche dans l'expression. Il écrit successivement : « Sechs geistliche Lieder » , pour chœur mixte, a cappella, sur des textes de Joseph von Eichendorff (1881) ; un Quatuor à cordes en ré mineur, avec en épigraphe cette maxime, qui résume à elle seule toute une vie : « Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren » (Prive-toi, tu dois te priver) de 1878 à 1884 ; « Penthesilée » , poème symphonique d'après un drame de Kleist (1883-1885) ; Intermezzo (1886) , pour quatuor à cordes ; Sérénade italienne (version pour quatuor, 1887 ; version pour petit orchestre à cordes, 1892) .

Il est important de noter que les 2 axes essentiels de l'expressivité du compositeur, qui ne s'épanouira véritablement que dans ses lieder, sont déjà en place : la voie intérieure, religieuse (« Sechs geistliche Lieder ») , voire mystique, présente dans chacun de ses recueils jusqu'au dernier (les 3 « Michelangelo Lieder » , en 1897) , et son attirance vers le Sud, qui trouvera dans l' « Italienisches Liederbuch » son expression accomplie.

Retraçant le destin d'une héroïne quasi wagnérienne (à la fois Brünnhilde, Kundry et Isolde) , la seule pièce d'orchestre de Wolf, « Penthesilée, a été commencée peu avant que Wolf ne devînt le critique musical du « Wiener Salonblatt » . Cette activité, qu'il exerce avec passion de 1884 à 1887, si elle lui laisse trop peu de disponibilité pour composer, lui permet pourtant de préciser ses goûts. Il s'élève contre l'adulation dont Johannes Brahms (qui a malgré lui réuni sur son nom les forces de la « réaction » musicale) est l'objet ; il se fait l'apôtre de Franz Liszt et d'Hector Berlioz et dénonce le conservatisme des programmes du Philharmonique, le laisser-aller des chanteurs d'Opéra : en un mot, il s'élève contre la « Schlamperei » ambiante (routine et désordre) , qui va trouver au tournant du siècle son adversaire le plus féroce en Gustav Mahler.

...

Le Poème symphonique « Penthésilée » est la seule œuvre symphonique pour grand orchestre du compositeur autrichien Hugo Wolf (1860-1903) , si l'on excepte les esquisses précoces, détruites puis rassemblées, d'une Symphonie datant de 1876-1877.

La pièce s'inspire de la tragédie du même nom de Heinrich von Kleist. Elle dépeint les actions de « Penthésilée » , reine des Amazones, qui, tour à tour, combat à Troie, rêve d'amour, et meurt de haine et de passion. Elle fut composée entre 1883 et 1885, et comporte 3 parties :

Départ des Amazones pour Troie.

Le Rêve de Penthésilée lors de la fête de la Rose.

Combats, passions, folie, destruction.

L'œuvre se retrouva au centre d'une polémique, née des critiques proférées par Hugo Wolf, placé sous l'influence de

Richard Wagner et d'Anton Bruckner, contre Johannes Brahms. Wolf fut, dès lors, la cible des admirateurs fervents de Brahms. Le chef Hans Richter accepta de jouer l'œuvre avec l'Orchestre philharmonique de Vienne, le 15 octobre 1886.

À ce moment précis, Richter interrompit l'exécution et dit, sous les rires des musiciens :

« Messieurs, je ne voudrais pas insister pour vous faire jouer cette pièce jusqu'à la fin ; je voulais seulement que vous entendiez mieux ce que peut composer l'homme qui a osé écrire de telles choses contre notre Maître Brahms. »

Cette scène a contribué à jeter l'œuvre dans l'oubli, et elle reste rarement jouée encore aujourd'hui, bien que les spécialistes la reconnaissent comme un des sommets de la forme du poème symphonique, dépassant pour certains celle de Richard Strauß, du point de vue de l'instrumentation et de la puissance d'évocation, et annonçant l'écriture de Gustav Mahler.

Rarement jouée, « Penthésilée » a été encore plus rarement enregistré. Le chef Daniel Barenboïm l'a gravé sur étiquette Erato, avec l'Orchestre de Paris ; Otmar Suitner sur étiquette Berlin Classics, avec la « Staatskapelle » de Berlin ; et finalement, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau sur étiquette EMI Classics, avec l'Orchestre symphonique de la Radio de Stuttgart.

...

Hugo Wolf was possessed by a preternatural musical responsiveness that placed him at the forefront of all song-writers. But the 1st manifestation of this power is not in the early lieder, which are interesting mainly because they are by the future composer of the « Mörike Liederbuch », but in the Symphonic poem « Penthesilea », completed when he was 25 and inspired by Heinrich von Kleist's play. Music is the optimum medium for « Penthesilea » for Kleist's conception is thrown at so high a pitch as to be almost unperformable. Wolf and Kleist were kindred spirits, both seized, tormented, and goaded by genius to works suffused with an aura of the archetypal and eternal. Worn out by the struggle, Kleist committed suicide at 34, in 1811. Wolf went mad in the fall of 1897, in his 37th year. In Kleist's « Penthesilea », tension escalates line-by-line unfolding the tale of the Amazon queen who wreaks havoc on both sides of the Trojan war as she stalks Achilles to capture and carry him away to become her lover at the sisterhood's « Feast of Roses ». A concussion after a fall from her horse fosters her illusion that she has conquered as the unarmed Achilles, enamored of this woman « half Goddess, half Fury », approaches. When, amid their love talk, it becomes clear that Achilles intends to make her his captive, madness overtakes her and she brings him down with her bow, then savages his body with her teeth, like a raging tigress. The recognition scene, as she grasps what she has done, rivals anything from antiquity. Goethe was horrified. But the young Wolf was obsessed with « Penthesilea », carrying it with him everywhere and regaling his friends with it. As one of them recalled, « His hands trembled when he read only a few lines from it, his eyes shone and, as if in sight of a higher and brighter realm, whose doors had sprung open before him, he appeared as if transfigured. ». Wolf began sketching the music, in 1883, and completed the full-score, in 1885. The Symphonic poem is in 3 parts : « Departure of the Amazons for Troy », an uncannily stirring, nocturnal march ; « Penthesilea's Dream of the Festival of Roses », throbbingly impassioned love music for the imagined union of the Queen with Achilles ; and « Combats, Passions, Madness, Annihilation », an extended movement

developing the themes of the previous 2. Less concise than Richard Strauß' « Don Juan », but more richly inspired and moving, Wolf's « Penthesilea » is Romanticism's belated swan song.

Critique musical au « Wiener Salonblatt »

Dans le but de faire éditer ses lieder (DW7147), Wolf demande l'appui du critique Eduard Hanslick, ami de Johannes Brahms et défenseur de la tradition que celui-ci représente. Les affinités avérées d'Hugo Wolf avec Richard Wagner, représentant de la nouvelle tendance aux côtés de Franz Liszt, ne sont pas de nature à disposer favorablement le critique. De plus, lorsqu'en 1883 Hugo Wolf est engagé comme chroniqueur musical au « Wiener Salonblatt » grâce à l'appui des Köchert, les violentes critiques qu'il écrit à l'encontre de la musique de Johannes Brahms lui valent de nombreuses inimitiés, Eduard Hanslick en tête. Ce poste de critique musical, qu'il occupera jusqu'en 1887, lui assure une sécurité matérielle propice à la composition. Le contraste entre le ton plutôt élégant du journal et la virulence des billets du jeune compositeur est frappant. Pourtant, ces diatribes révèlent une grande lucidité de jugement et un esprit d'analyse perçant qui lui vaudront un vif succès auprès des lecteurs. Reconnaisant l'importance de compositeurs tels que Jean-Sébastien Bach et Georg Friedrich Händel, il prend la défense de l'œuvre de Frédéric Chopin peu appréciée dans les pays germaniques. Confronté à la lutte des clans opposant, à Vienne, les conservateurs et l'avant-garde, Wolf prend parti pour Franz Liszt et Richard Wagner, décriant la musique italienne si admirée à cette époque.

À la même époque, Wolf commence à travailler à « Penthesilea » (DW7021), un Poème symphonique d'après le drame de Heinrich von Kleist (1777-1811), dans un style qui évoque les pages de Franz Liszt et d'Hector Berlioz.

La partition se divise en 3 parties : un mouvement initial tumultueux mettant les trompettes et les cors à l'écart de la masse orchestrale s'enchaîne avec une partie élégiaque pour aboutir à un final paroxystique. Le caractère narratif de la musique, opposé à la complexité de sa construction, recevra un mauvais accueil de la part du chef d'orchestre Hans Richter lors de la 1re lecture de l'œuvre à la Société Philharmonique de Vienne en 1885. Hugo Wolf qui assistait à la lecture, caché dans la salle, en fut ulcéré et mena la vie dure à Richter en écrivant quelques articles incendiaires.

Le 24 avril 1887, Hugo Wolf présente sa démission à la direction du « Wiener Salonblatt » afin de se consacrer entièrement à la composition. Il continue cependant à donner des leçons en attendant de pouvoir vivre de ses œuvres. Entre le 2 et le 4 mai de cette année, est composée la Sérénade italienne (DW7040), page légère et bien enlevée pour Quatuor à cordes qui sera adaptée pour petit orchestre en 1892 (DW1084). Une datation si précise des Opus du compositeur est rendue possible par la rigueur avec laquelle il inscrivait lui-même la date de composition sur ses manuscrits.

Un créateur de lieder fécond

Cette année 1887 est marquée par 2 événements qui vont toucher profondément le compositeur : la mort de son père qui lui cause beaucoup de chagrin et l'édition de 2 volumes de lieder chez Emil Wetzler. Ces 2 événements dissemblables agissent-ils comme un déclencheur ? Une page se tourne dans sa vie et Hugo Wolf entre en possession de la Maîtrise totale de son art.

Dès le début de l'année 1888, apparaît le style de la maturité. Il n'y a donc pas chez lui d'évolution progressive vers un sommet mais une éruption brutale, à la fois de l'inspiration créatrice et du langage personnel. Pendant cette phase active qui s'étend jusqu'à l'année 1897, Wolf va connaître des pics de créativité suivis de périodes de stérilité et de dépression profonde. Ses lettres témoignent de ses doutes, de ses angoisses face à l'inspiration qui s'empare de lui comme une fièvre et l'amènent à penser qu'il est atteint de folie.

En cette période très féconde naissent les « Möricke Lieder » (DW7311) , les « Eichendorff Lieder » (DW7106) , les « Goethe Lieder » (DW7272) soit plus de 124 lieder avec accompagnement de piano dans le courant d'une année. 2 lieder sont créés à Vienne avec succès. Un concert consacré aux « Möricke Lieder » à la « Wagner-Verein » de Vienne est, lui aussi, une réussite, ce succès tant recherché ne quittera désormais plus Hugo Wolf. C'est enfin la reconnaissance. Les tournées de concerts aussi bien en Autriche qu'en Allemagne vont se succéder, consolidant ainsi les bases de sa notoriété.

Désireux de s'illustrer dans un genre qui recueillait un enthousiasme unanime au XIXe siècle, Hugo Wolf se met en quête d'un livret pour la composition d'un Opéra. C'est une entreprise de longue haleine tant les exigences du compositeur en matière de texte sont grandes.

L'année suivante est consacrée à l'achèvement des « Goethe Lieder » ainsi qu'à l'édition, après révision, des « Möricke Lieder » et des « Eichendorff Lieder » . En 11 mois, voilà composée la moitié de son œuvre. Le succès de ses lieder, qui ne cesse de croître, entraîne des tensions au sein de la « Wagner Verein » . Des clans s'y opposent. À la fin de l'année 1889, Wolf commence la composition du « Spanisches Liederbuch » (DW7405) contenant 10 lieder sur des sujets religieux et 34 lieder sur des thèmes profanes. Cet ensemble ne sera terminé que dans le courant de l'année 1890. En effet, au début de cette année, Hugo Wolf connaît une panne d'inspiration qui l'affecte profondément et fait renaître ses doutes. Il profite néanmoins de ce passage à vide pour orchestrer certains lieder et se consacrer à l'édition des « Goethe Lieder » . Il reçoit la reconnaissance des professionnels sous forme d'études critiques de son œuvre. L'éditeur Schott de Mayence s'intéresse à son travail, autre témoignage du succès qu'engendre son travail. La seconde partie de cette année est plus féconde : il termine le « Spanisches Liederbuch » , commence l'« Italienische Liederbuch » (DW7440) et crée le cycle des « Keller Lieder » (DW7107) ainsi que « Elfenlied » (DW7084) pour soprano, chœur féminin et orchestre. Un voyage en Allemagne lui permet de nouer de nouvelles relations, notamment avec Engelbert Humperdinck (1854-1921) . À Mannheim, il fait créer la cantate « Christnacht » (DW7084) pour voix solistes, chœur mixte et orchestre mais l'inspiration qui l'habite, en ce début de l'année 1891, fait place à la dépression et au silence. Ce nouveau passage à vide se double d'ennuis de santé et d'insomnies, troubles qui altèrent profondément son caractère. C'est ainsi qu'ayant décidé d'accompagner lui-même au piano les chanteurs lors des concerts consacrés à ses lieder, il se montre irascible, ne supportant aucune hésitation, aucune défaillance et manifestant violemment en public sa réprobation. La critique, malgré ses excentricités, reste élogieuse allant jusqu'à parler d'un « nouveau printemps du lied » et ce, de Berlin jusqu'à Vienne.

Les 22 lieder de l'« Italienisches Liederbuch » sont édités chez Schott, à la fin de l'année 1892.

Le lied : une production volcanique

L'échec de « Penthésilée », conséquence directe des prises de position de son auteur en faveur des « musiciens de l'avenir » contre le formalisme qui règne en Maître à Vienne sous la férule de Johannes Brahms et de Eduard Hanslick, a donc sonné le glas de l'ambition de Symphoniste de Hugo Wolf qui, d'ailleurs, abandonnera dès l'année suivante (1887) sa chronique au « Wiener Salonblatt ». Après être retourné momentanément à la musique de chambre avec l'Intermezzo en mi bémol (1886) puis surtout la célèbre Sérénade italienne (mai 1887, instrumentée en 1892), Wolf a la joie de voir paraître ses Iers cahiers de lieder imprimés, qui rencontrent un succès immédiat (1887). Ceci explique la véritable explosion à laquelle on assiste, dès l'année 1888, où voient le jour près d'une centaine de lieder géniaux, répartis en 3 grands recueils sur des vers respectivement d'Eduard Mörike (53), de Joseph von Eichendorff (13), de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (25). Et les 2 années suivantes voient la poursuite du même effort, selon un rythme il est vrai moins soutenu, avec un second ensemble de 26 poèmes de Goethe, puis, entre octobre 1889 et avril 1890, le « Spanisches Liederbuch » (en 2 volets également). Celui-ci sera lui-même suivi du 1er des 2 recueils de l'« Italienisches Liederbuch », créé en 2 étapes, à 1 an de distance, fin 1890 et fin 1891.

Les intervalles représentent autant de silences douloureux, de crises d'impuissance dont la correspondance du musicien porte l'empreinte tragique. Au contraire, il est porté par sa propre création à des enthousiasmes parfois délirants, mais où l'émotion rejoint la terreur, ce qui donne la mesure du désordre qui s'installe dès cette époque en lui, et dont on sait aujourd'hui l'origine syphilitique (la contamination remonterait à 1877 déjà).

Des pages chorales ou scéniques de commande complètent la moisson de ces années décisives : « Christnacht », petit Oratorio de Noël d'après August von Platen (décembre 1886 - mai 1889) ; « Das Fest auf Solhaug », musique pour le drame de Henrik Ibsen (fin 1890-1891), créé au « Burgtheater » le 12 novembre 1891 et repris en concert quelques mois plus tard (et en édition posthume).

La réputation d'Hugo Wolf s'est donc établie, déjà de son vivant, essentiellement par les grands cycles de lieder dont la composition est ramassée sur une brève période de 4 années. Il s'y ajoutera, en 1896, le second recueil de l'« Italienisches Liederbuch » et des poèmes d'auteurs divers dominés par les 3 admirables « Michelangelo Lieder », son chant du cygne.

Romain Rolland, et à sa suite la plupart des biographes du compositeur, en ont conclu un peu hâtivement que toute la création de Wolf se circonscrivait à ces quelques années centrales. C'est là une vue totalement erronée, dont ce qui a été dit plus haut fait déjà justice. Mais il est commode de qualifier Wolf de « Wagner du lied » comme on a qualifié Bruckner de « Wagner de la Symphonie » ; et il reste vrai que cette forme a connu en lui son plus grand représentant après Franz Schubert.

Il n'est pas moins vrai que le compositeur lui-même fut irrité de se voir confiné à ce qu'il qualifiait de « petite forme », et ne cessa, durant les 2 grandes décennies de sa vie créatrice, d'ambitionner des réussites de 1er plan dans les genres « nobles ». Nous en avons déjà vu 2 exemples avec le Quatuor et « Penthésilée » ; c'est encore le cas de l'œuvre clé, et guère moins malchanceuse, qu'est le « Der Corregidor ».

Le sommet de l'Opéra-Comique allemand

L'insuccès du « Der Corregidor » a couramment été mis au compte de la prétendue absence de sens scénique du compositeur : l'œuvre tiendrait davantage du recueil de lieder orchestraux (au demeurant admirables) que de l'ouvrage de théâtre. Or, il s'agit de tout autre chose. En fait, l'aspect négatif de la pièce tient uniquement à la définition du caractère du héros, personnage grotesque (l'exact contraire de « Carmen ») que très peu d'interprètes savent « faire passer ». Reste qu'au terme d'une histoire longue et riche (voir notamment Lortzing, Cornelius, Goetz), le « Der Corregidor » pourrait bien représenter la véritable apogée de l'Opéra-Comique allemand, c'est-à-dire de pièces vraiment comiques mais dont la signification dépasse le simple comique. Si Wolf a retenu la leçon de Richard Wagner, il l'a, selon Pierre Balascheff, transposée en caractérisant chaque personnage par un rythme propre. Bref, loin des mauvais « mélôs » du style de « La Tosca », c'est bien plutôt vers un chef-d'œuvre comme « Falstaff » qu'il faut se tourner pour établir un parallèle.

« Der Corregidor » : un essai dans le monde de l'Opéra

« Der Corregidor » (le Juge) est un Opéra en 4 Actes d'Hugo Wolf sur un livret de Rosa Mayreder d'après la nouvelle de Pedro de Alarcón « El sombrero de tres picos » (le Tricorne, 1874).

Lieu : un village en Andalousie, en 1804.

Synopsis : La femme du meunier Lukas souhaite guérir son mari d'une jalousie malade. Elle feint de répondre aux avances du « Corregidor » pour obtenir un poste pour son neveu. Mais le « Corregidor » s'aperçoit du manège et décide de se venger de Fraskita.

Composé en 1895, Wolf va le réviser en 1897. Ire édition : C. F. Peters.

Tiré par Rosa von Mayreder du roman de Pedro de Alarcón « le Tricorne », « Der Corregidor » (littéralement, le Magistrat) est entrepris fiévreusement au printemps de 1895, terminé dans l'année même et créé avec un indéniable succès le 7 juin 1896 au « Nationaltheater » de Mannheim, sous la baguette de Hugo Rohr.

Solistes lors de la première :

Don Eugenio de Zuniga, le « Corregidor », interprété par le ténor bouffe Hans Rüdiger.

Juan Lopez, interprété par la basse Georg Döring.

Pedro, son secrétaire, interprété par le ténor Anton Friedrich Erl.

Tonuelo, le huissier, une voix de basse.

Repela, son serviteur, interprété par la basse Karl Marx.

Tio Lukas, le meunier, interprété par le baryton Joachim Kromer.

Un voisin, une voix de ténor.

Donna Mercedes, la femme du « Corregidor » , interprétée par la soprano Anna Sorger.

Frasquita, la femme du meunier, interprétée par la mezzo-soprano Helene Hohenleiter.

Duenna, la gouvernante, interprétée par la contralto Helene Seubert-Hansen.

Manuela, une voix de mezzo-soprano.

« Der Corregidor » sera encore repris une fois à Strasbourg, du vivant de Wolf. Après sa mort, l'Opéra va tomber très vite ; il ne fera que des apparitions sporadiques sur les scènes germaniques et trouvera cependant en Bruno Walter un défenseur enthousiaste, un chef qui le comprit vraiment dans son essence. (Salzbourg, 1936)

...

Toujours en quête d'un livret d'Opéra, Hugo Wolf consacra l'année 1893 à lire les écrits de philosophes et à apprendre le français pour élargir ses connaissances littéraires. Ces activités l'aident à faire face à la stérilité qui le désespère. À l'occasion d'un voyage à Berlin en compagnie d'Anton Bruckner en 1894, il rencontre Richard Strauß dont il n'apprécie pas la musique tout en estimant l'homme. Les tournées de concerts de cette année améliorent son état d'esprit et sa santé. Le succès est toujours au rendez-vous.

À la fin de cette année, il fait son entrée dans le fief des conservateurs : « Elfenlied » et « Feuerreiter » (DW7084) sont créés dans leur version chorale à la Société des Amis de la Musique. Il y reçoit un très bon accueil même de la part du critique Edouard Hanslick.

Enfin, en 1895, le livret d'un Opéra est trouvé. Il s'agit d'une adaptation d'une nouvelle de Pedro de Alarcón « le Tricorne » effectuée par Rosa Mayreder. Pour mener ce projet à bien, Hugo Wolf reçoit une pension de 1.500 marks réunis par ses amis. Le travail sur l'Opéra est rapide : entre le 13 mars et 29 décembre, Wolf réalisera la version pour piano et son orchestration. Il termine la tâche dans un état de transe lui faisant entrevoir un succès planétaire. Cependant, le parcours sera encore ardu jusqu'à la présentation de l'œuvre au public. Les Théâtres de Berlin, de Vienne et de Prague refusent la pièce, les uns après les autres. Enfin, le Théâtre national de Mannheim accepte de mettre l'œuvre en répétition. Hugo Wolf fournit encore un travail acharné pour corriger l'orchestration et superviser les répétitions, ce qui ne va pas sans heurts. La création de « Der Corregidor » aura lieu à Mannheim, en 1896, avec un succès mitigé. Hugo Wolf, lui-même, semble absent et manifeste une étrange indifférence lors de la représentation. Il

perd les 200 marks reçus en honoraires.

« Der Corregidor » (DW7065) , Opéra en 4 Actes, souffre des faiblesses du livret. Les scènes prises individuellement offrent des moments de musique très agréables mais le manque d'une tension dramatique donne une sensation de dispersion et de longueur. La fin elle-même n'apporte pas de dénouement à une intrigue déjà bien diluée.

De plus, l'année 1896 voit se créer à Berlin la « Wolf-Verein » , Société qui organise des concerts et concourt à faire connaître le travail du compositeur. Le second volume de l'« Italienisches Liederbuch » voit le jour dans la même foulée créatrice que l'Opéra. Mais à la fin du mois d'août, un médecin, consulté pour un trouble bénin, constate la fixité de la pupille. C'est le début de la paralysie généralisée, symptôme de la syphilis contractée avant l'âge de 20 ans et qui sera cause de sa mort, 7 ans plus tard, en 1903.

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Année de composition : 1895.

Sous-titre : « Oper in 4 Akten » .

Source littéraire : « El sombrero des tres picos » (le Tricorne) .

Librettiste : Rosa Mayreder-Obermayer.

Rôles : Don Eugenio de Zuniga, Corregidor, Tenor / Juan Lopez, tiefer Baß / Pedro, Tenor / Tonuelo Baß / Repela, Baß / Tio Lukas, Bariton / Ein Nachbar, Tenor / Donna Mercedes, Sopran / Frasquita, Mezzosopran / Duenna, Alt / Manuela, Mezzosopran.

chœur : SATB.

Instrumentation : 3-3-3-3 - 4-3-3-1 - timbales, percussions (3) - harpe - cordes.

Scènes : 5.

Remarques : Bühnenvertrieb - Bote & Bock, Berlin.

Durée : 145 minutes

Synopsis

The Corregidor Don Eugenio de Zuniga has designs on Frasquita, the charming wife of the miller Lukas. Frasquita and Lukas make fun of the old lecher who swears vengeance furiously. He goes to the mayor, informing his wife that he

will spend the night in the town hall. The mayor does him the favour of ordering Lukas there, too, and while he is on the way to the town hall, Don Eugenio approaches Frasquita undisturbed. But once more his plan fails. When Frasquita, who does not let herself be bribed by her nephew's appointment as Court secretary, hurries away indignantly, he makes himself comfortable in the miller's bed. Still sure of his success, he orders his servant to get Frasquita back. In the meantime, Lukas has seen through the conspiracy and has escaped from the town hall. At home, he finds the Corregidor's clothes in front of the bedroom, believes what he sees and sets out to recoup himself with the Corregidora for the alleged infidelity of Frasquita. Don Eugenio, who, lacking his own clothes, takes on the miller's ones, is surprised by the returning Frasquita and the judge who are looking for Lukas in the mill. Frasquita senses Lukas's designs, and all hurry to the Corregidor's house. There the Corregidora gives her judge a good « talking to », and the miller and his wife become reconciled and embrace each other.

Acte I

Scene 1 : Tio Lukas is picking grapes and preparing his millyard for the arrival of an unnamed Bishop and conversing with a neighbor. The neighbor taunts Lukas, saying that the only reason people show him any favour is because he has such a pretty wife. Lukas shrugs off the comment. The neighbor leaves, and Lukas climbs-up into an arbor to continue his preparations.

Scene 2 : Frasquita enters the yard and sets the table while singing to herself. Lukas surprises her from the arbor and teases her about the affections of the Corregidor, magistrate of the province in which they live. Lukas spies the Corregidor approaching with Repela, his servant, and goes back into hiding in order to spy on the old man's conversation.

Scene 3 : Repela enters, taking a pinch of snuff and sneezing violently. Frasquita tells him that Lukas is asleep, which Repela is interested to know. He runs off to tell his Master that Frasquita is apparently alone.

Scene 4 : The Corregidor approaches Frasquita, who flirts with him and dances a fandango. He is afraid that her dancing might wake Lukas. She threatens to wake Lukas (with the song « In dem Schatten meiner Locken » from the « Spanisches Liederbuch ») , but relents when the Corregidor urges her not to. The Corregidor is so taken by Frasquita that he is dumbstruck for a moment. He begins to woo her, and she seizes the opportunity to press for a favour she has obviously already requested many times : the appointment of her nephew as Court notary in the nearby town of Estella. The Corregidor refuses, and his advances become ever more ardent. In his passion, he loses his balance and crashes to the ground. Lukas takes this cue to reveal himself. The couple ridicules the old man, who, realizing that Lukas has heard the entire exchange, childishly vows his revenge. Frasquita offers him some grapes in order to placate him, but he hesitates.

Scene 5 : Repela, who has also been watching the entire scene, enters, intending to reprimand Frasquita for her behaviour. He is interrupted by the sound of the Bishop's arrival in the distance. Lukas and Frasquita rush off to finish their preparations, while the Corregidor sends Repela off to set his revenge plan in motion. The Bishop approaches amid an onstage brass fanfare.

Acte 2

Scene 1 : In the kitchen at the millhouse, Lukas and Frasquita are eating dinner and discussing, 1st teasingly, then passionately, how happy they are together. They are interrupted by a knock at the door. It is Tonuelo, one of the Alkalde's servants, coming under the banner of the « rule of law ». He is very, very drunk.

Scene 2 : Tonuelo summons Lukas to the Alkalde, the local mayor. Lukas says he will go in the morning, but Tonuelo insists that he come immediately. Frasquita wishes to accompany him, but Tonuelo again relays that he is to summon Lukas only. The 2 men exit, leaving Frasquita alone.

Scene 3 : Frasquita begins to tidy-up the dishes. She then sits down to her spinning wheel and muses to herself about Tonuelo's summons. From outside, she hears a sudden shout for help. Thinking it is Lukas, she rushes to the door, only to discover that it is the Corregidor, who has fallen into the millstream.

Scene 4 : The Corregidor enters the house, soaking wet from the stream. Frasquita becomes angry, realizing at once what the Corregidor has intended all along. He attempts to bribe Frasquita into bed with her nephew's appointment, and when she refuses, he threatens her with a pistol. She in turn pulls out a blunderbuss, at which point the Corregidor is so overcome with fright that he becomes faint. He asks her to call Repela.

Scene 5 : Repela enters to tend to the Corregidor, while Frasquita prepares to leave on the pretense of summoning a doctor from town. In reality, she leaves to find Lukas and to inform the Corregidora of what her husband is up to.

Scene 6 : The Corregidor removes his wet clothes, instructing Repela to hang them by the fire to dry. Realizing that Frasquita is no longer there, he sends Repela off to intercept her before she reaches town. The Corregidor, alone, sings to himself about the strange behaviour of women.

At this point, the curtain drops, and the orchestra plays some brief scene-change music.

Scene 7 : The Alkalde and his servants Manuela and Pedro are drinking together. Lukas and Tonuelo enter through a rear door.

Scene 8 : The revelers drink to Lukas, even though he is clearly not in the mood to be trifled with. Lukas tricks the group into a drinking game, then pretends to go to sleep on a bench. The drunken servants go off to find their own beds.

Scene 9 : Lukas, enraged, gets-up and escapes out of the window.

Scene 10 : After a few moments, Manuela enters the room to ask Lukas to hire her away from the Alkalde. Realizing that Lukas is no longer there, she rouses the rest of the household.

Scene 11 : Pedro and Tonuelo join Manuela, and the 3 reluctantly go out to search for Lukas.

Acte 3

Scene 1 : Frasquita makes her way to the Alcalde's house to find Lukas. Unbeknownst to either, Lukas passes her on his way back to the mill. She speaks to herself nervously. Repela enters, but Frasquita does not notice him yet.

Scene 2 : Repela reveals himself. He mocks Frasquita, and she yells at him. They decide to go off together in search of Lukas. This is followed by another episode of scene-change music.

Scene 3 : Lukas arrives back at the mill. He notices the Corregidor's clothes still hanging by the fire and the notary appointment on the table, and jumps to the obvious conclusion. Grabbing the blunderbuss, he creeps towards the bedroom door. Seeing the Corregidor asleep on the bed, Lukas berates himself quietly in a fit of humiliation and jealousy. Suddenly realizing that the Corregidor also has a pretty wife, he forms his own plan for vengeance. Donning the Corregidor's clothes and laughing, Lukas heads for the Corregidor's house.

Scene 4 : The Corregidor, awoken by Lukas, cautiously comes out of the bedroom. Vexed that his own clothes have apparently been stolen, he puts on those that Lukas left behind. The Alcalde enters with Frasquita, Tonuelo and Repela, but they do not yet notice the Corregidor, who tries to slip back into the bedroom.

Scene 5 : The Alcalde notices the Corregidor, but thinking he is Lukas, orders Tonuelo to apprehend him. Tonuelo knocks the Corregidor to the ground, but the group quickly realizes their mistake. After Repela divines Lukas's intent in stealing the Corregidor's clothes, everyone agrees to head off to the Corregidor's house.

Acte 4

Scene 1 : In front of the Corregidor's house, a night watchman announces 5:30 AM.

Scene 2 : The Corregidor, Frasquita, Repela, Tonuelo and the Alcalde arrive at the Corregidor's house. They knock, but there is no reply. Repela, making light of the situation, pretends that he is serenading the house by faking the sound of a guitar. Finally, the Duenna wakes-up and comes to the window. The Corregidor announces his presence, but the Duenna does not believe him, saying that the lord of the house is already home. Realizing who that must be, Frasquita despairs that Lukas did indeed think her unfaithful. The Corregidor does not understand what is going on.

Scene 3 : A troop of officers and servants bursts out of the gate and start to beat the party. They try to run away and explain their presence at the same time. The chorus of soldiers sings confusedly. The Corregidor still does not understand what is going on.

Scene 4 : Donna Mercedes, the Corregidora, appears in the plaza. Although she has already sized-up the situation, she

continues to treat her husband as if he were Lukas. The Corregidor, finally realizing what is going on, attempts to blame Frasquita for everything that has happened, but his wife does not let him get away with it.

Scene 5 : Lukas enters, still dressed in the Corregidor's clothes and imitating the Corregidor's mannerisms. After everyone's true identity is revealed, the characters recap the story and explain what happened when Lukas arrived in disguise at the Corregidor's house (Hugo Wolf cut most of this section in his 1897 revision) . Lukas and Frasquita are reconciled, and the Corregidor gives way, realizing that he has been bested. The ensemble thanks the Corregidora with respect and gratitude for her benevolent intervention.

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The South of Europe possessed an almost mystical fascination for Hugo Wolf, representing directness, primal passion, and Nietzsche's call to « Mediterraneanize music » . The largely anonymous folk verse of Spain and Italy, translated by Paul Heyse and Emanuel Geibel, served as a Mediterranean focus in the Spanish and Italian song-books, whose composition occupied him from 1889 to 1891, and, again, in 1896 for the 2nd half of the Italian Songbook. Given that so many of those songs are richly compact of character and situation, it was inevitable that Wolf (making slow headway with his lieder in winning recognition as a composer) would wish to leap to fame at once by exploring the world of the songs in the extended form of an Opera. Finding a suitable libretto became a bedevilment, but the scenes Wolf wished to project seemed to him implicit in the works of Spanish writer Pedro de Alarcón (1833-1891) . Wolf pressed a friend, the modestly talented amateur Rosa Mayreder, to adapt Alarcón's novel « The 3 Cornered Hat » and, overlooking her libretto's weaknesses, composed « Der Corregidor » at white heat in 1895. Its production in Mannheim, the following year, produced only a « succès d'estime » , but lured Wolf to attempt to surpass himself. With the « Italienisches Liederbuch » completed, he pressed Mayreder to adapt Alarcón's « El Niño de la bola » . Her attempts proving unsatisfactory, friends introduced Wolf to Moritz Hörnes, a history professor at Vienna University, whose quickly worked adaptation was surprisingly able. Wolf was ecstatic, declaring, « Shakespeare himself could not have formed the subject matter more dramatically and at the same time poetically than Hörnes has done, and that's that ! » . On July 29, 1897, Wolf set to work feverishly composing « Manuel Venegas » . Despite interruptions, the Opera's opening began to take shape as Wolf's swings from manic gaiety to irascibility became more pronounced. In mid- September, his boast that he had been appointed director of the Vienna Court Opera, and had sacked the current director, Gustav Mahler, signaled the onset of madness. Inviting his friends to hear his new Opera and congratulate him, on September 20, he played through the 50 completed pages of vocal score, blissful, raving, and wholly insane, as his friends clustered around him in stunned misery (a scene famously adapted by Thomas Mann in his novel « Doktor Faustus » of 1947) . Wolf's polished fragment introduces characters and motifs without reaching the great dramatic moments that had tempted him, though the opening Spring Chorus is one of the freshest, most evocative, and inspired in his entire œuvre.

Derniers projets et la fin

L'année de la création de l'Opéra fut aussi, on l'a dit, celle des derniers grands lieder. Parmi les expressions ultimes de l'art de Wolf, une place à part doit être réservée, outre aux « Michelangelo » , au « Morgengesang » de Robert

Reinick (1805-1852) , dont il donnera l'an plus tard, alors qu'il se trouvera déjà à l'hospice du Docteur Wilhelm Svetlin, une admirable adaptation chorale sous le titre de « Morgenhymnus » (décembre 1897) . Mais le grand projet de cette année tragique demeure celui du second Opéra, « Manuel Venegas » , tiré d'une autre pièce d'Alarcón, « El Niño de la bola » » . La musique du 1er acte est esquissée au cours de l'été de 1897, dans un enthousiasme semblable à celui qui vit naître l'œuvre précédente. Mais celle-ci sera brutalement interrompue par une crise précipitée par l'emploi d'alcool comme stimulant, et occasionnée le 20 septembre 1897 par une visite à Gustav Mahler.

Ce dernier ayant promis à son ancien condisciple de monter le « Der Corregidor » , Wolf est en effet ulcéré par ses atermoiements, et entre tout à coup dans une grande excitation qui dégénère rapidement et justifie son internement. Après 2 mois passés dans un isolement complet, il peut reprendre une certaine activité, tente de développer sa Sérénade italienne et d'en entreprendre une autre, qui demeurera embryonnaire. Il quitte l'hospice fin janvier 1898, et passera une année calme, menant une vie végétative, voyageant avec des amis, en particulier en Italie. Un matin d'octobre, il tentera de se noyer dans le « Traunsee » , et devra être à nouveau et définitivement interné à Vienne, où il survivra encore près de 5 années. Une pneumonie le délivrera enfin le 22 février 1903, et il sera inhumé auprès de Ludwig van Beethoven et de Franz Schubert.

La folie et la mort

Plus que jamais, ses amis sont là pour l'entourer et lui offrir des conditions de travail optimales. Il a enfin un appartement où il peut se sentir chez lui. Il y corrige les épreuves du second volume de l'« Italienisches Liederbuch » et y compose 2 lieder sur des poèmes de Lord Byron ainsi que « Morgenstimmung » d'après Robert Reinick (GC2433)

Début 1897, Wolf est à nouveau en quête d'un livret d'Opéra. Il se tourne vers un texte de Pedro de Alarcón extrait de « El Niño de la bola » . Toujours en proie à la fièvre du travail, il compose les « Michel-Angelo Lieder » (DW77176) et commence l'élaboration de ce nouvel Opéra baptisé « Manuel Venegas » (DW7075) . Le texte du livret pose problème et Wolf demande à plusieurs auteurs de l'aménager. La partition est élaborée jusqu'à la 5e scène du 1er acte dans un style proche des « Michel-Angelo Lieder » . Hugo Wolf prévoit une orchestration légère, dans le style de Mozart. Cet Opéra restera inachevé.

Vienne aussi reconnaît son talent et voit la fondation d'une « Hugo-Wolf-Verein » à Vienne, Société qui lui apportera un soutien considérable pendant ses années d'internement par l'organisation de concerts et ce, jusqu'en 1905. La nomination de Gustav Mahler à l'Opéra de Vienne fait espérer à Wolf d'y faire monter son Opéra. La fatigue due aux insomnies entrave son travail. Il décide d'avoir recours à l'alcool pour se stimuler. C'est dans un véritable état de transe qu'il travaille à son Opéra. Au mois de septembre 1897, son comportement devient aberrant, il délire pendant une journée entière, imaginant qu'il a été nommé directeur de l'Opéra de Vienne. Ce sont ses amis qui décident de son internement à l'asile du docteur Wilhelm Svetlin où il est admis le 21 septembre.

Pendant plus de 2 mois, Hugo Wolf y poursuit ses délires mégalomaniaques, se prenant, tour à tour, pour Richard Wagner et pour Gustav Mahler. Ses lettres témoignent des pensées qui l'habitent mais aussi de la conscience qu'il a de

son état. Il se sent trahi par ses amis et veut changer de vie. À la fin de l'année 1897, il retravaille et compose une 2^e Sérénade italienne faisant appel au thème de « Funiculi, Funicula » .

En janvier 1898, Wolf quitte l'asile pour un voyage en Italie avec Mélanie Köchert. Cette rémission lui permet de superviser l'édition des « Michel-Angelo Lieder » . En octobre, alors qu'il séjourne chez des amis au bord du lac de Traum, il tente de se suicider en se jetant dans les eaux du lac. Il demande à être interné à nouveau. C'est ainsi qu'il sera placé à la « Landesirrenanstalt » à Vienne, une donation de l'Empereur François-Joseph ainsi que les bénéfices engrangés par la « Hugo-Wolf-Verein » assurant les frais de la pension. Les moments de lucidité pendant lesquels il est capable de se promener, de jouer du piano ou d'écrire se font de plus en plus rares au fil des mois qui passent. Des accès de fureur, des crises d'angoisse abominables, la perte progressive de son identité et surtout la paralysie menant à la perte totale du langage deviennent son lot quotidien. Mélanie Köchert et ses amis ne l'abandonnent pas, se relayant à son chevet jusqu'au 22 février 1903 où il meurt des suites d'une inflammation pulmonaire. Il est enterré au cimetière central de Vienne dans la partie réservée aux compositeurs.

Hugo Wolf et le lied

Dans la majorité de ses lieder, Franz Schubert (qui sera suivi en cela par Johannes Brahms et par Richard Strauß) s'inspirait d'un certain état d'âme ou d'un climat régnant dans le texte choisi, et ne se souciait pas forcément de suivre dans le détail l'expression verbale que le poète avait donnée à ses sentiments. Cela lui permettait de traiter avec un égal bonheur des textes de grands auteurs ou de poètes de second ordre : il cherchait une réalité spirituelle ou affective derrière les paroles. Cependant, certaines de ses œuvres tardives ouvraient aussi une autre voie : celle qui consiste à suivre méticuleusement la diction du poète, en négligeant, s'il le faut, les contraintes de construction régnant dans la musique instrumentale. Les exemples les mieux connus sont les 6 lieder sur des textes de Heinrich Heine qui font partie du « Schwanengesang » . Là, il cherche la réalité à travers les paroles. Cette méthode mène à Hugo Wolf et au « Sprechgesang » d'Arnold Schönberg, tandis que chez Robert Schumann, on peut constater une manière d'équilibre entre les 2 conceptions.

Hugo Wolf s'inscrit donc résolument dans cette seconde filière, et ce, dès le début. Déjà, le 1^{er} recueil (« Liederstrauß » , 1878, textes de Heine) porte le titre « Gedichte » (poèmes) et non pas celui de « Lieder » , indiquant ainsi que l'essentiel pour lui est la parole. Et, sur les 70 lieder posthumes publiés ou ré-édités par la « Hugo-Wolf-Gesellschaft » , qui représentent des œuvres de jeunesse non jugées dignes de publication par le compositeur, il ne se trouve que 4 textes de poètes inconnus et 14 de poètes mineurs. Nous connaissons aussi la méthode de travail de Wolf : il lisait plusieurs fois à haute voix le poème choisi, puis se couchait et composait le lied en se réveillant.

On sait qu'une caractéristique de la musique post-Beethovénienne est le rétrécissement de la cellule génératrice accompagné d'un élargissement de la forme (voir « Penthésilée ») . Ce double phénomène s'observe dans la production mélodique de Wolf. Si l'on compare, par exemple, sa version du lied de « Mignon Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt » avec celle de Schubert (D. 877/4) , on constate que Wolf établit le climat psychologique par un motif de 4 notes, tandis que, dans l'ensemble, sa partition (57 mesures) est plus étendue que celle de Schubert (46 mesures) . Cette technique

libère la voix chantée de tout souci de la phrase musicale, et lui permet de reproduire la moindre inflexion de la voix parlée. Ceci ne veut pas dire que Wolf reste l'esclave de ses poètes : il se permet des entorses à la prosodie (syllabes faibles sur une note élevée) , mais elles sont rares et toujours dictées par un souci d'expressivité.

Du rythme, il fait le même usage que ses devanciers, notamment pour constituer un décor sonore comme le galop d'un cheval. Mais le chromatisme hérité de Wagner lui permet un jeu harmonique infiniment plus varié que chez les anciens. La tonalité est rarement établie d'emblée ; et si un accord parfait ouvre le discours, il est aussitôt quitté pour ne revenir qu'à bon escient : ainsi par exemple dans le prélude de « Gebet » (Mörike, n° 28) où, intervenant après des chromatismes troubles (l'inquiétude de l'âme avant la prière) , il fait l'effet d'un rayon de soleil pénétrant dans une cathédrale du haut de la coupole.

Les lieder

Hugo Wolf pratique l'art de la miniature qu'est le lied à une époque où les grandes formes comme les Symphonies de Gustav Mahler et d'Anton Bruckner semblent être devenues la norme de composition. D'autres compositeurs Romantiques s'y étaient déjà essayés avec succès : Franz Schubert et Robert Schumann qui furent sources d'inspiration pour les débuts de Wolf. Cependant, ce dernier envisage la forme d'une manière toute personnelle.

Dès le titre, tout est dit : « Poèmes de ... pour voix et piano mis en musique par Hugo Wolf. » . Le texte, dans son contenu sémantique comme dans sa syntaxe, est son objet principal de préoccupation. La poésie est la source même de la musique. Il s'agit ici de capturer la pensée profonde du poète et de lui donner une existence sonore. Sa méthode de travail consiste à lire le texte à voix haute jusqu'à ce que la mélodie émerge d'elle-même de la phrase, génératrice des intervalles et du rythme. La courbe du chant acquiert une forme singulière, donnant naissance à une déclamation lyrique nouvelle : le recitativo arioso. Le piano est mis sur un pied d'égalité avec la voix : il prépare l'atmosphère de la pièce par un prélude et la prolonge par un postlude. Son rôle est capital dans la réalisation d'ensemble, non pas un simple accompagnement mais un partenaire du chant.

Hugo Wolf trouve une solution inédite pour chaque émotion exprimée par le poète, réalisant ainsi des portraits d'une surprenante véracité. Son écriture devient, à elle seule, un langage traduisant le réalisme psychologique des personnages. Ainsi, le chromatisme traduit les mouvements subtils de l'âme humaine, ce chromatisme poussé à sa limite extrême conduit à une dissolution de la tonalité, saisissant le côté pathologique d'un personnage comme c'est le cas dans les 3 « Harfenspieler » extraits des « Gœthe-Lieder » . On trouve dans l'ensemble de ses lieder, aussi bien dans la ligne vocale que dans l'accompagnement, des formules symboliques équivalentes aux leitmotifs des Opéras de Richard Wagner. La complexité du résultat final est bien éloignée de la forme traditionnelle du lied. Ce sont les écoutes successives qui dévoilent progressivement les plans du compositeur, s'imbriquant les uns dans les autres telles des poupées russes.

Les grands cycles allemands

La grande époque du lied, on l'a dit, débute chez Hugo Wolf par sa découverte de Mörike. Cet engouement ne laisse

pas de surprendre à l're vue. Eduard Mörike (1804-1875) , pasteur paisible d'une petite ville provinciale de la Souabe, est considéré comme le poète du repos de l'âme, du sage contentement, de l'humour quelque peu désabusé. Le bouillonnant Wolf, qui dans d'autres circonstances préférait un auteur aussi explosif que Kleist, que venait-il faire dans cette galère ? Soupçonnait-il la lave qui couvait sous la surface de calme apparence et qui se devine à travers quelques poèmes tels que « Peregrina » ? Fut-il attiré par l'étonnante diversité de ces poésies ? Toujours est-il que, dans Mörike, Wolf a donné le meilleur de lui-même ; et si l'on jouait au jeu de l'île déserte, c'est le volume Mörike qu'il faudrait choisir. Non pas que les autres compositions soient de qualité inférieure, loin de là. Mais le volume Mörike est le plus complet.

Tout s'y trouve. Du sentiment religieux le plus intériorisé (« Gebet » ; « Schlafendes Jesuskind » ; « Auf eine Christblume ») jusqu'à l'humour le plus débridé (« Zur Warnung » ; « Abschied » , où l'on notera, dans le postlude, l'emploi original d'une valse viennoise qui accompagne la chute du critique dans l'escalier) , rien d'humain n'est absent de ces poèmes. Le charme goguenard (« Elfenlied ») côtoie le drame halluciné (« Der Feuerreiter » , dont Wolf donnera aussi, en 1892, une version pour chœur et orchestre) .

Joseph von Eichendorff (1788-1857) est surtout populaire comme chantre de la fameuse « Wanderlust » (protestation écologiste avant la lettre, de l'âme allemande contre la vie réglementée de l'industrialisation récente) . Il semble que ce soit ce côté contestataire qui ait surtout attiré Hugo Wolf. Les chants nostalgiques, les rêves d'un passé à jamais disparu, qui ont tant séduit Robert Schumann, sont chez Wolf en minorité (« Nachtzauber » ; « Heimweh ») . La plupart de ses lieder chantent, sur un ton fort rythmé et quelque peu désinvolte, le défi aux valeurs courantes de la société. Ce sont les marginaux, soldats, marins, aventuriers, musiciens ou poètes indifférents à l'argent, aux honneurs, au succès, qui ont ici droit à la parole. Comme une fleur isolée dans un jardin sauvage, s'élève le seul vrai chant d'amour du recueil, le merveilleux « Verschwiegene Liebe » .

Des différentes phases que parcourut Goethe au cours de sa longue vie (1749-1832) , la 1re, de style galant, « anacréontique » , n'intéressait pas Wolf. De la seconde, celle du bouillonnant poète du « Sturm und Drang » , révolution littéraire et contestation sociale des années 1770, le musicien n'a retenu que 3 hymnes : « Prometheus » , « Ganymed » et « Grenzen der Menschheit » , où, en doublant Schubert, il s'y oppose. Les lieder de Wolf font donc presque tous appel à la grande maturité du poète. On y respire un air de sagesse ironique, de détachement, d'une existence en dehors de la mêlée. Les tons tragiques ne sont certes pas absents : les chants de Mignon et du « Harfenspieler » (Harpiste) sont ce que Goethe a écrit de plus désespéré. Mais ces paroles ont attiré d'autres compositeurs également (Schubert, Schumann) .

L'originalité de Wolf réside plutôt dans la recherche délibérée de l'humour, trait pourtant peu caractéristique de Goethe (« Der Rattenfänger » ; « Ritter Kurts Brautfahrt » ; « Gutmann und Gutweib » ; « Epiphantias ») .

Quant au second volume, il est presque entièrement consacré aux poèmes du « West-östliche Divan » , recueil de textes que Goethe, sexagénaire, écrivit sous la double impulsion d'un nouvel amour et de la poésie persane qu'il venait de découvrir. Mais Wolf écarte les poèmes passionnés et se concentre sur des chants en éloge à la boisson, ou sur d'autres où Goethe joue avec l'amour plutôt qu'il n'aime vraiment. À 7 ans de son effondrement, Wolf se comporte ici

en homme rangé et sage. On notera qu'il évite cette fois les textes déjà illustrés par d'autres.

Les grands recueils

Le recueil des « Möricke-Lieder », 53 poèmes d'Eduard Möricke (16 février 1888 - 26 novembre 1888) rassemble des textes d'essence Romantique où se mêlent réalisme et visions d'un monde merveilleux.

S'il fallait n'en écouter qu'un seul : « Auf ein altes Bild » (DW7310) .

« Eichendorff-Lieder », 20 poèmes de Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff (31 août 1888 - 29 septembre 1888) est un recueil dans lequel Wolf insère quelques compositions antérieures. La poésie de Eichendorff a un côté concret, allié à la fantaisie de l'imagination, le tout teinté d'une nostalgie du monde de l'enfance. La fraîcheur du ton et sa spontanéité ont attiré Hugo Wolf qui y trouvait une musicalité innée.

S'il fallait n'en écouter qu'un seul : « Erwartung » (DW7106) .

« Gœthe-Lieder », 51 poèmes de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (27 octobre 1888 - 12 février 1889) tirés de « Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre » et de « Westöstlicher Divan » . Ce recueil est plus ambitieux que les 2 précédents tant les textes de Gœthe offrent de complexité et d'abstraction. Ce défi, Hugo Wolf l'a relevé pour livrer ici une œuvre Maîtresse de son répertoire.

S'il fallait n'en écouter qu'un seul : « Harfenspieler I » (DB8541) .

« Spanisches Liederbuch », 44 poèmes espagnols des XVIe et XVIIe siècles, traduits en allemand (28 octobre 1889 - 27 avril 1890) , reflètent le goût pour le pittoresque et l'exotique qui a marqué le déclin du Romantisme aussi bien en Allemagne qu'en Angleterre et ailleurs en Europe. Le recueil édité place, au début, les lieder sur des textes religieux, les faisant suivre par des lieder aux textes profanes, pour la plupart des poèmes d'amour. Il n'y a pas d'allusion folklorique dans la musique de Wolf, basée sur le climat poétique.

S'il fallait n'en écouter qu'un seul : « Wer sein holdes Lieb verloren » (DW7405) .

« Keller-Lieder », 6 poèmes de Gottfried Keller (25 mai - 16 juin 1890) extraits du recueil « Alte Weisen » témoignent de l'admiration que Wolf portait aux écrits du poète suisse (DW7107) .

« Italienisches Liederbuch I », 22 poèmes italiens anonymes (25 septembre 1890 - 23 décembre 1891) comprennent un grand nombre de poèmes d'amour dont la traduction en allemand ne réussit pas à rendre le caractère léger et enlevé de la verve méditerranéenne. La musique de Wolf, faisant abstraction de la brièveté du texte ou de ses faiblesses, atteint une liberté d'expression inégalée jusqu'alors. Le mélange du genre populaire et de la facture savante est pour beaucoup dans la réussite de cette œuvre.

S'il fallait n'en écouter qu'un seul : « Mein Liebster singt am Haus » (DW7443) .

« Italienisches Liederbuch 2 » , 24 poèmes italiens (25 mars - 30 avril 1896) constituent l'achèvement du travail entrepris 5 ans auparavant.

S'il fallait n'en écouter qu'un seul : « Wie soll ich fröhlich sein » (DW7456) .

3 poèmes de Robert Reinick et 4 poèmes de Heinrich Heine, William Shakespeare et George Gordon (Lord) Byron. Ces 2 recueils furent publiés en 1897 et rassemblent des lieder composés à diverses époques.

« Michel-Angelo Lieder » (18 - 28 mars 1897) , 3 poèmes traduits en allemand constituent les dernières pages écrites par Wolf. On y assiste à une dissolution de la tonalité associée à un éclatement de la forme qui font de ces 3 lieder une œuvre totalement visionnaire annonçant les lieder d'Arnold Schœnberg (DW7438) .

Les recueils « méditerranéens »

Les 2 recueils suivants sont consacrés à des poèmes étrangers, traduits par 2 poètes de seconde zone, Paul Heyse et Emanuel von Geibel. Le « Spanisches Liederbuch » (Chants espagnols, 1889-1890) comporte une partie de chants sacrés et une partie de chants profanes. Les chants sacrés commencent en hymne à Marie, à laquelle sont consacrés les 3 lers ; puis, nous assistons à la naissance de Jésus, saluons l'enfant merveilleux, qui nous conduit doucement vers le Sauveur martyrisé. Le ton est simple, les harmonies moins chromatiques que dans la plupart des autres compositions ; la profonde religiosité de Wolf, qui ne s'était guère exprimée depuis Mörike, revient ici à la surface.

Les chants profanes, quant à eux, se caractérisent par un délicieux climat entre larmes et sourire, tout à fait particulier à ce recueil, et qui ne se trouve guère exprimé ailleurs avec pareil bonheur. C'est mi-amusés, mi-attendris que nous assistons aux déboires de tel amoureux trop timide (« Wer sein holdes Lieb verloren ») , ou de tel autre auquel les œillades de la belle promettent le bonheur, tandis que le geste de son doigt lui ôte tout espoir (« Seltsam ist Juanas Weise » ; « Auf dem grünen Balkon mein Mädchen ») .

Dans l' « Italienisches Liederbuch » (Chants italiens, 1890-1891 et 1896) , un des thèmes auxquels Wolf est particulièrement attentif est la dispute entre amoureux. 2 merveilleux lieder chantent la réconciliation : « Wir haben beide lange Zeit geschwiegen et Nun lass uns Frieden schliessen » ; d'autres nous mènent au milieu de la bataille, dont le ton taquin laisse cependant prévoir un dénouement heureux (« Du sagst mir ... » ; « Nein, junger Herr » ; « Wer rief dich denn ? ») . 2 seulement sont d'une teneur vraiment dramatique : « Hofärtig seid ihr, schönes Kind » (où l'amant malheureux claque la porte avec un accord dissonant) , et « Was soll der Zorn mein Schatz » .

Les lieder non compris dans ces recueils mais publiés par Wolf de son vivant sont réunis sous le titre « Lieder nach verschiedenen Dichtern » (d'après différents poètes) . En dehors du ravissant « Mausfallen-Sprüchlein » (encore Mörike !) et des 6 poèmes d'après Gottfried Keller, les mieux connus sont les 3 lieder d'après Michel-Ange, lourds de tristesse et de mélancolie.

Les essentiels

À lire : L'excellente biographie que lui a consacrée Claude Rostand, reparue chez Slatkine, en 1982.

Franz Grasberger : « Hugo Wolf. Persönlichkeit und Werk. » Eine Ausstellung zum 100. Geburtstag. Wien (1960) .

Dolf Lindner : « Hugo Wolf. Leben - Lied - Leiden. » Mit einem Anhang : Das Liedwerk. Wien (1960) .

Frank Walker : « Hugo Wolf. Eine Biographie. » . Graz (1953) .

Erik Werba : « Hugo Wolf oder Der zornige Romantiker. » .Wien (1971) .

Margarete Saary : « Persönlichkeit und musikdramatische Kreativität Hugo Wolfs. » . Dissertation. Wien (1982) .

À écouter : 2 grands interprètes des lieder d'Hugo Wolf, à savoir Elisabeth Schwarzkopf et Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau.

DW7168 - Lieder : Dietrich Fischer- Dieskau et Daniel Barenboim, 6 disques compacts (DGG 447515-2) .

DW7304 - « Mörike Lieder » par Elisabeth Schwarzkopf accompagnée par Geoffrey Parsons (Decca 430000-2) .

DW7405 - « Spanisches Liederbuch » par Elisabeth Schwarzkopf accompagnée par Gerald Moore (DGG 457 726-2) .

DW7434 : « Italienisches Liederbuch » par Elisabeth Schwarzkopf et Dietrich Fischer- Dieskau (EMI 763 732-2) .

Sommaires

Le compositeur autrichien d'ascendance slovène Hugo Filipp Jakob Wolf, dit Hugo Wolf, est né le 13 mars 1860 à Windischgrätz, un arrière-poste styrien, province de l'Empire austro-hongrois (aujourd'hui : Slovenj Gradec, en Slovénie) , enclave de langue allemande en territoire slovène. Il va mourir le 22 février 1903, à Vienne.

Wolf était le second fils du tanneur de la ville, le marchand de peaux Philipp Wolf, un musicien amateur qui se délassait volontiers d'un métier qu'il n'avait pas choisi en grattant du violon. Jusqu'en 1869, Hugo Wolf fréquenta l'école du village, cependant que son père, dont il se sentait assez proche, lui enseignait quelques rudiments de musique (le piano et le violon) . Ses années de lycée d'abord au pensionnat de l'abbaye Saint-Paul du Lavanttal, puis à Graz et Marbourg, révèlent déjà un caractère instable. Il semble que le jeune Hugo ait délibérément saboté ses études à partir de 1875 afin d'être envoyé (contre le gré de son père, cette fois) au Conservatoire de Vienne. À 15 ans, le jeune homme s'installe à Vienne, ville qu'il ne quittera plus, excepté pour de courts voyages professionnels en Allemagne à partir de 1890, et pour un voyage en Italie qu'il effectuera en 1898 pour raison de santé.

Hugo Wolf est l'un des 2 principaux émules d'Anton Bruckner, avec Gustav Mahler, son contemporain exact.

Son père, d'ascendance allemande, dut reprendre l'entreprise paternelle de tannerie, mais conservera sa vie durant la nostalgie d'une vocation artistique (il aurait souhaité être architecte) . Sa mère, née Katharina Nussbaumer (germanisation de l'original slovène « Orchovnik ») , de souche paysanne, avait aussi du sang italien. Tout le tempérament artistique du futur compositeur est déjà déterminé par la fusion de ces atavismes, fusion éminemment caractéristique du creuset viennois à l'époque où Hugo Wolf va faire toute sa carrière.

Après des études secondaires « cahotantes » , il découvre les grands Classiques viennois, qui nourrissent sa passion exclusive pour la musique. Les Iers essais de composition, dès la 14e année, sont destinés au piano ; le lied fait bientôt son apparition ; si bien qu'en arrivant à Vienne pour s'inscrire au Conservatoire à la rentrée de 1875, le jeune homme peut entrer d'emblée en seconde année de composition.

Vienne, creuset culturel d'une richesse inouïe, a toujours su attirer les grands musiciens : Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms, Bruckner, Mahler, Schönberg, pour ne citer que les plus connus ; et surtout, les retenir. Aucun d'entre eux n'y eut la vie facile, aucun n'y fut reconnu de son vivant à sa juste valeur (et tous s'en plaignirent) , mais pas un seul ne songea sérieusement à la quitter.

Hugo Wolf recevra au Conservatoire l'enseignement de Wilhelm Schenner (piano) , Robert Fuchs (harmonie et composition) , puis Franz Krenn. Il étudie en même temps que Gustav Mahler, son condisciple. Wolf fréquente assidûment l'Opéra ; il voit tout le répertoire et en connaît tous les rôles par cœur. Il découvrira la musique de Richard Wagner, une révélation capitale qui l'amènera à rencontrer ce dernier pour lui présenter quelques-uns de ses Iers essais musicaux. La Sonate, Opus 1, les Variations, Opus 2, les Lieder, Opus 3 datent en effet de cette période. Cependant, aucun signe ne permet de caractériser encore son futur style.

En 1876, Wolf compose son 1er Opéra, « König Alboin, roi des Lombards » . En 1877, il sera renvoyé du Conservatoire de Vienne pour indiscipline.

En 1879, il rencontre Johannes Brahms pour lui présenter ses compositions : le contact entre les 2 hommes n'est pas bon, et l'antipathie de Wolf envers Brahms, qu'il qualifie de « pédant nordique » , ne se démentira pas par la suite. Il est vrai que l'esthétique de Brahms, qui marque un retour à un certain Classicisme, est très différente de celles de Richard Wagner et de Franz Liszt.

Nommé second chef d'orchestre à Salzbourg en 1881, Hugo Wolf est poussé à quitter ce poste au bout de quelques mois. Entre 1884 et 1887, il est critique musical pour le « Salonblatt » , une revue viennoise importante dans les cercles musicaux de l'époque. Il y affiche un virulent parti pris pour Wagner et Liszt, contre des choses aussi différentes que la musique de Brahms ou celle des compositeurs italiens du XIXe siècle, très prisée à l'époque.

En 1884, il travaille sur son unique Symphonie ainsi que sur son Quatuor à cordes en ré mineur (dont seuls le Scherzo et le Finale sont complétés) .

À partir de 1887, il se consacre entièrement aux études et à la composition, dans une succession de phases d'intense création et de périodes d'abattement total. Son poème Symphonique, « Penthésilée », n'est pas accueilli avec le succès qu'il espérait.

En 1888, son séjour à la Villa Perchtoldsdorf, près de Vienne, s'avère particulièrement fécond, puisqu'il y produit plus de la moitié de son œuvre qui se veut déséquilibré et indécision tonale, charnière entre le Romantisme et le XXe siècle.

Wolf, digne successeur de Franz Schubert dans l'art du lied, qu'il conçoit comme des poèmes symphoniques miniatures, porta le lied à des sommets de raffinement et de complexité jamais atteints et réussit une saisissante fusion de la poésie et de la musique dans ses presque 300 lieder. Wolf mit en musique les textes des grands poètes allemands comme Mörike, Eichendorff et Goethe. Ses livres de lieder espagnols (1891) et italiens (2 volumes, 1891 et 1896) rassemblent des poèmes allemands sur des thèmes espagnols et italiens. Hormis les lieder, Wolf a aussi écrit pour Quatuor à cordes (1879-1880), une Sérénade italienne (1892), et un Opéra, « Der Corregidor » (Le Gouverneur, 1895).

Hugo Wolf marque incontestablement un stade décisif dans l'évolution du Romantisme finissant, vers le XXe siècle atonal, voire l'École de Vienne. Modulations rapides, dissonances, structure totalement libre (détestée par Mahler qui trouvait ses lieder « informes »), Hugo Wolf tomba dans des oreilles illustres dès le début du XXe siècle : les 7 Premiers lieder d'Alban Berg (« Sieben frühe Lieder ») l'évoquent fortement, tandis que les lieder d'Arnold Schönberg, qui lui aussi faisait grand cas de Wolf, sont à l'époque nettement en retrait harmoniquement sur lui.

Curieusement, et contrairement à une idée répandue, l'admiration sans borne (voire le culte) qu'Hugo Wolf vouait à Richard Wagner ne se retrouve que très superficiellement dans ses lieder, et encore moins dans sa trop rare musique Symphonique : enchaînements harmoniques, sonorité, accords, forme, rien ou presque n'évoque le Maître saxon dans ces poèmes concentrés, excepté une certaine liberté de structure et une forte variation tonale au sein d'une même pièce. L'harmonie de Hugo Wolf est, à la fois, très Classique et très personnelle, et l'on pourrait presque se réjouir de ce qu'il a en somme assez mal compris son idole, contrairement à Arnold Schönberg.

De plus, la littérature pianistique de Richard Wagner, pour qui le piano n'était qu'un instrument de travail et de plaisir, est quasi inexistante, alors qu'Hugo Wolf est l'un des 3 grands du lied, et donc également un grand du piano : Robert Schumann et Franz Schubert, avec Johannes Brahms, ayant mis la barre très haute.

Hugo Wolf a aussi innové dans la technique même du lied. D'ailleurs, à l'appellation de lied, Hugo Wolf préfère « Gedichte für Singstimme und Klavier » (Poèmes pour voix et piano). Pour ses « Gedichte », il s'est tourné vers des poètes déjà un peu anciens, comme Goethe (la figure tutélaire de la littérature allemande à la charnière des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles), Mörike, Eichendorff, Heinrich Heine ou encore Gottfried Keller, tous poètes du XIXe siècle.

Les thèmes sont le plus souvent l'amour, la nature et la religion.

Sa conception du déroulement vocal donne naissance à une forme de ligne mélodique nouvelle dans le lied : le recitativo arioso (c'est-à-dire une déclamation chantée qui évite de devenir un air véritable, et emprunte donc aux 2 types d'écriture : celle du récitatif et celle de l'air proprement dit) :

Il se détourne parfois de la courbe mélodique pour adopter un débit vocal récitatif et s'oppose donc aux grands compositeurs du lied Romantique. La fluidité mélodique reste donc limitée.

En général, la mélodie va à la voix et le piano accompagne, mais Wolf inverse cette généralité.

Par ailleurs, il respecte la durée ordinaire du lied (environ 3 minutes, bien qu'il n'y ait aucune règle à ce sujet) .

Hugo Wolf est resté mal connu en France jusqu'aux années 1970, comme Max Reger : le lied allemand, pour les Français, s'appelait Robert Schumann et Franz Schubert. Jusqu'à ce que de grands interprètes comme Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, Edith Mathis, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau ou Peter Schreier enregistrent les lieder de Hugo Wolf et le mettent au niveau qu'il mérite, à savoir, aux côtés de ses 2 prédécesseurs, à une place de « Prince du lied » .

...

Ernst Decsey écrit : « La vie de Wolf ressemble à un de ses lieder : courte introduction, toute en lutte, explosion, décharge du cœur en une cantilène brûlante, chute dans un épilogue muet : un drame sur une page d'imprimerie. »

Hugo Wolf est un des grands Maîtres du lied. Il compose plus de 300 chants dans la grande tradition de Franz Schubert et de Robert Schumann. Sa musique, influencée par Richard Wagner, marque toute une génération : Gustav Mahler et la Seconde École de Vienne pourront alors entraîner le genre du lied vers d'autres voies nouvelles. Considéré comme un compositeur secondaire par ses pairs et de nombreux musicologues, il faut aujourd'hui lui rendre sa véritable place dans l'histoire de la musique occidentale : la 1^{re}.

Hugo Wolf est né le 13 mars 1860 à Windischgraz. Son père exerçant le métier de tanneur garde toujours la nostalgie d'une vocation artistique (il aurait souhaité devenir architecte) . Jusqu'en 1869, Hugo fréquente l'école du village et apprend ses premiers préceptes musicaux de son père. Plus tard, les années de lycée révèle un Hugo Wolf instable si bien qu'en 1875 il s'installe à Vienne pour y parfaire ses études de musique, sans le consentement de son père. C'est de cette période que datent ses 1^{res} compositions : Sonate pour piano, Opus 1, Variations, Opus 2, Lieder, Opus 3 ; musique encore trop impersonnelle pour y voir un style.

Hugo Wolf ne quittera jamais la ville de Vienne, exception faite pour quelques voyages professionnels en Allemagne (dont Berlin, en compagnie de son Maître Anton Bruckner) à partir de 1890. Condisciple de Gustav Mahler au Conservatoire de Vienne, Wolf fréquente les milieux musicaux et s'attarde particulièrement sur l'Opéra : il connaît tous les rôles et musiques par cœur. L'Opéra devient pour lui un élément primordial, surtout lorsqu'il fait la découverte de Richard Wagner. Il entreprend même une œuvre, « König Alboin » , dont quelques esquisses ont pu être conservées. Cependant, l'œuvre la plus originale de ces années de Conservatoire reste une Symphonie dont seuls les 2 mouvements

terminaux nous sont parvenus (« Scherzo und Finale für grosses Orchester ») . L'écriture orchestrale de Wolf révèle alors une forte influence du Symphonisme berliozien.

Hugo Wolf est toujours instable et quitte le Conservatoire en 1877, bien qu'émerveillé du monde musical contemporain. Il mène alors une vie faite de leçons et occupe un poste de chef de chœur au Théâtre de Salzbourg (sous la direction de Karl Muck) pendant quelques mois. Cette expérience fut bénéfique pour le jeune homme qui découvre le style comique et s'éloigne du style wagnérien.

À partir de cette période, sa musique se divise en 2 périodes. La 1^{re} (1877-1887) révèle un artiste à la recherche de lui-même, s'essayant à différents genres musicaux comme le Quatuor (Quatuor en ré mineur, 1877-1884) , l'Intermezzo (1886) , la sérénade (Sérénade italienne, 1887) , un Poème symphonique (« Penthésilée » , 1883-1885) et, bien évidemment, divers lieder.

Le Quatuor à cordes reconstruit la veille de sa mort, en 1903, est considéré comme une partition prophétique et influence notamment 2 de ses plus fervents admirateurs : Max Reger et Arnold Schönberg. Quant à son Poème symphonique « Penthésilée » , il est convenu de dire aujourd'hui qu'il surclasse le modèle instauré par Franz Liszt et se situe au-delà des productions d'un Richard Strauß. Cette œuvre est un fait un pont entre les Poèmes symphoniques de Franz Liszt et le « Pelléas et Mélisande » d'Arnold Schönberg. Pourtant, cette œuvre fut un échec à sa création car elle rejetait le formalisme et le traditionalisme prôné par Johannes Brahms et Eduard Hanslick. Conséquence logique pour Wolf, il abandonne tout rêve de musique Symphonique.

À partir de 1884, Hugo Wolf se tourne vers la critique et devient le critique musical attitré du « Wiener Salonblatt » . Cette nouvelle activité, dans laquelle il se jette à corps perdu, lui laisse peu de temps pour composer mais précise davantage ses goûts musicaux. Il tourne le dos à Brahms, glorifie Liszt et Berlioz et dénonce le conservatisme de nombreux musiciens et orchestres. Il s'indigne de « tant de routine et de désordre » à une époque où le nouveau directeur de l'Opéra, Gustav Mahler, devient son adversaire le plus féroce. Il met à un terme, en 1887, à cette activité d'écrivain.

À la fin de cette 1^{re} période, les renseignements biographiques sur Wolf sont confus et peu précis. Tout ce que l'on sait vraiment, c'est qu'il contracta la syphilis vers 1884 qui allait l'emporter une vingtaine d'années plus tard. Un tournant majeur de sa vie se produisit avec la mort de son père, en 1887. À la fin de cette année-là, Wolf a la chance de voir paraître ses lieder imprimés et qui vont déjà de leurs succès. Wolf n'a alors qu'une seule certitude : il lui faut persévérer dans cette voie.

Entre la tradition de Franz Schubert, les avancées de Robert Schumann et le modèle wagnérien, Wolf devait trouver sa place. Cette partie était loin d'être gagnée et son caractère instable et renonceur aurait pu mettre fin à ce projet.

Wolf évite de mettre en musique des poèmes déjà utilisés par d'autres ; s'il les utilise, c'est qu'il est sûr de pouvoir apporter davantage au poète que les musiciens précédents. Comme Schumann, Wolf est un homme empli de références culturelles et de signes littéraires. Il se met alors au service du poème. Durant ses concerts, il prend même l'habitude

de lire le poème à ses auditeurs avant de leur faire entendre la musique.

Tous ses lieder composés à partir de 1888 sont conçus en cycle. Des centaines de lieder voient le jour en 1888, répartis en 3 grands recueils, sur des vers de Goethe, Mörike (qui devient « son » poète de prédilection) et Eichendorff. Chaque cycle est dédié à un seul poète. Les 2 années suivantes, le rythme est moins soutenu avec un ensemble de 26 poèmes de Goethe puis, entre octobre 1889 et avril 1890, le « Spanisches Liederbuch ». Ces recueils sont suivis de l'« Italienisches Liederbuch » (1890-1891).

Hugo Wolf avait sa façon bien à lui de composer : il mûrissait d'abord les poèmes choisis par ses soins puis se mettait au travail, composant de manière continue, noircissant ses cahiers de jets musicaux ininterrompus (il écrivait parfois plus d'un lied par jour) sans la moindre ébauche ni la plus petite rature.

Si chaque cycle ou cahier de lieder comporte des caractéristiques propres liées au poète qu'il sert, on décèle des éléments récurrents dans sa musique : une écriture « durchkomponiert » (composé de bout en bout) sans redites et remplissage. Le piano devient l'expression de l'idée ou de l'image suggérée dans le texte, son langage différent pour chaque lied, original. En comparaison, le piano de Wolf est l'orchestre de Wagner. D'où ce surnom de « Wagner du lied » qu'on l'affuble rapidement, ce qui irrite passablement le compositeur que l'on cantonne entièrement à la petite forme du lied.

En réaction à ce confinement forcé de la part des critiques et musiciens, Wolf se jette dans la composition de « Der Corregidor » (le Magistrat) en février 1895. Terminé dans l'année, l'ouvrage a tout de suite un succès retentissant à sa création à Mannheim, le 7 juin 1896. Malgré tout, l'œuvre tombe vite dans l'oubli. Wolf retourne alors aux lieder et compose ses dernières grandes œuvres vocales. La folie ne tarde pas à se déclarer. Il écrit les 3 « Michel-Angelo Lieder », son chant du cygne en quelque sorte, avant d'être interné en septembre 1897. Sa vie créatrice s'achève ici et se révèle être l'une des plus courtes que l'on connaisse.

Hugo Wolf profite néanmoins de quelques périodes de rémissions mais, en 1899, c'en est fini de lui sur le plan cérébral. Après d'atroces souffrances et une paralysie totale, Hugo Wolf s'éteint d'une pneumonie à l'asile, le 22 février 1903. Il est enterré aux côtés de Franz Schubert et de Ludwig van Beethoven au cimetière principal de Vienne.

Hugo Wolf (textes anglais)

Hugo Wolf (1868-1903) : Born in Windischgraz, Austria. Currently, Slovenj Gradec, Slovenia. A pupil of Anton Bruckner and a composer of German Lied.

Hugo Wolf (born on 13 March 1868 - died on 22 February 1903) was an Austrian composer of Slovene origin, particularly noted for his art songs, or lieder. He brought to this form a concentrated expressive intensity which was unique in late-Romantic music, somewhat related to that of the 2nd Viennese School in concision but diverging greatly in technique.

Though, he had several bursts of extraordinary productivity, particularly in 1888 and 1889, depression frequently interrupted his creative periods, and his last composition was written in 1898, before he suffered a mental collapse caused by syphilis.

...

The Austrian composer Hugo (Filipp Jakob) Wolf was born on 13 March 1860 in Windischgraz, Styria (now, Slovenj Gradec, Yugoslavia) and died on 22 February 1903 in Vienna. He intensified the expressive vocabulary of the lied to a pitch never since surpassed. By his musical sensitivity to poetic values and meanings, which he embodied in each separate aspect of song (vocal declamation, keyboard technique, harmonic nuance) , he was able, like Franz Schubert before him, to condense the dramatic intensity of Opera into the song form.

Formative years (1860-1883)

Hugo Wolf was born in a German-speaking enclave of a Slovene region. His mother Katharina (1824-1903) was of Slovene yeoman stock (her paternal grandfather's name was Orehovnik, which he changed to its German equivalent Nussbaumer ; her maternal grandfather's name was Stank, or Stanko) . According to a family tradition, she also had some Italian antecedents. She was strong-willed and energetic, 4 years older than her husband Philipp Wolf, whom she married in 1852. His family was German in origin ; he inherited the leather business established in Windischgraz in the 18th Century by his grandfather Maximilian. Philipp Wolf (1828-1887) was a gifted musician who taught himself the piano, violin, flute, harp and guitar. His trenchant and colourful letters reveal him as the thwarted artist, moody and introspective. These gifts and temperament seem to have been inherited by Hugo, the 4th of 6 children (2 others died in infancy) . As he later recorded appreciatively, he was given piano and violin lessons by his father at a very early age. At the village primary school, from 1865 to 1869, he was taught the piano and theory by Sebastian Weixler, who also played the viola in the Wolf household orchestra (Philipp 1st violin, Hugo 2nd, brother Max cello, an uncle as horn player) .

In 1868, Hugo saw his 1st Opera (Donizetti's « Belisario ») , which made an overwhelming impression. In September 1870, he was sent to the regional secondary school in Graz (where he was remembered as speaking German with a Slovene accent) but left after only 1 term with the general report « wholly unsatisfactory » , though with some praise for his musical gifts. In September 1871, he began 2 years as a boarder at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Paul, where he excelled as a musician, playing the violin and organ for school services and the piano in a trio (with a repertory including Italian and French Opera arrangements) . But he lagged at the compulsory Latin ; and, in the autumn of 1873, he was transferred to the secondary school at Marburg (now Maribor, Yugoslavia) . There, he absorbed the Classical repertory in score or performance, including Beethoven and Haydn Symphonies in piano duet arrangement. But again, he left after only 2 years. His wilful and passionate nature spurned compromise ; he had time and energy only for music. His father received 2 placatory dedications, that of Opus 1, a Piano Sonata begun in April 1875, and that of the Variations, Opus 2. It was decided that Wolf should go and live with an aunt in Vienna that September and study at the Vienna Conservatory.

At 1st, all went well. He studied the piano with Wilhelm Schenner and harmony and composition, 1st with Robert Fuchs and, then, with the strict and pedantic Franz Krenn. He made many friends, including the young Gustav Mahler. The 1st fruits were an unfinished Violin Concerto (in piano score) and more Piano Sonatas, as well as songs and choruses. Now, Wolf began regular Opera-going : Giacomo Meyerbeer's « Les Huguenots » was a special favourite. But his deepest devotion was reserved for Richard Wagner, then (November 1875) in Vienna for performances of « Tannhäuser » and « Lohengrin » . Wolf attended both, and became (as he told his dismayed parents) a dedicated Wagnerian ; a term then synonymous with avant-garde turbulence. In December, he visited Wagner, bringing his piano pieces, which he explained were in the style of Mozart. Wagner was indulgent and affable ; he gravely agreed that it was best to model oneself on the Classics, and counselled patience and practice. When he next went to Vienna, he said, he would look forward to being shown larger-scale works.

This encounter inspired Wolf, always a passionate hero-worshipper and famished for encouragement. He duly attempted larger-scale works, notably a Lenau setting for accompanied male-voice chorus, « Die Stimme des Kindes » . But the part-writing went awry, a blemish pointed-out by Hans Richter, then director of the Vienna Opera, whom Wolf had also buttonholed and blandished. Technical shortcomings recur in further choruses written in 1876 ; but in one Gœthe setting, « Mailed » , the contours of coming Mastery are discernible in rhythmic verve and harmonic vitality. Also from this period date orchestral essays (an arrangement of the « Moonlight » Sonata) , various chamber music fragments and sketches and a piano « Rondo capriccioso » which later became a Symphonic Finale. No doubt many of these were set as academic exercises, but their style testifies to a growing independence. Soon, Wolf was again in conflict with authority. In later life, he would explain that he resigned from the Conservatory in protest at its entrenched conservatism. But he was also officially dismissed for « breach of discipline » ; and his cause was not helped by the prank of a fellow student who sent the director a threatening letter, signed « Hugo Wolf » . By March 1877, Wolf was home again in disgrace.

There, he worked on a Symphony and composed the earliest song that he thought worthy of publication, « Morgentau » . He was allowed back to Vienna, in November, to earn his own living as a music teacher. On the journey, he lost the score of his Symphony. That start was symptomatic. Wolf never had the teacher's gift or temperament. His talents needed (and his charm secured) the patronage of generous households, such as those of the actor Ludwig Gabillon and Sigmund Freud's early collaborator, Josef Breuer.

Wolf was already known in other cultured circles, notably that of the composer Adalbert von Goldschmidt (which included the critics Gustav Schönaich and Hans Paumgartner, and the conductor Felix Mottl) . They adopted the young Wolf, took him to concerts and Operas, lent him books, music and money. But this fostering may also have proved fatal. For it was Goldschmidt who (according to Alma Mahler) took Wolf to a brothel ; and there is no doubt that Wolf's insanity, in 1897, and death, in 1903, were among the sequelæ of a syphilitic infection assignable with fair certainty to 1878. It was then, as members of the Gabillon and Breuer families later recalled, that he began to avoid their dinner tables and their company (eating only such food as could be conveyed direct to the mouth, and refusing to travel in the same railway carriage as his hosts) . Such conduct then seemed merely eccentric or boorish ; but Doctor Breuer later came to believe that it was founded on medical advice and consideration for others.

The phase of sexual initiation and stimulus was also a time of spontaneous song-writing, the 1st signs of an intuitive mode of creativity that would later characterize Wolf's greatest work. Early in 1878, he was in love with Vally Franck, a relative of the Lang family, who were among his most generous benefactors. He later said that, in that year, he had written « at least one good song every day ». This seems exaggerated (unless the works were atypically destroyed) ; but it testifies to a wealth of feeling in that year. Romantic love and « Weltschmerz » are explicit in the choice of 1877-1878 song texts from such sources as Heine, Lenau, Chamisso, Rückert, Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Goethe's « Faust » .

After the Schumannesque Heine settings of May and June 1878, a new and agonized note is sounded in the « Faust » setting of « Gretchen vor dem Andachtsbild der Mater Dolorosa » , begun on 22 August. The confession of sin and prayer for forgiveness, novel and uncharacteristic themes in Wolf, are expressed in anguished chromatics. He next wrote settings of gloomy and life-abnegating texts (also, perhaps, related to the inevitable if temporary separation from Vally Franck) , closely followed by the 1st movement of the D minor String Quartet with its outbursts of impassioned declamation. The Grave introduction is prefixed by the words « Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren » (You must renounce, renounce.) , spoken by « Faust » when sealing his pact with the Devil and renouncing human life and love. Both this movement and the Scherzo (« Resolut ») bear the date : January 1879.

It was no doubt in a dejected mood that Wolf had called on Johannes Brahms, early in that year. He was kindly received and given the same advice as Richard Wagner's, namely to extend his musical horizons. From the blunt Brahms, this seemed an affront, especially when coupled with the suggestion of counterpoint lessons from Martin Gustav Nottebohm. The fee was well beyond Wolf's means ; and the idea was dismissed as « north German pedantry » . This note of antipathy soon swelled to an enduring diapason. As in George Bernard Shaw's contemporary London, the younger musicians tended to brand Brahms as reactionary and hail Wagner as progressive. Wolf's immediate circle, a Bohemian fraternity comparable to the 1st Schubertians, were all fanatical Wagnerites, following their Master to the point of becoming vegetarians - as Wolf did for 1 year or 2, partly also perhaps because that diet was cheaper. His meagre earnings were eked-out by parcels of food and clothes sent from home. He was constantly changing lodgings (on occasion sharing with Gustav Mahler, with whom he had remained on affable terms) in search of seclusion or economy. Life was hard, but intellectually and socially formative. Goldschmidt and Schönaich, in particular, continued to be generous with help and introductions : the circle of Wolf's friends and admirers gradually widened. In April 1879, he 1st met Melanie Köchert (« née » Lang) , who later became his mistress and protectress. Her sister Henriette and her brother Edmund Lang also became close friends. Meanwhile, Wolf's love for their quasi-cousin Vally Franck was rekindled ; but the 2 were separated most of that year by her absence on holiday. Wolf's letters and music are alike passionate, as 3 « Lenau » songs testify. But his penury and misfortune kept the lovers parted if not estranged. His patterns of cyclic mood swing and unpredictably sporadic creativity were already clearly delineated. By 1880, his depression and illness were both apparently abating. Sweetness and serenity return to the song music, especially in « Erwartung » and « Die Nacht » , 2 « Eichendorff » settings inscribed to Vally and thought worthy of publication in the later song-book. The slow movement of the D minor Quartet, begun in July, has overtones of healing (recalling Beethoven's « Heiliger Dankgesang ») and redemption that suggest a mood of regeneration and thanksgiving, enhanced by an idyllic summer holiday in Mayerling. There, Wolf's mature song-writing style continued its slow burgeoning, nurtured by studies and transcriptions of Richard Wagner. 2 paraphrases (of « Die Meistersinger » and « Die

Walküre ») , probably made at this time, were presented to the lawyer Joseph Heitzes, another of Wolf's benefactors. His Mayerling home was rented to the Preyss family, who willingly agreed to look after Wolf and give him the tranquillity and independence he needed. By now, he was sufficiently recovered to take his meals « en famille » . His high spirits and manifest genius captivated not only the Preyss family but their own summer visitors, including the Werners, especially the 7 year old Heinrich, who became wholly devoted to Wolf and later served his cause well as editor, critic and biographer.

Summertime in Mayerling, then and later, brought-out the radiant side of Wolf's nature, including his love of children and of the countryside. His small stocky figure, fair hair, and dark brown eyes fitfully lit by hilarity, were well described by a later friend, Edmund Hellmer, who added that to know him really well one had to hear him laugh and see him in the open air. But the sunshine regularly faded, and a darker side supervened ; then, the Wolfian moods turned 1st to a daunting wildness of speech and mien and thence, sometimes, to snapping and snarling, even at his devoted benefactors.

Before Wolf's 21st birthday, Vally Franck had broken off their attachment and returned to her native France. Despair resounded in the « Sechs geistliche Lieder » , choruses to words by « Eichendorff » ; again, secular human feeling was presented in the guise of spiritual agony. As ever, when wounded Wolf sought refuge in Windischgraz, composing a further « Eichendorff » song of soulful separation, « In der Fremde I » . Once again, he was helped by the devoted Goldschmidt, who, in November 1881, found him a post as 2nd conductor at Salzburg. As before, Wolf's musicianship was applauded but there were jarring personal notes. He resented the trivial tedium of Operetta rehearsal and quarrelled violently with the director. Again, he left under a cloud ; early in 1882, he was back in Vienna. His unhappy father compared himself, with some justice, to a « Sisyphus » forever doomed to push the same heavy stone uphill and behold it rolling ineluctably back, this time perhaps with crushing and fatal effect. For a time, father and son were estranged. Wolf, though contrite, was helpless to govern the forces that determined his life and fate. It was apparently early in this year that he was conscripted for a short time into military service, then compulsory at 20. For unknown reasons, whether the influence of friends, or his own ill-health, or unstable temperament, or small stature (5 feet, 11 inches) , he was neither called-up, in 1880, nor long retained, in 1882. His diary records this as the year of a « terrible moral hangover » . But, as usual, the arid tracts were diversified by occasional oases, including the « Mörike » setting of « Mausfallensprüchelein » , the fruit of another summer spent with the Preyss and Werner families, in Mayerling. There was a further remission, in late- 1882 and early- 1883, with a group of generally serene and sunny « Reinick » and « Eichendorff » songs. This time, when the darker mood returned, composition continued. It was as if 2 strands (bright and dark ; lyric and dramatic ; simple and complex ; Schumannian and Wagnerian) were beginning to interweave in a new and essentially Wolfian pattern. His tense and dramatic Justinus Kerner setting « Zur Ruh, zur Ruh » of June 1883 may have been his threnody on the death of Wagner 4 months earlier. In August, he saw « Parsifal » in Bayreuth ; then, again, he was at a standstill.

Years of uncertainty (1883-1887)

What trail Wolf should now follow was in no way clear to him or his family or friends. Eduard Hanslick had admired his songs, and thought them worth publishing. But first Schott, and then Breitkopf rejected them, though in affable

terms. Perhaps, he was not destined to be a song-writer after all ? At this impasse came his 3rd encounter with a great composer, this time Franz Liszt, at a meeting (again engineered by the faithful Goldschmidt) in April 1883. Although impressed with the songs Wolf showed him, which included « Die Spinnerin » , Liszt (like Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms) counselled further composition in the larger forms. This again chimed with Wolf's own mood. That winter, he had drafted the libretto of a Spanish Opera. Now, he instantly began work on a Symphonic poem based on Heinrich von Kleist's « Penthesilea » , a drama which (like « Faust » , and perhaps for the same reason) had long been an obsession of his ; its theme is the injuries inflicted by women on men through sexual passion. In Lisztian style, it seeks to develop and integrate small-scale motifs into the orchestral tone-poem frame. Wolf went again to Bayreuth for « Parsifal » ; he spent an agreeable holiday in Rinnbach visiting the Köcherts. But then, the tides of inspiration again receded, leaving a barren and featureless shore. He found a new friend and admirer, the writer Hermann Bahr. But, by the end of 1883, another depressive phase had set in. There are more sad stories of recrimination and parting, offence given and taken. Wolf quarrelled with his friends the Breuers because of his immoderate language about women. He stormed-out of the hospitable house of the industrialist Fritz Flesch because his host passed him a pear on a toothpick not a trifling matter to a sensitive and fastidious syphilitic who had scrupulously spent his infectious phase in enforced isolation.

The outbursts and estrangements of these and later years have to be viewed in the perspective of Wolf's artistic frustration, his mental and physical case history and the enduring love and solicitude shown by faithful friends. Supreme among them was Melanie Köchert, whom Wolf had been teaching and adoring since 1881. Her husband Heinrich Köchert was the Vienna Court jeweller, and had influential friends. Under his ægis, Wolf was appointed music-critic of the fashionable Sunday « Wiener Salonblatt » . But there was nothing merely modish in Wolf's writing or in his readership, the new and growing public for music criticism fostered by Eduard Hanslick yet left dissatisfied by the latter's intransigent anti-Wagnerism. Into this vacuum, Wolf rushed headlong. Notoriously, he did Richard Wagner more than justice, and Johannes Brahms less. But it would be wrong to see his outspoken critiques as merely partisan or their anti-Brahmsian thrust as merely retaliatory. They are not only a literate and lively mirror of the age ; they have a special interest for the Wagner scholar, for there can hardly have been anyone at the time who was more articulately knowledgeable about the Operas. Above all, they afford significant insights into Wolf's own creative mind.

The 3 year spell of criticism was useful as a vocation and a discipline, but it inhibited composition. Although Wolf took a long summer holiday in each of the 3 years 1884 to 1886, his comparative quietude was not matched by comparable peace of mind. The sardonic turbulence of his prose is well matched in his only song of this period, the « Mörike » setting « Die Tochter der Heide » , written during a sojourn with the Köcherts at Rinnbach, in July 1884. It was probably at this time that he and Melanie Köchert avowed their mutual love. The last movement of the D minor Quartet was also sketched in the same summer. Some fragmentary sketches for another Kleist play, « Prinz Friedrich von Homburg » , about the conflicts between love and duty, convention and temperament, date from August, when Wolf was visiting his sister Modesta and her husband Josef Straßer at Oblarn ; this time, love is a saving grace, not the destructive force of « Penthesilea » . On an outing with Straßer, Wolf met the folk-poet and singer Johann Kain, and was entranced by his songs. By October 1884, Wolf was back in Vienna writing reviews and vainly striving to arrange performances or publication of his own works. He resolved to devote the coming summer to completing, for submission to the Philharmonic Orchestra, his « Penthesilea » and « Prinz Friedrich von Homburg » music. The latter

remained fragmentary, but, in September, he called on Richter with the score of « Penthesilea » and was promised a trial later that year. Wolf felt that he was at last gaining a foothold, and, indeed, he had been making a name for himself as a critic. Sadly, it was a hated name. Among those Wolf had mauled was Sigismund Bachrich, whose pretensions as an Opera composer had been pointedly deflated. But Bachrich was the viola player of the famed Rosé Quartet ; so Wolf was naive in submitting his D minor Quartet to them for a hearing. It was returned with a woundingly worded note signed by Bachrich on behalf of his colleagues. Worse still, « Penthesilea » was put on trial in every sense. Its rehearsal on 15 October 1885 was (whether or not with conductor Hans Richter's connivance) a fiasco. Bachrich was in the orchestra, and Richter made some disparaging remarks (which Wolf overheard) about people who dared to criticize so great a Master as Brahms. Such comments were wholly predictable and unsurprising. It was Wolf's turn to be lacerated. His critiques continued with unabated vigour ; but his own music was aborted or stillborn. It was not until October 1886 while on holiday with the Straßers (now living at Murau) after some embarrassing contretemps, including a grave eye injury sustained while playing with the children's toys, that he completed his next viable work, the Intermezzo in E-flat, for string quartet. At the turn of the year, he began work on « Christnacht » , a setting of August von Platen for soloists, chorus and orchestra. Wolf himself described it as uniting 2 aspects of the Christ child : naive and child-like, yet conquering and redemptive. Again, the impulse seems intuitively self-expressive. Similarly, all 3 songs of 1886 (« Der König bei der Krönung » , « Der Soldat Biterolf ») and the 1st 3 of 1887 (« Wächterlied auf der Wartburg » , « Wanderers Nachtlied » , « Beherzigung ») have texts relating to various aspects of staunchness and resolution in the face of adversity. At last, the music affirms a confident sense of purpose and vocation. Finally, in 1887, Wolf attained a new plateau near the summit of Mastery. The impetus was provided by a change of route from subjectivity towards the sonorous re-creation of imaginative literature, a concept frequently cited by Wolf the critic as a touchstone of excellence. So it proved for Wolf the composer. From March to May 1887, he was inspired by the vitality of Eichendorff's poetry about lightness in love (« Der Soldat I ») or the bewitching power of women (« Die Kleine » , « Die Zigeunerin » , « Waldmädchen ») and of nature (« Nachtzauber ») . Between these last 2 songs, he composed the highly-original « Italienische Serenade » for string quartet (2-4 May) . Its relaxed and amused irony may also have owed its conception to Eichendorff, whose novella « Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts » offers many a textual correspondence with Wolf's life and music and includes an Italian serenade.

There could now be no further doubt in Wolf's mind about the fact of his gift, though its actual nature remained unclear to him. He had written his 1st Masterpiece, and his last critique. At that moment, his father was suddenly taken ill, and died on 9 May, thus, being denied his son's later triumphs but spared the final tragedy. Hugo, summoned by telegram, was a solace at the end, but then became himself inconsolable. Hardly another word was written or another note composed in that year. He needed affectionate support and encouragement ; a mainstay had gone. Help came from Friedrich Eckstein, whose library and conversation had enriched and influenced the young Wolf in his earlier Vienna days and who now performed the further signal service of persuading a publisher (perhaps, with some financial inducement) to bring-out 2 volumes of Wolf's songs. From among his manuscripts of many years, Wolf selected 6 women's songs and 6 for male-voice, to be inscribed respectively to his mother and to his father's memory. The project induced a tumultuous creative euphoria.

Mastery and fame (1888-1897)

Hugo Wolf instinctively sought solitude. His friends the Werners offered him the use of their summer holiday home in Perchtoldsdorf, near Vienna. He took with him the poems of his favourite « Mörike », whose lyrics had no doubt been germinating in his musical mind for many years. Now came a sudden spontaneous flowering of song music that in its profusion and variety matched the Franz Schubert of 1814-1815 and the Robert Schumann of 1840-1841. The biographical parallels with the latter are especially clear. Wolf too had just emerged from some years of activity as a critic and was celebrating a long-lasting love-affair (by 1888, Wolf and Melanie Köchert were lovers, though they could meet only with difficulty and by stealth) . Wolf too found himself moving in the song medium with a new and surprising assurance (with characteristic irony, he compared the process to the final undoing of a frequently and frustratingly fumbled button) . Finally, he too was disconcerted by the violence of his musical creativity, though overjoyed by its profusion. On 22 February, for example, he wrote to Edmund Lang : « I have just put a new song on to paper (“ Der Knabe und das Immllein ”) . A song for the gods, let me tell you ! My cheeks are glowing with excitement like molten iron ; and this state of inspiration is more a delicious torment to me than an unalloyed pleasure. » . But that was only a beginning. Far finer songs grew and proliferated, at the rate of 2 or even 3 a day. Again to Edmund Lang, on the same day : « Hardly was my letter despatched than I took-up my “ Mörike ” and wrote another song (“ Jägerlied ”) . P.S. : I have succeeded in a 3rd song, and how ! (“ Ein Stündlein wohl vor Tag ”) . This is an eventful day. »

A month later, he was still composing at the same pitch and writing in the same strain. To Josef Straßer, March 23 : « I'm working at 1,000 horsepower from early morning until late at night, without respite. What I am now putting on to paper, dear friend, is also being written for posterity. They are Masterpieces. When I tell you that (despite several unavoidable visits to Vienna) I have, since 22 February, written 25 songs, each better than the last, about which connoisseurs agree that there has been nothing like them since Schubert, Schumann, you'll readily gather what kind of songs they are. » . Earlier, Wolf had written modestly to Edmund Lang : « I wonder what the future may hold in store for me ? This question torments me, perturbs and preoccupies me waking or sleeping. Am I called ? Or, perhaps, even chosen ? » . By March, he knew. By mid- May (after 43 songs) , he needed rest. He took a holiday with the Straßers ; he visited Bayreuth. In September, the spate of song resumed. This time, Wolf sought sanctuary with the Eckstein family at Unterach, where he wrote (again, perhaps, using some earlier ideas) 13 « Eichendorff » settings. Then « Mörike » settings resumed with another 9 in the 1st fortnight of October, including some with a deep spiritual content (Wolf had again been much moved by « Parsifal ») . Then, came a return to Vienna, and an outburst even more sustained than ever. By 13 February 1889, Wolf had finished the 51 songs of the « Gœthe » song-book, except for one incomplete sketch (« Die Spröde ») which dissatisfied him and was later re-composed.

Again, the connoisseurs could recognize Masterpieces, this time directly challenging comparison with the « Gœthe » settings of Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann. The word soon spread from old friends to new converts. It was only on 2 March 1888 that any Wolf song had been publicly performed (by Rosa Papier, Hans Paumgartner's wife) . By 23 March, Wolf was playing and singing his latest « Mörike » settings to the « Wagner-Verein » .

Among its more influential members, Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe, both professors at the Conservatory, were powerfully impressed. So was the tenor Ferdinand Jäger (who had sung « Parsifal » at Bayreuth) when, on 8 November, he heard 3 of the « Mörike » songs from a soprano of the Vienna Opera accompanied by Schalk. Jäger was soon to

Wolf as Vogl was to Schubert, a life-long devotee and partner. Their Wolf concert, on 15 December, was the composer's 1st public appearance as an accompanist. This and subsequent recitals were received with acclaim.

In May 1889, Wolf returned to Perchtoldsdorf with his mind still ringing with plaudits. The prospect of public success again focussed his attention on large-scale forms, both Operatic and orchestral. (2 settings from « A Midsummer Night's Dream » date from this month as well as 2 orchestrations of songs from the « Mörike » volume, which had meanwhile been published.) After summer holiday visits to Bayreuth and to his mother in Windischgraz, Wolf returned to Perchtoldsdorf at the end of October 1889 and instantly began work on his Spanish song-book. Thoughts of Opera often suggested Spain or Italy to his mind (from this summer also dates the draft of a few dreamy bars of String Quartet music intended as a slow movement for the « Italienische Serenade ») . This impulse, together with his established penchant for characterization and description, his strong sense of national feeling and local colour, and a mood of mysticism perhaps induced or fostered by the Bayreuth visits, led to a choice of translations from the Spanish by Paul Heyse and Emanuel Geibel (a source earlier used by both Schumann and Brahms) . By April 1890, the 44 Spanish songs (including translations from Camoens, Cervantes, Lope de Vega and others, as well as anonymous lyrics) were completed. Meanwhile, the thrust towards stage-music continued : a sketched theme of December 1889 is headed « Introduction to Hamlet » . 2 more « Reinick » settings (one with orchestra on a patriotic theme) and 6 « Keller » songs in June 1890 (again, including characterization and mysticism) bring to an end this great creative period, in which 174 songs, including many acknowledged masterpieces, had been composed within 2 and a half years.

Meanwhile, the reverberations of Wolf's fame were spreading outside Austria. The 1st critical article was by Heinrich Rauchberg, an early friend ; his « Neue Lieder und Gesänge » (about the « Mörike » and « Eichendorff » song-books) appeared in the November / December issue of the « Osterreichisch-ungarische Revue » . Far more influential, however, was Josef Schalk's « Neue Lieder, neues Leben » in the « Münchener allgemeine Zeitung » for 22 January 1890. This gave rise to widespread interest and correspondence. Wolf heard from the Tübingen music-director, Emil Kauffmann (whose father had been a friend of Mörike's) , and the Mannheim judge, Oskar Grohe. Both became close friends. Gustave Schur of the « Wagner-Verein » was able to negotiate with the well-established firm of Schott in Mainz to supplement or replace the small Viennese publishers Wetzler (already on the point of bankruptcy) and Lacom.

Within Austria, Jäger had given another very successful Wolf recital to the « Graz Wagner-Verein » on 12 April. It was heard by Heinrich Potpeschnigg, a dentist and amateur pianist, who soon became a close friend and helper. In Vienna, Wolf's name was steadily gaining ground, but also meeting some resistance. Richard Heuberger recalled a talk with Johannes Brahms and Hans Richter, in November 1890, about « the Wagnerians and in particular Hugo Wolf, whom they now praised as a great song-writer, the inventor of the “ Symphonic song ”, whereas Schubert, Schumann and Brahms are said to have written songs as if with guitar accompaniment » . The partisan note is clear ; and there was some resentment even within the Wagner Societies. But the general reaction was favourable ; and this wave of recognition carried Wolf to a further crest of enthusiasm for Opera. In 1890, with his mind very much on Spanish themes, he had been offered a libretto on Alarcon's « El sombrero de tres picos » , by the feminist and journalist Rosa Mayreder. This was rejected, together with other suggestions such as « The Tempest » and « the story of Pocahontas » (proposal and counter-proposal between Wolf and the poet Detlev von Liliencron, whose attention had been drawn to Wolf by Josef Schalk, and who composed a verse-eulogy of the songs) . Among other topics mooted,

« the life of Buddha » and « the Golden Ass of Apuleius » might be said to typify Wolf's contrasting spiritual and secular aspects. But when he received a commission from the « Burgtheater » to compose incidental music for a production of Henryk Ibsen's « The Feast at Solhaug » , Wolf's zest sharply diminished. He found the assigned task irksome and uncongenial ; he was dilatory and uninspired ; he scored for too large an orchestra ; and his procrastination delayed the opening night until 21 November 1891, when the reception was lukewarm. His recalcitrance was enhanced by some fresh song inspiration from Paul Heyse's polished translations of anonymous Italian poems in a courtly style and tradition dating from the 16th Century or earlier (hardly folk-poems, as is sometimes claimed) . 7 such settings were completed in October and November 1890 despite the distraction of another visit to Germany to complete the negotiations with Schott. On his itinerary, Wolf met the Jewish conductor Hermann Levi and the singer Eugen Gura in Munich and called on his new friends Emil Kauffmann and Oskar Grohe.

But now, bodily and mental exhaustion supervened, with some ominous signs. Apart from the Henryk Ibsen commission and the orchestration of a « Mörike » song, Wolf was barren for most of 1891. The tedium of inactivity was alleviated by a further visit to Germany to hear « Christnacht » under conductor Felix Weingartner, at Mannheim. There, he met Engelbert Humperdinck, who as Schott's reader had recommended Wolf's songs ; but they did not take-up the option on « Christnacht » , in which Wolf could recognize defective scoring. A depressive phase ensued. He suffered from insomnia and malaise ; he despaired of writing another note. But, at the end of December, he composed (or, perhaps, completed) another 15 Italian songs, again full of Masterly invention. Then, darkness fell again, more impenetrable than ever. The long fallow period was again put to good use in tours and concerts in Germany.

The 1st Wolf recital in Berlin, on 3 March 1892, with the local tenor Grahl (replacing the indisposed Jäger) and the mezzo-soprano Friedrike Mayer, was enthusiastically received, though it was not a financial success. Wolf made many new friends including his patron Baron Lipperheide, the chorus Master Siegfried Ochs, the critic Richard Sternfeld (who wrote his laudatory article « Tin neuer Liedesfraling' » on 12 March) , the Opera singer Emilie Herzog-Welti (who gave a successful Wolf recital on 12 April) and the librettist Richard Genée. As a suitable Opera text for Wolf, he recommended Alarcon's « El niño de la bola » , translated into German as « Manuel Venegas » . This project preoccupied Wolf to the last.

On his return from Berlin, Wolf again fell victim to the feverish throat inflammation (no doubt a symptom of secondary syphilis) to which he had been prone since 1891. He was cared for, as so often, by the Köcherts. Perhaps, it was the presence of Melanie, his shy and reticent mistress (who was never seen among the social circle of Wolf's musical friends) , that prompted him to orchestrate his great song on the theme of covert and illicit love, « Geh, Geliebter, geh jetzt » , from the Spanish song-book. He scored the « Italienische Serenade » for small orchestra, with some slight but perplexing thematic changes ; he sporadically sketched or planned some additional movements. Otherwise, he was barren and listless. In the 3 years 1892 to 1894, he wrote not a single note of viable original music. As before, he sought distraction in continued travel and concert tours. Thus, in January 1894, he attended a very successful performance of his Shakespeare « Elfenlied » and the choral version of his « Mörike » song « Der Feuerreiter » under the direction of Siegfried Ochs, in Berlin. On the same programme was the « Te Deum » of Bruckner, also present in person ; he and Wolf were on affable terms. In Mannheim, Wolf met another disciple and benefactor, the barrister and amateur tenor Hugo Faißt of Stuttgart. In Darmstadt, he became infatuated with the

soprano Frieda Zerny of the Mainz Opera, and formed wild plans of emigrating with her to the United States. This brief liaison somehow became known to Melanie Köchert, to her distress and Wolf's embarrassment. He renewed his allegiance to her ; and the summer months of 1894 were spent 1st at her country home in Traunkirchen, and, later, with the Lipperheides near Brixlegg in the Tyrol.

With the success of Engelbert Humperdinck's « Hänsel und Gretel » in December, Wolf's Opera fever reached a new crisis. The Alarcon story of the « 3 Cornered Hat » began to dominate his mind. He rejected a version prepared by Franz Schaumann, chairman of the « Wagner-Verein » and enthused instead over the previously despised libretto of Rosa Mayreder, entitled « Der Corregidor » . Its merits are disputable ; but this text indubitably now began to fertilize Wolf's long-dormant creative genius. As before, there was a period of winter gestation followed by springtime labour. Early in April 1895, Wolf again sought solitude in Perchtoldsdorf. There the « Mörike » drama was re-enacted : he began to compose daily, from dawn to dusk. In May, he left for the more comfortable Lipperheide Château, in Brixlegg. By 9 July, the whole 4 Act Opera was complete in piano score ; the orchestration occupied the rest of the year. The Opera was offered, unsuccessfully, to Vienna, Berlin and Prague and was eventually accepted (with some help from Grohe) for performance at Mannheim. The rehearsals were prolonged and tense because of inaccuracies in the copied parts and fluctuations in Wolf's own mental state ; he continued to be plagued by insomnia. The 1st performance (7 June 1896) under Hugo Röhr was a great success, with curtain calls for the composer, but the enthusiasm abated in later performances, with the gradual departure of Wolf's friends and admirers ; the Opera has still not reached the general repertory or the wider public.

Meanwhile, Wolf, in a further access of creative fervour, returned to Perchtoldsdorf and composed (or completed) the final section of the Italian song-book, with 24 songs in the 5 weeks, between 25 March and 30 April. He, then, returned to Vienna to occupy (for the 1st time in his life) his own home. Ever since his arrival there, he had been living either in penury or else as a guest. The Köcherts had always been generous ; the Lipperheides and Grohe had provided a stipend ; now, Faißt and other friends found and furnished a flat in the Schwindgasse. There, for most of 1896 and the beginning of 1897, he revised (with the devoted help of Potpeschnigg) the score and parts of « Der Corregidor » , influenced inter alia by Johann Fuchs, « Kapellmeister » of the Vienna Opera, who advised that revisions (notably a cut in the last act) were mandatory. In autumn 1896, he wrote 2 settings of « Byron » and one of « Reinick » .

Breakdown and terminal illness (1897-1903)

In March 1897, Wolf composed his last songs, to sonnets by Michel-Angelo in German translation : the Christmas gift of Paul Müller, the founder of the Berlin « Hugo-Wolf-Verein » . In April 1897, a Vienna « Wolf-Verein » was inaugurated by the university professor Michaël Haberlandt, a staunch support in Wolf's declining years. Meanwhile, Wolf had pursued his plans for a 2nd Alarcon Opera on the story of « Manuel Venegas » .

The theme is sexual jealousy and revenge, as in « Der Corregidor » , but with dark overtones of violence and tragedy. Perhaps, Wolf's mind in its depressive phase was reverting to a febrile subjectivism. The « Michel-Angelo » songs, fine though they are, have evident personal application. By 1897, Wolf was clearly a very sick man, whose always

unpredictable behaviour was now causing distress and alarm. A medical examination, in the previous year, had disclosed (though the knowledge was withheld from Wolf himself) a characteristic loss of pupillary reflex, symptomatic of the incipient general paralysis of tertiary syphilis. Nevertheless, he was again ready to compose at fever-heat. A « Manuel Venegas » libretto prepared by Rosa Mayreder was summarily rejected. Moritz Hoernes (a colleague of Michaël Haberlandt) produced an alternative version which seemed to the sick Wolf to have a truly Shakespearean quality. In September 1897, he was again sequestered in his apartment working from dawn to dusk on the new Opera. He completed some 60 pages of piano score in 3 weeks ; then, his mind gave way. He claimed to have been appointed director of the Vienna Opera ; thenceforth, only his own works (mostly unfinished or unwritten) would he performed. No doubt his madness took this turn because of a recent visit from his old friend Gustav Mahler, who had just been appointed Opera « Kapellmeister » and who, according to Wolf, had promised to do his utmost to stage « Der Corregidor » in the coming season. The stress of the ensuing excitement, or perhaps, the disappointment of a later change of plan, finally unhinged Wolf's already wrenched reason. He called a meeting of his sympathizers, played them his « Venegas » fragments, told them of his new appointment and his plans for dismissing Mahler and taking-over. He was removed under restraint to the asylum of Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin. His letters announce grandiose plans for world tours of his own Operas with the support of the Weimar Theatre. His overheated brain boiled over with insipid music. Some remission ensued and he was discharged on 24 January 1898. He paid inconsequential and disconsolate visits to various resorts and centres (including Semmering, Graz, Cilli and Trieste) accompanied by his sister and the devoted Melanie Köchert. On 6 March, he returned to Vienna, to a new home in the Mühlgasse. That summer, he stayed with the Köcherts at Traunkirchen. In October, he was seized by another gust of madness and tried to drown himself in the Traunsee. He entered the Lower-Austrian provincial asylum in Vienna, on 4 October 1898. There, his sufferings were alleviated by the love and loyalty of Melanie, whose frequent and regular visits continued unflinchingly until the day of his death on 22 February 1903. Then, she gave way to remorse and a slow melancholy. On 21 March 1906, she fell to her death from the 4th floor window of her Vienna home.

Wolf inscribed all his song manuscripts to her, as the one who understood him and his music best of all. She lies in the family grave at Hietzing. He is buried in the Vienna Central Cemetery beside Franz Schubert and Ludwig van Beethoven.

Early vocal works

At 1st, Wolf had little inkling of his goal. He was even misdirected by his own refractory temperament and a preoccupation with large-scale forms. As compensation, his extremes of mood commanded an analogously wide range of expression, while his obsession with Opera concentrated his mind on musical techniques of characterization and atmosphere. Further, his self-willed and poetic nature constrained him to voice and keyboard rather than to such social or academic disciplines as chamber music or orchestration. So his strengths were early if unwittingly bent towards the compression of large-scale forms and ideas into the lyric frame. The essences of grand Opera, tone-poem and expressive Symphony (as exemplified by Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt and Anton Bruckner : Wolf's 3 most admired Masters) were to be distilled and concentrated into song.

Lines themselves are keenly expressive of poetic stress, cadence and significance. From the 1st Wolf's word-setting has

recitative inflections with touches of cadential pointing and plain-chant repetition, perhaps, not uninfluenced by his background of church school and choir. This thrust towards verbal expressiveness led him to explore choral writing for mixed or male-voice chorus, accompanied or « a cappella », at the same time as the earliest songs. Linear independence and significance are sometimes taken to the point of ungrammatical overlapping (e.g. , in « Die Stimme des Kindes » , 1876) . There are also deliberate contrasts of texture, for example, of solo with half-chorus (« Grablied » , 1876) or full chorus (« Letzte Bitte » from the « Sechs geistliche Lieder » , 1881 : the culmination of Wolf's work in this genre) . Here too, the basic idea is a quasi-dramatic presentation ; voices in 3 and 4 parts are used as accompanimental background for a solo-voice, again with effects of isolation and contrast. One corollary is that the piano part of a song can be quasi-vocal ; and this is another highly-original and fertile source of expressive effect. Even the earliest songs (e.g. , « Du bist wie eine Blume » , 1876) can show traces of the 4 part (almost 4 voice) texture that later became a staple style - as acknowledged by Wolf himself ; a letter to Melanie Köchert of 7 July 1897 announces the discovery that the piano part of « Führ mich, Kind, nach Bethlehem » is in effect a 4 part chorus. This texture too may reflect the early environment of the boy organist ; it appears electively in songs of devotion, whether sacred (as in that example) or secular. Another possible influence was Robert Franz, who acknowledged his own indebtedness to the Protestant chorale. Any early imprinting would have been strongly reinforced by the strict grounding in 4 part harmony that Wolf received at the Vienna Conservatory, and, then, by the simultaneous impact of Richard Wagner's Operas. Even without Wagner, Wolf's own bold linear independence of melody would have led him to poignant discords, striking modulations and fluctuating tonalities, as well as to effects of counterpoint and canon and other such melodic interplay whether between voice and accompaniment or within the 4 part keyboard texture.

Not surprisingly, Wolf's early attempts to cultivate what he later called « the infertile ground of absolute music » (« Musikalische Kritiken » , page 50) proved fruitless or « abortive » . Even his native ground of musico-poetic expression had to be prepared by deep reading. « Goethe » and « Heine » lyrics led him to their settings in Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann and, thence, to a study of expressive techniques in piano music as well as song-writing. Wolf experimented by crossing all these strains into new hybrids. Thus, his « Heine » setting « Wenn ich in deine Augen seh » (1876) has a piano part derived from a Schubert « Impromptu » , while « Ich stand in dunkeln Träumen » (1878) uses the Brahmsian device of a vocal line related to the piano theme by augmentation or diminution. But the main influence was Schumann. Wolf's early works for piano (sonatas and variations) soon yielded place to Schumannesque genre pieces (« Humoreske » , 1877) . At the same time, he was composing equally Schumannesque piano songs, that is, a lyric piano solo the melody of which serves as vocal line. This style proved quickly viable, as in « Morgentau » (1877) , the earliest song Wolf adjudged worthy of publication. Yet, the influence was sometimes inhibiting. Thus, a marginal note on the unfinished manuscript of « Was soll ich sagen ? » (1878 ; a « Chamisso » text also set by Schumann) reads « Zu viel Schumannisch ; deshalb nicht vollendet » . The essential lesson was soon learnt, by Wolf as by Schumann : the addition of a declamatory vocal line to an independent piano part yields a new stock of expressive device. For example, the piano can depict a convivial scene, the protagonist's isolation from which is expressed in the voice part (« Sie haben heut Abend Gesellschaft » , 1878 ; see Schumann's « Das ist ein Flöten and Geigen ») .

At first, all these devices tended to be used for their own sake, or for self-expressive purposes. But, gradually, they

served to illustrate and enact a poetic mood. For example, in « In der Fremde I » (1881) , the contrasting melodic lines in voice and piano enhance the poet's theme of separation, as in some forms of Operatic duet. The task of distilling an Operatic essence into voice and keyboard was dramatically eased by the techniques of piano reduction used by Karl Klindworth and others, in their vocal scores of Wagner Operas. Wolf's own Wagner paraphrases (around 1880) presage the piano parts of his later songs, both in their part-writing and in their transcription of orchestral effects such as string runs or tremolandos. He could also call upon the melodic and harmonic vocabulary of French or Italian Opera, or the popular styles of folk-song or student song, all familiar to him from his own early music-making. Further, even the early songs already show abundant evidence of an innate and developing capacity for inventing vivid motivic equivalents for poetic ideas and using them constructionally, in the Schubertian lied tradition, as the building-blocks of the song form.

But these apprenticeship years were far richer in promise and potential than in actual achievement. By Wolf's own stringent but not unjust criteria, only a dozen of the 100 odd songs he wrote before 1887 were worth publishing. There is of course much to admire, as in the « Reinick » and « Eichendorff » songs of 1882-1883 ; but the early works tend to be fallible both in form (e.g. , the over-emphatic postlude of « Andenken ») and in content (sometimes obviously derivative) . Such flaws can be traced to a failure of objective concern for the poem as such. The outpouring of personal emotion often fails to fit easily into the miniature form. Wolf was more likely to succeed in larger-scale instrumental music, where the link with words, though still vital, was not a criterion of excellence. In this respect too, he had much to learn which would later be of service to him as a song-writer.

Instrumental works

These are brilliant conceptions rather than finished works of art, and hence present difficulties of appreciation, evaluation and performance. The 1st was the D minor String Quartet, begun in 1878. Wolf had recently contracted syphilis ; his score bears the Faustian epigraph « Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren » , which the opening motifs seem to declaim. The Beethoven influence is so manifest (e.g. , « Große Fugein » : the powerful leaps and dissonance of the histrionic Grave introduction, and the « Allegro assai vivace ma serio » of the F minor String Quartet, Opus 95, in the Scherzo, marked « Resolut ») and so unusual (it recurs only in the 1888 « Mörike » song « Der Genesene an die Hoffnung » , significantly about recovery from mortal sickness) as to suggest that this too is a consciously expressive device. It is as if Beethoven were being deliberately invoked, as another Faustian archetype of the suffering hero. (The claim, now largely discounted, that Beethoven was syphilitic would have been a recent talking-point among musicians in Vienna.) Wolf's lyrical slow movement (dated 1880) begins with a Wagnerian symbol of redemption, an overt homage to the « pardon » motif in « Tannhäuser » , as if the work were further designed as a Pilgrimage through despair by way of faith and fortitude to final recuperation. On that assumption, the much lighter last movement of 1884, with its touches of ironic insouciance, is musically anti-climactic, yet, humanly convincing. The music was written as the experience was lived. By that time, Wolf was 24 and had regained his composure and (as he thought) his health. On this autobiographical interpretation, the right order of movements in performance would be the logical time-sequence : Grave - Leidenschaftlich bewegt ; Resolut ; Adagio ; and Sehr lebhaft (not, as in earlier editions, with the 2nd and 3rd movements transposed) . Thus, considered, this extended and complex work has the unity and novelty which, as absolute music, it might be held to lack. On any analysis, the genuine (if sporadic) power and

expressiveness of its thematic details are undeniable.

The composition of this String Quartet overlapped with the even more ambitious orchestral work « Penthesilea », begun in 1883, which also displays, though in differing proportions, the same admixture of derivation, self-expression, originality and poetic inspiration. This time, the last of those qualities is paramount, and the music verges on greatness. There is ample testimony to Wolf's obsession with Heinrich von Kleist's drama of the Amazon queen who leads her warrior-maidens to Troy, becomes enamoured, yet jealous, of Achilles and, finally, avenges her subjection to him, in both love and war, by inciting her war-hounds to tear him to shreds. Under the smooth Classical surface of Kleist's blank verse rages an erotic turbulence. The appeal to subconscious motive anticipates Sigmund Freud. Wolf, at the time, still had reason to be preoccupied with the idea of male vulnerability to the traumata of love. His scoring, including 4 horns, 4 trumpets, 3 trombones, 1 tuba and 1 harp as well as a full complement of wind, strings and percussion, aims to re-create the epic scale of the conflict, as well as the heroic stature of protagonist and antagonist. The music creates panorama (extremes of orchestral pitch and dynamics, with antiphonal trumpets on each side of the orchestra, like battle signals) as well as character, situation and emotion (motifs for the passionate « Penthesilea », the noble Achilles, war marches, love-feasts and snarling hounds, interspersed with pleading recitative) .

Wolf had given much thought to the structural problems of the tone-poem. He ardently admired the Symphonic poems of Franz Liszt, who had inspired this work both by personal suggestion and by example. Wolf felt (« Kritiken » , page 52) that unity in this new genre was to be attained by deriving form as well as content from the poetic source. It is not immediately clear how this end is best subserved by Wolf's chosen structure. The 2 short preludes (« Departure of the Amazons for Troy » ; « Penthesilea's Dream of the Love-festival ») presumably depict the dual nature of the heroine, ferocious yet tender ; their contrasting motifs derive from the same basic theme. There follows a long final development section (« Conflicts, Passions, Madness and Destruction ») in which all the themes are freely metamorphosed, developed and confronted so as to present the elements of the drama both collectively as mood-painting and consecutively as narrative. The work may, thus, be considered as an Opera without words, condensed into an Overture. Against the background of Kleist's drama reenacted in Wolf's imagination, the music can appear not only powerful but profound. Otherwise, its construction may seem diffuse and even obscure (for example, the main-theme of the last movement is not heard in its entirety until bar 832) , and its instrumentation (as Wolf himself came to acknowledge) not wholly secure. These factors could account for its rejection in both rehearsal and repertory and also help to explain, if not extenuate, the prodigious and unauthorized cuts imposed by its 1st editors.

Much the same characteristics might have been predicted of Wolf's projected incidental music to Kleist's better-known drama « Prinz Friedrich von Homburg » , where the conflict lies among love, duty and individual self-fulfilment, which again were questions much in Wolf's mind at the time. This music remained fragmentary ; but the « Penthesilea » patterns are, again, discernible in the completed work « Christnacht » for soloists, chorus and orchestra. Here, Wolf (as he wrote to Oskar Grohe, on 26 February 1891) aimed to symbolize the duality of the Incarnation : innocent child, triumphant hero. Again, there may be some element of subconscious self-portraiture ; little enough of such searching themes can be inferred from August von Platen's poem about the night of the Nativity, with its chorus of angels and shepherds. Wolf adds a chorus of believers, for good measure. The handling of such large choral and orchestral forces (the latter much the same as for « Penthesilea » , but with the percussion scaled down to timpani only) is rather

beyond Wolf's technical competence (again, as he later conceded) , despite his natural flair for orchestration ; the published score contains revisions by Max Reger and F. Foll. The formal structure, however, is clearer than in « Penthesilea » because the words provide the necessary frame of reference. The music is again highly-original in conception ; and this time, the Lisztian or Wagnerian influences are better assimilated. The work is Wolfian in its colourful interweaving of solemnity and simplicity. The latter is effectively symbolized by a traditional carol melody, recalled from a provincial boyhood, which is scored and presented with a lightness of touch that suggests a corresponding lightness of mood. By 1886, when the main thematic material of « Christnacht » was conceived, the sombre canvasses of Wolf's creative imagination were being replaced by bright miniatures, beginning with the Intermezzo in E-h for string quartet. Its main-theme had been sketched in 1882 and left to germinate in a sunnier climate of mood. In summer 1886, it grew into a rondo with episodes and varied re-statements all so cunningly derived from the main-theme as to suggest different aspects of the same characters linked by dialogue or colloquy with a hint of dance-measure. Nothing is known of any literary background, though a verbal source would seem « prima facie » plausible. The effect is of expressive music written to an unknown programme ; one clue is Wolf's later reference to his « Humoristisches Intermezzo » . A comparison with his contemporary song-writing suggests « Mörike » as a possible source for this slight but spirited and engaging piece.

The next instrumental work, also for String Quartet, was the Serenade in G (later called by Wolf « an Italian Serenade » ; letter to Emil Kauffmann of 2 April 1892) . With this work, Wolf at last attained expressive if not formal Mastery. As with the Intermezzo, there is no avowed literary source. But the « Italienische Serenade » (2-4 May 1887) was composed during a phase of « Eichendorff » settings (7 March - 24 May) . It is thematically related to the 1st of them, « Der Soldat I » , about love for a lady who lives in a castle. The « Eichendorff » novella « Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts » has that same theme ; central to its plot is an Italian serenade. The novella contains a lyric (« Heimweh ») which Wolf had certainly set by the following year, and perhaps sketched at this time. Its hero is a young musician, a violinist, who leaves his country home and his grumbling father, to seek his fortune. He soon charms everyone with his gifts, or antagonizes them with his inconsequence. Wolf could hardly have found a more congenial or compelling self-portrait in all German literature. The novella also contains a serenade played by a small orchestra, for which Wolf later arranged his work. The original String Quartet, however, is preferable in the transparent lightness and delicacy of its texture ; and though it is not without technical problems (e.g. , of ensemble at the required tempo) , the string writing is far more relaxed and assured than in the early D minor Quartet. The Serenade too, like the other instrumental works, is novel in both content and form. Its rather diffusely episodic rondo structure with ironic quasi-recitative passages gently parodying Romantic love, again in conformity with the « Eichendorff » style, suggests an unspecified programme. Again, there is a strong sense of motivic writing deliberately presented and developed so as to suggest character (the dominance of the solo violin) , speech (the recitative passages) , colloquy (the duetting melodies) , scene-painting (the conspiratorial assembling and tuning in the prelude) , gesture (the sweeping fiddle flourishes) and instrumentation (the thrumming guitar imitations) . It may not be coincidence that Wolf's own description (to Oskar Grohe, on 28 June 1890) of the kind of Opera he would one day wish to write (the strumming of guitars, sighs of love, moonlit nights, champagne banquets) is closely paralleled in « Eichendorff » 's « Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts » (Chapter 8) . This, in turn, may account for Wolf's 10 year preoccupation with the arrangement and development of his « Italienische Serenade » music, in close parallel to his preoccupation with Opera.

In 1887, this dramatic lyricism brings Wolf's music in the Serenade and the « Eichendorff » settings on to a new and high-plateau close to the summit of song-writing. The upward thrust may have 2 sources of impetus. 1st, the music seems to derive directly from words and ideas without any serious subjective intervention. 2nd (and, perhaps, the point is related) , Wolf's 2 basic creative moods merge into a balanced integration. They may be described as gravity and levity or (as in « Christnacht ») sublimity and naivety ; their tutelary deities are Richard Wagner and Robert Schumann. The early songs had tended to one extreme or the other, sombre or sparkling (compare « Ein Grab with Mädchen mit dem roten Mündchen » , both 1876, or « Zur Ruh, zur Ruh ! » , 1883, with « Mausfallensprüchlein » , 1882) . A similar dichotomy is discernible in the instrumental music where the contrasts of mood are linked by monothematic techniques which later appear in the songs. The polarities are separately exemplified in « Wo wird einst and Gesellenlied » , both written on 24 January 1888. Thus, these 2 strong currents converge only 3 weeks before the « Mörike » song outburst.

Mature songs

Wolf's « Mörike » songs were above all original. All the contemporary critiques had the word « new » in their titles : new springtime, new life, new songs. Wolf himself wrote of the novel aspects of his musical language. Yet, he did not define them ; and the evidence suggests that their essential originality was not wholly grasped, perhaps not even by their creator, much of whose song-writing is manifestly in the main lied tradition. He and his audiences felt that he was continuing the line of Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann, without radical departure. Wolf himself thought it worth pointing-out (letter to Emil Kauffmann, on 21 May 1890) that even his boldest harmonies were justifiable by reference to accepted theory. Much of his mature work uses folk or popular song. His well-known solicitude for the choice and treatment of words is, by no means, invariable and in any event represents a difference of degree rather than kind from the practice of his predecessors. Well over half his texts have no pretension to poetic greatness or even excellence. Even the rest can be treated cavalierly : thus the accentuation can go astray (e.g. , « Leibrösslein » in « Der Gärtner ») and the subtler declamatory effects are quite often 2nd thoughts inserted at proof-stage. « Er ist » 's has repeated phrases and « Das verlassene Mägdlein » uses an unauthentic text, no doubt under the influence of Schumann in both instances. On occasion, Wolf could repeat a whole strophe without textual justification (« Benedeit die sel'ge Mutter ») or tacitly omit one (« Geh, Geliebter, geh jetzt ») . He could embellish his texts with his own insertions or inventions (« Die Zigeunerin ») or simply mistranscribe them (there are several textual errors in the manuscripts or even in the 1st editions) . He could deliberately add a new meaning unintended by the poet (« Wer rief dich denn ») . Even his practice of calling his song-books « Gedichte von Eichendorff » , « Mörike » or « Gœthe » was anticipated and, perhaps, prompted by Robert Schumann. The same applies to his choice of translations, for example, from the Spanish. Finally, Wolf's notable spontaneity of composition was hardly different in kind from that of, say, Schubert in 1815 and Schumann in 1840. All 3 composers no doubt planned and sketched beforehand and revised afterwards.

Nevertheless, Wolf was original, and in 4 main ways. 1st, he seems to have planned in advance the contents of each volume (e.g. , the Spanish song-book : letter of 12 November 1889 to his sister Käthe) , rather as if the artistic unity is not the poem as such but the song-book considered as representative of the poet or source. 2ndly, it was his practice to preface a performance of each song by a recital of the text : the words were separately acknowledged as a

vital part of the artwork's content as well as its form. 3rdly, Wolf was reluctant to set a poem which he considered had already been successfully composed : a view which pre-supposes that a musical setting is more like a translation or objective critique than a personal commentary. His song-books are, thus, perhaps designed as anthologies, as homage, and also as critiques or translations. They make no sense, have no being, apart from the text which has breathed its life and essence into the music. 4thly, this essence is dramatic.

It follows that Wolf's art is a means of framing, embodying, presenting, enacting, the life of words. As a corollary, the piano has a more important role than with previous song-writers ; and melody does not necessarily predominate. It is in this sense that Wolf compressed Wagnerian music-drama, leitmotif, orchestra and declamation into voice and keyboard. Perhaps, it was this feeling of historical mission that led to his life-long obsession with large-scale composition even though the appropriate forms and techniques were among his own acknowledged weaknesses. He even felt himself stifled by Richard Wagner - with whom he was never in serious contention. He began to resent the title of song-writer. At the very moment when his true genius was 1st revealed to himself and the world, he could still write (letter to Josef Straßer, on 28 March 1888) : « For the moment, they are admittedly only songs. » . On the very day when that inspiration had at last begun, he could still be preoccupied (to Edmund Lang, on 22 February 1888) with extemporizing a comic Opera at the keyboard. Even with 3 great song-books completed, he could still lament (to Oskar Grohe, on 1 June 1891) : « I'm beginning to think that I have reached the end of my life. I can't go on writing songs for another 30 years. » . Next (again to Grohe, on 12 October 1891) comes the astoundingly anguished cry : « I really and truly shudder at the thought of my songs. The flattering recognition as " song-writer " disturbs me down to the very depths of my soul. What does it signify but the reproach that songs are all I ever write, that I am Master of what is only a small-scale genre ? » . Finally, Wolf's eventual madness took the form of, and was probably provoked by, a megalomaniac obsession with Operatic composition and performance.

There are, perhaps, 3 main reasons for this fixation. Songs were still generally held to be an inferior art form ; Wolf as an expressive composer craved the maximal audiences attainable only through Opera and Symphony ; his genius was, in fact, for dramatic music, though in a condensed form. No wonder he aggregated his songs into composite volumes comprehensive enough to yield extended recitals and programmes of planned contrasts, with at least a potential appeal to a mass audience. Further, each major song-book contains linking motifs designed to relate the single songs to a larger conceptual scheme, as with « Eichendorff » songs 9-10, « Mörike » songs 2-3, « Goethe » songs 39-40, Spanish sacred songs 8-10, Italian songs 42-43.

The song-book is, thus, itself the large-scale dramatic form. With the 20 « Eichendorff » songs (mentioned 1st because nearly half of them were written before 1888) , Wolf lifted the curtain on his singing theatre of the imagination. There everything is made of music : construction, action, character, plot and sub-plot, narrative, gesture, mime, dance and song, costume, scenery, and even stage properties and effects, including lighting. Piano preludes set the scene or delineate character. The songs are conceived as « tableaux vivants » viewed through the proscenium arch of the song form. As Wolf told Emil Kauffmann, he always imagined a background to each of his songs, and the examples he gave (the goddess sitting on a reef in the moonlight, playing her harp, in « Gesang Weylas » ; a chorus of wise men joining in the refrain of « Cophtisches Lied I ») go well beyond anything described in the text. So his submission to poetry was far from slavish. Yet, the verse does in fact give each song a formal framework which the instrumental music is

sometimes felt to lack. In a sense therefore, Wolf's structural sense has certain defects which the poetry is called upon to redress. On the other hand, the musical response is so varied and flexible that Wolf might as justly be hailed as a Master of form. The poems are more often strophic than their settings, which strive towards free evolution and development. Even in strophic song, unchanged repetition is rare ; more typically the melody, for example, is varied to highlight a particular word, such as « süßer'in Um Mitternacht » . Unity is usually attained by the main factor common to music and poetry, namely rhythm. This may reflect either the metre or the theme of the poem : thus, in « Jägerlied » , the rare trochaic pentameter appears as 5/4 time, while in « Fußreise » the piano maintains a steady walking rhythm.

A repeated rhythmic figure may suggest an obsessive character or gesture (« Rat einer Alten ; Mühevoll komm ich und beladen ») while changes of basic rhythm serve to imply (as it were by modulation) a change of mood or meaning (« Agnes ; Grenzen der Menschheit ») . A piano melody or figuration may suggest words by its rhythmic shape (postlude to « Komm, Liebchen, komm !) . Regular piano rhythms can provide a patterned lattice for vocal melodies to curve and stray around, anticipating certain words or syllables, lingering over others, with the effect of a written-out rubato (e.g. , « stumm » or « heilig » in « An die Geliebte ») , whether, as there, to enhance the poetic meaning or, as often in the Italian songs, to create a new one. Occasionally too, Wolf would prolong a word that especially pleased him (e.g. , « geflügelt » in « Die ihr schwebet ») . Such devices are to be distinguished from their Operatic or Wagnerian counterparts. The Wolfian vocal line conveys a current of poetic feeling, deriving character from verbal inflection and not vice-versa. His melodies vary from complex nuance to straightforward singability in folk or popular style, as the context requires. The counterpoints of voice against piano, already noted in the earlier songs, are greatly developed from 1888 onwards. A typical example is « Lied eines Verliebten » , where the isolated left-hand melody is a symbol of separation. This image is further intensified in such songs as « Mein Liebster singt am Haus » , where the independence of the piano part embodies the excluded lover. Thus Wolf could create not only decor (by distinguishing foreground from background) but also dramatic irony (by presenting 2 different levels of involvement simultaneously, as in « Bei einer Trauung ») . Autonomy in the piano part also permits a quasi- Symphonic motivic development reflecting the changing moods of a poem (« Auf einer Wanderung ; Im Frühling ») . Piano interludes can link contrasting sections of a song and so suggest continuous action, whether in narrative or ballad forms (« Ritter Kurts Brautfahrt ») or, more rarely, in lyric modes (e.g. , in « Fussreise » , where a modulating piano interlude leads back to the original theme) .

Similarly, Wolf's harmonic usages are attuned to his texts, whether as single words or whole poems. An example of the former is at « froh und traurig » in « Alles endet, was entstehet » , where a major and a minor inflection speak respectively of joy and sorrow. Again, augmented 5ths mean increasing intensity (« Das verlassene Magdlein ») even to the point of parody (« Nimmersatte Liebe ») , while 2nd inversions at cadence points give an impression of peroration (« da bin' in Wohl denk ich oft ») . But such short-range or local effects are comparatively rare. More generally, Wolf's harmonic procedures provide a framework isomorphic with that of the poem, within which particular aspects can be highlighted ; for example, successive mediant modulations convey the idea of increasing lightness, as in « In der Frühe » and « Morgenstimmung » . This is the sense in which it was important for Wolf that his harmonic language should remain, as he said, traditional. He needed chromaticism and dissonance in order to create new expressive intensity. At the same time, the constraints of his song form require such effects to be readily relatable (whether in

terms of affinity or contrast) to some recognizable tonal centre. Thus, the modal harmony of « Auf ein altes Bild » sets that song apart from the rest of the « Mörike » volume and from contemporary music generally ; the music is as it were seen, like the poem, through a haze of time. Within that song, the single acute dissonance at « Kreuzes Stamm » throws that phrase into high-relief, again in parallel with the poetry. Conversely, chromatics or dissonance can be relieved by touches of diatonic harmony (as in « Mir ward gesagt » , among many examples) yielding effects of relaxation from tension, or simplicity within complexity. More specifically, the introduction or recurrence of the tonic major can be delayed, so that its eventual arrival brings a sensation of repose and fulfilment (« Wir haben beide lange Zeit geschwiegen ») ; or the major form of a minor tonic can restate an idea in a brighter mode (« Ob der Koran von Ewigkeit sei ? ») . Such contrasts and juxtapositions are the essence of Wolf's song-writing, as of his mentor Robert Schumann's. Among the corollaries are personal verbal associations with certain keys. Thus, in Wolf extreme flat or sharp keys express nervous tension, in contrast with the bluff plainness of C major (« Gesellenlied ») ; the A major suggests springtime (« Frühling übers Jahr ») , and so on. Of course, there are exceptions ; but such associations, usual in all song-writing, are especially manifest and significant in Wolf, and a study of them is relevant to interpretation and performance (e.g. , the desirability of transposition) .

Such effects shade into overt musical depiction, at which Wolf was also adept. Examples abound, ranging from imaginative embroidery to frank onomatopoeia. Widely spaced chords suggest hollowness and reverberation (« Der Feuerreiter ») ; upward chromatic runs and bare 5ths convey disappearance into thin air (« Der Rattenfänger ») ; glissandos and other flourishes depict extravagant gesture (« Der Schreckenberger ») ; « acciaccaturas » mean laughter (« Rat einer Alten ») . There is a lute in « Nachruf » , a harp in « Gesang Weylas » , a violin in « Wie lange schon » , a guitar in the Spanish and serenading songs. One hears a spinning-wheel in « Die Spinnerin » , gunfire in « Unfall » or « Der Jäger » , a carillon in « Zum neuen Jahre » or « Sankt Nepomuks Vorabend » , whips in « Gesellenlied » and « Selbstgeständnis » , a donkey's bray in « Lied des transferierten Zettel » , birdsong in « Das Vöglein » , bees in « Der Knabe und das Immelein » , horses' hooves in « Der Gärtner » and, perhaps, « Auf einer Wanderung » , and so on.

In all this, a major share of expression inevitably falls to the pianist, not only in the ballad tradition of pictorial interludes, in which Wolf was no doubt influenced by Ferdinand Löwe, but also in the newer vein of grandiloquent quasi-orchestral device found in Richard Wagner transcriptions. The piano equivalents of string « tremolandos » express a pulsating intensity or a rapport with the moods of Nature (the thunder in « Prometheus » or « Der Jäger ») . In general, the upper reaches of the piano symbolize lofty thoughts, spiritual aspirations, the starry sky (« An die Geliebte ») , while the low notes of the left-hand sound out the depths of darkness or despair (« Neue Liebe ») . Such symbolism is in the lied tradition of Franz Schubert. Wolf's allusions are further enriched by directly Wagnerian resonances, sometimes deliberate (the affectionate allusions to « Die Meistersinger » in « Gesellenlied ») , sometimes perhaps less so. An example of the latter is « Die Geister am Mummelsee » , where the poem speaks of a funeral procession (« Totengeleit ») ; and the piano part is evocative of the cortege of « Titirel » (« Geleiten wir ») in « Parsifal » . But far more characteristic and ubiquitous is the new-minted motif, again usually entrusted to the piano part, which serves both to express a poetic idea (e.g. , sadness, love, isolation, mystery, freedom, sleep, among many others) and to create musical structure.

Examples are manifold ; none is wholly typical ; each belongs inseparably to its context. The following illustration exemplifies not only the Wolfian motif but also perhaps a connection between his creative inspiration and his personal experience. For many years, he suffered from insomnia ; and poetry about solitary wakefulness and movement at night evoked a definable though varied musical response. A repeated figuration in the piano right-hand is underlined by a left-hand theme in single notes. This motif 1st appears in the « Körner Ständchen » of 1877. The opening words describe the silence of the night ; lovers' thoughts alone are awake. At the following idea of being surrounded by nocturnal phantoms (« mich umschleichen ... nächtliche Gespenster ») the left-hand single notes surround the repeated right-hand chords, on both sides. In the 1888 song « Auf eine Christblume I » , « Mörike » 's description of deer grazing at twilight evokes the analogue shown in example 1.

The same music, decorated and transposed an octave higher, later depicts the activities of an elf at midnight. In « Gutmann und Gutweib » , this motivic idea recurs at the words « Im Bette liegen beide nun » . The old-folk are lying in bed, deliberately keeping awake. In « Lied eines Verliebten » , the whole song is about staying awake at night ; the entire piano part assumes the basic shape described. The same is true of « Alle gingen, Herz, zur Ruh » . The association persists in Act 2 of « Der Corregidor » (1895) as « Frasquita » keeps her nocturnal vigil (scene 3) or as « Manuela » gropes her way in the dark (scene 10) . The same « Gestalt » underlies each example. By such means (characteristic of the lied) , Wolf could express a wide-ranging diversity of mood, scene and character. Human feeling is symbolized either directly or through images of external nature (the so-called « pathetic fallacy ») .

This is also the essence of Wolf's 1st source of inspiration, « Eichendorff » , whose works contain all the necessary elements of scenes and characters (soldiers, sailors, students, musicians) with their good or bad humour or fortune and their happy or unhappy loves, whether for God, man, nature or fatherland. Wolf's selection from these texts is, perhaps intentionally, more broadly representative than the nature- or love-poems already set by Robert Schumann. A further constraint was Wolf's determination not to use poems which had already, in his view, been definitively set to music. « Mörike » 's complex quasi-symbolic style and imagery needed a correspondingly advanced musical language ; so Wolf's settings had few precedents and no rivals. His choice was accordingly unfettered ; but again, it concentrated on themes of people and places conceived as actors and scenes. The difference is one of degree : « Mörike » 's characters and landscapes are drawn with far more depth and definition than « Eichendorff » 's (whose art Wolf later came to regard as somewhat superficial ; see his letter to Emil Kauffmann of 7 March 1894) . In particular, the themes of humour, both broad and sophisticated, and the super-natural, whether in the context of orthodox religion or of fairy-tale and folklore, are far more fully developed in the « Mörike » songs. The music is correspondingly more intense and diversified, for example with evocations of folk-song (« Das verlassene Mägdlein ») and other popular strains (student song in « Nimmersatte Liebe » ; Viennese waltz in « Abschied ») . Styles and forms are more ambitious and panoramic, with Wagnerian as well as Schumannesque components, especially in religious songs (« Karwoche » ; « Wo find ich Trost ») . Some of the piano accompaniments seem orchestral in range and scope (« Neue Liebe » ; « Der Feuerreiter ») . Elsewhere, themes and structures are designed to convey a sense of movement through vistas both spatial (« Auf einer Wanderung ») and temporal (« In der Frühe ») .

This sense of extended musical frontiers and horizons is even more manifest in the « Gœthe » settings. The lyric style is just as intense (« Blumengruß » ; « Gleich and Gleich ») ; but the ballad style has become more diffuse (« Ritter

Kurts Brautfahrt ») and the piano writing even grander in conception (« Prometheus » ; « Mignon » : « Kennst du das Land ») . Further, « Goethe » 's poem offers a new rich source of quasi-dramatic background and effect. Both « Eichendorff » and « Mörike » had incorporated their lyrics into their novels ; Wolf set several such examples. But these poems are separable entities, whereas the interspersed lyrics in « Goethe » 's « Wilhelm Meister » are integrally related to plot and character, so that Wolf's music designedly sets context as well as text. Much the same is true of the « Westöstlicher Divan » poems. The characters of « Hatem » and « Suleika » are not merely costume parts assumed by the poet and his mistress ; they also inhabit a whole secondary world, a notional Orient peopled with other characters from cup-bearers to sultans. From that world, it is no great journey to the Spanish song-book, which not only contains fine poetry (e.g. , by Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Camoens) in skilled translation (by Paul Heyse and Emanuel Geibel) but also offers the elements of national character and local colour that Wolf increasingly needed for his musico-dramatic projections.

In consequence, his own musical style is again in transition. Wolf had now exhausted German poetry of the necessary quality and quantity, and the translations to which he turned were no longer, despite their technical excellence, the source of direct verbal inspiration. With the Spanish song-book, therefore, it is not the lyric as such but its substructure of ideas and concepts that serves as the foundation for musical setting. The result (already foreshadowed by some of the « Westöstlicher Divan » songs, such as « Was in der Schenke waren heute ») was a new autonomy for the composer, who now became less dependent on an intuitive response to poetry. Wolf the partial poet was gradually supplanted by Wolf the complete musician. Rhythmical motifs, dance patterns, accompaniment figures, recurrent refrains, formal structures, begin to dominate the musical expression. Folk-music, nature studies, humorous songs, ballads, all disappear. The themes and styles that persist in the Spanish volume are the religious (the 1st 10 songs) and the erotic (almost all the rest) ; and these become more personal and more intense.

The 6 « Keller » songs of 1890 revert to the earlier themes of character study and psychology, with occasional symbolic allusions to nature (as in « Wandl ich in dem Morgentau ») : here, as before, poetry is the main source of inspiration. But, in these songs, Wolf was working against the grain of his own development, which may account for the sometimes perceptible effort entailed in their composition. With the Italian song-book, begun at the end of the same year, the established trend was resumed with increasing momentum. All the lyrics are anonymous ; all have the same translator, Paul Heyse (as compared with only about 2/3 of the Spanish song-book, in each respect) . Wolf was now confronted with a polished and uniform poetic style with no creative personality of its own ; the lyrics were, thus, a blank page on which to inscribe his own knowledge of human feeling. There are no religious themes as such ; all the poems are in some sense love songs. In consequence, the style becomes totally unified and integral. Previous song-books had contained the separately identifiable strains described above as Wagnerian and Schumannesque. This still applies in part to the Spanish volume (thus « Bedeckt mich mit Blumenis » , Tristanesque, while the lighter songs, as well as the textual source as a whole, recall Robert Schumann's Spanish vein) . In the Italian songs, all such sources merge into Wolf's basic 4 part style. The forms are further concentrated by the brevity and metrical pattern of the lyrics. Here, Wolf finally succeeded in compressing the universal picture into the miniature frame ; so these songs are the epitome of his art.

Wolf may well have sketched, in 1890, many more of them than he then completed. The Italian settings of 1896

maintain the same style ; perhaps not all were newly-composed in that year. The manuscripts of 2 of them, « Gesegnet sei das Grün » and « O wär dein Haus durchsichtig » , bear the marginal annotations « Phönix Nummer 1 » and « Phönix Nummer 2 » respectively, suggesting that these at least were new inspirations. Other late-songs however seem lacking in fresh invention. Thus, the « Michel-Angelo » songs of 1897, though they contain much fine music, are in part palpably indebted to earlier songs (compare, for example, the postlude of « Fühlt meine Seele » with those of « Peregrina » I and II) ; texts and treatment alike suggest that, despite the ostensible character-drawing, Wolf was reverting to the self-expressive subjectivism of his early songs. His mental breakdown and terminal illness (1897-1903) were only 6 months away.

Wolf completed some 20 separate song orchestrations as well as 2 for incorporation in « Der Corregidor » . The form is intermediate between what might be called the compressed Opera of his song-books and the expanded song-books of his Operas. The hybrid has not proved fertile : the works are rarely performed. Yet, Wolf himself thought them important ; and most of them date from 1890, one of his most prolific song-writing years. Their purpose was not only to reach a wider public but also to deploy even greater expressive power and device, whether to broaden the scene-painting (e.g. , the thunder and lightning effects in « Prometheus ») or to brighten the sound-painting (e.g. , the chromatic runs in « Der Rattenfänger ») . But Wolf also invoked the orchestra for depth of feeling. Thus, even the tiny but intense lyric by Lenau, Scheideblick (1876-1877 ?) , was sketched in an orchestral version. Similarly, « Gesang Weylas » remains lyrical in conception even when scored : its added horn counterpoints aim at enhanced intensity. But, in general, Wolf's aim was to convert his miniatures into oil paintings suitable for wider exhibition, whether in the concert-hall or (in his own works) the Opera House. The transition is perhaps most convincing in static « tableaux » such as « Prometheus » or « Auf ein alter Bild » . Where motion is to be depicted, the heavier textures tend to slow down the action : thus, in « Der Feuerreiter » , the articulation of added voices both choral and orchestral, at the required speed, presents grave problems of ensemble. Similarly, the grace and fire of the « Italienische Serenade » are harder to achieve in the orchestral version.

Stage-music

Analogous difficulties inhere in Wolf's stage-music. The brilliant pictorial writing of his 1st completed work of incidental music, the « Elfenlied » (a setting of « You spotted snakes » from « A Midsummer Night's Dream » , in German translation) , aroused acclaim at its 1st performance, about which Wolf wrote (to Emil Kauffmann, on 11 January 1894) that the orchestration « so glittered and glowed in moonbeams that you could forget to hear for sheer seeing » . The Henryk Ibsen play « The Feast at Solhaug » (again in German translation, as « Das Fest auf Solhaug ») presented fewer opportunities for quasi-visual effects, and the music was commissioned in an otherwise fallow phase ; but the processional entrances and choruses are typically evocative. Whatever the quality of Wolf's invention, his stage-music, like his song orchestrations, suggests the deliberate extension or enlargement of a smaller-scale original inspiration.

The Operas are no different. As Wolf told Potpeschnigg (on 9 July 1895) , the piano score as it stood served as the orchestral sketch for « Der Corregidor » . Further, the Wagnerian texture and scoring (Wolf's orchestra is larger than that of « Die Meistersinger » , without which, as he wrote to Rosa Mayreder, on 1 June 1895, his « Corregidor »

music could not have been written) are possibly too inspissated for the sunny mood and « milieu » of the well-known story « El sombrero de tres picos ». Wolf told Ferdinand Löwe that Georges Bizet's task in « Carmen » was far easier because of the comparative lack of orchestral polyphony ; and, perhaps, a lighter texture would have worn better. In Wolf's treatment, the « 3 Cornered hat » is not only a symbol of universal authority but also has overtones of the eternal triangle (for instance, when the power of the « Corregidor » 's motif is heard dominating that of the supposedly cuckolded « Tio Lukas ») . Wolf's well-documented obsession with themes of sexual jealousy and tension, which darken to stark tragedy in « Manuel Venegas » , may well have been highly-personal in origin. The motivic techniques of « Der Corregidor » seem to reflect that obsession in their insistent repetition. The Wolfian lied motif inevitably becomes obtrusive when used as a Wagnerian leitmotif, serving narrative and dramatic ends as well as the lyric purposes for which it was designed. Thus the 5 note « Tio Lukas » theme is heard nearly 100 times in Act I, serving variously as character study, stage-direction, cross-reference or general background. It is relevant that Wolf himself, in rehearsal, took little interest in stage-craft or decor : even in the Operas, his musical world remains that of inward imagination rather than visual presentation. It is, thus, not surprising that the dramatic structure of « Der Corregidor » has been much criticized, and with some plausibility : for example, most of Act 4 is recapitulation of themes and events already familiar. Nor is the musical material always of the finest, perhaps, partly by design (e.g. , the Alcalde's banal motif may be intended as character-drawing) , partly because not all the libretto was equally inspiring, and partly because of Wolf's deteriorating health.

Such objections have far more force when levelled at the 600 bar fragment of « Manuel Venegas » than at the completed « Der Corregidor » . But the latter is rarely performed, and has never belonged to the standard Opera repertory. It has been excluded because of disparity rather than inferiority ; and it might more rationally be regarded as a success in a new genre than as a failure in an old one. Thus, the often striking discrepancy (to which Frank Walker has drawn attention) between the characters as embodied in the music and as observed on the stage becomes both meaningful and effective when considered as a Wolfian equivalent for dramatic irony. The musical style too is novel. As always, it derives from the German text, and is hence less complex and intense than the generality of Wolf's song-writing. The prototypes are the 2 songs orchestrated specially for inclusion (« In dem Schatten meiner Locken » ; « Herz, verzage nicht geschwind ») in a sweetened but refreshing dilution of the lighter Spanish song-book essence. Whatever the defects of dramatic structure, each separate scene has a song-like vividness of invention.

There are thus grounds for supposing that Wolf, had he lived, might have evolved new forms intermediate between song and Opera. Both his Operas are based on short-stories ; he could profitably have continued his exploration of « Eichendorff » , « Mörike » and « Gøthe » by quasi-dramatic presentations of their novellas for voices with piano solo or duet or with chamber orchestra ; « Der Corregidor » too might prove viable in such a guise. Conversely, Wolf might have extended his Spanish or Italian songs on similar lines, benefiting from the example already set by Robert Schumann (e.g. , in his Opus 138) . Alternatively, Wolf might have returned to song-books inspired by the dramatic or plastic qualities of original German poetry (by Rainer Maria Rilke, for example) , although in the light of Wolf's known views and traceable development this seems less plausible.

Critical writings

Wolf as a critic shared with his contemporary Bernard Shaw the deliberately provocative and partisan stance of the standard-bearer. Both were notoriously fervent advocates of Richard Wagner and browbeaters of Johannes Brahms ; both have lasting value as the spokesmen and interpreters of their own musical times and trends. Prose was not a creative medium for Wolf, and he resisted republication of his reviews on the ground of their stylistic shortcomings. But his writing has enough of the trenchancy and immediacy of his music to render it readable and often memorable, affording further insights, both for him and his readers, into the nature of his art. Ist, regular reviewing and concert-going gave him much-needed discipline and experience, as well as a new understanding of the nature of language and its relation to music, including his own. His critiques reveal inter-alia his own attitudes and criteria. Style and content alike are indebted to Robert Schumann, whose conception of music as mood- or scene-painting (« Seelengemälde » or « Tongemälde ») Wolf wholeheartedly endorsed and adopted. Wolf envisaged music as essentially a transitive mode of expression using symbolic equivalents for human thought and feeling, whether directly or as, reflected in external nature. Both these latter aspects unite in Wolf's intuitive depiction of music in terms of organic life and growth. For him, absolute music was a waste ground choked with academic works like weeds. He hated any hint of the cerebral or the contrived (as in fugues and pedal points) . Bodily malfunction or discomfort are recurrent metaphors for musical unacceptability. The following (on Brahms's 1st Piano Concerto) is typical : « The air that blows through this composition is so icy, dank and foggy that it could easily freeze your heart up and snatch your breath away ; you could catch a cold from it. Unhealthy stuff ! » . Good music, however (including some by Brahms, such as the G major Sextet) , is as regularly compared with nature, springtime, fresh fountains of healing and many another such symbol of wholesome emotive life.

Further detailed criteria are inferable from other obiter dicta. Wolf had a deep sense of commitment to his own time and place, his own society, class and nationhood (German rather than Austrian) . He manifested a passionate concern for human values, as vested not only in individuals but in the whole nexus of social function and inter-relation. The musical equivalent is Opera, especially Richard Wagner and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Wolf's criticism fastens on all aspects of stage spectacle and presentation considered as parts of the total musical artwork : action, costume, gesture, speech and stage-effects. Every page testifies to the visualizing and dramatizing mind at work in his own song-writing, in a ceaseless quest for vividness and immediacy of effect. His ancillary absorption in language is evidenced by his unselfconscious recourse to metaphor and quotation from modern and Classical literature. Finally, Wolf's critical insight into his own expressive mode of music is predictably penetrative ; thus, he noted (« Kritiken » , page 52) that the forms and contents of the greatest Symphonic poems (those of Franz Liszt, in this context) are, no less than their thematic material, derived from the literary works that inspired them.

That « aperçu » defines Wolf's own achievement. It was his mission, as he saw it, to compose in a new musical language expressing the closest imaginable relation to words and their gamut of visual, auditory or other symbolism. In this endeavour, his declared aim was truth to life ; as he wrote to Emil Kauffmann (on 5 June 1890) : « For me, the sovereign principle in art is rigorous, harsh and inexorable truth, truth to the point of cruelty. » . Here is the link between his 4 years as a music-critic and his lifetime as an artist. He expressed the truth about the human condition as he apprehended it, as keenly and as stringently as he could. It was his assigned task (letter to Heinrich Kaspar Schmid, on 14 June 1891) to cultivate that gift to the furthest limit of his powers. When he could no longer compose, as he told Rosa Mayreder, he was fit only for the dung-heap.

His sense of purpose and mission gave Hugo Wolf's life and art their fierce concentration, their characteristic burning intensity of expression. His vision was limited by its close focus on those points where words and music intersect or coincide. But within that specialized lyric field, he has claims not only to greatness but to supremacy.

...

Hugo Wolf was born in Windischgrätz (now Slovenj Gradec, Slovenia), then a part of the Austrian Empire. From his maternal side, he was related to Herbert von Karajan. He spent most of his life in Vienna, becoming a representative of "New German" trend in lieder, a trend which followed from the expressive, chromatic and dramatic musical innovations of Richard Wagner.

A child prodigy, Wolf was taught piano and violin by his father beginning at the age of 4, and once in primary school studied piano and music theory with Sebastian Weixler. Subjects other than music failed to hold his interest; he was dismissed from the 1st secondary school he attended as being "wholly inadequate", left another over his difficulties in the compulsory Latin studies, and after a falling out with a professor who commented on his "damned music", quit the last. From there, he went to the Vienna Conservatory much to his father's disappointment, who had hoped his son would not try to make his living from music. Once again, however, he was dismissed for "breach of discipline", although the often rebellious Wolf would claim he quit in frustration over the school's conservatism.

After 8 months with his family, he returned to Vienna to teach music. Though, his fiery temperament was not ideally suited to teaching, Wolf's musical gifts, as well as his personal charm, earned him attention and patronage. Support of benefactors allowed him to make a living as a composer, and a daughter of one of his greatest benefactors inspired him to write, Vally ("Valentine") Franck, his 1st love, with whom he was involved for 3 years. During their relationship, hints of his mature style would become evident in his Lieder. Wolf was prone to depression and wide mood swings, which would affect him all through his life. When Franck left him just before his 21st birthday, he was despondent. He returned home, although his family relationships were also strained; his father was still convinced his son was a never do well. His brief and undistinguished tenure as 2nd Kapellmeister at Salzburg only reinforced this opinion: Wolf had neither the temperament, the conducting technique nor the affinity for the decidedly non-Wagnerian repertoire to be successful, and within a year had again returned to Vienna to teach in much the same circumstances as before.

Wagner's death in February 1883 was another deeply moving event in the life of the young composer. The song "Zur Ruh, zur Ruh" was composed shortly afterward and is considered to be the best of his early works; it is speculated that it was intended as an elegy for Wagner. Wolf often despaired of his own future in the ensuing years, in a world from which his idol had departed, leaving tremendous footsteps to follow and no guidance on how to do so. This left him often extremely temperamental, alienating friends and patrons, although his charm helped him retain them more than his actions merited. His songs had meanwhile caught the attention of Franz Liszt, whom he respected greatly, and who like Wolf's previous mentors advised him to pursue larger forms; advice he this time followed with the symphonic tone-poem *Penthesilea*. His activities as a critic began to pick up. He was merciless in his criticism of the inferior

works he saw taking over the musical atmosphere of the time ; those of Anton Rubinstein, he considered particularly odious. But he was as fervent in his support of Franz Liszt, Franz Schubert and Frédéric Chopin, whose genius he recognized. Known as " Wild Wolf " for the intensity and expressive strength of his convictions, his vitriol made him some enemies. He composed little during this time, and what he did write he couldn't get performed ; the Rosé Quartet (led by Vienna Philharmonic concert Master Arnold Rosé) would not even look at his D minor Quartet after it was picked apart in a column, and the premiere of « Penthesilea » was met by the Vienna Philharmonic, when they tried it out under their celebrated conservative conductor Hans Richter, with nothing but derision for ' the man who had dared to criticize " Meister Brahms " ' as Richter himself caustically put it.

Wolf abandoned his activities as a critic in 1887 and began composing once more ; perhaps not unexpectedly, the 1st songs he wrote after his compositional hiatus (to poems by Gœthe, Joseph von Eichendorff and Joseph Viktor von Scheffel) emphasized themes of strength and resolution under adversity. Shortly thereafter, he completed the terse, witty one movement Italian Serenade for string quartet which is regarded as one of the finest examples of his mature instrumental compositional style. Only a week later, his father died, leaving him devastated, and he did not compose for the remainder of the year.

1888 and 1889 proved to be amazingly productive years for Wolf, and a turning point in his career. After the publication of a dozen of his songs late the preceding year, Wolf once again desired to return to composing, and travelled to the vacation home of the Werners (family friends whom Wolf had known since childhood) in Perchtoldsdorf (a short train ride from Vienna) , to escape and compose in solitude. Here he composed the Mörrike-Lieder at a frenzied pace. A short break, and a change of house, this time to the vacation home of more longtime friends, the Ecksteins, and the Eichendorff-Lieder followed, then the 51 Gœthe-Lieder, spilling into 1889. After a summer holiday, the Spanisches Liederbuch was begun in October 1889 ; though, Spanish flavoured compositions were in fashion in the day, Wolf sought out poems that had been neglected by other composers.

Wolf himself saw the merit of these compositions immediately, raving to friends that they were the best things he had yet composed (it was with the aid and urging of several of the more influential of them that the works were initially published) . It was now that the world outside Vienna would recognize Wolf as well. Tenor Ferdinand Jäger, whom Wolf had heard in « Parsifal » during his brief summer break from composing, was present at one of the 1st concerts of the Mörrike works and quickly became a champion of his music, performing a recital of only Wolf and Beethoven in December 1888. His works were praised in reviews, including one in the Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung, a widely read German newspaper.

The recognition was not always positive ; Brahms's adherents, still smarting from Wolf's merciless reviews, returned the favour when they would have anything to do with him at all. Brahms's biographer Max Kalbeck ridiculed Wolf for his immature writing and odd tonalities ; another composer refused to share a program with him, while Amalie Materna, a Wagnerian singer, had to cancel her Wolf recital when allegedly faced with the threat of being on the critics' black list if she went on.

Only a few more settings were completed in 1891 before Wolf's mental and physical health once again took a

downturn at the end of the year ; exhaustion from his prolific past few years combined with the effects of syphilis and his depressive temperament caused him to stop composing for the next several years. Continuing concerts of his works in Austria and Germany spread his growing fame ; even Brahms and the critics who had previously reviled Wolf gave favourable reviews. However, Wolf was consumed with depression, which stopped him from writing which only left him more depressed. He completed orchestrations of previous works, but new compositions were not forthcoming, and certainly not the opera which he was now fixated on composing, still convinced that success in the larger forms was the mark of compositional greatness.

Wolf had scornfully rejected the libretto to *Der Corregidor* when it was 1st presented to him in 1890, but his determination to compose an opera blinded him to its faults upon 2nd glance. Based on *The 3 Cornered Hat*, by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, the darkly humorous story about an adulterous love triangle is one that Wolf could identify with : he had been in love with Melanie Köchert, married to his friend Heinrich Köchert, for several years. It is speculated that their romance began in earnest in 1884, when Wolf accompanied the Köcherts on holiday ; though Heinrich discovered the affair in 1893, he remained Wolf's patron and Melanie's husband. The opera was completed in 9 months and was initially met with success, but Wolf's musical setting could not compensate for the weakness of the text, and it was doomed to failure ; it has not yet been successfully revived.

Wolf's last concert appearance, which included his early champion Jäger, was in February 1897. Shortly thereafter, Wolf slipped into syphilitic insanity, with only occasional spells of well being. He left 60 pages of an unfinished opera, *Manuel Venegas*, in 1897, in a desperate attempt to finish before he lost his mind completely ; after mid 1899, he could make no music at all and once even tried to drown himself, after which he was placed in a Vienna asylum at his own insistence. Melanie visited him faithfully during his decline until his death on 22 February 1903, but her unfaithfulness to her husband tortured her and she killed herself in 1906.

...

The more one learns of the history of great artists, the more one is struck by the immense amount of sadness their lives enclose. Not only are they subjected to the trials and disappointments of ordinary life which affect them more cruelly through their greater sensitiveness but their surroundings are like a desert because they are 20, 30, 50, or even 100's of years in advance of their contemporaries ; and they are often condemned to despairing efforts not to conquer the world but to live.

These highly-strung natures are rarely able to keep-up this incessant struggle for very long, and the finest genius may have to reckon with illness and misery and even premature death. And yet, there were people like Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Robert Schumann and Carl Maria von Weber who were happy in spite of everything because they had been able to keep their soul's health and the joy of creation until the end ; and though their bodies were worn out with fatigue and privation, a light was kept burning which sent its rays far into the darkness of their night. There are worse destinies ; and Beethoven, though he was poor, shut-up within himself, and deceived in his affections, was far from being the most unhappy of men. In his case, he possessed nothing but himself ; but he possessed himself truly and reigned over the world that was within him ; and no other Empire could even be compared with that of his vast

imagination, which stretched like a great expanse of sky where tempests raged. Until his last day, the old Prometheus in him, though fettered by a miserable body, preserved his iron force unbroken. When dying during a storm, his last gesture was one of revolt ; in his agony, he raised himself on his bed and shook his fist at the sky. And so, he fell struck down by a single blow in the thick of the fight.

But what shall be said of those who die little by little, who outlive themselves and watch the slow decay of their souls ?

Such was the fate of Hugo Wolf, whose tragic destiny has assured him a place apart in the hell of great musicians.

He was born at Windischgraz in Styria, March 13, 1860. He was the 4th son of a carrier-musician, like old « Veit Bach », the baker-musician, and Franz-Joseph Haydn's father, the wheelwright-musician. Philipp Wolf played the violin, the guitar, and the piano and used to have little Quintet parties at his house, in which he played the 1st violin, Hugo the 2nd violin, Hugo's brother the violoncello, an uncle the horn, and a friend the tenor violin. The musical taste of the country was not properly German. Wolf was a Catholic, and his taste was not formed, like that of most German musicians, by books of chorales. Besides that, in Styria, they were fond of playing the old Italian Operas of Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti. Later on, Wolf used to like to think that he had a few drops of Latin blood in his veins ; and, all his life, he had a predilection for the great French musicians.

His term of apprenticeship was not marked by anything brilliant. He went from one school to another without being kept long anywhere. And yet, he was not a worthless lad, but he was always reserved, little caring to be intimate with others, and passionately devoted to music. His father naturally did not want him to take-up music as a profession, and he had the same struggles that Hector Berlioz had. Finally, he succeeded in getting permission from his family to go to Vienna, and he entered the Conservatory there, in 1875. But he was not any the happier for it, and, at the end of 2 years, he was sent away for being unruly.

What was to be done ? His family was ruined, for a fire had demolished their little possessions. He felt the silent reproaches of his father already weighing upon him for he loved his father dearly and remembered the sacrifices the latter had made for him. He did not wish to return to his own province ; indeed, he could not return that would have been death. It was necessary that this boy of 17 should find some means of earning a livelihood and be able to instruct himself, at the same time. After his expulsion from the Conservatory, he attended no other school ; he taught himself. And he taught himself wonderfully, but at what a cost ! The suffering he went through from that time until he was 30, the enormous amount of energy he had to expend, in order to live and cultivate the fine spirit of poetry that was within him, all this effort and toil was without doubt the cause of his unhappy death. He had a burning thirst for knowledge and a fever for work which made him sometimes forget the necessity for eating and drinking.

Hugo Wolf had a great admiration for Gœthe and was infatuated by Heinrich von Kleist, whom he rather resembles both in his gifts and in his life ; he was an enthusiast about Franz Grillparzer and Christian Friedrich Hebbe at a time when they were but little appreciated ; and he was one of the 1st Germans to discover the worth of Eduard Mörike, whom, later on, he made popular in Germany. Besides this, he read English and French writers. He liked François

Rabelais and was partial to Claude Tillier, the French novelist of the provinces, whose Uncle Benjamin has given pleasure to so many German provincial families by bringing before them, as Wolf said, the vision of their own little world and helping them by his own jovial good humor to bear their troubles with a smiling face. And so, little Wolf, with hardly enough to eat, found the means of learning both French and English, in order better to appreciate the thoughts of foreign artists.

In music, he learned a great deal from his friend Josef Schalk, a professor at the Vienna Conservatory ; but, like Hector Berlioz, he got most of his education from the libraries and spent months in reading the scores of the great Masters. Not having a piano, he used to carry Beethoven's Sonatas to the « Prater » Park, in Vienna, and study them on a bench in the open air. He soaked himself in the Classics in Bach and Beethoven, and the German Masters of the lied, Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann. He was one of the young Germans who was passionately fond of Hector Berlioz, and it is due to Hugo Wolf that France was afterward honoured in the possession of this great artist, whom French critics, whether of the school of Giacomo Meyerbeer, Richard Wagner, César Franck, or Claude Debussy, have never understood. He was also early a friend of old Anton Bruckner, whose music we do not know in France, neither his 9 Symphonies, nor his « Te Deum » , nor his Masses, nor his cantatas, nor anything else of his fertile work. Bruckner had a sweet and modest character and an endearing, if rather childish, personality. He was somewhat crushed all his life by the Brahms Party ; but, like Franck in France, he gathered round him new and original talent to fight the academic art of his time.

But of all these influences, the strongest was that of Richard Wagner. Wagner came to Vienna, in 1875, to conduct « Tannhäuser » and « Lohengrin » . There was then among the younger people a fever of enthusiasm similar to that which « Werther » had caused a Century before. Wolf saw Wagner. He tells us about it in his letters to his parents. I shall quote his own words, and though they make one smile, one loves the impulsive devotion of his youth ; and they make one feel, too, that a man who inspires such an affection, and who can do so much good by a little sympathy, is to blame when he does not befriend others above all if he has suffered, like Wagner, from loneliness and the want of a helping hand. You must remember that this letter was written by a boy of 15.

« I have been to guess whom ? to the Master, Richard Wagner ! Now, I will tell you all about it just as it happened. I will copy the words down exactly as I wrote them in my notebook.

« On Thursday, December 9, at half-past ten, I saw Richard Wagner for the 2nd time at the Hotel Imperial, where I stayed for half an hour on the staircase awaiting his arrival. (I knew that, on that day, he would conduct the last rehearsal of his « Lohengrin » .) At last, the Master came down from the 2nd floor, and I bowed to him respectfully while he was, yet, some distance from me. He thanked me in a very friendly way. As he neared the door, I sprang forward and opened it for him, upon which he looked fixedly at me for a few seconds and, then, went on his way to the rehearsal at the Opera. I ran as fast as I could, and arrived there sooner than Richard Wagner did in his cab. I bowed to him again, and I wanted to open the door of his cab for him ; but as I could not get it open, the coachman jumped down from his seat and did it for me. Wagner said something to the coachman. I think it was about me. I wanted to follow him into the theater, but they would not let me pass.

« I often used to wait for him at the Hotel Imperial ; and on this occasion, I made the acquaintance of the manager of the hotel, who promised that he would interest himself on my behalf. Who was more delighted than I when he told me that on the following Saturday afternoon, December 11, I was to come and find him, so that he could introduce me to Madame Cosima's maid and Richard Wagner's valet ! I arrived at the appointed hour. The visit to the Lady's maid was very short. I was advised to come the following day, Sunday, December 12, at 2 o'clock. I arrived at the right hour but found the maid and the valet and the manager still at table. Then, I went with the maid to the Master's rooms, where I waited for about a quarter of an hour until he came. At last, Wagner appeared in company with Cosima and Goldmark. I bowed to Cosima, very respectfully, but she evidently did not think it worth while to honour me with a single glance. Wagner was going into his room without paying any attention to me when the maid said to him in a beseeching voice : Herr Wagner, it is a young musician who wishes to speak to you ; he has been waiting for you a long time. »

« He then came-out of his room, looked at me, and said : " I have seen you before, I think. You are ...". »

« Probably, he wanted to say, " You are a fool. ". »

« He went in front of me and opened the door of the reception room, which was furnished in truly royal style. In the middle of the room was a couch covered in velvet and silk. Wagner himself was wrapped in a long velvet mantle bordered with fur. »

« When I was inside the room, he asked me what I wanted. »

Here Hugo Wolf, to excite the curiosity of his parents, broke-off his story and put : « To be continued in my next... » .

In his next letter, he continues :

« I said to him : " Highly-honoured Master, for a long time, I have wanted to hear an opinion on my compositions, and it would be ..." . »

« Here, the Master interrupted me and said : " My dear child, I cannot give you an opinion of your compositions ; I have far too little time ; I can't even get my own letters written. I understand nothing at all about music. ". » (« Ich verstehe gar nichts von der Musik. »)

« I asked the Master whether I should ever be able really to do anything, and he said to me : " When I was your age and composing music, no one could tell me then whether I should ever do anything great. You could, at most, play me your compositions on the piano ; but I have no time to hear them. When you are older, and when you have composed bigger works, and if, by chance, I return to Vienna, you shall show me what you have done. But that is no use now ; I cannot give you an opinion of them yet. ". »

« When I told that Master that I took the Classics as models, he said : " Good, good. One can't be original at Ist. " And he laughed, and then said, " I wish you, dear friend, much happiness in your career. Go on working steadily, and if I come back to Vienna, show me your compositions. ". »

« Upon that, I left the Master, profoundly moved and impressed. »

Hugo Wolf and Richard Wagner did not see each other again. But Wolf fought unceasingly on Wagner's behalf. He went several times to Bayreuth though he had no personal intercourse with the Wagner family ; but he met Franz Liszt, who, with his usual goodness, wrote him a kind letter about a composition that he had sent him, and showed him what alterations to make in it.

Conductor Felix Mottl and the composer Adalbert de Goldschmidt were the Ist friends to aid him in his years of misery, by finding him some music pupils. He taught music to little children of 7 and 8 years old, but he was a poor teacher and found giving lessons was a martyrdom. The money, he earned hardly served to feed him, and he ate only once a day, Heaven knows how. To comfort himself he read Christian Friedrich Hebbel's Life ; and, for a time, he thought of going to America. In 1881, Goldschmidt got him the post of 2nd Kapellmeister at the Salzburg Theater. It was his business to rehearse the choruses for the Operettas of Johann Strauß and Karl Millöcker. He did his work conscientiously but in deadly weariness ; and he lacked the necessary power of making his authority felt. He did not stay long in this post and came back to Vienna.

Since 1875, Wolf had been writing music : lieder, sonatas, Symphonies, Quartets, and, already, his lieder held the most important place. He also composed, in 1883, a Symphonic poem on the « Penthesilea » of his friend Heinrich von Kleist.

In 1884, Wolf succeeded in getting a post as musical critic. But on what a paper ! It was the « Wiener Salonblatt » , a mundane journal filled with articles on sport and fashion news. One would have said that this little barbarian was put there for a wager. His articles from 1884 to 1887 are full of life and humor. He upholds the great Classic Masters in them : Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven and Wagner ; he defends Hector Berlioz ; he scourges the modern Italians, whose success at Vienna was simply scandalous ; he braks lances for Anton Bruckner and begins a bold campaign against Johannes Brahms. It was not that he disliked or had any prejudice against Johannes Brahms ; he took a delight in some of his works, especially his chamber music, but he found fault with his Symphonies and was shocked by the carelessness of the declamation in his lieder and, in general, could not bear his want of originality and power, and found him lacking in joy and fullness of life. Above all, he struck him as being the head of a party that was spitefully opposed to Richard Wagner and Anton Bruckner and all innovators. For all that was retrograde in music in Vienna and all that was the enemy of liberty and progress in art and criticism was giving Brahms its detestable support by gathering itself about him and spreading his fame abroad ; and, though Brahms was really far above his party as an artist and a man, he had not the courage to break away from it.

Brahms read Wolf's articles, but his attacks did not seem to stir his apathy. The « Brahmins » , however, never forgave Wolf. One of his bitterest enemies was Hans von Billow, who found anti-Brahmism « the blasphemy against the Holy

Ghost which shall not be forgiven » . Some years later, when Hugo Wolf succeeded in getting his own compositions played, he had to submit to criticisms like that of Max Kalbeck, one of the leaders of « Brahmsism » at Vienna :

« Herr Wolf has lately, as a reporter, raised an irresistible laugh in musical circles. So someone suggested he had better devote himself to composition. The last products of his muse show that this well-meant advice was bad. He ought to go back to reporting. »

An orchestral Society in Vienna gave Wolf's « Penthesilea » a trial reading ; and it was rehearsed, in disregard of all good taste, amid shouts of laughter. When it was finished, the conductor said : « Gentlemen, I ask your pardon for having allowed this piece to be played to the end ; but I wanted to know what manner of man it is that dares to write such things about the Master, Brahms. » .

Wolf got a little respite from his miseries by staying a few weeks in his own country with his brother-in-law, Straßer, an inspector of taxes. He took with him his books, his poets, and began to set them to music.

Wolf was now 27 years old and had as yet published nothing. The years of 1887 and 1888 were the most critical ones of his life. In 1887, he lost his father whom he loved so much, and that loss, like so many of his other misfortunes, gave fresh impulse to his energies. The same year, a generous friend called Eckstein published his 1st collection of lieder. Wolf, up to that time, had been smothered, but this publication stirred the life in him and was the means of unloosing his genius. Settled at Perchtoldsdorf, near Vienna, in February 1888, in absolute peace, he wrote in three months 53 lieder to the words of Eduard Mörike, the pastor-poet of Swabia who died in 1875, and who, misunderstood and laughed at during his lifetime, is now covered with honour and universally popular in Germany. Wolf composed his songs in a state of exalted joy and almost fright at the sudden discovery of his creative power.

In a letter to Doctor Heinrich Werner, he says :

« It is now 7 o'clock in the evening, and I am so happy oh, happier than the happiest of kings. Another new lied ! If you could hear what is going on in my heart ! The devil would carry you away with pleasure ! »

« Another 2 new lieder ! There is one that sounds so horribly strange that it frightens me. There is nothing like it in existence. Heaven help the unfortunate people who will one day hear it ! »

« If you could only hear the last lied I have just composed, you would have only one desire left to die. Your happy, happy Wolf. »

Wolf had hardly finished the « Mörike Lieder » when he began a series of lieder on poems of Gœthe. In 3 months (December 1888 to February 1889) , he had written all the « Gœthe Liederbuch » , 51 lieder, some of which are, like « Prometheus » , big dramatic scenes.

The same year, while still at Perchtoldsdorf, after having published a volume of « Eichendorff Lieder » , he became

absorbed in a new cycle, the « Spanisches Liederbuch » , on Spanish poems translated by Paul Heyse. He wrote these 44 songs in the same ecstasy of gladness :

« What I write now, I write for the future. Since Schubert and Schumann, there has been nothing like it ! »

In 1890, 2 months after he had finished the « Spanisches Liederbuch » , he composed another cycle of lieder on poems called « Alten Weisen » , by the great Swiss writer Gottfried Keller. And lastly, in the same year, he began his « Italienisches Liederbuch » , on Italian poems, translated by Emanuel Geibel ; and Paul Heyse.

And then, then there was silence.

The history of Wolf is one of the most extraordinary in the history of art and gives one a better glimpse of the mysteries of genius than most histories do.

Let us make a little résumé. Hugo Wolf, at 28 years old, had written practically nothing. From 1888 to 1890, he wrote, one after another, in a kind of fever, 53 « Mörike Lieder » , 51 « Gøethe Lieder » , 44 Spanish lieder, 17 « Eichendorff Lieder » , a dozen « Keller Lieder » , and the 1st Italian lieder that is about 200 lieder, each one having its own admirable individuality.

And then, the music stops. The spring has dried-up. Wolf in great anguish wrote despairing letters to his friends. To Oskar Grohe, on May 2, 1891, he wrote :

« I have given-up all idea of composing. Heaven knows how things will finish. Pray for my poor soul. »

And to Doctor Hermann Wette on August 13, 1891, he says :

« For the last 4 months, I have been suffering from a sort of mental consumption, which makes me think very seriously of quitting this world forever. Only those who truly live should live at all. I have been for some time like one who is dead. I only wish it were an apparent death ; but I am really dead and buried though the power to control my body gives me a seeming life. It is my inmost, my only desire, that the flesh may quickly follow the spirit that has already passed. For the past 15 days, I have been living at Traunkirchen, the pearl of Traunsee. All the comforts that a man could wish for are here to make my life happy peace, solitude, beautiful scenery, invigorating air, and everything that could suit the tastes of a hermit like myself. And yet and yet, my friend, I am the most miserable creature on earth. Everything around me breathes peace and happiness, everything throbs with life and fulfills its functions. I alone, oh God ! I alone live like a beast that is deaf and senseless. Even reading hardly serves to distract me now though I bury myself in books in my despair. As for composition, that is finished ; I can no longer bring to mind the meaning of a harmony or a melody, and I almost begin to doubt if the compositions that bear my name are really mine. Good God ! What is the use of all this fame ? What is the good of these great aims if misery is all that lies at the end of it ? »

« Heaven gives a man complete genius or no genius at all. Hell has given me everything by halves. »

« O unhappy man, how true, how true it is ! In the flower of your life, you went to hell ; into the evil jaws of destiny, you threw the delusive present and yourself with it. O Kleist ! »

Suddenly, at Dobling on November 29, 1891, the stream of Wolf's genius flowed again, and he wrote 15 Italian lieder, sometimes several in 1 day. In December, it stopped again ; and, this time, for 5 years. These Italian melodies show, however, no trace of any effort nor a greater tension of mind than is shown in his preceding works. On the contrary, they have the air of being the simplest and most natural work that Wolf ever did. But the matter is of no real consequence, for when Wolf's genius was not stirring within him he was useless. He wished to write 33 Italian lieder, but he had to stop after the 20nd, and, in 1891, he published 1 volume only of the « Italienisches Liederbuch ». The 2nd volume was completed in 1 month, 5 years later, in 1896.

One may imagine the tortures that this solitary man suffered. His only happiness was in creation, and he saw his life cease without any apparent cause for years at a time, and his genius come and go, and return for an instant, and then go again. Each time, he must have wondered anxiously if it had gone forever, or how long it would be before it came back again. In letters to Emil Kaufmann, on August 6, 1891, and April 26, 1893, Wolf says :

« You ask me for news of my Opera. Good Heavens ! I should be content if I could write the tiniest little Liedchen. And an Opera, now ? I firmly believe that it is all over with me. I could as well speak Chinese as compose anything. It is horrible. What I suffer from this inaction, I cannot tell you. I should like to hang myself. »

To Hugo Faißt, he wrote on June 21, 1894 :

« You ask me the cause of my great depression of spirit and would pour balm on my wounds. Ah yes, if only you could ! But no herb grows that could cure my sickness ; only a god could help me. If you can give me back my inspiration and wake-up the familiar spirit that is asleep in me and let him possess me anew, I will call you a god and raise altars to your name. My cry is to gods and not to men ; the gods alone are fit to pronounce my fate. But, however it may end, even if the worst comes, I will bear it, yes, even if no ray of sunshine lightens my life again. And with that, we will once for all turn the page and have done with this dark chapter of my life. »

This letter (and it is not the only one) recalls the melancholy stoicism of Beethoven's letters and shows us sorrows that even the unhappy Beethoven did not know. And yet, how can we tell ? Perhaps, Beethoven, too, suffered similar anguish in the sad days that followed 1815, before the last Sonatas, the Missa solemnis, and the 9th Symphony had awakened to life in him.

In March 1895, Hugo Wolf lived once more and, in 3 months, had written the piano score of « Der Corregidor ». For many years, he had been attracted toward the stage, and especially toward light Opera. Enthusiast though he was for Richard Wagner's work, he had declared openly that it was time for musicians to free themselves from the Wagnerian « Musik-Drama ». He knew his own gifts and did not aspire to take Wagner's place. When one of his friends offered

him a subject for an Opera taken from a legend about Buddha, he declined it, saying that the world did not yet understand the meaning of Buddha's doctrines and that he had no wish to give humanity a fresh headache. In a letter to Oskar Grohe, on June 28, 1890, he says :

« Wagner has, by and through his art, accomplished such a mighty work of liberation that we may rejoice to think that it is quite useless for us to storm the skies since he has conquered them for us. It is much wiser to seek out a pleasant nook in this lovely heaven. I want to find a little place there for myself, not in a desert with water and locusts and wild honey but in a merry company of primitive beings, among the tinkling of guitars, the sighs of love, the moonlight, in short, in a quite ordinary « Opéra-comique » without any rescuing specter of Schopenhauerian philosophy in the background. »

After having sought the libretto of an Opera from the whole world, from poets ancient and modern, from William Shakespeare, from his friend Detlev von Liliencron, and after having tried to write one himself, he finally took that of Rosa Mayreder, an adaptation of a Spanish novelette of Don Pedro de Alarcón. This was « Der Corregidor » , which, after having been refused by other Theaters, was played in June 1896 at Mannheim. The work was not a success in spite of its musical qualities ; the poor libretto helped in its failure.

But the main thing was that Wolf's creative genius had returned. In April 1896, he wrote straight away the 22 songs of the 2nd volume of the « Italienisches Liederbuch » . At Christmas, his friend Paul Müller sent him some of Michel-Angelo's poems, translated into German by Walter Robert-Tornow ; and Wolf, deeply moved by their beauty, decided at once to devote a whole volume of lieder to them. In 1897, he composed the 1st 3 melodies. At the same time, he was also working at a new Opera, « Manuel Venegas » , a poem by Moritz Hoernes, written after the style of Alarcón. He seemed full of strength and happiness and confidence in his renewed health. Müller was speaking to him of the premature death of Franz Schubert, and Wolf replied, « A man is not taken away before he has said all he has to say. » .

He worked furiously, « like a steam engine » , as he said, and was so absorbed in the composition of « Manuel Venegas » (September 1897) that he went without rest and hardly had time to take necessary food. In a fortnight, he had written 50 pages of the pianoforte score, as well as the motifs for the whole work, and the music of half the 1st Act.

Then madness came. On September 20, he was seized while he was working at the great recitative of « Manuel Venegas » in the 1st Act.

Wolf was taken to Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin's private hospital in Vienna and remained there until January 1898. Happily, he had devoted friends who took care of him and made-up for the indifference of the public ; for what he had earned himself would not have enabled him even to die in peace. When Schott, the publisher, sent him in October 1895 his royalties for the editions of his lieder of Mörike, Gœthe, Eichendorff, Keller, Spanish poetry, and the 1st volume of Italian poetry, their total for 5 years came to 86 Marks and 35 Pfennigs ! And Schott calmly added that he had not expected so good a result. So it was Wolf's friends, and especially Hugo Faißt, who not only saved him from

misery by their unobtrusive and often secret generosity but spared him the horror of destitution in his last misfortunes.

Wolf recovered his reason and was sent, in February 1898, for a voyage to Trieste and Venetia to complete his cure and prevent him from thinking of work. The precaution was unnecessary ; for he says in a letter to Hugo Faißt, written in the same month :

« There is no need for you to trouble yourself or fear that I shall overdo things. A real distaste for work has taken possession of me, and I believe I shall never write another note. My unfinished Opera has no more interest for me, and music altogether is hateful. You see what my kind friends have done for me ! I cannot think how I shall be able to exist in this state. Ah, happy Swabian ! One may well envy you. Greet your beautiful country for me, and be warmly greeted yourself by your unhappy and worn-out friend, Hugo Wolf. »

When he returned to Vienna, however, Wolf seemed to be a little better and had apparently regained his health and cheerfulness. But to his own astonishment, he had become, as he says in a letter to Faißt, a quiet, sedate, and silent man, who wished more and more to be alone. He did not compose anything fresh but revised his « Michel-Angelo Lieder » and had them published. He made plans for the winter and rejoiced in the thought of passing it in the country near Gmunden, « in perfect quiet, undisturbed, and living only for art » . In his last letter to Faißt, September 17, 1898, Hugo Wolf says :

« I am quite well again now, and have no more need of any cures. You would need them more than I. »

Then came a fresh seizure of madness, and this time all was finished.

In the autumn of 1898, Hugo Wolf was taken to an asylum at Vienna. At first, he was able to receive a few visits and to enjoy a little music by playing duets with the director of the establishment, who was himself a musician and a great admirer of Wolf's works. He was even able, in the spring, to take a few walks out of doors with his friends and an attendant. But he was beginning not to recognize things or people or even himself. « Yes » , he would say, sighing, « if only I were Hugo Wolf ! » . From the middle of 1899, his malady grew rapidly worse, and general paralysis followed. At the beginning of 1900, his speech was affected, and, finally, in August 1901, all his body. At the beginning of 1902, all hope was given-up by the doctors ; but his heart was still sound, and the unhappy man dragged out his life for another year. He died on February 22, 1903, of peri-pneumonia.

Hugo Wolf was given a magnificent funeral which was attended by all the people who had done nothing for him while he was alive. The Austrian State, the town of Vienna, his native town Windischgraz, the Conservatory that had expelled him, the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » who had been so long unfriendly to his works, the Opera house that had been closed to him, the singers that had scorned him, the critics that had scoffed at him ; they were all there. They sang one of his saddest melodies, « Resignation » , a setting of a poem of Eichendorff's, and a chorale by his old friend Anton Bruckner, who had died several years before him. His faithful friends, Faißt, at the head of them, took care to have a monument erected to his memory near those of Beethoven and Schubert, at the Vienna central

cemetery.

Such was his life, cut short at 37 years of age, for one cannot count the 5 years of complete madness. There are not many examples in the art world of so terrible a fate. Nietzsche's misfortune is nowhere beside this, for Nietzsche's madness was, to a certain extent, productive and caused his genius to flash out in a way that it never would have done if his mind had been balanced and his health perfect. Hugo Wolf's madness meant prostration. But one may see how, even in the space of 37 years, his life was strangely parceled out. For he did not really begin his creative work until he was 27 years old ; and, as from 1890 to 1895, he was condemned to 5 years' silence, the sum total of his real life, his productive life, is only 4 or 5 years. But, in those few years, he got more out of life than the greater part of artists do in a long career, and, in his work, he left the imprint of a personality that no one could forget after once having known it.

Hugo Wolf's work consists chiefly, as we have already seen, of lieder ; and these lieder are characterized by the application to lyrical music of principles established by Richard Wagner in the domain of drama. That does not mean he imitated Wagner. One finds, here and there in Wolf's music, Wagnerian forms, just as elsewhere there are evident reminiscences of Hector Berlioz. It is the inevitable mark of his time, and each great artist in his turn contributes his share to the enrichment of the language that belongs to us all. But the real Wagnerism of Wolf is not made-up of these unconscious resemblances ; it lies in his determination to make poetry the inspiration of music. « To show, above all, » ,Wolf wrote to Engelbert Humperdinck in 1890, « that poetry is the true source of my music. » .

When a man is both a poet and a musician, like Wagner, it is natural that his poetry and music should harmonize perfectly. But when it is a matter of translating the soul of other poets into music, special gifts of mental subtlety and an abounding sympathy are needed. These gifts were possessed by Wolf in high degree. No musician has more keenly savored and appreciated the poets. « He was » , said one of his critics, G. Kühl, « Germany's greatest psychologist in music since Mozart. » . There was nothing labored about his psychology. Wolf was incapable of setting to music poetry that he did not really love. He used to have the poetry, he wished to translate, read over to him several times, or, in the evening, he would read it aloud to himself. If he felt very stirred by it, he lived apart with it, and thought about it, and soaked himself in its atmosphere ; then, he went to sleep, and, the next morning, he was able to write the lied straight away. But some poems seemed to sleep in him for years and then would suddenly awake in him in a musical form. On these occasions, he would cry out with happiness. « Do you know » , he wrote to Paul Müller, « I simply shouted with joy. » . Müller said he was like an old hen after it had laid an egg.

Hugo Wolf never chose commonplace poems for his music which is more than can be said of Franz Schubert or Robert Schumann. He did not use anything written by contemporary poets although he was in sympathy with some them, such as Detlev von Liliencron, who hoped very much to be translated into music by him. But he could not do it ; he could not use anything in the work of a great poet unless he became so intimate with it that it seemed to be a part of him.

What strikes one also in the lieder is the importance of the pianoforte accompaniment and its independence of the voice. Sometimes, the voice and the pianoforte express the contrast that so often exists between the words and the

thought of the poem ; at other times, they express 2 personalities, as in his setting of Gœthe's « Prometheus » , where the accompaniment represents « Zeus » sending out his thunderbolts and the voice interprets Titan ; or again, he may depict, as in the setting of Eichendorff's Serenade, a student in love in the accompaniment, while the song is the voice of an old man who is listening to it and thinking of his youth. But, in whatever he is describing, the piano-forte and the voice always have their own individuality. You cannot take anything away from his lieder without spoiling the whole ; and it is especially so with his instrumental passages, which give us the beginning and end of his emotion and which circle round it and sum it up. The musical form, following closely the poetic form, is extremely varied. It may sometimes express a fugitive thought, a brief record of a poetic impression or some little action, or it may be a great epic or dramatic picture. Paul Müller remarks that Wolf put more into a poem than the poet himself as in the « Italienisches Liederbuch » . It is the worst reproach they can make about him, and it is not an ordinary one. Wolf excelled especially in setting poems which accorded with his own tragic fate, as if he had some presentiment of it. No one has better expressed the anguish of a troubled and despairing soul, such as we find in the old harp player in Wilhelm Meister, or the splendid nihilism of certain poems of Michel-Angelo.

Of all his collections of lieder, the 53 « Gedichte von Eduard Mörike, komponiert für eine Singstimme and Klavier » (1888) , the 1st published, is the most popular. It gained many friends for Wolf, not so much among artists (who are always in the minority) as among those critics who are the best and most disinterested of all the homely, honest people who do not make a profession of art but enjoy it as their spiritual daily bread. There are a number of these people in Germany, whose hard lives are beautified by their love of music. Wolf found these friends in all parts, but he found most of them in Swabia. At Stuttgart, at Mannheim, at Darmstadt, and in the country round about these towns, he became very popular ; the only popular musician since Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann. All classes of society united in loving him. « His lieder » , says Ernst Décsey, « are on the pianos of even the poorest houses, by the side of Schubert's lieder » . Stuttgart became for Wolf, as he said himself, a 2nd home. He owes this popularity, which is without parallel in Swabia, to the people's passionate love of lieder and, above all, of the poetry of Mörike, the Swabian pastor who lives again in Wolf's songs. Wolf has set to music a quarter of Mörike's poems, he has brought Mörike into his own, and given him one of the 1st places among German poets. Such was really his intention, and he said so when he had a portrait of Mörike put on the title page of the songs. Whether the reading of his poetry acted as a balm to Wolf's inquiet spirit or whether he became conscious of his genius for the 1st time when he expressed this poetry in music, I do not know ; but he felt deep gratitude toward it and wished to show it by beginning the 1st volume with that fine and rather Beethoven-like song, « Der Genesende an die Hoffnung » (The Convalescent's Ode to Hope) .

The 51 lieder of the « Gœthe Liederbuch » (1888-1889) were composed in groups : the « Wilhelm Meister Lieder » , the « Divan (Suleika) Lieder » ... Wolf even tried to identify himself with the poet's line of thought ; and, in this, we often find him in rivalry with Franz Schubert. He avoided using the poems in which he thought Schubert had exactly conveyed the poet's meaning, as in « Geheimnis and An Schwager Kronos » ; but he told Paul Müller that there were times when Schubert did not understand Gœthe at all because he concerned himself with translating their general lyrical thought rather than with showing the real nature of Gœthe's characters. The peculiar interest of Wolf's lieder is that he gives each poetic figure its individual character. The « Harpist and « Mignon » are traced with marvelous insight and restraint ; and, in some passages, Wolf shows that he had rediscovered « Gœthe » 's art of presenting a

whole world of sadness in a single word. The serenity of a great soul soars over the chaos of passions.

The « Spanisches Liederbuch nach Heyse and Geibel » (1889-1890) had already inspired Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, Peter Cornelius, and others. But none had tried to give it its rough and sensual character. Paul Müller shows how Schumann, especially, robbed the poems of their true nature. Not only did he invest them with his own sentimentalism, but he calmly arranged poems of the most marked individual character to be sung by 4 voices, which makes them quite absurd ; and worse than this, he changed the words and their sense when they stood in his way. Wolf, on the contrary, steeped himself in this melancholy and voluptuous world and would not let anything draw him from it ; and out of it, he produced, as he himself said proudly, some Masterpieces. The 10 religious songs, that come at the beginning of the collection, suggest the delusions of mysticism and weep tears of blood ; they are distressing to the ear and mind alike, for they are the passionate expression of a faith that puts itself on the rack. By the side of them, one finds smiling visions of the « Holy Family » which recall Esteban Murillo. The 34 folk songs are brilliant, restless, whimsical, and wonderfully varied in form. Each represents a different subject, a personality drawn with incisive strokes, and the whole collection overflows with life. It is said that the « Spanisches Liederbuch » is to Wolf's work what « Tristan und Isolde » is to Wagner's work.

The « Italienisches Liederbuch » (1890-1896) is quite different. The character of the songs is very restrained, and Wolf's genius here approached a Classic clearness of form. He was always seeking to simplify his musical language and said that if he wrote anything more, he wished it to be like Mozart's writings. These lieder contain nothing that is not absolutely essential to their subject ; so the melodies are very short and are dramatic rather than lyrical. Wolf gave them an important place in his work : « I consider them », he wrote to Emil Kaufmann, « the most original and perfect of my compositions » .

As for the « Michel-Angelo Gedichten » (1897) , they were interrupted by the outbreak of his malady, and he had time to write only 4, of which he suppressed one. Their associations are pathetic when one remembers the tragic time at which they were composed ; and, by a sort of prophetic instinct, they exhale heaviness of spirit and mournful pride. The 2nd melody is perhaps more beautiful than anything else Wolf wrote ; it is truly his death song :

« Alles endet, was entstehet. Alles, alles rings vergehet. »

And it is a dead man that sings :

« Menschen waren wir fa auch, Froh and traurig, so wie Ihr. Und nun sind wir leblos hier, Sind nur Erde, wie Ihr sehet. »

At the moment he was writing this song, in the short respite he had from his illness, he himself was nearly a dead man.

As soon as Wolf was really dead, his genius was recognized all over Germany. His sufferings provoked an almost excessive reaction in his favour. « Hugo-Wolf-Verein » were founded everywhere ; and today, we have publications,

collections of letters, souvenirs, and biographies in abundance. It is a case of who can cry loudest that he always understood the genius of the unhappy artist and work himself into the greatest fury against his traducers.

Hugo Wolf : under the spell of Richard Wagner

1882 was the year of the premiere of « Parsifal » by Richard Wagner. Hugo Wolf, who had resumed the life of a Bohemian, had the ardent wish to hear « Parsifal » in Bayreuth. He succeeded in getting a complimentary ticket, friends contributed to the costs of the trip and the accomodation, and Wagner's music filled him again with great enthusiasm.

As convinced Wagnerian, Wagner was also vegetarian at that time. In a Viennese vegetarian restaurant, he became acquainted with Friedrich Eckstein, a private student of Anton Bruckner. He was fascinated by Eckstein's encyclopedic knowledge. The discussions on « Parsifal » , German and Spanish mysticism, Free-masonry and vegetarianism went often on till dawn.

When Richard Wagner made the turn to vegetarianism, Friedrich Eckstein and those around him quickly followed suit. Eckstein also headed-up a group of Pythagoreans that dressed in all cotton gowns year round, sporting shoulder-length hair and long beards. Eckstein was active in the so-called « Pernersdorfer » circle, a group that followed the writings of Wagner and Friedrich Nietzsche and included, among others, Viktor Adler, Gustav Mahler, and at one time, Hugo Wolf. According to occult historian James Webb (1985, pages 44-45; 62) , Rudolf Steiner was a frequent visitor at the Café Griensteidl, where the Wagnerians, vegetarians, Pythagoreans, poets, and artists went to converse and often times, argue.

Also, the friendship with the Köchert family (from now on, Hugo Wolf sought and found refuge in their house at « Neue Markt » , in Vienna, when troubles necessitated it) proved to be an essential support. After a long creative pause, he composed in December 1882 series of lieder, for the most part adapted from poems by Joseph von Eichendorff and Robert Reinick. In January 1883, Wolf submitted them to Eduard Hanslick, the mighty and feared Viennese music reviewer, and he received a friendly, but noncommittal answer.

Hugo Wolf was fascinated by Heinrich von Kleist's « Penthesilea » in a particular way. He carried the book around with him like a breviary and quoted long passages with pleasure. He planned to make « Penthesilea » the theme of a Symphonic poem, but, at Ist, Wolf did not feel-up to the demands of this subject. Early in 1884, he dropped the attempt to set it to music to try his hand at new and completely different profession : as music reviewer.

The reviewer (1884-1887)

It was due to the influence of the Köchert family that Wolf was employed with the « Wiener Salonblatt » , a high-circulation weekly paper. The firm of Köchert had business relations with the paper through its numerous advertisements as court jeweler. The « Salonblatt » saw itself as the mirror of the Viennese society, covered the balls of the season, events world of the nobility and provided light entertainment. At Ist, Wolf's vehement (uttered in an uncompromising tone) siding with Richard Wagner's and Franz Liszt's music, his attacks on the conservatism of the

Philharmonic programs and on the taste of the Viennese Opera public, finally, his verbal invectives against Johannes Brahms, who was highly-esteemed in Vienna, had an upsetting and disturbing affect. But soon, violent verbal reactions drew the attention of large circles to the paper. In the cafés, it passed from hand to hand, it was discussed and read by the Wagnerians with pleasure and by their enemies with anger. The « wild Wolf » from The « Salonblatt » became a Viennese institution.

Hugo Wolf should soon pay for his uncompromising attacks in the « Salonblatt », which were impeding his way as composer in Vienna. In 1885, he submitted his String Quartet in D minor (« Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren ») to the Rosé Quartet for a 1st performance and, after a while, he was called upon sarcastically to fetch the manuscript at the doorman of the Court Opera. At 1st, he seemed to have more luck with his Symphonic poem « Penthesilea », which was accepted by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra for a test rehearsal, on October 15th 1886. Although it was regarded as a rule that the composer was not allowed to attend the test rehearsal of his work, Wolf succeeded in entering the hall and listening. The orchestra decided against the performance of the work. Even days later, Wolf was beside himself with indignation at the treatment of « Penthesilea » by conductor Hans Richter, who said to the orchestra : « Gentlemen, I would not let you play the piece out - but I wanted to see the man who dared to write about Master Brahms like that. » .

The great lieder cycles (1888-1889)

In April 1887, Hugo Wolf retired from the post as critic. From May 2nd to May 4th, he composed the « Italian Serenade » for String Quartet. This creative phase was interrupted by a hard blow : Wolf's father died on May 9th. « In memory of my dearest father. » , he dedicated 6 lieder adapted from texts by Joseph Viktor von Scheffel, Eduard Mörike, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Justinus Kerner, which were published in 1888 with Friedrich Eckstein's help by the « Wiener Musikverlag Wetzler » . These lieder excited the interest of the young conductor Franz Schalk, whose brother Josef became soon Wolf's most engaged protagonist.

« In winter 1888, have caught on after a long hunting around. In the quickest succession composed Mörike, Eichendorff and Goethe. » In this way, Hugo Wolf characterized himself in retrospect the beginning of the most creative phase of his life, from which his most noted works derived. In January 1888, he set at 1st « Wo wird einst » by Heinrich Heine and « Gesellenlied » by Robert Reinick to music at the country house of the Werner family in Perchtoldsdorf, near Vienna, like for getting himself in the right frame of mind. The setting to music of 43 poems by Eduard Mörike followed in the short period from February 16th to May 18th. He composed often 2 or 3 poems a day.

Proud consciousness of the own rank within the history of music filled the letter to Josef Straßer dated March 23rd : « What I am composing now, dear friend, I compose it already for the posterity too. They are masterworks. » . A similar frenzy of production happened again, from September 1888 to February 1889. On the banks of the Traunsee, the « Eichendorff Lieder » of earlier creative phases were enlarged with new settings to music to a volume of 20 lieder, which was dedicated to the brothers Franz and Josef Schalk.

In October 1888, Hugo Wolf composed another 9 « Mörike Lieder » . With a 53rd lied, the « Mörike » volume was

closed on a visit in Perchtoldsdorf. In the meantime, Wolf dealt feverishly with the composition of poems by Gøthe. From October 27th to February 12th 1889, he set 50 texts by Gøthe to music. A circle of friends became familiar with each newest creation. The students under Anton Bruckner, Friedrich Eckstein and Ferdinand Løwe belonged to them and the Schalk brothers as well.

On the way to international fame : « Italienisches Liederbuch » (1889-1891)

In the Viennese Academic Wagner Association, Josef Schalk, since 1887, its artistic manager, started an active publicity campaign for Wolf. Improvised performances of works by Hugo Wolf at the meetings on Thursday evening became frequent events. Schalk supported Wolf so in such a marked manner that some members began to grumble about the « Wolf-gorge » and asked mockingly for renaming the association into « Wolf-association » .

On January 22nd, 1890, the « Münchner Allgemeine Zeitung » published an item on Hugo Wolf, which made him well-known in the circles of musicians in South Germany : « Neue Lieder, neues Leben » . Its author, Josef Schalk, presented the « Mørike Lieder » by Wolf. After praising highly the Swabian poet, he pointed out the kindred lied style of the composer sympathizing the poetry down to the last detail. Furthermore, Wolf could not be blamed for taking Richard Wagner as an example and his conversion of these stylistic means was free of any imitation. Through the item, Wolf won important friends in South Germany, among others Emil Kauffmann from Tøbingen and Oskar Grohe, a judge from Mannheim. On September 25th, 1890, Wolf began to compose the « Italienisches Liederbuch » . But at 1st, he composed only 4 lieder, because he paid a visit to his new friends in Germany in October.

Delighted about the interest his works had met in Germany, Hugo Wolf composed another 3 lieder of the « Italienisches Liederbuch » in Døbling, but interrupted this work, because the « Burgtheater » charged him with the composition of the music for Ibsen's drama « Das Fest auf Solhaug » . The creative crisis of the coming years cast their shadows before them. Without inspiration, Wolf strove with the commissioned work till February 1891. The performance did take place in November, but an essential part of the music fell a prey to radical cuts. A feverish working phase set in once again. From November 29th on, Wolf composed another 15 parts of the « Italienisches Liederbuch » within only 25 days. But now began a harrowing period of creative sterility, which ended only in April 1895.

Creative pause (1892-1894)

The inner compulsion to compose, for Hugo Wolf an essential to creation, did not turn-up again. The composer had to make do with revisions of own earlier works, for example, the instrumentation of the « Italienisches Liederbuch » for small orchestra or the ballad « Der Feuerreiter » for choir and full orchestra. The time of creative barrenness was filled with traveling. In March 1892, Wolf went to Berlin to a Wolf lieder recital, which scored a success with the public and the press. The acquaintance of the conductor Siegfried Ochs turned out to be valuable. 2 years later, he helped Wolf's orchestrated lieder achieve the breakthrough. Richard Genée gave him advice in a question, which occupied Wolf's mind for a long time : the search for an appropriate matter for an Opera. Genée called his attention to the subject of « Manuel Venegas » by Alarcón.

After trips through Germany, to the Köcherts family on the banks of the Traunsee and to Count von Lipperheide in Tyrol, Wolf returned exhausted to Vienna. The health of his nerves has seriously deteriorated. Friedrich Eckstein noticed the sometimes paranoid behavior of his friend : Wolf talked (shouting and cursing) to himself and tore-out the hair of the beard.

« Der Corregidor » and « Manuel Venegas » (1895-1896)

Hugo Wolf's year-long search for an appropriate Opera text ended early in 1895. He spoke with delight on the libretto « Der Corregidor » by Rosa Mayreder, based on the novella « Der Dreispitz » by Pedro de Alarcón. It was the result of a sudden change of opinion, because this libretto was already know to him. He had refused it categorically at the first reading.

Financial worries were removed by an annual subvention by Count Lipperheide and some other friends. Now, Wolf could devote himself totally to the composition of his 1st stage work. The task caused a new creative phase in him. On March 12th, he began to compose, within 4 months, he finished the piano score and, within another 5 months, he wrote the whole partition. After vain attempts to stage the work in Vienna or Prague, it was performed for the 1st time at the Mannheim National Theater. The première on May 17th, 1896, scored a success with the public. However, the composer could hardly be persuaded to thank for the applause, because numerous details of the performance displeased him. « Der Corregidor » , one of the few examples of an amusing German Opera after Richard Wagner, could not win through as repertory work in the sequel. Weaknesses of text were held responsible for that, but also Wolf's tendency to emphasize lyric passages to the disadvantage of the dramatic course. In March 1897, Wolf composed his last lieder, 3 sonnets by Michel-Angelo. In the meantime, Rose Mayreder had begun to convert Alarcón's novella « Manuel Venegas » into an Opera libretto. Wolf was enthusiastic again about the draft, but the friends advised him against the setting to music. Moritz Hoernes wrote a new book, which turned-out to his greatest satisfaction. On July 1897, he began to compose the spring choir of the Opera. In all, he wrote 50 pages of the piano score till September. Then, Wolf fell a prey to his tragic illness. « Manuel Venegas » remained a fragment.

Breakdown (1897)

Hugo Wolf expected of Gustav Mahler, who was appointed as conductor in May 1897 and, from September on, as director of the Vienna Court Opera, the support of his works, in particular the performance of his « Der Corregidor » . A conversation with Mahler, who had already acceded to his office as provisional director of the Opera, unleashed the catastrophe. Mahler spoke disparagingly about Wolf's Opera and was doubtful about the possibility of an early performance. Wolf left the director's office extremely agitated and embittered. The delusion fixed itself in his mind that he himself was the new director of the Opera and that he could remove by dismissing Mahler the last obstacle to the performance of his « Der Corregidor » in Vienna.

Hugo Wolf's loss of reality became apparent to the friends, when he played them parts of « Manuel Venegas » on September 20th. He maintained being the director of the Viennese Opera House and began to distribute posts and jobs.

They brought him in his apartment in Vienna and let him go on thinking that he would be brought to the Controller the next day. In actual fact, the ordered carriage took him to Doctor Wilhelm Svetlin's mental home in the 3rd district. In the sanatorium, his megalomania and his persecution mania subsided at last. He instrumented 2 lieder from the « Spanisches Liederbuch » and dealt with additions to « Penthesilea » and « Italienische Serenade ». He thought that he was cured, when he was discharged on January 24th, 1898.

In May, Hugo Wolf moved to Traunkirchen, where another tragic incident happened. Wolf made a suicide attempt in the Traunsee. Realizing his own psychic situation, he asked now himself for internment. He was admitted to the Lower-Austrian Provincial lunatic asylum in Vienna. The Viennese Hugo Wolf Association by means of payments by the friends from Austria and Germany, but also by the Austrian Emperor and the Ministry of Culture and Education provided for Wolf's keep.

Tragic epilogue (1898-1903)

At the Provincial lunatic asylum, Hugo Wolf's state deteriorated at last. Phases of total absence of mind and delusions came by turns. Wolf raved in delirium about Johannes Brahms and his fear that his body will be dismembered. Early in 1899, there was a change for the better again. He was visited by friends and a piano was made available to him in his room. Short drives with friends interrupted the dismal monotony of the daily round at the home.

But after the summer 1899, his state made drives and the occupation with music impossible. The progression of the illness brought new delusions about. Wolf refused to eat and could only sleep by means of drugs. Paralytic symptoms grew worse. His hand-writing became illegible. Difficulties to speak set in and, sometimes, he was totally incapable of speaking. On February 22nd, 1903, Wolf died of pneumonia. He received a tomb of honour at the « Wiener Zentralfriedhof » (central cemetery of Vienna) close to tombs of Ludwig van Beethoven and Franz Schubert. The gravestone by Edmund Hellmer was formally unveiled in October 1904.

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Hugo Wolf's reputation as the wild man of late- 19th Century song, « Der wilde Wolf », is borne out by many incidents in his life. He was thrown out of the Vienna Conservatory at the age of 17 for telling the director that he felt his time as a music student was making him forget more than he learnt. The critic Max Graf, in his memoirs of « fin de siècle » Vienna, characterised Wolf as a hero for the next generation of music students : « Hugo Wolf belonged to us and we belonged to him. We stared at the pale man who stood in the standing room section of the Opera house just like ourselves, while Brahms sat in a box like God sitting on the clouds. ». Yet, Wolf's position outside Vienna's musical establishment was not entirely by choice. When the young composer last came to Vienna, in 1875, from the small-town of Windischgraz in Lower-Styria, he and his father were passionate that he should progress from his obscure origins to a place at the centre of Vienna's musical life. On the occasion of Richard Wagner's visit to the Austrian capital, in 1875, Wolf followed his carriage wherever it went and stood in the lobby of the Master's hotel until he was allowed to show him his songs. As Wolf said : « I conceived an irresistible inclination towards Richard Wagner, without having yet formed any conception of his music. » ; it was enough that this man had the reputation

of being the greatest Opera composer of all. The polemics that surrounded Wagner's cause (his battles with the Viennese critic Eduard Hanslick and other Brahmsians) clearly enhanced his status in Wolf's eyes. But such polemics did not prevent him from seeking an interview with Brahms too, in 1879. Unfortunately, Brahms did not like Wolf or his songs, and suggested the young man should go back to the drawing board and arrange counterpoint lessons forthwith.

Hugo Wolf's search for musical sponsors continued through most of his life. He was obsessed with the need to find a sphere of action, an outlet for his creative impulses that could make a mark on those around him. Such anxieties were undeniably heightened by his natural tendency towards song, which was seen as an ephemeral art, partly tarnished by its associations with bourgeois domesticity or « salon style » decadence. In his student years, Wolf sketched parts of 2 Symphonies and a Violin Concerto, and, in 1880, he began work on a String quartet in D minor (completed in 1884) . However, these creative experiences were nothing compared with the flow of songs which came from his pen, in 1878. Most of these were settings of texts from Heinrich Heine's « Buch der Lieder » , the choice of poet and musical style bringing Wolf close to Robert Schumann. He later disowned such derivativeness, as well as the subjective associations of the songs with his early love-affair with Vally Franck. With his mature Lieder, Wolf talked of being « an objective lyricist » , and of following what he called his « duty to the poet » . He felt it was his task to convince audiences of the « true content » of a poetic text by every possible musical means. He would often quote the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's thoughts on the purpose of art : « truth, relentless truth - truth till it hurts » . Like Wagner, Wolf saw poetry as the proper object of his musical eloquence, the end that motivated and justified all his explorations. Yet, there was a crucial difference between them. Wagner wrote his own texts to his music dramas, so that in a circular fashion « Wagner, the musician » could always prompt « Wagner, the poet » . Wolf welcomed a rather different æsthetic discipline, accepting the « otherness » of the poet as a way of opening his music to constant re-evaluation.

A New Approach to Song

Most enthusiasts for German Lieder would agree that Hugo Wolf's radical ways of approaching poetry have successfully heightened our perceptions of song. However, our appreciation of the clarity and effectiveness of his artistic vision is sometimes clouded by the fact that Wolf seemed so little in control of his life and circumstances. After being expelled from the Conservatory, Wolf accepted the dubious patronage of Adalbert von Goldschmidt, a dilettante composer and noted socialite. Wolf openly voiced his contempt for Goldschmidt's over-heated Lisztian style of music, but, in the difficult decade from 1877, he relied on him financially as he drifted from lodging to lodging and eked out a living giving music lessons. The young composer received much intellectual stimulation from Goldschmidt and his circle, but their influence did little to settle his musical or social habits. It was at this time that Wolf contracted the syphilis that led to madness, in 1897. His only experience of regular employment was as music-critic to the « Wiener Salonblatt » , from 1884 to 1887. In his reviewing, Wolf intended to make a significant contribution to the critical debates of his time, little realising that his passionate attacks on Johannes Brahms, as a composer of a « dead-tired fantasy » , were hardly appropriate for a fashionable Sunday newspaper. He also underestimated the extent of the backlash such reviews would bring upon himself. In 1886, the famous conductor Hans Richter agreed to a public play-through of Wolf's ambitious Symphonic poem « Penthesilea » . It seemed that Wolf was about to achieve the breakthrough he was seeking. Yet, in the event, Richter made no effort to control the orchestra as it mangled the difficult score, and instead said loud enough for everyone to hear : « And that is the man who dares to criticise Brahms ! » .

It was fortunate for Wolf that his hounding by Richter and other establishment figures came to win him the unequivocal support of the Viennese Wagner Society, which could offer him venues for the regular performance of his songs. Wolf enjoyed the enthusiastic reception of such an audience, and the fruitful artistic partnerships that began to develop with the Wagnerian tenor Ferdinand Jäger and with the Society's director, the pianist and critic Josef Schalk. However, he also realised that much of the support was prompted by concern for Wagner rather than for himself. The Viennese Wagnerians were anxious that Wagner should be seen to have left a group of composers to follow in his wake, otherwise it would be difficult to call his art the « music of the future ». Schalk believed Wolf's music could be presented as a « healthy bloom from the Master's stem », but this approach caused inevitable conflict. In 1889, Wolf walked-out of the Wagner Society after one of his songs became the occasion for a pan-German nationalistic demonstration, declaring :

« Vanity and inordinate ambition will not catch me by the forelock again. Let each seek to win through on his own account. So let us have no more apostles ! »

At this point in his life, Wolf had every reason for self-confidence. His Mörike song-book was just about to be published, including 53 settings of this relatively little-known mid- 19th Century poet. The volume created a sensation in circles far beyond Vienna. The famous Bayreuth Wagnerian, Baron Hans von Wolzogen, announced his astonishment at the songs' depth and variety, saying they swung from « the cheerfully teasing, simple robust tunes of German folksong, to the strains of the Romantic ballad full of ghostly horrors and elfish apparitions up to the heights of hymn and into the depths of mysticism ». The Mörike songs were likened to music dramas in miniature or even to Symphonic poems, with their declamatory vocal lines, motivic characterisation and quasi-orchestral piano textures. Some critics deplored these innovations as the end of song, but others welcomed Wolf as the « Wagner of the Lied ». He certainly made uninhibited use of Tristanesque harmonies, but their treatment was not always straightforwardly Wagnerian. His setting of « An den Schlaf » (To Sleep) ends with a quotation from the final bars of Isolde's « Liebestod », yet one hardly recognises the reference because Wolf weaves it into a much more delicate motivic fabric. The song traces its path from « darkness » to « light » through a careful network of harmonic progressions, which move in precise sequence from dissonance to resolution. Wolf once insisted that all his progressions, however radical, could be explained within the « strict laws of harmony ». The Mörike song-book was a landmark for Wolf, not only in its exploration of the language of Wagnerian chromaticism, but also in asserting his independence from any uncritical discipleship.

The speed with which Wolf completed the Mörike songs, from February to November 1888, shows a remarkable release of creative energy. It overflowed into the Eichendorff and Gœthe song-books of 1888 and 1889. Eichendorff is another poet closely connected with Robert Schumann, but on this occasion Wolf chose poems that invited him to paint character portraits, rather than subjective moods as beloved by Schumann. Wolf's approach to the Gœthe song-book was also consciously critical. He included many of Gœthe's more abstract and philosophical poems, ones that had previously been thought beyond the scope of song-composers ; as well as reworking poems famously set by Franz Schubert, such as « Prometheus », « Ganymed », and the Wilhelm Meister lyrics. Some Wagnerians attacked Wolf for looking back to Gœthe ; they argued that he should be turning to radical poets of his own generation. Yet, Wolf was often surprisingly scathing about contemporary writers. He said the novels of Dostoyevsky were like « a hundred

thousand fools speaking at once » . Goethe was even more merciless in condemning stylistic innovation if he felt it was pursued for its own sake. He believed lyrical impulses should be subjected to formal discipline, even if this meant suppressing a certain Romantic immediacy. In his lyrics from the novel « The Apprenticeship of Wilhelm Meister » , the « Harper » and « Mignon » are heard voicing their frustration at what cannot be said, and so opening-up whole new areas of feeling and experience. It was this paradox that invigorated Wolf's own approach to the Lied. In his Goethe settings, he largely avoided the tuneful lyricism that Schubert excelled in, and instead offered an abstract play of rhythmic textures and sharply delineated forms. Yet, Wolf made the formal restrictions bring a new kind of expressive intensity to his lyrics, one that aimed beyond simpler Romantic evocations of mood.

For Wolf then, radical innovation and conservatism tended to go hand in hand, a trait that confused his critics even while it intrigued and captivated his audiences. Commentators had the most problems understanding the step he took after the Goethe song-book, since he immediately began setting what has been called « a series of rather flat lyrics » from the « Spanisches Liederbuch » of Paul Heyse and Emanuel Geibel. Although some of the poems are by great Spanish authors, Wolf's shift to dealing with German translations raises important questions. Inevitably, there is not the same sense of poetic imperative at work in these settings as there was when Wolf was responding to Mörike or Goethe. And yet, Wolf still surrounded the formal details of his Spanish songs (their characteristic refrains and rhyming patterns) with a sense of heightened significance. It was as if, by this stage in his song-writing, Wolf had internalised his « duty to the poet » and made an accepted virtue out of keeping tightly within the dimensions of his genre.

In 1888, Friedrich Nietzsche wrote, « today musical integrity is only possible in what is small » , a motto that might have been written especially for Wolf. Song had become his distinctive battleground, in a way that does not apply to any other 19th Century composer. And yet, there is evidence that, from 1890, Wolf became increasingly dissatisfied with his specialist image. During the heady days of the Mörike songs, Wolf told his friends he was always sketching out Operatic scenes at the piano and thinking about possible Opera libretti ; usually on Spanish subjects. The Spanish obsession reflected his admiration for Georges Bizet's Opera « Carmen » , except that Wolf intended to write a comic Opera not a tragedy. He was aiming at a big popular success on the scale of Engelbert Humperdinck's « Hänsel und Gretel » , or the verismo Operas of Leoncavallo and Mascagni. Some would say his megalomania knew no bounds. However, there were serious issues at stake with Wolf's Operatic ambitions that bear on his complex relationship to Wagner. In 1890, he wrote to a friend : « Wagner's excesses degrade one into a worm. However, you must not think that I have suddenly joined the anti-Wagnerians, an event which I have earnestly to guard against, if only to justify my own artistic existence. » . In life, Wolf could not afford to sever the links, but, in art, his need to assert a separate dramatic vision became increasingly urgent. Wolf knew the kind of Opera he wanted to write, an ordinary Opera about ordinary people ; « without the sombre world-redeeming spectre of a Schopenhauerian philosophy in the background » . It took him 5 years to settle on a libretto, Rosa Mayreder's adaptation of Alarcon's novel « El Sombrero de tres picos » (The 3 Cornered Hat) . And when he finally began work in 1895, his theatrical inexperience showed-up at every stage of the compositional process. However, despite its shortcomings, there is still enough dramatic substance in Wolf's « Der Corregidor » to underline his distinctive view of character and plot. In Wolf's Opera, there are no larger-than-life heroes making momentous decisions for good or ill. Most of the dialogue remains conversational in tone, while the characters seem to change almost entirely according to circumstance in a disturbingly realistic fashion. It is hard to judge whether such a shifting view of personality would have been convincing to his audiences if Wolf's stage

techniques had been better. His 2nd Opera, « Manuel Venegas » (based on Alarcon's novel « El Niño de la bola ») , was unfortunately left unfinished in 1897. One brave critic blamed « Der Corregidor » 's lack of success on the performers rather than the composer's ineptitude. He claimed that « the German stage, under the sway of Wagner, was not yet free enough for such high-flying spirituality » , a spirituality which he identified with Nietzsche's call for a new « Joyful Knowledge » .

Few would agree with such exalted claims for Wolf's Opera. But perhaps, the references to Nietzsche's « Gaya Scienza » might help us appreciate the significance of the Italian song-book which Wolf composed before and after « Der Corregidor » . Even compared with the Spanish songs, the length of each song is much reduced, and the poet's glance is redirected to the smallest and most incidental details ; the turn of a woman's head, a word idly dropped into conversation. These details become magnified, but they also hold their place in the ordinary things of life. Musically, Wolf builds his patterns out of ornamental details of rhythm or harmony that seem almost too transient to sustain the forms that grow out of them. Whilst the patterns capture our imagination they often leave little impression behind. One is reminded of the words in the last of Wolf's 3 « Michel-Angelo Lieder » , the final song he was to write. The poet feels a glimmer of light in his soul even though he cannot grasp where it has come from, and he asks if it is just a passing sound or dream. The answer of the final verse might seem disappointing ; it is the light that comes from gazing into his beloved's eyes. Wolf leaves us with another trifle, not a philosophical statement on the nature of eternity. However, by drawing our attention to the power of the present moment the composer captures one of the glories of song, and reveals once more how it can take us into the most elusive realms of human experience.

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Think turn of the 20th Century Vienna. Think the last flowering of Habsburg Imperial certainties. Then, think of the darker, doomed currents surging just beneath its surface. Now, think artistic creativity. Think music, and the chances are, a Century on, that the 1st person you think of is Gustav Mahler.

And there, in a nutshell, we have Hugo Wolf's problem. The living Mahler was Hugo Wolf's nemesis when they both inhabited the fiercely competitive artistic world of « fin de siècle » Vienna. And the dead Mahler still haunts Wolf's reputation now, days before the Centenary of Wolf's own death. While Mahler's extraordinary Symphonies fill the largest halls, Wolf's no less extraordinary songs still belong mainly to the connoisseur.

Almost none of this was, or is, Mahler's fault. But Mahler and Wolf made the same career, at the same time, in the same place. Their lives intersected at many key moments and their reputations have danced in a kind of extended counterpoint ever since. But it is Mahler who won the prizes, then and now. And that, then and now, is Wolf's tragedy.

Gustav Mahler and Hugo Wolf were almost exact contemporaries, born just 4 months apart, in 1860. They came from similar modest social backgrounds in the provinces of the Austrian Empire : Mahler's in Bohemia, Wolf's in Styria. Artistically, their lives were both formed by the influence of Richard Wagner.

Their early careers marched in lock-step. Both arrived in Vienna in 1875 and enrolled in the Vienna Conservatory at

the precocious age of 15. Both studied harmony in the same class. Mahler lasted longer than the always impatient and disrespectful Wolf but, even after Wolf's expulsion in 1877, the 2 remained close.

By 1879, Mahler and Wolf were sharing a garret, along with Mahler's friend Rudolf Krzyzanowski, in a Classic Viennese « la Bohême » existence. They wrote their earliest music in one another's company. They scabbled pennies from teaching to attend the Opera together. Mahler and Wolf are even said to have shared a bed, though there is no suggestion of a sexual relationship. But it was probably at around this time that Wolf contracted the syphilis that was eventually to kill him.

Within a year, though, Mahler and Wolf drifted apart. Mahler left Vienna to pursue his conducting career. Wolf stayed, turning to music criticism for a living. Away from one another, the 2 each matured as composers. But it was Wolf's songs, rather than Mahler's orchestral works, that were 1st to win critical acclaim, both in Vienna and beyond.

Indeed, by the time Mahler returned to Vienna, in 1897, to take-up the most prestigious post in Viennese music, director of the Court Opera, Wolf was probably the better known composer. But Wolf's composing career was already at an end. His last completed songs date from March 1897, and, although he continued to work on his unfinished Opera « Manuel Venegas » , his body and mind were on the verge of collapse. And it was Mahler who triggered it.

Gustav Mahler's appointment to the Opera had fired Hugo Wolf's hopes that his Opera « Der Corregidor » would now at last receive a performance of which Wolf was convinced it was worthy. He went to see Mahler to press his case. Their meetings were friendly. Mahler showed some interest, though whether it was as much interest as Wolf immediately assumed is unclear.

What is clear, though, is that Wolf's visit to Mahler in his office at the Opera, in May 1897, was the breaking point for Wolf's sanity. Seeing the score of Anton Rubinstein's Opera « The Demon » on Mahler's desk, Wolf became angry. He denounced Rubinstein's work. Mahler responded with some critical comments about « Der Corregidor » , and expressed doubts about whether it would be performed in Vienna. This argument was, as Wolf's biographer Frank Walker calls it, « the spark that had kindled a conflagration in his brain and brought on the long threatened insanity » .

Hugo Wolf began to tell people in his circle that he, not Mahler, had been appointed as director of the Vienna Opera. The delusion rapidly became obsessive. Some stories have Wolf standing on the « Ringstraße » proclaiming himself the rightful director to passing pedestrians. On one occasion, Wolf gathered his friends together and walked at high-speed to the house of the singer Hermann Winkelmann, ordering Winkelmann to come and rehearse « Manuel Venegas » . The next day, playing his new Opera to his friends at the piano, Wolf announced that he would fire both Mahler and Winkelmann.

By the end of the year, Hugo Wolf was in an asylum. A brief respite in 1898 (during which he visited Trieste, where, for the 1st and only time in his life, he saw the sea) proved illusory. In October that year, he tried to drown himself and was found huddled and soaking in a nearby wood. Wolf was returned to an asylum in the Vienna suburbs. His

memory began to fail. His delusions grew worse. In early 1900, he began to suffer severe paralysis. After a long series of terrible illnesses and great suffering, he died on February 22, 1903, a victim of what the Victorians called : « the wound that will never heal » .

Hugo Wolf's death was one of the most protracted, miserable and bitter in the history of music. But, even in the poignancy of his death, Wolf has been transcended by Gustav Mahler. To the 20th Century, it is Mahler's incurable illness (the cancer from which he died in Vienna, in 1911) that has become the emblem of Viennese corruption and decline, the stuff of legend, of sentiment and of the big screen treatment.

It is, of course, a false rivalry. But it is historically important, if nothing else, to realise that what we tend to think of as Gustav Mahler's Vienna can, in a very real sense, be more truly described as Hugo Wolf's Vienna. Wolf was the archetype. If you are looking for a great doomed Viennese composer, a great dark emotional spirit, a man living-out his life in the shadow of the disease that would kill him in a world that would outlive him only by a handful of years, then Wolf is just as much your man as Mahler.

Hugo Wolf's death certainly spoke powerfully to the Vienna of his time. In a move that would have surprised but pleased him, he was allocated a so-called « grave of honour » in Vienna's central cemetery, only yards away from Ludwig van Beethoven and Franz Schubert. Streets were named after him. Memorial tablets were unveiled to him. Wolf's death also triggered an immense outburst of performances of his music. Even « Der Corregidor » was widely performed for a while. Most significantly of all, singers began to include his work regularly in their recitals. In the year of his death, Wolf's surviving relatives were able to sell the copyright on his music to Peters for 260,000 Marks, a considerable sum.

If Hugo Wolf lives on somewhat in Mahler's shadow today, this is perhaps in part because the form that he made his own (the song) no longer occupies the central place in music-making that it did in Wolf's own lifetime and in the pre-1914 Germanic cultural tradition. Today, audiences prefer big statements, cathartic effects and emotional exhibitionism. Thanks to the stereo, they can now accommodate such displays in their own living rooms, in their cars, and even in their headsets.

Yet, it would be the greatest insult of all to Hugo Wolf to imagine, because he was a minituarist and not a big-canvas man, that he was anything less than a completely intense artist. No one, not Frédéric Chopin, not Anton Webern, put more into such small forms as he did. « Auch kleine Dinge » (also little things, as the 1st line of the 1st song of the Italian Song Book puts it) can express the rigorous truths that Wolf saw as the great principle of his art. You can be as wrung-out and haunted by a performance of a song like « Ganymed » as you can by a performance of « Das Lied von der Erde » . In the 1930's, Walter Legge tried to capture Wolf's work on disc, prompting his wife Elisabeth Schwarzkopf to call him « the best thing that ever happened to Hugo Wolf » ; though some would say that she deserved that accolade. « The 1st and last requisite in the performance of Wolf » , wrote Legge, « is vividness of imagination, freedom from the silly delusion that music is a gentlemanly calling, complete lack of our natural racial inhibition about the fear of showing one's emotions in public. Wolf was a man who suffered. For the interpreter then to do justice to Wolf he must cast off the shackles of repression and live in an intellectual and emotional world,

keener, more alive, more vital, more impassioned than his everyday life. He must transplant himself into a new world and a new world for every song. » .

...

Wolf, Hugo (Filipp Jakob) (born in Windischgraz, 1860 ; died in Vienna, 1903) . Austrian composer. Taught rudiments of music by his father, a leather-dealer. Entered Vienna Conservatory in 1875 (fellow-pupil of Gustav Mahler) . Expelled in 1877 (unjustly) and made bare living by teaching. Performed as 2nd conductor (répétiteur) at Salzburg Theatre in 1881, but gave-up after 3 months. Music critic in Vienna from 1883 to 1887, making enemies by his fanatical praise of Wagner and dislike of Brahms. From 1888, when he discovered the poetry of Mörike, poured out dozens of songs, including the Spanish Songbook, in which the art of the Lied reached one of its most sophisticated and intricately-wrought stages, with the piano part no longer simple accessory but an integral part of the song. The concentrated characterization of each song is unequalled in Lieder, demanding the utmost artistry from the performers, psychological as well as vocal and instrumental. For 3 years, from 1892 to 1894, Wolf wrote nothing except the orchestral arrangement of the Italian Serenade, but his fame gradually spread and in Berlin a « Hugo Wolf Society » was founded. Even Vienna began to capitulate, late in 1894. In 1895, he wrote an Opera based on « The 3 Cornered Hat » which he called « Der Corregidor » . In the spring of 1896, he wrote the 24 songs of the Italian Songbook (Volume II) . In 1897, he began his Michel-Angelo settings and a 2nd opera, « Manuel Venegas » . But in the autumn, his mind gave way, the outcome of venereal disease, and he was taken to an asylum. Though he seemed to be « cured » in 1898, he tried to drown himself in October of that year and spent his last years insane in a mental hospital.

Principal Works :

Operas : « Der Corregidor » (1895) ; « Manuel Venegas » (1897, incomplete) .

Orchestral : « Penthesilea » , Symphonic poem (1883) ; « Italienische Serenade » (1892, Orchestral Work based on String Quartet, composed in 1887) .

Chamber music : String Quartet in D minor (1879-1880) ; Serenade in G for String Quartet (1887 ; arrangement for String Orchestra in 1892 as « Italienische Serenade » , Italian Serenade) .

Choral : 6 « Eichendorff Lieder » , unaccessible (1881) ; « Christ-Nacht » for soloists, choir and orchestra (1886-1889) ; « Elfenlied » (You spotted snakes, from « A Midsummer Night's Dream ») for soprano, choir and orchestra (circa 1890, arrangement from song for voice and piano, 1888, but not same as « Elfenlied » in « Mörike-Lieder ») ; « Der Feuerreiter » (The Fire Rider : Mörike song from 1888, arrangement for choir and orchestra, 1892) ; « Dem Vaterland » (song for voice and piano from 1888, arrangement for male choir and orchestra, 1888-1891) .

Songs : (mostly with piano accompaniment, but some with orchestra) : 12 « Lieder aus der Jugendzeit » (1877-1878) ; 6 Songs for Woman's Voice ; 6 Poems of Scheffel, Mörike, Goethe, and Kerner ; 4 Poems of Heine, Shakespeare, and Byron ; 6 Poems by Gottfried Keller ; 3 Ibsen Songs ; 3 Poems by Reinick (1877-1887) ; 53 « Mörike-Lieder » (1888) ;

20 « Eichendorff-Lieder » (1880-1888) ; 51 « Gœthe-Lieder » (including « Mignon Lieder ») (1888-1889) ; « Spanisches Liederbuch » (44 songs) (1889-1890) ; « Italienisches Liederbuch » ,Volume I (22 songs) (1890-1891) ; « Italienisches Liederbuch » ,Volume II (24 songs) (1896) ; 3 Poems by Michel-Angelo (1897) . Among the best-loved Wolf songs (selectively chosen) are : « An die Geliebte » ; « Abschied » ; « Anakreons Grab » ; « Begegnung » ; « Denk es, O Seele » ; « Einsame » ; « Elfenlied » ; « Der Feuerreiter » ; « Gebet » ; « Gesang Weylas » ; « Heimweh » ; « Im Frühling » ; « In dem Schatten meiner Locken » ; « Jägerlied » ; « Kennst du das Land ? » ; « Lebewohl » ; « Schlafendes Jesuskind » ; « Der Tambour » ; « Verborgenheit » ; « Das verlassene Mägdlein » .

...

The South of Europe possessed an almost mystical fascination for Hugo Wolf, representing directness, primal passion, and Nietzsche's call to « Mediterraneanize music » . The largely anonymous folk verse of Spain and Italy, translated by Paul Heyse and Emanuel Geibel, served as a Mediterranean focus in the Spanish and Italian song-books, whose composition occupied him from 1889 to 1891, and, again, in 1896 for the 2nd half of the Italian Songbook. Given that so many of those songs are richly compact of character and situation, it was inevitable that Wolf (making slow headway with his lieder in winning recognition as a composer) would wish to leap to fame at once by exploring the world of the songs in the extended form of an Opera. Finding a suitable libretto became a bedevilment, but the scenes Wolf wished to project seemed to him implicit in the works of Spanish writer Pedro de Alarcón (1833-1891) . Wolf pressed a friend, the modestly talented amateur Rosa Mayreder, to adapt Alarcón's novel The « 3 Cornered Hat » and, overlooking her libretto's weaknesses, composed « Der Corregidor » at white heat in 1895. Its production in Mannheim, the following year, produced only a « succès d'estime » , but lured Wolf to attempt to surpass himself. With the Italienisches Liederbuch completed, he pressed Mayreder to adapt Alarcón's « El Niño de la bola » . Her attempts proving unsatisfactory, friends introduced Wolf to Moritz Hörnes, a history professor at Vienna University, whose quickly worked adaptation was surprisingly able. Wolf was ecstatic, declaring, « Shakespeare himself could not have formed the subject matter more dramatically and at the same time poetically than Hörnes has done, and that's that ! » . On July 29, 1897, Wolf set to work feverishly composing « Manuel Venegas » . Despite interruptions, the Opera's opening began to take shape as Wolf's swings from manic gaiety to irascibility became more pronounced. In mid-September, his boast that he had been appointed director of the Vienna Court Opera, and had sacked the current director, Gustav Mahler, signaled the onset of madness. Inviting his friends to hear his new Opera and congratulate him, on September 20, he played through the 50 completed pages of vocal score, blissful, raving, and wholly insane, as his friends clustered around him in stunned misery (a scene famously adapted by Thomas Mann in his novel « Doktor Faustus » (1947) . Wolf's polished fragment introduces characters and motifs without reaching the great dramatic moments that had tempted him, though the opening Spring Chorus is one of the freshest, most evocative, and inspired in his entire œuvre.

...

Wolf is buried in the Zentralfriedhof (Central Cemetery) in Vienna, along with many other notable composers.

Wolf's greatest musical influence was Richard Wagner, who, in an encounter after Wolf 1st came to the Vienna

Conservatory, encouraged the young composer to persist in composing and to attempt larger scale works, cementing Wolf's desire to emulate his musical idol. His antipathy to Johannes Brahms was fueled equally by his devotion to Wagner's musical radicalism and his loathing of Brahms' musical conservatism.

He is best-known by his lieder, his temperament and inclination leading him to more intimate, subjective and terse musical utterances. Although, he initially believed that mastering the larger forms was the hallmark of a great composer (a belief his early mentors reinforced), the smaller scale of the art song proved to provide an ideal creative outlet for his musical expression and came to be regarded as the genre best suited to his peculiar genius. Wolf's lieder are noted for compressing expansive musical ideas and depth of feeling, fed by his skill at finding the just right musical setting for the poetry that inspired him. Though, Wolf himself was obsessed with the idea that to compose only short forms was to be 2nd rate, his organization of lyrics of particular poets (Goethe; Mörike; Eichendorff; Heyse & von Geibel in the Spanish and Italian song-books) into semi cyclical anthologies, finding connections between texts not explicitly intended by the poets he set and his conceptions of individual songs as dramatic works in miniature, mark him as a talented dramatist despite having written only one not particularly successful opera, *Der Corregidor*.

Early in his career, Wolf modelled his lieder after those of Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann, particularly in the period around his relationship with Vally Franck; in fact, they were good enough imitations to pass off as the real thing, which he once attempted, though his cover was blown too soon. It is speculated that his choice of lieder texts in the earlier years, largely dealing with sin and anguish, were partly influenced by his contraction of syphilis. His love for Vally, not fully requited, inspired highly-chromatic and philosophical lieder that could be regarded as successors to Wagner's *Wesendonck* Lieder cycle. Others were as distant from those in mood as possible; light hearted and humorous. The rarely heard symphonic poem *Penthesilea* is tempestuous and highly-coloured as well. Although Wolf admired Liszt, who had encouraged him to complete the work, he felt Liszt's own music too dry and academic and strove for colour and passion.

1888 marked a turning point in his style as well as his career, with the Mörike, Eichendorff and Goethe sets drawing him away from Franz Schubert's simpler, more diatonic lyricism and into "Wölferl's own howl". Mörike, in particular, drew out and complemented Wolf's musical gifts, the variety of subjects suiting Wolf's tailoring of music to text, his dark sense of humor matching Wolf's own, his insight and imagery demanding a wider variety of compositional techniques and command of text painting to portray. In his later works, he relied less on the text to give him his musical framework and more on his pure musical ideas themselves; the later Spanish and Italian songs reflect this move toward "absolute music".

Wolf wrote hundreds of lieder, 3 operas, incidental music, choral music, as well as some rarely heard orchestral, chamber and piano music. His most famous instrumental piece is the *Italian Serenade* (1887), originally for string quartet and later transcribed for orchestra, which marked the beginning of his mature style.

Wolf was famous for his use of tonality to reinforce meaning. Concentrating on 2 tonal areas to musically depict ambiguity and conflict in the text became a hallmark of his style, resolving only when appropriate to the meaning of

the song. His chosen texts were often full of anguish and inability to find resolution, and thus so too was the tonality wandering, unable to return to the home key. Use of deceptive cadences, chromaticism, dissonance, and chromatic mediant obscure the harmonic destination for as long as the psychological tension is sustained. His formal structure as well reflected the texts being set, and he wrote almost none of the straight forward strophic songs favoured by his contemporaries, instead building the form around the nature of the work.

...

The composer Hugo Wolf brought the 19th Century German lied, or art song, to its highest point of development.

Wolf studied at the Vienna Conservatory (1875-1877) but had a moody and irascible temperament and was expelled from the Conservatory following his outspoken criticism of his Masters. In 1875, he met the composer Richard Wagner, from whom he received encouragement. He met Johannes Brahms in 1879, and, from him, also he received encouragement and the urging to broaden his musical focus and his career. He was also a friend of Gustav Mahler as a young man. In the late- 1870's, Wolf apparently contracted the syphilis that was to cripple and kill him. In the repeated relapses of the disease, Wolf would enter deep depressions and was unable to compose, but, during remissions, he was radiant and highly-inspired. In 1883, Wolf became music-critic of the « Wiener Salonblatt » ; his weekly reviews provide considerable insight into the Viennese musical world of his day.

His early songs include settings of poems by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Nikolaus Lenau, Heinrich Heine, and Joseph von Eichendorff. In 1883, he began his Symphonic poem « Penthesilea » , based on the tragedy by Heinrich von Kleist. From 1888 onward, he composed a vast number of songs on poems of Goethe, Eduard Friedrich Mörike, and others. The « Spanisches Liederbuch » (Spanish Songbook) , on poems of Paul Johann Ludwig von Heyse and Emanuel von Geibel, appeared in 1891, followed by the « Italienisches Liederbuch » (part 1, 1892 ; part 2, 1896) . Other song cycles were on poems of Henrik Ibsen and Michelangelo. His 1st Opera, « Der Corregidor » (1895 ; composed on a story by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón) , was a failure when it was produced at Mannheim in 1896 ; a revised version was produced at Strasbourg, in 1898. His 2nd opera, « Manuel Venegas » , also after Alarcón, remained unfinished.

Hugo Wolf's reputation as a song composer resulted in the formation in his lifetime of Wolf Societies in Berlin and Vienna. Yet, the meagre income he derived from his work compelled him to rely on the generosity of his friends. In 1897, ostensibly following upon a rebuke from Gustav Mahler but actually on account of growing signs of insanity and general paresis, he was confined to a mental home. He was temporarily discharged in 1898, but, soon afterward, he unsuccessfully attempted to commit suicide, and, in October 1898, he requested to be placed in an asylum in Vienna.

Hugo Wolf wrote about 300 songs, many published posthumously. Of his 1st 100 (from his early years) , he only counted a handful worthwhile. But his output in the mature years was supremely original, in the finest tradition of the German lied. Wolf excelled at creating vocal melodic lines that express every emotional nuance of a given poetic text. The atmosphere of his songs ranges from tender love lyrics to satirical humour to deeply felt spiritual suffering. The vocal melodic line is subtly combined with strikingly original harmonies in the piano accompaniment, resulting in Wolf's remarkable fusion of music and speech. His instrumental works were more interesting for their underlying ideas

than for their execution ; they included the Italian Serenade for orchestra (1892 ; a transcription of the serenade for string quartet of 1887) .

...

The Hugo Wolf Society of Vienna (« Hugo Wolf-Verein Wien ») began on the collecting and systematic sorting of Hugo Wolf's unpublished works as early as 1900. Most of the works were in print by 1905, though the publishers in some instances made incisive changes in accordance with the spirit of the time. Some works, such as the Intermezzo, the « Scherzo and Finale » , and most of the youthful composer's songs, were not considered worthy of publication.

In 1933, the « Internationale-Bruckner-Gesellschaft » (IBG) founded the « Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag » for the express purpose of publishing the Bruckner Complete Edition. Under the general editorship of Robert Haas, plans were also made for a Hugo Wolf complete edition ; « Penthesilea » was given its 1st critical edition, and the « Scherzo and Finale » and numerous early songs were published for the 1st time. The War, however, prevented further progress towards a complete edition.

The Hugo Wolf Complete Edition (1956-1998)

1956 saw the foundation of the « Internationale Hugo Wolf Gesellschaft, Wien » (International Hugo Wolf Society, Vienna) with the principal aim of « publishing and disseminating the critical complete edition of the works of Hugo Wolf in the « Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag » , Vienna. Hans Jancik was appointed General Editor. 1960, the 100th anniversary year of the composer's birth, was marked with the publication of the chamber music works (W XV) ; in the years that followed, Hans Jancik published volume after volume of further works. The realization of the complete edition has been considerably facilitated by the fact of the majority of Wolf manuscripts being held in Viennese collections, with only a small (and increasingly small) percentage being in collections outside Vienna or owned privately. In 1991, the 85 year old Hans Jancik passed on the General Editorship to Leopold Spitzer. Spitzer produced the still outstanding volumes, notably the score, vocal score, libretto and critical report of « Der Corregidor » , and incorporated critical reports into the earlier volumes of the Complete Edition. In 1998, with the publication of the orchestral fragments (« Fragmente für Orchester W XVII/3 ») , he was able to bring the Complete Edition to a provisional conclusion.

The qualification « provisional » is necessary because it has (not for lack of effort) not proved possible to find the manuscripts either of Wolf's « Fantasy on Lortzing's Czar und Zimmermann » or of the « Walzerfinale aus Hans Heiling » (both for piano solo) . Wolf sketches do furthermore occasionally turn-up in antiquarian and auction catalogues, so that a supplementary volume of paralipomena maybe published a number of years hence. Given, however, that this matter only affects peripheral items, the Hugo Wolf Critical Complete Edition may rightly be claimed to have reached its completion.

Chronology of the Hugo Wolf Complete Edition

1960 : String Quartet in D minor (Jancik) .

1960 : Intermezzo in E-flat for String Quartet (Jancik) .

1960 : Serenade for String Quartet (Jancik) .

1963 : Songs to poems by Eduard Mörike (Jancik ; Spitzer with critical report 1994) .

1965 : Italian Serenade (Jancik) .

1967 : « Spanisches Liederbuch » (Jancik ; Spitzer with critical report 1994) .

1969 : Posthumous songs (« Nachgelassene Lieder ») II (Jancik) .

1970 : Songs to poems by Joseph von Eichendorff (Jancik ; Spitzer with critical report 1993) .

1971 : « Penthesilea » (Jancik) .

1972 : « Italienisches Liederbuch » (Jancik ; Spitzer with critical report 1991, 1997) .

1974 : Smaller choral works (Jancik) .

1974 : Compositions for piano (Jancik) .

1975 : « Manuel Venegas » (Spitzer) .

1976 : Posthumous songs III (Jancik) .

1978 : Songs to poems by Gœthe (Jancik ; Spitzer with critical report 1996) .

1979 : « Scherzo und Finale » (Jancik) .

1980 : Posthumous songs I (Jancik) .

1981 : Songs to texts by various poets (Jancik ; Spitzer with critical report in seven separate issues W 1-7, 2001-2002)

1982 : Songs with orchestral accompaniment I (Jancik) .

1983 : Songs with orchestral accompaniment II (Jancik) .

1986 : Choral works with orchestral accompaniment (Jancik) .

1987 : Incidental music for Ibsen's « Das Fest auf Solhaug » (Jancik) .

1992 : Fragments and sketches I (Jancik - Sommer) .

1992 : Fragments and sketches II (Jancik - Sommer) .

1994 : Concerto for piano and violin, Opus 6 (Spitzer with critical report) .

1995 : « Der Corregidor » (Spitzer) .

1997 : Compositions for piano ; fragments (Spitzer with critical report) .

1998 : Posthumous songs IV ; fragments (Spitzer with critical report) .

1998 : Orchestral works ; fragments (Spitzer with critical report) .

Detailed information may be obtained from the catalogue « Hugo Wolf » and from the general catalogue of the « Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag » , Vienna.

La Société Hugo Wolf

The solid middle-class edifice opposite the « Donnerbrunnen » fountain, in Vienna, came into the possession of the violin virtuoso and composer, Josef Mayseder (1789-1863) , in 1848. His son-in-law, Alexander Köchert, would open a jeweler's shop there, in 1851, which still exists. Köchert's services as a goldsmith were much in demand. He created, for example, the « Iffland Ring » and a baton for Richard Strauß ; while leading his own quartet as a musician. His sons Heinrich (1854-1908) and Theodor (1859-1937) continued the professional and musical traditions set by their father. Both were benefactors of Hugo Wolf and Theodor became President of the Viennese Concert House Society. Heinrich Köchert wed Melanie Lang, in 1878. Their daughter, Hilde, would marry the son of uncle Paul Wittgenstein, Doctor Karl Paul Wittgenstein. They would separate in 1927 but she would continue to live in the house of her father-in-law, at « Salesianergasse » 7. Melanie's younger sister, Henriette, would marry into the family of Baron von Schey, in the 1880's.

Theodor Köchert's 1st wife was Marie Lang (1858-1934) , whom Rosa Mayreder would introduce to the circle around the Association of Austrian Women, the leading organization of middle-class feminists in « Old Vienna » . She would become a committed member of that illustrious group, which included such figures as Auguste von Littrow-Bischoff, Auguste Fickert and Marianne Hainisch. From 1899 to 1903, she would edit its publication « Womens' Documents » . Like her 2nd husband, Edmund Lang (who was the brother-in-law of Theodor Köchert) , a close friend of Hermann Bahr ; Peter Altenberg ; Friedrich Eckstein ; Rudolf Steiner ; Stefan Großmann, Egon Friedell ; as well as Adolf and Lina

Loos. Her commitment on behalf of the middle-class women's movement (which differed from working-class feminism with respect to crucial issue of work, the « bourgeois » ladies hoping to escape gilded confinement in their palais, their proletarian counter-parts seeking to have the curse of badly paid, long hours of toil lifted from them) , as well as her friendship with people in that circle, ceased upon the suicide of her eldest son, in 1904, at the age of 19. He had taken his life on account of an unfortunate attachment to Lina Loos. We find the tragic event recorded in Hugo von Hofmannsthal's notebooks and it figures centrally in Arthur Schnitzler's mini-drama, « The Word ».

Marie Lang's 2nd son, Erwin, was a painter and friend of Heimito von Doderer. Her daughter-in-law was the famous dancer, Grete Wiesenthal.

All of the Langs and the Köcherts had already, for decades, collectively adopted the composer Hugo Wolf (1860-1903) , who commemorated them in the 1st of the 24 songs to poems by Paul Heyse in his 2nd book of Italian songs, « I no longer eat my bread dry. » .

The composer was always a welcome guest at the Köcherts' : on « Neuer Markt » , in their Döbling home at No. 68 « Billrothstraße » (« Hirschengasse ») , at their country homes in Rinnbach or Traunkirchen. He withdrew to the « Hôtel Bellevue » , in Grinzing, with the Langs, Eckstein and Mayreder in the summer. Sigmund Freud, whose patient Emma Eckstein was, would completely interpret a dream here for the 1st time, on the 24th of July 1895. Edmund Lang's study at No. 9 « Belvederegasse » would regularly be Wolf's place of lodging. His continually changing apartments in the 4th district's « Mühlgasse » , « Schleifmühlgasse » , « Mozartgasse » , « Wiedner Hauptstraße » , and « Schwindgasse » would be provided and paid for by the Lang and Köchert families. He also obtained his position as music-critic for the « Wiener Salonblatt » through the influence of the Köcherts, who were influential advertisers. The whole of Hugo Wolf's life's work, his songs to texts by Mörike, Eichendorff and Goethe, his Italian and Spanish Songbooks, his Michelangelo Poems, none of them would have been possible without the benefaction of Heinrich and Melanie Köchert. He dedicated the manuscripts of his songs to her. She stood by his side some 20 years long, as his biographer, Erik Werba, reports. She nursed him in the clinic and, then, brought the patient on leave from the hospital to Italy to recuperate. She was there when he attempted suicide at the Traunsee and she ended-up visiting him, 3 times a week, in the insane asylum. She, herself, committed suicide 3 years after his death.

Hugo Wolf's patrons also included Sigmund Freud's collaborator, Josef Breuer, Friedrich Eckstein, Adalbert von Goldschmidt, the civil servant, who would later himself become a typographer, Rudolf von Larisch, the conductor Ferdinand Löwe, the musician Natalie Bauer-Lechner and the ethnologist Michæl Haberlandt. He did not spare them his German-nationalist mouthings, to which they only luke-warmly responded. Wolf had warmly endorsed Richard Wagner's fanatical campaigns against Jews, Johannes Brahms and eating meat. Anti-semitism was stock-in-trade :

« What should one say, when one has been deprived of Wagner's Operas for a whole month and Meyerbeer is played 3 times a week ? Are we in Palestine or in a German city ? » , he once cried.

So, it would be that that the Wagner Society, the Wolf Society and the Styrian « Tonkünstler » Society would appear at his burial at the side of Haberlandt. Yet, according to Erik Werba, in the year of his death, interest in Wolf on the part

of music-lovers seemed to be on the rise. He seemed to be accepted into the pantheon of German-Styrian musical heroes with streets named after him and plaques heaped upon his honour. His family would receive some 260,000 Marks for the rights to his works. In the course of the « aryanization » of objects of cultural value parts of Hugo Wolf's Estate was incorporated into the municipal collections, in 1939. In March 1940, the Nazi municipal administration would plan a memorial to the composer and organize a large Hugo Wolf exhibition.

L'élève Hans Rott

1875 to 1879 : Hans Rott had been a member of the Viennese Academic Wagner Society.

Le compositeur autrichien Hans Rott est né le 1er août 1858 dans le 15e arrondissement de Vienne et est mort le 25 juin 1884 dans un asile d'aliénés. Musicien méconnu souvent comparé à Anton Bruckner et Gustav Mahler, son existence tragique autant que sa belle Symphonie en mi majeur ne peuvent manquer d'impressionner.

Hans Rott est issu de l'union entre Karl-Matthias Rott et la chanteuse et comédienne Maria-Rosalie Lutz. Au cours de sa scolarité (malgré n'avoir reçu aucune aide financière) , il révèle des dispositions musicales qui le conduisent à s'inscrire au Conservatoire de Vienne de 1874 à 1877. Il y étudie notamment l'harmonie avec Hermann Graedener ; le contrepoint et la composition avec Franz Krenn (tout comme son confrère Gustav Mahler) ; le piano avec Leopold Landskron et Josef Dachs ; et l'orgue (aux côtés de Franz Schmidt.) avec le célèbre compositeur Anton Bruckner qui l'estime beaucoup. Pendant ses études musicales au Conservatoire de Vienne, Rott partagera brièvement une chambre aux côtés de ses collègues Gustav Mahler et de Rudolf Krzyzanowski.

Au Conservatoire, Hans Rott compose intensément. De 1878 à 1880, il écrit une Symphonie en mi majeur qui impressionne par sa Maîtrise orchestrale et ses qualités mélodiques autant que par ses citations wagnériennes à peine dissimulées. Il décide de soumettre le 1er mouvement lors d'un concours de composition. L'ensemble du jury est fort ironique devant l'œuvre sauf pour le professeur Bruckner qui encourage son élève.

Parce que son élève préféré Hans Rott était soumis aux critiques malveillantes du jury, Anton Bruckner décidera de mettre son pied à terre.

Carl Hrubý relate l'événement du mois de juillet 1878 qui s'est déroulé au Conservatoire de la Société des Amis de la Musique (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») : « À la fin, un rire méprisant a été entendu en provenance de la chaise du " Merker " (porte-drapeau) , oh pardon, du président des " examinateurs " . C'est à ce moment que l'habituellement timide Bruckner se leva d'un coup et cria des mots enflammés aux « Merkers » (porte-drapeaux) situés loin devant lui : " Messieurs, ne riez pas de cet homme de qui vous entendrez encore de grandes choses ! » .

L'œuvre soumise par Hans Rott qui a provoqué le mépris de ces « Messieurs » n'est pas mentionnée dans le compte-rendu de Hrubý. Il s'agissait probablement du 1er mouvement de la Symphonie en mi majeur du jeune compositeur : une œuvre qui, plus d'un siècle après avoir été écrite, a connu une renaissance inattendue. C'est à ce moment que le grand public fera la découverte dans les années 1980 d'un certain « Rott » .

...

Une profonde amitié s'installera entre le noble professeur Bruckner et son talentueux élève Rott. Lors des concerts symphoniques, le Maître de Saint-Florian préférera aller se placer debout à ses côtés, derrière, dans la section populaire, que de se retrouver seul, assis à sa place d'honneur.

Un jour, Hans Rott va interrompre la rédaction d'une lettre adressée à son condisciple du Conservatoire, Rudolf Krzyzanowski. Il fera mention dans la lettre que Bruckner était venu frapper à sa porte pour exprimer sa consternation de ne pas le voir plus souvent à la brasserie local. (Helmut Kreysing, 1998.)

Hans Rott échoue à faire jouer la Symphonie en mi majeur par le chef Hans Richter. Il va ensuite la présenter au jugement de Johannes Brahms, Eduard Hanslick et Karl Goldmark afin de pouvoir bénéficier d'une bourse d'État. Nouvel échec. Brahms n'a pas aimé le fait que son rival Bruckner a exercé une grande influence sur les élèves du Conservatoire : il voit dans la Symphonie autant de « belles choses que d'éléments banals ou dépourvus de sens » . Il va dire à Rott qu'il n'a aucun talent et qu'il devrait plutôt renoncer à la musique. C'est le même Brahms qui traitera les Symphonies de Bruckner de « Boa constricteurs Symphoniques ! » et « d'escroquerie qui sera oubliée dans 1 ou 2 années » .

En 1877, il reçoit son diplôme de la classe d'orgue avec tous les honneurs. Durant cette période, Hans Rott était également organiste de l'église paroissiale « Maria Treu » à Vienne. Anton Bruckner déclare que Rott est un très bon interprète de Jean-Sébastien Bach et qu'il improvise à merveille. Tout un compliment provenant du plus grand des improvisateurs de son temps. Outre l'influence de Bruckner, Hans Rott découvre l'œuvre de Richard Wagner lors du Festival inaugural de Bayreuth, tenu au mois d'août 1876.

Les démarches de Hans Rott pour l'obtention d'un poste d'organiste aux monastères de Saint-Florian (1878) et de Klosterneuburg se sont avérées vaines ; il en sera de même pour l'église Saint-Michel et l'église Votive de Vienne. Son professeur Anton Bruckner va tenter de lui venir en aide en rédigeant des lettres de recommandation.

L'une d'entre elles se trouve aujourd'hui à la Fondation Hans Rott :

« Le signataire de cette lettre considère que ce fut un grande joie d'avoir fait la rencontre, au cours de ses études au Conservatoire, de Hans Rott en tant que Disciple de l'art. Son immense talent, sa diligence, son caractère pur et, dernier mais non le moindre, sa prestation comme musicien, en particulier à l'orgue, donnent lieu aux plus grands espoirs. » (Anton Bruckner)

Rott prend un nouveau départ ; malheureusement, le fragile compositeur ne possédait pas la force de caractère de son collègue Gustav Mahler. Les 2 collègues du Conservatoire avaient eu une dispute homérique sur la question de savoir s'il fallait manger du rôti (Rott) ou se contenter de fromage (Mahler) lorsque l'on composait. Mais leur estime réciproque n'en fut nullement affectée.

Rott a en vue un emploi de directeur de la musique ou de chef de chœur d'une chorale à Mulhouse, en Alsace, mais il ne veut pas renoncer à faire jouer sa Symphonie. Le 14 octobre, il joue son œuvre devant le chef Hans Richter. Le 21, ses amis l'accompagnent au train de Mulhouse. Lors d'un arrêt à Linz, il entend des coups frappés aux murs de sa chambre. Le 22 ou le 23, il continue son voyage. Sa santé mentale se détériore rapidement. Dans le train, un voyageur s'apprête à allumer son cigare, Rott dégaine son revolver et menace l'homme parce qu'il craint que Brahms n'ait rempli le train de dynamite !

Le 23 octobre, Rott est emmené à la clinique psychiatrique de l'Hôpital général de Vienne, « dans un état de confusion totale » : « folie hallucinatoire » et « délire de persécution », selon le diagnostic des médecins. Son destin est scellé. Les grands espoirs et les attentes de ses amis, collègues et professeurs sont devenus graduellement « une affaire du passé ». Au mois de février 1881, après une 1^{re} tentative de suicide, il est transféré à l'asile d'aliénés du « Land » de Basse-Autriche. Rott va continuer à composer à l'intérieur des murs.

Rott, à qui l'on demandait s'il se souvenait de Gustav Mahler, répondit : « Certainement, certainement, Mahler est un génie. » (Citation d'après les notes de son ami, Joseph Seemüller.)

Plus tard, il développera progressivement une profonde dépression qui l'amènera à détruire certaines de ses compositions dont le Sextuor à cordes. Le 25 juin 1884, après plusieurs tentatives de suicide, Hans Rott (n'ayant pas encore atteint l'âge de 26 ans), décède de la tuberculose ou d'un cancer des poumons (son acte de décès mentionne : « Lungenkrank », maladie des poumons) .

Les funérailles de Hans Rott eurent lieu, le 28 juin 1884, à la « Zentralfriedhof » de Vienne (groupe n° 23 ; rangée n° 2 ; lot n° 59) . Son Maître bien-aimé, Anton Bruckner, arriva tôt et passa beaucoup de temps, seul, auprès du cercueil de son protégé. L'on vit Bruckner pleurer amèrement lors de l'enterrement. Il déclarera sans détour que le traitement cruel et déplacé de Brahms envers ce talent prometteur, déjà suffisamment isolé, était en grande partie responsable de la tragédie.

L'ami de Hans Rott, Friedrich Löhr (le père de la publiciste Maja Löhr) se verra forcer de faire un véritable exercice d'équilibre dans ses commentaires :

« Je crois que Brahms a fait cette réprimande au " débutant " , qui commençait par la mise en œuvre des plus grands moyens d'expression de son art, dans une louable intention pédagogique ; il ne pouvait rien faire d'autre à partir des expériences et des convictions que lui avaient forgées son évolution artistique et son être propre et je crois qu'il a commis là une véritable injustice artistique. Mais à ce moment là, c'était peu avant le début de la maladie, il n'était plus possible de sauver Rott, il avait succombé à son terrible destin : sa maladie, provoquée par de tout autres facteurs psychiques et émotionnels, se préparait déjà depuis longtemps. » (Friedrich Löhr, « Die Musik » , 1903-1904.)

(Il semble bien que ce soit l'ironie du sort qu'une lettre en date du 15 mars 1881, provenant du Gouverneur « Impérial et Royal » de Basse-Autriche, annonce à Hans Rott qu'il va recevoir la bourse du Ministère de l'éducation,

malgré le jugement négatif de Johannes Brahms.)

Seulement une partie de la prophétie d'Anton Bruckner va se réaliser de son vivant. Comme étudiant du Conservatoire, Hans Rott avait réussi à gagner la reconnaissance d'Anton Bruckner comme compositeur et, au cours de ses Ires années à Vienne, l'admiration d'un petit mais très sélect groupe d'amis auquel appartenait Gustav Mahler et Rudolf Krzyzanowski.

Pendant près de 100 ans, le nom et l'œuvre de Hans Rott tombent dans l'oubli, avant la redécouverte de la Symphonie en mi majeur dans les archives de la Bibliothèque nationale autrichienne à la fin des années 1980.

À propos de Rott, Gustav Mahler aurait déclaré à Nathalie Bauer-Lechner :

« Ce que la musique a perdu avec lui est incommensurable : son génie s'envole tellement haut, déjà dans sa Ire Symphonie, qu'il a écrite lorsqu'il était un jeune homme de 20 ans et qui fait de lui (le mot n'est pas trop fort) le fondateur de la Symphonie nouvelle, comme je la comprends. Mais ce qu'il voulait n'est pas encore atteint véritablement. C'est comme si quelqu'un lançait quelque chose de toutes ses forces mais, parce qu'il est encore maladroit, n'atteint pas vraiment son but. Mais je sais où il voulait arriver. Oui, il est si proche de ce qui m'est le plus personnel que lui et moi apparaissons comme 2 fruits du même arbre, issus du même sol, nourris du même air. J'aurais pu retirer énormément de lui et peut-être aurions nous, ensemble, d'une certaine manière exploité à fond le contenu de ces temps nouveaux qui étaient en train d'éclorre pour la musique. » (« Mémoires » de Nathalie Bauer-Lechner.)

...

À la fin des années 1980, le musicologue Paul W. Banks découvrait, dans les archives de la Bibliothèque nationale autrichienne, la partition de la Symphonie en mi majeur de Hans Rott. Il donna à l'œuvre l'aspect requis pour une interprétation et s'employa à la présenter au public. Il rendit ainsi un incontestable service au monde de la musique en faisant surgir des tréfonds de l'histoire une œuvre digne d'intérêt, qui méritait à tout le moins d'être entendue par les passionnés de musique Romantique.

Mais les réactions des cercles d'experts furent étonnantes. Cette œuvre, révélatrice d'un talent certain, écrite par un compositeur qui avait alors 20 ans, suscita l'émerveillement général. Il était manifeste que l'on venait enfin de découvrir la poule qui avait pondu l'œuf de Colomb. Subitement, le jeune Hans Rott était sacré père de la Symphonie nouvelle et le grand Gustav Mahler, le contemporain de l'avenir, le pionnier de la musique moderne, était démasqué comme un plagiaire qui s'était servi sans scrupules de l'œuvre de son compagnon de collège, de 2 ans son aîné. Dans cette logique, on alla jusqu'à prétendre qu'il fallait ré-écrire toute l'histoire de la musique.

Les années ont passé. Les vagues se sont apaisées. Quelques esprits éclairés se sont sans doute souvenus que « Das klagende Lied » (le Chant plaintif) n'était pas plus jeune mais au moins contemporain, voire un peu plus ancien que la Symphonie de Rott qui avait déclenché ce bel enthousiasme, et qu'il comprenait beaucoup plus d'éléments

indiscutablement « mahlériens » . On en est donc arrivé à se dire qu'il serait temps de réparer les dégâts causés par une euphorie passagère en ayant une vision des choses à la fois plus circonspecte et plus globale.

Nous disposons maintenant d'un matériel suffisant : à côté de nombreux articles, 2 livres ont été publiés sur le phénomène Hans Rott. Nous retiendrons surtout la compilation éditée par Uwe Harten, publiée en 2000, qui comprend une biographie, des lettres, des notes et des documents provenant de la succession de Maja Löhr (1888-1964) . Cet ouvrage est particulièrement intéressant parce qu'il présente des faits, qu'il ne tombe pas dans le piège de conclusions hâtives et parfois incorrectes et qu'il nous permet également de pénétrer derrière les murs de l'asile de fous du « Land » de Basse-Autriche, où le malheureux Hans Rott devait passer le reste d'une vie qui avait commencé sous des auspices, certes chaotiques, mais néanmoins favorables.

Hans Rott est né le 1er août 1858 dans le 15e district (« Bezirk ») de Vienne. Il était le fils du comédien Carl Mathias Rott (Roth) et de la chanteuse et comédienne Maria Rosalia Lutz. Le mariage de ses parents ne put avoir lieu qu'après le décès de la 1re épouse de son père, en 1860. Ce mariage fut célébré en octobre 1862. Entre-temps, la famille s'était agrandie d'un autre fils, Karl, né le 20 décembre 1860 et qui fut inscrit aux registres comme fils naturel du grand-duc Wilhelm. Ce nonobstant, papa Rott reconnut les 2 demi-frères comme fils légitimes. Au début de l'année 1863, les 4 membres de la famille portèrent enfin le même patronyme.

La scolarité de Hans Rott suivit la voie traditionnelle. La situation financière était satisfaisante et il n'y avait aucune raison pour ne pas encourager des dispositions musicales précoces. Au cours du semestre d'hiver 1874-1875, Hans s'inscrivit au Conservatoire de musique de Vienne où il fut bientôt exempté des frais de scolarité pendant toute une année. Ensuite, il obtiendra une bourse. Il étudia l'harmonie avec Hermann Grädener et le piano avec Leopold Landskron. Il suivit également les cours d'orgue d'Anton Bruckner, qui l'estimait beaucoup et qui lui délivrera un certificat élogieux en 1880.

Entre-temps, la situation familiale s'était fortement détériorée. Sa mère mourut en 1872 et, en avril 1875, son père fut victime d'un accident sur scène qui l'empêcha de poursuivre ses activités de comédien. Il décéda des suites de cet accident, en février 1876. Hans Rott dut travailler temporairement comme employé de bureau. Malgré cette situation difficile, il put continuer ses études, reçut 2 Prix d'honneur du Conservatoire et obtint un emploi plus conforme à sa nature, celui d'organiste du « Josefstädter Kirchenmusikverein » , assorti d'un logement gratuit.

Pendant ce temps, le catalogue de ses œuvres ne cessait de s'enrichir. Le 1er grand produit de l'époque du Conservatoire fut une Symphonie en la bémol majeur pour orchestre à cordes (1874-1875) , suivie d'un Finale Symphonique, d'une Overture d'Hamlet, d'une Overture de « Julius Cæsar » et d'une Suite pour orchestre. En outre, Rott écrivit des partitions pour chœurs sacrés et profanes ainsi que quelques lieder. Il composa les débuts d'un Oratorio. En novembre 1878, il demanda à être relevé de ses fonctions d'organiste, qu'il quitta muni d'une recommandation détaillée. Il s'attela alors au remaniement de sa Symphonie en mi majeur, dont il avait présenté le 1er mouvement au Concours de composition du Conservatoire, en juillet de la même année. Malgré la recommandation d'Anton Bruckner, Hans Rott, seul élève à terminer les cours, n'obtiendra aucun prix. Pourtant, son diplôme atteste qu'il a terminé avec grand fruit les « cours de l'école de composition » .

Les années 1879-1980 sont marquées par de petits voyages, des excursions, un « grand amour » (le seul et unique de sa vie) et l'achèvement de la Symphonie. Le « Pastorales Vorspiel » (Prologue pastoral) commencé en 1877 est terminé. Une 2e Symphonie voit le jour. Il écrit un Sextuor pour cordes (I) . Au début septembre, Hans Rott tente vainement de convaincre le chef Hans Richter de faire interpréter sa Ire Symphonie. 2 semaines plus tard, il rend visite à Johannes Brahms qui doit décider, avec Eduard Hanslick et Karl Goldmark, de l'attribution d'une bourse d'État. Brahms doute que la Symphonie soit de Rott, car « à côté de tant de belles choses, il y a à nouveau tellement d'éléments banals ou dépourvus de sens dans la composition que celle-ci ne peut certainement pas être de la main de Rott » . Rott prend un nouveau départ. Il a en vue un emploi de directeur de la musique ou de chef de chœur d'une chorale à Mulhouse, en Alsace, mais il ne veut pas renoncer à faire jouer sa Symphonie. Le 14 octobre, il joue son œuvre devant Hans Richter. Le 21, ses amis l'accompagnent au train de Mulhouse. Lors d'un arrêt à Linz, il entend des coups frappés aux murs de sa chambre. Le 22 ou le 23, il continue son voyage. Dans le train, un voyageur s'apprête à allumer son cigare, Rott dégaine son revolver et menace l'homme parce qu'il craint que Brahms n'ait rempli le train de dynamite ! Le 23 octobre, il est emmené à la clinique psychiatrique de l'Hôpital général de Vienne, « dans un état de confusion totale » . Son destin est scellé. Au début de l'année 1881, après une Ire tentative de suicide, il est interné à l'asile de fous du « Land » de Basse-Autriche où il meurt, le 25 juin 1884. Il n'avait pas encore 26 ans.

À la décharge du personnel soignant, il faut reconnaître que Hans Rott a « tenu » relativement longtemps dans cette institution. Robert Schumann n'avait survécu que 2 ans et 5 mois à Ethenich et le séjour de Friedrich Hölderlin à la clinique « Autenrieth » de Tübingen aurait certainement été encore plus bref s'il n'avait pas été transporté à temps dans la demeure du menuisier Zimmer. Qui aurait voulu porter le masque d' « Autenrieth » , qui devait empêcher les pensionnaires de crier et qui, selon les descriptions, ressemblait à s'y méprendre à la muselière d'Hannibal Lecter (2) ? Qui, sinon un psychopathe, pourrait supporter, ne fût-ce qu'un jour, cet instrument inhumain ?

Il me semble nécessaire de faire un bref retour en arrière pour bien se rendre compte de l'état des connaissances en psychiatrie dans les années 1880. « La classification des maladies mentales n'est jusqu'à présent pas à faire sur une base anatomique » , lisons-nous dans l'Encyclopédie la plus moderne de cette époque. À la même entrée, nous apprenons encore que par « maladies mentales » , il faut entendre ces maladies qui se manifestent par « des dérangements dans le domaine des impressions sensorielles, de l'imagination, de la volonté ou des actes » . Tous les modèles s'accordent à dire que « les hallucinations, la folie et le délire de la persécution » sont fondamentalement incurables, tandis que la psychiatrie se laisse qualifier (sans rougir) de « médecine de l'âme » . Tout écart par rapport à la norme, même le simple fait de se sentir une vocation, peut être diagnostiqué comme maladif et être traité, en conséquence, par des « barrages » . Tout surmenage du cerveau, toute excitation intense de l'esprit et du cœur doivent être évités, par contre, il faut être particulièrement attentif à la formation et à l'exercice des forces corporelles : il faut toujours, autant que possible, travailler sur les circonstances extérieures les plus simples, les plus ordonnées, « tenir les excitations passionnées à l'écart, habituer à la soumission aux circonstances objectives données » .

Les extraits ci-dessus, qui ressemblent à une caricature, sont tirés de la 4e édition du « Meyers' Konversations » (lexique) , qui fut mis sur le marché 4 ans après le départ de Hans Rott pour un autre monde. Nous y trouvons les principes de traitement d'une clique qui (impermeable à toute connaissance pratique) a depuis toujours licence de

maintenir le statu quo, de veiller à « la soumission à des circonstances objectives données », qu'il s'agisse de sociaux-démocrates ou d'artistes « atteints de la folie des grandeurs ». Le goulag était partout. (3)

Ceci ne veut évidemment pas dire qu'il faille considérer comme « normal » le comportement de quelqu'un qui tente d'empêcher un fumeur de goûter à son plaisir en le menaçant d'une arme. Mais le manque de discernement qui caractérise la corporation des « plombiers de l'âme », comme ils se définissent eux-mêmes, est manifeste dans le cas du malheureux Hans Rott. Que se serait-il passé si quelques amis avaient emmené le compositeur, profondément désorienté, en Styrie, dans le « Salzkammergut », par exemple ; s'ils avaient mis à sa disposition un piano, une pile de papier de musique, quelques stères de bois et une hache, pour lui donner la possibilité de se livrer à des activités intellectuelles et physiques dans un environnement paisible ? Mais non, entouré de malades mentaux, véritables et imaginaires, il n'avait plus qu'à « devenir cinglé », comme Robert Schumann avant lui.

La situation de Rott est effrayante pour 2 raisons : d'abord, la complaisance avec laquelle la littérature a colporté les soi-disant diagnostics et ensuite, la suffisance de ceux qui ont posé ces diagnostics en ne s'intéressant qu'aux symptômes, jamais à ce qui a pu les déclencher. Pourtant, ceci serait vraiment intéressant. Comment se fait-il que nous retrouvions le nom de Johannes Brahms associé aussi bien à Robert Schumann qu'à Hans Rott et à Hugo Wolf ? Est-ce seulement un hasard biographique ? Anton Bruckner était probablement d'un autre avis, lui qui, devant le cercueil de son élève préféré Rott, fit à son concurrent local, Brahms, de tels reproches que l'ami de Rott, Friedrich Löhr (le père de la publiciste Maja Löhr, évoquée ci-dessus) s'est vu forcé de faire un véritable exercice d'équilibre dans ses commentaires :

« Je crois que Brahms a fait cette réprimande au " débutant ", qui commençait par la mise en œuvre des plus grands moyens d'expression de son art, dans une louable intention pédagogique ; il ne pouvait rien faire d'autre à partir des expériences et des convictions que lui avaient forgées son évolution artistique et son être propre et je crois qu'il a commis là une véritable injustice artistique. Mais à ce moment là, c'était peu avant le début de la maladie, il n'était plus possible de sauver Rott, il avait succombé à son terrible destin : sa maladie, provoquée par de tout autres facteurs psychiques et émotionnels, se préparait déjà depuis longtemps. » (Friedrich Löhr, « Die Musik », 1903-1904.)

Mais cette périlleuse tentative d'explication devait rester sans lendemain. D'une part, Löhr n'en dit pas plus sur ces « tout autres facteurs » et, d'autre part, il n'a pas tenu compte de l'environnement. Cet environnement dans lequel un Heinrich von Herzogenberg s'est débattu pendant des années pour tenter d'être reconnu ; dans lequel un Max Bruch devait s'entendre demander d'où il tenait une si jolie partition et duquel une Ethel Smyth (à la personnalité nettement plus coriace que Hans Rott ou Robert Schumann) n'a pas brossé un tableau particulièrement flatteur. N'oublions pas le chef Hans Richter, l'ami de Johannes Brahms, qui a complètement dénigré le poème symphonique « Penthesilée » du condisciple Hugo Wolf, parce que celui-ci, dans sa jeunesse, avait osé critiquer le grand Brahms !

Notre propos n'est pas de chercher la petite bête en ce qui concerne Brahms, ses œuvres sont là. Mais force est de constater que Wolf et Rott, tout comme Gustav Mahler, étaient des élèves d'Anton Bruckner et qu'ils n'entraient pas dans le droit fil d'un Classicisme qui acquiesçait au maintien du « statu quo ». En tout état de cause, on pourrait se rallier à l'hypothèse élégante que toute cette affaire n'est rien d'autre que la perpétuation d'une méprise, en d'autres

termes, que Brahms n'a pas compris le sens des banalités qui abondent dans la partition symphonique de Rott. Nous aurions ainsi trouvé une porte de sortie acceptable, qui permettrait également de prendre l'œuvre de Mahler à témoin : combien de temps a-t-il fallu avant que les substances disparates de ses œuvres soient reconnues pour ce qu'elles sont réellement - des parties de ces mondes que, selon sa vision, les Symphonies devaient être ?

Il y a quelques décennies encore, beaucoup d'observateurs achoppaient là où soufflent les belles trompettes, là où « Frère Jacques » chemine dans la marche funèbre et où le « Coucou » est mort en tombant, car ils étaient partis pour apprendre à la banalité à marcher droit. Le devoir de la citation, de l'allusion, de la « silhouette » thématique, avec laquelle on ne fait que pressentir ce qui pourrait apparaître derrière les contours - tout cela restait aussi voilé au regard des sévères gardiens de l'ordre que l'apport le plus important de Robert Schumann, que l'on peut qualifier sans exagération de père de la composition musico-littéraire. Celui qui n'est pas à même d'entendre dans le 1er thème du Concerto pour piano les paroles de Florestan, « In des Lebens Frühlingstagen », de suivre les multiples transformations de la construction rythmique presque obsessionnelle à travers toute l'œuvre ou, au moins, de reconnaître « la Marseillaise » dans le Carnaval de Vienne, aura bien du mal avec la plus grande partie du répertoire Romantique tardif, que ce soit Piotr Ilitch Tchaïkovsky, Gustav Mahler, Hans Rott, ou même Johannes Brahms. Celui-ci aurait été idiot de ne pas reconnaître immédiatement le miroir que le jeune élève de son rival lui tendait le 16 ou le 17 septembre 1880 : une carte du monde symphonique au 19e siècle, sur laquelle lui aussi, le Viennois d'élection originaire du nord de l'Allemagne, figurait, parmi beaucoup d'autres « Grands » du passé et du présent.

Il est vrai que Hans Rott, avec ses avances « inconvenantes », avait introduit le loup dans la bergerie et, dans sa remarquable naïveté, marché sur les pieds de quelqu'un qui n'aimait vraiment pas cela : comme on le verra à propos du Finale de la Symphonie. Dans sa recherche d'une musique universelle, il n'avait visiblement pas réfléchi à ce dans quoi il s'embarquait. Chercher, dans une même composition, à réconcilier les antipodes viennois, Brahms et Bruckner, et y glisser quelques pierres d'achoppement comme Richard Wagner et Robert Schumann ne pouvait être ressenti que comme une manifestation de sa « folie des grandeurs » .

Mettons-nous à la place d'un auditeur de l'époque et essayons d'imaginer ce qu'il a ressenti lorsqu'il a entendu dans le 1er mouvement les « Maîtres-chanteurs de Nuremberg » ou lorsque l'emploi intensif du triangle a irrésistiblement évoqué la Symphonie du printemps, sans parler des réminiscences de « Lohengrin » ou de « l'Or du Rhin », que Brahms, « l'anti-Wagner n° 1 », n'aurait pas pu ignorer. Le 2e mouvement ne lui rend pas la vie plus facile avec l'apparition d'un motif Schumannien récurrent, qui était clairement associé à « Clara » et que Brahms connaissait d'ailleurs parfaitement (voir le début de sa 3e Symphonie) . Hans Rott ne se contente pas d'une unique citation, non, il répète le motif quelques minutes plus tard pour être certain que « n'importe quel imbécile » l'entende ; certainement sans savoir quelle corde sensible il touchait ainsi.

Et dans le Finale, il se surpasse ! Après avoir passé en revue les événements précédents, tout à fait dans le sens de la 5e Symphonie d'Anton Bruckner, il choisit (intentionnellement ?) une mélodie à tout le moins provocatrice : la proximité avec le thème du Finale de la 1re Symphonie de Johannes Brahms est tellement évidente que l'expert a peut-être même dû croire qu'on se payait sa tête. Les répétitions n'ont pas dû arranger les choses, et lorsque le compositeur fait finalement entrer Brahms avec les dieux dans le « Walhalla », aucun doute sur sa santé mentale

n'est plus permis : Hans Rott avait succombé à la folie primaire dont sont atteints surtout les jeunes individus de 17 à 25 ans ou chez les plus âgés, les femmes entre 40 et 50 ans.

Aux yeux de Gustav Mahler, le condisciple de Rott, les choses se présentent tout autrement. Les 2 étudiants avaient eu une dispute homérique sur la question de savoir s'il fallait manger du rôti (Rott) ou se contenter de fromage (Mahler) lorsque l'on composait. Mais leur estime réciproque n'en fut nullement affectée. À l'asile d'aliénés, Rott, à qui l'on demandait s'il se souvenait de Mahler, répondit : « Certainement, certainement, Mahler est un génie. » (Citation d'après les notes de son ami, Joseph Seemüller.) Et Mahler devait dire : « Ce que la musique a perdu avec lui est incommensurable : son génie s'envole tellement haut, déjà dans sa 1^{re} Symphonie, qu'il a écrite lorsqu'il était un jeune homme de 20 ans et qui fait de lui (le mot n'est pas trop fort) le fondateur de la Symphonie nouvelle, comme je la comprends. Mais ce qu'il voulait n'est pas encore atteint véritablement. C'est comme si quelqu'un lançait quelque chose de toutes ses forces mais, parce qu'il est encore maladroit, n'atteint pas vraiment son but. Mais je sais où il voulait arriver. Oui, il est si proche de ce qui m'est le plus personnel que lui et moi apparaissions comme 2 fruits du même arbre, issus du même sol, nourris du même air. J'aurais pu retirer énormément de lui et peut-être aurions-nous, ensemble, d'une certaine manière exploité à fond le contenu de ces temps nouveaux qui étaient en train d'éclorre pour la musique. » (Gustav Mahler, dans les « Mémoires » de Nathalie Bauer-Lechner.)

Nous savons que Gustav Mahler a découvert très tôt la Symphonie en mi majeur. Joseph Seemüller annonça à son pauvre ami Rott, à qui il rendait visite le soir de Noël de l'année 1882, que son ancien condisciple avait récemment joué son œuvre en cercle privé. Quelle influence cette partition a-t-elle eu sur la propre évolution de Mahler, quel rôle a-t-elle joué dans son œuvre symphonique ? Une remise en question globale de l'histoire de la musique n'est certainement pas la réponse. Il serait beaucoup plus profitable de se mettre d'accord sur les rapports que l'on veut rechercher. Le sens indiscutable de la citation et de l'allusion, chez l'un comme chez l'autre, est un signe fondamental de cette parenté intellectuelle soulignée par Mahler. Des éléments comme l'appel des cors dans le 2^e mouvement de la Symphonie en mi majeur indiquent un lien plus étroit, tout comme le début du mouvement conclusif, dans lequel se prépare sans contrainte « le monde intermédiaire » du Finale de la Symphonie dite « Résurrection » avec son chant d'oiseau et « le Crieur dans le désert ». La liberté d'utilisation des formes traditionnelles est commune aux 2 compositeurs. Toutefois, Rott structure sa Symphonie en une progression temporelle, la durée d'exécution des mouvements augmente de façon continue jusqu'au poème symphonique final, qui dure 20 minutes et fait basculer le déroulement dans l'incommensurable : ce genre de conception très concrète ne se retrouve pas chez Mahler. Pourtant, chez l'un comme chez l'autre, le symbole du « statu quo » se disloque et nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de penser à cet aphorisme ambivalent de Robert Schumann, d'après lequel la forme est le récipient de l'esprit. Le conservatisme interprétera cette phrase au sens où la créativité doit se fondre dans la cruche d'argile pré-fabriquée, mais l'esprit qui va de l'avant soit se façonne ses propres récipients, pour les remplir ensuite, soit les crée au fur et à mesure qu'il progresse. C'est ainsi que Schumann a pu écrire son Carnaval ou sa Fantaisie, qui, d'un point de vue formel, n'est rien d'autre qu'une immense « Sonate au clair de lune » au déroulement inversé, en 3 poèmes symphoniques. Ainsi, Gustav Mahler a pu aller jusqu'à retourner l'intérieur vers l'extérieur dans sa 9^e Symphonie, et Hans Rott a écrit son chef-d'œuvre quasi en forme de spirale. (4)

Si le Scherzo qui vient en 3^e lieu n'a jusqu'ici pas été touché, c'est qu'il y avait une bonne raison. Car ici, le

compositeur « au rôti » et le compositeur « au fromage » s'y rencontrent d'une façon tellement intime que l'on pourrait se laisser aller à supposer que Mahler a « refilé » à son « pote » non seulement quelques idées mais un tas de partitions travaillées. Il a intégré celles-ci dans le Scherzo de sa propre Ire Symphonie, après que Rott, pour les raisons évoquées ci-dessus, n'en ait plus eu besoin.

Évidemment, les choses sont allées tout autrement. Le 3e mouvement de la Symphonie en mi majeur est antérieur de quelque 8 années à son pendant mahlérien et, sans le moindre doute, son con-sanguin. Au-delà des concordances souvent quasi-littérales, il serait bien plus intéressant de se demander pourquoi Mahler fait suivre son Scherzo « à la Rott » d'une marche funèbre et pourquoi aussi l'éclat du 3e mouvement de la 2e Symphonie emprunte les « mots » de Rott. Le plus grand Maître de la citation raffinée (après Schumann) aurait-il érigé un monument au « Titan » pour le faire participer ensuite à la « Résurrection » ? N'oublions pas que ses partitions ne sont pas moins riches en relations que les romans du pionnier Arno Schmidt. Il faut toujours supposer que les apparences sont trompeuses. Qui, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, aurait découvert ce que la Ire sonate des Centone de Paganini avait à faire au début de la 5e Symphonie ? Pourquoi la Sonate dit « la Tempête » de Beethoven et l'Ouverture « Manfred » de Schumann déboulent-elles dans le 1er mouvement de la 6e ou pourquoi le 1er mouvement de la 3e commence-t-il par le lied « Ich hab' mich ergeben », qui se présente comme une silhouette du 1er thème du Finale de la 1e Symphonie de Johannes Brahms ?

Celui qui vise une « Symphonie universelle » doit foncer - et ne rien exclure. Ce principe prétendument si naïf ouvre les portes à la Symphonie nouvelle. Un univers rempli de musique, de signes et de concepts s'ouvre ; tout entre en relation avec tout, devient comme un « jeu des perles de verre » ; mais la décision sur la primauté de la poule par rapport à l'œuf devient subitement hors de propos. Inopinément, le temps et l'espace se retrouvent côte à côte, rien ne les relie (comment se fait-il que Mahler ait emporté la 3e Symphonie de Charles Ives dans ses bagages pour son dernier voyage vers le Vieux-Monde ? C'est maintenant que cela devient intéressant, sans que l'on ait besoin de s'abriter derrière la conception du temps comme perpétuelle simultanéité (« Kugelgestalt der Zeit ») d'un Bernd Alois Zimmermann.

Contrairement à la Symphonie en mi majeur, le « Pastorales Vorspiel » (1877-1880) de Hans Rott a été surestimé. On perçoit bien dans la partition quelques éléments « mahlériens » mais l'œuvre, dans son ensemble, nous entraîne dans une autre direction : le fugato semble l'œuvre de l'école contrapuntique d'Anton Bruckner et il serait particulièrement risqué d'interpréter cette fugue comme une fuite devant l'orage que Ludwig van Beethoven, dans sa « Pastorale », fait éclater au-dessus de la « réunion joyeuse et intime des paysans ». Si on le veut vraiment, on trouvera vers la fin de cette belle peinture d'atmosphère une préfiguration du compositeur Max Reger. Mais celui-ci était, du moins en paroles, davantage tourné vers Johannes Brahms, c'est pourquoi on ne devrait pas donner trop de poids à cette anticipation. On risquerait ainsi de masquer le fait qu'un des grands talents du 19e siècle a été broyé par les meules du « statu quo » et que Hans Rott a payé de sa vie et de sa créativité des allégations de « folie des grandeurs » et de « délire de la persécution ».

(Eckhardt van den Hoogen. Traduction : Sophie Liwzyc.)

(1) La Symphonie resta à l'état de fragment. Le Sextuor pour cordes sera détruit par Hans Rott peu de temps avant sa mort.

(2) Le « Silence des Agneaux », avec Anthony Hopkins et Jodie Foster. États-Unis (1990) .

(3) Il en va tout autrement aujourd'hui. La prise de mesures de sûreté adaptées est une conquête, bien qu'elle entraîne assez souvent ses crises de folie furieuse et ses crimes sexuels ou qu'elle permette que ceux qui jouissent de la liberté de mouvement se suicident, fassent exploser une salle de tribunal ou provoquent une hécatombe parmi les membres d'un parlement, chacun selon son obsession.

(4) On trouvera une analyse approfondie de la Symphonie, quasiment mesure par mesure, sous la plume de Frank Litterscheid dans le volume intitulé, « Hans-Rott des Musik-Konzepte » .

...

Ses œuvres sont toutes composées pendant les années de formation au Conservatoire :

Symphonie en la bémol majeur pour orchestre à cordes (1874-1875) .

3 Préludes.

Suite pour orchestre.

Quatuor à cordes.

Symphonie en mi majeur (1878-1880) .

Basée sur d'imposants chorals brucknériens, cette Symphonie possède un souffle et une emphase qui l'ont fait comparer à la Ire Symphonie de Gustav Mahler (notamment son 3e mouvement) , pourtant postérieure.

Les interprétations très différentes de Dennis Russell Davies avec l'Orchestre de la Radio de Vienne (solennel) et Sebastian Weigle avec l'Orchestre de la Radio de Munich (dynamique) sont toutes 2 recommandables.

...

À la fin des années 1980, le musicologue Paul W. Banks découvrait, dans les archives de la Bibliothèque nationale autrichienne, la partition de la Symphonie en mi majeur de Hans Rott. Il donna à l'œuvre l'aspect requis pour une interprétation et s'employa à la présenter au public. Il rendit ainsi un incontestable service au monde de la musique en faisant surgir des tréfonds de l'histoire une œuvre digne d'intérêt, qui méritait à tout le moins d'être entendue par les passionnés de musique Romantique.

Mais les réactions des cercles d'experts furent étonnantes. Cette œuvre, révélatrice d'un talent certain, écrite par un compositeur qui avait alors 20 ans, suscita l'émerveillement général. Il était manifeste que l'on venait enfin de découvrir la poule qui avait pondu l'œuf de Colomb. Subitement, le jeune Hans Rott était sacré père de la Symphonie nouvelle et le grand Gustav Mahler, le contemporain de l'avenir, le pionnier de la musique moderne, était démasqué comme un plagiaire qui s'était servi sans scrupules de l'œuvre de son compagnon de collège, de 2 ans son aîné. Dans cette logique, on alla jusqu'à prétendre qu'il fallait ré-écrire toute l'histoire de la musique.

Les années ont passé. Les vagues se sont apaisées. Quelques esprits éclairés se sont sans doute souvenus que « Das klagende Lied » (le Chant de la plainte) n'était pas plus jeune mais au moins contemporain, voire un peu plus ancien que la Symphonie de Rott qui avait déclenché ce bel enthousiasme, et qu'il comprenait beaucoup plus d'éléments indiscutablement « mahlériens ». On en est donc arrivé à se dire qu'il serait temps de réparer les dégâts causés par une euphorie passagère en ayant une vision des choses à la fois plus circonspecte et plus globale.

Nous disposons maintenant d'un matériel suffisant : à côté de nombreux articles, 2 livres ont été publiés sur le phénomène Hans Rott. Nous retiendrons surtout la compilation éditée par Uwe Harten, publiée en 2000, qui comprend une biographie, des lettres, des notes et des documents provenant de la succession de Maja Loehr (1888-1964). Cet ouvrage est particulièrement intéressant parce qu'il présente des faits, qu'il ne tombe pas dans le piège de conclusions hâtives et parfois incorrectes et qu'il nous permet également de pénétrer derrière les murs de l'asile de fous du « Land » de Basse-Autriche, où le malheureux Hans Rott devait passer le reste d'une vie qui avait commencé sous des auspices certes chaotiques mais néanmoins favorables.

Hans Rott est né le 1er août 1858 dans le 15^e district (Bezirk) de Vienne. Il était le fils du comédien Carl Mathias Rott (Roth) et de la chanteuse et comédienne Maria Rosalia Lutz. Le mariage de ses parents ne put avoir lieu qu'après le décès de la 1^{re} épouse de son père, en 1860. Ce mariage fut célébré en octobre 1862. Entre-temps, la famille s'était agrandie d'un autre fils, Karl, né le 20 décembre 1860 et qui fut inscrit aux registres comme fils naturel du grand-duc Wilhelm. Ce nonobstant, papa Rott reconnut les 2 demi-frères comme fils légitimes. Au début de l'année 1863, les 4 membres de la famille portèrent enfin le même patronyme.

La scolarité de Hans Rott suivit la voie traditionnelle. La situation financière était satisfaisante et il n'y avait aucune raison pour ne pas encourager des dispositions musicales précoces. Au cours du semestre d'hiver 1874-1875, Hans s'inscrivit au Conservatoire de musique de Vienne où il fut bientôt exempté des frais de scolarité pendant toute une année. Ensuite, il obtiendra une bourse. Il étudia l'harmonie avec Hermann Grädener et le piano avec Leopold Landskron. Il suivit également les cours d'orgue d'Anton Bruckner, qui l'estimait beaucoup et qui lui délivrera un certificat élogieux en 1880.

Entre-temps, la situation familiale s'était fortement détériorée. Sa mère mourut en 1872 et, en avril 1875, son père fut victime d'un accident sur scène qui l'empêcha de poursuivre ses activités de comédien. Il décéda des suites de cet accident, en février 1876. Hans Rott dut travailler temporairement comme employé de bureau. Malgré cette situation difficile, il put continuer ses études, reçut 2 prix d'honneur du Conservatoire et obtint un emploi plus conforme à sa

nature, celui d'organiste du « Josefstädter Kirchenmusikverein » , assorti d'un logement gratuit.

Pendant ce temps, le catalogue de ses œuvres ne cessait de s'enrichir. Le 1er grand produit de l'époque du Conservatoire fut une Symphonie en la bémol majeur pour orchestre à cordes (1874-1875) , suivie d'un Finale symphonique, d'une Overture sur « Hamlet » , d'une Overture sur « Julius Cäsar » et d'une Suite pour orchestre. En outre, Rott écrivit des partitions pour chœurs sacrés et profanes ainsi que quelques lieder. Il composa les débuts d'un Oratorio. En novembre 1878, il demanda à être relevé de ses fonctions d'organiste, qu'il quitta muni d'une recommandation détaillée. Il s'attela alors au remaniement de sa Symphonie en mi majeur, dont il avait présenté le 1er mouvement au concours de composition du Conservatoire, en juillet de la même année - malgré la recommandation d'Anton Bruckner, Rott, seul élève à terminer les cours, n'obtiendra aucun prix. Pourtant, son diplôme atteste qu'il a terminé avec grand fruit les « cours de l'école de composition » .

Les années 1879-1880 sont marquées par de petits voyages, des excursions, un « grand amour » (le seul et unique de sa vie) et l'achèvement de la Symphonie. Le « Pastorales Vorspiel » (Prologue pastoral) , commencé en 1877, est terminé. Une 2e Symphonie voit le jour. Il écrit un Sextuor pour cordes (1) . Au début septembre, Hans Rott tente vainement de convaincre Hans Richter de faire interpréter sa 1re Symphonie. 2 semaines plus tard, il rend visite à Johannes Brahms qui doit décider, avec Eduard Hanslick et Karl Goldmark, de l'attribution d'une bourse d'État. Brahms doute que la Symphonie soit de Rott, car « à côté de tant de belles choses, il y a à nouveau tellement d'éléments banals ou dépourvus de sens dans la composition que celle-ci ne peut certainement pas être de la main de Rott » . Rott prend un nouveau départ. Il a en vue un emploi de directeur de la musique ou de chef de chœur d'une chorale à Mulhouse, en Alsace, mais il ne veut pas renoncer à faire jouer sa Symphonie. Le 14 octobre, il joue son œuvre devant Hans Richter. Le 21, ses amis l'accompagnent au train de Mulhouse. Lors d'un arrêt à Linz, il entend des coups frappés aux murs de sa chambre. Le 22 ou le 23, il continue son voyage. Dans le train, un voyageur s'apprête à allumer son cigare, Rott dégaine son revolver et menace l'homme parce qu'il craint que Brahms n'ait rempli le train de dynamite. Le 23 octobre, il est emmené à la clinique psychiatrique de l'Hôpital général de Vienne, « dans un état de confusion totale » . Son destin est scellé. Au début de l'année 1881, après une 1re tentative de suicide, il est interné à l'asile de fous du « Land » de Basse-Autriche où il meurt, le 25 juin 1884. Il n'avait pas encore 26 ans.

À la décharge du personnel soignant, il faut reconnaître que Hans Rott a « tenu » relativement longtemps dans cette institution. Robert Schumann n'avait survécu que 2 ans et 5 mois à Enderich et le séjour de Friedrich Hölderlin à la clinique « Autenrieth » de Tübingen aurait certainement été encore plus bref s'il n'avait pas été transporté à temps dans la demeure du menuisier Zimmer. Qui aurait voulu porter le masque d'Autenrieth, qui devait empêcher les pensionnaires de crier et qui, selon les descriptions, ressemblait à s'y méprendre à la muselière d'Hannibal Lecter (2) ? Qui, sinon un psychopathe, pourrait supporter, ne fût-ce qu'un jour, cet instrument inhumain ?

Il me semble nécessaire de faire un bref retour en arrière pour bien se rendre compte de l'état des connaissances en psychiatrie dans les années 1880. « La classification des maladies mentales n'est, jusqu'à présent, pas à faire sur une base anatomique » , lisons-nous dans l'Encyclopédie la plus moderne de cette époque. À la même entrée, nous apprenons encore que par « maladies mentales, il faut entendre ces maladies qui se manifestent par des dérangements dans le domaine des impressions sensorielles, de l'imagination, de la volonté ou des actes » . Tous les modèles

s'accordent à dire que « les hallucinations, la folie et le délire de la persécution » sont fondamentalement incurables, tandis que la psychiatrie se laisse qualifier (sans rougir) de « médecine de l'âme ». Tout écart par rapport à la norme, même le simple fait de se sentir une vocation, peut être diagnostiqué comme maladif et être traité, en conséquence, par des « barrages ». « Tout surmenage du cerveau, toute excitation intense de l'esprit et du cœur doivent être évités, par contre, il faut être particulièrement attentif à la formation et à l'exercice des forces corporelles : il faut toujours, autant que possible, travailler sur les circonstances extérieures les plus simples, les plus ordonnées, tenir les excitations passionnées à l'écart, habituer à la soumission aux circonstances objectives données » .

Les extraits ci-dessus, qui ressemblent à une caricature, sont tirés de la 4e édition par Joseph Meyers du « *Konversations - Lexikon* », qui fut mis sur le marché 4 ans après le départ de Hans Rott pour un autre monde. Nous y trouvons les principes de traitement d'une clique qui (imperméable à toute connaissance pratique) a depuis toujours licence de maintenir le statu quo, de veiller à « la soumission à des circonstances objectives données », qu'il s'agisse de Sociaux-Démocrates ou d'artistes « atteints de la folie des grandeurs ». Le goulag était partout (3) .

(Le « *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* » est un très important ouvrage encyclopédique en langue allemande traitant de tous les sujets et qui, aux XIXe et XXe siècles. Il a fait l'objet de plusieurs éditions dues au « *Bibliographisches Institut* ». Son nom vient de son fondateur, Joseph Meyer. Depuis 1986, l'édition est assurée par l'Encyclopédie Brockhaus après la fusion en 1984 de « *Brockhaus-Verlag* » et du « *Bibliographisches Institut* » en « *Bibliographisches Institut & Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus* » .)

Ceci ne veut évidemment pas dire qu'il faille considérer comme « normal » le comportement de quelqu'un qui tente d'empêcher un fumeur de goûter à son plaisir en le menaçant d'une arme. Mais le manque de discernement qui caractérise la corporation des « plombiers de l'âme », comme ils se définissent eux-mêmes, est manifeste dans le cas du malheureux Hans Rott. Que se serait-il passé si quelques amis avaient emmené le compositeur, profondément désorienté, en Styrie, dans le Salzkammergut, par exemple ; s'ils avaient mis à sa disposition un piano, une pile de papier de musique, quelques stères de bois et une hache, pour lui donner la possibilité de se livrer à des activités intellectuelles et physiques dans un environnement paisible ? Mais non, entouré de malades mentaux, véritables et imaginaires, il n'avait plus qu'à « devenir cinglé », comme Robert Schumann avant lui.

La situation de Rott est effrayante pour 2 raisons : d'abord, la complaisance avec laquelle la littérature a colporté les soi-disant diagnostics et ensuite, la suffisance de ceux qui ont posé ces diagnostics en ne s'intéressant qu'aux symptômes, jamais à ce qui a pu les déclencher. Pourtant, ceci serait vraiment intéressant. Comment se fait-il que nous retrouvions le nom de Brahms associé aussi bien à Robert Schumann qu'à Hans Rott et à Hugo Wolf ? Est-ce seulement un hasard biographique ? Anton Bruckner était probablement d'un autre avis, lui qui, devant le cercueil de son élève préféré Rott, fit à son concurrent local, Brahms, de tels reproches que l'ami de Rott, Friedrich Loehr (le père de la publiciste Maja Loehr évoquée ci-dessus) s'est vu forcé de faire un véritable exercice d'équilibre dans ses commentaires :

« Je crois que Brahms a fait cette réprimande au " débutant ", qui commençait par la mise-en-œuvre des plus grands moyens d'expression de son art, dans une louable intention pédagogique ; il ne pouvait rien faire d'autre à partir des

expériences et des convictions que lui avaient forgées son évolution artistique et son être propre et je crois qu'il a commis là une véritable injustice artistique. Mais à ce moment là, c'était peu avant le début de la maladie, il n'était plus possible de sauver Rott, il avait succombé à son terrible destin : sa maladie, provoquée par de tout autres facteurs psychiques et émotionnels, se préparait déjà depuis longtemps. » (Friedrich Loehr, « Die Musik », 1903-1904.)

Mais cette périlleuse tentative d'explication devait rester sans lendemain. D'une part, Loehr n'en dit pas plus sur ces « tout autres facteurs » et, d'autre part, il n'a pas tenu compte de l'environnement. Cet environnement dans lequel un Heinrich von Herzogenberg s'est débattu pendant des années pour tenter d'être reconnu ; dans lequel un Max Bruch devait s'entendre demander d'où il tenait une si jolie partition et duquel une Ethel Smyth (à la personnalité nettement plus coriace que Rott ou Schumann) n'a pas brossé un tableau particulièrement flatteur. N'oublions pas Hans Richter, l'ami de Brahms, qui a complètement dénigré le poème symphonique « Penthesilea » de Hugo Wolf, parce que celui-ci, dans sa jeunesse, avait osé critiquer le grand Brahms !

Notre propos n'est pas de chercher la petite bête en ce qui concerne Brahms, ses œuvres sont là. Mais force est de constater que Wolf et Rott étaient des élèves d'Anton Bruckner (tout comme Gustav Mahler qui était un de ses disciples) et qu'ils n'entraient pas dans le droit fil d'un Classicisme qui flirtait avec le maintien du statu quo. En tout état de cause, on pourrait se rallier à l'hypothèse élégante que toute cette affaire n'est rien d'autre que la perpétuation d'une méprise, en d'autres termes, que Brahms n'a pas compris le sens des banalités qui abondent dans la partition symphonique de Rott. Nous aurions ainsi trouvé une porte de sortie acceptable, qui permettrait également de prendre l'œuvre de Mahler à témoin : combien de temps a-t-il fallu avant que les substances disparates de ses œuvres soient reconnues pour ce qu'elles sont réellement - des parties de ces mondes que, selon sa vision, les symphonies devaient être ?

Il y a quelques décennies encore, beaucoup d'observateurs achoppaient là où soufflent les belles trompettes, là où « Frère Jacques » chemine dans la marche funèbre et où le Coucou est mort en tombant, car ils étaient partis pour apprendre à la banalité à marcher droit. Le devoir de la citation, de l'allusion, de la « silhouette » thématique, avec laquelle on ne fait que pressentir ce qui pourrait apparaître derrière les contours - tout cela restait aussi voilé au regard des sévères gardiens de l'ordre que l'apport le plus important de Robert Schumann, que l'on peut qualifier sans exagération de père de la composition musico-littéraire. Celui qui n'est pas à même d'entendre dans le 1er thème du Concerto pour piano les paroles de Florestan, « In des Lebens Frühlingstagen », de suivre les multiples transformations de la construction rythmique presque obsessionnelle à travers toute l'œuvre ou, au moins, de reconnaître « la Marseillaise » dans le Carnaval de Vienne, aura bien du mal avec la plus grande partie du répertoire Romantique tardif, que ce soit Piotr Ilitch Tchaïkovsky, Gustav Mahler, Hans Rott - ou même Johannes Brahms. Celui-ci aurait été idiot de ne pas reconnaître immédiatement le miroir que le jeune élève de son rival lui tendait le 16 ou le 17 septembre 1880 - une carte du monde symphonique au XIXe siècle, sur laquelle lui aussi, le Viennois d'élection originaire du nord de l'Allemagne, figurait, parmi beaucoup d'autres Grands du passé et du présent.

Il est vrai que Hans Rott, avec ses avances « inconvenantes », avait introduit le loup dans la bergerie et, dans sa remarquable naïveté, marché sur les pieds de quelqu'un qui n'aimait vraiment pas cela - comme on le verra à propos du Finale de la Symphonie. Dans sa recherche d'une musique universelle, il n'avait visiblement pas réfléchi à ce dans

quoi il s'embarquait. Chercher, dans une même composition, à réconcilier les antipodes viennois, Brahms et Bruckner, et y glisser quelques pierres d'achoppement comme Wagner et Schumann ne pouvait être ressenti que comme une manifestation de sa « folie des grandeurs » .

Mettons-nous à la place d'un auditeur de l'époque et essayons d'imaginer ce qu'il a ressenti lorsqu'il a entendu dans le 1er mouvement les « Maîtres-chanteurs de Nuremberg » (à peu près à la 5e minute) ou lorsque l'emploi intensif du triangle a irrésistiblement évoqué la « Symphonie du Printemps » , sans parler des réminiscences de « Lohengrin » ou de « l'Or du Rhin » , que Brahms, l'anti-Wagner numéro 1, n'aurait pas pu ignorer. Le 2e mouvement ne lui rend pas la vie plus facile avec l'apparition (vers 1 min 40) d'un motif schumannien récurrent, qui était clairement associé à « Clara » et que Brahms connaissait d'ailleurs parfaitement (voir le début de sa 3e Symphonie) . Hans Rott ne se contente pas d'une unique citation, non, il répète le motif quelques minutes plus tard (vers 4 min 30) pour être certain que « n'importe quel imbécile » l'entende - certainement sans savoir quelle corde sensible il touchait ainsi.

Et dans le Finale, il se surpasse ! Après avoir passé en revue les événements précédents, tout à fait dans le sens de la 5e Symphonie d'Anton Bruckner, il choisit (intentionnellement ?) une mélodie à tout le moins provocatrice : la proximité avec le thème du Finale de la 1re Symphonie de Johannes Brahms est tellement évidente (vers 4 min 40) que l'expert a peut-être même dû croire qu'on se payait sa tête. Les répétitions (vers 8 min 20 et 12 min 25) n'ont pas dû arranger les choses, et lorsque le compositeur fait finalement entrer Brahms avec les dieux dans le « Walhalla » , aucun doute sur sa santé mentale n'est plus permis : Hans Rott avait succombé à la folie primaire dont sont atteints surtout les jeunes individus de 17 à 25 ans ou, chez les plus âgés, les femmes entre 40 et 50 ans.

Aux yeux de Gustav Mahler, le condisciple de Rott, les choses se présentent tout autrement. Les 2 étudiants avaient eu une dispute homérique sur la question de savoir s'il fallait manger du rôti (Rott) ou se contenter de fromage (Mahler) lorsque l'on composait. Mais leur estime réciproque n'en fut nullement affectée. À l'asile, Rott, à qui l'on demandait s'il se souvenait de Mahler, répondit :

« Certainement, certainement, Mahler est un génie. » (cité d'après les notes de son ami Joseph Seemüller.)

Et Mahler devait dire :

« Ce que la musique a perdu avec lui est incommensurable : son génie s'envole tellement haut, déjà dans sa 1re Symphonie, qu'il a écrite lorsqu'il était un jeune homme de 20 ans et qui fait de lui (le mot n'est pas trop fort) le fondateur de la Symphonie nouvelle, comme je la comprends. Mais ce qu'il voulait n'est pas encore atteint véritablement. C'est comme si quelqu'un lançait quelque chose de toutes ses forces mais, parce qu'il est encore maladroit, n'atteint pas vraiment son but. Mais je sais où il voulait arriver. Oui, il est si proche de ce qui m'est le plus personnel que lui et moi apparaissons comme 2 fruits du même arbre, issus du même sol, nourris du même air. J'aurais pu retirer énormément de lui et peut-être aurions-nous, ensemble, d'une certaine manière exploité à fond le contenu de ces temps nouveaux qui étaient en train d'éclorre pour la musique. » (Gustav Mahler, dans les « Mémoires » de Nathalie Bauer-Lechner.)

Nous savons que Gustav Mahler a découvert très tôt la Symphonie en mi majeur. Joseph Seemüller annonça à son pauvre ami Rott, à qui il rendait visite le soir de Noël de l'année 1882, que son ancien condisciple avait récemment joué son œuvre en cercle privé. Quelle influence cette partition a-t-elle eu sur la propre évolution de Mahler, quel rôle a-t-elle joué dans son œuvre symphonique ? Une remise en question globale de l'histoire de la musique n'est certainement pas la réponse. Il serait beaucoup plus profitable de se mettre d'accord sur les rapports que l'on veut rechercher. Le sens indiscutable de la citation et de l'allusion, chez l'un comme chez l'autre, est un signe fondamental de cette parenté intellectuelle soulignée par Mahler. Des éléments comme l'appel des cors dans le 2e mouvement de la Symphonie en mi majeur indiquent un lien plus étroit, tout comme le début du mouvement conclusif, dans lequel se prépare sans contrainte « le monde intermédiaire » du Finale de la Symphonie dite « Résurrection » avec son chant d'oiseau et « le Crieur dans le désert ». La liberté d'utilisation des formes traditionnelles est commune aux 2 compositeurs. Toutefois, Rott structure sa Symphonie en une progression temporelle, la durée d'exécution des mouvements augmente de façon continue jusqu'au poème symphonique final, qui dure 20 minutes et fait basculer le déroulement dans l'incommensurable - ce genre de conception très concrète ne se retrouve pas chez Mahler. Pourtant, chez l'un comme chez l'autre, le symbole du statu quo se disloque et nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de penser à cet aphorisme ambivalent de Robert Schumann, d'après lequel la forme est le récipient de l'esprit. Le conservatisme interprétera cette phrase au sens où la créativité doit se fondre dans la cruche d'argile pré-fabriquée, mais l'esprit qui va de l'avant soit se façonne ses propres récipients, pour les remplir ensuite, soit les crée au fur et à mesure qu'il progresse. C'est ainsi que Schumann a pu écrire son « Carnaval » ou sa Fantaisie, qui, d'un point de vue formel, n'est rien d'autre qu'une immense Sonate au clair de lune au déroulement inversé, en 3 poèmes symphoniques. Ainsi, Gustav Mahler a pu aller jusqu'à retourner l'intérieur vers l'extérieur dans sa 9e Symphonie, et Hans Rott a écrit son chef-d'œuvre quasi en forme de spirale (4) .

Si le Scherzo qui vient en 3e lieu n'a jusqu'ici pas été touché, c'est qu'il y avait une bonne raison. Car ici, le compositeur « au rôti » et le compositeur « au fromage » s'y rencontrent d'une façon tellement intime que l'on pourrait se laisser aller à supposer que Mahler a « refilé » à son « pote » non seulement quelques idées mais un tas de partitions travaillées. Il a intégré celles-ci dans le Scherzo de sa propre 1re Symphonie, après que Rott, pour les raisons évoquées ci-dessus, n'en ait plus eu besoin.

Évidemment, les choses sont allées tout autrement. Le 3e mouvement de la Symphonie en mi majeur est antérieur de quelque 8 ans à son pendant mahlérien et, sans le moindre doute, son consanguin. Au-delà des concordances souvent quasi littérales, il serait bien plus intéressant de se demander pourquoi Mahler fait suivre son Scherzo « à la Rott » d'une marche funèbre et pourquoi aussi l'éclat du 3e mouvement de la 2e Symphonie emprunte les « mots » de Rott. Le plus grand Maître de la citation raffinée (après Schumann) aurait-il érigé un monument au « Titan » pour le faire participer ensuite à la « Résurrection » ? N'oublions pas que ses partitions ne sont pas moins riches en relations que les romans du pionnier Arno Schmidt. Il faut toujours supposer que les apparences sont trompeuses. Qui, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, aurait découvert ce que la 1re Sonate des « Centone » de Niccolò Paganini avait à faire au début de la 5e Symphonie ? Pourquoi la Sonate « la Tempête » de Beethoven et l'Ouverture « Manfred » de Schumann déboulent-elles dans le 1er mouvement de la 6e ou pourquoi le 1er mouvement de la 3e commence-t-il par le lied « Ich hab' mich ergeben », qui se présente comme une silhouette du 1er thème du Finale de la 1re Symphonie de Brahms ?

Celui qui vise une « Symphonie universelle » doit foncer - et ne rien exclure. Ce principe prétendument si naïf ouvre les portes à la Symphonie nouvelle. Un univers rempli de musique, de signes et de concepts s'ouvre ; tout entre en relation avec tout, devient comme un « jeu des perles de verre » - mais la décision sur la primauté de la poule par rapport à l'œuf devient subitement hors de propos. Inopinément, le temps et l'espace se retrouvent côte à côte, rien ne les relie (comment se fait-il que Mahler ait emporté la 3e Symphonie de Charles Ives dans ses bagages pour son dernier voyage vers le vieux monde ? C'est maintenant que cela devient intéressant, sans que l'on ait besoin de s'abriter derrière la conception du temps comme perpétuelle simultanéité (« Kugelgestalt der Zeit ») d'un Bernd Alois Zimmermann.

Contrairement à la Symphonie en mi majeur, le « Pastorales Vorspiel » (1877-1880) de Hans Rott a été surestimé. On perçoit bien dans la partition quelques éléments « mahlériens » mais l'œuvre, dans son ensemble, nous entraîne dans une autre direction - le Fugato semble l'œuvre de l'école contrapuntique de Bruckner et il serait particulièrement risqué d'interpréter cette fugue comme une fuite devant l'orage que Ludwig van Beethoven, dans sa « Pastorale », fait éclater au-dessus de la « réunion joyeuse et intime des paysans ». Si on le veut vraiment, on trouvera vers la fin de cette belle peinture d'atmosphère une préfiguration de Max Reger. Mais celui-ci était, du moins en paroles, davantage tourné vers Brahms, c'est pourquoi on ne devrait pas donner trop de poids à cette anticipation. On risquerait ainsi de masquer le fait qu'un des grands talents du XIXe siècle a été broyé par les meules du statu quo et que Hans Rott a payé de sa vie et de sa créativité des allégations de « folie des grandeurs » et de « délire de la persécution » .

(1) La Symphonie resta à l'état de fragment. Le Sextuor sera détruit par Rott, peu de temps avant sa mort.

(2) Le « Silence des Agneaux », avec Anthony Hopkins et Jodie Foster (USA, 1990) .

(3) Il en va tout autrement aujourd'hui. La prise de mesures de sûreté adaptées est une conquête, bien qu'elle entraîne assez souvent ses crises de folie furieuse et ses crimes sexuels ou qu'elle permette que ceux qui jouissent de la liberté de mouvement se suicident, fassent exploser une salle de tribunal ou provoquent une hécatombe parmi les membres d'un parlement, chacun selon son obsession.

(4) On trouvera une analyse approfondie de la Symphonie, quasiment mesure par mesure, sous la plume de Frank Litterscheid dans le volume « Hans-Rott des Musik-Konzepte » .

...

On 10 June 1877, Josef Seiberl, Anton Bruckner's successor as organist of Saint-Florian, died. 4 days later, Bruckner wrote to his friend Ignaz P. Traumihler (1815-1884) , chorus Master of the cathedral choir, recommending one of his pupils for the vacant post :

« May I give my warmest recommendation to Hans Rott, a graduate of the Organ School at the Conservatory. The son of the late-actor at the “ Theater an der Wien ”, he is an excellent musician, very pleasant and modest, very “ moral

”, plays Bach outstandingly and improvises astonishingly well for an 18 year old.

You will never find a “ better ” young man. He has been my “ best ” pupil, up to now. He studied Counterpoint with Krenn, who also likes him very much, and also Composition. He is now organist at the Piarist church in “ Josefstadt ” (in Vienna) . He and I would both be very grateful. But I do not want in the least to anticipate your decision. »

From : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Briefe Band I : 1852-1886 » , edited by Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider, Vienna (1998) ; page 174.

Rott did not get the job and, indeed, his short career reads like a series of set-backs. Born in Vienna, in 1858, Hans Rott was, as Bruckner comments, the son of an actor. His mother died early, in 1872, and when his father died 4 years later, Rott was left without any means of support. He was obliged to suspend his studies and take an office job but was able to resume his education when the Vienna Conservatory remitted the fees for the remainder of his course. In June 1876, he graduated from Bruckner’s organ-class with distinction, winning the 1st prize and a medal.

In the meantime, Rott had started to compose and, in 1878, he took part in a composers' competition at the Conservatory. Bruckner’s pupil, Carl Hrubý, recalls what happened next :

« At the end, scornful laughter was heard from the “ Marker's chair ” - sorry, the examiners' table. Thereupon, the normally so timid Bruckner rose and cried the flaming words to the “ Markers ” down there :

“ Do not laugh, gentlemen, you will hear great things of this man yet ! ” »

In 1880, things came to a head, on the positive side, Rott completed his Symphony and other works, including the « Pastoral Prelude » , composed a String Sextet and began a 2nd Symphony, but when he sought performances for his music, he met only with further rebuffs. He played the Symphony to Hans Richter, twice, without result, and also brought it to Johannes Brahms, who together with Eduard Bamsick and the composer Karl Goldmark was responsible for awarding a State scholarship. Rott was turned-down, once again. Brahms even doubted that Rott could be the author of the Symphony, because « together, with such beauty, there was also such triviality and nonsense that the former could not stem from Rott » . He advised Rott to give-up composing altogether.

In the meantime, Rott had resigned from his « Josefstadt » organist position after being falsely accused of stealing from the church archives. Unable to get work in Austria, he was obliged to accept a post in the Alsatian town of Mulhouse (Mühlhausen) , part of the German « Reich » , since 1870. While stopping-over in Linz, Rott was disturbed by the sound of knocking on the walls of his hotel-room. The next day, back on the train, he pulled a revolver on a man who wanted to light a cigar, claiming that Brahms had loaded the train with dynamite. He was taken-off the train at the border station of Simbach and, on 23 October, he was admitted to a psychiatric clinic « in a completely confused state » . 1 year later, a diagnosis recorded « hallucinatory insanity, persecution mania-recovery no longer to be expected » . Ironically, Rott did get his State scholarship but, by that time, he had been in a mental hospital for 6 months.

At 1st, Rott was able to see his friends, but his condition soon deteriorated. In 1882, he attempted suicide and, on 25 June 1884, he died (from either lung cancer or tuberculosis) . The great future" Bruckner had predicted for him was not to be, and instead Rott seemed fated to be a footnote in biographies of Bruckner and Mahler: a talented figure, no doubt, but one who had fallen by the wayside too early to realise whatever potential he may have had.

Hans Rott remained a footnote until 1980, when the musicologist Paul Banks unearthed the manuscript of his Symphony in E in the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library. It immediately became clear that the Symphony was a remarkable work, conceived on a large-scale, and also a very original one, despite the obvious influence of Richard Wagner.

But what will strike the modern listener most is that there are moments, brief but unmistakable, which look forward to the Symphonies of Gustav Mahler, specifically Nos. 1, 3, 5 and 7. Isolated moments in Rott's slow-movement (placed 2nd) anticipate the Finale of Mahler's 3rd Symphony, while the 1st bars of the main Scherzo-theme of Mahler's 1st resemble the opening bars of the main-theme of Rott's Scherzo. Later in the same movement, there are disconcerting pre-echoes of the Scherzo of Mahler's 5th. The wind colloquy at the start of the Finale of Rott's Symphony looks forward to the 1st « Nachtmusik » of Mahler's 7th Symphony, while the handling of texture later in the movement (and, in particular, the use of a pedal-point) foreshadows the Finale of Mahler's 5th.

Mahler's « Rott quotations » , if one may use the term, are all the more striking because they arise organically from contexts which are entirely different from those in which they appear in Rott. The resemblances cannot be coincidence ; but are they homages, appropriations, or unconscious borrowings ? This may have been material which Mahler had absorbed at an early age through his friendship with Rott - and absorbed so completely that it had become a natural part of his musical language. This is all the more likely as Rott's music is, otherwise, not at all like Mahler's - either in thematic content or in style. Mahler paid the most generous tribute to Rott's memory in a letter to Natalie Bauer-Lechner :

« It is completely impossible to estimate what music has lost in him. His 1st Symphony soars to such heights of genius that it makes him (without exaggeration) the founder of the " New Symphony " as I understand it. »

To complicate matters further, Rott himself shows the influence of the (Germanic) music of his time. One cannot deny that the Symphony's opening owes a debt to the Wagner of « Lohengrin » and « Rheingold » . The E major close is almost a quotation from « Die Walküre » (Rott had attended the 1st Bayreuth Festival, in 1876) . Bruckner's monumental style also left its mark, while the broad theme of the Finale owes something to the 1st Symphony of Johannes Brahms. But, in the last analysis, what is most remarkable is the sheer originality and creative vitality of so much of Rott's work. The harmony is rich, the orchestration imaginative. It doesn't all come-off ; the brass scoring is often too heavy, the triangle is over-used, and the work's form is also far from clear, as though swamped by the wealth of material. The last movement is the longest, the loudest and also the weakest. But here, too, a remark of Mahler's is relevant :

« It is true that he (Rott) has not yet fully-realized his aims here. It is like someone taking a run for the longest possible throw and not quite hitting the mark. But I know what he was driving at. »

The end-result is a work of promise rather than fulfillment. It may not be great music, but it is music by a potentially great composer. No one can say for sure what Rott would have amounted to. Composers evolve at different times and in different ways. If one compares Rott's Symphony to the music Bruckner completed in his 22nd year (some settings of « Tantum ergo », a Prelude for organ, and the « Festlied » for male-choir), Rott certainly seems the more advanced and, indeed, the more promising composer. But one wonders if Bruckner's isolation, which allowed him to mature in his own time, did not protect him from being overwhelmed by the conflicting whirl of stimuli to be found in Rott's Symphony. One should also consider a work completed, at about the same time, by another 22 year old : Mahler's « Das klagende Lied ». This may not be entirely mature, but never for one moment does it sound like anybody other than Mahler, even if the openings to the 1st 2 sections both look as though they should be indebted to Siegfried.

« Messieurs, ne riez pas ! » (Anton Bruckner)

Author : Thomas Leibnitz (Doctor Leibnitz is librarian at the Music Collections of the Austrian National Library in Vienna.)

1st performance of the « Pastoral Prelude for Orchestra » by Hans Rott.

As his favourite student Hans Rott was at stake, Anton Bruckner put his foot down. Carl Hrubý relates an occurrence at the Conservatoire of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » (Society of the Friends of Music) in July 1878 : « At the end, a scornful laughter was heard from the « Merker » chair, sorry, the examiners' table. Thereupon, the otherwise so timid Bruckner rose and cried the flaming words to the « Merkers » down there : « Do not laugh, gentlemen, of this man you will hear great things yet ! » . Which of Hans Rott's works caused the gentlemen's scorn is not mentioned in the account ; most probably, it was the 1st movement of the young composer's Symphony in E major, a work which, more than 100 years after it had been written, experienced an unexpected renaissance and confronted the general public with the hitherto almost unknown name of « Rott » .

However, only part of Anton Bruckner's prophesy was to come true. When on June 25, 1884, the just 26 year old Hans Rott, patient of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum of Lower-Austria, died of tuberculosis, the great hopes and expectations his friends had entertained of him, had been a matter of the past for some time already. Almost 4 years lasted the tragic epilogue of the musician's life who had been suffering from « hallucinatory insanity and persecution mania » and had been given-up by the physicians. As a student of the Vienna Conservatoire, he had gained Anton Bruckner's recognition and as a composer and the admiration of a small, however select, circle of friends to which also Gustav Mahler belonged during his early years in Vienna.

« Mahler » is the keyword essential for Rott's rediscovery during the 1980's. Again, the initiative had to come « from outside » : In the course of his archival studies of Gustav Mahler's youth and his Viennese circle of friends, the English

musicologist Paul W. Banks also looked into Hans Rott's artistic estate which is kept in the Music Collections of the Austrian National Library, since 1950.

The manuscript of the Symphony in E major aroused his interest, not least because of the extraordinary praise which Gustav Mahler expressed to Natalie Bauer-Lechner :

« It is completely impossible to estimate what music has lost in him. His genius soars to such heights even in his 1st Symphony, written at the age of 20, and which makes him (without exaggeration) the founder of the " New Symphony " as I understand it. He, however, did not reach entirely what he wanted. It is as if someone swings back to throw as far as he can and, still clumsy, does not quite hit the goal. Yet, I know what he is aiming at. Yes, he is so related to my very own that he and I seem to me like 2 fruits from the same tree, brought forth by the same soil, nourished by the same air. He could have been so infinitely much to me and perhaps the 2 of us together would have fairly exhausted the content of this New Age which was dawning for music. »

It seems as if Gustav Mahler, at that time (the summer of 1900) , had taken into consideration a performance of the Symphony which, for what reasons ever, did not come off. The work continued to lie dormant in drawers and archives until Paul W. Banks produced the material for a performance and initiated the 1st performance on March 4, 1989, with Gerhard Samuel conducting the in Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra. It was met with great and international response ; shortly afterwards, Hans Rott's Symphony was to be heard also in Paris, London and Vienna. Almost unanimously, the reviews noted a number of striking reminiscences of Gustav Mahler in this work (or better anticipations, for the Symphony had been written many years prior to Mahler's First Symphony) . « Mahler's " 0 " Symphony or Rott's 1st ? » , asked Wolfgang Fuhrmann in the « Standard » , on the occasion of the Viennese 1st performance by the Vienna Symphony Orchestra with Carlos Kalmar conducting on March 4, 1990, and, in summing up, he wrote : « Inevitably, this leads to the assumption that the fellow students Rott and Mahler must have entertained an intimate exchange of musical ideas. »

It may be a similar case with the work which now, 120 years after it had been written, will be performed for the 1st time : the « Pastoral Prelude for Orchestra » , finished in 1880, that is shortly after the completion of the 1st Symphony. The Rott biography does reveal almost nothing about the « Pastoral Prelude » , the more curious we may be whether the phenomenon of the « anticipated Mahler » will be heard in this work, too, the score of which promises well in this respect. Above all, the nature scene, determined by bird call and sustained tones, with which Mahler's 1st Symphony begins, seems to be a reminiscence of some parts of the « Pastoral Prelude » which (in contrast to the Symphony) was not intended to be presented to an examining jury. Thus the composer's imagination experienced no limitations at all with regard to sound and form. The question suggests itself : « What kind of relationship existed between Rott and Mahler ? Did the musical relationship really correspond with a congeniality of their characters ? » .

An answer, however an extremely subjective one, has a the friend of Hans Rott's youth, Heinrich Krzyzanowski, who, in his written reminiscences, recalls the relationship with Gustav Mahler : « By the way, there was no real friendship between Rott and Mahler - although they saw a lot of each other. » . Indeed, no statement by Hans Rott has been

handed down to us which points to a closer friendship with Mahler. Besides, Mahler must have withdrawn himself after 1878 from the circle of musical friends who regularly met in Rott's room at the « Piaristen » monastery during 1877 and 1878. But Rott's tragic fate and the greatly individual character of his music seem to have left a deep impression in the colleague, his junior by just 2 years, which (thinking of his remarks to Natalie Bauer-Lechner) remained vivid for decades and, in a way, made Mahler remember Rott as a symbol of failure.

Attempts, abandoned hopes : this is the motto of Rott's short life.

Born on August 1, 1858, as son of the actor Carl Mathias Rott, the boy 1st attended the Academic Secondary School and, afterwards, a commercial school for 2 years. Only then, he must have realized his talent for music, as, from 1874 on, he studied at the Conservatoire of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » (organ with Anton Bruckner, harmony with Hermann Grädener, composition with Franz Krenn) . Richard Wagner, the idol of the circle around Bruckner, enthralled him, too : in 1875, Hans Rott became a member of the Viennese Academic Wagner Society ; in 1876, he attended the 1st Bayreuth Festival. During the next 2 years, he was employed as organist at the « Josefstadt » Church Music Society and lived in the « Piaristen » monastery, in very poor circumstances. He resigned as organist in 1878. In the same year, he finished his studies at the Conservatory, and, then, a 2 years' search for a permanent position began which was determined by repeated failures.

Hans Rott negotiations with Saint-Florian and Klosterneuburg were in vain and so were his applications at the Saint-Michaël Church and the Votiv Church in Vienna. His teacher Anton Bruckner helped with letters of recommendation ; one of them survived in the Hans Rott Estate : « The signer of this letter deems it a great pleasure to confirm that he got to know Hans Rott during his studies at the Conservatory as a disciple of art who, due to his excellent talents, his diligence and pure character and, last but not least, his performance as a musician, especially at the organ, gives rise to the greatest hopes. » .

An emotional attachment to his home-town and a romance kept Hans Rott tied to Vienna, however, it was becoming more and more clear that his future did not lie there. Yet, despite all the pecuniary worries and the struggle for existence, the years until 1880 had also been a creative period ; not only the Symphony in E major was written during that time but also (simultaneously) the « Pastoral Prelude » and the String Quartet in C minor (a highly-advanced composition) . Hans Rott competed for the Beethoven Prize and the State scholarship for musicians and, in 1880, he presented his Symphony and the « Pastoral Prelude » to the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, he considered visits to the Jury members, one of them was Johannes Brahms, appropriate. His visit to Brahms must have been a traumatic experience for the young composer whose extreme nervousness already pointed towards a psychical crisis. As Rott told his friends afterwards, Brahms flatly refused the Symphony and added : « It could not possibly have been composed by himself. » .

Furthermore, the imminent farewell to Vienna also meant a grave strain for Rott, for a half-hearted application for a position as director of the Alsatian choir association « Concordia » had met with success ; Rott had to take-up the employment and, at the end of October 1880, he departed from Vienna. On the train, disaster struck. With his revolver, Hans Rott threatened a fellow traveller who wanted to light a cigar and said that Johannes Brahms had had the train

filled with dynamite. He was brought back to Vienna and committed to the Psychiatric Clinic of the General Hospital. For the rest of his short and tragic life, he remained behind the walls of psychiatric asylums.

It may sound cynical to call such a fate « more interesting » in retrospect than a well-ordered « normal » biography. Certainly, this alone does not justify the interest in his posthumous compositions, of course ; these have to legitimate themselves in concerts by their own immanent qualities. The Symphony in E major has already stood the public test which is still in store for the « Pastoral Prelude » . Certainly, there is one thing or 2 to be said about the score : it had been conceived as a broadly constructed Crescendo and divides into a Prelude and a Fugue, it shows a clever chamber musical instrumentation and proves the composer's imagination as to counterpoint. Yet, only the real sound event will prove whether the essential will be a success. Which would be the discovery of a work which we experience as a direct musical event, not only in the sense of a late « rehabilitation » of Hans Rott.

...

The Austrian composer and organist Hans Rott was born on 1 August 1858 in Brauhirschgrund, a suburb of Vienna, and died on 25 June 1884. His music is little-known today, though he received high praise, in his time, from the likes of Gustav Mahler and Anton Bruckner.

His mother Maria Rosalia (1840-1872, maiden name : Lutz) was an actress and singer. His father Carl Mathias Rott (real name : Roth, born in 1807 and married in 1862) was a famous comic actor in Vienna who was crippled, in 1874, by a stage accident which led to his death 2 years later.

Hans was left alone to continue his studies at the Conservatory. Fortunately, both his skill and financial need were recognized and he was excused from paying tuition. While studying, he briefly roomed with Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyzanowski. He studied piano with Leopold Landskron and Josef Dachs, harmony with Hermann Grädener and counterpoint and composition (like Mahler) with Franz Krenn.

He studied organ with Bruckner, starting in 1874, and graduating from Bruckner's organ class, in 1877, with honors. Bruckner said that Rott played Johann Sebastian Bach very well, and even improvised wonderfully (a high compliment since Bruckner himself was a great improviser) . Rott was also influenced by the works of Richard Wagner, and even attended the very 1st Bayreuth Festival in 1876.

During that time, Rott was also organist at the Piarist church « Maria Treu » , in Vienna. For the final year of his studies, in 1878, Rott submitted the 1st movement of his Symphony in E major to a composition contest. The jury (except Bruckner) was very derisive of the work. After completing the Symphony, in 1880, Rott showed the work to both Johannes Brahms and Hans Richter, in order to get it played. His efforts failed. Brahms did not like the fact that Bruckner exerted great influence on the Conservatory students, and even told Rott that he had no talent whatsoever and that he should give-up music. Unfortunately, Rott lacked Mahler's inner resolve, and whereas Mahler was able to overcome many of the obstacles in his life, Rott was brought down by mental illness. The Symphony has been recorded by « BIS » , « Acousence » , « Hyperion » , « Ondine » and « RCA » . Hans Rott also wrote a Symphony for string

orchestra in A-flat major, in 3 movements, (1874-1875) , and a String Quartet in C minor, a student work in 5 movements. They have both been recorded on the « Acousence Records » label (ACO-CD 20205) , in 2005.

Rott's mind snapped in October 1880, whilst on a train journey. He was reported to have threatened another passenger with a revolver, claiming that Brahms had filled the train with dynamite. Rott was committed to a mental hospital, in 1881, where despite a brief recovery, he sank into depression. By the end of 1883, a diagnosis recorded : « hallucinatory insanity, persecution mania ; recovery no longer to be expected » . He died of tuberculosis, in 1884, aged only 25. Many well-wishers, including his old Master Anton Bruckner, attended Rott's funeral at the « Zentralfriedhof » in Vienna.

Gustav Mahler wrote of Rott :

« A musician of genius who died unrecognized and in want on the very threshold of his career. What music has lost in him cannot be estimated. Such is the height to which his genius soars in his Symphony (in E major) , which he wrote as 20 year old youth and makes him the Founder of the “ New Symphony ”, as I see it. To be sure, what he wanted is not quite what he achieved. But I know where he aims. Indeed, he is so near to my inmost self that he and I seem to me like 2 fruits from the same tree which the same soil has produced and the same air nourished. He could have meant infinitely much to me and, perhaps, the 2 of us would have well-nigh exhausted the content of new time which was breaking-out for music. »

Thanks to Rott's friends, some of his music manuscripts have survived in the music collection of Vienna's national library. This includes Rott's Symphony in E major, and sketches for a 2nd Symphony that was never finished. The completed Symphony is remarkable in the way it anticipates some of Mahler's musical characteristics. In particular, the 3rd movement is unnervingly close to Mahler. The Finale includes references to Brahms's 1st Symphony. Mahler also spoke well of Rott's Lieder, of which all 8 surviving complete songs have been performed in concert, since 2002, and 4 sung by Dominik Wörner were recorded, in 2009, on the Ars label. We also know of a Sextet, which Mahler never heard and has also been lost. In his last years, Rott wrote a lot of music, only to destroy what he wrote soon after writing it, saying it was worthless.

Bruckner and Mahler were the 1st to recognise Rott's talent. Mahler himself included references to Rott's work in his own music. However, in the 20th century, Rott's work was largely forgotten ; and only in 1989 was Rott's Symphony in E major finally premiered by the Cincinnati Philharmonia Orchestra under Gerhard Samuel, in a performing edition prepared by Paul W. Banks. A CD recording followed.

Other recordings of the Symphony have since been issued, and other Rott works have been occasionally revived, including his « Julius Cæsar » Overture, « Pastoral » Overture and Prelude for Orchestra.

...

In April 1877, the not yet 19 year old Hans Rott was already working on his 3rd theatre-related composition, « A

Prelude to “ Julius Cæsar ” » .

A few months before, on November 29, 1876, Rott had begun the fair copy of his « Hamlet » Overture the 1st drafts of which date back to July of the same year. But, after some pages, the score breaks-off although the draft for piano seems to be complete.

In parallel, he is working on an Opera, from summer to autumn 1876. With a degree of certainty the title « Her(r)mannsschlacht » refers to Kleist's drama of the same title. Presumably, Rott's only Opera project seems to have got stuck, however, at an early stage already, for just a few fragmentary notes have come down to us.

There is no hint when exactly the work on « A Prelude to “ Julius Cæsar ” » did begin. The 1st date mentioned in this context is : April 10, 1877. As this date is written down on the 1st page of the score, it can be assumed that Rott had concerned himself with this work earlier, the more so as already 20 days later the last of the 18 score pages, dated April 30, 1877, is reached. We do not know when Rott wrote the fair copy of the score and the single parts. Anyway, « A Prelude to “ Julius Cæsar ” » is his 1st completely finished work of music for the theatre we know and, after the Prelude for Orchestra (finished on November 7, 1876) , presumably Rott's 2nd complete work for a Symphony Orchestra, in general. And it is already here that we discover composition techniques which he is to use and refine later in his Symphony No. 1 in E major. Even the beginning of the main-theme of the Symphony could have been developed from the « Cæsar » theme as from bar 10 on.

Less than 2 months later, he begins to take notes for the forth and last work with a direct context to the theatre. Later, Rott deleted this context on purpose. The original title, « A Prelude to “ Elsbeth ” » , was altered into « Pastoral Prelude » , in June 1880. Presumably, Rott wanted to submit this Prelude for the State scholarship along with the Symphony and a String Sextet.

At a 1st glance, it may be amazing that Rott should have concerned himself with the music-theatre at such an early stage but it, soon, becomes clear that this genre literally must have pressed itself upon him for Hans Rott grew-up in the world of the theatre. His father, Carl Mathias Rott, was a famous actor and singing comedian, his mother, Maria Rosalia Lutz, a likewise recognized actress and singer. Add to this, Rott held Wagner in great veneration. From 1875 to 1879, Rott had been a member of the Viennese Academic Wagner Society and, in August 1876, he attended the 1st Bayreuth Festival (together with Anton Bruckner and others) . Already on March 2, 1876, he had attended a performance of « Lohengrin » , in Vienna, with Wagner conducting.

So much for a sketchy outline of Rott's affinity for the music-theatre. There may be several reasons why he chose the aforementioned dramas. There had been 9 performances of William Shakespeare's « Julius Cæsar » , between September 25 and October 5, 1875, at the « Theater an der Wien » , and 99 performances at the « Burgtheater » , between May 27, 1850 and June 2, 1912. The play « Her(r)mannsschlacht » was performed 11 times, between October 15 and 27, 1875, at the « Theater an der Wien » . Evidently, this work belonged to Rott's library. It is also known that Rott owned Shakespeare editions so that he may have had also « Hamlet » and « Julius Cæsar » . Only « Elsbeth » could not be definitely allocated so far.

With regard to Richard Wagner, there is one characteristic in Rott's music for the theatre. They are his only works for Orchestra in that time in which Rott uses a tuba. He returns to this instrument, only later on, in a set of parts of his Symphony No. 1 in E major. Rott may have known and appreciated the use of the tuba in Wagner's works.

An autograph score survived, and so did an autograph score copy (partly with substantial alterations) , autograph single parts as well as copies of the string parts, partly with autograph entries ; all of them are kept in the music collections of the Austrian National Library.

The Songs exist !

A decade after Rott's songs hit the concert-hall, numerous references still say he destroyed them all and that Mahler, who did indeed find Rott's lieder « strange and extraordinary » , regretted Rott carried these in his head rather than writing them down. (This originates from Mahler books by Natalie Baucher-Lechner and Henry-Louis de La Grange written before rediscovery of the songs.)

What's missing ?

Rott continued to compose after being confined from 1880 up until towards his death, in 1884, but his work became confused, sketchy and poor in quality, and he destroyed much though not all of it. Accounts seem muddled about what exactly Rott (just before going mad) had sent to the copyist along with his Symphony for the purpose of submission for the Beethoven competition and a state stipend. There are mentions of the String Sextet and « Pastorales Vorspiel » but, additionally, he had 2 songs copied anyway : « Der Sanger » (the most important complete song we still have) and the « Pied Piper Ballad » . We do have the copyist's full-score of the Pastoral plays but only autographs of these 2 songs, of which the Ballad lacks the words that obviously once existed. Rott destroyed the Sextet in the asylum but we do have Sketches for Song Melodies that he wrote there.

It seems plausible to conclude that the entire Rott collection (which, of course, also includes 8 now recorded orchestral works, and many choral pieces - none recorded) that Fritz Lohr deposited in the Austrian National Library was sourced both from what Rott left behind him in the asylum when he died and from material held externally. Moreover, when it comes to the songs (listed on the Hans Rott website, with original and translated lyrics) , that we have fewer than Rott wrote before or after 1880, and that some we do have were once more complete than what has come down to us. This frustrates full evaluation of Rott's music, for instance, the Hans Rott website comments that the incomplete song « Winterlied » reveals « impressionistic tendencies years ahead of Debussy and Ravel » .

The residual Rott song collection

There are 19 lieder (plus some sketches) but for 11 the scores are incomplete. All the remaining 8 all have been performed since 2002 (premiered in concert, 126 years after composition) . 4 of these are recorded on the new CD. Three of the 8 complete songs are for female voices.

Rott's literary sources

Rott drew on 3 poets and the complete songs divide equally between 2 : Goethe and Vincenc Zusner (apparently, a popular but mediocre and most likely morbid poet later used by Alexander von Zemlinsky, in 1892, and Franz Schreker, in 1899) .

Goethe's « Der Sänger » is about a wandering minstrel's dignity and Franz Schubert set exactly the same words in his D. 149 (from 1815) but in a completely different musical style. Hugo Wolf was to use it in 1888 too, 8 years after Rott. Similarly, Rott used Goethe's « Wander's Nacht » , 12 years before Wolf, but both used « Abendglöcklein » that same year, 1876.

Rott's favourite for his incomplete 1880 lieder was Julius Wolff, whose 1876 poem had just been made into an Opera by Viktor Ernst Nessler, in 1879, whilst Rott used this poem in composing 3 songs as part of an envisaged « Pied Piper » of Hamelin lieder set.

Fitting the songs into the timeline

Rott's surviving songs are from 1876-1880 and mostly very early. (There are lost Mahler songs and a couple of his fragments, from this period, before the 1st extant Mahler song that dates from 1880.) 10 of the 19 songs are dated, a further 2 have been allocated assumed dates, and all but 1 of the 8 complete songs have dates : 5 from 1876 and 1 each from 1877 and 1880.

Early period

5 songs are from 1876 (the 3 dated are all on the CD ; 2 more are assumed to be from 1876) . This was Rott's 3rd year at the Vienna Conservatory (when 2 of the greatest song-writers, Mahler and Wolf were his classmates) . These songs were written after Wagner's Vienna concerts of 1875 and before the « Ring » cycle was stamped on all Rott's orchestral work (except his earlier Symphony for String Orchestra) following his attending its premiere at the 1st Bayreuth Festival, in 1876.

2 Songs are dated from 1877 (but 1 of these is incomplete) , before Rott's Symphony 1st movement was rejected by the Vienna Conservatory competition finals jury, in 1878.

Late-period

5 songs (1 on the CD ; the other 4 are incomplete) are dated from 1880, from what could be called the mature period of the then 22 year old composer ! These songs are sandwiched between Rott falling for Louise Löhr (sister of Fritz) and completing his Symphony dedicated to her, shortly before his mental collapse. « Der Sänger » , which is on the CD, is the sole example we have of performable mature Rott Lieder.

...

Hans Rott grew-up in « Brauhirschengrund » , in Vienna. His early family life was problematic. Rott's mother, Christine, died when he was only 2 years old. His father Karl Mathias was a famous comedy actor at the « Theater an der Wien » , who had turned to acting after a brief career in music, including a stint as an appointed organist. As an actor, Karl won distinguished honours and awards, including the prestigious « Goldene Verdienstkreuz mit der Kron » .

Hans Rott was Karl's child from the 2nd marriage, together with his brother Karl. There were also several half siblings from the 1st marriage. Karl's 3rd wife, the actress Maria Lutz, was 30 years younger than her husband. She died, aged 33, in 1872.

Hans Rott displayed the signs of genius early in life, showing multi-faceted talent. He attended high-school and, later, a commercial business school, from which he graduated with highest recommendations. He began his Symphony for strings in 1874, the same year he entered the Vienna Conservatory as a student.

At the Conservatory, Hans Rott took organ classes with Anton Bruckner. He excelled, achieving 1st grade each year, and winning 1st prize in the organ competitions of the 2nd and 3rd years.

Anton Bruckner was so impressed with his student that he wrote him a glowing recommendation as an organist to Saint-Florian's monastery, in 1878. A notable friendship had developed between Bruckner and his favourite student, causing Bruckner stand with him in the « cheap » ranks, rather than sit at his place of honour, during performances which they attended together. Rott interrupts one letter to Rudolf Krzyżanowski, stating that Bruckner had just come to his door to express his consternation at not seeing more of him at the local pub. (Helmut Kreysing, 1998)

Other studies of Hans Rott include piano with Leopold Landskron. Although he received 1st grade and won a 1st prize in 1875, Rudolf Krzyżanowski reports that both Rott and Bruckner remained questionable piano players, their instrument clearly being the organ.

Hans Rott's harmony studies began in 1874-1875 with Herman Graedner, and counterpoint was studied with Franz Krenn (1875-1876) . His friends Mahler and Krzyżanowski studied alongside him, but it was Rott who was considered to be the most talented of his circle. The friendship Mahler / Rott was significant, Mahler having spoken about Rott as an important personal and professional influence on him. On one occasion, Mahler's mother remarked to her son that Rott was the more talented composer of the 2.

In 1876-1877, Hans Rott took his final examinations in organ, but began experiencing problems on a personal level. Always a conscientious student, who prided himself in attaining top grades and the approval of his family, Rott's life was dealt a severe financial and emotional blow with the death of his father in 1876, leaving him orphaned at age 18.

The loss of his father meant severe financial loss for Rott. Following the stage accident of his father, in 1874, the Rott family fortune went into steep decline. After the death of his father, Rott was left destitute. According to Rudolf Krzyzanowski, he suffered hunger in these years. In only a few short years, he had gone from being the well-respected son of a famous actor to becoming a destitute, struggling orphan.

The Conservatory, recognising Hans Rott's talent and hardship, exempted him from fees in his 2nd year, and awarded him a free place for his 3rd and 4th year.

In 1876, Hans Rott was forced to take-up a badly paid post as organist with the « Piaristen » Monastery in Vienna, as he was also supporting his younger brother, Karl. Rott lived mainly of cheap sausages, called « Extrawurst » , and suffered from the hostile attitude of the prior. In 1878, he was wrongly accused of theft of a score by the monks, and resigned in outrage. Although this accusation was later cleared, Rott remained deeply wounded by what he sensed was a deep betrayal.

Personal notes of this time show Hans Rott to be a soft personality devoid of ill-will toward anyone, but with a deep need for love and acceptance. His friends and musical acquaintances from the « Akademischer Wagnerverein » gave him this in his early years. He joined there in 1876, the « Verein » including such notable names as Gustav Mahler and Hugo Wolf.

Hans Rott was unwilling to align himself with the streams of his time, and stood alone as an individualist. He admired and studied the music of Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner and Richard Wagner, refusing to choose one to the exclusion of the others. Elements of all 3 are reflected in his music, most of which has been preserved and which ranges from Symphonies to chamber music and songs.

As his finances declined, disappointment in his fellow men mounted after a betrayal by his close friend, Rudolf Krzyzanowski. Hans Rott withdrew more into himself and his music. Financially, he was supported mainly by Friedrich Seemueller, with whom he spent a serene last vacation, in 1880, in rural Lower-Austria

Hans Rott was ashamed at being financed by Seemueller, which is shown in his notes. In early 1880, he suffered emotionally on 3 counts : his lack of immediate family, the rejection of his art and, finally, and unhappy love-affair.

Not much is known as present about the love-affair which remains a crucial missing link to Hans Rott's story. His notes indicate that he fell in love with a woman named Louise, who either rejected him or initially loved him back but was promised to someone else and then forced to reject him. All notes so far indicate that Rott was a virgin at the time of his death, loyal to Louise, for whom he wrote the Symphony in E major.

His financial situation and shame forced Hans Rott to accept a post outside Vienna. He was offered a position as Choir-Master in « Muehlhausen » (Mullhouse) in Alsace but, in 1880, made a last ditch effort to remain in Vienna.

Vienna was extremely important to Hans Rott, who had grown-up there and had no family to return to once he left.

Also, Vienna was Louise's home-town, and he clearly hoped to stay close to her. Rott believed that he had to « save » Louise from an unhappy, possibly forced marriage she was about to enter into.

His plan was to win the Beethoven Prize competition with his Symphony in E major, and, to further this aim, he visited Johannes Brahms, in 1880. Alluding to the similar elements found in the Finale of Hans Rott's Symphony to his own C minor Symphony, Brahms harshly stated that Rott could not have possibly written the work himself and told the young composer that he had no talent whatsoever. During the competition, the Symphony was laughed at by the jury, which included Karl Goldmark and Johannes Brahms. Anton Bruckner was incensed at its members, predicting that « You will hear great things, yet, from this young man ! » .

Shaken, but encouraged by Bruckner not to give in, Hans Rott wrote a pleading letter to conductor Hans Richter, outlining his despair at the prospect of leaving Vienna. He expressed the hope that Richter would include the Symphony in the programme of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and thus enable him to find an alternative income.

Hans Richter met with Hans Rott after several delays, on October 14, 1880, and expressed himself favourably about the Symphony, encouraging Rott to keep composing. But he was not willing to incorporate this early work in the programme of the Philharmonic.

Hans Rott must have become convinced that Johannes Brahms was conspiring against him, jealous of his talents as a musician. Forced to accept the posting at Mullhouse, on the train, there, Rott used his pistol to keep a fellow passenger from lighting a cigar because, « Brahms had fixed the train with dynamite ! » . He was taken to the « Landesirrenanstalt » (insane asylum) , where he was interned as a patient of the lowest, non-paying class, and died of tuberculosis within 3 and a half years, on June 25, 1884.

Little is known of Hans Rott's time at the clinic, except that he kept composing and that he was visited by his friends. He had applied for a State stipend prior to leaving Vienna, but had not heard back from the board. Now, too late, the stipend was awarded to him. A surviving letter of Hans Rott from the asylum to the music-director of Mullhouse where he officially renounces the post as choir director, expresses his hope of getting well again and of being able to stay in Vienna.

Hans Rott's funeral on June 28, 1884, at the « Zentralfriedhof » in Vienna was attended by Anton Bruckner, who arrived early and spent a significant amount of time alone with the coffin of his young friend. At the funeral itself, Bruckner was seen crying, and stated openly that Brahms' uncalled-for, harsh treatment of an already isolated young composer was to blame for his demise.

...

Austrian composer Hans Rott (1858-1884) . While at the Vienna Conservatory, Rott became friends with fellow students Anton Krisper, Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Gustav Mahler and Hugo Wolf. Parenthetically, with the exception of Mahler, the other 3 musicians associated with Rott later became insane, a seemingly unusual coincidence. After graduating from the

Conservatory, Rott completed his best-known work, the Symphony in E major. He showed it to Johannes Brahms who pronounced it worthless and suggested that the aspiring musician seek another profession. Depressed and increasingly confused, Rott accepted the job of organist and Choir-Master in Mühlhausen, Germany. Traveling to his new post, he tried to stop a fellow passenger from lighting a cigar, raving that Brahms had booby-trapped the train with dynamite. The psychotic composer was committed to a Viennese asylum, where he continued to compose sporadically. Mahler's wife Alma related : « He used the sheets of music-paper he had written on for a very different purpose and said with a grin of delight : " That's all the works of man are worth. " » . The 25 year old Rott died from tuberculosis 2 years after his commitment.

...

Hans Rott was born on August 1, 1858, in « Brauhirschgrund » , a sub-urban parish of Vienna (today, Vienna 15) as illegitimate son of the actor Carl Mathias Rott (real name : Roth) and the singer and actress Maria Rosalia Lutz. After his parents had married, his father legitimized him in 1863.

From 1874 to 1878, he studied at the Conservatory for Music and Performing Arts of the Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna : piano with Leopold Landskron, organ with Anton Bruckner, harmony with Hermann Grädener and composition with Franz Krenn (together with Gustav Mahler and others) .

In 1876, Hans Rott, a member of the Viennese Academic Wagner Society, attended the 1st Bayreuth Festival. From 1876 to 1878, he was employed as organist at the « Piaristen » Church (Maria Treu) in Vienna with lodgings in the « Piaristen » Monastery. His rooms became the meeting point for numerous fellow students and friends, among them the musicians Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf, the philologist and archaeologist Friedrich Löwy (as from 1887, Löhr) as well as the scholar of German philology Joseph Seemüller.

Still during his musical studies, Hans Rott became an orphan in 1876. Anton Bruckner tried in vain to find a post as organist in Saint-Florian monastery. In Klosterneuburg for his « favourite student » . From 1878 on, Rott made a living by giving private music lessons and he received financial support from his friends.

When, in September 1880, he presented his 1st Symphony to Johannes Brahms, a member of the jury deciding on the grant of a State scholarship Rott had applied for, he met with a harsh rebuff by Anton Bruckner's antipode. And yet, another of his hopes was doomed : Court Opera conductor, Hans Richter, although showing an interest in a performance of the Symphony with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, was reluctant to commit himself.

In October 1880, chain of unfortunate accidents exerting a heavy psychic strain on Hans Rott caused an already lurking insanity to break out. During a train ride to Mulhouse, in the Alsace, where he had accepted a position as music-director and Choir-Master, he pointed a pistol at a fellow traveller to prevent him from lighting a cigar. The reason for his conduct he gave was that Johannes Brahms had had the carriage filled with dynamite !

In February 1881, Hans Rott was transferred from the Psychiatric Hospital of the General Hospital in Vienna to the

Provincial Lunatic Asylum of Lower-Austria. The diagnosis was : insanity, hallucinatory persecution mania. He continued composing at the asylum, later on, however, he gradually developed a deep depression and destroyed some of his compositions. Following several attempts of suicide, he finally died of tuberculosis on June 25, 1884 ; not yet 26 years old.

...

Like Rikard Nordraak and Guillaume Lekeu, Hans Rott is one of the most painful « could have been » cases in the music of the 19th Century. Highly-talented (Bruckner had great hopes about him) , his Symphony, both in thematic content and compositional techniques, anticipates Gustav Mahler, whose 1st Symphony it predated by 8 years. Rott's mother died in his 2nd year of life. His father, an actor, suffered an accident in 1874 and died 2 years later, leaving the young music student without financial support. He could continue his studies only because the Conservatory, in recognition of his talent, waived the fees for the last 3 years. Rott graduated, aged 19, from Bruckner's organ class with the highest honors. He continued his composition studies at the Conservatory where he was a classmate of Mahler, who wrote about him :

« His innermost nature is so much akin to mine that he and I are like 2 fruits of the same tree. »

At the end of the course, Rott submitted, for the final composition contest, a Symphonic movement that would become the 1st of his Symphony in E major. He was not successful with the conservative jury, and his work was not even graded. He persevered and completed the Symphony in mid-1880. The work makes clear his admiration for both Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms. Rott wanted to remain in Vienna but he could not find work as a musician there. He tried to persuade Hans Richter, conductor of the Philharmonic Concerts, to perform the Symphony. Although Richter's attitude was sympathetic, he declined to play the work. Rott visited Brahms, in September 1880, to show him the Symphony. Brahms rejected it and hurt him deeply. He had no alternative than accepting a position as organist in Mühlhausen. It is unclear whether the stress or the deprivations he had to endure were the triggering factor, but the fact is that, aged 22, he developed what was diagnosed as « hallucinatory insanity » , in 1881. He was committed to an asylum where he rapidly deteriorated physically and died of tuberculosis in 1884. Apart from the Symphony, he left several orchestral pieces, songs, a String Quartet, and a String Quintet.

...

The music world began to take an interest in Hans Rott, in 1989, following the world premiere of his Symphony No. 1 in E major, completed in 1880, and rediscovered by Paul W. Banks. The Symphony's 1st movement had not been a success in a composition contest, in 1878, despite Anton Bruckner's dissenting vote. In the remarkably mature work of a 21 year old, we hear besides reminiscences of Wagner, Bruckner and Brahms also well-known themes from Mahler's oeuvre which was conceived only years later.

Mahler who was familiar with the Symphony and (as can be proved) had access to Rott's musical estate acknowledged the composer who had sunken into oblivion as « the founder of the New Symphony ... as I understand it » . In the

end, however, he refrained from performing Rott's Symphony with the Viennese Philharmonic Orchestra.

Rott's œuvre does go far beyond this Symphony, the more so as he might have begun composing already before 1874. Of about 80 compositions (part of them are only drafts) , about 25 have come-down to us in a performable state. Some works, among them a String Sextet and essential parts of his 2nd Symphony, had been almost completely destroyed by Rott. All known compositions are kept in the Music Collections of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. In the meantime, almost all performable works have been edited and published.

Although Rott had been clearly influenced by his teacher Anton Bruckner on the one hand, and by Richard Wagner's music on the other hand, he succeeds in creating music that is his very own, part of which is definitely ahead of its time. Thus especially the 1st part of the « Pastoral Prelude » and the « Winter Song » reveal impressionistic tendencies - years ahead of Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel. The double fugue of the « Pastoral Prelude » sounds like an anticipation of Max Reger's music.

Up to now, besides the Symphony No. 1 in E major which is being performed very often in Europe and the United States, the Symphony for string orchestra, the « Pastoral Prelude » , the Prelude to « Julius Cæsar » , the String Quartet in C minor and other chamber music, lieder and choral works had their world premiere. The premiere of the Suite in E major took place in 2005.

So far, the Symphony No. 1, the « Pastoral Prelude » , the « Orchestral Prelude » , the Prelude to « Julius Cæsar » and the String Quartet in C minor are recorded on CD.

Unfortunately, Hans Rott never had any chance to exert a direct influence upon the music of his time. But anyone comparing his Symphony No. 1 in E major with Mahler's (considerably later written) Symphonies and considering that Mahler was familiar with Rott's 1st work, comes to recognize that Rott's ideas have been propagated and advanced by Gustav Mahler's œuvre. Thus Rott is being considered a link between Bruckner and Mahler.

Musicology has already begun to deal with Hans Rott's music and his relationship with Gustav Mahler. The research work is, however, still in its early stages. For it is not only his Symphony No. 1 in E major which holds quite a number of surprises such as themes which surface years later in Gustav Mahler's Symphonies. Other works (« Pastoral Prelude » , « Winter Song ») reveal impressionistic tendencies - long before the 1st impressionistic creations by Claude Debussy or Maurice Ravel. Some parts of the « Pastoral Prelude » also reminds the listener of Max Reger's works for orchestra composed decades later.

Gradually, the musically interested general public is realizing that Rott's music is a true gain not only from a musicological point of view. Thus the number of the annual performances of his 1st Symphony is increasing ; the « Pastoral Prelude » , too, can be heard more often in the concert halls now. And more and more of his works experience their 1st performance - after more than 100 years.

Further information on the « Internationale Hans Rott Gesellschaft » can be found under :

<http://www.hans-rott.de/> ; www.hans-rott.org

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Hans Rott (geboren 1. August 1858 in Brauhirschen, heute zu Wien ; gestorben 25. Juni 1884 in Wien) war ein österreichischer Komponist und Organist.

Rott war der außereheliche Sohn des seinerzeit berühmten Wiener Schauspielers Karl Mathias Rott, der seine Karriere 1874 auf Grund eines Bühnenunfalls aufgeben mußte und 1876 starb. Trotz seiner finanziell schlechten Lage (seine Mutter, die seit 1862 mit K. M. Rott verheiratete Sängerin und Schauspielerin Maria Rosalia, geborene Lutz, war bereits 1872 verstorben) konnte Rott am Wiener Konservatorium studieren und wurde Orgel- und Lieblingsschüler von Anton Bruckner, der seine Fähigkeiten hoch schätzte. Außerdem gehörten Franz Krenn (Komposition) , Hermann Grädener (Harmonielehre) und Leopold Landskron (Klavier) zu seinen Lehrern.

In seiner Kompositionsklasse am Wiener Konservatorium waren folgende Personen eingeschrieben : Mathilde Kralik, Gustav Mahler, Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Rudolf Pichler, Katharina Haus und Ernst Ludwig. Als am 2. Juli 1878 der Concours für Komposition stattfand, wurden alle hier genannten Musikstudenten geprüft. Alle Teilnehmer bekamen Preise, nur Hans Rotts Concours-Arbeit, der erste Satz seiner Symphonie, blieb ohne Preis. Nach Bruckners Erzählung soll die Prüfungskommission bei Anhörung der Symphonie höhnisch gelacht haben. Bruckner soll daraufhin aufgestanden sein und gesagt haben :

« Lachen Sie nicht, meine Herren, von dem Manne werden Sie noch Großes hören. »

Rott schied ohne Diplom und Medaille aus der Kompositionsschule. Sein Abgangszeugnis bekundet allerdings, daß er die Prüfung in Komposition mit vorzüglichem Erfolg bestanden hatte.

1876 bis 1878 hatte Rott eine Organistenstelle an der Piaristenkirche in Wien, widmete sich dann (neben Privatstunden) ganz der Komposition, vor allem seiner Sinfonie in E-Dur. Dieses Hauptwerk wurde jedoch von Johannes Brahms negativ beurteilt und eine Aufführung von dem interessierten Dirigenten Hans Richter aus Zeitgründen zurückgestellt. Als auch ein Antrag auf Gewährung eines staatlichen Stipendiums abgelehnt wurde, verließ Rott 1880 Wien, um eine Stelle als Chorleiter in Mülhausen anzutreten. Bei der Abreise dorthin manifestierte sich seine schwere psychische Krankheit - seinerzeit als « halluzinatorischer Irrsinn und Verfolgungswahn » bezeichnet. Der Abschied von Wien bedeutete offenbar eine derart schwere Belastung, daß es im Zug zur persönlichen Katastrophe kam. Rott bedrohte einen Mitreisenden mit dem Revolver, als der sich eine Zigarre anzünden wollte, weil Brahms den Zug mit Dynamit habe füllen lassen. Rott wurde nach Wien zurückgebracht und dort zunächst in die Psychiatrische Klinik, 1881 in die Niederösterreichische Landes-Irrenanstalt eingewiesen. Den Rest seines kurzen Lebens verbrachte er dort, empfing Besuche seiner Freunde, komponierte noch fallweise, vernichtete aber auch viele seiner Werke. Er verstarb 1884 an Tuberkulose. Hugo Wolf soll Brahms den Mörder Rotts genannt haben.

Hans Rott wurde auf dem Wiener Zentralfriedhof begraben. Das Grab liegt in der Gruppe 23, Reihe 2, Platz Nummer 59. Es wurde zwischenzeitlich neu vergeben und führt heute die Namen « Schwarz / Sahara ». Eine zusätzlich angebrachte Gedenktafel weist auf Hans Rott hin.

Rotts Symphonie in E-Dur, wie seine anderen Werke seit 1950 in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek verwahrt, wurde in den 1980er Jahren in einer Bearbeitung von Paul W. Banks veröffentlicht und 1989 in Cincinnati, Ohio in den USA vom Cincinnati Philharmonia Orchestra uraufgeführt. Es ist ein modern anmutendes Werk, das Elemente der Symphonien Gustav Mahlers antizipiert sowie durch sein (insbesondere in den Ecksätzen) organistisches Orchestrierungsverfahren stark an Bruckner erinnert.

Die Komposition entstand gleichzeitig mit der ersten Fassung von Mahlers Kantate Das klagende Lied und neun Jahre vor der Uraufführung von dessen erster Sinfonie. Mahler war Rotts Mitschüler in der Kompositionsklasse von Krenn ; er kannte und schätzte Rotts Werk und stellte es (den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner zufolge) bewusst und anerkennend in einen Zusammenhang mit seinem eigenen Schaffen. Sämtliche Kompositionen Rotts sind nachgelassene, zu Lebzeiten unveröffentlichte Werke. Während Mahler seine Studien- beziehungsweise Jugendwerke in reiferen Jahren tilgen oder bearbeiten konnte, hatte Hans Rott diese Möglichkeit vor der nachfolgenden Rezeption nicht.

...

Hans Rott wurde am 1. August 1858 in Brauhirschgrund (heute Wien XV.) als außerehelicher Sohn des Schauspielers und Gesangskomikers Carl Mathias Rott (eigentlich Roth) und der Sängerin und Schauspielerin Maria Rosalia Lutz geboren. Nach der Heirat der Eltern wurde er 1863 von seinem Vater legitimiert.

Von 1874 bis 1878 studierte er am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, und zwar Klavier bei Leopold Landskron, Orgel bei Anton Bruckner, Harmonielehre bei Hermann Grädener und Komposition bei Franz Krenn (zusammen und andere mit Gustav Mahler) .

1876 besuchte Rott als Mitglied des Wiener akademischen Wagner-Vereins die ersten Bayreuther Festspiele. Von 1876 bis 1878 war er Organist an der Wiener Piaristenkirche (Maria Treu) und wohnte im Piaristenkloster. Seine Wohnung wurde zum Treffpunkt zahlreicher Mitschüler und Freunde, darunter die Musiker Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf, der Philologe und Archäologe Friedrich Löwy (seit 1887 Löhr) sowie der Germanist Joseph Seemüller.

Rott war schon 1876 während seiner musikalischen Ausbildung verwaist. Anton Bruckner versuchte vergeblich, seinen « Lieblingsschüler » als Organist nach Sankt Florian beziehungsweise Klosterneuburg zu vermitteln. Seit 1878 lebte Rott von Privatmusikunterricht und von Zuwendungen seiner Freunde.

Als er im September 1880 Johannes Brahms, einem Kuratoriumsmitglied des angestrebten Staatsstipendiums, seine 1. Symphonie vorlegte, empfing er eine herbe Abfuhr des Bruckner-Antipoden. Aber auch eine andere Hoffnung Rotts schien sich zu zerschlagen : Der an einer Aufführung der Symphonie mit den Wiener Philharmonikern interessierte Hofopernkapellmeister Hans Richter wollte sich nicht festlegen.

Eine Verkettung verschiedener weiterer Rott psychisch stark belastender Umstände führte im Oktober 1880 auf der Fahrt nach Mülhausen / Elsass, wohin er als Musikdirektor und Chorleiter engagiert worden war, zum Ausbruch des bereits latent vorhanden gewesenen Wahnsinns : Er hinderte mit gezückter Pistole einen Mitreisenden daran, sich eine Zigarre anzuzünden. Er begründete dies damit, daß Brahms den Waggon mit Dynamit habe füllen lassen.

Rott wurde von der Psychiatrischen Klinik des Allgemeinen Krankenhauses in Wien im Februar 1881 in die Niederösterreichische Landes-Irren-Anstalt überstellt ; die Diagnose lautete : Verrücktheit, halluzinatorischer Verfolgungswahn. Zwar komponierte er auch dort weiter, versank aber später immer mehr in tiefe Traurigkeit und vernichtete etliche seiner Kompositionen. Schließlich verstarb er nach mehreren Selbstmordversuchen am 25. Juni 1884 mit noch nicht einmal 26 Jahren an Tuberkulose.

« Lachen Sie nicht, meine Herren »

Zur Uraufführung des « Pastoralen Vorspiels für Orchester » von Hans Rott.

Da es um seinen Lieblingsschüler Hans Rott ging, wurde Anton Bruckner energisch. Carl Hrubý berichtet über einen Vorfall am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde im Juli 1878 :

« Am Schlusse ertönte vom Merkerstuhle - pardon, vom Prüfungstische her - höhnisches Lachen. Da erhob sich der sonst so ängstliche Bruckner und rief den " Merkern " da unten die flammenden Worte entgegen : " Lachen Sie nicht, meine Herren, von dem Manne werden Sie noch Großes hören ! " »

Welches Werk Rotts die Herren des Konservatoriums zum Spott reizte, wird in dem Bericht nicht gesagt ; es handelte sich (mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit) um den ersten Satz der E-Dur Symphonie des jungen Komponisten, eines Werkes, das mehr als hundert Jahre nach seiner Entstehung eine unvermutete Renaissance erlebte und eine breite Öffentlichkeit mit dem bisher so gut wie unbekanntem Namen « Rott » konfrontierte.

Anton Bruckners Prophezeiung konnte sich freilich nur zum Teil erfüllen. Als am 25. Juni 1884 der kaum sechszwanzigjährige Hans Rott, Patient der niederösterreichischen Landesirrenanstalt, an Tuberkulose starb, gehörten die hochgespannten Hoffnungen und Erwartungen, die seine Freunde in ihn gesetzt hatten, bereits seit geraumer Zeit der Vergangenheit an. Fast vier Jahre lang hatte der tragische Lebensepilog des von den Ärzten aufgegebenen, an « halluzinatorischem Irrsinn und Verfolgungswahn » erkrankten Musikers gedauert, der als Schüler des Konservatoriums die Anerkennung Anton Bruckners, als Komponist die Bewunderung eines kleinen, aber erlesenen Freundeskreises erregt hatte, eines Kreises, dem während seiner frühen Wiener Jahre auch Gustav Mahler angehörte.

Mit dem Namen Mahler ist das Stichwort gefallen, das die Wiederentdeckung Rotts während der achtziger Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts wesentlich bestimmte. Wieder einmal mußte der Anstoß « von außen » kommen : Der englische Musikwissenschaftler Paul W. Banks befaßte sich im Zuge seiner archivalischen Studien zur Jugend Gustav Mahlers und dessen Wiener Freundeskreis auch mit Hans Rotts künstlerischem Nachlaß, der sich seit 1950 in der Musiksammlung der

Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek befindet. Das Manuskript der Symphonie in E-Dur erregte sein Interesse, nicht zuletzt wegen des außergewöhnlichen Lobes, das Gustav Mahler diesem Werk viele Jahre nach dem Tod des Jugendfreundes gegenüber Natalie Bauer-Lechner gezollt hatte :

« Was die Musik an ihm verloren hat, ist gar nicht zu ermessen : zu solchem Fluge erhebt sich sein Genius schon in dieser Ersten Symphonie, die er als zwanzigjähriger Jüngling schrieb und die ihn - es ist nicht zu viel gesagt - zum Begründer der neuen Symphonie macht, wie ich sie verstehe. Allerdings ist das, was er wollte, noch nicht ganz erreicht. Es ist, wie wenn einer zu weitestem Wurf ausholt und, noch ungeschickt, nicht völlig ans Ziel hintrifft. Doch ich weiß, wohin er zielt. Ja, er ist meinem Eigensten so verwandt, daß er und ich mir wie zwei Früchte von demselben Baum erscheinen, die derselbe Boden gezeugt, die gleiche Luft genährt hat. An ihm hätte ich unendlich viel haben können und vielleicht hätten wir zwei zusammen den Inhalt dieser neuen Zeit, die für die Musik anbrach, einigermaßen erschöpft. »

Es scheint, daß Mahler zu dieser Zeit (im Sommer 1900) eine Aufführung der Symphonie ins Auge faßte, zu der es jedoch, aus welchen Gründen auch immer, nicht kam. Das Werk schlummerte weiterhin in Schubladen und Archiven, bis Paul W. Banks das Aufführungsmaterial herstellte und die Uraufführung (4. März 1989) in Cincinnati unter Gerhard Samuel initiierte. Das Echo war groß und international ; kurze Zeit später konnte man Rotts Symphonie auch in Paris, London und Wien hören. Fast gleichlautend vermerkte die Kritik bei diesem Werk eine Reihe von auffallenden Mahler-Anklängen, besser gesagt -Antizipationen, da die Symphonie viele Jahre vor Mahlers symphonischem Erstling entstanden war. « Mahlers Nullte oder Rotts Erste ? » fragte anlässlich der Wiener Erstaufführung durch die Wiener Symphoniker unter Carlos Kalmar am 4. März 1990 Wolfgang Fuhrmann im « Standard » und zog das Resümee :

« Unweigerlich drängt sich die Vermutung auf, daß die Studienfreunde Rott und Mahler in engem musikalischen Gedankenaustausch gestanden haben müßen. »

Ähnlich dürften die Dinge bei dem Werk liegen, das nun (immerhin bereits 120 Jahre nach seiner Entstehung) seine Uraufführung erleben wird : dem « Pastoralen Vorspiel für Orchester », beendet 1880, also kurz nach Fertigstellung der Ersten Symphonie. Zum « Pastoralen Vorspiel » ist der biographischen Rott-Literatur so gut wie nichts zu entnehmen ; umso gespannter darf man sein, ob sich das Phänomen des « vorweggenommenen Mahler » auch in der Klanggestalt dieses Werkes kundtun wird, dessen Partitur aus solchem Blickwinkel einiges verspricht. Vor allem die von Vogellauten und Haltetönen bestimmte Naturszene am Beginn von Mahlers Erster erscheint als Reminiszenz mancher Stellen des « Pastoralen Vorspiels », das (im Gegensatz zur Symphonie) nicht zur Präsentation vor einer Prüfungskommission gedacht war, wodurch der klanglichen und formalen Phantasie des Komponisten keinerlei Schranken auferlegt wurden. Und so drängt sich die Frage auf : Welche Beziehung bestand zwischen Rott und Mahler ? Entsprechend der musikalischen Verwandtschaft tatsächlich eine Gleichgestimmtheit der Charaktere ?

Eine (allerdings äußerst subjektive) Antwort gab Rotts Jugendfreund Heinrich Krzyżanowski, der in seinen schriftlichen Erinnerungen über die Beziehung zu Mahler festhält :

« Nebenbei : zwischen Rott und Mahler hat, soviel sie auch beisammen waren, eine richtige Freundschaft nie bestanden

. »

Tatsächlich ist auch keine Aussage Rotts überliefert, die auf eine engere Freundschaft mit Mahler hindeutet ; auch dürfte sich Mahler aus dem Musiker-Freundeskreis, der sich in den Jahren 1877 und 1878 regelmäßig in Rotts Zimmer im Piaristenkloster traf, nach 1878 zurückgezogen haben. Rotts tragisches Schicksal und der sehr individuelle Gestus seiner Musik scheinen auf den um nur zwei Jahre jüngeren Kollegen aber einen tiefen Eindruck gemacht haben, der (man denke an die Bemerkung gegenüber Natalie Bauer-Lechner) über Jahrzehnte hinweg lebendig blieb und Rott in Mahlers Denken gewissermaßen zu einer Symbolfigur des Scheiterns machte.

Anläufe, enttäuschte Hoffnungen : unter diesem Motto steht Rotts kurzer Lebensweg. Am 1. August 1858 als Sohn des Schauspielers Carl Matthias Rott geboren, absolvierte der Knabe zunächst das Akademische Gymnasium und zwei Jahre einer Handelslehranstalt. Erst dann dürfte ihm die Berufung zur Musik klar geworden sein ; ab 1874 studierte er am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Orgel bei Bruckner, Harmonielehre bei Grädener, Komposition bei Krenn) . Wagner, der Abgott des Bruckner-Kreises, zog auch ihn in seinen Bann : 1875 trat Rott dem Wiener akademischen Wagner-Verein bei, 1876 besuchte er die ersten Bayreuther Festspiele. Während der folgenden zwei Jahre war er (unter sehr kärglichen Lebensverhältnissen) Organist des Josefstädter Kirchenmusikvereins und lebte im Piaristenkloster. Die Organistenstelle gab er 1878 auf, im gleichen Jahr beendete er seine Studien am Konservatorium, und nun begann eine zweijährige, von wiederholten Mißerfolgen bestimmte Suche nach einer festen Anstellung.

Seine Unterhandlungen mit Sankt Florian und Klosterneuburg blieben ebenso vergeblich wie seine Bewerbungen an der Michaeler- und Votivkirche in Wien. Bruckner half mit Empfehlungsschreiben; eines blieb im Rott-Nachlaß erhalten :

« Es gereicht Gefertigtem zum großen Vergnügen, konstatieren zu können, daß er an Herrn Hans Rott während dessen Studienjahre am Conservatorium einen Kunstjünger kennenlernte, der vermöge seines ganz vorzüglichen Talent, Fleißes und sittlich reinen Charakters sowohl, wie nicht weniger durch damals schon gediegene Kunstleistungen auf musikalischem Gebiete, und besonders auf der Orgel zu bedeutenden Hoffnungen berechtigte. »

Gefühlsbetonte Ortsgebundenheit und eine Liebesbeziehung fesselten Rott an Wien, doch immer klarer erwies es sich, daß er hier keine Zukunft hatte. Allerdings waren die Jahre bis 1880 bei aller Sorge um das materielle Überleben auch eine schöpferische Phase ; nicht nur die Symphonie in E-Dur entstand in diesem Zeitraum, sondern auch (parallel dazu) das « Pastorale Vorspiel » und das (kompositorisch höchst avancierte) Streichquartett in C-Moll. Rott bewarb sich um den Beethoven-Preis und das Staatsstipendium für Musiker und reichte 1880 die Symphonie und das « Pastorale Vorspiel » im Unterrichtsministerium ein, weiters schienen ihm Besuche bei den Mitgliedern der Preiskommission angebracht, der auch Johannes Brahms angehörte. Der Besuch bei Brahms dürfte für den jungen Komponisten, dessen hochgradige Nervosität bereits eine psychische Krise ankündigte, ein traumatisches Erlebnis gewesen sein. Brahms habe sich, wie Rott danach seinen Freunden berichtete, schroff ablehnend über die Symphonie geäußert und hinzugefügt, « das könne er unmöglich selbst gemacht haben » .

Eine schwere Belastung bedeutete für Rott zudem der bevorstehende Abschied von Wien, denn eine halbherzig abgegebene Bewerbung um die Position des Leiters der elsässischen Chorvereinigung « Concordia » hatte Erfolg gehabt

; Rott mußte die Stellung antreten und reiste Ende Oktober 1880 von Wien ab. Im Zug kam es zur Katastrophe. Rott bedrohte einen Mitreisenden, der sich eine Zigarre anzünden wollte, mit dem Revolver : Brahms habe den Zug mit Dynamit füllen lassen. Er wurde nach Wien zurückgebracht und in die Psychiatrische Klinik des Allgemeinen Krankenhauses eingewiesen. Den Rest seines kurzen, tragischen Lebens verbrachte er hinter den Mauern psychiatrischer Anstalten.

Es mag zynisch anmuten, ein solches Lebensschicksal im Rückblick als « interessanter » zu klassifizieren als eine wohlgeordnete, « normale » Biographie. Sicherlich rechtfertigt es nicht eo ipso das Interesse an den hinterlassenen Kompositionen ; diese müssen sich im Konzertbetrieb durch ihre eigenen, immanenten Qualitäten legitimieren. Die Symphonie in E-Dur hat die Prüfung durch die Öffentlichkeit bereits bestanden, dem « Pastoralen Vorspiel » steht sie noch bevor. Sicherlich läßt sich einiges aufgrund der Partitur über das Werk sagen : daß es als breit angelegtes Crescendo konzipiert ist, sich in ein Präludium und eine Fuge gliedert, kammermusikalisch-raffinierte Instrumentation zeigt und Zeugnis für die kontrapunktische Phantasie seines Schöpfers ablegt. Doch erst das reale Klangereignis wird erweisen, ob das Eigentliche gelungen ist. Und das wäre die Entdeckung eines Werkes, das uns als unmittelbares musikalisches Erlebnis begegnet, nicht nur im Sinne einer späten « Ehrenrettung » Hans Rotts.

L'élève Rudolf Krzyzanowski

Heinrich Krzyzanowski (1855-1933) : écrivain autrichien et frère de Rudolf. Un ami proche de Gustav Mahler dans sa jeunesse. Il étudie la philologie allemande à l'Université de Vienne avant de se rendre à Starnberg, près de Munich, en 1883.

Rudolf Krzyzanowski : Violoniste, pianiste, organiste et chef d'orchestre né le 5 avril 1859 (ou 1862) à Eger (Cheb) , en République tchèque, et mort le 20 juin 1911, à Graz, en Autriche. Il fut l'élève d'Anton Bruckner au Conservatoire de Vienne. De plus, il fera partie de la classe de composition de 3e année du professeur Franz Krenn. Lors du concert de création du Quatuor avec piano de Gustav Mahler, on entendra également l'Adagio pour Sextuor à cordes de Rudolf Krzyzanowski. Les 2 pièces recevront d'ailleurs un prix.

L'amitié de Gustav Mahler avec les frères Krzyzanowski datait de leur prime jeunesse ; elle était considérée chaleureuse et intime. Mahler entreprit quelques excursions en forêt et en montagne en leur compagnie. Gustav et Rudolf partageaient les mêmes intérêts et les mêmes ambitions.

Après avoir quitté le Conservatoire, Rudolf Krzyzanowski va occuper différents postes. Pendant quelques années, la correspondance de Mahler fera souvent référence à la carrière de Rudolf. Mahler était toujours prêt à le conseiller ou à user de son influence lorsque cela était nécessaire. Il va d'ailleurs suggérer à l'agent de Rudolf que son protégé puisse continuer à remplir ses fonctions à Cassell malgré le déménagement à Leipzig.

Au moins jusque dans les années 1890, les lettres démontrent que Mahler est demeuré en contact avec ces 2 compagnons. Heinrich Krzyzanowski va un jour écrire à Mahler pour lui suggérer un projet d'Opéra mais il semble qu'il n'y eut pas de suite.

De 1891 à 1895, Rudolf Krzyżanowski succèdera à Prague à Karl Muck, comme chef principal du « Neues Deutsches Theater » (Nouveau Théâtre Allemand) . Le 16 décembre 1894, il va diriger la première de l'Opéra-comique en 3 actes « Donna Diana » du compositeur tchèque Emil von Reznicek. Selon les dires de ce dernier, citées dans le livre « Künstler plaudern » , l'œuvre est devenue non seulement un franc-succès mais un succès mondial. (D'autres productions auront lieu dans plusieurs Théâtres allemands.) Son Ouverture, qui a rapidement passé dans le répertoire des salles de concert (il en existe d'ailleurs plusieurs enregistrements) , possède à l'origine une histoire assez tumultueuse. Le directeur de la Maison lui a mentionné, 1 jour avant la première : « Il est vraiment regrettable que cet Opéra ne possède pas d'Ouverture, ne pourriez-vous pas en écrire une ? » . « Je suis resté debout toute la nuit à composer. J'avais 24 ans à l'époque ! » .

Le livret de « Donna Diana » , écrit par le compositeur, est basé sur une traduction allemande de Carl August West (« Joseph Schreyvogel ») intitulée « Donna Diana oder Stolz und Liebe » de la comédie espagnole « El desdén con el desdén » de Agustín Moreto y Cavana.

Rudol Krzyżanowski sera le principal responsable de l'intronisation du compositeur Emil von Reznicek dans une Société professionnelle qui va exister jusqu'à la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale à Prague : la « Gesellschaft zur Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur » .

En 1896, après son séjour à Prague, Rudolf et son épouse, la soprano Ida Doxat (1867-?) , s'en vont rejoindre Gustav Mahler à Hambourg où Krzyżanowski deviendra son assistant-chef à l'Opéra. Selon la correspondance de Justine Mahler à Ernestine Löhr, une tension considérable va s'installer entre les 2 musiciens durant cette période.

En 1898, Rudolf Krzyżanowski devient le directeur musical du « Hoftheater » de Weimar ; il conservera ce poste jusqu'en 1907. Krzyżanowski sera responsable de la programmation du « Donna Diana » de Reznicek.

Le Théâtre national allemand (« Deutsches Nationaltheater ») est un théâtre de Weimar créé en 1791 et appelé jusqu'en 1918 le théâtre de la Cour grand-ducale (« Großherzogliches Hoftheater ») .

Sa renommée a été établie par Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, qui fut son 1er intendant, de 1791 à 1817, et y collabora pendant plusieurs années avec Friedrich Schiller. Au XIXe siècle, l'établissement compta parmi ses directeurs musicaux Franz Liszt, qui y créa notamment l'Opéra « Lohengrin » de Richard Wagner, en 1850, et Richard Strauß, qui y créa notamment son Poème symphonique « Don Juan » , en 1889, et l'Opéra « Hänsel und Gretel » d'Engelbert Humperdinck, en 1893.

Le théâtre est également l'un des lieux de mémoire de la démocratie allemande, ayant accueilli en 1919 les séances de l'Assemblée nationale constituante et vu l'adoption de la nouvelle constitution de l'Allemagne républicaine, qui sera appelée plus tard pour cette raison : « République de Weimar » .

Le bâtiment actuel a été construit en 1906 par Max Littmann, l'intérieur ayant été reconstruit en 1946-1948.

Comme ses condisciples du Conservatoire, Hans Rott et Hugo Wolf, Rudolf Krzyżanowski va mourir fou, le 21 juin 1911, seulement quelques semaines après le décès de son collègue et ami d'enfance, Gustav Mahler.

...

Profession : Conductor.

Residences : Cheb (Eger) , Vienna, Prague.

His brother was Heinrich Krzyżanowski (1855-1933) .

Both brothers were close friends of Hans Rott (1858-1884) and Gustav Mahler.

Relation to Gustav Mahler : Close friend.

Correspondence with Mahler : Yes.

Married to : Ida Doxat (born in 1867) .

Died insane : 20 June 1911, in Graz, Austria (only few weeks after Mahler's own death) .

Studied violin, piano, organ and composition at the « Conservatorium » in Vienna (1872-1876) together with Gustav Mahler and member of Professor Franz Krenn's 3rd year composition class. At the same concert in which Gustav Mahler's prize-winning Scherzo for piano quintet was played, an Adagio for string sextet by Rudolf Krzyżanowski was performed : it too, was awarded a prize.

9 December 1876 : Rudolf Krzyżanowski and Gustav Mahler gave a concert in Jihlava (Iglau) , at the Hotel Czap, Nos. 15/1696 Zizkova street (Johann's « Platz » No. 50/51) .

July 1883 : During a holiday trip to the Fichtel mountains and Wundsiedel (birth-place of Jean Paul ; 1763-1825) , Gustav Mahler stayed at the parents' house of his friends Heinrich and Rudolf Krzyżanowski, at No. 460 Provaznicka Street, in Cheb.

A musical event of major importance in Mahler's Viennese years was his discovery of Richard Wagner's Opera « Götterdämmerung » , which he experienced in the company of 2 close friends, Hugo Wolf and Rudolf Krzyżanowski (Alma Mahler is the source of the well-known story of their expulsion from lodgings as a result of a vigorous performance of the Trio which ends Act II) .

Krzyżanowski also studied at the « Conservatorium » of Prague. After leaving the « Conservatorium » , he seems to have held a number of conducting appointments, the most of which were in Prague where he succeeded Karl Muck as

Ist conductor, from 1892 to 1895, and Weimar where he was « Hofkapellmeister » , from 1898 to 1907. Mahler's early friendship with the Krzyżanowski brothers was warm and intimate. He had interests and ambitions in common with Rudolf, and his holiday plans on occasions included both brothers. His correspondence for some years makes frequent reference to Rudolf's career and he was always ready to advise, or use his influence on his friend's behalf, where such was required. He suggested to his agent, for instance, that Rudolf should fill his post at Kassel when he moved on to Leipzig. Until the 1890's, at least, his letters show that he kept in touch with these companions of his youth. At one stage, Heinrich wrote to Mahler suggesting an Operatic project, but it appears that nothing came of the idea. They did Alpine walking together. Rudolf worked as « Kapellmeister » in Halle an der Saale, Elberfeld, Munich, Prague and Hamburg. He worked in Hamburg with Gustav Mahler, from 1892 to 1897. He worked in Weimar, from 1898 to 1907. In November 1899, he performed Gustav Mahler's completion of « Die Drei Pintos » . Rudolf Krzyżanowski worked with Mahler in preparing the piano-duet version of Bruckner's Symphony No. 3.

...

Rudolf Krzyżanowski succeeded Karl Muck in 1892 as Ist conductor at the « Neues Deutsches Theater » (Prague German Theater) . He conducted there the premiere of « Donna Diana » on December 16, 1894. In the composer's words written for the book « Künstler plaudern » , the work became not only a great success, but even a world success. And the Overture, which indeed passed into the repertoire of the concert halls, had a tumultuous story of origin. Initially, that is to say, there was to come from me its Overture, but the manager suggested one day before the premiere, « It is truly unfortunate that this Opera has no Overture - could you not still write one ? » I sat-up all night and composed it. I was 24 years old back then ! » Krzyżanowski figures prominently in Reznicek's induction into a professional Society that existed until the end of the Second World War in Prague : the « Gesellschaft zur Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur » . After Prague, Krzyżanowski became an assistant to Gustav Mahler at the Hamburg Opera. From 1898 through 1907, he was Ist conductor at the Weimar Theater where he would conduct that theater's production of « Donna Diana » .

« Donna Diana » is a comic opera in 3 acts by Emil von Reznicek. The libretto, written by the composer, is based on a German translation by Carl August West (« Joseph Schreyvogel ») titled « Donna Diana oder Stolz und Liebe » of the Spanish comedy « El desdén con el desdén » by Agustín Moreto y Cavana. It was Ist performed on 16 December 1894 at the Neues Deutsches Theater in Prague. The Opera was successful in its day, with productions in several German theatres, but currently is rarely performed ; its Overture, however, has often been recorded and is sometimes heard in the concert-hall.

The Austrian late- Romantic composer of Czech ancestry Emil Nikolaus Freiherr von Reznicek was born on 4 May 1860 in Vienna and died on 2 August 1945 in Berlin. (Ferdinand von Reznicek was his half-brother.) He studied law and music simultaneously in Graz. He did not finish his law degree, but continued to study music, his teacher being Wilhelm Mayer (pseudonym : W. A. Rémy) . Subsequently, he conducted at the theater in Graz, in Berlin and a few other places. From 1886 to 1894, he was « Kapellmeister » of the 88th Infantry of Prague, and it was here that he saw his greatest triumph with the premiere of « Donna Diana » (16 December 1894) . In the spring of 1902, he

settled in Berlin, touring to Russia and England from time to time. When the Nazi Party came to power in 1933, Reznicek tried not to become involved, but stayed in Berlin.

Emil von Reznicek was a personal friend of Richard Strauß. However, the relation between the 2 seems to have been an ambivalent one. Reznicek's Symphonic poem « Schlemihl » (1912) can be seen as a direct parody of Strauß' « A Hero's Life ». The use of (often sarcastic) humor is a feature of much of Reznicek's music, from the jibbering Blaubart in the Opera « Ritter Blaubart » through the sardonic Dance around the « Golden Calf from Der Sieger » (1913) to the expressionist Tarantella last movement of his Dance Symphony No. 5 (1925). This « Eulenspiegel » (a reference to the literary prankster, « Till Eulenspiegel ») frequently got him into trouble in a world that was unaccustomed to the use of humour in music and art.

Today, Reznicek is mainly remembered for the Overture to his Opera « Donna Diana », composed in 1894. The Overture is a popular stand-alone piece at Symphonic concerts and it served as the theme for the American radio (1947-1955) series « Challenge of the Yukon », which later migrated to the TV series (1955-1958) « Sergeant Preston of the Yukon ». It was also used in the 1950's on the BBC's « Children's Hour » by Stephen King-Hall for his talks on current affairs.

WAB manquant : « Symphonisches Präludium »

WAB missing (1875-1876) : « Symphonisches Präludium » ; Symphonic prelude in C minor for orchestra (« Studien Partitur ») . Doubtful authorship. Orchestrated by Albrecht Gürsching.

Orchestersatz in C-Moll nach der Niederschrift des Bruckner-Schülers Rudolf Krzyzanowski aus dem Jahr 1876 mit dem Schriftzug von « Anton Bruckner » ; mit Faksimile-Wiedergabe des Autographs.

DOBLI 12104, Ludwig Döblinger Musikverlag.

Co-authors : Wolfgang Hittl and Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs.

Henri-Louis de la Grange's marathon biography of Gustav Mahler makes no mention of this work. In addition to the fact that the music as found in the Austrian National Library was a piano reduction, Albrecht Gürsching had to undertake the task of re-orchestrating it to how he believed it might have sounded like in that format. In addition to sounding like a combination of Mahler and Bruckner, it has a bit of the sound of early Richard Strauß, particularly from the era before the tone poems, such as his 4 movement work, « Aus Italien » at least from the texture of Gürsching's re-orchestration. The overall flow of the work takes on the sound of a Bruckner Symphony composed around 1876. It could be an abandoned attempt for a movement to one of his early Symphonies, or another attempt at a stand-alone work similar to his obscure Overture in G minor.

The Symphonic Prelude for orchestra functions much like the Organ Prelude that would herald the start of a festive liturgical service. Here, it serves as a tuneful and exciting « Introit » to the dramatic lyricism of the Mass in F minor.

The « Symphonisches Präludium » in C minor (of 1876) has a curious, and convoluted, history tied to the Estate of Rudolf Krzyżanowski (1859-1911) , who, along with Gustav Mahler, was a pupil of Anton Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory, in the mid-1870's. After World War II, the manuscript we know as the « Symphonic Prelude » was found among the items belonging to the Estate of Krzyżanowski. The manuscript is a hand-written orchestral score of 43 pages, bearing the inscription « Rudolf Krzyżanowski copied. 1876 » on the 1st page, and, on the last page, in large, blue letters, « von Anton Bruckner » . In 1948-1949, copies of the work were given to leading Bruckner scholars for their examination. Some of these experts, such as Max Auer and conductor Volkmar Andreae, viewed the attribution to Bruckner positively, and Andreae agreed to conduct the premiere with the Vienna Philharmonic. Unfortunately, the members of the Orchestra, all of whom were very familiar with Bruckner's Symphonies, voted their expert opinion as against Bruckner's authorship and refused the premiere. A 3rd scholar, Leopold Nowak, the « editor in chief » of the official « Complete Edition of the Works » of Anton Bruckner, was asked to render his judgment. Although, he never did express a clear « ja » or « nein » , he chose not to include it in the « Complete Edition » .

Although scholars to this day disagree about the likelihood that some or all of the music of this « Symphonisches Präludium » originates with Bruckner, what we do have is a performing edition of a Symphonic work of somewhat mysterious origins that seems to have originated in the circle of Bruckner's students in the 1870's. In fact, much of its interest derives from the mystery of who might have composed it.

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1875-1876 : WAB manquant : « Symphonisches Präludium » (« Studien Partitur ») , prélude Symphonique en do mineur pour orchestre. Cette œuvre, qui est souvent attribuée à Gustav Mahler ou à Rudolf Krzyżanowski, un autre élève de Bruckner, est, selon le musicologue Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs, de la plume de Bruckner. Il ressort clairement de son analyse stylistique que le matériel musical de ce mouvement Symphonique, en forme d'ouverture, est bien de Bruckner, notamment car certains de ses éléments rappellent les précédentes 2e et 3e Symphonies, ainsi que les esquisses de la Symphonie en si bémol majeur de 1869, et la réapparition fuguée du 2e motif rappelle le 1er motif du Finale de la contemporaine 5e Symphonie, tandis que d'autres préfigurent même des éléments de la 9e Symphonie, que personne ne pouvait déjà connaître en 1876. Fac-similé et partition édités par Wolfgang Hittl et Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs : Ludwig Döblinger Musikverlag, Vienne (2002) ; DOBLI 12104 - STP 704, ISMN 012-18981-7. Albrecht Gürsching en a fait une orchestration.

« Le 15 et le 16 mars 1981, l'Orchestre RIAS de Berlin-Ouest a donné, sous la direction de Lawrence Foster, la 1re audition d'un " Prélude Symphonique ", orchestré par le musicologue hambourgeois Albrecht Gürsching. Renseignements pris auprès de ce dernier, il s'agissait de l'orchestration d'un manuscrit appartenant à la " Nationalbibliothek " de Vienne et dont la page-titre porte la mention suivante : " Prélude Symphonique, d'après la copie d'un élève de Bruckner, Rudolf Krzyżanowski, de l'année 1876, censément d'Anton Bruckner. Transcription pour piano d'après la partition d'orchestre de Heinrich Tschuppik. ". Au bas de la page a été ajoutée la note suivante : " Pourrait-il s'agir d'un travail de Gustav Mahler, réalisé pour un examen ? Krzyżanowski a collaboré avec Mahler à la transcription pour piano à 4 mains de la 3e Symphonie de Bruckner (2e version) ". On perd alors la trace de la partition que Tschuppik

a transcrite. Son manuscrit comprend 8 feuillets à 16 portées, dont une double-page servant de couverture, et 3 pages blanches. Certains passages sont notés sur 3 portées, avec quelques indications concernant l'orchestration originale. L'ensemble est composé de 292 mesures et le tempo indiqué est " nicht zu rasch " (pas trop vif) . Le morceau commence par le thème suivant des basses, accompagné par un ostinato typiquement brucknérien. »

Le Prélude symphonique : composé par Bruckner ?

WAB manquant (1875-1876) : « Symphonisches Präludium » (« Studien Partitur ») , prélude Symphonique en do mineur pour orchestre. Cette œuvre, qui est souvent attribuée à Gustav Mahler ou à Rudolf Krzyżanowski, un autre élève de Bruckner, est, selon le musicologue Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs, de la plume de Bruckner. Il ressort clairement de son analyse stylistique que le matériel musical de ce mouvement Symphonique, en forme d'ouverture, est bien de Bruckner, notamment car certains de ses éléments rappellent les précédentes 2e et 3e Symphonies, ainsi que les esquisses de la Symphonie en si bémol majeur de 1869, et la réapparition fuguée du 2e motif rappelle le 1er motif du Finale de la contemporaine 5e Symphonie, tandis que d'autres préfigurent même des éléments de la 9e Symphonie, que personne ne pouvait déjà connaître en 1876. Fac-similé et partition édités par Wolfgang Hiltl et Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs : Ludwig Döblinger Musikverlag, Vienne (2002) ; DOBLI 12104 - STP 704, ISMN 012-18981-7. Albrecht Gürsching en a fait une orchestration.

...

Le « Symphonisches Präludium » est en quelque sorte un mystère. S'il n'est pas de Gustav Mahler, il émane certes de Vienne, à l'époque où il était étudiant. Il fut découvert à la fin des années 1970 à la Bibliothèque nationale d'Autriche : une transcription pour piano d'un certain Heinrich Tschuppik, faite au départ de ce que la page-titre décrit comme une partition : « de l'année 1876 ; attribuée à Anton Bruckner ; copiée par son élève Rudolf Krzyżanowski » . Les sonorités et le style du Prélude portent fortement, certes, la marque de Bruckner et nullement celle de Richard Wagner. Toutefois, certaines particularités structurelles ont conduit des musicologues à le considérer plutôt comme l'œuvre d'un compositeur plus jeune, inspiré par Bruckner. Comme Rudolf Krzyżanowski était un compagnon d'étude de Mahler et un ami proche qui cultivait pour lui une grande admiration, on fut très tenté de ne voir là qu'une composition qui daterait des années où Mahler était étudiant et qui se serait perdue. Le mystère ne sera peut-être jamais éclairci. On sait que les œuvres plus tardives de Mahler et la Symphonie de Hans Rott, un autre compagnon d'étude, étaient thématiquement très proches. On pourrait donc raisonnablement supposer qu'il existait, à la fin des années 1870, une communauté assez profonde de style et même de conceptions musicales au sein du cercle de Mahler, dont les membres étaient influencés et inspirés l'un par l'autre. Mahler, très certainement, a eu connaissance et est identifié à ce mouvement symphonique largement méditatif, même s'il ne l'a pas lui-même composé. Si vraiment il s'agit d'une œuvre inconnue d'Anton Bruckner, le fait de la retrouver sous forme d'une copie autographe d'un ami de Mahler lui confère une valeur exemplaire d'autant plus grande quant au type de musique sur lequel ils se penchaient et dont naîtrait le style personnel du plus éminent de leur collègue. (Albrecht Gürsching en réalisera l'orchestration.)

...

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...

The « Symphonisches Präludium » (Symphonic Prelude) in C minor is an orchestral composition by Anton Bruckner or his entourage, composed in 1876. The work was discovered shortly after World War II. Heinrich Tschuppik, who found the orchestral score of the work in the Estate of Bruckner's pupil Rudolf Krzyżanowski, attributed the authorship to Bruckner. 30 years later, Mahler scholar Paul Banks, who knew only a 4 stave reduction of the work, attributed the work to Mahler and requested its orchestration. Based on the original orchestral score, it seems likely that the work was at least sketched by Bruckner, possibly as an exercise in orchestration for Krzyżanowski.

After World War II, Heinrich Tschuppik discovered a 43 page long manuscript of an unknown Overture-like Symphonic movement in C minor in the Estate of his uncle, Rudolf Krzyżanowski. The manuscript carried the inscription : « Rudolf Krzyżanowski cop. 1876 » , on the 1st page ; and, on the last page, in large blue letters : « von Anton Bruckner » (by Anton Bruckner) .

Krzyżanowski was a pupil of Anton Bruckner, who, together with Gustav Mahler, prepared in 1877 the piano transcription of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony. Tschuppik reported his finding in the « Schweizerische Musikzeitung » and in the « Süddeutsche Zeitung » , prepared a clean copy of the score and hand-written orchestral parts, and arranged also a 4 stave « particello » of it. A copy of the manuscript was also made for storing in the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » .

Tschuppik showed the piece to experts on Bruckner, Max Auer and Franz Gräßlinger, and conductor Volkmar Andreae. Andreae agreed to perform this unknown « Sinfonisches Präludium » with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. However, the performance, which had been planned for 23 January 1949 did not take place, because Leopold Nowak, who was asked for expertise, had not been able to come to a final conclusion about the authorship. The premiere was performed later by the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra under Fritz Rieger, on 7 September 1949.

Shortly afterwards, Tschuppik died and his clean copy, hand-written orchestral parts, and a photocopy of the 4 stave « particello » remained stored in the archive of the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra. The photocopy of the original

manuscript remained in Nowak's possession and was returned to the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek », after his death in May 1991. Nowak had not included the « Symphonisches Präludium » in Bruckner's « Gesamtausgabe » because he still doubted its authorship.

Tschuppik had also given a copy of his own « particello » arrangement of the « Präludium » to Gertrud Staub-Schlöpfer, in Zürich. After studying the piece, Staub-Schlöpfer wrote on top of the « particello » :

« Könnte das nicht eine Arbeit für Prüfung von Gustav Mahler sein ? Krzyzanowski gab den Klavierauszug zur dritten Symphonie Bruckners (2. Fassung) heraus mit Mahler zusammen. »

« Could this perhaps be composed by Gustav Mahler for his examination ? Krzyzanowski edited the piano arrangement of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony (2nd version) together with Mahler. »

On 7 September 1949, on the same day as the 1st performance of the « Präludium » in Munich, she gave the « particello » to the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » .

30 years later, Mahler's scholar Paul Banks discovered in the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » the « particello » annotated by Staub-Schlöpfer and, following her suggestion, assumed that the piece could indeed be one of the lost works that Mahler had composed during his time at the Vienna Conservatory. Since the « particello » was the only source he knew, Banks asked Albrecht Gürsching to complement the instrumentation. This « reconstruction » was 1st performed by the Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra under Lawrence Foster, on 15 March 1981, as « “ Symphonisches Präludium ” by Gustav Mahler » and, later, recorded as such by Neeme Järvi in 1992.

The truth came to the light in 1985 when Wolfgang Hiltl discovered the documents stored in the archive of the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra. He bought Krzyzanowski's original manuscript from Tschuppik's family and let it be published. Nevertheless, not everyone became convinced that the piece was originated by Bruckner, and so, the « controversial » piece remained rarely performed. The original orchestration was performed 1st by Gerhard Samuel with the Cincinnati Philharmonic Orchestra, in March 1997 ; and, in 2010, by Baldur Brönnimann with the BBC National Orchestra of Wales, and Markus Stenz with the « Concertgebouw » Orchestra of Amsterdam, respectively. A recording of these 3 performances has been placed in the Bruckner archive.

In 2008, Wolfgang Hiltl died unexpectedly and Krzyzanowski's original manuscript of the « Symphonic Prelude » ended -up on the garbage slope of his apartment.

Wolfgang Hiltl, who undertook a meticulous examination of the 293 bar long manuscript in the light of Bruckner's contemporary pieces, came to the conclusion that the most likely assumption would be that Bruckner had given a score to Krzyzanowski, perhaps as an exercise in instrumentation. It seemed clear that the entire musical substance was by Bruckner himself, most likely as an « emerging autograph score », with all string parts, some important lines for woodwind and brass, and perhaps, a few passages already entirely completed.

Krzyżanowski's copy is laid-out only for Bruckner's typical orchestra of double woodwind, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones, 1 bass-tuba, timpani, and strings - the orchestration used by Bruckner from his 5th Symphony, composed in 1875-1876, and revised in 1877-1878.

The 1st theme, which contains the core of the main-themes of the 1st Symphony and 2nd Symphony in C minor, is repeated in tutti (bar 43) , leading into a dark chorale (bar 59) , pre-shadowing the structure of that from the Finale of the 9th Symphony, and even a significant epilogue (bar 73) , which is used later in the development (bar 160) .

The 2nd theme (bar 87) reflects ideas of the 3rd Symphony and the « Miserere » of the D minor Mass.

The closing-theme is an energetic trumpet call with a repeated minor 9th, as at the beginning of the Adagio from the 9th Symphony, which is also pre-shadowing the end of its 1st movement.

The 2nd part (bar 148) brings 2 elements from the main-theme in variants, leading into a threefold outburst of it in the dominant (bar 195) ; tonic (bar 201) ; and sub-dominant (bar 207) . The recapitulation of the 2nd theme is a fugato (bar 221) with a development section, which again reflects the 3rd Symphony (bars 249) , leading into a climax, in which both 1st and 2nd themes appear simultaneously (bar 267) .

The rather short Coda is merely a final cadence with almost no thematic material left, only reflecting the closing-theme, as a repeated chain of minor 2nds. One may assume that this elaboration by Krzyżanowski, which sounds rather provisional, may have been filled-up later with more concise motivic derivations.

It seems, indeed, clear from Hiltl's stylistic examination that the musical material itself is all Bruckner's, because some of these ideas even anticipate some music from the 9th Symphony, composed some 25 years later, which nobody can have known already in 1876. In all, this « Symphonic Prelude » constitutes an extremely advanced, « experimental » Sonata-movement, with a dramatic, almost radical 2nd part combining development, recapitulation and Coda to a unified and radical 2nd part. The musical language and structure anticipate much of Bruckner's last composition, the Symphonic choral work « Helgoland » (1893) .

...

Henri-Louis de la Grange's marathon biography of Gustav Mahler makes no mention of this work. In addition to the fact that the music as found in the Austrian National Library was a piano reduction, Albrecht Gürsching had to undertake the task of re-orchestrating it to how he believed it might have sounded like in that format. In addition to sounding like a combination of Mahler and Bruckner, it has a bit of the sound of early Richard Strauß, particularly from the era before the tone poems, such as his 4 movement work, « Aus Italien » at least from the texture of Gürsching's re-orchestration. The overall flow of the work takes on the sound of a Bruckner Symphony composed around 1876. It could be an abandoned attempt for a movement to one of his early Symphonies, or another attempt at a stand-alone work similar to his obscure Overture in G minor.

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liturgical service. Here, it serves as a tuneful and exciting « Introit » to the dramatic lyricism of the Mass in F minor.

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Although scholars to this day disagree about the likelihood that some or all of the music of this « Symphonisches Präludium » originates with Bruckner, what we do have is a performing edition of a Symphonic work of somewhat mysterious origins that seems to have originated in the circle of Bruckner's students in the 1870's. In fact, much of its interest derives from the mystery of who might have composed it.

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The history of this Overture-like Symphonic movement in C minor of 293 bars length, ascribed to Anton Bruckner, is most curious : after the Second World War, the Viennese composer Heinrich Tschuppik discovered an unknown music manuscript in the Estate of his uncle, the composer Rudolf Krzyzanowski (born on 5 April 1859 ; died on 21 June 1911) . He was a pupil of Anton Bruckner and is known to Brucknerians because he, together with Gustav Mahler, prepared the piano arrangement of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony. The manuscript constitutes an orchestral score of 43 pages, bearing the inscription « Rudolf Krzyzanowski cop. 1876 » on the 1st page, and on the last page, in large, blue letters, « von Anton Bruckner » . Tschuppik immediately reported in public about his finding (« Ein neu aufgefundenes Werk Anton Bruckners » , in : « Schweizerische Musikzeitung » , No. 88, 1948 ; page 391 - « Bruckners Sinfonisches Präludium » , in : « Süddeutsche Zeitung » , 8 September 1949) .

He also prepared his own, clean copy of the score, copied-out orchestral parts, and also arranged a 4 stave « partitello » of the movement in 2 copies. Tschuppik had also shown the piece to Bruckner scholars Max Auer and Franz Gräßlinger, and to the Swiss conductor Volkmar Andreae as well. Their opinion on Bruckner's authorship was positive, and Andreae agreed to give the 1st performance of the piece (meanwhile entitled : « Sinfonisches Präludium » by Tschuppik) with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra on 23 January 1949.

This performance, however, did not take place, as reported by Helmut Albert Fiechtner (« Verhinderte Bruckner-Uraufführung » , in : « Die Osterreichische Furche » , Vienna, 29 January 1949) :

The members of the Vienna Philharmonic voted against Bruckner as the likely composer of the piece, and Leopold Nowak, who had been asked for his expertise in due course, was not able to come to a final result and asked the Orchestra to publish a note that he « couldn't yet finish the examination ». Indeed, on 3 January 1949, Tschuppik had given Krzyżanowski's manuscript to the Music Collection of the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » (Austrian National Library) , where a photocopy was made, the manuscript returned to him thereafter. Finally, the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra under Fritz Rieger gave the premiere of the piece on 7 September 1949. Shortly after this 1st performance, Tschuppik died in 1950, and the public and scientific debate about the piece ended. Tschuppik's clean copy, his hand-written orchestral parts, and a photocopy of the 4 stave « partitello » remained sleeping in the drawers of the archive of the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra. The original piece was never performed again subsequently. Krzyżanowski's original manuscript remained in the possession of his descendants until the late- 1980's. The photocopy of it was never entered in the inventory at the Music Collection of the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » . Instead, Nowak kept it in his private possession. It was found amongst his Estate and returned to the Music Collection only after his death in May 1991. Nowak also never published the expert opinion he had been asked for in 1949. This had some strange and remarkable consequences.

In 1948, Tschuppik had given some of the manuscripts of songs composed by his uncle as well as another copy of his own partitello arrangement of the « Präludium » to a Mrs. Gertrud Staub-Schlöpfer, in Zürich. She studied the piece and came to a strange conclusion, which she wrote on top of the « partitello » herself :

« Könnte das nicht eine Arbeit für Prüfung von Gustav Mahler sein ? Krzyżanowski gab den Klavierauszug zur dritten Symphonie Bruckners (2. Fassung) heraus mit Mahler zusammen. »

(Could this, perhaps, have been composed by Gustav Mahler for his examination ?)

Krzyżanowski edited the piano arrangement of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony (2nd version) together with Mahler. On 7 September 1949 (half a year after Leopold Nowak had made the photocopy of the original score and, strangely, on the very day of the 1st and, since then, only performance of the « Präludium » , in Munich) , she gave all this material which she had received from Tschuppik to the Music Collection of the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » , perhaps, with the positive intention to contribute to the solution of the question who actually composed the piece which Krzyżanowski copied.

The « Sleeping Beauty » remained behind the thorns for 30 years. Then, the Mahler scholar Paul Banks discovered the « Partitello » from the possession of Mrs. Staub-Schlöpfer in the Music Collection of the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » and published an article in due course (« An Early Symphonic Prelude by Mahler ? » , in : « 19th Century Music » , Volume 3, 1979 ; page 141ff) . Nowak never returned the photocopy of the score to the Music Collection ; Krzyżanowski's original manuscript was, at that time, still in private possession. Banks didn't even know anything about the 1st performance in 1949 (and, certainly, not about the existence of the full-material in the Archive of the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra !) . So, he assumed the « Partitello » to be the only source for the piece and finally followed the suggestion of Mrs. Staub-Schlöpfer, arguing that the piece could be indeed one of the numerous lost

works which Gustav Mahler had composed during his time at the Vienna Conservatory. Hence, a « lost piece by Gustav Mahler » was « re-discovered », and since the « Particello » was the only known source, Berlin composer Albrecht Gürsching was asked to make the movement performable and complement the instrumentation. This « reconstruction » was 1st performed by the Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra under Lawrence Foster (on 15 March 1981) as : « “ Symphonisches Präludium ” by Gustav Mahler » .

It was only thanks to the German « Kapellmeister » Wolfgang Hittl (Niedernhausen) that the truth came to the light in 1985, when he published a lengthy study on the piece, which he had discovered in the archive of the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra (« Ein vergessenes, unerkanntes Werk Anton Bruckners ? » , in : « Studien zur Musikwissenschaft / Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich » , Volume 36, Tutzing, 1985) . Unfortunately, this truth seems to have been unwanted : his article was largely ignored by musicology ; the « Mahlerization » was subsequently recorded (prominently, by Neeme Järvi for the « Chandos » label) and published by Sikorski, Berlin, where it remains in the catalogue as Mahler's piece, occasionally performed as such. The time and effort Hittl put into a campaign for the original is remarkable : he published not only further articles, he also bought Krzyzanowski's original manuscript in the 1990's from Tschuppik's family, examined and edited it. Since 2002, the music has been available from Doblinger, Vienna. The full-size score contains both a fac-simile of Krzyzanowski's manuscript as well as a modern edition ; the parts are available on hire. Nevertheless, and strangely, the piece remains un-performed to this day (2006) !

This is hard to understand. On the one hand, one may argue we have only Krzyzanowski's copy and his word that this music was composed by Bruckner. Documentary research gave no further evidence ; no further manuscripts from Bruckner's own hand survive, and also, in his letters and private annotations, nothing is to be found about it. (An explanation for this may be that Bruckner, before he moved into the Belvedere, in July 1895, had asked his devout secretary, Anton Meißner, to burn various old papers, obviously including many discarded music manuscripts.) On the other hand, it seemed to be no problem for many conductors and writers to accept the piece as allegedly by Mahler, in its 2nd hand orchestration by Albrecht Gürsching, and even pepped-up with some untypical, special instruments (piccolo, double-bassoon, harp, cymbal) . Krzyzanowski's copy is laid-out only for Bruckner's typical orchestra of double woodwind, 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones, 1 bass-tuba, timpani, and strings.

Wolfgang Hittl undertook a meticulous examination of the manuscript and analysis of the music in the mirror of Bruckner's contemporary pieces. He came finally to the conclusion that the most likely assumption would be that Bruckner had given a score to Krzyzanowski which he may have already abandoned at the time of its gestation - perhaps, as an exercise in instrumentation. From stylistic comparison and analysis, it seems to be clear that, at least, the entire musical substance is by Bruckner himself, most likely in the 1st stage of the « emerging autograph score » , containing all string parts, some important lines for woodwind and brass, perhaps also, a few passages being already entirely complete - very similar to what survived from the Finale of the 9th Symphony. (Wolfgang Hittl. « Einsichten zu einer Musik im Jahrhundertschlaf » , in : « Studien & Berichte, Mitteilungsblatt Band 63 der Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft, December 2004 ; pages 13-16) . Krzyzanowski, then, completed the instrumentation. His copy also contains some annotations possibly from Bruckner's own hand, and some further from another. unknown person. (The playing indications are obviously not by Bruckner, all very enthusiastically youthful, up to « ffff » that Bruckner never

used.)

There is not enough room in a short essay for a detailed description of the music. However, it seems clear from Hiltl's stylistic examination that the musical material itself is indeed all Bruckner's and, in particular, because some of these ideas even anticipate some music from the 9th Symphony, which certainly nobody can have known already in 1876 ! The form is quite unique : all 3 themes are merely lyrical (as later, in the 1st movement of the 7th Symphony) . The 1st theme contains the core of the main-themes of the 1st Symphony and 2nd Symphony in C minor, as well as allusions to Richard Wagner's « Die Walküre » , which Bruckner may have known from the piano score of 1865, or some orchestral extracts given in concerts in Vienna, in 1872. (He 1st heard the entire « Walküre » in Bayreuth, in August 1876, which may suggest the « Präludium » could be the composer's reaction to the « Ring » experience. But this would leave only very little time for the conception and abandoning of it, and it being given to Krzyżanowski for copying, all in late-1876.) The soft 1st theme, as is typical for Bruckner, is repeated in full « tutti » (bar 43) , leading into a dark chorale (bar 59, foreshadowing the structure of the chorale-theme from the Finale of the 9th Symphony) , and even a significant epilogue (bar 73) , to be used further in the development (bar 160) . The 2nd theme (bar 87) reflects some ideas of the 3rd Symphony, in particular, the famous « Miserere » of the D minor Mass as well. The closing-theme is an energetic trumpet call with a repeated, remarkable minor 9th, as at the beginning of the Adagio from the 9th Symphony, also foreshadowing the trumpets at the end of the 1st movement of this work composed some 25 years later. The 2nd part (bar 148) brings 2 elements from the main-theme in variants, similar as in the 1st movement of the 9th, leading into a threefold outburst of it in the dominant (bar 195) ; tonic (bar 201) ; and sub-dominant (bar 207) . The recapitulation of the 2nd theme is in fact a fugue (bar 221) , with a development section which, again, reflects the 3rd Symphony (bar 249ff) , leading into a climax, in which both 1st and 2nd themes appear simultaneously (bar 267) . The rather short Coda is merely a final cadence with almost no thematic material left, only reflecting the earlier 3rd theme, not as a minor 9th, but as a repeated chain of minor 2nds (one may assume that this elaboration by Krzyżanowski, which sounds rather provisional, may have been filled-up later with more concise motivic derivations, as tried-out by Albrecht Gürsching in his unnecessary arrangement of the score) .

It is impossible to know exactly for which purpose this short, serious movement was originally written. Due to stylistic similarities with compositions of that period, a likely assumption would be that it was conceived already in 1875 or 1876, at a time when Bruckner undertook various efforts to improve his financial situation and to push his own career. An official occasion for introducing such a piece might have been Bruckner's new post at the Vienna University (1875) ; the inauguration of the new « Mauracher » organ in Saint-Florian, on 19 November 1875 ; or the concert in which Bruckner himself conducted, again, the now-revised 2nd Symphony in C minor on 20 February 1876.

The score includes the bass tuba, which Bruckner did not use before his 5th Symphony (composed in 1875-1876 ; and revised in 1877-1878) . The 1st critical edition includes some revisions by Wolfgang Hiltl, in particular a more Brucknerian layout of playing indications and a correction of the most obvious shortcomings of Krzyżanowski's score. Since the edition contains both Krzyżanowski's score and the modern transcription, the editor found it unnecessary to include a « Critical Commentary » , which would only list all the differences that could be more easily taken from comparing it directly with the manuscript. Unfortunately, the edition does not provide much information, except a short preface by the editor. His early essay from 1985 is not widely available. A new, comprehensive and generally available

study on the entire topic would be most welcome.

In all, this « Symphonic Prelude » constitutes an extremely advanced, « experimental » Sonata-movement, with a dramatic, almost radical 2nd part combining development, recapitulation and Coda in a unified and radical « zweite Abtheilung » . The musical language and structure, the dramatic sweep anticipates much of Bruckner's last composition, the Symphonic choral work « Helgoland » from 1893. The musical quality of the score as surviving in Krzyzanowski's copy would deserve attention, performance and recording even if we had no hint at all that it might possibly be from Bruckner (note that Krzyzanowski, himself, never wrote something of a comparable originality) . It is hard to understand why the beauty continues to sleep till this day.

(Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs, November 2006.)

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Postscriptum 2010 : In 2008, Wolfgang Hittl died unexpectedly in a hospital in Wiesbaden, Germany. Nobody cared for his assets, and, in November 2008, his apartment was finally cleared by the municipality of his last residence, Niedernhausen. The mysterious, valuable manuscript of the Symphonic Prelude ended on a garbage slope.

© Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs, November 2006 / revised August 2010.

Les condisciples du jeune Mahler

The Vienna Conservatory was already a well-respected institution in the city's musical life even before Gustav Mahler began his studies there in September 1875. It was neither a municipal nor a State-run institution but a private college managed by the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde », the city's most important musical institution based on private initiative, its magnificent building containing what remains one of the finest concert halls in the world indeed, the Viennese themselves claim that the « Musikvereinssaal » has no equal. Situated near the « Karlsplatz » and within a stone's throw of the « Ringstraße », the « Musikverein » had been designed by Theophil von Hansen, one of the leading architects of the « Ringstraße », and, 3 years in the building, had been officially opened in 1870, the Conservatory being housed in one of its wings. Although it received financial support from the privy purse, it was essentially a private organization, and like all Conservatories of every period, it employed a whole range of teachers, some of them better than others. It had been founded as long ago as 1821, when its 1st director had been Antonio Salieri, no less, but it was not until 1909 that it acquired the status of a State-run institution, thereby becoming the forerunner of today's University of Music and the Performing Arts. The Vienna Conservatory was not quite as highly-regarded as its counterpart in Leipzig, which, at this date, was arguably the world's finest Music College, but it still had a whole series of famous teachers on its books. Its director was the violinist and conductor Josef Hellmesberger Senior, whose pupils included Leopold Auer and Arthur Nikisch and who was famous for his wit. Although he accused his professor of harmony, Robert Fuchs, of plagiarism, Fuchs was evidently a good teacher whose pupils numbered not only Mahler himself but also Franz Schreker, Alexander Zemlinsky (an early rival of Mahler's for the hand of Alma Schindler), Jean Sibelius and Franz Schmidt.

Julius Epstein (the man who officially discovered and fostered Mahler's talent) was the best-known of the Conservatory's piano teachers but, however good he may have been, it was his misfortune that there was an even better piano teacher working in Vienna at this time, albeit only privately, Theodor Leschetitzky, whose pupils included Ignacy Paderewski and Artur Schnabel. The institute's principal composition teacher was Franz Krenn, who also taught Mahler but whom history has judged unfavourably, his views and methods being criticized for being too backward-looking. It seems as if the more liberal Fuchs whom history has judged unfavourably, his views and methods being criticized for being too backward-looking. It seems as if the more liberal Fuchs introduced greater compositional contraband into his harmony classes than was officially permitted. Anton Bruckner, finally, gave organ lessons at the Conservatory in addition to his classes at the University.

Leaving aside Gustav Mahler's 3 month stint as conductor in Bad Hall during the summer of 1880, his 1st continuous stay in Vienna lasted 6 years, from September 1875 to the summer of 1881, at which point he took-up a post in Laibach (Ljubljana). This 6 year period, between the ages of 15 and 21, is a decisive phase in the life of any artist and, indeed, of any individual. Unfortunately, these are also the worst-documented years in Mahler's life, so that we have no choice but to attempt to reconstruct them on the basis of other, disparate sources. There were, in fact, 2 phases to Mahler's education in Vienna, each of them associated with a different circle of friends. The 1st such circle, and the more intimate of the 2, was made-up of Mahler's fellow pupils from the Conservatory and provided him with a specifically musical stimulus, whereas the 2nd was more important in terms of his general outlook on the world and resulted from his contacts with the circles associated with Siegfried Lipiner and Engelbert Pernerstorfer.

Gustav Mahler's circle of friends at the Conservatory initially consisted of no more than 4 or 5 individuals, some of them more interesting than others, but, all in all, a good indication of Mahler's ability to attract important people of his own age. The individuals in question were Anton Krisper, Rudolf Krzyzanowski and, to a lesser extent, his brother Heinrich, Hans Rott and Hugo Wolf. It is also possible that Mahler briefly made the acquaintance of the mezzo-soprano Rosa Papier at this time. She later became a well-known member of the Vienna Court Opera and, following her early retirement on health grounds, a distinguished singing teacher whose pupils numbered Anna von Mildenburg. She also exerted considerable influence on Vienna's musical scene, helping in no small way to bring about Mahler's appointment as director of the Court Opera. The wife of the pianist Hans Paumgartner, she was the mother of Bernhard Paumgartner, later to become well-known as a Mozart scholar and as president of the Salzburg Festival. For a time, this group of friends was very small, an unsurprising state of affairs as Mahler was looking for something like a substitute family in the city. Julius Epstein took considerable interest in the boy and could play the part of a fatherly friend, but he inevitably had little time for the lad from Igla, quite apart from his understandable reluctance to show undue preference for any one particular student. Of greater importance were friends of Mahler's own age : Hugo Wolf was born in the same year as Mahler, Hans Rott was 2 years older, Anton Krisper 3 years older, and Rudolf Krzyzanowski a year older. In comparison to today's State-run Colleges of Music, the Vienna Conservatory was a tiny institution, so that students of different ages very soon met on its various courses.

Anton Krisper came from Laibach, where he had been born into a well-to-do family of businessmen. He matriculated at the Conservatory in 1876 but remained there for only 2 years before moving to Leipzig and enrolling at the city's University, where he read musicology. He is said to have written an Opera during his youth, but no such work has come down to us. He was more successful academically, his dissertation on « Art Music in Terms of its Origins, Development and Consequences » being praised by one of the leading figures of the, as yet, young discipline of musicology, Hugo Riemann. The multi-talented Krisper later studied mining and worked as an engineer. He died in a sanatorium near Graz, in 1914, evidently as the result of some venereal disease, and was buried in Laibach. His friendship with Mahler is documented in a series of important letters written between 1878 and 1880, but, thereafter, the 2 friends lost contact. It seems that Krisper also played the cello, with Wolf as his accompanist.

Gustav Mahler was closer to the brothers Rudolf and Heinrich Krzyzanowski than he was to Krisper. The younger of the 2 brothers, Rudolf, died, like Mahler, in 1911, only a few weeks after his friend. He was evidently highly-gifted as a musician, equally talented not only as a violinist and pianist but also as an organist and as a composer. The close links between Rudolf Krzyzanowski and Gustav Mahler were reciprocal, and the 2 men's paths frequently crossed in later life. Mahler did much to help his older friend, especially when the latter's career as a conductor got-off to a shaky start. The Krzyzanowski family came from Eger. Rudolf is elder brother, Heinrich, was born in 1855 and was enrolled not at the Conservatory but at the University, from where he graduated in German Studies in 1877, his teacher being the eminent Germanist Richard Heinzel. After teaching in a series of grammar schools, he married and moved to Germany, working as a freelance writer in Starnberg, Munich and Berlin. His short story « Im Bruch » was published in 1885. He later moved back to Vienna, where he worked as a private tutor, for a time supported by Mahler, and lectured on literary topics. By the 1920's he was living in the Tyrol. During Mahler's early years in Vienna, the Krzyzanowski brothers appear to have been his closest friends.

The 2 composers among Mahler's early friends are far more fascinating figures than Anton Krisper and the Krzyzanowskis - fascinating but also problematical. When Hans Rott's Symphony in E major of 1878-1880 received its 1st performance in Cincinnati, in 1889, more than a Century after it had been written, the event was little short of a sensation. Experts and (following further performances and some gramophone recordings) the public at large recognized that this hour-long Symphony, the final movement of which alone lasts almost 25 minutes, is a key work in the evolution of the « New Symphony », representing, as it does, an attempt to make a fresh start in the field of the Symphony that was then being tilled by Anton Bruckner and Johannes Brahms. The most famous exponent of this new style was none other than Gustav Mahler himself, and it is to him, in fact, that we owe the term « New Symphony ». Even at a 1st hearing, it was obvious to many listeners that there were astonishing similarities between the musical language of Rott's one and only Symphony and that of Mahler's 1st, which was not composed until 1885-1888, in other words, at least 5 years later than Rott's work. It also gave pause for thought that Rott and Mahler studied at the Vienna Conservatory at exactly the same time. A remark that Mahler made about Rott to Natalie Bauer-Lechner now received greater attention. Mahler had taken the score of Rott's Symphony with him on holiday during the summer of 1900 in order to see whether it was worth performing at one of the Vienna Philharmonic's concerts :

« What music has lost in him is immeasurable. His 1st Symphony, written when he was a young man of 20, already soars to such heights of genius that it makes him (without exaggeration) the founder of the " New Symphony " as I understand it. It is true that he has not yet fully realized his aims here. It is like someone taking a run for the longest possible throw and not quite hitting the mark. But I know what he is driving at. His innermost nature is so much akin to mine that he and I are like 2 fruits from the same tree, produced by the same soil, nourished by the same air. We would have had an infinite amount in common. Perhaps, we 2 might have gone some way together towards exhausting the possibilities of this new age that was then dawning in music. »

Gustav Mahler also mentions a number of anecdotes about Rott's activities as organist at the Piarist Monastery in Vienna, where he played for a pittance in return for free accommodation. Mahler remembered seeing a string of sausages hanging on a nail in his room, like a kind of a wreath. He would eat them, one by one, in order to appease his hunger. He ostensibly lost his post when the monks accused him of stealing their books.

Hans Rott was born in Vienna in 1858 ; the son of an actor. He enrolled at the Conservatory in 1874, a year before Gustav Mahler, and studied the organ with Anton Bruckner, harmony with Hermann Grädener rather than Robert Fuchs and composition with Franz Krenn. Like so many others, Rott was introduced to Richard Wagner by Bruckner and, in this way, became a member of the Vienna Academic Wagner Society about which I shall shortly have more to say. He also attended the 1st Bayreuth Festival in 1876. Bruckner held Rott in high-regard and was deeply shaken by his early death, in 1884. It is reported that he spontaneously took-up the cudzels for Rott managed to obtain an audience with Wagner, who was then staying at the Hotel Imperial, a meeting on which he reported with great enthusiasm in a long letter to his parents, even if Wagner politely but firmly declined his invitation to look at his compositions. Wolf became a life-long Wagnerian, taking over his hero's anti-Semitism, in addition to his æsthetic ideals. Mahler, too, became an inveterate Wagnerian but did not share his idols anti-Semitism, although he could certainly have done so in the form

of Jewish self-hatred. As we shall later have cause to note, it is a remarkable fact that he never once mentions Wagner's anti-Semitism, even though he was not unaware of the anti-Jewish sentiments that were rampant at this time and of which he was a principal victim. The cult of Wagner played an important role in Vienna's cultural life, leaving a mark on Mahler that went far beyond mere questions of musical taste.

Richard Wagner had been a frequent visitor to Vienna, not least at the time of the 1848 revolution, when the city had been a hotbed of unrest. Strangely enough, it was Johann Strauß who introduced Wagner's music to Viennese audiences when he conducted excerpts from « Tannhäuser » and « Lohengrin » at a concert, in 1853. From then on, Wagner's works were a staple of the repertory, provoking the same violent responses for and against them as those found throughout the rest of the world of music. The 1st performance of « Lohengrin » at the Kärntnerthor-Theater, in 1858, helped to consolidate Wagner's reputation in the city in spite of the embittered resistance of the critic Eduard Hanslick, who had begun his career as a Wagnerian only to become his most powerful and intransigent adversary. There were also plans to give the 1st performance of « Tristan und Isolde » at the Vienna Court Opera, in 1861, but, in the event they came to nothing, and it was not until 4 years later that the work was finally unveiled in Munich. Conversely, the concerts that the composer organized in Vienna to replace the aborted premiere proved immensely successful but could not prevent Wagner, who had temporarily found refuge at Penzing, in the city's suburbs, from having to flee Vienna in March 1864 in order to escape from his creditors. From Vienna, he travelled to Stuttgart, where he was finally tracked down by an emissary of King Ludwig of Bavaria, who invited him to Munich, an unsuspected high-point in his career that was not, however, to last. Quite apart from events such as these, Richard Wagner was from then on a regular talking point in æsthetic and even political discussions in Vienna. By 1875, when Gustav Mahler and Hugo Wolf arrived in the city, a critical point had been reached in these discussions, leading in part to Wagner's breakthrough in the capital, for between March and May, the composer had conducted 3 concerts of his own works in the city, followed in the autumn of that year by a return visit to superintend productions of « Tannhäuser » and « Lohengrin » at the Court Opera. (It was on this occasion that Wolf called on Wagner.) It was the Court Opera's new director, Franz Launer, who had made it possible for Wagner to be crowned the new King of Opera in Vienna, after all the botched opportunities of the past. True, Launer was no Wagnerian, but he knew the merits and drawing power of Wagner's Operas and was firmly resolved to help them achieve their breakthrough at the Court Opera, an aim in which he and his successor, the conductor Wilhelm Jahn, were successful. By 1883-1884, all the composer's works from « Rienzi » onwards were in the Court Opera repertory, while the house's principal conductor, Hans Richter, was closely associated with Bayreuth. Singers from the Court Opera also appeared on Bayreuth's Green Hill.

It was against this background that Hugo Wolf and Gustav Mahler grew-up, Mahler's later cultivation of a sparer production style and his reassessment of Wagner's music during his period as director being inconceivable without this phase from 1875 to 1883. But Wagner's works were also explosive in terms of musical politics. Johannes Brahms had moved to Vienna, in 1862, and taken over the running of the city's « Singakademie », finally settling there in 1868 and becoming artistic director of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde », from 1875 to 1878. (It was in this capacity that he sat on various committees and competition juries.) A late developer, Brahms had yet to complete his 1st Symphony, but thanks to his great choral works, his 1st Piano Concerto, Alto Rhapsody, lieder, chamber works and piano music, he was the most famous composer then living in Vienna, a European figure who, although a native

of Hamburg, was already being claimed by the Austrians. Brahms was also regarded as a « conservative » composer and, hence, as one of the figure heads of the Party that opposed the « musicians of the future », as members of the New German School were often called. This antagonism had come to the fore at the latest by 1860, when a Berlin newspaper published a declaration by a handful of signatories informing the world that they could « only deplore and condemn, as contrary to the most fundamental essence of music, the products of the leaders and disciples of the so-called New German School ». Among the protest's signatories were Brahms himself and his friend Joseph Joachim, the most famous German violinist of his day. Only a short time earlier, a whole series of musicians and music-critics under Franz Liszt's organizational and intellectual aegis had coined the term « New German School » with reference to themselves, going on to form an Association which, from 1861, was known as the « Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein ». They viewed themselves as the Party of progress and felt that they could overcome the hegemony of Viennese Classicism only by abandoning traditional Sonata form and Symphonic form in the conservative sense of those terms and by espousing new forms of expression, namely, the Wagnerian music-drama and programme music. (The Symphonic poem played an important role here, and it is no accident that Hector Berlioz and his « Symphonie fantastique » were much touted by Liszt.)

Richard Wagner was a great deal more controversial than Berlioz, so that, after 1860, an individual's attitude to Wagner helped to clarify his or her position : progressives were expected to revere Wagner, Liszt and Berlioz, while reactionaries were convinced of the unsurpassable greatness of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Robert Schumann, and they composed in the style of Brahms. (This is a highly-abbreviated and simplified account of a complex situation.) As a naive child of his age, Anton Bruckner was involuntarily caught in the crossfire, his idolatrous admiration for Richard Wagner and use of multiple trombones instantly aligning him with the New German School, without leaving any scope for a more subtle analysis of his music. In Vienna, Eduard Hanslick and Ludwig Speidel, the city's 2 most powerful critics, lent their weight to the « Brahmins », as Brahms' supporters were called, their interventions invariably proving intelligent, witty and effective.

Until the mid-1870's, it seemed unlikely that Richard Wagner would ever gain a foothold in the Austrian capital, a state of affairs apparently confirmed by the unfortunate events of the last 20 or 30 years. But the situation then changed, the Wagnerians having a great advantage over their adversaries : at least, to the extent that they were musically inclined, all who regarded themselves as progressive, whether socially, politically or morally, and all who felt that they were still young or at least behaved as if they were must necessarily side with the New Germans and, hence, with Wagner. As a venomous music-critic, Hugo Wolf lost no opportunity to unleash torrents of abuse on Brahms, summing-up the positions of the 2 armies on the occasion of an all-Liszt concert : « On the one hand, youth, intelligence, idealism, judgement, enthusiasm, conviction ; on the other, obtuseness, frivolity, lack of principles, ignorance and arrogance. ». It was as simple as that. Many other young music enthusiasts adopted an equally « black and white » view of the situation, and this is certainly true of Gustav Mahler, who can scarcely have heard a note of Wagner's music in Iglau. He soon became one of Wagner's most fanatical followers, and we may well be right in assuming that it was in this way that he became friendly with Hugo Wolf or, more accurately, became Wolf's ally in matters Wagnerian. In her memoirs, Alma Mahler has given a colourfully embroidered account of the lives led by Mahler, Wolf and Rudolf Krzyzanowski in the room that they rented together. All 3, she writes, were sensitive to noise. When one of them was composing and needed to use the piano, the others had to wander the streets and, on one

occasion, even sleep outside on a bench in the « Ringstraße » . They are also said to have played through « Götterdämmerung » from the vocal score (this was no doubt around the time of the 1st performances of the work in Vienna, in February 1879) and to have made such a noise singing and playing the 2nd « Act Vengeance Trio » for Brünnhilde, Gunther and Hagen that they were given immediate notice to quit.

There was also an institutional side to the Wagnerian enthusiasms of Vienna's young musicians : it was known as the Viennese Academic Wagner Society and was founded in 1872 by Guido Adler, later to make a name for himself as a musicologist and as one of Mahler's most unquestioning supporters, and by the 16 year old Felix Mottl, later a distinguished Wagner conductor. They were reacting to the fact that in keeping with its name, the Conservatory did not include Wagner's music in its syllabus. Indeed, it could hardly have done so, given the influential Brahms's aversion to Wagner. (Conversely, Wagner felt only an irrational loathing of Brahms. On the one occasion when Friedrich Nietzsche brought a Brahms score with him to Wagner's home in Bayreuth, he was greeted with open contempt.)

Social maladroitness falls on the benign side of Anton Bruckner's fame, in Vienna, as an antipode to the cosmopolitan establishment. There were also darker implications. For example, he allowed himself to serve as the honorary chairman of a New Academic Wagner Society (a different one than that to which Guido Adler and Gustav Mahler once held memberships) . This New Wagner Society had in its bylaws the explicit prohibition of Jews as members.

But the Wagnerian enthusiasm of Vienna's young musicians also had a distinctly political aspect to it. Criticism of Wagner came above all from the liberal camp, not least on account of his anti-Semitism, while that same anti-Semitism made him all the more popular with certain of his supporters, among whom we must unfortunately number Hugo Wolf. These same supporters also held Pan-German ideas which, in terms of Party politics, inevitably implied allegiance to the German nationalist Party. It was not necessary, of course, for all who harboured German nationalist beliefs in Austria to become Wagnerians, but Austria's Wagnerians necessarily thought in terms of German nationalism, Gustav Mahler himself later being one of the few exceptions. German nationalist views had evolved in the wake of the German Confederation and the Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848-1849 and implied a Pan-German Empire under Austrian rule. Following Prussia's victory in the war of 1866 and the establishment of a German « Reich » without Austria, German nationalist attitudes became radicalized in Austria. After 1871, the majority of those who held such beliefs no longer demanded that Austria be incorporated into the German « Reich » as this would have been tantamount to acknowledging Prussian hegemony and the end of Austria as an independent nation. Rather, they believed in the overwhelming superiority of all things German in matters of language, culture and national sentiment within the multi-racial dual monarchy, with the result that they looked down with contempt on other sections of the population who spoke different languages and who were felt to be racially different. In turn, their contempt was bound-up with political attempts to express this sense of superiority on a political and constitutional level. For the German nationalists, there could never be any question of reconciliation with the Magyars or even with the Czechs.

By the end of the 1870's, Georg von Schönerer had worked his way up to the position of leader of the German national movement, and, by 1882, he had formulated a programme in Linz with Guido Adler and Engelbert Pernerstorfer, both of whom went on to become prominent Social Democrats and whom we shall meet again as members of Siegfried Lipiner's circle of friends, which also included Gustav Mahler. But when Schönerer began to

promote anti-Semitism as an essential doctrine of the German national movement, he lost increasing numbers of supporters, a development that turned the German Nationalists, some of whom called themselves « Pan-Germans », into a Right-wing Party. It is clear that although Mahler, unlike Otto Weininger, never became a Jewish anti-Semite, he sympathized with German national ideas, at least for a time. Wagner was the musical and political hero of all young Austrians with German national views. In their eyes, his music and his music dramas were a superior, ultra-modern art form, in addition to which they were German in the sense that Wagner himself had defined that term, most notably in his essay, « What is German ? ». Elsewhere, in his series of articles « Religion and Art », Wagner advocated vegetarianism, which Wolf and Mahler both espoused for a time. But Mahler may ultimately have found the German nationalism and anti-Semitism of the Viennese Academic Wagner Society too much to stomach, for it is clear from surviving documents that, by 1879, he had already resigned his membership as part of a concerted action that also included Anton Krisper, Rudolf Krzyżanowski and Hans Rott, but not Hugo Wolf, who remained true to his beliefs until the end of his life.

It is no disrespect to Hans Rott to argue that Hugo Wolf was the most important composer whom Mahler encountered prior to Richard Strauß. As with Strauß, relations between the 2 men remained problematical, but in Wolf's case, they additionally ended on a shrilly discordant note. Does this suggest that Mahler was incapable of accepting compositional greatness in anyone other than himself ? In the case of Wolf, there is something to be said for this claim, whereas with Strauß, we know that he ungrudgingly recognized the importance of a work like « Salome », no doubt in part because he himself no longer had any ambitions in the field of Opera. Although Wolf was still describing Mahler as his « friend » in a letter that he wrote to his parents in 1879, the 1st cracks in his relations with him may already have appeared in the autumn of that year when the 2 of them discussed their plans for an Opera on the subject of « Rübzahl », a legendary giant from the « Riesengebirge » on the boundary between Silesia and Bohemia. It seems that they failed to reach an agreement on the subject. According to Mahler's version of events, as recounted by Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Wolf had told him about his plans for an Opera, to which Mahler had responded by insisting that the subject could be treated only as a comedy. True, Wolf's only completed Opera, « Der Corregidor », is a « comic » Opera, although the humour has never managed to achieve its desired effect with every section of its audience. But with the best will in the world, Wolf was incapable of imagining « Rübzahl » as a subject for a comedy. Fired by the conversation, Mahler, however, spent the next week committing a libretto to paper. When the 2 friends next met - and it is significant that in discussing these events with Natalie, Mahler referred not to « my friend » but to « your friend », Mahler asked Wolf how he was getting on with « Rübzahl ». Wolf reported that he had found some interesting material in the library, whereupon Mahler triumphantly drew his finished libretto from his pocket, causing Wolf to fly into a rage and declare that « Rübzahl » was now dead to him as an Opera. From the summer of 1880 onwards, there is no real trace of any further contact between the 2 composers. Mahler had, in any case, left Vienna, whereas Wolf remained in the city. No letters appear to have passed between them. Alma Mahler claims that the 2 men later met by chance in Bayreuth and walked past each other with no more than a cool word of greeting, but we have no means of knowing whether this account is correct. That their relations left a deeper mark on both parties than this pitiful end to their contacts might otherwise suggest emerges from a number of other pieces of evidence.

Hugo Wolf's nervous breakdown as the result of a syphilitic infection appears to have been triggered by a meeting with Gustav Mahler, in September 1897, nearly 20 years later. (This statement of fact implies no apportionment of

blame.) Mahler was already running the Vienna State Opera as Wilhelm Jahn's representative and had expressed an interest in « Der Corregidor ». Almost certainly, he saw the difficulties involved in staging what remains a problematic piece, but he also recognized the merits of Wolf's hugely ambitious Opera and felt an obligation to his former friend. But when Wolf called on him in the hope that a production could quickly be mounted, Mahler was obliged to put him off, arguing that the House's schedule, for which he was not responsible, prevented the piece from being staged in the foreseeable future. (The work had received its 1st performance in Mannheim, in June 1896, only months after its completion.) Wolf had pinned all his hopes on Mahler and found it impossible to accept his reasons for not staging the work. In addition, it seems that the 2 men argued over Anton Rubinstein's Opera, « The Demon », which Mahler may well have held in higher regard than « Der Corregidor ». As Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau has pointed-out in his « life of the composer », Wolf was already in an agitated state of mind caused by his incipient paralysis when he turned-up in Mahler's office at the Court Opera, on 18 September 1897. Mahler was evidently forced to draw his attention to the works shortcomings, and the 2 men parted on a note of acrimony. Alma claimed that, as soon as he was outside, Wolf started to shout that he was Mahler and director of the Vienna Opera, whereupon he was restrained on the « Ringstraße », but her account appears to be exaggerated. More reliable witnesses state that Wolf hurried to Mahler's rooms in the « Auenbruggergasse » claiming that he was director of the Vienna Opera and demanding admittance from the cook, who slammed the door in his face. He then invited his closest friends to his rooms to play through his latest Opera, « Manuel Venegas », for them. As he was doing so, he started to cry uncontrollably in a scene that Thomas Mann took over in describing Adrian Leverkühns breakdown in « Doktor Faustus ». Wolf then delivered himself of a prepared speech directed at the staff of the Court Opera, taking tremendous delight in showing Mahler the door. According to an alternative account, Wolf went to see the tenor Hermann Winckmann and, likewise, declared that he was the Court Operas new director. Winkelmann retorted that this title belonged to Mahler, whereupon Wolf mysteriously whispered that he had « already got rid of Mahler ». The day after these events, Wolf was taken by friends to a private psychiatric hospital under the pretext that, as the Court Opera's new director, he had to be introduced to the Lord Chamberlain. « So you're playing games with me. », Wolf presciently told his doctors when they admitted him to the clinic.

Gustav Mahler, too, was not unaffected by these events. In his reminiscences of the composer, the writer on music Professor Doctor Ernst Décsey (significantly enough, Hugo Wolf's 1st major biographer) recalls visiting Mahler's country retreat at Maiernigg, on the Wörthersee. As a keen champion of Wolf, Décsey naturally brought the conversation round to his idol, who at this date, around 1900, was still alive, immured in a psychiatric institution in Vienna. Décsey was understandably taken aback when in no uncertain terms Mahler questioned whether Wolf 3 songs, including « Weylas Gesang », had any artistic merit. He claimed not to be able to find in them any of the basic rules of composition, namely, the statement of a theme and its working-out. A song, he insisted, should be characterized by singing and by music, not by the word-setting, which is, of course, paramount in Wolf. Mahler grew increasingly agitated, striking his open palm with his fist and refusing to calm down. Décsey left under the clear and no doubt correct impression that « Wolf was a sore point with him » .

In Vienna, Gustav Mahler's main subject was the piano, which he studied, of course, with his paternal patron Julius Epstein. The same register gives no indication of Mahler's subsidiary subjects, but we know that he studied harmony with Robert Fuchs and counterpoint and composition with Franz Krenn. (We should not forget that, at the same time,

Mahler was attempting to complete his course as an external pupil at the Iglau Grammar School.) But the University's records also show that, when he completed his studies at the end of the 1877-1878 academic year, Mahler's main subject was no longer the piano but composition, which he had been studying with Krenn. It is unclear why he changed courses in September 1877, but it cannot have been because of his inadequacies as a pianist for in the competition held in 1876, he won 1st prize for his performance of a Schubert sonata. A few days later, on 1 July 1876, he also won the 1st prize in composition for the opening movement of a quartet with piano. There is no indication that he fell out with Julius Epstein, and so his decision to change courses was presumably a reflection of his increasingly apparent interest in composition.

And with whom did Mahler study conducting? The answer is simple: with no one, for at this date, conducting was not taught at any Conservatory or College of Music. When Peter Heyworth once asked Otto Klemperer how a conductor learnt to conduct, Klemperer replied: « What one can teach and what one can learn is so minimal that I could explain it to you in a minute. ». And George Bernard Shaw's famous comment, in « Man and Superman », that, « He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches. », could also be applied to conducting. The most gifted of Gustav Mahler's « disciples », Bruno Walter, who was a whole generation younger than his mentor, studied conducting at the Stern Conservatory in Berlin, but this was in 1890, by which date such courses were gradually being set-up. They eventually included all the canonical aspects of the discipline that remain part of such courses even now: continuo, score-reading, the ability to play from a full-score, the theory of musical form, composition and instrumentation. Otherwise, young conductors learnt their trade almost in passing by means of chorus and orchestral rehearsals with Conservatory orchestras, accompanying singers and, most important of all, attending concerts given by the leading conductors of their day - Walter's great model was Hans von Bülow. Mahler managed to achieve all this without attending a class in conducting, just as Walter would have done. Conductors acquired the tools of their trade not only by watching the great conductors of their age, which in Mahler's case meant Hans von Bülow, Artur Nikisch, Richard Strauß and, to a lesser extent, the somewhat stolid Hans Richter, but also, and above all, by gaining practical experience in the provinces. The young Mahler could hone his skills on the screeching violins and croaking bassoons in Bad Hall and Laibach, where technical shortcomings in his stick technique were not so immediately apparent and could quickly be remedied. By the time that he arrived in Kassel at the age of 23, he was already fully proficient as a conductor, documentary evidence from this period leaving us in no doubt on the matter: here was a conductor who measured everything by the standards of the works that he was interpreting. Driving not only his « comrades in arms » but also any refractory adversaries in the orchestra to the very limits of their often modest abilities, persuading them to go along with him, however reluctantly, and sweeping his audience along with him. There is no doubt, too, that, from 1st to last, he felt a sense of profound inadequacy in the face of the great works by other composers, a feeling that frequently left him terminally depressed.

Financially speaking, Gustav Mahler was better off than many of his fellow pupils. (Given their youth, the word « pupil » seems more fitting here than « student ».) In financing his studies, he even demonstrated considerable astuteness, just as, at a later date, the otherworldly Mahler could show great cunning in monetary matters. It emerges from a request that he made for financial help during his 2nd year at the Conservatory and that refers back to an alleged application from the previous academic year that he had told the authorities that his family was starving and had asked for half his school fees to be remitted, leaving them with a bill of only 60 Florins, which could be paid in

instalments : « My father is not in a position to support me, still less to pay my school fees. » . To put it mildly, this was less than the truth. 4 years earlier, Bernhard Mahler had bought one of the better houses in Iglau and was clearly in a position to finance his son's studies, but, presumably, he had no wish to do so as he was still not convinced that his investment in a career in music would ever pay for itself. On this occasion, the application was successful, no doubt in part because Julius Epstein added a note, guaranteeing that the fees that had not been remitted would be paid in full. Like many of the other pupils at the Conservatory, Mahler also earned some extra money by giving piano lessons - not only the subject at which he himself was best but also the one most sought after by the sons and daughters of the upper-middle classes. According to Mahler's childhood friend Theodor Fischer, who was currently studying law at the University of Vienna, Mahler was also well regarded as an accompanist and worked with young singers and violinists in need of a pianist. That he additionally performed in the « Bosendorfersaal » suggests that he also accompanied established artists. On one occasion, at least, the dreaminess that we recall from his days in Iglau must have reasserted itself as we find a Polish violinist having to stamp his foot to remind his accompanist of his duties.

But there was also an incident that may well be related to Hugo Wolf's enforced departure from the Conservatory at some date during the 1876-1877 academic year. According to the latest writings on Wolf, the Conservatory's director, Josef Hellmesberger, received a letter that contained an unequivocal threat on his life and that was signed « Hugo Wolf » . Wolf was apparently not responsible for the letter (a prank from a colleague) , but when he went to see Hellmesberger and tried to defend himself, the director is said to have screamed at him : « I want nothing more to do with you. You are no longer attached to the Conservatory. » . It is more than possible that Wolf, who was even smaller than Mahler and barely 5 feet 1 inch in height but as vicious as a terrier, refused to be intimidated but expressed his anger in no uncertain terms, an anger that is fully understandable if the signature was indeed forged. (On the other hand, such was Wolf's character that it is entirely possible that he was the author of the letter.) This seems to be the only plausible explanation for a remarkable letter that Gustav Mahler wrote to Josef Hellmesberger. Undated, it contains nothing that would allow us to place it in any wider context, but, perhaps, it was the result of a spontaneous gesture of solidarity over which Mahler had then had 2nd thoughts :

« I very much regret my overhasty decision and make so bold as to ask you to ignore my ill-considered action and allow me to return to the Conservatory. I shall endeavour to deserve this favour by my unremitting hard work and by satisfying not only you yourself, Herr Director, but the other teachers, too. »

The 2 prizes that Mahler won during his 1st year at the Conservatory were a considerable boost to his self-esteem, and, on 12 September 1876, when he was still only 16, he organized a benefit concert at the Hotel Czup in his native Iglau, the beneficiary being the local grammar school where he was still a pupil ; the gesture was no doubt much appreciated. Mahler did not appear on his own but brought with him 2 violinists from the Vienna Court Opera Orchestra, Eugen Grünberg and August Siebert, and his friend and fellow student, Rudolf Krzyzanowski, who played the viola. The programme was a demanding one and shows that Mahler could now rely on his technique as a pianist, for Schubert's « Wanderer Fantasy » is a technically challenging piece, as are the Frédéric Chopin « Ballades » , one of which he also played on this occasion. But the concert additionally featured 2 of his own works, a lost Violin Sonata and a Quartet with piano, or possibly, only a single movement from such a piece, in which case it may have been his

1st surviving composition, a movement headed « Not too fast » . Resolutely' and dating from 1876-1877.

Although Gustav Mahler's 1st year at the Conservatory may have been successful, his 2nd year clearly turned-out to be more problematical. For the 1st time in his life, Mahler appears to have undergone a kind of crisis, albeit one whose nature and causes remain a mystery. This was presumably the year in which he abandoned his studies, only to resume them very soon afterwards, while his admissions register also reveals certain irregularities in his studies. On the one hand, he was allowed to continue his classes at the Iglau Grammar School, while on the other, he had difficulties with his course in counterpoint. While winning another 1st prize for the piano, he performed poorly in counterpoint, arriving late for the examination that he was required to resit, failing to complete the exercise and being unable to submit any course work, a failure that he attempted to cover-up by submitting what his examiners dismissed as the « 1st part of a fictitious piece » , with the result that they refused to allow him to compete for the composition prize. It was around this time, too, that Mahler failed his school-leaving examination in Iglau, passing it only at the 2nd attempt. In a priceless letter that he wrote to Julius Epstein and that relates specifically to these events and to Mahler's embarrassing set-back in Iglau, we see the 1st instance of his stylistic grasp of Romantic irony in the sense understood by August Wilhelm Schlegel and Jean Paul - the latter, an author for whom Mahler retained a life-long affection. To the multifarious demands that were being placed on the 17 year old youth and that included the attractions of the big city, Wagnerism and the evenings that he spent at the Opera, the piano lessons that he was giving and his duties as an accompanist and, finally, his workload at the Conservatory and the classes that he was concurrently following at the grammar school in Iglau, Mahler reacted not with despair but with irony :

Your « Well-Tempered Highness » will excuse me if I modulate from the gentle Adagio of my feelings through the dissonance of my anger to a wild Finale, which is to be played moltissimo rubato. (Mahler is alluding here to his Piano Quartet of 1876, the 1st movement of which includes the performance marking « moltissimo rubato and impassioned » towards the end.) The fact is that my entry in the leavers' concert here in Iglau was a few bars too late or, rather, I arrived a few days too late so that I have not been able to take the examination and have had to put it off for 2 months. None the less, I hope to complete the homework that you set me for the vacation and to do so, moreover, to your complete satisfaction. »

For a 17 year old, this is a remarkably polished letter demonstrating a real satirical wit, so that it is easy to understand why, according to a number of his friends, Mahler, for a time, considered a career as a writer rather than as a musician. But, just as we saw with his letter complaining about his father's alleged poverty, young Mahler was not over-punctilious about the truth : he had not arrived too late for his examination in Iglau but had simply failed it, a point he clearly preferred not to disclose to his revered teacher. Although we should not attach too much importance to this, we shall have repeated occasions to note that, whereas Mahler applied only the strictest moral standards to himself and others and that he generally came-up to those standards, he was willing, for tactical reasons, to play fast and loose with the truth and to manipulate facts and figures, the better to achieve his desired goals.

Before examining the rest of Gustav Mahler's period of study in Vienna, about which we know so little, and before taking a closer look at the circle around Siegfried Lipiner, we must take another step back and consider Mahler against the background not only of Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms but also of Brahms and Anton Bruckner, for

it was these 3 composers (together with Johann Strauß, of course) who dominated the musical world of Vienna in the 1870's and who impregnated the air that Mahler and his friends breathed. We have already given a brief account of the battle lines between the Wagnerians and the « Brahmins » . On the one hand was progress, the « new » and an æsthetic outlook bound-up with expression, on the other, reaction, the « old » and a formal æsthetic culled from Eduard Hanslick's opusculum « On the Beautiful in Music » . (The fact that Hanslick was Wagner's most bitter critic helped even the most slow-witted observer to see the situation clearly.)

We are now more familiar with the world in which the 15 year old distiller's son from Iglau found himself in 1875. It would be foolish to assume that from his 1st day in the city, Mahler conquered cultural Vienna and felt at home in every corner of this vast city. Rather, we should imagine a young boy from a town of nearly 20,000 inhabitants finding himself in a city with a population that had just passed the 1,000,000 mark ; until then, the largest city he had known was Prague, an experience he had found profoundly disturbing. The term « culture shock » is entirely appropriate here. We do not know all the details of Mahler's life during this period (with a few exceptions, his surviving letters do not predate 1879) but certain conclusions are none the less possible. According to the matriculation register of the « Conservatory for Music and the Performing Arts of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » and music-drama, the party of reaction sought to perpetuate the Beethovenian form of the Symphony, chamber music and lieder of a kind that had been traditional since the late- 18th and early 19th Centuries. The allegedly academic and dry-as-dust Brahms had many friends, especially among the older generation, but he also had many enemies, most of whom belonged to a younger generation. It was left to Arnold Schönberg, in his 1933 lecture « Brahms, the Progressive » , to point-out that the « Wagner - Brahms » alternative was not, in fact, a genuine one and that it was more sensible to speak of « Brahms and Wagner » :

« It is the purpose of this essay to prove that Brahms, the classicist, the academician, was a great innovator in the realm of musical language, that, in fact, he was a great progressive. Gustav Mahler and Richard Strauß had been the 1st to clarify these concepts. They had both been educated in the traditional as well as in the progressive, in the Brahmsian as well as in the Wagnerian philosophy of art. Their example helped us to realize that there was as much organizational order, if not pedantry in Wagner as there was daring courage, if not even bizarre fantasy in Brahms. »

And Arnold Schönberg goes on to demonstrate by means of a series of detailed examples that Johannes Brahms's music contains a vast amount of intricate motivic writing, but also a marked economy in his handling of complex material coupled with clear logic and imagination. Without eschewing beauty and emotion, Brahms had shown the creative forces that could be unleashed by his detailed treatment of the musical material, by wrestling with ideas and with that material and by the technique of « developing variation » that may strike the listener as a conceptual process. Brahms « the progressive » ushered in a period of progress in the direction of an absolute musical language that Schönberg himself claimed finally to have put into practice.

On the other hand, there was Anton Bruckner. Or perhaps, it would be more accurate to describe Bruckner as occupying a place apart, for the opposing camp was home to Richard Wagner and the « New Germans » . Johannes Brahms had no time for Bruckner and even less understanding, notoriously dismissing his works as « Symphonic boa constrictors » . To the extent that Vienna's critics were almost all on the side of Brahms rather than that of Wagner

and the New Germans (although this dualism was less marked among the general public) , Bruckner, who had dedicated his 3rd Symphony to Wagner, was misinterpreted as a Wagnerian and showered with scorn and contempt. Gustav Mahler himself was present when the 3rd Symphony was given its 1st performance in Vienna, on 16 December 1877, and saw Bruckner suffer one of the worst set-backs of his career. He was not only the composer of the work but was also obliged to conduct it, when the planned conductor, Johann Herbeck, for some years the director of the Court Opera and the principal conductor of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » 's concerts, had died unexpectedly, in October of that year. The 1st performance of the 3rd Symphony turned-out to be a disaster, the audience laughing and shouting protests, before leaving the hall in droves during the work's final movement, a « Farewell Symphony » of a kind hardly envisaged by Franz-Joseph Haydn. « Let me out » , a tearful Bruckner is reported to have exclaimed, « people don't want to know about me » . In his review of the performance, Eduard Hanslick made no attempt to spare the composer's feelings :

« The Symphony sounded as if Beethoven's 9th had been crossed with Wagner's " Die Walküre " and, then, been trampled underfoot. »

Some 2 years later, an arrangement of the Wagner-Symphony for 2 pianos was published. It was the work of Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyżanowski, who had received the commission at some date during 1878. It was a great honour for a barely 18 year old youth, and the 1st time that his name had appeared on a piece of music. Mahler and Krzyżanowski were among the youngest and, at the same time, the closest admirers of Anton Bruckner, a point that Mahler himself repeatedly emphasized. In a letter probably written in 1902, he dated his contacts with Bruckner to the years between 1875 and 1881, in other words, the exact period when he was studying in Vienna. He insisted that, in spite of claims to the contrary, he had never been a « pupil » of Bruckner but was « one of his most enthusiastic admirers and publicists » . In comments that were not intended for public consumption, conversely, we find a more critical attitude to Bruckner on Mahler's part. In around 1900, he told Natalie Bauer-Lechner fairly bluntly :

« If it were up to me, I should scarcely perform any Bruckner at the Philharmonic concerts, which are so limited in scope and intended only for the best : one really cannot expect an audience to listen to these scraps of music and appalling absurdities, for all that they are often interrupted by divine ideas and themes. »

And when Mahler heard the 9th Symphony in Salzburg, in August 1906, he wrote to Alma :

« The work is the last word in absurdity. Salzburg was a-tremble with enthusiasm. It was a kind of musical midday snack in Bavarian style. »

If Mahler adopted an increasingly critical view of Anton Bruckner that we could sum-up as « wonderful themes inartistically developed » , then his attitude to Johannes Brahms and his music changed from austere reserve to great respect, while falling short of genuine enthusiasm. As a Wagnerian and an advocate of Bruckner's music, Mahler was the born enemy of Brahms or, at least, he should have been. But this was not the case. In later years, when Brahms was already an old man, the 2 composers grew closer as human beings, Mahler frequently visiting the older man at his summer retreat at Bad Ischl. Although he assured Natalie Bauer-Lechner that these visits were of limited appeal as

they failed to provide him with any intellectual or professional stimulus, he justified them by claiming that the elderly composer was anxious to avoid all intellectual exertion that did not flow directly into his work. But Mahler's respect for Brahms' music increased as he grew older. From an early date, he concentrated on the Symphony to the virtual exclusion of all other genres, tending to the « Brahmin » camp in his rejection of the Symphonic poem and music drama, for all that he felt a spiritual affinity with the former, at least in his 1st 2 Symphonies, whereas his commitment to the latter went no further than performing such works in the Opera House. It would never have occurred to him to write a Violin Concerto, and when he heard a performance of the Brahms Concerto in Berlin with the composer's friend Joseph Joachim as the soloist, he almost literally exploded with anger : « How can anyone write anything as ante-diluvian as a Violin Concerto ? » , he asked Natalie. « It's Zarathustra's tight-rope walker flogging himself to death and ready to be buried. » And yet, as Arnold Schönberg indicated, Mahler was able to be both a Wagnerian and a Brahmsian, at one and the same time, no doubt because, like Schönberg, he recognized the progressive features in Brahms' music, a point that emerges with particular clarity from a comparison between Bruckner and Brahms that took place (presumably in the early 1890's) within the context of a discussion with his brother Otto. Otto argued simplistically that, with Bruckner, the content was greater, whereas, with Brahms, the form was more perfect. Mahler countered this by insisting that :

« In order to judge a work, you have to look at it as a whole. And, in this respect, Brahms is indisputably the greater of the 2, with his extraordinarily compact compositions which aren't at all obvious, but reveal greater depth and richness of content, the more you enter into them. And think of his immense productivity, which is also part of the total picture of an artist ! With Bruckner, certainly, you are carried away by the magnificence and wealth of his inventiveness, but, at the same time, you are repeatedly disturbed by fragmentary character, which breaks the spell. I can permit myself to say this, because you know how deeply I revere Bruckner in spite of it, and I shall always do whatever is in my power to have his works played and heard. »

But, as principal conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic, Gustav Mahler exercised this power only hesitantly and without any real sense of inner conviction.

Gustav Mahler's intellectual curiosity, which he retained throughout his life, extended far beyond the world of music. His father's example as a « Coachman-scholar » , the Classical authors in the family's bookcase and his knowledge of history, literature and philosophy, which he picked-up at school alongside all the cramming, sometimes putting down unintentional roots, all exercised his young mind. The Conservatory could offer no counterpart to this or provide him with any intellectual stimulus as it was too much of a training ground for future musicians, with too narrow a syllabus. Mahler had scarcely passed his school-leaving examination, albeit at the 2nd attempt, when his intellectual energy drove him to the city's University, where he enrolled in September 1877 at the age of 17. During his 1st term there, it was mainly German language and literature that he studied ; interestingly, he read Middle-High German language and literature with Richard Heinzel, later adding courses in philosophy, history and the history of music. It appears, too, that he studied harmony with Anton Bruckner, although this was later deleted from his University records. As an institution, the University of Vienna enjoyed a considerable reputation, although the lecturers in the courses that Mahler attended were not necessarily adept at firing the young hothead's interests. At all events, Mahler was already following completely different courses by his 2nd term : Classical sculpture, the history of Dutch painting and the «

philosophy of the history of philosophy » , which he studied with Franz Brentano, who was the nephew of the poet Clemens Brentano and, arguably, Vienna's leading teacher in the field of the humanities. And yet, here too, Mahler's appetite was evidently not whetted, for he failed to register for any course at all for what would have been his 3rd term at the University. Instead, he took a year off, resuming his course only in the autumn of 1879, when he read archaeology, European history of the Napoleonic Age and the « history of music since the death of Beethoven » . In this last-named subject, his teacher was none other than Eduard Hanslick, who had founded the tradition of musicology in Vienna, occupying a chair that was still called, « Aesthetics and the History of Music » , and that was later to be filled by Mahler's friend and champion Guido Adler.

The very choice of subjects that Mahler studied indicates the wide range of his interests, while also attesting to the fact that the University and the subjects on offer there ultimately failed to satisfy him. His intellectual energy needed to find other outlets and open other valves. His closest friends at the Conservatory were shortly joined by 2 further groups of acquaintances, the 1st of which was Vienna's Literary Club, an organization concerned with everything not directly bound-up with music and, as such, likely to be of interest to a young reader like Mahler. Friends such as Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Hans Rott and Hugo Wolf had been interested only in music, whereas the Literary Club consisted of 3 young people closely associated with Mahler's Moravian homeland : his cousin Gustav Frank, who was attending the Academy of Fine-Arts in Vienna and whom Theodor Fischer described as an « engraver » ; Theodor Fischer, who was the son of Iglau's director of music and, later, the well-heeled president of the District Court and who has left us such a colourful account of Mahler's childhood ; and, finally, Emil Freund, who on leaving the Iglau Grammar School was similarly studying law at the University of Vienna and who was to remain Mahler's confidant and lawyer until his death. Unfortunately, we have absolutely no idea what literary topics the « Iglau Four » discussed. In his reminiscences, Fischer reports only that « at our meetings, there were debates on literary questions and the issues of the day ; they generally ended in our walking the streets for half the night, when, in a spirit of Romantic effusiveness, we would abandon ourselves to the spell cast on us by the wonderful moonlit buildings of old Vienna » .

If the Literary Club was a loose continuation of the literary enthusiasms of grammar-school pupils fired by Romantic interests, the 2nd circle in which Mahler found himself (probably, from the autumn of 1879) was of incomparably greater importance, affecting the whole of the rest of his life. Certainly, it was more important than the University and, intellectually speaking, more important than his friends at the Conservatory. This was the « Pernerstorfer Circle » , a group that, in Mahler's case, could also be called the Lipiner circle. Mahler was a member of it, on and off until 1883, when he finally left Vienna to take-up his post in Olmütz. These 3 years and the circle itself were the most crucial of all in terms of Mahler's literary and philosophical formation and his whole outlook on life, so that a lengthy excursus is more than justified, not least because Lipiner was of tremendous importance in Mahler's life, 1st in the years leading up to the breach following his marriage to Alma Schindler, and, again, in the final years of Mahler's life. (The fact that Alma Schindler was born in the autumn of 1879, at the very time that Mahler was becoming involved in the « Lipiner Circle » , also serves to underline the generation gap between Mahler and his wife.)

The history of the « Lipiner Circle » predates Mahler's entry into it, beginning, as it does, in March 1867, when a group of grammar-school pupils from the « Schottengymnasium » in Vienna formed an association that called itself the Telyn Society, its fine-sounding name inspired by the word for an ostensibly Celtic form of harp played by the old

bards of Britain : the Ossianic fabrications of James Macpherson had not yet entirely lost their impact. The members of the Telyn Society were interested not only in literary history but also in politics, their name implying that they were picking-up a tradition that was Germanic in its wider sense. In doing so, they were emphatically not appealing to the Nibelung myth, which Richard Wagner was then in the process of reviving. (The 1st performance of his « Ring » had yet to take place.) Wilhelm Jordan's epic version was only just starting to appear in print and had found only a small audience in Austria. If the pupils at the « Schottengymnasium » knew about the « Nibelungenlied », it was because one of their teachers, Hugo Mareta, was an enthusiastic champion of the poem. However powerful Wagner's impact may have been on Vienna's young academics and intellectuals some 10 years later, there must have been some other point for them to latch on to in the 1870's. Celtic culture was thus a kind of preparation for the « Nibelungenlied ». But the idea of German nationalism was none the less a driving force behind the formation of this club. Austria had just been defeated by Prussia, making a Pan-German solution no more than a distant prospect, so that the increasingly apparent attempts to revive Celtic national feeling in Britain, in the years around the middle of the Century, evidently encouraged a similar movement in Austria. The founder members of the Telyn Society were all destined to play important roles in Austrian society and history, but they were also important for Mahler. They included Victor Adler, the son of a wealthy Jewish businessman, Salomon Adler, who had come to Vienna from Prague and who later became one of Austria's leading Social-Democrats ; Max von Gruber, the son of one of the pioneers of otology and later a famous hygienist who conducted important research in the field of typhoid infections ; and Heinrich Friedjung, who went on to become a historian and a central figure in the Austrian German National Party, only to find himself excluded from it on account of his Jewish descent and additionally discredited as a historian for not checking the reliability of historical sources that turned-out to be inauthentic. Last but not least was Engelbert Pernerstorfer. Unlike his fellow pupils, he came from a poor background and was the son of a tailor. Together with Adler, he went on to found the Austrian Social Democratic Party. 1st, however, he became a German Nationalist, an affiliation that followed naturally from his membership of the Telyn Society. It needs to be emphasized, however, that these young German nationalists had not yet signed-up to an anti-Semitic agenda, not least because such a move would have been problematic in view of Adler's and Friedjung's Jewish origins. The Telyn Society came to reflect a very special blend of Germanocentric and German national thinking, Socialist fantasies, sympathy with the Paris Commune and solidarity with the fate of the emerging proletariat. This mixture of nationalism and socialism, both of which were still in their infancy, inevitably led most members of the Telyn Society to embrace German national ideas, only Pernerstorfer and Adler going on to espouse the cause of social democracy. If social democracy in Austria was always more nationalistic than in Germany, it was because of these origins.

By the time that the members of the Telyn Society had left school and gone on to University, their adolescent infatuation with Celtic and Germanic Romanticism had waned, and the Welsh Telyn soon lost its significance. All its members were considerably older than Mahler, Adler having been born in 1852, Pernerstorfer in 1850. But they all remained in close contact and, in 1872, founded a « Reading Society of Viennese German Students » ; with the emphasis on « German ». With the exception of the usual student Societies, this was the most important student organization in Vienna in the 1870's, and certainly the most intellectually influential. One of the few University professors to exert any authority over this small group of student intellectuals was Lorenz von Stein, whose brilliant writings straddled the disparate disciplines of economics, politics and sociology, and included Socialism and Communism in Present-Day France and a handbook on sociology. Adler and Pernerstorfer played leading roles in the « Reading

Society » , which soon evolved into far more than a mere continuation of the Telyn Society under another name. By 1874, Adler was its librarian and Pernerstorfer its secretary. Its members discussed not only the theories of Charles Darwin but also the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer, debating the differences between them on the basis of a sensationalist tract of the time, Carl von Rokitansky's « The Solidarity of All Animal Life » . Adler's diaries contain lengthy notes teeming with concepts such as « fellow suffering » , « world suffering » and « weltenschmerz » ; it comes as no surprise to learn that, only a few years later, many of these young people felt drawn to Richard Wagner and to his religion of compassion as expressed in some of his late essays such as « Religion and Art » of 1880 and in « Parsifal » . It is also clear why Mahler, too, should have been attracted to this group. Thanks not least to the additional influence of Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Mahler subscribed all his life to a personal religion of compassion. Socialism, German nationalism and the interest in compassion and solidarity that predisposed a number of these students to pin their colours to the Social Democratic mast led them far away from the liberal spirit that still dominated the age but whose roots were already cankered. In this way, the « Reading Society » came within the purview of the authorities and, at the end of 1878, was disbanded as politically suspect. From this point of view, it was entirely logical that its members, including, at a later date, Mahler too, should have stumbled across the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche and done so, moreover, at an exceptionally early date.

We need to remember that Nietzsche's 1st full-length publication, « The Birth of Tragedy » , had 1st appeared in 1872 and that it had met with little interest except in specialist circles and among Wagnerians. It says much for the perceptiveness of Vienna's student population that one of their number, Josef Ehrlich, had already made contact with Nietzsche by April 1876 and expressed his enthusiasm for the philosopher's « Untimely Meditations » , the 4th and final one of which, « Richard Wagner in Bayreuth » , was about to appear. The main members of the « Reading Society » had been very much waiting for Nietzsche, even though he was neither a German nationalist nor a writer noted for a particular interest in the religion of compassion, but his radical philosophy was now struggling to emerge from the cocoon of his « Untimely Meditations » . Vienna's students must have made a 2nd attempt to get in touch with Nietzsche the following year for, in June 1877, we find Erwin Rohde writing to the philosopher and mentioning a student whom he had met in Vienna and who had introduced himself as a member of what Rohde called the « Nietzsche Society of Vienna » . The student, Rohde claimed, had sent Nietzsche a copy of a book titled, « Prometheus Unbound » , the very title of which was a flattering tribute to the Basel Professor of Classical Philology, for the title page of « The Birth of Tragedy » had included a vignette depicting the unbound « Prometheus » . Nietzsche received the book only after some delay, for it had been sent to his mother's home in Naumburg and, only from there, was it forwarded to the philosopher, who was currently on holiday at Rosenlaubad. But his reaction on finally reading it was entirely positive, and in his reply we find him telling Rohde that the poem had provided him with « a day of true celebration » and that its author must be a veritable « genius » . The name of this genius was Siegfried Lipiner.

Le « disciple » Gustav Mahler

Le talent musical du jeune Gustav Mahler est devenu manifeste tôt.

1866 : Le chef d'orchestre du Théâtre de Jihlava (« Iglau ») , Franz Viktorin, lui donne régulièrement des leçons de piano. Mahler a alors 6 ans.

1869 : Johannes Bosch devient le professeur de piano de Mahler. Bosch et Viktorin offraient à leur école de musique de Jihlava des cours de piano et de violon. De toute évidence, ils n'épargneront aucun effort pour faire de l'enfant un grand virtuose.

Octobre 1870 : À 10 ans, Mahler donne son 1er récital de piano en public, au Théâtre municipal de Jihlava. La presse locale parle alors d'un « futur virtuose du piano » et confirme que la prestation du « fils d'un homme d'affaires local, d'origine israélite » est couronnée d'un « grand et honorable succès » . (Déjà, avant ce concert, on rapporte que Mahler donnaient des leçons de piano à d'autres enfants.) Bernhard Mahler (1827-1889) voulait offrir à son fils une meilleure éducation scolaire et aspirait le présenter à des cercles musicaux ; ce qui pourrait s'avérer bénéfique pour son développement.

Mahler et son ami d'enfance, Josef Steiner (1857-1913) , fréquentent ensemble l'école secondaire de Jihlava.

1875 : Gustav Mahler, maintenant âgé de 15 ans, fait la connaissance de Gustav Schwarz, un notable local qui est parent avec le père de Josef Steiner. Il est impressionné la virtuosité du jeune pianiste. Il deviendra son 1er professeur attiré. Schwarz va convaincre les parents du talent musical de leur fils et offre de lui ouvrir les portes du Conservatoire de Vienne grâce à son contact avec le professeur de piano, Julius Epstein (1832-1926) .

Été 1875 : Mahler à l'idée d'écrire à Jihlava un Opéra, Ernst duc de Souabe (« Herzog Ernst von Schwaben ») , sur un texte de son camarade de classe, Josef Steiner (peu de temps auparavant, le frère de Gustav, Ernst Mahler, venait de mourir) .

10 septembre 1875 : Mahler est envoyé à Vienne pour parfaire sa formation au Conservatoire.

20 septembre 1875 : Mahler est admis au Conservatoire de la Société des Amis de la Musique (« Konservatorium für Musik und darstellende Kunst der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») avec l'appréciation : « musicien-né » ; 2 mois après son 15e anniversaire.

Juin 1876 : À sa 1re année de Conservatoire, Mahler remporte le 1er prix d'interprétation dans la catégorie « piano » en programmant un extrait d'une Sonate de Franz Schubert.

Juillet 1876 : Mahler remporte le 1er prix de composition avec le 1er mouvement de son Quatuor avec piano en la mineur. L'œuvre sera présentée à nouveau lors d'un concert à Jihlava, le 12 septembre.

31 juillet 1876 : Lors d'un concert (réussi) à Jihlava, Mahler interprète sa Sonate pour violon et piano (aujourd'hui perdue) en compagnie de son collègue de classe, Richard Schraml. L'œuvre sera connue de plusieurs de ses collègues.

1877 : Mahler est maintenant admis à l'Université de Vienne. Il étudie diverses disciplines mais pas la direction d'orchestre (qui n'y sera enseignée qu'à partir de 1909) : le piano aux côtés de Julius Epstein (un soutien de poids et

un ami personnel de Johannes Brahms) ; l'harmonie aux côtés de Robert Fuchs (1847-1927) ; et la composition et le contrepoint aux côtés de Franz Krenn. Epstein va recommander son talentueux élève comme professeur de piano. Il confiera plus tard à Mahler son propre fils, Richard, qui deviendra pianiste de concert. Mahler s'absentait souvent du Conservatoire pour aller assister à ses cours à l'école secondaire de Jihlava.

Plus tard, Robert Fuchs aimera raconter que Mahler était compétent en tout et que ses condisciples le percevaient comme « un nouveau Schubert » .

Mahler partage la chambre d'Hans Rott et est aussi condisciple avec Hugo Wolf, Rudolf Krzyzanowski et Arnold Rosé. Son caractère entier se manifeste déjà. Il complète sa formation en classes d'harmonie et de composition. Mahler compose de nombreuses œuvres de musique de chambre et d'orchestre qu'il détruira par la suite.

18 mars 1878 : Mahler rédige le texte du « Das Klagende Lied » , basé sur 2 contes :

Un conte de Bechstein (1801-1860) , éponyme, dans le « Neues deutsches Märchenbuch » (1856) apparenté à « Der singende Knochen » (l'Os chantant) : conte n° 28 de « Kinder- und Hausmärchen » des frères Grimm.

1877-1878 : Mahler amorce un second projet d'Opéra pour voix et orchestre qui sera également inachevé, « les Argonautes » (« Die Argonauten ») , sur un livret (utilisant la forme stylistique du « stabreim ») qu'il élabore conjointement avec Josef Steiner (d'après « Das goldene Vlies » de Franz Seraphicus Grillparzer, 1791-1872) où les personnages de Jason et de Médée sont mis en évidence. L'imaginaire du jeune compositeur était alors influencé par les mythes fort prétentieux en vogue dans un Romantisme finissant qui auront leurs moments de gloire lors des Iers Festivals de Bayreuth.

Été 1878 : Poussé par son père, Mahler obtient (enfin) son certificat de fin d'études secondaires (baccalauréat) à Jihlava (Iglau) .

Juillet 1878 : Mahler achève brillamment ses études musicales. Il réussit son examen final pour l'obtention du diplôme. Son Quatuor avec piano (aujourd'hui perdu) lui permet de remporter le 1er prix de composition. Mahler lui-même était au piano lors du récital. Parmi les 4 autres élèves, citons le violoncelliste Eduard Rosé (Rosenblum) , le frère-aîné du célèbre 1er violon de l'Orchestre philharmonique de Vienne, Arnold Rosé. Les relations avec les frères Rosé deviendront encore plus intimes : la sœur de Mahler, Justine, va épouser Arnold Rosé et son autre sœur, Emma, le violoncelliste Eduard.

Mahler n'obtiendra pas la prestigieuse Médaille d'argent dont étaient récompensés les meilleurs étudiants au sortir du Conservatoire. Il y en aura 9 au total. Mahler avait alors soumis, au Prix Beethoven, l'Ouverture (Prélude) de son Opéra « les Argonautes » .

Son Opéra féérique « Růbezahel » (« Krakonoš ») (1879-1883) est un autre projet inachevé, aujourd'hui perdu. Seul le manuscrit du livret a subsisté.

« Rübezahl » : Oper in fünf Verwandlungen mit einem Vorspiel.

Nur der unvollständige Entwurf zu einem Textbuch est überlièfert, die erste Fassung. Zu einer weiteren kompositorischen Bearbeitung gibt es zwar ausreichende Indizien, doch ist dazu bisher nichts genaueres bekannt geworden.

Entstehung : Herbst 1879 bis 1883, und in kleineren Arbeitsphasen bis 1890, und darüber hinaus.

« Rübezahl » est un être fantastique ou géant des monts des Géants, qui peut prendre des apparences différentes, dont celle d'un moine, d'un mineur, d'un chasseur sauvage ou d'une souche d'arbre. Représenté pour la 1re fois en 1564, il n'est pas antérieur au XVe siècle. Son nom véritable est Seigneur de la montagne, « Rübezahl » n'est qu'un sobriquet péjoratif, dont l'étymologie n'est pas claire. Le mot pourrait venir du vieux haut-allemand, du moyen haut-allemand ou du tchègue, et signifierait tempête sauvage ou démon à queue.

L'objet d'une discorde entre Hugo Wolf et Gustav Mahler fut d'ailleurs la légende du personnage des monts de Silésie, « Rübezahl », qui fait quelques apparitions chez les frères Grimm ou E. T. A. Hoffmann et prend diverses formes pour défendre le Bien contre le Mal et se venger de ceux qui l'ont moqué. Wolf découvre le 1er cette légende pour en faire un drame musical ; ce à quoi Mahler répond que le sujet ne peut être exploité qu'à des fins humoristiques. Il s'ensuit que le 1er livret est achevé en 8 jours par Mahler alors que celui de Wolf n'est pas encore commencé. Colère de Wolf. Mais on doit à Natalie Bauer-Lechner de nous éclairer sur ce qui sépare Wolf de Mahler et son projet d'Opéra féérique, un « Märchenspiel » travaillé durant l'hiver 1879 puis abandonné. « Chez Mahler, la parodie, le grotesque à la Hoffmann se sont exprimés totalement dans le sujet de " Rübezahl ", alors que la nature rêveuse et Romantique de Wolf n'avait vu là, sans doute, que du merveilleux. » Mais n'est-ce pas l'un des propres du conte que de faire passer le récit par un enchantement libérateur qui conjure la détresse que le mythe, expression que refoule l'ironie mahlérienne, fait peser sur l'humanité ? »

Natalie écrit dans ses mémoires :

Gustav Mahler m'a raconté de la façon la plus vivante la légende de son livret « Rübezahl », dont la mise en musique est restée malheureusement interrompue, à peine commencée. « Et sais-tu, comment je suis tombé dessus ? Hugo Wolf, ton ami, m'a dit un jour qu'il avait trouvé la substance d'un drame musical et qu'il voulait effectuer des recherches sur ce sujet à la " Hofbibliothek ". Comme il m'a dit, en réponse à mes questions, qu'il s'agissait de " Rübezahl ", je lui ai répondu qu'il ne devait le traiter que par l'humour. Il ne voulait rien savoir. Mais moi, sans penser que je pouvais lui porter tort, attiré par ma propre compréhension du sujet, suis allé à la maison, je m'y suis mis, et j'ai complété en 8 jours mon " Rübezahl ". Ensuite je suis allé voir Wolf et je lui ai demandé où il en était avec son drame, s'il l'avait déjà terminé. " Je n'ai pas encore commencé, mais j'ai trouvé de jolies choses là-dessus en bibliothèque ! " " Ah bon ? Eh bien, moi, j'ai déjà fini le mien. ", et je l'ai sorti de mon sac. »

« Wolf s'est mis en rage, et toutes mes tentatives pour le tranquilliser, de même que mon conseil de traiter le sujet d'une façon complètement différente, ont échoué ; il m'a déclaré, plein de dépit, qu'il n'en ferait plus un mot. »

« Je lui ai quand même fait lire mon texte ainsi qu'à un autre camarade. Il ne rencontrait leur approbation qu'en partie. Je ne sais pas qu'est-ce qu'ils en pensaient d'autre. Quand je m'en souviens à présent, il contenait beaucoup de rudesses et de lacunes, que j'aurais polies et comblées si je l'avais mis en musique. Mais celui qui jetterait un œil à cette forme imparfaite, qui a quand même le sens musical et qui cherche le ton d'une expression pleinement vivante, pourrait peut-être en obtenir quelque chose. »

« Et tu ne veux plus le continuer ? N'est-ce pas tout à fait dommage ? »

« Non, cela ne me serait plus possible aujourd'hui. Je me suis trop éloigné de ma disposition d'alors. »

Cet épisode est déjà significatif du caractère très ombrageux de Hugo Wolf.

1878-1879 : Début pour Mahler des études de philosophie allemande (Schopenhauer, Nietzsche) , d'histoire et d'histoire de la musique à l'Université de Vienne. Il se lie d'amitié avec le professeur Anton Bruckner en suivant, en parallèle, ses conférences très courues. Il va devenir, dans une certaine mesure, « son disciple » . (Bruckner enseignait l'harmonie et le contrepoint au Conservatoire depuis 1868 et donnait des conférences sur les mêmes sujets l'Université de Vienne depuis 1875-1876.)

S'il n'a jamais été « officiellement et en pratique » l'élève d'Anton Bruckner (l'homologue de Franz Krenn au Conservatoire) , Mahler va entretenir avec lui une relation d'estime et de compréhension mutuelle.

Un biographe avance l'anecdote suivante : Bruckner estimait tellement le jeune Mahler qu'ils descendaient côte à côte les escaliers sur plusieurs étages de l'Université de Vienne avant de se dire au revoir une fois arrivés au rez-de-chaussée.

Plus tard, Gustav Mahler déclarera explicitement n'avoir jamais été son élève bien qu'il aime se considérer comme le successeur direct du grand Symphoniste : Mahler surnommait ce digne professeur et conférencier : « le Précurseur ! » .

Ainsi, Bruckner va lui offrir le manuscrit de sa 3e Symphonie. Il faut reconnaître que Mahler s'était trouvé lié, à 2 reprises au moins, au sort de celle-ci : lorsqu'un public moqueur (et rapidement déserteur) accueillit froidement la 3e Symphonie de Bruckner, le 16 décembre 1877, Gustav et d'autres étudiants (parmi lesquels Rudolf Krzyzanowski) allèrent quant à eux jusqu'à transcrire l'œuvre pour piano. De même, c'est Mahler qui réussit, dans un 1er temps, à persuader Bruckner de ne pas céder sous la pression de ses collègues qui lui conseillaient « d'adapter » sa 3e Symphonie aux exigences malicieuses du public.

...

16 décembre 1877 : « Ce fut un moment déchirant de voir Bruckner, à la fin du concert, récupérer sa musique, seul sur le podium. Les musiciens du Philharmonique ayant déguerpi dès les dernières mesures. »

On comptait à peine une dizaine de personnes au parterre qui continuaient à rire et à chahuter, criant : « da capo » et « bis » . Une poignée de fidèles élèves (environ 25) dont un Gustav Mahler âgé de 17 ans (et son condisciple Rudolf Krzyzanowski) se sont précipités en direction du Maître au cœur brisé, tentant en vain de lui remonter le moral avec des paroles consolatrices. « Laissez-moi seul, je veux quitter ce lieu. Les Viennois ne veulent pas entendre mes œuvres. » s'écria-t-il.

Un critique témoin de la scène parla de ce « petit groupe d'hardis aventuriers » . Au même moment, l'éditeur Theodor Rättig (un des rares qui soit resté) s'approcha (tel un ange venu du ciel) pour encenser la nouvelle pièce. Bruckner regarda avec incrédulité cet homme étrange qui osa afficher tant de courage à un moment aussi dramatique. Il se dit même prêt à risquer de la publier à ses propres frais (3,000 Florins ou « Gulden ») . Selon le biographe August Göllerich, Bruckner recevra, en 1885, une somme de 150 Florins (« Gulden ») à titre de redevances.

Afin de lui rendre hommage en guise de consolation, Gustav Mahler et son confrère (étudiant et chambreur) Rudolf Krzyzanowski préparèrent un arrangement pour piano « 4 mains » de la 3e Symphonie qui sera publié l'année suivante. Cet arrangement est une réalisation de 1er plan, fidèle à la partition. Gustav Mahler se chargera de traduire (de manière efficace mais avec une certaine retenue) les 1er, 2e et 3e mouvements. Tandis que Rudolf Krzyzanowski réalisera la transcription du Finale ajoutant un peu plus de couleur et d'espièglerie.

...

Dans une lettre adressée à ce Maître qu'il admirait tant, Mahler lui assure que l'un de ses principaux objectifs dans sa carrière sera de tout faire pour diffuser sa musique afin qu'il soit enfin reconnu à sa juste valeur.

1879 : Composition de la 1re grande œuvre de Gustav Mahler - « Das Klagende Lied » (le Chant plaintif) .

L'athlétique Mahler va entreprendre, à maintes reprises, de longues randonnées pédestres en nature.

Début été 1880 : Mahler planifie d'accompagner Anton Krisper et les frères Krzyzanowski (Rudolf et Heinrich) lors d'un long périple à travers la forêt Bohémienne et les monts Fichtel pour finalement faire escale à Bayreuth puis assister à une représentation du célèbre « Jeu de la Passion du Christ » au village d'Oberammergau (montée tous les 10 ans et d'une durée de 6 heures) en Haute-Bavière. Ce projet tombera à l'eau lorsque Mahler sera nommé à Bad Hall, en juin. Bien plus tard, Mahler aura l'occasion d'assister au Festival de Bayreuth mais ne visitera jamais Oberammergau au bord de la rivière Ammer, dans l'Ammertal.

...

Heinrich Krzyzanowski was a writer who studied at the Vienna University. His brother, Rudolf, was a student at the Vienna Conservatory and a member of professor Franz Krenn's 3rd year composition class. At the same concert in which Gustav Mahler's prize-winning « Schema » of his Quartet with Piano was played, an Adagio for String Sextet by

Rudolf Krzyzanowski was also performed : it, too, was awarded a prize.

The date of Krzyzanowski's birth is uncertain. After leaving the Conservatory, he seems to have held a number of conducting appointments, the most important of which were at Prague, where he succeeded Karl Muck as 1st conductor from 1891 to 1895, and Weimar, where he was Hofkapellmeister from 1898 to 1907. He died in 1911, only a few weeks later than Mahler.

Mahler's early friendship with the Krzyzanowski brothers was warm and intimate. He had interest and ambitions in common with Rudolf ; and his holiday plans on occasions included both brothers. His correspondence for some years makes frequent reference to Rudolf's career and he was always ready to advise, or use his influence on his friend's behalf, where such was required. He suggested to his agent, for instance, that Rudolf should fill his post at Cassell when he moved on to Leipzig.) Until the 1890's, at least, his letters show that he kept in touch with these companions of his youth. At one stage, Heinrich Krzyzanowski wrote to Mahler suggesting an Operatic project, but it appears that nothing came of the idea.

Juin 1880 : Mahler accède à son 1er poste, celui de « Kapellmeister » au « Kurtheater » de Bad Hall, au nord de l'Autriche.

Novembre 1880 : Complétion (avant d'avoir atteint l'âge de 20 ans) du « Das Klagende Lied » sous le titre de « Märchen in drei Abtheilungen » (un conte en 3 parties) ; Mahler considère cette pièce comme son Opus 1 :

« Waldmärchen » (Conte de la Forêt) : Une jeune reine repousse tous ses prétendants. Elle n'épousera que celui qui lui rapportera de la forêt certaine fleur rouge. 2 frères se mettent en quête : l'aîné est dur et violent, le cadet tendre et doux. C'est le plus jeune qui trouve la fleur ; il la fixe à son chapeau, s'étend sous un saule, et s'endort. Son frère survient, lui passe son épée au travers du corps, et s'empare de la fleur.

« Der Spielmann » (le Ménestrel) : Un ménestrier vient à passer près du saule où gît sous les feuilles le squelette du jeune homme assassiné. Un os traîne au sol, le ménestrier le ramasse, et en façonne une flûte. Lorsqu'il la porte à sa bouche, la flûte se met d'elle-même à chanter, et à raconter l'horrible histoire.

« Hochzeitsstück » (Pièce nuptiale) : Jour de liesse au château, la reine épouse le fratricide. Nombreuse assistance, musique, réjouissances, la fête bat son plein. Le ménestrier arrive ; portant à sa bouche la flûte, celle-ci reprend son « chant plaintif » . Le nouveau roi la lui arrache, et la flûte alors l'accuse explicitement du meurtre. Effroi de l'assistance, qui s'enfuit en désordre ; les murs s'effondrent. Le silence retombe.

Composition : 1879-1880.

Révisions : 1883, 1898.

Durée : 70 minutes.

Création : 17 février 1901, sous la direction du compositeur.

Version originale :

Solistes : soprano, alto, ténor, baryton - soprano garçon, alto garçon.

Chœur mixte.

Orchestre principal : 3 flûtes, 2 piccolos, 2 hautbois, 1 cor anglais, 3 clarinettes, 3 bassons, 4 cors, 4 trompettes, 3 trombones, 2 tubas basse, timbales, percussions (1 triangle, cymbales, 1 tam-tam, i.e. gong asiatique, 1 grosse caisse) , 6 harpes, cordes.

Orchestre au loin (« Fernorchester ») : 3 flûtes, 4 clarinettes, 3 bassons, 4 bugles, 2 cornets, timbales, percussions.

Version révisée de 1898 :

Solistes : soprano, alto, ténor - soprano garçon ad libitum.

Chœur mixte.

Orchestre principal : 3 flûtes, un piccolo, 3 clarinettes, 3 hautbois, 1 cor anglais, 3 bassons, 4 cors, 4 trompettes, 3 trombones, 1 tuba basse, timbales, percussions (1 triangle, cymbales, 1 tam-tam, 1 grosse caisse) , 2 harpes, cordes.

Orchestre au loin : 3 flûtes, 2 hautbois, 4 clarinettes, 4 cors, 2 trompettes, timbales, 1 triangle, cymbales, 1 triangle.

1881 : Mahler se présente à nouveau au Prix (concours) Beethoven de la Société des Amis de la Musique de Vienne (le « Musikverein ») , avec, cette fois-ci, un Opéra complet, le « Das Klagende Lied » , dont il fera plus tard une cantate profane. Malgré une Maîtrise précoce de l'instrumentation et du traitement de la voix, rien n'y fait. Dès le 1er examen, l'œuvre est écartée.

Le jury de la « vieille garde » , comprenant les Johannes Brahms, Eduard Hanslick, Josef Hellmesberger, Hans Richter et Karl Goldmark, accorde cette fois le prix au Concerto pour piano en si bémol mineur de Robert Fuchs, le respectable professeur de théorie musicale de Mahler au Conservatoire de Vienne, au catalogue bien fourni, mais dont le temps, contrairement à celui de Mahler, semble définitivement révolu.

Le second prix ira au professeur Viktor Emmerich Ritter von Herzfeld (1856, Poszony, Hongrie - 20 février 1919, Budapest, Hongrie) .

Mahler tente sans succès de présenter l'œuvre à plusieurs autres concours. L'échec le persuade de se tourner vers la

direction d'orchestre.

Mahler entreprend une 1^{re} révision de son « Das Klagende Lied » en 1883 : élimination de la 1^{re} partie, suppression de l'orchestre lointain dans les 2^e et 3^e parties, réduction du nombre des solistes de 11 à 4, du nombre de harpes de 6 à 2. Ce n'est qu'en 1898 que Mahler, alors directeur du « Hofoper » à Vienne, trouva un éditeur. Mahler retravailla l'œuvre avant édition, y ré-incluant l'orchestre lointain dans la 3^e partie.

...

The subject of the Beethoven Prize gives rise to a host of chronological problems. It was 1st broached by Gustav Mahler himself, in a conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner in April 1898 :

« Had the jury of the Conservatoire, which included Brahms, Goldmark, Hanslick, and Richter, given me at that time the Beethoven Prize of 600 Austrian Florins for the " Klagende Lied " my whole life would have taken a different turn. I was just working on " Rübezahl ", would not have had to go to Laibach (Ljubljana) and would thus possibly have been spared my whole cursed Operatic career. Instead, however, Herr Herzfeld got the 1st composition prize, and Rott and I went empty-handed. Rott despaired and died soon afterwards insane, and I was (and shall always remain) condemned to the hell of theatrical life. »

Gustav Mahler's bitterness at the routine of the Opera House is characteristic. But can the blame for his enforced pursuit of a career as a conductor be placed all that squarely on the shoulders of the prize committee ? Mahler himself, in this excited and indignant outburst, seems to have overlooked that the 1st step on his primrose path was taken at Bad Hall in 1880, not at Ljubljana in 1881 ; and none was more assiduous in searching for new conducting posts than the young « Kapellmeister » of Bad Hall. It does seem that Mahler attempts to make the incident bear the responsibility for too many wrongs, real or fanciful : not only for his own « hell » , but for poor Rott's lunacy. There is surely a whiff of imaginary persecution here ?

The jury, moreover, though not inappropriately described by Gabriel Engel as « a stone wall of musical Classicism » (otherwise his treatment of this event is dangerously romanticized) , at a later period were not entirely indifferent or hostile to Mahler's status as a musician. By 1896, his relations with Brahms were more cordial, a fact that he might have recalled in 1898. (In view of Brahms's doubtless aggressive inspection of « Das klagende Lied » , his comment after seeing the manuscripts of Mahler's 2nd Symphony, in the summer of 1896, is of particular interest : « It is not wholly intelligible to me why Richard Strauß is proclaimed music's Revolutionary ; I find that Mahler is King of the Revolutionaries. ») Even Eduard Hanslick was to write a not unappreciative notice of some of Mahler's songs with orchestra when they were performed in Vienna in 1900 ; and, in 1896 and 1897, the aid of Karl Goldmark (1830-1915) was sought by those to have Mahler appointed to the Vienna Opera. Perhaps it was only Hans Richter (1843-1916) , whom Mahler dislodged from Vienna's Opera House (to Manchester's and England's advantage) who failed by later word or deed to modify the unfavourable verdict pronounced upon « Das klagende Lied » when its composer and the members of the jury were all younger men. In London, in 1898 (?) , Hans Richter « unburdened his heart » to Ferruccio Busoni about Mahler :

« I say, I was sorry not to be in Vienna when you played, but I heard that Mahler gave you a lesson at the rehearsal. That puts the lid on it. He can't stand any soloists because he has got no routine and can't conduct at sight ; but a conductor ought to be able to do that just as much as a pianist-come. »

There is, of course, no question that « Das klagende Lied » was rejected by the Beethoven Prize committee, nor that Mahler was anxious, having completed the piece, to score a success with it. In the same letter that he announced the end of his labours, he wrote : « My next aim : to bring about its performance by any means that I can think of. » An obvious means to that end was to try for the Beethoven Prize which, if won, would have brought welcome publicity, financial gain, and doubtless the chance of the cantata's performance.

The Prize itself was a comparatively recent institution. It had been established by the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in 1875 and was offered yearly to present and past pupils of the Conservatoire. The problem that confronts us here is one of chronology : in (or for) which year did Mahler submit « Das klagende Lied » to the committee ?

Gustav Mahler, we know, had his score ready by 1 November 1880. He declared to Natalie Bauer-Lechner that the award would have spared him the necessity of the appointment at Ljubljana, whence Mahler proceeded in the winter of 1881.

What was the situation of the committee between these 2 outside dates ? We know that they sat on 6 December 1880, to consider their decision for that year, but it appears that, « as before » , they were unable to reach an agreement as to whom the Prize should be awarded. Instead, an amendment to the rules was suggested that would open the Prize to wider competition.

It seems scarcely possible that Mahler could have put « Das klagende Lied » before this December. There were but 5 weeks between his date of completion and the final session of the committee ; and even if the rules did not exclude so last-minute a submission, it is hard to imagine that the jury could have found time to circulate the score among themselves. Moreover, no award was made, a fact which would contradict Mahler's aggrieved statement that Herr Herzfeld carried off the 1st composition prize. »

The probability that Mahler was concerned in this session of the Beethoven Prize committee seems slight. If he was not, however, then almost certainly the journey to Ljubljana cannot be attributed to the jury's adverse decision. The award for the next year, 1881, was made at a meeting of 15 December, by which date Mahler must be presumed to have commenced work in Yugoslavia. In addition, this later jury date would seem to preclude Hans Rott from participation, since it is thought that he died in 1881 ; it is known he ended his days in an asylum and it is hardly credible that the blow of failing to win the competition should have resulted in his committal to an asylum and death within 2 weeks. Mahler's introduction of Rott into the context of the Beethoven Prize is a most dubious proceeding. That he was possibly concerned with one prize or another for which Mahler too was a competitor is more than probable ; confused anecdotes suggest as much ; and we have, by no means, the amount of documentation that is desirable to place or dismiss often vague asides. Mahler himself provides the strongest reason for viewing the

addition of Rott as a product of both his muddle-headedness and his anxiety to find a scapegoat, deep-dyed in villainy, for his initiation as a conductor. In 1898, to Natalie Bauer-Lechner, he implied that Rott's madness was the fault of the jury : « Rott despaired and died soon afterwards insane. » . But what do we find when we read the very letter in which Mahler announced the completion of his cantata, on 1 November 1880, before there was any possibility of the Beethoven Prize committee playing any sort of active role in the matter ? Neither more nor less than the sad fact that, « My friend Hans Rott has gone mad ! And I fear the same will befall Krisper. » So Rott was already mad, according to Mahler, at a time when the competition was not an issue, a time that fits the probability of his death in 1881 and supports my conjecture that Mahler was mistaken in supposing Rott to have been a candidate for the Beethoven Prize for which « Das klagende Lied » was entered.

If nothing else, this confusion about Rott must warn us not to accept Gustav Mahler's or Natalie Bauer-Lechner's testaments without caution. In other respects, too, details in Mahler's statement are not confirmed by the archives of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » think we may assume that it was in 1881 that Mahler submitted his cantata for the prize, in which case the operative session of the committee would be that of 15 December 1881. It is true that Herzfeld was not the winner on this occasion ; Robert Fuchs was ironically, one of Mahler's professors ! But a work by Viktor Emmerich Ritter von Herzfeld (1856-1928) was specified as « prize-worthy » (along with an Overture by H. Fink) , and it may well have been that Mahler simply mis-remembered him as the prize-winner. 2 considerations may have reinforced his mistake : Herzfeld actually did win the Beethoven Prize in 1884, and he had left the Conservatoire in 1880 with a 1st prize for composition (it is noticeable that Mahler spoke of his winning the « 1st composition prize ») . It could be, then, that all these memories of a prize-winning composer were telescoped into one, and Herzfeld promoted from an honourable mention to 1st place. There can be no likelihood that « Das klagende Lied » was submitted as late as 1884, when Herzfeld was the winner in 1882 and 1883 it seems that again no award was made - and, thus, we are obliged to choose the year singled out by circumstantial evidence. In 1881, Herzfeld at least makes an appearance ; and he was to be the next winner, an event that doubtless would have brought him Mahler's renewed and perhaps hostile attention.

Then, there is the jury. Its personnel, in 1881, partly coincides with Mahler's memory. Brahms was on it, Richter, and Goldmark ; but the records make no mention of Hanslick. The archives are sometimes unreliable ; possibly Hanslick's name was omitted in error. If not, then Mahler's memory was playing him false, stimulated perhaps by an unconscious desire to portray Hanslick in an overtly hostile role, whose antagonism, in fact, he strongly suspected (and resented) but had no real evidence of: the unconscious will create facts of its own to meet an emotional need.

If the adverse judgment of 15 December 1881 had gone in Mahler's favour, perhaps, he would have broken off his engagement at Ljubljana and not returned there in the new year ; perhaps, it would have meant that he would not have had to undertake his next conducting job, at Olmütz, late in 1882 or early in 1883 ; and it was, in a very real sense, from Olmütz onwards that the continuous tyranny of conducting began. Mahler might have had some reason to feel bitter if he thought that a success with the Beethoven Prize could have spared him the years of toil that Olmütz initiated.

1886 : Gustav Mahler va présenter le Scherzo de la 3e Symphonie de Bruckner au public de Prague.

À Hambourg, il va donner la 3e Symphonie (cette fois dans son intégralité) de même que la Messe en ré mineur et le « Te Deum » .

Avril 1892 : Au sujet du concert, Mahler mentionnera dans une lettre adressée au Maître de Saint-Florian que ses « structures puissantes » et ses « idées élevées » avaient profondément impressionné le public.

1900 : Mahler va interpréter le Scherzo de la 4e Symphonie (dite « Romantique ») de Bruckner lors de l'Exposition universelle qui se tient à Paris.

17 février 1901 : Mahler dirige pour la 1re fois son œuvre, en 2 parties. Elle trouva peu d'écho auprès de la critique, même si elle souleva l'enthousiasme du jeune Alban Berg.

La partition originale parvint par voie d'héritage à la sœur de Mahler, Justine, puis au fils de celle-ci, Alfred Rosé. Ce dernier dirigea la 1re exécution de la 1re partie, « Waldmärchen », en 1934, à Brünn (Brno, aujourd'hui en République tchèque) . En 1935, il combina cette 1re partie avec la version révisée de 1898 créée par Mahler en 1901, aboutissant ainsi à une version hybride en 3 parties. Il ne publia pas le reste de la partition originale, qu'il finit par vendre en 1969 au collectionneur James M. Osburn, lequel en fit don à l'Université de Yale.

Il y a donc 3 versions de l'œuvre :

Version 1898, en 2 parties, 1re exécution en 1901 par Mahler à Vienne.

Version hybride en 3 parties, avec ré-introduction du « Waldmärchen » original et les « Der Spielmann » et « Hochzeitsstück » de 1898, exécution par Pierre Boulez en 1970, à Londres.

Version originale intégrale, en 3 parties, édition critique de Reinhold Kubik publiée en 1997, exécution la même année par Kent Nagano à Hambourg.

1909 : Mahler dirige la 4e Symphonie de Bruckner à Carnegie Hall, à la tête de l'Orchestre de New York.

1910 : Geste de générosité des plus honorables de la part de Gustav Mahler ; afin de permettre la publication de l'intégralité des œuvres d'Anton Bruckner par une maison d'édition viennoise, son contrat stipule qu'une somme de 50,000 couronnes soit retirée de son compte personnel suite aux profits engendrés par la publication de ses propres œuvres.

Alma Mahler mentionnera dans ses Mémoires que son mari a donné un cycle Bruckner durant ses années passées aux États-Unis.

...

Gustav Mahler first came to the capital as a 15-year-old music student, a star turn in his native Iglau in Moravia, but a rough distiller's son in the cosmopolitan world of Vienna of 1875. This was a Vienna that helped shape Mahler and many other young men like him. « A most peculiar attitude of hedonistic pessimism, joyful skepticism touching on morbid sophistication, became the dominant trait in Vienna's intellectual climate », wrote fellow musician, Ernst Křenek (who briefly married Mahler's daughter, Anna) of Vienna at the time. For the impressionable Mahler, the city must have seemed like one giant candy shop of musical goodies : this was the city of the music-critic Eduard Hanslick and the no-holds-barred battle between composers Johannes Brahms and Anton Bruckner, the latter of whom became a life-long friend of the much younger Mahler.

Mahler enrolled at the prestigious Vienna Conservatory, in the fall of 1875, and remained there for 3 years, studying piano with his mentor Julius Epstein, harmony with Robert Fuchs and composition with Franz Krenn. The Conservatory, attached to the Society of the Friends of Music and its concert-hall, the « Musikverein », was founded by Antonio Salieri, famous now not for his incredible musical output, but for his intense competition with Mozart. In Mahler's day, the director was Josef Hellmesberger, an archetypal Viennese who wore make-up and a wig that fooled no one in a desperate effort to appear younger than his 50 years ; his Franz-Josef mutton-chop whiskers also belied this attempt. Opinionated and autocratic, Hellmesberger was said to have 3 dislikes : his successor as leader of the Vienna Philharmonic, nearsighted people (!) , and Jews.

Mahler managed to irritate the Conservatory director not because he was a Jew, but because he, Mahler, did not suffer fools gladly. Even in his student days, Mahler was known for his self-confidence bordering on arrogance. He often let his instructors know what he thought of them and cut classes when he had better things to do. Though Mahler was an accomplished pianist, by his 2nd year at the Conservatory, he had decided that he would never be a professional on that instrument. Hearing the great pianists of his day in Vienna, such as Franz Liszt and Anton Rubinstein, convinced him of this. Thus, he focused his attention instead on composition, winning Conservatory prizes each year of his attendance. Though he failed twice to win the prestigious Beethoven Prize, his 2nd attempt witnessed a remarkable submission : « Das klagende Lied » .

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Graduating from the Conservatory, in 1878, Mahler stayed on in Vienna another 2 years, sporadically attending University courses. These years, however, are not as well documented as are his Conservatory years. In a way, these 18 or so months are mysteriously void of historical documentation : « Mahler's la vie bohème days » . It is known that he was under the thrall of Richard Wagner in these years and became a member of a strongly nationalistic student

organization whose other members included influential left-wing politicians such as Victor Adler, founder of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. Mahler and his cohorts reveled in a rather odd mixture of Wagnerian « Gesamtkunst » , Nietzschean philosophy, socialism, vegetarianism, and pan-Germanism. But maddeningly (for the researcher) little is known of his day-to-day activities.

...

Except for a brief sojourn in Prague, in 1871, Gustav Mahler's formal schooling took place in Iglau. Among aspiring urban Jewish families eager to acquire secular German culture, music education was indispensable. Gustav, who showed early aptitude, made his public debut as a pianist at age 10, in Iglau. By 1873, Mahler was playing serious virtuoso piano music, including Sigismond Thalberg's « Fantasia and Variations on Themes from Norma » . A career in music appeared plausible and promising. At age 15, Mahler enrolled in the Vienna Conservatory, primarily to study with the legendary piano teacher (and friend of Johannes Brahms) Julius Epstein.

The years Mahler studied in Vienna, the 2nd half of the 1870's, were politically and culturally decisive for more than his generation. The physical transformation of the city that began with the creation of the « Ringstraße » in the 1850's was well under way. But the financial crash of 1873 brought the liberal boom years of the 1860's to a sudden halt and ushered in an era of stagnation that would last until the mid-1890's. During those 2 long decades, the beginnings of an anti-liberal and anti-capitalist political populism, including outspoken anti-Semitism, began to develop. By the late- 1870's, the most visible and prominent minority in Vienna were the Jews, who exceeded their proper demographic proportion in terms of enrollment in the Vienna University and the Conservatory. Throughout the years Mahler lived in Vienna, the city remained a magnet for people from within the multi-ethnic Empire, even in times of financial distress. Vienna was city of newcomers. By 1900, only a small proportion of residents in Vienna had been born in the city.

By 1875, Johannes Brahms had established himself as a major cultural influence and a force to be reckoned with in the city's musical life. Vienna boasted a great new Opera House, a new concert-hall (the « Musikverein ») , piano manufacturers, publishers, innumerable choral Societies, a fine orchestra, several concert series, and the most prominent citizen-based association dedicated to music on the continent of Europe, the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , an organization that sponsored the Conservatory. Brahms had just stepped down as director of the « Gesellschaft's » concert series the year Mahler arrived as a student. Brahms did not teach, but he sat on the governing board of the « Gesellschaft » and his allies dominated the Conservatory faculty. He and his circle were seen as part of a liberal, tolerant, philo-Semitic elite in the city.

Yet, by 1875, Richard Wagner's popularity as prophet of a persuasive progressive vision of the link between art and life had reached new heights. That year, Wagner, who had lived in Vienna briefly in the early 1860's, returned to the city in triumph to give a series of concerts and conduct one performance of « Lohengrin » at the Vienna Opera. The students and the faculty at the Conservatory became profoundly engaged in the culture wars of the mid-1870's, most of which involved a reaction to Wagner's music and Wagnerian ideas. Among the key beliefs associated with Wagner was German cultural chauvinism. Mahler's classmates and friends were Wagnerian enthusiasts. They included the

composers Hugo Wolf and Hans Rott (whose early Symphony influenced Mahler and who was a favourite of Anton Bruckner, with whom Mahler did not study at the Conservatory) and the conductor Rudolf Krzyzanowski (a friend with whom Mahler produced his 1st publication, a piano version of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony) .

Gustav Mahler distinguished himself quickly, winning prizes his 1st year in piano performance and composition. His earliest ambition, like others of his generation, was to follow in Richard Wagner's path and compose for the stage. The young Wagnerians in Vienna were partial to Bruckner and were reserved, if not overtly hostile (as Hugo Wolf was) toward Johannes Brahms. Despite Mahler's relative coolness to Brahms, the older composer did not take offense and later helped bring him back to Vienna, having been impressed with the younger man (in particular a performance of Mozart's « Don Giovanni ») during Mahler's tenure in the 1880's at the Opera House in Budapest.

In 1877, Gustav Mahler, having passed his secondary school examinations, took courses at the Vienna University, focusing on Art history, literature, and philosophy, and he made close friends among non-musicians. Early in his Conservatory career, his ambitions had turned away from a concert career as pianist to that of a composer. Although he did not win the coveted the Beethoven Prize at the Conservatory in 1878, the year he finished his studies, he did win a 1st prize in composition with his Quartet with piano. He worked on large-scale projects, including « Das klagende Lied » , a work for chorus, soloists, and orchestra he completed and later revised, and a never-realized fairy tale Opera « Růbezahel » (Rapunzel) . During this time, he also played concerts at his boyhood home in Iglau.

...

Bernhard Mahler was supportive of his son's ambitions for a music career, and agreed that the boy should try for a place at the Vienna Conservatory. The young Mahler was auditioned by the renowned pianist Julius Epstein, and accepted for 1875-1876. He made good progress in his piano studies with Epstein and won prizes at the end of each of his 1st 2 years. For his final year, 1877-1878, he concentrated on composition and harmony under Robert Fuchs and Franz Krenn. Few of Mahler's student compositions have survived ; most were abandoned when he became dissatisfied with them. He destroyed a Symphonic movement prepared for an end-of-term competition, after its scornful rejection by the autocratic director Josef Hellmesberger on the grounds of copying errors. Mahler may have gained his 1st conducting experience with the Conservatory's student orchestra, in rehearsals and performances, although it appears that his main role in this orchestra was as a percussionist.

Among Mahler's fellow students at the Conservatory was the future song composer Hugo Wolf, with whom he formed a close friendship. Wolf was unable to submit to the strict disciplines of the Conservatory and was expelled. Mahler, while sometimes rebellious, avoided the same fate only by writing a penitent letter to Hellmesberger. He attended occasional lectures by Anton Bruckner and, though never formally his pupil, was influenced by him. On 16 December 1877, he attended the disastrous premiere of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony, at which the composer was shouted down, and most of the audience walked out. Mahler and other sympathetic students later prepared a piano version of the Symphony, which they presented to Bruckner. Along with many music students of his generation, Mahler fell under the spell of Richard Wagner, though his chief interest was the sound of the music rather than the staging. It is not known whether he saw any of Wagner's operas during his student years.

Gustav Mahler left the Conservatory in 1878 with a diploma but without the prestigious Silver Medal given for outstanding achievement. He then enrolled at the University of Vienna (he had, at Bernhard's insistence, sat and with difficulty passed the « matura », or entrance examination) and followed courses which reflected his developing interests in literature and philosophy. After leaving the University in 1879, Mahler made some money as a piano teacher, continued to compose, and, in 1880, finished a dramatic cantata, « Das klagende Lied » (The Song of Lamentation) . This, his 1st substantial composition, shows traces of Wagnerian and Brucknerian influences, yet includes many musical elements which musicologist Deryck Cooke describes as « pure Mahler » . Its 1st performance was delayed until 1901, when it was presented in a revised, shortened form.

Gustav Mahler developed interests in German philosophy, and was introduced by his friend Siegfried Lipiner to the works of Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche, Gustav Fechner and Hermann Lotze. These thinkers continued to influence Mahler and his music long after his student days were over. Mahler's biographer Jonathan Carr says that the composer's head was « not only full of the sound of Bohemian bands, trumpet calls and marches, Bruckner chorales and Schubert sonatas. It was also throbbing with the problems of philosophy and metaphysics he had thrashed out, above all, with Lipiner » .

...

As a result of Gustav Mahler's « not so good » grades in school, his father sent him to audition at the Vienna Conservatory.

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In 1875, Gustav Mahler was accepted to the Vienna Conservatory. During his 3 years there, he initially focused on piano but later switched to composition, becoming an admirer of Richard Wagner and Anton Bruckner. 2 years later, he began attending lectures at the University of Vienna, where he further explored Wagner's ideas, as well as the philosophy of Nietzsche and the political ideals of socialism. At the same time, Mahler began conducting and teaching piano to support himself. Mahler graduated from the Vienna Conservatory in 1878. The work he composed for graduation was a Scherzo for piano quintet, which unfortunately, along with other early works, has been lost, including work on an Opera called « Rubezahl » for which we still have the libretto. The composer Hugo Wolf, who also had wanted to set an Opera on this subject, was irked at Mahler for using it himself.

...

Gustav Mahler later claimed to have « learned nothing » at the German « Gymnasium » (High-School) in Iglau. That remark was made tongue-in-cheek although it is a fact that he tended to dream over his books and picked-up more outside the classroom than inside it. Also nearby was the Municipal Theatre, accomplished (or at least ambitious)

enough to put on Operas like Mozart's « Don Giovanni » and Bellini's « Norma » .

The 10 year old Mahler, as a local paper called him, gave his 1st reported piano recital there and won an ovation despite the ropy instrument on which he had to play. By that time, he was already something of a veteran.

In Ledeč, little Gustav discovers his grandfather's piano in an attic, and, in this piano, we come upon another legendary story sworn by all the participants to be true. Little Gustav, goes the story, climbs to the edge of an attic shelf ledge and senses the presence of a piano whose keyboard he cannot see but can touch and feel. In a small space of time, Gustav pecks-out a tune, to the amazement of all, and grandfather Abraham orders the piano carted back to Jihlava for Gustav. Thus begins the legendary career of a musician.

After grandfather's death, 2 years later, Gustav Mahler loved to come back to Ledeč to visit aunts and uncles and admire the big house on the square, where his grandmother still lived. After Ernst's death, he returned at 16 and 17 to travel there with his friend Rudolf Krzyzanowski and visit his cousins the Freischbergers.

He had 1st begun thumping on a dusty old piano he found as an adventurous little boy in his maternal grandparents' attic in Ledeč. The next day, the instrument was trundled round to Gustav's home by ox-cart and, from then on, he never looked back. More musical input came from the local Roman Catholic church of Saint-James (« Jakobskirche ») . Although Jewish, Mahler was allowed to sing in the choir there and had some private lessons in harmony from the Choir-Master, Heinrich Fischer.

Around the corner from the Theatre was a barracks from which Mahler must 1st have heard the sound of trumpet calls and marches. Perhaps, he even saw troops setting off for the slaughter at Koniggratz or the wounded returning with the Prussians at their heels. At any rate from very early on, martial music filled him with mingled fascination and fright. When he was about 3, he trotted out of the house, dressed only in his shirt, and clutching an accordion, and was drawn away Pied Piper-like by a passing military band. He got lost and by-standers agreed to take him home only when he played them the tune he had heard from the soldiers. Around the same time, his fine ear won Mahler a less admiring audience at the newly built synagogue (razed by the Nazis in 1939) . Vexed by what struck him as the ugly noise made by the congregation, he bawled for silence and, to his mother's horror, broke into his favourite street song : a ditty partly in polka rhythm about a wayfarer dancing wildly at an inn. Meanwhile, he was beginning to compose. His 1st known piece was a polka preceded by a funeral march.

Bernhard Mahler who had encouraged Gustav to pursue the piano, no doubt hoping his son would become a money-spinning virtuoso, and who later let him study at the Vienna Conservatory, though evidently not helping him much to pay the fees. When young Gustav was mistreated by a family with whom he had been sent to stay in Prague, a wrathful Bernhard descended, packed his son's things and took him straight home. He had unwittingly got Gustav into the jam in the 1st place, but he acted with typical dispatch once he heard what was going on.

From his father Mahler inherited, among other things, voracious ambition and unshakeable will. If he had not he would probably have got little further in life than conductor of the Iglau choral Society. Like his father too, he was not

squeamish in his methods. At 6 or 7, he was already giving piano lessons for about 5 crowns an hour and boxing his pupils sharply on the ears whenever they played a wrong note. Later as a piano accompanist, he gave warning kicks to the victim employed to turn the pages of his score. The page-turner decided to kick back. « You Schweinehund », shouted Mahler when the piece was over.

Gustav Mahler had already passed out of the Vienna Conservatory. 4 years earlier, in 1875, he was still pining to go there and looking for allies who would help persuade a doubtful Bernhard. He struck gold with Gustav Schwarz, manager of an Estate in Morawan, north of Iglau, who heard Gustav play the piano and said he should study music. Knowing that an Estate manager was just the kind of person his father would listen to, Mahler wrote Schwarz a letter which, for a 15 year old, was a Masterpiece of diplomacy. Couched in the politest terms, Mahler said his « dear father » was hesitating to agree to « our plan » because he feared Gustav would neglect his academic work and get into bad company if he went to Vienna.

Bernhard took Mahler to Vienna to seek expert advice from Julius Epstein, professor of piano at the Conservatory. Epstein is said to have come out of lectures, heard Mahler play for 5 minutes at most and announced, « “ Herr ” Mahler, your son is a born musician ... I could not be wrong. » . It is an engaging tale told by Epstein himself, albeit nearly 4 decades later when he was nearly 80. The other version comes from Schwarz who says he took Mahler to see Epstein at Baden, near Vienna. According to Schwarz, the professor was not at all impressed by Mahler's pianistic skill but recognized his talent when the boy finally played some pieces of his own.

Gustav Mahler enrolled at the Conservatory on 10th September, 2 months after his 15th birthday.

One would think, the student Mahler must have haunted the Court Opera which he was to take over in triumph 2 decades later. But what evidence there is, including accounts that when he took-up conducting he had to learn many Operas from scratch, suggests that his attendance in those early years was infrequent. This is sometimes put down to his chronic lack of cash and it is true that he rarely had the price of a square meal. He was constantly on the move from one dingy lodging to another, absent-mindedly leaving behind items of clothing in each - much to the despair of his mother who warned that he would soon have nothing left to wear. Trying to help out, Bernhard sent a green coat so comically oversized that it trailed along the ground when Mahler put it on. Still, most of Mahler's Conservatory friends were just as poor but they somehow got to the Opera all the same. Hugo Wolf, for instance, spent much of his student life queuing for entry to the « Vierte Galerie » (the Gods) and writing ecstatic letters home, especially about his idol Richard Wagner.

« The Master of Bayreuth » had visited Vienna sporadically since 1832, running-up huge debts which helps explain why he did not come more often. His revolutionary music, abrasive personality and trenchant writings about art and life divided the city into warring factions. Symptomatically, Wagner had scored a hit in Vienna, in 1861, with « Lohengrin » but his later and (to his critics) abominably discordant « Tristan und Isolde » had been abandoned there as unplayable after more than 70 rehearsals. In 1875, when he was back again to conduct concerts and supervise the production of « Tannhäuser », the battle over him was, if anything, fiercer than ever. The contras, grouped around the venerable Johannes Brahms, included the critic Eduard Hanslick, lampooned by Wagner as the pedantic Beckmesser in «

Die Meistersinger von Nurnberg » , and much of the old guard at the Conservatory. The pros included Anton Bruckner, somewhat oddly as he was a humbly devout composer and teacher ill-suited to any kind of earthly conflict, and several music students - especially Hugo Wolf. When Wagner was in town, Wolf hung around for hours so that he could open the carriage door for the great man as he left his hotel for the Opera. Wolf then raced along the « Ring » to be on the spot to open the door again when Wagner arrived.

Gustav Mahler did not waste his time on gestures like that although he too fell under Wagner's spell, sometimes with painful results. When he, Wolf and another music student, Rudolf Krzyzanowski, began to bawl part of « Gotterdammerung » at the digs they shared, a furious landlady pushed them out into the street and locked the door behind them. Still, that show of enthusiasm for Wagner's music does not prove that Mahler was keen to see Wagner's works, or anyone else's, in the Opera House, especially not in static, unimaginative productions at least as common then as now. Even when Mahler attended or conducted Symphony concerts, there was generally a yawning gulf between what he heard and what his inner ear told him was in the score. In the Opera House, the gap was wider still - between what he believed the music expressed and what he witnessed on stage. That helps explain his life-long exasperation with the Opera business in general and why, after a couple of early efforts, he wrote no more works in the genre. Wagner felt much the same as Mahler about conventional Opera Houses but he drew a different conclusion, creating the Bayreuth Festival Theatre to give, at least, his own works the staging and acoustic he felt they deserved.

There is a triple irony here. Mahler despised much about Opera but conducted it, not least Wagner, supremely well. Bayreuth was one theatre he really did admire but, because of the anti-Semitism of Wagner's widow Cosima, he never conducted there. Moreover, whatever skills Mahler may have learned in his 3 years at the Vienna Conservatory, conducting was not among them. There was still no course for it in those days although orchestras had grown much larger and scores more complicated. Conductors simply emerged thanks to their wide musical knowledge, leadership qualities and, when they could get it, practice. There was a Conservatory Orchestra in which Mahler played the percussion but there is no record that he took-up the baton. If he did, evidently the result was not thought worth a mention.

So what did Mahler learn ? Not as much as he should have done, according to Guido Adler, 5 years older than Mahler and a close but critical friend for more than 3 decades. Curiously, although Adler was highly-musical and came from a Jewish family in Iglau, he and Mahler did not meet until both were in Vienna. Adler had already passed through the Conservatory when Mahler entered it, but he stayed on in town studying music history at the University. Sometime in the 2nd half of the 1870's, the paths of the 2 fellow Iglauites crossed. Adler writes that although Mahler « had good teachers in piano playing and harmony, his introduction to the higher theoretical subjects (counterpoint and composition) was anything but profound and purposeful. His talent had to overcome this defective education and only years later ... could Mahler remedy these deficiencies. »

Harsh though that view sounds, Guido Adler was never a man to overstate his case. Certainly, Mahler thought little of most of the Conservatory staff and made that plain. His harmony teacher, Robert Fuchs, was a composer of pleasant orchestral serenades who later remarked with some perplexity that Mahler played truant and, yet, knew everything counterpoint Mahler learned (or, according to Adler, did not learn) from Franz Krenn, a dry disciplinarian whose deadly

dull tuition helped persuade Wolf to abandon his Conservatory studies prematurely. Mahler announced he was dropping out too but, more purposeful than the explosive Wolf, he soon wrote a grovelling letter to the director, Josef Hellmesberger, begging for re-instatement. Hellmesberger agreed but Mahler can hardly have recalled him with affection. Although leader of a fine String Quartet which Mahler surely heard and admired, the director was a choleric anti-Semite. When Mahler made copy errors in the score of a Symphony he had written for performance by the Conservatory Orchestra, Hellmesberger hurled the manuscript to the ground and refused to conduct it even when the mistakes had been corrected. Mahler promptly composed a piano suite instead. « Since it was a much weaker and more superficial work » , he noted later, « it won a prize while my good things were all rejected by the worthy judges » .

Only 2 of Mahler's teachers really impressed him. One was that same Professor Julius Epstein, elegant pianist and publisher of Franz Schubert's piano works, who had recommended him for the Conservatory and who soon became his mentor and friend. When Mahler had to write to the Conservatory's governors asking to be let off all tuition fees, Epstein added a postscript offering to guarantee half the sums due. He also helped out by finding piano pupils, including his own son, for his impoverished student. Mahler was duly grateful. Long after he had left the Conservatory, he still wrote back to his Old Master telling him his career was going well and, wryly, that he was just as arrogant as ever.

Under Epstein's watchful eye, Mahler became a fine player, carrying off the top piano prize in his 1st year with a performance of part of a Schubert Sonata. Could he have made his career as a concert pianist ? 4 piano rolls, he recorded in 1905, of excerpts from his songs and Symphonies, the only aural evidence we have of Mahler the interpreter, raise doubts. Indispensable though the recordings are, above all as a guide to the tempo : he wanted, they are rather sloppily played. No doubt, Mahler, by then, was out of practice. In any case, it is a boon that he took the conducting road instead. Without that long experience wrestling with often recalcitrant players in many different halls, his orchestration would surely have been less expert.

The other teacher to impress Mahler was Anton Bruckner, albeit through example not instruction. So much folklore has grown-up about the ties between the 2 that it is not easy to get at the truth. For instance, Mahler and Bruckner were absurdly bracketed together for decades mainly because they both wrote 9 big Symphonies (even that is not quite true) widely thought not worth playing. Alma claims in her memoirs that Mahler gave a complete Bruckner cycle in the United States, but he only conducted 3 of the Symphonies anywhere (plus once, a single movement : the Scherzo of the « Romantic » 4th) . One biographer writes that Mahler religiously attended all Bruckner's lectures, another that his attendance was sporadic, yet, another that Bruckner thought so much of his young pupil that he always walked with him down several flights of stairs when saying goodbye.

Mahler said flatly, in a letter written in 1902, that, « I was never a pupil of Bruckner's ; this rumour must have arisen from the fact that I was continually seen about with him in my earlier days in Vienna, and that I was certainly one of his most enthusiastic admirers and publicists. Indeed, I believe at that time I was the only one there was, apart from my friend (Rudolf) Krzyzanowski. » Here Mahler's recollection is partly at fault. Bruckner had many keen followers, at least among the students. For them, he was both an eminent Master and, although he was already in his 50's, a

naive but agreeable companion. On the one hand, he was instructor in harmony and counterpoint at both the Conservatory and Vienna University, as well as a genius in improvising at the organ. On the other, he liked little better than to stump off in his baggy old trousers for a chat over a few beers, or to stand at concerts with young people rather than sit with his prim and proper peers.

Bruckner showed Mahler that even a composer who venerated Richard Wagner could still find fulfilment writing Symphonies, which Wagner had soon abandoned. Perhaps, the near-Wagnerian scale on which Bruckner built his works influenced Mahler too. Apart from that, the 2 had little in common. Mahler's orchestral palette is far more varied than Bruckner's, or indeed almost anyone else's. With Bruckner, melody generally dominates, with Mahler development. Although Mahler, like Bruckner, uses folk-dance (especially « Ländler ») and chorale themes, he tends to set them in a context which casts doubt on the simple joy they express. For Mahler, peace of mind is never attainable for long ; for Bruckner, it usually seems secure - though not quite always. The massive discord which climaxes the Adagio of Bruckner's unfinished 9th Symphony, his last, matches almost anything in Mahler for desolation.

No wonder even Bruckner's faith wavered at times. On 16th December 1877, he conducted the Vienna Philharmonic in the 1st performance of his 3rd Symphony. It was a fiasco for him and a bitter but salutary lesson for Mahler. The Orchestra, which had rejected Bruckner's 1st Symphony as « wild » and his 2nd as « nonsense », hardly put its heart into the premiere of the 3rd. Whistling and jeering soon erupted, especially from the anti-Wagnerites. Gradually, the hall emptied. At the end, only a few dozen students were left, among them Mahler who had seen Josef Hellmesberger joining in the jeers. Soon afterwards, Mahler presented a grateful Bruckner with a piano-duet version which he had made of the ill-fated 3rd, possibly with Rudolf Krzyżanowski's help. According to Alma Mahler, he later used part of his own royalties to help promote Bruckner's work, though proof of this is lacking. At any rate, from that December night at the latest, he can have had no illusions about what the world, especially the « music capital » Vienna, could throw at a composer determined to go his own way.

That lesson alone surely did not decide Mahler's future course but it must have weighed heavily. He wanted to compose but vividly saw the danger of trying to subsist on that alone. A career at the piano seemed too restrictive. He was not a born teacher although, much later, he was offered, and refused, the directorship of the Conservatory. That left the supremely taxing compromise solution he finally adopted until his death : conducting to earn his keep and « part-time » composing, usually in his summer holidays. Later, Mahler claimed that had he won the coveted Beethoven Prize with his cantata « Das klagende Lied » (The Song of Lament) when he was just 21, he would never have got caught on the conducting treadmill. Perhaps, he really believed that. More likely, the « Bernhard » in him meant he was too practical and ambitious to risk working for reward only in heaven. Bruckner could do that, but then, he generally seemed certain that heaven really existed. In any case, a jury which included Johannes Brahms and Josef Hellmesberger awarded the Beethoven Prize to Mahler's harmony teacher, Robert Fuchs. « Das klagende Lied » did not even take 2nd or 3rd place.

It was not least that steel in Mahler which marked him out from his student friends. Hugo Wolf, with Franz Schubert perhaps the greatest of all song-writers, felt Mahler had stolen his idea for an enchanting Opera called « Rubezahl » and broke with him for many years. He finally died insane. So did Hans Rott, said by Mahler to be as gifted as

himself, soon after being advised by the grumpy Brahms to give-up composing. So did Anton Krisper, who wrote music and wrote about it but was not really happy doing either. Of those Conservatory comrades who did make their way, Rudolf Krzyzanowski became conductor in Weimar (after an uneasy spell sharing duties with Mahler in Hamburg) , Guido Adler developed into Austria's most distinguished musicologist and Arnold Rosé became leader of the Vienna Philharmonic, subsequently marrying Mahler's eldest sister, Justine. But none of them showed Mahler's drive, even ruthlessness.

It would be easy to end this account of the 1st Vienna years there. Apart from a fragment of a Piano Quartet and a few songs, none of Mahler's music before « Das klagende Lied » has survived ; indeed, Mahler claims he never finished the works he began in those days because he so quickly became dissatisfied with them. After passing out of the Conservatory, in 1878, with a diploma (but without one of the coveted Silver Medals for exceptional achievement won by 9 of his fellow graduates) , he went on to study at the University. Evidently, he did not learn much there, later admitting he only attended the « Vienna woods » with any regularity. Finally, in 1880, an agent called Gustav Lewy signed him up and found him his 1st job. It was a summer one conducting bits and scraps, as well as setting-up music stands and stacking chairs, before dozy guests in an Austrian provincial spa called Bad Hall. Mahler had grave doubts whether to take Lewy's offer, desperate though he was for cash, but wise old Julius Epstein advised him to do so at once because « you'll very soon work your way up » . That forecast proved more accurate than even Epstein can have expected.

Before leaving Vienna, however, Mahler became involved with a strange character called Siegfried Lipiner who had a big, probably decisive, influence on him. This part of Mahler's story is often skirted, partly because it seems to have little directly to do with music, partly because even in German-speaking countries Lipiner's name is not widely known nowadays. But back in the late- 1870's, Lipiner, a Jew from Galicia in the far east of the Habsburg Empire and only 4 years older than Mahler, was already being spoken of as a prodigiously gifted poet and dramatist. Friedrich Nietzsche and Richard Wagner, no less, were among his early admirers. His eloquence was legendary. Although stunted like a gnome, he at once caught the attention of any gathering with his hypnotic eyes and intense rhetoric. Mahler was not easily impressed by his contemporaries and, when he was around, the spotlight rarely fell on others. Lipiner was an exception. In his letters, Mahler usually referred to him as « dearest Siegfried » and expressed boundless enthusiasm for his work. Apart from a break of several years after Mahler's marriage, the 2 remained in close contact for the rest of their lives and died within months of one another. Significantly, Alma, who resented most of her husband's old friends, particularly the closest ones, reserved special venom for Lipiner.

It is not clear when the 2 1st met but it was probably around 1878 at a meeting of one or other of those hodgepodge bands of German nationalists and socialists, Wagnerians and literary buffs, vegetarians and « bon vivants » typical of Vienna in that era. One such group, hundreds strong, was the « Leseverein der deutschen Studenten » (Reading Society of German Students) which aimed to « preserve the German character » of the Vienna University. Another, more select, was the « Pernerstorfer Circle » (named after its socialist founder Engelbert Pernerstorfer) , which exalted German culture and sought the unity of all German-speaking peoples. In such circles, talented Jews like Lipiner and Mahler, drawn both by the finest products of the German mind and, by a simple desire to belong, seemed more German than the Germans. At one gathering when those present sang « Deutschland, Deutschland über alles »

reportedly to a particularly fiery march tune, it was Mahler who pounded out the piano accompaniment. One of those singing along on that occasion was another Jewish friend of Mahler's called Victor Adler (no relation to Guido) . Adler later even made common cause with Georg von Schönerer, one of Adolf Hitler's early heroes, before breaking with extreme nationalism and founding the Austrian Social Democratic Party.

For Mahler, the political element in all this ran only skin-deep. Decades later when he was, in principle, an « establishment figure » as director of the Vienna Opera, he did vote for Victor Adler and even briefly joined in a workers' May Day demonstration ; but that is all that is known (and probably all there is to know) about his post-student involvement with politics. Nor did he stick very long to the modish vegetarianism prescribed (though not adopted) by Richard Wagner in his « Religion und Kunst » (Religion and Art) to achieve « a thorough-going regeneration of the human race » . Although Mahler often joined Adler, Lipiner and others at a gloomy cellar-restaurant in Vienna to dine on spinach and the like, we find him, some years later, in Budapest tucking into knucklebone and horseradish sauce.

If that had been the sum of Mahler's non-musical activity in those days it would be worth no more than a wry smile. But it was very probably at that stage in Vienna, not more than a decade later in Hamburg as is often assumed, that Mahler 1st came to grips with German philosophy. His later letters and the accounts of those close to him show how intensely he studied not just works by famous thinkers like Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche, but also those by relatively obscure ones like Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801-1887) and Rudolf Hermann Lotze (1817-1881) , who both sought a synthesis between science and metaphysics. In all likelihood, it was Lipiner who back in the late-1870's either 1st fired Mahler's interest in these writers or, at least, acted as a major catalyst. After all, by the time he met Mahler, Lipiner had already written a major work on Schopenhauer, he had studied under Fechner in Leipzig and he personally knew Nietzsche who called him « a veritable genius » . That background and Lipiner's fervour must have made a deep impression on the young musician, with his hitherto largely undirected fascination for literature and ideas.

To point to Mahler's interest in philosophy is one thing, to show it had an influence on his approach to music quite another. He did not need Schopenhauer to tell him that music was the highest of the arts, though no doubt he was happy to have his own view confirmed from so renowned a source. Superficially, Nietzsche's impact is easier to show, though Mahler eventually rejected Nietzsche who had the effrontery to turn bitterly against Wagner. Mahler used a Nietzsche text from « Also Sprach Zarathustra » (Thus Spake Zarathustra) in his 3rd Symphony and, even briefly, dubbed the whole work, after Nietzsche, « Die frohliche Wissenschaft » (The Joyful Science) . The Symphony's brutal contrasts, from a percussive free-for-all at the start to a concluding rapt Adagio, he explained in part as frenzied nature under the god Pan finally being refined into the world of the spirit. Here too, Nietzsche is close : the Nietzsche of « Die Geburt der Tragodie » (The Birth of Tragedy) who sought to show that great art emerges only through a fusion of the ecstatic, « Dionysiac » world and the calm « Apollonian » one.

True though that is, it does not get to the heart of the matter. What really absorbed Mahler was not this or that theory about art, let alone finding a handy text for his song-Symphonies. Something much more vital was involved. As he later wrote in a bid to explain what was at stake in his « Resurrection » Symphony : « What did you live for ?

Why did you suffer ? Is it only a vast terrifying joke ? We have to answer those questions somehow if we are to go on living - indeed, even if we are only to go on dying ! » .

Nietzsche gave an answer of a kind with his doctrine of « eternal recurrence » ; namely that everything in history comes round again in vast cycles and hence that we should only live in a way we are willing to see repeated for ever. Fechner, for whom stones and plants as well as animals had souls, took another view of immortality. For him, mankind passed through 3 stages : the lowest an unbroken sleep until birth ; the next, earthly life, an uneasy alternation of sleeping and waking ; and the highest an eternal awakening through death, which was really a 2nd birth. Schopenhauer, a keen student of oriental religion, saw salvation from the world he detested in an ascetic self-denial much like the Buddhist ideal of Nirvana. A similar notion mightily impressed Richard Wagner too. In a letter to Franz Liszt, in 1855, Wagner extolled the Buddhist view that living creatures went on being reborn, and their souls refined, until they caused no more pain to others. « How sublime and uniquely satisfying is this teaching » , wrote Wagner, « in contrast to the Christian-Judaic dogma according to which each human being ... merely has to behave himself in the eyes of the church through the short space of his life on earth, in order to lead an extremely easy life for the rest of eternity » . Time after time, Wagner toyed with the idea of an Opera on the Buddha, but he never got round to it.

That Mahler imbibed much of this is clear, not least from comments he made to Richard Specht, his biographer. « We will all return. » , Mahler said. « Our life only has sense if it is shot through with this certainty and it is wholly unimportant whether in a later reincarnation we recall an earlier one. What counts is not the individual and his memory ... but only that great movement towards perfection, that purification which progresses with each reincarnation. That is why I have to live ethically, to spare my Self a part of the road when it returns. » .

Did Mahler believe those remarks and similar ones he made at other times ? He desperately wanted to. But he never stopped looking for further evidence, whether in the latest discoveries in the natural sciences (he kept in close contact for years with the distinguished physicist Arnold Berliner) , in the dialogue between Ivan and Alyosha on the existence of God in The Brothers Karamazov or in Gœthe's speculation about redemption and rebirth. Most of all, he sought for proof through his own work. « Gœthe said immortal things on this subject. » , Mahler noted once during a talk about man's role in the cosmos. « What I want to say I am naturally only able to express fully in music ... That is what has been given to me and for that I will be called to account. »

That does not mean Mahler's works are simply potted Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Co. set to music ; that we can identify this or that philosophical proposition as we can, say, the baby's howl or the mother's tantrum in Richard Strauß's tone-poem « Sinfonia Domestica » . But all Mahler's Symphonies, including « Das Lied von der Erde » , are attacks from different angles on the biggest issues man faces, the meaning of life and the paradox of death. Sometimes, the assault is explicit, as in the « Resurrection » Symphony or in the 8th with its setting of the last scene of Gœthe's « Faust » . Sometimes, it is implicit, as in the non-vocal 5th Symphony which begins with a funeral march and struggles through to a joyful chorale even Bruckner would have been proud of. It is even implicit in Mahler's decision, after early flirtation with Opera and chamber music, to express himself almost entirely in Symphonic form. Only the Symphony offered him the scale and structure to seek in music what his favourite thinkers expressed in

words. That, he then enlarged the scale and almost burst the structure is testimony, not to love of gigantism for its own sake, but to the intensity of the search.

When Mahler, aged not quite 20, left Vienna for that dismal little job in Bad Hall, his head was not only full of the sound of folk-song and Bohemian bands, trumpet calls and marches, Anton Bruckner chorales and Franz Schubert sonatas. It was also throbbing with the problems of philosophy and metaphysics he had thrashed out, above all, with Siegfried Lipiner. That too helped form Mahler the composer.

...

The « Century » refers roughly to the period from 1803 to 1908 (Beethoven's « Eroica » to Arnold Schœnberg's 1st atonal pieces) , and the entire period covered in detail, from the French Revolution to World War I, corresponds surprisingly closely to the « long 19th Century » defined by historian Eric Hobsbawm. Most of the events take place during the reigns of Napoleon and the Habsburg Emperors. This work is not strictly limited to descriptions of musical life in Vienna - because of the important role it played in the arts during the Romantic period (including many of the events that occurred in Paris) . In particular, Liszt had little association with Vienna but was too important to leave-out.

* The likelihood that Mahler intended mean-tone tuning to be used for his Symphonies, at least partly, based on the possibility of his familiarity with the teachings of Josef Petzval on 31-edo during Mahler's stay at the University of Vienna, and on his later remarks to Schœnberg lamenting that « European music, in giving-up Mean-tone tuning, had suffered a great loss » .

* Mahler's possible re-use of material from his abandoned Opera project, « Růbezahl » , in his Symphonic Poem (1st Symphony) , and the likelihood that his original conception of the piece was as a 4 movement work without the « Blumine » movement, and that adding « Blumine » was an afterthought over which he changed his mind back and forth, several times.

* The influence the success of Richard Strauß's early Symphony in F minor had on Mahler, just before the latter completed his Symphonic Poem (1st Symphony) .

* The possibility that what later became the base layer of Mahler's 1893 « Hamburg » manuscript of « Titan » (1st Symphony) , was originally written-out in 1891 as a « Stichvorlage » (engraver's model) of what he was still calling a Symphonic Poem, now, with the title, « From the Life of a Lonely One » , in hopes of getting it published by Schott, and that, in this form, it was again a 4 movement work that did not include the « Blumine » movement.

* The influence Johannes Brahms had on Mahler, at several various times, as their personal friendship deepened. This relates to some of Mahler's important early compositional decisions (concerning Mahler's 1st and 2nd Symphonies) as well as his habit of secluding himself in the country during the summer to compose.

* The influence Shohei Tanaka's pseudo-just-intonation (really 53-edo) « Enharmonium » may have had on Anton Bruckner's harmonic experiments in his 9th Symphony.

* The possibility that Eduard Hanslick's death, in August 1904, may have been the catalyst for Mahler to end his 6th Symphony as a « tragedy » - the only one of his Symphonies which does so.

* The « program » of Mahler's 7th, influenced by Mahler's fascination with the program of Richard Strauß's « Sinfonia Domestica » .

* The influence Schönberg had on Mahler before the latter composed the 3rd, 5th, and 1st movements (in that order) of his 7th Symphony during the summer of 1905, and the influence this Mahler piece, in turn, had on Schönberg when he wrote his « Kammer-symphonie » , the following spring and summer.

* The influence Anton Webern had on Schönberg, in the fall of 1905, when the latter was composing his 1st Quartet and Webern brought his single-movement String Quartet to Schönberg for his composition lessons.

* The possibility that Mahler's comment about « being too old to have the ears for Schönberg's music » and the argument that the 2 of them had about « klangfarbenmelodie » , were connected to Mahler's possible loss of high-frequency hearing from his listening to large Orchestras, every day.

* The possibility that the opening of « Das Lied von der Erde » was Mahler's rendering in music of the horrible wheezing he heard, as his 5 year old daughter Maria lay dying after her tracheotomy (as documented in Alma's book) .

* The possible influence Scott Joplin may have had on Mahler while they both lived in New York, from 1907 to 1911 (reflected in a motive and harmonic progression very typical of a Joplin rag-time near the end of Mahler's 10th Symphony and, possibly also, in the irregular meters of the 2nd movement of the same Symphony) .

* The possibility that the sonic inspiration for the dissonant 9 note chord at the climax of the 1st and last movements of Mahler's 10th Symphony may have been the sound of the Orchestra tuning-up before a performance, because of the long-held « A » and the seemingly random dissonance of the chords, and because of the way the chord 1st builds-up in sections, then, after another held « A » , the whole Orchestra plays the dissonance.

* The possibility that Schönberg knew of Mahler's association since childhood of the popular Viennese tune « Ach, du lieber Augustin » with tragedy, because of Schönberg's use of this tune in his 2nd Quartet.

* The experimentation with micro-tones by Schönberg and Webern, in 1909, leading to the development of « Sprechstimme » (speech-voice) , the following year.

* The influence of Willi von Möllendorf on Alois Hába and Ivan Wycschnegradsky to adopt the use of quarter-tones.

Quatuor avec piano

The Piano Quartet in A minor (also referred to as the Piano Quartet Movement in A minor) is an early work of Gustav Mahler, the intended 1st movement of a Piano Quartet that was apparently never completed. It is the only surviving piece of chamber music without voice composed by Mahler.

Gustav Mahler began work on the Piano Quartet towards the end of his 1st year at the Vienna Conservatory, when he was around 15 or 16 years of age. The piece had its 1st performance on July 10, 1876, at the Conservatory with Mahler at the piano, but it is unclear from surviving documentation whether the quartet was complete at this time. In several letters, Mahler mentions a quartet or quintet, but there is no clear reference to this piano quartet. Following this performance, the work was performed at the home of Doctor Theodor Billroth, who was a close friend of Johannes Brahms. The final known performance of the Quartet in the 19th Century was at Iglau on September 12, 1876, with Mahler again at the piano ; it was performed along with a violin sonata by Mahler that has not survived.

It appears that, at one point, Mahler wished to publish the Quartet, as the surviving manuscript, which includes 24 bars of a Scherzo for piano quartet written in G minor, bears the stamp of the publisher Theodor Rättig ; it has been theorized that Mahler sent the work to him, but he rejected it.

Following the rediscovery of the manuscript by Mahler's widow, Alma Mahler, in the 1960's, the work was premiered in the United States on January 12, 1964, in New York City by Peter Serkin and the Galimir Quartet. 4 years later, it was performed in the United Kingdom on June 1, 1968, at the Purcell Room, London, by the Nemet Ensemble.

...

The new Critical Edition of the complete works of Gustav Mahler, published by Universal-Edition features what for most musicians will be an unfamiliar, early chamber work : his Piano Quartet in A minor, written in 1876 while he was a student at the Vienna Music Academy.

It is Mahler's only extant chamber work.

The work was performed during the year it was composed with great success, presumably by fellow students at the home of Doctor Theodore Billroth, famous as Johannes Brahms' friend and champion. But it did not appear in print until 1973, 62 years after Mahler's death, when it was published by Hans Sikorsky and edited by Peter Ruzicka. The recent Universal-Edition includes the results of the latest Mahler scholarship, in German : a biographical introduction, a critical report on the sources, and a long commentary detailing the ambiguities, errors, and mistakes in the manuscript that were corrected by Universal's editors. Reproductions of several manuscript pages show corrections (some illegible) , ink blots, and other markings (Mahler ran into trouble at the Academy about his sloppy manuscripts) .

The piano quartet (which surfaced in popular culture last year when it was used prominently in the soundtrack to

Martin Scorsese's film adaptation of « Shutter Island ») consists of a complete 1st movement and the beginning of a Scherzo in the surprisingly distant key of G minor. In 1988, the Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival commissioned Alfred Schnittke to develop this fragment into a whole movement. Not surprisingly, the finished Scherzo sounds more like Schnittke than Mahler.

The Piano Quartet has remained a rarely heard oddity among Mahler's œuvre.

Gustav Mahler probably wrote the Piano Quartet (for piano, violin, viola, and cello) early in his 2nd year at the Academy, between 1876 and 1877. It betrays its origin as a student work mostly in some harmonic timidity, staying fairly close to the home key and often returning to it. Also, Mahler's modulations lack their later boldness and frequently proceed by way of that all-purpose route, the diminished chord.

Formally, rhythmically, and contrapuntally, however, the Piano Quartet is remarkably sophisticated. In traditional Sonata form, with a repeated exposition, development, and reprise, its basic material consists of 3 themes, which are skillfully developed individually and in combination in the long middle-section. The 1st 2 are in A minor, but the 2nd begins to explore other tonalities with chromatic progressions in the bass and the melody.

The 1st theme, stated in the bass, is somber and austere : a broad melody in long notes, opening with the leap of a 7th. The 2nd theme features an ascending scale in 8ths and quarters, the 3rd a descending scale. Halfway through the development, Mahler introduces another theme in a contrasting dotted-8th and 16th rhythm that picks-up the leap of the opening. It is the accompanying figures that create and increase tension and intensity : the initial cushion of repeated quarter triplets turns into 8ths, then triplets, and finally cascading arpeggios in 16ths. Along the way, the triplets are combined with the 8ths and 16ths, generating a sense of drive and urgency.

As had become customary at the time, Mahler wrote his instructions in German, beginning in the 1st theme with « not too fast » and « with passion » , the latter written under the theme in the bass line, then heightened to « very passionately » . The 2nd theme is marked « decisively » , without a tempo change. The most « Mahlerian » marking heads a brief, chromatically convoluted violin cadenza that ushers in the Coda : « uncommonly rubato and passionate » , a phrase Mahler used in a letter to Julius Epstein, in July 1877, explaining that he had got back to Iglau a few days too late for his matriculation and that it would have to be postponed.

Perhaps, the most striking feature of this work by the then 16 year old composer is that the Quartet does not seem derivative or unduly influenced by any specific style, past or present, even though its almost unremitting passionate intensity puts it squarely in the German Romantic tradition. Neither, however, does it seem to foreshadow the characteristics of Mahler's own mature style. The work is well structured and proportioned, and there is no trace of the formal, sonic, or emotional excesses of his later works.

Though his later orchestral scores are heavily marked, in this case Mahler left a great deal to the judgment and discretion of the performers. Evidently expecting them to find the appropriate level of sound and intensity through the texture, the curve of the melodies, and the emotional content of the music, he did not include even the most basic

dynamics. Sikorski's editors tried to remedy this by adding their own copious dynamics in brackets, some subtle, some extreme, ranging all the way from triple forte to triple piano. All these have been removed from the new Universal-Edition. The only colour change that Mahler demands occurs shortly before the recapitulation, where he briefly instructs the strings to use mutes.

It is fairly clear that Mahler was more comfortable writing for piano than for strings, and that, like many pianist-composers, he tended to misjudge instrumental balances, leaving it up to the players to make the necessary adjustments. The piano part is full of heavy chords and octaves, and often doubles one or more of the string lines. On the other hand, Mahler does not treat it soloistically, but passes the melodic lines around in close imitation or multiple counterpoint, saving string unisons for the most sonorous climactic passages - the entire Coda is based on a tonic pedal point ; the ending fades away on a pizzicato.

...

Gustav Mahler entra au Conservatoire de Vienne en 1875. À cette époque, il avait déjà composé plusieurs lieder et pièces de musique de chambre. Citons Henry-Louis de La Grange dans son ouvrage monumental :

« Sans doute, durant sa seconde année au Conservatoire, Mahler partage-t-il pendant 2 mois une chambre avec Hugo Wolf et Rudolf Krzyzanowski. Tous 3 vivent alors en bonne intelligence et se jouent mutuellement leurs œuvres récentes. Wolf semble même avoir alors considéré ses lieder inférieurs à ceux de ses 2 amis. En une nuit, Mahler compose là au piano, un mouvement de Quatuor pour un concours du Conservatoire, tandis que les 2 autres sont contraints d'aller dormir dehors sur les bancs du " Ring ". Mahler compose néanmoins sans cesse, pour le Conservatoire et aussi pour lui-même. Seuls de courts fragments ont subsisté de cette époque : un mouvement de Quatuor avec piano de 1876, un début de Scherzo pour la même combinaison et 2 fragments de Lieder. La page de titre de ce mouvement de Quatuor porte : Clavier Quartett ; Erster Satz : Gustav Mahler ; 1876. Au-dessous du titre figure l'estampille de l'éditeur de musique Theodor Rättig, ce qui semble indiquer que Mahler lui avait soumis l'ouvrage en 1878, année où Rättig publie l'arrangement à 4 mains de la 3e Symphonie de Anton Bruckner. Comme pour beaucoup d'autres manuscrits de jeunesse, Mahler a laissé courir sa plume dans les marges et sur la page de titre ; de même que celles des esquisses de " Das Klagende Lied ", elles sont couvertes de griffonnages et d'arabesques complexes. »

Le 1er mouvement et le Scherzo inachevé ont été publiés en 1973 par Peter Ruzicka, aux éditions Sikorski de Hambourg.

Le fait que le 1er mouvement et les esquisses du Scherzo aient figuré dans le même classeur semble indiquer qu'il s'agissait de 2 parties du même ouvrage. Pourtant, il paraît inhabituel, pour un élève de Conservatoire, de composer un Scherzo en sol mineur pour une œuvre en la mineur. Dans le 1er mouvement, la graphie est nette. Seules les 3 dernières pages trahissent la hâte du compositeur. Pour les dernières mesures, la main gauche du pianiste exécute un long trémolo sur la tonique, au-dessus duquel le jeune homme a griffonné à la hâte le mot « Orgelpunkt » (point d'orgue) .

Les modèles évidents du musicien, pour cet exercice d'école sont Robert Schumann et Johannes Brahms, ce qui n'a rien de bien surprenant puisque Julius Epstein, son Maître au Conservatoire, a été l'un des Iers interprètes de la musique de piano et de chambre de Brahms et que Franz Krenn et Robert Fuchs, professeurs de composition et d'écriture, sont bien connus pour leur fidélité à la tradition.

Toutes les pièces de jeunesse de Gustav Mahler, lieder ou musique de chambre, ont été perdues ou détruites. Il ne reste que quelques fragments d'œuvres, soigneusement conservés par les archivistes des bibliothèques Mahler à Paris et à Vienne.

Louis de La Grange remonte aux sources : « À la mort d'Alma (l'épouse de Mahler) , 2 esquisses manuscrites et n'appartenant à aucune œuvre connue de Mahler étaient comprises dans sa collection. Elles se trouvent aujourd'hui, l'une à la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York et l'autre à la " Stadtbibliothek " de Vienne. Elles ont toutes 2 été examinées dans les années 1920 par Alban Berg qui a rédigé à leur sujet une page manuscrite confirmant qu'elles n'appartenaient à aucune œuvre connue. Selon lui, les chiffres au crayon bleu semblaient avoir été écrits à la fin de la vie de Mahler, qui paraissait donc avoir eu l'intention de se resservir de ces esquisses à une date ultérieure. D'après Susan Filler, qui a étudié de près l'écriture, ainsi que le papier utilisé, les 2 esquisses dateraient en fait des environs de 1900, et il s'agit de Particelle, chacune comprenant de nombreuses variantes de certains passages. La Ire esquisse, pour un Presto en sol majeur (Mahler exprime dans une note l'intention de transposer le tout en fa) comprend 3 feuillets. »

Bruckner et Mahler

Gustav Mahler au sujet d'Anton Bruckner :

« Je ne fus jamais un élève de Bruckner. Cette rumeur fort répandue est attribuable au fait que l'on me voyait régulièrement à ses côtés lorsque j'étudiais à Vienne : j'étais alors l'un de ses plus grands admirateurs. Je crois bien que mon ami Rudolf Krzyzanowski y était également. Cela se situait entre 1875 et 1881.

Mon engagement envers lui a subsisté jusqu'à l'achèvement de sa 7e Symphonie. Je me souviendrai toujours avec plaisir d'un beau matin, lors d'un cours à l'Université de Vienne, il m'a appelé en classe et, au grand étonnement de mes collègues, il m'a joué le merveilleux thème de l'Adagio sur un très vieux piano. Malgré la grande différence d'âge qui nous sépare, Bruckner était toujours à notre disposition : heureux, jeune de cœur et enfantin. La confiance qu'il manifestait à mon endroit a transformé notre relation en véritable amitié. En tenant compte des épreuves et des tribulations qu'il a vécues, il était tout naturel qu'il ait de l'influence sur mon développement personnel, en tant qu'homme et en tant qu'artiste. En fait, je pense avoir plus le droit de me faire appeler son disciple que beaucoup d'autres. Je lui ferai toujours honneur dans le respect et la gratitude. »

...

When Gustav Mahler moved to Hamburg, in 1891, to conduct at the Opera House there, he was able to fulfil his « aim » to assist Bruckner's « glorious art to the triumph it deserves » through performances of the « Te Deum »

(twice) ; the D minor Mass ; and the 3rd Symphony. Mahler, it appears, while in Hamburg, was still in affectionate touch with Bruckner, to whom he addressed a letter on the day after the « Te Deum » 's performance. The 1st sentence of the letter (which begins with « Honoured Master and Friend ! ») seems to confirm the fact that Mahler had something of a sensitive conscience about his Bruckner performances, that the elder composer had been restive :

« At last, I am so fortunate as to be able to write you that I have performed a work of yours. Yesterday (Good Friday) , I conducted your splendid and powerful “ Te Deum ”. Not only the whole public, but also the performers were most deeply moved by the mighty architecture and the truly noble ideas. »

Mahler continues, after describing the public's profound response :

« Bruckner has now made his triumphal entrance into Hamburg. »

A Bruckner disciple, Carl Wilhelm Zinne, living in Hamburg, wrote to his Master about the performance in the Municipal Theatre « under “ Kapellmeister ” Mahler's inspired leadership » :

« As I found-out from personal association with Mahler, he is a true admirer of your works. While Mozart's “ Requiem ” (doubtless because it was presented with nervous haste) did not make any very great impression, your work was positively enkindling, particularly because of its final chorus, moving with irresistible force. »

From Hamburg, Mahler moved to Vienna, in 1897 ; the year before, Bruckner had died there, thus this link was finally snapped. Nonetheless, Mahler's appointment, during his 1st years in Vienna, as conductor of the Opera Orchestra's Philharmonic concerts meant that he had an Orchestra (the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, as it is today) at his disposal, and he was not backward in attempting to gain a hearing for Bruckner's Symphonies - no easy task, since Bruckner was not a popular composer and Mahler himself, as a conductor, was not particularly popular with the Orchestra. With the Vienna Orchestra, Mahler performed the 6th Symphony, on 26 February 1899 ; though it was the work's 1st complete performance (the middle-movements had been played, in 1883, under conductor Wilhelm Jahn) , Mahler did not spare the Symphony substantial cuts, surgery which Brucknerians still feel disinclined to forgive. In more favourable circumstances, perhaps, Mahler might have respected Bruckner's « Urtext » ; but his attitude towards the inviolability of original versions was, in any case, strangely inconsistent : for example, he insisted on Wagner without cuts in Vienna but was willing to restore the excisions in America. His fidgety approach to other composer's instrumentation (and his own) is, of course, notorious ; indeed, it is hard not to believe that his Bruckner performances did not include some of his famous touchings-up. The cuts in the Symphony No. 6 (and they seem to have been extensive) must be deplored ; on the other hand, judgment of any of Mahler's exploits as a conductor is always complicated by the fact that he was also a composer, and inclined to re-create, to re-compose, as it were, according to his own image, a process sometimes beneficial, sometimes dubious in effect. At the very least, it appears that Mahler's performances of Bruckner were coloured by the revisionary and « improving » ideas of the Master's editors and pupils current at this time. Mahler, in some respects, was unexpectedly entangled with the artistic assumptions of his period.

In 1900 and 1901, Mahler was responsible for further Bruckner performances ; he conducted the Symphonies Nos. 4 and 5, in Vienna, and the Scherzo from the 4th in the « Trocadero » , in Paris, on 21 June 1900, when the Orchestra

visited the French capital as part of the World Exhibition (« Exposition universelle ») ; this brave gesture must have been one of the 1st occasions, if not the 1st, when Bruckner's music travelled outside Austria or Germany. Thereafter, Mahler's connection with the Vienna Orchestra ceased (as conductor of the Philharmonic concerts, that is) , and though he continued to lead a busy life as a conductor in the concert-hall, the loss of an Orchestra of which he was artistic director inevitably brought with it a certain loss of freedom. The possibility of pioneering was restricted by the taste in programmes of the agency extending the invitations, and resistances to Bruckner's music, during the early years of the 20th Century, were still influential in many quarters.

There was, of course, similarly active opposition to Mahler's music but, in relation to his own works, Mahler, as a conductor, stood in a naturally favourable position. It was not until some years later, when Mahler was working in America and (significantly enough) , once again, in possession of his own Orchestra, that he was able to resume his championing of Bruckner's « glorious art » .

In 1908, in New York, he « gave performances of all Bruckner's Symphonies, one after the other, although they had a very bad press » .

Mahler's work on Bruckner's behalf did not cease there. In 1910, Universal-Edition, the Viennese publishers, had taken into their catalogue Mahler's 1st 4 Symphonies. Mahler, though about to receive the not insubstantial royalties due to him for these works, agreed to forgo his profits in order to help Universal-Edition publish and publicize the Symphonies of Bruckner.

Alma Mahler comments :

« He thought it only right that he should sacrifice his profits for another 15 years, out of love of Bruckner, without of course receiving, or expecting, a penny from the sale of Bruckner's works. This was a great sacrifice to make to Bruckner's memory and shows how deeply he revered him. »

Mahler's financial generosity was a marked aspect of his character ; it is illustrated, at its best, in his relation with Arnold Schœnberg, in an incident that belongs to this same year.

She writes :

« Mahler's love of Bruckner was life-long and, despite Mahler's revaluation of 1904, which I have already quoted, I see no serious grounds on which Mahler's attachment to Bruckner may be challenged. What he wrote on the title-page of his copy of the " Te Deum " - he deleted the customary vocal and instrumental specification and substituted :
" For the tongues of angels, heaven-blest, chastened hearts, and souls purified in the fire ! " , must be given as much weight as his more critical utterance. »

There is doubtless a paradox here, as in many of Mahler's judgments. But, then, there is something altogether paradoxical about Mahler's friendship with Anton Bruckner, a friendship whose common centre of interest was, as Ernst Křenek suggests, a common enthusiasm for Wagner, while « the mutual attraction between Jewish intellectuality and

endemic “ naïveté ” is also a peculiarly Austrian phenomenon » . One may well wonder, along with Křenek, « with what feelings the elder musician looked upon the nervous, talkative Jewish boy from Bohemia » ; but the brief history of their personal association contains, in fact, the basic constituents of their musical relation : some common ground, and certainly a major degree of genius in either case - and, for the rest, profound « contrasts » that are, nonetheless, strangely complementary. It was the complementary nature of the relation that enabled 2 composers, in many respects so opposed to work with equal success within the same medium, to sustain, despite intense differences in character and procedure, a great Symphonic tradition for a further 44 years, from the date of Bruckner's Symphony No. 1 to the date of Mahler's Symphony No. 10, an extension that maintained the status of the Viennese Symphony until the 1st decade of the 20th Century.

An anecdote of Paul Stefan's rounds-off the account :

« When the Viennese made an appeal for contributions for a Bruckner Memorial (Viktor Tilgner's monument) , and the Director of the Opera was asked to sign the petition, he refused and said to the Orchestra :

“ Let us play his music instead. Amongst people who would hear nothing of Bruckner whilst he was alive, and stood in his way, is no place for me. ” »

...

Gustav Mahler's recorded views of Johannes Brahms show in some detail that he was far less committed to an extreme antagonism than was his friend Hugo Wolf ; he maintained, in fact, a mid-stream position that would doubtless have excited Wolf's wrath. Wolf, of course, had not only artistic but personal motives for his vitriolic opposition to Brahms. But Wolf was an exceptional figure, and Mahler, with his often ambivalent attitude towards Brahms and Bruckner, is more truly representative of a climate of opinion more blurred at the edges than the history books would have us believe : that is, it is doubtful if the Wagner case, with its dependent feud between the disciples of Brahms and Bruckner, was as sharply defined in partisanship as appears at this distance in time. Julius Epstein, for example, Mahler's piano teacher, was an intimate member of the Brahms circle, and yet, he was generous in his encouragement of his rebellious (and Wagnerian) young pupil. Josef Hellmesberger « senior » , the director of the Vienna « Conservatoire » , to take another instance, was no less closely involved in the circle, and yet, though he exclaimed : « This is Beethoven's heir. » , upon playing in Brahms's Piano Quartets (Opus 25 and Opus 26) , he was not prevented from commissioning Bruckner's String Quintet (**WAB 112**) nor aiding in the grant of Bruckner's matriculation.

The purpose of this brief digression is no more than to suggest that the background to Mahler's wavering judgments was itself far from being etched in black and white, that while his loyalty to Wagner was unshakable, he retained a good deal of flexibility in his response to the « Hie Brahms, hie Bruckner ! » affair : such conditioning as existed in his case, was artistic rather than dogmatic, and dogma was the portion of the principals in the dispute - their disciples, perhaps uneasily and not always overtly, though perhaps more sensibly, kept more open minds.

The flexibility that Mahler displayed in a conversation about Brahms and Bruckner with his brother Otto, noted down

by Natalie Bauer-Lechner in 1893, would most certainly have appalled Wolf had he heard of it, especially so in view of the conclusion Mahler reaches in his 2nd sentence. We have already sufficient evidence of the momentary significance of Mahler's judgments (it does not diminish their interest) and there is no reason to take this longish utterance as a final evaluation ; indeed, by 1904, having worked through Brahms, Mahler had « fallen-back on Bruckner again » ; he decided then that they were « An odd-pair of second-raters. The one was “ in the casting ladle ” (“ Peer Gynt ”) too long ; the other has not been there at all. » Mahler's conversation of 1893 (Bruckner was still alive, and Mahler closes his remarks with an assertion that he would do what was in his power to gain the senior composer a hearing, who, in his lifetime, had not enjoyed his proper reward) neatly carries us on to a consideration of the 2 composers' singular friendship.

Mahler said :

« In order to judge a composer's “ œuvre ”, you have to view it in its entirety. If you do so (in the case of Brahms and Bruckner) , there is no doubt that Brahms emerges as the greater of the 2, with his extremely well-rounded compositions which, incidentally, are in no way obvious, but disclose their depth and wealth in proportion as you delve into them - not to speak of his enormous fertility which, after all, you have to take into account when considering an artist's work as a whole. True, you are carried away by the greatness and wealth of Bruckner's invention but, every now and again, you are disturbed and carried back, as it were, by its piece-meal character. »

Mahler's relation to Anton Bruckner, with whom he is so often thoughtlessly coupled as a composer of similar character, is a complex one. Apart from his views on Bruckner's music, we have to consider Mahler's approach to his eminent predecessor as composer and conductor, and define his personal friendship with Bruckner, which was at its strongest during Mahler's student years. Bruckner's musical influence on Mahler can remain to be discussed as and when it arises in the course of examining Mahler's own works. His efforts on Bruckner's behalf as a conductor and his youthful friendship with the 54 year old Master, who had already completed his Symphony No. 5, may be treated here.

It is necessary, 1st, to trace a few of the steps that led Bruckner to Vienna. It was from Linz, at whose Cathedral he was 1st organist, that Bruckner travelled to Vienna in 1861 to take the « Conservatoire » 's final examination that would make him « eligible for appointments as a teacher of harmony and counterpoint at Conservatories throughout the Monarchy » . Josef Hellmesberger « senior » , director of the « Conservatoire » during Mahler's studentship, was one of the examiners of Bruckner's powers of improvisation at the organ, an ultimate test that occurred in November and after the triumphant completion of which Bruckner received his long-sought-for diploma. Stimulated by his success, he made various attempts to secure a position of wider influence and greater responsibility, but it was not until 1868, after many failures and hesitations, that he finally gained an appointment in Vienna, as successor to his old teacher, Simon Sechter (1788-1867) , at the « Conservatoire » . As professor of harmony, counterpoint and organ, Bruckner assumed his new duties on 1 October 1868.

Mahler was not to arrive at the « Conservatoire » for another 7 years, and Bruckner, meanwhile, was again agitating (he had commenced in 1867) for an appointment at Vienna University. Since his candidature was opposed by Eduard Hanslick, some years passed before Bruckner won his objective. He was appointed (unpaid !) lecturer in harmony and

counterpoint at the University and « seems to have begun his lectures on the 24th of April 1876, although there is no absolute certainty about the date. Bruckner continued activities in both institutions for many years, retiring from the « Conservatoire » only in 1891 and delivering his last lecture at the University in November 1894.

We are fortunate in possessing a letter of Mahler's (perhaps prompted by the currency of the myth that he was Bruckner's pupils) in which he states very plainly how he himself regarded his friendship with Bruckner. It could scarcely be clearer in its refutation :

« I was never a pupil of Bruckner. The world thinks I studied with him because, in my student days in Vienna, I was so often in his company and was reckoned among his 1st disciples. In fact, I believe that, at one time, my friend (Rudolf) Krzyzanowski and I were his sole followers. In spite of the great difference in age between us, Bruckner's happy disposition and his child-like, trusting nature rendered our relationship one of open friendship. Naturally, the realization and understanding of his ideals which I, then, arrived at cannot have been without influence upon my course as artist and man. Hence, I believe I am, perhaps, more justified than most others in calling myself his pupil and I shall always do so with deep gratitude. »

Mahler, in this document, while mentioning a most singular feature of his relation to Bruckner, « the great difference in age » between them (when Mahler was 17, and Bruckner 53) makes no specific reference to attendance at the latter's lectures at the University or elsewhere. We must discount the probability of Mahler coming into contact with Bruckner at the « Conservatoire », though he must certainly have been aware of Bruckner's presence and, perhaps, been intrigued by what he heard from friends who were in the great man's classes - from Hans Rott, for instance, who was enrolled as an organ pupil of Bruckner's for the year 1876-1877. But the 1st impressions of the great composer may have been like those of Carl Flesch and his colleagues :

« Among the teachers I used to meet in the corridors of the Institute, Anton Bruckner must be mentioned 1st ; with his incredibly wide pants, he then seemed to us students a ridiculous figure. »

Though there may be no « absolute certainty » of the date when Bruckner commenced his lectures at the University, there can be no doubt that he was firmly installed there by 1877, the year in which Mahler enrolled as an auditor of various courses. We have no decisive information of Mahler's attendance at, or reaction to, any University classes but for Bruckner's and, even here, commentators are cautious : Paul Stefan, for example, writes that :

« There is little doubt that Mahler attended Bruckner's lectures. »

At the other end of the biographical scale, Stefan's cautious assessment has become « attended religiously » - while Alma Mahler, who offers some Bruckner anecdotes presumably related by her husband, mentions nothing of the older composer's University activities and confines herself, indeed, to the somewhat ambiguous statement that Bruckner « was not, strictly speaking, Mahler's teacher ». Guido Adler fills-out the scant amount of documentation relevant to this topic by asserting that Mahler's visits to Bruckner's harmony (not counterpoint !) classes were « sporadic » and belong to 1878, the year in which Mahler's « more intimate association » with Bruckner developed. It may well have been in

1878, then, that Bruckner always entered his lecture-room in Mahler's company and, likewise, quitted it - or so, Stefan recounts, although he does not reconcile his « always » with his former hesitant speculation. But while it may have been that 1878 was the period of Mahler's most intense friendship with Bruckner, there was already an event in 1877 that brought them close together, out of which, almost certainly, flowed the warm association of subsequent months.

On Sunday 16 December 1877, Bruckner himself conducted the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in the 1st performance of his Symphony No. 3 (in a revised version - the original had been found « unplayable ») . The premiere proved to be a complete disaster. The audience thinned away during the performance and, at the end, there were hardly more than 10 people left at the « parterre » . Worse still, open laughter marred the proceedings, in which Hellmesberger, true to his markedly ambivalent attitude to Bruckner's music, set an unfortunate example.

In the standing places, however, was a group of 10 to 20 young Bruckner enthusiasts, most of them his pupils, who, at the Symphony's end attempted to console the depressed composer. Among them was Mahler, for whom the whole affair must have been a lesson in Viennese musical politics. Though Bruckner's inexpert conducting may have been a draw-back, the real reasons for the catastrophe were quite extraneous to the quality of the music or the character of its execution. The fiasco was primarily the result of the feud between the Wagner party and their opponents ; a secondary factor was the hostility of the Orchestra. With the latter, Mahler, in later years, was himself to come into conflict ; his own path to success, however, though it did not run smoothly, never encountered a humiliation so crushing as this premiere. His music, at least, kept his audiences in their seats, whatever their resistances.

Bruckner, at 1st, gave way to despair. He said :

« Leave me alone. People don't want to have anything to do with me. »

But among those present at the « débâcle » , and impressed by the work nevertheless, was the music-publisher, Theodor Rättig, owner of the publishing-house « Bussjager & Rättig » , who offered to take the work into his catalogue. Not only a score and parts appeared, but also a piano-duet version, the preparation of which was entrusted to Mahler : he was aided in his task by his friend Rudolf Krzyzanowski (who was also present at the ill-starred premiere) and his piano professor, Julius Epstein, who supervised the reduction. This 4 handed edition of the Symphony, « one, of the 1st piano-duet arrangements of Bruckner's Symphonies » , was published in 1878 ; it was Mahler's 1st publication. Already, it seems, Mahler's unbending idealism guided his approach to his work.

Paul Stefan writes :

« His piano score follows the orchestral one exactly, and attempts to keep the various parts in the characteristic pitch of the instruments, even at the expense of not being easily playable. »

We may assume that, out of the dismal premiere of Bruckner's Symphony, an occasion for the demonstration of sympathies no less than antipathies, blossomed the composer's sincere regard for his younger colleague. That Mahler was invited to undertake the piano-duet arrangement is proof of it ; and, up to 1878, the various stories recorded

may be assigned. Alma Mahler relates that when Mahler took Bruckner his reduction of the Symphony's 1st movement, « Bruckner was childishly pleased and said with a roguish smile : “ Now, I shan't need the Schalks any more ! ” »

The brothers Schalk, Franz (1863-1931) and Josef (1857-1901) , were Bruckner pupils and ardent disciples whose agreed, enforced, or arbitrary revisions of the composer's scores (like Ferdinand Löwe's) have perpetrated an almost insoluble textual confusion. Mrs. Mahler's perhaps exaggerated claim that the Schalk brothers, at this time, « made all the piano scores of his Symphonies » lends point to Bruckner's comment. Since Josef was Mahler's senior by 3 years, and Bruckner apparently welcomed the younger man's assistance, there is no reason to register surprise at the youthfulness of Bruckner's circle - though it is hard, indeed, to imagine the need fulfilled by the, then, 15 year old Franz.

Mahler, we are told, « used often to foregather with Bruckner at midday. Bruckner stood the beer and Mahler had to pay for his own rolls ; but as he generally had no money, he had to make his midday meal on beer alone. Bruckner was always surrounded by large numbers of young musicians, to whom he talked with child-like unrestraint. But if there were Jews present, he always (if he had occasion to say anything about Jews) gave them the courtesy title of the « Honourable Israelites » (« die Herren Israeliten ») . This suggests a convivial artistic and personal relationship, heightened, no doubt, by mutual interest in work-in-progress on the duet arrangement ; so friendly an atmosphere provides a background against which the amiable entry into and exit from the lecture-room « à deux » (together) , seems natural rather than legendary, and even promotes belief in Stefan's tale that « when Mahler had visited him at his house, the far elder Bruckner insisted upon conducting the young man down the 4 flights of stairs, hat in hand » . Bruckner's exaggerated courtesies are, of course, notorious. Into that very category falls the gift which Bruckner presented to Mahler in appreciation of his efforts (as an arranger) nothing less than the autograph of the 3rd Symphony's 2nd version. Bruckner's gesture, a characteristically unrealistic reward for services rendered, neatly rounds off the piano-duet episode and pays its own tribute to the warmth of these 2 oddly-assorted men's association. It is probable, indeed, that Bruckner was « very fond » of Mahler, as Alma Mahler states.

We have seen something of Mahler's later views of Bruckner's music. While it appears that Bruckner played « various compositions of his, old and new » to his young colleague, there is no record of Mahler seeking Bruckner's judgment on his youthful pieces or works he had composed up to 1896, the year of Bruckner's death. Though Mahler was in touch with Bruckner in the 1890's, it is not likely that the latter was familiar with Mahler's developments as a composer. Thus, we have no pronouncements from Bruckner upon Mahler's music - which would certainly have been of considerable interest : only the general colour of his attitude at this early period, that he regarded Mahler « as a young man of promise » , that he « always spoke of Mahler with the greatest respect » .

Mahler's later relation to Bruckner's music was twofold : he was involved with it as both conductor and composer. The extent and nature of Bruckner's musical influence (some general stylistic and formal parallels are obvious and have been wildly over-stressed, while subtler relations have been over-looked) will be dealt with as and when they arise in regard to specific works of Mahler's wherein Bruckner's influence is a factor to be taken into account. As a conductor, and eventual patron, of Bruckner's works, Mahler's record is a reasonably generous one that may be dispatched forthwith.

Ernst Křenek has written that :

« Mahler manifested his esteem for Bruckner actively as soon as he could, by including Bruckner's compositions in the programs of his concerts. »

What may have been the earliest instance of his promotion of Bruckner's music was a performance, in Prague, in April 1886 (when Mahler was conducting at the « Landestheater ») , of the Scherzo from Symphony No. 3, in a programme that included some of Mahler's own songs and works by Mozart and Wagner. It was about this time that Mahler wrote to Bruckner :

« I know you are angry at me, but I have not altogether deserved it, for tossed about on the tide of life I still regard you with the deep affection and reverence of old. It is one of the aims of my life to help your glorious art to the triumph it deserves. »

Mahler's tossing about « on the tide of life » obviously refers to the conducting engagements he had undertaken since 1880, engagements that successively and with a growing intensity must have disrupted the continuity of his connection with musical life in Vienna and his Viennese friends. Mahler's admission, « I know you are angry at me » , suggests a lack of contact between him and his old friend, even that Bruckner was disappointed, perhaps even resentful that the younger man was not doing more on his behalf. When Mahler moved to Hamburg, in 1891, to conduct at the Opera House there, he was able to fulfil his « aim » to assist Bruckner's « glorious art to the triumph it deserves » through performances of the « Te Deum » (twice) , the Mass in D minor, and the Symphony No. 3. Mahler, it appears, while in Hamburg, was still in affectionate touch with Bruckner, to whom he addressed a letter on the day after the « Te Deum » 's performance. The 1st sentence of the letter (which begins with « Honoured Master and Friend ! ») seems to confirm the fact that Mahler had something of a sensitive conscience about his Bruckner performances, that the elder composer had been restive :

« At last, I am so fortunate as to be able to write you that I have performed a work of yours. Yesterday (Good Friday) , I conducted your splendid and powerful “ Te Deum ”. Not only the whole public, but also the performers were most deeply moved by the mighty architecture and the truly noble ideas. »

Mahler continues after describing the public's profound response :

« Bruckner has now made his triumphal entrance into Hamburg. »

A Bruckner disciple, Wilhelm Zinne, living in Hamburg, wrote to his Master about the performance in the Municipal Theatre « under “ Kapellmeister ” Mahler's inspired leadership » :

« As I found-out from personal association with Mahler, he is a true admirer of your works. While Mozart's “ Requiem ” (doubtless because it was presented with nervous haste) did not make any very great impression, your work was

positively enkindling. Particularly because of its final chorus, moving with irresistible force. »

From Hamburg, Mahler moved to Vienna, in 1897 ; the year before, Bruckner had died there, thus, this link was finally snapped. Nonetheless, Mahler's appointment, during his 1st years in Vienna, as conductor of the Opera Orchestra's Philharmonic Concerts meant that he had an Orchestra (the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, as it is today) at his disposal, and he was not backward in attempting to gain a hearing for Bruckner's Symphonies - no easy task, since Bruckner was not a popular composer and Mahler himself, as a conductor, was not particularly popular with the Orchestra. With the Vienna Orchestra, Mahler performed the Symphony No. 6, on 26 February 1899 ; though it was the work's 1st complete performance (the middle-movements had been played in 1883 under Wilhelm Jahn) , Mahler did not spare the Symphony substantial cuts, surgery which Brucknerians still feel disinclined to forgive. In more favourable circumstances, perhaps, Mahler might have respected Bruckner's « Urtext » ; but his attitude towards the inviolability of original versions was, in any case, strangely inconsistent : for example, he insisted on Wagner without cuts in Vienna but was willing to restore the excisions in America. His fidgety approach to other composer's instrumentation (and his own) is, of course, notorious ; indeed, it is hard not to believe that his Bruckner performances did not include some of his famous touchings-up. The cuts in Symphony No. 6 (and they seem to have been extensive) must be deplored ; on the other hand, judgment of any of Mahler's exploits as a conductor is always complicated by the fact that he was also a composer, and inclined to re-create, to re-compose, as it were, according to his own image, a process sometimes beneficial, sometimes dubious in effect. At the very least, it appears that Mahler's performances of Bruckner were coloured by the revisionary and « improving » ideas of the Master's editors and pupils current at this time. Mahler, in some respects, was unexpectedly entangled with the artistic assumptions of his period.

In 1900 and 1901, Mahler was responsible for further Bruckner performances ; he conducted Symphonies Nos. 4 and 5 in Vienna, and the Scherzo from the 4th in the « Trocadero » in Paris, on 21 June 1900, when the Vienna Orchestra visited the French capital as part of the World Exhibition ; this brave gesture must have been one of the 1st occasions, if not « the » 1st, when Bruckner's music travelled outside Austria or Germany. Thereafter, Mahler's connection with the Vienna Orchestra ceased (as conductor of the Philharmonic concerts, that is) , and though he continued to lead a busy life as a conductor in the concert-hall, the loss of an Orchestra of which he was artistic director inevitably brought with it a certain loss of freedom. The possibility of pioneering was restricted by the taste in programmes of the agency extending the invitations, and resistances to Bruckner's music during the early years of the 20th Century were still influential in many quarters. There was, of course, similarly active opposition to Mahler's music, but in relation to his own works Mahler, as a conductor, stood in a naturally favourable position. It was not until some years later, when Mahler was working in America and (significantly enough) , once again in possession of his own Orchestra, that he was able to resume his championing of Bruckner's « glorious art » : in 1908, in New York, he « gave performances of all Bruckner's Symphonies one after the other, although they had a very bad press » .

Mahler's work on Bruckner's behalf did not cease there. In 1910, Universal-Edition, the Viennese publishers, had taken into their catalogue Mahler's 1st 4 Symphonies. Mahler, though about to receive the not insubstantial royalties due to him for these works, agreed to forgo his profits in order to help Universal-Edition publish and publicize the Symphonies of Bruckner.

Alma Mahler comments :

« He thought it only right that he should sacrifice his profits for another 15 years out of love of Bruckner, without of course receiving, or expecting, a penny from the sale of Bruckner's works. This was a great sacrifice to make to Bruckner's memory and shows how deeply he revered him. »

Mahler's financial generosity was a marked aspect of his character ; it is illustrated at its best in his relation with Arnold Schönberg, in an incident that belongs to this same year.

Alma Mahler writes :

« Mahler's love of Bruckner was lifelong » writes Alma ; and despite Mahler's re-evaluation of 1904, I see no serious grounds on which Mahler's attachment to Bruckner may be challenged. What he wrote on the title-page of his copy of the « Te Deum » (he deleted the customary vocal and instrumental specification and substituted : « For the tongues of angels, heaven-blest, chastened hearts, and souls purified in the fire ! ») must be given as much weight as his more critical utterance. There is doubtless a paradox here, as in many of Mahler's judgments. But, then, there is something altogether paradoxical about Mahler's friendship with Anton Bruckner, a friendship whose common centre of interest was, as Křenek suggests, a common enthusiasm for Wagner, while « the mutual attraction between Jewish intellectuality and endemic " naïveté " is also a peculiarly Austrian phenomenon » . One may well wonder, along with Křenek, « with what feelings the elder musician looked upon the nervous, talkative Jewish boy from Bohemia » ; but the brief history of their personal association contains, in fact, the basic constituents of their musical relation : some common ground, and certainly a major degree of genius in either case - and, for the rest, profound « contrasts » that are nonetheless strangely complementary. It was the complementary nature of the relation that enabled 2 composers in many respects so opposed to work with equal success within the same medium, to sustain, despite intense differences in character and procedure, a great Symphonic tradition for a time 44 years, from the date of Bruckner's Symphony No. 1 to the date of Mahler's Symphony No. 10, an extension that maintained the status of the Viennese Symphony until the 1st decade of the 20th Century.

An anecdote of Paul Stefan's rounds-off the account :

« When the Viennese made an appeal for contributions for a Bruckner Memorial (Viktor Tilgner's monument) , and the Director of the Opera was asked to sign the petition, he refused and said to the Orchestra : " Let us play his music instead. Amongst people who would hear nothing of Bruckner whilst he was alive, and stood in his way, is no place for me." »

Bruckner et Mahler vus par Bruno Walter

Throughout its 10 years of existence, the Bruckner Society of America has striven manfully and efficiently in behalf of Bruckner and Mahler. Therefore, in connection with its decennial retrospect, I gladly respond to its plea for an expression concerning these Masters. To combine propaganda for Bruckner and Mahler into a single plan is to express

the conviction that the success of the one helps the other's cause, that they belong side by side because of their artistic kinship.

I should not have agreed to write about Bruckner and Mahler did I not regard that little word « and » highly-pertinent. Its appropriateness is borne-out by Mahler's own words. I often heard him call Bruckner his forerunner, asserting that his own creations followed the trail blazed by his senior Master. Of course, that was over 40 years ago, in the days of Mahler's 2nd, the Symphony which, more vividly than all his other works, reveals his affinity with Bruckner. Yet, from the 3rd Symphony on, his development was marked by an ever increasing deviation from Bruckner's course. I cannot recall Mahler making the same remark during later years. Nevertheless, down to his latest works, we meet with occasional features which might be called Brucknerian. Thus it is worth while attaining a clear idea of the nature and degree of their relationship.

Much has been written concerning Bruckner. To the literature on Mahler, I myself have contributed a book. Yet (as far as I know) , a comparative study of Bruckner and Mahler is still to be made. Therefore, I shall attempt in these comments to measure their relationship, to thrash-out the features which unite and separate them. We shall find them alike in many important respects, but different, even opposite, in others of not less consequence. We shall find them so related, that understanding the one includes a certain degree of access to the other ; yet so different, that affection for the one may seem consistent with total inaccessibility to the other. Certainly, to understand and love both requires a very complex musical disposition and an unusually broad spiritual span. My comparison cannot limit itself to details of actual musical creation. The spiritual sources of their works, the personalities of both Masters, are vital to the theme of our survey, not merely because they are more amenable to words than music itself, but because the light they shed upon the music is indispensable in an essay striving for knowledge. To demonstrate really and clearly the relationships between these composers' works, there is only one way : through performances. Renouncing for once this (to me) most agreeable method, resorting to words, though aware that no bridge leads straight from them to music, I must also seek to approach my subject indirectly. The mystic connection between the inner life of a composer and his music makes it possible to discover his soul in his work. Understanding his heart lays bare an inner path to his music. Hence, I hope a discussion of the individualities of both Masters will enable me to fill in some of the gaps inevitable to an essay on their works alone.

Anton Bruckner

What Joins Them

9 Symphonies composed by Bruckner, as well as Mahler, in the course of about 30 years, constitute the chief product of their creative power. The nature of the themes, developments, combinations, is (in keeping with their creator's nature) truly Symphonic. Remarkable coincidences in the periodic progress of their work are the decisive step from the 3rd to the 4th and the change of style between the 4th and 5th Symphonies. The 4th of each opens a new field of expression scarcely glimpsed in his previous works. A warm, Romantic light rises over Bruckner's hitherto heroic tone world ; a tender fairy tale like idyll soothes Mahler's tempestuous heart. For both, the 5th, with its intensification of the polyphonic style, inaugurates the period of mature Mastery. The laconic idiom of restraint, the art of mere

suggestion, involving economy of means and form, is not theirs. Only in a number of his songs do we find Mahler's contradictory nature Master of this style too. Otherwise, both share in common the urge to yield their entire beings symphonically through unrestrained expression in huge dimensions. Their Symphonies resemble each other also in the special significance of the Finale in the total architecture. Broadly spun, essentially diatonic themes and a counterpoint directly joined to the Classical tradition characterize both. To be sure, Mahler's later polyphony trod more complex, daring, and highly-individual paths. To both (and to them alone) , the church chorale comes as naturally as the Austrian « Ländler » . The utmost solemnity and folk-like joviality constitute the opposite poles in both their natures. They are linked with the Classicists, the way leads through Franz Schubert. Their association is strengthened, among other things, by the fundamentals of their harmony, their style of cadence and (all their deviations notwithstanding) their fondness for symmetry and regular periodic structure. Even the later Mahler, no matter to what regions his formal and harmonic boldness led him, maintained clear periodic structure and a firm tonal foundation. Both revel in broadly built climaxes, in long sustained tensions, whose release requires overwhelming sonorous dynamics.

In their gay or lyric moments, we often meet with a typically Austrian charm recalling Franz Schubert, though in Mahler's case it is frequently mixed with a Bohemian-Moravian flavour. Above all, however, Mahler and Bruckner are (though in different ways) religious beings. An essential part of their musical inspiration wells from this devotional depth. It is a main source of their thematic wealth, swaying an all important field of expression in their works ; it produces the high watermark of their musical surf. The tonal idiom of both is devoid of eroticism. Often inclined to pathos, powerful tragedy, and emotional extremes of utterance, they attain climaxes of high ecstasy. Clear sunshine and blue sky seldom appear in the wholly un-Mediterranean atmosphere of their music. « Romantic » was the name Bruckner gave his 4th. In a related sense, we find Mahler's earlier work Romantic, aside from his un-Brucknerian diabolism. Yet, in the later works of both, the Romantic note is rarely sounded. Highly-characteristic seems to me one negative manifestation of their relationship. Moved by their tremendous experience of Richard Wagner to an undying faith in his art, they show (aside from a slight influence over Bruckner's instrumentation) no Wagnerian traces in their work, or at most, so few, that the impression of their complete independence is in no wise affected thereby. Their individuality was of so sturdy a nature (astonishing in that epoch of musical history) that despite the open ear, open heart, and unreserved sympathy they lent the Wagnerian siren song, they did not succumb to it. Of course, being essentially Symphonists, they were equal to the threat of the dramatist against their self-determination, for the inspirational sources of their creation, as well as their native urge toward formal construction, differed fundamentally from his. Neither of them felt drawn to the stage, a phenomenon particularly remarkable in the case of Mahler, whose reproductive genius for the Opera, expressed through incomparable interpretations, opened new paths in that field, actually instituting a tradition. 2 abortive attempts of his early youth are his sole original contributions to the theater. Otherwise, he never wrote for the stage, unless we include his arrangement of Weber's « 3 Pintos » .

Like Bruckner, he took root in absolute music, save when he drew his inspiration from poetry, as in his songs. Yet, was his work really rooted in absolute music ? Is his 1st Symphony (originally named « Titan » after Jean Paul's novel) with its « Funeral March in the manner of Callot » , are the 2nd and 4th with their vocal movements, the 3rd with its (later) suppressed subtitles, genuine Symphonic music in the Bruckner sense ? Indubitably, Mahler's music differs from Bruckner's in the degree of absoluteness intended. It was induced and influenced by more specific imagery, fantasy, and thought than Bruckner's music, which rose from less tangible, darker spiritual depths. But does this really

involve an essential difference ? Is not Beethoven's « Pastorale » , despite the « Scene at the Brook » , « Rustic Festival » , and « Storm » , absolute Symphonic music, its lesser absolute intention notwithstanding ? Let us conjure-up the basic process of musical creation. The composer suddenly has a musical idea. Where there existed apparently nothing before, save perhaps a mood, an image, there is, all at once, music. A theme is present, a motive. Now, the shaping hand of the composer grasps it, unfolding and guiding its trend. Fresh ideas come streaming in. Whether or not more definite imagery plays a role in the creative process, the decisive factors governing the result remain the « grace » of basic musical creation and the power of Symphonic construction. That « grace » and that power were granted Mahler, as well as Bruckner. Therefore, despite the thoughts and visions that influenced his creation, he also took root in absolute music.

After all, do we know whether Bruckner, or for that matter even Mozart was not visited by imagery and thoughts during the creative process, or, whether many of their ideas, looming-up out of the subconscious, did not take turnings over some conscious path, thereby acquiring more vivid coloring and more subjective character ? In Gœthe's « Elective Affinities » , the image of Otilie fills Eduard's eyes during a conjugal meeting with his wife Charlotte, while the latter beholds the captain's image. Though, the off-spring of this union bore external traces of these wandering visions, it was nevertheless the child of Eduard and Charlotte, sprung from their natural union. Deep mystery surrounds the genesis and pure music may result, despite the influence of extra musical ideas upon the act of generation. Yet, if the composer's intention is really descriptive, i.e. , if he makes the music the means of portraying an idea or image, then, of course, he has himself blocked the path to pure music. To Mahler as well as Bruckner music never was the means of expressing something, but rather the end itself. He never disregarded its inherent principles for the sake of expression. It was the element in which both Masters lived, impelled by their nature toward Symphonic construction. Mahler's enchanted creative night was filled with violently changing dream forms ; Bruckner's was dominated by a single lofty vision. Since Bruckner (so far as I know) had, until his death in 1896, acquired no acquaintance with Mahler's work, whereas the latter was well versed in Bruckner's art, it remains to be considered whether it was not this influence, acting only upon the younger composer, that aroused the impression of the kinship felt by Mahler himself. Without a certain relationship, however, no influence can be exerted. Moreover, Mahler's individual tonal language reveals no sign of dependence, whether similarity or reminiscence. Yet, we find in one of his main works, the 2nd, indications of a deeper, essential kinship and meet with occasional « Bruckner » characteristics down to Mahler's very last creations. Nevertheless, he was as little dependent upon Bruckner as Brahms upon Schumann, many of whose « characteristics » haunt the work of Brahms. To both Bruckner and Mahler may be applied the « Faust » verdict concerning Byron - Euphorion : to each of them was granted « a song his very own » , i.e. : originality.

What Divides Them

Bruckner's 9 Symphonies are purely instrumental works. Mahler, on the other hand, enlists words and the human voice for his 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 8th. Besides the Symphonies, Bruckner composed 3 Masses, the « Te Deum » , the 150th Psalm, smaller devotional vocal works, and (to my knowledge) 2 male choruses. Of all entirely different stamp was Mahler's non Symphonic creation. He wrote « Das Klagende Lied » , set to his own narrative poem ; the 4 part song cycle « Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen » , the words also by himself ; songs with piano accompaniment and with verses from « Des Knaben Wunderhorn » ; during a later period, orchestral songs set to poems by Friedrich Rückert,

among them the « Kindertotenlieder » cycle ; and, finally, his most personal confession, « Das Lied von der Erde » , with verses by the Chinese poet Li-Tai-Po. We see Bruckner, therefore, aside from his Symphonies, concentrated almost entirely upon Sacred texts, while Mahler is inspired by highly-varied fields of poetic expression. In his Symphonies, « Das Urlicht » from « Des Knaben Wunderhorn » and Klopstock's « Resurrection Ode » furnished him with the solemn affirmative close of his 2nd, Nietzsche's « Midnight » yielded the questing, foreboding 4th movement and verses from « Des Knaben Wunderhorn » , the answering 5th movement of the 3rd. From the same collection, Mahler chose a poem of child-like faith to give symbolical expression to his own hope of celestial life. In the 8th, the hymn « Veni Creator Spiritus » and the closing scenes of « Faust » constitute his confessions of faith. Thus, the record of his vocal creations is, at the same time, a clue to the story of his heart. It tells of his struggles toward God, through discovery and renewed quest, through ever higher intuitions and loftier yearnings. Yet, over this dominant note, the « Ostinato » of his life, resound many other tones, defined by accompanying verses : Love and death, lansquet life and a spectral world, the joy of life and its woe, humor and despair, savage defiance and final resignation, all these find individual and convincing expression in his musical eloquence. If I wished to present the difference between the 2 Masters in the shortest imaginable formula, I would say (conscious of the exaggeration of such a summary) : at bottom, Bruckner's spirit was repose, Mahler's unrest. With Bruckner, the most impassioned movement has a foundation of certainty ; not even Mahler's inmost depths remain undisturbed. Bruckner's scope of expression is unlimited, though it has but few main subdivisions ; with Mahler these are prodigal in number, embracing all lights and shades of a weird diabolism, a humorous buffoonery, even resorting to the eccentric and banal, besides countless expressive nuances ranging from child-like tenderness to chaotic eruption. His heartfelt, folk like themes are as Mahlerian as his sardonic cacophonies, whose lightning apparitions render all the darker the night of his musical landscape. Mahler's noble peace and solemnity, his lofty transfiguration are the fruits of conquest ; with Bruckner, they are innate gifts. Bruckner's musical message stems from the sphere of the Saints ; in Mahler speaks the impassioned prophet. He is ever renewing the battle, ending in mild resignation, while Bruckner's tone world radiates unshakable, consoling affirmation. We find, as already stated, the inexhaustible wealth of the Bruckner music spread over a correspondingly boundless, though in itself not highly-varied realm of expression, for which the 2 verbal directions, « feierlich » (solemnly) and « innig » (heart felt) , most often employed by him, almost sufficed, were it not for the richly differentiated scherzi that remind us of the wealth of the humoristic external ornaments of impressive Gothic cathedrals. Even Bruckner's Orchestra undergoes scarcely any change. With the 7th, he adds the Wagnerian tubas, in the 8th the harp, but he does not alter his instrumental methods as such. Beginning with the 5th, the character of his harmony and polyphony no longer varies, though (to be sure) it is sufficiently rich and inspired to require no change.

Mahler renewed himself « from head to toe » with each Symphony : the 1st, his « Werther » , as I once named it ; the 2nd, a kind of « Requiem » ; the 3rd, which one might be tempted to call a pantheistic hymn ; the 4th, a fairy tale idyll. From the 5th to the 7th, imagery and ideas yield to absolute musical intentions. Even though each of these 3 Symphonies has its own individual atmosphere, they stand considerably closer to each other in style and general content than the widely separated 1st 4. They share in common a musically more complex, polyphonically more profound idiom, richer in combinations, imparting a new, stronger impression of Mahler's varied emotional life. The human voice is the main instrument in the 8th. A magnificent, specifically choral polyphony determines the style of the hymn like 1st movement, while in the « Faust » scenes, the composer adapts his musical idiom to the Gæthe word and the demands of lyric singableness, through a sort of simplification. In « Das Lied von der Erde » , we meet with

still another Mahler, inaugurating a 3rd creative period, with a new manner of composition and orchestration. On this highest plane is born the 9th, the mighty Symphonic presentation of the spiritual sphere of « Das Lied von der Erde ». The sketches toward a 10th bring to a sudden end this sharply defined course of creative evolution, the outstanding feature of which was its rich differentiation. This applies also (as already stated) to his instrumentation. An inborn, extremely delicate sense of sound, an ear open to orchestral possibilities lead, at the beck of expression and clarity, to unique Mastery over the Orchestra. From wealth of colour and charm of sound to an objective exposition of his increasingly complex polyphony, this is the path Mahler's orchestral technique, changed and intensified by the increasing demands of each work, had to travel. Each orchestral song, from the very earliest, reveals an individual instrumental combination, mainly of an amazing economy. The Symphonies, with the exception of the 4th, are inhabited by orchestral masses over which an unbounded tonal fantasy holds sway. In contrast to Bruckner, he was compelled to struggle ceaselessly for the solution of orchestral problems, increasing with each new work. In this respect, he always felt himself, as he complained to me, « a beginner ». The great stress in Bruckner's music rests upon the idea, in Mahler's upon the Symphonic elaboration of the idea involving processes of forming and transforming which in the course of years scaled the highest peaks of constructive power. It is characteristic of the difference between the 2 composers that their opponents attack the form in Bruckner's, the substance in Mahler's work. I can understand these objections to some extent without, however, acquiescing in them. From Heinrich Schenker comes this charming thought : that « even a little bouquet of flowers requires some order (guiding lines) to make it possible for the eye to encompass it at a glance », i.e. , to see it as a bouquet. « Form » is such order, premeditated, organic association, complete, strict unity. Our Classic literature contains matchless examples of organic unity. Yet, we have art works of undoubtedly highest value (I mention Goethe's « Faust » as the most significant instance) the genesis of which resisted this strict organic unity of form, gaining more in richness thereby than they lost in lucidity. I confess that, for many years, despite my love for Bruckner's tonal language and his wonderful melodies, despite my happiness in his inspirations, I felt somewhat confused by his apparent formlessness, his unrestrained, luxurious prodigality. This confusion disappeared as soon as I began performing him. Without difficulty, I achieved that identification with his work which is the foundation of every authentic and apparently authentic interpretation. Now, since I have long felt deeply at home in his realm, since his form no longer seems strange to me, I believe that access to him is open to everyone who approaches him with the awe due a true creator. His super dimensions, his surrender to every fresh inspiration and new, interesting turning, sometimes not drawn with compelling musical logic from what has gone before, nor united to what follows, his abrupt pauses and resumptions : all this may just as well indicate a defect in constructive power as an individual concept of Symphony. Even though, he may not follow a strictly planned path to his goal, he takes us over ways strewn with abundant riches, affording us views of constantly varying delight. Mahler's striving for form succeeded in bringing transparent unity to the huge dimensions of his Symphonies. His was a conscious effort towards order. All his singularities of mood, his excesses of passions, his outpourings of the heart are seized and united according to a plan dictated by his sovereign sense of form. He once told me that, because of the pressure of time (his duties as director left him only the summer months for composing) , he may perhaps not have been, at times, sufficiently critical of the quality of an idea, but that he had never permitted himself the slightest leniency in the matter of form. Yet, the objection to his thematic art finds no corroboration in this confession, for that objection refers, as far as I know, only to so-called « banalities », i.e. , intentional ironic turns, meant to be humorous and dependent for acceptance or rejection upon the listener's capacity for humor. It is not in these that Mahler perceived a deficient quality. He referred to a few transitional lyrics in later works, which struck him as

perhaps not select enough, though they would scarcely disturb anyone's enjoyment of the gigantic whole.

The relative beauty of themes and the value of musical ideas cannot be a subject for discussion. I limit myself to the declaration that, after life-long occupation with his works, Mahler's musical substance seems to me essentially music, powerful and individual throughout, beautiful when he strives for beauty, graceful when he strives for charm, melancholy when for sorrow. In short, it was truly the material suited to the rearing of such mighty structures, and worthy of the sublime feelings it served to express. Mahler was, like Bruckner, the bearer of a transcendental mission, a spiritual sage and guide, Master of an inspired tonal language enriched and enhanced by himself. The tongues of both had, like that of Isaiah, been touched and consecrated by the fiery coal of the altar of the Lord and the threefold « Sanctus » of the seraphim was the inmost meaning of their message. (Gustav Mahler)

The Personalities

The favour of personal acquaintance with Bruckner was not granted me, but that Vienna, into the musical life of which I entered as a young conductor, was still full of the most lively memories of him. I came in touch with « Bruckner circles », which abundantly supplemented Mahler's narratives of his own Bruckner experiences. I gathered from reports of pupils and friends of the Master, from numerous anecdotes, so vivid a picture of his personality, his atmosphere, his mode of life, his conversation, his habits and eccentricities, that I feel as if I had known him thoroughly. One drastic difference between Bruckner and Mahler struck me even then : no feature in Bruckner's personal make-up reflected the greatness and sublimity of his music, while Mahler's person was in full harmony with his work. What a contrast in the very appearance of the 2 Masters ! Gustav Mahler's lean figure, his narrow, longish face, the unusually high, sloping forehead beneath jet black hair, eyes which betrayed the inner flame, the ascetic mouth, his strange, irregular gait (these impressed one as the incarnation of the diabolical conductor Johann Kreisler, the famed musical self) reflecting creation of the poet Ernst Theodor Amadeus (E.T.A.) Hoffmann. Anton Bruckner's short, corpulent, comfortable figure, his quiet, easy manner contrast as strongly as possible with such Romantic appearance. But upon the drab body is set the head of a Roman Cæsar, which might be described as majestic, were it not for the touch of meekness and shyness about the eyes and mouth, giving the lie to tide commanding brow and nose. As might be expected from their contrasting exteriors, the 2 men themselves differed. Bruckner was a retiring, awkward, childishly « naïve » being, whose almost primitive ingenuousness and simplicity was mixed with a generous portion of rustic cunning. He spoke the unrefined Upper-Austrian dialect of the provincial and remained the countryman in appearance, clothing, speech, and carriage till the end, even though he lived in Vienna, a world metropolis, for decades. His conversation never betrayed reading, whether literature or poetry, nor any interest in scientific matters. The broad domains of the intellectual did not attract him. Unless music was the topic, he turned his conversation to the narrow vicissitudes and happenings of everyday existence. Nevertheless, his personality must have been attractive, for almost all reports agree upon the peculiar fascination exerted by his « naïveté », piety, homely simplicity, and modesty, bordering at times on servility, as borne-out by many of his letters. I explain this attractive power of his strange personality to myself as due to the radiance of his lofty, godly soul, the splendor of his musical genius glimmering through his unpretending homeliness. If his presence could hardly be felt as « interesting », it was heart warming, yet, uplifting.

It was entirely otherwise with Mahler, who was as impressive in life as in his works. Wherever he appeared his exciting

personality swayed everything. In his presence, the most secure became insecure. His fascinating conversation was alive with an amazingly wide culture reflecting a world of intellectual interests and an uncommon capacity for swift, keen thinking and expression. Nothing of importance ever thought, accomplished, or created by man was foreign to him. His philosophically trained mind, his fiery soul grasped and assimilated the rich, nourishing intellectual diet without which so Faustian a being could not exist, yet, which could as little satiate or appease him as it had « Faust » . A firm consciousness of God that knew no wavering filled Bruckner's heart. His deep piety, his faithful Catholicism dominated his life, even though it is rather his work that reveals the true greatness of his faith and his relationship to God. Not only his Masses, his « Te Deum » , his devotional choral works, but his Symphonies also (and these before all) sprang from this fundamental religious feeling that swayed Bruckner's entire spirit. He did not have to struggle toward God ; he believed. Mahler sought God. He searched in himself, in Nature, in the messages of poets and thinkers. He strove for steadfastness while he swung between assurance and doubt. Midst the thousand fold, often chaotic impressions of world and life, he tried to find the ruling prime thought, the transcendental meaning. From his Faustian urge for knowledge, from his commotion by the misery of life, from his presentiment of ultimate harmony stemmed the spiritual agitation which poured from him in the shape of music. Change characterized Mahler's life ; constancy Bruckner's. In a certain sense, this is also true of their work. Bruckner sang of his God and for his God, Who ever and unalterably occupied his soul. Mahler struggled toward Him. Not constancy, but change ruled his inner life, hence also his music.

Thus, their work and their nature were in many respects akin, in many at variance. Yet, both belong to that wide, august circle of friends who never abandon us to languish in grief or solitude, but offer us solace in all pain. Theirs is a precious legacy that for all time belongs to us. Those friends are always present. Their spirits dwell in our book chests, music cabinets, in our memory, at our beck and call day and night. Our 2 Masters have long since been received into this circle because they continue the work which the great musicians of the past have left. Great was the difference between the 2, as I have shown ; but conjure-up one and the other is not very distant. Along with Bruckner's music (aside from the described more concrete connections) , there vibrates a secret Mahlerian undertone, just as in Mahler's work some intangible element is reminiscent of Bruckner. From this intuition of their transcendental kinship, it is clearly permissible to speak of « Bruckner and Mahler » ; therefore, it is possible that, despite the differences in their natures, despite the very incompatibility of important features of their work, my unqualified and unlimited love can belong to them both.

(From « Chord and Dischord » , November 1940.)

Gustav Mahler : New Insights into His Life, Times and Work

Edited by Jeremy Barham, University of Surrey, UK Series : Guildhall Research Studies : 5.

Jeremy Barham is Lecturer in Music at the University of Surrey. His research interests include the music of Gustav Mahler ; 19th- and early 20th Century music history and æsthetics, interdisciplinary and cultural studies, film studies and jazz. He is the author of numerous articles on Mahler and editor for « The Cambridge Companion to Mahler » (2005) .

« An annotated edition putting Mahler's reception history back into the wider perspective of German culture. »

(« Gramophone » Magazine.)

...

Alfred Mathis-Rosenzweig, « Gustav Mahler : New Insights into his Life, Times and Work » , translation, annotation and commentary by Jeremy Barham (Guildhall School of Music and Drama / Ashgate, 2007) . The relevant section covers pages 131 to 150.

This torso contains an account of Mahler's apprentice years in which Mathis-Rosenzweig offered a sharply critical, and, in some ways, penetrating, appraisal of Haas's Bruckner project. His basic position was that the 1st Bruckner collected works edition could not be understood outside of the larger context of Nazi cultural and musical propaganda. He emphasized the importance of the Nazis' determination to claim Bruckner as a German composer as part of a larger mission to subsume Austria's cultural and musical development into a larger narrative of « greater Germany » . Mathis-Rosenzweig also contended that Haas's edition was driven in part by a strong desire to claim the copyright of the Bruckner Symphonies away from Universal-Edition, a firm long despised by the Nazi movement, and whose Bruckner publications had received direct financial support from Mahler.

Mahler book gives interesting account of Bruckner's publications

(By John F. Berky)

I recently read an interesting book on Gustav Mahler written by Alfred Mathis-Rosenzweig (1897-1948) . His manuscript for this book, started in 1933 was thought to have been lost but was discovered at the Guildhall School, in 1997, and translated into English, in 2003. In the book, entitled « Gustav Mahler, New Insights into His Life and Work » , the author devotes a large section to Mahler's relationship with Bruckner and his dedication to performing his teacher's music. Further, Mathis-Rosenzweig describes how Mahler pressured Emil Hertzka, the founder of Universal-Edition, to buy-up all the publication rights to Bruckner's Symphonies since they were owned by several smaller publishing firms and recent mergers had made it next to impossible to get any of Bruckner's scores re-printed. Mahler even went so far as to contribute the royalties from his 1st 4 Symphonies to cover the cost of the re-publication of Bruckner's Symphonies which were becoming increasingly scarce. The author, then, delves into the National-Socialist's campaign against Universal-Edition and their condemnation of Bruckner's 1st published editions. Finally, he levels intense criticism at Robert Haas citing that as the editor of the new Bruckner-Edition, Haas should have prepared a detailed analysis of the preparation of Bruckner's scores for publication to help determine exactly what Bruckner had done and how the assistance by his associates and conductors were suggested and incorporated into the published editions. Instead, the author accuses Haas of becoming a public prosecutor of Bruckner's associates in his effort to discredit all of the 1st published editions. It is a fascinating analysis and a highly-recommended book.

...

Alfred Mathis-Rosenzweig (1897-1948) was a Viennese musicologist and critic who studied at the Universities of Budapest and Vienna. From 1933, he embarked on producing a large-scale study of Gustav Mahler but, at the time of his death, the manuscript was left unfinished. Although it was presumed lost until 1997, the unfinished typescript, written in German, had been deposited in the library of the Guildhall School of Music & Drama. In 2003, the School's Research Centre commissioned Jeremy Barham to prepare the 1st published edition of this important work, and his annotations and commentary add invaluable material to his translation of this historic document. Biographical material is used as a loose framework and platform for Mathis-Rosenzweig's profound examination of the environment within which Mahler's earlier music was embedded. This is an environment in which Richard Wagner, Anton Bruckner and Hugo Wolf feature prominently, and in which Mahler's music is viewed from the wider perspective of 19th Century German cultural domination and the subsequent rise of political extremism in the form of Hitlerite fascism.

...

Alfred Rosenzweig (born on 21 August 1897 in Vienna ; died on 11 December 1948 in London) was a Viennese musicologist and critic who studied at the Universities of Budapest and Vienna (1918-1924) . His doctoral dissertation of 1923 « On the Historical Development of Richard Strauß's Music-Dramas » (« Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Richard Strauß'schen Musikdramas ») was examined by Guido Adler and Robert Lach. His work as a critic was undertaken mostly for « Der Wiener Tag » and it was in this paper that he published the article « How Mahler Planned his " 8th " » . The 1st Hand-written Sketch (« Wie Gustav Mahler seine " Achte " plante. Die erste handschriftliche Skizze ») which included a fac-simile of Mahler's little-known 4 movement design of the 8th Symphony and his personal dedication of it to his wife. This article marked the beginnings of Rosenzweig's work towards the production of a large-scale study of the composer. However, his subsequent flight from Austria during the regime of the 3rd « Reich » to England (where he went under the name of Alfred Mathis and began writing for « Music & Letters ») , combined with cardiac medical problems, prevented him from bringing his monumental plans to complete fruition. The typescript was left unfinished, although a substantial amount of the material had been committed to paper and, shortly before his death, Rosenzweig was known to have been in correspondence with Josef Bohuslav Færster (1859-1951) , the Czech composer and close friend of Mahler during his Hamburg and Vienna years, in order to elicit further information for the study. In a recent article by Vladimír Karbusický, a leading authority on Rosenzweig, the typescript is presumed to have been lost. Rosenzweig 1st met the pianist Edith Vogel (born on 1 December 1912 ; died on 15 January 1992) at a recital she gave in Vienna, at the age of 14. They later became lovers and fled Austria for England, separately, in the late- 1930's. Vogel taught at the Guildhall School of Music & Drama, in London (henceforth, Guildhall School) , from this time until shortly before her death. A substantial part of Vogel's Estate was bequeathed to the Guildhall School after the death of her husband, Herbert Jeffrey, in 1997. It was at this point that the « lost » typescript came to light. A draft English translation of the type-written text had been undertaken in close collaboration with Vogel by her acquaintance Laura Wallace, during the 1960's, and this is also to be found in the Rosenzweig collection. A brief report on the typescript together with some short, newly-translated, extracts were published by Herta Blaukopf of the « Internationale Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft » in : « News About Mahler Research » .With the exception of this, no part of the typescript has been publicly disseminated.

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Translator's Note

While certain aspects of Rosenzweig's occasionally awkward style have been « improved » , some of his stylistic idiosyncrasies, such as beginning sentences with « And » , and a degree of repetitive phraseology, have been retained. With the exception of surnames, passages underlined by Rosenzweig are presented here in italics. All notes are editorial unless otherwise marked. Words or phrases that are of dubious or ambiguous meaning are translated, with the original German placed in square brackets immediately after. Rosenzweig consistently uses the terms « alldeutsch » and « großdeutsch » , which have been translated here as « pan-German » and « great-German » , respectively. Rosenzweig perceived the latter as an Austrian movement that included Georg von Schönerer and his followers, and effectively acted as an affiliate to Prussian pan-Germanism. To all intents and purposes, these terms define the same ideologies separated only by geographical boundaries.

...

Given both the difficulties of undertaking archival research in the years surrounding the Second World War and the, then, undeveloped state of Mahler scholarship, the impact of the purely biographical elements of Mathis Rosenzweig's study (which did not, in any case, progress very far) has now diminished, and some of his findings have been superseded in the work of later generations of writers (primarily, Henry-Louis de La Grange's multi-volume biography) . However, despite the declared intent of the 1st volume of the study to chart the life of the composer and, in view of the author's highly-charged political disposition, these biographical elements do not form the main content of the Introduction and initial Chapters of the text. Here, such material is instead used as a loose framework and platform for Mathis-Rosenzweig's profound examination of the late- 19th and turn-of-the-Century political and cultural

environment within which Mahler's music was embedded. This is an environment in which Richard Wagner, Anton Bruckner and Hugo Wolf feature prominently, and in which Mahler's music is viewed from the wider perspective of 19th Century German cultural domination and the subsequent rise of political extremism in the form of Hitlerite Fascism.

It is in these contexts, for example, that the nuances of the Mahler - Wagner relationship are examined by Mathis-Rosenzweig in the « Introduction and Attempt to Set-Out the Problem » by setting Mahler's early Wagner veneration against the later propagandist Bayreuth myths disseminated by Cosima Wagner, which contributed to her opposition to Mahler's appointment at the Vienna « Hofoper » . Further topics addressed in the Introduction include (i) the rarely discussed but related possibility of viewing Mahler as anti-Wagnerian rather than as epigone ; (ii) a critical assessment of the mid-Century condition of Mahler research and of the National-Socialists' « scholarly » reception of his music ; (iii) the historical placement of his music in a specifically Austrian, as opposed to German, Symphonic lineage ; (iv) an examination of the political developments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in which Mahler grew-up ; (v) a subtle pre-Adornian reference to the applicability of the programme music aesthetic to Mahler's Symphonies ; (vi) a discussion of Arnold Schönberg's « Harmonielehre » as one of the earliest and greatest monuments constructed to Mahler ; and (vii) an assessment of the reasons for Mahler's unpopular reception in pre-War western Europe. Some of these ideas are taken-up and developed further in the 1st 2 chapters of the study. For example, the latter part of Chapter 1 (« The Bohemian homeland. Kalischt — Iglau ») deals with Mahler's profound spiritual and musical affiliation with the distinct, non-German culture of eastern Europe. It assesses Mahler's relationship with Bohemian-Moravian folk-music and with the music of Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák and Josef Bohuslav Fěrster - issues that have received only sporadic attention in the literature on the composer. It also confirms the hitherto unknown fact that, in 1901-1902, Mahler made extensive, albeit unfulfilled, plans to perform Dvořák's Opera « Rusalka » , in Vienna. The Rosenzweig Collection at the GSMD also contains copies of 7 previously unpublished letters addressed by, or on behalf of, Mahler to Dvořák, between May 1901 and May 1902, on this subject.

Chapter 2 (« Apprentice Years in Vienna (1875-1879) and their Aftermath ») is the most extensive section of the study in terms of both the depth of discussion and the range of topics addressed. These include (i) details of Mahler's early musical experiences as a boy in Iglau, including a letter from Mahler's father to Gustav Schwarz regarding his prospective study at the Vienna « Conservatoire » , which has not previously been published in the literature on the composer ; (ii) an account of the troubled relationship between Mahler and Wolf ; (iii) an analysis of the historical context and structural elements of the separate Austrian Symphonic lineage broached in the Introduction ; (iv) the influence of National-Socialist music propaganda on early British Mahler reception ; (v) the politicizing of the « New German School » through the force of Wagnerism ; (vi) the consequent ideological distortion of the music and figure of Bruckner ; (vii) associated difficulties pertaining to the early publication of Bruckner's Symphonies ; and (viii) the status of conductors' alterations to Bruckner's scores in performance. Other topics include discussion of the Wolf - Bruckner and Mahler - Bruckner relationships.

While Chapters 3 (« In the Lowlands of Day-to-Day Operatic Life ; 1880-1883 ») and 4 (« Kassel ; 1883-1885 ») contain a smaller quantity of material, the former includes substantial digressions on the political and racial aspects of Wagner's prose writings and an intriguing ideological comparison of Wagner and Verdi as a back-cloth to the outlook

of the young Mahler. The latter Chapter includes brief discussions of the Brucknerian influence on Mahler's « Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen » and 1st Symphony, and of the relation between Song and Symphony, together with a little-known review of the 1885 Kassel Music Festival directed by Mahler, which appeared in the short-lived journal « Parsifal » and which has not previously been published in the Mahler literature.

It is a matter of great regret, of course, that Mathis-Rosenzweig did not live long enough to complement the historical and cultural study presented in the extant typescript with the more detailed and specific musical analysis promised in subsequent Chapters. In addition to the biography (which, according to the author, was itself to be divided into 2 volumes : 1860-1897 and 1897-1911) , the 2nd of which would have included an analysis of his Operatic reforms in Vienna, and both of which would have discussed the works in systematic, chronological fashion - Mathis-Rosenzweig intended to devote separate Chapters, at the end of the 2nd volume, to (i) a study of Mahler's Symphonic structuring processes ; (ii) an examination of practical issues in the interpretation of the Symphonies with reference to the work of contemporary conductors such as Bruno Walter and Otto Klemperer ; and (iii) what would have been one of the earliest critiques of National-Socialist theories of « degenerate art » .

Nevertheless, the unique distinction of Mathis-Rosenzweig's typescript is due to the fact that it is over 50 years old and was written by an Austrian exile in England at a particularly momentous time in the history of the 20th Century, yet, during the nadir of the global understanding and exposure of Mahler's music. The provocative nature of its cultural critique of « great-German Imperialism » and National-Socialist thinking, so rare in the literature on Mahler, is both disconcerting and compelling. It can be seen from the above description and in the following translation that, despite its incomplete condition, the text is valuable not only for its wide-range of incisive cultural, historical and political insights, but also for its own status as a historical document. It offers intriguing interpretations of the reception history and cultural lineages of Mahler's and Bruckner's music, and contributes a highly-politicized dimension to the development of Mahler scholarship located chronologically between the personal testimony of early writers and subsequent objectivised theoretical and interpretative approaches. It should be noted, for example, that Mathis Rosenzweig's Foreword and Introduction were completed a mere 3 months after the conclusion of the War in Europe.

Mathis-Rosenzweig's uncommon and « untimely » awareness in 1945 of the historical, social and cultural importance of Mahler's music can be seen in retrospect to have been courageous, astute and, in fact, particularly well timed. Developments in the global political and social landscape during the subsequent half-Century nurtured cultural sensibilities in such a way that his remarkable predictions of the fate of Mahler's works have been vindicated to an extent that even he could scarcely have imagined.

Rosenzweig's text will, therefore, be of significant interest to scholars of Mahler, Wagner, Bruckner, Wolf, « fin-de-siècle » music in general, the political dimensions of musical historiography, 20th Century reception history in the arts (particularly that of the Austro-German musical repertoire) , the æsthetics of National-Socialist thinking, and the wider cultural politics of late- 19th to mid- 20th Century Europe.

...

At precisely the same time as the great factional struggles around Richard Wagner were raging most violently in Vienna, when the politico-cultural centre of gravity had shifted from Vienna to Berlin and Wagner's music had engulfed the Austrian world like a storm flood burying the proud edifice of Vienna's great 18th Century Operatic tradition, and when Hector Berlioz and Franz Liszt stood at their most dazzling in the public spotlight as the renewers and creators of a new Symphonic art form, the activities of Bruckner had begun in the tranquillity of the Upper-Austrian countryside, far away from the tumult of the wider-world.

It had taken decades for the hitherto unrealized new Symphonic « Will to Form », heralded so promisingly in the work of Franz Schubert, to be given a new lease of life by an Austrian musician who was exactly 3 and a half years old when Schubert died. 1 and a half years later, it transpired that, in the tiny hamlet of Ansfelden, Anton Bruckner's birthplace, the 5 year old boy was called to the death-bed of the 77 year old local priest because he wanted, once more, to bless the one « whose truthfulness and sensitivity (“ Ergriffensein ”) before God deserved his special praise », the « one chosen from the large number of children in the village ». Then, the school teacher's son from Ansfelden, who was already accompanying the singing in the local church at the age of 11, made his ascent to choir boy in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Florian, to school teacher, to organist, and to composition pupil of the famous music theorist Simon Sechter, in Vienna, whose instruction Bruckner enjoyed for a full 6 years until he had himself attained an unparalleled virtuosity in the command of counterpoint and fugal composition. He was 36 years old and held the respected position of Cathedral organist in Linz but was not yet aware of his vocation. During this time, he became acquainted with the score of Richard Wagner's « Tannhäuser » through Otto Kitzler, conductor at the Municipal Theatre in Linz, and this was an overwhelming experience for a man who, until then, had heard almost nothing but church music. Now, he realized that, though he was a Master on the organ and in counterpoint, he would have to become a student, once again, in order to study the Classical Masters, composition and orchestration. After 2 years of further study, the final obstacles that had barred the way to the full-development of his genius were overcome and, at the age of 40, Bruckner wrote his 1st great Masterpiece, the Mass in D minor, composed for the consecration of the New Cathedral (« Neuer Dom ») in Linz and 1st performed there, on 20 November 1864, under his personal direction. Later, Bruckner conducted the work again, in the concert-hall, after which only a few more performances took place in church. The next performance was given exactly 29 years later, on 31 March 1893, in a concert-hall - this time, in Hamburg, and conducted by Gustav Mahler.

After the Mass, however, Bruckner began to wrestle compositionally with Symphonic form and, between 1865 and his death in 1896, his 9 great Symphonies appeared, although he did not live to finish the last of these, completing only the 1st 3 movements of this mighty work and leaving sketches of the Finale.

How did it come about, then, that Bruckner the Upper-Austrian rustic, recumbent in his own special world of organ sounds and Eucharistic splendour, and who had humbly devoted himself to music in order to lend elaborate expression to his feelings of intense mystical inspiration in the face of God, was dragged into the party struggles of a Romantic age completely alien to him to such a degree that arguments continually raged about his life's work as a Symphonist, which, re-inforced with every new intervention, created a Bruckner controversy that has lasted until the present day ? The event that apparently brought this about began in the summer of 1865 when Bruckner travelled to Munich to attend the 1st performance of Richard Wagner's « Tristan und Isolde », which was to take place on 15 May. Since the

premiere had to be postponed until 10 June, however, Bruckner had the opportunity to come into contact with Wagner and Hans von Bülow. By that time, he had completed the 1st 2 movements of his Symphony in C minor and he took the manuscript to Munich with him to continue the work, during which, according to his own assertion, as a result of studying Wagner's music he « felt like a chained dog which had broken free ». The deep love and humblest reverence felt for Wagner by Bruckner and expressed in touchingly naive ways declared itself, thus. But despite every encouragement, he could not yet be persuaded to meet Wagner face to face and he would never have dared to show Wagner the manuscript of his Symphony. Nevertheless, according to his biographer August Göllerich, Bruckner played the 2 completed movements and the Scherzo of the Symphony, written during this time in Munich, to Hans von Bülow who was completely astonished by the music of this completely unknown talent. Several times, he exclaimed :

« How magnificent ! » , and then : « How daring of you ! This is so dramatic ! » whereupon Bruckner merely said :

« It's of no consequence. » (« Dös is' ganz gleich. »)

According to Göllerich, Wagner came in straight after this, and, as Bülow excitedly reported his impressions, said :

« You must show it to me too. »

But the horrified Bruckner refused to do this, later commenting that he did not dare to play Wagner his Symphony.

Von Bülow's favourable opinion of Bruckner's musical abilities appears to have made an impression on Wagner. For when Bruckner, who additionally held the post of director of the Linz Choral Society « Frohsinn » , approached Wagner, some years later, with the request to have a work of his for male choir performed at a great Festival concert given by the Society, Wagner replied in a very cordial letter, on 31 January 1868, pointing-out that although a work for male voices was hard to find amongst his « œuvre » , since Bruckner had informed him that the Festival concert included Orchestra and a female choir :

« I believe I can draw your attention to something very appropriate : the final chorus of my latest dramatic work, " Die Meistersinger ". The score of the 3rd Act should be ready by now, so that you may be able to obtain at least a proof-sheet of this final chorus. I look forward with pleasure to further information. I warmly reciprocate your kind sentiments and remain respectfully your faithful,

Richard Wagner »

The « Frohsinn » Choral Society gave the premiere of the final chorus of « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » in the Festival concert that took place on 4 April 1868 - that is, 3 months before the premiere of the whole work in Munich, on 21 June ; and, from that day on, Bruckner was considered a favourite of the Master by the Austrian Wagner Party and, in particular, by the Wagner Societies. After that, Bruckner's cause became the concern of all Wagnerian organizations and, accordingly, opposition to Bruckner became the battle-cry of the conservative faction that had set Brahms up as a rival king on the escutcheon.

It was then that the misrepresentation and ideological distortion of Bruckner, the man and the musician, began - something that he had to put-up with from friends as well as from opponents. The misrepresentation on the part of Eduard Hanslick, who described Bruckner's works as « giant Symphonic serpents » in one of his articles, or on the part of Johannes Brahms who coined the phrase « Bruckner swindle » (« Bruckner-Schwindel ») was no worse than the misrepresentation on the part of one of his oldest students and disciples, Josef Schalk, who wrote a Nordic mythological commentary to the 8th Symphony. All tried to account for him, in terms of some kind of dependence on different aspects of his environment : on Wagner or on a fusty clericalism to which he had been subjected during a youth spent in lowly positions within the provincial world of an Upper-Austria dominated by episcopal rule. There was hardly anyone who tried to experience and understand Bruckner from the point of view of his « independence » from the cultural mindset of his Romantic surroundings. At best, those closest to him recognized, as the saying went, that the Holy-Trinity for Bruckner consisted of the loving God, his patron the Bishop of Linz, and Richard Wagner. They knew that, for Bruckner, Wagner was above all the great innovator of musical language whose harmony and orchestral palette he made his own. The majority nevertheless believed that this was an end in itself, and did not see that Bruckner took-up the Romantic musical language of his time only in order to master it technically and to create something new from his profoundly individual artistic sensibility, something that, at the same time, represented « the fulfilment and the surpassing of Romantic artistic principles » . Even in the periods between his laborious work, when the man who could only fully express himself in his music indulged in relaxed conversation with his students and followers mostly about his compositions, some of his innocent remarks contributed to the misunderstandings that attached themselves to his name and his work. For example, when he described the famous horn motif at the beginning of his 4th Symphony in E-flat major as the solemn call with which the New Year was heralded from the tower in mediæval Linz, such a remark circulated all the way to the opposing camp. Then, the claim was repeatedly made that his Symphonies were an incoherent combination of Wagnerian tone-paintings - bombastic, extravagant and not even fulfilling the most basic demands of structure and design.

Even by this time, only very few (and the young Mahler may certainly be counted amongst this close circle of chosen ones) were able to see clearly that the principle of realistic tone-painting that played such a significant role in Wagner's music-dramas and in the programme music of Hector Berlioz and Franz Liszt, could offer no conclusive answer to Bruckner, the Symphonist, and that, on the contrary, « Bruckner's main strength was the architectonic element : the formal design of his Symphonies » . For though Wagner's nature motifs, set above an undercurrent of delicate string tremolos, are a characteristic feature of Bruckner's Symphonic themes, and though Bruckner's orchestral palette, in part, contains Wagnerian sound effects, these are only isolated aspects of a Symphonic practice that drew the source of its power from 2 quite different worlds : the world of organ sonorities filling the domes of the 2 Baroque churches of Saint-Florian and Linz, so intimately bound-up with Bruckner's life ; one moment with gentle atmospheric tones, the next with majestic peals ; and the world of the « Austrian country-side » pulsating with the torrid, earthbound life of its people in sturdy, native dance rhythms but also replete with that magical lyricism whose mood found its immortal expression in the music of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert.

As Schubert's successor, Bruckner imparted to music something of great significance and profundity out of this Austrian world : « an architectonic development of the post-Classical Symphony » , which Beethoven himself had already

foreshadowed in the formal experiments of his 9th, and to which Schubert's work had pointed the way with prophetic genius. It was Bruckner's destiny and vocation to travel further down this path and to open it up more and more through his intensive struggle from one work to the next, until Mahler was able to continue along it and lead across into the border regions where the music of the post-Romantic era ebbed away.

Therefore, alongside the post-Classical Symphony's 2 lines of development as interpreted by Paul Bekker, who traced these connections for the 1st time in his book, « Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien » (1921) , the Leipzig circle of « middle-German Symphonists » : Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms ; and the Weimar circle of « New German programme Symphonists » centred on Liszt. A 3rd line of development emerges that, alone, took-up the problem of furthering the architectonic development of the post-Classical Symphony and offered a decisive solution : the « Austrian Finale-Symphonists : Schubert, Bruckner and Mahler » .

...

... from the spiritual revival, following the wars of freedom against Napoleon and foreign domination by the French. In fact, for many the radical artistic nature of the « New German School » allowed German nationalism to continue to appear in a favourable light even at a time when it had long since lost all radical qualities in the « German misery » following the defeat of the 1848 Revolution, and had become the principal basis for reactionary Prussian-Hohenzollern Imperialism. The struggles for and against Richard Wagner and the « New German School » that took place during Mahler's youth, in an Austria up-rooted by national conflicts, must be viewed in this light : it was a battle for and against the artistic ambassadors of a Prussian Imperialism, which was vastly strengthened after the victorious war of conquest against France, viewed the decaying Habsburg Empire as its sphere of influence, and was passionately celebrated by the great-Germans and by the Pan-German politician Georg Ritter von Schönerer's « Free from Rome » movement. They considered the Habsburgs no longer capable of maintaining the German « Master race's » vulnerable position of supremacy over those other peoples of the Dual Monarchy who were awakening into national self-awareness and who were, in turn, vehemently opposed by the Liberal « bourgeoisie » who had secured useful economic positions for themselves during the period of rapid Capitalist expansion in Austro-Hungary. The degree to which these Party struggles involved the erection of artificial barriers not only is shown by the large number of Wagner disciples amongst the circles of « radical » Austrian Jews who unreservedly recognized the genius as well as the artistic and politico-cultural revolutionary in him (long after he had become a renegade and had devoted himself to Heinrich Gotthard von Treitschke (nationalist German historian, political writer and National Liberal member of the « Reichstag » during the time of the German Empire) and to the racial doctrine of Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau) but, also, is demonstrated by the identification of the Austrian Symphonist Anton Bruckner with the affairs of the Wagner Party and the « New German School » .

...

The 15 year old Gustav Mahler, then, was officially enrolled in autumn 1875 as a student at the Vienna « Conservatoire » of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » which, since 1851, had been under the directorship of Josef Hellmesberger. According to the institution's register, Mahler had the following teachers in his principal subjects :

Professor Julius Epstein (piano) ; Professor Robert Fuchs (harmony) ; and Professor Theodor Krenn (counterpoint and composition) . The extraordinary talents of the new student seemed to have been recognized, at once. For, passing over the preliminary classes, Mahler was admitted into Epstein's 1st piano instruction class and, alongside harmony tuition, he received lessons in counterpoint and composition straight away, which was not normal institutional procedure. Mahler must already have produced work of his own whose standard led to such high-estimation of his abilities. Of these teachers, Mahler seems to have been closest to Epstein, for the published letters contain 2 very affectionate ones to this man : one, undated, from Iglau, which must be from 1877, since he mentions passing his matriculation at the school, there. Mahler informs Epstein that he arrived in Iglau several days too late for the end of term, so that he had to postpone his leaving examination until the autumn. He nevertheless hoped to carry-out the holiday task set by Epstein to his full satisfaction. The letter opens with the following words, which indicate the truly cordial relationship that existed between teacher and pupil :

« My dear and revered Master,

You cannot imagine the joy that your esteemed letter has given me ; I really do not know what to say in gratitude for so much kindness. But, even if I were to write page after page in the attempt to express my thanks, it would not amount to anything but : “ How I very like you. ” Let me assure you, this is not just empty talk, but something I really and truly mean. »

Mahler stayed in correspondence with Epstein, long after leaving the « Conservatoire » . For example, he wrote to him from Kassel about the great music Festival he was directing, at the end of his term as conductor, in nearby Münden, asking him to make information about the Festival known in Vienna. Epstein often spoke about his student Mahler, and made no secret of his preference for him. There was also no doubt that Mahler's extraordinary piano playing, which caused a sensation wherever he went, bore eloquent witness to Epstein's teaching abilities. After 1 year at the « Conservatoire » , Mahler won the 1st prize in piano playing at the « end of year » concert for his performance of the 1st movement of Franz Schubert's Sonata in A minor (probably, the Opus 42 - 0845) and, in his 2nd year, again a 1st prize for his performance of Robert Schumann's « Humoreske » . In 1884, Mahler himself admitted to his friend Friedrich Löhr (1859-1924) that, 5 or 6 years earlier, he had certainly been a more able pianist. Löhr described in detail Mahler's piano playing when the composer visited him in Perchtoldsdorf, in 1884 :

« 2 things occupied the foreground in those days, in Perchtoldsdorf : our walks and music, many hours of music. The windows of my room, on the 1st floor of the “ Eder-Haus ” on the market place, were kept closed, despite the summer heat, and, yet, there were always people standing outside, listening.

How few people there are today who know what it meant then to hear Mahler at the piano ! I have never before or since heard such de-materialization of the human, the technical process. Mahler rose inexpressibly above what his hands did. He could never have given an account of how he achieved what he did ; every thought of technical difficulty was utterly cancelled-out ; all was disembodied, purely contemplative, passionately and spiritually concentrated on all that, without conscious physical contact, passed from the keys into his being. In a way, all his own comprehending it with the energy and accomplishment of genius, bringing-out every nuance, every shade of expression,

he caused the music to ring-out with all the force with which it had gushed forth from the soul of its creator. In Beethoven's Sonata Opus 111 (No. 32) , for instance, the storm at the beginning broke-out in a terrible " *mæstoso* ", shatteringly intense, with a wild ferocity such as I have never heard again ; and, similarly, the Finale faded-out, pure, utterly luminous, in loveliest beauty, softly and softlier still, from closest touch with this earth out into eternity.

Yet, what can words convey of how his playing affected one ? I am simply awed by the exalted happiness that was granted to me thinking back now to what Mahler gave me, the sole listener, in those years : all Beethoven's Sonatas, Bach's " *Wohltemperiertes Klavier* ", and many another work of that most beloved Master, and yet more, such as, one unforgettable afternoon in the long-house next to the " *Karlskirche* " (in Vienna) , where Mahler was lodging at the time, the whole of Beethoven's " *Missa solemnis* " played right through without a break. Not long after this, Mahler lost interest in playing the piano and, particularly, works written for the piano, since he had become accustomed to mastering the Orchestra, in that same way. But anyone who, in those early days, heard him at the piano, in the truest sense of the word reproducing the music, understood him, and what he could do, and his early destiny as a conductor.

»

We have far less accurate information about Mahler's beginnings as a composer. Teachers and fellow students alike were full of admiration for the wealth of ideas in the compositions of Mahler's youth, most of which he destroyed himself. Of these early works, the Scherzo of a Piano Quintet and a Violin Sonata were performed in public, in « end of term » concerts at the « *Conservatoire* » . The Scherzo of the Piano Quintet, played at the end of the 1875-1876 academic year, won Mahler the 1st prize for composition. In the following year, while he took part again in the piano competition and, as already mentioned, won 1st prize for his performance of the Schumann « *Humoreske* » , he declined to enter the composition competition. In his 3rd and final year, 1877-1878, he withdrew from the piano competition but took part in the composition competition. The fact that, on this occasion, his Violin Sonata was played, one of his earlier and weaker student works, was not Mahler's fault but happened entirely against his will.

This incident, whose background was revealed for the 1st time in Natalie Bauer-Lechner's interesting book, « *Recollections of Gustav Mahler* » , sheds a very clear light on his apprentice years at the Vienna « *Conservatoire* » and how the young Mahler stamped his personality on his relationship with teachers and fellow students. Having said before that both teachers and fellow students were full of admiration for the wealth of ideas in Mahler's youthful compositions which he, himself, thought little of and destroyed, it must be added that the main reason for this admiration was the fact that he attended the « *Conservatoire* » classes in harmony, counterpoint and composition with Professors Fuchs and Krenn only very irregularly and, yet, always had brilliant command of all these subjects.

« Mahler always played truant and, yet, there was nothing he couldn't do. » , said Fuchs when questioned by Alma Mahler.

It was unanimously reported in all contemporary sources that Mahler was called « the new Schubert » by all his colleagues.

Mahler was reproached for taking passages differently from the usual practice, he used to retort impatiently :

« What is called tradition is usually an excuse for slovenliness (“ Schlämperei ”) . »

Of course, he did not mean the « tradition » that emerges from the style of an artwork and is necessary for its interpretation, but rather the entrenched interpretations and « clichés » resulting from the indifference and slovenliness of everyday activity to which the musical « lovers of routine » (« Routiniers ») and the public had grown unthinkingly accustomed.

It would be wrong, however, to suppose that poverty completely prevented the young Mahler and his 2 room-mates from attending musical events. After all, there were the reduced student tickets available for a few « Kreuzer » that enabled students of the University, the technical « Hochschule » and the « Conservatoire » to visit the standing-room area or the fourth gallery of the Vienna Hofoper, and the « Conservatoire » additionally received free tickets that it could distribute for almost all musical events. A trip to the Opera was nonetheless a great occasion in the life of the 3 young music students. Alma Mahler reports in her memoirs how the 3 discovered Richard Wagner’s « Götterdämmerung » together and, drunk with passion in their room after the performance, they burst into the trio of Günther, Brünnhilde and Hagen. It was such an almighty din that the enraged landlady gave them notice on the spot and would not budge until they had packed their belongings and vacated the room.

The early friendship between Mahler and Wolf had a tragic ending. The 1st seeds of discord sprang from an artistic proposal that Wolf talked-over with Mahler. Wolf had the idea, long before Engelbert Humperdinck composed « Hänsel und Gretel » , of writing a fairy-tale Opera. They discussed this in detail, mulling over numerous subjects and, finally, deciding that a setting of the fairy-tale « Rübezahl » would be most suitable. Mahler was so enthusiastic about the idea that he drafted a scenario that same evening, even completing a libretto, which he showed Wolf straight away. But Wolf had had a different idea altogether : he considered the plan for such a fairy-tale Opera to be his exclusive intellectual property and felt cheated by Mahler’s action. He also had begun work on « Rübezahl » , in the meantime, but, now, the idea had been spoilt for him. He gave it up, while Mahler continued working on it, until by 1882, he had set most of the text, though he was never to finish it. Almost all the Mahler literature agrees that, together with the manuscripts of his other juvenilia, including the Piano Quintet, Violin Sonata, the Operas « Herzog Ernst von Schwaben » and « Die Argonauten » (whose text was drawn-up in alliterative verse) , the « Nordic Symphony » and other sketches for orchestral works, « Rübezahl » was destroyed on Mahler’s instructions. However, Alma Mahler reports in her memoirs that Mahler’s sister, Justine, secretly preserved the manuscript of « Rübezahl » and, once out of curiosity, even showed it to the stage-designer Alfred Roller, Mahler’s closest collaborator at the Vienna Opera. When Roller casually remarked :

« “ Justi ” gave me a youthful work of Mahler’s to read yesterday » , Mahler was deeply shocked and very embarrassed that Roller, so scrupulous in artistic matters, had managed to see one of the early works that he, himself, had disowned. This led to a serious dispute between brother and sister. Justine swore that she had burned the manuscript in the presence of her husband, Arnold Rosé, but Mahler would not believe her and threatened to leave for America without saying goodbye to her. Shortly before Mahler’s departure for New York, in 1908, Justine admitted to her sister-in-law, Alma, that she had not burned the « Rübezahl » manuscript, but had « sent it after him the

moment he had left (for Bremen) » where he would find it waiting for him, before boarding the ship at Cuxhaven. Whether Mahler received the manuscript in this way, or whether he destroyed it, or preserved it after all, is not reported in Alma's memoirs. There can be no doubt, however, that, even in later years, Mahler must have thought something of his libretto for « Rübezahl » for, in spring 1896, he wrote to his composer and musicologist friend Max Marschalk (music correspondent for the « Vossische Zeitung » since 1895, whose Operas « In Flammen » , « Lobetanz » and « Wichtelchen » interested Mahler) that he would bring the libretto of his early Opera « Rübezahl » with him, on his next trip to Berlin. At the time, Marschalk was looking for suitable material for a fairy-tale Opera, but could not warm to Mahler's text, not that the latter thought badly of this :

« Do not waste another thought on poor “ Rübezahl ” » , wrote Mahler to Marschalk, in May 1896 :

« I have quite grown-out of him, by now. It was just one of those momentary impulses that caused me to look it out from among my papers for you. I can quite imagine that you (coming to it with a fresh eye) also cannot warm-up to that flight of youthful fancy. »

The correspondence with Marschalk, incidentally, reveals a characteristic of Mahler's that was to have a decisive effect on the relationship with his early friend Wolf : his inability to approve completely of a musical work without being in profound spiritual harmony with the personality of its creator. The uncompromising honesty and integrity displayed by Mahler here is remarkable. He was not afraid of explaining in a completely straight forward manner to the powerful music-critic, a keen supporter of Mahler as composer, what was wrong with his Operas ; he wanted to stimulate and improve him through his criticism. And when Marschalk, who fully appreciated this, once wrote to Mahler that he should not be concerned that any criticism of his, however negative, could change anything in his own positive opinion of Mahler's music, the latter admitted the following in a letter from Hamburg, dated 24 April 1896 :

« Dear Friend,

In haste, another emendation ! From the very beginning, I assumed that any adverse criticism of your work on my part would not alter your opinion of my ability ! And this being so, I should never have hesitated (whatever the risk) to open my mind to you with complete candour. But, believe me, as a man of greater experience : a close relationship between 2 people is endangered in the long-run if one of them has to take a negative, i.e. “ uncomprehending ”, attitude to the other's work. For what, basically, does “ I do not like it ” mean other than “ I do not understand it ” ?

That Mahler offered the « Rübezahl » text to his friend Marschalk may, perhaps, have been an unconscious reaction to the experience of losing Wolf's friendship over the same work. In fact, Wolf had never forgiven him for appropriating the « Rübezahl » idea. The friendship between Mahler and Wolf gradually cooled, not least because of Wolf's eccentric, over-excitabile nature, but also no doubt because of his increasing sympathy for the great-German and anti-Semitic Wagner movement. Yet, one cannot reproach Wolf for having brushed Mahler aside in the face of the anti-Semites. There were things that united them, over and above all, that divided them : their boundless enthusiasm for Wagner and their deep love of Bruckner, whom Wolf got to know personally, a few years later, than Mahler. It was somewhat

symbolic when, after a separation of several years, the 2 former friends met each other on the Festival hill, in Bayreuth, before the performance of « Parsifal », passing each other with but a curt greeting. Memories of Wolf during his student years in Vienna, nevertheless, remained fresh for Mahler many years later in terms of the latter's remark that he would only give-up his independence and accept a post « when he was appointed God of the Southern Zones ». Bruno Walter reported in his book of recollections that, during Mahler's period at the Hamburg Theatre, he inexpressibly longed for « his familiar Vienna and its incomparable musical climate ». When the door-bell rang, he often used to call-out :

« Here comes my appointment as the God of the Southern Zones ! »

That was in 1895 and it would take another 2 years for his wish to be fulfilled.

To begin with, Wolf enthusiastically welcomed Mahler's appointment at the Vienna « Hofoper », on artistic and personal grounds, and had great hopes for it. Just 3 weeks after the famous « Lohengrin » performance, on 11 May 1897 (Mahler's 1st appearance on the podium of the Vienna Opera), Wolf reported to his mother in a letter of 4 June 1897 that his Opera « Der Corregidor » would certainly be performed in the coming season. Wolf wrote :

« Today, I received explicit assurance from the new conductor Mahler (an old friend of mine) . He is now all-powerful at the Vienna Opera. He, himself, is going to rehearse and conduct my work, which is all the more acceptable to me because Mahler is more capable than anyone else of familiarizing himself with my artistic intentions. »

Early in the new season, after the summer holidays, when Mahler conducted the complete « Ring » cycle for the 1st time - an event that sent the whole of Vienna into raptures, and even had to be recognized by the Austrian Wagner faction (mobilized against Mahler by Hans Richter because, unlike Richter, he no longer permitted the cuts that were usually made in Vienna) - Wolf wrote an enthusiastic critique in the « Wiener Salonblatt » of 25 August 1897, saying amongst other things :

« Here, as in the whole of the “ Ring ”, we were allowed to hear what we have never heard before and had already given-up on, other than seeing in the score. »

Wolf expressed similar enthusiasm about Mahler's performance as conductor of the « Ring » tetralogy in a letter to Paul Müller of 1 September 1897, in which he prophesied that the Viennese performances of Wagner's works would soon become the model for all other Opera Houses, and that one had Mahler to thank for all this because he had truly put an end to the old sloppy routine.

The final break between Wolf and Mahler that took place just a few weeks later, in all probability on 16 or 17 September 1897, was therefore all the more tragically affecting. While he was in the middle of working on his 2nd Opera, « Manuel Venegas », Wolf sent a letter on 15 September to his friend Michæl Haberlandt in which he described his creative fervour in high-flown language already bordering on insanity, and asked for his immediate visit so that he could play him the new work. Haberlandt found Wolf in a disturbing state of extreme excitation. To please Wolf, he

promised to arrange a party on one of the coming Sundays at friends of theirs, in Mödling, where he could play the music of « Manuel Venegas » , for the 1st time, to a group of his closest associates.

Either on the same day or the day after, Wolf presented himself to Mahler at the « Hofoper » in this intense and clearly highly-agitated mood. Mahler welcomed his former friend and room-mate into his office. Never did the contrasts between the 2 stand-out more markedly and alarmingly : Mahler having risen brilliantly to reach the height of his achievements and career ; and Wolf, pale and emaciated with a crazed look in his eye. What, then, actually transpired between the 2 great artists (both as, yet, unknown composers struggling for recognition) has been reported in various conflicting versions depending on whether the source in question represents Wolf's or Mahler's viewpoint. Of course, it was chiefly Wolf's friends, filled with excessive hatred for Mahler, who strove in words and print to blame him for Wolf's outbreak of madness. Since Wolf was no longer in a position to care for himself after the onset of his brain condition, which was quickly revealed to be paralysis, his friends, having founded the « Hugo Wolf Society » in 1895, in Vienna, paid for his maintenance in an asylum and looked after the interests of his works. The treasurer of the « Hugo Wolf Society » , which was closely connected to the Wagner Society, was the well-known jeweller Theodor Köchert at whose Estate, « Puchschacher » near Traunkirchen, Wolf had often stayed. Köchert was a radical great-German and anti-Semite who would later exercise a disastrous influence in Republican Austria on the transformation of the Vienna « Concert-Hall Society » (« Mener Konzerthausgesellschaft » , of which he was president) into a cleverly disguised illegal Nazi organization. One can imagine the kind of smear campaign that was carried-out on the part of the « Hugo Wolf Society » against Mahler, the Opera director.

In his book, « Der Hugo Wolf-Verein in Wien » , Heinrich Werner described as follows how the last meeting between Mahler and the already deranged composer is supposed to have gone according to Wolf's information :

« In the middle of his work on “ Manuel Venegas ”, that is, in a typical state of creative excitement, Wolf looked for Mahler in the “ Hofoper ” and found the score of Rubinstein's “ Dämon ” , lying open on his desk. The 2 of them fell into an argument about the merits of this Opera, during which Mahler appears to have made some “ less-than-complimentary ” remarks about “ Corregidor ” , casting serious doubt on a performance in the immediate future. Extremely agitated by this latest disappointment, an embittered Wolf left the Director's office, and that horrifically insane idea which was never to leave hold of him stuck its iron claws into his vengeful mind : he, himself, had become the director of the Opera and would drive Mahler away in disgrace. »

... opposition to his work at the Opera, but also led to Wolf universally going down in history as a martyr, as a victim of the Opera director Mahler who drove him to insanity. This has always been viewed in the various publications purely from the standpoint of the Wolf party.

Conclusive proof that Alma Mahler's account is not only credible but, also, the only correct and feasible one is shown by new material on the mentally ill Hugo Wolf published by Robert Hernried in the January 1940 and January 1945 issues of the American music journal, « The Musical Quarterly » . For the sake of brevity, we will refer to the 2nd of the 2 studies, which appeared in this journal under the title, « Hugo Wolf's “ 4 Operas ” » , with Unpublished Letters from Hugo Wolf, Rosa Mayreder and Oskar Grohe. Hernried remarked, by way of introduction, that although we regard

Wolf songs above all as the most valuable and characteristic part of his output, he nevertheless clung fanatically to his Operatic plans, the 1st performance of his Opera « Der Corregidor » in Mannheim, on 7 June 1896, representing for him the high-point of his compositional career. Herfried then continued :

« Basing my account on unpublished letters, I have described in some detail (in the January 1940 issue of “ The Musical Quarterly ”) how passionate, how arrogant, and therefore unrestrained, the fervid artist’s behaviour was on the occasion of the Opera’s premiere. It was not as a petitioner that he approached Director (Intendant) Bassermann ; instead (with his friend Judge Oskar Grohe always acting as intermediary) , he insisted on his rights in a way that is truly astounding. Thus, on April 26, 1896, he wrote to Grohe :

“ If the work is not definitely to be performed on May 22, but only on 31 May, I shall not appear at the premiere. I wish to be notified before May 12. ” »

The demand, so emphatically expressed by Hugo Wolf, that his Opera had to be performed on 22 May without fail and not a mere 9 days later, is connected to the fact that the birthday of his beloved Richard Wagner fell on 22 May. Without regard for whether this was compatible with the technical preparations for the premiere of the Opera, Wolf entrusted his go-between with a dictatorial demand to the director of the Mannheim Theatre that was simply impossible to fulfil. « Der Corregidor » could be staged neither on 22 May nor even on the date proposed by the Theatre (31 May) , but only on 7 June. Fortunately, Oskar Grohe seems to have recognized that, passing on Wolf completely unjustified demand to the Intendant Bassermann, would have led to its certain rejection and, perhaps, even to a serious conflict with the management of the Mannheim Theatre. So, he intervened and managed to pacify the composer who, even then, was no longer in complete control of his senses.

1 year later, in September 1897, when Wolf stood face to face with Mahler in the director’s office in the Vienna Opera, the situation was essentially the same, only the favourable conditions that, in Mannheim, had led to an amicable settlement of the matter were lacking : the mental illness, diagnosed long before by an ophthalmologist who was removing a small grain of coal dust from Wolf’s eye, had meanwhile progressed ; friends who could, perhaps, have calmed him down were not present ; furthermore, Mahler was not just some theatre director unknown to him in a distant town like Mannheim but a former friend of his youth and, also, a composer himself, so that an element of jealousy was involved which, according to Max Auer in his biography of Bruckner, dogged Wolf even in his relationship with the old Master he loved. It is, therefore, a tendentious falsifying of the facts on the part of Heinrich Werner and the Wolf faction not to admit openly that, right at the beginning of the conversation, Wolf imperiously made the unrealistic and quite unreasonable demand for an « immediate » performance of « Der Corregidor » at the Vienna Opera.

At this point, the relations between Mahler and Wolf need to be examined in more detail because, as previously mentioned in connection with Marschall, they show a certain side of Mahler’s nature that was strongly marked from his earliest youth until the end of his life : « his uncompromising integrity in matters of artistic conviction » . Just as he was able unhesitatingly to sacrifice the performance of his early Symphony by the « Conservatoire » student Orchestra, because the favouring of his own work over what he considered to be the better and more valuable work

of his fellow student and friend, Hans Rott, seemed to him unfair (something that he even dared say openly to director Hellmesberger) , so equally he could not, against his better judgement, perform a work such as Wolf's « Der Corregidor » , which he thought weak, at a time when a bad failure would jeopardize his substantial and far-reaching plans for reform of the Opera. It has already been suggested that the human dimension played a specific part in this. Certainly, he was an old friend of Wolf's, and Wolf was well aware of this. But he knew Wolf « too well » . He was the complete opposite to Hugo Wolf - as song composer and as Symphonist. Just as Mahler privately rejected Wolf's Opera « Der Corregidor » , so he also rejected his songs in spite of their magnificent qualities, because their basic formal principles did not correspond with his own. If Wolf called his song-books « little Operas » when they consisted entirely of settings of a single poet's work, then, his Opera « Der Corregidor » was not stage-music but a song-book full of exquisite melodic flowerings. As lyricists, both Wolf and Mahler took Franz Schubert as their starting-point. They each chose a particular type of Schubert song as their compositional model, extending it and taking it to its highest-level of perfection : Wolf took the type of « declamatory » song in which the voice is completely subordinated to speech rhythms while the essential musical content is determined by the colouristic formulation of the accompaniment ; Mahler took the « through-composed » song that had already been significantly developed by Robert Schumann, and now, in his hands, was expanded into the Symphonic. In contrast to Wolf's, his melodic writing is not primarily adapted to the accents of speech but grows-out of the changing moods and emotional content of the poetry.

The human and ideological opposition between Hugo Wolf and Gustav Mahler is revealed most clearly in their attitude towards Anton Bruckner, then, a teacher at the Vienna « Conservatoire » and still the subject of controversy as a composer. Mahler was already a member of Bruckner's closest circle as a « Conservatoire » student in the mid-1870's, while Wolf first met him, in 1884, at the Feast of « Corpus Christi » , in Klosterneuburg. From January of that year, Wolf had begun to produce his famous music-criticisms in the « Wiener Salonblatt » and, on 28 December 1884, his first impassioned critique appeared of a semi-public concert in which Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk performed parts of Bruckner's Symphonies as a piano duet. Although Wolf expressly highlights Bruckner's originality and inventiveness, and compares the wealth of his imagination and the quality of his inspiration with George Crabbe, even William Shakespeare, he could not help but comment on the lack of continuity and the « formlessness of the development » which meant that the consistently « glorious ideas » did not support that masterful kind of structure that was admired so much in Beethoven.

From then on, however, fanfare upon fanfare for Bruckner issued from Wolf's pen in the « Salonblatt » , together with simultaneous unrestrained attacks on Johannes Brahms. Wolf promoted Bruckner as representative of the « New German School » centred around Richard Wagner and Franz Liszt, in the same way that the Wagner Society tirelessly promoted the works of Bruckner and Wolf in its meetings, particularly from 1887, when Bruckner's student Josef Schalk took-over as its director. About the time that Wolf began to write about Bruckner, at the end of 1884, the latter enjoyed a conspicuously favourable turn in his fortunes through his first great success : the first performance in Leipzig of his 7th Symphony under the direction of his student, Arthur Nikisch. Now, the spell had been broken ; Wolf could bang the drum for the Bruckner movement all the more effectively. He was richly-rewarded for this by Bruckner, to whom he regularly played his latest songs, and who was one of the first to recognize Wolf's genius.

« Where the devil did you get these chords from ? » , the old Master cried admiringly on hearing the trilled 6/5

chord in the introduction to Wolf's song, « Seemanns Abschied » , for the 1st time.

The world of Romantic harmony through which Bruckner's creative path threaded its way, approaching from far distances and leading to distant horizons, was the area in which Wolf could truly come close to the great Symphonist. Whether he was completely open to the innermost mysteries of Bruckner's Symphonic world is a question that remains to be answered in spite of Wolf's passionate enthusiasm and his unswerving loyalty to him. It is known that Wolf « felt slighted » , according to Max Auer, when Bruckner finally began to have some success with his works. This may have contributed to the opinion of Ernst Kurth, the greatest and most profound musicological interpreter of Bruckner, who states, in a footnote to his monumental study, that :

« Hugo Wolf, always over-excited, could not help muddying his friendship with Bruckner. »

Anton Bruckner's relationship with Gustav Mahler was quite different. The son of the Jewish distiller who left Iglau, in 1875, to go to the Vienna « Conservatoire » where Bruckner was teaching (although he was not to become his student) seems to have come into personal contact with the Master very quickly. So writes Guido Adler, a member of Bruckner's closest circle of students and the 1st systematic biographer of Mahler, who describes the far-reaching historical significance of the friendship between the old Master and the young « Conservatoire » student, calling Bruckner : Mahler's « adopted mentor » . In her memoirs, Alma Mahler also includes important new material on Mahler's attitude towards Bruckner, shedding further light on this relationship.

Mahler arrived in Vienna in the same year that Richard Wagner conducted the Vienna Philharmonic and, personally brought to the Orchestra's attention, the extraordinary qualities of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony, of which he was the dedicatee. Despite or perhaps precisely because of these qualities, the Philharmonic had twice rejected the work as « unplayable » . The great Bruckner devotee, Johann von Herbeck, attempted to revise this judgment. Having fallen-out with the Philharmonic and the « Hofoper » after working there for 5 years as director, worn down by intrigues and the incessant witch-hunt, and finally being forced to resign, Herbeck had returned to his former post as concert director of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » : the man whom Bruckner had begged to bring him from Linz to Vienna so that he might gain a position as teacher at the « Conservatoire » and be able to devote time to composing, had, now himself, been treated cruelly by fate. Not realizing his vocation as composer until he had reached a ripe age and concerned that he might never be able to complete his immense life's task, Bruckner, the cathedral organist in Linz, addressed an emotional plea for help to the, then, director Herbeck :

« I place my fate and my future in your hands. From the bottom of my heart, I beg you to save me, or else, I am lost. »

And Herbeck procured for him the post occupied by the « Conservatoire » 's eminent composition teacher, Simon Sechter, who had recently died. Now, almost a decade later, Herbeck, the formerly triumphant conductor, was himself fulfilling the profoundly hopeless destiny of Austrian musicians in Vienna : capital of a collapsing Empire that was riven by national struggles. He became doubly aware of the tragedy of Bruckner, a composer who had already completed his 4th and 5th Symphonies, without the 3rd even having been performed on account of its dedication to Wagner. Every

avenue was barred to Bruckner because Eduard Hanslick, powerful music-critic of the « Neue freie Presse », avid Wagner opponent and spokesman for the conservative music camp centred around Brahms, saw him as Wagner's shadow. But Herbeck, a former pupil at the monastery of Heiligenkreuz, was better able to recognize that Bruckner stood, outside and above, the contemporary factional in-fighting into which he had been born ; he accepted the 3rd Symphony, outlawed and ostracized by the Philharmonic, into his « Gesellschaft » Concert series. However, fate again was not on Bruckner's side. His supporter Herbeck died, and when the work was due to be performed in 1877, there was no conductor in the whole of Vienna, the great city of music, brave enough to conduct a concert containing the 1st performance of the 3rd Symphony. Bruckner, himself, had to take to the conducting podium to look after his woebegotten child and, with the derision of the performers during rehearsal, the scene was set for the only case of a composer's martyrdom in the whole of recent music history. As the Symphony took shape for the 1st time, in real instrumental sound, the peals of laughter ringing-out from the players' desks struck Bruckner full in the face. When the composer stopped the music and tried to make himself understood to the Orchestra, witty remarks began to be muttered and the high-spirited antics escalated. Then, came the notorious performance in the Great Hall of the « Musikverein » with the audience's organized « mass-exodus » during the Finale, which actually consisted of the noisy departure of the Brahmsians followed by the public, because it was fashionable for the Liberal « bourgeoisie » to favour Brahms against Bruckner - something that Hanslick ...

...

... described his particularly curious experience of hearing 2 movements from Gustav Mahler's 6th Symphony and « a » Symphony by Anton Bruckner at the famous Dresden « Hofkapelle » concerts. (The nature of this description indicates unequivocally that he was dealing with Bruckner's 5th Symphony !) Thoroughly good natured and full of youthful freshness, the Englishman Arnold Bax reported that, apart from the « heavenly length » of the Symphony (meant ironically of course) , he had no other recollection of the work except the Finale. This recollection is described as follows :

« The Finale was cast in the shape of a formidably dull fugue and, as it showed signs of approaching its peroration, I thought to myself that, seldom or never, had I heard any Orchestra pile-up such a prodigious volume of sound. It was at this precise moment that an army corps of brass instruments, which must have been crouching furtively behind the percussion, arose in their might and weighed in over the top with a Chorale, probably intended by the pious composer as an invocation to “ Der alte deutsche Gott ” » .

To emphasize this all the more, in the original English text of his memoirs, Bax uses the actual German words « Der alte deutsche Gott » in quotation marks. He called Mahler an « eccentric, long-winded, muddle-headed and, yet, always interesting composer » and described his music as follows :

« The restless perversity of the very individual orchestration excited me tremendously. I marvelled at the strange juxtaposition of the driest “ Kapellmeisterlich ” formulas and heart-wrung melodies and harmonies which might have been the outpouring of a Promethean grief. And those gawky Scherzos, interminable “ Ländlers ”, with knobs on (and indeed, spikes !) . These works of the oddly laboriously minded Jew are still a matter for squabbling amongst amateurs

of the art, and I doubt if they will ever be fully understood, or even whether the composer himself had any vision in continuity of what he was driving at. »

It should be stressed that Bax's memoirs, from which these citations are taken, were published in 1943, and so, were presumably written in 1942 (in any case, in the middle of the War against Adolf Hitler's Fascist Germany) and that we are dealing here with the statements of a notable English composer in the exalted position of « Master of the King's Music » whom one certainly cannot accuse of unpatriotic « Germanophilia » . Nevertheless, the effect of National-Socialist music propaganda, as it developed from the earlier great-German annexing technique, was so strong that even an intelligent and well-meaning Englishman such as Bax unconsciously came under its influence and spoke its language without giving a thought to the fact that Bruckner and Mahler embody the quintessence of an « Austrian » musical culture whose innermost substance is often diametrically opposed to Imperial Germany's and, in any case, is completely independent of it.

One can, therefore, see how even widely accessible and verifiable facts of music history can easily be falsified and concealed, let alone such a minute biographical detail as the amicable relationship between Bruckner, a composer often misunderstood even by his own followers, and the « Conservatoire » student Gustav Mahler. How significant was it that, as some books pointed-out, Mahler was often to be seen dining with Bruckner and his students in the back rooms of certain Viennese restaurants ; that the Master mostly appeared at his University lectures in the company of the young Mahler and left again with him ? It was also striking that, among the countless Bruckner anecdotes in circulation, one never heard Ernst Décsey's report of how Bruckner would discuss the Jewish question with his students (who needless to say were under the powerful influence of Richard Wagner's writings, especially « Das Judentum in der Musik ») and out of consideration for Mahler and several other Jewish students present would always refer to Jews as the « Honourable Israelites » .

For the fact that the deeply religious Catholic Bruckner could never be anti-Semitic suited neither his German nationalist followers in the Wagner Society nor his Brahms-loving opponents from the Liberal camp who particularly wanted to view him, and attack him, as a chauvinistic Wagnerian.

Several other inconspicuous accompanying circumstances have not been properly considered, and this may have contributed to the deliberate obscuring of the relationship between Bruckner and the young Mahler. As mentioned previously, Mahler was recognized among the « Conservatoire » students as one of the greatest compositional talents, and this had even led to his nickname « the new Schubert » . With the exception of his piano professor Julius Epstein, his relations with his teachers were very lax : he distinguished himself in lessons with professors Robert Fuchs and Theodor Krenn through frequent absence, although as Fuchs remarked :

« There was nothing he couldn't do in the theoretical subjects. »

On the other hand, there was Mahler's particularly close friendship with the young Hans Rott, a pupil of Bruckner who had a similarly marked talent for composition. The young Mahler was probably introduced to Bruckner by Rott. His relationship with Bruckner must have begun in his very 1st years at the Vienna « Conservatoire » , otherwise, he

would not have been found among the small group of supportive and comforting disciples surrounding Bruckner in his deep despair after the 1st performance of the 3rd Symphony, in the empty hall of the « Musikverein ». And, besides, Bruckner must already have been on particularly close terms with Mahler, at that time, and must have been convinced of the latter's extraordinary gifts to have conferred upon him the distinction of preparing the 4 hand piano transcription of the 3rd Symphony for publication by Theodor Rättig. Piano versions of the Master's Symphonies had hitherto been the exclusive privilege of his own students, in particular, the brothers Josef and Franz Schalk, later joined by a 3rd Bruckner pupil, Ferdinand Löwe. These 3 individuals formed Bruckner's closest « body-guard » ; they were always around him, trying to make themselves useful to him (a man who lived only for his music) occasionally tyrannizing him over material matters and jealously guarding his every step in their youthful devotion.

There can be little doubt that the distinction Bruckner bestowed on Mahler in assigning to him the completion of the piano edition was felt as a snub by the Master's « body-guard » and aroused considerable jealousy towards the « Jewish intruder ». Based on Mahler's own information, Alma Mahler describes this in her memoirs as follows :

« Bruckner had 2 pupils who made all the piano scores of his Symphonies but seem to have bullied and tormented him. They were 2 brothers called Schalk. Bruckner was very fond of Mahler and entrusted the piano duet edition of his 3rd Symphony to him. When Mahler brought him the 1st movement, Bruckner was childishly pleased and said with a roguish smile : “ Now, I shan't need the Schalks any more ! ” This saying became a household word with us and was dragged-in on all possible, and impossible, occasions. »

In those early days, Mahler used often to foregather with Bruckner at midday. Bruckner stood the beer and Mahler had to pay for his own rolls ; but as he generally had no money, he had to make his midday meal on beer alone. Bruckner was always surrounded by large numbers of young musicians, to whom he talked with child-like unrestraint. But if there were Jews present, he always (if he had occasion to say anything about Jews) gave them the courtesy title of « the Honourable Israelites » .

However, in view of the course of Mahler's development, Bruckner's friendly attitude towards the young composer must be attributed with, yet, further significance. In the private conversations between him and the Master (and Guido Adler has confirmed that Mahler made frequent visits to Bruckner's apartment on Hessgasse) , Bruckner's works were certainly the main topic. In his profound isolation in the vast city where he felt like an outsider at a time when his music was still very much doubted, Bruckner had a particular fondness for anyone he presumed not only to be enthusiastic about his music but also to have a deeper understanding of it. This was certainly the case with his own students, the Schalk brothers and Löwe. But theirs was merely the understanding of sound, practical musicians. With the young Mahler, who was already recognized, at the time, as an extraordinary compositional talent without having written a single work that truly bore the stamp of genius, Bruckner stood before an « as yet unknown » creative musician who was destined to be the only one of his era to continue Bruckner's artistic heritage as a Symphonist.

We do not know exactly what took place in the conversations between Bruckner and the « Conservatoire » student, Mahler. We do not know whether the Master opened-up completely to the young musician, whether as a mystic who strove for the redeeming, all-encompassing God in his music, he seized upon words, for once, to introduce a disciple to

the innermost substance of his Symphonic conception, or whether from the beginning there existed in the young Mahler a special understanding of Bruckner's new kind of Symphonic practice that was mistaken by his contemporaries and by several subsequent generations for an artistic defect. Whatever the case, Mahler's artistic development clearly showed that, at some point, he recognized the true significance of Bruckner's unique Symphonic technique as a new Symphonic « Will to Form » (« Formwille ») to which was assigned not only the creation of wide-ranging architectonic connections between the individual parts of a movement (one part compellingly preparing another and allowing what follows to grow organically out of what has gone before) but, also, the formation of a new overall coherence between the individual movements of a Symphony.

Wherein lay the historical significance of Bruckner's new Symphonic « Will to Form » ? We must realize that, within the development of the Classical Symphony from lesser Masters in Vienna and Mannheim, and only a few years after being raised to the height of universal musical perfection by the 1st of the great Viennese Masters, Franz-Josef Haydn, potent forces began to bring about a process of gradual change in its construction. In the case of Mozart and Haydn, the main weight of the Symphony lay in the 1st movement with its Sonata-form structure and the organization of its thematic material ; then, the 2nd, slow movement brought lyrical relaxation ; the 3rd provided lively contrast, originally in the form of minuet dance rhythms but, later, extensively re-developed and transformed by Beethoven into the Scherzo ; and the 4th movement, Finale, brought the Symphony to a joyous conclusion initially in Rondo-form. However, it was already clear from Mozart's last Symphonies that such an excess of weight attached to the Sonata-form construction of the 1st movement must have been felt by composers as a constraint. For in his « Jupiter » Symphony in C major, Mozart reduced the traditional predominance of the 1st movement and increased the Finale's significance through the unusually bold and novel combination of Sonata-form and fugue. Built on no fewer than 5 themes, the Finale's fugue unfolds before us as a Sonata movement, and Mozart crowns his work with unrivalled Mastery through this entirely unique structure.

Standing-out even more sharply and unambiguously was Beethoven's attempt to confer heightened importance on the Symphonic Finale. This re-organization of the Symphonic form was no doubt associated with those new compositional ideas inspired by the ethical ideals of the French Revolution, which Beethoven was the 1st to articulate. He no longer wrote his Symphonies for the music-rooms of princes' palaces, but for a mass audience united by the idea of democracy, for a newly-forming « bourgeois » society. This demanded a re-orientation of the Symphony as an art form. The stereotypical character and succession of the old 4 types of movements were being questioned. Almost all of Beethoven's Symphonies formulated a new solution to this problem. In the 3rd Symphony, the « Eroica », but also in the 5th and 7th Symphonies, it was already quite clear that Beethoven was striving for a new type of Finale by creating concluding movements for these works that formed the crowning apotheosis of the Symphony as a whole.

Beethoven also made far-reaching changes to the character of the other movements. However, as his then little-understood Piano Sonatas and String Quartets clearly demonstrated, he was also aware that the entire progression of the 4 Symphonic movements had to undergo a radical transformation so that, thematically, the individual movements were organically unified. In one instance, towards the end of his life, Beethoven highlighted this problem with demonstrable clarity, pursuing a solution that revealed itself in the form of a musico-poetic idea : this was the Finale of his 9th Symphony in which he used the human voice for the 1st time, in the context of an instrumental Symphony.

Shortly before the entry of the 1st bass solo summoning the orchestral instruments to intone mankind's « Hymn of Joy » and one must remember that the text of Schiller's poem (altered purely for reasons of censorship) read « Freedom, bright spark of divinity, Daughter of Elysium » (« Freiheit, schöner Götterfunken, Tochter aus Elysium ») - Beethoven unexpectedly has the themes from the preceding movements parade past.

There was only one composer in the whole of Europe at this time, Franz Schubert, still in the prime of youth and, yet, already marked by death, who recognized the problem of the Finale posed by Beethoven and who ...

...

... arguments that are fully corroborated in Ernst Kurth's comprehensive analysis of Bruckner's Finale technique and in his individual descriptions of the Master's 9 final movements. Alfred Orel's attitude towards the separate Austrian development of the post-Classical Symphony is noteworthy. He sees the line of development from Schubert to Bruckner as a complete antithesis to the Romantic culture of Schumann and Brahms. The Austrian Symphonists Schubert and Bruckner were prototypes of a popular / national and nature-like (« volkstümlich-naturhaften ») trend and, therefore, their music was completely bound-up with the character of the Austrian landscape. This leads to the question of Mahler's Austrian identity (« Österreichertum »). Mahler was certainly an Austrian but not in the same sense as the school teachers' sons Schubert, from the Viennese suburb of Lichtenthal, or Bruckner, from the Upper-Austrian village of Ansfelden.

« Mahler is an Austrian, but the house of the merchant from Kalischt stood in a different relationship to the people from that of the school Master's house in Ansfelden or the Lichtenthal school house in the Viennese suburbs. »

To begin with, therefore, in his attitude towards nationality (« Volkstum »), Mahler was far more like the highly-educated intellectuals Schumann and Brahms for whom folk-music was only material they occasionally made use of in order to imbue it with their individuality. However, even here, Mahler fundamentally differentiated himself from Schumann and Brahms and, ultimately, this had a decisive effect on his inclusion among Austrian Symphonists. Orel formulated these subtle, ostensibly rather hair-splitting distinctions as follows in the above-cited passage from his Bruckner volume :

« Mahler approaches the people from the outside but, thanks to his greater adaptability, he manages to identify more closely with them ; his longing for nature allows him to eavesdrop on the peculiarities of the people, which those other artists did not recognize at the time because of their different personal attitudes, or which they did not want to perceive as the purpose of their art ; for Schumann and Brahms seek the sensitive, the warm-hearted, the ideal in the people ; Mahler, in addition to this, grasps the coarse, the realistic, the worldly. »

Although it is possible to read into Alfred Orel's statements a disguised kowtowing to the National-Socialist ideology of racial anti-Semitism, it should nevertheless be made clear that he emphatically supports Mahler in his subsequent discussions, illuminating the historical interconnections between his development and Bruckner's with great objectivity. He vigorously rejects the view, developed at some length in the great-German-orientated music literature, that the

significance of Mahler's music rested only on the ever-present aura surrounding his fascinating personality as a conductor. He had become convinced of this on 2 occasions : in November 1907, when he heard Mahler's famous performance of the 2nd Symphony with which he bade farewell to the Viennese public ; and, on 12 September 1910, at the 1st performance of the 8th Symphony, in Munich. And, in a forceful polemic, Orel revealed the deficiencies of the earlier Bruckner biographer Rudolf Louis, who characterized Mahler's 2nd Symphony as follows in his essay « Deutsche Musik der Neuzeit » (German Music of Recent Times) :

« To take this Symphony seriously in the fullest sense of the word requires lack of certainty in the most basic functions of artistic judgement : in distinguishing the genuine from the counterfeit ; and this is only possible on the basis of complete artistic blindness or the total corruption of ones " perceptual instincts " . »

In his monumental Bruckner volume, Ernst Kurth affectionately described Mahler's conductorial support for his deeply revered Master Bruckner and, naturally, also addressed the influence of Bruckner's Symphonic practice on Mahler as a composer. What he says about this was framed by his well-known conception of « Bruckner's remoteness » (« Fernstand ») . If the Romantic spirit forged ahead, isolated in time and within unknown expanses, reflecting the past in the new and in the individual self ; if Romanticism was very much « an age of conflicts, of tragedy, of the unredeemable, one that had lapsed into world-weariness » , then, Bruckner was « a spirit of timeless tranquillity » . Kurth defined this as « the primal repose of the mystic who exists in a state not of the phenomenal world but who nevertheless feels all its movements from the depths of his world-view and is, therefore, almost incomprehensible to all those caught-up in it, despite embracing all their experiences » . This also distinguished Bruckner from other Romantics, who set their sights on the unreal and the fantastic, on alien worlds and horizons beyond their own confines :

« These wanted to go into the distance, " but he was in the distance " . In his tranquil existence, he was, in fact, opposed to the endless all-consuming desire and restless activity of the developing times.

He was like one submerged, but not so much that he sank into an isolation and eternity outside of his own time ; from the outset, he remained rooted in his origins and, from there, met the incoming tide of the times. Yet, unlike virtually all other artists, he remained detached from the world. He was not consumed by the surrounding world of Romanticism. He was conditioned by, and thrust against, his time ; he was the consummation of Romanticism and, at the same time, its conqueror, in the way that these always co-exist. Bruckner must be viewed not in terms of his dependencies but " in terms of his independence " , and the manner in which he strode-out against his surroundings. To be at peace with Bruckner or to distort him, these are the only possibilities. »

With this conception of the Bruckner phenomenon, Kurth examines the influence of his music on the following generation of composers and concludes that many of Bruckner's technical features were adopted and developed by the three greatest musicians of the neo-Romantic (« neuromantische ») era : Gustav Mahler, Max Reger and Richard Strauß. A substantial gulf, nevertheless, separated them all from Bruckner's world, for each one of them was completely caught-up in the relentless headlong development of their times. Bruckner did, indeed, lie nearest to Mahler, a member, of course, of his most intimate circle, whose rise Bruckner was able to follow closely until his appointment to the

directorship of the Vienna « Hofoper » . But Mahler's was a thoroughly Romantic nature, all fierce determination and tragic inner-turmoil.

It should also be noted that Mahler had written a considerable number of songs as well as his 1st 3 Symphonies during Bruckner's lifetime but was still virtually unknown as a composer, and that there is also absolutely no indication in the entire extant literature as to whether he showed Bruckner his works and what he might have thought about them. It is well-known, however, that, in the summer of 1896, Johannes Brahms expressed the wish through a mutual friend to become acquainted with the score of Mahler's 2nd Symphony. This happened a few months before Bruckner's death. According to Ludwig Karpath's memoirs, Brahms' opinion of the Symphony was as follows :

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

However, one should not forget that Bruckner had been seriously ill for a considerable period and was preoccupied at that time with only a single thought : to complete his life's work. Natalie Bauer-Lechner reports in her memoirs that Mahler visited the old Master regularly and that, on leaving, Bruckner « not only unfailingly accompanied him to the door of the flat but would then embark on the stairs with him, making his way down from the 3rd floor, through the 2nd and 1st until, finally, they were at the bottom, insisting on honouring his guest in this way. » On his penultimate visit, he found Bruckner in a great deal of suffering. He was presumably writing the Finale of his 9th Symphony at this time, ...

...

Anton Bruckner's works had long been out of print and could not be reprinted due to peculiarly complicated circumstances of legal ownership. Although Bruckner only twice received a publisher's fee during a lifetime's work (50 « Gulden » and 150 « Gulden ») , and was happy when any firm was prepared to print one of his works, the rights of ownership and sale of Bruckner's works changed hands many times partly as a result of monopolization amongst music businesses and the buying-up of smaller firms by larger ones. So, it transpired that works by Bruckner were often in the hands of 2 or 3 publishing firms at the same time, with the owner of the rights, from whom agencies expected payment for the placing and marketing of the works, themselves hampering distribution because they would not commit themselves to print material at their own cost but rather expected to share the costs with their partners since they shared the profits. For example, Bruckner's 3rd Symphony, of which Gustav Mahler made a 4 hand piano reduction, had been published in 1878 in its 1st printed version by the firm of « Röttig & Bösendorfer » . In a contract, dating from 13 July 1901, this firm sold the joint copyright to the publishers Universal-Edition, which had been founded by the merging of several smaller music-dealers in that same year. This large publishing-house, accordingly, had the right to include the Symphony in its catalogue and to sell it, although it had to pass on the revenue from the ownership rights to « Röttig & Bösendorfer » . « Röttig & Bösendorfer » , then, sold their entire enterprise to the publishing-house « Schlesinger-Lienau » , in Berlin, which, thus, also acquired the ownership rights to the 3rd Symphony (together, with the « Te Deum » , which had earlier been published for the 1st time by « Röttig & Bösendorfer ») , and while Universal-Edition retained the copyright, it was not in a position to reprint material for

performance without the agreement of the new owners. Yet, more complicated were the publication terms of the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 6th Symphonies, as well as some works for male chorus that the Master only managed to get printed in 1892, 4 years before his death, and, then, only by the music printers « Josef Eberle & Co. », in Vienna, who were not themselves a publishing-house and, therefore, handed over the works on commission to the firm of « Carl Haslinger ». Several years later, « Eberle & Co. » merged to become a joint-stock company, « Waldheim-Eberle A.G. » which, in practical terms, meant a change of ownership. The expensive printing plates of Bruckner's works ended-up in a basement where they lay unused for nearly 2 decades. In the meantime, the firm « Haslinger », which owned the commission rights for the above-mentioned works, was also bought by « Schlesinger-Lienau », in Berlin, and set-up as their Vienna branch. With that, Bruckner's 8th Symphony, previously published for the 1st time whole publishing firms, such as « Albert J. Guttmann », who had Bruckner's works on their books. This amalgamation of Bruckner's works by Universal-Edition was completed when a contract was signed on 21 June 1910 with « Waldheim-Eberle A.G. » to transfer the complete rights of those works formerly printed by « Eberle & Co. » to Universal-Edition. At the same time, Universal-Edition purchased Mahler's 1st 4 Symphonies from « Waldheim-Eberle A.G. ».

Since Emil Hertzka knew that Mahler, the idealistic instigator of the new Bruckner edition, was not immediately dependent on royalties from his works because of his current conducting activities in America, he felt able to ask him for certain further practical support. As Alma Mahler reports in her memoirs, he visited Mahler in Toblach, during the summer of 1910, to pass-on the welcome news that he had acquired his 1st 4 Symphonies from « Waldheim-Eberle A.G. » for Universal-Edition. The 4 Symphonies, printed at a cost of 50,000 « Kronen » (\$ 10,000), were almost beginning to show profit : only 2,500 « Kronen » were still outstanding. Now, Hertzka had fulfilled Mahler's dearest wish by acquiring all Bruckner's works in one go, in preparation for the new edition. What Hertzka expected from Mahler in return, and the way in which the latter received this proposal, is described by Alma as follows :

« Hertzka went on to ask Mahler to forgo his profits until a 2nd sum of 50,000 had been earned, on the grounds that Universal-Edition would like to take-over the works of Bruckner also, and advertise them at great expense. »

Mahler agreed, at once. He thought it only right that he should sacrifice his profits for another 15 years, out of love of Bruckner, without of course receiving, or expecting, a penny from the sale of Bruckner's works. This was a great sacrifice to make to Bruckner's memory and shows how deeply he revered him. Alma cited 2 further small matters of interest that shed light on Mahler's attitude towards Bruckner :

« Mahler's love of Bruckner was life-long. He gave performances of all his Symphonies, one after the other in New York, although they had a very bad press. In Vienna, he proclaimed his merits as a matter of course.

On the title-page of his copy of Bruckner's " Te Deum ", he crossed-out the words : " For solo voices, chorus and orchestra, organ ' ad libitum ' ", and wrote :

" For the tongues of angels, heaven-blest, chastened hearts, and souls purified in the fire ! " »

A letter from Mahler, dated 16 April 1892, was found in Bruckner's Estate in which he reports to the Master, as

follows, on the performance he had given of the « Te Deum » the day before, in Hamburg :

« The “ participants ” as well as the entire “ audience ” were most profoundly moved by its powerful structure and truly sublime conception and, at the end of the performance, I experienced what I consider to be the greatest triumph of a work : the audience remained silent and motionless in their seats, and only when the conductor and the performers began to leave their places did the thundering applause burst forth. »

This portion of the letter is cited in the monograph, « Anton Bruckner, sein Leben und Werk » , by Max Auer, the collaborator of August Göllerich whom Bruckner, himself, appointed as his official biographer. It is one of the few places in this extensive, otherwise extremely valuable book, where the author does justice to the activities of Mahler in serving Bruckner's music - at least, indirectly through quotation, evidently so as not to have to use his own words.

The 1st performance of the Mass in D minor, conducted by Mahler in Hamburg, on 31 March 1893, was specifically hailed by Ernst Kurth as the « reclaiming of the work for the concert-hall » . The Mass had been performed only once, outside the « Alter Dom » in Linz, « 29 » years earlier under Bruckner. Nevertheless, it is recorded in Max Auer's « Bruckner » volume, in a dry and insignificant way, in relation to other events apparently of far more importance to the author, giving a clear illustration of the embarrassed and resentful attitude of the Austrian Bruckner movement's leading personalities towards Mahler. The passage reads :

« The spring of 1893 saw the performance of the 3rd Symphony in Munich under Hermann Levi, who also went on to give a deeply moving performance of the work in Berlin, in October. Further performances took place of the “ Te Deum ” in Hamburg, Dusseldorf ; and of the Mass in D in Hamburg under Gustav Mahler ; and, in Steyr, under the Master's student, Franz Bayer who, from then on, performed the work regularly during the Easter Sunday service. »

Mahler's pioneering work carried-out on behalf of Bruckner through performing all 9 Symphonies in numerous American cities received no mention at all in Auer's book. Instead, he describes the 1st complete performance of the 6th Symphony, on 26 February 1899, in a Vienna Philharmonic concert under Mahler as « barbarically cut » on account of a few deletions, although he had to concede the « almost universal public and critical success of the work » .

Mahler, had already discussed the problem of cuts and instrumental re-touchings in Bruckner's Symphonies in an article in the « Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft » and, similarly, a few years later in his book of 1925, the Viennese musicologist Alfred Orel advocated publishing a « Complete Critical Edition » of Bruckner's works that would also contain detailed notes and commentaries on the variants between the different versions of each work.

Thus, when the customary period of copyright expired 30 years after Bruckner's death, the time came for the implementation of such a « Critical Edition » and for the opening-up of the manuscripts in the Vienna National Library containing the hitherto unknown original versions of the Symphonies. The scene was, then, set for posterity to pass judgement on a bygone but chronologically very close musical era, some of whose protagonists were still alive or only very recently dead.

It was clear that the scholarly preparation of a « Complete Critical Edition » of Bruckner's works had 1st of all to be placed in the hands of the director of the Vienna National Library's music collection, Robert Haas, who was officially responsible for making the manuscripts of the Master's Estate accessible. He also formally took charge of the publication, initially together with Orel, whose 1st undertaking was to edit the original version of the unfinished 9th Symphony using all the hand-written sketch material.

It had long been known that the printed version of this unfinished work consisted of a revision of Bruckner's score by Ferdinand Löwe, the conductor of the 1st performance. No one knew how far-reaching his revision was until the publication of the original manuscript by Orel. With the other completed Symphonies, however, it was much more difficult to determine how far the divergences between the original versions and the Universal-Edition printed versions were down to Bruckner himself (who was, of course, known to have re-worked almost all of his works several times) or how much these alterations derived from the « restructurings » of conductors who made cuts and instrumental retouchings on their own initiative. A 3rd possibility was that these cuts and instrumental retouchings had been suggested to Bruckner by conductors and by his students and friends, that he was eventually persuaded to accept them, and that through this they were carried over into the printed editions.

The task of the editors was accordingly to clarify the process by which Bruckner's Symphonies came to print, and to ascertain whether the manuscripts to be published were conveyed directly to the printing office by Bruckner, whether he personally corrected the proofs and signed them off, and whether these corrections had been carried-out accurately.

In view of the fact that Bruckner entrusted the 1st publication of his Symphonies to various small firms, some of whom no longer existed, in most cases nothing concrete could be ascertained about the publication process. Only with those works published by Josef Eberle or its successor Waldheim-Eberle was it established in a statement from the former head of the firm's engraving department, Josef Venantius von Wöß, that he personally collected from Bruckner's apartment the manuscripts intended for printing and brought them to the printing office. He also took the proofs to Bruckner, collected them again after they had been corrected by the Master, and personally checked that the corrections were carried-out to the highest-level of accuracy. Evidence that the proof corrections were exclusively made in Bruckner's hand could obviously not be produced because corrected proofs were never preserved.

Yet, in his highly-informative study « Anton Bruckner and the Process of Musical Creation » published in the American music journal « The Musical Quarterly » (Volume 24, No. 3, 1937) , Egon Wellesz reports that Bruckner's friend and student, Friedrich Eckstein, informed him, in 1937, that he possessed the proofs of Bruckner's String Quintet. Eckstein explained that Bruckner's innumerable hand-written corrections to the proofs conclusively established how little the Master considered a composition completely finished even when he submitted the manuscript for printing.

It was also part of the task of the « Complete Critical Edition » 's editor to make accessible all available contemporary sources and, thereby, to establish how Bruckner's conductors and friends arrived at the cuts and instrumental retouchings that they recommended to him as appropriate. It was as much a question of judgement as of scientific accuracy both to ascertain the purely technical divergences between original and printed versions, and to

examine the æsthetic and historical reasons why individual conductors made certain alterations or rather suggested them to the Master and asked for his approval. It was all a matter of the spirit in which the editor of the « Critical Edition » carried-out the investigation as to whether the pioneering work of the 1st Bruckner conductors, Josef and Franz Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe, Arthur Nikisch, Hermann Levi, August Göllerich, Hans Richter and Gustav Mahler was analyzed as a temporary phenomenon of music history or whether the editor felt himself to be a public prosecutor appointed by posterity to have Bruckner's friends and champions tried and convicted of the falsification of his work.

Robert Haas, the director of the music collection in the Vienna National Library and editor of the « Critical Edition », chose the latter path. It did not seem at all satisfactory to him that insight into Bruckner's creative working practice should be offered in unproblematic scholarly terms through the « Complete Critical Edition » by publishing the various drafts, sketches and versions of a work. From the very beginning, « the most important thing seemed to him the discrediting of Universal-Edition's hitherto unanimously accepted printed versions », and their elimination from concert usage, in favour of the original versions of the Symphonies in the process of being published. The discrediting of Universal-Edition's printed versions, however, necessitated a polemical attitude towards the 1st conductors of Bruckner's works who had emerged from his close circle of friends and students, and who, according to Haas' theory, made adaptations and cuts in the 1st performances of the Symphonies that were accepted into the printed versions but misrepresented Bruckner's original artistic intentions.

The question of why, if the alterations suggested by his conductors did not correspond with his actual artistic intentions, Bruckner then accepted them into the printed editions of his Symphonies, was answered by Robert Haas with reference to the Master's overly modest nature and submissive inclinations, which led him to be persuaded, indeed almost coerced, by his students and friends, to carry-out these alterations ; that is, if such alterations in the printing of the scores had not been undertaken by a 3rd party without the Master's knowledge or approval.

Before Haas went public with these outrageous accusations (directed, above all, towards Ferdinand Löwe and his revision of the unfinished 9th Symphony, but, in a wider sense also, towards Franz Schalk, Arthur Nikisch, Hermann Levi and the other conductors of 1st performances of the Symphonies) , he and the representatives of the Bruckner movement who were launching the « Complete Critical Edition » tried to enlist Franz Schalk to conduct the premiere of the original version of the 9th Symphony, which had meanwhile been published.

An attempt was made, therefore, to induce one of the last great Bruckner conductors, from the Master's circle of friends, publicly to acknowledge the validity of the original versions and, thereby, to discredit Universal-Edition's printed editions. This attempt failed. Franz Schalk categorically refused to direct the proposed premiere because, as he explained, he considered performances of the 1st versions of Bruckner's Symphonies to be a serious offence against the Master who left them unpublished, not without good reason and never submitted his Symphonies for printing without thoroughly revising the 1st versions of the scores, often, 2 or 3 times.

After that, the instigators of the « Complete Critical Edition » turned to the Austrian conductor Siegmund von Hausegger, then working in Munich, who gave a private performance of the original version of the 9th Symphony edited by Alfred Orel.

...

.. role in the arguments surrounding attempts to institute the original versions. Hardly anyone knew that efforts had been going on, since the 1920's, to found an international association of all Bruckner supporters, which was to secure the financial means to restore and maintain the famous Bruckner organ left to decay in the Collegiate Church of Saint-Florian. The architects of the plan were the University professor Ernst Kurth (from Berne) , who pointed-out, right from the beginning, that the Society would have to be an international one ; Max Auer (from Vöcklabruck) , Franz Gräßlinger (from Linz) , Karl Grunsky (from Stuttgart) and Franz Moißl, director of the church music department of the Klosterneuburg foundation, near Vienna. This group, chiefly made-up of officials from the « Austrian Bruckner League » set-up after the First World War, made contact with the « Berlin Bruckner Society » , founded earlier by Arthur Nikisch, and invited them to join the proposed international organization. A joint conference took place in the monastery of Saint-Florian, on 4 November 1925, under the chairmanship of the abbot Vinzenz Hartl, during which the decision to found an « International Bruckner Society » was formally registered.

The next step was to form groups in different countries. These were established in Switzerland, France and even in the United States, where a Bruckner Society was founded on 5 January 1931, its journal « Chord and Discord » dedicated to supporting Anton Bruckner and Gustav Mahler. It was evident, however, that the principal interest in Bruckner remained in Austria and in the German « Reich » . Prior to Adolf Hitler's assumption of power, on 30 January 1933, 2 major organizations, the « Upper-Austrian Bruckner League » and the « Bruckner League for Vienna and Lower-Austria » had been founded in Austria, whilst in Germany, 4 great Societies emerged : the « Württemberg Bruckner League » , the « Baden Bruckner League » , the « Westphalian Bruckner League » and the « Rhineland Bruckner League » , along with a dense network of local groups in Munich, Hamburg, Berlin and numerous other German cities. To this was added the « Bruckner Community for the Cultivation of Sacred Music » , in Munich.

On 9 October 1927, all these separate groups, the overwhelming majority of which were situated on Imperial German soil, were amalgamated into 1 vast organization called the « Bruckner Society » . This amalgamation resulted from a meeting in the Book-Trade House, in Leipzig, which had come about because the Leipzig publishers « Breitkopf & Härtel » had declared itself ready to take-over the preparation of the « Complete Critical Edition » of Bruckner's works.

The Imperial German predominance in this « Bruckner Society » was so overwhelming that Austrian institutions, above all the National Library in Vienna, owner of all the manuscripts in Bruckner's Estate, could not consent ...

...

Additional treasurers of the « International Bruckner Society » are Doctor Benno Filser (from Augsburg) ; and the manager of the Leipzig Office, Doctor Karl Krieser.

These arrangements were confirmed at a meeting held on 2 December 1928, in the Augsburg Town Hall, and put

before a plenary assembly of members convened on 17 February 1929, in Vienna, which approved and ratified the necessary changes to the Society's constitution. The following individuals were elected to the governing body of the « International Bruckner Society », which had its headquarters on I « Buckerstraße », at the old Vienna University (editorial office of the « Weiner Zeitung ») and described itself in the 1st paragraph of its statutes as « non-political, non-denominational, international » :

The Honorary President :

« Generalmusikdirektor » Professor Franz Schalk, from Vienna (who died on 3 September 1931 and exerted no practical influence on the Society's affairs but, in fact, later adopted an extremely sceptical attitude towards it) .

The Presidents :

Professor Max Auer, from Vienna-Vöcklabruck : Colleague of the conductor August Göllerich, who was appointed by Bruckner as his biographer and whose unfinished multi-volume biography of the composer was completed by Auer after his death)

Professor Walter Braunfels : Director of the « Hochschule für Musik » , in Cologne.

University Professor Doctor Ernst Kurth, from Berne.

The Secretaries :

Government Councillor Professor Franz Moißl, from Vienna-Klosterneuburg.

Prelate Doctor Franz Xaver Münch, from Cologne.

The Treasurers :

Doctor Benno Filser, from Augsburg

Doctor Karl Krieser, from Leipzig : Manager of the Leipzig Office.

Engineer Robert Furreg : Manager of the Vienna Office.

When one surveys this list of functionaries, which included several eminent individuals, and when one reads the highly-respectable aims of the Society outlined in the statutes, it becomes clear that an organizational apparatus was set-up under the cloak of internationalism and of reverence for a great musical Master who lived and worked in Austria, whose funding was nevertheless supplied by Imperial German capital (from the Filser publishing-house, in Augsburg, working anonymously in the background) . As a result of this, while 2 Viennese musicologists found work as editors of

the « New Complete Edition » , at the same time, a position was created for an Imperial German publishing concern in Austria that was able to develop extreme ...

...

... which was advanced by Robert Haas, Bruckner was intellectually violated and compelled against his better judgement and conscience by friends and students (principally, conductors of the 1st performances of his symphonies such as Ferdinand Löwe, Franz Schalk, Arthur Nikisch and others) to accept, into the printed editions, those cuts and instrumental retouchings carried-out by these conductors, on practical grounds. Thus, the « true Bruckner » , to be found only in the scores of the original versions, had not been heard at all, until now.

The way in which Haas supported the « falsification theory » in the introductions and commentaries of the « Complete Critical Edition » and in his other verbal and written statements, all too obviously trying to construct a « criminal musical case around Anton Bruckner » , contrasts so strongly with the scrupulousness and wealth of information in his other musicological works that one cannot possibly mistake his role as an illicit, clandestine agent of National-Socialist propaganda. It is scarcely credible that he would, otherwise, have neglected to examine more closely the personal relationships between Bruckner and his friends and the various conductors of his 1st performances as they appear in several contemporaneous sources (particularly, the correspondence between Bruckner and his conductors relating to questions of cuts and alterations) and that he would have overlooked the conclusions arising from this, in his historical-critical introductions and commentaries to the « Complete Critical Edition » . Instead, Haas attempted to represent each divergence between the original and printed versions as an act of sacrilege committed against Bruckner's music by his conductors and friends who had imposed their will on the old Master. The huge intellectual energy with which Bruckner pursued his goal of complete Mastery, fulfilling his intentions whether initially as an organist, later as a composer of counterpoint and fugues, or finally as a Symphonist, demonstrates that it is unacceptable to portray him as a weakling who was not in full possession of his mental powers. And, in fact, several letters show that conductors from among Bruckner's circle of students such as Arthur Nikisch and Franz Schalk took great pains to come to an understanding with the Master about every detail of the 1st performances they were directing. This was the case both with the insertion of the cymbal crash in the Adagio of the 7th Symphony for which Nikisch obtained the Master's consent through the mediation of Josef Schalk, and with the disposition of the Chorale passage for separate wind group in the close of the 5th Symphony's Finale for which Franz Schalk had the express permission of Bruckner. On the other hand, an exchange of letters between Bruckner and Hermann Levi, who much to Bruckner's annoyance had initially refused to conduct a performance of the 8th Symphony, in Munich, shows that the Master took to heart the famous conductor's criticism and immediately began an extensive revision of the score of the 8th Symphony, as he informed Levi, in a letter of 20 October 1887, writing :

« I will do whatever is possible to the best of my knowledge and conscience. »

In a further letter of 27 February 1888, Bruckner reported on the progress of this revision of the 8th Symphony with the words :

« It looks different already. »

It is significant that this material containing important arguments against Haas' falsification theory and refuting the assumption that Bruckner's conductors and students exerted pressure on him or that he acted under any coercion when deciding to revise and alter his scores for printing, was published by none other than Alfred Orel, co-editor of the « Complete Critical Edition », in his seminal study, « Original und Bearbeitung bei Anton Bruckner » (Original work and revisions by Bruckner), though only after Haas had succeeded in forcing Orel out and appropriating the sole editorship of the « Complete Critical Edition » for himself.

Whether this repudiation of Haas' falsification theory was merely an act of personal revenge on Orel's part for his unprofessional treatment at the hands of Haas, or whether, as a musicologist, he believed he could no longer be responsible for advocating something that had nothing to do with scholarship but had revealed itself simply National-Socialist propaganda, need not be more he brazen anti-Austrian propaganda with which the ... the 2 International Bruckner Festivals of 1936 and 1937, held in Linz and Upper-Austria, demonstrated that Orel had every reason to recoil from the political consequences of continuing involvement with the campaign for Bruckner's original versions. On these occasions, the principal slogan of this large-scale, organized whispering campaign ran :

« The true Bruckner has never existed in Austria at all, but only a falsified distortion (" Zerrbild ") of his music has been heard. The true Bruckner, who was never at home in the former Austria, has been discovered and brought to light only through National-Socialism. »

It was in this sense that « the official annexing of Anton Bruckner by Fascist great-Germany » followed in summer 1937, on the occasion of the unveiling of the Bruckner bust in the « Walhalla » Temple, in Regensburg, at which Adolf Hitler personally gave the Festival speech. Just as the « true Bruckner » was, then, openly celebrated as the discovery of the 3rd « Reich » and assigned his place of honour among German musical heroes by the « Führer » and « Reich » Chancellor, so National-Socialist propaganda laid its cards on the table : the « Musicological Publishers », in Vienna, received a subsidy of 100,000 RMarks from the government of the German « Reich » for the further publication of the « Complete Critical Edition » of Bruckner's works.

The ceremony at the « Walhalla », in Regensburg, was the culminating point of the distortion to which the Bruckner phenomenon had been subjected at the hands of posterity. In complete contrast to the monstrous clamour of this political propaganda, which ended-up with the annexation of the Austrian Symphonist Bruckner by the 3rd « Reich » and the granting of a 100,000 « Reichsmark » subsidy to the « Musicological Publishers », by the Hitler regime, stood « Gustav Mahler's secret act of devotion » whereby, 27 years earlier, in summer 1910, he allowed his 1st 4 Symphonies, in which he had continued the Master's artistic heritage, to be used as security for 50,000 « Kronen », making it possible for Universal-Edition to produce a new edition of the printed versions of Bruckner's Symphonies.

Imagine if one of the few « cognoscenti » had been called as chief witness to explain the publication process of Bruckner's Symphonies before the « tribunal » of posterity, and had had the courage to counter-act the feelings of hatred fanned by the propaganda of triumphant Hitlerite Fascism - towards those guilty of an alleged falsification of

the Master's music with a clear admission of Mahler's great act of devotion ! If only, for example, Josef Venantius von Wöb, director of the music department of « Waldheim-Eberle A.G. » who had been admitted to the board of Universal-Edition and who was fully conversant with all the transactions shared by both firms, had openly declared :

« We should not be in a position today to sit in judgement over whether Bruckner was justified in re-working his Symphonies as often as he thought fit, or the extent to which he accepted advice from his disciples and 1st conductors and accepted their proposed cuts and instrumental retouchings into the printed editions of his works, if the pioneering work of these early conductors and disciples had not prevailed in the face of a world of hostility and lack of understanding. With complete faith in their mission and in difficult conditions, with Orchestras that were still barely equal to the technical demands of this new Symphonic style, they repeatedly performed Bruckner's works until their fame gradually spread across Europe and new artists took-up their cause. The fact that this was possible, that the chain of performances did not break and Bruckner's work did not fall into oblivion when the 1st editions of the Symphonies had long been out of print and, due to a peculiar combination of circumstances, material could no longer be reprinted, can be put-down to the act of devotion of one of the Master's followers who, in 1893, in Hamburg reclaimed for the concert-hall the Mass in D minor, not given since its 1st concert performance in Linz, under Bruckner himself ; who, in 1899, conducted the 1st " complete " performance of the 6th Symphony, albeit with cuts - in a concert of the Vienna Philharmonic ; and who, finally, despite vigorous opposition, gave 1st performances of all Bruckner's Symphonies in America : Gustav Mahler. He made possible the new edition of Bruckner's Symphonies on which all the more recent cultivation of the composer depended, by renouncing the royalties from his 1st 4 Symphonies. »

But neither Wöb nor the composer Friedrich Klose, a survivor from Bruckner's most intimate circle who had been called to Vienna to give his opinion on whether a 3rd party could have had a hand in the printing of Bruckner's manuscripts, dared to speak-up, let alone throw into the debate (alongside Ferdinand Löwe, Franz Schalk and Arthur Nikisch) the name Gustav Mahler, which appeared on the list of composers outlawed by National-Socialism. Nothing more stood in the way of the annexing of the « true » Bruckner by the 3rd « Reich » , of his nomination as « German hero of music » . And thousands of grateful Bruckner supporters looked to the « Reich » in whose « Walhalla » the « Führer » had personally unveiled the bust of their Master. « The blow against the separate Austrian development of the post-Classical Symphony, so disagreeable to great-German ideology, had succeeded. »

L'élève August Göllerich, fils

Le pianiste, chef d'orchestre et musicologue, l'autrichien August Göllerich, fils, est né le 2 juillet 1859 au 16 de la « Baumbachstraße » , à Linz. (Une plaque commémorative nous rappelle son passage dans cette demeure.) Il fréquente l'école primaire catholique de Wels, en Haute-Autriche. Son talent musical est apparu évident dès le début de sa scolarité. Il s'intéresse au piano à l'âge de 9 ans. En 1868, le jeune garçon de 11 ans reçoit ses 1res leçons officielles de piano d'un certain monsieur Oberhuber de Wels. Il joue même en public en plus de rédiger des préfaces pour certains ouvrages sur la musique.

En 1869, il fait la connaissance à Wels du compositeur Anton Bruckner par l'entremise de son père.

August Göllerich, fils, fait ses études secondaires au Collège (« Realschule » ou Lycée) pour garçons de Linz, situé sur la « Baumbachstraße » où il obtient son baccalauréat. Durant ce séjour, il est pensionnaire chez Rudolf Ritter d'Hoyer puis chez les sœurs Anna et Eleonore Löffler. Son professeur de musique est August Wieck qui est originaire de Rostock, une localité du nord de l'Allemagne. Les mercredis soirs, il se rend dans le quartier d'Urfahrner pour jouer du piano à 4 mains aux côtés de Ludovika Rohr avec qui il se lie d'amitié.

En 1873, alors qu'il n'a que 14 ans, il s'enthousiasme pour les écrits et la musique de Richard Wagner ; il voulait lui-même devenir un musicien professionnel. La même année, il se produit sur scène comme pianiste lors d'un concert de charité donné à Wels ; il obtient alors son 1er véritable succès. Mais son père qui connaissait le destin dramatique de nombreux artistes va rapidement refroidir ses ardeurs dans le but de le protéger de la misère. (Le compositeur Anton Bruckner, pour ne nommer que lui, va solliciter son aide, en 1875, en raison de ses nombreux soucis d'argent.)

Mathématicien-né, Göllerich, fils, va donc devoir passer son examen d'entrée au département technique de l'Université de Vienne afin de poursuivre des études plus poussées. Il reçoit une bourse au montant de 60 Florins (« Gulden ») qui va l'aider à subvenir à ses besoins durant le semestre d'été de 1878. En 1882, il assiste pour la 1re fois au Festival de Bayreuth.

Suite au décès de son père, survenu le 23 août 1883 à Wels, August Göllerich, fils, interrompt ses études universitaires en mathématiques pour se consacrer entièrement à l'étude de la musique. Il s'attarde aux œuvres de Robert Schumann, de Johannes Brahms, au traité d'harmonie de Richard Wagner et à l'orchestration moderne d'Hector Berlioz. Il sera particulièrement attiré par un essai sur Anton Bruckner, paru en 1884 (provenant de la plume de l'un de ses tout lers critiques) , qui témoigne de l'importance de la grande écriture Symphonique. Il deviendra l'un de ses fervents admirateurs.

August Göllerich, fils, dira au sujet de cette période viennoise :

« D'abord passionné exclusivement par les œuvres de Brahms et de Schumann, j'ai séjourné à Vienne pour étudier la composition auprès d'Anton Bruckner et devenir un membre de la Société académique Wagner (" Akademischer Wagnerverein ") . Je me suis alors lié d'amitié avec Hugo Wolf. Mes goûts artistiques ont évolué lorsque j'ai fait la rencontre de Franz Liszt, un musicien doté d'une très grande spiritualité. »

August Göllerich, fils, reçoit une formation de piano de Toni Raab qui le présente à Franz Liszt, à Bayreuth. Ce dernier reconnaît immédiatement ses talents aussi bien musical et littéraire. Il devient, en 1884, son compagnon de voyage, son secrétaire personnel et l'un de ses élèves de piano à l'Université de Vienne. De Vienne jusqu'en Russie, Göllerich, fils, remporte un immense succès comme pianiste de talent et interprète privilégié de Franz Liszt.

La fille de Franz Liszt, Cosima Wagner, lui exprime ses sentiments dans une lettre :

« Cher Monsieur Göllerich, ce fut pour moi un immense plaisir d'avoir eu la chance de vous rencontrer. À l'heure

solennelle de la mort, soyez assuré que j'aurai à mes côtés un de vos ouvrages : un livre traitant de musique ou un témoignage personnel. »

Après le décès de Liszt, survenu le 31 juillet 1886 à Bayreuth, August Göllerich, fils, devient critique musical à Vienne. Dans sa lutte face à Eduard Hanslick, il défend avec énergie les nouvelles tendances musicales, plus particulièrement les œuvres de Richard Wagner et d'Anton Bruckner.

Le Maître de Saint-Florian voue beaucoup d'estime à son élève. Il lui demande de devenir son secrétaire personnel et son biographe officiel. Dans une lettre datée de 1885, Bruckner s'adresse à lui en ces termes :

« Mon cher biographe. »

En 1891, il écrit :

« Bien sûr, vous êtes mon biographe dûment qualifié et autorisé. »

Göllerich, fils, poursuivra avec vigueur le travail de recherche plusieurs années après la mort du compositeur.

August Göllerich, fils, occupe une place privilégiée chez les biographes brucknériens de la Ire heure. Homme idéaliste et désintéressé, il a consacré des décennies à préparer l'œuvre qu'il devait écrire. Il suscite certainement notre sympathie. Conscient de la grande responsabilité qui lui incombe, il commence à amasser du matériel, effectue des voyages à caractère didactique à la recherche d'information pour éventuellement rencontrer des témoins oculaires, sans jamais négliger les détails (à prime abord sans importance) qui pourrait lui servir dans un avenir rapproché.

Très attaché à sa ville natale, August Göllerich, fils, décide de retourner vivre à Linz.

Son engagement va faire de cette ville un carrefour musical et culturel majeur. Göllerich sera le 1er à diriger à Linz les grandes œuvres de Franz Liszt et d'Anton Bruckner. Au cours de son règne comme chef d'orchestre, il emploie des musiciens et des chanteurs locaux.

De 1890 à 1896, Göllerich occupe le poste de direction de l'École de musique « Ramann-Volckmann » à Nuremberg (« Nürnberger Ramann-Volkmannsche Musik Schule »), secondé par son épouse Gisela de Pászthory-Voigt (1858-1946) ; une autre élève de Franz Liszt, mère du compositeur Casimir de Pászthory. La réputation de Göllerich, fils, ira jusqu'à atteindre Fürth, Erlangen et Ansbach. Lors de son départ de Nuremberg, il confie les rennes de l'institution à son épouse.

Généalogie : Père → August, sénior (1819-1883) ; Mère → Maria Nowotny (1818-1889) ; Fils → August, junior, épouse à Budapest, en 1895 → Gisela (1858-1946) pianiste, fille de Alfred Voigt et de Maria Juretich, qui est divorcée de Janos de Pászthory de Rosza ; 3 enfants → Casimir de Pászthory (né en 1886), violoniste, compositeur et professeur → Gisela de Pászthory (1882-1955), pianiste → Palma de Pászthory (1884-1958), violoniste virtuose et professeur.

Du jour de la mort d'Anton Bruckner, le 11 octobre 1896, jusqu'à son propre décès, le 16 mars 1923, August Göllerich, fils, injectera à la ville de Linz une impulsion nouvelle comme directeur administratif et artistique du Conservatoire (« Musikverein ») - qui compte 500 élèves en 1896 - et comme « Kapellmeister » du « Schubert Sängerbund ». Il sera aussi le fondateur d'une Société Anton Bruckner (« Bruckner-Verein ») qui permettra de mieux faire connaître les grandes compositions du Maître (et celles de Franz Liszt) souvent lors de Ires exécutions avec la participation de musiciens et de chanteurs locaux dans le cadre de Festivals populaires.

Le chef d'orchestre et compositeur Bernhard Paumgartner a joué sous la baguette d'August Göllerich, fils :

« Il a été l'instigateur de Festivals aussi uniques qu'extraordinaires. Personne depuis n'a dirigé cette musique avec autant d'amour ! »

Le successeur de Göllerich, fils, au Conservatoire sera Wilhelm Jerger (1902-1978) , un membre du Parti national-socialiste.

En 1922, soit 1 an avant son décès, August Göllerich, fils (cet ancien élève du Maître de Saint-Florian) , appelle à la création d'une Maison Bruckner (« Brucknerhaus ») à Linz. Son Journal personnel composé de plusieurs agendas (dans lequel il a immortalisé ses souvenirs de Franz Liszt) se trouve aujourd'hui aux archives de l'Université privée Anton Bruckner pour la musique, le théâtre et la danse (« Die Bruckner Privatuniversität für Musik, Schauspiel und Tanz ») sis au 18 de la « Wildbergstraße » , 4040 (+43 732 70100030) . La salle de concert a été nommée en son honneur : « Göllerich-Saal » .

Il s'agit de l'une des 4 Universités de la capitale Haute-Autrichienne. Elle est située dans le quartier d'Urfahr, au nord du Danube. Elle est accréditée comme « Université privée » en février 2004 et, de nouveau, en 2009. De 1932 à 2004, cette institution était connue sous le nom de Conservatoire Bruckner de Linz (même si le compositeur n'a jamais été élu directeur) . Ses racines remontent à 1823, et même à 1799 alors que Franz Xaver Glöggel, père (1764-1839) , un ami de Ludwig van Beethoven et de Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart instaure une Ire école de musique.

La « Göllerichstraße » parcourt l'arrondissement linzois de Froschberg.

August Göllerich, fils, aura travaillé sur le mandat que lui a confié son « Ménestrel de Dieu » - « Deutsche Michel » , Anton Bruckner : recueillir du matériel en vue de la rédaction d'une biographie complète sur sa vie mais aussi sur l'analyse en profondeur de ses œuvres. Le résultat était attendu avec impatience mais l'homme n'arrivait pas à mettre un terme au travail de ratissage. À sa mort, il laisse derrière lui d'impressionnantes piles de notes qui demeurent, malgré tout, une référence essentielle (seulement une très petite quantité de manuscrits furent achevés) . Son collègue et ami, Max Auer, saura prendre la relève, retardant de plusieurs années sa propre monographie sur Anton Bruckner (en plus d'autres projets de publication) . Des 9 volumes qui composent la monumentale biographie, August Göllerich, fils, n'est responsable que du 1er.

Le tandem « Göllerich et Auer » aura tenté de faire comprendre les œuvres d'Anton Bruckner à travers les expériences personnelles du musicien. Ainsi, les déceptions amoureuses l'amèneront à composer occasionnellement des chansons élégiaques. Les événements heureux se métamorphosent en mélodies en liesse. Les douleurs trouveront leur expression dans les sections mélancoliques des Messes croyant profondément que la souffrance n'était pas veine.

...

August Göllerich junior (1859-1923) : Pianist, conductor, teacher, music-editor, Bruckner's official biographer, and a great devotee of Bruckner's music. He became Director of the the « Linzer Musikverein » , in 1896. His father August, Senior (1819-1883) , was Munciple Secretary in Wels, Imperial Deputy, and member of the Board of Directors of the Upper-Austrian Salzburger Singing Society. He had been a pupil of Franz Liszt (1811-1886) and acted as his last secretary.

After his schooling in Linz, August Göllerich, Junior, studied composition with Anton Bruckner in Vienna, and piano with Franz Liszt, working also as the latter's secretary, 1884-1886. He worked as a music-critic and advocate for Franz Liszt, Richard Wagner, and Anton Bruckner in Vienna. In 1890, on the recommendation of Cosima Wagner, he took-over the « Ramann-Volkman'sche Musikschule » , in Nuremberg, establishing branches in Erlangen, Fürth, and Ansbach. In 1896, he returned to Linz, where he became conductor of the « Musikverein » and director of the « Musikverein-Musikschule » (later named, « Bruckner-Konservatorium ») . His wife, Gisela Pásthory-Voigt, also a Liszt pupil, took-over the music direction of the Nuremberg schools at his death.

Furthermore, a biography of Bruckner written by Max Auer in response to Rudolf Louis' work, which was completed by 1908 but not published until 1923. When August Göllerich died, in 1922, Auer published the chapters concerning Bruckner's early life that Göllerich had completed as Volume I of « Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens - und Schaffensbild » .

Of the many works on music written by August Göllerich, the most important one was the 4 volume on Anton Bruckner. « Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens - und Schaffensbild » , completed by Max Auer (1922, 1928, 1932, 1937) .

A 4 volume comprehensive biography of Bruckner (published 1922-1937) based on materials collected by August Göllerich was edited by his collaborator Max Auer (1880-1962) .

Max Auer. « Anton Bruckner : Sein Leben und Werk » . With plates. Including portraits, fac-simili and music, 19 cm ; Amalthea - Bücherei Verlag, Zürich - Leipzig - Wien (1923) - Amalthea, Wien (1966) .

Volumes 2 to 4 edited and completed by Max Auer (1880-1962) « Nach dessen Tod ergänzt und herausgegeben von Max Auer » - ISBN : 3764920963, 9783764920968.

« Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens - und Schaffensbild ; von August Göllerich Junior (1859-1923) und Max Auer » (in 1935) , Gustav Bosse, Regensburg (1938) ; 9 volumes. Reprint of the 1922-1938 edition (1974) .

The earliest book length biography of Bruckner, however, was by Rudolf Louis in 1905 (« Anton Bruckner », G. Müller-Verlag, München, 1905) . Louis' report concerning Bruckner's youthful engagement with the town of Steyr mentions the great organ and the friendliness of Bruckner's reception there.

...

August Göllerich (2 Juli 1859 in Linz ; gestorben 16 März 1923 in Ebenda) war ein österreichischer Pianist, Dirigent und Musikschriftsteller.

Der Sohn des Welser Stadtsekretärs und späteren Reichsrats und Landtagsabgeordneten August Göllerich und dessen Gattin Maria, geborene Nowotny, wuchs in gutbürgerlichen Verhältnissen in der Linzer Baumbachstraße 16 auf. Eine Gedenktafel an diesem Haus weist auf seinen Aufenthaltsort hin. Sein Vater war Mitglied eines liberalen Schriftsteller und Literatenvereines in Wels. Der von Haus aus katholisch erzogene Göllerich besuchte nach der Trivialschule in Wels die Linzer Realschule, die er mit der Matura abschloß. Hier wohnte er vorerst bei Rudolf Ritter von Hoyer, später bei den Schwestern Anna und Eleonore Löffler. 1868 erhielt er seinen ersten Klavierunterricht in Wels durch einen Herrn Oberhuber und später bei dem ursprünglich aus Rostock stammenden Linzer Musiklehrer August Wieck. Mittwochsabends traf er sich dort mit der mit ihm befreundeten Urfahrerin Ludovika Rohr zum vierhändigen Klavierspiel.

Mit den Schriften Richard Wagners befasste er sich bereits als Vierzehnjähriger im Jahr 1873. In diesem Jahr trat er in Wels bei einem Wohltätigkeitskonzert auf, wobei er einen ersten Erfolg erntete. Allerdings war er bereits seit seinem elften Lebensjahr in Wels öffentlich aufgetreten und hatte auch schon Einführungen in musikalische Werke geschrieben.

Nach bestandener Matura begann der hervorragende Mathematiker ein Studium an der Technischen Hochschule in Wien, wo er ein Mittellosigkeitszeugnis vorlegte und ein Stipendium für das Sommersemester 1878 in Höhe von 60 Gulden gewährt bekam. Seinen Wunsch, das Technikstudium abbrechen zu dürfen, um sich ganz der musikalischen Theorie und Praxis zu widmen, wurde seitens des Vaters abschlägig beschieden, wohl weil dieser aus eigener Anschauung das Los vieler Künstler kannte. Niemand Geringerer als Anton Bruckner hatte Göllerichs Vater schon um Hilfe gebeten, und er wollte derlei finanzielle Sorgen seinem Sohn wohl ersparen. Durch seinen Vater lernte August Göllerich schon früh Bruckner kennen, da diese miteinander gut befreundet waren. Nach dem Tod seines Vaters im Jahre 1883 wendete er sich vom technischen Studium ab und zur Gänze der Musik zu. Er begann sich eingehend mit Robert Schumanns und Johannes Brahmsens Werken sowie mit Richard Wagners Harmonik und Hector Berlioz' Instrumentationskunst zu befassen.

Göllerich arbeitete als Sekretär für Anton Bruckner und für Franz Liszt, dessen Klavierschüler er an der Universität Wien seit 1884 war. Nach Liszts Tod 1886 arbeitete er als Musikkritiker in Wien. Von 1890 bis 1896 war er Leiter der Ramann-Volckmann'schen Musikschule in Nürnberg. Das Amt des Direktors der Linzer Musikvereinsschule übte er von 1896 bis zu seinem Tod im Jahr 1923 aus, wodurch er auch künstlerischer Leiter der Musikvereinskonzerte sowie Chormeister des « Sängerbundes » war. Durch sein Engagement wurde Linz zu einer Musikstadt ersten Ranges ; er führte die wichtigsten Werke von Liszt und Bruckner erstmals in Linz auf. Während seiner Tätigkeit als Dirigent

arbeitete er nur mit heimischen Musikern und Sängern. Göllerich war mit Gisela Pászthory-Voigt, ebenfalls eine Liszt-Schülerin und Mutter des Komponisten Casimir von Pászthory, verheiratet.

Bereits im Jahr 1922 forderte Göllerich die Errichtung eines Brucknerhauses.

Die Anton Bruckner Privatuniversität ist im Besitz seiner Tagebücher, in denen seine Erinnerungen an Liszt festgehalten sind.

...

Musiker August Göllerich Junior (1859-1923) feiert just im Kulturhauptstadtjahr von Linz seinen 150. Geburtstag. Umso mehr passt er wunderbar ins Klangbild von Linz.

August Göllerich kam am 2 Juli 1859 zur Welt. Sein Vater, August senior, schickte den Filius in die Realschule. Dort entwickelte sich der Junior zum herausragenden Mathematiker, der als Neunjähriger erstmals Klavierunterricht erhielt. Später inskribierte August junior auf Drängen des Herrn Papa an der Technischen Universität Wien. August junior befasste sich jedoch schon sehr früh mit den Schriften Richard Wagners, ja, die Musik nahm ihn gefangen.

Sein Vater jedoch blieb hart und verwehrte es ihm, zur Musik zu wechseln, da er selbst viele brotlose Künstler dieser Zeit kannte. Darunter beispielsweise auch Anton Bruckner, der seinerzeit noch nicht berühmte Gottesmusikant aus Sankt Florian bei Linz. Als der Vater jedoch starb, wechselte August junior doch ins Musikfach, er wurde Sekretär von Anton Bruckner und Franz Liszt, dessen Klavierschüler er 1884 an der Wiener Universität wurde. Zu seiner Wiener Zeit meinte er später :

« Als exklusiver Schumann und Brahms Enthusiast war ich nach Wien gekommen, als Schüler Anton Bruckners, als Mitarbeiter des Wagner-Museums und als Freund Hugo Wolfs war ich in meinen künstlerischen Anschauungen gereift, als mich das Kennenlernen des Liszt'schen Schaffens in tiefster Seele traf. »

Ab dem Jahre 1890 wirkte August Göllerich in Nürnberg, wo er die Ramann-Volkmar'sche Musikschule leitete, sein musikpädagogisches Wirken begann und dirigierte. Auch die Liebe fürs's Leben fand er in Gisela von Paszthory, eine Vorzeige-Klavierschülerin von Franz Liszt. Den im Sterben liegenden Komponisten betreute August Göllerich zuvor bis 1886 in Bayreuth.

Darauf die Tochter von Franz Liszt, Cosima Wagner, in einem Brief an ihn :

« Es ist mir eine Freude gewesen, lieber Herr Göllerich, Ihnen das Andenken zu übereichen. Und wenn mir anderes gelassen worden wäre, so seien Sie versichert, daß ich Ihnen, der Sie mit mir die feierliche Stunde der Befreiung (Anmerkung Todesstunde) bewahrten, sei es ein Buch, sei es ein Notenheft oder sonstiges Intimes zugedacht hätte. »

Aus « Anhänglichkeit an meine Vaterstadt » kehrte August Göllerich anno 1896 nach Linz zurück und wurde hier

Direktor des Linzer Musikvereins, künstlerischer Leiter der Musikvereinskonzerte und Chorleiter des « Sängerbundes Frohsinn ». Nach dem Tod Anton Bruckners regte er die Gründung einer Stiftung an, « aus welcher die regelmäßige Aufführung aller großen Werke des Meisters in volkstümlichen Festkonzerten des Musikvereins sichergestellt werden sollte ». In Wahrheit entstanden nach dem Ableben von August Göllerich die « Bruckner Gesellschaft » und der « Bruckner Bund » .

Der Dirigent brachte viele Werke von Franz Liszt und Anton Bruckner zur Erstaufführung. Linz avancierte damit zur Musikstadt allererster Güte. Dazu der Dirigent und Komponist Bernhard Paumgartner, der unter Göllerichs Stabführung musizierte :

« Es hat damals unter ihm einzigartige und unwiederholbare Musikfeste gegeben. Der edle Göllerich hat in Linz so liebevoll dirigiert wie kein anderer. »

Die heutige Bruckner-Universität besitzt die Göllerich-Tagebücher, in denen er seine Erinnerungen an Franz Liszt verewigte. Heute erinnert an August Göllerich eine Gedenktafel auf seinem Geburtshaus in der Baumbachstraße 16, sowie die « Göllerichstraße » am Froschberg und der Göllerich-Saal in der Bruckner-Uni in Linz an den großen Künstler von einst.

...

Grabstätten Bedeutender Persönlichkeiten (1924) : Urnenhain Urfahr (2/84) - Stadtteil : Hartmayrsiedlung.

August Göllerich wurde 1859 in Linz geboren, besuchte die Realschule und studierte Mathematik und Physik in Wien, wandte sich aber mehr der Musik zu und wurde Schüler und Freund von Franz Liszt, dessen Sekretär er 1884 wurde. Enge Verbindungen bestanden auch mit Anton Bruckner. Von 1890 bis 1896 war August Göllerich Leiter der Ramanschen Musikschule in Nürnberg und anschließend bis 1923 Direktor der Musikvereinsschule in Linz und damit auch künstlerischer Leiter der Musikvereinskonzerte sowie Chorleiter des « Sängerbundes ». Linz wurde durch Göllerich zur Musikstadt ersten Ranges. Er organisierte 1910 das erste oberösterreichische Musikfest, das dem Schaffen Anton Bruckners gewidmet war.

Während seiner Dirigententätigkeit in Linz arbeitete er ausschließlich mit heimischen Musikern und Sängern, von denen das dreißig Mann starke Theaterorchester eine Kerntruppe bildete, aber zu den Symphonieorchestern ergänzt werden mußte und dann bis zu 150 Mann stark war. August Göllerich starb 1923 in Linz.

Eine Gedenktafel befindet sich seit 1973 an seinem Geburtshaus an der Baumbachstraße.

L'élève Guido Adler

Le musicologue autrichien Guido Adler est né le 1er novembre 1855 à Eibenschütz, en Moravie (alors possession de l'Empire austro-hongois ; aujourd'hui Ivančice, en République tchèque) et est mort le 15 février 1941 à Vienne.

Sa famille s'installe à Vienne en 1864. 4 ans plus tard, le jeune Guido commence à étudier la théorie de la musique et la composition au Conservatoire de Vienne auprès d'Anton Bruckner. Se destinant à une carrière juridique, Adler entreprend parallèlement des études de droit à l'Université de Vienne, où il obtient son doctorat en 1878. À l'Université, il donne, en 1875 et 1876, une série de conférences sur la Tétralogie de Richard Wagner ; celles-ci seront publiées en 1904 à Leipzig : « Richard Wagner : Vorlesungen gehalten an der Universität zu Wien » . Il fonde, avec le chef Felix Mottl notamment, l' « Akademischer Wagnerverein » (la Société académique Wagner) .

Influencé par les travaux des grands historiens de la musique de l'époque, Adler abandonne le droit et soutient, en 1880, une thèse de doctorat consacrée à la musique occidentale avant 1600 (« Die historischen Grundclassen der christlich-abendländischen Musik bis 1600 ») , qu'il complète, l'année suivante, par une étude sur l'histoire de l'harmonie (« Studie zur Geschichte der Harmonie ») . Avec Philipp Spitta et Friedrich Chrysander, Guido Adler fonde, en 1884, la revue trimestrielle de musicologie « Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft » . L'année suivante, il est nommé professeur d'histoire de la musique à l'Université allemande de Prague.

En 1888, il propose au gouvernement autrichien de publier une édition des grandes œuvres musicales autrichiennes. Ce projet aboutit à la création de « Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich » (Monuments de la musique en Autriche) , dont 83 volumes seront édités sous sa direction de 1894 à 1938.

En 1892, Guido Adler est chargé de l'organisation de la section musique de l'Exposition internationale de musique et de théâtre de Vienne. En 1898, il succède à Eduard Hanslick comme professeur d'histoire de la musique à l'Université de Vienne.

...

Élève d'Anton Bruckner et du chef Otto Dessoff au Conservatoire de Vienne, Guido Adler se destina néanmoins au droit avant de s'orienter vers la musique, et plus spécialement son histoire. En 1884, il fonda avec Chrysander et Spitta la revue « Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft » , et, en 1885, fut nommé professeur de musicologie à l'Université allemande de Prague. Succédant à Eduard Hanslick, il enseigna à l'Université de Vienne (1898-1927) et en fonda l'Institut de musicologie (« Musikwissenschaftliches Institut ») , qui devint un modèle pour de nombreux pays. Dès leur fondation, il fut l'éditeur des « Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich » (1894-1938) , vaste entreprise d'édition de la musique autrichienne du passé (toujours poursuivie aujourd'hui) , dont il assumait lui-même plusieurs volumes, et de leur revue musicologique d'accompagnement « Studien zur Musikwissenschaft » (1913-1938) . Il attachait surtout son nom à la critique stylistique : en témoigne son ouvrage « Der Stil in der Musik » (1911) . On lui doit aussi « Methode der Musikgeschichte » (1919) , un livre sur son ami Gustav Mahler (1916) et « Wollen und Wirken » (autobiographie, 1935) . En 1924, il édita « Handbuch der Musikgeschichte » , dont il avait rédigé lui-même les chapitres « Périodes de l'histoire de la musique » , « L'École classique viennoise » et « Généralités sur l'époque moderne » . Il organisa les célébrations des centennaires de la mort de Franz-Joseph Haydn et de Ludwig van Beethoven (en 1909 et en 1927) , et, après ces dernières, participa activement à la fondation de la Société internationale de musicologie, dont il devint Président d'honneur. À l'occupation de l'Autriche (1938) , il dut cesser toute activité.

...

The Bohemian-Austrian musicologist, teacher and writer Guido Adler was born on 1 November 1855 in Eibenschütz, Moravia, Austrian Empire Ivančice (now Ivančice, Czech Republic) ; and died on 15 February 1941 in Vienna. He was of the founders of modern musicology.

His father Joachim, a physician, died of typhoid fever in 1857. Joachim contracted the illness from a patient, and therefore told his wife Franciska to « never allow any of the children to become a doctor » .

Adler studied at the University of Vienna and, at the same time (1868-1874) , the Vienna Conservatory of Music where he studied piano (main subject) and music theory and composition under Anton Bruckner and Otto Dessoff. He received an arts diploma from the Conservatory, in 1874. In 1878, he graduated from University of Vienna as doctor of jurisprudence and, in 1880, as doctor of philosophy. His dissertation, « Die Grundklassen der Christlich-Abendländischen Musik bis 1600 » (The Chief Divisions of Western Church Music, up to 1600) , was reprinted in the « Allgemeine Musikzeitung » .

In 1883, Adler became lecturer in musicology at University of Vienna, on which occasion he wrote « Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Harmonie » (An Essay on the History of Harmony) , published in the « Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Wiener Academie der Wissenschaften » , in 1881.

In 1884, he founded (with Friedrich Chrysander and Philipp Spitta) the « Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft » (Musicology Quarterly) . Adler provided the 1st article of the 1st issue, « Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft » (The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology) , in 1885, which not only constitutes the 1st attempt at a comprehensive description of the study of music, but also famously divides the discipline into 2 sub-disciplines, « historische Musikwissenschaft » (historical musicology) and « systematische Musikwissenschaft » (systematic musicology) . In Adler's article, systematic musicology included « Musikologie » or « vergleichende Musikwissenschaft » (comparative musicology) , which later became an independent discipline (ethnomusicology) . Although these subfields do not exactly line-up with current practice, they are roughly maintained in modern European musicology and roughly correspond to the North American the division of musicology into music history (often called « musicology ») , music theory, and ethnomusicology.

In 1885, he was called to the newly established German University of Prague, Bohemia, as ordinary professor of the history and theory of music and, in 1898, in the same capacity, to the University of Vienna, where he succeeded Eduard Hanslick. His students at the « Musikwissenschaftliches Institut » included Anton Webern and composer Karel Navrátil.

In 1886, he published « Die Wiederholung und Nachahmung in der Mehrstimmigkeit » ; in 1888, « Ein Satz eines Unbekannten Beethovenischen Klavierkonzerts » . In 1892-1893, he edited a selection of musical compositions of the Emperors Ferdinand III, Leopold I, and Joseph I (2 volumes) . Between 1894 and 1938, he was editor of the « Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich » , a seminal publication in music history.

Adler was one of the founders of musicology as a discipline (« Musikwissenschaft ») . He was also among the 1st scholars in music to recognize the relevance of socio-cultural factors to music (« Musiksoziologie ») , thereby providing a broader context for æsthetic criticism which, with biography, had been the primary focus of 19th Century music scholarship. Empirical study was for him the most important part of the discipline. His own emphasis was on the music of Austria, specifically the music of the « 1st Viennese School » : Haydn, Mozart and their contemporaries.

...

Guido Adler's family moved to Vienna in 1864 and, 4 years later, he began to study music theory and composition with Anton Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory. Intending to pursue a career in law, Adler studied at the Vienna University, receiving a doctoral degree in 1878. During this period, he gave a series of lectures on Richard Wagner at the University (later published as « Richard Wagner » , in 1904) and, in cooperation with the conductor Felix Mottl, established the « Akademischer Wagnerverein » (Academic Wagner Society) .

Influenced by the writings of outstanding contemporaries in the field of music history, Adler abandoned law ; he wrote a dissertation on Western music before 1600 and was awarded a Ph.D. in 1880. 2 years later, he became a lecturer and completed a work on the history of harmony. In collaboration with Philipp Spitta and Karl Franz Friedrich Chrysander, Adler founded the « Viertel-jahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft » (Quarterly of Musicology) , in 1884. The following year, he was appointed professor of the history of music at the German University at Prague.

In 1888, he recommended that the Austrian government publish an edition of great Austrian music. This project came into being as the « Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich » (Monuments of Music in Austria) , and Adler was its general editor, from 1894 to 1938 ; producing 83 volumes in the series.

In 1892, Adler became organizer of the music section of the International Music and Theatre Exhibition in Vienna. In 1898, Adler was named professor of music history at the Vienna University, where he founded an institute devoted to musicological research. His lectures were popular and were attended by students from throughout Europe. A considerable number of his pupils later attained fame as composers or musicologists. In addition to music history, Adler's interests extended to contemporary music ; he developed a close friendship with Gustav Mahler, about whom he published a book, in 1916, and he also admired the work of Arnold Schönberg.

As one of the earliest musicologists, Adler articulated the major principles and methods of the new discipline as it was taking form in the late- 19th Century ; he was the 1st music historian to emphasize style criticism in research. His attitudes and procedures are evident in the « Handbuch der Musikgeschichte » (Handbook of Music History) , of which he became the editor, in 1924.

...

Austrian writer on music ; born at Eibenschütz, Moravia, November 1, 1855. His father, Joachim, a physician, died in 1857, whereupon his mother removed to Iglau. He was educated in Vienna, where he studied music at the Conservatory under Anton Bruckner and Otto Dessoff. In 1878, he was graduated from the Vienna University as doctor of

jurisprudence, and, in 1880, as doctor of Philosophy. His dissertation, « Die Grundklassen der Christlich-Abendländischen Musik bis 1600 » (The Chief Divisions of Western Church Music up to 1600) , was reprinted in « Allgemeine Musikzeitung » , in 1880. In 1883, Adler became lecturer on musical science at Vienna University, on which occasion he wrote « Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Harmonie » (An Essay on the History of Harmony) , published in the « Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Wiener Academie der Wissenschaften » , in 1881. In 1884, he founded, with Friedrich Chrysander and Philip Spitta, the « Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft » . In 1885, he was called to the German University of Prague, Bohemia, as ordinary professor of the history and theory of music, and, in 1898, in the same capacity, to the University of Vienna. In 1886, he published « Die Wiederholung und Nachahmung in der Mehrstimmigkeit » ; in 1888, « Ein Satz eines Unbekannten Beethovenischen Klavierkonzerts » . In 1892-1893, he edited a selection of musical compositions of the Emperors Ferdinand III, Leopold I, and Joseph I (in 2 volumes) . Since 1894, he has been the editor of « Denkmäler der Tonkunst für Österreich » , an important publication for the history of music.

...

A scholar, writer, critic, and founder of the field of Musicology, Guido Adler was an important figure in international music circles for nearly 50 years.

Born in Eibenschutz, Moravia, in 1855, Adler studied music theory and composition at the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , the Vienna Conservatory. Graduated in 1875, Adler decided against a career as a composer and instead studied law. He received his law degree, in 1878. A practicing attorney for 3 brief months, Adler decided music was his true love and returned to school at the University of Vienna where he received his Ph.D. , in 1880. Adler taught in Prague and at the University of Vienna until his retirement, in 1927.

As a teacher Adler's impact was enormous. In addition to the many students who went on to become important musicologists in their own right, he founded « Quarterly for Musicology » , created scholarly Festivals on Haydn and Beethoven, published numerous authoritative works of musicology and began publishing « Monuments of Music in Austria » : a work he edited for 44 years.

The Guido Adler Collection, MS No. 769, consists of 74 boxes of documents ranging from correspondence with all the major figures in music of his day to clippings of concert reviews.

The Guido Adler Collection is a singular, extremely rich source of information for the history of music and the field of musicology for a period of nearly 5 decades. The collection is primarily in German.

...

Guido Adler (geboren 1. November 1855 in Eibenschütz, Mähren ; gestorben 15. Februar 1941 in Wien) war ein österreichischer Musikwissenschaftler. Er gilt als Begründer der Wiener Musikwissenschaft.

Guido Adler war der Sohn eines Arztes. Nach dessen frühem Tode (1856) zog die Mutter mit ihren sechs unversorgten Kindern nach Iglau, wo Adler die Volksschule besuchte und ersten Klavierunterricht erhielt. Eine kaiserliche Gnadenpension und die Unterstützung der Verwandten ermöglichten der Familie den Lebensunterhalt. 1864 kam er nach Wien, wo er ab September 1869 das Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien besuchte. Seine Lehrer waren Wilhelm Schenner und Josef Dachs (Klavier), Anton Bruckner in Harmonielehre (als Nebenfach) und Otto Dessoff (Theorie und Komposition). Nach dem Abitur im Jahre 1873 studierte er zusätzlich Jura, das er 1878 mit der Promotion beendete. Er arbeitete jedoch nur drei Monate als Rechtsanwalt. Im Juni 1874 machte er am Konservatorium sein Pianistendiplom. Zunächst entschied er sich jedoch gegen eine Karriere als Komponist.

Mit seinen Mitschülern am Konservatorium Arthur Nikisch und Felix Mottl überreichte er Richard Wagner einen Ehrenpokal. Als Wortführer der Konservatoristen hielt er eine Ansprache an Franz Liszt. Adler war Mitbegründer des Akademischen Wagnervereins und hielt als solcher 1875-1876 einen Zyklus von Vorträgen zur Einführung in den Ring des Nibelungen. Durch die Arbeiten von August Wilhelm Ambros, Friedrich Chrysander, Otto Jahn und Philipp Spitta wurden seine musikhistorischen Neigungen geweckt und nach kurzer Praxis am Wiener Handelsgericht wandte er sich ganz der Musikwissenschaft zu. Bei seinem Studium förderte ihn der Wiener Ordinarius Eduard Hanslick.

1880 erhielt er seinen Doktorgrad an der Universität Wien. 1884 gründete Adler im Vereine mit Philipp Spitta und Friedrich Chrysander die Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft, die er während ihres zehnjährigen Bestehens zusammen mit diesen redigierte. 1885 wurde er Nachfolger von Eduard Hanslick als Professor in Prag und gründete 1898 das Musikwissenschaftliche Institut der Universität Wien, dessen Leiter er bis zu seiner Pensionierung im Jahre 1927 war.

1888 regte er mit einer Denkschrift über die Herausgabe von Monumenta historiae musices auf internationaler Basis an, neben Denkmäler-Publikationen auch Dokumente und Quellschriften historischer und theoretischer Art zu edieren. Sie wurde zunächst auf die Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich begrenzt, die seit 1894 unter Adlers Leitung in 83 Bänden bis 1938 ununterbrochen erschienen. 1892 organisierte er die musikhistorische Abteilung der Internationalen Musik- und Theaterausstellung in Wien und veranlasste die österreichische Regierung zum Ankauf der Trienter Codices.

Das von ihm gegründete Musikhistorische Institut Wien wurde zum Mittelpunkt der österreichischen Musikforschung. Die 1913-1938 als Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich jährlich erscheinenden Studien zur Musikwissenschaft brachten wertvolle Abhandlungen aus Adlers Schule. Er organisierte die internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongresse zu Haydn (1909) und der Beethoven-Zentenarfeier (1927) in Wien.

1927 gab er die Anregung zur Gründung der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft mit dem Sitz in Basel, als deren Ehrenpräsident er bis zu seinem Tode fungierte. Im gleichen Jahre trat er vom Lehramt zurück, behielt jedoch die Leitung der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich bei, bis ihm 1938 die publizistische Tätigkeit versagt wurde. Seine wertvolle Bibliothek wurde nach seinem Tode auf Betreiben seines undankbaren Schülers Erich Schenk beschlagnahmt und ohne Entschädigung der Erben den von ihm begründeten Seminaren zugewiesen.

Guido Adler wurde von der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde zum Ehrenmitglied ernannt. 1938 wurde die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien faktisch aufgelöst, erst unter kommissarische Leitung gestellt und dann unter Beibehaltung des

Namens der Wiener Staatstheater- und Bühnenakademie eingegliedert. Während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus erfolgte aufgrund antisemitischer Einstellung eine Aberkennung der Ehrenmitgliedschaft. Adler wurde zusätzlich in Herbert Gerigks Lexikon der Juden in der Musik diskriminiert und dort mit einem bewusst falschen Todesdatum eingetragen (14. Dezember 1933) . Seit der Wiedererrichtung der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien 1945 wird Guido Adler (wie auch Bruno Walter, Karl Goldmark und andere) wieder als Ehrenmitglied geführt.

Im März 1941 ließ seine Tochter ihn in aller Stille beisetzen, 1980 erfolgte die Umbettung aus einem gewöhnlichen Urnenfeld in ein Ehrengrab auf dem Wiener Zentralfriedhof (Gruppe 32 C, Nummer 51) . 1998 waren in der Ausstellung « 100 Jahre Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Wien » Guido Adler zwei eigene Vitrinen von der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien gewidmet worden.

Sein Sohn Achim Adler emigrierte bereits früher in die USA. Seine Tochter Melanie Karoline Adler wurde im Mai 1942 von Wien nach Minsk deportiert und am 26. Mai 1942 im Vernichtungslager Maly Trostinez ermordet.

Guido Adler war ein ruhiger Zeitgenosse. So jedenfalls muß Gustav Mahler ihn empfunden haben. Mahler soll über ihn gesagt haben : « Wenn ich allein sein will, gehe ich mit Guido Adler spazieren. » .

1. November 1855 : Geboren in Eibenschitz (Ivance) in Mähren.

1856 : Tod seines Vaters, Joachim Adler, praktischer Arzt. Übersiedlung der Familie nach Iglau. Mittelschule in Iglau.

1864 : Übersiedlung nach Wien. Akademisches Gymnasium in Wien (damalige Eliteschule) .

1868 : Schüler am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Seine Lehrer waren und andere Wilhelm Schenner (gestorben 1840) und Josef Dachs (1825-1896) , Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) und Felix Otto Dessoff (1835-1892 ; Theorie und Komposition) .

1873 : Absolvierung des Akademischen Gymnasiums.

1874 : Absolvierung des Konservatoriums. Abitur. Studium der Rechtswissenschaften.

1875 : Mitbegründer des Akademischen Wagnervereins.

1875-1876 : Adler hielt einen Zyklus von Vorträgen zur Einführung in den « Ring der Nibelungen » im Akademischen Wagnerverein.

1878 : Promotion im Studium der Rechtswissenschaften. Nur drei Monate Praxis am Wiener Handelsgericht.

1878-1880 : Adler besucht die Vorlesungen Eduard Hanslicks an der Wiener Universität.

1880 : Promovierung bei Hanslick mit der Dissertation « Die historischen Grundclassen der christlich-abendländischen Musik bis 1600 » .

1882 : Habilitation an der Wiener Universität mit einer Studie zur Geschichte der Harmonie. Offizielle Vertretung Österreichs beim Internationalen Kongreß für liturgischen Gesang in Arezzo. Verfassung eines Memorandums für die Regierung über die Kongressergebnisse.

1884 : Gründung der Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft, zusammen mit Philipp Spitta und Friedrich Chrysander.

1885 : Berufung als Außerordentlicher Professor an der Deutschen Universität Prag.

1885-1895 : Veröffentlichung und Redaktion der Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft zusammen mit Philipp Spitta und Friedrich Chrysander.

1887 : Heirat mit der Wienerin Betti Berger.

1888 : Überreicht er dem zuständigen Ministerium eine von Eduard Hanslick mitunterzeichnete Denkschrift über die Herausgabe von « Monumenta historiae musicae » auf internationaler Basis. Das Projekt wurde auf « Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich » (Der Tonkunst in Österreich - DTÖ) reduziert.

1892 : Organisiert er die « Musikhistorische Abteilung der Internationalen Ausstellung für Musik und Theaterwesen in Wien » . Er veranlasst die österreichische Regierung zum Ankauf der Trienter Codices. Herausgabe einer Auswahl der musikalischen Werke der Kaiser Ferdinand III. , Leopold I. und Joseph I. als Auftakt zum Der Tonkunst in Österreich (DTÖ) .

1894-1938 : Ununterbrochene Erscheinung Der Tonkunst in Österreich (DTÖ) unter Adlers Leitung in 83 Bänden.

1898 : Hanslicks Pensionierung. Berufung Adlers als dessen Nachfolger auf den Lehrstuhl für Musikwissenschaft an die Universität Wien. Beginn der Vorbereitungen für ein musikhistorisches Institut an der Wiener Universität : Aushandeln der Räumlichkeiten, Beschaffung und Sammlung der Lehrmittel und so weiter.

1898-1927 : Lehrstuhl für Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Wien (bis zur Erreichung der Altersgrenze) .

1898-1899 (Wintersemester) : Gründung des « Institut(s) für Musikwissenschaft » . Dieses Institut wurde bald ein Vorbild für die anderen Institute. Hier promovierte Adler bis zu seiner Emeritierung 135 Doktoranden. Viele von diesen bekleideten später akademische Ämter.

1904 : Veröffentlichung des Buches « Vorlesungen, gehalten an der Universität Wien, Leipzig » . Es sind seine Vorlesungen, die Wagner « musikgeschichtlich würdigen » .

1909 : Organisation des III. Kongresses der Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft, anlässlich der Haydn-Zentenarfeier.

1911 : Veröffentlichung des Buches « Der Stil in der Musik, I. Buch : Prinzipien und Arten des musikalischen Stils » , Leipzig. Systematische Behandlung des Begriffes « Stil » .

1913-1938 : Jährliche Veröffentlichungen der « Studien zur Musikwissenschaft » als Beihefte zu den Der Tonkunst in Österreich (DTÖ) . Mit diesen Heften wollte er die auf den « Stil » gebaute musikwissenschaftliche Forschung ausbauen.

1919 : Veröffentlichung des Buches « Methode der Musikgeschichte » . Hier stellte er seine « Methode » vor, die lange Zeit die Entwicklung der « historischen » Musikwissenschaft beeinflusste.

1924 : Veröffentlichung des « Handbuch(s) der Musikgeschichte » , im Zusammenwirken mit zahlreichen Fachkollegen.

1927 : Organisation der Beethoven- Zentenarfeier. Wie die Haydn- Zentenarfeier 1909 war die Beethoven- Zentenarfeier ein kulturelles Großereignis im damaligen Wien.

1927 : Gründung der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft mit dem Sitz in Basel. Adler wurde bis zu seinem Tode deren Ehrenpräsident. Emeritierung. Weiterhin Leitung Der Tonkunst in Österreich (DTÖ) bis 1938.

1935 : Autobiographie « Wollen und Wirken » .

1938 : Mit dem Einmarsch der Deutschen am 12. März 1938 nach Österreich wurden Adler, aufgrund der am 15. September 1935 erlassenen Nürnberger Gesetze, die staatsbürgerlichen Grundrechte automatisch aberkannt. Da er Jude war, wurde ihm auch die publizistische Tätigkeit untersagt. Mit einem Schreiben an Kardinal Innitzer zog er sich von der Präsidentschaft der « Denkmäler » (Der Tonkunst in Österreich - DTÖ) zurück. Wegen seiner großen internationalen Bekanntheit wurden sein Leben und seine Wohnung bis zu seinem Ableben verschont. Jedoch wurde er gezwungen, den Rest seines Lebens in seiner Villa in der Lannerstraße in Hausarrest zu verbringen.

1941 : Adler sollte deportiert werden. Durch verschiedene Interventionen, und andere durch Gutachten von Erich Schenk und Rechtsanwalt Adolf Leischner, wurde die Deportation verhindert.

14. Februar 1941 : Gestorben in Wien. Bestattung im Wiener Krematorium. Die Urne wurde später (Datum unbekannt) in ein Ehrengrab auf dem Wiener Zentralfriedhof überführt. Nach seinem Tod wurde seine Privatbibliothek ohne Entschädigung beschlagnahmt.

Glücklicherweise wurde die Bibliothek nicht vernichtet, sondern dem Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminar (dem ehemals von ihm begründeten Musikhistorischen Institut) zugewiesen. Sein Sohn Achim war bereits früher in die USA emigriert. Seine Tochter Melitta wurde nach seinem Tode in Theresienstadt ermordet.

L'élève Guido Peters

Le pianiste et compositeur styrien Guido Peters est né le 29 novembre 1866 à Graz et est mort le 11 janvier 1937 à Vienne. De 1875 à 1882, il étudie au Conservatoire de Vienne auprès de Wilhelm Schenner, Julius Epstein (piano) ; et de Franz Krenn (théorie musicale) . En 1889, il devient l'élève de Anton Bruckner à l'Université de Vienne. Puis, il poursuit une double carrière comme pianiste et compositeur. Il effectue de nombreuses tournées de concerts, n'oubliant jamais d'ajouter des œuvres de Jean-Sébastien Bach au répertoire Classique et Romantique. En 1926, il obtient un poste titulaire de professeur au Conservatoire de Vienne.

Son style (qui puise chez Ludwig van Beethoven et Franz Schubert) se veut une médiation entre la musique de Brahms et de Bruckner. Il écrit dans tous les genres (on compte, entre autres, 3 Symphonies) . En 1921 et 1926, 2 de ses Opus symphoniques sont programmées par l'Orchestre Philharmonique de Vienne. Issues pour la plupart de l'idiome du Romantisme finissant, ses œuvres connaissent un succès considérable au cours des 3 Ires décennies du 20e siècle. Malheureusement, elles ont disparu depuis.

Dimanche, 8 décembre 1929 (à 16h30) : Concert à la grande salle du « Musikverein » de l'Orchestre symphonique de Vienne dirigé par Martin Spörr avec, comme soliste invité, le pianiste Guido Peters.

Au programme :

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphonie n° 4 en si bémol majeur, Opus 60.

Ludwig van Beethoven : Concerto n° 4 en sol majeur pour piano et orchestre, Opus 58.

(Extrait)

Ludwig van Beethoven : Symphonie n° 5 en ut mineur, Opus 67.

Peters est inhumé au cimetière central de Vienne (« Wiener Zentralfriedhof ») .

Une plaque commémorative orne sa maison du 3 de la « Hartiggasse » , à Graz.

...

The Styrian pianist and composer Guido Peters was born on 29 November 1866 in Graz and died on 11 January 1937 in Vienna. From 1875 to 1882, he studied at the Vienna Conservatory under Wilhelm Schenner, Julius Epstein (piano) ; and Franz Krenn (music theory) . In 1889, he became a student of Anton Bruckner at the University of Vienna.

The Symphonic form initiated by Anton Bruckner symbolizes the summum of Austrian instrumental music. The assimilation of the Beethoven tradition plus the acquaintings with the Wagner-Liszt movement fed Bruckner's imagination to the eternal fountain of traditional folk-music. He has made school ; let's only mention Gustav Mahler and Guido Peters. But did Bruckner also exercise some influence on his favourite student, Hugo Wolf ? Wilhelm Mauke believes so :

« The Romantic mysticism of Hugo Wolf originates from the religious world of his teacher, Bruckner. He overcame all the showers of death through the positive power of supernatural faith by worshipping the genuflection before eternity, the majestic tongue roar of his Chorales. »

From 1897 to 1901, Peters studied with piano teacher Erich Wolf Degner at the « Musikverein » of Styria. He lived in Munich from 1901 to 1903 ; and, mainly in Vienna, from 1905.

He pursued a dual career as a pianist and composer. He made numerous concert tours, playing the works of Johann Sebastian Bach alongside the Classical and Romantic repertoire. In 1921 and 1926, 2 of his Symphonic works were performed by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. In 1926, he obtained a professorship at the Vienna Conservatory. He composed in most genres and his works (influenced by Beethoven and Schubert) are essentially written in the late-Romantic idiom which makes him a mediator between Johannes Brahms and Anton Bruckner. They enjoyed considerable success during the 1st 3 decades of the 20th Century but, sadly, have disappeared since then. Guido Peters is buried in the Central Cemetery (« Wiener Zentralfriedhof ») .

A sketch-book of Ludwig van Beethoven's, probably that for the year 1809, has been found by « Herr » Guido Peters, of Berlin, among his father's papers. It contains the draft for the Concerto in E-flat and the « Choral Fantasie » , and the sketch for a patriotic song, which he never finished.

Filling for an indisposed Oskar Nedhal, young Bruno Walter presided over the 1st Viennese performance of Guido Peters' Symphony No. 2 in E minor, played by the « Tonkünstler Orchester » , on February 3, 1910. (Before, Ferdinand Löwe conducted the 1st and 4th movements.)

Guido Peters' 2nd String Quartet, which dates from 1910, must be considered a very noteworthy work. The 1st movement, « Allegro con brio, poco patetico » , has a dramatic and highly-effective main-theme which is full of passion. Still more striking is the lyrical 2nd subject. The following, deeply felt « Andante sostenuto » has the character of a lament but there is also lighter middle-section. This is a magnificent and very poetic movement. The 3rd movement, « Sehr rasch und deutlich » , is a spirited Scherzo, which along the way, in a muted section, becomes highly-atmospheric. There is also a contrasting Trio with a lovely melody. The Finale begins with a recitative introduction, « Sostenuto » , in which the main-theme appears again, but this time in the major. The main section, « Allegro con brio » is both tonally attractive finely written.

The performance of a Peters' String Quartet by the Gottesmann Quartet, in 1922, is mentioned in « The Musical Times » and in the singing-class circular (issue of 1 December 1922) . However, this one seems to have been performed earlier still (in 1911) by the Fitzner Quartet ; description as « No. 2 » may reflect, perhaps, the order of composition (unlikely though, since the A major was composed in 1911-1912) but not that of publication or premiere. (No. 2 seems, at least, to have been premiered slightly before No.1, and the 2 published almost simultaneously in 1918.)

Works

Piano Pieces.

Lieder

Song for low-voice and piano (1903) .

5 Songs for low-voice and piano, Opus 2-6, Universal-Edition (1910) .

Choral

« The Bread of Life » for mixed-choir and organ (1923) .

Chamber Music

« Nocturno » , Octet in 4 movements for string quartet (2 violins, 1 viola, 1 cello) and wind instruments (1 oboe, 1 clarinet, 1 bassoon, 1 horn) , Universal-Edition (1913-1914) (1918) .

Sonata in F minor for cello and piano (1895) , Universal-Edition (1921) .

String Quartet No. 2 in C minor (1910) , 1st Publication : Universal-Edition, Vienna (1918) - plates U.E. 5893a-d.

It is in 4 movements :

I. Allegro con brio, poco patetico (Sehr energisch und feurig) .

II. Andante sostenuto (In wehmutsvoller Andacht) .

III. Scherzo. Sehr rasch und deutlich, geisterhaft. (Molto vivace. Alla breve) .

IV. Sostenuto (rezitativisch, etwas frei) - Allegro con brio (nicht übereilt, mit Ausdruck) .

String Quartet in A major in 3 or 4 movements (the Finale follows without a break) (1911-1912) , Universal Edition, Vienna (1918) - plates U.E. 5894.

Symphonic Works

Rural Symphony in E major (1889-1890) .

Symphonic Prelude based on a Tragicomedy (1921-1923) .

Symphony No. 2 in E minor (1900-1903) , manuscripts.

Symphony No. 3 in F-sharp minor (1914-1918) ; published in 1920.

Opera

« Beata » (1891-1894) .

Publication

« Aphorismen » (1931) .

From the Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (Volume I)

... He found somewhere and brought home one day Guido Peters, an Austrian student of music, who swept us into his enthusiasm and made us also students of music. Leipzig was a music center, and Guido knew everybody and everything in that distinct and devoted world. He got all the concert programs long in advance, gave us lectures on each composer and his work, illustrated. Sitting at his piano, he would pull a piece to pieces, playing it analytically and then straight through, with comments, explanations, and criticism. The weekly event was the « Gewandhaus » concert, on Monday nights. Guido brought home the next program Tuesday and, day by day, he would work with us to make us familiar with it, till on Friday, we all went together to the last private rehearsal to which music students were admitted ; on Saturday, we heard the public rehearsal ; and, on Monday night, we were quite ready to appreciate the finished concert. And so, with all the other good music given in Leipzig that winter : we had it over and over till we knew it, inside and out ; harmoniously and mathematically, sensually, scientifically, and artistically.

In return for our interest in his subject, Guido Peters took some in our subjects. He heard a lecture with us, now and then, went with us to the art galleries of Dresden and Berlin. He did not care much for the science and the history of art and ethics. He preferred art for art's sake, art's and love's. For he was in love, not with any girl in Leipzig, but with many girls at home, in Austria. He wrote love-letters to his several sweethearts whom he loved - « all » , he said, « equally. I pour-out my whole heart to the one I am writing to, turn to the next, and I pour-out my whole heart to her » . And he always wanted to read us the last 2 or 3 of those letters ; and he did, till I stopped him one day.

« No » , I protested, « don't read it. Play it on the piano. »

He looked uncomprehending a moment, then saw the point, leaped to the piano, and he played the letters. He played them all after that and, finally, by way of an experiment in applied psychology, I got him to play a letter he was full of, before he wrote it. The effect astonished him. He didn't have to write it. « Nay » , he exclaimed, « I can't write it now. » Of course not. When he played a love-letter, he was a lover in love, he poured forth his whole heart to us and, after the orgy of it, there was nothing for him or for us to do but go down to the river, take a boat, and row slowly, softly, sentimentally up the river, the pretty little river under the trees and, in the silence of our hearts, listen to the nightingales.

A serious matter for me, these debauches. To Johann, it was merely music ; to Guido himself, it was art and love ;

that's all. The Germans are sentimental idiots when drunk like that. But we, Americans, are a practical race. When we are moved, we are moved to action. If we get drunk, we want to break something. I broke an engagement and married.

Guido and his music and his love for his remote girls were not alone to blame for my conduct. The coming of spring at the wrong time (right after the winter) had something to do with it ; and, then, there were Wundt's lectures and the hard scientific spirit of the experimental laboratory. « We want facts, nothing but facts » , he used to declare. The laboratory where we sought the facts and measured them by machinery was a graveyard where the old idealism walked as a dreadful ghost and philosophical thinking was a sin. One day when the good old professor was looking over us and our works, his one seeing eye fell upon William James' great book on psychology, just out. Wundt had almost blinded himself by the abuse of his eyes in experimentation ; he had but one tiny spot in one retina that could see. He picked-up James, fixed his one spot on the 1st page and beginning, at once, to read, started-off like a somnambulist for the door.

Then, he remembered, turned, and asked my indulgence. « Sis erlauben ? » When I « allowed » , he went on reading and walking into his own room. The next morning, he came back, laid the book on my table, and thanked me.

« You have read it ? » I asked, astonished.

« All night long » , he answered. « Word for word, every word. »

And his familiars told me afterward that this was literally true. He had sat down with the book when he got it from me, read it word by word, as he had to with his eye-spot, and finished it the moment he returned it to me. As he was about to leave it with me, I stopped him with a question :What about it ?

« Well, and - ? » I said. (« Na, und - »)

« It is literature, it is beautiful » , he stammered, « but it is not psychology » .

Against this, I always like to put a story Wundt's assistant, Külpe, told us after a visit to the neighboring University of Jena to see the aged philosopher Erdmann, whose history of philosophy, in some 10 volumes, we all had read and studied. They had a warm, friendly talk, the old scholar and the young scientist, all about the old philosophers and their systems. But when Külpe tried to draw him out on Wundt and the newer school, Erdmann shook his head, declaring that he could not understand the modern men.

« In my day » , he explained, « we used to ask the everlasting question :“ What is man ? ” And you - nowadays, you answer it, saying, “ He was an ape. ” » (« Er war ein Aff. »)

And, yet, Wundt had a philosophy, and not only of facts ; no, and not only of theories, either. He said that theories were only aids to experiment, which was the test. He taught and I learned from him the discipline, the caution, and

the method of the experimental procedure of modern science. But Wundt, in practice, had established facts, he thought, by this method, and he built upon them conclusions which formed a system of philosophy written into several volumes. With an ethics, too, it was all complete. Well, we knew it. It was under attack at the time. Some fresh, young men were challenging, with facts, with experimentally determined data, some of the very foundations of Wundt's psychology, which, in turn, was the basis of Wundt's philosophy. We were working, for the truth, of course, but also we were fighting, and when we got results which confirmed Wundt we were glad, and when we got results that seemed to support the enemy ...

Some of us were looking over the laboratory records of an American student who had stood high with the Professor and, therefore, with us all. He had gone home, taken a professorship, and was holding high our colours. He became afterward one of the leading men in American science and education. His student papers were models of neatness, and as we looked we saw that they were a Masterpiece of caution, wisdom, and mathematical labor. The records of his experiment showed that he got, at 1st, results which would have given aid and comfort to the enemy and confounded one of Wundt's most axiomatic premises. He must have suffered, that promising young student ; it was his thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which he needed for his career at home ; he must have thought, as a psychologist, that Wundt might have been reluctant to crown a discovery which would require the old philosopher to recast his philosophy and rewrite the published volumes of his lifework. The budding psychologist solved the ethical problem before him by deciding to alter his results, and his papers showed how he did this, by changing the figures item by item, experiment by experiment, so as to make the curve of his averages come-out for instead of against our school. After a few minutes of silent admiration of the mathematical feat performed on the papers before us, we buried sadly these remains of a great sacrifice to loyalty, to the school spirit, and to practical ethics.

Ethics ! There was no foundation in (experimental) psychology for a science of ethics ; not that I could find. There might be some day, when psychology itself is scientific. All I got-out of my year of German psychology was a lead into biology, on the one hand, and into sociology, on the other, a curiosity to hear and see what the French thought they knew about such matters and, best of all, a training in the experimental method. I decided to go to Paris for a year at the Sorbonne, and I began to change my subject from ethics to morals, from what ought to be done to what is done, and why. Lightly, I say this now, but to me, in the spring of 1891, the conflict of ideas and emotions was a crisis that weighed heavily on me. I had lost time. I had lost myself.

There is no made road across the sciences. To pursue an inquiry from one of them through others into another is like trying to travel cross-country in England without returning to London. The sciences are laid out within perpendicular lines. The physicists, chemists, biologists, and astronomers now are making tracks across their fields but, in my day, they also were fenced in, each man to his own « Fach » . My difficulties and my sense of defeat put me in a state of mind where Johann and his art, Guido Peters and his music and his loves, the river and the nightingales and the spring, and, yes, the baker girl and the « Mädel » in the back-room and the funny old landlady (with the regrets of all of them, and their laughter) all these were an inspiration to me to go and make love myself to a pretty American girl who sat behind me, at Wundt's lectures. It was unethical, but I did it, and it was good for some 19 years.

...

Guido Peters, Komponist und Pianist : geboren Graz, 29.11.1866 ; gestorben Wien, 11.01.1937. Sohn des Geologen und Mediziners Karl F. Peters ; absolvieren 1875-1882 das Wiener Konservatorium als Schüler von Wilhelm Schenner und Julius Epstein und Franz Krenn (Komposition) . Peters lebte 1901-1903 in München, ab 1905 vor allem in Wien, wo er 1926 den Professor Titel erhielt und von wo aus er als Konzertpianist viele Reisen unternahm ; in seinem Repertoire fanden sich zahlreiche Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs, die zu jener Zeit noch kaum wieder entdeckt worden waren, und der Wiener Klassiker und Romantiker. Als Komponist pflegte Peters eine klassizist. Manier, die ihn, von Ludwig van Beethoven und Franz Schubert ausgehend, als Vermittler zwischen Johannes Brahms und Anton Bruckner ausweist. Noch zu seinen Lebzeiten konstituierte sich in Wien für kurze Zeit eine Guido Peters Gemeinde.

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Guido Peters, Komponist, Pianist : geboren 29.11.1866 Graz ; gestorben 11.01.1937 Wien. Studierte 1875-1882 am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Klavier (bei Wilhelm Schenner und Julius Epstein) und Musiktheorie (bei Franz Krenn) sowie 1889 an der Universität Wien bei Anton Bruckner ; als Komponist im Wesentlichen Autodidakt. Nach einem Bayreuth-Besuch hörte er Vorlesungen an der Universität Leipzig / Deutschland (1889-1891) . 1897-1901 war er unter Erich Wolf Degner, Klavierlehrer am Musikverein für Steiermark. Er lebte 1901-1903 in München / Deutschland, ab 1905 vorwiegend in Wien. Peters unternahm zahlreiche Konzertreisen, wobei er neben dem klassisch-romantischen Repertoire auch Johann Sebastian Bach interpretierte. 1921 und 1926 wurden zwei symphonische Werke Peters's von den Wiener Philharmonikern aufgeführt. Professor-Titel, 1926. In den 1930er Jahren formierte sich in Wien eine Guido-Peters-Gemeinde. Wichtiger Vertreter des Klassizismus. Seine Urgroßtante Josephine (geborene Hochsinger, geboren 1791 in Ort (?) ; gestorben 28.03.1866 in Graz) war dilettierende Sängerin und Dichterin und kam durch ihren Mann, den Hofrat Karl Peters, in die Kreise des Fürsten Joseph Franz von Lobkowitz und war in Kontakt mit Ludwig van Beethoven und Franz Schubert. Grabe Ehrengrab Wiener Zentralfriedhof ; Gedenktafel Graz, Hartiggasse 3.

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L'élève Josef Vockner

Compositeur et organiste autrichien, le docteur Josef Vockner est né le 18 (ou 21) mars 1842 à Ebensee, en Haute-Autriche, et est mort le 11 septembre 1906 à Vienne. Son grand-père, Franz-Josef von Vockner (25 août 1778 - 18 mars 1814) , passera toute sa vie à Ebensee comme enseignant. Joseph Vockner reçoit localement des leçons de violon de l'instituteur Franz Steininger. À partir de 1858, il travaille comme commis dans une saline de Bad Ischl. À partir de 1860, il donne des leçons de piano et, plus tard, reprend son poste d'organiste à l'église paroissiale de Bad Ischl. Vers 1870, il va déménager à Vienne. Il deviendra organiste adjoint à l'église Saint-Augustin (Vienne, I) et à la « Altlerchenfelder Pfarrkirche » (Vienne, VII) . De 1876 à 1888, Josef Vockner est un élève privé (en théorie musicale) d'Anton Bruckner. Il s'avérera un proche confident pour le Maître de Saint-Florian. De 1890 à 1906, Vockner va enseigner au Conservatoire de la « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » (Société des Amis de la Musique) . En 1894, il sera nommé professeur d'orgue puis remplacera Bruckner, lors du décès de ce dernier. Josef Vockner aura parmi ses élèves : Matej Hubad, Rudolf Knarr, Carl Lafite, Ellen Pancera, Robert Pensch et Karl Wiesmann.

Œuvres

124 Opus.

Oratorio « Christus am Ölberg » (1871) .

Oratorio « Das Weltgericht » (1894) ; créé en 1897 par le « Wiener Singverein » .

Pièces pour piano.

Musique de chambre.

Sonate pour violon en ré majeur, Opus 4.

Quatuor avec piano en do, Opus 6.

Quintette avec piano, Opus 70.

Pièces pour orgue.

Concerto pour orgue et orchestre.

Ouvertures pour orchestre.

Symphonie en fa mineur (1902) .

Lieder pour violon et piano, sans paroles.

Lieder.

Petites pièces de musique d'église.

3 Messes dont la Grand-Messe allemande pour enfants, et la grande Messe en fa mineur.

...

The Austrian composer and organist Josef Vockner was born on 18 (or 21) March 1842 in Ebensee, Upper-Austria ; and died on 11 September 1906 in Vienna. He was a pupil of Anton Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory. He replaced him after his death (in October 1896) as organ teacher there. His students included : Matej Hubad, Rudolf Knarr, Carl Lafite, Ellen Pancera, Robert Pensch and Karl Wiesmann.

Piano Quintet in B-flat major, Opus 70 (1906) , for 2 violins, viola, violoncello and piano. Ist publication in 1914.

...

Josef Vockner (geboren 18. auch 21. März 1842 in Ebensee, Oberösterreich ; gestorben 11. September 1906 in Wien) war ein österreichischer Organist und Komponist.

Vockner war ein Schüler Anton Bruckners. Er war Orgellehrer am Wiener Konservatorium.

Urgroßvater Josef Vockner und Großvater Franz Vockner (geboren 25. August 1778 in Ebensee, Oberösterreich ; gestorben 18. März 1814 ebenda) waren Lehrer in Ebensee gewesen, Vockner selbst erhielt Violinunterricht vom Ebenseer Schullehrer Franz Steininger und arbeitete zunächst ab 1858 als Schreiber in der Saline Bad Ischl. Ab 1860 gab er nebenbei Klavierunterricht, später übernahm er das Organistenamt an der Ischler Pfarrkirche. Circa 1870 erfolgte seine Übersiedelung nach Wien, wo er und andere Organist an Sankt Augustin (Wien I) sowie an der Altlerchenfelder Kirche (Wien VII) war und Anton Bruckners privater Theorieschüler wurde (1876-1888) ; das größtenteils erhaltene

Unterrichtsmaterial stellt eine wertvolle Quelle für Bruckners Tätigkeit als Lehrer dar. 1890-1906 unterrichtete Vockner (jahrzehntelang enger Vertrauter Bruckners) in dessen Nachfolge Orgel am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Professor, 1894) . Seine Kammer- und Kirchenmusik wurde häufig aufgeführt, gefördert vor allem durch Josef Hellmesberger Senior und Julius Epstein. Zu Vockners Schülern zählten Matej Hubad, Rudolf Knarr, Carl Lafite, Ellen Pancera, Robert Pensch und Karl Wiesmann.

...

Sein Vater, Josef Vockner (1806-1860) , war Rechnungsführer in der Saline und spielte Geige und Orgel Pflichtschule in Ebensee. 16jährig ist Josef Vockner junior Schreiberlehrling im Salinendienst er verläßt den Salinendienst und gibt privat Musikstunden, schon vor seinem Dienst als Organist in Ischl entstehen Kompositionen. 1871 Übersiedlung nach Wien, Organist an der Hofpfarrkirche Sankt Augustin und Altlerchenfeld. 1875 Verehelichung mit Sidonie Schönberger. Der sehr glücklichen Ehe Entstammen vier Kinder. 1876 Studium am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde bei Anton Bruckner in Wien. 1890 Nachfolger Anton Bruckners als Professor für Orgel am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde 1894 Verleihung des Tittels « Professor am Conservatorium » (der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde) .

Vockner war auch Komponist, es existiert ein umfangreiches Werkverzeichnis (Opus 1-112) . Der Schwerpunkt seiner kompositorischen Tätigkeit lag in der Kammermusik mit verschiedenen Besetzungen, er schrieb aber auch Messen (etwa : Messe in F-Dur) und viele Orgelwerke. Sein größtes und umfangreichstes Opus ist das Oratorium « Das jüngste Gericht » .

Der Ebenseer Kirchenchor singt in der Weihnachtszeit ein « Tantum ergo » als dessen Schöpfer Vockner genannt wird. (Nach Leopold Spitzer muß es sich um eine Jugendlkomposition handeln, er bezweifelt Vockners Autorschaft.)

Preis

Silbernes Verdienstkreuz mit der Krone.

Kaiserlich-Königlich Professor (1906) .

Weitere österreichische Orden.

Werke

124 Opusnummern.

Oratorium « Christus am Ölberg » (1871) .

Oratorium « Das Weltgericht » (1894) ; 1897 vom Wiener Singverein uraufgeführt.

Klaviermusik.

Kammermusik.

Violinsonate in D-Dur, Opus 4.

Klavierquartett in C, Opus 6.

Klavierquintett, Opus 70.

Werke für Orgel.

Konzert für Orgel und Orchester.

Overtüren für Orchester.

Symphonie in F-Moll (1902) .

Lieder für Violin und Klavier (ohne Worte) .

Lieder.

Kleinere Kirchenmusik.

3 Messen (I Deutsches Hochamt für Kinder ; Große Messe in F-Moll) .

Literatur

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Norbert Tschulik. Der Bruckner-Schüler Josef Vockner, in : Bruckner Jahrbuch 1989-1990 (mit WV) .

BrucknerH (1996) - Foto.

Franz Scheder. Anton Bruckner Chronologie. Registerband (1996) .

Elisabeth Maier. Verborgene Persönlichkeit. Anton Bruckner in seinen privaten Aufzeichnungen (2001) ; Seite 644f.

Ludwig Eisenberg (1893) .

Rollen Kosel (1902) .

Frank-Altmann (1936) .

Erhart (1998) - Rudolf Knarr, Robert Pensch, Karl Wiesmann.

Ellen Pancera

La pianiste autrichienne Ellen Pancera est née le 15 août 1875 à Vienne, de parents italiens. Elle devient l'élève, au Conservatoire de Vienne, du pianiste Julius Epstein et de l'organiste Josef Vockner. Elle étudiera avec Bernhard Stavenhagen, à Weimar. En 1888, elle fera ses débuts en public à l'âge de 13 ans. Elle effectuera de nombreuses tournées dans toute l'Europe. Elle aura du succès particulièrement en Angleterre. Ellen Pancera va mourir le 10 mai 1932, à Bad Ischl. Elle n'était âgée que de 56 ans.

La musique de chambre et la musique d'église de Josef Vockner seront fréquemment jouées grâce au support et à l'implication de Josef Hellmesberger et de Julius Epstein.

Œuvres :

Oratorio « Le Jugement Dernier » (1897) , créée par le « Wiener Singverein » .

Sonate pour violon en ré majeur, Opus 4.

Quatuor avec piano en ut, Opus 6.

Quintette avec piano, Opus 70.

Lieder, Messes et Pièces pour orgue.

...

The Austrian pianist and musician (of Italian parentage) Ellen Pancera was born on 15 August 1875 in Vienna. She was placed under the tutelage of the pianist Julius Epstein and the organist Josef Vockner at the Vienna Conservatory, and studied under Bernhard Stavenhagen at Weimar. She made her public debut at the age of 13 (in 1888) and toured widely throughout Europe, being especially successful in England. Ellen Pancera died on 10 May 1932 at Bad Ischl, aged 56.

...

Ellen Pancera : geboren 15. August 1876 in Wien ; gestorben 10. Mai 1932 in Bad Ischl (Oberösterreich) , Pianistin. Über ihre Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse berichtet der « Musical Standard » 1898 :

« There is french blood in her (Gabriele Pancera's) veins, for her paternal grandmother, Madame Marie Pancera (née Clary) , was a native of Marseilles and was a niece of Julie, Marie and Desidère Clary, the 1st of whom married Napoleon's brother, Josef, afterwards King of Spain, and Desidère espoused General Bernadotte, subsequently Charles XIV of Sweden. Mademoiselle Pancera's mother is said to be German, but of that we cannot speak with any certainty. »

(The Musical Standard, 1898, page 360.)

Ihr Vater war vermutlich italienischer Herkunft (gestorben um 1885) . Ihre Mutter organisierte die musikalische Ausbildung Gabriele Panceras und begleitete sie auf ihren Kunstreisen. Laut Ehrlich richtete sie « den ganzen Zweck ihres Daseins auf die Ausbildung des talentvollen Kindes » (Ehrlich, Seite 266) . Gabriele Pancera erhielt eine erste musikalische Ausbildung am « Privat-Oberlyzeum der Mädchenlehr- und Erziehungsanstalt Hanausek-Stonner » (Ariadne : Frauen in Bewegung, zit. nach Mayer, Seite 63) in Wien. Anschließend studierte sie am Wiener Konservatorium bei Julius Epstein (1832-1926 ; Unterricht dort vermutlich vor 1889) und besuchte um 1889 in Weimar Kurse bei Bernhard Stavenhagen (1862-1914) . Zurück in Wien, erhielt sie bei Theodor Leschetitzky (1830-1915) Klavierunterricht und wurde von Josef Vockner (1842-1906) in Musiktheorie ausgebildet. Nach eigenen Angaben erhielt sie zudem Unterricht bei weiteren LehrerInnen :

« Indeed, after my 1st childish debut (December 1888) , I was so serious-minded and so desirous of really being something beyond the mediocre, that I retired into my shell once more, and worked very hard under other Masters for 3 or 4 years. » (The Musical Standard, 1898, page 360.)

Undaten (vor 1898) . Brustbild eines unbekanntes Künstlers.

Im Dezember 1898 heiratete sie Adolf Max Blüthner (1861-1919) , den ältesten der drei das Erwachsenenalter erreichenden leiblichen Söhne des Klavierfabrikanten Julius Blüthner :

« The wedding was fixed to coincide with the celebration of the production of the 50,000th piano. » (Monthly Musical Record, 1898, page 225.)

Bis zur Scheidung im Jahr 1910 wohnte das Ehepaar in Leipzig. In zweiter Ehe lebte Gabriele Pancera anschließend mit Johannes Krill (1884-1946) ebenfalls in Leipzig. Seit 1924 war sie mit Wilhelm Walter Ernst Haenel verheiratet.

Im Dezember 1888 debütierte Gabriele Pancera in Wien, und schon Anfang 1889 unternahm sie eine erste Kunstreise, « wobei sie Graz, Berlin, Leipzig, Nürnberg berührte, und immer wieder in Wien auftrat » (Ehrlich, Seite 266) . Es folgten teilweise ausgedehnte Konzertreisen durch Österreich und Deutschland (beides 1892) , Russland (1895, 1897) , Skandinavien (1895) , Italien (vor 1897) , Spanien (vor 1897) , Frankreich und England (1897, 1898, 1899) . Häufige Ziele waren und andere Berlin (1889, 1893, 1896, 1920, 1924, 1926) , Wien (1888-1894, 1897) , Leipzig (1889, 1894, 1897, 1899) , Moskau (1895, 1897) , Petersburg (1895, 1897) , München (1896, 1897) , Wiesbaden (1896, 1897) , London (1897-1899) und Belfast (1897) .

Am 12. November 1893 spielte sie unter der Leitung von Hans Richter bei den philharmonischen Konzerten in Wien das Klavierkonzert Nr. 2 in B-Dur von Johannes Brahms. In einem Interview räumt die Pianistin diesem Konzert rückblickend eine große Bedeutung ein :

« In 1893, I played at the Richter Philharmonic Concerts in Vienna and, of this fact, I am very proud, for it was a

great thing for a young girl to accomplish. » (The Musical Standard, 1898, page 360.)

Wesentlich größere Aufmerksamkeit erregte sie in der Presse hingegen Ende 1896 durch den Vortrag dreier Klavierkonzerte an demselben Abend : In Begleitung des Berliner Philharmonischen Orchesters trug sie hintereinander Griegs Klavierkonzert in A-Moll, Opus 16, Chopins 1. Klavierkonzert in E-Moll, Opus 11, und das 2. Klavierkonzert von Liszt in A-Dur vor :

« " Prachtvolle " Kritiken aus dem Inland, besonders aber aus dem Ausland, waren ihr vorausgeeilt, aber aus deren Ueberschwenglichkeit war nicht recht zu ersehen, ob dieselben nicht etwa durch die vorteilhafte Erscheinung der Pianistin beeinflusst worden waren : denn in der That trägt diese ein gut Teil zur Verangenehmerung der ganzen Konzertszenarie in einem Pancera-Konzert bei ! Als aber die junge Walküre munter und fest in die Tasten griff und ihnen gar wundersamen Klang teils abzwang, teils entlockte, gesellte sich zur persönlichen Sympathie der Zuhörer künstlerische Hochachtung - mehr noch : Fräulein Pancera versteht sogar vermöge ihres musikalischen Temperamentes die seltene Gabe zu " zünden ", - war doch das sie begleitende Philharmonische Orchester gegen sonst kaum wiederzuerkennen ! Das erste (Konzert : Grieg in A-Moll) lag und gelang ihr am besten. Wie unglaublich matt dagegen hatte es kürzlich der weltreisende Pianist (Albert) Friedenthal gespielt ! Famose Pedal-Effekte vermag Fräulein Pancera (doch nicht etwa unbewusst ?) durch langes Aushalten zuweilen anzubringen. Ihre Technik ist ausserordentlich, wohlgepaart sind Geläufigkeit und Kraft. (Bei den Bass-Kraftstellen etwas weniger Pedalgebrauch wäre empfehlenswert.) Und darauf verläßt sich Fräulein Pancera mutig. Ihre Vorträge haben dadurch etwas Frisches, Herzhaftes, selbst ein bisschen (sic) Danebengreifen würde man ihr gern verzeihen, aber dazu kommt es bei ihr überhaupt nicht. Sie mußte zwei Zugaben gewähren, darunter eine Rhapsodie von Liszt - nach drei solchen Klavierkonzerten ! Alle Achtung vor dieser Ausdauer und Nervenfrische. » (Bock, 1896, Seite 376.)

Der Schwerpunkt ihres musikalischen Wirkens zwischen Frühjahr 1897 und Frühjahr 1899 läßt sich in England ausmachen. Schon zu Beginn war es ihr durch die Konzertagentur Cavour möglich, in der renommierten, bis zu 2000 ZuhörerInnen fassenden Saint-James' Hall in London zu konzertieren : Ihr Debüt erfolgte dort 1897 mit einer Serie von drei Recitals am 20. Mai, 3. und 30. Juni, stieß jedoch bei dem Rezensenten des « Musical Standard » auf Kritik :

« The touch is hard and unsympathetic, and she is too prone to come down upon the keyboard with what may be called a crash. » (The Musical Standard, 1897, page 351.)

Auch der abermalige Vortrag der drei genannten Klavierkonzerte in der Saint-James' Hall am 10. November 1897 unter Leitung von Hamish McCunn konnte nicht gänzlich überzeugen :

« Her interpretations were somewhat cold in expression, but were intelligently and clearly phrased and possessed all necessary brilliancy. » (Athenæum, 1897, page 680.)

Allerdings schildert der Rezensent der Zeitschrift « The Sketch » , mit welcher Leichtigkeit sie das anspruchsvolle und umfangreiche Programm bestritt :

« When the excellent band mopped its brow and gasped in exhaustion, the lady rose from her instrument as fresh as possible. » (The Sketch, 1898.)

Im Oktober desselben Jahres debütierte sie mit großem Erfolg in Belfast mit Chopins Konzert in E-Moll :

« Yet, with amazing ease, she can produce whatever expression may be demanded, and execute passages of the utmost intricacy and difficulty. Her style is refinement itself and, as she sat before the keyboard, she unrolled before an enraptured audience the beauties of a work of one of the most divinely-gifted and individual performers. At the close of the Concerto, there was a most enthusiastic outburst. » (The Belfast Newsletter, 23 October 1897.)

Weitere Konzerte folgten und andere in der Saint-James' Hall (2. und 10. Juni 1898) , bei den Philharmonic Concerts (26. Mai 1898) , in der Victoria Hall im Rahmen des Leeds Musical Evening (8. November 1898) und bei den Saturday Popular Concerts (12. November 1898) . Zudem konzertierte sie vor der Königin im Schloß Balmoral (13. , 14. und 15. Juni 1898) und, ebenfalls vor der Königin, in Windsor (18. November 1898) .

Nach ihrer Rückkehr aus England gab Gabriele Pancera 1899 ihr Debut im Leipziger Gewandhaus mit Schumanns Klavierkonzert, Frühlingsrauschen von Glinka-Balakirew, der 12. Ungarischen Rhapsodie von Liszt und dem Nachtfalter von Johann Strauß II in der Bearbeitung von Tausig :

« Ihrem Temperament angemessen, fasste Frau Blüthner-Pancera das Schumann'sche Concert mit kräftigeren Händen, als die Tradition es will, an, aber nach dem erspielten mächtigen Beifall zu schliessen hat sie dem Werke mit ihrer stark subjectiven Auffassung zu einer viel bedeutenderen Wirkung verholfen, als manche weniger feurige Kunstschwester mit all ihrer heilig gehaltenen Tradition. Dagegen wohl Allen zu Danke und Genuss hat unsere neueste musikalische Berühmtheit die übrigen Stücke gespielt, in deren Vortrag sich natürliche Grazie und eine Virtuosität, die wirklich Fangball mit allen technischen Schwierigkeiten spielt, harmonisch vereinigten, sodass der Applaus kein Ende nehmen wollte und nur durch eine Zugabe, die schon oben angeführte Tausig'sche Transscription (sic) , beschwichtigt werden konnte. » (FritzschMW 1899, Seite 692 f.)

Vielleicht ursächlich fallen Heirat und Karriereende von Gabriele Pancera zeitlich zusammen, so daß sich nach derzeitigem Forschungsstand das Gewandhauskonzert als vorerst letzter Auftritt der Virtuosin darstellt.

In einem Brief, dem anscheinend der Versuch eines Engagements vorausgegangen ist, antwortet die Pianistin am 11. Januar 1900 der Schriftstellerin, Pazifistin und späteren Friedensnobelpreisträgerin Bertha von Suttner :

« Es fällt mir wahrhaft schwer, der gewinnendsten Liebenswürdigkeit mit einem " nein " entgegnetreten zu müßen (aber liebste, verehrteste Baronin) das wäre alles leicht zu Arrangieren, wenn nicht die Reise selbst zu machen wäre, wozu man doch, wenn man verheiratet ist, schwerer kommt als früher. Außerdem wollen wir im Frühjahr nach Paris (dann spiele ich in London) nun will mein Mann nicht noch eine dritte Reise einfügen lassen. » (UNOG Library BvS/14/154-3/1.)

Weitere Informationen zu dem von Gabriele Pancera angekündigten Konzert in London oder einem Aufenthalt in Paris lassen sich nicht finden.

Erst seit den 1920er Jahren sind wieder Konzerte überliefert : Am 6. April 1920 ist in der Berliner Singakademie ein Auftritt nachgewiesen, gefolgt von einem Robert-Schumann-Abend am 15. Oktober 1924 im Berliner Voxsaal. Ende März 1929 spielte Gabriele Pancera die Uraufführung von Ernst Kreneks 2. Klaviersonate, Opus 59, im Rahmen eines Klavierabends in Berlin.

In vielen Rezensionen erscheinen « Kraft » und « Männlichkeit » als wiederkehrende Topoi. Der Rezensent der « Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik » fühlt sich beispielsweise 1889 bei einem Konzert in Leipzig durch den « kraftvollen Anschlag » (Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, 1889, Seite 540.) und aufgrund der « energischen, fast männlichen Auffassung und Beherrschung der Technik an die Claviertitanin → Sophie Menter. » (Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, 1889, Seite 540.) erinnert. Angesichts dieser Eigenschaften äußert sich der Redakteur der « Neuen Berliner Musikzeitung » August Ludwig hingegen abfällig und frauenfeindlich :

« Wie unbedacht ! Beinahe hätte ich geschrieben : Für eine Dame spielt Fräulein Pancera grossartig ! Aber da ich nicht möchte, daß mir eine Emancipirte das " für eine Dame " als Verkleinerung ihres Geschlechts auslege und zur Rache eine Dynamitbombe in die Redaktion werfe, will ich das lieber nicht gesagt haben ! Und auch das wäre noch gefährlich, wollte man sagen : sie spielte fast wie ein Mann ! Eine Pianistin soll eine echte Pianistin sein und bleiben - jedes in seiner Art ! Fräulein Pancera spielt mir fast ein bischen zu männlich, und auch ihre Programme sind nicht die richtige Pianistinnen-Toilette, in denen sie sich ungehindert bewegen kann. » (Bock, 1896, Seite 386.)

Dem widerspricht der Rezensent der « Neuen Musik-Zeitung » :

« Beginnt sie zu spielen, so spielt sie für sich. Die anderen dürfen zuhören, weil sie schon einmal da sind. Sofort frappiert ihr wundervoll weicher Anschlag, der dem Instrument die süßesten, sanftesten Klänge abschmeichelt. Das Staccato hat sie zu glitzernder Zierlichkeit herausgearbeitet und im Pianissimo der Kantilene, in der singenden Taste, enthüllt sie den klangschönsten Empfindungsreichtum. Ihr Triller ist von einer ganz eigenen Energie der Exaktheit und sie läßt ihn bis zum ff mächtig anschwellen. Im lyrischen Ausdruck hält sie sich fern von zerfließender Thränenseligkeit. Was ihr Gemüt bewegt, sagen die weißen Fingerspitzen den Tasten. Andere machen zum Dolmetsch ihrer zartesten und heimlichsten Gefühle die - Füße und das Pedal. Einige Kritiker haben sie unzutreffend mit der Menter verglichen. Das Dämonische und die ungebändigte Leidenschaft sind ihrem ausgeglichenen Naturell nicht gemäß. Brutale pianistische Anfälle braucht man bei ihr nie zu befürchten, wohl aber hat man hin und wieder die Empfindung, daß doch die Künstlerin ihr vornehmes Maßhalten fallen lassen und uns mit einer Ueberschuß von frei werdender Kraft, mit einem großartigen Allzuviel erobern möchte. » (NMZ, 1897, Seite 195.)

Mit dem Tod von Max Hesse 1907 wurde Gabriele Pancera Alleinerbin des Leipziger Max Hesse Verlags. Während ihrer Leitung des Verlags erschienen unter anderem 1909 die Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag Hugo Riemanns, der bis zu seinem Tod 1926 Lektor des Verlags war, und die Neuausgaben des Musiklexikons von Hugo Riemann. Im Jahr 1911 wurde ihr Mann, Johannes Krill, Mitinhaber, 1923 übernahm er die Verlagsleitung.

...

Été 1876 : Anton Bruckner apporte des améliorations à la Messe n° I en si mineur (WAB 26) .

Été 1876 : Bruckner undertakes metrical studies of Beethoven's 3rd and 9th Symphonies, and his own 4th Symphony.

Richard Wagner's artistic center at Bayreuth is completed and has its grand opening with the 33 year old Hans Richter conducting the 1st complete performance of Wagner's mammoth « Der Ring des Nibelungen », spread over 4 evenings. The whole endeavor is dedicated to the realization of Wagner's ideas of the « Gesamtkunstwerk » (Total Artwork) .

Le Festival de Bayreuth

En 1871, Richard Wagner choisit la petite ville de Bayreuth pour accueillir sa nouvelle salle d'Opéra. Les Wagner s'y rendirent l'année suivante : on posa la 1re pierre du « Festspielhaus » (Palais des Festivals) . Afin de rassembler les fonds pour la construction, le compositeur entreprit une tournée de concerts à travers l'Allemagne, et diverses associations de soutien furent créées dans plusieurs villes. Il fallut cependant attendre une donation du roi Louis II de Bavière, en 1874, pour que l'argent nécessaire fût enfin rassemblé. Un peu plus tard dans l'année, les Wagner emménagèrent à Bayreuth dans une Villa que Richard surnomma « Wahnfried » .

Bayreuth est pour la 1e fois évoquée dans des documents en 1194. Les historiens pensent que la ville fut fondée vers le milieu du XIIe siècle. En 1604, la ville devient résidence des margraves de la principauté de Brandebourg-Bayreuth jusqu'en 1769. Fille du roi de Prusse Frédéric-Guillaume 1er, la princesse Wilhelmine devait devenir reine d'Angleterre par le jeu des mariages entre grandes familles. Mais l'affaire traîne et elle est contrainte par son père d'épouser le margrave Frédéric de Brandebourg-Bayreuth. Au XVIIIe siècle, des travaux majeurs transforment la ville considérablement. En 1792 elle devient une province de la Prusse. De 1806 à 1810 elle est occupée par les Français. Depuis 1810 elle fait partie de la Bavière.

Les répétitions préliminaires, pour la création de l'Anneau du Nibelung, eurent lieu à Bayreuth en 1875. Elles furent suivies, en 1876 de 3 cycles de répétitions normales, du 3 juin au 12 juillet, puis du 14 au 26 juillet, et enfin, du 29 juillet au 4 août. Du 6 au 9 août, eurent lieu les répétitions générales en présence du roi Louis II de Bavière.

13 au 30 août 1876 : Richard Wagner invite Anton Bruckner à assister à la création du cycle de la Tétralogie lors de l'inauguration de son nouveau Théâtre à Bayreuth : le « Festspielhaus » .

Fin août : Bruckner va assister à la 3e représentation du « Ring » . Il fera alors la rencontre du critique musical (progressif) berlinois, Wilhelm Tappert.

Bruckner et Wagner en profitent pour discuter, encore une fois, de la 3e Symphonie. Ce qui résultera sans doute en

une possible simplification de la partition afin d'augmenter les chances d'une future exécution auprès du Philharmonique de Vienne.

Le Festival inaugural de Bayreuth, tenu du 13 au 17 août 1876, se veut un phénomène social et culturel. On y présentera la 1^{re} représentation complète de L'Anneau du Nibelung. Bayreuth accueille pour l'occasion les Empereurs Guillaume 1^{er} d'Allemagne et Pierre II du Brésil, ainsi que Louis II de Bavière qui garde sa visite secrète (probablement pour ne pas rencontrer l'Empereur Guillaume), et de nombreux artistes comme les compositeurs Anton Bruckner, Franz Liszt, Edvard Grieg, Augusta Holmès, Franz Servais, Vincent d'Indy, Camille Saint-Saëns, Piotr Ilitch Tchaïkovski et Charles-Marie Widor ; sans oublier Friedrich Nietzsche et Léon Tolstoï. D'un point de vue artistique, ce Festival fut un succès remarquable. Tchaïkovski, qui y avait assisté en tant que correspondant russe, écrit : « Ce qui s'est passé à Bayreuth restera dans la mémoire de nos petits enfants et de leur descendance. ». Le Festival est cependant un désastre financier absolu, ce qui pousse Richard Wagner à abandonner l'idée d'un 2^e événement l'été suivant et à donner une série de concerts à Londres pour lever des fonds et réduire le déficit. Les 1^{res} années seront difficiles et le Festival ne pourra se maintenir que grâce à des subventions de l'État et de wagnériens, au 1^{er} rang desquels Louis II de Bavière. Un 2^e Festival a lieu en 1882, pour la création de « Parsifal » le 26 juillet.

Dès le début, les chefs d'orchestre et les chanteurs les plus talentueux du monde viennent à Bayreuth, certains sans cachet. Hans Richter dirige l'Anneau de 1876, avec comme assistant le jeune Engelbert Humperdinck, un familier des Wagner. En 1882, en dépit de son anti-sémitisme avéré, Richard Wagner choisit pour la création de « Parsifal » le chef juif Hermann Levi ; celui-ci reviendra régulièrement au pupitre du « Festspielhaus » pendant les 2 décennies suivantes. Le chef Felix Mottl, qui sert le Festival de 1876 à 1901, dirige l'entrée au répertoire de « Tristan und Isolde », en 1886.

L'anti-sémitisme de Richard Wagner a donné lieu à une abondante littérature polémique, largement alimentée tant par la récupération de sa musique par le régime National-Socialiste que par l'amitié de l'épouse de son fils Siegfried, Winnifred, avec le chancelier Adolf Hitler.

Cet aspect de la personnalité de Wagner n'a rien d'exceptionnel : ces discours, comme les préjugés raciaux en général, sont courants. Mais ces thèses sont déjà combattues : Nietzsche, par exemple, se brouille avec Wagner, en partie pour ses opinions anti-sémites. L'anti-sémitisme est un débat central à l'époque, y compris aux yeux mêmes de nombreux intellectuels juifs. Entre pogrom et assimilation, les discussions entre penseurs juifs font rage.

Le 1^{er} essai de Wagner, le plus controversé, est « Le judaïsme dans la musique », publié en 1850 dans la revue « Die neue Zeitschrift für Musik » sous le pseudonyme de « K. Freigedenk » (libre pensée). Wagner s'était donné pour but d'expliquer la prétendue « aversion populaire » envers la musique des compositeurs juifs tels que Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy ou Giacomo Meyerbeer. Il écrit notamment que le peuple allemand était « repoussé » par les Juifs en raison « de leur aspect et de leur comportement d'étrangers ». Ses descriptions sont éloquentes : les Juifs « sont des anomalies de la nature » jasant « de leurs voix grinçantes, couinantes et bourdonnantes ».

Wagner prétendait que les musiciens juifs, n'étant pas en relation avec l'esprit authentique du peuple allemand, ne

pouvaient qu'écrire une musique artificielle, sans aucune profondeur, et rabâcher la vraie musique à la manière des perroquets. La 1^{re} publication de l'article attira peu l'attention. Cependant, après que Wagner l'eut publié de nouveau, en 1869, sous la forme d'un pamphlet signé de son véritable nom, de vives protestations s'élevèrent dans le public d'une représentation des « Maîtres Chanteurs » .

En dépit de ses écrits anti-sémites, Wagner eut plusieurs amis juifs qu'il semblait beaucoup aimer. Le plus représentatif d'entre eux est le chef d'orchestre Hermann Levi, un Juif pratiquant que Wagner désigna pour diriger la 1^{re} représentation de « Parsifal » . Le compositeur souhaita d'abord que Levi se fit baptiser (sans doute en raison du contenu religieux de cet Opéra) , mais il dut finalement abandonner cette exigence.

Cependant, lorsqu'il analyse le détail des péripéties de cette valse hésitation telles que les rapporte Carl Glasenapp, Theodor W. Adorno, dans son « Essai sur Wagner » , résume en ces termes ce que cet épisode relève, selon lui, du côté « démoniaque » de Wagner :

« Une envie sadique d'humilier Hermann Levi, une humeur conciliante et sentimentale et surtout la volonté de s'attacher affectivement le maltraité se réunissent dans la casuistique du comportement de Wagner. »

Le chef Hermann Levi maintint toutefois des relations très amicales avec Richard Wagner et fut sollicité, à ses funérailles, pour porter son cercueil. Un autre de ces amis fut Joseph Rubinstein.

Tout au long de sa vie, dans ses conversations, dans ses écrits, Richard Wagner n'a cessé d'émettre des opinions violemment « anti-judaïque » . Accusant fréquemment les Juifs (et en particulier, les musiciens juifs) d'être des étrangers nuisibles à l'Allemagne, il souhaitait leur expulsion ou leur assimilation à la culture germanique. Certains érudits n'ont pas craint d'affirmer que ses Opéras contiennent des messages anti-sémites cachés, mais cette thèse est contestée. Elles ne se fondent pas sur des préjugés raciaux mais sur le reproche adressés aux Juifs de demeurer juifs et donc de n'être pas allemands. Cet anti-judaïsme est donc fort différent de l'anti-sémitisme qui repose sur des distinctions raciales. Wagner préconise l'assimilation des Juifs à la culture germanique. L'assimilation est aussi sujet de débat entre les intellectuels juifs.

Wagner a également attaqué les Juifs dans d'autres essais. Dans « Qu'est-ce qui est allemand ? » (1879) , il écrit par exemple :

« Les Juifs tiennent le travail intellectuel allemand entre leurs mains. Nous pouvons ainsi constater un odieux travestissement de l'esprit allemand, présenté aujourd'hui à ce peuple comme étant sa prétendue ressemblance. Il est à craindre qu'avant longtemps la nation prenne ce simulacre pour le reflet de son image. Alors, quelques-unes des plus belles dispositions de la race humaine s'éteindraient, peut-être à tout jamais. »

Notons enfin que l'anti-sémitisme de Wagner n'est quasiment pas évoqué, dans ses abondants écrits, par son plus fervent admirateur, le viennois Arnold Schönberg (1874-1951) , le fils de commerçants juifs convertis. Schönberg ré-embrassa la foi judaïque dans les années 1930.

Eut égard à cette ambiguïté, les œuvres de Wagner ne sont pas représentées en public dans l'état moderne d'Israël (largement fondée à l'origine par des Juifs d'Europe centrale imprégnés de civilisation germanique) , où, par ailleurs, la musique de Wagner est couramment diffusée par des stations de radio ou des chaînes de télévision d'État, sans susciter plus de scandale qu'à New York, Paris ou Berlin. Jusqu'à présent, toutes les tentatives de représentation publique (notamment par le pianiste et chef d'orchestre Daniel Barenboim qui a dirigé le prélude de « Tristan und Isolde » à Tel Aviv, en 2001) ont déclenché les plus vives protestations, certains auditeurs ayant même quitté la salle au cours du 20e siècle. Ce n'est qu'au cours des dernières années que de nombreux Israéliens ont soutenu qu'il est possible d'apprécier son talent musical, sans que cela n'implique l'acceptation de ces idées politiques ou sociales. En 2010, un avocat israélien mélomane, Jonathan Livny, fonde une « Société wagnérienne israélienne » afin de mettre fin au boycottage des œuvres du compositeur dans son pays.

...

Le Festival de Bayreuth (« Bayreuther Festspiele ») est un Festival d'Opéra fondé en 1876 par Richard Wagner et consacré à l'exécution de ses 10 principaux Opéras. Il se tient chaque été au Palais des Festivals (« Festspielhaus ») de Bayreuth, en Bavière, un Théâtre conçu par Wagner pour pouvoir réaliser sa conception particulière de l'ouvrage lyrique comme « œuvre d'art totale » .

Il s'agit de l'un des Festivals de musique Classique les plus prestigieux au monde, qui attire chaque année sur la « Colline verte » (appelée aussi « Colline sacrée » par les wagnérophiles français) , des passionnés dont beaucoup ont dû parfois attendre jusqu'à 11 années pour obtenir des places, la demande étant plus de 10 fois supérieure à l'offre. Ce succès, qui pourrait paraître surprenant pour un Festival n'ayant à son répertoire que 10 Opéras inlassablement remis sur le métier, s'explique par le très haut niveau des partitions et des interprètes (chanteurs, chœurs et instrumentistes) , une complexité et une richesse philosophique des livrets qui permettent une grande créativité et une diversité des mises-en-scène, le scandale qui a accompagné certaines productions des 3 dernières décennies, le prestige d'un lieu conçu par Wagner lui-même, la véritable passion (qui confine parfois au fanatisme) dont son œuvre est l'objet, le contexte historique (Louis II de Bavière) et l'existence dans de nombreuses villes à travers le monde, de cercles wagnérophiles, fervents et actifs soutiens du Festival dès l'origine.

Le Festival de Bayreuth est né de la volonté de Richard Wagner de créer un lieu et un mode de production susceptibles de réaliser sa conception d'un « Opéra de l'avenir » conçu comme une « œuvre d'art totale » (« Gesamtkunstwerk ») .

Wagner cherchait également à assurer son indépendance financière et artistique. Une brouille avec son protecteur et mécène, le roi Louis II de Bavière, provoqua sa disgrâce et son départ de Munich, où il avait d'abord songé à installer son Festival. Il envisagea de le fixer à Nuremberg, ville qu'il avait honorée dans son Opéra « les Maîtres-chanteurs de Nuremberg » . Cependant, sur le conseil du chef d'orchestre Hans Richter, il s'intéressa à la ville de Bayreuth, en Franconie, qui réunissait 3 grands avantages :

Un Théâtre réputé, l'Opéra des Margraves (« Markgräfliches Opernhaus ») , construit entre 1745 et 1748, dont la taille et la bonne acoustique étaient supposées pouvoir convenir à ses projets.

Une localisation hors des régions dans lesquelles il avait cédé ses droits sur les représentations de ses œuvres, en 1864, en raison de difficultés financières.

L'absence de réelle vie culturelle susceptible de faire concurrence à la Maîtrise artistique qu'il recherchait, ce qui l'assurait que son Festival serait le principal événement culturel de la ville.

En avril 1870, Richard Wagner et sa femme, Cosima, se rendent à Bayreuth. Ils sont déçus par leur visite de l'Opéra, conçu pour des formations Baroques et inadapté aux mises-en-scène complexes et aux grands orchestres requis par une production wagnérienne. Cependant, la municipalité se déclare prête à aider Wagner à construire un Théâtre entièrement nouveau, et la date du 1er Festival est fixée à 1873. Ayant échoué au printemps 1871 à convaincre le Chancelier Impérial Otto von Bismarck de financer ses projets, Wagner entame une tournée de concerts à travers l'Allemagne. Il lance également une souscription publique dont le résultat est cependant décevant. Pour financer son futur Festival et son Théâtre, Wagner, sur la suggestion de son admirateur et ami Emil Heckel, encourage la création d'un certain nombre de « Sociétés Wagner » censées participer à la souscription. Il s'en crée notamment à Leipzig, Berlin et Vienne.

Il apparaît cependant clair à la fin de l'année 1872 que Wagner a échoué à lever les fonds nécessaires à l'organisation d'un Festival, malgré l'aide des Sociétés qui insistent sur son statut de musicien de l'Allemagne nouvelle. Un nouvel appel à Bismarck en août 1873 échoue. En dernier ressort, Wagner fait appel à son ancien mécène Louis de Bavière qui, malgré leur querelle passée, lui fait don en janvier 1874 de 100,000 thalers.

La 1re pierre du « Festspielhaus » , conçu d'après un plan de Gottfried Semper, est posée le 22 mai 1872. Le 1er Festival, prévu pour 1875, doit finalement être repoussé à 1876. Il doit voir la 1re représentation intégrale de la tétralogie « l'Anneau du Nibelung » , les 2 1ers Opéras ayant été créés précédemment à Munich sur l'insistance de Louis II, et les 2 derniers étant donnés en création mondiale.

Le 1er Festival à l'été 1876, pour la 1re représentation complète de « l'Anneau du Nibelung » , du 13 au 17 août, est un phénomène social et culturel. Bayreuth accueille les Empereurs Guillaume 1er d'Allemagne et Pierre II du Brésil, ainsi que Louis II de Bavière qui garde sa visite secrète (probablement pour ne pas rencontrer l'Empereur) , et de nombreux artistes comme les compositeurs Anton Bruckner, Edvard Grieg, Franz Liszt, Camille Saint-Saëns, Franz Servais et Piotr Ilitch Tchaïkovski. Grand succès artistique, le Festival est cependant un désastre financier, ce qui pousse Wagner à abandonner l'idée d'une 2e session l'été suivant et à donner une série de concerts à Londres pour lever des fonds. Les 1res années seront difficiles et le Festival ne pourra se maintenir que grâce à des subventions de l'État et de wagnériens, au 1er rang desquels Louis II de Bavière. Un 2e Festival a lieu en 1882, pour la création de « Parsifal » le 26 juillet.

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Après la mort de Richard Wagner en 1883, Cosima, bientôt aidée par leur fils Siegfried, s'attache à maintenir le Festival et le programme sur un rythme bi-annuel. Elle le dirige de 1883 à 1908, date à laquelle Siegfried lui succède, mais elle reste l'âme du Palais des Festivals jusqu'à sa mort en 1930. Siegfried ne lui survit que de quelques mois.

Cosima fait du Festival une célébration du culte de son défunt mari. Les productions (mises-en-scène, décors et costumes) sont conservées en l'état et programmées Festival après Festival. Jusqu'aux années 1920, la parole du Maître est loi sur la Colline sacrée, jusqu'à son insistance sur l'utilisation de vrais animaux sur la scène, des oies avec Fricka, un crapaud pour Alberich, des corbeaux avec Wotan, un ours avec Siegfried ; cependant, le dragon de l'Acte II de « Siegfried » est traditionnellement un faux. Les Filles du Rhin, dans le 1er tableau de « l'Or du Rhin », sont montrées « nageant » grâce à un système de câbles attachés au plafond.

Cosima œuvre également à faire respecter le privilège de 30 ans obtenu par le Festival pour « Parsifal ». Elle ne peut cependant empêcher le Metropolitan Opera de New York de le monter dès 1903, mais bannira (« excommuniera » , diront certains) du Festival les chanteurs qui braveront son interdiction d'une représentation hors du « Festspielhaus ». « Parsifal » tombe dans le domaine public en 1912.

Dans les années 1920, Winnifred Wagner, épouse de Siegfried Wagner et directrice du Festival à partir de 1930, rencontre Adolf Hitler dont elle devient une amie personnelle et un soutien convaincu. Hitler est dès cette époque un intime de la famille Wagner, au point que les enfants le surnomment « oncle Wolf » et que des rumeurs de mariage avec Winnifred, veuve depuis 1930, courent en 1933, après son accession au poste de chancelier du « Reich ». C'est grâce à son soutien que le Festival peut se maintenir pendant le 3e « Reich » et, selon Winnifred, conserver son « indépendance artistique » ; Hitler assiste d'ailleurs à des représentations auxquelles participent des artistes juifs ou étrangers, longtemps après qu'ils ont été bannis des autres Théâtres allemands. Hitler montre tant d'admiration pour Wagner et tant de vénération envers sa famille et son Festival qu'il écrit à la demande de Winnifred au chef d'orchestre italien Arturo Toscanini, pourtant un anti-fasciste résolu, pour le prier de prendre la tête du Festival, ce que Toscanini refusa.

Les années 1930 voient cependant un renouvellement artistique pour le Festival. Les décors et costumes de « Parsifal », inchangés depuis la création en 1882, étaient si détériorés que la sécurité des représentations n'était plus assurée et que Winnifred décide, en 1933, de monter une production entièrement nouvelle. Malgré les protestations de Toscanini, Richard Strauß et de certains membres de la famille Wagner, Winnifred, avec l'approbation de Hitler, engage l'intendant de l'Opéra d'État de Berlin, Hans Tietjen, pour une nouvelle production en 1934, dans des décors d'Alfred Roller et d'Emil Preetorius. Tietjen et Preetorius réaliseront les autres productions de cette décennie, à l'exception du « Parsifal » de 1937 dont les décors étaient signés par le jeune Wieland Wagner, fils-aîné de Winnifred.

...

Écrin du célèbre Festival, le « Festspielhaus », inauguré en 1876, est toujours dirigé par des descendants du compositeur allemand. Mythique, marquée par l'Histoire, cette scène vit, depuis plus d'un siècle, au rythme des passions d'héritiers qui se déchirent allègrement.

Chaque été, quelques milliers de « smokings » et de robes du soir gravissent la « colline Verte » du Bürgerreuth pour se rendre au « Festspielhaus » de Bayreuth. Le sobre bâtiment de brique rouge abrite une salle rectangulaire dépouillée, garnie de 30 gradins circulaires, étagés en forte pente, où prennent place 1,925 fidèles. À 16 heures tapant, les lourdes portes de bois se referment. Suivent 4 heures de spectacle, dans une atmosphère d'étuve, malgré une prétendue climatisation et l'arrosage du toit pendant les 2 longs entractes d'une heure. Le rituel wagnérien ressemble à un chemin de croix.

Incroyable mais vrai : le seul Théâtre au monde conçu par un compositeur pour n'y représenter que ses œuvres est toujours dirigé par ses descendants. Depuis 1951, l'un des petits-fils de Richard, Wolfgang, règne d'une main de fer sur le « Festspielhaus ». Comme le firent son frère, Wieland, sa mère, Winifred, son père, Siegfried et sa grand-mère Cosima. Pourvu du statut de « directeur à vie », l'autocratique Wolfgang (81 ans) n'aurait éventuellement accepté de céder sa place qu'à sa seconde épouse, Gutrun (56 ans), et à leur fille, Katharina (23 ans), passionnée de théâtre. Pourtant, les 24 membres du conseil de direction de la Fondation Richard-Wagner, composé de représentants de la famille, de la ville de Bayreuth, du gouvernement fédéral, du « Land » de Bavière et des « Amis » de Bayreuth, décident de désigner sa fille, Eva Wagner-Pasquier, née d'un 1er mariage, pour lui succéder en septembre 2002. Wolfgang, lui, s'obstine à répéter que sa succession n'est pas ouverte. Un choix d'autant plus difficile à avaler qu'un gouffre d'hostilité sépare Wolfgang et Eva (55 ans), qui fut son bras-droit au Festival dans les années 1960-1970, avant d'en être brutalement chassée. Après plusieurs mois d'hésitations et de silence, Eva a finalement annoncé qu'elle renonçait à cette nomination, sans commentaire. Bayreuth baigne plus que jamais dans le drame familial. Une famille qui s'entre-déchire, par livres interposés. « Nous sommes les Atrides », ironise Nike Wagner, l'une des cousines d'Eva, qui est aussi candidate à la succession de son oncle. Pour comprendre la tragédie wagnérienne, il faut revenir à son fondateur.

C'est le 26 juillet 1835 que Richard Wagner, alors jeune chef d'orchestre au Théâtre de Magdebourg, fait étape à Bayreuth, petite ville de Franconie, au nord de Nuremberg. Wagner écrira plus tard dans son autobiographie que « l'arrivée à Bayreuth, éclairé de façon charmante par le soleil couchant, me fit une impression qui se grava durablement dans ma mémoire ». Pourtant, il faudra attendre 1870 pour que le musicien repense à Bayreuth, presque par hasard. Depuis une vingtaine d'années, il était convaincu que son génie et la nouveauté de ses œuvres ne pouvaient s'accommoder d'un vulgaire théâtre à l'italienne, où la bonne société passait plus de temps à s'observer de loge en loge qu'à regarder le spectacle. Il rêvait d'un amphithéâtre circulaire où « rien ne vient troubler la vision qui se dirige de la place vers la scène », d'une salle plongée dans l'obscurité et d'un orchestre caché dans une fosse à moitié couverte, pour que sa « musique mystérieuse pareille aux vapeurs qui émanent du sein sacré de Gaia, sous le trône de la Pythie, se dégage, comme un pur esprit, de l'abîme mystique ».

Après des projets avortés à Zürich et à Munich, il jette finalement son dévolu sur la colline de Bayreuth, pour y construire son « Walhalla ». Le 22 mai 1872, jour de ses 59 ans, Wagner fête la pose de la 1^{re} pierre du « Festspielhaus » en dirigeant au Théâtre des Margraves la 9^e Symphonie de Beethoven, seule partition non wagnérienne tolérée par la suite dans le Saint des saints. Il lui reste simplement à achever de composer sa Tétralogie et à trouver le financement de son Théâtre. Le plus généreux des donateurs sera, encore une fois, son cher Louis II de Bavière, qui participe pour un tiers au montant des travaux et qui, dans la foulée, lui offre de quoi édifier sa pompeuse demeure, Wahnfried (la Paix des illusions). Le 13 août 1876, « l'Or du Rhin » s'ouvre pour la 1^{re} fois de l'« abîme mystique », devant l'Empereur de Prusse, Guillaume 1^{er} ; l'Empereur du Brésil, Pierre II ; un aréopage de princes, de grands-ducs et de compositeurs célèbres (Grieg, Tchaïkovski, Saint-Saëns, Bruckner...) . Tous découvrent une acoustique qui est, depuis, restée unique au monde. En raison de la disposition particulière de la fosse, aucune note ne parvient au spectateur sans avoir été réfléchi par le plafond et les murs latéraux, produisant ainsi une fascinante fusion sonore qui réalise le rêve wagnérien de « mélodie infinie » .

Ce Festival inaugural, qui présente la Tétralogie à 3 reprises, est diversement apprécié. « L'œuvre grandiose d'un artiste grandiose » pour les uns ; « une scandaleuse ineptie qui n'a rien de commun avec le peuple allemand » pour les autres. Wagner, lui-même, est affligé par l'esthétique conventionnelle des spectacles, qui ne sera pourtant remise en question que dans les années 1950, par son petit-fils Wieland.

Devant les casques ailés, les armures et les boucliers, le compositeur s'écrie :

« Après avoir créé l'Orchestre invisible, j'aimerais aussi inventer le Théâtre invisible ! »

L'énorme déficit de ces 1^{res} représentations engendre la fermeture du Théâtre. Il ne rouvrira qu'en 1882, pour la création de « Parsifal », et il faudra attendre 1896 pour y revoir la Tétralogie. Qu'importe : « Parsifal » suffira à édifier le mythe de Bayreuth. Wagner obtient du roi Louis II l'engagement que son ultime œuvre, baptisée « Bühnenweihfestspiel » (Festival scénique sacré), soit réservée à Bayreuth pendant une période de 30 ans après sa mort. Le jour de la première, il demande au public de ne pas applaudir à la fin des 2^{es} Actes. Du coup, celui-ci restera aussi silencieux à l'issue du dernier. Pendant des dizaines d'années, cette tradition, née d'une méprise, sera respectée. On applaudit un divertissement, pas une messe. Quelques mois plus tard (le 13 février 1883), Wagner meurt à Venise. Sa veuve, Cosima, lui survivra 47 ans. Jusqu'en 1906, elle sera la gardienne jalouse et autoritaire du Saint-Graal, transformant le temple en mausolée. Peu à peu, les autres Opéras de Wagner y sont admis (à l'exception des 3 œuvres de jeunesse, considérées comme indignes du lieu). Depuis 1936, le Festival de Bayreuth est devenu annuel et présente 7 ouvrages chaque été, pour un total de 30 représentations.

En 1891, l'écrivain Romain Rolland fait à son tour le pèlerinage à Bayreuth :

« On se croirait à Lourdes. Le 3^e Acte de « Parsifal » est le 5^e Évangile. Ce n'est vraiment plus du théâtre, ce n'est plus de l'art, c'est de la religion, et comme Dieu même. »

L'unique fils de « Dieu », Siegfried (qui porte le nom de l'intrépide héros de la Tétralogie) , a 37 ans lorsqu'il prend la relève de sa mère. Compositeur, chef d'orchestre et metteur en scène, il préserve à son tour l'héritage et la tradition, en écartant soigneusement ses 2 véritables soeurs, Isolde et Eva (il a aussi 2 demi-soeurs, nées du 1er mariage de Cosima avec Hans von Bülow) . L'aînée, Isolde, a eu la fâcheuse idée d'épouser un chef d'orchestre suisse, Franz Beidler, qui risque de faire de l'ombre à Siegfried. Franz est bientôt chassé de Bayreuth par Cosima. Pour se venger, Isolde réclame alors sa part d'héritage. Cosima refuse en prétendant qu'Isolde est, en réalité, la fille de son 1er mari. Nul ne saura jamais la vérité, mais Isolde perd son procès en paternité et meurt de la tuberculose, en 1919, abandonnée par sa famille et son mari. En 1908, la cadette, Eva, s'unit à un « ami de maman » , Houston Stewart Chamberlain, théoricien de la suprématie de la race aryenne. Installés à Bayreuth, ils s'enorgueillissent d'accueillir Adolf Hitler, en 1923, à la veille du « Putsch de la Brasserie » raté de Munich. Malgré la naissance d'un fils adultérin, des rumeurs commencent à courir sur l'homosexualité de Siegfried. En 1915, il se décide donc à convoler en justes noces avec une orpheline anglaise de 18 ans, Winifred Williams. Elle aura le bon goût de lui offrir 4 enfants : Wieland, Friedelind, Wolfgang et Verena.

De son côté, Siegfried ne cache pas son nationalisme :

« La décadence dans l'art, surtout en Allemagne, est scandaleuse. Dans le pays de Bach, de Beethoven et de Wagner, on cultive les nègres ; on a l'insolence de montrer sur scène les cochonneries les plus dégoûtantes. »

En 1930, c'est pourtant lui qui a l'audace de laisser, pour la 1re fois, la fosse du « Walhalla » à un chef non-germanique, et de surcroît anti-fasciste, Arturo Toscanini. Les chanteurs juifs y sont aussi les bienvenus. Surprenantes contradictions que l'on rencontrait déjà chez son père.

Alors que Richard écrivait, en 1881, à Louis II de Bavière :

« Je juge la race judaïque l'ennemi naturel de l'humanité pure et de tout de ce qu'il y a de noble en elle. »

Il confia l'année suivante au chef juif Hermann Levi, fils de rabbin, le soin de créer son « Festival scénique sacré » , pourtant fortement teinté de christianisme. Et Levi, devenu ami de Cosima, sera le seul à diriger « Parsifal » jusqu'en 1894.

Revenons à Winifred, qui s'est prise de sympathie pour Adolf Hitler. Dès 1923, elle se porte garante, auprès de la section locale du Parti nazi, « de la force et de la pureté morales de cet homme, auquel la maison Wahnfried s'engage à rester fidèle dans les mauvais comme dans les bons jours » . Toute la famille Wagner tiendra cette promesse, à l'exception de Friedelind, l'une des filles de Siegfried et de Winifred, qui, dès sa majorité, s'exile à New York pour fustiger l'Allemagne nazie et ceux qui ont dévoyé l'esprit de Bayreuth. Hitler, lui, devient un ami et un habitué de Wahnfried. Les enfants adorent Adolf, surnommé affectueusement « Oncle Wolf » (Oncle Loup : loup étant l'un des noms donnés par Wagner à Wotan, le souverain des dieux du « Walhalla ») . Le dictateur chérit Bayreuth, où « a été forgée l'épée spirituelle avec laquelle nous luttons aujourd'hui » . En 1930, Cosima s'éteint, suivie 4 mois plus tard par Siegfried, qui a pris soin d'organiser sa succession. Winifred hérite de tous ses biens, à condition de ne jamais

se remarier. Le partage entre les 4 enfants ne pourra se faire qu'après la mort de leur mère. Il leur faudra beaucoup de patience : Winifred survivra un demi-siècle à son époux.

Voici donc encore une veuve à la barre du Festival de Bayreuth. Mais, cette fois, elle n'a que 33 ans. Elle nomme Heinz Tietjen directeur artistique du Festival. Celui qui dirige aussi 2 Opéras à Berlin s'installe à Wahnfried, devenant le tuteur des enfants de Siegfried et le « petit canard » de Winifred. Dès sa prise de pouvoir, en 1933, Hitler place le Festival sous sa protection personnelle. Le 28 mai 1933, Arturo Toscanini, déjà jaloux des prérogatives accordées à son confrère Wilhelm Furtwängler, a eu la sagesse de décliner l'invitation de Winifred. Il ne remettra jamais les pieds à Bayreuth ni en Allemagne. En 1936, Bayreuth devient « Reichsfestspiele » (Festival du « Reich »), puis, en 1940, « Kriegsfestspiele » (Festival de guerre), destiné en priorité aux combattants en permission. Pendant ce temps, la benjamine, Verena, s'est installée sur le lac de Constance avec un dignitaire nazi. Ses 2 frères, Wieland et Wolfgang, ont chacun épousé une danseuse et attendent leur tour.

Le « Festspielhaus » ferme ses portes en 1945, avec la débâcle allemande. D'abord classée comme activiste nazie, Winifred sort presque indemne de son procès en dénazification. Grâce au témoignage d'une pianiste juive attestant que Winifred a sauvé la vie d'un grand nombre de personnes promises à l'extermination, cette « suiviste de la 3e catégorie » se voit simplement reprocher « d'avoir jeté dans la balance au profit de Hitler un des plus illustres noms de l'histoire mondiale de la culture ».

Le président allemand Walter Scheel n'a-t-il pas déclaré, lors du Centenaire du Festival :

« L'histoire de Bayreuth fait partie de l'histoire allemande. Ses erreurs ont été les erreurs de notre nation. »

Avant d'ajouter :

« Peut-on reprocher à Wagner que Hitler l'ait aimé ? Hitler aimait aussi les montagnes et les chiens de berger. Ce n'est pas une raison pour en vouloir aux montagnes et aux chiens de berger. »

On peut, en revanche, reprocher aux descendants de Wagner d'avoir tant aimé Hitler. Jusqu'à sa mort, en 1980, Winifred ne reniera jamais son amitié passée avec Hitler, tout en revendiquant son apolitisme.

En 1949, interdite de toute activité pendant 30 mois, elle a décidé de passer le flambeau à ses 2 fils, Wieland et Wolfgang, qui ne tarderont pas à la mettre totalement à l'index. Pendant quelques mois, la ville et le gouvernement bavarois ont bien envisagé de séparer le destin de Bayreuth de celui des Wagner, en déclarant l'héritage wagnérien « bien national ». Mais que faire d'un Bayreuth « déwagnérisé » ? Friedelind, sollicitée pour réfléchir sur l'avenir, a fini par renoncer. Le Nouveau Bayreuth est donc confié aux 2 petits-fils de Richard Wagner : Wieland l'artiste, et Wolfgang l'organisateur. Le « Parsifal » qui marque la ré-ouverture du Festival, en 1951, est une véritable révolution artistique. Wieland a éliminé tout le fatras de la tradition, au profit d'un espace dépouillé et géométrique. Les productions plus conventionnelles de Wolfgang mettent du baume au coeur des fidèles wagnériens. Mais la jalousie ne cesse de croître entre les 2 frères, au point que, dès 1955, Wolfgang quitte Wahnfried.

Nouveau coup dur pour Bayreuth : en 1966, Wieland est emporté par un cancer du poumon, à 49 ans. À l'exception du « Ring » du Centenaire, signée par Pierre Boulez et Patrice Chéreau, le Festival, dirigé par Wolfgang, va désormais se complaire dans une honnête médiocrité. En 1973, la famille Wagner et l'État allemand décident de mettre en place une fondation de droit privé, désormais propriétaire du « Festspielhaus », qui nomme et rétribue le directeur du Festival, choisi en priorité dans le clan Wagner. Homme d'affaires avisé, Wolfgang a monnayé ces concessions contre beaucoup de « Marks » et un poste de « directeur à vie ». Aujourd'hui, certains des 12 arrière-petits-enfants du compositeur se déchirent pour sa succession. Nike, l'intellectuelle, fille de Wieland, propose d'élargir le répertoire à des compositeurs contemporains et de jouer hors les murs. Avant de jeter (provisoirement) l'éponge, Eva, plus pragmatique, a fait valoir ses compétences incontestées de conseillère artistique au Festival d'Aix-en-Provence et au « Metropolitan Opera » de New York. Le Festival de Bayreuth doit-il rester dédié à l'œuvre wagnérien et continuer à être dirigé par les descendants de Richard ? Pour y répondre, on méditera ces paroles de Walter Scheel :

« Nous avons appris que se soumettre sans conditions à un homme, à une œuvre, à une nation conduit à l'abîme. »

...

Petite ville de Haute-Franconie dans le nord de l'État de Bavière, célèbre pour son Festival exclusivement consacré aux œuvres de Richard Wagner.

Provisoirement banni de Bavière en 1865, las des intrigues de cour et de la surveillance jalouse que son protecteur Louis II exerçait sur lui, Wagner renonça au projet, lancé en 1864 par ce souverain, de construire à Munich un théâtre destiné aux représentations de « l'Anneau du Nibelung », mais non à ce rêve, qu'il caressait depuis longtemps, d'un théâtre bien à lui, où ses œuvres pourraient être jouées d'une manière parfaite. Il se mit en quête. Bayreuth retint son attention : il s'y dressait un théâtre, l'Opéra des Margraves, à l'acoustique réputée et dont la scène était l'une des plus vastes d'Allemagne. À l'examen, cet édifice, qu'il visita en avril 1871, ne lui convint pas. Mais la compréhension qu'il rencontra à Bayreuth le décida : c'est là qu'il édifierait son Théâtre des Festivals (« Festspielhaus »), spécialement destiné à servir de cadre aux représentations solennelles de « l'Anneau », œuvre dont les dimensions et le caractère exigeaient, selon lui, des conditions d'exécution totalement différentes de celles d'un Opéra traditionnel.

L'ambitieux projet de Wagner était celui d'une véritable école où les interprètes, par le biais de l'étude de ses ouvrages, apprendraient les fondements du théâtre lyrique moderne : avènement d'acteurs-chanteurs se substituant aux « gosiers » sacrifiant tout à « la » note, restauration de la conception initiatique du spectacle que Wagner croyait déceler dans la tragédie grecque.

C'est dans cette perspective que, reprenant les principes qu'en accord avec lui l'architecte Gottfried Semper avait posés pour le projet de Munich, Wagner conçut un bâtiment aux caractéristiques révolutionnaires (quoique inspirées, pour certains traits, du théâtre de Riga où il avait travaillé dans sa jeunesse) : une salle d'environ 1,800 places en amphithéâtre, sans loges ni baignoires, étagée sur trente gradins, avec une visibilité parfaite pour tous les spectateurs ; un orchestre profondément enfoncé dans une fosse de 6 gradins, recouverte aux 3 quarts par 2 auvents de bois mince

dont l'un, du côté de la scène, fait office de « proscenium » , créant une fausse perspective qui trompe le spectateur sur la taille réelle des décors et même des personnages.

Le fait de cacher l'orchestre répondait à 2 préoccupations : d'abord, en supprimant cette source de lumière qui d'ordinaire s'interpose entre le public et le plateau, concentrer l'attention du spectateur sur le déroulement scénique ; ensuite, obtenir un son d'orchestre décanté, limpide, mal localisé, presque mystérieux, qui, jaillissant de l'invisible « abîme mystique » , enveloppe idéalement les voix sans les masquer. À l'atmosphère sérieuse, fervente, ainsi recherchée, contribuent également l'austérité de la salle, sans dorure, sans ornement (elle était d'ailleurs considérée par Wagner comme provisoire ; les fonds disponibles avaient été utilisés en priorité pour créer un équipement scénique parfait, considéré, lui, comme définitif) , l'inconfort des rudimentaires sièges de bois et le fait, nouveau pour l'époque, que la salle était plongée dans l'obscurité durant les représentations.

L'école ne vit pas le jour, mais, dans l'édifice bâti grâce à la vente de cartes de patronage et, surtout, à une ultime et décisive aide de Louis II, le rideau se leva sur « l'Or du Rhin » , inaugurant un « Anneau du Nibelung » complet, en août 1876. L'événement, à la fois politique et artistique (Guillaume II et l'Empereur du Brésil y côtoyaient Franz Liszt, Anton Bruckner, Léon Tolstoï, Camille Saint-Saëns, Piotr Ilitch Tchaïkovski) , connut un succès rendu relatif par le déficit, qui interdit d'annoncer la date du Festival suivant, et par l'indifférence du public d'Opéra traditionnel. Le wagnérisme, pourtant, s'institutionnalisa cette année-là ; Nietzsche, voyant son ami accaparé par les associations « d'amateurs de bière, de peaux de bête et de Wagner » , fuit Bayreuth à l'arrivée des Iers « pèlerins » .

6 ans plus tard, la création de « Parsifal » (1882) fut accueillie avec déférence ; mais la mort de Wagner (1883) menaça la survie de Bayreuth. « Parsifal » fut joué en 1883 et 1884, mais des Festivals isolés, arrachés au destin, n'avaient créé ni une habitude ni une tradition. Cosima Wagner décida alors d'assumer l'héritage. Entourée d'une extraordinaire équipe de chefs d'orchestre (Hans Richter, Hermann Levi, Felix Mottl) , elle présenta à tour de rôle l'ensemble des œuvres principales du Maître, du « Vaisseau fantôme » à « Parsifal » . Avec l'aide de son fils Siegfried (1869-1930) et d'un conseiller musical, Julius Kniese, elle fit de Bayreuth une institution où, conception radicalement neuve, mise en scène et chant comptaient autant l'un que l'autre. Longtemps, on accusa Cosima d'avoir favorisé la naissance d'une « race de hurleurs » (George Bernard Shaw) . Mais de grandes voix, comme Rosa Sucher, étaient alors aussi rares qu'aujourd'hui. Il est vrai cependant que Cosima, qui estimait honorer les chanteurs en les engageant et les payait fort peu (pratique qui s'est maintenue à Bayreuth jusqu'à nos jours) , ne craignit jamais de sacrifier la beauté vocale sur l'autel de l'articulation « wagnérienne » obligatoire qu'elle avait instituée, déclamation inspirée du théâtre parlé. Soumis à ce style dont ils ne pouvaient enfreindre la moindre règle sous peine d'expulsion, les vedettes du Bayreuth de l'époque, Erick Schmedes, Ernest van Dyck, Theodor Bertram, Ellen Gulbranson, purent sembler au public des voix moins « belles » que leurs rivaux Leo Slezak, Jacques Urlus, Emil Fischer, Lillian Nordica, Felia Litvinne, qui chantaient librement Wagner dans les autres théâtres. Assurément, l'intégrité de la fidélité de Cosima à certaines volontés réelles, ou supposées, de Wagner ôta aux chanteurs toute spontanéité, toute imagination, et supprima sur le plan scénique toute possibilité d'innovation.

En 1907, Cosima abandonna la direction du Festival à Siegfried. Celui-ci se contenta, jusqu'à la Première Guerre, de maintenir les méthodes instaurées par sa mère. Après le conflit, il eut grand mérite à réunir les fonds nécessaires pour

la reprise, qui eut lieu en 1924. Cette période se caractérise par la création d'une régie des éclairages, la simplification des décors et l'utilisation de projections, un style plus naturaliste et psychologique dans la direction d'acteurs, bref, un heureux compromis entre les théories d'Adolphe Appia, que Cosima avait formellement rejetées et qu'il n'osa suivre totalement, et la tradition. Des chefs comme Karl Muck et Michael Balling, des chanteurs comme Nanny Larsen-Todsen et le chef des chœurs Hugo Rüdell l'aidèrent à maintenir une haute-qualité musicale et vocale. Les nouvelles productions de « Tristan et Isolde » (1927) et « Tannhäuser » (1930), qu'il mit en scène, furent critiquées par les passésistes, mais furent dans l'ensemble très admirées. Siegfried mourut en 1930, laissant à sa femme Winifred (1897-1979), depuis longtemps son assistante, un Festival d'une tenue exemplaire, où pourrait briller la nouvelle génération de chanteurs wagnériens exceptionnels qui atteignait alors son apogée : Frida Leider, Alexander Kipnis, Friedrich Schorr, Lauritz Melchior, Lotte Lehmann, Emanuel List.

Or, Bayreuth allait beaucoup changer. À mesure que l'Allemagne tombait sous la coupe du National-Socialisme, de très nombreux artistes, imitant Arturo Toscanini dont la rupture avec Bayreuth (1933) fut éclatante, prenaient le chemin de l'exil. On ne trouva bientôt plus au Festival que des chefs appréciés ou tolérés par le régime (Karl Elmendorff, Franz von Hoesslin, Wilhelm Furtwängler) et des chanteurs « protégés » : Max Lorenz, Franz Völker, Maria Müller, Margarete Klose, Jaro Prohaska, Ludwig Hofmann, Josef von Manowarda, Rudolf Bockelmann. Tous étaient, au demeurant, de remarquables acteurs-chanteurs, membres pour la plupart de l'Opéra de Berlin dont le directeur, le chef d'orchestre et metteur en scène Heinz Tietjen (1881-1967), assura à partir de 1933 la direction artistique du Festival. Avec l'aide du décorateur Emil Preetorius et du chef éclairagiste Paul Eberhardt, Tietjen créa un monde de symboles, d'archétypes, plus proche des réalisations ultérieures de Wieland et Wolfgang Wagner que du style de Siegfried. Toutefois, à travers cette forme nouvelle, Tietjen présenta un « message » de plus en plus ouvertement nationaliste. Adolf Hitler lui-même demeura relativement discret en raison de la sympathie aveugle, mais sincère, que lui vouait Winifred mais Bayreuth était bel et bien devenu un temple culturel nazi, et si Germaine Lubin se flatte d'y avoir chanté Isolde en 1939, une Kirsten Flagstad préféra rejoindre au « Metropolitan Opera House » de New York tous les grands chanteurs exilés.

La Deuxième Guerre mondiale limita l'activité du Festival, l'écroulement du « Reich » l'interrompit en 1944. Touchée par la dénazification, Winifred dut céder la direction à 2 de ses enfants, Wieland (1917-1966) et Wolfgang (1919). En 1951, le théâtre rouvrit ses portes. Une production, mise en scène par Wieland, de « Parsifal », qui fit scandale avant de devenir unanimement admirée au fil des années, inaugurerait l'ère du « nouveau Bayreuth ». Les 2 frères s'attachèrent à définir un style de scénographie systématiquement épuré, jouant de la lumière et de la couleur pour fouiller le sens profond des œuvres. Wieland se montra symboliste et rigoureux, Wolfgang plus humain, plus coloré. Les productions les plus remarquées furent celles de Wieland (« Tristan et Isolde », 1952 et 1962 ; « les Maîtres-chanteurs », 1956 ; « l'Anneau du Nibelung », 1965) ; elles furent, à leur tour, violemment combattues par les passésistes, mais vite admises et même saluées comme des exemples, des jalons dans l'histoire du théâtre ; ces visions décapantes amorçaient une réflexion idéologique qui allait bien au-delà du simple renouvellement de style. Un tel travail, décisif pour l'avenir de l'art lyrique, ne fut possible qu'avec la fidèle collaboration des chefs d'orchestre Hans Knappertsbusch, Wolfgang Sawallisch, Karl Böhm, André Cluytens, Josef Keilberth, Rudolf Kempe, des chanteurs Wolfgang Windgassen, Hans Hotter, Leonie Rysanek, Gustav Neidlinger, Josef Greindl, Astrid Varnay, Martha Mödl, Birgit Nilsson, Anja Silja, et du chef des chœurs Wilhelm Pitz.

Wieland mourut en 1966, année où, appelé par lui, Pierre Boulez dirigeait son 1er « Parsifal ». Wolfgang a, depuis, assumé seul la responsabilité suprême. Brisant heureusement le rêve de certains de transformer Bayreuth en « musée Wieland », il a, tout en poursuivant ses propres recherches, ouvert le « Festspielhaus » à des metteurs en scène aussi divers qu'August Everding (« le Vaisseau fantôme », 1969 ; « Tristan et Isolde », 1974), Götz Friedrich (« Tannhäuser », 1972 ; « Lohengrin », 1979), Patrice Chéreau (« l'Anneau du Nibelung », 1976), Harry Kupfer (« le Vaisseau fantôme », 1978 ; « Parsifal », 1982). En même temps, il a renouvelé les distributions en appelant des chanteurs (René Kollo, Peter Hofmann, Gwyneth Jones, Franz Mazura, Heinz Zednick) ne répondant pas aux critères de puissance vocale que l'on associait au chant wagnérien depuis quelques dizaines d'années, mais capables d'affronter les exigences actuelles de la recherche et de la sincérité théâtrales. Ainsi, Bayreuth demeure-t-il, comme à ses origines, un lieu d'avant-garde, un phare du théâtre contemporain. Wolfgang a confié à Norbert Balatsch la difficile succession de Wilhelm Pitz, à la tête des chœurs (qui sont une élite recrutée essentiellement dans les théâtres allemands, ainsi qu'à l'étranger), et mis l'Orchestre (qui est une sélection de musiciens des Orchestres d'Opéra et de Radio des 2 Allemagnes) entre les mains de personnalités aussi exigeantes et aux conceptions wagnériennes aussi peu sclérosées que Pierre Boulez, Carlos Kleiber, Colin Davis ou Silvio Varviso. Wolfgang, en accord avec sa mère, a définitivement assuré l'avenir du Festival en suscitant la création, en 1973, d'une Fondation Richard Wagner (« Richard Wagner Stiftung Bayreuth »), qui, légataire des biens matériels et spirituels de la famille Wagner, est chargée de les gérer. Cette fondation regroupe la République fédérale d'Allemagne, l'État de Bavière, la Fondation régionale bavaroise, le district de Haute-Franconie, la Fondation de Haute-Franconie, la ville de Bayreuth, la Société des amis de Bayreuth et les membres de la famille Wagner. Il a, enfin, développé les Rencontres internationales pour la jeunesse, nées en 1951, qui organisent, parallèlement au Festival, des séminaires, des conférences, des ateliers de jeunes interprètes.

Le succès du doyen des Festivals ne se dément pas et s'est élargi aux dimensions du monde grâce à une intelligente collaboration avec la radio, le disque et, plus récemment, l'audio-visuel.

Le Nouveau Bayreuth

Le nouveau Bayreuth (« Neubayreuth » ou « neues Bayreuth ») est le surnom du profond renouvellement que connut dans les années 1950 et 1960 le Festival de Bayreuth sous l'influence de Wieland Wagner, co-directeur du Festival avec son frère Wolfgang.

Les mises-en-scène visaient à trouver le sens profond de chaque œuvre en l'extirpant de tout contexte historique ou politique, et rejetaient le style traditionnel (littéral, réaliste et naturaliste) en ce qu'il prenait le parti de symboliser et d'évoquer plutôt que de figurer. Les personnages, conçus comme des symboles plutôt que comme des pseudo-humains, sont au cœur d'une action universelle et intemporelle qui permet de multiples lectures.

Le renouveau opéré par les petits-fils du compositeur naît dans l'opprobre qui frappe, après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, le Festival de Bayreuth et la famille Wagner. Le Festival a pleinement participé à la politique culturelle du régime nazi, sous le haut-patronage d'Adolf Hitler lui-même, intime de la famille. D'une certaine manière, c'est également la méfiance manifestée envers un compositeur à l'antisémitisme avéré, adulé par Hitler et utilisé jusqu'à plus soif par les Nazis, qui déteint sur le lieu qu'il a conçu pour la célébration de ses propres œuvres.

Le Festival rouvre en 1951, 6 ans après la fin de la Guerre, l'année du 70^e anniversaire de sa création. Il a été pris en main par les petits-fils du compositeur, Wieland et Wolfgang Wagner. Leur mère Winifred, la belle-fille du compositeur et directrice depuis 1930, renonce à tout rôle sur la colline sacrée ; elle vivra jusqu'en 1980, sans manifester le moindre remords quant à la cordiale relation qu'elle entretenait avec le « Führer ». Ses 2 fils vont s'attacher à dissocier les ouvrages de Wagner d'un certain nationalisme allemand et l'abstraire de toute lecture politique.

À cela s'ajoute une conscience aiguë de la nécessité de sortir les ouvrages de la vision traditionnelle dont Bayreuth s'était fait la spécialité, bien qu'un 1^{er} rafraîchissement soit déjà advenu pendant la période nazie, sous l'impulsion de Winifred et avec la bénédiction d'Hitler. L'influence d'Adolphe Appia, aussi, est déterminante. Cette volonté, jugée radicale, heurtera une partie du public, à qui Wieland répondra en 1963 qu'« on ne peut pas vivre dans un musée, même si c'est celui de mon grand-père ».

Le 29 juillet 1951, la ré-ouverture du Festival constitue « le plus important événement lyrique germanique depuis la création de "Wozzeck" à Berlin, en décembre 1925. » (Frederic Spotts)

Le 1^{er} Festival voit bouleversée la conception de la mise-en-scène héritée du XIX^e siècle, et renvoie au musée les décors au caractère littéral caractéristique de l'ancien style wagnérien. Wieland fait évoluer ses personnages sur de grandes plages monocolores stylisant le lieu, le contexte, l'atmosphère, ou l'état d'esprit des personnages ; ainsi, le rocher de l'Acte III du « Siegfried » de 1951 est réduit à un sol de pierre claire et un immense ciel bleu. Dans certaines productions, le décor même est remplacé par l'obscurité et le vide : aucune forêt sacrée dans l'Acte I du « Parsifal » de 1951, aucun château dans l'Acte III du « Tristan » de 1952, mais une noirceur qui projette sur tout l'espace scénique le désespoir de d'Amfortas et de Tristan et la progression en eux du mal.

La nouveauté tient non seulement à ce qu'on voit, mais aussi à ce qu'on en voit plus, car toute ce qui est jugé inutile est supprimé, pour permettre au spectateur de se consacrer sur l'essentiel, c'est-à-dire le chant et l'action. Dans le « Parsifal » du 1^{er} soir, pas de cygne, pas de temple, pas de château, pas de fleurs pour les filles-fleurs, etc. Des costumes simples et intemporels remplacent les peaux d'animaux et les braies issus des mythes germaniques, et montrent l'universalité du message et l'appartenance des personnages à l'humanité entière. Ce dépouillement culmine lors du duo d'amour du « Tristan » de 1952, lorsque les 2 amants chantent au milieu d'un infini bleu-noir d'où seules émergent leurs têtes.

Un élément récurrent de cette époque est, au centre de la scène, un vaste cercle (ou plutôt, pour des raisons de perspective, d'une ellipse), autour et sur lequel se concentre le déroulement de l'action. On trouve de bons exemples dans « l'Anneau du Nibelung » de 1951 (où la forme symbolise également l'anneau) ou à l'Acte I du « Parsifal » de cette même année. Wieland, influencé par le théoricien de la mise-en-scène, Adolphe Appia, utilise également la lumière comme un élément de mise-en-scène, que ce soit pour rendre l'atmosphère d'un lieu ou pour lier musique et drame à travers la couleur.

Au milieu des années 1950, les principes évoluent en direction de l'idée d'un espace imaginaire (« geistiger Raum »), structuré et tourné vers le public. Certains éléments s'inspirent de la tragédie grecque - une source importante chez Wagner, lecteur d'Eschyle et qui a arrangé la salle du Palais des Festivals de Bayreuth avec des gradins en demi-cercle, dans le style antique. Les costumes des dieux de « l'Anneau » de 1951 montraient déjà cette direction, ce qui contribue à « dé-germaniser » visuellement les ouvrages. Mais c'est le traitement des chœurs dans le « Tannhäuser » de 1954 et le « Lohengrin » de 1958 qui portent une plus grande nouveauté : ils évoquent le chœur grec qui, en un vaste ensemble face au public, entoure et commente l'action.

Dans les années 1960, la volonté de laisser au spectateur la liberté de voir fera préférer à l'abstraction l'utilisation de formes symboliques et ambiguës qui peuvent, comme des taches de Hermann Rorschach, être interprétées de différentes manières, ouvrant ainsi tout le potentiel psychologique des ouvrages. Dans son célèbre « Tristan » de 1962, l'espace scénique n'est occupé que par d'étranges et hauts monolithes. Dans l'Acte II, une forme verticale d'une dizaine de mètres de haut, au sommet incliné et percé de 2 larges trous d'où tombent 2 traînées sombres. Une pierre tombale ? un symbole phallique ? l'épée de Marke ? la surveillance de Bragäne ? une chouette ? De même, à l'Acte II de son « Siegfried » de 1965, une structure d'apparence végétale formant une fresque de larges trous, et pouvant suggérer des racines, les alvéoles d'une ruche, des terriers.

Wieland Wagner a mis-en-scène tous les grands Opéras de son grand-père au moins une fois, de la ré-ouverture de 1951 jusqu'à sa mort en 1966 :

1951 : « Parsifal » .

1951 : « L'Anneau du Nibelung » .

1952 : « Tristan et Isolde » .

1954 : « Tannhäuser » .

1956 : « Les Maîtres-chanteurs de Nuremberg » .

1958 : « Lohengrin » .

1959 : « Le Vaisseau fantôme » .

1961 : « Tannhäuser » .

1962 : « Tristan et Isolde » .

1963 : « Les Maîtres-chanteurs de Nuremberg » .

1965 : « L'Anneau du Nibelung » .

Wolfgang a également signé 4 mises-en-scène pendant cette période, dans un style qui, s'il s'inscrit dans les principes de son frère, est généralement considéré comme plus sage ou moins inspiré.

1953 : « Lohengrin » .

1955 : « Le Vaisseau fantôme » .

1957 : « Tristan et Isolde » .

1960 : « L'Anneau du Nibelung » .

La mise-en-scène des « Maîtres-chanteurs » par Rudolf Hartmann en 1951, reprise en 1952 seulement, ne peut être liée au nouveau Bayreuth : Wieland a préféré se concentrer pour la ré-ouverture sur « Parsifal » et le « Ring » , et n'a consenti à une 3e production dans le style traditionnel qu'afin de faire une courte transition avec les anciens Festivals.

L'application des principes de Wieland Wagner afin de dégager les Opéras de la dimension historique et politique dans laquelle les avaient enfermés 7 décennies de mises-en-scène « respectant les œuvres du Maître » a été vécue comme un bouleversement, et à ce titre diversement appréciée. Une partie des critiques et du public, dès le début, accueille favorablement les mises-en-scène de Wieland, et s'y rallie avec parfois quelques réticences.

Cependant, une partie plus traditionaliste du public vivra la volonté de dépoussiérage comme une profanation, et l'universalisation comme un reniement. À chaque nouvelle production, les « révisions » sont critiquées : la scène de « Lohengrin » n'est plus à Anvers, Heinrich n'y est plus Empereur ; aucun marin à l'Acte I de « Tristan » ; aucun jardin pour les filles-fleurs ; etc. En particulier, en 1956, la production des « Maîtres-chanteurs de Nuremberg » , surnommée « Les Maîtres-chanteurs sans Nuremberg » , en raison de l'absence de toute figuration de la ville dans les décors des Actes II et III, a suscité les lres huées de l'histoire du Festival, et l'ire des traditionalistes, qui comparèrent les gradins de la scène du concours, rangés avec un dénivelé relativement élevé, à un amphithéâtre d'université.

Autre scandale célèbre, celui de « Tannhäuser » en 1961. Plus que la mise-en-scène, la Bacchanale très suggestive de Maurice Béjart et, surtout, la présence d'une chanteuse noire, Grace Bumbry, qui chanta Vénus, provoquèrent de très vives réactions du public (« Une “ négresse ” à Bayreuth ! ») .

Le travail de Wieland Wagner n'a cependant aucun caractère radical ou subversif : il faut y voir une volonté d'atteindre le sens profond, le message même de chaque ouvrage au-delà du détail ou de l'anecdotique, et d'être en ce sens plus « fidèle » à l'œuvre wagnérienne que ceux qui s'en sont servis à des fins de propagande politique. Il rencontre du reste un succès européen, et dirige d'autres productions wagnériennes dans de grandes maisons d'Opéra, où il contribue à faire prendre conscience qu'une page s'est tournée dans l'histoire du théâtre lyrique.

...

The Bayreuth Festival (« Bayreuther Festspiele ») is a music Festival held annually in Bayreuth, Germany, at which performances of Operas by the 19th Century German composer, Richard Wagner, are presented. Wagner, himself, conceived and promoted the idea of a special Festival to showcase his own works, in particular, his monumental cycle « Der Ring des Nibelungen » and « Parsifal » .

Performances take place in a specially designed theatre, the Bayreuth « Festspielhaus » .Wagner personally supervised the design and construction of the theatre, which contained many architectural innovations to accommodate the huge orchestras for which Wagner wrote as well as the composer's particular vision about the staging of his works. The Festival has become a pilgrimage destination for Wagner enthusiasts, who often must wait years to obtain tickets.

The origins of the Festival itself lie rooted in Richard Wagner's interest in establishing his financial independence. A souring of the relationship with his patron, Ludwig II of Bavaria, led to his expulsion from Munich, where he had originally intended to launch the Festival. Wagner next considered Nuremberg, which would have re-inforced the thematic significance of works such as « Die Meistersinger » . On the advice of Hans Richter, however, the focus fell upon Bayreuth which enjoyed 3 distinct advantages.

1st, the town boasted a splendid venue : the « Markgräfliches Opernhaus » built for Margrave Frederick and his wife, Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine (sister of Frederick the Great) , in 1747. With its ample capacity and strong acoustics, the Opera House was a good match for Wagner's vision. 2nd, the town of Bayreuth found itself outside of regions where Wagner no longer owned the rights to the performance of his own works, which he had sold-off in 1864, in order to alleviate pressing financial concerns. Finally, the town had no cultural life that could offer competition to Wagner's own artistic dominance. The Festival, once launched, would be the dominant feature of Bayreuth's cultural landscape.

In April 1870, Wagner and his wife Cosima visited Bayreuth. On inspection, the Opera House proved to be inadequate. It was built to accommodate the Baroque Orchestras of the 18th Century and was, therefore, unsuited for the complex stagings and large Orchestras that Wagner's Operas required. Nonetheless, the « Burgermeisters » proved open to assisting Wagner with the construction of an entirely new theatre and the Festival was planned to launch in 1873. After a fruitless meeting, in the spring of 1871, with the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to obtain funds, Wagner embarked on a fund-raising tour across Germany, including Leipzig and Frankfurt.

An initial public subscription proved disappointing until Wagner, at the suggestion of his friend and admirer Emil Heckel, launched a number of Wagner Societies to increase participation in the Festival's subscription. Societies were established, among other places, in Leipzig, Berlin and Vienna.

Despite making direct appeals based on Wagner's role as a composer of the new German « Reich » , the Societies and other fundraising channels were well-short of the needed sum, by the end of 1872. Wagner made another appeal to Bismarck, in August 1873, and was again denied.

Desperate, Wagner turned to his former patron, Ludwig II, who reluctantly agreed to help. In January 1874, Ludwig granted 100,000 Thaler and construction on the theatre, designed by architect Gottfried Semper, started shortly thereafter. A planned 1875 debut was postponed for 1 year due to construction and other delays.

Since its opening, in 1876, the Bayreuth Festival has been a socio-cultural phenomenon. The inauguration took place on 13 August 1876, with a performance of « Das Rheingold ». Present at this unique musical event were « Kaiser » Wilhelm, Dom Pedro II of Brazil, King Ludwig (who attended in secret, probably to avoid the « Kaiser »), and other members of the nobility, as well as the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche who committed much effort to helping his then good friend Wagner establish the Festival, and such accomplished composers as Anton Bruckner, Edvard Grieg, Pyotr Tchaïkovsky, Franz Liszt, and the young Arthur Foote.

Artistically, the Festival was a success. (« Something has taken place at Bayreuth which our grandchildren and their children will still remember »), wrote Tchaïkovsky, attending the Festival as a Russian correspondent.) Financially, however, the Festival was a disaster and did not begin to make money until several years later. Wagner abandoned his original plan to hold a 2nd Festival the following year, and travelled to London to conduct a series of concerts in an attempt to make-up for the deficit. Although the Festival was plagued by financial problems in its early years, it survived through State intervention and the continued support of influential Wagnerians, including King Ludwig II of Bavaria.

From its inception, the Festival has attracted leading conductors and singers, many of whom performed without pay. Among these was Hans Richter, who conducted the premiere of the « Ring » Cycle, in 1876. Another was the talented conductor Hermann Levi, who was personally chosen by Richard Wagner to conduct the debut of « Parsifal », in 1882, with the assistance of the young Engelbert Humperdinck.

Following Wagner's death, his widow Cosima continued running the Festival at 1 or, more frequently, 2 year intervals. She gradually introduced the remaining Operas which complete the Bayreuth canon of Wagner's last 10 completed Operas. Levi, the son of a Jewish rabbi, remained the Festival's principal conductor for the next 2 decades. Felix Mottl, who was involved with the Festival, from 1876 to 1901, conducted « Tristan und Isolde » there, in 1886. Until the 1920's, performances were strictly in accordance with the traditions established under King Ludwig's patronage. Not a note was « cut » from any of the enormous scores ; no concessions were made to the limits of human patience on the part of the audiences. Cosima Wagner preserved the productions of « Parsifal » and « Der Ring des Nibelungen » just as they had been in Wagner's day, defending any proposed changes with appeals to her son, Siegfried :

« Was this not how Papa did it, in 1876 ? »

After Cosima's retirement, in 1906, Siegfried Wagner took-over management of the Festival, introducing new staging and performance styles. His early death, in 1930, left the Festival in the hands of his English-born wife Winifred Wagner, with Heinz Tietjen as artistic director.

In the 1920's, well before the rise of the Nazi Party, Winifred Wagner became a strong supporter and close personal friend of Adolf Hitler ; her correspondence with Hitler has never been released by the Wagner family. She and other Festival leaders were members of Nazi chief ideologue Alfred Rosenberg's « Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur » , which actively suppressed modernist music and works by « degenerate » artists. The Festival maintained some artistic independence under the 3rd « Reich » . Ironically, Hitler attended performances that included Jewish and foreign singers, long after they had been banned from all other venues across Germany (including the « heldentenor » Max Lorenz, married to a well-known Jewish woman) . Winifred's influence with Hitler was so strong that Hitler even wrote a letter (at her behest) to anti-Fascist Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini, begging him to lead the Festival. Toscanini refused. From 1933 to 1942, the Festival was conducted principally by Karl Elmendorff.

It was under the 3rd « Reich » that the Festival made its 1st break from tradition, abandoning the deteriorating 19th Century sets created by Richard Wagner. Many protested at the changes, including prominent conductors such as Toscanini and Richard Strauß, and even some members of the Wagner family. In their view, any change to the Festival was a profanation against « the Master » (Wagner) . Nevertheless, Hitler approved of the changes, thus paving the way for more innovations in the decades to come.

During the War, the Festival was turned-over to the Nazi Party, which continued to sponsor Operas for wounded soldiers returning from the front. These soldiers were forced to attend lectures on Wagner before the performances, and most found the Festival to be tedious. However, as « guests of the “ Führer ” » , none complained.

During the 1970's, Winifred Wagner was repeatedly petitioned to install a memorial to the Jewish singers at the Bayreuth Festival who had been murdered in concentration camps. A plaque was finally installed honouring Otilie Metzger-Lattermann and Henriette Gottlieb after Winifred's death.

2/3 of the town of Bayreuth was destroyed by Allied bombing in the final days of World War II, though the theatre itself was undamaged. Following the War, Winifred Wagner was sentenced to probation by a War Court for her support of the Nazi Party. The Court also banned her from administration of the Bayreuth Festival and its assets, which fell eventually to her 2 sons, Wolfgang and Wieland.

During American occupation of the region after World War II, the theatre was used for army recreation and religious services for American soldiers. Only popular concerts and mixed entertainment were allowed : comedy, dancing, acrobatics and, then, only « Die Fledermaus » was staged. When the Festival House was handed-over to the city of Bayreuth, in 1946, it was used for concerts of the Bayreuth Symphony Orchestra and the performances of such Operas as « Fidelio » , « Tiefland » , « Madama Butterfly » and « La Traviata » . And talks about re-opening of the Wagnerian Festival started. Finally, it re-opened with the performance by the Bayreuth Festival Orchestra under conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler of Beethoven's 9th Symphony, on 29 July 1951, followed by the 1st post-War premiere of Wagner's Opera, « Parsifal » .

Under the direction of Wieland Wagner, the « New Bayreuth » ushered in an era that was no less than revolutionary. Gone were the elaborate naturalistic sets, replaced with minimalist modern productions. In comparison, the pre-War

changes seemed tame. For the 1st time in its history, the Bayreuth audience booed at the end of productions. Wieland was particularly derided for his 1956 production of « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg ». Stripped of its pageantry, conservatives viewed the breaking of this « sacred German tradition » as an outrage.

Wieland defended the changes as an attempt to create an « invisible stage » that would allow the audience to experience the full psychosocial aspects of the drama without the baggage and distraction of elaborate set-designs. Others have speculated that by stripping Wagner's works of their Germanic and historic elements, Wieland was attempting to distance Bayreuth from its nationalistic past and create productions with universal appeal. Over time, many critics came to appreciate the unique beauty of Wieland's re-interpretation of his grandfather's works.

Wieland's innovative productions invited comparison to Wolfgang's, which critics unanimously found to be uninspired. If Wieland's productions were radical, Wolfgang's were regressive. Although still minimalist in approach, Wolfgang resurrected much of the naturalistic and Romantic elements of pre-War productions. Thus, when Wieland died prematurely from lung cancer, in 1966, many wondered if Bayreuth had a future. They began to question Bayreuth's primacy among German Opera Houses, and some suggested that more interesting productions were being staged elsewhere.

Around this time (1955) , in order to broaden its audience, the whole Bayreuth Festival company conducted performances in Paris and Barcelona, performing « Parsifal » , « Die Walküre » and « Tristan und Isolde » .

In 1973, faced with overwhelming criticism and family infighting, the Bayreuth Festival and its assets were transferred to a newly created Richard Wagner Foundation. The board of directors included members of the Wagner family and others appointed by the State. As chairman, Wolfgang Wagner remained in charge of administration of the Festival.

While Wolfgang Wagner continued to administer the Festival, beginning in the 1970's, production was handled by a number of new directors in what Wolfgang called : « Werkstatt Bayreuth » (Bayreuth Workshop) . The idea was to turn the Festival into an opportunity for directors to experiment with new methods for presenting the Operas. The change came-out of necessity, as it was impossible for Wolfgang to both administer and direct the Festival. It also provided an opportunity for Bayreuth to renew itself with each production, rather than continue to present the same Operas in the same way, year after year. Ingmar Bergman, who famously made a film version in Swedish of Mozart's « Die Zauberflöte » , turned-down an invitation to direct the Festival.

The most sensational production in « Werkstatt Bayreuth » was the Centennial « Ring » Cycle under the direction of French director Patrice Chéreau. Chereau used an updated 19th Century setting that followed the interpretation of George Bernard Shaw who saw the « Ring » as a social commentary on the exploitation of the working-class by wealthy 19th Century capitalists.

The audience reaction was split between those who saw the production as an offence and those who considered it the best « Ring » Cycle ever produced. The ensuing conflict, short only of outright riot, between supporters and detractors was unprecedented in the history of the Festival. The performances, and the performers, however, were without dispute

some of the best seen in the world of Opera.

Le « Festspielhaus »

C'est afin d'être en mesure d'offrir de ses œuvres (de l'Anneau du Nibelung, en 1er lieu) des représentations modèles, c'est-à-dire conformes à ses intentions, dans un cadre adapté, que Richard Wagner songe très tôt à l'édification d'un Théâtre d'un genre nouveau. En fait, dès l'époque où, Maître de chapelle de la Cour à Dresde (1843-1849), il ne cesse de se battre pour réformer de fond en comble le théâtre traditionnel.

Mais c'est en 1863 qu'il exprime pleinement ses idées dans la Préface à la 1re Édition de L'Anneau du Nibelung ; idées qu'il reprend une fois encore, lorsqu'en 1870 il écrit à son ami, mécène et protecteur Louis II de Bavière : « Il est clair que je devrais disposer de mon propre théâtre pour représenter mes œuvres, qui ne se sont retrouvées rejetées dans le genre " Opéra " que par le plus grand des hasards. »

Il est nécessaire de rappeler qu'à l'époque de Wagner, le théâtre d'Opéra est conçu la plupart du temps sur le modèle du « théâtre à l'italienne » : lieu où le public se rend essentiellement pour se montrer et s'observer. Du reste, on oublie trop souvent que l'une des 1res innovations apportées par Wagner fut d'exiger que les lumières soient éteintes dans la salle durant la représentation.

Richard Wagner entend donc offrir à son « Ring » un cadre qui diffère, du tout au tout, des théâtres traditionnels par :

« Ici, j'enferme un secret ;
Qu'il y demeure de longs siècles:
Tant que cette pierre le recèlera,
Il se manifestera au monde ! »

L'extrême dépouillement du bâtiment, en briques rouges et en bois. Sur le plan du Théâtre réalisé par Otto Brückwald, on trouve cette annotation, de la main de Wagner : « Enlevez toutes les décorations ! » .

L'absence de foyer, au sens habituel du terme. Il se résume ici à un espace situé sous la salle.

La disposition de la salle. Pas de loges se regardant l'une l'autre, mais une sorte d'amphithéâtre grec, très pentu, plongeant vers la scène.

La fosse orchestrale est rendue invisible par 2 mantelets en bois.

Le plafond du « Festspielhaus » est peint dans les tons de jaune, d'ocre et de bleu. Il figure le « velum » rayonnant que l'on tirait au-dessus des gradins, dans les théâtres de l'Antiquité, afin de protéger les spectateurs du soleil. Cette décoration voulue par Richard Wagner suggère évidemment la parenté de son œuvre avec la Tragédie grecque, que l'on

retrouve, par ailleurs, sur le sgraffite qui se situe sur la façade de la Villa « Wahnfried » .

L'ensemble est destiné à favoriser la « fusion » des spectateurs en un tout, par-delà les classes sociales (les spectateurs sont tous logés à la même enseigne, sur les gradins !) , et à focaliser l'attention de chacun sur le déroulement de l'action dramatique, sans que rien ne vienne distraire son attention (à l'époque de Wagner, les musiciens accordaient leurs instruments avant d'entrer dans la fosse orchestrale, et les techniciens étaient munis de chaussons spéciaux afin que nul ne puisse percevoir le bruit de leurs déplacements en coulisses) .

Voulu par Richard Wagner comme lieu de représentations modèles de ses œuvres, le « Festspielhaus » n'est ni une « institution officielle » , ni un « atelier expérimental » .

Le « Festspielhaus » , dans l'esprit de Richard Wagner, est une part intégrante de son œuvre. Il s'agit donc, en ce sens, d'une véritable « œuvre d'art » .

À l'opposé du théâtre Brechtien, le théâtre Wagnérien doit être le lieu de l'illusion portée à son plus haut degré : une sorte de cinéma en 3D avant l'heure.

Et tout concourt, dans le « Festspielhaus » , à créer une telle illusion : l'acoustique unique de la salle, la nuit quasi totale dans laquelle est plongée le spectateur (du temps de Wagner, les lumières demeuraient ordinairement allumées durant les représentations) , l'invisibilité de la fosse orchestrale (une pièce avait même été prévue par Wagner, destinée à permettre aux musiciens d'accorder leurs instruments, avant d'entrer dans la fosse) , le dispositif scénique, enfin, mis en œuvre par des techniciens chaussés de pantoufles, de manière à éviter tout bruit incongru.

La salle, qui peut accueillir 1,800 spectateurs, est constituée de 30 gradins qui montent en forte pente depuis la fosse orchestrale. L'amphithéâtre ainsi créé, en forme de triangle dont le sommet se trouve au centre de la scène, s'inscrit dans le plan rectangulaire de la salle grâce aux 6 pans de murs qui se détachent progressivement de la paroi latérale. Terminés par une colonne de style corynthienne, ces 6 pans de murs animent les parois qui, sans cela, eussent paru fort nues et ont également une fonction acoustique. À l'arrière, l'amphithéâtre est fermé par des loges et une galerie.

Le plancher porte des sièges cannés, à l'origine, à armature en bois, sans accoudoirs. Le cadre de la scène est lui aussi en bois, peint en gris, comme le rideau de scène, qui s'ouvre à la grecque, c'est-à-dire depuis le centre jusqu'au manteau d'arlequin.

...

Si le 1er Festival de Bayreuth fut un immense succès artistique, ce fut aussi un désastre financier ; de sorte que, du vivant de Richard Wagner, le « Festspielhaus » ne put rouvrir ses portes qu'une seule fois, en 1882, pour la création de « Parsifal » .

Après l'immense éclosion Symphonique des Ires années viennoises, et aussitôt avant le Quintette à cordes, Anton

Bruckner produit une nouvelle série de ces petites pièces si caractéristiques, dont il emprunte les textes à un autre poète amateur avec qui il s'est lié d'amitié : le médecin militaire de Salzbourg Heinrich Wallmann (1827-1898) , qui écrit sous le pseudonyme de Heinrich von der Mattig.

...

The Bayreuth « Festspielhaus » (Festival Theatre) dedicated solely to the performance of Operas by the 19th Century German composer Richard Wagner. It is the venue for the annual Bayreuth Festival, for which it was specifically conceived and built. Its official name is « Richard-Wagner-Festspielhaus » .

Wagner adapted the design of the « Festspielhaus » from an unrealized project by Gottfried Semper for an Opera House in Munich, without the architect's permission, and supervised its construction. Ludwig II of Bavaria provided the primary funding for the construction. The foundation stone was laid on 22 May 1872, on Wagner's 59th birthday. The building was 1st opened for the premiere of the complete 4 Opera cycle of « Der Ring des Nibelungen » (The Ring of the Nibelung) , from 13 to 17 August 1876.

Only the entry façade exhibits the typical late- 19th Century ornamentation, while the remainder of the exterior is modest and shows mostly undecorated bricks. The interior is mainly wood and has a reverberation time of 1.55 seconds. The « Festspielhaus » is a carpenter's building ; in fact, it is the largest free standing timber structure ever erected. Unlike the traditional Opera House design with several tiers of seating in a horse-shoe shaped auditorium, the « Festspielhaus » 's seats are arranged in a single steeply-shaped wedge, with no galleries or boxes. This is also known as continental seating. Many contemporary movie theatres have adopted this style of seating, which gives every seat an equal and uninterrupted view of the stage. The capacity of the « Festspielhaus » is 1,925 and has a volume of 10,000 cubic metres.

The « Festspielhaus » features a double proscenium, which gives the audience the illusion that the stage is further away than it actually is. The double proscenium and the recessed Orchestra pit create (in Wagner's term) a « mystic gulf » between the audience and the stage. This gives a dream-like character to performances, and provides a physical re-inforcement of the mythic content of most of Wagner's Operas. The architecture of the « Festpielhaus » accomplished many of Wagner's goals and ideals for the performances of his Operas including an improvement on the sound, feel, and overall look of the production.

The « Festpielhaus » was originally planned to open in 1873 but, by that time, Wagner had barely raised enough money to put-up the walls of his theatre. He began to raise money by travelling and putting-on concerts in various cities and countries throughout Europe. Even after Ludwig began funding the project, Wagner had to continue putting on concerts to keep the building project financially afloat. The tours were very taxing on Wagner's health and would eventually be a key-element to his death later-on, in 1883.

A significant feature of the « Festspielhaus » is its unusual Orchestra pit. It is recessed under the stage and covered by a hood, so that the Orchestra is completely invisible to the audience. This feature was a central preoccupation for

Wagner, since it made the audience concentrate on the drama on-stage, rather than the distracting motion of the conductor and musicians. The design also corrected the balance of volume between singers and Orchestra, creating ideal acoustics for Wagner's Operas, which are the only Operas performed at the « Festspielhaus ». However, this arrangement has also made it the most challenging to conduct in, even for the world's best conductors. Not only is the crowded pit enveloped in darkness, but the acoustic reverberation makes it difficult to synchronize the Orchestra with the singers. Conductors must, therefore, retrain themselves to ignore cues from singers.

The Orchestra layout deployed at Bayreuth is unusual in 3 ways :

The 1st violins are positioned on the right-hand side of the conductor instead of their usual place on the left side. This is in all likelihood because of the way the sound is intended to be directed towards the stage rather than directly on the audience. This way the sound has a more direct line from the 1st violins to the back of the stage where it can be then reflected to the audience.

The rest of the Orchestra is located directly under the stage. This makes communication with the conductor vital as most of the players are unable to see or hear the singers, but creates the huge, rich sounds Wagner sought to compose.

The « Festspielhaus » remains the venue of the annual Bayreuth Festival, during which Wagner's later Operas, such as the « Ring » cycle and « Parsifal », are given on a repertory basis.

...

Été ou automne de 1876 au 15 novembre 1877 : Bruckner quitte son logis, l'appartement n° 10 au 2e palier du n° 41 de la « Währingerstraße », dans le 9e arrondissement, pour aménager au dernier étage de la « Heinrichshof », sis au n° 3 de la « Opernring » dans le 1er arrondissement.

Septembre 1876 : The Berlin music-critic Wilhelm Tappert persuades the conductor Benjamin Bilse to perform the 4th Symphony in Berlin. (Bruckner sends Bilse a score and a set of orchestral parts.)

The 18 year old Hans Rott studies composition at the Vienna Conservatory with Franz Krenn during the 1876 school year and the next. He is, thus, a classmate of Gustav Mahler, and they become good friends. (Donald Mitchell, 1995 ; page 296.)

15 septembre 1876 : Bruno Walter Schlesinger is born in a Berlin slum, to Jewish parents. (He will later drop his last name and be known as Bruno Walter) .

The 12 year old Richard Strauß writes his 1st orchestral piece, a « Festmarsch » (Festival March) in E-flat. It will be published 5 years later (1881) with financial help from an uncle as : Strauß's Opus 1.

19 septembre 1876 : Letter from Anton Bruckner to the Berlin music-critic Wilhelm Tappert informing him that the copying of the 1874 version of the 4th Symphony has just now been completed.

1er octobre 1876 : Anton Bruckner sends a copy of the score of the 1874 version of the 4th Symphony to the Berlin music-critic Wilhelm Tappert, in the hope that Benjamin Bilse and his Orchestra will perform it.

12 octobre 1876 : Anton Bruckner writes to the Berlin music-critic Wilhelm Tappert, declaring his intention to thoroughly revise the 4th Symphony before any performance. He engages Tappert's efforts to recover the score and parts from Bilse (without success) .

Letter from Bruckner to Wilhelm Tappert, in Berlin :

« I have become entirely convinced that my 4th Symphony urgently needs fundamental re-working. There are, for example, in the Adagio overly difficult, unplayable violin figures and, here and there, the instrumentation is too ornate and too unsettled. »

(« Ich bin zur vollen Überzeugung gelangt, daß meine 4. romantische Sinfonie einer gründlichen Umarbeitung dringen bedarf. Es sind zum Beispiel im Adagio zu schwierige, unspielbare Violinfiguren, die Instrumentation hie und da zu überladen und zu unruhig. »)

« Anton Bruckner, Briefe : 1852-1886 » , in : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , Band 24/1, edited by Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider, Vienna (1998) ; page 175.

4 novembre 1876 : After 20 years of work, the 43 year old Johannes Brahms finally completes and premieres his 1st Symphony. It is conducted by the composer's friend, Felix Otto Dessoff, in Karlsruhe, then, in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

Upholders of the Classical tradition immediately proclaim it as the « 10th » , a not-very-subtle reference to its worthiness as a successor to Beethoven's great 9th Symphony.

Thanks mainly to the Viennese critic Eduard Hanslick, who is a good friend of Brahms, the musical game of the day is to declare yourself either a Brahmsian or a Wagnerian, the 2 factions supposedly being exact opposites in terms of style, technique, and philosophy. Brahms repeatedly claims to be « the best of the Wagnerites » : the composer of the « New German School » whose work he really criticizes is Franz Liszt.

Despite a life-long admiration of Richard Wagner, Gustav Mahler's later friendship with Johannes Brahms will balance his artistic views quite a bit. Alexander von Zemlinsky, after his successful efforts at combining his admiration of these 2 composers in his own work and, then, Arnold Schönberg (who both begin as Brahmsians and, later, come to admire Wagner) will be the 1st to fully reconcile this dilemma.

Eduard Hanslick writes a long article praising the 10 year old Ferruccio Busoni's talents as a pianist and composer. The Busoni family moves to Graz, Austria.

6 décembre 1876 : Letter from Anton Bruckner to the Berlin music-critic Wilhelm Tappert, requesting some minor changes in the Andante of the 1874 version of the 4th Symphony.

WAB 74

31 décembre 1876 : **WAB 74** - « Das hohe Lied » (le Cantique des cantiques) 1re version, lied (84 mesures) en la majeur pour 2 ténors, 1 baryton, 1 chœur masculin à 8 voix (2 chœurs à 4 voix) a cappella. Composé à Vienne sur le texte allemand « Im Tale rauscht die Mühle und stört des Wand'ers Lied » (le bruit du moulin perturbe la chant du voyageur errant dans la vallée) de Heinrich von der Mattig (pseudonyme du médecin militaire de Salzbourg et poète amateur Heinrich Wallmann, 1827-1898) . Le chœur d'hommes imite, à bouche fermée, le bruissement des eaux du moulin.

Exécution d'un extrait, le 10 décembre 1879, à Vienne. Exécution intégrale, le 13 mars 1906, à Vienne.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXIII/2, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Angela Pachovsky - Anton Reinhaller, Vienne (2001) ; « Weltliche Chorwerke » , pages 109-116.

C'est en raison des difficultés vocales que contient la partition que Bruckner écrira vers 1879 une 2e version accompagnée d'un effectif instrumental.

Im Tale rauscht die Mühle und stört des Wandrers Lied,
Bis er durch Waldesdunkel hinauf die Berge flieht.
Und immer ferner rauschet die Mühle tief im Tal.
Und immer kräft'ger schallet des Liedes Widerhall.
Die Höhe ist erklommen, jetzt ist das Lied allein
Und schwimmt auf luft'gen Wellen ins Abendrot hinein.

...

Just after Christmas, Johannes Brahms did something that implied he might be settling-down in life. He took his 1st apartment in Vienna : 2 rooms on the 4th floor (considered 3rd floor in Austria) at No. 4 « Karlsgasse » . While that represented a step up from the hotels he had inhabited for years in the city, it hardly seemed a suitable place for someone like himself. It was a plain stone building like any number of others in Vienna, next to the looming Baroque dome of the « Karlskirche » . The big windows of the living-room looked past the church to the plaza and little « Resselpark » , and the River « Wien » . Just beyond the river, lay the « Musikverein » , home of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » . A short stroll over the Elizabeth Bridge brought him to the horse-drawn street-cars of the « Ringstraße » ; a 10 minute walk at the brisk Brahms-pace took him past the « Hofoper » to the « Kärntnerstraße »

and then the middle of town, or with a turn east, to the trees and « cafés » of the « Stadtpark » . Beyond the plaza of Saint-Stephen's Cathedral, the woods and amusements of the « Prater » spread north of the city, below the Danube.

A practical apartment, then, actually in sight of his place of employment, but, when all was said and done, hardly adequate for a famous artist. The painter Hans Makart, whose neo-Rococo kitsch was now the rage of the city, had a house decked-out like a Turkish harem, a riot of palms, peacocks, and wall-hangings, dripping with « objets d'art » . That, or as close as means allowed, was the way famous artists and their « nouveaux riches » admirers lived in Vienna (Richard Wagner was a great admirer of Makart and his lifestyle) . Max Kalbeck wrote that Brahms' place looked like the apartment of a student, a minor civil servant, a salesman just starting in trade. One entered the building on « Karlsgasse » through a plain-door from the street, crossed a vestibule past French windows opening to the garden, and ascended winding stone stairs. At apartment No. 8, there was an old-fashioned iron bell-pull that jangled loudly in Brahms' living-room. Landlady « Frau » Vogl would open the door on a narrow hall leading past her kitchen, and visitors entered the apartment through Brahms' bedroom.

In 1877, Brahms rented a 3rd attached room but, for the 1st years, he had only the bedroom and living-room, both small and plain though sunny, the larger holding his piano and stacks of books and music. (Most of his library stayed in Hamburg until he got the 3rd room.) There was no bath. The furniture, scanty and shabby, was provided by « Frau » Vogl, and later (and somewhat less shabbily) by her successor, « Frau » Truxa. His landladies took care of his mending and house-keeping.

AB 76 : 1877

1877 : Anton Bruckner decides to revise the 4th Symphony when conductor Benjamin Bilse is preparing a performance in Berlin. Consequently, the composer instructs Bilse to return the score and the orchestral parts. Bruckner decides to make the 3rd version of the 3rd Symphony against the young Gustav Mahler's counsel.

7 janvier 1877 : Anton Bruckner adresse une lettre (qui constitue un véritable « curriculum vitæ ») à l'endroit du gouvernement du « Land » de Basse-Autriche. Le Maître y expose les grandes étapes de sa carrière musicale au moment où il pose sa candidature au poste de chef d'orchestre de la Cour. (Bruckner cherche à améliorer sa situation financière.)

12 janvier 1877 : Bruckner demande, sans succès, au ministère de la Culture un salaire fixe comme enseignant à l'Université.

5 mars 1877 : Vienna premiere of Richard Wagner's « Die Walküre » .

1877 : Richard Wagner s'attèle à son dernier Opéra, « Parsifal » . La composition lui en prit 4 ans, durant lesquels il écrivit également une série d'essais réactionnaires sur la religion et l'art. Il mit la dernière main à « Parsifal » en janvier 1882, et le fit représenter lors du second Festival de Bayreuth. Pendant l'Acte 3 de la 16e et dernière représentation, le 29 août, le chef Hermann Levi fut victime d'une indisposition. Wagner entra discrètement dans la

fosse d'orchestre, prit la baguette et dirigea l'œuvre jusqu'à son terme.

Mars 1877 : The 17 year old Hugo Wolf is dismissed from the Vienna Conservatory for breaking the rules. He also visits a brothel and contracts syphilis, which will ultimately lead to his insanity decades later.

22 mars 1877 : Anton Bruckner postule comme organiste à l'église de l'ancien monastère jésuite « Am Hof » (« Kirche am Hof ») . Mais cette demande sera rejetée.

L'église se trouve à 2 pas du « Restauration Zur Goldenen Kugel » (Restaurant « Au Ballon d'Or ») : le restaurant préféré d'Anton Bruckner à Vienne, situé au 11 de la « Platz Am Hof » . En 1882, on démolit le vieil édifice pour faire place à un tout nouveau (le « Türkenkugel Haus ») . Fort heureusement, le fameux restaurant, situé au rez-de-chaussée, va survivre à cette mutation. Le compositeur y déguste sa bière favorite, la « Pilsner » , et son plat favori : le rôti de porc accompagné de choucroute.

La « Kirche am Hof » , aussi appelée « Kirche zu den neun Chören der Engel » (Église aux « 9 chœurs des Anges » : les Anges ; les Archanges ; les Vertus ; les Puissances ; les Principautés ; les Dominations ; les Trônes ; les Chérubins ; et les plus doux, les Séraphins) .

Voici la lettre de présentation de Bruckner :

Vienne, (1) le 22 / 3 (mars) 1877.

Monsieur,

Très honoré par votre aimable requête, je me permets de vous fournir quelques notices sur ma modeste personne. (2)

Anton Bruckner, organiste de la Cour royale et impériale, (3) lecteur à l'Université royale et impériale (4) , professeur au Conservatoire de Vienne. (5)

Né en 1824 à Ansfelden, en Haute-Autriche. De 1855 à 1861, j'ai étudié la théorie musicale, en particulier le contrepoint, chez Sechter (6) à Vienne. Puis, jusqu'en 1863, la composition chez Kitzler (7) (originaire de Leipzig) à Linz.

Jusqu'en 1855, (8) organiste de la collégiale de Saint-Florian, (9) puis, de là jusqu'en 1868, organiste de la cathédrale de Linz (10) . Et depuis octobre 1868 (après le décès de Sechter) , j'exerce mes fonctions actuelles auxquelles j'ai été nommé.

En 1869, j'ai été invité à un concours d'orgue à Nancy (11) et j'y ai donné des récitals pendant 2 jours. Par suite du succès prodigieux, j'ai dû me rendre de là à Paris (12) où, devant les plus grands Maîtres, (13) j'ai improvisé sur un thème donné, notamment à Notre-Dame. Le succès et aussi la critique furent tels que, de toute ma vie, je n'oublierai

jamais les marques d'honneur qui me furent prodiguées. En 1871, je fus choisi pour participer aux récitals d'orgue organisés à l'Albert Hall de Londres où je me produisis 6 fois avec un succès extraordinaire. Après quoi, j'ai encore donné 5 récitals au Crystal Palace, toujours avec le même succès. (14) Les journaux anglais du 1er septembre 1871, par exemple le « Morning Advertiser », le « Daily News », etc, commentent mon jeu, notamment les improvisations, de la manière la plus élogieuse.

En matière de composition, j'ai écrit 3 grandes Messes (15) et 5 Symphonies, (16) outre de nombreuses œuvres moins ambitieuses. (17)

La 3e Symphonie en ré mineur est dédiée à Richard Wagner (18) qui m'a honoré de son appréciation la plus flatteuse. (De même, Liszt, (19) Herbeck, (20) Hellmesberger, (21) etc. et le public pour ce qui est de la Symphonie en ré mineur (n° 2), laquelle a été exécutée 2 fois à Vienne. (22) (Malheureusement, des conditions et des circonstances fâcheuses ont inspiré à la critique, du moins à une partie de celle-ci, des commentaires plus défavorables à mon égard.) (Hans Richter (23) s'enthousiasme à présent pour ma 3e Symphonie et il fera l'impossible pour l'exécuter l'année prochaine.) (24)

Respectueusement, Anton Bruckner.

(Berlin, 6 avril 1908.)

Cette dernière lettre ne figure pas dans les recueils :

Franz Gräßlinger, l'éditeur de « Anton Bruckner : Gesammelte Briefe. », Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg (1924) .

Max Auer, l'éditeur de « Anton Bruckner : Gesammelte Briefe. », Neue Folge, Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg (1924) .

En français et avec fac-similé de la 1re page ; Pinsart (1935) , pages 131-133.

Annotations

(1) C'est en octobre 1868, à l'âge de 44 ans, que le compositeur et organiste autrichien Anton Bruckner (Ansfelden, près de Linz, 4.09.1824 ; Vienne, 11.10.1896) s'est fixé à Vienne où il vient d'être nommé professeur au Conservatoire (note 4) . Il y restera jusqu'à la fin de sa vie. Au cours de la 1re moitié de l'année 1877, Bruckner est occupé à remanier ses 3e et 5e Symphonies.

(2) Cette lettre constitue un véritable « curriculum vitæ » et doit sans doute être mise en parallèle avec une lettre semblable datée du 7 janvier 1877 adressée au gouvernement du « Land » de Basse-Autriche : Bruckner y expose les grandes étapes de sa carrière musicale au moment où il pose sa candidature au poste de chef d'orchestre de la Cour. Bruckner cherche à améliorer sa situation financière.

(3) En 1869, Bruckner a obtenu le poste d'organiste de la Cour impériale et royale de Vienne dirigée par Herbeck depuis 1886.

(4) Depuis le mois de novembre 1875, Bruckner enseigne l'harmonie et le contrepoint à l'Université de Vienne. Cet enseignement se donne à l'époque à titre gracieux et ce n'est qu'en 1877 qu'un salaire lui est attribué.

(5) Par un décret daté du 6 juillet 1868, Bruckner est nommé professeur au Conservatoire de Vienne. Il entre en fonctions le 1er octobre comme professeur de basse continue et de contrepoint, succédant ainsi à Simon Sechter (1788-1867). De plus, il est également le 1er titulaire de la classe d'orgue nouvellement créée.

(6) Alors qu'il était en poste à Linz, Bruckner, âgé de 31 ans déjà, s'était rendu à Vienne en juillet 1855 pour demander à Simon Sechter, professeur de contrepoint et de basse continue au Conservatoire depuis 1851, de lui donner des leçons privées. À la lecture de la « Missa solemnis » composée par Bruckner à Saint-Florian en 1854, Sechter fut impressionné et accepta. Pendant 6 ans, Bruckner suivit ses cours par correspondance, se rendant une fois par année auprès du Maître pour un examen de contrôle. En 1861, ses études seront reconnues par un diplôme délivré par le Conservatoire de Vienne.

(7) De 1861 à 1863, Bruckner étudie la composition et l'orchestration auprès d'Otto Kitzler, 1er violoncelliste et, à l'occasion, chef d'orchestre du Théâtre municipal de Linz. Ce musicien praticien lui enseigne les rudiments du métier en étudiant les œuvres de Ludwig van Beethoven et de compositeurs plus contemporains comme Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy et Richard Wagner : la 1re représentation de « Tannhäuser » à Linz date de février 1863. Notons aussi que l'année suivante, Bruckner se rend à Munich pour assister à la création de « Tristan und Isolde » et pour rencontrer Wagner.

(8) Le 1er chiffre « 5 » est souligné ; vraisemblablement par une autre main qui a ajouté dans la marge : « 6 ? ». Cet ajout, datant de la fin du XIXe ou du début du XXe siècle, est dû au fait que Bruckner expose les différentes étapes de sa carrière professionnelle, non dans un ordre chronologique mais selon l'importance des différents postes occupés, ce qui suscite chez le lecteur un doute quant à la succession des événements.

(9) C'est en 1848 que Bruckner avait obtenu le poste d'organiste provisoire à Saint-Florian, en Haute-Autriche. 3 ans plus tard, il en reçoit le titre officiel qu'il conserve jusqu'en 1855. Ce 1er poste d'organiste constitue pour Bruckner une véritable reconnaissance de son talent musical alors que, jusque-là, il avait été instituteur.

(10) Quittant Saint-Florian, Bruckner s'installe à Linz en décembre 1855 où il a obtenu, sur concours, le poste d'organiste de la cathédrale qu'il occupera pendant 13 ans. Pendant ce séjour à Linz, Bruckner a connu la période la plus active de sa vie : tout en exerçant ses fonctions officielles d'organiste, Bruckner perfectionne sa technique d'organiste, suit les cours par correspondance de Sechter, donne également des leçons de piano et participe comme choriste, puis comme « Kapellmeister » du Liedertafel (orphéon ou société chorale) de la ville.

(11) C'est en tant que représentant autrichien que Bruckner a été invité à participer, à la fin du mois d'avril 1869, à

un concours d'orgue à Nancy à l'occasion de l'inauguration du nouvel orgue de la Basilique de Saint-Epvre. Celui-ci provient des ateliers parisiens de la Maison « Merklin et Schütze », firme qui avait obtenu une Médaille d'or à l'Exposition universelle de 1867, à Paris. Les 28 et 29 avril à Nancy, Bruckner donne 2 concerts où son talent d'improvisateur est grandement apprécié. Le « Journal de la Meurthe et des Vosges » du 1er mai 1869 estime que le compositeur autrichien est un des organistes les plus doués de sa génération.

(12) À la suite à son succès à Nancy, Bruckner fut invité par la firme « Merklin et Schütze » à se rendre à Paris pour y donner un concert dans ses établissements du boulevard Montparnasse. Bruckner eut également l'occasion d'improviser sur le nouvel orgue de Notre-Dame construit par le facteur Cavallé-Coll, en présence des compositeurs César Franck, Camille Saint-Saëns, Charles Gounod, Ambroise Thomas et Daniel François Esprit Auber.

(13) Note du traducteur : on lit « von » dans l'original, mais sans doute faut-il lire « vor » .

(14) C'est en août 1871 que se confirme à Londres la réputation européenne de Bruckner en tant que virtuose et improvisateur de grand talent sur l'orgue. D'une part, il y eut le concours d'orgue organisé au Royal Albert Hall de Londres dans le cadre de l'Exposition universelle. D'autre part, Bruckner fut invité à donner une série de récitals sur l'orgue du Crystal Palace : ses improvisations sur le « God save the King » ainsi que ses larges développements sur des thèmes de Jean-Sébastien Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel et Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy suscitèrent l'enthousiasme du public et des spécialistes.

(15) Bruckner ne cite ici que ses 3 dernières Messes : soit la Messe en ré mineur n° 1, la Messe en mi mineur n° 2 et la Messe en fa mineur n° 3. Toutes 3 composées à Linz entre 1864 et 1867. Les 2 Ires ont été exécutées respectivement en 1864 et 1869 tandis que la 3e a été créée à Vienne en 1872. Or, en 1877, 4 autres Messes, 1 « Missa solemnis », 3 « Requiem » et 1 « Magnificat » figurent déjà parmi les œuvres sacrées de Bruckner.

(16) Ici aussi, Bruckner ne veut mentionner que ses 5 dernières Symphonies (les numéros 1 à 5) alors qu'avant celle qui porte le n° 1, il en a composé 2 autres. Après 1879, Bruckner composera encore 4 autres Symphonies.

(17) Le catalogue des œuvres de Bruckner comprend également de nombreuses œuvres sacrées, des œuvres chorales, de la musique de chambre et des pièces pour orgue seul et piano seul.

(18) La Ire version de la Symphonie n° 3 en ré mineur fut achevée à Vienne en décembre 1873, mais elle n'y sera exécutée pour la Ire fois (dans sa 2e version) que le 16 décembre 1877. Sous la baguette du compositeur, cette Ire exécution sera catastrophique, notamment à cause de l'opposition de certains musiciens de l'Orchestre philharmonique. C'est en septembre 1873 que Bruckner rend visite à Richard Wagner à Bayreuth pour lui montrer ses Symphonies nos. 2 et 3. Impressionné par la Symphonie n° 3, Wagner en accepta la dédicace. C'est la raison pour laquelle cette Symphonie porte le nom de « Wagner-Sinfonie ». Dans le monde musical de Vienne de l'époque, cette Symphonie opposa davantage encore les partisans de Wagner à ceux de Brahms. On surnomma d'ailleurs Bruckner : « le Wagner des Symphonies » .

(19) Bruckner dédiera plus tard à Franz Liszt sa Symphonie n° 2 en do mineur.

(20) Maître de la chapelle musicale de la Cour impériale de Vienne, le compositeur et chef d'orchestre Johann Herbeck (1831-1877) est une personnalité imposante de la vie musicale viennoise après 1850. Professeur au Conservatoire de Vienne depuis 1858, il dirige aussi la chorale et les concerts de la « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ». De 1870 à 1875, il fut aussi co-directeur de l'Opéra. C'est grâce à Herbeck que Bruckner a obtenu ses postes au Conservatoire et à la chapelle musicale. En 1869, Herbeck était également intervenu pour que Bruckner obtienne une bourse du Gouvernement lui permettant de se consacrer à la composition. Bruckner sera fortement affecté par la mort de Herbeck, survenue prématurément le 28 octobre 1877.

(21) Le violoniste et chef d'orchestre Josef Hellmesberger (1828-1893) est le directeur du Conservatoire de Vienne et le « Konzertmeister » à l'Opéra. En 1849, il a fondé un Quatuor à cordes qui porte son nom et qui est considéré comme le plus important de Vienne à l'époque. Il fait entendre non seulement des œuvres Classiques de Ludwig van Beethoven et de Franz Schubert mais aussi des œuvres contemporaines de Johannes Brahms et d'Anton Bruckner.

(22) La 2e Symphonie en do mineur, composée à Vienne entre octobre 1871 et juillet 1872, fut créée à Vienne le 26 octobre 1873 sous la baguette du compositeur. Une 2e exécution pour laquelle Bruckner, à la demande de Johann Herbeck, effectua plusieurs modifications, eut lieu le 20 février 1876.

(23) Pour Hans Richter : voir la note n° 1 de la lettre n° 244. Depuis 1875, Hans Richter est le nouveau chef d'orchestre de l'Opéra de la cour de Vienne. En même temps, il prend la direction des concerts du Philharmonique.

(24) Ce n'est pas Hans Richter, mais bien plutôt Bruckner lui-même qui dirigera la création de la Symphonie n° 3 (se référer à la note n° 18) . En revanche, Richter sera au pupitre lors de la création de la Symphonie n° 4, le 20 février 1881 ; du « Te Deum » , le 10 janvier 1886 ; et de la Symphonie n° 8, le 18 décembre 1892.

« Kirche am Hof »

La chapelle de la « Hofburg » (« Schweizerhof » ,Vienne 1010) se trouve dans la partie la plus ancienne du palais Impérial de Vienne. Elle fut mentionnée pour la 1re fois en 1296. L'édifice Gothique d'origine subit d'importantes transformations au cours des siècles suivants. La chapelle de la « Hofburg » correspond encore à l'idéal de la Cour, tant sur le plan de l'architecture qu'en ce qui concerne les sculptures.

Le côté sud-est du monastère des Jésuites possède une ancienne façade Gothique qui fut réaménagée dans le style Baroque suite à un incendie. La nef Gothique extrêmement large est bordée de colonnes blanches surmontées de dorure. En 1806, un héraut du Roi annonça dans cette église la fin du Saint-Empire Romain qui fut sous le règne des Habsbourgs pendant environ 500 ans. La « Mariensäule » (colonne de la Vierge Marie) située au centre de la place publique date de 1667.

L'intérieur de la chapelle est décoré de sculptures de grande valeur. La clef finement travaillée des voûtes présente des

sculptures du Christ qui bénit, de la Vierge à l'enfant, de l'évangéliste Saint-Jean et de l'ange Gabriel. La salle est entourée de colonnes à baldaquins comportant des sculptures de Saints en bois colorés aux vêtements fortement plissés du XVIe siècle. La statue de la Vierge, placée au-dessus de l'autel latéral de gauche, correspond au type de la « belle Madone ». Le tableau de l'autel latéral de droite, représentant les noces de Sainte-Catherine et l'Enfant-Jésus, fut réalisé au XIXe siècle par Hubert Maurer, professeur à l'Académie. L'intérieur de la chapelle de la « Hofburg » est fortement marqué par les galeries et oratoires rajoutés à partir du XVIe siècle.

En dépit de son caractère éphémère, la chapelle de la Cour Impériale des Habsbourg à Vienne était un ensemble très renommé avec un retentissement bien au-delà de son existence. Créée en 1498 par l'Empereur Maximilien Ier, elle compte parmi ses membres les plus grands musiciens de l'époque : Heinrich Isaac et Ludwig Senfl comme Maître de chapelle et l'organiste Paul Hofhaimer. Or, en 1520, l'année suivant la mort de Maximilien, son successeur Charles Quint dissout la chapelle. Ludwig Senfl, son directeur congédié, entre au service du duc de Bavière et crée à Munich une chapelle selon le modèle Impérial à Vienne. Senfl, tout en restant flou concernant ses convictions religieuses, se lie d'amitié avec Martin Luther pour qui il compose un motet. Son successeur, Ludwig Daser, doit quitter son poste après sa conversion au protestantisme, et le duc Albrecht V nomme, en 1563, Roland de Lassus à la tête de la chapelle, inaugurant ainsi la période la plus prestigieuse de la chapelle.

Cette institution, d'abord à Vienne puis à Munich, reflète parfaitement les profondes mutations qui se sont opérées pendant le XVIe siècle en Allemagne : la montée de la puissance de l'Empire germanique et la Réforme protestante.

...

30 avril 1877 : In Paris, Charles Cros writes a paper which describes the process of recording sound onto a cylinder by means of a diaphragm which also enables playback.

30 avril 1877 : Bruckner donne sa Ire conférence sur le thème du contrepoint à l'Université de Vienne.

Anton Bruckner a toujours gardé un lien privilégié avec le monastère de Kremsmünster. Lors de la célébration commémorant le 1,100e anniversaire de l'institution, le **18 août 1877**, le compositeur se fera un devoir d'être présent. Il renouera également avec son ami de longue date, le père Raffael « Oddo » Loidol. Bruckner a souvent touché l'orgue « Matthäus Mauracher » de 1878 (sa facture Baroque datait de 1680) , soit dans un contexte de culte ou soit dans un contexte de récital. En 1883, il passera une bonne partie de l'année comme invité spécial du monastère.

Avec près de 10,000 titres, les archives musicales de la bibliothèque de Kremsmünster représentent l'une des institutions les plus riches et les plus importantes du genre. Elle détient quelques manuscrits précieux de Bruckner. Entre autres, la Ire version du « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) en plus d'esquisses d'œuvres du début comme la cantate patriotique « Germanenzug » (**WAB 70**) , l'Ouverture en sol mineur (**WAB 98**) et la « Symphonie d'étude » (« 00 ») (**WAB 99**) .

The 18 year old Hans Rott completes his organ studies with Anton Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory.

1 mai 1877 : Letter from Anton Bruckner to the Berlin music-critic Wilhelm Tappert :

« Yesterday, I picked-up the score of the 4th Symphony and saw to my horror that I harmed the work through many imitations and, indeed, often robbed the best passages of their effectiveness. This addiction to imitations is almost a sickness. »

(« Gestern nahm ich die Partitur der 4. Sinfonie zur Hand und sah zu meinem Entsetzen, daß ich durch viele Imitationen dem Werke schadete, ja oft die besten Stellen der Wirkung beraubte. Diese Sucht nach Imitationen ist Krankheit beinahe. »)

« Anton Bruckner, Briefe : 1852-1886 » , in : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , Band 24/1, edited by Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider, Vienna (1998) ; page 172.

Été 1877 : During his vacations, the 44 year old Johannes Brahms writes his 2nd Symphony.

Septembre 1877 : Anton Bruckner adds the village of Steyr to the itinerary of a trip which had already included Kremsmünster and Saint-Florian.

Septembre 1877 : The 55 year old Joachim Raff becomes a teacher and administrator at the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.

Septembre 1877 : The 17 year old Gustav Mahler enters the University of Vienna. He drops his piano studies, to concentrate on composition. Near the end of the year, with his friend Rudolf Krzyzanowski's help, he makes a piano-duet arrangement of Anton Bruckner's 3rd Symphony. It is the 1st of many of Mahler's work to be published and, also, the 1st work by Bruckner to appear in print.

During Gustav Mahler's attendance at the University of Vienna, Josef Petzval is teaching his students about « 31edo » and « mean-tone » , and demonstrating instruments he has had constructed in those tunings. Decades later, Mahler's remarks to Arnold Schönberg indicate that he was familiar enough with « mean-tone » to complain about its replacement with « 12edo » .

It is possible that even as late as the early 20th Century, great composers like Gustav Mahler, who studied a 31-note equal temperament advocated by Josef Petzval at the University of Vienna, and who later remarked to Arnold Schönberg that, « European music, in giving-up “ Mean-tone ” tuning, has suffered a great loss » , may have preferred unequal temperaments for performances of their music.

...

At the end of the 19th Century, with only a few exceptions, Europe, and places colonized by European countries, were

the only cultural areas whose music was characterized by the use of harmony. A clearly-defined system had been established whereby one particular note was felt to be the central, primary note over all the others, and a piece would be said to be « in the key of » that note. This type of music is referred to as « tonal » .

After several Centuries (1500-1900) of this, a few bold composers began writing music which did not give a single note primacy. The 2 earliest significant examples were Charles Ives, in America (notably, his « Unanswered Question » , composed originally in 1906) ; and Arnold Schönberg, in Vienna (Schönberg and Ives were born within about a month of each other) .

The 1st truly atonal pieces were Schönberg's 2nd Quartet 4th movement, 3 Piano Pieces, and song-cycle « Book of the Hanging Gardens » , all written in 1908. Ives's work could really be characterized more as « polytonal » , while Schönberg preferred the term « pan-tonal » for the pieces he composed which disregarded traditional ideas about tonality.

It was Schönberg's belated but extreme admiration for Gustav Mahler's work and ideals, not to mention Mahler's selfless support, that encouraged Schönberg to be true to himself, stick to his radical inspirations, and not be swayed by criticism ; he also learned from Mahler the importance of a polyphonic mode of composition, something that stayed with Schönberg the rest of his life.

Apparently, Schönberg's student Anton Webern was the one who really stimulated Schönberg into giving full rein to his most progressive tendencies and into finally abandoning traditional concepts of tonality. The pivotal period, when all this really began to emerge, was the summer of 1905.

Here is a detailed chronology, centered mainly around Mahler's life, with several decades of background sketched in, and the years after World War I as an epilog. The « Century » in the title refers roughly to the period 1803-1908 (Beethoven's « Eroica » to Schönberg's 1st atonal pieces) , and the entire period covered in detail, from the French Revolution to World War I, corresponds surprisingly closely to the « long 19th Century » defined by historian Eric Hobsbawm. Most of the events take place during the reigns of Napoléon and the Habsburg Emperors. This work is not strictly limited to descriptions of musical life in Vienna - because of the important role it played in the arts during the Romantic period, I inevitably had to include many of the events that occurred in Paris. In particular, Franz Liszt had little association with Vienna but was too important to leave-out.

Micro-tonality anecdotes :

The likelihood that Gustav Mahler intended « Mean-tone » tuning to be used for his Symphonies, at least partly, based on the possibility of his familiarity with the teachings of Josef Petzval on « 31-edo » during Mahler's stay at the University of Vienna, and on his later remarks to Schönberg lamenting that :

« European music, in giving-up “ Mean-tone ” tuning, had suffered a great loss. »

Mahler's possible re-use of material from his abandoned Opera project, « Rübzahl », in his Symphonic Poem (1st Symphony), and the likelihood that his original conception of the piece was as a 4 movement work without the « Blumine » movement, and that adding « Blumine » was an afterthought over which he changed his mind back and forth several times.

The influence the success of Richard Strauß's early Symphony in F minor had on Mahler just before the latter completed his Symphonic Poem (1st Symphony).

The possibility that what later became the base layer of Mahler's 1893 « Hamburg » manuscript of « Titan » (1st Symphony), was originally written-out in 1891 as a « Stichvorlage » (Engraver's Model) of what he was still calling a Symphonic Poem, now with the title « From the Life of a Lonely One », in hopes of getting it published by Schott, and that, in this form, it was again a 4 movement work that did not include the « Blumine » movement.

The influence Johannes Brahms had on Mahler at several various times as their personal friendship deepened. This relates to some of Mahler's important early compositional decisions (concerning Mahler's 1st and 2nd Symphonies) as well as his habit of secluding himself in the country during the summer to compose.

The influence Shohei Tanaka's pseudo-just-intonation (really 53-edo) « Enharmonium » may have had on Bruckner's harmonic experiments in his 9th Symphony.

The possibility that Viennese music-critic Eduard Hanslick's death, in August 1904, may have been the catalyst for Mahler to end his 6th Symphony as a tragedy - the only one of his Symphonies which does so.

The « program » of Mahler's 7th, influenced by Mahler's fascination with the program of Richard Strauß's « Sinfonia Domestica ».

The influence Arnold Schönberg had on Gustav Mahler before the latter composed the 3rd, 5th, and 1st movements (in that order) of his 7th Symphony during the summer of 1905, and the influence this Mahler piece, in turn, had on Schönberg when he wrote his « Kammer-symphonie » the following spring and summer.

The influence Anton Webern had on Arnold Schönberg, in the fall of 1905, when the latter was composing his 1st Quartet and Webern brought his single-movement String Quartet to Schönberg for his composition lessons.

The possibility that Mahler's comment about « being too old to have the ears for Schönberg's music » and the argument that the 2 of them had about « klangfarbenmelodie », were connected to Mahler's possible loss of high-frequency hearing from his listening to large Orchestras, every day.

The possibility that the opening of « Das Lied von der Erde » was Mahler's rendering in music of the horrible wheezing he heard as his 5 year old daughter Maria lay dying after her tracheotomy (as documented in Alma's book).

The possible influence Scott Joplin may have had on Gustav Mahler while they both lived in New York from 1907 to 1911 (reflected in a motive and harmonic progression very typical of a Joplin rag-time near the end of Mahler's 10th Symphony and, possibly also, in the irregular meters of the 2nd movement of the same Symphony) .

The possibility that the sonic inspiration for the dissonant 9 note chord at the climax of the 1st and last movements of Mahler's 10th Symphony may have been the sound of the Orchestra tuning-up before a performance, because of the long-held « A » and the seemingly random dissonance of the chords, and because of the way the chord 1st builds-up in sections, then, after another held « A » , the whole Orchestra plays the dissonance.

The possibility that Arnold Schönberg knew of Mahler's association since childhood of the popular Viennese tune « Ach, du lieber Augustin » with tragedy, because of Schönberg's use of this tune in his 2nd Quartet.

The experimentation with micro-tones by Schönberg and Webern, in 1909, leading to the development of « sprechstimme » (speech-voice) , the following year.

The influence of Willi von Möllendorf on Aloïs Hába and Ivan Wycshnegradsky to adopt the use of quarter-tones.

15 septembre 1877 : « The Feast of the 7 Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin » is an occasion that traditionally centred on the famous Franz Xaver Chrismann organ. Bruckner takes part in a performance of a Mass composed by Moritz Brosig.

That Bruckner is staying in Steyr « yet again » , as the report in the paper puts it, is incontrovertible evidence of past visits. At that time, he was already a highly-welcome visitor with a great number of acquaintances among the convivial circles of the various musical Societies.

27 septembre 1877 : Le Philharmonique de Vienne joue pour Bruckner quelques extraits de la nouvelle mouture de la 3e Symphonie ; la séance permettra au compositeur d'apporter d'autres modifications.

1er octobre 1877 : Gustav Mahler (aged 17) begins his studies at the University of Vienna. He attends the harmony lectures of professor Anton Bruckner (aged 53) .

Octobre 1877 : L'architecte autrichien docteur Anton von Ölzelt (1817-1875) , qui fut un auditeur attentif aux conférences de Bruckner à l'Université de Vienne, assiste à un concert du compositeur donné au monastère de Klosterneuburg. Il fut tellement impressionné par sa musique, qu'il lui offre gratuitement un appartement au 4e étage du « Wohnhaus » , sis au 7 « Heßgasse » et 5 « Schottenring » (aujourd'hui appelé : l'Hôtel de France) . Ainsi, le Maître de Saint-Florian pourra enfin quitter l'appartement exigu du « Heinrichshof » (sis au 1-5 « Opernring » sur la « Ringstraße ») . Il va demeurer au « Wohnhaus » jusqu'à la fin de l'été 1895. Durant cette période, il composa la plupart de ses œuvres les plus célèbres.

Cet immense édifice, construit en 1872, est une co-réalisation des architectes Franz Fröhlich et Anton von Ölzelt lui-

même.

Ainsi donc, le **15 novembre 1877**, Bruckner quittera volontiers le « Heinrichhof » .

12 octobre 1877 : Letter of Bruckner to Berlin music-critic Wilhelm Tappert :

« I have become entirely convinced that my 4th Symphony urgently needs fundamental re-working. There are, for example, in the Adagio overly difficult, unplayable violin figures and, here and there, the instrumentation is too ornate and too unsettled. »

« Ich bin zur vollen Überzeugung gelangt, daß meine 4. romantische Sinfonie einer gründlichen Umarbeitung dringen bedarf. Es sind zum Beispiel im Adagio zu schwierige, unspielbare Violinfiguren, die Instrumentation hie und da zu überladen und zu unruhig. »

WAB 81

19 octobre 1877 : **WAB 81** - « Nachruf » (nécrologie) , cantate funèbre (51 mesures) en do mineur pour chœur d'hommes à 4 voix a cappella (TTBB) et orgue. Composée sur le texte allemand « Vereint bist, Töneheld und Meister, mit jener hehren Schar der Geister » de Heinrich von der Mattig (pseudonyme du médecin militaire de Salzbourg et poète amateur Heinrich Wallmann, 1827-1898) . Écrite à la mort du fidèle ami linzois, Josef (Eduard) Seiberl né en 1836, organiste, chanteur et « Kapellmeister » à l'église Sainte-Marie de Polsenz (Sankt Marienkirchen an der Polsenz) . Entre 1843 et 1847, Seiberl sera assistant professeur à Hörsching. Il fut souvent témoin des conversations entre le jeune Anton Bruckner et son cousin, le compositeur Johann Baptist (von) Weiß. Seiberl s'était alors lié d'amitié durant sa période de formation en tant qu'enseignant.

Création à l'église abbatiale de Saint-Florian, le 28 octobre 1877, lors de la cérémonie commémorative (chantée par le Liedertafel « Frohsinn » de Linz) au disparu. « Nachruf » reçut, par la suite, un nouveau texte de l'écrivain, poète et journaliste August Seuffert, intitulé « Trösterin Musik » (**WAB 88**) .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXIII/2, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Angela Pachovsky - Anton Reinhaller, Vienne (2001) ; « Weltliche Chorwerke » , pages 117-120.

WAB 88

19 octobre 1877 : **WAB 88** - « Trösterin Musik » (musique consolatrice) , cantate profane en do mineur pour chœur d'hommes à 4 voix a cappella (TTBB) et orgue. Composée à Vienne sur 2 versets de « Musik ! Du herrliches Gebilde, voll hoher Macht, voll süßer Milde » (musique ! admirable structure, pleine de puissance élévatrice, pleine de douceur apaisante) de l'écrivain, poète et journaliste August Seuffert (1844-1904) . Dédiée à son ami organiste décédé, Josef (Eduard) Seiberl, qui lui succéda comme titulaire de Saint-Florian. Création à Saint-Florian, le 28 octobre 1877. Création à Vienne, le 11 avril 1886.

Josef Seiberl meurt le 10 juin 1877 à Karlsbad (aujourd'hui, Karlovy Vary) ; il était, depuis le 1er janvier 1856, le successeur de Bruckner en tant qu'organiste à Saint-Florian. Le 28 octobre 1877, une plaque commémorative, en souvenir des morts de l'église abbatiale de Saint-Florian, a été dévoilée. Pour la partie musicale de cette fête du souvenir, il y avait, au programme, une représentation du chœur d'hommes « Nachruf » (**WAB 81**) avec Bruckner au grand orgue. Bruckner avait décrit cette composition pour son ami décédé, le 19 octobre 1877. Le texte avait été rédigé par Heinrich von der Mattig (pseudonyme du Docteur Heinrich Wallmann, médecin militaire de Salzbourg) . La représentation fut réalisée par l'association des chœurs d'hommes le « Sängerbund » , dirigé par Max Brava. L'ami et collègue de Bruckner à Vienne, Rudolf Weinwurm, demanda à August Seuffert, rédacteur du « Wiener Zeitung » , de rédiger un nouveau texte sur la musique de Bruckner - un exemple supplémentaire de recyclage de la part du compositeur. Telle une musique consolatrice, la composition fut présentée pour la 1re fois, le 11 avril 1886, dans la salle du « Musikverein » de Vienne, par la « Wiener Akademischer Gesangverein » , sous la direction de Rudolf Weinwurm.

Ré-édition en 1886 du « Nachruf » (**WAB 81**) ; à l'initiative de Rudolf Weinwurm, August Seuffert composera un nouveau texte sur la même musique.

1re édition : UE 3294, Viktor Keldorfer, Universal-Edition, Vienne (1911) ; avec un avant-propos de Viktor Keldorfer.

Édition Ernst Eulenburg, Zürich ; n° 812 tiré de la collection « Deutsche Eiche » .

Édition Fritz Spies, Gevelsberg ; tiré de la collection « Beliebte Männerchöre » .

Édition Adolf Robitschek, Vienne (1954) .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXIII/2, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Angela Pachovsky - Anton Reinhaller, Vienne (2001) ; « Weltliche Chorwerke » , pages 121-124.

Musik, du himmlisches Gebilde !
Voll hoher Macht, voll süßer Milde,
Wir fühlen doppelt tief dein Walten
Wenn uns ein Leid das Herz gespalten.
Der Schmerzenswogen wirres Drängen,
Es glättet sich vor deinen Klängen,
Besänftigt all die Fluten ziehen
Ins weite Meer der Harmonien.
Wie Orgelton, wie Meereswogen
Kommt dann der Trost ins Herz gezogen
Und stillt der Seele wildes Sehnen
Und löst das Weh in milde Tränen.

Musik, du himmlisches Gebilde !
Voll hoher Macht, voll süßer Milde,
Du pochst noch in den tiefsten Schmerzen
Mit leisem Finger an die Herzen.
Und wenn die Seele, gramgebrochen,
Kein Wort mehr hört, das Trost gesprochen,
Wenn längst verstummt die stillen Klagen
Im Leid, das tränenlos getragen :
Dann fühlt das Herz in Orgeltönen
Ein hehres, himmlisches Versöhnen
Und findet in dem Klang der Lieder
Den letzten Trost, die Tränen wieder.

August Seuffert écrira également les paroles pour la valse « Myrthensträusse » ou « Myrthenblüthen » (Bourgeons de Myrtes) , Opus 395, et la Polka française « Burschenwanderung » (Promenade des compagnons) , Opus 389, du compositeur Johann Strauß.

28 octobre 1877 :

« Nachruf » (**WAB 81**) for male chorus and organ by Anton Bruckner, to words of Heinrich von der Mattig, is performed for the 1st time, for the unveiling of a memorial plaque at the monastery of Saint-Florian. For the occasion, the composer plays the church organ.

Anton Bruckner dirige pour la dernière fois le Liedertafel (orphéon) « Frohsinn » et le « Sängerbund » de Linz lors d'un concert commémoratif qui a lieu au monastère de Saint-Florian. Le même jour, son ami le chef d'orchestre Johann Herbeck meurt prématurément des suites d'une pneumonie.

Décès prématuré de Johann von Herbeck

28 octobre 1877 : Mort prématurée du chef d'orchestre Johann Herbeck à l'âge de 45 ans, 10 mois et 3 jours, des suites d'une pneumonie. Bruckner, son célèbre protégé, sera fortement secoué par ce tragique événement. Herbeck restera dans la mémoire des Viennois pour avoir été celui qui a donné la 1^{re} exécution de la Symphonie dite « Inachevée » de Franz Schubert, à la « Musikvereinsaal » , en 1865. Le chef donnera aussi, en 1^{re} audition à Vienne, les 3 1^{ers} mouvements du « Requiem allemand » de Johannes Brahms, le 1^{er} décembre 1867.

Johann Herbeck (1831-1877) s'était joint au « Wiener Männergesang-Verein » en 1852. Il en devint le chef en 1856. Il agira comme chef d'orchestre « honoraire » jusqu'à sa mort prématurée, le 28 octobre 1877. Il composa plus d'une centaine d'œuvres pour chœur d'hommes (tant « a cappella » qu'avec accompagnement) dont la plupart était basée sur la poésie lyrique allemande. La moitié de sa production pour chœur d'hommes seul (soit environ 36 Opus) témoigne de sa pleine Maîtrise dans une variété de styles et de formes, étalonnée sur 25 ans de carrière. Herbeck a

écrit pour chœur à 4 parties (TTBB) , augmentée à l'occasion de voix solistes dans certaines pièces. Ses œuvres vont du folklore (utilisant la forme strophique et l'harmonie diatonique) jusqu'à l'expression dramatique à partir d'un texte (utilisant alors un chromatisme d'un seul souffle ou issu de strophes modifiées) .

Johann von Herbeck (1831-1877) fut un compositeur surdoué que la postérité ne retint guère. Il était pourtant au fait de la vie musicale de son époque : « Herbeck dirigea le 17 décembre 1865 la 1re exécution de l' « Inachevée » de Franz Schubert. Il intégra aussi les Messes de Schubert dans le répertoire de la chapelle de la Cour ; fit paraître, en 1865, la 1re édition intégrale des œuvres pour chœur de Schubert. Ami de Franz Liszt, Herbeck défendit Richard Wagner et Giuseppe Verdi à l'Opéra de la Cour ; soutint Karl Goldmark. C'est également par son entremise que l'organiste de la cathédrale de Linz, Anton Bruckner, obtint en 1868 les postes d'organiste à la Cour de Vienne. » . Auteur notamment d'une soixantaine de compositions pour chœur d'hommes, de chants chorals, de 7 Messes, de musique de scène et de 4 Symphonies, Johann von Herbeck mourut à l'âge de 45 ans à peine.

La musique inspirée de Herbeck est véritablement de belle facture. Elle puise aux sources de plusieurs influences, sans jamais se départir d'un style propre : « C'est justement dans son caractère de " tête de Janus " que réside notamment l'attrait de la 4e Symphonie, oubliée à tort. Il réside dans sa manière d'allier tradition et innovation, écriture Baroque, légèreté Mendelssohnienne et gravité Brucknérienne, et, non en dernier lieu, dans la combinaison de l'orchestre avec l'orgue que, du point de vue de l'année 1877, l'on ne peut qualifier autrement que d'audacieuse. » . Une véritable révélation !

Herbeck : Lied

« Im Volkston » ; « Am Neckar, am Rhein ! » ; « Das macht das dunkelgrüne Laub » ; « Neuer Frühling ! » ; « Wer ein Herz treueigen hält » ; « Beim Wein » ; « In der Fremde » ; « Gleich und Gleich » ; « Frühling und Liebe » ; « Husarenlied » ; « Trinkweise » ; « Trinkspruch » ; « Mucker und Schlucker » ; « Morgenlied » ; « Sängers Wahlspruch » ; « Morgegebet » ; « Festgesang » ; « Versenkung » ; « Wanderlied » ; « Festgesang für den Kronprinzen Rudolf » ; « Wanderlied der Prager Studenten » ; « Das Vermächtniß der Todten » ; « Ständchen » ; « Die Studenten » ; « Gruß an Steiermark ! » ; « Danklied » ; « Sahara » ; « Tempora mutantur » ; « Was uns liebt und was wir lieben » ; « Im Erzgebirge » ; « Der Verliebte » ; « Raum der Lenze » ; « Wanderlust » ; « Maienzeit ! » ; « Werner's Lied aus Welschland (I) » ; « Werner's Lied aus Welschland (II) » .

Herbeck : « Wanderlied »

« Wanderlied » sur un texte d'August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798-1874) .

Composition : 22 février 1855.

Révision : 22 juillet 1858.

1re exécution (connue) : 15 avril 1859, à Vienne.

Herbeck : « Große Messe »

« Große Messe » - Messe in E-Moll für Chor und Orchester (1866-1867)

Édition : Albert J. Gutmann, Vienne (vers 1880) .

L'œuvre en mi mineur pour chœur, orgue et orchestre (1 flûte, 1 hautbois, clarinettes, bassons en la, cors en mi et en si, timbales et cordes) est en 6 parties :

Kyrie (Sostenuto quasi Adagio - Poco più animato) .

Gloria (Allegro maestoso) .

Credo (Maestoso quasi Andante assai tenuto) .

Sanctus (Andante religioso) .

Benedictus (Andante un poco moto) .

Agnus Dei (Adagio ma non troppo) .

A rare chance to hear Herbeck's Great Mass at Bad Kissingen

(Ken Ward, 9 September 2014.)

Bad Kissingen is a very attractive spa town, still very active as a place of convalescence and cure. Like many such places, it affords a variety of opportunities for entertainment to enhance the life of the inmates of its many sanatoriums and, for the tourists, drawn to the beauty of the town and its surroundings. It boasts a splendidly beautiful concert-hall, the « Regentenbau » (Regency Building) , with a bright acoustic, the venue for concerts and Festivals throughout the year. This concert, part of the Ebrach Summer of Music, was packed-out, even though the main work was the nowadays almost totally unknown Great Mass in E minor by Johann Ritter von Herbeck.

The name of Herbeck is known to us, if at all, as the man who rediscovered and 1st performed Franz Schubert's « Unfinished Symphony » , and as a promoter of Anton Bruckner and his music, scheduled to conduct the 1st performance of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony - but, whilst rehearsing Beethoven's 9th a few weeks before, collapsed and died of pneumonia at the age of 46. Bruckner, then, found himself obliged to conduct his Symphony's premiere : one of the biggest disasters of his life. Herbeck had been a very active conductor and composer, bringing 1st performances of Richard Wagner and Giuseppe Verdi to Vienna, and composing choral works, Songs, String Quartets, Masses, Symphonies, stage-works and much else. His Great Mass in E minor was well-received at its 1st performance in 1866,

regarded as the most significant such work since Schubert.

The work opens with unaccompanied basses intoning « Kyrie eleison », thereafter, the other voices join, and the music builds with gently moulded phrases in the choir and melancholy accompanying phrases from horn and woodwind. The whole section comes to a passionate climax before fading away to leave the impression of a beautifully shaped and proportioned movement. It is a striking beginning, and the Mass also has a very moving ending as the plea for peace (« Dona nobis pacem ») dies away beneath a breath-taking descending flute solo. The « Agnus Dei » had also built to a passionate climax fortissimo climax at « misere nobis » underpinned by a sudden drum roll - very dramatic, though not with the unsettling power of the military music that invades the « Agnus Dei » of Beethoven's « Missa solemnis » .

The movements between that haunting opening and the melancholy close were similarly well-crafted with many impressive moments : a strong fugue in the « Gloria, at Cum sancto spiritus », the parts and the machinations of which Gerd Schaller and his performers brought-out with remarkable clarity ; the succinct account of Christ's life in the « Credo », from « Et incarnatus est » to his crucifixion and burial, was wonderfully evocative, the soft words of the choir given special atmosphere by sustained notes on woodwind and horn. The Munich Philharmonic Choir had been magnificent throughout, each section strong and well-matched with the others. There are no soloists in this work, so it is for the choir to carry the full narrative of the Mass, and they provided choral singing of the highest-quality, for which much credit must go to Andreas Herrmann who was responsible for the choral rehearsals.

The performance was greeted with enthusiastic applause, and it was certainly very interesting to hear this work composed at the same time as Bruckner's 3 great Masses. There is something in Bruckner's compositions that speaks with a wilder, more passionate voice, always extending the emotional boundaries to the limits that the form will sustain ; Herbeck's Mass is somewhat more restrained, less modern, maybe a little too comfortable, but always well-crafted and beautiful to listen to. There is cause for much gratitude to Gerd Schaller and the Ebrach Summer of Music, and to Bavarian Radio, that they gave us the very rare chance to hear this work. It would be equally interesting to investigate other works by this now almost forgotten composer : especially, the Symphony No. 4 for orchestra and organ, and the « Symphonic Variations », given special mention in the programme notes.

Herbeck : « Orgelsymphonie »

Symphonie n° 4 (avec orgue) en ré mineur :

Praeludium. Andante con moto - Maestoso.

Andante

Scherzo. Allegro moderato - Grazioso - Quasi Allegretto.

Finale. Allegro maestoso - Molto moderato.

Johann von Herbeck partage le sort des nombreux musiciens qui ont marqué la vie musicale de leur époque, sans que leurs infatigables efforts leur eussent valu une place durable dans l'histoire de la musique. Pourtant, ce n'est pas seulement pour un certain intérêt historique que sa musique mérite d'être reconsidérée. Compositeur de bon aloi aux capacités techniques considérables, il se posait des problèmes d'écriture jusqu'alors irrésolus pour aboutir à des solutions originales.

Plus d'une fois, Johann von Herbeck a fait valoir son autorité dans la vie musicale de Vienne pour promouvoir les œuvres de compositeurs oubliés ou négligés à tort. Ayant reçu, en mai 1865, des mains d'Anselm Hüttenbrenner, camarade d'études de Franz Schubert, la partition de la Symphonie en si mineur, il dirigea le 17 décembre de la même année la 1^{re} exécution de l'« Inachevée ». Il intégra aussi les Messes de Schubert dans le répertoire de la Chapelle de la Cour, fit paraître, en 1865, la 1^{re} édition intégrale des chœurs de Schubert et contribua, en 1872, de manière décisive à l'édification du monument à Schubert.

Herbeck était un ami de Franz Liszt, il défendit Richard Wagner et Giuseppe Verdi à l'Opéra de la Cour, soutint Karl Goldmark, et ce fut par son entremise que l'organiste à la cathédrale de Linz, Anton Bruckner, obtint en 1868 les postes d'organiste à la Cour de Vienne et de professeur de théorie de l'harmonie, de contrepoint et d'orgue au Conservatoire de la Société des Amis de la Musique. Il fut parmi les 1^{ers} à reconnaître l'importance colossale de la création symphonique de Bruckner et ne cessa pas, sa vie durant, de s'engager pour le compositeur Haut-Autrichien. En février 1867 déjà, Herbeck dirigea la 1^{re} audition viennoise de la Messe en ré mineur de Bruckner dans la Chapelle du Château de la cour (« Hofburgkapelle »), et, en 1876, il aida Bruckner à créer la 2^e version de sa 2^e Symphonie dans le cadre de la série de concerts renommée de la Société des Amis de la Musique. Le nom de Herbeck est lié pourtant d'une manière presque tragique à la 1^{re} audition de la 3^e Symphonie de Bruckner. L'œuvre ayant été refusée par les musiciens du Philharmonique, le 27 septembre 1877, Herbeck s'était spontanément déclaré prêt à diriger la Symphonie dans le cadre des concerts de la Société. La date fixée pour la 1^{re} exécution était le 16 décembre 1877. La mort surprenante de Herbeck, en octobre 1877, faisant échouer ce plan, ce fut Bruckner lui-même qui dirigea la 1^{re} audition de sa Symphonie qui, pour lui, devait finir dans un désastre.

À côté de ses nombreuses obligations, Johann von Herbeck trouva néanmoins le temps de composer. Le travail filait sous ses doigts, ainsi laissa-t-il une vaste production comprenant plus de 60 compositions pour chœur d'hommes, des chants chorals, 7 Messes, des musiques de spectacle ainsi que 4 Symphonies et plusieurs œuvres orchestrales. À côté de cela, il s'intéressa vivement à la peinture, s'était constitué une petite collection de tableaux et compta parmi les promoteurs de Hans Makart, un peintre viennois connu pour ses tableaux monumentaux.

Bien que Herbeck s'employa, en tant que chef d'orchestre, à défendre l'avant-garde des compositeurs de son temps, ses compositions à lui s'orientent plutôt vers le style conservateur de l'école Romantique. Cela vaut de même pour sa 4^e Symphonie écrite en été 1877 à Mödling près de Vienne. Les esquisses sont du déroulement de la création : « L'œuvre est écrite avec accompagnement pour orgue, instrument qu'il aimait tant. L'œuvre est parmi les meilleures de Herbeck ; sans doute la plus magnifique parmi ses œuvres orchestrales. On peut vraiment dire qu'il l'a écrite avec son cœur et son sang. Ses nerfs furent tendus à l'extrême, ses poulx tremblèrent, pendant plusieurs jours, il ne prit presque point de

nourriture, même pendant le temps bref qu'il voua, le soir, à sa récréation, il ne trouva guère de repos, et le sommeil le fuit. Quand il avait fini, il dit à sa femme : " Marie, je t'assure, si cette Symphonie n'aura pas de succès, je vais abandonner la composition ! " » .

Herbeck écrivit la Symphonie pour le grand-orgue du facteur Ladegast, inauguré en 1873, dans la Salle dorée du bâtiment de la Société des Amis de la Musique de Vienne. Non sans orgueil, il voyait dans son œuvre la Ire Symphonie à combiner l'orgue avec l'orchestre ; 9 ans avant la célèbre Symphonie avec orgue du français Camille Saint-Saëns. La Ire audition avait été prévue pour l'automne 1877, le Philharmonique ayant approuvé la Symphonie de leur chef d'orchestre après une lecture sous la direction du compositeur. Pourtant, l'œuvre ne connût sa création publique que le 25 novembre 1877, peu de semaines après la mort de Herbeck, sous la direction de Hans Richter.

Suite à des circonstances défavorables, l'œuvre sombre et grave ne put cependant pas obtenir de succès auprès du public viennois et tomba rapidement en oubli. C'était dû, sans doute au moins partiellement, à la structure insolite de la Symphonie. Sa disposition formelle adopte, en effet, le modèle Classique en 4 mouvements, et même la disposition des tonalités se montre extrêmement traditionnelle, avec les mouvements externes dans la tonique de ré mineur, l'Andante au relatif clément de fa majeur et le Scherzo à la dominante de la majeur. Seuls les mouvements 2 à 4 correspondent pourtant aux proportions Classiques de la répartition des tempos. Le 1er mouvement n'est pas un mouvement d'introduction vif et largement conçu tel qu'on l'attendrait d'une Symphonie écrite en 1877, mais un prélude, en grande partie en écriture canonique, dont l'âpre harmonie et le mouvement à pas graves et tranquilles à la manière d'un choral produisent un effet de sévérité archaïque. Ainsi, cette pièce se présente-t-elle quasiment comme la version orchestrée d'un arrangement de choral de Bach. L'Andante et le Scherzo adoptant une forme en arche tripartite (A-B-A) , le Scherzo renonce cependant au Trio au sens usuel. Le Finale s'ouvre enfin par un thème de 8 mesures au fortissimo énoncé à l'orgue et aux vents auquel les cordes à l'unisson opposent un contrepoint énergique. À partir de ce matériau se développe une grande fugue strictement élaborée qui est interrompue, à 3 reprises, par de brefs intermèdes ponctués d'accords où les cordes et les vents, soutenus par l'orgue, sont opposés les uns aux autres dans une structure dialoguante. La Symphonie renonce donc entièrement à la forme de sonate (« Sonatenhauptsatzform ») - cette même forme qui, avec ses thèmes conçus en vue du contraste et sa partie de développement thématique, avait permis l'évolution triomphale de la Symphonie du milieu du XVIIIe siècle jusque tard dans le XXe siècle. Choissant pour les mouvements externes de sa Symphonie d'orgue la forme de prélude et fugue, Herbeck, grand admirateur de Bach, fait par contre recours à de structures qui comptent pratiquement parmi les archétypes de l'univers formel Baroque, et qui furent employées surtout dans les grandes œuvres d'orgue de Jean-Sébastien Bach.

À cela s'opposent toujours de nouveau des passages qui font plutôt penser à Anton Bruckner, compositeur du Romantisme tardif que Herbeck avait tellement encouragé, et notamment, à ses Ires Symphonies. Tel en est le cas, par exemple, pour le crescendo massif à la fin du prélude, avec ces accents rythmiques martialement martelés par la timbale, ou pour les mouvements croissants en forme de vague et les surfaces sonores structurées par les formules d'accompagnement des violons dans la partie médiane de l'Andante. L'instrumentation rappelle, par contre, le plein Romantisme d'un Schumann ou d'un Mendelssohn. C'est surtout le Scherzo étendu qui reprend le ton de Mendelssohn. Dans un clair la majeur, il expose ses thèmes vifs, rythmiquement marquants et d'une instrumentation aérienne. C'est

seulement dans la Coda que le mouvement prend un élan énergique, montant jusqu'au fortissimo - pour s'évanouir ensuite avec une légèreté de lutin. On comprend très bien qu'ici, dans le Scherzo, Herbeck ait complètement renoncé à l'orgue. Dans cette « attitude curieuse du Scherzo en lui-même gracieux par rapport aux 3 autres mouvements massifs est profondément graves », Ludwig, le fils de Herbeck, voyait un « défaut de la Symphonie ». À son avis, ce « morceau aérien » « trancha un peu trop sur les autres mouvements ». Au fait, le Scherzo forme un contraste bienvenu avec ces « 3 mouvements massifs et profondément graves » (Ludwig Herbeck), ce qui en fait un élément dramaturgique pratiquement indispensable de la Symphonie.

Pour remédier au fait que ces contrastes puissent paraître comme une incohérence stylistique, Herbeck se sert d'une technique d'écriture utilisée déjà par Beethoven dans sa 5e Symphonie d'une manière exemplaire et que les Symphonistes du XIXe siècle devaient adopter comme un principe de grande importance : la dérivation des thèmes, même dans des œuvres symphoniques de plus grandes dimensions, d'un seul noyau motivique. Ici, ce noyau est constitué d'une figuration diatonique de 4 tons qui ouvre le prélude. Il réapparaît, sous forme modifiée, au début de l'Andante, devient élément de construction dans la partie médiane, plus mouvementée du même mouvement et se retrouve enfin, rythmiquement raccourci, dans le thème de la fugue finale. De plus, la partie médiane plus calme du Scherzo fait recours à la mélodique des mesures initiales du mouvement.

C'est justement dans son caractère de « tête de Janus » que réside l'attrait de cette Symphonie, oubliée à tort. Il réside dans sa manière d'allier tradition et innovation, écriture Baroque, légèreté Mendelssohnienne et gravité Brucknérienne, et non en dernier lieu dans la combinaison de l'orchestre avec l'orgue que, du point de vue de l'année 1877, l'on ne peut qualifier autrement qu'audacieuse.

...

« Symphonische Variationen », variations symphoniques en fa majeur pour orchestre.

Andante.

Serena. Andante mosso.

Allegro moderato.

Canzonetta. Andante sostenuto - Poco Adagio.

Allegretto.

Allegretto tenuto.

Adagio.

Scherzino. Allegro.

Andante.

Scherzo. Allegro moderato.

Präludium. Andante.

Finale. Allegro tenuto moderato.

Johann von Herbeck passe les mois d'été 1875 en Haute Autriche. Du 1er juillet au 3 août, il fait séjour à Bad Ischl où il compose, 2 ans avant la Symphonie d'orgue, ses Variations symphoniques en fa majeur. L'esquisse est achevée le 22 juillet, l'élaboration s'effectue en août. Déjà au programme du 2e concert d'abonnement du Philharmonique de Vienne dans la nouvelle saison, le 28 novembre 1875, l'œuvre connaît sa création publique sous la direction du compositeur. Le fils de Herbeck, Ludwig, s'en souviendra plus tard : « L'œuvre trouva un accueil très favorable auprès du public, ce à quoi l'on pouvait bien s'attendre, comme également auprès de la critique, à peu près sans exception. »

Le critique August Wilhelm Ambros célébra les Variations symphoniques avec un enthousiasme particulier : « Des œuvres de ce genre assurent à Herbeck sa place parmi les meilleurs compositeurs de musique instrumentale de notre temps. » . Qu'elles fassent leur chemin, et qu'il les mène bientôt au-delà de la ville de Vienne jusqu'aux contrées plus éloignées du monde musical. C'est que circule en elles toujours le vrai sang viennois, le sang de cette École viennoise glorifiée qui a donné au monde musical, avec Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven et Schubert, une étoile quadruple dont la splendeur ne s'éteindra jamais. Au fait, c'est la splendeur des grands temps révolus que Herbeck évoque ici, comme il l'évoquera dans la Symphonie d'orgue. Le n° 6 des Variations symphoniques est réservé à la discipline royale de l'écriture polyphonique, soit, au double contrepoint strictement observé qui consiste à 2 voix autonomes s'accompagnant l'une l'autre. La partie médiane de cet Allegretto, un trio avec les bois évoquant une idylle bucolique et les basses jouant des bourdons en quinte, y forme un beau contraste. De même, il importe beaucoup à Herbeck d'intégrer dans ses Variations symphoniques la combinaison Baroque de prélude (XI) et fugue (XII) , au point de la mettre à la fin du cycle entier.

Au flux tranquille du thème nettement caractérisé par la syncope combinée à un saut d'octave vers le haut s'enchaînent pourtant aussi des variations où, comme dans la 4e Symphonie, se manifestent les influences des 2 courants principaux dans la musique du XIXe siècle tardif. Ainsi Ludwig, le fils de Herbeck, n'établit-il pas seulement le lien avec le Finale de la Symphonie « Héroïque » de Beethoven, mais aussi avec Robert Schumann et ses Études symphoniques, cycle de variations pour le piano auquel les variations de Herbeck doivent bien plus que le seul titre. Dans les variations n° 5 et n° 7, l'instrumentation et l'expression trahissent plutôt l'influence de Johannes Brahms qui, 2 ans auparavant, avait achevé ses Variations Haydn. Le dédicataire des Variations symphoniques de Herbeck n'est par ailleurs nul autre qu'Eduard Hanslick, ami de Brahms et pape de la critique résidant à Vienne. Dans le Scherzo (X) , le modèle qui s'impose à tous égards est par contre celui d'Anton Bruckner, compositeur énergiquement combattu par le

même Hanslick. Cette variation richement articulée (à côté du Finale, le Scherzo est la variation la plus longue du cycle) se montre inspirée, dans le Scherzo, par les danses folkloriques pétillantes de la Haute-Autriche et, dans le Trio, par le « Ländler » plus commode, présentant en outre des surfaces sonores rythmiquement structurées au plein orchestre. Seule la fin, qui clot l'œuvre en expirant tout doucement, ne possède pas d'équivalent chez Bruckner. Avec ses Variations symphoniques, Johann von Herbeck a créé un cycle dont les mouvements puisent non seulement dans différentes époques leur inspiration stylistique, mais prennent aussi chacun un caractère bien individuel, comme par exemple l'Allegro moderato avec son mouvement enjoué de double croches marchants (III) , la Canzonetta Romantique rêveuse, l'Adagio mélancolique avec sa partie médiane enjouée, le Scherzino ludique et plein d'humour ou bien l'Andante grave et solennel (IX) . Et pourtant, elles forment dans leur ensemble un tout symphonique dont la cohérence est engendrée par le thème qui transparait partout. Ainsi, les Variations symphoniques constituent-elles, avec la Symphonie d'orgue, l'ouvrage symphonique principal de Herbeck.

15 novembre 1877 : Révision de la 2e Symphonie par Bruckner ; ce qui mènera à la seconde version.

« Wohnhaus » (7 « Heßgasse » / 5 « Schottenring »)

15 novembre 1877 : Anton Bruckner quitte le « Heinrichhof » sis au 1-5 « Opernring » sur la « Ringstraße » pour emménager pas très loin, dans un nouvel appartement situé au 4e étage du « Wohnhaus » , un édifice résidentiel donnant sur 2 rues : 7 de la « Heßgasse » / 5 de « Schottenring » dans le 1er arrondissement, juste en face du Théâtre du « Ring » . Le site se trouve également à proximité de la « Votivkirche » . Typiquement viennois (plus spacieux que confortable car le mobilier était désuet) , il comprend 2 pièces et est offert pour une somme ridicule (plus symbolique qu'autre chose) par le propriétaire de l'immeuble, un jeune admirateur du musicien (il assiste à ses conférences à l'Université) si honoré de l'accueillir sous son toit : l'architecte et philosophe docteur Anton von Ölzelt-Newin (1817-1875) , marié à Amalie (Amy) Edle von Wieser. Bruckner y restera jusqu'en juillet 1895. Une plaque commémorative créée par Robert Ullmann et offerte, le 4 septembre 1924, par le « Wiener Schubertbund » (Association chorale masculine Schubert de Vienne) orne la façade. Le bâtiment abrite aujourd'hui l'Hôtel de France qui dispose d'une suite appelée la « Suite Bruckner » . Était-ce à cet endroit précis où Bruckner vivait réellement ? Cela reste à déterminer ...

...

On « Heßgasse 7 » , Bruckner was, at best, tempestuously served by « Frau » Kachelmayer. It was lucky she didn't spank him. He was her unending vexation and she didn't mind saying so, loudly. She couldn't bear the chaos in his bedroom. She was tired of the snuff-stained ink-blotted litter in the other chambers. Every 2 weeks, she had to threaten to quit if the « Herr » Professor didn't stop throwing stacks of note sheets on top of his slippers.

Anton von Ölzelt-Newin

Persönliche Daten : geboren 07.06.1817 ; gestorben 12.10.1875.

Geburtsort : Wien.

Damaliger Name : Inzersdorf, Niederösterreich.

Land : Österreich.

Damaliger Name : Kaisertum Österreich.

Sterbeort : Wien.

Damaliger Name : Mauer, Niederösterreich.

Land : Österreich.

Damaliger Name : Österreich-Ungarn.

Titel : Kaiserlich-Königlich Baurat.

Weitere Namen : Anton Ö. Ritter von Newin, Ölzelt.

Religionsbekenntnis : Römisch-katholisch.

Berufsbezeichnung : Hof- und Stadtbaumeister.

Familiäres Umfeld : Ehe mit Adele, geborene Langer.

Kinder : Anton ; Robert ; und Alfred.

Anton Ölzelt, auch Anton Ölzelt der Ältere, (geboren 7. Juni 1817 in Inzersdorf ; gestorben 12. Oktober 1875 in Mauer bei Wien) war ein österreichischer Baumeister.

Ölzelt war unter anderem ab 1844 in der südmährischen Stadt Znaim Baumeister. 1846 kehrte er als Stadtbaumeister nach Wien zurück, wo er das Bürgerrecht erhielt. 1850 wurde er zum Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofbaumeister ernannt und im Jahr 1867 erfolgte die Nobilitierung zum Ritter von Nevin.

1875 wurde die Ölzeltgasse im 3. Wiener Gemeindebezirk Landstraße nach ihm benannt.

Seinem Sohn gleichen Namens, ein Professor für Philosophie, wurde die 6. Symphonie von Bruckner gewidmet.

...

Anton Ölzelt wurde 1817 als Sohn eines Wirtschaftsmeiers in Inzersdorf (heute ein Teil von Wien 23) geboren. Über seine Ausbildung weiß man leider nichts, man kann vermuten, daß er eine Maurerausbildung absolvierte, wahrscheinlich in Wien. 1839 war er als Baumeister in Herotitz, Mähren (heute Heroltice, Czechoslovakia) registriert, dann 1844-1846 in Znaim, Mähren (Znojmo, Czechoslovakia) tätig. 1847 wurde Ölzelt in die Wiener Baumeisterinnung aufgenommen und er konnte gleich als konzessionierter Stadtbaumeister seine Karriere beginnen. Bald wurde er einer der führenden Baumeister Wiens und sowohl in der Zeit des Neoabsolutismus als auch in der Ringstraßenzeit konnte er wichtige Bauten ausführen.

Vor der Stadterweiterung von 1858 wurden in den Vorstädten weite Gebiete mit neuangelegten Straßenzügen verbaut : Das besondere Augenmerk Ölzelts galt dem Kauf von mehreren zusammenhängenden Bauparzellen und der Errichtung von Wohnhäusern in Form einer gesamten Blockverbauung, wobei er auch für eine einheitliche Fassadengestaltung der Häusergruppe sorgte. Einige von diesen sind heute unter Ensembleschutz gestellt (zum Beispiel die Häusergruppe Wien 3, Am Heumarkt / Ölzeltgasse, 1852-1858) .

Ölzelt wirkte jedoch nicht nur als Bauspekulant, sondern er führte auch wichtige öffentliche Bauaufträge (wie die ehemalige Franz-Josephs-Kaserne am Stubentor) aus. Er wurde für seine Tätigkeit mit einer Reihe allerhöchster Anerkennungen und Auszeichnungen belohnt : 1850 erhielt er den Hofbaumeistertitel, 1866 wurde er in den Ritterstand und 1867 in den Adelsstand mit dem Prädikat von Newin (Neuwien) erhoben.

Schon als sehr reicher Mann ließ sich Ölzelt um 1860 in Mauer (heute Wien 23) nieder, wo er sich am Bau einer Wasserleitung und anderer Einrichtungen beteiligte und 1864-1871 als Obmann des Komitees für die Verschönerung des Ortes wirkte. Weiters spendete er das Armenhaus in der heutigen Speisingerstraße 232. Bemerkenswert war seine Kunstsammlung, die hauptsächlich Bilder (zum Beispiel von Hans Makart) enthielt und sich in den Räumlichkeiten seines Hauses in der Schottengasse 10 befand. Die Sammlung wurde nach seinem Tod 1879 versteigert.

In Mauer befindet sich auch die Familiengruft, die von Franz Fröhlich (mit dem Ölzelt oft zusammenarbeitete) in Form eines Mausoleums geplant und 1876 realisiert wurde. Anton Ölzelt starb im 59. Lebensjahr in Mauer.

Werke :

Entwürfe und Realisierungen in Wien

1847 : Wohnbau in der Josefstädter Straße 57, mit reicher Portalrahmung.

1851 : Wohnbau in der Margaretenstraße 2 bis 4, frühhistoristische Fassade mit betonten Seitenachsen und sparsamen gotisierendem Dekor.

1851 : Wohnbau am Rilkeplatz 7, frühhistoristisches Zinshaus mit giebelförmig hochgezogenen Mittelachsen, Dienste mit gotisierendem Blattdekor gerahmt, mit Konsolgesims und Zwerggalerie.

1852 : Wohnbau in der Praterstraße 39, romantischer Historismus mit starker Betonung des Mittelrisalits durch figurales Dekor.

1852-1858 : Wohnbauten Am Heumarkt 15 bis 25, einheitliche und durch die Geschlossenheit bemerkenswerte viergeschossige frühhistoristische Zinshäuser.

Ausführungen in Wien

1855 : Wohnbau Roberthof in der Robertgasse 1, Planung : August Sicard von Sicardsburg und Eduard van der Nüll.

1856-1860 : Einbau von versproßten Fenstern nach einem Entwurf von Franz Sitte in die Piaristenkirche Maria Treu.

Beruflicher Werdegang, Lehrtätigkeit

1847 : Baumeisterkonzession.

1850 : Hofbaumeister.

Auszeichnungen und Ämter

1865 : Mitglied der Wiener Baucommission.

1866 : Ritter des Ordens der Eisernen Krone 3. Klasse.

1867 : Adelstitel von Newin.

Ohne Jahr : Kaiserlich-Königlich Baurat.

Ohne Jahr : Goldenes Verdienstkreuz mit der Krone.

Mitgliedschaften

1847 : Bau- und Steinmetzmeister-Genossenschaft.

Stellenwert

Der Lebensweg von Anton Ölzelt ist eine Erfolgsgeschichte, wie sie aus heutiger Sicht kaum mehr vorstellbar ist : als einfacher Baumeister gelang es ihm, im Wien des Vormärz und vor allem nach 1848 zu einer führenden Persönlichkeit für die Stadtentwicklung aufzusteigen. Die Tatsache, daß die Stadt ab dem Vormärz ein kontinuierliches Wachstum und

eine darauffolgende enorme Bautätigkeit erlebte, bedeutete für Leute wie Anton Ölzelt oder auch Leopold Mayr eine einmalige Gelegenheit, dank guter Beziehungen und ökonomischem Spürsinn, städtebauliche Veränderungen (wie etwa die Auflösung von Militärarealen) zu nutzen und von erfolgreichen Bauspekulationen zu profitieren. Das ist beispielsweise der Fall bei der bekannten Häusergruppe in der Ölzeltgasse (Wien 3) : die Auflösung des Mehlmagazins auf dem ehemaligen Landstraßer Glacis bei der bereits nicht mehr existierenden Heumarktkaserne führte zu einer Lizitation des etwa 4600 Quadratmeter großen Areals. 1852 erwarb Ölzelt diese Grundstücke und errichtete darauf acht Miethäuser.

In einer ähnlichen Weise operierte er während des großen Baubooms anlässlich der Realisierung des Ringstraßenprojekts : Er war einer der ersten Parzellenkäufer und führte (mit Franz Fröhlich) die Häusergruppe zwischen Operngasse und Schillerplatz aus. Kennzeichnend war immer die gesamte Blockverbauung mit einer homogenen Fassadengestaltung. Die Fassaden zeigen die typischen additiven Fensterreihungen mit kleinteiligem Dekor des romantischen Historismus, teilweise kombiniert mit Elementen des englischen Tudor-Stils.

Einige Jahre später realisierte Ölzelt (immer mit Franz Fröhlich) den Baublock zwischen Schottenring und Maria-Theresien-Straße : der Modus operandi war dasselbe, hier sind aber die Bauformen dem Strenghistorismus verbunden.

Ölzelt spielte jedoch nicht nur als Bauunternehmer eine wichtige Rolle in der Ära der ersten Stadterweiterung : er war Mitglied in der Beurteilungskommission für die « Concursausschreibung zur Erlangung eines Grundplanes », welche zur Realisierung des Ringstraßenprojekts führte, und richtete sich gegen das Monopol der Ziegelproduktion, um die gesamte Bautätigkeit zu fördern.

Werke

WOHN- / GESCHÄFTSBAUTEN

1847 : Miethaus - Wien 5, Wehrgasse 10.

1847 : Miethaus - Wien 6, Mittelgasse 22.

1847 : Miethaus - Wien 8, Josefstädter Straße 57.

1851 : Miethaus - Wien 4, Margaretenstraße 2-4.

1851 : Miethaus - Wien 4, Rilkeplatz 7.

1852 : Miethaus - Wien 2, Praterstraße 39.

1852-1858 : Gebäudeblock - Wien 3, Am Heumarkt 15-25 / Marokkanergasse 1 / Ölzeltgasse 2-12 / Lagergasse 1, 2 / Salesianergasse 2.

1855 : Roberthof - Wien 2, Robertgasse 1 / Schwemmgasse 2 (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Sicardsburg Van der Nüll) .

1855 : Miethaus - Wien 9, Währingerstraße 12 (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Anton Baumgarten) .

1855 : Miethaus - Wien 9, Währingerstraße 14.

1859 : Miethaus - Wien 9, Liechtensteinstraße 17.

1861 : Gruppenbau - Wien 1, Opernring 7, 9, 11, 13, 15 (Nummer 11 im Jahr 1912-1913 neu gebaut) .

1861 : Baublock - Wien 1, Schottengasse 6, 8 / Schottenbastei 3, 5 / Schottenring 2, 4, 6 / Heßgasse 3, 5 (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Franz Fröhlich ; 1909-1912 durch das ehem. Creditanstalt-Bankvereinsgebäude ersetzt) .

1861-1862 : Miethaus - Wien 1, Heinrichgasse 3 (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Romano Schwendenwein) .

1861-1862 : Miethaus - Wien 1, Rudolfsplatz 4.

1862 : Baublock - Wien 1, Hanuschgasse 3 / Goethegasse 1 (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Anton Hefft) .

1862-1863 : Miethaus - Wien 1, Karlsplatz 2.

1865 : Miethaus - Wien 1, Schubertring 7 / Christinengasse 1 (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Anton Hefft) .

1869 : Miethaus - Wien 1, Bellariastraße 10 (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Franz Fröhlich) .

1871-1872 : Baublock - Wien 1, Schottenring 1, 3 (heute Hôtel-de-France) , 5 / Schottengasse 10 (Palais Ölzelt) / Maria Theresien-Straße 2, 4, 6 / Heßgasse 7 (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Franz Fröhlich) .

1871-1872 : Gebäudeblock - Wien 1, Schottenring 1 / Schottengasse 10 / Maria Theresien-Straße 2 (Palais Ölzelt, Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Franz Fröhlich) / Schottenring 3-5 / Maria Theresien-Straße 4, 6 / Heßgasse 7 (heute Hôtel-de-France ; Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Franz Fröhlich) .

ÖFFENTLICHE BAUTEN

1854-1857 : Franz-Josefs-Kaserne (Ausführung, mit Bernhard Dornacher ; Entwicklung : Carl Rziwnatz und andere) .

1856-1860 : Ehemals Bank- und Börsengebäude - Freyung 2 / Herrngasse 14 (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Heinrich Ferstel) .

1856-1860 : Piaristenkirche Maria Treu - Wien 8, Jodok-Fink-Platz (Turmaufstockung ; Entwicklung : Franz Sitte) .

1858 : Creditanstalt - Wien I, Am Hof (Bauleitung ; Entwicklung : Franz Fröhlich ; nach 1945 abgerissen) .

1864-1869 : Albrechtsrampe - Wien I, Albertinaplatz (Ausführung ; Entwicklung : Moritz von Löhr) .

1865-1867 : Albertina - Wien I, Albertinaplatz (Neufassadierung ; Projekt Anton Hefft) .

Ohne Jahr : « Maurer-Lust » und Pavillon - Wien-Mauer, Antonshöhe (abgerissen) .

INNENRAUMGESTALTUNG / DESIGN

1850 : Ehemals Walterskirchensches Freihaus - Wien I, Bräunergasse 7 (Eisenblechtüren) .

The « Hanuschhof » (the Hanusch Court)

The « Hanuschhof » is a house typical of the Viennese « Gründerzeit » and was built between 1862 and 1863 as an adjoining building of the Albrecht House (now, the Albertina Museum) by the Master builder Anton Ölzelt, according to the plans of the architect Anton Hefft. These days, the offices of various arts and culture enterprises are situated within the Court. The Vienna State Opera Museum is also housed within the « Hanuschhof » .

The 8 « Volksoper » apartments are located within the so-called « Stöcklgebäude » (outbuilding) of the inner courtyard. These apartments vary in size and are all located on the 3rd (and highest) floor.

The « Hanuschhof » is located between the Vienna State Opera and the Castle Garden, near to the Hôtel Sacher and the « Kärtner Straße » and within easy reach of public transport.

...

The « Volksoper » apartments are leased to the stars of Operas, Operettas and musicals for 10 months of the year. In July and August, you can rent the apartments for a length of time ranging from 3 days to the full 2 months. The apartments are situated just meters away from the Vienna State Opera, in a quiet central courtyard - in the heart of Vienna. Alongside the town centre, the following main sights and attractions are within walking distance : the Castle Gardens ; the Albertina ; the « Kärtner Straße » ; the « Hofburg » Palace ; the Historical Art Museum and Natural History Museum.

L'Hôtel de France

L'Hôtel de France a été construit sur la « Ringstraße » , du côté de la rue « Schottenring » , en 1872, par les architectes Franz Fröhlich et Anton Ölzelt. 1 an plus tard, en 1873, l'Exposition universelle fut organisée à Vienne. Pour exprimer sa vocation internationale, cet établissement a été nommé Hôtel de France, comble du chic et de l'élégance à

l'époque.

En octobre 1876, l'architecte Ölzelt assista à un concert d'Anton Bruckner au monastère de Klosterneuburg. Il fut tellement impressionné par sa musique, qu'il lui offrit un appartement à l'Hôtel de France pour quitter son appartement exigü du « Heinrichshof ». Bruckner accepta avec joie et y séjournera jusqu'à la fin de l'été 1895. Durant cette période, il composa la plupart de ses œuvres les plus célèbres.

...

L'exclusif Hôtel de France (un 5 étoiles, construit en 1872) se trouve au 3 « Schottenring », sur cette même « Ringstraße ». La cathédrale Saint-Étienne, le « Hofburg », l'École espagnole d'équitation (« Spanische Hofreitschule ») et le « Wiener Staatsoper » sont à une distance de marche de l'Hôtel.

L'Hôtel de France est un établissement haut de gamme situé au bord du prestigieux « Ring », le boulevard qui encercle le centre-ville de Vienne. Cet Hôtel de luxe moderne offre de nombreux équipements et facilités ainsi qu'un restaurant réputé. Une adresse idéale pour se reposer à proximité des principaux centres d'intérêt de la capitale autrichienne.

Ouvert toute l'année, l'Hôtel de France, membre du groupe hôtelier autrichien Austria Trend, qui comprend également l'Hôtel Bellevue à Vienne, peut accueillir 350 clients au maximum.

Rénové pour la dernière fois en 2007, l'Hôtel de France abrite 194 chambres réparties dans un bel immeuble de style viennois de 6 étages, desservi par un ascenseur spacieux et élégant, dont le sol est recouvert de moquette. L'intérieur est superbe : escalier magistral, dorures, lustres, statues et peintures apportent un indéniable cachet à la décoration.

Pourvues d'un sol en moquette, les chambres de l'Hôtel de France sont spacieuses (30 mètres carrés) et très bien décorées.

L'Hôtel de France abrite un superbe restaurant, à la décoration élégante : moquette bleue, lustres, miroirs, tableaux et portraits, sans oublier le buste de l'impératrice Marie-Thérèse, constituent le cadre agréable de vos repas : une délicieuse cuisine viennoise et internationale à la carte accompagnée d'excellents vins.

...

L'exclusif Hôtel de France propose un confort moderne et un charme typiquement viennois, au cœur de Vienne, sur la célèbre « Ringstraße ».

De nombreux sites touristiques, comme la cathédrale Saint-Étienne et le Palais impérial de la « Hofburg », sont facilement accessibles à pied en quelques minutes. Situé sur l'un des plus beaux boulevards du monde, cet hôtel est très bien desservi par les transports publics. La station de métro « Schottentor » (ligne U2) se trouve à seulement 50

mètres.

Pour votre confort, les mini-bars, qui sont remplis tous les jours, et la connexion haut-débit à Internet sont disponibles gratuitement dans toutes les chambres. L'Hôtel de France dispose également d'un centre de remise en forme mis gratuitement à votre disposition, 24 heures sur 24.

Savourez une cuisine viennoise et française traditionnelle dans le Restaurant n° 3. Durant l'été, vous pourrez également profiter de la terrasse du café qui donne sur la rue. Un riche petit déjeuner buffet est servi à l'étage supérieur du restaurant. Des spécialités japonaises sont proposées dans le Daihachi Sushi Bar. L'élégant Atrium Bar est un point de rencontre élégant à tout moment de la journée. Un pianiste joue une agréable musique, afin de proposer une atmosphère relaxante jusqu'au soir.

...

Ein neuer Tagungsort für die Präsidentenkonferenz des AÖWB. Viele Jahre lud der Auslandsösterreicher-Weltbund zur jährlich stattfindenden Präsidentenkonferenz in das Palais Auersperg ein. Dieses Mal findet die Konferenz an einem anderen Ort, im « Hôtel de France », 1010 Wien, Schottenring 3, einem Hotel mit bemerkenswerter Geschichte, statt.

Das Hotel ist Teil eines Gebäudekomplexes, der 1872 von den Architekten Franz Fröhlich (1824-1889) und Doktor Anton Ölzelt Ritter von Nevin (1817-1875) errichtet wurde. Fröhlichs Handschrift als Ringstraßenarchitekt ist unübersehbar, er setzte dabei auf Elemente der in Wien verbreiteten Neorenaissance. So tritt die Fassade des Hotelgebäudes mit steingequaderten Seitenrisaliten und additiven Giebelfenstern mit Riesenpilastern leicht hervor und ist durch seichte Beletagebalkons geprägt. Als 1993 die historischen Fenster durch Kunststoffenster ausgetauscht wurden, gingen die Karyatidhermen, die im Mezzanin und der Attika die breiteren Fenster zerteilten, verloren. Sie waren für die Ringstraßenarchitektur typische Stilelemente. Auch sonst wurden in der Folge Umbauten durchgeführt : 1986-1988 entstanden Konferenzräume, Restaurants sowie durch den Dachgeschoßausbau zusätzliche Gästezimmer. Durch die Überdachung des Innenhofes mit einer Stahl-Glas-Konstruktion entstand das Atrium mit der Atriumbar.

Wechselvolle Geschichte

Aber zurück zum Beginn : Ein Jahr nach der Eröffnung, anlässlich der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873, wurde dem Hotel der Name « Hotel des France » gegeben. Der erste Eigentümer war die 1873 gegründete Wiener Lombard- und Escompte-Bank, die im Erdgeschoß ihre erste Filiale eröffnete. 1917 kam die Hotel de France GmbH in den Besitz der Familie Gisela, Ella und Ernst Herzog. Diese richtete in den 1920er Jahren im Erdgeschoß nicht nur einen Restaurant- und Kaffeehausbetrieb, sondern im Tiefparterre auch ein kleines Theater ein. Hier wurde 1932 das von Ödön von Horvath und Lukas Kristl geschaffene, auf einem realen Gerichtsfall beruhende, Drama « Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung. Ein kleiner Totentanz in fünf Bildern » erstmals aufgeführt. 1938 wurde die Familie Herzog von den Nationalsozialisten des Hotels beraubt, Adolf Knorr, Mitglied der NSDAP, erwarb es. Im Verlauf des Zweiten Weltkriegs zum Kriegslazarett geworden, übernahm 1945 die französische Besatzungsmacht das Hotel. 1947 kaufte es Norbert Wachtel und schenkte es in der Folge seinen Töchtern, deren Ehemänner Ernst Stock und Kurt Horowitz es fortführten. 1972 wurde das «

Hôtel de France » von der « Austria Hotels International Betriebs GmbH » erworben.

Heimstatt für einen großen Tonkünstler

Auf den Dramatiker Ödön von Horvath wurde verwiesen, auf Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) und seinen Bezug zum « Hôtel de France » darf nicht vergessen werden. Im Oktober 1876 war Doktor Anton Ölzelt Ritter von Nevin von einem Konzert Anton Bruckners in Klosterneuburg so beeindruckt, daß er beschloss, den Komponisten aus seiner engen Wohnung im Heinrichshof (heute Opernringhof) zu befreien und ihm ein Appartement im « Hôtel de France » anzubieten. Bruckner nahm an und blieb bis zum Sommer 1895 im Hotel. Zum Dank widmete er seine 6. Symphonie in A-Dur dem Ehepaar Ölzelt.

Das « Hôtel de France » versteht sich als exklusives Innenstadthotel, seine hier nur in Stichworten angerissene Geschichte unterstreicht diese Exklusivität allemal.

...

Im Jahre 1872, wurde am Schottenring das Hotel de France von den beiden Baumeistern Franz Fröhlich und Anton Ölzelt erbaut. Ein Jahr später, 1873, fand in Wien eine Weltausstellung statt. Um internationales Flair zu vermitteln, nannte man das neue Hotel « de France », was damals als besonders chic und elegant empfunden wurde.

Im Oktober 1876 hörte Baumeister Ölzelt ein Konzert von Anton Bruckner im Stift Klosterneuburg und war von seinem Spiel so beeindruckt daß er beschloß, Bruckner aus seiner engen Wohnung im Heinrichshof zu befreien und bot ihm ein Appartement im Hotel de France an. Anton Bruckner nahm dankend an und blieb im Hotel de France bis zum Sommer 1895. Während dieser Zeit komponierte er die bekanntesten seiner Werke.

Mit dem zweiten Weltkrieg brach auch für das Hotel de France eine traurige Zeit an, das Hotel wurde zum Kriegslazarett. Nach Ende des Krieges besetzten die alliierten Streitkräfte Wien und die Stadt wurde in vier Zonen aufgeteilt. Das Hotel de France lag im französischen Sektor und wurde von den Franzosen bis Oktober 1955 als Hauptquartier verwendet.

Im Laufe der Jahre wurde das Hotel ausgebaut und wechselte mehrmals die Besitzer. Seit 1972 befindet es sich im Besitz der Austria Hotels International, die weitere Hotels in Wien, Baden, Eisenstadt, Prag und Brünn betreibt.

In den Jahren 1986-1988 genoß das Hotel großzügige Renovierungs- und Umbauarbeiten, erhielt 3 Konferenzräume, 2 Restaurants, sowie durch den Dachgeschoßausbau zusätzliche Gästezimmer. Durch die Überdachung des Innenhofes mit einer Stahl-Glas-Konstruktion entstand das Atrium.

Das Hotel de France, freut sich, 130 Jahre nach Eröffnung, seine vielen internationalen Gäste mit modernstem Hotelkomfort und Wiener Charme zu verwöhnen.

« Wiener Schubertbund »

In November 1863, Franz Mair (the later director and Choir-Master) founded the « Lehrersängerchor Schubertbund », a teacher's choir. In the following year, the choir first appeared in public. Due to changing its name into « Schubertbund » (since 1922, « Wiener Schubertbund ») and opening the organization to everyone, the choir was able to gain more members. In 1935, there were 500 choir singers and they gave a concert in Rome for pope Pius IX.

Before World War II, notable choir Masters conducted the « Wiener Schubertbund ». Franz Mair, Adolf Kirchl, Doctor Anton von Webern, Viktor Keldorfer and Doctor Reinhold Schmid formed the choir to become one of the most remarkable men's choirs in the German speaking countries. After 1945, Viktor Keldorfer, Doctor Hans Gillesberger, Professor Leo Lehner, Professor Heinrich Gattermeyer, Professor Franz Gerstacker and, since 2001, Professor Fritz Brucker have prolonged this tradition.

Besides the care for the Opus of Franz Schubert, which has always been one of the choir's main concerns, the choir also has a wide repertoire from spiritual music to pieces for men's choir of the Romantic period up to Austrian and international folk songs and contemporary compositions.

Special opportunities to perform the Opus of Schubert are the annual concerts held at Schubert's birth place, the « Schubertiaden » .

Well-known composers such as Richard Strauß, Wilhelm Kienzl and Franz Lehár dedicated major works to the « Wiener Schubertbund ». This tradition was continued by first night performances of contemporary composers, like Karl Etti and Heinrich Gattermeyer.

The « Wiener Schubertbund » is also a founding member of the « Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft » and is performing and having its headquarters in their premises since their foundation. These premises form a beautiful and traditional forum for the performances. They are also home for a big collection of manuscripts and personal things of Schubert (the most important things are in care of the « Musiksammlung der Stadt Wien » and the « Wien Museum ») and other composers as well as presents of the choirs with which the « Wiener Schubertbund » has relations to all over the world. A collection of documents since the foundation in 1863 up to date is historical interesting.

For the honour of the « Wiener Schubertbund », many well-known artists, scientists and politicians were and are proud of being its honorary members, like Franz Grillparzer, Anton Bruckner, Peter Rosegger, Ottokar Kernstock, Wilhelm Kienzl, Richard Strauß, Ignaz Seipel, Karl Seitz, Helmut Zilk, Franz Lehár, Julius Patzak.

The « Wiener Schubertbund » has not only performed on radio and television, but has also recorded several compact discs, which reflect the choir's work.

...

Wiener Schubertbund : Männergesangverein. Gegründet als Lehrersängerchor Schubertbund am 14.11.1863 im Gasthaus « Zur neuen Welt » (Wien I, Ecke Kärntner Straße / Bösendorferstraße ; 1963 Gedenktafel enthüllt) von Franz Mair. Der Chor war zunächst als Sektion dem Lehrerverein Die Volksschule angegliedert, dem auch seine 86 Gründungsmitglieder angehörten. Die Bezugnahme auf Franz Schubert erfolgte aufgrund von dessen Abstammung aus einer Lehrerfamilie beziehungsweise dessen kurzer Tätigkeit als Lehrer. 1870-1871 spaltete sich der Chor vom Verein Die Volksschule ab (die Statuten des Vereins hatten eine Aufnahme von nicht dem Lehrerstand angehörenden Sängern unmöglich gemacht) und nahm den Namen Schubertbund an. 1922 wurde - infolge der Bildung anderer Schubertbünde in Österreich (zum Beispiel Graz, Brünn) und Deutschland - der Vereinsname auf Wiener Schubertbund geändert, der bis heute (2005) beibehalten wurde. Vereinssitz und Probenlokal befinden sich seit 1918 im Wiener Konzerthaus, der Wahlspruch lautet seit der Gründung : « Dem Wissen treu, im Liede frei » (Text : Josef Stadler ; Musik : Georg Ernst) . Der Wiener Schubertbund ist seit 1863 Mitglied des Niederösterreichischen Sängerbundes.

Die Pflege der Werke Schuberts, die auch in den Satzungen festgehalten wurden, stand zunächst im Vordergrund. So wurde bereits bei der Gründungsversammlung als erster Chor Die Nacht (D. 983c) gesungen (neben Johannes Wenzeslaus Kalliwodas Das deutsche Lied) , anlässlich des ersten öffentlichen Auftritts am 02.02.1864 in der Augustinerkirche (Wien I) sang man die Deutsche Messe (D. 872) . Der Pflege der Schubertschen Werke widmen sich vor allem die auf Anregung von Adolf Kirchl als musikalische Veranstaltungen wieder begründeten Schubertiaden. Die erste fand am 18.12.1901 statt, 1926 konnte bereits die 50. gefeiert werden. Auch heute noch veranstaltet der Wiener Schubertbund jährlich Schubertiaden, meist in Schuberts Geburtshaus in Wien IX. Der Verein zählte immer zu den stimmstärksten Männergesangvereinen des deutschen Sprachraums. Bei der ersten Chorprobe (21.11.1863) waren 132 Sänger anwesend, beim 1.000. Konzert am 19.02.1924 wirkten rund 400 Sänger mit. Als künstlerische Glanzzeit gelten die Jahre 1927-1928, als dem Verein neben 500 Sängern auch ein Damen- und Knabenchor (organisiert vom damaligen 2. Chorleiter Ferdinand Großmann) zur Verfügung standen. Die große Zahl der Mitglieder brachte es mit sich, daß mehrere so genannt Tischgesellschaften gegründet wurden, die durch regelmäßige Zusammenkünfte und heitere Veranstaltungen wesentlich zur Geselligkeitspflege beitrugen (zum Beispiel Saglgesellschaft, Kirchl-Runde, Schubertkneipe, Hofrat Jaksch-Gesellschaft, Keldorfer-Runde) . Von musikalischer Bedeutung waren hingegen die Gesangquartette (zum Beispiel 1891-1907 das Sæser-Quartett, benannt nach dem langjährigen Vorstand und Tenorsolisten Ferdinand Leopold Sæser ; ab 1894 das Puhm-Quartett, benannt nach dem I. Tenor Leopold Puhm ; ab 1899 das Andreß-Quartett, benannt nach dem I. Bassisten August Andreß) und kleinen Instrumentalensembles (und andere Streichquartette) , die mit ihren Auftritten bei musikalischen Veranstaltungen des Wiener Schubertbundes zur Hebung des künstlerischen Niveaus beitrugen und eine abwechslungsreiche Programmgestaltung ermöglichten. Um 1900 bestand auch ein Hausorchester (Orchestervereine) , jedoch arbeitete der Wiener Schubertbund im Laufe seines Bestehens regelmäßig mit dem Hofopernorchester, dem Orchester des Wiener Konzertvereins, den Wiener Philharmonikern, den Wiener Symphonikern und dem Niederösterreichischen Tonkünstlerorchester zusammen.

Der Wiener Schubertbund unternahm seit seiner Gründung eine fast unüberschaubare Zahl an Sängerfahrten und Konzertreisen in die ganze Welt, auch an nahezu allen großen Sängerfesten nahm er teil (erstmalig am I. Bundesfest des Niederösterreichischen Sängerbundes 1864) . Die erste Sängerfahrt führte 1865 nach Gmunden / Oberösterreich, die erste ins Ausland erfolgte 1884 nach Süddeutschland. Hervorzuheben sind weiters und andere ein Auftritt bei der Pariser Weltausstellung 1900 vor 4.000 Zuhörern, ein Konzert am 09.06.1906 in Brünn vor 16.000 Zuhörern, die

Mitwirkung bei der der Eröffnung der Wiener Urania am 06.06.1910, die Teilnahme am 10. Deutschen Sängerbundesfest in Wien 1928 und ein Konzert vor Papst Pius XI. in Rom 1935. Zahlreiche namhafte Komponisten widmeten dem Wiener Schubertbund Werke, zu nennen wären hier und andere Thomas Koschat, Wilhelm Kienzl (Wach' auf, mein Volk ! , Uraufführung 28.12.1903) , Carl Lafite, Richard Strauß (Die Tageszeiten, Uraufführung 21.7.1928 ; Durch Einsamkeiten, Uraufführung 01.04.1939) , Hans Wagner-Schönkirch, Rudolf Weinwurm, Max Ritter von Weinzierl und Richard Wickenhauser. Strauß hatte bereits am 08.12.1922 die österreichische Eigenmächtig Abwesend seines Bardengesangsdurch den Wiener Schubertbund geleitet. 1925 trat Julius Patzak dem Wiener Schubertbund bei, mehrere wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen von Otto Erich Deutsch erschienen im Verlag des Wiener Schubertbundes.

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg erfolgte die Wiederaufnahme des Vereinslebens mit der ersten Mitgliederversammlung am 13.07.1945 und der ersten Chorprobe im Februar 1946 (80 Sänger) . In den folgenden Jahren erfolgte ein steter Aufstieg des Vereins, es kam wie schon vor dem Krieg zur Zusammenarbeit mit bedeutenden Künstlern und zu Uraufführungen beziehungsweise Eigenmächtig Abwesenden von Werken Zoltán Kodálys, Ernst Tittels, Alfred Uhls, Peter Warlocks, der Vereinschormeister und anderer Komponisten. Im Jubiläumsjahr 1963 zählte der Chor 164 Mitglieder und konnte bereits 1.960 öffentliche Aufführungen vorweisen. Im Rahmen der Wiener Festwochen 1983 wurde die 120. Schubertiade abgehalten, 1985 schlossen sich die Sänger des Engelsbergbundes Wien (1889 gegründet als Kaufmännischer Sängerkhor) dem Wiener Schubertbund an. 1988 gehörten dem Verein 70 aktive Mitglieder an. Trotz Nachwuchsproblems zählt der Wiener Schubertbund derzeit (2005) mit rund 50 aktiven Mitgliedern noch immer neben dem Wiener Männergesang-Verein und dem Männergesangverein Atzgersdorf (Wien XXIII) zu den stimmkräftigsten reinen Männergesangvereinen Wiens. Die Konzertreisen führten den Verein in den letzten Jahren auch vermehrt ins fremdsprachige Ausland (USA 1999, China 2001, Syrien 2002, Brasilien 2006) . Neben der Pflege klassischer Werke für Männergesang finden sich nunmehr auch Bearbeitungen moderner Stücke (aus dem Bereich Musical und Rock und Pop) im Repertoire, richtungweisend ist hier die letzte CD (2003) mit dem Titel Von Bach bis Beatles. Der Wiener Schubertbund besitzt neben den Nachlässen von Franz Mair und Ernst Schmid heute noch Autographe und andere von Franz Schubert und Richard Strauß.

Als künstlerische Leiter des Wiener Schubertbund fungierten seit der Gründung : Franz Mair (1863-1890) ; Ernst Schmid (1890-1891 ; 2. Chormeister 1863-1890 und 1891-1895) ; Adolf Kirchl (1891-1916) ; Ferdinand Rebay (1916-1920) ; Hermann von Schmeidel (1920-1921) ; Anton von Webern (1921-1922) ; Viktor Keldorfer (1922-1938 und 1946-1951) ; Otto Nurrer (1938-1940) ; Reinhold Schmid (1940-1945) ; Hans Gillesberger (1951-1954) ; Leo Lehner (1954-1963) ; Heinrich Gattermeyer (1963-1973) ; Kurt Kettner (1974-1976) und Franz Gerstacker (1976-2000) . Unter den Vereinsvorständen ragen neben Mair (administrativer Leiter 1863-1866) noch Franz Bobies (1866-1892) ; August Fetzmann (1892-1902) ; Josef A. Jaksch (1902-1921) ; Ferdinand Leopold Sæser (1921-1936) und Ernst Meithner (1936-1938 und 1946-1956) hervor. Derzeit (2007) stehen dem Wiener Schubertbund Wolfgang Schuster, Kurt Heiß und Gerhard Seidl als Vorstände sowie Fritz Brucker (seit 2000) und Christine Aichberger (seit 2003) als Chormeister vor.

...

Anton Bruckner sera nommé membre honoraire des 2 Sociétés Wagner de Vienne : l'une antisémite ; et l'autre, non.

Société académique Richard Wagner de Vienne

Avec le temps, la capitale de la musique deviendra de plus en plus réceptive aux idées brucknériennes. Le conservatisme intransigeant, mené par Eduard Hanslick, était confronté au modernisme allemand. À l' « Akademischer Wagnerverein » (Société académique Richard Wagner), le Maître de Saint-Florian est devenu une espèce de « cause célèbre ».

Les Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf, August Göllerich, Ferdinand Löwe de même que les frères Franz et Josef Schalk, deviendront ses plus ardents défenseurs. Ils feront souvent la promotion de sa musique en organisant plusieurs concerts.

August Göllerich, Ernst Décsey, Guido Adler, Rudolf Louis et Auguste Stradal, tous des élèves de Bruckner, développeront une réputation enviable en tant que musicologues et écrivains sur la musique.

De 1884 à 1893, Viktor Boller (1853-1904), juge à la Cour d'appel autrichienne, agira comme président de la Société académique Wagner.

Les Cercles wagnériens

Le 1er juin 1871, un fervent ami de Richard Wagner, Monsieur Carl Heckel, de Mannheim, avait réuni, dans sa ville, une société de Wagnéristes, qui s'appela « Wagner-Verein », et fut le premier cercle Wagnérien.

L'exemple fut assidûment suivi. Le pianiste Karl Tausig, avec Monsieur Carl Heckel, se signala dans ce mouvement. Munich, dès 1871, et, en 1872, Mayence, Dresde, Buda-Pesth, Bruxelles, Bayreuth, Cologne, Darmstadt, Ratisbonne, New-York, Prague, Vienne, Berlin eurent leurs cercles Wagnériens ; puis, successivement, toutes les principales villes, et jusque des bourgades. Quelques villes, même, comme Vienne et Berlin, en eurent plusieurs, des Sociétés Académiques Wagner, des Unions Wagnériennes.

Les cercles Wagnériens restèrent indépendants les uns des autres ; leur influence n'en fut pas moins grande : ils aidèrent à la diffusion des idées wagnériennes, et, par l'agitation qu'ils instituèrent, ils contribuèrent, puissamment, à exalter le nom de Richard Wagner, et, suivant ses projets, ils servirent, efficacement, au succès de l'entreprise de Bayreuth.

C'est encore aux cercles wagnériens, qui existent toujours, isolément, dans leurs villes, qu'on dut, en 1883, l'établissement définitif de l'Association Wagnérienne Universelle.

L'Association

L'Assemblée générale de Nuremberg décida, en effet, qu'en une seule grande association seraient réunies toutes les forces isolées de la famille wagnérienne. Les statuts furent élaborés selon le projet des délégués Viennois, dont le rôle fut important, en cette Assemblée : ce fut la cohésion et l'élargissement des institutions wagnériennes, depuis 1871, une sorte de nouveau patronat, plus large, plus complet. Les 3 assemblées générales, tenues, depuis lors, le 29 juillet 1883

et le 22 juillet 1884, à Bayreuth, et, le 10 avril 1885, à Munich, fixèrent (définitivement) , le caractère de cette association qui, aujourd'hui, est en pleine vigueur.

L'Association wagnérienne a pour objet, premièrement, réunir en une œuvre commune tous les Wagnéristes ; secondement, propager et développer les idées wagnériennes ; enfin, assurer le maintien perpétuel des représentations-modèles de Bayreuth.

L'Association, d'abord, est largement ouverte ; les conditions d'admission ont été rendues aussi faciles que possible ; les membres de l'association paient une cotisation annuelle de 5 francs. Des ressources pécuniaires étant nécessaires à l'Association, elle a préféré les obtenir du concours d'un grand nombre d'adhérents, donnant chacun, une somme minime, à laquelle ils peuvent joindre, d'ailleurs, des donations particulières.

Ensuite, la propagation des idées wagnériennes est faite, en tous pays, par les membres de l'Association, encouragés par l'Association, avec une égale libéralité. Des cercles wagnériens, et des publications wagnériennes, puis des exécutions fragmentaires ou totales des œuvres du Maître, des conférences sont organisées pour répandre cette agitation, grâce à laquelle le nom du Maître est mieux connu, et son œuvre mieux étudiée, mieux comprise.

Enfin, si l'union spirituelle des Wagnéristes est, par le fait même de l'Association, et si, à la propagande wagnérienne, de notables efforts sont consacrés, l'objet le plus marqué de l'Association est le maintien des représentations de Festivals. L'appui de l'Association à l'entreprise de Bayreuth est, d'abord, un appui moral, considérable : mais il sera, aussi, un appui matériel. En effet, l'Association vient d'établir, le 10 avril 1885, le 1er essai d'une institution spéciale, et qui sera, plus tard, nécessairement, agrandie et perfectionnée, le « Richard Wagner Stiftung » (la Fondation Richard Wagner) . La Fondation, exclusivement consacrée au maintien de l'œuvre de Bayreuth, est composée d'un capital dû, en partie, aux revenus de l'Association (60 % des revenus totaux annuels) , et, en partie, à des donations particulières. Les revenus de la Fondation sont répartis, 2/5 à l'acquisition de places aux représentations, devant être données, 1/5 à des bourses de voyages à Bayreuth, et le reste à un fonds de réserve. La Fondation est administrée par un comité, comprenant le représentant de la famille Wagner, le maire de Bayreuth, le président de l'Association, et quelques délégués. Déjà, d'ailleurs, des bourses de voyages et des places aux représentations de Bayreuth, ont été données, en 1883 et en 1884, spécialement par l'Association, à des artistes et amateurs, de toutes les nations.

C'est donc, toujours, Bayreuth qui est le centre du Wagnérisme, et l'œuvre de Bayreuth, faite la plus large et la plus universelle - le but dernier de tous les efforts.

L'Association, pour la facilité des relations, se subdivise en agences locales et en comités locaux, et tient, comme il a été dit, des assemblées générales, annuelles. Elle est dirigée par un comité central de 9 membres, élus par l'assemblée générale. Son siège est, actuellement, à Munich.

Le président honoraire est Franz Liszt ; et les membres du Comité sont :

le Baron Karl d'Ostini et le Comte de Sporck, présidents ; Messieurs Sachs et Porges, secrétaires ; Schmid, trésorier ; et Hermann Levi, chef d'orchestre de Munich ; Oskar Merz ; le Baron Hans de Wolzogen ; Franz de Fischer ; Max Ritter de

Schmædel ; et Franz Seitz. Le représentant à Paris est Monsieur Houston Stewart Chamberlain ; à Bruxelles, Monsieur Henri La Fontaine ; à Londres, Monsieur Benjamin Lewis Moseley.

En Décembre 1884, après 1 an et demi d'existence, l'Association wagnérienne était représentée dans 400 villes, et avait, environ, 5,000 membres disséminés par toutes les parties de la terre.

L'activité publique et professionnelle de Henri La Fontaine (1854-1943) à la fois avocat, homme politique, bibliographe, auteur, alpiniste et musicien (ami de Richard Wagner, il traduit « la Walkyrie ») permet de comprendre que La Fontaine a eu une vie bien remplie, conduite par des idées et des actions que connaissent parfaitement les enseignants documentalistes : le partage, l'autonomie, l'épanouissement, le respect et la reconnaissance des personnes.

1883-1886

Les Festivals de Bayreuth ont été continuées, après la mort du Maître, selon le vœu de la famille, grâce à l'énergie et au dévouement de leur administrateur, Monsieur Adolf Groß, l'exécuteur testamentaire de Wagner, qui, après avoir été pour lui l'ami pratique, indispensable et sûr, a su, après sa mort, vaincre toutes difficultés, et a rendu les représentations de 1883 et de 1884 plus parfaites encore que celles de 1882.

« Parsifal » fut représenté 12 fois, du 18 au 30 juillet 1883 ; et 10 fois, du 21 juillet au 8 août 1884. L'interprétation était, à peu près, la même ; mais les principaux rôles n'étaient plus distribués qu'en double. La mise en scène avait été très améliorée. Le prix des places fut diminué de 30 Marks à 20. Quant au succès, il fut chaque année, plus marqué.

Ces représentations seront suivies, en l'été de 1886, par la reprise des représentations de « Parsifal » et l'inauguration, au « Festspielhaus », des représentations de « Tristan et Isolde » .

L'histoire résumée de l'œuvre de Bayreuth étant arrivée à sa fin, il reste à rapprocher de l'œuvre exécutée, l'œuvre rêvée par Richard Wagner ; à examiner ce qui a et ce qui n'a pas été fait, et ce qui pouvait ou ne pouvait pas l'être - à voir comment l'œuvre actuelle réalise l'idée du Maître.

...

L'Association Wagner de Hongrie a été fondé, parmi les Ires du monde, en 1872, par Ödön Mihalovich, le comte Albert Apponyi et le chef d'orchestre János (Hans) Richter Elle avait alors pour but, en dehors de faire la connaissance de la musique wagnérienne, d'émettre des « billets de construction » pour aider à réaliser le « Festspielhaus » à Bayreuth. Son principal objectif était et est toujours de faire connaître, d'approfondir et de soigner l'art musical de Wagner.

...

The International Association of Wagner Societies (« Der Richard-Wagner-Verband International eingetragener Verein », also known as « Der RWVI ») is an affiliation of Wagner Societies (« Richard Wagner-Verband ») that promotes

interest and research into the works of Richard Wagner, raises funds for scholarships for young music students, singers, and instrumentalists, and supports the annual Bayreuth Festival. It also sponsors symposia, holds singing competitions for Wagnerian voices, and issues awards for stage direction and stagings of Wagner's Operas. The association is a non-profit organization.

The 1st Richard Wagner Society was launched in Mannheim (Germany) , in 1871, 1 year after the premiere of the German composer's Opera « Die Walküre » (The Valkyrie) , in Munich. The brainchild of Wagner's longtime friend, the music-publisher Emil Heckel, the 1st Society was a simple, locally-conceived venue for celebrating Wagner's music. In the wake of Wagner's difficulties in securing interest in the public subscription for his future Bayreuth Festival, Heckel suggested to the composer that he sponsor additional Societies to help secure support. Wagner embraced the idea enthusiastically and, by 1872, Societies had been established in Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig and London - the latter founded by Edward Dannreuther (1844-1905) , the author of « Richard Wagner : His Tendencies and Theories » , published in 1873.

Richard Wagner's dream, as described in a letter written in 1882, was that his Bayreuth Festival would be free for everyone to attend, however, this was never possible because of the extremely high costs to organize and produce it. Nonetheless, based on Wagner's desires, Societies refocused their efforts and began making it possible for promising talented musicians to attend. Public interest in supporting subscriptions to fund scholarships was initially tepid but, from 1919 forward, the number of Societies increased steadily.

...

The 1st important performances of Bruckner's Symphonic works took place in the Viennese Academic Wagner Society.

Founded in 1873, the Viennese Society, like its model in Germany, aimed to promote and disseminate the works of Richard Wagner. Numerous pupils and students of Bruckner belonged to it. Apart from Wagner's works, it also advocated those of Franz Liszt, Hugo Wolf, and Anton Bruckner. In the so-called « Internal Evenings » and weekly meetings of the Society, Bruckner's Symphonies were performed in arrangements for piano (2 or 4 hands) mostly in the « Bösendorfer-Saal » , or in the small hall of the « Musikverein » . The pianists, in charge at these events, were : Hans Paumgartner, Felix Mottl, Josef Schalk, Franz Zottmann, and Ferdinand Löwe.

Later, the Society also organized full performances of the Symphonies in the « Musikvereinssaal » , under the direction of Hans Richter.

Richter (1843-1916) ought to be reckoned one of the most outstanding interpreters of Bruckner's music. He was one of the regular conductors at the Bayreuth Festival and conducted all of Bruckner's Symphonies, up to the 5th and 6th, in the composer's lifetime, not only in Vienna but also abroad.

Bruckner himself joined the Society after his return from Bayreuth, in October 1873, and remained a member to the end of his life. In 1885, he was made an honorary member.

At the end of the 1880's, a few members left for political and ideological reasons.

In 1890, they founded the « New Richard Wagner Society » with an outlook that was fundamentally German nationalist and anti-Semitic. In this Society, too, piano performances of Bruckner's works took place.

...

In a lecture delivered to the « Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein » , Franz Schalk criticized artistic careerism, taking aim at technically proficient but uninspired orchestral performances and at institutions of music education that emphasized mechanical skills at the expense of spiritual understanding :

« It may, after all, have even been an impediment to the appreciation of Bruckner that his music is more German than anything else that we have had, until now, in purely instrumental music. To be sure, not more German than Bach or Beethoven in so far as their basic character and that of their work is concerned, but more German in the form of expression.

Noting that Richard Wagner had made many Germans conscious of themselves as a people for the 1st time, Schalk asserted that many others continued to be alienated from the German spirit and concluded that Bruckner's power must seem like shapelessness to them ; his warmth-like childish ingenuousness. For the most un-German thing about us is precisely our artistic activity. To be German means, as our Master splendidly explained : to do a thing for its own sake. »

Schalk dwelt upon Bruckner's « German » artistic idealism ; he did not refer to the « Other » of German. Indeed, the « Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein » , the original audience for his address, included many Jews. This organization, which Theodor Helm likened, in 189, to « a miniature Bayreuth for Bruckner » , declined to support the anti-Semitic politics that began to pose a serious threat to Viennese Liberalism, in the 1880's.

According to the critic Josef Stolzing, the Society went so far as to force-out members like himself « who reminded the directorate whether, in a subtle or blunt manner, that Wagner was an anti-Semite until the end of his life » . Still, a covert anti-Semitism can be discerned in the reviews of so eminent and steadfast an associate as Hans Paumgartner, for as Stolzing's remark suggests, anti-Semitism was an inevitable part of the Wagnerian world-view. As is well-known, this often took the form of rejecting cultural traits considered « Jewish » , but accepting as « German » Jews who did not exhibit the objectionable traits : an ambiguous formulation that allowed for Jewish Wagnerites.

A group of young Wagnerites with a number of Jews in prominent positions had, in fact, envisioned and developed the emotional or « sharper-key » style of politics that later became a powerful tool of the anti-Semites. Under Engelbert Pernerstorfer's leadership, these Wagnerian idealists had espoused radical social reform and extreme German nationalism.

Pernerstorfer's circle initially backed Georg Ritter von Schönerer as their representative in Parliament, but that his fanatical anti-Semitism caused many of his followers, including Pernerstorfer himself, in June 1883, to fall away.

Schönerer eventually lost his right to participate in politics for 5 years after he and some associates assaulted the staff of the « Neues Wiener Tagblatt », in 1888, for issuing a premature report of the German « Kaiser »'s death. Following Schönerer's disgrace, the government cracked down on German-nationalist groups, and most of the Pan-Germans transferred their support, for the time being, to the candidates of the emerging Christian-Social Party.

...

Inquisitiveness and a fascination with the past were the target of Richard Wagner's attacks on Jews, whom he saw as reaching back into history, in order to compensate for a lack of originality. Yet, it was also the steady dominance of Jewish musicologists and thinkers that would further divide the Austro-German house between musical progressives and conservatives. On the one side, there was Eduard Hanslick and Heinrich Schenker, who held to the ideals of Classical sobriety and balance, along with the scholar Guido Adler, who chose to classify Wagner as a conservative, in stark contrast to the prevalent view of the time. The critic Robert Hirschfeld, a virtual contemporary of Adler, was seen by many as the leader of Vienna's anti-Mahler press. Nevertheless, Hirschfeld singled-out Anton Bruckner, rather than Johannes Brahms, as the culmination of abstract musical purity. It was the pupils and followers of these scholars and writers who would not only solidify Jewish support for musical tradition, but also provide a basis for progressive thinking. With Karl Goldmark, Robert Hirschfeld, Guido Adler and Julius Korngold, we see the dogmatic lines held by Hanslick rendered meaningless, as a new generation of Jews see in Wagner a composer who was not predominantly an anti-Semite but rather an artist who redefined the purpose of music. This conflict was made poignantly clear in the creation of 2 Richard Wagner Societies, in Vienna :

The Vienna Academic Wagner Society (« Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein ») was co-founded by Guido Adler.

And the competing New Wagner Society (« Neuer Richard-Wagner-Verein »), of which Anton Bruckner was made honorary president, that explicitly excluded Jews.

It was in this spirit of music, renewing its very purpose, that Karl Weigl, Alexander Zemlinsky and Arnold Schönberg founded the Society of Creative Musicians (« Vereinigung schaffender Tonkünstler »), in 1904, with Gustav Mahler as honorary president. In 1907, Mahler would defend Schönberg against hisses and boos at the premiere of the latter's 1st String Quartet, Opus 7, in the « Bösendorfersaal », while admitting privately that he was not sure what the music meant.

...

Guido Adler's invocations of chauvinistic rhetoric might be dismissed as a reflection of his youthful involvement with the Reading Society for German Students and the Viennese Academic Wagner Society. After all, his association with these groups preceded the publication of these essays by nearly a decade. The Reading Society was an organization dedicated to advancing an openly « graffdeutsch » cultural agenda in deliberate contradistinction to the supra-national vision of Austrian identity cultivated by Habsburg officialdom. The Wagner Society was, likewise, deeply concerned with national questions and with Wagner's contributions to the discourse on German cultural identity, in particular. In its early years, that Society published, in each of its annual reports, a single essay by one of its members addressing an issue of

pressing concern for the organization as a whole. And in each of its 1st 3 years of operation, its featured essay considered Wagner's positions on German cultural nationhood. In its 1st annual report (1873), the Society published « Richard Wagner and the National Idea », in which the future gymnasium : teacher Adalbert Horawitz recounted Wagner's emerging consciousness of his German heritage during his years in Paris. The report for the following year featured the essay, « Richard Wagner and German Art », in which the architect Camillo Sitte argued that Wagner's music dramas had effected the « revival » (« Wiederbelebung ») and « re-awakening » (« Erwachen ») of German art by casting themes and images of German mythology in a modern guise. And, in 1875, Baron Hans von Wolzogen, in « German Folk Poetry as Foundation for a National Festival », described Wagner's Bayreuth Festival as a phenomenon equivalent, in its nation-building potential, to the political unification of Germany under Otto von Bismarck. Wolzogen argued that :

« The Festival is an echo of the victorious period of 1870 and 1871 in that it celebrates and portrays a united and energetic expression of the national spirit (“ Nationalgeist ”) and a powerful awareness of its nature and effects. »

Though Guido Adler was not among the authors of the essays published in these reports, he was, as a guiding member of the Society, certainly privy to the discussions from which they arose.

But while we might be tempted to account for Adler's lectures on Mozart, Bach, and Händel, by emphasizing his early associations with a figure like Wolzogen, we must remember that those lectures were written long after he had ceased active participation in both the Reading Society and the Wagner Society.

« Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein »

Am 02.02.1873 behördlich genehmigter Verein, der im Allgemeinen die Förderung der Reformbestrebungen Richard Wagners und im Speziellen die Aufführung von dessen Ring des Nibelungen in Bayreuth, Deutschland, im Auge hatte. Obwohl sich bereits 1871 ein Wagner Verein in Wien konstituiert hatte (1876 aufgelöst), der im Prinzip dieselben Ziele verfolgte, kam es 1872 zu einem Gründungsaufwurf für den Akademischer Wagner-Verein (Gründungsversammlung am 10.11.1872) durch Karl Goldmark, Johann von Herbeck, Otto Dessoff, Johann Hellmesberger der Ältere, G. Schönaich, Josef Standhartner und J. Lewinsky. Die Vereinsmitglieder rekrutierten sich vor allem aus dem Bürgertum und der Studentenschaft, wobei einige Mitglieder auch in führenden Funktionen in der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien beziehungsweise später in der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft tätig waren. 1901 zählte man 227 ordentliche, 138 unterstützende und 20 Ehrenmitglieder. Zur Erreichung des Vereinszwecks wurden Konzerte (Bösendorfersaal, kleiner Musikvereinssaal), interne Musikabende und Vorträge veranstaltet, 1881 erfolgte die Gründung eines Vereinschors. Nach der erfolgreichen Und Andere des gesamten Rings (1876) erfolgte (1879) eine Neuorientierung des Vereins samt einer Statutenänderung, 1883 eine weitere Neugestaltung als Zweigverein des in Nürnberg, Deutschland, gegründeten Allgemeinen Richard Wagner Vereins. Vermehrt wurden nun auch die Werke Franz Liszts, Anton Bruckners (ab 1879) und Hugo Wolfs (ab 1887-1888) gepflegt, jedoch gelangten vereinzelt auch Kompositionen von Orlando di Lasso und Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina sowie aus dem Barock und der Wiener Klassik zur Aufführung. Ab 1898 finden sich weiters Namen wie Richard Strauß, Christian Sinding, Ludwig Thuille, Hans Pfitzner und Joseph Marx auf den Konzertprogrammen. Der Verein konnte in den 1880er Jahren jährlich zwischen 1.100 und 1.600 florin zur

Unterstützung nach Bayreuth senden, später waren es dann meist rund 1.000 florin. Ab 1884 organisierte man Fahrten zu den Bayreuther Festspielen in Sonderzügen. Der Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein wurde 1939 durch die nationalsozialistischen Machthaber aufgelöst, sein Vermögen und Archiv ging an die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Als Nachfolgevereinigungen wurden 1951 der Richard Wagner Verband und die Österreichische Gesellschaft der Freunde von Bayreuth ins Leben gerufen, erstere besteht heute (2006) noch.

Als künstlerische Leiter des Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Vereins fungierten und andere Felix Mottl (1873-1880) , Johann Paumgartner (1880-1881) , Eduard Schütt (1881-1887) , Josef Schalk (ab 1887) und F. Foll (um 1902) . Prominente Mitglieder des Vereins waren und andere Anton Bruckner (ab 1873, 1885 Ehrenmitglied) , Gustav Mahler (1877-1879) , Hans Rott (1875-1879) , Guido Adler (1873-1875) und Ludwig Bösendorfer (Ehrenmitglied) .

Weitere mit Wagner in Verbindung stehende Wiener Vereine des ausgehenden 19. Jh.s waren der Deutsch akademische Verein Walhalla, der aus einer Abspaltung des Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Vereins hervorging, antisemitisch ausgerichtet war und bis 1902 bestand, sowie der Neue Richard Wagner-Verein, der 1890 ebenfalls als Zweigverein des Allgemeinen Richard Wagner Vereins gegründet wurde.

In Graz bestand 1873-1876 und 1883-1938 der Grazer Richard Wagner-Verein, dessen Nachfolgevereinigung seit 1950 die Österreichische Richard-Wagner-Gesellschaft (seit 1961 Österreichische Richard-Wagner-Gesellschaft, Sitz Graz) ist. Seit 1995 besteht daneben das durch eine Abspaltung entstandene Wagner Forum Graz. Auch in Linz (Richard Wagner Verband Linz-Oberösterreich) , Innsbruck beziehungsweise Bozen ; Richard Wagner Verband Innsbruck-Bozen) und Bregenz (Richard Wagner Verband Bregenz-Vorarlberg eingetragener Verein) bestehen heute ähnliche Vereine.

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La « Bösendorfer-Saal » (1872-1913)

When Ignaz Bösendorfer founded the company, in 1828, he was dedicated to the idea of creating the best piano instruments possible, no matter how long it took. His son, Ludwig, continued to pursue this vision.

The piano-maker Ludwig Bösendorfer was a keen traveller. He not only personally accompanied many artists, but also delivered his instruments in almost all the major concert halls of Europe. This, of course, developed lifetime friendships. Bösendorfer was recognized as a great benefactor not only in Vienna, but also in all artistic circles and cultural communities. His correspondence with Franz Liszt is famous ; Johannes Brahms was one of his personal friends ; Anton Bruckner and Johann Strauß received special awards at the plant piano-showroom, situated on « Graf-Starhemberg-Gasse 14 » .

« The perfection of a “ Bösendorfer ” exceeds my most ideal expectations. » (Franz Liszt)

« To my esteemed friend, the most perfect tarot player, the great Ludwig Bösendorfer, with pleasant memories. »

(Johann Strauß, 1897)

The « Requiem » (WAB 39) was written to memorialize Franz Sailer (Bruckner's brother Ignaz's godfather) , the notary of the Saint-Florian monastery, who bequeathed Bruckner his « Bösendorfer » grand piano (plus 1 harmonium, 1 small table and few chairs) . It seems that Sailer bought it during an exhibition held in a country house in Linz, in 1848. The « Requiem » was premiered on September 15, 1849, 1 year after Sailer's death.

Bösendorfer thought seriously of creating a railroad « Klaviersalonwagen » for travelling artists (complete with sleeping spaces and wings) .

...

In 1872, piano-maker Ludwig Bösendorfer (patron of the arts and one of the most colorful and original of Viennese personalities at the time) opened a new recital hall in the « Palais Liechtenstein » (on the site now occupied by the « Hochhaus » (skyscraper) , at 6-8 « Herrengasse ») . Its superb acoustics and its size (it seated just under 600 persons) made it an ideal venue for piano and song recitals, as well as for chamber music concerts, and many distinguished artists performed there, during the next 40 years. It opened on 19 November 1872 with a recital by Hans von Bülow ; the last chamber music concert was given there by the Rosé Quartet, on 9 November 1913. The building was demolished, soon afterward.

Johannes Brahms knew Ludwig Bösendorfer very well, not least because Bösendorfer, like himself, took a lively interest in the « Wiener Tonkünstlerverein » . Brahms was also very familiar with the recital hall. To cite just 3 memorable events, it was there, on 5 April 1892, that he was enchanted by Alice Barbi's rendition of his songs ; it was also there that he accompanied her, at her farewell concert on 21 December 1893 (in March 1898, she would sing a number of his songs, there, for the benefit of the Brahms Monument Fund) ; and it was at the « Bösendorfer-Saal » that he had one of his rare meetings with Franz Liszt, on the occasion of Bülow's all-Brahms recital, on 2 February 1882. According to Max Kalbeck (in 1876) , Brahms often listened to concerts at the « Bösendorfer-Saal » from a seat placed for him in an attic, which he could reach and leave without being observed.

(Theophil Antonicek, 1988 ; George Bozarth's and Stephen H. Brady, 2000)

...

When the Viennese architect Adolf Loos (1870-1933) published « Das Mysterium der Akustik » (The Mystery of Acoustics) , as a newspaper article in January 1912, he pleaded for the preservation of Vienna's « Bösendorfer » Hall from the standpoint that a reconstruction elsewhere would never reproduce the acoustic qualities of this concert-hall on « Herrengasse, 6 » , in Vienna's city center :

« I was asked whether the “ Bösendorfer-Saal ” should be preserved. I presume what prompted the question was the idea that reverence for the past demands we should not demolish a hall that has played such an important role in the musical history of Vienna. But it is not a question of reverence for the past, it is a question of acoustics. »

In 1872, Ludwig Bösendorfer, piano-maker, patron of the arts, and one of the most colorful and original of Viennese personalities at the time, had taken over the equestrian stables of the « Palais Liechtenstein » and had converted the riding-school into a concert-hall of nearly 600 seats. The discipline of architectural acoustics did not yet exist as such and was more of a trial-and-error approach, at 1st.

Bösendorfer himself (wearing his inimitable top-hat while riding a pony and listening to his friend shout from the other end of the hall) decided on the position of new interior walls and, during construction, moved the rear wall 3 times, until the acoustics satisfied his ear. The large windows, that remained over the newly added wooden siding in the hall, were reminiscent of the previous life of the building ; while the hall itself was not spectacular, its dimensions and surfaces were chosen with care.

The concert-hall, in the converted riding stable, gained a reputation as an outstanding venue and, at the time, even became Vienna's most popular concert-hall. It was praised for « its beautiful simplicity, which made a “ very intimate, yet, noble impression ” and contributed to the “ inner collection of listeners ” ». Accounts of the time pleaded that the hall was of the same significance as Vienna's « Großer Musikvereinssaal », yet, exceeded its acoustics. The success of this daring challenge to one of Europe's prime concert halls might have been the result of subjective judgment ; however, the list of musicians who performed in the « Bösendorfer » Hall reads like the « Who's Who » of the European music scene of the time, among them :

Pianists Anton Rubinstein, Franz Liszt, Moriz Rosenthal, Eugène d'Albert, Johannes Brahms, Ignaz Jan Paderewski, Bruno Walter, Teresa Carreño, Emil von Sauer, Artur Schnabel, Ernst von Dohnanyi, Béla Bartók, and Edvard Grieg.

Violinists Pablo de Sarasate and Georg Hellmesberger.

Composers Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Hugo Wolf, Max Reger, Gustav Mahler, and Richard Strauß.

And many more.

In « The Mystery of Acoustics », an enthusiastic plea for the conservation of the concert-hall, Loos expressed his skepticism over the new science of architectural acoustics. It was a wide-spread belief, at the time, that the acoustic performance of a space could not be calculated or predicted, because music was not a technical discipline but rather an art form. At the turn of the 19th Century, physical acoustics were not integrated into architectural practice - if at all, acoustics were determined empirically. The idea that reverberation time could be calculated with a formula, based on dimensions and surfaces of a space, must have seemed to many a modern fashion rather than a law of nature :

« Until now, every new hall has had poor acoustics. Have our ears changed ? No, it is the material the hall is made from that has changed. For 40 years, the material has absorbed good music and has been impregnated with the sound of the Philharmonic and the voices of our singers. There are mysterious changes in molecular structure which, until now, have only been observed in the wood violins are made of. »

According to Loos, the building material and its tuning, over time, are essential to the acoustic performance of any

space - therefore, mere copies of the geometry of famous concert halls must be doomed to fail.

In Loos' reasoning, the high-quality of music to which those walls were exposed, over the course of time, was responsible for the outstanding acoustic performance. He believed that, like the wooden body of a string instrument, a concert-hall can never sound perfect from « Day 1 » ; the depth of the walls of a concert-hall « soak-up » (or « absorb ») the music being played and are « impregnated » by the singing voices, over time. He suggested « mysterious changes in molecular structure » that defied scientific explanations (until today) . In the case of Vienna's « Bösendorfer » Hall, music resounded on masonry walls under the heavily loaded floor slab of the library above, with no need of adjustments by sound absorbers. When Loos praised the acoustic performance from the depth of the bare walls, he over-looked the fact that the « Bösendorfer » Hall was said to perform at its best when 2/3's occupied, which equals the absorbing body surface of 400 people in the audience.

...

Up to its closing, in 1913, piano-maker Ludwig Bösendorfer also headed the 2nd most important concert-hall in Vienna, located in the « Palais Liechtenstein » 's former riding stables on « Herrengasse, 6-8 » , in the 1st District. The « Herrengasse » used to consist almost exclusively of noble palaces, though some were lost during the course of time. One of the Liechtenstein palaces, located at « Herrengasse 8 » , housed the famous « Bösendorfer-Konzertsaal » , a concert-hall established in 1872. The palace was ripped down and replaced by a modernistic high-rise building, in 1913.

« Bösendorfer » Hall, acclaimed for its good acoustics and with a seating capacity of just under 600 persons, was inaugurated on 19 November 1872 by one of the great pianists of his time, Hans von Bülow. All the top names in the concert world around the turn of the 19th Century performed in that hall. Over 4,500 concerts were performed.

The most brilliant names of the time are heard repeatedly in the « Bösendorfer-Saal » :

Eugène d'Albert, Wilhelm Backhaus, Béla Bartók, Johannes Brahms, Ferruccio Busoni, Teresa Carreño, Ernst von Dohnányi, Julius Epstein, Edvard Grieg, Alfred Grünfeld, Josef Hellmesberger Junior, Georg Hellmesberger, Wilhelm Kienzl, Fritz Kreisler, Frederic Lamond, Theodor Leschitzky, Franz Liszt, Ferdinand Löwe, Gustav Mahler, Sophie Menter, Felix Mottl, Ignaz Jan Paderewski, Hans Paumgartner, Max Reger, Peter Rosegger, Moritz Rosenthal, Anton Rubinstein, Arthur Rubinstein, Pablo de Sarasate, Emil von Sauer, Josef Schalk, Artur Schnabel, Richard Strauß, Bruno Walter, Richard Wagner, Felix von Weingartner, Hugo Wolf, Franz Zottmann. Also, the Brussels String Quartet and the Dohnanyi-Marteau-Hugo Beckner Trio.

The importance that the hall had throughout Ludwig Bösendorfer's lifetime was signified in the fact that he retained his position as head of « Bösendorfer » Hall after selling the family business to banker Carl Hutterstraße, in 1909 - Bösendorfer himself had no off-spring. The demolition of the complex, in 1913, due to construction activities was hard on him personally. The piano-building genius died a few years later, in May of 1919.

...

Ignaz Bösendorfer was born in Vienna, on 28 July 1796, just as the Archduchy of Austria, one of the most important states within the Holy Roman Empire, was undergoing dramatic changes. By this time, Vienna had already been established as the centre of the musical world influenced by the music of Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert all who lived during his lifetime.

Bösendorfer grew-up and prospered in a Vienna that remained the center of the Habsburg Monarchy and, later, the capital of the Austrian Empire. He was the son of a Master carpenter and, in time, he studied at the Academy of Fine-Arts, a school well-regarded for its education of painters, sculptors and architects. Ignaz gradually became respected for his musicality and technical competence and, as such in 1815, was sent to the work for the well-known piano builder Joseph Brodmann (born in 1763 ; died on 13 May 1848) .

Brodmann began his career in the carpentry trade then, in 1783, came to Vienna to work as an apprentice of the well-known piano builder Frederick Hoffmann. So, Ignaz would represent, at least, a 3rd generation of experienced craftsmen making pianos and organs. Working for the Brodmann company, since age 19, he learned about the trade and about it's business aspects. After more than a dozen years working there, with 500 « Gulden » , Ignaz acquired Brodmann's workshops and the « Bösendorfer » piano company was established on 25 July 1828.

Under Ignaz leadership, the company developed many innovations that put the « Bösendorfer » name on the world map of musical instruments makers and, later, on the fore-front of piano technology.

Ignaz became acquainted with an even larger circle of world-class pianists and conductors including Anton Bruckner, Johann Strauß, Richard Strauß, Arnold Schönberg, and Gustav Mahler. But it was composer and pianist Ferruccio Busoni who suggested Bösendorfer to develop what would become the « Imperial Bösendorfer » piano.

Pianists who came to reply on his pianos included Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Franz Liszt, Anton Rubinstein and Hans von Bülow.

Bösendorfer became a benefactor of new and coming talent, and pianists become friends and customers of Bösendorfer. By the mid- 1800's, the company had outgrown its original location and construction of a new facility in Vienna commenced. But Ignaz would not live to see it completed as he died on 14 April 1859, in Vienna.

...

The firm « Bösendorfer » was founded, in 1828, by Ignaz Bösendorfer (1796-1859) . Franz Liszt's approval of its instruments brought it international fame and, in 1830, the firm was granted the title « Kaiserlicher und Königlicher Hof- und Kammerklavierverfertiger » (Imperial and Royal Court and Chamber Piano Manufacturer) . Ignaz's son, Ludwig Bösendorfer (1835-1919) , took-over the business in 1859, bringing the company to its highest point of achievement with the distinctive Viennese action of its (largely grand) pianos, and resisting the mass-production methods of other manufacturers.

...

Ignaz son, Ludwig Bösendorfer, was born on 28 July 1835, in Vienna. Ludwig came to work for his father after studying from 1850 to 1852 at the Imperial-Royal Polytechnic Institute (now, the « Wiener Polytechnischen Institut ») , one of the major Universities in Vienna. After the death of his father, in 1859, Ludwig headed the operations just as the new Schottentor factory came on line. Notable improvements to piano technology continued to be developed including, in 1859, the design of improved piano action mechanism that permitted a higher speed of the hammer head. Bösendorfer introduced the cast iron frame and overstrung scale (cross-stringing) that contribute significantly to the brilliant and, yet, supple « Bösendorfer » sound. By 1866, Ludwig was earning the formal appreciation of the monarchy with titles including « Supplier of the Court » (« Hoflieferantentitel ») . The « Bösendorfer » pianos earned high acclaim at World Fairs and, soon, the Russian Tsar and the Japanese Emperor Meiji owned « Bösendorfer » pianos.

...

In 1860, the firm moved to its new factory on the « Türkenstraße » , in the 9th district of Vienna (« Alsergrund ») , which had a concert-hall attached. But the « Bösendorfer » piano factory soon became too small.

In 1870, the business is moved again. The manufacturing side is relocated in a new factory building (which is still being used today) on « Graf-Starhemberg-Gasse 14 » , in Vienna's 4th District (« Wieden » , 1040 Wien) .

The retail side (office and showrooms) are moved to the center of the city, in the 1st district (« Innere Stadt ») , at the « Palais Liechtenstein » on « Herrengasse 6 » .

...

In 1870, Bösendorfer expanded to even larger production facilities that remain as current headquarters at « Graf-Starhemberg-Gasse, 14 » , in Vienna. In 1872, a concert by Hans von Bülow inaugurated the original « Bösendorfer » Hall, a concert-hall that became famous for its excellent acoustics that would be visited by many famous artists until it was demolished, in 1913.

...

Because he loves horses, Ludwig Bösendorfer (patron of the arts and one of the most colorful and original of Viennese personalities at the time) often visits the riding-school of Prince Liechtenstein where he notices that the walls of the academy have remarkable acoustics. This awareness, together with his profound musical interests, motivates him to persuade Prince Liechtenstein that in the interests of music and the arts the riding-school should and could become a concert-hall. Through personal interviews, Bösendorfer succeeds in overcoming the Prince's basic objections.

In 1872, the conversion into a concert-hall is accomplished. Hans von Bülow has the honour of inaugurating the « Bösendorfer-Saal » with a piano recital, on November 19, 1872.

In 1889, the 1st winner of the « Bösendorfer » Piano Competition was awarded a premium piano, a traditional competition that continues to this day !

As foreseen by Ludwig, the excellent acoustics of the « Bösendorfer » Hall creates immense excitement. It will be Vienna's most highly-prized halls for solo recitals and chamber music, until its demolition in 1913, to make way for a larger building project. During this time, more than 4,500 concerts take place.

Ludwig Bösendorfer, along with his concert grands, travels with Franz Liszt and Anton Rubinstein, on many of their tours. During the long train rides, the 3 often play cards. Once, Bösendorfer cannot accompany them because he is ill and confined to bed. Using the ace-of-hearts as a postcard, Liszt and Rubinstein send get-well wishes. His request for a private railway car, with music and sleeping rooms for travelling artists, is refused by the directors of Austrian State Railroad.

1869 : The Conservatory of the Society of Friends of Music moves to new quarters in Vienna, and Bösendorfer presents 14 new grand pianos to the school. Also, every year, the most talented graduate of the piano-class is given a new grand piano, free ! In the form of a competition that takes place every 2 years, this tradition lives on today.

During these years, Ludwig Bösendorfer is known as one of the most colorful and original of Viennese personalities. He is a true promoter of Viennese musical life. All Vienna knows him with his inimitable top-hat. The caricaturists like him very much !

Ludwig Bösendorfer is not only one of the most respected citizens of Vienna, but also an extremely popular figure. His leisure hours are devoted to horses and coach-driving in the « Prater » but, on the « Praterstern » , he regularly leaves his coach and drives with a cab to the office :

« It is not proper for a piano-maker to drive in a coach about the city like a cavalier ! »

The « Bösendorfer » piano gains the respect of every artists on the continent. Custom made instruments are manufactured for the Court of the Emperor Franz-Josef I, the Imperial Country Residence at Bad Ischl, for the Empress Elisabeth, and for many Austrian archduchesses and archdukes ; for the Empress Eugénie of France, the Emperor of Japan, the Tsar of Russia, and other prominent personalities.

For the time being, Vienna's musical world is divided. The « Traditionalists » , who are against Richard Wagner, oppose the « New-Germans » (who are pro-Wagner) . Anton Bruckner and Johannes Brahms, who adopted Vienna as their home, become involved in the argument, and they stand in opposite camps.

The 1st important performances of Bruckner's Symphonic works took place in the Viennese Academic Wagner Society (« Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein ») , co-founded in 1873 by Guido Adler.

In their so-called « Internal Evenings » and weekly meetings, Bruckner's Symphonies are performed in arrangements for piano (2 or 4 hands) mostly in the « Bösendorfer-Saal » . The pianists, in charge at these events, were :

Hans Paumgartner, Felix Mottl, Josef Schalk, Franz Zottmann, and Ferdinand Löwe.

1909 : Ludwig Bösendorfer, who has no direct descendents, is looking for a successor to take-over the firm. He sells the business to his friend Carl Hutterstraßer who continues on in the same spirit. During the years 1913-1914, just before World War I, production reaches a new high. 434 instruments leave the factory. In 1913, the firm is struck a heavy blow. The « Bösendorfer-Saal » must be torn down to make way for a large project. In farewell concerts, the Viennese public takes sad leave of the popular concert-hall. All attempts to retain it failed and, on October 5, 1912, the last concert season opens, featuring d'Albert, Backhaus, Busoni, the Brussels String Quartet, Dohnanyi-Marteau-Hugo Beckner Trio, Grünfeld, Lamond, von Sauer, and many other notable artists. On May 2, 1913, the Rosé-Quartet performs Beethoven's String Quartet in F Major ; Schubert's String Quintet in C Major ; and Michael Haydn's « Variations on the National Anthem » . As the last tones die, the public withdraws in silence and the doors of « Bösendorfer Hall » are closed forever.

« In my own day, we acted no more rationally when the so-called “ Bösendorfer-Saal ” was torn down. In itself, that little concert-hall, which was reserved exclusively for chamber music, was a modest building, not suggesting any great artistic distinction. It had been Prince Liechtenstein's riding-school, and was adapted for musical purposes only by the addition of interior boarding, without any ostentation. But it had the resonance of an old violin, and it was a sacred place to music-lovers because Chopin and Brahms, Liszt and Rubinstein had given recitals there, and many of the famous quartets had 1st performed in this hall. And now, it was to make way for a new purpose-built concert-hall ; such a thing was beyond the understanding of those of us who had spent many memorable hours there. When the last bars of Beethoven died away, played better than ever by the Rosé Quartet, none of the audience left their seats. We shouted and applauded, some of the women were sobbing with emotion, no one was willing to admit that this was goodbye. The lights in the hall were extinguished to clear us out of the place. Still none of the four or five hundred people present left their seats. We stayed for half-an-hour, an hour, as if our presence could save the sacred hall by force. »

(Stefan Zweig, « The World of Yesterday »)

The firm acquires new offices in the « Musikverein » Building, in the heart of Vienna's music quarter.

The First World War takes its toll. Production sinks to 136 instruments during the 1st year of the War. The War and the destruction of his beloved concert-hall are too much for Ludwig Bösendorfer. He dies in 1919. In his will, Bösendorfer directs that his body was to be driven to cemetery on a simple piano-carriage and buried, in perfect silence, before the notice of his death is published. Only Carl Hutterstraßer, the vice-president of the « Society of Friends of Music » , Doctor Ernst Kraus, and Bösendorfer's personal attendants are to be present at the burial. There are to be no flowers, wreaths, announcements of death, funeral speeches. Even the gravestone has to bear nothing more than the name, « Ludwig » , and the year of his death. As heir to his property, he leaves a foundation entitled :

« Ludwig Bösendorfer Foundation of the Society of Friends of Music of Vienna »

The revenue from this is to enable the Society to « permanently and ideally support and promote music » .

Unfortunately, the subsequent destruction of the Austrian Crown makes this sensitive gesture ineffective.

...

Der Bösendorfersaal war ein von 1872 bis 1913 im Palais Liechtenstein (1. Bezirk, ehemals Herrengasse 6-8) bestehender Konzertsaal in Wien.

Ludwig Bösendorfer eröffnete 1872 durch die Umgestaltung der fürstlichen Reitschule den Konzertsaal im Palais und übernahm in der Folge auch dessen Leitung. Der eher schmucklose Saal bot 588 Personen Platz und wurde wegen seiner hervorragenden Akustik sehr geschätzt. Er galt zu seiner Zeit als einer der wichtigsten Konzertsäle von Wien. Das Eröffnungskonzert am 19. November 1872 wurde von Hans von Bülow bestritten, weitere berühmte hier auftretende Künstler waren und andere

Eugène d'Albert, Wilhelm Backhaus, Béla Bartók, Johannes Brahms, Ferruccio Busoni, Teresa Carreño, Ernst von Dohnányi, Julius Epstein, Edvard Grieg, Alfred Grünfeld, Josef Hellmesberger Junior, Georg Hellmesberger, Wilhelm Kienzl, Fritz Kreisler, Frederic Lamond, Theodor Leschitzky, Franz Liszt, Ferdinand Löwe, Gustav Mahler, Sophie Menter, Felix Mottl, Ignaz Jan Paderewski, Hans Paumgartner, Max Reger, Peter Rosegger, Moritz Rosenthal, Anton Rubinstein, Arthur Rubinstein, Pablo de Sarasate, Emil von Sauer, Josef Schalk, Artur Schnabel, Richard Strauß, Bruno Walter, Richard Wagner, Felix von Weingartner, Hugo Wolf, Franz Zottmann. Bis zur Schließung mit einem Konzert des Rosé-Quartetts am 9. November 1913 wurden hier etwa 4.500 Konzerte gegeben.

Das Palais wurde in der Folgezeit abgerissen, um den Baugrund kommerziell verwerten zu können. Das Areal blieb allerdings fast zwei Jahrzehnte unverbaut, erst ab 1931 wurde darauf das Hochhaus Herrengasse errichtet. Am Gebäude erinnert eine Gedenktafel an den ehemaligen Standort des Bösendorfersaales.

Stefan Zweig beschreibt in seinen Memoiren « Die Welt von Gestern » in bewegenden Worten das letzte Konzert und den emotionalen Abschied der Musikenthusiasten von « ihrem » Saal :

« Als die letzten Takte Beethovens verklangen, vom Roséquartett herrlicher als jemals gespielt, verließ keiner seinen Platz. Wir lärmten und applaudierten, einige Frauen schluchzten vor Erregung, niemand wollte es wahrhaben, daß es ein Abschied war. Man verlöschte im Saal die Lichter, um uns zu verjagen. Keiner von den vier- oder fünfhundert der Fanatiker wich von seinem Platz. »

(Stefan Zweig, « Die Welt von Gestern »)

...

Im selben Jahr wurden die Konzertsäle des Wiener Musikvereins fertiggestellt. Bösendorfer spendete der Gesellschaft

vierzehn seiner Flügel. Dafür wurde er zum Ehrenmitglied ernannt und später in die Direktion berufen. Die Straße vor dem Musikvereinsgebäude heißt heute Bösendorferstraße.

Seine Erzeugnisse zeigte Bösendorfer mit großem Erfolg auf mehreren Weltausstellungen. Er galt seither als bester Klavierfabrikant Österreichs. Er belieferte nicht nur den österreichischen Hof in Wien und die Residenz in Bad Ischl, sondern auch den russischen Zaren und den japanischen Meiji-Kaiserhof. 1871 bezog er eine größere Produktionsstätte und verlegte den Verkauf in das damalige Palais Liechtenstein an der Herrengasse, dessen Reitschule er in den 1872 mit einem Konzert von Hans von Bülow eingeweihten Bösendorfer Saal umwandelte. Der Bösendorfer Saal war für seine hervorragende Akustik bekannt, hier spielten zahlreiche bekannte Künstler auf Bösendorfer-Flügeln.

Obwohl er zweimal verheiratet war, hatte Ludwig Bösendorfer keine Nachkommen. 1909 verkaufte er das Unternehmen an einen seiner Freunde, den Bankier Karl Hutterstraße, der im Jahre 1910 den Kaiserlich und Königlich Hof- und Kammerlieferantentitel erhielt.

Der Abriss des Palais Liechtenstein und der Säle sowie der Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges belasteten die Gesundheit Bösendorfers. Er starb 1919 kurz nach Ende des Krieges. Ludwig Bösendorfer ruht in einem ehrenhalber gewidmeten Grab auf dem Wiener Zentralfriedhof (17B-I-10) .

In seinem Todesjahr 1919 wurde in Wien Innere Stadt (1. Bezirk) die Bösendorferstraße nach ihm benannt.

...

« Immer wieder ertappten wir uns nach dem Abbruch des Bösendorfer-Saales, daß wir in Gedanken durch den dunklen Torbogen gingen, über dem, von zwei bescheidenen Glühlampen erhellt, in kleinen Goldbuchstaben das Wort ‚Bösendorfer‘ zu lesen war. »

Die « Welt von gestern » , festgehalten von Max Graf, dem großen, noblen Connaisseur der Wiener Musik. In seinem Erinnerungsbuch « Jede Stunde war erfüllt » setzt Graf dem « alten Bösendorfer » ein Denkmal.

« Das alte Wiener Patriziat, dem Ludwig Bösendorfer angehört hat, war ein besonders feines und künstlerisch veranlagtes Geschlecht. Es brachte eigenartige Menschen hervor, wie den alten Bösendorfer, der vormittags in seiner Werkstatt stand, nachmittags, nach alter Kavaliersitte, in die Hauptallee kutscherte, abends in den Konzertsaal eilte, ein guter und kluger Mann - denn wahre Klugheit gibt es wohl ohne Güte nicht. »

Dieses Geschlecht ging 1914 unter. Der Abbruch des Bösendorfer-Saals war ein Fanal dafür.

...

Mit dem Aufstieg der Klavierproduktion und der großen Anzahl von in Wien ansässigen Klavierbauern entstanden auch zahlreiche Konzertsäle, sogenannt Klaviersalons (Bösendorfer, Haslinger, Schweighofer, Streicher) . Der 1872 eröffnete

Bösendorfersaal (Wien I, Herrngasse, in der ehemaligen Reitschule des Palais Liechtenstein) stand bis 1913 vor allem für Kammermusikproduktionen zur Verfügung und zeichnete sich durch eine außerordentliche Akustik aus.

...

Um 1443 kaufte Christoph von Liechtenstein auf dem Gebiet zwischen dem Michaelerplatz und der Wallnerstrasse ein Haus und vergrößerte dies bald durch weitere Zukäufe in der Nachbarschaft. Die Gebäude blieben in Liechtenstein'schem Besitz und wurden im 17. Jahrhundert abermals erweitert durch Zukäufe. Um 1792 wurde Josef Hardtmuth von Fürst Alois Liechtenstein beauftragt, den Gebäudekomplex zu einem einzigen Palast umzubauen. Es war ein spektakuläres Gebäude mit 17 Fensterachsen. Im Palais befand sich eine große Bibliothek, welche in ganz Wien als eine der beachtenswertesten galt. Eine weitere Besonderheit im Palais Liechtenstein war der Bösendorfer Saal, zu welchem der Klavierbauer Ludwig Bösendorfer um 1842 die Liechtenstein'sche Reitschule umbauen liess. Namhafte Komponisten gaben hier ihre Konzerte.

Im Jahre 1912 wurde der Palastkomplex abgerissen, und das Grundstück lag über 20 Jahre als klaffendes Loch im Stadtbild da. Erst in den 30er Jahren entstand darauf das Hochhaus an der Herrngasse, ein unattraktives Bauwerk, welches damals jedoch eine absolute Neuheit in Wien darstellte.

...

An der geplanten Baustelle des Hochhauses Herrngasse befand sich bis zu dessen Abriss 1913 ein Palais der Familie Liechtenstein, dessen angrenzende Reitschule 1872 in den berühmten Bösendorfer Konzertsaal umgebaut wurde (eine Plakette, angebracht an der Ecke des Hochhauses zur Fahngasse, erinnert noch heute daran) .

So kam es, daß die musikkaffinen und den alten Stadtkern liebenden Wiener skeptisch bis traurig waren, als der Liechtensteinsche Besitz am 10. April 1913 an ein Konsortium, bestehend aus der Österreichischen Aktiengesellschaft für Bauunternehmungen und der Österreichischen Credit-Anstalt für Handel und Gewerbe, verkauft und erste Pläne über die Errichtung eines modernen, luxuriösen Hotels öffentlich wurden.

Besonders schwer fiel den Wienern der Abschied vom erwähnten Bösendorfer Konzertsaal, welcher wegen seiner berühmten Akustik in den wenigen Jahrzehnten seines Bestehens zu einem der musikalischen Zentren Wiens wurde. Das letzte Konzert fand am 2. Mai 1913 statt und wurde von dem Schriftsteller Stefan Zweig in seinem Erinnerungswerk « Die Welt von Gestern » ausführlich und wehmutsvoll beschrieben :

« Als die letzten Takte Beethovens verklangen, vom Rosé-Quartett herrlicher als jemals gespielt, verließ keiner seinen Platz. Wir lärmten und applaudierten, einige Frauen schluchzten vor Erregung, niemand wollte es wahrhaben, daß es ein Abschied war. Man verlöschte im Saal die Lichter, um uns zu verjagen. Keiner von den vier- oder fünfhundert der Fanatiker wich von seinem Platz. »

...

Ludwig Bösendorfer, am 10. April 1835 als Ignaz' älterer Sohn geboren, ausgebildet nicht nur im väterlichen Betrieb, sondern auch in der kommerziellen und technischen Abteilung des Kaiserlich-Königlich Polytechnischen Institutes, übernahm 1859 die Klavierfabrik.

1860 fand der Umzug statt. Im neuen Fabrikgebäude befand sich auch ein Konzertsaal für 200 Personen. Im gleichen Jahr erhielt Bösendorfer ein Patent für eine von ihm erfundene Klaviermechanik, 1862 stellte Bösendorfer seinen privilegierten « Patentflügel » in London aus und erhielt prompt eine Auszeichnung. 1867 gelang ihm bei der Weltausstellung in Paris allein schon aufgrund der prachtvollen äußeren Gestaltung seiner Flügel ein so großer Erfolg, daß sich Kaiserin Elisabeth, selbst Besitzerin eines eigens für sie geschaffenen Flügels im « Ringstraßenstil », entschloss, Kaiserin Eugenie einen von Theophil Hansen entworfenen Flügel zum Geschenk zu machen.

Die Pariser Weltausstellung brachte Bösendorfer Weltruf ein und das Unternehmen expandierte. Hongkong, Rio, Stockholm, Japan (der Tenno, der japanische Kaiser, erhielt von Österreich 1869 einen Bösendorfer - Flügel geschenkt, der sich bis heute im kaiserlichen Schloß in Tokyo befindet) waren die Verkaufsstationen und neuen Geschäftsbeziehungen.

Die alte Fabrik war wieder zu klein geworden. Im Jahr 1870 kaufte Bösendorfer das bereits bestehende Gebäude in der Graf-Starhembergasse 14 im vierten Bezirk Wiens. Das Büro und die Ausstellungsräume zogen in die Innenstadt Wiens, in das Palais Liechtenstein in der Herrengasse Nummer 6. In diesem Palais hatte auch Ludwig Bösendorfer seine Privatwohnung.

Weil er Pferde liebte, besuchte Ludwig Bösendorfer oft die Reitschule des Fürsten Liechtenstein, und er bemerkte, daß einer der Pferdeställe eine erstaunlich gute Akustik hatte. Dieses Bewusstsein zusammen mit seinen profunden musikalischen Fähigkeiten veranlassten ihn, den Fürsten zu überreden, den Stall der Musik und Kunst zu widmen und so wurde ein Konzertsaal daraus, der 1872 fertig gestellt wurde.

Hans von Bülow, Liszts Schwiegersohn, eröffnete den Bösendorfer-Saal am 19. November 1872 mit einem Konzert. Wie von Bösendorfer vorgesehen, erregte die hervorragende Akustik der Halle ungeheure Aufmerksamkeit und wurde für mehr als 40 Jahre der meist frequentierte Saal für Kammermusik in Wien. Während dieser Zeit fanden rund 4.000 Konzerte in der Halle statt.

Die Liste der Namen der Künstler, die dort auftraten, ist bis heute ein « Who is who » der Konzertwelt um die Jahrhundertwende : Franz Liszt, Pablo de Sarasate, Ferruccio Busoni, Ignacy Paderewski, Johannes Brahms, Max Reger, Richard Strauß, Gustav Mahler und viele andere bekannte Künstler. Leider wurde im Mai 1913 das ganze Palais Liechtenstein abgerissen, auch die Halle - und « toute Vienne » trauerte.

Während dieser Zeit reiste Ludwig Bösendorfer gemeinsam mit seinem Konzertflügel und begleitete viele Pianisten wie Franz Liszt und Anton Rubinstein auf ihren Tourneen. Sein Antrag für einen privaten Eisenbahnwaggon mit Musik- und Schlafräumen für Künstler, wurde von den Direktoren der kaiserlichen Staatsbahn zurückgewiesen.

Im Jahre 1869 ist das Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Wiener Musikfreunde in das berühmte Gebäude des jetzigen Musikvereins am Karlsplatz umgezogen. Bösendorfer spendete 14 neue Flügel an die Gesellschaft. Von diesem Zeitpunkt an wurde er ein lebenslanges Mitglied des Board of Directors der Gesellschaft, ein Grund dafür, daß im Jahr 1913 Ludwig Bösendorfer den so genannten Stadtsalon im Musikverein eröffnete. Im Jahre 1873, anlässlich der Weltausstellung in Wien, wurde Bösendorfer durch den Besuch des Kaisers Franz-Josef geehrt. Die jährliche Produktion seiner Klaviere erhöhte sich auf 288, was die absolute Spitze in dieser Zeit in Österreich darstellte. Im Jahr 1883 hat das Klavier Nummer 10.000 das Werk verlassen, zu den Kunden dieser Zeit zählten Kaiserin Elisabeth, Zar Nikolaus II. von Russland, die Erzherzöge Eugen und Rudolf, die Töchter des Kaisers Gisela und Valerie, Fürstin Pauline von Metternich, und und und.

In der Folge gehörte es zum Prestige der neureichen Bürgerschicht, die es sich leisten konnte, nach hochadeligem Vorbild einen Bösendorfer zu besitzen.

In diesen Jahren wurde Ludwig Bösendorfer als eine der buntesten und originellsten Persönlichkeiten des alten Wien berühmt. Er wurde zu einem wahren Promoter des Wiener Musiklebens. Alle Wiener kannten ihn, mit seinem unnachahmlichen Hut und seinem gelben Mantel. Er war nicht nur einer der angesehensten Bürger Wiens, sondern auch eine äußerst populäre Figur. Seine Klaviere gewannen mittlerweile den Respekt jedes Künstlers auf dem Kontinent. Zum Beispiel wünschte Johannes Brahms immer eines seiner Klaviere während seiner Sommer-Aufführungen in ganz Österreich, und Johann Strauß kaufte einen Bösendorfer für seine Wiener Wohnung in der Praterstraße, das man auch heute noch in seinem Museum bewundern kann. Gustav Mahler wurde von Bösendorfer während seiner Studienjahre in Wien mit einem kostenlosen Flügel unterstützt.

Obwohl zweimal verheiratet, hatte Bösendorfer keine Kinder. Seine Ehefrauen starben vor ihm und so beschloss er, die Fabrik im Jahre 1909 an seinen privaten Freund Carl Hutterstraßer zu verkaufen. Dieser war Bankier, kein Klavierbauer, sondern ein Mensch, der alles Notwendige wusste, um die Ideen von Ludwig Bösendorfer in den Bereichen Marketing fortzusetzen und die hohe Qualität der Instrumente aufrecht zu erhalten.

Der Ausbruch des ersten Weltkrieges, die Demolierung seines Saales, das ständige Alleinsein veranlassten Bösendorfer 1914, sein Testament zu schreiben, in dem er neben großzügigen Spenden an Künstler, Institutionen und seinem Personal, den gesamten Nachlaß der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde vermachte. Er bestimmte, ohne Pomp und Aufwand auf einem Klavierwagen zum Zentralfriedhof gefahren zu werden und seinen Tod bis zu seinem Begräbnis geheim zu halten.

Am 9. Mai 1919 war es dann soweit. Er wurde in aller Stille beigesetzt, mit Ausnahme der Familie Hutterstraßer und des Direktors der « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in Wien, Doktor Ernst Kraus, war niemand anwesend, auch gab es keine Blumen und Reden. Auf seinem Grabstein standen nur der Name Ludwig Bösendorfer und seine Jahreszahlen. Mit der Umbettung in ein Ehrengrab der Stadt Wien wurde diesem seinen letzten Wunsch dann nicht mehr Rechnung getragen.

...

Am 25. Juli 1828 erhielt Ignaz Bösendorfer (unter der Gewerbeverleihungsnummer 225 669) das Recht, sich in Wien als Bürger niederzulassen, als Klaviermachermeister tätig zu sein und Steuern zu zahlen.

Diese nüchterne Erlaubnis steht am Beginn einer großen und glanzvollen Geschichte eines Hauses, das nicht nur mit der musikalischen Entwicklung Wiens im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert aufs engste verbunden ist, sondern auch als einziger Klavierbaubetrieb ununterbrochen bis auf den heutigen Tag die Wiener Klavierbautradition hochhält, fortführt und weiterentwickelt.

Ignaz Bösendorfer, 1794 in Wien als Sohn eines Tischlermeisters geboren, verbrachte seine Lehrjahre in der Firma des damals sehr bekannten Klavierbauers Joseph Brodmann (1763-1848). Hier profilierte er sich rasch, bereits 1815 bekam er von der Wiener Akademie der Bildenden Künste den ersten Preis Ornamentalzeichnung verliehen. Dies ist umso bemerkenswerter, wenn man bedenkt, daß zur gleichen Zeit in Wien die großen Klavierbauer Nanette und Johann Andreas Streicher, Johann Schantz, Anton Walter, Conrad Graf und Michael Schweighofer wirkten, also große Konkurrenten von Joseph Brodmann.

Qualität setzt sich durch : 1828 übernahm Bösendorfer mit einem Startkapital von 500 Gulden den Betrieb, hinterließ Brodmann doch bei seinem Tod im Jahr 1848 125.000 Gulden. Klaviere waren zur Biedermeierzeit besonders als Hausmusikinstrumente gefragt, die Kaiserstadt Wien galt als eines der hervorragenden Zentren des europäischen Klavierbaues, und so wundert es nicht, daß zu Zeiten der beginnenden Selbstständigkeit Bösendorfers 387 Personen in Wien im Klavierbau beschäftigt waren.

Von anfänglich vier Instrumenten Jahresproduktion steigerte Bösendorfer bis etwa 1835 die Produktion bereits auf 200. Das nachweislich älteste Instrument aus dieser Anfangszeit ist die Opusnummer 4, ein Tafelklavier, das sich heute in der Sammlung Alter Musikinstrumente im Kunsthistorischen Museum zu Wien in der Hofburg befindet und in der Ausstellung zu sehen ist.

1839 war ein großes Jahr für die junge Klavierfabrik : Bösendorfers Klaviere erhielten die Goldmedaille der Industrieausstellung in Wien, Ignaz selbst wurde durch Dekret Kaiser Ferdinands I. « Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofklavierverfertiger » , ein Titel, der vorher noch keinem österreichischen Klavierbauer zuteil wurde.

Dieser Titel förderte das Geschäft : die Exporte Bösendorferscher Klaviere steigerten sich, Länder wie Deutschland, England, Italien, Russland, Brasilien und Ägypten, um nur einige zu nennen, waren Abnehmer des immer bekannter werdenden Produktes. Die Stückzahl der erzeugten Instrumente wuchs bis Ende 1850 auf mehr als 3.000.

1842 gelang Ignaz Bösendorfer auch der Durchbruch auf dem Konzertpodium : Anton Rubinstein spielte anlässlich einer Konzertreihe im alten Musikvereinsaal in den Wiener Tuchlauben sein erstes Konzert auf einem Stein-Flügel, der aber in der Presse schlechte Kritiken erhielt. Er wechselte dann auf ein Bösendorfer-Klavier, das in den Zeitungen höchste Lob ob seiner « Gleichmäßigkeit der Tonqualität und kräftigen Bass » errang. 1845 bekam Bösendorfer die zweite

Goldmedaille bei der Wiener Industrieausstellung, der Export wurde weiter verstärkt, und Ignaz Bösendorfer unternahm seine ersten Geschäftsreisen. Dazu kam, daß neben der niedrigen Preisgestaltung der Wiener Klavierbauer im allgemeinen im Verhältnis zu den ausländischen Firmen wie Érard, Pleyel oder Pape auch bereits (und das nicht nur bei Bösendorfer) sich die Sitte durchsetzte, in den Ausstellungsalons der Klavierfabriken Konzerte zu veranstalten, eine kluge Sache, die den Bekanntheitsgrad der Instrumente rasch erhöhte.

Außerdem darf nicht übersehen werden, daß eine persönliche Freundschaft Ignaz Bösendorfers Flügel sehr stark promovierte : 1838 hielt ein solches Instrument dank seiner massiven Bauweise dem für alle damaligen Klaviere zerstörerischen Virtuosenpiel des jungen Franz Liszt stand. Daraus entwickelte sich eine Freundschaft Liszts zum Hause Bösendorfer, die auch von Ludwig Bösendorfer, dem Sohn Ignaz' und eigentlichen Genie im Wiener Klavierbau, geschickt fortgeführt wurde.

1853 wurde Ignaz Bösendorfer in den Vorstand der Akademie der Tonkunst in Wien gewählt, 1857 begann er mit dem Neubau seiner Klavierfabrik nach neuesten industriellen Gesichtspunkten in Wien-Alsergrund, und 1858 erneuerte Kaiser Franz Joseph den Titel des « Kaiserlich-Königlich Hof-Kammer-Pianoforte-Verfertigers » . Doch Ignaz erlebte die Einweihung der neuen Fabrik nicht mehr, er starb 1859 und hinterließ ein beachtliches Vermögen von mehr als 145.000 Gulden.

Ludwig Bösendorfer, am 10. April 1835 als Ignaz' älterer Sohn geboren, ausgebildet nicht nur im väterlichen Betrieb, sondern auch in der kommerziellen und technischen Abteilung des Kaiserlich-Königlich Polytechnischen Institutes, übernahm ab diesem Zeitpunkt die Klavierfabrik. 1860 fand der Umzug statt. Im neuen Fabriksgebäude befand sich auch ein Konzertsaal für 200 Personen. Im gleichen Jahr erhielt Bösendorfer ein Patent für eine von ihm erfundene Klaviermechanik, 1862 stellte Bösendorfer seinen privilegierten « Patentflügel » in London aus und erhielt prompt eine Auszeichnung. 1867 gelang ihm bei der Weltausstellung in Paris allein schon aufgrund der prachtvollen äußeren Gestaltung seiner Flügel ein so großer Erfolg, daß sich Kaiserin Elisabeth, selbst Besitzerin eines eigens für sie geschaffenen Flügels im « Ringstraßenstil » , entschloss, Kaiserin Eugenie einen von Theophil Hansen entworfenen Flügel zum Geschenk zu machen. Die Pariser Weltausstellung brachte Bösendorfer Weltruf ein, schrieb doch die « Wiener Morgenpost » im September 1867 :

« Bösendorfers Ruf, bisher ein europäischer, ist nun zum Weltruf geworden, denn selbst die Amerikaner blicken mit Neid auf die Wiener Flügel Bösendorfers, deren Kraft eine siegreichere ist: die der Anmuth. »

Bösendorfer expandierte. Hongkong, Rio, Stockholm, Japan (der Tenno erhielt von Österreich 1869 einen Bösendorfer-Flügel geschenkt, der sich bis heute im kaiserlichen Schloß in Tokyo befindet) waren die Verkaufsstationen und neuen Geschäftsbeziehungen.

Doch auch in Österreich baute Bösendorfer seine Vorrangstellung aus : 1869 schenkte er der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, die ihr neues Haus mit dem Goldenen-Saal am Karlsplatz bezog, 14 Flügel, was ihm prompt die Direktions- und Ehrenmitgliedschaft dieser ehrwürdigen Institution einbrachte. Die alte Produktionsstätte wurde langsam zu klein, und 1870 zog die Klavierfabrik erneut um : im Gebäude Graf Starhembergasse 14 auf der Wieden fand

Bösendorfer einen geeigneten Platz zum Bau seiner Flügel. Dieser Gebäudekomplex aus dem 18. Jahrhundert, dessen frühere Bestimmung (ob Kloster oder Spital, Pferdestall oder Infirmerie) nicht mehr eruiert werden kann, ist bis heute Sitz der Geschäftsleitung, des Verkaufs, der Verwaltung, des technischen Services, des Bösendorfer-Saales, des Klaviersalons und der Studios des Hauses.

Die damaligen Verkaufsräume lagen allerdings in der Herrengasse 6, eine der ersten Adressen Wiens, und zwar im alten Palais Liechtenstein. In diesem Palais wohnte Bösendorfer auch selbst. 1872 bekam er die Genehmigung, in den ehemaligen Reitställen des Palais (Bösendorfer war ein großer Pferdefreund, seine Ausritte und Kutschenfahrten im Wiener Prater sind berühmt gewesen und wurden auch bildnerisch festgehalten) einen großen Konzertsaal zu eröffnen. Dieser alte Bösendorfer-Saal stellte neben dem Musikverein bis zum Abbruch des Palais Liechtenstein 1913 den besten Saal für Kammermusik dar. Die Liste der Namen der Künstler, die dort auftraten, ist bis heute ein « Who is who » der Konzertwelt um die Jahrhundertwende :

Hans von Bülow, Liszts Schwiegersohn, eröffnete den Saal am 19. November 1872. Es folgten in den nächsten 40 Jahren Klavierabende, Kammermusik- und Liederabende von Anton Rubinstein, Sophie Menter ; Pablo de Sarasate, Ferruccio Busoni, Franz Liszt, Theodor Leschitzky, Moritz Rosenthal, es las Peter Rosegger, Eugen d'Albert gab dort 1886 sein Wien-Debut, Fritz Kreisler, das Rosé-Quartett (dessen letzter Abend im zum Abbruch bestimmten Bösendorfer-Saal am 2. Mai 1913 unter dem Titel stand : « Muss es sein ? Es muß sein ! ») ; Ignaz Jan Paderewski, der ständiger Gast im Bösendorfer-Saal wurde, Hugo Wolf, Emil von Sauer, Gustav Mahler, Artur Schnabel, Ernst von Dohnanyi, Max Reger, Arthur Rubinstein, Wilhelm Kienzl, Richard Strauß, Wilhelm Backhaus - die Liste ließe sich endlos fortsetzen. Alle diese Künstler trugen natürlich den Ruhm der Bösendorferschen Klaviere in alle Welt.

Dazu kommt, daß Ludwig Bösendorfer eine rege Reisetätigkeit entwickelte, bei der er viele Künstler nicht nur persönlich begleitete, sondern ihnen auch seine Klaviere in fast alle großen Konzertsäle Europas lieferte. Daraus entwickelten sich natürlich Freundschaften, die ein Leben lang hielten und (über da normale Maß geschäftlicher Promotion hinaus) Verbindungen brachten, die Bösendorfer als Mensch in ein Licht rückten, das ihn nicht nur in Wien, sondern auch in allen Künstlerkreisen als großen Wohltäter und Kulturträger bekannt werden ließ. Sein Briefwechsel mit Franz Liszt ist berühmt, Brahms zählte zu seinen Freunden, Anton Bruckner und Johann Strauß bekamen Sonderpreise beim Klavierkauf, und Bösendorfer dachte ernstlich daran, einen Klaviersalonwagen bei der Eisenbahn für reisende Künstler mit Schlafstatt und Flügel bauen zu lassen. Auch existiert noch jene Herz-As-Karte, auf der die Skatspieler Franz Liszt und Anton Rubinstein dem erkrankten Bösendorfer von einer Konzertreise Grüße schrieben.

Bei der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873 wurde Bösendorfer die Ehre des Besuches Kaiser Franz-Josefs zuteil - mit einer Jahresproduktion von 288 Instrumenten erreichte das Unternehmen damals eine Spitzenposition. Bösendorfer-Flügel gingen mittlerweile in alle Welt, und die Wirtschaftskrise von 1873 konnte nur kurzfristig den steilen Aufstieg hemmen. Bereits 1882 stand Bösendorfer mit 322 verkauften Klavieren einsam an der Spitze aller Klavierbauer der Monarchie. Im Jahr 1883 wurde der 10.000. Bösendorfer fertig gestellt, und es lässt sich klar ablesen, wie begehrt die Instrumente waren, wenn man den Kundenkreis betrachtet, den Bösendorfer zu dieser Zeit belieferte : Kaiserin Elisabeth, Fürstin Pauline Metternich, die Erzherzoginnen Stephanie und Valerie, die allein vier Bösendorfer, Erzherzog Eugen, Katharina Schratt, Russlands Zar Nikolaus II. , der japanische Tenno, - in der Folge gehörte es zum Prestige der neureichen

Bürgerschicht, die es sich leisten konnte, aus Wien im Ringstraßenstil eine gewaltige Baustelle zu machen, nach hochadeligem Vorbild einen Bösendorfer zu besitzen.

In steter Sorge um die Qualität seiner Flügel verbesserte Bösendorfer in nicht zu unterschätzender Zusammenarbeit mit seinen Fabrikdirektoren Franz Berger und dessen Sohn Carl Georg die Mechanik, erhielt diverse Patente für das von ihm erfundene « Wiener System » und schuf auf Anregung des Komponisten Ferruccio Busoni um 1900 einen Konzertflügel mit vollen acht Oktaven und einer Länge von 290 centimeter. Dieses Modell ist bis heute das Flaggschiff der Firma und erlangte unter dem Namen « Imperial » Weltruhm. Der enorme Tonumfang dieses Instrumentes veranlasste Komponisten wie Busoni, Dohnanyi und Bartók, zu eigenen Werken, die nur auf dem Imperial zu authentischer Ausführung gelangen können.

So schaffte es Ludwig Bösendorfer, daß aus einem Familiennamen ein Markenname wurde, der eigentlich bis heute ein Synonym ist für den Wiener Klavierbau, egal, welche Zeitläufte und Besitzerwechsel die Firma traf.

Hochbetagt, kinderlos, « allein auf der Welt » , wie er zu sagen pflegte (er war zweimal verheiratet und überlebte beide Ehefrauen) sah sich Kommerzialrat Bösendorfer nach einem Käufer für seine Klavierfabrik um. Er fand diesen in seinem alten Freund und Bankier Carl Hutterstraßer, der im März 1909 das Unternehmen übernahm, Bösendorfer aber bat, ihm seinen « Rat und wertvolle Unterstützung angedeihen zu lassen » . Auch behielt Bösendorfer den Saal in der Herrengasse, der bis 1913 bestand.

Der Ausbruch des ersten Weltkrieges, die Demolierung seines Saales, das ständige Alleinsein veranlassten Bösendorfer 1914, sein Testament zu schreiben, in dem er neben großzügigen Spenden an Künstler, Institutionen und seinem Personal, den gesamten Nachlaß der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde vermachte. Er bestimmte, ohne Pomp und Aufwand auf einem Klavierwagen zum Zentralfriedhof gefahren zu werden und seinen Tod bis zu seinem Begräbnis geheim zu halten.

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Carl Hutterstraßer (1863-1942) übersiedelte nach Abbruch des Hauses Herrengasse 6 mit den Verkaufsräumen in den Musikverein, wo sich unter der Adresse Bösendorferstraße 12 der Stadtsalon der Firma bis auf den heutigen Tag befindet. Der erste Weltkrieg, das Ende der Monarchie, die Weltwirtschaftskrise brachten zwar Einbußen bei den Produktionszahlen, doch gelang es Carl Hutterstraßer immer wieder, neue Märkte zu erschließen und das Händlernetz zu vergrößern. 1922 entstand die große Londoner Vertretung bei Wigmores Pianos, 1927 gewann der Bösendorfer-Flügel den Grand Prix in Genf, und 1928 feierte das Unternehmen das hundertjährige Bestehen. 1931 wurde die Klavierfabrik Bösendorfer in eine Offene Handelsgesellschaft umgewandelt, die es den beiden Söhnen Carl Hutterstrassers, Alexander und Wolfgang gestattete, ins Geschäft als Mitgesellschafter einzusteigen.

Alexander und Wolfgang Hutterstraßer waren (im Gegensatz zu ihrem Vater) Klavierbauer, die ihr Handwerk sowohl in

der väterlichen Firma als auch im Ausland erlernten und vervollkommneten. Auch sie hatten wichtige Funktionen und Tätigkeiten im Wiener Musikleben inne, eine Tradition, die von Ignaz und Ludwig Bösendorfer übernommen wurde.

Le Palais Liechtenstein

The entailed residence of the Liechtenstein family, on « Herrengasse », a palace that had been erected during the Baroque age, was adapted and extended during the regime of Prince Alois I von Liechtenstein (1759-1805) by the architects Joseph Meißl the Elder (1730-1790) and his nephew Joseph Hardtmuth, in the early classicistic style between 1788 and 1792. Besides the library, as one of the jewels of its interior, the palace also contained the administrative offices of the princely estates and, from 1846, a casino for the nobility. In 1872, at the instigation of Ludwig Bösendorfer, the former riding-school was converted into a concert-hall known as the « Bösendorfer » Hall whose outstanding acoustics were highly-prized by world-famous pianists such as Franz Liszt, Arthur Rubinstein and Julius Epstein.

After the Liechtenstein City Palace, on « Bankgasse », was modernised in the mid- 19th Century, the princely family gradually lost interest in the palace, on « Herrengasse ». It was eventually sold, in 1913, and completely demolished 1 year later. Between 1931 and 1933, Vienna's 1st multi-storeyed building was erected on the site.

« Großer Ehrbar-Saal »

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The « Großer Ehrbar-Saal » concert-hall was built in 1867, in the heart of Vienna (4th District) , by the piano manufacturer Friedrich Ehrbar, in place of an old concert-hall that had grown too small. It became one of the most important places for music recitals soon after its establishment. Its architect, Julius Schrittwieser, took his inspiration for the design of the hall from the style of the Italian High-Renaissance. It belonged to the manufacturer « Ehrbar » and played an important role in the Viennese concert life around the turn of the 19th Century. It had a long history of music events and concerts.

Some of the finest composers and musicians of the age have graced this stage repeatedly which include names such as :

Pietro Mascagni, Ignaz Brüll, Josef Hellmesberger, Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Max Reger, Bruno Walter, Leo Slezak, among others.

On 17 February 1901, Gustav Mahler created the cantata « Das klagende Lied » in the « Großer Ehrbar-Saal » .

On 14 January 1910, Arnold Schœnberg premiered the 1st section of « Gurre-Lieder » along with other of his compositions.

Concert series by well-known musicians also took place, such as « Musik der Gegenwart » founded by Paul Amadeus Pisk, Friedrich Wildgans, Marcel Rubin and Ernst Bachrich.

Concerts by the eminent musicians Joseph Joachim and Anton Rubinstein were offered before the First World War. During the War, the concert-hall fell into disrepair and was even used as a make-shift hospital.

After being damaged in World War II, the hall was reconstructed to its old historic appearance and opened for the public, on 30 October 1946, with a festive gala concert with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra under conductor Rudolf Moralt.

Over the past, the hall regained momentum as a prime events venue after many reconstructions and repair works.

The concert-hall gained full regularity in the year 2005 and, since then, has hosted many concerts and stage performances by leading Austrian as well as international artists and musicians. The « Ehrbar-Saal » is rich in history and unforgettable concerts.

...

Friedrich Ehrbar was born on 26th April 1827 in Hildesheim, Germany, and died on 23rd February 1905 in Hart bei Gloggnitz, Lower-Austria. On his way towards becoming one of the most significant piano manufacturers, he went to Vienna, in 1848, and worked in the workshop of the piano-maker Eduard Seuffert. After the latter's death, in 1855, Friedrich married Seuffert's widow and took-over the business. He, then, led this important family tradition of piano and organ-making under his own name and handed the directorship over to his son, Friedrich Ehrbar, Junior, in 1898. Under both his and Seuffert's leadership, the piano firm became one of the best-known in the world, in which a certain Heinrich Steinweg (Henry Steinway) also worked as a trainee and later became world famous.

Eduard Seuffert's son, Martin, created the upright-standing hammer piano, which acquired the fetching title « giraffe grand » due to its curious outer appearance, amongst other inventions. Friedrich Ehrbar, meanwhile, was the 1st Austrian piano-maker to use the cast-iron frame.

In 1876, the « Großer Ehrbar-Saal » concert-hall was constructed, on « Mühlgasse 30 », by the piano manufacturer Friedrich Erhbar in order to replace an auditorium for music which had become too old and small for its purpose. The architect, Julius Schrittwieser, was guided by the architectural style of the Italian High-Renaissance. This performance venue, in the heart of « Wieden » (4th District), quickly became a musical hub of the city of Vienna with its ideal acoustic. Alongside the Great Hall of the « Musikverein », this hall was the only other in Vienna which was exclusively dedicated to concert performance, since the « Brahms Hall » of the « Musikverein » was originally intended for

tuition purposes. The building acquired its present-day form when the gallery was added, in 1911.

...

The Prayner Conservatory for Music and Dramatic Arts, one of the most historically significant conservatories in Vienna, was founded as a music school, in 1905, by the music teacher Eugenie Patonay. In 1911 the institute was relocated to today's premises within « Mühlgasse, 28-30 » in the 4th District. This location, which had formerly housed the « Ehrbar » piano company, was the property of Kurt Steinitz. A lively starting period followed with a large intake of students, who soon became outstanding graduates of the Lutwak-Patonay Conservatory.

Kurt Steinitz was the proprietor of « Mühlgasse, 28-30 » , until 1938. When Austria was annexed by the German « Reich » that same year, Kurt Steinitz fled to South America and the premises were then « Aryanised » by Stefan Lehner, a trusted lawyer to the « Gestapo » . As of 1939, the Conservatory lodged within the premises was also « Aryanised » by Professors Karl and Margarethe Prayner, a wedded couple on the governing council.

The teaching rooms of the Conservatory, including the famous former concert-hall of the « Ehrbar » piano firm which had played a vital role in the Viennese concert culture, at the turn of the 19th Century, functioned as store-rooms during the First and Second World Wars and, subsequently, served as a factory location and warehouse. After World War II, the premises of the Conservatory were restored to their original form. The nondescript whitewashing was removed and the historically valuable gilts were revealed, once more. In November 1946, the « Großer Ehrbar-Saal » was re-opened with a celebratory concert by the Vienna Philharmonic under the conductorship of Rudolf Moralt. From that point on, the concert-hall and its adjoining premises could, once again, be used for their original tuition and performance purposes.

The « Aryanisation » was acknowledged by the Courts after 1945, and the restoration and financial compensation were carried-out by the Viennese Commission for Restitution.

...

Ehrbar Saal ist ein Juwel des 19. Jahrhunderts, das noch weitestgehend im Originalzustand erhalten ist.

Im Jahr 1876 ließ Friedrich Ehrbar in der Mühlgasse 30, im 4. Bezirk in Wien den Ehrbarsaal an der Stelle eines alten, zu klein gewordenen Saales im Palais Ehrbar, einem Gründerzeithaus mit reich verzierter Fassade, errichten. Architekt Julius Schrittwieser orientierte sich am Baustil der italienischen Hochrenaissance. Schnell wurde der akustisch ideale Aufführungsort im Herzen von Wieden zu einem musikalischen Zentrum der Stadt.

Der Ehrbar Saal wurde im Jahre 1876 von dem Klavierfabrikanten Friedrich Ehrbar in der Mühlgasse 30, 1040 Wien errichtet. Er war damals neben dem großen Musikvereinssaal (der Brahms Saal war ursprünglich als Unterrichtsraum konzipiert) der einzige ausschließlich Konzertzwecken gewidmete Saal in Wien. 1911 wurde die Galerie zugebaut und der Saal bekam seine heutige Form.

In diesem Konzertsaal konzertierten die verschiedensten Künstler und andere Pietro Mascagni, Ignaz Brüll, Josef Hellmesberger, Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Max Reger.

Gustav Mahler brachte im Ehrbarsaal Das klagende Lied zur Uraufführung.

Auch der erste Teil von Arnold Schoenbergs « Gurre-Liedern » fand hier am 14. Januar 1910 gemeinsam mit anderen Werken des Komponisten seine Uraufführung.

Der Saal war vor dem ersten Weltkrieg Ort von Konzerten so bedeutender Musiker wie Joseph Joachim und Anton Rubinstein.

1934 bis 1938 fanden hier die mit Marcel Rubin verbundenen « Konzerte Musik der Gegenwart » statt.

Während des Ersten Weltkrieges wurden die Ehrbarsäle als Vorratsräume benützt und dienten anschließend als Fabrikslokalitäten und Magazine. Im Jahre 1937 wurde der Saal notdürftig adaptiert und in bescheidenem Rahmen in den Wiener Konzertbetrieb eingegliedert. Im Zweiten Weltkrieg wurde er allerdings wieder als Magazin in Verwendung genommen. Direktor Prayner hat den Saal auf seine Kosten nun renovieren lassen. Die unscheinbaren Übertünchungen wurden entfernt und die alten Stuckvergoldungen wieder freigelegt.

Der berühmte ehemalige Konzertsaal der Klavierfirma Ehrbar in der Mühlgasse 28, der um die Jahrhundertwende im Wiener Konzertleben (ähnlich wie der seither verschwundene Bösendorfersaal) eine bedeutende Rolle spielte, ist jetzt in seiner alten Form wiederhergestellt worden und soll im 30. Oktober 1946 mit einem Festkonzert der Wiener Philharmoniker der Öffentlichkeit übergeben werden.

Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg und einer zwischenzeitlichen Umfunktionierung als Tischlerei beziehungsweise Lazarett wurde der 400-500 Personen fassende und in den Originalzustand rückversetzte Ehrbarsaal durch ein Konzert der Wiener Philharmoniker unter Rudolf Moralt wiedereröffnet.

Seit damals hat der Saal eine wechselvolle Geschichte durchgemacht: er diente während des ersten Weltkrieges als Lazarett und war Lager einer Tischlerei, bis er 30.10.1946 mit einem Konzert der Wiener Philharmoniker unter Rudolf Moralt feierlich wiedereröffnet und seiner ursprünglichen Bestimmung wieder übergeben wurde.

Heute wird der Ehrbarsaal vor allem durch Konzerte und Veranstaltungen des Prayner Konservatorium, aber auch häufig durch externe Veranstalter genutzt.

In den folgenden zwanzig Jahren fanden hier zahlreiche Konzerte statt. Dann jedoch geriet diese stimmungsvolle « Location » mehr und mehr aus dem Blickfeld der Öffentlichkeit.

In den letzten 30 Jahren wurde es um den Ehrbar-Saal jedoch etwas ruhiger.

Palais Ehrbar

4. Wiener Gemeindebezirk Wieden, Mühlgasse 28.

Über einer gequadrerten Sockelzone mit Rundbogenfenster erhebt sich eine reich mit Neorenaissance-motiven geschmückte Fassade. Ein flacher üppig verzierter Mittelrisalit wird seitlich von Pilastern mit korinthischen Kapitellen begrenzt. Über dem Rundbogenportal wird ein kreisbogenförmiger Balkon mit schönem Schmiedeeisengitter von Konsolen und einem Muschelmotiv getragen. Eine Widmungsinschriftentafel befindet sich unter dem durchgehenden Zahnschnittfries über dem ein von Greifen gehaltenes Wappen angebracht ist. Die Fenster haben abwechselnd Dreiecksgiebel oder Segmentbogengiebel mit stilisiertem Muscheldekorelement oder Putzrahmen mit Masken. Das Palais umfasst auch das angrenzende Eckhaus Nummer 30 und 30a das von Ferdinand Berehinak errichtet wurde. Die Fassade ist durch mehrere über drei Geschosse durchgehende Erker und Putzfelder gegliedert. Die abgefaste Hausecke ist mit einem Pyramidendach mit Helm und halbrunden Giebeln akzentuiert. Der zweigeschossige große Konzertsaal, auch unter dem Namen Ehrbar-Saal bekannt, wurde von Julius Schrittwieser 1877 errichtet und ist durch korinthische Riesepilaster und Kandelabersäulen gegliedert. Auf der Stirnseite zwischen Hermenpilaster befindet sich ein Portraitmedaillon von Kaiser Franz-Josef.

...

Décembre 1877 : Johannes Brahms meets the 36 year old Antonín Dvořák for the 1st time. From then on, he will be a strong supporter of his work.

Vienne était encore une ville obstinément anti-progressiste et anti-Wagner. Tout juste avant la première, un Bruckner frustré écrira à un ami Berlinois :

« Je ne présenterai plus une de mes œuvres à notre Philharmonique, cette dernière ayant rejeté mes offres à plusieurs reprises. » .

Les répétitions de la 3e Symphonie à Vienne étaient un prélude à la soirée fatidique elle-même. Bruckner n'avait jamais réussi à développer une relation amicale avec le « Wiener Philharmoniker », n'étant pas un véritable chef d'orchestre. Un plaisantin de la phalange avait même sarcastiquement surnommé la 2e Symphonie la « Pausen-Sinfonie » (Symphonie des silences) et ce au grand dam du compositeur. La partition fut finalement déclarée « injouable » par les musiciens. Malgré les échos favorables lors du concert du **1er octobre 1873**, l'offre de dédicace du Maître de Saint-Florian demeurera sans réponse.

Lorsqu'en **1875**, ce même Philharmonique aura sous les yeux la partition de la 3e Symphonie. Ils seront encore moins impressionnés par rapport à la précédente et resteront sur leur position durant les répétitions en la déclarant « injouable ». D'entrée de jeu, la dédicace assez pompeuse du « disciple » Bruckner envers le « Maître de Bayreuth » envenimera la situation.

La 3e Symphonie est la « Symphonie Wagner » de Bruckner, clairement présentée comme telle sur les pages de titre de toutes les partitions manuscrites du compositeur, qui a magnifiquement fait ressortir, de sa plus belle calligraphie, le nom de « Wagner » .

Un des amis du compositeur, Theodor Rättig, le propriétaire de la maison d'édition Bußjäger & Rättig, a assisté à la plupart des répétitions de la 3e (la 2e version, avec des coupures) .

Il écrit :

« Le spectacle était pitoyable et scandaleux. De voir les jeunes musiciens de l'Orchestre se moquer éperdument de la direction incertaine du vieil homme. Bruckner ne savait pas comment mener à bien son œuvre et il dut se borner à donner le tempo comme une vulgaire marionnette. »

Anton Bruckner ne deviendra jamais un chef d'orchestre exceptionnel. À vrai dire, il sera reconnu comme étant à peine compétent, voire médiocre (n'ayant pas ce don naturel de la direction) . Il y a un monde de différence entre la technique du chef d'orchestre et celle du chef de chœur. Le meilleur chef de chœur n'est pas nécessairement un bon chef d'orchestre. Bruckner était un bon chef de chœur, sans plus.

...

As the Symphony took shape for the 1st time, in real instrumental sound, the peals of laughter ringing-out from the Philharmonic players' desks struck Bruckner full in the face. When the composer stopped the music and tried to make himself understood to the Orchestra, witty remarks began to be muttered and the high-spirited antics escalated.

Une rumeur assez révélatrice circulait à Vienne à propos de ses qualités en tant que chef d'orchestre. Lors de la répétition d'une de ses Symphonies, Bruckner (soulevant la baguette) hésitait à donner le temps fort de la 1re mesure. Après avoir patienté quelques secondes, le 1er violon finit par lui demander de procéder. Ce à quoi, Bruckner répondit : « Je n'oserais jamais commencer avant vous. » . Sans pouvoir confirmer la véracité de l'anecdote, cela nous donne une image assez représentative de la personnalité du compositeur.

Le contexte de la soirée ne se prêtait pas du tout à une telle humiliation. La plupart des spectateurs ayant acheté leurs billets en prévision d'un « concert d'adieu » en hommage au directeur musical de l'Orchestre de la Cour, Josef Hellmesberger « sénior » .

C'est en grande partie grâce aux efforts de riches et puissants admirateurs de Bruckner (et l'intervention d'un influent Ministre) que le Philharmonique de Vienne dut se résigner à jouer la 3e Symphonie ; œuvre qu'il avait jugé « injouable » lors des répétitions. Le concert s'avérera être un désastre complet, principalement en raison de l'ambivalence, voire l'hostilité des musiciens. Il s'agira, sans doute, d'un des événements les plus tristes de l'histoire de la musique.

La 1^{re} exécution de la Symphonie n° 3 en ré mineur sera donnée à Vienne le **16 décembre 1877** par Bruckner, forcé de prendre la relève du défunt Herbeck. (Bruckner ne sera pas en mesure de maîtriser le niveau de difficulté technique de sa propre composition.) Le public avide ne lui était pas favorable au départ, suspicieux à l'idée que Richard Wagner avait approuvé l'œuvre au programme et que le compositeur lui vouait une admiration « sans borne », voire exagérée.

La partition qui sera utilisée le soir du concert représente en fait la 3^e révision de la Symphonie (qui sera publiée en 1878, sans toutefois incorporer l'Adagio de 1876) .

Il faut rappeler que lors du passage de Richard Wagner à Vienne, au **printemps de 1875** (qui attisera l'hostilité et l'acharnement de ses adversaires, avec Eduard Hanslick en tête) , le Maître avait dit à Bruckner, en l'embrassant, en arrivant à la gare : « Cette Symphonie doit être exécutée ! » . Puis, se tournant vers les gens rassemblés sur le quai, il ajouta :

« Voici Bruckner. C'est mon homme ! »

Ces remarques étaient plutôt inhabituel de la part de Wagner, dont le manque d'intérêt pour les œuvres de ses contemporains, même ceux de son ami intime Franz Liszt, était notoire. (Il est réaliste de penser que Bruckner était devenu son « faire-valoir » .) Cette éloge va alerter les autorités conservatrices qui redoubleront de cruauté grâce à des campagnes intensives de dénigrement. Beaucoup de rumeurs et de potins « typiquement viennois » sur cette nouvelle et intrigante Symphonie allaient circuler dans les cafés. Même les pro-Wagner n'étaient pas assez puissants pour éviter la catastrophe.

Richard Wagner aurait promis à Bruckner d'assurer la pérennité de ses œuvres en lui donnant sa bénédiction. Ce dernier écrira à un ami :

« Il a pris ma main et dit : Comptez sur moi, je vais exécuter vos Symphonies et le reste de vos œuvres. »

Le concert s'avérera long et pénible. Les détracteurs étaient en fort plus grand nombre que les supporters. La nouvelle salle de concert du « Musikverein » sur la « Karlsplatz » (inaugurée le 6 janvier 1870) avait commencé à se vider avant même que Bruckner ne prenne le relais de la seconde partie. Dès les 1^{res} mesures, le directeur du Conservatoire Josef Hellmesberger éclata de rire. Rapidement, un autre collègue fit de même. Là dessus, les étudiants se mirent à faire des singeries. Ensuite, le public se mit à rire et à siffler, exprimant leur désapprobation. Bientôt, des spectateurs se levèrent pour quitter abruptement la salle ; ce qui se reproduira après chacun des mouvements (au lieu des applaudissements nourris comme c'était la coutume au 19^e siècle) . Arrivé au Finale, on assiste au départ bruyant des supporters de Brahms suivi du public car c'était la coutume chez la « bourgeoisie » Libérale de favoriser Brahms au détriment de Bruckner. Les protestataires indignés avancèrent que la cause de la musique venait de recevoir une immense gifle de la part de ce Bruckner et ce dans la « métropole sacrée de la culture » .

...

The audience organized a « mass-exodus » during the Finale of the 3rd Symphony, which actually consisted of the noisy departure of the Brahmsians followed by the public, because it was fashionable for the Liberal « bourgeoisie » to favour Brahms against Bruckner.

« Ce fut un moment déchirant de voir Bruckner, à la fin du concert, récupérer sa musique, seul sur le podium. Les musiciens du Philharmonique ayant déguerpi dès les dernières mesures. »

On comptait à peine une dizaine de personnes au parterre qui continuaient à rire et à chahuter, criant : « da capo » et « bis ». Une poignée de fidèles élèves (environ 25) dont un Gustav Mahler âgé de 17 ans (et son condisciple Rudolf Krzyzanowski) se sont précipités en direction du Maître, en larmes et au cœur brisé, tentant en vain de lui remonter le moral avec des paroles consolatrices. « Laissez-moi seul, je veux quitter ce lieu. Les Viennois ne veulent pas entendre mes œuvres. » s'écria-t-il.

Un critique témoin de la scène parla de ce « petit groupe d'hardis aventuriers ». Au même moment, l'éditeur Theodor Rättig (un des rares qui soit resté) s'approcha (tel un ange venu du ciel) pour encenser la nouvelle pièce. Bruckner regarda avec incrédulité cet homme étrange qui osa afficher tant de courage à un moment aussi dramatique. Il se dit même prêt à risquer de la publier à ses propres frais (3,000 Florins ou « Gulden »). Selon le biographe August Göllerich, Bruckner recevra, en 1885, une somme de 150 Florins (« Gulden ») à titre de redevances.

Afin de lui rendre hommage en guise de consolation, Gustav Mahler et son confrère (étudiant et chambreur) Rudolf Krzyzanowski préparèrent un arrangement pour piano « 4 mains » de la 3e Symphonie qui sera publié l'année suivante. Cet arrangement est une réalisation de 1er plan, fidèle à la partition. Gustav Mahler se chargera de traduire (de manière efficace mais avec une certaine retenue) les 1er, 2e et 3e mouvements. Tandis que Rudolf Krzyzanowski réalisera la transcription du Finale ajoutant un peu plus de couleur et d'espièglerie.

Même s'il n'a jamais été (en pratique) un véritable élève d'Anton Bruckner, Gustav Mahler a entretenu avec l'homme une relation d'estime et de compréhension mutuelle. D'ailleurs, le jeune Mahler surnommait ce digne professeur et conférencier : « le Précurseur ! » .

Dans un 1er temps, le jeune Mahler réussit à persuader Bruckner de ne pas céder sous la pression de ses proches admirateurs qui lui conseillaient « d'adapter » sa 3e Symphonie aux exigences malicieuses du public.

...

Ainsi, Bruckner va lui offrir le manuscrit de sa 3e Symphonie. Il faut reconnaître que Mahler s'était trouvé lié, à 2 reprises au moins, au sort de celle-ci : lorsqu'un public moqueur (et rapidement déserteur) accueillit froidement la 3e Symphonie de Bruckner, le 16 décembre 1877, Gustav et d'autres étudiants (parmi lesquels Rudolf Krzyzanowski) allèrent quant à eux jusqu'à transcrire l'œuvre pour piano. De même, c'est Mahler qui réussit, dans un 1er temps, à

persuader Bruckner de ne pas céder sous la pression de ses collègues qui lui conseillaient « d'adapter » sa 3e Symphonie aux exigences malicieuses du public.

...

30 décembre 1877 : Hans Richter and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra give the world-premiere of Johannes Brahms's 2nd Symphony.

AB 77 : 1878

Janvier 1878 : « Neu Januar 1878 », on the title-page of the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony.

3 janvier 1878 : Anton Bruckner devient membre permanent de la « Hofkapelle » où il travaillait déjà en tant qu'organiste honoraire depuis 1868, c'est-à-dire sans aucune rémunération. Il recevra dorénavant un salaire annuel de 800 Florins (« Gulden ») .

Anton Bruckner révisé ses 3e, 4e et 5e Symphonies, en plus d'amorcer la composition du Quintette à cordes.

4 janvier 1878 : La 5e Symphonie est définitivement terminée.

WAB 57

13 janvier 1878 : **WAB 57** - « Abendzauber » (magie du soir) , cantate profane (82 mesures) en sol bémol majeur pour voix soliste (ténor ou baryton) , 3 voix de jodel (yodleurs) - ou 3 voix féminines distantes - , chœur d'hommes à 4 voix a cappella (TTBB) et quatuor de cors. Composée à Vienne sur le texte allemand « Der See träumt zwischen Felsen, es flüstert sanft der Hain » (Le lac est en train de rêver entre les rochers, il chuchote doucement au bosquet) de Heinrich von der Mattig (pseudonyme du médecin militaire de Salzbourg et poète amateur Heinrich Wallmann, 1827-1898) . La pièce est dédiée à son ami et mécène de Steyr, l'homme d'affaires Karl Almeroth.

« Abendzauber » has a number of points-in-common with « Das hohe Lied » . The text is another short poem by Heinrich von der Mattig, and the unusual scoring includes a humming choir. Bruckner completed this composition, shortly after the disastrous Viennese premiere of the 3rd Symphony.

Despite the performance problems created by the humming choir in « Das hohe Lied » , Bruckner apparently remained intrigued by this novel sound. In this, his 2nd work to incorporate a humming choir, he did, however, simplify the music. Throughout « Abendzauber » , the chorus hums long notes or simple moving passages until the final section, but the advanced harmonic usage still creates substantial difficulties for the singers.

According to Franz Xaver Bayer (another of Bruckner's Steyr friends) , the yodelling parts were intended for female voices and were modelled on the « Rhinemaidens » ' music of Richard Wagner's « Ring » . Anton Bruckner appears to

have chosen the key of G-flat major and frequent tranquil pedal points deliberately to suggest a Romantic moonlit seascape with the « magical sound of songs » drifting upwards.

Heinrich von der Mattig's poem is descriptive and atmospheric, and, unlike « Das hohe Lied » , is almost completely devoid of physical action.

...

To the best of our knowledge « Abendzauber » was never performed during Bruckner's lifetime, perhaps, because of the difficulty of coordinating the Alpine yodelers with the traditional male chorus. It was composed in Vienna, in 1878. Special vocal effects were not uncommon in the 19th Century male chorus literature, particularly in the nature songs. Nevertheless, the use of yodelers is somewhat of a curiosity.

...

The contact with Karl Almeroth was close enough for Bruckner to dedicate to him the romantically inspired male-voice « Abendzauber » , **WAB 57**, which was completed in 1878. The scoring is remarkable for the resulting tone colour : it is set for a solo tenor (or solo baritone) , 3 distant female voices (« yodler voices ») and 4 horns. This choir piece brings into play the « other » side of the composer of Symphonies and sacred music ; the side that links him to the contemporary scene of musical Societies and was responsible, in no small degree, for his popularity.

...

Dédiée à l'entrepreneur et mécène Karl Almeroth, un des bons amis de Bruckner à Steyr. Création à Vienne, le 18 mars 1911.

1^{re} édition : UE 2914, Viktor Keldorfer (1873-1959) , Universal-Edition, Vienne (1911) ; avec un avant-propos de Viktor Keldorfer.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXIII/2, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Angela Pachovsky - Anton Reinhaller, Vienne (2001) ; « Weltliche Chorwerke » , pages 125-134.

Bruckner est intervenu au niveau du texte de la 1^{re} partie du lied mais le chef de chœur autrichien Viktor Keldorfer (1873-1959) a dû réduire le niveau de difficulté que cela imposait aux chanteurs.

Der See träumt zwischen Felsen,
Es flüstert sanft der Hain.
Den Bergeshain beleuchtet
Des Mondes Silberschein.
Und aus dem Waldesdunkel

Hallt Nachtigallensang,
Und von dem See weh'n Lieder
Mit zauberhaftem Klang.
Ich saß am Seegestade,
Vertieft in süßen Traum ;
Da träumte ich zu schweben
Empor zum Himmelsraum.
Wer könnte je vergessen
Den wonnevollen Ort !
Noch tief im Herzen klingen
Die Zaubertöne fort.

...

The lake is dreaming between the cliffs,
Gently the grove whispers.

The mountain side is lit
By the silvery shine of the moon.

And from the darkness of the forest
Sounds the nightingale's song.

And from the lake songs drift over
With magic-like sound.

I was sitting at the shore of the lake
Absorbed in a sweet dream ;

When I dreamed I was floating
Up to the sphere of Heaven.

Who could ever forget this blissful place !
Deep in the heart.

The magic tones still sound.

15 janvier 1878 : In New Jersey, America, the phonograph is invented and patented by Thomas Edison, enabling actual sounds to be recorded. The 1st model uses a vertically vibrating needle to inscribe a groove in a sheet of tin foil wrapped around a cardboard cylinder. The design is very similar to that described the previous year by Charles Cros

but, apparently, Edison and Cros were unaware of each other's work.

18 janvier 1878 : Anton Bruckner begins to revise his 4th Symphony.

19 janvier 1878 : Anton Bruckner, âgé de 53 ans, est nommé musicien à part entière de l'Orchestre de la Chapelle Impériale (« Hofmusikkapelle ») de Vienne. Sa position d'organiste (« Hoforganist ») sera dorénavant rénumérée.

(Bruckner aura également l'occasion de diriger les petits-chanteurs de Vienne à la Chapelle Impériale.)

24 janvier 1878 : Vienna premiere of Richard Wagner's Opera, « Das Rheingold » .

30 janvier 1878 : Date at end of the Coda of the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony.

1 février 1878 : Officialisation de la nomination d'Anton Bruckner à la Chapelle Impériale (« Hofmusikkapelle ») de Vienne.

3 mars 1878 : Bulgaria becomes independent from the Ottoman Empire. Montenegro also becomes independent.

Début de 1878 : In Russia, the 37 year old Piotr Ilitch Tchaikovsky completes his Symphony No. 4.

In England, James Starley changes the indirect-drive transmission on his « Salvo » tricycle from one using treadles to one which uses a chain and sprockets, anticipating a major design change to the bicycle.

WAB 46

30 mars 1878 : **WAB 46** - « Tota pulchra es, Maria » (tu es toute belle, Marie) , antienne de l'Immaculée-Conception, dans le mode Phrygien, pour voix de ténor (ou baryton) , chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB, divisi) et orgue ad libitum. Livret : prière catholique datant du 4e siècle. Composé à Vienne pour la célébration du 25e anniversaire de Franz-Josef Rüdiger en tant qu'évêque de Linz. Création à la vieille cathédrale (« Alter Dom ») , le 4 juin 1878, sous la direction du chef Johann Baptist Burgstaller. La 1re version en concert sera donnée le 17 mars 1910 sous la direction du chef E. Thomas.

1re édition : J 1007 E, Emil Wetzler, édition Julius Engelmann, Vienne (1887) ; le 1er des 2 « Kirchenchöre » .

412, édition Julius Hainauer, Breslau (1900) .

« Geistliche Gesänge » II, n° 452, Willy Müller, Süddeutscher Musikverlag, édition Georg Darmstadt (1930) .

E. F. Schmid, Anton Böhm & Sohn, Augsburg / Vienne.

EE / EP 4185, Ernst Eulenburg, édition Peters (1939) , pages 9-12.

EP 6312, édition Peters ; le 2e des « Marian Compositions » .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXI/1, édition Hans Bauernfeind - Leopold Nowak (1984) (2001) , pages 107-112.

Le 4e des « Six Sacred Choruses » , Simon Halsey, édition Faber, Londres (1994) , pages 19-23.

Tota pulchra es, Maria,
Et macula originalis non est in te.
Tu gloria Jerusalem, tu laetitia Israel.
Tu honorificentia populi nostri.
Tu advocata peccatorum.
O Maria. Virgo prudentissima.
Mater clementissima. Ora pro nobis.
Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Jesum Christum.

...

Tu es toute belle, Marie, et la faute originelle n'est point en toi.
Ton vêtement est blanc comme neige, et ton visage pareil au soleil.
Tu es toute belle, Marie, et la faute originelle n'est point en toi.
Toi, la gloire de Jérusalem, toi la joie d'Israël, toi qui es l'honneur de notre peuple.
Tu es toute belle, Marie.

« Tota pulchra es » est une prière catholique dédiée à la Vierge Marie. C'est l'abrègement de la formule latine « Tota pulchra es, Maria » . Ce chant est très ancien. Il vient du XIVe siècle et son auteur est anonyme. On trouve les paroles « Tota pulchra es » dans le Cantique des cantiques : « Tu es toute belle, mon amie, et en toi il n'y a point de défaut. » (Ct 4:7) .

Gaspar van Weerbeke, Alexandre Agricola, Heinrich Isaac, Hans Judenkünig, Giovanni Antonio Rigatti, Adrian Willaert, Nicolas Gombert, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Anton Bruckner et Charles Gounod ont tous chanté ce vers.

Francesco Guerrero a composé une version personnelle. Maurice Duruflé, compositeur français, aimait spécialement faire jouer le « Tota pulchra es » .

La Congrégation des Servantes du Saint-Cœur de Marie, fondée en 1845, utilise le « Tota pulchra es » dans son sceau.

Printemps de 1878 : The 19 year old Hans Rott begins composing the 1st movement of his Symphony in E major, to be presented upon completion of his composition course with Franz Krenn, at the end of the school year. On **July 2**, Rott presents this movement at a composition competition, and is ridiculed by all, except Anton Bruckner. The main criticism is that the work sounds « too Wagnerian » . This will lead Rott to quote the main-theme of the Finale of Brahms's 1st Symphony in the last movement of his own Symphony.

Avril 1878 : The 17 year old Gustav Mahler completes the poem which will form the text of his Cantata, « Das Klagende Lied » (The Sorrowful Song) .

Juin à septembre 1878 : Duration of composition of the 1878 version of the 4th Symphony.

4 juin 1878 : A setting of « Tota pulchra es » for tenor, chorus, and organ by Anton Bruckner is performed for the 1st time, at the « Votivkapelle des neuen Doms » , in Linz.

Été 1878 : Gustav Mahler spends most of the summer vacation with his family, in Iglau (now, Jihlava, in the Czech Republic) ; and, part of it, with his friend Emil Freund, in Seelau (now, Želiv, in the Czech Republic) . He will continue to spend part of each summer in Seelau, until 1883.

Juillet 1878 : After his 18th birthday, Gustav Mahler wins a Conservatory prize for the Scherzo of a Piano Quintet (no longer in existence) .

Juillet 1878 : In America, 5 stock-holders buy Thomas Edison's tinfoil phonograph patent for \$ 10,000 and a guarantee of 20 % of future profits, creating the « Edison Speaking Phonograph Co. » , which leases-out demonstration rights for promotional purposes. Edison exhibits the machine and a few hundred are sold for use by traveling exhibitors. Many celebrities of the day record their voices, but the tin foil recordings are not durable enough to offer commercial recordings for sale.

12 juillet 1878 : Bruckner termine la composition de son Quintette à cordes (**WAB 112**) .

13 juillet 1878 : Serbia becomes fully-independent. Now cut-off from the rest of the Ottoman Empire, Bosnia-Herzegovina (capital : Sarajevo) is occupied as a colony by Austria - a step which angers Serb nationalists who had hoped that Serbia would annex Bosnia. Austria engages in large-scale development in Bosnia, determined to make it a showplace of the Empire.

18 juillet 1878 : Composition du graduel « Os Justi » (**WAB 30**) .

28 juillet 1878 : Composition du Inveni David n° I (**WAB 20**) .

1er août 1878 : Anton Bruckner begins to compose the « Volksfest » Finale of the 4th Symphony.

28 août 1878 : Création à Saint-Florian du « Os Justi » et du « Inveni David » sous la direction d'Ignaz P. Traumihler, assisté d'Anton Bruckner.

Août - Septembre 1878 : Bruckner commence à travailler sur la 6e Symphonie.

Le peintre autrichien Franz Antoine (1864-1935) fut un élève privé d'Anton Bruckner en **1878**. Formé à l'Académie des Beaux-arts de Vienne, il a surtout réalisé des scènes de genre, des thèmes marins ainsi que des motifs de botanique à partir de photographies. Son huile sur panneau, datant de 1910, intitulé « **La Statue de la Liberté** » (New York) l'a rendu célèbre.

22 août au 21-22 septembre 1878 : Hans Rott stays with his friends, the brothers Rudolf and Heinrich Krzyżanowski, in Eger (then, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire ; now, in Hungary) , and composes the 2nd movement of his Symphony in E major.

The 48 year old Hans von Bülow becomes « Hofkapellmeister » (Court conductor) in Hanover until 1880, when he is forced to leave after fighting with a tenor singing the « Knight of the Swan (“ Schwan ”) » role in Richard Wagner's Opera, « Lohengrin » ; Bülow had called him ... the « Knight of the Swine (“ Schwein ”) » .

Automne 1878 : Pression sur l'éditeur viennois Theodor Rättig pour publier la 2e version de la 3e Symphonie de Bruckner.

30 septembre 1878 : The 1st revision of the 4th Symphony is completed (1878 version) .

9 octobre 1878 : Anton Bruckner writes to the Berlin music-critic Wilhelm Tappert ; another unsuccessful attempt to recover score and parts from Benjamin Bilse.

Bruckner recommends both the 2nd and 3rd Symphonies for performance in Berlin. He also refers to the piano arrangements which are to be made of the 2 Symphonies.

Bruckner describes the revised version of his 4th Symphony and announces his intention of replacing the Scherzo with a new « Hunt » Scherzo.

Letter from Bruckner to Wilhelm Tappert, in Berlin :

« I now have re-worked the 4th “ Romantic ” Symphony (movements 1, 2, 4) in completely new, shorter form ; it will now achieve its effect. »

(« Ich habe jetzt die vierte romantische Sinfonie (1. , 2. , 4. Satz) ganz neu und kurz bearbeitet, die dann ihre Wirkung machen wird. »)

« Anton Bruckner, Briefe I : 1852-1886 », in : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke », Band XXIV/1, edited by Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider, Vienna (1998) ; page 179.

Octobre 1878 : Parmi les élèves de Bruckner au Conservatoire de Vienne durant ce semestre d'automne, citons ...

Julius Korngold ; Rudolf Dittrich ; E. Schalk ; Heinrich Peter Vergeiner ; Alfred Zamara ; Anton Meißner (qui deviendra son dernier secrétaire personnel et confident) ; Carl Bernhard Öhn ; Franz Brischar ; Franz Burgarth et Ernst Denhof.

Anton Meißner (1855-1932) , described by biographers August Göllerich and Max Auer as « a devoutly Catholic young man » , becomes a pupil of Anton Bruckner during the 1878-1879 academic year at the Vienna Conservatory.

Julius Korngold

Le pianiste, compositeur, librettiste, écrivain, avocat et critique musical autrichien de renom, le docteur Julius (Leopold) Korngold est né le 24 décembre 1860 dans la capitale Brno (Brünn) , en Moravie du Sud ; et est mort le 25 septembre 1945 à Los Angeles, en Californie.

Père ambitieux et très protecteur, Julius a eu 2 fils de son épouse Josefina (« née » Witrofski, 1874-1958) : le musicien Hans **Robert** (en l'honneur de Schumann) Korngold (1892-1965) ; et le pianiste, compositeur et chef d'orchestre Erich **Wolfgang** (en l'honneur de Mozart) Korngold (1897-1957) , avec qui il a publié des œuvres sous le pseudonyme de Paul Schott.

Fils de Simon et de Rosa Korngold, le jeune Julius grandit à Brno, la capitale de la Moravie, dans une famille modeste qui n'est pas particulièrement intéressé par la musique. À l'école secondaire (« Gymnasium ») , il trace sa propre voie par l'apprentissage de la musique et de la littérature. Son diplôme mentionne « excellent » dans toutes les matières, et « très bien » en « langue allemande » . Pianiste amateur de talent, il prend des leçons de piano et assiste à des Opéras, des Opérettes et des pièces de théâtre au « Deutsche Theater » local.

Compositeur frustré, Julius Korngold s'inscrit à temps partiel (citons, entre autres, la session d'automne 1878) au Conservatoire de la Société des Amis de la Musique de Vienne (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien ») . Il travaille la théorie musicale et l'harmonie auprès des professeurs Franz Krenn et Anton Bruckner ; il est aussi l'étudiant du directeur Josef Hellmesberger. Parmi ses confrères de classe, mentionnons Hugo Wolf et Franz Schalk.

La vie culturelle de la capitale autrichienne offre à Korngold la possibilité de fréquenter la « Hofoper » , le « Musikverein » et le « Burgtheater » .

Dans ses mémoires, Julius évoque les rencontres en privé à la brasserie, après les heures de classes, en compagnie de son Maître Bruckner qui a la fâcheuse habitude de s'embarquer dans l'un de ses monologues fleuve, au grand dam de l'élève. À une occasion, Korngold ose endosser l'instrumentation d'Antonín Dvořák. Ce à quoi Bruckner réplique :

« Peignez une paire de saucisses en vert ou en bleu, si vous le voulez - n'est-ce pas toujours une paire de saucisses ? »

Une version plus élégante de cette boutade, critique du timbre, est énoncée par Gustav Mahler en conversation avec son frère Otto :

« L'instrumentation de la “ Pathétique ” de Tchaïkovski n'est pas plus signifiante qu'une toupie rouge vif qui n'attire plus l'attention, une fois immobilisée. »

Korngold étudie le droit (et la philosophie) à l'Université de Vienne, de 1881 à 1887, tout en poursuivant, en parallèle, ses études musicales au Conservatoire. Il obtient son doctorat en droit en 1887, après avoir passé les examens du Ministère avec brio. Il amorce alors une carrière d'avocat à Brno. Mais il y passe la majeure partie de son temps comme critique musical et éditeur. Il collabore avec les différents journaux de la ville : le « Brünnner Morgenpost », le « Tagesboten für Mähren und Schlesien » et le « Brünnner Sonntagszeitung » .

Son essai faisant l'éloge de la musique de Johannes Brahms vient à l'attention de l'ami proche de ce dernier, Eduard Hanslick, l'influent critique musical du plus important journal viennois de langue allemande, le « Neue Freie Presse » . Julius Korngold devient, par conséquent, son « protégé » (et il va se lier d'amitié avec Brahms) . Dès 1901, la famille Korngold quitte Brno pour venir s'installer à Vienne (Theodor Herzl va alors prendre la relève dans la capitale de Moravie.)

D'abord assistant au directeur du « Neue Freie Presse » , il est responsable en 1902 de la section culturelle. Il succède à Hanslick, suite à son décès en 1904. Jusqu'en 1934, Korngold cumule la fonction de rédacteur musical.

À la fois conservateur (Brahmsien) et actuel (Wagnérien) , Julius Korngold est considéré le meilleur critique de Vienne au début du XXe siècle, à l'époque où cette ville est considérée comme la capitale de la musique Classique en Europe. Il se distingue notamment en défendant l'œuvre de Gustav Mahler, qui a de la peine à se faire reconnaître comme compositeur. Il fait aussi la promotion de Bruno Walter et de Richard Strauß.

De nature cosmopolitaine, Korngold visite, en 1900, l'Exposition universelle de Paris. Il pourra notamment y entendre « la Damoiselle élue » de Claude Debussy ; sa critique sera la Ire à paraître dans un journal de langue allemande. Cependant, il s'inquiète de l'évolution d'une certaine musique allemande. Il sera farouchement opposé à la nouvelle voie tracé par Arnold Schœnberg et ses disciples de la Seconde École de Vienne (Alban Berg, Anton Webern, etc.) .

Julius est le père du compositeur Erich Wolfgang Korngold et l'auteur du livret de l'Opéra composé par celui-ci : « Die tote Stadt » (la Ville morte) . Il l'a écrit sous le pseudonyme de Paul Schott.

Enfant prodige, Erich Wolfgang est pourvu de dons stupéfiants : à 5 ans, il joue à 4 mains avec son père, reçoit les Ires notions d'harmonie ; à 7, il compose des valse et de petites mélodies (1905-1907) . Présenté à Gustav Mahler dès 1906, celui-ci s'écrie, médusé : « Un génie, un génie ! » (aux dires d'Alma) . Dans l'impossibilité de le prendre

pour élève, étant lui-même prêt à partir aux États-Unis, Mahler le recommande à Alexander von Zemlinsky qui devient son professeur (1909-1911) .

À l'âge de 12 ans, le garçon compose un Trio avec piano et un ballet en 2 actes, « Der Schneemann » (Le bonhomme de neige) , qui est orchestré par son professeur Zemlinsky et créé à l'Opéra de Vienne, pour la fête de l'Empereur Franz-Josef, le 4 octobre 1910, sous la direction de Franz Schalk. Le succès est complet pour le prodige de 13 ans, et le public s'étonne de sa maturité et du raffinement musical dont il fait preuve. Même Richard Strauß, après avoir étudié les 3 œuvres publiées à titre privée par Julius, est stupéfait et l'écrit dans une lettre :

« Le 1er sentiment qui vous envahit est la peur et la crainte qu'un génie si précoce ne puisse se développer d'une manière aussi normale qu'on le souhaiterait sincèrement pour lui. Cette sûreté du style, cette Maîtrise de la forme, cette individualité de l'expression (particulièrement dans sa Sonate) , ces harmonies - tout cela a de quoi nous étonner. »

Julius Korngold soutient aussi la carrière de Bruno Walter et de Richard Strauß mais demeure farouchement hostile aux compositeurs de la Seconde École de Vienne (Arnold Schönberg, Alban Berg, Anton Webern) .

Les critiques persistantes de Julius Korngold contre le laxisme du directeur de l'Opéra d'État de Vienne, Richard Strauß, prennent rapidement une envergure nationale. Les absences répétées du célèbre compositeur et chef d'orchestre sont trop souvent à l'ordre du jour des réunions du conseil d'administration. Les activités de Strauß en tant que chef-invité vont mener à sa (1re) démission, en 1924. Ce qui nuit temporairement à la relation entre Strauß et Erich Wolfgang Korngold.

Suite à l' « Anschluß » de 1938, la famille Korngold émigre aux États-Unis, où le fils, Erich Wolfgang, s'est déjà installé dès 1936. Bien que Julius ait réussi à sauver un certain nombre de manuscrits, la grande majorité des esquisses et des manuscrits autographes de son fils furent laissés derrière.

1945 marque un important tournant dans la vie d'Erich Wolfgang Korngold. Son père Julius qui n'a jamais été à l'aise à Los Angeles et qui n'a jamais approuvé la décision de son fils de se concentrer exclusivement sur la composition de musique de film meurt, déçu et aigri, le 25 septembre à Hollywood, en Californie, des suites d'une longue maladie. Dès lors, les efforts infructueux d'Erich Wolfgang de remonter ses Opéras en Europe de même que de présenter ses nouvelles œuvres orchestrales au concert laissent un goût amer.

Depuis 1995, une rue dans le « Penzing » (le 14e arrondissement de Vienne) porte le nom de Julius Korngold : la « Korngoldgasse » .

...

Doctor Julius Leopold Korngold was a controversial figure - Jewish, a conservative figure (who abhorred atonalism and the whole Second Viennese School) , and possessor of an acid-tipped pen in a city rife with intellectual and political

ferment and rivalries and an undercurrent of anti-Semitism, Doctor Korngold made his share of enemies with his influence.

Occupation : Austrian music-critic at the « Neue Freie Presse » of Vienna (1902-1934) .

Birthdate : 24 December 1860.

Birthplace : Brno (Brünn) , South Moravia, Czech Republic.

Death : 25 September 1945, in Los Angeles, California.

Son of Simon Korngold and Rosa Korngold.

Husband of Josefine Korngold (« née » Witrofski, 1874-1958) .

Father of Hanns Robert Korngold and Erich Wolfgang Korngold.

Collaborated with his son Erich Wolfgang on the libretto of the Opera « Die tote Stadt » under joint pseudonym : « Paul Schott » .

The young Julius grew-up in Brno, the capital of Moravia, in a family who was not interested in music. In high-school (« Gymnasium ») , he found his own way in learning about music and literature. His diploma mentioned « excellent » in all fields, and « very well » in « German » . A talented amateur pianist, he took piano lessons and saw the early Operas, Operettas and Plays at the local « Deutsche Theater » .

A frustrated composer, Julius Korngold left Moravia to study part-time (starting with the autumn session of 1878) at the Conservatory of the Society of Friends of Music (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») with professors Franz Krenn and Anton Bruckner (in music theory and harmony) , but also with director Josef Hellmesberger. His fellow students included Hugo Wolf and Franz Schalk. The cultural life of the Austrian capital offered Korngold the chance to go to the « Hofoper » , the « Musikverein » and the « Burgtheater » .

Korngold's memoirs recall private meetings with Anton Bruckner in a beer hall after class, where the professor would carry forth a monologue, often to his student's dismay. When Korngold defended Antonín Dvořák's instrumentation, Bruckner proclaimed :

« Paint a pair of sausages green and blue if you like - isn't it still a pair of sausages ? »

(A more elegant version of this same bias against timbre is Gustav Mahler's comment, in a conversation with his brother, that Tchaïkovsky's instrumentation in the « Pathétique » is no more substantial than a coloured top that ceases to fascinate, once it is no longer spinning.)

From 1881 to 1887, Korngold studied at the Law Faculty of the Vienna University (where he also studied philosophy) . He received his doctorate in 1887, after passing the State examinations with flying colours.

A career in music was out of the question for Julius Korngold, whose family entertained intentions of a respectable livelihood for their son. Back in Brno, Julius started to practice law but, in compensation for his thwarted desires, he spent most of his time as music-critic for the « Brünnener Morgenpost » , the « Tagesboten für Mähren und Schlesien » and the « Brünnener Sonntagszeitung » .

As a young critic and admirer of Johannes Brahms, Korngold had attracted Eduard Hanslick's attention after defending a performance of the 4th Symphony in an essay. Korngold's sympathies are, yet, another example of the false dichotomy history has drawn between Wagnerians and Brahmsians. As a youth, Korngold met with friends, each week, to discuss and analyze Wagner, and his enthusiasm did not wane even as he discovered the music of Brahms.

Korngold befriended the critic and spent time with Brahms during a visit to Vienna. Hanslick was chief music-critic at the most important German-language newspaper « Neue Freie Presse » , and Julius became his « protégé » ; being named his assistant by the 1890's (succeeding Theodor Herzl) . Upon Hanslick's death, in 1904, he assumed his post. Now a noted music-critic, reviewer and front-page feuilletons writer, he was regarded as the top critic in Vienna in the early 20th Century, when that city was viewed as the centre of Classical music.

According to his memoirs, Julius Korngold's move to Vienna with his family, in 1901, was prompted by public ridicule after his critical review of an Opera singer. This allowed him to promote his son's career in that musical capital must have been equally enticing ; indeed, parallels were drawn between the young Erich Wolfgang Korngold (who became one of the leading Hollywood film score composers of his generation) and Mozart, promoted by his father.

Julius named both of his sons after favourite composers : the elder son, Hanns Robert, was named in Schumann's honour ; and Erich's middle-name, Wolfgang, was a tribute to Mozart. In Erich's case, this decision proved portentous. The child showed prodigious musical ability before the age of 6, when his sense of pitch and startling understanding of harmony compelled Julius to engage a relative for piano lessons. It soon became clear that Erich had extraordinary talent as a pianist, improvised brilliantly, and remembered everything he heard or played.

He is most notable for championing the works of Gustav Mahler at a time when many did not think much of him. He was the father of composer Erich Wolfgang Korngold, for whom he wrote (under the pseudonym : Paul Schott) the libretto of the Opera « Die tote Stadt » .

Cosmopolitan in taste, Korngold traveled to the Paris World Exposition of 1900 where he heard Claude Debussy's « la Damaiseille élue » , and he claimed to have been the 1st critic to review Debussy for a German-language newspaper. But he became suspicious of new developments in music. He promoted the careers of Gustav Mahler, Bruno Walter and Richard Strauß but firmly opposed, above all, Arnold Schönberg and the Second Viennese School (Alban Berg, Anton Webern ...) .

Julius Korngold's persistent criticism of the leadership of Richard Strauß as director of the Vienna State Opera became a nation-wide affair. The allegations of the music-critic of the « Neue Freie Presse » against the famous composer and conductor were too often the topic of discussion during the meetings of the board of administrators. The constant traveling of Strauß as guest-conductor contributed to his early resignation, in 1924. It damaged temporarily the relationship between Strauß and Erich Wolfgang Korngold.

One calling-card of 1902, from Julius Korngold to Heinrich Schenker, survived.

In 1906, Heinrich Schenker included Julius Korngold in the list of recipients of a complimentary copy of his « Harmonielehre » .

Being the son of the main music-critic in the most important city for Classical music, and also one of the greatest composing prodigies in music history, was another cute twist of fate for Erich Korngold. Julius Korngold didn't trust his potential bias at 1st and sought the opinion of 40 leading critics everywhere, except Vienna, to judge his 11 year old son's ballet piano score to « The Snowman » . The responses ranged from baffled enthusiasm to bewilderment. One critic in Budapest was so enthused, that he went public with his « finding » - and, before long (against the will of « Papa » Korngold) , « The Snowman » was given a big premiere in a gala performance honoring the Emperor Franz-Josef's Name-Day, on October 4th, 1910.

Julius and his wife, Josefine, had 2 sons. Erich Wolfgang Korngold, the 2nd son, was reportedly beating time with a spoon by the age of 3, and playing basic melodies at age 5. Hanslick himself had referred to him as the « little Mozart » , and the boy seemed to rise to the occasion by starting to compose at the age of 6. The elder Korngold brought his son, at age 8, to see Gustav Mahler, who, after pronouncing him a « genius » (in the words of Alma Mahler) , strongly encouraged the father to continue his son's training and recommended that he study with Alexander von Zemlinsky.

Born in 1897, in Brno, Erich Wolfgang Korngold spent his early years growing-up in Vienna where his father had become one of the leading music-critics of his day : taking-over from the legendary critic Eduard Hanslick at the « Neue Freie Presse » . Erich showed incredible musical precocity. Recognition of his incredible gifts came when father Julius took him to play his Cantata named « Gold » to Gustav Mahler at his apartment on « Auenbruggergasse » . Mahler was one of the greatest and most influential musicians of his day as Director of the Royal Opera in Vienna and an internationally celebrated conductor and composer. Julius Korngold described the meeting in his memoirs : a meeting that took place in June 1906 when Erich was 9 years old. Performing the entire piece from memory, Mahler avidly read the score :

« He began to pace hastily to and fro in the curious limping rhythm peculiar to him when he was excited. He kept exclaiming : “ A genius ! A genius ! ” - in ever more strident tones. The melodic structure, formative power and revolutionary sense of harmony had strongly impressed him. “ Send the boy to Zemlinsky ”, he advised me with mounting urgency. “ No Conservatory ! No drill ! He will learn everything he needs to know from Zemlinsky during

free give and take of creative instruction. ” »

Luigi Korngold (Erich Wolfgang Korngold, page 11) describes Erich Wolfgang attending the dress rehearsal of the new production of « The Magic Flute » with his father, in June 1900. Mahler, at the podium, made such an impression on him that, for the rest of his life, he remembered details of the rehearsal, including the tempos and the instructions Mahler gave the singers. In an article published in the « Österreichische Musikzeitschrift » , in 1967, on the occasion of Korngold's 70th birthday, Bruno Walter relates that he knew « only too well » the pianistic and compositional talents of the boy - living, as he did, in the same building as, and directly above, the Korngolds, he had had ample opportunity to hear Erich Wolfgang practise and play « for hours on end » .

In order to understand Erich Korngold's situation as a composer in Vienna, it is essential to have a grasp of just how dominant a figure his father Julius was. Chief music-critic for the « Neue Freie Presse » and successor to Eduard Hanslick, he commanded not just the most important position in Viennese music criticism, he was the arbiter of what was good and bad : in essence, he was the pope of musical taste. Not quite able to speak « ex-cathedra » , perhaps, his word carried weight, so much weight indeed, that his opinions could make artistic life in Vienna impossible for all those arousing his ire. In that sense, Julius Korngold not only shaped the musical life of Vienna but also of Berlin - to which all those who could not get a leg on the ground in hostile Vienna, duly fled.

It is one of the most beautiful ironies in music criticism that there were never before nor ever after Classical music-critics who prepared themselves more diligently for their reviews than Eduard Hanslick and Julius Korngold. Both were more than knowledgeable about music, music theory, and the work they were going to review. Whenever possible, every new work was played through - several times on the piano and painstakingly analyzed before being reviewed. Yet, despite this profundity and seriousness in preparation and self-perception, neither Hanslick or Korngold nor most of their erudite contemporaries were (amid much very perceptive criticism) able to overcome polemical and ideologically tainted attacks on what they thought « should not be » . Those of Hanslick's judgments that now seem ill-considered (Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto, Richard Wagner's music, etc.) are more famous than his ample insight. Julius Korngold loved everything that was in any way related to Gustav Mahler and, otherwise, more or less hated everything that Hanslick would not have liked either.

In 1912, Heinrich Schenker wrote of a campaign by the pianists Leopold Godowsky, Moriz Rosenthal, and Theodor Leschetitzky against Julius Korngold's criticisms, this campaign being related to the body that Schenker himself tried to set-up, the Organization of Creative and Performing Artists. Schenker once included him disparagingly among the « ranks of those noble hermeneuticists » (14 January 1918) . As a regular reader of the « Neue Freie Presse » , Schenker often commented in his diary and in correspondence, usually acidly, on Korngold's pronouncements. Hellmut Federhofer remarks that Schenker « was against music journalism. He knew some of its Viennese representatives, such as Max Graf and Robert Hirschfeld, personally, others, such as Julius Korngold, against whom he repeatedly expressed negative opinions, only from their newspaper articles and reviews. »

Korngold fled Austria, in 1938, at the time of the Nazi « Anschluß » , emigrating to the United States.

Julius Korngold and Gustav Mahler

It was therefore no surprise that Jews and former Jews were bound by circumstance to keep to their own clubs, « cafés » and circles. The limitations imposed by Viennese society were more than compensated for by their presence within the media : newspapers from across the political spectrum such as « Das neue Wiener Tagblatt » , « Die Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » and « Die Arbeiter Zeitung » were all Jewish-owned and run. But it was the powerful « Neue Freie Presse » that ultimately dominated. It represented a paper with balanced, objective and fair reportage that was produced, published and largely written by secular Jews and read by nearly everyone within the educated classes and the highest reaches of government. The « Neue Freie Presse » predictably became a target not only for anti-Semites but, also, for ultra-conservatives on the right and for Social-Democrats and Communists on the left. It was respectful of the monarchy, but unsentimental as soon as it was replaced by a Republic. During the years that Theodor Herzl was editor of its cultural pages, it never once allowed any coverage of Zionism. With Julius Korngold, its primary music-critic from 1904, it became Gustav Mahler's most important supporter and the voice of a younger, self-confident, Jewish musical « élite » .

The biographical parallels between Gustav Mahler and Julius Korngold are quite surprising : both were German-speaking Jewish Moravians born in 1860, in what is today part of the Czech Republic. Both grew-up in aspirational families where the father's income was earned from the sale of spirits. This allowed money and opportunities for the children that the parents were unable to enjoy. In his memoirs, Korngold mentions on more than one occasion the good fortune of growing-up during the years of Liberalism. Like Mahler, he spent time studying with Anton Bruckner while a student in Vienna, which brought him closer to understanding Richard Wagner. Korngold makes little direct reference to his own Jewish origins, but anecdotal accounts from his grandchildren Ernst and George (sons of the composer Erich Wolfgang Korngold) give the impression that though Jewish under Nazi racial law (and perceived as Jewish) , the Korngolds could hardly have been more secular. This was noticeably different from Mahler's family.

The Austrian musician and musicologist Michaël Haber in « Das Jüdische bei Gustav Mahler » offers a very clear picture of Mahler's religious background. We know that Mahler's great-grandfather Abraham Mahler (1720-1800) was a cantor who would have observed strict religious laws. Haber even offers circumstantial evidence suggesting that he may have been Hassidic. Abraham's grandson Bernard (Baruch) Mahler was Gustav's father. Though probably fully assimilated, as can be deduced from accounts and photographs of the time, there is reason to believe that Bernard was, by no means, secular. He and Gustav participated in Jewish holy services, and Bernard was even elected to the educational committee of the Jewish community - not something that would have been possible for a secular Jew in the relatively rural community of Iglau, in 1878. Bernard was also close to the local cantor who stood as godparent to Gustav's sister Justine. This historic background offers enough circumstantial evidence to suggest that Gustav probably celebrated his « Bar Mitzvah » in common with other boys from traditional Jewish families when he was 13. Preparation for that would have required intensive study of liturgical Hebrew and sacred texts.

There is nothing in Julius Korngold's memoirs to suggest that he enjoyed a similar religious upbringing, though the customs of the time may have dictated a minimal adherence. Such adherence would most likely have been a good deal less in the Moravian capital city of Brünn than in rural communities such as Iglau. Haber goes on to quote

correspondence between the young Mahler and his family indicating his consciousness as a Jew. As late as 1886, he writes to his sister Justine that she shouldn't worry about him taking a conducting post in Leipzig as even there « one could find synagogues ». Later, Gustav and his siblings would show considerable diligence at putting cultural space between their adult lives and their provincial, religious upbringing while nevertheless making casual references to « the holidays » which could only have been in reference to traditional Jewish Festivals. The Mahlers were obviously from the provinces, but they were not un-sophisticated and they certainly did not belong to one of the communities of bearded, kaftan-wearing Jews of Eastern Europe. Indeed, the pull to German culture probably motivated Bernard to move to German-speaking Iglau, in Moravia, from Czech-speaking Kalischt in Bohemia (where Gustav was born) , as soon as the « October Diploma » of 1860 lifted restrictions on the movements of Jews within these 2 provinces. Later, Alma Mahler makes it clear that her husband never tried to hide his Jewish origins - she was often irritated that he appeared to go-out of his way to draw attention to them.

Julius Korngold, on the other hand, moved seamlessly within the circles of law and journalism where religious confession played no role and he was beholden to no appointing aristocrat. Along with countless other prominent Jews of his generation, including Mahler, he saw no contradiction in being both a Moravian Jew and a German Nationalist, and his earliest articles and reviews were published in the Pan-German Czech paper, « Der treue Eckart ». Eduard Hanslick was alerted to Julius Korngold by Johannes Brahms, who had read a Korngold review in the Moravian press. Initial meetings led to a formal invitation to join the « Neue Freie Presse » from the cultural editor Theodor Herzl, in 1901.

This anti-feudal, capitalistic and secular-Liberal newspaper had been founded in 1848 as « Die Presse ». In 1861, Karl Marx was its London correspondent. In 1864, the editorial staff set-up a new paper that was purchased by Max Friedlander and Michaël Étienne and, henceforth, called : « Die Neue Freie Presse ». The paper benefited from the slow but steady trend of Liberalism that began by defining the separation of administrative powers and haltingly allowed a trickle of widening enfranchisement. One of the most important of these acts was the so-called « February Patent » of 1861, which replaced the « October Diploma » of 1860. Both reforms would come to fruition in the biggest victory of all championed by the paper : the December Constitution of 1867, which began the process of wider emancipation of Jews and brought about a more balanced exercise of powers between Emperor and Parliament. The paper suffered a loss of prestige with the role it played in the disastrous stock-market « Krach » of 1873 but, under the stewardship of Eduard Bacher and Moritz Benedikt (both of whom were also German-speaking Jews from Moravia) , it became the German-language equivalent of the « London Times » and one of the dominant newspapers in Europe. Benedikt eventually was able to buy-out Bacher, and his son Ernst took command of the paper in 1920. At the turn of the Century, it employed 80 to 100 foreign correspondents and the maxim of the day was that it was « impossible to rule the country against the will of the “ Neue Freie Presse ” ». The coup of an interview with Otto Bismarck, which appeared in the paper in 1892, elevated it beyond all other German-language media, and Benedikt was the only journalist the Emperor Franz-Josef would deign to meet.

The influence that the « Neue Freie Presse » and its editor wielded can be further inferred from the attacks by the brilliant Viennese satirist Karl Kraus. In his epic « tragedy in 5 Acts with prologue and epilogue » entitled « Die Letzten Tage der Menschheit », Kraus refers to Benedikt as « Lord of the Hyenas » and ruthlessly parodies both

Julius Korngold and his son, the prodigy Erich Wolfgang. In Kraus's periodical « Die Fackel » , he continuously attacked both paper and editor, once writing that, for Benedikt, « there was no wickedness that he would not represent for money and no value that out of idealism he would not betray » . Kraus's response to an offer made by the « Neue Freie Presse » to become one of its principal feuilletonists, in 1899, was printed in « Die Fackel » :

« There are 2 marvellous things in this world : either to be part of the “ Neue Freie Presse ”, or to loathe it. I never for a moment doubted which I would choose. »

The paper boasted a starry array of contributing politicians and essayists. David Lloyd George wrote an article for the paper, in 1914, arguing against armaments and, after 1918, he continued right through the 1920's , as a regular contributor. Winston Churchill is quoted in an article published by the paper, in 1913, also denouncing current armament policies and, incredibly, Churchill himself wrote an article published during the War, in October 1917. He was a frequent contributor until 1938. Julius Korngold, with his doctorate in law and as a fiercely secular Jew, was a perfect fit for the environment of « Die Neue Freie Presse » . He remained its principal writer on musical matters until Ernst Benedikt was forced to sell his shares, in 1934, to the Austro-Fascist government that had ruled Austria since March 1933. In 1938, after the « Anschluß » and owing to its largely Jewish staff, the Nazis had the paper closed down. By the time of Julius Korngold's departure, in 1934, he had long ceased to be the defender of Mahler's brand of Modernism and had been denounced by the President of the International Society of Contemporary Music, Edward Dent, as modern music's most « formidable enemy » ; a quote Korngold gleefully includes in his memoirs.

...

According to his memoirs, Julius Korngold's relationship with Gustav Mahler had been cordial ever since his « Neue Freie Presse » article following the Vienna premiere of the 5th Symphony, in December 1905. The open-minded or, at least, moderate position which he, unlike his colleagues, had adopted with regard to the 6th, strengthened their growing friendship, and Mahler began to meet him in « cafés » or at their respective homes. In one of his articles, Korngold dubbed the 6th, the « Hammerblow Symphony » , and the appellation « pleased Mahler, who was amused at the idea of being a demonic Haydn » . « Thus, I explicitly diagnosed the satanic character of this annihilating music » , wrote Korngold. And Mahler responded in a postcard :

« What sort of “ satanic ” thoughts might one have while listening to my new Symphony ?! If you can attract these demons to Essen, I will greet them with joy. »

It was, therefore, only natural that Korngold should turn to Mahler for advice about his son's musical education.

And so, one fine morning in June 1906, I made the pilgrimage to Mahler's apartment in the « Auenbruggergasse » with my little composer, who was practically invisible underneath his straw hat. Erich played his Cantata. He played from memory, as he would always do, even with his most complicated scores Mahler stood by the piano, manuscript in hand, and followed the score. But not for long : soon, he began striding up and down in the room, with the hobbling rhythm he fell into when he was excited. « A genius ! » , he exclaimed from time to time. The melody, power, and

revolutionary sense of harmony had so strongly affected him. « Take the lad to Zemlinsky » , he urged. « Above all, no Conservatory, no drill ! In private lessons with Zemlinsky, he will learn everything he needs. » Mahler's advice was soon followed and Erich Wolfgang became Zemlinsky's pupil. Some years later, he visited Mahler again, and played to him several of his new compositions.

Notes

Korngold, who died in Hollywood, was born in Brno, Moravia. Artur Schnabel greatly admired Erich Wolfgang's 2nd Piano Sonata (1908) and played it all over Europe. Erich's Pantomime, « Der Schneemann » , was put on at the « Hofoper » , in 1910. In 1912, the prodigious maturity of his 1st 2 orchestral works, the « Schauspiel » Overture (Opus 4, 1911) and the « Sinfonietta » (Opus 5) , won the enthusiasm of Richard Strauß. Giacomo Puccini later publically praised Korngold's 1st Opera, « Violanta » (Opus 8, 1916) . In 1920, he composed his Masterpiece, « Die tote Stadt » , which opened simultaneously in Hamburg and Cologne but, subsequently, never again achieved the same degree of success. After teaching at the Vienna « Staatsakademie » , Erich Wolfgang emigrated in 1934 to Hollywood where he wrote a number of Lieder, instrumental and orchestral works, but devoted himself mainly to writing film music.

Julius Korngold was referring to Franz-Josef Haydn's « Drumroll » Symphony. Obviously, the article in question was published before the Essen premiere, and Korngold either attended the Philharmonic's sight-reading or Mahler played him the Symphony on the piano.

« Julius Korngold's grandson informed me that Mahler's letters to Korngold had disappeared during the War. » (Henry-Louis de La Grange)

There is an element of doubt about this date, given that it has been changed to « 1907 » (by whom ?) in the only existing partial edition of Julius Korngold's memoirs (in English) . Erich Wolfgang says himself, in an article published for Zemlinsky's 50th anniversary, that he was 11 years old (i.e. 1908) at the time of his 1st lessons, which argues in favour of the corrected date. Nonetheless 1906, the date in Julius Korngold's manuscript, appears slightly more probable for 2 reasons. Erich Wolfgang began working with Zemlinsky, 1 year after the interview with Mahler, and this work continued for 2 years, that is to say, until 1909, when Zemlinsky effectively left Vienna for Mannheim (before moving to Prague, in 1910) . Beside which, in 1907, Mahler, preparing to resign from the Opera, would have been in less of a frame of mind to receive a child prodigy composer (see : Ernest Wolfgang Korngold. « Das Vorbild meiner jungen Jahre » , in : « Der Auftakt » , Prague, 14 October 1921) . The date of June 1906 is continued by Brendan G. Carroll in his biography of Erich Wolfgang.

This Cantata, for solos, chorus, and piano, which Erich Wolfgang had composed in his father's absence, was entitled « Gold » and based on a text written by a schoolmate.

Luzi Korngold (Erich Wolfgang Korngold, page 11) describes Erich Wolfgang attending the dress rehearsal of the new production of « The Magic Flute » with his father, in June 1900. Mahler, at the podium, made such an impression on

him that, for the rest of his life, he remembered details of the rehearsal, including the tempos and the instructions Mahler gave the singers. In an article published in the « Österreichische Musikzeitschrift », in 1967, on the occasion of Korngold's 70th birthday, Bruno Walter relates that he knew « only too well » the pianistic and compositional talents of the boy - living, as he did, in the same building as, and directly above, the Korngolds, he had had ample opportunity to hear Erich Wolfgang practise and play « for hours on end » .

Julius Korngold : « Neue Freie Presse » (6 November 1909)

Among Gustav Mahler's most influential supporters was the music-critic for the « Neue Freie Presse » , Julius Korngold. He left Moravia to study law at the University of Vienna and music at the Vienna Conservatory. His memoirs recall private meetings with Anton Bruckner in a beer hall after class, where the professor would carry forth a monologue, often to his student's dismay. When Korngold defended Antonín Dvořák's instrumentation, Bruckner proclaimed :

« Paint a pair of sausages green and blue if you like - isn't it still a pair of sausages ? »

(A more elegant version of this same bias against timbre is Gustav Mahler's comment, in a conversation with his brother, that Tchaïkovsky's instrumentation in the « Pathétique » is no more substantial than a coloured top that ceases to fascinate, once it is no longer spinning.)

Returning to Moravia, Korngold practiced law and worked for the « Brünnener Tagesbote » . As a young critic and admirer of Johannes Brahms, Korngold had attracted Eduard Hanslick's attention after defending a performance of the 4th Symphony. Korngold befriended the critic and spent time with the composer during a visit to Vienna. Korngold's sympathies are, yet, another example of the false dichotomy history has drawn between Wagnerians and Brahmsians. As a youth, Korngold met with friends, each week, to discuss and analyze Wagner, and his enthusiasm did not wane even as he discovered the music of Brahms. Brought onto the staff of the « Neue Freie Presse » by Hanslick, Korngold subsequently became the lead-critic and remained in this post, into the 1930's.

According to his memoirs, Julius Korngold's move to Vienna was prompted by public ridicule after his critical review of an Opera singer. The opportunity the move presented to promote his son's career in that musical capital must have been equally enticing ; indeed, parallels were drawn between the young Erich Wolfgang Korngold (who became one of the leading Hollywood film score composers of his generation) and Mozart, promoted by his father. Cosmopolitan in taste, Korngold traveled to the Paris World Exposition of 1900 where he heard Claude Debussy's « la Damoiselle élue » , and he claimed to have been the 1st critic to review Debussy for a German-language newspaper. A few years later, however, Korngold became suspicious of new developments in music, above all, the work of Arnold Schœnberg. Korngold fled Austria, in 1938, at the time of the Nazi « Anschluß » , emigrating to the United States.

Korngold developed cordial relations with Gustav Mahler following his favourable review of the 5th Symphony. At a time when most critics viciously attacked the composer's 6th Symphony, Korngold took its innovations and developments seriously. From that point on, the 2 had a friendly relationship, meeting regularly at a « café » or at Mahler's house. The 7th Symphony, which had received a resounding endorsement in Prague, from local critics as well

as those traveling from Vienna, did not win such warm approval from Korngold. But neither did Korngold need to defend the work, as he had the 5th and 6th Symphonies ; Mahler was, by this point, living in New York and did not require the support of the German-language press. When the 7th Symphony was performed in Vienna, in 1930, Korngold recast part of his original 1909 feuilleton into a more positive review, in part to uphold Mahler as a favourable alternative to the radical « experiments » of Arnold Schœnberg and Paul Dukas.

...

Julius Leopold Korngold (zusammen mit seinem Sohn Erich Wolfgang Korngold auch unter dem Pseudonym Paul Schott ; geboren 24. Dezember 1860 in Brünn / Mähren, Österreich-Ungarn (heute Brno, Tschechische Republik) ; gestorben 25. September 1945 in Hollywood (Los Angeles, California) war ein österreichischer Musikkritiker, Pianist, Komponist, Librettist, Schriftsteller und Anwalt.

Korngold wurde als älterer Sohn eines jüdischen Kaufmanns geboren (der jüngere war Eduard Korngold, Theaterschauspieler und Schriftsteller, 1863-1939) . Von 1881 bis 1887 studierte er Rechtswissenschaften an der Universität Wien und promovierte dort zum Doktor der Rechte (Doktor juris) . Daneben studierte er am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde unter Franz Krenn und Anton Bruckner Musiktheorie und Harmonielehre. Nach seiner Rückkehr nach Brünn absolvierte Korngold sein Rechtspraktikum. Gleichzeitig arbeitete er als Musikkritiker beim Tagesboten in Brünn. Aus seiner Ehe mit Josefine Witrofski gingen zwei Söhne hervor, der Musiker Hans Robert Korngold (1892-1965) und der Pianist, Komponist und Dirigent Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897-1957) , mit dem Julius Korngold gemeinsame Werke unter dem Pseudonym Paul Schott veröffentlichte. 1901 ließ sich die Familie wieder in Wien nieder. 1902 wurde er auf Johannes Brahms' Empfehlung an die Neue Freie Presse berufen, der er zuerst als Redakteur des Feuilletons, ab 1904 bis 1934 als Musikreferent angehörte. Nach dem Anschluß Österreichs an das Deutsche Reich flüchtete die Familie in die USA, wohin sein Sohn bereits 1936 emigriert war.

Im Jahr 1955 wurde in Wien Penzing (14. Bezirk) die Korngoldgasse nach ihm benannt.

...

Julius Korngold, Sohn eines jüdischen Kaufmanns und Bruder des Schauspielers, Kabarettisten und Schriftstellers Eduard Kornau (1861-1939) , studierte 1881 bis 1887 Rechtswissenschaft an der Universität Wien, wo er 1887 zum Doktor der Rechte (Doktor juris) promoviert wurde. Daneben studierte er Harmonielehre und Musiktheorie am Wiener Konservatorium bei Franz Krenn (1816-1897) und Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) . Korngold heiratete Josefine Witrofsky (1874-1958) , mit der er zwei Kinder hatte : Hans Robert Korngold (1892-1965) , später ein Musiker, und Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897-1957) , später Komponist, Dirigent und Pianist.

1887 kehrte Julius Korngold nach Brünn zurück, wo er sein Rechtspraktikum absolvierte und bis 1901 als Musikkritiker bei der Zeitung « Tagesbote » (Brünn) arbeitete.

1901 ließ sich Julius Korngold endgültig in Wien nieder, wo er 1902 bis 1934 der Redaktion der « Neuen Freien

Presse » (Wien) angehörte : zunächst als Redakteur des Feuilletons, seit 1904 als Musikreferent.

1938 flüchtete das Ehepaar Korngold in die USA, wohin sein Sohn Erich Wolfgang Korngold bereits 1936 emigriert war, und ließen sich in Hollywood (California) nieder.

Julius Korngold gehörte zum Kreis um Vinzenz Ritter von Miller zu Aichholz (1827-1913) , einem Hauptaktionär der « Marienthaler und Trumauer Actien-Spinn-Fabriks-Gesellschaft » . Auch zum letzten Besitzer der Textilfabrik Marienthal hatte er engen Kontakt : Er und sein Sohn Erich Wolfgang Korngold verkehrten im Kreis der Kunstmäzenin Jenny Mautner (1856-1938) und deren Mann, dem Großindustriellen Isidor Mautner (1852-1930) , welcher seit 1925 auch Besitzer der Textilfabrik Marienthal war.

Julius Korngold gilt heute als bedeutender Vertreter der österreichischen Musikkritik im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts.

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In einem musikalisch eher desinteressierten Haushalt aufgewachsen, mußte der Gymnasiast Julius Korngold seinen eigenen Weg zur Musik und Literatur finden, nahm Klavierunterricht und lernte im Deutschen Haus in Brünn früh Opern, Operetten und Schauspiele kennen. Das Abiturzeugnis zeigte in allen Fächern « vorzüglich » sowie ein « ausgezeichnet » in « Deutscher Sprache » . An der Wiener Juridischen Fakultät inskribiert, studierte Korngold auch Philosophie, darüber hinaus Musik am Konservatorium bei Anton Bruckner und Josef Hellmesberger. Mit der Hofoper, den Konzerten im Musikverein und dem Burgtheater bot die Großstadt Wien dem Studenten rege kulturelle Abwechslung. Den mit Auszeichnung bestandenen Staatsprüfungen folgte eine Advokatenlaufbahn in Brünn, der Hauptstadt Mährens.

Erste Musikkritiken veröffentlichte Korngold in der « Brünnener Morgenpost » , dem « Tagesboten für Mähren und Schlesien » , einer von ihm gegründeten « Brünnener Sonntagszeitung » und einer Wochenschrift des « Deutschen Klubs » . Ein Brahms-Feuilleton erweckte die Aufmerksamkeit des Wiener Kritiker-Papstes Eduard Hanslick von der liberalen, auch international angesehenen « Neuen Freien Presse » . Hanslick vermittelte Korngold ein Treffen mit Johannes Brahms und bot ihm wenig später eine Anstellung als Kritiker in seinem Ressort an.

Inzwischen mit Josefine Witrofsky verheiratet und mit zwei Söhnen beschenkt - Hans Robert (nach Schumann, 1892) und Erich Wolfgang (nach Mozart, 1897) - , übersiedelte Korngold 1901 nach Wien und trat nach nur kurzer juristischer Tätigkeit 1902 in das Musikreferat der « Neuen Freien Presse » als Assistent Hanslicks ein, dessen Nachfolger er 1904 wurde. Die Ausübung seines Rechtsanwalt-Berufes beendete Korngold hierdurch formal. In den nächsten drei Jahrzehnten war seine Position als erster Chef-Musikkritiker Wiens unangefochten. Er setzte sich für Künstler wie Gustav Mahler, Bruno Walter und Richard Strauß ein, verhielt sich aber zeitlebens der Zweiten Wiener Schule gegenüber ablehnend. Als bedeutendster Musikkritiker im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts war Korngold in der Musikwelt nicht unumstritten ; man kann sogar sagen, daß die Zahl seiner Feinde größer war als die seiner Freunde, was zahlreiche Prozesse dokumentieren (Julius Korngold, 1991, Seite 144 ff.) . Darüber hinaus blieb seine Rolle als

Förderer seines Sohnes Erich Wolfgang Korngold strittig, der als eines der seltenen komponierenden Wunderkinder weltweit Erstaunen hervorrief und große Erfolge verzeichnete. So führten Künstler wie der Pianist Moriz Rosenthal negative Konzertkritiken Korngolds gern darauf zurück, daß sie selbst eben nicht Werke des Kritikersohnes aufführten. Korngold verteidigte sich stets mit dem Argument, daß berühmte Künstler wie Fritz Kreisler die Werke seines Sohnes weltweit aufführten, gar « Korngold-Wochen » veranstalteten. So versuchte er einen neutralen Weg einzuschlagen, indem er die Uraufführungen der Werke seines Sohnes möglichst nicht nach Wien vergab und die Kritiken über dessen Konzerte in Wien von seinen Kollegen Ernst Decsey (1879-1941) und Josef Reitler (1883-1948) schreiben ließ. Korngolds Libretti zu Werken seines Sohnes, so die zum « Ring des Polykrates », Opus 7, und zur « Die Toten Stadt », Opus 12, veröffentlichte er zudem ohne Namensnennung.

Überregionale Beachtung fand Julius Korngolds hartnäckige Kritik an der Amtsführung von Richard Strauß als Direktor der Wiener Staatsoper. Die Vorwürfe, der berühmte, von Korngold hochgeschätzte Komponist und Dirigent setze die eigenen Werke zu oft auf den Spielplan und sei ständig auf Gastreisen, trugen 1924 zu Richard Strauß' vorzeitiger Demission bei und beschädigten vorübergehend auch das vertrauensvolle Verhältnis seines Sohnes zu Strauß, der ihm Vorbild und Förderer war.

Bis 1934 konnte Ernst Benedikt (1882-1973), der Verleger der « Neuen Freien Presse », Julius Korngold wie auch dessen Kollegen Raoul Auernheimer (1876-1948), Felix Salten (1869-1945) und Stefan Zweig (1881-1942) stets freie Hand lassen und sich uneingeschränkt hinter seine Feuilletonisten stellen. Der Verkauf des Blattes an das austrofaschistische Regime (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / BlumesbergerS 2002, Band. I, Artikel Ernst Benedikt) hatte die sofortige Pensionierung Korngolds zur Folge. So gewarnt und auf die Rolle des Managers seines immer öfter in Hollywood wirkenden Sohnes beschränkt, verfolgte Korngold insbesondere mit Blick auf seine eigene jüdische Herkunft die politische Entwicklung Österreichs umso aufmerksamer, bereitete die Emigration strategisch vor und verließ Wien sofort nach dem « Anschluß » mit Frau und Enkelkind Ernst mit dem Ziel USA. Sohn Hans (Hanns, John) Korngold, inzwischen umtriebiger Jazzmusiker und Bandleader, folgte im März 1940 über Italien in die USA.

In Kalifornien gab es für deutschsprachige Kritiker nichts zu tun. Freundschaften wie die mit Bruno Walter und Alma Mahler-Werfel wurden gepflegt, eine zaghafte Annäherung an Arnold Schönberg versucht. Regelmäßige Besuche in den Warner Brothers Studios bei seinem Sohn Erich Wolfgang Korngold bewirkten zumindest eine Versöhnung des Kritikers mit der ihm ungewohnten neuen Kunstform Filmmusik und die erfolgreiche Empfehlung, der Sohn möge sich die Rechte an den von ihm in den Filmmusiken verwendeten musikalischen Themen für spätere Konzertkompositionen sichern.

Die erfolglos bleibenden Bemühungen seines Sohnes Erich Wolfgang Korngold, nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs mit seinen Opern auf die Bühnen und mit seinen (vorwiegend neuen) Orchesterwerken in die Konzertsäle zurückzukehren, erlebte Julius Korngold nicht mehr. Enttäuscht und verbittert starb er am 25. September 1945 in Hollywood (California) .

Libretti

Mit Leo Feld :

Der Ring des Polykrates. Heitere Oper in einem Akt, frei nach dem gleichnamigen Lustspiel des Heinrich Teweles. Musik : Erich Wolfgang Korngold. Schott, Mainz und Leipzig (1915) ; Uraufführung (1916) .

Mit Erich Wolfgang Korngold :

Die tote Stadt (unter dem gemeinsamen Pseudonym Paul Schott) . Oper in drei Bildern. Opus 12. Frei nach Georges Rodenbach « Das Trugbild » (« Bruges la morte ») . Musik : Erich Wolfgang Korngold. Schott's Söhne, Mainz (1920) , Textbuch. Uraufführung : Hamburg und Köln, am 4. Dezember 1920.

Kritik, Essays, Erinnerungen

Deutsches Opernschaffen der Gegenwart. Kritische Aufsätze. Leonhardt, Leipzig und Wien (1921) .

Die romanische Oper der Gegenwart. Kritische Aufsätze. Rikola, Wien / Leipzig / München (1922) .

Atonale Götzendämmerung. Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neumusik-ismen, Ludwig Döblinger, Wien (1937) .

Die Korngolds in Wien. Der Musikkritiker und das Wunderkind. Aufzeichnungen von Julius Korngold, Musik und Theater Verlag, Zürich / Sankt Gallen (1991) ; ISBN : 3-7265-6022-X .

Selbstständige Publikationen

(Anonym ; mit Leo Feld - das ist Leo Hirschfeld) Der Ring des Polykrates : Heitere Oper in einem Akt frei nach dem gleichnamigen Lustspiel des Heinrich Teweles. Musik von Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Schott Verlag, Mainz und Leipzig (1915) ; 40 Seiten.

(Paul Schott) Die tote Stadt : Oper in drei Bildern, Opus 12. Frei nach Georges Rodenbach « Das Trugbild » (« Bruges la morte ») von Paul Schott (deinde scriptum Julius Korngold und Erich Wolfgang Korngold) . Musik von Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Schott's Söhne Verlag, Mainz (1920) ; 60 Seiten - Textbuch, Uraufführung : Hamburg und Köln, am 4. Dezember 1920.

Deutsches Opernschaffen der Gegenwart. Kritische Aufsätze, Band VII, Leonhardt, Leipzig und Wien (1921) ; 376 Seiten.

Die romanische Oper der Gegenwart. Kritische Aufsätze, Band XII, Rikola, Wien / Leipzig / München (1922) ; 241 Seiten.

Atonale Götzendämmerung. Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neumusik-ismen, Ludwig Döblinger, Wien (1937) , 287 Seiten.

Die Korngolds in Wien. Der Musikkritiker und das Wunderkind, Aufzeichnungen von Julius Korngold, Musik und Theater

Verlag, Zürich und Sankt Gallen (1991) ; 401 Seiten.

Erich Wolfgang Korngold

Erich Wolfgang Korngold was a child prodigy, a remarkable interwar talent in the musical life of German-speaking Europe, and in his later years, one of the most famous figures in Hollywood's musical establishment. He is remembered today through his many movie scores, but also for his Operatic and instrumental music.

Erich Wolfgang Korngold, one of the most celebrated composing prodigies of all time and a pioneer in the development of the classical Hollywood film score, was born in Brünn, Moravia, on May 29, 1897, the 2nd son of Julius Korngold and Josephine Witrofsky. The family moved to Vienna in 1901 and, in 1904, Julius succeeded his mentor, Eduard Hanslick, as chief music-critic for the highly-influential daily publication, « Neue Freie Presse », a position he held until 1934.

Korngold's remarkable talents were evident from the outset. At the age of 3, he could beat time with a wooden kitchen spoon ; by 5, he was picking-out tunes from Mozart's « Don Giovanni » at the piano and joining his father for informal recitals of 2 and 4 hand duets and, in his 6th year, he was jotting down musical ideas in a small notebook. A distant relative gave him additional keyboard lessons, but it quickly became apparent to Julius that the boy needed more systematic training, and so he sent him to Robert Fuchs, a composer, conductor, and professor of music at the Vienna Conservatory.

During this period, Korngold learned theory, counterpoint and analysis, and the handful of pieces he turned-out at this time are a clear indication of Fuchs' more traditional approach to teaching. In June 1906, Erich played several of his works for Gustav Mahler, who, upon hearing « Gold », a cantata for solo voices, chorus, and piano, promptly declared the boy a genius and recommended that he avoid the rigors of academia altogether and study instead with Alexander von Zemlinsky, known throughout the city as a composer and pedagogue, and as the principal conductor at the « Wiener Volksoper » .

The lessons, which started in mid-1907 and lasted until the summer of 1911, when Zemlinsky left Vienna to assume the Directorship of the « Deutsches Landestheater » in Prague, provided Korngold with a solid grounding in harmony, form, voice-leading and orchestration, as well as the opportunity to improve his already impressive keyboard skills. In addition to a number of works for solo piano, including 2 large-scale Sonatas, a suite of 6 character studies based on scenes from Cervantes' « Don Quixote », and 7 fairy tale pictures inspired by children's stories, Erich also wrote his 1st chamber composition, an ambitious 4 movement Piano Trio. In April 1910, a 4 hand arrangement of his ballet « Der Schneemann » (The Snowman) was presented at a charity gala in Vienna ; that October, Felix Weingartner conducted Zemlinsky's orchestrated version at the « Hofoper » . The premiere was an unqualified success, and the piece soon appeared on some 30 stages in Austria and Germany.

Before long, many of Europe's greatest talents were championing Korngold's music. In April 1910, Bruno Walter, Arnold Rosé, and Friedrich Buxbaum gave the Viennese premiere of the Piano Trio, Opus I ; the following year, his «

Schauspiel-Ouverture » , Opus 4, received its debut performance in Leipzig, with Arthur Nikisch conducting the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Orchestra, and Artur Schnabel introduced the massive Piano Sonata No. 2, Opus 2, to Berlin audiences. In the fall of 1913, Schnabel joined Carl Flesch for the premiere of the Sonata in G major for Violin and Piano, Opus 6, and the Vienna Philharmonic played the « Sinfonietta » in B major, Opus 5, under the baton of Weingartner.

Korngold completed his 1st Opera, a 1 Act domestic comedy entitled « Der Ring des Polykrates » (The Ring of Polykrates) , in the spring of 1914. The work was too short for a single evening's entertainment, so, in order to prevent it from being coupled with an unsuitable partner, the composer provided a companion piece, « Violanta » , a 1 Act tragedy set in 15th Century Venice and based on a libretto by the playwright and novelist Hans Müller, an acquaintance of Julius' from Brünn and a frequent contributor to the « Neue Freie Presse » . Both Operas premiered at the Munich « Hoftheater » , in March 1916, with Bruno Walter conducting ; the double-bill was repeated less than a month later in Vienna, with Selma Kurz and Alfred Piccaver in Polykrates, and Maria Jeritza as the ill-fated heroine in Violanta. In an instant the 19 year old composer had established himself as one of the leading figures in contemporary German Opera.

The First World War had relatively little impact on Korngold's creative endeavors. Although he was drafted into the army in 1916, he escaped active duty when a doctor recognized him and exempted him from service on the front lines. Instead, he maintained the company's archives, led the regimental band, and gave concerts and recitals of his own music to help raise money for the Austrian War Relief Fund. 2 of his finest instrumental compositions, the String Sextet in D major, Opus 10, and the incidental music for a production of « Much Ado about Nothing » , date from this period, as does his best-known and most successful work for the stage, « Die tote Stadt » (The Dead City) , a 3 Act Opera based on « Bruges la Morte » by the Belgian symbolist novelist Georges Rodenbach. After simultaneous premieres in Hamburg (where Korngold served as music-director) and Cologne, on December 4th, 1920, it moved on to even greater success in Vienna the following year, where Maria Jeritza sang the dual roles of Marie and Marietta. In November 1921, « Die tote Stadt » became the 1st German Opera to be mounted at the New York Metropolitan Opera after the War.

During the early 1920's, Korngold wrote songs, chamber pieces and, in response to a commission from Austrian virtuoso Paul Wittgenstein, who had lost his right arm in the War, a single-movement Concerto for piano left-hand and orchestra. His desire to get married and raise a family eventually led him to explore more lucrative artistic ventures. Much to his father's dismay, he concentrated on adapting and conducting the largely-forgotten Operettas of Johann Strauß, Junior ; Korngold's arrangements and re-orchestrations of « Eine Nacht in Venedig » (A Night in Venice ; 1923) and « Cagliostro in Wien » (Cagliostro in Vienna ; 1927) helped spark renewed interest in Strauß' music shortly afterwards. Korngold's 4th, and largest Opera, « Das Wunder der Heliane » (The Miracle of Heliane) occupied him throughout the mid- 1920's. Although it enjoyed a moderate success in Hamburg, in 1927, Heliane failed to win over audiences in Vienna and Berlin, most of whom expected another « Die tote Stadt » . Several backstage intrigues and a public row between Julius and supporters of Ernst Křenek's jazz-infused « Jonny spielt auf » also damaged the Opera's reputation, but Korngold always regarded Heliane as his Masterpiece.

In 1929, Korngold began a long and very productive association with the famed Austrian producer and director Max

Reinhardt, who invited him to collaborate on a new production of « Die Fledermaus » in Berlin. The 2 men had known each other for several years, and Korngold had previously declined a request from Reinhardt to supply music for a production of Schiller's « Turandot », on the grounds that Puccini's Opera of the same name was set to premiere, but this new partnership allowed the composer an opportunity to revisit an Operetta he loved greatly. He and Reinhardt teamed-up again, in 1931, on « Die schöne Helena », a German-language version of Jacques Offenbach's « la Belle Hélène », for which Korngold composed an Overture.

With the Nazi ascendancy in the early 1930's, Reinhardt fled Europe, eventually ending-up in California. In 1934, he asked Korngold to Hollywood to take part in a film adaptation of Shakespeare's « A Midsummer Night's Dream » for Warner Bros. Studios. The worsening political climate in Europe, and the gradual disappearance of a market for his concert and stage works as a result, provided Korngold with an excuse to accept the invitation, and in the fall of that year, he and his wife, Luzi, sailed for the United States. Korngold set about arranging Felix Mendelssohn's incidental music, incorporating other pieces by the composer into the score, and in some cases, writing new, stylistically appropriate passages to link one cue to the next. He later described how after writing various musical sections out, recording them, and then playing them back on the set, he would « conduct the actor in order to make him speak his lines in the required rhythm », a novel approach that most certainly stemmed from his years of experience in the theater.

Over the next 4 years, Korngold traveled regularly between California and Vienna. In addition to writing the scores for « Captain Blood », « Anthony Adverse », « Another Dawn », and « the Prince and the Pauper », and contributing music to « Give us This Night », « Rose of the Rancho », and « The Green Pastures », he continued working on his 5th Opera, « Die Kathrin ». In January 1938, executives at Warner Bros. Studios cabled Korngold, offering him the score to « The Adventures of Robin Hood ». Since « Die Kathrin » was scheduled to premiere that March, he initially declined, but the director of the State Opera urged him to take the assignment. Shortly after arriving back in Hollywood, Korngold received the news that Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg had met with Adolf Hitler at Berchtesgaden ; on March 13, the Nazis annexed Austria (« Anschluß ») . The remaining members of his family, including his oldest son, Ernst, his parents, and his in-laws, managed to escape Vienna at the last possible moment. Within 2 weeks, the Nazis had seized all of his property. Although Julius had rescued a number of manuscripts, the vast majority of the composer's sketches and autographs were left behind. Luckily, 2 representatives from the publishing house of Josef Weinberger broke into the Korngold home, retrieved these items, and packaged them up for shipment to America.

Korngold vowed to abstain from writing anything for the concert-hall or Opera house as long as Hitler, « that monster in Europe », remained in power, choosing instead to support his family (as well as those displaced by the ravages of War and the organizations devoted to their assistance) through the money he made as a film composer. In a career at Warner Bros. Studios that lasted from 1934 to 1946, he penned a total of 18 original scores, far fewer than, for instance, fellow composer Max Steiner, who routinely produced at least that many in a single year, and he won 2 Academy Awards. In his unique contract with the studio, Korngold set strict limits on the number of scores he would write (no more than 2 in a 12 month period) and he asked to be able to turn-down any project he decided was unsuitable. He also demanded, and was given, the right to reuse any of the music as he saw fit, provided it was not

in conjunction with another motion picture, a clause that proved especially beneficial as he sought to revive his career after the War.

Korngold's influence as a film composer cannot be overemphasized ; indeed, he played a significant role in establishing the grammar and syntax of the so-called Classical Hollywood film score at precisely the moment when its conventions were being formulated. Along with Steiner, he helped codify the use of clearly identifiable themes for characters, locations and situations, but unlike his colleague, Korngold employed subtle processes of thematic development as a way of drawing attention to relationships between individuals and the dramatic context in which they find themselves. Korngold also refined the practice of placing music just underneath the actor's speaking voice so that dialogue was always audible, and he specified which instruments would be most effective given that voice's distinct intonation. Lastly, Korngold's intimate knowledge of orchestral textures helped standardize the sound of Hollywood film scores. Working with such gifted orchestrators as Hugo Friedhofer and Ray Heindorf, who were able to translate his instructions perfectly, he created a striking aural complement to the visual imagery on the screen, one which greatly influenced a later generation of composers, including John Williams and James Horner.

1945 marked an important turning-point in Korngold's life. His father, who had never been entirely comfortable in Los Angeles, and who had never approved of Erich's decision to focus exclusively on film composition, died after a lengthy illness. The War in Europe also drew to an end. Korngold himself had grown increasingly disillusioned with Hollywood and with the kinds of pictures he was being given, and he was eager to return to writing music for the concert-hall and the stage. In December 1944, he gave his wife the manuscript for a 3d String Quartet ; the following year, largely due to requests from Bronisław Huberman, Korngold began revising a Concerto for violin and orchestra that he had started in the late- 1930's, a work that Jascha Heifetz would premiere in Saint-Louis, in 1947, and record commercially in 1953. In 1946, he also enlarged a Cello Concerto he wrote for the film « Deception » into a larger, single movement piece, and this was performed in Los Angeles and subsequently published as his Opus 37.

Like most of his fellow « émigrés » , Korngold longed for the day when he could return to Europe. The Vienna he and his family finally saw in May 1949 was substantially different from the city they left a little over a decade before. Although reconstruction efforts were well underway, many of the buildings that had been reduced to rubble as a result of the massive Allied bombings, in March 1945, were still in ruins, including the Opera House. Family and friends had either left of their own accord or were victims of the Holocaust ; a few who stayed even resented Korngold for « sitting-out » the War, in California. Moreover, a small cadre of Nazi sympathizers continued to occupy key social and cultural positions in Austria and Germany, and they were determined to prevent Jewish exiles from renewing their pre-War lives and careers.

Despite all of this, Korngold remained upbeat about his prospects. In January 1950, conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler gave the premiere of the Symphonic Serenade for Strings, Opus 39, and the following month, the composer accompanied mezzo-soprano Rosette Anday in a performance of the 5 Songs for middle-voice and piano, Opus 38. Arrangements were also under way to stage « Die Kathrin » , and the State Opera had agreed to mount « Die tote Stadt » . Buoyed by what he thought were positive signs of a belated come-back, Korngold began writing his next major piece, a 4 movement Symphony.

Unfortunately, this optimism proved to be premature. The production of « Die Kathrin », which had been postponed until October due to a strike, was not well-received. Critics complained that the Opera was old-fashioned and that Korngold's brand of overt lyricism was no longer relevant. In addition, the planned performance of « Die tote Stadt » was cancelled because of scheduling problems and artistic differences. Finally, adding insult to injury, a special concert of his music, organized by the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in Vienna, in April 1951, was poorly attended, and his former German publishers, Bernhard Schott, Söhne, showed scant interest in reissuing any of the concert or stage works. Once he had been the talk of the town ; now, Korngold felt that he had been forgotten. He decided it was time to take his family back to California.

The director William Dieterle contacted Korngold in 1953, asking him about working on a film biography of Richard Wagner that was to be shot in and around Munich. He had been at Warner Bros. Studios in the 1930's, but Korngold accepted the offer largely out of a sense of responsibility to Wagner's music, which he feared would be subjected to the worst treatment. The project also gave him an excuse to be in Europe for the Viennese premiere of his Symphony in F-sharp, Opus 40, in October 1954. The piece was under-rehearsed and Korngold pleaded that the performance be called-off. While critical reaction was generally favourable, the composer was not satisfied. Sadly, he would not live to hear it played again.

In the remaining years of his life, Korngold began working on a 2nd Symphony and considered writing another Opera, this one based on Franz Grillparzer's « Das Kloster bei Sandomir », but neither project was completed. In October 1956, he suffered a major stroke, and he died on November 29, 1957, at the age of 60.

Over the last 3 decades, Korngold's music for the concert-hall, the Opera house, and the silver-screen has experienced a significant renaissance, thanks not only to the tireless efforts of his youngest son, George, who worked as a recording producer up until his death in 1987, but also to the extensive research efforts of Brendan Carroll, the composer's principal biographer. Almost all of Korngold's extant instrumental, orchestral and vocal works are available on compact disc, several of his most important pieces are regularly programmed around the world, and his film scores have enjoyed a renewed interest.

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Few musical figures in the 20th Century, absent involvement with the Adolf Hitler regime, or some catastrophic health crisis, led careers as exalted and successful at one end, as lucrative in their center, and as tragic at their end as Erich Wolfgang Korngold. Exalted in some Viennese circles before the age of 10 as a 2nd Mozart, he outlived that premature media stardom to become a respected serious composer and a notably successful composer of Opera. His name evoked the best that melodic, tonal music had to offer in the 1920's and 1930's - and, then, he found his way to Hollywood, and the welcoming arms of Warner Bros. Studios, and became the most important composer ever to make a home and career in the movie capital.

Korngold was born in Brünn, the capital of Moravia (now, Brno in Czechoslovakia) in the Austro-Hungarian Empire on

May 29, 1897. He was the son of Doctor Julius Korngold, who was one of the most influential music-critics in Vienna. The elder Korngold was a controversial figure - Jewish, a conservative figure (who abhorred atonalism and the whole Second Viennese School) , and possessor of an acid-tipped pen in a city rife with intellectual and political ferment and rivalries and an undercurrent of anti-Semitism, Doctor Korngold made his share of enemies with his influence. Julius Korngold (1860-1945) was, himself, a frustrated composer who had studied part-time at the Vienna Conservatory even as he prepared for a legal career - his harmony teacher was Anton Bruckner and his fellow students included Hugo Wolf and Franz Schalk. A career in music was out of the question for Julius Korngold, whose family entertained intentions of a respectable livelihood for their son - in compensation for his thwarted desires, he began writing music criticism in Brünn, and managed to endear himself to Eduard Hanslick, then the most influential critic in Vienna. Korngold became a « protégé » of Hanslick's, his assistant by the 1890's (by which time he and his wife Josefine had 2 sons) and, ultimately, his successor. Erich Wolfgang Korngold, the 2nd son, was reportedly beating time with a spoon by the age of 3, and playing basic melodies at age 5. Hanslick himself had referred to him as the « little Mozart » , and the boy seemed to rise to the occasion by starting to compose at the age of 6. The elder Korngold brought his son, at age 8, to see Gustav Mahler, who, after pronouncing him a « genius » (in the words of Alma Mahler) , strongly encouraged the father to continue his son's training and recommended that he study with Alexander von Zemlinsky.

Within a year, Korngold had written what became his formal Opus 1, a Piano Sonata in D minor and, a year after that, a ballet entitled « The Snowman » . It was during this period of his life, when Korngold was not yet 10 years old, that he even managed to impress the Emperor Franz-Josef with his precocity. Despite a sometimes willful nature and a lack of maturity that made him difficult to deal with, Korngold seemed lead a charmed musical life - when he was 13, his 2nd Piano Sonata was premiered by Artur Schnabel (who kept it in his repertory long after) , and Bruno Walter and Arnold Rosé were 2 of the players who premiered his Piano Trio, Opus 1. Some of the joy that he might have found in these successes was muted by the whisperings of his father's enemies. The elder Korngold was known as a big supporter of his son's career, so much so that it was rumored that he (and not Erich) had written these pieces. Additionally, the father's support led to resentment on the part of members of the music community who, while conceding that the younger Korngold was talented, didn't enjoy the idea that doing anything less than welcoming his music enthusiastically would provoke a negative reaction from the elder Korngold. Depending upon whose accounts one reads, Richard Strauß was either a wholehearted supporter of the boy's career, or intrigued but somewhat wary of his talent.

Korngold's career on the Operatic stage began with a 1 Act piece, « Der Ring des Polykrates » (1914) , which he followed 1 year later with another Operatic work, « Violanta » . Korngold was not yet 20 when he enjoyed acclaim for these 2 works, of which « Violanta » has endured rather longer in the repertory. By that time, the First World War had broken-out, and Korngold was drafted in 1917, but exempted from combat and, instead, made musical director of his regiment. During the next 3 years, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was defeated and dismembered, and the aging Emperor Franz-Josef, who had delighted in his talent as boy, died. Even as his world's axis shifted and his country died and was reborn, Korngold continued working and, in 1920, completed his most celebrated Operatic work, « Die tote Stadt » , which was an immediate hit in Cologne (where it was premiered under the baton of Otto Klemperer) and the rest of the German speaking world and quickly entered the repertory of Covent Garden, in London, and the Metropolitan Opera, in New York. Korngold, by now, had overcome any suggestion of his father's influence as a cover of

any lack of quality in his work. He would never entirely overcome the resentment left behind by his father's early assistance, however. Additionally, he was also placed in an awkward position by the increasing controversy of his father's opposition to the 12 tone system of composition.

During the early 1920's, Korngold began a new phase of his musical career when he agreed to prepare a new performing edition of Johann Strauß' Operetta « Eine Nacht in Venedig ». The work had some gorgeous music but had never been a success, mostly owing to its substandard libretto. Korngold revised the libretto, reshaped some of the musical material, and transformed the Operetta into a success, for the 1st time in its 40 year history. Korngold's output of new music during the 1920's included more chamber works, a concert Overture (« Surdam Corda ») , and the Opera « Das Wunder der Heliane ». The latter, premiered in Hamburg on October 7, 1927, was his 1st notable critical failure. In contrast to the rich melodic nature of his earlier works for the Opera house, « Das Wunder der Heliane » was a work steeped in mysticism and a subdued drama. Critics and audiences were disappointed with the work, and it fell-out of the repertory very quickly, although the composer always regarded it as his finest Operatic work. Much more fateful for Korngold was the beginning of his collaboration with theatrical producer Max Reinhardt, in 1929, in a new production of « Die Fledermaus » .

In 1933, Reinhardt brought his stage production of Shakespeare's « A Midsummer Night's Dream » to the Hollywood Bowl, which so impressed executives at Warner Bros. Studios that they engaged the producer to bring it to the screen. He engaged Korngold to arrange the music. What Korngold ended-up doing with « A Midsummer Night's Dream » was similar to the editing he had done on « Eine Nacht in Venedig » . Ideally, Reinhardt wanted to re-use Felix Mendelssohn's music for the movie, but there was not enough of it to underscore a movie running more than 2 hours. Instead, he introduced other Mendelssohn works into the score, as he had with Strauß's music in the Operetta. A « A Midsummer Night's Dream » wasn't a financial success, or even much of an artistic triumph, but Korngold's handling of the music did impress the management at Warner Bros. Ever since 1932, when Max Steiner had revolutionized the notion of scoring sound films, every studio had been looking for its own Steiner - ultimately, Warner Bros. would get the man himself under contract but, in 1933, Korngold fit the bill exactly for the kind of composer for whom they were looking. It is not likely that Jack Warner, the head of the studio, knew or would even have enjoyed Korngold's Operatic or concert works. Like most of the moguls, he was a self-made man of limited education and very narrow experience outside of business, none of it involving serious music. But Korngold's was a name that carried a great deal of respect he had done more with the music for « A Midsummer Night's Dream » than anyone had expected, and more than any Warner Bros. movie (other than the studio's musicals) had done with music since sound had come in. And Warner and his executives liked the music, even if it was Mendelssohn's and not Korngold's own, and the fact that Korngold appreciated the need to work quickly. He was too well-established a composer to be approached in the way that Steiner or his contemporaries, most of them immigrants trying to find security for themselves in America, had been - Korngold was already a success, and had a home in Vienna. In fact, one of his stage works, a pastiche of Johann Strauß music that he had put together into a quasi-biographical narrative called « Waltzes in Vienna » , had already been filmed in England (by no less a director than Alfred Hitchcock, though the director and most scholars regard it as, perhaps, his worst movie) and was making the rounds as a property in Hollywood, where it would ultimately appear as « The Great Waltz » (1937) .

Warner Bros. Studios offered him a 1 year contract, which he turned down. He was later offered a contract with Paramount Studios, through Ernst Lubitsch, to score a musical entitled « Give us this Night ». In the end, between the offers and the counter-offers with which he was presented, Korngold ended-up working on 2 films, simultaneously : « Give us this Night » (1935) for Paramount ; and « Captain Blood » (1935) for Warner Bros. « Captain Blood » delighted both the studio's executives and the movie's large audience. Korngold's music added a richness to the adventure epic's sweeping tale of heroism and triumph over injustice that startled viewers with its inventiveness - the music's presence lent an extra-dimension to the drama, excitement, and beauty of the movie, almost as surely as if it had been shot in Technicolor. In the end, he signed a contract with Warner Bros. that was one of the most generous ever offered a composer in Hollywood. He was free to refuse any project, and to get the 1st choice of any movie on the studio's schedule. Korngold's 3rd score for Warner Bros. was « Anthony Adverse », an epic best-seller that was one of the most ambitious movies in the studio's history. It also won Korngold his 1st Oscar. In between « Captain Blood » and « Anthony Adverse », Korngold wrote and arranged the music for the all-Black cast movie fantasy « Green Pastures ». The studio had not thought the European-born Korngold the natural choice for this film, but he loved working with the script and the spirituals that comprised much of the score.

It was while working on the film that Korngold also revealed something of the naivety in his nature that could be very troubling to those around him - he failed to understand why the Black cast members of the film did not eat in the main studio dining-room, and had to be told about the segregation that existed ; he subsequently declined to eat in the dining-room, embarrassing all of those around him in the process. Yet, that same naive nature about politics and human nature also put him and his family at real risk. Despite his enjoyment of the climate in California and his appreciation of the very high-salary he was paid, Korngold's real desire was to return to the Opera stage in Europe with a triumph. This was to have been « Die Kathrin », which was to be premiered at the Vienna State Opera. Unfortunately, even as the production was in preparation, political events in Europe were making it increasingly clear that Austria would soon join Germany as a locale closed to Jews. Korngold's contract with Warner Bros. had run-out, in 1937, and he returned to Vienna. He had been offered a new contract by the studio, and the chance to score « The Adventures of Robin Hood », the newest costume movie starring Errol Flynn, who had been introduced to American audiences as the star of « Captain Blood ». The composer had looked at the script, however, and turned it down, believing that there movie had too many sword fights and other action scenes, which would distract people from any music that he might compose.

Korngold had hopes as late as the beginning of 1938 that his real future lay in Austria. Luckily for him and his family, reason prevailed. The German troops on the border were an ominous presence, and no one doubted that if the Austrian government did not agree to annexation (which, to its eternal credit, it did not) that Adolf Hitler would carry it out by force. Korngold accepted the offer of the film and the contract, and got his father and the rest of his family out of the country and safely to Hollywood with only days to spare. The score for « Die Kathrin » was smuggled-out of the country after the work was banned by the Hitler government, its pages hidden between the pages of other music manuscripts (the Opera was eventually premiered in Stockholm, a year later, but did not really find an audience of any kind until the 1990's) . Korngold was now in Hollywood for the long haul, and he acquitted himself marvelously - indeed, the « Robin Hood » score that he had not wanted to write earned him his 2nd Oscar. He was looked on with jealousy by some contemporaries, at Warner Bros. and elsewhere, who worked on as many as 6 or 7

feature films a year while Korngold did his 2. Additionally, Korngold was the only composer on the Warner Bros. lot and, perhaps, in all of Hollywood or in the entire world's movie industry, who had sufficient stature and respect that he could go to a director or the head of the editing department and ask for a few extra-seconds of film in a particular scene or shot, to make his music work better. Additionally, his contract required that Korngold's name be credited with its own separate frame in the movie's main titles, and that his name be included in any advertising or promotional materials that mentioned the name of the director.

What made Korngold special, of course, was his music. He described his movie scores as « Operas without words » and, at their best, those scores served the same function that underscoring in an Opera did on the stage, and then some. In this music for « The Sea Hawk » (1940) , for example, he helped elevate the movie to a level of seriousness suggested in the script, but never stated outright - that the Elizabethan struggle against Spain and the Armada was the precedent for the contemporary British resistance to Adolf Hitler's pending invasion ; he even found room to express a subjective appreciation for beauty on the screen, the love theme for Brenda Marshall's heroine being one of the most achingly, passionately, quietly gorgeous pieces of music to appear in a Hollywood film to date ; yet, at the same time, he never lost sight in his music of the movie's costume-adventure nature, or its need for a rousing underscore to the acts of derring-do of Flynn's Captain Geoffrey Thorpe. Korngold's music could be bold and passionate, as in « Kings Row » , or subtle and Romantic, as in the case of « The Constant Nymph » , but it was always polished. It was often difficult to tell where his movie music ended and his concert work began, on those rare occasions where they did overlap - the final movement of his Violin Concerto uses some of the same material found in his score for the 1937 film « The Prince and the Pauper » , but it is not clear which borrowed from which, as their compositions overlapped (though the Concerto did not surface until the 1940's) ; and no one ever complained about the overlap.

Korngold was in Hollywood for a total of 14 years, during which he scored 17 films, 16 of them for Warner Bros. During that 14 years, the 3rd « Reich » came and went, and the world changed, and Hollywood with it. He was grateful for the refuge it had given him and his family, but he wanted to return to Austria. Additionally, there weren't too many movies still being made in Hollywood of the kind that Korngold liked to score - a new, post-War realism was taking-over, which did not lend itself to the kind of dense scoring and melodic richness that were Korngold's « forte » . He left Hollywood in 1947 and returned to Vienna and, thus, began the final, bittersweet chapter in Korngold's life. He discovered that he was either forgotten, ridiculed, or actively resented in the city he had thought of as his home - forgotten by audiences destroyed by 7 years of Nazi rule and 4 years of Allied bombings ; ridiculed by the music intelligentsia, who regarded his tonal music as hopelessly outdated ; and resented by a populace who had endured bombings and starvation (which was still going on) while Korngold and his family had safely exiled themselves to Hollywood and a life of luxury (they overlooked the fact that Korngold and his family would almost certainly have ended-up in concentration camps and also ignoring the idea that anyone but a dedicated Nazi would have refused the guarantee of a good income and a welcoming employer in a city where the sun shined more than 300 days of the year, for the chance to live in a city occupied by goose-stepping soldiers) .

Wilhelm Furtwängler, the most revered conductor in the German-speaking world, tried to pave the way for Korngold's return, conducting the premiere of his Serenade for Strings with the Vienna Philharmonic, in 1950, but the critical

reception was cold. A revival of « Die tote Stadt », in Vienna, was announced and then cancelled, and « Die Kathrin », which had never been seen in the city for which its premiere had been intended, was also cancelled. Korngold continued writing and, in 1950, finished his last major concert work : his Symphony. Again, it was neglected in his homeland, even the Symphonic genre, by then regarded as archaic, although it slowly found an audience elsewhere in Europe. He returned to the film world one last time, in 1954, at the behest of director William Dieterle (who had co-directed « A Midsummer Night's Dream ») , to score the movie « Magic Fire » . A rushed dramatization of the life of Richard Wagner, the German-made film's best element was the music, which was summarized in reasonably eloquent fashion, despite the need to heavily edit every piece of music represented (the most extreme example of which was the closing montage, in which « Parsifal » is represented by about 90 seconds of music and footage) .

Korngold's health began to fail in 1957, and he died late that year. At the time of his death, ironically, Lionel Newman had just conducted a modern re-recording of excerpts from some of Korngold's most celebrated movie music. Over the next 15 years, his music would grow in prominence and recognition as the movies for which it had been written, including « Captain Blood » , « The Sea Hawk » , « The Adventures of Robin Hood » , and « Kings Row » , got a new round of exposure on television (Warner Bros. had sold-out its TV rights, in 1955) and in repertory and revival theaters. By the dawn of the 1970's, Korngold's own son, George, now a producer, had prepared a new album of modern re-recordings of his father's best movie music as part of « RCA Victor » 's « Classic Film Scores » series, featuring Charles Gerhardt conducting.

In the decades since that time, new recordings of complete Korngold scores have started appearing with a regularity from a multitude of labels, including « Bay Cities » and « Varèse Sarabande » . Additionally, the rediscovery of Korngold « the film composer » has led to a fresh round of recording of his concert work, as well as new performances - in 1996, John Mauceri conducted the New York Philharmonic in the 1st New York performance ever given of Korngold's Serenade for Strings. For many years, « Die tote Stadt » was virtually alone among extant Korngold works on record, the « RCA Victor » recordings by conductor Erich Leinsdorf having grown-out of a mid-1970's revival of the Opera at the Metropolitan Opera. Rudolph Kempe had recorded the Symphony, in the early 1960's, which bounced in and out of print for decades. It has since been joined in the catalog by at least 2 additional recordings of the Symphony, and much of Korngold's chamber music has now been recorded along with « Die Kathrin » and his other Operas. The result, coinciding with the Korngold Centennial year of 1997, was more of his music becoming available for the hearing than at any time in history, virtually his entire published output of major works.

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The Austro-Hungarian composer Erich Wolfgang Korngold (who adopted the American nationality, in 1943) was born on 29 May 1897 in Brno (Brünn) , South Moravia (Czech Republic) ; and died on 29 November 1957 in North Hollywood, California. He was buried at the « Hollywood Forever » Cemetery.

While his late- Romantic compositional style was considered well out of vogue at the time he died, his music has more recently undergone a re-evaluation and a gradual re-awakening of interest. Along with such composers as Max

Steiner and Alfred Newman, he is considered one of the founders of film music. Korngold's 1938 Academy Award for his score to « The Adventures of Robin Hood » marked the 1st time an Oscar was awarded to the composer rather than the head of the studio music department (as had occurred, for example, with Korngold's award-winning score to « Anthony Adverse » , in 1936) .

He was born in a Jewish home in Brünn (Brno) , Austria-Hungary (now, the Czech Republic) , the 2nd son of eminent music-critic Julius Korngold. A child prodigy, Erich played his Cantata entitled « Gold » to Gustav Mahler, in 1909 ; Base on Alma's memoirs, Mahler called him a « musical genius » and recommended study with composer Alexander von Zemlinsky. Richard Strauß also spoke very highly of the youth. At the age of 11, he composed his ballet « Der Schneemann » (The Snowman) , which became a sensation when performed at the Vienna Court Opera, in 1910, including a command performance for Emperor Franz-Josef. This work was followed 1st with a Piano Trio, then, his Piano Sonata No. 2 in E major, which Artur Schnabel played throughout Europe. During his early years, Korngold also made live-recording player piano music rolls for the « Hupfeld DEA » and « Phonola » system and also the « Aeolian Duo-Art » system, which survive today and can be heard.

Korngold wrote his 1st orchestral score, the « Schauspiel » Overture when he was 14. His Sinfonietta appeared the following year, and his 1st 2 Operas, « Der Ring des Polykrates » and « Violanta » , in 1914. He completed his Opera « Die tote Stadt » , which became an international success in 1920, at the age of 23. At this point, Korngold had reached the zenith of his fame as a composer of Opera and concert music. Composers such as Richard Strauß and Giacomo Puccini heaped praise on him, and many famous conductors, soloists and singers added his works to their repertoires. He completed a Concerto for Piano Left-Hand for pianist Paul Wittgenstein, in 1923, and his 4th Opera, « Das Wunder der Heliane » , 4 years later. He also started arranging and conducting Operettas by Johann Strauß II and others while teaching Opera and composition at the Vienna « Staatsakademie » . Korngold was awarded the title professor « honoris causa » by the president of Austria.

Max Reinhardt, with whom Korngold had collaborated on the Operettas « Die Fledermaus » and « la Belle Hélène » , asked the composer to come to Hollywood, in 1934, to adapt Felix Mendelssohn's « A Midsummer Night's Dream » incidental music for his film version of the play. Over the next 4 years, he became a pioneer in composing film scores that have been recognized ever since as Classics of their kind. In 1938, Korngold was conducting Opera in Austria when he was asked by Warner Brothers Studios to return to Hollywood and compose a score for « The Adventures of Robin Hood » (1938) , starring Errol Flynn. He agreed and returned by ship. When, shortly after, he arrived in California, the « Anschluß » took place, the condition of Jews in Austria became very perilous and Korngold stayed in America. Korngold later stated :

« We thought of ourselves as Viennese ; Hitler made us Jewish. »

Korngold later would say the film score of « The Adventures of Robin Hood » saved his life. He won the Academy Award for Best Original Score for the film, and was later nominated for « The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex » (1939) and « The Sea Hawk » (1940) . A Korngold authority wrote :

« Treating each film as an “ Opera without singing ” (each character has his or her own leitmotif) , Korngold created intensely Romantic, richly melodic and contrapuntally intricate scores, the best of which are a cinematic paradigm for the tone poems of Richard Strauß and Franz Liszt. He intended that, when divorced from the moving image, these scores could stand alone in the concert-hall. His style exerted a profound influence on modern film music. »

(Brendan G. Carroll. Erich Wolfgang Korngold, The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.)

In 1943, Korngold became a naturalized citizen of the United States. The year 1945 became an important turning-point in his life. His father, who had never been entirely comfortable in Los Angeles, and who had never approved of Erich's decision to focus exclusively on film composition, died after a lengthy illness. Around the same time, the War in Europe drew to an end. Korngold himself had grown increasingly disillusioned with Hollywood and with the kinds of pictures he was being given, and he was eager to return to writing music for the concert-hall and the stage. Korngold stopped writing original film scores after 1946. His final score at Warner Bros. was for « Deception » starring Bette Davis, Paul Henreid, and Claude Rains. However, he was asked by « Republic Pictures » to adapt the music of Richard Wagner for a film biography of the composer, released in « Trucolor » , as « Magic Fire » (1955) , directed by William Dieterle from a script by Ewald André Dupont. Korngold also wrote some original music for the film and had an unbilled cameo as the conductor Hans Richter.

After World War II, Korngold continued to write concert music in a rich, chromatic late- Romantic style, with the Violin Concerto among his notable later works.

Despite his achievements, Korngold for years attracted almost no positive critical attention, but considerable critical disdain. Then, in 1972, « RCA Victor » released an LP entitled : « The Sea Hawk » , featuring excerpts from Korngold's film scores performed by the National Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Charles Gerhardt and supervised by the composer's son, George. (This album and other classic film scores by Hollywood composers were later issued by « RCA » on CD, in Dolby Surround Sound.) This was followed by recordings of Korngold's Operas and concert works, which led to performances of his Symphony and Concertos, as well as other compositions.

In 1973, Warner Brothers Studios released special LPs featuring excerpts from the original soundtracks of films scored by Korngold, as well as a rare recording of Korngold playing the main-theme from « Kings Row » on the piano. In addition, a KFWB radio broadcast from 1938 with Korngold conducting the Studio Orchestra in excerpts from « The Adventures of Robin Hood » , narrated by actor Basil Rathbone, was released on LP. In 1975, « Die tote Stadt » was revived to capacity houses in New York.

There have also been a number of new digital recordings of Korngold's film scores, as well as some of his concert works, especially his Violin Concerto and his Symphony. « RCA Victor » was the 1st to record a complete Korngold Opera (in stereo) , in 1975 : « Die tote Stadt » , conducted by Erich Leinsdorf in Germany. In 1980, « CBS Masterworks » recorded the Opera « Violanta » , under the baton of Marek Janowski ; this recording has been re-released by « Sony Classical » , in 2009. In 1993, « Decca » released a recording of « Das Wunder der Heliane » conducted by John Mauceri in their « Entartete Musik » series. Korngold's 2 remaining Operas, « Der Ring des

Polykrates » and « Die Kathrin » have both been recorded (in 1996 and 1998, respectively) by the German record label « CPO » . This company also released 4 CDs of Korngold's orchestral works with Werner Andreas Albert conducting the « Nordwestdeutsche Philharmonie » . The American conductor-pianist Alexander Frey is currently recording Korngold's complete original piano works for « Koch International Classics » . In 2001, « ArtHaus Musik » released a documentary DVD entitled : « Erich Wolfgang Korngold - The Adventures of a Wunderkind » . Double bass soloist Joel Quarrington recorded a transcription of the « Garden Scene » from Korngold's incidental music to « Much Ado About Nothing » , Opus 11, on his 2008 CD, also entitled : « Garden Scene » . Quarrington won a Juno Award for the album. In 2009, Korngold's Violin Concerto was released on the « Naxos Records » label, along with « Overture to a Drama » , Opus 4, and the concert suite from « Much Ado About Nothing » , performed by the « Orquesta Sinfonica de Mineria » and violinist Philippe Quint.

Further recognition came in the 1990's ; 2 full-scale biographies of him appeared almost simultaneously. One is Jessica Duchen's « Erich Wolfgang Korngold » , in : the « 20th Century Composers » series, Phaidon Press (1996) . The other is Brendan G. Carroll's « Erich Korngold : The Last Prodigy » , Amadeus Press (1997) . Carroll is President of the International Korngold Society. Carroll has released excerpts of acetates with Korngold conducting the Warner Brothers Studio Orchestra in music from his film scores, some possibly taken from KFWB radio broadcasts. In addition, the soundtrack recordings of Korngold conducting some of the film scores have been issued on CDs. On British television, in the 1970's, André Previn conducted 1 movement from the Violin Concerto, and then told the story of the « famous » American music-critic who declared that « Korngold's Violin Concerto is more corn than gold. » . Previn then pointed-out that the critic is no longer remembered whereas Korngold is.

The American Film Institute ranked Korngold's score for « The Adventures of Robin Hood » as No. 11 on their list of the greatest film scores. His scores for the following films were also nominated for the list :

Deception (1946) .

Kings Row (1942) .

The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex (1939) .

The Sea Hawk (1940) .

Works Without Opus Number

« Der Schneemann » (1909) .

Sonata for piano No. 1 (1908-1909) .

« Don Quixote » (1909) .

4 « Kleine Fröhliche Walzer » (1912) .

« Einfache Lieder » (1913) .

Military March in B (1917) .

Romance-Impromptu (1946) .

« Straußiana » (1953) .

Works by Opus

Opus 1 : Piano Trio.

Opus 2 : Sonata for piano No. 2.

Opus 3 : Fairytale Pictures.

Opus 4 : Overture to a Play.

Opus 5 : Sinfonietta.

Opus 6 : Sonata for violin and piano.

Opus 7 : « Der Ring des Polykrates » .

Opus 8 : « Violanta » .

Opus 9 : 6 « Einfache » Lieder.

Opus 10 : String Sextet.

Opus 11 : Much Ado about Nothing.

Opus 12 : « Die tote Stadt » .

Opus 13 : « Sursum Corda » , Symphonic Overture.

Opus 14 : Songs of Farewell.

Opus 15 : String Quintet.

Opus 16 : String Quartet No. 1.

Opus 17 : Piano Concerto for the Left-Hand alone, in C-sharp major.

Opus 18 : 3 Songs.

Opus 19 : 4 Small Caricatures for piano.

Opus 20 : « Das Wunder der Heliane » .

Opus 21 : « Geschichten von Strauß » .

Opus 22 : 3 Lieder.

Opus 23 : Suite.

Opus 24 : Baby Serenade.

Opus 25 : Sonata for piano No. 3.

Opus 26 : String Quartet No. 2.

Opus 27 : « Unvergänglichkeit » Song Cycle.

Opus 28 : « Die Kathrin » .

Opus 29 : Songs of the Clown.

Opus 30 : Passover Psalm.

Opus 31 : 4 Shakespeare Songs.

Opus 32 : Prayer.

Opus 33 : Tomorrow.

Opus 34 : String Quartet No. 3.

Opus 35 : Violin Concerto.

Opus 36 : The Silent Serenade.

Opus 37 : Cello Concerto.

Opus 38 : 5 Lieder.

Opus 39 : Symphonic Serenade for string orchestra.

Opus 40 : Symphony in F-sharp major

Opus 41 : Sonnet for Vienna.

Opus 42 : Theme and Variations.

Selected list of Works

Piano Sonata No. 1 in D minor with concluding passacaglia, (composed in 1908 ; 1st performed in 1908-1909) .

Piano Trio in D major, Opus 1 (composed and 1st performed in 1910) .

Piano Sonata No. 2 in E major, Opus 2, in 4 movements (composed in 1910 ; 1st performed in 1911) .

« Schauspiel-Ouvertüre » (Overture to a Play) , Opus 4 (composed and 1st performed in 1911) .

Sinfonietta, Opus 5 (composed in 1912 ; orchestrated and 1st performed in 1913) .

Violin Sonata in G major, Opus 6 (composed in 1912 ; 1st performed in 1916) .

« Der Ring des Polykrates » , Opus 7 (1916) .

« Violanta » , Opus 8 (1916) .

String Sextet in D major, Opus 10 (1st performed in 1917) .

« Much Ado about Nothing » , Opus 11, incidental music to the play by William Shakespeare (composed in 1918-1919 ; 1st performed in 1920) .

« Die tote Stadt » , Opus 12 (1920) .

« Sursum Corda » , Symphonic Overture, Opus 13 (composed in 1919 ; Ist performed in 1920) .

String Quintet for 2 violins, 1 viola, 1 cello and piano in E major, Opus 15 (composed in 1920-1921 ; Ist performed in 1923) .

String Quartet No. 1 in A major, Opus 16 (composed in 1923 ; Ist performed in 1924) .

Piano Concerto in C-sharp for the Left-Hand alone, Opus 17 (composed in 1923 ; Ist performed in 1924) .

« Das Wunder der Heliane » , Opus 20 (1927) .

Suite for 2 violins, 1 cello and piano Left-Hand, Opus 23 (composed in 1930 ; Ist performed in 1930) .

Piano Sonata No. 3 in C major, Opus 25 (composed in 1931 ; Ist performed in 1932) .

String Quartet No. 2 in E \flat major, Opus 26 (composed in 1933 ; Ist performed in 1934) .

« Die Kathrin » , Opus 28 (1939) .

« Tomorrow » , Opus 33, tone-poem for mezzo-soprano, women's choir and orchestra, for the movie « The Constant Nymph » (Ist performed in concert, in 1944) .

String Quartet No. 3 in D major, Opus 34 (composed in 1945 ; Ist performed in 1946) .

Violin Concerto, Opus 35 (composed in 1945 ; Ist performed in 1947) .

« Die stumme Serenade » (The Silent Serenade) , Opus 36 (musical comedy composed in 1954) .

Cello Concerto in C major, Opus 37 (composed in 1950 ; expanded from a work written for the 1946 film, « Deception ») .

Symphonic Serenade in B \flat major for string orchestra, Opus 39 (composed in 1947-1948, Ist performed in 1950) .

Symphony in F-sharp major, Opus 40 (composed in 1949-1952 ; Ist performed in 1954) .

Theme and Variations, Opus 42 (composed and Ist performed in 1953) .

Film Soundtracks

« A Midsummer Night's Dream » (1934-1935)

« Give us this Night » (1935-1936)

« Rose of the Rancho » (1935)

« Captain Blood » (1935)

« Anthony Adverse » (1936)

« Hearts Divided » (1936)

« The Green Pastures » (1936)

« Another Dawn » (1936-1937)

« The Prince and the Pauper » (1937)

« The Adventures of Robin Hood » (1938)

« Juarez » (1938-1939)

« The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex » (1939)

« The Sea Hawk » (1940)

« The Sea Wolf » (1941)

« Kings Row » (1941)

« The Constant Nymph » (1942-1943)

« Devotion » (1943)

« Between 2 Worlds » (1944)

« Of Human Bondage » (1944-1945)

« Escape Me Never » (1946)

« Deception » (1946)

« Magic Fire » (1954-1955)

Operettas

« Eine Nacht in Venedig » (1923)

« Cagliostro in Wien » (1926-1927)

« Rosen aus Florida » (1928)

« Die Fledermaus » (1929)

« Walzer aus Wien » (1930)

« Die Schöne Helena » (1931)

« Hoffmanns Erzählungen » (1931)

« Das Lied der Liebe » (1931)

« Die Geschiedene Frau » (1932)

« At Your Service » (1939)

« Rosalinda » (1942)

« Helen Goes to Troy » (1944)

« The Great Waltz » (1949)

Rudolf Dittrich

Le musicien autrichien Rudolf Dittrich est né le 25 avril 1861 à Biala, en Galicie (la partie polonaise de l'Autriche-Hongrie) - aujourd'hui, Bielsko-Biała, en Pologne ; et est mort le 16 janvier 1919 à Vienne. Il fut conseiller étranger au Japon pendant l'ère Meiji. Il contribua à introduire la musique occidentale dans le pays du Soleil-Levant.

Le jeune Rudolf reçoit sa formation de base de son père, Anton Julius Dittrich (1825-1914) , qui était professeur de musique. Le garçon étudie le piano dès l'âge de 5 ans ; le violon à partir de 7 ans ; l'orgue à partir de 9 ans ; et la

théorie musicale dès l'âge de 10 ans. À 15 ans, il part étudier à Breslau, où il recevra son diplôme de niveau secondaire. En 1878, il s'inscrit au Conservatoire de musique de Vienne (le « Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») . Il se spécialise dans la Maîtrise du violon avec le directeur Josef Hellmesberger, junior (1855-1907) ; de l'orgue, de l'harmonie, du contrepoint et de la composition avec les professeurs Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) et Franz Krenn (1816-1897) ; et du piano avec le professeur Wilhelm Schenner (1839-1913) .

Dittrich excelle en tant qu'étudiant, recevant les meilleures notes dans toutes les catégories. Il remporte même plusieurs prix. En 1880, il finit 2e dans un concours de violon en interprétant le Concerto en ré mineur de Louis Spohr. En 1882, il remporte le 1er prix d'orgue en jouant la fugue en sol mineur de Jean-Sébastien Bach et le 1er prix de violon en jouant la Chaconne tirée de la Sonate en ré mineur, sans accompagnement. Il fait également partie d'un orchestre symphonique et joue de la musique de chambre avec ses confrères.

Dittrich entretient des relations particulièrement étroites avec Anton Bruckner (celui-ci deviendra l'un de ses nombreux supporters) , mais aussi avec des membres de la famille Hellmesberger. Le frère-cadet de son professeur de violon, Ferdinand (1863-1940) , un violoncelliste, était un de ses camarades de classe. En 1882, ce dernier reçoit, en plus de son diplôme en violon, la médaille d'argent de la « Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde » .

Une fois diplômé, Dittrich continue de jouer de l'orgue et du violon. Il touche l'orgue pour le baron Nathaniel Mayer Anselm « Freiherr » von Rothschild (1836-1905) ; accompagne les services religieux à la synagogue, fort probablement à l'important temple situé sur la « Schmalzhofgasse » (qui sera détruit par les Nazis, en 1938) ; ainsi que dans les diverses églises où le chef Hans Richter (1843-1916) organise des concerts pour chœur avec instruments. Il joue du violon (ou, parfois, de l'alto) avec le Quatuor Hellmesberger lorsque l'ensemble met au programme des œuvres de plus grande taille.

En novembre 1886, Dittrich épouse une chanteuse nommée Petronella Josefina Leopoldine Lammer (née le 15 septembre 1860 et morte le 4 janvier 1891) .

En 1888, l'invitation à se rendre au Japon origine de ses liens avec la famille Hellmesberger. En effet, Josef (senior) le recommande à l'ambassadeur du Japon, sous le gouvernement de Meiji ; il conseille au jeune homme d'accepter la proposition. Par contre, Anton Bruckner n'est pas du tout impressionné. Lorsque Dittrich vient lui dire au revoir, le vieux Maître peut à peine contenir son agitation :

« Quoi, où allez-vous ? Pour le Japon ; le Japon ? Adieu ! »

Bruckner s'est peut-être demandé pourquoi donc, au nom du ciel, Dittrich laissait derrière lui une carrière si prometteuse. Mais la concurrence à Vienne était des plus intenses et l'avenir immédiat n'offrait vraiment rien de bien rassurant. Le gouvernement japonais lui offre ainsi un généreux salaire. Mais grâce à l'insistance de Dittrich et le soutien d'Hellmesberger, on lui accorde le titre de 1er « directeur artistique » de l'École de musique de Tokyo (l'actuelle Université des Arts de Tokyo) : un poste qui, cependant, n'accorde pas de pouvoirs décisionnels.

Dittrich devient ainsi conseiller étranger avec un contrat de 3 ans en poche. Son épouse travaille également dans cette institution. Ils préparent ensemble des spectacles au « Rokumeikan ». Dittrich donne ses cours en anglais, il enseigne le violon, le piano, l'orgue et la théorie et la composition musicale. Il est cependant connu pour être un enseignant très sévère, au point que ses élèves débrayent à une occasion. Néanmoins, beaucoup de ses étudiants vont devenir de grands musiciens.

En 1891, la femme de Dittrich meurt d'une embolie pulmonaire. Au même moment, l'École connaît des difficultés financières car le gouvernement se prépare à la 1^{re} guerre sino-japonaise et retire donc ses subventions. En dépit de toutes ces difficultés, le contrat de Dittrich est renouvelé en 1891, pour 3 ans de plus.

Entre 1891 et 1892, Dittrich commence à fréquenter une joueuse de shamisen et enseignante japonaise, Kiku Mori, avec qui il a un fils hors-mariage nommé Otto Mori. Sa nouvelle compagne l'assiste dans la traduction des paroles et adapte sa musique aux standards japonais telles qu'elles apparaissent dans ses publications de 1894 et 1895.

Dittrich quitte le Japon en août 1894, 1 mois avant l'expiration de son contrat, abandonnant sa conjointe mais en laissant des dispositions visant à fournir un soutien financier à son fils, qui deviendra plus tard violoniste professionnel. Son petit-fils est l'acteur de cinéma Jun Negami.

À son retour, en 1894, il n'est pas évident de se trouver un poste dans la capitale autrichienne mais Dittrich prouve qu'il est toujours un musicien exceptionnel. Très peu de musiciens étrangers (qui ont enseigné au Japon comme lui) en ont fait autant, une fois revenu dans leur pays d'origine. La 1^{re} année, il est actif en tant que violoniste et altiste dans des concerts de musique de chambre. Ainsi, en décembre 1894, il est le second violon lors de 2 concerts du Quatuor Hellmesberger. Il décide cependant de concentrer sa carrière à l'instrument de l'orgue, autant comme interprète que comme professeur (alors qu'il privilégiait le violon, au Japon) .

Le 10 juillet 1900, Dittrich épouse, en seconde noce, Katharina Kriegle.

Il joue de façon régulière à la Chapelle de la Cour impériale. En 1901, il devient l'un des 3 organistes de l'Empereur (il succède ainsi à son mentor, Anton Bruckner, qui fut promu comme 3^e organiste en 1868) . À partir de 1906, il enseigne l'orgue au Conservatoire de Vienne, et est officiellement nommé professeur en 1909.

En plus de sa carrière d'interprète, Dittrich est également actif en tant que président de l'Association Impériale autrichienne de pédagogie musicale. Il dirige plusieurs chorales et est reconnu comme un expert de l'orgue (il sera mandaté principal concepteur du nouvel instrument à être installé dans la salle du « Musikverein ») .

Il continue à composer des œuvres brèves basées sur des mélodies japonaises qu'il a recueillies lors de son séjour au pays du Soleil-Levant. Sa Marche intitulée « Tekona » , créée lors d'une fête musicale au jardin (« garden-party ») se veut un immense succès (la fanfare doit même l'offrir en rappel) . Été 1915, il reçoit la permission de consacrer sa paraphrase du « Kaiserlied » devant le « Kaiser » Franz-Josef.

Lors d'un concert, le 18 octobre 1916, Rudolf Dittrich s'effondre sur scène victime d'un accident vasculaire cérébral. Sans jamais vraiment récupéré, il meurt à Vienne le 16 janvier 1919, à l'âge de 57 ans. Il laisse dans le deuil sa seconde épouse et ses 2 fils.

Sa vie n'est pas sans rappeler l'Opéra « Madama Butterfly » de Giacomo Puccini.

...

The Austrian musician Rudolf Dittrich was born on 25 April 1861 in Biala, Galicia, the Austrian section of Poland (now, Bielsko-Biała) ; and died on 16 January 1919 in Vienna. He is noted for his role in bringing Western music to Japan during the late- 19th Century.

Young Rudolf received his early training from his father Anton Julius Dittrich (1825-1914) , a music teacher. The boy studied piano from the age of 5 ; violin from age 7 ; organ from age 9 ; and music theory from the age of 10. At the age of 15, he moved to Breslau, where he graduated from high-school. In 1878, he enrolled at the Vienna Conservatory (« Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») , where he studied violin with Josef Hellmesberger, junior (1855-1907) ; organ, harmony, counterpoint and composition with Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) and Franz Krenn (1816-1897) ; and piano with Wilhelm Schenner (1839-1913) .

Bruckner became rapidly a good friend of Dittrich. The Master later became one of his sponsors. He excelled as a student, receiving top-grades in all his subjects and even winning several prizes ; in 1880, he came 2nd in a violin competition with a performance of Louis Spohr's Concerto in D minor and, in 1882, he won 1st prizes on the organ and the violin playing the fugue in G minor by Johann Sebastian Bach and the Chaconne from Bach's unaccompanied Violin Sonata in D minor. Dittrich also participated in an orchestra and played chamber music with his fellow students. He enjoyed particularly close relationships with Bruckner and members of the Hellmesberger family ; his violin teacher's younger brother Ferdinand (1863-1940) , a cellist, was a fellow student. In 1882, he graduated, receiving a Silver medal from the « Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde » with his violin diploma.

After graduation, Dittrich continued to perform on the organ and the violin. He played the organ for Baron Nathaniel Mayer Anselm « Freiherr » von Rothschild (1836-1905) and, for services in a synagogue, possibly the large one on « Schmalzhofgasse » (destroyed by the Nazis, in 1938) , as well as in various churches and at choral concerts conducted by Hans Richter (1843-1916) . He played the violin (or, sometimes, the viola) with the Hellmesberger Quartet when they performed works for larger ensembles. His invitation to Japan resulted from his relationship with the Hellmesbergers ; Josef Hellmesberger, senior, who had recommended him to the Japanese ambassador, advised him to take the job. His other mentor, Bruckner, was not impressed. When Dittrich came to say goodbye, he could hardly contain his agitation :

« What, where are you going ? To Japan - to Japan ? Farewell ! »

Bruckner may well have wondered why, on earth, Dittrich was leaving a promising career behind. Competition in Vienna,

however, was stiff and the immediate future promised no vacant position. The Japanese government offered a generous salary, and thanks to Dittrich's insistence and possibly Hellmesberger's backing, he received the title of « artistic director » , a title which, however, did not imply corresponding powers of decision.

In November 1886, Dittrich married a singer named Petronella (nicknamed « Perine ») Josefine Leopoldine Lammer ; born on 15 September 1860 - died on 4 January 1891.

Dittrich was hired by the Meiji government of Japan as a foreign advisor on a 3 year contract and arrived in Tokyo, in 1888, as the 1st Art-Director of the Tokyo School of Music (now, the Tokyo National University of Fine-Arts and Music) . Dittrich and his wife both worked at the school, and also gave performances at the « Rokumeikan » . Dittrich was fluent in English, and also taught his students English conversation along with violin, piano, organ, theory, and composition. However, he was known as a very severe teacher and, at one point, his students marched-out on strike against him. However, many of his students went on to distinguished careers.

Near the end of Dittrich's 1st term, in 1891, his wife died from a pulmonary embolism. Furthermore, the school faced financial difficulties as the government withdrew its support to divert funds for the upcoming 1st Sino-Japanese War. In spite of his school's difficulties, Dittrich's contract was renewed in 1891, for another 3 year period.

Sometime, in 1891 or 1892, Dittrich formed a relationship with a Japanese shamisen performer and instructor, Mori Kiku, with whom he had a son out of wedlock, named Otto Mori. Mori Kiku also assisted Dittrich in translating the lyrics and transposing the music for the Japanese songs which appeared in his 1894 and 1895 publications.

Dittrich left Japan 1 month before the expiration of his contract, in August 1894, abandoning his common-law family, but leaving provisions to provide financial support for his son, who later became a professional violinist. His grandson was the movie actor Jun Negami.

After returning to Vienna, in 1894, Dittrich had to struggle to find a position. In the 1st years after his return, he was active as a violinist and violist in chamber music concerts. Eventually, he secured more stable employment, rising to become, in 1901, one of 3 Hapsburg Court organists. In that role, he was a successor to his mentor Anton Bruckner, appointed Court organist in 1868. In 1906, Dittrich became professor of organ at the Vienna Conservatory. He was a principal designer for the great new organ in the « Musikverein » concert-hall.

On July 10, 1900, Dittrich married his 2nd wife, Katharina Kriegl, who bore him 2 sons.

Dittrich collapsed while performing in a concert, on 18 October 1916, and never fully recovered. He died in Vienna on 16 January 1919.

...

Rudolf Dittrich was recommended to the Japanese ambassador in Vienna (Toda Uchitaka) by Josef Hellmesberger, Senior

(1828-1893) , the director of the Vienna Conservatory. Japanese authors make much of the fact that Dittrich was an artist rather than a mere pedagogue and of how the choice reflected Isawa Shūji's high-ambitions for Western music in Japan. Dittrich's credentials were indeed impressive. Born in Biala in what was then the Austrian section of Poland, he received his early training from his father Anton Julius Dittrich (1825-1914) , a music teacher. According to the « curriculum vitae » , he submitted to the Tokyo Academy of Music, he studied piano from the age of 5 ; violin from age 7 ; organ from age 9 ; and music theory from the age of 10. At the age of 15, he moved to Breslau, where he graduated from high-school. In 1878, he enrolled at the Vienna Conservatory (« Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») , where he studied violin with Josef Hellmesberger, junior (1855-1907) ; organ, harmony, counterpoint and composition with Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) and Franz Krenn (1816-1897) ; and piano with Wilhelm Schenner (1839-1913) . He excelled as a student, receiving top-grades in all his subjects and even winning several prizes ; in 1880, he came 2nd in a violin competition with a performance of Louis Spohr's Concerto in D minor and, in 1882, he won 1st prizes on the organ and the violin playing the fugue in G minor by Johann Sebastian Bach and the Chaconne from Bach's unaccompanied Violin Sonata in D minor. Dittrich also participated in an orchestra and played chamber music with his fellow students. He enjoyed particularly close relationships with Bruckner and members of the Hellmesberger family ; his violin teacher's younger brother Ferdinand (1863-1940) , a cellist, was a fellow student. In 1882, he graduated, receiving a Silver medal from the « Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde » with his violin diploma.

After graduation, Dittrich continued to perform on the organ and the violin. He played the organ for Baron Nathaniel Mayer Anselm « Freiherr » von Rothschild (1836-1905) and, for services in a synagogue, possibly the large one on « Schmalzhofgasse » (destroyed by the Nazis, in 1938) , as well as in various churches and at choral concerts conducted by Hans Richter (1843-1916) . He played the violin (or, sometimes, the viola) with the Hellmesberger Quartet when they performed works for larger ensembles. His invitation to Japan resulted from his relationship with the Hellmesbergers ; Josef Hellmesberger, senior, who had recommended him to the Japanese ambassador, advised him to take the job. His other mentor, Bruckner, was not impressed. When Dittrich came to say goodbye, he could hardly contain his agitation :

« What, where are you going ? To Japan - to Japan ? Farewell ! »

Bruckner may well have wondered why, on earth, Dittrich was leaving a promising career behind. Competition in Vienna, however, was stiff and the immediate future promised no vacant position. The Japanese government offered a generous salary, and thanks to Dittrich's insistence and possibly Hellmesberger's backing, he received the title of « artistic director » , a title which, however, did not imply corresponding powers of decision.

Dittrich arrived in Yokohama, on 4 November 1888, together with his wife Perine (« née » Lammer) , whom he had married, in 1886. His contract ran from 1 November 1888 to 1 September 1891, and stipulated that he would teach up to 5 hours per day in violin, harmony, composition and singing. Many of his students became pioneers of Western music. Koda Nobu, one of the 1st to study the violin with Dittrich, described him as an excellent, if strict, teacher. Other students commented on his strictness too. One student even gathered a group of fellow students and planned a strike. Dittrich, he felt, was too harsh and treated them with contempt because of their inability to meet his unrealistically high-standards. No doubt Dittrich was often impatient with his pupils, most of whom had little

knowledge of Western music before enrolling at the Academy. His particular brand of sarcasm, delivered in a foreign language, could give rise to misunderstandings ; one student, on being pulled by his ears and told to wash them, took this literally, much to the amusement of his fellow students. He often reduced female students to tears. Nevertheless, by the standards of his day, whether European or Japanese, he does not appear to have been excessively strict, and many also remembered him for his kindness. One can imagine his strictness being tempered with Viennese charm.

Dittrich also set new standards by his performances, playing some of the most virtuoso pieces of the violin repertoire, such as concertos by Henri Vieuxtemps and Louis Spohr. Particular favourites were Spohr's Concerto No. 9 and Beethoven's Romance in 6. His 1st public performance took place in March 1889, when he played a violin solo. In a concert, in May, he accompanied his wife, who sang, on the violin. 1 year later, on 12 May 1890, the Academy's own concert-hall, the « Ségakudo » , was dedicated. It was Japan's 1st purpose-built concert auditorium, providing a venue for the Academy's regular public concerts. During his 6 years in Japan (his contract was extended by another 3 years, in 1891) , he performed in over 50 concerts ; as a soloist, in ensembles with students, colleagues, and foreign amateurs, as a conductor of the Academy's choir, and with touring virtuosos, such as the flautist Adolf Terschlak (1832-1901) , who had studied in Vienna, in 1890 ; Dittrich joined him and his pianist Luisa Schuller for several concerts, including one at the « Rokumeikan » , on 11 March. Besides playing 2 violin solos, Dittrich may well have helped Terschlak acquire scores for the 2 Japanese songs (« Sakura » and « Hanakurabe ») he performed. Terschlak also visited Dittrich at the Tokyo Academy of Music and observed his classes. In an article in the « Japan Weekly Mail » , which appeared in Japanese in « Ongaku zasshi » , Terschlak pronounced himself impressed with the level of musical achievement in Japan and praised Dittrich's work highly.

Dittrich composed and arranged music, partly in response to his employers' expectations. His arrangements include one of Johann Strauß's « Pizzicato Polka » for koto ensemble ; he did not have enough competent violinists to perform the piece in its original version. He also arranged several Japanese pieces for piano, or violin and piano, and composed works based on Japanese melodies. On 15 November 1891, he himself performed « Rakubai » (Falling Plum Blossoms) , arranged for koto, violin and piano. Several of his scores were published by Breitkopf & Hartel, in Leipzig, and Giacomo Puccini may well have used them when he composed the Opera « Madama Butterfly » . Dittrich also composed anthems for official occasions like the proclamation of the Meiji Constitution, on 11 February 1889. In a lecture about Japanese music, given in 1895 and published in 1897, he explained and justified his efforts to harmonize Japanese tunes and adapt them to fit Western stylistic conventions. Dittrich's lecture is a typical example of the condescending attitude towards Japanese music shared by most of his Western contemporaries ; nevertheless, it shows that he, at least, made an effort to study it.

For his violin lessons at the Tokyo Academy of Music, Dittrich compiled his own collection of 69 exercises, some of them based on the tutor by Rode, Kreutzer and Bailliot. It was later revised with his permission by his former students Andō (« née » Koda) Kō and Shimazaki Akatarō , and published in 1924.

Dittrich left Japan, on 1 August 1894, his departure coinciding with the start of the Sino-Japanese War. He received high-honours from the Japanese government and was celebrated in an official « farewell concert » at the Academy, on 1 April 1894, where he played several violin solos. He gave his last public performance at the Academy's graduation

concert, in July, when he conducted the choir. Dittrich helped lay the foundations of Western music, not just as something to be taught in schools but as an art to be cultivated and brought to the highest level. Whether (as has been suggested) he is also responsible for the image of Classical music as something terribly serious, to be practised with endurance rather than enjoyment, is open to question. Music in Meiji Japan was a serious business long before Dittrich arrived and, in the early years, many practitioners and listeners probably did not expect to enjoy it. The well-born women who represented the majority of the early violin students at the Academy had their own reasons to emphasize the seriousness of their pursuit ; under no circumstances did they want to be likened to the « geisha » in the pleasure quarters.

Just before his departure, Dittrich deposited at the consulate of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in Yokohama, a pledge to pay a yearly sum for the education of his illegitimate son by a Japanese mistress, Mori Otto (confusingly named the same as the son of the famous writer Mori Ogai) , which he duly paid until Otto reached maturity. Mori Otto followed in his father's footsteps and became a violinist. He developed a special interest in the training of small children.

Dittrich's own career after his return to Vienna proved that he was, indeed, an outstanding musician ; very few of the foreign musicians who taught in Japan did as well as Dittrich in their home country. He played 2nd Violin in 2 concerts by the Hellmesberger Quartet, in December 1894, but his subsequent career as a performer and teacher centred on the organ rather than the violin - unlike his time in Japan. He played the organ for the Imperial Court, and, in 1901, was officially appointed Court organist. From 1906, he taught organ at the Vienna Conservatory, where he was appointed professor in 1909. Besides performing, he was also active as chairman of the Austrian Imperial Association of Music Pedagogy, as an organ expert and a conductor of several choirs. He continued to compose shorter works, based on the Japanese melodies he had collected. His « Tekona March » , premiered at a musical garden party, found such great acclaim that the band repeated it. He enjoyed success of another kind when he received permission to dedicate his paraphrase of the « Kaiserlied » to the Austrian Emperor, in summer 1915. In 1916, he suffered a stroke during a concert and never recovered his health. He died in 1919, survived by his 2nd wife and 2 sons.

With Dittrich's departure, the Tokyo Academy of Music had to do without an outstanding foreign teacher for several years. The Sino-Japanese War drained government finances. In the rising tide of nationalism, War songs became hugely popular and helped familiarize the general population of Japan with Western musical idioms, but promoting art music at a high-level took a back-seat. Indeed, the continued existence of the Tokyo Academy of Music was debated in parliament and in the media, as early as 1891, and, in June 1893, it lost its independence and became a department of the Higher Normal School. From September, it was headed by Kanō Jigorō, better known as the founder of the Kōdōkan style of judo. It did not become independent again, until April 1899. During this period, Dittrich had no foreign successor.

...

Rudolf Dittrich was an Austrian musician who served in Japan (1888-1894) during the Meiji period, as a violin and piano teacher and performer. In his position as the 1st Artistic Director of the Tokyo School of Music, he played a key role in bringing knowledge of Western music to Japan. While in Japan, Dittrich had a relationship with a Japanese

woman who bore him a son. After returning to Europe, Dittrich published 2 collections consisting of piano arrangements of traditional Japanese songs. He also published other arrangements of Japanese music, as well as original compositions (mainly for organ) .

His arrangements of Japanese songs add the full machinery of late- 19th Century Viennese harmony and counterpoint to the comparatively unadorned original Japanese works. Dittrich, in some cases, includes the lyrics for the songs, in German, English and, sometimes, in (Romanized) Japanese.

Some of the songs in Dittrich's collections appear in Giacomo Puccini's Opera « Madama Butterfly » , and it is highly-likely that Puccini had Dittrich's sheet music in hand as he composed that Opera.

In view of Dittrich's connection to Puccini's Opera, the fact that Dittrich had a Japanese child is fascinating ! After all, Madama Butterfly is about a Westerner in Japan who acquires a Japanese wife and son. However, there is no evidence that Puccini knew about Dittrich's Japanese family.

Dittrich's 1894 song-book contains interesting and colorful artwork from the print shop of T. Hasegawa (長谷川) in Tokyo.

...

In 1888, Rudolf Dittrich accepted an offer to become the 1st Artistic Director of the Tokyo School of Music, with a 3 year contract expiring on 1 September 1891. The Tokyo School of Music's successor organization is the prestigious Tokyo National University of Fine-Arts and Music.

Dittrich and his wife, « Perine » , traveled to Japan and took-up residence in Tokyo. They both worked at the school, teaching and giving performances. They performed not only at the school, but also at the famous « Rokumeikan » , a large hall in Tokyo whose purpose was to entertain foreigners.

While his musical qualifications were the main reason for Dittrich's selection to head the Tokyo School of Music, another factor was his fluency in English, the main language of instruction at the school. The school's purpose was to teach European Classical music to Japanese students, so the teachers were foreigners. Since the Japanese did not expect the foreign teachers to learn Japanese, they selected a single European language as the standard. Students studied English along with their music lessons. Incidentally, Dittrich did learn some Japanese.

Dittrich taught violin, piano, organ, theory, and composition. And, judging from the success of his students, he was an effective teacher. Many of his students went on to distinguished careers, and he is recognized as an important figure in the musical history of Japan. We know that Dittrich was very strict in the classroom, so much so that students sometimes broke into tears. There is even a report of a student strike. One commentator (Irene Suchy) has called his teaching methods « brutal » . However, his biographer Hiroko Hirasawa has a more sympathetic assessment, saying that while he was very severe during his classes, in other interactions he was an affable man.

Near the end of Dittrich's 1st 3 year term as Director, his wife « Perine » died suddenly from a pulmonary embolism (« Lungeninfarkt ») . Her death was unexpected : only a short time before, « Perine » had sung in a concert. Dittrich took a vacation to deal with his grief and, then, returned to the school which, at that time, was facing serious financial problems. The government was withdrawing financial support, moving funds into the military build-up for the coming War against China.

In spite of his school's financial difficulties, Dittrich's contract was renewed in 1891, for 3 years, to expire on 1 September 1894. He continued the work of instruction, performance, and administration without his Austrian wife at his side. Then, sometime in 1891 or 1892, he formed a relationship with a Japanese woman, Kiku Mori (Mori is the family name) , with whom he had a son Otto Mori, born on 26 August 1893. Kiku Mori was a shamisen performer and instructor, and we can assume that she taught Dittrich the words and music for the Japanese songs, in his 1894 and 1895 collections.

I do not know whether Rudolf Dittrich and Kiku Mori had a formal wedding ceremony, nor whether the pair lived together, or if so, for how long. Nor do I know whether the existence of Dittrich's Japanese family caused or hastened his departure from Japan (he left 1 month before the expiration of his contract) . Here is what we do know. Dittrich's biographer, Hiroko Hirasawa, has seen and transcribed a declaration that Dittrich signed at the Austro-Hungarian Empire's consulate in Yokohama, 3 weeks before his departure from Japan :

« In the records of this Imperial and Royal Consulate, it is hereby confirmed that Professor Rudolf Dittrich has, in this office today, made the following formal declaration :

“ I hereby obligate myself, for the benefit of my illegitimate son Otto, born on 26 August 1893 to Miss Kiku Mori and myself, to make a yearly payment, in advance, of at least sixty (60) Japanese silver Yen to the child's mother. If the above-named Kiku Mori prevents the child from being turned-over to me, should I demand it, this will cancel my obligation. ” »

(Yokohama, 10 July 1894.)

Unfortunately, the final sentence, about turning-over the child, may be transcribed incorrectly from the original handwritten manuscript, because the German wording (« Sollte seinerzeit genannte Mori Kiku sich weigern mir das Kind über mein Verlangen auszufolgen, hört diese meine Verpflichtung auf ») is unidiomatic and ambiguous.

Dittrich thought he might want the child to join him in Austria, at some time in the future - but he wasn't sure. The political and social realities, both in Japan and in Austria, made it inconceivable that Kiku Mori would accompany Dittrich back to Austria. But Dittrich probably thought that there might be a possibility of his son Otto coming to live in Austria when he grew a few years older. Otto grew-up in Japan as a Japanese, with his mother receiving yearly stipends from Dittrich until Otto reached adulthood.

Otto Mori followed in his father's footsteps by becoming a professional violinist. Otto married a woman named Yoshika Miyake, and the couple gave Rudolf Dittrich 3 grandchildren and, at least, 5 great-grandchildren. Otto Mori's eldest son was movie actor Fujio Mori (1923 - 24 October 2005), known professionally as Jun Negami. In addition to appearing in over 30 Japanese movies, Jun Negami played « Mister Seiko » in « Teahouse of the August Moon », starring Marlon Brando and Glenn Ford (1956).

Rudolf Dittrich left Japan forever, on 1 August 1894, aboard a British ship bound for Tacoma, Washington, in the United States. (On this same day, the Sino-Japanese War began.) After reaching Tacoma, Dittrich took a train to Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada and, there, began a trip by train that took him to New York and to a ship bound for Europe. During this trip, Dittrich wrote at least 2 postcards, in Japanese katakana script, to his Japanese wife Kiku Mori. Hiroko Hirasawa in her dissertation (between numbered pages 87 and 88) displays fac-similes of these notes, but provides no translation from the Japanese.

The 1st postcard is postmarked Tacoma, 17 August 1894, and says :

« August 16

My dear Kiku,

I am in Tacoma today. Please don't worry about me - I am not sick, although it was a long voyage. How are you doing ? How is Otto ?

Please take very good care of yourself. I will write a letter to you again, from America.

Take care of yourself,

Dittrich »

The 2nd postcard is postmarked Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, 23 August 1894 :

« Miss Kiku Mori
2 Hongo Yayoi-cho. Tokyo.
Japan

From Niagara Falls

My dear Kiku,

Today, I am at Niagara Falls. I am not sick.

You and Otto, please take care of yourselves,

Dittrich »

What do we learn from these brief messages ? A 1st observation is that the greeting in the cards, « My dear Kiku » (« okikusan ») , shows affection. Also, Dittrich indicates a paternal interest in his son by inquiring about his well-being and wishing him well. Finally, the fact that Dittrich asks questions in his message suggests that he expected replies, and that a prolonged correspondence may have ensued. However, the above messages are, up to now, the only published correspondence between Dittrich and his Japanese family. It would be interesting to learn more about this sad story of a family torn apart by circumstances beyond their control.

After returning to Vienna, in 1894, Dittrich had to struggle at 1st in the musical job market. In the 1st years after his return, he was active as a violinist and violist in chamber music concerts. Eventually, he secured more stable employment, rising to become, in 1901, one of 3 Hapsburg Court organists. In that role, he was a successor to his mentor Anton Bruckner, appointed Court organist in 1868. In 1906, Dittrich became professor of organ at the Vienna Conservatory. He was a principal designer for the great new organ in the « Musikverein » concert-hall.

On 10 July 1900, Dittrich married his 2nd Austrian wife, Katharina Kriegle (born on 9 August 1880 ; died in 1945) . She bore him 2 sons : Oswald Franz Dittrich (4 June 1901 - 10 October 1966) and Rudolf (1903 - ?) .

On 18 October 1916, during a concert at which he was a performer, Dittrich fell to the floor, the victim of a stroke. He never fully recovered, and died in Vienna on 16 January 1919. Dittrich's son Oswald married Maria Anna Girschik (1903-1976) . His other Austrian son, Rudolf, moved to Germany in 1928 ; after that, what became of him is unknown.

The most complete source of information on Rudolf Dittrich is Hiroko Hirasawa's dissertation. This musical biography of Dittrich contains fac-similes of many documents such as concert programs, the contract as director of the Tokyo School of Music, photographs of Dittrich and his students, etc. In her introduction, Hirasawa thanks for their help several Dittrich descendants, including Dittrich's Japanese grandson Fujio Mori (Jun Negami) . Perhaps, it was he who showed her Dittrich's 1894 paternity declaration and the postcards above. Her footnotes for these documents say simply « Privatbesitz » (private property) .

Irene Suchy's earlier dissertation is valuable because it places Dittrich in the context of other German-speaking musicians who worked in Japan. Also notable are some fascinating details about Dittrich's teaching in Japan. (Irene Suchy's personal website irenesuchy.org, should be visited by anyone with an interest in the history of European music in Japan.)

Kunio Hara's Master's thesis is the best place to learn about Rudolf Dittrich's influence on « Madama Butterfly » . Niklaus Gnaedinger is a descendant of Dittrich who has placed valuable information on the Internet about Dittrich's ancestors and descendants.

Zenzo Matsumoto. Rudolf Dittrich to nippon no shoki Waiorin kai (in Japanese) , in : Ongaku gendai, Tokyo (June 1987) ; page 150.

Rudolf Dittrich. Nippon Gakufu, 1st Series (6 Japanese Popular Songs collected and arranged for the pianoforte) , Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig (1894) .

Rudolf Dittrich. Nippon Gakufu, 2nd Series (10 Japanese Songs collected and arranged for the pianoforte) , Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig (1895) .

...

Rudolf E. Dittrich (geboren 25. April 1861 in Biala, Galizien (heute Bielsko-Biała, Polen) ; gestorben 16. Februar 1919 in Wien) war ein österreichischer Musiker.

Der Österreicher Dittrich lernte seit seiner Kindheit Klavier, Violine und Orgel. Nach seiner Ausbildung in Breslau und am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, das er 1882 abschloss, gab er Konzerte.

1888 wurde er zum artistischen Direktor an die Musikschule Tokio, die heute zur « Tokyo National University of Fine-Arts and Music » gehört, berufen. 1894 kehrte er nach Österreich zurück, wurde 1901 Hoforganist und 1906 Professor an der Akademie der Tonkunst in Wien.

Rudolf Dittrich war somit der erste arrivierte westliche Musiker in Japan.

Seine Frau Petronilla geborene von Kammer (geboren 15. September 1860 ; gestorben 4. Januar 1891 in Tokyo) war bis zu ihrem frühen Tod ebenfalls an der Musikschule Tokio tätig.

Sein Enkel ist der japanische Schauspieler Jun Negami.

Heinrich Peter Vergeiner

Geschichte des Orchesters und seine Vorläufer von Direktor Magister Thomas Greiner

1882 bis 1919

Laut Angaben in der Sekundärliteratur wurde die « Bludenzer Orchestergesellschaft » 1882 von Hermann Gaßner gegründet. Hermann Gaßner spielte selber Geige, wie ein im Zentralarchiv Getzner, Mutter und Cie erhaltenes Bild zeigt. Gaßner war ein unglaublich engagierter Lokalpolitiker und Musikliebhaber. Er blieb bis 1890 Vorstand der Orchestergesellschaft und verstarb während einer Rede beim Landessängerfest im November 1903 in Bregenz. Eine erhaltene Liste auf einem Schreiben des Vorstandes Hermann Gaßner von 1890 führt (soweit leserlich) folgende Namen an : Georg Croce (?) , Fritz, Johann Gamohn, Anton Hutter, Anton Jehly, J. A. Jehly, Josef Koller, Eduard Lutz, Margreitter,

Johann Meier, Reis, Jacob Rief, Josef Sobotka (Dirigent) , Hans Spescha, Fidel Tagwerker. Vorbild für die Orchestergesellschaft waren die Militärmusiken, die damals auch mit Streichern besetzt waren und zum gesellschaftlichen Leben einer Garnisonsstadt beitrugen. Gespielt wurden in erster Linie Märsche, Walzer, Polkas, Pot-pourris, vielleicht auch einmal der eine oder andere Satz aus einer klassischen Sinfonie, der Grundcharakter war aber immer ein unterhaltsamer. Aus schriftlichen Äußerungen Hermann Gaßners ist zu entnehmen, daß er selbst der erste Dirigent der Orchestergesellschaft war, doch dieses Amt dann an den Chorregenten Adolf Schwenk übergeben haben muß. Nach Schwenks Abgang 1886 übte für kurze Zeit **Heinrich Peter Vergeiner** das Amt aus, mit dem es aber zu einigen Streitigkeiten kam, die in Briefabschriften dokumentiert sind. Von 1887 bis Ende 1888 übernahm der Rheinberger-Schüler Josef Renner, der ein sehr begabter Musiker und Komponist war, über Vermittlung von Rheinberger selbst die Leitung, bevor Josef Sobotka ab Anfang 1889 die Harmoniemusik und Orchestergesellschaft leitete. In diese Zeit fiel auch der Wechsel in der Obmannschaft von Hermann Gaßner auf seinen jüngeren Bruder Guido Gaßner. Von Sobotka sind einige unglaublich sauber geschriebene Partituren erhalten. Auf Josef Sobotka, der bis 1910 in Bludenz wirkte, folgte Wenzel Korb, der ebenfalls neben der Harmoniemusik die Orchestergesellschaft leitete, 1919 aber verstarb. Aus dieser Zeit stammt das derzeit älteste, bekannte Foto der Orchestergesellschaft.

Alfred Zamara

The Austrian composer, pianist and harpist Alfred Zamara was born in 1863 in Vienna and died in 1940, also in Vienna. He was the son of the famous harpist Antonio Zamara.

The Zamaras were a Viennese family of harpists active in the musical life of Croatia, in the 19th Century.

Antonio Zamara was born in Italy (in 1823/1829/1831/1835 ?) but his family moved to Austria ; and he finally died in Vienna, in 1901. Antonio taught Joseph E. Schuëcker's father and uncle, Edmund Schuëcker (1860-1911) , from 1871 to 1877 ; and Heinrich Schuëcker (1867-1913) , from 1878 to 1884.

Like his father, Alfred Zamara became professor of harp at the Vienna Conservatory and solo harpist at the Vienna « Hofoper » ; he also played at the Vienna « Hofburg Theatre » . He and his sister, Theresa, were both taught the harp by their father. Theresa became a member of the Budapest Opera and, later, taught harp at the Vienna Conservatory.

Alfred Zamara was a professor of piano at the Vienna Conservatory and a member of the « Hofkapelle » . Among his pupils in his harp-class was Joseph E. Schuëcker (1886-1938) , from 1900-1901.

Zamara wrote many salon pieces, made transcriptions for the harp, and edited François-Joseph Naderman's « 7 Etudes » , but he essentially turned to Opera compositions. He collaborated with Viktor Léon to produce the Opera « Der Doppelgänger » which was produced at the « Theater am Gärtnerplatz » in Munich, in September 1886.

...

Alfred Zamara (geboren 1863 in Wien ; gestorben 1940 ebenda) war ein österreichischer Komponist und Harfenspieler.

Er war der Sohn des italienischen Musikers Antonio Zamara, der nach Wien gezogen war. Wie sein Vater wurde Alfred Zamara Harfenprofessor am Wiener Konservatorium. Er spielte am Wiener Hofburgtheater. 1886 schrieb er die Operette Der Doppelgänger. Victor Léon lieferte das Libretto. Das Stück wurde in München am Theater am Gärtnerplatz uraufgeführt.

...

Alfred Zamara : Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ein Sohn des berühmten Harfenpielers Anton. Er bildete sich gleichfalls in der Musik aus und wendete sich der Operncomposition zu. Zur Zeit bekleidet er die Professor des Clavierspiels am Conservatorium in Wien und ist Mitglied der Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofmusik-kapelle.

Operetten

Von seinen Operncompositionen sind bisher zur Aufführung gekommen :

« Der Sänger von Palermo » , Operette in 3 Acten. Text von Bernhard Buchbinder (1849-1922) , am Carl-Theater. Cranz Verlag, Hamburg (1888) .

« Der Doppelgänger » , romantische Operette in 3 Acten. Text von Viktor Léon, am München Theater im 1886 ; am Gärtnerplatzim Theater an der Wien im October 1887. Cranz Verlag, Hamburg (circa 1886) .

« Die Königin von Arreja » , Text von Viktor Léon.

« Der Herr Abbé » , Operette in 2 Acten. Text von Viktor Léon und Franz-Josef Brackl, im Theater am Gärtnerplatz in München am 10. August 1889. Cranz Verlag, Hamburg (1889) .

Schuëcker (eigentlich Schuöcker) , Familie

Edmund Schuëcker : geboren 16.11.1860 Wien ; gestorben 09.11.1911 Kreuznach / Preußen (Bad Kreuznach / Deutschland) . Harfenist, Komponist. Studierte 1871-1877 am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde bei Antonio Zamara. Soloharfenist im Amsterdamer Parkorkest (1877-1882) , im Hamburger Parlow Orchester (1882-1883) , in der königlich Staatskapelle Dresden / Deutschland (1883-1884) , im Leipziger Gewandhausorchester (1884-1891, zugleich Lehrer am Leipziger Konservatorium) , danach im von Theodore Thomas neu gegründeten Chicago Orchestra, im Wiener Hofopernorchester (1900-1902, von Gustav Mahler berufen) . 1902 krankheitshalber in Kreuznach, spielte er 1903-1904 im Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, 1904-1909 im Philadelphia Orchestra und 1910 im Orchester der Metropolitan Opera New York / USA. Schuëcker wirkte ferner 1903-1906 an den Wagneraufführungen an der Covent Garden Opera London mit. Seine Mazurka ist bis heute (2005) ein beliebtes Harfenstück.

Preis : Kammervirtuose des Herzogs Ernst von Sachsen-Altenburg (1890) .

Musikwerke :

Salonstücke für Harfe.

Mazurka, Opus 12.

Transkriptionen und andere von Werken Hector Berlioz', Franz Liszts, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts, Carl Maria von Webers.

Lehrwerke :

Etüden.

Orchesterstudien, Bände.

Die bedeutendsten Stellen aus Richard Wagner's Opern, mit genauer Fingersatz- und Pedalbezeichnung, 2 Bände.

Sein Bruder Heinrich Schuëcker : geboren 25.11.1867 Wien ; gestorben 17.04.1913 Boston, Massachusetts / USA. Harfenist. Studierte 1878-1884 ebenfalls bei Antonio Zamara am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Zuerst beim Hamburger Parlow Orchester, wurde 1885 1. Harfenist beim Boston Symphony Orchestra und lehrte am New England Conservatory in Boston. Auch als Solist tätig.

Sein Sohn Joseph E. Schuëcker : geboren 19.05.1886 Leipzig / Deutschland ; gestorben 09.12.1938 Los Angeles, California / USA. Harfenist. Studierte zunächst bei seinem Vater, 1900-1901 am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde bei Alfred Zamara. 1904-1905 und 1908-1909 Soloharfenist im Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, danach folgte er seinem Vater im Philadelphia Orchestra nach und war 1911-1913 Harfenist der Henry Savage Grand Opera Company in Boston. 1915-1920 lehrte er am Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh / USA. 1926-1930 wieder beim Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra.

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Ernst Denhof

Viennese pianist, teacher and impresario who immigrated from the Swiss-Austrian border to come to live in Edinburgh, in the early years of the 20th Century. As a believer in music, he had organized a variety of events, at home. Once he felt settled in his new post, he began harboring like thoughts. He died on 5 December 1936 in Exeter, Devon (England) .

Son of Samuel Denhof et Franziska Fanny Denhof.

Husband of Gertrude Denhof.

Brother of Heinrich Denhof ; Bertha Teller ; Ludwig Denhof et Friedrich Denhof.

Pupil of pianist, professor and composer Theodor Leschetizki.

Pupil of Anton Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory.

Teacher of composer and conductor Volkmar Andrae (a great Brucknerian) at the « Musikschule Bern » (Bern School of Music) .

By 1910, Ernst Denhof had a plan and how exciting it was ! He had likely attended the historic presentation of Richard Wagner's « Ring » , in English, at Covent Garden in January 1908. Now, he wanted to do the same in Edinburgh as the 1st offering outside of London, and if enough interest was shown, he would present it twice ! It was a grandiose plan for certain, especially for a relative newcomer.

Most local newspapers thought he was daft ! The « Times » took note, on 8 March :

« What makes a remarkable project still more remarkable is that it is due neither to the action of any organized body nor to the whim of a music-loving millionaire, but is entirely the outcome of the energy and enthusiasm of one man, Mister Ernst Denhof, a local musician, whose 1st venture into the ordinarily thorny paths of Operatic speculation this is. Unsupported by any guarantee, and unaided (or unhindered) by a committee, he has worked-out all the details of the scheme himself. Briefly, the idea was to secure the services of all or most, of the singers who had taken part in the English “ Ring ” performances at Covent Garden, to engage the Scottish Orchestra and to entrust the musical direction to Mister Michaël Balling, who, on the recommendation of Doctor Richter, had conducted at the last Bayreuth Festival. Mister Denhof, at the same time announced a number of provisional engagements, indicating the rates of subscriptions. »

4 days later, the Nation said much the same :

« It looks, however, as if the impetus is to come not from London or Birmingham but from Edinburgh. We might have waited to doomsday before any of our ordinary Operatic companies produced the “ Ring of the Nibelung ” on a proper scale. It has been done during the past couple of weeks, in Edinburgh, the motive force being “ Herr ” Ernst Denhof. He has, of course, had incredible difficulties to contend against. Some of them were inevitable ; others might have been avoided if the venture had not aroused, as schemes of this kind always do, the jealousy of people who will do nothing themselves, but are always ready to throw cold water on the plans of more earnest and energetic men. Nor, if report speaks truly, has “ Herr ” Denhof had the support from the press of his own town any man engaged in so fine a work as this should have been able to count upon with confidence. »

To make his scheme more practical, Denhof managed to align himself with the Carl Rosa Company. Their people could be vassals in the « Ring » , together with members of the Edinburgh Choral Union and choirs of both « Messieurs » Kirkhope and Moonie. He could also present « Carmen » , « Faust » , « Don Giovanni » , « Tannhäuser » , « The Merry Wives of Windsor » and « The Marriage of Figaro » , interspersed amongst his « Ring » segments.

Ernst Denhof announced that veterans from the London « Ring » would form the heart of his cast. Amongst the notables : Agnes Nicholls would sing Brünnhilde and the mighty bass Robert Radford would sing Hunding and Fasolt. Through the good offices of the Berlin Opera, both members of the MacLennan family would appear : tenor Francis as Siegmund in « Die Walküre » and as Siegfried, and his wife, Florence Easton, would sing Freia, Sieglinde, the Woodbird in the 1st Cycle and Guttrune. Edna Thornton was a rock solid Erda. Thomas Meux was Alberich, Sydney Russell, Mime and Frederick Austin sang Wotan and, later, The Wanderer. Michaël Balling would conduct the orchestra of 82 musicians. Veteran Emmanuel Christian Hedmond would sing Loge and handle stage direction, and new scenery and costumes created in Germany would complete a mercurial package.

Both cycles emerged as artistic successes with the finances in the blue, slightly. Afterwards, in deep appreciation, Lord Dunedin, Lord Justice General for Scotland, on behalf of the subscribers, presented Michaël Balling with a silver wreath and « Herr » Denhof with a silver tray, saying :

« Altogether, “ Herr ” Denhof’s “ Ring ” fortnight in Edinburgh tempts one to dream pleasant dreams of the future of Opera in this country. »

The small surplus led Ernst Denhof to contemplate a tour of leading provincial cities in the coming autumn. It was a noble start !

Later that year, while Thomas Beecham remained in London wielding his baton, his « Opéra-Comique » Company rolled into Edinburgh for the week of 31 October, early in its 7 month long tour to present a week of « Tales of Hoffmann » and « Die Fledermaus » performances. In « The Evening News » , on 1 November, Beecham was acclaimed as :

« An active patron of British musical artists and composers. He is not a mercenary impresario, but a man who spends

money on his Opera schemes, by which the public benefits. »

No doubt Ernst Denhof enjoyed Caroline Hatchard as Olympia in « The Tales of Hoffmann » , recalling her work in his English « Ring » , a few months earlier, « as one of the charming Rhine Maidens » .

With Beecham's forces soaking-up most of the local entertainment budget, Denhof decided to shelve his plans and think of the spring of 1911. And, indeed, he was up and running with a 3 week tour that may have been of modest length but, certainly, was immense in content. He set-out to present a single Cycle of the English « Ring » , 1st in Leeds, during the week of 28 March ; in Manchester, from 3 to 9 April ; and, finally, in Glasgow from 11 to 15 April. They were « firsts » in each case. The cast was a mixture of returnees and newcomers, the most notable absentee being the mellifluous Maclennan.

In « Das Rheingold » , Frederic Austin was back as Wotan ; as was Sydney Russell as Mime ; Charles Knowles as Donner ; Robert Radford as Fasolt ; and Edna Thornton as Erda. Walter Hyde now became Loge ; Charles Victor as Alberich in place of Meux. Toni Seiter sang Fricka replacing Marie Alexander. Fafner was Gaston Sargeant.

In « Die Walküre » , Hyde now sang Siegmund ; Robert Radford powerful again as Hunding ; Austin, once more, was Wotan ; Florence Easton returned as Sieglinde ; Toni Seiter continued as Fricka. Cecilie Gleeson-White sang Brünnhilde in Leeds, but Agnes Nicholls assumed the role in the other cities.

Next, John Coates appeared as Siegfried with Sydney Russell as Mime ; Austin as The Wanderer ; Charles Victor as Alberich ; Gaston Sargeant as Fafner ; and Edna Thornton as Erda. As Brünnhilde, « Madame » Gleeson-White sang in Leeds and Glasgow ; Nicholls, in Manchester.

Finally, to complete the « Ring » , John Coates sang Siegfried in « Götterdämmerung » ; Florence Easton was Guttrune as before ; Gleeson-White led-off in Leeds, as Brünnhilde, but Nicholls sang in the other centres. Gunther, sung in 1910 by Austin, was now interpreted by Charles Tilbury, while Waltraute was repeated by Thornton. Hagen was Charles Knowles. They were a sturdy crew.

Ernst Denhof, now feeling his enterprise was maturing and beginning to turn the corner financially, he announced for 1912 his largest scheme to date. He would present « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » , « Der Fliegende Holländer » and « Tristan und Isolde » of Wagner ; Gluck's « Orfeo ed Euridice » ; and as the « pièce de résistance » , Richard Strauß's elaborate shocker, « Elektra » : first in Hull, then in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Glasgow and Edinburgh.

On 26 February, the day he opened in Hull, the country was hit by a national coal strike. For the unlucky impresario, it was yet another blow, the cruelest so far.

A writer for « The Daily Mail » caught-up to Denhof on opening night :

« Generalissimo, you will verily deserve a jaunt in the Riviera after this struggle, I told this kindly, courteous

impresario. »

« Ah ! yes. You do not know the rushes and strain of it ! It is not over yet. I find Hull is willing, but tardy. Yes ! Am I not right ? They crowd the theatre after the 1st night or 2. So ? 800 costumes or more have had to be procured for the Opera Festival in Hull, this week. Ships are on the stage, tonight ; a representation of Hell and Heaven another time ; and bullocks, sheep, whippers, and snakes another ! »

Set-backs be damned ! He was committed. Vivid reports in Hull newspapers for the 3 Wagner Operas and « Elektra » provide an inkling of what transpired.

In reviewing the Opening Night, « The Daily Mail » wrote :

« The massive Masterpiece was given without “ cuts ” of any kind, and with a triumphant wealth of detail not found outside Covent Garden, on Gala nights. The dress circle was not quite half full, boxes were taken, the pit was moderately well-filled, and the gallery showed no blank space whatsoever. »

Frederic Austin was benign, sad and sympathy-compelling as Sachs ... throughout the light bloom of Francis Maclennan's characterization as Walther was a delight ... Florence Easton a maidenly Eva, with fresh and ardent tone and dainty by-play ... brilliant, flexible Maurice d'Oisly as David ... but it was conductor Balling who was applauded for his magic.

Ernst Denhof had stinted not at all. A stickler for authenticity, he brought to Hull diverse talents, such as designer and scenic artist, « Herr » Impekovem from Cologne, the chief authority in Germany for costumes and period, to paint the beautiful scenes in Denhof's productions. To re-inforce the chorus in « Meistersinger » , in Leeds and Hull, Denhof hired members of the Leeds Choral Union, to achieve an « exceptionally powerful » result.

As the Flying Dutchman, Charles Knowles sang « the majestic but somber music with unmistakable power » while Maud Perceval Allen offered « all Senta's music with a supreme sense of the dramatic. She never quailed from the cauldron of sound who arose bubbling and shrieking before her, at times. Her voice of power and tragic intensity dominated even “ Herr ” Balling's forces. » Frederick Ranalow interpreted Daland's affecting music.

The next evening, in « Tristan und Isolde » , « “ Madame ” Gleeson-White's eminently intellectual qualities were noticeable, in her womanly Isolda. The duet, “ Night of rapture rest upon us ” afforded “ Madame ” Gleeson-White and Mister Maclennan a matchless opportunity. They made it seem the very delirium of love - an opium-dream, languorous and faint with sweetness. » Miss Toni Seiter, replacing Marie Brema, « was an expert and well-graced Brangana ; though the carrying power of her voice was not on a par with its sweetness and neat production. The sinister Melot had a strong portraiture at the hands of Thomas Meux. »

On 28 February, came the event for which everyone was thirsting, Strauß's « Elektra » , sung for the 1st time in English. Munich-born Fritz Cortolezis, born in on the wings of Strauß's recommendation, was at the podium. Florence Easton was ready in the title role. Marie Brema « was engaged also by wish of Strauß to sing Klytemnestra » but,

when her moment came, a severe cold kept her away. Doris Woodall sang.

« The Old Queen (not as given by Miss Doris Woodall) but as in the Germanized version, also is rather too clammy for our tastes - a revolting old sinner, with “sallow, bloated face”. She is covered, over and over, with gems and “Talismans”; her arms are full of armlets, her fingers bristle with rings. The lids of her eyes are larger than is natural, and it seems to cost her an unspeakable effort to keep from falling. » There you have it : streaky and strong, the Teutonic foible for too heavy colouring. Miss Woodall did not wear the snakes, but (aided by the bells in the orchestra) rattled her metal charms instead. She forgot her « disease » and was rather too active.

As this fury-haunted Queen, Miss Woodall was impressive in the required way, and reached a dramatic height when exclaiming through the window bars. « See how she defies me. » Miss Woodall sang with just the right vitality of expression and the similar outburst of anger and triumphant laughter were brilliantly treated.

Florence Easton was virtually perfect in the name part. A born actress, no whit of baleful power was lost, though her voice was thin occasionally. Austin was « impressive » as Orestes ; Edith Evans « a tender and likeable » Chrysothemis and d'Oisly, « the wretched interloper Aegistheus, had little to do but that little is indelible in the memory » .

« Each time applause became more deafening. 5 or 10 minutes had to pass ere the onlookers awoke from the experience and filed-out. We were glad to see the boxes occupied, the circle more than half full, the floor almost filled and the galleries quite so. No single person at the 1st production in English, in Hull, will ever erase the impression. We took a poll of the faces. And very few had an opinion expressed there ! They were still in the throes of the excitement. They had come, some of them, to hear unspeakable things only audacious cacophonies, an epileptic fit in music, a fierce fancy by a Mad Mullah of Harmony with a touch of sadism in it ! They left with the knowledge that, for 2 hours, it had been their privilege to listen to music complicated, indeed, and vehement sometimes beyond ordinary description, lurid, and passionate in colour. But it had also gorgeous suggestions, and some few lovely achievements in the lyric line ! » After the final Opera, « Herr » Denhof and his lieutenants were lauded for bringing « one of the most innovatory productions ever given in the Provinces » .

As the tour progressed, cast changes took place. In Manchester, Cecilie Gleeson-White stepped into the role of Elektra without any previous experience or stage rehearsal. Now recovered, « “Madame” Brema (as Brangana and Klytemnestra) shone again, by reason of intense dramatic qualities ; by sheer intellectual strength, she dominated that wonderful 1st Act of “Tristan” » . Knowles added the role of Kurwenal while Julien Henry excelled as Beckmesser.

In some cases, initial curiosity failed to translate into packed houses later. In Manchester and Liverpool, « Elektra » and « Meistersinger » drew quite well initially, but less so when repeated. In Liverpool, Easton's Elektra « was memorable in its histrionic, as well as its vocal brilliance. Apart from the sensational features of this much-debated Opera, its 2 performances failed to make a favourable impression » .

In Manchester, « The Musical Times » reported on « Orpheus » , drawing attention to one of the country's greatest

international stars, a singer supreme at Covent Garden and at the Metropolitan Opera in New York. « “ Madame ” Kirkby Lunn's lyrical powers were known to be very great, yet, their true measure could not fully be realized until one had seen her in Gluck's “ Orfeo ”. » There were visual delights too, « the solemnity of the scene by the tomb of Eurydice (Kate Anderson) surrounded by a grove of stately cypresses, the terror and mystery of Hades, and the bright, spring-like charm of Elysium, were most happily suggested » .

By the time they reached Leeds, the impact of the miners strike was being felt :

« With a restricted train service, and under the financial depression caused by so many businesses closing down, such an undertaking, which extends to some of the provincial towns, is bound to meet with less than it deserves. There were many vacant seats in the Leeds Theatre Royal, last evening at the opening performance of “ Die Meistersinger ”. Indeed, the audience was, by no means, what it should have been even making allowances for the restricted area drawn upon. »

News from the financial area was not good. According to « The Musical Times » , reporting on the Manchester segment in April 1912, said :

« The high-hopes formed of the future of Opera during the recent “ Denhof Operatic Festival ” , conducted by (Michaël) Balling and (Fritz) Cortolezis ; the public support was much less than for the “ Ring ” dramas, a year ago. Gloomy tidings reached us from Hull of a deficit of over 1,000 pounds and the loss of the week's run here cannot have been very much, if any, short of that figure. »

Now, a lesser individual might have called it quits but not « Herr » Denhof. He was not discouraged and began to think of an even longer tour. Getting wind of these plans, Thomas Beecham decided to offer support by loaning a German conductor from his staff, Hans Schilling-Ziemssen, and conducting on occasion, himself. Ernst, still flying high from his artistic achievements, was delighted by the offer and plunged ahead. After all, his robust « Ring » , in Edinburgh, for the 1st time in the provinces ; « Elektra » , the same in Hull ; and Wagner and Strauß galore, in Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle et al. , made for pretty heady stuff. With Beecham, he could expect to augment his laurels, or so he thought. He plunged ahead with planning and gladly assumed leadership of the tour during the autumn of 1913.

This was to be an auspicious event in every way. 27 principal singers supported by a chorus of 100, a ballet of 24 and an 82 piece Orchestra, backed by 10 management and staff. « To cover costs, Denhof had to rely on full-houses everywhere » , which was certainly unrealistic and poor budget practice.

Playing to indifferent-sized audiences, they completed 2 weeks in Birmingham, trying vainly to achieve a debut mood. They moved on to Manchester and gave the 1st week of 2, at which point Denhof realized he was in desperate straits. He was £ 4,000 in arrears ! He decided to stop right there and move to disband the company. When he alerted Beecham, the latter's reaction was predictable. Like the white knight on a charger or the U.S. cavalry galloping to rescue beleaguered settlers, he raced to the scene. That very evening, after the curtain descended on « Der Fliegende

Holländer » , he addressed the troops, giving them every hope the enterprise would continue. A week would be needed to sort matters out ; then, they would re-open in Sheffield and continue till after a fortnight in Edinburgh. Beecham turned the reins over to his man of all miracles, Donald Baylis, and 2 accountants, and departed, leaving behind 240 much happier employees, and a disgruntled former colleague.

Before he left, Beecham launched a massive publicity campaign designed to goad the musical fraternity in Sheffield. Assaults in print upon the duty of the citizenry to art and the artist produced the desired effect. A full-house and stony silence greeted Mister Beecham when he arrived to conduct and, afterwards, amidst oceans of applause, there arose cries of exultant derision :

« Well, Tommy Beecham, are we musical ? »

Feeling the gloom of personal failure, Ernst pondered what had gone wrong. Had he bitten off too much in his enthusiasm ? With his earlier experience, why had he foundered in administration? He may well have asked himself why this situation had been allowed to happen at all.

Canny expert that he was now, Beecham would have detected the flaws in Denhof's plan. After all, what kind of new show could expect to fill every seat every night, just to break even? Instead of throwing a hold on the proceedings to make changes, perhaps there was no time, he let it go ahead, thinking (and hoping) the veteran campaigner would pull it off. Ernst was left to sink or swim. When the tour foundered, Beecham was able to rise to the challenge and stage his remarkable revival, to his credit.

Even after he had gone, Ernst Denhof's legacy was being appreciated in Leeds :

« Productions were characterized by “ Herr ” Denhof's invariable thoroughness ; his aim has always been not to consider how much he could dispense with, but how he could make his performances complete. »

Alas, not necessarily a proven way to keep costs in line.

His great dreams dashed, Ernst returned to Edinburgh to spend the rest of his days as a teacher, his original occupation. In retrospect, one wonders if retaining his German name and using « Herr » instead of « Mr. » worked against him as, in 1913, relations between Britain and Germany were deteriorating.

...

Only after 1910, when Thomas Quinlan and Ernst Denhof entered the fray, was the Rosa and Moody-Manners's control of the provincial repertory broken. The newcomers brought many Operas to the country's biggest cities for the 1st time and emphasized their companies' size and ability to perform works previously seen only in the West-End.

Ernst Denhof's original mission was to mount the 1st performances in Edinburgh of « Der Ring » . Although he had

long organized concerts in the city, he only ventured into Operatic management, in March 1910, making extensive use of artists from Hans Richter's production at Covent Garden. The scale and financial risk were audacious :

« The circumstances of the production are remarkable and, indeed, may be fairly said to constitute a “ record ” in the history of dramatic speculation in Scotland. An Orchestra of nearly 80, made-up of nearly all the Scottish Orchestra, supplemented by some extra-instrumentalists from Covent Garden, has been engaged. The costumes and the scenery have been specially made for the production in Germany. The cost of the entire production is estimated locally at between £ 8,500 and £ 10,000. What is most remarkable of all, however, is that the production has been worked-out by a local pianoforte teacher, “ Herr ” Ernst Denhof. Unsupported by any guarantee, and unaided by any committee, he has worked-out all the details and, as far as can be judged by appearances, with reasonable prospects of financial success. »

Despite the risks, Denhof was successful, showing that, in favourable circumstances, large-scale operations could pay. Encouraged, he then mounted performances of « Der Ring » in Leeds, Manchester and Glasgow, in spring 1911, and « Elektra » , « Die Meistersinger » , « Tristan und Isolde » , « Der fliegende Holländer » and « Orfeo » , in spring 1912 at Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow and Edinburgh. In autumn 1913, he undertook his most ambitious project, a provincial tour intended to take in Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow, and a repertory comprising all the Operas above plus « Der Rosenkavalier » , « Pelléas et Mélisande » , and « Die Zauberflöte » . The Denhof troupe numbered over 200, making it the biggest touring Opera company in the country's history, and included an Orchestra of up to 82 drawn from the Scottish, Covent Garden, Beecham and London Symphony Orchestras, a chorus of 90, and ballet of 24 ; Thomas Beecham was one of the 2 conductors.

Unfortunately, Ernst Denhof miscalculated and, within 3 weeks of the tour starting, it collapsed with reported losses of over £ 4,000. Despite previous successes, Denhof was castigated for embarking « recklessly upon an enterprise that he had not the means to carry through » . Opening in Birmingham, on 15 September, cautious optimism that « the fortnight's visit will attract all the patronage it deserves » was tempered by ticket prices being up to 5 times as high as usual. Perhaps, Denhof should have remembered Birmingham's reputation for ambivalent support of Opera, not least after he was unable to mount « Der Ring » there, in 1911. He should also have noted that Quinlan had given the complete cycle for the 1st time just 6 months earlier. Audiences were poor ; the company transferred to Manchester, where attendances were as bad and, before the end of the 1st week, Denhof could not pay all the wages due. On Friday 3 October, the troupe was told that it would cease operations after the 2 Saturday performances and, that evening, Denhof refused to appear before the curtain despite a sympathetic audience. Beecham dashed from London with a promise to rescue the company, and it appeared in Sheffield shortly afterwards and made most of its remaining planned appearances. Beecham was portrayed as a hero in the press but his rash financial commitment renewed tensions with his father, whom he had not consulted. Denhof, chastened and humiliated, disappeared from public sight.

The collapse of the company was the biggest and most high-profile since the difficulties in London in the 1880's ; the sheer size of Denhof's operation had attracted the press, but so too had his enterprise in bringing new Operas to a

variety of provincial cities. The episode generated debate regarding the receptivity of non-metropolitan audiences, and to how such large undertakings could be made sustainable. Beecham gave a frank and provocative interview to « The Manchester Guardian » :

« He remarked that “ he had not much opinion of Manchester as a musical city, or indeed ”, he added, sadly, “ of any part of the North of England I have no opinion of any town as a musical centre except London. London, of course, is so huge a place that we are bound to do better, simply because we have 7 millions of population to draw on ”. »

A few weeks later, the rescued company returned to Manchester to much improved attendances ; Beecham declared that :

« After all the terrible things I said 3 weeks ago, I am almost ashamed of appearing before you tonight. I am all the more gratified to say that, judging by our business in Manchester at the present time, it is the best we have done in our tour. »

Beecham re-interpreted these difficulties as a challenge and returned to Manchester during the War years, determined to foster a more consistent appreciation of Opera among its citizens.

Thomas Quinlan's company, which had a slightly smaller total complement of about 160, including an Orchestra of 55, was equally ambitious but more stable and with a different « modus operandi » ; in its short life, it circumnavigated the globe twice and spent more time overseas than in the British Isles. Its home appearances caused considerable interest, however, due to the inclusion of works in its repertory not seen outside London previously, including « La fanciulla del West » and « l'Enfant prodigue » (both in 1911) and « Louise » (in 1912) ; Richard Wagner was also strongly represented and Quinlan gave the 1st performances of « Der Ring » in Liverpool, Birmingham, Dublin and Newcastle, in spring 1913. Although Quinlan was more prudent than Denhof, and always included several standard Operas in his repertory, his focus on overseas touring proved his undoing as the outbreak of War inevitably made foreign travel much more difficult ; Quinlan put his company into receivership, in February 1915.

The aspect of provincial performance hardest to document successfully, as in London, is how audiences saw and heard Operas performed. Theatrical and musical memoirs inevitably focus on the bad, strange, accidental or farcical which, while amusing and sometimes informative, relate the exceptional rather than typical. Contemporaneous press reviews were extensive but often used coded language, leaving ambiguities for the historian.

...

In London, Thomas Beecham accepted an invitation to act as chief conductor for a tour of Opera, in English, that was being organised by the Edinburgh-based impresario Ernst Denhof. For Beecham, its main attraction was that it offered him the opportunity to conduct his 1st « Ring » . No other British conductor had tackled a complete cycle of Richard Wagner's Tetralogy before. The Swiss-born Denhof was a man of lofty ambitions. In 1910, he had mounted in

Edinburgh the 1st complete « Ring » in Britain to be seen outside London, which was sung in English and conducted by Michaël Balling, Bayreuth's « Ring » conductor at the time and Hans Richter's successor at the Hallé Orchestra. In 1911, again with Balling, Denhof toured the « Ring » to Leeds, Manchester and Glasgow, and, in the following year, was responsible for the 1st performances of « Elektra » , in English (it opened in Hull) .

The 1913 tour with Beecham was Denhof's biggest enterprise to date. Lasting 14 weeks, from September to December, it was scheduled to visit Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle upon Tyne, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow. Beecham was to conduct « Tristan und Isolde » , « Die Meistersinger » , « The Magic Flute » and, at least, 3 cycles of the « Ring » .

The « Ring » was sung in Frederick Jameson's English translation ; « The Magic Flute » in a translation prepared by Edward Dent, with shortened dialogue, for a production at Cambridge, in 1911, that attempted to restore the Opera to its original state. Though not entirely unknown in Britain, the « Flute » had suffered from years of inadequate touring productions that played fast and loose with the piece, both musically and dramatically. It had not been seen at Covent Garden, since 1888, when it received a single performance.

While Hans Schilling-Ziemssen, his assistant at Covent Garden earlier in the year, was to be responsible for the 1st performances outside London of both « Der Rosenkavalier » (given as « The Rose-Bearer » in Alfred Kalisch's translation) and Claude Debussy's « Pelléas et Mélisande » , along with « Der Fliegende Holländer » , « Elektra » and Gluck's « Orpheus and Euridice » . The stage director was another of Beecham's colleagues from Covent Garden, Hermann Gura.

Money seemed to be no object. There was an Orchestra of 65 players drawn from Scotland and London, a good-sized chorus augmented by local choral groups from each of the cities visited, and, for the « Orpheus » performances, a troupe of 24 dancers. Many of the principal singers, among them Agnes Nicholls, Cicely Gleeson-White, Caroline Hatchard, Frederic Austin, Walter Hyde and Frederick Blarney, had performed in Hans Richter's English « Ring » cycles at Covent Garden and Thomas Beecham's 1910 « Opéra-Comique » season. In contrast, the tenor Frank Mullings, who was to enjoy a remarkable success as Tristan, had had virtually no stage experience at all.

The tour began on 18 September with 2 weeks at the Prince of Wales Theatre, in Birmingham. Ernest Newman wrote of the opening night's « Tristan » that Beecham and the Orchestra had provided « by far, the best orchestral playing we have ever had in a Birmingham theatre the wonderful score was given with extraordinary brilliance and eloquence » while, in « The Mastersingers » , « what Beecham's performance lacked in breadth and solidity, it made-up for in vivacity, sensitiveness, and lucidity » . The Birmingham reviewers noted an alarming number of empty seats, particularly in the more expensive parts of the theatre. At the 2nd « Tristan » , on 23 September, there was a very poor house in every department : Denhof, it soon became clear, had made a disastrous miscalculation. His earlier seasons had taken place in the spring. In September, many of Birmingham's citizens had not recovered from the expense of their summer holidays and were in no mood to spend money on the Opera.

At the next venue, the Theatre Royal, in Manchester, the situation was not helped by the fact that the 1st week, there,

coincided with the Jewish New Year, which, a letter from a reader in the « Manchester Guardian » pointed-out, meant that, on the Wednesday and Thursday, as well as on the Sabbath, many of the city's Jews, « Liberal patrons of the Opera » , felt compelled to attend the synagogue rather than the theatre. This did not explain, however, why advance bookings for the 2nd week (which was to feature the 1st « Ring » of the tour) were even worse than they were for the 1st. After only 4 days in the city, Denhof announced that his losses, already estimated at £ 4,000 (£ 246,000) , were so great that the Saturday-night performance of « Der Fliegende Holländer » , with Schilling-Ziemssen conducting, would be the last. He could not afford to continue, and was abandoning the tour. The zoo-strong company, faced with the loss of 11 weeks' work, was shocked. The debacle did nothing for Manchester's image. « Well may she hang her head in shame ! » , wrote « The Musical Times » .

Thomas Beecham, in London on the day the news broke, sent a message to the company, asking it to stick together and not leave the city. He said he was returning to Manchester post-haste, and would make a statement after the final « Flying Dutchman » , which, ironically, had attracted the largest audience of the week. At the end of it, cast and conductor were given a long ovation and there were cries of « Denhof ! Denhof ! » in the hope that the unfortunate impresario, for whom there was plenty of sympathy, might make a speech. But he was not to be found, so Charles Knowles, who had sung the part of the Dutchman, spoke in his place. « We cannot condemn “ Herr ” Denhof alone for what has happened » , he said. « It is the British public that has not come forward to our support. I hope, however, that this will not be the end of Opera on a large-scale in the provinces. I am a Yorkshireman (laughter) , and we are all Britishers, and we are not all going under on account of what has happened (cries of “ Bravo ! ” and applause) .

»

With the curtain finally down, Beecham, with Donald Baylis at his side, told the assembled company that although it was now too late to rescue the 2nd week in Manchester, he would do all he could to resurrect the tour. Much depended, he said, on talks he was holding on the Monday with United Theatres, which controlled the touring circuit. He asked everyone to leave their home addresses, so that they could be contacted as soon as a solution was found, and added that he hoped to meet them again in a week's time at the Lyceum Theatre, in Sheffield. He was heartily cheered.

Questioned by the press, Beecham said that he had no great faith in large-scale Opera outside London, either as an artistic or a financial undertaking when it came to Opera, the provinces were as bad as « the cannibal islands » - but he was concerned for the artists, whose work was endangered, and anxious that the cause of Opera in Britain should not « be allowed to suffer a set-back : he also took the opportunity to poke fun at Manchester for its lack of musical adventurousness. The managing director of United Theatres handed each member of the company a railway ticket and a portion of his or her salary and, the next morning, most of them left, along with all the scenery and costumes, by special train for London, where they were met by a representative of the « Daily Dispatch » . « Mister Beecham » , a member of the Orchestra told him, « is a brick » .

With Joseph still away in the United States, Beecham had to raise the money himself and, as subsequent events would make clear, he borrowed a lot of it. On the Tuesday, Beecham confirmed that the tour would be resumed as promised, though the last 2 venues, Aberdeen and Glasgow, would have to be dropped. Sheffield, which Beecham had attacked 2

years earlier for ignoring his production of « The Tales of Hofmann » , was subjected to a hurricane of publicity. « MISTER THOMAS BEECHAM » , ran an advertisement in the local press, « APPEALS TO THE SPORTING INSTINCTS OF THE SHEFFIELD PUBLIC TO SUPPORT HIM IN HIS GREAT EFFORT » : in a further move, the price of seats in the cheaper parts of the house was reduced. The strategy worked. Though the cost of mounting the Sheffield week was not quite covered, takings at the box-office were £ 4.00 (£ 24,600) more than Baylis had originally estimated. After the final performance of « Die Meistersinger » , Beecham spoke to the audience. The last time he had conducted in Sheffield, he said, « nobody came to hear me (laughter and cries of “ Shame ”) - and I grossly insulted you in the press the next day. Tonight, I take it all back (loud Cheers) » . Beecham, for once out of the shadow of his father, was enjoying himself immensely.

The following week's takings at the Grand Theatre, Leeds, where Beecham at last conducted his 1st « Ring » , showed a small profit, though the technical problems of putting-on a complete cycle under touring conditions within the space of only 5 days defeated even Baylis. Because of the unusual circumstances of the tour, he and the stage-staff had not had an opportunity to handle the « Ring » sets, which were « more or less strange to them » , until the day before the cycle opened. « It is, perhaps, as well to say at once that the mounting, the lighting, and the scenery of the work fell very far short indeed of the standard required by the composer » , wrote « The Times » of the Leeds cycle, « but their very imperfection served to throw the music itself into stronger relief » . « The Yorkshire Post » , reviewing « Götterdämmerung » , found it « hard to pardon the absolute fiasco at the close, when the curtain descended twice before its proper time, or the terrible muddle when the funeral procession was delayed till the bearers had to rush away under a descending cloth which, for some unaccountable reason, represented colossal Egyptian statues ! » . In « A Mingled Chime » , Beecham makes a joke of the premature curtain-falls, but he must have found them extremely galling at the time.

At the next venue, the Shakespeare Theatre, in Liverpool, advance bookings were so disappointing that Beecham cancelled the 2nd week, there, and instead, to everyone's surprise, returned to Manchester, where he conducted his 2nd « Ring » cycle. Samuel Langford, reviewing it for « The Guardian » , found the conducting in « Das Rheingold » « clever, effective and alert rather than imaginative » : but thought that as the week progressed Beecham's conception of the work grew in stature. By « Götterdämmerung » : it had become « broad and sweeping, and one felt as secure of the onward course of the music as if we were listening to it fresh from the well of the composer's imagination. When it came to the singers, Beecham, « apparently, a victim of the strain of the last few weeks did not appear in Liverpool, where the financial loss was “ considerable ” » (« The Liverpool Courier » , 3 November) .

Ernst Denhof Opera Company

The Ernst Denhof Opera Company was short-lived but a significant body formed for the season 1910-1911 by the Viennese pianist (pupil of Theodor Leschetizki) , teacher and impresario Ernst Denhof, a resident of Edinburgh - born in Vienna, in 1862, who died in Exeter, on 5 December 1936.

Denhof organized provincial performances of Richard Wagner's « Ring » (in English) . Michaël Balling conducted the 1st performances in Edinburgh, in 1910, followed in 1911 by tours to Leeds, Manchester, and Glasgow, and to these cities,

again in 1912, plus Hull and Liverpool.

Ernst Denhof's Company staged at the « Grand Theatre », « for the 1st time in its entirety », in the English Provinces, Richard Wagner's « Ring » Cycle, sung in English, with some of the leading Wagnerians of the day including : Madame Gleeson White, Florence Easton, John Coates, Walter Hyde and Frederick Austin with Michaël Balling conducting a huge Orchestra of 82 musicians drawn from the Scottish and Covent Garden Orchestras.

Repertory, by now, included Richard Strauß's « Elektra » (in English) and Wagner's « Die Meistersinger », with Claude Debussy's « Pelléas et Mélisande » and Strauß's « Der Rosenkavalier », added in 1913, in which year the Company ran into financial trouble in Manchester, being rescued and absorbed by Thomas Beecham's Opera Company.

Caroline Hatchard Miss Hatchard is a native of Portsmouth, and was trained at the Royal Academy of Music under Madam Agnes Larkcom. She gained the Melba Prize, amongst other distinctions. She made her 1st appearance in Grand Opera at Covent Garden, in 1907, and there and elsewhere, she has sung important parts in « Hänsel und Gretel », « Faust », « Traviata », « The Tales of Hoffmann », Wagner's « Ring », and other great Operas. She has been engaged by « Herr » Ernst Denhof to sing the role of « Sophie » in Strauß's « Der Rosenkavalier », the difficult music of the « Queen of the Night » in Mozart's « The Magic Flute », and as « Eva » in « Die Meistersinger ».

English Tour

28 March 1911 (Leeds) : « Der Rhinegold » conducted by Michaël Balling. With :

Robert Radford (Fasolt) ; Frederic Austin (Wotan) ; Charles Knowles (Donner) ; Wilson Pembroke (Froh) ; Walter Hyde (Loge) ; Charles Victor (Alberich) ; Sydney Russell (Mime) ; Gaston Sargent (Fafner) ; Toni Seiter (Fricka) ; Kate Anderson (Freia) ; Edna Thornton (Erda) ; Alice Prowse, Lilian Coomber, Edna Thornton (the Rhinemaidens) .

3 April 1911 (Manchester) : « Der Rhinegold » conducted by Michaël Balling.

11 April 1911 (Glasgow) : « Der Rhinegold » conducted by Michaël Balling.

29 March 1911 (Leeds) : « Die Walküre » conducted by Michaël Balling. With :

Robert Radford (Hunding) ; Walter Hyde (Siegmund) ; Frederic Austin (Wotan) ; Florence Easton (Sieglinde) ; Cecily Gleeson-White (Brünnhilde) ; Toni Seiter (Fricka) .

4 April 1911 (Manchester) : « Die Walküre » conducted by Michaël Balling. Same cast except for Agnes Nicholls (Brünnhilde) .

12 April 1911 (Glasgow) : « Die Walküre » conducted by Michaël Balling. Same cast except for Agnes Nicholls (Brünnhilde) .

23-27 October 1912 (Bristol Festival) : Wagner's « Ring » in a concert version (in English) , conducted by Michaël Balling. With :

Robert Radford, Agnes Nicholls, Perceval Allen, Marion Beeley, Edith Clegg, Peter Cornelius, Lloyd Chandos, Morgan Kingston, Hans Bechstein, Clarence Whitehill.

Early 1913 (Bristol) : « Der Fliegende Holländer » in a concert version, conducted by Harold Bernard. With :

Robert Radford (Daland) ; Perceval Allen (Senta) ; Charles Knowles (Dutchman) ; Maurice d'Oisly (Erik) .

1913 : Financial fiasco of the Ernst Denhof - Thomas Beecham Tour. Abandoned after « Week One » , in Manchester.

There once was an impresario known as Ernst, and another named Tom. They shared the same dream, had the same focus and both thought Opera should become part of the British scene, perhaps, even that citizens should hum arias, now and then ! No easy task, then or now. Each managed great things but they shared a common fault ... they both lost money. That mattered little to Tom for he had a reserve, but to Ernst, this was a vital concern. In the end, as « Sir Thomas Beecham » , Tom became his country's most hallowed musical force, while « Ernst Denhof » slipped into obscurity.

13 October 1913 (Sheffield) : The Tour resumes.

1913 : The Denhof Opera Company returned to the « Grand Theatre » with a 2nd « Ring » Cycle ; this time conducted by Thomas Beecham.

18, 23 September 1913 (Birmingham) : « Tristan und Isolde » conducted by Thomas Beecham. With :

Robert Radford (King Mark) ; Frank Mullings (Tristan) ; Cicely Gleeson-White (Isolde) ; Lena Maitland (Brangäne) ; Charles Knowles (Kurwenal) .

25 June 1890 : Chamber music recital organized by pianist Ernst Denhof with Max Reichel (violin) , Charles Copland (baritone) , accompanied by George Clutsam (pianist-composer) .

7 July 1890 : Vocal and instrumental concert given by « Herr » Ernst Denhof (piano) with Madame Amy Sherwin (soprano) , Emile de Mlynarski (violin) and « Herr » H. Bast (cello) .

...

Monday, 12 March 1906 at 8 o'clock (Edinburgh) : Concert given by the Brodsky Quartet at Music Hall. The 6th and last chamber concert of the 10th season and the 50th and last of the Ernst Denhof's concerts.

...

9 novembre 1878 :Vienna premiere of Richard Wagner's Opera, « Siegfried » .

The 28 year old Richard Heuberger is engaged as conductor of the Vienna « Singakademie » .

WAB 54

27 novembre 1878 :**WAB 54** - « Zur Vermählungsfeier » (lors de votre mariage) - « Zwei Herzen haben sich gefunden » (2 cœurs se sont rencontrés) , cantate (68 mesures) pour les célébrations de mariage en ré majeur pour chœur d'hommes à 4 voix a cappella (TTBB) . Composée sur des paroles de Heinrich von der Mattig (pseudonyme du médecin militaire de Salzbourg et poète amateur Heinrich Wallmann, 1827-1898) . Dédiée aux nouveaux mariés, l'architecte et philosophe docteur Anton von Ölzelt-Newin (1817-1875) , qui fut un auditeur attentionné lors des conférences de Bruckner à l'Université de Vienne, et Amalie (Amy) Edle von Wieser.

Selon la biographie de August Göllerich et Max Auer, la Société chorale masculine à Klosterneuburg aurait dû chanter cette œuvre à l'occasion du mariage du couple à la « Stiftskirche » mais cela ne s'est pas produit en raison d'obstacles majeurs. En fait, le mariage à Klosterneuburg n'a pas eu lieu car Anton von Ölzelt-Newin était un protestant.

On Your Wedding : for male choir a cappella in D major (68 bars) (in a version for solo quartet) , **WAB 54**, Volume XXIII/2, No. 30.

In his years in Vienna (1868-1896) , Bruckner lived at 4 addresses. He owed his flat on the 4th floor of « Heßgasse 7 » (November 1877 until July 1895) to his University student Anton Ölzelt Ritter von Newin (1854-1925) , who paid the rent for Bruckner himself. On the occasion of the marriage between Ölzelt von Newin and Amalie (Amy) Edle von Wieser, Bruckner finished this choral piece, on 27 November 1878. According to the Göllerich / Auer biography, the Male Choral Society in Klosterneuburg « should have performed the wedding choir on the occasion of Ölzelt's marriage in the “ Stiftskirche ”, but this did not come about due to such great difficulties. In actual fact, the wedding in Klosterneuburg did not take place, as Ölzelt was a Protestant » . Nothing is known about the premiere. At the International Bruckner Festival in Linz, a solo performance (by the Hilliard Ensemble) was held on 15 September 1993. This choral piece was only published as a supplement in the yearbook of Klosterneuburg Monastery, in 1910, and was edited in 1921, together with Bruckner's « Ave Regina » (**WAB 8**) , by Josef Venantius von Wöb at Universal-Edition.

Album de l'année (III) du monastère de Klosterneuburg (1910) , page 133.

1re édition : UE 4980, Josef Venantius von Wöb, Universal-Edition, Vienne (1921) ; avec un avant-propos de Josef Venantius von Wöb.

« Zur Vermählungsfeier - Ave regina coelorum » , édité et commenté par Josef Venantius von Wöß ; le numéro 8 du « Kirchenmusikalische Publikationen » de la collection « Schola Austriaca » .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXIII/2, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Angela Pachovsky - Anton Reinthaler, Vienne (2001) ; « Weltliche Chorwerke » , pages 135-139.

Zwei Herzen haben sich gefunden
Und durch die Ehe sich verbunden.
Gesegnet hat des Priesters Hand
Das Paar, geknüpft das Liebesband.

Hat euch vereint der Geist der Wahrheit,
Habt ihr erfasst die Pflicht der Klarheit,
Dann ist der Ehe Heiligtum
Ein himmlisches Elysium.

So möge euch fürs ganze Leben
Der Himmel Heil und Segen geben,
Auch mein Gebet ruft heute laut :
Gott segne Bräutigam und Braut !

Décembre 1878 : The « Hunt » Scherzo of the 4th Symphony is composed.

9 décembre 1878 : In another letter to Wilhelm Tappert, Anton Bruckner reiterates his recommendation, saying that both Symphonies have been « reserved » for Berlin, in spite of interest shown by conductors elsewhere.

Fin-décembre 1878 : Bruckner, âgé de 54 ans, achève la révision de la 2e Symphonie et termine le nouveau « Scherzo de la Chasse » de la 4e.

Quelque temps après la composition du Quatuor à cordes en do mineur pour 2 violons, 1 alto et 1 violoncelle (**WAB 111**) , achevé le 7 août 1862, le violoniste Josef Hellmesberger demande à Bruckner d'écrire une œuvre pour son propre ensemble. C'est alors qu'il s'attèle à la composition du Quintette à cordes (**WAB 112**) qui utilise le schéma mozartien d'un Quatuor avec 1 alto supplémentaire.

WAB 112 : Quintette à cordes

Fin décembre 1878 - 12 juillet 1879 : **WAB 112** - Quintette à cordes en fa majeur pour 2 violons, 2 altos et 1 violoncelle. Une commande du violoniste Josef Hellmesberger (le directeur du Conservatoire de Vienne) pour son propre Quatuor. « Dédié à Sa Majesté Royale, le duc Max Emmanuel de Bavière, avec mon plus profond respect. » Ce dernier fera parvenir à Bruckner, en retour, une épingle à cravate sertie de brillants diamants, en signe de remerciement.

Durée approximative : 45 minutes.

Maximilien Emmanuel, duc en Bavière (Maximilian Emanuel, Herzog in Bayern) est né le 7 décembre 1849 à Munich et est décédé le 12 juin 1893 à Feldafing. Fils de Maximilien en Bavière et de Ludovica de Bavière, il était le plus jeune des frères de l'Impératrice Elisabeth d'Autriche, la célèbre « Sissi », et de la duchesse d'Alençon. Il était surnommé « Mapperl » .

Il épousa Amélie de Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha (23 octobre 1848 - 6 mai 1894) , petite-fille du roi des Français Louis-Philippe Ier et sœur du futur tsar Ferdinand Ier de Bulgarie.

Amélie était fiancée au prince Léopold de Bavière mais l'impératrice d'Autriche (« Sissi ») , sœur de Mapperl intervint, proposa à Léopold sa propre fille, l'archiduchesse Gisèle. Léopold choisit ce second parti et Max et Amélie s'unirent. Ce fut une des plus belles histoires d'amour du gotha ; Mapperl mourut prématurément dans sa 44e année d'hémorragies à l'estomac. Amélie ne lui survécut que quelques mois avant de le rejoindre dans la tombe.

Le Quintette à cordes fut commencé en décembre 1878, peu après les révisions des 4e et 5e Symphonies. Bruckner avait alors 54 ans. Il fut achevé en juillet 1879. Josef Hellmesberger, qui commanda l'œuvre, ne fut « pas impressionné » par le Scherzo initial, le trouvant trop compliqué et inapproprié. Il refusa même de le jouer. Comme toujours, le compositeur, anxieux de plaire, fit preuve d'une compréhension presque exagérée et remplaça le mouvement par un nouvel Intermezzo qu'il complètera plusieurs mois plus tard. Des efforts qui ne furent pas récompensés puisque le violoniste Hellmesberger attendit 6 années pour jouer l'œuvre avec le Scherzo décrié ! Tandis que l'Intermezzo devait encore patienter quelques longues années pour être donné à son tour à Vienne, le 23 janvier 1904, par le Quatuor Fitzner.

Il est difficile de comprendre pourquoi Hellmesberger trouva à redire à ce mouvement : ses exécutants connaissaient sans doute les Quatuors de Beethoven, dont certains comportent des parties aussi techniquement et musicalement exigeantes que le Scherzo de Bruckner. L'antipathie de Hellmesberger pour cette œuvre était due plus probablement à sa réticence à manifester publiquement son approbation pour une œuvre qu'il admirait en privé.

Les Ires représentations seront données sans le Finale. D'abord à Cologne, en décembre 1879, par le Quatuor Heckmann. Puis au Wagnerverein de Vienne, le 17 novembre, par le Quatuor Winkler dirigé par Josef Schalk. Son frère Franz, lui, occupera la chaise de second alto pour l'occasion.

(Bien qu'ami et admirateur de Bruckner, Franz Schalk devait plus tard causer tant de dommages à la 5e Symphonie en y faisant des coupures sans goût et en y ajoutant de la musique de son cru.)

En mai 1883, le Winkler donnera la Ire exécution du Quintette avec le Scherzo original et le Finale. En mai 1885, le Quatuor Hellmesberger jouera enfin l'œuvre dans son intégralité ; Scherzo inclus.

Création en privée à Vienne, en novembre 1881, par des élèves et amis du compositeur réunis par Joseph Schalk, sans

le Finale tout d'abord, puis en entier, quelques années plus tard.

Création publique à Vienne, le 8 janvier 1885, par le Quatuor Hellmesberger.

In « Jean Sibelius : His Life and Personality » (1938) , Karl Ekman details Sibelius' visit to Vienna. Sibelius recalls :

« Anton Bruckner, I never met personally. But I was present at the original performance of his Sextet. I was sitting quite close to him and had a good opportunity of observing him. A kindly little old man, who seemed rather lost in the world. He was short of stature, but disproportionately stout. The joking Viennese called him " ein Rhinoceros mit Nachtigallenkehle " (a rhinoceros with the throat of a nightingale) »

(Despite Bruckner's bucolic appearance and Sibelius' « lost in the world » reference, he was, by all accounts, quite gregarious. In Linz, he had quite a hectic social life. He joined the Linz Choral Society, « Liedertafel Frohsinn » , as 2nd tenor but he was appointed conductor not long after. It was for them that he composed one of his settings of the « Ave Maria » text ; this one for 7 voices, unaccompanied, with a 3 part women's chorus starting followed by the 4 part men's chorus.)

L'œuvre sera jouée en public à plus de 20 occasions du vivant du compositeur. Même s'il demeure un objet de curiosité dans la production brucknérienne, le Quintette prendra une place solide dans le répertoire de la musique de chambre et n'est si peu connu du public qu'à cause de son arrangement musical et de l'écriture assez peu impressionnante de ses parties.

1^{re} édition : Albert J. Gutmann, Vienne (avril 1884) ; manuscrit autographe de 1878-1879 et retouches sur les épreuves de l'imprimeur. Bruckner ne recevra rien en retour.

EE 3322 (310) , édition Ernst Eulenburg (1913 ?) .

Édition Alberti (1945) .

10435, Hermann, édition Peters (3842) .

Gemäßigt. Moderato (indications métronomiques : q = 72) - Scherzo Schnell (q = 138) - Adagio (q = 56) — Finale. Lebhaft bewegt (q = 144) .

Éditions incluant les révisions faites plus tard au manuscrit autographe :

Josef Venantius von Wöb, Reihe Philharmonia, Universal-Edition, Vienne (1922) ; avant-propos (1926) .

Philharmonia, édition Josef Venantius von Wöb (1926) ; Wiener Philharmoniker Verlag 213.

Semblable à la Ire édition imprimée, mais comprend une Coda finale révisée à partir du manuscrit autographe. La Coda originale devient une alternative. Réductions facultatives dans le 1er mouvement et le Scherzo du manuscrit autographe. Indications métronomiques identiques à la Ire édition imprimée.

Gemäßigt. Moderato (q = 72) - Scherzo Vivace (q = 138) - Andante (Adagio) (q = 56) - Finale. Lebhaft bewegt (q = 144) .

Édition Silver Trust, Riverwoods, Illinois.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XIII/2, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak (1963) .

Place en priorité le manuscrit autographe avec la Coda révisée du Finale mais offre celle de la Ire édition imprimée comme alternative. Comprend l'Intermezzo.

Gemäßigt - Scherzo Schnell - Andante - Finale. Lebhaft bewegt.

La mise à jour 2007 de l'édition Leopold Nowak (1963) par G.W. Gruber comprend des lectures alternatives du 2e sujet final sous forme de notes en bas de page, originant des épreuves de l'imprimeur de la Ire édition imprimée ; en plus de réductions facultatives du manuscrit autographe dans le 1er mouvement et le Scherzo, et d'autres petites modifications.

Gemäßigt - Scherzo Schnell - Andante (Adagio) - Finale. Lebhaft bewegt.

Le 1er mouvement a pu être considéré comme celui qui se prête le plus au moyen d'expression offert par la musique de chambre. Il en a le contrepoint complexe et bondissant et les figures chromatiques, qui seraient perdus dans une structure orchestrale. Il comporte 3 fils thématiques distincts : une large mélodie que l'on entend d'emblée, une figure à notes pointées qui passe d'un instrument à l'autre, et une mélodie qui déploie doucement ses courbes. De courts motifs rythmiques abondent dans l'exposition, qui se termine calmement après son apogée en fa dièse ; le développement a recours à plusieurs de ces courtes figures, et le mouvement se termine fermement en fa majeur.

Le Scherzo a été qualifié à la fois de grotesque et d'aimable : son thème enjoué en ré mineur possède le battement rythmique d'une danse de campagne, bien que par ses modulations et par ses grands bonds il rappelle plutôt une musique plus intime et sophistiquée que celle de l'orchestre de village. Le Trio lyrique est en mi bémol ; le rythme en est plus lent, avec un accompagnement en pizzicato qui lui est propre, et qui évoque une écriture plus Symphonique.

Le sublime Adagio est en sol bémol, et forme le centre émotionnel de toute l'œuvre. Il ne le cède en rien, en profondeur, aux Quatuors tardifs de Beethoven, ni aux mouvements Symphoniques lents de Bruckner lui-même, et il est conçu à une échelle semblable. Ce mouvement pourrait même être pris pour une transcription d'un mouvement Symphonique lent, tant le maniement du matériau thématique montre de confiance. Il comporte 3 épisodes distincts, et

le mouvement se termine sur une note de paix profonde et de sérénité.

Dans le Finale, les cordes sont aux prises avec un contrepoint excessivement hardi et une structure orchestrale. Bruckner semble ici écrire un mouvement Symphonique pour cordes seules de la plus grande envergure, et l'effet peut en sembler forcé et peu convaincant. Le mouvement commence en fa mineur avec un second sujet en mi majeur, puis un développement fugué incorpore de brefs motifs pris au matériau thématique principal. La récapitulation fait ressortir la richesse de l'ensemble moyennement lourd avec Maîtrise, et le Quintette se termine, vif et sonore, en fa majeur.

...

Commandé par le violoniste et directeur du Conservatoire de Vienne, Josef Hellmesberger, succédant aux Quintettes de Mozart et de Beethoven plutôt qu'à ceux, avec 2 violoncelles, de Boccherini et de Schubert, le Quintette à cordes de Bruckner fut souvent comparé à ses œuvres orchestrales au point d'être parfois présenté comme une « Symphonie déguisée ». Mais si l'on fait abstraction de ses dimensions et de l'ajout d'un second violon à l'effectif traditionnel du Quatuor (ajout que l'on doit sans doute à Bruckner lui-même), son langage était bel et bien caractéristique de sa formation instrumentale. La façon dont, au cœur du 1er mouvement, le 1er thème réapparaît à découvert à l'alto avant de laisser le 1er violon prendre son envol, le renversement de ce même thème par le violoncelle ainsi que la complexité contrapuntique qui doit une bonne part de son effet à l'homogénéité instrumentale des cordes sont autant d'exemples prouvant que ce Quintette mérite sa place dans le répertoire de la musique de chambre. Et l'on pourrait encore évoquer l'accompagnement du Scherzo semblant finalement autant se chercher que le thème lui-même, se servant des détachés ou des liés comme l'on recourt parfois aux tonalités pour retrouver son chemin. C'est peut-être dans ces modulations inattendues, dans cette structure motivique dont on ne perçoit pas toute la complexité lorsqu'un motif secondaire est projeté en 1re place d'un fugato que se dessine la poésie du Quintette. Une poésie de l'hésitation, du détour et du revirement, annoncée, dès la 1re mesure, par la 3e note du violon, une tierce mineure inattendue qui assombrit brusquement la tonalité principale.

Longtemps, le Quintette en fa majeur fut considéré comme étant la seule contribution de Bruckner au répertoire de la musique de chambre. Mais il y eut également le Quatuor à cordes en ut mineur, achevé en 1862, un « Abendklänge » pour violon et piano de 1866, et quelques pièces pour 3 trombones. Le Quintette, finalement, connut presque autant de difficultés que les autres pièces du Maître (et que les Symphonies notamment) pour s'imposer définitivement.

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Un jour, l'immense « Christus » avait été programmé lors d'un Festival de musique. C'est alors que Franz Liszt demanda que son Oratorio soit retiré pour donner l'opportunité à Anton Bruckner (qui était présent) de faire connaître ses propres compositions. Le Quintette à cordes de même que les 1er et 3e mouvements de la Symphonie dite « Romantique » furent joués devant un public élitiste, composé de musiciens et de critiques.

...

WAB 112 (1878-1879) : String Quintet in F major (with viola) . It was written in 1879 at the request of Josef Hellmesberger, Senior. Dedicated to Duke Max Emanuel of Bavaria. Like Mozart's 6 String Quintets, Bruckner's is scored for 2 violins, 2 violas and 1 cello.

Ist Publication : Gutman, Vienna (1884) .

It is in 4 movements :

Gemäßigt, F major, 3/4.

Scherzo : Schnell, D minor, Trio : Langsamer, E-flat major, both 3/4.

Adagio, G-flat major, common time.

Finale : Lebhaft bewegt, F minor to F major, common time.

At Ist, the Scherzo was 3rd rather than 2nd, as in most of Bruckner's Symphonies.

The idea of Anton Bruckner as a composer of chamber music may seem inconceivable to those given to quick misjudgment. His String Quintet of 1879, his sole mature chamber work, shows that Bruckner was completely at ease and eloquent in the medium. Created between the 5th and 6th Symphonies, the music seems to be striving for orchestral utterance in only a few spots (if that can even be considered a flaw) . Otherwise, the composer completely integrated his characteristic vernacular into the chamber idiom in this concise and well-crafted work.

The main-theme of the Ist movement is more lyrical and searching than a typical Bruckner opening, making the work a cousin to the 7th Symphony, in that regard. The theme is passed from one instrument to the next until a typical Brucknerian octave unison evolves. The 2nd subject is a characteristic « Gesangperiode » , less Austrian in flavour than Bruckner's other music of this type. A leisurely expansive development follows, including Bruckner's favored device of theme inversion. The recapitulation is telescoped, as was the composer's wont in later works, and a characteristic reiterative Coda closes the movement. The Scherzo comes 2nd, as in the last 2 Symphonies, and is quite unlike any other by Bruckner. It combines an elfin spirit with the rhythm of the composer's beloved « Ländler » . The Trio section is, yet, another curiosity for Bruckner ; it is in the style of an old-fashioned minuet, even if the composer's modern modulations peer through the 18th Century framework.

The 3rd movement again seems to inhabit the world of the 7th Symphony, with many of its turns of phrase and cadences recalling the later work's Adagio ; yet, overall, a solid peacefulness diverges from the mournfulness of the 7th's slow movement. The 2nd theme continues this serene and reflective spirit, recalling the corresponding theme in the 3rd Symphony's Adagio. The 2 themes are woven into an elaborate tapestry of development. A gypsy-like descent of 16th notes leads to a more plaintive transformation of the 2nd theme ; the opening is recalled once more before

the calm of the lulling Coda. The Finale gives ample proof that conciseness was not beyond Bruckner's capabilities when it suited what he needed to say. The 1st subject is highly-animated and motive-derived rather than thematic. A striking transition which seems to flirt with atonality leads to the 2nd theme, another typical « Gesangsperiode ». The rhythmic 3rd subject features stark, angular counterpoint, anticipating that of the 1st movement of the 6th Symphony. The development is leisurely, focusing on the more lyrical elements of the exposition. There is only the faintest suggestion of a recapitulation, with the earlier themes fleetingly referred to. In the Coda, is there a tendency to break through to an orchestral utterance ? One can hear echoes of the Symphony's final measures. This concluding gesture notwithstanding, the work inspires speculation as to what Bruckner might have accomplished further in the chamber music vein.

...

The 1st 3 movements were premiered in Vienna, on November 17, 1881, by the Winkler Quartet, with Josef Schalk joining on 2nd viola, in Vienna. The 1st Edition was published in 1884 by Albert J. Gutmann of Vienna, who didn't pay Bruckner any money for it. However, Bruckner made some small adjustments to the piece even after publication. It wasn't until 1885 that the Hellmesberger Quartet played it with Max Mustermann joining on 2nd viola.

Hellmesberger found the Scherzo too difficult, so Bruckner wrote an Intermezzo (**WAB 113**) in the same key to replace it. In concerts today, however, the original Scherzo is usually used instead of the Intermezzo, and, on recordings, the Intermezzo is usually included as an additional track. Also, the 1st Edition included metronome markings that didn't come from Bruckner, namely : *Gemäßigt* quarter note = 72 ; *Schnell* quarter note = 138 ; *Adagio* quarter note = 56 ; *Lebhaft bewegt* quarter note = 144.

Duke Emanuel was pleased by the composition and gave Bruckner a diamond pin. In all, there were 23 performances of the Quintet in Bruckner's lifetime.

Bruckner biographer Derek Watson finds the work « by no means a « Symphony for 5 strings » and it never stretches the Quintet medium beyond its capabilities, save perhaps for the last 17 bars of the Finale, where Bruckner is thinking too much in orchestral terms ». Robert Simpson, on the other hand, also finds the 1st movement Coda « a little ludicrously orchestral », but overall « only the Finale of the Quintet is not fully satisfactory as a piece of composition », in his assessment, because « Bruckner is still absorbed in the problem of the Symphonic Finale of his own peculiar stamp, and forgets that the tonal scale of 5 string instruments is unsuitable for such an architecture ».

...

A glance through the catalogue of the works of Anton Bruckner reminds us of his musical upbringing and environment : choral conductor, organist, then (having heard the music of Richard Wagner) Symphonist. His early works include music for military band and for orchestra, though their harmonic conception is firmly rooted in the organ loft. Of his very few pieces of chamber music, an early String Quartet was written as a student exercise for Otto Kitzler, the cellist with the Linz Municipal Theatre from whom Bruckner had taken lessons in composition. It remained undiscovered until

long after the composer's death. Some time after its composition, the violinist Josef Hellmesberger asked Bruckner to write a work for his String Quartet ensemble. It was not until 17 years later that Bruckner planned a String Quintet using Mozart's scheme of Quartet with an extra viola.

The Quintet was begun in December 1878, shortly after revisions to the 4th and 5th Symphonies. Bruckner was 54 year old. It was finished in July 1879 and shown to Hellmesberger. He was « not impressed » with the Scherzo and refused to play the work, saying it was too difficult. Bruckner, ever compliant and anxious to please, wrote an Intermezzo which was completed several months later. The 1st performances were given, without the Finale, in Cologne, in December 1879, by the Heckmann Quartet, and by the Winkler Quartet in Vienna, the following November. The Winkler Quartet was led by Josef Schalk and the 2nd viola was played by his brother Franz, who (though a friend and admirer of Bruckner) was later to wreak such havoc on the 5th Symphony by making inartistic cuts and adding music of his own. In May 1883, the Winkler Quartet gave the 1st complete performance with the original Scherzo and the Finale. The Hellmesberger Quartet finally played it (Scherzo and all) , in May 1885.

What of the Quintet's subsequent history ? It was published in 1884 by Albert J. Gutmann and dedicated to Duke Max Emanuel of Bavaria. The Duke sent a diamond tie-pin in return ; Bruckner received nothing from his publisher. The Quintet had over 20 public performances in Bruckner's lifetime, and though it remains something of a curiosity in his total output it has a respectable reputation in the chamber repertoire and is unfamiliar to audiences merely because of its scoring and relatively unspectacular part-writing.

The 1st movement is arguably the most appropriate to the chamber music medium. It has the « feel » of a chamber work, with intricate, leaping counterpoint and chromatic figures that would be lost in an orchestral texture. There are 3 distinct thematic strands : a broad melody heard at the outset, a dotted figure which is passed between various instruments, and a soft curving melody. Short rhythmic motifs abound in the exposition, which ends quietly after a climax in F-sharp ; the development uses several of these short figures and the movement ends firmly in F major.

The Scherzo has been described as both grotesque and endearing. Its jaunty D minor theme has the pulse of a country dance, though the modulations and wide leaps are redolent of a more intimate, sophisticated medium than that of the village band. The lyrical Trio is in E-flat ; it has a slower pulse, with a distinctive pizzicato accompaniment that recalls more Symphonic writing.

It is difficult to see why Hellmesberger found this movement unacceptable. His players must have known the Quartets of Beethoven, some of which have part-writing which is as technically and musically demanding as Bruckner's Scherzo. A more likely reason for his antipathy to the work was his unwillingness to show public approval of Bruckner's work which, privately, he admired.

The sublime Adagio is in G-flat and forms the emotional centre of the whole work. Its effect is as profound as any of Beethoven's Late Quartets or Bruckner's own Symphonic slow movements, and it is conceived on a similar scale. Indeed, the movement might easily be mistaken for a transcription of a Symphonic slow movement, so confident is the handling of thematic material. There are 3 distinct episodes, and the movement ends in a mood of great peace and

serenity.

In the Finale, the string players battle with over-adventurous counterpoint and an orchestral texture. Bruckner appears to be writing a towering Symphonic movement for solo strings, and the effect can easily sound strained and unconvincing. The movement begins in F minor with a 2nd subject in E major, and a fugato development incorporates short motifs from the main thematic material. The recapitulation shows masterly use of the richness of the middle-heavy ensemble, and the Quintet ends briskly and sonorously in F major.

...

Bruckner's String Quintet (falling chronologically between his Symphonies Nos. 5 and 6) is not merely one of the most distinguished compositions in his œuvre but, moreover, the Quintet is one of the greatest chamber works of the Late-19th Century.

It is simply a superb work in terms of form and content, on par with late Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms.

The string writing is extremely assured : this is what we look for in small ensemble string media (trios, quartets, quintets) .

Bruckner's advanced harmonic treatment is akin to Schubert's, but utterly original and individualistic. Bruckner knew Schubert's art via the latter's « Lieder » and « Klavierstücke » .

The heart of the String Quintet is, of course, the great Adagio comparable perhaps to the Adagio of his Symphony No. 7. The majestic vista of his vision combined with the subjective depth of human affection recall the Adagio « Heiliger Dankesang » of Beethoven's late A minor Quartet, while anticipating the expansive Largo « Gebet mit dem leben Gott » of Max Reger's « chef-d'œuvre » , his Sextet.

...

Review by Hugo Wolf, « Wiener Salonblatt » (10 January 1886) :

« Anton Bruckner's String Quintet is one of those rare artistic phenomena blessed with the capacity to utter a profound secret in a simple, sensible way, in contrast to the usual procedure, much favoured by our modern " Masters ", of clothing simple, everyday thoughts in the enigmatic utterances of oracles.

Bruckner's music flows full-bodied and rich from the clear fountain of a child-like spirit.

One can say with Wagner's Hans Sachs :

“ It sounded so old, and was yet so new. ”

This is thanks to a strong, popular strain that emerges everywhere in his Symphonic compositions, sometimes overtly, sometimes hidden. How charming, for example, is the “ Ländler ”- like Trio of the Quintet ! How well the composer, for all his earthiness, knows how to play the gentleman of distinction, sometimes by a harmonic deviation or a bit of ingenious counterpoint, by a more richly-coloured instrumentation or a surprising inversion of themes, etc.

Never is Bruckner common place or banal, a virtue he shares with Schubert. But neither do Bruckner's compositions ever seem to be contrived. His harmonies are bold and new, and they lend the melody an utterly characteristic finery, a definite physiognomy that impresses itself with adamantine incisiveness upon the listener's sensibility. His thematic invention is the product of an extraordinarily fertile fantasy and a glowing perceptiveness, hence, the lucid imagery of his musical language. »

Translated by : Henry Pleasants. « The Music Criticism of Hugo Wolf » , Hohnes & Meier Publishers, New York & London (1979) .

...

Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt looks closely at the critical responses to the performance of Bruckner's String Quintet by the Hellmesberger Quartet, in his article « The Critics and the Quintet : A Study in Musical Representation » , seeing in their often highly-coloured language not simply « an expression of the division of musical opinion and affiliation in the Viennese musical world between Wagnerians and Brahmsians » but also « one with a distinct social and cultural background that grew increasingly politicized » . In concentrating on the reception of the Quintet, he seeks to make a distinction between features of musical æsthetics and style on the one hand, and polemical and political issues on the other - issues that often become intertwined with purely musical considerations and make it difficult for us to disentangle today. It is also important to remember that, of the dozen or so journalists who contributed reviews of Bruckner's works regularly in the 1880's and early 1890's, only a few were consistently negative in their criticism. Admittedly, Eduard Hanslick, writing in the « Neue freie Presse » , the paper with the largest circulation, Max Kalbeck, also a contributor to the « Neue freie Presse » as well as the « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » and the « Neue Wiener Tagblatt » , and Gustav Dömpke, another contributor to the « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » , had a great influence on the climate of musical opinion and Bruckner's main-concern was that their unduly harsh critical responses to the Quintet would impede not only public reception of the work but also, coming at a time when the 7th Symphony was being recognized as a major Symphonic achievement, the slow but sure onward march to ultimate recognition.

Bruckner Journal Conference in Nottingham (26 April 2003)

Introduction : Genesis and Reception

2 letters (the 1st written to his Berlin friend, Wilhelm Tappert, on 9 December 1878 ; and the 2nd written to Ignaz P. Traumhler, Choir director at Saint-Florian abbey, on 25 July 1879) give precise details of the compositional time-scale of the String Quintet. Bruckner informed Tappert not only that he had completed revision work on his 4th Symphony

but also that he had begun work on a String Quintet « which Hellmesberger who, as you know, is very enthusiastic about my works, has repeatedly urged me to compose » . In his letter to Traumihler, in which he enclosed the manuscript of his Motet, « Os justi » , he mentioned that he had finished the work, much to the satisfaction of Josef Hellmesberger, senior :

« 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. » (1)

Dates in the autograph in the Austrian National Library confirm that the work was completed on 12 July 1879 and its 4 movements were written in the order : 1st movement (end of 1878 - beginning of 1879) ; Adagio (March - April 1879) ; Finale (May - June) ; Scherzo. Hellmesberger clearly found the Scherzo too difficult and was not as « overjoyed » as Bruckner made-out. As a result, the composer wrote an alternative 3rd movement : an Intermezzo (the autograph of which is also in the Austrian National Library) , which he completed on 21 December. No alternative Trio was written. This replacement movement seemed to please Hellmesberger even less, and the original Scherzo was re-instated in the 1st edition of the Quintet (Albert J. Gutmann, Vienna, 1884) ; the Intermezzo was published posthumously (Universal-Edition, Vienna, 1913) . Another interesting point concerns the order of the movements. In the original autograph, the copy used for engraving and the parts used by the Hellmesberger Quartet, the slow movement is placed 2nd. But a more satisfactory order of movements, in which the slow movement is placed 3rd, was eventually adopted both in the engraver's copy and the parts, almost certainly with Bruckner's approval. Although Bruckner made some alterations and additions in the engraver's copy, for instance a tempo change in the slow movement (originally, « Andante quasi allegretto ») and some changes in the 2nd subject of the Finale, he did not copy these into the autograph. There are other differences between the autograph and the 1st edition. 2 cuts indicated in the autograph (in the Coda of the 1st movement, bars 245-264 ; in the Scherzo, bars 63-82) were not observed either in the engraver's copy or the 1st edition and can, justifiably, be disregarded. The closing bars of the Finale were amended to provide a more convincing conclusion in the printed version. (2)

Hellmesberger and his Quartet did not perform the work until January 1885. In the meantime, Bruckner carried-out some revision work on his 4th Symphony (including the 1880 Finale) , and composed his 6th (completed on September 1881) and 7th Symphonies (completed on September 1883) , « Te Deum » (completed on March 1884) and some sacred and secular choral works. In November 1881, Josef Schalk, one of the composer's most dedicated pupils, arranged a private performance of the 1st 3 movements of the Quintet in the « Bösendorfer » Hall which received 1 or 2 reviews in the local press, including favourable comments from Theodor Helm. (3) The 1st performance of the complete Quintet was given by the Winkler Quartet, with Franz Schalk playing the 1st viola part, at another private musical evening arranged by the Wagner Society in the « Bösendorfer » Hall, on 7 May 1883. Josef Schalk also made a piano-duet arrangement of the Quintet. (4) Critical reaction to the 1st major public performance (by the Hellmesberger Quartet in the large « Musikverein » Hall, on 8 January 1885) was mixed. We know, of course, that, as far as Bruckner's music was concerned, Viennese critics were usually divided into 2 diametrically opposed camps with 1 or 2 occupying a kind of middle-ground. This is certainly true of the 1st performance reviews. Writing in « Die Presse » , Max Kalbeck described the Quintet as a « mixed sequence of musical hallucinations, an apocalypse in 4 chapters the unravelling of which would require a new subsidiary work » but, at least, conceded that the Adagio came «

directly from paradise ... the reflection of an ecstatic vision reaching to the 7th heaven » . (5) Gustav Dömpke, the reviewer for the « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » , adopted the same stance, making a distinction between the muddled structures and harmonic waywardness of the outer-movements and the sustained excellence of the « deeply-felt ensemble writing » in the Adagio. (6) Eduard Hanslick referred to Bruckner as an anarchist, transferring the Wagnerian style to 5 string instruments - « endless melody, freedom from all natural laws of modulation, Wotan's pathos, Mime's will-o'-the-wisp-like humour, and Isolde's intense and self-consuming ecstatic utterances » . (7) Ludwig Speidel's review was, as one would expect from a critic normally favourably disposed towards Bruckner, much more appreciative. He described the working-out of material in the 1st movement as « masterly » although he regretted that the structure was not « more open and pliable » . The Scherzo, however, was a « most interesting and charming » movement and the Adagio « an outpouring of pure song » . (8) Theodor Helm who had already praised the Adagio in his 1881 review and described the Adagio as one of the « noblest, most inspired, most gentle and euphonious pieces that has been written in modern times » when reviewing another performance of the String Quintet by the Winkler Quartet in an « Akademischer Gesangverein » concert, in April 1884, conceded that Bruckner's « masterly creative powers » and « unusual contrapuntal skill » occasionally demanded too much of his listeners, but was convinced nonetheless that the work was « indisputably one of the most important works to have appeared in the realm of modern chamber music » . (9) In an article on the « Quintet » , in the « Bruckner-Jahrbuch » , Gerold Gruber says that it was his 1st hearing of the work in 1881 which « converted » a hitherto sceptical Helm from a « Saul » to a « Paul » in his appreciation of Bruckner's music. (10)

The work itself : a brief analysis

It is interesting that one of the negative points Dömpke makes in his review is that the Quintet, « which is without precedent in chamber music » , can only be directly compared with Bruckner's Symphonies « of which only a small number, not without reason, have become known » . Dömpke's chief complaint, which is clearly expressed earlier in the review, is that the Quintet on the whole is structurally abstruse ; and he finds support for this notion by making a direct comparison with the Symphonies. And when I agree that the Quintet shares several compositional features with the Symphonies, I am stressing the « positive » rather than the negative and drawing attention to the « massive » octave-unison gestures and rich textures one associates with the orchestral works. On the other hand, the time-signature for the 1st movement (3/4) is one which is not found at the same point in any of the Symphonic works. In addition, there are many passages in which Bruckner displays a remarkable awareness of the chamber medium and shows that he is not thinking orchestrally but is concerned more with the give and take of thematic material among the 5 instruments. Each instrument has its own, individual voice but Bruckner is able to blend the different strands into a homogenous whole. I or 2 commentators have made the pertinent point that, by making a conscious decision to use 2 violas rather than 2 cellos, he strengthened the middle-range of the texture and avoided the more « Symphonic » sound of a stronger bass. Bruckner's handling of Sonata-form structure is also different from that encountered in the Symphonies, and clearly shows that it wasn't his intention to write a mini-Symphony or Symphony for chamber music forces ! Comparing the outer-movements of the Quintet with the parallel movements in his Symphonies, Wilhelm Seidel writes :

« In the outer-movements of his Quintet, Bruckner moves away from the monumentality of the Symphony. There is

finesse, malleability and suppleness in his style and he leans towards a looser formal structure which is almost fantasia-like at times ; nevertheless, this is achieved without any constriction in the dynamic-range of his musical language or decrease in the organisational level of his form. Bruckner reduces both the internal and external format of his movements. The 1st movement of the 5th Symphony, the Symphony which he composed before the Quintet, has 573 bars and the final movement 541 bars ; the 1st movement of the Quintet is 273 bars long, and the Finale 197 bars long. » (11)

Although this reduction in format is true of the outer-movements, it is certainly not applicable to the « Adagio » 3rd movement, by far the longest movement in the work and one which undoubtedly possesses the depth and breadth of a Symphonic slow movement. (12) There is no doubt that it provides the emotional high-point of the Quintet and, as we have seen, even those who criticized the work as a whole, were moved to recognize its wonderful melodic inventiveness.

Ist Movement

In the 1st movement (« Gemässigt », in F major) , Bruckner stretches the Sonata-form structure by introducing new material towards the end of the exposition (bars 74-98) . (13) Before that, we have a 1st subject group whose secondary material (bars 21-28) , in particular a rhythmical figure 1st heard on the cello, is an essential part of both the 2nd subject group (bars 29-56) and the powerful 3rd subject group (bars 57-73) . The new material in bars 74ff, which is more typical of a Brucknerian 2nd subject, moves from F-sharp major to C major, the key of the dominant one would expect at the end of a Sonata-form exposition. The repeated falling 5ths for 2nd violin (89ff) prepare for the return of the Opening limb of the first subject material at the beginning of the development section (99ff) . After alternating with quasi-improvisatory « ad libitum » phrases for 1st violin and viola, this material is worked contrapuntally in « stretto » and inversion. The descending trills from the 1st subject return in bars 123ff and are combined with the earlier dotted rhythms which are also presented in « stretto » fashion (bars 127-129) . In bars 131-138, Bruckner introduces a more lyrical and « Ländler » - like new theme for 1st violin above the trills and « pizzicato » cello. After more « fugato » treatment of the opening limb (139ff) , another soaring « ad libitum » phrase for 1st violin leads into the recapitulation which follows the same course as the exposition, although it is not an exact repeat. Bars 11-16, for instance, are not re-stated and the 2nd subject material is shortened. On the other hand, the « closing group » (bars 23ff ; cf. bars 74ff in the exposition) , which begins in B major but soon moves to F major, is considerably expanded. In the Coda, which is admittedly almost orchestral, the important rhythmical figure from earlier is particularly prominent in the 2nd violin (bars 241-247) and 2nd viola (bars 265-270) .

2nd Movement

The contrast between 4 bar and 2 bar phrases helps to give the « Scherzo » (« Schnell » , in D minor) great rhythmical vitality which is maintained in a more restrained fashion in the middle-section (bars 35-82) . Bruckner gave some indication of the kind of contrast he wished in this central section when he wrote to Benno Walter, in March 1885 - « Please, do not observe the tempo-marking exactly, but play the 2nd section up to the repeat of the opening-section almost Andante » . (14) Although Bruckner indicated « Langsamer » only for bars 63-82, Leopold

Nowak, in his edition of the Quintet in the « Gesamtausgabe », adds « Quasi Andante » in brackets at bar 35 in accordance with Bruckner's instructions to Walter. The main thematic material is provided by the 1st and 2nd violin parts, and Bruckner directs the latter to be « immer hervortretend » (always prominent) in the outer-sections. The 2nd violin also has a primary role in the « Trio » (« Langsamer », E-flat major) . Its Neapolitan key-relationship with the « Scherzo » enables Bruckner to effect a seamless return to the latter.

3rd Movement

In the 1st movement, the close relationship between the 1st and 2nd subject groups is created by a pervasive rhythmical figure. In the slow movement (« Adagio », G-flat major) , the relationship is a melodic one, the falling « Hauptmotiv » of the 1st theme being inverted to produce a rising melody (initially in the viola, bars 37ff.) , which is characterized harmonically by its swing between B-flat major and B-flat minor over an F dominant pedal. Bruckner exploits this relationship in the central-section of the movement. After a shortened re-statement of the 1st subject (bars 67-76) , the « Hauptmotiv » is treated imitatively (bars 77-82) . When it appears in inversion (2nd viola, bars 83-84 ; 1st violin, bars 85-86) , it is but a step to the return of the 2nd subject material (at bar 91) . This is not expanded, but a variant of the « Hauptmotiv » , in both direct and inverted forms, is used as a means of exploring a wide-range of keys and effecting a central climax of great power (bars 103ff.) . The alternative (« ossia ») 1st and 2nd violin parts in the score in bars 107-110 are in accordance with Bruckner's addition to the engraver's copy at this point ; demi-semiquavers would certainly not be practical at an « Andante quasi allegretto » tempo ! Further exploration of the diversified 2nd subject material leads to a broad preparation (« Langsamer. Gemessen » , bars 135-138) for the return of the 1st subject which flows into a valedictory Coda over a G-flat pedal (bars 157 - end) .

Finale

The immediately striking feature of the Finale (« Lebhaft bewegt » , F minor - F major) is the lack of a clearly defined « 1st subject » . Instead, we have 32 bars of preparatory material, 16 over a D-flat pedal (as dominant of G-flat major) and 16 over a C pedal (as potential dominant of F major) which is brought to an abrupt end with a pause mark over the bar-line. What follows is a freely modulating 2nd subject (« Langsamer ») commencing in E major and ending inconclusively over a B pedal in bar 70. In its combination of 2 contrasting melodic ideas (falling and rising 6ths initially in 1st viola ; expansive melody for 1st violin) , it is reminiscent of the 2nd subject in the Finale of the 3rd Symphony. There is also a contrast of 2 different ideas (rising and falling crotchets and triplet quavers) in the quasi-fugal texture of the energetic 3rd subject material (bars 71-86) . After a quieter interlude in which the angular crotchet leaps make prominent appearances in direct and inverted forms in the 2nd viola and cello (bars 87-96) , the triplet quavers (« breit gestrichen immer ») appear in all 5 instruments to produce a « fff » climax on an octave-unison high A-flat (bars 97-108) . After a bar's rest, the 1st viola begins the rising and falling 2nd subject idea on the enharmonic G-sharp. This brief « ppp » interlude is followed by a more restrained re-appearance of the 3rd subject material over a prolonged C harmonic pedal (bars 115-130) . At this point, we recognize some degree of kinship with the preparatory material at the beginning of the movement. After another pause-mark over the bar-line, the 2nd subject material is restated, proceeding from D-flat major to B-flat major via a variety of keys. A semi-tone rise in the bass, B-flat - B natural (bars 157-158) , is followed by the opening material

over a C pedal which is now resolved clearly in F major (bars 181 - end) , the tonic key which Bruckner doggedly avoided at the beginning of the movement. (15) The clearest « Symphonic » parallel to this is, of course, the Finale of the 8th Symphony where C minor is not « definitively » reached and confirmed until the Coda of the movement.

Intermezzo

This movement has the same key (D minor) and the same tripartite structure as the « Scherzo » which it replaced initially, but is texturally much less complex and has a much slower tempo (« Moderato ») . In the middle-section, G flat is an important secondary key, and Bruckner exploits the rising harmonic sequence of keys a minor 3rd apart (G-flat [F-sharp] , A - C ; bars 51-76) . In the repeat of the 1st section, he makes further use of the key of G-flat (F-sharp major) before moving-down a major 3rd to D major to effect a powerful cadence. There are 1 or 2 small but unmistakable motivic connections between the « Intermezzo » and the 1st and 3rd movements of the Quintet and the strong emphasis on the key of G-flat is an obvious link with the « Adagio » . On the other hand, it does not provide the same effective contrast in character either with the other movements or with the Trio which Bruckner left unchanged. This is probably the main-reason why the original « Scherzo » was ultimately preferred to the replacement « Intermezzo » . The tempo of the latter is almost the same as that of the « Trio » , and some of its rhythmical gestures are virtually identical.

Conclusion

We tend to measure Bruckner's development as a composer from the early 1860's to the late- 1870's / early 1880's by comparing the fascinating but, as yet, fairly raw attempts at large-scale structure in the early Symphony in F minor (1863) with the more assured architecture of Symphonies Nos. 5-7. No less fascinating and instructive is a consideration of the immense distance travelled between another student work, the String Quartet in C minor (1862) , and the String Quintet in F. The Quintet is tautly constructed throughout, has a final movement which, in its convincing postponement of tonic resolution and closure until the Coda, comes as close as any other 19th Century Sonata-form movement to solving the so-called Finale problem, and is graced with a noble « Adagio » which even Bruckner's most vociferous detractors recognized as being among the finest of its kind.

Notes

(1) The original German versions of both these letters can be found in : « Anton Bruckner Briefe » , edited by Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider, Vienna (1998) ; pages 181-183. Bruckner's relationship with his superior was fairly good on the whole but had its rough passages !

(2) Further details can be found in Leopold Nowak's foreword to his edition of the score (« Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , Band XIII/2, Vienna, 1963) and in articles in the « Bruckner-Symposion » , Linz (1985) and « Bruckner-Jahrbuch » , Linz (1997) series. The 2 different versions of the closing-bars of the Finale are also provided in the Leopold Nowak edition. Margaret Notley discusses the slow-movement of the Quintet in the context of other chamber-music slow-movements of the period, particularly those of Johannes Brahms, in a recent article : « Late-19th

Century Chamber Music and the Cult of the Classical Adagio » , in : « 19th Century Music » , xxiii/1 (Summer, 1999) ; pages 33-61. A particularly fruitful comparison can be made with Brahms' String Quintet in F, Opus 88 (1882) , which has the same instrumentation, « videlicet » 2 violins, 2 violas and 1 cello.

(3) Theodor Helm's review was printed in the « Wiener Signale » (19 November 1881) .

(4) Also published by Albert J. Gutmann, in 1884.

(5) From Max Kalbeck's review in « Die Presse » (12 January 1885) .

(6) From Gustav Dömpke's review in the « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » (17 January 1885) .

(7) From Eduard Hanslick's review in the « Neue Freie Presse » (26 February 1885) .

(8) From Ludwig Speidel's review in the « Wiener Fremdenblatt » (17 January 1885) .

(9) Theodor Helm's 1st review (concert held in the « Bösendorfer » Hall, on 5 April 1884) appeared in the « Deutsche Zeitung » , on 8 April 1884 ; his review of the Hellmesberger Quartet concert appeared in the same paper, on 14 January 1885. On 24 January, Bruckner wrote Helm a letter of profuse thanks, describing his words as « precious jewels » ; see : Hanandt and Schneider, Opus citatum, page 238, for the text of this letter.

(10) Gerald Gruber. « Anton Bruckner, Streichquintett in F-Dur » , in : « Bruckner-Jahrbuch 1994/1995/1996 » , Linz (1997) .

(11) Wilhelm Seidel. « Das Streichquintett in F-Dur im Œuvre von Anton Bruckner und Johannes Brahms » , in : « Bruckner-Symposium Linz 1983 » , Linz (1985) ; page 184. In the article « Bruckner and Brahms Quintets in F » , in : « Music and Letters » , xxxvi (1955) ; page 253, Hans Ferdinand Redlich also warns against describing the Quintet as a « Symphony in disguise » .

(12) At 173 bars, it is only 38 bars shorter than the slow-movement of the 5th Symphony.

(13) Leopold Nowak labels these bars « 4. Gruppe (Schlußgruppe) » in his article, « Form und Rhythmus im ersten Satz des Streichquintetts von Anton Bruckner » , in : « Festschrift für Hans Engel zum siebzigsten Geburtstag » , edited by Horst Heußner, Cassel (1964) ; pages 260-273 - reprinted, in : Leopold Nowak. « Über Anton Bruckner » , Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Vienna (1985) ; pages 60-70. However, several writers, including Ernst Kurth in his discussion of the Quintet in Volume II of his « Bruckner » , Berlin (1925) ; pages 1156-1180, and Wilhelm Seidel in his comparison of Bruckner's and Brahms' F major Quintets, in : Opus citatum ; page 184, suggest that they essentially constitute a postponed « Gesangsperiode » .

(14) See : « Anton Bruckner, Briefe I : 1852-1886 » , in : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , Band XXIV/1, edited

by Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider, Vienna (1998) ; page 247, for this letter, dated Vienna, 27 March 1885. Benno Walter was the leader of the Munich Court Orchestra and of the renowned Benno Walter Quartet who performed the Quintet in Munich, on 31 March 1885.

(15) William Carragan, in another paper (« Bruckner's Golden Arches ») , presented at the 2003 « Bruckner Journal » Conference in Nottingham, convincingly analyzed this Finale as the 1st and « the most Classic' of Bruckner's arch forms » .

...

1877 stellte Doktor Anton von Ölzelt-Nevin, ein wohlhabender Wiener Bürger und Verehrer von Bruckners Musik, dem Komponisten zu billiger Miete eine komfortable Wohnung zur Verfügung, in der jener bis zu seinem Unzug ins Schloß Belvedere 1895 wohnte. Bruckner war Doktor Ölzelt dafür so dankbar, daß er ihm später die sechste Symphonie widmete. Zuvor schrieb er jedoch als erstes Werk in der neuen Wohnung das Streichquintett in F-Dur, das wie die sechste Symphonie in seiner heiteren Grundstimmung durchaus von den verbesserten Lebensumständen beeinflusst sein könnte und mit dessen Entstehung es folgende Bewandnis hat : Im Gespräch mit dem Komponisten äußerte Josef Hellmesberger senior, erster Geiger der damals wichtigsten Streichquartettvereinigung Wiens, sowie als Direktor des Konservatoriums Bruckners direkter Vorgesetzter, Bruckner könne doch einmal ein Kammermusikwerk komponieren (die frühen Versuche waren ihm natürlich nicht bekannt) . Den vermutlich nicht ganz ernst gemeinten Vorschlag interpretierte Bruckner wohl als dringende Bitte, sah sicherlich auch eine neue Herausforderung darin und begann sofort mit der Arbeit, die ihn von Dezember 1878 bis Juli 1879 beschäftigte. Als er Hellmesberger schließlich das fertige Werk zeigte, war dieser zwar positiv überrascht, allerdings mit bestimmten Einzelheiten wenig zufrieden. Das Scherzo missfiel ihm sogar so sehr, daß er Bruckner bat, einen neuen Satz zu schreiben. Der Bitte kam der Komponist mit der Komposition des Intermezzos nach. Die Uraufführung der ersten drei Sätze fand am 17. November 1881 durch das (durch den Bruckner-Schüler Franz Schalk verstärkte) Winkler-Quartett statt. Das Hellmesberger-Quartett zögerte noch bis zum 8. Januar 1883, ehe es das Werk erstmals komplett öffentlich spielte - übrigens mit dem Scherzo. Das Quintett wurde eines der zu Lebzeiten erfolgreichsten Werke Bruckners. Auch einige seiner Feinde unter den Musikkritikern zollten ihm Anerkennung. Zusammen mit den Streichquintetten von Franz Schubert, Johannes Brahms, Felix Dräseke und Antonín Dvořák bildet das für 2 Violinen, 2 Violen und Violoncello geschriebene Stück den Höhepunkt dieser Kammermusikgattung in der Epoche der Romantik. Die Spieldauer beträgt circa 45 Minuten.

Das Streichquintett profitiert in seiner formalen Gestaltung merklich von den Symphonien, ist jedoch keine « verkappte Symphonie » , wie gelegentlich behauptet wird, sondern ein echt kammermusikalisch erfundenes Werk. Orchestral anmutende Stellen finden sich hier nur wenige ; im Vordergrund steht der feinsinnig gehandhabte Dialog der fünf Streichinstrumente, die völlig gleichberechtigt agieren. Man hat schon zu Lebzeiten des Komponisten die Nähe des Stückes zu den letzten Streichquartetten Ludwig van Beethovens betont. Fraglich ist aber, ob Bruckner selbige zum Zeitpunkt der Komposition bereits kannte.

Der Unterschied zu Bruckners Symphonien zeigt sich schon im ersten Satz (Gemäßigt, in F-Dur) : Er ist deutlich zurückhaltender im Ausdruck und vertauscht den sonst üblichen geraden mit dem $\frac{3}{4}$ -Takt. Außerdem setzt er sofort mit

dem Hauptthema ein, ohne vorbereitende Einleitungstakte. Das Thema selbst erinnert auch weniger an die symphonischen Hauptthemen, sondern ist eher den Gesangsthemen der Symphonieecksätze verwandt. Das zweite Thema fällt durch sein prägnantes Kopfmotiv auf. Dieses wird vor Einsatz des dritten Themas zu einer markanten Unisono-Gebärde gesteigert. Das dritte Thema selbst ist das eigentliche Gesangsthema des Satzes. Die Durchführung beschäftigt sich vorrangig mit dem Hauptthema. Auch eine Trillerfigur aus der Überleitung zum zweiten Thema wird für den weiteren Verlauf bedeutend. Die Reprise greift leicht variierend die Themen der Exposition wieder auf. Das dritte Thema bildet den Übergang zur Coda, die auf Motiven des ersten und dritten Themas basiert und feierlich ausklingt.

Wie der Kopfsatz zeigt sich auch das Scherzo (Schnell, in D-Moll, $\frac{3}{4}$ -Takt) gezügelter als in den Symphonien. Es basiert auf drei Themen, die im Mittelteil durchgeführt und anschließend wiederholt werden. Auffällig ist hier die Bevorzugung synkopierter Melodik. Das Thema des dreiteiligen Trios (Langsamer, in Es-Dur, $\frac{3}{4}$ -Takt) ist eine Variante des Scherzo-Hauptgedankens. Nach dem Trio wird das Scherzo Da capo gespielt.

Als bedeutendster Satz des Quintetts gilt das Adagio (in Ges-Dur, 4/4-Takt). « Hätte Anton Bruckner nur den langsamen Satz seines Quintetts geschrieben, so wäre er bereits unsterblich geworden » urteilte der Musikwissenschaftler Wilhelm Altmann. Der Satz basiert auf zwei breit ausgeführten Themenkomplexen. Das Hauptthema, von der ersten Geige vorgestellt, ist gekennzeichnet durch den punktierten Themenkopf und vorrangig absteigende Melodik. Als zweites Thema fungiert eine Violamelodie, die aus der Umkehrung des Hauptgedankens abgeleitet ist. Der durchführungsartige Mittelteil beginnt mit dem Hauptthema, das in seiner Intensität immer mehr gesteigert wird und schließlich zum zweiten Thema überleitet, auf dem sich allmählich der Höhepunkt des Satzes aufbaut, der durch herabstürzende Figuren der Violinen markiert wird. Es folgt eine freie Reprise der beiden Themen in umgekehrter Reihenfolge, in der die Spannung allmählich aufgelöst wird. Ruhig und sanft klingt das Adagio aus.

Im Finale (Lebhaft bewegt, in F-Moll, 4/4-Takt) kommt Bruckner dem Stil seiner Symphonien am nächsten. Sein über einem pochenden Des anhebendes erstes Thema besteht vorwiegend aus einer Achtelbewegung, die erst nach einigen Takten prägnantere Konturen annimmt. Die Melodik des ruhigen Gesangsthemas ist durch Sexten geprägt. Die Durchführung beginnt mit einer Variante des Hauptthemas in großen Intervallsprüngen, die das gewohnte dritte Thema vertritt, allerdings keine in sich abgeschlossene Themenvorstellung erfährt, sondern sofort fugatoartig verarbeitet wird. Der Formabschnitt wird weithin von diesem Gedanken geprägt. Auch treten stellenweise Motive des ersten und zweiten Themas hinzu. Die Reprise läuft spiegelverkehrt ab und beginnt mit dem Gesangsthema. Die Coda wendet sich nach F-Dur und läuft in einen Schluß aus, der dem des ersten Satzes sehr ähnelt.

Der einzeln stehende Quintettsatz Intermezzo in D-Moll (Moderato, $\frac{3}{4}$ -Takt) von 1879 war ursprünglich als nachkomponierter Ersatz für das von Hellmesberger kritisierte Scherzo des Streichquintettes gedacht. Es ist deutlich kürzer als dieses und weist in seinem thematischen Material enge Verwandtschaft zu den Gedanken des Quintett-Finalsatzes auf. Auch hier steht ein Trio (Langsamer) in der Mitte, das allerdings wenig zu den umrahmenden Intermezzo-Teilen kontrastiert. Gelegentlich wird bei Aufführungen des Streichquintettes das Intermezzo zwischen Adagio und Finale eingeschoben.

Maximilien Emmanuel, duc en Bavière (« Maximilian Emanuel, Herzog in Bayern ») est né le 7 décembre 1849 à Munich, dans le Royaume de Bavière, et est décédé le 12 juin 1893 à Feldafing. Fils de Maximilien en Bavière et de Ludovica de Bavière, il était le plus jeune des frères de l'Impératrice Elisabeth d'Autriche, la célèbre « Sissi », duchesse d'Alençon. Il était surnommé « Mapperl » .

Il épouse Amélie de Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha (née le 23 octobre 1848 et décédée le 6 mai 1894) , la petite-fille du roi des Français, Louis-Philippe 1er, et sœur du futur tsar Ferdinand 1er de Bulgarie.

Amélie était fiancée au prince Léopold de Bavière mais l'Impératrice d'Autriche (« Sissi ») , la sœur de « Mapperl » , intervient et propose à Léopold sa propre fille, l'archiduchesse Gisèle. Léopold choisit ce second parti et Max et Amélie s'unirent.

Ce fut une des plus belles histoires d'amour du Gotha ; « Mapperl » meurt prématurément, dans sa 44e année, d'hémorragies à l'estomac. Amélie ne lui survit que quelques mois avant de le rejoindre dans la tombe.

De cette union naquirent :

Siegfried, duc en Bavière (10 juillet 1876 - 12 mars 1952) .

Christophe, duc en Bavière, (22 avril 1879 - 10 juillet 1963) qui épousa Anna Sibig (18 juillet 1874 - 1er janvier 1958) .

Luitpold-Emmanuel, duc en Bavière (30 juin 1890 - 16 janvier 1973) .

(Photo) Le duc Maximilian Emanuel en Bavière (1849-1893) , fils de Max duc en Bavière et de la princesse Ludovika de Bavière, et la princesse Amalie de Saxe-Cobourg et Gotha (1848-1894) , fille du prince August de Saxe-Cobourg et Gotha et de la princesse Clémentine d'Orléans, à l'époque de leur mariage en 1875.

La princesse Amalie était promise au prince Leopold de Bavière 1846-1930 qui épousa l'archiduchesse Gisela d'Autriche (fille de l'Impératrice Elisabeth) . Ainsi Max Emanuel (frère d'Elisabeth) put épouser Amalie dont il était follement amoureux.

...

Duke Maximilian Emanuel in Bavaria (« Maximilian Emanuel, Herzog in Bayern ») was born on 7 December 1849 in Munich, Kingdom of Bavaria ; and died on 12 June 1893, Feldafing, Kingdom of Bavaria. He was a Duke in Bavaria and member of the House of Wittelsbach. Maximilian Emanuel was the 10th and youngest child of Duke Maximilian Joseph in Bavaria and his wife Princess Ludovika of Bavaria. Maximilian Emanuel was the brother of Elisabeth of Bavaria, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary.

Title from 7 December 1849 to 12 June 1893 : His Royal Highness Duke Maximilian Emanuel in Bavaria.

Maximilian Emanuel married Princess Amalie of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, 4th child and 2nd eldest daughter of Prince August of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha and his wife Princess Clémentine of Orléans, on 20 September 1875 in Ebenthal, Lower-Austria, Austria-Hungary. Maximilian Emanuel and Amalie had 3 sons :

Duke Siegfried August in Bavaria (born on 10 July 1876 and died on 12 March 1952) .

Duke Christoph Joseph in Bavaria (born on 22 April 1879 and died on 10 July 1963) . He was married to Anna Sibig (born on 18 July 1874 and died on 1 January 1958) .

Duke Luitpold Emanuel in Bavaria (born on 30 June 1890 and died on 16 January 1973) .

...

Maximilian Emanuel in Bayern (geboren 7. Dezember 1849 in München ; gestorben 12. Juni 1893 in Feldafing) stammte aus der Linie der Herzöge in Bayern des Hauses Wittelsbach. Er war bayerischer Offizier, zuletzt Generalleutnant sowie Mitglied des Reichsrats.

Max Emanuel, genannt Mapperl, war ein Sohn von Herzog Max in Bayern (1808-1888) und dessen Frau Ludovika (1808-1892) . Er war das jüngste von zehn Kindern, darunter auch Kaiserin Elisabeth von Österreich-Ungarn (« Sisi ») (1837-1898) .

Max Emanuel hatte eine Leidenschaft für das Militär. Er wurde 1865 Sekondeleutnant im 2. Ulanen-Regiment « König » , nahm 1866 am Krieg gegen Preußen teil. Max Emanuel kam dabei während der Gefechte bei Hünfeld und Hammelburg zum Einsatz. Ab 1867 diente er im 3. Chevaulegers-Regiment « Herzog Karl Theodor » . Mit dem Regiment kämpfte er während des Deutsch-Französischen Krieges bei Wörth, Beaumont, Orléans und der Belagerung von Paris. Von 1873 bis 1874 wurde Max Emanuel an die Kriegsakademie kommandiert. Er absolvierte jedoch nur den I. Lehrgang und verließ die Akademie dann wieder. Anschließend wurde er zum I. Ulanen-Regiment « Kaiser Wilhelm II. , König von Preußen » versetzt und hier 1875 zum Rittmeister befördert. Bereits im Jahr darauf wurde er Major und Eskadronchef im I. Chevaulegers-Regiment « Kaiser Nikolaus von Rußland » . Von dieser Funktion wurde Max Emanuel aus Gesundheitsgründen 1877 entbunden und à la suite des Regiments gestellt. In den kommenden Jahren wurde er jedoch kontinuierlich weiter befördert und schließlich als Generalmajor 1887 zum Kommandeur der Equitations-Anstalt in der Maximilian-II-Kaserne in München ernannt. Seit 1889 war er Generalleutnant. Im Juni 1893 bekam Max Emanuel schwere Magenblutungen, welchen er erlag.

Im Jahre 1875 heiratete Max in Wien Amalie von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha (1848-1894) . Sie bekamen drei Söhne.

Siegfried August in Bayern (1876-1952) .

Christoph Joseph in Bayern (1879-1963) .

Verheiratet 1924 Frau Anna Sibig (1874-1958) .

Luitpold Emanuel in Bayern (1890-1973) .

Diese Ehe kam mit Hilfe der kaiserlichen Schwester zustande. Da auch Leopold von Bayern an Amalie interessiert war, verkuppelte Elisabeth diesen mit ihrer Tochter Gisela.

7 December 1849 - 12 June 1893 : Named His Royal Highness, Duke Maximilian Emanuel in Bavaria.

...

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Familie

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21 décembre 1878 : Complétion du Quintette à cordes de Bruckner par l'Intermezzo en ré mineur (**WAB 113**) .

AB 78 : 1879

La crise d'Orient (1876-1878) et la démission du cabinet d'Alfred Auersperg (15 février 1879)

Lors de l'été 1875, une révolte éclate en Bosnie-Herzégovine contre les occupants turcs. Avec l'accord de la Russie, le Comte Jules Andrassy, mentor de l'Impératrice et ministre des Affaires étrangères, présente aux diplomates des puissances européennes une proposition envisageant la réforme du système turc. Pendant ce temps, l'insurrection s'étend en avril 1876 aux pays bulgares. Elle est rapidement réprimée de manière cruelle. Suite à ces événements, le 2 juillet 1876, la Serbie et le Monténégro déclarent la guerre à l'Empire ottoman, suscitant l'inquiétude du ministre des Affaires étrangères de l'Empire austro-hongrois, d'Andrassy, et de François-Joseph. Le 15 janvier 1877, les ministres russe et austro-hongrois des Affaires étrangères se retrouvent à Budapest, pour discuter d'une solution. L'Autriche-Hongrie s'engage à respecter une neutralité dans le cas où la guerre éclaterait entre la Russie et la Turquie. En cas de victoire de la Russie, celle-ci récupérerait la Bessarabie du sud et la Monarchie austro-hongroise annexerait une partie de la Bosnie-Herzégovine.

Le 24 avril 1877, devant les revers subis par les Serbes, la Russie se joint au conflit contre les Turcs. Les Russes arrivent aux portes de Constantinople. En décembre 1877, la Russie fait connaître à Vienne qu'elle souhaite agir selon de nouvelles conditions et qu'elle annule les accords précédents du 15 janvier.

Ces événements inquiètent l'Angleterre qui contacte la Monarchie et lui propose une alliance contre la Russie. Andrassy fait tout pour convaincre François-Joseph et les membres du conseil commun d'accepter la proposition anglaise. Il est persuadé que la Monarchie ne doit pas laisser échapper cette occasion qui lui permettrait de régler durablement ses conflits avec les Slaves. Seul le Premier ministre hongrois, Kalman Tisza, le soutient.

L'Angleterre et l'Autriche-Hongrie refusent de reconnaître le traité de paix signé par la Russie et la Turquie, le 3 mars 1878, à San Stefano. Sous leur pression, la Russie accepte l'organisation d'une conférence internationale concernant les Balkans. Le congrès de Berlin débute le 13 juin 1878. Les grandes puissances reconnaissent l'indépendance de la Roumanie, de la Serbie et du Monténégro. Une autonomie est accordée à la Bulgarie. La Monarchie austro-hongroise est

autorisée à occuper et gouverner la Bosnie Herzégovine.

Si ce succès redonne confiance à la Monarchie, les Libéraux, pour leur part, redoutent que l'occupation de la Bosnie-Herzégovine ne renforce le poids des Slaves au sein de la Monarchie au détriment de la primauté des Allemands. Par ailleurs, ils n'acceptent pas que la politique étrangère de la Monarchie soit conduite en dehors des assemblées parlementaires. Il est vrai que les textes constitutionnels attribuent la politique extérieure à l'Empereur et à son ministre des Affaires étrangères, mais les Libéraux jouent sur les pouvoirs reconnus au « Reichsrat » en matière de finances. Face à la menace de conflit qui pèse sur la Monarchie, 112 députés Libéraux signent une interpellation. Les Libéraux utilisent ainsi leur pouvoir en matière de budget pour faire échec à la politique étrangère de l'Empereur et de son ministre des Affaires étrangères, Andrassy, qui demande un crédit supplémentaire de 60 millions de Florins (« Gulden ») sans en dévoiler la raison. La majorité des Libéraux de la délégation cisleithane se prononce pour le refus.

Par ailleurs, les Libéraux exigent que le traité de Berlin soit soumis à la ratification parlementaire. Les discussions s'enveniment non pas lors de l'approbation de l'acte final du congrès de Berlin, mais au sujet de l'incorporation du port de Spizza, à la Dalmatie, pays de la couronne cisleithane. La majorité des députés Libéraux réaffirment leur opposition par leur vote négatif. François-Joseph considère l'hostilité déclarée de la majorité des Libéraux à l'occupation de la Bosnie-Herzégovine comme une trahison, d'autant plus qu'elle s'est manifestée dans un contexte international.

La déroute des Libéraux semble s'inscrire dans une phase de non-retour, avec les élections de 1879 ; ils perdent la majorité à la Chambre des députés. Le 15 février 1879, le prince Alfred Auersperg démissionne ; les Libéraux se retrouvent, à présent, dans l'opposition.

Face à leur déroute électorale, le pouvoir Impérial ressent l'utilité de rechercher des alliances politiques auprès de Partis politiques plus stables. Méfiante à l'égard de toute politique Libérale, la Cour fera dorénavant alliance avec les forces conservatrices loyalistes, parmi lesquelles il faut compter les Vieux-Tchèques, restés fidèles à la dynastie.

Cependant, le destin du Libéralisme n'est pas encore définitivement scellé. Il le sera par l'échec électorale lors des élections de 1897. Devant la montée de nouvelles tendances qui commencent à investir le champ politique, à partir de la fin des années 1880, notamment le mouvement du Parti Ouvrier Social-Démocrate et celui des Chrétiens-Sociaux, les Libéraux s'avèrent impuissants.

Les insuccès qu'enregistre le Libéralisme à la fin des 12 années (1867-1879) qui voient son ascension tiennent pour l'essentiel à 4 facteurs. Le 1er concerne la question épineuse des nationalités qui restera ouverte. À quoi il faut ajouter les problèmes sociaux auxquels les Libéraux ont été incapables d'apporter de véritables solutions. Par ailleurs, leur opposition aux visées de François-Joseph d'intervenir en Bosnie-Herzégovine, réticences motivées dans une large mesure par le sentiment presque obsidional qu'éprouvent les Libéraux allemands face à la montée du slavisme redouté, cette résistance donc au projet annexionniste de la Monarchie a fait perdre aux Libéraux leur crédibilité auprès de l'Empereur, qui trouve enfin le prétexte pour rompre son alliance avec eux. Enfin, ce qui semble avoir porté le plus grand préjudice à l'idéologie Libérale, ce sont les dissensions et orientations divergentes au sein même du

mouvement Libéral. Outre les différents Partis et Clubs, le manque d'unité quant à un schéma directeur de politique unitaire se vérifie notamment dans l'exemple des autonomistes styriens qui prônent la séparation de la Galicie, de la Bukovine et de la Dalmatie afin de préserver la prépondérance des députés germanophones dans la partie cisleithane de l'Empire.

WAB 74

Vers 1879 : WAB 74 - « Das hohe Lied » (le Cantique des cantiques) 2e version, lied en la majeur pour 2 voix de ténor, 1 voix de baryton, 1 chœur masculin à 8 voix (2 chœurs à 4 voix) a cappella, 2 altos, 2 violoncelles, 1 contrebasse, 4 cors, 3 trombones et 1 tuba. Composé à Vienne sur le texte allemand « Im Tale rauscht die Mühle und stört des Wand'ers Lied » (le bruit du moulin perturbe le chant du voyageur errant dans la vallée) de Heinrich von der Mattig (pseudonyme du médecin militaire de Salzbourg et poète amateur Heinrich Wallmann, 1827-1898) . Le chœur d'hommes imite, à bouche fermée, le bruissement des eaux du moulin.

Exécution d'un extrait, le 10 décembre 1879, à Vienne. Exécution intégrale, le 13 mars 1906, à Vienne.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXIII/2 et annexe, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Angela Pachovsky - Anton Reinthaler, Vienne (2001) ; « Weltliche Chorwerke » , pages 174-186.

Arrangement pour voix de ténor, chœur masculin à 8 voix (2 chœurs à 4 voix) a cappella, 2 altos, 2 violoncelles, 1 contrebasse, 4 cors, 3 trombones et 1 tuba, de Hans Wagner :

D 2639, édition Ludwig Döblinger, Vienne (1902) ; avec un avant-propos de Hans Wagner.

Im Tale rauscht die Mühle und stört des Wandrers Lied,
Bis er durch Waldesdunkel hinauf die Berge flieht.
Und immer ferner rauschet die Mühle tief im Tal.
Und immer kräft'ger schallet des Liedes Widerhall.
Die Höhe ist erklimmen, jetzt ist das Lied allein
Und schwimmt auf luft'gen Wellen ins Abendrot hinein.

Le château d'Altpernstein

1879 : Anton Bruckner escalade très difficilement la route fort escarpée menant au château d'Altpernstein (Micheldorf) , dans le district de Sankt Veit an der Glan en Carinthie (Haute-Autriche) . Il est en compagnie de ses amis Karl Zeitlinger et Josef Greck. Au bout d'un moment, ceux-ci doivent le transporter (assis sur leurs bras croisés) sur une bonne distance. Bruckner participa à une visite guidée du château, pria avec grande dévotion dans la chapelle et a même « essayé » des cellules étroites du donjon pendant une bonne heure : un geste (morbide) de solidarité, en hommage à la souffrance et à l'agonie des anciens prisonniers.

Le château médiéval d'Altpernstein, lui, a été construit autour de l'an 1000 et documentée dans les années 1160 et 1207. La forteresse a changé de mains plusieurs fois au cours de son histoire, pas nécessairement dans l'intérêt de la population locale. Au 16e siècle, le château a appartenu à une famille protestante qui avait été en contact avec Martin Luther. Aujourd'hui, le château a été rénové à partir de 1946, est un centre pour la jeunesse catholique mais il est ouvert au public.

Adresse : Altpernstein 1, 4563 Micheldorf in Oberösterreich, Autriche. Téléphone :+43 7582 635350.

Au pied du château se trouve le village de « Micheldorf » (Michaël) fut mentionné pour la 1re fois dans l'acte de 1074.

...

Début de 1879 : The 19 year old Hugo Wolf visits Johannes Brahms, whom he greatly admires. But Brahms gives Wolf's work a very negative judgment. Wolf hereafter hates Brahms, and proclaims it in many of his published reviews.

14 février 1879 : Vienna premiere of Richard Wagner's Opera, « Götterdämmerung » .

15 mars 1879 : Improvisation à l'orgue de Bruckner lors d'un concert donné au « Wiener Akademisches Gesangverein » (Académie de chant de Vienne) .

« Wiener Akademisches Gesangverein »

1858 gegründeter couleurstudentischer Männergesangverein, seit Jänner 1952 Universitätssängerschaft Barden. Wahlspruch : « Im Denken treu und klar, in Taten frei und stark, im Liede deutsch und wahr ! » Der Wiener Akademisches Gesangverein entwickelte sich aus der 1855 lose zusammengekommenen Gruppe von Studenten, die studentisches Liedgut auf hohem Niveau pflegen wollten (so genannt Juristenliedertafel) , ab 1856 war Rudolf Weinwurm musikalischer Leiter. Wegen des hohen Zuspruches entschloss man sich zur formellen Vereinsgründung einer « akademischen Sängerschaft » mit enger Bindung an die Universität Wien. Die fakultativ-schlagende Verbindung verstand sich in erster Linie als Chorvereinigung innerhalb des Couleurstudententums (erst ab 1899 eigene Waffen und ab 1904 Vollcouleur) . In den späten 1880er und 1890er Jahren war der Wiener Akademisches Gesangverein großdeutsch-national ausgerichtet (siehe Bruckner-Commerz) . 1920 Umbenennung in Wiener Akademische Sängerschaft Ghibellinen. Mit der Verleihung des Titels « Universitäts-Sängerschaft » durch den Senat der Universität Wien erhielt der Wiener Akademisches Gesangverein 1924 seine offizielle Anerkennung durch die Universität Mit der Selbstaflösung aller Studentenverbindungen 1938 ging die Wiener Akademische Sängerschaft Ghibellinen in der Kameradschaft Ulrich von Hutten innerhalb des deutschen Studentenbundes auf ; die Einberufungen der Mitglieder machten größere Aktivitäten jedoch bald unmöglich. 1949 Wiedergründung des Wiener Akademisches Gesangvereins und Fusionierung mit der 1919 gegründeten Wiener technisch-akademischen Sängerschaft Nibelungia ; 1950-1951 wurde wieder mit regelmäßigen Proben begonnen. 1952 Umbenennung in Akademische Sängerschaft Barden (ab 1959 wieder « Universitäts-

Sängerschaft ») . Die Barden verstehen sich heute (2006) als liberal-couleurstudentischer Männerchor und pflegen neben allgemeiner Männerchorliteratur vieles andere das studentische Liedgut und die so genannt ieroper.

Ehrenmitglieder : Johannes Brahms, Richard Wagner, Theodor Billroth, Josef Viktor von Scheffel, Anton Bruckner, Georg Reimers, Johannes Schober, Julius Wagner-Jauregg, Otto Tessler.

Literatur

Frank Huß. Anton Bruckner und der Wiener Akademischer Gesangverein, Diplomarbeit Wien (1997) .

Elisabeth Th. Hilscher, in : Othmar Wessely (Herausgeber) , [Kgr.-Ber.] Bruckner. Linz (1988) (1992) ; www.barden.at (Juni 2006) .

...

26 au 30 mai 1879 : The entire Wagner « Ring » cycle receives its Vienna premiere.

In England, Henry J. Lawson patents a bicycle design called the « Bicyclette » , which incorporates the chain-and-sprocket indirect-drive transmission which had been introduced in 1878 by James Starley's tricycle, and a much smaller drive wheel which allows the rider to sit much lower near the ground. Its primary defect is that, because of the lower and more rearward seating position, the steering is indirect, employing connecting rods.

Juin et juillet 1879 : Gustav Mahler spends part of summer at the estate of Moritz Baumgarten, in Tétény, Hungary (now, a district of southern Budapest) , teaching piano to Baumgarten's son.

3 juillet au 13 septembre 1879 : During his summer vacation in Neustift am Walde, around his 21st birthday, Hans Rott composes the Scherzo of his Symphony in E major. From **August to October**, he composes the last movement, completing the Symphony.

WAB 30

18 juillet 1879 : **WAB 30** - « Os justi » (la bouche du juste) , graduel (tiré de la Missa de Doctoribus) , dans le mode Lydien, pour chœur à 8 voix a cappella (2 chœurs de 4 voix) à l'unisson (SSAATTBB) . Livret : Psaume 36:30-31 (Vulgate) . L'introit pour l'Ordinaire du confesseur (qui n'est pas un évêque) . Composé à Vienne. Dédié à Ignaz P. Traumihler (1815-1884) , le directeur de la musique (organiste et chef de chœur) du monastère de Saint-Florian. Traumihler fut un adepte du Cécilianisme : mouvement puritain ultra-conservateur de renouveau de la musique liturgique dans l'Église, apparu au XIXe siècle, visant à ré-introduire le style choral a cappella de Palestrina.

Le verset « Inveni David » pour voix soliste et orgue fut ajouté le 28 juillet.

Le dernier verset du « Inveni David », ignoré dans la Ire version, sera utilisé pour le « Inveni David » (WAB 20) .

Création à Saint-Florian, le 28 août 1879. Création en concert, le 19 mars 1908, à Vienne sous la direction d'E. Thomas.

La pièce est composée dans le mode Lydien et évite délibérément les dièses et les bémols. Le compositeur limite également son langage tonal à une harmonie triadique simple. Malgré les sévères restrictions qu'il s'est données, Bruckner est parvenu à composer une œuvre extraordinaire, empreinte d'émotion et d'expression. Les Ires mesures font entendre, au sein des voix externes, des sauts d'octave qui créent une ambiance dramatique et une séquence de mise en suspension qui « permet d'exprimer en musique la loi divine ». La pièce se termine par le plain-chant « Alléluia » .

Durée approximative : 4 à 5 1/2 minutes.

Ire édition : TR 42, Theodor Rättig, Vienne (1886) ; le 3e des « Vier Graduale für Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Baß » (sans le « Inveni David ») . Une copie du manuscrit de 1886 se trouve au monastère de Kremsmünster.

« Geistliche Gesänge » III, n° 453, Willy Müller, Süddeutscher Musikverlag, édition Georg Darmstadt (1930) .

E. F. Schmid, édition Anton Böhm & Sohn, Augsburg (sans le « Inveni David ») .

EE / EP 4185, Ernst Eulenburg, édition Peters (1939) , pages 13-15 (sans le « Inveni David ») .

EP 6315, Édition Peters (2e graduel) .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXI/1, édition Hans Bauernfeind - Leopold Nowak (1984) (2001) , pages 113-117 (incluant le « Inveni David ») .

« German Romantic Motets » , édition John Rutter, Oxford University Press (1996) , pages 75-81 (sans le « Inveni David ») .

Bruckner avait clairement le style du mouvement Cécilianiste à l'esprit lorsqu'il composa ce Motet et reprend le « Psaume 37 » :

Os justi meditabitur sapientiam :
et lingua ejus loquetur judicium.

Lex Dei ejus in corde ipsius :
et non supplantabuntur gressus ejus.
Alleluia.

Inveni David servum meum, oleo sancto meo unxi eum.
Alleluia.

...

La bouche du juste murmure la sagesse,
et sa langue proclame la justice.

La loi de son Dieu est dans son cœur,
et ses pas ne faiblissent point. Alléluia.

...

The mouth of the righteous utters wisdom,
and his tongue speaks what is just.

The law of his God is in his heart :
and his feet do not falter.
Alleluia.

I have found David, my servant ; I have anointed him with my holy oil.
Alleluia.

« Os Justi » (The mouth of the righteous) , **WAB 30**, is a sacred Motet composed by Anton Bruckner on 18 July 1879. He dedicated it to Ignaz P. Traumihler, Choir-Master of Saint-Florian Abbey. « Os justi » is a Gregorian chant used as gradual of the « Commune Doctorum » and as « introit » of the « Commune Confessoris non Pontificis » .

The text of the Motet is 2 verses of « Psalm 37 » , which is « Psalm 36 » in the « Vulgata » (Psalms 37:30-31) . The text of the added verse is taken from « Psalm 89 » (Psalms 89:20) .

When Traumihler saw the manuscript, he asked :

« Ist's der ganze Text ? » (Is this the whole text ?)

Therefore, Bruckner added to it the extra « Versus-Choral » (verse in the Gregorian mode) « Inveni David » , on 28 July 1879. The 1st performance occurred not as foreseen on Traumihler's Name-Day (31 July 1879) , but 4 weeks later, on 28 August 1879, on the feast of Saint Augustinus.

The work, a 71 bar gradual, is scored in Lydian mode for choir a cappella, and is ending with a 2 bar, unison «

Alleluja » , in Gregorian mode. According to Elisabeth Maier, the melody of the « Alleluja » is a quote of the « Alleluja » of the « introit » , « In medio ecclesiae of the Missa de Doctoribus » . The extra-verse « Inveni David » , which is scored for unison male voices with organ accompaniment, is Bruckner's own composition. Thereafter, the 2 bar « Alleluja » is repeated.

On 2 occasions (bars 9-13 and 51-56) , the choir is divided into 8 voices. The 2nd part on « Et lingua ejus » (bars 16-42) is a fugato without any alteration. The sentence before the « Alleluja » , on « et non supplantabuntur » (bars 65-69) , is sung pianissimo by the soprano, on a sustained tonic chord by the 5 other voices (ATTBB) .

Ignaz P. Traumihler was a fervent supporter of the Cecilian Movement ; it is the reason why Bruckner composed this Motet, in Lydian mode, without any alteration in the key and in the whole score, and with large use of unaltered chords.

The work was 1st edited by Theodor Rättig, in 1886, together with 3 other graduals : « Locus iste » , « Christus factus est » and « Virga Jesse floruit » . In this 1st edition, the extra-verse was not included. The extra-verse was classified by Renate Grasberger as a separate work (« Inveni David » , **WAB 20**) . The full original setting is put in Band XXI/28 of the « Gesamtausgabe » .

WAB 20

Août 1879 : **WAB 20** - « Inveni David » (j'ai trouvé David) n° 2, pour chœur mixte à l'unisson et orgue. Dernier verset du « Os justi » (**WAB 30**) ignoré dans la 1re version. Livret : Psaume 37:30-31. Dédié à Ignaz P. Traumihler (1815-1884) , le directeur de la musique (organiste et chef de chœur) du monastère de Saint-Florian. Traumihler fut un adepte du Cécilianisme : mouvement puritain ultra-conservateur de renouveau de la musique liturgique dans l'Église, apparu au XIXe siècle, visant à ré-introduire le style choral a cappella de Palestrina. Création à Saint-Florian, le 28 août 1879.

Durée approximative : 4 à 5 1/2 minutes.

1re édition : Theodor Rättig, Vienne (1886) , sans le « Os justi » .

Os justi meditabitur sapientiam, et lingua ejus loquetur judicium.
Lex Dei ejus in corde ipsius et non supplantabuntur gressus ejus. Alleluia.

La bouche du juste murmure la sagesse, et sa langue proclame la justice.
La loi de son Dieu est dans son cœur, et ses pas ne faiblissent point. Alléluia.

...

Août 1879 : Gustav Mahler stays with his friend Emil Freund in Seelau (now, Želiv, in the Czech Republic) and, then,

returns to Vienna in September.

Août 1879 : The 36 year old Emil Schindler, who is still poor but has become one of the most important 19th Century Austrian painters, marries Anna Bergen, who has just completed her musical training and accepted a job in Leipzig, which she now gives-up. Their daughter, Alma Maria, is born in Vienna on **August 31**.

28 août 1879 : Creation at Saint-Florian monastery of 2 sacred works by the 54 year old Anton Bruckner (who is attending) under the direction of Ignaz P. Trauttmayr :

« Inveni David » (**WAB 20**) for unison chorus and organ ; and « Os justi » (**WAB 30**) for chorus.

The 60 year old Franz Suppé produces his Operetta, « Bocaccio » , in Vienna.

Septembre 1879 : Gustav Mahler lives at « Rennweg 3 » , in Vienna (very close to the location of the apartment he will later keep as Director of the Opera) . Later, in the year, he moves to « Karl-Ludwigstraße 24 » , in Währing (outside Vienna) , and when he leaves in **mid-December**, Hugo Wolf moves there.

Hugo Wolf tells Gustav Mahler of his novel intention to write a tragic fairy-tale Opera, based on the story of « Rübzahl » . Mahler insists that it could only be treated as a comedy, is inspired by the idea and, a week later, shows Wolf his own libretto for it. Wolf feels that Mahler stole his idea and is infuriated, stops work on his project, and ends their friendship. Mahler will continue to work on the « Rübzahl » project for several years before finally abandoning it and recycling some of its music into later pieces (particularly, in his 1st Symphony) .

Automne 1879 : Impression par l'éditeur Theodor Rättig de Vienne de la 3e Symphonie de Bruckner (il s'agit de la 2e version) .

En 1873, la Société académique Richard Wagner de Vienne joue un rôle important dans la diffusion du nouveau répertoire. Elle favorise non seulement les œuvres de son « Saint-Patron » mais également (par la suite) celles d'Anton Bruckner et de Hugo Wolf. Au fil du temps, Hans Paumgartner, les frères Franz et Josef Schalk, Franz Zottmann et, surtout, Ferdinand Löwe se sont impliqués (soit en tant que pianiste-interprète ou soit en tant qu'arrangeur) dans la réalisation de nombreux concerts « Bruckner » .

WAB 106 : Symphonie n° 6

24 septembre 1879 - 3 septembre 1881 : **WAB 106** - Symphonie n° 6 en la majeur pour 2 flûtes, 2 hautbois, 1 clarinette en si bémol, 1 clarinette en la, 2 bassons, 4 cors en fa, 3 trompettes en fa, 3 trombones, 1 tuba, timbales et cordes. Très fier de ses audaces d'écriture, Bruckner la surnomme « Die Keckste » (la plus hardie ou la plus effrontée) . Achevée le 3 septembre 1881, à l'Abbaye de Saint-Florian. Dédiée au couple formé par l'architecte et philosophe docteur Anton von Ölzelt-Newin (1817-1875) , qui fut un auditeur attentionné lors des conférences de Bruckner à l'Université de Vienne, et son épouse dévouée, Amalie (Amy) Edle von Wieser. Ölzelt-Newin, propriétaire de l'immeuble

de 4 étages appelé « Wohnhaus », situé au 5, du « Schottenring » et 7, de la « Heßgasse » (juste en face du Théâtre du « Ring ») est un jeune et riche admirateur du musicien, honoré de le loger presque gratuitement. La Symphonie ne fera l'objet d'aucune retouche, d'aucun remords, d'aucune altération ou remaniement.

Création des 2^e et 3^e mouvements de la 6^e Symphonie, les **vendredi 11 et dimanche 13 février 1883**, données en public lors d'une lecture à vue par Philharmonique de Vienne sous la direction du chef intérimaire Wilhelm Jahn (le prédécesseur de Gustav Mahler à la « Hofoper »). On joua ainsi de prudence face aux critiques (spécialement, Eduard Hanslick) n'offrant que ces 2 mouvements intermédiaires considérés comme moins risqués.

Il faut aussi mentionné qu'il y avait d'autres œuvres au programme tel que rapporté par le biographe de Bruckner, August Göllerich :

« Les 2 mouvements, Adagio et Scherzo, étaient précédés de l'Ouverture Leonore n° 2 de Beethoven ; suivis d'un Concerto pour violoncelle de Karl Anton Florian Eckert et de la 5^e Symphonie en ut mineur de Ludwig Spohr. »

Anton Bruckner n'entendra de façon intégrale sa 6^e Symphonie qu'une seule fois, soit lors d'une répétition générale du Philharmonique de Vienne au « Musikverein », le **13 octobre 1882**. L'atmosphère était amicale et empreinte de reconnaissance comme en témoigne une lettre de Bruckner à son proche ami, copiste de Steyr, Leopold Hofmeyer :

« Après avoir rejeté toutes les autres, le Philharmonique a maintenant accepté ma 6^e Symphonie. Lorsque je me suis présenté au chef d'orchestre (soit le directeur de l'Opéra de la Cour) , il m'a confié qu'il comptait parmi mes plus sincères et proches admirateurs. Le Philharmonique y a trouvé une telle satisfaction en la jouant qu'ils m'ont offert une " douche " d'applaudissements suite à l'exécution. »

Parmi les copistes de Bruckner, citons : Karl (Borromäus) Aigner de Saint-Florian (qui fut l'un de ses élèves) ; un certain Carda, de Vienne ; Viktor Christ (qui fut l'un de ses élèves) ; Franz Hlawaczek de Vienne (qui a travaillé à plusieurs reprises pour Franz Schubert et son frère, Ferdinand) ; Leopold Hofmeyer (un ami proche de Steyr et un de ses copistes les plus fiables) ; Johann (Giovanni) Noll (copiste à la « Hofkapelle » de Vienne) ; Karl Paur ; Franz Schimatschek (1812-1877) (altiste à l'Orchestre du Théâtre de Linz ; ami et copiste préféré du Maître) ; et Karl Tenschert qui a travaillé chez Franz Hlawaczek, à Vienne.

(Comme dans le cas de sa 5^e Symphonie, Bruckner n'entreprendra aucune révision exhaustive de l'œuvre.)

Création à Vienne, le 26 février 1899, sous la direction de Gustav Mahler, dans une version légèrement abrégée par des coupures.

En 1901, à Stuttgart, le Bohémien allemand Karl Pohlig sera le 1^{er} chef d'orchestre à offrir « dans son intégralité » la 6^e Symphonie d'Anton Bruckner. Elle avait auparavant été présentée, le 26 février 1899 à Vienne, dans une version abrégée par le chef Gustav Mahler.

Durée approximative : 56 minutes.

Version originale (1881) ; révision de Franz Schalk (1896) .

1^{re} édition : édition Ludwig Döblinger, Vienne (1891) ; arrangement pour piano de Cyrill Hynais (1862-1913) .

1^{re} édition orchestrale : édition Ludwig Döblinger, Vienne (1899) . Cette version, légèrement révisée par Hynais contient, dans l'imprimé final, de nombreuses erreurs et des modifications provenant d'une main inconnue.

Josef Venantius von Wöb (1927) .

Max Steinitzer (1864-1936) .

UE 3596, Ernst Eulenburg, Universal-Edition, Leipzig (1912) .

Robert Haas (1935) .

Ré-édition : Leopold Nowak (1952) ; avec quelques changements mineurs.

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Composée à Vienne en 1879-1881.

1^{re} version (1879-1881) :

G/A (August Göllerich / Max Auer) : VI, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Robert Haas (1935) ; ré-édition Brucknerverlag (1949) .

Édition Breitkopf et Härtel (3620) , édition Robert Haas (1937) .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) VI, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak (1952) ; sur la page-titre : « Originalfassung » .

Ernst Eulenburg (464) , édition Leopold Nowak (1992) .

(1) Majestoso ; (2) Adagio. Sehr feierlich ; (3) Scherzo. Nicht schnell ; Trio. Langsam ; (4) Finale. Bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell.

1^{re} version publiée, incluant des modifications éditoriales posthumes :

1re édition : D 2300, Cyrill Hynais, édition Ludwig Döblinger, Vienne (1899) .

UE 3596, Max Steinitzer, Ernst Eulenburg (64) , Universal-Edition, Vienne (1912) .

Ernst Eulenburg (464) , édition Wilhelm Altmann (vers 1930) .

I0396, Édition Peters (3840f) .

UE 3596, Universal-Edition, Vienne.

UE 2886, Universal-Edition, révisée par Josef Venantius von Wöb (1927) .

UE 3598, Philharmonia (199) , Universal-Edition ; Wiener Philharmoniker Verlag 199, nouvellement révisée par Josef Venantius von Wöb (1928) .

(1) Maestoso ; (2) Adagio. (Sehr feierlich) ; (3) Scherzo. Ruhig bewegt (etwas gemessen) ; Trio. Die Achtel wie eben vorher die Viertel ; (4) Finale. Bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell.

Hand-written part of Bruckner's 6th Symphony re-discovered by Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs

June 2015 - After Anton Bruckner had finished his 6th Symphony, a set of hand-written parts was copied which were to be used for a read-through of new repertoire by the Vienna Philharmonic (6 October 1882) as well as for the ensuing 1st performance of the Adagio and Scherzo, which was directed by Wilhelm Jahn (11 February 1883) . This set of parts was believed to be entirely lost, as confirmed by Leopold Nowak in his « Critical Report » (1986, page 49) . To his own surprise, Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs found a remnant of it in the archive of the Monastery of Saint-Florian : a part for Bassoon I in the hand of a copyist, with autograph annotations, and with the pencil indication « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien » on the 1st page by an anonymous hand. Cohrs' further research in the Archive of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in Vienna, then, brought to light the full set of parts, with only the Bassoon I part missing which is today in Saint-Florian. Earlier researchers had overlooked it, perhaps because it is held under the same signature as the dedication copy (XIII 37.730) , but stored at another location in the archive stacks. The set of parts comprises all the wind instruments, timpani, and strings in single copies (except the viola, of which 6 copies survive !) . The copyist responsible has, yet, to be identified. Most of the parts reveal autograph corrections as well as some pencil annotations by orchestral players (added dynamics, etc.) .

(John F. Berky)

...

Cette œuvre, généralement sereine, conserve constamment un ton très intime. Elle se laisse aller au fil des thèmes et des combinaisons qu'il a le loisir d'improviser longuement sur le grand-orgue de Linz. Bruckner n'aura pas le temps ni

la volonté de remodeler, elle est beaucoup plus concise, beaucoup moins élaborée que les autres. C'est en vain que l'on peut y chercher les éclats esthétiques que le compositeur affectionne particulièrement dans toute son œuvre. Sa fraîcheur, sa beauté contemplative et souriante, ses montées lyriques et chaleureuses, en font une Symphonie à part des autres.

La Symphonie est composée en 4 mouvements : Majestoso - Adagio : sehr feierlich - Scherzo : nicht zu schnell - Finale : bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell.

La tonalité du 1er mouvement peut être comparée à une lumière rayonnante car à la reprise on y entend une palette de sonorités éclatantes. Les mouvements médians sont, par contre, bien moins lumineux et comportent, parfois, des couleurs mates. Quant au Finale, après un début dans les tonalités mineures, il fait ressortir le triomphal la majeur.

Majestoso : Les violoncelles et les contrebasses introduisent le 1er thème impérieux (2 blanches, 2 triolets de noires, blanche pointée, noire, blanche) sur fond de rythme ostinato à triolet de croches et croche pointée tandis qu'autour de celui-ci, les violons tracent des figures très décoratives sur un rythme particulièrement heurté. Aussitôt, ce 1er thème progresse et est soutenu par des triolets. Le second thème à la flûte molto piu lente est mélancolique. Enfin, le 3e thème est engendré par l'opposition entre 2 unissons : celui des cordes et celui des bois et cuivres. Le développement reprend le 1er thème en renversement. Il est suivi d'une ré-exposition qui module de la majeur (fa# do# sol#) , son relatif mineur fa dièse mineur puis ré majeur (fa# do#) . Le mouvement se termine par une Coda grandiose dominée par un dialogue entre les cors et les trompettes, dans laquelle le thème initial passe par presque toutes les tonalités.

Adagio : sehr feierlich (très solennel) - Ce mouvement représente les pages émouvantes d'un Bruckner affreusement blessé par la fin de son idylle avec la jeune choriste, Marie Bartl, qui interprétait le rôle mineur de paysanne (avec l'une des « filles d'Israël ») dans la représentation du 22 ou 23 août du « Jeu de la Passion du Christ » , d'une durée de 6 heures, montée tous les 10 ans au village d'Oberammergau.

À l'opposé des mouvements lents de la plupart des autres Symphonies qui sont en forme lied (ABA'B'A"), il est en forme sonate. Les violons font entendre une mélodie immatérielle puis, peu après, le hautbois joue une contre-mélodie magnifique. Un second thème éthéré est ensuite exposé par les cordes. L'exposition se termine par un chant funèbre exposé par les cordes et sous-tendu par les trombones. Après un court développement basé sur le 1er thème et une reprise des 3 thèmes, le mouvement se termine par une Coda dans laquelle le 1er thème est chanté une dernière fois par les cordes.

Scherzo : nicht zu schnell (sans précipitation) - Dans ce mouvement, il adapte de façon très personnel le Romantisme à la manière de Hector Berlioz. Basé sur plusieurs motifs, il est suivi par un court Trio qui offre aux cors et aux cordes l'occasion de s'exprimer en des termes quelque peu lyriques.

Finale : bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell (pas trop rapide) - Le 1er thème confié aux violons se dresse en face de trémolos aux violoncelles et aux contrebasses. Surgissent des fanfares menaçantes aux trompettes et aux cors. Un

second thème plus passionné est répété par les violons pendant que la clarinette joue une mélodie. La fin reprend le thème principal de la 1^{re} partie.

...

Dans le cours des années 1870, Johannes Brahms est une figure dominante de la vie musicale viennoise, contrairement au second qui est pourtant de 10 ans, son aîné. La Symphonie n° 2 d'Anton Bruckner est créée avec succès, en 1873, mais sa 3^e Symphonie est violemment rejetée par l'Orchestre philharmonique, 2 ans plus tard. Ses œuvres sont, depuis, régulièrement passées sous silence. D'une timidité maladive, le musicien est constamment en proie au doute et ne cesse de réviser ses partitions, mal conseillé par ses proches et trop influençable. Ses dons d'organiste sont plus prisés que ses talents de créateur et l'on persiste à ne voir en lui qu'un compositeur d'église. Pire, son admiration pour Richard Wagner lui aliène la majeure partie de la critique viennoise, conservatrice mais influente. Brahms entretient en outre avec lui des relations ambiguës, faites tour à tour d'indifférence, de cruauté ou d'estime. Il dénigre parfois violemment ses talents (« Bruckner, un pauvre nigaud, un malheureux fou que les moines de Saint-Florian ont sur la conscience »), déclare-t-il un jour en faisant allusion au lieu où Bruckner avait reçu sa formation) mais connaît parfaitement ses œuvres et tient à assister à son enterrement bien que gravement malade lui-même.

« Par un curieux caprice du destin, Johannes Brahms et Anton Bruckner sont arrivés à Vienne la même année, en 1868, pour y passer l'essentiel de leur existence. Mais on aurait peine à établir entre eux un parallèle quelconque, hors le goût de la solitude, une certaine rusticité de comportement et le célibat auquel l'un et l'autre se sont tenus. Le Nord-Allemand et l'Autrichien, le libre-penseur et le musicien d'église, le citadin et le provincial, l'homme de culture et l'homme d'instinct, le technicien raffiné et le bâtisseur naïf de cathédrales sonores ne se ressemblent en rien », conclut Henry Louis de La Grange.

La 6^e Symphonie est écrite à une période de transition qui voit le sort du musicien s'améliorer progressivement. À l'approche de la soixantaine, Bruckner peut enfin récolter les fruits de plusieurs années de labeur et goûter une reconnaissance longtemps espérée. Nommé professeur d'harmonie au Conservatoire, il se voit offrir, en 1880, une invitation à diriger sa Messe en ré mineur. Il connaît, l'année suivante, son 1^{er} grand succès avec la création de la 4^e Symphonie puis apprend avec joie que l'éditeur Theodor Rättig accepte de publier sa 3^e Symphonie, la 1^{re} à être éditée. Ces marques d'estime provoquent un nouvel élan créateur : il écrit coup sur coup son Quintette à cordes, le « Te Deum » et la 6^e Symphonie. Esquissée dès l'été 1879, cette dernière est achevée au mois de septembre 1881. Elle ne sera jamais remaniée par Bruckner, ce qui est suffisamment rare pour être noté. Son audition aisée rend en tout cas peu compréhensibles les attaques subies par le compositeur en son temps. La Symphonie est, en effet, de facture Classique et semble plus proche de Beethoven ou de Brahms que de Liszt ou de Wagner.

Le **1^{er} mouvement** suit le plan usuel d'un Allegro de sonate : une exposition des thèmes puis un travail de développement dans la partie centrale avant une reprise plus ou moins symétrique. Bruckner élargit les perspectives en proposant 3 groupes thématiques distincts juxtaposés les uns aux autres sans souci de transition. Le 1^{er} thème est de nature sombre et inquiétante ; présenté par les violoncelles et les contrebasses dans le registre grave, il est exposé sur un rythme obstiné des cordes et enrichi de notes étrangères à la tonalité, ce qui lui confère une aura singulière.

Le **2e mouvement** est de caractère tour à tour lyrique et contemplatif ; énoncé en mineur par les violons dans un tempo plus lent, il est agrémenté d'une réplique du hautbois puis développé en plusieurs phases jusqu'à son épanouissement dans l'aigu, dans un ton redevenu majeur. Le 3e thème conserve quelques aspects du choral - ces hymnes luthériens entonnés par les fidèles à l'église ; confié aux cuivres, soumis à un labeur constant, il couronne l'exposition en instaurant progressivement un sentiment de plénitude. Le développement central prend l'apparence d'un voyage initiatique où les éléments sont fragmentés, renversés, reformulés, transposés dans différentes tonalités comme s'ils subissaient une série d'épreuves. Soudée au développement et amenée par des modulations brutales, la ré-exposition montre un travail progressif de métamorphose des thèmes, parfois jusqu'à leur complète transfiguration. Ainsi le 1er élément parvient-il à la lumière, dans les dernières mesures, au terme d'une vaste arche de temps où le lyrisme, le sentiment religieux (le choral) et le travail acharné auront joué leur rôle - l'amour, la foi et le labeur menant à la délivrance.

L'**Adagio** suit le même plan que le 1er mouvement : 3 groupes thématiques de caractères distincts, juxtaposés, repris puis transfigurés par une Coda consolatrice. D'humeur élégiaque, le 1er groupe unit une progression des cordes à un chant endeuillé du hautbois - une plainte qui prendra l'aspect d'un cri de douleur lors de la ré-exposition. Le 2e est fondé sur un contrepoint lyrique des cordes animé par des glissements chromatiques et des irisations harmoniques évoquant les ambiguïtés majeur / mineur du 1er thème. Le 3e est une marche funèbre en mineur, dans un tempo ralenti, qui confère au discours une teinte pessimiste. La forme, symétrique, permet de faire revivre une 2e fois les événements sous un éclairage différent (grâce à l'ajout de courts sommets expressifs et à de subtils changements de couleurs instrumentales) , laissant deviner le passage du temps. Les thèmes, de nature mélodique, sont liés par quelque élément discret - une courte cellule d'intervalle, un rythme, une même courbe mélodique : bien que relevant de sphères émotionnelles différentes, ils paraissent ainsi soudés comme s'ils n'exprimaient que les conflits et les élans du moi.

Le **Scherzo** marque un retour à la réalité après la rêverie précédente. La forme, à retours, unifie les humeurs tour à tour mystérieuses, dramatiques, épiques ou optimistes au sein d'un ensemble ordonné qui permet de contrôler les émotions, voire de les mettre à distance.

Le **Finale**, enfin, débute dans des tons nocturnes, sur une mélodie dépressive présentée par les cordes seules. 2 autres thèmes lui succèdent : l'un lyrique, soumis à un travail immédiat de développement ; l'autre, bref et confié au hautbois. Une dialectique raffinée des éléments, où les montées de sève sont contredites par des retombées mélancoliques, précède une Coda monumentale où le thème initial du 1er mouvement est récapitulé après près d'une heure de musique. Ce retour insolite prélude à une apothéose finale qui referme l'œuvre dans un sentiment de grandeur. La Symphonie semble, dès lors, n'avoir été qu'une lente progression vers la lumière, atteignant cet idéal au terme de nombreuses errances, de nombreuses luttes et épreuves. Elle apparaît ainsi comme une métaphore de la vie même de Bruckner mais peut prendre d'autres formes de signification, symboliques, voire métaphysiques.

...

WAB 106 (1879-1881) : Symphony No. 6 in A major. Premiered in its complete version on February 26, 1899 in Vienna, conducted by Gustav Mahler.

Bruckner composed his 6th Symphony between 1879 and 1881, during the crucial period of his career that saw him rise from a misunderstood and derided outsider to a universally respected musical visionary. He arrived in the worldly and sophisticated Habsburg capital of Vienna from provincial Linz, in 1868, to take over the positions of harmony professor at the Conservatory and Court organist at the « Hofburg ». With his shuffling manner, hillbilly slang and peasant dress, Bruckner was an easy target for ridicule, but his students and a few local musicians quickly came to respect him as a teacher, composer of church music and an almost peerless organist. During his early years in Vienna, Bruckner also fostered ambitions as a Symphonist, though he committed the tactical error of proclaiming himself a devoted follower of the Wagnerian camp, thereby assuring the disdain of the adamant Wagner hater Eduard Hanslick, the powerful critic of the city's « Neue Freie Presse ». Hanslick called Bruckner's music « unnatural », « sickly », « inflated » and « decayed », and intrigued to stop the performance of his works whenever possible. Bruckner justifiably felt that much of the rejection his Symphonies suffered early in his career was attributable to Hanslick's slashing reviews. (When honour and renown finally came to the composer late in life, the Austrian Emperor, Franz-Joseph, asked the old man what he would like more than anything else. Bruckner requested that the Emperor make Hanslick stop saying nasty things about his music.)

Bruckner's greatest fiasco was the premiere of his 3rd Symphony in Vienna, in December 1877. The concert was a disaster. The audience fled en masse during the Finale, so that when the music finished, there were barely 2 dozen people left in the concert-hall. As he accepted the smattering of applause from those who had stayed, the Orchestra sheepishly stole-off the stage. Standing on the podium in his baggy hayseed clothes, dazed, tears streaming down his cheeks, Bruckner was numb to the comfort offered by the faithful few who remained. With no prospects for the performance of his already completed 4th and 5th Symphonies in view, he avoided the form for almost 2 years after his painful experience with the 3rd Symphony, and it was not until September 1879, after he had tested his muse again with the String Quintet during the summer, that he found courage to return to the genre :

« I think : just here, just there, just keep writing ; don't look right, don't look left. I'll be long gone by the time he (Hanslick) understands it. They will call me either a fool or a Master. If that which I write is good, it will remain for posterity. If not, then it will perish. »

It was in such a mood of courageous determination that the 6th Symphony was conceived.

Bruckner worked on the 6th Symphony during the winter of 1879-1880 as much as his duties at the Conservatory and the « Hofburg » and the thorough revision of his 4th Symphony allowed, but he had not completed the opening movement by the time that he left for a visit to his boyhood home of Saint-Florian, in June 1880, following a successful performance of his Mass in D minor, his 1st music heard in Vienna since the debacle of the 3rd Symphony. From Saint-Florian, he passed through Munich on his way to Switzerland, where his organ performances in Geneva, Freiburg, Bern, Zürich and Lucerne were uniformly praised. On his way back to Vienna, he stopped to see the « Passion-Play » in Oberammergau, and there was captivated by one Marie Bartl, a 17 year old girl who played one of

the « Daughters of Jerusalem » . Bruckner, aged 56, waited for her after the performance, introduced himself, and spent the evening with her at her aunt's house. They corresponded for a few months, but when Bruckner mooted the possibility of marriage, her letters stopped. This sad infatuation with teenage girls, always handled with rigid propriety and self effacing shyness, occurred several times during Bruckner's lonely life, and seems to have been the result not of any pedophilic impulse but rather of his quest for unsullied purity in his beloved. He never found a wife. Bruckner was further disappointed upon his arrival in Vienna by the news that his application for the post of assistant conductor of a local men's singing Society, the « Wiener Männergesangsverein » , had been rejected. A bothersome ailment that had recently developed in his feet and legs did nothing to raise his spirits. Still, he composed, completing the 1st movement of the 6th Symphony by September 27, 1880 and the Adagio and Scherzo by the beginning of the next year. Shortly thereafter, on February 20, 1881, the 4th Symphony was given its premiere by Hans Richter and the Vienna Philharmonic in what was probably the 1st adequate performance of any of the composer's Symphonies, and it proved to be an immense success, the 1st triumph of Bruckner's life ; he was called to the stage after every movement, and the Scherzo was given as an encore. Bruckner was at long last granted the Viennese recognition that had been denied him since he had arrived nearly a quarter of a Century before. Inspired by his new found notoriety, he completed the draft of the 6th Symphony in June and finished the orchestration of the work in Saint-Florian on September 3rd. He began the Symphony No. 7, the composition that was to win him international renown, just 3 weeks later.

Despite the recent upturn in his fortunes, Bruckner was unable to arrange a performance of the 6th Symphony until the beginning of 1883, when conductor Wilhelm Jahn, Gustav Mahler's predecessor as music-director of the Vienna Court Opera, led the Philharmonic in a reading of the score. Despite his dedication to Bruckner's cause, Jahn was wary of exciting Eduard Hanslick's scorn, and he programmed only the 2nd and 3rd movements on his concert of February 11th. The audience, which included no less a musical personality than Johannes Brahms, received the truncated Symphony with great enthusiasm, but Hanslick, according to a student of Bruckner's named Lamberg : « Sat there, frigid and immobile, like a sphinx. » . The Symphony was 1st heard in its complete version (though, with large cuts) in a performance conducted by Gustav Mahler in Vienna on February 26, 1899, 3 years after the composer's death. Bruckner's original version of the score was finally presented by August Göllerich and the Vienna « Konzertverein » Orchestra, on December 13, 1901.

Though the 6th Symphony has never enjoyed the popularity of most of Bruckner's other Symphonies, it is regarded by many as one of his finest achievements, as Robert Simpson noted in his study of the composer :

« Its themes are of exceptional beauty and plasticity, its harmony is both bold and subtle, its instrumentation is the most imaginative he had yet achieved, and it has, moreover, a Mastery of Classical form that might have impressed even Johannes Brahms. »

One reason often cited for the Symphony's infrequent performances is the difficulty of the 1st movement's rhythmic execution, a characteristic that is evident in the pregnant gestures that open the work : a violin figure in quick repeated notes and an ominous bass theme whose broad triplets are superimposed upon rather than coincident with the ostinato in the upper-strings. Harmonic tension is created immediately at the outset by the ambiguity of the

tonality. The woodwinds contribute a new motive in which dotted rhythms feature prominently before the full Orchestra summons a brass driven climax to mark the end of the 1st theme group. The 2nd theme, initiated by the violins, is more lyrical in nature, though, like the earlier music, it, too, is impelled by a complex interplay of rhythms. This section is also capped by a stentorian statement from the full Orchestra before the intensity subsides for the development, begun with a quietly flowing arpeggiated figure in the flute and violins. The main-theme in various transformations, including a thunderous culminating statement, occupies most of the development. A sudden calm overtakes the music and marks the onset of the recapitulation. The events of the exposition are returned in altered versions, and the movement closes with a massive sun bright burst of sound.

The 2nd movement, unusually for Bruckner's Adagios, follows Sonata form. The principal theme, given by the strings, contains 2 simultaneous motives : a broadly striding downward scale in the basses and a hymnal melody in the violins ; the oboe provides a tender commentary. The subsidiary subject is a lovely rising strain in intertwining lines presented by cellos and violins. The expansive development section is largely woven from the 2 components of the main-theme. The last portion of the movement is less a formal recapitulation than a transfiguration of the earlier themes, which are more richly bedecked with accompanimental figurations and more sonorously scored than on their initial presentations. Of this beautiful Adagio, the esteemed English musicologist Sir Donald Tovey wrote :

« Listen to it with reverence ; for the composer meant what he said, and he is speaking of Sacred things. »

The 3rd movement is slower in tempo and somewhat more veiled in expression than the Scherzos of Bruckner's other Symphonies. The duple meter Trio that occupies the middle of the movement, one of the composer's most original inspirations, is built from a singular collection of thematic fragments : a strange leaping figure in the pizzicato strings, an echo of that motive in a Trio of horns, a sustained woodwind strain, and a smooth phrase in the bowed strings. These ideas, given both in alternation and superimposition, create a surprisingly bold contrast with the surrounding Scherzo.

The Finale is not only the emotional but also the thematic summation of the entire work. The movement follows a broadly arched Sonata form which is built from 3 principal elements : the lyrical descending melody posited by the violins at the beginning ; a dainty subsidiary theme whose child like innocence conceals the sophistication of its carefully worked counterpoint ; and an oboe and clarinet motive in dotted rhythms tightly suspended upon 3 adjacent scale steps. Each of these 3 elements is worked into a stentorian climax. The development section, surprisingly brief, is mostly concerned with the woodwind figure that closed the exposition. The recapitulation maintains the Symphony's spacious dimensions (Tovey noted that Bruckner was not « bothered by people who want to catch the last train home ») , and creates a triumphant conclusion by gathering together reminiscences of themes from the earlier movements, most notably a heroic proclamation by the trombones of the subject that opened the work.

...

Bruckner completed his Symphony No. 6 in A major in September 1881. It was not performed complete during his lifetime, although in February 1883, the 2 middle movements were played by the Vienna Philharmonic. The 1st

complete reading, under the young Gustav Mahler, was given on February 26, 1899, but with a number of substantial cuts and other amendments made to the score. Although a work with many fine passages, and a great deal of internal consistency, the 6th has always been regarded as somewhat imperfect ; as Bruckner specialist Georg Tintner put it, it consists of « 3 perfect movements, and one that is somewhat problematic » .

Considering the vast scale of its predecessor, the 6th is a work of comparatively modest proportions ; yet, it is distinguished by richly varied orchestration and hugely contrasted thematic ideas. The opening movement begins with an urgent rhythmic ostinato played by the violins ; the unsettled 1st subject gradually gives way to a secondary theme that is altogether more lyrical in quality. The opening ostinato figure returns frequently and unaltered as the movement progresses, and becomes especially potent at the climax of the development section. During the Coda, trumpets and horns challenge each other antiphonally, as if sounding across vast distances of time and space.

The Adagio which follows is Bruckner's only Symphonic slow movement in conventional Sonata form. The hymn-like F major opening theme suggests reverential awe in an elegiac string threnody, over which the oboe responds plaintively. A 2nd theme lightens the texture, with a richly-hued episode for strings, but particularly impressive is the extended and yearning Coda, after the manner of a funeral march. The Scherzo is perhaps the most fantastical of any to be found among Bruckner's 9 Symphonies ; whereas others are bucolic and rustic in mood, this is demonic and threatening, its fearsome tensions only assuaged during the more relaxed Trio section.

The Finale presents an austere, purposeful idea for the violins, on which the 2nd clarinet comments ; a contrasting lyrical melody follows. The music progresses in urgent style ; a quality emphasised by frequent gestures of harmonic ambiguity, and in a brilliant and virtuosic passage for the violins. When the long-awaited resolution arrives, Bruckner brings back the ostinato rhythm heard at the start of the Symphony, along with its main 1st subject idea, now played by 3 trombones.

...

Original version composed from September 1879 to September 1881. It was never modified by Bruckner. The Robert Haas (1935) and Leopold Nowak (1952) editions don't present any significant differences.

Slightly revised version by Cyrill Hynais for the publication by Ludwig Döblinger, in 1899 (1st Edition) . Although Hynais work was careful, the final printed text contains many errors and changes introduced by an unknown hand. Another edition of this version, prepared by Josef Venantius von Wöb, was published in 1927.

...

1881 Version (Haas, Nowak) .

Circa 1894 Version (1899) .

The 2 versions of this Symphony are very similar. The 1st version is based on Bruckner's autograph score, while the 2nd version corresponds to the 1st printing. There are a number of minor alterations in the latter, with the most obvious of these being the repeat of the 2nd part of the Trio, changes in dynamic markings, and a few changes and additions in the orchestration.

The 6th was almost certainly prepared for publication during Bruckner's lifetime. In 1892, Bruckner arranged for the Symphony, along with some other works, to be published by Ludwig Doblinger. By the autumn of 1893, it is known that engraving had not yet begun on the 6th, but this is probably because Doblinger had been busy publishing Symphonies Nos. 1 and 2, the F minor Mass, and the « Psalm 150 ». The 6th was probably prepared for publication sometime around 1894.

...

The Symphony No. 6 in A major (**WAB 106**) is a work in 4 movements composed between September 24, 1879 and September 3, 1881 and dedicated to his landlord, the architect and philosopher Doctor Anton von Ölzelt-Newin (1817-1875) . Though, it possesses many characteristic features of a Bruckner Symphony, it differs the most from the rest of his Symphonic repertory. Hans Ferdinand Redlich went so far as to cite the lack of hallmarks of Bruckner's Symphonic compositional style in the 6th Symphony for the somewhat bewildered reaction of supporters and critics alike.

According to musicologist Robert Simpson, though not commonly performed and often thought of as the ugly duckling of Bruckner's Symphonic body of work, the 6th Symphony nonetheless makes an immediate impression of rich and individual expressiveness :

« Its themes are exceptionally beautiful, its harmony has moments of both boldness and subtlety, its instrumentation is the most imaginative Bruckner had yet achieved, and it possesses a Mastery of Classical form that might even have impressed Brahms. »

By the time Bruckner began composing his Symphony No. 6, only 3 of his Symphonies had been performed. The recent premiere of his 3rd Symphony had been nothing short of disastrous, receiving an extremely negative, though not surprising review from Eduard Hanslick, given Hanslick's predilection for the works of Johannes Brahms :

« His artistic intentions are honest, however oddly he employs them. Instead of a critique, therefore, we would rather simply confess that we have not understood his gigantic Symphony. Neither were his poetic intentions clear to us nor could we grasp the purely musical coherence. The composer was greeted with cheering and was consoled with lively applause at the close by a fraction of the audience that stayed to the end. The Finale, which exceeded all its predecessors in oddities, was only experienced to the last extreme by a little host of hardy adventurers. »

The composition of his 4th Symphony marked the beginning of what some refer to as the « Major Tetralogy » , Bruckner's 4 Symphonies composed in major keys. In fact, this tetralogy was part of an entire decade in Bruckner's compositional history devoted to large scale works written in major keys, a fact of note considering that all of his

previous Symphonies and foremost choral works were composed in minor keys. The composition of his String Quintet and the 6th Symphony marked the beginning of a new compositional period for Bruckner within the realm of the « Major Tetralogy ». However, the 6th Symphony has extensive ties to the 4th and 5th Symphonies and is considered to have been composed as a reflective, humanistic response to its 2 direct Symphonic predecessors. It has even been dubbed the « Philosophical Symphony » by critics, for this reason.

Bruckner's Symphonies encompass many techniques but the one unwavering hallmark of his Symphonic compositions is a singular formal pattern that underwent very little variation over the course of his Symphonic repertory. In fact, their 4 extended movements are indebted to the structure and thematic treatment in the late works of Beethoven. The only large scale diversion from this stock broke formal scheme in the 6th Symphony is Bruckner's use of Sonata form in the 2nd movement, instead of his usual large scale ternary form.

Thematically speaking, there are 2 distinct varieties of themes in Bruckner's Symphonies. 1st, there are themes that are clearly defined in shape and, then, there are the themes that operate more as motives with a shorter length and a more open ended shape, as is typical of the 6th Symphony. Another characteristic thematic feature of Bruckner's Symphonies is the intimate relationship between the outer 2 movements, though, there is typically more of an emphasis on thematic contrast within the 1st movement. Specifically, the amplification of the exposition of the 1st movement consists of 2 subsidiary themes as well as the primary theme, which are subsequently developed, a technique that is considered uniquely Brucknerian.

Other characteristics that are found in Bruckner's Symphonies (specifically the 6th) include the extensive treatment of the dominant 7th chord as a German 6th chord in a new key, usage of cadences as a decisive factor in daring modulations, the treatment of organ points as pivotal to the harmony and structure, chains of harmonic sequences, and, most notably, extensive use of rhythmic motives, especially the characteristic Bruckner rhythm, a rhythm consisting of 2 4ths and a triple of quarter notes, or vice-versa. This rhythm dominated most of the 4th Symphony and was practically non-existent in the 5th Symphony but becomes nothing short of a driving force in the 6th Symphony ; the metric complexities generated by this unique rhythmic grouping are more pronounced in the 1st movement of the 6th Symphony than in any of Bruckner's other compositions.

The orchestration of the 6th Symphony complies with Bruckner's customary, albeit peculiar techniques. Just as in his other Symphonic works, there are no marks of extreme virtuosity apparent in the score and the lines are straightforward. The 6th Symphony is scored for 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, timpani, and string section. Bruckner commonly alternates between solo and tutti sections, as well as layering instruments to provide texture and show different subject groups.

I. Majestoso :

Bruckner labels this movement « Majestoso », not the conventional « Maestoso », probably from his Latin (from « Maiestas » : sovereign power) . The movement, in obvious Sonata form, opens with the characteristic « Bruckner rhythm » played in the violins, though Bruckner is careful to maintain the enigmatic atmosphere by indicating a bowing that

keeps the bow on the string and, therefore, prohibits the rhythmic figure from becoming too lively. One then hears the quietly intense main-theme, a paraphrase of the main-theme of Bruckner's 4th Symphony, stated in the low strings and juxtaposed against the pulsating rhythm in the violins.

The key is A major when the 1st theme enters ; however, the mystery is heightened by notes outside the realm of A major tonality that appear in the melodic line, namely the pitches G, B-flat and F, Neapolitan inflexions that will have large scale tonal effects that come to fruition later in the Symphony. The counter-statement of the theme appears (bar 25) in fortissimo, a long established Classical technique that Bruckner had yet to utilize at the beginning of a Symphony.

The 2nd theme group is more complex than the primary theme. The 1st theme of this group is a confident melody in the violins in which Bruckner employs mixed rhythms. The 2nd theme in this group, an expressive, lyrical motif (bar 69) is 1st heard in D major, closely followed by a statement in F major and a richly orchestrated statement in E major, the dominant of the movement's original A major. The 3rd theme of this section, a militaristic statement of the Bruckner rhythm, now appears, followed by modulations ending in the dominant (E major) and segueing into the development section.

The development is shorter and less complex than one usually finds in Bruckner's Symphonic 1st movements ; however, it plays a substantial role in the overall harmonic structure of the movement. From the outset (bar 159) , the violins play an inversion of the main-theme, though the Bruckner rhythm that accompanied it in the exposition is absent. Instead, the development is propelled throughout by the triplet motif that 1st appeared in the 3rd subject of the exposition. Harmonically, the development encompasses a myriad of modulations, abruptly traversing between E-flat major and A major, seemingly signaling the beginning of the recapitulation.

The beginning of the recapitulation is, in fact, a climax, serving as both the end of the development and the beginning of the recapitulation, marking the 1st time in Symphonic literature that this has occurred. If not for this climactic moment, one could have trouble identifying the exact moment of recapitulation as the return of the tonic and the return of the primary theme do not coincide (in fact, there are 15 bars in between the 2 events) . In true Bruckner form, it encompasses a complete restatement of the theme groups from the exposition and is otherwise uneventful, setting the stage for the Coda which Donald Tovey described as one of Bruckner's greatest passages. In the Coda, Bruckner passes through the entire spectrum of tonality, leaving no key unsuggested ; however, he establishes no tonal center except for A major. The opening phrase of the 1st theme appears throughout, joined (bar 345) by the rhythmic motive from the beginning. An exultant final statement of that theme and the completion of a massive plagal cadence signal the end of the 1st movement.

2. Adagio. Sehr feierlich :

The 2nd movement is in obvious Sonata form, the only example of a Sonata structure Adagio in Bruckner's Symphonies. Robert Simpson went so far as to describe the movement as the most perfectly realized slow Sonata design since the Adagio of Beethoven's « Hammerklavier » Sonata. The movement opens with a theme in the strings, a yearning love

song that is joined (bar 5) by a mournful lament in the oboe. Simpson points-out that the frequent Neapolitan inflexions of the 1st movement are expanded here, beginning with the B-flat and F in the primary melodic line that make it natural that the movement should be in F major, though the opening initially ambiguously suggests B-flat minor. After a brief transitional passage, there is a modulation to E major that marks the introduction of the 2nd theme, a soaring, untroubled love song (bar 25) .

The 3rd theme (bar 53) is characteristic of a funeral march, combining C minor and A-flat major and providing a somber contrast to the preceding love song. The dotted rhythm in its 1st bar calls to mind the oboe lament from the beginning of the movement. Doernberg described this sad turn to A-flat major as the kind of music Gustav Mahler always wished to achieve, citing Bruckner as anticipatory to Mahler in this respect.

There is a brief developmental section (bar 69) that includes modulation on the primary theme as well as inversions of the oboe lament. There is a recapitulation of all 3 themes (bar 93) though the orchestration is different, with the former violin theme (primary theme) now appearing in the horn and subsequently in the woodwinds. The 2nd theme is recapitulated in its entirety in the tonic followed by a very short reappearance of the 3rd theme.

Finally, a transition over a dominant pedal (a Bruckner hallmark) leads to the Coda that Simpson referred to as the fine drawn consolatory Coda that is one of Bruckner's best. At bar 157, one hears the last statement of the primary theme with the movement ending in its tonic, F major, in a state of « perfect serenity » .

3. Scherzo. Nicht schnell - Trio. Langsam :

The A minor 3rd movement is unlike any other composed by Bruckner ; it is slower than usual and the tense character often associated with his Scherzi is often shadowed and muted, although there are movements of brilliancy. However, the most prominent feature is the lack of a striking Scherzo theme ; instead, one finds 3 contrasting rhythmical motives juxtaposed from the very beginning and united throughout the majority of the movement. Its steady 3/4 time is pervaded, once again, by triplets throughout, often giving the impression of 9/8 and creating a broader sense of movement that is extremely deliberate, especially for a Scherzo movement.

There is a certain degree of harmonic ambiguity throughout, but nothing that compares to the opening of the 1st movement. One of the most fascinating features of the harmonic structure is Bruckner's avoidance of a root position tonic chord for much of the movement. The 1st 20 bars of the movement once again rest on a dominant pedal and when the bass finally moves to the tonic pitch (A) , it is not a root position tonic chord ; instead, it acts as the bottom of a 1st inversion chord of F major (bar 21) .

In the development, one sees the addition of a new motif and harmonically, the section centers around D-flat major, G-flat major, and B-flat minor, all closely related keys but ones that are isolated from the tonic (A minor) . The dominant of A minor is reached (bar 75) and here, the recapitulation begins, once again over a dominant pedal. It is important to note that there has still not been a root chord of A minor. This elusive A minor root chord finally appears at the end of the recapitulation leading into the C major Trio section.

The slow Trio is in the style of a « Ländler », an Austrian folk-dance and, according to Williamson, confirms that in Bruckner's works, the Trio is a place for construction in tone colour as in the moment when horn and pizzicato strings compete on the same rhythmic figure. In fact, this dialogue between pizzicato strings, horn and woodwinds is central to the texture of the whole Trio section. Although the key is C major, there are moments of harmonic ambiguity, as in the preceding movements. At one point (bar 5) , the string point towards D-flat major while the woodwinds attempt to assert A-flat major by quoting the inversion of the main-theme of Bruckner's 5th Symphony that is in A-flat major. The Scherzo returns in its entirety at the end of the Trio, adhering to a typical large scale ternary structure.

4. Finale. Bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell :

Derek Watson characterized the Finale as a steady, organic assertion of A major against its Neapolitan relatives. However, this Sonata form movement begins with a theme in Phrygian A minor that once again stresses Neapolitan relationships with the obvious presence of the flat 6th (the pitch being F natural) . The horns and trumpets interrupt with statements in A major (bar 22) but the theme is undeterred ; 4 bars later, they once again interrupt the theme and, this time, succeed in establishing A major (bar 29) . A 2nd theme in C major eventually appears followed by a 3rd theme (bar 125) that is derived from the oboe lament of the 2nd movement. During the development section, the music continued to modulate through a variety of major keys, including F major, E-flat major and E major until finally returning to the tonic A major (bar 245) , regarded as the start of the recapitulation.

The Coda, once again, encompasses a broad range of keys and juxtaposes the primary theme with the main-theme from the 1st movement. A final massive statement of A major asserts itself (bar 397) seemingly out of nowhere, embodying Bruckner's amazing ability to establish the tonic without a doubt and without the kind of preparation one would normally expect. This movement does not, nor was it intended to have the vast impact of the Finale of Bruckner's Symphony No. 5 but it is infinitely more refined than the Finale of his 4th Symphony. According to Derek Watson, the victorious conclusion of Bruckner's quest for a new and ideal Finale form will be celebrated in his 8th Symphony but the 6th Symphony's development is an eminent and profoundly satisfying landmark on that triumphant march.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th Symphonies represent Bruckner's period of confidence as a composer, and apart from his unfinished 9th Symphony, they are the only Symphonies in which Bruckner did not make extensive revisions. In fact, the 6th Symphony is the only Bruckner Symphony that was exempt from any revisions from the composer himself. However, Gustav Mahler made substantial changes to the score before he conducted the 1899 premiere of the Symphony in its entirety, revisions unsanctioned by Bruckner as they were posthumous.

The 1st published edition of the 6th Symphony also occurred in 1899 and was overseen by pianist Cyrill Hynais, a former student of Bruckner. However, this edition encompassed a few minute changes from Bruckner's original score, namely the repetition of the 2nd half of the Trio in the 3rd movement. The next printed edition came to fruition in 1935, edited by Robert Haas, and is the edition most commonly performed today. In 1951, Leopold Nowak also

published an edition that was an exact replication of Bruckner's original 1881 score. The edition performed under the direction of Gustav Mahler, for the premiere, was never published.

Criticism of Bruckner's Symphony No. 6 is similar to the critical response that his preceding Symphonies had received. Whereas Bruckner considered his 6th Symphony to be his « boldest Symphony » , it was not generally held in high-regard. In terms of interpretation, the 6th Symphony has also been the unluckiest, with the vast majority of conductors ignoring Bruckner's specific tempo markings and throwing-off the carefully planned balance of the movements. One reviewer for « The Musical Times » referred to the inner movements of this Symphony as « flawed but attractive enough » and dubbed the outer movements « burdensome » .

Eduard Hanslick, as usual, was without a doubt the harshest critic of them all. He was once quoted as saying, « whom I wish to destroy shall be destroyed » , and Bruckner seems to have been a prime target. After hearing the 1883 performance of the middle movements of the 6th Symphony, Hanslick wrote :

« It has become ever harder for me personally to achieve a proper relationship with these peculiar compositions in which clever, original, and even inspired moments alternate frequently without recognizable connection with barely understandable platitudes, empty and dull patches, stretched-out over such unsparing length as to threaten to run players as well as listeners out of breath. »

Here, Hanslick touched on the most common complaint about Bruckner's Symphonic writing : the seemingly endless journey to a conclusion of musical thought. Dyneley Hussey critiqued the 6th Symphony in a 1957 « Musical Times » review and reached the same conclusions half a Century later, writing :

« Bruckner's most tiresome habit is his way of pulling-up dead at frequent intervals, and then starting the argument all over again. One has the impression that we are traversing a town with innumerable traffic lights, all of which turn red as we approach them. »

Harsh critical reception of the 6th Symphony, as well as his entire body of work, can also be attributed to critical reception of Bruckner as a person. He was a devout Catholic whose religious fervor often had a negative effect on those he encountered. One of his pupils, Franz Schalk, commented that it was the age of moral and spiritual liberalism but also in which Bruckner intruded with his medieval, monasterial concept of humankind and life.

Regardless of the criticisms, both musical and personal, there were some who attempted to find the beauty in Bruckner's 6th Symphony. Donald Tovey wrote that if one clears their mind, not only of prejudice but of wrong points of view, and treats Bruckner's 6th Symphony as a kind of music we have never heard before, there is no doubt that its high quality will strike us at every moment. Still others marvel over the rarity of performances of the 6th Symphony, citing its bright character and key and its plethora of tender, memorable themes as grounds for more widespread acceptance.

Carl Hrubý wrote that Bruckner once said that if he were to speak to Beethoven about bad critiques Beethoven would

say :

« My dear Bruckner, don't bother yourself about it. It was no better for me, and the same gentlemen who use me as a stick to beat you with still don't understand my Last Quartets, however much they may pretend to. »

In saying this, Bruckner both acknowledged his bad critiques and maintained hope that his own compositions might, one day, garner the same type of positive reaction that Beethoven's music received from his contemporaries.

...

« Die zwei Sätze (Adagio und Scherzo) aus der neuesten Symphonie von Bruckner ... schwelgen in Erinnerung an Rich. Wagner, in dessen verschiedenen, vorzugsweise aber jüngeren Stilarten. Bruckner wendet den " symphonischen Stil " der Bayreuther " Fest "- , " Weihfest "- und " Bühnenweih-Festspiele " leider nun auch auf die Symphonie selbst an. Im Ganzen hat der wilde Komponist etwas an Zucht gewonnen, aber an Natur verloren. Beim Adagio hielten Interesse und Befremden einander im Publikum noch die Waage, und es ging, wenn auch zögernd, mit. Bei dem ausschließlich durch Seltsamkeit fesselnden Scherzo trennte sich aber (wie der Sportsmann sagen würde) das Roß vom Reiter. Eine kleine Clique schien sich's in den Kopf gesetzt zu haben, die Legitimierung auch dieses Satzes auf revolutionärem Wege zu erzwingen ; vergebene Liebesmüh. »

(Eduard Hanslick im Februar 1883 in der Wiener Neuen Freien Presse.)

Wenn es um den Komponisten Anton Bruckner ging, kannte der Musikkritiker Eduard Hanslick keine Gnade. Ähnlich, wie er Wagners Musikdramen für den Niedergang der Oper verantwortlich machte, so sah er auch in Bruckners Sinfonien eine Gefahr für die « absolute » Instrumentalmusik. Hanslick propagierte das Ideal einer Musik, die nichts anderes ist als « tönend bewegte Form » und die vor allen Dingen nicht von außermusikalischen literarischen Programmen bestimmt wird. Im Kampf gegen das Formprinzip der sinfonische Dichtungen, wie es von der Neudeutschen Schule um Franz Liszt propagiert wurde, hätte der Sinfoniker Anton Bruckner mit seiner traditionalistischen Haltung durchaus auch Hanslicks Mitsstreiter werden können. Aber der Musikkritiker spürte offensichtlich die Zentrifugalkraft, die Bruckners Musik innewohnt : Obwohl der Komponist sich immer bemühte, die klassischen Formkriterien zu erfüllen, sprengt seine Musik allein schon aufgrund der zeitlichen Ausdehnung den Rahmen des damals Üblichen. Bei Anton Bruckner beginnt das sinfonische Prinzip, die « tönend bewegte Form » , sich von innen her aufzulösen.

Bruckners sinfonisches Schaffen hatte also nur wenig gemein mit den Sinfonien eines Schumann, eines Mendelssohn oder Brahms. Und entsprechend endeten die Uraufführungen seiner Sinfonien in aller Regel mit einem Fiasko : Zuhörer verließen während der einzelnen Sätze den Saal, und am Ende gab es Pfiffe und Buhrufe, wenn nicht gar verständnisloses Schweigen. Es waren solche Vorfälle (und nicht, wie häufig zu lesen « Mißgunst und Neid ») , die Bruckners Freunde veranlaßten, den Komponisten zu Umarbeitungen, Neuinstrumentierungen und Kürzungen zu ermuntern.

Die sechste Sinfonie schrieb Anton Bruckner in der Zeit zwischen dem 24. September 1879 und dem 4. September

1881. Es war eine Zeit, da die materiellen Lebensverhältnisse des Komponisten sich konsolidiert hatten. Im Februar 1878 war er zum « wirklichen Mitglied der Wiener Hofkapelle » ernannt worden und kam dadurch zum ersten Male, im Alter von 54 Jahren, in den Genuß eines gesicherten Einkommens. Nach einer schöpferischen Pause von fast fünf Jahren setzte dann 1879 ein neuer Schaffensschub ein, in dessen Zuge auch die sechste Sinfonie entstand. Das Selbstvertrauen, das Bruckner in jener Zeit an den Tag legte, schlug sich auch in seiner Arbeit nieder. Die sechste Sinfonie ist das erste Werk, das Bruckner nach seiner Fertigstellung keiner Überarbeitung mehr unterzog. Er selbst bezeichnete sie als seine « keckste Sinfonie » - und das wohl nicht nur wegen des Wortspiels. Wegen ihrer avantgardistischer Ansätze in der kompositorischen Anlage, wegen der harmonischen und motivischen Kühnheiten wurde die Komposition lange Zeit als reine Schreibtischarbeit zweiten Ranges gewertet und ist auch heute noch eine der am seltensten aufgeführten Sinfonien des Komponisten.

Nach der romantischen vierten Sinfonie und der pathetischen, architektonisch streng gehaltenen Fünften folgt die Sechste in ruhig heiterer Abgeklärtheit. Die Monumentalität der anderen Sinfonien, ihre leidenschaftliche Aufgewühltheit und ihre ekstatischen Entladungen sucht man hier vergeblich. Die sechste Sinfonie erscheint gleichsam als Versuch, die auseinanderstrebenden Tendenzen der beiden vorausgegangenen Sinfonien auszugleichen. Gelegentlich hat man das Werk einen « Lobgesang auf die Schönheit der Erde » genannt und in Anlehnung an Beethovens Sechste Sinfonie als « Bruckners Pastorale » bezeichnet.

1. Satz :

Der Beginn des ersten Satzes ist einer der strahlendsten Sonnenaufgänge der Musik. Übersichtlicher und organischer Aufbau. Ein leises rhythmisches Motiv mit dem bei Bruckner typischen Wechsel von Dreier- und Zweierwerten wandert 41 Takte lang durch alle Streichergruppen. Es bildet den Hintergrund des musikalischen Geschehens. Im zweiten Takt hebt das kraftvoll majestätische Hauptthema an, das schließlich im Pianissimo erlischt. Eine einsame Flöte leitet über zu dem elegisch-sänglichen Seitenthema. Schließlich klingt noch ein drittes, rhythmisch geprägtes Thema an, das von allen Instrumenten in kräftigem Unisono vorgetragen wird. Die Durchführung verarbeitet im Wesentlichen das Hauptthema und die verschiedenen rhythmischen Motive, wobei sich das Stimmengewebe immer mehr verdichtet. Fast unmerklich setzt dann die Reprise ein. Im strahlenden Ausklang der Coda erscheint der Rhythmus des Hauptthemas noch einmal in den Trompeten in derb naiver Abwandlung.

2. Satz : Adagio - « sehr feierlich » .

Der Satz kündigt von zweimal von rauschhaftem Glück und schmerzlichem Verzicht. Er hebt an mit einer Violinkantilene auf der G-Saite. Mildes Licht durchwärmt die ausdrucksvollen Klänge. Immer wieder stockt der melodische Fluß, als wollten die Orchesterinstrumente fragen, wie angesichts der lastenden Schwere es nun weitergehen werde. Bis dann die ersten Violinen eine Trauerprozession anstimmen, begleitet von dem langsamen Marschschritt der Celli und Kontrabässe. Gegen Ende dann strahlt das Hauptthema in hellem D-Dur auf, bis der Satz in samtene Schlußakkorden zur Ruhe kommt.

3. Satz : Scherzo - « ruhig bewegt » .

Bei der Herausgabe der Urfassung schrieb Robert Haas in der Einleitung, daß « die vielen Zusätze für den Zeitablauf, die Stärkeverteilung und den Vortrag einer richtigen Auffassung hinderlich geworden » seien. Die trifft besonders auf das Scherzo zu. Durch falsche dynamische Zeichen wurden Begleitmotive zu Hauptthemen aufgewertet.

Der Satz ist kurz, farbig und phantasievoll. Bruckner entfaltet hier eine Vorahnung impressionistischer Klanggebilde. Es herrscht hier nicht das ansonsten übliche rustikale Auftrumpfen, sondern die Musik wirkt wie eine spukhafte Träumerei, in der Kobolde, Gnommen und andere Geister ihr huschendes Spiel treiben.

4. Satz : « Bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell » .

Die Motive des Finale sind aus dem Material des ersten und des zweiten Satzes abgeleitet. Bruckner beabsichtigte damit wohl eine größere Geschlossenheit des Werkes. Anklänge an Wagner, wie etwa in dem « siegfriedhaften » zweiten Thema zeugen von Bruckners Wagner-Verehrung, aber das Pathos mit seinen kraftvoll strahlenden Siegesfanfaren kann auf Dauer doch nicht überzeugen.

Am 13. Oktober 1882 schrieb Bruckner an seinen Freund Leopold Hofmeyr :

« Die Wiener Philharmoniker haben nun meine 6. Sinfonie angenommen, alle übrigen Sinfonien von anderen Componisten abgelehnt. Die Philharmoniker fanden an dem Werke solches Wohlgefallen, daß sie heftig applaudierten und einen Tusch machten. »

Zur öffentlichen Aufführung drei Monate später gelangten (wohl wegen der Länge des Werks) allerdings nur die beiden Mittelsätze. Ähnlich vernichtend wie Eduard Hanslick beurteilte auch die übrige Musikpresse das Werk. In den Signalen für die musikalische Welt heißt es im Februar 1883 :

« Die zwei Symphoniesätze von Bruckner hatten dieselben Licht- und Schattenseiten, wie alles von diesem hochgeschätzten Musiker bisher Gebotene : überraschende geniale Gedanken und glänzende Instrumentationen neben Mangel an logischer Verarbeitung und übertriebenem Ausspinnen ; bei Anhören dieser Musik fühlt man sich wie von schwerem Traum umfassen, vergebens suchend, den Knäuel von leuchtenden Bildern zu entwirren. »

Vollständig aufgeführt wurde die sechste Sinfonie erst 1899 nach Bruckners Tod unter Gustav Mahler. Mahler traute der kompositorischen Qualität offensichtlich nicht so recht ; jedenfalls nahm er etliche Kürzungen und Retuschen in der Instrumentation vor. In seiner Originalgestalt erklang das Werk erstmals 1935 durch den Dirigenten Paul van Kempen.

...

Bruckner schrieb seine 6. Symphonie in einer Phase der persönlichen Konsolidierung. Seine Übersiedlung von der beschaulichen Provinzstadt Linz, wo er sich sein halbes Leben lang auf seine gewaltigen Hauptwerke vorbereitet hatte, in die lebhaftere Hauptstadt des österreichischen Großstaates war geglückt. Er hatte sich sowohl am Konservatorium als

auch an der Universität Wiens als Lehrer etablieren können. Als Komponist und konnte er sich, wiewohl umstritten, einer zwar kleinen aber wachsenden Anhängerschaft erfreuen. Im Jahre 1880 hatte er dazu eine große Reise - die größte seines Lebens - getätigt, die ihn nach Bayern - unter anderem zu den Festspielen in Oberammergau - und in die Schweiz geführt hatte. Dabei hatte der Junggeselle, wie sich aus seinem Reisetagebuch ergibt, offenbar den Eindruck, daß er auch bei den Damen Wirkung erzielen konnte. Augenscheinlich im Gefühl einer gefestigten Position machte sich Bruckner im September 1880, fünf Jahre nach seiner letzten Symphonie und obwohl diese weder aufgeführt noch gedruckt war, an ein neues Großwerk der Gattung. Binnen eines Jahres, für Bruckner eine kurze Zeit, entstand so unter Verwendung von Vorarbeiten aus dem Jahre 1879 seine 6. Symphonie. Daß Bruckner mit einem für ihn ungewöhnlichen Selbstbewusstsein an die Arbeit ging, spiegelt sich auch in der Tatsache, daß er hier, anders als bei den meisten anderen seiner Symphonien, keine Notwendigkeit für eine spätere Überarbeitung sah. Er selbst meinte denn auch, die 6. Symphonie sei das « Keckse », was er geschrieben habe.

Das Werk fällt in mancher Hinsicht aus dem Rahmen des symphonischem Gesamtwerkes von Bruckner. Es ist vergleichsweise kurz und wirkt mit Ausnahme des langsamen Satzes eher weltlich. Deutlich wird dies bereits am Anfang. Bruckner verzichtet auf das « mystische » Entwicklungstremolo und beginnt ziemlich unvermittelt sein erhabendes Spiel mit Formen und Motiven. Das Scherzo gilt als das merkwürdigste, welches Bruckner geschrieben hat. Es hat nichts mehr mit einem Tanz zu tun und wirkt mitunter geradezu unheimlich. Auffällig sind in der Symphonie auch die starken dynamischen Kontraste und einige rhythmische Feinheiten (etwa die quasi polyrythmische Behandlung des zweiten Themas im ersten Satz) . Mancher Deuter kam daher zu dem Schluss, daß sich in dieser Komposition nicht metaphysische Spekulationen des Grüblers Bruckner sondern persönliche Erlebnisse niedergeschlagen haben, im zweiten Satz möglicherweise der Besuch in Oberammergau, im ersten und dritten der Eindruck der Schweizer Berge.

Die öffentliche Anerkennung war auch bei diesem Werk Bruckners schleppend. Die Wiener Philharmoniker, die sich seinerzeit erstmals mit Bruckner befassten, haben die Symphonie nach einer « Novitätenprobe » im Oktober 1882 zwar als einziges der seinerzeit gesichteten Werke für aufführens-wert erachtet. Wie Bruckner am 13. Oktober 1882 einem Bekannten mit der Aufforderung schrieb, es weiterzuerzählen, hatten sie an dem Werk « solches Wohlgefallen, daß sie heftig applaudierten und einen Dusch machten » . Außerdem habe ihm der Dirigent, Wilhelm Jahn, als er sich ihm vorstellte, erklärt, daß er einer seiner « innigsten Verehrer » sei. Bei der « Uraufführung » am 12. Februar 1883 wagte man aber nur die Präsentation der beiden Mittelsätze. Der Kritiker Eduard Hanslick schrieb darüber, leider werde der Wagner'sche Stil nun auch auf die Symphonie angewandt. Hätten sich beim Adagio im Publikum Interesse und Befremden noch die Waage gehalten, so sei beim « ausschließlich durch Seltsamkeit fesselnden Scherzo » das Roß vom Reiter getrennt worden. Im Ganzen habe der « wilde Komponist » etwas an Zucht gewonnen, aber an Natur verloren. Der Kritiker Hans Paumgartner meinte, das Scherzo habe auch die begeistertsten Freunde und Schüler des Komponisten in einige Verlegenheit gestürzt. Er attestiert Bruckner aber, daß er « eine hoch bedeutende, das Durchschnittsmaß weit überragende künstlerische Persönlichkeit » sei, « deren Schöpfungen jederzeit das ungeteilte Interesse aller wirklichen Kunstfreunde für sich haben werde » . Die nächste Aufführung der Symphonie fand dennoch erst 1899, drei Jahre nach Bruckners Tod, unter der Leitung von Gustav Mahler, ebenfalls in Wien statt. Auch hier mußte das Werk Kürzungen und zusätzlich instrumentale Veränderungen über sich ergehen lassen. Die erste vollständige Darbietung erfolgte schließlich fast 20 Jahre nach der Fertigstellung des Werkes. Sie fand im Jahre 1901 unter der Leitung von Wilhelm Pohlig in Stuttgart statt, wo, wie es in der anschließenden Kritik hieß, « dieser moderne Symphoniker bereits viel Boden

gewonnen hat » .

The Gramophone Choice

« New Philharmonia » Orchestra conducted by Otto Klemperer. « EMI » : 562621-2 - ADD (80 minutes) .

Klemperer's performance is masterly from 1st note to last. It is a performance by turns lofty, tender and serene, but it is, above all, a structurally cogent performance and, within the compass of its steady-treading tempi, an intensely exciting one.

Karl Pohlig

Le chef d'orchestre, pianiste et compositeur Karl Pohlig est né le 10 février 1864 à Teplitz (aujourd'hui, la partie ouest de la République tchèque) , au nord de la Bohême (Empire Austro-Hongrois) et est décédé le 17 juin 1928 à Braunschweig (Brunswick) , en Basse-Saxe. Dans les années 1880, il étudie le violoncelle et le piano à Weimar, en Allemagne. Élève de Franz Liszt, il va le suivre à Budapest puis à Rome. Plus tard, il enseigne à son tour le piano. Pohlig occupe brièvement un poste au Conservatoire Royal de Sondershausen.

À partir de 1897, Karl Pohlig dirige de nombreux orchestres de Théâtre : le Covent Garden de Londres, en 1897 et 1898 ; l'Opéra de Hambourg ; le Théâtre de la Cour de Coburg, en Bavière ; il sera l'assistant de Gustav Mahler au « Staatsoper » de Vienne ; il dirigera aussi à Graz. Pohlig occupera le poste de « Kapellmeister » de l'Orchestre de la Cour de Stuttgart, de 1900 à 1907.

Sur les recommandations des chefs Felix Mottl (1856-1911) de Berlin et Fritz Steinbach (1855-1916) de Cologne, Karl Pohlig sera embauché par le conseil d'administration du Philadelphia Orchestra Association, à l'été de 1907. Il sera à la tête de l'Orchestre jusqu'en 1912. Lorsque Pohlig est devenu officiellement directeur musical, il a demandé et obtenu un ensemble minimum de 80 musiciens (alors que l'on en comptait entre 60 et 65 sous le règne du chef Fritz Scheel, son prédécesseur) . Des musiciens additionnels devront être engagés lors de l'exécution de grandes œuvres symphoniques comme celles du compositeur Hector Berlioz. Bien que les critiques étaient satisfaits des concerts donnés par Pohlig au tout début de son mandat, ils sont rapidement devenus acerbes. Pohlig va obtenir un certain succès en élargissant le répertoire du Philadelphia et en invitant, en 1909, le compositeur Sergei Rachmaninoff à faire ses débuts américains au pupitre. Il s'agira d'une longue et prolifique association. Le public et les musiciens ont toutefois commencé à se retourner contre Pohlig. Ces derniers le considéraient abrasif, distant et froid (ce qui n'est pas rare chez les chefs d'orchestre) . Olga Samaroff, une soliste de l'Orchestre, le considérait « sans saveur et sans inspiration » . Entre autre, la critique new-yorkaise sera d'abord mitigée puis hostile face à ce chef.

Karl Pohlig va remettre sa démission en 1912, en disgrâce, après la révélation qu'il fut impliqué dans une affaire extra-conjugale avec sa secrétaire suédoise. Pohlig va poursuivre l'Orchestre pour bris de contrat puisqu'il lui restait seulement 1 an à faire. Pour faciliter son départ, il gagnera sa cause en recevant son dû pour la saison 1912-1913. Pohlig va conclure sa carrière en retournant en Allemagne. Il sera nommé directeur musical de l'Opéra de la Cour

(« Staatstheater ») de « Braunschweig » (Brunswick) , en Basse-Saxe.

Karl Pohlig va miser sur l'interprétation des œuvres de Richard Wagner. En tant que compositeur, il laisse 2 Symphonies, 2 Poèmes symphoniques (dont « Per Aspera, ad Astra » composé à Stuttgart, en 1902) ainsi que des œuvres de genre, des pièces de musique de chambre et de piano.

...

The German Bohemian pianist, conductor and composer Karl Pohlig was born on 10 February 1864 in Teplitz (Teplice) , Bohemia, Austrian Empire ; and died on 17 June 1928 in Braunschweig (Brunswick) , in Lower-Saxony. He studied cello and piano in Weimar, and later taught piano there.

Pohlig trained as a musician with Franz Liszt, whom he followed to Pest (now part of Budapest) and Rome. He taught for a short period as Court pianist at the Royal Conservatory in Sondershausen and, from 1897 onwards, was a theatre music-director in London, Hamburg, Coburg, Vienna and Graz. He became Court music-director in Stuttgart, in 1900, conducted the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, from 1907 onwards, and worked at the Hamburg Municipal Theatre, in 1913-1914. From 1914 to 1924, he was general music-director in Brunswick. In particular, Pohlig was known as a Wagnerian interpreter. He composed Symphonies and piano music.

1901 : In Stuttgart, Karl Pohlig became the 1st conductor to perform the complete version of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 6. This Symphony had been performed before in excerpts and in an edited-down version by Gustav Mahler.

1907 : Fritz Scheel dies ; Carl Pohlig is appointed the Orchestra's 2nd conductor.

1909 : Sergei Rachmaninoff is invited to guest conduct the Orchestra ; his appearance at the Academy of Music signals the beginning of a long association between the Philadelphia Orchestra and one of the Century's most beloved composer-pianists.

Pohlig became conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, from 1907 to 1912. He invited Sergei Rachmaninoff to make his American debut with the Orchestra, in 1909. In 1912, he resigned in disgrace after the revelation that he was involved in an extra-marital affair with his Swedish secretary. However, Pohlig also sued the Orchestra for breach of contract, as he had 1 year remaining on his contract at that time. He received a settlement of 1 year's salary. Pohlig concluded his career as conductor of the Braunschweig Court Opera, in Germany, the city in which he died.

In 1907, Karl Pohlig became music-director of the Philadelphia Orchestra and served until 1912. New music he programmed was unpopular with audiences, and revelations that he had an extra-marital affair with his secretary caused outrage. The Orchestra cancelled his contract and gave him a year's salary (\$12,000) in severance to avoid a suit from Pohlig alleging a conspiracy to oust him.

Pohlig died on 17 June 1928 in Brunswick.

...

Karl Pohlig (geboren 10. Februar 1858 in Teplitz, Böhmen ; gestorben 17. Juni 1928 in Braunschweig) war ein aus Nordböhmen stammender deutschsprachiger Pianist und Komponist.

Er betrieb in Weimar Studien am Cello und am Klavier und war Schüler von Franz Liszt, dem er nach Budapest und Rom folgte. Als Hofpianist lehrte Pohlig kurzzeitig am fürstlichen Konservatorium in Sondershausen. Ab 1897 dirigierte er verschiedene Theaterorchester in London (Covent Garden 1897 und 1898) , Hamburg, Coburg (am Hoftheater) , Wien (Vizekapellmeister neben Gustav Mahler an der Hofoper) und Graz (als Kapellmeister) . Von 1900 bis 1907 war er Hofkapellmeister in Stuttgart. 1901 dirigierte er dort Bruckners 6. Sinfonie in ihrer ungekürzten Erstfassung, nachdem Gustav Mahler 1899 das Werk zunächst stark gekürzt zur Aufführung gebracht hatte. 1902 entstand in Stuttgart Pohligs symphonische Dichtung *Per Aspera, ad Astra*.

Pohlig leitete von 1907 bis 1912 als Dirigent das Philadelphia Orchestra. Er lud 1909 Sergei Rachmaninow zu einem Debüt in den Vereinigten Staaten ein. Nachdem Pohlig 1912 wegen der Enthüllung der außerehelichen Beziehung zu seiner schwedischen Sekretärin beim Publikum in Ungnade gefallen war, trat er von der Leitung des Orchesters in Philadelphia zurück. Da sein Vertrag in Amerika regulär noch ein Jahr gedauert hätte, erstritt er auf gerichtlichem Weg die Zahlung einer dementsprechenden Abfindungssumme. Seit 1913 betätigte sich Pohlig am Hamburger Stadttheater und beendete seine Karriere von 1914 bis 1922 als Generalmusikdirektor des Staatstheaters in Braunschweig.

Seinen künstlerischen Schwerpunkt hatte Pohlig auf die Interpretation von Werken Richard Wagners gelegt. Als Komponist hinterließ Pohlig zwei Symphonien, zwei symphonische Dichtungen sowie einige Werke aus den Gattungen der Kammer- und Klaviermusik.

...

1er octobre 1879 : Announcement in the « Neue Wiener Zeitschrift » of the imminent publication (« in a few days ») of the 3rd Symphony of Anton Bruckner.

12 novembre 1879 : Le 1er concert a eu lieu à la « Bösendorfer-Saal » de Vienne. Le duo composé de Hans Paumgartner et de Felix Mottl a joué une transcription pour piano à 4 mains (de Gustav Mahler) de l'Adagio et le Scherzo de la 3e Symphonie. Cette version ne remplace pas la partition pour orchestre mais elle permet au moins au public d'obtenir une bonne 1re impression.

...

The 1st performance of a piano arrangement of the 3rd Symphony took place on **12 November 1879** when Hans Paumgartner and Felix Mottl played the Adagio and Scherzo in Mahler's arrangement. The critic for « Die Presse »

reported :

« There is 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. »

13 novembre 1879 : Felix Mottl and Hans Paumgartner play a piano transcription of the Adagio and Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony, at an evening concert arranged by the « Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein » .

19 novembre 1879 : « Die Presse » écrit :

« Ces dernières années, nous sommes redevables à cette Association (académique Richard Wagner) pour la présentation d'œuvres nouvelles sans que le public ne montre des signes de ressentiment. »

19 novembre 1879 : Anton Bruckner begins to compose a 3rd version of the Finale to replace the « Volksfest » Finale of the 4 Symphony.

Novembre 1879 : Parmi les élèves de Bruckner au Conservatoire de Vienne durant le semestre d'automne, citons ...

Johann Evangelist Aichinger, Otto von Liebig, J. Schnabl et Rudolf Steiner.

Johann Evangelist Aichinger (I)

Johann Evangelist Aichinger est le curé de la paroisse de Steyr. Il succède à Georg Armingier (1822-1884) .

Lettre de Johann Evangelist Aichinger adressée au compositeur Anton Bruckner. Elle commence par :

« Très vénérable monsieur le Docteur. »

Le pasteur promet à son cher et vieil ami de longues et apaisantes conversations autour de la fameuse table qui se trouve dans la salle-à-manger du presbytère. Ce lieu si confortable avait déjà été le témoin de tels rencontres en tête-à-tête durant les précédentes vacances estivales du compositeur.

L'année 1884 marque le décès du curé de la paroisse de Steyr, le grand amateur de musique Georg Armingier. L'événement fait tomber le rideau sur de la période initiale d'Anton Bruckner à Steyr.

Surtout entre 1885 et 1895 : Anton Bruckner adorait passer ses vacances estivales au vieux presbytère de la paroisse (« Stadtpfarrhof ») de Steyr en tant qu'invité des curés Georg Armingier (qui était aussi doyen) et Johann Evangelist Aichinger. Le copiste personnel de Bruckner à Steyr était son ami proche, Leopold Hofmeyer.

...

In later years, in Steyr, Bruckner was a welcome guest of the parish priests, Georg Armingier and Josef Aichinger.

In 1884, Georg Armingier's death marked the end of this 1st era in Steyr for Bruckner. On 1 July 1885, he wrote to Armingier's successor, Johann Evangelist Aichinger :

« If I may be so bold, I will take the liberty of asking your Reverence whether I might, in the holidays, sometimes install myself (as a paying guest, of course) in your wonderful rectory ? »

Georg Armingier, the parish priest of Steyr, organized a regular series of chamber music concerts, whose audiences included a young man, Leopold Hofmeyer, who was to play an important role in Anton Bruckner's life. Born in Steyr, in 1855, he had grown-up in the house of an instrument-maker. He regarded Bruckner, the composer and teacher, as the ultimate authority in all matters pertaining to music and he repeatedly sought his advice. Hofmeyer's most urgent need, at the time, was for a training in musical theory, as he was thinking of becoming a professional musician. At Bruckner's mention of the writings of Simon Sechter, he started-out by studying them on his own. Bruckner insisted on the importance of solid foundations, which would involve work with a « proficient instructor » ; he also counted on additional help from Armingier.

Aichinger was no unknown quantity to Bruckner since he had been parochial vicar under Armingier for many years. This letter marks the beginning of the 2nd phase of the « holiday composer » in Steyr, with its clear emphasis on creativity (8th and 9th Symphonies, « Wiener Fassung » (Vienna version) of the 1st Symphony, the revision of the « Requiem » , **WAB 39**, and « Helgoland » , **WAB 71**) .

Johann Evangelist Aichinger (II)

Le théologien, pédagogue allemand (et prêtre du monde) Johann Evangelist Aichinger est né (lors d'un tremblement de terre !) le 16 décembre 1805 en Haute-Autriche et est mort le 2 avril 1864 à Linz.

Il étudie la théologie à partir de 1828. Le 1er novembre 1829, il devient professeur à l'Institut des sourds-muets de Vienne. En octobre 1833, il est nommé directeur de l'Institut des sourds-muets de Linz et devient aussi membre du Consistoire sous l'Empire Austro-Hongrois (assemblée impériale et royale de cardinaux convoquée librement par le pape pour le conseiller, débattre de sujets concernant divers aspects de la vie de l'Église ou de l'organisation de la curie) .

Durant son règne, il réussira à renforcer et à développer l'Institution des sourds-muets. D'ailleurs, en 1846, l'on assiste à une expansion majeure dont la création d'une école pour les pensionnaires.

Aichinger devient membre du Conseil municipal de Linz de 1846 à 1861.

En 1861, il est nommé chanoine honoraire.

Aichinger a écrit un article sur la musique catholique dans le « Katholische Blätter ». On peut le consulter dans le volume 4, n° 30, du recueil de l'Association catholique centrale de Linz (« Herausgegeben vom katholischen Centralverein zu Linz ») de l'année 1864.

...

Johann Evangelist Aichinger : Deutscher Theologe und Pädagoge, Weltpreister, Kaiserlich-Königlich Consistorialrath ; geboren 16. Dezember 1805 Stroheim, Oberösterreich ; gestorben 12. April 1864 Linz.

Studium der Theologie (1828 Priesterweihe) , ab 1. November 1829 Lehrer an der Taubstummenanstalt in Wien. Seit Oktober 1833 Director des Taubstummen-Instituts zu Linz. Setzte sich für Ausbau und Entwicklung der Anstalt ein (1846 Erweiterungsbau, Einrichtung eines Internats) . War 1846-1861 Mitglied des Gemeindeausschuß, wurde 1861 Ehrendomherr.

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Friedrich Pesendorfer. Das Domkapitel in Linz, Akademischer Pressdruckverein, Linz (1929) .

WAB 113

21 décembre 1879 : WAB 113 - Intermezzo en ré mineur pour 2 violons, 2 altos et 1 violoncelle. Un mouvement de rechange au Scherzo initial du Quintette à cordes, **WAB 112**. Faite à la demande du violoniste Josef Hellmesberger (le directeur du Conservatoire de Vienne) pour son propre Quatuor. Création à Vienne, le 23 janvier 1904, par le Fitznerquartett.

Ire édition : Universal-Edition, Vienne (1913) , sans le Trio.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : XIII/2, édition Leopold Nowak (1963) .

Édition Silvertrust, Riverwoods, Illinois.

Affligé par les épreuves que lui a procuré la décennie 1870 à Vienne, il est pertinent de se questionner sur les motifs du départ d'Anton Bruckner de la ville de Linz alors que sa situation était relativement stable et exempte de controverses. Avec le recul, c'est à se demander s'il ne s'est pas trop plaint de ses conditions de vie.

Affecté une bonne partie de sa vie par la pauvreté, Anton Bruckner ne se sentira jamais à l'aise financièrement même lorsque sa situation se sera grandement améliorée dans les dernières années. Son insécurité morbide l'a toujours incité

indistinctement à postuler pour les postes laissés vacants.

28 décembre 1879 : The publication of the Gustav Mahler - Rudolf Krzyzanowski piano arrangement of the 3rd Symphony, the following week, is advertised in the « Linzer Tagespost » .

...

Karl Emil Franzos uses a chemical preparation to restore the faded manuscripts of Georg Büchner's « Woyzeck » , deciphers the illigible parts of it, misreads the spelling of the main character's name as « Wozzeck » , and issues a performing edition. The scenes in Büchner's incomplete manuscripts may be arranged in several different ways, so Franzos is responsible for quite a bit of editing to assemble the fragments into a coherent whole.

1879-1880 : Anton Bruckner constate une recrudescence de ses céphalées. Il évite alors de porter le chapeau.

Hiver 1879-1880 : Robert Fuchs composes his Piano Concerto in B-flat minor, Opus 27.

Fin de 1879 et partie de 1880 : The 19 year old Gustav Mahler is busy composing his Cantata, « Das Klagende Lied » (The Lamenting Song) .

AB 79 : 1880

Analytic approaches to the music of Anton Bruckner : Chromatic 3rd-relations in selected late-compositions

Author : Miguel Javier Ramirez, Ph.D. Dissertation, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (2009) , 382 pages.

Publication Number : 3362458

Adviser : Thomas Christensen.

Abstract

In the works of Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) , chromatic 3rd-relations within chord progressions and tonal regions occupy an important place, and they help to expand the tonal language and enhance the expressive quality of the music. This dissertation offers a historical and analytic examination of the role played by chromatic tertian relations in several Bruckner compositions, written between 1880 and 1890. Focusing on non-functional chord progressions, symmetric divisions of the octave, and the temporary suspension of tonic centrality, the analysis takes into account local levels of harmonic syntax as well as large-scale levels of tonal organization. Given the prominence of these features in the compositions selected for examination, the study draws heavily upon neo-Riemannian transformational theories for the analysis of the music.

The dissertation is divided into 2 parts, the 1st of which presents a critical assessment of the analytic models that have been traditionally utilized in the examination of Bruckner's music, while the 2nd provides an overview of neo-Riemannian theory and applies it to the analysis of selected Bruckner compositions of the 1880's. **Chapter 1** offers a « critique » of the hermeneutic perspectives that have been invoked in the analytic and critical discourse on Bruckner's « œuvre ». Given the importance of Sechterian fundamental bass for Bruckner's musical training and for his didactic activities, scholars have applied Simon Sechter's theories to the analysis of his music. **Chapter 2** provides an assessment of this analytic strategy by pointing-out specific limitations of the Sechterian system for the examination of chromatic 3rd-relations in Bruckner's music. **Chapter 3** addresses the challenges of traditional analytic models « vis-à-vis » Bruckner's harmonic language. Focusing on the handling of chromatic tertian relations, the Chapter discusses some of the difficulties in the application of Roman-numeral, « extended-functional », and Schenkerian approaches to the analysis of Bruckner's works. While **Chapter 4** furnishes an overview of neo-Riemannian theory and a discussion of its problematic aspects, **Chapter 5** is devoted to the analysis of 4 Bruckner compositions and excerpts : the Coda from the opening movement of the 6th Symphony, the Motet « Ecce sacerdos magnus », and the Adagio and Finale of the 8th Symphony.

La Vienne de Bruckner dans les années 1880

(Doctor Andrea Harrandt, Music Collection, Austrian National Library.)

During the 1880's, what changed in Vienna's cultural life ? From 1880 to 1897, Wilhelm Jahn was director of the Vienna Opera, and was then followed by Gustav Mahler. Jahn was known as a conductor before he came to Vienna. At the Opera House, he offered a wide-spread repertory and promoted works by Richard Wagner. On 4 October 1883, « Tristan und Isolde » was presented for the 1st time in Vienna, after more than 20 years of attempts to have it performed.

It was also Jahn who conducted, on 11 February 1883, 2 movements of Bruckner's 6th Symphony for the 1st time. Bruckner once wrote that Jahn « was one of my greatest admirers ». (27) Placed in the middle of the programme, Bruckner's music got the maximum attention. Eduard Hanslick wrote about an « unusual composition in which ingenious, original and even brilliant details alternate with others which are common-place and difficult to understand ». (28) On the other hand, he appreciated Bruckner also as a man of « integrity and sympathetic personality ». Max Kalbeck also confessed that :

« Bruckner would be one of our leading composers if he was able to give musical realization to his inventive powers and creative energy. » (29)

On the other hand, Kalbeck wished « to be far from the fixture which is able to enjoy such a distorted piece of music » .

The performance and reviews of the 6th Symphony overlapped with Richard Wagner's death, on 13th February, an event which shocked the Wagnerians in Vienna, as well as Bruckner himself who had lost his admired « Meister

aller Meister » .

Bruckner had to wait until 1887 to hear his 5th Symphony for the 1st time. From January to April 1887, Josef Schalk worked on the 4 hand version. In March, there were great discussions at « Gause » pub-restaurant between Bruckner and Schalk because of the forthcoming performance.

On 28th March 1887, Bruckner wrote to Schalk : (30)

« 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. »

Just 1 day before, on 27th March, « Um Mitternacht » (WAB 90) was performed by the « Wiener Männergesangverein » .

The 1st performance of the 5th Symphony, on 20th April 1887, in a 2 piano version played by Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann, was appreciated : (31)

« After hearing it for the 1st time and, in view of the conscientious, effective and excellent execution of the arrangement for 2 pianos which only anticipates the enrichment of Bruckner's orchestral sound, it remains for a later time to discuss this extremely great and courageous work whose 1st impression is extremely powerful. »

And Theodor Helm argued : (32)

« Schalk and Zottmann performed a noble and honourable task by giving us an insight into the creative mind of our inspired Bruckner. They acted as pioneers in their penetration of the intricate Symphonic textures. »

By the way : on the same day, 20th April, the Opera House performed « Der Trompeter von Säckingen » by Victor Nessler which had been a great success since its 1st Viennese performance, in May 1886. The popular German story represents the German-national movement in Vienna, and Eduard Hanslick wrote : (33)

« The most remarkable thing about this matchless successful Opera is its success. »

In his review of the performance of the 5th, Theodor Helm also considered that the time had not yet come for the Symphony to be properly appreciated in an orchestral performance : (34)

« ... But Bruckner has kept his 5th Symphony 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 works, perhaps, has the composer allowed his Pegasus to rush headlong and unrestrainedly through the clouds and has 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 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. »

Concerning everything we have heard before about the musical life in Vienna, we can perhaps understand what Helm thought about Bruckner and his music. Though there were some performances of the 7th Symphony in 1887, for instance in January, in Berlin ; in March, in Dresden ; in April, in Budapest ; and in May, in London, it was to take more time for the composer to be accepted in Vienna.

It was also Helm who wrote about a performance of Franz Liszt's « Faust-Symphony » , in March 1887, a concert which provoked the same negative audience response as a Symphony by Bruckner : (35)

« The time for both Masterpieces has not yet come. »

Mariazell

Dans les années 1880 : Anton Bruckner effectuera de multiples visites à Mariazell pour renouer avec son ancien élève Lorenz Ritter (Laurencius Josephus Ritter) devenu le chef d'orchestre municipal et l'organiste titulaire du « Wiener Orgel » de la Basilique. Aujourd'hui, une plaque commémorative orne la cage d'escalier du 16 de la Wiener Straße. Plus tard, Lorenz Ritter sera promu directeur musical de la ville de Veszprém, en Hongrie. Bâtie sur 5 collines, elle se compose de bâtiments Baroques, de ruelles étroites, de ponts et de quelques moulins.

Fait à noter, Franz-Joseph Haydn viendra consacrer son pèlerinage à Mariazell par l'exécution de 2 de ses Messes à la Basilique : la « Missa in honorem Cellensis Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ » Hob. XXII : 5 de 1766-1773 (connu de Anton Bruckner) et la Missa Cellensis en do majeur (dite « Mariazellermesse » ou seconde « Missa Cellensis ») , Hob. XXII : 8 de 1782.

The « Missa Cellensis in honorem Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ » in C major by Franz-Joseph Haydn, Hob. XXII : 5, Novello 3, was originally written in 1766, after Haydn was promoted to « Kapellmeister » at Eszterháza following the death of Gregor-Joseph Werner. The original title as it appears on the only surviving fragment of Haydn's autograph score, that has been discovered around 1970 in Budapest, clearly assigns the Mass to the pilgrimage cult of Mariazell, in Styria. Until that discovery, the work was formerly known as « Missa Sanctæ Caecilïæ » , or in German Cäcilienmesse, a title probably attributed to the Mass in the 19th Century. Whether the alternative title refers to a performance of the piece by the Saint-Cecilia's Congregation, a Viennese musician's fraternity, on some Saint-Cecilia's day (22 November) , as has been suggested, remains speculation.

« Mariazellermesse » in C major (« Missa Cellensis » , Hob. XXII : 8) from 1772 : Between 1772 and 1796, Haydn composed only 2 Mass settings, neither of which was written for the Court. One of these was the « Mariazellermesse » of 1782, also known as the 2nd « Missa Cellensis » . While an inscription on the autograph manuscript, « Missa Cellensis Fatta per il Signor Liebe de Kreutzner » , tells us that the work was commissioned by retired military officer Anton Liebe de Kreutzner, the reason it was requested is not as clearly stated. One theory proposes that the « Mariazellermesse » was 1st performed at one of the celebrations commemorating Kreutzner's ennoblement, which had taken place the previous year. Kreutzner was also a member of the Viennese brotherhood responsible for services in honour of the Mariazell pilgrimages, and it is even more likely that he commissioned the piece on behalf of the group. Whatever the specific reason for its composition, the « Mariazellermesse » quickly became one of Haydn's most popular Masses. As Haydn scholar H. C. Landon explains : « It is clear that with this « Missa Cellensis » , he reached, and reached with panache and astonishing vigour, the popular style for which he had been so long and so diligently searching in his instrumental music. » . For this reason, the « Mariazellermesse » is often understood as both the precursor to Haydn's late Masses as well as the culmination of his early efforts in the genre.

One key to the « Mariazellermesse » 's popularity might be the easy way in which Haydn intermingles familiar strategies and elements of Symphonic style. The work displays many ties to tradition : Haydn wrote the work in C major, the key most commonly used in Viennese Mass settings and one he rarely used in his own. Haydn also draws on many standard procedures in the Gloria, switching between choral and solo statements (as was customary) to emphasise important phrases like « Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis » (Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us) . The 1st part of the Credo recalls the « Große Orgelmesse » of the late- 1760's, as the choir, supported by rapid string accompaniment, proceeds through the text in an almost declamatory fashion. Haydn also uses word painting : « Crucifixus » is dramatised with gentle chromaticism, while « sepultus est » (was buried) is dramatised with low notes. The opening of the lyrical Sanctus is even based on a Marian pilgrimage song. Other features of the « Mariazellermesse » are less typical, however, particularly the way in which Haydn uses large scale form. In both the Kyrie and Credo, he creates sonata like structures by recapitulating the opening material. Also unusual is the Benedictus, which Haydn (in a rare instance of self borrowing) based on an aria from his opera « Il mondo della luna » (1777) .

It is believed that the original manuscript was lost in the Eisenstadt fire of 1768, and that when Haydn rewrote the piece from memory, he may also have expanded it. It may have originally consisted of only Kyrie and Gloria, with the other parts added later.

The Mass is scored for vocal soloists, SATB choir, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 trumpets in C, timpani, strings and organ, the latter supplying figured bass for most of the duration.

...

Mariazell, située dans la vallée de la Salza, est le sanctuaire Mariale le plus important des alpes styriennes, à 143 kilomètres au nord de Graz. Vers 1480, des pèlerins venus de 16 différents pays ont entrepris un pèlerinage en sa direction. La ville est fondée en 1157 par un moine nommé Magny, qui s'installe pour construire une chapelle. La

région aurait auparavant été visitée par les Celtes, les Illyriens, les Romains et les Slaves.

En 1344, la ville est élevée au statut de ville marchande. En 1380, l'église Gothique de la ville est achevée. Les Turcs brûlent l'église et la ville en 1420. Un incendie majeur a eu lieu 1474 et les Turcs reviennent en 1532.

Représentations de miracles sur le petit autel (1512) et le grand autel (1519) de la Basilique par Joanneum, venu de Graz. Fortes participations de la famille Impériale des Habsbourg aux processions sur la Via Sacra en 1632. Le culte des Habsbourg pour la vierge de Mariazell de même que la persistance de la dévotion populaire ont permis au sanctuaire de fêter en 1957 son 8e Centenaire.

En 1683, on craint une nouvelle invasion turque, mais celle-ci ne se produit pas. La ville est marquée par les guerres napoléoniennes et souffre d'une famine en 1816. Mariazell est reconstruite en 1832 après un autre incendie important. Elle est investie par l'Armée rouge lors de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. En 1948, elle reçoit officiellement le statut de ville et des travaux de restauration sont entrepris.

Anton Bruckner vu par les Viennois

Anton Bruckner, « ce hibou au cri strident », est encore sous-estimé et ridiculisé ; surtout à cause de ses conquêtes féminines infructueuses. Il est toujours en attente d'une percée en tant qu'artiste. Il est maintenant âgé de 56 ans !

4 février 1880 : Another creation in a 4 hand piano arrangement, of a Bruckner Symphony in Vienna is presented.

Once again, Hans Paumgartner and Felix Mottl played the piano parts in their own arrangement of the 2nd and 3rd movements of the 4th Symphony, in the composer's presence. As it was the 1st performance of this work, one critic expressed his desire to « hear it in full orchestral sound » so that he would be able to say more about it.

Anton Bruckner fut d'abord connu à Vienne pour son « originalité » et son aspect physique. Mais il est maintenant reconnu comme compositeur. Un article paru dans l'édition du « Deutsche Zeitung » du **4 février 1880** nous le relate :

« Toute personne qui voit errer sur la rue cet homme corpulent et triomphant, rond comme un ballon, la crâne lumineux parfaitement poli, se rappelle bien involontairement d'une poire géante sur 2 pattes. Au 1er coup d'œil, on associe ce personnage original à un parent de notre archevêque, un voyageur incognito en provenance de la cave d'un cloître, un fils ou un proche de Sainte-Cécile. Hé bien, c'est en effet ce qu'il est ! Son lien avec Sainte-Cécile ne s'arrête pas qu'à la musique ; c'est la seule femme avec qui il a des relations étroites. Sa foi profonde fait de lui un parfait catholique, un Saint immaculé ! Sur la rue, on le remarque de loin à cause de sa démarche oscillante. Lorsqu'il croise un ami, c'est comme s'il venait de découvrir une partie du monde.. Le petit chapeau rond qu'il porte lui cause d'affreux maux de tête, il doit donc se résoudre à le tenir fermement dans sa main. »

It must have hurt him deeply when children in the street ran after him making fun of his old-fashioned, provincial

clothing and the large handkerchief protruding from a pocket in his short, rather baggy pants.

Un curieux personnage

Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) was born the 1st of 11 children in the village Ansfelden, near Linz, Austria. His father was organist at the local church and, at the age of 4, Bruckner took organ lessons. By the age of 10, Bruckner was deputizing for his father at services. He went on to study musical theory at the age of 11. In spite of this early encouragement, Bruckner developed his skill and reputation slowly and he would be 60 before gaining acclaim with Viennese audiences. At the age of 12, following the death of his father, his mother brought him to the Monastery of Saint-Florian, which young Anton had visited from the age of 10, and begged the Prior to take Anton on as a chorister although he would be considered too old. Bruckner mastered the organ, over a span of 10 years, at the monastery, playing music for the traditional and conservative services. Decades later, he was buried in the monastery's crypt underneath the instrument he adored. At Saint-Florian, Bruckner became known for his improvisational skills on the organ. In later life, he would put these to use during a trip to England. In 1871, at the Royal Albert Hall, London, he performed 6 recitals on the newly built Henry Willis organ impressing audiences with his improvisations on the theme « God save the Queen ». In Vienna, the miasma of the Brahms and Wagner Symphonic style division choked Bruckner's aspirations for his Symphonies. Bruckner's dedication of his 3rd Symphony to his hero Richard Wagner, whom Bruckner referred to as « Master », publicly put him opposition to the Viennese musical establishment.

In 1885, 2 years after Richard Wagner's death, Bruckner memorialized him at an organ concert at the Monastery of Saint-Florian giving those present a demonstration of his improvisational Mastery. The concert was reviewed in the Linz daily newspaper :

« Bruckner's admirers arrived at the Monastery by every possible form of transport (in carriages and carts, by rail and on foot) in order to hear the sublime music which Bruckner was able to coax from the magnificent instrument. Shortly before half past 3, the Monastery chapel filled-up, and, soon, the friendly face of our dear Bruckner appeared at the organ. Bruckner gave an excellent example of one of his world-famous improvisations. Beginning quietly, continually swelling-up until it reached unexpected power, the sounds of the magnificent lamentation on the death of Siegfried from " Götterdämmerung " shook the audience. Bruckner then brought all his genius to bear in a contrapuntal reworking of the piece ; but Siegfried's Lamentation was soon joined by a new and equally sublime, solemn dirge : it was Bruckner's own funeral music from the Adagio of his 7th Symphony, which he wrote in deepest grief on the death of Wagner. Then, the heavens cleared and a lofty intermezzo in the style of Handel sang-out. This jubilant song, which followed the funeral music, was interwoven with a theme from the 8th Symphony. The " Walsungen " and " Siegfried " motifs from the " Ring " returned once again. This time, however, the grief had disappeared, and powerful singing lines resounded in all registers, rushing and rejoicing towards the end of the piece. Bruckner's artistic achievement had stirred us and lifted our spirits powerfully, and it would be hard to express in mere words our thankfulness for what he gave us. »

Stories abound regarding Bruckner's unsophisticated ways and rather bizarre appearance and how those who wanted to see and be seen received them. He was clean-shaven and he could never find a barber who could crop his white hair

short enough, at a time, when that was far from fashionable ; compare this with Johannes Brahms's long hair and bushy beard. Bruckner wore curious looking clothes, which certainly made no concession to fashion. Bruckner's physician, Doctor Richard Heller, has left a vivid description of his character as reported in Karl Kobald's « In Memoriam Anton Bruckner » (1924) :

« No one who saw Bruckner could ever forget the impression made by that characteristic head, reminiscent of a cinquecento bust, in combination with his almost comical physique. The resemblance between that striking profile and the head of a Roman Emperor was strengthened by his constant refusal to wear a beard, and, by his habit of cropping his thick, white hair almost to the skull. His body was small and thick-set. His feet were shod in broad, almost rectangular sealskin ankle boots, of which he owned about 30 pairs. Above these, he wore a pair of immensely wide, bag-like trousers. His jackets were of a similar expanse and each one had its own name, so that his faithful housekeeper needed a good memory if she was always to bring the right one. One of them was called " Shaggy " because it was made of thick Loden material ; another was " the Cords " since it was made of worsted ; a 3rd was " the Dandy ", or " the Bobby ", or " Fatty " and so on. Bruckner's hats were also given names. The " Hüadal " (a little hat) was the one he usually wore, a black, broad-brimmed slouch-hat ; his Sunday hat was simply " The Hat " ; while " The Top Hat " was a collapsible Opera hat of prehistoric design, which he put on only for very special ceremonious occasions. The basic principle of his wardrobe was spacious and comfortable - which he carried to grotesque lengths. His way of living was as simple as he himself was, and anyone who saw the Master slurping-up his soup from the bowl would have thought that he was in the company of a farm-hand grown old in honourable service rather than a great composer. »

In « Jean Sibelius : His Life and Personality » (1938) , Karl Ekman details Sibelius' visit to Vienna. Sibelius recalls :

« Anton Bruckner, I never met personally. But I was present at the original performance of his Sextet. I was sitting quite close to him and had a good opportunity of observing him. A kindly little old man, who seemed rather lost in the world. He was short of stature, but disproportionately stout. The joking Viennese called him " ein Rhinoceros mit Nachtigallenkehle " (a rhinoceros with the throat of a nightingale) » (I)

In a letter written after another Bruckner performance, Sibelius shows how intensely he had enjoyed Bruckner's music :

« Yesterday, I heard Bruckner's B major Symphony (5th) and it moved me to tears. For a long time, afterwards, I was completely enraptured. What a strangely profound spirit, formed by religiousness ! And this profound religiousness, we have abolished in our own country as something no longer in harmony with our time. »

I have read a few accounts of the last day of Anton Bruckner's life (Sunday, October 11th, 1896) and the account of his memorial service and I think I like, from his 2nd Sacred Music series for the BBC, Simon Russell Beale's best. It goes something like this :

Bruckner's last day started unexceptionally well. In the morning, he worked on the Finale to the 9th Symphony. In the early afternoon, he went for a stroll in the public gardens of the Belvedere Palace. He returned to the small

apartment in the palace, provided for him by the Emperor, where he died. The funeral was held at Vienna's most beautiful church the « Karlskirche » . The church was packed. When Johannes Brahms came to pay his respects an attendant assured him that yes, they could probably squeeze him in but he hesitated and then turned to leave. He was heard to mutter :

« Never mind. Soon, my coffin. »

Once, when Bruckner was asked what he might say to his God if he was required to give an account of his life here on Earth, Bruckner allegedly replied :

« I will present to him the score of some of my work and he will judge me mercifully. »

Another account of his death mentions that :

« On January 12, 1896, Bruckner heard his " Te Deum ". Its performance, in Vienna, having been recommended by no other than Brahms himself, who, at last, seems to have changed his attitude towards the man he had opposed for years. »

This was the last time Bruckner ever heard one of his own works. The very last music he listened to in public was Richard Wagner's « Liebesmahl der Apostel » . And that :

« In accordance with Bruckner's implicit wish, his remains were taken to Saint-Florian where they lie buried under the mighty organ that had been his best friend and into the golden Majesty of which he had on innumerable occasions poured the troubled confessions of his tragic life. » (The Life of Anton Bruckner, Gabriel Engel, page 25.)

(I) Despite Bruckner's bucolic appearance and Sibelius' « lost in the world » reference, he was, by all accounts, quite gregarious. In Linz, he had quite a hectic social life. He joined the Linz Choral Society, « Liedertafel Frohsinn » , as 2nd tenor but he was appointed conductor not long after. It was for them that he composed one of his settings of the « Ave Maria » text ; this one for 7 voices, unaccompanied, with a 3 part women's chorus starting followed by the 4 part men's chorus.

...

Février - mars 1880 : The 19 year old Gustav Mahler composes 3 Songs of a projected 5, inspired by his love for Josephine Poisl, daughter of the post-Master in his hometown of Iglau :

« Im Lenz » (In Spring) .

« Winterlied » (Winter-song) .

« Maitanz im Grünen » (May-dance in Grünen) .

« Im Lenz » quotes an entire passage from the contemporary « Das Klagende Lied » . « Maitanz im Grünen » will later be renamed « Hans und Grethe » by Mahler and included in his 1st published work, a group of 5 early Songs. It is also re-worked into a vocal quintet in Act 4 of Mahler's « Rubezahl » Opera project, and contains musical motifs which will, years later, be used in both the 1st and Scherzo movements of his 1st Symphony ; the former motif will also become the basis for the 2nd Song (« Ging heut' Morgen übers Feld ») of his « Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen » .

Unfortunately for Mahler, Josephine's father nips this relationship in the bud, Mahler never composes the last 2 Songs, and Josephine marries someone else soon after.

Mahler, then, resumes work on his Cantata, « Das Klagende Lied » , finishing the « Particello » (short-score) draft of « Der Spielmann » (the Minstrel) , the original Part 2, on **March 21**. Mahler re-enters the University of Vienna on **April 1**, and also begins looking for a suitable post as a conductor.

Towards the end of the school year, Mahler tires of his life as an impoverished student and, on **May 12**, he signs a 5 year contract with the Gustav Löwy (also spelled : Löwi, Lewy, or Levi) , who will remain Mahler's agent until 1890.

Mars 1880 : Advertisement in the « Hofmeister Monatsbericht » for the score and orchestral parts of the 3rd Symphony ; the piano arrangement is not mentioned.

10 mars 1880 : The piano arrangement of the 3rd Symphony is advertised in the « Neue Wiener Zeitschrift für Musik » , No. 17.

Avril 1880 : Josef Schalk's arrangement for piano solo of the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony is advertised in the « Hofmeister Monatsbericht » , No. 83.

3 juin 1880 : Hans Rott goes to « Ober-Salmansdorf Nr. 26 » , in Vienna.

5 juin 1880 : Après une exécution réussie de sa Messe en ré mineur à Vienne, Anton Bruckner poursuit la révision de sa 4e Symphonie et l'écriture de sa 6e Symphonie. Il se rend d'abord à Saint-Florian pour amorcer ces vacances estivales. Mais victime d'une sérieuse névrose due au surmenage (dont son échec sentimental face à Marie Bartl, âgée de 17 ans) , Bruckner doit planifier un long périple hors d'Autriche, d'abord à Munich puis en Suisse dans le cadre d'une tournée organistique (Genève, Fribourg, Berne, Zürich et Lucerne) en ne manquant pas de faire escale à Oberammergau pour assister au « Jeu de la Passion » .

5 juin 1880 : The new Finale of the 4th Symphony is completed (1880 version) .

Été 1880 : Gustav Mahler accepts his 1st job as a conductor, a very minor one at the summer theater in « Hall »

(now, « Bad Hall » , in Austria) , but it is the beginning of his meteoric rise to fame as the finest Opera Director of his day. Mahler lives, during this time, in the village of « Pfarrkirchen » , just outside of Hall.

Été 1880 : The 47 year old Johannes Brahms composes his « Academic Festival Overture » for the conferment of his own honorary Ph.D. by Breslau University. This piece is based on a number of student songs that would have been familiar to those in attendance at the time.

The 50 year old Hans von Bülow gets into a quarrel with a tenor at Hanover and quits his job. Bülow, then, becomes « Hofmusikdirektor » (Court music-director) to the Duke of Meiningen, until 1885. He transforms this Orchestra into one of the most famous in Germany, forcing the players to perform from memory, and putting a big emphasis on the works of Johannes Brahms. His innovations include the introduction of the 5 string bass and the pedal timpani.

5 juillet 1880 : Bruckner achève la 2e version de la 4e Symphonie et va travailler le reste de l'année à la 6e Symphonie.

24 juillet 1880 : Hans Rott stay with his friend and patron Joseph Seemüller, in Glashütte.

Fin de juillet 1880 : The 22 year old Hans Rott completes the orchestration of his Symphony in E major (which will only become known in the 1990's) , which exerts a huge influence on Gustav Mahler, who ends-up possessing the score, and who will even quote some of it literally in his own Symphonies, after Rott is dead and forgotten.

The 15 year old Richard Strauß composes a Symphony in D minor and, also, his String Quartet in A major, Opus 2 ; his 1st piece to be published without a subsidy.

Vacances estivales en Suisse

Fin août 1880 : Anton Bruckner part en vacances. Il s'agira des plus grandes jamais entreprises : Oberammergau, Munich, puis en Suisse : Schaffhausen (Schaffhouse) , Genève, Chamonix, Lausanne, Fribourg et Lucerne. Le périple se terminera, le 11 septembre, avec quelques jours passées à Saint-Florian.

Au cours de ce voyage, Bruckner donnera plusieurs récitals d'orgue. Mais son calendrier comportera également des escales dites « académiques » à diverses universités autrichiennes.

Août - septembre 1880 : Partant de Saint-Florian, Anton Bruckner passe par Munich avant de se rendre en Suisse dans le cadre de sa tournée triomphale de concerts d'orgue données à Genève, Fribourg, Berne, Zürich et Lucerne. Il profite de ce voyage de vacances pour visiter plusieurs endroits de villégiatures suisses.

Chapelle de Guillaume Tell à Küßnacht

1er août 1880 : Anton Bruckner visite la chapelle de Guillaume Tell à Küßnacht, une commune suisse du canton de

Schwytz, sur la rive nord du lac de Lucerne.

Situé au cœur de la Suisse, le Chemin Creux (« Hohle Gasse ») qui relie Küßnacht à Immensee est un site historique important. En effet, le Chemin Creux était à l'origine un tronçon de la route Zürich - Zoug - Immensee - Küßnacht - Flüelen - Gothard (axe nord-sud) .

Selon le Livre blanc de Sarnen, Guillaume Tell y aurait abattu d'une flèche Geßler, le bailli des Habsbourg. Selon Ägidius Tschudi, une chapelle fut érigée vers 1530 en souvenir. Celle-ci fut totalement reconstruite en 1638. La chapelle de Tell, dédiée à Sainte-Marguerite, puis aux 14 Saints Auxiliaires, fut ornée en 1760 d'un tableau d'autel de Caspar Wolf. En 1905, Hans Bachmann exécuta la fresque de la mort de Geßler sur la façade et, à l'intérieur, celle de la mort de Tell. Les aménagements routiers de 1822-1823 et de 1882 (élargissement afin de faciliter l'accès à la gare d'Immensee sur la nouvelle ligne du Gothard) modifièrent fortement l'aspect des lieux. Une collecte effectuée en 1934 par des écoliers de toutes les régions de Suisse permit de créer la Fondation Suisse pour la Conservation du Chemin Creux. En 1937, le chemin fut restauré et le trafic motorisé transféré sur une route de contournement.

En 2004 et 2005, la Fondation rénova cet endroit important de la mythologie fédérale. Les chemins ont été rendus accessibles aux chaises roulantes. L'établissement d'un pavillon d'information faisait également partie de l'assainissement de ce lieu historique.

Le Chemin creux (« Hohle Gasse ») est une portion de la route historique située dans le canton de Schwytz. Situé entre Küßnacht am Rigi et Immensee, ce chemin fait partie de la route qui relie Zürich au massif du Saint-Gothard en passant par Zoug et Flüelen.

Selon le livre blanc de Sarnen, c'est sur cette route que Guillaume Tell aurait tué le bailli Hermann Geßler d'une flèche. En l'honneur de cet événement, une chapelle du souvenir appelée chapelle de Tell y est construite dès 1530. Reconstruite en 1638, elle est dédiée à Sainte-Marguerite d'Antioche. En 1905, 2 fresques y sont réalisées par Hans Bachmann, l'une à l'extérieur représentant la mort de Geßler et l'autre à l'intérieur la mort de Tell.

En 1934, une fondation est créée pour assurer la conservation du chemin, menacé par le développement routier de la région. Cette fondation prend en charge la restauration du chemin et le transfert du trafic sur une nouvelle route en 1937.

...

La chapelle de Tell (« Telskapelle ») est une chapelle située à Sisikon, en Suisse.

La Ire chapelle de Tell fut érigée en 1388, sur le site historique de la Tellsplatte, lieu où, selon la légende, Guillaume Tell aurait sauté du bateau du bailli Geßler pour lui échapper. Sa Ire mention dans la littérature est faite par Heinrich Brennwald au début du XVIe siècle. La chapelle actuelle a été construite entre 1879 et 1880.

La chapelle abrite 4 fresques du peintre bâlois Ernst Stückelberg décrivant 4 événements des mythes fondateurs de la Suisse, à savoir le serment du Grütli, le tir à l'arbalète, le bond de Tell et la mort de Geßler dans le Chemin creux (où une autre chapelle a été dédiée à Guillaume Tell) .

On dit qu'une Ire chapelle fut construite en 1388 au lieu où Guillaume Tell eut échappé du bateau du bailli Geßler. Les plus vieux documents qui parlent d'une chapelle la-bàs datent de 1516-1530.

La chapelle de Guillaume Tell est devenue un lieu de pèlerinage au 16e siècle. La chapelle actuelle fut construite en 1879. 4 fresques du peintre bâlois Ernst Stückelberger montrent les scènes de la légende :

Le bailli Geßler oblige Guillaume Tell à tirer avec son arbalète sur une pomme posée sur la tête de son fils.

Guillaume Tell échappe du bateau du bailli Geßler en le repoussant aux vagues.

L'attentat contre le tyran Geßler.

Le serment des confédérés suisses sur le Grütli.

Chaque vendredi suivant l'Ascension, les Uranais commémorent ce fait par un pèlerinage en bateau. Selon les autorités de la commune de Sisikon, la chapelle, représentée en blanc avec un toit rouge, figure sur les armoiries de la commune.

La « Tellsplatte » (dalle de Tell) est un lieu dit de Suisse, situé sur les berges du lac des 4 Cantons, à 3 kilomètres au sud du village de Sisikon, dans le canton d'Uri. Il s'agit du lieu où, selon le mythe, Guillaume Tell aurait sauté du bateau du bailli Geßler.

Une chapelle, lieu de pèlerinage dès le XVIe siècle, a été érigée sur ce lieu dès 1338 et consacrée à Saint-Sébastien. Elle a été remplacée par l'actuelle chapelle de Tell, construite entre 1879 et 1880. Pendant la construction de cet édifice, la dalle originale a été détruite et remplacée par une construction humaine.

« Chapelle de Guillaume Tell près de Küßnacht. »

Vue sur la chapelle de Guillaume Tell près de Küßnacht dans le canton de Schwytz. L'édifice est entouré de végétation et d'arbres. Une femme, sur le chemin qui l'aborde. (Lithographie hors texte de 115 mm par 90 mm, à la page 63.)

Ouvrage source : La Suisse pittoresque et ses environs, 1835, 150 illustrations.

Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire de Lausanne, cote : 2C 2504.

Le personnage de Guillaume Tell

Guillaume Tell (Wilhelm Tell) est un héros de l'indépendance de la Suisse. Figure probablement légendaire, il aurait vécu dans le canton d'Uri au début du XIV^e siècle.

Le bailli Impérial de Schwyz et d'Uri (au service des Habsbourg, qui tentent de réaffirmer leur autorité sur la région), Hermann Geßler, fait ériger un mât surmonté de son chapeau, exigeant que les habitants le saluent comme s'il était effectivement présent. Guillaume Tell passe devant le chapeau en l'ignorant. Geßler le condamne alors à tirer un carreau d'arbalète dans une pomme posée sur la tête de son fils. Par la suite, Tell tue Geßler d'un carreau d'arbalète en plein cœur alors qu'il passait dans le Chemin creux (« Hohle Gasse ») situé entre Küßnacht am Rigi et Immensee.

Le récit a donné lieu à de nombreuses controverses historiques portant sur son authenticité. Aujourd'hui, l'histoire est plutôt tenue comme une légende dont on retrouve des éléments dans la « Gesta Danorum de Saxo Grammaticus ».

Selon le Livre blanc de Sarnen, Guillaume Tell est un ancien mercenaire, retiré dans ses montagnes et un expert dans le maniement de l'arbalète. À l'époque, l'Empereur romain germanique Albert I^{er} (un Habsbourg) cherche à dominer la région d'Uri. Le 25 juillet 1307, le bailli Hermann Geßler fait ériger un poteau sur la place des Tilleuls dans le village d'Altdorf et y accroche son chapeau, obligeant ainsi tous les habitants (sous peine de mort) à se courber devant le couvre-chef. Or, le dimanche 18 novembre 1307, Guillaume Tell passa plusieurs fois devant le poteau coiffé sans faire le geste exigé. Dénoncé, il comparait dès le lendemain devant Geßler. Mis en cause, Tell invoque alors sa simplicité, sa distraction et le fait qu'il ignorait l'importance qu'avait le geste pour le bailli.

Geßler lui ordonne alors de percer d'un carreau d'arbalète une pomme posée sur la tête de l'un de ses propres fils. En cas d'échec, l'arbalétrier sera mis à mort. Malgré ses supplications, le bailli reste intraitable. Guillaume Tell s'exécute et coupe le fruit en 2 sans toucher l'enfant.

Or, Geßler, ayant vu Tell dissimuler un second carreau sous sa chemise, lui en demande la raison. Tell prétend d'abord qu'il s'agit d'une simple habitude. Mais le bailli encourage Tell à parler sincèrement en lui garantissant la vie sauve. Tell répond alors que si le 1^{er} trait avait manqué sa cible, le second aurait été droit au cœur du bailli. Geßler fait arrêter Guillaume Tell sur le champ. On l'enchaîne et confisque son arme. On l'emmène d'abord à Flüelen, où l'on embarque pour Brunnen avant de mener le prisonnier au château du bailli à Küßnacht, où Tell doit finir ses jours dans une tour. Mais, au cours de la traversée du lac des 4 Cantons, une tempête menace la frêle embarcation.

Guillaume Tell, qui connaît le mieux la manœuvre, est chargé d'assurer la conduite de la barque jusqu'au rivage. Arrivé à proximité, il bondit à terre au lieu dit « Tellsplatte », près de Sisikon, et repousse la barque d'un coup de pied. Ce fait est commémoré dans la chapelle de Tell, dont la 1^{re} fut déjà érigée sur le site en 1388. Par la suite, Tell tue le bailli dans le Chemin creux entre Immensee et Küßnacht.

Selon Aegidius Tschudi, cet épisode se produit 2 mois avant « l'incendie des châteaux » (1^{er} janvier 1308), un autre épisode légendaire qui marque la rébellion des Suisses contre les ducs d'Autriche. Selon Tschudi, l'appréciation du tyranicide de Tell est diversement appréciée par les chefs du soulèvement.

Le récit de Tschudi connaît de nombreuses variations. Selon l'une d'entre elles, Guillaume Tell meurt noyé sur ordre de Gebler, selon une autre, c'est sur la « Tellsplatte », juste après avoir débarqué qu'il tue le bailli.

Le mythe emprunte des éléments à l'histoire et à l'imaginaire. On retrouve une légende semblable, l'histoire de Palnatoki chez « Saxo Grammaticus ». Mais selon l'historien suisse Jean-François Bergier, qui lui a consacré un livre : « Guillaume Tell est un héros dont ni moi, ni personne ne peut affirmer en toute conscience ni qu'il a véritablement existé, ni qu'il n'est qu'une figure de légende. »

La naissance littéraire du mythe est mal connue. Le Livre blanc de Sarnen, La Ballade de Tell ou La Chronique d'Etterlin datent de la fin du XVe siècle et du début du XVIe siècle et semblent être originaires des environs du lac des 4 Cantons. Tout semble donc situer le retour de Guillaume Tell d'abord dans son propre pays, où son souvenir avait été déformé, idéalisé, mais pas perdu. Mais ce retour aux sources n'est pas le fruit du hasard. Il vient rappeler à un monde alpin en plein déclin le temps des succès. Le mythe devient générateur de courage dans un moment de crise et de désillusion.

Ce mythe est bientôt annexé par les villes du bas-pays qui sont elles-mêmes partiellement responsables du déclin des régions alpines. Il est amené à assumer 2 fonctions. Une fonction de rassemblement tout d'abord dans une alliance où l'esprit confédéral est menacé par les particularismes politiques, les intérêts économiques et bientôt les divergences confessionnelles. La 2e fonction du mythe est la légitimation morale et politique de la Confédération par rapport à l'Empire dont elle fait encore formellement partie. Le mythe se porte ici au secours d'un idéal d'indépendance.

En 1565, paraît à Bâle « Les Héros de la nation allemande » de Heinrich Pantaleon (1522-1595) . Il y fait apparaître, côte à côte, Guillaume Tell et le tireur danois Toko qu'il a découvert chez « Saxo Grammaticus ». C'est à partir de ce rapprochement que naît, au XVIIIe siècle, et, surtout au XIXe siècle, le doute sur l'authenticité historique du héros national suisse. Au XVIe siècle néanmoins, le mythe triomphe que ce soit en Suisse centrale ou dans les autres cantons de la Confédération.

2 conceptions de Guillaume Tell dominant. Le peuple voit en lui un homme du peuple qui a libéré jadis le pays de l'opresseur. Les classes dirigeantes ont une vision plus politique et voient en lui un rassembleur qui met en évidence la légitimité politique de la Confédération.

Guillaume Tell a, en outre, gardé une neutralité religieuse totale durant cette longue période de querelles confessionnelles. Son image est omniprésente sur les peintures, les gravures et les autres supports. Au XVIIIe siècle, le mythe évolue, Tell devient le rassembleur des esprits, le catalyseur de l'identité nationale et l'éducateur civique. Une mission qu'il exerce durant tout le XIXe siècle et le XXe siècle.

À la fin du XVIIIe siècle, Guillaume Tell devait prendre, bien sûr, la tête du mouvement révolutionnaire en Suisse. Il est en effet l'homme du peuple, le symbole de la liberté contre l'oppression aristocratique. Les révolutionnaires français confisquent le héros : les Jacobins, par exemple, glorifient à travers Tell le tyranicide et justifient la Terreur. Il rentre

donc en Suisse, en 1798, dans les bagages des armées françaises. La carrière de Tell s'internationalise avec la publication notamment du drame de Friedrich Schiller qui enrichit l'intrigue par de nombreux ajouts et lui donne une valeur universelle.

Au début du XIXe siècle, Tell est également revendiqué par divers partis politiques et mouvements sociaux, sauf sans doute les conservateurs catholiques revenus au pouvoir lors de la Restauration. En 1835, Joseph Kopp, un savant lucernois, met son érudition au service de son gouvernement « restauré ». Il tente dans un ouvrage très détaillé de mettre en cause la véracité de toutes les légendes. Guillaume Tell retrouve un rôle à sa mesure, en 1848, avec l'avènement de la Constitution et de l'État fédéral, quand se fait sentir le besoin de raffermir l'identité nationale.

Longue fut la dispute des historiens autour de Tell, de l'authenticité des gestes que la tradition lui attribue et des sources, mais ces polémiques n'ont cependant que peu touché la conscience populaire. Malgré leur érudition, les historiens n'ont pas non plus échappé aux préjugés idéologiques, politiques et culturels de leur époque.

Le doute était né au XVIIIe siècle, d'abord dans les cercles du rationalisme critique inspirés par Voltaire. Lui-même avait du reste jugé suspecte l'histoire de Guillaume Tell. En Suisse, le pasteur Freidenberg dénonce publiquement la « fable danoise » (1760), alors que le Lucernois Franz Urs Balthasar publie une Défense de Guillaume Tell qui assure le succès de sa carrière et les remerciements du gouvernement uranais.

Guillaume Tell reste cependant un héros symbole de la lutte pour la liberté : ainsi, la commune française de Château-Guillaume dans l'Indre (aujourd'hui, Lignac) change de nom pour Guillaume-Tell en 1793.

La dispute renaît au XIXe siècle à partir des mêmes arguments. Ce sont les conservateurs catholiques qui attaquent le héros ; les historiens libéraux et radicaux prennent sa défense. Entre temps, la science historique a beaucoup progressé. Influencée par le positivisme, elle rejette tout ce que les documents ne peuvent vérifier matériellement et appelle au verdict des archives. C'est avec une grande rigueur critique que Kopp par exemple tente de démontrer que rien ne permet de confirmer l'authenticité historique de Guillaume Tell. Pour nombre d'historiens de cette période, il ne s'agit que de fables et de légendes.

En tout cas, Guillaume Tell n'a cessé d'exciter les esprits. Il constitue une sorte de référence implicite, toujours présente et à laquelle les Suisses peuvent constamment se référer, encouragés en ceci par la popularité du personnage à l'étranger. Tant que l'authenticité du héros n'était pas mise en doute, le mythe gardait un caractère construit, entretenu et fonctionnel. Tell était le garant de l'indépendance, le défenseur des libertés, le rassembleur du peuple et le porte-parole de valeurs dont les Suisses étaient fiers.

Au XIXe siècle, le mythe change. Le personnage historique se trouve réduit à un personnage de légende. Guillaume Tell est désacralisé, mais la ferveur populaire reste. En 1848, la nouvelle Confédération éprouve un besoin de légitimité et d'identité. Tell devient alors le symbole d'une identité nationale ancestrale. Le mythe reste encore aujourd'hui indéradicable et les Suisses continuent de démontrer une sensibilité attentive et passionnelle envers leur héros, malgré les hésitations des historiens et l'ironie de certains intellectuels. Cela semble confirmer les propos de l'historien suisse

Louis Vuillemin : « Telle légende, accueillie par la nation et devenue partie de son existence, possède plus de valeur morale, et a acquis plus d'importance que bien des faits matériellement constatés. » .

Il n'y a pas de société qui ne procède pas, de temps à autre, à une auto-critique même lorsqu'elle est désabusée et négative, pour proposer d'autres ambitions et un autre idéal. Comme les mythes sont l'expression privilégiée de l'ancien idéal, ils deviennent inévitablement des cibles. Guillaume Tell n'y échappe bien sûr pas et surtout depuis la fin des années 1960. Le mythe paraissant néanmoins indestructible, ce n'est pas par sa négation, mais par son inversion que l'autocritique s'est faite dans la conscience nationale. La version la plus achevée peut-être du mythe inversé et aussi la plus subversive est le Guillaume Tell pour les écoles de Max Frisch.

Le « Jeu de la Passion » à Oberammergau

22-23 août 1880 : À son retour, en direction de Vienne, Anton Bruckner visita le village d'Oberammergau dans l'Ammertal, au bord de la rivière Ammer (dans le District de Garmisch-Partenkirchen, en Haute-Bavière) , dans le cadre de la représentation d'un « Jeu de la Passion du Christ » montée tous les 10 ans et d'une durée de 6 heures.

La réputation de la « Passion » se répandit rapidement et, dès 1880, le nombre de représentations fut porté à 39, ce qui permit d'atteindre le chiffre impressionnant pour l'époque de 100,000 visiteurs avec, parmi eux, l'Autrichien Anton Bruckner. Malgré sa piété bien connue, il se laissa distraire par une jolie petite Bavaroise de 17 ans qui représentait une des filles de Jérusalem. Il alla l'attendre après le spectacle et l'accompagna chez sa tante où elle logeait, s'y attardant jusqu'à 11 heures du soir. Il revint le lendemain, la demanda en mariage en lui donnant un livre de prières et une photo dédicacée avec les mots « à la très chère amie Maria Bartl » . Après une année d'échanges de lettres, les choses en restèrent là mais la jeune paysanne entra dans l'histoire de la musique puisque la plupart des biographes du compositeur retiennent l'anecdote si caractéristique de son comportement.

...

En 1633, en pleine guerre de 30 Ans, la peste ravage, des mois durant, la ville d'Oberammergau, faisant 84 morts parmi les habitants. Les édiles font alors le serment d'effectuer, tous les 10 ans, un « Jeu de la souffrance, de la mort et de la résurrection de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ » , si le « Tout-Puissant » détourne le mal de la cité. L'appel entendu, à la Pentecôte 1634, ils remplissent leur engagement pour la 1re fois, jouant la « Passion » du Christ sur une scène qu'ils installent dans le cimetière au-dessus des tombes des victimes de la peste.

...

Née en 1634 d'un vœu formulé pendant la guerre de Trente Ans à la suite d'une épidémie de peste qui avait fait 80 victimes, la « Passion » d'Oberammergau est relativement récente dans une tradition allemande des « Jeux de la Passion » qui remonte au début du XIIIe siècle. Le texte original est perdu mais une copie de 1662 en est vraisemblablement très proche car 4,000 de ses 4,902 vers proviennent de 2 « Passions » plus anciennes, dont celle de 1566 du célèbre « Meistersinger » d'Augsbourg, Sébastien Wild. Selon le vœu d'Oberammergau, les représentations

devaient avoir lieu tous les 10 ans mais, à partir de 1680, elles furent fixées la 1^{re} année de chaque décennie. Des lers éléments musicaux apparaissent sous la forme de chants et de fanfares.

Différents ecclésiastiques, notamment de l'abbaye bénédictine toute proche d'Ettal, participèrent à la rédaction des textes mais, en 1750, une « Passion » entièrement nouvelle de 8,457 vers fut représentée. Intitulée « Passio Nova » ou « Les amères souffrances, la mort victorieuse et la glorieuse résurrection du fils de Dieu incarné », elle était due au moine bénédictin Ferdinand Rosner et comportait des pauses méditatives sous la forme de 7 interludes musicaux et de 3 tableaux vivants avec des références à l'Ancien Testament et une représentation allégorique du mal avec Satan, le péché, la jalousie et la mort. En 1770, toutes les représentations de « Passions » en Bavière se trouvèrent brusquement interdites par le Prince Électeur à cause des libertés ou excès de certaines d'entre elles, notamment la place réservée à l'enfer et à ses habitants ou à des mises en scène du péché plus attrayantes que celles de la vertu. Une nouvelle autorisation ne fut obtenue qu'au début de 1780 grâce à un texte modifié par un autre bénédictin d'Ettal, « Magnus » Knipfelberger, Rosner étant décédé entre-temps. Il était intitulé « Ancien et Nouveau Testament » et, selon la préface, « totalement nettoyé de tout élément choquant ou inconvenant ». Le privilège dont bénéficiait ainsi Oberammergau fut, encore une fois, retiré en septembre 1801 par Maximilian von Montgelas, un Ministre bavarois d'origine française qui sécularisa les biens religieux. Un ancien moine d'Ettal, devenu prêtre de paroisse, le père Othmar Weis, écrivit un nouveau texte en se référant à l'exégèse biblique d'un bénédictin français, Augustin Calmet, dont les œuvres, traduites en allemand, connaissaient un certain succès, mais surtout en citant habilement les publications d'un autre bénédictin, de l'abbaye de Tegernsee cette fois, Heinrich Braun, qui avait été un des instigateurs de l'interdiction de 1770. Nettoyée des aspects trop allégoriques, mythologiques ou légendaires, elle contient de nombreux tableaux vivants, accompagnés d'une musique d'un maître de l'école, compositeur non dénué de talent, puisqu'on le joue encore aujourd'hui, Rochus Dedler. La nouvelle « Passion », intitulée « Das große Opfer auf Golgotha oder Geschichte des Leidens and Sterbens Jesu », reçut directement de l'Électeur Maximilien 1^{er} devenu Roi de Bavière grâce à Napoléon, une autorisation à titre exceptionnel pour 4 représentations, en 1811. Une 5^e eut même lieu durant l'été 1815, en action de grâce pour la chute de Napoléon, présidée par l'anti-clérical Montgelas lui-même, accompagné de son gouvernement.

Après 1820, la « Passion » d'Oberammergau quitta le cimetière pour un théâtre spécialement construit au Nord du village à l'intervention du roi Louis 1^{er} et c'est là que les représentations cessèrent d'être une manifestation essentiellement locale et commencèrent à être connues dans les autres États allemands et même à l'étranger.

De 13,000 en 1830, le nombre de spectateurs passa à 45,000 en 1850. Des récits de spectateurs sont publiés par la presse ou sous forme de livres d'auteurs connus comme Guido Görres, Martin von Deutinger et, plus tard, d'une personnalité aussi en vue que Johann Nepomuk Sepp.

Devenu responsable de la « Passion » de 1850, le nouveau curé d'Oberammergau, Alois Daisenberger, était à la fois théologien, écrivain, dramaturge et historien. Il introduisit des méthodes professionnelles là où régnaient surtout la bonne volonté et la piété et il remania 2 fois le texte de Weis. Divisé en 2 parties de 4 heures chacune, le spectacle comportait 18, plus tard 16 actes et une soixantaine de scènes mais son originalité principale résidait dans 23 tableaux vivants accompagnés d'un chœur mixte de 48 chanteurs. Consacrés à des épisodes de l'Ancien Testament dans

leur relation avec le Nouveau, ils réalisent, du point de vue théâtral, une sorte de synthèse du chœur de la tragédie grecque et du choral protestant. Il s'agissait aussi de montrer la duplicité du judaïsme et des Juifs comme adversaires éternels de la bonne nouvelle apportée par Jésus, sauveur de l'humanité. Daisenberger modifia cependant certaines tournures animales de Weis désignant les Juifs comme « race de Vipères » ou « tigres enragés », en leur substituant « race d'assassins » ou « sauvages enragés », ce qui ne rend pas sa « Passion » moins accusatrice pour autant. Le spectacle met, en effet, en évidence l'acharnement des Juifs à obtenir la mort du Christ et combien le christianisme vient sauver l'humanité en remplacement d'un judaïsme présenté comme légaliste et inhumain.

C'est sous cette forme que la « Passion » resta largement inchangée durant plus d'un siècle, car son antijudaïsme et son antisémitisme ne dérangent personne. Même après 1945, même après 1965 et Vatican II.

Les visiteurs d'Oberammergau

Dès le début du XIXe siècle, les visiteurs illustres se sont succédé et, parmi les Iers, Félix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, le petit-fils de la plus illustre figure du judaïsme allemand, Moïse Mendelssohn. Il assiste à la « Passion » d'Oberammergau, le 25 juillet 1830, en compagnie du biographe de Beethoven et compositeur Adolf Bernhard Marx mais, en bons baptisés luthériens, aucun des 2 ne semble avoir réagi comme juif au spectacle, malgré sa brutalité. C'est ce que fera cependant Mendelssohn, 9 mois plus tard, lorsque suivant à Rome les offices des Jeudi et Vendredi Saints, il est irrité par les cris démesurés du Pape dans son homélie, par la prière humiliante pour « les Juifs perfides » et par la cérémonie d'adoration de la Croix avec ses « Impropères » lourdement accusateurs.

Le 14 juillet 1850, la présence à Oberammergau d'Eduard Devrient, le célèbre interprète de la partie du Christ dans la « Passion selon Saint-Matthieu » de 1829, à Berlin, est un petit événement parce que c'est un luthérien notoire qui vient visiter ce haut-lieu du catholicisme. Il va lui consacrer tout un livre très enthousiaste, « Das Passionschauspiel in Oberammergau und seine Bedeutung für die neue Zeit » (Le « Jeu de la Passion » à Oberammergau et sa signification pour les temps nouveaux) dans lequel il décrit le spectacle en détail, soulignant les convergences avec les « Passions » de Bach qu'il connaît mieux que quiconque. Il rassure ses co-religionnaires luthériens qu'Oberammergau « n'est pas un rejeton de l'ultramontanisme ni spécifiquement catholique, mais avant tout profondément biblique ». Il fait aussi le lien avec la tradition largement perdue des spectacles médiévaux, représentatifs d'une unité religieuse germanique ancestrale, ce qui le mène à une conclusion ouvertement nationaliste faisant de la « Passion », « une relique de l'ancienne Allemagne, un trésor de son esprit ». Il appelle de ses vœux « le jour où les populations des différents États allemands se sentiront à nouveau un seul peuple » et le devront, en partie, à la survivance d'Oberammergau. Il ne croyait pas si bien dire puisque ce sera chose faite, 20 ans plus tard.

Parcourant longuement l'Allemagne, durant l'été 1860, Hans Christian Andersen assiste à la « Passion », le 2 juillet, et rencontre le curé Daisenberger qui a, encore une fois, révisé le texte dans un sens plus psychologique et symbolique à la fois, mais aussi avec des éléments légendaires comme le chemin de croix ou le Juif errant. À son retour, Andersen note :

« Tout le spectacle est comme un office religieux où il n'y aurait pas seulement un sermon qu'on écoute mais le

drame que l'on voit comme si on était face à la réalité. Visiblement, chacun quitte comblé et imprégné de cette âme aimante qui s'est sacrifiée pour les générations futures. »

Andersen souligne aussi plusieurs fois l'appât de l'argent qui anime Judas et les Juifs.

10 ans plus tard, un autre luthérien, Johannes Brahms, voulut également voir la « Passion » d'Oberammergau qu'il recommanda, dès le mois de mars 1870, dans une lettre à Clara Schumann, mais en juillet, les représentations furent arrêtées à la suite de la guerre franco-prussienne. Franz Liszt eut plus de chance car, venu un peu plus tôt, il put assister à un des derniers spectacles qu'il décrit dans une lettre du 28 juillet à la princesse Carolyne de Sayn-Wittgenstein :

« En tant que représentation scénique, la “ Passion ” est sans aucun doute remarquable, intéressante, curieuse et même édifiante. Certains tableaux vivants, comme ceux du miracle de la manne et de la crucifixion, réunissent plus de 100 personnages costumés et parfaitement immobiles. Un chœur qui apparaît et disparaît à différents moments de la divine tragédie, invite les spectateurs à participer plus intimement au mystère de la Rédemption. »

Liszt loue sans réserve les acteurs mais juge très sévèrement les décors (« qui conviendraient mieux à l'intérieur d'une taverne »), les faiblesses du texte et surtout, la musique « totalement insupportable » de Rochus Dedler. Il conseille même aux musiciens qui voudraient assister à une représentation « de mettre un bon paquet d'ouate dans les oreilles ». Ce sont, en fin de compte, les tableaux vivants qui, selon Liszt, représentent la partie la plus réussie du spectacle, confirmant ainsi d'autres opinions mais celles-ci prisent aussi les chœurs qui les accompagnent.

Après la victoire de la Prusse et la paix signée à Francfort, le 10 mai 1871, Oberammergau organisa 19 représentations qui reçurent la visite de couronnes royales ou princières peu amies de la France comme le prince Édouard d'Angleterre et Louis II de Bavière (dont la mère était une princesse de Prusse) pour lequel on organisa un spectacle privé supplémentaire, le 25 septembre. 2 jours plus tard, il reçut en audience les 10 principaux acteurs auxquels il donna une cuillère en argent, sauf à Judas qui reçut une cuillère en fer blanc.

Une personnalité, le célèbre explorateur et reporter anglais Richard Francis Burton, orientaliste, traducteur (en pleine époque victorienne) du « Kamasutra » et du « Jardin parfumé », était plus habitué au centre de l'Afrique ou même à la Mecque où il se rendit déguisé en arabe, qu'à un spectacle de la « Passion » au fond d'une vallée bavaroise. Il accompagnait son épouse, Isabel, fervente catholique, dans l'intention de publier leurs impressions sous le titre « Oberammergau vu par 4 yeux ». Ne trouvant pas d'éditeur, Richard Francis Burton publia ses souvenirs séparément en 1881 sous le titre, « A Glance at the “ Passion-Play ” », tandis que ceux de son épouse (« The “ Passion-Play ” at Ober-Ammergau ») ne parurent qu'en 1900, 4 ans après sa mort. Auteur très populaire, lu dans tous les milieux sauf les plus guindés, Richard Francis Burton a contribué ainsi à étendre la renommée d'Oberammergau auprès du public anglophone largement non catholique.

En 1890, 40 représentations sur une nouvelle scène, attirèrent 124,000 visiteurs parmi lesquels l'écrivain américain Henry James et George Bernard Shaw qui nous a laissé un récit pittoresque d'un spectacle suivi durant 8 heures sous

une pluie battante, sans même pouvoir ouvrir un parapluie. Critique musical volontiers acerbe, Shaw n'apprécia guère la musique de Rochus Dedler qui « dans ses pires moments, emprunte le style des Messes italianisantes de Mozart et Haydn, dans les meilleurs, " La Flûte enchantée " ou " La Création " ». Il lui reproche de plates paraphrases de Louis Spohr et de Mozart, voire des « Pirates of Penzance », l'Opérette de Gilbert et Sullivan créée à Londres, l'année auparavant. Son regard sur les femmes est bien différent de celui d'Anton Bruckner, passant d'une Ire soprano « franchement quelconque » à une contralto « pas particulièrement jolie » pour finir avec une 3e « qui chante obstinément faux et est d'une laideur du diable ». À ce moment, Shaw n'est pas encore l'auteur dramatique qu'il deviendra plus tard mais il fait quelques commentaires sur le spectacle lui-même. Autant l'acteur interprétant le Christ lui paraît raide et sans chaleur (« il pense qu'être divin, c'est éviter d'être humain en étant tout simplement rien du tout »), autant les tableaux vivants lui semblent superbes. Il apprécie les acteurs qui interprètent Caïphe, Pilate et surtout Judas mais il regrette que l'on ait supprimé le diable. Finalement, « seules les dernières scènes produisent un effet saisissant ».

L'écrivain anglais Jerome K. (Klapka) Jerome qui vient de connaître le succès de « 3 hommes dans un bateau », était aussi à Oberammergau en 1890, et ce voyage va lui inspirer une narration humoristique analogue qu'il intitule « Diary of a Pilgrimage ». Bon catholique, il rapporte le spectacle de la « Passion » sans le ridiculiser. Il fait un vif éloge de sa simplicité :

« C'est un Christ qui parle aux cœurs plutôt qu'aux têtes. Il a curieusement pitié de Judas : « Pauvre Judas ! Il aimait Jésus comme tous les autres disciples l'aimaient. C'est seulement par peur de la pauvreté qu'il a trahi Jésus. Il était si pauvre, avait tant besoin d'argent. S'il avait été fortuné, il pourrait tout aussi bien être aujourd'hui Saint-Judas au lieu de Judas, le maudit. »

Parmi les visiteurs de 1900, le rabbin américain Joseph Krauskopf, horrifié de ce qu'il avait vu, le raconta dans des conférences qui prirent une ampleur telle qu'il les publia en 1901 sous la forme d'un livre de 226 pages : « A Rabbi's Impression of the Oberammergau " Passion-Play " ». Il y analyse « ce qu'Oberammergau et les évangiles enseignent », c'est-à-dire, essentiellement, les bonnes raisons de haïr les Juifs.

C'était aussi l'époque de l'affaire Dreyfus et 2 visiteurs catholiques français de renom, Maurice Blondel et Henri Brémond, s.j. se rendirent à Oberammergau, Blondel même 3 fois (1890, 1900 et 1910), lui consacrant plusieurs articles, en particulier dans « La Quinzaine » avec « La Psychologie dramatique du " Mystère de la ' Passion ' " à Oberammergau ». Il collabore aussi à la rédaction entreprise par son frère Georges Blondel d'un guide complet : « Le Drame de la " Passion " à Oberammergau », étude historique et critique avec des renseignements pratiques (1900). De son côté, le père jésuite Henri Brémond fait paraître dans la revue « Études » dont il est directeur un commentaire sur « Oberammergau et le drame de la " Passion " ». Pour Blondel, le « mystère » est à la fois « bienfaisant et fécond ». Il souligne combien « le spectateur est entraîné à participer au drame et aux sentiments qui animent les acteurs ». S'il fait bien allusion à l'approche analytique historique et scientifique des textes bibliques qui est en plein développement à cette époque, c'est pour opposer à cette perception protestante un éloge de la foi et de la simple piété qui animent le spectacle, mais aucune remarque n'est formulée sur son caractère violemment anti-judaïque ou antisémite. Brémond sera ainsi traduit, sans encombre, dans l'Allemagne nazie.

La construction à la fin du XIXe siècle d'une ligne de chemin de fer réunissant Murnau à Oberammergau et son électrification (la Ire d'Allemagne) dès 1905, facilitèrent encore l'accès des visiteurs et l'on en compta, en 1910, pas moins de 223,548, parmi lesquels John Davidson Rockefeller, le comte Ferdinand von Zeppelin, le roi Gustave V de Suède, le ministre anglais Lloyd George, Lion Feuchtwanger à ses débuts comme critique dramatique et le peintre norvégien, Olaf Gulbransson. Richard Strauß vint avec sa femme, son fils et son éditeur, mais en voisin, ayant bâti sa villa à Gannisch-Partenkirchen avec l'argent de son Opéra « Salomé » .

Retardée par la Guerre de 1914-1918, la « Passion » d'Oberammergau ne fut reprise que le 5 mai 1922, en présence du Cardinal Michæl von Faulhaber, archevêque de Munich et de Freising. Les 68 représentations connurent un succès considérable avec 317,518 billets vendus dont le tiers à des visiteurs étrangers et, parmi eux, des personnalités aussi inattendues que Sergueï Prokofiev et Giacomo Puccini. Le compositeur russe, qui avait émigré en 1918, venait de s'installer tout près d'Oberammergau, à Ettal, avec celle qui allait devenir son épouse l'année suivante. Aucun des 2 n'a laissé de commentaire. Le journal de Prokofiev mentionne bien la longueur excessive du spectacle (9 heures) ce qui en dit long de la part d'un homme impatient, habitué à regarder sa montre pour mesurer la durée de chaque chose.

Plus importante et plus enthousiaste était la présence de Eugenio Pacelli, nonce apostolique pour la Bavière avec laquelle il avait signé un 1er concordat en 1924. Il était venu de sa résidence à Munich à bord d'un « Junkers F13 » , un petit avion commercial (4 passagers seulement) , le 1er construit par l'Allemagne au lendemain de la Guerre. Il était piloté par Hans Baur, un aviateur qui deviendra célèbre une dizaine d'années plus tard comme pilote d'un personnage beaucoup moins recommandable. Le Prélat se déclara profondément touché par le spectacle poignant de la « Passion » mais se hâta pour reprendre l'avion avant l'obscurité, le pilote lui ayant proposé de faire le tour du « Zugspitze » .

D'autres visiteurs célèbres se pressèrent encore à Oberammergau, en 1930, comme le physicien Max Planck, l'écrivain indien Rabindranath Tagore et le célèbre théologien, juriste, médecin et philosophe Adolf von Hamack, mais c'était aussi l'auteur protestant mis à l'index et ex-communié pour sa critique de la tradition catholique se séparant du message de l'Évangile. Il mourut quelques jours plus tard, à Heidelberg, et certains y virent un juste châtement. Mais il avait presque 80 ans.

Le romancier et dramaturge anglais John Boynton Priestley fut passablement déçu par une nouvelle mise en scène reflétant l'évolution du théâtre contemporain :

« Ce n'est plus l'accomplissement d'un vœu par de simples paysans ni davantage une représentation théâtrale de 1er ordre. »

En revanche, Max Reinhardt admira, en professionnel, la régie non professionnelle des mouvements de la foule.

Oberammergau sous le Nazisme

Venu assister à la « Passion » en 1930, Henry Ford l'apprécia d'autant plus qu'il était l'auteur d'un pamphlet (« Der internationale Jude ») déjà traduit en allemand et cité par Adolf Hitler dans « Mein Kampf ». Enthousiasmé par le spectacle, il invita Alois Lang, qui avait si bien incarné Jésus comme victime des Juifs, à venir choisir à Munich l'automobile Ford qu'il voulait lui offrir.

Hitler vint également le 21 juillet, accompagné de sa demi-nièce de 22 ans, Geli Raubal, qui mourra dans des conditions mystérieuses, 14 mois plus tard. Josef Gœbbels nota dans son journal :

« J'étais très sceptique en m'y rendant mais je suis content de l'avoir vu, content qu'il existe de telles choses en Allemagne. On doit ramener le peuple aux sources de sa conscience raciale. Alors, il retrouvera sécurité et instinct. La scène avec Pilate donne une parfaite image des Juifs. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont toujours été et le restent jusqu'à aujourd'hui. »

Sans attendre la prochaine échéance décennale de 1940, on décida de commémorer le 3e Centenaire de la « Passion » par de nouvelles représentations en 1934, le spectacle ayant été déclaré « Reichswichtig », c'est-à-dire d'importance nationale par la propagande nazie, ce que Hitler confirmera en saluant la « Passion » comme un événement « coïncidant avec une renaissance allemande qui vient libérer la culture chrétienne de tous les bolchévismes destructeurs ». Ayant nommé un nouveau commissaire au tourisme, il le chargea de présider le Comité de la « Passion ». De magnifiques affiches destinées à l'étranger montraient une croix lumineuse au-dessus d'Oberammergau avec les paroles : « l'Allemagne vous appelle », en d'autres termes, venez voir combien les Allemands sont de bons et braves chrétiens et combien les Juifs sont leurs ennemis.

Hitler était arrivé à Oberammergau, quelques jours avant les élections du 19 août 1934 convoquées à la suite du décès du maréchal Paul von Hindenburg, et cette immersion dans la foule chrétienne et majoritairement allemande ne pouvait que rassurer l'opinion catholique après les récents assassinats du Chancelier Engelbert Dolfuss en Autriche et de quelque 200 opposants ou supposés tels, dont plusieurs dirigeants catholiques, la nuit du 30 juin 1934. Il était accompagné du « Gauleiter » de Bavière, Adolf Wagner, qui venait de doter son « Gau » d'un camp de concentration, à 120 kilomètres d'Oberammergau ; celui de Dachau.

Après le spectacle, Hitler redit combien il était important que la tradition d'Oberammergau soit poursuivie, déclarant notamment que « les 300 ans du “ Jeu de la Passion ” nous apprennent que la fidélité du sang et du sol est la force de résistance de la nation ». Selon les « Propos de table », publiés en 1953, Hitler se serait souvenu d'Oberammergau en disant, le 5 juillet 1942 :

« Le “ Jeu de la Passion ” d'Oberammergau doit continuer car jamais la menace juive n'a été montrée de façon plus convaincante que dans cette illustration de ce qui s'est passé du temps des Romains. On peut y voir à quel point Ponce Pilate est un Romain tellement supérieur par sa race et son intelligence qu'il semble être une sorte de rocher ferme et clair au milieu du pullulement de la vermine juive. »

Venu également assister à une des représentations, le Cardinal von Faulhaber, archevêque de Munich, fut tout aussi

satisfait de voir le plus grand spectacle chrétien de son diocèse applaudi par tant de spectateurs dans la minuscule cité couverte de Croix gammées. L'antisémitisme ne pouvait guère le déranger car, si sa prédication avant l'arrivée ou au début du pouvoir des Nazis paraissait hostile à certains aspects de leur idéologie, c'était pour des raisons théologiques et bibliques. Aussi, lorsqu'un journal suisse présenta ses sermons comme une défense des Juifs, son secrétaire envoya aussitôt une rectification, rassurant ainsi Hitler et Goebbels : il ne s'agissait que du judaïsme et non des Juifs. Ayant détesté la République de Weimar, il mettait tous ses espoirs dans le Parti de l'ordre, de la vertu et de la moralité qu'il croyait reconnaître dans le Nazisme, malgré ses crimes évidents.

Après une visite à Berchtesgaden, le 4 novembre 1936, il avait déclaré :

« Le Führer vit incontestablement dans la Foi de Dieu et reconnaît que le christianisme a été l'architecte de la culture occidentale. »

Le Cardinal Faulhaber avait trouvé, en 1934, que la « Passion » d'Oberammergau, avec ses 23 tableaux vivants, convenait parfaitement à l'image que l'Église voulait donner des fondements d'un christianisme issu à la fois du judaïsme et de, la rupture avec celui-ci, aussi octroya-t-il au spectacle le statut de « Missio canonica », c'est-à-dire de représentant reconnu de la doctrine de l'Église. Accordée normalement aux personnes dont les qualités et vertus ont été reconnues convenir à cette fin et, évidemment, en 1er lieu, aux théologiens, cette promotion doctrinale d'un spectacle populaire issu de la piété rurale bavaroise ne, pouvait que surprendre au moment où le contexte politique amplifiait sa dimension antisémite, associant ainsi l'enseignement de l'Église à la propagande nazie. 2 visiteurs de 1934 paraissent aujourd'hui fort imprévus : Jean-Paul Sartre et Simone de Beauvoir qui note avec plus d'imagination que de précision que le hall peut contenir 20,000 spectateurs (au lieu de 5,300, en réalité) . Elle trouve le spectacle passionnant, la musique du XVIIIe siècle plaisante, les acteurs crédibles et compétents « donnant une impression de vérité qui n'a rien à voir avec le réalisme » . Pas un mot sur l'antisémitisme qui est, pourtant, une des clés de voûte du spectacle, surtout à cette époque. Ce flot d'éloges s'achève par des références à Charles Dullin (qui leur avait conseillé d'aller à Oberammergau) et à Bertolt Brecht mais le futur auteur des « Réflexions sur la question juive » qui vient de passer 1 an à l'Institut français de Berlin, semble être resté indifférent aux événements qui se déroulaient sous ses yeux.

1945-1965 : La résistance au changement

Durant l'été 1947, une 1re conférence sur les relations du christianisme avec le judaïsme et les Juifs, après ce qui s'était passé sous le Nazisme, se tint à Seelisberg, en Suisse, en présence de 70 participants dont 23 protestants et 9 catholiques, mais aucun de ceux-ci n'était mandaté par Rome où Pie XII était toujours Pape. Elle s'acheva par l'approbation de 10 résolutions sur les corrections à apporter à l'enseignement de la doctrine chrétienne. 2 d'entre elles concernaient plus spécifiquement les représentations de la « Passion » .

(7e) Éviter de présenter la « Passion » de telle manière que l'odieux de la mise à mort de Jésus retombe sur les Juifs seuls. Ce ne sont pas les Juifs qui en sont responsables. Chez des âmes simples, mues par un amour ardent et une vive compassion pour le Sauveur crucifié, l'horreur qu'ils éprouvent tout naturellement envers les persécuteurs de

Jésus peut facilement tourner en une haine généralisée des Juifs de tous les temps, y compris ceux d'aujourd'hui.

(8e) Éviter de rapporter les malédictions scripturaires et le cri d'une foule excitée :

« Que son sang retombe sur nous et sur nos enfants. »

... sans rappeler que ce cri ne saurait prévaloir contre la prière infiniment plus puissante de Jésus :

« Père, pardonnez-leur car ils ne savent pas ce qu'ils font. »

Une reprise de la « Passion » d'Oberammergau ayant été autorisée par les autorités d'occupation, le Cardinal Faulhaber, toujours en place à Munich, confirma en 1949 l'octroi de la « Missio canonica » aux représentations de la « Passion », sans y associer apparemment aucune condition. C'était l'époque de la Ire crise de Berlin et la veille du conflit en Corée, le bolchévisme était toujours là, seuls les judéo-bolchéviques n'étaient plus là. L'hebdomadaire le plus répandu de cette Allemagne d'après-guerre, « Der Spiegel », consacra, le jour de la première de la « Passion », le 18 mai 1950, un long article à Oberammergau sans qu'on puisse se douter que la mort de millions de Juifs dût y changer quoi que ce soit. Effectivement, rien n'était changé. Pour présenter la « Passion » de 1950, on ré-édita le texte d'Henri Brémond déjà publié en allemand, en 1936, mais, cette fois, avec une traduction de « La Psychologie dramatique du “ Mystère de la Passion ” » de Maurice Blondel. Ces textes soulignent les vertus d'une population qui ne vit que pour ses « Passions » et la piété de ceux et celles qui sont appelés à incarner Jésus et Marie. La réalité était sensiblement différente : 60 % des habitants d'Oberammergau avaient été membres du Parti nazi mais une mini-dénazification leur avait rendu bonne conscience, au prix de quelques amendes. C'est donc sans gêne aucune qu'un ancien militant nazi, Anton Preisinger, fut choisi pour interpréter le rôle de Jésus. Il avait renversé, en 1935, la bibliothèque du seul Juif d'Oberammergau, Max-Peter Meyer, pour en extraire les livres à brûler et, après la « Nuit de Cristal », en novembre 1938, il l'avait arrêté et envoyé à Dachau. Tout cela, dans le monde chrétien bavarois, semblait sans importance.

Un autre fervent nazi, Alois Lang, qui avait interprété le Christ en 1930 et 1934, se voyait confier le rôle important du « Prologue » qui, malgré son titre, comportait des commentaires tout au long du spectacle. C'est lui qui interpelle le « peuple égaré, compteur et sans pitié » en ignorant qu'il a entre-temps été anéanti, tandis que la foule clame la parole de Matthieu (27, 25) :

« Sur nous, son sang et sur nos enfants. »

Le directeur du patrimoine artistique de Bavière eut l'idée de montrer, durant la période des représentations, la richesse du catholicisme bavarois en réunissant dans une grande exposition les œuvres d'art populaire inspirées par la « Passion » qui se trouvent dans les églises, couvents, abbayes, musées et autres lieux de la région. Pas moins de 500 œuvres furent ainsi réunies autour du « Groß Gott von Altenstadt », un Jésus crucifié de 3,20 mètres, du XIIe siècle, venant du chœur de la basilique de cette petite cité de la Bavière du Sud. Le président des services du patrimoine déclara :

« Nous devons montrer au monde l'importante contribution que la Bavière a apportée à l'histoire du christianisme. C'est une opportunité quasi politique qu'il faut saisir. »

Cette version dénazifiée de « L'Allemagne vous appelle » de 1934 eut cependant un résultat imprévu car elle mettait en évidence l'abîme qui séparait ces images de la dévotion populaire, dont les Juifs sont le plus souvent absents, du spectacle de la « Passion » accordant une place démesurée à leur démonisation caricaturale. Les sentiments qui accompagnaient la visite de l'exposition étaient en totale contradiction avec ceux brutaux qu'inspirait la « Passion ». Le « Neue Zeitung », principal journal de l'époque, soulignant le manque de dignité de la « Passion » comparativement à l'exposition, écrivit :

« La dignité du “ Groß Gott ” met la “ Passion ” en question. Est-ce le début de la fin ? »

Le « Neue Zeitung » avait été créé au début de l'occupation américaine, les autres journaux étant suspendus. Les plus grands noms de l'antnazisme y collaboraient : Heinrich Böll, Theodor W. Adorno, Heinrich et Thomas Mann, Bertolt Brecht, Erich Kästner, Anna Seghers, Rupert Gießler. Aussi, le 25 septembre 1950, quelques heures à peine après la fin de la dernière représentation, les démolisseurs et les marteaux-piqueurs étaient à pied d'œuvre pour effacer à jamais cette damnée exposition qui avait, par sa seule présence, ébranlé la légitimité d'un spectacle qui rapportait tant de succès, tant d'argent et rappelait si bien le passé.

Lors de la première, 5 mois plus tôt, en présence des hauts-commissaires américain, anglais et français ainsi que du président Theodor Heuß et du Chancelier Konrad Adenauer, seul celui-ci avait trouvé certaines scènes anti-juives excessives et avait commenté :

« Das war zuviel. » (C'était de trop.)

Cela le restera malheureusement longtemps, puisque ce n'est que 50 ans plus tard, le 17 avril 2000, que l'hebdomadaire à grand-tirage, « Der Spiegel », saluera la première d'une « Passion » nouvelle mettant enfin un terme à l'« enseignement du mépris », appelé « Missio canonica », et offert à des millions de spectateurs convaincus d'avoir participé ainsi à un acte de dévotion et de piété.

Les 93 représentations de 1960 restèrent donc pratiquement identiques à celles de 1950 ; c'était toujours Anton Preisinger qui tenait le rôle de Jésus. Le problème de l'antisémitisme avait cependant été soulevé, en particulier aux États-Unis, car depuis qu'Oberammergau avait été rendu directement accessible par chemin de fer en 1899, le public américain n'avait fait qu'augmenter, comportant également des spectateurs d'origine juive qui ne pouvaient qu'être choqués par ce qu'ils voyaient, surtout après 1945. En 1962, le maire d'Oberammergau, Baimund Lang, convoqua un Comité présidé par le secrétaire-général de l'Académie bavaroise des Beaux-arts, le Docteur Clemens Comte Podewil. Également invité, le compositeur Carl Orff qui vivait à Andechs, près du monastère d' Ettal, proposa de mettre en musique la « Passio nova » de Ferdinand Rosner, un très long texte (8,500 lignes) qui avait été joué quelquefois à partir de 1750 avant d'être remplacé, en 1811, par la « Passion » d'Othmar Weis, mais aucune décision ne fut prise,

une forte résistance à tout changement étant exprimée par la population et les acteurs des principaux rôles.

Le concile de Vatican II et la déclaration « Nostra Ætate » , promulguée le 28 octobre 1965 par le Pape Paul VI, apportèrent une soudaine actualité au problème de l'antisémitisme, la hiérarchie religieuse étant appelée à intervenir dans un problème qu'elle avait pu éviter jusqu'alors.

...

Since 1634, the Oberammergau « Passion-Play » is performed as a tradition by the inhabitants of the village of Oberammergau, in Upper-Bavaria. It was written by Othmar Weis, Josef Alois Daisenberger, Otto Huber, Christian Stuckl, Rochus Dedler, Eugen Papst, Marcus Zwink, Ingrid H. Shafer, and the inhabitants of Oberammergau, with music by Rochus Dedler. Since its 1st production, it has been performed on open-air stages in the village. The text of the « Play » is a composite of 4 distinct manuscripts dating from the 15th and 16th Centuries.

The « Play » consists in the staging of Jesus' « Passion » , covering the short final period of his life from his visit to Jerusalem and leading to his execution by crucifixion. It has been criticized as being anti-Semitic, but it is the earliest continuous survivor of the age of Christian drama.

In 1633, the residents of Oberammergau vowed that if God spared them from the effects of the bubonic plague ravaging the region, they would produce a play thereafter for all time depicting the life and death of Jesus. The death rate among adults rose from one person per 1,000 per year, in October 1632, to 20 in the month of March 1633. The adult death rate slowly subsided to 1 in the month of July 1633. The villagers believed they were spared after they kept their part of the vow when the « Play » was 1st performed, in 1634. Word spread throughout the region about the « Play » , and it became too expensive to perform every year, so the town decided that every 10 years would be sufficient.

The « Play » is now performed repeatedly over the course of 5 months during every year ending with a zero. 102 performances took place from 15 May until 3 October 2010 and is next scheduled for 2020. The production involves over 2,000 performers, musicians and stage technicians, all residents of the village. The « Play » comprises spoken dramatic text, musical and choral accompaniment and « tableaux vivants » which are scenes from the Old Testament depicted for the audience by motionless actors accompanied by verbal description. These scenes are the basis for the typology, the inter-relationship between the Old and New Testaments, of the « Play » . They include a scene of King Ahasuerus rejecting Vashti in favour of Esther, the brothers selling Joseph into slavery in Egypt, and Moses raising-up the « Nehushtan » (bronze serpent) in the wilderness. Each scene precedes that section of the « Play » that is considered to be prefigured by the scene. The 3 « tableaux » mentioned are presented to the audience as prefiguring Christianity superseding Judaism, Judas selling information on the location of Jesus, and the crucifixion of Jesus.

The evolution of the « Passion-Play » was about the same as that of the « Easter-Play » , originating in the ritual of the Latin Church, which prescribes, among other things, that the Gospel on Good Friday should be sung in parts divided among various persons.

Plot Synopsis

Prelude - The prologue and chorus greet the audience. 2 « tableaux » are presented. In the 1st, Adam and Eve, wearing sheepskins are banished from the Garden of Eden by a winged angel who holds a sword in the form of a flame. Behind the angel stands a burst of gilded rays symbolizing the tree of forbidden fruit. The 2nd living picture traditionally showed a number of girls and smaller children surrounding a cross at center stage. The adoration represents the time, in 1633, when villagers swore their vow before a huge crucifix bearing a 12 foot high Jesus.

Act 1 : Jesus and the Money Changers - Jesus enters Jerusalem atop a donkey to the shouts and exultation's of the people on Palm Sunday. He drives the money changers and traders from the Temple then returns to Bethany.

Act 2 : Conspiracy of the High Council - In the past, this Act began with a « tableau » showing the sons of the patriarch Jacob conspiring to kill Joseph in the Plain of Dothan ; the frieze was deleted from the 1980 presentation. The Act consists of discussions between the traders and Sanhedrin, who agree that Jesus must be arrested to preserve Mosaic law.

Act 3 : Parting at Bethany - 2 « tableaux » presage the action. In the 1st, the young Tobias departs from his parents while the angel Raphael, played by another boy, waits, crook in hand, stage left. In the 2nd, the loving bridesmaid from the Song of Solomon laments the loss of her groom. In the play, Christ is anointed by Mary Magdalene, then takes leave of his mother and friends. Judas is angered by the waste of the spikenard oil.

Act 4 : The Last Journey to Jerusalem - A controversial « tableau » (now deleted) showed Queen Vashti dishonored at the Court of King Ahasuerus. The old queen (Judaism, explains the Prologue) has been displaced by Esther (Christianity) . Jesus sends 2 disciples to secure a Paschal lamb. He enters Jerusalem for the last time and weeps over the fate of the city. Judas contemplates betraying his Master and is tempted by Dathan and other merchants.

Act 5 : The Last Supper - The Passover Seder (or Last Supper) is celebrated in a scene evocative of the famous Leonardo Da Vinci painting. Jesus washes the feet of his disciples and institutes the Mass with wine and thick, brown, leavened bread. 2 « tableaux » show Moses (with rays or horns protruding from his head) , bringing manna and grapes to the people in the wilderness.

Act 6 : The Betrayer - In a « tableau » , Joseph (a boy nude to the waist) is sold by his brothers to the Midianites for 20 pieces of silver. In accompanying action, Judas appears before the Sanhedrin and promises to deliver Jesus for 30 pieces of silver. After his departure, the Pharisees plan at great length the death of Jesus.

Act 7 : Jesus at the Mount of Olives - 2 more Old Testament scenes introduce the soliloquy of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane. The 1st, a « non-sequitur » , which we are told explains that man must earn his food by the sweat of his brow, shows Adam, in sheepskin and assisted by a brood of similarly attired children, drawing a plow across a field. The 2nd freeze more appropriately offers a helmeted Job, surrounded by soldiers stabbing an unsuspecting Amasa in

the ribs. Christ agonizes over his fate while his apostles doze. Judas enters with an armed band and betrays Jesus with a kiss.

Act 8 : Jesus before Annas - The Old Testament parallel has Micah slapped on the cheek by Zedekiah, priest of Baal, for daring to predict King Ahab would die in battle. In like manner, Jesus is taken before a waiting, eager Annas and is struck on the face for his insolence. Soldiers also deride Christ as he is led through the streets by a rope.

Act 9 : Condemned by the High Council - 2 more « tableaux » emphasize the humiliation of Christ. In one, the aged Naboth is condemned by false witnesses and is stoned to death by the sons of Jezebel. In the other, Job, sitting atop a dunghill is railed at by his friends, servants, even his wife and children. Meanwhile, Jesus is questioned by Caiaphas about his Messiah-ship and is condemned. A tortured Judas tries to get the Sanhedrin to repeal its verdict. When his efforts prove unsuccessful, he tosses the money back at them and storms off.

Act 10 : Despair of Judas - Judas and all who identify with him are linked with Cain in the opening « tableau » . The battered body of Abel appears at center stage. To the right is Cain, clad in a leopard skin and holding a club in one hand. His other hand is at his brow, attempting to conceal the brand of God. In this short Act, Judas offers a speech of remorse then hangs himself.

Act 11 : Christ before Pilate - Originally, there was a freeze which heralded Christ's 1st appearance before Pilate. The « tableau » of Daniel in the great pillared hall of Darius was deleted from later 20th Century productions. Pilate's interrogation, coupled with news of his wife's dream, convinces the governor that Jesus should be prosecuted by Herod Antipas for lese majesty.

Act 12 : Christ Before Herod - The scene stands without the original living picture which showed a blinded Samson mocked by the Philistines. Herod treats Christ with scorn, demanding a miracle, then sends him back to Pilate, cloaked in a red mantle of royalty. Responding to the urging of the Sanhedrin, Pilate reluctantly agrees to have Jesus scourged. Roman guards beat Jesus and press a crown of thorns into his scalp.

Act 13 : Christ Sentenced to Death on the Cross - 2 graphic pictures showing the presentation of Joseph's bloodied coat to Jacob, and Abraham about to stab Isaac on Mount Moriah have been rejected from contemporary versions of the « Passion » . Retained, however, are « tableaux » which show Joseph riding a sedan chair as vizir of Egypt and another which supposedly represents the scapegoat offering of Yom Kippur. Following the « tableaux » , the stage is swarming with action as priests and Pharisees bring mobs from every direction. Pilate gives Jesus another hearing then offers the people a choice between Jesus and Barabbas. They demand and receive a final judgement on Christ.

Act 14 : The Way of the Cross - The final segment of the « Passion » is introduced by a more sublime image of the Akedah, or binding of Isaac. In this « tableau » , the boy, like Jesus, carries wood on his back as he and Abraham climb Mount Moriah. Another freeze, showing Moses and a bronze serpent intertwined about the cross has been deleted. When the chorus withdraws from the stage, Christ bears his cross to Golgotha. As he passes through the streets, he encounters his mother, Veronica, and Simon of Cyrene. The women of Jerusalem weep for him.

Act 15 : Jesus on Calvary - For the 1st time, the chorus appears in black traditional mourning garb. There is no « tableau » . He is mocked by members of the Sanhedrin and the soldiers and utters his last words. The legs of the criminals are broken. A soldier pierces the side of Christ with a lance and blood gushes forth. Jesus' followers slowly and reverently take down the body and lay it before his mother in a replica of the Pieta. The Sanhedrin insists that guards be posted before the tomb which is to hold Christ's body.

Act 16 : Resurrection and Apotheosis - For the 1st time, action precedes a « tableau » . Roman guards see a light at the tomb. Mary Magdalene and the other women encounter an angel and recite the same lines as Quem Quaeritis. The final « tableau » shows Jesus resplendent in white with his apostles, angels, the Virgin Mary, and Moses. The « Passion » ends with a proclamation by the chorus.

Length and frequency

The Oberammergau production takes place in 1 day, but the running time has varied due to the many revisions that have taken place through the years. In 2010, it had a running time of 5 hours, beginning at 2:30 pm and ending at 10:00 pm, with a meal break. It was staged a total of 102 days and ran from May 15 until October 3 that year. According to a record from 1930, the « Play » then had running time of approximately 7 hours. It started at 8:00 am and ended at 5:00 pm with a meal break. Audiences come from all over the world, often on package tours, the 1st instituted in 1870. Admission fees were 1st charged in 1790. Since 1930, the number of visitors has ranged from 420,000 to 530,000. Most tickets are sold as part of a package with 1 or 2 nights' accommodation.

The « Play » continues to be staged every 10 years, in the final year of each decade - that is, the year whose numeral ends with a zero ; hence, the next performances will be in 2020. However, these regular performances at 10-year intervals have been punctuated with additional performances such as those of 1934 (over and above the regular 1930 schedule) to commemorate the 300-year anniversary of the original vow and, again, in 1984 (over and above the regular performances of 1980 and 1990) in celebration of the 350th anniversary of the 1st performance.

Cancellations

There were at least 2 years in which the scheduled performance did not take place, and one that was post-poned for 2 years :

In 1770, Oberammergau was informed that all « Passion-Plays » in Bavaria had been banned by order of the Ecclesiastical Council of the Elector, Maximilian Joseph, at the behest of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1780, the « Play » was retitled « The Old and New Testament » . The new Elector, Charles Theodore, having been assured that the « Play » was « purged of all objectionable and unseemly matter » approved the performance of the « Play » . By 1830, the Catholic Church succeeded in halting the performance of all other « Passion-Plays » , in Bavaria. Only Oberammergau remained.

The performance scheduled for 1920 was postponed to 1922 due to the economic and political tumult following the First World War.

In 1940, World War II forced the cancellation of the year's scheduled performance not to resume until 1950 (and only after obtaining permission from the American Occupation Authorities) .

The Theater

Oberammergau's original parish church proved to be far too small for performances of the « Passion-Play » , so it was decided to hold the « Play » in the graveyard of the church, before the graves of the villagers who had died in the plague.

The fame of the « Play » must have spread quickly to the surrounding towns and villages for as early as 1674. Records show that seats were to be provided for the audience.

Over the following years, sets and stage mechanics were added to the simple wooden stage structure. By the middle of the 18th Century, it was obvious that the graveyard was also too small and a new venue was found on a field close by; however, the stage had to be specially built every year of the « Play » .

The 1st permanent stage seems to have been built in 1815 to a design by the then-local parish priest. In 1830, he was asked to help build a new, larger stage on the site of the present theatre. When it rained, the audience got wet : umbrellas would have obscured the view of people sitting behind them.

However, in 1890, a new, purpose-built theatre was built and, apart from some of the scenes on the side of the stage, it would have looked much as it does today. It was ready in time for the 1900 performance, with the 6 arched hall capable of holding over 4,000 spectators.

The theatre was enlarged in time for the 1930 and 1934 seasons and, whilst it was considered ugly and uncomfortable, it was praised for its superb acoustics and sight of the stage.

...

Oberammergau is a « Mysterium » . But the facts, which constitute the « Passion-Play » , are still strangely enough. The origin and the further development of the « Passion-Play » are a part of German history, in political and in artistic regard. This is reflected in the text versions of the « Passion » and, in addition, in the changes of the scenery, the costumes, the music, theatre architecture and the fellow players.

The Oberammergau « Passion-Play » was 1st performed in 1634 and is the result of a vow made by the inhabitants of the village that if God spared them from the effects of the bubonic plague then sweeping the region they would perform a « Passion-Play » every 10 years. The « Play » is now performed in years ending with a zero, as well as in

1934 which was the 300th anniversary and 1984 which was the 350th anniversary (though the 1940 performance was cancelled because of the intervention of the Second World War) . It involves over 2,000 actors, singers, instrumentalists and technicians, all residents of the village.

The Beginning

According to village chronicle from the year 1859, the « Passion-Play » is based on the vow of the « Oberammergauer » in the year 1633, when the plague in the place prevailed :

« In the large disappointment, which had brought the terrible illness over the municipality, finally the superiors of the municipality, the 6 and 12, met and the vow was made to hold the passion tragedy every 10 years and, from this time on, not one more humans died, although still some had the plague characters. »

Contrary to most other Passion Plays, the political municipality was carrier of the Plays, since the vow was already originally carried-out by the chiefs of the municipality. When the plague yielded, they redeemed their promise :

« This probably did not insert the representation of Passion into Oberammergau as new, but did make the regular performance of the same after 10 years each to a duty of the municipality. »

1634 as thanks to God for the rescue the 1st « Passion-Play » was presented by 60 to 70 actors on the cemetery beside the church. The original version of the text of the « Oberammergauer » « Passion-Play » is not delivered. The 1st received libretto originates from the year 1662. The libretto contains the reference, « is wiederumb renoviert » (is renovated) , which permits, on the one hand, the conclusion that it was played since 1634 in this version and only the paper was freted already so it had to be put down again or, on the other hand, this could mean that the text is adapted.

This text, which covers 4,902 verses, is not a new creation, but a compilation from the « Augsburgur Passionsspiel » (2nd half of the 15th Century) , and a reformatory « Passion-Play » of the « Augsburgur Meistersingers » Sebastian Wild. The connection of these 2 texts was proven in a « Carintien » Passion and, in a « Chiemgauer » passion, those were played around the year 1600 and to those the « Oberammergauer » referred to. The 3rd source are probably either a lost or, yet, not proven « Passion-Play » . Maybe it is an older « Oberammergauer » « Resurrection-Play ».

For the 5th repetition of the vow, in the year 1674, they added scenes from the « Weilheimer » « Passion » from the years 1600 and 1615, to the « Oberammergauer » « Play » . Thus, for the 1st time, the devil came into the « Play » , and the figure of the « soul » . For the 1st time also, musical organization is noted in the libretto : « 11 times, they sang ; 10 times, the occurrence of the authority is marked by drums » .

The 6th Passion year was already 6 years later. The passion « was demonstrated in the year 1680 to the Christian people, and, from then on, it remained on the decimals number » . Why is unknown.

The libretto of the Passion of 1720 shows a stage in the style of the time, with large portal and curtain, which permit covered stage changes and which auditorium separates clearly from the stage. In addition, the text version experienced a structuring in Acts and Scenes. Also, language and rhymes were adapted to the style of time. In 1730, beside Satan, additional representatives of hell as allegoric figures of envy, avarice, sin and death were added to the « Play ». The stylistic device of stopping action too living pictures, traditionally to serve Meditation, was also extended.

The Baroque Period

In 1750, the « Oberammergauer » « Passion-Play » was completely recreated and reaches with it its literary zenith. Ferdinand Rosner, « poeta doctus » and professor of the rhetoric at the Academy of Knight's created the « Passio Nova » with the title, « Bitter suffering, winning death and glorious resurrection of the confirmed son of God father introduced to the congregation ». Nearly at the same time, the Epos « Der Messiahs » by Klopstock's was published. Literally, the new Passion is of equal value to Klopstock's Opus. This Passion corresponded stylistically, as well as formally, to the artistic claims and the attitude to life of the Baroque period. The plot, which is based on the New Testament, is subdivided into 9 Acts ; all of them are instigated by a « living picture » .

This form of pictures Rosner adopted from the old Passion and developed them into 18 pre-figurations. With these living pictures, situations were taken from the Old Testament. He creates more than 90 roles which arise partly logically from the New Testament. The figure of the devil and to this provided the allegorical figures of the vice, the stinginess, the envy, the death, the desperation and the sin, he adopts from the old « Play » , however, in contrast to prior, he now let them directly intervene into the « Play » .

Possibly inspired by the « Weilheimer » Passion, Rosner adds to his play a protective mind, the « Genius Passionis » which is accompanied of 6 other protective minds. This group, which is in opposite to the diabolical powers, forms the origin of the today's big choir.

Rosner has written the dialogs as well as chanted texts into cadenced language. These arias and recitatives, whose music has got lost, corresponded to the Italian Opera taste of the time. All in all, the text encloses 8,455 verses. « Oberammergau, up to now only 1 « Passion-Play » under many, became the model for other Passion Plays, for example : Tölz, Freising, Dachau, Kiefersfelden, Oberaudorf, Thiersee and Erl.

Classical and Romantic Periods

In 1830 and 1839, the local government of Oberammergau asked at the government of Upper-Bavaria for the occupation of the vicarage by Josef Alois Daisenberger without success. Finally, in June 1845, Daisenberger was moved from Uffing, where he was since 1832, to Oberammergau. If the 3rd petition was the reason for this success is not sure. The « Oberammergauer » define in it their expectations on Daisenberger quite clearly :

« He will act beneficial as excellent teacher for our children, with his artistic sense on our industry, with apprenticeship and example on our spiritual welfare, and with right dignity on the “ Passion-Play ”. »

Alois Daisenberger was born in 1799, in Oberau, which lies only few kilometres from the cloister of Ettal and also from Oberammergau. From 1804, he visited the lessons with father Otmar Weiss. In October 1812, he inscribed into the High-School of the Royal Netherlands Institute, in Munich, which he concluded in summer 1816. From 1817 to 1820, Daisenberger studied at the Landshuter University, which was strongly influenced by the most stamping figure Johann Michaël Sailer. From 1820, he taught the children in his home-town. In October 1821, he gets the ordination of priests. The « Primiz » Mass took place in Oberau ; father Othmar Weis held the sermon and Rochus Dedler composed the Mass. After different stations in different municipalities in Bavaria, in 1845, he finally achieved his purpose.

« Since my youth, I had a special predilection for Oberammergau. As a child, every year, I fully of longing looked forward to the " Kirchweihe " of Oberammergau ; as a studying youth, I experienced there very pleasant hours ; in my 1st priest's years, it was the last purpose of my wishes in respect on the place of my work : " to become a priest in Oberammergau ". »

The people of Oberammergau entrust him with the direction of the « Passion-Play » and the revision of the text. In 1850, the revision was limited only to cancelations and low linguistic changes.

In 1850, starts a cultural-historical adoption strongly influenced by Martin Deutinger and by the director and theatrical historian Eduard Devrient which sees Oberammergau as a national inheritance of idealised Middle-Ages. At the same time also, critics in artistic regard were being raised. Also, the government of Bavaria demands a treatment of the text. On 21 December 1858, Priest Daisenberger announced to the government that the draught of the passion for 1860 was finished.

The treatment of the passion, in 1860, was strongly stamped by the Classical tragedy and used like these antique elements. Instead of the actualisation, he placed general validity ; instead of realism, he placed sublimity and idealisation ; instead of the political elements, he placed psychological elements. Bound to the spirit of the times of the Romanticism, Daisenberger inserted legendary scenes to the play again : works with a pictorial language, and interprets the Passion drama as a fight between light and darkness. Daisenberger juggles in nearly post-modern manner with literary figures and style elements. He utilizes irony, which was very much popular in the Romanticism. So, he allows to pronounce the opponents of Jesus, over and over again, Christian truth which mean this, actually, in the reverse sense, as for example :

« Only by the death of Jesus of Nazareth, the people of Israel can be saved. » or ...

« His death is our welfare. »

Daisenberger shapes the opponents of Jesus with the character of the followers of Jesus. For example, the High priest Annas becomes like the old men Simeon who sees the long expected Messiah. But Annas' words refer on the luck to see the High-Council united against the enemy Jesus. Daisenberger get inspiration from Gœthe's « Faust » to the desperation scene of Judas after the betrayal of Jesus.

The meeting of Maria and Jesus at the cross Daisenberger creates in the antique form of the Anagnorisis. In the prologues, he reaches to alkäic and sapphic strophic forms.

The construction of the « Passion-Play » shows a contentswise symmetry. The 1st part begins with the crowded scene « Marching in Jerusalem » where everyone is praising Jesus, and leads us up to loneliness in the Mount of Olives and, therefore, the loss of all friends. The 2nd part is stamped by an increase of the enemies of Jesus, up to the scene where the people of Pilatus demand the crucifixion of Jesus. In the middle of these both parts lies the axis of the loneliness. The 3rd part shows the rise of Jesus and, therefore, his independence of the people.

For the Passion Plays, in 1870, Daisenberger tries to give a finally closed form to the « Passion-Play », while he catches the text in German blank verse and writes to the living pictures new prologues in the form of antique ode. However, this whole composition for unknown reasons was never performed. Nevertheless, since that time, the « Play » is called Daisenberger Passion, without consideration of the « Weiss'schen » source material. Otto Huber has proved that, in the version of 1860, still about half of the text were taken-over partly literally, partly basically from Weis.

Daisenberger's work is less those of an artist, rather those of a knowing craftsman :

« I feel that it was a venture exceeding my weak forces to treat the Holy Drama, this legacy of old-German devoutness, because I'm lacking the deeper understanding of the dramatic art, as well as the kind of my education which fell in the clarification period was not in addition provided to maintain that deeply dearly devout sense of the German ancestors in me. Still, this sense was laid in me in my father's house.

However, I do not have imposed myself, I took over the work because it was arranged by authority and no one else was found, with the best wills, in love to my divine Redeemer and in view of a purpose : " the edification of the Christian people ". »

Daisenberger's merit was to form the Passion up-to-date, but the ideas on which the treatment was based had already become outdated. This can be led back, on one hand, on a delay of the South German and Austrian literature in general and, on the other hand, specific limping behind of Oberammergau.

Turn of the 20th Century

The turn of the 20th Century becomes for Oberammergau, in the relation of an advancement of the text, the starting point of a stagnation, more or less lasting till this day, although this text already does not seem to be preserved-worth, at that time. The government of Upper-Bavaria demands for the Passion, in 1890, a reform of the text to lift « the old cultural-historical play on the height of the time and to preserve from a possible fiasco ». In 1886, the government appoints a board, lead by Doctor Johann N. Sepps P. H. (who wrote an important review in 1850) to scrutinize the « Oberammergauer » Passion Plays. This board found the text bad. So, the government suggested to instruct « Geier Wally » - author Wilhelmine von Hillern or ecclesiastical council Carl Etmayer with treatments what is

likewise rejected by the « Oberammergauern » . Instead of a revised version, the mutilation of the version of priest Daisenberger begins already in 1890. In 1900, the municipality of Oberammergau region publishes, for the 1st time, a « Offizielles libretto » which the entire text contain. Indeed, not the original text, but the just topical play text. This leads to the fact that the « Daisenberger text defended over and over again » is unknown itself to most « Oberammergauern » till this day. Although there are, as already mentioned, voices which demand an advancement of the text, the voices which suggest « preserve ! » become always louder. Released by the 1st reviews, in particular in 1850, from Martin Deutinger and Eduard Devrient who sees a « valuable relic of early Germany » and « Hort of the German national mind » in the Passion Plays, upper bunting region becomes the myth. The central idea of this myth is the « erfolgreichen struggle around preservation of the own, an identity saved against all menaces » . In 1840-1850, encloses a choice of criticism through upper bunting region already 500 sides.

Till 1900, the number of the newspaper reports has grown in the uncountable. In a bibliography with regard to upper bunting region, only 150 titles are performed about 1900. Beside different forms of documentations also some fictional stories. Under it, also, the best-seller « Der man God boobs of upper bunting region » from Ludwig Ganghofer and from the church on the index sedately « " Am cross ". A Passion novel from upper bunting region » from after upper bunting region there moved « Hermine » of Hillern. In Paris, a story « le Judas d'Oberammergau » from Otto de Schachings appears in 1900 to « the artistic ones and the customs of the fathers to loyal Oberammergauern » Ludwig II let in the colossal crucifixion group chisel which he gives to the « Oberammergauern » , in 1876, in appreciation of the special image given to him of the Passion Plays in 1871. With it, he chisels the leitmotiv which haunts in many heads with regard to upper bunting region in stone.

The turn of the Century is a time of the social and political layout, everything seems threatened. Upper bunting region becomes the symbol of the fight against the setting of the old order. Accordingly, the company list of the Passion Plays of 1900 and 1910 reads, in the eve of the 1st World War : the oil magnate John Davidson Rockefeller, architect August Eiffel, count Zeppelin, Ernst von Possart (director of the Munich Court stage) , Opera singer Adelina Patti, the conductor Felix Mottl. An immense number assembles in upper bunting region, once again, almost all representatives of the European nobility, but also in bishops from all over the world.

The attraction of upper bunting region exercises not only on « Who's who » . Especially for the Americans, upper bunting region became a « Neben myth » , as a substitute to her breaking self-image from the « real New World in which one can throw-off the trammels of the Old and rise to one's full stature of an one » . The dream of moral superiority of America is destroyed by around reaching corruption in the public life more and more. Upper bunting region appears towards the healthy mountain village. The place in request « of humanly perfection : the possibility of life lived with maximum wiseness, happiness, and intensity ; Oberammergau thus came to represent, in a certain way, the idea of a divinely granted 2nd chance for the humanly race » in the course of the world-wide « Vereinnahmung » .

In the upper-bunting region, the most different stereotypes are produced. A very typical one is the fact that rural people created the « Passion-Play » from the religious strength of public feeling. Besides, it overlooked the « Oberammergauer » life of the bourgeois majority who was thrown down because the pre-alpine area has not enough

yield and, also, because the upper bunting region has been, traditionally, a boob's village for hundreds of years. The Passion Plays are not the « Play » of the people but the « Play » of renowned authors.

In 1900, a reviewer said :

« The tradition, in the very 1st line, lends value and character to the “ Oberammergauer ” “ Play ”. At the moment, the whole “ Play ” is in extreme danger. »

The reviewer probably grasps the mood with regard to upper bunting region and with regard to the situation in the entire Germany.

Inter-War Period

Due to post-War confusions and the economic problems resulting from it, the « Passion-Play » of 1920 had to be cancelled and can not be retrieved until 1922. Despite a bullish mood and the feeling of a new beginning in Germany, and also in Oberammergau, the struggling for a revised text version of the « Passion-Play » does not succeed. Maybe it's because the newly voted, only 33 year old, director George Johann Lang is more interested in æsthetic than contentwise questions. The rush to the « Play » of 1922 is unexpected high and the incomes accordingly. But the inflation destroys the profit for the most part. Nevertheless, the municipality did decide not to assume 1 of the 7 filming offers, which in-arrived since the beginning of the year 1920, although the offers amount-up to converted 14 billion Marks.

In 1930, Johann George Lang develops a comprehensive new staging. Over the course of that, he sketches a completely new stage and charges the architect and later mayor Raimund Lang to put-up the 1st solidly built stage. In retrospect, Otto Huber comments :

« The style of the stage was modern and, at the same time, " Nazi-like ". The large horizontal line is very impressive, but the gesture of this architecture is nevertheless : " You are small and I am large. " . This is the opposite of the Christian message. It seems as if the religious theological questions became secondarily to art questions. »

That Oberammergau, with this staging, is again at the height of the time, reveals itself at the fact that even directors like Max Reinhardt or Charles Dullin pronounce her admiration :

« At a show in August, a man with pale face, brown-reddish hair and a small moustache on the furrow of the upper-lip sat in the Passion theatre. He carried a trench coat and was accompanied by some men. After the play, his friend Helene Bechstein brought him in the publishing house Lang where he was introduced and invited for tea. The man was called Adolf Hitler. »

4 years later, in 1934, this man already was in power. This year was the tricentennial of the « Oberammergauer » Passion vow, which is why a jubilee play was initiated. Whether and how far Oberammergau defends itself against the

pocketing by the new politics of Germany, can be proved hardly today. But one thing is sure : the powerful exploited Oberammergau. The advertisement poster for 1934 shows the mountain-surrounded Passion village from which a cross rises which is flowed round by light. The posters intended for the foreign country must carry by the will of the Imperial propaganda Ministry the label « Germany calling » . Adolf Hitler calls Oberammergau, beside Bayreuth, the exponents of the German cultural life. In the press, the ideological pocketing is continued :

« The 3 Centuries of the « Passion-Play » teach us that the loyalty between blood and ground is the hold strength of all folklore. »

The church positions itself against this kind of pocketing of the Passion Plays by the political rulers and gives the « Missio canonica » , the official teaching competence of the church to Oberammergau.

But also, within the « Passion-Play » , the « new mind » becomes visible : thus Adam is equipped in a living picture with a German spade. Easy delitions prove suddenly clear anti-Semitic statements. For example, the choral text to the living picture « Josef and his brothers » is shortened by the last stanza in which God's rage on the brothers of Josef and his people in general is neutralized :

« He (Jesus) does not come to ruin, from the father's magnificence, all sinners should inherit, mercy, grace and bliss. »

...

The special Jubilee season of the Oberammergau « Passion-Play » , in 1934, marking the 300-year anniversary of the original vow to re-enact Jesus' Passion and Suffering every 10 years, thereafter, was the 1st (and, it turned-out, only) performance after the Nazi regime's rise to power, the year previous. Among other things, the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda ordered the official poster for the Jubilee season amended to include the message « Deutschland ruft dich ! » (Germany is calling you !) , and the « Kraft durch Freude » (KdF) scheme's discount-travel programme offered special cut-rate packages to the « Passion-Play » , including rail fare, tickets and accommodations.

Official propaganda described the « Passion-Play » as « peasant drama inspired by the consecrating power of the soil, with Adolf Hitler attending a performance (and wound-up endorsing it wholeheartedly as one with the Greater Anti-Semitic Agenda of the Nazi regime) . An attempt to re-write the « Passion-Play » script to bring it into line with Nazi ideology was rejected, however, by the more conservative element.

...

After 1934, an order of a revised version of the Passion Plays goes out to the dramatist Leo Weismantel (1888-1964) which is, nevertheless, pulled back again. The propaganda Ministry explained the Plays in preparation for 1940 for « Reichswichtig » (of high importance for the nation) . Nevertheless, the « Passion-Play » of 1940 must be called off because of outbreak of War.

Oberammergau in the Nazi Era : The Fate of a Catholic Village in Hitler's Germany

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Emphasizes the survival of a residual democracy in Oberammergau during the 12 years of the 3rd « Reich » , challenging a prevailing tendency to underestimate German democracy before 1945.

...

In August 1934, Adolf Hitler attended the world-famous Oberammergau « Passion-Play » , falsely branding the villagers as Nazi ideologues. In fact, the drama reflected traditional interpretations of the biblical narrative, pitting Jewish leaders and crowds against Jesus and his loyal followers. Yet, elite Europeans and Americans flocked to Oberammergau each decade after 1850 to witness the play because actors and audience shared the anti-Semitic messages they read into the Gospel story. Oberammergau's population was split between Hitler's supporters and opponents because some villagers were true believers and others tolerated the Nazi regime's extreme cultural restructuring, while Catholic loyalists resisted efforts to replace their customary practices with Nazified alternatives. All sides united in defending their Centuries-old tradition of dramatizing the Passion. Villagers appeared on stage as children and grew-up hoping to

perform major roles as adults, so their entire lives revolved around the play seasons. This commitment nurtured a powerful communal identity in Oberammergau, carving-out maneuvering room for dissent at the margins of Nazi tyranny even by Party members who defied superiors threatening Oberammergau's special interests. Their actions represented an extreme example of the maxim : « All politics is local. » . Drawing on a huge array of records, the book tells the up-close and personal story of a community in crisis, illuminating heart-wrenching decisions made by villagers alternatively wooed and threatened by their Nazi leaders. Biographies bring these everyday Germans to life as complex human beings struggling with the extreme challenges of the Nazi Era.

...

The Bavarian mountain village of Oberammergau is famous for its decennial « Passion-Play » . The play began as an articulation of the villagers' strong Catholic piety, but in the late- 19th and early 20th Centuries developed into a considerable commercial enterprise. The growth of the « Passion-Play » from a curiosity of village piety into a major tourist attraction encouraged all manner of entrepreneurial behavior and brought the inhabitants of this isolated rural area into close contact with a larger world. Hundreds of thousands of tourists came to see the « Play » , and thousands of temporary workers descended on the village during the « Play » season, some settling permanently in Oberammergau. Adolf Hitler would attend a performance of the play in 1934, later saying that the drama « revealed the muck and mire of Jewry » . But, Helena Waddy argues, it is a mistake to brand Oberammergau as a Nazi stronghold, as has commonly been done. In this book, she uses Oberammergau's unique history to explain why and how genuinely some villagers chose to become Nazis, while others rejected Party membership and defended their Catholic lifestyle. She explores the reasons why both local Nazis and their opponents fought to protect the village's cherished identity against the 3rd « Reich » 's many intrusive demands. On the other hand, she also shows that the « Play » mirrored the Gospel-based anti-Semitism endemic to Western culture. As a local study of the rise of Nazism and the Nazi era, Waddy's work is an important contribution to a growing genre. As a collective biography, it is a fascinating and moving portrait of life at a time when, as Thomas Mann wrote :

« Every day hurled the wildest demands at the heart and brain. »

...

Contemporary scholar James Shapiro writes that :

« Oberammergau is justly celebrated as one of the few places in the world where Theater still matters. »

The Bavarian « Play » began with a vow made in 1633 : villagers would perform the « Passion-Play » every 10 years if God would spare them from the plague which had ravaged neighbouring towns and threatened to consume them. With few exceptions, they have kept their pledge with God, and this devotion had made Oberammergau, a town just south-west of Munich, an international phenomenon.

Oberammergau attracts a capacity crowd of over 400,000 visitors every 10 years (with applications for tickets nearing

4 million) . No expense is spared in its lavish production, but veri-similitude is important for Oberammergau : no make-up or wigs are allowed on stage ; actors must be born in Oberammergau or reside in the city for 20 years before they are eligible to perform ; and, until 1990, female actors had to be under 35 and single.

In 1934, the « Play » gained infamy for the dubious honour of hosting Adolf Hitler as he courted the popular vote for the institution of a new office, « Führer » and Reich Chancellor. Many of the actors in principle roles (excepting Judas) were already Party Nazis, and voting records indicate that almost 90 % of the town's inhabitants favoured Hitler in the general election. In 1942, Hitler would go so far as to claim that the « Play » showed Pilate as a man of « superior race » while the Sanhedrin's call for crucifixion revealed the whole « muck and mire of Jewry » . However, forced to choose between guns and God, Hitler closed the « Play » , in 1940, to build a munitions factory near by.

Picked-up again, in 1950, as a symbol of Allied victory and traditional values, the « Passion-Play » entered the latter half of the 20th Century with a dark cloud hovering over-head. After much negotiation and international cries for reform, the « Play » has undergone massive changes over the past 50 years : gone are the horns on the head-dresses of the Jewish high-priests, though sinister nubs still remain ; the Jewish mob still cries its « blood curse » , though other competing voices clamour for blame ; Judas clutches his money bag, though no longer counts his coins. Controversy remains. Progressives insist they have shifted the entire thrust of the « Play » from a revenge narrative against the Jews to an attempt at bridging the Jesus of history with the Jesus of Christian faith, but critics contend that only the costumes shrouding the anti-Semitism have changed.

...

The Conrad von Hötendorf Kaserne was built just east of the village in 1935-1937 as a base for the signals detachment (« Gebirgs-Nachrichten-Abteilung Nummer 54 ») of the Mountain Brigade. In October 1943, the barracks were taken over by the Messerschmitt company as a research and development site ; 37 kilometers (23 miles) of tunnels were bored into the neighboring Laber mountain for engine production facilities, and a winter sports hotel was also taken over. In all, Messerschmitt had 500 employees in the design department and about 1,300 more in the factory. At the end of the Second World War, the Messerschmitt design department was visited by both U.S. and British scientific missions, as well as by teams from Bell (who stayed for 5 weeks) and de Havilland. Among the German staff interviewed by the Fedden Mission were Waldemar Voigt, Messerschmitt's chief designer, Hans Hornung, and Joseph Helmschrott.

After the War, the Americans occupied the barracks, renaming it Hawkins Barracks and making it the primary facility of U.S. Army School in Europe ; over the next 3 decades, schools in specialties ranging from military police to nuclear weapons handling were located there. The base reverted to German Army control and its original name in 1974.

NATO School, formerly NATO Weapons Systems School, the alliance's principal training and education facility on the operational level, has been located at Hawkins « Barracks/Hötendorf Kaserne » , since 1953.

Marie Bartl

Bruckner tomba alors en amour avec une jeune choriste de 17 ans faisant partie de la distribution du Jeu de la Passion. Marie Bartl qui interprétait le rôle mineur de paysanne avec l'une des « filles d'Israël » attira les regards de l'homme mûr. Bruckner mêlait, une fois de plus, l'amour terrestre à l'amour divin. Il se présenta à elle après le spectacle en lui offrant un recueil de prières, puis s'enhardit jusqu'à la suivre à la maison. L'homme passa la soirée en sa compagnie de même que la mère de la jeune fille. Il se présenta timidement auprès de la mère dans le but d'amorçer une sorte de médiation :

« Je suis le Professeur Anton Bruckner et je suis organiste. » . (Il n'était pas encore connu comme compositeur.)

Il fit une proposition de mariage qui fut, surprenamment, prise au sérieux. Car il semble bien que Marie Bartl fut réellement tombée amoureuse d'Anton Bruckner. Mais après 3 jours en sa charmante compagnie, le compositeur prude et radin (ne voulant pas être pris à déboursier un second billet « aller-retour ») insista pour reprendre, seul, le chemin en direction de la Suisse. L'idylle assortie d'une correspondance soutenue ne durera que quelques mois tout au plus, vue les circonstances.

(The girl's and her mother's letters, up to June 1881, have survived.)

Les moments de passion avec Marie Bartl se reflète dans le 1er mouvement, extrêmement joyeux, de la 6e Symphonie. L'idylle se rompit lorsque Bruckner alla jusqu'à demander sa main. Cela nous valut cette page sublime qu'est l'Adagio où la résignation se mue en prière, et s'apaise dans une conclusion d'une religieuse sérénité. Marie Bartl apparaîtra sur des photos prises à Marienbad. Le biographe Max Auer avait rejeté l'idée de l'existence d'une telle correspondance alléguant qu'elle fut brûlée immédiatement après la rupture entre Marie et Bruckner. Ce qui s'avéra faux. Les lettres de Bruckner à la mère de Marie Bartl sont aujourd'hui conservés à Saint-Florian. En plus d'une photographie de la jeune femme avec l'inscription :

« À mon amie la plus chère, Marie Bartl. » .

Portraits de femmes ayant appartenu à Bruckner

Tout au long de sa vie, Anton Bruckner tentera de conquérir le cœur de ravissantes jeunes femmes d'origine modeste, qu'elles soient autrichiennes ou allemandes. Citons les noms de :

Margarethe Boucher ; Hedwig Habermann ; Cäcilie Kloppenburg ; Maria Payrleithner (de Steyr ?) ; Magda Preibsch ; Rosa Rabl ; Henriette Sammet ; Aurelie Stolzar ; et Leopoldine Werndl (de Steyr ?) .

...

Extensive material in possession of August Göllerich's grandson, Hugo Rabitsch, was entrusted to the library of the Linz

Bruckner Conservatory (in Upper-Austria) .

A number of photographs of different personalities comes from the estate of Anton Bruckner. He received portraits of women with a written dedication, except for one. There are 4 unknown portraits of women, including the unique « unknown » and « unsigned » photograph.

August Göllerich had a very close relationship with Anton Bruckner. Therefore, it is not surprising that he came in possession of these artefacts (9 portraits are classified under the title : « V/I photographs ») . Based on what we know, Göllerich never talked openly about them.

A picture of Mathilde Feßl, as well as other photographs, came into Bruckner's possession. This corresponded to a, then, fashionable taste. He was, however, really close to only very few women. He actually wanted to marry Ida Buhz to whom he became engaged. And, on August 16, 1866, he sent a letter to Linz, asking for the hand of Josefine Lang.

In the literature (for example, the Göllerich and Max Auer biography) , we do not meet more than half of these women's names ; in 2 cases, we are limited to a few vague dependent observations. Due to the nature of the composer's personality, the chapter called « Bruckner and the women » cannot be enriched. Franz Gräßlinger related to Bruckner, only in his later years. But his writings contributed to clarify erroneous affirmations on the Master's circle. Gräßlinger subtle formulations are based on deeply human trusted source coming from credible witnesses so that his statements have great historical weight. He heard stories about « friends, women and girls who Bruckner knew to whom he wrote letters » . About the assertion that Bruckner went through love-affairs, Gräßlinger comments :

« Bruckner never really met the great love in his sentimental affairs. Nor did he live intimate relationships. »

There is a fundamental difference between love adventures (falling for the beauty of a young female) and the « absolute devotion to a wife » . Bruckner's loud letters to different women prove this assertion.

Bruckner is still naïve and rather expresses himself with silly enthusiasm. But his sincerity and his moral attitude cannot be questioned.

« A person ready for total renunciation is a superior mind. For him, earth is actually just a beautiful place, withholding from God's ancestors the still more beautiful sky. »

(Carl Johann Perl, « Christian Music and Anton Bruckner »)

« Unbekannte Frauenbildnisse aus dem Nachlaß von Anton Bruckner »

Article de l'ex-Nazi Wilhelm Jerger (directeur du Conservatoire « Bruckner » de Linz) paru en 1973 dans le « Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter »

Wie bereits mitgeteilt werden konnte, wurden umfangreiche Materialien aus dem Besitz von August Göllerich durch seinen Enkel Hugo Rabitsch der Bibliothek des Bruckner-Konservatoriums des Landes Oberösterreich überantwortet. Diese umfangreichen Materialien bergen auch eine Anzahl von Photographien verschiedener Persönlichkeiten, die aus dem Nachlaß von Anton Bruckner stammen. Darunter befinden sich unbekannte, in der Mehrzahl mit persönlichen Widmungen an Anton Bruckner versehene Frauenbildnisse mit Ausnahme eines einzigen, einer noch nicht identifizierten Photographie. Wir wissen, daß August Göllerich in sehr engen Beziehungen zu Anton Bruckner stand, und es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, daß Göllerich als einer der engsten Vertrauten Anton Bruckners in den Besitz dieser Frauenbildnisse gelangte. Göllerich hat darüber keine Mitteilungen gemacht und hat auch keine Mitteilungen hinterlassen ; wenigstens sind solche bisher noch nicht bekannt geworden.

In der Literatur, zum Beispiel bei Göllerich und bei Max Auer, begegnen wir mehr als der Hälfte dieser Frauennamen nicht ; in zwei Fällen sind wir auf einige wenige, vage Bemerkungen angewiesen. Das Kapitel « Bruckner und die Frauen » kann somit « nicht bereichert » werden, denn in Wirklichkeit gibt es ein solches nicht, und es kann auch ein solches - schon aus dem Wesensgefüge der Brucknerschen Persönlichkeit heraus -, gar nicht geben. Franz Gräßlinger, der Bruckner, wie er schreibt, « nur in seinen späteren Lebensjahren gekannt » hat, hat viel Richtiges zur Aufhellung dieses unseligen und falsch gesehenen Abschnitts aus Bruckners Lebenskreis beigetragen, aber nicht allzuviel Gehör gefunden. Gräßlingers feinsinnige, sorgsame Formulierungen sind uns auch wegen ihres tiefen menschlichen Bezuges eine verlässliche Quelle und legitimieren ihn als einen wahrheitsgetreuen und glaubhaften Zeugen, so daß seine Aussagen historisches Gewicht erhalten. Er lernte « Freunde, Frauen und Mädchen, die Bruckner kannten, denen er Briefe schrieb » persönlich kennen. Im Gegensatz zu der Behauptung, daß sich Bruckner in Liebesabenteuer gestürzt haben soll (was wohl nur auf einer seltsamen Annahme beruhen kann) , muß hiezu das, was Gräßlinger niederschreibt, hierher gesetzt werden :

« Die wirklich große Liebe hat Bruckner nie kennengelernt. Intime Beziehungen, Liebesverhältnisse hatte er niemals. »

Zwischen Liebesabenteuern und der « unbestimmten Sehnsucht nach einer eigenen Frau » , und daran, daß Bruckner das « Schöne am weiblichen Wesen » liebte, ist wohl noch ein Unterschied. Im übrigen : Wer Bruckners lautere Briefe an verschiedene Frauen kennt, wird aus keinem derselben etwas herauslesen können, das den zitierten Textstellen widerspräche. Bei Bruckner handelt es sich doch um naive und eher einfältige Schwärmereien, deren Aufrichtigkeit und sittliche Einstellung unbezweifelbar ist, eben auch dem im Grund einfachen Zuschnitt des Mannes entsprechend. Wie Unterhaltungen mit jungen Mädchen vor sich gingen, ersehen wir aus uns vor kürzester Zeit zugänglich gemachten « Erinnerungen einer Oberösterreicherin / Begegnungen mit Anton Bruckner » von Mathilde Mayr, geborene Feßl*.

(* Diese Erinnerungen stammen aus dem Besitz von Frau Magda Preibsch Neuhofen an der Krems, einer Großnichte von Mathilde Feßl verheiratete Mayr, die sie Herrn Professor Wilhelm Formann zur Veröffentlichung überlassen hat. Ich danke an dieser Stelle Herrn Professor Formann herzlich für die Erlaubnis, aus diesen kurzen Erinnerungen zitieren zu dürfen.)

Die Genannte hielt sich zum Zwecke ihrer musikalischen Ausbildung von 1887 bis 1889 in Wien auf und berichtet in diesen Erinnerungen über ein Konzert, das die damals siebzehnjährige Mathilde Feßl besuchen durfte**.

(** Nach einer Bleistiftnotiz von unbekannter Hand im Anschluß an den maschinenschriftlichen Text, in den mir Frau Preibsch freundlicherweise Einblick gewährte, heißt es :

« Konzert war am 24. Februar 1889 im Bösendorfersaal in Wien, gespielt wurde die VII. Symphonie von Bruckner unter Hans Richter, Veranstalter war der Wagner Verein. »)

Offenbar in letzter Minute im Saal angelagt, wollte sie sich auf ihren Platz begeben, verirrte sich dabei und « kam endlich zu einer letzten Tür im Gang, die offen stand » . Sie Schreibt :

« In der Suche um ein verstecktes Plätzchen fielen meine Augen auf einen alten Herrn, vorne in einer Ecke. Er war nicht festlich gekleidet, etwas beleibt, glatzköpfig und ungemein vertrauenserweckend. »

« Zu diesem alten Herrn stelle ich mich, da bin ich sicher » , dachte ich mir. Ich ging auf ihn los und stellte mich hinter ihn. Da drehte er sich um, sah mich erstaunt an und sagte :

« Ja, wie kommen denn Sie daher ? »

« Ich weiß so, daß ich nicht hergehöre. Ich habe mich vergangen. Aber ich kann gleich wieder fortgehen. Ich werde schon den richtigen Zuhörerraum finden. »

Da protestierte er lebhaft :

« Na, na, na, bleib'ns nur da, ist mir ganz recht, daß S' da sand. Es fangt a glei an. »

Und wirklich begann das Konzert. Da vergaß ich alles. Meine sonderbare Lage, den alten Herrn, die schwarzen Fracke rundherum - und war nur mehr in der Musik.

Als der erste Satz zu Ende war, drehte sich der alte Herr wieder um und fragte :

« Hats Ihna gfalln ? »

Ich, noch ganz benommen :

« Wunderbar ! Es ist ja von Bruckner ! »

Da sagte er, auf sich deutend :

« Na, das bin ja eh i. »

Ich war sprachlos. Nicht, daß sich meine Phantasie den Bruckner schon irgendwie vorgestellt hätte, - aber daß der alles andere als imponierende, ja fast komische alte Herr der Schöpfer dieser herrlichen Tonwerke sein sollte, das konnte ich mir nicht zusammenreimen. Da begann, wie mir schien, auf Engelsschwingen der zweite Satz ! Und bald sah ich alles in einem anderen Licht und war bis ins Innerste erschüttert, daß ein so einfacher Mensch dazu auserwählt war, uns diese göttliche Musik zu schenken.

In der nächsten Pause plauderte er immer mit mir. Einmal sah er an seiner Kleidung herunter und sagte :

« Grad heut - muß ich wieder so ein altes Gewand anhaben. »

Dann griff er an seinen Hals :

« Der Kragen is mir a wieder viel z' weit - wissen S', i hab's gern bequem. Wann i aber gwußt hätt', daß Sie daher kommen, hätt' i schon was Besseres angezogen. »

Er fragte mich, wie ich heiße, wer ich sei und woher ich komme. Idi sagte, daß ich aus Kremsmünster in Oberösterreich komme, die Tochter des dortigen Rechtsanwaltes Doktor Feßl sei und so weiter.

Er sagte sehr erfreut :

« I bin a aus Oberösterreich. Wann i wieder aussu komm, dann bsuch i Ihna, ganz gwiß. Aber wann S' mir in Wien begegnen, da reden S' mi an. I bitt Ihna, tun S' das. Wissen S', i bin auf der Straßen oft so in Gedanken, daß i kan Menschen bemerk, und da war mir so furchtbar lad, wann i an Ihna so vorbei gang. Wann Ihna mei Nam net einfällt, denken S' an a Bruckn. »

In Wien sah ich ihn nicht mehr. Doch nach zwei Jahren kam er wirklich nach Kremsmünster. Ich war damals schon verlobt. Eines Tages nadl Tisch saß ich im Wohnzimmer am Fensterbrettl und nähte an meiner Ausstattung. Da klopfte es, ein Herr machte die Türe auf und ließ einen anderen respektvoll vorausgehen. Idi erkannte sofort Bruckner. Wie er mich erblickte, rief er erfreut :

« Da is s' ja ! »

Diese etwas sonderbare Begrüßung hat mir später sein Begleiter, der Organist Leitenmayr, erklärt. Bruckner hatte nämlich im Stift, wo er zu Gast angesagt :

« I muß an Bsuch machen. I hab in Wien a Tochter von Doktor Feßl kennengelernt. Die muß i wiedersehn. »

Da lachten die Stiftsherren und sagten :

« Das wird schwer sein. Der Feßl hat 5 Töchter. »

« Das macht nix » , sagte Bruckner, « die Mathilde find i schon außa, die kenn i glei » .

Ich sprang vom Fensterbrettl herunter, ging ihm entgegen und gab ihm die Hand. Er wandte sich zu seinem Begleiter und sagte :

« I dank lhna schön, daß S' mi hergeführt ham. Wann S' wolln, können S' wieder heimgehn. »

Er nahm mit uns den Jausenkaffee, spielte auch lange auf dem Klavier.

Ich mußte während des Spielens neben ihm sitzen. Einmal, bei einer besonders schönen Stelle, wandte er sich zu mir und sagte mir leise :

« Das ist nicht von mir, das haben mir die Engerln vorgesungen. »

Oft erklärte er mir etwas vom Kontrapunkt und den Gesetzen der Harmonielehre und dergleichen, und ich sagte :

« Ich verstehe ja nichts davon. Ja wenn meine Schwester hier wäre. »

Er ließ mich gar nicht ausreden, sondern protestierte gleich lebhaft :

« Na, na, na, ka Schwester ! Sie, das ist mir grad recht, bleibens nur bei mir ! Wissens, wann i mir beim Komponieren was Liebes vorstellen kann, geht es ganz anders. »

Oft hielt er meine Hand und streichelte sie zärtlich.

Da kamen mir kleine Bedenken. Ob ich mir das als Braut von einem fremden Mann gefallen lassen kann ? Ich entzog ihm meine Hand und ging sogar aus dem Zimmer. Mein lieber Vater hatte das beobachtet, kam mir nach und sagte :

« Aber Kind, sei doch nicht kleinlich. Den Bruckner mußst du doch mit einem ganz anderen Maßstab messen als andere Menschen. Daß ein solches Genie durch dich ein paar fröhliche Stunden hatte, wird dir dein Leben lang eine schöne Erinnerung bleiben. »

Ich ging auch gleich wieder ins Klavierzimmer zurück und setzte mich zu ihm. Bruckner hatte in seiner Harmlosigkeit nichts von dem kleinen Intermezzo gemerkt, nahm gleich wieder meine Hand und streichelte sie. Ich sah den Vater an und freute mich. Der Vater nickte mir zu und lächelte auch. Wir machten auch einen Spaziergang über die Hofwiese, die eine schöne Gebirgsaussicht hat. Bruckner hängte sich ein und erzählte mir von seinem Leben in Wien.

Seine Bescheidenheit war übergroß. So sagte er zum Beispiel :

« Daß i komponieren kann, das kommt davon, weil i soviel glernt hab ! Da muß man ja komponieren können ! Aber die jungen Kerle von heute mit etli zwanzig Jahr, wanns a bissel Klavierspieln können, da wollns glei komponieren ! Ja, da wird freili nix draus. »

Allmählich wurde es Abend und er mußte ins Stift zurück. Er nahm Abschied, und mit aufsteigender Wehmut sah ich ihm nach. Mir ahnte, daß ich ihn nicht mehr sehen werde, denn nach wenigen Jahren hatte er seine irdische Heimat mit der himmlischen vertauscht. Mir war er durch seine göttliche Musik immer verbunden gewesen.

...

Es ist bekannt, daß Bruckner gerne um Photographien in seinem weiblichen Bekanntenkreis warb, und wenn er dann eine solche erhielt, in überschwenglichen Worten seinen Dank aussprach. Auf ähnliche Weise dürfte auch ein Bild von Mathilde Febl wie auch andere Photographien in seinen Besitz gelangt sein. Außerdem entsprach dies einem damaligen modischen Geschmack. Indes, Frauen, denen Bruckner wirklich nahe stand, gibt es nur ganz wenige : allen voran figuriert Ida Buhz, die er tatsächlich heiraten wollte und mit der er sich auch verlobte. Daß er in einem Schreiben (Linz, 16. August 1866) um die Hand Josefine Lang's anhielt, soll hier ausdrücklich vermerkt werden.

Nach Göllicher hat Bruckner Ida Buhz in Berlin, wo er anlässlich der 23. Tonkünstlerversammlung weilte und wobei die Erstaufführung des « Te Deum » stattfand (31. Mai 1891) , kennen gelernt. Ida Buhz, damals Zimmermädchen im Hôtel « Kaiserhof » , in dem Bruckner logierte, übergab ihm vor der Abreise ein Briefchen des Inhalts, ihn heiraten zu wollen. Nachdem Bruckner den Eltern einen Besuch abstattete, hielt er um ihre Hand an. Einer Mitteilung des Sankt Florianer Stiftsorgans Josef Gruber zufolge, sollen sich die Eltern jedoch « ein Jahr Bedenkzeit ausbedungen haben » . Bruckner blieb mit Ida Buhz im brieflichen Verkehr, und zwar bis zu seinem zweiten Aufenthalt in Berlin, im Jänner 1894. Hier sah er Ida Buhz wieder, die im Konzert am 6. Jänner (es fand die Aufführung der 7. Sinfonie statt) neben ihm in der Loge saß. Tags darauf fanden sich Bruckner und Hugo Wolf zur Hauptprobe des Philharmonischen Chores ein und am Abend fand dann im Kreise der Familie die Verlobung mit Ida Buhz statt, die am darauffolgenden Tag im Konzert des Philharmonischen Chores abermals neben Bruckner Platz nahm. Warum es jedoch nicht zur Heirat kam, kann möglicherweise aus einem Brief von Anita Muck, der Gemahlin des Dirigenten Karl Muck, an ihren Mann (Wiesbaden, 20. September 1894) gedeutet werden :

« Das ganze Frühjahr hindurch erwarte ich Ida ; sie ließ sich aber nicht sehen und ich hörte gar nichts von ihr. Ich fürchte daß der Einfluß ihrer Umgebung ein so großer ist, daß das Mädchen sich nicht zum Übertritt (zum Katholizismus) wird entscheiden können. »

Nach Bruckners Tod wurde Ida Buhz Diakonissin.

Wenig später, da Bruckner 1891 Beziehungen zu Ida Buhz aufnahm, die freilich noch keineswegs ernsten Charakter trugen, wurde er mit der achtzehnjährigen Minna Reischl aus Altheim, Oberösterreich, die sich bei Verwandten in Steyr aufhielt, bekannt. Sie erwirkte alsbald bei ihren Eltern eine Einladung Bruckners nach Altheim, der dieser am 5. September 1891 entsprach. Der Aufenthalt währte zwei Tage, während dieser Bruckner um die Hand der jungen

Sängerin warb. Doch bereits am 16. September 1891 (Datumvermerk von Bruckner) traf ein Schreiben Minna Reischls ein, « den mir so schmeichelhaften Antrag nicht annehmen zu können. » Wie Göllicher zu berichten Weiß, muß Bruckner Später nochmals werbend an Minna Reischl herangetreten sein, denn am 12. Oktober 1893 schreibt sie :

« Mein liebster Herr Doktor !

Zwar bringt Ihnen dieses Briefchen noch nicht das bestimmte “ Ja ”, doch hoffe ich, im Laufe der Zeit von meinen Eltern doch die Einwilligung zu erhalten ...

Erfreuen Sie, mein liebster Herr Doktor, wieder einmal durch einige Zeilen,

Ihre Sie hochwährende ergebene,

Minna Reischl. »

Im Belvedere in Wien empfing Bruckner noch den Besuch von Minna Reischl und ihre Mutter. Fünf Jahre nach Bruckners Tod (inzwischen nicht glücklich verheiratet) schied auch sie aus dem Leben. Wenn wir den zeitgenössischen Berichten glauben dürfen, muß es sich hier um eine tiefere Beziehung von beiden Seiten gehandelt haben.

...

Wie eingangs erwähnt, befinden sich in den Materialien von August Göllicher neun Frauenbildnisse aus dem Nachlaß von Anton Bruckner, deren Beschreibung nunmehr hier folgt. Sie sind in der Materialiensammlung unter der provisorischen Sign « V/I Photographien » , eingeordnet.

Es handelt sich hier um eine frühere Aufnahme als die bekannte, zum Beispiel von Abendroth Seite 106 gezeigte. Bruckner nannte sie seinen « lieben Ersatz » , nämlich für Karolins Mutter Josefine Lang, verheiratete Weilnböck, die Bruckners Liebe unerwidert ließ.

Es bleibt in Hinsicht auf die vier unbekanntes Frauenbildnisse sowie der namentlich unbekanntes und unsignierten Photographie weiteren Erhebungen überlassen, hier nähere Daten beizubringen. Vermutlich dürften die Bildnisse Mathilde Feßl, Marie Payrleithner, Minna Reischl und Aurelie Stolar fast oder nahezu unbekannt sein. Abschließend danke ich Herrn Professor Hugo Rabitsch für die Erlaubnis der Erstveröffentlichung dieser unbekanntes Frauenbildnisse aus dem Nachlaß von Anton Bruckner, die der Materialiensammlung August Göllicher zugehören.

« Ein Mensch voll verzichtbereiter Überlegenheit, für den die Erde eigentlich nur eine schöne, von Gottesahnen beglänzte Vorenthaltung des noch schöneren Himmels war. »

Carl Johann Perl (Christliche Musik und Anton Bruckner)

...

Das Stift Sankt Florian ist Bruckners « Klein-Bayreuth » . Im Sommerrefektorium sowie im Leopoldinischen Trakt und in den muffigen sogenannten Kaiserzimmern rund um den schönen Innenhof sind augenblicklich wunderliche Reliquien zu besichtigen : Bruckners Hut (mit Loch) , Bruckners Lehnstuhl (ledern) , Bruckners Lokke (!) , sein Schulzeugnis, sein Flügel, sein Kruzifix. Dazu das originalbrucknerische Ambiente : ein oberösterreichisches hölzernes Schaukelpferd (frühe Brucknerzeit, das ewige Kind) , eine Vitrine mit oberösterreichischen Kieseln und Gräsern (mittlere, das Naturkind) . Da kommt allerhand zusammen : mehr als neunhundert Exponate in 34 Sälen. Dabei handelt es sich nur um die zweite Hälfte der großen Oberösterreichische Landesausstellung « Vom Ruf zum Nachruf » , deren erster Teil im Schloß Mondsee das oberösterreichische « Künstlerschicksal » ganz allgemein kritisch durchleuchtet. Bruckners Schicksal aber ist ein besonderes. Bei ihm fallen Ruf und Nachruf zusammen, jenseits jeder Kritik.

Die Legende dient nicht nur als getreuer Korrepetitor der Information, sie ist selbst Exponat und sprechender Teil der Ausstellung. Tragisch nur, wenn die Legenden nichts mehr zu sagen haben : leere Worte, aufgebläht zu Lettern von Armlänge und überblendet mit Redundanz.

Wie mit nacktem Finger weisen viele museumspädagogisch aktuell gestaltete Installationen in der Brucknerausstellung darauf hin, daß in der Fülle alter Anekdoten nichts Neues geboten wird. « Sehr schöne Gegenstände » , lobt die Führung, hilflos. « Und wenn Sie bittesehr darauf Obacht geben : In jedem Raum wird auch das Passende dazu gespuht ! »

In jedem Saal träufeln Musikdrogen aus unsichtbaren Lautsprechern.

Ein um das andere Mal erweist sich die hypermoderne Museumspädagogik als noch reaktionärer als ihr Gegenstand. Zum Beispiel Raum 23 (die « Romantische » , das « Jagdzimmer ») . Nebst der Büchse und dem original « Ausseer Jagdanzug » von Kaiser Franz Joseph I. , in Loden und Kamelhaar, liegt das Autograph des dritten Satzes aus Bruckners vierter Symphonie aus. Dabei war Bruckner kein Freund der Jagd, nur vom Kaiser hielt er viel. Was hat der aber mit dem Leierkastenmotiv aus dem Trio der Vierten zu tun ? Oder Raum 16 (privat) , in dem erstens das messingglänzende Gitterbett zu sehen ist, in welchem der Komponist am liebsten schlief. Zweitens geht es um den « gaumenfreudigen » Bruckner mit seinen Liebesspeisen und Lieblingsgetränken (« Geselchtes, Bier ») und drittens, heiße, um Bruckners legendäre immerwährendpubertäre Dienstmädchenerotik. Eine Wand mit siebzehn Gucklöchern darin, « wenn Sie bittesehr da einmal durchschaun wollen, Herrschaften, lauter fesche junge Damen » . Neben jedem Loch steht ein Name, hinter jedem Bild eine nichterzählte Biographie : Henriette Sammet, Minna Reischl, Rosa Rabl, Marie Demar, Leopoldine Werndl (« Es will mi halt keine ! ») . Dies also ist das regional werbewirksame Brucknerbild : a Bier, a Bett, a Biepschau.

Die neue Oper, die Peter Androsch (Musik) und Harald Kislinger (Text) im Auftrage des Linzer Brucknerfestes geschrieben haben, geht noch einen Schritt weiter. Sie heißt : « Geschnittene Heiligkeit - Anton Bruckner und die Frauen » , wird beworben mit Gratis-Kondomen, und das clevere Plakat dazu zeigt, daß das geheimnisvolle Loch sich, wie jeder (außer Bruckner) weiß, in den jungen Damen selbst befindet. Sie tragen es mitten auf dem Bauch, in ihrer Kittelschürze,

wer da durchschauen will, kann, bittesehr, Bruckners Totenmaske erblicken.

...

Après le « bon Dieu », l'orgue, le grand Richard Wagner, ses Symphonies, l'inconfort de l'arithmomane, les certificats de compétence, les doctorats honorifiques, sa bière favorite, la « Pilsner », et les plats de viande riches en protéines, les jeunes filles demeurent l'obsession la plus tenace chez Bruckner.

Oberammergau

Oberammergau est une localité de Garmisch-Partenkirchen, en Haute-Bavière. Elle se situe dans l'Ammertal, au bord de la rivière Ammer. La montagne Kofel surplombe le village.

À part ses représentations spectaculaires de la Passion du Christ, le village d'Oberammergau est aussi reconnu pour sa longue tradition de sculpture sur bois. L'école de sculpture sur bois de l'État de Bavière se trouve là-bas. Parmi les anciens élèves célèbres citons l'artiste allemand Wolfram Aichele ; sa procession représentant le Christ sur un âne peut être admirer à l'église de Saint-Pierre et de Saint-Paul. Les rues du centre d'Oberammergau abritent des dizaines de boutiques de sculpteur sur bois. Leur répertoire va des sujets religieux, aux jouets, aux portraits humoristiques.

Une caractéristique du village d'Oberammergau est le « Lüftlmalerei », c'est-à-dire des façades peintes.

Le mot pourrait originer d'une maison d'Oberammergau, appelé « Lüftl Zum », qui était la résidence du peintre Franz Seraph Zwinck, (1748-1792) . On y retrouve des fresques, des thèmes traditionnels de la Bavière, des contes de fées, des scènes religieuses, des façades en trompe-l'œil. Au XVIIIe siècle, des citoyens et des agriculteurs aisés ont fait décorer leurs façades de motifs religieux. Des exemples de cette peinture Baroque sont, entre autres, les façades de la « Kölblhaus » et de la « Pilatus-Haus » .

24 août 1880 : Anton Bruckner s'arrête à Munich.

25 août 1880 : Bruckner s'arrête à Zürich.

Rapperswil

26 août 1880 : Bruckner s'arrête à Rapperswil dans le canton de Saint-Gall pour visiter le Musée national polonais situé dans l'ancien château des Habsbourg. Un musée créé conjointement, en 1869, par le Comte polonais Władysław Plater et Agaton Giller.

Władysław Plater (Broel-Plater) est né le 7 novembre 1808 à Vilnius et est mort le 22 avril 1889, à Broelberg, Kilchberg, près de Zürich. Il était le frère de Cezary Plater, et un proche de Emilie Plater.

La fondation de la ville par les seigneurs de Rapperswil a eu lieu vers l'an 1200. La mention documentée la plus ancienne date de 1229. Après l'extinction de la famille de Rapperswil, la ville passe aux Habsbourg. À l'intersection de la route Zürich-Coire et de la route des pèlerins qui se rendaient d'Allemagne à Einsiedeln, la ville se développa avec le transbordement des marchandises et la perception de péages.

La partie historique est reconnue comme bien culturel suisse d'importance nationale ainsi que le château avec le musée et l'Hôtel de Ville avec les archives.

Monuments

Château construit entre 1220 et 1230.

Église paroissiale Saint-Jean.

« Heilig Hüsli » (Maison Sainte) , probablement du XVIe siècle.

Couvent des Capucins, édifié en 1606.

Hôtel-de-Ville, reconstruit vers 1470.

Maison Bleuler, bâtie en 1606.

Hôpital du Saint-Esprit, fondé au XIIIe siècle, reconstruit en 1843.

« Rheinfall »

28 août 1880 : Bruckner visite la plus grande cascade d'Europe, soit les chutes du Rhin (« Rheinfall ») situées près de « Schaffhausen » , la localité la plus septentrionale de Suisse ; chef-lieu du canton de « Schaffhouse » .

Les chutes du Rhin (en allemand : Rheinfall ; en suisse allemand : Rhyfall) sont des chutes d'eau situées entre Neuhausen (rive droite) et Flurlingen (rive gauche) en Suisse en aval de Schaffhouse. Elles sont classées parmi les plus grandes d'Europe.

Entre le lac de Constance et Bâle, là où le Rhin forme la frontière entre la Suisse et le Land de Bade-Wurtemberg, le lit du fleuve s'est creusé dans les roches calcaires du Jura formant des rapides et ces chutes.

Lorsque le Rhin a son débit moyen, ce sont 750 mètres cubes d'eau par seconde qui franchissent les rochers d'une hauteur de 23 mètres et sur 150 mètres de largeur. Le débit maximum mesuré fut de 1,260 mètres cube par seconde, en 1965, et le débit minimum de 95 mètres cube par seconde, en 1921.

En contrebas des chutes, sur la rive droite du fleuve (côté ville de Neuhausen) , se trouve la maison Wörth à partir de laquelle des petits esquifs permettent de s'approcher au plus près des chutes, d'accoster sur le rocher qui se trouve au milieu et de grimper au sommet où flotte le drapeau suisse. Au-dessus des chutes, sur la rive de Zürich, se trouve la maison Laufen qui abrite un restaurant, une boutique et une auberge de jeunesse.

L'histoire géologique récente, avec les glaciations successives et les formations géologiques, explique la formation de ces chutes.

Il y a environ 500,000 ans, la Ire avancée des glaciers sur le plateau suisse commence à dessiner le paysage actuel. Jusqu'à la fin de la glaciation de Riss, il y environ 200,000 ans, le Rhin coulait à l'ouest de Schaffhouse à travers le Klettgau. Ce lit ancien fut ensuite comblé par des dépôts glaciaires.

Il y a environ 120,000 ans, le fleuve fut détourné vers le sud au niveau de la ville de Schaffhouse et forma une « rigole » . Le bassin versant actuel laisse encore voir cette rigole, qui fut ensuite comblée de sédiments glaciaires.

Pendant la dernière glaciation, la glaciation de Würm, le Rhin fut repoussé en un large croissant vers le sud et creusa son lit actuel dans le calcaire. Sur la zone de transition entre la roche calcaire et les sédiments glaciaires facilement érodables se formèrent les chutes dans leur physionomie actuelle il y a environ 17,000 à 14,000 ans.

« Schaffhausen »

La ville de Schaffhausen (Schaffhouse, en français) , dominée par l'imposante forteresse de Munot, est étagée sur la rive droite du Rhin. La cité ancienne a conservé son passé médiéval et ses maisons aux oriels.

Schaffhouse était une ville - État au Moyen-âge. Des documents montrent qu'elle commença à frapper sa monnaie dès l'an 1045. L'abbaye bénédictine de Tous-les-Saints fut fondée en 1049 par le Comte Eberhard de Nellenburg qui la dota richement. En 1376, un incendie dévasta une grande partie de la ville. Pendant un temps, elle fut sous la domination des Habsbourg mais regagna son indépendance en 1415 en achetant sa liberté à l'Empire autrichien.

Elle s'allia avec Zürich, en 1457. La guerre de Souabe, en 1499, rapprocha la ville des autres cantons et elle devint un membre complet de la Confédération en 1501 en formant le 12e canton.

En 1529 la Réforme est adoptée par la ville et les couvents sont fermés.

La partie ancienne de la ville possède de nombreux immeubles pittoresques d'époque Renaissance décorés avec des fresques extérieures et des sculptures et plusieurs fontaines ornées de statues polychromes.

De nombreuses maisons bourgeoises à pignons du XVIIe siècle ont été conservées, avec des tourelles et des toits fortement pentus couverts de tuiles en forme d'écaille de poissons.

Bien que la plus grande partie des fortifications ait été abattue, la ville a conservé de nombreux vestiges de son passé médiéval comme plusieurs tours et portes ainsi que la vieille forteresse cantonale, le Munot, un donjon circulaire aux dimensions impressionnantes.

Le monastère de Tous-les-Saints a été restauré et abrite un musée historique. L'église Gothique Saint-Jean date de 1120.

Le XIXe siècle est celui de l'industrialisation avec l'établissement d'une filature mécanique de coton, en 1813, mais aussi celui des crises économiques et sociales.

Le 1er chemin de fer atteint la ville, en 1857, par l'ouverture de la ligne Winterthour-Schaffhouse.

En 1944 la ville, bien que dans la Suisse neutre, subit par erreur un bombardement par l'aviation américaine qui devait viser l'Allemagne proche, faisant 40 morts.

29 août 1880 : Bruckner s'arrête à Genève.

30 août - 3 septembre 1880 : Vers la fin de sa tournée estivale, Anton Bruckner passera quelques jours à l'un des endroits les plus merveilleux de la planète : Chamonix, La Flégère. De la vallée, la vue imprenable des sommets glacés du Mont-Blanc demeure une expérience inoubliable. Curieusement, le calendrier de Bruckner, qui lui sert aussi de journal intime, n'évoque à aucun moment la majesté écrasante du site. Ce qui tend à confirmer les commentaires de Friedrich Klose (un élève du compositeur) à l'effet que Bruckner n'était pas vraiment interpellé par la beauté de la nature (comme ce fut le cas chez Beethoven ou chez Gustav Mahler) .

Septembre 1880 : Back in Vienna, the 20 year old Gustav Mahler resumes work on the music of his 1st significant composition, the Cantata « Das Klagende Lied » (The Lamenting Song) .

Septembre 1880 : The 22 year old Hans Rott, suffering from lack of both family and money, and from an unrequited love, submits his Symphony to the Beethoven Prize competition, and goes to play it to Johannes Brahms, who enters a cruelly harsh judgment :

« The composition contained besides such beauty so much triviality and non-sense that the former could not possibly stem from Rott himself. »

Brahms advises Rott to give-up composition. Rott's Symphony boldly combines the styles of several major German / Austrian composers and, in the last movement, contains a theme presented 3 times which sounds much like that from the last movement of Brahms's own 1st Symphony - Brahms may easily have misinterpreted the combination of that with Wagnerian-style material as a put-down. All this stress is too much for Rott and his mind snaps.

La cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Genève

4-5 septembre 1880 : Anton Bruckner assiste, le 1er jour, à un concert donné par l'organiste bâlois, Anton Häring , titulaire à la cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Genève de 1866 à 1886. À la demande de ce dernier, Bruckner va exécuter (le lendemain) des improvisations sur ce même instrument, œuvre du facteur français « Merklin et Schütze » inauguré en 1866.

Les autres titulaires de Saint-Pierre de Genève :

Thilo Muster (1994-2005) .

Pierre Segond (1942-1994) .

Otto Barblan (1887-1942) : Né le 22 mars 1860 à Schanf ; mort le 19 décembre 1943 à Genève ; de Ramosch. Fils protestant de Florian, organiste, directeur de chœur et inspecteur scolaire, et de Mengia Pitsch. Marié à Frieda Lanzer. Barblan étudia la composition et l'orgue chez Immanuel Faisst à Stuttgart.

Maître de musique à l'école cantonale de Coire, de 1885 à 1887 ; organiste à la cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Genève dès 1887, professeur de composition et d'orgue au Conservatoire de Genève dès 1888 ; directeur de la Société de chant sacré de 1892 à 1938.

Otto Barblan influença pendant des décennies la vie musicale genevoise, à travers sa prédilection pour la musique de Bach et ses créations d'œuvres chorales de Händel, Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms et César Franck. Combinant des éléments néo-Baroques et le patrimoine mélodique rhéto-romanche avec l'harmonie post-Romantique, son œuvre compte des « Festspiele » patriotiques, des pièces chorales, des lieder, de la musique de chambre, des morceaux pour orgue et pour piano.

Il fut membre d'honneur de l'Association des musiciens suisses en 1937, citoyen d'honneur du canton de Genève et docteur « Honoris causa » de l'Université de Genève.

Anton Häring (1866-1886) .

Joseph Mooser (1821-1865) .

Nicolas Scherrer (1795-1821) .

Jean-Jacques Scherrer (1757-1795) .

On sait qu'il y eut un orgue à Saint-Pierre de Genève au 16e siècle. Mais le 1er instrument important fut celui construit par le fameux facteur Samson Scherrer, en 1757. C'était un grand-orgue avec Positif de dos et une partie instrumentale de type Classique français. Samson Scherrer a aussi oeuvré à Lausanne, à la cathédrale et à l'église

Saint-François. À noter que Joseph Mooser, fils du célèbre Aloys Mooser, constructeur de l'actuel grand-orgue de la cathédrale de Fribourg, fut titulaire des grandes orgues de Saint-Pierre dès 1821. Le 2e grand-orgue de la cathédrale de Genève fut un orgue du facteur français Merklin, inauguré en 1866. Ce fut un instrument Symphonique français de 4 claviers à traction assistée par une « machine Barker ». Joseph Mooser fut titulaire de cet orgue monumental. Atteint de surdité, il fut malheureusement contraint de laisser son poste à un organiste bâlois, Anton Häring. En 1887, le poste d'organiste est mis au concours. C'est un Grison, Otto Barblan, qui devint organiste titulaire. L'orgue Merklin devenant fatigué, il fallait reconstruire ! Le 3e grand-orgue de Saint-Pierre fut un un orgue du facteur Tschanun, inauguré en 1907 (3 claviers, buffet de style Gothique, pédale basée sur une Soubasse de 32 pieds) . La traction pneumatique se mit à vieillir plus rapidement qu'une traction mécanique (ce qui est prévisible) , et le 4e orgue de Saint-Pierre fut un grand-orgue Metzler (Metzler & Fils, Dietikon, Suisse) , érigé en 1965. C'est encore l'instrument que l'on admire actuellement (4 claviers, 67 jeux, traction mécanique des claviers et électrique des jeux) . L'esthétique de cet instrument est inspirée de l'orgue nord-allemand avec certains jeux d'inspiration Française et Romantique. Le buffet est l'œuvre de P.-G. Andersen de Copenhague.

Le nouvel orgue de la cathédrale a été construit en 1965 par les facteurs Metzler et fils de Dietikon. Le buffet en a été conçu par l'architecte Poul-Gerhard Andersen de Copenhague.

La composition sonore de cet instrument s'inspire de l'orgue nord-allemand de la fin du XVIIe siècle, de style néo-Baroque. Il comprend également quelques registres d'inspiration française (Cornet et Cromorne) et quelques jeux d'anches de l'époque Romantique (1907) .

En 1972, l'organiste Louis Thiry a enregistré sur cet instrument l'œuvre d'orgue d'Olivier Messiaen pour la maison d'édition Calliope. Cet enregistrement a été couronné par le « Grand Prix du disque de l'Académie Charles-Cros » en 1973 et demeure à l'heure actuelle une référence pour l'interprétation du grand compositeur français du XXe siècle.

...

La construction de la cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Genève a débuté en 1160 et durera 150 ans. Elle a donc, comme celle de Lausanne, émergée au 12e siècle par des structures Romanes importantes. Puis, la cathédrale (tout comme à Lausanne) s'est achevée en style Gothique primitif de type Bourguignon. Saint-Pierre de Genève n'a ni l'ampleur, ni les dimensions importantes de Lausanne. Elle ne comporte pas de déambulatoire. La marque de l'art Roman est plus importante à Genève : notamment, l'extérieur est franchement de style Roman de telle sorte que, vue de loin, Saint-Pierre de Genève donne plutôt l'aspect d'un grand édifice Roman. À l'intérieur, le chœur est de dimensions plutôt modestes. On peut admirer encore quelques beaux chapiteaux, vestiges de la cathédrale Romane. On peut aussi admirer le tombeau du Duc Henry de Rohan.

La façade Romane de la cathédrale menaçait de tomber en ruine au 18e siècle. On décida d'attribuer des travaux de restauration à l'architecte Benedetto Alfieri dont les plans furent exécutés de 1752 à 1756. Il s'agissait d'un portique néo-Classique considérable qui s'adossa sur toute la largeur de la Basilique, portique formant un « narthex » symétrique flanqué de murs massifs se terminant, à l'ouest, par des pilastres et des 3 quarts de colonnes. Ceux-ci

formèrent un péristyle saillant qui s'ouvrait sur la place par un escalier imposant. Une travée de la nef fut sacrifiée pour édifier cette construction néo-Classique. La fameuse chapelle des Macchabées, sur le côté droit, ne fut pas touchée par la construction du grand porche. Cette chapelle, édifiée de 1406 à 1411, au sud-ouest de la cathédrale, est un très beau monument du Gothique rayonnant avec des fresques néo-Gothiques du 19e siècle. Cette chapelle abrita l'Autel de Saint-Pierre exécuté par Konrad Witz en 1444. À la Réforme, cet autel fut épargné et, en 1536, Genève devint la « Rome protestante », principale église du protestantisme calviniste mondial.

Pourquoi le tombeau du Duc Henry de Rohan, fils du Vicomte de Rohan, est-il placé en la cathédrale de Genève ? Au 16e siècle, la France, traversée par 30 ans de guerre civile, était en passe de devenir un champ de ruines et elle était menacée à l'extérieur par les ambitions austro espagnoles de la Maison des Habsbourg très catholique et qui revendiquait le leadership sur l'Europe. Rohan épousa la fille du ministre protestant d'Henri IV, Sully, qui tomba en disgrâce à l'assassinat du roi de France et à l'arrivée du Cardinal de Richelieu. Avec l'accord du Roi Louis XIII, Rohan fut chargé de missions diplomatiques, politiques et militaires, notamment dans les Grisons pour occuper certains cols stratégiques et pour arracher la Valteline à l'ennemi. Il se comporta en héros, mais il fut contraint de se retirer suite à une retentissante trahison. Il reprit les armes à la demande du Duc allemand de Saxe-Weimar contre les Austro-Espagnols et périt à Rheinfelden à 59 ans. À sa demande, sa dépouille fut ramenée à Genève, sa patrie spirituelle. Les obsèques furent donc célébrées en la cathédrale de Genève le 27 mai 1638. Le mausolée actuel date de 1890.

La cathédrale de Genève recèle, en outre, un ensemble exceptionnel de vitraux. Elle a abrité des vitraux du Moyen-âge de la seconde moitié du 15e siècle. Il reste notamment d'importants témoins de la splendeur médiévale de cet art du vitrail de la cathédrale, au musée d'Art et d'Histoire : il s'agit des 6 vitraux de l'abside. Au 19e siècle, ces vitraux médiévaux de l'abside avaient un urgent besoin de restauration. Le choix fut fait de les transférer au Musée et mettre en place des copies dans la cathédrale. L'actuel édifice ne contient donc que des vitraux du 19e siècle, mais de grande beauté. Les 6 fenêtres de la très belle chapelle dite des Macchabées sont également de cette période : posés en 1888 (œuvres du peintre verrier Friedrich Berbig, près de Zürich). Les 2 grandes roses des transepts sud et nord sont de 1835, œuvres du Maître-verrier Rodet. Un des verres de l'une de ces rosaces porte la signature : « Bordelais Resolu 1835, compagnon vitrier ». Sous les roses, il y a 2 fois 3 vitraux magnifiques qui purent être réalisés avec les fonds de souscription réunis pour les rosaces. La rose sud est consacrée au Nouveau Testament, la rose nord à l'Ancien Testament. Saint-Pierre de Genève est donc un magnifique édifice qui nous présente ce que l'on a pu faire de mieux dans l'art du vitrail au 19e siècle. Il faut absolument « lever le nez » et admirer ces très belles verrières, même lorsqu'elles ne sont que purement décoratives.

...

L'Empire Romain d'Occident s'est dissout et, en 534, les Francs viennent d'annexer le royaume des Burgondes qui s'étaient installés en 443 à Genève. C'est sous ce nouveau règne que le groupe épiscopal subit de profonds changements. La ville voit naître la cathédrale orientale et de nouvelles structures administratives. Plus tard, au IXe siècle, sous le règne des Carolingiens, Genève est gouvernée par des comtes et, en 888, intègre le royaume de Bourgogne. À cette époque, la cité assiste à un monumental essor des paroisses rurales. Avec ce développement, vers l'an 1000, une crypte « hors-d'œuvre » s'ajoute à la cathédrale désormais unique et le chœur s'agrandit. Enfin, c'est

en 1032 que Genève rejoint le Saint-Empire romain germanique.

La Ire cathédrale de Genève remonte à la fin du IVe siècle. Cette cathédrale (désignée comme « Cathédrale Nord » par les archéologues) est intégrée dans un ensemble qui comprend en outre un baptistère et une église qui fut probablement un martyrium (destinée à la vénération des reliques des martyrs) ; il y avait, en outre, des bâtiments d'habitation appuyés à la cathédrale nord. À cette époque, l'évêque est l'homme le plus important de la cité : il gouverne depuis le groupe épiscopal qui se dresse depuis la fin du IVe siècle sur la colline et où se déroulent la plupart des activités religieuses, politiques et économiques. La ville de Genève est fortement influencée, tant au niveau politique que topographique, par l'essor du christianisme, suite à sa reconnaissance par l'Empereur romain Constantin en l'an 3136.

Dans son état initial, aux alentours de l'an 380, cette cathédrale mesure 32 mètres de longueur par 15 de largeur et constitue un lieu de rassemblement pour les fidèles. Elle se dresse en fait sur les fondations du grand bâtiment résidentiel dont les axes ne se coupent pas à angle droit, ce qui explique la tenue légèrement en biais de l'église. La cathédrale ne possède qu'une entrée latérale précédée d'un vestibule et est montée en Opus africanum. La nef est séparée en 2 par une légère barrière dans le but hypothétique de créer une scission entre les fidèles privilégiés et les autres ; le chœur est également séparé de la nef par une barrière ; on nomme cette zone presbyterium.

Le baptistère est une annexe réservée au baptême et dont la forme changera beaucoup. Dans les Iers temps, c'est un simple bâtiment rectangulaire doté d'une abside et équipé d'une cuve à immersion d'un mètre carré placée dans un coin. La salle est également séparée, mais cette fois le presbyterium est très peu développé.

Pour augmenter les proportions du groupe et en faire un complexe comparable à celui de Lyon ou de Grenoble, il est remanié vers l'an 400. L'évêque fait donc construire une nouvelle cathédrale au sud. Le baptistère est alors déplacé pour l'harmonie de l'ensemble. Entre les 3 bâtiments se loge un atrium permettant de circuler d'une cathédrale à l'autre et servant de cour à l'évêque qui vient y faire ses discours. Des annexes, servant à subvenir aux besoins terrestres des moines, fleurissent tout autour du complexe.

La cathédrale méridionale est construite en tant qu'église secondaire destinée aux enseignements religieux et aux lectures de textes sacrés. Elle mesure approximativement la taille de sa jumelle et son architecture paraît plus soignée. La nef, dotée de 2 rangées de colonnes, est à nouveau séparée en 2, délimitant ainsi les zones pour les 2 classes de fidèles. Le chœur, quant à lui, est totalement interdit aux laïcs par un mur. Cette frontière entre le presbyterium agrémentée d'une solea se terminant sur un ambon polygonal, ce qui nous indique que l'évêque lit « des textes sacrés au milieu des fidèles » .

L'ancien baptistère sert désormais de vestibule au second qui est équipé d'une cuve octogonale couverte d'un ciborium soutenu par 8 colonnes qui forme un ensemble monumental. À nouveau, la partie réservée aux ecclésiastiques est séparée du reste de la pièce.

L'augmentation du nombre des moines pousse l'évêque à faire agrandir le chœur de la cathédrale nord dans le but

d'obtenir un presbyterium plus grand. Au Ve siècle, seul le chœur a été modifié et l'église conserve sa largeur originale, tandis que la longueur se rallonge de 11 mètres. Une solea, dont la paroi intérieure sud est aménagée d'un tombeau vénéré se terminant par une ouverture et un escalier, s'avance dans la nef. 2 rangées de piliers remplaceront plus tard le chancel. Cet aménagement est sûrement destiné aux processions liturgiques, ce qui marque la différence entre les 2 cathédrales au niveau de leurs rôles.

Le 1er baptistère est détruit et le second s'allonge jusqu'à toucher le mur de l'atrium. Au Ve siècle, l'abside est reconstruite dans un modèle carré à l'extérieur et rond à l'intérieur, ce qui donne un aspect très massif. La place ainsi créée sert à l'ajout d'un autel posé sur un podium séparé de la nef par une barrière. Une solea se terminant par un ambon ouvert est construite à l'entrée et suit l'axe de l'ancien baptistère. La cuve déplacée a gardé ses proportions et sa forme mais le ciborium qui la recouvre a bien changé. Les 8 colonnes de l'an 400 ont été récupérées, retaillées et enfoncées dans les maçonneries de la cuve. Celle-ci aussi a changé. En effet, l'eau est acheminée d'un puits par le biais de tuyaux faits de sapins évidés et reliés entre eux par des frettes de fer jusqu'à la cuve où elle passe par le coude pratiqué dans un bloc de calcaire et ressort comme un petit jet d'eau. Un second ambon arrondi et flanqué de 2 plaques latérales, se dresse près de la piscine. L'évêque peut ainsi facilement atteindre le front des personnes debout dans la cuve.

Au Ve siècle, encore, l'évêque exige la construction d'une salle de réception contre la paroi de la cathédrale sud. Cette pièce mesure 9,40 mètres par 5,50 mètres et est chauffée par des conduits d'eau chaude. Elle est aussi dotée d'un système d'évacuation de la fumée et composée de tuyaux pratiqués dans l'épaisseur des murs. Le sol est entièrement recouvert de mosaïques représentant 5 rangées de 9 dessins. Les thèmes de ces motifs mêlent la culture antique avec la symbolique chrétienne qui domine finalement grâce à l'adjonction de 2 grandes croix aux bouts de la pièce. Les murs sont magnifiquement décorés comme le prouvent les fragments de peinture retrouvés au XXe siècle. Cette salle sert de bureau à l'évêque, c'est de là qu'il traite les questions religieuses et administratives de son territoire.

En l'an 500 et 501, l'incendie provoqué à Genève par la guerre fratricide opposant Gondebaud à Godegisèle, cause de sérieux dégâts. Les frères s'allient pour la reconstruction de la ville et apportent des modifications à certains bâtiments. Le chantier est repris en 516 par le nouveau roi Burgondes couronné à Carouge. Le chœur de la cathédrale nord est une nouvelle fois modifié. L'abside est à nouveau rebâtie et les annexes latérales sont associées au chœur pour former un transept à croisée. Après la guerre, au début du VIe siècle, une autre salle de réception est construite derrière la cathédrale méridionale et marque la volonté du groupe de s'étendre à toute la colline et de descendre vers le lac. La salle mesure approximativement 125 mètres carrés et son sol est recouvert de terre argileuse. Au Nord, une porte s'ouvre sur un couloir agrémenté des colonnes de bois permettant de retourner à la cathédrale sud depuis la salle. Il est fortement possible que ce complexe serve de résidence à l'évêque.

L'établissement de la cathédrale orientale dans le prolongement du baptistère des Ve et VIe siècles provoque la disparition du quartier antérieur. Néanmoins, l'espace à disposition ne suffira pas et plusieurs édifices sont encore démantelés pour permettre la construction de ce bâtiment. Cet ensemble architectural n'est cependant pas né sans une raison bien déterminée, l'occupation de cet emplacement privilégié étant très dense et les parcelles de terrain difficiles à libérer. Il est vrai que les dégâts provoqués par la guerre dynastique des Burgondes en l'an 500 engendrèrent un

renouveau qui modifia la ville.

Le caractère architectural de cette cathédrale varie beaucoup des édifices antérieurs. Cependant, son abside monumentale ressemble fortement à celle de la cathédrale nord, elle aussi dotée de contreforts. De plus, les chantiers de construction de ce bâtiment et celle de la cathédrale nord se relient et il semble évident, pour le bas-côté sud, que l'architecte a tenu compte de l'ancien portique de la salle de réception (groupe épiscopal du IV^e siècle) . Ce n'est pas le cas pour l'autre partie du chantier, au nord, où le mur qui limitait la parcelle est abattu, le chevet n'étant pas dans le même axe que celui-ci.

Au début de la construction, des piliers carrés, bâtis sur une solide maçonnerie formant un chaînage horizontal et séparant la cathédrale en 3 nefs, supportent les grandes arcades de la cathédrale. Une porte, taillée dans du calcaire massif, arrive par les bas-côtés au presbyterium (espace réservé aux ecclésiastiques) . Le chœur, légèrement surélevé par rapport aux nefs, est accessible à travers 2 portiques latéraux et fermé par une barrière. Cette paroi étroite en stuc (toujours visible de nos jours) qui recouvre des décorations de motifs grecs en tuf volcanique est haute de 2 mètres et sépare le presbyterium du vaste espace réservé à la circulation des fidèles qui se recueillaient devant l'abside pour pratiquer le culte du souvenir.

Le chœur évoluera en 3 phases jusqu'à l'établissement de la cathédrale de l'an 1,000. Ainsi, au VII^e siècle, pour donner de la valeur à la sépulture privilégiée, la séparation décorée en stuc est remodelée et des estrades apparaissent des 2 côtés. Une seconde limite, placée en avant dans la nef principale, et des chancels (barrière entre les colonnes) canalisent la circulation des laïcs se rapprochant de la tombe du défunt vénéré (ces chancels en cloison séparant la nef centrale des collatéraux seront renouvelés plusieurs fois) . C'est à cause de la tombe aménagée dans l'abside au VII^e siècle que le chœur est réorganisé et que l'espace réservé aux ecclésiastiques, auparavant minuscule, prend de nouvelles dimensions.

Aux IX^e siècle et X^e siècle, un effort particulier est consacré à la cathédrale orientale et, pour lui donner des proportions plus équilibrées, elle est prolongée à l'ouest jusqu'à l'atrium, aux dépens de l'ancien baptistère et de la grande annexe de la cathédrale nord. L'ouverture latérale reste en fonction mais une porte principale est placée dans l'axe de la nef centrale. Les 4 piliers de départ sont complétés par 4 colonnes occidentales, montées séparément et installées sur les murs rasés du baptistère. L'abside est renforcée, le presbyterium est élevé de plus d'un mètre et des murs épais remplacent les chancels entre les piliers pour supporter ce chœur désormais massif. Ce dernier atteint ici la 3^e phase de ses variations architecturales. À l'intérieur, le soutènement remplaçant le mur décoré en stuc passe devant les colonnes pour ensuite se tourner perpendiculairement jusqu'à la limite de la première travée. Des marches, prenant toute la largeur de la nef et établies après les 2 I^{res} travées ainsi que les 2 accès latérales depuis les bas-côtés, permettent l'accès aux aménagements liturgiques et conservent la circulation nécessaire aux cérémonies.

Par conséquent, ce nouveau corps, Basilique carolingienne et dernière évolution de la 3^e cathédrale, laisse apercevoir, à travers ses solides fondations, les bases des édifices à venir et son importance future.

Au tournant de l'an 1000, l'ensemble du groupe épiscopal est à nouveau réorganisé et restauré. Les changements

viennent sans doute d'une envie d'unifier le complexe architectural à travers un seul et unique bâtiment.

Toutefois, au VIII^e siècle, une « réforme des institutions » a une grande incidence topographique sur la ville dans les années qui suivent et donc une grande influence sur les développements structuraux de la nouvelle cathédrale. Cette réforme est celle de Charles Martel, évêque de Metz, un intellectuel qui a joué un rôle capital lors de la Renaissance carolingienne. Il impose aux chanoines (religieux entourant l'évêque) une « règle » qui leur dicte une vie commune très stricte : ils doivent vivre avec l'évêque dans les cités des abbayes, dormir dans le même dortoir et manger dans le même réfectoire. C'est ainsi que des véritables monastères s'installent dans les villes de l'Empire. Confronté à ce problème d'habitation (il est en effet indispensable que l'enclos canonial se trouve à proximité immédiate de la cathédrale), l'évêque se procure le terrain nécessaire en rachetant ou en détruisant les espaces autour de la cathédrale. Par conséquent, les espaces funéraires auparavant gardés « hors les murs » commencent à infiltrer les remparts de Genève qui, avec cette réorganisation urbaine, s'étendent par dessus les anciens sanctuaires. Désormais, c'est autour des paroisses et des lieux de cultes à l'intérieur de la ville que s'implantent les cimetières. C'est pourquoi, en raison de l'« Institutio canicorum » (Règle des chanoines) de Charlemagne qui poursuit l'action de l'évêque, la cathédrale double (nord et sud) et le reste du groupe épiscopal sont démolis au profit de l'édifice central qui s'agrandit. Enfin, la dernière raison d'unification est, qu'à l'époque, le rapport en mode entre cathédrale et abbatiale veut que le bâtiment soit unique pour créer un lien matériel et spirituel avec les constructions autour d'elle. C'est justement en France, comme à Paris, que des bâtiments tels que les baptistères sont détruits pour faire de la place à un monument unique et particulièrement gigantesque.

Tout commence avec le prolongement à l'est du plan à 3 nefs par de très puissantes fondations. L'architecte préparait peut-être un transept (nef coupant la nef principale perpendiculairement pour former une croix) non saillant ou surélevé comme il en existait déjà en France à cette époque. Ce projet est pourtant abandonné et une crypte voit le jour dans les fondations déjà établies. Le plan de ce 2^e chœur indépendant s'inspire sans doute de la célèbre crypte du monastère de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, restaurée au XI^e siècle et dotée elle aussi d'un double déambulatoire. La crypte est donc inscrite dans ce massif rectangulaire, mais circulaire à l'intérieur, et munie d'une abside saillante du côté oriental. La rotonde contient une double couronne de colonnes et 4 dans son abside. Les 2 larges couloirs latéraux contrôlent la circulation des touristes. Ce genre de rotonde abritait généralement en son centre une tombe ou un coffre contenant des reliques et un autel dans l'abside.

La construction du chœur de la cathédrale Romane passe par une 3^e phase, lorsqu'on opte pour une véritable reconstruction afin d'unifier les 2 monuments. C'est ainsi que l'on arrive à un 3^e palier dans la nef. Le presbyterium prend la place de l'ancien chœur et l'on y aménage un large espace pour les chanoines. Alors que le chevet de l'ancienne cathédrale évolue énormément, le reste du groupe épiscopal change vraisemblablement très peu. Néanmoins, les parois latérales sont plusieurs fois recouvertes de badigeon et une nouvelle banquette, sur lequel on pouvait s'asseoir ou poser des cierges, court le long du mur. La façade occidentale est percée d'un nouveau portique et un escalier donnant sur une chapelle haute ou à une galerie est aménagé dans la même extrémité. On perfectionne la porte principale de 2 mètres de hauteur en lui ajoutant 2 battants et 2 montants monolithes.

Les 3 volées de marches, montant des nefs charpentées jusqu'au chœur voûté, accentuent ce caractère monumental de

la cathédrale qui devient le point de focalisation de la ville. Cette dernière n'est plus complètement axée sur le culte du souvenir comme son aïeul. Toutefois, l'instauration d'un cimetière sur l'ancien atrium et la présence de la crypte retiennent le souvenir d'un culte, qui a toujours été présent sur la colline genevoise.

La cathédrale de l'an 1000, prenant de plus en plus d'importance à Genève, est un préliminaire pour l'église à venir en s'adaptant aux besoins populaires variés d'une ville qui occupe un lieu extrêmement stratégique au niveau du commerce, du voyage ou, surtout en ces temps-là, du plan militaire. L'engouement est tel à l'égard de cet édifice moderne que l'Empereur du Saint-Empire romain germanique, Conrad II le Salique, vient s'y faire sacrer roi de Bourgogne. En revanche, avec la réforme Grégorienne, lorsque l'église se bat pour la souveraineté sur la ville, le lieu de culte devient un lieu de polémique.

Placée au cœur des conflits qui opposent les seigneurs locaux, la cathédrale devient une citadelle entre 1289 et 1300. L'office religieux cesse d'y être célébré et le bâtiment est endommagé par les pierres catapultées depuis le Bourg-de-Four et par les nombreux incendies qui ont lieu au XIVe siècle.

Avec l'arrivée de la Réforme protestante, le destin de la cathédrale change brutalement. Le 8 août 1535, Guillaume Farel, malgré l'interdiction des magistrats y prêche la Réforme pour la Ire fois devant une foule immense. C'est l'après-midi de ce même jour, durant les vêpres, que des iconoclastes ont dévasté la cathédrale en y brisant les statues et en lacérant les images qui n'étaient pas en conformité avec le nouveau culte réformé. En voici un récit (en ancien français) d'Antoine Froment, qui prêchait la Réforme à Genève depuis environ 1532 :

« Dieu suscita une vintaine de petits enfans contre tout l'entendement des hommes une Dimenche, à Vespres. Après que Farel eust presché à Saint-Pierre, en la grande église quathedrale. Du temps que les Prebstres chantoient leurs Vespres, et disans le Psalme 114, In Excitu Israel de Egipto, ces petits enfans, sans que personne y pensa rien, commencèrent à crier, à bryre et à urler comme les Prebstres. Alors ces petis enfans poursuivent à fayre ung grand bruiet, remuans les sieges des fourmes, où les Prebstres se souloynt assoyer, et frapper, baisser et relever ces sièges en dérision des Prebstres, tellement que tous furent estonnés ouans ce bruiet. Alors le Magnifique Mesgret Dict à Baudichon, qui estoient dans l'église avec les aultres, n'y pensant aultre chose : Certes cecy passe nostre entendement ; Dieu veult faire quelquechose que nous n'entendons pas. Et soubdaynement voicy venir Amy Perrin, Jehan Golle et certains aultres ouans le bruiet qui souventesfois auparavant avoiant prié et requesté le Conseil de mattré bas les ydolles, comme auoit esté deffini, ce que le Conseil n'avoit jamais voullu fayre. Lesquelz voyans ces petits enfans faysans tel bruiet contre les Prebstres et se joyans de leurs marmousets, etrèrent dans le cueur du temple et à la présence des Prebstres soubdaynement jetterent par terre leurs ydolles. Et mes petits enfans à courir et à sauter après ces petits dieux et cryoyent à haute voix joyeux au peuple qui estoit arresté dehors l'Église : « Nous auons les dieux des Prebstres, en voullès-vous ? » et les jetoynt après eulx. Et les Prebstres à fouyr dehors du temple pensans estre perdus et à courir aux Sindicques, et de courir après leurs dieux : et des folles femmes de la ville à plourer et à gemir, mauldissans ces cagnes qui ont destruit leurs bons Sainctz. »

Suite à cet événement, le Conseil décide, le 10 août 1535, de suspendre la Messe provisoirement. Cette précaution ne sera en réalité pas relevée, et la messe sera ainsi abolie. C'est encore un point pour la Réforme, qui ne cesse d'en

marquer depuis le départ du Prince évêque en 1533. La Réforme sera officielle à Genève en le 21 mai 1536.

Par ailleurs, durant 23 ans, Jean Calvin y lit et explique les Saintes Écritures.

Construite pour le rite catholique, l'avènement de la Réforme, au milieu du XVIe siècle, avec sa philosophie d'austérité bouleverse l'intérieur de l'édifice, le vidant de tout ornement et recouvrant les décors polychromes du Moyen-âge. Seuls les vitraux sont épargnés et une partie du mobilier (les stalles, par exemple) , leur destruction aurait été alors coûteuse en réparations. Les dernières œuvres d'art qui ont orné cette cathédrale, à l'origine entièrement peinte à l'intérieur, incluent le 1er tableau de paysage réaliste : le retable de Konrad Witz (1444) avec une représentation de la rade de Genève comme cadre de la pêche miraculeuse avec le Christ et Saint-Pierre (aujourd'hui déposé au musée d'art et d'histoire) .

La cathédrale subit de nombreuses modifications suite à des travaux de restauration et de reconstruction, des guerres et des incendies successifs. Au fil du temps, les ajouts et les rénovations ont modifié l'apparence intérieure et extérieure de la construction. À l'extérieur, les changements les plus visibles, sinon les plus importants, sont certainement la construction de la tour sud, l'ajout du portique, l'adjonction de la chapelle des Macchabées (expression du Gothique flamboyant réalisée vers 1400-1405 à l'initiative du cardinal de Brogny) , la reconstruction de la tour nord et la mise en place de la flèche est plus moderne, elle date de 1895.

La façade néo-Classique actuelle date du milieu du XVIIIe siècle, remplaçant la précédente de style Gothique. Elle fut réalisée sur les plans de l'architecte Benedetto Alfieri, entre 1752 et 1756, notamment en raison de la menace d'écroulement de la partie occidentale du bâtiment. Lors des révolutions de Genève, dans la 2e moitié du XVIIIe siècle, Saint-Pierre est le Théâtre de troubles importants et sert de dépôt de munitions. Un tribunal révolutionnaire (donnant à la cathédrale le nom de Temple des Lois) y est mis en place en 1794 et les cultes n'y sont plus célébrés jusqu'à l'occupation française de 1798.

À l'intérieur, la cathédrale présente le plus vaste ensemble de chapiteaux Romains et Gothiques de Suisse (près de 300 éléments) tandis que les vitraux (identiques à ceux de la Renaissance qui sont au musée d'art et d'histoire) remontent aux travaux de restauration du XIXe siècle.

Anciennement appelée Chapelle Notre-Dame, elle devient Chapelle des Macchabées en raison de la présence possible de reliques des Frères Macchabées. La construction de la chapelle des Macchabées est décidée en 1397 et sa construction est achevée en 1405-1406. Son commanditaire, le cardinal Jean de Brogny la conçoit comme une chapelle funéraire ; le tombeau dans lequel il n'aura pas l'occasion de reposer (suite à sa mort à Rome en 1426) est aujourd'hui disparu. Il était l'œuvre du sculpteur bourguignon Jean Prindale qui a réalisé également quelques éléments des stalles encore visibles dans la cathédrale. Aujourd'hui un orgue Walcker datant de 1888 se trouve à l'emplacement probable du tombeau du cardinal. Le style architectural de cet ensemble était lors de sa réalisation dans le plus pur style du Gothique flamboyant. La Réforme transforma cette chapelle en entrepôt puis, du XVIIe au XIXe siècle, elle accueille des salles de classe de l'Académie sur 3 étages créés dans cette optique. Au XIXe siècle, la Chapelle des Macchabées récupère le statut d'édifice religieux. À cette même époque (en 1878) , une vaste campagne de rénovation est lancée,

campagne rendue nécessaire par les adaptations architecturales et artistiques peu respectueuses des siècles précédents. Les derniers vestiges encore en état de conservation sont des fresques représentant des anges musiciens. Conservées au Musée d'art et d'histoire, elles sont remplacées par des copies à l'identique réalisées par Gustave de Beaumont. Les vitraux datent de la même époque et représentent notamment les 4 évangélistes, la sainte Cène, la Samaritaine et le « Laisser venir à moi les petits enfants ». Enfin, la Chapelle comporte un grand nombre d'éléments rappelant la Réforme dans son aspect politique : écussons de cantons combourgeois (Berne, Fribourg, Zürich) , symboles héraldiques de Genève. La Chapelle des Macchabées constitue depuis sa restauration un très bel exemple de style néo-Gothique.

La cathédrale n'abrite pas moins de 45 cloches réparties entre les 2 tours et la flèche. C'est dans la tour nord que se trouvent la plus grosse, La Clémence, et La Bellerive. La Clémence est fondue par le magister campanarum genevois Guerri de Marclay (qui travaillera également au château de Ripaille pour le compte du duc Amédée VIII de Savoie) et baptisée par l'évêque Jean de Lornai le 25 octobre 1407. D'un poids de 6 tonnes, La Clémence protège Genève du démon et des fléaux par ces prières :

La Clémence :

Laudo Deum Plebem voco, convoco clerum,
Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festa decoro,
Vox mea cunctorum est terror doemoniorum.

Je proclame au Peuple la Parole de Dieu, je convoque le clergé,
Je pleure les défunts, je mets en fuite la peste, j'anime la fête,
Ma voix plus que tout est la terreur des démons.

C'est L'Éveil, L'Espérance, La Collavine, La Bellerive et L'Accord qui forment la volée qui se fait entendre le samedi soir et le dimanche matin pour annoncer le culte. Lors des grandes fêtes religieuses et civiles, elles sont complétées par La Clémence.

Le 1er carillon de la cathédrale date de 1749. Il comportait alors 8 timbres et jouait 7 airs différents, un pour chaque jour de la semaine. Restauré en 1850 puis à nouveau en 1897, il cesse définitivement de fonctionner en 1930. Le carillon actuel de Saint-Pierre fut construit en 1931 en collaboration par la Fonderie Rüetschi d'Aarau et la Maison Paccard d'Annecy-le-Vieux. Cet instrument comportait jusqu'à son agrandissement en 2011 19 cloches (la3 puis chromatique de si3 à mi5) auxquelles s'ajoutait la Cloche des Heures (mi3) . De nos jours, le carillon comporte 37 cloches (mi3, la3 puis si3 à la6) et peut être joué soit par le carillon automatique de l'horloge, soit par un carillonneur. Chaque mois, une mélodie différente est jouée automatiquement toutes les heures du jour et de la nuit. Ces mélodies sont des chants patriotiques, traditionnels ou religieux.

Depuis le 22 février 1536, la tradition veut qu'une cloche de la cathédrale, L'Accord, sonne pour appeler les députés en séance. Ainsi, l'article 11 alinéa 1 de la loi portant règlement du Grand Conseil indique qu'« une cloche de Saint-Pierre annonce la session 2 heures avant son ouverture » . C'est pourquoi trente coups (un par minute) retentissent le

1er jour de la session, entre 15h00 et 15h30.

...

À travers les siècles, la cathédrale est toutefois davantage qu'un lieu de culte. Elle remplit notamment des fonctions civiles et accueille encore tous les 4 ans l'assermentation du Conseil d'État, du pouvoir judiciaire et des magistrats communaux. Mais la cathédrale est surtout l'illustration vivante de l'influence que Genève a eue sur le monde protestant comme lieu du refuge aussi bien que comme académie formant les pasteurs de toute l'Europe.

Un site archéologique, installé dans le sous-sol à la suite des campagnes de fouilles, est ouvert en 1976 par l'archéologue cantonal Charles Bonnet. Plusieurs espaces ont été spécialement aménagés et présentent, avec des techniques muséographiques renouvelées en novembre 2006, l'un des plus vastes sites archéologiques d'Europe, au nord des Alpes. Le parcours archéologique commence ainsi au IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ et s'achève avec l'édification de l'actuelle cathédrale entreprise au XIIe siècle.

Au cœur de la cité de Genève, la cathédrale s'inscrit désormais dans un espace spirituel et culturel : outre la cathédrale, on trouve désormais à proximité le musée international de la Réforme situé au rez-de-chaussée de la maison Mallet construite à l'emplacement de l'ancien cloître de la cathédrale. Légèrement en retrait, l'Auditoire de Calvin, autrefois lieu d'enseignement du réformateur Jean Calvin, complète cet ensemble.

La Fondation des Clefs-de-Saint-Pierre joue un rôle essentiel dans la mise en valeur et la conservation du monument.

La cathédrale orientale et même l'archaïque rotonde trouvée sous les fondations de cette dernière ne sont pas, à cet endroit, les 1ers monuments dédiés aux défunts. Au contraire, cet espace a une très longue histoire qui tient ses racines en l'an 100 avant Jésus-Christ, lorsqu'un chef allobroge, vraisemblablement idolâtre par le petit groupement qui se tenait à cette époque sur la colline genevoise, est inhumé sous un tumulus préhistorique datant de 1150 avant Jésus-Christ.

Dès lors, une succession d'édifices et de bâtiments commémoratifs se dressent à cet endroit dominant le port et les environs. De sorte qu'au Ier siècle, un temple en bois est construit par-dessus la tombe du chef et l'on creuse un trou pour avoir accès à son crâne. Suivant l'incendie du quartier après l'urbanisation Romaine, une terrasse commémorative s'édifie en souvenir d'un personnage extraordinaire à qui l'on rend un culte, comme à un héros. C'est le début du culte funéraire qui, sur ce site, traversera les âges. Enfin au IVe siècle, une église paraît sur l'emplacement sanctifié, toujours dévolue au culte du souvenir. C'est là la dernière trace d'un mausolée miniature (le groupe épiscopal étant bâti à cet endroit et tout le quartier rénové) avant la découverte d'une rotonde datant de ce siècle.

Les aménagements liturgiques de la cathédrale orientale ne sont ainsi qu'une addition à une longue histoire funéraire d'un lieu mythique. Le chœur de ces édifices gardent jusqu'à nos jours les restes légendaires de ce chef allobroge qui reposait sous le chœur de la cathédrale actuelle.

157 marches mènent au sommet de la tour nord de la cathédrale et au panorama à 360° sur la ville et le lac Léman alors que la tour sud compte 150 marches.

Genève

La soumission Romaine du pays des Allobroges (Vienne) intervient dès 121 avant Jésus-Christ. Genève devient alors un poste avancé au nord de la province de la Gaule transalpine (prendra le nom de Gaule narbonnaise à partir du règne d'Auguste) . L'aménagement d'un port intervient en 123-105 avant Jésus-Christ. La ville est alors constituée d'une modeste agglomération où les habitations sont bâties en bois et en torchis. Genève entre dans l'histoire en l'an 58 avant Jésus-Christ, lorsque Jules César mentionne son passage dans cette cité (Genua) dans son « De Bello Gallico » . Voulant empêcher le passage des Helvètes, César coupe le pont sur le Rhône. Lorsque César s'installe provisoirement avec ses troupes en l'an 58 avant Jésus-Christ, l'oppidum s'agrandit encore devient dès lors une ville Romaine (« vicus puis civitas ») . Pourtant, Nyon (Colonia Julia Equestris) puis Avenches (Aventicum) occupent une place plus importante dans le réseau urbain régional. Après un incendie au milieu du 1er siècle, l'urbanisme est modifié et les constructions en pierre remplacent les édifices en matériaux légers. Les migrations alémanes provoquent la destruction de l'ensemble bâti dans le dernier quart du IIIe siècle.

Le 1er sanctuaire chrétien est établi aux environs de l'an 350. À la fin du IVe siècle, le complexe est achevé : il est constitué d'une église de plus de 30 mètres de long bordée par un portique d'accès vers le baptistère et son annexe. Dans la ville haute, l'église Saint-Germain représente au Ve siècle un second point de focalisation des Iers temps chrétiens. L'installation des Burgondes en 443 et le choix de Genève comme capitale renforcent le rôle politique de la ville. Le centre du royaume burgonde se déplaçant vers l'an 467 à Lyon, Genève subit les guerres fratricides entre Godégisel et Gondebaud qui incendie la ville. Jusqu'à la fin du Haut Moyen-âge, on observe une continuité d'occupation dont le meilleur exemple est le groupe épiscopal. Les limites de la cité se maintiennent à l'intérieur de l'enceinte du Bas-Empire mais les faubourgs proches des grands cimetières se développent. L'effondrement de la montagne du Tauredunum en l'an 563 provoque un raz-de-marée qui détruit le port et fait de nombreux morts. Au début du Moyen-âge, succédant au développement horizontal propre à l'époque Romaine, l'espace urbain se réduit et se densifie en donnant une ville médiévale de plus en plus bâtie en hauteur sous les contraintes imposées par l'édification des fortifications.

La structure du pouvoir entre l'arrivée des Burgondes et le traité de Seyssel de 1124 fait l'objet de débats qui ne sont pas clos aujourd'hui. En face du roi burgonde, l'évêque possède l'autorité spirituelle. Mais les querelles dynastiques affaiblissent la monarchie burgonde qui disparaît en l'an 534 au profit des Francs. Genève devient alors le centre d'un pagus, le Comté de Genève, qui dépend du roi régnant à Orléans ou du roi de Neustrie. Dès l'époque des Carolingiens, le diocèse de Genève est l'enjeu de luttes de pouvoir entre les souverains de la région et l'Empereur. Lors du Partage de Verdun en 843 entre les 3 fils de Louis I le Débonnaire, Genève entre dans le royaume dévolu à Lothaire, qui deviendra la Lotharingie. En l'an 855, un nouveau partage a lieu par le Traité de Prüm entre les 3 fils de Lothaire. À cette occasion, Genève, Lausanne et Sion passent sous la souveraineté du fils aîné Louis II, roi d'Italie et Empereur. En 875, à la mort de Louis II, le diocèse de Genève passe sous la souveraineté de son oncle Charles le Chauve, qui le donne en apanage à son fils-aîné Louis le Bègue, futur roi des Francs de l'an 877 à l'an 879. Le 15 octobre 879 est

créé le royaume de Bourgogne ou royaume de Provence des Bivinides (879-928) , dont Genève devient partie intégrante, avec l'élection par une assemblée de notables de Boson, beau-frère de Charles le Chauve et Comte d'Autun, duc du Lyonnais et de la Provence. En l'an 888, à la mort de Boson, alors roi de Provence et Bourgogne transjurane, se crée un nouveau royaume de Bourgogne, le royaume de Bourgogne transjurane des Welf (888-1032) avec la proclamation de Rodolphe Ier de Bourgogne (859-911) . L'évêque de Genève fait partie des prélats jurant fidélité à Rodolphe à l'abbaye territoriale de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune. Rodolphe est de la famille des Welfs, seigneurs de la Haute-Bourgogne ; il épouse Willa, fille de Boson. L'évêché de Genève fait ainsi partie du royaume de Bourgogne transjurane pendant 250 ans à la tête duquel se succèdent Rodolphe II, Conrad le Pacifique, son fils, puis Rodolphe III de Bourgogne, son fils. Celui-ci meurt en 1032 et selon sa volonté, le royaume de Bourgogne devient possession de Conrad le Salique, Empereur du Saint-Empire Romain germanique. Leur souverain devenant plus lointain, tous les évêques successifs de Genève se battraient sans relâche pour faire reconnaître leurs droits régaliens, particulièrement face aux ambitions des comtes de Genève, seigneurs des terres alentour. Ainsi, s'il exerce un certain nombre de droits régaliens comme celui de battre monnaie, l'évêque ne reçoit pas les droits comtaux dans l'une ou l'autre partie de son diocèse qui sont exercés par le Comte de Genève qui possède un château au-dessus du Bourg-de-Four.

Avec la réforme Grégorienne, à la fin du XIe siècle, commence une réaction contre les empiètements du seigneur laïc sur les biens de l'Église. Soutenu par le pape, l'évêque Humbert de Grammont impose au Comte Aymon Ier le traité de Seyssel qui établit la souveraineté de l'évêque sur la cité. Par des lettres patentes datées du 17 janvier 1154 à Spire, l'Empereur Frédéric Barberousse investit l'évêque de Genève Arducus de Faucigny (1135-1185) des droits régaliens de la cité et confirme à lui et à ses successeurs tous les biens actuels de la dite Église et tous ceux qu'elle pourra acquérir. Ces lettres établissent définitivement l'indépendance des évêques désormais reconnus comme princes immédiats de l'Empire. Une Bulle du pape Adrien IV confirme cet état le 21 mai 1157. Après une tentative de mise en cause d'Amédée IV, Comte de Genevois en septembre 1162, les droits de l'évêque de Genève sont confirmés par une Bulle d'or de l'Empereur. Au début du XIIIe siècle intervient un 3e pouvoir : celui de la maison de Savoie. Le Comte de Savoie s'empare en 1250 du château du Bourg-de-Four. Au milieu du XIIIe siècle, les marchands et artisans se regroupent pour lutter contre la puissance seigneuriale de l'évêque. Ce mouvement est favorisé par les foires de Genève qui, à partir du milieu du XIIIe siècle, apportent aux citoyens l'exemple des communes libres d'Italie et la prospérité qui leur permet d'imposer leurs volontés à l'évêque. Dès la fin du siècle, le Comte de Savoie s'attaque au pouvoir épiscopal.

En 1285, les citoyens désignent 10 procureurs ou syndics pour les représenter. La décision est annulée par l'évêque le 29 septembre mais, le 1er octobre, le Comte Amédée V leur accorde des lettres patentes garantissant la sécurité des marchands se rendant aux foires. En 1309, l'évêque reconnaît aux citoyens le droit de constituer des syndics ou procureurs pour traiter leurs affaires communes à condition qu'ils n'empiètent pas sur la juridiction épiscopale. En contrepartie, il leur impose la construction d'une halle, nécessaire à l'entreposage des marchandises destinées aux foires, et leur en assure le tiers des recettes. Dès lors, les citoyens, assemblés au début de chaque année au sein du Conseil général, élisent pour un an les syndics de Genève. En 1387, l'évêque Adhémar Fabri confirme les franchises accordées aux citoyens et à leurs syndics par une charte qui dominera pendant 150 ans la vie politique genevoise. Les comtes de Savoie s'arrogeant de plus en plus de pouvoir au détriment de l'évêque, les citoyens font front avec l'évêque contre l'ennemi commun. Mais Amédée VIII de Savoie, qui a acquis le comté de Genève, obtient pour les

princes de sa maison un droit de présentation au diocèse : le siège épiscopal sera occupé par des Savoie ou des membres de familles vassales.

Engagée par son évêque aux côtés du duc de Bourgogne dans la guerre de Bourgogne, Genève est menacée par les Suisses après leur victoire et condamnée en 1475 à payer une amende importante. L'évêque se tourne alors vers les vainqueurs et conclut, le 14 novembre 1477, avec les villes de Berne et Fribourg un traité de combourgeoisie pour 5 ans. En 1519, c'est la communauté des citoyens qui signe avec Fribourg un traité de combourgeoisie mais le duc de Savoie contraint les Genevois à renoncer à cette alliance dirigée contre lui. Toutefois, le traité de 1526 entre Genève, Berne et Fribourg annonce la fin du pouvoir de l'évêque et l'émergence d'une seigneurie autonome. Les Eidguenots, partisans des Confédérés, font approuver le traité par le Conseil général le 25 février.

Dès 1526, des marchands allemands propagent à Genève les idées de la Réforme luthérienne parmi les commerçants genevois ; la même année, Genève signe un traité de combourgeoisie avec Berne et Fribourg. Sous l'influence de Berne, Genève accepte de laisser prêcher des prédicateurs dans la ville, dont Guillaume Farel en 1532. Le 10 août 1535, la célébration de la messe catholique est interdite et, le 26 novembre, le Conseil des Deux-Cents s'attribue le droit de battre monnaie à sa place alors que la ville est à nouveau menacée par la Savoie. La Réforme est définitivement adoptée le 21 mai 1536 en même temps que l'obligation pour chacun d'envoyer ses enfants à l'école. Genève devient dès lors le centre du calvinisme et se trouve parfois surnommée la « Rome protestante » .

Arrivé à Genève en juillet 1536, Jean Calvin aura une influence immense, en tant que président de la Compagnie des pasteurs, sur tous les aspects de la vie genevoise. Mais le nombre de ses opposants augmente, suite à l'écriture des « Confessions de foi », 21 articles que Farel et Calvin entendent faire signer à tous les citoyens et bourgeois genevois, quitte à les excommunier s'ils refusent. Le mécontentement est tel que Calvin devra s'exiler à Strasbourg en 1538, avant de revenir en 1541 lorsque la république est proclamée sous le nom de « Seigneurie de Genève » ; il en rédige alors les Ordonnances ecclésiastiques, puis les Édits civils en 1543 qui sert de constitution à cette nouvelle république. Les institutions politiques comprennent : le Conseil général (où siègent les membres de la bourgeoisie de Genève) , le Conseil des Deux-Cents et le Conseil des Soixante. Les affaires religieuses étant du ressort du Consistoire.

Dans le contexte politique et géographique, Genève se trouva isolée de son seul allié Suisse : Berne. En 1579, Genève bénéficia d'une protection grâce au traité de Soleure qui engageait les cantons de Berne et Soleure (cantons protestants) , associés à la France.

Dès son avènement en 1580, les attaques du duc Charles-Emmanuel Ier de Savoie se multiplient. Genève étend alors son alliance avec Soleure, Zürich et la France. En avril 1589, les Genevois et leurs alliés tentent de faire reculer les Savoyards qui parviennent à maintenir leur position.

Le 11 décembre 1602, la nouvelle attaque nocturne des Savoyards, défaite restée dans l'histoire sous le nom d' « Escalade », contraint le duc à accepter une paix durable scellée par le traité de Saint-Julien du 12 juillet 1603 qui reconnaît l'indépendance de la cité. Sur le plan économique, de nombreux protestants italiens mais surtout français doublent la population durant les années 1550 et donnent un nouveau dynamisme à la ville. Ces nouveaux venus,

hommes d'affaires, banquiers ou artisans, apportent de l'argent et des relations avec les milieux d'affaires étrangers et développent le rôle de relais commercial de Genève. Les activités manufacturières implantées par leurs soins (soierie dont les Maîtres sont Italiens, dorure et horlogerie après la disparition de la soierie au milieu du XVI^e siècle) se développent pour la 1^{re} fois à l'exportation grâce au soutien que leur accordent les autorités municipales.

Le siècle, économiquement et culturellement florissant, est secoué par des troubles politiques que les contemporains appellent les « révolutions de Genève ». En effet, le système politique en place repose sur la distinction entre 2 groupes : ceux qui bénéficient des droits politiques et civils, aristocrates et bourgeois qui restent minoritaires (27 % en 1781) , et ceux qui n'ont pas de droits politiques et seulement certains droits civils (habitants et natifs) . C'est toutefois à l'intérieur du groupe formé par les citoyens et les bourgeois que la lutte finit par éclater.

Un mouvement de révolte éclate en 1707 en raison d'un mécontentement d'ordre économique. La révolte a pour chef un membre de l'aristocratie, l'avocat Pierre Fatio, qui fixe un programme aux aspirations confuses. Le soulèvement échoue grâce à l'appui de troupes bernoises et zurichoises et Fatio fusillé secrètement en prison. En 1737, une nouvelle révolte provoque 11 morts. Vaincu, le gouvernement alerte la France qui intervient par un arbitrage satisfaisant pour les citoyens. Pourtant, démentant le certificat de tolérance décerné par l'Encyclopédie de Diderot et d'Alembert, le Petit Conseil condamne en 1762 2 ouvrages de Rousseau (Émile ou De l'éducation et Du Contrat social) à être brûlés devant l'Hôtel de ville parce que « tendant à détruire la religion chrétienne et tous les gouvernements » . Les citoyens protestent en présentant au gouvernement des plaintes désignées sous le nom de « représentations » . Les bourgeois et les natifs finissent donc par occuper la ville en février 1781 et votent une loi octroyant l'égalité civile aux natifs, aux habitants et aux sujets de la campagne.

Mais l'aristocratie appelle Louis XVI à l'aide : 3 armées coalisées (française, sarde et bernoise) assiègent Genève qui capitule le 2 juillet 1782. L'aristocratie retrouve le pouvoir mais les natifs conservent l'égalité civile. Un millier de Représentants s'exilent vers Paris (où leurs idées participeront à la Révolution française) , Bruxelles ou Constance. La fin de la haute conjoncture économique entre 1785 et 1789, conséquence de la crise générale qui marque la période précédant la Révolution française, frappe la population par une hausse des prix mais aussi les petits patrons. Le 26 janvier 1789, le gouvernement genevois augmente le prix du pain suite à une mauvaise récolte. Cette décision déclenche une émeute à Saint-Gervais qui conduit à l'annulation de la hausse et à la libéralisation progressive de la constitution.

Après la Révolution, l'encerclement de Genève par les révolutionnaires a pour résultat, en décembre 1792, un mouvement qui abat le gouvernement de l'Ancien Régime, le 28 décembre, et proclame l'égalité politique de toutes les catégories de la population. En 1793, l'Ancien Régime prend fin à Genève : une constitution, rédigée par une assemblée nationale et votée par les citoyens le 5 février 1794, institue un contrôle étendu de la part des citoyens sur les actes du gouvernement et de l'administration.

L'économie genevoise est alors dominée avec 32 % des actifs par le secteur de l'horlogerie et ses métiers annexes regroupés sous le nom de « Fabrique » , réseau de petits ateliers artisanaux situés à l'étage supérieur des bâtiments. Par ailleurs, le secteur textile voit se développer une industrie des indiennes (caractérisée par de grandes

manufactures) dans le 1er tiers du siècle pour devenir le second secteur en termes d'importance. Liées au développement du commerce international et aux besoins d'argent pour les guerres de Louis XIV, les activités bancaires deviennent l'un des pivots de l'économie genevoise à partir de 1700.

Le 15 avril 1798, le traité de Réunion intègre Genève au territoire de la République française. Fin août, après avoir renoncé à sa souveraineté et à ses alliances, Genève est choisie comme préfecture et chef-lieu du département du Léman. Genève devient alors une ville française parmi d'autres et ses habitants font l'expérience du centralisme napoléonien. Mais la défaite de l'armée napoléonienne lui rend son indépendance. Le 30 décembre 1813, la garnison française quitte la ville et le général autrichien Ferdinand von Bubna und Littitz y fait son entrée. Le lendemain, après le retrait définitif du préfet, un gouvernement réactionnaire dirigé par l'ancien syndic Ami Lullin proclame la restauration de la république de l'Ancien Régime. Cependant, les magistrats sont conscients que Genève ne peut plus former un État isolé et se tournent vers les anciens alliés suisses en demandant l'entrée de la république dans la Confédération suisse. Malgré la crainte des catholiques suisses face à la « Rome protestante » et aux troubles qu'elle a connus au XVIIIe siècle, le rattachement est effectif le 19 mai 1815.

En 1833 et 1834, les grèves des tailleurs et des serruriers sont parmi les grèves du XIXe siècle en Suisse et, en novembre 1841, une émeute a pour conséquence l'élection d'une assemblée constituante. La constitution de 1842 adopte le suffrage universel masculin et dote la ville de Genève d'institutions municipales propres. Toutefois, la guerre du Sonderbund finit par entraîner la chute du régime. Le 3 octobre 1846, les autorités refusent de recommander aux membres genevois de la Diète fédérale de voter la dissolution du Sonderbund. Le quartier ouvrier de Saint-Gervais se soulève en conséquence, 2 jours après, et repousse les troupes gouvernementales. C'est le déclenchement d'une révolution de gauche menée par le Parti radical de James Fazy qui renverse le gouvernement et établit une nouvelle constitution le 24 mai 1847 qui supprime notamment le caractère dominant du protestantisme.

Sur le plan économique, la ville ouvre en 1850 la 1re bourse des valeurs de Suisse. L'industrialisation de la région évolue, avec l'apparition d'ateliers de mécanique, d'appareillages électriques et d'automobiles, alors que l'électrification de la cité se fait sous l'impulsion du conseiller administratif Théodore Turretini avec la construction des usines des Forces motrices et de Chèvres. Par ailleurs, la venue toujours plus massive d'ouvriers étrangers achève de transformer la physionomie sociale de l'agglomération. Alors qu'au début du XIXe siècle, on peut encore distinguer un campagnard d'un citadin, les différences s'estompent progressivement et la population présente un visage toujours plus cosmopolite.

La mission internationale de la ville s'affirme particulièrement après la Première Guerre mondiale : elle devient (notamment par l'action de Gustav Ador et William Rappard) le siège de la Société des Nations en 1919.

Dans le sillage de la Première Guerre mondiale, la lutte des classes s'accroît et conduit à la grève générale du 11 novembre 1918 dirigée depuis la Suisse alémanique. Mais la francophilie ambiante réduit grandement son impact à Genève. Des petits partis d'inspiration fasciste, comme l'Union nationale, attaquent les leaders socialistes le 9 novembre 1932, ce qui entraîne une manifestation de la gauche anti-fasciste. À cette occasion, de jeunes recrues tirent sans sommation sur la foule faisant 13 morts et 63 blessés. Cette tragédie engendre, quelques jours plus tard, une nouvelle grève générale en signe de protestation.

...

Le 1er établissement retrouvé dans la région de Genève, après l'ère glaciaire, se situe à Saint-Gervais sur la rive droite et date de l'an 4,500 à 4,000 avant Jésus-Christ. Durant le Néolithique, les 1ers villages s'installent autour de la rade et s'étendent partiellement sur l'eau durant l'âge du bronze, défendus par des palissades. Une nouvelle agglomération naît sur la terre ferme à la fin du IIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ, mais on ne peut parler de ville qu'à partir de 122 avant Jésus-Christ. Elle devient l'un des points militaires et commerciaux les plus importants aux confins de l'empire suite à la conquête de la Gaule par les Romains. Vers le milieu du 1er siècle avant Jésus-Christ, de larges fossés sont creusés autour d'une citadelle, avec en contrebas un quartier d'artisans et un petit sanctuaire. Après le passage de Jules César, de grands entrepôts, un édifice public et des habitations sont construits près du port et conforte l'idée du rôle de Genève comme un point commercial important.

Un grand bâtiment est construit au 1er siècle en haut de la pente du lac ; cette résidence n'a pas cessé de s'agrandir jusqu'au IVe siècle et devait appartenir à l'un des hauts personnages de la ville.

Suite au passage des Alamans en l'an 260 et 277 et les destructions qu'ils amènent, Genève connaît une période de renouveau. Elle se fortifie grâce à un système de terrasses au centre de la cité entourée d'une enceinte fortifiée. Le grand bâtiment résidentiel est ensuite ré-organisé : on installe le chauffage dans l'une des pièces et des bases de pilier permettent de penser qu'il existait un second étage. Dès le début du IIIe siècle, Genève redevient le centre régional qu'elle était et sera choisie comme siège épiscopal.

Fribourg

7 septembre 1880 : Anton Bruckner arrive le matin à Fribourg. Il touche l'orgue de la cathédrale Saint-Nicholas. Il assistera ensuite à un récital donné par l'organiste Johann Vogt qui interprétera, en autres, la Toccata en ré mineur de Jean-Sébastien Bach.

Bruckner mentionne dans son journal personnel : « Pedal only to C. I played after the concert. »

A judgment on the cathedral organ in Freiburg seemed to him more important than crossing Lake Geneva ; he dedicated more time to a reminiscence about Rudolf von Habsburg than to the Lucerne sunset which he found « magnificent » . « Miss Babette » , sister of the « hôtelier » Schreiber in Kussnacht, impressed him just as much as the more massive natural beauties ; as did a « Miss Wisbauer » , a « hôtelier » 's daughter from Salzburg whom he met on the return journey and found « very pretty » .

...

L'orgue de Saint-Nicolas, construit en 1834, deviendra mondialement célèbre. Cet instrument de 61 jeux répartis sur 4 claviers (dont un Écho donnant sur le narthex) et pédale est évoqué dans d'innombrables textes de voyageurs (George

Sand et Franz Liszt, Harriet Beecher-Stowe, Louis Spohr et bien d'autres) et représente une synthèse fort originale entre le style français et allemand, entre les éléments de facture « Classique » et « Romantique » .

C'est en 1425 qu'est attestée pour la 1re fois la présence d'un orgue sur sol fribourgeois. L'instrument, œuvre de Conrad Belius, se trouvait dans le chœur de l'église des Cordeliers, à Fribourg. Toutefois, seuls des éléments d'instruments datant de la 1re partie du XVIIe siècle sont encore conservés : le buffet et les ornements de l'orgue de chœur de la Collégiale d'Estavayer-le-Lac provenant de Saint-Nicolas de Fribourg, œuvre de Niklaus Schönenbühl (1600-1668) d'Alpnach (de la tuyauterie ayant fait partie probablement de cet instrument subsiste dans le positif reconstruit de l'abbaye de la Fille-Dieu près de Romont) , ou encore le buffet principal de l'orgue de l'abbaye de la Maigrange près de Fribourg, construit en 1648-1649. Un matériel plus conséquent provenant d'instruments de la 2e partie du XVIIe siècle subsiste encore. Ainsi de l'orgue de chœur de Sebald Manderscheidt (1620-1685) de Nuremberg qui remplaça celui de Schönenbühl en 1655-1657, le buffet, la façade, le clavier du grand-orgue (avec feintes brisées) et une part importante de la tuyauterie ont été conservés. Un autre instrument de ce facteur, un positif de pédale construit vers 1667 aujourd'hui dans la chapelle de l'Hôpital des Bourgeois à Fribourg, a été sauvegardée à l'exception de la régale de pédale. Ce sont toutefois essentiellement les orgues du XIXe siècle qui constituent la principale richesse du paysage organistique du canton de Fribourg, en particulier les instruments d'Aloys Mooser (1770-1839) que la construction des grandes orgues de Saint-Nicolas (en 1834) rendra mondialement célèbre.

...

Fribourg (en allemand : « Freiburg » , en patois fribourgeois : « Friboua ») est une ville et une commune suisse du canton de Fribourg, sur la Sarine. C'est la capitale du canton de Fribourg et le chef-lieu du District de la Sarine. Le nom de Fribourg provient directement de l'allemand frei- (libre) et -burg (ville) , littéralement ville libre, c'est-à-dire disposant de libertés, de franchises. En allemand, la ville s'appelle aussi Freiburg im Uechtland, Fribourg en Nuithonie, pour la distinguer des autres Fribourg (Fribourg-en-Brisgau notamment) . Nuithonie ne semble cependant pas avoir une signification particulière ni désigner une région précise.

Fribourg est située de chaque côté de la Sarine sur le plateau suisse à la frontière culturelle entre la Suisse Alémanique et Romande. Elle est un important centre économique, administratif et éducatif et comprend une Université. Elle est placée sous le patronage de Saint-Nicolas de Myre, de Sainte-Barbe et de Sainte-Catherine d'Alexandrie.

Fribourg est située à l'ouest du plateau suisse qui constitue l'une des 3 principales aires géographiques de la Suisse, à 28 kilomètres au sud-ouest de Berne, la capitale fédérale, elle occupe une position majeure sur l'axe est-ouest d'importance nationale. Au pied des préalpes fribourgeoises, distantes d'une quinzaine de kilomètres, elle communique par l'ouest du plateau vers Genève et la France, par l'est du plateau vers la vallée du Rhin et l'Europe centrale. À vol d'oiseau, Fribourg se trouve à 100 kilomètres de Genève, 120 kilomètres de Zürich et 90 kilomètres de Bâle.

Fribourg est située à la frontière linguistique entre le français et l'allemand depuis le Haut Moyen-âge. Située à environ 600 mètres d'altitude, la ville est caractérisée par un relief très accidenté. Le point le plus bas de la ville (au bord de la Sarine) est à 541 mètres d'altitude tandis que le point le plus haut (la colline du Guintzet) culmine à 691 mètres.

On distingue ainsi 4 étages d'implantation qui ne correspondent pas forcément à la chronologie de leur fondation. De bas en haut, on a ainsi : les quartiers de l'Auge et de la Neuveville appelés Basse-ville (altitude moyenne : 550 mètres) , le quartier du Bourg au sommet des falaises (altitude moyenne : 580 mètres) , les quartiers des Places, de Pérolles, du Jura et de Bourguillon (altitude moyenne : 630 mètres) et les quartiers du Schœnberg et de Beauregard (altitude moyenne : 670 mètres) .

La ville de Fribourg s'étend sur les 2 rives de la Sarine, un affluent de l'Aar. La Sarine ayant creusé son cours dans la molasse du plateau, il en résulte un cours très sinueux avec de profondes gorges. Fribourg a été fondée sur un méandre surplombant la rivière. Du fait de l'implantation de la ville sur un relief particulièrement accidenté et de part et d'autre de la Sarine, de nombreux ponts ont été construits depuis le Moyen-âge jusqu'à nos jours.

Fribourg a été fondée sur une terrasse surplombant la Sarine en 1157 par le duc Berthold IV de Zähringen. En voyage dans la région, sans doute pour mettre de l'ordre dans ses possessions et tenant compte d'un « ensemble de considérations politiques, militaires, géographiques et économiques » , Berthold IV choisit une terrasse surplombant la Sarine, afin d'y établir une ville « nouvelle » qu'il fortifie : Fribourg (de l'allemand frei « libre » et Burg « lieu fortifié » , nom provenant des libertés octroyées par le fondateur et à rapprocher de celui de Fribourg-en-Brisgau) .

En 1218, à l'extinction de la famille des Zähringen, la ville passe sous la domination des Kybourg, puis elle est vendue en 1277 à la famille des Habsbourg, avant d'être cédée à la Maison de Savoie en 1452. Devenue quasi indépendante lors des Guerres de Bourgogne, la ville obtient l'immédiateté Impériale en 1478. En 1481, Fribourg entre dans la Confédération suisse.

La ville originelle correspond au quartier actuel du Bourg. Il est formé de 2 rues parallèles reliées par des petites ruelles ; cela correspond au quadrillage typique des villes fondées par les Zähringen. Très rapidement, au XIIIe siècle, la ville s'étend aux quartiers de l'Auge et de la Neuveville (au bord de la Sarine) d'une part, aux quartiers des Places (rue de Lausanne et rue de Morat) d'autre part. Le dernier agrandissement notable a lieu en 1390 ; il englobe les quartiers d'Alt et de la rue de Romont et le faubourg de la rue de Morat. L'enceinte édifiée à ce moment-là délimitera la ville jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle.

Ville francophone et catholique enclavée dans le canton de Berne protestant, elle s'allie avec la France, constituant notamment l'essentiel de la Garde suisse du roi de France avec qui elle a un contrat exclusif de louage de mercenaires. Suite à la Révolution de 1789, 3,700 (sur une population de 5,000 habitants) religieux et aristocrates français émigrent à Fribourg. Certains y pratiquant la contre-révolution en essayant de ruiner la révolution par des faux assignats. Alors qu'une partie de ces réfugiés retournent en France sous la Restauration, d'autres s'installent définitivement.

2 événements vont provoquer de nouvelles extensions de la ville de Fribourg : l'arrivée du chemin de fer en 1862 et la création de l'Université en 1889. Plusieurs faubourgs sont créés : les quartiers de l'avenue de la gare, de Gambach, de Miséricorde, de Beauregard et de Pérolles en 1903. En 50 ans, la population de Fribourg passe de 9,000 à 20,000 habitants.

Bien que dominée par le style Gothique, notamment dans la vieille ville, l'architecture de Fribourg est intéressante à plus d'un titre. Elle recèle en effet des exemples intéressants de plusieurs périodes historiques. Le centre historique regroupe de nombreuses maisons Gothiques, notamment dans le quartier de l'Auge, à la rue d'Or. Certaines de ces maisons datent de la fondation du quartier au XIII^e siècle. De cette période datent encore entre autres la cathédrale Saint-Nicolas, les fortifications de la rive droite, l'Hôtel-de-Ville, l'ancienne commanderie de Saint-Jean et le chœur de l'église des Cordeliers. L'architecture de style Renaissance est magnifiquement représentée par l'Hôtel Ratzé, à la rue de Morat et par les fontaines de la vieille ville, édifiées au XV^e siècle. De l'époque Baroque, il faut mentionner les maisons patriciennes de la Grand-Rue, l'ancien corps de garde (à côté de l'Hôtel de Ville) ainsi que plusieurs églises dont l'église de la Visitation, le couvent des Capucins, le collège et l'église Saint-Michel et l'ancien hôpital des Bourgeois.

La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Lausanne

6 septembre 1880 : Anton Bruckner visite la ville de Lausanne. Le Maître a pu faire sonner le vieil orgue de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Lausanne en présence de l'organiste en résidence, Louis Daniel Delessert.

Une note personnelle du journal de Bruckner mentionne :

« Lausanne Cathedral. Viewed at 7:00 in the morning. Rudolf of Habsburg (whose castle was seen on the left during the trip from Zürich to Geneva) was present at the consecration. »

Les nouvelles grandes orgues de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Lausanne ont été inaugurées en décembre 2003 et forment un instrument unique au monde, tant par leur conception que par leurs caractéristiques techniques (styles Classiques et Symphonique Français ; Baroque et Romantique allemands) . L'organiste titulaire est Jean-Christophe Geiser, professeur au Conservatoire et HEM de Lausanne.

Un orgue unique au monde ! Les nouvelles orgues Fisk de la cathédrale de Lausanne, inaugurées en décembre 2003, constituent une prouesse musicale et technologique.

10 ans d'étude et de réalisation, 2 concours internationaux, 7,000 tuyaux, 5 claviers et pédalier, 2 consoles.

Le 1^{er} orgue au monde à avoir été dessiné par un designer (Giugiaro) .

Le 1^{er} orgue à contenir les 4 principaux styles de la facture d'orgues : Classique et Symphonique Français, Baroque et Romantique allemands.

Le 1^{er} instrument construit par une manufacture américaine (Fisk) dans une cathédrale en Europe.

Une réalisation internationale, puisque des entreprises de Suisse, des États-Unis, du Canada, d'Italie, d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne ont participé à sa construction.

Un coût total de 6 millions de francs.

150,000 heures de travail.

...

Construite au XIII^e siècle sur la colline de l'ancienne Cité, la cathédrale Gothique de Lausanne s'ouvre sur la ville et le bassin lémanique. Bâtie en molasse, la cathédrale de Lausanne fut édifiée en plusieurs étapes : un 1^{er} Maître d'œuvre érigea dès 1170 le déambulatoire. 20 ans plus tard, un nouveau Maître d'œuvre corrigea l'implantation, modifia la composition et construisit l'église actuelle jusqu'en 1215.

Jean Cotereel, 3^e Maître d'œuvre, poursuivit le chantier en bâtissant le massif occidental, le dotant d'un porche et de 2 tours, dont l'une porte le beffroi et l'autre ne sera jamais achevée. Le portail peint fut ajouté sur la façade sud vers 1225-1235.

La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Lausanne est un bâtiment édifié en pierre de taille (molasse), de style majoritairement Gothique, commencé sous l'épiscopat de Landry de Durnes, entre 1160 et 1178, et achevé vers le milieu du XIII^e siècle, soit à l'époque où la région, exceptée la ville qui dépendait de l'évêché, était rattachée au comté de Savoie. Elle fut consacrée à la Sainte-Vierge Marie sous le vocable « Notre-Dame » le 20 octobre 1275 en la présence du pape Grégoire X, de l'évêque de Lausanne Guillaume de Champvent et de l'Empereur Rodolphe de Habsbourg. Son plan inhabituel, avec l'abside légèrement inclinée par rapport à l'axe de la nef, devait en effet reproduire Marie penchant la tête sur son enfant. Au Moyen-âge, elle fut ainsi un haut-lieu de pèlerinage marial : 70,000 personnes environ s'y rendaient chaque année pour vénérer la statue miraculeuse de la Vierge, alors que Lausanne ne comptait que quelque 7,000 habitants.

La construction de la cathédrale Notre-Dame eut lieu de 1170 à 1235 (environ). C'est la grande époque des constructions de cathédrales en Europe occidentale : l'une des plus célèbres, celle de Chartres (1194-1220), est ainsi contemporaine de la cathédrale de Lausanne. Si les 1^{ers} travaux furent effectués dans le style Roman, les Maîtres d'œuvre successifs adoptèrent très rapidement pendant les décennies qui suivirent le style Gothique, plus conforme à l'évolution de l'architecture du temps.

L'anti-pape Félix V y fut intronisé le 23 juillet 1440.

À l'arrivée des Bernois et avec l'adoption de la Réforme protestante, l'édifice fut dédié en 1536 au culte calviniste. Il connut à cette époque des déprédations importantes, dont notamment la destruction du cloître et de la plupart du mobilier précieux du chœur et des chapelles : citons le retable d'argent peint du Maître-autel et surtout la statue miraculeuse en argent doré de la « Vierge trônant avec l'Enfant » (XIII^e siècle) donnée par l'évêque Benoît de Montferrand (1476-1491), dont seuls les 2 angelots sculptés qui se tenaient à ses côtés ont survécu (Musée d'histoire de Berne). Ces 2 pièces majeures furent fondues en juin 1537 à Berne.

L'église du Saint-Rédempteur à Lausanne possède cependant une copie assez fidèle du XVe siècle de cette statue, en bois polychrome, sauvée par les chartreux de la Valsainte. Les 12 statues en argent des apôtres du narthex ont également été fondues. Quant au Maître-autel de marbre noir poli de Saint-Triphon, il fut emporté en hiver 1561 à la Collégiale protestante Saint-Vincent de Berne où il se trouve aujourd'hui encore. Les riches tapisseries furent également confisquées (Musée d'histoire de Berne) . Enfin, le jubé en marbre noir (seules 7 colonnes ont subsisté) ainsi que la plus grande partie des stalles sculptées furent détruits dans le 1er tiers du XIXe siècle. L'ensemble de la statuaire en pierre fut par contre bien conservé. Il reste même des vestiges de polychromie architecturale à l'intérieur (notamment dans la chapelle Notre-Dame) et, surtout, dans le « portail peint » (XIIIe siècle) dont la restauration des statues polychromes fut achevée en 2007. Le bâtiment est inscrit comme bien culturel suisse d'importance nationale.

Dès 1874, l'édifice a fait l'objet d'une restauration conduite par l'architecte Eugène Viollet le Duc, dont ce fut le dernier chantier (l'architecte mourut d'ailleurs dans la ville en 1879) . Un nouveau cycle de restauration de l'édifice est lancé au début des années 2010 pour une durée de 5 ans et un coût de 20 millions de francs ; la tour inachevée, le chœur et la toiture de la cathédrale sont en particulier concernés par ces travaux.

Au flanc sud de la cathédrale Notre-Dame, le portail peint constitue un joyau de la statuaire médiévale. Ancien et Nouveau Testament encadrent le couronnement de la Vierge. L'originalité du portail peint tient tant dans la conservation (relative) du décor polychrome que dans la position modeste de la Vierge, la part belle étant faite au Christ en Gloire. C'est par cette entrée latérale que les milliers de pèlerins entraient dans l'édifice, alors que d'habitude, c'est la porte principale (en bout de nef) qui est utilisée.

Il a fallu près d'un siècle de travaux pour restaurer le portail peint et le rendre au public, avec une protection issue des plus récentes techniques architecturales. Les responsables de la restauration ont décidé de ne pas reproduire artificiellement toute la polychromie originale, en partie disparue, mais de préserver et renforcer celle qui subsistait.

Rose

Les structures lapidaires de la rose de la cathédrale Notre-Dame furent mises en œuvre vers 1205, soit antérieurement aux roses de Chartres. Ses vitraux du XIIIe siècle qui sont presque intégralement préservés participent largement de la renommée de la cathédrale. En forme de Mappa Mundi, Pierre d'Arras les a peints entre 1231-1235. Un dessin de la rose se trouve dans le recueil de Villard de Honnecourt de 1270.

7 septembre 1880 : Anton Bruckner ira entendre l'organiste Johann Nikolaus Vogt, à l'église Saint-Nicolas de Fribourg.

7-8 septembre 1880 : Sur le chemin du retour, Anton Bruckner se rend à Berne. Sur place, il visite le Palais fédéral, l'Ours, la Tour de l'Horloge, et rencontre l'organiste de la cathédrale, Johann Jacob Mendel, qui lui offre de toucher l'instrument. Son jeu suscite alors la plus grande admiration.

La « Hofkirche » de Lucerne

8-10 septembre 1880 : Anton Bruckner visite la ville de Lucerne. Le Père Ambros Meyer relié au monastère cistercien de Saint-Urbain, professeur de musique et titulaire, depuis le 15 août 1866, des grandes orgues de l'église de Sankt Leodegar (Saint-Léger) de la Cour de Lucerne sera l'hôte du Maître de Saint-Florian lors de son court séjour. La « Hofkirche » de Lucerne est un édifice absolument superbe dans lequel on trouve de très nombreuses œuvres d'art des 16e, 17e et 18e siècles.

Le grand-orgue de « Sankt Leodegar » est un instrument majeur en Europe, de par son ampleur et son histoire. Sa construction par le facteur Johann Geissler de Salzbourg débuta dès 1640. De 1858 à 1862, le facteur Friedrich Haas reprit cet orgue en l'agrandissant à 70 jeux avec un Fernwerk. Après une intervention de Friedrich Goll en 1899, la 1re restauration avec, notamment, la restitution du Positif de dos revient à la Manufacture suisse Kuhn et date de 1976-1977. Les jeux se montent alors à 81 en tout. Une plus récente intervention (montant l'instrument à 84 jeux) de la maison Kuhn date de 2000-2001.

Grands Orgues de tribune, à traction électro pneumatique : Johann Geissler facteur de Salzbourg, 10 années de construction, 1640-1650 ; Hass, 1862 ; Goll, 1887, 1898-1889 ; Kuhn, 1977, 1999, 2001, 2009. 5 claviers manuels (6 divisions) et pédalier ; 103 jeux ; 144 rangs ; plus de 5,900 tuyaux et une division de Fernwerk ; tuyaux de 32 pieds placés juste au-dessus du lutrin et des claviers de l'organiste.

Petit orgue de chœur, à traction mécanique des claviers et des jeux : Thomas Sylvester Walpen, 1842-1844, 1853 / Manufacture suisse Kuhn, 2003. 2 claviers manuels et pédalier ; 27 jeux ; 35 rangs ; 1,137 tuyaux.

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Suite à un incendie dévastateur en l'année 1633, la « Hofkirche » fut nouvellement érigée, dans un style Baroque. Après avoir eu 2 orgues de chœur (1637-1642), elle a pu abriter sur sa tribune ouest un orgue aux proportions monumentales pour l'époque, construit entre 1640 et 1652, comprenant 2 claviers et pédalier avec 42 jeux sonnants. C'est le Maître facteur d'orgues Johann Geisler de Salzbourg qui l'avait construit avec un projet émanant de son homonyme, Niklaus Geisler de Lucerne. Sa particularité subsiste toujours : il a en façade le plus gros des tuyaux de Montre existant, le 1er do du Principal 32' (longueur : 970 centimètres, diamètre : 57 centimètres).

Outre de nombreuses interventions et modifications, dans les années 1867-1862 une transformation radicale suivit, effectuée par Friedrich Haas. Il modifia cet orgue Baroque pour en faire un orgue de concerts, Romantique. Le Positif séparé a été supprimé, les sommiers à gravures ont été remplacés par des sommiers à cônes avec une nouvelle traction mécanique munie de machines Barker, un clavier d'Écho (« Fernwerk ») situé dans les combles de l'église a été ajouté. Il ne restait simplement de l'ancien orgue que son buffet imposant, avec sa tuyauterie de façade, et environ une quinzaine de jeux. En particulier, tous les jeux gambés et harmoniques ainsi que les anches furent des jeux neufs. Le « reconstruteur » a été triomphalement félicité, tout comme le constructeur, Maître Geisler, l'avait été plus de 2 siècles auparavant. La biographie de l'orgue ensuite se réduit. En 1895, la maison Goll l'a pneumatisé puis électrifié en 1942. « L'Orgelbewegung » avait bien fait sentir que les spécialistes n'auraient bientôt plus d'intérêt pour de tels instruments, alors que les traditionnels concerts évoquant le célèbre « Orage » s'oubliaient de plus en plus. C'est ainsi

que des plans se sont élaborés après 1970 avec une dure polémique qui s'élevait : les uns voulaient revenir à l'état de 1652, les autres retrouver celui de Haas et d'autres ne voulaient faire effectuer que des réparations. C'est finalement la majorité qui a eu gain de cause, voulant prudemment avancer pour faire faire un orgue contemporain avec cependant l'obligation de conserver toute la substance existante provenant de l'instrument Baroque, et d'intégrer partiellement dans le nouvel orgue des éléments du 19e siècle, encore utilisables. Cette conception trouvait aussi l'accord des Monument Historiques.

Dès ce moment, notre rôle principal a été de finaliser un projet aussi technique que concret, tenant compte des idées de base, des désirs. Le Positif serait reconstruit même sur une tribune en balustrade ne retrouvant pas ses dimensions originales. L'emplacement des 3 claviers manuels et de la Pédale ne serait pas strictement dicté par des données historiques, mais par l'espace nécessité par de nouveaux sommiers à coulisses à traction mécanique. Le 5e clavier, l'Écho (« Fernwerk ») serait retravaillé dans un sens restauratif. Ce clavier possède maintenant toujours son sommier à cônes, mais sa traction a été électrifiée. Le travail le plus difficile, à côté du choix des tailles, fut celui de l'harmonisation. Il fallait créer une ambiance sonore homogène à partir de ce qui appartenait à l'époque Baroque de 1662, à l'état Romantique de 1862, à l'apport de jeux modernes, compléments de 1977.

En 2001, un ajout s'est fait pour l'Écho. 3 jeux à anches libres entreposés depuis 1977 et qui provenaient de l'orgue de Friedrich Haas datant de 1862 ont été replacés dans son espace sonore, son canal de résonance. Il s'agissait d'un Physharmonica 8', d'une Clarinette 8' et d'un Basson 16'. Ces 3 jeux ont été disposés sur un nouveau sommier à cônes dans une boîte d'expression séparée agissant en parallèle avec celle de l'autre sommier de ce clavier, avec de même une traction électrique. Le Basson est jouable à la Pédale (30 notes) et les autres jeux sur le 5e clavier. Les jeux ou partie des jeux qui n'ont pas été utilisés en 1977, provenant de Geisler ou de Haas, sont entreposés dans les combles de l'église.

...

Un monastère fondé au 8e siècle se trouvait originalement sur le site de l'église. La règle bénédictine est adoptée au 9e siècle. Ayant appartenu à l'abbaye de Murbach en Alsace vers 1135, le monastère est vendu à la Maison de Habsbourg au 13e siècle. En 1332, Lucerne entre dans la Suisse primitive. L'église sera construite sur les fondations d'une ancienne Basilique Romaine qui a brûlé en l'an 1633, au soir du dimanche de Pâques. Le trésor est sauvé ainsi que quelques œuvres d'art majeures. La reconstruction, dans le style de la Renaissance italienne : l'un des chefs-d'œuvre de ce style dont on peut admirer le pays helvético-suédois. Il fallut 6 ans pour la construire. Elle a été achevée en l'an 1639 et est la seule église qui se trouvait au nord des Alpes, à la fin de la guerre de 30 Ans. Au 18e siècle, l'intérieur sera Baroquisé. Au début du 17e siècle, le nonce apostolique séjourne à Lucerne et utilise, pour quelques années, la « Hofkirche » comme Cathédrale. Actuellement, la « Hofkirche » représente l'église principale catholique de Lucerne, à la tête de 7 autres paroisses de l'agglomération lucernoise. Elle est toujours l'un de des monuments les plus emblématiques de la ville.

Cette vaste et sublime église est consacrée à Sankt Leodegar (Saint-Léger) . Leodegar fut évêque d'Autun en France en l'an 663. Il fut d'une grande bonté, d'une grande fermeté. À la mort du roi Dagobert, l'Occident est partagé en 4

royaumes et Clovis II, l'un des Iers rois fainéants, régna sur la Neustrie et la Bourgogne. À la mort de Clovis II, la reine fut nommée régente des 3 royaumes : Neustrie, Bourgogne, Austrasie. Elle appela Leodegar auprès d'elle pour ses conseils, pour sa sagesse et sa bonté. Grâce à son influence, elle abolit l'esclavage dans lequel les Gaulois étaient tenus. Une révolution de Palais amena Ebroïn au pouvoir. Cet homme, ambitieux et sans scrupules, voulut se débarrasser de Leodegar. Ebroïn entreprit donc le siège d'Autun avec une armée. Pour épargner les habitants, Leodegar se livra à l'ennemi à condition que les habitants soient épargnés. Ebroïn s'empara de Leodegar et le supplicia en forêt voisine (langue arrachée, yeux crevés, lèvres coupées) . Demeuré en vie, on l'enferma dans un monastère où il vécut dans la prière et la souffrance. Finalement, il fut égorgé. Sa tombe est dans un bois près d'Arras. La fête de Sankt Leodegar est célébrée le 2 octobre.

Quelques dates fondamentales de la « Hofkirche » de Lucerne :

735-736 : Ire mention d'un monastère dédié à Saint-Maurice.

800 : Crise dans le monastère.

850 : Reprise du monastère et adoption de la règle bénédictine.

1135 : Le monastère dépend de l'abbaye de Murbach (Alsace) .

1291 : L'abbaye de Murbach vend le monastère de Lucerne à la Maison de Habsbourg.

1332 : Entrée de Lucerne dans la Suisse primitive.

1455-1456 : Le monastère de Lucerne dépend de l'évêque de Constance. Au début du 17e siècle, le nonce apostolique séjourne à Lucerne et utilise, pendant quelques années, la « Hofkirche » comme Cathédrale. La Paroisse catholique de la « Hofkirche » est fondée au 19e siècle.

1633 : Au soir du dimanche de Pâques, la « Hofkirche » brûle. Le trésor est sauvé ainsi que quelques œuvres d'art majeures.

1644 : Consécration de la nouvelle église.

1742 : La décoration intérieure est Baroquée.

1859-1862 : Ire restauration du lieu.

Plusieurs interventions de restauration eurent lieu avant la rénovation remarquable achevée en 2001 (y compris le grand-orgue) .

Le fameux autel de style Gothique tardif (vers 1500) , représentant Marie sur son lit de mort, fut sauvé de l'incendie de 1633. Entièrement doré, il est d'une splendeur exceptionnelle et d'une très grande rareté. C'est cet autel qui a été équipé, à l'origine, de l'orgue de chœur du facteur Thomas Sylvester Walpen.

La façade de la « Hofkirche », de style Renaissance tardif, est exceptionnelle. Elle porte les représentations de l'Archange Saint-Michel, de Saint-Léger et de Saint-Maurice.

Le chœur est fermé par une grille magnifique, comportant des effets de perspective, qui date de 1641-1643. C'est l'œuvre de Johann Reiffel. Les stalles superbes, difficilement visibles (car sous clef) qui datent, elles, de 1639-1642 furent réalisées par Niklaus Geisler.

Les flancs des bancs de la nef (aussi de Niklaus Geisler) sont sculptés à la main et datent de 1638.

Clôture de la plate-forme où se dresse l'église : Après l'incendie dévastateur de 1633, on décida d'entourer la Hofkirche d'une importante galerie couverte (datant de 1641) dans un style rappelant sensiblement les constructions de style italien toscan (milieu du 17^e siècle) . Cette galerie, très fleurie et soigneusement entretenue, abrite de nombreuses tombes privées mais aussi de personnages célèbres locaux comme : Bernhard Fleckenstein, 1659 ; Rudolf Mohr, 1701 ; le théologien Hans Urs von Balthasar.

L'abbaye cistercienne de Saint-Urbain a été fondée en 1194 par des moines de l'abbaye de Lucelle en Alsace, avec l'appui de familles de barons de Haute-Argovie. L'abbaye est un édifice d'importance nationale, impressionnant témoin de l'architecture et de la culture Baroque et Cistercienne au XVIII^e siècle. Les édifices médiévaux, malgré de multiples rénovations et agrandissements, ne répondant plus aux besoins des moines, ceux-ci prièrent l'architecte du Vorarlberg, Franz Beer, de construire un tout nouveau monastère, au cours de la 1^{re} moitié du XVIII^e siècle. La vie monacale prit fin en 1848 d'une manière inattendue : afin d'honorer la dette de guerre du Sonderbund, le canton de Lucerne ordonna la suppression du monastère. Après avoir connu de multiples fonctions, la majeure partie des anciens bâtiments est aujourd'hui affectée à des buts culturels. Les stalles de l'église jouissent d'une reconnaissance internationale. L'abbaye s'est affirmée au cours de son histoire comme le centre religieux et spirituel, territorial et économique de cette région frontière, entre les cantons de Berne, Soleure, Argovie et Lucerne.

La région de Lucerne a été habitée depuis les temps pré-historiques. Après la chute de l'Empire Romain, les Aléman s'y installèrent, et quelques monastères apparurent avant l'an 1000. La fondation de la ville de Lucerne se situe entre 1180 et 1200. En 1332, Lucerne est la 1^{re} ville à rejoindre la Confédération des 3 Cantons, bien qu'elle se soit battue aux côtés des Habsbourg lors de la bataille de Morgarten.

...

9 septembre 1880 : Bruckner s'arrête à Rigi, la « Reine des montagnes » .

11 septembre 1880 : Bruckner repasse par Munich. Il va ensuite arrêter quelques semaines à Saint-Florian.

27 septembre 1880 : Toujours à Saint-Florian, Bruckner termine le 1er mouvement de sa 6e Symphonie, commencé il y a 1 an. Les mouvements centraux sont considérés comme une réalisation musicale de ses impressions de la Suisse : l'Adagio sera achevé le 22 novembre à l'Université de Vienne ; et le Scherzo, lui, le 17 décembre 1880.

Pendant ce dernier périple, le journal personnel de Bruckner indique une longue liste de noms de jeunes filles qu'il avait interpellées au passage. Si la candidate était perçue comme digne et honnête pour devenir son épouse, il tendait l'oreille. Ensuite, il essayait d'obtenir plus d'informations sur son caractère, sa famille et la dotte. À maintes reprises, il ira jusqu'à demander à un proche de faire une enquête approfondie. Il voulait s'assurer que la bien-aimée possède suffisamment d'argent pour garantir la viabilité du mariage. Il prenait également en considération la possibilité qu'advenant son décès, il n'aurait aucune obligation à son égard. Bien sûr, les femmes légères demeureront jusqu'à la fin de sa vie un symbole de péché et de damnation.

Sexe et religion : le « cas » Bruckner

Nul doute que son physique peu engageant fut pour beaucoup dans les échecs successifs de ses passions amoureuses. Et pourtant, ce célibataire « prisonnier » sera hanté jusqu'à la mort par l'idée du mariage ; mariage qu'il proposait à des femmes de plus en plus jeunes.

La personnalité complexe et ambivalente d'Anton Bruckner a toujours laissé entrevoir la crainte de la sexualité et de la relation intime. Son désengagement face à l'amour physique est fort indicateur de son angoisse (inconsciente) d'anéantir la pulsion créatrice, au profit d'une relation stable et durable avec une adolescente sans défense, toujours vierge de surcroît, qui n'a rien à voir avec la complicité d'un couple uni, arrivé à maturité. En ce sens, l'abstinence promulguée par le Catholicisme, dont Bruckner est un fervent dévôt, se veut un gage de succès dans la carrière qu'il poursuit.

Chaque fois que l'adversité s'acharnait contre lui, Anton Bruckner trouvait dans la musique le refuge le plus efficace, et aussitôt sa détresse se muait en espérance. La force de ce génie était telle que bien rares sont dans son œuvre les pages pessimistes ou se concluant sur une note de défaite : on ne citerait guère comme significatif que le 1er mouvement de la 8e Symphonie dans sa version remaniée. Au contraire, il trouvait toujours des accents d'une beauté pénétrante, et lors même qu'il exprimait, comme dans ses Messes, la Passion du Christ, ou comme dans ses Symphonies la sienne propre, il donnait à l'humanité une leçon de courage, de noblesse et d'amour.

Anton Bruckner reste donc un authentique Romantique dans la mesure où son œuvre ne se concevait pas en dehors des épreuves humaines de sa vie, dont elle est le reflet fidèle et immédiat. En 1867, une grave crise nerveuse nécessite son hospitalisation à Bad-Kreuzen. Il caractérise lui-même son cas : surexcitation extrême mêlée à un sentiment de total abandon. Ce n'est pour lors ni la médecine ni la seule prière qui le sauvèrent : contre l'avis formel de la Faculté, il se remit à composer et esquissa à l'hôpital même le Kyrie de la Grande Messe en fa mineur, la plus remarquable de toutes celles qu'il écrivit.

Ainsi, dans le 1er cas, la composition d'une Messe est occasionnée par un conflit psychique où la religion n'a pas une part directe ; dans le 2e (sa rupture avec Marie Bartl) , un autre drame intérieur est résolu dans une forme purement Symphonique, mais avec des accents mystiques. Cette interpénétration entre musique profane et musique sacrée trouve son expression pratique dans le fait qu'il n'est pas rare qu'un même thème fournisse, à la fois, la matière d'un mouvement Symphonique et d'un verset de Messe, et cela indifféremment dans un ordre ou dans l'autre. À la limite, il n'est pas interdit de considérer que la plus belle Messe jamais écrite par Anton Bruckner fut en réalité ... sa 5e Symphonie, voire sa 9e ! (Paul-Gilbert Langevin)

Carved Holiness : Anton Bruckner and the women

(By Peter Androsch.)

Anton Bruckner finds himself catapulted out of the afterlife back into this life. The Lord requires him to remain here until he is purged through an encounter with a woman, so that he can finally be admitted to Heaven. A time machine beams him into the present, where he is confronted with the here and now of our time. As Bruckner is subjected to the extreme influences of our day and age, the authentic geography of his soul becomes visible for the 1st time : his sensitivity, brusqueness and ineptness, his attempted overtures and the rejections suffered, his abstinacy ; in short, all that is meant by a love life.

Here, his music is only of marginal interest.

« There is no burden worse than the hope of attaining happiness. » (Carlos Fuentes)

« Eroticism is the smooth transition from decency to indecency. » (Kurt Krenn)

Bruckner's search for a worthy wife proved fruitless in spite of innumerable advances, because he would not permit himself the saving grace of eroticism.

If Bruckner had allowed this (« obsessively Catholic and pubescently religious » as he was (Thomas Bernhard in : « Alte Meister ») , he would have robbed himself of this greatest desire : a marriageable Immaculate-Mary.

Bruckner held one fundamental belief that no amount of desire was ever allowed to threaten.

Hôtel-restaurant des « 3 Houes »

Située au 28 de la « Singerstraße » dans le 1er arrondissement de Vienne (1010) .

Téléphone : + 43 (0)1 512 58 95 .

Télécopieur: + 43 (0)1 810 33 09 .

gasthaus@zuden3hacken.at

Pour un « Wiener schnitzel » (le plat typique de la ville) , rendez-vous au « Gasthaus zu den 3 Hacken » . Plusieurs spécialités y sont servies.

...

Cozy, small-scale, and charming, the « inn » known as « Gasthaus zu den 3 Hacken » (Tavern of the 3 Hatchets) is the oldest one in Vienna. It is lovingly maintained, and serves utterly contemporary foods and wines at their best.

Illustrious artists such as Franz Schubert, Franz von Schober, Johann Nepomuk Nestroy, Leopold Kupelwieser, Therese Krones or Moritz von Schwind frequented this « inn » , sipped their favourite beverages or worked on drawings and sketches. They, too, knew that « The 3 Hatchets » is a great place to wile away the hours and eat well. Little has changed beneath the antique arched vaulting since those days of age-old tradition. The cuisine has remained Classic, yet, presented in perfection at a very high-level of quality : after all, how can you improve on a succulent roast pork with cabbage and dumplings ; « sauté » kidneys with parsley potatoes ; or « horse-cabby's goulash » accompanied by « sauté » sliced dumpling, sunny-side-up egg, sausage and cucumber ? It's a fact, you can still eat here just they way they did in Schubert's day, except that the wines are now far better, and unfold in rich variety. That is the special domain of Josefine Zawadil, the patroness, who is also a wine merchant at the nearby « Drei Hacken Magazin » shop. There, you can poke your way through shelf upon shelf of wines to select the one which speaks to you, then drink it at the inn, alongside Viennese dishes rippling with panache.

...

The 18th Century tavern called « Gasthaus zu den 3 Hacken » with green wooden shutters and green wooden outdoor tables and chairs is typical of traditional taverns. (I always find it amazing to have that kind of neighbourhood eatery at a 5 minutes walk from « Kärntnerstraße » shopping boulevard.)

Every one of the 4 small rooms is special in its own way : wooden floor boards and walls full of historic drawings of local places and old portraits of local celebrities, newspapers stuck into traditional newspaper holders hanging from the walls, an old radio, and the kind of wood carved chandeliers my grandfather used to make in his Vienna studio.

Finally, we settled for a lovingly decorated side room which had just enough space for 2 tables, and a wide green painted wooden window opening to the street. It was like having lunch at my grandparents' summer village in the Vienna Woods.

« Zu den Drei Hacken » serves fine Austrian food, from Vienna roast to « Gulasch » , « Wiener Schnitzel » to « Tafelspitz » . There are always a few dishes with a modern twist on the menu, such as polenta strudel with mushrooms. Most of the time, you will also find seasonal specialities such as wild garlic, mushroom and asparagus

dishes.

The Vienna roast, served with dumplings and « sauerkraut », was excellent, as were my wild garlic dumplings and my husband's « gulasch ». With Viennese cuisine, it's easy to cook a hearty meal, but challenging to lighten-up the calories and create a fresh taste. The « chef » had really done her job in that sense.

...

As we headed for « Zu den Drei Hacken » at « Singerstraße » 28, in Vienna's 1st District, all we were looking for was the cosy atmosphere of an old Viennese « Beisl », its traditional cuisine, and its low-key comfort. No one had mentioned that it came with legends.

In fact, as it turned-out, the « Drei Hacken » is not only one of the oldest restaurants in Vienna, but was the favourite haunt of the « crème de la crème » of Vienna's Biedermeier Bohemian inner-circle (« Bie-Bos », ancestors of the « Bo-Bos ») . Composer Franz Schubert gathered his talented circle of friends - painters Leopold Kupelwieser and Moritz von Schwind as well as lyricist and actor Franz von Schober to share culinary pleasures. Playwright and actor Johann Nepomuk Nestroy mentioned the restaurant in one of his notorious songs (a preferred tool to spice-up his plays with sarcastic word play) and, thereby, paved the way to the restaurant's unfading fame.

Entering the Biedermeier world, we fell into its old « Beisl » charm ; 4 small dimly lit rooms with vaulted low ceilings branched-out to each side, scattered wooden tables covered in white linen, dark wooden chairs and worn benches - all hallmarks of Viennese « Gemütlichkeit », which combines simplicity with the cosiness of wooden interior. Above the waist-high wall panelling were paintings and lithographs of street scenes interrupted by busts of (or course !) the Emperor Francis Joseph II and our old friend Franz Schubert, placed with highest respect, in the « Schubertstüberl » dedicated especially to his honour.

Seated in the midst of this engaging decor, I had to force myself to concentrate on the menu, which offered a wide range of Viennese Classics : clear soup with semolina dumplings (« Grießnockerlsuppe ») ; a small soup pot with vegetables, noodles and beef (« Altwiener Suppentopf ») ; or boiled beef in aspic with onions and pumpkin oil (« Tafelspitzsülz mit Zwiebelringen und Kürbiskernöl ») as « entrées » ; and, as main course, veal scallop bread crumbed and fried with potato-green-salad (« Kalbswienerschnitzel mit Erdäpfel-Vogerlsalat ») or boiled rump with chive and apple sauce with horseradish and roast potatoes.

The wine flowed, and the appetiser arrived, we divided an « Altwiener Suppentopf », and while we were spooning-up the broth, the balance of spices a pleasure in itself, Ms. Parker and I tried to overhear the conversation of a French couple « en face » - a difficult mission, as it turned-out, as the ear-piercing voice of a fellow Austrian in between lecturing on Viennese culture to his apparently German friends drowned-out all other sounds. But, whoever thinks that the « 3 Hacken » is an overly touristy place is mistaken. Natives and tourists are joined (on separate tables) in animated chatter and Lucullian joy.

However, eventually, hunger won over distracting curiosity. Ms. Parker fell for duck with Bohemian dumplings, artfully embedded in a pool of red cabbage, whereas my Viennese self selected the traditional Hungarian-rooted « goulash » of veal with « Nockerl » (gnocchi-shaped pasta) joined in delicious harmony, both dishes in refreshing simplicity served on ordinary white plates.

« Paßt alles ? » (meaning « paßt alles » in proper German / Austrian ; « Is everything alright » ?) , asked our waiter in unmistakable Viennese slang and a pleasing nonchalant attentiveness - a hallmark of Viennese « Gemütlichkeit » . Yes, everything was alright, the duck juicy, the veal tender, for us a time to surrender.

But what surrender is complete without the soothing taste of alcohol. The wine had, as it was our habit on these occasions, the agony of choice from well-assorted and entirely Austrian vineyard offerings ; among these, we found a « Grüner Veltliner 2008 Federspiel, S. Donabaum, Spitz » from the renowned Austrian wine region Wachau, Chardonnay 2008, a Cuvée Tridendron 2005, a « Triebaumer, Gerhard Markowitsch, Göttlesbrunn » or a Saint-Laurent Selection 2006, Netzl.

For a luscious dessert, maybe a Classic like « Mohr im Hemd » (Hazelnut « soufflé » with chocolate and whipped cream) or Apple Strudel with cream.

...

Das Gasthaus zu den 3 Hacken im 1. Wiener Gemeindebezirk, Singerstraße 28, zählt zu den ältesten Gaststätten Wiens. Das traditionsreiche Restaurant wurde unter anderem von Franz Schubert, Moritz von Schwind, Johann Nestroy und Therese Krones besucht.

Das Gasthaus befindet sich in einem Wiener Altbau und besteht aus mehreren heimeligen Gaststuben. In der wärmeren Jahreszeit steht den Gästen ein begrünter Schanigarten zur Verfügung. Im Jahr 2009 wurde das Lokal für seinen vorbildlichen Schanigarten mit dem Goldenen Schani ausgezeichnet.

Die Küchenangebot repräsentiert die klassische Wiener Küche. Das Gasthaus bekennt sich zur österreichischen Weintradition, was sich im beachtlichen Weinangebot widerspiegelt.

Schwesterbetrieb des Gasthauses zu den 3 Hacken ist das in unmittelbarer Nähe befindliche 3 Hacken Magazin (Restaurant und Weinshop) in der Riemergasse 14. Im angeschlossenen Weinshop « Vinum » lagern rund 1000 Weine.

...

7 octobre 1880 : Le 1er mouvement de la 4e Symphonie d'Anton Bruckner est donné pour la 1re fois à Vienne, dans un arrangement pour piano à 4 mains.

9 octobre 1880 : De retour à Vienne, Bruckner appliquera lors d'un concours pour le prestigieux poste d'assistant-chef

de chœur du « Wiener Männergesang Verein » (Société chorale masculine de Vienne) , un ensemble réputé, de très haut calibre. Il essuiera un refus.

Durant cette même période, une anomalie sérieuse se développe au niveau de ses pieds et de ses jambes ; ce qui n'aide en rien le moral du compositeur.

22 ou 23 octobre 1880 : Hans Rott goes insane while traveling, urging another passenger not to light his cigar because Rott is under the delusion that Johannes Brahms has filled the train with dynamite. Rott spends the rest of his short life in an asylum, where he continues to compose and uses his manuscripts for toilet paper, saying :

« That's what human works are worth. »

A surviving page of the opening of « Hochzeitstück » (Wedding-piece) , the original Part 3 of « Das Klagende Lied » , is dated : « end of October or beginning of November »

1er novembre 1880 : Gustav Mahler announces in a letter to his friend Emil Freund that the composition of the Cantata, « Das Klagende Lied » , has been completed.

Novembre 1880 : Parmi les élèves de Bruckner au Conservatoire durant ce semestre, citons ...

Johann Evangelist Aichinger, Otto von Liebig, J. Schnabl et Rudolf Steiner.

10 novembre 1880 : Ire transcription (rédigée sur place) d'une conférence d'Anton Bruckner à l'Université de Vienne par le futur père bénédictin, Raffael (« Oddo ») Loidol.

28 novembre 1880 : Le Ministre autrichien de l'Éducation et de la Culture annonce au professeur Anton Bruckner de l'Université de Vienne (âgé de 56 ans) , l'octroi d'une rémunération annuelle de 800 Florins (« Gulden ») pour ses leçons. Le compositeur atteint enfin une certaine sécurité financière.

Mais cette sécurité, Anton Bruckner l'a chèrement gagnée. Il enseigne 2 fois par semaine à l'Université ; 16 heures par semaine au Conservatoire ; et donne 12 cours privés par semaine. Les fins de semaine n'existant pas à cette époque en Allemagne et en Autriche, son travail quotidien s'élève à 5 heures par jour. Pour un total de 30 heures d'enseignement par semaine. Il s'agit d'une charge énorme, même pour un enseignant ordinaire, sans grande réputation. Alors on peut s'imaginer ce que cela représente pour un compositeur de génie qui arrive difficilement à joindre les 2 bouts.

Les leçons de musique sont souvent le pire ennemi de l'inspiration. Lorsqu'on demanda à Bruckner comment une belle mélodie pouvait soudainement lui venir à l'esprit, il répondit :

« Elle arrive par elle-même pendant que je déguste mon plat préféré. » .

...

Johannes Brahms, compositeur fier et très sûr de lui qui connaît beaucoup de succès, siège sur le Conseil d'administration de la Société Amis de la Musique qui administre le Conservatoire de Vienne.

Anton Bruckner le traite avec tout le respect (et les courbettes ...) que l'on accorde à un artiste important et célèbre.

Les cercles Libéraux de Vienne encense les prises de position « conservatrices » de ce musicien d'Allemagne du nord (Hambourg) alors qu'ils dénoncent son opposant « moderne » de la Haute-Autriche (Saint-Florian) . Brahms était toujours celui qui allumait la mèche ...

« Bruckner, un pauvre nigaud, un malheureux fou que les moines de Saint-Florian ont sur la conscience. » (Johannes Brahms)

« Herr Brahms me traite presque de manière injurieuse. » (Anton Bruckner)

L'Hôtel du « Hérisson Rouge »

« L'Hôtel du Hérisson Rouge » (« Gasthof Zum Rothen Igel ») au I « Wildpretmarkt » servit de bastion aux militants démocrates, lors de la Révolution d'octobre 1848. Il se trouve juste à côté de la « Maison du Hérisson Rouge » (« Haus zum Roten Igel ») qui va abriter, à partir de 1831, l'ancien Conservatoire de la Société des Amis de la Musique sis au n° 558 (qui deviendra plus tard le n° 12) de la rue « Tuchlauben » , dans le 1er arrondissement de Vienne.

Une porte cochère donne facilement accès au café-restaurant de l'Hôtel qui devient, très tôt, un important lieu de rencontre pour les artistes (dont le peintre autrichien Moritz von Schwind) , les musiciens (Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann et Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy) , les professeurs et les étudiants du Conservatoire (sans oublier les habitués de sa bibliothèque) . Convivialité et conversations passionnées sont accompagnées de café, de repas succulents, de bière et d'alcool. Pour Johannes Brahms, le « Hérisson Rouge » représentait sa seconde demeure viennoise. Il refusera obstinément de manger ou de boire n'importe où ailleurs.

« Sur le chemin du retour de l'Hôtel du " Hérisson Rouge " ou de l'Hôtel " Kochschule " , Brahms arrêta régulièrement se détendre au Chalet du parc municipal de Vienne. Je l'ai rencontré en compagnie du docteur Münz. Le compositeur était assis à une petite table de marbre sur la grande terrasse, sirotant un café agrémenté d'un verre de cognac. Il scrutait impatientement les quotidiens fixés à un bâton : c'est la façon viennoise de faire. » (Le compositeur et pianiste polonais Sigismond Stojowski, 1870-1946.)

Conformément à ses habitudes et à sa personnalité, Johannes Brahms eut une vie relativement calme, si on le compare à certains acteurs et musiciens célèbres de son époque. Son quotidien à Vienne était tout ce qu'il y a de plus

routinier. Un lève-tôt, il prenait un café très noir accompagné de quelques petits pains sucrés. Après ce petit-déjeuner simple mais satisfaisant, il composait toute la matinée et parfois, en après-midi. Comme son prédécesseur Ludwig van Beethoven, Brahms adorait faire de longues promenades en après-midi, aux alentours de Vienne. L'un de ses endroits de prédilection était le parc du « Prater » qui attirait beaucoup de visiteurs depuis la tenue de l'Exposition universelle de 1873. (La fameuse « Grande Roue » sera érigée 1 ou 2 années après sa mort.)

L'artiste spécialisé dans les silhouettes, Otto Böhlér, immortalisera le compositeur Johannes Brahms en train de se promener, fumant le cigare, croisant son petit animal favori : le hérisson rouge (qui finira par symboliser son caractère « épineux ») .

L'inauguration le 6 janvier 1870 de la nouvelle salle du « Musikverein » sur la « Karlplatz » ne viendra pas compromettre la survie du « Hérisson Rouge » car les habitués de l'endroit resteront fidèles.

Anton Webern, originaire de Klagenfurt, arrive à Vienne en 1902. Il étudie la composition auprès d'Arnold Schönberg à partir de 1904. Lui aussi deviendra un fervent client du « Hérisson Rouge » .

L'Hôtel va devoir fermer ses portes en 1906. La démolition du bâtiment sera rendu nécessaire à cause de la mise en chantier du futur Pavillon de l'École polytechnique de l'Université de Vienne (par l'architecte Franz Riess) amorcé dès 1904. On peut voir sur le haut de son mur extérieur (arrondi) à l'intersection des rues (au 8 de la « Brandstätte ») , un écusson en relief qui nous rappelle qu'il s'agissait bien du site de l'ancien Hôtel et de sa célèbre icône : le « Hérisson Rouge » .

Dans le même ordre d'idée, l'immeuble où Johannes Brahms vécut à Vienne pendant les 26 dernières années de sa vie fut curieusement démoli sans aucun scrupule, exactement 10 ans après la date de sa mort (en 1897) .

Le pratique et confortable Hôtel « Amadeus » situé au 5 « Wildpretmarkt » bénéficie d'une place stratégique dans le 1er arrondissement de Vienne (A-1010) , à proximité de la cathédrale de Saint-Étienne et du Palais Impérial. Il est implanté à quelques minutes de marche de l'Opéra national de Vienne et des principales salles de concert (le « Musikverein » et le « Konzerthaus ») . L'édifice moderne et rectiligne fut érigé sur l'ancien site historique de l'Hôtel du « Hérisson Rouge » (« Gasthof Zum Rothen Igel ») .

...

Anton Bruckner was good and naive enough to become set-up by the viennese newspapers as an anti-Semite, which could only damage him. One day, at « The Red Hedgehog » Restaurant-Hotel (« Gasthof Zum Rothen Igel ») , just when he had again been denounced in the newspaper as an anti-Semite, he met Doctor Königstein, the critic of the « Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt » .

Bruckner addressed him :

« So, “ Herr ” Doctor, what it says in the newspapers is absolutely not true - I have absolutely nothing against the Israelite gentlemen ! »

...

Sacred Music : Brahms and Bruckner with Harry Christophers (BBC) - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nG0tRkFmHqY>

Face à face Brahms - Bruckner

Avril 1880, 19 heures : Lors de l'unique rencontre organisée entre Anton Bruckner et Johannes Brahms au café-restaurant de l'Hôtel du « Hérisson Rouge », les compositeurs ne se comprirent qu'en matière ... culinaire !

Un véritable accord de paix entre ces 2 monuments de Vienne était, bien sûr, impossible. Il s'agissait de tempéraments diamétralement opposés avec des conceptions artistiques fondamentalement aux antipodes. Bref, une illustration patente de ces mots de Rudyard Kipling : « Et les 2 ne se rencontreront jamais. » .

Des observateurs neutres et des supporteurs des 2 camps décidèrent d'organiser une rencontre à l'amiable, sans chi-chi, au restaurant favori de Brahms (le « Zum Roten Igel » , situé juste à côté de l'édifice qui porte le même nom et qui abrite le vieux Conservatoire) dans l'espoir de mettre un terme à la querelle fratricide entre les 2 compositeurs.

Bon joueur, Bruckner arriva tôt (autour de 19 heures) accompagné de 2 amis. Les garçons de table furent estomaqués de voir apparaître cet habitué du « Zur Goldenen Kugel » de la « Am Hof Platz » . La soirée semblait des plus prometteuses. Lorsque Johannes Brahms fit son apparition, accompagné de 3 de ses collègues, le Maître de Saint-Florian avait déjà englouti 2 ou 3 bols de soupe aux nouilles !

Après des salutations d'usage des plus glaciales, Brahms prit place à l'extrémité opposée de la longue table.

Selon une des personnes présentes :

« Ils étaient assis aux extrémités de la même table, froids et impassibles. »

La situation était plutôt décevante pour les organisateurs de ce repas dit « de la réconciliation » .

Même s'il s'agissait de son restaurant régulier, et qu'il connaissait les plats par cœur, Brahms demanda énergiquement au garçon de lui apporter le menu.

Brahms brisa le lourd silence et demanda qu'on lui apporte le menu (la liste des prix) . S'efforçant de demeurer conciliant malgré son caractère acrimonieux, il s'écria :

« Maintenant, nous allons voir ce qu'il y à manger. »

Bruckner fit alors de même dans son dialecte typique de la Haute-Autriche. Pendant de longues minutes, les 2 hommes froncèrent les sourcils, consultant le menu de haut en bas.

Puis Brahms leva les yeux et ordonna le premier :

« Garçon, apportez-moi du jambon fumé et des boulettes de pain ! »

Bruckner enchaîna aussitôt :

« Très bien, bon choix cher collègue Docteur. Du jambon fumé et des boulettes de pain. Voilà quelque chose sur lequel nous pouvons nous entendre. » .

Tout le monde pouffa de rire. La glace était brisée. Les 2 camps se mirent à parler de bière « Pilsner » et de cuisine viennoise. Le reste de la soirée (qui ne s'est pas terminée trop tard) s'avéra des plus chaleureuses et des plus joyeuses.

Bruckner expliqua la situation ainsi :

« Voici Brahms, je lui présente mes hommages. Chapeau bas ! Moi, je suis Bruckner et je préfère mes propres compositions. Celui qui veut être bercé par la musique va opter pour Brahms ; mais celui qui veut se laisser emporter par la musique trouvera peu de satisfaction dans son œuvre. »

Brahms lui-même avait déclaré, avant de rejoindre définitivement le camp traditionnel d'Eduard Hanslick :

« Bruckner est le plus grand Symphoniste de notre temps. »

Plus tard, après avoir assisté à une Symphonie de Bruckner, Brahms s'approcha du compositeur :

« J'espère que vous ne vous sentirez pas incommode face à mes propos, mais je n'arrive vraiment pas à comprendre ce que vous essayez de dire avec vos compositions. »

À quoi Bruckner répliqua :

« Peu importe, Docteur, c'est tout à fait légitime. Je ressens la même chose avec les vôtres. »

...

The happiest event in musical Vienna occurred one April evening in 1880, at the « Rothen Igel » restaurant. At 7 pm, Professor Bruckner appeared with 2 friends. The waiters were astonished. Usually, the peasant Mæstro ate elsewhere, at

the restaurant « Zur Kugel » , on « Am Hof » Square. And the wonders of the night had only begun. A few minutes later, Johannes Brahms marched in, complete with white beard, nimbus and a retinue of 3. After a stiff greeting, he took a seat at the opposite end of a long table. Even though this was his regular restaurant, whose dishes he knew by heart, Brahms demanded the menu, quick !! Bruckner tried to match the other man's fierceness by yelling for the same thing in his Upper-Austrian dialect.

For long minutes, the 2 Masters frowned, up and down, the list of dishes. Mutual acquaintances had arranged this « conciliation dinner » . Obviously, they had engineered a debacle. And then, at the very same second, both geniuses shouted the same phrase at the waiter :

« Roast pork and “ sauerkraut ” ! »

The table dissolved into laughter. The impossible ensued : an amiability between opposites, feeding on small talk about « pilsner » beer and Viennese cuisine. It did not survive long beyond the evening. But, for the duration of one dinner, the muse knew peace.

...

(Lettre avec petit dessin humoristique en tête) Invitation à un Carnaval au « Tonkünstlerverein » de Vienne. Le croquis nous montre un Anton Bruckner, vu de profil, quittant la maison Haslinger, l'éditeur de Beethoven.

La légende dit : « La 12e Symphonie est maintenant terminée ! Soulagé, Bruckner entreprend sa seconde douzaine. » .

Les signataires : Johannes Brahms, J. M. Grun, Julius Epstein, Robert Lienau (ami de Brahms, auteur du petit dessin et éditeur de la 8e Symphonie) , Karl Goldmark, Ignaz Brüll, et monsieur et madame Anton Door.

...

The happiest event in musical Vienna occurred one April evening in 1880, at the « Zum Roten Igel » restaurant. At 7 pm, Professor Anton Bruckner appeared with 2 friends. The waiters were astonished. Usually, the peasant Mæstro ate elsewhere, at the restaurant « Zur Goldenen Kugel » , on « Platz Am Hof » . And the wonders of the night had only begun. A few minutes later, Johannes Brahms marched in, complete with white beard, nimbus, and a retinue of 3. After a stiff greeting, he took a seat at the opposite end of a long table. Even though this was his regular restaurant, whose dishes he knew by heart, Brahms demanded the menu, quick !! Bruckner tried to match the other man's fierceness by yelling for the same thing, in his Upper-Austrian dialect.

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...

Das Gasthof « Zum Rothen Igel » befand sich in Wiens I. Bezirk auf dem « Wildpretmarkt I » . Durch die neben dem Gasthof gelegene Hauseinfahrt gelangte man in das Gebäude der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (heute Adresse Tuchlauben 12) , in dem sich auch das Wiener Konservatorium befand. Der « Rothe Igel » war ein wichtiger Musikertreffpunkt. Professoren, Studenten, in Wien auftretende Künstler, Benützer der Bibliothek des Konservatoriums : sie alle bevölkerten dieses berühmte, zentral gelegene Wirtshaus.

1870 wurde das neue Musikvereinsgebäude am Karlsplatz eröffnet. Dadurch lag der « Rothe Igel » etwas abseits des neuen Wiener Musikzentrums, dennoch blieb das Lokal ein beliebter Musikertreffpunkt. Das Gasthaus wurde 1906 geschlossen, in der Folge wurde das Gebäude abgerissen.

Für Johannes Brahms war der « Rothe Igel » seine « zweite Wiener Adresse » . Hier fand das legendäre Treffen zwischen Johannes Brahms und Anton Bruckner statt. Beide Komponisten klammerten bei diesem Kontakt, der sehr einsilbig verlaufen sein soll, alle die Musik berührenden Themen aus, und fanden in Bezug auf die Wertschätzung der Speisekarte des « Rothen Igels » zu wenig überraschender Übereinstimmung.

Anton Webern kam von Klagenfurt, wo er aufgewachsen war, 1902 nach Wien, um Musikwissenschaft und (ab 1904) Komposition bei Arnold Schönberg zu studieren. Daß der junge Webern, der in Wien musikalisch Anschluß suchte, auch Gast im « Rothen Igel » war, darf als gesichert angesehen werden. Begegnet sind sich Brahms und Webern nie : Johannes Brahms war 1897 in Wien verstorben.

...

Dieser bezieht sich auf den Gasthof zum Roten Igel, der hier belegen war. Das Lokal war eine Hochburg der Demokraten während der Oktoberrevolution 1848.

Hier sollen sich auch ein paar Jahrzehnte später die Komponisten Brahms und Bruckner begegnet sein, ohne miteinander Kontakt zu finden. So studierten sie lange die Speisekarte, um beschäftigt zu sein. Erst als Brahms schließlich beim Kellner « Knödel und ein Geselchtes » bestellte, schien Bruckner auf und meinte :

« Sehen Sie, Herr Kollege, hier finden wir zusammen ! Knödel und Geselchtes esse ich auch. »

Wir biegen jetzt links ab und gehen über den Bauernmarkt, wo, wie der Name deutlich ausdrückt, bis ins 18.

Jahrhundert Obst und Gemüse verkauft wurde. Auch der Name « Hühnerlücke » war geläufig, weil man hier auch Geflügel erstehen konnte. Wir nehmen schon die nächste Abzweigung rechts und biegen in die Freisingergasse ein.

Les goûts gastronomiques de Johannes Brahms

Johannes Brahms travaillait peu le soir, préférant passer du temps à socialiser en prenant 1 ou 2 bières au café-restaurant de l'Hôtel du « Hérisson Rouge ». Il se trouvait toujours en compagnie de 2 ou 3 proches (comme le docteur Ignaz Semmelweis). Les échanges allaient de la plaisanterie (légère ou grossière) à l'insulte acerbe. Brahms n'a jamais savouré un repas en parfait solitaire. Il était friand de gastronomie paysanne, plus particulièrement de plats de viande très assaisonnés. Il arrivait qu'il demande à son éditeur Fritz Simrock de lui faire parvenir, directement de Hambourg ou de Hollande, de délicieuses pièces de viande que le chef du « Hérisson Rouge » lui apprêtait pour le souper. Enfin, pour bien terminer la soirée, il adorait jouer aux cartes entouré de ses amis dans la modeste salle-à-manger située au 2^e étage.

Un professeur hollandais, attablé au Hérisson Rouge, fut témoin des commandes répétées de Brahms pour de la blanchaille frite (un met surtout apprécié des débardeurs du port de Hambourg) accompagnée d'un plat de pommes de terre et d'une salade. Mais ce poisson n'était pas toujours disponible à Vienne. Le cuisinier le remplaçait soit par du poisson-chat, de la truite, du brochet ou du doré jaune. Une rumeur voulait que Brahms boive l'huile directement de la boîte de sardines.

Le personnel du restaurant lui avait spécialement mis de côté, dans la cave, une réserve de bouteilles de Tokay, un vin hongrois.

Aujourd'hui, un magasin spécialisé de la ville de Winsen offre une bouteille de vin appelé : « Le Johannes Brahms du Hérisson Rouge » .

Les choix préférés de Johannes Brahms au « Hérisson Rouge » :

Le goulash de bœuf à la hongroise (ce met paysan comprenant du paprikás et du pörkölt qui a intégré la gastronomie bourgeoise au cours du XIX^e siècle) avec de la crème sure viennoise accompagné d'un plat de boulettes de pain ou de pommes de terre.

Sinon, la version viennoise du goulash : un mélange de bœuf (coupé en gros dés) , de poivrons, d'oignons et d'épices.

L'épaule de boeuf (« Kruspelspitz ») servie avec du raifort et des crêpes de pommes de terre (« Erdapfelschmarrn ») .

L' « Apfelmeerettich » (bœuf bouilli, apprêté avec des épices méridionales, servi avec pommes de terre rôties) amenait le compositeur en extase après des heures de répétition exténuantes avec la Chorale des femmes.

L'escalope panée à la viennoise accompagnée d'une salade de pommes de terre.

Le hareng aux pommes de terre frites accompagné d'anneaux d'échalotes et de salade.

La « Silsilat » : une salade de hareng autrichienne.

Le « Rindspilaw » : une sorte de bœuf pilaf toujours accompagné de café ou de cognac.

Des tomates farcies sur de la baguette de pain servies avec du beurre à l'ail, de l'oignon ou des fines herbes.

Du bacon et des haricots.

Des poires ou un strudel aux pommes accompagnés de crème fouettée, servie dans une coupe.

Après le vin, les pâtisseries maison accompagnées d'un café-crème ramenait Brahms sur ses pieds.

La morale de cette l'histoire : Vous pouvez arracher le jeune Brahms des bidonvilles de Hambourg ou de Winsen mais vous ne pouvez pas effacer de son esprit le précieux souvenir de ses mets préférés alors qu'il était enfant.

Les proches amis qui invitèrent Brahms à la maison furent à même de constater ses affinités prolétaires. La famille Kalbeck rapporta son penchant pour le « Silsilat » (une salade de hareng autrichienne) . Flore Kalbeck, la fille de Max Kalbeck nous rappelle un souper en famille en compagnie de Johannes Brahms : « Au bout de la table se trouvait l' « oncle » avec la grande barbe blanche qui pendait. Pour blaguer, il signait de fictifs reçus de table. Son rire puissant se rendait jusqu'à nous. Oui, oncle Brahms pouvait en effet bien boire et bien manger ! » .

...

When he reached his inn, the « Zum Rothen Igel » , on the « Wildpretmarkt » , Johannes Brahms passed by the main dining-room frequented by higher-government officials. A « Stube » farther back was his favourite ; coachmen cut into their goulash here, and here, a corner table was famous for being the Brahms lunching place.

He ordered his roast pork, kraut and « pilsner » , received friends and admirers. Then, he walked-back to the « Ringstraße » , toward another table reserved for him at the « Café Heinrichshof » , opposite the Opera. There, he reclined in a chair by the window and often would doze-off after his mocha. Passers-by would pause to admire the Brahms monument which sat there behind the glass pane with closed eyes. It was a thrill to watch the statue come alive and tip the waiter.

Eusebius Mandyczevski

Le musicologue, compositeur, chef d'orchestre et professeur de musique ukraino-autrichien, Eusebius Mandyczevski

(Roumain : Eusebie Mandicevski) , est un né à Hlyboka, Raion (alors dans l'Autriche-Hongrie, aujourd'hui dans l'Ukraine) , le 18 août 1857 et est décédé à Vienne, le 13 mars 1929. Il a été très connu, respecté et influent dans les milieux musicaux autrichiens, roumains et ukrainiens. Il a réalisé des éditions et des études très prestigieuses de la musique de Franz-Joseph Haydn, Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz Schubert, Johannes Brahms et Antonio Caldara.

Son père a été prêtre et sa mère, Veronica, née Popovici, était la sœur d'Eusebiu Popovici, professeur érudit d'histoire de l'Université de Cernauti et le père du poète bucovinien Gheorghe Popovici (connu sous le pseudonyme de T. Robeanu) . Selon son père, son origine a des filiations slaves ; selon sa mère, son origine est roumaine. Il a fait ses études secondaires à l'institut de Tchernivtsi en même temps qu'il étudiait la musique avec Sydir Vorobkevych. Il est entré à l'Université de Tchernivtsi, mais, en 1875, il est allé à Vienne pour étudier à l'Académie de musique et d'arts du spectacle de Vienne, où il a suivi les enseignements de Eduard Hanslick (Histoire de la Musique) , Gustav Nottebohm (Théorie de la musique) et Robert Fuchs. En 1879, il a fait la connaissance de Johannes Brahms dont il est devenu un de ses meilleurs amis. En 1903, il s'est marié avec la chanteuse de lieder et professeur de chant, Albine von Vestl.

Entre 1879 et 1881, Mandyczewski a été le directeur de la « Wiener Singakademie » (Académie Viennoise de Chant) . De 1887 à 1929, il a été archiviste et bibliothécaire de la « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » (Société des Amis de la Musique) , et dont il a été nommé chef de son orchestre en 1892. Il a été fait docteur « Honoris causa » par l'Université de Leipzig en 1897, la même année où il a commencé à enseigner au Conservatoire de Vienne comme professeur d'Histoire de la Musique et des Instruments de Musique. En 1916, il a été nommé membre du Conseil privé autrichien.

Durant de nombreuses années, il a été le correspondant à Vienne de la revue britannique « The Musical Times » .

Entre 1884 et 1897 est apparue l'édition de Mandyczewski des lieder de Franz Schubert (au sein de l'œuvre complète éditée par l'éditeur Breitkopf et Härtel) . La méticulosité de Mandyczewski (qui, dans certains cas, l'a amené à éditer 3 ou 4 variantes de chaque lied) a fait de lui une autorité sur ce compositeur. Le prestige de ses éditions était tel que, pour elles, en 1897, il a été fait docteur « Honoris causa » par l'Université de Leipzig. Il a également organisé une grande exposition sur Schubert, en 1922, ainsi que le Congrès international sur Schubert de 1928.

Mandyczewski a publié un ouvrage de Nottebohm, « Beethoveniana » , dans lequel est rassemblée une série d'essais académiques sur Beethoven, quelques-uns déjà publiés par la Musikalisches Wochenblatt et d'autres inédits, laissés par Nottebohm sous forme de manuscrits. George Grove lui était reconnaissant pour toute l'aide qu'il avait reçu lors de la rédaction de son livre sur les Symphonies de Beethoven.

Mandyczewski a commenté l'édition de l'œuvre complète de Franz-Joseph Haydn. En collaboration avec son disciple, Hans Gál, il a édité l'œuvre complète de Johannes Brahms.

Mandyczewski a composé des Messes orthodoxes, des pièces pour le piano, des cycles de lieder s'inspirant de textes de poètes comme Tarás Shevchenko, Yurii Fedkovych, Vasile Alecsandri, Mihai Eminescu ou Heinrich Heine. Il a également effectué de nombreux arrangements d'œuvres folkloriques ukrainiennes, roumaines, allemandes et hongroises.

...

The Ukrainian musicologist, composer, conductor, and teacher Eusebius Mandyczewski (Romanian : Eusebie Mandicevski) was born on 18 August 1857 in the village of Molodiya (then Austria-Hungary ; now Ukraine, Hlyboka Raion) and died on 13 August 1929 in Sulz, near Vienna. He was an author of numerous musical works and is highly-regarded within Austrian, Romanian and Ukrainian music circles.

His father was a priest and his mother, Veronica, born Popovici, was the sister of Eusebiu Popovici, erudite professor of History at the University of Cernauti and the father of the Bucovinian poet Gheorghe Popovici (known under the pen name of T. Robeanu) . His origin according to the father has Slavic affiliations ; according to his mother, the origin is Romanian. Eusebius had 2 brothers (Georgiy and Professor Kostiantyn) and 1 sister (Kateryna) . Kostiantyn was a secondary school teacher, member of the regional School Council and, later, Head of the Chernivtsi Library. Kateryna Mandychevs'ka was a school teacher. Georgiy was also a composer of choral music.

He finished his secondary studies at the Upper-School of Chernivtsi and, simultaneously, studied music under Sydir Vorobkevych. He began studies at the University of Chernivtsi, then moved to the Vienna Conservatory, in 1875, and studied music history under Eduard Hanslick, music theory under Martin Gustav Nottebohm and Robert Fuchs. Beginning in 1879, he became a close and life-long friend of Johannes Brahms and a prominent member of the « Brahms Circle » (who aided Brahms in teaching Gustav Jenner) . Johannes Brahms supported the young composer and appointed him as curator of his Estate.

In 1901, he married Albine von Vest, a lieder singer and singing teacher.

From 1879 to 1881, Mandyczewski was the conductor of the Vienna « Singakademie » . From 1887 to 1929, he was the archivist and librarian of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » . In 1892, he became the musical director of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Orchester » .

The decade 1887-1897 saw the appearance of Mandyczewski's work on the Schubert « Gesamtausgabe » . His name is particularly associated with the 10 volumes of songs, which he edited meticulously, sometimes printing as many as 3 or 4 variants of individual songs ; in recognition of his editorship, he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Leipzig, in 1897. A gifted philologist as well as musician, he was widely respected both for his scholarship and for his generosity to inquiring scholars ; Grove was indebted to him for his help in the writing of his book on Beethoven's Symphonies. Mandyczewski also brought out a 2nd volume of Nottebohm's « Beethoveniana » , a series of pioneering essays in Beethoven scholarship that had been partly published in series in the « Musikalisches Wochenblatt » and partly left in manuscript.

In 1897, he received an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Leipzig. Later, in 1897, he began teaching at the Vienna Conservatory as Professor of Music History and Musical Instruments. In 1916, he was made a Privy Councillor.

Mandyczewski edited the complete edition of Franz Schubert's works, began a complete edition of Franz-Josef Haydn's and, together with his pupil Hans Gál, edited Brahms' complete works.

For many years, in the early part of the 20th Century, he was the Viennese correspondent to the « Musical Times » . He was joint editor of the Brahms « Gesamtausgabe » with Hans Gál, and organized the Schubert exhibition of 1922 and the International Schubert Congress (1928) ; this last function greatly overtaxed his strength, and he died before the proceedings of the Congress were published.

Mandyczewski composed music to the words of poets such as Taras Shevchenko, Yurii Fedkovych, Vasile Alecsandri, Mihai Eminescu, Heinrich Heine. He arranged compositions based on many Ukrainian, Romanian, German, and Hungarian folk songs.

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« Drei Meister Autographe » , Vienna (1923) ; « fac-similés » of autographs of Beethoven, Schubert and Brahms.

« Brahms » , « Bruckner » , « Pohl » , « Strauß, Johann, Vater » , « Strauß, Johann, Sohn » , ADB.

La « Ringstraße »

Le « Ring » (ou « Ringstraße ») est un boulevard annulaire qui encercle le centre-ville historique de Vienne (« Innere Stadt ») . Il est bordé d'importants monuments de l'ancienne capitale Impériale autrichienne et délimite le 1er arrondissement de la ville. Aujourd'hui, le « Ring » est un des plus beaux boulevards de la capitale autrichienne.

Le 20 décembre 1857, l'Empereur d'Autriche François-Joseph signe le décret décidant du démantèlement des vieux remparts qui enferment la ville de Vienne. Il crée ensuite un boulevard annulaire long de bâtiments publics et de maisons de rapport, le « Ring » .

Le « Ring » historique, parfois appelé « intérieur » , offre aux véhicules une circulation en sens horaire, excepté pour les tramways, qui peuvent rouler dans les 2 sens. Un second boulevard concentrique permet de tourner dans l'autre sens ; il est parfois appelé « Ring extérieur » .

On y retrouve des sites prestigieux :

L'Opéra d'État de Vienne (« Staatsoper ») .

Le Palais de la « Hofburg » : « Burggarten » , « Heldenplatz » , « Volksgarten » .

Le Parlement autrichien.

Le « Kunsthistorisches Museum » et le Musée d'histoire naturelle.

Le « Rathaus » (l'Hôtel de ville) .

L'Université de Vienne.

Le « Burgtheater » .

La « Votivkirche » .

Lors de la destruction des vieux remparts de la ville au milieu du XIXe siècle, on décida de construire la « Votivkirche » (une église votive de style néo-Gothique) sur le nouveau boulevard circulaire de la capitale : la « Ringstraße » . Le jeune architecte de 28 ans, Heinrich von Ferstel, s'inspirera des églises de France construites 7 siècles plus tôt.

Elle fut érigée à l'initiative de l'archiduc Ferdinand-Maximilien (le frère de l'Empereur qui deviendra le futur Empereur Maximilien Ier du Mexique) , pour commémorer l'attentat raté contre François-Joseph par le Hongrois Janos Libényi, le 18 février 1853 : Après l'échec de l'attentat, l'archiduc appela tous les peuples de la monarchie Habsbourgeoise à participer à cette souscription nationale. 300,000 sujets contribuèrent à l'érection du bâtiment.

Ses tours devaient culminer à 99 mètres mais elles seront limitées, réglementation oblige, à 98 mètres ; soit la hauteur de celle de l'Hôtel de ville. Il s'agit de la seconde plus haute église de Vienne.

La Bourse de Vienne.

Le Palais Todesco.

Le « Stadtpark » .

La « Schwarzenbergplatz » .

...

Le « Ring » de Vienne mesure 5,3 kilomètres. Une longueur suffisante pour accueillir de nombreux immeubles d'aspect monumental, construits pendant l'époque historiciste, entre 1860 et 1890. De l'Opéra au Musée des Beaux-arts, toutes ces réalisations comptent aujourd'hui parmi les principales curiosités de Vienne.

« Telle est ma volonté... » - C'est par ces mots que l'Empereur François-Joseph donna l'ordre de construire la « Ringstraße » , en 1857. Nobles et grands bourgeois s'empressèrent d'édifier tout au long de la prestigieuse avenue nombre de pompeux Palais. Beaucoup de ces édifices, autrefois propriétés privées, peuvent encore être admirés (quoique le plus souvent seulement de l'extérieur) . Le style de leur construction est entré dans l'histoire sous le nom de style « Ringstraße » (une des formes de l'historicisme) . Il s'agit d'un pluralisme stylistique qui vise à imiter les nombreuses formes architecturales héritées du passé.

Le 1er mai 1865, l'Empereur François-Joseph a inauguré solennellement la « Wiener Ringstraße » .

Les immeubles les plus remarquables ne sont en fait pas les Palais, mais bien plutôt les grands édifices comme l'Opéra (construit en style néo-Renaissance) , le Parlement, l'Hôtel-de-Ville (de style Gothique flamand) , le « Burgtheater » (de style néo-Baroque) , l'Université (de style néo-Renaissance) , le Musée des Arts appliqués, la Bourse de Vienne et la « Votivkirche » (de style néo-Gothique) , tous des bâtiments construits dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle. Sont également dignes d'intérêt le Musée des Beaux-arts et le Musée d'Histoire naturelle, tous 2 édifiés dans le style néo-Renaissance. Outre les trésors artistiques et naturels qu'ils hébergent, ils sont aussi par eux-mêmes des chefs-d'œuvre de l'architecture.

Des Maîtres d'œuvre comme Theophil von Hansen, Karl Freiherr von Hasenauer, Gottfried Semper, Heinrich von Ferstel ou Friedrich von Schmidt ont imprimé leur marque sur la « Ringstraße » . La fin du XIXe siècle vit l'avènement du « Jugendstil » (Art nouveau) viennois, qui abandonna les excès de faste pompeux de l'époque historiciste.

AB 80 : 1881

17 janvier 1881 : Bruckner complète la 6e Symphonie lors de son retour au bureau à l'Université de Vienne.

20 février 1881 : Événement qui marquera une étape décisive dans la vie du compositeur Anton Bruckner (âgé de 56

ans) . Concert commandité par le « Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein » . Création de la seconde version de la 4e Symphonie sous la direction du chef Hans Richter à la tête du Philharmonique. Au même programme, de Beethoven : l'Ouverture du Roi Étienne (« König Stephan ») , Opus 117, et le 4e Concerto pour piano en sol majeur, Opus 58, avec Hans von Bülow comme soliste. Bülow dirigera aussi une de ses propres œuvres, la Ballade pour grand orchestre intitulée « Des Sängers Fluch » (la Malédiction de la chanteuse) , Opus 16, basée sur des textes de Ludwig Uhland.

Le critique Eduard Kremser dira à propos de ce concert :

« Bruckner chante ses propres chansons. Il dit au monde quelque chose qui lui fait du bien. »

Ce jour est considéré comme le début d'une réelle prise en charge de Bruckner à Vienne.

20 février 1881 : The 1880 version of the « Romantic » is premiered in Vienna by the Philharmonic conducted by Hans Richter ; 1st premiere of a Bruckner Symphony to be conducted by someone other than the composer. Bruckner makes some changes to the Symphony after the 1st performance, resulting in the 1881 version.

25 mars 1881 : Béla (Viktor János) Bartók is born at Nagyszentmiklós (Great Saint-Nicholas) , then part of Greater Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Empire (now, Sânnicolau Mare, in Romania) .

2 rich patrons buy all of the 38 year old Emil Schindler's paintings, suddenly making him wealthy. He also takes on Carl Moll as a pupil.

The 34 year old Ignaz Brüll becomes Artistic Director at the Horák School of Piano Studies, in Vienna.

The 31 year old Richard Heuberger becomes music-critic of the « Wiener Tagblatt » .

In America, the « Graphophone » , a much improved version of the phonograph which uses wax-covered cardboard cylinders, is developed by Chichester A. Bell and Charles Sumner Tainter. Edison shows no interest in their invention, so they set-up their own factory in Washington, D.C. Edison, then, introduces his own improved phonograph, based on the « Graphophone » . Bell and Tainter, in turn, copy Edison's invention of solid wax cylinders. Both firms compete to try to create interest in office sound recording devices.

3 au 17 mai 1881 : Ire ébauche par Bruckner de son « Te Deum » (**WAB 45**) .

2 juillet 1881 : Franz Liszt fell down the stairs of a hotel in Weimar. Though friends and colleagues had noticed swelling in his feet and legs when he had arrived in Weimar the previous month (an indication of possible congestive heart failure) , he had been in good health up to that point and was still fit and active. He was left immobilized for 8 weeks after the accident and never fully recovered from it. A number of ailments manifested themselves - dropsy, asthma, insomnia, a cataract of the left eye and heart disease. The last-mentioned eventually contributed to Liszt's death. He became increasingly plagued by feelings of desolation, despair and preoccupation with death - feelings which

he expressed in his works from this period. As he told Lina Ramann :

« I carry a deep sadness of the heart which must now and then break-out in sound. »

3 septembre 1881 : Anton Bruckner, 57 ans, achève sa 6^e Symphonie.

Automne 1881 : The 21 year old Gustav Mahler is hired for his 1st important post as an Opera conductor, at the provincial Theater of Laibach (now, Ljubljana, in Slovenia) , for 1 season.

Mahler submits his score of « Das Klagende Lied » to the competition for the Beethoven Prize, whose jury includes Johannes Brahms and Eduard Hanslick.

23 septembre 1881 : Anton Bruckner pose sur papier les 1^{res} idées de sa 7^e Symphonie. Apparemment, le splendide thème d'ouverture lui est venue pendant un rêve. Le chef Ignaz Dorn, un ami de jeunesse qui succéda à Otto Kitzler, lui apparut jouant le thème à l'alto, avec ces mots : « Cela t'apportera le succès ! » . Effectivement, la première de la 7^e sera créée non pas à Vienne, un terreau trop conservateur, mais plutôt à Leipzig, une ville beaucoup plus progressive artistiquement. Un critique s'étonna même : « Comment a-t-il pu nous demeurer aussi longtemps inconnu ? » .

Autres élèves d'Anton Bruckner au Conservatoire (II)

L'élève Friedrich Eckstein

L'un des élèves d'Anton Bruckner, Friedrich Eckstein, un ami intime qui deviendra son « secrétaire personnel volontaire » , comme il le dira si bien, le visitait régulièrement durant cette période. Il a souvent examiner les manuscrits des compositions en cours d'écriture. Eckstein fut frappé par ce thème qui initie le 1^{er} mouvement de la 7^e Symphonie.

Eckstein, surnommé « le philosophe de la “ Ringstraße ” » , était un sanscritiste, un végétarien, un ami proche de Hugo Wolf, d'Anton Bruckner, et d'autres musiciens. Il a écrit des articles sur la psychanalyse. Son autobiographie, que Freud a amené avec lui à Londres, s'intitule : « “ Alte unennbare Tage ! ” Erinnerungen aus 70 Lehr- und Wanderjahren » (Journées ineffables de voyage et d'étude : de vieux souvenirs de 70 ans) , paru en 1936 aux éditions Herbert Reichner (Vienne / Leipzig / Zürich) .

...

Nul doute que le long 1^{er} thème en arche de la Symphonie n° 7 (violoncelles et altos, avec cor d'abord) soit tout droit venu de l'inconscient - un cadeau de la nature. À cette époque-là, Friedrich Eckstein rendait régulièrement visite à Bruckner, son professeur et ami intime et, pouvant examiner à loisir les esquisses des œuvres en cours, il fut frappé par la manière inhabituelle dont le thème inaugural de la Symphonie n° 7 prit forme. Ses remarques sur les

habitudes de travail de Bruckner (et sur la spécificité de l'ouverture de la n° 7) valent d'être citées en entier :

« Chaque fois, ou presque, que j'allais voir Bruckner à son appartement de la Hessegasse, je le trouvais assis à son vieil et encombrant piano Bösendorfer, laborieusement plongé dans l'ébauche d'une de ses Symphonies, les mains tremblantes, à s'échiner sur les harmonies. Ces esquisses étaient en elles-mêmes des plus remarquables. Généralement, seule la ligne de violon ou la ligne supérieure des bois était remplie avec, en bas, la basse ; entre les 2, il y avait un vide, et c'était seulement bien plus tard que les autres voix orchestrales étaient ajoutées. Leur dimension harmonique et leur agencement étaient déjà clairement établis dans l'oreille interne du Maître et, çà et là, apparaissait sous la ligne de basse une note, ordinairement sous la forme d'une majuscule, pour indiquer la " note fondamentale " harmonique du passage en question. »

« Mais quel trésor de beauté inimaginable s'offrit à moi quand je vis les toutes premières mesures d'une œuvre à peine commencée, la merveilleuse Symphonie n° 7 : là où les trémolos de cordes lancent une séquence harmonique très émouvante qui surplombe en arche une splendide chaîne de retards, inondant le thème principal, au cor et aux violoncelles, de rais d'une lumière éclatante ! »

...

Friedrich Eckstein est né le 17 février 1861 à Perchtoldsdorf près de Vienne. Brillant philosophe, théosophe, érudit, mécène, mathématicien et chimiste autrichien, il était également un passionné de musique. Il pouvait échanger ses vastes connaissances avec les grands penseurs, écrivains et musiciens de Vienne. Eckstein a produit plusieurs ouvrages sur le compositeur Anton Bruckner dont un recueil de « souvenirs » .

Dans « Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner » - Universal-Edition, Wiener Philharmonischer Verlag, Wien (1923) - Eckstein donne un compte-rendu assez détaillé de son voyage à Munich en compagnie de son ancien Maître du Conservatoire, devenu un ami proche.

Friedrich Eckstein énonce brièvement (environ 70 pages) ses « souvenirs » sur Anton Bruckner. Lui-même un élève du compositeur, il se décrit comme étant « son secrétaire personnel volontaire » . Eckstein parle d'abord de l'homme puis de l'enseignant : ses vues sur la théorie musicale et son système d'enseignement, souvent accompagnés d'exemples musicaux, de notes et d'apartés provenant de la plume du Maître. Certains de ses contemporains ont défini son comportement « d'étrange ou même d'absurde » . Ses compositions innovatrices vont influencer l'histoire de la musique du 20e siècle.

À la toute fin de sa vie, la foi de Bruckner (comme en témoigne chacun des 4 mouvements de sa 9e Symphonie) passera par une grave crise existentielle. Son intérêt soudain pour les religions Orientales (dont le Bouddhisme) était en grande partie dû à l'influence d'Eckstein.

Le penchant d'Eckstein pour l'occultisme sera surtout évident lorsqu'il deviendra membre d'un « Lebensreform » , un groupe végétarien viennois qui discutait, à la fin des années 1870, des doctrines de Pythagore et des néo-Platoniciens.

Plus tard, ses intérêts ésotériques se porteront vers la mystique allemande et espagnole, les légendes entourant les Templiers et les Francs-maçons de même que la mythologie wagnérienne et les religions Orientales.

Personne, pas même les plus célèbres célébrités viennoises, ne manquait l'occasion d'échanger avec Friedrich Eckstein, toujours assis à la table des habitués du Café Impérial « Mac Ecks » (seconde salle de réception à gauche) . Les compositeurs Anton Bruckner, Hugo Wolf et Johann Strauß, les théosophes E. Blavatsky et Annie Besant, les écrivains Peter Altenberg et Felix Salten, le pamphlétaire Karl Kraus, l'auteur dramatique Ferdinand Bruckner, le psychanaliste Sigmund Freud, le psychothérapeute Alfred Adler, l'écrivain et médecin Arthur Schnitzler et Léon Trotzky, tous lui demandaient conseil. Si Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Franz Werfel ou Rainer Maria Rilke doutaient de l'un de leurs poèmes, ils accouraient tout de suite pour lui demander son opinion. Des architectes comme Adolf Loos ou des ingénieurs comme Robert Musil lui présentaient leurs plans ; des mathématiciens, leurs équations ; des physiciens, leurs formules ; des compositeurs, leurs partitions. Les juristes, avocats et psychanalystes discutaient avec lui de leurs cas. Des acteurs l'ont longuement interrogé sur leurs rôles ; et les historiens, sur sa vision de l'histoire.

Dans son livre intitulé « The Diary of Dostoyevsky's Wife » , écrit en 1925 (Reinhard Piper Verlag, München) , l'auteur René Fülöp-Miller a richement dépeint à travers moult anecdotes (dont les rencontres avec Hugo Wolf, Anton Bruckner, Mark Twain et bien d'autres) l'itinéraire de ce grand penseur, ce littéraire, ce mécène, ce théosophe autrichien que fut Friedrich Eckstein (1861-1939) .

...

Friedrich était l'un des 10 enfants du couple Albert Eckstein et Amalie Wehle. Cette famille juive appartenait à la haute bourgeoisie viennoise. Le père était chimiste et inventeur en plus d'être le propriétaire d'une usine de parchemin. À la table des habitués de son père, Friedrich Eckstein aura l'occasion de rencontrer des personnalités fortes comme le général et inventeur Franz von Uchatius, le philosophe social, inventeur et écrivain Josef Popper-Lynkeus, l'ingénieur forestier Wilhelm Franz Exner ainsi que le fondateur de la psychanalyse, Sigmund Freud avec qui il aura la chance de collaborer occasionnellement sur le plan professionnel. (Dans « Malaise dans la culture » , Friedrich Eckstein rapporte avoir fait découvrir l'art du yoga à Freud.) . Une longue amitié va alors s'établir.

Sa sœur, Emma Eckstein, va entrer dans l'histoire de la psychanalyse sous le pseudonyme de « Irma » . Elle aura à subir une chirurgie du nez catastrophique pratiquée par l'ami de Freud, le médecin juif allemand Wilhelm Fließ. Une autre de ses sœurs, Therese Schlesinger, deviendra une politicienne aguerrie et une militante féministe. De 1919 à 1923, elle siégera à l'Assemblée nationale constituante et, par la suite, au Conseil fédéral jusqu'en 1930.

C'est Franz Hartmann qui fera découvrir la théosophie à Eckstein. En juin 1886, ce dernier va recevoir l'acte de fondation d'une loge maçonnique, signée de la main d'Helena Petrovna Blavatsky : la Société Théosophique de Vienne. Il en deviendra le 1er président, en 1887.

Eckstein se liera d'amitié avec Gustav Meyrink et fréquentera régulièrement le théosophe Henry Steel Olcott jusqu'à son départ pour Vienne en compagnie de Rudolf Steiner. En 1890, il sera tenu en haute estime par le cercle des

théosophes dirigé par Marie Lang mais Eckstein finira par rejeter cette science l'accusant d'être une « spiritualité faible » .

Depuis 1898, Friedrich Eckstein était marié à la théosophe et écrivaine Bertha Helene Diener (1874-1948) . Le couple invitera à leur salon du « Sankt-Genois-Schlössl » (Villa Aichelburg) au 19-21 Helenenstraße à Baden, le « tout Vienne » ; citons entre autres : Peter Altenberg, Arthur Schnitzler, Karl Kraus et Adolf Loos.

Le dramaturge Arthur Schnitzler évoquera en présentation de son « Das weite Land die Ecksteinvilla in Baden » (Le vaste pays de la Villa Eckstein, à Baden) , écrit en 1911, le personnage du fils d'Eckstein, Percy (né en 1899 et mort en 1962)

En 1904, Bertha Helene Diener quittera son mari. Suite à son divorce, en 1909, elle utilisera comme journaliste et comme écrivaine les pseudonymes de « Ahasvera » et de « Sir Galahad » .

Friedrich Eckstein va mourir à Vienne, le 10 novembre 1939, à l'âge de 78 ans.

Il est l'auteur de « Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner » , Vienne, (1923) .

...

If the German occult sub-culture was well-developed before the First World War, Vienna could also look back on a ripe tradition of occult interest. The story of this tradition is closely linked with Friedrich Eckstein (1861-1939) . The personal secretary of composer Anton Bruckner, this brilliant polymath cultivated a wide-circle of acquaintance amongst the leading thinkers, writers and musicians of Vienna. His penchant for occultism Ist became evident as a member of a « Lebensreform » group who had practised vegetarianism and discussed the doctrines of Pythagoras and the neo-Platonists in Vienna, at the end of the 1870's. His esoteric interests later extended to German and Spanish mysticism, the legends surrounding the Templars, and the Freemasons, Wagnerian mythology, and oriental religions. In 1880, he befriended the Viennese mathematician Oskar Simony, who was impressed by the metaphysical theories of Professor Friedrich Zöllner of Leipzig. Zöllner had hypothesized that spiritualistic phenomena confirmed the existence of a 4th dimension. Eckstein and Simony were also associated with the Austrian psychical researcher, Lazar von Hellenbach, who performed scientific experiments with mediums in a state of trance and contributed to « Die Sphinx » . Following his cordial meeting with Blavatsky, in 1886, Eckstein gathered a group of theosophists in Vienna. During the late 1880's, both Franz Hartmann and the young Rudolf Steiner were « habitués » of this circle. Eckstein was also acquainted with the mystical group around the illiterate Christian pietist, Alois Mailänder (1844-1905) , who was lionized at Kempten and later at Darmstadt by many theosophists, including Hartmann and Hübbe-Schleiden. Eckstein corresponded with Gustav Meyrink, founder of the « Blue Star » theosophical lodge at Prague, in 1891, who later achieved renown as an occult novelist before the First World War. In 1887, a Vienna Theosophical Society was founded with Eckstein as president and Count Karl zu Leiningen-Billigheim, as secretary.

...

The Austrian polymath and theosophist Friedrich Eckstein was born on 17 February 1861 in Perchtoldsdorf, Lower-Austria, and died on 10 November 1939 in Vienna. He was a friend and temporary co-worker of Sigmund Freud.

He appears anonymously in Freud's « Civilization and its Discontents » as a « friend of mine, whose insatiable craving for knowledge has led him to make the most unusual experiments », including « the practices of Yoga. He sees in them a physiological basis, as it were, for much of the wisdom of mysticism » .

Also the husband of fellow theosophist and writer Bertha Diener, Eckstein's penchant for occultism first became evident as a member of a vegetarian group which discussed the doctrines of Pythagoras and the Neo-Platonists in Vienna at the end of the 1870s. His esoteric interests later extended to German and Spanish mysticism, the legends surrounding the Templars and the freemasons, Wagnerian mythology and oriental religions. In 1886, in the week after the tragedy at Mayerling, in which Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria, and his mistress were found dead in mysterious circumstances, he and his friend, the composer Anton Bruckner (for whom he also served as private secretary) traveled to the monastery of « Stift Heiligenkreuz » to ask the abbot there for details of what happened.

The proof sheets of Bruckner's Quintet, which at the time were in the possession of Friedrich Eckstein, « show many corrections in Bruckner's hand » , which reveal that « the last actual manuscript handed in by Bruckner before the printing did not mark the conclusion of his work on the composition » .

One of Bruckner's pupils and closest friends, Friedrich Eckstein, visited the composer regularly at this time, and he was often able to inspect the sketches for whichever work was then in progress. Eckstein was struck by how unusually the 7th's opening theme came into being. His remarks about Bruckner's normal working habits (and how the opening of the 7th differed from these) is worth quoting at length :

« Almost every time I visited Bruckner at his apartment in the Hessegasse, I found him sitting at his old fashioned, bulky Bösendorfer grand piano, deep in the sketch of one of his Symphonies, laboriously, with shaking hands, coaxing out the harmonies. These musical outlines were in themselves quite remarkable. As a rule only, the violin or the top woodwind line was filled in, and in the bottom, the bass ; in between was a yawning gap, and it wasn't until much later that the remaining orchestral voices were added. The harmonic dimension and the arrangement of the orchestral voices were already clearly established in the Master's inner ear, and here and there, underneath the bass line, would stand a note, usually in the form of a capital letter, to indicate the harmonic ' fundamental tone ' of the passage in question. »

« But what a wealth of unimagined beauty was revealed when I saw the very 1st bars of one newly begun work, the wonderful 7th Symphony : where the string tremolos launch a deeply moving harmonic sequence that arches through a splendid chain of suspensions, bathing the main-theme, on horn and cellos, in shafts of radiant sunlight ! »

Contrary to popular belief, Bruckner was quite capable of putting up resistance when he really didn't like an idea. And although he could be relatively puritan about instrumentation when it came to Symphonies (harps were included in

the 8th only after a 1 month long struggle, according to his pupil Friedrich Eckstein) , if he had doubts about the suitability of cymbals and triangle, why did he include them again in the Adagio of Symphony No 8 ? From a musicological point of view, the issue is hard to resolve.

Bruckner used harps for the 1st time in the 8th Symphony. He had long believed, as Friedrich Eckstein recalled, that while the harp may have been appropriate in a Symphonic poem, it did not belong in « a proper Symphony » , but, here, he changed his mind. He told Eckstein that he felt compelled to use harps in this work :

« I simply had to, there was no other solution. »

Bruckner's pupil Friedrich Eckstein said about the 8 Symphony that it reveals « new, almost incomprehensible musical wonders » and « mysteries of daring chromaticism and enharmonicism. »

Bruckner's friend and student Friedrich Eckstein put it :

« I can testify that it was impossible to coerce him in artistic matters. » ; quoted in « Leidenschaftliche Erörterungen um Bruckner » , « Anbruch » No. 18 (1936) .

...

In his memoirs, Friedrich Eckstein wrote a detailed story of his trip to Munich with his former teacher, and close friend, Anton Bruckner.

February 1889 : In the week after the tragedy at Mayerling (on January 30th) , in which Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria, and his mistress were found dead in mysterious circumstances, Anton Bruckner and his private secretary Friedrich Eckstein traveled to the monastery of « Stift Heiligenkreuz » to ask the abbot there for details of what happened.

Friedrich Eckstein was the husband of fellow theosophist and writer Bertha Diener. Eckstein's penchant for occultism 1st became evident as a member of a « Lebensreform » group who had practised vegetarianism and discussed the doctrines of Pythagoras and the Neo-Platonists in Vienna, at the end of the 1870's. His esoteric interests later extended to German and Spanish mysticism, the legends surrounding the Templars and the Freemasons, Wagnerian mythology and Oriental religions.

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Eckstein corresponded with Gustav Meyrink, founder of the « Blue Star » theosophical lodge at Prague, in 1891, who later achieved renown as an occult novelist before the 1st World War.

...

Friedrich Eckstein (geboren 17. Februar 1861 in Perchtoldsdorf bei Wien ; gestorben 10. November 1939 in Wien) war ein österreichischer Polyhistor, Literat, Mäzen und Theosoph. Er war Freund und zeitweiliger Mitarbeiter Sigmund Freuds und ist in Das Unbehagen in der Kultur der Freund, von dem Freud sagt, er habe ihn über Yoga unterrichtet.

Friedrich Eckstein wurde am 17. Februar 1861 in Perchtoldsdorf als eines von zehn Kindern von Albert Eckstein und Amalie Wehle geboren. Der Vater war Chemiker und Erfinder sowie Besitzer einer Pergamentfabrik. Die jüdische Familie gehörte dem Wiener Großbürgertum an.

Über den Stammtisch seines Vaters lernte der junge Eckstein Persönlichkeiten wie den General und Erfinder Franz von Uchatius, den Sozialphilosophen, Erfinder und Schriftsteller Josef Popper-Lynkeus, den Forstingenieur Wilhelm Franz Exner sowie den Begründer der Psychoanalyse, Sigmund Freud, kennen. Mit diesem war er sein Leben lang in Freundschaft verbunden.

Eckstein wurde durch Franz Hartmann in die Theosophie eingeführt. Im Juni 1886 erhielt er eine von Helena Petrovna Blavatsky persönlich unterzeichnete Stiftungsurkunde für die Wiener Loge der Theosophischen Gesellschaft. Damit gründete er 1887 die erste offizielle Loge dieser Gesellschaft in Österreich, deren Präsident er wurde. Er war mit Gustav Meyrink befreundet und verkehrte mit dem Theosophen Henry Steel Olcott und bis zu dessen Wegzug aus Wien mit Rudolf Steiner. Dieser schätzte ihn persönlich hoch und hielt sich um 1890 im Kreis der Theosophen bei Marie Lang auf, verwarf dann aber die Theosophie als « Schwachgeistigkeit » .

Eckstein hatte frühe Kontakte zu lebensreformerischen Kreisen (Vegetarismus) . Er war seit 1898 mit Bertha Helene Diener (1874-1948) verheiratet. Sie führten im Sankt-Genois-Schlössl in Baden bei Wien einen Salon, in dem Peter Altenberg, Arthur Schnitzler, Karl Kraus und Adolf Loos, also « ganz Wien » verkehrte. Schnitzler verwendete für sein Drama Das weite Land die Ecksteinvilla in Baden und den 1899 geborenen Sohn Percy Eckstein als Vorlage. 1904 wurde Eckstein von seiner Frau verlassen, die sich nach ihrer Scheidung im Jahr 1909 unter dem Pseudonym Sir Galahad als Journalistin und Schriftstellerin einen Namen machte.

Bei literarischen Stammtischen (zum Beispiel im Café Imperial, zweiter Saal, links) traf Eckstein Karl Kraus, Arthur Schnitzler, Felix Salten, Hugo Wolf, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Franz Werfel, Rainer Maria Rilke, Robert Musil, Adolf Loos, Leo Trotzki und besonders Anton Bruckner, dessen Schüler und späterer Mäzen und Privatsekretär er war.

Ecksteins Schwester Emma ging als Irma in die Geschichte der Psychoanalyse ein. Sie hatte eine katastrophale Nasenoperation durch Freuds Freund Wilhelm Fließ hinter sich. Eine weitere Schwester von ihm, Therese Schlesinger, war eine bekannte Politikerin und Frauenrechtlerin, die von 1919 bis 1923 der konstituierenden Nationalversammlung und dem Nationalrat, danach bis 1930 dem Bundesrat angehörte.

René Fülöp Miller über Friedrich Eckstein :

« In Wien, wo Literatur, Kunst, Musik, Philosophie und Geschäft in Kaffeehäusern ihr Heim hatten, war es nur natürlich, daß auch Mac Eck, die Weisheit in persona, an einem Café-Tisch thronte. In einer Ecke des Café Imperial saß er von Morgen bis Mitternacht. Er hatte einen Ziegenbart und einen mongolischen Augenausschnitt. Sein Alter war selbst seinen vertrautesten Freunden nicht bekannt ... Julius, der alte Oberkellner, behauptete jedenfalls, er habe Mac Eck schon in der gleichen Ecke des Cafés vorgefunden, als er seine Laufbahn als Piccolo begann. Selbst unter den berühmtesten Wiener Berühmtheiten gab es keinen, der sich nicht gern an Mac Ecks Stammtisch eingefunden hätte. Hugo Wolf, Johann Strauß, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky und Annie Besant, Ferdinand Bruckner, Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler und Leo Trotzki - sie alle berieten sich mit ihm. Wenn Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Werfel und Rilke über ein Gedicht in Zweifel waren, so pilgerten sie zu Mac Eck. Architekten legten ihm ihre Baupläne, Mathematiker ihre Gleichungen, Physiker ihre Formeln, Komponisten ihre Partituren zur Begutachtung vor. Juristen und Psychoanalytiker besprachen ihre Fälle mit ihm. Schauspieler befragten ihn über ihre Rollen und Historiker über ihre Geschichtstheorien. Selbst der kaiserliche Hofzeremonienmeister erschien eines Tages, um Mac Eck über eine strittige Frage der spanischen Hofetiquette zu konsultieren. Mac Eck kannte sich in allen Gebieten aus. Wollte jemand die Haupt- und Nebenflüsse in Paraguay wissen, eine Auskunft über Neothomismus, das erste romantische Gedicht oder die früheste Erwähnung der Zahnbürste, so wandte er sich an Mac Eck. Der Spötter Karl Kraus, der im Imperial am Nebentisch seinen Sitz aufgeschlagen hatte, wagte als einziger, sich über Mac Ecks Allwissen lustig zu machen. " Ich hatte heute nacht einen Alptraum » , erzählte er einmal. « Ein Band Brockhaus stieg aus dem Regal herab, um in Mac Eck etwas nachzuschlagen. " Mac Eck, der sich in allen geistigen Dingen auskannte, wußte natürlich auch über alle praktischen Fragen Bescheid. Er konnte Kunsthändlern sagen, welcher Liebhaber sich für ein ganz bestimmtes Bild aus der Frührenaissance interessieren würde ; er sah auf den ersten Blick den Unterschied in der Webart von Brünner und englischen Stoffen, er konnte Buchhändlern den Wert von Erstausgaben angeben und wußte, wer in Europa was finanzieren würde. »

(Der Narr im Frack, in : Der Monat (4) 1952, Seite 401f.)

Friedrich Torberg hat die folgende Begebenheit über Eckstein erzählt :

« ... der Polyhistor Eckstein war der berühmteste der Stammgäste des Café Imperial. Autor einer leider verschollenen Bruckner-Monographie mit dem schönen Titel " Der Weltgeist an der Orgel ", enorm belesen und enorm gebildet, stand der alte Eckstein im Ruf, einfach alles zu wissen. Es gab keine Frage, die er nicht unverzüglich beantworten konnte, ja

manchmal nahm er die Antwort ahnungsvoll und kenntnisreich vorweg, ohne die Frage abzuwarten. Man raunte sich zu, daß der große Brockhaus, wenn er etwas nicht wußte, heimlich aufstand und im alten Eckstein nachsah. Als einmal die " Presse " eine Meldung brachte, in der von einem neuen Werk des Dichters Kun-Han-Su die Rede war, konnte der alte Eckstein seinen fragenden Jüngern sofort mit genauen Auskünften über das Schaffen dieses bedeutenden chinesischen Lyrikers aufwarten, der als einziger versuchte, eine unter den letzten Kaisern der Ming-Dynastie zur Hochblüte gelangte Versform wieder zu beleben. Zwar stellte sich am nächsten Tag heraus, daß es sich bei Kun-Han-Su lediglich um einen Übermittlungsfehler von Knut Hamsun handelte, aber der alte Eckstein hatte wieder einmal alles gewußt, und man respektierte ihn so sehr, daß man geneigt war, auch weiterhin an die Existenz eines chinesischen Lyrikers namens Kun-Han-Su zu glauben. »

(Die Tante Jolesch oder Der Untergang des Abendlandes in Anekdoten, München 1975, Seite 202.)

Therese Schlesinger

Friedrich Eckstein was the brother of the suffragette, Therese Schlesinger, and the Austro-Marxist Gustav Eckstein, father of the writer Percy Eckstein.

Therese Schlesinger's life was characterized by her desire for lifelong learning and her endeavors to alter the plight of working class women. She was a dedicated feminist who was inspired by the ideals of socialism, struggling to combine both of her political passions within the Social-Democratic Party. The widowed mother of a daughter, she devoted herself ardently to the Socialist cause despite her physical ailments. In March 1919, she was elected one of the 1st female Social-Democrats to the Austrian parliament and had a lasting impact on aspiring new female Socialists, such as Käthe Leichter (1895-1942) and Stella Klein-Löw (1904-1986) . In her autobiographic writings, Schlesinger-Eckstein hardly ever comments on her Jewish identity. However, given the context of an increasingly acculturated Jewish community in « turn of the Century Vienna » , this fact does not strike one as uncommon. Nevertheless, it still remains a subject of speculation whether the ambivalence of the Social-Democrats towards its many Jewish supporters contributed to her not undisputed position within the Party.

Therese Schlesinger-Eckstein was born in Vienna, on June 6, 1863, as the 3rd of 10 children in a Liberal Jewish family. Her father, Albert Eckstein (1825-1881) , a graduate of the Prague Technical University, was a pioneer in the development of parchment paper. He was an acquaintance of the philosophers Ernst Mach (1838-1916) and Joseph Popper-Lynkeus (1838-1921) . Her mother, Amalie Wehle (1836-1921) , was born in Prague and was unusually educated for a woman of her time. Together with her husband, she regularly attended seminars at Vienna University. Given the progressive atmosphere at home, it should come as no surprise that 4 out of the 8 surviving siblings (2 brothers died during infancy) are known as influential figures in « turn of the Century Vienna » . Schlesinger's older brother, Friedrich Eckstein (1861-1939) , the legendary « Mac Eck » , was a dazzling character on the Viennese intellectual scene. An expert in various academic fields, ranging from science, astronomy, linguistics and theology to mathematics and musicology (he was the secretary of composer Anton Bruckner) , he was closely acquainted with famous Viennese characters such as Sigmund Freud, Arthur Schnitzler, Karl Kraus (1874-1936) and the Social-Democrat Victor Adler (1852-1918) . Schlesinger's younger sister, Emma Eckstein (1865-1924) , active in the rising women's

movement, was one of the 1st patients of Sigmund Freud and, subsequently, became one of his students. The youngest of the siblings, Gustav Eckstein (1875-1916) , was a renowned Social-Democrat and close friend of Karl Kautsky (1854-1938) .

Unlike her brothers, Schlesinger was denied a higher-education. In Habsburg-Austria, schools preparing girls for University were established only in the last decade of the 19th Century. Throughout her life, she constantly strove to overcome the limitations of her education and took great pains to achieve this goal. In the summer of 1888, she married Victor Schlesinger, a bank clerk 15 years her senior. In the following year, she gave birth to her daughter, Anna. The delivery turned into a traumatic experience : the midwife who assisted her during labor infected Schlesinger with a disease which crippled her for life. Shortly thereafter, her husband died of tuberculosis. During this fateful time, her friend Marie Lang (1858-1934) introduced her to the radical feminist organization, « Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenbund » , and, in 1894, Schlesinger became a member. She soon belonged to the close circle of activists around Auguste Fickert (1855-1910) , who became her mentor and encouraged her to publish her 1st articles. In 1896, Schlesinger participated in a conference on the conditions of Viennese female workers, which introduced her to the plight of the female proletariat and aroused her interest in Socialism. Deeply moved, she accepted an invitation to attend a meeting of female workers. Subsequently, she was caught in an inner-struggle between her feminist and Socialist loyalties. During this time, she started to attend the lectures of Emil Reich (1864-1940) on Social ethics at Vienna University. In the fall of 1897, Therese Schlesinger officially joined the Social-Democrats, but this step could not ultimately solve the conflict between her diverging political interests. Within the Social-Democratic Party, she was now confronted with ambiguous strategies regarding feminist questions.

This ambivalence made itself felt as early as spring 1898 in the course of the 1st Social-Democratic Women's Conference, when Party officials feared a weakening of its power by female separatism. The convention eventually took place with the Party's blessings. At about the same time, Therese started her eclectic publishing activities for various Socialist papers. Her 1st publication, in 1897, was an article in the German paper « Neue Zeit » , edited by the Socialist Karl Kautsky, who became her lifelong mentor and friend. Her correspondence with Kautsky and Auguste Fickert, in the following years, indicates that her position within the Party was not undisputed. Besides encountering accusations of female separatism, she was also met with reservation because of her Jewish origins and her bourgeois background, which was heightened by her political history in the feminist movement. Nevertheless, she dedicated herself fervently to the Social-Democratic cause and worked ceaselessly for the Party despite her physical ailments. One of her main agendas was the implementation of women's suffrage. At the Party Congress in Graz, in 1900, she criticized the Party's attitude towards this issue, stating that most officials conceive the question of voting rights as an issue related solely to the male proletariat. Her pamphlet, « What Women Want in Politics » (Vienna, 1909) , emphasized this subject and stressed the importance of educating women to political maturity. At the same time, she fought for the protection of working mothers and suggested the adoption of a national maternity insurance. Her publications in the Social-Democratic paper, « Der Kampf » , include several articles on this topic.

During World War I, Therese was among the members of the Leftist opposition under the leadership of Friedrich Adler (1879-1960) , who were fighting for the ideals of internationalism and peace, in a time dominated by avid War patriotism. In 1919, Therese Schlesinger, representing the Social-Democrats, was elected one of the 1st female members

of parliament in the newly-founded Austrian Republic. In the year that followed, she attracted the attention of a circle of young female Socialists, including Käthe Leichter and Stella Klein-Löw, whose adored mentor and role model she became.

Therese Schlesinger remained politically active until 1933, when she retired from the Party leadership. In 1934, the Austrian Social-Democrats were forced into illegality. After the Nazi take-over, in 1938, she emigrated to France, where she died on June 5, 1940.

Emma Eckstein

La journaliste autrichienne, suffragette et auteur de livres pour enfants Emma Eckstein est née le 28 janvier 1865 à Gaudenzdorf et est morte d'une hémorragie cérébrale le 30 juillet 1924 à Vienne. Une célèbre patiente de Sigmund Freud, qui après son analyse est elle-même devenue psychanalyste pendant une très courte période. Elle est issue d'une grande famille viennoise de tradition socialiste, et participa activement au mouvement féministe.

À 27 ans, elle consulte Freud notamment pour des symptômes de douleurs intestinales et un syndrome dépressif lié à la menstruation. Il diagnostique alors un trauma psychologique dû à des abus sexuels dans l'enfance. Freud adresse sa patiente à son ami Wilhelm Fließ, selon qui un lien physique existe entre l'organe génital féminin et le nez (théorie de la « névrose nasale réflexe ») . Il l'opère du nez la même année. L'opération est un désastre. Fließ commet une grave erreur, en oubliant des cautères dans le nez de sa patiente. Ré-opérée, elle en gardera de graves lésions sur le visage toute sa vie. Freud s'était bien rendu compte que Fließ avait commis une faute grave, « un de ces actes manqués chirurgicaux » , mais il mit du temps à en tirer les conséquences dans sa ré-évaluation du savoir de son ami et confident.

Elle a écrit un livre sur l'éducation sexuelle des enfants, en 1904.

C'est une des patientes qui suscite encore la controverse au sujet de l'abandon de Freud de sa théorie de la séduction. Freud mettait ce type d'affirmation en doute à la faveur du fantasme œdipien considéré à son tour comme psycho-traumatogène.

...

Quand Freud chercha à comprendre d'où venaient les angoisses des gens, il mît au point la théorie de la séduction. Ainsi, selon lui, tout le monde connaîtrait un traumatisme sexuel dans sa petite enfance, subit ou vu. L'enfant le refoulerait, et se ferait un film à la place : le souvenir écran. Cependant, il y a des symptômes, car l'inconscient sait bien que ce souvenir n'est pas vrai. Freud fait donc parler ses patient sous hypnose, pour retrouver le trauma initial. Cependant, il finît par renoncer à cette théorie, entre autres à cause de nombreux échecs. Pour exemple, on peut citer le cas d'Emma Eckstein. Cette dernière était incapable de rentrer dans un magasin. Elle consulta Freud qui lui diagnostiqua donc un trauma psychologique, dû à des abus sexuels dans son enfance. Cependant, l'ami de Freud, et chirurgien Fließ lui diagnostiqua une névrose nasale. Il l'opéra, ce qui se révéla être une véritable boucherie. Freud dissimula ce cas, jusqu'à sa redécouverte après sa mort.

...

Dans son ouvrage « Le réel escamoté », Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson explique même que l'ensemble de l'édifice psychanalytique n'aurait pas vu le jour si Freud n'avait pas abandonné sa théorie de la séduction, par laquelle il reconnaissait que les abus sexuels subis par ses patients au cours de leur enfance étaient la cause de leurs névroses. Citant une correspondance avec Anna Freud, Masson écrit :

« Conserver la théorie de la séduction, cela aurait signifié abandonner le complexe d'Œdipe et, avec lui, toute l'importance de la vie fantasmatique, qu'il s'agisse du fantasme conscient ou inconscient. En fait, je pense qu'après cela, il n'y aurait pas eu de psychanalyse. »

À l'appui de sa thèse iconoclaste, Masson expose notamment le cas d'Emma Eckstein, une des Ires analysées de Freud, dont le calvaire (et pour cause) a été pratiquement occulté dans l'histoire de la psychanalyse. Pour Freud, cette femme de 27 ans souffrait de « symptômes hystériques » qui découlaient d'abus sexuels survenus dans l'enfance. Dans l'« Esquisse d'une psychologie scientifique », écrite à l'intention de Wilhelm Fließ, il suggère dans un 1er temps que des traumatismes refoulés pourraient effectivement être à l'origine de sa névrose :

« À l'âge de 8 ans, elle était entrée 2 fois dans la boutique d'un épicier pour y acheter des friandises et le marchand avait porté la main, à travers l'étoffe de sa robe, sur ses organes génitaux. »

Cependant, il ne fait pas de lien entre ces attouchements et le fait que la jeune femme se masturbe de façon compulsive, une pratique que Freud et Fließ considèrent au contraire comme cause du déclenchement des maladies névrotiques. Pour Fließ, le seul moyen d'y remédier est d'avoir recours à une intervention chirurgicale sur le nez de la patiente, qu'il considère comme le lieu physique d'un déplacement de ses problèmes sexuels. Freud, lui, abandonne la jeune femme - en « toute confiance », lui écrit-il - et Fließ mène l'opération de telle sorte qu'Emma fait plusieurs hémorragies dont elle faillit mourir. Au bout de 15 jours, Freud découvre que Fließ a laissé au moins 50 centimètres de gaze imprégnée de teinture d'iode dans sa cavité nasale, empêchant toute cicatrisation de la plaie.

Mis en cause par Emma Eckstein, Freud écrit :

« Tous ces événements, il est vrai, n'ont pas ébranlé l'opinion que j'ai de vous, mais m'ont à nouveau inspiré du respect pour la féminité primordiale contre laquelle je ne cesse de lutter. »

L'obsession des 2 hommes pour le nez d'Emma et leur acharnement chirurgical prennent un sens lorsqu'on considère qu'ils subirent l'un et l'autre, à 8 jours, une opération mutilante, non reconnue comme telle : l'ablation sanglante de leur prépuce par la circoncision rituelle. Cette intervention traumatisante menace la vie du bébé et les soins qui suivent peuvent rendre la cicatrisation difficile. Il est donc vraisemblable que Freud et Fließ ont fait usage de leur patiente pour mettre en scène un vécu refoulé et revivre (par personne interposée) la terreur d'anéantissement provoquée en son temps par leur propre circoncision. Le jeu de ce traumatisme et la gestion de son refoulement par déplacement sur l'organe nasal de leurs patientes apparaissent clairement dans ce commentaire de Wilhelm Fließ au sujet d'un autre cas, pour lequel selon lui toutes les méthodes gynécologiques avaient échoué :

« Au moment même où j'ai enlevé le cornet moyen gauche de son nez qui était hypertrophié, l'hémorragie utérine a complètement cessé. »

Pour ne pas mettre en cause son ami et interdire le dévoilement de sa propre vérité, Freud se livre alors à une véritable contorsion sémantique qui débouchera sur l'élaboration de sa théorie du fantasme, selon laquelle les abus évoqués par ses patients au cours de l'analyse sont le fruit de leur imagination. Il soutient que les hémorragies d'Emma n'avaient rien à voir avec une chirurgie désastreuse, mais étaient « d'origine hystérique, provoquées par des désirs inassouvis et survenaient probablement lors des périodes sexuellement propices ». Les responsabilités des 2 hommes dans les souffrances endurées par la jeune femme pourront ainsi être occultées et c'est pourquoi cette théorie sera si bien accueillie par ceux qui veulent éviter de mettre en cause les parents malveillants dans la genèse des troubles psychiques, en rendant les enfants responsables des maux qu'ils manifestent.

...

Une histoire moins connue est celle de l'abandon de la théorie de la séduction précoce par Freud, entre 1897 et 1903. La théorie de la séduction précoce par un adulte, pour expliquer certaines névroses, a été remplacée sans arguments solides par une autre théorie selon laquelle ce sont les enfants qui désirent les adultes et fantasment à propos d'eux. Cette théorie fait du complexe d'Œdipe une phase obligatoire du développement psychologique et affectif.

Une enquête à partir des Archives Sigmund Freud a montré que cette théorie résultait de l'échec du traitement d'Emma Eckstein, successivement par la psychanalyse et par une opération du nez effectuée par Wilhelm Fließ, ami et correspondant de Freud. Cette intervention se fondait sur la correspondance symbolique entre le nez et les organes sexuels. Selon Fließ, les dysménorrhées, la fatigue et les troubles de la marche de cette patiente étaient liés à la masturbation, et l'opération du nez devait résoudre le problème en modifiant ses réflexes. L'intervention effectuée par Fließ tourna à la catastrophe, et la patiente dut être ré-opérée par un chirurgien compétent.

Emma Eckstein se plaignait d'avoir été séduite par un adulte dans son enfance. Devant les échecs successifs de la psychanalyse et de l'intervention chirurgicale, Freud aboutit à la conclusion qu'Emma lui avait menti et qu'il n'y avait pas de séduction réelle, mais un simple fantasme. La correspondance de Freud et de Fließ fut publiée, mais expurgée des lettres qui racontaient en détail le cas d'Emma Eckstein et Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, le psychanalyste qui avait découvert et publié cette histoire, fut licencié des Archives Sigmund Freud dont il avait la charge.

Bien que la personnalité de Masson soit controversée, ses conclusions s'appuient sur des documents solides et ont du sens au regard des données actuelles de l'épidémiologie. Elles montrent que la séduction réelle par des adultes, la violence et la négligence familiale sont des faits qui peuvent conduire à des troubles de personnalité graves à l'âge adulte, ce que tout psychologue peut constater chaque jour.

...

La psychanalyse est souvent perçue comme une affaire d'hommes. Pourtant, les femmes aussi ont contribué à son

histoire, et ce dès l'origine. Patientes, disciples, elles sont devenues praticiennes et ont largement contribué, souvent au péril de leur réputation voire de leur vie, à faire évoluer les théories élaborées alors par Freud à Vienne, Jung à Zürich, avant Lacan à Paris. Éternelles exilées, elles furent, en Europe et aux États-Unis, les passeuses d'une science encore controversée.

Le début du XXe siècle accompagne l'ascension de ces pionnières qui posent les jalons d'une réflexion sur l'âme, telles Emma Eckstein, Ire femme psychanalyste, ou Lou Andreas-Salomé et Marie Bonaparte, fidèles partisans de Freud. Leurs confrères, sceptiques, apprennent bientôt à compter avec elles sur les bancs de l'Université. Margarethe Hilferding, docteure en médecine, est ainsi la première à entrer dans le cercle très fermé de l'Association psychanalytique de Vienne. Au sortir de la guerre, en 1920, au congrès de La Haye, elles sont presque toutes déjà là, aux côtés des hommes : Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, Sabina Spielrein, Helene Deutsch, Eugénie Sokolnicka et Hermine von Hug-Hellmuth. Alors que les femmes partout en Europe se mobilisent pour la cause féminine, elles jettent un regard nouveau sur l'inconscient, la femme, la sexualité et l'enfant, avec Françoise Dolto. Un bel hommage à 14 de ces femmes du XXe siècle, qui connurent des destins parfois tragiques, mais toujours exceptionnels, et sans lesquelles celles d'aujourd'hui n'auraient pas gagné le droit de penser autrement.

...

Emma Eckstein (1865-1924) was an Austrian author. She was « one of Sigmund Freud's most important patients and, for a short period of time around 1897, became a psychoanalyst herself » : she has, indeed, been described as « the 1st woman analyst. Emma Eckstein became both colleague and patient » for Freud. As analyst, while « working mainly in the area of sexual and social hygiene, she also explored how “ daydreams, those ' parasitic plants ', invaded the life of young girls ” » .

Ernest Jones placed her with such figures as Lou Andreas-Salomé and Joan Riviere as a « type of woman, of a more intellectual and, perhaps, masculine cast who played a part in his life, accessory to his male friends though of a finer calibre » .

« Emma Eckstein was born in Vienna, on 28 January 1865, to a well-known bourgeois family » with close connections to Freud : « one of her brothers was Gustav Eckstein (1875-1916) , a Social-Democrat and associate of Karl Kautsky, the leader of the Socialist Party ; and a sister, Therese Schlesinger, a Socialist, was one of the 1st women members of parliament » . Another brother, Friedrich, appears (anonymously) in Freud's « Civilization and its Discontents » as a « friend of mine, whose insatiable craving for knowledge has led him to make the most unusual experiments » , including « the practices of Yoga. He sees in them a physiological basis, as it were, for much of the wisdom of mysticism » .

Emma, herself, was active in the Viennese women's movement, « collaborating with “ Dokumente der Frauen and Neues Frauenleben ” » .

After an nose operation in 1910, however, « Emma took to her couch, and remained a partial invalid until she died

on 30 July 1924 of a cerebral haemorrhage » .

When she was 27, she went to Freud, seeking treatment for vague symptoms including stomach ailments and slight depression related to menstruation. Freud diagnosed Eckstein as suffering from hysteria and believed that she masturbated to excess ; masturbation, in those days, was considered dangerous to mental health. Her « treatment lasted something in the region of 3 years - one of the most protracted and detailed of Freud's early cases » .

In her analysis, Emma Eckstein « supplied Freud with the material that would allow him to theorize hysteric symptomology » taught Freud about « the no-man's land between fantasy and memory, resonating with sadistic acts and fantasies of a former historical epoch » . Her « eager collaboration in her analysis gave Freud much precious material, contributed substantial changes and fundamental new elements to his theories : the wish theory of psychosis and dream ; the transference reconstruction of her early pleasures and fantastic scenes from her inner life » . In particular, Freud's theory of deferred action owed much to « Emma Eckstein's twinned scenes in shops » . « Now, this case is typical of repression in hysteria. We invariably find that a memory has been repressed which has only become a trauma through deferred action. »

Freud suspected, in addition to hysteria, a « nasal reflex neurosis » , a condition popularized by his friend and collaborator Wilhelm Fließ - an ear, nose, and throat specialist. Fließ had been treating « nasal reflex neurosis » by cauterizing the inside of the nose under local anesthesia, with cocaine used as the anesthetic. Fließ found that the treatment yielded positive results, in that his patients became less depressed. Fließ conjectured that if temporary cauterization was temporarily useful, perhaps, surgery would yield more permanent results. He began operating on the noses of patients he diagnosed with the disorder, including Emma Eckstein and even Freud, himself.

Eckstein's surgery was a disaster. She suffered from terrible infections for some time, and profuse bleeding. Freud called in a specialist, his old school friend, Doctor Ignaz Rosanes, who removed a mass of surgical gauze that Fließ had not removed. Eckstein's nasal passages were so damaged that she was left permanently disfigured. Freud initially attributed this damage to the surgery, but later, as an attempt to reassure his friend that he shouldn't blame himself, Freud reiterated his belief that the initial nasal symptoms had been due to hysteria.

Guilt over the episode has been identified as contributing to the dream of Irma's injection in « The Interpretation of Dreams » :

« Max Schur grasped right away the significance of the episode to the “ Irma ” dream in his paper on the specimen dream. »

Eckstein is also associated with Freud's seduction theory. In 1897, Freud cites her analytic findings to Fließ as support for his « so-called seduction theory, the claim that all neuroses are the consequences of an adult's, usually a father's, sexual abuse of a child » . Freud wrote that :

« Eckstein deliberately treated her patient in such a manner as not to give her the slightest hint of what would emerge from the unconscious and in the process obtained from her the identical scenes with the father. »

Jeffrey Masson in his assault on Freud's abandonment of the seduction theory makes much of Eckstein's role, linking Freud's « abandonment » of her position with respect to the Fließ surgery to his « abandonment » of her evidence for the paternal etiology of neurosis : for « the idea (which even Masson concedes is crazy) that all neurotic patients had been sexually abused » .

Yet, while few (since Max Schur) would dissent that in regard to the failed surgery « Freud's evasiveness is blatant. Freud was eager to protect Fließ from the obvious charge of careless, almost fatal malpractice » , there is, at the same time, much to suggest that « as far as the seduction theory is concerned, Eckstein is a red herring, no more relevant than Freud's other patients. The fact that Masson lavishes so much attention on her is because Emma Eckstein is, for him, a woman whom Freud and Fließ abused. She is, thus, the prototypical psychoanalytic victim of this symbolic function. »

In 1904, « Eckstein had published a small book on the sexual education of children » , although, in it, « she does not mention Freud » . A few years later, however, in his open letter on « The Sexual Enlightenment of Children » , Freud refers to her book approvingly, highlighting « the charming letter of explanation which a certain “ Frau ” Emma Eckstein quotes as having been written by her to her son when he was about 10 years old » .

...

Emma Eckstein's relationship to Sigmund Freud and to psychoanalysis has been shrouded in mystery. Only vague hints as to her connection with Freud have emerged from the standard sources. Ernest Jones (Volume 2 ; pages 469) writes that Freud found the psychology of women more enigmatic than that of men. Freud was interested in another type of woman, of a more intellectual and, perhaps, masculine cast. Such women, several times, played a part in his life, accessory to his men friends though of a finer caliber, but they had no erotic attraction for him. Minna Bemays, then, in chronological order : Emma Eckstein ; Loe Kann ; Lou Andreas-Salome ; Joan Riviere ; Marie Bonaparte. It is not clear from whom Jones heard this, whether from Freud himself, or, more likely, from his daughter Mathilde. (The letters between Jones and Mathilde are in the Jones Archives in the Institute for Psycho-Analysis, in London. I could not find any reference to Emma Eckstein, there.)

Emma Eckstein was born in Vienna on January 28, 1865, the child of Albert (born in 1825) and Amalia (born Wehle, in 1836) Eckstein, and died on July 30, 1924, of « apoplexiacerebri » . Emma Eckstein had 5 sisters and 2 brothers. Her eldest sister, Kathe Hirsch, was the mother of Albert Hirst and Doctor A. Elias, both of whom granted interviews to K. R. Eißler in the 1950's about their « Aunt » Emma. (These interviews are now at the Library of Congress, in sealed archives.) One of Emma's brothers, Friedrich Eckstein, was referred to, by Freud, in : « Civilization and Its Discontents » (SE, 21 ; page 72) .

According to Anna Freud :

« Another friend of mine, whose insatiable craving for knowledge has led him to make the most unusual experiments and has ended by giving him encyclopædic knowledge, has assured me that through the practices of Yoga, by withdrawing from the world, by fixing the attention on bodily functions and by peculiar methods of breathing, one can

in fact evoke new sensations and “ cœnesthesias ” in oneself, which he regards as regressions to primordial states of mind which have long ago been overlaid. »

Friedrich Eckstein, called « the philosopher of the “ Ringstraße ” » , was a Sanskritist, a vegetarian, a close friend of Hugo Wolf, Anton Bruckner, and other musicians, and wrote articles about psychoanalysis. His autobiography, which Freud took with him to London, « “ Alte unnennbare Tage ! ” Erinnerungen aus 70 Lehr- und Wanderjahren » (Ineffable Days of Old Memories of 70 Years of Travel and Study) , edited in 1936 by Herbert Reichner (Vienna / Leipzig / Zürich) , mentions Freud several times (pages 20-24) .

There is some information given about the father, Albert Eckstein, an inventor, who had a parchment factory but, otherwise, he says little about the family. Emma Eckstein is not mentioned by name.

The other brother, Gustav Eckstein (1875-1916) , a Social-Democrat, was an associate of Karl Kautsky, the leader of the Socialist Party, in Austria. Gustav died of tuberculosis, at an early age. He is mentioned on page 214 of the « Österreichische Biographische Lexikon » (1815-1950) .

Karl Kautsky's son, an obstetrician, was a friend of Emma Eckstein. According to Mrs. Ella Heinz, a friend of his, whom I interviewed in Berkeley, in 1981, he spoke of an ill-fated gynecological operation that Freud encouraged, which eventually led to Emma Eckstein's death. I have not been able to confirm this from any other source, and Mrs. Heinz's memory of what Doctor Kautsky told her about this was rather vague. Emma Eckstein's sister, Therese Schlesinger, was one of the 1st women members of parliament. Her biography is found in : Alfred Magaziner. « Die Wegbereiter : Aus der Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung » , Volksbuchverlag, Vienna (1975) ; pages 216-219.

We do not know much about Emma Eckstein's early life. Until 1905, she wrote articles ; after that, she seems to have withdrawn from the world and lived in a room, surrounded by books, never leaving her couch, apparently confined to it by a puzzling ailment which those around her considered hysterical in origin but which she felt was organic. A single mysterious line from an unpublished passage in a letter to Fließ (12 December 1897) indicates that Emma Eckstein, at Freud's request, saw patients. The passage itself is about the seduction theory. The 1st line begins :

« Die Eckstein hat ihre Patientin so behandelt, daß sie ... » (Eckstein treated her patient in such a way that ...)

From the rest of the passage (see above : page 114) , it is clear that the treatment she used was nothing other than psychoanalysis. It is, unfortunately, the only such passage in the letters - nothing further is said about Emma's seeing patients. Fließ seems to have known about it, since Freud does not feel it necessary to explain to him why Emma would be seeing patients. Under what circumstances, for how long, and with what results, are all questions that cannot be answered.

In the Library of Congress, there is a series of 14 unpublished letters, given to the library by Emma Eckstein's nephew, Albert Hirst, that Freud wrote to Emma Eckstein between 1895 and 1910. One of these is simply a visiting-card, which reads, on the envelope :

« Fraulein Emma Eckstein
V Siebenbrunnengasse 15 »

On the other side, it is written :

« Doktor Sigmund Freud
Dozent für Nervenkrankheiten an der Universität
Wien,
ord. 3-5 h. IX, Berggasse 19
Dies ist Fraulein Stella Pfeffer, 19 Jahr Ihr
Pflegekind und so weiter »

The card is not dated. But since Freud uses the title « Dozent » , this was before he received the title of « Außerordentlicher » (Associate) Professor (before 1902) .

The text reads :

« This is to introduce Miss Stella Pfeffer, 19 years old, your foster child, etc. No doubt the “ etc. ” referred to the fact that Freud had already discussed the “ case ” with Emma Eckstein before sending her. It appears to be a referral of a patient. »

Emma Eckstein had written about the sexual enlightenment of children as early as 1899, in an article published in the socialist « Die neue Zeit » entitled, « Eine wichtige Erziehungsfrage » - An Important Question in Education (« Die neue Zeit, Revue des geistigen und öffentlichen Lebens » , Band 18, 1899-1900 ; pages 666-669) . She writes there that a child knows shame only slightly, or not at all, knows no sexual feelings of any kind, and so, can only guess that there are other reasons, besides the desire to have children, that would fuel the desire to have sexual intercourse.

...

... moreover, « of a highly-fantastic kind » . Could this possibly be a reference to the shame she felt at having had ideas of being seduced as a child ? No doubt, by this time, she was well-aware that Freud felt she had never, in fact, been seduced, but was a severe masturbator, given-over to inventing stories « of a highly-fantastic kind » . At the end of her book, Emma Eckstein speaks of a fear that many young women had that « by dancing, by topical (medical) treatment such as massages and the like, or through a kiss, they could become pregnant » (page 30) . She hints that she, herself, « treated » such cases :

« Here, I wish to stress as well : I am not aware of a single case that can be thought of as the result of a constitutional predisposition to illness or lack of intelligence. When I, for the 1st time, succeeded with much difficulty in eliciting such a secret from a well-read, gifted 18 year old girl who had been educated accordingly when, for the

1st time, I came to see the emotional anguish of such a helpless being, I believed, deeply shaken, I was faced with the specific product of a diseased imagination. Once my attention had been drawn to it, though, experience taught me that this fantasy was not at all unusual, but is the exceedingly painful result of a lack of knowledge. »

She, then, proceeds to the device of an invented letter :

« I believe the best way to express my views and ideas, in regard to this subject, is by means of the following letter which is conceived (“gedacht”) as part of a correspondence between a mother and her child and is to provide the desired enlightenment from afar. »

Why would Emma choose to include a letter that could be mistaken for a real one to an imaginary son (who could also be mistaken for a real son) ? The theme of an unmarried mother (vaguely hinted at by the fact that the mother is writing to her son from far away - almost as if they were not to meet again) was very important to Emma Eckstein. She has a short article, in : « Dokumente der Frauen, “Das Dienstmädchen als Mutter” » (Servant as Mother), published in 1899 («Dokumente der Frauen», Volume 2, No. 14, 1899-1900, edited by August Fickert, Marie Lang, and Rosa Mayreder ; pages 594-598). The article is about «unmarried girls who come, at a very tender age, from the country to the city» (page 595), where they take-up service in a wealthy household, convinced they are «under the protection of the family». But, in reality, their protectors too often turn into their seducers :

«The inexperienced girls are only too easily made the victims of the men of the household.»

Emma, then, points-out :

«Our laws, which protect all our property, do not recognize the honour of somebody who serves, and these poor young girls are without rights and without protection even in the eyes of the law. A telling proof of this is paragraph No. 504 of our “Laws of Tort”: A guest in the house who dishonours a minor daughter, or a minor relative of the male or female head of the house who belongs to the household, is liable, for this transgression, to be punished with incarceration from 1 to 3 months according to the relationship to the family. Paragraph 505 says that the same punishment is to be meted-out to a woman servant in the family who commits a sexual felony on a minor son or a minor relative who is living in the house. So, we see : according to Austrian law, ... »

...

Freud adds :

«I do not believe that this touching letter brought the 2 sisters the enlightenment they wanted. Later on, the writer of it fell ill from unanswered questions of obsessional brooding.»

Freud clearly knows a great deal about the letter and the person who wrote it, and the person who did not answer it. As if impelled by some inner-need that he does not communicate, Freud adds a footnote, in 1924 :

«After some years, however, her obsessional brooding gave way to a dementia præcox.»

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Emma Eckstein had an illegitimate child, and that her letter is, in fact, based on reality. If the child was 10, at the time this book was written in 1904, then, she would have given birth in 1894, during her analysis. Being in analysis, she would have told Freud, and possibly nobody else. I must stress that none of the 6 people I spoke to, who knew Emma Eckstein, had ever heard any such rumour. Nor do I believe this is anything more than speculation. But it is one more piece of evidence that the mystery surrounding Emma Eckstein has, by no means, been resolved.

One more, perhaps minor, but nevertheless intriguing revelation comes from an unpublished letter that Freud wrote to Emma Eckstein, on April 17, 1904 :

« Dear Emma :

At last, I can give you the answer I owe you - I have been speaking so much that I did not get around to writing. So, as far as the thesis (or sentence) is concerned, you can make whatever use of it you wish. As soon as your work has seen the light of day, I will write, in accordance with your ideas, a review, add to it the censure (“ Tadel ? ”) you and I both wish and, then, offer the whole thing to the “ Neue Freie Presse ”. Anyway, it will take some time before it is printed. I will not demand that it appear in the Sunday issue. I know that such wishes do not allow themselves to be fulfilled and, in any event, it is entirely immaterial (on what day the review appears) . »

This comes from the collection of 14 unpublished letters to Emma Eckstein in the Library of Congress. It could well be that because Freud never did manage to publish the review, the open letter to Doctor Furst appeared in place of the promised review. From a later letter of February 11, 1905, from Freud to Emma Eckstein, we learn that the « Neue Freie Presse » rejected the review, and Freud intended to re-write it and send it elsewhere :

« Dear Emma :

So that you don't do away with yourself, which would be a grave loss for me, I am enclosing the response of the “ Neue Freie Presse ” to the letter we discussed. I answered :

“ I am perfectly prepared to re-write it but, this time, I must request assurance that it will appear next Sunday. ”

As of now, there has been no answer. And now, I believe we are finally free of the “ Neue Freie Presse ” and can write the article for another newspaper and I hope get it published. And this time, it should be better.

Cordial greetings,

Your Doctor Freud »

Whether he ever did so, or whether he repaid this « debt » to a patient with the reference to her, in the 1907 article, is not known. My attempts to find the review have been unsuccessful.

At the end of his life, in 1937, Freud published « Analysis Terminable and Interminable » (SE, 23) . It would seem that, to the end of his days, he was preoccupied with Emma Eckstein. For, if I am not mistaken, that work contains a hidden reference to her case. Freud writes (page 222) :

« I now pass on to my 2nd example, which raises the same problem (as Ferenczi's analysis) . An unmarried woman, no longer young, had been cut-off from life since puberty by an inability to walk, owing to severe pains in the legs. Her condition was obviously of a hysterical nature, and it had defied many kinds of treatment. An analysis lasting 3 quarters of a year removed the trouble and restored to the patient, an excellent and worthy person, her right to a share in life. In the years following her recovery, she was consistently unfortunate. There were disasters in her family, and financial losses, and, as she grew older, she saw every hope of happiness in love and marriage vanish. But the one-time invalid stood-up to all this valiantly and was a support to her family in difficult times. I cannot remember whether it was 12 or 14 years after the end of her analysis that, owing to profuse haemorrhages, she was obliged to undergo a gynecological examination. A myoma was found, which made a complete hysterectomy advisable. From the time of this operation, the woman became ill, once more. She fell in love with her surgeon, wallowed in masochistic phantasies about the fearful changes in her inside-phantasies with which she concealed her romance - and proved inaccessible to a further attempt at analysis. She remained abnormal to the end of her life. The successful analytic treatment took place so long ago that we cannot expect too much from it ; it was in the earliest years of my work as an analyst. No doubt, the patient's 2nd illness may have sprung from the same source as her 1st one which had been successfully overcome : it may have been a different manifestation of the same repressed impulses, which the analysis had only incompletely resolved. But I am inclined to think that, were it not for the new trauma, there would have been no fresh outbreaks of neurosis. »

Certain facts speak in favour of identifying this patient as Emma Eckstein. 1st of all, the dates : when Freud speaks of the analysis having taken place « in the earliest years of my work as an analyst » , we must assume this to be between 1894 and 1898. Emma Eckstein's analysis certainly fell within this period. The letters to Fließ about her cover a period of about 3 quarters of a year, precisely the time Freud mentions as having been given-over to her analysis. The gynecological operation took place 12 to 14 years later, between 1908 and 1912. Do we have anything from that period that would indicate that Freud was in contact with Emma Eckstein ? Yes. In the Library of Congress, among the papers that Emma Eckstein left her nephew, Albert Hirst, is a medical prescription, dated May 24, 1910. It is for boric acid for the vagina. It is made-out to Miss Emma Eckstein (Emma Eckstein never married) , and it is signed by Sigmund Freud. Freud says that this was one of his earliest cases. Albert Hirst, her nephew, in an interview with K. R. Eißler, on March 16, 1952 (from the Jones Archives in London) , writes :

« This “ Aunt ” Emma, Freud's 1st patient, while her whole life was marred by a hysteria, still had unusual qualities. »

Freud says that she was « an excellent and worthy person » . Freud writes that the analysis of this patient was a success. Hirst also wrote an autobiography, « Analysed and Re-educated by Freud Himself » , which was never published. (Albert Hirst's niece, Doctor Hanna E. Kapit, in New York, kindly sent me a copy of this autobiography.) He begins the chapter entitled, « Aunt Emma » with these words :

« One of Freud's earliest successes as an analyst, perhaps his earliest, was the cure of the neurosis of my aunt Emma. »

In the interview with Eißler, he said :

« I think it was of importance to him (Freud) in his practice that he had this great success, this well-known girl, this girl of a well-known family. Now, she was a very beautiful woman and after he had this great success, she, for several years, led a perfectly normal life. »

Freud says :

« She was a support to her family. »

Hirst, in the interview, says :

« She also, after the marriage of her 2 older sisters, ran my grandmother's household. That was quite a task - 6 members, and always open-house. »

Freud tells us that this patient suffered a relapse. Hirst, in his chapter on Emma Eckstein, writes :

« Then, Emma suffered a relapse. I have a notion that she was all her life in love with a certain Vienna architect, and that her relapse came after he got married, or after she became convinced in some other way that her love was hopeless. »

Freud says that there were disasters in the family and financial losses, and Hirst (interview) says that :

« She ran a rather complicated household which had to be run in a certain way on very little money, with most incredible efficiency. »

As for the symptom of not being able to walk, Hirst (autobiography) writes that :

« She spent all her days on her couch, never left her room, not even for meals, could not walk. »

(This is also mentioned in a letter to Fließ.)

Freud writes that :

« She proved inaccessible to a further attempt at analysis. »

And Hirst (interview) says :

« There was a time when, I remember, I don't think it was during the time that I was in analysis, but it may have

been. Anyhow, Freud would come to her and try to continue the analysis. There was a conflict between him and her. »

Freud ends by saying that :

« She remained abnormal to the end of her life. »

Hirst (autobiography) writes :

« Emma soon returned to her couch on which she had lived so long. She survived, as a hopeless invalid, for another 10 years. »

A Letter to Emma Eckstein

« November 30, 1905.

Dear Emma :

It won't do you any good if you deprive me of my title. It cannot change much between us, and I change my sentiments with as much difficulty as I do my opinions. Let me, therefore, repeat that it is only a nasty accident if I cannot resume your treatment. As though it had waited for you, the onslaught started after you stayed away so that within 1 week, I had to accept 4 patients and decline 2. You are only too familiar with the sad necessity of having to make a living ; and the touchiness you betray, though at a distance (that I should have treated you without expecting money from you) is something that is so little like you that I am convinced this will be the 1st thing you will take back. But it naturally has as much to do with the other. That you could be so misled, could so misunderstand the freedom to say anything in the treatment, and attribute to me the intention of offending you when I relied on my unshakable trust in your friendship and your love of truth, in order to permit you to obtain insight into a delicate but, nevertheless, usual and expectable transference - that, it is true, did not shake my opinion of you, but it did, again, instill in me respect for the elemental femaleness with which I constantly have to struggle. I am not surprised then that you also do not comprehend other sentences in my letter which cannot be misunderstood. I cannot possibly have meant anything but that it is impossible for me to let the discontinuation of treatment (the interruption, I hope) be explained with the pretext that I regard your pains as organic. That you would have to say something else instead which is closer to the truth, to explain the break, for example, that we had a quarrel ; that you could not accept something that I asserted and the like ; that you wanted some time in which to think things over or something similar.

May I, at the end, draw your attention to a small contradiction which is, in fact, at the bottom of your being angry. At one time, I am supposed to have offended you by denying you the qualities that would attract a man ; the other time, I must have offended you by explaining to you how it happened that in our relationship love did not appear. Can both injuries really be comprehended from the same stand-point ? I hope you will soon tell me : No (which, after all, you like to say) and, therefore, I remain with cordial greetings,

Your Doctor Freud »

The 1952 interview with Emma's nephew, Albert Hirst, is instructive. He tells Doctor Eißler :

« There was a Viennese woman physician, the daughter of a rather well-known physician - a Doctor Dora Teleky. Now, she was a friend of the family and I thought she was a very good-looking woman, incidentally, and I admired her. She, one day, was visiting Emma, while Freud was analyzing Emma in the 2nd stage, and discovered a ... oh, some ulcer or something, anyhow, some pus collection on her abdomen, and pretended to operate it and that was supposed to be the answer for the trouble, and Emma immediately had a great recovery and could get-up, and here was the proof that this thing was physical. And that must have happened while I was in analysis because I remember how indignant Freud was about Doctor Teleky for this interference, and he immediately stopped the analysis and said :

« Well, that's the end of Emma. That dooms her from now on, nobody can cure her neurosis. »

Hirst tells the same story, slightly differently, in his unpublished autobiography :

« The 2nd event : Doctor Dora T(eleky) , a friend of the family, a woman physician, came to see Emma as a friendly visitor. She claimed suddenly to have discovered an abscess near Emma's navel and drained it. Dora claimed that she had found the source of Emma's illness and had cured it. She, thus, confirmed Emma in her rejection of Freud's diagnosis of a recurrence of her old neurosis. When I told that to Freud the next day, he was furious. He took Dora's " diagnosis " as a fake. That, to him, was a matter of course. He called it a highly-unprofessional ... »

...

Emma Eckstein (geboren 28. Januar 1865 in Gaudenzdorf ; gestorben 30. Juli 1924 in Wien) war eine österreichische Publizistin, Frauenrechtlerin und Kinderbuchautorin. Prominenz erlangte sie vor allem als eine von Sigmund Freuds wichtigsten frühen Patientinnen.

« Über Emma Ecksteins frühe Jahre wissen wir nicht viel. Bis 1905 schrieb sie einige Aufsätze ; danach scheint sie sich aus dem öffentlichen Leben zurückgezogen und in einem Zimmer voller Bücher gelebt zu haben ; aufgrund einer rätselhaften Krankheit, die ihre Umgebung für hysterisch, sie selbst aber für organisch bedingt hielt, war sie ihr Leben lang an ihre Couch gefesselt. »

(Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, 1984 ; Seite 265.)

Emma Eckstein war Mitglied einer prominenten jüdischen Familie mit engen Verbindungen zu Freud. Nach dem frühen Tod des Vaters, des Chemikers und Erfinders Albert Eckstein, übernahm die Mutter die Leitung der durch ihn gegründeten Papierfabrik. Emma hatte neun Geschwister : fünf Schwestern und vier Brüder. Zwei Brüder starben schon im Kindesalter. Einer ihrer Brüder war der Polyhistor Friedrich Eckstein, ein anderer Gustav Eckstein (1875-1916) , ein Sozialdemokrat und Genosse des deutsch-tschechischen Philosophen und sozialdemokratischen Politikers Karl Kautsky ; ihre zwei Jahre ältere Schwester, Therese Schlesinger, eine der ersten weiblichen Mitglieder des Nationalrates, war eine

Anhängerin Freuds und suchte die Psychoanalyse zum Gegenstand sozialdemokratischer Politik zu machen. Emma scheint selbst aktiv an der Wiener Frauenbewegung beteiligt gewesen zu sein : Beide Schwestern waren Mitglied im linksliberal orientierten Allgemeinen österreichischen Frauenverein. Sie waren verwandt mit dem Arzt und Psychoanalytiker Paul Federn. Ihr Neffe war Albert Hirst, der im Herbst 1909 bei Freud eine Behandlung begann. Emma Eckstein war mit der Familie Freud befreundet ; insbesondere mit Minna Bernays, der Schwester von Freuds Gattin Martha. Die Familien Freud und Eckstein verbrachten gemeinsame Urlaube. Seit 1905 führte Emma zusammen mit ihrer früh verwitweten Schwester Therese, der Mutter Amalie und dem Bruder Gustav einen gemeinsamen Haushalt. Um die Jahrhundertwende veröffentlichte Emma Eckstein unter dem Einfluß ihrer Gespräche mit Freud einige Texte, in denen sie zu Fragen der Sexualerziehung Stellung nahm.

1899 erschien in der sozialistischen Zeitschrift Die neue Zeit ein Aufsatz zur sexuellen Aufklärung von Kindern, in dem sie die erzieherische Dringlichkeit einer kindgemäßen Darstellung des elterlichen Geschlechtsverkehrs betont. Da das Kind weder Scham noch sexuelle Empfindungen kenne, solle der Geschlechtsakt als Zeugungswunsch der Eltern und Ausdruck von Liebe und Zärtlichkeit dem Kind verständlich und emotional zugänglich gemacht werden.

An gleicher Stelle polemisierte sie in einer späteren Rezension gegen eine mütterliche Erziehung, die den Töchtern Triebangst und Schamgefühl (wegen eines unehelichen Kindes) vermittelt.

Ist der Tenor ihrer Publikationen häufig der Hinweis auf die Seelenqualen und Tagträumereien vor allem junger Frauen, die durch fehlende oder unzulängliche Sexualaufklärung verursacht sind, so wendet sie sich in Das Dienstmädchen als Mutter (1900) dem juristischen Aspekt des Themas zu : der strafrechtlichen Behandlung der Verführung unerfahrener Mädchen vom Lande durch seine Dienstherrn in der Gastfamilie : Die zeitgenössische Gesetzeslage schütze die Familienangehörigen vor solchen Übergriffen seitens des Personals, welche als strafwürdiges Vergehen angesehen seien ; sie schütze aber nicht die Ehre des Mädchens, das sich in familiärer Obhut glaubt.

In Die Vorbereitung der Frau zur Lebensarbeit von 1899 setzt Eckstein sich zustimmend mit den Ansichten der Münchener Ärztin Doktor Adams-Lehmann auseinander : Diese fordert eine physische Ertüchtigung in der Mädchenerziehung und Aufhebung beruflicher Einschränkung für Frauen.

In einer durch Freud kritisch begleiteten und durch Leihgaben aus seiner Fachbibliothek unterstützten Broschüre von 1904, Die Sexualfrage in der Erziehung des Kindes befasst sie sich unter Berufung auf die zeitgenössische Wissenschaft und führende Psychiater mit der Schädlichkeit kindlicher Masturbation :

« Für die Kindheit ist die Masturbation ein tückischer Feind. Unbemerkt und ungeahnt schleicht er sich in die Kinderstube ein und arbeitet dort emsig an der Zerstörung von Jugend und Kraft, von Körper und Geist seiner Opfer, die ihm überlassen bleiben, weil die berufenen Hüter die Gefahr nicht verdrängen, oder auch nur sehen gelernt haben. »

(Emma Eckstein, 1904.)

Sie empfiehlt die Verbündung des Erziehers mit dem gesunden Willen des Kindes mit dem Ziel, die Verachtung des Kindes für solche Regungen zu bestärken.

Motiv solcher kindlicher Selbstbefriedigung sei die Entschädigung für entzogene Liebe, der Mangel elterlicher Zuwendung.

Im Zusammenhang mit dieser Publikation kam es um 1905 schließlich zu einem Streit zwischen Freud und Eckstein. Freud sah sich (offenbar durch eine Suizidandrohung seitens der Eckstein genötigt), trotz ablehnender Bescheide seitens der Presse, zu weiteren Bemühungen veranlasst, eine wohlwollend kritische Rezension zu platzieren. Im Anschluß daran ging es um den Wunsch Emmas, erneut (und ohne Berechnung) therapiert zu werden, den Freud, der mittlerweile vielbeschäftigt war, zumindest vorläufig ablehnen mußte. Emma fühlte sich daraufhin offenbar durch Freud auf lieblose Weise zurückgestoßen und in ihrer weiblichen Ehre gekränkt, welchen Vorwurf dieser in einem Antwortschreiben durch Hinweis auf dessen innere Widersprüchlichkeit zu parieren suchte.

1908 rezensierte sie in der Zeitschrift Neues Frauenleben den unter Pseudonym veröffentlichten Lebensbericht des Pseudohermaphroditen Karl M. Baers (Pseudonym : N. O. Body).

Nach einer gynäkologischen Operation (vermutlich Hysterektomie aufgrund eines Myombefundes) um 1910, mit der zugleich ihre Beziehung zu Sigmund Freud ihr endgültiges Ende fand, war zog Emma Eckstein sich völlig zurück. Dem Bericht ihres Neffen Albert Hirst zufolge kollidierte diese Operation mit einem erneuten Therapieversuch durch Freud, der diese Operation als verhängnisvolle Fehlentscheidung und ärztlichen Schwindel angesehen habe, welcher Emmas Neurose unheilbar mache. Die Operation wurde veranlasst durch Doktor Dora Teleky, einer Freundin der Familie Eckstein.

1918 erschien ihr Kinderbuch Von Spinnen und Ameisen, das 1962 eine Neuauflage erfuhr.

Emma Eckstein starb am 30. Juli 1924 an einer Hirnblutung.

Zwischen 1892 und 1893 begab sich Emma Eckstein im Alter von 27 Jahren vermutlich wegen einer als hysterisch diagnostizierten Gehstörung, neurotischen Angstzuständen und vager Symptome wie Magenschmerzen und leichter Depressionen in Verbindung mit ihrer Menstruation bei Freud in psychoanalytische Behandlung. Die genaue Art ihrer Beschwerden ist unbekannt.

In der Auseinandersetzung mit der komplexen Symptomatik Emma Ecksteins entwickelte Freud seine Vorstellungen über mögliche ätiologische Modelle zur Pathogenese der Hysterie (Verführung als Kindheitstrauma, Hysterie als Abwehrbeziehungsweise Psychoneurose).

Die Therapie, deren intensive Phase wohl ein dreiviertel Jahr beanspruchte, muß in Hinsicht auf die erwähnten Gehstörungen zunächst ein Erfolg gewesen sein. Sie habe, so der Neffe Albert Hirst, im Anschluß einige Jahre ein völlig normales Leben geführt und dieser Erfolg sei angesichts der Prominenz der Ecksteins im damaligen Wien für Freud nicht unbedeutend gewesen.

« Wir hatten ihr also unrecht getan ; sie war gar nicht abnorm gewesen. »

(Freud an Fließ am 8. März 1895)

Freud stellte Fließ Emma Eckstein im Dezember 1894 vor. Die Operation fand im Februar 1895 statt. Die Gründe, die Freud bewogen haben, Emma Eckstein durch seinen Freund und kollegialen Intimus begutachten und operieren zu lassen, können nur rekonstruiert werden.

Freud vermutete bei Eckstein, zusätzlich zur Hysterie, eine « Nasenreflex-Neurose », ein neuartiges, medizinisch unorthodoxes Krankheitsbild, das von seinem Freund Wilhelm Fließ, einem Hals-, Nasen- und Ohrenarzt vertreten wurde.

Fließ führte eine Reihe von Beschwerden, über die Eckstein geklagt haben muß, auf einen Symptomkomplex zurück, den er von sogenannten Genitalstellen in der Nase aus zu beeinflussen suchte : Darunter Menstruationsbeschwerden und neuralgische Magenschmerzen (die er zugleich und unter Berufung auf Freuds sexualätiologische Begründung der Neurasthenie als typische Folge der Onanie beschrieb) . Während Freud also bemüht war, die als hysterisch diagnostizierten Symptome der Eckstein analytisch zu therapieren, überließ er die Beschwerden, die er als nicht psychoneurotisch bedingt ansah, seinem Freund und Kollegen.

Fließ behandelte diese Beschwerden durch Kokain und Kauterisation innerhalb der Nase. Dies führte seiner Ansicht nach zu temporären positiven Ergebnissen, wie der Verbesserung depressiver Symptome. Er nahm an, daß eine Operation am Knochen der Nasenmuschel, im Gegensatz zur Kauterisation, zu dauerhafter Besserung führen könnte und begann, an diagnostizierten PatientInnen Operationen durchzuführen, zu deren frühesten Kandidaten Eckstein gehörte.

Emma Ecksteins Operation war ein Desaster. Sie litt an Infektionen und starken Blutungen ; Freud rief Robert Gersuny zur Hilfe, den er ursprünglich schon bei der Operation gerne dabei gehabt hätte. Gersuny leistete ersten Beistand, verhielt sich jedoch, so Freud, eher ablehnend. Freuds befreundeter Kollege Rosanes kam schließlich an seiner Statt und entfernte unvorsichtiger- und unvermuteterweise einen Streifen Verbandsgaze, den Fließ in der Wunde hinterlassen und der die Heilung zwei Wochen lang verhindert hatte. Emma wäre daraufhin fast verblutet. Freud war einer Ohnmacht nahe und fassungslos. Man brachte Emma unter der Aufsicht von Rosanes in das Sanatorium Löw. Trotz der Entfernung der Gaze wiederholten sich die Blutungen. Es waren zwei weitere Operationen notwendig. Gersuny und Gussenbauer vermuteten eine Verletzung der Carotis. Emmas Zustand beruhigte sich erst im Frühsommer des Jahres. Fließ forderte von Gersuny ein Entlastungsschreiben, das er allerdings nicht bekam. Freud suchte seinen Freund diesbezüglich zu beruhigen und suchte mit ihm nach einer Erklärung für die wiederkehrenden Blutungen seiner Patientin :

« Ich werde Dir nachweisen können, daß Du recht hast, daß Ihre Blutungen hysterische waren, aus Sehnsucht erfolgt sind und wahrscheinlich zu Sexualterminen. Das Frauenzimmer hat mir aus Widerstand die Daten noch nicht besorgt. »

(Freud an Fließ am 16. April 1895.)

Ecksteins Nasengänge waren so stark beschädigt, daß sie permanent entstellt blieb. Trotz der desaströsen Vorfälle aber blieb sie Freud treu.

Der Arzt und Psychoanalytiker Max Schur hat zuerst auf den medizinischen Skandal dieser Operation aufmerksam gemacht und Freuds mangelnde ärztliche Gewissenhaftigkeit im Umgang mit diesem Fall und seiner Nachbearbeitung notiert : Die Korrespondenz mit Fließ enthülle Freuds verzweifelte Versuche, die Tatsache nicht zur Kenntnis zu nehmen, daß Fließ wegen dieses beinahe tödlichen Irrtums von jedem Gericht wegen eines Kunstfehlers hätte verurteilt werden können.

In einem Brief an Fließ 1897 zitiert Freud Ecksteins analytische Ergebnisse (als analytische Behandlerin an einem jungen Mädchen) als neuerliche Bekräftigung der später sogenannten Verführungstheorie, die besagt, daß Hysterie die spezifische Folge kindlichen sexuellen Missbrauchs durch einen Erwachsenen sind, meist den Vater :

« Mein Vertrauen in die Vaterätiologie ist sehr gestiegen. Die Eckstein hat ihre Patientin direkt in kritischer Absicht so behandelt, daß sie ihr nicht die leiseste Andeutung gegeben hat, was aus dem Unbewußten kommen wird, und von ihr dabei die identischen Vaterszenen und dergleichen Erhalten. »

(Brief an Fließ vom 12. Dezember 1897.)

Masson findet darüber hinaus Belege dafür, daß Emma Eckstein als Analysandin selbst solche Missbrauchs - beziehungsweise Attentatserinnerungen berichtet haben muß :

Wenn Freud Emma Eckstein als hysterisch diagnostiziert hat und wenn Freud 1896 in seinem ominösen Vortrag Zur Ätiologie der Hysterie für alle ihm bekannten achtzehn Fälle eine solche Zurückführung des hysterischen Symptoms durch die analytische Arbeit behauptet, dann muß Emma zu diesen achtzehn Fällen gehört haben.

Die im unveröffentlichten Entwurf zu einer Psychologie genannte Emma ist laut Masson tatsächlich Emma Eckstein. Da Freud diesen Entwurf für seinen Freund Fließ verfasst habe, der Emma kannte, habe es für Freud keine Notwendigkeit gegeben, die betreffende Person zu anonymisieren. Die von Freud hier beschriebenen Szenen aus der Erinnerungsarbeit seiner Klientin aber schildern genau ein solches Attentat im Alter von acht Jahren und dessen nachträgliche Konsequenzen in der Pubertät (wenn auch im Rahmen ganz anderer Überlegungen Freuds ; vergleiche und Literatur) Masson begründet hiermit in Abgrenzung von Max Schur seine These, daß Emma Eckstein die Patientin war, deren Fall Freud zu seiner Verführungstheorie angeregt hat. Max Schur war hier zu dem gegenteiligen Schluß gelangt.

Ernest Jones, der erste umfassende Biograph Freuds, setzte sie mit Persönlichkeiten wie Lou Andreas-Salomé und Marie Bonaparte gleich als einen Typ Frau von mehr intellektueller und vielleicht maskuliner Art welche eine bedeutende Rolle in Freuds Leben spielte und die sein besonderes, im Gegensatz zum sanften weiblichen Typus allerdings nicht erotisch grundiertes Interesse gefunden habe.

Freuds Typisierung einer gewissen Klasse von Frauen, deren elementare Leidenschaftlichkeit zuletzt die Möglichkeit einer analytischen Behandlung aufhebe, wird gelegentlich auf seine Erfahrung mit Emma Eckstein zurückgeführt : Das elementar-frauenzimmerliche, daß er in einem Schreiben an Emma feststellt, sei verantwortlich für das Scheitern der analytischen Bemühung, da er bei solchen Kandidatinnen nur die Wahl zwischen voller Gegenliebe oder Inkaufnahme der Feindschaft des verschmähten Weibes habe. In Freuds Sichtweise sind solche Frauen außerstande ihre Liebesbedürftigkeit als typisches Übertragungsphänomen zu reflektieren.

Von Verwandten wurde sie als erste analytisch behandelte Patientin Freuds bezeichnet. Es gibt eindeutige Hinweise darauf, daß Freud ihr nach der ursprünglichen Behandlung seinerseits Patientinnen zur analytischen Behandlung überwiesen hat. Damit kann sie als erste weibliche Psychoanalytikerin gelten.

Sie gilt darüber hinaus als Vorbild der Irma in Freuds prototypischer Deutung des Traums von Irmas Injektion. Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson sieht einen eindeutigen Zusammenhang zwischen der Abkehr von der Verführungstheorie und Ecksteins misslungener Operation. Die katastrophalen Folge der Operation im Frühjahr 1895 und die Reaktion im Wiener Ärztekollegenkreis hätten ihm zufolge Freud, den eigentlichen Entdecker der gravierenden seelischen Auswirkungen von Traumatisierung durch Kindesmissbrauch, bewogen, diese Entdeckung zu widerrufen. Hieraus resultiere zugleich die allgemeine Nachwirkung der psychoanalytischen Lehrmeinung auf die zeitgenössische, traumaverleugnende Psychotherapie, die solche Verführungsberichte als bloße ödipale Phantasie wahrzunehmen zwingt.

Obwohl breite Übereinstimmung und Ablehnung bezüglich Freuds eklatanter Leugnung eines Kunstfehlers durch Fließ herrscht, wird Ecksteins Bedeutung in Hinblick auf Freuds Absage an die Verführungstheorie außer von Masson selbst nur selten hervorgehoben ; für Masson sei sie laut Kritikern das prototypische psychoanalytische Opfer, durch Freud und Fließ zu ihren Zwecken missbraucht und somit Symbol für Massons Agenda.

Das Wörterbuch der Psychoanalyse kommentiert wie folgt :

« Sigmund Freuds Beziehung zu dieser seiner Wiener Patientin ist für die Geschichte der Psychoanalyse äußerst bemerkenswert. Sie zeigt, von welcher Bedeutung das Verhältnis zwischen den Ärzten und ihren Patienten in der Genese klinischer Theorien ist. Allerdings liegt hier eine Spaltung vor zwischen dem nosographischen Diskurs des Wissenschaftlers und der tiefer liegenden (oft verschleierte) Geschichte des Wahnsinns, in der das tragische Bewusstsein des Patienten zum Ausdruck kommt. »

(Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, 1984 ; Seite 203.)

In einer aktuellen Revision des Falls Freud / Eckstein interpretiert der italienische Psychoanalytiker Carlo Bonomi die Operation als retraumatisierende Neuauflage eines frühen Kastrationstraumas Emmas. (Freud hat in den Fließbriefen eine erinnerte Beschneidungsszene Emmas festgehalten.) Im Irma-Traum trete Freuds unbewusste Identifikation mit Emma zu Tage. In der Abwehr dieser Identifikation, dem « männlichen Protest » Freuds, sieht er zugleich ein unbewusstes Motiv im Ursprung der Psychoanalyse überhaupt wirksam.

L'élève Carl Hrubý

Carl Hrubý, un élève de Bruckner, a relaté les importantes innovations harmoniques au plan formel de son professeur et de leur relation avec la tradition viennoise. Le Maître, qui vénérât Beethoven comme un Dieu, avait étudié de près la Symphonie « Eroica » et, en particulier, l'écriture métrique et l'orchestration. Hrubý rappelle :

« Après avoir passé un certain temps plongé dans ses pensées (son regard semblait intériorisé) , il brisa soudainement le silence : " Je pense que, si Beethoven était encore vivant aujourd'hui, j'irais vers lui pour présenter ma 7e Symphonie et dire : Ne pensez-vous pas, " Herr " von Beethoven, que la 7e n'est pas aussi mauvaise que certaines personnes le croient ? Elles qui me dépeignent comme un idiot. Puis, Beethoven pourrait peut-être me prendre par la main et dire : Mon cher Bruckner, n'en faites pas de cas. Ce ne fut pas mieux pour moi. Ces mêmes messieurs qui se servent de moi comme d'un bâton pour vous frapper ne comprennent pas vraiment mes derniers Quatuors, quoi qu'ils en disent ! »

« Mon frère m'a souvent raconté comment il jouait au voleur dans les prés, en compagnie d'autres garçons de son âge. Lorsqu'ils arrivaient à l'attraper, ils lui assénaient de grands coups de bâton dans le dos. Rusé, Anton avait prévu le stratagème : il enfilait, pour la circonstance, de vieux pantalons très rapiécés afin de mieux se protéger. Il ressentait beaucoup de satisfaction à être frappé sans ressentir de douleur. » (Ignaz Bruckner)

...

Carl Hrubý (1869-1940) : Viennese pupil of Anton Bruckner. Writer on music. Author of « Meine Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner » , Franz Schalk Verlag, Wien (1901) .

Hrubý recounted important comments regarding his teacher's formal harmonic innovations and their relationship to the Viennese tradition. After a performance of Beethoven's « Eroica » , a Symphony which Bruckner revered and had studied closely (especially, its metrical and orchestral part-writing aspects) , Hrubý recalled :

« After he had spent a while sunk in thought, his gaze as it were turned inwards, he suddenly broke the silence : « I think, if Beethoven were still alive today, and I went to him, showed him my 7th Symphony and said to him : « Don't you think, Herr von Beethoven, that the 7th isn't as bad as certain people make it out to be (those people who make an example of it and portray me as an idiot) then, maybe, Beethoven might take me by the hand and say : « My dear Bruckner, don't bother yourself about it. It was no better for me, and the same gentlemen who use me as a stick to beat you with still don't really understand my last Quartets, however much they may pretend to. » .

Hrubý described the scene of 13 October 1863 in « My Recollections of Anton Bruckner » (1901) :

“ The day Beethoven's remains were exhumed, Bruckner invited me to go with him to the old Währing cemetery. Bruckner stood in front of me and stared into the coffin, deeply moved. Those who took part in the ceremony will undoubtedly remember the unforgettable moment when, just as the coffin was being lifted up and solemn silence had descended all around, a nightingale suddenly launched into a torrent of sobbing notes from a nearby tree as if in

final tribute to the great mastersinger. The powerful effect was soon spoiled when the representatives of the City of Vienna began squabbling about whether the coffin should be opened in the cemetery or later, in the chapel. In the end they decided on the 1st option. On the way home, his mood was serious. The gloomy solemnity of the occasion appeared to have shaken him to the core. Suddenly, he noticed that one of the lenses had fallen out of his pince-nez : ' I think ', he said, brimming over with joy, ' it must have fallen into Beethoven's coffin while I was leaning over.' It delighted him to know that his eyeglass was buried with Beethoven. ”

Hrubý wrote that Bruckner once said that if he were to speak to Beethoven about bad critiques Beethoven would say, " My dear Bruckner, don't bother yourself about it. It was no better for me, and the same gentlemen who use me as a stick to beat you with still don't understand my last quartets, however much they may pretend to." In saying this, Bruckner both acknowledged his bad critiques and maintained hope that his own compositions might one day garner the same type of positive reaction that Beethoven's music received from his contemporaries.

As his favourite student, Hans Rott was at stake, Anton Bruckner put his foot down. Carl Hrubý relates an occurrence at the Conservatory of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » (Society of the Friends of Music) in July 1878 : « At the end, a scornful laughter was heard from the « Merker » chair, sorry, the examiners' table. Thereupon, the otherwise so timid Bruckner rose and cried the flaming words to the " Merkers " down there : « Do not laugh, gentlemen, of this man you will hear great things yet ! » . Which of Hans Rott's works caused the gentlemen's scorn is not mentioned in the account ; most probably, it was the 1st movement of the young composer's Symphony in E major, a work which, more than 100 years after it had been written, experienced an unexpected renaissance and confronted the general public with the hitherto almost unknown name of « Rott » .

It took Bruckner some time to reconcile himself to the need to revise the 8th Symphony. He looked over the score in late 1887, and, by the end of January 1888, he seems to have accepted that he must revise the work. Schalk's program has not often found a warm reception. Reviewers of the 1st performance easily identified it as the work of Schalk and were content to dismiss it as banal, if not ridiculous. Eduard Hanslick and Max Kalbeck both mocked it, and Bruckner's supporter Carl Hrubý criticized Schalk for merely providing critics with easy targets.

L'élève Friedrich Klose

D'origine bernoise, Friedrich Klose naquit à Karlsruhe, en Allemagne. Il vint faire des études de composition auprès d'Adolf Ruthardt à Genève, où son poème symphonique, « Loreley » , fut créé par l'Orchestre du Théâtre, au mois de février 1884. Après des études auprès d'Anton Bruckner à Vienne, entre 1886 et 1889, il enseigna à l'Académie de Musique à Genève et fut appelé plus tard à prendre la succession de Max Reger, à Munich. À Genève, Klose fut surtout connu pour sa musique sacrée, notamment la Messe en ré mineur, dédiée à Franz Liszt et créée à la basilique Notre-Dame de Genève, en 1889, ainsi que son motet, « Vidi aquam » , qui fut ovationné à la Fête de l'Association des Musiciens Suisses, à Genève, en juin 1901. Klose va mourir le 24 décembre 1942 à Ruvigliana, en Suisse.

...

The German-Swiss composer Friedrich Klose was born on 29 November 1862 in Karlsruhe, Germany ; and died in 24

December 1942 in Ruvigliana, Switzerland. He turned to music quite late. Between 1886 and 1889, he was a student of Anton Bruckner, in Vienna (contemporaneously with Heinrich Schenker) . He taught at the Conservatory in Basel and, between 1907 and 1919, at the « Akademie der Tonkunst » in Munich, where his students included Max Butting, Wilhelm Petersen and Paul Ben-Haim. Later, he moved permanently to Ruvigliana.

...

In 1927, Klose published his recollections of Anton Bruckner :

« Meine Lehrjahre bei Bruckner. Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen » , « Deutsche Musikbücherei » , Band 61, Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg (1927) ; 479 pages.

Rudolf Louis was taught composition by the Bruckner student, Friedrich Klose, who was also his close friend. Ernst Kurth even counts Louis among Bruckner's direct students. See his « Bruckner » in 2 volumes, Max Hesse Verlag, Berlin (1925) ; volume 1, page 142.

Louis' « Anton Bruckner » , Georg Müller Verlag, Berlin (1904) , is a rare example of a genuinely critical biography in the early 20th Century. The passages especially in which Louis sharply critiques Simon Sechter's theory are in the tradition of his teacher and breathe Louis's critical spirit. See : Friedrich Klose. « Meine Lehrjahre bei Bruckner : Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen » , Gustav Bosse, Regensburg (1927) .

Ernst Kurth reacted to this book with unbridled disgust and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine a greater contrast between the « emotional » panegyric of the mature Kurth and the « intellectual » tendencies of Louis's dialectical analysis. See Kurth. « Bruckner » , volume 1 ; page 196.

...

Influenced by Richard Wagner, his other teachers included : Vinzenz Lachner and Felix Mottl. His works include the tone poems : « Loreley » , « Das Leben ein Traum » , « Jeanne d'Arc » , « König Elf » , « Das Märchen » , the dramatic Symphony « Ilsebill » and a String Quartet.

His Opera « Ilsebill » (1903) is inspired by the music of Richard Wagner and Richard Strauß, and the plot is based on the Brothers Grimm tale of a fisherman who catches a huge fish which grants wishes.

Although its formal title is « Dramatic Symphony » , this 1903 work is an Opera inspired by Richard Wagner and, especially, « Lohengrin » . A folk-Opera from a Brothers Grimm tale about a poverty-stricken fisherman who catches a huge fish which grants wishes. His wife Ilsebill makes them and is granted them until she over-reaches herself and the pair end-up poor again, Klose was hailed at its premiere as the « new man » of German music theatre. At a time when Richard Strauß's tone poems and Gustav Mahler's massive Symphonies were current, Klose was admired specifically for his orchestration (!) . In his « glowing, mellow, extraordinarily differentiated colours » (one critic of the period) ,

we may hear much of Strauß and less of Mahler, but this is still strikingly original orchestration as the instrumentation grows with Ilsebill's ambitions, culminating in a full Romantic Orchestra, organ, 6 off-stage trombones, several choirs, bells and thunder machine.

A week-long celebration of the composer's work was held in Munich, in June 1918, at which Heinrich Schenker's associate, Walter Dahms, was present.

Works published by Universal-Edition :

« Festzug » for orchestra, Universal-Edition (1892) ; 3 3 3 3 - 4 3 3 1, timpani, percussions (4) , harp, strings (10 10 10 6 6) .

« 5 Gesänge » for voice and piano, Universal-Edition.

« Das Leben ein Traum » for speaker, female choir and orchestra, Universal-Edition (1896) ; 4 4 6 4 - 4 5 6 1 - timpani, percussions, harp, organ, serpent, strings.

« Der Sonne-Geist » for soli, choirs, orchestra and organ, Universal-Edition (1917) ; 3 3 3 4 - 6 3 3 1, timpani, percussions (2) , harp, cello, piano, strings.

...

Friedrich Klose (geboren 29. November 1862, in Karlsruhe ; gestorben 24. Dezember 1942, in Ruvigliana) war ein deutscher Komponist und Musikpädagoge. Klose war Schüler von Vinzenz Lachner und studierte danach in Wien bei Anton Bruckner. Von 1906 bis 1907 unterrichtete er am Konservatorium von Basel und war anschließend als Nachfolger Ludwig Thuilles bis 1919 Kompositionslehrer an der Akademie der Tonkunst in München, wo unter anderem Max Butting, Wilhelm Petersen und Paul Ben-Haim zu seinen Schülern zählten. Danach lebte er bis zu seinem Tod in der Schweiz. 1942 wurde ihm anlässlich seines 80. Geburtstages von der Universität Bern die Ehrendoktorwürde verliehen.

Nach 1918 betrachtete Klose sein musikalisches Schaffen als abgeschlossen, veröffentlichte keine Kompositionen mehr und widmete sich dem Verfassen von Erinnerungsbüchern.

Friedrich Klose war ein vorwiegend von außermusikalischen Vorlagen inspirierter Komponist in der Nachfolge der Neudeutschen Schule. Vor allem von Richard Wagner und Hector Berlioz gingen starke Impulse für sein Werk aus, während Einflüsse seines Lehrers Bruckner eher spärlich sind. Kloses Werke zeichnen sich durch intensive motivische Arbeit unter Einbeziehung von Thementransformationstechniken sowie dichten kontrapunktischen Satz und daraus resultierende chromatisch angereicherte Harmonik aus. Seine Orchesterbehandlung ist von großem Klangfarbenreichtum geprägt.

Da er sehr langsam und sorgfältig komponierte, blieb der Umfang von Kloses Werkverzeichnis gering. Die meisten Musikgattungen bedachte er nur mit einem einzigen, allerdings stets ambitionierten und gewichtigen Werk.

Bühnenwerk

Ilsebill. Das Märlein vom Fischer und seiner Frau, Dramatische Sinfonie (Musikdrama) ; Libretto : Hugo Hoffmann (1902, Uraufführung Karlsruhe 7. Juni 1903) .

Chorwerke

Asklepiadische Strophen für Männerchor (nach Heinrich Leuthold, 1888) .

Messe in D-Moll für Soli, Chor, Orchester und Orgel, Opus 6 (1889) .

Andante religioso, Opus 9 (nachkomponiertes Orchesterzwischenpiel zur Messe, Opus 6, von 1894) .

« Vidi Aquam » für Soli, Chor, Orchester und Orgel, Opus 10 (nachkomponiertes Orchesterzwischenpiel zur Messe, Opus 6, von 1894) .

« Ave Maria » für Sopran und Orchester, Opus 11 (nachkomponiertes Zwischenpiel zur Messe, Opus 6, von 1894) .

« O salutaris hostia » für Sopran, Tenor und Orchester, Opus 12 (nachkomponiertes Offertorium zur Messe, Opus 6, von 1894) .

Vier Gesänge für Männerchor (1905) .

Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar, Ballade für Sprecher, drei Chöre, Orchester und Orgel (nach Heinrich Heine, 1911) .

Ein Festgesang Neros für Tenor, Chor, Orchester und Orgel (nach Victor Hugo, 1912) .

Der Sonne-Geist, Oratorium für Soli, Chor, Orchester und Orgel (nach Alfred Mombert, 1917) .

Lieder

14 Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier, Opus 1-5 (1886-1887) .

Verbunden, Liederzyklus für Mezzosopran und Klavier, Opus 8 (nach Friedrich Rückert, 1888) .

Fünf Gesänge nach Giordano Bruno für Singstimme und Klavier (1918) .

Orchesterwerke

« Jeanne d'Arc » , Sinfonische Dichtung (vor 1881) .

Loreley, Sinfonische Dichtung (vor 1881) .

Elfenreigen (1892) .

Festzug (1892) .

Das Leben ein Traum, Sinfonische Dichtung mit Sprecher und Schlusschor für Frauenstimmen (1896) .

Sonstige Instrumentalwerke

Elegie für Violine oder Viola und Klavier, Opus 7 (1889) .

Präludium und Doppelfuge in C-Moll über ein Thema von Anton Bruckner für Orgel mit Schlusschoral für Blechbläser (1907) .

Streichquartett in Es-Dur, Ein Tribut in vier Raten entrichtet an Seine Gestrengen den deutschen Schulmeister (1911) .

Schriften

Meine Lehrjahre bei Bruckner (1927) .

Bayreuth. Eindrücke und Erlebnisse (1929) .

Rudolf Louis

The influential German music-critic and conductor Rudolf Louis was born on 30 January 1870 in Schwetzingen, Germany ; and died on 15 November 1914 in Munich, at age 44.

He studied in Geneva, where he was a pupil of Friedrich Klose, and continued his studies in Vienna and, then, in Karlsruhe under Felix Mottl before becoming conductor of the Theatre Orchestras in Landshut and Lübeck. In 1897, he moved to Munich, where he lived for the remainder of his life. Here he taught harmony and composition. Among his pupils was Wilhelm Petersen.

He was also the music-critic for the newspaper « Münchner Neueste Nachrichten » . An advocate of the latest trends in music as exemplified by his friends Ludwig Thuille and Richard Strauß, he published books on Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt, Hector Berlioz, Anton Bruckner, Hans Pfitzner, Friedrich Klose and contemporary German music. With Ludwig Thuille, he wrote an influential manual on harmony, « Harmonielehre » (1907) , which went through many editions.

He had an acrimonious relationship with the composer Max Reger, of whose compositions he usually had negative opinions. After the 1st performance of Reger's « Sinfonietta », on 2 February 1906, Louis wrote a typically negative review in the « Münchener Neueste Nachrichten », on 7 February.

Reger wrote to him :

« Ich sitze in dem kleinsten Zimmer in meinem Hause. Ich habe Ihre Kritik vor mir. Im nächsten Augenblick wird sie hinter mir sein ! »

(I am sitting in the smallest room of my house. I have your review before me. In a moment it will be behind me !)

...

Rudolf Louis (geboren 30. Januar 1870 in Schwetzingen ; gestorben 15. November 1914 in München) war ein deutscher Musiker, Musikschriftsteller und Musikkritiker.

Louis studierte zunächst Philosophie und Musikwissenschaft in Genf und anschließend in Wien, wo er auch mit einer Dissertation über den « Widerspruch in der Musik » zum Doktor der Philosophie promovierte. Danach nahm er dort Unterricht in Komposition bei Friedrich Klose und später im Dirigieren bei Felix Mottl in Karlsruhe. Es folgten Kapellmeistertätigkeiten in Landshut und Lübeck. Seit 1897 lebte er in München und war als Musikschriftsteller und ab 1900 als Musikkritiker der Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten tätig. Seine Kompositionen konnten sich im Musikleben nicht durchsetzen. Durch die gemeinsam mit Ludwig Thuille verfasste Harmonielehre, die zum Standardwerk avancierte und mehrere Auflagen erlebte, erlangte er Bekanntheit in der Musikwelt.

Musikwissenschaftliche Werke :

Der Widerspruch in der Musik, Breitkopf & Härtel (1893) .

Richard Wagner als Musikästetiker (1897) .

Die Weltanschauung Richard Wagners, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig (1898) .

Franz Liszt, Berlin (1900) .

Hector Berlioz, Leipzig (1904) .

Anton Bruckner, Georg Müller-Verlag, München (1905) .

Die deutsche Musik der Gegenwart, Georg Müller-Verlag, München (1909) .

Harmonielehrer. Rudolf Louis und Ludwig Thuille. Carl Grüniger, Stuttgart (1910) .

Musikalisches Schaffen :

Sinfonische Phantasie « Proteus » .

L'élève Felix von Kraus

The Austrian dramatic, Oratorio and Lieder singer Felix von Kraus was born on 3 October 1870 in Vienna and died on 30 October 1937 in Munich. He received a doctorate in musicology from the University of Vienna in 1894 ; as a singer, however, he was mainly self taught. He studied with Anton Bruckner, in Vienna. He was an early interpreter of the works of Johannes Brahms. Kraus made his debut at Bayreuth as Hagen in « Götterdämmerung » , in 1899, and was heard thereafter at numerous Bayreuth Festivals and at other Opera Houses throughout Europe ; he specialized in the works of Richard Wagner. In 1908, he became the artistic director of the Munich Opera ; that same year, he became a professor at the Munich Conservatory. Among his students was the Swiss tenor and early music specialist Max Meili and heldentenor Karel Burian.

In 1899, Kraus married the American contralto Adrienne Osborne (née Eisbein) , also a Wagnerian. The couple lived in Munich (1908-1935) where they both were vocal teachers. They had a child called Max but her real name was Felizitas. They also had a 2nd daughter who died as a small child. Her name was Maria (or « Moidl ») . The grave of Max is in the cemetery of Zell am Ziller, in the Tyrol.

The American contralto Adrienne von Kraus-Osborne was born on 2 December 1873 in Buffalo, NY ; and died on 15 Jun 1951 in Zell-an-der-Ziller, Austria. She was a great Waltraute interpreter. She studied in Germany with Auguste Gotze (in Leipzig) and Felix von Kraus, who became her husband, in 1899. Her debut, in 1893, was at the Leipzig Opera. She sang there until 1908 and then became a member of the Royal Opera, in Munich. She appeared at the Bayreuth Festivals from 1902-1909.

Felix von Kraus retired from the stage, in 1927. He wrote his Memoirs about his renown teacher, Anton Bruckner :

« Begegnungen mit Anton Bruckner, Johannes Brahms, Cosima Wagner » . Aus den Lebenserinnerungen von Doktor Felix von Kraus (1870-1937) , F. Hain Verlag, Wien / München (1961) .

Felix von Kraus (Autor) und Felicitas (Adriana Christina) von Kraus (Autorin) .

...

Felix von Kraus, Konzertsänger (Bass) geboren 03.10.1870 Wien ; gestorben 31.10.1937 München. Studierte in Wien Musikwissenschaft promovierte 1894 mit einer Arbeit über Caldara (unveröffentlicht) , war 2 Monate Schüler Stockhausens, im übrigen Autodidakt, wirkte aber bereits 1899 in Bayreuth mit. Er gehörte zu den ersten Interpreten von Brahms' « Vier ernsten Gesängen » und war ein hervorragender Oratoriensänger. Seine Gattin Adrienne, geborene Osborne, war Bühnen- und Konzertsängerin (Alt) . Das Ehepaar wohnte in München, wo Kraus 1908-1935 Gesanglehrer

an der Akademie der Tonkunst war.

...

Felix von Kraus, Sänger, geboren Wien, 03.10.1870 ; gestorben München, 31.10.1937. Sohn des Generalstabsarztes Carl von Kraus (geboren 1837) , Enkel des Vorigen ; als Kind erhielt er Unterricht auf der Violine, später auch in Musiktheorie. Er besuchte das Schotten-Gymnasium in Wien und studiert an der Universität Musikwissenschaft unter Eduard Hanslick (siehe dies) . Nach seiner Promotion (1894) widmete er sich ganz dem Gesangsstudium, das er, abgesehen von zwei Monaten Lehrzeit bei J. Stockhausen in Berlin, auf Anraten Brahms' Autodidaktisch betrieb. Nach kurzer Zeit bereits begann er eine glänzende Laufbahn als Konzertsänger. Ab 1899 sang er nach Aufforderung durch Cosima Wagner auch in Bayreuth (Hagen, Gurnemanz, später auch Landgraf, Marke, Titurel) . 1908 wurde er von Felix Mottl als Lehrer an die Akademie der Tonkunst in München geholt, wo er bis zu seiner Pensionierung 1935 wirkte. Seine letzten Jahre verbrachte er größtenteils in Zell am Ziller (Tirol) . Kraus stand in persönlichem Kontakt mit Anton Bruckner (siehe dies) , Johannes Brahms (siehe dies) , der ihn sehr förderte und mit großer Auszeichnung behandelte, Eusebius Mandyczewski, Friedrich Chrysander, der Familie Wagner, Felix Mottl und andere. Seine eigentliche Domäne als Sänger waren Lied (besonders Brahms und dessen « Vier ernste Gesänge ») und Oratorium ; auf dem Gebiet der Oper wirkte er trotz großer Erfolge nur selten und trat außer in Bayreuth nur als Gast in Wien, München und London auf. Kraus, herzoglich meiningischer und Kaiserlich-Königlich österreichisch Kammersänger, war ab 1899 mit der Sängerin Adrienne Osborne (1873-1951) verheiratet.

Werke

Biographie des Kaiserlich-Königlich VicaHof-Kapellmeisters Antonio Caldara. Samt thematisch Katalog der Kirchenwerke, 2 Bände, philosophie Dissertation Wien, 1894 ; Begegnungen mit Anton Bruckner, Johannes Brahms, Cosima Wagner. Aus den Lebenserinnerungen von Doktor Felix von Kraus zusammengestellt und ergänzt von Doktor Felix von Kraus ohne Jahr.

L'élève Karl Kobald

Karl Kobald est né le 28 août 1876 à Brno et est décédé le 12 octobre 1957 à Vienne.

Dès son plus jeune âge, il commence son apprentissage musical comme petit-chanteur à la Chapelle de la Cour de Vienne. Puis, il étudie au Conservatoire de Vienne auprès de Hans Richter, Josef Hellmesberger et Anton Bruckner. À l'Université de Vienne, il étudie le droit, l'art et l'histoire de la musique. Il a, entre autres, comme professeur Alois Riegel et Guido Adler. Après l'obtention de son diplôme, en 1901, il amorce sa pratique du droit en tant que conseiller à la Commission centrale Imperiale et Royale en ce qui attrait à l'art et aux monuments historiques, en plus d'être conseiller sur l'art au ministère de l'Éducation. À l'occasion du centenaire de Ludwig van Beethoven, en 1924, il est honoré à titre de professeur.

Karl Kobald publie le 1 janvier 1924 :

« In Memoriam Anton Bruckner, Festschrift zum 100. Geburtstage Anton Bruckners. Herausgegeben im Auftrage des Österreichischen Unterrichtsministeriums von Karl Kobald. » , Amalthea-Verlag, Zürich, Wien, Leipzig (1924) .

En 1932, on lui confère le titre de président de l'Académie de Musique et des Arts. On lui doit la nationalisation du Conservatoire de Vienne ; la réhabilitation des concerts du « Mozarteum » , à Salzburg ; et, de 1933 à 1937, l'organisation de concours internationaux de musique à Vienne.

...

Der Brünner Karl Kobald wurde am 28. August 1876 geboren.

Er begann seine der Musik gewidmeten Karriere bereits in jungen Jahren als Hofsängerknabe in Wien. An der Wiener Universität studierte er die Rechte, ferner Kunst- und Musikgeschichte. Und andere gehörte Alois Riegel und Guido Adler zu seinen Lehrern. Nach der Promotion (1901) durchlief er die Gerichtspraxis, wurde Konzipist der Kaiserlich-Königlich Zentralkommission für Kunst- und historische Denkmale, schließlich Kunstreferent im Unterrichtsministerium und zuletzt Ministerialrat. Anlässlich der Beethoven-Zentenarfeier wurde er mit dem Professorentitel geehrt. 1932 wurde ihm das Amt eines Präsidenten der Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst übertragen.

Zu seinem Wirkungskreis gehörten die Verstaatlichung des Wiener Konservatoriums, an dem er selbst noch bei Hans Richter, Josef Hellmesberger und Anton Bruckner studiert hatte, die Sanierung des Mozarteums in Salzburg und die Veranstaltung der internationalen Musikwettbewerbe in Wien von 1933 bis 1937. Er wirkte auch bei den Jahrhundertfeiern für Bruckner, Beethoven, Haydn und Schubert mit. Wesentliches leistete er auch als Vorsitzender des österreichischen Volksliedunternehmens, des Wiener Bruckner-Bundes und als Mitglied der Kommission zur Herausgabe der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich.

Außer Gedichtbänden, Erzählungen und einen Roman (« Künstlerfrühling ») hat Kobald viele musikgeschichtliche Bücher geschrieben, uund andere « Alt-Wiener Musikstätten » , « Wo unsterbliche Musik entstand » (Musik in Österreich) , ferner Biographien von Beethoven, Haydn, Schubert und Johann Strauß. Karl Kobald arbeitete auch an seinen Memoiren, denen er den Arbeitstitel « Ein Wiener Hofrat erzählt » gegeben hatte.

Karl Kobald verstarb am 12. Oktober 1957 in Wien.

L'élève Heinrich M. Schuster

En 1896, Heinrich M. Schuster écrivit que « l'opposition envers la musique de Bruckner originait de factions conservatrices ; de la même façon que l'opposition à l'idéologie libérale dans le domaine de la politique » .

Heinrich M. Schuster est aussi l'auteur de :

« Die Verbindung von Musik und Poesie im Liede : Zu Robert Franz' 75. Geburtstage. »

(La combinaison de la musique et de la poésie dans le lied : 75e anniversaire de naissance de Robert Franz.)

parut dans le « Bayreuther Blätter » , en 1890 (xiii, pages 192-201) .

L'élève Ciprian Porumbescu

Le compositeur, chef d'orchestre, chef de chœur, violoniste, pianiste et pédagogue roumain Ciprian Porumbescu (né : Cyprian Gołęmbiowski) est né le 14 octobre 1853 dans le village de Șipotete Sucevei, dans l'ancienne province de Bucovine en Roumanie ; et est mort le 6 juin 1883 (à l'aube) à Stupca, en Roumanie.

Porumbescu étudia la musique à Suceava et à Cernăuți. Il poursuiva au « Konservatorium für Musik und darstellende Kunst » de Vienne, de 1879 à 1881, sous la direction des professeurs Anton Bruckner et Franz Krenn. Il fut l'un des plus célèbres compositeurs roumains de son temps. Ses valse furent longtemps au répertoire des Orchestres populaires de la capitale de l'Empire. Il a entre autres composé la musique de l'hymne national albanais, « Hymni i Flamurit » .

Porumbescu fut emprisonné par les autorités autrichiennes pour son engagement politique. Il composa la majeure partie de son œuvre en détention. Il mourut à l'âge de 29 ans à Stupca, aujourd'hui rebaptisée Ciprian Porumbescu.

...

The Romanian composer, conductor, choir Master, violinist, pianist and pedagogue Ciprian Porumbescu (« né » Ciprian Gołęmbiowski) was born on 14 October 1853 in the village of Șipotete Sucevei, in Bukovina (now, Shepit, Putyla Raion, in Ukraine) ; and died on 6 June 1883 (at dawn) in Stupca, Romania.

Porumbescu was born into the family of Iraclie Porumbescu, an ethnic Romanian writer and Orthodox priest of Romanian origins, whose Romanian name was changed by Austrian authorities into Gołęmbiowski. The name Porumbescu was changed from Gołęmbiowski, in 1881, when Ciprian was at school in Suceava. He studied music in Suceava and Cernăuți, then, continued at the « Konservatorium für Musik und darstellende Kunst » in Vienna, from 1879 to 1881, under Anton Bruckner and Franz Krenn. His artistic career as a composer, conductor, violinist, and pianist started in Cernăuți, and continued in Vienna and, later, in Brașov where he taught vocal music at Romanian schools.

Ciprian Porumbescu wrote poetry, lyrics and press articles, and actively participated in the public cultural life. He helped the rise of the Romanian music school during an age of enthusiasm generated by Romania's independence. Some of the most remarkable musical pages of the composer were inspired by national heroes and great army leaders, such as Stephen III of Moldavia and Dragoș Vodă. The appreciation of his music came from the melodic nature of his compositions and their folklore inspiration.

In 1877, Porumbescu was arrested by the Austrian authorities due to his political ideals of independence manifested within the Arborea Society ; during detention, he contracted tuberculosis. He was released later after being found not guilty, going on to become a founding member of « Societatea Academică Junimea » . He died at the age of 29 in Stupca, which was renamed Ciprian Porumbescu in his honour.

Porumbescu was among the most celebrated Romanian composers of his time. He left a legacy of more than 250 works, bringing him fame and popularity through his short life. As a student at the Vienna Music Conservatory, Porumbescu noted with great interest the success of Operettas by Johann Strauß, Franz von Suppé, Jacques Offenbach and others. His supreme goal was to replace the frivolity of subject-matter in the fashionable Operettas with a plot that revived old Romanian traditions. His work spreads over various forms and musical genres, but the majority of his work is choral and Operetta. His popular works include :

« Crai nou » (New Moon) in which the new-born moon will fulfill every lover's dreams of happiness (collected and published by Vasile Alecsandri) . It appeared the most appropriate for the dream-like environment of the local and earnest task Porumbescu had in mind. The result was Romania's 1st operetta of the same name. « Crai nou » was premiered in Braşov, in presence of the composer.

The famous Ballad for violin and Orchestra was finished on October 21, 1880. In seclusion in Stupca, the composer meditated, drafted and, then, finished the piece, full of poetry and bitter nostalgia, with light and shade, a mixture of « doina » , old dance and song, everything in the environment of serene melancholy. It soon became his best-known work : a reference piece in Romanian Classical music of the 19th Century.

Among his other celebrated works, let's mention « Trei culori » or « Tricolorul » (3 coloured) ; the « Song for the 1st of May » ; the Ballad for violin and piano ; and the « Serenada » . In addition, he composed the music for « Pe-al nostru steag e scris Unire » (Union Is Written On Our Flag) , which was used for Albania's national anthem, « Hymni i Flamurit » .

His vocal works « Cântec de primăvară » (Spring song) ; « Cântecul gintei latine » (Latin nation song) ; « La malurile Prutului » (On the Prut's shores) ; and « Altarul manastirii Putna » (Putna monastery's altar) were already in the public conscience.

...

Learning music from his father at an early age, Ciprian Porumbescu was duly prepared for matriculation at the Vienna Conservatory where he became the student of Anton Bruckner and Franz Krenn. He helped to establish the Conservatory in Romania for instrumental and vocal music and had ample experience to do so given his compositions of Operettas and numerous pieces for piano and violin. « Crai nou » was an Operetta Porumbescu composed in 1882. By 1900, it had become the most popular of Romanian works in this genre. For political reasons, he was confined to a specific district and was a leading musical organizer and musician of the area. He conducted, composed and helped to establish a Society for students. Subsequently, his music became the rallying cry for young Romanian students. Popular music was Porumbescu's inspiration. He composed most of his music during his later years while in service at Saint-Nicholas' Church, in Braşov.

...

Ciprian Porumbescu, a Romanian Classical music composer, patriot, and national hero, surrounded by the aura of an

early tragic death, was born on 14 October 1853 in the village of Șipotetele Sucevei, in Bukovina (now, Shepit, Putyla Raion, in Ukraine) .

Porumbescu established a significant presence for himself in intellectual and student circles. He was a 2nd child to a family with a Ukrainian name, changed later into the Romanian « Porumbescu » . Adina Istrate, a museographer with the Ciprian Porumbescu Memorial House, in Stupca, told us about the composer.

Adina Istrate : « Ciprian Porumbescu inherited his patriotism from his father, who was a priest, as well as a patriot, folklore collector and 1848 revolutionary. Ciprian studied music with Karol Mikuli, a former student of Frédéric Chopin and later director of the Conservatory in Lemberg, today's Lvov. Ciprian studied piano with him for 6 years, before playing in the troupe of great traditional musician Grigore Vindereu. »

Passionate about the emancipation of Romanians in Bukovina, back then, an Austro-Hungarian province, Ciprian Porumbescu went to Putna on 15 August 1871. Putna, the monastery where Stephen the Great is buried, hosted that day a congress for Romanian students across the world, held by the « Young Romania » Society. It was organized under the leadership of famous Romanian writers Ioan Slavici and Mihai Eminescu. This was the 1st time that Ciprian Porumbescu met the greatest Romanian poet. 2 years later, he went to Chernowitz to study philosophy and theology. There, he became the president of the « Arboroasa » Society, an association of Romanian students from Bukovina, which organized actions considered hostile towards the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Adina Istrate : « It all culminated in a condolence telegram sent in 1877 to Iasi City Hall on the 100th commemoration of the decapitation of ruler Grigore Ghica III. That telegram was signed : « Youth from the cut-off part of old Moldavia » . It was the expression « cut-off » that bothered the Austrian authorities, who held in detention all 5 members of the « Arboroasa » Society Committee for 11 weeks. Unfortunately, Ciprian fell ill in prison, catching the tuberculosis that would lead to his death. However, the trial resulted in the release of the 5, who were found not guilty. »

Between 1879 and 1881, he was in Vienna, where he continued his studies in music and philosophy. In the capital of the Empire, he met members of the Strauß family, and continued his patriotic militancy.

Adina Istrate : « He became a member of the “ Young Romania ” Society and composed its anthem (“ Union Is Written On Our Flag ”) , a tune which is now the national anthem of Albania. Another song written by Ciprian Porumbescu was Romania's national anthem before 1990. Also, while he was a student in Vienna, he printed a collection of patriotic songs for Romanian students. During the same period, he composed his immortal ballad for violin, the best-know and most beloved composition by Ciprian Porumbescu. After graduating in Vienna, he was given a teaching position at a school in Brașov, which he held between 1881 and 1882. This is the pinnacle of his career. It was the time when the 1st Romania Operetta was staged, “ Crai Nou ”, on lyrics by Vasile Alecsandri. It was a very successful show. »

Unfortunately, his disease was progressing, and doctors sent him for treatment to a warmer area, in Italy.

Adina Istrate : « From November 1882 to February 1883, Ciprian Porumbescu went to Italy for treatment. He met Giuseppe Verdi there, and traveled to the major Italian cities of Rome, Venice, Pisa and Milan, and was impressed by their architecture. However, lacking money and missing home, he left Italy in 1883. He left behind 20 degrees Celsius for the - 20 degrees Celsius of his home, in Stupca, and this proved lethal. He died on June 6, at dawn, not even 30 years of age, after beseeching his sister to take care of his music. »

The people who love his music often visit his home in the village of Stupca, today renamed Ciprian Porumbescu, in Suceava county. This used to be the parochial house that the composer's father, Iraelie, was granted when he came to the village as the local priest.

L'élève Josef Gruber

Le compositeur, musicien d'église et organiste autrichien Josef Gruber (pseudonyme : Josef Wösendorfer) est né le 18 avril 1855 à Weißenkirchen (Wösendorf près de Krems, dans la vallée de Wachau en Basse-Autriche) une paroisse chapeauté par Saint-Florian. Il quittera la maison familiale pour entrer au monastère augustinien où il reçoit une formation musicale comme petit-chanteur du « Kapellmeister » Ignaz P. Traumihler (1815-1884) , en fonction depuis 1852. Il reçoit aussi des leçons d'orgue de Josef Seiberl, celui qui a succédé comme titulaire à Anton Bruckner en 1855. En 1887-1888, Gruber est un élève dans la classe d'harmonie de Bruckner, au Conservatoire de Vienne alors que son professeur de composition est Johann Evangelist Habert. Gruber retournera régulièrement à Saint-Florian où, en 1878, il sera nommé, à son tour, organiste titulaire prenant la succession de son Maître Bruckner et de Josef Seiberl. Gruber était un passionné de musique et un militant de la Ire heure du Cécilianisme, mis de l'avant par Traumihler ; ce qui influencera directement ses compositions de jeunesse. Bruckner, Habert et le Maître de chœur associé Bernhard Deubler (1842-1907) , le successeur de Traumihler à Saint-Florian en 1884, viendront atténuer cette idéologie rigoriste. À partir de ce moment, Gruber composera une musique d'église pragmatique qui sera en vogue jusqu'au début de la Première Guerre mondiale. De 1906 jusqu'à sa retraite, il sera professeur de musique au Collège (« Lehrerbildungsanstalt ») de Linz ; ville où il va mourir le 2 décembre 1933.

Selon les statistiques, son répertoire est chanté dans plus de 1,200 églises en Autriche. Mais si l'on tient compte du Sud de l'Allemagne, de la Silésie de même que des pays issus de l'ancienne Monarchie Austro-Hongroise, ce nombre augmente considérablement. Par son enseignement, Josef Gruber aura influencé une génération de compositeurs dédiés à la musique religieuse.

Son style de la maturité se veut une fusion du Cécilianisme et du Classicisme autrichien. Sa musique d'église, écrite dans le style Romantique finissant, trouvait beaucoup d'appuis et était de plus en plus en demande. Il a composé plus de 300 œuvres sacrées, dont 58 Messes, 17 Requiem et 1 grand « Te Deum » . Il a également laissé des Messes propres, des Messes allemandes, des Lieder, des Motets, des litanies, des pièces pour chœur d'hommes, des œuvres pour orgue, un recueil de préludes, un manuel d'orgue en 3 parties et une école d'orgue.

A capella :

Requiem en mi bémol, Opus 3.

Asperges me, pour chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) a cappella, Opus 35, n° 1.

Asperges me, pour chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) a cappella, Opus 35, n° 2.

Thomasmesse pour 7 harmonisistes, Opus 83.

Missa « Salve Regina », Opus 197.

Pour orgue seul :

Theresienmesse, Opus 31.

Aloysiusmesse, Opus 76.

Familienmesse, Opus 117.

Avec orchestre :

Fest-Messe in honorem Sancti Petri (Missa Sankt Petri ; Sankt Petrus-Messe) pour quatuor vocal mixte (SATB) , Doktor J. Butz Musikverlag, Opus 14.

Requiem en ré mineur pour chœur et orgue, Opus 20.

Elisabethmesse, Opus 36.

Kaiser-Jubiläumsmesse, Messe du Jubilé pour chœur et orchestre (ou accompagnement à l'orgue) à l'occasion du 50e anniversaire de règne de l'Empereur François-Joseph, Opus 40 (1898) .

Missa Papæ Leonis, Opus 151.

Autres Messes et Requiem :

Zweites Requiem en do mineur pour chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) a cappella et orgue, Opus 21 :

Introitus, Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei, Communio.

3e Requiem en ré bémol, pour chœur mixte, 2 cors et orgue, Opus 37.

Pastoral-Messe en fa (court et très léger) pour chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) a cappella, Opus 45a.

Pastoral-Messe en sol (court et très léger) pour chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) a cappella, Opus 45b.

Missa pro defunctis, Opus 71.

Missa pro defunctis en mi bémol mineur pour quatuor vocal mixte (SATB) , chœur, et orgue, Opus 80 :

Introitus : Requiem aeternam - Kyrie - Graduale : Requiem aeternam - Tractus : Absolve Domine - Offertorium : Domine Jesu Christe - Sanctus - Benedictus - Agnus Dei - Communio : Lux aeterna.

Requiem en la pour quatuor vocal mixte (SATB) , 1 chœur mixte (SATB) , 2 violons, 1 alto, 1 violoncelle, 1 contrebasse, 2 clarinettes, 2 cors, 1 trombone et orgue, Opus 84.

Ein Deutsches Requiem en do mineur, Opus 114 : tout comme Johannes Brahms, Josef Gruber n'utilise pas la forme traditionnelle de la Messe des défunts.

Requiem en ré mineur pour 1 ou 2 voix solistes et orgue (ou harmonium) ; ou pour chœur mixte à 3 voix (SAB) , 2 cors d'harmonie, ensemble de cordes et orgue, Opus 145 (vers 1905) .

Missa pro defunctis pour chœur à 3 voix et orgue, Opus 179 (1910) .

Requiem und Libera pour chœur d'hommes à 4 voix, Opus 206 (1910) .

Requiem en mi bémol majeur pour quatuor vocal mixte, (SATB) , ensemble de cordes, 2 cors d'harmonie et orgue, Opus 201 (vers 1920) .

Missa pro defunctis avec Libera me pour 1 ou 2 voix solistes et orgue (ou harmonium) , Opus 219 (1911) .

Requiem en si majeur, Opus 299.

Gregorius-Messe.

Missa Mater Dolorosa.

Missa in honorem Sancta Caeciliae.

Autres :

Christus ist auferstanden (le Christ est ressuscité) , chant Pascal pour chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) et orgue, Opus 70, No. 1.

Vidi aquam, Opus 82.

Vidi aqua, mantiphone pour chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) , Opus 83.

Angelus Domini, antiphone pour soprano, chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) et orgue, Opus 85, n° 4.

Terra Tremuit, offertoire de la Passion et de Pâques pour chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) et orgue, Opus 134.

Deutsche Messe de Franz Schubert (TTBB) , arrangement de Josef Gruber, Anton Böhm und Sohn Verlag.

Zweiten Cäcilienmesse : Sanctus et Benedictus pour 3 voix solistes (SAB) , arrangement de Albert Kupp, Musica International Carus-Verlag Stuttgart.

Auferstehungslied.

Svétku mise sv. Pétera godam.

Andachtsjodler (« Du güldne Sonn ») pour chœur mixte à 4 voix (SATB) .

Und mitten im Winter, chant de Noël alpestre pour le temps de l'Avent pour chœur à 4 voix (SATB) .

...

The Austrian organist, church musician and composer Josef Gruber was born on 18 April 1855 in Weißenkirchen / Wösendorf (Wachau) . He was a student of Anton Bruckner and, in 1878, took-over his teacher's former position as organist in the monastery of Saint-Florian. At the entombment ceremony of Anton Bruckner in Saint-Florian, Josef Gruber (the house organist) improvised on themes from « Parsifal » by Richard Wagner. Gruber was a musical devotee of the Cecilian ideals. After 1906, he taught music in Linz, where he also died on 2 December 1933.

Gruber is the author of « Meine Erinnerungen an Doktor Anton Bruckner » , Einsiedeln (1928) .

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Geboren in Wösendorf in der Wachau, einer Stiftspfarr von Sankt Florian, kam er schon früh aus seinem Heimatort in das Augustiner Chorherrenstift, wo er seine erste musikalische Ausbildung als Sängerknabe erhielt. Ignaz P. Traumihler (1815-1884) war dort seit 1852 Stiftskapellmeister. Auch Anton Bruckner war bis 1855 unter diesem Stiftsorganist. Harmonielehre studierte Gruber und andere bei Anton Bruckner (1887-1888) , der ein ständiger Gast in Sankt Florian war. Sein Kompositionslehrer war Johann Evangelist Habert. Von 1906 bis zu seiner Versetzung in den Ruhestand war er Musikprofessor an der Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Linz. Immer wieder wird er mit Franz Xaver Gruber, dem Komponisten von « Stille Nacht » , verwechselt.

Der Einfluß des strengen Cäcilianers Traumihler prägte Grubers erste Schaffensperiode. Der Einfluß Bruckners, Haberts und des Stiftskapellmeisters Deubler (Traumihlers Nachfolger) milderte die Strenge des Cäcilianismus und Gruber fand « Anschluß » an die pragmatische Kirchenmusik, wie sie vor 1914 entwickelt wurde. Seine Werke sind eine Verschmelzung von österreichischem Cäcilianismus und klassizistisch konzertanter Richtung. Viele Freunde fand vor allem seine im spätromantischen Stil verfaßte Kirchenmusik und man verlangte von ihm immer Neues. Nach der Statistik der

österreichischen Kirchenmusik werden Grubers Werke in weit über 1200 österreichischen Kirchen gesungen. Zählt man Süddeutschland und Gebiete in den Nachfolgestaaten der Monarchie sowie Schlesien dazu, wird die Zahl um ein Vielfaches größer. Als Lehrerbildner vermittelte Gruber mehr als einer Generation das Rüstzeug für den kirchenmusikalischen Dienst. Seine « Jubiläumsmesse » Opus 40 zählt zu den Repertoiremassen des Chores und wird daher meist mit Orgelbegleitung aufgeführt und nicht wie vorgesehen mit Orchesterbegleitung. Komponiert wurde sie zur Feier des 50jährigen Regierungsjubiläums Kaiser Franz Josephs I. im Jahr 1898.

L'élève Fritz Kreisler

Le violoniste et compositeur autrichien Fritz (Friedrich) Kreisler est né le 2 février 1875 à Vienne et est mort le 29 janvier 1962 à New York.

Enfant prodige, le jeune Fritz Kreisler savait lire la musique à l'âge de 3 ans. Il reçoit ses premières leçons de violon de son père, qui était un amateur enthousiaste de Jacques Auber.

En 1882, il devient le plus jeune élève à être admis au Conservatoire de Vienne (7 ans) où il étudie le violon avec Josef Hellmesberger junior et l'harmonie, la théorie musicale et la composition avec Anton Bruckner. Il en sort à l'âge de 10 ans, médaillé d'or. Puis, il travaille à Paris avec Joseph Massart, de la classe duquel il sort à 12 ans, partageant le 1er prix avec d'autres élèves, en 1887.

À 14 ans, il effectue sa première tournée aux États-Unis, avec Moritz Rosenthal. De retour en Europe, il consacre 2 années à élargir son éducation (en étudiant l'art et la médecine) et son expérience (en passant une année dans l'armée autrichienne). La musique demeure cependant son véritable métier, et il reprend sa carrière en 1896 en effectuant une tournée en Russie.

Vienne lui fit bon accueil, en 1898, lorsqu'il y joue le Concerto n° 1 de Max Bruch sous la direction de Hans Richter, et il en est de même à Berlin l'année suivante lorsqu'il fait ses débuts de concertiste. Il retourne en Amérique, en 1900, et se produit pour la première fois en Grande-Bretagne, en 1902. C'est également en 1902 qu'il épouse Harriet Lies qui se charge de la tâche primordiale d'organiser sa vie.

En 1910, Kreisler crée le Concerto d'Edward Elgar, et est célèbre au moment de la Première Guerre mondiale (durant laquelle il sert brièvement, avant d'être blessé et rendu à la vie civile). Après avoir passé quelque temps en Amérique, il s'installe à Berlin, en 1924, mais refuse de se produire en Allemagne à partir de 1933. Après 1938, il prend la nationalité française avant d'aller s'installer définitivement aux États-Unis (il prendra la nationalité américaine en 1943).

Le 12 mai 1941, il est renversé par un fourgon dans une rue de New York et reste dans le coma durant 1 semaine. Bien que cet accident ait mis fin à sa carrière professionnelle, il continuera de jouer jusqu'en 1950.

Son art se caractérise par l'intensité de son vibrato et par l'économie de ses mouvements d'archet.

...

Aujourd'hui, il y a probablement des gens qui n'ont jamais entendu les nombreux enregistrements de Fritz Kreisler et qui le connaissent uniquement comme compositeur de ravissantes pièces pour violon. Mais, en son temps, il fut tenu pour un interprète révolutionnaire, pour la quintessence du violoniste viennois, et ses compositions étaient auréolées d'un singulier parfum de scandale. Né à Vienne, le 2 février 1875, sous le nom de Friedrich Kreisler, il prit des leçons avec son père, médecin polonais et violoniste amateur, et avec Jacques Auber, chef de pupitre au « Ringtheater », avant de devenir, en 1882, le plus jeune élève admis au Conservatoire de Vienne. Là, il étudia le violon avec Josef Hellmesberger fils et la composition avec Anton Bruckner. Médaillé d'or à 10 ans, il intégra le Conservatoire de Paris, où 2 de ses professeurs furent Joseph Massart (violon) et Léo Delibes (composition). 1er prix de violon en 1887, il fit une tournée américaine (1888-1889), à l'issue de laquelle il poursuivit sa formation, fit 2 années de médecine et son service militaire. En 1896, il se lança dans une carrière de virtuose et fit partout impression avec son nouveau style de jeu au vibrato continu. Après avoir fait ses débuts à Vienne (1898) et à Berlin (1899), il conquiert toute l'Europe en une marche triomphale. En 1900, il retourna en Amérique et, en 1902, il fit tant sensation à Londres qu'on lui décerna, en 1904, la médaille d'or de la « Philharmonic Society ».

Dès ses 1ers récitals, Kreisler programma ses propres pièces ; mais, vers 1905, il se mit à en faire passer certaines pour des œuvres de compositeurs passés, allant jusqu'à écrire un Concerto de « Vivaldi » :

« Lorsque je désirais étoffer mes programmes, je trouvais impudent et peu diplomatique de répéter constamment mon nom sur les programmes. » , s'excusa-t-il.

Comme assez peu d'œuvres Baroques et Classiques étaient alors connues, personne ne remarqua que son « Vivaldi » n'avait rien du vrai Vivaldi ni que les autres morceaux étaient aussi des pastiches. Il est amusant de lire les critiques fustigeant Kreisler d'oser faire cohabiter ses propres bagatelles avec les superbes pièces de grands compositeurs comme Pugnani et Couperin ! À un journaliste, Kreisler raconta éhontément comment il avait « découvert une collection de manuscrits, une musique aux mains de moines habitant l'un des plus vieux monastères d'Europe et comment, impatient de les avoir pour lui, il copia l'un des morceaux sur son poignet de chemise. Ce contre quoi les moines s'élevèrent ; finalement, après avoir beaucoup insisté, il parvint à acheter toute la collection pour une somme considérable » .

En 1909, il déclara au « New York Times » :

« J'ai découvert les œuvres dans un vieux couvent du Sud de la France. Je possède, en tout, 53 manuscrits de ce genre. 5 d'entre eux sont plus ou moins sans valeur. 48 sont des bijoux. »

Avec le temps, des confrères attentifs au style commencèrent à flairer quelque chose de louche. Dès 1910, Kreisler fut morigéné par le critique berlinois Leopold Schmidt pour avoir fait figurer son « Caprice viennois » aux côtés de joyaux de « Joseph Lanner » et il dut indiquer que les dits morceaux étaient aussi de lui ; il s'agissait de ses « Liebesfreud » et « Liebesleid » . En 1910 également, 14 de ses faux parurent sous le titre de « Manuscrits classiques » (l'éditeur Willy Strecker, de Schott, lui avait offert 1,000 \$ pour 20 pièces) et il s'en écoula plus de 70,000 exemplaires en 6 mois.

Toujours en 1910, Kreisler assura la création londonienne du Concerto pour violon d'Elgar (dont il était le dédicataire), sous la baguette du compositeur. Après avoir brièvement servi dans l'armée pendant la Première Guerre mondiale (blessé, il fut rendu à la vie civile), il s'installa à New York, où il fut d'abord traité en héros. Mais l'attitude de nombreux Américains changea, surtout en province, avec l'entrée en guerre des États-Unis, en 1917 : accusé d'envoyer de l'argent à l'armée autrichienne, il dut préciser que ces fonds étaient destinés à son père vieillissant et aux orphelins de guerre. Dans les grandes villes, il garda le soutien de ses admirateurs mais il mit plusieurs années à reconquérir sa popularité. En revanche, son retour à Londres, en 1920, fut un succès. En 1923, il effectua une tournée en Extrême-Orient et, l'année suivante, il emménagea à Berlin, dans une maison neuve, mais l'avènement du Nazisme, en 1933, l'amena à boycotter l'Allemagne, en réaction contre le traitement infligé à ses co-religionnaires juifs. En 1934, il chargea son éditeur américain Carl Fischer de ranger ses « manuscrits Classiques » parmi ses œuvres, dans le catalogue de 1935. Mais déjà, le critique du « New York Times », Olin Downes, qui s'était vu demander une conférence-récital avec Yehudi Menuhin, s'était mis en quête des origines du « Préludium et Allegro », obligeant Kreisler à reconnaître qu'il en était l'auteur. Son subterfuge fit la une des journaux du monde entier et, si la plupart des gens s'en amusèrent, le critique anglais Ernest Newman, se montra particulièrement froissé. Après l'« Anschluß » de 1938, Kreisler prit la nationalité française puis émigra aux États-Unis. Le 12 mai 1941, un camion le heurta alors qu'il traversait distraitemment une rue de New York ; il eut beau s'en remettre et continuer de se produire en public jusqu'en 1950, il ne retrouva jamais son statut. Il mourut à New York, le 29 janvier 1962.

Parmi les compositions de Kreisler figurent 2 Opérettes et 1 quatuor à cordes. Ses pièces populaires, qu'il enregistra pour beaucoup jusqu'à 6 fois, parurent sous diverses appellations : Chants traditionnels d'Autriche, Œuvres, Manuscrits Classiques, Chefs-d'œuvre du violon, Compositions originales et Transcriptions. Elles reflètent son double talent de coloriste au violon et de pianiste. Un jour, à New York, Harold Bauer et lui interprétèrent la Sonate pour violon « à Kreutzer » de Beethoven avant d'échanger leurs instruments et de la rejouer à la fête donnée après le concert.

...

Violoniste autrichien, élève d'Anton Bruckner et de Josef Hellmesberger fils, à Vienne (1882-1885) ; de Joseph Massart et de Léo Delibes, à Paris (1885-1887), Fritz Kreisler commence une carrière d'enfant prodige interrompue pour effectuer des études médicales. En 1898, il reprend ses activités de violoniste, vivant à Vienne et à Berlin jusqu'en 1933. De 1933 à 1939, il se réfugie en France puis gagne les États-Unis où il séjournera jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, cessant de jouer en 1947.

Virtuose dans la tradition de l'école autrichienne, il s'est imposé dans les chefs-d'œuvre du répertoire et dans d'innombrables petites pièces qu'il avait lui-même écrites en les attribuant à des compositeurs du XVIIIe siècle (Pugnani, Francœur, Martini, Vivaldi). La supercherie ne fut découverte qu'en 1935, après plusieurs années ! Son style, très personnel, reposait sur un vibrato serré, une élégance et un sens de la phrase mélodique que soutenait une sonorité chatoyante. Habité par le rythme, il contribua à gommer les excès des interprétations Romantiques sans en perdre l'expression générale. Peu attiré par la musique de chambre, il ne s'est guère produit qu'avec Sergueï Rachmaninov. Il est l'un des rares virtuoses de cette génération à n'avoir pas fait école. Comme compositeur, il laisse, en dehors de ses fameux pastiches, des pièces pour violon (« Caprice viennois », « Liebesleid », « Tambourin chinois

» , « Schön Rosmarin ») , des cadences pour tous les grands Concertos et plusieurs Opérettes dont « Sissi » , en 1932.

...

The Austrian-born violinist and composer Friedrich (« Fritz ») Kreisler was born on 2 February 1875 in Vienna and died on 29 January 1962 in New York. One of the most famous Violin Masters of his or any other day, and regarded as one of the greatest violinists of all time, he was known for his sweet tone and expressive phrasing. Like many great violinists of his generation, he produced a characteristic sound which was immediately recognizable as his own. Although he derived in many respects from the Franco-Belgian school, his style is nonetheless reminiscent of the « gemütlich » (cozy) lifestyle of pre-War Vienna.

Kreisler was the son of Anna (« née » Reaches) and Samuel Kreisler, a doctor. Of Jewish heritage, he was baptised at age 12. He studied at the Vienna Conservatory and in Paris, where his teachers included Anton Bruckner, Léo Delibes, Jakob Dont, Josef Hellmesberger, Junior, Joseph Massart, and Jules Massenet. While in Paris, he won the « 1er Grand Prix de Rome » gold medal, competing against 40 other players, all of whom were, at least, 20 years of age.

He made his United States debut at Steinway Hall, in New York City, on November 10, 1888, and his 1st tour of the United States, in 1888-1889, with Moritz Rosenthal, then returned to Austria and applied for a position in the Vienna Philharmonic. He was turned down by the Concert Master Arnold Rosé. It is easy to understand why upon hearing a recording of the Rosé Quartet ; Rosé was sparing in his use of vibrato, so Kreisler would not have blended well with the Orchestra's violin section. As a result, he left music to study medicine. He spent a brief time in the army before returning to the violin, in 1899, giving a concert with the Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Arthur Nikisch. It was this concert and a series of American tours, from 1901 to 1903, that brought him real acclaim.

In 1910, Kreisler gave the premiere of Edward Elgar's Violin Concerto, a work commissioned by and dedicated to him. He served briefly in the Austrian Army in World War I, before being honourably discharged after he was wounded. He arrived in New York, on November 24, 1914, and spent the remainder of the War in America. He returned to Europe, in 1924, living 1st in Berlin, then moving to France, in 1938. Shortly thereafter, at the outbreak of World War II, he settled once again in the United States, becoming a naturalized citizen, in 1943. He lived there for the rest of his life, giving his last public concert in 1947 and broadcast performances for a few years after that.

On April 26, 1941, he was involved in the 1st of 2 traffic accidents that marked his life. Struck by a truck while crossing a street in New York, he suffered a fractured skull and was in a coma for over a week.

In his later years, he suffered from not only some hearing loss but also sight deterioration due to cataracts.

Towards the end of his life, he was in another accident while traveling in an automobile, and spent his last days blind and deaf as a result. Nonetheless, he « radiated a gentleness and refinement not unlike his music » , according to Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen who visited him frequently during that time (Kreisler and his wife were converts to

Catholicism, received into the Church by the Archbishop himself) . He died of a heart condition aggravated by old age in New York City, in 1962, and was interred in a private mausoleum in Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York.

Kreisler wrote a number of pieces for the violin, including solos for encores, such as « Liebesleid » and « Liebesfreud » . Some of Kreisler's compositions were pastiches in an ostensible style of other composers, originally ascribed to earlier composers such as Gaetano Pugnani, Giuseppe Tartini, and Antonio Vivaldi. Then, in 1935, Kreisler revealed that he actually wrote the pieces. When critics complained, Kreisler replied that they had already deemed the compositions worthy : « The name changes, the value remains. » , he said. He also wrote Operettas including « Apple Blossoms » , in 1919, and « Sissy » , in 1932, a String Quartet and cadenzas, including ones for the Brahms D major Violin Concerto, the Paganini D major Violin Concerto, and the Beethoven D major Violin Concerto. His cadenzas for the Beethoven Concerto are the ones most often employed by violinists today.

He performed and recorded his own version of the 1st movement of the Paganini D major Violin Concerto. This version is re-scored and, in some places, re-harmonised. The orchestral introduction is completely re-written in some places. The overall effect is of a late- 19th Century work.

Kreisler owned several antique violins crafted by luthiers Antonio Stradivari, Pietro Guarneri, Giuseppe Guarneri, and Carlo Bergonzi, most of which eventually came to bear his name. Many of his violins were made by Doctor Morris Spriggs of San Francisco.

He also owned a Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume violin of 1860, which he often used as his 2nd violin, and which he often loaned to the young prodigy Josef Hassid.

On recordings, Kreisler's style resembles that of his younger contemporary Mischa Elman, with a tendency toward expansive tempi, a continuous and varied vibrato, expressive phrasing, and a melodic approach to passage-work. Kreisler makes considerable use of portamento and rubato. The 2 violinists' approaches are less similar in big works of the standard repertoire, such as Felix Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, than in smaller pieces.

A trip to a Kreisler concert is recounted in Siegfried Sassoon's 1928 autobiographical novel : « Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man » .

...

Violinist Fritz Kreisler was one of the most beloved and best-known of early recording era musicians. His burnished tone and patrician phrasing were quintessentially Viennese, and the warmth of his playing won him devoted followers wherever he appeared. So great was his fame and the affection in which he was held that he survived a blaze of controversy when he revealed, in 1935, that many of the short pieces he had performed as transcriptions of such composers as Couperin, Vivaldi, and Pugnani were, in fact, his own work. While the critics fumed, the public expressed little concern and continued to pack his concert appearances.

Kreisler was the son of a famous surgeon, a good amateur musician who gave young Fritz his 1st violin lessons.

Kreisler made his public debut at 7, in a collection of short works. Shortly thereafter, he was permitted to enter the Vienna Conservatory despite a policy that no one younger than 14 be accepted. After 3 years of study with Josef Hellmesberger, Junior (violin), and Anton Bruckner (composition), he was awarded a gold medal.

Kreisler was sent to Paris for further studies with Léo Delibes and Joseph Massart. At the age of 12, he won the « Premier Grand Prix de Rome » gold medal competing against 40 other players, all of whom were, at least, 20 years of age.

In 1888, Kreisler sailed to the United States for a concert tour with pianist Moritz Rosenthal, earning many complimentary reviews. When he returned to Vienna, he applied to the Vienna Philharmonic for a position but was turned down. Feeling discouraged, he resolved to abandon music and chose to pursue a career in medicine. After several years, he rejected that course and began the study of painting. First in Paris, then in Rome, he worked toward mastering his technique, but soon this, too, became tiresome. He returned to Vienna and enlisted in the army.

A full year as a soldier was sufficient to cause, yet, more rethinking and Kreisler resigned his commission and returned to the study of violin. He spent 8 weeks in country solitude readying himself for his return to the concert stage. His « second début » in Berlin was successful, but widespread acclaim came during several American tours, between 1901 and 1903. In the United States, he was hailed as one of the foremost violinists of his time and, soon after, Europe followed suit in recognizing his extraordinary artistry.

In 1910, in London, Kreisler gave the premiere performance of Elgar's Violin Concerto, a work dedicated to him.

While vacationing in Switzerland, in 1914, Kreisler received the news that Austria was at War. Returning to his native country, he rejoined his former division, now stationed in Galicia. An attack by the Russians resulted in an injury and his discharge with high honors. Wishing to help his country, Kreisler embarked on a lengthy concert tour of America. The United States' entry into the War, however, put him in the awkward position of being an ex-Austrian officer aiding what was now an enemy nation. Negative reaction obliged him to withdraw from concertizing and retire to the State of Maine to pass the remaining period of hostilities.

At his return to the New York concert stage, in 1919, however, he was given a tumultuous reception. He took-up residence in Berlin for 10 years, beginning in 1924. With the « Anshluß », in 1938, he moved to France, but returned to the United States before the Nazi invasion and lived his remaining years in America, where he gave his final public concert, in 1947. He continued to perform on broadcasts until 1950.

...

Kreisler was, without doubt, one of the most famous violinists of all time, dominating the world's stage until the 1930's and surviving even Jascha Heifetz's explosive « début » of 1917, audiences remaining loyal to Kreisler's warmth of tone and arresting musical personality. Feted by many as a pioneer of the so-called continuous vibrato (i.e., used as a constituent part of his tone, applied to passage work as much as to long melodic notes), Kreisler was not without his detractors in his early years. In 1896, when he auditioned for the Vienna « Hofoper » Orchestra, Arnold

Rosé, 12 years his senior, rejected him on the grounds that he was unable to sight read ; a reason that seems far less plausible than the possibility that Rosé, espousing an older German performance aesthetic (not unlike Joseph Joachim's) , considered Kreisler's playing inartistic and, perhaps, even felt threatened by his easy but devastatingly effective tonal charms. In spite, or perhaps because, of Eugène Ysaÿe giving Kreisler a standing ovation at his Berlin premiere, Joachim was cool in his reception of the young virtuoso who, in many ways, epitomised the qualities of the Franco-Belgian school that Joachim criticised. Most certainly, he disagreed with what he considered an abuse of the vibrato and when Kreisler filled-in for an accompanist in Joachim's class, the Master failed to mention Kreisler's violin performance, preferring instead to compliment him on his piano playing !

In truth, Kreisler did not invent the modern violin vibrato. It was a well-known characteristic of Henryk Wieniawski's playing, whilst many others considerably older than Kreisler (including Eugène Ysaÿe, Jenő Hubay and Pablo de Sarasate) used it frequently. Moreover, Rosé's solo recordings reveal that he too used it much more than Joachim. Kreisler bore Joachim no malice and even cited him as one of the profoundest influences of his artistic life. Nonetheless, he popularised this approach to sound, which was to prove highly-influential : there is scarcely a violinist of the 20th Century who was unaffected by Kreisler's style. In many respects, the reason for this can be traced to his recordings. According to Carl Flesch, Kreisler's tone was particularly suited to the recording processes of both the acoustic and early electric eras, his musical personality transcending their limitations.

Recognized for leading a trend towards more overtly emotional styles of playing, Kreisler was known for the bravura and intensity of his performances. Equally at home in the small-scale recital as with the Concerto, he composed a large number of pieces for performance in recital, all of which remain popular. Famously, Kreisler passed-off many of these as rediscovered works by earlier composers (Couperin, Dittersdorf, Pugnani) , only to reveal, in 1935, that this had been a good-humoured act of deception made in order to avoid over-repetition of his own name in solo recital programmes ! Kreisler was great friends with Ysaÿe and, perhaps more incongruously, Sergei Rachmaninov, with whom he recorded a number of works including an individual but effective 1928 performance of Beethoven's Violin Sonata, Opus 30, No. 3.

Kreisler's recordings display his wonderfully flexible sound and a controlled but effective expressivity. Certainly, he is much more overt in these matters than musicians of Joachim's Circle, but his is a more disciplined approach than, for example, Bronisław Huberman's sometimes wilful eccentricity. His earliest recordings (made during Joachim's lifetime, in 1904) already reveal the hallmarks of his later reputation : a regular and, some might say, rather saccharine portamento and a frequent (but not actually continuous) vibrato which seems narrow compared to that of modern players, whatever Kreisler's pioneering reputation. His 1916 recording of the Bach Double Violin Concerto with Efrem Zimbalist shows the performers' individuality, something that renders this disc (with nothing more than String Quartet accompaniment) both powerful and fascinating. His 1920's performances of the Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Brahms Concertos with the Berlin State Opera Orchestra under Leo Blech are, arguably, finer than his later versions in terms of interpretation although they are technically inferior from a recording point of view, whilst his pairing with Rachmaninov holds an obvious fascination.

Kreisler, who allegedly never practised (possibly because he was so frequently occupied with actual performing

engagements) , seems not to have suffered from stage fright and was, in many ways, a thoroughly natural player. For all his education and broad experience of life, he lacked the self-conscious academicism of older players of the Germanic tradition, many would say to his evident credit. A warm-hearted and generous artist, easy-going to a fault, Kreisler's best recordings mirror this generosity of spirit and allow us to glimpse something of the magnetic personality that ensured his enduring popularity.

...

« Music possesses all the characteristics of a vice : its acute attractive force, its secret salaciousness, the strange compulsion for self-abandonment. Musicians are, therefore, the only humans whose vices are respected, honoured and even paid for. » (Fritz Kreisler)

Fritz Kreisler was born in Vienna, on 2 February 1875. He received violin tuition from Josef Hellmesberger, Junior, at the age of 7, and became the youngest pupil of his time to study at the « Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » . He attended his 1st courses in music theory which were taught by Anton Bruckner, from 1882 to 1885. From 1885 to 1887, Kreisler studied at the « Conservatoire national supérieur de Paris » . The young student was a member of Joseph Massart's violin class and studied harmony and counterpoint with Leó Delibes. Despite having accompanied the pianist Moritz Rosenthal on a 6 month tour of the United States, in 1888, Kreisler subsequently began a 2 year course in medicine, in Vienna, following his travels.

He then spent a brief period in military service with the Austrian army. At the age of 21, Kreisler finally resolved to take-up a musical career. In 1898, he performed with the Vienna Philharmonic under the direction of Hans Richter and, 1 year later, with the Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Arthur Nikisch. This was followed by extensive concert tours to Scandinavia, Russia and Turkey.

In 1910, Edward Elgar dedicated his Violin Concerto to the internationally acclaimed violin virtuoso. From 1915, Kreisler was primarily resident in New York, but relocated to Berlin during the middle of the 1920's. Following Adolf Hitler's accession to power, the son of a Jewish doctor left Germany, initially going to Paris. With the outbreak of the Second World War, however, Kreisler took-up permanent residence in the United States and acquired American citizenship. He died on 29 January 1962, in his adopted home-town of New York.

Kreisler was not only an outstanding violinist, but also an extremely talented composer. A substantial part of his concert programmes consisted of his own works or own arrangements of popular pieces by other composers. Works such as « Caprice Viennois » , « Tambourin Chinois » and the « Rondino über ein Thema von Beethoven » have now entered the standard repertoire of numerous violinists. Kreisler also composed several lieder and 2 Operettas (« Apfelblüten » in New York, in 1919 ; and « Sissy » , in Vienna, in 1932) . In numerous compositions, the composer incorporated stylistic elements of famous composers from the past ; for example, his Concerto in C major for violin, string orchestra and organ is subtitled « in the style of Vivaldi » and the Concerto No. 1 in D major for violin and orchestra utilises motifs from Niccolò Paganini's compositional workshop.

Kreisler originally published the collection « Classical Manuscripts » for violin and piano as arrangements of original works by Corelli, Pugnani, Boccherini and other well-known composers of past eras before unmasking them as original works, in 1935. This collection also includes the 3 « Old Viennese Dance Tunes » : « Liebesfreud » , « Liebesleid » and « Schön Rosmarin » , in which the composer achieved an ideal combination of his own personal vibrato tone originating from the Viennese tradition from Ignaz Schuppanzigh to Josef Hellmesberger, his studies in counterpoint of the old Masters and the unmistakable Viennese 3/4 time. These « dance tunes » are, today, still considered as the most popular of Kreisler's compositions and are available in numerous arrangements. Kreisler was also an expert arranger and supplemented the violin repertoire with works by Manuel de Falla, Maurice Ravel, Antonín Dvořák and Frédéric Chopin. His Cadenza for Beethoven's Violin Concerto is one of the most frequently performed alongside the cadenza by Joseph Joachim.

Kreisler was only 12 when he was awarded the « Premier Prix du Conservatoire de Paris » . Eugène Ysaÿe dedicated the 4th of his 6 Solo Sonatas for violin to the violinist. The International Fritz Kreisler Society has held the « Fritz Kreisler Competition for Violin » in Vienna, since 1979, in commemoration of the Austrian violin virtuoso.

...

In an era of great violinists, Kreisler had technique, intellect, tone, and charm. He transcended the domain of serious music, performing and recording both popular music and the great Masterpieces. Greatly influenced by the work of Anton Bruckner and Léo Delibes, Fritz Kreisler has a marvelous gift for harmony and counterpoint. In his pastiche pieces, Kreisler demonstrates his musical genius and successfully provides the violin repertoire with idiomatic and satisfying music.

...

Fritz Kreisler (geboren 2. Februar 1875 in Wien ; gestorben 29. Januar 1962 in New York) war ein österreichstämmiger Violinist und Komponist.

Kreisler war der Sohn des jüdischen Arztes Samuel Kreisler, der auch Sigmund Freud behandelte. Von seinem Vater erhielt er im Alter von vier Jahren den ersten Violinunterricht. Seine Mutter, Anna Reches (im Geburtsregister von Fritz noch Chaje Ribe) , war römisch-katholisch, im Alter von 12 Jahren wurde er getauft. 1882 wurde er in das Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien aufgenommen und von Josef Hellmesberger junior (Violine) und Anton Bruckner (Musiktheorie) unterrichtet. Er war erst 7 Jahre alt und damit das jüngste « Wunderkind » , das jemals aufgenommen wurde. Von 1885 bis 1887 studierte er am Pariser Konservatorium, von seinen dortigen Lehrern sind insbesondere Lambert Joseph Massart (Geigenunterricht) und Léo Delibes (Komposition) sowie Jules Massenet zu nennen. 1887 gewann er die höchste Auszeichnung des Pariser Konservatoriums, den Premier Prix, im Alter von nur 12 Jahren.

Mit dem Pianisten Moriz Rosenthal trat er 1888-1889 seine erste Konzerttour durch die USA an. Nach seiner Rückkehr bewarb er sich bei den Wiener Philharmonikern, wurde jedoch abgelehnt, weil er nicht richtig vom Blatt lesen konnte. Er hörte auf zu musizieren und begann erst Medizin und dann Malerei zu studieren und verbrachte eine kurze Zeit in

der Armee. 1896 fing er wieder mit dem Violinspiel an und debütierte 1898 in Wien, bevor er 1899 bei den Berliner Philharmonikern unter dem Dirigenten Arthur Nikisch ein Konzert gab. Dieses Konzert und eine Reihe von Tourneen in Amerika, in den Jahren 1901 bis 1903, brachten ihm wahre Beifallsstürme ein. 1904 erhielt er die Gold Medal (Goldmedaille) der Royal Philharmonic Society in London.

Bei der Überfahrt an Bord der Fürst Bismarck im Mai 1901 lernte er die Brooklyner Tabakhändlerstochter Harriet Lies (geschiedene Woerz) kennen, die er 1902 vor dem Friedensrichter in New York City sowie in der Österreichischen Botschaft in London heiratete. 1947 folgte eine kirchliche Trauung in der katholischen Pfarrei von New Rochelle. Sie zählte den Weiberhelden und Spieler. Seine Frau wurde auch seine Managerin und hatte damit alle Hände voll zu tun, da er in manchen Jahren 250 Konzerte und mehr absolvierte.

Herlitz vermerkt kurz : « Kreisler ist aus dem Judentum ausgeschieden. » .

Allein ein fünfjähriger Schallplattenvertrag mit der Victor Company soll ihm die seinerzeit unvorstellbare Summe von 750.000 Dollar eingebracht haben.

In diese Zeit fällt auch die Komposition seiner bekannten Charakterstücke. Er machte seine ersten Einspielungen und unternahm viele Konzertreisen. 1910 gab Kreisler die Premiere von Edward Elgars Violinkonzert, das ihm gewidmet war.

Er diente kurzzeitig in der österreichischen Armee im Ersten Weltkrieg, bevor er nach einer Verwundung in Russland ehrenvoll entlassen wurde. Die letzten Kriegsjahre verbrachte er in Amerika. Danach folgten Konzerttours durch die ganze Welt. 1923 war seine erste Tournee nach Fernost, wo er allerdings schon lange durch das Grammophon bekannt war.

Von 1915 bis 1925 lebte er in den USA, ab 1924 in Berlin, Kurfürstendamm. Im Berliner Grunewald kaufte Kreisler 1924 ein bewaldetes Grundstück und ließ sich eine mehrgeschossige Villa mit einem Nebengebäude für Bedienstete errichten : am Ende der Bismarckallee, Nummer 32a.

Im Sommer 1933 bat ihn der Dirigent Wilhelm Furtwängler als Solist in der kommenden Saison mit den Berliner Philharmoniker aufzutreten. Kreisler lehnte mit der Begründung ab, daß bereits die berühmten Dirigenten Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer und Fritz Busch Deutschland zwangsweise verlassen mußten :

« Ich bin daher fest entschlossen, mein Auftreten in Deutschland so lang aufzuschieben, bis das Recht aller Künstler, ihre Tätigkeit in Deutschland, ungeachtet der Abstammung, der Religion oder Nationalität auszuüben, unumstößliche Tatsache geworden ist. Ich vertraue darauf, daß es mir bald vergönnt sein wird, mit Ihnen zu musizieren. »

Als der österreichische Bundeskanzler Engelbert Dollfuß, ein Freund Kreislers, während des Juli-Putsches 1934 im Amt ermordet wurde, weilte Kreisler in Paris und äußerte die Bedenken, daß auch er bald Untertan eines nationalsozialistischen Reiches sein könnte. Daraufhin bot der Senator aus Savoyen ihm an, daß er auf Grund eines alten Gesetzes ohne Wartezeit in Frankreich eingebürgert werden könne :

« Ich werde zu George Bonnet (den französischen Außenminister) , gehen und die Angelegenheit regeln. Sie können über Nacht Franzose werden ! »

Die Nationalsozialisten verboten den Verkauf seiner Werke, seine Aufnahmen durften nicht mehr gespielt werden. Zu seinem 60. Geburtstag 1935 brachten die Rundfunkstationen weltweit Gedenksendungen : in Deutschland dagegen schwieg man ihn tot.

Nach dem Einmarsch deutscher Truppen im März 1938 wurden alle Bewohner des Landes aufgefordert, ihre österreichischen Pässe gegen deutsche umzutauschen. Daraufhin verließ Kreisler Deutschland und nahm die angebotene französische Staatsbürgerschaft an. Der deutsche Außenminister Joachim von Ribbentrop weigerte sich zunächst, die Gültigkeit der neuen Staatsbürgerschaft anzuerkennen. Um diplomatische Verwicklungen zu vermeiden, nahm Kreisler seinen Aufenthalt in der Nähe von Monte Carlo. Im Mai 1938 wurde er in Anerkennung seiner Kunst zum Kommandeur der Französischen Ehrenlegion ernannt.

Seit 1939 lebte er in New York, wo er bis zu seinem Lebensende wohnte ; er kehrte nie wieder nach Europa zurück. 1943 wurde er amerikanischer Staatsbürger. Wegen eines Autounfalls 1941, der seinem Gedächtnis Schaden zufügte, wurden seine Auftritte seltener. Sein letztes öffentliches Konzert gab er 1947. Seine 1944 begonnene Bell Telephone Hour Radiosendung setzte er noch bis in die 1950er Jahre fort.

Im Januar 1949 ließ Kreisler bei den Parke-Bernet Galleries seine Sammlung seltener Bücher, Manuskripte und einige Kunstgegenstände versteigern. Die mehr als \$ 120,000 schenkte er der Golden Rule Foundation und dem Lenox Hill Hospital.

Bei seinem 80. Geburtstag war Fritz Kreisler beinahe blind und konnte kaum noch etwas hören. Am 29. Januar 1962 starb er nach kurzem Krankenhausaufenthalt in New York City als der letzte geigende Romantiker im Alter von 86 Jahren, vier Tage vor seinem Geburtstag. Seine Frau Harriet überlebte ihn um ein Jahr.

Kreislers Bruder Hugo, Cellist, floh 1938 mit seiner Familie aus Europa in die USA. Der Komponist, Sänger und Dichter Georg Kreisler war ein weitläufiger Verwandter von Fritz Kreisler.

An Kreisler scheiden sich die Geister. Von vielen (zum Beispiel von dem Geigenpädagogen Suzuki Shin'ichi) wird er verehrt, von anderen dagegen abgelehnt. Wie schon sein ältestes Tondokument von 1904 zeigt, hatte Kreisler bereits in jungen Jahren eine spezielle warme Tongebung entwickelt, mit der er seine Zuhörerschaft in den Bann schlug, und durch die er zusammen mit seinen Kompositionen dem Geigenspiel des 20. Jahrhunderts entscheidende Impulse gab. Dieser warme schmelzende Ton entsprach dem legendären Alt-Wiener Geigenklang (zum Beispiel eines Franz Clement oder Ignaz Schuppanzigh) , der von Josef Mayseder über Hellmesberger an Kreisler weitergegeben worden war. Die These, daß Kreisler der Erfinder des modernen durchgehenden Vibratos sei, wird zwar häufig zitiert, ist allerdings historisch nicht belegbar.

Bis heute sehr bekannt sind Kreislers Charakterstücke für Violine und Klavier, die sich an alten Formen und Stilen orientieren. Zu nennen sind hier insbesondere die drei Alt-Wiener Tanzweisen Liebesfreud und Liebesleid und Schön

Rosmarin. Sie sind tonal und einerseits von Barock und Klassik, andererseits vom Wiener Stil geprägt. Einige dieser Stücke entstanden im Stile anderer Komponisten. Viele dieser Werke (zusammengestellt in Klassische Manuskripte) schrieb Kreisler anfangs früheren Komponisten wie Gaetano Pugnani und Giuseppe Tartini zu, bis er 1935 bekannte, daß sie in Wirklichkeit von ihm stammten, und damit für einen kleinen Skandal sorgte, der eher peinlich für die Musikkritik war, die den Schwindel nicht erkannt hatte.

Kreisler schrieb neben einem Violinkonzert in G-Dur und einem Concerto für Violine, Streichorchester und Orgel in C-Dur (Im Stile von Antonio Vivaldi) auch die Operetten Apfelblüten (1919, zusammen mit Viktor Jacobi) und Sissy, sowie ein Streichquartett in A-Moll und einige Lieder. Von Bedeutung sind heute noch seine Kadenzen, einschließlich einer für das Violinkonzert Johannes Brahms'. Seine Kadenz für das Violinkonzert Ludwig van Beethovens gehört heutzutage neben der von Joseph Joachim zu den meistgespielten Kadenzen dieses Werkes.

Kreisler war der letzte komponierende Virtuose im Stile Niccolò Paganinis, der seine Kompositionen in großen Konzerttours unter Volk brachte. Seine Werke sind von Geigern mit unterschiedlichstem Können spielbar. Eugène Ysaÿe widmete Kreisler die vierte seiner sechs Solo-Sonaten.

« Mops », le petit carlin de Bruckner

« Mops » (qui signifie « fâché ») est le terme allemand associé à cette race de chien, d'origine chinoise, qui fut amené en Europe au 16^e siècle : on dit carlin, en français ; et « pug dog », en anglais.

C'est un chien à face plate réputé pour ses ronflements, son ronronnement et, étonnamment, ses miaulements.

Il est très apprécié pour sa douceur et son esprit joyeux ainsi que sa vivacité. C'est un chien apprécié des jeunes enfants, pour qui il aura toujours de l'énergie. Il ne grogne pas lorsqu'il est caressé ou pris dans les bras. Il n'est pas agressif. Il peut être très sportif ou, au contraire, très calme. Il a une santé fragile qui mérite des soins particuliers. Ses articulations sont également fragiles, il faut donc éviter de lui étirer les membres ou de le laisser sauter ou tomber de meubles ou d'endroits élevés.

Le compositeur Anton Bruckner en possédait un et il l'avait tout simplement surnommé : « Mops ». Le rondelet (et peut-être même obèse *) petit animal se trouvait toujours à ses côtés, en classe, durant les cours d'harmonie, de contrepoint, de composition et de théorie musicale au Conservatoire de Vienne (« Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde »). Sur l'heure du dîner, alors que le Maître sortait pour aller prendre son copieux repas dans l'un de ses restaurants préférés, il demandait à ses « chers élèves » (de fervents Brahmsiens, fort réticent face à la musique de Wagner) d'en prendre soin pendant son absence. Ils en profitaient donc pour le divertir tout en le gavant de morceaux de sandwiches. L'un d'eux, le prodigieux jeune violoniste Fritz Kreisler fit partie de sa classe, dès l'âge de 7 ans **. Et après 3 ans d'études (1882-1885), il reçut une médaille d'or.

Mais le gamin était aussi connu pour ses tours pendables. Étant au fait des expériences de réflexes conditionnels du biochimiste et physiologiste russe Ivan Pavlov (impliquant un chien), une idée plutôt tordue lui vint à l'esprit en rapport avec le côté influençable et naïf de son vieux professeur qui adorait être complimenté à propos de sa

musique.

* Le carlin a une vie essentiellement sédentaire. Il peut être sujet à l'obésité, bien que cela soit évitable grâce à l'exercice régulier et un régime alimentaire sain. Mais en compagnie de Bruckner, est-ce vraiment possible ???

** Fritz était le fils du célèbre chirurgien juif Samuel Kreisler (qui a travaillé aux côtés de Sigmund Freud) . Il était également un bon musicien amateur. C'est lui qui a donné au jeune garçon ses premières leçons de violon. Fritz Kreisler fit ses débuts en public, à l'âge de 7 ans, avec une sélection d'œuvres brèves. Peu de temps après, il fut accepté au Conservatoire de Vienne, en dépit d'une politique qui interdisait l'entrée au moins de 14 ans.

...

Anton Bruckner was the butt of many jokes in his later years. Vienna's society circles saw him as a « naïve » country bumpkin with an inexplicable passion for the music of Richard Wagner, whom the well-heeled considered unsophisticated beside Johannes Brahms.

And Bruckner got a hard time from many of his pupils at the Vienna Conservatory. He was an old man and often struggled to keep-up with their jokes. One of his liveliest students was the very young violinist Fritz Kreisler, a prodigy who had been admitted in this institution at the age of 7 !

Unfortunately for his teachers, the maturity of his musical skills was not matched by his personality, and his childish sense of humour often got him into trouble.

Bruckner had a chubby Pug Dog named « Mops » who always came to lessons. After morning classes, Bruckner would go for lunch, leaving « Mops » with the pupils. Kreisler and his friends had a great idea for a prank, and « Mops » was central to the plan.

One day, when Bruckner had left, the students began playing a leitmotif from Wagner at the piano. As they did so, they chased the dog around the room. Next, they played the theme from Bruckner's « Te Deum » , which the composer considered to be his finest work and, in order to get « Mops » to agree, they fed him pieces of their sandwiches as they played it.

Soon, of course, the dog was showing a distinct preference for the Bruckner theme.

After a few weeks of dog training, they said to Bruckner, as he returned from lunch :

« We know you're devoted to Wagner, but we don't think he compares to you. Even a dog would know that you're a greater composer than Wagner. »

Bruckner took exception to the idea that there was any composer as great as Wagner, but was curious and asked

what they meant by the dog remark. He'd fallen for it. They played the Wagner motif to « Mops » , who ran howling from the room. When they played the theme from the « Te Deum » , the dog ran straight back in, wagging his tail and pawing at their sleeves.

Kreisler and his classmates were clearly well-informed about the conditioning experiments with dogs by the russian biochemist and physiologist, Ivan Pavlov.

Kreisler later went on to study medicine when it seemed that a career as a violinist was not going to pay the bills. His teacher was renowned Viennese surgeon Theodor Billroth, who was also a talented musician. Billroth recognized that Kreisler was far better at music than medicine and encouraged him to return to the violin. Music lovers should be grateful that he heeded the advice - and so should dogs.

...

Everybody knows that Fritz Kreisler was Suzuki's favourite violinist.

He referred to Kreisler as « my teacher » because he had analyzed Kreisler's tone, interpretations and mannerisms by listening to his recordings. I think Suzuki must have listened to every Kreisler recording more than 1,000 times, at least. Suzuki not only had Kreisler's complete recordings, but he also ordered these collections by the truckload for his own pupils.

Kreisler was the 1st « 7 year old » ever to be admitted to the Vienna Conservatory as an undergraduate student. No one under the age of 10 had ever been admitted prior to Kreisler.

He studied the violin with Josef Hellmesberger Junior and harmony, theory and composition with the famous austrian composer Anton Bruckner.

Bruckner was very eccentric and a religious fanatic. At the sound of the neighboring church bells, he would fall on his knees and start praying even if he was in the middle of a lesson. During the lunch hour, Bruckner would take-off for a sumptuous lunch and leave Kreisler and his fellow pupils to eat their sandwiches in the company of his fat little dog named « Mops » .

At that time, there was a terrific feud raging in Vienna between the Wagner fans and the Brahms fans. And Bruckner was a staunch supporter of Wagner.

At the age of 8, Kreisler, who was a very well-read boy, knew all about Pavlov and his experiments in conditioning. He decided with his friends to play a trick on Bruckner, who was very child-like and « naïve » . They wanted to flatter him and, at the same time, neutralize his adulation for Wagner since Kreisler and his fellow students were all Brahms fans.

With « Mops » in the studio, they would shut the door and play at the piano Wagner's « Meistersinger » Overture. Then, they would start shouting at « Mops » , chasing him around the room, slapping him and scaring the daylight out of him for the duration of the work. After that, they would play Bruckner's « Te Deum » and then pat, caress and feed « Mops » bits of sandwiches while talking to him very gently. « Mops » would wander around his tail.

They did this every day for several weeks until « Mops » was perfectly conditioned. The time had now come to face Bruckner !

One day, after Bruckner had returned from lunch, the young Fritz Kreisler said :

« You know, “ Herr ” Bruckner, you are a much greater composer than Wagner. »

« Never ! » , replied Bruckner, horrified, almost as if Kreisler had blasphemed.

« Despite your admiration for Wagner, it is obvious you are a far greater composer. In fact, even a dog would know that. »

Bruckner was blushing and looking embarrassed.

« What do you mean even a dog would know that ? » , he asked with great curiosity.

This was the moment that they had been waiting for ...

« Just watch very carefully, now. » , said Kreisler.

They shut the door and played Wagner's « Meistersinger » Overture. « Mops » immediately started howling, around and hiding under tables and chairs in absolute terror while they all sat and watched him.

Next, they played Bruckner's « Te Deum » and, at once, « Mops » crawled-out from under the table, wagging his tail and like a perfectly happy dog.

...

The gentle composer Anton Bruckner was deeply loved by his music students. They knew that the public had generally rejected his music in favour of Richard Wagner's and that Bruckner had despaired of ever receiving the recognition he deserved. So they found an amusing way to encourage their teacher, using his dog, who was named « Mops » .

...

Anton Bruckner had a chubby, fat Pug Dog named « Mops » . Young Fritz Kreisler, a former pupil of Bruckner's at the

Vienna Conservatory, once recalled :

« He would leave us with “ Mops ” munching our sandwiches while he himself hastened-off to luncheon. We decided we'd play a joke on our teacher which would flatter him. So, while the “ Magister ” was away, we'd play a motif (on the piano) by Wagner and, as we did so, would slap “ Mops ” and chase him. Next, we'd start Bruckner's “ Te Deum ” and, while this music was in progress, would give “ Mops ” something to eat. He soon showed a convincing preference for the “ Te Deum ” ! When we thought we had trained him sufficiently so that he would automatically run away when Wagner was played and joyfully approach us at the sound of a Bruckner strain, we deemed the moment appropriate for our prank. »

One day, as our teacher returned from lunch, we said to him :

« “ Meister Bruckner ”, we know that you are devoted to Wagner but, to our way of thinking, he cannot compare with you. Why, even a dog would know that you are a greater composer than Wagner. »

« Our guileless teacher blushed. He thought we were serious. He reproved us, paid tribute to Wagner as unquestionably the greatest contemporary, but was nevertheless filled with enough curiosity to ask what we meant by claiming even a dog could tell the difference. »

« This was the moment we had waited for. We played a Wagner motif. A howling, scared “ Mops ” stole-out of the room. We started in on Bruckner's “ Te Deum ”. A happy canine returned, wagging his tail and pawing expectantly at our sleeves. Bruckner was touched. »

...

While Bruckner was away, his students « trained » the dog. One of them relates how « we would play a motif by Wagner and, as we did so, would slap “ Mops ” and chase him. Next, we would start to play Bruckner's “ Te Deum ” and, during that period, we would give “ Mops ” something to eat. He soon showed a convincing preference for the “ Te Deum ” ! » .

After considerable training, they were ready for their fun.

One day, the students said to Bruckner how much better his music was than that of Wagner :

« Why, even a dog would know that you are a greater composer than Wagner ! »

As their astonished teacher watched, they played the Wagner melody and the dog howled and ran-out of the room. Then, they played Bruckner's « Te Deum » , and « Mops » returned wagging his tail. It was soon clear what they had done, but their teacher was deeply touched by their loyalty. The love that he had always shown his students had come back to touch him.

...

Some of Anton Bruckner's students decided to play a trick on him. While he was out to lunch, they played music on the piano for Bruckner's dog. As one of them played a motive from Richard Wagner's music, the others chased the dog around the room and slapped him. But when they played from Bruckner's own « Te Deum », they gave the dog treats.

Once the dog started running away every time he heard Wagner's music and came bounding toward the piano with his tail wagging every time he heard Bruckner's, the students prepared the next part of their plan.

When Bruckner returned from lunch, the student's hailed him as the greatest living composer. Bruckner, of course, always insisted that Wagner was the greatest. He became incensed when someone elevated even his own music above Wagner's.

The students then informed him that even the dog knew that Bruckner was greater than Wagner. Intrigued, he asked for proof. Sure enough, at the sound of Wagner's music, the dog howled and ran-out of the room but, at the sound of Bruckner's « Te Deum », he returned with his tail wagging and pawed expectantly at the students' sleeves. Surely, it didn't take Bruckner long to figure-out the explanation, but he was pleased at the demonstration nonetheless.

Le carlin (« Pug Dog »)

Le carlin (vient du nom du comédien Carlo Antonio Bertinazzi) est une race de chien provenant de Chine et existant en Europe depuis au moins le XVI^e siècle. Il est connu sous l'appellation de « Pug » aux États-Unis, en Australie et en Angleterre (du fait de son profil en poing) et de « Mops » (fâché) en Allemagne et en Russie. Il appartient à la catégorie des chiens de compagnie et des molossoïdes ou molosses.

C'est un chien de taille moyenne : environ 30 centimètres au garrot pour un poids moyen de 6 à 10 kilogrammes. Il existe différentes couleurs de robe : sable avec masque noir, abricot avec masque noir et noire. L'origine du carlin noir serait différente de celle du carlin sable.

Ce fut le chien de compagnie de princesses ou d'aristocrates, telles que la reine Marie-Antoinette, Madame Élisabeth, la princesse Catherine Galitzine, la marquise de Pompadour, Joséphine de Beauharnais. Les carlins étaient aussi les chiens favoris du Duc et de la Duchesse de Windsor qui adoraient se faire photographier avec eux.

On peut lui donner un bain et un shampooing, au besoin. Il faut garder un œil sur son museau pour s'assurer qu'il demeure propre et sec. Il peut être nécessaire de lui nettoyer les yeux régulièrement, car le carlin est sensible à l'accumulation de poussière. Il est important de nettoyer à l'aide d'un mouchoir ou d'un linge humide les replis de peau situés entre ses yeux et son museau, appelés le chanfrein, parce qu'il peut accumuler des croûtes dues à l'humidité et macérer, cela peut provoquer des démangeaisons et des maladies.

Du fait de leur museau aplati, les carlins sont sujets à l'insuffisance respiratoire et à l'hypoxie chronique comme toutes les espèces brachycéphales.

Le museau comportant de nombreux plis et ridules, le carlin est aussi confronté à la pyodermite du pli faciale.

Son espérance de vie moyenne est d'environ 11 ans.

...

The Pug is a breed of dog with a wrinkly, short-muzzled face and curled tail. The breed has a fine, glossy coat that comes in a variety of colours, most often fawn or black, and a compact square body with well-developed muscles.

Pugs were brought from China to Europe in the 16th Century and were popularized in Western Europe by the House of Orange of the Netherlands, and the House of Stuart. Pugs, as breeding animals, may have contributed to the English Bulldog, the modern Pekingese and the King Charles Spaniel.

Pugs remain popular into the 21st Century, with some famous celebrity owners.

While the Pugs that are depicted in 18th Century prints tend to be long and lean, modern breed preferences are for a square cobby body, a compact form, a deep chest, and well-developed muscle. Their smooth and glossy coats can be fawn, apricot fawn, silver fawn, or black. The markings are clearly defined and there is a trace of a black line extending from the occiput to the tail. The tail normally curls tightly over the hip.

Pugs have 2 distinct shapes for their ears, « rose » and « button » . « Rose » ears are smaller than the standard style of « button » ears, and are folded with the front edge against the side of the head. Breeding preference goes to « button » style ears.

Pugs' legs are very strong, straight, of moderate length, and are set well under. Their shoulders are moderately laid back. Their ankles are strong, their feet are small, their toes are well split-up, and their nails are black. The lower teeth normally protrude further than their upper, resulting in an under-bite.

The breed is often described as multum in parvo, or « much in little » , alluding to the Pug's remarkable personality, despite its small size. Pugs are strong willed but rarely aggressive, and are suitable for families with children. The majority of the breed is very fond of children and sturdy enough to properly play with them. Depending on their owner's mood, they can be quiet and docile but also vivacious and teasing. Pugs tend to have a lazy nature and spend a lot of time napping. They are often called « shadows » because they follow their owners around and like to stay close to the action.

The breed has strong, straight legs set well under the body and a tail that curls over the hip. Un-exaggerated wrinkles feature on the head. Eyes should be large with a rounded shape and dark in colour.

The early history of the Pug is not attested to in detail, it is accepted that modern Pugs are descended from dogs imported to Europe from China in the 16th Century. Similar dogs were popular in the Imperial Court during the Song Dynasty.

Pugs were popular at European Courts, and reportedly became the official dog of the House of Orange, in 1572, after a Pug named Pompey saved the life of the Prince of Orange by alerting him to the approach of assassins.

A Pug travelled with William III and Mary II when they left the Netherlands to accept the throne of England, in 1688. During this period, the Pug may have been bred with the old type King Charles spaniel, giving the modern King Charles Spaniel its Pug characteristics.

The breed eventually became popular in other European countries as well. Pugs were painted by Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes, in Spain, and, in Italy, they rode-up front on private carriages, dressed in jackets and pantaloons that matched those of the coachman. They were used by the military to track animals and people, and were also employed as guard dogs.

The English painter William Hogarth was the devoted owner of a series of Pugs. His 1745 self-portrait, which is now in London's Tate Gallery, includes his Pug, named « Trump ». The Pug was also well-known in Italy. In 1789, a Mrs. Piozzi wrote in her journal :

« The little Pug Dog or Dutch mastiff has quitted London for Padua, I perceive. Every carriage I meet here has a Pug in it. »

The popularity of the Pug continued to spread in France during the 18th Century. Before her marriage to Napoleon Bonaparte, Joséphine had her Pug named « Fortune » carry concealed messages to her family while she was confined at « Les Carmes » prison, it having alone been given visiting rights.

In 19th Century England, the breed flourished under the patronage of Queen Victoria. Her many Pugs, which she bred herself, included « Olga », « Pedro », « Minka », « Fatima » and « Venus ». Her involvement with dogs, in general, helped to establish the Kennel Club, which was formed in 1873. Queen Victoria favoured apricot and fawn colours. Queen Victoria's passion for Pugs was passed on to many other members of the Royal family, including her grandson King George V and his son King Edward VIII. In paintings and engravings of the 18th and 19th Centuries, Pugs usually appear with longer legs and noses than today and, sometimes, with cropped ears. The modern Pug's appearance probably changed after 1860 when a new wave of Pugs were imported directly from China. These Pugs had shorter legs and the modern-style Pug nose. The British aristocrat Lady Brassey is credited with making black Pugs fashionable after she brought some back from China, in 1886. Ear cropping was made illegal, in 1895.

Pugs arrived in the United States during the 19th Century and were soon making their way into the family home and the show ring. The American Kennel Club recognized the breed, in 1885. The Pug Dog Club of America was founded in 1931 and was recognized by the American Kennel Club that same year.

Since Pugs lack longer snouts and prominent skeletal brow ridges, they are susceptible to eye injuries such as proptosis, scratched corneas, and painful entropion. They also have compact breathing passageways, leaving many prone to breathing difficulties or unable to efficiently regulate their temperature through evaporation from the tongue by panting. A Pug's normal body temperature is between 101°F (38°C) and 102°F (39°C) . If this temperature rises to 105°F (41°C) , oxygen demand is greatly increased and immediate cooling is required. If body temperature reaches 108°F (42°C) , organ failure can occur. Their breathing problems can be worsened by the stresses of travelling in air cargo, which may involve high temperatures. Following the deaths of Pugs and other brachycephalic breeds, several airlines either banned their transport in cargo or enacted seasonal restrictions.

Pugs that live a mostly sedentary life can be prone to obesity, though this is avoidable with regular exercise and a healthy diet. The median life span of Pugs is 11 years, which is in line with other breeds of the same size.

Pugs, like other short-snouted breeds, have elongated palates. When excited, they are prone to « reverse sneezing » which causes them to quickly (and seemingly laboriously) gasp and snort. The veterinary name for this is pharyngeal gag reflex and it is caused by fluid or debris getting caught under the palate and irritating the throat or limiting breathing. Reverse sneezing episodes are usually not harmful, and massaging the dog's throat or covering its nose in order to make it breathe through its mouth can often shorten a sneezing fit.

Some pugs are also born with stenotic nares which can also inhibit their breathing. In serious cases, the pinched nostrils make breathing even more difficult for this breed and put added pressure on the larynx. In some cases, the dog could pass-out from blocked airways. If this happens, one should inquire with their veterinarian whether or not surgery is needed to modify the breathing passages.

Eye prolapse is a common problem among Pugs and other brachycephalic breeds and can be caused by a trauma to the head or neck, or even by the owner using a tight leash instead of a harness. While the eye can usually be pushed back into its socket by the owner or by a vet, veterinary attention is usually advisable. If the prolapse happens on a regular basis, the Pug might require surgery.

Pugs have many wrinkles in their faces, so owners will often clean inside the creases to avoid irritation and infection. If this is not done, the dog may develop a condition known as skin fold dermatitis.

An abnormal formation of the hip socket, known as hip dysplasia, affected nearly 64 % of Pugs in a survey performed by the Orthopedic Foundation for Animals ; the breed was ranked the 2nd worst-affected by this condition out of 157 breeds tested.

Pugs are one of several breeds that are more susceptible than other dogs to demodectic mange, also known as « demodex » . This condition is caused when parasitic mites, that are often present in a dog's skin without causing symptoms, are allowed to do damage because their host has a weakened immune system. It is a problem for many young Pugs, although not usually a major one, and is easily treatable, but some are especially susceptible and present with a systemic form of the condition. This vulnerability is thought to be genetic and breeders will avoid producing puppies from adults who have this condition. An investigative documentary carried-out by the BBC found significant

inbreeding between pedigree dogs, with a study by Imperial College, London, showing that the 10,000 Pugs in the United Kingdom are so inbred that their gene pool is the equivalent of only 50 individuals.

Pugs can suffer from necrotizing meningoencephalitis (NME), also known as Pug dog encephalitis (PDE), an inflammation of the brain and meninges. NME also occurs in other small dogs, such as the Yorkshire Terrier, Maltese, and Chihuahua. There is no known cure for NME, which is believed to be an inherited disease. Dogs usually die or have to be put to sleep within a few months of onset, which, in those susceptible to this condition, is typically between 6 months and 7 years of age.

This breed, along with other brachycephalic dogs (e.g., boxers, bulldogs), are also prone to hemivertebrae. The curled tail of a British bulldog is an example of a hemivertebrae, but when it occurs not in the coccygeal vertebrae but, in other areas of the spine, it can cause paralysis. The condition occurs when 2 parts of a spinal vertebra do not fuse properly while a young Pug is still growing, resulting in an irregularly shaped spinal cavity which can put pressure on the spinal cord.

Bernhard Deubler

Bernhard Deubler est né en 1842 dans le village de Obertraun (district de Gmunden) en Haute-Autriche. Fils d'un instituteur, il entre jeune garçon comme petit-chanteur au monastère augustinien de Saint-Florian. En 1884, lors du décès de Ignaz P. Traumahler, Bernhard Deubler deviendra le nouveau « Kapellmeister » (organiste et chef de chœur) à Saint-Florian. Appuyé par les professeurs du Conservatoire de Vienne, Anton Bruckner (harmonie) et Johann Evangelist Habert (composition), Deubler réussira à atténuer l'orthodoxie du mouvement Cécilianiste mis de l'avant par son prédécesseur.

Ignaz P. Traumahler (1815-1884) fut un adepte du Cécilianisme : mouvement puritain ultra-conservateur de renouveau de la musique liturgique dans l'Église, apparu au XIXe siècle, visant à ré-introduire le style choral a cappella de Palestrina.

...

Le titre « Romantique » a été donné à la 4e Symphonie par Bruckner lui-même. Ce surnom ne se réfère pas à une conception contemporaine de l'amour, en plein XIXe siècle. Le compositeur semble plutôt avoir été inspiré par le contexte médiéval et chevaleresque retrouvé dans les Opéras de « Lohengrin » et de « Siegfried » de Richard Wagner.

Bruckner annota plusieurs passages dans sa partition. 1er mouvement : « ville médiévale, chevaliers se lançant au-dehors sur de fiers chevaux » ; 2e mouvement : « amour repoussé » ; 3e mouvement : « danse pour le repas de chasse » ; 4e mouvement : « fête populaire » .

Le manuscrit autographe du Scherzo et du Finale de la version de 1878 contient les annotations : « Jagdthema » (thème de la chasse) ; « Tanzweise während der Mahlzeit auf der Jagd » (air de danse pour le repas de la chasse) et « Volksfest » (fête populaire) .

À propos du 1er mouvement, Bruckner va écrire une lettre au critique et musicologue Theodor (Otto) Helm qui, à son tour, va transmettre ce compte-rendu détaillé à l'ami et associé du compositeur, le chef de chœur et organiste de Saint-Florian, Bernhard Deubler : « ville médiévale ; l'aube ; l'appel du matin résonne des tours de la ville ; les portes s'ouvrent ; les chevaliers se lancent au-dehors sur de fiers chevaux, la magie de la nature les enveloppe ; murmures de la forêt ; chants d'oiseaux ; et ainsi, l'atmosphère Romantique se poursuit. » .

...

Wilhelm Pailler (1838-1895) est l'auteur de recueils de textes folkloriques évoquant la région autrichienne du « Salzkammergut » dans les Préalpes orientales septentrionales. Pour les mettre en musique, il fera appel aux talents du « Kapellmeister » Bernhard Deubler à Saint-Florian et de Karl Moshammer à Gmunden. Les manuscrits se trouvent aujourd'hui aux archives de la Bibliothèque du monastère (n° XI.543.F) . À son tour, le demi-frère de Wilhelm Pailler héritera d'un recueil de chansons manuscrites provenant de son oncle Nußhammer (ou Nußbaumer) , un habitant du village de Hallstatt (situé près du lac Hallstättersee) . Il s'agit de 34 textes sur le thème de la Nativité, également conservés à la bibliothèque du monastère (n° 10543.6) .

À la satisfaction des villageois, Wilhelm Pailler et Bernhard Deubler produiront conjointement des spectacles populaires sur les grands thèmes bibliques. Deubler composera des mélodies fort simples utilisant la forme tripartite « ABA » . La simplicité de ces œuvres faciliteront leur répétition par les laïcs.

Productions

1868 : « Das Passionsspiel zu Brixlegg » (le Jeu de la Passion à Brixlegg) .

24 avril 1879 : Spectacle monté pour célébrer les noces d'argent de l'Empereur François-Joseph 1er et de l'Impératrice Elisabeth (« Sissi ») .

« Sanct Dorothea » (Sainte-Dorothée) , légende dramatique en 2 actes.

« Sanct Julia » (Sainte-Julie) , légende dramatique en 4 actes sur une musique de Bernhard Deubler.

La grâce de Dieu, légende dramatique en 3 actes sur une musique de Bernhard Deubler.

« Volksthümliche » , spectacle sur le thème de la crèche de la Nativité comprenant des chants de Noël traditionnels sur une musique de Bernhard Deubler ; visant essentiellement les associations jeunesse.

Spectacle sur le thème de la Nativité et de l'Épiphanie.

Après la mort de Wilhelm Pailler en 1895, on assistera l'année suivante à la création de nouvelles pièces bibliques pour les jeunes sur des musiques de Bernhard Deubler et de Josef Gruber.

« Der armen Seelen Mutter » (la Mère des âmes perdues) , spectacle religieux en 3 actes comprenant des lieder de Bernhard Deubler.

« Sankt Maria's Herzen » (le Cœur de la Vierge-Marie) , spectacle religieux avec 1 prologue et 5 actes comprenant des lieder de Bernhard Deubler.

« Sankt Marias letzter Tag » (le Dernier jour de la Vierge-Marie) , une légende dramatique en 3 actes sur une musique de Bernhard Deubler, visant essentiellement un auditoire de jeunes filles.

Bernhard Deubler va mourir au monastère de Saint-Florian, en 1907.

...

Le village de Hallstatt est connu pour abriter le site de l'Âge du fer, issu de la civilisation à laquelle on a donné son nom, la civilisation de Hallstatt. Fouillé par Georg Ramsauer, de 1846 à 1868, il a livré près de 1,000 tombes, datant du VIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ. Les mines de sel de la montagne voisine furent exploitées dès la période néolithique. Si cette activité débuta à l'échelon local vers 3,000 avant Jésus-Christ, elle prit durant le 1er millénaire une dimension « européenne » , puisque l'on a établi la preuve que le sel était alors transporté par de véritables voies commerciales vers les mers de la Baltique et de la Méditerranée. Le profil type qui définit la base géologique du Rhétien se trouve au-dessus de Hallstatt. En 1997, le village est inscrit au patrimoine mondial de l'Unesco pour ses maisons couleur pastel et son paysage culturel de Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut.

Le village d'Hallstatt, connu pour son ossuaire, est inscrit à l'inventaire du patrimoine mondial par l'Unesco pour ses maisons sur pilotis blotties autour du lac. Le site a été habité dès le 1er millénaire avant Jésus-Christ : cette période qui correspond à l'Âge de fer a vu aussi s'épanouir une civilisation florissante. La cité s'est également enrichie grâce aux mines de sel situées aux alentours (« Salzbergwerk ») . À l'époque, le sel se négociait au prix de l'or. Aujourd'hui, le village dégage un pittoresque indéniable. On s'attardera avec plaisir dans ses ruelles, ou l'on fera une promenade en barque sur le lac.

...

Anton Bruckner critiquera le « Te Deum » d'Hector Berlioz pour sa non conformité « ecclésiastique » , principalement parce qu'il avait assisté à une représentation hors des murs de l'église. Bruckner commença à travailler sur son propre « Te Deum » peu avant mai 1881. Il portait alors son attention sur sa 6e Symphonie. Il a fallu attendre la fin de la composition de la 7e Symphonie pour que le compositeur reprenne le travail sur son « Te Deum » , le terminant le 7 mars 1884. (Bruckner reprendra une mélodie basée les mots « non confundar » dans le dernier mouvement de sa 7e Symphonie.)

Du début du 18e siècle et jusqu'au 19e siècle, de nombreux compositeurs ont écrit des « Requiem » si longs ou utilisant tant de musiciens qu'ils ne pouvaient pas être joués pendant un service funèbre normal ; les « Requiem » de Gossec, Berlioz, Verdi, et Dvořák sont des Oratorios. Une contre-réaction à ce mouvement vint du mouvement Cécilien

qui recommandait un accompagnement restreint pour la musique liturgique et voyait d'un mauvais œil l'utilisation de solistes vocaux.

WAB 45 : « Te Deum »

Mai 1881 - 7 mars 1884 : WAB 45 - « Te Deum » en do majeur pour quatuor vocal (SATB) , chœur mixte (SATB) , grand orchestre (2 flûtes, 2 hautbois, 2 clarinettes en si bémol, 2 bassons, 4 cors en fa, 3 trompettes en fa, 3 trombones (ATB) , contrebasses, 1 tuba, timbales en do et en sol, ensemble de cordes) et orgue ad libitum. Composé entre mai 1881 et mars 1884, parallèlement à la 6e Symphonie (achevée en 1881) et à la 7e Symphonie (achevée en 1883) , avec laquelle il a des rapports étroits. La mort de Richard Wagner aura fourni au compositeur l'impulsion pour compléter l'œuvre. La version originale sera révisée entre septembre 1883 et le 7 mars 1884.

La première aura lieu le **2 mai 1885** dans le cadre d'un concert semi-privé donné à l' « Akademischer Wagnerverein » ou « Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein » (Société académique Wagner de Vienne) . Un accompagnement pour 2 pianos se substituera à l'orchestre ; le tout sous la direction du compositeur.

Les Iers concerts majeurs d'œuvres Symphoniques contemporaines, donnés à Vienne, eurent lieu à la Société académique Wagner. Cette branche, fondée en 1872-1873, avait d'abord pour but de promouvoir et de diffuser les œuvres de Richard Wagner. Bruckner lui-même en est devenu membre à l'automne de 1873. De nombreux élèves et supporteurs de Bruckner (Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf, Hans Rott, les frères Franz et Josef Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe, August Göllerich et Guido Adler) vont s'y joindre également. Outre les œuvres du Maître de Bayreuth, on mettait de l'avant celles de Franz Liszt, de Hugo Wolf et d'Anton Bruckner. Lors de réunions occasionnelles appelés « soirées privées » l'on va présenter, en grande première, les Symphonies d'Anton Bruckner sous la forme d'arrangements pour piano à 2 mains, à 4 mains ou 2 pianos. Suivront le « Te Deum » , le Quintette à cordes et les Motets.

À la fin des années 1880, au moment où Bruckner commence à être reconnu en tant que Symphoniste, ses amis et ses élèves, fascinés par son style avant-gardiste, décident de former un « Cercle » restreint afin de promouvoir ses œuvres de différentes façons. Beaucoup d'entre eux étaient de jeunes musiciens émergents qui ont étudié la théorie musicale dans la classe du Maître au Conservatoire de Vienne. Ils ont également agi comme assistants à diverses occasions. Certains de ses élèves sont devenus de précieux et proches collaborateurs. Les frères Josef et Franz Schalk de même que Ferdinand Löwe, en particulier, ont su gagner sa confiance. Ils vont faire connaître la musique de Bruckner au public grâce à des d'arrangements pour piano lors de récitals organisés par le « Wagner-Verein » . Franz Schalk et Ferdinand Löwe vont rester fidèle à la « cause » après la mort du Maître de Saint-Florian. Ils vont s'imposer comme les Iers grands interprètes de sa musique. Leur dévotion profonde et leurs efforts dans la publication et la diffusion des Symphonies s'avérera un moment charnière dans l'histoire.

Directeurs artistiques de la Société académique Wagner de Vienne : Felix Mottl (1873-1880) , Johann Paumgartner (1880-1881) , Eduard Schütt (1881-1887) , Josef Schalk (1887) et F. Foll (1902) .

Membres éminents de la Société académique Wagner de Vienne : Anton Bruckner (1873 ; 1885, membre honoraire) ,

Gustav Mahler (1877-1879) , Hans Rott (1875-1879) , Guido Adler (1873-1785) , L. Bösendorfer (membre honoraire) .

Le chef Hans Richter programmera l'œuvre à Vienne dans sa version (orchestrale) révisée de 1883-1884, le 10 janvier 1886, lors d'un de ses grands concerts avec le Philharmonique. Cette œuvre sacrée fait partie des compositions qui ont suscité l'enthousiasme du public dès la Ire représentation. Il ne fallut pas à attendre très longtemps pour voir sa publication :

Version provisoire (1881) , non encore publiée.

Ire édition : TR 40b, Theodor Rättig, Vienne (1885) , arrangement pour piano de Josef Schalk.

Version révisée de 1883-1884 :

TR 40b, T. Alan, Theodor Rättig, Vienne (1904) .

UE 2989, T. Alan, Universal-Edition, Vienne.

EE 4728, Ernst Eulenburg (10) , édition Max Steinitzer (1920) .

EE 4278, Ernst Eulenburg (960) , édition Adolf Aber (vers 1930) .

EE 4278, Ernst Eulenburg (960) , édition Hans Ferdinand Redlich (1960) .

S 9600, Broude (USA) , édition Peters (3488) .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XIX, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak (1962) ; sur la page-titre : « Fassung von 1884 » .

D'une durée approximative de 23 minutes, le « Te Deum » est donc une œuvre courte, relativement aux Symphonies de Bruckner, mais aussi à sa grande Messe en fa mineur (3e) . Bruckner n'a donc pas, comme Hector Berlioz l'avait fait dans son propre « Te Deum » (1855) , doté son œuvre de proportions gigantesques. Cette concision est peut-être pour beaucoup dans l'excellent accueil que reçut l'œuvre. Eduard Hanslick lui-même, l'éternel ennemi de Bruckner, ne put que reconnaître l'excellence de la nouvelle composition. Gustav Mahler, enthousiaste, écrivit sur la partition, à la place des indications « pour chœur, voix solistes, orchestre et orgue ad libitum » : « pour des langues angéliques, des chercheurs de Dieu, des esprits tourmentés et des âmes purifiées dans les flammes » . Bruckner, surtout, en était particulièrement satisfait ; il affirma plus tard : « Lorsque Dieu jugera mon âme, je Lui offrirai la partition de mon « Te Deum » et il me jugera avec bienveillance » . Le « Te Deum » est le témoignage de la foi fervente de Bruckner, et un chant de louanges et de réjouissance sacrée. C'est l'œuvre de Bruckner qui connut le plus de succès, avec la 7e Symphonie et, dans une certaine mesure, la 8e en 1890, en Autriche et dans le monde. Une de ses représentations, à Berlin en 1891, remporta un succès extraordinaire.

Le « Te Deum » est également la dernière de ses œuvres que Bruckner, déjà affaibli, entendit en concert (organisé sur l'instigation de Johannes Brahms) , le 12 janvier 1896. C'est peut-être ce qui détermina Bruckner, sentant qu'il risquait de ne pouvoir achever sa 9e Symphonie, à recommander que son « Te Deum » soit exécuté en guise de mouvement final, ces 2 œuvres étant dédiées « à Dieu » (un thème du « Te Deum » est d'ailleurs cité dans la 9e. Cette solution est toutefois rarement choisie, en raison des difficultés techniques, les exécutants préférant la laisser s'éteindre sur le silence final de l'Adagio qui clôt ainsi l'œuvre du Maître.

La première berlinoise aura lieu le 31 mai 1891 sous la puissante direction du chef du chœur philharmonique, Siegfried Ochs (19 avril 1858, Francfort-sur-le-Main ; 6 février 1929, Berlin) . Il s'agira d'un triomphe. Même Hans von Bülow était enchanté du résultat. Ochs était l'homme idéal pour mener à bien cette œuvre sacrée surtout dans les moments théâtraux. Ochs était passé Maître dans la production d'effets contrastés. Il respectait scrupuleusement la partition notamment à l'approche des triples pianos. Ochs était fier de voir que Bruckner assistait aux répétitions. Bruckner qui semblait enchanté du résultat a quand même demandé à ce que certains passages doux soient joués un peu plus fortissimo. Surpris, Ochs se plia aux exigences du Maître qui ne cessait de répéter : « Encore un peu plus fort. » . Il arrivera à être entièrement satisfait lorsqu'ils furent finalement joués fortissimo.

I. Te Deum laudamus.

II. Te ergo, quaesumus.

III. Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis.

IV. Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine.

V. In te, Domine, speravi.

Te Deum laudamus : te Dominum confitemur. Te æternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur.

Tibi omnes Angeli, tibi caeli et universae potestates : Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant :

Sanctus : Sanctus : Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra majestatis gloriae tuae.

Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus : Te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus : Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.

Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur Ecclesia : Patrem immensae majestatis :

Venerandum tuum verum, et unicum Filium : Sanctum quoque Paraclitum Spiritum.

Tu Rex gloriae, Christe. Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius. Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem, non horruisti Virginis uterum.

Tu devicto mortis aculeo, aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum.

Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes, in gloria Patris. Judex crederis esse venturus.

Le « Te Deum » est l'un des hymnes d'actions de grâce les plus célèbres de la liturgie chrétienne. Selon une légende du début du Moyen-âge, il aurait été improvisé au baptême de Saint-Augustin par Saint-Ambroise et Augustin lui-même.

L'œuvre est attribuée par certains à l'évêque Nicétas (de Remesiana, aujourd'hui, Béla Palanka en Serbie) qui vécut à la fin du 4^e siècle mais ce n'est pas vraiment établi. En tout cas, le texte, lui, est bien du 4^e siècle comme le « Sanctus » et la Préface de la Messe.

Le texte original se termine au verset 21. Il y en a, en tout, 29 ou 30 selon la façon dont on traite le dernier verset.

La 1^{re} partie se compose d'acclamations à Dieu le Père (10 versets) .

Suit une doxologie (louange à la Trinité) incluant donc le Fils et le Saint-Esprit.

La seconde partie énumère les mystères christiques à partir de « Tu Rex gloriae » (versets 14 à 23) .

La 3^e est assez hétérogène et se compose de versets puisés dans les Psaumes (à partir de « Aeterna fac ») .

Les recherches récentes datent la mélodie du début du 5^e siècle et localisent sa naissance dans le Sud-Est de la Gaule ou la région de Milan. Cette mélodie est du grégorien du 4^e mode mais il en existe plusieurs versions dont les plus anciennes semblent être le « ton solennel » du « Graduale Romanum » et celui de l'Antiphonaire Monastique ; le plus ancien manuscrit ne date que du 12^e siècle donc assez tardif. Il n'existe aucune polyphonie écrite avant le début du 14^e siècle.

Dans la France de l'Ancien Régime, le « Te Deum » est l'hymne d'actions de grâce et de louange obligatoire pour les cérémonies comme le sacre du roi, la consécration d'un évêque, les victoires militaires. La liturgie anglicane, très calquée sur la liturgie catholique Romaine, le conserve. Le compositeur anglais William Walton en a écrit un, en 1953, pour le couronnement de la reine Elizabeth II et Henry Purcell, un en 1694, pour la Sainte-Cécile.

Ce qui ne veut pas dire que la France Républicaine l'a oublié : le 1^{er} « Te Deum » du répertoire civique a été composé par François-Joseph Gossec pour la Fête de la Fédération qui eut lieu le 14 juillet 1790, au Champ de Mars, pour célébrer le 1^{er} anniversaire de la prise de la Bastille et les espoirs de la Révolution.

Et comment oublier celui du 26 août 1944, à Notre-Dame de Paris, pour célébrer la libération de la ville, à la fois par les insurgés des Forces françaises de l'intérieur (FFI) et la 2^e DB ?

Si les 1^{ers} « Te Deum » datent du XIV^e et du XV^e siècle, il y en a fort peu. Le XVI^e est mieux représenté : Felice Anerio, Roland de Lassus, Palestrina. C'est à l'ère Baroque que le « Te Deum » de style polyphonique s'épanouit.

Voici des exemples choisis du XVII^e au XX^e siècle :

Marc-Antoine Charpentier est l'auteur de 6 « Te Deum » au moins, il nous en reste 4 dont le plus célèbre est celui en ré majeur, datant autour de 1690.

Michel-Richard Delalande en a composé un vers 1684, révisé plusieurs fois, exécuté pour la consécration de l'église Saint-Louis des Invalides à Paris, en 1706.

Antoine Blanchard a célébré les victoires de Louis XV : son œuvre donnée à Paris, en mai 1744, a été exécutée à Versailles après la victoire de Fontenoy sur les Anglais.

Franz-Joseph Haydn en a composé 2 versions : l'une pour le prince Esterhazy (la date donnée est, selon les ouvrages consultés, 1762 ou 1765.) au service duquel il entre en 1761 (la famille Esterhazy était l'une des plus riches et des plus influentes familles de la noblesse magyare) ; l'autre pour Marie-Thérèse, épouse de l'Empereur François II du Saint-Empire devenu François Ier d'Autriche, en 1806.

François-Joseph Gossec, déjà évoqué, est l'auteur d'un « Te Deum » en 1779 (de 50 minutes !) avec grand orchestre et de celui de 1790 qui réunit 1,000 choristes hommes et des instruments à vent et à percussion (il faut dire que l'œuvre fut donnée en plein air) .

Pour le couronnement de Napoléon Ier, le 2 décembre 1804, c'est un Italien, Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) , dont le 1er Consul était un grand admirateur, qui composa la Messe et le « Te Deum » .

...

The « Te Deum » in C major (**WAB 45**) is a setting of the « Te Deum » hymn, composed by Anton Bruckner for 4 soloists, mixed-choir (SATB) , orchestra (2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets in A, 2 bassoons, 4 horns in F, 3 trumpets in F, alto, tenor and bass trombones, contrabass tuba, timpani in C and G, and strings) , and organ « ad libitum » .

Total duration : about 24 minutes.

The setting is in 5 sections :

« Te Deum laudamus » (Allegro, Feierlich, mit Kraft, in C major) .

The 1st section opens in blazing C major by the choir in unison, propelled by a powerful open-5th pedal-point by the organ and open-5ths motive in the strings. Thereafter, the soloists and the choir enter as the music moves through distinctly Brucknerian processes and modulations.

« Te ergo quæsumus » (Moderato, in F minor) :

The 2nd section in F minor (« Te ergo quæsumus ») is serene and imploring in nature, featuring an expressive tenor solo and a solo violin.

« Æterna fac » (Allegro, Feierlich, mit Kraft, in D minor) :

The 3rd section (« Æterna fac ») , in Bruckner's favoured key of D minor, is almost apocalyptic in its fury. Propelled by a rhythmic device, it draws on the full resources of the choir and orchestra before coming to an abrupt unresolved cadence.

« *Salvum fac populum tuum* » (Moderato, in F minor) :

The 4th section (« *Salvum fac populum tuum* ») , which begins as a repeat of the 2nd section, this time with women's voices accompanying the tenor, evolves, after a bass solo and a pedal-point by the choir on « *et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in æternum* » , to the « *Per singulos dies* » sub-section, which recalls the fervour and energy of the opening.

« *In Te, Domine speravi* » (Mäßig bewegt, in C major) :

The final section in C major, which begins with the solo quartet, culminates in a joyous fugue, followed by an impassioned chorale on the words « *non confundar in æternum* » , which is remarkably similar to the main-theme of the Adagio of Symphony No. 7. The opening string figure returns, as the full ensemble carries the work to a powerful conclusion.

...

Bruckner started work on his « *Te Deum* » from 3 to 17 May 1881, when he was finalizing his Symphony No. 6. After finishing his next Symphony (No. 7) , Bruckner resumed work on his « *Te Deum* » on 28 September 1883. The vocal and orchestral score was completed on 7 March 1884. The « *ad libitum* » organ part was added on a separate score, on 16 March 1884. The composer dedicated the piece « *For the greater glory of God* » (« *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* » or A.M.D.G.) « *in gratitude for having safely brought me through so much anguish in Vienna* » .

The « *Te Deum* » was premiered in the « *Kleiner Musikvereinssaal* » in Vienna, on 2 May 1885, with soloists « *Frau* » Ulrich-Linde, Emilie Zips, Richard Exleben, and Heinrich Gassner, with the Choir of the « *Wiener Akademischer Richard Wagner Verein* » , and Robert Erben and Joseph Schalk substituting for the Orchestra on 2 pianos. Hans Richter conducted the 1st performance with full-orchestra on 10 January 1886, in the « *Großer Musikvereinssaal* » of Vienna.

Thereafter, there were almost 30 more performances within Bruckner's lifetime. The last performance, which Bruckner attended, was conducted by Richard von Perger at the suggestion of Johannes Brahms. On his copy of the score, Gustav Mahler crossed-out « *für Chor, Soli und Orchester, Orgel " ad libitum "* » (for choir, solos and orchestra, organ « *ad libitum* ») and wrote « *für Engelzungen, Gottsucher, gequälte Herzen und im Feuer gereinigte Seelen !* » (for the tongues of angels, heaven-blest, chastened hearts, and souls purified in the fire !) . The composer himself called the work « *the pride of his life* » .

The 1st performance in the United States occurred at the Cincinnati May Festival, on 26 May 1892. Theodore Thomas conducted the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the Cincinnati May Festival Chorus and the soloists Corinne Moore-Lawson, Marie Ritter-Goetze, Edward Lloyd and George Ellsworth Holmes.

The draft-version of 1881 and the 1st sketch of 1883 are stored in the archive of the Kremsmünster Abbey. The voice and orchestral score, and the « *ad libitum* » organ score of 1884 are stored in the archive of the « *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* » .

Draft-version of 1881 (edited by Franz Scheder)

The draft-version of 1881, the manuscript of which is stored in the archive of the Kremsmünster Abbey, includes the vocal scores and some basic orchestration. It is shorter than the final version (357 bars versus 513 bars) . In particular, the « Æterna fac » is different and much shorter, and the final fugue is not yet composed.

Final version of 1884 (Theodor Rättig, Vienna, 1885 ; Leopold Nowak, 1962)

The « Te Deum » was 1st published in 1885 by Theodore Rättig, who paid Bruckner 50 Gulden, « the only money he ever earned as a composer in the whole of his life » . Another important difference with Bruckner's other 1st publications is that there are few differences between it and the original manuscript.

« The most important (difference) being the absence of the trombone and double-bass tuba chords at bars 275 and 283 of the “ Salvum fac ” section. At bar 26, the 2nd clarinet has a different note and, in the 1st edition, the clarinets are in B-flat instead of in A as in the original manuscript. » with no recomposition from the Schalk brothers.

Note : In the 1890's, Bruckner was aware that he might not live to finish his Symphony No. 9, and some commentators have suggested that the « Te Deum » could be used as a Finale. However, musicologist Robert Simpson believed that not « even in the poor state of health and mind of his last few months of his life, would Bruckner have considered the use of the C major “ Te Deum ” as Finale to a D minor Symphony to be more than a make-shift solution » , and that the link to the « Te Deum » was simply a matter of self-quotation more than anything else.

Anton Bruckner et la famille Brown de New York

2 September 2014 - Sally B. Brown, Visiting Committee Co-chair, Department of Musical Instruments (The Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York) .

The Department of Musical Instruments continues to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the 1st gift of musical instruments from Mary Elizabeth Adams Brown who, over several decades, built a collection of more than 3,300 instruments for the Museum. The collection she gave is named for her husband, John Crosby Brown, and still forms the majority of the Museum's departmental holdings.

Prior to any thoughts of collecting musical instruments, though, Mary Elizabeth Adams Brown, her husband, and 4 of their 6 children spent the winter of 1881-1882, in Vienna. They were there to « cultivate whatever capacity for music in us was either already there or could be discovered » , and each family member studied a separate instrument while residing in the city. Mister Brown, already a competent organist, took 3 lessons a week from none other than Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) - then on the faculty of the Vienna Conservatory and organist at Saint-Stephen's Church.

(Photo) The Brown family's music teachers in Vienna. Photo courtesy of the Brown Family Archives

(Photo) Anton Bruckner (top left) and the Brown family's music teachers during their stay in Vienna. Image courtesy of the author.

Was it a formal introduction or chance that brought the Browns and Bruckner together ? Ultimately, there are no clues. We do know, however, that despite Bruckner's legendary unpopularity as a composer in Vienna, he was a favourite of the Brown family. In her Vienna diary, Mary Elizabeth described Bruckner as a « very funny, fat, warm-hearted old man with a plum pudding face and a few spears of hair sticking up on his head which clearly resembled the pieces of almond usually projecting from (such) a pudding » . At the same time, Bruckner was at work on his 7th Symphony, which would not be performed until 1884 and, only then, was it premiered in Leipzig, and not Vienna. In 1882, he autographed its opening bars for the Browns, a familial gesture which they carefully preserved in their archives.

Fascinating !!! I will post this on my website www.abruckner.com (John F. Berky)

...

From 1889 to 1909, Mary Elizabeth Adams Brown was regarded as the authority in America on musical instruments from all over the world. By her death, in 1918, she had lavished more than 3,300 instruments on The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Her 1st gift, in 1889, consisted of 276 instruments - mostly objects from distant places and « savage and oriental » peoples, as she described them in the parlance of her day. By 1901, these instruments occupied 5 rooms, or 10 % of the total number of galleries in the Museum, at the time. Brown called her collection, as an acknowledgement of its scope and in honour of her husband, « The Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments of All Nations » .

It might be thought that she was inspired to acquire « exotic » instruments by being an adventurous traveler throughout the world. Although Brown did travel in Europe and would later visit major instrument collections there, her inspiration to collect musical instruments came from somewhere else - her family's relationships with foreign missionaries across the globe.

Brown's father, the Reverend William Adams, was a renowned Presbyterian minister in New York. In 1873, he became the 3rd president of Union Theological Seminary, where many American missionaries received their early training. As a leader and a preacher, he was an influential voice in an increasingly tumultuous city and was noted for his domestic and foreign outreach. Among Adams's many international affiliations was his longtime presidency of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. He traveled extensively (though never further east than Russia) , and according to Mary Elizabeth's brother, Thatcher Adams, their father's visits abroad were regularly reciprocated by returning missionaries. In a 1917 Christmas letter to his sister, Thatcher wrote about their Houston Street childhood home :

« Besides relatives, we abounded in missionaries. They came from all parts of the earth, from the slopes of Lebanon, from the Islands of the Sea, from Phrygia Pamphylia and the regions beyond Jordan, there was even one who had dwelt among the cannibals and whose safe return from those dangerous parashioners I always attributed to his extremely unappetizing appearance. »

Mary Elizabeth no doubt heard some of the « tales of these worthy men » , and they probably brought gifts to the

Adams family from the places they had been posted. Some of these might have been musical instruments, which would explain why, describing herself as « always (having been) fond of old musical instruments », she sent instructions to a cousin in Florence to purchase her « 1st instruments », initially intended as decorations for her music room. Mary Elizabeth's expansive world view had already begun at home.

In June 1883, the Browns' personal records show their 2 eldest daughters receiving prizes from « Miss Doremus' Preparatory School ». This school was only one of Sarah D. Doremus's occupations ; she was also the corresponding secretary of the well-established Women's Union Missionary Society founded by her mother, Sarah Platt Doremus, in 1860. This organization was among the 1st to send female missionaries into countries where native women were isolated and deprived of physical, educational, and spiritual assistance - those whose needs could not be properly met by male missionaries. Furthermore, Mary Elizabeth Brown's missionary correspondents were augmented by her husband, John Crosby Brown, who continued the family connection to Union Theological Seminary as a board member and, later, president until his death, in 1909.

In the early 1880's, Doremus had put Brown in touch with Elizabeth Stevens, the wife of a missionary in Rangoon, Burma (now Yangon, Myanmar) , who wrote in June 1886 :

« I am at last able to tell you that the box containing musical instruments has been shipped for New York. Its contents are so very rude and low down in the scale of civilization that I fear they will be out of place in the elegant music room you describe. »

Stevens warmed considerably when describing a harp she was also sending. She enclosed a list of instruments she had purchased, 5 of which appeared in Brown's 1st collection catalogue, « Musical Instruments and Their Homes » (1888) . In 1898, 6 months before her death, Stevens wrote with enthusiasm of another, more elegant Burmese harp she had purchased — undoubtedly, the one that is highlighted in the « Musical Instruments » galleries today, gilded all over and featuring scenes from the Hindu Ramayama on its body.

Correspondence shows that many friendships developed between Mary Elizabeth Brown and the missionaries she encountered. As they had with her father, many visited the Browns' homes, particularly their country home, Brighthurst, in Orange, New Jersey. As required by Brown, they all signed the visitors books. Doctor George E. Post, a Union Theological alumnus and a University of New York Medical College graduate, was for many years professor of surgery at the Syrian Protestant College, in Beirut. In 1886, he sent Brown a carefully labeled box of « Near Eastern » instruments, and upon visiting the Browns a year later, signed the visitors book in Hebrew.

Earlier, in 1885, George Gilmore, another Union Seminary graduate and missionary, was a Brighthurst guest. Later, that year, he was one of 3 men picked to establish the 1st English-language school in Korea, under the patronage of King Gojong. By 1888, he had managed to put together a representative group of Korean musical « instruments of torture », as he called them, which he sent to Brown. The Western missionaries often wrote disparagingly about the instruments and music of indigenous peoples around the world, but Brown did not share those opinions and never wrote in similarly judgmental terms. Instead, she sought-out and welcomed musical instruments of all types, no matter how unusual or unconventional they appeared to her contemporaries.

The Reverend Henry N. Cobb, corresponding secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, was a friend and neighbor to the Browns, in New Jersey, and, for years, was like a magnet that attracted missionaries world-wide to Brown. In 1886, he introduced her to Reverend James L. Amerman, an independent missionary in Tokyo. Most of the Japanese instruments illustrated in Brown's 1888 catalogue were sent by Amerman through the long, slow shipping route of the Suez Canal. Amerman informed her that he had consulted with « one skilled in Japanese music » in order to acquire the instruments, and later suggested knowledgeable corrections to her draft catalogue.

Brown's many missionary correspondents always showed an interest and pride in the work they did to assist her, as maintaining this unusual contact at home must have provided a unique way for them to delve more deeply into their foreign assignments. At the back of the 1st Brighthurst visitors book, which spanned from 1874 to 1888, Brown compiled a list of languages in which her guests had signed ; there were more than 30. She clearly collected people as well as instruments.

The Browns' interest in Japan was augmented by the fact that a cousin, Annie Hammond Bradshaw, was a missionary in Sendai, north of Tokyo. There is no evidence that Bradshaw sent instruments to New York, but she did send numerous photographs of herself at work.

Brown's most engaging and faithful correspondent was also in Japan : Florence H. Learned, who, along with her husband, Dwight W. Learned, a professor at Doshisha University, had been missionaries for over 20 years. At the end of the 19th Century, when Brown had become an experienced and selective collector, the 2 women corresponded in detail, with each often sending the other drawings of possible acquisitions. Learned's most stunning find was an enormous gong anchored by 2 carved oni, or 3-toed devils. It must have occasioned considerable comment at the Museum when it arrived 2 days before the opening of the May 1899 social season.

Locating instruments was only part of the chore Brown imposed on her missionary contacts. Arranging financing and transportation to New York was crucial, since shipping was often as costly as the weighty or fragile objects themselves. Because she sometimes sent missionaries small amounts of money as well as doctrinal and practical publications, many became Brown's « pen pal » friends. For instance, the isolation of Learned as missionary and wife of a professor was palpable from her letters. On March 4, 1899, she wrote to Brown :

« I shall feel almost sorry to have our business relations cease. You have been such a kind, generous sympathetic friend, I feel as though I had really known you as a dear personal friend though I have never seen you nor can I expect to, for there is little prospect that we shall return to the United States before our work here is done.

On April 4, she wrote again :

« May I be so bold as to say that when you wish to send me a little remembrance again, nothing will please me more than your own photograph. »

WAB 107 : Symphonie n° 7

Le chef Arthur Nikisch fera de la publicité gratuite, en marge du concert de la première, en jouant au piano (à la Société académique Wagner de Vienne) la partition de la 7e Symphonie devant des critiques influents. Il faisait ensuite rapport à Bruckner, chaque fois qu'il croyait avoir gagné l'estime de l'un d'eux.

23 septembre 1881 - 17 août 1883 : WAB 107 - Symphonie n° 7 en mi majeur pour 2 flûtes, 2 hautbois, 2 clarinettes en la, 2 bassons, 4 cors en fa (dont 4 jouent aussi les tubas wagnériens) , 3 trompettes en fa, 3 trombones (ATB) , 5 tubas (2 tubas wagnériens ténors en si bémol, 2 tubas wagnériens basses en fa et 1 tuba contrebasse) , timbales, triangle, cymbales et les cordes. Durée approximative : 64 à 69 minutes.

Ce concert historique apporta à Anton Bruckner, le compositeur, la consécration internationale si longtemps attendue. Stimulé par ce triomphe, Anton Bruckner commencera la composition de sa 8e Symphonie.

Dédiée au roi Louis II de Bavière. Le chef Hermann Levi interviendra personnellement auprès de lui afin qu'il accepte la dédicace de la 7e Symphonie de Bruckner. Création à Leipzig (sans les tubas wagnériens) par l'Orchestre du « Gewandhaus » , le 30 décembre 1884, sous la direction du chef Arthur Nikisch, un ancien élève de Richard Wagner. Le concert eut lieu exceptionnellement au Théâtre municipal de Leipzig. Le Maître a pu en profiter pour visiter le tout Nouveau Théâtre de Leipzig (« Neues Theater ») qui avait cependant refusé d'accueillir sa nouvelle œuvre.

Malgré quelques commentaires négatifs à propos de la 7e Symphonie, un des critiques mentionnera :

« Son talent éveillait d'abord de la curiosité, puis de l'intérêt, ensuite de l'admiration et finalement de l'enthousiasme. »

...

La 7e est la plus exécutée du compositeur à cause, sans doute, de l'incomparable Adagio. Bruckner commence à écrire la Symphonie en septembre 1881 avec le pressentiment de la mort de Richard Wagner, ce qui, par la suite, s'est effectivement réalisé (1883) . Le 1er mouvement, qui annonce « Parsifal » sans s'en inspirer est terminé en juillet 1882. L'adoration qu'il portait à Wagner est quelque peu exagérée mais, il est certain que le fruit spirituel de l'admiration exaltée de Bruckner est particulièrement mûr et la 7e (souvent intitulée Symphonie des trémolos) est la plus chaleureusement sincère et la plus ardente de toutes les Symphonies du compositeur. Elle contient beaucoup de thèmes bien choisis. L'auteur ne lui apporte aucune modification.

Selon Max Auer, le compositeur Franz Liszt (dont l'idéalisme et l'altruisme sont sans précédent !) avait montré un grand intérêt pour la 7e Symphonie de Bruckner (plus que pour tout ce qui a précédé) mais sans vraiment comprendre cette musique. Lorsqu'il fut invité à montrer plus de gentillesse à son endroit, Franz Liszt aurait répliqué :

« Je ne peux pas supporter l'entendre me répondre : " Votre Grâce, Monsieur Canonicus ! " » .

Bruckner va réviser la Symphonie en 1885 après sa création, le 30 décembre 1884. La seule partition manuscrite

autographe qui a survécu porte le numéro « Musik Handschriftlichen 19479 » . Mais des révisions ont été apportées à cette partition. Dans certains cas, le matériau d'origine (datant de 1881-1883) a été effacé. Par conséquent, la forme exacte de la version originale n'existe plus. Le manuscrit contient plein d'ajouts écrits sur des bouts de papier qui ont été collés directement sur les pages, particulièrement aux 1er et 2e mouvements. Ces interventions ne sont pas de la main du compositeur (probablement des disciples Franz Schalk et Ferdinand Löwe) mais elles sont soupçonnées d'avoir été faites à la demande de Bruckner.

1re édition : Albert J. Gutmann, Vienne (1885) , version révisée.

2e édition : Albert J. Gutmann, Vienne (1895) .

Édition Ernst Eulenburg, Leipzig (vers 1925) .

Universal-Edition, Vienne.

Édition Robert Haas (1944) .

Ré-édition : Leopold Nowak (1954) ; quelques changements mineurs, notamment rétablissement du coup de cymbales et du trémolo de triangle et de timbale lors du climax de l'Adagio (que Robert Haas avait supprimés) .

EE 03167, édition Ernst Eulenburg, Londres (1958) .

...

Composée à Vienne en 1881-1883 ; révisée en 1885.

Version originale (1881-1883) :

Brucknerverlag, édition Robert Haas (1944) ; ré-édition (1949) . G/A (August Göllerich / Max Auer) : VII.

Breitkopf et Härtel (3621) , édition Robert Haas (1953) .

Dover Publications Inc. , édition Robert Haas (1990) .

(1) Allegro moderato ; (2) Adagio. Sehr feierlich und sehr langsam ; (3) Scherzo. Sehr schnell ; Trio. Etwas langsamer ; (4) Finale. Bewegt, doch nicht schnell.

Version originale révisée (1881-1883) :

Seconde édition révisée :

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) VII, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak (1954) (1967) (1970) .

EE 6849 (465) , édition Ernst Eulenburg (1992) .

3e édition révisée : Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak / Rüdiger Bornhöft (1995) (2003) .

Source des tempi utilisés : version hybride de Robert Haas et Leopold Nowak.

Édition Kalmus (Kalmus Orchestra Library, n° A7168) , non datée.

Version et révisions (1885) :

2e édition révisée : AJG 576, Albert J. Gutmann, Vienne (1895) .

EE 3637, Ernst Eulenburg (65) , édition Max Steinitzer (1912) .

UE 6577, Universal-Edition, Vienne (vers 1924) .

UE 3599, Philharmonia (211) , Universal-Edition, Vienne ; révisée par Josef Venantius von Wöb (1927) .

10397, Édition Peters (1927) , 3840g.

EE 3637, Ernst Eulenburg (465) , édition Wilhelm Altmann (vers 1936) .

27446 (3161) , Breitkopf et Härtel (1936) ; ré-impression : Kalmus Orchestra Library, n° A1194, non datée.

EE 3637, Eulenburg (465) , édition Hans Ferdinand Redlich (1958) .

Édition Kalmus (158) .

(1) Allegro moderato, minim = 58 ; (2) Adagio. Sehr feierlich und langsam, quaver = 63 ; (3) Scherzo. Sehr schnell, dotted minim = 80 ; Trio. Etwas langsamer, dotted minim = 42 ; (4) Finale. Bewegt, doch nicht schnell, minim = 63.

La liste de la 7e Symphonie fut mise à jour entre août et octobre 2009. Remerciements à Alan Leighton pour avoir fourni d'importantes informations supplémentaires.

SIMON RATTLE CONDUCTS THE PREMIERE OF A NEW BRUCKNER EDITION BY BENJAMIN-GUNNAR COHRS

After more than 4 years of preparation, the 1st volume of the new « ANTON BRUCKNER “ URTEXT ” COMPLETE EDITION » will be released this summer - a critical edition of the 7th Symphony, edited by Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs, Editorial Director of the « Bruckner Edition Wien » (Publisher : Alexander Hermann, Vienna) . The premiere of this brand-new score will be given by the Berlin Philharmonic, conducted by Sir Simon Rattle, in Milano (Expo / La Scala, 2 May 2015, at 9:00 pm) and in Vienna (« Musikverein » , 3 May 2015, at 7:30 pm) , the latter in the presence of the Editor.

The « ANTON BRUCKNER “ URTEXT ” GESAMTAUSGABE » (ABUGA) is published by the « Bruckner Edition Wien » , an imprint of « Verlagsgruppe Hermann Wien » , since 2015. The patron is Nikolaus Harnoncourt. The Editorial Director is Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs. The publisher is Alexander Hermann. This newly-conceived, scholarly-practical complete edition (45 volumes) has a fundamentally revised division into scorings and genres. Parallel with the music-editions, a series of text publications on Bruckner will be published, providing contextual information.

EDITORS

Doctor Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs : scholar, author and conductor (Bremen, Germany) .

Doctor Morten Solvik : scholar (Vienna, Austria) .

Matthias Giesen : « Stiftskapellmeister » and organist (Saint-Florian, Austria) .

Joseph Kanz : « Kapellmeister » and arranger (Wiesbaden, Germany) .

Rob van der Hilst : Organist, composer, author and scholar (Utrecht, Netherlands) .

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Doctor Franz Scheder : author and editor of the Bruckner chronology (Nuremberg, Germany) .

Doctor Johannes Wildner : conductor and scholar (Vienna) .

Gerhard Zechmeister : tuba player, scholar and author (Vienna) .

CONCEPTION

In comparison with other composers, Bruckner's own manuscripts contain very few errors in the musical text. Nevertheless, they present particular problems in terms of performance practice (dynamic markings, articulation, tempi etc.) , because these kinds of performance instructions were often added as part of the last stage of a work on a composition. It is precisely the complex source material which demands that, in addition to the autograph manuscripts, the 1st copies, manuscript sets of parts, 1st editions and corresponding galley proofs have to be taken in consideration, together with secondary documents. This is where the « “ Urtext ” Complete Edition » comes into play : all sources have been thoroughly examined as a whole, for the 1st time, and are newly-presented together in a scholarly-practical edition. Bruckner left part of his output in several versions, which will be published in separate volumes. A few versions and works which have remained unpublished to the present day will be evaluated and published for the 1st time in the « ANTON BRUCKNER “ URTEXT ” GESAMTAUSGABE » (ABUGA) . Variants, alternatives and re-worked individual movements will be included in a volume where possible. Scholars and performers will find these « in situ » , without having to combine different editions.

In its many years' preparatory work for the ABUGA, the « Bruckner Edition Wien » has conceived a fundamentally new layout which is especially suited to the particular problems and peculiarities of Bruckner's manuscripts. Works with orchestra are published in full-score. The omission of key signatures and clefs on the right-hand page creates the visual impression of a landscape-shaped music page over the page break when reading the score ; it provides additional space, thereby, reducing the number of page-turns required. For the 1st time, Bruckner's « metrical numbers » , which help in the division and emphasis of groups of bars, have been reproduced where they survive in the musical text. Editorial additions and variants in the text will be identified in different colours. This method supersedes the often cluttered visual appearance of scores by avoiding the uses of brackets, dotted lines or cue-sized notes. In order to reflect the needs of performers, individual performance material can be supplied on request, chosen variant readings can be given preference and alternatives suppressed. Great importance is attached to achieving the most usable result.

PUBLICATION

The volumes of the Complete Edition and full-scores appear in the format 25 centimeters x 31 centimeters as hard-cover with cloth binding and 2 colour embossing. All volumes include detailed foreword, suggestions on performance practice, chronology, tables, appendices and editorial report. Texts are generally included in German and English. Study scores are planned. 2 volumes will be published each year. Volumes can be purchased separately, or after arranging a subscription upon publication. Performance materials for the Symphonies are available on hire ; all other works (smaller orchestral works, choral works, church music, chamber music, Lieder, piano and organ works) will be on sale as part of a set. The « Anton Bruckner “ Urtext ” Complete Edition » is distributed internationally by Schott Music.

STRUCTURE OF THE EDITION

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I.2. Orchestral works (Volumes 20-21) .

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VI.2. Works for organ (Volume 45) .

INFORMATION

www.benjamin Gunnar Cohrs.com

www.hermann.eu

www.harassowitz.de

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La Symphonie est en 4 mouvements : Allegro moderato - Adagio : sehr feierlich und sehr langsam (très solennel et très lent) - Scherzo : sehr schnell (très rapide) - Finale : bewegt, doch nicht schnell (animé mais pas rapide) .

Le thème principal du 1er mouvement apparaît après un doux trémolo des cordes (dit « Urnebel ») qui est une des idées mélodiques les plus étendues et les plus riches de l'histoire de la musique. C'est de ce thème et dans son rapport à lui que naissent et découlent non seulement les 2 autres thèmes de cette partie mais aussi le développement de toute la composition. Le Scherzo qui regorge de sons, au thème fortement rythmé formé « d'intervalles primitifs » en octaves, quintes et quartes, est le mouvement le plus prisé par les auditeurs. L'Adagio est considéré comme le morceau le plus important de cette Symphonie. En l'honneur de Richard Wagner, il construit l'Adagio autour de 2 thèmes monumentaux, y introduisant une mélodie correspondant aux paroles « Non confundar in æternum » (je n'aurai pas honte pour l'éternité) du « Te Deum » qu'il compose en même temps. Dans ce mouvement, il est aussi le 1er à utiliser dans une partition qui n'est pas de l'Opéra 4 des « Wagnertuben » (tubas de Wagner) que le Maître de Bayreuth fait fabriquer spécialement pour l'exécution de sa Tétralogie. Le thème du Finale découle du 1er mouvement en étant plus rythmique et plus frappant, et avec le thème contrastant du choral, il utilise d'incessantes variations culminant en une éblouissante reprise jusqu'à la fin imposante de l'ouvrage.

Allegro moderato : Dès le début, les cors et violoncelles entonnent le thème principal large et élégiaque avec des trémolos que reprennent les altos. À intervalle court, le hautbois et la clarinette introduisent, tranquillo, le second thème (une généreuse extase dont les harmonies, le coloris et le remarquable doublé font penser à Wagner) . Le développement est tout à fait sous le signe de l'envoûtement de l'Anneau du Nibelung. Quelques timides essais tentés par les cors pour esquisser une mélodie chorale mais couverts par des images virtuelles de l'idée fondamentale et par le 2e thème.

Adagio : sehr feierlich und sehr langsam (très solennel et très lent) (ut dièse mineur et fa dièse majeur) - La mort de Wagner obsède Bruckner : « Je rentrais chez moi un jour, très triste ; je me disais il est impossible que le Maître vive longtemps encore. À ce moment précis, l'Adagio en ut dièse mineur me fut inspiré. » . Misterioso e lente assai : 4 tubas wagnériens (Wagnertuben) et 1 tuba contrebasse modulent comme de belles orgues un thème d'une rare élévation que les violons reprennent avec une mélodie que l'on relève dans son « Te Deum » . Apprenant le décès de Richard Wagner, il en fut extrêmement affecté et modifia la fin de l'Adagio, insérant un choral funèbre aux cors, tubas wagnériens et tuba basse juste avant la Coda terminale. Presque partout, ce thème est résigné. Cet Adagio a été

exécuté aux obsèques de Bruckner dans un arrangement pour harmonie de Ferdinand Löwe. Il a également été diffusé sur la radio allemande le 1er mai 1945, au lendemain de la mort d'Adolf Hitler.

Scherzo : sehr schnell (très vite) - Selon la légende, le thème de la trompette est suggéré au compositeur par le chant d'un coq qui le réveille chaque matin à Saint-Florian. Lorsque les bois et les cordes se mettent à marteler leurs gammes sur des rythmes inexorables, on ne peut qu'être saisi d'effroi. Le trio (en fa majeur) paraît, au départ, idyllique, grâce à son thème mélodieux et pastoral, mais les duolets causent une légère angoisse qui se dissipe dans les dernières mesures pour laisser la place à une flûte donnant une mélodie. C'est l'un des plus beaux Scherzo des Symphonies de Bruckner, avec celui de la 6e et de la 9e.

Finale : bewegt, doch nicht schnell (animé mais pas rapide) - L'idée fondamentale domine le Finale. Particulièrement enjouée à l'excès, elle révèle vers la fin une tendance à se laisser abattre. Un contraste se présente avec un choral qui ne fait que passer. On le retrouve à la fin du développement mais se perd à la répétition du mouvement. Enfin, il y a des passages où la technique domine et le morceau se termine sur un monumental retour de l'idée fondamentale du 1er mouvement.

...

Pour Bruckner, les années précédant la composition de sa Symphonie n° 7 (1881-1883) furent une dure leçon de patience qui éprouva rudement sa santé mentale et sa foi. N'écrivit-il pas au chef d'orchestre israélite Hermann Levi avoir dédié son « Te Deum » presque contemporain (1881-1884) « à Dieu pour m'avoir sorti d'une si grande angoisse à Vienne » ?

Tout avait pourtant bien commencé. En 1868, à 44 ans, Bruckner, plein d'espoir, avait quitté sa Haute-Autriche natale (où il avait connu un immense succès) pour Vienne. Mais malgré le soutien du chef d'orchestre Johann Herbeck, malgré sa réputation d'organiste grandissante, il fut en butte à l'incompréhension et aux féroces railleries de l'« establishment » musical viennois. En 1877, Herbeck parvint à persuader le rechigneux Orchestre philharmonique de Vienne de créer la Symphonie n° 3 de Bruckner ; mais, à quelques semaines seulement de la première, il mourut subitement (il n'avait que 45 ans) et Bruckner dut le remplacer. Ce fut une catastrophe : l'Orchestre ne fut impressionné ni par sa musique, ni par ses talents de chef et l'on peut seulement imaginer ce que dut être ce concert, la salle qui se vida peu à peu, pour ne laisser qu'une vingtaine d'inconditionnels ; puis, ce fut la presse qui l'éreinta. Le papier de l'influent critique Eduard Hanslick fut un mélange particulièrement malveillant de compliments acides et perfides :

« Il ne nous plaît pas de tracasser le compositeur, que nous respectons sincèrement comme homme et comme artiste, probablement sincère en art, même s'il a peu à voir avec l'art. Au lieu de le critiquer, nous avouons donc modestement n'avoir rien compris à sa gigantesque Symphonie. Ses intentions poétiques furent, pour nous, tout sauf limpides - peut-être un peu comme si la 9e de Beethoven avait donné son amitié à la " Walküre " de Wagner pour finir piétinée par ses chevaux.

Naturellement, la confiance de Bruckner (inébranlable dans les meilleurs moments) s'effondra presque totalement. Pendant plus d'un an, il n'écrivit pratiquement rien et, malgré l'enthousiasme de quelques amis zélés (dont Gustav Mahler, alors âgé de 17 ans), sa vie privée ne lui apporta guère de consolation. L'échec constant de ses tentatives de mariage ne fit qu'ajouter à sa dépression (il avait bizarrement tendance à s'amouracher de femmes inconvenablement jeunes). Certains indices donnent à penser qu'il éprouva aussi des doutes quant à sa foi (comme on peut peut-être le déduire de la conclusion curieusement non résolue, ou à tout le moins tonalement ambiguë, de sa Symphonie n° 6 (1879-1881). Pourtant, le fait même qu'il ait toujours composé (y compris des Symphonies) dit toute la résolution qui, au fond de lui, l'animait. En fin de compte, il avait, chevillé au corps, le sentiment que sa « vocation » était de composer. Pour beaucoup d'auditeurs, ses Symphonies dégagent une manifeste puissance intérieure - et la 7e n'est pas en reste.

Enfin, Bruckner fut encouragé par d'autres milieux, plus influents. En 1881, année où il commença sa Symphonie n° 7, la première tardive de sa Symphonie n° 4 (originellement écrite en 1874 mais fort révisée), sous la direction du chef Hans Richter, s'attira les louanges d'une certaine frange de la presse viennoise. Cela n'avait rien d'unanime, mais être un tant soit peu compris suffit à le rendre fou de joie. Ce serait lors d'une répétition pour ce concert qu'avec un enthousiasme toujours aussi maladroit il aurait pressé un « thaler » d'argent dans la paume de Richter en lui disant : « Buvez un verre de bière à ma santé. » . Peu après, il se mit à son « Te Deum » et, quelques mois plus tard, le 23 septembre, il nota les Ires idées de sa Symphonie n° 7. Manifestement, la merveilleuse mélodie d'ouverture lui vint en rêve : le chef d'orchestre Ignaz Dorn, un ami de jeunesse, lui apparut et lui joua ce thème à l'alto, avec ces mots : « Cela t'apportera le succès ! » . Et de fait, la création de la Symphonie n° 7 (qui, détail important, délaissa la conservatrice Vienne pour Leipzig, plus progressiste) fut l'un des plus grands succès de la vie de Bruckner. Un critique s'étonna même : « Comment a-t-il pu nous demeurer aussi longtemps inconnu ? » .

Le violon s'intensifie lorsque la mélodie est redite au grand orchestre pour ensuite disparaître de manière poignante. Un 2e thème mélancolique (au hautbois et à la clarinette), bien plus écrit, aspire à recouvrer la gloire perdue et finit par donner l'impression qu'il pourrait bien y parvenir : il y a un long crescendo par-dessus une note de basse répétée, avec des fanfares de cuivres qui s'élèvent dans une excitation grandissante. Mais soudain, tout s'arrête et un 3e thème plus animé surgit, un truculent air de danse (cordes à l'unisson, étayées des bois et des cuivres) qui, lui aussi, atteint un apogée façon fanfare pour brusquement tourner court, avant que tout soit pleinement résolu. D'aucuns trouvent frustrante cette stratégie toute brucknérienne. « Rien que dans le 1er mouvement, j'ai repéré 6 potentialités prometteuses, dont 4 au moins n'ont rien donné. » , pesta le chef d'orchestre Thomas Beecham après avoir dirigé la Symphonie n° 7. La patience finit pourtant par payer, dans cette Symphonie comme dans la vie de Bruckner, et la grande résolution finale est d'autant plus éloquente qu'elle arrive avec un fort long (et fort habile) retard. Il n'est pas fantaisiste de comparer ce processus avec les rouages de la Providence, tels que les décrit John Milton à la fin de son *Samson Agonistes* :

Tout est pour le mieux, même si souvent nous doutons
De ce que l'inscrutable pouvoir
De la Très-haute Sagesse apporte,
Et, en fin de compte, toujours pour le mieux.

Pendant l'essentiel du 1er mouvement, Bruckner ne nous laisse que des souvenirs fugaces de sa conception originelle ; mais, vers la fin, un calme brutal survient et les timbales entrent pour la 1re fois, en tenant un mi pédale, pianissimo, par-dessus lequel un motif de la mélodie inaugurale de la Symphonie s'élève majestueusement avant de virer, avec une magnifique inévitabilité, vers le ton principal. Le motif inaugural monte alors peu à peu dans l'orchestre, crescendo, par-dessus un accord parfait de mi majeur tenu. En écrivant cela, Bruckner songeait certainement au fondamental crescendo d'un accord qui ouvre « Das Rheingold » de Richard Wagner mais, en dehors de la sonorité orchestrale, l'effet est ici tout autre - après tout, c'est une fin, non un début.

Bruckner aurait composé l'Adagio en sachant que son idole Wagner allait bientôt mourir et le majestueux 1er thème exsude une flagrante note éplorée, avec (pour la 1re fois) un quatuor de « tubas Wagner » (cet instrument, qui tient plus du « bugle » alto et du « bass-horn » que de l'habituel tuba basse, avait été créé par Wagner pour rehausser les cuivres de son « Ring ») . Son idolâtrie était si intense qu'elle aurait embarrassé jusqu'à Wagner lui-même. Pourtant, contrairement à celle d'autres dévots, sa musique sonne rarement comme du Wagner. Juste avant le charmant second thème de l'Adagio (cordes, 3/4) , cor et tubas introduisent une citation de « Tristan und Isolde » (la figure chromatique ascendante des mesures 2 et 3 du Prélude) , dont ils conservent la hauteur de son. Mais si personne ne le lui fait remarquer, l'auditeur ne s'en apercevra probablement pas : l'effet est purement « brucknérien » .

Pour terminer, le 1er thème de l'Adagio débouche peu à peu sur l'un des plus grandioses apogées de Bruckner. L'accent est tout particulièrement mis sur le motif ascendant par degrés conjoints que l'on retrouve dans le long crescendo final du « Te Deum » , aux mots « non confundar in æternum » (que je ne sois jamais confondu) . Dans la plupart des interprétations, l'apogée est couronné d'un coup de cymbales, avec triangle et timbales. Mais lorsque le musicologue Robert Haas réalisa sa propre version de la partition, en 1944, il supprima ces parties de percussion et choisit de les reproduire dans sa préface, arguant que quelqu'un avait écrit « gilt nicht » (pas valable) dans le coin supérieur droit de la page. Selon lui, l'écriture est celle de « la vieille main de Bruckner » , encore que cela ait été contesté.

Son choix semblerait corroboré par une lettre d'un des défenseurs les plus controversés de Bruckner, Josef Schalk, à son frère Franz. Elle est datée du 10 janvier 1885, soit 11 jours après la création leipzigoise de la Symphonie :

« Ferdinand Löwe et moi avons dernièrement examiné la partition de la 7e avec Bruckner et discuté d'une ou 2 modifications et améliorations. Tu ignores probablement que Nikisch a arraché son accord pour notre coup de cymbales dans l'Adagio (accord de sixte et quarte en ut majeur) , avec le triangle et les timbales - à notre incommensurable joie. »

« Notre coup de cymbales » : voilà qui résout à coup sûr l'affaire ! Mais le fait est que nous ne saurons très certainement jamais combien de « modifications » et d'« améliorations » Bruckner fit sur l'insistance des Nikisch, Löwe et autres Schalk. Contrairement à ce qu'on croit, pourtant, il savait fort bien résister quand une idée lui déplaisait vraiment. Et bien qu'il pût être relativement puriste en matière d'instrumentation Symphonique (les harpes n'intégrèrent la Symphonie n° 8 qu'au bout d'un mois de bataille, à en croire son élève Friedrich Eckstein) , s'il avait

douté du bien-fondé des cymbales et du triangle, pourquoi les introduire de nouveau dans l'Adagio de sa Symphonie n° 8 ? Musicologiquement parlant, c'est là une question difficile à trancher.

Comme nombre des Scherzos brucknériens antérieurs, celui de la Symphonie n° dit et redit combien il est ancré dans la Haute-Autriche campagnarde : dans sa jeunesse, Bruckner avait amélioré son maigre salaire de professeur en jouant dans des orchestres de danse villageois. Mais on sent là un élan fondamental, obsessionnel, qui s'amplifiera encore dans les Scherzos des 2 Symphonies suivantes. Le Trio, beaucoup plus doux, plus mélodieux, met en œuvre le rythme caractéristique de Bruckner, 1-2, 1-2-3.

Vient alors le Finale : pour une fois chez Bruckner, c'est le plus léger des 4 mouvements. Comme dans le 1er mouvement, on trouve 3 thèmes principaux contrastés : un thème dansant en rythme pointé (violons) ; un choral pas trop solennel aux violons et aux altos, par-dessus une « walking bass » en pizzicato ; et une version déchiquetée du 1er thème, pour le grand orchestre. L'excitation monte à l'approche de la Coda ; puis, à la dernière minute, Bruckner révèle ce que beaucoup auront déjà deviné, du moins intuitivement : le 1er thème dansant du Finale est tout simplement une autre version du motif inaugural de la Symphonie, qui s'achève ainsi sur une splendide confirmation de la vision liminaire du 1er mouvement. Pour citer T. S. Eliot dans ses « Four Quartets » : « En mon commencement est ma fin. » .

...

Bien qu'au berceau de la poétique musicale d'Anton Bruckner, il y eut la Symphonie de Beethoven et le contrepoint de Bach mais surtout l'harmonie, l'instrumentation et le propos dramatiquement pathétique de Wagner, son art s'écarte pourtant de tous ces courants esthétiques dominants d'alors. Lui-même se réclamait des principes du néo-Romantisme de Liszt et de Wagner, ce qui de la part des partisans de Brahms lui valut bien des amertumes qu'il supporta avec opiniâtreté sans modifier en quoi que ce soit ses opinions artistiques. Pourtant, en pratique, sa musique avait tout aussi peu de points communs avec le système esthétique de Wagner qu'avec Brahms.

Bruckner, homme simple et « non littéraire », qui jamais ne composa sur d'autres textes que liturgiques et qui n'était disposé ni même capable de quelque manière que ce soit de commenter les conceptions artistiques de ses 9 Symphonies, ne prit de son Wagner tant admiré que les traits extérieurs : la forme monumentale, les mélodies « infinies » et la mystique du son orchestral avec son brillant majestueux, d'une part, et la mystérieuse tendresse du son, d'autre part. Au lieu d'être en communion avec les éloquents énoncés théoriques et pompeux, Bruckner mit avantagement à profit le folklore autrichien. Ses « Ländler » du terroir forment un important contrepoint au caractère d'hymne du choral, autre source fondamentale de sa musique. Pourtant, celle-ci doit aussi payer un « tribut » à son grand déploiement, son charisme temporel et rythmique fondamental ; cette musique donne parfois l'impression d'une excellente improvisation à l'orgue qui ne serait pas entièrement maîtrisée. Peut-être est-ce la raison pour laquelle les Symphonies de Bruckner, dans leur majorité n'apparaissent que rarement en dehors du terrain culturel allemand et que bien des chefs d'orchestre éprouvent de la répugnance envers leurs constructions cyclopéennes. Ce n'est pas une musique facile, elle ne retient pas l'attention par des effets bon marché et une accessibilité directe mais pour l'auditeur attentif elle peut devenir une source inépuisable de véritable beauté et

d'émotion et d'excitante découverte.

...

La Symphonie n° 7 en mi majeur est la Symphonie la plus populaire de Bruckner et, avec la 4e, elle forme la paire que nous rencontrons le plus souvent dans les salles de concert. Comme il l'a dit lui-même, Bruckner commença à écrire la Symphonie en mi majeur en septembre 1881 avec le pressentiment de la mort de Wagner, ce qui par la suite s'est réalisé (1883). L'adoration que Bruckner portait à Wagner était quelque peu exagérée. Les nombreuses personnes avec lesquelles Bruckner était en contact n'étaient pas trop courants ses sentiments qu'il portait. Brahms le considérait même comme un fou « non dangereux » : « Un pauvre homme dérangé que les petits prêtres de Saint-Florian avaient sur la conscience. » .

Le dévôt catholique qu'était Bruckner décrit comme suit sa dernière rencontre avec Wagner, en juillet 1882, à l'occasion de la première de l'Opéra « Parsifal » à Bayreuth :

« Lorsque le plus Grand me tendit la main, je suis tombée à genoux, j'ai serré sa main, l'ai couverte de baisers et lui ai dit : Ah, Maître, je vous adore ! . Wagner me répondit :

Calmez-vous, Bruckner, bonne nuit. Ce furent les dernières paroles que le Maître me dit. »

Embarrassé, Wagner reconstituera (à sa façon) cet événement dans un rêve des plus fascinants : « Une nuit, le Saint-Père vint me visiter. Je voulus l'accueillir avec dignité et respect mais il inversa subitement les rôles. Il se pencha humblement vers moi pour me baiser la main. Puis, il saisit une bouteille de cognac et disparut ! Le souverain Pontife ressemblait étrangement à Anton Bruckner. » .

Quoi que nous pensions des relations de ces 2 grands hommes, il est certain que le fruit spirituel de l'admiration exaltée de Bruckner est particulièrement mûr et la 7e (souvent intitulée Wagnérienne) est la plus chaleureusement sincère et la plus ardente de toutes les Symphonies du compositeur ; et vraiment bourrée de thèmes bien choisis. C'est pourquoi elle produit un effet plus complet, plus équilibré et c'est aussi la raison pour laquelle, par la suite, l'auteur ne lui apporta aucune modification : une maladie qui atteindra la majorité de ses Symphonies. Bruckner (de même ses épigones) apportait de lui-même des changements ou sur les conseils de ses amis à ses Symphonies, une situation qui ne cessa qu'avec l'édition critique de l'œuvre de Bruckner dans les années '30.

...

Esquissée à l'automne 1881 et achevée presque 2 ans plus tard, la 7e Symphonie de Bruckner reflète la 1re maturité d'un compositeur presque sexagénaire et clôt une trilogie de Symphonies accomplies dès le 1er jet, sans les angoisses du remaniement connues jusqu'alors. D'une construction limpide et d'un langage toujours à l'affût de l'expressivité, l'œuvre se singularise par l'intense lyrisme de ses 2 1ers mouvements. L'élément religieux s'y affirme en outre plus nettement qu'auparavant, ne serait-ce que dans le recours certainement pas anodin au ton de mi majeur, dont les

4 dièses symbolisent la croix.

L'Allegro moderato initial, érigé sur la vaste nef d'un 1er thème de 21 mesures confié aux violoncelles doublés tour à tour par le cor, les altos et la clarinette, ouvre un espace infini, d'intense luminosité, avec un matériau thématique plus unifié, moins contrasté que dans les Symphonies précédentes, et utilise largement dans le développement le principe du miroir. Archétype du grand crescendo brucknérien, sa Coda bâtie sur l'accord parfait est soulevée par un roulement de timbales (dont c'est l'unique intervention dans le mouvement) de 52 mesures.

Longue déploration en ut dièse mineur faisant appel à une orchestration assombrie par les tubas wagnériens (conçus à l'origine par Adolphe Sax spécifiquement pour « l'Anneau du Nibelung » de Richard Wagner, de sonorité à mi-chemin entre le trombone et le cor et introduits pour la 1re fois dans le monde de la Symphonie), l'Adagio se veut un hommage au Maître de Bayreuth, disparu en février 1883 et à qui Bruckner avait rendu visite quelques mois plus tôt à l'occasion de la création de « Parsifal ». Profondément affecté, Bruckner aurait ajouté l'épilogue funèbre faisant suite au climax, avant de laisser la musique s'éteindre dans la paix consolatrice du mode majeur.

Le Scherzo, dans le ton volontairement cru de la mineur, est caractérisé par des motifs bloqués, répétés jusqu'à satiété aux cordes et par un vigoureux appel de trompette, que d'aucuns ont perçu comme une réminiscence cauchemardesque d'une sirène de pompiers, Bruckner ayant éprouvé une fascination morbide à la vue, juste en face de son domicile, de centaines de corps calcinés extraits du « Ringtheater » de Vienne après le tristement célèbre incendie du 8 décembre 1881. Le Trio central, en fa majeur, tout en legato des cordes, amorce toutefois une certaine consolation dans l'évocation du « Ländler » de la Haute-Autriche natale.

Le Finale, court et nerveux, voit s'affronter en blocs des éléments antagonistes, dans l'alternance entre un 1er thème marqué par des valeurs pointées et un indolent choral accompagné de pizzicati. La Symphonie s'achève sur une péroraison ramassée, augmentée de tubas wagnériens affirmant pour la dernière fois une adoration quasi mystique pour Richard Wagner.

Reste le litige concernant la présence de la percussion au sommet de l'Adagio. À la lettre « W » (l'arrivée sur le climax) existent 2 versions de la partition. L'une, retenue par le musicologue Robert Haas dans son édition critique de 1944, se contente de l'orchestre présent jusqu'alors. L'autre, retenue par son successeur Leopold Nowak dans son édition de 1954, adjoint une partie de percussion, et notamment un coup de cymbale au même endroit. La raison de cette différence ? Une bandelette de papier, de la main de Bruckner, collée sur le manuscrit autographe, comprenant la partie séparée des percussions pour l'ensemble du mouvement, avec à « W » le fameux coup de cymbale, doublé de roulements de timbales et de triangle. Mais dans le coin supérieur droit de la bandelette, la mention « gilt nicht » (non valable) d'une plume tremblante, qui pourrait être celle du compositeur dans les toutes dernières années de sa vie, pris d'une sorte de repentir quant à son ajout. Haas juge l'indication authentique, Nowak estime à l'inverse qu'elle est d'une main extérieure, ce que tendraient à prouver les dernières expertises graphologiques. La question de la validité « morale » du coup de cymbale reste donc pour l'heure ouverte.

7e Symphonie d'Anton Bruckner (Constantin Photiadès)

Article paru en 1937, dans « La Revue de Paris », année 44, tome 7.

Soirées musicales :

Introuvables en France, rares même chez les peuples de race germanique, les amis d'Anton Bruckner constituent, à travers le monde, une secte assez restreinte, forte néanmoins par sa constance et sa vitalité sereine. Les adeptes, loin de gémir sur leur petit nombre, s'en feraient gloire plutôt. Comme tant de cénacles, ils se comptent pour une élite, et cette agréable conviction satisfait leur amour propre.

Approuvons-les de rendre à la 7e Symphonie d'Anton Bruckner un culte reconnaissant. Elle en est digne. Que l'ouvrage reste donc associé, dans leur souvenir, à la seule joie qui ait illuminé, sur le tard, une carrière vouée à des travaux immenses et décevants ! L'histoire citerait à peine ce musicien d'un village de Haute-Autriche, en qui le paysan et le régent de collège faisaient un si bizarre contraste avec le Maître organiste, avec le persévérant bâtisseur de Messes et de Symphonies à grand orchestre, si la 7e Symphonie ne l'eût imposé à la longue aux Viennois. Elle sut plaire. Et, dès lors, 60 années de disgrâces et d'humbles tâtonnements se trouvèrent effacées en une heure de triomphe.

Bruckner était loin de s'y attendre. Cette dangereuse épreuve de Vienne, il l'avait crainte au point d'en solliciter l'ajournement par écrit. Odieux aux réactionnaires comme affilié à la révolution wagnérienne, comme un véritable boute-feu, il tâchait de se faire oublier, cherchant fortune au dehors. L'Allemagne paraissait offrir à cet égard des chances plus favorables. C'est ainsi qu'Arthur Nikisch accepta de diriger la 7e Symphonie à Leipzig, le 30 décembre 1884. Hermann Levi la présenta ensuite aux Munichois, le 10 mars 1885. Cette double expérience ayant réussi, les organisateurs s'enhardirent. Ils rendaient grâce à Hermann Levi d'avoir porté, après l'exécution de Munich, un toast vibrant « au second Beethoven ». Ce petit discours eut un retentissement prodigieux. Et les conservateurs à outrance, débordés, connurent avec dépit que leurs persécutions n'avaient servi qu'à faire des prosélytes.

Néanmoins, la Symphonie en exil dut courir les grands chemins une année entière avant de pouvoir rentrer dans sa patrie, la terre promise du Beau Danube bleu. L'auteur n'osait affronter les critiques de Vienne. Quel supplice que leurs comptes rendus et leurs feuilletons ! Le cruel Hanslick n'allait-il pas le mettre en pièces ? D'hésitation en hésitation, la 7e Symphonie en mi majeur ne fut jouée à la « Philharmonie », sous la baguette de Hans Richter, que le 21 mars 1886. Ici encore, le succès passa toute espérance. Et cette fois, elle eut une portée si décisive que les braves Autrichiens, après avoir tant querellé Bruckner sur « sa musique d'ivrogne », se mirent à l'exalter comme le plus digne héritier de Schubert, puis, insensiblement, comme leur compositeur national.

Pendant les 10 années qui suivirent, les dernières, Anton Bruckner, décoré, pensionné, reçu en audience par François-Joseph à la « Hofburg », nommé docteur de l'Université de Vienne, voyait enfin venir à lui ces titres et ces avantages pécuniaires qu'un bureaucrate appelle respectueusement les honneurs. On l'engageait à déposer au pied du trône sa prochaine Symphonie, la 8e, dont Sa Majesté Apostolique l'Empereur et Roi daignait agréer la dédicace. Et comme toutes ces faveurs découlaient de la 7e Symphonie, celle-ci passait naturellement pour un chef-d'œuvre.

Après le mémorable concert du 21 mars 1886, les adeptes, dit-on, s'étaient joints à leur bon Maître pour fêter joyeusement sa victoire. La bière, le vin, le punch, ces amis fidèles de l'éloquence, les amenèrent à prolonger leur réunion fort au-delà de minuit. Bruckner était abasourdi et harassé lorsqu'on le reconduisit enfin chez lui. Quelques poignées de mains, et, soudain, l'artiste se retrouva seul, dans son logis de vieil étudiant sans famille et sans fortune, dans ce gîte banal où tout paraissait minable, jusqu'à l'ordre et à la propreté. Une dépêche l'attendait sur son bureau. Elle émanait, ô surprise ! de Johann Strauß. Celui-ci, ravi de la 7e Symphonie qu'il venait d'entendre, tenait à manifester immédiatement son enthousiasme. Et voici que, malgré l'heure tardive, la fatigue se dissipait. Bruckner, les mains tremblantes, lisait, relisait sans trêve, comme en extase, le texte de cette dépêche. Volontiers, il fût tombé à genoux pour remercier le bon Dieu d'un hommage où le musicien du Beau Danube bleu avait su mettre tout son cœur.

De tels souvenirs ont leur prix. Mais le prestige durable de la 7e Symphonie tient à d'autres causes, et plus spécialement à son Adagio. Outre que le flot musical s'épanche ici avec ampleur, un épisode assez intempestif mis à part, on y entrevoit, comme à travers le rideau d'une fenêtre éclairée dans les ténèbres, l'ombre souveraine de Richard Wagner.

Sur cette présence mystérieuse, l'auteur s'est expliqué. Son Adagio, déclarait-il, mouvement solennel dans le style des marches funèbres, était conçu, dès l'origine, sous une oppression de cauchemar. Pour la 1e fois, Bruckner avait compris que son idole, ce génie sans pareil, la vive image du drame lyrique, l'homme qui prêtait à une petite ville bavaroise plus de splendeur que n'en eurent jamais les feux des Mages sur la montagne nocturne, il avait enfin compris que Richard Wagner lui-même pouvait mourir ! Depuis la création de « Parsifal », une affection cardiaque, déjà ancienne, s'était réveillée dangereusement. Le malade, trop faible pour les rudes hivers de Bayreuth, cherchait désormais un refuge en Italie. Pour vaincre un héros, il suffit de 70 ans, et Wagner arrivait précisément à cet âge. Ses fidèles vivaient dans l'inquiétude, quand soudain, le 13 février 1883, un télégramme de Venise annonça la catastrophe. Bruckner éclata en sanglots : « J'ai pleuré, ce jour-là, disait-il plus tard, mon Dieu que j'ai pleuré !... » Et voilà comment l'Adagio, tout d'abord pressentiment vague, s'est achevé bientôt sur une lamentation déchirants.

Le meilleur de Bruckner se trouve consigné dans ces pages. Aux regrets poignants, à cette révolte qui hérissait sa chair devant les adieux éternels et l'horreur de la destruction, il opposait chrétiennement ses espérances, la foi en un Dieu qui a bien voulu être notre Père, sa vision d'un Paradis où la beauté et la bonté rayonneront inépuissablement sur la Sainte hiérarchie des élus. Pieux et candide à la manière de César Franck, Bruckner avait, comme lui, cette puissance de souffle qui permet d'atteindre aux régions supérieures. Et rien ne ressemble mieux à l'inspiration qu'une telle ferveur. Toutes 2 se rejoignent dans l'enthousiasme. L'une vient librement du ciel, l'autre s'efforce d'y monter.

Mais Bruckner, avouons-le, est ignoré en France. À peine si les grands concerts ont joué certaines de ses Symphonies, dont la 4e, souvent dénommée Symphonie Romantique, et la 8e, dédiée à l'Empereur François-Joseph. On a bien essayé, après la guerre, de nous montrer sa 9e Symphonie, en remplaçant le Finale inachevé par le grand « Te Deum », qui fut composé entre 1883 et 1884, comme cela se fait en Autriche et en Allemagne. Malheureusement, le Festival avait lieu à Notre-Dame et, comme l'acoustique de la vénérable Basilique n'était pas moins défectueuse que l'exécution matérielle, on aboutit à un échec.

Il émane pourtant de Bruckner, cœur fervent et pur, une telle irradiation qu'on lui revient assez volontiers, une fois par lustre ou par décade, ne fût-ce que pour apprendre enfin à l'aimer. Si cette leçon d'amour ne va point sans lassitude, qu'importe ! Monsieur Charles Munch et la « Société Philharmonique de Paris », malgré le fâcheux avertissement de Notre-Dame, ont bien osé afficher la 7e Symphonie à la salle Pleyel, le 28 janvier 1937. Ce fut une soirée intéressante. Grâce à sa double culture, que favorisent ses atavismes et ses affinités d'Alsacien, Monsieur Charles Munch pourrait devenir la Providence de ces partitions d'outre Rhin, où la pensée égale trop souvent en densité les matériaux sonores qu'elles utilisent, mais dont la force et la grandeur sollicitent l'attention. Ce jeune chef réussit où ses prédécesseurs ont succombé. Il est en train d'acclimater Bruckner en France. Il le rendra plus accessible. Dans un temps où la musique, revendiquée par les nationalismes en armes, a presque cessé d'être une langue universelle, c'est un exploit surprenant d'avoir transporté à Paris la 7e Symphonie tout entière, avec ses 4 panneaux aux dimensions colossales.

Chacune de ces parties vient d'être acclamée. On a goûté pleinement la noble introduction, allegro moderato, où le cor et les violoncelles suivent l'idée principale en ses alternatives de fougue et de mélancolie. L'Adagio, tour à tour oraison funèbre et chant d'apothéose, a remué les cœurs. Le Scherzo, lui-même, a bien des partisans. N'est-ce pas une musique pour un bal au village, que des trompettes guerrières traversent de leurs fanfares ? Seule, la conclusion déroute et déplaît. Les Parisiens ne lui pardonnent pas ses analogies avec le Venusberg. Ils condamnent ses réminiscences de bacchanale, son clinquant de Théâtre emprunté à Tannhäuser. Et le second motif ne les dispose pas non plus à l'indulgence. Que vient faire ici, demandent-ils, un choral religieux, murmuré pianissimo par les cordes ? Il est hors de place entre toutes ces diableries. Quant au paroxysme instrumental de la fin, son éclat, ne permet point d'oublier que ce déchaînement fait double emploi avec la fulgurante péroraison du 1er morceau. On s'aperçoit même, en collationnant les textes, que les violons, à l'aigu, dessinent, de part et d'autre, des figurations identiques. Une symétrie si fastidieuse trouvera-t-elle des défenseurs ?

Bruckner se discrédite ainsi par des faiblesses qui mettent nos délicats à la torture. On peut même dire qu'elles le caractérisent. Personne n'est moins divers. Ignorant de la monotonie, il ignore la satiété. Ce besoin de renouvellement, auquel un Richard Wagner, un César Franck sacrifiait sans cesse, à peine s'il le soupçonne. Certaines tonalités lui ont inspiré un attachement superstitieux : il y revient toujours. Sur 9 Symphonies, il en écrit 2 en ré mineur, 3 en do mineur, sans se douter qu'il y a peut-être là quelque abus. La plupart de ses ouvrages se ressemblent par la facture. Bruckner, issu d'une obscure lignée de paysans, devait attribuer une valeur immuable aux principes dont il s'était nourri lentement, avec effort. Chaque année, il revenait à son champ. Le même sol, il le retournait cent fois avec la même charrue, le même attelage, sans révolte. Et cette placidité, cette persévérance bovine, incroyables chez un artiste du XIXe siècle, font l'étonnement des historiens.

Une pâte si lourde eût-elle fini par lever sans l'influence de Wagner ? Qu'on nous permette d'en douter. Les intimes de Bruckner, ses disciples ou ses protecteurs, gémissaient entre eux, bien souvent, de ses insuffisances. Sa médiocrité intellectuelle ne transparaît que trop dans ses compositions. Dieu ! que leurs « développements » sont touffus ! À coup sûr, le sens de l'équilibre faisait défaut à leur auteur. Le mieux serait probablement de l'en tenir quitte. Acceptons donc, une fois pour toutes, cette idée : son goût n'était point le nôtre. Nul raffinement, nulle culture. Les

disparates ne le choquaient en rien, puisque ses grandes tapisseries d'orchestre sont faites presque toujours de pièces et de morceaux. Les plus beaux éclairs surviennent chez lui après des remplissages sans intérêt, des mélodies redondantes et cotonneuses. Nous déplorions tantôt certain épisode qui dépare l'Adagio de la 7e Symphonie. Eh bien ! examinons-le ensemble, s'il vous plaît. Voyez comme ce moderato se fait insinuant, doucereux. Avec ses molles inflexions à la viennoise, son rythme ternaire qui s'oppose à la carrure du motif héroïque, il voudrait nous rappeler peut-être le céleste intermède en ré majeur qui transfigure, chez Beethoven, l'Adagio de la 9e Symphonie. Peine perdue, hélas !... Entre Bruckner et Beethoven, les Muses ont eu soin de laisser une distance incommensurable. Et le mot de Vauvenargues. se vérifie cette fois encore : « On ne peut contrefaire le génie. » .

À la vérité, la grandeur de Bruckner est d'un autre ordre. L'essentiel se trouve ailleurs. L'écrivons-nous, au risque d'effaroucher ceux qui n'envisagent dans l'art des sons que le phénomène auditif à l'état brut, indépendamment de ses résonances intellectuelles ou affectives, comme si la musique n'était pas avant tout un langage ? Oui, certes, osons le dire : l'excellence d'Anton Bruckner n'a point tenu à sa Maîtrise de la forme ou de la couleur ; elle tient à des éléments moraux et spirituels. Amour des humains, ses frères ; amour de la Création et du Très Haut qui l'a voulue si belle ; amour de la religion, si chère à ce catholique fervent que la méditation, la prière et l'extase sont les véritables ailes de sa musique ; amour enfin de cette perfection idéale qui presque toujours le fuyait, mais dont il jouissait quand même en Dieu, avec une allégresse infinie : le chaud rayonnement de cette flamme exalte, dans ses moments heureux, la fougue du Symphoniste. Ses fidèles le vénéraient, à la fois, pour son talent et pour son âme. Son prestige ressemblait à une vertu. C'était un cœur expansif, vibrant, que le froid de la vie, le froid impitoyable de l'expérience, n'avait pu altérer. Il existe ainsi des rêveurs, sur les lèvres de qui les vieux mots Romantiques de vaillance, d'honneur, de foi, d'espoir et d'amour céleste, même prononcés avec le plus vif enthousiasme, ne rendent pas un son ridicule. Anton Bruckner fut l'un d'eux.

...

WAB 107 (1881-1883) : Symphony No. 7 in E major with Wagner tubas, triangle and cymbals. 1883 : 1st concept ; revised in 1885.

The Symphony is performed with extraordinary success :

In Leipzig, with « Kapellmeister » Arthur Nikisch.

In Munich, with Court « Kapellmeister » Hermann Levi.

In Karlsruhe, at the music Festival of the Association of German Musicians (« Deutscher Tonkünstler-Verein ») with Court « Kapellmeister » Felix Mottl.

In Cologne, with « Kapellmeister » Doctor Franz Wüllner.

In Hamburg, with « Kapellmeister » Julius Bernuth.

In Graz, with « Kapellmeister » Karl Muck.

In Vienna, with Court « Kapellmeister » Hans Richter conducting the « Philharmoniker » .

...

1883 Version (unpublished) .

1885 Version (1885, [Haas] , Nowak) .

Anton Bruckner revised the 7th Symphony in 1885, after its 1st performance on 30 December 1884. The only surviving manuscript score for this Symphony is the autograph composition score Mus.Hs. 19479 (a copy score is lost) , and the revisions were made in this score. In some cases, the original 1883 material was erased ; therefore, the exact form of the 1883 version is lost unless it can be recovered from some other source. The autograph is full of additions in other hands. In the outer-movements in particular, many passages were pasted into the score to replace material from the 1883 version that had been erased. All of these revisions are believed to have been done at Bruckner's request.

All of the published scores are different interpretations of the autograph Mus.Hs. 19479. The 1885 edition includes some alterations not in the autograph, which could be authentic nonetheless ; Leopold Nowak, on the other hand, accepted some, but not all, of the alterations based on documentary evidence. Haas restored certain aspects of the 1883 version, but, since a complete reproduction of the earlier version is impossible, his edition is, by necessity, a mixture of the 2 versions. Most noticeably, Haas left-out the cymbal crash, triangle roll, and tympani in the Adagio, whereas the other editions include these parts.

...

Original version composed from September 23, 1881 to August 10, 1883. 1st performance in Leipzig (by Arthur Nikisch) on December 30, 1884. The later revision was made once more over the original text, so that an exact edition of the original 1883 version cannot possibly be made, although the Robert Haas edition (1944) restored some parts of it.

1885 version : Some changes were introduced by Bruckner under the influence of Schalk, Löwe, and Nikisch (among others the inclusion of cymbals, triangle, and timpani in the Adagio) . These changes were made shortly after the 1st performance, and are incorporated in the 1st Edition of the work, published by Albert J. Gutmann in 1885. Some of the changes in tempo and dynamic, although not in Bruckner's hand, were sanctioned by Leopold Nowak in his edition (1956) and put between parentheses. If they are skipped, little difference remains between Haas and Nowak. The percussion is likewise maintained by Nowak in the Adagio, while Haas omits it. A famous passage is the cymbal clash (with triangle) at the climax of the Adagio, which some conductors play, others don't.

...

Having recently gained acceptance in Vienna with the premiere of the 4th Symphony, Anton Bruckner received a visit from famed conductor Arthur Nikisch who offered to premier the composer's 7th Symphony. The concert took place in Leipzig with the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra on December 30, 1884 ; Hans Richter and the Vienna Philharmonic gave the Symphony its local premiere in January 1885. Despite a cool reception from the critics, the work was an enormous success, and public enthusiasm helped to solidify Bruckner's growing reputation. Among the accolades was a telegram from Johann Strauß, Junior, which read : « Am deeply moved. It was the musical experience of my life. » . Unlike most of his other Symphonies, Bruckner's 7th underwent virtually no revision ; the one point of concern was a cymbal crash at the Adagio's climax which Bruckner added at the suggestion of friends, but then subsequently removed.

The Symphony commences with a string tremolo from which the searching main-theme arises ; this theme is said to have been whistled to Bruckner in a dream by his late personal friend Ignaz Dorn, and it reappears throughout the Symphony in subtle transformations. This is followed by a plaintive, yet animated, theme for woodwinds, and followed in turn by an imposing dance-like 3rd theme. The development is expansive, making effective use of theme inversion, and the recapitulation is varied ; a long crescendo using fragments of the opening theme forms a glowing and dynamic Coda.

The deeply felt 2nd movement, an Adagio in song form, is mournful and dignified. Said to have been inspired by a premonition of Richard Wagner's death, the opening threnody breaks into a sonorous hymn for strings. This alternates with a beautiful arching theme which offers consolation at each appearance. The climax occurs with the 3rd appearance of the movement's opening theme which, against an ostinato of rising sextuplets, is propelled to a blazing C major climax. Finally, a dirge for Wagner tubas, said to have been composed upon Bruckner's learning of Wagner's passing, follows as Coda with the strings intoning a poignant transformation of the Symphony's main-theme.

With a contrast as stunning as the corresponding moment in Beethoven's « Eroica » , the windswept Scherzo which follows is one of Bruckner's best. The main-theme is said to have been derived from the crowing of a cock ; the wistfully nostalgic Trio is deeply affecting.

The Finale opens with an athletic transformation of the Symphony's opening theme. This is followed by beautifully modulating chorale for strings against a walking bass, and in turn following by a thundering unison transformation of the opening theme in minor. These 3 wonderfully contrasting ideas are interwoven deliberately, yet, with great animation and vigor, until the heartily extroverted Coda brings home the Symphony's opening theme in the full orchestra.

...

Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 7 in E major (**WAB 107**) is one of his best-known Symphonies. It was written between 1881 and 1883 and was revised in 1885. It is dedicated to Ludwig II of Bavaria. The premiere, given under conductor Arthur Nikisch and the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra in the Opera House at Leipzig, on 30 December 1884, brought

Bruckner the greatest success he had known in his life. The Symphony is sometimes referred to as the « Lyric », though the appellation is not the composer's own, and is seldom used.

The Symphony requires the following Orchestra :

Woodwinds : 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets in A, 2 bassoons.

Brass : 4 horns in F, 3 trumpets in F, 3 trombones, 4 Wagner tubas (2 tenors in B-flat, 2 basses in F) , 1 tuba. (If Wagner tubas are not available, they are sometimes substituted with euphoniums.)

Percussion : timpani, cymbals, triangle.

Except in the 3rd movement where the use of timpani figures prominently, usage of percussion in the Symphony is extremely limited. A timpani roll enters at the Coda of the 1st movement. In some performance editions, the timpani re-enters along with cymbals and triangle together in the climax of the 2nd movement (the only movement employing cymbals and triangle) . Many conductors have taken to performing the 2nd movement without percussion, however, and the decision is generally settled by the performers' preferences. In the last movement, the timpani rolls in brief climaxes before crescendoing with orchestral tutti in the final bars.

Strings : violins 1, 2, violas, violoncellos, double basses.

The Symphony is in 4 movements :

1. Allegro moderato E major :

The movement starts with tremolo strings and the cellos presenting « a complete, divinely given melodic whole » . Bruckner declared he heard it in a dream, played on a viola, and wrote it down on awakening, but the tune incorporates a quotation from the Credo of his D Minor Mass (1864) which he was currently revising.

2. Adagio. Sehr feierlich und sehr langsam C-sharp minor :

This movement was composed between January and April 1883. Bruckner began writing it in anticipation of Richard Wagner's death and funeral, as he was in poor health. The 1st part of the movement features 4 Wagner tubas. It also features a bass tuba, which Wagner had invented, and was the 1st appearance in a Symphony. Legend has it that Bruckner wrote the cymbal clash at the climax of this movement upon hearing the news that Wagner had died. By way of contrast, Williman Mann states that :

« At the climax of the slow movement, Nikisch persuaded Bruckner to add a cymbal clash supported by a triangle ; later this addition to the manuscript was marked “ invalid ” but not in the composer's hand, so who was the purist ? »

3. Scherzo. Sehr schnell A minor with Trio in F major.

4. Finale. Bewegt, doch nicht schnell E major : In the recapitulation, the subject groups are reversed in order (a form sometimes called « tragic Sonata form »).

The 1883 version was performed at the work's premiere. Unfortunately, it survives only in one autograph copy which includes later changes by Bruckner and others, so the exact contents of this version are lost. This version is unpublished.

In the 1885 version (Albert J. Gutmann edition published in 1885), some changes were made after the 1884 premiere but before the 1st publication by Gutmann in 1885. It is widely accepted that Arthur Nikisch, Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe had significant influence over this edition, but there is some debate over the extent to which these changes were authorized by Bruckner. These changes mostly affect tempo and orchestration.

The Robert Haas edition, published in 1944, attempted to remove the influence of Nikisch, Schalk and Löwe in order to retrieve Bruckner's original conception of the Symphony. Haas used some material from the 1883 autograph but because this autograph also includes later changes much of his work was the product of conjecture. The most prominent feature of Haas's edition is the absence of cymbals, triangle and timpani in the slow movement : Haas asserted that Bruckner decided to omit the percussion, a claim scholar Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt deems « implausible ».

The Leopold Nowak edition, published in 1954, kept most of the changes in the 1885 Albert J. Gutmann edition, including the percussion. He reprinted the tempo modifications from Gutmann but placed them in brackets. Some performances of this edition omit the cymbal clash at the climax of the slow movement, although it is included in the printed score.

An arrangement of this Symphony for chamber ensemble (consisting of 2 violins, viola, cello, bass, clarinet, horn, piano 4 hands, and harmonium) was prepared in 1921 by students and associates of Arnold Schönberg, for the Viennese « Society for Private Musical Performances » : Hanns Eisler (1st and 3rd movements), Erwin Stein (2nd movement), and Karl Rankl (3rd movement). The Society folded before the arrangement could be performed, and it was not premiered until more than 60 years later.

An arrangement of Bruckner's Symphony No. 7 for chamber ensemble could never be intended as anything but a substitute for the real thing. The elysian heights and abysmal depths of Bruckner's awesome Orchestra could never be reproduced by anything but a full-scale Romantic Orchestra. Nor was this arrangement of the Symphony No. 7 for chamber ensemble by Erwin Stein, Hanns Eisler, and Karl Rankl done in 1921 for Arnold Schönberg's « Verein für musikalische Privatufführungen » ever intended to be anything but a substitute for a work they all loved but that could not be performed in the culturally devastated landscape of Vienna after the end of the Hapsburg Empire. Schönberg's private audience of musical cognoscenti expected only the best from Schönberg's pupils and Stein, Eisler,

and Rankl turned in an arrangement full of respect and reverence. While at 1st the sound of the ensemble (1 clarinet, 1 horn, 2 violins, 1 viola, 1 cello, 1 bass, 1 harmonium, and piano 4 hands) is distracting (a horn for the main-theme of the opening movement ?) , the cogency of the conception and the thoroughness of its execution soon stills all objections.

...

According to Frederic Spotts' « Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics » , Adolf Hitler compared this Symphony favorably with Beethoven's 9th Symphony. When he consecrated a bust of Bruckner at Regensburg's « Walhalla » temple, in June of 1937, the Adagio from the 7th was played as Adolf Hitler stood in quiet admiration. A recording of the Adagio was played before the official radio announcement of the German defeat at Stalingrad, on 31 January 1943, and before Admiral Karl Dönitz announced Hitler's death on Radio Berlin, on 1 May 1945 ; a recording by Wilhelm Furtwängler was used.

...

Anton Bruckner began work on his Symphony No. 7 on September 23, 1881, completing the 1st movement on December 29, 1882.

The score calls for 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, 4 Wagner tubas, 3 trombones, 1 bass tuba (alternating contrabass tuba) , timpani, and strings.

As Robert Simpson so aptly says it, in his beautiful study of Bruckner :

« The entrance leads to a very lofty and light interior. » , a vastly arching melody in which the cellos are subtly supported, now by a horn, now by the violas, now by a clarinet. To the extent that Bruckner here conveys the feeling of an immense arch, he is giving us, in microcosm, the sense of this entire movement with its grand pull away from the opening E major into the regions of B minor and B major, and its sovereign reconquest of the original tonality.

The Adagio was ready in sketch on January 22, 1883, and in score 3 months later, on April 21. The Scherzo was sketched by July 14, 1882, and finished on October 16 that year. The Finale, and with it the entire Symphony, was completed on September 5, 1883. Bruckner's pupils Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann had already played the 1st and 3rd movements on 2 pianos, in Vienna, in February 1883. Schalk and another Bruckner pupil, Ferdinand Löwe, gave the whole Symphony in that form in Vienna, 1 year later. Bruckner undertook a few revisions after the formal premiere, which Arthur Nikisch conducted with the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra of Leipzig, on December 30, 1884. The dedication, which Bruckner decided upon after the 1st performance of the work in Munich, is « to H. M. , King Ludwig II of Bavaria, in deepest reverence » .

Until the solemn Adagio begins, we don't even notice that Bruckner has, so far, stayed away from one of the most

obvious harmonies to which a movement in E major might aspire, that of the relative minor, C-sharp. With that harmony that is both so close and so new, he introduces a new sound, that of a quartet of Wagner tubas, instruments designed for « Der Ring des Nibelungen » and intended to combine the mellowness of horns with something of the weight of tuba tone. There is, however, a deeper association with Richard Wagner for, in January 1883, Bruckner wrote to the conductor Felix Mottl :

« One day, I came home and felt very sad. The thought had crossed my mind that, before long, the Master would die, and, then, the C-sharp minor theme of the Adagio came to me. »

Wagner did, in fact, die in Venice, on February 13, and the quiet closing music that begins with the quartet of tubas and contrabass tuba became Bruckner's memorial to the man he worshipped above all living musicians. What would one not give to have been present when, at one of his improvisations at Saint-Florian's, Bruckner wove together his own Adagio with the music for « Siegfried » 's funeral ?

Following the example of Beethoven's 9th, Bruckner builds the movement on 2 contrasting ideas (the initial solemn one in minor, in 4/4 time, and a more pastoral, Schubertian one in major and in triple meter) of which the 2nd is abandoned after 2 statements, both scored with striking richness and loveliness. What the strings play immediately after the movement begins, a firm sequence of rising steps, is an allusion to music in Bruckner's own « Te Deum » , his last choral work on a large scale, in progress at the same time as the Symphony, and completed in March 1884. The words, at that point in the « Te Deum » , are « non confundar in æternum » (let me not be confounded for ever) , and Bruckner uses the momentum of those upward steps to build a great climax in the 1st variation. Later, he achieves another, one as stupendous as we can find in any Symphony, and reached in a place (C major) that is almost unimaginably far from the harmonic origins of the movement. From that summit, the music descends into the grief-stricken, then profoundly peaceful, threnody for Wagner.

In most performances, the thrilling arrival at the great C major climax in the Adagio is marked by a clash of cymbals with a roll of drums and triangle. This has been controversial almost from the beginning. It is clear that the cymbals and triangle were an afterthought of Bruckner's, for their entry appears on an insert to the autograph score. To this insert, Bruckner added 6 question marks ! These have been crossed-out and the words « gilt nicht » (not valid) added above the measure in question ; not all scholars, however, are convinced that this notation is in Bruckner's hand.

From a letter written by Josef Schalk to his brother Franz, we know that the cymbal clash in the Adagio of the 7th was their idea and that the 29 year old Arthur Nikisch, who conducted the premiere, talked Bruckner into accepting it : « which delights us wildly » . The structurally similar climax of the Adagio of Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 has 2 cymbal clashes of undisputed authenticity ; citing this parallel case, some measure of doubt about who added the « gilt nicht » , and the undeniable effectiveness of this spectacular punctuation, most conductors use the cymbals and triangle in the 7th.

The 3rd movement is a Scherzo dominated by the restless ostinato of strings and the cheerily trumpeting cock-crow with which it begins. As is Bruckner's custom, the Trio is slightly slower, lightly scored, and pastoral in character.

One of the features that define its pastoral nature is the prevalence of bagpipe-like, long-held notes in the bass, much as one might find them in musette movements in Baroque music.

The Finale, to quote Robert Simpson again, « blends solemnity and humor in festive “ grandeur ” ». It presents highly-diversified ideas that run the gamut from the capricious and even the magnificently grotesque to the sublimely simple. Here, to hang on to any semblance of order, it is necessary to ignore the many tempo modifications that almost certainly go back to Nikisch rather than to Bruckner, which unfortunately are still to be found in the widely used score edited by Leopold Nowak for the International Bruckner Society, and whose observance produces a distressingly spastic effect. At the end, all is gathered into a blaze of E major as intimations of the Symphony's beginning return and the heavens open.

...

For Bruckner, the years leading-up to the composition of the 7th Symphony (1881-1883) were a hard lesson in patience, to say nothing of the strain they put on his mental health and religious faith. Writing about the almost exactly contemporary « Te Deum » (1881-1884), Bruckner explained to the conductor Hermann Levi that he had dedicated it « to God for having brought me through so much anguish in Vienna ».

...

In 1881, the year Bruckner began the 7th Symphony, the belated premiere of the 4th (originally composed in 1874 but much revised) under conductor Hans Richter actually drew praise from some quarters of the Viennese press. This was by no means universal, but Bruckner was overjoyed to be understood at all. Apparently, it was at a rehearsal for that performance that (with typically gauche enthusiasm) Bruckner pressed a silver Thaler into Richter's hand and told him to « drink my health in a glass of beer ». Soon afterwards, Bruckner began work on the « Te Deum ».

A few months later, on 23 September 1881, Anton Bruckner set-down his 1st ideas for the 7th Symphony. Apparently, the Symphony's wonderful opening melody came to Bruckner in a dream : the conductor Ignaz Dorn, a friend from Bruckner's younger days, appeared to him and played the theme on a viola, with the words : « This will bring you success. ». As it turned-out, the 1st performance of the 7th Symphony (significantly, not in conservative Vienna, but in the much more progressive city of Leipzig) was one of the greatest successes of Bruckner's life.

One critic wrote : « How is it possible that he could remain so long unknown to us ? ».

It isn't hard to believe that the 7th Symphony's long arching 1st theme (cellos and violas, with horn at 1st) could have come straight from the unconscious mind ; a gift of nature. One of Bruckner's pupils and closest friends, Friedrich Eckstein, visited the composer regularly at this time, and he was often able to inspect the sketches for whichever work was then in progress. Eckstein was struck by how unusually the 7th's opening theme came into being. His remarks about Bruckner's normal working habits (and how the opening of the 7th differed from these) is worth quoting at length :

« Almost every time I visited Bruckner at his apartment in the “ Hessegasse ”, I found him sitting at his old fashioned, bulky “ Bösendorfer ” grand piano, deep in the sketch of one of his Symphonies, laboriously, with shaking hands, coaxing-out the harmonies. These musical outlines were in themselves quite remarkable. As a rule only, the violin or the top woodwind line was filled in, and in the bottom, the bass ; in between was a yawning gap, and it wasn't until much later that the remaining orchestral voices were added. The harmonic dimension and the arrangement of the orchestral voices were already clearly established in the Master's inner ear, and here and there, underneath the bass line, would stand a note, usually in the form of a capital letter, to indicate the harmonic “ fundamental tone ” of the passage in question. »

« But what a wealth of unimagined beauty was revealed when I saw the very 1st bars of one newly begun work, the wonderful 7th Symphony : where the string tremolos launch a deeply moving harmonic sequence that arches through a splendid chain of suspensions, bathing the main-theme, on horn and cellos, in shafts of radiant sunlight ! »

The vision intensifies as the melody is repeated by full Orchestra, then it fades poignantly. A melancholy, far more plainly scored 2nd theme (on oboe and clarinet) aspires to recover lost glory, and eventually it sounds as though it might succeed : there is a long crescendo over a repeated bass note, with brass fanfares rising in mounting excitement. But this is suddenly cut-off, and a more animated 3rd theme follows : an earthy dance tune (strings in unison, with woodwind and brass support) . This too reaches a fanfare like climax, yet once again, it is cut short before everything is fully resolved. Some find this typically Brucknerian strategy frustrating. After conducting the 7th Symphony, Sir Thomas Beecham grumbled :

« In the 1st movement alone, I took note of 6 pregnancies and at least 4 miscarriages. »

But patience brings rewards ; just as it did for Bruckner himself. When the great final resolution does come it is all the more telling for being so long (and so expertly) delayed. It is not too fanciful to compare this process with the workings of Providence as described by John Milton at the conclusion of his Samson Agonistes :

All is best, though we oft doubt,
What th'unsearchable dispose
Of Highest Wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close.

For most of the 1st movement, Bruckner allows us only fleeting memories of his original vision ; but then, near the end, comes a sudden hush, and the timpani enter for the 1st time, holding a pedal E, pianissimo. Above this, a motif from the Symphony's opening melody aspires nobly, then turns with magnificent inevitability to the home key. Now, the Symphony's opening motif rises steadily through the Orchestra, a crescendo over a long held E major triad. Bruckner almost certainly had the elemental I chord crescendo the opens Wagner's « Das Rheingold » at the back of his mind, but quite apart from the orchestral sound, the effect here is quite different. After all, this is an ending, not a beginning.

It is said that Bruckner composed the Adagio in the knowledge that his idol Wagner hadn't long to live. There is an unmistakable note of mourning in the noble 1st theme, in which Bruckner uses (for the 1st time) a quartet of the so-called « Wagner tubas » (more like tenor and bass horns than the familiar bass tuba) : Wagner had had these instruments created to enhance the brass section in his « Ring » Cycle. Bruckner's idolization of Wagner was so intense that it seems to have embarrassed even Wagner himself. And yet, in contrast to the music of some of Wagner's other devotees, Bruckner rarely sounds like Wagner. Just before the Adagio's lovely 2nd theme (strings, 3/4) , horn and tubas introduce a quotation from « Tristan und Isolde » (the chromatic rising figure in bars 2 and 3 of the Opera's Prelude) , at its original pitch. But, unless this is pointed-out, the listener would be unlikely to notice it ; the effect is pure Bruckner.

Eventually, the Adagio's 1st theme builds steadily to one of Bruckner's grandest climaxes. Here, there is special emphasis on the stepwise rising motif that also appears in the final long crescendo of the « Te Deum » (to the words « non confundar in æternum » : « let me never be confounded ») . In most performances, the climax is crowned by a cymbal clash, with triangle and timpani. But when musicologist Robert Haas made his version of the score, in 1944, he removed these percussion parts, reproducing them instead in his preface to the score, pointing-out that someone has written the words « Gilt nicht » (not valid) in the top right-hand corner of the page ; Haas says that the handwriting is that of « the elderly Bruckner » , though this has been disputed. Haas' decision would appear to be strengthened by a letter from one of Bruckner's more controversial champions, Josef Schalk, to his brother Franz. The date of the letter is 10 January 1885 : i.e. , 11 days after the Symphony's Leipzig premiere :

« Ferdinand Löwe and I have recently gone through the score of the 7th with Bruckner, discussing 1 or 2 alterations and improvements. You probably don't know that Arthur Nikisch has got him to agree to our cymbal clash in the Adagio (C major 6-4 chord) , along with the triangle and the timpani ; to our unbounded delight. »

« Our cymbal clash » ; surely, that clinches the matter ! Yet, the fact is that we shall almost certainly never know how many « alterations and improvements » Bruckner made at the promptings of enthusiasts like Nikisch, Löwe and the Schalk brothers. Contrary to popular belief, Bruckner was quite capable of putting-up resistance when he really didn't like an idea. And although he could be relatively puritan about instrumentation when it came to Symphonies (harps were included in the 8th only after a 1 month long struggle, according to his pupil Friedrich Eckstein) , if he had doubts about the suitability of cymbals and triangle, why did he include them again in the Adagio of Symphony No 8 ? From a musicological point-of-view, the issue is hard to resolve.

Like many of Bruckner's earlier Scherzos, the Scherzo of the 7th Symphony reveals its rustic Upper-Austrian roots at almost every turn. In his younger days, Bruckner had boosted his meagre teacher's salary by playing in village dance bands. However, there is an obsessive, elemental drive here, which is to become still more pronounced in the Scherzos of the next 2 Symphonies. The Trio is much gentler, more songful, featuring Bruckner's signature 1-2, 1-2-3 rhythm.

Then, comes the Finale : unusually for Bruckner, this is the lightest of the 4 movements. As in the 1st movement, there are 3 contrasted main-themes : a dancing, dotted rhythm theme (violins) ; a not too solemn chorale on violins and

violins above a « walking » pizzicato bass ; and a jagged version of the 1st theme for full Orchestra. Excitement builds towards the Coda ; then, at the last minute, Bruckner reveals what many listeners will have guessed already, at least intuitively : that the Finale's dancing 1st theme is simply another version of the Symphony's opening motif. Thus, Bruckner's 7th Symphony closes with a splendid confirmation of the 1st movement's opening vision ; or, as T. S. Eliot put it in his « 4 Quartets » : « In my beginning is my end. » .

...

Bruckner began work on his 7th Symphony on September 23, 1881, and completed the score a bit less than 2 years later, on the day after his 59th birthday. The 1st performance was given by the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Orchestra under Arthur Nikisch, on December 30, 1884.

The score, dedicated to King Ludwig II of Bavaria, calls for pairs of flutes, oboes, clarinets and bassoons, with 4 horns, 4 Wagner tubas, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, timpani, triangle, cymbals and strings. Approximate duration, 68 minutes.

Bruckner was at his most energetic and most confident when he composed this Symphony, less than 3 months after completing his 6th. Although he worked on his Mass in E minor and outlined the « Te Deum » , during the same period, he was able to maintain a clear and steady course in bringing the 7th to completion. 6 months after he completed the score, his disciples Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk played a piano duet reduction for Arthur Nikisch in Leipzig, and the legendary conductor (then only 28 years old, but already well established) decided, then and there, to give the Symphony's premiere in that city. His 1st thought was to present the work on June 27, 1884, in a concert to raise funds for the erection of a monument to Richard Wagner (who was born in Leipzig) . For one reason or another, the premiere was delayed for 6 months, and it was a rather mixed success in that bastion of conservatism, despite Nikisch's enthusiastic commitment. 10 weeks later, however, Hermann Levi conducted the 7th in Munich, and that occasion was an undisputed triumph, bringing Bruckner approval and acceptance on a scale he had not known before ; it was immediately following that happy event that he dedicated the score to King Ludwig, who had been Wagner's patron, and he, thereafter, referred to Hermann Levi as « my artistic father » (though the conductor was his junior by 15 years) . Within 3 years, the 7th Symphony had been received warmly in Vienna, Chicago, New York, London, Amsterdam and Berlin. In the 1920's, the 7th became the 1st of Bruckner's Symphonies to be recorded ; it was recorded 3 times (one with Jascha Horenstein and the Berlin Philharmonic) , in fact, before any of his others was recorded in full. It continues to be the most favored of Bruckner's works, both in recordings and in concert performances.

Even more significantly, perhaps, the 7th achieved this level of success on Bruckner's own terms from the outset. Bruckner never revised it, as he did his others, but produced a single version and stood by it. Together with the aforementioned Schalk and Löwe, he did make changes in tempo markings and orchestration in a few passages before the premiere, but these were for the most part minimal and did not affect the character or proportions of the work. After the premiere, at Arthur Nikisch's suggestion, there was some more polishing, but nothing beyond the norm in making adjustments to a big score between its 1st actual performance and its publication.

The 7th remains the one Bruckner Symphony that has undergone the fewest changes from one edition to the next, either on the composer's part or by his various editors. His own autograph score, with the emendations just noted, was used as the basis for the 1st publication in 1885, and the differences between that version and the 2 « Original Editions » published by the International Bruckner Society are again minimal, having to do mainly with octave doublings, expression marks and other such details. In essence, musicologist Robert Haas, in the 1944 edition, preserved the score as Bruckner 1st set it down, while Leopold Nowak, 10 years later, incorporated the alterations made at Nikisch's request. Conductor Stanisław Skrowaczewski, one of the most respected Brucknerians of our time, conducts a version based mainly on the Haas edition, but with a few passages from the Nowak and some touches of his own.

The single point of major significance that has been less than fully clear since the Bruckner Society undertook its critical editions has been the question of the cymbal clash at the climax of the Adagio ; actually, a cymbal clash with a triangle roll. This touch was not in Bruckner's original score ; it was apparently a suggestion from Löwe and Schalk, not only accepted by Nikisch but, according to Löwe, « insisted upon » by the conductor, who as late as 2 weeks before the delayed premiere more or less demanded that several sections be re-orchestrated. Such a demand, too, is hardly an unusual occurrence in the process of bringing so big a work to the public, especially when so powerful a conductor as Nikisch is involved.

Robert Haas cited the cymbal clash as inauthentic because the words « Gilt nicht » (« Doesn't count » or « May be ignored ») were added to the notation for inserting these percussion instruments on the strip of paper fastened to the affected page of the score. But those words are not in Bruckner's hand-writing, and, surely, if he had intended to delete the cymbals and triangle, he would simply have removed the addendum on which he had inserted them, rather than leave it in place with a note that it should be disregarded ! He did unequivocally include just such a treatment at the corresponding point in the Adagio of his next Symphony, the last one he brought to completion (and it is of interest in this respect that the 8th also contains an outright quotation from the 7th in its Finale) , but this pesky question remains the most conspicuous textual decision to be made by a conductor performing the 7th Symphony.

Bruckner's 9 numbered Symphonies (there are 2 earlier ones without numbers) divide neatly into groups of 3 to mark-off significant stages or levels in his progress as a Symphonist. The 7th, which initiated the glorious final trilogy, was not only presented on Bruckner's own terms, but was also the 1st one he completed without some level of concern for approval from his idol, Richard Wagner. Wagner died while Bruckner was composing this work, and its exalted slow movement is at least in part an elegy for him.

The 1st meeting between Anton Bruckner and Richard Wagner took place in Munich, in June 1865, at the time of the premiere of « Tristan und Isolde » . On that occasion, Bruckner was too timid to show Wagner the 3 movements, he had completed of his Symphony No. 1, but, in 1873, « the Master » allowed Bruckner to visit him at Bayreuth with the scores of his 2nd and 3rd Symphonies, and accepted the dedication of the latter, which was originally filled with quotations from Wagner's Operas. 2 years later, Wagner embraced Bruckner publicly in Vienna. Their last meeting was at Bayreuth, in July 1882, when Bruckner attended the premiere of « Parsifal » (conducted by the same Hermann Levi who was destined to realize the full grandeur of the Symphony Bruckner had begun some 10 months earlier) . Wagner

declared then that among Symphonists he knew « of only one composer who measures-up to Beethoven, and that is Bruckner » . (As both Wagner and Bruckner were well aware, Johannes Brahms had, by then, introduced 2 of his 4 Symphonies.) He went on to promise Bruckner that he would personally perform all of his Symphonies ; but Bruckner sensed that « the Master » would not be able to keep that promise, and this premonition dwelt in him as he worked on the 1st movement and Scherzo of his 7th.

The Scherzo was to be in its usual position as 3rd movement (it was only in his 2 final Symphonies that Bruckner reversed the traditional order of the inner movements) but it was actually the 1st of the 4 movements to be completed. After finishing the 1st movement, Bruckner began work on the Adagio, and had it fully sketched by January 22, 1883. When he began to turn the sketch into the actual score, he felt a strong presentiment of Wagner's death, which occurred on February 13 ; when the news reached him he extended the original design of the Adagio, ending the movement with a noble elegy which he labeled, so as to leave no doubt about his intentions, « In memory of the immortal and dearly beloved Master who has departed this life » . The Adagio was brought to completion on April 21, leaving the rest of the spring and the entire summer for the composition and orchestration of the Finale.

The composer's identity is established unmistakably in the soaring phrase that opens the 1st movement (Allegro moderato) , which is laid-out according to Bruckner's own comfortable modification of Sonata form. The 1st subject is related to a motif in the Mass in D minor which he composed in 1864, while the 2nd is pervasively Wagnerian in character. The course of the music is more serene than proclamative, but by no means deficient in characteristic Brucknerian drama. Brass chorales are heard at transitional points, and the final pages blaze with pealing brass and sweeping strings.

In the Adagio, Bruckner met the self-imposed challenge of creating an elegy worthy of Wagner by producing one of the most eloquent utterances in his entire catalogue of works. It is was this movement that he used the quartet of Wagner tubas for the 1st time, and it is in this great Adagio that he set the seal on the 7th as the 1st in the magnificent final trilogy of Symphonies in which the rustic character of his earlier works is almost entirely replaced by a consciously loftier concept. The music is marked « Sehr feierlich und sehr langsam » (Very solemn and very slow) , the term « solemn » , as so often in musical parlance, carrying a connotation of a solemnizing ritual or ceremony. The opening (Wagner tubas and lower-strings) is somewhat reminiscent of the episode « Siegfried's Death » in « Götterdämmerung » ; by way of contrast, it is followed at length by an almost waltz-like section (violins) which, from our vantage of hindsight, might be said to hint at what Gustav Mahler was to do with similar material in his Symphonies. The general structure of this vast movement, however, suggests neither Wagner nor Mahler so much as the sublime Adagio of Beethoven's 9th Symphony.

Since Bruckner's Adagio is in the nature of a dirge, though, it is a good deal more impassioned (as well as more extended) , rising in intensity through restatements of the simple opening theme until the peak is reached. The effect of this climax, achieved with the simplest of means, is a great release of tension, leaving the tonal landscape hushed as back-drop for the final benediction, in which fragments from Wagner's « Ring » may be discerned. At the end is a trombone chorale whose theme Bruckner was to use again in the concluding « Non confundar » of his « Te Deum » , the 1st major work he completed after this Symphony (also in 1884) .

The lusty « cock's crow » Scherzo brings us back to earth with its brilliant trumpet tune against an insistent 4 note figure in the strings. The Trio, though, is not the bucolic idyll Bruckner had given us in his earlier Scherzos, but, in the words of Hans Ferdinand Redlich (who prepared his own edition of the 7th Symphony, seeking a middle ground between Leopold Nowak and Robert Haas) , « music of a nostalgia for the lost golden age » , music that « gazes longingly beyond the confines of this pastoral world » .

The Finale is a concise (for Bruckner) « résumé » of what has gone before. Its opening theme is derived from that of the 1st movement, and what proceeds is in the nature of a review of the work's emotional sequence. The exultant, affirmative conclusion represents both fulfilment in itself and a promise to be kept again in Bruckner's 2 remaining Symphonies.

...

« They want me to write in a different way. I could, but I must not. Out of thousands, God gave talent to me ... One day I shall have to give an account of myself. How could the Father in Heaven judge me if I follow others and not him ? » (Anton Bruckner, as quoted by August Göllerich.)

Anton Bruckner was a mass of contradictions. Perhaps this, above all other reasons, explains why appreciation of his music was slow to come, and Bruckner was made to join the abundant ranks of history's misunderstood composers. Possessed of a striking imagination, he wrote one of the 19th Century's most important sets of Symphonies - the 1st important Symphonic achievement after Beethoven, it has been claimed. He was a diligent and careful musician, who studied the craft of composition all his life, not ready to produce his Symphony No. 1 until the age of 42. By that time, he had amassed a formidable store of knowledge and, in having already composed orchestral Masses, the experience of using it. Yet, Bruckner's personality was strangely matched with his sophisticated musicianship. Though he had relocated to the cosmopolitan culture of Vienna by the time he wrote most of the Symphonies, Bruckner retained all his provincial mannerisms - the Upper-Austrian dialect, the rural dress habits, the ingenuous attitudes towards religion and authority. His inelegant « bumpkin » ways (the source of so many endearing anecdotes) coloured the way his music was received, and consequently the newness of Symphonic form, bold chromaticity of harmonic language and profundity of expression were misunderstood as clumsy idiosyncrasies of an unoriginal and unaware mind. The dichotomy between man and artist was too contrasting and, ultimately, irreconcilable for so many listeners and critics of his day.

But now that the music can be received without the accompaniment of entertaining but finally malevolent tales about the man, Bruckner's music stands a chance of assessment within its historical and musical context - but a context that must not, as it turns-out, ignore the character of the man. This essay takes Bruckner's Symphony No. 7 as the point of departure for discussing the impulses behind the music - the twin influences of Beethoven and Wagner, the obsessive-compulsive disorder, the persistent self-doubt and the constant search for external approval. Symphony No. 7 is special within Bruckner's output, for it was the work to bring him his long-sought public acclaim, occurring only in 1884 when he was 60. Many conductors have since given this work a special place in their careers ; Herbert von

Karajan made no fewer than 3 recordings of Bruckner's Symphony No. 7, the 3rd being in fact his final recording.

« Perhaps, it was a vision of how Beethoven's 9th befriends Wagner's " Valkyries " and finishes-up trampled under their hooves. » (Eduard Hanslick, reviewing the premiere of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony in 1877.)

Symphony No. 7 contains Bruckner's great tribute to Richard Wagner, a man Bruckner always called « Master » ; the monumental Adagio is a memorial to the older composer, news of whose death, on 13 February 1883, reached Bruckner as he was at work on this composition. It was 20 years to the day since Bruckner's 1st contact with an Opera by Wagner. Wagner's significance to Bruckner has been both overstated by his detractors and understated by his champions. The former dismiss his music as mindless imitation - « ersatz » Wagnerian music-drama with the words removed ; the latter take pains to point-out the bits of « Wagnerian » instrumentation and harmony that predate his acquaintance with Wagner's music, arguing that Bruckner's music would have evolved in the same direction nonetheless. Given all this, it is crucial to verify what Wagnerian, and indeed other, influences actually exist in his music. Bruckner 1st heard a complete work of Wagner's on 13 February 1863. This was « Tannhäuser » , in a performance at Linz where Bruckner was then living and working as a cathedral organist. The discovery of Wagner was a cataclysmic event. Bruckner later said he felt like a watchdog that had snapped-off its chain, now free to explore new territory. His next major composition was the 1864 Mass in D Minor, a sudden and brilliant emergence of the characteristic mature composer. While still modelled on the Symphonic Masses of Haydn and Beethoven (the « Missa solemnis » comes to mind) , this Mass deploys enharmonic key relationships and an advanced chromaticism new to Bruckner. The sudden appearance of a virtually fully-formed composer, but at the age of 40, is curious - how can he have grasped and disciplined for his own purposes the Wagnerian language so quickly ?

The biographer Robert Simpson has put forward an interesting theory : Bruckner was, after all, an organist famous for his improvisations. It has to be remarked that Bruckner left no compositions of note for his own instrument, despite an obvious mastery of extemporisation that gained him his position as cathedral organist at Linz. It is possible that Bruckner had evolved a daring style in his improvisations, but did not risk notating it. When asked to comment on the bold newness of the Mass, he simply said, « I didn't dare before. » . Perhaps, what was new in the Mass was not so much the language itself, but the courage to express it.

Nevertheless, Bruckner's adulation of Wagner was real. His relationship with Wagner himself (more Master - Disciple than friendship) began when he attended the premiere of « Tristan und Isolde » in Munich, in May 1865. There, he made Wagner's acquaintance, and, in fact, had the opportunity to spend a greater amount of time with him because the « Tristan » premiere was postponed for 2 weeks owing to the ill health of Malvina Schnorr, the 1st Isolde. But Bruckner was too timid to show Wagner any of his compositions, and it wasn't until he had completed the 2nd Symphony and nearly finished the 3rd that he journeyed to Bayreuth, in September 1873, with the intention of dedicating one of them to Wagner. Wagner accepted the incomplete 3rd ; not coincidentally, therefore, the completed Symphony contains direct quotations from « Tristan und Isolde » and « Die Walküre » - quotations that were simply fodder for the Viennese Classicist critic Eduard Hanslick, champion of Johannes Brahms and hater of Richard Wagner, who wrote the vituperative review quoted above. Bruckner was to excise the Wagner quotations in one of his several revisions of this embattled Symphony, but, immediately following that Bayreuth trip of 1873, Bruckner joined the

« Akademischer Richard Wagner-Verein » and declared his support for the « Master » .

The hero-worship notwithstanding, Bruckner was already a developed composer and, therefore, knew to process and assimilate the raw substance of Wagner's music in making his own. Hence, in the final analysis, it is not easy to define exactly « the Wagnerian influence » present. Bruckner took from Wagner his harmonic language but virtually none of the philosophy. The notion of « Gesamtkunstwerk » (the total artwork, integrating words, music and spectacle) is nowhere to be found. Bruckner wrote not a single Opera or music-drama, and, in fact, stories abound about Bruckner being oblivious to the words in Wagner's Operas - his score of « Tristan » being a copy without the text, or his bewilderment at the end of « Die Walküre » , wondering why Brunhilde was being burned. But Bruckner found useful Wagner's tonal idiom and melodic contours as well as the large-scale Orchestra - although, even here, it is essential to point-out what Bruckner did not adopt. Instruments like the « cor anglais » , piccolo, bass clarinet and double bassoon, so essential to the subtle shading of Wagner's music, show-up in none of Bruckner's Symphonies. Even some conventional instruments like the harp, cymbals and timpani show-up sparingly (the harp once only, in the Scherzo of the 8th Symphony, and percussion in just the slow movements of the 8th and, with questionable authenticity, the 7th) . The notable exception is Bruckner's use of the « Wagner tuba » from the 7th Symphony onwards, that instrumental being one designed by Wagner and used in the « Ring » cycle after encountering the new horns designed by Adolph Sax.

Whether he knew it or not, Eduard Hanslick's mention of Beethoven's 9th Symphony is quite significant. If from Wagner came the immense scale and advanced harmony, then from Beethoven's 9th Bruckner took over what Deryck Cooke calls the « metaphysical challenge » . The 9th Symphony of Beethoven was transcendental - in form, style and content, it was a Symphony that attempted things tried by no Symphony before, and, consequently, threw down a challenge to all who would compose Symphonies. Subsequent composers like Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms and Antonín Dvořák shied away from the challenge, while a few, like Hector Berlioz, posed one of another kind. Wagner and Bruckner were the 1st to respond resolutely to this metaphysical challenge, and Bruckner the one to do so in its original Symphonic genre. Wagner seized on Beethoven's use of the verbal in a Symphony, declaring it the irrevocable final step of music towards the union of artistic media :

« The last Symphony of Beethoven is the redemption of Music from out of her own peculiar element into the realm of universal art. It is the human evangel of the art of the future. Beyond it, no forward step is possible ; for upon it, the perfect artwork of the future alone can follow, the universal drama to which Beethoven has forged us the key. » .

Anton Bruckner, whose discovery of Beethoven's 9th, in 1866, post-dated his acquaintance with Wagner's music, achieved the same but within the genre of the Symphony itself. His vast, unorthodox forms (so often dismissed as shapeless, awkward and repetitive) are no less than the engenderment of this same « universal drama » by the very transcendence of received form. Bruckner's conception of Symphonic structure is wholly related to another legacy of his rural upbringing, his Austrian Catholic peasant faith. It is not the organic and humanistic evolution of the basic music towards some goal or higher state, that is at the heart of conventional Sonata form. The fact that it lacks, on the whole, thematic development, motivic manipulation and a sense of advancement is precisely the point. Bruckner's form is majestically static, the huge slabs of music fully formed from the beginning and the themes more unfurled than

developed. There is no conflict, no doubt. The components of Symphonic form for Bruckner are simply there as statements, not questions - the icons of a resolute man, not the struggle and search of humanity wondering about the will of God. In Deryck Cooke's words :

« Experiencing Bruckner's Symphonies is more like walking round a cathedral, and taking in every aspect of it, than like setting-out on a journey to some hoped-for goal. » .

But to simply say that the Bruckner Symphony is a product of religious faith is an over-simplification. Some of the characteristics of his Symphonies should also be viewed in the context of his complex character, in particular his neurological condition. It appears that Bruckner was plagued by a kind of obsessive-compulsive disorder. The subject of his obsessions were many and varied. The most obvious was his numeromania, which caused him to ceaselessly count objects around him. He would count cathedral gables, statues in a park, and kept a diary of the number of dances he had with girls at parties. A friend of Bruckner's (Betty von Mayfeld) found she could never wear a certain dress around him because he would count the petals on the flowers of the print.

Musically, this numeromania manifested itself in his numbering of bars and phrase lengths in his manuscripts. Bruckner was also obsessed by the idea of marriage. His innumerable crushes on young girls were a recurring feature of his whole adult life, from the aborted affair with the 16 year old Antonie Werner, in 1850, to the chamber-maid, Ida Buhz, in 1895. More bizarre were his obsessions with corpses and far-off lands. He hastened to the mortuary after a the « Ringtheater » fire to view the charred bodies ; he requested official permission to view the body of Emperor Maximilian after the assassination, and was extremely eager to view the bodies of Beethoven and Schubert as they were being exhumed for re-internment. Bruckner was obsessed with Mexico and the North-Pole, places which he never visited, but to which, in moments of depression, he would express a desperate desire to flee.

...

« Bruckner is the greatest living peril, a type of tonal anti-Christ. The violent nature of the man is not written in his face, for his expression indicates at most the small soul of an everyday " Kapellmeister ". Yet, he composes nothing but high treason, revolution and murder. His work is absolutely devoid of art or reason ... His music has the fragrance of heavenly roses, but is poisoned with the sulphurs of hell. » (A Viennese critic, reviewing the 1885 premiere of the String Quartet.)

The premiere of the 7th Symphony, on 30 December 1884, unlocked doors in Bruckner's path. Significantly, the performance took place not in Vienna but in Leipzig where Bruckner, then 60 years old, received an ovation lasting a quarter-hour. A Leipzig critic wrote :

« His homely, honest countenance beamed with a warm inner happiness such as can appear only on the face of one who is too good-hearted to give way to bitterness even under the weight of crushing circumstances. »

And the conductor of the performance, Arthur Nikisch, said afterwards :

« Since Beethoven, there has been nothing that could even approach it. From this moment, I regard it as my duty to work for the recognition of Bruckner. »

Within a year, the Symphony was heard in Dresden, Frankfurt, Utrecht, New York and The Hague but not in Vienna (though the Vienna Philharmonic was enthusiastic about wanting to play it, Bruckner implored them not to, afraid that the Vienna press, including of course Eduard Hanslick, would set him back ; and Bruckner was right) . When it was eventually played in Vienna, it was 1 year later, in March 1886, under Hans Richter ; Hanslick called the work « unnatural, bombastic, sickly and decadent » while the critic and official Brahms biographer Max Kalbeck said :

« It comes from the “ Nibelungen ” and goes straight to the devil. »

On the other hand, Johann Strauß, Junior, who was the dominant popular composer at the time, was wholly complimentary. He sent Bruckner a heartfelt telegram saying simply :

« I am deeply moved. It was one of the strongest impressions of my life. »

Not long before, Bruckner had indirectly paid Strauß a curious compliment in criticising Brahms ; he claimed he preferred a Strauß waltz to a Brahms Symphony. It was to be expected : Brahms himself had called the Bruckner works « Symphonic boa-constrictors, a swindle that will be forgotten in a few years. » . Bruckner had begun the 7th Symphony, on 21 September 1881 (he had completed the 6th Symphony only on September 3) , and finished the work 2 years later, on 5 September 1883.

The major event in the period affecting the composition was the death of Wagner, on 13 February 1883. Apparently, Bruckner was at work on the 2nd movement, the Adagio, when he heard the news, and the closing pages of the movement are purposefully written as « funeral music for the Master » . According to a letter he wrote to the conductor Felix Mottl, Bruckner actually had a premonition of the event, « and at that moment the C-sharp minor theme of the Adagio (the very opening theme of the movement) came to me » . Not coincidentally, this C-sharp minor theme is played on a quartet of Wagner tubas, the very 1st time Bruckner employed this instrument. Perhaps also, not coincidentally, the long-breathed melody at the very beginning of the entire work contains a cadence that closely resembles the cadence of the « Walhalla » motif from Wagner's « Ring » cycle - the « Walhalla » motif being the 1st music given to a quartet of Wagner tubas in « Das Rheingold » . And when the Symphony was published, the dedicatee was King Ludwig II of Bavaria, Wagner's long-standing patron who made Bayreuth a reality. Clearly, the 7th Symphony functions as a tribute to Wagner on more than one level.

As a result of its immediate success, the 7th Symphony escaped the obsessive revisions to which the other Symphonies were subjected. Nevertheless, there is one moment in the Adagio which has caused consternation amongst Bruckner enthusiasts : whether the percussion instruments (cymbal, timpani and triangle) at the climax of the movement were intended by Bruckner or were, yet, another interpolation by his well-meaning associates.

Apparently, the idea was not Bruckner's, but came from Josef Schalk, an ardent pupil of Bruckner's who felt that the composer, so often fraught with self-doubt, needed the ideas of others. Nonetheless, Bruckner often sanctioned the ideas that originated with his associates. The autograph manuscript has both the percussion parts and the words « Gilt nicht » (not valid) on it, and it is disputed as to whose hand-writing any of it is - hence Bruckner's true thoughts on this are unknown. It is interesting, in the knowledge of this dispute, to note Hugo Wolf's fierce defence of Bruckner against the Hanslicks of Vienna. He said :

« One cymbal crash by Bruckner is worth the 4 Symphonies of Brahms with the Serenades thrown in. »

Probably the most obvious example in the Symphony of the reiterative Brucknerian motif occurs in the long crescendo passage leading-up to this climax with the cymbal crash. A cell consisting of ascending notes is obsessively repeated over and over, ingeniously saved from tedium by daring underlying harmony. Superimposed on this passage is a motif quoted directly from Bruckner's own « Te Deum », originally set to the words « Non confundar in æternum » (Let me never be confounded) - a final prayer for the departed Wagner, perhaps.

The 7th Symphony, otherwise, exhibits a general structure much like Bruckner's other Symphonies, one modelled on Beethoven's Choral Symphony. The enormous 1st movement, beginning imperceptibly over string tremolandi like the emergence of a world « ex nihilo », is a loose Sonata form with 3 theme groups. The 2nd movement is based on 2 theme groups in alternation, the 2nd theme in F-sharp major bearing a striking resemblance to the corresponding theme in the Adagio of Beethoven's 9th. The hurtling 3rd movement, the Symphony's briefest, is a Scherzo permeated by obsessive dotted rhythms, with a contrasting Trio section of a soaring, « lyric » character. The grand, rather festive finale is, once again, a loose Sonata structure but, this time, comprising 4 groups of material. The 1st is, in fact, a theme that is obviously related to the very opening themes of the Symphony and, in the closing passages of the Finale, both themes are united in a characteristically Brucknerian blazing climax.

Review of Bruckner 7th Symphony (The Montreal Gazette, October 10th, 1964)

Due to the actual musical director of the MSO, maestro Zubin Mehta, and, also prior to that, to maestros Josef Krips and Otto Klemperer, the music of Anton Bruckner seems to be in the process of making its way into the orchestral repertory in Montreal. It is likely to be a slow process because of its music requiring performance under, more or less, special conditions due to its weight and its length. We have so far had the 4th, the 7th, the 8th and the 9th Symphonies. This leaves 6 more to come. Actually, Bruckner composed 11 Symphonies in all. The 2 early ones being the F minor of 1863 and the D minor of 1864.

Imposing as this symphonic repertory may be, it forms only a part of the Bruckner totality. There is a large collection of choral works, none of which have been heard here. They include not only the 3 big Masses and the Te Deum but also a lengthy list of Motets and other Sacred pieces as well as Secular ones.

It is strange that Bruckner left so little organ music because he was one of the greatest organists of his time. The reason would seem : to be that his organ playing was mainly improvisational.

In the summer of 1960, I had the good fortune to visit the Klosterneuburg Abbey on the Danube, near Vienna. This, I was told, is where Anton Bruckner often came to improvise on the Abbey organ. "Communion with God in music", he called it. But the organ style is strongly imbedded in his symphonic music. An example is the beautiful Adagio movement in his 7th Symphony which we heard this week. Bruckner, like Johann Sebastian Bach, is a pedal man. In judging the style of any composer, however, it is the man behind the music who counts in the long run. And Bruckner was quite a man.

Anton Bruckner was born of peasant stock and he remained true to his heritage all his life. His character was essentially simple and childlike. He was intensely religious. While in Linz, he was studying with 2 composition teachers. One a Protestant, the other a Roman Catholic. Bruckner categorically refused to show his Church music to the Protestant.

The stories told about him are legion. There is one that has been fairly well vouched for. In 1875, he was appointed lecturer in harmony and counterpoint at the University of Vienna. A group of students decided to "haze" him. They asked if they could come to his apartment and make him a presentation. The "presentation" proved to be a notorious prostitute. Bruckner didn't say a word. He walked across the room and knelt at his prie-Dieu. Above the crucifix was a picture hidden by a small curtain. Rising, he pulled the curtain back and stood quietly facing the visitors. The picture was one of his mother laid out in her coffin.

Yet, there is not the slightest trace of stuffiness in his music. It is essentially the music of a man who loved the mountains and the forests. His God was a God of nature as well as of the Church. He developed relatively late. He was just 40 year old when he essayed symphonic writing for the 1st time.

He was also late in getting a sympathetic hearing. He was 60 year old before he became into his own with the success of the 7th Symphony in Leipzig and, 3 months later, in Munich.

Not until long after his death was his music really appreciated. For years, he was regarded as little more than a Wagnerian camp follower. In reality, his music has little or nothing in common with Richard Wagner's. It is as different as the 2 men were, themselves, different.

The Gramophone Choice

Symphony No. 7 (Robert Haas Edition) : Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Herbert von Karajan.

« DG Karajan Gold » : 439 037-2GHS - DDD (66 minutes) .

The Vienna Philharmonic features on Karajan's last recording, an idiomatic account of Bruckner's 7th Symphony, lighter and more Classical in feel than either of his 2 Berlin recordings, yet, loftier too. As for the original-image bit-processing, you need go no further than the 1st fluttered violin tremolando and the cellos' rapt entry in the 3rd bar

to realise how ravishingly « present » the performance is in this reprocessing. Or go to the end of the Symphony and hear how the great E major peroration is even more transparent than before, the octave drop of bass trombone and bass tuba 13 bars from home the kind of delightfully euphoric detail that in 1989 only the more assiduous score-reader would have been conscious of hearing. This remastered 7th is definitely « pure gold » .

...

Symphony No. 7 :Vienna Symphony Orchestra conducted by Otto Klemperer, in 1958.

« Testament » mono : SBT1459 - ADD (60 minutes) .

The high-point of this marvellous, previously unpublished 1958 version of Bruckner's 7th Symphony is the Adagio, specifically its emotional candour, its great elasticity and the warmth of the string-playing, even when tonally a little on the thin side. Everywhere you sense the hand of someone in the know, even when unexpected things happen (for example, the « crescendos - decrescendos » in the Scherzo, and the marked broadening of tempo that bends the Finale's opening theme (the chorale 2nd subject is also taken fairly slowly) .Yes, there are blemishes that « spit and polishers » might object to.

...

Symphony No. 7 (Robert Haas Edition) : Royal Scottish National Orchestra conducted by Georg Tintner.

« Naxos » : 8 554269 - DDD (66 minutes) .

In the absence of recommendable budget or super-budget recordings of Bruckner's 7th Symphony, this will do nicely. It's a finely schooled performance, chaste and discreet, with a notable reading of the Adagio. A notable bargain.

L'Orchestre du « Gewandhaus » de Leipzig

L'Orchestre du « Gewandhaus » de Leipzig est l'Orchestre symphonique principal de la ville de Leipzig, en résidence au « Gewandhaus » .

Sa genèse par la bourgeoisie marque une rupture avec les traditions d'orchestres nés des volontés princières ou ecclésiastiques : après la création d'institutions à l'effectif adapté aux compositions musicales de l'époque (la 1re en 1743, du vivant de Bach) , c'est en 1781 qu'une société de concert prend le nom d'Orchestre du « Gewandhaus » à l'occasion de la construction d'une salle de concert dans la « halle aux tissus » (« gewand-haus ») de Leipzig.

L'effectif s'agrandit selon les souhaits et les exigences des compositeurs romantiques et la grande notoriété des différents chefs permanents (qui succèdent aux « Konzertmeister ») parmi lesquels Felix Mendelssohn (qui aide à sortir Bach du purgatoire) vont l'amener au plus haut-niveau artistique.

Arthur Nikisch étend le répertoire aux compositeurs contemporains, Johannes Brahms, Richard Strauß, Antonín Dvořák, Piotr Ilitch Tchaïkovski, Anton Bruckner, Gustav Mahler, Max Reger ou Arnold Schönberg et Wilhelm Furtwängler parachèvera son œuvre.

Bruno Walter succède à Furtwängler, en 1929, mais la montée du Nazisme l'oblige à quitter son poste.

De grands musiciens se sont produits dans le 1er « Gewandhaus », Clara Schumann, Franz Liszt ou Hector Berlioz. Le bâtiment qui lui succède, le 2e « Gewandhaus », construit en 1884, est très sévèrement endommagé lors du bombardement de la ville, le 20 février 1944. Les ruines sont conservées jusqu'en 1968 dans l'espoir d'une reconstruction puis finalement rasées. Le 8 octobre 1981, pour le bicentenaire de l'Orchestre, un 3e « Gewandhaus » est inauguré, bâtiment d'architecture moderne dont la construction a duré 5 ans.

Outre les chefs permanents, la classe des chefs invités, Hans Pfitzner, Otto Klemperer, Carl Schuricht, Fritz Busch, Richard Strauß, Felix Weingartner, Thomas Beecham, démontre que l'Orchestre n'a cessé d'occuper un rang particulier parmi les grandes phalanges internationales. La période communiste lui a, en outre, permis de rester à l'écart de la tendance générale à la standardisation de la sonorité des grands Orchestres symphoniques mondiaux.

Les instrumentistes de l'Orchestre assurent également les concerts à l'Opéra de Leipzig et à l'Église Saint-Thomas où Jean-Sébastien Bach occupa de longues années le poste de « Kantor » .

Le « Gewandhaus » abrite aussi 3 formations de musique de chambre :

I Quatuor à cordes (« Gewandhaus-Quartett ») , fondé en 1809 (l'un des plus anciens en activité) .

I Quintette à vent (« Gewandhaus-Bläserquintett ») , fondé en 1896.

I Octuor (« Gewandhaus-Oktett ») , fondé en 1993.

En 2011, Riccardo Chailly et l'Orchestre ont entrepris d'enregistrer un cycle complet des 9 Symphonies de Beethoven sur étiquette « Decca » . La sortie des disques a été suivie d'une tournée, les 9 Symphonies étant réparties sur 5 concerts. Les représentations ont eu lieu à Leipzig, à la Salle Pleyel de Paris et au « Barbican Centre » de Londres.

« Konzertmeister »

1781-1785 : Johann Adam Hiller (Saint-Empire Romain) .

1785-1810 : Johann Gottfried Schicht (Saint-Empire Romain) .

1810-1827 : Johann Philipp Christoph Schulz (Confédération Germanique) .

1827-1835 : Christian August Pohlenz (Confédération Germanique) .

1843-1844 : Ferdinand Hiller (Confédération Germanique) .

1845-1847 : Felix Mendelssohn (Confédération Germanique) .

1848-1854 : Julius Rietz (Confédération Germanique) .

Chefs permanents

1835-1848 : Felix Mendelssohn (Confédération Germanique) .

1848-1852 : Julius Rietz (Confédération Germanique) .

1852-1853 : Niels Wilhelm Gade (Danemark) .

1852-1854 : Ferdinand Hiller (Confédération Germanique) .

1854-1860 : Julius Rietz (Confédération Germanique) .

1860-1895 : Carl Reinecke (Empire Germanique) .

1895-1922 : Arthur Nikisch (Autriche-Hongrie) .

1922 à 1928 : Wilhelm Furtwängler (République de Weimar) .

1929-1933 : Bruno Walter (République de Weimar) .

1934-1945 : Hermann Abendroth (Allemagne nazie) .

1945-1948 : Herbert Albert (Allemagne occupée) .

1949-1962 : Franz Konwitschny (Allemagne de l'Est) .

1964-1968 : Václav Neumann (Tchécoslovaquie) .

1970-1996 : Kurt Masur (Allemagne de l'Est) .

1996-2005 : Herbert Blomstedt (Suède) .

2005- : Riccardo Chailly (Italie) .

Quelques œuvres créées par l'Orchestre

1811 : Concerto pour piano n° 5 de Beethoven.

1839 : Symphonie n° 9 « la Grande » de Schubert.

1841 : Symphonie n° 1 de Schumann.

1841 : Symphonie n° 4 de Schumann.

1845 : Concerto pour violon n° 2 de Mendelssohn.

1846 : Concerto pour piano, Opus 54, de Schumann.

1er janvier 1879 : Création du Concerto pour violon de Brahms par Joseph Joachim sous la direction du compositeur.

1884 : Symphonie n° 7 de Bruckner.

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The Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Orchestra (« Gewandhausorchester Leipzig » ; sometimes simply referred as the « Gewandhausorchester ») is a German Symphony Orchestra based in Leipzig. The Orchestra is named after the concert-hall in which it is based, the « Gewandhaus » (Cloth Hall or Textile Hall) .

The Orchestra's origins can be traced to 1743, when a Society called the « Großes Concert » began performing in private homes. In 1744, the « Großes Concert » moved its concerts to the « 3 Swans » Tavern. Their concerts continued at this venue for 36 years, until 1781. In 1780, because of complaints about concert conditions and audience behavior in the tavern, the mayor and city council of Leipzig offered to renovate one story of the « Gewandhaus » (the building used by textile merchants) for the Orchestra's use. The motto « Res severa (est) verum gaudium » (A serious concern is true pleasure » , or « True pleasure is a serious business » written by the Roman author, Seneca) was painted in the hall, suggesting the priorities of the sponsors. The Orchestra gave its 1st concert in the « Gewandhaus » , in 1781. The Orchestra, thus, has a good claim to being the oldest continuing Orchestra in Germany founded by the bourgeoisie, while older Orchestras were part of Royal suites.

In 1835, Felix Mendelssohn became the Orchestra's music-director, with the traditional title of « Gewandhauskapellmeister » , and held the position with only 1 year's interruption, until his death in 1847. In 1885, the Orchestra moved into a new hall. It was destroyed by bombing, in 1944. The present « Gewandhaus » is the 3rd building with the name. It was opened in 1981. The large organ in the hall bears the original « Gewandhaus » hall's motto : « Res severa (est) verum gaudium » .

Aside from its concert duties, the Orchestra also performs frequently in the Leipzig « Thomaskirche » , as the official Opera Orchestra of the city.

Later, principal conductors included Arthur Nikisch, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Bruno Walter, and Václav Neumann. From 1970 to 1996, Kurt Masur was « Gewandhauskapellmeister » , and he and the Orchestra made a number of recordings for the « Philips » label. From 1998 to 2005, Herbert Blomstedt held the same position and they, in turn, made several

recordings for the « Decca » label. Masur and Blomstedt each currently hold the title of « conductor laureate » with the Orchestra.

In 2005, Riccardo Chailly took-over as both « Gewandhauskapellmeister » and music-director of the Leipzig Opera, with an initial contract through 2010. In 2008, Chailly's 1st contract extension occurred, through 2015. However, he concurrently resigned as « Generalmusikdirektor » of the « Oper » , reportedly after conflict over the hiring of personnel without his consultation. In June 2013, the « Gewandhausorchester » further extended Chailly's contract through 2020. They have released recordings on the « Decca » label of Felix Mendelssohn, Johannes Brahms, the Robert Schumann Symphonies in the re-orchestrations by Gustav Mahler, and the Beethoven Symphonies.

...

The earliest roots of the Orchestra can be traced back to the year 1479, in which the City Council 1st appointed 3 musicians (« Kunstpfeifer » : artistic pipers) as municipal employees. This small ensemble remained in civic service until 1840, by which time their number had increased to 7. The musicians played a central role in Leipzig's cultural life, performing at functions in the City Hall, providing the musical accompaniment for services in the city's churches and participating in theatre productions, as well as forming a part of the Orchestra of the « Großes Concert » .

This concert enterprise was founded in 1743 by a Society comprising both nobility and regular citizens alike - the 1st venture of its kind in Leipzig. The original « Große Musicalische Concerte » were held in the more spacious of homes of Leipzig society. The concerts' popularity soon, however, necessitated the hire of a hall in the hostelry - « Zu den drei Schwanen » . For over 30 years, this inn played host to those citizens of Leipzig who could afford the Society's substantial annual membership fee, from which the musicians were remunerated. The original Orchestra comprised 16 musicians, half of whom were professionals (the « Kunstpfeifer ») , half students of the city's University.

The year 1766 saw the opening of the « Komödienhaus » (Comedy Theatre) . This theatre employed no musicians and ensemble of its own, rather hosting itinerant theatrical and Operatic troupes, for which the « Leipziger Stadtmusiker » were engaged as Orchestra. As time passed and the demands of the theatrical productions increased, the Orchestra was to be ever more frequently bolstered by the musicians of the « Großes Concert » . So began the gradual symbiosis of Leipzig's concert and theatre Orchestras.

At this time, the « Gewandhaus » , the trading house of the city's textile merchants, had no use for a substantial part of the upper-floor of the building. On the initiative of the Mayor, this space was converted into a concert-hall. In November 1781, the 1st « Gewandhauskonzert » took place. The audience consisted of the members of the Society which had promoted the concerts in the inn ; the 32 man Orchestra comprised the musicians who had given the « Großes Concert » , the majority of whom were, by this time, also employed regularly by the theatre. The Orchestra of these « Gewandhaus » Concerts, therefore, soon came to be known as the « Gewandhaus and Theatre Orchestra » .

In 1786, the musicians of the « Gewandhaus- und Theaterorchester » signed a reciprocal agreement, in which the organisational, disciplinal and artistic affairs of the Orchestra were ordered, as well as the founding of a pension fund for the members. This constitution included, for instance, measures to ensure the « good reputation of the Orchestra »

, as well as the communal pledge « to stand, all for one and one for all » . This solidarity contract can be regarded as the genesis of the Orchestra as an independent body.

In 1789, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart travelled to Leipzig, in order to give a concert in the « Gewandhaus » . The hall was, by this time, well-established as the centre of Leipzig's concert life and would remain so for the subsequent 100 years.

Ludwig van Beethoven's 5th Piano Concerto received, in 1811, its 1st performance in the « Gewandhaus » and the 1st complete cycle of his Symphonies world-wide was to follow in the 1825-1826 season - during the composer's lifetime.

Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's celebrated tenure as « Gewandhauskapellmeister » (conductor and music-director of the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra) began in 1835. His « Scottish Symphony » and Violin Concerto in E minor were both premiered in the « Gewandhaus » . Mendelssohn conducted the 1st performances of the Symphonies of Robert Schumann and Franz Schubert's « Great » Symphony in C major.

In later years, both Richard Wagner's « Meistersinger » Prelude and Johannes Brahms' Violin Concerto were 1st presented to the world in the « Gewandhaus » , conducted in both cases by the composers themselves.

This period saw the development of the « Gewandhaus- und Theaterorchester » 's additional role as Orchestra of the city's churches. The musical provision for the services held in Leipzig's 2 principal churches, Saint-Thomas and Saint-Nicolai, was the responsibility of the « Thomaskantor » (Cantor of Saint-Thomas's) , who also embodied the position of Civic Music Director. The « Thomanerchor » (Saint-Thomas's Choir) sang in both churches, accompanied by the « Stadtmusiker » . Here too, however, were the musical demands to increase ; from 1789, the City Musicians were augmented by 7 members of the « Gewandhaus » and Theatre Orchestra. During the following years, members of the Orchestra became increasingly involved in the realisation of the churches' musical requirements until, in 1840, the « Gewandhaus- und Theaterorchester » was officially declared the « civic Orchestra » by the City Council. The performance of sacred music has, since this time, formed a staple part of the Orchestra's duties.

In 1868, a new Opera House was opened in Leipzig. This theatre was able to accommodate significantly more ambitious, more elaborate stagings than the erstwhile « Komödienhaus » (remodelled as « City Theatre » , in 1817) . At this time, the « Gewandhaus- und Theaterorchester » numbered 58 musicians, a strength which was not sufficient, 1stly, to satisfy the orchestral requirements of the larger-scale Operas now being staged and, 2ndly, to fulfil these increased duties adequately in addition to its Symphonic commitments in the « Gewandhaus » . The ensuing conflict between the theatre and the « Gewandhaus » managements was resolved by the City Council's decision to augment the Orchestra to a total of 72 players.

As time passed and the 19th Century ran its course, the concert-hall in the « Gewandhaus » became increasingly unable to cope with the demands placed upon it by the Orchestra's steadily burgeoning public. Following several measures over the years to increase the audience capacity, the management of the « Gewandhaus » eventually bowed to the necessity of erecting a new concert-hall. Following 2 and a half years construction, the « New Gewandhaus » was inaugurated in December 1884.

The « Neues Gewandhaus » witnessed the tenures of Arthur Nikisch, Wilhelm Furtwängler and Bruno Walter, among others, as « Gewandhauskapellmeister », as well as playing host to the likes of Johannes Brahms, Piotr Ilich Tchaïkovsky, Edvard Grieg and Richard Strauß conducting their own works. Anton Bruckner graced the « New Gewandhaus » with an organ recital. The new hall was also the scene of the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra's 1st audio and film recordings.

The « Gewandhausorchester » undertook its 1st foreign tour during, of all times, the First World War. Prior to this, the « Gewandhaus » directorate had been thoroughly opposed to such ventures, « due to the risk that our illustrious Orchestra, which has, heretofore, served only noble causes, could descend to depths, such as those occupied by a Philharmonic Orchestra in Berlin with its commercial undertakings. Should the Orchestra members begin to travel, they will very well take to the variety this affords and demand its recurrence. » On receiving an invitation from Switzerland, in 1916, however, the City Council and « Gewandhaus » approved the enterprise, « on the grounds that it represents an artistic cultural mission of great significance » . 2 further visits to Switzerland were to follow before the colossal undertaking of a 1st extensive tour of Europe, in 1931. The political developments of the ensuing years were, sadly, to prevent the Orchestra capitalising on its newly-established reputation beyond Germany's borders. The « Gewandhausorchester » would have to wait until 1951 to represent Leipzig abroad anew.

Both the « Neues Theater » and the « Neues Gewandhaus » had been destroyed by bombing during the War. Since the cessation of hostilities in Europe, in 1945, Opera performances and concerts had taken place in temporary, sometimes somewhat makeshift locations in Leipzig.

Following the opening of the city's new Opera House, in 1960, Leipzig would have to wait a further 2 decades for the construction of a new concert-hall for the « Gewandhausorchester » . The « New Gewandhaus » (named, as its predecessor, « Neues Gewandhaus ») opened its doors to the public in 1981 - the only dedicated concert-hall to be built in the former communist East Germany. Overwhelming credit for the realisation and success of the project must be given to the « Gewandhauskapellmeister » of the day, Kurt Masur.

Masur's successor, Herbert Blomstedt, led the Orchestra (now numbering 185 musicians) into the 21st Century, before handing the baton on to Riccardo Chailly.

Much has changed in Leipzig during the past decades - one thing, however, remains constant : the « Gewandhausorchester » performs in the « Gewandhaus », in the Leipzig Opera and, together with the « Thomanerchor », in Saint-Thomas's Church. The combination of Symphonic, Operatic and sacred repertoire continues to imbue the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra with an artistic profile of unparalleled diversity and richness.

...

Both Dresden and Leipzig, Saxony's leading cities, claim to have Europe's oldest permanent Orchestra, although Norway insists on Bergen's « Harmonien » being the oldest. While both German cities had municipal music as far back as the 16th Century, the « Dresdner Staatskapelle » (created in 1548 as a Court Orchestra) can claim an unbroken history. Dresden was principally an Operatic center, however, whereas Leipzig specialized in choral and instrumental music, the

latter led by Concert Masters. Only vocal music, secular or sacred, had « conductors » . Local partisans insist the « Collegium Musicum » , founded by Georg Philipp Telemann and extended by his successor, Johann Sebastian Bach, was father of the Orchestra that played its 1st concert, on March 11, 1743, in the « Gewandhaus » (a garment mart) although it didn't become the « Gewandhausorchester » officially until 1781. Notable Concert Masters included Bartolomeo Campagnoli and Karl Matthäi, who presided consecutively from 1797 to 1835, when Mendelssohn was named « Dirigent » .

He was the 1st conductor to use a baton, to lead both choral and concert music, and to double the size of the Orchestra (salaries, too) . His 1841 revival of the « Saint-Matthew Passion » was the corner-stone of a Bach renaissance. Mendelssohn also sponsored contemporary music - the world-premieres of 3 Symphonies by his friend Robert Schumann plus « Das Paradies und die Peri » ; Franz Schubert's long-lost 9th Symphony, his own « Scottish Symphony » and Violin Concerto. He invited Franz Liszt and Hector Berlioz as guest-conductors (despite his dislike of the latter's « Symphonie fantastique ») . Mendelssohn's premature death, however, in 1847, precipitated a crisis. Julius Rietz, newly-appointed by the Leipzig Opera, was deputized (with Niels Gade and Concert Master Ferdinand David to assist) , but continued at the Opera until double duty exhausted him in 1854. By then, Leipzig had commissioned a statue of Mendelssohn, unveiled in front of the « New Gewandhaus » he had inaugurated in 1840. The Nazis removed this, in 1936, but the concert-hall survived until Allied bombs destroyed it in 1943 and 1944.

In 1860, Carl Reinecke followed Rietz for 35 conservative years, although he was devoted to Johannes Brahms, and invited Richard Wagner, Piotr Ilitch Tchaïkovsky, Edvard Grieg, and Richard Strauß to guest-conduct their works. His successor, in 1895, was Artur Nikisch, one of the world's leading conductors (along with Gustav Mahler and Arturo Toscanini) , who also accepted leadership of the Berlin Philharmonic, in 1897. He continued to conduct both Orchestras until his death in 1922, when Wilhelm Furtwängler followed, likewise in Berlin as well as Leipzig (where Charles Munch was Concert Master, from 1926 to 1932) . However, after 7 years, he left the « Gewandhaus » to become a permanent guest-conductor in Vienna.

By then, the Orchestra numbered 100, double the size of Mendelssohn's, which welcomed Bruno Walter as their new conductor. However, he was a Jew, so the Nazis forced his resignation in 1933 and installed Hermann Abendroth, who became conductor in 1934 and continued until the War disrupted musical life.

Herbert Albert took-over for 3 post-War seasons (1946-1949) before Franz Konwitschny rebuilt the Orchestra, then playing in the great hall of the zoo that was later remodeled as a congress hall. He remained music-director until his death, in 1962 (while rehearsing in Belgrade) . Before Kurt Masur came in 1970, Leipzig had 2 more leaders : the Czech Václav Neumann (1964-1968) ; and Heinz Bongartz from Dresden.

During Masur's 27 year tenure, Leipzig built a 3rd « Gewandhaus » (with 2 concert chambers, the larger one seating 1,900) , which opened on October 4, 1981. Although Masur became music-director of the New York Philharmonic, in 1991, he stayed with Leipzig until 1997-1998, then handed the baton to Herbert Blomstedt. In 2005, Riccardo Chailly became the « Gewandhauskapellmeister » and music-director.

Das Gewandhausorchester : Von der Kapelle zur Weltmarke

Im Grunde genommen begann die Geschichte des Gewandhausorchesters bereits 1479. In diesem Jahr nahm der Leipziger Magistrat drei sogenannte Kunstpfeifer in städtische Dienste. Bis 1840 spielten diese Stadtmusiker (ihre Zahl wuchs im Laufe der Zeit auf sieben) für das Leipziger Musikleben eine wesentliche Rolle : Sie gestalteten Feste im Rathaus ebenso wie Gottesdienste in den städtischen Kirchen musikalisch aus, wirkten bei Theaterunternehmungen mit und waren auch im Orchester des « Großen Concerts » zu finden.

Die Kapelle des Großen Concerts : Ein halbes Studentenorchester

Diese Konzertunternehmung, 1743 gegründet, wurde von einer aus Adligen und Bürgern bestehenden Gesellschaft getragen. Sie war die erste ihrer Art in Leipzig. Die von ihr veranstalteten « Großen Musicalischen Concerte » fanden zuerst in Bürgerhäusern statt. Aufgrund des großen Zuspruchs wurde bald schon ein Saal im Gasthaus « Zu den drei Schwanen » gemietet. Hier trafen sich über 30 Jahre lang diejenigen Leipziger Bürger, die den hohen Jahresbeitrag zahlen konnten. Von dem Geld wurden die Musiker honoriert. Am Anfang waren es 16, die das Konzertorchester bildeten. Ihm gehörten zur einen Hälfte Berufsmusiker, unter ihnen die Stadtmusiker, und zur anderen Hälfte Studenten der Leipziger Universität an.

Nicht weit von den « Drei Schwanen » entfernt wurde 1766 ein Komödienhaus eröffnet. Allerdings hatte es kein eigenes Ensemble. Es wurde von reisenden Theater- und Operntruppen bespielt, die für die orchestralen Aufgaben die Leipziger Stadtmusiker verpflichteten. Deren kleines Ensemble bekam im Laufe der Jahre jedoch Probleme, den wachsenden musikalischen Anforderungen gerecht zu werden. Deshalb wurden immer öfter Musiker des « Großen Concerts » gebeten, das Theaterorchester zu verstärken. So vermischten sich nach und nach das Konzert- und das Theaterorchester.

Das Orchester wird namhaft : Pate steht das Haus der Tuchmacher

Im Gewandhaus, der Gewerbehalle der Tuchmacher, gab es zu dieser Zeit einen großen, ungenutzten Dachboden. Auf Initiative eines Bürgermeisters wurde er als Konzertsaal ausgebaut. Im November 1781 fand das erste « Gewandhauskonzert » statt. Im Publikum saß die Konzertgesellschaft aus dem Gasthaus, und im 32 Mann starken Orchester spielten die Musiker, die schon in den « Drei-Schwanen-Konzerten » mitgewirkt hatten und deren überwiegender Teil auch beim Theater engagiert war. Daher war bald vom « Gewandhaus- und Theaterorchester » die Rede.

1789 kam Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart nach Leipzig und gab ein Konzert im Gewandhaus. Dessen Saal war längst zum Zentrum des Leipziger Konzertlebens geworden und sollte es ein Jahrhundertlang bleiben. Die neun Sinfonien Ludwig van Beethovens erklangen weltweit erstmalig als Zyklus im Konzertwinter 1825-1826, also noch zu Lebzeiten des Komponisten. Ab 1835 war Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Gewandhauskapellmeister. Seine « Schottische Sinfonie » und sein Violinkonzert e-Moll wurden im Gewandhaus aus der Taufe gehoben. Unter seiner Leitung kamen Robert Schumanns Sinfonien und Franz Schuberts große C-Dur Sinfonie zur Uraufführung. Von den Komponisten selbst dirigiert, hatten 1862 Richard Wagners « Meistersinger » Vorspiel und 1879 Johannes Brahms' Violinkonzert in diesem Saal ihre Weltpremiere.

Nicht mehr nur Theater und Konzert : Das neue Kirchenorchester

In dieser Zeit wuchs das Gewandhaus- und Theaterorchester auch in die Rolle als städtisches Kirchenorchester hinein. Die Nikolai- und die Thomaskirche waren die Hauptkirchen der Stadt Leipzig. Die musikalische Ausgestaltung der Gottesdienste in beiden Kirchen verantwortete der Thomaskantor, der zugleich städtischer Musikdirektor war. Die Thomaner sangen in beiden Kirchen, und die Instrumente wurden von den Stadtmusikern gespielt. Aber auch hier wuchsen die musikalischen Anforderungen. So wurden 1789 zusätzlich zu den Stadtmusikern sieben Mitglieder des Gewandhaus- und Theaterorchesters für die Kirchenmusik verpflichtet. In den folgenden Jahren kam es zu weiteren Engagements von Gewandhausmusikern für den Dienst in den Kirchen, bis das Gewandhaus- und Theaterorchester die Stadtmusiker vollständig ablöste und 1840 vom Leipziger Magistrat offiziell als « Stadtorchester » anerkannt wurde. Seit dem gehört die Kirchenmusik zu den festen Aufgaben des Gewandhausorchesters.

Neues Theater, neue Opern, neuer Stress: Das Orchester wächst

1868 wurde ein neues Theaterhaus in Leipzig eröffnet. Hier konnten reicher ausgestattete Opern aufgeführt werden als noch im ehemaligen Komödienhaus, das 1817 zum Stadttheater umgewandelt worden war. Dem inzwischen auf 58 Musiker angewachsenen Orchester brachte der Dienst im Neuen Theater jedoch eine enorme Belastung. Die großen Opern mußten in mehr Proben als bisher einstudiert und in größerer Besetzung gespielt werden. Das führte zu Streitigkeiten zwischen Orchester und Theaterdirektion. Der Rat der Stadt mußte schlichten. Im Ergebnis wurde das Orchester auf 72 Musiker erweitert.

Unterdessen ging es im Gewandhaus um eine räumliche Erweiterung. Der Konzertsaal war schon mehrmals umgebaut worden, um dem größer werdenden Publikum Platz zu bieten. Als alle Kapazitäten ausgeschöpft waren, entschloß sich die Gewandhausdirektion zum Bau eines neuen Konzerthauses. Es wurde in zweieinhalb Jahren errichtet und im Dezember 1884 eröffnet. In diesem Neuen Gewandhaus wirkten unter anderem Arthur Nikisch, Wilhelm Furtwängler und Bruno Walter als Gewandhauskapellmeister. Johannes Brahms, Peter Tschaikowski, Edvard Grieg, Richard Strauß und andere Komponisten dirigierten eigene Werke, Anton Bruckner gab hier ein Orgelkonzert. Aus diesem Haus stammen auch die ersten Ton- und Filmaufnahmen mit dem Gewandhausorchester.

Trotz aller Bedenken : Das Orchester geht auf « Concertreise »

Ausgerechnet im Ersten Weltkrieg ging das Orchester erstmals auf Konzerttournee ins Ausland. Zuvor war die Gewandhausdirektion gegen alle auswärtigen Gastspiele, « weil zu fürchten ist, daß unser berühmtes Orchester, das bisher nur edeln Zwecken gedient hat, durch Concertreisen auf den Standpunkt eines philharmonischen Orchesters in Berlin und derartiger Gewerbsunternehmungen herabsinken könnte. Haben die Orchestermitglieder das Herumreisen einmal angefangen, so werden sie Gefallen an der Abwechslung finden und Wiederholung verlangen. » Als das Gewandhausorchester 1916 jedoch in die Schweiz eingeladen wurde, stellten die Stadtoberen und die Gewandhausdirektion « in der Erwägung, daß es sich hier um eine hoch bedeutsame künstlerisch-culturelle Mission handelt » , ihre prinzipiellen Bedenken zurück und genehmigten die Reise. Zwei weitere Schweizfahrten schloßen sich an und 1931 die erste Europatournee. An deren Erfolg anzuknüpfen, ließen die politischen Ereignisse der folgenden Jahre nicht mehr zu.

Alles ändert sich : Das Orchester bleibt sich treu

Erst 1951 konnte das mittlerweile heimatlose Orchester wieder zu einer Konzertreise aufbrechen. Sowohl das Neue Theater als auch das Neue Gewandhaus waren im Zweiten Weltkrieg zerstört worden. Operaufführungen und Konzerte fanden seitdem in provisorischen Spielstätten Leipzigs statt. 1960 wurde das neu errichtete Opernhaus eingeweiht, der Bau eines neuen Konzerthauses dagegen konnte erst wesentlich später realisiert werden : 1981 öffnete die wiederum « Neues Gewandhaus » genannte neue Spielstätte ihre Pforten. Sie war der erste und einzige Konzerthausneubau der DDR. Wesentlichen Anteil an dessen Gelingen hatte der damalige Gewandhauskapellmeister Kurt Masur.

Sein Amtsnachfolger Herbert Blomstedt hat das Orchester, dem heute über 180 Musiker angehören, ins 21. Jahrhundert geführt und dann den Dirigentenstab weitergereicht an Riccardo Chailly. Vieles mag sich im Laufe der zurückliegenden Jahrzehnte in Leipzig geändert haben, eines aber ist geblieben : Das Gewandhausorchester musiziert im Gewandhaus ebenso wie im Opernhaus und gemeinsam mit dem Thomanerchor in der Thomaskirche. Durch Konzert, Musiktheater und Kirchenmusik in verschiedener Weise gefordert, hat sich das Orchester einen weltweit einzigartigen künstlerischen Horizont erworben.

...

1743 : Mit dem ersten « Großen Concert » Gründung des Orchesters.

1781 : Einzug ins Gewandhaus, wovon sich der Name « Gewandhausorchester » ableitet.

1786 : Solidarvertrag der Orchestermusiker.

1840 : Ernennung zum Leipziger Stadtorchester.

1916 : Erste Auslandstournee in die Schweiz.

1931 : Erste Europatournee.

1960 : Erste Japantournee.

1974 : Erste USA-Tournee.

1980 : Erste Südamerikatournee.

2003 : Erste Australientournee.

Die Gewandhauskapellmeister

1781-1785 : Johann Adam Hiller (1. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1785-1810 : Johann Gottfried Schicht (2. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1810-1827 : Johann Philipp Christian Schulz (3. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1827-1835 : Christian August Pohlenz (4. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1835-1847 : Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (5. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1841-1842 - 1852-1854 : Ferdinand David (6. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1843-1844 : Ferdinand Hiller (7. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1844-1848 : Niels Wilhelm Gade (8. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1848-1860 : Julius Rietz (9. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1860-1895 : Carl Reinecke (10. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1895-1922 : Arthur Nikisch (11. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1922-1928 : Wilhelm Furtwängler (12. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1929-1933 : Bruno Walter (13. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1934-1945 : Hermann Abendroth (14. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1946-1948 : Herbert Albert (15. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1949-1962 : Franz Konwitschny (16. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1964-1968 : Václav Neumann (17. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1970-1996 : Kurt Masur (18. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

1998-2005 : Herbert Blomstedt (19. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

2005-2016 : Riccardo Chailly (20. Gewandhauskapellmeister) .

Les édifices du « Gewandhaus »

Le « Gewandhaus » est une célèbre salle de concert de Leipzig qui abrite l'Orchestre du « Gewandhaus » de Leipzig, ainsi que 2 chœurs et diverses formations de musique de chambre. La 1^{re} salle de concert a été construite en 1781 par Johann Carl Friedrich Dauthe à l'intérieur du « Gewandhaus », édifice bâti pour les marchands de tissus. Le 2^e est érigé selon les plans de Martin Gropius dans un style néo-Classique. Il ouvre ses portes le 11 décembre 1884 et comporte une grande salle de concert et une petite salle de musique de chambre. Il est détruit par 2 bombardements

alliés entre 1943 et 1944. Le 3^e édifice sur la « Augustusplatz » est inauguré le 8 octobre 1981, pour le bicentenaire de la fondation du « Gewandhaus » .

Des concerts historiques y sont donnés, notamment ceux dirigés par Felix Mendelssohn, directeur de l'Orchestre.

...

Le « Gewandhaus » (la Maison des habits) est l'une des plus célèbres salles de concert au monde. L'« Alte Gewandhaus » a été construite en 1781 par l'architecte Johann Carl Friedrich Dauthe. Le « Neue Gewandhaus » , œuvre de Martin Gropius, inaugurée en 1884, est lourdement endommagée en 1943 puis en 1944 lors des bombardements de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Elle est restée à l'état de ruines jusqu'en 1968, dans l'attente d'être reconstruite à l'identique. La 3^e salle, construite par l'architecte Rudolf Škoda, est inaugurée en 1981. Depuis, le « Gewandhaus » a vu se succéder les plus grands chefs, parmi lesquels Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Niels Gade, Carl Reinecke, Arthur Nikisch, Wilhelm Fürtwängler, Bruno Walter et Hermann Abendroth.

Années d'inauguration des 3 salles : 1781, 1884, 1981.

1^{er} « Gewandhaus »

La salle est construite en 1781. Elle se trouve à l'étage. De plan rectangulaire, elle contient une estrade de 63 mètres carrés, du côté sud pour l'Orchestre. Le public est assis sur des rangées lui faisant face ainsi que sur 2 rangées de côté. Avec la galerie où l'on se tient debout, elle contient 500 places. Les fresques du plafond sont l'œuvre d'Adam Friedrich Öser. La salle est rénovée en 1833, ce qui provoque un scandale, à cause de son nouvel arrangement. Woldemar Neumann refait la décoration l'année suivante. En 1842 et 1872, la salle de concert est ré-aménagée. Elle peut accueillir un millier de personnes. Du côté frontal, on peut lire la phrase du philosophe stoïcien Sénèque, « Res severa (est) verum gaudium » : « Il n'y a de vraie jouissance que dans le sérieux de la chose » (ou plus littéralement : « La chose sévère - sérieuse, rigoureuse - est la vraie joie » ; ou encore : « La vraie joie est une chose sérieuse ») . Cette phrase a été reproduite dans le « Gewandhaus » actuel.

2^e « Gewandhaus »

Le bâtiment du « Gewandhaus » , édition de 1884, sera victime des bombardements alliés le 20 février 1944. Mais on va réussir à sauver le buste de marbre de Bruckner (le 1^{er} présent en sol allemand) , exécuté en 1931 par le peintre, graveur, sculpteur et poète allemand Fritz Zalisz (né le 17 octobre 1893 à Gera et décédé le 13 décembre 1971 à Holzhausen) . Il s'agit d'une commande du docteur Theodor Armbruster. Il se trouve aujourd'hui en montre au moderne « Gewandhaus » .

Lorsque le nouveau « Gewandhaus » est construit, en 1884, la salle est appelée « Alte Gewandhaus » ; l'édifice est partiellement détruit en 1893-1896, pour y construire la chambre de commerce de la ville (« Städtisches Kaufhaus ») .

Le nouvel édifice de style néo-Classique est construit en 1884 à l'intersection des rues Beethoven et Grassi, au sud-ouest de la ville. Il est construit par Heino Schmieden, selon les plans de Martin Gropius, et en grande partie financé par le testament du riche entrepreneur Franz Dominic Grassi. Il est inauguré le 11 décembre 1884. La salle contient 1,700 places et la petite salle de musique de chambre, 650 places. Le décor de sculptures est l'œuvre d'Otto Lessing.

En novembre 1936, les nouvelles autorités nationales-socialistes font détruire la statue de Felix Mendelssohn, érigée devant l'édifice en 1892. Le « Gewandhaus » est partiellement détruit par un bombardement allié, dans la nuit du 3 au 4 décembre 1943, et la toiture disparaît dans un bombardement, le 20 février 1944. Les ruines du « Gewandhaus » ne disparaissent qu'en 1968, pour laisser place à un stationnement, jusqu'en 2002. Entretemps, l'Orchestre joue au Cinéma « Kapitol » de la « Petersstraße », en 1944 et 1945 ; puis, de 1946 à 1981, au « Kongreßhalle am Zoo » .

3e « Gewandhaus »

La Ire pierre du 3e « Gewandhaus » est posée en 1977 par le directeur musical Kurt Masur. Le nouveau bâtiment est achevé en 1981 sur la « Augustusplatz » (appelée, à l'époque, la « Karl-Marx-Platz ») à l'emplacement de l'ancien Musée des Beaux-arts de Leipzig, détruit lui-aussi. Il est de style brutaliste, en vogue à l'époque dans les pays du bloc communiste. Sighard Gille est chargé de peindre dans le foyer une immense fresque, la plus grande d'Europe, intitulée « Gesang vom Leben » (Chant de la vie) ; elle mesure 714 mètres carrés pour une hauteur de 31,80 mètres. D'autres fresques sont réalisées par Wolfgang Pecker.

La grande salle contient 1,900 places avec une acoustique remarquable. Le concert inaugural, dirigé par Kurt Masur, est donné le 8 octobre 1981 avec les « Chants » de Siegfried Thiele et la 9e Symphonie de Beethoven. La petite salle contient 497 places ; elle est ré-aménagée en 1997 et baptisée « salle Mendelssohn » .

Le compositeur Anton Bruckner fera aussi partie d'une peinture de Frank Riddigkeit, intitulée : « Musik und Zeit » (La musique et le temps, 1980-1981) . Le peintre, graveur et artiste de livre résidant à Leipzig Frank Riddigkeit est né le 19 août 1939 à Grenzberg, en Prusse orientale (aujourd'hui, Pridoroschnoje) .

...

Es kommt vor, daß Leipzig-Besucher vor dem Konzerthaus am Augustusplatz stehen und sich verwirrt fragen : Das soll das jahrhundertealte Leipziger Gewandhaus sein ? In diesem « Haus mit Mütze » , wie Václav Neumann spöttelte, sollen Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Arthur Nikisch und Wilhelm Furtwängler dirigiert haben ?

Nein, haben sie nicht. Vielmehr standen sie in zwei anderen Leipziger Gewandhäusern am Dirigentenpult : Mendelssohn im Gewandhaus an der Universitätsstraße, Nikisch und Furtwängler im Neuen Gewandhaus an der Beethovenstraße. Das Haus am Augustusplatz ist also bereits das dritte Leipziger Gewandhaus, das allerdings wie schon das zweite mit dem namengebenden Zweck nichts mehr zu tun hat.

Nur das erste Gewandhaus (ein dreiflügliges Gebäude zwischen Gewandgäßchen und Kupfergasse) war tatsächlich Gewerbehalle der Tuchhändler. Daher der Name, was jedoch nur die halbe Wahrheit ist. Denn im Erdgeschoß des Flügels

an der Universitätsstraße wurden bis 1828 die stadteigenen Waffen und Rüstungen aufbewahrt, so daß die Leipziger diesen Gebäudeteil das Zeughaus nannten.

In jenem Zeughaus ließ die Stadt den ersten Leipziger Konzertsaal errichten. Keine anderthalb Jahre brauchten die Bauleute, bis hier ab November 1781 die « Großen Concerte » (sie waren 1743 gegründet und bis 1778 im Gasthaus « Zu den drei Schwanen » veranstaltet worden) ihre Fortsetzung fanden.

Die Weitsicht der Konzertdirektion (damals ein ehrenamtlich arbeitendes Gremium Leipziger Bürger) darf man heute noch bewundern : Sie mietete den neuen Saal im Zeughaus, nannte ihre musikalischen Veranstaltungen aber « Concerte im Saale des Gewandhauses » . Ein Coup mit Langzeitwirkung : Nicht als « Zeughaus zu Leipzig » , sondern als « Gewandhaus zu Leipzig » erlangte die Konzertsstätte Bedeutung, und kein « Zeughausorchester » eroberte künstlerischen Rang, sondern das « Gewandhausorchester » .

Zu Rang und Namen trug der Konzertsaal wesentlich bei : Ganz aus Holz, war er in das Obergeschoß des Zeughauses nahezu wie eine Geige in einen Geigenkasten hineingesetzt. So bildete der Saal einen riesigen Resonanzkörper und wirkte selbst wie ein Musikinstrument. 500 Zuhörer fanden in ihm Platz, erlebten Mozarts einziges Leipziger Gastspiel oder Clara Wiecks ersten öffentlichen Auftritt, waren dabei, als Carl Maria von Weber oder Franz Liszt als Pianisten brillierten, sahen Hector Berlioz und Johannes Brahms und Richard Wagner dirigieren und bekamen als Erste Stücke zu hören, die heute in aller Welt berühmt sind : Beethovens fünftes Klavierkonzert zum Beispiel oder Franz Schuberts große C-Dur Sinfonie, Felix Mendelssohns Violinkonzert oder Robert Schumanns « Frühlingssinfonie » .

Kein Wunder, daß die Nachfrage nach diesen Konzerten rasant wuchs. Um weitere Zuhörerplätze zu schaffen, baute man den Konzertsaal mehrmals um - und jedes Mal büßte der Raum ein Stück seines guten Klanges ein.

Um 1860 begannen Überlegungen zur Errichtung eines neuen Konzerthauses. Dabei dachten die Gewandhausdirektoren an einen Platz in bester « Citylage » . Die Stadtregierung aber hatte anderes im Sinn : Ein Konzerthausbau am Stadtrand könnte die Initialzündung für ein neues Stadtviertel sein. Und so geschah es : Das in zweieinhalb Jahren erbaute und im Dezember 1884 eröffnete Neue Gewandhaus (das erste Gebäude des neuen Stadtteils) beflügelte die Entwicklung des entstehenden Leipziger Musikviertels ungemein.

Anders als der alte Gewandhaussaal gehörte das neue Haus nicht der Stadt, sondern der Gewandhausdirektion. Der Große Saal (« ein akustisches Gefäß von offenbar durch Glück und Genie gefundenen besten Maßen ») bot 1.500 und der Kleine Saal 500 Zuhörern Platz. In diesem Haus schlug Anton Bruckner die Orgel, strich Paul Hindemith die Bratsche, griff Igor Strawinsky in die Klaviertasten, dirigierten Brahms, Edvard Grieg, Richard Strauß, Tschaikowski und weitere berühmte Komponisten.

1892 wurde vor dem zweiten Gewandhaus ein Denkmal für Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy enthüllt. 44 Jahre später behaupteten die herrschenden Nationalsozialisten, dieses Denkmal für einen « Vollblutjuden » errege « öffentliches Ärgernis » , und ließen es beseitigen. 1933 hatten sie schon Gewandhauskapellmeister Bruno Walter gleichsam Auftrittsverbot erteilt. Er hatte daraufhin Leipzig für immer verlassen.

Von Bomben getroffen, brannte das Neue Gewandhaus im Februar 1944 aus. Jahre in provisorischen Spielstätten folgten. Ab 1947 fanden die Gewandhauskonzerte in der Kongresshalle am Zoo statt. Über 30 Jahre vergingen, ehe die Stadt Leipzig ein neues Konzerthaus ihr eigen nennen konnte : die wiederum « Neues Gewandhaus » genannte Spielstätte an der Südseite des heutigen Augustusplatzes.

Dieses dritte Gewandhaus ist der einzige Konzerthausneubau der DDR. Die Initiative zu seiner Errichtung ging von Gewandhauskapellmeister Kurt Masur aus, der während der 57-monatigen Bauzeit eng mit dem Architektenteam zusammenarbeitete.

Aushängeschild des dritten Gewandhauses ist das Deckenbild « Gesang vom Leben » des Leipziger Künstlers Sighard Gille. Es erstreckt sich über vier Deckenschrägen und ist die größte zeitgenössische Deckenmalerei Europas. Nachts von Scheinwerfern beleuchtet, strahlt es durch die Glasfront des Hauses auf den Platz hinaus.

Der Große Saal mit amphitheatrischer Sitzanordnung bietet über 1.900 Besuchern und der Mendelssohn-Saal knapp 500 Besuchern Platz. Den Großen Saal krönt die majestätische Orgel der Potsdamer Firma Schuke mit vier Manualen, 92 Registern und 6.845 Pfeifen. Am Orgelprospekt ist der Leitspruch des Gewandhauses angebracht : « Res severa verum gaudium » (wahre Freude ist eine ernste Sache) . Dieser Spruch des römischen Philosophen Lucius Annæus Seneca begleitet das Gewandhaus seit 1781. Im ersten Gewandhaus stand er an der Stirnseite des Konzertsaals, im zweiten Gewandhaus prangte er an der Fassade über dem Haupteingang.

Ungefähr 800 Veranstaltungen verschiedenster Art gibt es jährlich im Gewandhaus. An herausragender Stelle stehen dabei die Sinfoniekonzerte des Gewandhausorchesters wie auch die Gewandhaus-Organikonzerte im Großen Saal. Im Mendelssohn-Saal finden neben der Gewandhaus-Kammermusik Kongresse, Symposien, Vorträge und anderes mehr statt.

Und für die Leipzig-Besucher, die vor dem Konzerthaus am Augustusplatz stehen und sich verwirrt fragen : « Das soll das jahrhundertealte Leipziger Gewandhaus sein ? » , gibt es ein breit gefächertes Angebot an Führungen durch das Haus. Außerdem zeigt im Hauptfoyer, das in der Regel wochentags 10 bis 18 Uhr und samstags 10 bis 14 Uhr geöffnet ist, eine Dauerausstellung die Modelle der drei Gewandhausbauten von 1781, 1884 und 1981 mit begleitenden Texten und Bildern.

...

Das Konzertgebäude Gewandhaus in Leipzig und zwei ebenfalls Gewandhaus genannte Vorgängerbauten an anderer Stelle sind seit 1781 Heimstätte des Gewandhausorchesters. Seit 1998 steht es unter der Intendanz von Gewandhausdirektor Andreas Schulz. Zum Konzerthaus gehören ebenso der Gewandhausorganist, der GewandhausChor sowie der GewandhausKinderchor. Außerdem existieren verschiedene Kammermusikensembles wie beispielsweise das Gewandhaus-Quartett, das Gewandhaus-Bläserquintett und Gewandhaus-Brass-Quintett.

Das Gebäude wurde 1498 in der Leipziger Altstadt im Kupfergäßchen (der heutigen Kupfergasse) als Zeughaus errichtet. Nach der Nutzung des ersten Stockwerks als Messehaus der Tuch- und Wollwarenhändler wurde das ganze Gebäude bald Gewandhaus genannt. Weiterhin befand sich in dem Haus die Leipziger Kupferwaage.

1743 fanden sich in Leipzig sechzehn Kaufleute zusammen, um den Konzertverein « Großes Concert » zu gründen. Er bestand zunächst aus 16 Musikern. Das erste Konzert fand am 11. März 1743 statt. Ab 1744 fanden die Konzerte im Gasthaus « Drey Schwanen » am Brühl statt. Mit dem Umzug in das Messehaus der Tuchwarenhändler (Gewandhaus) im Jahre 1781 erhielt das Orchester den Namen « Gewandhausorchester » .

1780-1781 wurde im Auftrag der Stadt durch Johann Carl Friedrich Dauthe ein Konzertsaal im zweiten Stockwerk des Hauses eingebaut. Auf der Südseite des quaderförmigen Saales befand sich das etwa 63 Quadratmeter große Orchesterpodium. Das Publikum saß auf längs zum Podium ausgerichteten, gegenüberliegenden Sitzreihen, an der Saalrückseite waren die Reihen quer ausgerichtet. Zusammen mit der Galerieebene sowie Stehplätzen bot der Saal bis zu 500 Zuhörern Platz. In ihm erklang erstmals am 25. November 1781 ein Konzert des auf das Jahr 1743 zurückgehenden Orchesters Das neue Konzert. Durch den Einbau des Konzertsaales in die größere Tuchhalle, die beinahe ausschließliche Verwendung von Holz und die Konstruktion auf Holzstützen über dem ehemaligen Tuchboden, so daß ein Resonanzraum um den Saal entstand, kam eine sehr gute Akustik mit relativ kurzer Nachhallzeit zustande. Das Deckengemälde stammte von Adam Friedrich Öser, es fiel 1833 Renovierungsarbeiten zum Opfer. Da diese Renovierung in der Öffentlichkeit zum Skandal führte – unter anderem wurde der Konzertsaal als « Teufelsküche » bewertet - erhielt 1834 der Dresdner Maler und Architekt Woldemar Hermann den Auftrag zur Neudekoration des Konzertsaales. 1842 und 1872 wurde der Konzertsaal erneut renoviert und umgebaut. Nach dem Umbau 1842 konnte der Saal 1.000 Personen aufnehmen.

Die Stirnseite des Saales schmückte ein Spruch Senecas, der zum Leitspruch des Orchesters werden sollte :

« Res severa (est) verum gaudium » (Wahre Freude ist eine ernste Sache.)

Das ursprüngliche Gewandhaus erlebte zahlreiche Uraufführungen bedeutender Werke der klassischen Musik, die heute zum Standardrepertoire des weltweiten Konzertbetriebs gehören. Einer der bedeutenden Kapellmeister des Gewandhausorchesters war Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy.

Nach 1884 wurde das Haus Altes Gewandhaus genannt und bis 1886 noch gelegentlich für Konzerte verwendet. Das Gebäude wurde 1893-1896 teilweise abgebrochen, umgebaut und in den Gebäudekomplex Städtisches Kaufhaus einbezogen, wo heute noch eine Gedenkplakette im zweiten Obergeschoß des historischen Treppenhauses an den früheren Eingang zum Gewandhauskonzertsaal erinnert.

Konzerthaus (2. Gewandhaus)

Am 11. Dezember 1884 wurde im Musikviertel südwestlich der Altstadt (Grassistraße / Beethovenstraße) ein Neues Concerthaus eröffnet, das bezugnehmend auf das ursprüngliche Gewandhaus auch häufig als Neues Gewandhaus bezeichnet wurde. Das Gebäude wurde 1882-1884 nach Plänen von Martin Gropius durch Heino Schmieden erbaut ; der Bau wurde durch einen Kredit aus dem Nachlaß von Franz Dominic Grassi finanziert. Das Konzerthaus enthielt einen großen Saal mit 1.700 Plätzen und einen Kammermusiksaal mit 650 Plätzen. Der Leitspruch des Orchesters fand am Giebel des Eingangsportales Platz. Den bauplastischen Schmuck schuf der Berliner Bildhauer Otto Lessing.

Das 2. Gewandhaus war architektonisches Vorbild der 1900 errichteten « Symphony Hall » in Boston, Heimstätte des « Boston Symphony Orchestra », die sich auch beim Konzertsaal an der als akustisches Vorbild geltenden « Schuhkarton » -Form orientierte.

Im November 1936 vernichteten die Nationalsozialisten bei Nacht und Nebel das vor dem Konzerthaus stehende Mendelssohn-Denkmal des Bildhauers Werner Stein (hergestellt von Hermann Heinrich Howaldt, 1892 enthüllt) .

Im Zweiten Weltkrieg wurde das Konzerthaus bei den Luftangriffen auf Leipzig am 4. Dezember 1943 und 20. Februar 1944 schwer beschädigt. Zunächst war nach dem Krieg geplant, das Gebäude wieder aufzubauen. Letztlich wurde aber entschieden, die Reste des Gebäudes abzutragen und ein neues Gebäude an anderer Stelle zu errichten. Ab dem 29. März 1968 wurde die Ruine des Konzerthauses abgerissen. Nach langen Jahren der Nutzung des Geländes als Parkplatz wurde 2002 an dieser Stelle das Geisteswissenschaftliche Zentrum der Universität Leipzig eröffnet.

Nach der Zerstörung des Konzerthauses mußte sich das Gewandhausorchester eine neue Bleibe suchen. Nachdem das Orchester 1944 und 1945 im Kino Capitol spielte, fanden von 1946 bis 1981 die Gewandhauskonzerte in der Kongreßhalle am Zoo statt.

Neues Gewandhaus (3. Gewandhaus)

Das erste Konzert des Gewandhausorchesters unter Leitung von Kurt Masur im neuen Gebäude galt am 7. Oktober 1981 den am Bau des Hauses Beteiligten.

Am 20. Januar 1977 wurde der Grundstein für ein neues Gewandhaus in der Stadtmitte am Karl-Marx-Platz (heute wieder Augustusplatz) gelegt, gegenüber dem Leipziger Opernhaus am ehemaligen Standort des Museums der bildenden Künste. Das Gewandhaus war der erste und einzige Neubau einer reinen Konzerthalle in der DDR - andere Großprojekte in der DDR wurden hingegen als Multifunktionsbauten geplant (meist als « Kulturhaus » , « Kulturpalast » oder « Stadthalle ») . Die Zustimmung des Staatsapparates zu einem Gewandhausneubau wird vor allem dem großen Einsatz des damaligen Gewandhauskapellmeisters Kurt Masur zugeschrieben.

Entwurf und Projekt für das 1981 fertiggestellte Neue Gewandhaus stammen von Rudolf Skoda mit Eberhard Göschel, Volker Sieg und Winfried Sziegoleit ; basierend auf der von Horst Siegel gemeinsam mit Rudolf Skoda erarbeiteten städtebaulich-architektonischen Konzeption (1975-1976) . Oberbauleiter bei diesem außergewöhnlichen Projekt war der Leipziger Bauingenieur Peter Kunze. Sighard Gille schuf 1980-1981 für die Foyers das 714 Quadratmeter große und 31,80 meter hohe Deckengemälde *Gesang vom Leben*. Es ist das größte Deckengemälde Europas. Unsichtbar für Besucher, weil übermalt und verschalt, befindet sich hier auch ein unvollendeter Wandfries des Malers Wolfgang Peuker.

Der Große Saal mit 1.900 Plätzen besitzt eine ausgezeichnete Akustik, für die die Akustiker Wolfgang Fasold, Helgo Winkler, Hans-Peter Tennhardt und Eberhard Küstner verantwortlich zeichneten. Während des Baus wurde der Saal mehrere Male mit Soldaten der NVA besetzt, um die Akustik bei voller Auslastung zu testen. Der Saal ist mit einer Schuke-Orgel mit 6.638 Pfeifen ausgestattet. Der Orchesterleitspruch « Res severa verum gaudium » befindet sich wiederum im Konzertsaal an der Orgelempore. Ein dem normalen Konzertbesucher verborgen bleibender Ort dieses

Leitspruch befindet sich im Treppenaufgang des Dienstbereiches - dort verweist der erste Halbsatz « Res severa » (ernste Sache) auf den Eingang zu den Musiker- und Chorgarderoben, der zweite Teil des Spruches « Verum Gaudium » (wahre Freude) hingegen auf die Kantine des Gewandhauses.

Das Eröffnungskonzert unter der Leitung des damaligen Gewandhauskapellmeisters Kurt Masur fand am 8. Oktober 1981 statt ; auf dem Programm standen Siegfried Thieles Gesänge an die Sonne und Ludwig van Beethovens Sinfonie Nr. 9.

Im Herbst 1989 kam dem Gewandhaus politische Bedeutung zu. Kurt Masur öffnete das Haus für die sogenannten « Gewandhausgespräche » , öffentliche Diskussionsrunden, in denen über die Reformen und die Zukunft der DDR debattiert wurde. Damit wurde das Gewandhaus zu einer Plattform für die politische Opposition der DDR.

Der Kleine Saal mit 498 Plätzen wurde 1997 ebenfalls von Rudolf Skoda zum Mendelssohn-Saal umgebaut ; er wird vor allem für Kammermusik genutzt.

2001 entwarf Peter Kulka den MDR-Kubus, der über eine Brücke direkt mit dem Gewandhaus verbunden ist.

Die 1884 erbaute Walcker-Orgel im Konzerthaus

Für den großen Saal des 1884 errichteten Neuen Konzerthauses baute die Orgelbaufirma E. F. Walcker & Cie. (Ludwigsburg) eine große Konzertorgel. Das Orgelgehäuse bildete mit der Architektur des Konzertsaals eine Einheit, es wurde nach einem Entwurf von Martin Gropius angefertigt. Das Instrument konnte als Opus 432 wenige Tage vor der Eröffnung des Neuen Gewandhauses übergeben werden.

Die Orgel wurde zusammen mit dem Konzerthaus im Zweiten Weltkrieg zerstört.

Uraufführungen

Im 1. Gewandhaus

Ludwig van Beethoven : Klavierkonzert Nr. 5 (1811) .

Franz Schubert : Große Sinfonie in C-Dur (21. März 1839) .

Robert Schumann : Sinfonie Nr. 1 « Frühlingssinfonie » , Opus 38 (31. März 1841) .

Robert Schumann : Sinfonie Nr. 4, Opus 120 (1. Fassung, 1841) .

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy : Sinfonie Nr. 3 « Schottische » (3. März 1842) .

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy : Violinkonzert in E-Moll, Opus 64 (13. März 1845) .

Robert Schumann : Sinfonie Nr. 2, Opus 61 (5. November 1846) .

Richard Wagner : Vorspiel zu Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg (2. Juni 1862) .

Johannes Brahms : Ein deutsches Requiem (Uraufführung des vollständigen Werkes am 18. Februar 1869) .

Johannes Brahms : Violinkonzert in D-Dur, Opus 77 (1. Januar 1879) .

Im Konzerthaus (2. Gewandhaus)

Max Reger : Violinkonzert in A-Dur, Opus 101 (18. Oktober 1908) .

Max Reger : Klavierkonzert in F-Moll, Opus 114 (15. Dezember 1910) .

Antonín Dvořák : Cellokonzert in A-Dur (komplettiert von Günter Raphael, 24. Oktober 1929) .

Im Neuen Gewandhaus

Alfred Schnittke : Sinfonie Nr. 3 (5. November 1981) .

Siegfried Matthus : Neun sinfonische Intermezzi zu Schillers Ode an die Freude (9. November 2009) .

« Neue Zeitschrift für Musik »

La revue « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » (Nouveau Journal de la Musique) , ou NZM, est un magazine de musicologie publié à Leipzig, et créé par Robert Schumann. Son 1er exemplaire sort le 3 avril 1834.

Bien que les Ires publications officielles soient signées Julius Knorr, la plupart des articles dans les Iers numéros proviennent en réalité de Schumann lui-même. En 1835, lorsqu'un nouvel éditeur est trouvé, le nom de Schumann apparaît pour la Ire fois. Dans ses articles, il donne des descriptions complètes de son opinion sur la nouvelle génération de musiciens méritant d'être acclamée, comme c'est le cas pour Frédéric Chopin ou Hector Berlioz.

En juin 1843, les nombreux engagements de Schumann l'obligent à abandonner l'édition du magazine et, en 1844, Franz Brendel devient le nouveau propriétaire et éditeur. La publication la plus célèbre à cette époque reste certainement l'article antisémite de Richard Wagner, « Das Judentum in der Musik » , publié sous le pseudonyme de K. Freigedank (qui signifie en allemand : libre pensée) dans le volume 33, n° 19, de 3 septembre 1850. À la suite de cela, des demandes de démissions furent émises au nom du Conservatoire de Leipzig à l'encontre de Brendel, notamment par Ignaz Moscheles et d'autres enseignants. En effet, l'article de Wagner avait insulté la mémoire de Felix Mendelssohn, le fondateur du Conservatoire. Mais cette affaire n'eut aucun effet, et Brendel continua à éditer jusqu'à sa mort en 1868.

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« Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » (New Journal of Music) , or NZM, is a music magazine, co-founded in Leipzig by Robert Schumann, his teacher and future father-in law Friedrich Wieck, and his close friend Ludwig Schuncke. Its 1st issue appeared on 3 April 1834.

Although the 1st editor was Julius Knorr, most of the work on the early issues of the « Neue Zeitschrift » was done by Schumann ; in 1835, when a new publisher was found, Schumann's name appeared as editor. In his reviews, he praised those of the new generation of musicians who deserved acclaim, including Frédéric Chopin and Hector Berlioz. Schuncke wrote some articles under the byline « Jonathan » but died at the age of 23, in December 1834.

In June 1843, Schumann's other commitments made him give-up editorship of the magazine and, in 1844, Franz Brendel became owner and editor. Under his tenure, the most notable piece was Richard Wagner's anti-Jewish article, « Das Judenthum in der Musik » , published under the pseudonym K. Freigedank (Freethought) in volume 33, no. 19, on 3 September 1850. Ignaz Moscheles and other teachers at the Leipzig Conservatory were outraged and called for Brendel's resignation from its board. Wagner's article had insulted the memory of Felix Mendelssohn, the Conservatory's founder - but had little further effect at the time. Later in the 19th Century, it contributed to the rise in anti-Semitism, including criticism of music by Jewish composers who differed in style from Wagner. Brendel continued to edit the magazine until his death, in 1868.

The « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » , under the ægis of Schott Music, continues as a vehicle for writing on music, including Classical, Jazz, Rock, and sound art. Each issue focuses on a particular topic, and includes a variety of essays, CD and book reviews.

...

Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik (abgekürzt : NZfM) ist eine Zeitschrift, die sich mit zeitgenössischen Strömungen der Musik beschäftigt. Sie erschien erstmals am 3. April 1834 und besteht nahezu ununterbrochen bis heute fort.

Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik (im ersten Jahr unter dem Titel Neue Leipziger Zeitschrift für Musik) wurde 1834 von Robert Schumann zusammen mit seinem späteren Schwiegervater Friedrich Wieck und den Pianisten Julius Knorr und Ludwig Schuncke gegründet. Da Wieck aber durch seine zahlreichen Reisen nur eingeschränkt mitarbeitete, Knorr durch häufige Krankheiten ausfiel und Schuncke nur wenig schriftstellerisches Talent besaß, fiel beinahe die gesamte Verantwortung auf Schumann. So kam es auch dazu, daß Schumann statt wie geplant zwei Jahre zehn Jahre als Redakteur der NZfM arbeitete, um den Untergang der Zeitschrift zu verhindern. Auch finanzielle Erwägungen waren ausschlaggebend. Am 1. Juli 1844 übergab Schumann die Leitung der Zeitschrift an Oswald Lorenz, der bereits zahlreiche Beiträge unter verschiedenen Pseudonymen verfasst hatte. Franz Brendel kaufte dann die Zeitschrift und war ab 1. Januar 1845 verantwortlicher Redakteur.

Zu Beginn erschien die Zeitschrift zweimal pro Woche. Jede Ausgabe bestand aus einem Bogen, also vier Seiten. Es wurden zwei Spalten je Seite gedruckt. Ab dem ersten Juli 1847 wurde der Umfang auf meist acht Seiten erhöht. Hier gibt es mit Ausnahme des ersten Jahrganges pro Jahr zwei Bände mit je 52 Nummern.

Den Ausgaben wurden literarische Motti vorangestellt. Diese stammten von Literaten wie Shakespeare, Goethe, Jean Paul und Weiteren, konnten aber auch von Schumann selbst sein. Ein größerer Aufsatz über Themen wie Ästhetik, Biographien, Musikgeschichte schloss sich an. Stattdessen war auch eine große Rezension eines oder mehrerer Werke möglich, was sich über mehrere Ausgaben hinzog. Dann folgten die Rezensionen von Musik oder Schriften mit Musikbezug. Schumann legte Wert auf den Korrespondenzteil, in dem über das Musikleben in in- und ausländischen Städten berichtet wurde. Den Abschluß bildete eine Sektion mit Vermischtem und Notizen.

Die NZfM der Anfangszeit wurde von dem teils realen, teils fiktiven Verein von Künstlern und Kunstfreunden, den Davidsbündlern herausgegeben. Beiträge wurden daher unter verschiedensten Pseudonymen verfasst, wobei pro Verfasser bis zu 33 verschiedene Kürzel (Schumann selbst) existierten. Beispielsweise sind die bekanntesten literarischen Pseudonyme Schumanns, Florestan und Eusebius häufig vorhanden. Ein Mitwirkender mit zahlreichen Beiträgen und Kürzeln war Oswald Lorenz, der zeitweise auch Redakteur der NZfM gewesen ist. Ein prominenter Autor im Bereich von Klaviertechnik und -pädagogik war Friedrich Wieck.

In den 1920er Jahren bestimmte Alfred Heuß die Gesichte des Blattes. Er schmiedete die einst dem Fortschritt gewidmete Zeitschrift zu einem reaktionären und nationalistischen Organ um. Oliver Hilmes wies nach, daß Heuß « die Zeitschrift für Musik in der "Weimarer Republik" zu einem Bollwerk gegen die Avantgarde und alles vermeintlich "Undeutsche" führte, daß die Musikideologie im NS-Staat nicht den Beginn, sondern den Gipfelpunkt einer längeren, folgenreichen Entwicklung darstellt. Der Geist, der die Artikel des Monatsblattes zunehmend prägt und besonders an den Rezensionen zeitgenössischer Werke abzulesen ist, beruht nicht auf differenzierter Analyse, sondern greift weitverbreitete Vorurteile auf. Sogenannte "killer-phrases" täuschen vor, die Ursachen komplex empfundener gesellschaftlicher Krisen zu erkennen und zu benennen; tatsächlich tragen die massensuggestiven wirkenden Scheinargumente jedoch zu einer dogmatischen Spaltung in "Gut" und "Böse" bei und richten schließlich in verhängnisvoller Weise über die Existenzberechtigung von Werken und deren Schöpfern. »

1925 bezeichnete Alfred Einstein die NZfM als « das Kampfblatt für deutsche, gegen Neue und Internationale Musik » .

Herausgebende Redakteure und Verleger

Leipzig (1834-1844) . « Im Vereine mit mehreren Künstlern und Kunstfreunden herausgegeben unter Verantwortlichkeit von Robert Schumann. » Erscheint zweimal wöchentlich. (Das letzte von Schumann herausgegebene Heft ist Band 20, Nummer 52 - vom 27. Juni 1844.)

1844, Band 21 (Juli bis Dezember) , Herausgeber : Oswald Lorenz.

Franz Brendel (1845-1868) . Ab 1851 einmal wöchentlich. (Letztes von Brendel herausgegebene Heft : Band 64, Nummer 48 - vom 20. November 1868.)

1850, Heft 19 mit dem Beginn von Richard Wagners Schmähchrift Das Judentum in der Musik und der editorischen Bemerkung von Franz Brendel.

Verantwortungsbewusst Red. und Verlag : C. F. Kahnt (1869-1885) .

(1885?-1920) Verlag Gebrüder Reinecke, Leipzig.

Oskar Schwalm (1886-1888) .

Doktor Paul Simon (1889-1898) .

Edmund Ræhlich in Vertretung (1899-1903) .

Ab 1903 (Band 99, Heft 27 - 1. Juli) in Antiqua gedruckt.

Arnold Schering (1903 bis 1904) .

Arnold Schering und Walter Niemann (1905-1906) .

Walter Niemann (1906) .

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Joachim Raff.

Die Neue Zeitschrift für Musik heute

Die Zeitschrift widmet sich den zeitgenössischen Strömungen - vor allem der neuen Musik, dem avancierten Jazz, der Klangkunst und dem Pop, aber auch historischen Erscheinungsformen von Musik. Sie hat jeweils ein Schwerpunktthema und enthält darüber hinaus Komponistenporträts, Gespräche mit Protagonisten des zeitgenössischen Musiklebens und analytische Beiträge. In zahlreichen CD-, DVD- und Buchrezensionen werden Neuerscheinungen besprochen und kritisch bewertet.

Zum Portfolio der Zeitschrift gehört und andere die edition neue zeitschrift für musik, eine Buchreihe mit Sach- und Komponisten-Bänden sowie die DVD-Reihe « musica viva - forum der gegenwartsmusik mit Komponisten- und Werkporträts » .

Le tuba wagnérien

Le tuba wagnérien est un instrument de musique à vent de la famille des cuivres. Il est également appelé « tuben » et parfois, à tort, car il s'agit d'un autre instrument, « saxotromba » .

Le tuba wagnérien (en allemand : « Wagnertuba » ; au pluriel, « Tuben ») a été inventé en 1876 par Adolphe Sax, à la demande de Richard Wagner qui voulait un instrument ayant une sonorité entre le cor d'harmonie et le saxhorn. Il a été à l'origine créé pour la « Tétralogie » de Richard Wagner « l'Anneau du Nibelung » . Depuis lors, d'autres compositeurs ont écrit pour cet instrument, notamment Anton Bruckner, dont le 2e mouvement de la 7e Symphonie commence par un chœur de tubas wagnériens en hommage à Wagner.

Wagner a été inspiré pour inventer cet instrument après un bref déplacement à Paris, en 1853, après avoir visité le magasin d'Adolphe Sax dans lequel il a notamment découvert le « saxotromba » , inventé quelques années plus tôt. Wagner a voulu un instrument qui pourrait entonner le motif du « Walhalla » comme un trombone, mais avec un son moins clair, comme celui d'un cor. Cet effet a été obtenu par une perce conique (comme un cor) et l'utilisation d'une embouchure de cor. Ces instruments sont, en fait, composés des tuyaux d'un cor, mais enroulés à la façon d'un tuba pour obtenir un son plus direct. L'instrument est construit avec des palettes jouée avec la main gauche, comme sur le cor.

Il existe en 2 tessitures :

le « tuben » en mi bémol.

Le « basstuben » en si bémol.

Sax aurait lui-même donné le nom de tuba wagnérien à son instrument, bien que cette appellation soit peu représentative de l'instrument qui provient plutôt d'une déformation du cor que du tuba. Cet instrument est d'ailleurs joué par les cornistes (qui actionnent les palettes de la main gauche) , et non par les tubistes (qui jouent de la main droite) .

Le tuba wagnérien existait à l'origine dans 2 modèles, le ténor en si bémol et le basse en fa, avec une tessiture comparable à celle du cor, l'un étant spécialisé dans l'aigu, l'autre dans le grave. Plusieurs facteurs du XXe siècle ont, cependant, combiné les 2 instruments dans un tuba wagnerien double en fa - si bémol ou ut grave - fa. Le tuba wagnérien est normalement écrit en si bémol pour les aigus et en fa pour les graves mais la notation utilisée varie et est une source de confusion (Wagner lui-même a utilisé 3 notations différentes au cours de « l'Anneau » et les 3 ont été utilisées par des compositeurs ultérieurs. Une source supplémentaire de confusion provient du fait que cet instrument est quelquefois utilisé simplement comme un tuba.

Le son du tuba wagnérien est plus sombre que celui du cor et semble plus éloigné mais aussi plus dense. Bruckner l'utilise généralement pour des passages mélodiques. Dans ses 8e et 9e Symphonies, 4 « Tuben » sont joués par des cornistes qui alternent entre le cor et le tuba wagnérien. Wagner utilise la même procédure dans « l'Anneau ». Ce changement est simplifié par le fait que le cor et le tuba wagnérien utilisent la même embouchure, mais n'en reste pas moins périlleux. L'avantage de cet instrument, par rapport au cor, est qu'il peut jouer fort sans « cuivrer » et garder ainsi l'emprunte sonore du cor dans les « tutti » joués « forte » .

L'emplacement sur la partition orchestrale des tubas wagnériens peut varier. S'ils sont joués par des musiciens qui jouent aussi du cor, leurs parties sont sous ceux des cors et au-dessus des trompettes. S'ils sont joués par des musiciens qui ne jouent pas de cor dans la pièce, ils sont situés au-dessous des trombones, au-dessus du tuba, qui est alors appelé « tuba contrebasse » .

Le nom de « tuba wagnérien » est problématique, considéré comme incorrect par beaucoup de théoriciens. Kent Kennan dit qu'ils ne devraient pas être appelés « tubas » :

« Ce sont réellement des cors modifiés. »

Mais puisqu'ils ont été appelés « tubas wagnériens » si longtemps, un changement de nom est peu probable.

D'autres compositeurs ont écrit pour cet instrument notamment : Béla Bartók ; Alec Wilder ; Stephen Caudel ; Andrew Downes ; Felix Dræseke ; Alexander Kaloian ; Elisabeth Lutyens ; Michaël Nyman ; Ragnar Söderlind ; Arnold Schœnberg ; Richard Strauß ; Igor Stravinsky ; Edgard Varèse ; Esa-Pekka Salonen ; et Sofia Gubaidulina.

...

The Wagner tuba is an infrequently-used brass instrument that combines tonal elements of both the French horn and the trombone. Wagner tubas (or « Wagnertuben ») are also referred to as Wagner horns or Bayreuth tubas in English ; and as « Bayreuth-Tuben » or simply « Tuben » in German. The term Wagner tuba has been used in English since the 19th Century and is standard today. Wagner's published scores usually refer to these instruments in the plural, « Tuben » , but sometimes in the singular, « Tuba » .

The Wagner tuba was originally created for Richard Wagner's Operatic cycle « Der Ring des Nibelungen » . Since then, other composers have written for it, most notably Anton Bruckner, in whose Symphony No. 7 a quartet of them is 1st

heard in the slow movement in memory of Wagner, and Richard Strauß, who composed several works that used the Wagner tuba, including his « An Alpine Symphony » .

Wagner was inspired to invent the Wagner tuba after a brief visit to Paris, in 1853, when he visited the shop of Adolphe Sax, the inventor of the saxophone and saxhorn. Wagner was initially shown a saxhorn which is similar to the instrument that Wagner ultimately wanted and later had constructed by the C.W. Moritz firm, in Berlin. Wagner wanted an instrument that could produce the noble and somber « Walhalla » motif in « Das Rheingold » like a trombone but with a less incisive tone, like that of a horn.

That Wagner tuba aural effect is obtained by a conical bore (like a horn) and the use of the horn mouthpiece (tapered and conical, as opposed to the parabolic cup mouthpiece such as on a trombone) . The saxhorn had a more cylindrical and larger bore, used the parabolic cupped mouthpiece and, thus, had a more brassy tone that wasn't quite suitable for Wagner's tonal intent.

The Wagner tuba is built with rotary valves, which (like those on the horn) are played with the left-hand. Horn players traditionally double on Wagner tubas because the mouthpiece and fingering are identical.

The Wagner tuba nominally exists in 2 sizes, tenor in B-flat and bass in F, with ranges comparable to those of horns in the same pitches while being less adept at the highest notes. Several 20th Century and, later, manufacturers have, however, combined the 2 instruments into a double Wagner tuba that can easily be configured in either B-flat or F.

Wagner tubas are normally written as transposing instruments, but the notation used varies considerably and is a common source of confusion - Wagner, himself, used 3 different and incompatible notations in the course of the « Ring » , and all 3 of these systems (plus some others) have been used by subsequent composers.

An additional source of confusion is the fact that the instruments are invariably designated in orchestral scores simply as « tubas » , leaving it sometimes unclear as to whether true bass tubas or Wagner tubas are intended (for example, the 2 tenor tubas in Leoš Janáček's « Sinfonietta » are sometimes wrongly assumed to be Wagner tubas when they are euphoniums) .

The name « Wagner tuba » is considered problematic, possibly incorrect, by many theorists. Kent Kennan says they are poorly named since « they are really modified horns » rather than tubas.

The sound of the Wagner tuba is as mellow as that of the horn and sounds more distant, yet, also more focused. Anton Bruckner generally uses them for pensive melodic passages at piano to pianissimo dynamics. They can hold their own in a « forte tutti » but Bruckner generally gives them sustained tones rather than melodic motifs in such passages.

In Bruckner's 8th and 9th Symphonies, the 4 Wagner tubas are played by 4 players who alternate between playing horn and Wagner tuba, which is the same procedure Wagner used in the « Ring » . This change is simplified by the fact that the horn and Wagner tuba use the same mouthpiece and same fingering.

Where on the orchestral score the Wagner tubas are placed depend on who plays them.

The euphonium is often used as a substitute in modern orchestras, but the psycho-acoustical difference between the 2 instruments is so substantial as to be noticeable.

Wagner tubas are typically played by players who are also playing horn. The staves for the Wagner tubas logically go below those of the horns and above the standard tubas.

If they are played by players who are not also playing horn, they are placed below the trombones, above the regular tuba, which is then called a « contrabass tuba » .

These composers have written for the instrument :

Béla Bartók.

Anton Bruckner.

Felix Dræseke.

Jerry Goldsmith.

Esa-Pekka Salonen.

Arnold Schœnberg.

Richard Strauß.

Igor Stravinsky.

Edgard Varèse.

Richard Wagner.

John Williams.

...

It may carry the word « tuba » in its name but this instrument is in fact a horn ; it uses the same mouthpiece as a horn and is played by traditional horn players.

The Wagner Tuba is generally used as an alternate doubling instrument to the horn and played as part of a quartet, comprising a pair of tenor tubas (played by 5th and 6th horns) and a pair of bass tubas (played by 7th and 8th

horns) . It's because of this doubling and quartet performance combined with the fact that there are few works written to include the instrument, that most horn players do not have a Wagner Tuba of their own.

Usually, Orchestras, Music Colleges, Opera Houses, etc. , purchase 4 Wagner Tubas as a set for use as and when required.

It was in the mid 19th Century that instrument maker Adolphe Sax produced the instrument, demonstrating it to German composer Richard Wagner when they met (around 1853) . Wagner was struck by the horn's rich sound and soon began to incorporate it into his orchestral composition.

At the time he met Sax, he had just begun work on « Das Rheingold » and it is in the opening of Scene 2 where we find him using the instrument to announce the « Walhalla » theme. Indeed, « the Ring » became the 1st major orchestral work to feature the instrument and Wagner had a set of 4 built specifically, having written for a quartet in 2 pairs : B-flat (tenor) and F (bass) . Hence, why it became known as the Wagner Tuba.

Evolution, Physics and Usage of the Wagner Tuba

The evolution of the tuba in the 19th Century begins with the ophicleide. This instrument, inspired by a keyed bugle, was invented in 1817. (Baines, page 198.) It was an improvement on the Serpent, a brass-type instrument from the end of the 18th Century. Variants of the ophicleide remain in use today, such as the Russian bassoon. But this instrument is best remembered as an ancestor to the tuba.

After the invention of valves, brass was changed forever. Keyed instruments have weaker sounds when they keys are opened, but a valved instrument is strong on every note. After the invention and improvement in valves, the ophicleide was modified into the Bombardon. It still retains the ophicleide shape. Unlike the ophicleid, keyed in B-flat, the majority of bombardons « are in tuba pitch F » and are « up to 145 centimeters tall with valve bore reaching 18 millimeters » . (Baines, page 250) The instrument as a whole is very close in profile and shape to it's predecessor.

While the bombardons were still a relatively new invention, Moritz and Wieprecht produced the 1st tuba. This horn was also keyed in F, and had an unusual valve arrangement. (Baines, page 250.) Most modern tubas follow the trumpet, where the 1st valve lowers by a whole step ; the 2nd a half step ; and the 3rd is equal to 1st 2 added together. On the 1st tuba, « the 1st and 2nd valves, for the left-hand, lowered by a tone and a semi-tone. The 3 for the right-hand provided : a large tone, to make an exact 2 tones with the 1st valve ; large semi-tone, to make an exact tone and a half with the 1st valve ; and a perfect 4th » . (Baines, page 250.) Although some argue that this is a more useful valve arrangement, it soon was replaced with the one we are more familiar with.

The tuba, thus introduced, continues to evolve to this day. But, in the 19th Century, several people tried modifications to the tuba, with varying degrees of success, which no longer survive in regular uses. One of these people was Adolphe Sax. Sax did not primarily work on the tuba. His plan was to integrate the wildly divergent band instruments of the time into a single family of Saxhorns. These Tuba-influenced instruments (tenor and bass members) are narrower in bore than generally found on modern tuba. As his ideas were more of unification than modification, especially among

the tenor and tuba size instruments, his changes did not significantly alter the sound or structure of the bass instrument. However, all of his changes were soon incorporated by other instrument makers into their own horns, so whatever improvements he made remain with us today, even if by a different name. (Baines, page 253.)

Despite all this comparison between the bore of a particular horn and the « modern tuba », there was and still is a lot of variance in layout, size and bore. 3 Bass tubas of the same key and from approximately the same time period : yet, even though the 2 horns oriented the same direction are called by the same name and in the same key, there will be a great difference between them in timbre. With this in mind, the various re-namings and deviants of tuba seem to be of less importance. They are all variations on a theme with pretty much the same sound. Yet, one mutant tuba does stand-out, the « Wagner tuba » .

The Wagner Tuba stands-out not in its legacy to modern instruments, but in the wild divergence it possessed. The Wagner tuba has several construction differences which greatly later its tone. The most immediately striking thing about the Wagner tuba is the almost complete absence of a flared bell. In fact, the instrument is completely conical, including the valves. How does this change the sound ? « The sound waves passing down a cone without a bell have their curvature suddenly changed at the open end. » (Richardson, page 77.) This makes the Wagner tuba less efficient at transmitting sound. It also affects the timbre. « If you give a tube a large flare you reduce the intensity of the upper-partials in the note and render it more mellow. » (Richardson, page 78.) The Wagner tuba would then have a brighter sound than either the french horn or a more standard tuba.

The next major difference between a Wagner and a standard tuba is method of sound production. « They are intended to be played by french horn players using their own mouthpieces. » (Morley-Pegge) This certainly affects the tone of the instrument in a way different from other tuba-variants. « On mouthpieces of the horn type, there is no flange and, therefore, nothing definite to form an edge-tone, hence, the player is deprived of its help, with the result of a soft tone. » (Richardson, page 72.) Therefore, we have simultaneously a bright sounding instrument with a soft tone.

While the shape of the mouthpiece is important, it is not as important as the dimensions. « The cup volume and the diameter of the constricted passage of the mouthpiece have significant effect upon the performance of a given mouthpiece, with the shape being a much less important variable. » (Fletcher and Rossig, pages 369-370.) The depth of the french horn mouthpiece is 44 millimeters. (Richardson, page 74.) The higher Wagner tuba is in approximately the same range as the horn, so this is not striking. However, the lower Wagner tuba is in the same range as a tenor trombone, which has a cup depth of 64 millimeters. (Richardson, page 74.) The varied cup volume and constriction of the french horn mouthpiece would also give a french horn sort of sound to the instrument.

It is important not to underestimate the mouthpiece in sound generation and tone. The mouthpiece has a profound affect on the impedance of the horn and the sound of the horn in general. The impedance, as modified by the mouthpiece, is also closely linked with the flare of the bell. (Fletcher and Rossig, page 372.) The total sound of the Wagner tuba, therefore, will be unlike anything else in the orchestra, not like a tuba, and not like a french horn, but similar to both.

Despite these very unique characteristics, the Wagner tuba is really a hybrid between the saxhorn or tuba and the

french horn. Aside from sharing mouthpieces and players with the french horn section, « in bore, they are midway between the horn and the saxhorn » . (Morely-Pegge) What lead Wagner to invent a hybrid instrument ? In fact, « Wagner had already begun to compose Rheingold before he included the tubas » . (Baines, page 263.) So, initially, at least, he did not even have them in mind. But, in October of 1853, Wagner visited Sax. September 1865 : « A letter from the composer to King Ludwig refers to the “ extra instruments ” which he had been scoring for in “ The Ring ” and which he had become acquainted with in Paris at the maker Sax, whose, invention they were. » (Richardson, page 74.) So, at least by that time, Wagner had not thought of any innovations. Necessity, however, prompted him, as he was unable to find « those “ Sax'schen Instrumente ” or even possible substitutes for them in the military bands in Munich, or in Vienna either » . (Baines, page 264.) As he had already begun to compose for the Saxhorns, at this point, he was faced with a dilemma.

When he finally had the instruments built, he used them as a quartet, with 2 B-flat instruments and 2 F. When they are used in « The Ring » , « they are played by the 2nd quartet of horns, horns 5 and 7 playing the B-flat instruments ; and 6 and 8 those in F » . (Morley-Pegge) Unsurprisingly, given Wagner's history of building his own Opera House specifically for I Opera, he only uses the mutant tubas in « The Ring » and nowhere else in his work.

Bruckner and Strauß both made some use of the Wagner tuba. Bruckner uses them in the Adagio movement of his 7th Symphony, and also in his 9th. Strauß made use of the horns, but later revised them out. « The Tenor Tuba in “ Don Quixote ” was evidently 1st to have been a Wagner tuba : Strauß tells in “ Instrumentationslehre ” how, several times, he has written for a B-flat tenor horn, and had found that as a melody instrument the ordinary Bariton (euphonium) was preferable to the “ harsh, awkward Wagner-tubas with their demoniac (sic) sound ” . » (Baines, page 265.)

Despite Strauß' criticism, it was Bruckner's 7th Symphony which became his 1st commercial success, which must be attributed, at least in part, to the role of the tubas.

Wagner failed to create a consistent transposition for his instruments. « In all the parts of “ Rheingold ”, they sound respectively a tone and a 5th lower than written. » Yet, « in the other scores, they appear in E-flat and B-flat, sounding a 6th and a 9th lower » . (Baines, page 264.) He apparently though the 2nd version would be easier for the conductor. But, in yet another « exception is in the Prelude to “ Gotterdammerung ”, where they are written in B-flat and F in brass-band style and sound a 9th and a 12th lower » . (Baines, page 264.) This lack of consistency may indicate a lack of certainty on Wagner's part about the best way to notate his new instrument, or it may stem from a desire to irk french horn players.

In « Das Rheingold » , Wagner uses D-flat major for the tonality around « Walhalla » , as it is suggested « as the most obvious contrasting tonality for the framing scenes before “ Walhalla ” » . (Bailey, page 54.) Thus, the « Walhalla » theme is in D-flat :

Wagner scores this for his tuba quartet. This theme, as is this key are paralleled in « Götterdämmerung » and the tubas are again used. As Bailey states, Wagner uses many such parallels between the 2, « The appearance of D-flat, then, at the beginning and end of the main action of “ Das Rheingold ” serves to define the dramatic structure of the work but, at the same time, Wagner re-inforced the structural parallel of this Opera with “ Götterdämmerung ” by

concluding that Opera in D-flat also. The parallel uses of D-flat are re-inforced by the association of the “Walhalla” music with that tonality-music which is scored for the special sound of the so-called “Wagner Tubas” in both Operas. » (Bailey, page 54.) In fact, the 1st time the tubas get the melody in « Das Rheingold » (in the beginning of the 2nd scene), it is a variant of the « Walhalla » theme in D-flat major.

Bruckner makes more diverse use of the Wagner tubas in his 7th Symphony, which, as stated above, undoubtedly led to its commercial success. The 2nd movement opens with a Wagner tuba quartet. Their part is marked « hervortretend », which means « from the heart ». Bruckner uses the Wagnerian tubas in this way, primarily to carry emotion, and especially sorrow.

Bruckner dedicated that movement to Wagner because he died while Bruckner was writing it. The use of « the Master's » weird little tubas is undoubtedly done in tribute to him. The use of sorrow in the tuba parts is, then, a reflection of Bruckner's sorrow over Wagner's death.

When he makes use of the tubas, it is in the low-register and, often, with only minimal support from the orchestra. Their solist introduce both the 1st and the 2nd theme of the movement. His tubas are scored richly and tragically.

Aside from its use by the composers mentioned above, the Wagner tuba has undergone a bit of a renaissance and is currently being used for film and television scores. Most of the other historic brass is still here and there also. Nothing in music ever gets obsolete.

The Vision

From its beginnings as a musical instrument, the Wagner tuba has never been far from controversy. Its very name has been a source of confusion, there being over a dozen terms for it, in German alone. Its history and development have been subject to sketchy and often incorrect analyses, as have descriptions of the instrument's qualities. What can be said at the outset, however, is that its hybrid construction and limited repertoire often result in problems of intonation for the hornist who doubles on the instrument, certainly for the less-than-skilful player. The Wagner tuba's tone, however, is rightly admired for its nobility and dignity, whilst its use and notation have always been a bit of a puzzle to prospective composers. The difficult issue of notational method has often led to confusion over transposition for the player.

The Wagner tuba was conceived by Richard Wagner (1813-1883), in the summer of 1853, when he was exiled in Zürich. He was working on « Das Rheingold » and envisaged a quartet of instruments which he called : « Tuben ». The Opera's « Walhalla » motif was initially intended for trombones but, then, changed to « Tuben » in the orchestral draft. Wagner probably had in mind the ancient Bronze age Nordic horn, or « lur », when he designed the Wagner tuba. The aim was to bridge the gap in timbre between the horn and trombones, and so, blend the sounds of the brass section more effectively. Being a smaller sized tuba, it would also integrate the sound of the new bass tuba (created in 1835) with that of the horns. The quartet of Wagner tubas would also be able to function on their own as a choir.

The Wagner tuba came to birth against a background of European militarism and national armies which had their own wind bands. There was a concurrent development in all types of brass instruments across the continent, and there are various theories as to which of them inspired Wagner's new instruments. He certainly had dealings with the firm of Moritz before the Munich performances of « Das Rheingold » and « Die Walküre », in 1869-1870. Whatever the inspiration, the Wagner tuba undoubtedly started life as a military band horn-substitute and Wagner needed both technical and practical assistance to realize his new instruments and convert them to his requirements. Excerpts from « The Ring » played in concerts during the 1860's employed band instruments for what Wagner now called his tenor and bass tuba quartet. Finding the right instruments, however, sometimes proved difficult or impossible.

Wagner early became dissatisfied with Sax's products, and while it is thought that the hornist Franz Strauß (the father of Richard Strauß) helped him develop his new instruments, it was a different hornist altogether.

The Apprentice

That hornist was Hans Richter, a gifted musician who played a variety of instruments. He was recommended to Wagner by the Viennese « Kappelmeister » Heinrich Esser. Wagner needed a competent copyist and Richter was engaged to work on « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » while still playing the horn.

Wagner's patron, King Ludwig II, wanted « Das Rheingold » performed on his birthday, in August 1869, but Wagner was less than enthusiastic about it and, indeed, unready for the event : there were still things to be sorted-out, not least of which was procuring his small tubas.

Most of the extant literature on the Wagner tuba agrees that C.W. Moritz of Berlin manufactured the 1st instruments. Wagner had previously employed him, and a new set of Moritz tubas was acquired for Bayreuth, in 1877. However, the first 1869-1870 Munich performances of « Rheingold » and « Walküre » and the 1876 Bayreuth performances of « Der Ring der Nibelungen » used tubas from some other source, and the Moritz family never claimed responsibility for being that source.

Whatever the source, it is certain that the actual premiere of « Das Rheingold », on 22 September 1869, did not employ the new instruments. The performance had a difficult preparation in that the originally intended conductor, Hans von Bülow, stepped down when Wagner began to live with his wife, Cosima. Richter, who looked in line to take-over, also resigned. The King searched for a new conductor and refused to re-instate Richter at Wagner's request. Eventually, Franz Wüllner was taken on and resisted being warned-off by Wagner.

There is no mention of Wagner tubas in Sebastian Roeckl's listing of orchestral personnel, nor is there a record of the instruments or of musicians being additionally paid for playing them. Wüllner, for whom the Wagner tubas were not a priority, accepted many compromises to make the production viable, and the parts would have been given over to military instruments.

Trials and Transpositions

Wagner's lack of cooperation in the preparation of the « Rheingold » premiere persisted with the « Walküre » premiere of 26 June 1870. This meant that hornists had to play the tuba parts on existing brass instruments (the bugle horn) .

However, Wagner had written to Hans Richter, in May 1870, regarding the little tubas and « arranging the extra brass » for the « Rheingold » score. In the published score, printed on 20 March 1873 (for which Wagner received assistance from an unknown copyist on 11 pages of 4 part tuba incipits) , there is a preface where Wagner officially introduces the new quartet of tubas.

Of the 8 horns, 4 alternate on tubas. Of these tubas, 2 are tenor and in B-flat, and 2 are bass and in F. They are to be played by the 3rd and 4th pairs of hornists, numbers 5 through 8, the tenor tubas by players 5 and 7, and the bass tubas by players 6 and 8. Players 6 and 7 typically exchange seats so that the arrangement is 2 tenor tubas alongside 2 bass tubas.

In the score of « Die Walküre » , however, the tenor tubas are written in E-flat and the bass tubas in B-flat in an attempt to cater to the band instruments that 1st played the parts and also to the limitations of the players : the parts were, thus, considered more comfortable for reading. However, the keys of B-flat and F were to be retained in copying the orchestral parts and the music had to be transposed into these keys.

This was the start of the tangled issue of transpositions in writing for the Wagner tuba. Wagner, however, had a change of heart and the parts were not transposed but notated exactly as they had been written in the autograph manuscript. Was this simply indecision on his part or an uncertainty as to the employment and transposition of the new instruments ? Wagner evidently preferred E-flat / B-flat notation while Richter preferred B-flat / F notation.

This confusion is seen in the « Ring » 's final 2 Operas : « Siegfried » adopts E-flat / B-flat notation, with a short but notable excursion into C for the 2nd bass tuba ; and « Götterdämmerung » has the Prelude notated for tenors in B-flat and basses in F, whereas Acts 1-3 return to E-flat / B-flat notation. Wagner's preference of notation, which looked to him like the pitches sounded, gained the upper-hand, and many conflicting theories have been put forward to explain it. One solution from the very beginning was for players to write-out the parts in their own chosen key, and this happens even to this day.

Fruition

It is apparent that the Wagner tuba had a drawn-out conception, realization and 1st employment. In November 1874, however, « Tuben » were ordered in Munich. The very 1st Wagner tubas were made in 1874-1875 by the Munich craftsman Georg Ottensteiner, who had been trained in Paris and offered his own line of Sax-type brass instruments.

The Wagner tuba's public debut took place on 1 March 1875, and Alois Schantl, Michaël Pichler, Franz Nittmann and Wilhelm Kleinecke were the 1st Wagner tubists. Conceived in 1853, the Wagner tuba had needed 22 years to be fully realized.

The instrument was essentially a Cornon with a reduced bore size and 4 valves. It was still far from technically sound and the B-flat instrument was judged the easier to play. Articulation seemed to be a continual problem, and intonation was difficult to control.

The hornists who premiered the Wagner tubas on the 1st entire « Ring » cycle were Theodor Methfessel, Ernst Schmidt, Richard Dechandt and Karl Mullich. The instrument's tone is such that it is able to personify « Walhalla » 's divine majesty, but also the sinister, subterranean world of « Nibelheim » .

In 1877, Moritz delivered a quartet of what he called « horn tubas » and, in 1890, Alexander delivered a definitive set to Bayreuth which would be played for years to come.

The latter were signally the 1st to market their instruments as Wagner tubas and their product would come to be the dominant Wagner tuba of the next Century. Even so, there was heavy competition for the market.

For Wagner himself, the last appearance of the instrument occurred in « Götterdämmerung » . Up to this point, it had been confined to Operatic scores but, after Wagner's death, it would make a notable entry into the Symphonic literature.

The Disciple

Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) 1st met Wagner in 1865 and was present at the Bayreuth « Ring » performance, in 1876. He was overwhelmed by the new quartet of tenor and bass tubas, and their inspiration led him to include Wagner tubas in his most mature 3 Symphonies (7, 8, 9) . In the early 1860's, he had experimented with writing for euphonium and tenor horn but he now became captivated by the expressive possibilities of the Wagner tuba.

In 1882, at the age of 59, Bruckner decided to use them himself, not out of a conscious desire to emulate Wagner or pay him homage, but for musical reasons : to re-inforce the brass section and give it structural back-bone, but also to imbue the music spiritually with a sense of the numinous. So, it was that the Wagner tubas 1st appeared in the Adagio of his Symphony No. 7 in E major (1884) . Their tone colour and timbre brought one more variety of brass sound to the score. No tubas were available for the Arthur Nikisch premiere, but they appeared in the 1885 Munich performance. The work was a success and Bruckner was praised for his treatment of the Wagner tubas.

The Wagner tuba was then given a more extended role in the Symphony No. 8 in C minor, appearing in all movements except the Scherzo. Wagner tubas also feature in the Adagio of Symphony No. 9 in D minor and have a highly-important role in the Finale.

As with Wagner, the instrument's notation is equally problematic for Bruckner, and discrepancies survive in his Wagner tuba parts to this day.

Even after Bruckner, the use of the Wagner tuba quartet was not universally accepted. Rimsky-Korsakov wrote that tubas entered the orchestra « to the detriment of other groups » and led to a « neutralization of brass sound » ;

and the influential academic Hugo Riemann asserted that the tuba choir had no place in the Symphony (both Rimsky-Korsakov and Riemann condemned the instrument's inclusion in the orchestra) .

And, yet, despite the notorious difficulties of idiomatic writing, choice of proper key, finding 4 instruments and the skilled players who could master problems of intonation, the Wagner tuba never failed to impress with its unique sound.

Wagner's Heirs

The Wagner tuba's inclusion in the orchestra had its supporters in Heinrich Rietsch, Alfred Orel and Fritz Öser but, even so, most composers didn't trust themselves to write for it. Engelbert Humperdinck warned against its casual deployment and Gustav Mahler gave thought to using them but ultimately excluded them. Only a handful of post-Wagnerians actually composed for them :

Adalbert von Goldschmidt (1848-1906) in « Heliantus » (1884) .

Jean-Louis Nicodé (1853-1919) in « Das Meer » , Opus 31 (1891) .

Friedrich Klose (1862-1942) (who had lessons with Bruckner) in « Der Sonne-Geist » (1917) .

Felix Dræseke (1835-1913) in « Jubel-Overtüre » , Opus 65 (1898) in which Dræseke uses 2 B-flat tenor tubas and 2 basses in F, which are employed separately and in a jolly, galloping manner (a far cry from the hieratical tones of Wagner and Bruckner, a divergence for which he was rebuked by Richard Strauß) .

Richard Strauß also used the instruments in : « Guntram » , Opus 25 (1893) ; « Don Quixote » , Opus 35 (1898) ; « Ein Heldenleben » , Opus 40 (1899) ; and « Elektra » (1909) . Strauß's most intensive continuous occupation with the Wagner tuba was during the years 1913 to 1917 in : « Josephs Legende » , Opus 63 (1914) ; « Eine Alpensinfonie » , Opus 64 (1915) ; and « Die Frau ohne Schatten » , Opus 65 (premiered in 1919) .

In « Don Quixote » , he was the 1st to use a mute for the Wagner tuba, and both this work and « Ein Heldenleben » are scored for a single tenor tuba in B-flat. « Elektra » contains what may be the most difficult tuba parts in existence in an about-face from his critique of Dræseke's « dancing tubas » . They assume a very important place in the Opera's sound world. After 1919, he never again composed for the Wagner tuba. Indeed, Strauß later came to think that his solo Wagner tuba parts were generally better off played on euphoniums, baritones or tenor horns - « better than the rough and inflexible tuba with its demonic noise » , was his comment.

Wagner tuba parts were typically played by existing military instruments outside the German-speaking world. Substitution (variously by cornophones, Saxhorns, tubettes, tenor horns or euphoniums, or tuba instruments built along Sax lines) was also the norm in Great Britain, but the 1st true English Wagner tuba quartet (from Alexander in Mainz) made its debut in the Covent Garden « Ring » cycles, in Spring 1935. The United States, because it imported many German hornists, had authentic Wagner tubas from quite early on.

With the major Opera Houses in Germany and Austria all having sets of Wagner tubas by the early 20th Century, there was consequently a finite market for the instruments. Makers like Enders (Mainz) ; Schopf (Munich) ; Schopper (Leipzig) ; Reißmann (Chemnitz) ; and the « Produktiv-Genossenschaft der Instrumentmacher » (Vienna) found the market a crowded one, vying with Gbr. Alexander (Mainz) ; Eschenbach (Dresden) ; Knopf (Markneukirchen) ; Eduard Kruspe (Erfurt) ; C. W. Moritz (Berlin) ; Piering (Adorf) ; C. F. Schmidt (Berlin-Weimar) ; and Uhlmann (Vienna) . They were saved by the military bands in Prussia and Imperial Germany which took on use of the instruments more and more to replace horns in march-music and so be loud enough to compete in the open-air.

Felix Dræseke and the Wagner Tuba

The repertoire for the Wagner tuba is severely limited, but unsurpassed for sheer quality. The instruments are the sonic embodiment of « Walhalla » , and attempts to describe their sound have always been fulsome : « solemn, dignified and heroic » (1) , « dark and richly mellow » (2) , « very noble » (3) , « a totally unique, exalted, ceremonial character » (4) , « full and smooth » (5) , « a new brass timbre something on the dark and smoky side » (6) , « holy and sovereign » (7) , « a profound strength » (8) , « rich, round, solemn » (9) , « a grave majesty » (10) , « very deep and sonorous » (11) , « characteristic tone that is more potent and somber than that of the horn » (12) , « a stately power and hallowed grandeur » (13) , « strange and individual, impossible to describe, and not to be forgotten, once heard » (14) . Yet, Wagner tubas have always presented a puzzle, both to prospective composers, and to the players themselves. The former disagreed so widely on how to notate for the instruments that the resultant confusion of transpositions still confounds novice tubists today. And the hybrid construction that produces a majestic sound in the hands of a skilled quartet also guarantees that less expert attempts end in intonational disaster.

Confusion is inherent in their very name. In German alone, they have been known variously as : « Tuben » , « Wagner-Tuben » , « Ring-Tuben » , « Nibelungen-Tuben » , « Rheingold-Tuben » , « Siegfried-Tuben » , « Bayreuth-Tuben » , « Tenor-Tuben » ; and « Bass-Tuben » , « B-Tuben » ; and « F-Tuben » , « Horn-Tuben » ; and « Waldhorn-Tuben » (15) . Historical and technical treatments of the instrument are often sketchy, hazy affairs. « There is a great deal of misinformation about these unusual instruments » (16) wrote Nicholas Bessaraboff. Even the best current reference works in German and English treat basic journalistic questions about the instrument coyly ; the original manufacturer is variously identified as C. W. Moritz, Adolphe Sax, or simply unknown, and the date of the 1st instruments inspires estimates ranging from 1869 to 1876. Hans Kunitz concluded :

« Literature about the Wagner tuba consists mainly of assertions either dubious or erroneous. »

Compelling argument for an extensive treatment.

They were conceived in the summer of 1853, a gleam in the fertile imagination of Richard Wagner, in Zürich exile after his participation in the Dresden uprising of the Revolution of 1848. More than 20 years would pass before the Wagner tubas made their 1st appearance in the orchestra. But, slowly, the necessary elements fell into place : the former Viennese hornist Hans Richter lent Wagner the practical expertise that he was missing, and Ludwig II of Bavaria's generous gift of privy funds, in January 1874, was followed by a commission to Munich artisan Georg Ottensteiner (trained in Paris during the rise of Adolphe Sax) to create Wagner's new tubas themselves. They were

unveiled at a Viennese performance of « Ring » excerpts led by the composer, on 21 February 1875, and were employed at the 1st Bayreuth « Festspiel » of 1876.

Yet, aside from the signal example of Anton Bruckner, composers were loathe to adopt the Wagner tuba over the next few decades. Its future in the orchestra became a matter of debate, as both Nicolai Rimsky-Korsakov and the influential academic Hugo Riemann condemned its inclusion. Well-known post-Wagnerians like Siegfried Wagner, Hans Pfitzner, Siegmund von Hausegger, August Bungert and Max von Schillings declined to take-up the instruments. Engelbert Humperdinck, whose admiration for Wagner was unlimited, explicitly cautioned against casual employment of the tuba quartet :

« The use of 4 tubas and daring harmonic progressions are in the end merely superficialities, and they have nothing to do with the actual essence of Wagner's art. » (18)

Among the handful of composers who did trust themselves to experiment with Wagner tubas were the avid Wagnerians Adalbert von Goldschmidt, Jean-Louis Nicodé, Friedrich Klose and the young Arnold Schœnberg. Another, who stands apart from this group, was Felix Dræseke.

Though Dræseke's studies were made at the Leipzig Conservatory with the Mendelssohnian Julius Rietz, he was afterwards drawn to Wagner and Liszt. Dræseke attended the « Ring » in Bayreuth, in August 1876, and there had a chance to hear the new Wagner tubas. At the end of the month, he resettled in Dresden where, in 1884, he became Franz Wüllner's successor as composition teacher at the Conservatory. He often heard the excellent hornists of the « Hofkapelle » (led by the incomparable Oscar Franz) , and composed the « Adagio » , Opus 31, and « Romanze » , Opus 32, for horn and piano (19) in 1885, and the Quintet, Opus 48, for piano, violin, viola, cello, and horn (20) in 1888. « With the passing of time, Dræseke's relationship to Liszt and New German ideals cooled » (21) and, returning to his early-Romantic roots, he opposed what he termed the « cacophony » of modern composers. But a close friendship with Jean-Louis Nicodé (who conducted a number of Dræseke's works in his concert series) , perhaps, influenced his inclusion of a quartet of Wagner tubas in the « Jubel-Overtüre » , Opus 65. Written for the dual occasion of the 70th birthday and 25th Jubilee of King Albert of Saxony, and 1st performed by the « Dresden Hofkapelle » under Ernst von Schuch, on 23 April 1898, the score includes 2 tenor tubas in B-flat (alto) and 2 basses in F (loco, in so-called « new » bass clef) . The horn section that season included solo hornist and « Kammervirtuos » Oswald Mai, Bruno Franz, Hugo Wünschmann, and Reinhard Beyer, and probable tubists were Karl Krellwitz, Carl Blochwitz, Richard Köhler, and Max Uhlemann (22) . Dræseke wrote in the preface to the work :

« A reduction of orchestral forces should be easy to arrange. 3rd clarinet, triangle, glockenspiel, and bass trombone could simply be left-out. Likewise, the participation of 2nd harp and 4th trumpet are not essential and are left to the discretion of the conductor. However, the 4 tubas are to be retained if at all possible. » (23)

Dræseke's tubas play through much of the jovial overture simply doubling the trombones in the rhythmical figures of the tuttis, or serving as chordal accompaniment.

The special colour of the tuba quartet is never allowed to be heard in isolation (the B-flat and F instruments often used

separately, either unison or singly) . The hieratical sense of Wagner and Bruckner is lost in the jolly galloping, but is replaced by a new, more muscular style.

That Dræseke had departed from Wagner's lead on tuba use was obvious to one observer, who submitted the cautionary example of the case of a living composer who once showed me the score of a comic Overture in which 4 « Nibelung » tubas danced along together with the rhythm of the rest of the brass (simply amplifying the tutti) . I asked the author, an otherwise admirable, highly-cultured musician, what he was doing in a cheerful comic Overture with what one might call Wagner's « discovery » (which he used with such wisdom and secure vision to portray the gloomy world of the « Nibelungs ») . He answered me quite ingenuously :

« Well really, tubas are used in every large orchestra these days. Why shouldn't I write for them, too ? »

I kept silent, but thought privately, « the man cannot be helped. » (24)

The author of these lines was Richard Strauß, who had conducted a performance of the « Jubel-Overtüre » in Leipzig, on 1 October 1898, for a stellar audience of leading German composers. The « cautionary example » was a very public 1905 rebuke of Dræseke's writing for the tuba quartet. It may also have been an opening salvo that preceded Dræseke's famous condemnation of Strauß in « Die Konfusion in der Musik » (25) , the next year.

Strauß, himself, had approached Wagner tubas with circumspection. The 28 year old began by writing his hornist father Franz, in May 1893 :

« Would you please be so good as to find-out how to write for tenor horns, in which key, and their range :

1. What is altogether possible.

2. How high and how low are truly comfortable ? I need them for the stage-music at the end of the 2nd act of the Opera « Guntram » , Opus 25, where I want to use them in place of horns. » (26)

While bass trumpet, bass trombone, and contrabass tuba all found their way into the « Guntram » score, the 4 tenor horns (written in B-flat alto) were only used for 20 bars in the off-stage band (27) . 5 years later, Strauß wrote for a single tenor tuba in B-flat in the tone-poem « Don Quixote » , Opus 35. A tenor tuba in B-flat also figured in Strauß' « Ein Heldenleben » , Opus 40. Not until the composition of « Elektra » , in 1908, did Strauß decide to employ an entire quartet of Wagner tubas for the 1st time.

Wagner and Bruckner, wrote Ingrid Fuchs, had treated « the tuba quartet preferentially, as a group set apart, mostly for quiet ceremonial, solemn utterances » . (28) Dresden hornist August Prée observed :

« Because of their unwieldy nature, great technical prowess should not be expected from the tubas. » (29)

This status quo was shattered when Strauß produced the score of « Elektra » , an about-face from his critique of Dræseke's dancing tubas. Here, Strauß went far beyond Wagner in his demands on the instruments, Julian Baker rightly

calling the parts « uncompromisingly virtuosic » . (30) The awe-filled handling of the Wagner tuba by late- Romantic composers had now been joined by a more athletic writing style, and Igor Stravinsky and Béla Bartók were among many that enthusiastically continued in the new vein. As time progressed, this raw aspect of the tubas would be exploited in venues as diverse as Opera Houses, Prussian military bands, and Hollywood films. In hindsight, perhaps, Strauß had learned something from Dræseke's dancing tubas after all.

Notes

- (1) Raymond Bryant. « The Wagner Tubas » , Monthly Musical Record No. 67 (September 1937) ; page 153.
- (2) Dieter Michaël Backes. « Die Instrumentation und ihre Entwicklung in Anton Bruckners Symphonien » , Volume I, Dissertation, Mainz (1993) ; pages 220-221.
- (3) Anonym. « The Stage » (February 1896) , quoted in : John Webb. « Mahillon's Wagner Tubas » , The Galpin Society Journal No. 49 (March 1996) ; page 2.
- (4) Friedrich Eckstein. « Alte unnennbare Tage ! Erinnerungen aus siebzig Lehr- und Wanderjahren » , Vienna (1936) ; page 155.
- (5) Hans Kunitz. « Instrumenten-Brevier » , Wiesbaden (1961) ; page 79.
- (6) Alfred Frankenstein. « A Modern Guide to Symphonic Music » , New York (1966) ; page 179.
- (7) Karl Geiringer. « Instrumente in der Musik des Abendlandes » , Munich (1982) ; page 208.
- (8) « Lexikon Musikinstrumente » , edited by Wolfgang Ruf, Mannheim (1991) ; page 563.
- (9) Barry Millington. « Wagner » , Princeton (1984) ; page 221.
- (10) Robin Gregory. « The Horn. A Comprehensive Guide to the Modern Instrument and its Music » , London (1969) ; 177.
- (11) Paul Schwers. « Das Konzertbuch. Sinfonische Werke » , Stuttgart (1940) ; page 201.
- (12) Bruno Kampmann. « Les instruments de l'orchestre wagnérien » , « Bulletin de l'Association des Collectionneurs d'instruments à Vent » No. 13, Larigot (July 1993) ; page 10.
- (13) Kurt Janetzky and Bernhard Brüchle. « Das Horn. Eine kleine Chronik seines Werdens und Wirkens » , Bern and Stuttgart (1977) ; page 82.
- (14) Walter Piston. « Orchestration » , New York (1955) ; page 294.

Comparing the instruments to the bass tuba, Forsyth called the tone « less “ bullocky ”, quieter, and more “ otherworldish ” » - Cecil Forsyth. « Orchestration » , London (1935) ; page 153.

(15) The confusion is sometimes exacerbated in English by the adoption of the word « Tuben » directly from the German. An argument for this usage is for precision of expression (to distinguish from the bass tuba) : as Jeremy Montagu has written, « the Wagner tuba or, as it is usually known today, the tuben » (« The French Horn » , Buckinghamshire, 1990 ; page 26.) . Yet, precision is blurred if the singular form (« Tube ») is ignored, either because of unfamiliarity or because of its acoustical similarity to tuba. This unfamiliarity can easily result in linguistic hash, like the doubly plural title « Wagnerian tubens are growing in popularity » (« The School Musician » No. 42, November 1970 ; page 66.) . Still another usage adds the English plural to the German singular : « Tube » -s.

Tradition has it that Hans Richter unwittingly coined the phrase « Wagner tuba » , during rehearsals for the 1st London « Ring » : his correct German pronunciation of « Tube » being understood acoustically by the English musicians as « tuba » (Reginald Morley-Pegge. « The Horn, and the Later Brass » , in : « Musical Instruments Through the Ages » , edited by Anthony Baines, Harmondsworth, 1978 ; page 315.) Whether or not this anecdote is true, the designation Wagner tuba(-s) now carries the advantage of being the most wide-spread name for the instrument in English. As formulated by Barry Tuckwell, « The term “ Wagner Tuba ” is convenient and leaves no doubt as to what instrument is intended. » (Horn. London and Sydney, 1983 ; page 90.)

(16) Nicholas Bessaraboff. « Ancient European Musical Instruments » , Boston (1941) ; page 144.

(17) Hans Kunitz. « Die Instrumentation. Ein Hand- und Lehrbuch » , Band 9 : Tuba, Leipzig (1968) ; page 889.

Robert Pinson Bobo agreed :

« In spite of the fact that a number of authors have written articles about the Wagner Tuben, the material is incomplete, debatable, and somewhat inaccessible. » - Scoring for the Wagner « Tuben » by Richard Wagner, Anton Bruckner and Richard Strauß - DMA Thesis, Miami (1971) ; page 2.

(18) August Göllerich and Max Auer. « Anton Bruckner. Ein Lebens- und Schaffens-Bild » , Band 4, chapter 3 : (1890-1896) , Regensburg (1936) ; page 539.

(19) « Adagio » , Opus 31, for horn and piano ; « Romanze » , Opus 32, for horn and piano, Kistner, Leipzig (1885) .

(20) Quintet, Opus 48, for piano, violin, viola, cello, and horn, Kistner, Leipzig (1888) . Dræseke wrote of the work that he had employed the horn « as binding agent for the very different sounds of the keyboard and string instruments » . Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff. « Felix Dræseke : Chronik seines Lebens. Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Dræseke-Gesellschaft. Schriften » , Band 3, Bonn (1989) ; page 92.

(21) Alfred Einstein. « Das neue Musiklexikon » , Berlin (1926) ; page 155.

(22) Private communications from Peter Damm, January 29 and February 19, 2003. Though the original Dræseke parts no longer exist, notations in the « Dresden Ring » parts for the season of the « Jubel-Overtüre » premiere reveal which players typically played the tubas. Further performances of the « Jubel-Overtüre » , in 1898, were given in Leipzig and Berlin.

(23) Felix Dræseke. « Jubel-Ouvertüre für grosses Orchester » , Opus 65, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig (1898) ; preface.

(24) Forward to : Hector Berlioz. « Instrumentationslehre » , enlarged and edited by Richard Strauß, Frankfurt (1905) . The identity of the composer of the « Comic Overture » began as an enigma. A surprising number of likely-named Overtures had to be vetted, including works by Ferruccio Busoni (« Lustspiel-Overtüre » , Opus 38) ; Hans Huber (« Lustspielovertüre » , Opus 50) ; Max Reger (« Eine Lustspiel-Overtüre » , Opus 120) ; Georg Schumann (« Lebensfreude Overtüre » , Opus 54) ; and Felix Weingartner (« Lustige Overtüre » , Opus 53) . All of these composers knew Strauß. Several were, tantalizingly, less than friendly with Strauß. But none of them included Wagner tubas in their scores.

Otherwise, authoritative sources were unhelpful in providing specific information. Use of Wagner tubas has been attributed to Felix Dræseke in each of the following :

Janetzky and Brüche ; page 82.

Clifford Bevan. « The Tuba Family » , London (1972) ; page 194.

Curt Sachs. « Handbuch der Musikinstrumente » , Wiesbaden (1979) ; page 280.

Stephen Parkany. « Kurth's Bruckner and the Adagio of the 7th Symphony » , 19th Century Music, Volume 11, No. 3 (1998) ; page 269 - footnote.

However, none of these correctly identified the work in question, several hinting misleadingly that Dræseke's « Sinfonia Tragica » might have included Wagner tubas. It does not.

(25) Felix Dræseke. « Die Konfusion in der Musik. Ein Mahnruf » , « Neue Musik-Zeitung » , Stuttgart (1906) ; reprinted in : Susanne Shigihara. « Die Konfusion in der Musik. Felix Draesekes Kampfschrift von 1906 und ihre Folgen » , « Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Dræseke-Gesellschaft. Schriften » , Band 4, edited by Helmut Loos, Bonn (1990) .

(26) Letter from Richard Strauß to Franz Strauß (May 10, 1893) , in : « Richard Strauß, Briefe an die Eltern (1882-1906) » , edited by Willi Schuh, Zürich (1954) ; page 178.

(27) Act 2, Scene 3 : « Ziemlich lebhaft » , 2 measures after rehearsal No. 128. The band opens its fanfare fortissimo, reducing gradually to piano diminuendo to simulate its departure in the distance.

(28) Ingrid Fuchs. « Klingt Bruckner “ wagnerisch ” ? » , « Bruckner Symposion. Bruckner, Wagner und die

Neudeutschen in Österreich » , edited by Othmar Wessely, Linz (1986) ; page 115.

(29) August Prée. « Die Wagner- oder Horntuben » , in : Emil Ludwig Teuchert and Erhard Walter Haupt. « Musik-Instrumentenkunde in Wort und Bild » , Band 3, « Messingblas-und Schlaginstrumente » , Leipzig (1928) ; page 27.

(30) Julian Baker. « Opera and Ballet » , in : « The Business » , edited by Paul Pritchard, Thames Ditton, Surrey (1992) ; page 28. Strauß would continue to employ the Wagner tuba in « Josephs Legende » , « Eine Alpensinfonie » and « Die Frau ohne Schatten » .

Modern Voices

The Wagner tuba had been taken-up by a select number of Wagner's heirs, its literature and scope had continued to grow, a healthy number of manufacturers now produced them, and military contracts seemed a guarantee for a prosperous future. The First World War, however, swept away most of the military bands as well as the last vestiges of the Romantic inheritance. The question now was, would the Wagner tuba find a place in the modern musical landscape ? Would « modern » composers use the instrument at all, and if so, how ?

In the event, the modern titans only used the Wagner tuba sparingly. Arnold Schönberg's sole use of the instrument was in his « Gurre-Lieder » (1900-1911) which included 10 horns in F with the last 4 doubling on Wagner tubas (tenor tubas in E-flat and bass tubas in B-flat, the only departure being the seating arrangements : 7 and 8 in B-flat, and 9 and 10 in F) .

Igor Stravinsky was early exposed to the music of Wagner, Bruckner and Strauß, but one questions his familiarity with the Wagner tuba itself. He used them in a way uniquely his own in « The Firebird » (1910) . « The Rite of Spring » (1911-1913) was Stravinsky's 2nd and final work for the instrument. He didn't indicate which octave he required for the B-flat tenor tuba parts, and the controversy continues to this day.

Béla Bartók used 2 B-flat tenor tubas in « Kossuth » (1903) and « The Miraculous Mandarin » , Opus 19 (1918-1919) . In Gustav Holst's « The Planets » (1914-1916) , the 1 tenor tuba in B-flat is meant to be played by the euphonium, but it is played in Vienna on the Wagner tuba. Likewise, Leoš Janáček's « Sokol Fanfare » from his « Sinfonietta » , and the « Capriccio » (1926) , whose scores indicate tenor tubas, employ euphoniums in Prague, and Wagner tubas in Vienna !

Composing for the Wagner tuba slowed down after the First World War and its repertoire languished for 40 years. Exceptions, however, were Leopold Stokowski's orchestral arrangement of Bach's Passacaglia in C minor (BWV 582) which uses a quartet of tenor and bass tubas, and Edgard Varèse's « Arcana » (1927) . The solo tuba in Maurice Ravel's orchestration of « Pictures at an Exhibition » (« Bydlo ») is sometimes played on the Wagner tuba. Yet, all of these are simply cameo appearances.

Danish composer Rued Langaard (1893-1952) used a quartet of Wagner tubas in his 1st Symphony (1908-1911) . When the work was premiered in Berlin, the Wagner tuba parts were played by horns to save money. Understandably,

Langaard never again wrote for Wagner tubas !

As the Century wore on, many manufacturers went-out of business and closed their doors. Even the oldest extant maker of instruments, C. W. Moritz, shut down operations in 1955. The Wagner tuba was in danger of becoming a museum piece.

Wagner Tuba Revival

The 1960's brought a sea change for the Wagner tuba as 4 leading composers chose to give the instrument a significant role in important works : Friedrich Cerha (born in 1926) , in « Mouvements I-III » for chamber orchestra ; Einojuhani Rautavaara (born in 1928) , in his 3rd and 4th Symphonies (1961, 1962) , « Kaivos » (1963) , and « Angels and Visitations » (1978) ; Bernd Alois Zimmermann (1918-1970) in « Die Soldaten » (1958-1960) ; and Hans Werner Henze (born in 1926) in « Das Floß der Medusa » (1968, revised in 1990) .

There followed a rebirth of composing interest and, in the last 3rd of the 20th Century, the Wagner tuba had been used by Michaël Horwood (born in 1947) in his 3rd Symphony, « Andromeda » (1996) ; Jens-Peter Ostendorf (born in 1944) in his « Chor für Orchester » (1974) ; Alfred Reed in his « Theme » from « In Memoriam » (1971) ; Will Eisma (born in 1929) in his « Vanbridge Concerto » ; Eberhard Eyser (born in 1932) in his « Tornadas » ; Siegfried Borris (1906-1987) in his « Musik für Waldhorn » , Opus 109, Book 3, No. 4 ; Charles Shere (born in 1935) in his « Small Concerto for piano and orchestra » (1964) , « Night-music » (1967) , and « Tongues » (1978) ; Christopher Rouse in his Symphony No. 1 (1986) ; Sofia Gubaidulina (born in 1931) in her « Viola Concerto » (1997) ; Thomas Goss (born in 1962) in his « Uriel's Flame » (2000) and « The 7 Deadly Sins (of a dog) » (2002) .

Stephen Caudel's « Edel Rhapsody » for Wagner Tuba and small orchestra (1993) is the 1st and only work ever to feature the instrument in a solo role with orchestra.

Perhaps, the most prolific composer for Wagner tuba is the Cuban George Lopez (born in 1955) who composed a remarkable 11 works for Wagner tuba including : « Gonzales the Earth Eater for Solo Wagner Tuba and 4 Instruments » (1996) , and « Dome Park for 82 Instrumentalists » (1993) which includes 8 Wagner tubas (4 in B-flat, and 4 in F) .

From the 1960's onwards, the instrument reached Hollywood and even the Motown charts. The Wagner tuba was memorably used in Harry Nilsson's « Everybody's Talkin » ; Mason Williams' « Classical Gas » ; and Mike Post's « Rockford Files Theme » - the latter 2 being honoured with musical awards. The Wagner tuba has been used creatively in both Jazz and motion film scores.

The general impression of the Wagner tuba that is still current is of an outdated museum piece, and it is often the butt of caricature. Many hornists also have a problematical relationship with the instrument and do not normally like to play them. The Wagner tuba has a negative reputation of being hard to play and having intonational difficulties, but this stems purely from unfamiliarity with the instrument which can be the result of infrequent usage.

The one-time dearth of mid- 20th Century instrument-makers has now been turned around and there are currently 15 manufacturers of the Wagner tuba. Of these, Gebr. Alexander in Mainz are the longest continuous manufacturer. Additionally, there are 3 manufacturers of mutes for the Wagner tuba.

Compensating double tubas were re-introduced in the 1960's, to be followed by full double tubas, yet, these instruments have not been accepted without criticism.

At the start of the 21st Century, inclusion of the Wagner tuba in the orchestra shows no sign of waning. Sofia Gubaidulina wrote a « Saint-John's Passion » (2000) ; Gavin Bryars (born in 1943) wrote an Opera called « G » (2002) ; Esa-Pekka Salonen (born in 1958) wrote the orchestral work « Insomnia » (2002) ; Heinz Karl Gruber (born in 1943) wrote the orchestral work « Dancing in the Dark » (2003) ; and Klaus Lang (born in 1971) wrote the Opera « Die Perser » (2003) . Each of these compositions include Wagner tubas in their scores.

Les adaptations pour piano des Symphonies de Bruckner

Le succès incomparable et la gloire internationale que Bruckner connut après la création mondiale de sa 7e Symphonie donnée le 30 décembre 1884 au Nouveau Théâtre de Leipzig par l'Orchestre du « Gewandhaus » sous la direction d'Arthur Nikisch peut être attribué à la reconnaissance unanime du 2e mouvement en do dièse mineur. L'équilibre formel et la perfection structurelle de l'Adagio de la Symphonie en mi bémol majeur élèvent l'œuvre, dont le mouvement final fut écrit sous le choc de l'information de la mort du « Maître adoré et immortel » Richard Wagner, au rang des meilleures musiques funèbres du répertoire Symphonique. Même les critiques des journaux se laissèrent entraîner à rédiger des commentaires enthousiastes, qui atteignirent des sommets positifs jusque là inconnus lorsqu'il s'agit de la musique de Bruckner, et Hans Richter (1843-1916) , Maître de chapelle de la Cour et chef d'orchestre des concerts philharmoniques de Vienne, aurait affirmé plein d'enthousiasme que « depuis Ludwig van Beethoven, rien de pareil n'a été composé » . Même les adeptes d'Eduard Hanslick, qui dans sa fonction de professeur d'esthétique et d'histoire de la musique à l'Université de Vienne fut le chef de file de la critique hostile à Bruckner, se virent contraints de rédiger des commentaires bienveillants.

Étant donné qu'ils représentaient une idéologie Classique, les critiques continuèrent de diffamer Bruckner, lui reprochant d'être un épigone de Richard Wagner et un copiste naïf de la nouvelle École allemande, mais ils constatèrent cependant que l'on pouvait tomber sur « une beauté singulière, des idées géniales (!) » et des « passages intéressants, même beaux » . Ainsi Max Kalbeck, qui fut aux yeux de Bruckner un adepte du « méchant adversaire, le docteur Hanslick » , décrivit dans un article publié dans la « Wiener Presse » concernant l'exécution de la 7e Symphonie à Vienne (le 21 mars 1886) une « forte impression » qui fut provoquée chez l'auditeur par cet Adagio « relativement réussi » .

Hugo Wolf, un ami et compagnon d'infortune de Bruckner, plus jeune que celui-ci, raconta à quel point toute réaction positive concernant l'œuvre Symphonique de Bruckner, sans parler de réussite ou même de jubilation frénétique, fut unanimement réprouvée dans la presse contemporaine et que les milieux déterminants pour la musique à Vienne désapprouvèrent, bannirent et même empêchèrent les entreprises de Bruckner jusqu'au moment où cette Symphonie dédiée à Louis II, roi de Bavière, remporta sa victoire. Seulement 2 (!) jours avant l' « acte salvateur » d'Arthur

Nikisch, Hugo Wolf décrivit dans une glose dans le « Wiener Salonblatt » la situation à ce moment désespérée du compositeur de la Haute-Autriche dans la métropole du Danube. Avec quelques paroles ironiques, il démasqua la compétence présumée ainsi que l'ignorance du public et de la critique comme n'étant qu'un demi savoir et il déplora « l'impression bouleversante de voir cet homme extraordinaire banni de la salle de concert et auquel devrait revenir l'honneur d'être joué et adoré en premier ». De plus, il accusa les partisans de Bruckner de ne pas savoir imposer le compositeur auprès des personnalités et institutions importantes de la vie culturelle publique à Vienne. Ainsi, l'on peut trouver un renvoi au chef Hans Richter qui dut affronter le refus de jouer des œuvres de Bruckner de son Orchestre philharmonique. Bruckner dut effectivement lutter pour pouvoir réaliser les peu nombreuses exécutions contemporaines de ses œuvres par des orchestres, et assez souvent il se vit contraint de présenter au public ses créations sur le piano.

Dans cette situation misérable, il fut soutenu principalement par Ferdinand Löwe, les frères Franz et Josef Schalk, August Stradal et le pianiste Cyrill Hynais ; ceux-ci comptèrent parmi ses élèves et furent partisans des œuvres de leur Maître, il servirent de copiste, rédigèrent des réductions pour piano 4 mains et se présentèrent principalement comme interprètes des Symphonies de Bruckner au piano. Ces arrangements pour le piano furent exécutés, la plupart du temps, lors de concerts semi-officiels, organisés par des Associations de musique privées bourgeoises. Ainsi, l'association académique viennoise pour la promotion de Wagner et la nouvelle association de Richard Wagner offrirent à Bruckner assez souvent la seule et unique possibilité de se produire en tant que compositeur et artiste. Ainsi, la 7e Symphonie fut créée en entier le 27 février 1884 dans sa version pour 2 pianos 4 mains, laquelle fut réalisée par Josef Schalk et Ferdinand Löwe. La réduction pour piano 4 mains de Franz et Josef Schalk ainsi que l'arrangement pour 2 pianos de Hermann Behn furent publiées en 1895-1896 aux éditions Albert J. Gutmann. L'adaptation pour 2 mains, publiée chez Universal-Edition, fut réalisée par le pianiste Cyrill Hynais et reproduit fidèlement la partition pour orchestre. L'honnêteté de Hynais concernant l'adaptation pour piano doit être considérée comme exception ; assez souvent, les arrangements pour piano comprirent des modifications et des corrections, qui se laissèrent justifier pour des raisons de sonorité, mais qui furent réalisées par les adeptes Schalk, Löwe et Stradal afin de rendre les œuvres plus attrayantes.

C'est dans ce cadre qu'il s'agit d'évaluer la problématique des versions pour piano des œuvres de Anton Bruckner : Bruckner prit au sérieux ces interprétations de ses œuvres pour orchestre (il dirigea (!) lui-même la création mondiale de son « Te Deum » dans la version pour 2 pianos, cependant, il fut conscient des problèmes de ces exécutions quant à une interprétation fidèle à l'original des œuvres écrites pour la postérité. Ferdinand Löwe, les frères Schalk et Cyrill Hynais furent des pianistes remarquables et des instrumentalistes capables, sans aucun doute, de réaliser des « exécutions soignées, presque orchestrales » et pouvant transmettre le contenu des compositions, même si l'orchestration et la sonorité furent pour Bruckner des éléments musicaux aussi importants que le rythme, la mélodie ou l'harmonie. L'emploi des tubas dans sa « musique funèbre » (7e Symphonie, Adagio, à la lettre X), un hommage à Richard Wagner, peut servir d'exemple. Les comptes rendus dans la presse contemporaine montrent que le public et la critique furent tout à fait capables de différencier entre les « interprétations parfaites » des adaptations et la « beauté pressentie » de l'original. Participer à de tels « concerts de piano » servit donc également à la préparation et à la transmission d'un avant-goût de l'exécution orchestrale. Les transcriptions pour piano furent par conséquent un moyen légitime pour l'occupation avec l'œuvre orchestrale d'un compositeur et pour l'assimilation et la promulgation d'œuvres rarement données en concert.

Arrangements of Symphonic music which remained as close as possible to the original text were very popular in the 19th Century. Piano arrangements played an increasingly important role in concert life, and the arrangements of Bruckner's Symphonies, in particular, have been described as « well-known examples » of this genre. (1)

Why was it so important to perform Bruckner's Symphonies in piano transcriptions ? Who made them, who played them, when were they printed ?

One reason was the musical situation in Vienna in the late- 1870's and 1880's. When Bruckner moved to Vienna, in 1868, he was known as an organist, teacher and composer of church music. Nevertheless, his 1st Symphony was performed in Linz, in 1868.

In the « Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein » and with the help of some young musicians and he found a means to get his music performed and to popularize it among the interested public.

Founded in 1872, the « Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein » found its importance not only in drawing attention to Richard Wagner and the Bayreuth Festival, but as well to Bruckner as a composer. (2)

As performances of the orchestral versions presented difficulties, Bruckner's Symphonies were introduced to the public in arrangements for piano (2 hands, 4 hands) or 2 pianos at so-called « Internen Abenden » (internal evenings) of the « Wagner-Verein » , thus, providing a foretaste of eventual orchestral performances of his works.

As Leon Botstein considers, it was very important for new music such as Bruckner's to be performed in this way, as « the anticipation of a work's actual sound before a live hearing made the live event that much more impressive » . (3)

Let us now follow the history of Bruckner's Symphonies in Vienna and see the differences in their reception.

3rd Symphony

One of the earliest piano reductions of a Bruckner Symphony was arranged by Gustav Mahler, and probably Rudolf Krzyzanowski, soon after the 1st orchestral performance of the 3rd Symphony, on 16 December 1877, in Vienna. It is interesting to consider that, only 2 weeks later on 30 December 1877, the 1st performance of Johannes Brahms' 2nd Symphony was reasonably successful.

In 1878, Theodor Rättig published the piano version as well as the orchestral score (in the 2nd version) .

The 1st performance of a piano arrangement of the 3rd Symphony took place on 12 November 1879 when Hans Paumgartner and Felix Mottl played the Adagio and Scherzo, in Gustav Mahler's arrangement. The critic for « Die

Presse » reported :

« There is 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. » (4)

In the 1st common concert of the Schalk brothers, on 24 March 1882, Josef Schalk performed his arrangement of the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony in the composer's presence. One reviewer praised both Schalk for his arrangement and Bruckner for the vitality of his composition, which was by no means « only a series of phrases strung together » . (5)

On 7 May 1883, Schalk and Franz Zottmann played the 3rd Symphony on 2 pianos. On 22 December 1884, Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe performed the Scherzo and, on 23 April 1885, the 1st movement of the 3rd. On 5 March 1890, Löwe played the Adagio and Scherzo from the 3rd Symphony and was commended for « achieving the best possible results in making the polyphony clear » . (6)

In 1890, Theodor Rättig published the 4 hand version for piano arranged by Schalk and Löwe - at the end of the same year, on 21 December 1890, Hans Richter conducted the 3rd version of the 3rd Symphony in Vienna.

4th Symphony

The next music of a Bruckner Symphony, in Vienna, was presented on 4th February 1880 when, once again, Hans Paumgartner and Felix Mottl played the piano parts in their own arrangement of the 2nd and 3rd movements of the 4th Symphony in the composer's presence. As it was the 1st performance of this work, one critic expressed his desire to « hear it in full orchestral sound » so that he would be able to say more about it. (7)

On 7 October 1880, the same duo performed the 1st movement of the 4th Symphony. It was Mottl's farewell - he moved as musical director to Karlsruhe where he conducted an unsuccessful performance of the 4th, in December 1881.

Beside these internal evenings of the « Wagner-Verein » , there were weekly meetings with lectures and recitals. At one such meeting, on 12 January 1881, movements of the 4th Symphony were performed, perhaps, by way of preparation for the orchestral concert on 20 February when Hans Richter conducted the Symphony, in the « Musikverein » . Although the performance was successful the critical reviews were mixed.

Max Kalbeck, one of the harshest critics of Bruckner's music, wrote :

« The 4 movements of his work are a veritable Symphony-Tetralogy and each on its own is sufficient to kill-off an unprepared Orchestra. » (8)

In 1883, the same Hans Paumgartner, who was also a performer of Bruckner's music, wrote in a biographical article about Bruckner that the composer had not yet obtained the recognition he deserved. (9)

On 29 January 1884, Josef Schalk played the 1st and 2nd movements of the 4th Symphony. The reviewer remarked that the work had made a powerful impression, although performed on the piano rather than the Orchestra. (10)

In 1884, Friedrich Eckstein praised Josef Schalk and his pianistic skills when he performed the 3rd movement of the 4th Symphony, but he also argued :

« Nevertheless, a good piano interpretation can never take the place of an Orchestra, and the fact that great orchestral works of a native composer have to be performed on the piano for the public actually to know them at all shows the musical conditions in Vienna in a sad light. About this, there is much to be said and complained about. »
(11)

On 22nd December 1884, Schalk and Löwe performed the 1st movement of the 4th.

On 19 January 1888, Josef Schalk played the 4th Symphony in a so-called « Ladies Evening » , in the « Wagner-Verein » . A few days later, on 22nd January 1888, Hans Richter conducted the same Symphony, in the « Musikverein » . In the same year, on 4 April 1888, the 4th was performed in New York.

...

Anton Bruckner hat nur wenige orchestrale Aufführungen seiner Symphonien erlebt, einige seiner Werke wurden im Wiener « Akademischen Richard-Wagner-Verein » auf zwei Klavieren durch seine Freunde und Schüler (Franz und Josef Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe, Felix Mottl, Doktor Hans Paumgartner, August Stradal und andere) einem eingeweihten Kreis erstmals zu Gehör gebracht. Auch Bruckners Zeitgenosse Johannes Brahms pflegte diese Praxis der symphonisch / pianistischen Probe-Voraufführungen und fertigte von jedem seiner großen Orchesterwerke eigenhändig Versionen für zwei Klaviere an, welche er vor der eigentlichen Orchester-Uraufführung im Wiener Ehrbar-Saal oder im Salon des befreundeten Chirurgen Theodor Billroth für gewogene Freunde musizieren ließ.

Der später berühmte Wagner- und Bruckner-Interpret und damalige Bruckner-Schüler Felix Mottl setzte als artistischer Leiter des Wagner-Vereins schon ab 1879 regelmäßige Aufführungen Bruckner'scher Werke auf das Programm. « In den Gesellen-Donnerstag eine gehörige Portion Bruckner hineinstreichen » , so charakterisiert der Bruckner-Schüler Josef Schalk diese Abende. Die « Romantische Symphonie » erklang erstmals am 4. Februar 1880 (also ein Jahr vor der Uraufführung durch die Wiener Philharmoniker unter dem Dirigenten Hans Richter am 20.02.1881) durch Doktor Hans Paumgartner und Felix Mottl auf zwei Klavieren. Diese Fassung ist verschollen. Die vorliegende Transkription der IV. Symphonie wurde von Matthias Giesen und Klaus Laczika anhand der Transkriptionen von Doktor Karl Grunsky (1911) und Doktor Walter Magnus (1917) (beide auf Basis der bekanntlich stark veränderten Orchesterfassung von Franz Schalk) instrumentatorisch und dynamisch wieder an Bruckners Urtext angeglichen. Die Aufführung will weder bürgerliche Klavier-Hausmusik-Traditionen der Jahrhundertwende zu Konzerten überhöhen, noch kann und will sie den von Anton Bruckner intendierten orchestralen Klangreichtum eines Symphoniekonzertes reproduzieren, sondern will das zeitgenössische Klangerlebnis der Erstaufführung reproduzieren und in einer Art von Werkstatt-Atmosphäre eine im Kreis

um Anton Bruckner übliche Konzertform und Tradition der frühen Vermittlung von Anton Bruckners symphonischem Werk (so wie es dem Komponisten selbst zu Gehör gebracht wurde) wieder erlebbar machen.

7th Symphony

On 10 February 1883, Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann played in their 1st joint-recital the 1st and 3rd movements of the 7th Symphony, although Bruckner had still not finished the work. In May 1883, Hans Paumgartner showed his own interest in Bruckner's music by mentioning this 7th Symphony in an article. (12)

1 year later, on 27 February 1884, Schalk and Löwe played the 7th Symphony. On 16 January 1884, Bruckner had written to Josef Schalk :

« Do you really intend to play 2 movements with Löwe on 2 pianos ? You must know only too well (as does Löwe) that a Symphony like mine cannot produce its proper effect when played with 2 hands only. I would be very grateful if I could hear it once, for the sake of the tempi. » (13)

On 4 November 1884, Josef Schalk achieved great success in performing the Adagio of the 7th and the Scherzo of the 4th Symphony. He was described as one of the « most brilliant and musically educated pianists in Vienna ». The Adagio of the 7th was called the « most interesting number of the evening ». The reviewer added, however, that it was difficult to « gain a convincing impression of this extremely complicated piece of music on hearing it for the 1st time » and that it lost its full effect in being played on the piano. He also criticised a few insensitive and tactless people who had left the hall during the playing of the Adagio ! (14)

Once again, it was argued that the Philharmonic Society consistently ignored a national composer with the result that he would not become known to the rest of the world.

Schalk's arrangement of the Adagio exists in a copy made by August Göllerich and dated with « 18 November 1884 ». (15)

And, once again, Friedrich Eckstein writes :

« We are confronted, here, with new and elusive musical wonders ! What mysteries of bold chromaticism and enharmonicism they contain ! You have to hear this Adagio several times, in order to appreciate the profundity of the great contrapuntal skill ! » (16)

On 30 December 1884, the orchestral version of the 7th Symphony was performed by Arthur Nikisch in Leipzig, for the 1st time, followed by a performance, in March 1885 in Munich, under Hermann Levi, both in the composer's presence. On 30 May 1885, the Adagio was performed in Karlsruhe.

Hans Paumgartner criticized the « learned musicians at the Court Opera Orchestra » for their inability to evaluate the

true worth of Bruckner's Symphonies and for forcing him to « eat the bread of artistic exile », as a result of their refusal to perform his works. (17)

1 year later, on 30 December 1885, Löwe again partnered Schalk in a performance of the 1st and 3rd movements of the 7th Symphony, in a 2 piano arrangement ; a performance that was greeted with enthusiasm although it « cried-out for an orchestral interpretation » . (18) Only a few days later, Albert J. Gutmann published the piano score (for 4 hands) of the Symphony.

On 18 March 1886, Löwe and Schalk played the 7th Symphony, in a weekly meeting of the « Wagner-Verein » . Only 3 days later, on 21st March 1886, the 1st orchestral performance, in Vienna, took place in a concert in the « Musikverein » which was a great success for Bruckner. The Symphony was the 1st to be performed world-wide : in 1886, it was performed in Boston, Chicago and Amsterdam ; followed, in 1887, in Berlin and London.

On 24 February 1889, Hans Richter conducted the 7th Symphony with the Philharmonic, in a concert organized by the « Wagner-Verein » . Because of the « private » nature of the performance, the concert was attended by people who were really interested in the composer and his music :

« The artistic success was enormous. There was wild applause for Bruckner, after each movement. » (19)

In 1896, the piano reduction for 4 hands was published by the brothers Franz and Josef Schalk. On 26 October 1896, only 1 day after the unveiling of Bruckner's bust in Vienna, Ferdinand Löwe performed the 1st 2 movements of the 7th Symphony.

...

Klavierauszüge erfüllen eine doppelte Funktion. In einem frühen Stadium erleichterten sie dem Komponisten das Skizzieren, Erproben und Kennenlernen, anschließend konnten sie wesentlich zur Verbreitung eines Werkes beitragen. Der erstgenannte Aspekt gewann an Bedeutung, als die Werke immer länger und komplizierter wurden, dabei eine immer größere Besetzung verlangten. Als die Möglichkeit technischer Reproduzierbarkeit von Musik noch nicht gegeben war, waren es dann nicht zuletzt die Klavierauszüge, die eine Begegnung mit selten aufgeführten Werken erlaubten. Falsch wäre indessen die Vermutung, an Klavierauszügen bestünde heute kein Bedarf mehr : Wer einmal eine Oper oder ein Orchesterwerk selbst « in den Fingern » gehabt hat, wird eine Vertrautheit mit dem Werk bemerkt haben, die sich beim bloßen Anhören niemals eingestellt hätte. Vorbei sind allerdings die Zeiten, daß jedermann froh war, wenn er sich den Klavierauszug eines Werkes sein Eigen nannte, denn erstens sind inzwischen selbst entlegene Werke auf Tonträger greifbar, und außerdem sind vielfach günstige Studienpartituren erhältlich, die (eine intensive Nutzung vorausgesetzt) eine sehr genaue Begegnung mit dem Werk ermöglichen. Unabdingbar sind Klavierauszüge aber nach wie vor bei den Proben in den Opernhäusern, wo allein aus ökonomischen Gründen nicht immer mit dem ganzen Orchester gearbeitet werden kann.

Klavierauszüge wurden jedoch nicht nur von Opern, sondern von nahezu allen spätromantischen Orchesterwerken

hergestellt. Johannes Brahms spielte seine Sinfonien mit befreundeten Musikern an zwei Klavieren, und natürlich wurden die Werke von Anton Bruckner und Gustav Mahler zunächst in reduzierter Besetzung erprobt. Wie Ludwig van Beethoven und Johannes Brahms war auch Anton Bruckner kein gebürtiger Wiener. Anton Bruckner stammte aus Oberösterreich, wirkte zunächst als Lehrer und Stiftsorganist in Sankt Florian, wurde Domorganist in Linz und schließlich Professor am Wiener Konservatorium. Bruckner zählt zu den bedeutenden Sinfonikern des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Offiziell werden neun Sinfonien gezählt, von denen die letzte unvollendet blieb, während zwei Studiensinfonien nicht mitgezählt werden. Nicht in Wien, sondern in Leipzig wurde die siebte Sinfonie am 30. Dezember 1884 uraufgeführt. Der Uraufführung unter der Leitung von Arthur Nikisch gingen mehrere private Aufführungen voraus. Bereits am 10. Februar 1883 spielten Josef Schalk und Franz Zottmann an zwei Klavieren im Wiener Bösendorfer-Saal den ersten und den dritten Satz, und am 27. Februar 1884 trugen Josef Schalk und Ferdinand Löwe das vollständige Werk vor. Bereits 1885 hatte Albert J. Gutmann einen zweihändigen Klavierauszug hergestellt, die Brüder Franz und Josef Schalk hatten das Werk 1896 für Klavier zu vier Händen eingerichtet, und noch im gleichen Jahr legte Hermann Behn eine Fassung für zwei Klaviere vor. Im frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert hat Otto Singer dann für die Leipziger Edition C.F. Peters alle Bruckner-Sinfonien für Klavier zu vier Händen eingerichtet. Otto Singer (1863-1931) hat eine ganze Reihe von Klavierauszügen vorgelegt und beispielsweise die Opern von Richard Strauß für Klavier eingerichtet. Hier wie dort stand er vor der Aufgabe, bei der nötigen Reduzierung den orchestralen Charakter der Musik zu erhalten. Dieses Problem war nicht gänzlich neu, weil viele Komponisten ihren Klavierstücken bereits ein orchestrales Kolorit gaben, während andererseits die zahlreichen Tremoli der Bruckner Sinfonien umgesetzt werden mußten und nun eine echte Herausforderung an die Interpreten darstellen.

Die Sinfonie Nr. 7 in E-Dur zählt zu den bekanntesten Werken Anton Bruckners. Das Werk entstand in den Jahren 1881 bis 1883 und wurde dem König Ludwig II. von Bayern gewidmet. Die Arbeit am Kopfsatz wurde am 23. September 1881 begonnen und zog sich bis zum 29. Dezember 1882 hin. Das ernste Adagio soll dann unter dem Eindruck vom Tode Richard Wagners entstanden sein. Wird Bruckners Musik für Klavier eingerichtet, dann sind verschiedene Punkte zu berücksichtigen. Natürlich kann ein einziger Spieler das große Orchesterwerk nur unvollkommen andeuten, eine Fassung für Klavier zu vier Händen bietet da schon mehr Möglichkeiten. Aber schon das eröffnende Streichertremolo, das dem Dreiklangshauptthema vorausgeht, will richtig angedeutet sein und stellt erst den Bearbeiter und dann den Interpreten vor Schwierigkeiten. Die Beliebtheit der siebten Sinfonie von Anton Bruckner ist verständlich. Schon in den frühen Kritiken wurden der klare formale Aufbau und die Dramaturgie der Komposition gerühmt. Obwohl das Zentrum der Komposition im langsamen Satz zu suchen ist, kann die Richtigkeit der Urteile bereits am Kopfsatz festgemacht werden. Dieser exponiert nämlich zunächst ein kantables Hauptthema, und überwiegend kantabel ist auch der Charakter des Satzes. Entgegen der Arbeit mit kurzen Motiven in anderen Bruckner Sinfonien gehört die Arbeit mit weit gespannten Melodiebögen zu den Besonderheiten der « Siebten » .

Ist Symphony

As mentioned above, the Ist Symphony was performed in Linz, in 1868. As late as 31st January 1884, a movement of this music was heard in Vienna when Ferdinand Löwe gave his Ist recital, playing his own arrangement of the Adagio from the Ist Symphony. Theodor Helm reports in his « Erinnerungen » about « the accomplished piano transcription, very close to the original orchestral score » . (20)

A critic wrote about the performance :

« Concerning the Adagio of the Symphony performed by Ferdinand Löwe, it is as an integral part of a great unknown organism beyond superficial judgement. Altogether, this Adagio is of a peculiar atmosphere, after remaining contemplative for too long, it makes a surprising passionate upswing. » (21)

In a so-called « Bruckner-Abend » , which took place on 22nd December 1884, Josef Schalk and his new partner Ferdinand Löwe played the whole 1st Symphony on 2 pianos, in an arrangement by Löwe.

Although the Symphony was not yet well-known in Vienna, the 2 piano performance was highly-successful. (20) According to Theodor Helm, the Scherzo made the greatest impact (22) and it is reported that :

« After the Scherzo, the very select audience responded with a great tribute to the Master. » (23)

« Such frenetic applause was rarely heard, considering how Bruckner has been ignored by the Orchestras. » (24)

On 23 April 1885, Löwe and Schalk, again, played the Adagio and Finale from the 1st Symphony, in Löwe's arrangement, and the 1st movement of the 3rd Symphony, on 2 pianos :

« Every sincere music-lover was indebted to both artists for arranging some movements from Bruckner's Symphonies for piano and presenting them to the public with youthful enthusiasm and with such astonishing technical assurance that they and the composer, who was present, were received with acclamation at the end of each movement. » (25)

On 30 December 1891, Ferdinand Löwe played the 2nd and 4th movements of the 1st Symphony, less than 3 weeks after the 1st performance of the revised version of the work, in a Philharmonic concert on 13 December. Once again, Löwe was praised as an « unsurpassable interpreter of Bruckner's music » and the critic noted that he played the movements « from memory with thrilling effect » .

In 1892, the arrangement for 4 hands was published by Ludwig Döbbling. The 1st « Linz » version wasn't performed by an Orchestra, until 1934.

5th Symphony

The 1st performance of the 5th Symphony, on 20 April 1887, in a 2 piano version played by Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann took place at the « Wagner-Verein » after some problems, such as severe difficulties with Bruckner before the concert. (This occasion typified Bruckner's often-stubborn character.)

Josef Schalk's error was to prepare the work in secret and invite Bruckner only to the final rehearsal. Bruckner was, apparently, offended by the assumption that his input would be required only at the final stage. The composer

threatened to cancel the concert unless Schalk and the other pianist, Franz Zottmann, held additional rehearsals under his direction.

Friedrich Klose described the following scene in « Gause » 's restaurant with Bruckner, at one point, threatening to call the police to stop the performance taking place.

On the next day, Bruckner put his feelings into words in a calm but firm letter to Schalk dated **25 March 1887** :

« Dearest, most honourable friend !

Yesterday, I came to the firm decision that I would resolutely decline with thanks all performances of my works, unless they were preceded by one or more weeks of thorough rehearsal - moreover, rehearsals in my presence.

I would, therefore, ask you to choose something other than my 5th Symphony. But, please, arrange rehearsals in the course of April and May, when I will tackle the work with you myself. With heartfelt sympathy and appealing to our old friendship. »

The performance of 20 April 1887 was appreciated :

« After hearing it for the 1st time, and in view of the conscientious, effective and excellent execution of the arrangement for 2 pianos which only anticipates the richness of Bruckner's orchestral sound, it remains for a later time to discuss this extremely great and courageous work whose 1st impression is extremely powerful. » (26)

And Theodor Helm argued :

« Schalk and Zottmann performed a noble and honourable task by giving us an insight into the creative mind of our genial Bruckner. They acted as pioneers in their penetration of the intricate Symphonic textures." (27)

Even with the extra-rehearsals, a scandal nearly ensued when Bruckner hesitated before acknowledging the applause. In any case, it may have been this concert that planted the idea of revision in Bruckner's mind.

On 30 December 1891, Ferdinand Löwe performed the 2nd and 4th movements and, on 28 November 1895, he played the 1st 3 movements of the 5th Symphony :

« Ferdinand Löwe arranged this great work for the piano and played the 1st 3 movements (the powerful Finale had to remain unperformed because of limited time) with perfect Mastery, as always by heart, a performance which no one else can imitate. » (28)

On the other hand, Camillo Horn argued that :

« The sound of Bruckner's music deprived of its orchestral basis, even though it received a most perfect rendering, loses much of its fascination. » (29)

In 1894, Franz Schalk conducted the 1st orchestral performance of the 5th, in Graz.

In 1896, the 1st print of the Symphony, edited by Franz Schalk, including Josef Schalk's 4 hand piano transcription, was published by Ludwig Döblinger.

6th Symphony

The 1st performance of only the 2nd and 3rd movements of the 6th Symphony took place on 11 February 1883, with Wilhelm Jahn and the Vienna Philharmonic. As Bruckner wrote, in 1882 :

« The Philharmonic were so pleased with the work that they applauded vigorously and played a fanfare. » (30)

But, after the performance, Max Kalbeck reports :

« We wish to be far from the future which is able to enjoy such a distorted piece of music. » (31)

In the following year, it was Ferdinand Löwe who promoted this Symphony. On 28 December 1890, Löwe played the 2nd and 3rd movements and, on 29 November 1894, the 1st movement of the 6th, in an « Internal Evening » :

« The hero of the evening was Professor Löwe who has still not received sufficient recognition as an excellent musician and specialist performer of Bruckner's music. His recital of the 1st movement of the 6th, rendered with great accuracy and played with an orchestral sound, was unanimously admired. We also wish to put on record that Löwe played this very difficult movement from memory. » (32)

The « Ostdeutsche Rundschau » music-critic agreed that the performance was excellent but observed that the piano score just hinted at the beauty of the orchestral score and could only « whet one's appetite for an orchestral performance » . (33)

On 18 March 1897, Ferdinand Löwe performed the 1st movement of the 6th. The critic said that he had the ability to « give some idea of the instrumentation of this almost unknown work in his playing » . (34)

The Viennese public had to wait until 1899 to hear the whole Symphony when Gustav Mahler conducted an orchestral performance of an abbreviated version with instrumental modifications. In the same year, the 1st edition was published by Ludwig Döblinger.

Löwe played the 4th movement at the « Wagner-Verein » concert, on 7 April 1900. It was not until March 1901 that an uncut orchestral performance of the 6th Symphony was given in Stuttgart.

8th Symphony

A proof of the close connection between Bruckner and Josef Schalk is an early piano arrangement of the 1st 2 movements of the 8th Symphony, in 1886, when the Symphony was not yet finished. (35)

As late as 22nd November 1892, Josef Schalk played the 1st movement of the 8th Symphony in an « Internal Evening » . One reviewer described his performance as a « commendable preparation » for the forthcoming orchestral performance of « this most remarkable work » which took place on 18 December. (36)

Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt calls this performance « a turning point » in the conflict between the Philharmonic and Bruckner's music. (37)

Josef Schalk also gave lectures entitled « Über Bruckner's VIII. Symphonie » (About Bruckner's 8th Symphony) with music examples. These lectures were criticized. Hans Puchstein (38) remarked that difficult works of this nature demanded « a 4 hand performance, at the very least » and, even then, were of interest only for those who already knew them. For those who were not acquainted with the work, a piano performance was « of very little practical use » . (39) Another critic made the point that, even in the hands of accomplished pianists who were able to produce an orchestral sound on the piano, there was something « extremely incomplete » about the piano arrangements of the « most recent orchestral works written by German composers » . (40)

After considering the history of Bruckner's Symphonic music in Vienna, we notice that the 2nd Symphony is not mentioned. After the orchestral performances, in 1872 and 1876 in Vienna, both conducted by Bruckner, this music never was played on the piano. An edition for piano for 4 hands was published as late as the orchestral score, in 1892. But there is an arrangement of the Scherzo by Cyrill Hynais, from November 1884, and later annotated by August Göllerich :

« Scherzo aus der Franz Liszt gewidmeten II. Symphonie von Anton Bruckner. Arrangirt für Pianoforte zweihändig von C. Hynais. 26. November 84 » , written by August Göllerich. (41)

« By means of such concerts, Bruckner's devoted friends and pupils were attempting to increase his public profile » , as Crawford Howie writes in his Bruckner biography. (42) And the « artistic apostles » (43) continued to do so also, after the composers death.

Nowadays, Bruckner's music is accepted all over the world. Piano arrangements are a curiosity for our musical ears now used to the orchestral sound. At the beginning of the 21st Century, we are now able to experience the sound of the late- 19th Century, either actively or passively.

A CD of transcriptions for Piano 4 hands of Bruckner's Symphonies Nos. 1 and 2 is available at www.abruckner.com .

Symphony No. 3 in the arrangement for piano 4 hands by Gustav Mahler and Rudolf Krzyżanowski is issued on « MDG GOLD » : 330 0591-2.

Notes

(1) Helmut Loos. « Zur Klavierübertragung von Werken für und mit Orchester des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts » in : « Schriften zur Musik » No. 25, Munich / Salzburg (1983) ; page 26.

(2) Andrea Harrandt. « Frühe pädagogische Vermittlungsversuche für Bruckner im Wiener Akademischen Wagner-Verein, in : « Bruckner-Symposion - Musik ist eine bildende Kunst » , Linz (2002) ; Bericht, Linz (2005) , pages 173-180.

Andrea Harrandt. « Students and friends as “ prophets ” and “ promoters ” : the reception of Bruckner’s works in the “ Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein ” » , in : « Perspectives on Anton Bruckner » , edited by Crawford Howie, Paul Hawkshaw, Timothy L. Jackson, Ashgate (2001) ; pages 317-327.

(3) Leon Botstein. « Music and it’s Public : Habits of Listening and the Crisis of Musical Modernism in Vienna (1850-1914) » , Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University (1985) ; page 452.

(4) « Die Presse » (19 November 1879) .

(5) « Die Presse » (31 March 1882) .

(6) « Musikalische Rundschau » (10 March 1890) .

(7) « Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung » (10 February 1880) .

(8) « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » (23 February 1881) , quoted from : Crawford Howie. « Anton Bruckner - A Documentary Biography » , Volume 2 : « Trial, Tribulation and Triumph in Vienna » , Lewiston (2002) ; page 355.

(9) « Wiener Zeitung » (27 May 1883) , quoted from : Crawford Howie, Volume 2 ; page 387.

(10) « Deutsche Zeitung » (7 February 1884) .

(11) « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » (5 December 1884) .

(12) « Wiener Zeitung » (27 May 1883) , quoted from : Crawford Howie, Volume 2 ; page 388.

(13) A-Wn, F18.Schalk.178a.

(14) « Deutsche Zeitung » (6 November 1884) .

- (15) A-Wn, Mus.Hs.19674.
- (16) « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » (5 December 1884) .
- (17) « Wiener Abendpost » (13 January 1885) , quoted from : Crawford Howie, Volume 2 ; page 441.
- (18) « Morgenpost » (31 December 1885) .
- (19) Thomas Leibnitz. « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner. Dargestellt an den Nachlassbeständen der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek » , « Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Musikdokumentation, Nummer 14, Tutzing (1988) ; page 138.
- (20) August Göllerich and Max Auer, Band IV/1 ; page 577.
- (21) « Deutsche Zeitung » (7 February 1884) .
- (22) « Deutsche Zeitung » (24 December 1884) .
- (23) August Göllerich and Max Auer, Band IV/2 ; page 212.
- (24) « Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik » (17 January 1885) .
- (25) « Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung » (1 May 1885) .
- (26) « Musikalische Rundschau » (1 May 1887) .
- (27) « Deutsche Zeitung » (26 April 1887) .
- (28) « Ostdeutsche Rundschau » (3 December 1895) .
- (29) « Deutsches Volksblatt » (7 December 1895) .
- (30) Letter to Therese von Jäger (13 October 1882) , quoted from : Crawford Howie, Volume 2 ; page 377.
- (31) « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » (13 February 1883) , quoted from : Crawford Howie, Volume 2 ; page 381.
- (32) « Deutsches Volksblatt » (2 December 1894) .
- (33) « Ostdeutsche Rundschau » (18 December 1884) .

(34) « Ostdeutsche Rundschau » (24 March 1897) .

(35) A-Wn F18.Schalk.453.

(36) « Deutsche Zeitung » (24 November 1892) .

(37) Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt. « Bruckner Symphony No. 8 » , Cambridge Music Handbooks, Cambridge University Press (2000) ; page 4.

(38) « Deutsches Volksblatt » (7 December 1892) .

(39) « Deutsches Volksblatt » (7 December 1892) .

(40) « Ostdeutsche Rundschau » (18 December 1892) .

(41) A-Wn Mus.Hs.19670.

(42) Crawford Howie. Volume 2 ; page 488.

(43) « Allgemeine Kunst-Chronik » (17 January 1885) .

Anton Bruckner am Klavier

(Bruckner als Klavierkomponist und seine Symphonien in Klaviertranskriptionen)

Anton Bruckner als Klavierkomponist

Bruckner, der Symphoniker, als Komponist kleiner Formen ? - Bevor Bruckner zum Symphoniker reifte, schrieb er Musik, die in seinem Umfeld verankert war : Kirchenmusik, Lied- und Chorwerke, Klavierstücke.

Bruckners Klavierstücke zu zwei und vier Händen sind reine Gelegenheitswerke, die zwischen 1850 und 1868 entstanden. Es handelt sich um Widmungskompositionen und Werke für den von ihm erteilten Klavierunterricht. Stilistisch folgen sie der Wiener Klassik oder stehen den Werken von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy nahe und spiegeln den musikalischen Geschmack ihrer Entstehungszeit wider.

Die ersten Klavierstücke entstanden in Sankt Florian, wo Bruckner von 1845 bis 1855 als Schullehrer wirkte und (zunächst provisorischer) Stiftsorganist war. Hier gründete er, ebenso wie schon vorher in Kronstorf, ein Männerensemble, für das er die Quartette Wie des Bächleins Silberquelle und Sternschnuppen komponierte.

1850 schrieb er für Aloisia Bogner, die Tochter des ihm vorgesetzten Schullehrers Michaël Bogner, die Lancier-Quadrille, in der er Motive aus dem Wildschütz und Zar und Zimmermann von Gustav Albert Lortzing und aus der Regimentstochter von Gaetano Donizetti verarbeitete. Beide Werke wurden am Linzer Theater gespielt und es ist möglich, daß Bruckner sie auf der Bühne gesehen hat. Entgegen der allgemein fünf Touren umfassenden Quadrille ist diese viersätzig angelegt.

Ebenfalls um 1850 und für Aloisia Bogner entstand der Steiermärker in G-Dur (**WAB 122**) . Die Gelegenheitskomposition hat volkstümlichen Charakter, erinnert an einen stilisierten Ländler und zeigt eine vielleicht von Schubert beeinflusste Harmonik.

Drei kleine Stücke für Klavier zu vier Händen (**WAB 124**) entstanden in den Jahren 1853 bis 1855 für die Kinder des Bezirksrichters Josef Marböck in Sankt Florian, die sie bei verschiedenen Familienfesten spielten.

Ein weiteres, ebenfalls als Quadrille bezeichnetes vierhändiges Stück (**WAB 121**) entstand 1854 und ist dem Stiftsrichter von Sankt Florian, Georg Ruckenstein gewidmet. In seiner sechssätzigigen Form (Pantalon, Été, Poule, Trénis, Pastourelle und Finale) entspricht es der seit dem Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts üblichen Form der Quadrille.

Im Dezember 1855 übersiedelte Bruckner nach Linz, um seine Stelle als Dom- und Stadtpfarrorganist anzutreten. Er nahm aber auch am gesellschaftlichen Leben der Hauptstadt des Kronlandes Österreich ob der Enns teil. Zunächst war er kurze Zeit ausübendes Mitglied der Liedertafel Frohsinn und 1860-1861 und 1868 deren Chorleiter. Immer wieder wirkte er bei Konzerten mit, sei es als Dirigent, sei es als Pianist beziehungsweise Liedbegleiter. Er besuchte Ballveranstaltungen und soll auch ein begeisterter Tänzer gewesen sein.

Vermutlich 1856 entstand das Klavierstück Es-Dur (**WAB 119**) für den Klavierunterricht. Als stilistisches Vorbild ist Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy erkennbar, ebenso wie bei dem 1863 komponierten Charakterstück Stille Betrachtung an einem Herbstabende in Fis-Moll (**WAB 123**) , in dem dessen Venetianisches Gondellied Opus 30/6 anklingt.

Weitere Klavierstücke in Form von Kompositionsübungen enthält das so genannte Kitzler-Studienbuch, das 1861 bis 1863 während Bruckners Studien beim Linzer Kapellmeister Otto Kitzler entstand.

1868 entstand die zweisätzig Fantasia in G-Dur (**WAB 118**) , die der Klavierschülerin Alexandrine Soyka gewidmet ist, ebenso wie das im selben Jahr entstandene Charakterstück Erinnerung in As-Dur (**WAB 117**) , das in seiner Kompositionstechnik schon auf den Symphoniker Bruckner hinweist.

Bruckners Symphonien

Die Aufführung von Werken Bruckners in der Bearbeitung für Klavier zu zwei oder vier Händen beziehungsweise für zwei Klaviere war ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Rezeption des Komponisten im Wien der 1880er und 1890er Jahre.

Seit 1868 lebte Bruckner in der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien, als Professor für Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt am

Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, als expektierender und ab 1878 kaiserlicher Organist der Hofmusikkapelle und ab 1876 auch als Lektor an der Universität Wien. Als Komponist hingegen konnte er zunächst im Musikleben Wiens nicht Fuss fassen - teils scheiterte er selbst bei den Aufführungen seiner Werke, teils vernichtete ihn die Kritik.

So kam dem 1873 gegründeten Wiener akademischen Richard Wagner-Verein, der nicht nur die Werke seines Namenspatrons förderte, sondern auch jene von Anton Bruckner und später von Hugo Wolf, eine wichtige Rolle zu. Hans Paumgartner, Franz Zottmann und vor allem Josef Schalk und Ferdinand Löwe setzten sich in den folgenden Jahren als Pianisten und Bearbeiter in zahlreichen Aufführungen für die Rezeption nicht nur der symphonischen Werke Bruckners ein.

Die erste Aufführung dieser Art fand am 12. November 1879 im Bösendorfersaal statt : Hans Paumgartner und Felix Mottl spielten Adagio und Scherzo der Dritten Symphonie. Konnte die Klavierfassung auch nicht das Orchester ersetzen, so gewann das Publikum doch einen ersten Eindruck, wie etwa auch Die Presse am 19. November 1879 feststellte :

« So verdanken wir diesem Vereine, daß wir im letzten Jahre unter anderen seltenen Sachen ein Werk zu hören bekamen, von dem das musikalische Publicum keine Ahnung hatte. »

Es folgten Teile der Vierten Symphonie, am 10. Februar 1883 schließlich zwei Sätze aus der damals noch nicht fertiggestellten Siebenten Symphonie, im Februar 1884 schließlich alle vier Sätze dieses Werkes. Im November 1884 folgte das Adagio aus der Siebenten, « Für uns ohneweiters die interessanteste Nummer des Abends. » , schrieb die Deutsche Zeitung (6. November 1884) .

« Allerdings vermochten wir beim erstmaligen Hören des äußerst complicirten Stückes (das überdies durch und durch orchestral gedacht und daher auf dem Clavier offenbar an Wirkung sehr viel verliert) noch keinen völlig überzeugenden Eindruck zu gewinnen. »

Am 30. Dezember 1885 (genau ein Jahr nach der Leipziger Uraufführung unter Arthur Nikisch) spielten Ferdinand Löwe und Josef Schalk den ersten und dritten Satz der Siebenten in der Fassung für zwei Klaviere :

« Das Auditorium fühlte sich ferner durch zwei Sätze aus Bruckner's siebenter Symphonie in höchstem Grade angeregt und rief stürmisch den genialen Componisten, obgleich das bedeutende Werk von den Verfassern des Clavierauszuges, den Herren Löwe und Schalk blos vierhändig gespielt wurde, während es fortwährend laut nach dem Orchester schreit. » (Morgenpost, 31 Dezember 1885)

Die erste Orchesteraufführung in Wien fand schließlich am 21. März 1886 unter der Leitung von Hans Richter statt. Mit diesem Werk gelang Bruckner endgültig der Durchbruch als Symphoniker. Von großer Bedeutung war auch die erste Aufführung der Fünften Symphonie in der Schalkschen Bearbeitung für zwei Klaviere am 20. April 1887, gespielt vom Bearbeiter und Franz Zottmann. Bruckner versuchte bis zuletzt, die Aufführung zu verhindern, wie er etwa am 25. März

1887 an Josef Schalk schrieb :

« Der gestrige Tag brachte mich zu dem festesten Entschlusse, mich für alle Aufführungen meiniger Werke auf das entschiedenste zu bedanken, wenn nicht vorher ein (mehrere wochenlanges gründliches Studium vorhergegangen ist) und zwar ein Studium in meiner Gegenwart. Ich bitte also, anstatt meiner 5. Sinfonie etwas Anderes gütigst wählen zu wollen. »

Schalk hatte schon viel Zeit auf die Vorbereitung verwendet und konterte :

« Andererseits hat mich ja nur das Interesse Ihrer Sache bewogen, den Winter nicht vorüber gehen zu lassen ohne dem besten Theile des Wiener Publikum's wenigstens auf dem Klaviere etwas zu biethen. Denn die zu langen Pausen schaden dem Verständnisse sehr und lassen Antheil und Begeisterung auch bei den Besseren erkalten. » (27. März 1887)

Die Aufführung wurde zu einem Erfolg, wenn auch bemerkt wurde :

« Nach einmaligem Hören und Angesicht einer, wenn auch noch so gewissenhaften, wirkungsvollen und dabei durch die Herren Professor Schalk und Professor Zottmann vorzüglich zur Ausführung gebrachten Bearbeitung für zwei Klaviere, welche uns den bei Bruckner selbstverständlichen Klangreichthum des Orchesters nur ahnen lässt, muß es einem späteren Zeitpunkte vorbehalten bleiben, auf das grossartig kühne Werk, dessen Eindruck ein überaus mächtiger ist, näher einzugehen. » (Musikalische Rundschau, 1. Mai 1887)

Die erste Orchesteraufführung der Fünften fand erst am 8. April 1894 in Graz unter der Leitung von Franz Schalk statt. Bruckner konnte krankheitshalber nicht daran teilnehmen.

Bei wöchentlichen Zusammenkünften und so genannten « Internen Abenden » des Wagner-vereins wurden immer wieder einzelne Sätze aus Bruckners Symphonien gespielt und erläutert, was durchaus auch als Vorbereitung auf Orchesteraufführungen gewürdigt wurde. Auch nach Bruckners Tod setzen seine Freunde und Schüler die Tradition der Klavieraufführungen fort.

(Andrea Harrandt)

Arthur Nikisch

Le chef d'orchestre, violoniste et pédagogue hongrois, Arthur Nikisch, est né à Lébény-Szentmiklós, le 12 octobre 1855. Il fait ses études musicales au Conservatoire de Vienne où il apprend le violon, le piano et la composition avec comme professeurs Felix Otto Dessoff, Johann von Herbeck et Josef Hellmesberger II.

Dès l'année 1872 à Bayreuth, Nikisch participe comme violoniste à l'exécution historique (pour la pose de la Ire pierre du « Festspielhaus ») de la 9e Symphonie de Beethoven sous la direction de Richard Wagner dont il sera un des héritiers spirituels de par sa vision expressionniste de la direction d'orchestre.

Entre 1874 et 1877, il est 1er violon à l'Opéra de Vienne. Il joue sous la direction de compositeurs illustres, alors souvent chefs d'orchestre, tels que Johannes Brahms, Franz Liszt, Richard Wagner ou Giuseppe Verdi.

En 1877, Arthur Nikisch fut nommé chef des chœurs à l'Opéra de Leipzig. (La fondation de l'Opéra de Leipzig remonte déjà à 1693.) Puis en 1878, il devint le chef assistant de l'Orchestre de l'Opéra. Et en 1879, il fut promu comme chef d'orchestre principal, et ce, jusqu'en 1889. Arthur Nikisch a su étendre pendant son règne à Leipzig le répertoire des compositeurs de son temps : Johannes Brahms, Richard Strauß, Antonín Dvořák, Piotr Ilitch Tchaïkovski, Gustav Mahler, Max Reger, Arnold Schönberg, Wilhelm Fürtwängler.

Nikisch est parmi les 1ers supports de la musique d'Anton Bruckner. Le 30 décembre 1884, il donne en création la 7e Symphonie.

Entre 1889 et 1893, il dirige l'Orchestre Symphonique de Boston. De retour en Europe, il prend en charge la direction musicale de l'Opéra de Budapest jusqu'en 1895.

En 1895, il est appelé à diriger la destinée de 2 des plus grands orchestres allemands : l'Orchestre du Gewandhaus de Leipzig et l'Orchestre philharmonique de Berlin comme successeur de Hans von Bülow, fonctions qu'il conservera pendant plus d'un quart de siècle, jusqu'à sa mort le 23 janvier 1922, à Leipzig. Son successeur à la tête de l'Orchestre philharmonique de Berlin sera Wilhelm Fürtwängler à qui il lègue un orchestre de très haute qualité artistique.

Nikisch se consacre également à la pédagogie (directeur des études au Conservatoire de Leipzig de 1902 à 1907) .

À l'aune des chefs d'aujourd'hui, il parcourt le monde avec de nombreux orchestres en Europe d'abord, principalement en Angleterre. En 1912, il dirige la tournée de l'Orchestre Symphonique de Londres aux États-Unis, une première pour un orchestre européen, témoignage de son engagement pour une diffusion plus internationale de la musique.

Chef élégant au charisme inégalé, il est un peu abusivement considéré comme l'archétype du chef d'orchestre moderne : pourtant sa fine analyse des œuvres, le respect de l'esprit, démentent l'image de « poseur » que certains de ses contemporains lui ont collée.

Sa prodigieuse technique de la direction d'orchestre, avec une battue très simple, lui permettait d'obtenir de tous ses orchestres une sonorité pleine, chaleureuse, chantante jusqu'aux tréfonds de la partition.

Arthur Nikisch fut admiré par de nombreux chefs d'orchestre et son art eut un impact immense sur celui de Wilhelm Fürtwängler. Ce dernier fut présenté à Nikisch, en 1912, et eut toujours une admiration sans borne pour son aîné. À la mort de Nikisch, c'est Wilhelm Fürtwängler qui le remplaça, entre autres, au prestigieux Orchestre philharmonique de Berlin. Fürtwängler se considéra toujours comme le fils spirituel de Nikisch. Madame Elisabeth Fürtwängler, la femme du chef d'orchestre, relate :

« Wilhem affirmait qu'il n'avait appris que d'Arthur Nikisch. Bien sûr, l'immense personnalité de Hans Pfitzner, son Maître à Strasbourg, avait beaucoup compté, mais sur un autre plan. À ses yeux, parmi les chefs d'orchestres, nul autre qu'Arthur Nikisch n'était digne de considération. »

Fürtwängler dira : « De lui, j'ai appris le son, la façon d'obtenir le son. » .

...

The Hungarian conductor Arthur (Augustinus Adalbertus) Nikisch (Nikisch Artúr) was born on 12 October 1855 in Lébény-Szentmiklós (Mosonszentmiklós) , Hungary, located mid-way between Vienna and Budapest ; and died on 23 January 1922 in Leipzig.

He performed internationally, holding posts in Boston, London and (most importantly) Berlin. He was considered an outstanding interpreter of the music of Bruckner, Tchaïkovsky, Beethoven and Liszt. Johannes Brahms praised Nikisch's performance of his 4th Symphony as « quite exemplary, it's impossible to hear it any better » .

Nikisch was born to a Hungarian father, and a mother from Moravia. He began his studies at the Vienna Conservatory, in 1866. There, he studied under the composer Felix Otto Dessoff, the conductor Johann von Herbeck, and the violinist Josef Hellmesberger, Junior, and won prizes for composition and performance on violin and piano. He was engaged as a violinist in the Vienna Philharmonic, and also played in the Bayreuth Festival Orchestra in its inaugural season of 1876.

He was to achieve most of his fame as a conductor. In 1878, he moved to Leipzig and became 2nd conductor of the Leipzig Opera ; in 1879, he was promoted to principal conductor. He gave the premiere of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 7, in 1884.

On 1 July 1885, Nikisch married Amelie Heußner (1862-1938) , a singer and actress, who had been engaged the preceding years at the Kassel Court Theatre with Gustav Mahler. Their son Mitja (1899-1936) later became a noted pianist.

Nikisch later became conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and, from 1893 to 1895, director of the Royal Opera in Budapest. In 1895, he succeeded Carl Reinecke as director of the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Orchestra. In the same year, he became principal conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic, and held both positions until his death. His successor at the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Orchestra was his scholar and 1st violinist Albert Heinig. Nikisch was also a popular guest-conductor with the Vienna Philharmonic and « Concertgebouw » Orchestra of Amsterdam, and conducted the « Ring » Cycle of Richard Wagner at Covent Garden, in London. Nikisch also served as director of the Leipzig Conservatory from 1902 and, there, taught a class in conducting.

He was a pioneer in several ways. In April 1912, he took the London Symphony Orchestra to the United States, a 1st for a European Orchestra. On November 10, 1913, Nikisch made one of the earliest recordings of a complete

Symphony, Beethoven's 5th, with the Berlin Philharmonic, a performance later reissued on LP and CD by DGG and other modern labels (Dutton Laboratories) . He also made a series of early recordings with the London Symphony Orchestra, some of which display the portamento characteristic of early 20th Century playing.

He died in Leipzig, in 1922, and was buried there. Immediately after his death, the square where he had lived was renamed « Nikischplatz » and, in 1971, the city created the Arthur Nikisch Prize for young conductors.

His legacy is as one of the founders of modern conducting, with deep analysis of the score, a simple beat, and a charisma that let him bring-out the full sonority of the Orchestra and plumb the depths of the music. Nikisch's conducting style was greatly admired by Leopold Stokowski, Arturo Toscanini, Sir Adrian Boult, Fritz Reiner, Ervin Nyiregyházi, and many others, including George Szell, who called Nikisch « an orchestral wizard » .

Fritz Reiner said : « It was Nikisch who told me that I should never wave my arms in conducting, and that I should use my eyes to give cues. »

A short silent film survived, showing Nikisch conducting ; after seeing it, Herbert von Karajan described how impressed he was by Nikisch's use of his eyes instead of hand motions.

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Arthur Nikisch was born to a Hungarian father and a Moravian mother, and was a typical case of a young boy whose musical talent showed itself early. At the age of 7, he heard the « William Tell » and « Barber of Seville » Overtures for the 1st time. When he got home he wrote them out from memory.

He was given music lessons and, before he was 11, was admitted to the Vienna Conservatory. He studied violin under Josef Hellmesberger and composition under Otto Dessoff. He won prizes for composition, violin, and piano, but the violin was his main instrument. He started his career as an orchestral musician. He was in the Orchestra at Bayreuth when Wagner conducted Beethoven's 9th there, at the laying of the foundation stone of the « Festspielhaus » there. He joined the Vienna Court Orchestra, which gave him an opportunity to play under the leadership of Franz Liszt, Richard Wagner, Johannes Brahms, and Giuseppe Verdi, as well as some of the great conductors of the time.

In 1878, he gained a position of assistant conductor at the Leipzig Opera, debuting in an Operetta called « Jeanne, Jeannette, Jeanetton » . Just a year later, still only 23 years old, he had become principal conductor of the Opera in this major German musical center and was leading works like « Die Walküre » and « Tannhäuser » .

Tchaïkovsky wrote home about Nikisch after a visit to Leipzig :

« One only gains a true idea of the perfection to which an orchestra can attain under a talented conductor when one hears the difficult and complicated scores of Wagner played under the direction of so wonderful a Master as " Herr " Nikisch. »

The great Russian composer recorded that Nikisch obtained his result with a minimum of motion, no superfluous movement, and a small beat. He wrote that Nikisch was « small in stature, a very pale young man with splendid poetical eyes that really must possess mesmeric powers ». The adjective « mesmeric » occurs almost unfailingly in discussion of his musical leadership. Adrian Boult recorded that after hearing Nikisch lead « the most thrilling performance of the Brahms C minor Symphony I have ever heard », he realized « that Nikisch's hand had never been raised higher than the level of his face throughout the whole movement ». In his own career, Boult was also famous for using a precise and undemonstrative beat. Nikisch also had exceptional independence of his arms, and was said never to use his left arm simply to repeat what the right arm was doing.

Despite the lack of podium emoting, Nikisch was a spontaneous and improvisatory performer. He rarely repeated performances the same way, and often took-off in directions quite different from what he had rehearsed.

One of the secrets to his leadership was something simpler than some hypnotic power. He was a genuinely nice, warm-hearted man. When Fritz Busch was a member of the « Concerts Colonne » Orchestra in Paris, Nikisch guest-conducted. Busch writes that Nikisch entered and smiled at the horns and winds « with such charm that when he stepped-up, the whole Orchestra was already on its feet and had broken-out into enthusiastic applause ». He then said it was the dream of his life to conduct this famous Orchestra (he said that to all the Orchestras). Noticing an aged viola player, he smiled and said :

« Schulze, what are you doing here ? I had no idea you had landed in this beautiful city. »

... and briefly recalled a performance in which they had both been orchestral players. And Busch says :

« By this time, the Orchestra would have died for Nikisch. »

One of his greatest skills was as a score-reader, which led to one of the few criticisms against him, which was that he sometimes relied upon his ability to hear the sound on sight and failed to study new music as thoroughly as he should. One time, he was rehearsing the Berlin Philharmonic in a new work by Max Reger. Suspecting that the conductor had not prepared for the rehearsal and performance, the composer interrupted the rehearsal and gently suggested that the conductor try the final fugue 1st.

The conductor said, « Ja, ja, ja » and started turning the pages to find it.

He kept looking and muttering : « The final fugue, ja. Where is it ? Where is it ? »

Reger snapped : « There is none. »

In 1889, he was engaged to become the conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. He stayed there until 1893, and toured the United States, which was then in the midst of an explosion of new Symphony Orchestras. In 1893, he

became director of the Budapest Opera, keeping that post until 1895. In 1895, he was offered the directorships of both the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Orchestra and the Berlin Philharmonic. He accepted both positions (the 2 cities are not far apart) and later added the Hamburg Philharmonic Orchestra, in 1897.

He kept the leadership of the Leipzig « Gewandhaus » until his death, in 1922, and became director of the Leipzig Conservatory as well, in 1902. He returned to America on tour with the London Symphony Orchestra, in 1912, and made other successful appearances there over the years.

Arthur Nikisch was one of the 1st conductors to record a complete Symphony, and the earliest-born conductor to appear before the acoustic horn recorder. His recordings of Beethoven's 5th Symphony, made in 1914 with the Berlin Philharmonic, is accordingly a valuable insight into the Romantic era's approach to performances. They reveal much use of portamentos in the strings and pronounced contrasts of tempos, but are not that old-fashioned sounding.

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Arthur Nikisch's father came from Moravia, and his mother from Hungary. At an early age, he showed remarkable musical talent, and was initially taught privately : aged only 7, having heard Rossini's « Guillaume Tell » and « Il barbiere di Siviglia » Overtures for the 1st time, he was able to write them out from memory. When he was 11 years old, he entered the Vienna Conservatory, where he studied violin with Josef Hellmesberger and composition with Otto Dessoff. He won prizes for his violin and piano playing, as well as for composition, and later commented that all conductors should learn the violin, both for its own sake and to acquire wrist control. He joined the Vienna Court Orchestra in 1874 and played under composers such as Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Franz Liszt, Giuseppe Verdi and Richard Wagner, as well as major contemporary conductors including Johann Herbeck and Otto Dessoff. Nikisch was also a member of the Orchestra which performed Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 « Choral » under Richard Wagner's direction, at the laying of the foundation stone for the Bayreuth « Festspielhaus » .

Nikisch's conducting career began in 1878, when he became 2nd conductor at the Leipzig Opera. He was to maintain a presence in this city for the rest of his life. He made his debut with an Operetta entitled « Jeanne, Jeannette, Jeanetton » ; within a year, still aged only 23, he became chief conductor at the Opera and was leading major works such as Wagner's « Tannhäuser » and « Die Walküre » . Tchaïkovsky wrote thus about Nikisch after a visit to Leipzig :

« One only gains a true idea of the perfection to which an orchestra can attain under a talented conductor when one hears the difficult and complicated scores of Wagner played under the direction of so wonderful a Master as " Herr " Nikisch. »

The Russian composer noted that Nikisch obtained his results with a minimum of motion, no superfluous movement, and a small beat. He described Nikisch as « small in stature, a very pale young man with splendid poetical eyes that really must possess mesmeric powers » . The adjectives « mesmeric » and « magical » occurred regularly in contemporary descriptions of his conducting.

As Nikisch's fame spread, he began to conduct outside Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He was invited to become chief conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, in 1889 ; here, what were seen as his interpretative excesses, for instance in his performances of the Symphonies of Beethoven, provoked enormous debate. Having toured with the Orchestra extensively across the United States, he left Boston in 1893 to become chief conductor of the Budapest Opera and, in 1895, he was approached at the same time by 2 of the major German Orchestras : the Berlin Philharmonic and the Leipzig Gewandhaus, with the offer of their chief conductorships. He decided to take on both positions, retaining them to the end of his life also, in 1897, taking over from Hans von Bülow (his predecessor in Berlin) the directorship of the Hamburg Philharmonic Orchestra, maintaining this too until his death. In addition to this extraordinary raft of permanent commitments, he appeared after his return from America as a guest-conductor with the Vienna Philharmonic and Amsterdam « Concertgebouw » Orchestras ; and also in London, where he established a close relationship with the London Symphony Orchestra following its formation in 1904, conducting it regularly until the outbreak of World War I, including a tour of the United States in 1912. Nikisch also conducted at Covent Garden, including a complete cycle of Wagner's « Ring » in 1913 and, between 1905 and 1906, was director of the Leipzig Opera. As if all this was not enough, he was also director of the Leipzig Conservatory, where he taught conducting and, towards the end of his life, he toured as the piano accompanist to the singer Elena Gerhardt, with whom he also recorded some lieder. He was married to the singer Amélie Heusner ; their son Mitja (1899-1936) was a successful concert pianist.

Nikisch had a most engaging personality, and Orchestras held him in high-regard. In his memoirs, « Pages from a Musician's Life » , another Master conductor Fritz Busch described how Nikisch achieved this rapport, drawing from his own experience of playing under Nikisch in the Orchestra for a performance of « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » in Cologne :

« 10 minutes after the time fixed for the beginning of the rehearsal, a small, very elegantly dressed gentleman came in. He bowed quietly to the nearest horns and greeted them and the other wind players with such charm that when he stepped-up on to the conductor's rostrum the whole Orchestra was already on its feet and had broken-out into enthusiastic applause. He then said that it was the dream of his life to conduct this famous Orchestra. He said the same thing, from inborn amiability, wherever he appeared as a guest-conductor. Noticing an aged viola player, he cried out : " Schulze, what are you doing here ? I had no idea you had landed in this beautiful town ! Do you remember how we played the Berg Symphony under Liszt in Magdeburg ? " Schulze did remember and immediately resolved that with this conductor he would use the whole length of his bow instead of playing with only half, as was his custom with the usual conductors. »

Nikisch always conducted from memory, and had an exceptional baton technique, which although sparing and without any duplication between right and left hands, was always extremely clear and highly-nuanced. Sir Adrian Boult, who was greatly influenced by Nikisch, recalled hearing him conduct « the most thrilling performance of the Brahms C minor Symphony I have ever heard » , and noted that « Nikisch's hand had never been raised higher than the level of his face throughout the whole movement » . Despite his economical baton technique, Nikisch was a spontaneous and improvisatory performer who was most successful in the interpretation of Romantic music in which his virtuoso

(the description of Otto Klemperer) control of rhythm, dynamics and balance could be heard to the best effect. He was able to draw from his Orchestras rich string tone, which was allied to a flexible sense of tempo. He rarely repeated performances in exactly the same way and, often in performance, pursued a different route to that outlined in rehearsal. Nikisch himself was clear about his varying approach to performance :

« I don't sit down and think-out in advance how I am going to have every note of the composition played. Music is a dead thing without interpretation. We all feel things differently. A metronome can keep a 4 square indication, if they like it that way, but never forget that you should make every performance a great improvisation - even though you direct the same work every day of the year. »

His interpretations of the music of composers such as Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms and Richard Wagner were famous. His conducting of the 1st performance of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 7 in Vienna, at the end of 1884, effectively established this composer's international reputation, while his direction of Tchaïkovsky's Symphony No. 5 in Saint-Petersburg, in 1888, asserted its greatness after a less than wholly successful 1st performance.

Nikisch was the 1st conductor to commit a complete Symphony to disc : Beethoven's Symphony No. 5, which he recorded in 1913 with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Despite the inevitably primitive recorded sound, this performance still sounds remarkably compelling. A year later, he recorded for « His Master's Voice » with the London Symphony Orchestra the Overtures to Mozart's « Le nozze di Figaro » , Beethoven's « Egmont » , and Weber's « Der Freischütz » and « Oberon » , as well as Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody No. 1 ; he re-recorded this last work with the Berlin Philharmonic, in 1920, together with Berlioz's Overture « le Carnaval Romain » . Nikisch was arguably the father of one of the major styles of conducting prevalent in the 20th Century, the opposite being that pursued by Arturo Toscanini. Several of his followers were prolific recording artists : they included his successor with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Wilhelm Furtwängler, and the English conductors Albert Coates and Sir Adrian Boult. Through their recordings, and those of many others, the artistry of Nikisch may still be glimpsed, albeit fleetingly.

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Born in Hungary, in 1878, Arthur Nikisch moved to Leipzig and became 2nd conductor of the Leipzig Opera in 1878 and, in 1882, was promoted as its principal conductor. He gave the premiere of Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 7, in 1884. Regarded as one of the founders of modern conducting, Nikisch held posts as principal conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the « Gewandhausorchester » in Leipzig and the Berlin Philharmonic.

(Photo) Rare early cabinet photograph of the great conductor, boldly signed in the the lower margin at age 28 and dated, « Leipzig, 11 August 83. » . Cabinet photograph by W. Kuffert. By far, the earliest signed image of Nikisch we've seen, well before he trimmed his beard and mustache into the small and pointy figuration which became his trademark (and often caricatured) look !

...

Arthur Nikisch studied at the Vienna Conservatory : conducting under Johann von Herbeck (1831-1877) ; violin and conducting under Josef Hellmesberger, Junior (1855-1907) . Upon leaving the Vienna Conservatory in 1878, Nikisch followed the German method of mastering conducting with a series of « provincial » conducting responsibilities. In 1878, Nikisch became 2nd conductor of the « Stadt Theater, Leipzig » (the Opera House) and, in 1882, Nikisch advanced to Principal conductor. In 1889, Henry Lee Higginson, founder of the Boston Symphony, was searching for a successor to Wilhelm Gericke, who had decided to return to Vienna. Higginson's friend Julius Epstein of the Vienna Conservatory, just as he had recommended Gericke, now recommended Nikisch. Nikisch accepted and arrived in October, 1889, for the opening of the Boston 1889-1890 season. He is said to have found the Boston Symphony Orchestra a better ensemble than he had expected. With the Boston Symphony, contemporaries noted that Nikisch conducting style was more free and Romantic than Gericke's more Classical approach. The Boston Symphony under all its conductors regularly toured American cities, but a disagreement between the Orchestra and Nikisch, about such touring, led to his departure in the Spring of 1893. (It is interesting that Nikisch demurred at touring then, but later returned in 1912 to tour the eastern United States with the London Symphony. But the press claimed Nikisch was earning \$ 1,000 per night, on this later tour.) On leaving Boston, Nikisch became Director General of the Budapest Royal Opera from 1893 to 1895 .

The Nikisch fame and career as a conductor advanced rapidly, and contemporaries all agree that he had an immediate, and some said magical, effect on the playing of an orchestra, simply from his direction. In 1895, Nikisch became Music Director of the famed Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Orchestra, one of the oldest and greatest Symphony groups. Nikisch remained head of the « Gewandhausorchester » until his death, in 1922. Also in the 1895-1896 season, Nikisch became Music Director of the Berlin Philharmonic, while still Music Director in Leipzig. It may seem unusual, particularly for that era, for Nikisch to be Music Director of 2 of the leading Symphony Orchestras. However, Wilhelm Furtwängler succeeded Nikisch in both positions upon Nikisch's death.

Arthur Nikisch made some of the earliest recordings of a full Symphony Orchestra playing major works. This was physically and musically difficult to accomplish in the acoustic recording era, and the results so variable and often poor that many leading conductors of that era did not enter the recording studio. Nikisch's 1st recording was with the London Symphony, in June 1913. This was followed by one of the most famous early recordings : the Beethoven Symphony No. 5 with the Berlin Philharmonic, in November 1913. Fritz Busch in his autobiography wrote that Nikisch knew everyone's name. This was unlike, for example, Leopold Stokowski who would address the musicians as « flute » or « fagotte » .

Fritz Busch wrote : « It was a speciality of Nikisch to know the players by name quickly and never make a mistake. I felt at once that, before he had even begun to conduct, the hearts of the whole of the Orchestra had been won. »

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Arthur Nikisch (geboren 12.10.1855, Lébényi Szent Miklos, Ungarn ; gestorben 23.01.1922, Leipzig) war Dirigent in Leipzig, Boston und Budapest. Er galt als hervorragender Interpret der Werke von Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) und Piotr Ilitch Tschaikowski (1840-1893) . Von 1878 bis zu seinem Tod 1922 wirkte Artur Nikisch mit einer Unterbrechung

von sechs Jahren in Leipzig als Dirigent. Zuerst als Kapellmeister am Stadttheater, dem Vorläufer der heutigen Oper, dann ab 1895 als Chef des Gewandhausorchesters. Noch im selben Jahr wurde er auf Empfehlung von Franz Liszt parallel dazu zum Chefdirigenten der Berliner Philharmoniker auf Lebenszeit berufen.

Nikisch war ein Gigant am Pult internationaler Orchester. Neben den Aufgaben in Leipzig und Berlin reiste er auch regelmäßig zu Konzerten in die USA, nach Rußland oder auch nach Wien. Er schuf in Leipzig als Kapellmeister des Gewandhausorchesters die Form des reinen Symphoniekonzerts.

1913 nahmen die Berliner Philharmoniker unter Nikischs Leitung erstmals in der Geschichte der Schallplatte eine komplette Sinfonie auf ; eingespielt wurde Beethovens Fünfte.

Nikisch gab unentgeltlich Konzerte für das « Arbeiter-Bildungs-Institut » . In der Silvesternacht 1918, kurz nach Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges, dirigierte er ein Konzert des Gewandhausorchesters, das als « Friedens und Freiheitsfeier » Beethovens Neunte Sinfonie zur Aufführung brachte. Dieser Abend begründete die bis heute gepflegte Leipziger Tradition der Silvesterkonzerte des Gewandhausorchesters mit Beethovens « Ode an die Freude » .

Nikisch liebte Leipzig, hier fühlte er sich zuhause. Versuchen, etwa aus Wien, ihn abzuwerben, widerstand er.

Nikisch lebte die letzten Jahre seines Lebens in der Thomasiusstraße 28, in der er 1922 nach einer Lungenentzündung starb. Nikisch, der große Neuerer des Musiklebens, liegt auf dem Leipziger Südfriedhof begraben.

Bis zum heutigen Tag wird in der internationalen Musikwelt seine Leipziger Zeit kaum gewürdigt, er vor allem als legendärer Chefdirigent der Berliner Philharmoniker gefeiert.

Aber auch Wien beansprucht gerne, daß Nikisch mit dem Herzen einer der Ihren war. Zwei Tage nach seinem Tod schrieb die « Neue Presse » : « In Wien hat sich der Meister am wohlsten gefühlt. » . Nur daß er eben in Leipzig geblieben ist, bis zu seinem Tod.

(Nikischs Sterbehaus wurde Opfer des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Vor dem in den Achtziger Jahren errichteten Neubau steht seit 1997 ein Gedenkstein anlässlich seines 75. Todestages.)

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Arthur (Artúr) Nikisch (geboren 12 Oktober 1855, in Mosonszentmiklós - Lébényi Szent-Miklós - gestorben 23 Januar 1922, in Leipzig) war ein ungarischer Dirigent. Er galt als hervorragender Interpret der Werke Anton Bruckners und Pjotr Iljitsch Tschaikowskis.

Nikisch heiratete im Juli 1885 die Schauspielerin Amélie Heußner (Brüssel, 1862 - Berlin, 1938) . Ihre Kinder sind der Rechtswissenschaftler Arthur Philipp Nikisch und der Pianist, Komponist und Bandleader Mitja Nikisch.

Nikisch studierte am Konservatorium von Wien Violine, Klavier und Komposition. Zwischen 1872 und 1877 wirkte er zunächst als Geiger in verschiedenen Orchestern, und ab dem Wiener Hofopernorchester (Wiener Philharmoniker). Von 1878 bis 1889 war er 1. Kapellmeister des Leipziger Stadttheaters. Sein 2. Kapellmeister (1886-1888) war Gustav Mahler. Am 30. Dezember 1884 dirigierte Nikisch die Uraufführung von Bruckners 7. Sinfonie am Leipziger Neuen Theater.

Nach Aufhalten in Boston (Chefdirigent des Boston Symphony Orchestra) und Budapest (Direktor der Königlichen Ungarischen Oper) wurde er im Jahr 1895 in Nachfolge von Carl Reinecke Gewandhauskapellmeister in Leipzig; er führte dieses Amt bis zu seinem Tode. Ebenfalls wurde er im Herbst 1895 zum Chefdirigenten der Berliner Philharmoniker berufen. Unter seiner Leitung nahmen sie 1913 als erste eine komplette Tonaufnahme einer Sinfonie auf, der 5. Sinfonie von Beethoven.

Von 1902 bis 1907 war er Direktor des Leipziger Konservatoriums.

Im Februar 1906 spielte er für das Reproduktionsklavier Welte-Mignon als Pianist vier von Brahms' Ungarischen Tänzen auf Klavierrolle ein (Nr. 1, 4, 5 und 6), sowie eine Valse lente aus Léo Delibes' Ballett « Coppélia ».

Nikisch war ein guter Freund Alexander Frommermanns, des Vaters von Harry Frommermann (1906-1975), der 1927 die Comedian Harmonists gründete. Nikisch unterrichtete den kleinen Harry ab 1910 für einige Jahre am Klavier.

Am 23. Januar 1922 starb Nikisch im Alter von 66 Jahren in Leipzig. Er wurde auf dem Leipziger Südfriedhof beigesetzt (II. Abteilung).

Unmittelbar nach Nikischs Tod erhielt ein Platz in Leipzig, an dem Nikisch zuletzt gewohnt hatte, den Namen Nikischplatz. 1935 wurde die Straße G 82 in Berlin-Grünwald anlässlich des 80. Geburtstages des Dirigenten Arthur Nikisch nach ihm benannt. Im Jahr 1952 wurde in Wien Penzing (14. Bezirk) die Nikischgasse nach ihm benannt. Im Jahr 1971 stiftete die Stadt Leipzig den Arthur Nikisch Preis für junge Dirigenten.

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Das Neue Theater war der Vorgängerbau des Leipziger Opernhauses.

Es wurde in den Jahren 1864-1868 von Carl Ferdinand Langhans an der Nordseite des Augustusplatzes erbaut. Detailplanung und Bauleitung lag in den Händen des Leipziger Architekten Otto Brückwald. Zur Eröffnung am 28. Januar 1868 wurde Goethes Iphigenie auf Tauris gegeben. Das Neue Theater bot 1.700 Sitz- und 300 Stehplätze und war für Schauspiel, Oper und Ballett gedacht. Da sich das Haus als ausgezeichnet für die Oper, für das Schauspiel jedoch als ungeeignet erwies, zog das Schauspiel ganz in das Alte Theater am Fleischerplatz (Theaterplatz, heute Richard Wagner Platz), während das Neue Theater zur Leipziger Oper avancierte.

1935-1938 wurden Zuschauerraum, Bühne und Orchestergraben umgebaut. Im Zweiten Weltkrieg, am 4. Dezember 1943,

zerstörte ein alliierter Luftangriff das Gebäude. Bis zum Vortag der Zerstörung war die Bühne noch bespielt worden. Die Ruine wurde 1950 abgetragen und an gleicher Stelle nach mehreren Wettbewerben und Vorprojekten von 1956 bis 1960 die neue Oper errichtet, die, obwohl im damaligen Zeitgeschmack erbaut, in einigen Merkmalen an das Neue Theater erinnert.

Als Ausweichquartier der Oper diente von 1945 bis 1960 das Haus Dreilinden im Leipziger Stadtteil Lindenau.

Am 11. Dezember 1884 wurde im Musikviertel südwestlich der Altstadt (Grassistraße und Beethovenstraße) ein Neues Konzerthaus eröffnet, das bezugnehmend auf das ursprüngliche Gewandhaus auch häufig als Neues Gewandhaus bezeichnet wurde. Das Gebäude wurde 1882-1884 nach Plänen von Martin Gropius durch Heino Schmieden erbaut; der Bau wurde durch einen Kredit aus dem Nachlaß von Franz Dominic Grassi finanziert. Das Konzerthaus enthielt einen großen Saal mit 1.700 Plätzen und einen Kammermusiksaal mit 650 Plätzen. Der Leitspruch des Orchesters fand am Giebel des Eingangsportales Platz. Den bauplastischen Schmuck schuf der Berliner Bildhauer Otto Lessing.

Das 2. Gewandhaus war architektonisches Vorbild der 1900 errichteten Symphony Hall in Boston, Heimstätte des Boston Symphony Orchestra, die sich auch beim Konzertsaal an der als akustisches Vorbild geltenden „Schuhkarton“-Form orientierte.

Im November 1936 vernichteten die Nationalsozialisten bei Nacht und Nebel das vor dem Konzerthaus stehende Mendelssohn-Denkmal des Bildhauers Werner Stein (hergestellt von Hermann Heinrich Howaldt, 1892 enthüllt).

Das Konzerthaus wurde im Zweiten Weltkrieg am 3. und 4. Dezember 1943 sowie am 20. Februar 1944 durch Bomben schwer beschädigt. Zunächst war nach dem Krieg geplant, das Gebäude wieder aufzubauen. Letztlich wurde aber entschieden, die Reste des Gebäudes abzutragen und ein neues Gebäude an anderer Stelle zu errichten. Am 29. März 1968 wurde die Ruine des Konzerthauses abgerissen. Nach langen Jahren der Nutzung des Geländes als Parkplatz wurde 2002 an dieser Stelle das Geisteswissenschaftliche Zentrum der Universität Leipzig eröffnet.

Josef Hellmesberger, fils

Le compositeur, violoniste et chef d'orchestre autrichien Josef Hellmesberger II (surnommé « Pépi » par ses proches) est né le 9 avril 1855. Il est le fils du violoniste et chef d'orchestre Josef Hellmesberger I (1828-1893) qui fut son 1er professeur. Il est issu d'une famille de musiciens comprenant son grand-père Georg Hellmesberger I (1800-1873), son oncle Georg Hellmesberger II (1830-1852) et son frère Ferdinand Hellmesberger (1863-1940).

En 1875, Hellmesberger devient membre du Quatuor Hellmesberger et, en 1887, son directeur principal. En 1878, Hellmesberger devient violoniste solo de la Chapelle de la Cour de Vienne et professeur au Conservatoire de Vienne. En 1890, il devient le 1er « Hofkapellmeister » à l'Opéra de la Cour de Vienne et, de 1901 à 1903, il fut le principal chef d'orchestre de l'Orchestre philharmonique de Vienne. En 1904-1905, il fut le Maître de chapelle au Hoftheater de Stuttgart. Hellmesberger meurt à Vienne le 26 avril 1907, à l'âge de 52 ans. Son œuvre comprend 22 opérettes, 6 ballets, de la musique de danse et des lieder.

1879 : Musique de fête pour les noces d'argent de François-Joseph Ier.

1880 : Der Graf von Gleichen (Opérette) .

1880 : Kapitän Ahlström (Opérette) .

1881 : Der Rattenfänger von Hameln (Musique de scène pour le « Ringtheater ») .

1884 : Harlekin als Elektriker (Ballet) .

1886 : Der schöne Kurfürst (Opérette) .

1886 : Fata Morgana (Opéra) .

1887 : Die verwandelte Katze (Ballet) .

1887 : Rikiki (Opérette) .

1889 : Das Orakel (Opérette) .

1890 : Der bleiche Gast (Opérette) .

1890 : Meißner Porzellan (Ballet) .

1891 : Das Licht (Ballet) .

1892 : Vater Radetzky (Jeu de fête) .

1893 : Die fünf Sinne (Ballet) .

1895 : Die Doppelhochzeit (Opérette) .

1902 : Der Wunderkaftan (Opérette) .

1902 : Die Perle von Iberien (Ballet) .

1904 : Das Veilchenmädel (Opérette) .

1904 : Die Eisjungfrau (Opérette) .

1905 : Wien bei Nacht (Opérette) .

1905 : Die schöne Liedersängerin (Opérette) .

1906 : Triumph des Weibes (Opérette) .

1906 : Die drei Engel (Opérette) .

1906 : Mutzi (Opérette) .

1909 : Der letzte Fasching (Opérette) .

1911 : Der Veilchenkavalier (Opérette) .

1934 : Wiener G'schichten (Singspiel) ; complété par O. Jascha.

Die Schmauswaberl (Opérette) .

Drei Schwarzmäntel (Opérette) .

Posthume : Der Schusterkönig (Opérette) .

Posthume : Nachtfalter (Opérette) .

Posthume : Die beiden Mazzi (Opérette) .

Autres œuvres :

Danse Diabolique.

Auf Wiener Art (Polka française) .

Kleiner Anzeiger (Polka rapide) .

Valse Espagnol.

Elfenreigen.

Leichtfüßig (Polka rapide) .

...

The Austrian composer, violinist and conductor Josef (« Pepi ») Hellmesberger Junior was born on 9 April 1855 and died on 26 April 1907 in Vienna.

He was the son of violinist and conductor Josef Hellmesberger Senior (1828-1893) , who was his 1st teacher. Among his family of notable musicians include : grandfather, Georg Senior (1800-1873) ; uncle, Georg Junior (1830-1852) ; and brother, Ferdinand (1863-1940) .

In 1875, Josef Hellmesberger Junior became a member of his father's Hellmesberger Quartet while, in 1887, he became leader. In 1878, Hellmesberger became solo violinist of the Vienna Court Chapel and professor at the Vienna Conservatory. In 1890, he was the 1st « Hofkapellmeister » at the Vienna Court Opera and, from 1901 to 1903, he was principal conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic.

In 1904 and 1905, he was « Kapellmeister » at the « Stuttgarter Hoftheater » .

His compositions include : 22 Operettas, 6 Ballets, dance music and lieder.

Hellmesberger died at age 52.

...

Josef (« Pepi ») Hellmesberger Junior was the 2nd generation of Hellmesbergers to hold significant musical positions in Vienna. For a period, he was the conductor at the « Carltheater » . Later, he conducted the Vienna Philharmonic following Gustav Mahler's resignation due to ill health and remained for 3 seasons until he had to resign as a result of a scandal. He was taught by his father before studying at the Vienna Conservatory. Some of his Polkas have appeared in recent years in the Vienna Philharmonic's New Year's Day Concerts, making him one of the few non-Strauß composers to be represented in these illustrious concerts. He wrote a wide variety of music, including more serious works. He had a wide musical talent, and his greatest success was his Operetta « Das Veilchenmädel » (1904) . The waltz from this Operetta was recorded on the CD « Spirit of Vienna » , Volume I. His Operetta melodies carry his own distinctive melodic inventiveness and the « Marco Polo » label dedicated a complete CD to his and his father's works. The father, Josef Hellmesberger Senior (1828-1893) , was also a composer and a very noted musician. who held the position of concert Master at the Court Opera. His most remembered composition today is « Ballszene » .

...

The Hellmesberger family was at the centre of Viennese musical life from the Biedermeier period onwards, with the violinist Georg Hellmesberger (1800-1873) contributing music for the violin, followed by his sons Joseph (1828-1893) , a violinist, conductor and composer, and Georg (1830-1852) , a composer and conductor. The younger Josef, called

after his father, continued the family tradition as a violinist, conductor and composer, and was more prolific than his elders in this last occupation.

The younger Josef Hellmesberger wrote Operettas, Ballets and incidental music, and was closely connected with the ballet in Vienna as a conductor. His compositions also include a number of dance pieces.

...

Josef Hellmesberger junior, genannt « Pepi » Hellmesberger (geboren 9. April 1855 in Wien ; gestorben 26. April 1907 ebenda) war ein österreichischer Komponist, Violinist und Abonnementdirigent der Wiener Philharmoniker.

Hellmesberger war der Sohn des österreichischen Violinisten und Dirigenten Josef Hellmesberger senior (1828-1893) , der auch sein erster Lehrer war. Bereits im Alter von 15 Jahren wurde er als 2. Violinist Mitglied des Quartetts seines Vaters (Hellmesberger-Quartett) , dessen Leitung er 1887 übernahm und mit 18 Jahren trat er als Geiger in das Wiener Hofopernorchester ein. Als Konzertmeister (in der Streicherbesetzung) und als Schlagzeuger (in der Bläserbesetzung) begann er 1875 den Militärdienst in der Kapelle des österreichischen Infanterie-Regiments Nummer 4, rückte noch im selben Jahr zum Kapellmeister auf und übernahm 1876 die Leitung der Militärmusik der « 32er » . Diese Funktion hatte er bis 1878 inne. Ab 1878 wirkte er als Sologeiger in der Wiener Hofmusikkapelle und an der Hofoper (heute Wiener Staatsoper) . Ebenfalls ab 1878 war er Professor für Violine am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (der Vorgängeranstalt der Wiener Musikakademie) . 1890 wurde er erster Hofkapellmeister der Wiener Hofkapelle und wirkte auch am Ringtheater als Kapellmeister. Als Nachfolger von Gustav Mahler leitete er von 1901 bis 1903 die Philharmonischen Konzerte. 1903 legte er aus privaten Gründen alle Wiener Funktionen nieder und ging als Kapellmeister an das Stuttgarter Hoftheater. Schon ein Jahr später kehrte er nach Wien zurück, erkrankte bald nach seiner Rückkehr und verstarb 1907.

Seine Grabstätte befindet sich auf dem Hietzinger Friedhof (Gruppe 15, Nummer 4 D) .

Er schuf 22 Operetten, 6 Ballette, Tänze und Lieder und Märsche.

...

17 novembre 1881 : Création des 3 Iers mouvements (sans le Finale) du Quintette à cordes (**WAB 112**) , au « Wagnerverein » de Vienne, par le Quatuor Winkler (Julius Winkler, Carl Lillich, Hans Kreuzinger, Julius Desing et Theodor Lucca) dirigé par Josef Schalk. Son frère Franz, lui, occupera la chaise de second alto pour l'occasion.

L'incendie au Théâtre du « Ring »

Jeudi, 8 décembre 1881 : Shortly before the beginning of the 2nd Viennese performance of « Les Contes d'Hoffmann » by Jacques Offenbach, in the « Ringtheater » , fire breaks-out on stage. Since the doors open inward, many are killed in the crush. About 650 people are burned, asphyxiated, or trampled to death.

A striking entry in Bruckner's diary describes the scene with choking horror :

« On both sides, numerous corpses. Most between the 2nd and 3rd floors. »

Composer Johann Strauß (aged 56) attended the Vienna premiere, the night before. Anton Bruckner, who keeps all his musical manuscripts in an apartment next door, rushes to the scene to save his work. By the time Bruckner gets there, the fire is under control. Among the dead are Heinrich Nachod and his wife, an uncle of Mary Vetsera, aunt and uncle of Arnold Schönberg (aged 7, at the time) . Their 2 children will be adopted by the Schönbergs.

Both Anton Bruckner and Sigmund Freud had tickets for the performance that night. Both might have been among the 386 charred bodies if they hadn't been separately (they never knew each other) diverted to other engagements at the last moment.

...

The appalling fire at the Vienna Ringtheater on **8 December 1881** made an indelible impression on Anton Bruckner. One reason was that he had planned to go to the performance himself and only changed his mind at the last minute. Another reason was that he was able to watch the fire raging all night from his window in the immediate vicinity. Living alone, he was gripped by tremendous fear. It was fortunate that 2 of his pupils, who came from his own part of Austria, went to see him and stayed until morning.

« I shall never, ever forget it ! » Bruckner would say whenever speaking of the horror of that night.

But the next day, with a child-like mixture of fear and curiosity, he went to the mortuary at the police station and viewed the dreadfully maimed victims.

After that inferno, Bruckner was afraid of fire. He would no longer use a petroleum lamp for fear of an explosion, and would only burn candles. When going-out in the evening, he would put the candle out very carefully and dash back into his room a couple of times to check that the wick had stopped smouldering. It took a longish period of recuperation in Saint-Florian to restore his equanimity.

...

Anton Bruckner survit, sans vraiment le vouloir, à la plus grande catastrophe incendiaire dans l'histoire de la ville de Vienne. Il a probablement remercié la « Providence » pour cela, malgré le choc provoqué !

Le tragique incendie du Théâtre du « Ring » (en face de la Bourse de Vienne) , érigé en 1873 (sous le nom de Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique) par l'architecte Emil von Förster (1838-1909) , emporte entre 386 et 436 personnes dont 180 par défenestration. Une plaque commémorative orne aujourd'hui le côté-ouest du bâtiment actuel construit de

1969 à 1974 ; soit la « Bundespolizeidirektion Wien » (ou quartier-général de la Police fédérale autrichienne, pour le secteur de Vienne) .

La compagnie de l'Opéra de la Cour (ancienne appellation de l'Opéra de Vienne) y présente, ce soir-là (c'était jour de fête ; on célébrait la proclamation de l'Immaculée-Conception de la Vierge) , la seconde représentation viennoise de l'Opéra « les Contes d'Hoffmann » de Jacques Offenbach. La veille, le compositeur Johann Strauß (âgé de 56) avait assisté au soir de la première.

Bruckner détient 2 billets mais décide de ne pas s'y rendre, ne se sentant pas suffisamment bien et parce que l'on apporte un changement qui lui déplaît. De sa fenêtre, il sera néanmoins un témoin privilégié du drame. Il assistera d'abord à l'effondrement de la scène dans le brasier.

À 7 heures, l'écroulement d'un mur force de suspendre le travail de déblaiement des décombres.

Parmi les nombreuses victimes, citons Heinrich Nachod et son épouse, soit la tante et l'oncle du jeune Arnold Schœnberg (alors âgé de 7 ans) . Les 2 enfants du couple, devenus orphelins, seront adoptés par les Schœnberg.

Un fourgon de la Croix-Rouge est employé pour emporter les cadavres et les débris humains. C'est à ce moment-là que Bruckner va descendre pour assister de plus près, aux opérations de secours et au dégagement des corps.

À 7 heures 5 minutes, les Iers pompiers arrivent, et avec leurs échelles, ils réussissent à sauver un grand nombre de personnes. On tend des draps sous les fenêtres, et plus de 60 personnes sautent d'une hauteur de 3 étages.

D'autres pompes arrivent au grand galop et écrasent plusieurs personnes dans l'immense foule qui entourait le Théâtre. On essaie de pénétrer dans l'édifice. Il faut d'abord écarter des morceaux de cadavres qui encombrant les issues ; on s'était étouffé près de la sortie.

Les pompiers reconnaissent bientôt qu'il faut se border à préserver les maisons voisines. Bruckner, paniqué, a une seule idée en tête : sauver ses partitions et ses manuscrits qui sont ses seuls trésors.

Finalement, Bruckner va se diriger, à toutes jambes, vers l'hôpital général de Vienne (ou celui de la garnison) où les cadavres sont exposés. La foule des parents est si grande que les soldats et la police doivent y veiller pour maintenir l'ordre.

Le comportement du compositeur est conforme avec son étrange attirance pour le sensationnel et le morbide.

Au moment du drame, l'Empereur François-Joseph se trouve à sa résidence d'été de Gödöllő, en Hongrie. Apprenant la nouvelle, il se précipite à Vienne. La ville entre dans une grande période de deuil.

Au lendemain de l'incendie, le pionnier de la médecine légale moderne, le docteur Eduard von Hofmann (1837-1897) ,

professeur à l'Université de Vienne et directeur de l'Institut de médecine légale, est mandaté par l'Empereur pour examiner les corps. Utilisant des méthodes modernes comme l'examen des dents, il réussit à démontrer que les victimes décèdent d'abord d'empoisonnement par la fumée avant de brûler. Le monoxyde de carbone retrouvé dans le sang est la principale cause de décès.

La tête carbonisée d'une des victimes est encore aujourd'hui conservée au Musée de médecine légale de Vienne. Une autre est exposée au Musée de la criminalité, situé dans le quartier de « Leopoldstadt » .

...

L'incendie du « Ringtheater » va causer à Bruckner un profond traumatisme. Il était tellement surmené qu'il ne voulait plus rester seul la nuit. Sa peur du feu fit en sorte qu'il ne se servira plus jamais des lampes incandescentes à la paraffine, effrayé par la possibilité d'explosions. (Il s'en remettra aux simples bougies jusqu'à la fin de sa vie.) Ne pouvant plus supporter la proximité des ruines fantomatiques du Théâtre, il demandera à être temporairement relocalisé ailleurs.

Anton Bruckner continuera de demeurer au second palier du 5 « Schottenring » , à proximité de la « Votivkirche » , jusqu'au mois de juillet 1895 ; année où l'hydropisie dont il souffre ne lui permettra plus de monter les escaliers.

24 décembre 1881 : Extrait de l'article (signé A.) du journal « Le Monde Illustré » :

« C'est le **jeudi 8 décembre** que l'incendie a éclaté sur la scène de ce Théâtre, un peu avant le lever de rideau. La salle était déjà fort garnie, et un nombreux public était venu pour assister à la représentation des ' Contes d'Hoffmann '. Le feu a pris dans une toile légère et s'est rapidement propagé. Le gardien éteignit le gaz sans plus tarder, et tout aussitôt la panique devint indescriptible. Les malheureux spectateurs se précipitèrent fiévreusement vers les issues donnant sur les couloirs ; mais en présence d'une pareille affluence, les dégagements ne se trouvèrent pas suffisants. Dès que le nouvelle du désastre fut signalée, les autres représentations furent interrompues, dans les Théâtres de Vienne. La plupart des artistes ont pu se sauver. Quand au nombre de spectateurs se trouvant dans la salle, il a été évalué à environ 2,000. Le chiffre des morts n'a pu être exactement établi, on parle de 1,000 victimes. Le Gouvernement autrichien a pris sans tarder des mesures formelles, relatives à la sécurité des spectateurs. »

Richard Wagner racontera à sa femme Cosima que tous les Juifs devraient alors brûler dans un spectacle de « Nathan » .

Sur son emplacement, l'Empereur François-Joseph fait construire, en ce moment, un établissement de bienfaisance.

...

Article du journal « le Petit Stéphanois » :

D'après les dernières nouvelles qui sont parvenues de Vienne, le nombre des personnes signalées à la police comme « manquant » à la suite de l'incendie qui a dévoré le théâtre du « Ring », s'élevait ce matin à près de 600. Hier soir, on avait compté 320 cadavres.

La plupart des personnes qui ont péri appartenaient aux classes populaires ; ce sont des ouvriers et de petits boutiquiers. Il y a beaucoup de jeunes gens et d'enfants parmi les morts. Il y a aussi quelques machinistes et quelques musiciens de l'Orchestre.

Le théâtre était très plein : c'était jour de fête ; on célébrait la proclamation de l'Immaculée-Conception de la Vierge.

On devait jouer, comme les jours précédents, « les Contes d'Hoffmann » par Jacques Offenbach. Le correspondant viennois de la « Gazette » de Cologne raconte que, le matin, il avait voulu acheter une place au théâtre : il n'y en avait plus de libres : on peut juger, par là, de la foule considérable qui était pressée dans la salle, au moment où l'incendie a éclaté.

À 6 heures 3 quarts, les galeries supérieures du Théâtre étaient bondées ; le parquet et les loges se remplissaient ; les acteurs sortaient de leurs loges pour descendre sur la scène ; un employé, quelques minutes avant 7 heures, allumait une dernière rangée de becs de gaz près du rideau, lorsque, tout à coup ; soit que trop de gaz se fût échappé des becs ; soit que l'allumeur se fût approché de trop près du rideau. Un jet de flammes jaillit. Le régisseur s'écriait : « Commencez ! » . On lui répondit en criant : « Au feu ! Au feu ! » .

Le gaz fut immédiatement éteint, et la salle entière se vit plongée dans les ténèbres complètes. L'incendie se propagea si rapidement qu'il fut impossible, à cause des flammes, de baisser le rideau de fer qui sépare la scène de la salle. 5 bouches d'eau placées au-dessus de la scène ne furent pas ouvertes.

Les petites lampes à huile des couloirs n'étaient pas allumées ; les issues par lesquelles on aurait pu se sauver n'étaient pas éclairées.

Dans la salle, le trouble, la confusion, le désespoir furent horribles. Un certain nombre de personnes réussirent à gagner les escaliers et à se sauver par une porte. D'autres chercheront à gagner les fenêtres des corridors, le balcon, et se jetèrent dans la rue.

La plupart de ceux qui eurent recours à ce moyen se cassèrent bras et jambes.

À 7 heures 5 minutes, les premiers pompiers arrivèrent, et avec leurs échelles, ils réussirent à sauver un grand nombre de personnes. On tendit des draps sous les fenêtres, et plus de 60 personnes sautèrent d'une hauteur de 3 étages.

D'autres pompes arrivèrent au grand galop et écrasèrent plusieurs personnes dans l'immense foule qui entourait le Théâtre. On essaya de pénétrer dans l'édifice. Il fallut d'abord écarter des morceaux de cadavres qui encombraient les issues ; on s'était étouffé près de la sortie.

Les pompiers reconnurent bientôt qu'il fallait se border à préserver les maisons voisines.

Ce matin, des poutres brûlaient encore.

Hier soir, à 7 heures, l'écroulement d'un mur a forcé de suspendre le travail de déblaiement des décombres.

Un fourgon de la Croix-Rouge est employé pour emporter les cadavres et les débris humains.

À l'hôpital général et à l'hôpital de la garnison, où les cadavres sont exposés, la foule des parents est si grande que les soldats et la police doivent y veiller pour maintenir l'ordre.

...

En moins de 3 années, Vienne a perdu 2 Théâtres par suite d'incendie. L'une de ces catastrophes est une des plus épouvantables que l'imagination humaine puisse rêver. Que l'on se représente en elfet la salle si coquette, si élégante, si dorée du « Ringtheater », avec ses frontons, ses ornements, ses lambris fouillés avec toute la recherche possible, bondée depuis les Iers bancs de l'orchestre jusqu'aux derniers rangs du paradis ; seules quelques loges étaient vides et béantes, leurs propriétaires trouvant sans doute de bon ton de n'arriver au spectacle qu'une fois le rideau levé. Cette triste observation de la mode, ou ce manque aux convenances, sauva ce soir-là la vie aux retardataires. 1,500 personnes étaient venues, pressées, serrées les unes contre les autres dans l'enceinte ; toutes les classes de la société de Vienne y étaient représentées ; mais la moyenne bourgeoisie, les modestes employés, les gens du peuple même, formaient le gros de ce public, car c'était un jour de fête, le 8 décembre vent dans des filets matelassés, les spectateurs qui ont la présence d'esprit de sauter par les fenêtres ; une foule de citoyens (parmi les Iers, le Comte Lanezan, procureur général) viennent en aide aux pompiers, et c'est grâce à ses efforts que l'on réussit à sauver la plus grande partie des spectateurs, mais 350 à 400 cadavres, on n'en saura jamais le nombre exact, sont ensevelis sous le monceau de ruines qui, le matin du 9 décembre 1881, marquait l'emplacement où s'élevait fièrement, depuis une dizaine d'années environ, le « Ringtheater », qui s'appelait d'abord le Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique.

...

L'incendie du **8 décembre 1881** eut un retentissement énorme. Il y eut autant de familles en deuil qu'au lendemain d'une grande bataille ; mais ceux-là mêmes qui n'avaient pas été frappés dans leurs parents ou leurs affections gardèrent le souvenir de cette horrible nuit. Le procès qui fut intenté au directeur, monsieur Franz Ritter von Jauner, démontra que la négligence avait été très grande et l'inculpé fut condamné a plusieurs mois de prison. Mais on constata également de la part de la police et de certaines autorités une grave négligence. Le préfet de police dut donner sa démission et plusieurs hauts fonctionnaires furent mis à la retraite. 2 années après l'incendie du « Ringtheater », le Théâtre de la Ville, non moins spacieux, non moins élégant de construction, non moins luxueusement agencé, devenait aussi la proie des flammes.

Le souvenir de la catastrophe du « Ringtheater » de Vienne s'est présenté à la mémoire de chacun et plusieurs journaux ont rappelé le nombre des victimes. On a même réédité le chiffre de 700 morts, dans certains grands journaux. En feuilletant la collection du journal « l'Impartial » de Paris, nous retrouvons les chiffres suivants, ayant trait à cette catastrophe.

...

Le « Ringtheater » fut incendié le **8 décembre 1881**. Les lres dépêches annoncèrent 300 morts, puis 1,000, puis 700... Le 26 décembre, une liste rectifiée des victimes contenait 558 noms, dont 12 considérés comme douteux. Puis un certain nombre de personnes portées comme disparues ayant été retrouvées, on annonçait de Vienne, le 5 janvier 1882 : « Il est définitivement constaté que le nombre des victimes de la catastrophe du " Ring Theater " s'élève à 436 personnes. » . Ceci dit, pour répondre à certaines questions qui nous ont été adressées à ce sujet.

Le ruines du Théâtre furent démolie. Grâce à son soutien financier en mémoire des victimes, l'Empereur François-Joseph fit construire sur le site même de la tragédie un établissement privé de bienfaisance qui portera le nom de « Sühnhaus » (« Sühnhof ») . Il sera présent lors de l'inauguration. Le bâtiment sera gravement endommagé par les bombardements du 12 mars 1945. Ce qui en reste sera complètement démoli en 1951. Entre 1969 et 1974, un immeuble à bureaux sera érigé sur le site. Les quartiers généraux de la police de Vienne, la section des commandos de même que les agents de sécurité fédéraux occupent l'immeuble. Une plaque commémorative sur l'édifice rappelle le tragique incendie du « Ringtheater » . Les statues de style Grec, dont le « Singendes Quartett » (Quatuor de chant) datant de 1874, qui ont survécu au brasier en restant debout sur les pilastres du Théâtre, sont l'œuvre de l'architecte Emil von Foerster. Après la tragédie de décembre 1881, elles seront achetées par le fabricant de meubles Max Schmidt qui les légua à la ville de Vienne lorsque le parc du château de Pötzleinsdorfer sera ouvert au grand public en 1935.

...

The « Ringtheater » was a popular theater in Vienna. It was located in the 1st District (« Bezirk I ») , Schottenring 7. It was destroyed in a fire, in 1881, and, today, the site is the federal headquarters of police for Vienna.

The « Ringtheater » was built between 1872 and 1874 by Heinrich von Förster, following plans by Emil Ritter. It opened on January 17, 1874, under the direction of Albin Swoboda, Senior as an « Opéra-Comique » , antithetical to the « seriousness » of the Vienna State Opera, then called the Court Opera (« Hofoper ») . However, in September 1878, the focus was shifted to spoken plays, German and Italian Opera and variety, and the name was changed to the « Ringtheater » .

Given that the footprint of the theatre was small (and the theatre was intended to hold an audience of 1,700) , the architect was forced to build high, but with disastrous consequences. On December 8, 1881, a fire broke-out shortly before a performance of « les Contes d'Hoffmann » by Jacques Offenbach. The so-called « Ringtheaterbrand » (« Ringtheater » Fire) totally destroyed the theatre, and killed at least 384, according to official figures. (The following year, a new law was passed, regarding the outfitting and safety provisions, including safety curtains, outwards-opening

doors and fireproofing of the set.)

A so-called « Sühnhaus » was built on the site of the « Ringtheater » , out of the Emperor's private funds ; it was a private residence, which supported worthy causes. This was badly damaged, in 1945, and eventually fell-down, in 1951 ; between 1969 and 1974, an office block was erected on the site, in which the federal headquarters for police, in Vienna, and the general inspectorate of the federal security guards, and the now police commandos are housed. The fire is commemorated on a plaque on the police building. The Attic style statues, which had stood on the pilasters, are now in the « Pötzleinsdorfer Schlosspark » .

...

A short distance past the station « Schottentor » , a memorial plaque on number 7 « Schottenring » , on the left-hand side of the « Ring » , commemorates one of the great fire catastrophes of the 19th Century. In the « Ringtheater » that once stood at this spot, on 8 December 1881, shortly before a performance of Jacques Offenbach's Comic Opera « The Tales of Hoffmann » , a fault in the electro-pneumatic ignition system for the gas lighting started an appalling fire. The number of dead was estimated at over 400. In identifying the corpses, the forensic doctor Eduard von Hofmann (under whom Viennese forensic medicine achieved a leading position in the world) used modern methods such as examining the teeth of the victims. The charred head of a victim of the « Ringtheater » fire is still kept today in the Museum of Forensic Medicine, in Vienna, and a further one is exhibited in the Crime Museum in the « Leopoldstadt » . Hofmann's suspicion that, in many cases, the victims of a fire die through poisoning by smoke rather than burning could be proved through these corpses. He also succeeded in proving the existence of carbon monoxide in the blood of the victims. For forensic medicine, this was a most important discovery. In the case of a murder after which the body of the victim is burned, it could now be proved that, if there was no carbon monoxide in the blood, the victim had already been dead before being burned, or, on the other hand, if CO was found in the blood then this showed that victim had been burned while still alive. This catastrophe brought with it a new awareness, not just for the field of forensic medicine. In addition to changes to the building regulations concerning Theatres and Opera Houses - the fire curtain and emergency lighting became compulsory items and, since then, entrance doors always have to open outwards the shock caused by this disaster led to the establishment of the « Wiener freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft » (Viennese Voluntary Rescue Society) .

More than 3,000 years of fire legislation

The earliest known law relating to fire is recorded in the Code of Hammurabi (Codex Hammurabi) dating back to circa 1760 BC. The Babylonian king and law-giver legislated that if fire break-out in a house, and some one who comes to put it out cast his eye upon the property of the owner of the house, he shall be thrown into that self-same fire. Whilst perhaps reducing theft in ancient Babylon, it is doubtful that such a law did much to actually prevent fires. For this, we must turn to ancient Rome.

Following a serious conflagration in Rome in the year 6 BC, the Emperor Augustus replaced the city's existing fire brigade, which was made-up of slaves, with a corps of so-called « vigiles » (firefighters and watchmen) , consisting of

7 cohorts, each of 1,000 freedmen. Each cohort was responsible for fire and, especially at night, police protection in 2 of the city's 14 « regiones » . Equipped with buckets, water syphons, axes, and dousing blankets it was the dawn of the fire service as we know it. This wouldn't be enough to stop the burning of Rome in 64 AD, however, after which new building regulations stipulated the need for broad access roads, standardised house façades, restricted use of timber, and subsidies to ensure that the construction of private dwellings also adhered to the law.

Meanwhile, far from Rome, on the eastern border of the Empire, a fire brigade comprising military veterans was formed in 150 AD, in « Carnuntum » , the capital of the Roman province of « Pannonia » . A similar force was deployed in the nearby legionary fortress of « Vindobona » (modern Vienna) , in 220 AD. And it was just 3 decades after this, that Saint-Florian, the patron Saint of firefighters, was born in « Aelium Cetium » (modern Sankt Pölten) , in the region that would later be known as Lower-Austria.

A high-ranking officer in the Roman army, « Florianus » is remembered for refusing an order to put Christian properties to the torch, declaring instead his own strong Christian beliefs. When « Florianus » subsequently failed to make the required sacrifices to the pagan gods of ancient Rome, he was sentenced to death by burning. After taunting his executioners with boasts of how he would climb to heaven on the flames, « Florianus » was drowned, instead, in the River Enns. Several statues of Saint-Florian can be seen in Vienna today, usually in the act of extinguishing a burning house with a pail of water (for example, on a building in « Sobieskiplatz » in the 9th District of « Alsergrund ») .

With the fall of the Roman Empire, the art of fire prevention was lost in Central Europe until 1221, when the Babenberg Duke of Austria, Leopold VI, passed a law whereby those whose houses caught fire, threatening others in the vicinity, were liable to a large fine. With such a threat hanging over them, and the knowledge that a soot-filled chimney was usually the cause, it is little wonder that the Viennese began viewing the humble chimney sweep as a harbinger of good luck. This is still felt strongly in the city today. The huge figure of a chimney sweep, for example, hangs outside the lotto office on « Wipplingerstraße » , where it acts as a symbol of good fortune. Similarly, tiny effigies of chimney sweeps are amongst the most popular lucky charms exchanged in Vienna at New Year.

With the accession of the Habsburgs to the Austrian throne, further fire legislation followed. Emperor Ferdinand I, for instance, issued specific instructions in 1534 as to how fires should be handled in the capital. Certain trades, such as blacksmiths and carpenters, were to play key roles in firefighting, and the city treasurer was to finance these activities. In 1686, 2 years after the Great Fire of London, Vienna's 1st fire brigade was founded, with 4 firefighters (« Fueurknechte ») storing their equipment in the Civic Armoury (« Bürgerliches Zeughaus ») on « Am Hof » . Further legislation followed during the 18th Century, by which the army was to be brought in, if several fires started simultaneously.

The 19th Century saw great leaps forward in the provision of firefighting equipment, the 1st respirator arriving in Vienna, in 1812, after 2 chimney sweeps suffocated in a smoke-filled cellar. Another important development came in 1838, when a watchmaker from Klagenfurt signed-up for duty as Austria's 1st voluntary fireman. A decade later, the newfound confidence that spread amongst the citizens of Vienna, in the wake of the French Revolution of 1848, was

reflected in the formation of further volunteer fire brigades, including the 1st in Krems, Lower-Austria, in 1861.

Still, the threat of fire remained high, due mainly to the preponderance of buildings with thatched and timber-shingled roofs, as well as the use of candles and oil lamps. What Vienna needed was a city centre fire station. During the early 18th Century, Austria's most influential Baroque architect, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, had voiced the need for this, if only as a means of protecting his own work, which included the magnificent « Hofburg » Library, the « Prunksaal ». However, it was not until 1848, when Viennese citizens stormed the Civic Armoury on « Am Hof », looking for weapons with which to arm themselves, that a fire station was opened here (the Armoury was re-located to a purpose-built Arsenal, on « Landstraße »). Incidentally, adjacent to the former Armoury, behind the palatial façade at « Am Hof » 7-9, is today's Central Fire Station (« Feuerwehr Zentrale »), installed here, in 1935. Vienna's Fire Service Museum (« Feuerwehrmuseum ») can be found on the 1st floor of the building and contains a reconstruction of a look-out post (« Alte Türmestube »), which was once installed in the spire of the « Stephansdom ». The post was used for fire watching between 1534 and 1956.

The « Ringtheater » Ignites

In June 1870, the Austrian Parliament decreed that the responsibility for firefighting be transferred to the regional municipalities, each with its own police force and fire chief. The Lower-Austrian fire brigade federation was founded 1 year later and, in 1873, Vienna's 1st steam-powered fire engine (« Dampf-Spritzenwagen ») was demonstrated at the World Exhibition in the park of the « Prater ». Despite such readiness, however, some of Vienna's buildings remained perilously unprepared for a fire. The « Ringtheater » on « Schottenring 7 », on the northern stretch of the « Ringstraße », would become the most infamous of these.

The « Ringtheater » was unveiled on January 17th, 1874, as the « Wiener Theater », an « Opéra-Comique », providing a counterpoint to the seriousness of the « Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofopertheater » (later called, the « Wiener Staatsoper »). In September 1878, however, the artistic focus of the « Wiener Theater » shifted to spoken plays, German and Italian Opera, and Variety, and it was renamed the « Ringtheater ».

Given that the footprint of the « Ringtheater » was small and that the building was intended to hold an audience of 1,700, the architect Emil von Förster (1838-1909) was forced to build high and narrow, but with disastrous consequences. On December 8th, 1881, a fire broke-out shortly before a performance of « les Contes d'Hoffmann » by Jacques Offenbach. Known, thereafter, as the « Ringtheaterbrand », it gutted the building within a few hours, killing at least 384 people in the process.

The cause of the fire remains a mystery, although it is known that the stage lamps were lit at 6:45 pm, while the curtain was still down, in readiness for the performance to begin. Perhaps, one of these lamps, which could raise the temperature of wooden stage scenery to 70 C° (centigrade), was to blame? For reasons unknown, the safety curtain was not lowered and the flames burst quickly out into the front seats. In the ensuing panic, the Theatre's telegraph system was not used to summon the fire brigade, nor were the water taps on the stage activated.

At this point, what began as a manageable accident turned quickly into a human catastrophe. So, as not to quicken the spread of the fire, the management switched-off the flickering gas jets, which were used for illumination in theatres, at the time. The emergency oil lighting, in the narrow and windowless hallways, which led to the Theatre's 4 galleries, had been left inoperable after recent repair work. Those trying to escape the flames were consequently plunged into darkness.

Whilst most of the performers were able to make their escape through the back of the building, the terrified theatregoers stumbled « en masse » towards the exit on « Schottenring » . Here, they became trapped, since the main doors only opened inwards. The scene was horrific, as recorded later in gruesome detail by the world's press. With the doors firmly closed and the fire raging behind them, those that didn't succumb to the flames were soon asphyxiated.

Within an hour, the building was like a furnace, fuelled by the lavish internal decorations that were made of highly-combustible light wood and « papier mâché » . The uppermost gallery, containing the cheapest seats, had no windows opening directly outside, so rescue by ladder was impossible. By contrast, some 50 people from the more exclusive 1st floor gallery were saved by their jumping from the windows onto sheets held-out by the fire brigade, on the pavement below. Here, a surreal scene was unfolding as bodies slowly piled-up and it began to snow.

By 11:30 pm, only the outside walls of the Theatre remained standing. By this time, those still unaccounted for had undoubtedly been reduced to cinders. Bizarrely, the ornate façade of the Theatre, with its confident statues of theatrical muses, was still intact. It is a little-known fact that these Classical-style statues were later taken down and used to adorn the « Pötzleinsdorfer Schlosspark » , where they can still be found today.

As the « Ringtheater » burned, Emperor Franz-Josef I (1830-1916) was at his Hungarian summer residence, in Gödöllő. Upon hearing the shocking news, he rushed back to Vienna and the city went into a period of deep mourning. In the immediate aftermath of the fire, the pioneer of modern forensic pathology, Eduard von Hofmann (1837-1897) , a professor at the University of Vienna, was brought in to examine the bodies. His autopsies deemed carbon monoxide poisoning to be the primary cause of many of the deaths.

Those who had lost family members were offered financial assistance, and a considerable amount of money was raised at the city's Stock Exchange (« Börse ») , which stood almost directly opposite the burned-out ruins. The Imperial family also contributed and, in time a so-called « Sühnhaus » (House of Atonement) was built on the former Theatre site at the Emperor's expense. Used for charitable purposes, it was demolished in 1951, after being damaged during the Second World War, and was replaced by Vienna's Federal Police Headquarters (a plaque commemorating the « Ringtheater » fire can be seen on the building, today) .

Blame for the failure to halt the « Ringtheater » fire and for not saving more lives was laid at the feet of 2 men. One of them, the « Ringtheater » 's newly-ennobled director, Franz Jauner, was held responsible for the lack of emergency oil lighting and for failing to keep the Theatre's fire buckets filled. The Emperor stripped him of his title (awarded for directing the « Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofoperntheater » , between 1875 and 1880) and had him thrown into prison for 3 months. Returning to the theatre, in later life, Jauner eventually shot himself after falling victim to

financial mismanagement.

The 2nd potentially guilty party was the Austrian Prime Minister and chief of secret police, Count Eduard von Taaffe. Ironically, he had ordered an investigation into the safety of all Vienna's theatrical venues, following the burning of the « Théâtre Royal » in Nice (France) , on March 1881.

That particular fire, which had been caused by a faulty gas main, had claimed the lives of 92 people. Von Taaffe's report concluded that existing building and fire regulations in Vienna were woefully inadequate. Numerous urgent improvements were deemed necessary : emergency exits should be clearly marked and fitted with emergency oil lighting, in the event of the gas supply being switched-off ; the wire-mesh safety curtain (made today of iron) separating the stage from the auditorium should be lowered at all times, except during rehearsals and performance ; separate gas mains should be used for the stage and for the auditorium ; and all doors serving as exits for the audience should open outwards. By the time of the « Ringtheater » fire, it was clear that not all of these improvements had been instigated.

Von Taaffe's recommendations finally became law, in 1882, and were emulated in theatres around the globe. At the same time, Vienna's network of fire alarms and water hydrants was improved, and outward-opening doors became common-place in all buildings accessible to the public, from the grandest of theatres to the most modest of corner shops. To some of today's visitors from outside continental Europe, this author included, outward-swinging doors are still quite a novelty to behold.

The effect of these new regulations was felt quickly. On 16th May 1884, for example, the « Wiener Stadttheater » set alight and its interior was gutted. A proposal to rebuild a theatre on the same site was refused by the Lower-Austrian authorities, on the basis of the new fire regulations : in this case, the access to the site was not deemed good enough. Consequently, in March 1887, the ruin was sold to Anton Ronacher, who built an eponymously-named concert hall and ballroom, on the site, with tables where the theatre stalls had once been. Similarly, when Vienna's « Volkstheater » was unveiled, in 1889, the new regulations were clearly reflected in the architecture of the building, which was given an isolated site and exhibited a clear structural separation between auditorium and stage, which were given separate roofs. The « Volkstheater » also featured a fire-proofed iron stage and electric lighting.

By 1908, the improved situation in Europe even warranted an article in the « New York Times » , bemoaning the fact that the cities of the « New World » were suffering more fires each month than those of London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna were in 6 months. Regarding Vienna, it stated the following :

There is no case known in this city where a conflagration has extended beyond the building in which it originated, and even hardly any cases are known where a fire extended beyond the floor on which it originated. This is prevented by the solidity of the buildings, by strict fire regulations, and by a pretty well-trained Fire Department. « Why Should America Have So Many More Disastrous Fires Than Europe ? » (« New York Times » , 1908.)

It would be another 3 decades, and the appearance of Allied bombers in the skies over the city, before well-built

Vienna and its well-trained firemen would again face the threat of destruction by fire.

Eduard von Hofmann

Né à Prague, en Bohême, le 27 janvier 1837.

Élu Correspondant étranger, le 30 mai 1885 (4e section) .

Professeur aux Universités d'Innsbrück et de Vienne.

Spécialités : médecine légale et hygiène.

Directeur de l'Institut de médecine légale de Vienne.

Nouveaux éléments de médecine légale.

Sera nommé Chevalier (Ritter) .

Nouveaux éléments de médecine légale par les docteurs Édouard (Ritter) von Hofmann, et Paul Brouardel Baillière, (1881) ; 830 pages.

Atlas-manuel de médecine légale par le docteur Édouard (Ritter) von Hofmann (1899) .

Décédé à Prague, le 27 août 1897.

...

The Austrian physician Eduard (Ritter) von Hofmann was born on 27 January 1837 and died on 27 August 1897 in Opatija. A native of Prague, he was a pioneer of modern forensic pathology.

In 1861, he earned his medical doctorate at Charles University, in Prague, and, in 1869, became a professor of « Staatsarzneikunde » (State Medical Research) at the University of Innsbruck. He obtained this position with assistance from Carl Rokitansky (1804-1878) . In 1875, he became a professor of forensic medicine at the University of Vienna.

Hofmann is remembered for his diligent work in development of forensic medicine as a separate scientific entity. He is credited for introducing and expanding methodologies such as microscopy, spectroscopy and laboratory animal experimentation into forensic medicine, at Vienna. He wrote 2 important books : « Lehrbuch für gerichtliche Medizin » (Textbook of Forensic Medicine) ; and « Atlas der gerichtlichen Medizin » (Atlas of Forensic Medicine) ; both of which have been translated into different languages.

Hofmann was instrumental in autopsy studies of the nearly 400 victims who perished at the Viennese « Ringtheater » fire which happened on December 8, 1881, where carbon monoxide poisoning was deemed to be an underlying cause of death. Also, he conducted the report on the controversial death of Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria (1858-1889) at Mayerling.

With Hermann Reinhard (1816-1892) , Eduard von Hofmann was one of the founders of forensic entomology.

...

Following the example of Vienna, a chair for State pharmacology was established at the University of Innsbruck. The 1st holder of this chair was the future Director of the Vienna Institute, Eduard von Hoffmann.

1875 : A chair for hygiene was established upon the opening of a dedicated Institute of Hygiene, in 1908, on Kinderspitalgasse.

Eduard Hofmann (Head of the Institute from 1875 to 1897) .

Investigated the death of Crown Prince Rudolph, on 30 January 1889.

Investigated the over 400 victims of the « Ringtheater » fire, on 8 December 1881 :

1st time identification was made using dental records.

Smoke inhalation was the cause of death.

Demonstrating that the presence of carbon monoxide (CO) is evidence that someone was burned alive.

1878 : 1st publication of Hofmann's « Textbook for Forensic Medicine » . For a long period of time, this was the standard reference book for forensic medicine and was translated into French, Italian, Spanish and Russian.

Removal of forensic medicine specimens from the pathology association collection and transferred to its own, independent collection.

Forensic medicine and hygiene separated : Post-mortems ordered by the Court and health authorities were linked to the Director of the Institute for Forensic Medicine from 1875 and, from this time on, forensic medicine was no longer part of pathological anatomy.

...

One of the most remarkable works belonging to Austrian literature concerned with the termination of pregnancy is a

textbook of juridical medicine, from 1878, with special regard to Austrian and German legislation (« Lehrbuch der Gerichtlichen Medizin mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der österreichischen und deutschen Gesetzgebung ») . It was written by Austrian physician and pioneer of modern forensic pathology, Eduard Ritter von Hofmann (1837-1897) , and provides exhaustive insight into methods of traditional and mainstream medical practice. This work was repeatedly reprinted and it was translated into several languages. It is significant not only because of its focus upon relevant German and Austrian law, but also because of the information it provides regarding forbidden methods of intervention entirely missing from gynecological literature of the day. Hofmann earned high honors at the Vienna University for continuing the tradition of the « Vienna School of Forensic Medicine » . He directed an open and modern institute that attracted individuals from all over the Empire. He introduced microscopy and animal experimentation to forensic medicine. He was also renowned for identifying the casualties of Vienna's « Ringtheater » fire, as well as his autopsy of Crown Prince Rudolf. He was decorated with innumerable medals for his accomplishments, achieved knighthood, and was laid to rest in an honorary grave in Vienna's Central Cemetery.

...

Eduard Ritter von Hofmann (geboren 27. Januar 1837 in Prag ; gestorben 27. August 1897 in Opatija) war ein österreichischer Mediziner und gilt als Pionier der modernen forensischen Pathologie.

Hofmann studierte an der Prager Karlsuniversität, promovierte 1861 und habilitierte 1865 über die Fruchtwasseraspiration während der Geburt. Auf Empfehlung Carl von Rokitanskys wurde er 1869 an den Lehrstuhl für Staatsarzneikunde an der Universität Innsbruck berufen. Durch Nutzbarmachung neu entwickelter Methoden und Geräte wie Mikroskopie, Spektroskopie und Tierversuch für die Rechtsmedizin gab er der Wissenschaft neue Impulse. 1873 wurde von Hofmann in Innsbruck Dekan, folgte aber bereits 1875 einem Ruf an die Universität Wien, um wiederum auf Fürsprache des nunmehr emeritierten Rokitansky dessen Professur weiterzuführen.

Wie sein Vorgänger band er sein gerichtsmedizinisches Institut forciert in das behördliche Obduktionswesen ein, was die ausreichende Versorgung mit Körpern für die Forschung sicherte. Er stützte überdies die stärkere Zusammenarbeit mit experimentellen Pathologen und forensischen Toxikologen in der Gerichtsmedizin. Letztendlich galt sein Streben der Etablierung einer von der Vorherrschaft der pathologischen Anatomie befreiten Gerichtsmedizin. In diesem Sinne trennte er das gerichtsmedizinische Museum aus der pathologisch-anatomischen Ausstellung der Universität heraus. Seine Arbeit hob die Bedeutung des Wiener Instituts insgesamt auf ein international beachtetes Niveau.

Von Hofmann wurde für seine Verdienste um Wissenschaft wie Gesundheitspflege sowohl akademische als auch staatliche Anerkennung in Form zahlreicher Orden und der Erhebung in den Adelsstand mit der Verleihung des Titels « Ritter von » zuteil. Eduard von Hofmanns Hauptwerk, das 1878 erschienene « Lehrbuch für gerichtliche Medizin » , wurde in alle Wissenschaftssprachen übersetzt und erlebte allein bis zu Hofmanns frühem Tod neun Auflagen. Er selbst erhielt ein Ehrengrab auf dem Wiener Zentralfriedhof.

Fälle

Unter den teilweise international mit Aufmerksamkeit verfolgten Fällen, bei denen Hofmann als rechtsmedizinischer Sachverständiger hinzugezogen wurde, können hervorgehoben genannt werden :

Aufklärung des Mordes an einer jungen Frau durch deren Bräutigam, der anhand von ausgerissenen Haaren an den Händen der im Stifser Joch Abgestürzten überführt wurde.

Mitarbeit bei der Identifizierung der fast 400 Opfer des Ringtheaterbrandes vom 8. Dezember 1881 ; dabei Entdeckung der Vergiftung mit Kohlenstoffmonoxid als eigentliche Todesursache von Brandopfern und damit, daß Kohlenmonoxid ein sicherer Beweis dafür ist, daß jemand lebendig verbrannt ist.

Gutachten zur Identität einer in der Theiß gefundenen Frauenleiche im Ritualmordprozess von Tiszaeszlár (1883)
Beteiligung am Gutachten zum Tode Kronprinz Rudolfs 1889, das eine Selbsttötung nachwies.

Werke

Lehrbuch für Gerichtliche Medizin, 1878 - 11 Auflagen bis 1927.

...

The « Ringtheater » was not rebuilt after the fire and the Emperor Franz-Josef had the « Sühnhaus » (Expiation House) , which he financed from his private purse, built in its place. The income from this tenement house was to be donated for all eternity to charitable foundations. Sigmund Freud lived and had his practice here from October 1886 to September 1891. The famous couch that he was given by a grateful patient originally stood in his newly opened practice in this building. He later took it with him to « Berggasse » and, then, to London where it can still be seen today. During the Second World War, the Imperial foundation building was heavily damaged by a bomb and was demolished in 1951. The « Bundespolizeidirektion » (Federal Police Headquarters) has stood here since 1974.

...

Das Ringtheater war ein volkstümliches Theater am Schottenring 7 im I. Wiener Gemeindebezirk Innere Stadt, das 1881 durch einen schweren Brand zerstört wurde. Heute befindet sich an seiner Stelle die Landespolizeidirektion Wien.

Im Oktober 1872 erhielt ein Konsortium von drei Herren durch kaiserliche Entschließung die Konzession für ein « neues stabiles Theater auf dem Schottenring gegenüber der Börse unter dem Namen “ Komische Oper ” für theatralische Vorstellungen jeder Art und des Balletts » . Zur Beschaffung des Bau- und Betriebskapitals wurde eine Aktiengesellschaft gegründet. Mit der Planung und Bauausführung wurde Emil von Förster betraut. Da ihm nur eine relativ kleine Bauparzelle zur Verfügung stand, das Theater aber 1.700 Personen fassen sollte, strebte er eine Raumerweiterung nach oben an und erreichte das durch eine verschachtelte Gliederung von Vestibülen, Gängen und Stiegenhäusern. Die Komische Oper, die als Gegenpol zur Hofoper « leichte » Opern spielen sollte, wurde am 17. Jänner 1874 unter der Direktion Albin Swobodas mit Rossinis Der Barbier von Sevilla eröffnet.

Zunächst führte die Aktiengesellschaft, auf welche die Konzession übergegangen war, den Betrieb auf eigene Rechnung. Der von der Aktiengesellschaft als künstlerischer Leiter engagierte Albin Swoboda legte die Direktion bereits am 9. März 1874 wieder zurück. In der Folge lösten die Direktoren einander immer wieder kurzfristig ab. Es gelang keinem, das Haus zum Erfolg zu führen, zeitweilig war es sogar geschlossen. Auch der erfolgreiche Direktor des Theaters an der Wien, Friedrich Strampfer, vermochte sich nicht länger als drei Jahre über Wasser zu halten, obwohl er das Haus in Ringtheater umbenannte und das Repertoire um Sprechstücke, deutsche und italienische Oper sowie Varieté erweiterte. Zu finanziellen Schwierigkeiten kamen auch immer wieder technische, wie unter anderem bei den Proben zu den « Sieben Raben » .

Mit 1. Juni 1881 pachtete Franz Jauner das Theater. Die Hoffnung, daß nunmehr unter seiner theaterkundigen Leitung das Unternehmen endlich gedeihen werde, machte die verheerende Brandkatastrophe, der Ringtheaterbrand, vom 8. Dezember 1881 zunichte : Knapp vor einer Aufführung von Hoffmanns Erzählungen brach ein Feuer aus, das das (im Eigentum des Stadterweiterungsfonds befindliche, versicherte) Theatergebäude vollständig vernichtete und nach offiziellen Angaben mindestens 384 Todesopfer forderte. Daraufhin wurde 1882 ein neues Gesetz betreffend die Einrichtung der Theater und Sicherheitsvorkehrungen (unter anderem Eiserner Vorhang, nach außen öffnende Türen, Imprägnierung der Bühnendekorationen) erlassen.

An der Stelle des Ringtheaters entstand aus Privatmitteln des Kaisers das so genannte « Sühnhaus » , ein Zinshaus, dessen Zinsertrag wohltätigen Zwecken zufloss. Es wurde 1945 schwer beschädigt und 1951 abgetragen ; 1969-1974 wurde auf dem Areal ein Amtsgebäude errichtet, in welchem die Bundespolizeidirektion Wien sowie das Generalinspektorat der Sicherheitswache, nunmehr zusammengefasst in der Landespolizeidirektion Wien, untergebracht wurde. Heute erinnert an den Brand noch eine Gedenktafel am Polizeigebäude. Vier Statuen, das sogenannte « Singende Quartett » , die auf den Pilastern der Attika standen, befinden sich heute im Pötzleinsdorfer Schlosspark.

« Sühnhaus »

The eminent Wagnerian soprano of Austrian nationality, Anna von Mildenburg was born on 29 November 1872 in Vienna and died on 21 January 1947. Known as Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, after her 1909 marriage, she had been a « protégé » (and mistress) of the composer-conductor Gustav Mahler during his musical directorship at the Hamburg State Opera. In 1898, Mahler took her to the Vienna Opera, where she established herself as one of the great stars during his celebrated tenure there as music-director.

Anna von Mildenburg lived in an apartment of the « Sühnhaus » , at « Schottenring 7 » , the north-western section of that boulevard. The address seemed ominous, for the apartment was built on the ruins of the « Ringtheater » , which had burned to the ground in 1881, killing 100's of those attending the night's performance. Werthen remembered that incident only too vividly. A teenager, he and his family were in Vienna for the Christmas season and had tickets to that evening's performance of Jacques Offenbach's « Tales of Hoffmann » . But his mother had come down with a bout of intestinal influenza and their father decided that it would be ungentlemanly for the rest of the family (his younger brother, Max, had still been alive, at that time) to be enjoying themselves while his wife was

bedridden. For once, his father's gentlemanly code-forever aping what he thought to be the mannerisms of the titled classes-served them well.

The Emperor himself had ordered the building of this « House of Atonement », a magnificent structure combining elements of Gothic and Renaissance styles, surmounted by church-like spires. The building contained apartments, commercial properties, and a memorial chapel as a remembrance to those who had died. Despite its elegance and its quality address, the « Sühnhaus » was always a safe bet for a quick rental, for the Viennese were a superstitious lot, and the address was not a favored one. But for someone who had the cash and was in urgent need of upscale lodgings, the « Sühnhaus » was a popular short-term address. The singer surely had enough for the monthly rent : Berthe had informed him that Von Mildenburg had been hired at the unheard of sum of 14,000 « Gulden », as much as some advisors to the Emperor earned.

Their appointment had been arranged through the singer's agent. Berthe had easily found the man's name in the annual agent's list and had made the call while Werthen had been engaging Prokop and Meier. As far as the agent or the singer knew, Werthen, accompanied by his « assistant » Groß, had a commission from Gustav Mahler. Berthe had wisely left the nature of the commission up in the air.

Von Mildenburg lived on the top-floor, overlooking the broad « Ring ». The Stock Exchange was just across the street, while a close neighbor on the same side of the boulevard was the Police « Präsidium » .

They stood in front of the door to the singer's apartment and Werthen touched the bronze clapper that was shaped like a Dutch clog against the doorplate. The singer herself answered the door a moment later : Werthen recognized her, for he had seen her in the role of « Brünnhilde » at the « Hofoper » . Usually stars of the stage are much smaller when encountered outside the theater. However, Anna von Mildenburg was actually bigger in life ; not a heavy woman for a Wagnerian soprano, but substantial, like the building she lived in. She was tall and thick-boned and wore a flowing wrap, half-kimono and half-robe. A shock of dark brown hair was held aloft with pins and combs ; her face was punctuated by a broad Roman nose.

...

SÜHNHAUS tells the story of a luckless address : Vienna, « Schottenring 7 » . This was the site of the « Ringtheater » where nearly 400 people died in a fire, in 1881. Where the Emperor subsequently built the « Sühnhaus » (House of Atonement) to make-up for it, and no-one wanted to live there. Where Sigmund Freud opened a practice when he was still unknown. And moved-out again, after Pauline Pauline Silberstein, a patient, lunged to her death in the staircase.

The « Gestapo » put the place to the torch, in order to destroy files, successfully annihilating the Emperor's allegedly « incombustible » legacy. Here, Cold War fear was cast in concrete : Vienna's control centre for cases of breakdown, 18 meters under the earth and untouched to this day. The essay film **SÜHNHAUS** takes an associative look at Monarchy, 1st and 2nd Republic and connects images, events and thoughts that do not seem to have much in common, at 1st glance. As a ghost house movie without ghosts, it uses a piece of property's history as an occasion to look for real

skeletons in Austria's cupboard.

...

SÜHNHAUS tells the story of an address inextricably linked to misfortune : « Schottenring 7 » , in Vienna. This was the site of the « Ringtheater » , where nearly 400 people died in a fire, in December 1881. The essay film moves through stages in Austrian history, from the Monarchy to the 1st and 2nd Republics, tracing the connections between images, events and ideas that may not, at 1st glance, appear to have much in common. As a ghost house movie without ghosts, it uses the history of a property as a starting point in the search for the real skeletons in Austria's cupboard.

Subsidies : « Filmfonds Wien » .

Production company : Freibeuter Film - www.freibeuterfilm.com

Running time : 90 minutes.

Language spoken : German.

Director : Maya McKeckneay.

Producer : Oliver Neumann.

Screenplay : Maya McKeckneay.

Camera : Martin Putz.

Sound : Klaus Kellermann.

Film editing : Oliver Neumann.

Production start date : 10 September 2013.

Post-production start date : 16 February 2014.

Completion expected : 2014.

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Das « Sühnhaus » oder Kaiserlich-Königlich Stiftungshaus war ein Zinshaus (Miethaus) am Schottenring 7 im 1. Wiener Gemeindebezirk Innere Stadt, das nach dem Brand des Ringtheaters von 1881 an dessen Stelle errichtet wurde.

Nach dem verheerenden Ringtheaterbrand, bei dem mindestens 384 Menschen ums Leben kamen, finanzierte Kaiser Franz-Josef aus seiner Privatschatulle den Bau eines Miethauses. Die Erträge dieses Miethauses sollten laut kaiserlicher Anordnung für ewige Zeiten wohlthätigen Stiftungen zufließen. Im zweiten Stock des Gebäudes erinnerte eine Kapelle (Unbefleckte Empfängnis) an die Opfer des Brandes. Da das Gebäude rasch fertiggestellt sein sollte, wurde auch an Sonntagen daran gearbeitet.

Das Gebäude wurde von 1882 bis 1885 errichtet. Der Architekt war wie bei vielen anderen Gebäuden der Ringstraße Friedrich von Schmidt. Es wurde am 26. Jänner 1886 durch eine Messe in der Kapelle, bei der auch der Kaiser anwesend war, eröffnet. Zur Eröffnung prägte auch das Kaiserlich-Königlich Hauptmünzamt Medaillen. Trotz günstiger Mieten waren anfangs nicht alle Wohnungen vermietet, da das mit diesem Ort verbundene tragische Ereignis noch nicht lange zurücklag. Zu den ersten Mietern zählte der frisch verheiratete Sigmund Freud, welcher aber bereits 1891 in die nahegelegene Berggasse übersiedelte. Im selben Jahr wurde das « Sühnhaus » zum Sterbehaus seines Architekten, Friedrich von Schmidt.

1945 wurde das « Sühnhaus » bei einem Bombenangriff schwer beschädigt und 1951 abgetragen. An seinem Platz wurde 1974 der Sitz der damaligen Bundespolizeidirektion Wien und heutigen Landespolizeidirektion Wien errichtet. Heute erinnert an den Brand noch eine Gedenktafel am Polizeigebäude.

...

Das nach Plänen von Emil Förster zwischen 1873 und 1874 erbaute Theater trug bei der Eröffnung den Namen : « komische Oper » , da dieses für die damalige Zeit architektonisch sehr wunderschön gebaut war.

Ab September 1878 wurde sein Name jedoch in « Ringtheater » geändert. Vor dem Beginn einer Vorstellung entzündeten sich einige Gaslampen in der Deckendekoration und ließen viel Gas ausströmen. Binnen sieben Minuten standen Bühne, Schnürboden und Versenkung in hellen Flammen und einige Personen wurden daraufhin durch Nichtbemerken teilweise durch das Feuer eingekreist. Durch das zu späte Rufen der Feuerwehr wurden die Chancen heil wieder heraus zu kommen immer geringer und führten schließlich zum Sterben von 386 Personen.

Das Ringtheater war gerade sieben Jahre alt und wurde nach diesem Vorfall nicht mehr aufgebaut. Durch diesen Extremfall wurde die Einführung der strengsten Brandschutzverordnungen des Kontinents veranlasst. Somit wurde zum Beispiel das Hantieren mit offenem Licht auf der Bühne komplett verboten.

An die Stelle des Theaters ließ der Kaiser vom Dombaumeister Friedrich Schmidt, dem Erbauer des Rathauses, mit Mitteln aus der kaiserlichen Privatschatulle das « Sühnhaus » erbauen. Dieses « Sühnhaus » war ein so genanntes Zinshaus, wobei die daraus erhaltenden Erträge, laut kaiserlicher Anordnung, für ewige Zeiten wohlthätigen Stiftungen zufließen wurden.

Hinzukommend wurde im zweiten Stock des Gebäudes eine Kapelle zu gedenken der Opfer der schrecklichen

Brandkatastrophe errichtet. 1945 wurde dann das « Sühnhaus » bei einem Bombenangriff schwer beschädigt und 1951 wieder aufgebaut. An deren Platz wurde 1974 die noch heute existierende Bundespolizeidirektion errichtet.

...

« Sühnhaus » (Bezirk I, Schottenring 7) . Am 8. Dezember 1881 war das Ringtheater abgebrannt. An seiner Stelle wurde nach Plänen von Friedrich Schmidt aus kaiserlichen Privatmitteln ein « Sühnhaus » (Kaiserliches Stiftungshaus) erbaut, in dem sich auch eine Kapelle befand (« Sühnhauskapelle ») . Die Skulpturen « Glaube » und « Liebe » schuf Alois Düll. Das « Sühnhaus » war ein Miethaus, dessen Ertrag wohltätigen Zwecken zufließte. Es wurde am 8. Dezember 1885 eröffnet, ließ sich aber anfangs wegen der makabren Erinnerung trotz relativ niedriger Mieten nur schwer vermieten (einer der ersten Mieter war der jungverheiratete Sigmund Freud) ; 1891 starb im « Sühnhaus » Friedrich Schmidt. Am 12. März 1945 wurde das Gebäude durch Bomben schwer beschossen und mußte 1951 abgetragen werden. Auf dem Areal I, Schottenring 7-9 wurde 1969-1974 die (neue) Polizeidirektion erbaut (Gedenktafel, 1982) .

Sigmund Freud et le « Sühnhaus »

Après avoir passé 5 années dans le service de Theodor Meynert, Sigmund Freud entre en septembre 1883 dans la 4e division du docteur Ingrid Scholtz. Il y acquiert une expérience clinique auprès de malades nerveux. En décembre de la même année, à la suite de la lecture d'un article du docteur Theodor Aschenbrandt, il se livre à des expériences sur la cocaïne et en déduit qu'elle a une efficacité sur la fatigue et les symptômes de la neurasthénie. Dans son article de juillet 1884, « Über Coca » , il conseille son usage pour de multiples troubles. Freud, à la suite de la lecture d'un texte qui propose de traiter la morphinomanie par la cocaïne, traite un ami morphinomane, Ernst Fleischl von Marxow, mais l'expérience tourne mal et ce dernier se suicide.

Bien qu'il l'ait nié publiquement à de nombreuses reprises, il fut lui-même consommateur de cocaïne entre 1884 et 1895, comme en atteste sa correspondance. Il travaille sur sa découverte avec Carl Köller, qui mène alors des recherches sur un moyen d'anesthésier l'œil en vue de pratiquer des opérations peu invasives. Celui-ci informe ensuite Leopold Königstein qui applique cette méthode à la chirurgie. Tous 2 communiquent leur découverte lors de la Société des médecins de Vienne en 1884, sans mentionner la primauté des travaux de Freud.

Jeune médecin, Freud est affecté au service d'ophtalmologie, de mars à mai 1884, puis dans celui de dermatologie. Il y rédige un article sur le nerf auditif. Freud reçoit un accueil favorable. En juin, il passe l'examen oral pour le poste de « Privatdozent » , et y présente son dernier article. Il est nommé le 18 juillet 1885 et, voyant sa demande de bourse de voyage acceptée, il décide d'aller étudier à Paris, auprès de Jean-Martin Charcot. Après 6 semaines de vacances auprès de sa fiancée, Freud s'installe donc dans cette ville. Admirateur du neurologue français, qu'il rencontre la 1re fois le 20 octobre 1885, il se propose de traduire ses écrits en langue allemande. Dès lors, le Français le remarque et l'invite à ses somptueuses soirées du faubourg Saint-Germain. Cependant, il semble que Freud n'ait pas passé autant de temps qu'il le dit auprès de Charcot, puisqu'il quitte Paris le 28 février 1886 ; il en retire néanmoins toujours de la fierté et fait de ce séjour à Paris un moment clé de son existence. Il reste en outre en contact épistolaire avec le Français.

En mars 1886, Freud étudie la pédiatrie à Berlin, avec Baginsky, et revient finalement à Vienne en avril. Il rédige son rapport sur l'hypnotisme tel qu'il est pratiqué à la Salpêtrière devant les membres du Club de physiologie et devant ceux de la Société de psychiatrie, tout en organisant les préparatifs de son mariage. Un article d'Albrecht Erlenmeyer le critique vivement quant aux dangers de l'usage de la cocaïne. Freud finit de traduire un volume des leçons de Charcot, qui paraît en juillet 1886, avec une préface de sa main. Après quelques mois de service militaire à Olmütz, comme médecin de bataillon, Freud épouse Martha Bernays le 13 octobre 1886, à Wandsbek ; ils passent leur voyage de noces sur la mer Baltique. Dès son retour à Vienne, Freud aménage son cabinet dans l' « Erste Öffentliche Kinder-Krankeninstitut » (1er institut public des malades pour des enfants) et travaille parallèlement avec l'Institut Max-Kassowitz, un hôpital pédiatrique privé où il est affecté au service neurologique. Il travaille à l'institut de 1886 à 1896.

Le 15 octobre 1886, devant la Société des médecins de Vienne, Freud fait une allocution concernant l'hystérie masculine, discours demeuré célèbre dans la littérature psychanalytique sous le titre de « Beiträge zur Kasuistik der Hysterie » (publié en 2 volumes) . Ce sujet est alors polémique, d'autant plus que la conception classique de Charcot oppose l'hystérie post-traumatique à une hystérie dite simulée. S'appuyant sur la distinction entre « grande hystérie » (caractérisée par des convulsions et une hémianesthésie) et la « petite hystérie » , et sur un cas pratique examiné à la Salpêtrière, Freud explique que l'hystérie masculine est plus fréquente que ce que les spécialistes observent habituellement. Pour Freud, la névrose traumatique appartient au champ de l'hystérie masculine. La Société s'insurge contre cette opinion qui est, de plus, déjà connue des neurologues viennois. Selon Henri Ellenberger, l'idéalisation de Freud pour Charcot lui vaut l'irritation de la Société, agacée par son attitude hautaine. Blessé, Freud présente alors à la Société un cas d'hystérie masculine afin d'étayer sa théorie. La Société l'entend de nouveau, mais l'éconduit. Contrairement à une certaine légende autour de cet événement, Freud ne se retire pas de la Société ; il en devient même membre, le 18 mars 1887.

Pauline Theiler Silberstein (1871-1891) est l'épouse d'Eduard Silberstein, un ami d'enfance de Sigmund Freud avec qui ce dernier a échangé une abondante correspondance durant leur jeunesse. De 15 ans plus jeune que Silberstein, Pauline a développé une profonde « mélancolie » (dépression) peu après son mariage. Accompagnée d'une domestique qui veille en permanence sur elle, elle vient à Vienne de Braila, en Roumanie, pour se faire traiter par Freud. Elle loge dans l'immeuble voisin du sien, au 10 « Maria Theresienstraße » . On ne sait pas combien de temps dure le traitement ni en quoi il consiste, mais d'après Rosita Vieyra, la petite-fille d'Eduard Silberstein, la famille en gardera un souvenir vivace, ainsi que de son issue funeste. Le 14 mai 1891, Pauline Silberstein se présente devant l'immeuble de Freud, demande à sa domestique de l'attendre en bas et, après avoir gravi 4 étages, se jette dans la cour (constat de décès dressé par la police viennoise) . Elle avait 19 ans. Mis à part une lettre adressée le 22 avril 1928, au B'nai B'rith de Braila, dans laquelle il mentionne brièvement avoir eu en traitement la Ire femme de feu son ami Eduard Silberstein, Freud ne fera jamais la moindre allusion à ce cuisant échec thérapeutique.

Sigmund Freud letters to his future wife, Martha Bernays

From Paris (18 January 1886) :

« He (Charcot) invited me (as well as Ricchetti) to come to his house tomorrow evening after dinner : “ Il y aura du monde. ” . You can probably imagine my apprehension mixed with curiosity and satisfaction. White tie and white gloves, even a fresh shirt, a careful brushing of my last remaining hair, and so on. A little cocaine, to untie my tongue. It is quite all right, of course, for this news to be widely distributed in Hamburg and Vienna, even with exaggerations such as that he kissed me on the forehead (“ à la Liszt ”) . »

From Paris (20 January 1886) :

« On Saturday, Charcot came-up to Ricchetti and invited him to dine at his house on Tuesday before leaving. Startled, Ricchetti declined, and finally accepted to go after dinner. Then, Charcot turned to me and repeated the latter form of invitation, which I accepted with a bow, feeling delighted. »

« We drove there in a carriage the expenses of which we shared. Ricchetti was terribly nervous, I quite calm with the help of a small dose of cocaine, although his success was assured and I had reasons to fear making a blunder. »

« These were my achievements (or rather the achievements of cocaine) , which left me very satisfied. »

From Paris (2 February 1886) :

« The bit of cocaine I have just taken is making me talkative, my little woman. I will go on writing and comment on your criticism of my wretched self. »

« Here I am, making silly confessions to you, my sweet darling, and really without any reason whatever unless it is the cocaine that makes me talk so much. But now, I must go out to supper and then dress myself up and do some more writing. Tomorrow, I will report to you quite truthfully on how the evening at Charcot's turned-out. You, of course, must tell everyone that I had a wonderful time, and I shall write the same to Vienna. The truth is for us alone. »

« Thank God, it's over, and I can tell you at once how right I was. It was so boring I nearly burst ; only the bit of cocaine prevented me from doing so. »

« Only toward the end, I embarked on a political conversation with Gilles de la Tourette, during which he, of course, predicted the most ferocious war with Germany. I promptly explained that I am a Jew, adhering neither to Germany nor Austria. »

« But please don't tell anyone how boring it was. »

...

Returning to Vienna, in February 1886, Sigmund Freud opened a private practice as a specialist in the treatment of « nervous diseases ». As his practice grew, he finally earned enough money to marry Martha Bernays, on 13 October 1886, at Wandsbek (Austria) . They pass their honeymoon on the Baltic Sea.

The couple moved into an apartment in a middle-class neighborhood, in the heart of Vienna. Their 1st child, Mathilde, was born in 1887, followed by 3 sons and 2 daughters, over the next 8 years.

Freud began to receive referrals from other physicians to treat their most challenging patients - « hysterics » who did not improve with treatment. Freud used hypnosis with these patients and encouraged them to talk about past events in their lives. He dutifully wrote down all that he learned from them - traumatic memories, as well as their dreams and fantasies.

...

In 1886, Sigmund Freud returned from academic study in Paris to Vienna, where he opened a private practice specializing in nervous and brain disorders. On 14 September of that same year, he married Martha Bernays, with whom he had 6 children during the span of 9 years. Over the next decade, Freud combined clinical practice with theoretical insights to develop the foundational principles of psychoanalysis.

...

Sigmund Freud married Martha Bernays, in October 1886, in Wandsbeck (Austria) , after opening his own medical practice, specializing in neurology. She is the granddaughter of Isaac Bernays, the influential chief rabbi of Hamburg. She will not, however, remain as religious as her father and grandfather. For most of her life, her views on religion will align more closely with that of her husband, Sigmund, though towards the end of her life, she returns to, at least, some Jewish traditions.

After experimenting with hypnosis on his neurotic patients, Sigmund Freud abandoned this form of treatment, in favour of a treatment where the patient talked through his or her problems. This came to be known as the « talking cure » . (The term was initially coined by the patient called « Anna O. » who was treated by Freud's colleague, Josef Breuer.) The « talking cure » is widely seen as the basis of psychoanalysis.

...

25 April 1886 : Sigmund Freud opened-up his 1st neurologist's office in Vienna, at « Rathausstraße 7 » . He was 30 years old, and soon would marry Martha Bernays, the daughter of the chief rabbi of Hamburg. In his Vienna practice, Freud experimented with hypnosis, but abandoned it in favour of the « talking cure » (a term coined by « Anna O. » , that is, Bertha Pappenheim, the Austrian Jewish feminist who was treated by Freud's colleague, Josef Breuer) . Freud developed many of his fundamental psychological theories about repression, of the functioning of the unconscious, and the role of sexual desire in the human psyche, and more, based on his practice with patients on « Rathausstraße » .

« To my Jewish nature, I owed 2 characteristics that had become indispensable to me in the difficult course of my life. Because I was a Jew, I found myself free from many prejudices that restricted others in the use of their intellect ; and, as a Jew, I was prepared to join the Opposition and do without agreement from the “ compact majority ”. » (Sigmund Freud, 1926.)

...

1 October 1886 : Sigmund Freud set his medical practice in his Viennese apartment of the so-called « Sühnhaus » , on « Maria Theresienstraße 8 » . His family lived there, until 1891. Emperor Franz-Josef had this house built on the grounds of the former « Ringtheater » , destroyed by a violent fire on December 8, 1881. In the course of this tragic event, 386 people had been killed.

...

The Freuds had been entitled to think that their investment in a good address would pay-off. « Maria Theresienstraße 8 » lay right by the « Ringstraße » , a neighborhood of arrived doctors and distinguished professionals. Anton Bruckner, for example, lived opposite at « Heßgasse 7 » and could afford the rent, having only himself to support on his joint salaries as music teacher at the Conservatory, and organist at the Palace Chapel. But if the old musician ever troubled to look-down from his 4th floor clutter to the young doctor's orderly household on the 2nd floor across the street, he would have seen a precious few patients in the waiting-room.

...

On May 14, 1891, a 19 year old woman, Pauline Theiler Silberstein, killed herself by jumping from an upper-story at « Maria Theresienstraße 8 » , in Vienna, where Sigmund Freud had his office and residence. She was the wife of Freud's closest friend of adolescence, Eduard Silberstein, who had referred her to Freud for treatment when she became severely depressed shortly after they were married, requiring her to travel with a maid from her home in Braila, Rumania, to Vienna. There is no available record of any communication between Freud and Silberstein about this incident nor anything about it in Freud's letters to Wilhelm Fließ, where there is a gap between May 2 and August 17, 1891. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to infer that there was some exchange between Freud and Eduard Silberstein beyond simple notification of his wife's death, as he must have come to Vienna to identify and claim her body, arrange for a funeral (as she is buried in a Viennese cemetery) , and consult with Freud about what had happened.

The exact nature of the relationship between Pauline Silberstein and Freud is uncertain. It is not known how long she had been his patient, what her diagnosis was, what therapeutic approach he may have taken with her, and whether or not she had any contact with him, on May 14. Walter Böhlich, who edited the correspondence between Freud and Eduard Silberstein, claims that she ended her life « without having seen Freud » that day. Kurt Eißler misquotes Böhlich, as having said « that Freud never had met Pauline Silberstein, and I think he is right » .

...

The the wife of Austrian psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, Martha Bernays, was born on 26 July 1861 in Hamburg and died on 2 November 1951 in London.

Bernays was the 2nd daughter of Emmeline and Berman Bernays. Her paternal grandfather Isaac Bernays was a Chief Rabbi of Hamburg. Sigmund Freud and Bernays met in April 1882 and, after a 4 year engagement (1882-1886) , they got married on 14 September 1886, in Hamburg.

Freud and Bernays' love letters sent during the engagement years, according to Freud's official biographer Ernest Jones, who read all the letters, « would be a not unworthy contribution to the great love literature of the world » . Freud and Bernays had 6 children : Mathilde (born in 1887) ; Jean-Martin (born in 1889) ; Oliver (born in 1891) ; Ernst (born in 1892) ; Sophie (born in 1893) ; and Anna (born in 1895) . Bernays' younger sister, Minna Bernays, is known to be one of Sigmund's friends - it has also been speculated that she was Freud's mistress. This claim was controversial, at 1st, but the publication of a hotel log has prompted some Freud scholars, including his defender Peter Gay, to regard the conjecture of Freud and Minna having an affair as probably accurate.

...

Sigmund Freud never seems to have considered marrying out of his faith, as many Victorian Jews did. He courted and married Martha Bernays, who came from a pious and well-connected Jewish family. They were engaged for 4 years, from 1882 to 1886, and wrote constantly to each other. Their letters show the young Freud as ambitious, passionate, driven, but also amdous and insecure, often the charming, even humble lover, but also forceful. He admits many anxieties to her, especially the fact that he cannot manage financially and has to borrow money. 2 of his teachers, Samuel Hammerschiag and Ernst Fielschl, who taught anatomy at the University of Vienna, often provided loans. Freud bemoaned the fact that no one was willing to lend money to a young doctor without charging exorbitant interest rates. He was not frugal ; he bought books, ate out in restaurants, and took French lessons even when he could afford none of these things. In his letters, he shared with his « fiancée » his scientific ideas and reflections on being Jewish.

Martha Bernays' grandfather had been a famous rabbi in Hamburg. Her uncle, Jacob Bernays, was one of the foremost Classical and Biblical scholars of the mid- 19th Century ; Freud knew his work well. In one of Jacob Bernays's books, « Ein Lebensbild In Briefen » (roughly translated as : « A Portrait of a Life in Letters ») , Bernays described how he refused to convert to Christianity. One of his friends, Christian von Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador to London, wanted to help Bernays get a professorship but he knew Bernays could never get a chair in Prussia because he was a Jew. Bernays should convert, von Bunsen suggested, but not merely to gain such lofty academic status. The ambassador was a subtle tempter. Jews were consigned to the margins of history, von Bunsen told his friend. A great scholar like Bernays should convert and be « in the mainstream » . Bernays was never even tempted to convert and told von Bunsen that his « inner core » was Jewish.

Sigmund Freud's inner core was also Jewish. And he liked talking about it more than one might expect. In one letter,

Freud described meeting an old Jew, Nathan. Nathan had no doubts about the romance of his religion. Freud seems to have approved, for he told Martha. Nathan said the Jew is the finest flower of mankind. The Jew is made for joy and joy for the Jew. Nathan then explained how his teacher, Martha's grandfather, the famous rabbi, used to explain how various Holy Days brought with them particular degrees of joy. The most joyous was Simchat Torah when Jews celebrate the fact that God has given them the Torah and drink a good deal. (In biblical times, it was wine, but once Jews lived in Eastern Europe, they toasted the Torah, in vodka.)

Then, Freud told her « fiancée » , a customer walked into the shop and Nathan dropped the elegiac tone and « became a merchant again » . Freud reassured her with surprising intensity :

« And as for us, this is what I believe ; even if the form wherein Jews were happy no longer offers us any shelter, something of the core, of the essence of this meaningful and life-affirming Judaism, will not be absent from our home. »

After 4 years, and much opposition from her mother, Sigmund Freud and Martha Bernays married, in 1886. The wedding was not conducted in a synagogue. Emmeline, Martha's mother, did not want her daughter to marry a poor young doctor. She had seen what poverty could mean. She and her husband had had to come to Vienna because Bennan, Martha's father, was in desperate financial difficulties. Bennan worked selling advertising but he was financially chaotic. In 1866, he was put on trial for keeping false accounting records. He was made bankrupt and served 1 year in prison, at exactly the same time as Uncle Josef did. In 1867, devastated, the Bernays family moved to Vienna. So when Freud married Martha Bernays, they both had seen people they loved imprisoned. The nephew of the forger married the daughter of the embezzler. It's hardly surprising that Martha's mother had wanted her daughter to marry someone who offered security. We owe to Freud's grandson, Anton, the details of his great-grandfather Bernays' inglorious business career.

The 1st son of the marriage was born in 1887 and named Jean-Martin, in honour of Charcot. The law required births to be registered according to religious faith. The old registers for Jewish families are still held in the offices of Vienna's main synagogue, on a cobbled street near the city center. There is a Kosher restaurant nearby. To see the register, you have to go through strict security, submit to a search, and pass through a metal detector. The Jews of Vienna still feel under threat.

The Jewish archive is run by Doctor Walter Eckstein. He smiled as he brought-out the huge books and pointed to the entries that recorded the birth of Jean-Martin Freud, mother Martha Freud, and father Sigmund Freud. Looking at the fine copperplate hand-writing, I wondered whether Freud had his own sons circumcised, as he himself had been. On this point, I can find no information, and 2 men who might have been able to answer, his grandsons, Clement, and brother, Lucien Freud, did not answer my questions. Sadly both men are now dead.

Late in life, Freud wrote that he had been exceptionally happy in his marriage but that it was not a simple one. His wife's sister lived with them for 46 years. Minna Bernays moved in after her « fiancé » died. Consciously or unconsciously, Freud re-created a situation much like that of his childhood stepfamily. Minna had to walk through her

sister and brother-in-law's bedroom to reach her own. Carl Jung has been accused of starting the rumor that Freud and his sister-in-law slept together. The 2 certainly spent holidays together on their own, while Freud's wife stayed in Vienna to look after the children ; author Peter Swales claims to have found a hotel register that suggests Freud and his sister-in-law shared a room.

...

25 April 1886 : This day, in 2 rented office rooms in a building at « Rathausstraße 7 » , in Vienna, young Sigmund Freud opened his 1st practice.

He had used the preceding years to finish his medical studies and internships ; the year before (1885) , he had worked on a scholarship with prominent French psychiatrist Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893) in the famous « Salpêtrière » Hospital, in Paris.

At the time, Freud's profession was still often named neurology rather than psychiatry, but he himself was already especially interested in psychiatric problems that had no obvious physical cause. 10 years later (in 1896) , he would introduce the term « psychoanalysis » for the particular kind of therapy he had developed by then.

Freud was the 1st who tried to solve patients' mental problems by bringing inner conflicts in the patients' mind from a subconscious to the conscious level : mainly, by getting the patient to talk in an associative way about her or his experiences, in the past.

...

Sigmund Freud's Vienna practice is usually associated with the address « Berggasse 19 » where he lived and worked for most of his life, and where the Vienna Freud Museum is located today.

But his practice started on this day, in 1886, at « Rathausstraße 7 » ; he did not move to the « Berggasse » until 5 years later.

« Rathausstraße 7 » , in Vienna, therefore, is a very significant place in the history of psychiatry. The building still exists, but it proved unexpectedly hard to find any decent photo of it.

(Dieses Haus wurde 1882 von Dionys Milch und Heinrich Hellin erbaut und liegt am Friedrich-Schmidt-Platz 2.)

...

The Viennese often say : « It is no surprise Sigmund Freud developed psychoanalysis in this city. » , insinuating a dark side of the magnificent capital of Austria. I found it intriguing and exiting, simply worth investigating further. Especially since the city seemed to peaceful and civilised.

It is best to arrive into the city centre by the subway. Landing on the airport or coming into the « Westbahnhof » train station, the city seem like any other European capital. Apartments, offices, stores and super-markets. If you go underground, take the subway into the 1st District (« Bezirk I. ») and, then, exit ; an entirely different city would reveal itself. The 1st time I was in « Wien », I did exactly this. I went of the subway at « Herrengasse », where I suddenly found myself surrounded by large, white, beautiful 19th Century blocks of flats. Walking around a street corner, I entered the enormous « Heldenplatz », overlooking the « Kunsthistorisches and Naturhistorisches Museum ». « Wien » seems like a dream.

This, however, seems to be more of a false 1st impression. Adolf Loos wrote that the impressive « Ringstraße », surrounding the inner city, was nothing but a « Potemkin Village ». This Russian expression describe a city that is make-out of facades, attempting to deceive us to believe it is more magnificent than it actually is. Loos is criticizing the style ; historicism, which he considered to be a vulgar masquerade. However, this city of the facades, could still apply to Vienna. It is a city full of anxiety, hidden behind velvet curtains and locked-up in the basement.

This was the place Sigmund Freud explored psychoanalysis, a method for treating mental disorders. One of his 1st patient, « Anna O. », was a hysteric woman suffering from anxiety and neurosis. Freud started treating her by talking to her, and he realised that all affect was rooted in oppressed emotions. But the place itself was a location of tragedy.

On the site where Freud had his 1st office (not the famous « Bergasse 19 » but the « Maria Theresienstraße 8 ») , it used to be a theatre within the style of historicism, « Ringtheater ». Loos would probably have condemned it as pretentious and vulgar if it had not burnt down to the ground in December 1881. In this tragic fire, killed at least 385 people (some says it was more than 600) , leaving hundreds of orphans traumatised by the event. The city built an orphanage on the site. Called the « Sühnhaus » (House of Atonement) , this later became the address of Sigmund Freuds home and office.

It is not only Freud and Loos which underscore the neurotic state of this early metropolis. Elfride Jelinik with « The Piano Teacher » ; Mikael Haneke with « Funny Games » or « Das Weiße Band » , propose a similar tendency of anxiety and forbidden, and perverted pleasures.

...

Le Scherzo de la 7e Symphonie, dans le ton volontairement cru de la mineur, est caractérisé par des motifs bloqués, répétés jusqu'à satiété aux cordes et par un vigoureux appel de trompette, que d'aucuns ont perçu comme une réminiscence cauchemardesque d'une sirène de pompiers, Bruckner ayant éprouvé une fascination morbide à la vue, juste en face de son domicile, de centaines de corps calcinés extraits du « Ringtheater » de Vienne après le tristement célèbre incendie du 8 décembre 1881. Le Trio central, en fa majeur, tout en legato des cordes, amorce toutefois une certaine consolation dans l'évocation du « Ländler » de la Haute-Autriche natale.

...

Décembre 1881 : At the decision of the jury, Mahler fails to win the Beethoven Prize. For the rest of his life, he blames this loss for his inability to make a living as a composer and for the resultant necessity to have a conducting career, « condemning me to the hell of the Theater » .

The 46 year old Wilhelm Jahn becomes Music-Director of the Vienna Opera.

10 décembre 1881 : Ire audition d'une œuvre de Bruckner en Allemagne. La version de 1881 de la 4e Symphonie, dite « Romantique », est donnée à Karlsruhe par le chef Felix Mottl, ancien élève du compositeur au Conservatoire de Vienne. L'événement est un échec mais le compositeur n'était pas présent.

1881-1882 : Bruckner procède à une importante révision de la Messe en ré mineur (**WAB 26**) .

AB 81 : 1882

12 janvier 1882 : Bruckner sollicite un doctorat « Honoris causa » en musique de l'Université de Cambridge, en Angleterre. Lorsque cette tentative échoue, il écrit à l'Université de Pennsylvanie à Philadelphie, en disant :

« Je me permets de demander à nouveau à l'Université de Pennsylvanie d'accepter gracieusement la dédicace de ma Symphonie dite " Romantique " en me conférant le grade de Docteur en musique. »

On conseille alors à Bruckner d'expédier aussi une demande à l'Université de Cincinnati. Lors de ce geste désespéré, un escroc de grand chemin réussira à profiter de la naïveté du Maître en tirant profit de la situation.

L'Opéra « Parsifal »

13 janvier 1882 : C'est à la Villa « Wahnfried » que Richard Wagner (âgé de 69 ans) achèvera l'Opéra « Parsifal » .

Le dévôt catholique décrit comme suit sa dernière rencontre avec Wagner : « Lorsque le plus Grand me tendit la main, je suis tombée à genoux, j'ai serré sa main, l'ai couverte de baisers et lui ai dit : Ah, Maître, je vous adore ! . Wagner me répondit : Calmez-vous, Bruckner, bonne nuit. Ce furent les dernières paroles que le Maître me dit. » .

Embarrassé, Wagner reconstituera (à sa façon) cet événement dans un rêve des plus fascinants : « Une nuit, le Saint-Père vint me visiter. Je voulus l'accueillir avec dignité et respect mais il inversa subitement les rôles. Il se pencha humblement vers moi pour me baiser la main. Puis, il saisit une bouteille de cognac et disparut ! Le souverain Pontife ressemblait étrangement à Anton Bruckner. » .

Et c'est durant cette même rencontre « au sommet » que Richard Wagner déclarera : « Je ne connais qu'un homme qui s'approche de Beethoven, cet homme c'est Bruckner. » . Ceci qui prouve que Wagner avait mis de côté l'idée que

l'univers Symphonique prenait fin avec la composition de la 9e Symphonie de Beethoven.

La première de l'Opéra « Parsifal » sera placée sous la direction du chef d'orchestre allemand d'origine « israélite », Hermann Levi.

Les chanteurs ...

Amfortas : Theodor Reichmann.

Titirel : August Kindermann.

Gurnemanz : Emil Scaria.

« Parsifal » : Hermann Winkelmann.

Klingsor : Karl Hill.

Kundry : Amalie Materna.

16 représentations de l'Opéra, dirigées par Hermann Levi et Franz Fischer auront lieu entre juillet et août. (Le décor de la « salle du Graal » était basée sur l'intérieur de la cathédrale de Sienne que Wagner avait visitée en 1880.) C'est seulement à Bayreuth que « Parsifal » pourrait être présentée pensant qu'il s'agirait d'une source de revenus pour sa famille après sa mort. Richard Wagner sera enterré en 1883 dans le jardin de la Villa « Wahnfried » où sa femme Cosima ne le rejoindra que le 1er avril 1930 à l'âge de 92 ans, soit 47 ans après Richard et la même année que son fils Siegfried.

...

« Parsifal » est défini comme un « Festival scénique sacré » en 3 actes (« Bühnenweihfestspiel », selon l'appellation de Wagner) . Il se fonde sur l'épopée médiévale « Parzival » de Wolfram von Eschenbach et sur « Perceval » ou le Conte du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes.

Le 12 novembre 1880, Wagner a réalisé une exécution privée du Prélude pour Louis II de Bavière, au théâtre de la Cour à Munich. La création de l'œuvre entière a été faite au nouveau « Festspielhaus », le 26 juillet 1882, sous la direction du chef d'orchestre allemand d'origine juive, Hermann Levi. La mise-en-scène était confiée à Max Bruckner et Paul von Joukowsky qui ont pris les conseils de Wagner lui-même. Le décor de la « salle du Graal » était basée sur l'intérieur de la cathédrale de Sienne que Wagner avait visitée en 1880. Tandis que le « jardin magique de Klingsor » a été calqué sur celui du Palazzo Rufolo, à Ravello. Entre juillet et août 1882, 16 représentations de l'œuvre ont eu lieu à Bayreuth, dirigées par Levi et Franz Fischer. La production nécessitait un orchestre de 107 musiciens, un chœur de 135 personnes et 23 solistes (les parties principales avaient été doublées) . Lors de la dernière de ces

représentations, Wagner a pris le relais d'Hermann Levi et a conduit la scène finale de l'Acte 3 à partir de l'interlude orchestral jusqu'à la fin.

Lors de la 1^{re} représentation de « Parsifal », il y a eu des problèmes avec la scène mobile au cours de la transition de la scène 1 à la scène 2 de l'Acte I. Cela a entraîné que l'interlude orchestral écrit par Wagner était terminé avant que « Parsifal » et Gurnemanz ne soient arrivés à la « salle du Graal ». Le compositeur Engelbert Humperdinck, qui assistait à la création, a ajouté quelques mesures supplémentaires à la musique pour combler cette lacune. Les années suivantes, le problème a été résolu et les ajouts d'Humperdinck n'ont pas été utilisés.

Pendant les 20 premières années de son existence, les seules représentations de « Parsifal » (à l'exception des 8 représentations privées pour Louis II de Bavière, à Munich, en 1884 et 1885) ont eu lieu dans le « Festspielhaus » de Bayreuth, le théâtre que Wagner avait conçu pour l'Opéra. Wagner avait 2 raisons de vouloir garder « Parsifal » exclusivement pour la scène de Bayreuth. Tout d'abord, il voulait éviter qu'il ne devienne un « simple divertissement » pour un simple public d'Opéra. C'est seulement à Bayreuth que sa dernière œuvre pourrait être présentée de la manière envisagée par lui : une tradition maintenue par son épouse, Cosima, longtemps après sa mort. Deuxièmement, il a pensé que l'Opéra serait une source de revenus pour sa famille après sa mort si Bayreuth avait le monopole sur ses représentations.

Les autorités de Bayreuth ont permis des exécutions sous forme de concert dans divers pays après la mort de Wagner (par exemple : à Londres, en 1884, à New York, en 1886, et à Amsterdam, en 1894) mais ils ont maintenu un embargo sur les spectacles en dehors de Bayreuth. Le 24 décembre 1903, après une décision de justice indiquant que les représentations aux États-Unis ne pourront être empêchées par Bayreuth, le New York Metropolitan Opera a mis en scène l'œuvre complète, en utilisant de nombreux chanteurs formés à Bayreuth. Cosima a interdit que les chanteurs ayant participé à la production de New York, puissent se produire à Bayreuth dans les représentations futures. Des spectacles qui n'étaient pas autorisés, ont cependant été montés à Amsterdam en 1905, 1906 et 1908.

Le monopole de Bayreuth sur « Parsifal » a pris fin le 1^{er} janvier 1914 et certains théâtres ont commencé leurs représentations à minuit, le 31 décembre 1913. La 1^{re} représentation autorisée a été mise-en-scène au Grand théâtre du Liceu à Barcelone : elle a commencé à 22h30, 1 heure et demi avant minuit le 31 décembre 1913, profitant de la différence d'une heure qui existait à l'époque entre Barcelone et Bayreuth. Les attentes autour de « Parsifal » étaient telles que l'Opéra a été présenté dans plus de 50 salles d'Opéra européennes entre le 1^{er} janvier et le 1^{er} août 1914. C'est le 4 janvier que l'œuvre a été donnée à Paris.

« Parsifal » est l'un des Opéras de Wagner régulièrement présentés au Festival de Bayreuth, à ce jour. Parmi les plus importantes productions d'après-guerre figure celle dirigée en 1951 par Wieland Wagner, petit-fils du compositeur. Lors du 1^{er} Festival de Bayreuth, après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, il a choisi une mise-en-scène totalement différente d'une représentation littérale de la salle du Graal ou de l'écrin des filles-fleurs. Au lieu de cela, des effets d'éclairage et le strict minimum de décor ont été utilisés pour accompagner la musique de Wagner. Cette production a été fortement influencée par les idées du scénographe suisse, Adolphe Appia. Les réactions à cette production ont été extrêmes : Ernest Newman, biographe de Wagner, l'a décrite comme « non seulement le meilleur « Parsifal » que j'ai

jamais vu et entendu, mais l'une des 3 ou 4 plus émouvantes expériences spirituelles de ma vie » . D'autres personnes étaient consternées de voir que les indications scéniques de Wagner avaient été bafouées. Le chef d'orchestre de la production de 1951, Hans Knappertsbusch, à qui on demandait comment il pouvait participer à une telle mascarade honteuse, a déclaré que pendant les répétitions, il avait imaginé que les décors n'étaient pas encore arrivés. Knappertsbusch a été particulièrement troublé par l'absence de la colombe qui apparaît sur la tête de « Parsifal » à la fin de l'Opéra, ce qui, selon lui, l'a incité à donner de meilleures interprétations. Pour rassurer son chef, Wieland a décidé de rétablir la colombe, descendue au bout d'une corde. Ce que Knappertsbusch n'avait pas compris, c'est que Wieland avait choisi la longueur de la chaîne assez longue pour le chef voit la colombe, mais pas assez pour que le public l'aperçoive. Wieland a continué à modifier et affiner sa production de « Parsifal » à Bayreuth jusqu'à sa mort en 1966 .

Amfortas : prêtre-roi du Graal (baryton-basse) .

Titrel : ancien roi, père d'Amfortas (basse) .

Gurnemanz : doyen des chevaliers du Graal (basse) .

Klingsor : magicien (baryton-basse) .

« Parsifal » : chevalier (ténor) .

Kundry : mezzo-soprano ou soprano.

2 chevaliers : ténor et basse.

Écuyers : sopranos et ténors.

Filles-fleurs de Klingsor : sopranos.

Place, terres et château de Montsalvat ; palais magique de Klingsor.

Synopsis : Herzeleide, de la maison royale des gardiens du Saint-Graal, a élevé son fils « Parsifal » dans une forêt isolée, pour l'empêcher de suivre la même voie que son père, Gamuret, mort prématurément après être parti en quête d'aventures héroïques. Ignorant du monde, « Parsifal » grandit comme un innocent sans guide. Un jour, ayant vu par hasard un groupe de chevaliers, son amour de l'aventure s'éveille et il implore sa mère de l'autoriser à s'en aller.

Acte I : Une forêt aux environs du château du Graal situé sur une montagne inaccessible, Gurnemanz attend, entouré de jeunes chevaliers, l'arrivée du Roi Amfortas.

« Amfortas, roi des Chevaliers du Graal et fils de Titrel, leur fondateur qui vit toujours, essaya un jour de tuer le

magicien Klingsor à l'aide de la Sainte-Lance que gardent les Chevaliers de l'Ordre du Graal en même temps que le Saint-Graal lui-même. La Sainte-Lance est celle qui infligea la blessure au flanc du Christ sur la croix. Amfortas succomba au charme d'une femme très belle et, tandis qu'il était dans ses bras, Klingsor lui arracha la Sainte-Lance et la lui plongea dans le côté. Ainsi fut perdue la Sainte-Lance et Amfortas reçut-il une blessure qu'aucun remède ne peut guérir. »

Apparaît Kundry, la folle qui se moqua du Christ sur la croix ; sa présence bien qu'un peu hostile est toujours de bon augure. Accompagnée par les cris des chevaliers, elle se précipite vers Gurnemanz et lui fait don d'une fiole contenant un baume pour le roi que l'on porte au bain afin de tenter d'apaiser ses souffrances.

Gurnemanz leur apprend que Klingsor voulut, un jour, devenir membre des Chevaliers de l'ordre du Graal mais qu'il n'aurait pas pu rester fidèle au vœu de chasteté qu'il aurait dû prononcer. Une fois rejeté par l'Ordre, Klingsor construisit un jardin magique où il installa des femmes d'une grande beauté, toutes appliquées à la perte des Chevaliers du Graal. Amfortas était au nombre de ceux qui succombèrent et cette chute coûta à l'Ordre la perte de la Sainte-Lance. Désormais, un seul homme peut la reconquérir, « un innocent au cœur pur » .

Un jeune étranger apparaît et, devant tous, abat un cygne qui est un oiseau sacré pour les chevaliers. Un cri de réprobation s'élève. Le jeune homme est rapidement saisi, traîné devant Gurnemanz. Bien que le jeune étranger ne la connaisse pas, c'est Kundry qui raconte son histoire.

Alors que la scène se termine, Gurnemanz propose au nouveau venu, « Parsifal » , de l'accompagner au château du Graal à Monsalvat. Ils s'éloignent ensemble.

Scène 2 : Dans la halle du château, les chevaliers se réunissent. Amfortas est obligé, contre son désir, de faire l'exposition rituelle du Saint-Graal qui réveille en lui la douleur causée par la lance. « Parsifal » est abasourdi par ce spectacle. À la fin de la cérémonie, alors que tous s'en vont, Gurnemanz s'adresse à « Parsifal » qui avoue ne rien comprendre. Contrarié, Gurnemanz l'expulse alors brutalement du château.

Acte II : Du haut d'une tour de son château, Klingsor se tient à côté de ses instruments de magie. Il ordonne à Kundry de séduire « Parsifal » pour l'amener à sa perte. Mais il aperçoit les chevaliers ainsi que « Parsifal » , qui s'est joint aux assaillants, accourir vers les murs de la forteresse afin de libérer Kundry. Arrachant une épée à l'un de ses adversaires, « Parsifal » combat avec tant de courage que la garde de Klingsor s'enfuit.

Klingsor et le château magique s'enfoncent alors sous terre, laissant place à un merveilleux jardin peuplé de superbes filles belles comme des fleurs. Elles entourent « Parsifal » et se disputent ses faveurs. Kundry apparaît et le touche au cœur en lui annonçant la mort de sa mère. Elle lui donne un baiser passionné mais ce baiser lui révèle brusquement la vérité et il la repousse.

Cette attitude laisse Kundry face à un véritable dilemme, car bien que « Parsifal » soit l'homme qui doit lui apporter le salut, elle le voit encore comme sa proie légitime. Elle lui propose alors un compromis : que « Parsifal » lui donne

un baiser seulement et le péché qui l'a poursuivie sans cesse depuis la mort du Christ (elle avait ri de ses tourments) sera lavé. Le jeune homme refuse, car ce geste les condamnerait tous 2 à la damnation éternelle.

À la fin, désespérée, Kundry appelle Klingsor à l'aide. Le magicien apparaît, brandissant la Sainte-Lance. Il la jette brusquement, mais l'arme s'arrête miraculeusement dans les airs, à la portée de « Parsifal ». Celui-ci s'en empare et fait le signe de croix. En un instant, le château de Klingsor tombe en ruines et le jardin merveilleux se transforme en désert aride.

Acte III : Un bois dans la gloire du printemps, des fleurs, un puits et la hutte d'un ermite.

« Parsifal », après avoir erré pendant des années, a appris la sagesse et se dirige une fois de plus vers le château du Graal. Gurnemanz vit dans le bois, au pied du château. Ayant trouvé Kundry, il vient de l'éveiller d'un long sommeil magique et la prend à son service. Gurnemanz, comme les autres chevaliers, est devenu vieux, car Amfortas n'a pas présenté le Graal, qui redonne la jeunesse, depuis le départ de « Parsifal » .

Quand il voit la Lance Sacrée dans les mains de « Parsifal », il reconnaît avec enthousiasme l'« innocent au cœur pur ». C'est le Vendredi Saint, Kundry lave les pieds de « Parsifal » pour qu'il puisse entrer dans la forteresse propre et pur tandis que Gurnemanz lui baigne les cheveux. « Parsifal » baptise Kundry comme chrétienne. Tous 3 entrent dans le château comme à l'Acte I.

Scène 2 : Les chevaliers se sont rassemblés pour enterrer Tituel et demander à Amfortas de pratiquer la cérémonie de présentation du Graal. Ce dernier refuse et demande qu'on l'achève. Mais « Parsifal », entrant, saisit la Sainte-Lance et guérit la blessure en l'effleurant de la pointe de la Sainte-Lance. Les chevaliers acclament « Parsifal » qui s'agenouille, absorbé dans une prière. La lumière resplendit, le Graal s'embrase et une colombe descend de la coupole au-dessus de « Parsifal ». Kundry, repentante, tombe à terre et meurt.

WAB 82

3 février 1882 : WAB 82 - « Sängerbund » (l'Association des chanteurs) , cantate profane (79 mesures) en do majeur pour chœur d'hommes à 4 voix a cappella (TTBB) . Composée à Vienne. Dédiée à son élève et biographe personnel, August Göllerich. 2 textes disponibles : « Die Sängerfeste unsrer Städte » (les festivals de chant de nos villes) de Heinrich von der Mattig (pseudonyme du médecin militaire de Salzbourg et poète amateur Heinrich Wallmann, 1827-1898) et « Nichts Schön'eres auf der ganzen Erde » (il n'a rien de plus beau dans tout l'Erde) du poète Karl Kerschbaum, un ami de Bruckner ; président du Liedertafel (orphéon) « Frohsinn » de Linz (en plus d'être le comptable et l'archiviste de la ville) . Création par le Liedertafel (orphéon) de Wels, le 10 juin 1883, jour de l'anniversaire du chœur d'hommes.

« Sängerbund » s'est avérée une pièce de choix lors des concerts d'œuvres chorales du village de Steyr.

In addition to its German-nationalist overtones, a quotation from Johann Wenzel Kalliwoda's then well-known «

Deutsches Lied » doubtless made its own contribution to its success :

« Their 1st piece, “ Sängerbund ”, by Bruckner, sounded like their artistic and political credo and powerful chords marked their oath of loyalty to the German people in all phases of its history. » , as the report on the foundation concert of the « Steyrer Liedertafel » in the « Alpen-Bote » newspaper of 26 July 1891 puts it.

1re édition : UE 3296, Viktor Keldorfer, Universal-Edition, Vienne (1911) .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXIII/2, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Angela Pachovsky - Anton Reinthaler, Vienne (2001) ; « Weltliche Chorwerke » , pages 140-144.

(Texte : Heinrich von der Mattig)

Die Sängerbunde unserer Städte
Erwecken bildend um die Wette
Den Sinn für Tonkunst und Gesang,
Den Sinn für Tonkunst und Gesang.

Es drängt hinaus von Kreis zu Kreise
Und heut ertönt in Festes Weise
Das deutsche Lied mit hellem Klang.

Wir halten fest und treu am Bunde,
Den an der Traun in dieser Stunde,
Erneuern wir mit Herz und Hand.

In Lied und Tat frei ohne Zagen,
So werden wir das Höchste wagen
Für Freiheit und fürs Vaterland.

(Texte : Karl Kerschbaum)

Nichts Schönres auf der ganzen Erde
Als froher Sang am Heimatherde
Lobpreisend deutsche Sitt' und Treu.

Es drängt hinaus von Kreis zu Kreise
Und es ertönt in Festes Weise
Das deutsche Lied so frisch und frei.

Ob unsre Brust erbebt vom Leide,
Ob unsern Sinn verklärt die Freude,
Wir halten fest am deutschen Liederband,

Und braust auch Sturmwind durch die Lande,
Das Lied tönt bis zum Grabesrande
Für Freiheit und fürs Vaterland.

WAB 7

5 février 1882 : WAB 7 - « Ave Maria » n° 3, hymne « Marial » (motet d'offertoire) en fa majeur pour voix d'alto et piano (harmonium ou orgue) . La voix d'alto est quelquefois remplacée par une voix de soprano, de baryton ou de basse. Cette pièce de circonstance sera dédiée à « Fräulein Luise Hochleitner », la belle-sœur de son élève d'origine Bohémienne, le compositeur Camillo (Kamillo) Andreas Horn (1860-1941) . Apparemment, la juvénile « mademoiselle Louise » avait une voix de contralto exceptionnelle. Le Maître sera charmé par son registre étendu et son énergie, lors de sa rencontre à Wels, en septembre 1871, durant quelques jours de vacances. Création à Stuttgart, à l'occasion du Festival Bruckner (« Brucknerfest ») de 1921.

Neue Musikzeitung, Stuttgart-Leipzig-Vienna, 23 (1902) , supplément.

6705, E. F. Schmid, Anton Böhm & Sohn, Augsburg / Vienne, production indépendante (1927) .

S 10894, Robert Lienau, Berlin.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXI/1, édition Hans Bauernfeind - Leopold Nowak (1984) (2001) , pages 118-121.

...

WAB 7 (1882) : « Ave Maria » No. 3 ; Marian hymn in F major for alto (or mezzo) and piano (harmonium or organ) .

In all, Anton Bruckner produced 3 known settings of the « Ave Maria », each in a different medium. Interestingly, all are in the key of F, a key often associated with serenity. His last setting came in 1882 when he was, at 58, hitting his creative stride as he worked on his 7th Symphony. That year saw a successful Vienna performance of the F minor Mass. At the same, a young contralto with a beautiful voice, « Fräulein Luise Hochleitner », caught Bruckner's ear and, possibly, his heart as well. His last setting of the « Hail Mary », then, was for contralto solo with organ accompaniment. It is not known whether the middle-aged organist-composer and the young vocalist rehearsed or performed this work together.

There are many striking and original features in this brief but beautiful work. It reflects the expanding harmonic world that the composer was forging his way into at the time, yet, some passages are quite unlike anything else in Bruckner's output. An extraordinary modulating crescendo on the word « Jesus » (at « Blessed is the Fruit of Thy womb ... ») uses the familiar Brucknerian device of an ascending chorale-like melody, yet is harmonically different from any of his other similar passages. Given the natural 2 part form of the prayer, the « Sancta Maria » begins like the opening « Ave » but shifts the tonal plane to the most remote of keys, building to another crescendo. (This crescendo uses, interestingly, a phrase almost identical to one in the hymn « O Sanctissima » , on the same words, « ora pro nobis » . Could Bruckner have been taken by the old hymn and tried to emulate it ?) . The music emerges from the chromatic thicket to close in the tonic. A long-arching melisma on « Amen » against a final crescendo and decrescendo and a series of long-held pianissimo chords brings the piece to a serene close.

...

The Offertory Motet, « Ave Maria » , dates from February, 1882, while Bruckner was working on his Symphony No. 7. It is Bruckner's 3rd setting of this text, all 3 of which are in F major. Written for solo low voice and organ (or harmonium) , this was an occasional piece for a young lady, one « Fräulein Luise Hochleitner » . Apparently, she had a beautiful contralto voice of exceptional range and had impressed the composer with her youthful charm. The work is notable for its main-theme, a glorious, octave-spanning melody that captures a sublimity of mood similar to that of the opening of the 7th Symphony. That this late « Ave Maria » is the only mature specimen of « geistliche Lieder » from Bruckner's pen is cause enough to regret his lack of interest in song-writing. As a crafter of melodies and sound-painter of words, Bruckner's talent was of the highest order ; yet, with few exceptions his temperament lay with absolute music.

...

When staying in Wels, during the summer of 1881, Anton Bruckner met Luise Hochleitner, a singer with a beautiful alto voice. Bruckner promised to dedicate to her an « Ave Maria » . The work, which was composed on 5 February 1882 (almost 20 years after his more famous Motet) is for alto (or baritone) solo-voice and keyboard (organ, piano or harmonium) .

It was published in 1902, as an appendix to No. 13 of the « Neue Musikzeitung, Stuttgart » . The 1st public performance occurred during a concert of the « Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein » , on 5 February 1903, by Gisella Seehofer, who then also premiered Bruckner's « Amaranths Waldlieder » (**WAB 58**) .

The 81 bars, demanding work, scored in F major, requires a singer with a 2 octave broad tessitura.

Alike the 2 earlier settings of the « Ave Maria » , the name « Jesus » is sung thrice (bars 23-31) . It is followed by an instrumental interlude (bars 32-38) and goes then on with the 2nd part (« Sancta Maria ») , which quotes the 20 year earlier setting. Thereafter (bars 53-58) , « Nunc et in hora mortis nostrae » is sung pianissimo in unison. After a repeat of « Sancta Maria » , it is ending by a 2 octave descending arpeggio on « Amen » (from F5 to F3) and a

short instrumental postlude (bars 76-81) .

...

28 février 1882 : Richard Heinrich Stein is born in Halle, Germany.

21 mars 1882 : In a gala concert of the « Steyrer Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » (Society of the Friends of Music of Steyr) , which traditionally enlisted the cooperation of all other musical Societies, the piece « Germanenzug » (WAB 70) by Anton Bruckner, a dramatic male-voice chorus supported by solo quartet and brass ensemble, had its 1st performance as part of a varied programme. As it was obvious that the musicians were not up to the technical demands of the chorus, the work met with a very mixed reception.

23 mars 1882 : The 23 year old Hans Rott attempts to hang himself (unsuccessfully) , in the Lower-Austrian State Insane Asylum.

24 mars 1882 : 1st common concert of the Schalk brothers. Josef Schalk gives the 1st (?) performance of his arrangement of the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony at a « Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein » concert, in the composer's presence. One reviewer praised both Schalk for his arrangement and Bruckner for the vitality of his composition, which was by no means « only a series of phrases strung together » .

...

The 70 year old Franz Liszt completes his 13th and last Symphonic poem, « Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe » (From the Cradle to the Grave) , S. 107 / 647.

1er avril 1882 : Gustav Mahler finishes his conducting job in Laibach and leaves, spending time over the summer around his 22nd birthday with his family in Iglau, and returns to Vienna in the fall, working on his fairy-tale Opera « Růbezal » , which will remain unfinished, and which provides material later incorporated into his Symphonic poem (the work we know today as his 1st Symphony) . Mahler also composes 4 Songs which will be published in 1892 :

« Frühlingmorgen » (Spring Morning) , on text by Richard Leander.

« Erinnerung » (Memory) , on text by Richard Leander.

« Serenade aus Don Juan » , on text by Tirso de Molina.

« Phantasie aus Don Juan » , on text by Tirso de Molina.

At some point, Mahler plays Hans Rott's Symphony in E major on the piano to Rott's friends.

30 avril 1882 : Reprise de la Messe en fa d'Anton Bruckner à la « Hofkapelle » de Vienne.

25 juin 1882 : Joachim Raff dies of a heart attack at the age of 60.

25-year-old Hirschfeld becomes lecturer at Vienna Conservatory.

The 8 year old Arnold Schœnberg begins taking violin lessons.

The 7 year old Fritz Kreisler becomes the youngest student ever admitted to the Vienna Conservatory. He studies violin with Josef Hellmesberger, Junior ; and theory with Anton Bruckner.

The 6 year old Bruno Schlesinger starts school and also begins piano lessons.

The concerts of Charles Lamoureux in Paris begin the « Wagner craze » , there.

26 juillet 1882 : Anton Bruckner (58 ans) se rend à Bayreuth afin d'assister à la création de l'Opéra « Parsifal » (« Bühnenweihfestspiel ») au « Festspielhaus » . Le compositeur Engelbert Humperdinck (37 ans) a préparé, pour l'événement, le chœur de garçons. C'est là que le Maître de Saint-Florian rencontrera Richard Wagner (69 ans) pour la dernière fois.

Le jour de son arrivée à la gare de Bayreuth, à l'occasion de la grande première de l'œuvre présentée lors du second Festival qui se mit en branle le 26 juillet, un voleur qui rôdait autour de Bruckner s'empara d'une somme de 300 Florins (« Gulden ») qu'il avait enfouie dans son gros manteau.

30 juillet 1882 : Bruckner assiste à la 3e représentation de « Parsifal » à Bayreuth.

Durant cette même période, Bruckner poursuit son travail sur la 7e Symphonie et révisé sa Messe en mi mineur (**WAB 27**) .

WAB 94/2

1882 : **WAB 94/2** - « Volkslied » , chant populaire (67 mesures) en do majeur pour voix soliste et piano. Composé à Vienne dans le cadre d'une compétition afin de choisir un nouvel hymne national facile à chanter (« für eines sangbares Nationallied ») . Sur le texte allemand en 6 versets « Anheben laßt und all' zusamm' ein Lied von starkem Klange » (levons-nous et entonnons très fort ce chant) de Josef Winter (1857-1916) . La 2e version.

Folk-song composed for a competition for a singable National hymn (« für eines sangbares Nationallied ») :

Version I : for voice and piano in D major (33 bars) , **WAB 94**, Volume XXIII/1, No. 6.

Version 2 : for male choir a cappella in C major (33 or 67 bars) , **WAB 94**, Volume XXIII/2, No. 32. Text (originally 6 stanzas) :

In Renate Grasberger's work catalogue (1977) , the work is dated at « around 1861 » and this information was taken from August Göllerich. However, in reality, this 6 stanza song was only written in 1882 ! For, on 16 October 1881, the « Deutsche Zeitung » in Vienna had announced a competition « to obtain a text for a singable anthem which would be suitable to strengthen the Germans of Austria in the defence of their national customs and traditions » . Then, no fewer than 1,570 poems were submitted and the 6 stanza « Lied der Deutschen in Österreich » by Josef Winter was awarded the 1st prize. Then, on 1 January 1882, a musical competition was announced for an « anthem for the German nation in Austria » for voice and piano as well as for male choir. Bruckner's « Volkslied » was among the 1,320 works submitted, but none of the compositions was awarded a prize. The 1st edition was published in Volume III/2 of the Göllerich / Auer biography, in 1930 (fac-simile on pages 191-192) . The instructions in both versions : powerful, solemn, stressed.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXIII/1, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Angela Pachovsky, Vienne (1997) , pages 28-29.

Anheben laßt uns allzusamm'
Ein Lied von starkem Klange,
In Österreich den deutschen Stamm
Laßt preisen uns mit Sange.
Die auf die Ostmark einst gestellt,
Dem Feind den Weg zu weisen,
Sie stehen heute noch im Feld
Und halten blank ihr Eisen.

Und gilt's auch nicht, den Hunnenschwall
Mit Schild und Schwert zu stauen,
Aus deutschen Leibern einen Wall
Dem Türkenvolk zu bauen ;
Uns blieb so mancher grimme Gast
Noch in den Sand zu fegen,
Im Ostreich ward uns nimmer Rast,
Hand in den Schoß zu legen.

Mit Trommeln nicht und Feldgeschrei
Wird heut' zur Schlacht geschritten,
Der Feind schleicht leise sich herbei,
Er wohnt in unsrer Mitten
Und möcht' uns drängen gar zu gern

Zur schimpflichsten der Taten :
das Deutschtum, unsres Wesens Kern,
Das sollen wir verraten.

Wir aber halten gute Wacht
Und werden nicht erschlaffen.
Wie einst in Not und Sturm und Schlacht,
So schallt's auch heute : Waffen !
Und wo der kühne Ruf erklingt,
Schart er die Kampfgenossen,
Das Blut, das unsere Scholle düngt,
Ist nicht umsonst geflossen.

Ob wir im welschen Gau zufernst,
Ob hoch in Böhmen hausen,
Ob Siebenbürgens Eichen ernst
Um unsre Söhne brausen,
Uns einet Sitte, Ehr' und Zucht,
Die Sprache hold und süße,
Und mahnend trägt durch Tal und Bucht
Die Donau Schwarzwalds Grüße.

So laßt uns halten fürderhin
An deutscher Sprach' und Treue,
Dem deutschen Stamme, deutschem Sinn
Gelobt euch an aufs neue.
Der Osten kam in unsre Hut,
Darnach tun wir uns schreiben,
Doch deutsch sind wir in Mark und Blut
Und wollen Deutsche bleiben.

13 octobre 1882 : Anton Bruckner entend intégralement sa 6e Symphonie lors d'une répétition générale du Philharmonique de Vienne au « Musikverein » . (Ce sera la seule et unique fois dans sa vie.) L'atmosphère était amicale et empreinte de reconnaissance comme en témoigne une lettre de Bruckner à son proche ami et copiste de Steyr, Leopold Hofmeyer :

« Après avoir rejeté toutes les autres, le Philharmonique a maintenant accepté ma 6e Symphonie. Lorsque je me suis présenté au chef d'orchestre (soit le directeur de l'Opéra de la Cour) , il m'a confié qu'il comptait parmi mes plus sincères et proches admirateurs. Le Philharmonique y a trouvé une telle satisfaction en la jouant qu'ils m'ont offert une " douche " d'applaudissements suite à l'exécution. »

Parmi les copistes de Bruckner, citons : Karl (Borromäus) Aigner de Saint-Florian (qui fut l'un de ses élèves) ; un certain Carda, de Vienne ; Viktor Christ (qui fut l'un de ses élèves) ; Franz Hlawaczek de Vienne (qui a travaillé à plusieurs reprises pour Franz Schubert et son frère, Ferdinand) ; Leopold Hofmeyer (un ami proche de Steyr et un de ses copistes les plus fiables) ; Johann (Giovanni) Noll (copiste à la « Hofkapelle » de Vienne) ; Karl Paur ; Franz Schimatschek (1812-1877) (altiste à l'Orchestre du Théâtre de Linz ; ami et copiste préféré du Maître) ; et Karl Tenschert qui a travaillé chez Franz Hlawaczek, à Vienne.

AB 82 : 1883

À partir de 1883 : Le monastère de Kremsmünster accorde à Anton Bruckner le statut d' « invité spécial » .

L'appartement de Bruckner au « Wohnhaus »

L'auteur Auguste Stradal, à travers à son recueil biographique « Erinnerungen » (Souvenirs sur Anton Bruckner) , nous a laissé une description détaillée de l'appartement où vivait le compositeur :

« Au début de janvier 1883, des élèves du Maître décident de monter au 4^e étage de l'immeuble résidentiel du " Wohnhaus " situé au numéro 7, " Heßgasse ", à l'angle de " Schottenring " (numéro 5) , pour aller le visiter. On y retrouvait 2 chambres. Au milieu de la Ire, on pouvait admirer un vieux Bösendorfer de concert : les touches blanches se distinguaient à peine des touches noires à cause de la poussière accumulée et des résidus de tabac à priser. Contre un mur : un harmonium à 2 claviers et 1 pédalier ; contre l'autre, un lit et un grand crucifix accroché au-dessus ; en face de la fenêtre, une petite table réservée pour l'écriture. (Des années plus tard, cette dernière sera transférée de l'autre côté de la porte dans un espace restreint utilisé à la fois pour faire la lessive et servir les repas.) La salle de séjour n'était utilisé que pour les besoins quotidiens. L'ameublement modeste avait des allures de renoncement. »

« Des feuilles de musique étaient empilées sur le piano. On pouvait distinguer à travers ce désordre des partitions de Bach, de Beethoven, de Schubert et de Wagner. Bruckner ne possédait que 2 livres de chevet, à l'époque : la Bible de même qu'une biographie de Napoléon Bonaparte. Le Maître a étudié le Livre saint avec l'énergie d'un théologien et a admiré le Napoléon réformateur, tout comme l'a fait avant lui, Beethoven. »

« La seconde chambre n'était pas meublée, donc inutilisée. Dans un coin, on pouvait apercevoir un tas de lettres personnelles et de contre-rendus rédigés par les critiques. Les manuscrits de ses Symphonies et de ses Messes étaient mélangés avec des articles de journaux et des lettres des chefs Hermann Levi, Arthur Nikisch et Hans Richter, entre autres. Anton Bruckner m'a demandé de lui donner un coup de main afin de retrouver son Quintette à cordes dans cette masse de papiers. Lors de mes recherches, j'ai découvert le manuscrit de la seule composition pour piano du Maître. Son titre : « Erinnerung » (Souvenir) . Malheureusement, il n'arrivait pas se rappeler où il l'avait composé. »

(Le « Souvenir » pour piano sera trouvé dans ses papiers après la mort de Bruckner.)

Dans la pièce de travail de Bruckner, toute peinte en bleu, se trouvait son vieux piano à queue « Bösendorfer » de même que son harmonium « Matthäus Mauracher » de Salzburg : 2 legs testamentaires de l'administrateur du monastère de Saint-Florian, Franz Sailer (le parrain de son frère Ignaz) ; en plus d'une petite table et quelques chaises.

Il semble que Sailer avait acquis le piano lors d'une exposition tenue dans une maison de campagne à Linz, en 1848 (l'année de son décès) .

Le plancher et la plupart du mobilier étaient jonchées de feuilles de musique. Accrochées au mur, on retrouvait une grande photo et une peinture à l'huile de lui-même. Une porte conduisait à sa chambre à coucher dont les murs étaient recouverts de photos de ses Maîtres bien-aimés.

Anton Bruckner héritera de son « Bösendorfer » en plus de (de même qu'une petite table et quelques chaises)

Anton Bruckner était toujours heureux de montrer un buste de lui-même qu'il possédait. On dit qu'il plaçait sa main, avec un sourire mélancolique, sur le front de la statue lui en disant : « Bon garçon. » . Contre le mur se trouvait un lit en laiton Anglais gracieuseté de ses élèves ; il l'avait baptisé : « Mon seul luxe. » .

Lors de ses nombreuses visites, Friedrich Klose (qui devint l'élève d'Anton Bruckner en 1886) évoquera 4 livres que son Maître a parcourus pendant des années. Le 1er est une histoire sur la guerre au Mexique. Le 2e est le récit d'une expédition polaire dans la région arctique. Le 3e est une petite compilation illustrée des compositeurs Franz-Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart et Ludwig van Beethoven. Et finalement, le 4e est un traité intitulé « La miraculeuse Marie de Lowdes » . Klose nous donne aussi une description similaire de la maison du compositeur. Il nous rapporte que les vêtements ainsi que la musique jonchaient littéralement le piano. Lorsqu'il avait l'habitude de se rendre chez Bruckner durant la nuit, sa chambre n'était éclairée que par 2 longs cierges. La raison de cette pratique stricte découlait de sa phobie du feu depuis la triste tragédie du Théâtre du « Ring » qui eut lieu le 8 décembre 1881, en face de chez lui.

D'autres témoins oculaires ont mentionné la présence d'une anti-chambre avec baignoire et d'un buste de Bruckner. Bruckner lui caressait parfois le dessus de la tête avec sa main, en disant : « Gentil vieux garçon. » . Tous s'accordent à dire que sa chambre était dans un désordre épouvantable. Son ancien professeur d'orchestration, Otto Kitzler, a lui-même constaté ce fouillis. Bruckner arrivait au moins à exprimer ce petit quelque chose du « Bohême » en lui.

La personnalité de Bruckner

À cette époque, Vienne offrait de nombreuses activités culturelles. Mais Bruckner n'a jamais su en profiter, par simple manque d'intérêt. Un jour, il demandera à son ami Friedrich Klose : « Pourquoi fréquentez-vous le Burgtheater ? Voulez-vous devenir un poète ? » . Il semble que le Maître a assisté à une seule de ses représentations : à l'affiche, un drame de William Shakespeare. Il s'ennuiera à mourir. Il n'y est jamais retourné.

Par contre, Bruckner assistera souvent aux soirées à l'Opéra de Vienne. On le verra également dans la section des

places « debout » lors des concerts Symphoniques alors que son opposant, Johannes Brahms, avait sa place réservée dans une loge luxueuse. Plusieurs commentateurs de la scène artistique évoqueront la jalousie du compositeur sans moyen. Mais, au fond, Bruckner était plutôt indifférent à l'idée de ne pas faire partie de l'élite bourgeoise de Vienne.

Le dernier médecin personnel de Bruckner, le docteur Richard Heller, a lui aussi laissé un témoignage prenant de son caractère, rapporté dans le recueil biographique de Karl Kobald, « In Memoriam Anton Bruckner » (1924) .

« Celui qui a vu Bruckner dans sa vie ne pourra jamais oublier l'impression produite par cette tête si caractéristique qui rappelle un buste provenant de la période du Cinquecento (Renaissance italienne du XVIe siècle) combinée avec ce physique presque comique. La ressemblance frappante entre son profil et celle d'un Empereur Romain fut renforcée par ce refus total de porter la barbe, et par cet héritage villageois de couper sa chevelure blanche presque au ras du crâne. Le haut de son corps était assez court et son surpoids le faisait apparaître trappu. »

« Ses pieds étaient chaussés par de larges bottines (presque rectangulaires) faites en peau de phoque. Obsessif de nature, Bruckner en possédait environ une trentaine de paires. Il portait de très larges pantalons fabriqués en forme de sac. Ses vestes étaient d'une étendue semblable et chacune possédait son propre nom, de sorte que sa fidèle servante devait avoir une mémoire assez prodigieuse pour rapporter la bonne au compositeur. L'une d'elle, typiquement autrichienne, était surnommée « Shaggy » parce qu'elle était fabriquée d'un matériau assez épais, résistant à l'eau, appelé « Loden » (fabriqué à partir de laine de mouton, sans enlever la lanoline) . Un autre s'appelait « les Cordons » parce qu'elle était fabriquée de laine peignée. Sans oublier la « Dandy » , la « Bobby » , la « Grasse » ... et ainsi de suite. »

Le « Loden » est un tissu de laine imperméable typique du Tyrol, du sud de l'Allemagne et de la province de Bolzano. Étoffe souple, douce, chaude et résistante, à l'aspect feutré et velu, elle sert principalement à la confection de manteaux ainsi que de capes, jupes et pantalons. Dans le val Pusteria, à Vandoies, se trouve un musée qui permet de connaître toute l'histoire du « Loden » et les différentes étapes de fabrication artisanale d'un vêtement : de la tonte des moutons jusqu'à la coupe du tissu.

Ce tissu appartient à l'histoire des Alpes et aux bergers tyroliens. Depuis le Moyen-âge, l'étoffe de « Loden » est produite par les paysans des Dolomites et du Tyrol : sa couleur est, alors, grisâtre comme la laine brute de leurs moutons. À l'origine de couleur grise, le manteau en « Loden » deviendra successivement blanc, rouge, noire et, enfin, vert sombre (la teinte la plus populaire) .

Le « Loden » devient un tissu à la mode lorsque la filature Mössmer, fondée en 1892 (originaire de Campo Tures) , confectionne un manteau de couleur blanche pour l'Empereur François-Joseph. L'ajout de laine Mérinos au manteau rustique en « Loden » produira une étoffe élégante pour habits de chasse et d'équitation prisée de la noblesse Austro-Hongroise.

« Les chapeaux de Bruckner ont aussi hérité de noms. Son « Hüadal » noir était un petit chapeau mou à larges rebords qu'il portait la plupart du temps. Son chapeau du dimanche s'appelait tout simplement « le Chapeau » . Son

« Haut de forme » flexible ne sera porté que lors des grandes cérémonies ; mais il avait le défaut de dater de la préhistoire. Le principe de base de sa garde-robe : être spacieuse et confortable malgré l'inconvénient d'une longueur quasi grotesque. Le mode de vie était aussi simple que l'homme. Ceux qui ont eu l'occasion de voir Bruckner siphoner son bol de soupe ont sûrement cru se trouver en face d'un vieux paysan en tenue honorable plutôt que devant un grand compositeur. »

...

Stories abound regarding Bruckner's unsophisticated ways and rather bizarre appearance and how those who wanted to see and be seen received them. He was clean-shaven and he could never find a barber who could crop his white hair short enough at a time when that was far from fashionable ; compare this with Johannes Brahms's long hair and bushy beard. Bruckner wore curious looking clothes, which certainly made no concession to fashion. Bruckner's physician, Doctor Richard Heller, has left a vivid description of his character as reported in Karl Kobald's « In Memoriam Anton Bruckner » (1924) :

« No one who saw Bruckner could ever forget the impression made by that characteristic head, reminiscent of a cinquecento bust, in combination with his almost comical physique. The resemblance between that striking profile and the head of a Roman Emperor was strengthened by his constant refusal to wear a beard, and, by his habit of cropping his thick, white hair almost to the skull. His body was small and thick-set. His feet were shod in broad, almost rectangular sealskin ankle boots, of which he owned about 30 pairs. Above these, he wore a pair of immensely wide, bag-like trousers. His jackets were of a similar expanse and each one had its own name, so that his faithful house-keeper needed a good memory if she was always to bring the right one. One of them was called " Shaggy " because it was made of thick Loden material ; another was " the Cords " since it was made of worsted ; a 3rd was " the Dandy ", or " the Bobby ", or " Fatty " and so on. Bruckner's hats were also given names. The " Hüadal " (a little hat) was the one he usually wore, a black, broad-brimmed slouch-hat ; his Sunday hat was simply " The Hat " ; while " The Top Hat " was a collapsible Opera hat of prehistoric design, which he put on only for very special ceremonious occasions. The basic principle of his wardrobe was spacious and comfortable - which he carried to grotesque lengths. His way of living was as simple as he himself was, and anyone who saw the Master slurping-up his soup from the bowl would have thought that he was in the company of a farm-hand grown old in honourable service rather than a great composer. »

...

Le style verbal de Bruckner était habituellement simple et direct. Mais lorsqu'il s'adressait à des personnes qui détenaient un poste influent, son humilité ampoulée ne convenait pas avec son statut de grand musicien. On y retrouvait une abondance de « Votre Honneur », de « Votre Majesté », et d'autres titres honorifiques du même genre. Il avait même réussi à embarrasser le grand Richard Wagner lorsqu'il lui avoua à la première de l'Opéra « Parsifal », en juillet 1882, lors du second Festival de Bayreuth : « Ah Maître, je vous adore ! ». Ses excès maladifs de dévotion étaient injustifiés mais fort compréhensibles : l'enfant de chœur Anton Bruckner, âgé de 12 ans, apprendra tôt à baiser les mains des chanoines de Saint-Florian durant sa période de formation au monastère. Le protocole

officiel autrichien qui sévissait au sein de l'Église et de la Monarchie laisseront des traces indélébiles chez cet être insécure. Il interpellera Johannes Brahms avec un « Monsieur, le Président » lors de sa rencontre historique au restaurant du « Hérisson Rouge », à l'automne de 1880. Bruckner lui payera aussi de la bière (un prélude à la soirée bien arrosée à « Wahnfried » aux côtés de Richard Wagner, en septembre 1883) .

Ce trait naïf de Bruckner l'amènera aussi à poser des gestes qui se situent à l'autre extrême du balancier. Lors d'une réception, il aura le privilège d'être présenté à une princesse, membre de la famille Impériale allemande. Il secouera vigoureusement sa main en disant :

« Je suis ravi de faire votre connaissance. J'ai entendu de bien belles choses à votre sujet. » . On peut facilement penser que ce geste a ajouté du piment à l'ambiance déjà festive de la soirée.

Bruckner pouvait être à l'occasion être assez cru. Lorsqu'un éditeur lui demandera pourquoi ses compositions n'étaient pas plus populaire, il répondra du tac au tac : « Ce fut la même chose avec Beethoven. Ces ' bœufs ' ne le comprirent pas non plus. » .

Malgré l'inconsistance de son discours public, Anton Bruckner réussira quand même à bien se faire comprendre par son entourage. Le chef d'orchestre Bruno Walter déclarera à son sujet :

« J'explique ce pouvoir d'attraction par l'éclat et l'éminence de son âme pieuse et la splendeur de son génie musical qui parvenaient à transcender une ignorance sans prétention. Même si Bruckner pouvait être parfois perçu comme un personnage sans intérêt, son humanité demeurait édifiante. »

10 janvier 1883 : Gustav Mahler is summoned urgently to a Theater post in Olmütz, in the Austrian province of Moravia (now, in the Czech Republic) , and conducts there until **March 18**.

10 février 1883 : Création partielle (dans le cadre d'un événement organisé par la Société académique Richard Wagner de Vienne) de la 7e Symphonie de Bruckner (les 1er et 3e mouvements) dans un arrangement pour 2 pianos donné par les solistes Josef Schalk et Franz Zottmann. Il s'agit de leur 1er récital conjoint.

Franz Zottmann

Le pianiste et pédagogue Franz Zottmann est né le 23 mars 1858 à Hainburg, en Haute-Autriche ; et est mort le 24 mai 1909 à Vienne. Il étudie le piano et la théorie musicale, jusqu'en 1879, au Conservatoire de la Société des Amis de la Musique (« Gesellschaft Der Musikfreunde ») auprès des professeurs H. Schmitt, Robert Fuchs et Franz Krenn. De 1882 à 1909, il est rattaché à ce même Conservatoire comme interprète virtuose et autodidacte où il dirige notamment une classe de formation en piano.

...

Dimanche 11 et mardi 13 février 1883 : Création en présence du compositeur des 2^e et 3^e mouvements de la 6^e Symphonie données en public lors d'une lecture à vue par Philharmonique de Vienne sous la direction du chef intérimaire Wilhelm Jahn (le prédécesseur de Gustav Mahler à la « Hofoper ») . On joua ainsi de prudence face aux critiques (spécialement, Eduard Hanslick) n'offrant que ces 2 mouvements intermédiaires considérés comme moins risqués.

The audience, which includes Johannes Brahms (aged 49) , gives the work a great ovation. The press is mixed.

« Ce remarquable concert s'est tenu tôt un dimanche. Bruckner, accompagné de son élève Lamberg, entrèrent dans la salle qui, bien évidemment, était vide à 9 heures du matin. Le compositeur portait des chaussures qui ne correspondaient pas, et, ce qui était plus surprenant, l'une d'elles avait une pointe en cuir verni. L'élève s'est abstenu de rapporter cette incongruité malencontreuse à son Maître nerveux. Avant la prestation, alors qu'ils étaient attablés à un restaurant situé à proximité, Lamberg avait reçu ses consignes : le plus important était d'espionner le redoutable critique Eduard Hanslick. » .

Il y avait aussi d'autres œuvres au programme comme le rapporte le biographe de Bruckner, August Göllerich :

« Les 2 mouvements, Adagio et Scherzo, étaient précédés de l'Ouverture Leonore n° 2 de Beethoven ; suivis d'un Concerto pour violoncelle de Karl Anton Florian Eckert et de la 5^e Symphonie en ut mineur de Ludwig Spohr. »

Parmi l'auditoire, Johannes Brahms enthousiasmé par ce qu'il venait d'entendre. Selon un étudiant de Bruckner, du nom de Lamberg, Eduard Hanslick était là « glacial et immobile comme un Sphinx » .

He wrote :

« It has become ever harder for me personally to achieve a proper relationship with these peculiar compositions in which clever, original, and even inspired moments alternate frequently without recognizable connection with barely understandable platitudes, empty and dull patches, stretched-out over such unsparing length as to threaten to run players as well as listeners out of breath. »

Mardi 13 février 1883 : Max Kalbeck, a friend of both Johannes Brahms and Eduard Hanslick, wrote in the « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » :

« The puzzles that Bruckner presents to us are tim. The tonal ghosts are altogether too mad : it is as though a pack of wolves met on Walpurgis Night, such stamping and roaring, raging and screaming goes wildly on. If the future can relish such a chaotic piece of music, with sounds echoing from a hundred cliffs, we wish that future to be far away from us. »

Mardi, 13 février 1883 : Mort de Richard Wagner d'une crise cardiaque, à Venise.

Cosima Liszt von Bülow Wagner makes the last entry in her diary ...

15h30 : Wilhelm Richard Wagner dies in the Palazzo Vendramin, in Venice, of a heart attack, in the arms of his wife, aged 69 years, 8 months and 22 days. His Venetian doctor, Friedrich Keppler, writes :

« It is self-evident that the innumerable psychical agitations to which Wagner was daily disposed by his peculiar mental constitution and disposition, his sharply defined attitude towards a number of burning questions of art, science, and politics, and his remarkable social position did much to hasten his unfortunate end. »

Jacques Manheit, a baritone in the Olmütz Opera, will recall :

« Just as I was going from my home to the Theatre, I saw a man running through the streets ; he was quite distraught, sobbed loudly, and pressed his handkerchief against his eyes ; I recognized Gustav Mahler (aged 22) with difficulty. I went up to him anxiously and asked him quietly : “ In heaven’s name, has something happened to your father ? ”. He howled at the top of his voice : “ Worse, worse, much worse. The worst, the worst has happened, the Master has died. ” After that, it was impossible to talk to Mahler for days. He came to the Theatre for rehearsals and performances, but was inaccessible to everybody for a long time. »

Mardi, 13 février 1883 : Un télégramme en provenance de Venise annonce la mort de Richard Wagner. Anton Bruckner éclate alors en sanglots :

« En apprenant la tragique nouvelle, j’ai pleuré. Mon Dieu que j’ai pleuré ! »

Lettre de Bruckner adressée au jeune chef Felix Mottl :

« Un jour, je suis rentré. Je me sentais très triste à l’idée que le Maître allait bientôt mourir. Et c’est seulement à ce moment que le thème en do dièse mineur de l’Adagio (le thème d’ouverture du mouvement) m’est venu. » .

Tout d’abord pressentiment vague, l’Adagio de la 7e Symphonie s’est bientôt achevé sur une lamentation déchirante : une « Marche Funèbre » à la mémoire de l’illustre Maître.

Mercredi, 14 février 1883 : More than 24 hours after the death of Richard Wagner, Cosima Wagner is persuaded by family members to let go of his body. He died in her arms yesterday, in Venice.

Anton Bruckner (aged 58) is at the Vienna Conservatory when he hears of the death of Richard Wagner. Currently composing, in his office, the Adagio movement of his 7th Symphony, he concludes the work with funeral music in honour of his mentor.

Upon hearing the news of Wagner’s death, Hugo Wolf (aged 22) plays the funeral march from « Götterdämmerung » , then spends the rest of the day on a tree, crying.

On hearing of the death of Richard Wagner, Giuseppe Verdi (aged 69) writes to his publisher :

« Sad. Sad. Sad ! Wagner is dead ! When I read the news yesterday, I may truly say that I was crushed ! It is a great individual who has disappeared ! A name that leaves a powerful imprint on the history of art ! » (Theodore T. Barker, page 284.)

Les derniers moments de Richard Wagner

En 1877, Richard Wagner s'attelle à son dernier Opéra, « Parsifal », qu'il finit à Palerme pendant l'hiver 1881-1882. Il loge dans la Villa des Whitaker, futur Grand Hôtel des Palmes. Pendant la composition, il écrit également une série d'essais sur la religion et l'art.

Richard Wagner retourne à Venise où il séjourne à l'Hôtel Danieli pour 3 nuits le 4 octobre 1880.

Il met la dernière main à « Parsifal » en janvier 1882, et le présente lors du second Festival de Bayreuth. Pendant l'acte III de la 16e et dernière représentation, le 29 août, le chef Hermann Levi est victime d'un malaise. Wagner entre alors discrètement dans la fosse d'orchestre, prend la baguette et dirige l'œuvre jusqu'à son terme.

Richard et Cosima Wagner visitent le Palais Vendramin Calergi de Venise habité par Adolfo Lucchesi Palli, duc della Grazia, ainsi que de son neveu Henri de Bourbon et de sa femme Aldegonde de Bragance, princesse de Portugal.

Après quelques voyages, ils s'installent dans ce Palais dont ils avaient réservé l'entresol qui comptait à lui seul plus de 18 pièces. Ils disposent de nombreux domestiques, dont un gondolier : Luigi Trevisan.

Après le Festival de Bayreuth de 1882, il se rend à Venise avec sa famille pour y passer l'hiver.

Fin novembre, l'arrivée de Franz Liszt (son beau-père) est l'occasion d'une suite de mondanités et de concerts donnés dans le grand salon. Mais Richard Wagner en sort épuisé.

L'état de santé de Richard Wagner se détériore à un tel point qu'il ne peut plus rien apprécier : ni les plaisirs artistiques offerts par Venise, ni les plaisirs de la vie en société.

Le mardi 13 février 1883, Richard Wagner ressent de violentes douleurs au cœur qui annoncent déjà sa mort imminente, qui se produit à midi en présence de sa famille au Palais Vendramin Calergi.

En 1910, on apposa une plaque commémorative à Richard Wagner (ornée d'un médaillon sculpté par Guido Cadomien) au Palazzo Vendramin Calergi avec une épitaphe sur un texte rédigé par Gabriele d'Annunzio :

IN QUESTO PALAGIO

L'ULTIMO SPIRO DI RICCARDO WAGNER
ODONO LE ANIME
PERPETUARSI COME LA MAREA
CHE LAMBE I MARMI.

Les yeux ne pouvaient le soutenir ; mais les cœurs, avec un émerveillement et un effroi qui les rendaient religieux, crurent recevoir de lui la révélation d'un secret divin.

Stelio demanda à la veuve de Richard Wagner que les 2 jeunes italiens qui, un soir de novembre, avaient transporté du bateau à la rive le héros évanoui, et 4 de leurs compagnons avec eux, fussent admis à l'honneur de transporter le cercueil depuis la chambre mortuaire jusqu'à la barque et depuis la barque jusqu'au wagon. Cet honneur leur fut accordé.

C'est son fidèle gondolier, Luigi Trevisan, qui mena la dépouille en gondole jusqu'à la gare Santa Lucia.

Le convoi fut bref. La barque funèbre allait en avant ; puis venait la veuve avec les siens ; puis venait le groupe juvénile. Au-dessus du grand chemin d'eau et de pierre, le ciel était encombré de nuages.

« Le profond silence était digne de celui qui, pour la religion des hommes, avait transformé en un chant infini les forces de l'Univers. » (Gabriele d'Annunzio)

Cosima resta assise avec le corps de Wagner pour plus de 24 heures, refusant tout rafraîchissement et tout répit. Le processus d'embaumement durera 2 jours. Cosima fut assise auprès du cadavre aussi souvent que possible, au grand dam de ses enfants. Elle a également demandé à ses filles de lui couper les cheveux pour les insérer dans un coussin qui sera, par la suite, recousu et placé sur la poitrine de Wagner.

Le cadavre était là, enfermé dans le cercueil de cristal, et, à côté debout, était la femme au visage de neige. Le second cercueil en métal poli, grand ouvert, brillait sur le plancher. Tous avaient les regards fixés sur l' élu de la Vie et de la Mort. Un sourire infini illuminait la face du héros étendu dans la bière : infini et distant comme l'éclat des glaciers, comme le brasillage des mers, comme le halo des astres.

Le voyage de retour à destination de Bayreuth, avec une escale à Munich, se mettra en branle le vendredi 16 février. 2 wagons raccordés au train, spécialement emménagés, transporteront le corps.

« Je fus le 1er dans le monde entier à reconnaître ce grand artiste maintenant décédé. Je suis celui qui l'a sauvé pour la postérité. » Ainsi s'exprima le roi Louis II de Bavière lors de l'arrêt du convoi à Munich.

Le dimanche 18 février, le train à bord duquel la veuve éplorée, les enfants, les amis de la famille, des représentants du Roi et le cercueil contenant les restes de Richard Wagner arrive finalement à Bayreuth. Toujours plus de personnes endeuillées affluaient aussi par train à la gare. En quittant la gare, le cortège funèbre se mit à serpenter à travers la

ville, passant par l'Opéra, jusqu'à la Villa « Wahnfried » . Plus de 20,000 personnes composées de citadins et de gens venus de l'extérieur bordaient respectueusement les rues ornées de drapeaux noirs. Le monde parut diminué de valeur. C'est ainsi que débutera la légende du Maître ...

Puis, un bref service funèbre accompagné par les sons sombres du « Götterdämmerung » fut célébré au jardin de la Villa « Wahnfried » où Wagner sera enterré. Cosima resta à l'intérieur jusqu'à la fin de la cérémonie. Selon sa fille, Daniela, elle s'est ensuite rendu à la tombe pour demeurer longtemps étendue sur le cercueil jusqu'à ce qu son fils, « Fidi » (Siegfried) , aille la chercher. » Puis, elle s'enferma pendant de nombreux mois, voyant à peine ses enfants ; avec qui elle communiquera principalement par des notes écrites. Parmi les nombreux messages de support, elle reçut un télégramme de son ancien époux, le chef d'orchestre Hans von Bülow : « sœur, il faut vivre. » .

La mort de Richard Wagner (Pascal Bouteldja)

Introduction

Puisque selon le mot de Jean-Paul Sartre, “ la mort change la vie en destin ”, le 13 février 1883, c'était un mardi, le destin exceptionnel de Richard Wagner s'achevait. Et plus de 125 ans après, cette mort est encore entourée d'un certain nombre de rumeurs, ces dernières ayant pris naissance dès le lendemain même de l'annonce de son décès. C'est pourquoi, cet exposé aurait pu être nommé du titre alléchant : “ Qui a tué Richard Wagner ? ”, en référence à l'ouvrage de l'écrivain surréaliste, Stefan Themerson. Une mauvaise langue pourrait répondre à cette question : ses médecins. Nous verrons qu'elle ne serait pas complètement dans l'erreur. Aussi, en bon amateur de romans policiers, j'ai décidé de troquer mon habit de médecin (et, accessoirement, de scientifique) pour celui, pas si lointain, de détective et de vous livrer les résultats de mon enquête sur la mort de Richard Wagner. Comme disait le physicien et épistémologue Thomas Kuhn : “ le travail du savant consiste à résoudre des énigmes ” en tout cas, il essaie. Conan Doyle, le père de Sherlock Holmes, n'hésitait pas aussi à affirmer avoir été inspiré par les méthodes de l'un de ses professeurs à la Faculté de médecine pour camper celles de son héros littéraire. Comme toute enquête qui se respecte, nous étudierons d'abord les faits connus. C'est seulement après l'établissement de ces faits que nous pourrons, comme l'inspecteur de police, proposer une intrigue qui élimine les contradictions et avancer une interprétation acceptable historiquement, puisque les protagonistes ne sont plus là (en admettant, que de toute façon, ils disaient vrai) pour confirmer si nous nous sommes fourvoyés ou non. Pour en arriver là, nous avons dû également interroger les journaux de l'époque, fouiller dans des ouvrages anciens et interroger des correspondances pour rassembler un faisceau de preuve en faveur d'une hypothèse donnée. Aussi, je vous invite à une enquête qui va nous ramener 125 ans en arrière.

« Arlequin, tu dois mourir ! » (Cosima Wagner, Journal. Tome IV)

Au soir du 29 août 1882, le second Festival de Bayreuth s'achevait sur un confortable bénéfice et les représentations de l'été suivant reposaient sur une base solide. Le 10 septembre, Richard Wagner emmenait sa famille à Venise, ville qu'il avait choisie pour passer la mauvaise saison, sans savoir qu'il quittait Bayreuth à jamais. Il lui restait 5 mois à vivre. Toute la famille s'installa dans les 18 pièces de l'entresol du Palais Vendramin Calergi. Menant une vie plus

tranquille à Venise, la santé de Wagner s'en ressentit notablement, du moins au tout début. Ainsi, pendant tout le mois d'octobre, malgré un climat délétère pour son moral, il se sentit mieux. Il recevait peu de visites, hormis son cercle d'intimes. Mais les nuits restaient pourtant toujours aussi pénibles : insomnies, cauchemars, digestion difficile et douleurs dans la poitrine. Car Wagner était gravement malade. Depuis plusieurs années, il souffrait d'angine de poitrine. Depuis la fin 1881, les crises étaient plus fréquentes, plus longues et s'accompagnaient d'un essoufflement. On est surpris de constater que Cosima s'inquiétait davantage des symptômes de son époux que les médecins dont l'attention restait fixée sur les troubles digestifs. Pas un seul, y compris le docteur Friedrich Keppler qui le soigna dans les derniers mois de sa vie, ne sut reconnaître l'origine coronarienne de ses troubles. Tous les attribuaient à ses sempiternels problèmes digestifs. Au moral, Wagner se montrait d'un caractère changeant. La moindre modification de son emploi du temps suffisait à le contrarier. Dès la fin octobre, il commença à avoir des ennuis plus graves avec son cœur. Les crampes de poitrine survenaient à présent avec une fréquence accélérée. Péniblement, le compositeur se traînait dans les ruelles de la ville, marchant lentement et s'arrêtant souvent la main sur la poitrine. Cependant rien dans l'état de santé de Wagner ne laissait présager une fin très prochaine. Lui-même n'en avait pas l'exact pressentiment. À Venise, nous le voyons bâtir des plans à plus ou moins longue échéance. Ainsi, en janvier, s'occupait-il à préparer le prochain Festival de 1883 et en pensant à ses projets de Symphonies en un mouvement. Le vieux Maître exprimait également son désir de donner dans son Théâtre des représentations modèles de toutes ses œuvres à partir du Hollandais volant. Le 12 janvier, il n'était pas bien du tout. Le docteur Keppler, quant à lui, était toujours aussi confiant de l'état de la santé de son patient ; ce qui fit dire à Cosima dans son Journal : " Comme il n'est absolument pas inquiet de l'état de Richard, nous plaisantons au petit déjeuner, nous disant que nous ne mourrons jamais ni l'un ni l'autre. ". Se sentant assez bien le jour du Mardi gras (le 6 février) , Richard se rendit avec toute sa famille sur la place Saint-Marc pour assister jusqu'à minuit passé, à la fête de l'enterrement du Carnaval. Keppler fut étonné de le voir en si bonne forme : " Sa démarche était facile, même jeune ; la tête haute et bien tenue. ". Le dimanche 11 février, il pleuvait. Wagner était de mauvaise humeur et resta enfermé une bonne partie de la journée dans son bureau de travail. Dans l'après-midi, il fit une promenade et revint peu après, la main sur le cœur. Ce fut sa dernière sortie. Le lundi 12 février, le Maître éprouva un malaise assez pénible au réveil. À 6 heures du soir, comme tous les jours, le docteur Keppler vint examiner son patient. Ce dernier, se sentant mieux, plaisanta avec le praticien. Après le dîner, il passa la soirée en famille ; il lut à haute voix Ondine, pendant que Paul von Joukowsky dessinait au crayon le dernier portrait que nous ayons de lui. Vers 11 heures, le peintre prit congé. Richard et Cosima restèrent seuls. Il se mit au piano et joua les lamentations des filles du Rhin.

Le matin du mardi 13 février, il pleuvait de nouveau. Wagner se leva plus tard. Il dit à son valet de chambre, Georg Lang : " Aujourd'hui, il faut que je fasse attention. ". Il but son café avec sa femme puis se retira dans son cabinet pour travailler à son essai " Du féminin dans l'humain ", qu'il avait débuté 2 jours plus tôt. Wagner et son épouse avaient prévu d'aller visiter l'atelier de l'artiste russe Alexandre Wolkoff durant l'après-midi. La gondole avait été commandée pour 15h30. Wagner travailla jusqu'à l'heure du déjeuner. Paul von Joukowsky arriva vers 13h45 comme d'habitude pour le déjeuner. On connaît de nombreux détails de cette journée grâce au témoignage de Joukowsky qui en fit le récit dans une lettre adressée à Franz Liszt, le 20 février 1883 : " A 2 heures, il nous fit savoir qu'il avait sa crampe habituelle et nous demanda de nous mettre à table sans l'attendre. Nous étions tous gais comme à l'ordinaire. ". Soudain, au milieu de la conversation, 2 violents coups de sonnette retentirent ; la femme de chambre, Betty Bürkel, surgit dans la salle à manger pour faire " savoir à Madame Wagner que Monsieur la prieait de venir immédiatement " .

Elle raconta qu'elle avait entendu le Maître gémir et se plaindre. " Il était assis à son bureau, son bonnet avait glissé à côté de lui et il semblait attendre la fin d'une crampe. Soudain, il sonna. Il dit à Betty : Ma femme... et le docteur. ". Entre temps, le domestique Georg avait conduit Wagner jusqu'à un canapé. Cosima trouva son époux sans connaissance, les yeux clos. Quand le docteur Keppler arriva en toute hâte vers 3 heures, il le trouva entre les bras de sa femme, qui le croyait endormi. Le cœur avait probablement cessé de battre depuis plusieurs dizaines de minutes. Le praticien déclara : " Nous n'avons pas encore perdu tout espoir. ". On l'allongea sur le lit de repos et Georg desserra ses vêtements. On tenta de lui donner une solution alcoolisée et le praticien commença des frictions prolongées, arrosant et frottant l'ensemble du corps sans succès. Richard Wagner était mort. Sa montre avait glissé de son gilet. Il était 15h30.

Cosima resta près du corps, " qu'elle serra contre son cœur dans une étreinte convulsive sans le moindre mouvement, sans une parole ni plainte et sans verser une seule larme ", tout le jour et toute la nuit. Il fallut plus de 24 heures au docteur Keppler avec l'aide de Joukowsky pour parvenir à l'éloigner de la dépouille de son époux. Le mercredi 14 février à 2 heures, ils purent la convaincre d'aller s'allonger dans la pièce voisine. Elle s'y trouvait encore, refusant de manger ou de voir quiconque hormis ses enfants, quand Adolf von Groß, le banquier de Bayreuth qui avait eu la responsabilité des arrangements financiers du Festival de 1882, et sa femme, arrivèrent précipitamment de Bayreuth le 15 février. Elle accepta de les recevoir mais elle garda le silence. " Je vous confie les enfants. " furent ses seules paroles. Von Groß fut nommé le tuteur légal des enfants et s'occupa d'organiser les funérailles.

Ires nécrologies

Dès le 13 au soir, les télégraphes annoncèrent dans le monde entier le décès de Richard Wagner. Près de 300 télégrammes de condoléances et des couronnes arrivèrent au Palais Vendramin Calergi, devant lequel une foule considérable de vénitiens s'était assemblée. En signe de deuil, l'orchestre municipal annula son concert hebdomadaire sur la place Saint-Marc. La dépouille mortelle fut laissée dans la chambre à coucher jusqu'à l'arrivée de l'envoyé du roi Louis II de Bavière, le secrétaire de la Cour, Ludwig von Bürkel. Le jeudi 15 février, dans l'après-midi, vers 15h00, le docteur Keppler avec l'aide de son assistant transporta le corps dans une pièce voisine et procéda à l'embaumement à l'aide d'une préparation à base d'arsenic, tandis que le sculpteur vénitien Benvenuti Augusto effectua l'empreinte du visage mortuaire. On laissa à la dépouille mortelle du musicien sa somptueuse robe de chambre de soie noire brodée d'or et son célèbre béret. On mit le corps dans un 1er cercueil dont Cosima conserva la clef. La veuve s'était fait couper ses longs cheveux blonds pour les poser sur la poitrine du défunt. La partie supérieure était vitrée pour que l'on pût apercevoir le visage. On le plaça ensuite dans un second de chêne massif, orné aux 4 angles de tête de lions. Le médecin légiste de la ville de Venise scella le cercueil et établit le certificat officiel.

Le vendredi 16 vers 13h30, les domestiques descendirent la lourde bière dans la gondole funèbre, tendue de noir que suivirent les membres de la famille et les intimes. Cosima avait refusé les funérailles solennelles offertes par la ville de Venise, l'inhumation au cimetière de San Michele ainsi que toute manifestation officielle. Son vœu fut respecté. Le convoi funéraire partit pour Bayreuth où il parvint dans la nuit du 17 février. Le lendemain, eurent lieu les obsèques officielles et l'inhumation dans le jardin de la Villa « Wahnfried » .

Éléments médicaux post-mortem

L'ouverture du corps pour les besoins de l'embaumement permit au docteur Keppler de réaliser le rapport suivant : “ Richard Wagner souffrait d'une cardiectasie (dilatation du cœur) fort avancée, spécialement d'une dilatation du ventricule droit avec dégénérescence consécutive grasseuse du muscle cardiaque. D'autre part, il était atteint d'une dilatation assez importante de l'estomac. Les souffrances auxquelles Richard Wagner fut soumis dans les derniers mois de sa vie consistaient d'abord en troubles provenant de l'estomac et de l'intestin, mais il souffrit également de troubles douloureux de la fonction cardiaque. Ces troubles finirent par provoquer la catastrophe par la rupture du ventricule droit. Il va sans dire que les innombrables excitations psychologiques auxquelles Wagner était exposé quotidiennement par ses positions très affirmées sur une foule de questions brûlantes dans les domaines de l'art, de la science et de la politique, et par sa situation sociale étonnante, ont beaucoup contribué à accélérer la fin fatale. La crise qui mit fin si brusquement à la vie du Maître doit avoir eu une telle cause cependant, je ne peux m'engager dans ce genre de suppositions.”.

D'un point de vue médical, le docteur Friedrich Keppler mentionne la dégénérescence grasseuse du myocarde. Il faut toutefois émettre quelque réserve et convenir que la façon dont Keppler est arrivé à sa conclusion n'est pas claire, dans la mesure où aucune véritable autopsie n'a été effectuée. Toutefois, les traités médicaux de l'époque précisent que “ cette accumulation est parfois considérable et dans certains cas, le cœur est comme enseveli dans une enveloppe grasseuse d'une grande épaisseur ” ; une ouverture même partielle du corps aurait pu donc permettre au praticien de la constater sans avoir recours à une autopsie. D'un point de vue anatomo-pathologique, cette “ dégénérescence grasseuse du cœur ” correspond de nos jours à ce que l'on appelle l'athérosclérose, étiologie dominante de l'insuffisance coronarienne ou angine de poitrine. Il note également de manière précise dans son rapport l'existence d'une rupture du ventricule droit associée à une dilatation de ce dernier. En sachant que Richard Wagner souffrit de crises d'angor répétées, dont l'aboutissement fut probablement une insuffisance cardiaque, il est légitime de conclure que l'évolution ultime fut un infarctus myocardique compliqué de rupture cardiaque.

Les rumeurs

La famille ne communiquant pas d'informations concernant la nature du décès et la façon dont il était survenu, toutes sortes de notices nécrologiques et de fausses versions ne tardèrent pas à se propager à Venise. Un musicologue, plutôt détective amateur, Joachim Köhler mentionne même que Cosima aurait dit à Betty Bürkel : “ Aucun souvenir personnel ne doit tomber dans d'autres mains. ”. (Joachim Köhler, Richard Wagner. The Last of the Titans.) Il nous semble que cette affirmation est à prendre avec beaucoup de précautions, l'auteur ne mentionnant aucune source précise. Plus crédibles sont les témoignages fournis par journaux de l'époque. Grâce à eux, il est possible de dresser la liste des diverses nécrologies parues. La version la plus répandue était celle-ci : “ La pièce dans laquelle Wagner rendit l'âme, était la salle à manger. Tandis que le gondolier Luigi apportait la soupe, le Maître se leva subitement de son siège en s'écriant : “ Je me sens mal ! ” À l'instant même, il tombait évanoui. Madame Cosima et ses filles se précipitèrent pour relever le malade. Luigi et les autres domestiques que l'on avait appelés vinrent en aide aux femmes, malheureusement en vain. Une embolie avait provoqué la fin rapide de Wagner. ”. Cette version fut d'ailleurs reproduite dans le « Bayreuther Tagblatt » , un des rares journaux que Wagner admît à la Villa « Wahnfried » . « La Gazzetta di Venezia »

du 15 février 1883, se référant au gondolier préféré de Wagner, Luigi Trevisan, publiait le récit suivant : “ Avant-hier, Wagner s’est senti un peu indisposé, mais il a travaillé pendant quelques heures de la matinée, tout comme à son habitude. Vers 3 heures de l’après-midi, il s’est senti plus mal, il s’est quand même fait servir son repas ; mais il ne s’est senti en état de prendre que du bouillon. Il a ensuite demandé de faire préparer la gondole, espérant peut-être trouver un peu de fraîcheur à l’air libre et dans la tranquillité pittoresque de notre Canal Grande ; mais il a soudain été pris d’un malaise avant d’avoir pu descendre dans la gondole. Il est allé dans sa chambre et a enfilé une robe de chambre rose ; il a sonné et a demandé sa femme. Sa Cosima est accourue tout de suite et quand elle a vu combien l’état de son mari s’était aggravé, elle a fait venir le médecin et a prodigué entre-temps tous les soins au mourant ; mais tout a été inutile parce que quand le docteur Keppler, le médecin de famille, est arrivé, il n’a pu que constater le décès. L’épouse, déjà habituée à quelques attaques, sous forme de syncopes, auxquelles Wagner était sujet (il semblerait qu’il soit mort d’une maladie cardiaque) , ne voulait pas se laisser convaincre qu’il était mort et elle est restée des heures entières accrochée à sa poitrine : il n’y avait pas moyen de la séparer de lui. On peut bien s’imaginer la scène avec les filles et le fils qui éprouvaient tous une grande affection pour lui.” Un autre journal vénitien “ prétendait tenir du chef Hans Richter que les dernières paroles de Wagner avaient été : “ Il faut que mon fils...” ; ces mots devaient s’interpréter, paraît-il, comme le souhait de Wagner que Siegfried, qui s’intéressait à l’architecture, se consacre à la musique et par conséquent, au Festival. De même, les spéculations à caractère scabreux ne firent non plus défaut. Un journal italien sema le doute en précisant que la femme de chambre de Wagner, Betty Bürkel était seule avec lui lors du décès. C’est ainsi que l’assertion formulée par certains biographes selon laquelle Wagner serait mort au cours d’ébats amoureux avec sa camériste commença à voir le jour. Cette hypothèse ne relève peut-être que de la fantasmagorie malveillante des auteurs ou de leur penchant pour le sensationnalisme égrillard. Les preuves sont suffisamment minces pour qu’on n’accorde à cette rumeur aucune créance.

« Qui a tué Richard Wagner ? »

Consulté sur la maladie qui l’avait emporté, le docteur Keppler fit une réponse aussi franche et précise au point de vue strictement médical, qu’évasive et prudente en ce qui concernait les causes probables ou possibles de la mort. En effet, dans ses conclusions le praticien indiquait qu’une excitation psychologique pouvait avoir brusqué la fin. Les biographes et commentateurs que cette hypothèse ne laissait pas en repos, ne se privèrent pas de se répandre en conjectures à ce sujet. Pour Adolphe Jullien (1921) : “ Ces derniers renseignements et la réserve ambiguë où se tient le médecin, sans émettre aucune opinion dans aucun sens, ne sont-ils pas de ceux qui, précisément parce qu’ils ne veulent rien dire, en laissant deviner long ? ”. Pourquoi a-t-il souligné que l’attaque qui mit fin si brutalement à la vie du Maître devait avoir “ une telle cause ” ? Avait-il eu connaissance par les domestiques ou l’entourage de Wagner de certaines rumeurs ? Pour Joachim Köhler, “ pas de doute qu’il devait avoir de bonnes raisons ”. Le biographe de Cosima Wagner, le Comte Richard du Moulin-Eckart, évoque dans le second tome de son ouvrage des complications causées par “ des annonces indiscrettes ” de la part du docteur Keppler. On trouve trace de ces indiscretions dans une lettre qui ne semble pas avoir été conservée d’Adolf von Groß, écrite au praticien, dans laquelle il évoque la santé préoccupante de Cosima et fait allusion aux notices nécrologiques publiées (probablement analogues à celles reproduites ci-dessus) : “ Il y a quelques jours, nous avons lu dans tous les journaux ce que vous trouverez dans la coupure ci-jointe. Nous espérons que vous me mettez dans une position qui me permette de démentir cela. Madame Wagner et les enfants demandent à ce que rien ne soit publié à ce propos. Si vous avez rédigé vos observations, je

vous demanderais de me les faire parvenir dans une enveloppe scellée. En tant que tuteur des enfants, je dois transmettre à Siegfried ce qui m'a été confié pour lui quand il sera en âge". Il y conclut que " la seule personne capable d'éviter le scandale est Keppler lui-même ". Le médecin ne sembla pas avoir donné suite à l'injonction du tuteur des enfants de Wagner. Nonobstant le secret médical, Keppler procura à la journaliste Henriette Perl, des notes dans lequel il rendait compte de tous les détails de l'état de santé du compositeur et des causes de son décès, laquelle publia 2 mois après le décès de Wagner, un récit consacré aux derniers mois de sa vie sous le titre, Richard Wagner in Venedig. C'est à partir de ce moment-là que la Villa « Wahnfried » fit savoir que Keppler avait tué Wagner. Ainsi dans une lettre du chef d'orchestre Julius Kniese à sa femme, datée du 1er juillet 1883, on peut lire : " Wagner serait toujours vivant aujourd'hui s'il n'avait pas été la victime d'un charlatan patenté, le Docteur Keppler, à Venise."

Qu'est-ce qui a causé cette réaction émanant de « Wahnfried » ? Probablement pas les détails cités sur la mort de Wagner et en particulier sur le comportement de Cosima après la mort de son époux bien que ceux-ci eussent parfaitement justifié la désapprobation de la veuve et des enfants du compositeur. Le dernier médecin de Wagner " avait quelque chose à voir avec une communication indiscreète provenant de Venise ". Dans une lettre à Malwida von Meysenbug du 22 février 1883, Joukowsky parla de " bruits désagréables " qui s'étaient répandus au sujet de la mort de Wagner. Était-ce à propos de cette rumeur concernant Betty Bürkel ? Mais, dès 1886, il est question d'une autre hypothèse. L' " inspecteur ", Adolphe Jullien, dans son épais ouvrage, Richard Wagner, sa vie et ses œuvres, évoque le jour même du décès de Wagner, " un accès de colère, une discussion assez vive " sans vouloir en dire davantage. C'est ce même auteur qui en 1921, dans un article de La Revue musicale intitulé " Une dernière faiblesse de Wagner " évoque le 1er, la cause de cette fameuse dispute le matin de la mort de Wagner, en reprenant une discrète tradition orale : " Mais ce qu'on a toujours caché, ce qu'ont raconté seuls sous le manteau des gens très informés de tout ce qui se passait à Bayreuth (ou à Venise) , c'est que Wagner venait précisément de soutenir une discussion très vive et d'avoir un violent accès de colère en croyant que tout le monde se liguaient autour de lui pour l'empêcher de rappeler à Bayreuth certaine chanteuse, peu jolie à coup sûr, mais supérieurement douée, à ce qu'il avait cru voir : c'était Melle Pringle."

Ainsi, le matin de sa mort, Wagner aurait soutenu une discussion très vive avec Cosima et aurait eu un violent accès de colère à propos d'une chanteuse anglaise qui voyageait en Italie, Carrie Pringle. Cette dernière, de son vrai nom Caroline Mary Isabelle Pringle, était née à Linz le 19 mars 1859. Appartenant à une famille de musicien, elle poursuivit des études de chant en dilettante. Elle fut donc surtout une chanteuse, de talent certes, mais au niveau amateur seulement. Elle fut auditionnée par Wagner sur la proposition du chef Hermann Levi en août 1881 et se trouva chargée du rôle d'une fille-fleur. Par la suite, il ne semble pas qu'elle n'ait jamais fait d'autre apparition sur le plan professionnel, sombrant dans une obscurité provinciale ; sa prétention à la renommée d'être la Ire chanteuse anglaise à participer au Festival de Bayreuth, n'ayant pas été reconnue par ses contemporains. Elle mourut à l'âge de 71 ans à Brighton le 12 novembre 1930, quelques mois après Cosima. Rien d'autre ne peut expliquer l'aparté étrange du docteur Keppler dans son rapport. Cette thèse fut à nouveau développée et plus argumentée par Jean Mistler dans son article La mort à Venise. L'éminent académicien confirme que c'est dans les années '30 que la rumeur attira pour la Ire fois son attention : " Des personnes dignes de confiance m'ont répété, il y a 30 ans, ce que la fille de Wagner, Isolde, leur aurait raconté : le matin du 13 février était arrivé au Palais Vendramin Calergi, un télégramme de Miss Carrie Pringle. Voyageant en Italie, la jeune anglaise demandait au Maître quand elle pourrait lui rendre visite. Son

télégramme serait tombé sous les yeux de Cosima et une violente scène aurait suivi. ”.

C'est en effet à partir des années 1920 et 1930 que des rumeurs commencèrent à circuler sur une liaison entre Carrie Pringle et Wagner. Les écrits de Mistler ont longtemps été négligés dans le monde wagnérien anglophone et germanophone. Ce n'est que grâce à quelques “ détectives ” disposant de données nouvelles, en particulier, Herbert Conrad et Curt von Westernhagen, que la “ wagnérologie ” se mit à considérer ce fait avec plus de rigueur (“ Absturz aus Klingsors Zaubergarten ”, Supplément du Nordbayerischer Kurier, août 1978 - Le plongeon du jardin enchanté de Klingsor - et “ Wagner's Last Day ”, The Musical Times, mai 1979).

Le témoignage d'Isolde (Wagner) von Bülow

Le rôle d'Isolde est essentiel dans cette affaire. Le matin du 13 février, la Ire fille de Wagner, alors âgée de 17 ans, “ fut le témoin d'une scène très violente entre ses parents : autant qu'elle sût, la raison de cette dispute était l'annonce de la visite de Carrie Pringle ”. La soprano anglaise habitait effectivement à cette époque à Milan avec ses parents, et poursuivait ses études de chant. Selon Conrad, la seule personne à qui Isolde parla de ce qu'elle avait entendu ce matin-là fut son fils, qui n'a jamais fait aucun commentaire public à ce sujet. Isolde avait épousé en 1900 le chef d'orchestre d'origine suisse, Franz Beidler qui dirigea à Bayreuth l'un des cycles du « Ring » en 1904 et « Parsifal » en 1906. Comme le souligne Westernhagen, il n'est pas impossible qu'Isolde fut la seule à être témoin de cette dispute, si l'on prend en compte la superficie des 18 pièces occupées par la famille et les domestiques.

Comment cette histoire devint-elle donc publique ? Les faits ne sont pas clairs et comme dirait Tintin, dans l'Affaire Tournesol : “ Cette affaire paraît assez embrouillée. ”. Toujours selon Westernhagen, la seconde fille de Hans Richter, Ludowika, était une amie intime d'un certain Benedikt Lochmüller, une connaissance du fils d'Isolde. Lochmüller tint un journal, qui fut déposé après sa mort aux Archives municipales de Bayreuth. Une entrée en date du 14 mars 1933 rapporte une “ conversation très intéressante ” entre Ludowika Richter, dont il émerge que Judith Gautier ne fut nullement la dernière femme de la vie de Wagner : “ La dernière femme que Wagner a aimée était une certaine Pringle. Elle était anglaise ; une personne sérieuse et bien élevée. On dit qu'elle était très belle. On dit que Hermann Levi l'introduisit à Bayreuth. Quand Wagner quitta Bayreuth pour Venise, Miss Pringle retourna à Venise également : son télégramme de Milan a survécu. ” Et le 16 mars, Lochmüller questionna Mizzi Richter (la fille cadette) au sujet de Carrie Pringle : “ Mizzi indiqua qu'elle avait environ 20 ou 25 ans. Remarquable mystère entourant la femme ! Je me demande si Otto Strobel, l'archiviste de Bayreuth, sait quelque chose. ”. Le chercheur britannique, Stewart Spencer émet l'hypothèse que Hans Richter a “ pu colporter des rumeurs sur la vie privée de Wagner ; rumeurs qu'il aurait pu apprendre de la bouche d'Isolde ”.

Depuis, il est devenu quasiment impossible, de nos jours, de lire un récit de la vie de Wagner sans s'entendre dire qu'il a été tué par une fille-fleur anglaise du nom de Carrie Pringle. C'est à Stewart Spencer que l'on doit en 2004 d'avoir réalisé la synthèse du sujet, en se basant sur des faits documentés en la matière dans son article : “ Er starb, - ein Mensch wie alle ” : Wagner et Carrie Pringle. Le “ commissaire ” Spencer nous livre une chronologie de faits retenus, de témoignages, de pièces à conviction qui ressemblent à celles qu'Agatha Christie ou Georges Simenon établissaient probablement avant de rédiger un roman afin de s'assurer de la cohérence du récit. Et son enquête

démontre qu'il n'existe aucun indice, ni aucune preuve pour appuyer l'hypothèse d'une liaison avec Carrie Pringle. De même, il n'y a pas dans le Journal de Cosima la moindre trace de jalousie latente envers la soprano. L'étude des témoignages d'ordre privé ne permet pas de trouver le moindre indice contemporain qui puisse étayer l'idée d'une liaison entre Wagner et Carrie Pringle. La seule fois où leurs noms se trouvent associés, de manière avérée est le Journal de Lochmüller, dont on ne sait pas ce qu'il vaut. Les faits documentés en la matière sont les suivants : Carrie Pringle fut auditionnée par Richard Wagner le 5 août 1881.

Elle envoya 2 télégrammes : le 1er pour souhaiter un bon anniversaire au compositeur le 22 mai 1882 ; le second, pour présenter ses condoléances à la famille. Enfin, elle chanta l'une des filles-fleurs lors du Festival de 1882. Toutes les autres assertions sont des spéculations. Bien évidemment, il est impossible d'établir avec une certitude absolue que Wagner et la jeune soprano anglaise n'étaient pas amants en 1882. Alors, bien sûr, elle fut la seule interprète des 6 filles-fleurs à ne pas être réinvitée à chanter pour les représentations bayreuthiennes suivant la mort de Wagner en juillet 1883. Mais d'autres artistes et non des moindres (Marianne Brandt, la créatrice de Kundry) ne le furent pas non plus. En réalité, le rôle dépassait ses capacités et ayant réagi en faisant des difficultés, elle ne fut pas réinvitée. La correspondance entre Levi et Groß évoque le 7 mars 1883 " l'insubordination de Carrie Pringle " envers Hermann Levi et son " incompetence artistique ". Stewart Spencer va même jusqu'à prétendre qu'Isolde ait pu inventer cette histoire de dispute entre ses parents dans le but de discréditer sa mère. En 1913, Isolde attaqua sa mère en justice afin que les droits de son fils puissent être reconnus dans la succession de Bayreuth. Déjà en 1906, son époux, Franz Beidler, s'était brouillé avec Cosima pour une autre raison. Débutée, Isolde ne se remit jamais de cela. Il n'est pas impossible qu'une dispute ait bien eu lieu à Venise ce matin du 13 février, mais dont la cause n'aurait pas été Carrie Pringle. Pourquoi avoir choisi Carrie Pringle ? Se souvenait-elle que la soprano anglaise avait été impliquée dans un accident sur scène au cours des représentations de 1882 (d'où le titre sensationnel de Conrad, faisant allusion à la chute de la soprano) ou que la chanteuse avait été un handicap en 1882 et que Wagner n'avait pas voulu l'inviter à nouveau en 1883.

Ce qui s'est vraisemblablement passé

Nous-même, pensons qu'une dispute a bien eu lieu entre Richard et Cosima Wagner. Nous avons précisé plus haut que la moindre modification de son emploi du temps suffisait à le contrarier et que ses accès de colère étaient de plus en plus fréquents. Il est possible que cette dispute fût entendue par un domestique. Ce dernier aurait pu la répéter en toute confiance au docteur Keppler, homme de médecine soumis au secret professionnel de ses patients. À moins qu'Isolde ne l'ait rapporté au praticien, durant les 2 jours suivant le décès. Une chose est certaine, la mort de Richard Wagner fut un accident qui devait finir par arriver et qui n'avait pas besoin de circonstance déclenchante. Finalement, toute cette histoire ne serait-elle pas qu'une tentative d'auréoler la simple banalité de la mort du compositeur d'une atmosphère d'exception. L'Histoire n'a-t-elle pas besoin de légende et de mystère ? Une chose est certaine, les médecins qui méconnaissent l'origine coronarienne des symptômes dont souffrait Wagner sont blâmables, car il aurait pu bénéficier d'un traitement à la trinitrine. Un siècle après la description princeps de l'angor par Heberden en 1772, on pensa, en 1876, à utiliser le nitrite d'amyle dans le traitement de la crise angineuse. C'est en 1879 que la nitroglycérine ou trinitrine fut promue au 1er rang des médicaments de l'angine de poitrine, en démontrant son efficacité par voie sublinguale. Légitimement, la postérité peut en vouloir à ses médecins de ne pas avoir permis à Wagner de vivre

quelques années supplémentaires. Alors, qui a tué Richard Wagner ? Et si la clé du mystère n'était pas dans l'incompétence de ses médecins ? Cette question demeure à jamais sans réponse par défaut de quelques dragées de trinitrine.

Les funérailles de Richard Wagner

« Le Festspielhaus est le site le plus célèbre de la ville de Bayreuth. Où serait-elle sans Richard Wagner ? Il en est le moteur touristique. Ce grand Maître fut une véritable bénédiction pour notre ville. C'est lui que devons remercier lorsque le nom de Bayreuth est cité avec révérence par les gens éduqués du monde entier. » Ainsi s'exprima Theodor Muncker, maire de Bayreuth, dans son discours lors des obsèques nationales grandioses de Richard Wagner, tenues le dimanche **18 février 1883**.

Pour l'occasion, Anton Bruckner aura le privilège de toucher l'orgue. De plus, il sera désigné (aux côtés de 2 musiciens juifs ; le chef wagnérien israélite Hermann Levi et le pianiste russe Joseph Rubinstein) comme l'un des porteurs du cercueil en métal poli.

La transcription du « pari de Pascal » par Bruckner se situe dans les années 1880. À un ami incroyant qui s'étonnait qu'il ajoutât foi à l'immortalité de l'âme, Bruckner répondit :

« Je vous comprends, mais voyez-vous : si la chose est vraie, c'est tant mieux pour moi ; si ce n'est pas vrai, de prier, ça peut pas me faire de mal ! »

Joseph Rubinstein

Joseph Rubinstein est né le 8 février 1847 à Starokonstantinov et est mort (par suicide) le 15 septembre 1884 à Lucerne. Ce pianiste russe fut un élève de Josef Hellmesberger, Josef Dachs et Franz Liszt. On lui doit des arrangements pour piano de « Siegfried » et de « Parsifal » .

En 1872, Joseph Rubinstein écrivit de Kharkov à Richard Wagner qui l'admit à Bayreuth dans son intimité, et ce malgré son anti-sémitisme musical avéré. Il vit chez lui, comme « pianiste de maison » . En 1881, à Paris, il collabora aux feuilles de Bayreuth, puis suivit le Maître à Palerme l'année suivante, et à Venise en 1883. À la mort de Wagner, Rubinstein tomba dans une grave dépression et se suicida à Lucerne, le 15 septembre 1884. Sa dépouille aurait été ensevelie au cimetière juif de Bayreuth.

...

Joseph Rubinstein (1847-1884) est un jeune pianiste russe issu d'une très riche famille juive. C'est un grand admirateur de Richard Wagner. Il lui avait offert ses services, en mars 1872. Depuis, il vit chez les Wagner en qualité de « pianiste de maison » . Il a réalisé des arrangements pour piano du « Siegfried-Idyll » (WV 103) et du « Parsifal » (WV 1) . Il se suicidera peu après la mort de son idole. Rubinstein fut l'élève de Franz Liszt

à Budapest pendant 1 semestre et joua en public dans cette ville les 22 janvier, 18 mars et 1er avril 1873.

...

The Russian pianist and composer Joseph Rubinstein was born on 8 February 1847 in Staro-Constantinov and died (by his own hand) on 15 September 1884 in Lucerne. He was a pupil of Josef Hellmesberger, Josef Dachs, and Franz Liszt, and a friend and ardent admirer of Richard Wagner, from whose drama « Ring des Nibelungen », he made excellent pianoforte transcriptions. In 1869, the grand duchess Helena of Russia appointed Rubinstein « Kammerpianist ». 3 years later, he visited Wagner at Tribschen, and went with him to Bayreuth, where he attended the piano rehearsals of the « Ring des Nibelungen » .

On 1 June 1876, Joseph Rubinstein was (again) in the Wagner household. He had left over half a year before to spend the winter in Budapest taking lessons from Franz Liszt. It must have benefited him ; Cosima remarked that his piano playing had made great strides. Such complimentary remarks are almost always more than balanced by something negative, and only concerning the negative does the religious faith become important. Less than a week later, she gave another slant on her father's tutelage of the young pianist. She said :

« Rubinstein, in the way of Jews, has copied all sorts of things from my father, much to his own advantage. »

On July 1, Richard was « pleased with Joseph Rubinstein's talent » . On the 15th, Rubinstein « distinguishes himself by playing from the manuscript of the 3rd Act of « Götterdämmerung » . In September, he played Strauß Waltzes to their « great enjoyment » .

In 1880, Rubinstein gave, in Berlin, a series of lectures on the « Wohltemperierte Klavier » which gained him considerable renown. Rubinstein was the author of several song-and piano compositions, and a number of articles appeared in the « Bayreuther Blätter » over his signature, in which Robert Schumann and Johannes Brahms were attacked in a very offensive and vindictive manner. These articles, which are believed by some to have emanated from a more famous pen, obtained for Rubinstein a rather unenviable notoriety.

...

Joseph Rubinstein (geboren 8. Februar 1847 in Starokonstantinow, Russisches " Reich ", heute Ukraine ; gestorben 22. August 1884 in Tribschen bei Luzern, Schweiz) war ein russisch-jüdischer Pianist sowie Anhänger und Mitarbeiter Richard Wagners.

Joseph Rubinstein wurde als Kind einer wohlhabenden jüdischen Familie im ukrainischen Teil des russischen Zarenreichs geboren. In seiner Heimatstadt erhielt er den ersten Klavierunterricht von dem deutschsprachigen Pianisten Josef Schadek. Seit seinem elften Lebensjahr lebte Rubinstein in Wien, wo er Schüler von Josef Dachs am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien wurde. 1865 trat er als Klaviervirtuose in Wien und in seiner Heimat auf. Im Herbst 1869 wurde er von der Großfürstin Helene von Russland als Kammerpianist nach Salzburg berufen, wo sie zu

dieser Zeit residierte. Während einer Konzertreise nach Sankt Petersburg lernte er durch den Musikkritiker und Komponisten Alexander Serow erstmals die Werke Richard Wagners kennen. Für Rubinstein kam dies einem Erweckungserlebnis gleich, über das er später schrieb :

« Das Resultat dieses sich Versenkens in eine neue Welt war eine förmliche Bekehrung zu den Prinzipien des Meisters von Bayreuth, zugleich aber auch eine unbezwingliche Sehnsucht, dem Manne, dessen Werke mich in eine so hohe Begeisterung versetzt, auch persönlich nahe treten zu dürfen und ihm, so wie seiner so schwer angefeindeten Sache so viel als mir möglich zu nützen. »

Am 7. März 1872 erhielt Wagner in Tribschen schließlich einen Brief Rubinsteins, der mit einer Beichte begann :

« Ich bin Jude - Hiermit ist für Sie alles gesagt. Alle jene Eigenschaften, die an dem Juden der Gegenwart bemerklich sind, besaß ich auch : In gänzlicher Muthlosigkeit und fast beschämender Schwäche schleppte ich mich durch das Leben. Da geschah es, daß ich durch die Umstände auf Ihre Werke aufmerksam gemacht wurde. Durch Serow in Petersburg ward ich zum Studium derselben angespornt. Doch die Zeit, die die glücklichste meines Lebens war, die Zeit des Studiums in jenen Werken ist nun vorbei.

Mir bleibt nur noch der Tod ! - Schon habe ich versucht, ihn mir zu geben : aber noch beschloß ich Ihnen zu schreiben. Sie könnten mir vielleicht helfen. Ich meine selbstverständlich keine Hilf aus bloßem Mitleiden. Nein ! Aber könnte ich Ihnen nicht bei der Aufführung der Nibelungen nützlich sein ? Ich glaube, ich verstehe dieses Werk, wenn auch noch nicht vollkommen. - Von Ihnen erwarte ich Hilfe und Hilfe, die dringend ist. Meine Eltern sind reich. Die Mittel, um zu Ihnen zu fahren, würde ich sogleich haben. Ich erwarte eine Antwort so bald als möglich. »

Wagner antwortete Rubinstein in freundlichem Ton und lud ihn nach Tribschen ein. Cosima berichtete darüber Friedrich Nietzsche : « einen seltsamen Brief von einem, der Erlösung durch die Teilnahme an Bayreuth sucht, sollten Sie hier einmal sehen » . Noch vor dem Eintreffen Rubinsteins in Tribschen erhielt Wagner einen Brief von dessen Arzt Maximilian Leidesdorf, Chefarzt der Irrenabteilung im Allgemeinen Krankenhaus der Stadt Wien :

« Sie werden wohl entschuldigen, wenn ich dem Besuch, welchen Herr Joseph Rubinstein bei Ihnen machen wird, einige Zeilen voransicke, damit Sie diesem jungen Künstler wirklich und wahrhaft nützen können, was bei Ihrer hochherzigen Gesinnung gewiß Ihr Wunsch ist. Der junge Mann hat für Sie nicht nur die natürliche Verehrung und Begeisterung, welche Ihr schöpferischer Genius bei wahren Künstlernaturen erzeugen muß, er hat auch in Sie das unbedingtste Vertrauen. Eine kaum überstandene und noch nachklingende psychische Erkrankung erheischt aber noch große Vorsicht und Schonung - und nach meinem Darfürhalten muß der junge Künstler noch durch 8-12 Wochen von jeder Aufregung geschützt werden und sich einer Badekur in größter Ruhe (geistiger und körperlicher) unterziehen. In diesem Sinne bitte ich auf ihn gütigst wirken zu wollen. »

Rubinstein traf am 21. April 1872 in Tribschen ein, doch bereits am nächsten Tag verließ Wagner die Schweiz und übersiedelte nach Bayreuth. Im Juli 1872 erschien Rubinstein dann in Bayreuth und wurde zum ständigen Begleiter und Mitarbeiter Wagners. Er wurde mit der Kopie der « Götterdämmerung » beauftragt. Weihnachten 1874 verbrachte er in

der Villa Wahnfried und durfte mit Cosima den Weihnachtsbaum schmücken, danach trat er eine Konzertreise an. Im Sommer 1875 kam Rubinstein erneut nach Bayreuth, um als Solokorrepetitor bei den Vorproben für den « Ring » mitzuwirken. Einen Monat vor der Eröffnung der Bayreuther Festspiele reiste er jedoch nach einem Streit mit Wagner während der Probe ab. Bei Cosima hieß es dazu lapidar :

« Die Klavierproben endigten mit vollständiger Entlassung von Herrn Rubinstein, welcher die traurigsten Eigenschaften seines Stammes hier wiederum bewährt. »

Im Mai 1878 kehrte Rubinstein abermals nach Bayreuth zurück, nachdem er sich zuvor bei Wagner für sein « Benehmen » entschuldigt hatte. Seit November 1878 arbeitete Rubinstein erneut für Wagner bei der Vorbereitung der Parsifal-Premiere, wurde sein Hauspianist und blieb ständig an seiner Seite. 1880 fuhr Rubinstein nach Berlin, um Konzerte zugunsten der Festspiele zu geben. Er spielte an sechs Abenden jeweils das gesamte « Wohltemperierte Klavier » von Johann Sebastian Bach und überwies sein Honorar an den Festspiel-Fonds. 1882 folgte er Wagner nach Italien, lebte zusammen mit Cosima und den Kindern in Venedig und spielte regelmäßig zur Unterhaltung der Familie und der Gäste Klavier, meist Teile aus den Opern Wagners. Am 22. Oktober 1882 verließ Rubinstein völlig überraschend Venedig und fuhr zu seinen Eltern nach Charkow. Als er dort im Februar 1883 vom Tod Wagners erfuhr, schickte er Wagners Witwe Cosima ein Beileidstelegramm.

Im Frühjahr 1883 ging Rubinstein wieder auf Konzertreise, mit Bearbeitungen und Fantasien nach Richard Wagner. Im August 1884 fuhr er nach Tribtschen und erschoss sich im Alter von 36 Jahren am Vierwaldstättersee. Sein Leichnam wurde nach Bayreuth überführt und auf dem Israelitischen Friedhof beigesetzt. Sein Vater ließ auf seinem Grab einen schwarzen Obelisk aufstellen.

...

Klaviervirtuose geboren 8. Februar 1847, Starokonstantinow / gestorben 22. August 1884, Luzern.

Rubinstein wurde als Kind einer wohlhabenden jüdischen Familie im ukrainischen Teil des russischen Zarenreichs geboren. In seiner Heimatstadt erhielt er den ersten Klavierunterricht von dem deutschsprachigen Pianisten Josef Schadek, seit seinem elften Lebensjahr lebte Rubinstein in Wien, wo er Schüler von Josef Dachs am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde wurde. 1865 trat Rubinstein als Klaviervirtuose in Wien und in seiner russischen Heimat auf. Im Herbst 1869 wurde er von der Großfürstin Helene von Russland als Kammerpianist nach Salzburg berufen, wo sie zu dieser Zeit residierte. Während einer Konzertreise nach Petersburg lernte er durch den bekannten Musikkritiker und Komponisten Alexander Serow erstmals die Werke Richard Wagners kennen. Für Rubinstein kam dies einem Erweckungserlebnis gleich, über das er später schrieb :

« Das Resultat dieses sich Versenkens in eine neue Welt war eine förmliche Bekehrung zu den Prinzipien des Meisters von Bayreuth, zugleich aber auch eine unbezwingliche Sehnsucht, dem Manne, dessen Werke mich in eine so hohe Begeisterung versetzt, auch persönlich nahe treten zu dürfen und ihm, so wie seiner so schwer angefeindeten Sache so viel als mir möglich zu nützen. »

Am 7. März 1872 erhielt Wagner in Tribtschen schließlich einen Brief Josef Rubinsteins, der mit einer Beichte begann :

« Ich bin Jude - Hiermit ist für Sie alles gesagt. Alle jene Eigenschaften, die an dem Juden der Gegenwart bemerklich sind, besaß ich auch : In gänzlicher Muthlosigkeit und fast beschämender Schwäche schleppte ich mich durch das Leben. Da geschah es, daß ich durch die Umstände auf Ihre Werke aufmerksam gemacht wurde. Durch Serow in Petersburg ward ich zum Studium derselben angespornt. Ich versenkte mich dergestalt in diese für mich, und für viele Andere gewiß auch, so neue Welt, daß ich bald die andere, die wirkliche nämlich, vergaß. Doch die Zeit, die die glücklichste meines Lebens war, die Zeit des Studiums in jenen Werken ist nun vorbei.

Mir bleibt nur noch der Tod ! - Schon habe ich versucht, ihn mir zu geben : aber noch beschloß ich Ihnen zu schreiben. Sie könnten mir vielleicht helfen. Ich meine selbstverständlich keine Hilfe aus bloßem Mitleiden. Wenn es Ihnen bloß darum zu tun wäre, daß ich mir nicht das Leben nähme, so wäre es umsonst, wenn Sie mich da beruhigen wollten, auf die eine oder andere Weise würde ich doch zugrunde gehen. Nein ! Aber könnte ich Ihnen nicht bei der Aufführung der Nibelungen nützlich sein ? Ich glaube, ich verstehe dieses Werk, wenn auch noch nicht vollkommen. - Von Ihnen erwarte ich Hilfe und Hilfe, die dringend ist. Meine Eltern sind reich. Die Mittel, um zu Ihnen zu fahren, würde ich sogleich haben. Ich erwarte eine Antwort so bald als möglich. »

Wagner antwortete Rubinstein in freundlichem Ton und lud ihn ein, zu ihm nach Tribtschen zu kommen. Cosima berichtete darüber Friedrich Nietzsche : « einen seltsamen Brief von einem, der Erlösung durch die Teilnahme an Bayreuth sucht, sollten Sie hier einmal sehen » . Noch bevor Rubinstein in Tribtschen eintraf erhielt Wagner einen Brief von dessen Wiener Arzt Maximilian Leidesdorf, Chefarzt der Irrenabteilung des Allgemeinen Krankenhaus der Stadt Wien :

« Sie werden wohl entschuldigen, wenn ich dem Besuch, welchen Herr Joseph Rubinstein bei Ihnen machen wird, einige Zeilen voransicke, damit Sie diesem jungen Künstler wirklich und wahrhaft nützen können, was bei Ihrer hochherzigen Gesinnung gewiß Ihr Wunsch ist. Der jungen Mann hat für Sie nicht nur die natürliche Verehrung und Begeisterung, welche Ihr schöpferischer Genius bei wahren Künstlernaturen erzeugen muß, er hat auch in Sie das unbedingtste Vertrauen. Eine kaum überstandene und noch nachklingende psychische Erkrankung erheischt aber noch große Vorsicht und Schonung - und nach meinem Darfürhalten muß der junge Künstler noch durch 8-12 Wochen von jeder Aufregung geschützt werden und sich einer Badekur in größter Ruhe (geistiger und körperlicher) unterziehen. In diesem Sinne bitte ich auf ihn gütigst wirken zu wollen. »

Rubinstein traf am 21. April 1872 in Tribtschen ein, doch bereits am nächsten Tag verließ Wagner die Schweiz und übersiedelte nach Bayreuth. Im Juli 1872 erschien Rubinstein dann in Bayreuth und suchte Wagner in seinem Hotel auf, um ihm vorzuspielen. In den nächsten Wochen wurde Rubinstein zum ständigen Begleiter Wagners und er darf kleinere musikalische Schreibebeiten für ihn übernehmen. Er wird mit der Kopie der « Götterdämmerung » beauftragt, die Wagner an Ludwig II. schicken möchte. Das Klavierspiel Rubinsteins ist zwar technisch versiert, Wagner hegte jedoch grundsätzliche Zweifel an den Fähigkeiten jüdischer Musiker. Cosima hielt am 14. August 1872 fest :

« Wie wir über das Spiel Josef Rubinstein's sprechen, sagt Richard, es sei merkwürdig, wie die Juden eigentlich kein Thema heraushören noch spielen. »

Wenig später verließ Rubinstein Bayreuth und reiste mit einem Empfehlungsschreiben Wagners München, wo er bei Peter Cornelius Unterricht nehmen sollte. Kurzfristig änderte er jedoch seine Pläne, um jetzt bei Liszt an der Akademie in Pest zu studieren. Nach zwei Jahren im Juni 1874 kehrte Rubinstein zu Wagner nach Bayreuth zurück, wo er in der « Nibelungen-Kanzlei » nach den Anweisungen Hans Richters erneut mit Schreibearbeiten befasst war. Am 14. Oktober 1874 erhielt Rubinstein Besuch von seinem Vater Isaak aus Charkow. Er bezahlte für seinen Sohn einen Patronatsschein der Bayreuther Festspiele und wurde daraufhin in der Villa Wahnfried empfangen. Obwohl sein Vater seine enge Bindung an Wagner kritisierte, blieb Rubinstein in Bayreuth. Weihnachten 1874 verbrachte er in Wahnfried und er darf mit Cosima den Weihnachtsbaum schmücken, danach trat Rubinstein eine Konzertreise an. Im Sommer 1875 kam Rubinstein erneut nach Bayreuth, um als Solokorrepetitor bei den Vorproben für den « Ring » mitzuwirken. Er war jetzt intensiv in die Vorbereitung der Festspiele eingebunden, Rubinstein arbeitete erneut für die « Nibelungen-Kanzlei » und er besucht immer wieder die Gesangssolisten der Festspiele an ihren verschiedenen Wohnorten, um mit ihnen zu proben. Doch als die Festspiele schließlich am 13. August 1876 eröffnet wurden, ist Rubinstein nicht unter den Zuschauern, obwohl er Eintrittskarten besaß. Genau einen Monat zuvor war er nach einem Streit mit Wagner während der Probe abgereist. Bei Cosima hieß es lapidar :

« Die Klavierproben endigten mit mit vollständiger Entlassung von Herrn Rubinstein, welcher die traurigsten Eigenschaften seines Stammes hier wiederum bewährt. »

Zunächst galt Rubinstein als verschollen, in der Villa Wahnfried wurde angenommen, er habe sich das Leben genommen. Doch im Mai 1878 kehrte Rubinstein abermals nach Bayreuth zurück, nachdem er sich zuvor bereits bei Wagner für sein « Benehmen » entschuldigt hatte. Bei einem gemeinsamen Abendessen bemerkte Wagner :

« So ein Jude benimmt sich doch ganz anders wie wir Deutschen, sie wissen, ihnen gehört die Welt. »

Seit November 1878 war Rubinstein erneut für Wagner tätig, der ihn jetzt für die Vorbereitung der « Parsifal » -Premiere benötigte. Rubinstein diente Wagner als Hauspianist und blieb ständig an seiner Seite. Nur als Wagner im Januar 1880 nach Italien reiste, fuhr Rubinstein nach Berlin, um Konzerte zugunsten der Festspiele zu geben. Er spielte an sechs Abenden jeweils das gesamte « Wohltemperierte Klavier » von Johann Sebastian Bach und überwies sein Honorar an den Festspiel-Fonds. Anschließend reiste er zu Wagner nach Italien, wo dieser am « Parsifal » arbeitete und die Hilfe Rubinsteins benötigte. Während der zweiten Bayreuther Festspiele 1882 erhielt Rubinstein erneut Besuch von seinem Vater, der auch die Premiere des « Parsifal » besuchte und ihn anschließend zur Rückkehr in seine Heimat aufforderte. Rubinstein folgte jedoch abermals Wagner nach Italien, er lebte zusammen mit Cosima und den Kindern in Venedig, regelmäßig spielte er zur Unterhaltung der Familie und der Gäste Klavier, meist Teile aus den Opern Wagners. Am 22. Oktober 1882 verließ Rubinstein völlig überraschend Venedig und fuhr zu seinen Eltern nach Charkow, wo er im Februar 1883 vom Tod Wagners erfuhr. An Cosima schickte er das Telegramm :

« Gott verleihe Ihnen Kraft, die schwere Prüfung zu ertragen, gewiß Trost ist unmöglich, aber bedeutet, ein Richard

Wagner stirbt nicht, nur seine sterbliche Hülle ist abgestreift, sein himmlischer Genius strahlt desto hellerem Glanze für ewige Zeiten, Ihr inniger mitfühlender Rubinstein. »

Seit Frühjahr 1883 ging Rubinstein wieder auf Konzertreise, er trat auf mit Bearbeitungen und Fantasien nach Richard Wagner. Im August 1884 fuhr Rubinstein nach Tribtschen, wo er zwölf Jahr zuvor erstmals mit Wagner zusammengetroffen war und erschoss sich im Alter von 36 Jahren am Zürich-See. Sein Leichnam wurde nach Bayreuth überführt und auf dem Israelitischen Friedhof beigesetzt. Sein Vater ließ auf seinem Grab einen schwarzen Obelisk aufstellen.

Hermann Levi

Le chef d'orchestre allemand Hermann Levi est né le 7 novembre 1839 à Gießen, en Allemagne, et est mort le 13 mai 1900 à Garmisch-Partenkirchen, en Autriche.

De confession juive, fils du rabbin Benedikt Levi, Hermann est éduqué à Gießen et à Mannheim, avant d'être remarqué par Vinzenz Lachner. De 1855 à 1858, il étudie au Conservatoire de Leipzig et, après une série de voyages qui le mènent à Paris, il obtient son 1er poste comme directeur musical à Sarrebruck, puis à Mannheim en 1861. De 1862 à 1864, il est chef principal à l'Opéra allemand de Rotterdam, puis à Karlsruhe jusqu'en 1872, date où il part pour l'Opéra d'État de Bavière à Munich, poste qu'il va conserver jusqu'en 1896 alors que des problèmes de santé l'obligent à mettre un terme à ses activités. Il visitera Londres en 1895. Il va mourir à Munich le 13 mai 1900. Il sera inhumé, plus tard durant la même année, dans un Mausolée érigé sur le terrain de sa Villa de Garmisch-Partenkirchen.

Hermann Levi, d'abord proche du compositeur Johannes Brahms et de ses conceptions musicales, s'est progressivement rapproché de Richard Wagner et de sa famille. Il a joué un grand rôle dans l'appréciation du public pour la musique de Wagner, dont il fut un proche (et ceci malgré l'antisémitisme affiché de Wagner) . Bien que Wagner lui eût demandé sans succès de se convertir pour diriger « Parsifal » (Opéra « chrétien » par excellence, aux yeux du compositeur) , c'est bien lui qui en dirigea la première à Bayreuth en 1882. Il fut aussi un ami d'Anton Bruckner, et contribua largement au succès de sa 7e Symphonie en la dirigeant à Munich, en 1885, après sa création à Leipzig, en 1884, sous la baguette du chef Arthur Nikisch.

...

Le chef d'orchestre et compositeur allemand Hermann Levi étudia la musique avec Vinzenz Lachner à Mannheim (1852-1855) , puis avec Gerhart Hauptmann et Julius Rietz au Conservatoire de Leipzig (1855-1858) . Il fut directeur de la musique à Sarrebruck (1859-1861) , chef d'orchestre à l'Opéra de Rotterdam (1861-1864) , chef d'orchestre de la Cour à Karlsruhe (1864-1872) , puis à Munich (1872-1890) , où il fut nommé en 1894 directeur général de la musique. Il dirigea la première de « Parsifal » à Bayreuth, en 1882, et fut aussi l'ami de Johannes Brahms.

...

The German Jewish orchestral conductor Hermann Levi was born on 7 November 1839 in the Hessian town of Gießen, in Germany, and died on 13 May 1900 in Munich.

Son of a rabbi, Levi was educated at Gießen and Mannheim, and came to Vincenz Lachner's notice. From 1855 to 1858, he studied at the Leipzig « Konservatorium » , and after a series of travels which took him to Paris, he obtained his 1st post as music-director at Saarbrücken, which post he exchanged for that at Mannheim, in 1861. From 1862 to 1864, he was chief conductor of the German Opera in Rotterdam, then till 1872 at Karlsruhe, when he went to Munich, a post he held until 1896, when ill-health compelled him to resign. Levi also taught at the Leipzig Conservatory where one of his pupils was conductor Emil Steinbach.

Levi's name is indissolubly connected with the increased public appreciation of Richard Wagner's music. A longtime friend of Wagner, he conducted the 1st performance of « Parsifal » at Bayreuth, in 1882, and was connected with the musical life of that place during the remainder of his career. He visited London in 1895.

Late in 1900, he was interred in a Mausoleum in the grounds of his Villa, in Garmisch-Partenkirchen.

During his early years, Levi also worked as a composer. His 1st Opus number was a Piano Concerto published in Paris, besides which he also wrote a Violin Sonata.

...

As the author of one of the most infamous anti-Semitic tracts in music history, Richard Wagner seemingly contradicted himself by having hand-picked Hermann Levi, the son of a rabbi, to conduct the premiere of his last and most « Christian » Opera « Parsifal » . As mentioned, his father was a rabbi who had sent him for education at the Mannheim « Gymnasium » where he had music lessons with Vincenz Lachner.

He showed signs of musical talent and was given musical studies. He entered the Leipzig Conservatory in 1855, remaining there until 1858. His teachers there were Gerhart Hauptmann and Julius Reitz. He studied briefly in Paris and embarked on his 1st permanent job as music-director in Saarbrücken, in 1859. This put him firmly on the traditional path for a budding conductor in Central Europe. He was musical director in Saarbrücken, assistant- « Kapellmeister » of the Mannheim National Opera, « Kapellmeister » of the Rotterdam Opera, and « Hofkapellmeister » in Karlsruhe, all in about 13 years. In Karlsruhe, he became a friend of Clara Schumann, who lived in nearby Baden-Baden and led a distinguished performance of Robert Schumann's difficult stage work « Genoveva » , in 1869.

In 1872, he was appointed « Hofkapellmeister » in Munich. Levi had gained a reputation as an adherent of Johannes Brahms in the divisive, press-fuelled feud between Brahms' supporters and Wagner. Levi's accepting a position in Munich was suspect, for Munich was the capital of King Ludwig II of Bavaria, Wagner's great royal patron. A conductor there would be expected to champion Wagner. When Levi began doing just that, Brahms, to put it bluntly, began to suspect that Levi had in some way been « bought » . As a result, he severed their once cordial friendship and refused

to talk to him. Hans Richter retained his position in Munich, until 1890. He continued to conduct Brahms, led some important performances of Mozart Operas and, above all, was one of the leaders (with Hans Richter) in spreading Wagner's late works throughout Europe. When Wagner appointed Levi to prepare and conduct the world premiere of « Parsifal » , his last music-drama, anti-Semitic opposition grew. « Parsifal » is based on the legend of the Holy Grail and has as its central symbols the spear that pierced Christ's side on the cross and the cup in which the 1st communion was served. Accordingly, the Opera has always been considered by many as a « Christian » work. (In fact, its religious content is strangely pagan and mystical, with some connection to Buddhism in that « Parsifal » has to gain knowledge and compassion for all to attain the enlightenment that will allow him to save the Grail Knights.) This appointment of Levi is a central argument by his supporters to deny that Wagner was actually anti-Semitic, despite the nasty things he wrote about Jews, in general. It can just as easily be taken as proof that Wagner was willing to set aside any of principles once he recognized what was best for himself. And Levi, a conductor whose performances were known for a strongly spiritual quality, was the man for the job. In fact, once Wagner had obtained Levi's agreement to undertake « Parsifal » , Wagner attempted to get the conductor to convert to Christianity, at least to the extent of accepting a token baptism. Levi refused, but Wagner did not give-up. He showed Levi an anonymous letter, attacking Wagner for permitting Levi to conduct the sacred Christian music-drama. The letter also scurrilously suggested that Levi had become the lover of Wagner's wife, Cosima. The composer evidently hoped that Levi would convert in order to spare Wagner any more such criticism, a move that offended Levi, who asked to be released from his commitment. At this point, King Ludwig, who admired Levi, insisted that Wagner patch-up things with the conductor and thus Levi led the premiere on July 25, 1882, less than a year before Wagner's death. He remained the sole conductor of « Parsifal » (which, for years, was only given in Bayreuth) until 1894, except in the year 1888, when Cosima replaced him with Felix Mottl. Levi was noted for the simplicity and directness of his beat and his eschewing of extravagant gestures. He was somewhat erratic and could lead a performance of transcendent, unearthly spirituality one night and the next fail entirely to take-off. He retired from conducting, in 1894, and later appearances, rare because he was already ill and suffering from a nervous disorder, were largely unsuccessful.

...

Hermann Levi (geboren 7. November 1839 in Gießen ; gestorben 13. Mai 1900 in München) war ein deutscher Orchesterdirigent und Komponist.

Vater : Doktor Benedikt Levi (1806-1899) , Landesrabbiner.

Mutter : Henriette Mayer (1807-1842) .

Ausbildung bei Hofkapellmeister Vinzenz Lachner in Mannheim.

1855-1858 : Studium der Musik am Konservatorium Leipzig.

1859-1861 : Musikdirektor in Saarbrücken.

1861 : Wechsel nach Mannheim.

1862-1864 : Chefdirigent der Deutschen Oper in Rotterdam.

1864-1872 : Dirigent am Hoftheater in Karlsruhe ; Kontakt zu Johannes Brahms.

1872-1896 : Generalmusikdirektor und Hofkapellmeister am Hof- und Nationaltheater in München.

Juli 1882 : Dirigent der Uraufführung des Parsifal in Bayreuth.

Hermann Levi war der Sohn des hessischen Landesrabbiners Benedikt Levi und Henriette Mayer (1807-1842) . Seine Mutter entstammte der bekannten Tabakfabrikanten-Familie Mayer in Mannheim. Seine Urgroßväter mütterlicherseits waren der kurpfälzische Hoffaktor Gottschalk Mayer und der Mannheimer Bankhaus-Gründer Wolf Hajum Ladenburg. Sein Großvater väterlicherseits war der Wormser Rabbiner Samuel Levi, ein Sohn des Rabbiners Wolf Levi in Pfersee bei Augsburg.

Sein Bruder war der Bankprokurist Wilhelm Levi des Bankhauses Ladenburg, der sich später Wilhelm Lindeck nannte und Vermögensverwalter des Komponisten Johannes Brahms wurde.

Hermann Levi heiratete 1895 Mary Fiedler geborene Meyer (1854-1919) , eine Tochter des Kunsthistorikers Julius Meyer und Witwe des Kunsthistorikers Konrad Fiedler (1841-1895) .

Hermann Levi wuchs in Gießen auf. In Mannheim absolvierte er bei Hofkapellmeister Vinzenz Lachner eine Art musikalische Lehre. Von 1855 bis 1858 studierte er am Leipziger Konservatorium. Nach Reisen unter anderem nach Paris übernahm er den Posten des Musikdirektors in Saarbrücken und wechselte 1861 nach Mannheim. Von 1862 bis 1864 war er Chefdirigent der Deutschen Oper in Rotterdam, anschließend bis 1872 am Großherzoglichen Hoftheater Karlsruhe, wo er kurz vor dem deutsch-französischen Krieg 1870-1871 Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg dirigierte. Dort stand er in freundschaftlicher Verbindung zu Johannes Brahms (die allerdings Mitte der 1870er Jahre zerbrach) und Clara Schumann. Ab 1872 amtierte er als Generalmusikdirektor und Hofkapellmeister am Königlichen Hof- und Nationaltheater in München, bis er sich 1896 aus gesundheitlichen Gründen zurückzog und in Partenkirchen niederließ. 1872 wurde er Mitglied der Zwanglosen Gesellschaft München, der er bis zu seinem Tode angehörte.

Auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Laufbahn dirigierte Levi im Juli 1882 die Uraufführung des Parsifal in Bayreuth. Obwohl aus bedeutenden jüdischen Familien stammend, war Levi in die christliche Mythenwelt Wagners hineingewachsen und seit 1871 mit dem Komponisten freundschaftlich verbunden. Wagner selbst wies Kritik, sein « heiligstes » Werk nicht von einem Juden dirigieren zu lassen, entschieden zurück. Jedoch stand immer die Forderung Wagners an Levi, sich taufen zu lassen, im Raum. Dieser Erwartung entsprach Levi bei aller Verehrung Wagners zwar nie, der äußere und vor allem innere Konflikt belastete ihn jedoch sehr, wie Levis Schüler Felix Weingartner sich erinnerte. Auch nach Wagners Tod 1883 blieb Levi bis 1894 der « Major » und die rechte Hand der Witwe Cosima Wagner bei der Leitung der Bayreuther Festspiele. Der anhaltende Erfolg der Musik Richard Wagners nach dessen Tod ist eng mit Levis Namen

verknüpft. Anfeindungen aus antisemitischen Kreisen belasteten seine ansonsten glanzvolle Karriere.

Levi führte den « Mozart-Zyklus » in das deutsche Opernrepertoire ein. Er übersetzte selbst die Libretti von Lorenzo da Ponte zu Mozarts Opern Le Nozze di Figaro, Don Giovanni und Così fan tutte ins Deutsche. Diese Übersetzungen erfreuen sich bis heute großer Beliebtheit und haben sich gegen andere Übersetzungsversuche durchgesetzt ; viele Formulierungen daraus wurden geflügelte Worte (« “ Reich ” mir die Hand, mein Leben ») . Ein Umstand, der die Nationalsozialisten in Verlegenheit bringen sollte : Einerseits sollten Opern nur in deutscher Sprache aufgeführt werden, und andererseits war das Libretto des konvertierten Juden da Ponte auch noch von einem weiteren Juden, nämlich Levi, übersetzt worden.

Levi verfolgte in jungen Jahren zunächst eine Karriere als Komponist : In Paris entstand als sein Opus I ein an Schumann orientiertes Klavierkonzert in A-Moll, das vom Gewandhausorchester Leipzig uraufgeführt wurde, außerdem eine Symphonie, eine Violinsonate, Klavier- und Kammermusik sowie verschiedene Liedvertonungen. Nach einer harschen Kritik von Brahms an seinen Werken gab Levi jedoch diesen Teil seiner musikalischen Tätigkeit trotz großer Erfolge auf und vernichtete alle Manuskripte. Erhalten geblieben sind lediglich die im Druck erschienenen Werke, zwei Liederzyklen und die Solostimme des Klavierkonzerts. Das verloren geglaubte Orchestermaterial des Klavierkonzerts wurde vom Pianisten und Dirigenten Martin Wettges in der Universitätsbibliothek Zürich wiederentdeckt. Er rekonstruierte daraus die Partitur und führte das Werk am 1. Juni 2008 wieder auf (Christian Schröder, Begleitheft zu einer Aufführung des Klavierkonzerts am 4. Februar 2014 in Gießen) .

Im Gießener Musikerviertel ist eine Straße nach ihm benannt.

...

Kapellmeister Hermann Levi dirigierte die Meistersinger und den Parsifal, war häufiger Gast in Bayreuth. Doch der Antisemitismus des Wagner-Clans traf ihn schwer. Garmisch-Partenkirchen will seinem in der NS-Zeit geächteten Ehrenbürger jetzt wieder eine Straße widmen.

Im Winkel eines großen Grundstücks in Garmisch-Partenkirchen liegt unter einer roh gezimmerten Holzabdeckung, die vor den danebenlagernden Baumaterialien schützen soll, eine laubbedeckte Grabplatte für « Hermann Levi. Königlich Bayerischer Hofkapellmeister. 1839-1900 » . Er war Ehrenbürger von Garmisch-Partenkirchen, hatte postum der Straße, die am Grundstück vorbeiführte, den Namen gegeben. Doch nach Hitlers « Machtergreifung » wurde das im Garten seiner Villa errichtete Mausoleum verwüstet und die Straße umbenannt. Hermann Levi war einst ein gefeierter Wagner-Dirigent. « Zuerst muß ich sagen, daß Levis Orchester Wagner zu Wagner macht. Bei einer solchen fast überirdischen Schönheit der Wiedergabe ist die Wirkung kein Wunder » , schrieb eine Chronistin der Zeit, Henriette Feuerbach.

Nun hat Wagner alles getan, einer von seiner Musik hingerissenen Welt seine gesellschaftspolitischen Vorstellungen zu predigen : von einer judenfreien, vegetarischen, nach Süden gewanderten Menschheit. Für Juden sieht Wagner in « Das Judentum in der Musik » von 1869 nur einen Ausweg « von dem auf (ihnen) lastenden Fluche » - « die Erlösung Ahasver's - der Untergang ! » . Der Fluch fiel, wie in seinen Opern, auf ihn zurück und belastet sein Werk und seine

Familie bis heute. Im Jubiläumsjahr 2013, zweihundert Jahre nach Wagners Geburt, wird sein Werk in Israel nicht öffentlich aufgeführt, während die Erben peinlich darauf achten, jede Assoziation mit Nazisymbolik zu vermeiden.

Und doch hat der Judenfeind die Uraufführung seiner letzten Oper, in deren Mittelpunkt die christliche Taufe steht, dem jüdischen Dirigenten Hermann Levi anvertraut. Eine künstlerisch produktive, menschlich fragwürdige Beziehung.

Hermann Levi wird 1839 als drittes Kind des liberalen Landesrabbiners von Gießen im Großherzogtum Hessen geboren. Früh als Hochbegabung erkannt, findet Levi in Vinzenz Lachner, dem Mannheimer Hofkapellmeister, einen verständnisvollen Lehrer und Förderer, der ihm mit 21 Jahren zu seiner ersten Dirigentenstelle verhilft. 1864 dirigiert Levi bereits in Karlsruhe, wo er die verwitwete Clara Schumann und den jungen Johannes Brahms kennenlernt, dessen Duzfreund er wird. Levi ist ein Mann der Moderne, der Schumann, Berlioz und seinen Freund Brahms durchsetzen hilft, später auch Georges Bizet, Emmanuel Chabrier, Pietro Mascagni, Giuseppe Verdi, Peter Tschaikowski und Richard Strauß.

Kurz vor dem deutsch-französischen Krieg 1870-1871, in dem er als Sanitäter dient, kann Levi in Karlsruhe die « Meistersinger » dirigieren - die dortige Erstaufführung eines revolutionären, an Sänger und Orchester ungewohnte Anforderungen stellenden Werks. Und zwar so gut, daß sich Wagner schriftlich dafür bedankt.

1873 wird er, mit nur dreiunddreißig Jahren, von Ludwig II. in München zum « Königlich-Bayerischen Hofkapellmeister » ernannt. Die Religion seines Dirigenten kümmert den großen Kunstmäzen nicht. Er war bereit, für Richard Wagner den finanziellen und politischen Ruin zu riskieren, doch den von diesem geforderten Antisemitismus lehnt der Monarch als « unköniglich » ab.

Levi wird in München ein wichtiger künstlerischer Impulsgeber. Er führt « Manfred » von Schumann zum Erfolg, und leitet stilgerechte Aufführungen von Mozarts drei Da-Ponte-Opern auf der Rokoko-Bühne des Cuvillé-Theaters.

...

Die Così-Vorstellung ist so gelungen, daß Levi seinen Freund Brahms dazu einlädt. Doch der bleibt nur einen Tag, bevor er sich mit ihm überwirft. Gegenstand des Streits : Levis zunehmende « Wagneritis » . Die führt 1880 auch zum Bruch mit seinem Lehrer Vinzenz Lachner :

« Ich sehe Dich, einen der berufensten Priester der Kunst, für immer an eine Sache geschmiedet, die ich als eine Krankheit, ja als ein Nationalunglück ansehen muß. »

Die Trennung ist für Levi « die schmerzlichste Erfahrung meines ganzen Lebens » . Ohne von seiner Wagner-Verehrung ablassen zu wollen. 1875 besucht er Bayreuth und zeigt sich in einem Brief an seinen Vater « ganz überwältigt vom Eindruck der Werke, des Hauses und der Aufführung. Gerade ich, der ich auf großen Umwegen und nach vielen inneren Kämpfen Wagnerianer geworden bin, habe vielleicht ein freieres Urteil. » Doch « Wagnerianer » , schreibt Levi, sei ein « dummes Wort » . « Man versteht eigentlich nur die Radikalen darunter, zu denen ich nie gehören werde. »

Als Wagner 1879 den « Parsifal » abschließt, und von Ludwig II. das Münchener Orchester samt seinem Chefdirigenten Levi zur Uraufführung angeboten bekommt, sieht er nur ein Hindernis :

« Ungetauft darf er den " Parsifal " nicht dirigieren. »

Levi war Wagner, wie er an einen Freund schrieb, « mit Leib und Seele verfallen » , doch zu dem von seinem Idol geforderten Religionswechsel hat er sich nicht durchringen können. Levi ist trotz der oft bössartigen Sticheleien und Attacken nie Christ geworden. Als er nach einem besonders unschönen Angriff um Entpflchtung ersucht und abreist, schickt ihm Wagner ein Telegramm nach : « Um Gotteswillen, kehren Sie sogleich um und lernen Sie uns endlich ordentlich kennen ! » . Und Levi kommt zurück.

Von da an gehen die Wahrnehmung Levis und die Beobachtung Außenstehender zunehmend auseinander. Während Levi nicht müde wird, seinem Vater, dem Rabbiner, die « Güte » und « Freundlichkeit » der Wagners ihm gegenüber zu betonen, fallen anderen die fürchterlichen Verrenkungen auf, zu denen man ihn dort zwingt :

« Es war ein fortwährendes seelisches und körperliches Sich-Verbeugen, das mich peinlich berührte, da ich Levi, den großen Künstler und freigiebigen Menschen, von dieser Seite nicht kannte » , erinnerte sich etwa Levis Meisterschüler Felix Weingartner.

Letztlich ist Levis Position, als Musiker, der von Wagner fasziniert ist, und als Jude, der von eben diesem Wagner, trotz Sympathie und Anerkennung seiner überragenden Dirigierbegabung, als Mensch zweiter Klasse betrachtet und behandelt wird, unhaltbar und selbstzerstörerisch. Auch die von Wagner geforderte Taufe hätte daran nichts geändert. Der Begriff « Antisemitismus » für Feindschaft gegen Menschen jüdischer Abstammung, im Unterschied zur Ablehnung der jüdischen Religion, ist genau damals, um 1880, aufgekommen und durch die Parteinahme einer so bedeutenden Persönlichkeit wie Wagner geädelt worden.

Als Wagner 1883 stirbt, ist Levi einer der Sargträger. Er setzt sich tatkräftig dafür ein, daß die Festspiele unter Cosima Wagners Leitung weiter geführt werden und dirigiert dort nach wie vor seinen « Parsifal » . Doch die « Clique der Radikalen » , der er nun als Mitglied des innersten Wagner-Zirkels angehört, tut alles, ihm die Mitgliedschaft schwer und immer schwerer zu machen. Die Erinnerungen des ihm beigeordneten Chordirektors tragen den Titel « Der Kampf zweier Welten um das Bayreuther Erbe » . Houston Stewart Chamberlain, der neue Vordenker des Wagnerkults, ist einer der wichtigsten Popularisierer des Rassismus.

1888 setzt Levi zum ersten Mal in Bayreuth aus, 1894 gibt er auf. In München dirigiert er weiter. Doch zwei Jahre später lässt er sich pensionieren. Er ist gesundheitlich und nervlich am Ende. Ein kurzes Glück : 1896 heiratet Levi die Witwe seines besten Freundes. In den dreieinhalb Jahren, die ihm bleiben, erstellt er eine sorgfältig der Musik angepasste deutsche Übersetzung von Mozarts drei Da-Ponte-Opern, die bis heute benutzt wird. Anfang 1900, er ist keine 61 Jahre alt, bricht er zusammen. Nervöse Erschöpfung. Levis letzter Wunsch : noch einmal Cosima Wagner sehen. Dazu ist es nicht gekommen. Zur Beerdigung schickt sie einen Kranz und den Geschäftsführer.

Garmisch-Partenkirchen, immerhin, soll von diesem Sommer an, zum 115-jährigen Jubiläum der Verleihung der Ehrenbürgerschaft, wieder eine Hermann-Levi-Straße aufweisen.

Article nécrologique : Journal L'Art Moderne de Paris (n° 7)

(Dimanche, 18 février 1883.)

La mort vient d'apporter à l'illustre compositeur la solennelle consécration qui, seule, manquait à sa gloire. Wagner est tombé en héros, dans la mêlée. Le sort n'a pas voulu que la sénilité affaiblît l'éclat de sa lumineuse carrière. Il a triomphalement gravité les degrés qui mènent à l'imortalité et, parvenu au sommet, sans s'arrêter ni contempler la route parcourue, sans que l'affaiblissement progressif de ses forces créatrices courbât vers la terre son front qu'il levait orgueilleusement, il est entré d'un pas ferme dans la région sereine de l'éternelle renommée.

Sa fin est une apothéose. Et la marche funèbre qui accompagnera sa dépouille, de Venise à Bayreuth, éclatera comme un hymne triomphal.

Que les fanfares retentissent et que les tambours résonnent ! Ce n'est pas un mort que nous pleurons, c'est un héros qui pénètre, vainqueur, dans le Panthéon du souvenir.

Il a dignement et glorieusement rempli sa vie. Il a joui du bonheur bien rare d'assister à l'épanouissement complet de son génie, au triomphe des idées pour lesquelles il a lutté et des principes qu'il a défendus sans trêve, ni défiance. Il a pressenti l'influence qu'exercerait son art dans l'avenir des générations. Est-il de plus belle récompense ?

Qu'ajoutent au tableau superbe de cette carrière victorieuse les regrets que fait naître la chute du vaillant lutteur ? Dans le cimetière de Scutari, la plus vaste nécropole du monde, on n'inscrit sur les tombes que le nom des morts. Toute louange est rigoureusement bannie des pierres lumineuses. Le nom de Richard Wagner suffit à le faire vivre de la grande vie qui plane au-dessus des querelles et des rancunes. De même que le peuple de Lacédémone fit taire celui qui s'offrit à prononcer le panégyrique d'Hercule et lui dit : « Qui pourrait blâmer le héros ? » inclinons-nous, silencieux, devant la tombe du grand homme. Loin de nous attendrir sur la catastrophe, félicitons notre siècle d'avoir assisté à l'écllosion d'un génie indépendant et libre, d'une des gloires qui illustrent l'histoire des arts.

Que les fanfares retentissent et que les tambours résonnent !

Au jour des funérailles, les créations gigantesques de Wagner formeront dans la mémoire de la foule, un imposant cortège. « Lohengrin » et Elsa. « Tannhäuser » et Elisabeth. « Tristan und Isolde ». Walter et Éva, Siegfried et Brunnhilde. « Parsifal » et Kundry, divinités et héros qui peuplent son œuvre, marchez à la suite du char funèbre. Le génie d'un homme vous a animés d'un souffle épique. Son âme a passé dans votre être ; vous êtes l'incarnation de sa pensée, le produit de ses prodigieuses ressources intellectuelles. Mieux que les discours, mieux que les panégyriques, vous chanterez la gloire du défunt.

Il revient à Cosima d'avoir maintenu l'existence du Festival de Bayreuth, dont seules 2 sessions exceptionnelles avaient eu lieu en 1876 et en 1882. Aidée par son fils Siegfried et pour les aspects financiers par Adolf von Groß, elle le dirige jusqu'en 1911 et en fait le lieu de la célébration du culte de son défunt mari, dans une orientation résolument conservatrice, refusant par exemple jusqu'à sa mort tout changement dans la mise-en-scène, les décors et les costumes de la création de « Parsifal » .

Winnifred Wagner déclare à son propos : « Elle était toujours, malgré ses 77 ans, un personnage tout en grandeur, qui inspirait le respect. De sa voix mélodieuse, un peu grave, elle ne manquait jamais de m'adresser quelques mots aimables quand nous allions la saluer à notre arrivée ou au moment de nous retirer. Par la suite, j'ai vécu 15 ans sous le même toit qu'elle, et nos relations étaient aussi bonnes que possible : il n'y a jamais eu le moindre malentendu entre nous. Elle avait la fibre pédagogique (et c'était très marqué) ; c'est ce qui l'incita à parfaire mon éducation durant la 1^{re} année de mon mariage. Cosima a salué avec joie la naissance de nos 4 enfants et a suivi leur croissance en tant que grand-mère attentive. » .

Cosima Wagner meurt le 1^{er} avril 1930 à l'âge de 92 ans, soit 47 ans après Richard et la même année que son fils Siegfried. Elle est enterrée aux côtés de Richard Wagner dans le jardin de la Villa « Wahnfried » .

...

Wagner est mort sans réaliser la régénération artistique et sociale dont il avait toujours rêvé. L'inévitable déperdition de l'idéal dans le passage concret à la scène (« après avoir inventé l'Orchestre invisible, j'aimerais inventer aussi le théâtre invisible » , se plaignit-il en 1878 à Cosima) , l'incompréhension des adversaires mais aussi des enthousiastes, la nécessité du soutien de la bourgeoisie moderne et des pouvoirs anciens, tout cela ne pouvait susciter que de l'amertume, ou des espérances qui ne se réaliseraient, peut-être, qu'à titre posthume. À sa mort, Wagner laisse derrière lui une institution extrêmement fragile, et il faudra toute la ténacité de Cosima pour sauver l'entreprise et la porter. C'est à Venise, au milieu des beautés éternelles de cette cité, que Wagner choisit de mourir, retiré du monde et concentré sur lui-même. 10 ans plus tôt, Friedrich Nietzsche avait déjà surpris chez celui qui était encore son ami quelque chose qu'il rapportera dans sa « 4^e Considération inactuelle » , et qui doit nous donner à réfléchir :

« Lorsqu'en ce jour de mai 1872, la première pierre eut été posée sur la colline de Bayreuth, par une pluie battante et sous un ciel assombri, Wagner regagna la ville en voiture avec quelques-uns d'entre nous ; il gardait le silence et regardait longuement en lui-même, d'un regard qu'aucun mot ne saurait décrire. Mais ce que Wagner, ce jour-là, contemplait intérieurement (comment il est devenu ce qu'il est, ce qu'il sera) , nous pouvons le suivre avec lui, nous ses proches, jusqu'à un certain point : et seul ce regard wagnérien nous permettra de comprendre son haut fait - afin que forts de cette compréhension nous nous portions garants de sa fécondité. »

Ce que Nietzsche, dans « Nietzsche contre Wagner » , a saisi à la pointe de l'aphorisme pourrait être représentatif, rétrospectivement, de 130 ans de réception wagnérienne en Allemagne et en France : voie royale et voies de traverse ; rayonnement international et enfermement national ; histoire d'une « bonne » et d'une « mauvaise » réception. Le processus engagé dans l'Allemagne Impériale, du vivant même de Wagner, et qui prendra des formes absurdes après sa

mort, conduira finalement, sous le 3^e « Reich », à l'échec désastreux d'une image dont le compositeur allemand souffre encore aujourd'hui dans l'opinion publique. Il aura fallu, pendant des décennies, les efforts d'une lente réhabilitation pour arracher Wagner à la barbarie nazie et ouvrir au fur et à mesure la voie à l'image, affranchie de toute idéologie suspecte, de l'artiste international par excellence du XIX^e siècle, tel que Wagner était déjà perçu en France autour de 1900.

Après 1871, l'Allemagne a construit de Wagner l'image d'un « compositeur national », nouveau fondateur de mythes germaniques, représentant culturel principal du nouveau « Reich ». En France, Wagner fut reconnu, avec beaucoup plus de clairvoyance, comme ce qu'il incarnait vraiment : symbole et fer-de-lance de l'avant-garde artistique. Le contraste ne saurait être plus grand, et l'interprétation nourrie par l'Empire allemand n'aurait pu être plus fatale.

Cette constatation n'enlève rien au fait que c'est par l'un de ses contemporains allemands que Wagner aura le mieux été percé à jour, disséqué et compris comme personne d'autre avant et après lui : Friedrich Nietzsche, l'apostat le plus clairvoyant du cas Wagner, en a senti et saisi toutes les facettes, les grandeurs et les abîmes, les beautés, les conquêtes et les dangers, tandis que commençait autour de lui « l'extirpation de l'esprit allemand au profit du Reich allemand » (« Ire Considération inactuelle »), et que l'on creusait les tranchées d'une interprétation nationale bornée. Mais Nietzsche, comme Wagner et selon ses propres mots, ne fut lui-même « qu'un simple malentendu » parmi les Allemands, et l'acuité de ses analyses ne put empêcher la réception « officielle » allemande de prendre un chemin tout à fait contraire.

La réception allemande de Wagner est le miroir de l'histoire du pays depuis la fin du XIX^e siècle. Tout ce que l'Allemagne a connu de hauts et de bas, de développements et de ruptures, se reflète dans la réception de l'art et de la pensée du compositeur, dans l'histoire du Festival de Bayreuth et au sein de la famille Wagner. La confrontation de l'Allemagne avec Wagner a toujours été le sismographe de la situation nationale, et se réclamer de lui aura toujours été le moyen d'invoquer le meilleur ou le pire de la germanité.

La réception wagnérienne sous l'Empire allemand, malgré l'apparence rétrospective de son unité, a été en réalité un Janus aux 2 visages : le Festival de Bayreuth est l'histoire d'une carrière à succès, et autour de 1900, l'œuvre de Wagner a été très largement diffusée dans les maisons d'Opéra. D'un autre côté, dans les années 1870, celui-ci ne s'est imposé qu'à travers d'âpres conflits entre les partisans de la « musique de l'avenir » et les « conservateurs ». La bourgeoisie allemande qui, certes, raffolait du 1^{er} Acte de « la Walkyrie » trouvait le second inutilement long, et manqua ainsi l'essence intime de la tétralogie : le moment « schopenhauerien » de Wotan, le savoir compassionnel de Brünnhilde. Le bourgeois cultivé pouvait voir dans le « Ring » l'affirmation de sa propre germanité, et dans le mythe des « Nibelungen » l'origine même de cette histoire allemande qui trouvait son accomplissement téléologique dans la réalisation de l'unité nationale en 1871 - c'était passer fondamentalement à côté du sens et de la portée de cette parabole de l'effondrement d'un monde corrompu par le pouvoir. Et pourtant, le « Reich » n'a jamais cru bon d'assumer le patronage du Festival et a laissé au royaume de Bavière le soin de cette tâche. L'État allemand laisse ainsi s'installer un vide politique qu'Adolf Hitler s'empressera de remplir.

Après la mort de Wagner, la direction du Festival de Bayreuth qui (tant du point de vue des personnes que de la

conception) ne tenait plus qu'à un fil, fut reprise par Cosima Wagner ; après une phase de deuil qui l'a un temps paralysée, c'est avec détermination qu'elle sauva le Festival de la ruine qui le menaçait pendant les années 1880 pour en faire, à partir des années 1890, un succès artistique et économique au rayonnement international stupéfiant (en 1891, 42,5 % des spectateurs de Bayreuth étaient issus de pays non germanophones) . Le Festival est alors devenu (et il l'est toujours) l'épicentre, non seulement allemand mais international, de la tradition wagnérienne, Cette étrange dichotomie (une sorte d'institution « nationale » qui pourtant, dès le départ, a joui d'une importante dimension internationale et s'est même tournée explicitement vers un public étranger) traverse l'histoire de Bayreuth jusqu'à aujourd'hui, malgré des moments de rupture massive.

Winnifred Wagner

Winnifred Wagner, née Winnifred Williams Klindworth le 23 juin 1897 à Hastings (Grande-Bretagne) et morte le 5 mars 1980 à Überlingen (Allemagne) , est la belle-fille de Richard Wagner. Elle fut notamment directrice du Festival de Bayreuth et amie personnelle d'Adolf Hitler.

Winnifred Williams naît le 23 juin 1897 à Hastings (Grande-Bretagne) . Son père, John Williams, est un journaliste gallois et sa mère, Emily Florence Karop, une actrice. Elle perd ses parents avant l'âge de 2 ans et est élevée dans différents orphelinats après avoir été transbahutée entre sa grand-mère en Grande-Bretagne et chez des cousins éloignés en Allemagne.

À l'âge de 9 ans, suite à une maladie, elle est adoptée par une lointaine cousine de sa mère, Henrietta Karop, et son mari Karl Klindworth, un musicien ami de Richard Wagner. Ils habitent Oranienburg puis la banlieue de Berlin. La désormais Winnifred Klindworth étudie à partir de 1913 au lycée de l'école navale d'Augusta.

Elle rencontre Siegfried Wagner, fils de Richard Wagner au Festival de Bayreuth, à l'été 1914, alors que son père adoptif l'y emmène pour assister aux répétitions générales. Il a 45 ans, elle en a 17. Elle fait aussi connaissance avec sa mère Cosima Wagner (ancienne directrice du Festival) , et déclare à son propos : « Elle était toujours, malgré ses 77 ans, un personnage tout en grandeur, qui inspirait le respect. De sa voix mélodieuse, un peu grave, elle ne manquait jamais de m'adresser quelques mots aimables quand nous allions la saluer à notre arrivée ou au moment de nous retirer. » .

Le couple se marie 1 an plus tard, le 22 septembre 1915. De leur union naîtront 4 enfants : Wieland (1917-1966) , Friedelind (1918-1991) , Wolfgang (1919-2010) et Verena (née en 1920) .

En 1929, Winnifred Wagner adhère au Parti National-Socialiste. En 1923, elle rencontre pour la Ire fois Adolf Hitler, qui admire la musique de Richard Wagner. Alors que Hitler était en prison suite à sa tentative de coup d'État manqué à Munich, elle lui fait parvenir le papier sur lequel il écrit « Mein Kampf » . À la fin des années 1930, elle est la traductrice personnelle d'Hitler pendant les négociations de traités avec l'Angleterre. Ce dernier est également un hôte fréquent de son ménage, au point que les enfants le connaissaient comme « l'oncle Wolf » .

Après la mort de son époux, en 1930, Winnifred Wagner dirige le prestigieux Festival de Bayreuth, jusqu'à la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Elle ne peut néanmoins conserver le poste de directrice et épouser un autre homme, comme le stipule le testament de Siegfried : certains historiens ont ainsi pu spéculer sur une éventuelle liaison avec Adolf Hitler contre les conséquences de laquelle Siegfried Wagner se serait prémuni en couchant sur papier des dispositions quant à l'accession de son épouse à la tête du Festival.

Elle en fait un haut lieu du Nazisme culturel, où se produisent des artistes comme Wilhelm Fürtwängler, Karl Böhm, Richard Strauß le baryton et SS Rudolf Bockelmann, chanteur favori du « Führer », tandis que des musiciens opposés au régime comme Arturo Toscanini cessèrent d'y apparaître. Néanmoins, si l'amitié qui unit la directrice du Festival et le Chancelier est une évidence et que ce dernier en fait un rendez-vous mondain du régime, le fait que le National-Socialisme ait eu une incidence décisive sur la nature du Festival est un point plus ambigu. Ainsi, Winnifred Wagner déclare :

« Les faits sont les suivants. Il est de notoriété publique que, durant sa jeunesse, Hitler s'était familiarisé avec les œuvres de Wagner à l'Opéra de Linz et qu'il en était résulté chez lui une passion qui ne fit que s'accroître au cours des années passées à Vienne, années au cours desquelles il manqua rarement une représentation de Wagner à l'Opéra National. À l'automne 1923, cet enthousiasme conduisit Hitler à pénétrer pour la première fois dans notre maison, ce qui fut à l'origine de notre longue amitié. En 1925, Hitler fut à nouveau invité au festival par Edwin Bechstein et son épouse. À cette époque déjà, sa présence irritait de nombreux esprits. Aussi lorsqu'il quitta Bayreuth, Hitler me promit-il d'y revenir seulement lorsqu'il ne risquerait plus de porter préjudice à l'entreprise, et qu'au contraire il aurait l'espoir de pouvoir lui être utile. Il respecta cette décision jusqu'en 1933, date à laquelle il devint un habitué des Festivals. Il est à préciser qu'il achetait ses cartes d'entrée, pour lui-même et son entourage. Dans l'enceinte du « Festspielhaus », il n'admettait aucune ovation de la part du public, consigne qui fut strictement respectée. Concernant l'embauche des artistes, Hitler n'exprima qu'une seule fois un « désir » : à l'occasion d'une nouvelle mise en scène de « Parsifal », il proposa comme metteur en scène le célèbre artiste Alfred Roller, de l'Opéra National de Vienne. Malheureusement, à cette époque, Roller était déjà très malade et son travail ne nous donna pas entière satisfaction, de sorte que nous dûmes nous passer de sa collaboration, et que nous confiâmes le soin de réaliser de nouvelles esquisses à mon fils Wieland. Hitler se soumit sans protester à notre décision. Lorsque Gœbbels exigea l'incorporation du Festival de Bayreuth à la Chambre des Théâtres du « Reich » et que je m'y opposai en raison de certaines clauses dont le caractère était incompatible avec l'activité du Festival, je m'adressai à Hitler, qui partagea mon opinion et refusa les exigences de Gœbbels. J'ajouterai que ni Tietjen (le metteur en scène), ni Preetorius (le décorateur), ni Fürtwängler (le chef d'orchestre) n'ont été membres du Parti et que, pour ma part, j'ai toujours eu la possibilité de travailler avec des collaborateurs juifs ou de parenté juive, jusqu'à leur émigration. » . Ainsi, malgré les amitiés de la directrice, le Festival est demeuré artistiquement parlant indépendant, la déclaration de Winnifred Wagner se vérifiant d'un point de vue historique et étant corroborée par l'ouvrage Winnifred Wagner oder Hitlers Bayreuth de l'historienne allemande Brigitte Hamann. De même l'esprit d'innovation de Winnifred en épurant les décors et faisant produire des chefs d'orchestre tels que Richard Strauß, Wilhelm Fürtwängler ou Victor de Sabata et des solistes comme Maria Müller, Germaine Lubin, Max Lorenz, Franz Völker ou Rudolf Bockelmann ne peut pas réduire le travail de la directrice à ses seules connivences politiques et amicales. »

Lors de l'effondrement du 3e « Reich », le tribunal de dénazification lui interdit de s'occuper du Festival de Bayreuth. Elle remet alors la direction de l'événement entre les mains de ses fils Wieland et Wolfgang. En 1951 s'ouvre le « nouveau Bayreuth », inauguré par la 9e Symphonie de Beethoven, dirigée par Fürtwängler et enregistrée par Walter Legge. Cet enregistrement est considéré par toute la critique musicale, d'André Tubeuf à John Ardoin, comme un sommet du genre ; EMI le réédite par ailleurs régulièrement depuis lors.

En 1975-1976, elle est interviewée par le cinéaste Hans-Jürgen Syberberg pour son film « Hitler », un film d'Allemagne et lui tient les propos suivants à propos du Führer : « L'avoir rencontré est une expérience que je n'aurais pas voulu rater. ». Elle déclare aussi, quand son interlocuteur lui demande ce qu'elle ferait si Adolf Hitler était sur le pas de la porte : « Je l'accueillerais comme l'ami qu'il a toujours été à la maison. ». Ces déclarations amènent son fils Wolfgang Wagner à refuser à sa mère sa présence, à l'occasion du centenaire du Festival (1976) .

Elle décède à Überlingen sur les rives du lac de Constance, le 5 mars 1980, à l'âge de 82 ans.

...

Winifred Wagner (23 June 1897 - 5 March 1980) was an English woman and wife of Siegfried Wagner, Richard Wagner's son. She was the effective head of the Wagner family from 1930 to 1945.

In 1923, Winifred met Adolf Hitler, who greatly admired Wagner's music. When Hitler was jailed for his part in the Munich Beer Hall Putsch, Winifred sent him food parcels and stationery on which Hitler's autobiography « Mein Kampf » may have been written. In the late- 1930's, she served as Hitler's personal translator during treaty negotiations with Britain.

Her relationship with Adolf Hitler grew so close that, by 1933, there were rumors of impending marriage. « Haus Wahnfried », the Wagner home in Bayreuth, became Hitler's favourite retreat. Hitler gave the Festival government assistance and tax exempt status, and treated Winifred's children solicitously.

She corresponded with Hitler for nearly 2 decades. Scholars have not been allowed to see the letters which are kept locked away by one of Winifred's grand-children, Amélie Lafferentz.

« Wahnfried » was the name given by Richard Wagner to his villa in Bayreuth. The name is a German compound of « Wahn » (delusion, madness) and « Fried(e) » (peace, freedom) .

The house was constructed from 1872 to 1874 under Carl Wölfel's supervision after plans from Berlin architect Wilhelm Neumann, the plans being altered according to some ideas of Wagner. The front of the house shows Wagner's motto : « Hier wo mein Wähnen Frieden fand - Wahnfried - sei dieses Haus von mir benannt. ». (Here where my delusions have found peace, let this place be named Wahnfried.)

The grave of Richard Wagner and his wife Cosima lies on the grounds of Wahnfried. An extension to the house was

built for Wagner's son, Siegfried Wagner, and was later used by Hitler and was known as the « Führerbau » .

Siegfried Wagner

Le compositeur et chef d'orchestre allemand Siegfried Wagner est né le 6 juin 1869 à Tribschen, au bord du Lac Lucerne (Suisse) ; et est mort le 4 août 1930 à Bayreuth. Il est le fils de Richard Wagner et le petit-fils de Franz Liszt.

3e enfant de Richard Wagner et Cosima von Bülow, il doit son nom à l'Opéra « Siegfried », auquel travaille son père au moment de sa naissance. Cette période de bonheur pour le couple Wagner inspire à Richard la pièce pour petit orchestre « Siegfried-Idyll » (1870), basée sur des motifs issus de l'Opéra et dédiée à Cosima. Le titre originel, « Tribschener Idyll mit Fidi-Vogelgesang und Orange-Sonnenaufgang » (Idylle de Tribschen avec chant d'oiseau de Fidi et lever de soleil orange), fait référence au surnom de Siegfried, « Fidi ».

C'est dans l'ambiance ultra-nationaliste du Cercle de Bayreuth qu'Adolf Hitler se découvrit une mission d'ordre spirituel : la régénération de l'Allemagne. Dans une lettre qu'il écrivit à Siegfried Wagner, le 5 mai 1924, de sa prison de la forteresse de Landsberg, il parle de Bayreuth comme « de la ville où fut forgée, d'abord par le Maître, puis par Chamberlain, l'épée spirituelle avec laquelle nous combattons aujourd'hui ».

Lui-même compositeur d'Opéras, Siegfried Wagner vit longtemps dans l'ombre de son père. Après la mort de celui-ci, en 1883 (il a alors 14 ans), il songe à devenir architecte, mais se tourne vers la musique et étudie la composition avec un disciple de son père, Engelbert Humperdinck.

Il était secrètement homosexuel et ne semble pas avoir tenu à se marier. En 1914 (il a alors 45 ans), une rencontre est arrangée avec Winifred Williams Klindworth, jeune Anglaise âgée de 17 ans. Leur mariage a lieu le 22 septembre 1915. Le couple aura 4 enfants :

Wieland (1917-1966) .

Friedlinde (1918-1991) .

Wolfgang (1919-2010) .

Verena (1920-) .

Siegfried eut également avec la fille d'un pasteur un enfant adultérin, Walter Aign, qui fut employé comme répétiteur au Palais des festivals du vivant de Siegfried, mais que Winifred fit renvoyer après sa mort.

En 1908, sa mère Cosima lui délègue (en titre seulement) la direction du Festival de Bayreuth. Après la Première Guerre mondiale, la très mauvaise situation financière du Festival le pousse à entamer des tournées de concert pour

récolter des fonds.

À partir de 1924, il s'attache à la modernisation des représentations du Festival, que Cosima tend à figer dans un conservatisme buté, et engage le décorateur Kurt Söhnlein.

Il ne prend véritablement la direction du Festival qu'à la mort de sa mère, en 1930. L'un de ses projets les plus importants est la nouvelle production de « Tannhäuser », pour laquelle il engage le chef Arturo Toscanini. Les difficultés du Mæstro à communiquer avec l'Orchestre, dans son allemand à couper au couteau, son intransigeance artistique, ainsi que la chaleur de cet été caniculaire, épuisent Siegfried qui fait un infarctus pendant une répétition, et meurt le 4 août 1930, sans avoir pu moderniser le Festival en profondeur comme il l'avait projeté.

La direction passe à sa femme Winifred.

En 1914, Siegfried Wagner fut un des signataires du « Manifeste des 93 » .

Siegfried Wagner a surtout écrit des Opéras pour enfants, basés sur des contes de fées, et nettement plus modestes, simples et courts que ceux de son père :

1898 : « Der Bärenhäuter » .

1900 : « Herzog Wildfang » .

1903 : « Der Kobold » .

1904 : « Bruder Lustig » .

1906 : « Sternengebot » .

1909 : « Banadietrich » .

1910 : « Schwarzwanenreich » .

1912 : « Sonnenflammen » .

1913 : « Der Heidenkönig » .

1914 : « Der Friedensengel » .

1915 : « An allem ist Hütchen schuld ! » .

1917 : « Das Liebesopfer » .

1920 : « Der Schmied von Marienburg » .

1922 : « Rainulf und Adelasia » .

1927 : « Die heilige Linde » .

1928 : « Wahnopfer » (inachevé) .

1928 : « Walamund » (inachevé) .

1929 : « Wernhart » .

1929 : « Das Flüchlein, das Jeder mitbekam » .

Aucun n'est entré dans le répertoire standard des maisons d'Opéra. Son œuvre la plus connue est la Ire, « Der Bärenhäuter » (l'Écorcheur d'ours) . À l'instar de son père, il écrivait lui-même les livrets qu'il mettait en musique.

Autres œuvres

Vers 1882 : Marche pour « Gottfried der Spielmann » .

1890 : Orchestration de « Ekloge » , d'après les « Années de pèlerinage » n° 7 de Franz Liszt.

1892-1895 : « Sehnsucht » , Poème symphonique d'après Schiller.

1913 : « Concertino » pour flûte et petit orchestre.

1913 : Symphonie en ut majeur, avec 2 versions pour le second mouvement (publiée en 1925 ; révisée en 1927) .

1913 : « Das Märchen vom dicken fetten Pfannekuchen » , pour voix soliste et orchestre.

1915 : Concerto pour violon et orchestre.

1922 : « Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär » , Scherzo pour orchestre.

1922-1923 : « Glück » , Poème symphonique dédié à la mémoire de Clement Harris.

...

The German composer and conductor Siegfried Wagner was born on 6 June 1869 at Tribschen, on Lake Lucerne (Switzerland) ; and died on 4 August 1930 in Bayreuth. He was the son of Richard Wagner. He became an Opera composer, and the artistic director of the Bayreuth Festival, from 1908 to 1930.

Siegfried Richard Wagner, nicknamed « Fidi », was the son of Richard Wagner and of Cosima Liszt. Through his mother, he was the grandson of Franz Liszt, from whom he received some instruction in harmony.

To Adolf Hitler, Siegfried Wagner was a kindred soul whom he idolized. They shared the same level of consciousness. Except that Siegfried used his resources to lead a primitive era of humanity forward as best he could, while Hitler attempted to hold humanity back in the consciousness of an age long past. Hitler could not conceive of Siegfried as a good person leading humanity on its quest for higher-consciousness. He thought Siegfried's childish behaviour epitomized the ultimate state of consciousness and that he was the prime example of what a human being should be.

Some youthful compositions date from about 1882. After he completed his secondary education, in 1889, he studied with Wagner's pupil Engelbert Humperdinck, but was more strongly drawn to a career as an architect and studied architecture in Berlin and Karlsruhe.

In 1892, he undertook a trip to Asia with a friend, the English composer Clement Harris. During the trip, he decided to abandon architecture and commit himself to music. Reputedly, it was also Harris who first aroused his homoerotic impulses.

While aboard the ship, he sketched his first official work, the Symphonic poem « Sehnsucht », inspired by the poem of the same name by Friedrich Schiller. This piece was not completed until just before the concert in which Wagner conducted it in London, on 6 June 1895. He composed more Operas than his father. Though his works are numerous, none entered the standard repertory.

He made his conducting debut as an assistant-conductor at Bayreuth, in 1894 ; in 1896, he became associate-conductor, sharing responsibility for conducting the « Ring » Cycle with Felix Mottl and Hans Richter, who had conducted its premiere, 20 years earlier. In 1908, he took-over as Artistic Director of the Bayreuth Festival in succession to his mother, Cosima.

Siegfried Wagner was bisexual. For years, his mother urged him to marry and provide the Wagner dynasty with heirs, but he fought-off her increasingly desperate urgings.

Around 1913, pressure on him increased due to the « Harden-Eulenburg Affair » (1907-1909) , in which the journalist Maximilian Harden accused several public figures, most notably Philipp, Prince of Eulenburg-Hertefeld, a friend of « Kaiser » Wilhelm II, of homosexuality. In this climate, the family found it suitable to arrange a marriage with a 17 year old English woman, Winifred Klindworth, and, at the Bayreuth festival of 1914, she was introduced to the, then, 45 year old Wagner. They married on 22 September 1915.

The couple had 4 children :

Wieland (1917-1966) .

Friedlinde (1918-1991) .

Wolfgang (1919-2010) .

Verena (1920-) .

Though the marriage provided for the dynastic succession, the hope that it would also bring an end to his homosexual encounters and the associated costly scandals was disappointed, as Wagner remained sexually active with other men.

Peter Pacht, one of Siegfried's biographers, asserted that, in 1901, Siegfried had sired an illegitimate son, Walter Aign (1901-1977) . However, that assertion remains controversial, as he supplied no evidence. Nonetheless, several recent authors, such as Frederic Spotts and Brigitte Hamann, have taken it up.

Wagner died in Bayreuth having outlived his mother by only 4 months. Since his 2 sons were still only adolescents, he was succeeded at the helm of the Festival by his wife, Winifred.

Orchestral works

March for « Gottfried der Spielmann » (around 1882) .

Orchestration of « Ekloge » from Franz Liszt's « Années de Pèlerinage » No. 7 (1890) .

« Sehnsucht » , Symphonic poem after Schiller (1892-1895) .

Concertino for flute and small orchestra (1913) .

Concerto for violin and orchestra (1915) .

« Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär » , Scherzo for orchestra (1922) .

« Glück » , Symphonic poem dedicated to the memory of Clement Harris (1922-1923) .

Symphony in C major (1925 ; revised in 1927) :

The 1st version of the Symphony used the Prelude to « Der Friedensengel » as the slow movement, whereas a new

movement was composed for the revised version. The Scherzo is based on the sketches for an unfinished orchestral tone-poem, « Hans im Glück » .

Vocal music

1890 : « Abend auf dem Meere » , for soprano and piano, based on a text by Henry Thode.

1890 : « Frühlingsglaube » , for soprano and piano, based on a text by Ludwig Uhland.

1890 : « Abend am Meer » , based on a text by Alfred Meißner.

1897 : « Schäfer und Schäferin » .

1913 : « Das Märchen vom dicken fetten Pfannekuchen » , for solo-voice and orchestra.

1918 : « Wahnfried-Idyll » .

1919 : « Nacht am Narocz » , for tenor and piano, based on a text by Günther Holstein.

1922 : « Ein Hochzeitslied für unseren Erich und seine liebe “ Dusi ” » .

1927 : « Dryadenlied » .

1927 : « Weihnacht » .

« Frühlingsblick » , based on a text by Nikolaus Lenau.

« Frühlingsstod » , based on a text by Nikolaus Lenau.

...

Siegfried Wagner, son of the great German Opera composer Richard Wagner, displayed a feminine demeanor while growing-up and was greatly attached to his mother. During his student days, he often dressed-up as a ballerina, and he had affairs with several of his fellow male students.

Siegfried, who was also the grandson of pianist and composer Franz Liszt, became part of a circle of high-profile closeted homosexual men, including English composer Clement Harris, tenor Max Lorenz, writer Oscar Wilde, illustrator Franz Stassen and Prince Philipp of Eulenburg. In 1892, Clement Harris and 23 year old Siegfried set-off on an « around the world » tour, together, and the 2 fell deeply in love. Wagner kept a portrait of Harris on his desk for the rest of his life.

When journalist Maximilian Harden later accused Prince Philipp of Eulenburg and others close to « Kaiser » Wilhelm II of homosexuality (the « Harden-Eulenburg Affair ») , Siegfried either had to get married or be exposed for what he was. So, it was that in 1915, at the age of 45, after strong prodding from his mother, Siegfried Wagner married an 17 year old English woman named Winifred Klindworth, with whom he had 4 children, thus, providing heirs for the continuation of the Wagner dynasty. His sexual orientation, however, became the source of both scandal and concerted attempts to erase it from the history of the Wagner family.

When the Wagner dynasty's papers were bequeathed to Bayreuth's Richard Wagner Foundation, in 1973, Winifred Wagner included Siegfried's musical scores but withheld her husband's correspondence. This was consistent with the family's notorious stalling and purging of any revelations that would taint the legacy of Richard Wagner.

In response to Harden's insinuations about his sexual nature, Siegfried replied :

« There was ugly gossip about Frederick the Great, too, the greatest king of all time - and he made Prussia great and strong ! So, don't worry. I won't defile the House of the Festival. »

The irony in that statement is that all the rumours and gossip about Frederick the Great were true.

Siegfried did not give-up social and sexual relations with homosexuals, however, and he and Franz Stassen (1869-1949) , a gay artist who had served as the best man at Siegfried's wedding, continued a social and artistic relationship that lasted for decades. Stassen was a noted « Art nouveau » painter and illustrator who also married. Siegfried introduced Stassen to Wagnerian tenor Max Lorenz (1901-1975) , much admired by Adolf Hitler, even though Lorenz was a gay man married to a Jewish woman. For a time, Stassen and Lorenz were involved in an affair. When Hitler, who was a financial supporter of the Bayreuth Festival, could no longer publicly endorse Lorenz, it was Siegfried's wife, Winifred, who used her influence to rescue Bayreuth's star « Heldentenor » from public disgrace, exile and possible imprisonment over a charge of homosexuality.

Most historians concede that Hitler and Winnifred carried on an affair after Siegfried's death, in 1930 ; there were even rumours of a possible marriage. Although Winifred was proud of her association with Hitler, when he visited her at Bayreuth, she took pains to conceal the connection. Hitler would register at the Hotel Bube, in nearby Bad Berneck, and Winnifred would send her own car to pick him up, so that Hitler's ostentatious Mercedes would not be seen pulling into the drive-way at Wahnfried, the Wagner family's villa built for Richard Wagner by King Ludwig II of Bavaria.

Following in his father's footsteps, Siegfried Wagner was also a composer, but his Operas, although popular during his lifetime, never entered the standard repertoire. In 1896, Siegfried began conducting at the Bayreuth Festival and, from 1906-1930, was the Festival's sole artistic director. In Siegfried's controversial 1930 staging of his father's Opera, « Tannhäuser » , he boldly embellished several scenes with scantily clad male teenagers.

Siegfried dedicated one of his 18 Operas to Franz Stassen, who designed illustrations for the programs for Wagnerian Opera productions at Bayreuth. Franz also published homoerotic drawings and paintings and went on to become a major player in the Teutonic « Art nouveau » style. During the last decade of his life, Stassen wrote recollections about his male « soul mate », thus, publicly hinting at his own homosexuality.

In the previous decade, Stassen had also become associated with the Nazi Party. He created 4 important tapestries for Hitler's « Reich » Chancellery, in Berlin, that illustrated motifs of the Germanic Edda sagas. In gratitude, Hitler awarded him the title of professor, in 1939.

After 1941, Franz lived openly with his male partner and professed his homosexual orientation, but the 3rd « Reich » generously overlooked and ignored this declaration. In the final phase of World War II, Hitler included Stassen in the « Gottbegnadeten v» (Gifted by God) list of important artists most crucial to Nazi culture.

Wagnerian tenor Max Lorenz was homosexual as well but, in 1932, he married Lotte Appel, a Jewish singer who was aware of his sexual orientation going into the marriage. Max's homosexuality was tolerated by the Nazis as a well-known secret, because Lorenz was a favourite of Hitler. When Lorenz was dragged into Court because of an affair with a young man, Hitler advised Winifred Wagner, the director of the Bayreuth Festival after Siegfried's death, in 1930, that Lorenz would not be suitable for the Festival. She replied that, in that case, she would have to close the Festival, because :

« Without Lorenz, there can be no Bayreuth. »

Lorenz was, thus, retained.

As for his Jewish wife Lotte, Max insisted on being open about his marriage of convenience, which was taken as a provocation by the Nazis. Once, when Lorenz was away from his house, the SS burst in and tried to take Lotte and her mother away. At the last moment, Lotte Lorenz was able to make a phone call to Hermann Göring's sister, and the SS was ordered to leave their residence and not bother the women. Göring stated, in a letter dated 21 March 1943, that Lorenz was under his personal protection, and that no action should be taken against him, his wife, or her mother.

...

Siegfried Helferich Richard Wagner, deutscher Komponist, Librettist und Dirigent : geboren 6. Juni 1869 in Tribschen bei Luzern ; gestorben 4. August 1930 in Bayreuth. War ein Von 1908 bis zu seinem Tod leitete er die Bayreuther Festspiele.

Siegfried Wagner war das dritte Kind von Richard Wagner und Cosima Freifrau von Bülow, einer Tochter von Franz Liszt. Damit er den Nachnamen Wagner führen konnte, wurde Siegfried erst im Alter von vierzehn Monaten, am 4. September 1870, getauft. Eine Heirat der Eltern war erst in jenem Jahr möglich, nachdem Cosimas Scheidung von Hans von Bülow

rechtskräftig geworden war.

Im Jahr 1870 komponierte Richard Wagner anlässlich der Geburt seines Sohnes das Siegfried-Idyll, eine Zusammenstellung von Motiven aus seiner Oper Siegfried. Nach dem Tod des Vaters 1883 trug sich Siegfried Wagner zunächst mit dem Gedanken an ein Studium der Architektur, wandte sich aber dann doch der Musik zu. Seine musikalische Ausbildung erhielt er bei Engelbert Humperdinck und Julius Kniese. Seit 1886 trat Siegfried Wagner auch als Dirigent bei den Bayreuther Festspielen hervor.

Die These, daß Siegfried Wagner der Vater von Walter Aign (1901-1977), dem jüngsten Kind einer Bayreuther Pastorengattin gewesen sei, erweist sich aufgrund neuerer Forschungen von Brigitte Hamann als unzutreffend. Wagners Homosexualität machte ihn zur Zielscheibe von Erpressungen, gegen die er sich auf juristischem Weg zu wehren suchte.

Im Jahr 1908 übernahm Siegfried Wagner von seiner Mutter die Leitung der Bayreuther Festspiele. Mit unermüdlichem Arbeitseifer gelang es ihm, die mit Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges unterbrochene Festspieltradition 1924 wieder aufzunehmen. Zur Finanzierung der kostspieligen Festspiele (der Kartenverkauf hatte damals noch keineswegs den heutigen Umfang) unternahm Siegfried Wagner regelmäßig Konzertreisen als Dirigent, so zum Beispiel Anfang 1924 in die Vereinigten Staaten. Siegfried dirigierte dabei wechselnde Orchester. Die Tournee hatte allerdings nur mäßigen Erfolg: Statt der erhofften 200.000 Dollar blieben nur weniger als 10.000 Dollar für den geplanten Zweck.

1914 kündigte Wagner an, das gesamte Wagner-Erbe in eine Richard-Wagner-Stiftung des deutschen Volkes umzuwandeln. Im Jahre 1915 heiratete er Winifred Williams, die Pflөгetochter Karl Klindworths. Der Ehe entstammen vier Kinder: Wieland, Friedelind, Wolfgang und Verena Wagner.

In den Jahren nach 1924 bemühte sich Siegfried Wagner um eine zeitgemäße Modernisierung der Festspielaufführungen, insbesondere auch durch die Verpflichtung des Bühnenbildners Kurt Söhnlein. 1925 übernahm er gemeinsam mit Winifred Wagner das Ehrenpräsidium des völkischen Bayreuther Bundes der deutschen Jugend.

Am 1. April 1930 starb seine Mutter Cosima Wagner, zu der er ein inniges Verhältnis hatte. 1930 war zudem eine Neuinszenierung des Tannhäuser geplant. Dafür verpflichtete Siegfried Wagner den bedeutenden Dirigenten Arturo Toscanini. Die Proben zu dieser Aufführung erwiesen sich in dem heißen Festspielsommer als äußerst anstrengend. Siegfried Wagner erlitt am 18. Juli 1930 bei einer der Proben einen Herzinfarkt, von dem er sich nicht mehr erholte. Er wurde auf dem Friedhof in Bayreuth beigesetzt.

Nach Siegfrieds Tod übernahm seine Witwe Winifred bis 1944 die Festspielleitung.

Bedingt durch seine Einbindung in den antisemitischen Bayreuther Kreis um Cosima Wagner und Houston Stewart Chamberlain wurde Siegfried Wagner schon früh in die Nähe der deutschnationalen und völkischen Bewegung gerückt und von seinem Schwager wiederholt erpresst, seine kosmopolitische Einstellung zu unterdrücken. Er war ein Abonnent des Völkischen Beobachters, der seit 1920 erschien. Politisch interessierter und wesentlich engagierter als Siegfried war erziehungsbedingt jedoch seine Frau Winifred.

Nach dem von Winifred arrangierten Besuch Adolf Hitlers im Haus Wahnfried am 1. Oktober 1923 kurz nach dem Deutschen Tag in Bayreuth urteilte Siegfried Wagner über den Gast :

« Hitler ist ein prachtvoller Mensch, die echte deutsche Volksseele. »

Nach einem Empfang bei dem italienischen Faschistenführer Benito Mussolini im März 1924 notierte er :

« Alles Wille, Kraft, fast Brutalität. Fanatisches Auge, aber keine Liebeskraft darin wie bei Hitler und Ludendorff. »

Im Juni desselben Jahres schrieb Siegfried Wagner in einem Brief an den Bayreuther Rabbiner Falk Salomon :

« Was ich für ein Unglück für das Deutsche Volk halte, ist die Mischung der jüdischen mit der germanischen Rasse. »

Nachdem er als einer der wenigen Zeitgenossen Hitlers Pamphlet gelesen hatte, machte Siegfried jedoch « offen in Philosemitismus » (Schreiben an Evelyn Faltis, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) .

In einem offenen Brief an Püringer bekannte er : « Mein Vater hat den Juden Unrecht getan » und in seiner Oper Das Flüchlein, das Jeder mitbekam zeichnete er Hitler als brutal-sadistischen Räuberhauptmann Wolf (Hitlers Name in den Kreisen der NS) , der im dritten Akt überführt wird. Das Libretto dieser Oper legte Siegfried Wagner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag allen geladenen Gästen auf den Teller. Noch 1929 äußerte gegenüber seiner Mitarbeiterin Evelyn Faltis : « Mit Juden kann man viel besser arbeiten. » (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)

Ein für den 9. November 1923, Hitlers geplanter « Machtergreifung » , angesetztes festliches Konzert im Münchener Odeon wird als Beleg dafür gewertet, daß Siegfried Wagner um den geplanten Hitler-Ludendorff-Putsch wusste und vom Gelingen des Putsches ausging. Die Komposition Glück, die an dem Abend zur Uraufführung kommen sollte, ist jedoch nicht Hitler gewidmet, sondern, wie und andere Claus Victor Bock in seiner Biographie Pente Pigadia und die Tagebücher des Clement Harris belegt, Siegfrieds Jugendfreund Clement Harris. Nach dem Scheitern des Putsches und Hitlers Verhaftung korrespondierte Winifred Wagner während dessen Festungshaft mit Hitler. Er soll auf Papier geschrieben haben, das Winifred nach Landsberg schickte. Laut Friedelind Wagner, Nacht über Bayreuth, Seite 33 brachte die Begeisterung ihrer Mutter für Hitlers Ideen den Vater zu dem Stoßseufzer « Winni vernichtet alles, was ich verzweifelt aufzubauen versuche » .

Da er grundsätzlich allen jungen männlichen Wagner-Enthusiasten, die Wahnfried besichtigten, das « Du » anbot, wurde Siegfried Wagner spätestens 1925 einer der wenigen Duzfreunde Hitlers. Josef Gæbbels urteilte in einer Tagebucheintragung vom 8. Mai 1926 über Siegfried und Winifred Wagner, die er als « rassiges Weib » ansah, allerdings wenig konspirativ :

« Sie klagt mir ihr Leid. Siegfried ist so schlapp. Pfui! Soll sich vor dem Meister schämen. »

Neben seinem Einsatz für die Bayreuther Festspiele war Siegfried Wagner auch kompositorisch tätig. Er schuf 17 Opern, zu denen er nach dem Vorbild seines Vaters selbst die Libretti schrieb. Einen durchschlagenden Erfolg auf deutschen Bühnen erzielte er nicht. Schon seine erste Oper Der Bärenhäuter wurde 1899 von der Kritik verrissen. Peter Raabe, der in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer wurde, nannte sie in der Allgemeinen Musikzeitung 1899 « stammelnde Kompositionsversuche ». Siegfried Wagner selbst schob die Misserfolge auf « Jüdische Machenschaften » (« Dafür sorgt Judas Hass ») .

Nachdem vor allem Winifred Wagner Aufführungen der Werke ihres verstorbenen Mannes blockiert hatte, erleben sie seit einigen Jahren eine Renaissance (zum Beispiel bei den Rudolstädter Festspielen oder gelegentlichen Inszenierungen vor allem der ersten Oper Der Bärenhäuter auf anderen Bühnen) , zu der auch der Ablauf der Schutzfrist (70 Jahre nach dem Tod des Komponisten) beitrug. Inzwischen liegen mehrere CD-Einspielungen vor, darunter Aufnahmen, die Siegfried Wagners Wirken als Dirigent dokumentieren.

Opern

Der Bärenhäuter - Uraufführung 22. Januar 1899, München.

Herzog Wildfang - Uraufführung 23. März 1901, München.

Der Kobold - Uraufführung 29. Januar 1904, Hamburg.

Bruder Lustig - Uraufführung 13. Oktober 1905, Hamburg.

Sternengebot - Uraufführung 21. Januar 1908, Hamburg.

Banadietrich - Uraufführung 23. Januar 1910, Karlsruhe.

Schwarzschanenreich - Uraufführung 5. November 1918, Karlsruhe.

Sonnenflammen - Uraufführung 30. Oktober 1918, Darmstadt.

Der Heidenkönig - Uraufführung 16. Dezember 1933, Köln.

Der Friedensengel - Uraufführung 4. März 1926, Karlsruhe.

An allem ist Hütchen schuld ! - Uraufführung 6. Dezember 1917, Stuttgart.

Der Schmied von Marienburg - Uraufführung 16. Dezember 1923, Rostock.

Rainulf und Adelasia - 1922 ; Uraufführung (konzertant) 4. Oktober 2003, Metzingen (B.-W.) .

Die heilige Linde - Uraufführung Vorspiel 27. November 1924, Rudolstadt ; Uraufführung komplett 2001, Köln/WDR.

Wahnopfer - Unvollendet, 1928 ; Uraufführung 10. Juni 1994, Rudolstadt.

Walamund - Unvollendet, 1928.

Das Flüchlein, das Jeder mitbekam - Unvollendet, 1929 ; Uraufführung nach posthumer Instrumentierung 4. August 1984, Kiel.

Sonstige Werke

Konzertstück für Flöte und Kleines Orchester (1913) .

Konzert für Violine mit Begleitung des Orchesters (1915) .

Winnie et oncle Wolf

Not « Winifred Wagner » but « Adolf Hitler and Bayreuth » would have been a more appropriate title for Hans Jürgen Syberberg's 5 hour film interview with the widow of the composer's only son, Siegfried, the principal subject being not so much the lady herself as her relationship to the « Führer » during his long involvement with Richard Wagner's Bayreuth. In 1947, a de-Nazification Court convicted Winifred of collaboration and forbade her to make public statements ; hence, this film violates the ruling and breaks a silence of 3 decades.

Cosima Wagner, the composer's wife, outlived him by 47 years, and, for nearly half of this time, directed the Bayreuth Festival that she had revived after his death, in 1883. Her daughter-in-law, the English-born Winifred Williams, succeeded as director for 14 more years (1931-1944) of the 47 by which she has survived Cosima. Neither woman was qualified, by experience or talents, to undertake the Festival's artistic control, though, obviously, Cosima had the stronger mandate. Siegfried Wagner was nominally in charge during his mother's dotage, but, from 1914 through 1924, the Festival was suspended, and, in the later 1920's (Siegfried died in the same year as his mother, in 1930) , Winifred's influence seems to have been predominant. The recent director, her son, Wolfgang, is married to a woman of scarcely half his age, which would have seemed to guarantee matrilineal rule for, at least, another generation, except that, in 1973, the Bavarian government purchased the « Festspielhaus » , the family home (Villa Wahnfried) , the Wagner Archives, and assumed major responsibility for the Festival.

A 2 hour version of Winifred Wagner, condensed from the original and given English titles, is still so tedious that the prospect of having to see the film in its full Wagnerian dimensions makes one disregard the critics who claim that abridgment means falsification. Ironically, Syberberg's high-minded conditions are themselves partly responsible for the monotony. The camera focuses unrelentingly, and with no pictorial supplementation, on the Festival's 78 year old former mistress. And, instead of following a logical plan of organization (by subject matter, since the same themes

disappear and reappear) , the film rigidly adheres to the chronology of the 5 days during which the taping took place.

Clearly, Syberberg's aim was to achieve maximum authenticity and candor, but this purpose is defeated by his own tendentious questions and by a moralistic commentary, larded with quotations from, among others, Walter Benjamin, Egon Friedell, Thomas Mann, Hannah Arendt, Erich Fromm, that makes the viewer squirm. At the end, a smiling « Herr » Syberberg and contented « Frau » Wagner pose together, signifying that the presentation bears her seal of approval. Yet, the film deserves an X-rating, as do all such that lay claim to complete veracity but that, by their very nature, cannot escape the biases of the director.

Despite Syberberg's good intentions and « Frau » Wagner's sanction, she was nonetheless exploited. For one thing, the filming process, at times, confuses her. « Imagine keeping those things running like that » , she exclaims, indicating the camera and recording equipment, and, once, as if to herself, « I would not say this in public » . An inexperienced speaker, especially during a lengthy interview, tends to forget circumstances and to be carried away by a subject. But apart from this, « Frau » Wagner's life has been so confined to the inbred enclave of Bayreuth (in which, moreover, she reigned supreme for so long) that her views lack perspective.

She is oblivious not only to differing and opposing opinions but also to the outside world. And while not unaware of criticisms of her autocratic management of the Festival, and of her flaunting of the friendship with Hitler (« We old Nazis » is one of her favourite locutions) , she unquestionably feels that her conduct, in both capacities, was justified and that she is not without sympathizers. Though momentarily bewildered by the filming, more often she is consciously appealing to posterity, using the arguments that she was never a political person, and that what Hitler did elsewhere was none of her business. « What was going on in the world did not concern me. » , she says, bringing to mind a comment by a young German woman in Marcel Ophüls' « Memory of Justice » : « They deliberately did not try to find-out. » .

Yet, the « defendant's » position is unfair, if only because the course of the interview is directed by the « prosecutor's » questions, while the commentary looks down on the scene in undisputed judgment. Nor do Syberberg's trappings of « fidelity » (the inadequate lighting, the poor sound, the black and white film, the absence of make-up and sets) compensate for the stacked philosophy of the format. These artifices of naturalness might better have been abandoned for a quality of technical realization and such other alleviating devices as the showing of stills of events and people mentioned by « Frau » Wagner. A variety of background and some relief from the concentration on her stony face might also have made the film more palatable for its inevitable educational television audience.

The preservation of the recorded order of the interviews is obstructively pedantic, « Frau » Wagner's own time sense being vague and sketchy, while few of her answers depend on sequence or large contexts. When asked for her evaluation of Gustav Mahler (a loaded question, political rather than musical, being wholly unspecific) , she strays into an anecdote about a dinner with Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel, quoting a joke by Siegfried Wagner about the paternity of Alma's new baby. But either this child was Manon Gropius, born 2 years before Werfel became Alma's consort, in which case Winifred's memory was faulty, or else the child was Werfel's premature and short-lived son, in

which case Siegfried's tasteless witticism might have been deleted. Or would such tampering destroy documentary validity ?

For 2 hours, and at wart-close range, the camera follows the elderly but robust woman, always alone, usually in an armchair but occasionally standing, once at a desk typing with 2 fingers, once eating lunch. Her most conspicuous feature is a jutting jaw, emphasized by erect posture and backward titled head. Her manner is direct, blunt, and, when speaking of Jews, servants, and all social « inferiors » (a not inconsiderable percentage of the population) , insensitive to a scarcely credible degree. The voice is husky and she coughs frequently, but the speech, despite her English upbringing, is without accent. She laughs (at some of Syberberg's questions, at the thought of the « childishness » of such artists as Arturo Toscanini) but the audience is amused only once, by her story that, after the War, she and her friends changed their code name for Hitler from « Wolf » to « USA » . The touchiest subjects fail to ruffle her, though she is often stumped for an expression or a way of approach. True to his veristic guidelines, Syberberg does not interrupt, kibitz, correct.

But there is no respite from the woman's dogmatic pronouncements, class and race prejudice, and consuming self-righteousness. She even sees Hitler (« warm blue-eyed » , « kind » , « considerate ») only in relation to herself, and when pressed to reconcile these impressions of him with the atrocities of the concentration camps and the realities of the « Final Solution » , she off-handedly contends that « such things did not come from him but from Streicher and Bormann » . Indeed, Uncle Wolf's greatest shortcoming was that « he was too easily influenced by such people » . According to Winnie, in fact, Uncle Wolf scarcely appears to have been « anti-Semitic » at all, and thanks to his protection, Jewish artists, and the Jewish wives and husbands of Aryan ones, were allowed to participate in the Festival even in the late- 1930's.

At this point, the commentary contradicts her with a horrifying selection from Hitler's own writings on the subject. Adolf Hitler's spell over Winifred Wagner was cast in the early 1920's. On his 1st visit to Bayreuth, in 1923, she recalls that he visited the Master's grave alone, and came back in a state of great emotion saying that :

« Out of " Parsifal ", I make a religion. »

While Hitler was in prison, she brought food to him, not to mention the paper on which he wrote a best-seller, and she invited him to the Festival, as far back as 1925, when his presence could have had disastrous consequences. These actions alone would seem to indicate what the film bears out : that her interest in him was not primarily for his potential political power, convinced disciple though she was in that sense, but rather that she was in love with him. She is proud and pleased, at any rate, when Syberberg asks about the rumors of a « Winnie - Wolf » marriage, but she is quick to dispose of a question (thereby suggesting that it might be a painful one) whether Hitler refrained out of personal considerations for her from ever mentioning Eva Braun. Winnie boasts that Wolf was « a member of the family » , an « uncle » to her children (whom he, sometimes, helped to put to bed at night) and that he stayed in her home. She adds that, despite his phobia about women drivers, he allowed her to chauffeur him, and that few of her requests were not granted, even during the darkest days of the War. Over and above, his dedication to Wagner, it seems indisputable that Hitler came to Bayreuth to see her.

Regrettably, therefore, the film misses an opportunity to fill-out the private portrait of Hitler that an expert questioner might have extracted from Winifred Wagner, for it is unlikely that any other living woman knew him so intimately and over so long a period (1923-1945) . Although she did not see him after the assassination attempt of July 20, 1944, they continued to communicate, and she was able to recognize when his dosages of anti-depressant drugs had been increased. The latter point is an example of an unexplored detail, since it is obvious that she must know more about the subject than appears in her passing reference to it in the film.

But Syberberg fails even to pursue the question of Hitler's musicality, which grew in interest after the War when Heinz Tietjen, Bayreuth's one-time music-director, testified that the « Führer » once complained to him, correctly, that the oboes had played wrong notes (which Richard Strauß, who was conducting, overlooked) . When Winnie talks about Uncle Wolf's piano playing, the audience wants to know just how good it was, as well as what music, other than Wagner's, Hitler may have known and liked ; something being indicated about a man who is enthralled by Wagner but, perhaps, not by Bach, Mozart, or Beethoven. We would also like to know whether Hitler (perish the thought) could sing (anything, that is, besides « Deutschland über Alles ») for if he really were exceptionally musical, perhaps, new personality tests and some surveillance should be introduced into our Conservatories.

In sum, the film reveals how much closer was Hitler's relationship with Winifred Wagner and her family than had previously been known, and how much more profound his association with Bayreuth. In fact, Winnie's son-in-law was the director of the « Kraft durch Freude » (KdF) organization which bought-up most of the seats during the War and partly filled them with wounded and furloughed soldiers ; a sadistic form of rest and recreation, as might appear to some. Near the end of the film, Winnie answers the question, « Was Hitler a curse on Wagner and Bayreuth ? » with « Exactly the contrary. » ; and, undoubtedly, she believes in his eventual exoneration, and her own. But when she confesses that, « If Hitler were to come through that door, I would be as happy to see him as ever. » , the feeling is personal, all the more strikingly so because of the absence of emotion during most of the interview.

Following the recent reversal of literary genres, the film has been made into a book, and the script should soon be available. Meanwhile, the history of the Wagner dynasty in Bayreuth may be studied in 3 new volumes of pictures. One of these, « The Wagner Family Albums » , a collection of private photographs, includes views of Hitler with Winifred, and of Hitler with her children. Another, « Richard Wagner in Bayreuth » , is misleadingly titled, little of the book being devoted to the composer and most of it to his heirs and their supervision of the Festival. (A reason for the brevity of the section on Wagner may be the imminent publication of the 2nd part of « Cosima Wagner's Diaries » which center on the Bayreuth period, 1878-1882.) The text, by Hans Mayer, is as intelligent and fair in its analyses of people and events as any that the reader is likely to encounter on the subject, yet, silly remarks occur, such as that Siegfried Wagner showed a new, freer disposition. The trauma seemed to abate. He died because of this. Could Siegfried live only when traumatized ? And what is the meaning of Siegfried Wagner died during the Bayreuth Festival. It was but one of the many ironic set-backs in this seemingly happy and successful life. Admittedly, death is something of a « set-back » , but Siegfried's life, on the contrary, must have been profoundly sad, and he was one of the least successful composers of his time.

The documentation by Gottfried Wagner, one of Richard's 11 great-grand-children, contains new information, but the sources are not identified beyond « The Wagner Archives », and no dates are given for most of the photographs, the choice of which, furthermore, is peculiar. Thus one chapter begins with a reference to the well-known portrait of the loving Cosima looking-up into the reciprocating Richard's eyes, yet, this picture is nowhere to be found in the book, while the one facing the verbal description is of the widow in old age. Then, too, apart from the cover, only 3 portraits are offered of Wagner himself : seated, with demonic upward gaze ; with his right-hand on the shoulder of his young son ; and in a Villa Wahnfried « Royal Family » group portrait, in which King Richard, wearing a wide brimmed summer hat. The book does not contain any photographs of Hitler, but Mayr quotes passages from recent publications as evidence that « the new Bayreuth » is, by no means, de-Nazified. Winfried Schüler's « Der Bayreuther Kreis » (1971) , for instance, praises Julius Kniese (Cosima's assistant and Siegfried's teacher) for his « rigorous anti-Semitism » , while a 1969 biography of Wagner's son actually reproaches Malwida von Meysenbug for her lack of racist instincts in contrast to the convinced anti-Semite, Siegfried Wagner.

The illustrations that comprise the 1st half of « Wagner : A Documentary Study » include a generous number in colour, of manuscripts, programs, costume designs, paintings, the places and theaters in which the composer lived and worked. The 2nd half of the book is an anthology of writings both by and about the composer chosen by 3 eminent Wagner scholars. Much less satisfactory is the preface, « Divergences : The Man and His Work » , by that more recent arrival among Wagner ideologues and apologists, Pierre Boulez. In an earlier essay, « Approaches to Wagner » , Boulez expediently avoided any mention of the composer's controversial doctrines. That subject should have been side-stepped again this time. In any case, readers will be astonished to learn from Boulez that, for example, Wagner was « a committed Christian » , and that Wagner, steeped in the Romantic idealism of medieval myths, adds to the political and cultural reaction of the 19th Century the prejudices of a militant Christian.

The notion of Wagner acting-out of Christian belief and principle is patently ridiculous, nor was his anti-Semitism religiously motivated, the earlier brand having been chiefly of the paranoid and scapegoating kind, the later based on quack anthropology such as Joseph Arthur de Gobineau's « Essay on the Inequality of Races » . Certainly, neither manifestation deserves to be dignified by Boulez's term « concept » : Wagner does represent an amalgam of concepts on which it was only too easy to draw in order to label him the leader of a particularly vicious crusade.

So it was Wagner, not « the Jews » , who was maligned and victimized. No less preposterous is the remark that a series of misunderstandings converts Wagner's work into a narrow-minded symbol of nationalism and racism. But no conversion was possible since the nationalism and racism were already plainly there, even for the broadest minds. The further statement that political ideology took hold of Wagner's work and raised it by force as its own banner implies, of course, that no kindred spirit existed in « Parsifal » or in the composer's contemporaneous writings, such as « Religion and Art » , some of whose tenets, as Walter Kaufmann noted, Hitler was later to enforce by law.

Many of Boulez's comments on the artistic aspects of Wagner's world are also puzzling, but, for only one example, Boulez deplors that, as for architecture, the model of Bayreuth has remained a dead letter. We still live with the Italian style theater in which the singer's voice attempts to penetrate the wall of sound raised before it. Which « wall of sound » ? Mozart's ? Verdi's ? Would the acoustical balances and orchestral-vocal rapport of « Figaro » or « Falstaff

» benefit from such subterranean structures as that of Bayreuth ?

Incomparably superior to this preface is Boulez's more recent Wagner essay, « Time Re-explored ». This deserves to be widely read, not only for its insights but also as a measure of the evolution of Boulez's own views on music. Ist, however, it must be said that the « re-exploration of time » is simply the familiar idea of a « dialectic » between « the opposition of chromatic and diatonic », which are respectively identified with « fluid and rigid time ». Wagner's « re-exploration » is merely a vast enlargement of scale, the principle being as old as the early 16th Century, thereafter rapidly becoming conventionalized. For the rest, some of Boulez's speculations are brilliant, some are highly-debatable, and a few are specious, as when he says that Wagner has extended the limits of variation well beyond even that which he found in Beethoven. Obviously, Boulez continues to believe that changes in style (though he would not agree that these are such) can be explained as progress.

This new article on Wagner also reveals that Boulez has not changed his mind about the separation of the ideology from the music :

« In that Europe of Marx and Engels where Wagner had hoped to play an ideological part, he did not cut a very brilliant figure ; but the dramaturge, the musician Wagner offers a perpetual denial of Wagner the ideologist : on that plane, he is and remains unrivalled and completely subversive. It is not at all surprising that 2 Jews, Mahler and Schönberg, should be the most distinguished inheritors of the musical ideas of the most obtuse anti-Semite ; for his musical heritage remains the privilege of those who can understand it, grasp and absorb it, while his ideological legacy went to Wolzogen and Chamberlain and (subsequent to their insipidity) was adopted by a political power, by no means insipid, which made use of the musical testimony as well as the ideological ambiguity to camouflage its tyrannical brutality. The political power of the Nazis would have existed anyway, with or without music ; like all such political powers, they looked for intellectual justifications and tried to base the « Masterpieces of the national inheritance » on a certain historicity. In that case, Wagner's text offered itself as camouflage, but his music remained irrefragible, and that is why his music still lives although his ideology is already no more than a document. »

But, surely, the power of the ideology is in the music, which cannot be entirely dissociated from the dramatic and verbal meaning. If the ideology of « Parsifal » is pernicious, so, too, in some degree, is the music, which is not to deny its greatness. He considered himself a genius. He was a leader, and he believed that by virtue of his special gifts he could command subordination and allegiance. He considered himself removed from the realm of rational criticism by reason of his self-appreciation.

Thus, Walter Scheel, President of the « Bundesrepublik », in a speech inaugurating the Bayreuth Festival of 1976. Was he referring to Richard Wagner or to Adolf Hitler ? It was to the latter, in fact, which contradicts the President's further claim (the fallacy of most apologias for Wagner « vis-à-vis » Hitler) that it was hardly Wagner's fault that Hitler liked him. Yet, to some extent, it was Wagner's fault, so long as things equal to the same thing are also equal to each other. And there is truth in Erik Satie's « bon mot » on being told that Maurice Ravel had refused the legion of honour : « But he should not have done anything to deserve it. ». To name only one of the charges against Wagner's Operas, they are guilty of glorifying nationalism and the power of arms.

Like Wagner's grand- and great-grand-children, Scheel hopes to de-Nazify the Festival. Yet, it is doubtful that this can be done. On the other hand, Winnie's pro-Nazi confessions could conceivably save Bayreuth. The film unleashed an unexpected reaction among German audiences, some of whom admired her honesty in saying what she and many of them felt, preferring her forthrightness to the rationalizations and ambiguities of the politicians and « intelligentsia », As an instance of this, Syberberg concludes his sermon : « It is easy not to be a Nazi when no Hitler is around. » .

Winifred Wagner's continuing loyalty to Hitler is totally misplaced, of course, as well as evidence of a seemingly unbalanced mind, otherwise the revelations of 1945 would have compelled her to deplore her former blindness. Yet, by exposing Bayreuth as the spiritual center of Nazism, her interview invalidates the argument that Wagnerism and its unfortunate heritage are « divergences » . The moral of the film is that the wisest course would be to tell the whole truth and to acknowledge that even the worst of it is an integral part of Bayreuth history. Men and institutions carry the past with them, after all, and to pretend that it is possible to make a new start which is not laid on old foundation is foolish. The acceptance of the full story might at last afford an objective view and, perhaps, even turn Bayreuth's oppressive and uncritical worship into free and intelligent appreciation.

A « Letter from Bayreuth » , published in « The New Yorker » , September 27, 1976, claims that, « Wagner himself hired the brilliant Hermann Levi, a Jew, to conduct the premiere of “ Parsifal ” . » . In truth, it was King Ludwig who insisted on Levi against Wagner's wishes and who would not permit the Munich Orchestra to appear in Bayreuth without the Munich conductor. Wagner, for his part, expressed empathic anxiety feelings for anyone having to work under Levi : « Richard remarked to me privately that, if he were playing in the Orchestra, he wouldn't like to be directed by a Jew. » (From Cosima Wagner's Diaries, July 22, 1882.)

Le Cercle de Bayreuth

« The Bayreuth Circle » (« Der Bayreuther Kreis ») was a name originally applied, by some writers, to devotees of Richard Wagner's music who attended and supported the annual Bayreuth Festival, in the later 19th and early 20th Centuries. As some of these devotees espoused nationalistic German politics, and some of them were supporters of Adolf Hitler from the 1920's onwards, this group of people has been associated by some writers with the rise of Nazism.

The term « Bayreuth Circle » was originally applied to the enthusiasts of Wagner's music who were also associated with or subscribed to the publication « Bayreuther Blätter » , established in the 1880's by Wagner himself and edited by Baron Hans von Wolzogen. This journal, apart from containing snippets by Wagner himself on social, political and æsthetic matters, was also strongly nationalistic and anti-Semitic. Its circulation was small and it was not politically influential.

After the death of Wagner, in 1883, his 2nd wife Cosima, in continuing to propagate what she saw as her husband's views, was supported by a number of active anti-Semites, including Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Ludwig Schemann. Schemann, the founder of the German Gobineau Society, « did a great deal to bring Gobineau's term “ Aryan ” into vogue amongst German racists » . Chamberlain (who died in 1927) wrote an influential anti-Semitic book,

« The Foundations of the 19th Century » , and married Eva Wagner, daughter of the composer.

There was never any organisation named « The Bayreuth Circle » or any group of people who identified themselves by that name ; but the term has been used by some historians from about the 1960's onwards as a convenient label for Hitler supporters associated with Bayreuth. Examples of such association are given in the following citations :

« Only with timely support from “ The Bayreuth Circle ”, especially Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Winifred Wagner, and henchmen like Dietrich Eckhart of the Thule Society, could the unimpressive Hitler assume the self- then public image of a Wotan / Siegfried figure, complete with telling nickname :“ Wolf ”. »

« Thus, Hitler himself admitted :“ It was Cosima Wagner's merit to have created the link between Bayreuth and National-Socialism. ” It was “ The Bayreuth Circle ” which raised Wagner's message to the status of gospel, manoeuvring his ideas into a Germanic-Christian doctrine of salvation. »

Strong on assertion, such statements are void of supporting evidence : it should be borne in mind that Eckhardt died in 1923, Chamberlain was dead in 1927, and Cosima Wagner in 1930, i.e. , before the 1st political victory of the Nazi Party, in the September 1930 elections. Whilst these personages were (or would have been) undoubtedly supporters of Hitler, they played little or no part, and had no influence, in his climb to power. These citations also make the typical, and unsubstantiated, assumption of many modern historians that the German people in general (or even active Nazis, in particular) knew, or cared, anything at all about Wagner or his Operas.

Evidence for any political active role played by a « Bayreuth Circle » as a group is, therefore, highly-contentious.

Amongst those often listed as « members » of a Hitlerian « Bayreuth Circle » are Cosima Wagner (who died in 1930) , 2nd wife of the composer ; Winifred Wagner, wife of the composer's son Siegfried ; and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. None of the Wagners, however, played any personally active role in the Nazi movement, although Hitler was undoubtedly influenced by Chamberlain's « Foundations of the 19th Century » . Chamberlain himself joined the Nazi Party and contributed to its publications. The Nazi journal « Völkischer Beobachter » dedicated 5 columns to praising him on his 70th birthday, describing Foundations as the « Gospel of the Nazi movement » . Hitler later attended Chamberlain's funeral, in January 1927, along with several highly-ranked members of the Nazi Party. Other members of the putative « Circle » , such as Winifred Wagner, were sycophants of Hitler, partly from political sympathy, partly in the hopes of obtaining advantages (including financial support) for the Bayreuth Festival. There is, however, no evidence that the actions of either Chamberlain or Winifred Wagner (or others associated with Bayreuth) led Hitler to power or had any influence over him once he obtained it.

Later in the Nazi era, as part of the regime's propaganda intentions of « Nazifying » German culture, specific attempts were made to appropriate Wagner's music as « Nazi » and pseudo-academic articles appeared such as Paul Bülow's « Adolf Hitler and the Bayreuth Ideological Circle » (in : « Zeitschrift für Musik » , July 1933) . Such articles, as pointed out by Frederic Spotts, were Nazi attempts to rewrite history to demonstrate that Hitler was integral to German culture. Modern writers who assert any political or social significance to « The Bayreuth Circle » risk falling into the

traps thus set by Nazi ideologues.

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The « Bayreuth Circle » coalesced in the mid-1870's around 3 key events that continued to shape its history and development. The 1st of these was the opening of the Festival theater in Bayreuth and the premiere performance of Richard Wagner's « Ring » cycle, which brought together a far-flung community of Wagner enthusiasts. Efforts that began on the plane of shared artistic values, however, then extended to much broader areas of concern.

The 2nd foundational event, in the autumn of 1877, was the re-location to Bayreuth, at Wagner's behest, of Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen, the figure who played the most influential role in the history of the « Circle » and the development of its ideas. A dramatist and a music-critic rather than a musician (he is said to have coined the term « Leitmotif ») Wolzogen helped found and then edit the « Bayreuther Blätter » (Bayreuth Pages) . For nearly 60 years, he functioned as the organizer, promoter, steward, and major interpreter of the cultural and intellectual body of thought entrusted to him, preserving the Master's legacy and pursuing its logic even further. He was, for example, one of the 1st to proclaim the « Aryan Jesus » , even though Wagner had not dared to go that far when he questioned Jesus' Jewish descent in the « Bayreuther Blätter » . His anti-Semitism, too, went beyond what Wagner was willing to espouse publicly. He called for a ban on Jews in the professions and their compulsory emigration to the colonies ; unlike Wagner, he signed the « Anti-Semites' Petition » (1880-1881) . As early as 1924, he opened the « Bayreuther Blätter » to the Nazis.

After Wagner and his wife, Cosima, Baron Hans von Wolzogen stood clearly at the top of the « Circle » 's hierarchy. Below him came many of the charismatic leader's « apostles of the “ Inner Circle ” » , among them Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Ludwig Schemann, and Bernhard Forster, men whose anti-Semitism ranged from the radical to the paranoid. Wolzogen's eminence did not go unchallenged, however. There were enough controversies and crises, especially with Chamberlain, to keep the « Circle » from developing into a disciplined league.

The 3rd formative event in the history of the « Circle » was the establishment of the « Bayreuther Blätter » , in early 1878. Dedicated to the art and world-view of Richard Wagner, it was intended to serve as the literary vehicle for the cultural movement that would radiate out from Bayreuth into the world beyond, a mission the journal fulfilled until it ceased appearing at Wolzogen's death in, 1938. Wagner's works established the themes and the tone, foregrounding the « völkisch » (racist-nationalist) and anti-Semitic nature of his views. Other « prophetic » Germans (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich von Schiller, Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Ernst Moritz Arndt, and Paul de Lagarde) appeared frequently. Thanks to the efforts of Cosima Wagner, the race theories of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau were taken with utmost seriousness. It was Cosima who commissioned Wolzogen to give thorough exposure to Gobineau's « Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races » .

Anti-Semitism ; racially defined nationalism ; rejection of Socialism and Liberalism ; and the reform of culture and « life » , art, and religion were the constantly reiterated themes that produced a unique ideological amalgam in the « Bayreuther Blätter » . In its pages, Aryan Germandom was glorified and Jews denigrated, relegated to the role of the

inimical counterrace. But it is, perhaps, inaccurate to speak of a single Bayreuth ideology, even in the matter of anti-Semitism ; its proponents sometimes used racial arguments, sometimes religious, economic, or ethical ones. In their anti-Semitism, Wagner and his followers in the « Bayreuth Circle » doubtlessly belonged on the German Right, probably somewhere between the aesthetically inclined and those given over to Germanic religion.

After its 1st year, in which the « Bayreuther Blätter » was brought-out by the anti-Semitic publisher and grassroots organizer Ernst Schmeitzner, the Journal appeared from its own press until 1913, when it was farmed-out to an external firm. It remained home to members of the « Circle » but also opened its pages to many other prominent anti-Semites, such as Constantin Frantz, Ottomar Beta, Adolph Wahrmund, Friedrich Lienhard, Heinrich Pudor, and many others. These individuals can be considered extended members of the « Circle » . Together, they stood for the segregation of Jews from the German national body politic. They normally kept their distance from « rowdy » anti-Semitism, but nonetheless, the ideological affinities to the anti-Semitic political Parties of the German Empire and, later, to the Nazis were unmistakable. From the beginning, anti-Semitism was omnipresent in Bayreuth's « milieu » .

Houston Stewart Chamberlain

L'essayiste anglais d'expression allemande, principalement connu comme théoricien raciaiste, Houston Stewart Chamberlain est né le 9 septembre 1855 à Southsea, dans le Hampshire en Angleterre, et est mort le 9 janvier 1927 à Bayreuth. Dès l'âge de 14 ans : sa famille l'y avait envoyé pour soigner une santé fragile. Son précepteur allemand lui apprit sa langue et l'amena à se passionner pour la culture germanique. Il devint un habitué des milieux intellectuels wagnériens et épousa Eva, fille de Richard Wagner.

Dans l'ouvrage qui le rendit célèbre, « la Genèse du XIXe siècle » (1899) , Chamberlain soutenait que la race supérieure décrite par Gobineau (« race » indo-européenne que Chamberlain désignait sous le terme de « race aryenne ») était l'ancêtre de toutes les classes dirigeantes d'Europe et d'Asie, qu'elle n'avait pas cessé d'exister et qu'elle subsistait à l'état pur en Allemagne.

Chamberlain incluait dans la race aryenne les peuples celtiques et nordiques qu'il considérait comme appartenant à la même famille germanique ainsi que les Berbères d'Afrique du Nord. Son œuvre fut appréciée et lui valut d'être invité à la Cour du « Kaiser » Guillaume II. Durant la Première Guerre mondiale, Chamberlain écrivit des articles contre son pays d'origine et prit la nationalité allemande.

Il fut l'un des principaux représentants du pan-germanisme et consacra plusieurs monographies à des personnalités allemandes telles que Richard Wagner, Heinrich von Stein, Kant et Goethe. Ses écrits inspirèrent notamment Alfred Rosenberg et Adolf Hitler, l'une des rares personnes présentes à ses funérailles en 1927.

Publications

Das Drama Richard Wagners : Eine Anregung (1892) .

Richard Wagner (1895) .

Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (Genèse du XIXe siècle) (1899) .

Arische Weltanschauung (1905) .

Avec Friedrich Poske : Heinrich von Stein und seine Weltanschauung (1903) .

Immanuel Kant : Die Persönlichkeit als Einführung in das Werk (1905) .

Gœthe (1912) .

Kriegsaufsätze (1915) .

Lebenswege meines Denkens (1919) .

...

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, dont la vie et l'œuvre constituent l'une des ironies les plus fascinantes dans l'inexorable processus historique qui devait amener la montée et la chute du 3e « Reich » .

Ce Britannique de belle lignée (fils d'amiral, il avait pour oncles un maréchal, Sir Neville Chamberlain, et 2 généraux) qui naquit en 1855, se destinait à la marine ou à l'armée ; mais sa santé délicate ruina ces projets. Le jeune homme fit ses études en France et à Genève, où il s'acclimata si bien que le français devint sa langue préférée. Il était encore adolescent quand le destin le mit, successivement, en présence de 2 Allemands ; rencontre décisive qui devait le pousser irrésistiblement vers l'univers germanique. Il devait, en effet, devenir l'un des grands penseurs de l'Allemagne d'alors, en prendre la nationalité et, même, en adopter la langue dans laquelle il allait écrire tous ses livres. Plusieurs de ses ouvrages exercèrent une influence profonde sur Guillaume II, sur Adolf Hitler et sur d'innombrables Allemands de moindre importance.

En 1870, âgé de 14 ans, Chamberlain se trouva entre les mains d'un précepteur remarquable, Otto Kuntze, prussien à l'extrême, qui, 4 années durant, imprégna son jeune esprit réceptif et son âme sensible des gloires de la Prusse militaire et conquérante, ainsi que de celles d'artistes et de poètes tels que Beethoven, Gœthe, Schiller et Wagner ; apparemment, ce contraste ne gênait pas le pédagogue ! À 19 ans, Chamberlain tomba follement amoureux d'Anna Horst, Prussienne elle aussi, son aînée de 10 ans, et, comme lui, névropathe. À 27 ans, en 1882, il quitta Genève, où il s'était plongé, pendant 3 ans, dans l'étude de la philosophie, des sciences naturelles et de la médecine pour Bayreuth. Il y rencontra Wagner, qui devint le soleil de sa vie (ce sont ses termes) , et sa femme Cosima, à laquelle il demeura passionnément et dévotement attaché jusqu'à sa mort. Dès 1885, quand il alla en compagnie d'Anna Horst, qu'il avait épousée, passer 4 années à Dresde, il devint Allemand de langue et de pensée. En 1889, il se rendit à Vienne, où il vécut 20 ans, et, en 1909 à Bayreuth, où il habita jusqu'à sa mort en 1927. En 1905, il divorça d'avec sa Prussienne

adorée, alors qu'elle avait 60 ans et qu'elle était mentalement et physiquement encore plus mal en point que lui ; la séparation fut si pénible qu'il prétendit en être devenu presque fou. 3 ans plus tard, il épousa Eva Wagner et se retira près de la Villa « Wahnfried » , où il pouvait voisiner avec sa belle-mère, l'autoritaire et réverée Cosima.

Hypersensible, sujet à de fréquentes crises d'abattement, Chamberlain était affligé de visions où, disait-il, des démons lui enjoignaient sans pitié ni relâche de rechercher de nouveaux champs d'étude et de poursuivre ses extraordinaires travaux. Elles le forçaient successivement à passer de la botanique aux Beaux-arts, à la musique, à la philosophie, à la biographie, à l'histoire. Un jour de 1896, alors qu'il revenait d'Italie, une de ces apparitions eut un caractère si impérieux qu'il descendit du train à Gardone, s'enferma pendant 1 semaine dans une chambre d'hôtel et, abandonnant un projet d'œuvre musicale, entreprit fiévreusement un essai biologique, où il découvrit l'embryon du thème qui allait dominer tous ses ouvrages ultérieurs, celui de la, race et de l'histoire.

Nonobstant ses tares, son intelligence disposait d'un vaste éventail qui couvrait les domaines de la littérature, de la musique, de la biologie, de la botanique, de la religion, de l'histoire et de la politique. Comme l'a signalé Jean Réa, tous ses travaux publiés montrent une profonde unité d'inspiration et une cohérence remarquable. Etant donné qu'il se sentait pourchassé par ses démons, ses livres (sur Wagner, sur Goethe, sur Kant, sur le christianisme et sur la race) étaient écrits sous l'étreinte d'une surexcitation terrible, combinaison d'état de transe et d'auto-intoxication, si bien que, comme il le raconte dans son autobiographie, « Lebenswege » , il était souvent incapable de les reconnaître, parce qu'ils dépassaient ce qu'il en attendait. Des esprits plus équilibrés que lui ont, depuis, infirmé ses théories raciales et une grande partie de sa position historique. L'éminent germanisant français Edmond Vermeil tient ses idées pour essentiellement absurdes. Néanmoins, pour le biographe anti-nazi d'Hitler, Konrad Heiden, qui d'ailleurs regrettait l'influence exercée par les écrits racistes de Chamberlain, celui-ci « fut un des talents les plus remarquables qui se soient manifestés dans l'histoire de l'esprit allemand, en même temps qu'une mine de connaissances et d'idées profondes » .

Le livre qui exerça sur cet intellect allemand l'influence la plus prononcée, qui plongea Guillaume II dans l'extase et qui fournit aux Nazis la matière de leurs aberrations racistes fut « Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts » (Fondements du XIXe siècle) , ouvrage de quelque 1,200 pages, que Chamberlain, retombé sous la griffe d'un de ses « démons » , écrivit en 19 mois (du 1er avril 1897 au 31 octobre 1898) , à Vienne, et qui fut publié en 1899.

Tout comme Gobineau qu'il admirait, Chamberlain voyait la clef de l'histoire, la base de la civilisation dans la race. Pour expliquer le XIXe siècle, c'est-à-dire le monde contemporain, il disait qu'il fallait d'abord examiner ce que les époques précédentes lui avaient apporté ; ce legs était triple : la philosophie et l'art de la Grèce ; la loi Romaine ; la personnalité du Christ. Et il y avait 3 légataires : les Juifs et les Allemands, qui étaient les « 2 races pures » , puis les sang-mêlé latins de la Méditerranée, qu'il appelait un « chaos de peuples » . Seuls, les Allemands avaient droit au splendide héritage. Il est vrai que leur venue dans l'histoire ne remontait qu'au XIIIe siècle ; mais ils avaient prouvé leur valeur auparavant, en détruisant l'Empire Romain.

Chamberlain déclare :

« Il est faux que le Teuton barbare ait fait descendre sur l'Europe ce qu'on appelle la nuit de Moyen-âge ; bien plutôt, cette nuit survint après la faillite intellectuelle et morale du chaos humain sans race engendré par l'Empire Romain dans son agonie. Sans le Teuton, une nuit éternelle se serait appesantie sur le globe. »

Car, au temps qu'il s'exprimait ainsi, Chamberlain, plaçait dans le Teuton l'unique espoir du monde. Parmi les « Teutons », et quoique ceux-ci fussent les éléments de l'ensemble, Chamberlain comprenait aussi les Celtes et les Slaves. Il est cependant très catégorique dans ses définitions et il assure quelque part que « quiconque se comporte en Teuton est un Teuton, quelle que soit la souche de sa race ». Peut-être se souvint-il alors de son origine non allemande. En tout cas, le Teuton était, selon lui, « l'âme de notre civilisation ».

« L'importance de toute nation, en tant que puissance vivante d'aujourd'hui est, en proportion de l'authentique sang teuton de sa population. L'histoire véritable commence au moment où le Teuton, de sa main souveraine, prend dans sa poigne le legs de l'antiquité. »

Et les Juifs ? C'est à eux qu'il consacre le plus long chapitre des « Fondements ». Chamberlain prétend que les Juifs et les Teutons représentent les seules races pures subsistant en Occident. Dans le chapitre en question, il condamne « l'antisémitisme stupide et révoltant ». Il assure que les Juifs ne sont pas « inférieurs » aux Teutons, mais seulement qu'ils sont « différents » d'eux. Ils ont leur grandeur propre, ils comprennent le « devoir sacré » qui incombe à l'homme de maintenir la pureté de la race. Pourtant, quand il entreprend d'analyser ce qui les concerne, Chamberlain sombre dans le même antisémitisme vulgaire qu'il condamne chez les autres, antisémitisme aboutissant aux grossièretés des caricatures qui, au temps d'Adolf Hitler, paraissaient contre les Juifs dans « Der Stürmer », le périodique de Julius Streicher.

L'absurdité des opinions de Chamberlain saute aux yeux. Il a déclaré que la personnalité du Christ est un des 3 grands legs : faits par l'Antiquité à la civilisation moderne. Il entreprend alors de « prouver » que Jésus n'était pas Juif. Ses origines galiléennes, son incapacité à prononcer correctement les gutturales aramaïques constituent pour Chamberlain des « signes nets », indiquant que le Christ avait « une forte proportion de sang non sémite ». Puis, il proclame en termes typiquement décisifs :

« Quiconque a prétendu que Jésus était un Juif, ou bien s'est montré stupide, ou bien a menti. Jésus n'était pas juif. »

Qu'était-il donc ? Chamberlain répond :

« Probablement, un Aryen ! »

Sinon, tout à fait par le sang, du moins et très certainement à cause de sa doctrine morale et religieuse, si nettement opposée « au matérialisme et au formalisme abstrait » du judaïsme. Il était, par conséquent, naturel (aux yeux de Chamberlain, en tout cas) que le Christ devint « le dieu de tous les jeunes peuples indo-européens débordants de vie » et, par-dessus tout, celui des Teutons, parce que « nul autre peuple n'était aussi bien doué qu'eux pour écouter cette voix divine ».

Vient ensuite ce qui est supposé constituer une histoire détaillée de la race juive, depuis l'époque du mélange des Sémites ou bédouins du désert, avec « les Hittites à tête ronde » , qui avaient un « nez juif » et, enfin, avec les Amorrites, qui étaient aryens. Malheureusement, le mélange aryen (les Amorrites, affirme Chamberlain, étaient de grands et magnifiques blonds) se produisit trop tard pour réellement améliorer l'élément hébreu « corrompu » . À partir de là, Chamberlain se trouve en contradiction avec toute sa théorie de la pureté de la race juive et il découvre que les Juifs deviennent une race « négative » et « abâtardie » , de sorte que les Aryens ont à bon droit « refusé » Israël. En fait, il blâme les Aryens d'avoir conféré aux Juifs un « halo de fausse gloire » , puis il trouve que ces derniers « manquent lamentablement de vraie religion » .

En fin de compte, Chamberlain pense que la voie du salut passe par les Teutons et leur culture et que les Allemands sont les plus doués d'entre eux, car ils ont hérité les meilleures qualités des Grecs et des Indo-Aryens. Cela leur donne le droit d'être les Maîtres du monde.

« Dieu ne fait fond aujourd'hui que sur les seuls Allemands, a-t-il écrit ailleurs. Telles sont la conviction et la vérité certaine qui sont les miennes depuis des années. »

La publication des « Fondements du XIXe siècle » créa une sensation et valut à leur étrange auteur anglais un renom soudain en Allemagne. Malgré son éloquence coutumière et la tenue de son style (Chamberlain était un artiste-né) , le livre n'était pas d'une lecture facile. Mais il ne tarda pas à être bien accueilli par les classes dirigeantes, qui semblent y avoir trouvé exactement ce qu'elles désiraient croire. En 10 ans, il eut 8 éditions, avec une vente de 60,000 exemplaires ; quand éclata la Guerre de 1914, ce chiffre atteignait 100,000. Cette faveur du public se renouvela pendant la période nazie, et je me rappelle l'annonce de sa 24e édition, en 1938 ; la vente dépassait alors 250,000 exemplaires.

Le « Kaiser » Guillaume II fut l'un de ses lers et de ses plus enthousiastes lecteurs. Il invita Chamberlain à son Palais de Potsdam ; dès leur Ire rencontre se forma entre eux une amitié qui dura jusqu'à la mort de l'auteur, en 1927, et qui fut marquée par une copieuse correspondance. Certaines des 43 lettres que Chamberlain écrivit à l'Empereur (qui lui envoya 23 réponses) étaient de longs essais que Guillaume II utilisa dans plusieurs de ses discours et déclarations sensationnels.

« C'est Dieu qui a adressé votre livre au peuple allemand, et vous qui me l'avez personnellement adressé » , lui manda-t-il dans une de ses lres missives.

L'obséquiosité de Chamberlain et ses flatteries exagérées sont parfois écœurantes :

« Votre Majesté et ses sujets sont nés dans un Saint-Sanctuaire » , écrit-il.

Ajoutant pour Guillaume II qu'il avait placé son portrait dans son cabinet, vis-à-vis celui du Christ par Léonard de Vinci, de sorte que, pendant son travail, il allait souvent de l'image de son Sauveur à celle de son souverain.

Cette servilité n'empêchait pas Chamberlain d'offrir continuellement des conseils au monarque. En 1908, l'opposition populaire faite à Guillaume II était telle qu'on vit le « Reichstag » désapprouver sa désastreuse intervention dans les affaires étrangères ; Chamberlain ne lui en déclara pas moins que l'opinion publique étant fabriquée par des idiots et des traîtres, il n'avait pas à en tenir compte ; l'Empereur lui répondit que, tous les 2, ils s'entendraient et se serreraient les coudes :

« Vous brandissez votre plume ; j'use de ma langue et de mon épée. »

L'Anglais ne manquait jamais de rappeler au « Kaiser » la mission et la destinée de l'Allemagne.

« Lorsque l'Allemagne aura vaincu (écrit-il, après le début de la Première Guerre mondiale et nous pouvons y compter avec confiance) , il faudra qu'elle s'adonne immédiatement à une politique scientifique de génie. Auguste entreprit ainsi une transformation politique du monde ; l'Allemagne doit faire de même. Pourvue d'armes offensives et défensives, organisée aussi fermement et complètement que son année, supérieure à tous en art, en science, en technologie, en industrie, en commerce, en finance, bref, en tous les domaines ; guide, pilote et pionnière du monde ; chaque homme à son poste, chaque homme donnant toutes ses forces à la cause Sainte ; ainsi, l'Allemagne conquerra le monde au moyen de son essentielle supériorité. »

Guillaume II décora Chamberlain de la « Croix de fer » pour avoir incité à une si glorieuse mission son pays d'adoption. (Il s'était fait naturaliser Allemand, en 1916, en pleine guerre.)

Toutefois ce fut le 3e « Reich » qui ne fut instauré que 6 ans après sa mort, mais dont il prévit la venue, que l'influence de cet Anglais s'exerça le plus fortement. Ses théories racistes et son sens ardent de la destinée des Allemands et de l'Allemagne furent repris par les Nazis, qui l'acclamèrent comme un de leurs prophètes. Durant le régime hitlérien, les presses répandirent à foison des livres, des brochures et des articles célébrant le « fondateur spirituel » de l'Allemagne nationale-socialiste. Alfred Rosenberg, un des mentors d'Adolf Hitler, s'efforça souvent de lui communiquer l'enthousiasme qu'il éprouvait à l'endroit de Chamberlain. Il est probable que le « Führer » eut connaissance de ses écrits avant de quitter Vienne, car ils étaient répandus et appréciés dans les groupes pan-germanistes et antisémites, dont il dévorait les élucubrations lors de cette période ancienne. Sans doute aussi lut-il des articles chauvins de Chamberlain pendant la Guerre. Dans « Mein Kampf », il exprime le regret que les observations de l'écrivain n'aient pas été mieux écoutées au cours du 2e « Reich » .

Chamberlain fut un des Iers intellectuels qui, en Allemagne, prévirent un grand avenir pour Hitler et de nouvelles chances de succès pour les Allemands, s'ils le suivaient. Hitler avait fait sa connaissance à Bayreuth, en 1923 ; quoique malade, à demi-paralysé, déçu par la défaite et par la chute des « Hohenzollern » (écroulement de tous ses espoirs et de toutes ses prophéties !) , l'écrivain se sentit soulevé par l'éloquence du jeune Autrichien. Dès le lendemain de leur rencontre, il lui écrivit :

« De hautes tâches vous attendent. Ma confiance dans le germanisme n'a pas été ébranlée un seul instant, quoique

mon espérance, je l'avoue, soit descendue assez bas. D'un coup, vous avez changé mon état d'âme. L'Allemagne, en donnant naissance à un Hitler au temps de sa plus grande détresse, fait preuve de sa vitalité ; il en est de même pour les forces d'influences qu'on sent émaner de lui ; ces 2 choses, en effet, la personnalité et l'influence, vont de pair. Dieu vous protège ! »

Cette lettre date du moment où Adolf Hitler, avec sa moustache « à la Charlie Chaplin », ses façons de voyou, son extrémisme violent et hors de saison, n'éveillait encore chez les Allemands que des accès de fou rire. Sans doute, avait-il déjà des partisans ; toujours est-il que le magnétisme de sa personnalité agit à la manière d'un charme sur le philosophe vieillissant et malade et rajeunit la foi qu'il nourrissait dans le peuple auquel il avait voulu s'intégrer et qu'il voulait voir aux plus hauts sommets. Chamberlain s'affilia donc au jeune Parti nazi et commença d'écrire pour ses obscures publications, dans la mesure où sa santé le lui permettait. Dans un de ses articles, qui parut en 1924, il salua Hitler comme l'homme destiné par Dieu à conduire et diriger le peuple allemand. Le destin avait fait signe à Guillaume II, mais celui-ci avait échoué ; c'était dès lors le tour d'Hitler. Le 5 septembre 1925, le 70^e anniversaire du remarquable écrivain anglais fut célébré en 5 colonnes d'éloges par le journal nazi « Völkischer Beobachter » (L'Observateur populaire), qui qualifia ses « Fondements » d'« évangile du Mouvement Nazi ». Chamberlain descendit dans sa tombe 6 mois plus tard, le 11 janvier 1927, espérant fermement que tous ses enseignements et toutes ses prévisions se réaliseraient sous la divine égide du nouveau « Messie allemand ».

À l'exception d'un prince représentant Guillaume II, à qui le retour sur le sol national était interdit, Hitler fut la seule personnalité publique à assister aux obsèques de Chamberlain. Annonçant sa mort, le « Völkischer Beobachter » déclara que le peuple allemand venait de perdre « un des grands paladins dont les armes n'ont pas été utilisées à notre époque à toute leur valeur ». Ni ce moribond à demi paralysé, ni même Hitler, ni personne d'autre en Allemagne n'aurait jamais prévu, en ce sombre mois de janvier 1927, alors que la fortune du Parti nazi était au plus bas, que dans un avenir très proche les armes forgées par l'Anglais transfuge de son pays allaient servir avec toute leur force et avec d'effroyables conséquences.

...

Écrivain anglais connu essentiellement comme l'un des pères européens du racisme. Né dans une famille d'officiers supérieurs, influencé par un professeur allemand de Cheltenham, Otto Kuntze, et par ses études de sciences naturelles à Genève, il passe les années 1885-1889 en Allemagne et s'enthousiasme pour Richard Wagner, auquel il consacrera plusieurs monographies (« Notes sur Lohengrin », 1892). Installé à Vienne, il y publie en allemand son ouvrage essentiel (« Les Fondements du XIX^e siècle », « Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts », 1899), qui sera traduit en anglais en 1911. Naturalisé allemand en 1916, il soutient la cause du « Reich » lors de la Première Guerre mondiale, apportant son appui aux pan-germanistes qui prônent l'annexion de tous les territoires « allemands ». Il terminera sa vie à Bayreuth où il s'est établi dès 1908.

Ses conceptions se rattachent au courant de pensée organiciste qui se développe dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, et dont les théories fondées sur la race représentent l'expression la plus extrême. Dans sa théorie, il magnifie le rôle civilisateur de la race « germanique » ou aryenne qu'il prétend reconnaître dans la succession des peuples

dominateurs de l'Europe depuis l'Antiquité grecque et dans la personne des plus beaux esprits de ce continent, de Dante à Shakespeare et à Descartes. Il exalte les potentialités présentes dans les peuples nordiques, allemands et britanniques au XIXe siècle, et fait de la langue allemande celle promise aux plus hautes destinées. Dans la lignée de Gobineau, il présente d'autre part le Juif comme l'élément hétérogène par excellence et comme un dissolvant des sociétés les moins impures. L'ensemble de ses idées a fourni un aliment de choix aux grands apôtres du pangermanisme, puis aux disciples nationaux-socialistes de Hitler. Il a d'ailleurs, entre 1933 et 1945, été placé très haut dans l'olympie des ancêtres du Nazisme.

...

Un des pères européens du racisme : Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927) .

Critique musical, mais surtout auteur d'écrits antisémites et racistes, son style journalistique et sa tendance à la généralisation ont attiré une attention considérable sur lui.

Sa pensée a notamment influencé celle d'Hitler.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, né à Portsmouth en 1855 et mort à Bayreuth en 1927 est un philosophe allemand d'origine anglaise. Son père est un amiral anglais, originaire d'une famille d'officiers anglais. Houston Stewart Chamberlain est élevé en France et en Suisse, et s'établit plus tard en Allemagne, où il devient un wagnérien enthousiaste. Après avoir épousé Eva en second mariage, la fille unique du grand musicien, il s'établit à Bayreuth, en 1907, et devient le gendre de Wagner à titre posthume. Bayreuth est une ville de Bavière où Richard Wagner (1813-1883) vient s'établir en 1872. Le compositeur y avait fait construire le célèbre « Festspielhaus », spécialement conçu pour les représentations grandioses de ses Opéras, qui est inauguré en août 1876 avec « l'Anneau des Nibelungen » .

Son œuvre est appréciée et lui vaut d'être invité à la Cour du Kaiser Guillaume II. Durant la Première Guerre mondiale, Chamberlain écrit des articles contre son pays d'origine, l'Angleterre, et prend la nationalité allemande. Il reçoit la Croix de guerre allemande, en 1915, et est naturalisé, en 1916. Blessé, et déjà d'une santé fragile, il connaît ensuite des problèmes médicaux jusqu'à sa mort. Adolf Hitler assiste à son enterrement en 1927.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain est l'auteur d'analyses poussées de l'œuvre de Wagner, notamment dans « Das Drama Richard Wagners », en 1892, où il insiste sur les aspects héroïques des « Teutons » dans les œuvres du compositeur. Mais il est surtout connu car, disciple de Paul de Lagarde et de Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, il se fait l'apôtre du racisme et du pan-germanisme politique et spirituel.

Il est un des Iers intellectuels à se rallier à Hitler, qu'il salue comme « le grand simplificateur » . Son ouvrage, « la Genèse du XIXe siècle », qui paraît en 1899, le rend célèbre. Ce livre nous présente une analyse large mais biaisée de la culture européenne. Il soutient que les peuples aryens de l'Ouest étaient à l'origine de la grandeur et de la créativité européenne, et que l'influence juive avait été négative. Il y soutient aussi que la race supérieure décrite par Gobineau (« race » indo-européenne que Chamberlain désigne sous le terme de « race aryenne ») était l'ancêtre de

toutes les classes dirigeantes d'Europe et d'Asie, qu'elle n'avait pas cessé d'exister et qu'elle subsistait, à l'état pur, en Allemagne. Chamberlain incluait dans la race aryenne les peuples celtiques et nordiques qu'il considérait comme appartenant à la même famille germanique.

Il est aussi l'auteur de « Kant » (1905) ; « Goethe » (1912) ; et d'autres essais comme « Race et Personnalité » (1925) .

...

The English author of books on political philosophy, natural science Houston Stewart Chamberlain was born on 9 September 1855 and died on 9 January 1927. He was the son-in-law of the German composer Richard Wagner. He is described in the « Oxford Dictionary of National Biography » as a « racist writer » . He later became a German citizen. In December 1908, 25 years after Wagner's death, Chamberlain married Wagner's daughter, Eva von Bülow. Chamberlain's 2 volume book, « Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts » (The Foundations of the 19th Century) , published in 1899, became one of the many references for the pan-Germanic movement of the early 20th Century, and, later, of the « völkisch » anti-Semitism of Nazi racial policy.

Chamberlain's education began in a « Lycée » at Versailles and most of his education occurred on the continent, but his father had planned a military career for his son and, at the age of 11, he was sent to Cheltenham College, an English boarding-school which produced many army and navy officers. The young Chamberlain was « a compulsive dreamer » more interested in the arts than the military, and he developed a fondness for nature and a near-mystical sense of self. The prospect of serving as an officer, in India or elsewhere in the British Empire, held no attraction for him. In addition, he was a delicate child with poor health. At the age of 14, he had to be withdrawn from school.

He then travelled to various spas around Europe, accompanied by a Prussian tutor, « Herr » Otto Kuntze, who taught him German and interested him in German culture and history. Chamberlain then went to Geneva, where he studied under Carl Vogt (a supporter of racial typology at the University of Geneva) , Professor Graebe, Müller Argoviensis, Marc Thury, Alexis Plantamour, and other professors. He studied systematic botany, geology, astronomy and, later, the anatomy and physiology of the human body.

Thereafter, he settled at Dresden, where « he plunged, heart and soul, into the mysterious depths of Wagnerian music and philosophy, the metaphysical works of the “ Master ” probably exercising as strong an influence upon him as the musical dramas » . Chamberlain was immersed in philosophical writings, and became a « völkisch » author, one of those who were concerned more with art, culture, civilisation and spirit than with quantitative physical distinctions between groups. This is evidenced by his huge treatise on Immanuel Kant with its comparisons. His knowledge of Friedrich Nietzsche is demonstrated in that work (page 183) and « Foundations » (page 153n) . By this time, Chamberlain had met his 1st wife, the Prussian Anna Horst, whom he was to divorce in 1905.

In 1889, he moved to Austria. During this time, it is said his ideas on race began taking shape, influenced by the concept of Teutonic supremacy he alleged, was embodied in the works of Wagner and Arthur de Gobineau. This was, in

spite of Wagner having dismissed Gobineau's racist ideology in his late years, as « eine schlechthin unmoralische Weltordnung » (completely immoral world-order) .

Chamberlain had attended Wagner's Bayreuth Festival, in 1882, and struck-up a close correspondence with his widow Cosima. In 1908, 25 years after Wagner's death, he married Eva von Bülow-Wagner, Franz Liszt's granddaughter and Richard Wagner's step-daughter. The next year, he moved to Germany and became an important member of the « Bayreuth Circle » of German nationalist intellectuals.

By the time World War I broke-out, in 1914, Chamberlain remained British, only by virtue of his name and nationality. In 1916, he also acquired German citizenship. He had already begun propagandising on behalf of the German government and continued to do so throughout the War. His vociferous denunciations of his land of birth, it has been posited, were the culmination of his rejection of his native England's capitalism, in favour of a form of German Romanticism akin to that which he had cultivated in himself during his years at Cheltenham. Chamberlain received the Iron Cross from the « Kaiser » , with whom he was in regular correspondence, in 1916.

After the War, Chamberlain's chronically bad health took a turn for the worse and he was left partially paralysed ; he continued living in Bayreuth until his death in 1927.

Under the tutelage of Professor Julius von Wiesner of the University of Vienna, Chamberlain studied botany in Geneva, earning a « Bachelier en sciences physiques et naturelles » (Bsc) , in 1881. His thesis, « Recherches sur la sève ascendante » (Studies on rising sap) , was not finished until 1897, and did not culminate in a further qualification. The main thrust of his dissertation is that the vertical transport of fluids in vascular plants via xylem cannot be explained by the fluid mechanical theories of the time, but only by the existence of a « vital force » (« force vitale ») that is beyond the pale of physical measurement. He summarises his thesis in the « Introduction » :

« Without the participation of these vital functions, it is quite simply impossible for water to rise to heights of 150 feet, 200 feet and beyond, and all the efforts that one makes to hide the difficulties of the problem by relying on confused notions drawn from physics are little more reasonable than the search for the philosopher's stone. »

Physical arguments, in particular transpirational pull and root pressure, have since been shown to be adequate for explaining the ascent of sap.

He was an early supporter of Hanns Hörbiger's « Welteislehre » , the theory that most bodies in our solar system are covered with ice. Due in part to Chamberlain's advocacy, this became official cosmological dogma during the 3rd « Reich » .

Chamberlain's attitude towards the natural sciences was somewhat ambivalent and contradictory. He later wrote :

« One of the most fatal errors of our time is that which impels us to give too great weight to the so-called “ results ” of science. »

Still, his scientific credentials were often cited by admirers to give weight to his political philosophy.

Chamberlain rejected Darwinism, evolution and social Darwinism and, instead, emphasised « gestalt » which he said derived from G ethe.

Chamberlain was an admirer of Richard Wagner, and wrote several commentaries on his works including « Notes sur “ Lohengrin ” » (Notes on « Lohengrin » , 1892) ; an analysis of Wagner's drama (1892) ; and a biography (1895) , emphasising, in particular, the heroic Teutonic aspects in the composer's works. Stewart Spencer, writing in « Wagner Remembered » , described Chamberlain's edition of Wagner letters as « one of the most egregious attempts in the history of musicology to misrepresent an artist by systematically censoring his correspondence » .

In 1899, Chamberlain wrote his most famous work, « The Foundations of the 19th Century » (« Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ») . The book argued that Western civilisation is deeply marked by the influence of Teutonic peoples. Chamberlain grouped all European peoples (not just Germans, but also Celts, Slavs, Greeks, and Latins) into the « Aryan race » , a race built on the ancient Proto-Indo-European culture. In fact, he even included the Berber people of North Africa in the Aryan race :

« The noble Moor of Spain is anything but a pure Arab of the desert, he is half a Berber (from the Aryan family) and his veins are so full of Gothic blood that even at the present day noble inhabitants of Morocco can trace their descent back to Teutonic ancestors. »

At the helm of the Aryan race, and, indeed, all races, according to Chamberlain, were the Germanic or Teutonic peoples.

« The Foundations » sold well : 8 editions and 60,000 copies within 10 years ; 100,000 copies by the outbreak of World War I ; and 24 editions and more than a quarter of a million copies by 1938.

During World War I, Chamberlain published several propaganda texts against his country of birth : « Kriegsaufs tze » (Wartime Essays) . In the 1st 4 tracts, he maintains that Germany is a nation of peace ; England's political system is a sham, while Germany exhibits true freedom ; German is the greatest and only remaining « living » language ; and the world would be better off doing away with English and French-styled parliamentary governments in favour of German rule « thought out by a few and carried-out with iron consequence » . The final 2 discuss England and Germany at length.

During his lifetime, Chamberlain's works were read widely throughout Europe and, especially, in Germany. His reception was particularly favourable among Germany's conservative elite. « Kaiser » Wilhelm II patronised Chamberlain, maintaining a correspondence, inviting him to stay at his Court, distributing copies of « The Foundations of the 19th Century » among the German Army, and seeing that « The Foundations » was carried in German libraries and included in the school « curricula » .

« The Foundations » would prove to be a seminal work in German nationalism ; due to its success, aided by Chamberlain's association with the Wagner « Circle » , its ideas of Aryan supremacy and a struggle against Jewish influence spread widely across the German State at the beginning of the 20th Century. If it did not form the framework of later National-Socialist ideology, at the very least, it provided its adherents with a seeming intellectual justification.

Chamberlain himself lived to see his ideas begin to bear fruit. Adolf Hitler, while still growing as a political figure in Germany, visited him several times (in 1923 and in 1926, together with Josef Gœbbels) at the Wagner family's property in Bayreuth. Chamberlain, paralysed and despondent after Germany's losses in World War I, wrote to Hitler after his 1st visit in 1923 :

« Most respected and dear Hitler,

It is hardly surprising that a man like that can give peace to a poor suffering spirit ! Especially when he is dedicated to the service of the fatherland. My faith in Germandom has not wavered for a moment, though my hopes were (I confess) at a low ebb. With one stroke, you have transformed the state of my soul. That Germany, in the hour of her greatest need, brings forth a Hitler (that is proof of her vitality) that the magnificent Ludendorff openly supports you and your movement. What wonderful confirmation ! I can now go untroubled to sleep. May God protect you ! »

Chamberlain joined the Nazi Party and contributed to its publications. Its primary journal, the « Völkischer Beobachter » dedicated 5 columns to praising him on his 70th birthday, describing « The Foundations » as the « gospel of the Nazi movement » .

Adolf Hitler later attended Chamberlain's funeral, in January 1927, along with several highly-ranked members of the Nazi Party. Chamberlain's ideas were influential in particular to Alfred Rosenberg, who became the Nazi Party's in-house philosopher. In 1909, some months before his 17th birthday, he went with an aunt to visit his guardian, where several other relatives were gathered. Bored, he went to a book shelf, picked-up a copy of Chamberlain's « The Foundations » and wrote of the moment :

« I felt electrified. I wrote down the title and went straight to the bookshop. »

In 1930, Rosenberg published « The Myth of the 20th Century » , a homage to and continuation of Chamberlain's work. Rosenberg had accompanied Hitler when he called upon Wagner's widow, Cosima, in October 1923, where he met her son-in-law. Hitler told the ailing Chamberlain he was working on his own book which, he intended, should do for the 3rd « Reich » what Chamberlain's book had done for the 2nd.

Beyond the « Kaiser » and the NSDAP, assessments were mixed. The French Germanic scholar Edmond Vermeil considered Chamberlain's ideas « essentially shoddy » , but the anti-Nazi German author Konrad Heiden, despite objections to Chamberlain's racial ideas, described him as « one of the most astonishing talents in the history of the

German mind, a mine of knowledge and profound ideas » . In a 1939 work, Martin Heidegger (himself a former Nazi) dismissed Chamberlain's work as « Weltanschauung » (fabricated world-view) .

Works

1892 : « Das Drama Richard Wagners. Eine Anregung » , Breitkopf & Härtel.

1895 : « Richard Wagner » , Friedrich Bruckmann Verlag.

1899 : « Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts » , Friedrich Bruckmann Verlag.

1905 : « Arische Weltanschauung » , Friedrich Bruckmann Verlag.

1903 : « Heinrich von Stein und seine Weltanschauung » , Georg Heinrich Meyer.

1905 : « Immanuel Kant. Die Persönlichkeit als Einführung in das Werk » , Friedrich Bruckmann Verlag.

1912 : « Gœthe » , Friedrich Bruckmann Verlag.

1915 : « Kriegsaufsätze » , Friedrich Bruckmann Verlag.

1919 : « Lebenswege meines Denkens » , Friedrich Bruckmann Verlag.

Works in English translation :

1897 : « Richard Wagner » , J. M. Dent & Co. - translated by George Ainslie Hight.

1911 : « The Foundations of the 19th Century » , 2 Volume, John Lane, The Bodley Head - translated into English from the German by John Lees, with an Introduction by Lord Redesdale.

« Foundations of the 19th Century » , in : « Modern Political Ideologies » , Oxford University Press (1959) .

1914 : « Immanuel Kant » , 2 Volumes, edited by John Lane, The Bodley Head - translated by Lord Redesdale.

1915 : « The Wagnerian Drama » , edited by John Lane, The Bodley Head.

1915 : « The Ravings of a Renegade » , Jarrold & Sons - translated by Charles H. Clarke with an introduction by Lewis Melville.

2005 : « Political Ideals » , University Press of America - translated by Alexander Jacob.

2012 : « Aryan World-View » , Aristeus Books (ISBN : 978-1479223039) .

2012 : « The Ravings of a Renegade » , Aristeus Books - translated by Charles H. Clarke with an introduction by Lewis Melville (ISBN : 978-1479231584) .

2014 : « Richard Wagner » , Aristeus Books - translated by George Ainslie Hight (ISBN : 978-1502494689) .

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Houston Stewart Chamberlain : Anglo-German publicist, playwright, cultural critic and race theorist born on 9 September 1855 in Southsea, England ; and died on 9 January 1927.

Chamberlain's mother, Eliza Jane Hall, died before he was 1 year old and he was raised by his grandmother in France. Chamberlain's father, Captain William Charles Chamberlain (later Rear-Admiral) had planned a military career for his son and, at 11 years old, he was sent to a boarding-school for future army and navy officers. But the young Chamberlain was more interested in studying music, literature and astronomy, and the prospect of serving as an officer in India or elsewhere in the British Empire held no attractions for him.

By the age of 14, Chamberlain was in poor health. Doctors wrongly suspected that he had a disease of the respiratory organs, and he left England to visit one health resort after another : Bad Ems, Montreux and Cannes. He was accompanied by his aunt and a Prussian private teacher, Otto Kuntze, who taught his studious pupil German and interested him in German history, literature and philosophy. In 1874, Chamberlain's father arrived in Switzerland to persuade him to finish his studies in England, but Chamberlain refused. By now, his bad experiences in England had coupled with his French upbringing to alienate him from his fatherland. It was in Cannes that he met his 1st wife, Anna Horst, whom he married in 1878.

Chamberlain moved to Florence to study botany at the University there. As things turned-out, though, Florence offered so many artistic impressions that Chamberlain spent 7 months there, in a kind of cultural shock :

« I will never forget that one evening, when, while I was aimlessly wandering through the city, I suddenly and unexpectedly came across the “ Piazza della Signoria ” : the impression of beauty was so overwhelming that I was seized with giddiness and I had to withdraw into a portico, in order to lean and recover myself. »

He was caught in a comparable situation, later on, when he read the works of William Shakespeare (a « Shakespeare-intoxication » , as he called it) ; heard Richard Wagner's music ; and when he saw Albrecht Dürer's self-portrait in the « Alte Pinakothek » in Munich, in 1896. In 1879, Chamberlain enrolled in the faculty of natural sciences at the University of Geneva, where he obtained his bachelor's degree. He then moved to Dresden and began work on a dissertation about the rise of plant saps. But his illness flared-up again and, this time, the doctors diagnosed neurasthenia : a popular disease at the time. Chamberlain had to rest and, while recuperating, he began studying

history, philosophy, literature and music, as well as writing his 1st essay in German.

Chamberlain moved to Vienna, in 1889, to continue his research into plant physiology. But, on the morning of January 19th, 1892, he was captivated by something he called the « writing demon ». It was a demon that couldn't be ignored, according to Chamberlain, and it controlled him so much that, after writing a piece, he often didn't recognise it as his own work. Some occultists have assumed that Chamberlain was clairvoyant and possessed by demons. But he, himself, was adamant that this entity was a kind of alter ego like Socrates' daimon. Henceforward, Chamberlain was determined to become a writer.

Chamberlain's most important work is « Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts » (The Foundations of the 19th Century, 1899). The book's central idea is that Western civilization's moral, cultural, scientific and technological superiority comes largely from the positive influence of the Germanic race (Slavs and Celts included) on the progress of history down the ages :

« Certain anthropologists would fain teach us that all races are equally gifted ; we point to history and answer : that is a lie ! The races of mankind are markedly different in the nature and also in the extent of their gifts, and the Germanic races belong to the most highly-gifted group, the group usually termed Aryan. Is this human family united and uniform by bonds of blood ? Do these stems really all spring from the same root ? I do not know and I do not much care. »

Opponents of the Germanic race would be the Roman Catholic Church (« the shield- and armour-bearer of all Anti-Germanic movements ») , Jewry, the Jesuit Order and other obscure forces, who fought and still fight a racial war, « the war still waged among us between those elements that advance and those that retard culture » . Although the book was received with reservation (to say the least) by the Church and in Jewish circles, it became a best-seller in Germany, was translated into English and French, and had an important influence on its contemporaries. In his review of « The Foundations » , George Bernard Shaw wrote :

« It is a Masterpiece of really scientific history. It does not make confusion, it clears it away. He is a great generalizer of thought, as distinguished from the crowd of our mere specialists. It is certain to stir-up thought. Whoever has not read it will be rather out of it in political and sociological discussions for some time to come. »

And President Theodore Roosevelt, although not an admirer of Chamberlain's work, wrote :

« A man who can write such a really beautiful and solemn appreciation of true Christianity, of true acceptance of Christ's teachings and personality, as Mister Chamberlain has done, represents an influence to be reckoned with and seriously to be taken into account. »

A predecessor of Chamberlain was Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau (1816-1882) , who argued for the superiority of Nordic Aryans in his « Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines » (1853-1855) but also forecast their decline owing to mingling with other races :

« Nous ne descendons pas du singe, mais nous y allons. »

(We do not descend from the ape, but are headed in that direction.)

But Chamberlain used his biological training to refute the latter, although he agreed with Charles Darwin about uncontrolled racial mixing :

« Free crossing obliterates characters. »

Count Gobineau, incidentally, was a friend of Richard Wagner.

A recurring theme in Chamberlain's work is that Jesus was not a Jew. He has no hard proof, he admits, but he does offer some circumstantial evidence. To wit :

« King Solomon sold Galilee to the king of Tyrus (1 Kings 9:11) because the region was scarcely inhabited by Jews. Jesus was born, not in Jewish Judaea, but in foreign Galilee, and Gelil haggoyim means “ district of heathens ”. Jesus himself denounces Jews : Matthew 8:12 : “ but the children of the kingdom [i.e. , the Jews] shall be cast out into outer darkness ” ; John 8:47 : “ He that is of God heareth God's words : ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God. Then answered the Jews, and said unto Him, Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan ” ; Matthew 23:33 : “ Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers ”. »

According to Chamberlain, Christianity developed into a murderous totalitarian system because of 2 factors : the Catholic Church's emergence from racial chaos after the fall of the Roman Empire ; and the laws of the Old Testament, which can be attributed to Jewish influence. Only after Centuries of Roman Catholic terror did the Germanic forces, embodied by Francis of Assisi, Martin Luther and others, turn Christianity into the religion that Jesus had envisioned. In Chamberlain's day, Emperor Wilhelm II was convinced by these theories and even argued that the Old Testament should be removed from the Bible (with the exception of a few Psalms) to sever any remaining links between Christianity and Judaism.

Another recurring theme in Chamberlain's work is the similarity between Germanic thinking and Indian brahmanism, the ancient Indo-Aryan philosophy. He often cites the Upanishads, the Vedas and other sacred Hindu texts to illustrate this idea, and he wrote a whole book, « Arische Weltanschauung » (Aryan World-View) on the subject. In this book, he expressed the opinion that knowledge of the Indo-Aryan philosophy would serve as a counter-balance against a Semitic world-view, and that the Indian sages would show the Westerner the goal of his civilization.

Chamberlain became fascinated by the composer Richard Wagner. He attended the premiere and the following 5 performances of Wagner's « Parsifal » in Bayreuth, during July 1882. Wagner died the following year before the 2 men had ever met, but his genius had a lasting influence on Chamberlain. In 1896, he published his 2nd Wagner-book (« Richard Wagner ») , a popular and important work, still regarded as a Classic. He became honorary member of the «

Viennese Akademische Wagnerverein » . During his life, he wrote an estimated 50 essays about Wagner and his music. One of these, « Künstlerische Dankbarkeit » , which compared Wagner and Franz Liszt, was read by Liszt's daughter, Cosima Wagner and, in 1888, she invited Chamberlain for a meeting. Thus, began a lasting friendship, and the 2 carried on an extensive correspondence, until 1908. In that year, Chamberlain married his 2nd wife, Eva, the daughter of Richard and Cosima Wagner.

Germany's Emperor Wilhelm II invited Chamberlain to his palace, at Potsdam. Wilhelm was delighted by the Englishman who had praised the Germanic race to the skies, and in a letter to Chamberlain he wrote :

« It was God who sent the German people your book and you personally to me. »

Chamberlain became Wilhelm II's friend and counsellor. In one of his letters, Chamberlain advised the Emperor :

« Deutschland kann dahin gelangen, die gesamte Erdkugel (teils unmittelbar politisch, teils mittelbar, durch Sprache, Kultur, Methoden) zu beherrschen, wenn es nur gelingt, beizeiten den " neuen Kurs " einzuschlagen, und das heißt, die Nation zum endgültigen Bruch mit den angloamerikanischen Regierungsidealen zu bringen. Die Freiheit, die Deutschland braucht, ist die unbeschränkte Freiheit des Denkens, der Religion, der Wissenschaft - nicht die Freiheit, sich selber schlecht zu regieren. »

« Germany can achieve complete control of the world (partly, by direct political means ; partly, by language, culture, methods) , only if it succeeds in taking a new direction in time, which means the final rupture with Anglo-American ideals of government. The freedom that Germany needs is the unlimited freedom of thought, of religion, of science - not the freedom to rule itself badly. »

After England allied with the « Entente » forces in World War I (1914-1918) , a disappointed Chamberlain accused his fatherland of treason to the Germanic race. During the War, he wrote a series of « Kriegsaufsätze » as German propaganda ; highly-successful War Essays, which have sold hundreds of thousands of copies. The earnings went to the Red Cross. More than once, he mentions in his essays the coming of a future leader, « the man with the lion's heart » . In his essay, « Der Wille zum Sieg » (1916) , he wrote :

« Die Deutschen stehen bereit ; ihnen fehlt nur der vom heiligen Geist eingesetzte Führer. »

(The Germans are ready for it; all that is missing is a God-sent « Führer ».)

Furthermore, he lays in his essays the foundation for what came to be known as the « Dolchstoßlegende » , the dagger-blow legend, that would play an important role in post-War Germany : the idea that some infamous (« Niederträchtige ») elements within Germany would like to see Germany losing the War, and strive after the destruction of the Empire. In contradistinction to what certain historians claim, this point of view isn't entirely unjustified : it was felt within anti-Imperial circles that, if Germany would win, « Kaiser » Wilhelm's position would be stronger than ever, and « life would become impossible » :

« Wenn Deutschland den Krieg gewinnt, dann bleibt das wilhelminische System und dann ist das Leben unmöglich. »

A prominent representative of this movement was Albert Einstein.

In 1915, Houston Stewart Chamberlain received the Iron Cross for services to the German Empire. Having shown his loyalty to Germany, Chamberlain became a German citizen, in 1916. But Germany lost the War and had to sign the Treaty of Versailles - a treaty intended to ruin Germany economically and ensure that it could never fight a major War again, although the treaty also had a financial aspect :

« The occupation of German territory by the Allied troops should be accompanied by the destruction of all the large industries within the sphere of occupation. It is held that if it were known and felt, here and in France, that such a scheme of organised destruction was to be carried-out on German territory, capital would be, at once, stimulated in steady streams in aid of the home industries, which would profit enormously by the course taken. »

This ill-fated plan was indeed carried-out. The ensuing hyperinflation and chaos in Germany made an excellent playground for extremist political groups. And, by the time the Allies alleviated their measures, it was already too late : Adolf Hitler won the elections for the « Reichstag » , on March 5th, 1933.

Many argue that Chamberlain's work influenced Adolf Hitler, although the precise links are unclear. The 2 men did meet in Bayreuth, on September 30th, 1923, on a so-called « German day » . Chamberlain, who was by now elderly, ill and embittered, regarded Hitler as Germany's future saviour and, after this meeting, he wrote to Hitler :

« In no way do you resemble the descriptions depicting you as a fanatic. I even believe that you are the absolute opposite of a fanatic. The fanatic wants to persuade people, you want to convince them, and to convince only. »

This letter meant a success for Hitler, because the famous writer's approval would certainly attract new members to his nascent political movement. After staging an unsuccessful « coup » that began in a Munich Beer Hall, Hitler was imprisoned in Landsberg, where he wrote his political manifesto, « Mein Kampf » . Unfortunately, Hitler's letters from Landsberg to Chamberlain are now lost, and no one knows what Hitler told his fellow-author about writing the book. « Mein Kampf » refers just once to Chamberlain :

« Die offiziellen Stellen der Regierung gingen an den Erkenntnissen eines Houston Stewart Chamberlain genau so gleichgültig vorüber, wie es heute noch geschieht. Diese Leute sind zu dumm, selbst etwas zu denken. »

« Those who had the government of the country in their hands were quite as indifferent to principles of civil wisdom laid down by thinkers like Houston Stewart Chamberlain as our political leaders now are. These people are too stupid to think for themselves. »

The title of « Mein Kampf » echoes « Der Kampf » , the 3rd section of Chamberlain's « Foundations » , which

discusses the physical and intellectual battle of Germanics against Roman Catholic Imperialism and Jewish theocracy, although this supposed echo might be coincidental. At any rate, Hitler condemned nationalist German scholars who would write and write but never act :

« Nobody of common sense would appoint to a leading post some Teutonic Methuselah who had been ineffectively preaching some idea for a period of 40 years, until himself and his idea had entered the stage of senile decay. It is typical of such persons that they rant about ancient Teutonic heroes whereas, in reality, they themselves are the woofullest poltroons imaginable. »

It is possible that Hitler didn't have Chamberlain in mind here, and that he had a genuine respect for a fellow-Wagnerite. But Hitler did disagree with Chamberlain's opinions about Germanic Christianity.

Hitler said in one of his « Table Talks » :

« The reason why the ancient world was so pure, light and serene, was that it knew nothing of the 2 great scourges : the pox and Christianity. »

Hitler added, in another conversation, that :

« In my opinion, Houston Stewart Chamberlain was mistaken in regarding Christianity as a reality upon the spiritual level. »

Chamberlain was convinced of a Jewish threat to the Germanic world, and that Jewry poses « a danger to every culture » . But he opposed a violent solution to the « Jewish question » . He insisted :

« We may not even injure a single hair on their heads. »

He didn't believe in Jewish world-conspiracies :

« Doch glaube ich, daß wir geneigt sind, unsere eigenen Kräfte sehr zu unterschätzen und den jüdischen Einfluss sehr zu überschätzen. Hand in Hand damit geht die geradezu lächerliche und empörende Neigung, den Juden zum allgemeinen Sündenbock für alle Laster unserer Zeit zu machen. »

(Yet, I think that we are inclined to under-estimate our own powers and to exaggerate the importance of the Jewish influence. Hand in hand with this goes the perfectly ridiculous and revolting tendency to make the Jews the general scapegoat for all the vices of our time. »

According to Chamberlain's biographer, professor Geoffrey G. Field :

« Hitler, Hess, Goebbels, Eckart, Himmler, von Schirach and, above all, Rosenberg had read Chamberlain and professed to

have been influenced by him. Hans Kerrl, the Minister for Church Affairs, and Hans Schemm, the Bayreuth school Master who became Bavarian “ Kultusminister ”, were also firm admirers, while Nazi intellectuals such as Hans Friedrich Karl Günther, Alfred Bäumler, Walter Frank, Ernst Krieck, and the Nobel physicist Philipp Lenard showered him with filial respect. »

Other admirers were Lord Redesdale, Winston Churchill, David Herbert Lawrence, the American senator Albert J. Beveridge, Nobel prize winner Albert Schweitzer, and the Dutch mystic philosopher P. H. Hugenholtz.

In May 1926, Hitler visited the old writer for the last time. A passage in Josef Gœbbels' diary describes the meeting :

« Erschütterende Szene : Chamberlain auf einem Ruhebett. Gebrochen, lallend, die Tränen stehen ihm in den Augen. Er hält meine Hand und will mich nicht lassen. Wie Feuer brennen seine großen Augen. Vater unseres Geistes, sei begrüßt. Bahnbrecher, Wegbereiter ! Ich bin im Tiefsten aufgewühlt. Abschied. Er lallt, will sprechen, es geht nicht - und dann weint er wie ein Kind ! Langer, langer Händedruck ! Leb wohl ! Du bist bei uns, wenn wir verzweifeln wollen. Draußen klatscht Regen ! Ich hab das Bedürfnis zu schreien, zu weinen. »

« Shattering scene : Chamberlain on a couch. Broken, mumbling, tears are in his eyes. He holds my hand and won't let me go. His big eyes burn like fire. Greetings to you, spiritual father. Trailblazer, pioneer ! I am deeply upset. Leave-taking. He mumbles, wants to speak, can't - and, then, weeps like a child ! Long, long hand-shake ! Farewell ! You stand by us when we are near despair. Outside the rain patters ! I want to cry-out, to weep. »

Houston Stewart Chamberlain died of his nervous disease a few months later, on January 9th, 1927, in Bayreuth. He was 71 years old. The last book he had written was « Mensch und Gott » (Man and God) , a plea for a new Christianity without dogmas and sacraments. Upon his headstone were engraved the words of Luke 17:21 :

« Das Reich Gottes ist inwendig in euch. »

(The Kingdom of God is within you.)

...

« I say, therefore, that the men who founded Judaism were goaded on by a demoniacal power. »

« The Jew's existence is sin ; their existence is a crime against the holy laws of life. »

« Not only the Jew, but also all that is derived from the Jewish mind, corrodes and disintegrates what is best in us. »

(Houston Stewart Chamberlain)

The British-born German author of books on political philosophy, natural science and Richard Wagner Houston Stewart

Chamberlain was born on 9 September 1855 in Southsea, Hampshire, England ; and died on 9 January 1927 in Bayreuth, Germany.

Chamberlain married the composer's daughter, Eva, some years after Wagner's death.

His 2 volume book, « Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts » (The Foundations of the 19th Century) , published in 1899, became one of the many references for the pan-Germanic movement of the early 20th Century, and, later, of the « völkisch » anti-Semitism of Nazi racial policy.

Chamberlain was the son of Rear Admiral William Charles Chamberlain, of the Royal Navy. His mother, Eliza Jane, daughter of Captain Basil Hall, of the Royal Navy, died before he was 1 year old, and he was raised by his grandmother in France.

Chamberlain's education began in a « Lycée » in Versailles and most of his education occurred on the continent, but his father had planned a military career for his son and, at the age of 11, he was sent to Cheltenham College, an English boarding-school which produced many army and navy officers.

The young Chamberlain was « a compulsive dreamer » , more interested in the arts than the military, and he developed a fondness for nature and a near-mystical sense of self.

The prospect of serving as an officer in India, or elsewhere in the British Empire, held no attraction for him. In addition, he was a delicate child with poor health.

At the age of 14, he had to be withdrawn from school.

He, then, traveled to various spas around Europe, accompanied by a Prussian tutor, « Herr » Otto Kuntze, who taught him German and interested him in German culture and history.

Chamberlain then went to Geneva, where he studied under Carl Vogt, (a supporter of racial typology at the University of Geneva) Professor Graebe, Müller Argoviensis, Marc Thury, Alexis Plantamour, and other professors.

He studied systematic botany, geology, astronomy, and later the anatomy and physiology of the human body.

Thereafter, he settled at Dresden, where « he plunged heart and soul into the mysterious depths of Wagnerian music and philosophy, the metaphysical works of the “ Master ” probably exercising as strong an influence upon him as the musical dramas » .

Chamberlain was immersed in philosophical writings, and became a « völkisch » author, one of those who were concerned more with art, culture, civilization and spirit than with quantitative physical distinctions between groups.

This is evidenced by his huge treatise on Immanuel Kant with its comparisons.

His knowledge of Friedrich Nietzsche is demonstrated in that work (page 183) and « The Foundations » (page 153) .

By this time, Chamberlain had met his 1st wife, the Prussian Anna Horst, whom he was to divorce in 1905.

In 1889, he moved to Austria. During this time, it is said his ideas on race began taking shape, influenced by the concept of Teutonic supremacy embodied in the works of Wagner and Arthur de Gobineau.

Chamberlain had attended Wagner's Bayreuth Festival, in 1882, and struck-up a close correspondence with his wife Cosima.

In 1908, he married Eva Wagner, the composer's daughter and, the next year, he moved to Germany and became an important member of the « Bayreuth Circle » of German nationalist intellectuals.

He lived close to the Wagners, at 1 « Wahnfriedstraße » in a large, imposing house.

By the time World War I broke-out, in 1914, Chamberlain remained an Englishman only by virtue of his name and nationality. In 1916, he also acquired German citizenship.

He had already begun propagandising on behalf of the German government and continued to do so throughout the War.

His vociferous denunciations of his land of birth, it has been posited, were the culmination of his rejection of his native England's capitalism, in favour of a form of German Romanticism akin to that which he had cultivated in himself during his years at Cheltenham.

Chamberlain received the Iron Cross from the « Kaiser » , with whom he was in regular correspondence, in 1916. After the war Chamberlain's chronically bad health took a turn for the worse and he was left partially paralyzed ; he continued living in Bayreuth until his death, in 1927.

Chamberlain was an admirer of Richard Wagner, and wrote several commentaries on his works including « Notes sur “ Lohengrin ” » (Notes on « Lohengrin » , 1892) ; an analysis of Wagner's drama (1892) ; and a biography (1895) , emphasizing in particular the heroic Teutonic aspects in the composer's works.

In 1899, Chamberlain wrote his most important work, « Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts » (The Foundations of the 19th Century) .

« Die Grundlagen » (1899) was the best-selling work by Houston Stewart Chamberlain. In it, he advances various racist and, especially, « völkisch » anti-Semitic theories on how he saw the Aryan race as superior to others, and the

Teutonic peoples as a positive force in European civilization ; and the Jews as a negative one.

Chamberlain was a germanophile who adopted German citizenship and wrote most of his works in German (on numerous subjects, from biographies to biology) .

Published in German, the book focuses on the controversial notion that Western civilization is deeply marked by the influence of the Teutonic peoples.

Chamberlain grouped all European peoples (not just Germans, but Celts, Slavs, Greeks, and Latins) into the « Aryan race » , a race built on the ancient Proto-Indo-European culture.

At the helm of the Aryan race, and, indeed, all races, were the Nordic or Teutonic peoples.

« Certain anthropologists would fain teach us that all races are equally gifted ; we point to history and answer : that is a lie ! The races of mankind are markedly different in the nature and, also, in the extent of their gifts, and the Germanic races belong to the most highly-gifted group, the group usually termed Aryan. Physically and mentally, the Aryans are pre-eminent among all peoples ; for that reason, they are, by right, the lords of the world. »

Chamberlain's book focused on the claim that the Teutonic peoples were the heirs to the Empires of Greece and Rome, something which Charlemagne and some of his successors also believed.

He argued that, when the Germanic tribes destroyed the Roman Empire, Jews and other non-Europeans already dominated it.

The Germans, therefore, saved Western civilization from Semitic domination.

Chamberlain's thoughts were influenced by the writings of Arthur de Gobineau who had argued the superiority of the « Aryan race » .

Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau (born on 14 July 1816, Ville-d'Avray, Hauts-de-Seine ; died on 13 October 1882, Turin) was a French aristocrat, novelist and man of letters who became famous for developing the racialist theory of the Aryan Master race in his book, « An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races » (1853-1855) . De Gobineau is credited as being the father of modern racial demography.

This term was increasingly being used to describe Caucasian or European peoples, as opposed to Jews, who were conceptualised as « infusing Near-Eastern poison into the European body politic » .

For Chamberlain, the concept of an Aryan race was not simply defined by ethno-linguistic origins. It was also an abstract ideal of a racial elite.

The Aryan, or « noble » race was always in the process of creation as superior peoples supplanted inferior ones in evolutionary struggles for survival.

Chamberlain (who had graduate training in biology) rejected Darwinism, evolution and social Darwinism and, instead, emphasized « gestalt » which he said derived from Goethe. Chamberlain said that Darwinism was the most abominable and misguided doctrine of the day.

« The Foundations » sold extensively : 8 editions and 60,000 copies within 10 years ; 100,000 copies by the outbreak of World War I ; and 24 editions and more than a quarter of a million copies by 1938.

The 1911 translation received positive reviews in most of the English press.

It was praised in « The Spectator » as « a monument of erudition » .

The « Birmingham Post » said that it was « glowing with life, packed with fresh and vigorous thought » .

The « Glasgow Herald » thought that it would be difficult to « over-estimate the stimulating qualities of the book » .

In the « Times » Literary Supplement, it was declared to be « one of the books that really mattered » .

In the Left-wing « Fabian News » , George Bernard Shaw called it, a « historical Masterpiece » . « Those who failed to read it, would be unable to talk intelligently about contemporary sociological and political problems. »

The United States President, Theodore Roosevelt, altogether more cautious, highlighted the extreme bias of the author, a judgement that seems to have escaped other contemporary readers, but praised Chamberlain's denunciation of social egalitarianism.

« Kaiser » Wilhelm II patronized Chamberlain, maintaining a correspondence, inviting him to stay at his Court, distributing copies of « Die Grundlagen » to the German army, and seeing that « Die Grundlagen » was carried in German libraries and included in the school « curricula » .

Chamberlain's ideas on race were greatly influential to Adolf Hitler, who readily adapted them into his Nazi ideology ; Chamberlain himself joined the Nazi Party, and both Hitler and Josef Goebbels visited Chamberlain whilst on his deathbed.

« Die Grundlagen » would prove to be a seminal work in German nationalism ; due to its success, aided by Chamberlain's association with the Wagner « Circle » , its ideas of Aryan supremacy and a struggle against Jewish influence spread widely across the German State, at the beginning of the 20th Century.

If it did not form the framework of later National-Socialist ideology, at the very least, it provided its adherents with

an intellectual justification.

Chamberlain himself lived to see his ideas begin to bear fruit.

Adolf Hitler, while still growing as a political figure in Germany, visited him several times (in 1923 and in 1926, together with Josef Goebbels, at the Wagner family's property in Bayreuth.

Chamberlain joined the Nazi Party and contributed to its publications.

Its primary journal, the « Völkischer Beobachter » dedicated 5 columns to praising him on his 70th birthday, describing « Die Grundlagen » as the « gospel of the Nazi movement » .

Hitler later attended Chamberlain's funeral, in January 1927, along with several highly-ranked members of the Nazi Party.

Composer Edward Elgar wrote his Symphony No. 2 in E-flat major, Opus 63, in the year 1911, 1 year after the death of Edward VII.

The great funereal peroration of the 2nd movement, written ostensibly in response to the King's death, broadens-out into a vast elegy, foretelling the dissolution of an age.

The seeds of that coming dissolution were endemic, and were to be found particularly in the countries of Central Europe and, particularly, Germany.

Edward Alexander Crowley (Georges Gurdjieff's sometime rival) was not the only Englishman to fascinate and influence the German people at this time ; in fact, Crowley's influence was insignificant when compare to that of another Englishman : Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

...

As fate would have it, Houston Stewart Chamberlain was not educated, as one would expect, in the English public school tradition, which may well have induced him to follow in the exalted footsteps of his elders, but rather he was brought-up in Paris, by relatives, who engaged, for reasons best-known to themselves, a Prussian tutor to supervise his education.

As a result, he became fluent in the German language and remarkably well-versed in German literature, poetry, music and philosophy.

By the age of 27, Chamberlain had become so imbued with Richard Wagner's music and « philosophy » that he decided to take-up residence in Germany, permanently, moving to Dresden in 1882.

In that same year, Chamberlain met Richard Wagner at Bayreuth, in Bavaria, during the « Festspiel » . They were 2 men who were made for each other.

Chamberlain found in Wagner the father figure he craved ; and Wagner found in Chamberlain the devoted disciple which he had sought, unsuccessfully in Ludwig II and Nietzsche.

Whereas Nietzsche had rejected Wagner's last, and arguably greatest work, « Parsifal » , to Chamberlain, it was a summation of all his thoughts regarding the sacred role that Germany was to play in the « world historical process »

« The Spear of Longinus » , which is a central element of the « sacred Festival drama » came to fascinate Chamberlain, as it had fascinated many before, and would fascinate many others in the future.

(The « Spear of destiny » is kept in the « Weltliche Schatzkammer » , which is situated in the « Hofburg » Palace, which was the « Residenz » of the Austrian Hapsburg Emperors, in Vienna. The phrase itself means « Secular Treasury » , and is the area in the « Hofburg » where treasures, which are not used in religious rituals, are kept. The « Weltliche Schatzkammer » is open to the public on a regular basis, at the present time.)

In 1889, Chamberlain settled in Vienna, where he lived for the next 20 years, making regular visits to the « Weltliche Schatzkammer » , in the « Hofburg » , where the original spear, which was part of the « Reichskleinodien » , was displayed. As in Wagner's music-drama, the spear in the « Hofburg » is claimed to be the very Spear which pierced the side of Jesus of Nazareth, as he hung upon the cross.

Whether or not this is true is a moot point ; but the Spear is, undoubtedly, ancient and has long been venerated.

Regardless of that, it is considered by some commentators that Chamberlain's communion with the Spear may have, in some way altered his awareness.

In Chamberlain's autobiography « Lebenswege » , he makes the revealing statement that he was often unable to recognize his works as being the product of his own thought.

Chamberlain, it appears, was driven by dæmons just as much as Crowley.

His books were written in a state of hysterical intoxication and trance, and owed, by his own admission, little of their fundamental substance to that, admittedly, brilliant intellect.

Later, Chamberlain married ; but, in 1905, he divorced his Prussian wife and married Richard Wagner's daughter, Eva.

In 1909, he moved to Bayreuth where he lived until his death, in 1927.

It was in 1899 that he published his greatest work, « Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts » (The foundations of the 19th Century) : a volume of over 1,200 pages, in German.

Despite its length and difficulty, it eventually sold over a quarter of a million copies, and, in the event, made its author a rich man.

The work was stupendous, both in its breadth of scholarship and its complexity of thought.

It was intended to present, and successfully achieved a union of disparate artistic, philosophical, historical and racial theories which had been developing in Germany for the previous 50 years.

Undoubtedly, Chamberlain, at the book's inception, viewed it personally as the new bible of the Pan-Germanic movement, but despite this, he was admittedly staggered by the remarkable response the book elicited, from all levels of society.

The final accolade came when the « Kaiser » invited Chamberlain to Potsdam and greeted him with an affirmation that it was God who had ordained that Chamberlain's book should be given to the German people and their « Kaiser » .

« Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts » is, essentially a grand synthesis of numerous ideas which had been simmering in the German intellect for many years.

Essential elements of this synthesis were Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's concept of the « world historical process » ; Friedrich Nietzsche's theory of the « Übermensch » (superman) ; Arthur de Gobineau's and Wagner's notion of the superiority of the Aryan race, along with various other ideas circulating in « völkisch » and pan-Germanic « Circles » .

The fact that both Nietzsche and Wagner suffered from the same dæmonic creative possession as Chamberlain, combined with the fact that most of the contemporaneous « völkisch » and pan-Germanic groups had strong occult leanings is, undoubtedly, significant, particularly when one considers the cataclysm which was about to break some 15 years later.

It was not long before Chamberlain became an unofficial adviser to the « Kaiser » .

A total of 43 lengthy letters, from Chamberlain to the « Kaiser » , survived, in which Chamberlain attempts to fill his sovereign with glorious visions of the destiny which awaits the Aryan race, and Germany in particular.

Such encouragement was, in Chamberlain's view necessary as, contrary to popular belief, the « Kaiser » was not bellicose by nature.

The son of Queen Victoria's eldest daughter Vicky, speaking perfect English, he was a devoted husband, worshipping the « Kaiserin » , Auguste Viktoria of Schleswig-Holstein, known to her family Donna, and doting over his large family. He was sentimental and lazy, and painfully aware of his deformed arm.

Like Chamberlain, he too was driven by a dæmon, but it was not of the super-natural order.

The demon that drove the « Kaiser » was the endless fear that, because of his deformity, he was not a real man, in a society which glorified militarism and the heroic virtues ; a society which he led. Under the influence of Chamberlain, and members of the High-Command, his insecurity manifested itself in aggressive statements of foreign policy.

When War eventually came, he feared its consequences as much as anyone.

When the War ended, he was forced into permanent exile at Doorn, in Holland.

There, strangely enough, he amassed one of the largest collections of occult literature in the world.

Perhaps, his dæmons were like Chamberlain's after all.

Chamberlain was luckier.

Unlike the « Kaiser » , who was punished for the War he did not start or want, Chamberlain was left unpunished for encouraging the conflagration for which he had assiduously provided the tinder. Chamberlain continued to live peacefully and comfortably in Bayreuth.

As he was of no further use, his dæmons had left him.

They would return to him, however, in his last years (summoned by another) for while the « Kaiser » had been the apprentice to Chamberlain's sorcery. Now, Chamberlain himself would become the « sorcerer's apprentice » to Adolf Hitler.

...

Houston Stewart Chamberlain : British-born Germanophile political philosopher, whose advocacy of the racial and cultural superiority of the so-called Aryan element in European culture influenced pan-German and German nationalist thought, particularly Adolf Hitler's National-Socialist movement.

Educated at Versailles, Geneva, and Vienna, Chamberlain became an admirer of Richard Wagner, publishing his 1st work, « Notes sur " Lohengrin " » (Notes on « Lohengrin ») , in 1892. An analysis of Wagner's drama (1892) and a biography (1895) followed. In these publications, Chamberlain emphasized the heroic Teutonic aspects in the composer's

works. In 1899, he published « Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts » (The Foundations of the 19th Century, in 2 volumes, 1911) , a broad but biased analysis of European culture, in which he claimed that the Western Aryan peoples have been responsible for the greatness and creativity of Europe, and that the Jewish influence has been primarily negative. Chamberlain's theories owed much to the writings of Joseph Arthur, comte de Gobineau, who was the 1st to claim to prove the superiority of the « Nordic » race.

Chamberlain's later works included studies of Immanuel Kant (1905) and Gøethe (1912) , various essays defending Germany's military efforts and aims during World War I, the autobiographical « Lebenswege meines Denkens » (Paths of My Thought, 1919) , and « Rasse und Persönlichkeit » (Race and Personality, 1925) . In 1907, he settled in Bayreuth and married Wagner's only daughter Eva, his 2nd wife. Remaining in Germany during World War I, Chamberlain received the German Military Cross, in 1915, and became naturalized the next year.

...

Anglo-German musical critic and anti-Semitic writer ; son of Admiral William Charles Chamberlain. He received his early education abroad, being sent to France, where he went to school at Versailles. Subsequently, he removed to Switzerland and studied science at Geneva University and, finally, he settled in Austria, where he became privat-docent in philosophy at the University of Vienna.

Besides several works on Richard Wagner, from whom he probably imbibed much of his anti-Semitism, he has attracted attention by his chief work, « Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts » , Munich (1899) ; 4th edition (1902) . In this, he regards all history as a conflict between the Aryans and the Semites ; the latter being regarded as a special genus, « homo Syriacus » , of which the Jew, « homo Judaicus » , is a typical species. Race rules history ; and the influence of the Semites, in the early forms of Christianity, broke down the ancient world, which had to be revived by the new blood of Germanism against which the Roman Catholic Church is perpetually struggling in order to introduce once more the abstract universalism of the Semite. Chamberlain dreads a world-supremacy on the part of the Jews, and attacks in every way their intellectual, moral, and religious qualities. While evincing great admiration for the character and views of Jesus, so great is his anti-Semitic bias that he denies Jesus' Jewish origin.

Chamberlain's journalistic style and wide generalizations have attracted considerable attention, especially in German-Jewish journalism, as can be seen from the accompanying bibliography.

...

Despite his undoubted devotion to the Villa « Wahnfried » , Chamberlain kept astonishingly much on his mind beyond Wagner. In 1889, only 1 year after that 1st meeting with Cosima, he and Anna abandoned Dresden and set-up house in Vienna. In his memoirs, Chamberlain says he made the move not just because the Habsburg capital was blessed with much culture (true) and better weather (arguable) , but also because it was the home of Julius Wiesner, a professor of botany whose work had intrigued him while he was studying in Geneva. The latter argument is not as spurious as it may seem. Chamberlain was now well into his 30's and uncomfortably aware, as his letters show, that he was still

much dependent on the « largesse » of relatives and 1 or 2 rich admirers. He, thus, seems to have reluctantly concluded that it was time to make another stab at qualifying himself and earning a living. Accordingly, he enrolled at the Vienna University and took-up work again for a doctorate, probing what caused the movement of sap in plants. He failed to finish his studies, typically casting his net ever wider so that what began as a limited investigation became a quasi-philosophical hunt for the essence of life itself ; but doctorate or not, the city with its sweet-sour charm would not let him go. Chamberlain finally stayed there for all of 2 decades, usually in the closest touch with Bayreuth and often visiting the Festival, but gradually winning an intellectual independence all but unknown in « Wahnfried » 's « inner Circle » .

It is easy to see why Chamberlain loved Vienna. His spacious apartment was only a few minutes walk from the wide, tree-lined « Ringstraße » , encircling much of the city centre and built by special command of Emperor Franz-Josef a few decades before to match the « boulevards » of Paris. The Court Opera, the grandest building on the « Ring » , offered fine performances that reached stellar heights after the fiercely uncompromising Gustav Mahler became director in 1897. Theatres, museums and libraries equalled any in the German-speaking world and the ubiquitous coffee houses offered an ideal combination of club and 2nd home for rich and poor alike. Besides, as Chamberlain gleefully noted to a French friend, the city abounded in pretty women of easy morals. Despite his long-standing ailments and intense intellectual pursuits (not to mention his marriage) , Chamberlain had found time to philander even before his arrival in Vienna. Once there, he became involved in new affairs, including a lengthy one with an actress called Lili Petri whom some of his friends thought he might one day marry. But, in the end, it was the attraction of belonging to the Wagner Clan that Chamberlain found irresistible.

What Chamberlain most loathed about Vienna is plain too : its Jews. Hitherto his anti-Semitic comments had been intermittent and, despite the influence of Bayreuth, usually marked more by disdain than hatred. In Dresden, he had actually claimed to feel real sympathy for Jews after hearing brutish charges made against them there, at a tub-thumping rally. But he soon began to change his tune in fast-growing Vienna, focus of the social and political unrest seething throughout the multinational Empire. Jews were more visible there than in most German cities, thanks to the often poverty-stricken « Ostjuden » with their distinctive dress and habits who (to the embarrassment of many already-established brethren) streamed in from the east to find work. Moreover, although they made-up less than 10 % of the population of greater Vienna, Jews already accounted for nearly 1/3 of the students at the University and, in some Faculties like medicine, almost a half. They were prominent in music even before Gustav Mahler took-over at the Opera and highly-active in the press and publishing. To the hyper-sensitive, intellectual newcomer from Dresden, the Jewish influence that had seemed an irritation started to loom as a threat.

At 1st, Chamberlain's growing hostility was directed largely at Jews, not at other groups from all over the Empire that helped people Vienna. He even said he was elated to live amid such a colourful mix of Magyars, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes and the rest. But that feeling gradually changed too. During his long trip on horseback with Anna through the Balkans, in 1891, Chamberlain began to be obsessed with race - comparing what he regarded as degenerate Slavs with pure, fair-haired Serbs. He also joined the « Neuer Wagner-Verein » (New Wagner Society) , a group that had broken away from Vienna's main Wagner association and which, unlike the parent body, flirted with nationalist politics - even with prom-fascists like Georg von Schönerer, leader of the (Austrian) Empire's pan-Germans. Chamberlain

despised Schönerer and had become involved with the « New » Society mainly because the old one had increasingly criticised Cosima's imperious rule in Bayreuth. But the more he came into contact with nationalist Circles and observed the Jews and Slavs around him, the more he began to see history in terms of racial conflict - with the Germans the highest strain, but gravely endangered.

...

Houston Stewart Chamberlain (geboren 9. September 1855 in Portsmouth, England ; gestorben 9. Januar 1927 in Bayreuth) war ein Schriftsteller, Verfasser zahlreicher populärwissenschaftlicher Werke, unter anderem zu Richard Wagner, Immanuel Kant und Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, mit pangermanischer und antisemitischer Einstellung. Sein bekanntestes Werk sind die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (1899) , das zu einem Standardwerk des rassistischen und ideologischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland avancierte.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain wurde in Portsmouth im Stadtteil Southsea geboren und entstammte einer wohlhabenden Adelsfamilie. Chamberlains Mutter starb bald nach seiner Geburt, wodurch der vielbeschäftigte Vater, Konteradmiral William Charles Chamberlain, die Verantwortung für die Erziehung der drei Söhne übernehmen mußte. Vater und Sohn blieben sich zeit ihres Lebens fremd, was vor allem daran lag, daß Chamberlain und seine Brüder die nächsten zehn Jahre in Versailles bei der Großmutter und der Tante verbrachten und ihren Vater kaum zu Gesicht bekamen.

1866 kehrte Chamberlain nach England zurück, da es der Vater nicht gern sah, daß sich sein Sohn immer mehr von seinem Heimatland entfremdete und besser Französisch als Englisch zu sprechen begann. In der neuen Schule kam der scheue und sensible Junge nicht zurecht und war ständigen Anfeindungen seiner Mitschüler ausgesetzt. Dieses Gefühl des Fremdseins im eigenen Land, bereits in frühester Jugend entwickelt, begünstigte später seine Hinwendung zum Deutschtum. 1869 kehrte er aufgrund gesundheitlicher Probleme nach Frankreich zurück und verbrachte zusammen mit seiner Tante die nächsten neun Jahre auf Reisen durch Europa.

Den wohl wichtigsten Einfluss auf Chamberlains neu erwachte Liebe zum Deutschtum hatte der deutsche Theologiestudent und spätere Pastor der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde in San Remo Otto Kuntze. Er half dem gesundheitlich angeschlagenen, aber sehr interessierten Knaben, seine Studien zu ordnen und förderte sein Interesse an Shakespeare und den Naturstudien. Chamberlain selbst begann, angeregt durch Kuntzes Deutschunterricht, sich neben französischen Klassikern vermehrt mit deutscher Literatur zu beschäftigen. Goethe, Schiller und Kant zählten zu seinen Lieblingsautoren.

1873 mußte Chamberlain auf Druck seines Vaters nach England zurückkehren, da sich dieser für seinen Sohn eine Karriere in der britischen Armee erhoffte. Da das raue englische Klima für Chamberlains Gesundheit abträglich war und dieser keinerlei Ambitionen für die Vorstellungen seines Vaters zeigte, durfte er nach Frankreich zurückgehen. Er wurde mit einer jährlichen Leibrente bedacht, die ihm ein relativ unabhängiges Leben außerhalb des Einflussbereiches seiner Familie ermöglichte. Während eines Aufenthaltes im schweizerischen Aarmühle, 1891 in Interlaken umbenannt, lernte er durch Leutnant Reinhold von Twardowski (1851-1933) den renommierten Juristen Oscar Borchardt (1845-1917) kennen. Chamberlain schreibt in seinen Lebenserinnerungen Lebenswege meines Denkens über Borchardt :

« Es würde mir schwer fallen, wollte ich alle Keime zu zukünftiger Bildung aufzählen, die ich diesem Freunde verdanke. »

Daß Borchardt aus einer jüdischen Familie stammte, wird ihm wohl verborgen geblieben sein. Im Winter 1874 lernte Chamberlain in Cannes seine spätere erste Frau Anna Horst kennen. 1878, nach dem Tod seines Vaters, heirateten die beiden und reisten mehrere Monate lang durch Europa, bis sie sich 1879 in Genf niederließen und Chamberlain mit dem Studium der Naturwissenschaften an der Universität Genf begann.

Aufgrund seines Fleißes und seines Ehrgeizes absolvierte Chamberlain bereits 1881 das Baccalaureus-Examen und begann bald darauf mit seiner Doktorarbeit, die sich mit dem Wurzeldruck bei Pflanzen befasste. Unerwartete Probleme und zeitaufwendige Experimente verzögerten immer wieder die Fertigstellung. Ein schwerer Nervenzusammenbruch im Herbst 1884 war die Folge ; sie führte zu einer jahrelangen Unterbrechung seiner naturwissenschaftlichen Forschungen.

Gesundheitlich angegriffen und durch verschiedene Börsengeschäfte auch finanziell in Schwierigkeiten, geriet Chamberlain nun wieder in die Abhängigkeit von seiner Familie. Erneut mit einer Leibrente ausgestattet, zog er mit seiner Frau nach Dresden. Einerseits war das Leben in Deutschland billiger als in der Schweiz, andererseits reizte die beiden das dortige kulturelle Angebot an Theater und Musik. Von seinen Ärzten überzeugt, daß eine akademische Karriere seiner angegriffenen Gesundheit noch weiter schaden würde, füllte Chamberlain seine im Übermaß vorhandene Freizeit nicht nur mit zahlreichen kulturellen Aktivitäten aus, sondern vertiefte sich außerdem in das Studium von Kant und Platon. Beide Autoren fanden in seinen späteren Werken eingehende Betrachtung.

Zudem engagierte er sich aktiv im lokalen Wagner-Club. Zunächst noch relativ unbekannt, publizierte Chamberlain 1888 seinen ersten deutschsprachigen Artikel, der die Aufmerksamkeit und das Interesse des so genannten inneren Wahnfried-Zirkels um Cosima Wagner erweckte. Mit ihr verband den introvertierten Chamberlain eine lebenslange Freundschaft, die in einem umfangreichen Briefwechsel dokumentiert ist.

Nachdem sich Chamberlain von seinem Nervenzusammenbruch erholt hatte, beschloss er, seine naturwissenschaftlichen Studien, die er in Genf im Rahmen seiner Doktorarbeit begonnen hatte, innerhalb eines Jahres zum Abschluß zu bringen. Als seine Arbeit 1897 unter dem Titel « Recherches sur la sève ascendante » veröffentlicht wurde, hatte Chamberlain kein Interesse mehr daran, sie der Universität Genf als Doktorarbeit vorzulegen. Ihm wurde auch ohne akademischen Titel Ruhm und Anerkennung zuteil, und der bekennende Dilettant konnte sich nun voll und ganz der Schriftstellerei widmen.

Auch in Wien war Chamberlain in ständigem Kontakt mit dem Wahnfried-Zirkel. Cosima Wagner empfahl ihm als Lektüre Arthur de Gobineaus Essay über die Ungleichheit der Menschenrassen (« Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines » , 1853-1855) . Er verglich die Aussagen des Buches mit den alltäglich in Wien beobachteten Volkstumskonflikten (zum Beispiel im Zusammenhang mit der Badenischen Sprachenverordnung) , und bei ihm setzte sich zunehmend der Gedanke fest, die deutsche Kultur vor « fremden » Einflüssen und den Folgen « rassischer Durchmischung » schützen zu müßen. Die « Degeneriertheit » Wiens, die er zu sehen glaubte, machte ihn umso

empfänglicher für die vom Bayreuther Kreis um Cosima Wagner propagierte politische und religiöse « Erlösung » .

Wien war neben Bayreuth das zweite große Zentrum des Wagnerkultes. In diesen Umgebungen begann Chamberlain mit der Arbeit an seinem ersten größeren Werk, einer Biographie über den von ihm verehrten Richard Wagner (erschienen 1895) , die jedoch den Schwerpunkt nicht auf biographische Daten legt, sondern die Beweggründe Wagners in den Bereichen der Politik, der Philosophie und der Musik wiederzugeben versucht.

Im Februar 1896 begann er die Arbeit für sein Hauptwerk, die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, und schloß das 1200-seitige Werk in nur 19 Monaten ab. Das Buch wurde zu einem großen Erfolg und löste nach dem Erscheinen zahlreiche Kontroversen aus :

« Die Konventikler und Pamphletisten des primitiven Antisemitismus erhielten eine unerwartete Bestätigung aus dem Bereich der hohen Bildung. Mit der Theorie des Sozialdarwinismus ließen sich Chamberlains Lehren leicht verbinden, das geschah alsbald in alldeutschen Kreisen, die ihn verehrten. Die “ Deutschen Christen ” beriefen sich später auf ihn, ebenso wie auf Paul de Lagarde, Julius Langbehn und Arthur Bonus, den Kündler der germanischen Religion. »

Chamberlain schuf mit den Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ein Standardwerk des theoretischen Rassenantisemitismus, das einen großen Einfluss auf die Vorstellungen Alfred Rosenbergs und später Adolf Hitlers hatte. Aber nicht nur in antisemitischen und deutschnationalen Kreisen fand sich die Leserschaft der Grundlagen. Kaiser Wilhelm II. war ebenso angetan von Chamberlain wie David Herbert Lawrence, Winston Churchill und sogar Albert Schweitzer. Zum herausragenden Erfolg des Buches konstatiert Wanda Kampmann :

« Man war am Ende des positivistischen Jahrhunderts der Detailforschung und ihrer widersprüchlichen Ergebnisse müde, und dann war es wohl der Kulturenthusiasmus, die Verklärung von Kunst, Kultur und Religion als schöpferische Leistung des germanischen Geistes, die der Bildungsschwärmerei einer breiten Leserschicht entgegenkam, ferner die Rassentheorie, die eine unsicher gewordene Generation in ihrem Selbstgefühl stärkte und nicht zuletzt die Überredungskraft, die von Simplifikation jederzeit ausgeht. »

Motiviert durch den großen Erfolg seiner Werke, verfasste Chamberlain neben zahlreichen Aufsätzen zu Richard Wagner und Bayreuth in den folgenden Jahren einige Bühnenstücke und zahlreiche Monographien, darunter eine Einführung in das Werk Immanuel Kants (1905) .

In diesen schriftstellerisch sehr produktiven Jahren kam es auch in seinem Privatleben zu Veränderungen. Die Beziehung zu seiner Frau Anna war über die Jahre abgekühlt, und Chamberlain, der in Haus Wahnfried ein- und ausging, ehelichte nach einer schnellen, einvernehmlichen Scheidung Eva Wagner, die Tochter von Richard und Cosima Wagner. Die 41-Jährige reichte ihm die Hand, nachdem er schon ihrer Schwester Blandine 1896 Liebesbriefe geschrieben und sich auch von Isolde Wagner einen Korb geholt hatte.

Die Jahre bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg verbrachte Chamberlain relativ ruhig in seinem Haus in Bayreuth. Die einzige Monographie aus diesen Jahren war eine Abhandlung über das Leben und die Werke Goethes (1912) . Daneben verfasste

er einige Aufsätze zu Kant, Goethe und Wagner und genoss ansonsten sein Leben als angesehener Autor. Doch die weltpolitische Lage, das Säbelrasseln zwischen seiner alten Heimat England und seinem gelobten Land Deutschland, führte bei Chamberlain zu einem Bewusstseinswandel. Die Folge war eine Flut an Aufsätzen und Publikationen, die sich mit den Kriegsursachen und -folgen beschäftigten. Im August 1916 wurde er deutscher Staatsbürger. Seine einseitige Parteinahme für das Deutsche Reich brachte ihm in der britischen Presse den Ruf eines Abtrünnigen ein, und er verspielte fast vollständig das Ansehen, das er sich im Ausland für seine Grundlagen erworben hatte. 1917 trat er in die Deutsche Vaterlandspartei ein.

Die Niederlage des Deutschen Reiches überraschte Chamberlain sehr. Er konnte nicht verstehen, daß das Land kapitulierte, obwohl deutsche Soldaten immer noch feindliches Territorium besetzt hielten. Analog zur damals sehr populären Dolchstoßlegende sah Chamberlain die Ursache für die Niederlage Deutschlands in einer konspirativen Verschwörung der Juden. Da er inzwischen aufgrund einer Quecksilbervergiftung gelähmt und von seiner Nervenkrankheit stark gezeichnet war, ging auch seine schriftstellerische Produktivität zurück.

Seine letzte größere Veröffentlichung zu Lebzeiten war eine autobiographische Zusammenstellung verschiedener Briefe und Texte, 1919 unter dem Titel Lebenswege meines Denkens veröffentlicht. An das Krankenbett gefesselt und abgeschieden von der Außenwelt setzte Chamberlain seine Hoffnung in den damals 34-jährigen Adolf Hitler, der ihn 1923 kurz nach dem Deutschen Tag von Bayreuth in seinem Haus besuchte. Chamberlain war sehr beeindruckt und schrieb in einem Brief an Hitler :

« Sie sind überhaupt nicht der Fanatiker, als welcher Sie mir beschrieben worden sind. Ein Fanatiker entflammt den Geist, Sie wärmen das Herz. Ein Fanatiker will die Menschen mit Worten überwältigen ; Sie wollen überzeugen, nur überzeugen, und das ist der Grund, warum Sie erfolgreich sind. »

Der Weimarer Republik stand er ablehnend gegenüber ; ebenso lehnte er das demokratische System an sich ab und glaubte, es entspreche nicht dem Wesen des deutschen Volkes. Chamberlain verstarb am 9. Januar 1927 im Alter von 71 Jahren. Am 12. Januar fand auf dem Coburger Stadtfriedhof eine Trauerfeier mit anschließender Einäscherung statt. Anwesend waren unter anderem Adolf Hitler, Wilhelm von Preußen und Ernst von Hohenlohe-Langenburg.

Zusammenfassend muß Chamberlain als einer der wichtigsten intellektuellen Wegbereiter des nationalsozialistischen Rassismus gesehen werden. David Clay Large resümiert in seinem Artikel über Richard Wagner und Chamberlain :

« Chamberlain selbst hielt sein Verständnis der Rassenfrage für einen Fortschritt gegenüber den Äußerungen Wagners. An dieser Stelle bleibt festzuhalten, daß die Nationalsozialisten Chamberlains Ideen nicht noch verbessern mußten - es reichte, sie zu einem logischen Abschluß zu bringen und in die Wirklichkeit umzusetzen. »

Chamberlain wurde 1922 Ehrenbürger der Stadt Bayreuth ; 1988 wurde ihm die Ehrenbürgerschaft wieder aberkannt. Er hinterließ der Stadt eine große Erbschaft, und sein Wohnhaus dient heute als Jean-Paul-Museum. Eine 1937 nach ihm benannte Straße wurde 1947 umbenannt, eine 1958 an einer anderen Stelle der Stadt geschaffene im Jahr 1989 ebenfalls. Das gemeinsame Grab mit seiner Frau Eva geborene von Bülow befindet sich auf dem Stadtfriedhof in

Bayreuth.

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Bayreuth après la mort de Wagner

Après la mort de Richard Wagner à Venise, le mardi **13 février 1883**, Bayreuth devient le lieu de rassemblement d'un groupe soutenu par Cosima et formé d'admirateurs zélés du compositeur. À la mort de Cosima et de Siegfried, en 1930, la responsabilité du Festival échoit à la veuve de ce dernier, Winnifred, amie personnelle du chancelier Adolf Hitler. Hitler est lui-même un zélé de Wagner, donnant une lecture National-Socialiste à un anti-sémitisme retiré de son contexte, et aux thèmes germaniques qui jalonnent l'œuvre, censée inscrire le Maître de Bayreuth dans l'idéologie nazie. Il déclara un jour que le National-Socialisme n'avait eu qu'un seul prédécesseur légitime : Richard Wagner. Les Nazis font un usage courant de sa musique et la jouent lors de leurs grands rassemblements. Il n'est pas le seul

compositeur apprécié des nazis : Beethoven et Bruckner sont aussi récupérés par le régime. Les Nazis faisaient un usage courant de cette musique et la jouaient lors de leurs grands rassemblements.

Le Festival de Bayreuth se déroule au cours la période durant laquelle tous les autres théâtres sont fermés. Les musiciens, chefs d'orchestre et chanteurs peuvent ainsi s'y produire, en venant de toute l'Europe. Le 1er Festival ayant été un échec financier, chacun avait alors renoncé à son cachet. Une tradition qui perdura jusque après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Venir à Bayreuth constituait un honneur ! Le dernier chef à se produire gratuitement à Bayreuth fut Hans Knappertsbusch.

Ni la salle, ni la scène n'ont subi de modifications essentielles depuis 1876. En revanche, divers ajouts ont été effectués au cours des ans au corps même du bâtiment :

Ainsi, dès 1881, Wagner confie à Otto Brückwald la construction d'une sorte d'avant-corps de réception qui brise la nudité formelle de la façade extérieure du « Festspielhaus », appelé le « Königsbau », théoriquement destiné à permettre au roi Louis II de s'isoler, lors de ses visites.

En 1888, Cosima fera remplacer l'éclairage au gaz par un éclairage à l'électricité.

En 1925, Siegfried Wagner fera édifier une vaste arrière-scène, qui augmente d'un tiers la profondeur virtuelle de la scène, en élargit les dégagements, et, par le percement de larges vantaux ouverts au nord vers les magasins de décors, il facilite la circulation des grands praticables que l'on commence, à cette époque, à utiliser.

En 1931, Winnifred Wagner élargit encore les dégagements latéraux et fait construire tout un ensemble de bureaux administratifs et de salles de répétitions, notamment du côté ouest du bâtiment.

En 1952 et 1958, l'éclairage est complètement rénové et les structures sont consolidées. C'est à cette époque que les éléments porteurs en bois sont remplacé par des éléments en béton. Les grands « X » que forment les poutres, sur la façade, disparaissent.

En 1964, toute la scène sera réaménagée et sa largeur est agrandie.

En 1997-1998, la façade est restaurée dans son état d'origine et les peintures refaites dans la salle.

...

Dans les « Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg », Richard Wagner avait tenté, entre autres, d'offrir des points d'ancrage à la prise de conscience d'une identité nationale, comme préalable de l'unité allemande. Mais les nationalistes racistes se firent passer pour les seuls garants, l'unique rempart de l'identité nationale, et s'emparèrent de l'œuvre, avec les passages les plus compromettants de son livret. Et personne ne leur résista, pas même Bayreuth et ses organes de presse. Bien au contraire. La semence empoisonnée d'écrivains et de journalistes se définissant comme « le Cercle

bayreuthien » ou encore, dans leur milieu fermé, comme des « Wahnfriediens », qui avaient préparé le terrain idéologique et activé la politisation de Bayreuth, cette semence donna une moisson abondante. Le processus débuta avant même la Première Guerre mondiale. Dès 1896, les « Bayreuther Blätter » qualifièrent le « Festspielhaus » de « refuge aryen » ; l'écrivain-maison de Wahnfried, le Baron Hans von Wolzogen, réclama que l'on fit de « la grande cause » wagnérienne une « cause nationale ». Après 1933, on put constater avec plaisir que ce but avait été atteint. Les notions de « Bayreuth » et de « Wahnfried » ne recouvraient plus seulement le Festival et ses intentions artistiques, mais une idéologie bornée, pan-germaniste, nationaliste, conservatrice et anti-démocratique. Les « Bayreuther Blätter » devinrent de plus en plus nettement l'organe de presse de l'idéologie nationaliste allemande.

En 1914, Maximilian Harden avait donné l'alerte :

« Renoncez enfin à tenter de le (Bayreuth) falsifier en le transformant en Sion, en rempart, en sanctuaire presque céleste de l'âme du peuple allemand, d'où s'exprime la volonté du Maître. »

Et Paul Bekker écrivit dans ses « Kritische Zeitbilder » de 1921 :

« La présentation éthique et nationaliste fondamentalement erronée qui a fait de Bayreuth, lieu d'art à l'origine, le lieu de culte d'un germanisme mal assimilé, en insistant toujours davantage sur les facteurs extra-artistiques, cette présentation est funeste et à, bien des égards, presque catastrophique pour l'attitude spirituelle, notamment des Allemands. La réaction non seulement esthétique, mais également politique, le sinistre teutonisme, la bigoterie, le racisme et le nationalisme borné trouvent ici leur soutien et croient pouvoir s'attribuer ainsi (que l'on pense simplement à Chamberlain) la grandeur du phénomène artistique wagnérien, et en tirer leur propre justification».

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, le dilettante universel et lettré, auteur des « Fondements du XIXe siècle », était entré en correspondance avec Cosima Wagner, en 1888, puis, en 1901, avec l'Empereur Guillaume II, dont il encouragea les idées de croisade pendant la Première Guerre mondiale. Il épousa Eva, la fille de Cosima, en 1908, et établit, en 1923, le 1er contact entre la Villa « Wahnfried » et Adolf Hitler. Ces étapes n'illustrent pas seulement la dérive de Bayreuth dans le camp de la réaction politique, mais également, dans un sens plus large, l'itinéraire de l'histoire allemande vers la catastrophe. À la ré-ouverture du Festival, en 1924 (après une interruption de 10 ans due à la Première Guerre mondiale) , Adolf Rapp écrivit dans le guide du Festival un article intitulé : « Wagner : “ Führer ” de la nature allemande » ; il y affirmait :

« On peut dire aujourd'hui que la communauté bayreuthienne est également réunie politiquement dans le camp où se retrouvent, de plus en plus nombreux, ceux qui veulent résolument être allemands. »

Ludendorff fut présent dès les répétitions. Lors de la représentation des « Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg » que dirigeait Fritz Busch, le public se leva pendant l'allocution de Hans Sachs, et entonna l'hymne allemand à la fin du spectacle. Il semblerait que l'on ait également entendu quelques « Heil » isolés.

Le directeur du Festival, Siegfried Wagner, remarqua « pâle d'indignation : à la fin du “ Crépuscule des dieux ”, ils

vont vraisemblablement chanter le “ Wacht am Rhein ”. » (Franz Stassen)

Mais Siegfried Wagner accepta que l'on hissât sur le toit du « Festspielhaus » le drapeau noir-blanc-rouge, à côté du drapeau bavarois, et dans la République de Weimar, c'était un aveu. En 1925, les excès se renouvelèrent et Siegfried fit afficher l'avis suivant :

« Nous vous prions de bien vouloir vous abstenir de tout chant, même bien intentionné : ici, seul l'art compte ! »

En 1921, il refusa catégoriquement le boycottage des Juifs au Festival, demandé par August Püringer ; il estimait qu'il s'agissait d'une atteinte à la tolérance ; il écrivit en 1925 :

« Pour ma part, j'ai tout fait pour garantir que les journées bayreuthiennes resteraient à l'écart de toute intrusion politique. Tous ceux qui veulent trouver à Bayreuth édification et expérience y seront les bienvenus, quelles que soient leurs opinions ou leur extraction. Personne ne doit craindre que de quelconques incidents déplaisants s'y produisent. »

(« Berliner 8 Uhr Abendblatt » , 9. März 1925)

Mais il était trop tard. Il était désormais impossible de vouloir une chose et d'empêcher l'autre. Bernhard Diebold, qui avait assisté au Festival de 1928, s'interrogeait :

« Où sont passés les esprits Libéraux pour l'œuvre d'art Libérale ? Où se cache le peuple des “ Maîtres Chanteurs ” ? Où sont les nerfs sensibles qui vibraient avec l'âme de “ Tristan ” ? Est-on trop chic pour la musique d'hier ? Est-on si intelligent politiquement que l'on mette dans le même sac Wagner et Chamberlain ? Que s'est-il passé ?

Au lieu de revendiquer les “ Maîtres Chanteurs ” pour le Festival démocratique, l'esprit partisan a cédé tout Richard Wagner aux nationalistes ingénument et sans combat. Il faut opposer à la défiguration nationaliste le Libéralisme de l'œuvre wagnérienne. »

Mais ces voix ne pouvaient plus se faire entendre. « Les Allemands se sont accommodés un Wagner à leur guise, auquel ils puissent rendre hommage. Ils n'ont jamais été psychologues, leur manière de témoigner leur reconnaissance consiste à comprendre de travers » : le jugement de Friedrich Nietzsche prit une nouvelle actualité. Wolfgang Wagner avait raison de dire, en 1976, dans son discours prononcé à l'occasion de la ré-ouverture comme musée de la Villa « Wahnfried » , détruite pendant la Guerre :

« Je crois qu'il fallait que la bombe tombât. »

La redécouverte de Wagner à notre époque ne fut possible que lorsque « Wahnfried » ne fut plus une institution.

Il était dans l'ordre des choses que la « journée de Potsdam » du 22 mars 1933 commençât par une exécution des « Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg » à l'Opéra national de Berlin « Unter den Linden » , et que cette œuvre fût

ensuite érigée (ou plutôt abaissée) au rang d'Opéra d'apparat pour les Congrès du Parti nazi à Nuremberg. En 1933, lors de la retransmission radiodiffusée de l'œuvre depuis le « Festspielhaus », Josef Goebbels fit un discours où il mentionna les vers de Hans Sachs tirés du « Rossignol » de Wittenberg (1523) . Ces vers, écrits à l'époque de la « Réforme » avaient été insérés par Richard Wagner dans le chœur « Wach auf » (Réveillez-vous) des « Maîtres Chanteurs » . Goebbels les définit comme le « hurlement du peuple » (qu'en aurait dit le chef des chœurs ?) et comme un « symbole tangible du réveil du peuple allemand après la profonde anesthésie politique et spirituelle de novembre 1918 » .

À l'occasion de la « Journée de la liberté » du Parti nazi, « les Maîtres Chanteurs » furent donnés pour la 1re fois dans les nouveaux décors dessinés par l'artiste officiel du « Reich » , Benno von Arent. Adolf Hitler lui en avait passé commande personnellement, et avait examiné lui-même les projets avant leur réalisation. Dans la conception de von Arent, l'échoppe du cordonnier n'était plus la sympathique chambre bourgeoise, mais un atelier qui devait exprimer :

« Respectez le travail, estimez les travailleurs. » (Benno von Arent.)

Le seul décor à s'éloigner du cadre historicisant de l'Allemagne ancienne était la prairie de fête : avec ses rangées de drapeaux, elles ressemblait au terrain des Congrès annuels du Parti. Elle était donc réellement devenue « cause nationale » . Benno von Arent fournit également ces décors, autorisés par Hitler, pour la ré-ouverture de l'Opéra allemand de Berlin, le 17 novembre 1935 ; pour la semaine théâtrale du « Reich » à Munich, en 1936 ; pour Danzig, en 1938 ; pour le Festival de la jeunesse allemande au Théâtre national de Weimar, en 1939 ; et pour la nouvelle mise-en-scène du Théâtre de Linz, en 1941 ; Hitler accorda même à ce dernier spectacle un crédit supplémentaire tiré de sa caisse personnelle. En modifiant légèrement un slogan de ces années-là, on pourrait parler d'un peuple, d'un « Reich » et d'un décor. La volonté de conditionner les sentiments individuels des sujets pour créer une unité de pensée et d'expérience est symptomatique de la politique culturelle de tous les régimes totalitaires. Une autre caractéristique de l'époque est le recours aux masses, notamment dans la scène de la prairie. C'était déjà frappant dans la nouvelle mise-en-scène de l'Opéra municipal de Berlin, en mai 1933, puis au Festival de Bayreuth de la même année. En 1939, les chœurs des Opéras de Nuremberg et de Vienne, réunis, participèrent à la représentation de gala dirigée par Wilhelm Furtwängler à l'occasion du Congrès du Parti.

On mit au service du nouveau régime les idées de noblesse et de sainteté de l'art germanique et on en conclut à la nécessité de lutter contre l'étranger, de maintenir la pureté et de préserver l'art de la « souillure » apportée par les influences artistiques des races étrangères. À partir de là, s'ouvrait une voie qui menait tout droit à la répression et à l'élimination de l'étranger, à la terreur et à la barbarie au nom même de l'art. L'Orchestre philharmonique d'Israël, fondé en 1936, et qui avait encore joué en avril 1938 les Préludes du 1er et du 3e Actes de « Lohengrin » , sous la direction d'Arturo Toscanini, supprima de son programme le Prélude des « Maîtres Chanteurs » . Depuis lors, la musique de Richard Wagner est proscrite en Israël et particulièrement dans cet Orchestre, bien qu'aucune interdiction officielle n'ait jamais été prononcée. Lors d'un concert donné à l'automne 1981, le chef Zubin Mehta a tenté de lever cet interdit.

Au cours des Festivals de Bayreuth, dits « de guerre », organisés par l'Association nazie « Kraft durch Freude » (KdF :

la Force par la Joie) , on ne donna en 1943 et 1944 que « les Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg » . On distribua les billets à des soldats, des blessés, des ouvriers d'usines d'armement et à des infirmières, en récompense de leur engagement pour la Guerre. Tandis que les villes allemandes s'écroulaient en cendres et en gravats, on continuait d'évoquer au « Festspielhaus » le rêve du passé glorieux d'une culture nationale allemande. Ce public pouvait-il encore espérer que l'art allemand survivrait à la destruction et à la ruine de l'Empire ?

Dans son ouvrage intitulé « Les racines du Nazisme » , Ernst Bloch avait critiqué, en 1939, le fait que les « anti-fascistes instruits » ne prononcent généralement plus le nom de Wagner que « dans un contexte nazi » , et avait affirmé :

« La musique des Nazis n'est pas le Prélude des “ Maîtres Chanteurs ” , mais le “ Horst-Wessel-Lied ” ; ils n'ont pas d'autre gloire, on ne peut et on ne doit pas leur en accorder d'autre. »

Mais la génération de ceux qui avaient survécu à la Guerre ne pouvait plus voir cette œuvre profanée qu'à la lumière de ses expériences. Pour Theodor W. Adorno (en 1952) , Beckmesser était, en 1937-1938, « le Juif dans les épines » du cruel Conte de Grimm. Quant à la scène de pugilat, on se mit à y flairer des relents de pogrome.

« Pouvez-vous vraiment supporter encore la comédie de délicatesse de Hans Sachs, et cette chère petite oie d'Eva ? » , demandait Thomas Mann à Emil Preetorius, en 1949.

Cependant, « les Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg » sont restés en vie. Ils n'ont pas disparu tels les drames d'Emil Ludwig, né comme Richard Wagner, en 1813, comme le fait remarquer Hans Mayer ; ils n'ont pas non plus été engloutis dans l'insignifiance des productions artistiques du 3e « Reich » ; en effet, ils n'appartenaient pas aux productions de cette nature.

« Bien sûr, Richard Wagner avait du génie, mais ça n'explique pas tout. Chose curieuse, même ses contradictions se sont révélées fructueuses. » (Hans Mayer)

Bien plus qu'au cours des décennies précédentes, c'est dans les mises-en-scène des 30 dernières années, qui n'ont pas nié les faits, que « les Maîtres Chanteurs » ont pu manifester leur richesse bien spécifique. Mais de nombreux théâtres firent comme s'il ne s'était rien passé. Et lorsque les réserves avaient survécu à la Guerre, on réutilisa les décors et les costumes d'autrefois. À l'étranger, on se sentait étonnamment peu gêné par cette œuvre. On se contenta d'en biffer les passages suspects.

Cosima et Bayreuth

Au lendemain de la mort de Richard Wagner, c'est sa seconde femme, Cosima (la fille de Franz Liszt) qui prend en mains les destinées du Festival de Bayreuth, avec l'aide du banquier Adolf von Groß, ami de la famille et exécuteur testamentaire de Richard Wagner. Quant au chef israélite Hermann Levi, qui a dirigé la première de « Parsifal » , il se voit confier la direction musicale du théâtre.

Cosima restera à la tête du Festival jusqu'en 1905. Siegfried, son fils, prendra sa succession, jusqu'au 4 août 1930, date de sa mort, 4 mois exactement après celle de sa mère.

S'il est, à Bayreuth, un personnage proprement « légendaire », il s'agit bien de Winnifred Wagner, née Williams. Winnifred aurait transformé Bayreuth en épicerie culturelle du régime nazi ; elle aurait été, bien davantage qu'Eva Braun, la Ire dame du « Reich » auprès d'Adolf Hitler, qu'elle aurait sans doute épousé, n'eût été le testament de Siegfried, qui lui interdisait de demeurer à la tête du Festival de Bayreuth au cas où elle se remarierait. Winnifred aurait transformé le Festival de Bayreuth en outil de propagande au service de Josef Goebbels. Bref, elle aurait eu une attitude si condamnable durant toute cette période que sa propre fille, Friedelind, dégoûtée, aurait préféré l'exil au confort compromettant de « Wahnfried » .

Il est vrai qu'à la fin de sa vie, Winnifred n'a rien fait pour arranger les choses, refusant de renier ses amitiés d'autrefois, notamment lorsque le cinéaste Hans-Jürgen Syberberg, dans le cadre de l'entretien-fleuve qu'il filma en 1976, lui demanda comment elle réagirait si, demain, Adolf Hitler venait frapper à sa porte et qu'il reçut cette réponse : « Je l'accueillerais comme l'ami qu'il a toujours été à la maison. » .

Le scandale fut tel, que Wolfgang Wagner dut se résoudre à interdire à sa mère de paraître durant le Festival du Centenaire (1976) .

Cela dit, au-delà des polémiques anecdotiques, il s'agit de se demander ce que sont les faits, au juste...

Que Winnifred Wagner ait entretenu des relations personnelles, amicales et très chaleureuses, avec Hitler ne souffre aucun doute.

Mais la question essentielle, celle qui importe au 1er chef, parce qu'elle ne concerne pas simplement une attitude d'ordre privé, est la suivante : Ces relations privilégiées qu'entretenait Winnifred Wagner avec Hitler ont-elles influencé la direction artistique du Festival de Bayreuth ? Et si oui, en quoi ? Autrement dit : en quoi peut-on affirmer que le « Bayreuth de Winnifred Wagner » était Nazi, comme il semblerait que cela soit entendu ?

Winnifred a répondu très clairement à la question, à maintes reprises. Laissons-lui la parole :

« Les faits sont les suivants. Il est de notoriété publique que, durant sa jeunesse, Hitler s'était familiarisé avec les œuvres de Wagner à l'Opéra de Linz et qu'il en résulta chez lui une passion qui ne fit que s'accroître au cours des années passées à Vienne, années au cours desquelles il manqua rarement une représentation de Wagner à l'Opéra National. »

« À l'automne 1923, cet enthousiasme conduisit Hitler à pénétrer pour la Ire fois dans notre maison, ce qui fut à l'origine de notre longue amitié. »

« En 1925, Hitler fut à nouveau invité au Festival par Edwin Bechstein et son épouse. À cette époque déjà, sa présence irritait de nombreux esprits. Aussi lorsqu'il quitta Bayreuth, Hitler me promit-il d'y revenir seulement lorsqu'il ne risquerait plus de porter préjudice à l'entreprise, et qu'au contraire il aurait l'espoir de pouvoir lui être utile. »

« Il respecta cette décision jusqu'en 1933, date à laquelle il devint un habitué des Festivals. Il est à préciser qu'il achetait ses cartes d'entrée, pour lui-même et son entourage. Dans l'enceinte du « Festspielhaus », il n'admettait aucune ovation de la part du public, consigne qui fut strictement respectée. »

« Concernant l'embauche des artistes, Hitler n'exprima qu'une seule fois un « désir » : à l'occasion d'une nouvelle mise-en-scène de « Parsifal », il proposa comme metteur-en-scène le célèbre artiste Alfred Roller, de l'Opéra National de Vienne. Malheureusement, à cette époque, Roller était déjà très malade et son travail ne nous donna pas entière satisfaction, de sorte que nous dûmes nous passer de sa collaboration, et que nous confiâmes le soin de réaliser de nouvelles esquisses à mon fils Wieland. Hitler se soumit sans protester à notre décision. »

« Lorsque Josef Gœbbels exigea l'incorporation du Festival de Bayreuth à la Chambre des Théâtres du « Reich » et que je m'y opposai en raison de certaines clauses dont le caractère était incompatible avec l'activité du Festival, je m'adressai à Hitler, qui partagea mon opinion et récusait les exigences de Gœbbels. »

« J'ajouterai que ni le metteur-en-scène Heinz Tietjen, ni le décorateur Emil Preetorius, ni le chef Wilhelm Fürtwängler n'ont été membres du Parti Nazi et que, pour ma part, j'ai toujours eu la possibilité de travailler avec des collaborateurs juifs ou de parenté juive, jusqu'à leur émigration. » (Nouvelle École, numéros 31-32, printemps 1979.)

Il serait légitime d'exprimer des doutes quant à la véracité de tels propos, si la moindre preuve venait étayer pareil soupçon. Or, rien de ce que déclare ici Winnifred n'a été ni ne peut être contesté ! Les contorsions de Barry Millington (dans Wagner, Guide Raisonné) sont, à cet égard, du plus haut comiques, quand il déclare dans la même phrase que « Bayreuth réussit à préserver une certaine indépendance » mais que « cela ne changea rien au fait que Bayreuth était désormais un instrument de propagande nazie » .

Sous la direction de Winnifred, le Festival de Bayreuth est demeuré totalement indépendant du pouvoir en place. L'influence de Josef Gœbbels, de ses idées, comme du Parti Nazi, s'arrêta aux portes du « Festspielhaus », jusqu'au bout. Pour preuve ? Franz von Hoesslin ! Son cas est pour ainsi dire exemplaire.

Chef d'orchestre réputé et de grand talent, von Hoesslin se voit pourtant refuser, sur interventions de Josef Gœbbels, la direction des Opéras de Hambourg et de Munich, au motif que son épouse est juive, tandis que dans le même temps, il dirige « Parsifal » à Bayreuth, en alternance avec le compositeur Richard Strauß. En butte à de multiples difficultés, von Hoesslin finira par se résoudre à l'exil, en Italie dans un 1er temps, puis en Suisse.

À l'appel de Winnifred Wagner, Franz von Hoesslin reviendra diriger à Bayreuth en 1938, 1939 et 1940 ! Preuve en est qu'aux yeux de Winnifred Wagner, le talent primait sur tout le reste.

Après plusieurs années de recherches, c'est du reste l'une des conclusions auxquelles est parvenue l'historienne autrichienne Brigitte Hamann (l'auteure d'un ouvrage remarquable sur les années viennoises d'Adolf Hitler) , dans un livre consacré à Winnifred Wagner ; livre qui renversera bien des idées reçues sur l'attitude, durant l'époque nazie non pas de Winnifred, mais de Friedelind ainsi que de Wieland Wagner.

En outre, tout aussi peu contestable que l'attitude indépendante de Winnifred vis-à-vis du pouvoir Nazi est le fait que le Festival de Bayreuth offrit au public, à cette époque, quelques-unes des plus grandes productions de son histoire, que ce soit sur le plan scénique, orchestral ou vocal.

Ayant su s'entourer de collaborateurs de talent (Heinz Tietjen pour la régie et la direction orchestrale, Emil Preetorius pour la mise-en-scène et les décors) , Winnifred Wagner, 2 ans à peine après la mort de Siegfried, sut renouveler le style des productions présentées à Bayreuth, rompant avec les décors en trompe-l'œil, les trop nombreux accessoires et les costumes « réalistes » . Elle sut, par ailleurs, attirer à Bayreuth quelques-uns des chefs d'orchestres et des solistes parmi les plus prestigieux de son temps. C'est ainsi que se succédèrent au pupitre de la « fosse mystique » du « Festspielhaus » , Wilhelm Fürtwängler, Richard Strauß, Victor de Sabata, Karl Elmendorff. Tandis que, sur scène, résonnaient les voix de Maria Müller, Kirsten Flagstadt, Emmy Krüger, Germaine Lubin, Franz Völker, Max Lorenz, Rudolf Bockelmann. Des voix si extraordinaires que les enregistrements qui en ont conservé le souvenir demeurent aujourd'hui encore parmi les plus recherchés.

(Photo) Winnifred et ses principaux collaborateurs : (de l'arrière-plan au 1er plan) le directeur technique Paul Eberhard, Emil Preetorius, Wilhelm Fürtwängler et Heinz Tietjen.

Dans ces conditions, ne peut-on se demander si ce n'est là, précisément, ce qui est principalement reproché à Winnifred Wagner : le haut niveau artistique qu'elle sut maintenir à Bayreuth, en dépit des ravages culturels perpétrés par ailleurs par le pouvoir Nazi ? Logique simpliste et perverse (qui, sur un autre plan, s'est aussi appliquée au sculpteur Arno Breker) , selon laquelle le pouvoir en place étant honni, rien, absolument rien de ce qui se fit à cette époque ne peut aujourd'hui mériter un quelconque jugement positif. De la sorte les vraies questions, autrement plus complexes et inconfortables, sont éludées. Ce type de questions que posent sans ambages un George Steiner sur les rapports (ou l'absence de rapport) entre l'art et la morale.

Mais si faire de Winnifred le chantre d'une sorte de « Nazification » de l'œuvre wagnérienne se heurte aux faits, cela permet de justifier commodément toutes les manipulations ultérieures effectuées sur l'œuvre de Wagner, sous prétexte de la « dénazifier » . Nul n'a à l'esprit de s'aviser que ce qui est de la sorte effectué sur scène (les interprétations marxistes, notamment, du « Ring ») , les Nazis ne se risquèrent que très exceptionnellement à l'accomplir. Pourtant, une œuvre comme « les Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg » se prêtait sans doute idéalement, de leur point de vue, à une « transposition » orientée dans le sens politique du moment. L'art est ainsi demeuré le dernier espace de liberté pour les Allemands, durant la période Nazie, comme l'a souligné Wilhelm Fürtwängler, après guerre, pour se justifier d'être resté en Allemagne. Quiconque assistait, durant ces années, au « Ring » ou à tout autre œuvre de Wagner, dans le « Festspielhaus » , avait la pleine et entière liberté d'y voir ce qu'il souhaitait : Hitler en Alberich ou en Klingsor. Pourquoi pas ? Nul (à commencer par aucun des décorateurs et des metteurs-en-scène de l'ère « Winnifred ») ne

chercha jamais à imposer au public des Festivals de l'époque une quelconque interprétation orientée des œuvres de Richard Wagner. Bien malin serait celui qui pourrait déceler le moindre « relent Nazi » dans les décors d'Emil Preetorius ou ceux d'Alfred Roller.

Le mot d'ordre, après guerre, fut : « déblaiement » !

De quoi les œuvres de Richard Wagner avaient-elles donc besoin d'être déblayées ? Sinon de ce qu'on y avait projeté. Là encore, règne la plus grande confusion ; car ce qu'on laisse finalement entendre, c'est que les œuvres de Richard Wagner, en elles-mêmes, nécessitaient une sorte de « purification expiatoire » . L'esprit des œuvres de Wagner avait été respecté, là où il importe : sur scène, durant le 3^e « Reich ». Ce n'est pas du tout comme si l'on s'était mis, à cette époque, à interpréter scéniquement le « Ring », « Parsifal » ou « les Maîtres Chanteurs » dans des décors qui eussent évoqué les parades de Nuremberg, avec de bannières ornées de « swastika » .

Si déblaiement il devait y avoir, ce n'était donc pas sur la scène du « Festspielhaus » qu'il devait se produire, en l' lieu, c'était dans les esprits. Et dans ce cas, il aurait fallu faire appel à des hommes à l'esprit libre, qui, n'ayant rien trempé dans le marais glauque du Nazisme, n'auraient eu aucun compte à régler avec leur pays, leurs compatriotes, leur propre famille ; voire avec eux-mêmes.

Toute l'équivoque de la démarche entreprise, après guerre, avec le « Neue Bayreuth » (une expression inventée par la presse en 1951, selon Wieland) repose sur cette sorte de mélange hommes / œuvres ; les secondes servant aux lers à se confronter avec leurs problèmes intimes.

Il ne s'agit pas ici de contester le réel talent dont sut faire preuve Wieland Wagner dans les productions qu'il réalisa de 1951 (date de la ré-ouverture du « Festspielhaus ») , à sa mort prématurée, en 1966. Il s'agit bien plutôt de se demander dans quelle mesure la démarche prônée par Wieland n'a pas ouvert la porte à toutes les interprétations scéniques qui ont vu le jour peu après, que ce soit à Bayreuth ou ailleurs, et qui, au nom du sempiternel « déblaiement » ont imposé aux spectateurs, sur scène, des transformations inacceptables des œuvres de Richard Wagner. Wieland n'hésitait d'ailleurs pas à modifier jusqu'au contenu même des œuvres, à effectuer des coupures dans la partition, afin qu'elles correspondent à ses idées. Ainsi, il supprima toutes les scènes parlées dans « Fidelio » ; de même, lorsqu'il réalisa « Orphée et Eurydique » de Gluck, il supprima tout bonnement la conclusion heureuse de l'œuvre, sous prétexte que celle-ci apparaissait alors « dans une profonde unité dramatique et humaine dont Gluck a certainement rêvé » . Et quand Antoine Goléa, lors de ses Entretiens, note avec une certaine désinvolture que depuis que Wieland est le Maître de Bayreuth, « on coupe dans des partitions de Wagner » , celui-ci ne le reprend pas.

Donc, après 6 années de silence, le « Festspielhaus » rouvre ses portes le 29 juillet 1951, aux accents de la 9^e Symphonie de Beethoven, sous la baguette de Wilhelm Fürtwängler. Au programme : « Parsifal » (direction : Hans Knappertsbuch) , « les Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg » (direction : Herbert von Karajan) et le « Ring » (direction : Herbert von Karajan et Hans Knappertsbusch, en alternance) ; mise-en-scène et décors réalisés par Wieland Wagner.

Par la suite, Wolfgang Wagner qui, au début, s'était chargé essentiellement des questions administratives, se lancera à

son tour dans la mise-en-scène, avec « Lohengrin », en 1953 ; « Tannhäuser », en 1954 ; le « Ring » de 1960 à 1964, et de nouveau, de 1970 à 1975.

Le parti pris esthétique de Wieland et Wolfgang Wagner est à peu de choses près identique chez l'un et chez l'autre : stylisation symbolique, suggestion de l'espace et caractérisations de lieux par des éclairages recherchés, abstraction spacio temporelle des décors et des costumes, gestuelle moins emphatique que celle qui était de rigueur précédemment, élimination de tous les « détails » techniques épineux dont la visualisation, sur scène, est aléatoire et qui, par conséquent, risquent de détruire l'illusion ; et Dieu sait que le « Ring » fourmille de tels « détails » qui, de tout temps, ont posé problème aux metteurs-en-scène. Bref, Wieland a dépouillé le plateau, jusqu'à l'austérité parfois, de tout ce qui peut divertir l'attention du spectateur du drame qui est en train de s'y jouer.

Wieland Wagner : « À la source, il y eut certainement un doute. Je me suis demandé si les représentations de Bayreuth, telles que je les voyais dans ma jeunesse, correspondaient aux dimensions spirituelles de l'œuvre de Wagner. Ce fut la musique qui constitua pour moi l'aspect essentiel de l'œuvre de Wagner : la peinture, l'architecture, les décors et même le poème passèrent au second plan. En conséquence, le seul chemin possible pour moi a été celui du radicalisme esthétique et intellectuel. C'est radicalement que je voulais m'éloigner du Bayreuth de ce temps-là. » .
(Entretiens avec Antoine Goléa.)

Il est à souligner, en préambule, qu'avec Wieland Wagner s'est développé une sorte de « mise-en-avant » du metteur-en-scène, beaucoup plus accentué qu'autrefois, les polémiques, discussions, louanges que son travail suscitait ayant parfois tendance à prendre le pas sur l'œuvre mise-en-scène.

Quoi qu'il en soit, les productions de Wieland et Wolfgang Wagner ont donné lieu à des résultats contrastés, allant du meilleur (le « Ring », « Tristan und Isolde », « Parsifal ») au plus contestable, avec, notamment, en 1956, la mise-en-scène par Wieland des « Maîtres Chanteurs » .

Dans une lettre adressée en 1951 à Karl Hermann, Wieland Wagner écrivait :

« Libérer l'élément purement humain de toute espèce de convention, c'est le but que Richard Wagner assignait à l'art. C'est vers ce même but que j'ai orienté toutes mes mises-en-scène de cette année. Plaçant au 1er plan l'élément purement humain, j'ai éliminé toutes les formes de convention, aussi bien celles du théâtre lyrique que celles d'une certaine tradition wagnérienne sans jamais m'écarter le moins du monde des données de la partition. »

Et il est un fait que là où Wieland a le mieux réussi, c'est dans l'évocation sur scène (que se soit dans le « Ring », « Tristan und Isolde » ou « Parsifal », surtout) d'un « paysage intérieur » ouvert, intimement lié à la musique, s'opposant de la sorte aux habituels décors en 3 dimensions dans lesquels l'action a tendance à s'enfermer comme dans une boîte de résonance. Cela peut avoir ses avantages. Le parti pris de Wieland était autre. Il donnait à voir ; comme la musique donne à entendre, sans qu'aucun discours ne puisse cerner ne serait-ce que le contour de qui est ainsi donné à voir ou à entendre.

Le danger qui menaça toutefois la conception Wielandienne de la mise-en-scène des œuvres de Richard Wagner, après qu'elle se fut imposée, était de se transformer en une sorte de nouvel académisme s'empoussiérant année après année (la « Société des Amis de Bayreuth » n'alla-t-elle pas jusqu'à proposer, en 1966, que la mise-en-scène de « Parsifal » soit considérée comme définitive et qu'elle soit placée sous la protection de l'administration des sites et monuments ?) . Du « déblaiement » effectué par Wieland, on assista donc, après la mort de celui-ci à une manière de « remblaiement » ; d'abord timide, puis nettement plus provocateur, lorsque, en 1972, Wolfgang Wagner invita le metteur-en-scène est-allemand, Götz Friedrich, à venir donner un petit « coup de jeunesse » à « Tannhäuser » .

Sur les conditions « juridiques » de la ré-ouverture du « Festspielhaus » :

(Extrait d'Entretiens avec Wieland Wagner, Belfond, Paris, 1967.)

Wieland : « La situation issue de la guerre a fait que Winnifred Wagner, qui était propriétaire du Théâtre depuis la mort de mon père, a abandonné en 1951 la direction, qu'elle aurait, dans d'autres circonstances, conservée jusqu'à aujourd'hui, malgré notre majorité. Pour pouvoir continuer d'organiser les Festivals sous la nouvelle constellation politique, nous avons conclu, mon frère et moi, un contrat de location avec notre mère. D'un point de vue familial, nous sommes les locataires du « Festspielhaus » . Par rapport aux pouvoirs publics et privés qui nous subventionnent, nous sommes les gérants de l'entreprise. »

Significatif est à cet égard le commentaire qu'apporte Wieland à propos de sa mise-en-scène d' « Aïda » de Verdi, lorsque Antoine Goléa lui demande la raison pour laquelle la scène du triomphe de Radamès, qui se déroule habituellement en plein jour, se déroule, chez Wieland, en pleine nuit.

Wieland : « À partir du moment où l'honneur et le devoir patriotique commandent à Radamès de renoncer à « Aïda » , la nuit se répand dans son âme ; et cette nuit, pour lui, recouvre le monde entier. »

Ce qui, ici encore, a conduit Wieland à supprimer le ballet qui se déroule à cet instant, sous prétexte qu'il ne pouvait « se familiariser avec l'idée de faire danser dans la nuit spirituelle de Radamès, d'y laisser paraître, d'une façon plus générale, toute manifestation superficielle de joie » .

À la mort de son frère, Wieland, en octobre 1966, Wolfgang se retrouva donc unique directeur du Festival de Bayreuth : lourde charge, qu'il assumait seul jusqu'en 1969, date à laquelle il fit appel au metteur-en-scène August Everding pour mettre en scène une nouvelle production du « fliegende Holländer » (décors de Josef Svoboda) ; tandis que Peter Lehmann et Hans Hotter se chargeaient de perpétuer les mises-en-scène Wielandiennes du « Ring » , de « Tristan und Isolde » et de « Parsifal » .

En 1970, Wolfgang proposa au public une nouvelle mise-en-scène du « Ring » , laquelle succède ainsi à celle que Wieland avait présenté pour la 1^{re} fois en 1965. Faisant appel à un plateau circulaire articulé qui adopte différentes formes en fonction du moment, mais qui demeure l'élément essentiel du décor durant toute la Tétralogie, Wolfgang rétablit volumes et perspectives sur scène, tout en employant de manière soutenue lumières et des couleurs.

L'ensemble est loin de manquer d'intérêt, offrant un compromis intelligent entre les conceptions scéniques d'avant-guerre et celles de Wieland. Pourtant, une partie de la presse ainsi que les thuriféraires de feu Wieland, ne voudront voir que médiocrité là où pourtant s'exprime une personnalité qui ne manque pas d'originalité et de finesse. Mais il sera dit, désormais, que Wolfgang Wagner n'a ni l'étoffe ni le génie de son frère. Jugement hâtif, définitif ; et très injuste qui, quelque soit les qualités intrinsèques de ses productions, poursuivra sans cesse Wolfgang, tant et si bien qu'on peut légitimement se demander dans quelle mesure cette sorte de mépris hautain avec lequel la presse le traite volontiers n'a pas joué un rôle dans le choix des metteurs-en-scène qu'il a été amené à effectuer, dès 1972, en invitant Götz Friedrich à venir mettre en scène « Tannhäuser » à Bayreuth, puis, en 1976, le trio Chéreau / Boulez / Peduzzi, pour le « Ring » du Centenaire, Harry Kupfer, en 1978, pour « Der fliegende Holländer » puis de nouveau, Götz Friedrich pour le « Parsifal » du Centenaire, en 1982, et encore Harry Kupfer, pour le « Ring », cette fois, et jusqu'au dramaturge Heiner Müller, pour mettre en scène de manière parfaitement grotesque « Tristan und Isolde » .

Il est vrai qu'il y a aussi eu le « Ring » de Sir Peter Hall et de Sir Georg Solti, ainsi que les très belles productions de « Tristan und Isolde » par Jean-Pierre Ponnelle (1981) et de « Lohengrin » par Werner Herzog ; sans compter les excellentes mises-en-scène de « Parsifal » (1975) et des « Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg » (1981) , réalisées par Wolfgang lui-même.

En jetant un regard sur ce qu'est devenu Bayreuth depuis le « Ring » du Centenaire, on ne peut se défaire d'une impression de clinquant superficiel, comme si le « Festspielhaus » , ayant totalement perdu sa fonction de lieu de représentations modèles des œuvres de Richard Wagner, s'était transformé en un « atelier théâtral » (« Werkstatt » : le mot employé en 1976 par le président de la République Fédérale, Walter Scheel, fera fureur jusqu'à donner son titre à un livre, avant d'être contesté par Wolfgang Wagner, en 1998) où se déroulent chaque années des « essais » , des « expériences » , avec, à l'arrière-plan, la volonté (imbécile) de faire sans cesse du nouveau. Bref, il est arrivé au Festival de Bayreuth ce qui pouvait lui arriver le pire : il est tombé dans le travers de la mode qui, chaque année, change et cherche par tous les moyens à faire sensation.

Wolfgang Wagner a fait reconstruire la Villa « Wahnfried » dans son état d'origine ; il a aussi été à l'origine de la création du Musée Wagner de Bayreuth ; il a fait restaurer le « Festspielhaus » de manière à lui redonner l'aspect qu'offrait le bâtiment en 1883, à la mort de Richard Wagner. Il a fait en sorte que l'avenir financier du Festival soit assuré.

Mais que reste-t-il de Bayreuth ? L'acoustique du « Festspielhaus » , sans aucun doute. Elle est fabuleuse. L'atmosphère ? Probablement aussi, un peu. Le prestige que la patine du temps a déposé sur les lieux ? Incontestablement. Bayreuth continue à jouir du prestige de son fondateur. Mais pour combien de temps encore ? Pourquoi donc ce qui est fait avec tant de succès au cinéma ne pourrait-il plus être réalisé, avec les œuvres de Richard Wagner, sur la scène du « Festspielhaus » ? D'autant plus que le retour effectué par Sir Peter Hall à une mise-en-scène « mythique » du « Ring » fut (en dépit de ce qui fut dit dans la presse) un grand succès.

Il a été convenu, depuis longtemps déjà, de classer le public en 2 grandes catégories : les Pour et les Contre ; que

Wieland Wagner se plaisait à qualifier de « Gardiens du Graal ». Jeunes ou vieux réactionnaires, pour lesquels, si ça ne tenait qu'à eux, les œuvres de Wagner devraient toujours être jouées dans les décors et les costumes d'origine.

Ils ont existé ces Wagnériens-là (en 1933-1934) à l'époque où Winnifred Wagner exprima son intention de présenter « Parsifal » dans de nouveaux décors, l'œuvre ayant été jusqu'ici représentée dans les décors d'origine. Pour différents motifs, qui tous n'avaient pas trait à des considérations d'ordre artistique, une partie de l'entourage immédiat de la famille Wagner se dressa contre l'idée d'un tel changement, parmi lesquels le Baron Hans von Wolzogen (le rédacteur en chef des « Bayreuther Blätter »), Eva Chamberlain (née Wagner) la seconde fille de Richard et Cosima, ainsi que Daniela Thode (née von Bülow) la Ire fille du chef d'orchestre Hans von Bülow et de Cosima. Ils allèrent jusqu'à lancer une pétition dont l'intention (à peine dissimulée) était en fait d'éloigner Winnifred et le metteur-en-scène Heinz Tietjen de la direction du Festival.

En 1934, Winnifred Wagner aura finalement raison de ses adversaires et une nouvelle production de « Parsifal » sera présentée, dans une mise-en-scène d'Heinz Tietjen et des magnifiques décors d'Alfred Roller (en 1937, ces mêmes décors ne seront pas retenus au profit de ceux de Wieland). Personne ne semble s'interroger sur les motifs de cet abandon. Dans son livre « Richard Wagner à Bayreuth », Hans Mayer, grand ami de Wieland, passe directement de l'année 1936 à l'année 1939.

À partir de l'histoire de renoncement aux décors originaux de « Parsifal », le mythe prit racine. Il serait entendu désormais que Bayreuth comporterait chaque année son lot de « vieux grincheux réactionnaires ». Le principal avantage d'un tel mythe, soigneusement entretenu jusqu'à aujourd'hui, consiste bien entendu à tuer dans l'oeuf toute réelle discussion quant à la légitimité (ou non-légitimité) des libertés croissantes que s'accordent les metteurs-en-scène, au détriment de la liberté du public.

Sans doute parce que Richard Wagner n'a pas vécu suffisamment de temps, après le 1er Festival de Bayreuth, pour en parfaire la définition. Et surtout parce qu'il ne put ouvrir son Théâtre au public qu'à seulement 2 reprises. Le Maître de Bayreuth a laissé derrière lui (avec le « Festspielhaus ») une œuvre partiellement inaccomplie.

Le fait que Richard Wagner n'ait pas eu le temps (et les moyens financiers) de mettre pleinement ses idées en œuvre, à Bayreuth, a donné lieu, après sa mort, à une équivoque sur laquelle prennent appui, aujourd'hui, ceux qui entendent faire de Bayreuth un « atelier ».

Outre le fait que l'entreprise était colossale, les moyens techniques insuffisants dont disposait Richard Wagner, lors de la création de l'Anneau du Nibelung, en 1876, l'empêchèrent de réaliser sur scène les images qu'il avait en tête. Wagner écrivit à August Förster, à l'automne 1876 : « Mon œuvre n'est pas encore terminée : il a fallu les représentations pour m'éclairer sur maints aspects encore inachevés. Laissez-moi le temps de présenter, une nouvelle fois, mon œuvre l'année prochaine, ici à Bayreuth, sous une forme soigneusement corrigée. ».

Richard Wagner ne pourra malheureusement pas présenter une seconde fois son œuvre. Cosima s'en chargera, 20 ans après la création du « Ring ». Il n'existe donc pas, comme pour « Parsifal », une représentation modèle d'origine

de l' « Anneau du Nibelung » . La version de Cosima s'inspirait du « Ring » de 1876 ; une version « améliorée » , ne correspondant qu'en partie aux idées du Maître.

Et c'est sur cette approximation que se fondent aujourd'hui nombre de metteurs-en-scène, à Bayreuth notamment, pour justifier, voire légitimer, leurs re-lectures de l'œuvre, aussi fantaisistes fussent-elles. Il ne saurait en somme y avoir, de leur point de vue, de « représentations modèles » du « Ring » , puisqu'il n'y en a jamais eu. Et puisqu'il ne saurait y avoir de « représentations modèles » , il ne saurait donc y avoir de représentations infidèles à l'œuvre.

Les vaines protestations de 1934 contre le renouvellement des décors de « Parsifal » servent, aujourd'hui encore, à stigmatiser, voire à tourner en ridicule tous ceux qui contestent les « expériences scéniques » qu'on leur impose sur la scène du « Festspielhaus » . D'autre part, le « Ring » de 1876, insatisfaisant de l'aveu même de Wagner, sert à légitimer tous les renouvellements possibles et imaginables de la mise-en-scène.

Mais la question qui dès lors se pose : À quoi bon Bayreuth ? À quoi bon réserver l'usage du « Festspielhaus » exclusivement aux représentations des œuvres de Wagner ? (C'est à cela que Wolfgang Wagner tente d'apporter une réponse, dans son Avant-propos à l'album de présentation du Festival de 1998.)

La question : « Bayreuth, pour quoi faire ? » s'est, en somme, posée dès après la mort de Wagner. La réponse tenait pour l'essentiel dans le fait que le « Festspielhaus » était le seul Théâtre au monde où l'on pouvait assister à l'Opéra « Parsifal » (l'œuvre bénéficiant d'une protection) dont les décors et la mise-en-scène furent voulus et agréés par Richard Wagner lui-même. À l'époque, les Wagnériens se rendaient à Bayreuth essentiellement pour ça, et il n'était pas rare que les autres œuvres soient représentées devant des salles à moitié vides ! Lorsqu'en 1913, « Parsifal » perdit sa protection, l'œuvre put dès lors être représentée n'importe où. Bayreuth perdit la seule exclusivité dont le Festival avait joui durant 30 ans. Un an plus tard, la Première Guerre mondiale éclatait en plein Festival, lequel était brutalement interrompu, avec à la clef un déficit de 400,000 marks. L'interruption durera 10 ans.

Lorsqu'en 1924, Siegfried Wagner fera redémarrer le Festival, après s'être rendu aux États-Unis pour recueillir des fonds, il ne pourra faire autrement que d'utiliser les vieux décors de 1914, pour des raisons d'économie. Le « Festspielhaus » sembla rouvrir ses portes sur une scène transformée en une sorte de « musée désuet » . L'événement que constitua la ré-ouverture du « Festspielhaus » en 1924, puis de nouveau en 1925, avant de se refermer 2 années durant, assura à l'entreprise des bénéfices suffisants pour permettre à Siegfried Wagner d'éviter une nouvelle baisse de fréquentation, lorsque « l'effet » de la ré-ouverture commencerait à s'émousser. Wieland Wagner à ce propos : « La nouvelle mise-en-scène de Tristan, en 1927, de même que l'engagement du chef italien Arturo Toscanini, en 1930, firent sensation non seulement au plan artistique, mais aussi publicitaire. » . Le Festival de Bayreuth commencera alors seulement à trouver sa spécificité propre par le haut niveau artistique des représentations qui y fut de rigueur à partir de ce moment. Lequel coïncide avec l'arrivée à la direction du Festival de Winnifred Wagner.

Wieland Wagner, très conscient du fait qu'une bonne part du prestige de Bayreuth reposait sur la qualité orchestrale et vocale des représentations qui y étaient proposées, ne cherchera pas à faire autre chose, lorsqu'il rouvrira le

Théâtre, en 1951. Le renouvellement qu'il apporta à cette époque aux mises-en-scène des œuvres présentées passait en réalité au second plan. Par les chefs qu'il avait invités, dès cette 1^{re} année, des chefs aussi célèbres et prestigieux que Wilhelm Fürtwängler et Herbert von Karajan (avec lequel, pourtant, Wieland ne s'entendait guère) , ou aussi ancrés dans la « tradition Bayreuthienne » que l'était un Hans Knappertsbusch, par la qualité exceptionnelle des solistes qu'il sut réunir sur scène (Birgit Nilsson, Wolfgang Windgassen, Theo Adam, Karl Ridderbusch, Gustav Neidlinger, Régine Crespin) . Bien davantage qu'un « révolutionnaire » , Wieland Wagner donna au public une impression de continuité ; cette impression devait-elle, de manière très paradoxale, l'irriter. D'où ses « coups d'éclat » scéniques (comme avec la mise-en-scène de 1956 des « Maîtres Chanteurs ») , comme pour chercher à se démarquer de cette continuité qui lui pesait, sans toutefois prendre le risque de mettre en péril l'équilibre financier précaire du Festival.

Le problème auquel se trouva confronté Wolfgang Wagner, peu après la mort de son frère, fut précisément un problème lié à la qualité décroissante des chefs et des solistes auxquels il pouvait encore faire appel. D'où cette impression de statu quo, du moins au niveau des solistes, qui se dégage des années qui suivent la mort de Wieland. Au niveau de la direction orchestrale, Bayreuth ne peut mettre à l'affiche, en guise de « célébrité » , guère plus que Pierre Boulez, tandis que le « Ring » est dirigé par l'honorable chef Horst Stein.

À défaut de grands chefs (le dernier à avoir dirigé au pupitre de Bayreuth fut Sir Georg Solti lors du « Ring » de Sir Peter Hall) , et, à défaut de grandes voix, ce serait désormais aux metteurs-en-scène que serait confié le soin de faire de Bayreuth un « événement » . On peut ainsi dire que Wolfgang Wagner a pleinement réussi dans son entreprise, lorsqu'il confia la réalisation du « Ring » de 1976 à Patrice Chéreau. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de relire les critiques favorables de l'époque.

Wolfgang Wagner a tout fait pour mettre sur pied la « Fondation Richard Wagner de Bayreuth » , destinée à assurer la pérennité du Festival, au-delà des problèmes financiers auxquels il pourrait être confronté à l'avenir.

Le « Parsifal » de Stefan Herheim (édition 2012) nous plonge dans les jardins de la villa de Wagner : « Wahnfried » . Le personnage de « Parsifal » nous narre le destin de l'Allemagne depuis les années '30 (avec meneur de revue, S.A. et SS à croix gammées) jusqu'à la naissance de la République Fédérale dans le Bundestag de Bonn.

...

Considering that Francesca Gaetana Cosima Liszt Bülow Wagner was the person most responsible for framing the role of Wagner in 20th Century German cultural and political life, it is remarkable that « Cosima Wagner : The Lady of Bayreuth » , by Oliver Hilmes, is the 1st serious academic study of her life. On that ground alone, the volume claims an essential place in the Wagner library. The elegance of its writing, the assurance and confidence of its English translation, the originality of its research and the dispassionate approach of its author make the book not only a duty but a pleasure.

I had been aware of only 2 Cosima biographies in English. One, « Cosima Wagner : Extraordinary Daughter of Franz Liszt » by Alice Hunt Sokoloff (Dodd, Mead & Company, 1969) , is a hagiography. The other, « Cosima Wagner » , by

George R. Marek (Harper & Row, 1981) , is quite entertaining and accurate enough to merit a blurb from Clifton Fadiman calling Cosima one of the most repulsive women of her Century. Hilmes cites « an uncritical and, linguistically speaking, risibly bombastic account » by Richard De Moulin Eckart (1929-1931) , as well as works by Ilse Lotz (1935) and Max Millenkovich-Morold (1939) . Hilmes' volume is what we want : a definitive account written not by a Wagnerian, or worse yet by a « Bayreuthian » , but by a scholar.

Cosima's life might be neatly summarized in 3 periods : Her childhood and early adulthood prior to meeting Richard Wagner ; her 18 years spent with Wagner, 1st as mistress then as wife, but always as idolator ; and the 47 years spent between Wagner's death, on 13 February 1883, and Cosima's own, on 1 April 1930, her last recorded words directed to Hans von Bülow :

« Forgive me. »

Bülow's spirit may, by now, have done so ; he never did in life, and so vast were her offenses and so profound their consequences that it is difficult for either history or art to do so, ever.

As the illegitimate, but acknowledged, daughter of the young and papiac Franz Liszt, Cosima was ignored by her father (who spent years on the road) and, after Liszt dumped Cosima's mother Marie d'Agoult, was sent with her sister and brother to live with Liszt's mother, Anna. At age 12, this grandparental affection was abruptly severed when the children (at the instigation of Liszt's then-current paramour, Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein) were sent to be raised by 70 year old Madame Louise Adélaïde Patersi de Fossombroni, whose « teaching programme was as terrifying as her name » . (page 19)

The children were forbidden to attend concerts or the theater, strictly constrained in demeanor and conduct, and taught how to drink tea and biscuits properly. Their letters to Liszt were censored, and to their mother were forbidden. Even when their father visited after 7 years' absence, he found little time for them and they were permitted to express only abject veneration towards him. Original ideas, in particular, were discouraged in these young women.

Upon Madam Patersi's decline, at age 17, Cosima and her sister joined the provincial Berlin household of Liszt's friend Franziska von Bülow (« a strict, suspicious, cold and deeply frustrated matriarch with two failed marriages behind her ») - and her « highly-gifted, eccentric and perpetually sickly son, Hans » . (page 37)

In 1855, at age 19, Cosima spent an all-nighter talking with Hans after his conducting a concert that included the « Tannhäuser » Overture, and their special relationship led to their eventual marriage, in 1857. It was apparently a hollow relationship, with Bülow more attentive to his career, his tenuous health, and his service to Richard Wagner than to his wife. They, nevertheless, had 2 daughters : Daniela and Blandine.

Richard Wagner had 1st met Cosima in Franz Liszt's company when she was a child of 15 and, ironically, Bülow decided to spend part of their honeymoon with Wagner at the Asyl, in Zürich. Others staying at this pleasant refuge, at that time were Wagner's wife of 20 years, Minna, and his muse, Mathilde Wesendock.

« Bülow played from “ Das Rheingold ” and “ Die Walküre ”, while Wagner sang all the parts. » (page 44)

Indeed, he did.

Another visit by the Bülows to the Zürich Asyl, 1 year later, coincided with the infamous row when Minna found-out about Mathilde, as well as a visit from Cosima's long-banished mother Marie d'Agoult. There was a brief and inconclusive meeting between Wagner and Bülow's wife, in 1861, in Bad Reichenhall, and another the next year, in Biebrich (where Wagner recalled that his playing of Wotan's Farewell prompted in Cosima a look of « supreme transfiguration ») . Then, on November 28, 1862, Wagner and Cosima took a cab ride together in Berlin, « sealed their vows » to each other, and became spiritually united.

That is, at least, from her point of view. In fact, Wagner continued his relationships with Mathilde Maier, Maria Volkl, Eliza Wille and others.

The next part of Cosima's life was, in many ways, the least complicated : she served Richard Wagner. No deception was too great, no adultery too shameful, no humiliation too onerous for her to bear if Richard required it. She lied to Bülow ; she lied to Ludwig ; she carried pennies in a wheelbarrow from the Munich treasury ; she re-located her family to be with Wagner ; and she made herself available to the Master when and how he pleased. As early as 1865, she began a project to control Wagner's reputation by recalling his past written correspondence, demanding the return of his letters from Karl Tausig, Peter Cornelius and even Mathilde Wesendonck. She accompanied Wagner to parties ; did her best to manage his relationship with Ludwig ; bore Wagner's illegitimate child ; and insisted upon her honour in a letter to Ludwig that, « in terms of its sheer hypocrisy and mendacity, takes some beating » . (page 96) She converted from Catholic to Protestant for him.

When Wagner retreated to his villa, at Tribschen, Cosima followed him there with her husband in tow, « even if it is difficult to imagine how this remarkable “ ménage à 3 ” actually functioned » . (page 98) After they returned to Berlin, Cosima herself did an about-turn and took-up residence at Tribschen. It was there that she gave birth to her and Wagner's 2nd illegitimate daughter, Eva. Finally, on October 3, 1868, Cosima wrote to Bülow announcing her decision to leave him and live permanently with her lover. The birth of their son Siegfried, in 1869, the granting of a divorce from Bülow, and their marriage on August 25, 1870, formalized the relationship that was to end only in Wagner's death, 13 years later.

Hilmes is acutely perceptive in his explanation of this appalling relationship. Noting the guilt that plagued Cosima arising from her treatment of the innocent Bülow, Hilmes draws from her diary and concludes :

« Cosima dealt with these emotional conflicts by deifying her new lover. Whenever Wagner spoke to her, it was “ always divine, unique ”. She worshipped him to the point of idolatry and, more than once, we find in her writing that “ every utterance from him is like doctrine to me ”. The more she revered Wagner and the more God-like he appeared to her, the sooner she could come to terms with her “ guilt ”. She compensated for her complexes with

regard to her 1st husband by suggesting that she had abandoned him for a demi-God and, indeed, that she had had no choice in the matter. She was determined to serve this divine being at all costs and, in that way, to atone for the failure of her marriage to Bülow. » (page 105)

Indeed, Hilmes suggests that Cosima might be described today as having a masochistic personality disorder - not that she derived sexual pleasure from her own pain, but rather that in some profound sense she experienced ecstasy from suffering.

While not criticizing this analysis, I find a much more compelling rationale for her self-demeaning conduct in a much more obvious source : Wagner's music gave meaning to Cosima's hitherto empty life. The great moments of her marriage, one senses, came when Wagner handed her the score to the « Siegfried Idyll », which he had composed for her alone, or when, in her diary entry after a 1878 concert that featured « Siegfried Idyll » and the « Parsifal » Prelude, she realized :

« There, stands he who called forth these wonders, and he loves me. He loves me ! »

Without Wagner, Cosima was a cipher. She raised her daughters to be ciphers too, to « note when it is time for you to disappear » and to « draw a veil over whatever may embarrass another person » . Her son, Siegfried, she taught to be a 2nd Richard Wagner and, her daughters, she taught to be of service to Siegfried. The limited nature of her own gifts (except as martyr and apostle) became apparent after Wagner's death, in 1883, when Cosima was 45 years old.

It was during this remaining period of her life that Cosima's toxic mixture of quasi-religious devotion, self-definition through her husband's accomplishments, virulent judgmentalism, implacable anti-Semitism, and megalomaniac confidence all combined to cause irreparable harm to Wagner's artistic legacy, and to lay the groundwork for the rise of right-wing German nationalism.

Cosima stayed in Wagner's home, in Bayreuth, and wore widow's weeds, every day, for the next 47 years - even to her children's weddings. She refused to allow Wagner's piano to be played or Wagner's chair to be sat in. She decided that the Bayreuth Festival should be Wagner's artistic testimony and, therefore, her remaining life's work. Lacking creativity, she became instead a curator. And as her assertion of artistic control continued, the Bayreuth Festival (the theatre built by the most visionary and innovative theatre professional of his time) became widely regarded as an artistic backwater, « the centre of an old-fashioned and even tedious performance style » . (page 288)

How she managed this crime is an appalling story, and the best part of Hilmes' book. Cosima gathered a core of unquestioning supporters and locked them into an ideology of her own (not her husband's) devise. Adolf von Groß administered the finances and kept the enterprise afloat. Hermann Levi and Karl Ritter stayed loyal to the Festival despite Cosima's constant taunting and marginalization of Levi as « less than a true man » because of his Jewishness. Baron Hans von Wolzogen performed numerous tasks at Cosima's bidding, including editorial control of the « Bayreuther Blätter » - a delegation that was injudicious on a variety of levels.

Hilmes notes :

« Outside Bayreuth, the editor of the Bayreuther Blätter was regarded as a simpleton and nowhere taken seriously. » (page 161)

Carl Friedrich Glasenapp became the official Richard Wagner hagiographer and the vacuous and bigoted Houston Stewart Chamberlain the in-house philosopher.

While Wagner had relied upon and found inspiration from Jewish musicians such as Jacques Halévy, Karl Tausig, Karl Ritter, Heinrich Porges, Lilli Lehmann, Angelo Neumann, Hermann Levi and Josef Rubinstein, Cosima attracted virulent anti-Semites like Julius Kniese, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and Adolf Hitler. Hatred of Jews became more important to Cosima than the art of her late husband :

« In Wahnfried's jaundice eyes, Jewish ancestry ruled a person out of court as someone who could make an authentic artistic contribution to the Festival. »

Levi's « birth defect » (his Jewish ancestry) was spoken of to his face. And Felix Weingartner reported that, when he attempted to defend Levi, Cosima « listened to me calmly and at the end remarked that there could be no bond between Aryan and Semitic blood. " I don't expect we shall ever see eye to eye on this, my dear Weingartner. " »

She maintained the loyalty of her « Bayreuth Circle » with Stalinesque delicacy. When talented Wagnerians like Peter Cornelius, Richard Strauß, and Weingartner himself, tried to maintain a career of their own, they were banished. Her fixation upon the Festival was unnerving : Cosima's father had the poor taste to die during the 1886 Festival, in the house next to « Wahnfried » , and such was the pressing nature of Cosima's obligations that his body remained there until the stench required Cosima to do something - so, she put it in a wheel-barrow and removed it from « Wahnfried » and, thence, to burial.

Cosima's utter lack of artistic vision did not prevent her from exercising despotic artistic control of the Festival's performances. In her black mourning dress, she set-up a cloth-covered booth near the stage that « resembled nothing so much as a confessional while she, herself, acquired all the characteristics of a high-priestess, praising, criticizing and pointing the way ahead » . (page 163) She sent notes to Levi and Felix Mottl telling them what tempi the « Master » wanted certain passages taken. The stage director also received notes on how the « Master » wanted things staged, and what gestures were to be used at what moment of the performance. She rejected the new æsthetic of Adolphe Appia and Vsevolod Meyerhold, in favour of the « Master » 's approved stagings.

Eventually, she and her cohorts dropped the term « Wagnerian » and referred to themselves as « Bayreuthians » . Their endeavors were no longer limited to mounting old-fashioned productions of Wagner's work and preventing « Parsifal » from being seen by anyone else, anywhere else, except at Bayreuth. Now, she and her colleagues published tracts on politics, culture and other « half-baked ideas » . (page 199) They latched onto Arthur de Gobineau's racist

tract « Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races » and wrote 61 different articles debasing even this putrid original by changing Gobineau's 3 « primeval races » (black, yellow and white) into Houston Stewart Chamberlain's 2 : « German and “ others ” » . (page 200) Curious, that (in light of the fact that Cosima was French / Hungarian ; Glasenapp was Latvian ; Chamberlain was English / Scottish ; and Cosima's daughter-in-law and successor, Winifred, was English.

The rest of the story is familiar. Because she could not create, she conserved, ostensibly for Wagner's sake and actually for her own. When the expiration of German copyright laws threatened to diminish her and her family's income, she pressured the German legislature to change them, citing as always « the Master's wishes » . (page 225) When her son displayed no aptitude whatsoever for either theatre, music or heterosexuality, she required him to compose, conduct, direct and have children. Her daughter Blandine's husband shot himself, and her daughter Isolde was defeated and destroyed, ending her life in mental incapacity. Cosima objected to plans for a 90th birthday commemoration and memorial of Wagner because the concert would also include music by a Frenchman (Jules Massenet) and an Italian (Pietro Mascagni) . It is impossible to imagine that, had Wagner lived to see all this done in his name, he would not have wept.

Cosima's decline, after World War I, offered her a few isolated reasons for hope. Her favourite bigot, the charlatan Houston Stewart Chamberlain, became a naturalized German, denounced King George V as a traitor, and married Cosima's daughter, Eva. Her homosexual son, Siegfried, had 4 children by the orphaned English girl, Winifred Williams. And the disaster that was post-World War I Germany showed some hope of revival to its former glory. Then, in 1923, the Bayreuth National-Socialist Party invited its Bavarian leader to make an address in the town's « Reithalle » . Afterwards, he visited « Wahnfried » and « knelt before Chamberlain and reverently kissed his hand » . (page 303) Siegfried also fell within the thrall of the charismatic Adolf Hitler, whose continual financial support sustained the Festival, over the next 20 increasingly difficult years.

...

19 mars 1883 : Josef Matthias Hauer is born in « Wiener Neustadt » .

27 mars 1883 : Hans Paumgartner shows his own interest in Bruckner's music. His review of the 7 Symphony for the « Wiener Abendpost » ...

« Bruckner's 7th Symphony stands before us as an everlasting tonal construction. The time is very close when Bruckner's Symphonic works will fill the programs of all concerts and enter into the hearts of all musical men. Prejudice and insolence can torture, but never prevent. »

Avril 1883 : Gustav Mahler works as Chorus Master for a season of Italian Opera at the « Carl-Theater » , outside Vienna.

Mai 1883 : Hans Paumgartner, who was also a performer of Bruckner's music, wrote in a biographical article about

Bruckner that the composer had not yet obtained the recognition he deserved.

7 mai 1883 : The String Quintet of Anton Bruckner (**WAB 112**) is performed completely for the 1st time, at the « Bösendorfersaal » , in Vienna.

18 mai 1883 : Walter Gropius is born in Berlin.

24 mai 1883 : In America, the Brooklyn Bridge construction is completed and the bridge is opened, crossing the East River to link Manhattan with Brooklyn (then, still a separate city) . It is the 1st steel-wire suspension bridge ever built and, at the time, is the longest bridge in the world.

The 22 year old Gustav Mahler is accepted for a post as « Music and Choral Director » in Kassel, for the season beginning in the fall.

Juin 1883 : Gustav Mahler visits Vienna. Anton Bruckner lends him the score of his 2nd Symphony (**WAB 102**) . Then, Mahler spends the rest of the summer with his parents in Iglau and with his friend Emil Freund in Seelau, also making a trip to Bayreuth to see the Opera « Parsifal » .

10 juin 1883 : Le « Sängerbund » (l'Association des chanteurs) de Bruckner est joué pour la 1re fois, lors du jour de l'anniversaire du chœur d'hommes de Wels. Cette cantate profane en do majeur, composée à Vienne, est écrite pour chœur d'hommes à 4 voix a cappella (TTBB) . Elle est dédiée à son élève et biographe personnel, August Göllerich.

2 textes sont disponibles : « Die Sängerbund unsrer Städte » (les festivals de chant de nos villes) de Heinrich von der Mattig (pseudonyme du médecin militaire de Salzbourg et poète amateur Heinrich Wallmann, 1827-1898) et « Nichts Schön'res auf der ganzen Erde » (il n'a rien de plus beau dans tout l'Erde) du poète Karl Kerschbaum, un ami de Bruckner ; président du Liedertafel (orphéon) « Frohsinn » de Linz (en plus d'être le comptable et l'archiviste de la ville) .

Été 1883 : The 50 year old Johannes Brahms completes his 3rd Symphony, which is a resounding success at its premiere in **December**, in Vienna.

Juillet 1883 : Anton Bruckner se rend à nouveau à Bayreuth.

25 juillet 1883 : Alfredo Casella is born in Turin, Italy.

Août 1883 : Bruckner viendra à nouveau se recueillir sur la tombe de son Maître, Richard Wagner. Il gardera en souvenir une boîte d'allumettes gaufrée et une feuille de gerbe qui était déposée sur le cercueil.

Août 1883 : The 22 year old Gustav Mahler is accepted for a post as « Music and Choral Director » in Kassel, for the season beginning in the fall. But he complains about not being able to work on his Opera, « Rubezahl » .

Août 1883 : Gustav Mahler sends his score of « Das Klagende Lied » to Franz Liszt in hopes of getting it performed by the « Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein » (General German Music Association) . Liszt returns it 1 month later, with the short reply :

« Dear Sir !

The composition which you so kindly sent to me, “ Waldmärchen ”, contains much of value. The poem, however, does not seem to be of a kind to guarantee it a success.

With highest-regards,

Franz Liszt »

« Waldmärchen » (Forest Fairy Tale) is the subtitle only to Part One. Liszt's letter seems to indicate that he read the poem and reviewed only this section of the piece. This rebuff from the foremost « modernist » composer hurts Mahler deeply (especially, considering the reputation Liszt rightfully holds as being most generous, financially and otherwise, towards young composers) and, in a later revision, he will remove the entire « Waldmärchen » section from the work.

3-5 septembre 1883 : Anton Bruckner, 59 ans, termine la composition de sa 7e Symphonie à Saint-Florian.

14 septembre 1883 : Richard Gerstl is born in Vienna.

28 septembre 1883 : Anton Bruckner reprend son travail sur le « Te Deum » .

Theodor (Otto) Helm

Le critique musical et écrivain autrichien Theodor (Otto) Helm a travaillé en tant que collaborateur indépendant au « Pestor Lloyd » (un journal allemand vendu à Budapest) de même qu'au « Wiener Salonblatt » et au « Deutsche Zeitung » (1884-1901) . D'abord fort critique de la musique d'Anton Bruckner, Helm se convertit, en 1883, devenant l'un de ses plus ardents défenseurs. Il lui alloua des dizaines d'articles élogieux et ce, jusqu'à la fin de sa vie. De 1883 à 1896, Bruckner et Helm ont conservé une correspondance régulière. Le compositeur recherchait souvent un commentaire favorable dans ses articles publiés dans le « Deutsche Zeitung » , lors de concerts de moindre importance présentés à l'extérieur de Vienne. Bruckner s'est souvent rendu à son domicile du 3 de la Rochusgasse 10, pour lui payer une visite amicale et pour passer en revue ses partitions de Symphonies.

De **1902 à 1905**, soit 6 ans après la mort d'Anton Bruckner, le critique musical et écrivain autrichien Theodor (Otto) Helm organise, en collaboration avec le « Wiener Akademische Gesangverein » , un événement exceptionnel appelé « Célébrations » , en hommage au compositeur de Saint-Florian. Par ailleurs, le Festival Bruckner annuel ne sera fondé qu'en 1929.

Helm, loyal à sa phalange, préférait voir le chef Hans Richter diriger les cordes « luxuriante » du Philharmonique de Vienne que de le voir face à la « précision prussienne » du Philharmonique de Berlin.

Theodor (Otto) Helm a assisté à Vienne aux funérailles d'Anton Bruckner (1896) , de Johannes Brahms (1897) ; et, probablement aussi, de Johann Strauß II (1899) et d'Hugo Wolf (1903) .

...

The Austrian music-critic and writer Theodor Otto Helm was born on 9 April 1843 in Vienna and died on 25 December 1920 in Vienna.

Theodor Otto Helm was a leading figure in Viennese musical life and a prominent music-critic in Vienna for 50 years (1866-1916) . While Helm specialized in criticism of the works of Ludwig van Beethoven, Anton Bruckner, Johannes Brahms, Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt, and Antonín Dvořák, he also wrote on younger composers including Béla Bartók and Gustav Mahler, and Arnold Schönberg. Heavily involved in the Vienna music scene, including the « Wiener Akademischer Wagner Verein » , Helm counted both Bruckner and Brahms as close acquaintances.

In 1853, Theodor Helm began his studies at the « Schotten Gymnasium der Benediktiner » , in Vienna. He eventually focused his efforts on studying law. Helm received his Ph.D. in 1870. He taught as an instructor of the history of music and aesthetics at the Conservatory « Horakschen » , beginning in 1874. In 1900, he was named professor.

Helm began his writing career in Vienna's « Neues Fremdenblatt » , in 1867. He continued his essays and music criticisms in the « Musikalisches Wochenblatt » , a Leipzig weekly (1870-1905) , and continued with the paper when subsumed by the « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » .

Helm's greatest work is arguably his 1885 « Beethovens Streichquartette : Versuch einer technischen Analyse dieser Werke im Zusammenhange mit ihren geistigen Gehalt » (Leipzig, 1885) . This analysis of Beethoven's String Quartets is considered seminal work and has been reprinted many times by publishers across the world.

He contributed freelance writings to the « Pestor Lloyd » (a German newspaper issued in Budapest) and the Viennese « Salonblatt » and the « Deutsche Zeitung » (1884-1901) .

While initially critical of Anton Bruckner's work, in 1883, Helm converted in his views and became one of Bruckner's strongest advocates, penning dozens of glowing reviews throughout the rest of Bruckner's life. Bruckner and Helm regularly corresponded between 1883 until Bruckner's death in 1896. Often Bruckner was seeking a favourable review from Helm in « Deutsche Zeitung » , albeit 2nd hand account, of a non-Vienna venue concert. On occasion, Bruckner visited Helm at his home III. Rochusgasse 10, in Vienna, to visit and go over his Symphonic scores with Helm.

1902 : The Austrian music-critic and writer Theodor (Otto) Helm organizes a 3 year Bruckner Celebration with the collaboration of the « Akademische Gesangverein » , 6 years after the composer's death. However, the well-known

annual Bruckner Festival wasn't founded until 1929.

Ever the Viennese loyalist, Helm preferred Hans Richter and the lush string section of the Vienna Philharmonic over the « Prussian precision » of the Berlin Philharmonic.

Theodor Helm attended the funerals ceremonies (all in Vienna) of Anton Bruckner (1896) ; Johannes Brahms (1897) ; and, probably, Johann Strauß II (1899) , and Hugo Wolf (1903) .

Helm not only appreciated fine composition and performances but also excellent acoustics. After the opening concert at the « Golden Hall » of the « Musikverein » (« Große Musikvereinsaal ») , Helm commented on the impressive acoustics :

« This achievement, is partly a stroke of pure luck (unfortunately, acoustics still cannot be precisely forecast or calculated) and, on the other hand, it is undeniably merited by the excellent architect Hansen. »

While many view Helm in the conservative German Nationalist camp, he was simultaneously regarded as one of the « most fair-minded and balanced Viennese critics » , in Vienna. As Helm approached middle age, the « Deutsche Zeitung » was still a liberal paper. However, in 1884, as the paper took a decidedly anti-Semitic turn, Helm was hired as the chief music-critic for the « Deutsche Zeitung » and attempted to maintain his critical objectivity in his writings against the politics of the editors. Over the subsequent decades, the « Deutsche Zeitung » touted itself as a highly anti-Semitic German nationalist newspaper.

Some criticized Helm for writing to pander to the political views of his audience and thus for writing contradictory reviews of a given performance. He was attacked in the press for being a « helmet without a head » . Hugo Wolf retaliated to a critical review by calling Helm « an idiot » .

Other argued that Helm sought to not let the political bias of the management taint his writings. Theodor Helm's political comments seem « to be added almost reluctantly, even gratuitously, as if he were bowing to the wish of management » . His criticism of Johannes Brahms included comments deriding his liberal supporters more often than Brahms' works which Helm generally held in high-regard :

« Helm declined to support the anti-Semitic politics that began to pose a serious threat to the Viennese Liberalism of the 1880's. »

As further evidence of Helm's rejection of German Nationalistic bias, Helm collaborated with both the Jewish critic Robert Hirschfeld and Slavic critic Grigory Lvovsky.

...

Theodor (Otto) Helm's parents, Doctor Julius Helm (1813-1844) and Julie Freiin von Forstern had married in 1842.

Theodor was their only child. Julius Helm died when Theodor was only 1 year old. Theodor's mother died when he was 15, leaving Theodor in the care of Julius's uncle, Friedrich Drahtschmidt von Märentheim, who was friends of Robert and Clara Schumann.

While in school, Theodor Helm became friends with a classmate Richard Müller whose father was Karl Müller (1813-1868) , a prominent music-critic from « nobility » . The elder Müller was largely responsible for introducing young Theodor to Vienna's musical events and salons. Upon Karl Müller's death, Helm replaced Müller as music-critic for the « Neues Fremdenblatt » .

Theodor Otto Helm married Irene Dorothea Müller (1844-1911) , Karl Müller's daughter, on 1 June 1869.

In 1870, Theodor and Irene Helm had their 1st child, Julius. Tragically, Theodor's wife Irene completely lost her hearing in 1870. It isn't clear if this was a complication related to childbirth. As a very young boy, Julius studied violin under Johannes Brahms, who suspected that Julius was a musical genius. Sadly, Julius died at the early age of 5 years and 9 months.

In 1872, Theodor and Irene had a daughter Gabriela Mathilde Helm. An accomplished pianist, she lived until 1945.

In 1875, Theodor and Irene Helm had a 2nd son Theodor Ludwig Moritz Helm (1875-1963) . Theodor Junior attempted to emulate his father by publishing several critical essays on Anton Bruckner's music, but failing to follow his father's success while under the economic pressures of providing for his growing family, he later settled to work as a civil servant with the Postal Service.

Theodor (Otto) Helm died of « old age » on 25 December 1920. He was buried on the 27th in the « Zentralfriedhof » cemetery in Vienna, near the graves of his fellow critic Eduard Hanslick and the composers Ludwig van Beethoven, Johannes Brahms, Franz Schubert, Karl Goldmark, Hugo Wolf, Antonio Salieri and several Strausses.

Writings :

« Beethovens letzte Quartette » , Tonhalle (1868) .

« Beethovens Streichquartette : Versuch einer technischen Analyse dieser Werke im Zusammenhange mit ihren geistigen Gehalt » , Leipzig (1885) , (3/1921/R) .

« 50 Jahre Wiener Musikleben » , Autobiographie (1916) .

4 octobre 1883 : Vienna premiere of Richard Wagner's « Tristan und Isolde » .

Novembre 1883 : Parmi ceux qui assistent aux conférences de Bruckner à l'Université de Vienne, citons : le baryton Eduard Mirus, H. Pietschmann, E. Reimer et R. Scharpff.

Eduard Mirus

The German baritone, Operatic singer and vocal teacher Eduard Mirus (pseudonym : Eduard Mirius) was born on 12 May 1856 in Klagenfurth (Austria) ; and died on 14 December 1914.

As a student, he was a pupil of Eduard Hanslick at the Vienna Conservatory, then studied singing (as a baritone) in Italy where he appeared in various theatres. He finally settled in Vienna, as a singing teacher. He has collected, arranged and published songs and choruses. He also conducted Operatic concerts.

Samstag 3. Dezember 1910 : Opern-Konzert im Hotel Savoy Wien (Mariahilf) .

Dirigent : Eduard Mirus.

Bariton : Franz Riedl.

Mariahilfer Männergesangverein.

Wiener Tonkünstlerorchester.

Programm

Richard Wagner : Prelude to Act I of the Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » (WWV 96) .

Johann Strauß II (Junior) : « Kaiserwalzer » (the Emperor Waltz) , Opus 437.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart : « O Isis und Osiris » , priest's choir from the Opera « Die Zauberflöte » (The Magic Flute) (K. 620) .

Charles Gounod : Prayer of Valentin from the Opera « Faust » (« Margarethe ») .

Georges Bizet : Suite No. I (WD 40) , based on the scene-music « L'Arlésienne » (The girl from Arles) (WD 28) .

Martin Plüddemann : « Das Schwedengrab » , ballad for male choir and orchestra, orchestrated by Josef Pembaur.

Edvard Grieg : « Triumphal march » from the incidental music " Sigurd Jorsalfar " » , Opus 22.

...

13 novembre 1883 : Le docteur Alois Scherer, maire du village de Vöcklabruck, nomme Anton Bruckner membre

honoraire du « Vöcklabrucker Liedertafel » : chœur fondé par le compositeur. Scherer sera l'un des Iers à reconnaître sa contribution artistique. Avocat de profession, Alois Scherer fut le 1er magistrat de Vöcklabruck pour plus d'un mandat.

Letter from Anton Bruckner to a friend, 13 November 1883

The Moldenhauer Archives - The Rosaleen Moldenhauer Memorial at the Library of Congress in Washington have posted online a letter written by Anton Bruckner to a friend, on 13 November 1883.

31 août 2015 : Good evening Mr. Berky,

Moldenhauer Archives : About the letter by Anton Bruckner to a friend, from **13 November 1883**, may I add that the « Master » was named an honorary member of the Vöcklabruck « Liedertafel » , that same day. (Gilles Houle)

...

3 décembre 1883 : Anton von Webern is born into an aristocratic German family. As with Alexander von Zemlinsky, he too will later drop the « von » (but, in Webern's case, it is legitimate) , and will be known as Anton Webern.

The 19 year old Richard Strauß composes his Piano Quartet in C minor, Opus 13, reflecting his new interest in Johannes Brahms, and begins his Symphony in F minor.

The 17 year old Ferruccio Busoni lives in Vienna and becomes friends with Carl Goldmark and Johannes Brahms.

AB 83 : 1884

WAB 50

1884 (ou avant) : WAB 50 - « Veni Creator Spiritus » (viens Saint-Esprit créateur) , graduel de la Pentecôte, en mode Grégorien, pour orgue seul ; ou une ou plusieurs voix et orgue. Livret : « Pfingsthymnus des Hrabanus Maurus » , vers 476-556.

G/A (August Göllerich / Max Auer) : IV/1 (1936) , page 524.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXI/1, édition Hans Bauernfeind - Leopold Nowak (1984) (2001) , page 129.

Veni Creator Spiritus ("Come, Holy Ghost, Creator blest"), WAB 50, is a motet composed by Anton Bruckner in c.1884.

The Motet was composed around 1884. Bruckner's manuscript is stored in the Schlägl Abbey, where it was retrieved in

1831. The Motet was 1st published in Band IV/1, page 524, of the Göllicher / Auer biography. It is put in Band XXI/36 of the « Gesamtausgabe » .

The Motet is a harmonisation of the Gregorian hymn « Veni Creator Spiritus » for voice(s) and organ.

Veni Creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita :
Imple superna gratia
Quae tu creasti, pectora.

« Veni Creator Spiritus »

« Veni Creator Spiritus » est une hymne entonnée pour le chant Grégorien, considérée comme la plus célèbre de toutes les hymnes grégoriennes. Le « Veni Creator » fut composé par Raban Maur au IXe siècle et est normalement associé à l'Église catholique Romaine.

Le « Veni Creator Spiritus » est chanté lors de l'entrée en conclave à la chapelle Sixtine, ainsi qu'au moment de la consécration d'un évêque, l'ordination de prêtres, la dédicace d'églises, la célébration de synodes et de conciles, le couronnement de Rois, l'échange des consentements d'une Messe de mariage, et lors d'autres événements solennels. L'hymne fut d'abord consignée aux Vêpres. Un manuscrit du 11e siècle le situe à la fois aux Laudes et aux Vêpres. Ainsi, cette hymne fut chantée par la Chapelle royale, le samedi 16 octobre 1610 selon la tradition, à la fin de l'office solennel des Vêpres et la veille du sacre du roi Louis XIII, dans l'abbaye Saint-Nicaise, près de Reims.

Le titre de l'hymne signifie « Viens Saint-Esprit Créateur » et commémore la Pentecôte. Son usage dans l'office de tierce aurait commencé dans la liturgie de Cluny, puisqu'il commémore la descente de l'Esprit à la 3e heure du jour.

Cette hymne de Pentecôte constitue le 1er mouvement de la 8e Symphonie « des Mille » de Gustav Mahler. Le compositeur l'a écrite dans un style rigoureusement contrapuntique en hommage aux Maîtres de la Renaissance. Le recueillement se mêle à la puissance dans la musique, mettant merveilleusement en valeur les différents aspects du texte (l'humble prière des 1res strophes, l'appel à la lutte spirituelle au 5e quatrain) . En France, Michel-Richard de Lalande, musicien de Louis XIV, est connu en tant que compositeur de ce Psaume (grand Motet en latin, S. 14) , de même que son contemporain Henry Desmarest.

Cette hymne était aussi entonnée par Sainte-Jeanne d'Arc et son armée, lorsque la « Pucelle de Domrémy » , menait ses soldats vers une de ses plus grandes victoires sur les Anglais (à Patay notamment où il y eut au minimum 2,000 Anglais tués et 3 côté français seulement !) .

Veni, creator, Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia

Quae tu creasti pectora.

Qui diceris Paraclitus,
Altissimi donum Dei.
Fons vivus, ignis, caritas
Et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septiformis munere,
Digitus paternae dexteræ.
Tu rite promissum Patris,
Sermone ditans guttura.

Accende lumen sensibus
Infunde amorem cordibus,
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmans perpeti.

Hostem repellas longius
Pacemque dones protinus;
Ductore sic te praeviso
Vitemus omne noxium.

Per te sciamus da Patrem,
Noscamus atque Filium;
Teque utriusque Spiritum
Credamus omni tempore.

Deo Patri sit gloria,
Et Filio, qui a mortuis
Surrexit, ac Paraclito
In saeculorum saecula.
Amen.

...

Viens, Esprit Créateur,
visite l'âme de tes fidèles,
emplis de la grâce d'En-Haut
les cœurs que tu as créés.

Toi qu'on nomme le Consolateur,
Le don du Dieu très-Haut,
La source vivante, le Feu, la Charité,
L'Onction spirituelle.

Tu es l'Esprit aux 7 dons,
le doigt de la main du Père,
Son authentique promesse,
Celui qui enrichit toute prière.

Fais briller en nous ta lumière,
Répands l'amour dans nos cœurs,
Soutiens la faiblesse de nos corps
Par ton éternelle vigueur !

Repousse au loin l'Ennemi,
Donne-nous la paix qui dure ;
Que sous ta prévenante conduite,
nous évitions tout mal et toute erreur.

Fais-nous connaître le Père,
révèle-nous le Fils,
et toi, leur commun Esprit,
fais-nous toujours croire en toi.

Gloire soit à Dieu le Père,
au Fils ressuscité des morts,
à l'Esprit Saint Consolateur,
maintenant et dans tous les siècles.
Amen.

...

« Veni Creator Spiritus » (Come Creator Spirit) is a hymn believed to have been written by Rabanus Maurus in the 9th Century. When the original Latin text is used, it is normally sung in Gregorian Chant. As an invocation of the Holy Spirit, in the practice of the Roman Catholic Church it is sung during the liturgical celebration of the feast of Pentecost (at both Terce and Vespers) . It is also sung at occasions such as the entrance of Cardinals to the Sistine Chapel, when electing a new pope, as well as at the consecration of bishops, the ordination of priests, when celebrating the sacrament of Confirmation, the dedication of churches, the celebration of synods or councils, the coronation of kings, the profession of members of religious institutes and other similar solemn events.

The hymn is also widely used in the Anglican Communion and appears, for example, in the Ordering of Priests and in the Consecration of Bishops in the « Book of Common Prayer » of 1662. It has been translated into several languages ; one English example is « Creator Spirit ! » by whose aid, written 1690 by John Dryden and published in « The Church Hymn » book, in 1872 (near 313) . Martin Luther used it as the basis for his chorale for Pentecost « Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist » , composed in 1524.

Gustav Mahler set the Latin text to music in Part I of his Symphony No. 8 in E-flat major. The text has been set for chorus and orchestra by Cristóbal Halffter. A Motet for women's voices to the text was among the last works of Hector Berlioz. Krzysztof Penderecki wrote a Motet for mixed choir, and Paul Hindemith concludes his Concerto for Organ and Orchestra with a Phantasy on « Veni Creator Spiritus » . Maurice Duruflé used the chant tune as the basis for his Symphonic organ composition « Prélude, Adagio et Choral varié sur le thème du ' Veni Creator ' » , in 1930. Michaël John Trotta's setting incorporates the 1st 2 lines of this hymn along with the text from « Veni Sancte Spiritus » in a 21st Century setting for choir.

Veni, creator Spiritus
mentes tuorum visita,
imple superna gratia,
quae tu creasti pectora.

Qui diceris Paraclitus,
altissimi donum Dei,
fons vivus, ignis, caritas
et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septiformis munere,
digitus paternae dexteræ
tu rite promissum Patris
sermone ditans guttura.

Accende lumen sensibus,
infunde amorem cordibus,
infirma nostri corporis,
virtute firmans perpeti.

Hostem repellas longius
pacemque dones protinus ;
ductore sic te praevio
vitemus omne noxium.

Per te sciamus da Patrem
noscamus atque Filium,
te utriusque Spiritum
credamus omni tempore.

Deo Patri sit gloria,
et Filio qui a mortuis
Surrexit, ac Paraclito,
in saeculorum saecula.
Amen.

V. Emitte Spiritum tuum, et creabuntur.

R. Et renovabis faciem terrae.

Oremus : Deus qui corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus illustratione docuisti: da nobis in eodem Spiritu recta sapere, et de eius semper consolatione gaudere. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate eiusdem Spiritus Sancti Deus. Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

...

Come, Holy Ghost, Creator blest,
and in our hearts take-up Thy rest ;
come with Thy grace and heav'nly aid,
To fill the hearts which Thou hast made.

O Comforter, to Thee we cry,
Thou heav'nly gift of God most high,
Thou Fount of life, and Fire of love,
and sweet anointing from above.

O Finger of the hand divine,
the sevenfold gifts of grace are thine ;
true promise of the Father thou,
who dost the tongue with power endow.

Thy light to every sense impart,
and shed thy love in every heart ;
thine own unfailing might supply
to strengthen our infirmity.

Drive far away our ghostly foe,
and thine abiding peace bestow ;
if thou be our preventing Guide,
no evil can our steps betide.

Praise we the Father and the Son
and Holy Spirit with them One ;
and may the Son on us bestow
the gifts that from the Spirit flow.

V. Send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be created. R. And Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.

Let us Pray : O God, Who didst instruct the hearts of the faithful by the light of the Holy Ghost : give to us, in the same Spirit, to know what is right, and ever rejoice in His consolation. Through Jesus-Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who with Thee livest and reignest in the unity of the same Holy Spirit, God. World without end. Amen.

Since the English Reformation in the 16th Century, there have been more than 50 English language translations and paraphrases of Veni Creator Spiritus. The version included in the 1662 revision of the Book of Common Prayer retained the Latin title and was written by Bishop John Cosin for the coronation of King Charles I of Great Britain in 1625. The same words have been used at every coronation since, and is sung by the choir after the singing of the Creed, while the sovereign is dressed in a white alb and seated in the Coronation Chair, prior to the Anointing. The 1st verse is :

Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
and lighten with celestial fire.
Thou the anointing Spirit art,
who dost thy sevenfold gifts impart.

Another well-known version by the poet John Dryden was 1st published in his 1693 work, « Examen Poeticum » . It may be sung to the tune « Melita » by John Bacchus Dykes. Dryden's 1st verse is :

Creator Spirit, by whose aid
The world's foundations first were laid,
Come, visit every pious mind ;
Come, pour thy joys on humankind ;
From sin and sorrow set us free,
And make thy temples worthy thee.

Janvier 1884 : In Kassel, the 23 year old Gustav Mahler gets the 1st opportunity to attend concerts conducted by the

54 year old Hans von Bülow and is deeply impressed. Mahler writes a letter to the famous conductor begging to become his pupil ; Bülow, offended by Mahler's breach of authority and protocol, brushes him off and sends a copy of Mahler's letter to his superiors, which deteriorates Mahler's relationship with the Kassel Theater.

After leaving the University, Richard Strauß is encouraged by his father to travel and meet other musicians.

Janvier 1884 : In Berlin, the 19 year old Richard Strauß completes his Symphony in F minor, Opus 12. Theodor Thomas, an American conductor visiting Europe, sees the score and gives the premiere with the New York Philharmonic in New York, in **December**.

22 janvier 1884 : Bruckner est nommé membre honoraire du « Wiener Akademischer Wagnerverein » .

27 février 1884 : Création intégrale (dans le cadre d'un événement organisé par la Société académique Richard Wagner de Vienne) de la 7e Symphonie de Bruckner dans un arrangement pour 2 pianos donné par les solistes Ferdinand Löwe et Josef Schalk.

16 mars 1884 : Anton Bruckner achève la 1re version de son « Te Deum » en do majeur pour chœur, solistes, grand orchestre, et orgue ad libitum (**WAB 45**) . La mort de Richard Wagner aura fourni au compositeur l'impulsion pour compléter l'œuvre.

23 mars 1884 : Hugo Wolf, noted composer of Lieder and pro-Wagner music-critic, writing in the « Wiener Salonblatt » ...

« The 2nd number was Brahms' Piano Concerto in B-flat major, played by the composer himself. Whoever can swallow this Concerto with appetite can calmly await a famine ; it is to be assumed that he enjoys an enviable digestion, and in time of famine will be able to get along splendidly on the nutritive equivalent of window glass, cork stoppers, stove pipes, and the like. »

5 mai 1884 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner à son élève Rudolf Krzyzanowski :

« 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. »

Hartman Sta

Bruckner tombe en amour avec la jolie Hartman Sta.

Encore sous l'influence des liturgies solennelles de la Semaine Sainte, Bruckner écrira, au retour de ce voyage ...

WAB II

28 mai 1884 : WAB 11 : « Christus factus est » (le Christ s'est fait pour nous obéissant) n° 3, graduel pour le Jeudi-Saint en ré mineur pour chœur mixte a cappella (à 4, 5 ou 6 voix) et cordes (ou trombones) . Composé à Vienne. Dédié par Bruckner, le 2 août 1885, à son ami, le Supérieur ecclésiastique (compositeur, organiste et professeur) Père Raphael « Oddo » Loidol du monastère de Kremsmünster. Création à Vienne, le 9 novembre 1884. Dirigé le 28 février 1905 par le chef E. Thomas.

Durée approximative : 5 minutes.

1re édition : TR 41, Fritz Brodersen, Theodor Rättig, Vienne (1886) ; le 1er des « Vier Graduale für Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Baß » .

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXI/1, édition Hans Bauernfeind - Leopold Nowak (1984) (2001) , pages 122-125.

« Geistliche Gesänge » III, n° 453, Willy Müller, Süddeutscher Musikverlag, édition Georg Darmstadt (1930) .

E. F. Schmid, édition Anton Böhm & Sohn, Augsburg.

EE 4185, Ernst Eulenburg, édition Peters (1939) , pages 16-18.

« European Sacred Music » , édition John Rutter, Oxford University Press (1996) , pages 68-74.

...

« Christus factus est » (Christ became obedient) , **WAB 11**, is a sacred Motet by Anton Bruckner, his 3rd setting of the Latin gradual « Christus factus est » , composed in 1884. Before, Bruckner composed, in 1844, a 1st piece on the same text as gradual of the « Messe für den Gründonnerstag » (**WAB 9**) and, in 1873, a Motet (**WAB 10**) for 8 part mixed choir, 3 trombones, and string instruments ad libitum. The Motet is an expressive setting of the gradual, influenced by Richard Wagner's music.

Bruckner composed this Motet, which uses the gradual of Maundy Thursday, on 25 May 1884. The piece was performed 6 months later, on 9 November, in the « Wiener Hofmusikkapelle » . Bruckner dedicated the work to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol, one of his students at the Conservatory. The piece was published together with 3 other graduals (« Locus iste » , **WAB 23** ; « Os justi » , **WAB 30** ; and « Virga Jesse floruit » , **WAB 52**) by Theodor Rättig, in 1886. The Motet is put in Band XXI/30 of the « Gesamtausgabe » .

The work in 79 bars in D minor is set for mixed choir a cappella.

In the 1st part (bars 1-19) , till « mortem autem crucis » , the choir is singing in homophony. It expresses, in

sombre lines, how inhuman is God's demand to implacable obedience to the death, even the death on the cross. After a 1 bar rest (bar 20) , the Motet evolves in waves of intensification, with twice the « Dresdner Amen » , on « exaltavit illum » (bars 23-24) and « super omne nomen » (bars 37-38) , respectively. After a 2nd 1 bar rest (bar 56) , it reaches a dramatic climax (bars 57-62) . Thereafter, the Motet is evolving diminuendo and a gradual sorrowful rest returns, with the 8 bar Coda in pianissimo, which is harmonically similar to that of the previous setting of 1873. Publisher Carus-Verlag summarizes that by means of modulation and chromatic, Bruckner achieves heightened expressiveness for the Passion text.

Bruckner composed the piece when he was in preparation to have his 7th Symphony performed and revised his « Te Deum » . The 2nd part of the Grail motif from Richard Wagner's « Parsifal » which the composer had heard in Bayreuth, in 1882, is also the « Dresdner Amen » .

...

WAB 11 (1884) : « Christus factus est » No. 3 ; graduale for Maundy Thursday in D minor for choir. Actually, 1886 is the date of publication (« Vier Graduale » , by Theodor Rättig, Vienna) , per HMB, assuming this is that one and **WAB 9** is the other one.

Bruckner's 3rd setting of « Christus factus est » is arguably his best. It seems that it was composed during a trip by the composer to Prague and several German cities. Scored for unaccompanied voices, it is in Bruckner's mature idiom, being contemporary with the « Te Deum » and sharing some the latter's thematic material.

In this solemn Motet, Bruckner's tone painting is excellent and idiosyncratic, the latter adjective being in the best sense of the word. There is an impassioned repetition of and hanging-on to the word « obediens » as though to impress one with the humility and sacrifice of Christ ; here, one is reminded of accounts that during his prayers, the composer could often be heard repeating a phrase or a word up to 5 times, as though to immerse himself with its significance. As the text of the music alludes to the Crucifixion, the music sinks to minimal audibility, again a reminder from Bruckner's external world, that he expressed his most important spiritual thoughts in a hushed and solemn voice. The mood intensifies and rises appropriately with the line « Propter quod et Deus exaltavit » (for which cause, God also hath exalted Him) . A device from the « Te Deum » is here used, the repetition of the final line « quod est super omne nomen » , which recalls the « Non confudar » from the larger work. Some material from the « Te Deum » is even utilized but here the climax is inverse. Where the former relies on a building-up of forces and intensity, the « Christus factus » ends with a prolonged diminuendo, a fading into a powerful and mystic silence with its final thought.

Berlioz et Weimar

« Weimar est une ville artiste et la famille ducale sait honorer les arts. »

(Berlioz, « 1er voyage en Allemagne » , Lettre 10 - en 1843.)

« Des grands compositeurs français, Berlioz est celui qui a le plus de points de rattachement avec Weimar. »

(Liszt, lettre au Grand-Duc Charles Alexandre - en 1883)

Dans l'histoire des rapports de Berlioz avec l'Allemagne, Weimar tient une place de 1er choix : ses relations avec la ville s'étendent sur plus de 2 décennies, de 1843 à 1863 et au-delà. Pendant cette période, Berlioz développera de multiples liens avec des musiciens et écrivains actifs à Weimar, particulièrement dans les années 1852-1856 quand un cercle de jeunes enthousiastes se forme autour de Liszt, l'ami de Berlioz de longue date et la compagne de Liszt, la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein, qui sont à cette période le moteur de l'activité musicale de la ville. Un lien parcourt toute cette aventure : la protection bienveillante fournie par une suite de Grand-Ducs et Grandes-Duchesses de Saxe-Weimar, de Charles Frédéric (1783-1853) et sa femme Maria Pavlovna (1786-1859), sœur du Tsar de Russie, à son fils et successeur Charles Alexandre (1818-1901) et sa femme Wilhelmine Marie Sophie Louise (1824-1897), fille du roi de Hollande. Tous ces souverains perpétuent consciemment une tradition de mécénat éclairé pour l'activité artistique et intellectuelle qui remonte à Charles Auguste (1757-1828), père de Charles Frédéric et ami et protecteur de Goethe. Sous son règne, et malgré ses dimensions modestes, Weimar se hisse au rang de centre intellectuel du monde allemand et acquiert la réputation d'une « Athènes moderne ». Il va de soi que tous les membres de la famille ducale parlent français couramment (la correspondance entre Liszt et Charles Alexandre, tous 2 d'éducation allemande, est entièrement en français).

Les rapports de Berlioz avec Weimar peuvent être divisés en 3 périodes : la 1re visite en 1843 ; la période de relations étroites entre 1852 et 1856, quand l'influence de Liszt à Weimar est à son apogée ; et la période après 1856 quand l'influence de Liszt décline et lui et la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein quittent finalement Weimar pour Rome et l'Italie, mais la cour de Weimar continue à entretenir des rapports bienveillants avec Berlioz.

1843

À son retour d'Italie, en 1832, les projets de Berlioz de voyage en Allemagne se fixent d'abord sur Berlin. Il connaît bien entendu Weimar de réputation, mais tout d'abord non comme ville musicale mais comme le centre intellectuel et culturel qui est lié au nom de 2 de ses idoles littéraires, Goethe et Schiller, et de leur patron le Grand-Duc Charles Auguste (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 100). Berlioz connaît les œuvres de ces 2 poètes, bien que seulement en traduction française. En 1828, il découvre le « Faust » de Goethe dans la traduction de Gérard de Nerval, qui l'inspire à écrire les « 8 scènes de Faust » qu'il publie sans tarder comme son Œuvre I ; mais il retire bientôt l'ouvrage, qu'il développera plus tard pour en faire « la Damnation de Faust » (« Mémoires » : Chapitres 26 et 54). Berlioz pousse même l'audace à écrire au célèbre poète pour lui envoyer un exemplaire de la partition dès sa publication (Correspondance Générale, n° 122, le 10 avril 1829 ; ci-après la Correspondance Générale tout court), mais Goethe, se fiant au jugement négatif du compositeur Zelter, ne se donne pas la peine de répondre.

Au départ, Berlioz ne connaît personne parmi les musiciens de Weimar. La 1re relation éventuelle à se présenter est Jean-Baptiste Chélaré (1789-1861), violoniste, compositeur et chef d'orchestre, dont Berlioz fait la connaissance à Paris

dans les années 1820 quand Chélaré fait partie de l'Orchestre de l'Opéra (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 126 et 154) . Après plusieurs tentatives de faire carrière à l'étranger, Chélaré s'installe enfin à Weimar en 1836 comme « Kapellmeister » , mais sans jamais s'imposer là ou ailleurs, et Berlioz visiblement ne le considère pas comme méritant d'être cultivé. Bien plus prometteur est le musicien et écrivain Johann Christian Lobe (1797-1881) , « ce type du véritable musicien allemand » comme Berlioz l'appellera plus tard (« Mémoires » : « 1er voyage en Allemagne » , 3e lettre) . Ami de Goethe, il est flûtiste à l'Orchestre du théâtre de Weimar jusqu'en 1842 et fonde un institut de musique dans la ville. Lobe est parmi les Iers et plus chaleureux partisans de Berlioz en Allemagne : « j'étais votre ami depuis le moment, que j'ai ouï l' « Ouverture des Francs-Juges » , et je le serai jusqu'à la fin de ma vie » , écrira-il à Berlioz quelques années plus tard (Correspondance Générale, n° 793) . L'Ouverture avait été exécutée à Weimar à un concert en 1837 (le 19 mars) et avait suscité de la part de Lobe une lettre ouverte enthousiaste dans la « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » de Schumann le mois suivant (9 mai) , où Lobe exprimait l'espoir d'une visite de Berlioz à Weimar. Schumann, lui-même partisan de l'heure de Berlioz, s'empresse de lui envoyer un exemplaire de l'article (Correspondance Générale, n° 496bis - tome VIII) .

Quand Berlioz se met finalement en route, en décembre 1842, pour le voyage en Allemagne si souvent ajourné, Weimar est donc une étape qui s'impose : avant la fin du mois, il est en rapport avec Lobe et reçoit de lui une lettre à la fois instructive et chaleureuse (Correspondance Générale, numéros 792, 793) , mais Lobe le prévient toutefois de concilier par prudence Chélaré pour éviter des froissements, conseil que Berlioz s'empresse de suivre (Correspondance Générale, numéros 796, 798bis et 798ter) . Il arrive à Weimar vers le 18 janvier, en provenance de Francfort, et séjourne jusqu'au 28 quand il part pour Leipzig (Correspondance Générale, numéros 806 et 807) . Après les déceptions du début du voyage, le séjour de Weimar marque le début d'une phase plus positive. Mais c'est aussi à Weimar que Marie Recio, à qui Berlioz a tenté de fausser compagnie à Francfort, le rejoint et ils feront ensemble le reste du voyage (Correspondance Générale, n° 815) .

Il subsiste un certain nombre de lettres datant de janvier 1843 mais elles donnent peu de détails sur le séjour de Weimar. Le récit publié par Berlioz plus tard dans l'année dans la 3e de ses lettres sur son voyage (« Journal des Débats » , 28 août ; « Critique Musicale » , tome V, pages 275-284) , qu'il reprendra dans ses « Mémoires » , est un peu plus fourni. À l'époque, les ressources musicales de Weimar sont modestes ; le chœur du théâtre est très faible, l'orchestre comme d'habitude a ni cor anglais (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 970 - tome VIII) , ni ophicléide, ni harpe, et il faut renforcer les cordes avec des joueurs supplémentaires (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 792, 793, 799) . Berlioz demande audience au Grand-Duc et à la Grande-Duchesse mais ne semble pas l'avoir obtenu (Correspondance Générale, n° 801) ; le silence des « Mémoires » est significatif. Le concert du 25 janvier au théâtre comprend l' « Ouverture des Francs-Juges » , bien connue à Weimar, « la Symphonie fantastique » , le 2e mouvement de « Harold en Italie » , et 3 mélodies chantées par Marie Recio (« Le Jeune pâtre breton » et « Absence » avec accompagnement de piano, et « La Belle voyageuse » avec orchestre) . Comme d'habitude, la participation de Marie Recio n'est pas mentionnée dans les « Mémoires » .

Berlioz se déclare satisfait des résultats et de la réception qu'on lui accorde (Correspondance Générale, numéros 806, 806bis [tome VIII] , 807) , et de toute sa tournée en Allemagne, Weimar est la seule ville où on lui laisse la totalité de la recette du concert. Il aurait voulu faire un autre passage à Weimar avant son retour à Paris, mais le projet

échouera (Correspondance Générale, n° 831) . Conscient de l'avertissement de Lobe, Berlioz a bien soin de rester en rapport avec Chélard pendant le reste de son voyage (Correspondance Générale, numéros 810, 826, 831) . Dans la lettre sur le séjour de Weimar, qu'il publie dans « le Journal des Débats » , il souligne expressément l'appui qu'il a reçu de Chélard, qu'il nomme son « savant compatriote » et « un artiste noble et digne » (Critique Musicale V, pages 281-282) . Chélard ne peut contenir sa joie à cet hommage public inaccoutumé, et il en conçoit de grands espoirs pour l'avenir (Correspondance Générale, n° 864) . Mais Berlioz gommara les épithètes flatteurs de la version qui sera reprise plus tard dans les « Mémoires » . Chélard sera plus tard remplacé par Liszt à Weimar ; le reste de sa carrière musicale est sans relief et son nom ne figure que rarement dans la correspondance de Berlioz ; il meurt en 1861 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2071, 2207bis [tome VIII] , 2536) .

L'amitié avec Lobe durera, par contre, encore bien des années, bien que ce qui reste de leur correspondance est assez modeste (pour la suite voir Correspondance Générale, n° 1655, et au tome VIII, les numéros 1598bis, 1663bis, 1751bis et 2707bis) . Lobe quitte Weimar pour Leipzig, en 1846, où il devient rédacteur de son propre journal (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1444) . Berlioz l'y reverra plus tard et, en avril 1863, il sont toujours en rapport : Berlioz l'invite à venir entendre « Béatrice et Bénédict » à Weimar (Correspondance Générale, n° 2707bis) .

1852-1856

Pendant bien des années, Weimar disparaît de l'horizon de Berlioz, malgré l'accueil bienveillant qu'il y a reçu. C'est grâce à Liszt qu'il est invité à revenir des années plus tard et, cette fois, Weimar va jouer un rôle de tout 1er plan dans sa carrière musicale. La lettre qu'il publie en août 1843 sur sa visite à Mannheim et Weimar est en fait adressée à Liszt, mais on y trouve aucune allusion évidente aux liens que Liszt était en train de développer avec Weimar dès avant le passage de Berlioz en 1843. Liszt s'y produit en virtuose pour la 1re fois, en novembre 1841, et fait tout de suite une grande impression sur le public et sur la famille ducale. Il revient en octobre 1842, et le mois suivant (2 novembre) est nommé « Kapellmeister » extraordinaire. Le contrat précise qu'il consacra 3 mois par an à cette tâche et, au début de 1844, Liszt dirige une 1re série de concerts. Berlioz est sans aucun doute au courant de la situation : il voit Liszt à plusieurs reprises au cours de ces années, à Paris en avril 1844 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 896-898) , à Bonn en août 1845 aux cérémonies en l'honneur de Beethoven, et de nouveau à Prague en avril 1846. Les 2 hommes sont en correspondance, et dans une lettre de juin 1845, Berlioz, qui sait que Liszt cherche à développer les ressources instrumentales de l'Orchestre de Weimar, lui recommande un joueur de hautbois et de cor anglais (Correspondance Générale, n° 970 - tome VIII) .

Pendant quelques années, Liszt n'est associé à Weimar qu'à temps partiel. Mais au cours d'une tournée en Russie, en février 1847, il rencontre la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1108) qui le convainc d'abandonner la carrière de virtuose errant qu'il a poursuivi au cours des années 1840 pour s'installer avec elle à Weimar, ce qu'ils feront en 1848 (ils n'auront cependant jamais l'occasion de se marier) . Liszt va se consacrer à composer, mais il a aussi comme « Kapellmeister » permanent, remplaçant Chélard, le projet de faire de Weimar un nouveau centre de musique progressive. Berlioz est au courant de ces événements : en janvier 1849, Liszt lui adresse une lettre l'informant de ses activités à Weimar et d'une prochaine exécution du « Tannhäuser » de Wagner (Correspondance Générale, n° 1242bis - tome VIII) . Effectivement, l'effort de Liszt va se porter tout d'abord sur

Wagner, dont il vient de découvrir la musique et qu'il va soutenir de multiples façons pendant des années à venir : « Tannhäuser » en 1849 sera suivi de la première de « Lohengrin » en août 1850. Mais, outre Wagner, Liszt a également l'intention de se faire tout autant le champion de la musique de Berlioz, son ami de longue date : leur 1^{re} rencontre remonte à 1830 et à la première de « la Symphonie fantastique » (« Mémoires » : Chapitre 31 ; Correspondance Générale, n° 190) et, depuis cette date, ils restent en contact malgré leurs voyages et obligations. Liszt s'efforce sans cesse d'appuyer son ami : ainsi, en janvier 1839, il publie dans la « Revue et Gazette musicale » un article à la louange de « Benvenuto Cellini », peu après la première malheureuse de l'œuvre à l'Opéra (Correspondance Générale, n° 622) . Et, cependant, il ne semble-t-il pas être venu à l'esprit de Berlioz que Liszt aurait pu tirer parti de sa nouvelle situation pour appuyer son ami, et c'est pour Berlioz une surprise totale quand, en août 1851, il apprend que Liszt a l'intention de monter « Benvenuto Cellini » à Weimar (Correspondance Générale, n° 1426) .

« Benvenuto Cellini »

La chute de « Benvenuto Cellini » à l'Opéra, en septembre 1838, est pour Berlioz un des plus graves échecs de sa carrière ; l'œuvre ne sera jamais représentée à nouveau à Paris du vivant du compositeur. Mais, au cours des années suivantes, Berlioz peut tout de même sauver par la publication une partie de la musique. La grande partition de l'Ouverture, souvent exécutée par Berlioz au concert à Paris et à l'étranger, est publiée par Schlesinger en 1839, ainsi que 9 airs de l'Opéra avec accompagnement de piano (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1690) . En 1841, Berlioz arrange la 1^{re} version de l'air de Teresa au 1^{er} acte pour en faire « Rêverie » et le caprice pour violon et orchestre et, en 1843-1844, il adapte la musique de 2 scènes de l'Opéra pour en tirer l'Ouverture du « Carnaval romain » . Ces 2 morceaux figurent souvent dans ses tournées à l'étranger, et la 2^e version de l'air de Teresa est chantée plusieurs fois séparément aux concerts de son voyage en Allemagne de 1843 et ultérieurement. Mais pour l'œuvre dans son ensemble, Berlioz n'envisage visiblement pas d'avenir en France ou ailleurs et, pendant des années, elle sera mise de côté. Il est frappant de constater à ce sujet que quand Berlioz est nommé chef d'orchestre au théâtre de « Drury Lane » à Londres, en 1847, et est chargé de fournir un Opéra pour la saison à venir, il ne lui vient pas à l'esprit de reprendre « Benvenuto Cellini » mais pense plutôt à adapter « la Damnation de Faust » à cette intention.

Berlioz accepte avec reconnaissance l'offre de Liszt et se met tout de suite au travail pour restaurer la partition (toujours inédite) avant de l'envoyer à Liszt ; il s'agit aussi de rétablir plusieurs coupures faites à l'Opéra, en 1838 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1426, 1430) . Dans cette forme, et dans une traduction allemande dûe à August Ferdinand Riccius, l'Opéra est monté avec succès à Weimar 3 fois : les 20, 24 et 27 mars 1852. Berlioz, absent à Londres et dans l'incapacité d'assister aux représentations, est tenu au courant par Liszt (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1449 et 1459) , pour lequel il déborde de reconnaissance (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1462, 1463, 1471, 1489) , et il n'oublie pas non plus de remercier la Grande-Duchesse (Correspondance Générale, n° 1464) . Mais Liszt, avec la collaboration de son élève Hans von Bülow qui publie 2 articles sur l'Opéra, en avril 1852, parvient vite à la conviction que le 2^e acte nécessite de profonds changements et, d'ailleurs, l'Opéra, dans sa version originale, dépassait « la durée d'un spectacle ordinaire » en Allemagne (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1501) . Il fait part de ses doutes à Berlioz dans une lettre (perdue) de juin 1852 ; il est en fait possible (selon David Cairns)

que Liszt et Bülow auraient déjà introduit des coupures et changements dans l'ouvrage dans une 4e représentation, le 17 avril, avant même d'avoir consulté Berlioz, et avant la publication le 30 avril du 2e article de Bülow dans lequel il recommande de faire des changements à l'Opéra. Quoiqu'il en soit, Berlioz est prêt à consentir aux changements suggérés et de bouleverser le 2e acte pour ne pas sacrifier de la bonne musique ; mais il se voit obligé de faire des coupures importantes, et l'Opéra maintenant raccourci est divisé en 3 actes au lieu des 2 d'origine (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1499 et 1501) . Sous cette forme, l'Opéra est exécuté 4 fois en novembre 1852 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1520, 1532, 1533, 1537, 1542) , et encore 2 fois en février et mars 1856 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2076, 2092, 2093, 2100, 2104, 2128) , cette fois, dans une nouvelle traduction allemande due à Peter Cornelius (Correspondance Générale, n° 1690) . Elles seront les seules exécutions en Allemagne du vivant de Berlioz. Il est question de monter l'ouvrage à Dresde, en 1854 et 1855 (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1690) , mais le projet n'aboutit pas, pas plus que d'autres projets ailleurs, comme à Karlsruhe (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1542, 1548, 2351) . L'ouvrage sera repris plus tard par Hans von Bülow à Hanovre, en 1879 (« Benvenuto Cellini ») occupe une place de choix dans le cœur de Bülow, place qui remonte à son travail sur l'ouvrage à Weimar, en 1852 - et son exemple sera suivi ailleurs en Allemagne où l'Opéra s'installe de façon durable au répertoire de nombreux théâtres lyriques.

Il n'y a pas lieu de s'étendre ici sur les modifications apportées alors à l'Opéra, qui vont transformer la « version de Paris » originale dans ce qui deviendra la « version de Weimar » , ni non plus de peser le pour et le contre des différentes versions (voir par exemple les articles publiés en 1905 par Julien Tiersot dans sa série de « Berlioziana » ; NBE tome I, pages XXIV-XXXVII ; David Cairns, « Hector Berlioz » , tome II, 2002, pages 531-537 ; les articles de Hugh Macdonald, Christian Wasselin et Pierre-René Serna ; et Serna, « Berlioz de B à Z » , 2006, pages 18-32) . On pourrait avancer que la cause première des difficultés qui vont assaillir l'Opéra (et Berlioz lui-même) est que, dès le départ, Berlioz n'est pas le Maître sans partage de son œuvre, puisqu'il n'écrit pas son propre livret (ce qu'il fera plus tard pour « les Troyens » et pour « Béatrice et Bénédicte ») , sans parler des obstacles présentés par la suite par chanteurs et exécutants. On constatera que Berlioz était infiniment reconnaissant à Liszt et à la maison ducal pour avoir permis la résurrection heureuse de l'ouvrage, comme toute la correspondance du compositeur l'atteste. Il accepte avec bonne grâce les changements proposés par Liszt (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1499 et 1501) , et continue de sa propre initiative à travailler à d'autres révisions et changements jusqu'en 1856 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1538 et 1617) . Il se déclare enchanté des résultats qui, selon lui, marquent un progrès sur la version originale (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1532, 1537, 1542, 1563, 1609, 1617, 2100) , et rien dans sa correspondance ne laisse supposer, qu'en son for intérieur, il aurait voulu revenir sous une forme ou une autre à la version de 1838. Quand, dans la foulée du succès de Weimar, l'œuvre est montée au « Covent Garden » de Londres, en 1853, dans une traduction italienne, les révisions de Weimar servent de point de départ (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1563, 1568, 1581, 1589, 1609, 1617) . Berlioz décide de sanctionner la version de Weimar en la faisant publier, décision de principe prise dès l'été de 1853 et poursuivie activement par la suite (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1620, 1690, 1918) . La partition chant et piano est finalement publiée par Litolf à Brunswick, en 1856, avec le texte français et la traduction allemande de Cornelius (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1935, 2012, 2143, 2149, 2159, 2179 ; la transcription pour piano de l'Ouverture est due à Bülow - Correspondance Générale, n° 1776) ; « notre édition de Cellini » , dira Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1995) . L'ouvrage est dédié, comme il se doit, à la Grande-Duchesse Douairière de Weimar (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1918, 2012, 2013, 2029, 2191,

2199bis - tome VIII) . Berlioz aurait-il fait, par la suite, d'autres remaniements si l'occasion s'en était présentée ? On ne saurait trancher. L'échec de la représentation de Londres, de 25 juin 1853, prive le compositeur de la possibilité d'étudier l'ouvrage d'un œil critique dans une série d'exécutions sous sa propre direction (l'exécution de Londres est la seule de son ouvrage qu'il ait jamais dirigée lui-même ; se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 2104) . Fin 1856 et au début de 1857, il est question de monter l'œuvre au Théâtre Lyrique à Paris « avec une partie du livret mise en prose pour le dialogue et quelques changements avantageux qu'y ont introduits les auteurs » , mais le projet tourne court (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2178, 2183, 2195, 2209 ; se reporter à NBE tome Id, Appendice 4) . Après cette date, les allusions à l'ouvrage dans la correspondance de Berlioz se font rares jusqu'en 1863 quand, en juillet, Berlioz signe un contrat avec l'éditeur Choudens à Paris ; le contrat donne pleins droits à Choudens pour la publication de la partition chant et piano ainsi que de la grande partition, dans la version de Weimar mais avec les paroles en français. La partition chant et piano paraît en 1865 avec quelques coupures dans les récitatifs (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2660, 2827-8, 2855, 2991) ; la grande partition ne sera publiée qu'en 1886.

Novembre 1852

Liszt ne se contente pas d'inviter Berlioz à entendre son « Cellini » ressuscité : il insiste en juin 1852 pour qu'il vienne diriger un concert de sa musique (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1496, 1505, 1510, 1511) . « Cette petite excursion en Allemagne a été la plus charmante que j'aie jamais faite » , dira Berlioz de la visite qu'il fait à Weimar en novembre, accompagné de Marie Recio (Correspondance Générale, n° 1542). L'accueil qu'il reçoit dépasse en chaleur tout ce qu'il a connu avant, comme sa correspondance l'atteste (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1532, 1533, 1537, 1542) . Il entend son Opéra remis sur pied, joué avec bienveillance devant un public enthousiaste (17, 21, 23 novembre) , et le succès de l'ouvrage suscite des projets de le monter ailleurs, dont il est vrai seul celui de Londres aboutira, comme il a été dit ci-dessus. Il dirige avec grand succès un concert comprenant les 4 Ires parties de « Roméo et Juliette » et les 2 Ires de « la Damnation de Faust » (20 novembre) . Il est reçu à plusieurs reprises par la famille ducale, par Liszt et la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein, et par les musiciens de Weimar et des villes avoisinantes (21, 22, 23 novembre) . Le Grand-Duc le décore de l'Ordre du Faucon Blanc (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1725) . Les solennités attirent une foule de visiteurs de nombreuses villes (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1533, 1542, 1563) et les comptes-rendus de la presse allemande sont élogieux (Correspondance Générale, n° 1561) . Berlioz peut renouer contact avec de vieilles connaissances qui ont fait le voyage de Weimar pour l'occasion, tel Robert Griepenkerl de Brunswick. Particulièrement importants pour l'avenir sont les liens qu'il noue en novembre 1852 et, par la suite, avec des membres du cercle de Liszt, tel Hans von Bülow qui avait aidé à la révision de la partition de « Cellini » . Le séjour de Weimar mènera à la relance des voyages musicaux de Berlioz et à la série la plus réussie de concerts jamais donnés par lui en Allemagne, notamment à Francfort, Hanovre, Leipzig, Dresde, Bade et Weimar, où il est invité à revenir. Après son séjour de novembre, il reste en contact régulier avec Liszt sur toutes ses activités musicales, et leur correspondance ne sera jamais plus soutenue que dans la période de 1852 à 1856. En avril 1854, Berlioz espère s'arrêter en route à Weimar pour voir Liszt et le jeune Grand-Duc qui a pris la succession de son père, mort l'année précédente (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1717, 1725, 1726) , mais le voyage doit être reporté au début de mai à son retour de Dresde (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1738, 1751bis [tome VIII] , 1753, 1756) . Détail pittoresque : en quittant Paris, Berlioz a oublié d'emporter les croix reçues de feu le Grand-Duc et il est obligé de les faire venir spécialement avant sa venue (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1725, 1739, 1746) . À la fin de

l'année, il reçoit une invitation en bonne et due forme de revenir à Weimar au début de 1855 pour un autre festival consacré à sa musique (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1811, 1812, 1847, 1869) .

Février 1855

Le succès de la visite à Weimar de février 1855 est sans doute encore plus décisif que celui de novembre 1852. Berlioz donne 2 concerts et on le presse de donner un 3e, ce qui s'avère impossible bien qu'il ait prolongé son séjour plus que prévu (du 11 au 27 février) . Conséquence embarrassante : il est obligé d'ajourner un concert à Gotha décidé depuis plusieurs mois. Le 1er concert, donné à la cour le 17 février dans une salle du palais ducal, comporte au programme des extraits de ses œuvres et la 1re exécution du nouveau Concerto pour piano en mi bémol de Liszt, qui joue la partie de solo (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1880, 1897, 1899, 1903) . Le second, le 21 février au théâtre, fait date, non seulement par sa longueur mais à cause du programme. Pour commencer, « l'Enfance du Christ » , choix qui s'impose à cause du succès récent de l'œuvre lors des 1res exécutions à Paris, en décembre 1854. Ensuite, « la Symphonie fantastique » , mais cette fois pas toute seule, comme dans les nombreuses exécutions dirigées par Berlioz à l'étranger à partir de 1842, mais avec sa suite et complément « le Retour à la vie » . Les 2 œuvres n'ont pas été jouées ensemble depuis mai 1835, et « le Retour à la vie » n'a pas été entendu de nouveau avant le concert de Weimar. Il est présenté maintenant pour la 1re fois dans une version mise en scène et avec les monologues de 1831 profondément remaniés (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1897, 1899, 1903) . C'est une idée très personnelle de Berlioz, et qui mérite commentaire.

La nouvelle version de l'ouvrage est sans doute conçue par Berlioz comme un hommage à Harriet Smithson, l'actrice qui, en 1827, lui avait révélé Shakespeare. La mort de Harriet moins d'un an avant, le 3 mars 1854, avait bouleversé Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1701-1702, 1704-1705, 1708 ; « Mémoires » : Chapitre 59) . Liszt, de son côté, avait été intimement mêlé à la passion de Berlioz pour Harriet et, lors de leur mariage le 3 octobre 1833, il est un de leurs témoins. À l'occasion de sa mort, il envoie une émouvante lettre de sympathie que Berlioz met en valeur en la citant à la fin du récit de la mort de Harriet dans les « Mémoires » . Les changements faits pour l'exécution du « Retour à la vie » , en 1855, accentuent l'inspiration shakespearienne qui est au cœur de l'œuvre ; les passages du monologue qui concernent Beethoven sont maintenant supprimés. Le lien avec Harriet est souligné pour un double retour de l'idée fixe de « la Symphonie fantastique » , pendant la 1re chanson (« Le pêcheur ») et tout à la fin après « la Fantaisie sur la Tempête » .

Autre explication probable pour le choix de Berlioz (elle n'exclut pas la 1re) : c'est précisément la juxtaposition inattendue de « l'Enfance du Christ » et des 2 autres œuvres qui suivent. La lettre de Berlioz à Liszt, au début de l'année (Correspondance Générale, n° 1869) , fournit une clef : il suggère en effet de faire suivre « un concert pie » par « un concert impie » . Berlioz est certes ravi du succès de sa « petite Sainteté » (Correspondance Générale, n° 1874) mais aussi plutôt irrité à l'idée qu'il aurait changé de style (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1847-1848, 1851, 1853 ; Post-Scriptum des « Mémoires ») . Il veut donc, sans doute, réaffirmer sa personnalité artistique en faisant jouer dans un même concert 2 (ou plutôt 3) œuvres d'un caractère bien différent, son Oratorio sacré et les manifestes iconoclastes de sa jeunesse. Il sent qu'il trouvera à Weimar un public bienveillant qui sera également réceptif ; sa correspondance montre que c'est le succès du « Retour à la vie » à Weimar qui fait le plus

plaisir à Berlioz, et il s'étend là-dessus longuement (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1897, 1899, 1903) . Tout de suite après l'exécution de Weimar, il prépare une publication intégrale de l'ouvrage dans sa version revue, sous le titre de « Léo, ou le retour à la vie » (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1907, 1916, 1918) ; la partition chant et piano paraît en décembre (Correspondance Générale, n° 2070) , et la grande partition l'année suivante (Correspondance Générale, n° 2169) .

Tout comme en novembre 1852, Berlioz est accueilli et fêté généreusement, et invité à revenir l'année suivante quand Liszt a l'intention de monter « Benvenuto Cellini » de nouveau (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1902, 1908, 1975) . La veille de son 2e concert, il est même fait membre honoraire de la « Neue Weimar Verein » (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1899, 1903) , « club de jeunes artistes dits progressistes, dont je suis censé porter le Drapeau » , comme il l'explique. La réaction de la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein à la nomination de Berlioz à l'Institut, l'année suivante, rend manifeste la pensée des cercles de Liszt à Weimar : la nomination « est une fête de famille pour tous les musiciens de l'avenir » (Correspondance Générale, n° 2148ter, mais se reporter au n° 2143) . On touche là l'origine d'un problème qui va compliquer les rapports de Berlioz avec Liszt dans les années à venir : Berlioz n'appartient à aucune secte, et ne veut pas être promu porte-étendard de tel ou tel mouvement ou école (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 2274) .

Février-mars 1856

Pour éviter l'embarras de l'année précédente, Berlioz commence par aller à Gotha où Liszt, bien que souffrant, tient à assister au concert de Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2093 et 2094) ; ils se rendent ensuite, ensemble, à Weimar où ils arrivent le 8 février. De même qu'en 1855, Berlioz donne 2 concerts (Correspondance Générale, n° 2076) . Le 1er, le 17 février, est à la cour et comprend des extraits de la musique de Berlioz, y compris l'Ouverture du « Corsaire » que le public de Weimar ne connaît pas encore (Correspondance Générale, n° 2100) , et un Concerto de Litoff joué par le protégé de Berlioz, le jeune prodige Théodore Ritter (Litoff est, à la fois, musicien pratiquant et directeur de la maison d'édition à Brunswick qui va publier « Benvenuto Cellini » pour la 1re fois, à la fin de l'année) . Le 2e concert, au bénéfice des veuves et orphelins de musiciens, a lieu au théâtre, le 1er mars, et comporte la 1re intégrale à Weimar de « la Damnation de Faust » (on se demande comment Goethe aurait jugé l'ouvrage) . Berlioz ne dit rien de particulier sur le 1er concert et se déclare satisfait du 2e (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2104, 2128) mais, de nouveau, ses lettres insistent sur sa joie à entendre la dernière version de « Benvenuto Cellini » remanié, cette fois dans la traduction de Cornelius (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2092, 2093, 2100, 2104, 2128 ; se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2101 et 2101bis) . Il assiste à la 1re exécution le 16 février, mais non à la seconde le 16 mars. Liszt lui écrit 2 jours après cette dernière (Correspondance Générale, n° 2109, se reporter au n° 2115) - elle sera, en fait, la dernière de l'ouvrage du vivant de Berlioz.

Pendant son séjour, Berlioz a aussi l'occasion d'entendre pour la 1re fois à Weimar la musique de Wagner : Liszt dirige 2 exécutions de « Lohengrin » , la 1re le 18 février ou peu après, et la 2e le 24, mais elle seront l'occasion d'une altercation publique et du 1er désaccord ouvert entre les 2 amis. La vérité des faits n'est pas claire, et le rôle de Berlioz dans la controverse n'est connu que de seconde main. Il n'y fait qu'une brève allusion dans une lettre 4 mois plus tard (Correspondance Générale, n° 2128) , et il semble vouloir réduire la portée de l'événement ; une lettre

antérieure à sa sœur Adèle brille par son mutisme sur l'affaire mais laisse aussi percevoir une certaine réserve à l'égard de Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2104) . Liszt, de son côté, prend l'affaire très au sérieux, comme on peut le voir d'après sa correspondance et, à tort ou à raison, il trouve le comportement de Berlioz peu bienveillant et suspect d'envie (Correspondance Générale V : page 272, note 2 ; et page 304, notes 1 et 2) . Les faits connus se réduisent à assez peu. Berlioz et Marie Recio sortent de la 1re représentation de « Lohengrin » pendant le 2e acte ; à la seconde représentation, ils restent jusqu'au bout. Selon un récit dans un journal de Dresde, repris à Paris par « La France musicale » , le 20 avril, il y aurait eu à un moment donné une altercation en public au sujet de la musique de Wagner, entre d'une part Litoff et Berlioz, et de l'autre Liszt. Au cours des mois suivants, Berlioz et Liszt vont cependant continuer à correspondre comme si de rien n'était (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2109, 2115, 2149, 2178) , mais leurs lettres n'ont plus la même chaleur spontanée ni la franchise ouverte des années passées.

Après 1856

Comme lors des visites précédentes, le Grand-Duc insiste auprès de Berlioz pour qu'il revienne le plus tôt possible (Correspondance Générale, n° 2104) , mais bien des années vont s'écouler avant que cela soit possible. En août 1858, Berlioz ne peut accepter une invitation de la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein de rendre visite à Weimar après son concert à Bade (Correspondance Générale, n° 2317) , et il faudra attendre avril 1863 pour qu'il reprenne le chemin de Weimar.

Liszt et la princesse

Entre-temps, la position de Liszt à Weimar s'affaiblit et finit par s'écrouler complètement. Malgré le soutien de la famille ducale, Liszt a toujours été contesté sur place et plus largement parmi certains cercles conservateurs de l'Allemagne musicale (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 2093) . Par exemple, le violoniste Joachim, nommé 1er violon de l'Orchestre de Weimar, en 1850, quitte son poste en 1852 pour rejoindre l'Orchestre de Hanovre ; par la suite, il prendra parti pour Brahms dans la réaction contre Liszt et Wagner. Le soutien de Liszt pour Wagner, exilé de l'Allemagne pendant toutes les années 1850 pour des raisons politiques, et ses relations avec la princesse, sont autant de griefs contre lui (la correspondance de Berlioz est très discrète sur ces questions) . La crise éclate en plein jour en 1858, lors de la première de l'Opéra de Cornelius « Le Barbier de Bagdad » (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 2521) dirigée au théâtre le 15 décembre par Liszt : face à une manifestation publique hostile, Liszt en colère donne immédiatement sa démission comme chef d'orchestre du théâtre. La princesse quitte finalement Weimar pour Rome en 1860, où Liszt la rejoint l'année suivante.

Berlioz et Liszt ne cesseront jamais d'être amis ; ils restent en rapport, même indirectement, et se rendent service quand l'occasion s'en présente. Mais, au cours des 10 années à venir, ils s'éloignent insensiblement l'un de l'autre, épreuve sans doute également pénible pour tous les 2. En 1830, la musique les réunit et va cimenter leur amitié pendant 25 ans, pour leur bien mutuel ; mais maintenant, la musique les sépare de plus en plus. Au cœur de leur désaccord est « la musique de l'avenir » ou, en d'autres termes, l'admiration sans bornes vouée par Liszt à Wagner et que Berlioz ne peut partager. Pour Berlioz, « la musique de l'avenir » va devenir « l'école du charivari » . Une lettre de Berlioz à Humbert Ferrand, datée du 29 octobre 1864, montre la distance qui sépare désormais les 2 hommes : «

Liszt est venu passer 8 jours à Paris, nous avons dîné ensemble 2 fois, et toute conversation musicale ayant été prudemment écartée, nous avons passé quelques heures charmantes. Il est reparti pour Rome, où il joue de “ la musique de l’avenir ” devant le pape qui se demande ce que cela veut dire. » (Correspondance Générale, n° 2920) . Mais Liszt, de son côté, ne cessera jamais de défendre la musique de Berlioz.

Mais le relâchement progressif des liens avec Liszt aura sa contre-partie. Le résultat le plus important du séjour de 1856 est la décision de Berlioz d’entreprendre, enfin et après bien des résistances, la composition d’un grand Opéra d’après « l’Énéide » de Virgile qui le hante dès son enfance et de plus en plus au début des années 1850 (« Mémoires » : Chapitre 59) . Il a déjà évoqué son projet durant sa visite de 1855 (Correspondance Générale, n° 1903, P.S.) . À cette occasion, il résiste encore aux pressions exercées sans doute par Liszt et surtout par la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein. Mais, en 1856, il cède, et c’est la princesse qui a gain de cause. La correspondance de Berlioz avec elle remonte déjà à plusieurs années (la lettre la plus ancienne, Correspondance Générale, n° 1463, date de 1852) mais, à partir de mai 1856, elle va s’épanouir de façon remarquable. Au départ, c’est le travail sur « les Troyens » qui est le fil conducteur de leur échanges. Berlioz ne cessera de reconnaître le rôle décisif joué par la princesse en le poussant à entreprendre l’ouvrage, et c’est elle qui partagera la dédicace avec Virgile (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2264, 2293, 2799, 2814 ; « Mémoires » : Postface) . Mais leur correspondance s’étend bien au delà : malgré leurs différences de points de vue (sur les questions religieuses, par exemple) , la princesse lui accorde le droit de s’exprimer librement avec elle, et Berlioz ne se fait pas prier. Avec des interruptions (tel le départ pour Rome) , leur correspondance durera jusqu’en 1867, et comblera en parti le fossé avec Liszt (la correspondance avec Liszt ne va pas au delà de 1864) . Liszt est ainsi au courant de la genèse et du sort des « Troyens » et s’intéresse au nouvel ouvrage, de même que pour la dernière œuvre d’envergure de Berlioz, « Béatrice et Bénédict » (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2632, 2634, 2651) .

Amis de Weimar

Au cours de ses visites à Weimar, dans les années 1850, Berlioz rencontre de nombreux membres du cercle de Liszt, et ses lettres à Liszt évoquent plusieurs fois ce groupe d’amis (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1538, 1848, 1927, 1959, 2056) . Parmi eux, seuls quelques-uns formeront des liens plus approfondis et durables avec Berlioz. Ainsi, le compositeur Joseph Joachim Raff (1822-1882) est mentionné plusieurs fois comme ami dans plusieurs lettres, de 1854 à 1856 (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1899) , mais il n’y a pas de trace d’une correspondance entre lui et Berlioz, et son nom disparaît des lettres de Berlioz après cette date. 3 noms cependant retiennent l’attention.

On a évoqué ailleurs en détail les rapports entre Berlioz et Hans von Bülow (1830-1894) : les réactions de Bülow envers Berlioz sont le reflet de celles de son Maître et beau-père Liszt - Bülow ne cessera d’admirer Berlioz et de prôner sa musique, mais le rejet de Wagner par Berlioz le blesse.

Un cas différent est celui de Peter Cornelius (1824-1874) , traducteur de « Benvenuto Cellini » pour les représentations de 1856 à Weimar, ainsi que de « l’Enfance du Christ » , « le Retour à la vie » et « La Captive » , tous également joués à Weimar (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1690, 1869, 1880) . Sa correspondance avec Berlioz commence en 1853 et se poursuit jusqu’en 1866. Personnage particulièrement sympathique, Cornelius réussit la

gageure d'être admirateur à la fois de Berlioz et de Wagner et de garder l'amitié des 2. C'est lui qui, dans un article à la louange de Berlioz publié à Berlin (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1690), lance l'expression « les 3 B », qui signifie pour lui : Bach, Beethoven et Berlioz (déformé plus tard par Hans von Bülow pour devenir Bach, Beethoven et Brahms). Il reconnaît ouvertement la dette de son Opéra « Le Barbier de Bagdad » envers « Benvenuto Cellini » (Correspondance Générale, n° 2521) et reste très lié avec Berlioz jusqu'à la fin (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2521, 2522, 2594, 2599, 2605, 2843, 3191). Berlioz est très touché quand, en décembre 1866, Cornelius insiste pour venir de Munich à Vienne, dans les plus brefs délais, pour le voir et loger au même hôtel. Berlioz tient en haute estime son travail de traducteur et exprimera dans son testament le souhait que Cornelius fasse une traduction allemande des « Troyens » - souhait qui cependant ne sera pas réalisé.

Moins prisé comme traducteur par Berlioz, mais non moins dévoué à sa cause, est le critique musical et écrivain Richard Pohl (1826-1896). On citera aussi, en même temps, sa femme Joanna (1824-1870) ; de 1854 à 1864, elle est harpiste dans l'Orchestre de Weimar (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 2509). Berlioz avoue avoir un faible pour cet instrument (par exemple, Correspondance Générale, numéros 1568 et 2297), et le jeu de Madame Pohl remporte évidemment son suffrage : il le loue à plusieurs reprises (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1811 et 1869) et s'estime toujours heureux de pouvoir faire appel à Madame Pohl pour ses concerts en dehors de Weimar, comme à Leipzig, en décembre 1853 (Correspondance Générale, n° 1654) ; Gotha, en février 1856 ; Bade, en 1858 (Correspondance Générale, n° 2289) ; et Löwenberg, en avril 1863 (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 2722).

C'est à Bade, en 1853, que Richard Pohl rencontre Berlioz pour la 1^{re} fois (il ne s'installe à Weimar que l'année suivante). La 1^{re} lettre à avoir survécu date de 1855 (Correspondance Générale, n° 2089) mais leur correspondance a commencé, en fait, plus tôt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1704) et va se poursuivre jusqu'en 1864 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2355, 2571, 2670, 2678, 2691). Pohl défend la musique de Berlioz dans ses travaux critiques, et ambitionne aussi d'être son traducteur. Dès 1855, Berlioz envisage une édition allemande de ses « Mémoires » à venir, et le nom de Pohl lui vient à l'esprit, mais avec hésitation (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1965, 1975, 1995), tandis que Pohl lui-même s'offre pour faire le travail (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2074, 2355). Pour finir, il n'y aura pas de traduction allemande des « Mémoires » par Pohl. Mais, en 1859, Berlioz suggère à Pohl de traduire « les Grottesques de la musique » (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2355, 2479) et, en 1862, Pohl offre de faire également « À Travers chants » (Correspondance Générale, n° 2663), puis une édition complète en allemand des écrits de Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2678). 4 tomes paraîtront finalement en 1864, comprenant en outre : « les Soirées de l'orchestre » et « le Traité d'instrumentation ».

C'est également à Richard Pohl que revient l'honneur d'avoir indirectement frayé le chemin pour « Béatrice et Bénédict » à Weimar : journaliste et écrivain, il est souvent en visite à Bade (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2678, en 1853 ; 2163, en 1856 ; 2297 et 2317, en 1858 ; 2355 et 2393, en 1859), et il finira par s'y installer vers la fin de 1863 (Correspondance Générale, n° 2797). Il est le seul journaliste allemand à assister aux représentations de « Béatrice et Bénédict », en août 1862 (Correspondance Générale VI : page 325, note 1 ; et numéros 2632, 2663) et, de retour à Weimar, il suggère de monter l'œuvre au théâtre dans une traduction allemande dont il serait responsable. À Weimar, les avis sont semble-t-il d'abord partagés ; Dingelstedt, le directeur du

théâtre, est peu enthousiaste, et les conditions proposées au départ à Berlioz le mettent en fureur (Correspondance Générale, n° 2670) . D'où intervention de Pohl et de la Grande-Duchesse : Dingelstedt est mis au pas et tout s'arrange rapidement (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2678, 2692) . Berlioz revient ainsi à Weimar pour la 1re fois depuis 1856, mais les circonstances ont bien changé : Liszt et la princesse ne sont plus là, et les néo-Weimariens se sont dispersés. 2 exécutions de l'Opéra, maintenant augmenté de 2 morceaux supplémentaires, ont lieu le 8 et 10 avril 1863 : grand succès, et la correspondance de Berlioz donne un récit très détaillé de l'événement (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2715) . 2 autres exécutions auront lieu après le départ de Berlioz, le 29 mai (Correspondance Générale, n° 2725) et le 13 novembre (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2771 et 2797) .

Berlioz a, sans doute, des réserves sur le travail de son traducteur (Correspondance Générale, n° 2712) mais, pendant les mois qui suivent, ses rapports avec Pohl et sa femme harpiste n'auront jamais été plus cordiaux. Les Pohl accompagnent Berlioz dans son excursion à Löwenberg, puis Berlioz insiste pour faire inviter Pohl à Strasbourg, en juin, pour l'exécution de « l'Enfance du Christ » (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2738-2739) , et Pohl assiste de nouveau aux représentations de « Béatrice et Bénédict » à Bade, en août (Correspondance Générale, n° 2757) . Mais, de manière surprenante, leur correspondance prend fin subitement l'année suivante, et une série de lettres de Berlioz à Pohl reste sans réponse (Correspondance Générale, n° 2913) . En l'occurrence, Pohl n'a pas tourné le dos à Berlioz et, 20 ans après, en 1884, il publiera un recueil bienveillant d'études et de souvenirs sur Berlioz (se reporter à la lettre de Liszt de 1883 ; on trouvera des extraits du livre de Pohl [« Hector Berlioz : Studien und Erinnerungen »] dans Michaël Rose, « Berlioz Remembered » , 2001, pages 131-132, 148, 245, 248-249, 251) .

La famille ducale

« L'accueil que me fait toujours cette charmante famille ducale est si gracieux et si cordial malgré l'étiquette ! » , s'écrie Berlioz au début de 1856 (Correspondance Générale, n° 2076) . À l'époque de sa 1re visite de 1843, le Grand-Duc et la Grande-Duchesse lui sont certes bienveillants (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 793) , mais ne semblent pas l'avoir rencontré en personne et se contentent d'envoyer leurs chambellans pour lui présenter leurs compliments ; Berlioz, néanmoins, quitte Weimar avec le sentiment que « la famille ducale sait honorer les arts » (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 826) . Mais, à partir de la visite de novembre 1852, et d'une génération ducale à la suivante, il se sentira toujours le bienvenu à la cour : tous les souverains s'intéressent à sa musique et lui prodiguent un appui constant, comme la correspondance du compositeur le démontre abondamment (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1533, 1537, 1542, en 1852 ; 1811 et 1869, en 1854 ; 1869, 1899, 1903, en 1855 ; 2076, 2104, en 1856) . La Grande-Duchesse Douairière soutient particulièrement la reprise de « Benvenuto Cellini » et, comme il se doit, l'ouvrage lui sera dédié (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1464, 2013, 2029, 2191, 2195) . Dans ses « Mémoires » , Berlioz distingue 3 souverains allemands qui se passionnent pour la musique ; le (jeune) Grand-Duc de Weimar est l'un d'eux et lui adresse une invitation ouverte à Weimar, en 1856 ; et c'est à l'influence de la (jeune) Grande-Duchesse que Berlioz attribue la décision de monter « Béatrice et Bénédict » , en avril 1863.

À l'occasion de la visite de Berlioz, en 1863, le Grand-Duc et la Grande-Duchesse le comblent à nouveau de gracieusetés, comme les écrits du compositeur en témoignent : de ce point de vue, il n'y a aucune solution de

continuité dans les traditions de Weimar, malgré le départ de Liszt et de la princesse. Le Grand-Duc va même plus loin : il s'enquiert des « Troyens », demande à Berlioz de lire le poème de l'Opéra à la cour devant un auditoire de choix, et intervient auprès de sa cousine la Duchesse de Hamilton pour essayer de pousser Napoléon III à faire monter l'ouvrage à l'Opéra dans sa totalité (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2713, 2715, 2722, 2724, 2728) . Quand, en novembre 1863, « les Troyens à Carthage » sont finalement montés au Théâtre Lyrique, il fait parvenir ses félicitations au compositeur (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2798 et 2805) . L'année suivante, Berlioz lui écrit une longue lettre d'adieu pour le remercier de son appui et l'informer du destin de l'Opéra et de sa situation personnelle (Correspondance Générale, n° 2857) .

Après 1863 le Grand-Duc continue à s'intéresser à Berlioz et reste en rapport avec lui (Correspondance Générale, n° 3217) et, de temps en temps, on joue Berlioz à Weimar. Un projet d'exécuter, au début de 1864, le duo de Cassandre et Chorèbe n'aboutit pas (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2810, 2811, 2820) , mais on exécute « Harold en Italie » , le 2 février ; « Sur les lagunes » , le 16 (Correspondance Générale VII : page 19, note I ; se reporter au n° 2840) ; et « la Symphonie fantastique » , en janvier 1867 (Correspondance Générale, n° 3217) . Bien des années plus tard, une souscription est lancée à Paris, en 1883, pour l'érection d'un monument en l'honneur de Berlioz : Liszt attire là-dessus l'attention du Grand-Duc dans une lettre où il évoque les rapports de Berlioz avec Weimar et son propre rôle dans la propagation de la musique de son ami. Liszt, le Grand-Duc et la Grande-Duchesse ajoutent leurs propres contributions à la souscription, mais quand le monument est finalement inauguré à Paris, en 1886, la presse parisienne passera semble-t-il le fait sous silence.

Chronologie

1837

19 mars : Exécution de l'Ouverture des « Francs-Juges » à Weimar.

9 mai : Lettre ouverte à la louange de Berlioz par Johann Christian Lobe dans la « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » à Leipzig.

1842

Décembre : Berlioz écrit à Johann Christian Lobe au début de son 1er voyage en Allemagne.

1843

Vers le 18 janvier : Berlioz arrive à Weimar.

25 janvier : Concert de Berlioz au théâtre.

28 janvier : Berlioz et Marie Recio quittent Weimar pour Leipzig.

28 août : Publication dans « le Journal des Débats » de la 3^e lettre du « Voyage musical en Allemagne », adressée à Liszt.

1851

août : Liszt offre à Berlioz de monter « Benvenuto Cellini » à Weimar.

1852

20, 24 et 27 mars : 3 lres exécutions de « Benvenuto Cellini » à Weimar, sous la direction de Liszt ; Berlioz est absent à Londres.

17 avril : 4^e exécution de « Benvenuto Cellini » .

Fin juin : Liszt propose à Berlioz des modifications à « Benvenuto Cellini » .

2-4 juillet : Berlioz répond aux propositions de Liszt.

12 novembre : Berlioz et Marie Recio quittent Paris pour Weimar par le train du soir (Correspondance Générale, n° 1529) .

14 novembre : Arrivée à Weimar, le matin (Correspondance Générale, n° 1529) .

17 novembre : Exécution de « Benvenuto Cellini » sous la direction de Liszt.

20 novembre : Concert au théâtre dirigé par Berlioz.

21 novembre : Berlioz dîne à la cour à l'invitation de la Grande-Duchesse Maria Pavlovna ; le soir, exécution de « Cellini » .

22 novembre : Banquet et bal en l'honneur de Berlioz, qui est décoré par le Grand-Duc ; soirée de gala à l'Hôtel-de-ville.

23 novembre : Exécution de « Cellini » ; réception à l'Altenburg.

24 novembre : Berlioz et Marie Recio quittent Weimar.

25 novembre : Arrivée à Paris ; exécution de « Cellini » .

30 novembre : Exécution de « Cellini » .

1853

25 juin : Unique représentation de « Benvenuto Cellini » à « Covent Garden » .

8 juillet : Mort du Grand-Duc Charles Frédéric.

1854

4 mars : Mort de Harriet Smithson.

Avril : Un arrêt prévu à Weimar ne se réalise pas.

3 mai : Berlioz et Marie Recio quittent Dresde pour Weimar.

3-6 mai : Arrêt à Weimar.

7 mai : Arrivée à Paris.

Novembre : Berlioz est invité par le Grand-Duc Charles Alexandre à revenir à Weimar.

1855

8 février : Berlioz et Marie Recio partent pour Weimar.

9 février : Arrêt à Bruxelles.

11 février : Arrivée à Weimar.

2e moitié de février : Portrait de Berlioz à Weimar par Richard Lauchert.

17 février : 1er concert de Berlioz, à la cour de Weimar ; réception à la cour par les Grandes-Duchesses.

18 février : Réception à l'Altenburg pour l'anniversaire de la Princesse Marie von Sayn-Wittgenstein ; Berlioz improvise la « Valse chantée par le vent » sur l'album de la princesse.

20 février : Berlioz est élu membre honoraire du « Neue Weimar Verein » .

21 février : 2e concert de Berlioz, au théâtre.

26 février : Réception en honneur de Berlioz au « Musée de Gœthe » .

27 février : Départ pour Gotha.

2 mars : Retour à Paris.

27 mars et 3 juin : Publication d'un article de Cornelius sur « Hector Berlioz à Weimar » dans la « Revue et Gazette musicale » .

1856

6 février : Concert à Gotha, en présence de Liszt.

7 février : Liszt accompagne Berlioz et Marie Recio dans leur voyage à Weimar.

8 février : Arrivée à Weimar.

11 février : Berlioz est invité à rendre visite à la Grande-Duchesse (Correspondance Générale, n° 2097) .

16 février : Liszt dirige une version révisée de « Cellini » .

17 février : 1er concert dirigé par Berlioz, au palais ducal.

Vers le 18 février : Liszt dirige une exécution de « Lohengrin » ; Berlioz et Marie Recio sortent pendant le 2e acte.

24 février : 2e exécution de « Lohengrin » sous la direction de Liszt, en présence de Berlioz et Marie Recio.

1er mars : 2e concert dirigé par Berlioz, au théâtre.

2 mars : Départ de Weimar.

3 mars : Arrivée à Paris.

16 mars : 2e (et dernière) exécution de « Benvenuto Cellini » .

Début décembre : Publication de la partition chant et piano de « Benvenuto Cellini » par Litolff, à Brunswick.

1858

Août-septembre : Berlioz ne peut faire le voyage de Weimar après son concert à Bade.

1859

23 juin : Mort de la Grande-Duchesse Maria Pavlovna, dédicataire de « Benvenuto Cellini » .

1862

8 août : Richard Pohl assiste à la 1^{re} représentation de « Béatrice et Bénédict » à Bade.

1863

Janvier : Berlioz accepte de faire monter « Béatrice et Bénédict » à Weimar.

30 mars : Départ pour Weimar.

6 avril : Berlioz assiste à une représentation de « Tannhäuser » de Wagner.

8 avril : 1^{re} représentation de « Béatrice et Bénédict » au théâtre, dirigée par Berlioz ; banquet après la représentation.

10 avril : 2^e représentation de « Béatrice et Bénédict » dirigée par Berlioz, qui dîne après avec le Grand-Duc.

12 avril : Berlioz lit le poème des « Troyens » au Grand-Duc.

14 avril : Berlioz part pour Löwenberg.

29 mai : 3^e représentation de « Béatrice et Bénédict » .

13 novembre : 4^e représentation de « Béatrice et Bénédict » .

Novembre : Le Grand-Duc félicite Berlioz sur les représentations des « Troyens à Carthage » , à Paris.

1864

Janvier : Un projet d'exécution du duo entre Cassandre et Chorèbe à Weimar n'aboutit pas.

2 février : Exécution d' « Harold en Italie » au théâtre de Weimar.

16 février : Madame Milde chante à Weimar la version avec orchestre de « Sur les lagunes » .

12 mai : Dernière lettre connue de Berlioz au Grand-Duc.

1867

Janvier : Exécution de « la Symphonie fantastique » au théâtre de Weimar.

1883

Mars : Le Grand-Duc, la Grande-Duchesse de Weimar et Liszt souscrivent au monument pour Berlioz à Paris.

Choix de lettres de Berlioz et autres correspondants

1842

À Johann Christian Lobe à Weimar (Correspondance Générale, n° 792 - tome VIII : 24 décembre, de Stuttgart) :

« Peut-on avoir à Weimar une bande respectable d'instruments à cordes ? Car il me faut des violons et des basses et des altos comme s'il en pleuvait ; je ne marche pas sans eux, ils sont ma force et ma vie ; quand on me les ôte, je demeure comme Samson après que sa femelle Dalilah lui eût coupé les cheveux. Que peut rapporter de métal un concert heureux à Weimar ? Combien peut-on avoir de répétitions ? Dites-moi tout cela en allemand, on me traduira votre lettre en langue humaine. Quelle honte pour moi de ne pas savoir un mot de Germain !

Mais soyez tranquille, nous nous comprendrons bien. Mon ancien ami Chélarde me donnera bien, j'espère, sa main pour m'aider à franchir les obstacles que naturellement je trouverai chez vous ... n'est-ce pas ?

Je tiens surtout à vous faire entendre mes Symphonies que vous ne connaissez pas ; c'est-à-dire les Symphonies sans chœurs, car pour " Roméo et Juliette " et " la Symphonie funèbre ", je n'y songe pas, c'est un attirail infernal ; il faut des chanteurs ... des chanteurs et des chanteuses, n'est-ce pas pis que 500 diables ?

Oh, que je serai ravi de vous serrer la main et de connaître quelques-uns de vos ouvrages qui me sont encore tout à fait étrangers ! Vous ne pouvez imaginer quelle joie, quel rajeunissement je ressentirai de trouver une âme d'artiste, non blasée, forte, ardente et hardie comme on me dit qu'est la vôtre.

Je me suis persuadé qu'il n'y avait rien de pareil en vous et je me fais une véritable fête de notre rencontre.

Tenez-moi pour un de vos plus anciens et solides amis. »

Johann Christian Lobe à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 793 ; 29 décembre, de Weimar) :

« Vous comprenez comme je suis ravi de votre lettre, qui m'apporte l'espoir de l'accomplissement d'un de mes désirs les plus ardentes, de celui, de voir vous et de serrer ta main comme ami et frère artiste ! Oui, Monsieur Berlioz, qui a dit à vous que j'eusse une âme artiste, il n'a pas dit un mensonge, vous le trouverez si nous nous rencontrons dans cette vie. J'étais votre ami depuis le moment, que j'ai ouï l'Ouverture des " Francs-Juges ", et je le serais jusqu'à la fin de ma vie.

Outre cela, vous avez bien écrit quelques mots à Monsieur Chélarde ? Entre nous, il n'a pas beaucoup d'influence sur les affaires musicales chez nous, mais si peu d'hommes peuvent être utiles à leur prochain, tous les hommes peuvent être nuisibles à leur prochain.

Madame la Grande-Duchesse aime la musique, elle a ouï votre Ouverture aux " Francs-Juges ", elle a lu ma lettre à vous dans la " Gazette musicale ", et elle possède elle-même la partition de votre Ouverture, par notre directeur de Musique, Goëtz. Si vous pouviez recevoir une lettre de la Cour de Stuttgart à la nôtre, il serait bon.

J'aurais pu trouver beaucoup de personnes à Weimar qui m'auront traduit une lettre d'allemand en français, ou corrigé cette lettre-là. Mais, j'ai mes raisons que personne n'en sait un mot avant votre concert : Si, par exemple, Monsieur Chélarde savait, que vous m'aviez écrit, et pas d'abord à lui, il se trouvera peut-être blessé, son amitié pour vous pourrait aller au diable, et c'est au moins à ce spectre que vous croyez un peu.

Oui, Monsieur, il y a un diable, et surtout dans le monde musicale ! Il se nomme, envie ! Vous le connaissez bien, n'est-ce pas ? Vous le trouverez aussi en Allemagne. Gardez-vous !

J'étais, je suis, et je serai toujours un de vos plus solides amis. »

(Note : Le texte de Lobe n'a pas été corrigé.)

1843

À Karol Lipinski, à Dresde (Correspondance Générale, n° 807 ; 27 janvier, de Weimar) :

« Le concert que j'ai donné ici a été très brillant et très heureux, les habitants de Weimar ont accueilli ma musique, comme l'auteur, avec une rare bienveillance. »

À Jean-Baptiste Chélarde (Correspondance Générale, n° 826 ; 3 avril, de Berlin) :

« Monsieur Parish Alvars qui vous remettra cette lettre se fera certainement entendre à Weimar; je vous donne ma parole d'honneur que c'est le Harpiste le plus prodigieux qui ait jamais existé; c'est un phénomène. Sans aucun doute le Grand-Duc et la Grande-Duchesse auront le plus vif plaisir à l'entendre. Je n'ai donc pas besoin de vous prier de faire pour lui ce que vous avez si gracieusement fait pour moi; les choses s'arrangeront d'elles-mêmes. »

Jean-Baptiste Chélaré à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 864 ; 15 novembre, de Weimar) :

« Lors de votre court séjour ici, vous me faites le reproche d'avoir négligé mes anciens amis de Paris au nombre desquels vous vous êtes compté si cordialement, et vous me faites entrevoir l'agréable perspective d'une correspondance avec vous. Le reproche de négligence, je viens le décliner et en rejeter toutes les fausses apparences par la complication des chances que le parti que j'avais pris m'avait faites ; et, quant à la correspondance, vous avez pris, dans vos lettres du feuilleton des " Débats sur Weimar et Leipzig ", l'initiative avec tant de vraie bienveillance à mon égard, tant de mesure et de délicatesse, que ce serait bien mal à moi de ne pas y apporter au moins le tribut de ma gratitude. Me voici donc et je me reproche presque de n'être pas venu plus tôt. Vous dire quel bien m'a fait la vue de mon pauvre nom dans une feuille française, et ce nom presque toujours oublié ou persiflé par la presse parisienne, de le voir dans un de ses principaux organes si simplement mais si dignement réintégré, vous dire, donc, l'émotion que j'ai ressentie, ce serait aussi puéril qu'inutile. Merci, merci, cher Berlioz : ces nobles mouvements d'un bon cœur valent bien la bonne musique et la bonne critique, sans leur faire tort. Vos articles font sensation. J'attends Liszt bien impatiemment pour causer de tout cela avec lui et, malheureusement, il ne se presse guère. Que tout cela reste entre nous. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 796, 798bis et ter (tome VIII) , 799, 801, 803-804, 806, 806bis (tome VIII) , 810, 815-817, 831, 848.

1851

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1426 ; 6 août, Paris) :

« J'arrive de Londres. Belloni [l'agent de Liszt] m'apprend que tu as le projet de monter " Benvenuto " à Weimar. Je te remercie mille fois d'y avoir songé. Ce sera pour moi un grand plaisir de voir ce pauvre ouvrage renaître, ou plutôt naître sous ta direction. Je viens de mettre la partition entre les mains de mon copiste qui la répare et y fait quelques changements que je crois nécessaires. Tout sera prêt dans quelques jours et Belloni t'enverra le paquet. N'oublie pas de m'informer de son arrivée, car je n'ai pas d'autre copie de cet ouvrage. Puis, quand le copiste de Weimar n'en aura plus besoin, retire-le de la circulation du théâtre ; je sais ce que les manuscrits deviennent dans ces bagarres.

Je t'enverrai en même temps un livret imprimé conforme à la partition, et indispensable au traducteur. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1430 ; 29 août, de Paris) :

« Je crains qu'il ne te manque à Weimar quelques instruments à vent. Il faudrait donc que tu eusses la complaisance d'arranger certains passages.

Ainsi, j'ai employé 4 Bassons ; quand ils forment des accords à découvert, remplace le 1er et le second par 2 clarinettes si elles n'ont rien d'important à faire au même instant.

J'ai mis aussi une clarinette Basse dans le Septuor et dans l'Ouverture. Si l'on ne peut en avoir une, il vaut mieux presque partout faire jouer sa partie par une clarinette ordinaire in B.

Avez-vous deux Harpes ? 2 cornets à Pistons ? Ceux-ci peuvent être remplacés par 2 Ventil-Trompettes, en la bas et en si bémol bas. Quant aux 3 Timbales, on en supprimera une et il est aisé de trouver une 2e timbalier tel quel pour les endroits où il y a 2 roulements simultanés sur les 2 caisses.

Je ne te dis rien des chanteurs, je ne connais pas le personnel de Weimar ni la manière dont le chœur est maintenant composé. Seulement, il est plus que probable que tu auras à faire des actes de volonté pour obtenir l'exécution réelle de beaucoup de morceaux dont les difficultés rythmiques doivent être enlevées avec verve et non abordées avec hésitation et en tâtonnant. C'est presque une éducation à faire.

Maintenant, quelque enfantine que ma joie puisse te paraître, je ne la dissimulerai pas avec toi. Oui, je suis très heureux de voir cet ouvrage présenté à un public sans préventions et présenté par toi. Je viens de l'examiner sérieusement après 13 ans d'oubli, et je jure que je ne retrouverai jamais cette verve et cette impétuosité Cellinienne, ni une telle variété d'idées. Mais l'exécution n'en est que plus difficile, les gens de théâtre, les chanteurs surtout, sont si déshérités de l'humour ! Au reste, je compte sur toi et sur ta flamme pour Pygmalioniser toutes ces statues. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, n° 1428bis.

1852

À Auguste Morel (Correspondance Générale, n° 1449 ; 10 février, de Paris) :

« Je suis, au fond, assez vexé de ne pas aller entendre “ Benvenuto ”. Liszt me dit que cela va à merveille, voilà 4 mois qu'on y travaille. J'avais bien nettoyé, reficelé, restauré la partition avant de l'envoyer. Je ne l'avais pas regardée depuis 13 ans ; c'est diablement vivace, je ne trouverai jamais une telle averse de jeunes idées. Quels ravages ces porcs de l'Opéra m'avaient fait faire là-dedans ! J'ai tout remis en ordre. »

Liszt à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 1459 ; 21 mars, de Weimar) :

« Honneur aux ciseleurs ! Gloire aux belles choses et place pour elles ! “ Benvenuto Cellini ”, représenté hier, restera debout et de toute sa hauteur. C'est sans “ puff ” qu'on peut informer de son succès Londres et Paris. Je remercie bien sincèrement Berlioz du noble plaisir que m'a procuré l'étude attentive de son “ Cellini ”, qui est une des œuvres les plus puissantes que je sache. C'est, à la fois, de la ciselure splendide et de la statuaire vivante et originale. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1462 ; 29 mars, de Londres) :

« Mon bon, cher, admirable ami,

Je suis bien moins joyeux, crois-moi, de ce que tu m'annonces, et de l'heureux résultat de tes efforts, que de tes efforts mêmes et de la nouvelle preuve qu'ils me donnent de ton amitié pour moi. Je t'embrasse donc de tout mon cœur, en te disant : Merci ! sans phrases.

P.S. : Ne manque pas d'adresser de ma part aux artistes du théâtre de Weimar des paroles de reconnaissance pour le zèle et le talent qu'ils ont mis à te seconder, en y ajoutant des excuses sur les difficultés que présente ma partition et qui ont dû si souvent mettre leur patience à l'épreuve. Dis-leur qu'en exécutant comme ils l'ont fait cette musique capricieuse et emportée, ils ont donné la plus grande preuve de valeur musicale qu'il soit possible de demander à des artistes aujourd'hui, et que je les crois capables de tout. »

À la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 1463 ; 29 mars, de Londres) :

« La conduite de Liszt, dans cette occasion, conduite si originalement belle, fait l'admiration de tous les esprits élevés et de tous les cœurs artistes, amis ou ennemis. Les méchants imbéciles en cherchent le motif qu'ils ne comprendront jamais. »

À la Grande-Duchesse de Weimar (Correspondance Générale, n° 1464 ; 29 mars, de Londres) :

« Permettez-moi de mettre aux pieds de votre Altesse l'expression de ma reconnaissance pour la bonté avec laquelle vous avez daigné accueillir le projet de faire représenter mon Opéra à Weimar. Le constant appui, la haute protection que vous avez ensuite accordé à l'éminent artiste qui en dirigeait les études, ont pu seuls amener à un résultat favorable une entreprise difficile, et qui devait d'ailleurs attirer sur elle une sorte de blâme. Ce témoignage d'estime donné par votre Altesse à une œuvre vaincue dès sa Ire bataille et qu'on avait laissée parmi les morts, cette confiance en sa force vitale, ne pouvaient manquer de la ranimer, si une étincelle de vie lui restait encore. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1471 ; 12 avril, de Londres) :

« Les détails que tu me donnes m'ont beaucoup intéressé, je dirai même étonné. Comment as-tu fait pour avoir tout le bataillon instrumental contenu dans ma partition ? Tu as donc le pouvoir de Moïse, et ton bâton, en frappant les murailles du théâtre, peut donc faire sortir des flots d'instrumentistes, comme sa baguette tirait de l'eau des rochers. »

À Dieudonné Denne-Baron (Correspondance Générale, n° 1489 ; 26 mai, de Londres) :

« Veuillez aussi mentionner [dans un article biographique sur Berlioz] , la belle conduite de Liszt qui vient de monter à Weimar avec un grand succès mon Opéra de " Benvenuto " tombé avec éclat à Paris, en 1838. Liszt a proposé cette mise en scène de mon ouvrage et l'a dirigée malgré toutes les oppositions que les souvenirs de la chute devaient naturellement faire naître. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1499 ; 2 juillet, de Paris) :

« Je te dirai au sujet de tes observations sur “ Benvenuto ” qu’elles sont parfaitement justes, et que tout la partie que tu proposes de supprimer, m’a toujours paru glaciale et insupportable. Mais personne ne m’avait encore mis sur la voie du moyen tout simple qui en permet la suppression ; c’est toi qui l’as trouvé. Il ne s’agit en effet que de ne pas faire sortir le Cardinal après la scène de la statue et de courir au dénouement. Seulement, j’ai trouvé le moyen de conserver et le chœur des ouvriers (“ Bienheureux les matelots ”) qui commencerait le dernier acte en donnant les soli à Francesco et à Bernardino, l’air d’Ascanio (avec un changement de paroles) et l’air de Cellini “ sur les monts ”. Ces 3 morceaux malgré le peu d’élévation du style du second doivent je crois être conservés.

Il résulte de ton idée et de la mienne que l’Opéra sera maintenant en 3 actes, que la décoration du 3e acte étant celle du dernier tableau celle du 3e tableau sera supprimée. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1501 ; 3 ou 4 juillet, de Paris) :

« L’Opéra ainsi réduit, surtout si l’on ne conserve pas la Stretta à 6/8 du sextuor, ne doit pas dépasser la durée d’un spectacle ordinaire d’Allemagne. D’autant plus sûrement qu’il n’y aura plus maintenant que 2 changements de décors à faire. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1520 ; 10 octobre, de Paris) :

« La “ Gazette musicale ” a annoncé l’autre jour que j’allais en Allemagne pour diriger en personne une représentation de “ Benvenuto ”; je ne suis pour rien, comme tu le penses, dans cette nouvelle inexacte que Brandus aura trouvée dans quelque feuille allemande mal informée.

“ Benvenuto ” est entre bonnes mains, et je suis même extrêmement curieux de voir jusqu’où va la synonymie de nos 2 manières de sentir les mouvements dans une œuvre de cette espèce. »

À Auguste Barbier (Correspondance Générale, n° 1532 ; 19 novembre, de Weimar) :

« Je profite d’un quart d’heure de liberté que me laissent nos répétitions pour vous dire que la 1re représentation de “ Benvenuto ” a eu lieu avant-hier avec un succès pyramidal, sous la direction de Liszt. On m’a forcé de comparoir après le dernier acte et acclamé d’une façon fort confortable.

Vraiment, parole d’honneur, tel qu’il est maintenant, “ Benvenuto ” est un gentil garçon. Le grand final du “ Carnaval ”, “ le Serment des Ciseleurs ”, les airs d’Ascanio et de Teresa, et la prière à 2 voix avec les litanies, et surtout la scène du Cardinal ont produit un effet assez rare. Nous avons 2 femmes de talent, un très bon Fieramosca et un Cellini convenable pour les scènes énergiques. Néanmoins, il dit assez bien la Romance ; quant à l’air “ Sur les monts ”, il n’a jamais osé le chanter. La mise en scène est excellente, “ la Pantomime d’Arlequin et Pierrot ” très bien exécutée. En somme, c’est charmant.

Vous dire ce que j'ai éprouvé de triste joie, en établissant une comparaison entre cette exécution bienveillante et la sale cabale que nous avons subie à l'Opéra, me serait difficile. J'en avais le cœur serré. Je vous quitte pour aller à la dernière répétition du concert que je donne demain, et dans lequel figurent " Roméo et Juliette " en entier et les 2 lers actes de " Faust ". J'ai 100 choristes et un bon orchestre. Tous les hôtels de Weimar sont pleins d'amateurs de musique venus de Hanovre, de Brunswick, d'Iéna, d'Eisenach, et de Leipzig pour assister à ce concert et à la 2e représentation de " Cellini " qui aura lieu après-demain Dimanche. »

À Joseph-Esprit Duchesne (Correspondance Générale, n° 1533 ; 21 novembre, de Weimar) :

« Grandissime succès ! Après " Benvenuto ", j'ai été rappelé par toute la salle et prié par l'Intendant de paraître pour que le public consentît à sortir. Après le concert d'hier que je dirigeais, la frénésie a été bien autre encore. La Grande Duchesse m'a fait appeler dans sa loge et l'Intendant m'a remis de sa part, aussitôt après la décoration du " Faucon blanc ". J'ai dîné à la Cour avant hier et les princesses m'ont comblé de gracieusetés. Le vieux Duc est dans une jubilation curieuse. Ce soir, seconde représentation de " Benvenuto " sous la direction de Liszt qui a été, dans cette circonstance, d'une admirable chaleur d'âme. Demain, Grand dîner qui m'est offert par tous les artistes du théâtre, chœurs, orchestre, chanteurs, comédiens, réunis à une foule d'amateurs et d'artistes, de Weimar, d'Iéna, de Brunswick, de Hanovre et de Leipzig et d'Eisenach, accourus pour ces 3 fêtes musicales.

Nous avons donné hier soir, sous ma direction au concert, " Roméo et Juliette " en entier et les 2 lers actes de " Faust ". J'avais un grand chœur, tous les amateurs hommes et dames de la ville s'étant réunis, pour la 1re fois, aux artistes à cette occasion. Le serment final a été splendide, il y a eu bis, rappels, couronnes, tout le tremblement.

Pourrez-vous faire un peu parler les journaux de votre connaissance ? Si vous le pouvez, n'y manquez pas. »

À sa sœur Adèle (Correspondance Générale, n° 1537 ; 27 ou 29 novembre, de Paris) :

« J'arrive de Weimar ; je ne puis que t'embrasser et de te prier de lire le paragraphe du " Journal des Débats ", ce matin. Monsieur Bertin a fait faire cela par un de nos confrères d'après une lettre que je lui avais écrite ; tu y verras ce qui cause ma joie.

Il me faudrait des longues pages pour te donner tous les détails de ces fêtes de Weimar, et te répéter les charmantes choses que m'ont adressées le Grand Duc, la Grande Duchesse, et surtout les princesses de Prusse. Pourtant, j'ai éprouvé un bien violent serrement de cœur le 1er jour, en remarquant le contraste que cet enthousiasme du public et des artistes faisait avec les sales et odieuses cabales dont cet Opéra fut l'objet, il y a 13 ans, à Paris. Je l'avais presque oublié ; je l'ai entendu du fond d'une loge avec le sang-froid d'un simple auditeur et, à part quelques petites modifications de détail que j'y ai faites, j'ai trouvé la partition jeune et fraîche ; certainement, je ne ferai jamais rien en ce genre de plus vif et de plus coloré. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1538 ; 30 novembre, de Paris) :

« J'ai trouvé, en revenant, une assez bonne modification à apporter au dénouement de " Cellini ", je la ferai dès que la partition me sera revenue. J'ai profité aussi de ton observation pour le petit mesquin allo fugué en mi majeur, qui interrompt le Sextuor ; cela est du plus petit style d'Opéra-Comique, et je le supprime. Ce sont les paroles qui m'avaient amené à l'écrire ; on peut parfaitement les faire disparaître, elles ne tiennent en rien à l'action.

Je vais limer cette scène dont plusieurs détails ne me satisfont pas.

Bonjour à Joachim, à Cosman, à Monsieur Bülow, à Monsieur Mar, à tous nos excellents amis. »

À Auguste Morel (Correspondance Générale, n° 1542 ; 19 décembre, de Paris) :

« J'aurais de longues pages à barbouiller pour vous donner tous les détails des affaires de Weimar et de Londres et de Paris. Je vous dirai seulement que cette petite excursion en Allemagne a été la plus charmante que j'aie jamais faite dans ce pays-là. Ils m'ont comblé, gâté, embrassé, grisé (dans le sens moral) . Tout cet orchestre, tous ces chanteurs, acteurs, comédiens, tragédiens, directeurs, Intendant, réunis au dîner de l'Hôtel-de-ville la nuit de mon départ, représentaient un ordre d'idées et de sentiments qu'on ne soupçonne pas en France. J'ai fini par pleurer comme 2 douzaines de veaux, en songeant à ce que ce même " Benvenuto " m'a valu de chagrins à Paris. Cet excellent Liszt a été adorable de bonté, d'abnégation, de zèle, de dévouement. La famille ducale m'a comblé de toutes façons. Les jeunes princesses de Prusse ont été d'une grâce ravissante, elles ont eu des mots, surtout sur " Roméo et Juliette " que nous avons exécuté en entier avec un chœur superbe de 120 voix. Puis, le bouillant Griepenkerl, qui était venu de Brunswick et qui a oublié le peu de français qu'ils savait, m'a dit, après la Ire représentation de " Benvenuto ", en m'embrassant avec fureur : " E pur si muove ", mon cher ! " E pur si muove " !!!

J'ai retouché quelques petites choses dans la partition et arrangé le livret de manière à ce qu'il marche bien maintenant. On s'occupe de le traduire en Italien pour Londres.

Mille amitiés à Lecourt. Oh, comme il aurait ri, bu et blagué à Weimar s'il y fut venu ! Nous avons du monde de tous les environs, de Leipzig, de Iéna, de Brunswick, de Hanovre, d'Erfurth, d'Eisenach, de Dresde même, et jusqu'à Chorley qui était venu de Londres. Celui-la aime " Benvenuto " et ne comprend rien à " Roméo " !! Qu'y faire ? »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1444-1445, 1448, 1451, 1453-1454, 1456, 1465, 1471, 1496, 1505, 1510-1511, 1514, 1524, 1525, 1528-1529, 1535, 1543, 1546, 1548-1549.

1853

À Carl Friedrich, Grand-Duc de Saxe-Weimar (Correspondance Générale, n° 1552bis - tome VIII ; 2 janvier, de Paris) :

« Permettez-moi de vous présenter un volume que je viens de publier [" Les Soirées de l'orchestre "], dans lequel des questions importantes pour la musique sont traitées sous différentes formes. Le vif intérêt que prend votre altesse à tout ce qui se rattache aux arts, me fait espérer qu'elle voudra bien parcourir ce livre.

C'est un bien faible témoignage de ma reconnaissance pour les bontés dont vous, Monseigneur, et Madame la grande Duchesse, m'avez comblé. »

À Karl Franz Brendel (Correspondance Générale, n° 1561 ; 5 février, de Paris) :

« Vous avez écrit des pages pleines de bienveillance au sujet de mon dernier voyage à Weimar et des ouvrages que j'y ai fait entendre. L'opinion d'un critique éclairé et consciencieux tel que vous ne peut qu'exercer une puissante influence pour le redressement d'idées au moins fort étranges que certaines gens se font de moi et de mes ouvrages. Les occasions telles que celles de Weimar, et les grands artistes tels que Liszt, me manquent pour combattre moi-même ces idées dans les parties de l'Allemagne où elles dominent. »

À Charles Gruneisen (Correspondance Générale, n° 1563 ; 8 février, de Paris) :

« Ma grande ambition, mon vif désir serait maintenant de pouvoir faire représenter " Benvenuto Cellini " à l'un des théâtres Italiens de Londres, cette saison. Je crois au succès. Il y a un feu du diable dans cette partition ; et, dans l'état où je viens de la mettre, il me semble qu'elle est digne d'être soumise à un public attentif et impartial.

Le voyage de Weimar a été une fête pour moi, et une fête indescriptible, tant la chaleur d'âme de tous les artistes et de Liszt et la grâce de la famille Ducale m'ont ému et charmé. Il nous était venu beaucoup de monde des villes voisines et j'ai bien souvent regretté qu'il ne vous ait pas été possible de venir aussi. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1568 ; 23 février, de Paris) :

« Le voyage de Weimar a eu, pour moi, un résultat d'autant plus heureux qu'il a renoué et rendu plus fréquentes nos relations épistolaires. C'est une véritable joie quand, en rentrant de mes boueuses ou coûteuses excursions dans Paris, je trouve sur ma table une enveloppe sillonnée par les éclairs de ta plume ; tes zigzags me consolent des lettres carrées et trop lisibles auxquelles, pour mon malheur, je suis obligé de répondre si souvent.

Je vois, cher ami, que tu gardes à mon sujet des illusions qui te sont agréables. Lors même que " Benvenuto " serait représenté avec le plus inespéré succès à Londres, il ne le serait pas pour cela à Paris. Et le fût-il même avec succès à Paris, pas un éditeur ne se risquerait à en publier la grande partition. Ta demande du manuscrit me touche beaucoup et je comprends le prix que tu y attaches. Cet ouvrage t'est cher comme le deviennent les convalescents au médecin qui les a sauvés d'une maladie mortelle. Je serai donc bien heureux de te le conserver. En tout cas, si " Faust " est publié le 1er, ce manuscrit-là aussi te revient de droit. »

À Frederick Gye (Correspondance Générale, n° 1581 ; 6 avril, de Paris) :

« Il faut pour que cette partition produise tout son effet la monter avec verve, sans peur et sans hésitations, et arriver ainsi à une exécution brillante des mêmes qualités, à une exécution, pour ainsi dire insolente de brio.

Alors je crois que le public nous suivra. »

À la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 1589 ; 23 avril, de Paris) :

« Le directeur de “ Covent Garden ” n’est qu’un plagiaire dans cette circonstance ; c’est Liszt qui a été comme toujours un fameux original. L’idée de ressusciter “ Benvenuto ” ne pouvait, certes, venir qu’à lui. »

À Gemmy Brandus (Correspondance Générale, n° 1609 ; 27 juin, de Londres) :

« P.S. : ENTRE NOUS, je suis sûr qu’un avenir sérieux est réservé à cette partition (en Allemagne et, plus tard, en France) , je suis presque fâché de l’avoir faite, à cause de l’impossibilité où je me trouve de l’analyser. Je ferais là-dessus un curieux article. Quelle que soit sa fortune présente et les mauvaises chances que lui fait courir le livret, à mon avis, c’est une musique nouvelle et d’une vitalité indomptable. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1617 ; 10 juillet, de Paris) :

« L’ouvrage a gagné beaucoup à cette épreuve [sa chute à “ Covent Garden ”] , plusieurs détails de la partition ont été améliorés, de petites coupures heureusement pratiquées, et des effets de mise en scène ajoutés. Je serai obligé de te renvoyer les 2 derniers actes pour que ton lent copiste puisse mettre en ordre tous ces changements.

Ainsi, il faut ajouter maintenant sur le titre de la partition : tombée pour la seconde fois le 25 juin, etc. Un des journaux anglais, en parlant des dernières représentations de “ Benvenuto ” à Weimar, dit qu’elles ont eu lieu sous la direction de l’intrépide Liszt. Eh bien, que cette nouvelle défaite de ton protégé n’ôte rien à ton intrépidité ; je t’assure que le “ Cellini ” est plus digne que jamais de ta protection et, tôt ou tard, je l’espère, il fera honneur à son patron. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1552-1554, 1556, 1562, 1567, 1572, 1574, 1603, 1619, 1620, 1637, 1657, 1662, 1664, 1669.

1854

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1690 ; 15 janvier, de Paris) :

« Je ne puis te dire combien ta sollicitude pour mon malheureux Opéra me touche et me pénètre d’admiration. Tu es un homme à part. Je le sais depuis longtemps, mais ces monstruosité là sont si rares, qu’il est presque permis de s’en étonner. Oui, certes, je te donne carte blanche pour aviser au destin de “ Cellini ” et j’abonde dans ton sens pour accorder la préférence à Dresde. Je suis aussi de ton avis qu’il faut commencer par le publier en Allemagne, si l’on peut.

Et il ne saurait y avoir d'obstacles de la part de Brandus. Les morceaux détachés de cette partition qui lui appartiennent, n'ayant pas été publiés en Allemagne depuis qu'il les a mis en vente en France, sont, en conséquence, tombés dans le domaine public à l'étranger et je n'ai jamais fait avec lui ni avec son prédécesseur Schlesinger de traité quelconque pour l'ensemble de la grande ni de la petite partition. On a publié ainsi sans difficultés " la Cavatine de Teresa ", à Vienne. Ces morceaux sont à tout le monde, le reste n'est qu'à moi.

Remercie mille et mille fois Monsieur Cornelius de vouloir bien se charger avec toi de la révision du texte allemand et de sa traduction de " La Fuite " et de son charmant et spirituel article de la " Gazette musicale " de Berlin. Il me comble ; tu communique tes mauvaises qualités à tout ce qui t'entoure. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1725 ; 4 avril, de Brunswick) :

« Veux-tu avoir la bonté de prévenir le maître d'hôtel du Prince héréditaire qu'on lui enverra à mon adresse une petite boîte, et qu'il la reçoive. Ce sont mes croix que j'avais oubliées à Paris. Il ne me serait guère convenable de me présenter au Grand Duc sans porter l'Ordre que m'a donné son père. »

À sa sœur Adèle (Correspondance Générale, n° 1756 ; 10 mai, de Paris) :

« Je t'ai écrit vers le 29 ou le 30 en te donnant des détails sur mes bonheurs de Dresde et t'annonçant que j'allais à Weimar faire une visite à Liszt et au jeune grand Duc.

Les artistes de Dresde sont venus en corps me conduire au chemin de fer, et ceux de Weimar qui savaient que j'arrivais sont venus m'y attendre et m'y reconduire à 1 heure du matin. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1811 ; 14 novembre, de Paris) :

« Je serai enchanté d'aller à Weimar avant la fin de l'hiver, en revenant de Gotha, où le Duc m'a fait invité à venir, par Griepenkerl.

Je te félicite d'avoir obtenu l'engagement de Madame Pohl ; voilà au moins l'Orchestre de Weimar au grand complet. Je te prie de me rappeler au souvenir de l'aimable Harpiste et à celui de son mari ; je serai bien joyeux de les retrouver l'un et l'autre. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1696, 1704, 1706, 1711, 1717, 1726, 1738, 1739, 1746, 1748, 1751bis (tome VIII) , 1753, 1756bis (tome VIII) , 1762, 1764, 1773, 1776-1777, 1785-1787, 1796, 1799, 1812, 1847, 1848.

1855

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1869 ; 1er janvier, de Paris) :

« J'accepte avec grand plaisir l'invitation que tu me transmets de la part de Monsieur le Grand Duc, remercie son altesse de ma part.

J'ai bien une proposition pour 3 concerts à Bruxelles en février, mais je ne suis pas fou des Belges et j'aime beaucoup mieux (comme dit la chanson) moins d'argent et passer de bonnes heures avec toi et nos amis de Weimar.

Maintenant, pour le programme du concert de la cour mon avis est d'y donner " l'Enfance du Christ ". Il n'y a point là d'effets très violents, les trompettes et cornets n'y sont point employés, il n'y a même que 2 cors. D'ailleurs, le sujet plaira aux âmes religieuses du Grand Duc et des Grandes Duchesses. Nous trouverons bien au théâtre une Vierge Marie telle quelle, quand le diable y serait. Madame Pohl étant à Weimar (ce dont je remercie le bon Dieu bien souvent) , notre trio d'Ismaélites ira à merveille, en faisant travailler un peu les 2 flûtes avec la Harpe.

Veux-tu faire un coup de tête ? Après un concert pie, veux-tu faire un concert impie (*) ? Nous donnerons alors au théâtre " la Fantastique " suivie du " Mélologue ", " le Retour à la vie " (beaucoup modifié) . Génast réciterait le rôle de l'artiste ; les chœurs sont faciles à apprendre et je crois que Monsieur Cornelius, en 8 jours et même moins, pourrait traduire le texte parlé et chanté. Ce serait assez curieux, et sans dangers à Weimar où l'on ne blague pas trop. Il faudrait jouer le " Mélologue " avec costume et mise en scène ; mais, c'est aisé !

(*) C'est une façon de parler, il n'y a rien d'impie dans le " Mélologue " ; c'est seulement très violemment passionné. Faisons cela ! »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1880 ; 10 janvier, de Paris) :

« Voilà qui est convenu. Pour le programme de la cour, il y aura :

1) " La Fête de Roméo ".

2) " La Scène des Sylphes de Faust ", avec solos de Faust et de Méphisto.

3) Le Trio avec chœur des " Ciseleurs de Benvenuto ".

4) " La Captive " par Madame Knopp, avec orchestre.

Puis, ce que tu voudras pour compléter le programme si cela ne suffit pas.

Je vais dire à Richaut de t'envoyer " la Captive " pour que Cornelius ait le temps de la traduire.

Tu me parles de ré-entendre ce morceau mais tu ne l'as jamais entendu, il n'a été exécuté que 3 fois : à Londres, par Madame Viardot ; au Festival de Versailles, par Madame Widemann ; et dernièrement ici, par Madame Stolz qui le redira au concert du 28.

Je crois que c'est une des choses les plus colorées que j'ai écrites et je serai ravi de te la faire connaître. C'est assez difficile pour la cantatrice et il faut qu'elle s'entende parfaitement avec le conducteur, sans quoi - rien.

Adieu, mille amitiés, je me fais une fête des 10 ou 12 jours que je vais passer près de toi. »

À Adolphe Samuel (Correspondance Générale, n° 1897; 20 février, de Weimar):

« Je suis abîmé, exterminé de fatigue. J'ai dirigé le concert de la cour samedi dernier ; il y avait dans le programme :

1) Fragment de " Roméo et Juliette ".

2) " La Captive ".

3) Un Concerto de Liszt.

4) " La Scène des Sylphes de Faust. "

5) Et le grand trio avec chœur de " Benvenuto Cellini ".

À l'exception du magnifique Concerto de Liszt, vous voyez que tout le reste m'appartenait. L'exécution a été admirable.

Demain, je donne au théâtre un immense programme :

" L'Enfance du Christ " et " la Symphonie fantastique " (suivie de sa conclusion) , " Le Retour à la vie ", " Monodrame lyrique " avec chœurs, chant et monologues. Ce dernier ouvrage sera exécuté pour la 1re fois dramatiquement (sur l'avant-scène, devant la toile baissée) , l'orchestre et les chanteurs étant sur le théâtre, et invisibles par conséquent. On me dit que j'ai pour le rôle de " l'Artiste " un bon acteur, Monsieur Granz. Quant aux chanteurs, j'en suis très content. Ce sont Messieurs Caspari et Milde. Je vais faire la répétition générale tout à l'heure. Il nous est arrivé hier, de Gotha et d'Erfurt, quelques artistes de renfort. »

À son oncle Félix Marmion (Correspondance Générale, n° 1899 ; 25 février, de Weimar) :

« J'ai été invité à venir ici, par Madame la grande Duchesse Douairière, sœur de l'Empereur de Russie, pour organiser un concert composé presque exclusivement de ma musique et le diriger à la cour, le 17 de ce mois, jour de la fête de S.A.I. Liszt, pour me faire fête aussi, y a joué, par extraordinaire, un Concerto de piano avec orchestre de sa composition. 4 jours après, j'ai donné une autre grandissime soirée musicale au théâtre, où figuraient avec " l'Enfance du Christ ", ma " Symphonie fantastique " et un " Monodrame lyrique " dont les paroles et la musique sont de ma façon, intitulé " le Retour à la vie ". Ceci n'avait jamais encore été exécuté dramatiquement. Il a fallu un peu bouleverser le théâtre pour le rendre exécutable, c'est-à-dire agrandir l'avant-scène, l'orchestre, le chœur et les

chanteurs devant être placés derrière la toile baissée, et invisibles par conséquent, pendant que le personnage du “ Monodrame ” parle et agit sur le “ proscenium ”. Il me serait difficile de vous donner une idée du succès de cette soirée. J’ai été acclamé, redemandé, applaudi comme un ténor à la mode. Les Duchesses m’ont fait venir dans leur loge, suant et haletant comme je l’étais, pour me complimenter avec une chaleur de Dilettanti pur-sang. Puis, les jeunes gens de Weimar m’ont donné un souper où les “ toast ” ont fait rage. L’un d’eux, qui ne parle pas assez bien le français, ayant égard à ma profonde ignorance de la langue allemande m’a fait un beau discours Latin, et le poète Hoffmann a improvisé une chanson également Latine, qui, mise en musique immédiatement par un jeune compositeur [Raff] , a été chantée en chœur à lre vue par les convives.

En voici les paroles :

“ Nostrum desiderium
Tandem implevisti ;
Nobis venit gaudium
Quia tu venisti.

Sicut coloribus
Pingit nobis pictor,
Pictor es eximius
Harmoniae victor.

Vivas, crescas, floreas
Hospes germanorum,
Et amicus maneat
Neo-Wimarorum. ”

(Tu as enfin exaucé notre désir ; ta venue nous a apporté la joie.
Tout comme le peintre peint avec des couleurs, tu es un peintre hors pair, vainqueur de l’harmonie.
Puisses-tu vivre, croître et prospérer, l’hôte des Allemands, et puisses-tu rester l’ami des néo-Weimariens.)

Les néo-Weimariens, dont il est ici question, forment un club de jeunes artistes, dits progressistes, dont je suis censé porter le drapeau.

La cour me comble, je viens de dîner chez la Duchesse Régente, et c’est pour la 5e fois. On voulait me faire donner un 3e concert, mais le jour où cela eût été possible est un peu trop éloigné ; je dois revenir à Paris pour des engagements plus importants et retourner ensuite à Bruxelles où je suis retenu pour 3 concerts au théâtre du Cirque. La jeune Duchesse m’a invité à rester au moins jusqu’à Lundi. On donnera ce soir-là, en mon honneur, une fête dans cette partie du musée qu’on nomme “ les Salons de Goethe ”, et qui seront illuminés à Giornò par extraordinaire. Vous voyez qu’on fait tout pour me donner une grotesque vanité ; j’espère pourtant en rester exempt. J’éprouve seulement le regret, au milieu de toutes ces manifestations, de ne pouvoir vous en rendre témoin et vous convaincre que

décidément votre élève vous fait quelque honneur. Plaisanterie à part, j'ai souvent en pareil cas, et dernièrement à Paris, aux 3 exécutions de mon Oratorio, éprouvé un sentiment très vif de tristesse en me trouvant seul de la famille, en face d'un succès exceptionnel dont il vous eut été sans doute si agréable de voir l'explosion en France. »

À Fiorentino (Correspondance Générale, n° 1903 ; 28 février, de Gotha) :

« L'exécution a été excellente, les chanteurs étaient : Melles Wolf et Génast, Messieurs Milde, Knopp et Caspari. Ce dernier a une voix de ténor dont on donnerait diablement d'argent à Paris s'il savait le français et s'il savait ... chanter. Milde, au contraire, a du talent, en outre, une très belle voix de Baryton grave. La musique produit un effet tout spécial dans cette splendide salle du palais Ducal, qui rappelle par son architecture et son ornementation la salle de l'Assemblée des nobles à Saint-Pétersbourg. Toutes les harmonies semblent lumineuses au milieu de cette lumineuse atmosphère, et le retentissement pompeux mais non excessif de ces hauts-plafonds donne un caractère merveilleux à certains morceaux tels que " La Fête de Roméo et Juliette " et " le Chœur des Ciseleurs " de " Cellini ".

Liszt a été stupéfiant de verve et de puissance, comme toujours.

3 jours après [4, le 21 février] , en faisant 2 répétitions par jour, et avec le concours de l'Académie de chant de Weimar (formant un personnel de 80 chanteurs et chanteuses) réunie aux choristes (artistes) , je suis parvenu à donner au théâtre un concert en 3 parties :

1) " L'Enfance du Christ " (accueillie comme à Paris) .

2) " La Symphonie fantastique ".

3) " Le Retour à la vie ", " Monodrame Lyrique ".

Ce dernier ouvrage, dont j'ai fait les paroles et la musique, était exécuté en scène pour la 1re fois. On avait établi un plancher au-dessus de l'emplacement ordinairement occupé par l'orchestre et sur cette scène avancée, devant la toile baissée, l'acteur (Granz) jouait le " Monodrame ". Derrière la toile, les chœurs, les chanteurs, les pianistes, l'orchestre et moi, sur un assez vaste amphithéâtre, nous exécutions invisibles, les morceaux de musique amenés par les monologues de l'acteur et dont la sonorité un peu affaiblie par l'interposition de la toile prenait le caractère de mystérieuse poésie exigée par le sujet. Cette musique étant censée imaginaire et entendue en pensée seulement par " l'Artiste ", personnage unique du Drame. Ce sont : 1) " Le Pêcheur ", ballade de Gœthe, pour ténor et piano, Liszt jouait le piano, entremêlée d'apparitions de " l'Idée fixe " de " la Symphonie fantastique " dont ce " Monodrame " n'est que la conclusion. 2) Un Chœur d'ombres avec orchestre (Liszt jouait le tam-tam) . 3) Chanson et chœur des Brigands. 4) " Hymne du bonheur " pour ténor et orchestre. 5) Un morceau d'orchestre intitulé : " La Harpe éolienne. Souvenirs. " 6) Enfin, " Grande Fantaisie " avec chœurs, orchestre et piano à 4 mains, sur " la Tempête " de Shakespeare avec la toile levée, au dénouement du " Monodrame ". Cette dernière est censée l'œuvre esquissée de " l'Artiste " qui sortant de son avant théâtre, va dans la salle d'études de ses nombreux élèves leur en confier l'exécution. La toile se lève alors, on voit sur leur estrade tous les exécutants, c'est de la musique réelle, " l'Artiste " la fait répéter, et donne à ses

interprètes des conseils critiques, comme fait Hamlet dans la scène des comédiens. Après ce vaste final, il les remercie, les complimente et les congédie. La toile se baisse de nouveau ; demeuré seul, il entend encore retentir (en musique imaginaire) le thème de “ la Fantastique ”, “ l’Idée fixe ”, son type musical de la femme aimée, il s’écrie en sortant : “ Encore, encore ! (et sur le dernier murmure de l’orchestre invisible) Encore ... et pour toujours. ”

Voilà, mon cher Fiorentino, ce que c’est que ce “ Monodrame ” que je n’oserais jamais faire représenter devant notre public hâbleur de Paris.

Le succès a été pyramidal, j’ai été rappelé mainte et mainte fois, complimenté par les Grandes Duchesses dans leur loge, etc. , etc. , mais j’étais presque mort de fatigue et (le dirai-je) d’émotion. Le morceau des “ Souvenirs ” où la “ Harpe éolienne ” est imitée par l’orchestre avec une grande fidélité, m’avait brisé le cœur. C’est là un genre d’impressions tristes dont vous concevriez la désastreuse puissance sur moi, si vous entendiez cet ouvrage. J’ai écrit cela en 1831, en Italie, pendant un voyage que je fis à pied de Gênes à Rome, et l’ai remanié ensuite à Paris.

Le lendemain, les jeunes gens lettrés et artistes de Weimar m’ont donné un souper dans lequel l’un d’eux m’a adressé un discours latin, terminé par une “ Chanson latine ” qui, mise en musique immédiatement par l’un des convives, et copiée sur 30 et quelques bouts de papier, a été chantée en chœur à l’oreille (voilà des musiciens !). Avec ce refrain :

“ Vivas, crescas, floreas
Hospes Germanorum
Et amicus maneat
Neo Wimarorum ! ”

Je suis parti hier, les néo-Weimarois m’attendaient à l’embarcadère du chemin de fer et, au moment où le convoi s’est mis en marche, ils ont lancé une pluie de bouquets dans mon wagon en criant : “ Elien ! Elien ! ” (cri hongrois qui remplace le “ Vivat ”). À présent, plaignez-vous de mon silence ! »

À la Grande-Duchesse Maria Pavlovna de Saxe-Weimar (Correspondance Générale, n° 2013 ; 10 septembre, de Paris) :

« Mon “ Benvenuto Cellini ”, assassiné en France il y a plusieurs années, a repris quelque étincelle de vie, grâce aux soins d’un illustre Docteur, votre Maître de chapelle à Weimar. Un éditeur allemand s’est trouvé qui veut bien lui faire prendre le grand air de la publicité, et j’ose prier V.A.I. de continuer votre patronage au convalescent en agréant la dédicace de cette œuvre. »

À sa sœur Adèle (Correspondance Générale, n° 2029 ; 30 septembre, de Paris) :

« J’avais écrit une lettre presque familière à La Grande Duchesse douairière de Saxe Weimar, la tante de l’Empereur de Russie actuel, pour la prier d’accepter la dédicace de mon Opéra “ Benvenuto Cellini ” qui se publie en Allemagne. Il paraît que ma lettre a fait grand plaisir à la bonne vieille Duchesse ; elle m’a fait répondre en conséquence, et

Liszt croit qu'on me ménage quelque gracieuseté pour cet hiver à la cour de Weimar. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1871, 1882-1883, 1891-1895, 1896 (avec le tome VIII) , 1898, 1900-1902, 1905, 1907-1908, 1911, 1918, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1965, 1974, 1975, 1995, 2012, 2044, 2056, 2065, 2070, 2071-2072, 2074.

1856

À sa sœur Adèle (Correspondance Générale, n° 2076 ; 8 janvier, de Paris) :

« Je suis attendu à Gotha le 2 février, et à Weimar le 8. Le 16, jour de la fête de la Grande Duchesse, il y aura au théâtre grande représentation de gala pour la reprise de mon Opéra “ Benvenuto Cellini ” et, 2 jours après, une exécution de mon “ Faust ” complet, dont on n'a encore entendu que les 2 Iers actes à Weimar.

Pourtant, le voyage à Weimar va me déridier ; l'accueil que me fait toujours cette charmante famille ducal, est si gracieux et si cordial malgré l'étiquette ! Et puis, Liszt et tous les artistes amis de la chapelle, et les autres amis de Brunswick et de Berlin qui viendront ! Et mes 2 grands ouvrages exécutés ! »

Ferdinand Friedland à Prague à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2092 ; 3 février) :

« Il y a quelques jours que j'ai lu dans les journaux que vous vous rendiez à Weimar où votre illustre ami Liszt fera exécuter votre Opéra “ Benvenuto Cellini ”. Dimanche passé, votre ami m'a confirmé cette nouvelle à son passage par notre ville, où j'avais le plaisir de lui parler. Vous qui me connaissez, et qui sait quel intérêt je prends à tout ce qui a rapport à vous, cette nouvelle m'a causé une grande joie, parce que je vois là-dedans que votre génie perce et percera toujours plus notre patrie, toujours si difficile envers les novateurs, et qu'enfin l'Allemagne vous rendra les justes honneurs que vous méritez. »

La princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein à Weimar à Berlioz à Gotha (Correspondance Générale, n° 2093 ; début février) :

« Pourtant à l'heure qu'il est sa besogne, Liszt en est rendue très difficile et l'assaut qu'on lui livre est vraiment de la furie. Ni les injures, ni les mensonges ne lui sont épargnés. Le terrain que gagne tous les jours le sentiment moderne est un signe qu'il a pris à cœur de représenter dans son rayon d'activité, fait monter jusqu'au “ delirium tremens ” la rage des Classiques, c'est-à-dire des improductifs qui le baptisent de ce nom. En ce moment, c'est une averse de flèches qu'il reçoit.

Votre “ Cellini ” ira sur des roulettes ; la vanité de clocher sera en jeu, on tient à se montrer à vous sous le meilleur jour, on fera donc le possible et l'impossible, soyez-en persuadé.

N'invitez-vous pas le Duc de Gotha à venir assister à cette représentation en lui représentant combien vous serez heureux (!!!) de lui présenter “ Cellini ”. Cela pourrait le décider. Il ferait peut-être comme artiste pour l'artiste ce

que, depuis plusieurs années, il n'a pas fait comme prince pour des princes, nommément de venir ici le 16. »

À Hans von Bülow (Correspondance Générale, n° 2100 ; 12 février, de Weimar) :

« Nous espérons ici une bonne exécution de “ Cellini ”, maintenant que la partition est dérouillée et fourbie à neuf comme une épée. Les chanteurs sont animés du meilleur vouloir ; Caspari, à qui on avait dit que ce rôle était inchantable et lui briserait la voix, le chante, au contraire, avec amour et sans efforts. Lui, au moins, chantera l'air “ Sur les monts ”, que j'avais regretté de ne pouvoir vous faire entendre. Hier, nous avons répété longuement l'Ouverture du “ Corsaire ” pour le prochain concert de la cour. Je vous remercie de bien vouloir arranger cette Ouverture, et si vous ne l'avez pas, je vous l'enverrai ; mais je crois qu'elle est réductible pour le piano à 2 mains, et cela vaudrait bien mieux. Lorsque 2 pianistes exécutent ensemble un morceau à 4 mains, soit sur 1 seul piano, soit sur 2 pianos, ils ne vont jamais ensemble (du moins, pour moi) et le résultat final de l'exécution est toujours (pour moi encore) plus ou moins charivarique. En outre, les arrangements à 4 mains pour 1 seul piano ont l'inconvénient d'accumuler dans le grave du clavier une masse de notes dont la sonorité est disproportionnée avec celle de la main droite du 1er pianiste, et il en résulte un pâtre harmonique plus bruyant qu'harmonieux et horriblement indigeste. Il vaut donc mieux confier aux 2 mains d'un seul pianiste intelligent la traduction d'une œuvre symphonique, quand cela est possible. L'auteur alors est au moins sûr de n'être pas tiré en sens contraire par 2 chevaux.

Pardonnez-moi ces blasphèmes sur les pianistes. Ils ne vous regardent point d'ailleurs : vous êtes musicien. »

À sa sœur Adèle (Correspondance Générale, n° 2104 ; 3 mars, de Paris) :

« J'ai été accueilli comme de coutume en Allemagne. Mon Opéra de “ Cellini ” marche à merveille. La Cour de Weimar s'est montrée d'une bienveillance parfaite, comme toujours. J'ai dirigé le concert annuel qui a lieu au palais, à chaque fête de la grande Duchesse Douairière ; de plus, j'ai dirigé au théâtre, AVANT HIER samedi (telle est la rapidité des voyages que je puis t'écrire cela de Paris aujourd'hui, lundi) , une grande exécution de ma Légende dramatique “ La Damnation de Faust ”. Les dames et les jeunes gens amateurs de l'Académie de chant de Weimar s'étaient réunis aux choristes du théâtre ; j'avais un chœur de 150 voix, une charmante Marguerite et un excellent Méphistophélès, le Faust seul s'est montré faible et froid. Il y a eu plusieurs morceaux bissés, on m'a rappelé 3 fois, le Grand Duc m'a fait monter dans sa loge pour me complimenter et m'engager à revenir le plus tôt possible.

2 heures après, j'étais à l'embarcadère du chemin de fer où des artistes et amateurs m'attendaient et où mon départ a été salué par eux de vivats, de hurrahs, et où ils m'ont accueilli par un chœur de “ Benvenuto Cellini ” et de longs applaudissements.

À 1 heure du matin (dimanche) , le convoi se mettait en marche et, à 5 heures du matin (lundi) , j'arrivais à Paris. Liszt est toujours un excellent ami, et ses amis sont les miens. Je voudrais seulement qu'il me laissât conduire une fois mon Opéra ; mais son dévouement ne va pas jusques là. »

À Auguste Morel (Correspondance Générale, n° 2128 ; 23 mai, de Paris) :

« Je n'ai pas encore reçu de Brunswick la partition de " Cellini ", sans quoi je vous en eusse envoyé un exemplaire. Nous venons de donner très bien cet ouvrage à Weimar, avec un succès trépidant, bis et rappels d'acteurs, etc. , m'écrit-on. Je n'ai entendu que la Ire représentation de cette reprise, qui a eu lieu pour la soirée de gala en l'honneur de la Grande Duchesse Douairière, et ce soir-là, il était défendu d'applaudir. On s'est dédommagé à mon égard, 3 jours après, quand j'ai dirigé dans le même théâtre " La Damnation de Faust " .

J'avais les 160 choristes de l'Académie de chant réunis à ceux du théâtre, ils savaient leur affaire à merveille, et vraiment l'effet a été prodigieux. On ne connaissait encore à Weimar que les 2 premiers actes de cette partition ; les 2 derniers paraissent avoir saisi par la nuque ce public impressionnable et intelligent. La course à l'abîme a ébouriffé la salle ; mais l'apothéose de Marguerite a touché, m'a-t-on dit, plus que tout le reste.

Nous avons eu à Weimar des scènes incroyables au sujet de " Lohengrin " de Wagner. Ce serait trop long à vous raconter. Il en est résulté des histoires qui font encore long feu en ce moment dans la presse allemande. »

À la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2145 ; 24 juin, de Paris) :

« Je n'aurais jamais cru que l'opinion publique put attacher à cette nomination [à l'Institut] une telle importance. J'ai même su que vous aviez porté (à l'Altenburg) un toast à ma candidature ; j'en remercie Liszt et vous et nos amis. Au prochain dîner académique (car nous allons en avoir quelques-uns) , je porterai un toast à l'Altenburg et aux esprits que le hantent.

J'oubliais de vous dire que cela me donne 1,500 francs de rente. (15 feuilletons de moins à faire !!!) »

La princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein à Weimar à Berlioz à Paris (Correspondance Générale, n° 2148ter - tome VIII ; 28 juin) :

« La nouvelle de votre nomination a réjoui tout Weimar, et le NW (" Neue Weimar ") la célèbre avec acclamation. On ne s'est rencontré qu'avec cette bonne nouvelle depuis 10 jours. C'est une fête de famille pour tous les musiciens de l'avenir, dans la capitale d'abord, et aussi parmi les nombreux membres dispersés sur toute l'Allemagne. »

À la Grande-Duchesse Maria Pavlovna de Saxe-Weimar (Correspondance Générale, n° 2191 ; 4 décembre, de Paris) :

« Vous avez daigné me permettre de placer sous votre haut-patronage l'édition allemande d'un de mes ouvrages, qui n'existerait plus sans la bienveillante protection que vous lui avez accordée. La partition de " Cellini " ressuscité vient de paraître. Je prends la liberté d'en offrir un exemplaire à votre Altesse, en la priant de recevoir l'expression de ma vive reconnaissance et l'assurance de mon entier dévouement. »

À la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2195 ; 25-26 décembre, de Paris) :

« Je vous croyais depuis longtemps revenus tous à Weimar. Je me hâte de vous répondre, pour vous obéir d'abord, et

pour dire à Liszt de ne pas encore envoyer les parties d'orchestre de " Cellini ". Elles resteraient ici inutilement. Je ne sais encore rien de positif sur l'époque précise où elles me seront nécessaires, et le nombre de semaines pendant lesquelles je demanderai à les garder. Liszt doit faire, à cet égard, comme si je ne lui avais rien dit. Il s'agit (entre nous) de monter le " Cellini " au Théâtre-Lyrique, avec une partie du livret mise en prose pour le dialogue et quelques changements avantageux qu'y ont introduits les auteurs. Mais cela ne doit être mis en répétition qu'après " Obéron " que ce théâtre répète en ce moment.

Litolff a dû envoyer à Liszt ma lettre à Madame La grande-Duchesse et un exemplaire de la partition de " Cellini ". Je le prie de vouloir bien présenter l'une et l'autre à Son Altesse.

Je vous conjure très instamment de ne rien laisser transpirer hors de l'Altenburg de ce projet de représentation à Paris. Personne ici n'en sait rien ; et la prudence veut qu'on n'en entende parler qu'au dernier moment. »

Voir aussi Correspondance Générale, numéros 2077, 2079, 2083, 2089, 2090-1, 2094, 2094bis (tome VIII) , 2097, 2098, 2099, 2101 et 2101bis (tome VIII) , 2102, 2105-2106, 2109, 2115, 2120, 2126, 2149, 2160, 2163-2165, 2178, 2183.

1857

Voir Correspondance Générale, numéros 2199bis (tome VIII) , 2200-2201, 2207bis (tome VIII) , 2209, 2211, 2216, 2219, 2232, 2264, 2269.

1858

À la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2279 ; 20 février, de Paris) :

« De Bülow m'avait avant vous informé de son entreprise musicale à Berlin, et parlé du 1er concert qu'il a dirigé. Seulement, il m'annonçait que les journaux prussiens avaient voulu contrecarrer le succès de cette Ouverture [“ Benvenuto Cellini ”] , bien loin de la louer. Je lui répondis sur le champ une longue lettre. Wagner vint me voir précisément le même jour. Sa présence à Paris, peu après l'attentat [contre Napoléon III, le 14 janvier] , ne pouvait manquer d'être singulièrement interprétée. Nous avons néanmoins passé ensemble quelques heures ; il devait me faire faire la connaissance du gendre de Liszt, Monsieur Ollivier, et nous n'avons pu nous rencontrer.

Ce que vous m'annoncez de la reprise d'“ Alceste ” à Weimar ne me surprend pas. Ce qui m'étonne seulement, c'est qu'on laisse entrer les bourgeois au théâtre quand on y représente des œuvres pareilles. Si j'étais le Grand-Duc, j'enverrais ce soir-là, à chacun de ces braves gens, un jambon et 2 bouteilles de bière, en les faisant prier de rester chez eux.

Je voudrais bien que Liszt eût la complaisance de féliciter de ma part Madame Milde sur la manière dont elle a joué Alceste ; je vous crois sur parole. Ce devait être une charmante reine de Thessalie. »

À Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2317 ; 28 septembre, de Paris) :

« Je t'en prie, présente à la princesse mes excuses les plus humbles, j'aurais dû lui répondre il y a plus de 3 mois et je ne l'ai pas fait. Je n'ai pas pu, à mon grand regret, me rendre à l'invitation contenue dans sa dernière lettre, d'aller en quittant Bade passer quelques jours à Weimar. Trop de choses me rappelaient ici.

Voilà mon compte rendu. Mais que fais-tu à Weimar ? Que devient le théâtre ducal ? Je vois annoncé dans quelques journaux un Opéra d'un de tes élèves. Quel est ce jeune homme dont le nom m'était inconnu ?

Wagner, dit-on, va se fixer à Florence ; cela ce conçoit. Je ne connais pas la Suisse mais j'aime mieux l'Italie.

Wallace, le néo-Zélandais, dont l'histoire se trouve à la fin de mes " Soirées de l'orchestre ", est de nouveau revenu des antipodes. Il va visiter Weimar dans quelques mois, et veut que je lui donne une lettre pour toi. Reçois-le sans peur, il ne te mangera pas ; il n'a, par exception et tout Zélandais qu'il soit, aucun goût pour la chair humaine. Il a une très jolie femme, et ils jouent l'un et l'autre fort bien du piano.

Adieu, cher ami, rappelle-moi au souvenir de nos amis de Weimar, Singer, Steur [Stör] , Kausmann [Cosman] . »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2273, 2274, 2289, 2293, 2297.

1859

À la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2343 ; 7 janvier, de Paris) :

« Votre lettre (" pietosa " toujours) , celle de Liszt qui l'avait précédée, et Madame Viardot, que j'ai vue ces jours-ci, m'ont mis à peu près au courant de votre existence à Weimar. Je vous vois à l'Altenburg, j'entends vos intéressantes causeries du soir, illuminées par le doux sourire de la princesse Marie ; et je pense (en dépit de l'ordonnance de mon médecin) et j'admire combien, dans ce petit coin du monde, que vous habitez, il y a de cœur et d'intelligence, et de quelles nobles idées, Vestales de l'art, vous entretenez la flamme.

Oh ! comme je vous écouterai, comme je boirai vos paroles et celles de Liszt, qui en a de si magnifiques, quand il parle sur les sujets qui l'émeuvent et l'exaltent ! On voudrait m'envoyer à Cannes, au soleil du midi. Ah ! si j'étais libre, c'est à Weimar que j'irais ; le Midi est, en réalité, là où la vie ne souffle sur nous que de tièdes haleines, où le cœur peut se dégeler, l'imagination déployer ses grandes ailes. Vous me laisseriez bien me rouler dans un grand fauteuil, prêter l'oreille en ayant l'air de dormir et m'obstiner dans mon silence. Mais tant de voix me crient : " Reste ! Reste ! " que j'obéis, comme obéissait le Juif errant. »

À la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2390 ; 10 août, de Paris) :

« Votre lettre adorable ... comment saurais-je, comment pourrais-je vous dire tout le bien qu'elle m'a fait ? Je

craignais, en comptant les semaines de votre long silence, qu'il vous fût arrivé quelque malheur. Un allemand, qui a passé le mois dernier à Weimar, assurait ici que vous n'y étiez plus, que Liszt aussi était absent. Vous avez donc dû recourir à votre philosophie. Ah ! Rome a raison : " Périr la philosophie ! Si elle n'a pas le pouvoir de ... etc. , etc. , etc. » Il me semble que je suis là, dans votre salon de Weimar, à écouter Liszt parler, à entendre vos pensées, à me dorer sous vos regards bienveillants.

Voyez, chère princesse, l'inconvénient de permettre l'effusion d'âme à des blessés tels que moi ! Je saigne, saigne, saigne ... je ferais mieux d'aller à l'hôpital que de vous fatiguer de mon éternelle plainte. Il y a des jours où je donnerais avec bien de la joie 2 des années qui me restent à vivre, pour pouvoir m'accroupir à vos pieds, comme un chien respectueux, et vous entendre réciter ces poèmes de consolations dont votre cœur est plein. Si impossible qu'il soit de panser des plaies qu'on ignore. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2347, 2351, 2355, 2380, 2393, 2406, 2427, 2428, 2447, 2449, 2451.

1860

Peter Cornelius à Vienne à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2521 ; vers le 22 novembre) :

« Oh si je pourrai vous montrer ma partition du " Barbier de Bagdad ", vous verriez là-dedans que vous avez fait de l'école en Allemagne, et que le " Cellini " fait des enfants aux esprits !

Monsieur Heckenast, à Pest, publie ma traduction, ou plutôt, mon arrangement des " Bohémiens " de Liszt, car c'est simplifié et raccourci et, en même temps, un recueil de poésies de moi intitulé : " Lieder von Peter Cornelius ". Faites-vous en traduire un, et composez-le, mon vénéré Berlioz, je le garderais comme un saint souvenir de vous, jusqu'à ma tombe ! Mon Dieu ! Les chaudes larmes me coulent des yeux en ce moment, en pensant à vous et tant de moments d'enthousiasme et de bonheur que nous avons eus ensemble !

" Quelle vie ! quelle vie ! ", chante le " Cellini ".

Je vous embrasse en pleurant, cher Maître ! Chaque 12 décembre, je vous félicite et, cette fois, je veux célébrer votre fête avec mes amis d'ici, jeunes gens de Prague, où vous êtes dans toutes les mémoires.

Mon cher Berlioz ! Dieu vous garde et soit avec vous ! J'ai pour vous le plus tendre et affectueux souvenir. Ne m'oubliez pas ! »

À Peter Cornelius (Correspondance Générale, n° 2522 ; 27 novembre, de Paris) :

« Votre lettre m'a fait un bien grand plaisir ; je désirais depuis longtemps avoir de vos nouvelles, et ni Liszt ni la princesse ne m'ayant écrit depuis plus de 10 mois, je ne savais ce que vous étiez devenu.

Oui, je voudrais bien entendre votre “ Barbier ” et votre “ Cid ” ; je suis persuadé qu’il y a là-dedans de la saveur, de la vie, du coloris.

Ce que vous devinez, sans que je le dise, c’est ma sincère et vive affection pour vous, c’est l’ardente sympathie qui me lie à une foule d’idées, d’efforts, de passions, qui sont les vôtres. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, n° 2509.

1861

Voir la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2536, 2538, 2551-2552, 2555, 2557, 2571.

1862

Peter Cornelius à Vienne à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2594 ; 16 février) :

« Moi, je célébrai véritablement une fête en écoutant vos accents passionnés et toute cette musique si aristocratique, qui sera toujours pour la foule un carrosse à 4 chevaux allant au galop. Ils restent interdits et la bouche ouverte et demandent : “ Qui donc peut avoir été là-dedans ! ”

Cher, cher Berlioz, je vous baise la main ! C’est celle d’un grand Maître ! »

À Richard Pohl (Correspondance Générale, n° 2670 ; 28 novembre, de Paris) :

« Vous m’apprenez des choses étranges. Je vois qu’un Opéra nouveau, quel qu’en soit l’auteur, n’a pas, à beaucoup près, autant de prix pour les théâtres d’Allemagne qu’un album de chansonnettes n’en a pour un éditeur de Paris. Je vous ai répondu que je m’en rapportais à Monsieur Dingelstedt au sujet de la somme qui me serait accordée pour faire le voyage de Weimar. Avec 15 Louis, c’est impossible. Quant à laisser jouer “ Béatrice ” sans que j’assiste aux répétitions générales et sans que j’en dirige les Ires représentations, c’est à quoi je ne puis consentir.

À présent, pour conclure, je vous dirai tout bonnement qu’il faut renoncer à monter “ Béatrice ” à Weimar, puisque ni la pièce, ni la musique, ni la direction de l’auteur ne sont d’aucune valeur pour le théâtre ! Je vous prie donc de me renvoyer le livret et de ne pas vous donner la peine de le traduire. Il est triste de reconnaître que, dans le pays de l’intelligence, l’intelligence soit si peu estimée. Nous ne sommes pas des esclaves, et nous ne devons pas même avoir l’air de subir une exploitation.

N’y pensons plus. »

Richard Pohl à Weimar à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2678 ; 9 décembre) :

« Vous recevrez, j'espère, ces lignes au 11 décembre - votre jour de naissance ! Je n'ai jamais oublié cette journée que j'ai célébrée une seule fois avec vous à Leipzig, il y a 9 années [en 1853] . 9 années déjà, période assez longue pour oublier et perdre beaucoup mais pour gagner aussi d'autant plus ! Et j'ai gagné dans cette période votre amitié, qui m'est si chère et qui me fait si heureux. C'était en 1853 que j'ai fait votre connaissance à Baden et, voilà, les 9 années d'Horace (" nonum prematur in annum ") se sont passées et ma vénération pour vous est restée invariable.

Le théâtre Weimar est trop petit pour honorer les chefs-d'œuvre comme il faut - à Vienne, à Berlin, à Dresde, on peut payer ce qu'on demande mais, ici, l'état est si petit que seulement la Cour peut faire des frais extraordinaires, et c'était un des plus grands mérites de Liszt, qu'il avait toujours insisté que la Grande-Duchesse Douairière donnait les fonds pour honorer vous et d'autres grands artistes. J'espère que le Grand-Duc se décide pour votre Opéra et, dans ce cas, vous recevrez ce qu'il faut. Je vous prie donc : ayez patience, quelques semaines encore et ne redemandez pas votre livret dans ce moment.

J'espère que je puis faire peu à peu une édition allemande de vos œuvres complètes. N'y pensez-vous pas encore à une édition complète ? Y compris : vos livrets (poésies) , les articles de journaux pas encore reproduits et, puis, vos mémoires choisies, c'est-à-dire les chapitres qui se trouvent dans " Le Monde Illustré " et votre " voyage musical " peut-être ? »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2632, 2651, 2656, 2663.

1863

Franz Dingelstedt à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2692 ; 22 janvier, de Weimar) :

« Peut-être Leurs Altesses Royales Régnautes feront-elles quelque chose de leur part pour contribuer à mes nouveaux efforts de vous satisfaire j'aime à l'espérer sans oser l'assurer d'avance. Ce qui est certain et que vous savez d'ancienne date, Monsieur, c'est que votre visite fera du plaisir à la Cour, au théâtre, aux artistes de Weimar, et plus qu'à tout le monde à moi. »

À Johann Christian Lobe à Leipzig (Correspondance Générale, n° 2707bis - tome VIII ; 5 avril, de Weimar) :

« Je suis ici depuis 3 jours, nous donnerons mon Opéra de " Béatrice ", le 8 ; je serais bien heureux de vous voir.

Pourriez-vous venir passer 24 heures à Weimar ? Faites votre possible.

Mille amitiés constantes. »

À Hippolyte Lecourt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2708 ; 7 avril, de Weimar) :

« Farceur ! mais n'importe ! Je crois qu'au fond la " Béatrice " vous plaît. C'est gentil et joliment instrumenté, je vous

jure. Nos répétitions ici marchent très bien et je vais tout à l'heure diriger la dernière. Le trio des 3 femmes que j'ai ajouté depuis les représentations de Bade et que je n'avais jamais entendu, m'a causé l'autre jour une agréable surprise et ces dames le disent à merveille. Seulement, la " Béatrice " (Madame Milde) ne peut pas s'italianiser, elle reste une " Béatrice " allemande et sentimentale.

La salle est louée depuis longtemps ; la reine de Prusse est arrivée hier soir. Le Duc et la Duchesse m'ont reçu, comme toujours, de la façon la plus gracieusement affectueuse, et l'orchestre et tous les acteurs et l'intendant. Demain, nous aurons donc, je l'espère, une belle soirée. Je conduirai encore une représentation, puis je partirai pour Lövenberg où m'appelle le prince de Hohenzollern, pour lui diriger un concert dont il m'a envoyé le programme.

J'ai vu hier une représentation de " Tannhäuser ", Madame Milde est la personnification idéalisée de l'Elisabeth, je la trouve admirable et adorable avec sa beauté de colombe. Il y a de bien belles choses dans le dernier acte surtout ; c'est d'une tristesse profonde mais d'un grand caractère ; pourquoi faut-il ? etc. , etc. , il y aurait trop à dire. »

À Fiorentino (Correspondance Générale, n° 2709 ; 9 avril, de Weimar) :

« Voilà la chose. Grandissime succès ; malgré l'étiquette imposée par les représentations de gala, la salle frémissant du haut en bas par moments, d'applaudissements rentrés ; exécution excellente dans son ensemble, Madame Milde ravissante Béatrice, et Knop, très spirituel Bénédict. Le nouveau trio des 3 femmes produisant presque autant d'effet que le duo. Leurs Altesses après la pièce m'ont fait appeler dans leur loge où elles m'ont chaudement complimenté ; la reine de Prusse a été bien plus enthousiaste encore, en sa qualité de musicienne accomplie. On me promet pour demain une débâcle, un dégel d'applaudissements, l'interdiction étant levée. Après le spectacle, j'ai dû assister à un long banquet que m'offraient les artistes de Weimar réunis à ceux qui étaient venus de Dresde, de Berlin, de Leipzig et des petites villes voisines.

Si vous trouvez le joint, soyez assez bon pour dire quelque amabilité à l'adresse de la Grande Duchesse et du Grand Duc de Weimar. Il n'est vraiment pas possible d'être plus charmants qu'ils ne le sont toujours pour moi. Et cette fois-ci, il m'ont comblé de témoignages d'affection. »

Aux Massarts (Correspondance Générale, n° 2710 ; 9 avril, de Weimar) :

« Je vous écris en me levant à 1 heure. On m'a fait passer une partie de la nuit à un banquet qui m'a été offert, après la Ire représentation, par les artistes de Weimar, réunis à ceux qui étaient venus des villes voisines et même de Dresde et de Leipzig. Le succès de " Béatrice " a été flambant, l'exécution excellente dans son ensemble. Le grand-duc et la grande-duchesse et la reine de Prusse m'ont accablé de compliments. La reine surtout m'a dit des choses, oh ! mais des choses que je n'ose vous répéter. Le morceau qu'elle aime le plus, c'est le trio des femmes, tout en avouant que le Duo est une invention ravissante, et que l'air de " Béatrice " et la fugue comique lui plaisent infiniment.

On m'annonce pour demain une bordée d'applaudissements à démolir la salle.

L'orchestre va à merveille et tout l'ensemble vocal se comporte musicalement. La " Béatrice " est délicieusement jolie et une artiste véritable ; seulement, elle reste trop allemande et rend cette lionne sicilienne presque sentimentale. »

À Pauline Viardot (Correspondance Générale, n° 2711 ; 9 avril, de Weimar) :

« Vous avez bien voulu me permettre de vous donner des nouvelles de la représentation de " Béatrice ". En 2 mots, les voilà. Très grand succès, exécution irréprochable pour l'ensemble, félicitations, compliments, remerciements de leurs Altesses et de la Reine de Prusse, qui m'ont comblé de gracieusetés.

Le Ire soirée réduite aux rumeurs favorables par l'étiquette des soirées de gala, après une répétition générale très chaude. On me promet pour demain un dégel d'applaudissements. Il était venu beaucoup d'artistes de Dresde, de Leipzig, et des petites villes voisines de Weimar. Madame Milde est charmante mais elle fait de la lionne sicilienne une " Béatrice " allemande, et ses yeux de colombe ne parviennent pas à darder des flammes.

C'est un autre genre de vérité. Notre nouveau trio a produit une véritable sensation, c'est même celui de tous les morceaux que la reine de Prusse et plusieurs autres " dilettanti " préfèrent. La mise en scène est bien réglée. Le Duo a remué tout l'auditoire. En somme, c'est beaucoup mieux qu'à Bade.

Décidément, ces Allemands sont des musiciens. J'épiais les fautes hier soir, on n'en a pas commis une seule. Knop (" Bénédicte ") ne bronche pas dans le Scherzo final. »

À Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 2712 ; 11 avril, de Weimar) :

« Béatrice vient d'obtenir ici un grand succès. Après la Ire représentation, j'ai été complimenté par le Grand Duc et la Grande Duchesse et, surtout, par la reine de Prusse qui ne savait quelles expressions employer pour dire son ravissement.

Hier, j'ai été rappelé 2 fois sur la scène par le public après le 1er acte et après le 2e. Après le spectacle, je suis allé souper avec le Grand Duc qui m'a comblé de gracieusetés de toute espèce. C'est vraiment un Mécène incomparable. Pour demain, il a organisé une soirée intime où je lirai le poème des " Troyens ". Les artistes de Weimar et ceux qui étaient venus des villes voisines et même de Dresde et de Berlin m'ont donné un immense banquet.

Hier soir, j'ai pris, dans ma joie, la liberté d'embrasser ma " Béatrice " qui est ravissante. Elle a paru un peu surpris d'abord ; puis, me regardant bien en face : " Oh ! a-t-elle dit, il faut que je vous embrasse aussi moi ! "

Si vous saviez comme elle a bien dit son : " Il m'en souvient ! "

On me fait beaucoup d'éloges du travail du traducteur [Richard Pohl] . Quant à moi, je l'ai surpris, malgré mon ignorance de la langue allemande, en flagrant délit d'infidélité en maint endroit. Il s'excuse mal, et cela m'irrite. C'est le même qui traduit mon livre " À travers chants ". Or, figurez-vous que dans cette phrase : " Cet adagio semble avoir

été soupiré par l'archange Michel, un soir où, saisi d'un accès de mélancolie, il contemplait les mondes, debout au seuil de l'empyrée », il a pris l'archange Michel pour Michel-Ange, le grand artiste florentin. Voyez le galimatias insensé qu'une telle substitution de personne doit faire dans la phrase allemande. N'y a-t-il pas de quoi pendre un traducteur ? Mais quoi ! il m'est si dévoué, c'est un si excellent garçon ! »

À Auguste Morel (Correspondance Générale, n° 2713 ; 15 avril, de Weimar) :

« Oui, “ Béatrice ” a obtenu ici un succès magnifique, j'ai été complimenté par le Grand Duc, par la Grande Duchesse et par la Reine de Prusse à la 1re représentation où les applaudissements étaient interdits à cause de l'étiquette du jour de gala ; à la seconde, applaudissements sans fin. J'ai été rappelé après le 1er acte et après le second. Souper donné par les artistes de Weimar réunis aux étrangers venus de Dresde, de Leipzig, et des villes voisines de Weimar, etc. , etc.

Le Duc me comble d'amitiés, au grand dîner de la cour dernièrement, pendant que la musique militaire placée dans une tribune jouait ma “ Marche hongroise ” de “ Faust ”, il m'a fait signe de loin avec un verre de champagne. Tous les jours, il m'envoie chercher pour causer nous 2. Avant-hier, il a réuni un petit nombre de personnes devant lesquelles j'ai lu le poème des “ Troyens ” avec un véritable succès, je puis le dire. »

À son oncle Félix Marmion (Correspondance Générale, n° 2715 ; 26 avril, de Paris) :

« Je viens de passer un mois de véritable ivresse musicale. J'ai dirigé les 2 1res représentations de “ Béatrice ” au théâtre de Weimar (en allemand) avec un succès pyramidal, compliments du Grand Duc, et de la Grande Duchesse, qui avait choisi mon Opéra pour le jour de sa fête, et félicitations bien plus vives encore de la Reine de Prusse, rappels de l'auteur sur la scène après le 1er et le 2e acte, souper offert par les artistes de Weimar et par ceux qui étaient accourus de Leipzig, de Dresde, d'Iéna, etc. Charmantes flatteries du Duc qui a bu à ma santé de loin au grand dîner du jour de gala (300 couverts) au moment où un orchestre militaire placé dans une galerie jouait ma “ Marche hongroise ”. »

À Johanna Pohl (Correspondance Générale, n° 2722 ; 6 mai, de Paris) :

« J'ai écrit il y a 5 jours à Madame la Grande Duchesse de Weimar, en lui envoyant la partition des “ Troyens ”, dont j'avais cru comprendre un soir qu'elle serait bien aise d'avoir un exemplaire.

J'ai écrit aussi au prince d'Hohenzollern pour savoir de ses nouvelles. Je n'ose parler de lui dans mon prochain feuilleton, dans la crainte de produire un mauvais effet sur l'esprit de la cour de Weimar. Vous comprenez. Plus tard, cela viendra plus facilement. »

À Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 2724 ; 9 mai, de Paris) :

« Le Grand Duc de Weimar a voulu absolument écrire à sa cousine la Duchesse de Hamilton (à mon sujet) une lettre

destinée à être mise sous les yeux de l'Empereur. La lettre a été lue, et l'on m'a fait venir au ministère, et j'ai dit tout ce que j'avais sur le cœur, sans gazer, sans ménager mes expressions, et l'on a été forcé de convenir que j'avais raison, et ... il n'en sera que cela. Pauvre Grand Duc, il croit impossible qu'un souverain ne s'intéresse pas aux arts. Il m'a bien grondé de ne vouloir plus rien faire. " Le bon Dieu, m'a-t-il dit, ne vous a pas donné de telles facultés pour les laisser inactives." »

Il m'a fait lire les " Troyens ", un soir à la cour, devant une vingtaine de personnes comprenant bien le français. Cela a produit beaucoup d'effet. »

Le Baron Beaulieu Marconnay à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2728 ; 23 mai, de Weimar) :

« Son Altesse Royale la Grande Duchesse m'a chargé de vous faire parvenir la bague ci-jointe, qu'Elle vous prie d'accepter en souvenir de votre dernier séjour à Weimar. La Grande duchesse m'a expressément ordonné de vous dire tout le plaisir que vous lui avez fait par le précieux envoi de la partition des " Troyens " qui l'intéresse au plus haut degré : Son Altesse Royale est infiniment sensible à cette attention de votre part et à la pensée qui vous a porté à La faire jouir de cette belle composition. »

Le Comte von Wedel à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2798 ; 18 novembre, de Weimar) :

« Son Altesse Royale le Grand-Duc, mon auguste Maître, ayant appris que la représentation de vos " Troyens " a eu lieu dernièrement à l'Opéra Impérial et que cette œuvre a eu tout le succès qui lui était dû et qui répondait aux vœux sincères de Son Altesse Royale, me charge de vous transmettre Ses félicitations empressées et de vous exprimer toute la part qu'il prend à cet heureux événement. »

À Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 2805 ; 26 novembre, de Paris) :

« Le Grand-Duc de Weimar vient de me faire écrire par son secrétaire intime pour me féliciter sur le succès des " Troyens ". Sa lettre a paru partout. N'est-ce pas une attention charmante ?

On n'est pas plus gracieux, on n'est pas plus prince, on n'est pas plus intelligent Mécène.

Vous seriez ainsi, si vous étiez prince. »

À Eduard Lassen (Correspondance Générale, n° 2811 ; 14 décembre, de Paris) :

« Mon éditeur, Monsieur Choudens, vient de m'avertir qu'il avait reçu une lettre de Richard Pohl dans laquelle celui-ci lui demande d'envoyer tout de suite à Weimar la grande partition du Duo de Chorèbe et Cassandre dans le 1er acte de " la Prise de Troie ". Il dit que Madame La grande Duchesse voudrait entendre ce morceau à un concert de la cour, le 1er Jour de l'an. Ma partition ne m'appartient plus, l'éditeur en conséquence vous en enverra demain une copie, qu'il avait déjà, et je ne sais ce qu'il demandera pour cela à l'Intendant. Je lui ai dit seulement d'être très

modéré dans ses prétentions.

Écrivez-moi à ce sujet, au reçu de ma lettre. Je désirerais bien vivement que la chose pût marcher au gré de Madame la grande Duchesse. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2691, 2693, 2694-2695, 2697-2698, 2701, 2705-2707, 2714, 2716, 2719 (tome VIII) , 2725-2726, 2734-2735, 2738-2739, 2745, 2769, 2771, 2797, 2801, 2804, 2806, 2810, 2814.

1864

À Toussaint Bennet (Correspondance Générale, n° 2843 ; 15 mars, de Paris) :

« Si vous rencontrez par hasard à Vienne Monsieur Peter Cornelius, dites-lui 1,000 choses de ma part et que je serais bien heureux d'avoir une lettre de lui. »

Au Grand-Duc Charles Alexandre de Saxe-Weimar (Correspondance Générale, n° 2857 ; 12 mai, de Paris) :

« Monseigneur,

Votre bienveillance est infatigable. J'ai su que dernièrement vous aviez daigné vous informer de moi en termes qui m'ont vivement touché. Je ne puis résister au désir de vous en remercier.

J'aurais dû, il y a longtemps, vous informer du résultat de la lettre que vous aviez bien voulu écrire à Madame la Duchesse d'Hamilton à mon sujet, mais la crainte de vous occuper trop de mes affaires et de vous paraître importun m'a retenu. Aujourd'hui, il me semble que mon noble protecteur me pardonnera de lui faire mes tristes confidences. L'an dernier, peu après mon retour de Weimar, je me trouvai à un rendez-vous que m'avait demandé Monsieur Camille Doucet, chef du bureau des beaux-arts au ministère d'État. L'Empereur avait chargé le ministre de me voir et celui-ci s'était reposé de ce soin sur son subordonné. Aux Iers mots de Monsieur Doucet, je reconnus la cause de ses questions. C'était votre lettre, monseigneur, qui, ainsi que vous l'aviez voulu, avait été placée sous les yeux de l'Empereur. Monsieur Doucet était déjà au fait de tout. La question était simple : j'avais terminé depuis 3 ans un immense Opéra, on ne le jouait pas, on m'interdisait la salle du Conservatoire, où j'avais pourtant autrefois donné 36 concerts, toutes les portes de France m'étaient fermées, etc. , etc. Monsieur Doucet ayant voulu tant bien que mal expliquer cette anomalie et justifier l'administration de son hostilité dédaigneuse, je coupai court à la conversation par ces mots : " Permettez-moi de parler à Monsieur Doucet l'artiste, l'homme de lettres, l'auteur applaudi au théâtre français, et non point au chef de bureau du ministère d'État ; alors je lui dirai, Mon cher monsieur, à propos des raisons que vous me donnez, qu'il n'est pas permis à un artiste de dire à un autre DES BÊTISES de cette énormité-là. " Ce à quoi Monsieur Doucet baissant les yeux répondit : " Hélas, puisque vous me placez sur ce terrain, je suis bien obligé de convenir que vous n'avez pas tort. " La conférence finit là et, depuis, je n'entendis plus parler ni de l'Opéra, ni du Conservatoire, ni de l'intervention de votre Altesse.

3 mois après, je cédaï enfin aux nouvelles sollicitations de Monsieur Carvalho, directeur du Théâtre Lyrique qui, depuis longtemps, me demandait mon Opéra des “ Troyens ”. Je consentis à confier aux ressources bornées de son théâtre, qui ne possède pas le quart de celles de l'Académie Impériale de Musique, la partition des “ Troyens à Carthage ”, en en détachant “ La Prise de Troie ” et en composant un prologue pour justifier cette suppression. Il fallut alors engager Madame Charton-Demeur, la seule cantatrice capable de chanter et de jouer le rôle de Didon. Comme ce rôle la tentait beaucoup, elle consentit à faire un sacrifice en acceptant 6,000 francs par mois, au lieu des 8,000 que lui offrait le Théâtre Italien.

Mon ouvrage fut ainsi donné et les efforts et la hardiesse de Monsieur Carvalho parvinrent à réaliser ce que votre Altesse eût voulu obtenir en totalité pour moi de l'administration de l'Académie impériale. Mais après 21 représentations et un brillant succès, la cantatrice retourna au Théâtre Italien qu'elle n'avait quitté que momentanément et “ Les Troyens ” disparurent de l'affiche. Monsieur Carvalho a prouvé là, une fois de plus, qu'il était un artiste ; il a mis en scène sur son théâtre les chefs-d'œuvre de Gluck, de Mozart, de Weber, de Beethoven qu'on n'entendait nulle part à Paris et, sans lui, ma grande partition serait encore à cette heure complètement inconnue. Je ne puis m'empêcher de le signaler à votre attention, et si jamais votre Altesse jugeait convenable d'accorder à un directeur de théâtre une distinction honorifique, il n'y en a pas un en Europe, je le crois, qui en fut plus digne et plus heureux que Monsieur Carvalho. L'Opéra des “ Troyens ” a fait sensation. Aujourd'hui encore, il m'arrive souvent d'être arrêté dans les rues par des enthousiastes inconnus qui me remercient ou me félicitent de l'avoir produit. D'autres, au contraire, me lancent des regards de Schylock, comme si je les eusse insultés personnellement ; telle est la rage qu'excitent à Paris les manifestations du grand art parmi les partisans de la basse industrie musicale.

Maintenant, ma tâche est finie. “ Othello's occupation's gone. ” J'ai même donné ma démission de rédacteur du “ Journal des Débats ”. L'art étant mort chez nous, la critique n'est plus qu'une farce méprisable. Je ne me sens plus le courage d'écrire des riens sur des riens.

Je ne fais plus ni prose, ni vers, ni musique. On joue quelques-uns de mes ouvrages au loin, dans plusieurs villes d'Allemagne, en Amérique et ailleurs. J'ai fait 4 Opéras qu'on ne joue nulle part [Berlioz compte “ Les Troyens ” comme 2 Opéras.] . Je souffre cruellement, jour et nuit, d'une maladie nerveuse inexorable ; mais je me suis arrangé de manière à être toujours prêt et à pouvoir dire à la mort : “ Quant tu voudras. ”

Voilà, Monseigneur, ma confession. J'espère que votre Altesse me pardonnera de la lui avoir faite et qu'elle ne doutera pas de la reconnaissance profonde et attendrie avec laquelle je pense constamment à vos bontés. »

À Eduard Bock à Berlin (Correspondance Générale, n° 2913 ; 13 octobre, de Paris) :

« Je n'ai pas reçu l'exemplaire que vous m'annoncez de votre édition de “ Béatrice et Bénédicte ”. Je viens d'écrire à Monsieur Kœnnemann [Correspondance Générale, n° 2912] de vous envoyer les Ires feuilles de la Ire scène de la grande partition. J'ai écrit aussi à Monsieur Pohl, bien persuadé qu'il ne fera aucun cas de ma lettre ; c'est la 5e que je lui écris sans obtenir de réponse. En conséquence, si vous n'obtenez pas de lettre de lui d'ici à 10 jours, veuillez m'en informer ; je vous enverrai alors le dialogue français que vous pourrez faire traduire en allemand sous vos yeux,

à Berlin. À l'aide de la pièce de Shakespeare (" Much ado about nothing ") traduite par Schlegel, il y aura seulement à copier en beaucoup d'endroits, et cela prendra à peine 3 jours. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2820, 2827, 2840, 2851, 2855, 2858, 2871, 2887, 2888, 2905-2907, 2908, 2911, 2915, 2918, 2920, 2923, 2924.

1865

À Estelle Fornier (Correspondance Générale, n° 2984 ; 22 mars, de Paris) :

« Je voudrais être, plus tard, immensément admiré et célèbre, afin de vous rendre chère à mes admirateurs. Oh, vous serez chère aux Allemands surtout ; on vit encore de la vie de l'âme dans leurs pays. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 3008, 3021, 3025, 3046.

1866

À Peter Cornelius (Correspondance Générale, n° 3191 ; 12 décembre, Vienne) :

« Cher, bon, excellent camarade Cornelius !

Mille remerciements pour votre charmant souvenir que j'ai reçu hier, en revenant d'une exténuante répétition. Cela m'a ranimé. Vous êtes toujours le même. Je vous avais écrit de Paris avant mon départ, et j'ai été bien chagriné d'apprendre en arrivant que nous n'étiez plus à Vienne. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 3110, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3187.

1867

Le Comte von Wedel à Weimar à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 3217 ; 1er février) :

« Le Grand Duc vous fait dire à cette occasion, monsieur, qu'il a bien pensé à vous, surtout dernièrement où l'on a fait une très belle reprise de votre " Symphonie fantastique ", fort bien exécutée au théâtre grand-ducal et reçue avec tous les applaudissements du public qu'elle mérite à un si haut degré. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 3290 et 3296.

1882

Liszt au Grand-Duc Charles Alexandre de Saxe-Weimar (Correspondance entre Franz Liszt et Charles Alexandre, Grand

Duc de Saxe [Leipzig, 1909] , Lettre 172, page 187 ; 28 février, de Budapest) :

« Dans le petit volume des “ Lettres intimes ” de Berlioz à son ami Ferrand, publiées récemment, je lisais ceci [Correspondance Générale, n° 2805] : “ On n’est pas plus prince, ni plus charmant mécène que le Grand-Duc de Saxe-Weimar. ” Un tel éloge me fait si fort plaisir que j’en oublie volontiers l’exclamation du même Berlioz à propos de ma “ Messe de Gran ” [Correspondance Générale, n° 3116] : “ Quelle négation de l’art ! ” Qu’il ait raison sur vous, Monseigneur, et tort envers mon œuvre, reste mon souhait. »

1883

Liszt au Grand-Duc Charles Alexandre de Saxe-Weimar (Opus citatum, Lettre 182, page 196 ; 8 février, de Budapest) :

« 2 suppliques à vous soumettre aujourd’hui, Monseigneur.

Un ami de 30 ans, Richard Pohl, publie maintenant ses écrits en volumes. Le 1er, comme de raison, est consacré à Wagner et dédié au Roi Louis de Bavière, qui a gracieusement decerné la croix de Saint-Louis à Pohl. Le second volume, relatif à la période de Weimar de 1850 à 1860, sera dédié à Votre Altesse Royale, si Elle le permet, et je La prie d’accorder la croix de chevalier du Faucon à l’écrivain. Pohl a séjourné une dizaine d’années à Weimar, où sa femme était engagée comme harpiste au théâtre. Lui est un des meilleurs critiques et coopérateurs en musique ; il a traduit les œuvres littéraires de Berlioz, le livret de “ Béatrice et Bénédict ”, comme aussi celui de l’Opéra de Saint-Saëns, “ Samson ”, et, si je ne me trompe, plusieurs choses pour Madame Viardot. Voilà bien des points de rattachement avec Weimar, auxquels il ne manque que le ruban rouge. Votre Altesse Royale daignera combler ce vide. »

Liszt au Grand-Duc Charles Alexandre de Saxe-Weimar (Opus citatum, Lettre 186, page 200-201 ; 4 mars, de Budapest)

:

« Pour ce qui est de la modeste part qui revient à la musique, je me permets de réclamer l’attention de Votre Altesse Royale en l’honneur de la mémoire de Berlioz.

Des grands compositeurs français, Berlioz est celui qui a le plus de points de rattache avec Weimar. Son “ Benvenuto Cellini ”, merveilleux de verve et d’originalité, a été représenté plusieurs fois sur votre théâtre, malgré la chute que d’injuste préventions et une violente cabale lui ont fait subir à Paris, et une quinzaine d’années plus tard, à Londres. En agréant la dédicace de “ Cellini ”, Votre auguste mère daigna réparer les torts commis par d’autres théâtres.

Le second opéra de Berlioz (plus léger et de “ mezzo carattere ”) : “ Béatrice et Bénédict ”, est resté au répertoire du théâtre de Weimar, et je sais un des plus fins connaisseurs de l’Europe qui l’apprécie : Madame la Grande-Duchesse régnante.

Si mon activité, un peu trop énergique, j’en conviens, relativement à la température moyenne de la ville, avait continué à votre théâtre, j’y aurais certainement introduit au complet “ les Troyens ”, ouvrage des plus remarquables et

superbes, lequel n'obtint, du vivant de l'auteur, qu'un succès d'estime à Paris. Vous en connaissez des fragments, Monseigneur, et vous vous souvenez aussi que Berlioz a eu l'honneur de diriger ses admirables Symphonies aux concerts de votre cour.

Je communique au Baron de Loën la lettre que m'adresse le comité du monument Berlioz. Président : le Vicomte Delaborde, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des beaux-arts. Membres : Ambroise Thomas, Saint-Saëns, Massenet, etc. , de l'Institut de France.

Selon mon avis, il n'est pas opportun de suivre littéralement l'invitation du comité de Paris, en établissant des sous-comités à Weimar et à Budapest. En Allemagne et en Hongrie, nous avons à pourvoir à tant de monuments nationaux, et malheureusement, hélas ! à tant de victimes des inondations que nos bourses restent généralement à sec.

Ici, j'ai demandé à quelques bienveillants amis - le Cardinal Haynald, Géza Zichy, Albert Apponyi et d'autres de me remettre leur contribution pour le monument de Berlioz.

De Weimar, si Vos Altesses Royales daignent accorder un don, le Baron de Loën serait l'intermédiaire qualifié. »

Le Grand-Duc Charles Alexandre de Saxe-Weimar à Liszt (Opus citatum, Lettre 187, page 202 ; 8 mars, en réponse) :

« Votre lettre du 4 datée de Buda-Pest m'a trouvé presque en exécution des désirs qu'elle me transmet, puisque Monsieur de Loën m'avait déjà communiqué la demande concernant le monument de Berlioz. La somme de 600 marks qui réunit l'offrande de la Grande-Duchesse et la mienne sera remise à Monsieur de Loën pour répondre à l'appel que la conscience française artistique fait entendre pour prouver que ni république, ni monarchie n'ont su ni ne savent apprécier à temps le vrai mérite. Vous avez eu raison de compter de suite sur la compréhension weimarienne, mon cher ami et très vénéré Mæstro. »

Weimar autrefois, et particulièrement à l'époque de Berlioz :

Dès son arrivée à Weimar, en 1843, Berlioz tombe sous le charme de la ville (« Mémoires » : 1er voyage en Allemagne, 3e lettre) :

« Je sens quelque chose dans l'air qui m'annonce une ville littéraire, une ville artiste ! Son aspect répond parfaitement à l'idée que je m'en étais faite, elle est calme, lumineuse, aérée, pleine de paix et de rêverie ; des alentours charmants, de belles eaux, des collines ombreuses, de riantes vallées. Comme le cœur me bat en la parcourant ! Quoi ! C'est là le pavillon de Goëthe ! Voilà celui où feu le Grand-Duc aimait à venir prendre part aux doctes entretiens de Schiller, de Herder, de Wieland ! Cette inscription latine fut tracée sur ce rocher par l'auteur de " Faust " ! Est-il possible ? Ces 2 petites fenêtres donnent de l'air à la pauvre mansarde qu'habita Schiller ! C'est dans cet humble réduit que le grand poète de tous les nobles enthousiasmes écrivit " Don Carlos ", " Marie Stuart ", " les Brigands, Wallenstein " ! C'est là qu'il a vécu comme un simple étudiant ! »

Hôtel du Prince Héritaire, Place du Marché :

Pendant ses séjours à Weimar, de 1843 à 1863, Berlioz loge presque invariablement à l'hôtel, et semble-t-il toujours le même, le « Hotel zum Erbprinzen » (ou Hôtel du Prince Héritaire) . C'est le cas en janvier 1843 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 801, 803-4, 810) ; 1852 (Correspondance Générale, n° 1529) ; 1854 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1725 et 1739) ; 1856 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2075, 2091, 2100, 2149) ; 1863 (Correspondance Générale, n° 2707bis - tome VIII) ; et, sans doute aussi, en 1855. Mais les attestations semblent alors faire défaut. Bâti en 1749, l'hôtel était situé sur la place centrale ou Place du Marché (« Marktplatz ») , mais n'existe plus.

La chambre a été baptisée d'après Berlioz, mais rien ne prouve que Berlioz y ait logé. Cette chambre a été de même baptisée d'après Napoléon, mais rien ne prouve que l'Empereur y ait logé.

L'Hôtel-de-ville :

Situé sur la place du marché, le « Rathaus » (Hôtel-de-ville) original est détruit 2 fois par un incendie et reconstruit 2 fois. La structure néo-Gothique de l'Hôtel-de-ville date de 1841. Le 22 novembre 1852, Berlioz assiste là à un banquet en son honneur.

Le théâtre :

Le théâtre ducal connu de Berlioz est construit en 1825 par Baurat Steiner pour remplacer un bâtiment plus ancien, construit en 1779 et détruit par un incendie. Le nouveau théâtre, détruit lui aussi par un incendie en 1906, est reconstruit dans le style Classique par l'architecte Max Littmann, et ouvre en 1908. À la suite de bombardements par l'aviation américaine, le 9 février 1945, seule la façade principale reste debout ; le théâtre est ré-ouvert en 1948. Au fil des ans, le théâtre a été connu sous divers noms : le « Hoftheater » (1779) ; le « Hoftheater Weimar » (1825-1907) ; le « Nationaltheater » (1907) ; le « Deutsche Nationaltheater » et « Staatskapelle Weimar » (1999) .

Toutes les exécutions de « Benvenuto Cellini » , en 1852 et 1856, ainsi que celles de « Béatrice et Bénédict » en 1863, ont lieu dans ce théâtre, de même que les concerts dirigés par Berlioz en 1843, 1852, 1885 et 1856, sauf pour 2 concerts en 1855 et 1856 qui ont lieu dans une salle du palais. Pour l'exécution du « Retour à la vie » , le 21 février 1855, il faut aménager la scène pour la circonstance (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1899 et 1903) . C'est Liszt, directeur artistique du théâtre, de 1848 à 1858, qui dirige toutes les exécutions de « Benvenuto Cellini » ; dans une lettre, Berlioz exprime son regret que Liszt ne lui ait pas confié une seule exécution de son Opéra (Correspondance Générale, n° 2104) .

Le palais des Grands-Ducs de Saxe-Weimar :

Berlioz est invité à plusieurs réceptions au palais des Grands-Ducs (21 et 22 novembre 1852 ; 17 février 1855 ; 10 avril 1863) et se rend sans doute fréquemment au palais pendant ses séjours, à partir de 1852. 2 de ses concerts ont lieu dans une salle du palais (17 février 1852 ; 17 février 1856) ; dans une de ses lettres, il évoque la splendeur de

cette salle et l'éclat de son acoustique (Correspondance Générale, n° 1903) .

L'Altenburg :

L'Altenburg, vaste demeure sur la pente d'une colline juste à l'extérieur de Weimar et qui autrefois dominait la ville, est construit en 1811 par l' « Oberstallmeister » Friedrich von Seebach. Liszt et la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein s'y installent en 1848 et y logeront jusqu'à 1861.

À Weimar, Berlioz loge d'habitude à l'hôtel, et ne séjourne que rarement à l'Altenburg (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1445 : il hésite à cause de Marie Recio) , mais y rend très souvent visite et participe sans doute à de nombreuses réceptions (l'une d'elles a lieu le 23 novembre 1852 ; une autre le 18 février 1855) . 2 lettres de 1859 évoquent avec nostalgie les soirées que Berlioz y passait (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2343 et 2390) .

Une chambre de l'Altenburg, en 1855 :

Cette gravure provient de l' « Illustrirte Zeitung » , du 2 juin 1855 (n° 622, page 364) . Elle montre le salon de musique au 2e étage de l'Altenburg. Le petit instrument à clavier, au fond, avait appartenu à Mozart. Le grand piano est l'œuvre du facteur d'instruments Édouard Alexandre, ami de Berlioz, d'après une commande de Liszt. Berlioz servit d'intermédiaire dans la correspondance entre les 2 hommes. Par exemple, dans une lettre datée du 23 avril 1853 (Correspondance Générale, n° 1589) , Berlioz informe la princesse Carolyn Sayn-Wittgenstein des progrès dans la conception de l'instrument :

« J'ai vu Alexandre il y a quelque temps et il s'est refusé à me laisser voir ses préparatifs pour l'instrument de Liszt, m'assurant que je ne distinguerais rien et ne pourrais concevoir encore aucune idée de son plan. Il se croit plus que jamais sûr de réussir. La forme de l'instrument sera celle d'un piano à queue ordinaire, dont tout le dessous seulement sera plein jusqu'au niveau des pédales. »

(Voyez aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1556, 1558, 1559, 1568, 1620, 1624.) Dans ses feuilletons, Berlioz évoque, à plusieurs reprises, l'instrument à triple clavier inventé par Alexandre, qu'il nomme « piano-orgue » et appelle une fois « piano-Liszt » (par exemple, « Journal des Débats » : 3 mai 1856 ; 24 septembre et 14 décembre 1857) .

L'Ordre du Faucon Blanc, Saxe-Weimar :

Le Grand-Duc Charles Frédéric de Saxe-Weimar avait décoré Berlioz de l'Ordre du Faucon Blanc.

Berlioz et Wagner

« Au cher et grand auteur de Roméo et Juliette, l'auteur reconnaissant de “ Tristan et Yseult ”. »

(Wagner, dédicace sur la partition de « Tristan » , offerte à Berlioz en 1860 - Correspondance Générale, n° 2468.)

Le lecteur des autobiographies de Berlioz (« Mémoires ») et de Wagner (« Mein Leben ») sera sans doute frappé par la différente manière dont chaque auteur traite de l'autre. Wagner fait fréquemment allusion à Berlioz, de ses premiers contacts avec lui et sa musique, en 1839-1842, jusqu'aux dernières rencontres qu'il mentionne en 1860 quand il donne des concerts à Paris. Dès mai 1841, il publie dans le « Dresdner Abendzeitung » un article sur Berlioz. Les passages principaux de « Mein Leben » qui traitent de Berlioz sont réunis ci-dessous en traduction française (par Michel Austin) ; une page séparée donne le texte allemand original de ces extraits ainsi que d'un certain nombre de lettres échangées entre Liszt et Wagner, de 1852 à 1860, où il est question de Berlioz ; ces dernières sont présentées ci-dessous en traduction française (également par Michel Austin) . On pourra parfois déceler une certaine gêne chez Wagner chaque fois qu'il parle de Berlioz, et cela dès son article de 1841, mais Wagner a du moins reconnu le génie de son aîné et son influence sur son œuvre. L'inscription citée ci-dessus sur la partition de « Tristan und Isolde » qu'il offre à Berlioz, au début de 1860, accompagnée d'une lettre (Correspondance Générale, n° 2468) en donne un témoignage ouvert (voir aussi l'étude sur Berlioz et Wagner publiée par Georges de Massoungnes, en 1900) .

Par contre, le silence des « Mémoires » de Berlioz sur Wagner est très frappant : il n'y a en fait qu'un seul passage un peu développé qui le concerne, à propos de la visite de Berlioz à Dresde, en février 1843. Autrement, on ne trouve qu'une allusion passagère à la vente par Wagner du livret du « Hollandais Volant » , qui est ensuite donné à Dietsch, le chef des chœurs de l'Opéra : « Dietsch, qui inspirait à Monsieur le directeur beaucoup plus de confiance que Wagner, pour le mettre en musique ! » , dit de lui Berlioz ironiquement (Chapitre 57) . Le silence de Berlioz est voulu, comme il le déclare à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein, en 1865 : dans la Postface des « Mémoires » , qui embrasse la période critique de ses rapports avec Wagner : « Il n'y a pas un mot, dans le récit de mes 10 dernières années, qui ait trait à Wagner, ni à Liszt, ni à la musique de l'avenir. » (Correspondance Générale, n° 3008) Tandis que Wagner reconnaissait à sa manière le génie de Berlioz et sa dette envers lui, Berlioz, de son côté, a refusé à celui-ci la reconnaissance qu'il désirait de sa part. La question de Wagner était devenue pour Berlioz un sujet d'irritation, et il réagit en la passant carrément sous silence. On peut cependant reconstituer l'essentiel d'après d'autres écrits de Berlioz (ses travaux critiques et, surtout, sa correspondance) ainsi que par la correspondance de Wagner, Liszt et autres.

Chronologie

1803

11 décembre : Berlioz naît à La Côte Saint-André.

1813

22 mai : Wagner naît à Leipzig.

1839

15 décembre : Wagner, récemment arrivé à Paris, assiste à la 3^e exécution de « Roméo et Juliette » au Conservatoire, dirigée par Berlioz ; le concert comprend aussi les 2 1^{ers} mouvements de « Harold en Italie », un mouvement du « Requiem », et l'air d'Ascanio de « Benvenuto Cellini » .

1840

14 août : Wagner assiste à la 3^e exécution de la « Symphonie funèbre et triomphale » à la Salle Vivienne, dirigée par Berlioz.

1841

5 mai : Article de Wagner sur Berlioz dans la « Dresdner Abendzeitung » .

23 et 30 mai : Articles de Wagner sur « Der Freischütz » dans la « Gazette musicale » .

1843

Du 6 au 18-19 février : Berlioz à Dresde, où il rencontre Wagner, entend « Rienzi » et « Le Vaisseau Fantôme » .

12 septembre : Publication dans le « Journal des Débats » de la 5^e lettre (Dresde) du « Voyage musical en Allemagne » .

1849

16 février : Liszt dirige la 1^{re} exécution à Weimar du « Tannhäuser » de Wagner.

1850

28 août : Liszt dirige la 1^{re} exécution à Weimar du « Lohengrin » de Wagner.

1853

10 octobre : Berlioz, Liszt et Wagner se rencontrent à l'hôtel de Liszt, à Paris.

11 octobre : Berlioz accueille Liszt et Wagner au petit-déjeuner ; Berlioz chante et Liszt joue des extraits de « Benvenuto Cellini » .

1855

8 juin : Berlioz et Marie Recio quittent Paris pour Londres.

11 juin : Une répétition empêche Berlioz d'assister à un concert dirigé par Wagner où il joue l'Ouverture de « Tannhäuser » .

13 juin : Concert à « Exeter Hall » dirigé par Berlioz, en présence de Wagner.

Vers le 20 juin : Berlioz et Wagner dînent ensemble au domicile de Sainton où ils ont une longue conversation.

25 juin : Berlioz dîne avec Wagner avant un concert dirigé par Wagner et prend un verre avec lui après.

1856

Vers le 18 février : Liszt dirige une exécution de « Lohengrin » à Weimar ; Berlioz et Marie Recio sortent pendant le 2^e acte.

24 février : 2^e exécution de « Lohengrin » sous la direction de Liszt, en présence de Berlioz et Marie Recio.

1858

20 janvier : Berlioz reçoit une visite de Wagner à Paris et lui lit le livret des « Troyens » .

23 janvier : Berlioz rend visite à Wagner à son hôtel à Paris.

1859

15 septembre : Wagner arrive à Paris pour un séjour de 19 mois.

23 octobre : Berlioz et Wagner se rencontrent dans la rue.

1860

25 janvier : 1^{er} concert de Wagner à Paris, en présence de Berlioz.

1 février : 2^e concert de Wagner ; Berlioz n'y assiste pas.

8 février : 3^e concert de Wagner.

9 février : Publication du compte-rendu de Berlioz dans le « Journal des Débats » .

22 février : Lettre ouverte de Wagner à Berlioz dans le « Journal des Débats » .

22 et 23 mai : Échange de lettres entre Wagner et Berlioz à propos des articles de Berlioz sur le « Fidelio » de Beethoven.

Juillet : Rencontre chez Madame Viardot où le 2e acte de « Tristan » est joué par Viardot, Wagner et Klindworth en présence de Berlioz et Madame Kalergis.

1861

13 mars : 1re exécution de « Tannhäuser » à l'Opéra, en présence de Berlioz.

18 mars : 2e exécution de « Tannhäuser » .

24 mars : 3e et dernière exécution de « Tannhäuser » .

Mai : Wagner quitte Paris pour ne jamais y revenir.

1863

6 avril : Berlioz assiste à une exécution de « Tannhäuser » à Weimar.

Berlioz et Wagner : 1839-1843

Après la publication de sa lettre sur sa visite à Dresde, Berlioz semble ne plus avoir pensé à Wagner pendant plusieurs années, si l'on peut tirer argument du silence, en apparence total, sur lui dans ce qui subsiste de sa correspondance. On pourrait avancer que Berlioz, tout en reconnaissant en Wagner un compositeur d'importance et un nom avec lequel il fallait compter, n'avait d'emblée pas de sympathie naturelle pour son style musical et ne s'y est donc pas attardé outre mesure.

Liszt, Wagner et Berlioz : 1849-1855

Les choses auraient pu en rester là, et les carrières de Berlioz et Wagner auraient pu se poursuivre indépendamment l'une de l'autre sauf pour l'intervention de Liszt. Quand Liszt prend la décision de s'établir de manière permanente à Weimar, en 1848, son 1er objectif est de faire jouer la musique de Wagner, à laquelle il vient d'être converti : il fait monter « Tannhäuser » en 1849 et, l'année suivante, dirige la 1re exécution de « Lohengrin » . Berlioz est prévenu tôt des intentions de Liszt, comme il ressort d'une lettre de janvier 1849 dans laquelle Liszt l'informe de ses projets, attire son attention sur « Tannhäuser » et suggère, peut-être naïvement, que Berlioz serait flatté d'y reconnaître des emprunts par Wagner à « Roméo et Juliette » . (Correspondance Générale, n° 1242bis) La réponse de Berlioz, s'il y en eut, n'est pas connue ; le nom de Wagner n'apparaît pas dans sa correspondance pendant encore plusieurs années, et

il semble qu'il n'ait pas relevé l'allusion.

Ce que Berlioz ne sait sans doute pas, c'est que, depuis avril 1852, Liszt est en train de débattre avec Wagner sa décision de soutenir Berlioz, et non seulement Wagner, à Weimar. La contestation porte d'abord sur la reprise de « Benvenuto Cellini », en 1852 : Wagner essaie de dissuader Liszt de son projet et, dans cet esprit, n'a pas scrupule à dénigrer une œuvre qui lui est pratiquement inconnue. (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettres numéros 70, 71, 78.) Quelques mois plus tard, il élargit sa critique contre les insuffisances présumées de Berlioz : selon lui, ce qu'il faut à Berlioz c'est un poète et Wagner, du même coup, condamne « la Damnation de Faust », œuvre qui lui est tout aussi inconnue que « Cellini » et qu'il confond avec une « Symphonie ». Néanmoins, il se déclare prêt à venir au secours de Berlioz en lui offrant un poème qu'il n'a plus l'intention de mettre en musique et dont Liszt ne veut pas non plus. (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 79) Liszt, d'abord interloqué, admet le bien-fondé de certaines des objections de Wagner mais persiste dans sa conviction : « Benvenuto Cellini » est un chef-d'œuvre qui mérite bien d'être repris. (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettres numéros 81, 82, 135, 145.) Rien n'indique que Berlioz ait jamais eu vent de tous ces débats, et on remarquera au passage que, de son côté, Berlioz n'a jamais cherché à dissuader Liszt de défendre d'autres compositeurs que Berlioz.

L'ambition évidente de Liszt de réconcilier les 2 compositeurs contemporains qu'il admire le plus s'inscrit dans le cadre de son grand projet d'être le guide d'un mouvement en faveur de la musique progressive dont Weimar serait le centre. Liszt, pour sa part, n'a aucune difficulté à entretenir les meilleurs rapports avec les 2 hommes, et dispose d'un avantage de taille : il parle et écrit couramment à la fois le français (avec Berlioz) et l'allemand (avec Wagner) . Berlioz, de son côté, ne sait pas l'allemand et ne manifeste aucune intention de l'apprendre, tandis que Wagner, qui a une certaine connaissance du français comme on peut le voir d'après sa correspondance et son autobiographie, est conscient de ses limites. (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettres numéros 124, 187, 301a ; « Mein Leben », Band II, pages 616-618.) Il souligne aussi, à plusieurs reprises, que Berlioz ne peut jamais le comprendre complètement du fait de son ignorance de l'allemand (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 192 ; Correspondance Générale, n° 2481) , objection que Berlioz est prêt à lui accorder (Correspondance Générale, n° 2014) . La question de langue est certes importante, et ce n'est pas par hasard que la correspondance entre Berlioz et Wagner semble avoir été très limitée, en comparaison avec leurs propres correspondances avec Liszt. Mais tout ne peut se réduire à la question de langue : Berlioz entretient des rapports étroits avec des musiciens allemands dont la connaissance du français était approximative, tel Robert Griepenkerl à Brunswick (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1542) . Les différences de tempérament sont, par contre, fondamentales. La question d'âge a aussi son importance et Wagner, pour sa part, en est conscient (se reporter à « Mein Leben », Band I, pages 229-231 ; et Band II, pages 616-618) , mais elle n'a aussi jamais empêché Berlioz et Liszt de se traiter en égaux. Une autre difficulté est purement pratique : pour Berlioz et Wagner, les occasions de se rencontrer et parler face à face sont restreintes au cours des années 1850, puisque Wagner est exilé d'Allemagne pendant tout ce temps. Les quelques rencontres qui ont donc lieu sont soit à Paris, soit à Londres, dans les rares occasions où ils s'y trouvent tous les 2 en même temps.

Dès l'été de 1853, et peut-être plus tôt, Liszt visiblement presse Berlioz de se rapprocher de Wagner : Berlioz se

déclare prêt et veut bien passer outre à quelques remarques critiques publiées par Wagner sur son compte. (Correspondance Générale, n° 1620) En octobre 1853, Liszt, Wagner et Berlioz se trouvent à Paris ensemble pendant quelques jours (se reporter à « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 124) et se rencontrent à 2 reprises (le 10 et 11 octobre) , juste avant un nouveau départ de Berlioz pour l'Allemagne. Les réactions de Berlioz à cette rencontre ne sont pas connues (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1633) mais, d'après l'allusion dans l'autobiographie de Wagner (« Mein Leben », Band II, page 597) , les résultats ne semblent pas concluants.

La prochaine occasion se présente 2 ans plus tard, en juin 1855, quand Wagner et Berlioz se trouvent par hasard tous les 2 à Londres pour y diriger des concerts (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1972 et 1975) . Malgré leurs engagements, ils parviennent chacun à assister à un concert dirigé par l'autre ; vers le 20 juin, ils se rencontrent longuement autour d'un dîner au domicile de Sainton à Londres, et se revoient le 25 juin, avant et après le dernier concert de Wagner. Tous les 2 font part à Liszt peu après de leur rencontre (Correspondance Générale, n° 1987, se reporter à 1991 ; « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 187) et Wagner y consacre aussi un développement dans son autobiographie. (« Mein Leben », Band II, pages 616-618) Les récits des 2 hommes s'accordent sur la cordialité d'une rencontre qui leur permet de mieux se connaître qu'avant ; après leur retour de Londres, ils échangent des lettres amicales et aussi quelques-unes de leurs œuvres. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1986, 2012, 2014 ; se reporter à « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 192 ; et « Mein Leben », Band II, page 625.) Liszt est ravi : ses rêves de concorde au sein du camp de la musique progressive semblent en voie de se réaliser et, dans sa lettre à Wagner, il transcrit quelques lignes de la lettre de Berlioz. (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig (1910) : lettre n° 188.)

« La musique de l'avenir » : 1855-1858

Apparences cependant trompeuses, et les sources possibles de désaccord ne manquent pas. L'appréciation qu'ils expriment chacun sur la direction d'orchestre de l'autre met à jour la différence de leurs tempéraments musicaux. (Wagner sur Berlioz : « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 187 ; et « Mein Leben », Band II, pages 616-618 ; Berlioz sur Wagner : Correspondance Générale, n° 1991.) Et il y a d'autres points de désaccord. Berlioz reproche à Wagner son dédain de Mendelssohn (Correspondance Générale, n° 1987) et soupçonne la sincérité de ses protestations d'amitié. (Correspondance Générale, n° 1991.) Le récit plus tardif donné par Wagner dans son autobiographie (« Mein Leben », Band II, pages 616-618) émet plus de réserves envers Berlioz que ses lettres de 1855 à Liszt, où il a peut-être caché ses doutes. Et surtout, malgré la chaleur momentanée de leurs rapports personnels, les réserves émises dès 1843 par Berlioz sur la musique de Wagner font surface de nouveau. La 1^{re} indication en est une lettre de Berlioz à son jeune protégé Théodore Ritter (Correspondance Générale, n° 2059) , où Berlioz utilise pour la 1^{re} fois l'expression « la musique de l'avenir » et, dans un sens péjoratif, mais toutefois sans l'associer encore explicitement à Wagner. Cette expression malencontreuse, source de tant de malentendus et de controverses, ne remonte pas à Wagner lui-même, comme il le soulignera à Berlioz plus tard (Correspondance Générale, n° 2481, février 1860) , mais elle est déjà monnaie courante et souvent liée au nom de Wagner. Berlioz apprend à mieux connaître la musique de Wagner, mais son verdict n'en devient pas plus favorable. On peut supposer qu'il aura

parcouru la partition de « Lohengrin » qu'il possède (Correspondance Générale, n° 2014) en avance des exécutions à Weimar, en février 1856. Berlioz sort de la première pendant le second acte mais écoute la 2e jusqu'au bout, et le résultat est de faire éclater au grand jour son désaccord avec Liszt sur Wagner. Liszt écrit à Wagner le mois suivant mais sans souffler mot de la réaction de Berlioz à « Lohengrin », silence que Wagner ne peut se manquer de relever. (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettres numéros 207 et 208.)

« Les néo-Weimariens forment un club de jeunes artistes dits progressistes, dont je suis censé porter le drapeau. »

Tel est le commentaire prudent que Berlioz fait des célébrations en son honneur à Weimar, l'année précédente. (Correspondance Générale, n° 1899.)

Mais, en juin 1856, sa position s'est durcie, comme il ressort des remarques sur son élection à l'Institut qu'il confie à Henri Litolff, qui avait pris partie pour lui dans la dispute sur Wagner à Weimar, en février : Berlioz rejette toutes les dénominations et tient bien à marquer sa distance de « la musique de l'avenir ». (Correspondance Générale, n° 2143.) Mais, quelques jours plus tard, la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein souligne avec insistance que l'élection de Berlioz est précisément une victoire « pour tous les musiciens de l'avenir » ! (Correspondance Générale, n° 2148ter.) En août, écrivant à la princesse sur son travail en cours sur les « Troyens », Berlioz insère un paragraphe frappant où il défend sa conception du rôle de la musique qu'il contraste avec « le crime de Wagner » qui « veut réduire la musique à des accents expressifs ». (Correspondance Générale, n° 2163.) Il veut manifestement dissiper toute confusion entre Wagner et lui-même.

Au début de 1858, Wagner est de retour à Paris et rencontre Berlioz, qui lui lit le poème des « Troyens ». Une lettre de Berlioz à son fils, peu après, garde un mutisme frappant sur ses rencontres avec Wagner, mais décrit Hans von Bülow avec lequel il vient d'échanger des lettres (Correspondance Générale, n° 2273) comme « l'un des plus fervents disciples de cette école insensée qu'on appelle en Allemagne, " l'école de l'avenir " » dont Berlioz se refuse à faire partie. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2274.) Visiblement, Bülow espère encore réconcilier les 2 géants de la musique contemporaine. Une autre lettre de Berlioz, à la princesse, fait allusion à sa rencontre avec Wagner, mais seulement en termes généraux et sans mentionner la lecture du poème des « Troyens ». (Correspondance Générale, n° 2279) Le témoignage de Wagner est différent : il réagit très défavorablement au nouvel Opéra (ou, du moins, à son livret, car il n'a rien entendu de la musique) dans une lettre à Hans von Bülow et aussi, plus tard, dans son autobiographie. (« Mein Leben », Band II, page 663 ; voir aussi « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 251 ; Liszt et Richard Wagner. « Sämtliche Briefe », tome XI, lettre n° 117.) Son jugement négatif a pu être influencé précisément par le fait qu'il sait que c'est la princesse qui a encouragé Berlioz à écrire l'Opéra. Quelques semaines plus tard, le ton monte encore : Joseph d'Ortigue, ami de Berlioz, publie un article dans le « Journal des Débats » (2 juin 1858) dans lequel il s'empresse de dissocier Berlioz (et Litolff) de tout lien avec « la musique de l'avenir » qu'il caractérise en termes peu flatteurs. Hans von Bülow, qui soupçonne l'influence de Berlioz derrière la publication de l'article, est outré.

« L'école du charivari » : 1859-1868

Berlioz n'a pas inventé l'expression « la musique de l'avenir » ni son application à la musique de Wagner, mais une autre expression « l'école du charivari » entre dans son vocabulaire, en 1860, et devient synonyme pour lui avec « la musique de l'avenir ». Berlioz utilise souvent le mot « charivari » dans le sens de « bruit », « confusion », « désordre » (par exemple, Correspondance Générale, numéros 2100, 2192, 2202, 2219). C'était aussi bien entendu le nom d'un journal satirique de Paris, et Berlioz avait souvent été en butte à ses attaques. Il semble que l'expression « l'école du charivari » soit une invention de Berlioz qu'il associe dans son esprit à la musique de Wagner.

Les Ires expériences de Wagner à Paris, en 1839-1842, compositeur alors jeune et peu connu, sont parmi les épisodes les plus malheureux de sa vie. On pourrait considérer son retour à Paris, en septembre 1859, pour un séjour qui se prolongera jusqu'à mai 1861 comme la contrepartie à ce 1er séjour : compositeur maintenant célèbre avec une série d'œuvres majeures à son actif, Wagner veut y faire connaître sa musique et établir sa position dans ce qui est encore la capitale du monde de la musique de l'époque. C'est aussi au cours de son 1er séjour parisien que Wagner a rencontré Berlioz, dont la musique a fait une telle impression sur lui. 20 ans après, il considère toujours Berlioz comme l'un des 3 grands compositeurs de l'époque, en même compagnie que Liszt et Wagner lui-même. (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 301a.) L'un de ses espoirs, en 1859, semble maintenant de renouer le dialogue avec Berlioz sur le terrain de la musique (et pas seulement sur le plan personnel, comme à Londres en 1855) - d'où, entre autres, la dédicace sur l'exemplaire de la partition de « Tristan und Isolde » qu'il offre à Berlioz, au début de 1860. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2468.)

C'est précisément ce que Liszt pressait Berlioz depuis des années à faire avec Wagner. Selon une lettre de Hans von Bülow, qui a pu être informé par Wagner lui-même, Berlioz réagit avec lenteur au don fait par Wagner de la partition, et Bülow en est outré. Il se trouve que l'exemplaire de « Tristan », donné à Berlioz par Wagner, existe encore ; d'après les nombreuses annotations critiques crayonnées par Berlioz sur la partition, on peut constater que Berlioz a lu l'ouvrage de près. (Voir « Le Ménestrel » du 28 septembre 1884, pages 348-349 ; et une série d'articles dans le même journal, en octobre 1884.) Mais Berlioz refuse son adhésion et, avec le recul du temps, on peut avancer qu'il était déjà trop tard pour réaliser « l'entente cordiale » que Liszt souhaitait. Le résultat, en 1860, est un dialogue de sourds au cours duquel Berlioz et Liszt vont s'éloigner encore plus l'un de l'autre.

À l'automne de 1859, Wagner et Berlioz ont plusieurs fois l'occasion de se rencontrer. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2425, 2428, 2431, 2433, 2451.) Wagner est occupé à la préparation d'une série de concerts de sa musique. Selon son autobiographie, il tente d'obtenir le soutien de Berlioz ; ce dernier, d'abord obligeant, aurait ensuite été mis au pas par l'intervention de Marie Recio (« Mein Leben », Band II, pages 706-708) qui a pu concevablement jouer un rôle en compliquant les rapports entre lui et Wagner. (Voir aussi « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 301a.) Quoiqu'il en soit, les concerts de Wagner sont, pour Berlioz, une charge importune : ce n'est pas la 1re fois qu'il se voit obligé de rendre compte de musique qui lui est antipathique, mais Wagner est une autre affaire que les innombrables médiocrités que Berlioz a dû subir tout au long de sa carrière de critique musical, et il ne peut être tout simplement négligé. La correspondance de Berlioz est éloquente à ce sujet. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2464, 2471, 2472, 2473 ; se reporter à 2480.)

Le compte-rendu du 1er concert, publié dans le « Journal des Débats », le 9 février, coûte à Berlioz bien de la peine

(se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2476, 2477) ; elle paraît sous le titre : « Concerts de Richard Wagner », mais avec le sous-titre inquiétant : « La Musique de l'Avenir ». Après quelques remarques préliminaires l'article décrit en détail les morceaux joués et mêle louange à quelques critiques. On remarquera que Berlioz, tant dans cet article que dans ses autres écrits, ne fait jamais allusion aux échos de sa propre musique dans Wagner qui, pourtant, devaient lui être évidents. Des années plus tôt, Liszt avait attiré son attention sur les ressemblances entre « Roméo et Juliette » et l'Ouverture de « Tannhäuser » (Correspondance Générale, n° 1242bis), et la dédicace de Wagner sur la partition de « Tristan » veut évidemment faire acte de cette dette. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2468.) L'influence de Berlioz sur Wagner faisait d'ailleurs l'objet d'un débat parmi leurs contemporains, comme les souvenirs d'Ernest Reyer, ami de Berlioz, l'attestent. D'autre part, Berlioz ne pouvait bien entendu savoir que le livret des « Maîtres-chanteurs » allait adapter d'importants éléments de « Benvenuto Cellini » : de même que « Tristan und Isolde » est la réponse de Wagner à « Roméo et Juliette », « les Maîtres-chanteurs » peuvent être considérés comme la contrepartie wagnérienne de « Benvenuto Cellini ».

Après examen des différents morceaux joués, le compte-rendu résume la personnalité musicale de Wagner :

« On doit en conclure, ce me semble, qu'il possède cette rare intensité de sentiment, cette ardeur intérieure, cette puissance de volonté, cette foi qui subjuguent, émeuvent et entraînent ; mais que ces qualités auraient bien plus d'éclat si elles étaient unies à plus d'invention, à moins de recherche et à une plus juste appréciation de certains éléments constitutifs de l'art. »

Jusqu'à ce point, Wagner n'aurait pu sérieusement tirer ombrage du compte-rendu et, à certains égards, il aurait même pu s'en féliciter. Mais Berlioz va plus loin : il se sent obligé de soulever la question de « la musique de l'avenir » et de prendre position sur les principes supposés d'une prétendue « école » à laquelle le nom de Wagner était indissolublement lié. Il s'y sent obligé parce que son propre nom y a été parfois associé et il veut de nouveau marquer ses distances. Le compte-rendu conclut ainsi sur un ton ambigu et polémique.

L'importance que Berlioz attache au compte-rendu est attestée par son inclusion, 2 ans plus tard (1862), dans « À Travers chants » (Chapitre 24), son dernier recueil d'articles critiques qui a valeur de profession de foi musicale. La place donnée au chapitre est voulue et accablante : il suit un bref commentaire sur le déclin de l'art musical à Paris à l'époque (« Les temps sont proches ») et est bientôt suivi (Chapitre 26) par un article à la louange des Symphonies de Henri Reber (tirés tous 2 de feuilletons dans le « Journal des Débats », du 3 janvier et du 23 juillet 1861). Le style musical de Reber est caractérisé en ces termes :

« Son harmonie est plus hardie que celle de Haydn et de Mozart, sans indiquer pourtant le moindre penchant pour les discordances féroces, pour le style charivarique systématiquement adopté depuis 4 ou 5 ans par quelques musiciens allemands dont la raison n'est pas bien saine, et qui fait à cette heure l'épouvante et l'horreur de la civilisation musicale. »

L'allusion à l'écriture harmonique de Wagner est évidente et renvoie au compte-rendu du concert : chacun des 3 derniers paragraphes du compte-rendu utilise des mots dérivés de « charivari » pour décrire certaines des

caractéristiques présumées de « la musique de l'avenir ». L'expression sera utilisée de nouveau par Berlioz dans un de ses derniers feuilletons (20 mars 1863) avec une allusion indirecte à Wagner, mais sans le nommer.

Wagner se sent provoqué et obligé de répondre : dans une longue lettre ouverte à Berlioz publiée dans le « Journal des Débats », le 22 février, il se distance de l'appellation « musique de l'avenir » qui n'est pas son invention, puis développe longuement la thèse de son livre de 1849, « L'Œuvre d'art de l'avenir », source de la confusion. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2481 ; « Mein Leben », Band II, page 716.) Berlioz ne répond pas (Correspondance Générale, n° 2492), mais Wagner ne renonce pas et veut visiblement poursuivre le débat. Quand, en mai, Berlioz publie 2 articles sur le « Fidelio » de Beethoven (repris pour l'essentiel dans « À Travers chants », Chapitre 4), Wagner est mû à lui écrire une chaleureuse lettre de remerciements qui tente d'exprimer sa conviction qu'il est possible aux grands esprits de s'entendre (Correspondance Générale, n° 2503 ; « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 301a) ; Berlioz répond le lendemain. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2504) C'est le dernier échange de lettres connu entre eux. Ils se rencontrent de nouveau en juillet quand Wagner organise, pour le compte d'une admiratrice (Madame Kalergis), une exécution privée chez Madame Viardot du 2e acte de « Tristan », avec Wagner et Viardot se partageant la distribution et Klindworth, invité de Londres pour l'occasion (se reporter à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1991), jouant la réduction de l'orchestre au piano. Berlioz n'a jusqu'alors entendu que le prélude de l'Opéra, qui lui a paru incompréhensible : c'est pour lui l'occasion d'entendre le cœur de l'œuvre. Selon l'autobiographie de Wagner, la seule source semble-t-il pour cet épisode (« Mein Leben », Band II, page 731), c'est Pauline Viardot qui aurait persuadé Berlioz de venir dans l'espoir de le réconcilier avec Wagner. (Elle connaissait les sentiments de Berlioz : Correspondance Générale, numéros 2471, 2473, 2477, 2480.) Selon le récit de Wagner, Berlioz aurait été peu communicatif et l'affaire finit là.

On pourrait hasarder ici l'hypothèse que l'écoute de « Tristan » a peut-être influencé Berlioz plus qu'il ne paraît à l're vue : quelques mois plus tard, à l'improviste et sur sa propre initiative, Berlioz entreprend la composition de sa dernière œuvre majeure, l'Opéra « Béatrice et Bénédict », qui traite un thème d'amour mais de manière légère et ironique. Serait-ce de la part de Berlioz la contrepartie voulue de la passion dévorante de « Tristan und Isolde », lui-même la contrepartie wagnérienne de « Roméo et Juliette » ?

Quoiqu'il en soit, la réunion en juillet semble être la dernière occasion où Berlioz et Wagner se trouvent face à face et, dans l'autobiographie de Wagner, il n'est pas question de la réaction de Berlioz aux exécutions de « Tannhäuser », en mars 1861. Wagner a tout simplement renoncé à Berlioz. Berlioz, de son côté, est exaspéré (et on le comprend) de voir l'œuvre de Wagner prendre le pas à l'Opéra sur ses « Troyens » qui n'ont toujours pas été exécutés, à grands frais et avec l'appui de l'Empereur qui a traité l'œuvre de Berlioz avec indifférence. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2857 ; « Mémoires » : Postface.) Il réagit en refusant de faire aucun commentaire en public sur l'ouvrage, sans doute pour éviter les désagréments du compte-rendu des concerts de Wagner l'année précédente (il laisse à son ami d'Ortigue le soin de le faire). Mais en privé à ses amis, il donne libre cours à ses sentiments et ne semble avoir assisté qu'à la 1re exécution. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2534, 2535, 2536, 2538, 2542, 2545.) Pour Berlioz, Wagner est maintenant sans ambage un membre de « l'école du charivari » qui a le soutien de Liszt. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2536, 2542 ; en l'occurrence, Liszt n'assistera pas aux exécutions : Correspondance Générale, n° 2538.) Le ressentiment a visiblement faussé le jugement de Berlioz, ce qui semble avoir inquiété même certains de ses

amis : l'insistance avec laquelle Théophile Gautier s'attarde sur Wagner dans la nécrologie qu'il publie sur Berlioz, en 1869, le laisse supposer. (Voir aussi les souvenirs d'Ernest Reyer sur Berlioz : il estimait ne pas avoir à choisir entre Wagner et Berlioz.)

On possède un aperçu intéressant sur la première houleuse de « Tannhäuser » à Paris dans une lettre de Marie Recio-Berlioz à ses nièces, Joséphine et Nancy Suat, du 20 mars 1861, une semaine après l'exécution à laquelle elle avait assisté en compagnie de Berlioz (la lettre se trouve au Musée Hector Berlioz) . Dans cette lettre, Marie exulte sur la débâcle de l'Opéra :

« Nous voilà débarrassés de toute la clique de “ la musique de l'avenir ”, il faut espérer du moins qu'après si rude épreuve, elle en restera là. »

2 ans après les représentations de l'Opéra, et dans un meilleur état d'esprit, Berlioz entend « Tannhäuser » à Weimar (ni Liszt, ni Wagner ne sont présents) , et il est capable de formuler un brève appréciation des beautés de l'œuvre. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2708.) Mais, visiblement, il ne veut pas s'attarder sur un sujet qui lui est pénible, et les quelques références à Wagner dans ses lettres, par la suite, sont hostiles. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2750, 2843, 2888 ; se reporter à 2920.) Une des dernières lettres de sa correspondance, du critique russe Vladimir Stasov, un de ses chauds partisans, suppose que Berlioz serait heureux de voir Wagner et « la musique de l'avenir » dénigrés par rapport à la sienne. (Correspondance Générale, n° 3375.) On comprend pourquoi Berlioz a préféré éliminer toute mention de Wagner, Liszt et « la musique de l'avenir » de l'avant-dernier chapitre de ses « Mémoires » avec lequel se termine sa carrière de musicien. (Correspondance Générale, n° 3008.)

Choix de lettres de Berlioz, Wagner et autres

La correspondance de Berlioz et Wagner est peu développée et seuls quelques textes ont survécu ; voici la liste des lettres connues (les chiffres renvoient à Correspondance Générale) :

Lettres de Berlioz à Wagner

1840 : 757 (12 octobre) .

1855 : 2014 (10 septembre) .

1859-1860 : 2425.

1859 : 2431 (vers le 11 novembre) ; 2433 (18 novembre) .

1860 : 2464 (12 janvier) ; 2476 (2 février) ; 2504 (23 mai) .

Lettres de Wagner à Berlioz

1860 : 2468 (21 janvier) ; 2481 (vers le 15 février) ; 2503 (22 mai) .

1849

Voir la Correspondance Générale, n° 1242bis.

1852

Liszt à Wagner, 7 avril (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 70) :

« Les informations les plus détaillées sur la mise en scène de l'Opéra de Berlioz sont fournies par le journal de Brendel [la " Neue Zeitschrift für Musik ", 2 et 30 avril 1852] . Pour ma part, j'ajouterai seulement que les raisons qui m'ont décidé pour cet Opéra se sont avérées entièrement justes et susceptibles de favoriser mon activité ici. Pourquoi " Cellini " à Weimar ? Voilà une question à laquelle je n'ai pas besoin de donner de réponse à tout le monde, mais dont la solution dans la pratique devrait nous satisfaire. Au départ, tu n'as sans doute pas bien compris l'affaire, mais tu le comprendras mieux plus tard. En tout cas, je crois que si tu n'es pas porté à faire des suppositions en l'air, tu me donneras raison. »

Wagner à Liszt, 13 avril (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 71) :

« Que t'est il donc venu à l'oreille au sujet de mon attitude envers la mise en scène de " Cellini " ? Il me semble que tu me supposes hostile. Je voudrais te détromper. Je considère ton initiative comme une question d'engagement personnel de ta part qui découle de ton amitié pour Berlioz : quel animal serais-je si je voulais te faire reproche de cette amitié et de cette initiative ! Chacun doit suivre les élans de son cœur comme tu le fais, ou mieux encore, chacun devrait avoir un cœur comme le tien. La situation serait alors vite différente. Ici aussi, je ne peux que me réjouir pour toi. Ce n'est que quand un pareil élan doit aussi satisfaire le bon sens que je dois exprimer mon avis qu'on risque de commettre des erreurs qui peuvent paraître évidentes à une tierce personne. Je ne peux absolument pas croire aux conséquences que (d'après ce qu'on me dit) tu attends de la mise en scène de " Cellini " : c'est tout ! Est-ce que mes doutes peuvent faire la moindre différence à mon opinion sur ton action ? Absolument pas ! De tout mon cœur, je te dis : tu as bien fait, et je voudrais aussi pouvoir dire la même chose à bien des personnes. »

Liszt à Wagner, 23 août (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 78) :

« À la mi-novembre, j'attends Berlioz ; on ne doit pas mettre de côté son " Cellini " (sauf pour une coupure assez considérable) - parce qu'en dépit de toutes les bêtises qui circulent à son propos, " Cellini " est et reste une œuvre d'envergure qu'il faut placer très haut. J'ai la certitude qu'elle te plaira beaucoup. »

Wagner à Liszt, 8 septembre (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 79) :

« Ceci me mène à Berlioz et Raff. Je suis franchement attristé que Berlioz s'occupe encore de la révision de son " Cellini ". Si je ne me trompe, cette œuvre remonte à plus de 12 ans : est-ce que Berlioz n'a pas fait assez de progrès depuis pour être en mesure de faire quelque chose de complètement différent ? Il doit vraiment manquer terriblement de confiance en soi pour avoir à revenir à un ouvrage tellement ancien. Bülow a vu tout à fait juste quant au défaut de " Cellini " : c'est le poème et la situation fautive où elle met le compositeur d'avoir à couvrir, par des moyens purement musicaux, les insuffisances que seul le poète peut combler. Berlioz ne pourra jamais sauver ce " Cellini " : mais qu'est-ce qui compte le plus, " Cellini " ou Berlioz ? Laisse donc aller le 1er pour venir en aide au second ! C'est pour moi quelque chose d'horrible d'assister à ces efforts surhumains pour ranimer cette œuvre. Au nom du ciel, Berlioz devrait écrire un nouvel Opéra ; s'il ne le fait pas, ce sera son plus grand malheur, car une seule chose peut le sauver : le drame, et son refus obstiné de suivre le seul moyen d'en sortir ne peut que le mener toujours plus bas à sa perte. Ce dilemme ne sera qu'aggravé par une nouvelle tentative sur un vieux problème, où le poète lui fait défaut et il ne peut que chercher constamment à le remplacer par sa musique.

Crois-moi, j'aime Berlioz, malgré la défiance avec laquelle il s'obstine à garder sa distance envers moi ; il ne me connaît pas, mais moi je le connais. S'il y a quelqu'un dont j'attende quelque chose, c'est bien Berlioz, mais pas de la manière qui l'a mené aux platitudes de sa " Symphonie de Faust ". S'il continue sur cette voie, il ne peut que se rendre tout à fait ridicule. S'il est un musicien qui ait besoin du poète, c'est Berlioz, et c'est son malheur d'adapter toujours ce poète à sa fantaisie de musicien, en habillant tantôt Shakespeare et tantôt Goethe à son gré. Il lui faut un poète pour le pénétrer complètement et le subjuguier, un poète qui sera pour lui ce qu'un homme est à une femme. Je vois avec désespoir cet artiste exceptionnellement doué aller à sa perte par son isolement égoïste. Puis-je lui être d'un quelconque secours ??

Tu ne veux pas " Wiland " [" Wiland le Forgeron ", poème de Wagner] ; à mon avis, c'est un beau poème, mais je ne puis plus le développer. Veux-tu l'offrir à Berlioz ? Henri Blaze serait peut-être la personne indiquée pour en faire une version française. »

Wagner à Liszt, 3 octobre (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 81) :

« Mon Dieu, ai-je dit quelque chose sur Berlioz ou Raff que tu n'aurais pas bien compris, comme si j'avais quelque grief contre eux ? J'ai parlé comme je vois les choses de loin et, en particulier, dans le cas de Berlioz, je n'ai que les meilleures intentions. »

Liszt à Wagner, 7 octobre (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 82) :

« Tu as entièrement raison, très cher ami, de voir dans le poème le nœud de la question en ce qui concerne Berlioz, et mon opinion là-dessus rejoint tout à fait la tienne. Tu es seulement mal informé quand tu crois que Berlioz a entrepris une révision de son " Cellini ". Ce n'est pas le cas : il s'agit seulement d'une coupure assez importante (environ un tableau entier), que j'ai proposée à Berlioz et qui lui a paru bonne. En conséquence, la prochaine représentation de " Cellini " comprendra 3 au lieu de 4 tableaux. Si cela t'intéresse, je t'enverrai le nouveau livret avec l'ancien, et je pense que tu approuveras le changement et la fonte des 2 derniers tableaux en un seul. Je te remercie

bien vivement de ta proposition d'offrir " Wiland " à Berlioz, et je lui en parlerai à l'occasion de son séjour à Weimar. Il est malheureusement à craindre que les Parisiens ne marcheront pas, et Henri Blaze n'est absolument pas l'homme pour retravailler ce poème et lui faire justice. Mais surtout, très cher et meilleur ami, ne va pas supposer que je te fais grief de ce que tu as pu dire sur tel ou tel. Ma sympathie pour toi et mon admiration pour ton génie divin sont vraiment trop profondes et sincères pour que je me méprenne sur la force de tes arguments. Tu ne peux et ne dois être autre chose que ce que tu es, et c'est dans cet esprit que je t'honore, te comprends et t'aime de toute mon âme. »

1853

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1620 ; fin juillet, Paris) :

« Je suis persuadé comme toi de la facilité de l'engrenage entre Wagner et moi si, toutefois, il met un peu d'huile dans ses roues. Quant aux quelques lignes dont tu parles, je ne les ai jamais lues, je n'en ai pas le moindre ressentiment ; et j'ai assez tiré moi-même de coups de pistolets dans les jambes des gens qui marchent, pour ne pas m'étonner de recevoir quelques chevrotines à mon tour. »

Wagner à Liszt, 25 août (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 123) :

« Salue Berlioz : c'est un drôle d'excentrique, mais il n'en est pas encore au point où seuls les millionnaires peuvent lui porter secours. Mais c'est un digne homme. »

Wagner à Liszt, 12 septembre (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 124) :

« À présent, la perspective de Paris ne me sourit pas ; Berlioz me fait peur et, avec mon mauvais français, je suis perdu. »

Liszt à Wagner, 31 octobre (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 135) :

« Tout le reste (tout sauf les œuvres de Wagner exécutées à Weimar) me laisse tout à fait froid, avec la seule exception du " Cellini " de Berlioz, pour lequel j'ai toujours une grande prédilection ; quand tu connaîtras mieux l'œuvre, tu me donneras raison. »

1854

Liszt à Wagner, 21 février (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 145):

« Fin mars, Berlioz vient de nouveau à Hanovre et va ensuite à Dresde, où il va diriger quelques concerts au théâtre. Fischer m'a écrit récemment à propos d'une représentation de " Cellini ", à Dresde. C'est encore un secret mais que, pour ma part, je voudrais rendre public très bientôt. Cet Opéra est l'œuvre la plus fraîche et la plus complète de

Berlioz, et sa chute à Paris et à Londres le résultat de coups bas et d'incompréhension. Il serait beau de pouvoir lui offrir la revanche éclatante qu'il mérite. »

1855

Berlioz à Auguste Morel (Correspondance Générale, n° 1972 ; 2 juin, Paris) :

« Je pars vendredi pour Londres où je suis engagé pour diriger les 2 derniers concerts de la “ New Philharmonic Society ”, et “ Harold ” et “ Roméo et Juliette ”. Après quoi, je reviendrai ; et, peut-être, donnerai-je ici, en juillet ou en août, 1 ou 2 concerts. Wagner qui dirige à Londres l'ancienne Société Philharmonique (direction que j'avais été obligé de refuser étant déjà engagé par l'autre) succombe sous les attaques de toute la presse anglaise. Mais il reste calme, dit-on, assuré qu'il est d'être le Maître du monde musical dans 50 ans. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1975 ; 7 juin, Paris) :

« Je verrai Wagner en arrivant à Londres ; on le dit de fort méchante humeur. Je te dirai ce que je croirai vrai au sujet de sa position en Angleterre. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1987 ; 24-25 juin, Londres) :

« Nous avons beaucoup parlé de toi avec Wagner, ces jours-ci, et tu peux penser avec quelle affection, car, ma parole d'honneur, je crois qu'il t'aime autant que je t'aime moi-même.

Il te racontera sans doute son séjour à Londres et tout ce qu'il a eu à souffrir d'une hostilité de parti-pris. Il est superbe d'ardeur, de chaleur, de cœur, et j'avoue que ses violences même me transportent. Il semble qu'une fatalité m'empêche d'entendre rien de ses dernières compositions ! Le jour où, sur la demande du Prince Albert, il a dirigé son Ouverture du “ Tannhäuser ” au “ Hanovre Square Room ”, j'étais, à la même heure, forcé d'assister à une affreuse répétition de chœurs pour le concert de la “ New Philharmonic ” que j'avais à diriger 2 jours après. Il s'agissait des chœurs des 4 premières parties de “ Roméo ” : et cela était si prodigieusement exécrable que j'ai dû, malgré l'avis du Docteur Wilde qui trouvait le tout très bien chanté, couper court à ces horreurs en supprimant entièrement le chant. Malgré quelques absences réelles dans l'orchestre, les 2 lers morceaux de “ Roméo ” ont bien marché. La Fête a même été rendue avec une telle verve que, pour la 1re fois depuis que cette Symphonie existe, elle a été bissée à grands “ Hurras ” par tout ce vaste auditoire d' “ Exeter Hall ”. Il y a eu beaucoup de fautes dans le Scherzo.

Je reste à Londres quelques jours de plus, à cause d'un concert qu'on me propose de diriger à “ Covent Garden ”, après notre dernier du Philharmonique.

Wagner finit demain, Lundi, avec ceux de “ Hanovre Square ”, et se hâtera de partir le lendemain. Nous dîmons ensemble avant son concert. Il y a chez lui quelque chose de singulièrement attractif et si nous avons des aspérités tous les 2, au moins, nos aspérités s'emboîtent. Explique cela à Cornelius.

Adieu, on vient me chercher pour aller à “ Champion Hill ”, où j’ai promis de passer une partie de la journée.

Lundi matin. Je reviens de mon excursion agreste. C’est-à-dire j’en suis revenu hier soir. Klindworth y était, il a joué un délicieux et mélancolique morceau de toi ; puis, nous avons chanté lui, les 2 filles à la maison, un jeune peintre allemand et moi, des morceaux à 5 voix de Purcell que ces dames paraissent connaître comme leur Bible, et qui nous ont médiocrement charmés Klindworth et moi. Les autres buvaient cela comme du lait sucré. Au demeurant, il y a un sentiment musical au fond de ces organisations anglaises, mais c’est un sentiment conservateur, religieux avant tout, et anti-passionné. Wagner s’est perdu dans l’esprit du public de Londres en paraissant faire peu de cas de Mendelssohn. Or, Mendelssohn, pour beaucoup de gens, est un Händel et demi !!! D’un autre côté, si je n’avais le même défaut pour d’autres Maîtres que j’exècre avec une violence de canon de 120, je dirais que Wagner a tort de ne pas considérer comme une riche et belle individualité le puritain Mendelssohn.

Quand un Maître est un maître, et quand ce Maître a toujours et partout honoré et respecté l’art, il faut l’honorer et le respecter aussi, quelle que soit la divergence existant entre la ligne que nous suivons et celle qu’il a suivie. Wagner pourrait me rétorquer l’argument s’il savait qui j’abomine si cordialement ; mais je me garderai de lui dire. Quand j’entends ou je lis certains morceaux de ce gros Maître [Berlioz veut sans doute dire Händel] , je me contente de serrer fortement les dents, jusqu’à ce que, rentré chez moi et seul, je me dégonfle en l’accablant d’imprécations.

On n’est pas parfait. »

Berlioz à Théodore Ritter (Correspondance Générale, n° 1991 ; 3 juillet, Londres) :

« Départ de Wagner après que le brave Monsieur Hogarth l’a présenté à son tour à Monsieur Meyerbeer, en demandant à ces 2 illustres s’ils se connaissaient, joie de Wagner de quitter Londres, recrudescence de fureur contre lui parmi tous les critiques après le dernier concert de “ Hanovre Square ”, il conduit en effet en style libre comme Klindworth joue du piano, mais il est très attachant par ses idées et sa conversation, nous allons boire du punch chez lui après le concert, il me renouvelle ses amitiés, il m’embrasse avec fureur, disant qu’il avait eu sur moi une foule de préjugés, il pleure, il trépigne, à peine est-il parti que le “ Musical World ” publie le passage de son livre où il m’éreinte de la façon la plus comique et la plus spirituelle, joie délirante de Davison en me traduisant cela, LE MONDE EST UN THÉÂTRE, c’est Shakespeare et Cervantès qui l’ont dit. »

Wagner à Liszt, 5 juillet (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 187) :

« Je rapporte d’Angleterre un véritable profit : une amitié chaleureuse et profonde que j’ai conçue pour Berlioz et qui nous lie tous les 2. J’ai entendu un concert de la “ New Philharmonic Society ” sous sa direction, et je dois avouer avoir été peu impressionné par son interprétation de la Symphonie en sol mineur de Mozart ; quant à l’exécution de sa Symphonie “ Roméo et Juliette ”, fort médiocre, elle m’a fait pitié. Mais quelques jours plus tard, nous étions seuls à dîner ensemble chez Sainton : il était en pleine forme, et les progrès en français que j’ai faits à Londres m’ont permis d’avoir, pendant 5 heures, une conversation du plus haut intérêt avec lui sur toutes questions se rapportant à

l'art, la philosophie et la vie. J'ai ainsi conçu une sympathie profonde pour mon nouvel ami ; il me parut tout autre qu'auparavant ; nous avons chacun reconnu dans l'autre un compagnon d'infortune et je me trouvai plus heureux que Berlioz. Après mon dernier concert, il est encore venu me rendre visite avec le peu d'amis que me restent à Londres ; sa femme y était aussi ; nous sommes restés jusqu'à 3 heures du matin, et avons pris congé avec de chaleureuses embrassades. Je lui ai dit, à cette occasion, que tu voulais me rendre visite en septembre, et je l'ai invité à te donner rendez-vous chez moi ; ce qui semblait le gêner était surtout la question d'argent. Mais dis-lui exactement quand tu viens. »

Liszt à Wagner, 10 juillet (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 188) :

« En attendant, je suis enchanté de la cordialité de tes rapports avec Berlioz. Parmi tous les compositeurs contemporains, je le considère comme celui avec lequel tu peux avoir les rapports les plus directs, les plus ouverts et intéressants. Tout compte fait, c'est un homme d'honneur, une personnalité magnifique et forte ; en même temps que ta lettre, j'en reçois une de Berlioz dans laquelle il me dit, entre autres choses, ceci : [Liszt transcrit une partie de la lettre Correspondance Générale, n° 1987] »

Wagner à Liszt, début septembre (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 192) :

« Ton article sur la Symphonie " Harold " est très beau et m'a fait grand plaisir. Je vais écrire demain à Berlioz ; il doit m'envoyer ses partitions. Mais jamais il ne me connaîtra bien ; son ignorance de l'allemand y fait obstacle, et il ne peut voir de moi qu'un profil trompeur. Je ferai donc un usage honorable de mon privilège et je chercherai à le rapprocher de moi. »

Berlioz à Wagner à Zürich (Correspondance Générale, n° 2014 ; 10 septembre, Paris) :

« Votre lettre m'a fait un bien grand plaisir. Vous n'avez pas tort de déplorer mon ignorance de la langue allemande, et ce que vous me dites de l'impossibilité où je suis d'apprécier vos ouvrages, je me le suis dit bien des fois. La fleur de l'expression se fane presque toujours sous le poids de la traduction, si délicatement que cette traduction soit faite. Il y a des accents, dans la musique vraie, qui veulent leur mot spécial, il y a des mots qui veulent leur accent. Séparer les uns des autres, ou leur donner des approximations, c'est faire allaiter un petit chien par une chèvre et réciproquement. Mais que voulez-vous ! J'ai une difficulté diabolique à apprendre les langues ; c'est à peine si je sais quelques mots d'anglais et d'italien.

Vous êtes donc en train de faire fondre les glaciers en composant vos " Niebelungen " ! Cela doit être superbe d'écrire en présence de la grande nature ! Voilà encore une puissance qui m'est refusée ! Les beaux paysages, les hautes cimes, les grands aspects de la mer, m'absorbent complètement au lieu de provoquer chez moi la manifestation de la pensée. Je sens alors et je ne saurais exprimer. Je ne puis dessiner la lune qu'en regardant son image au fond d'un puits.

Je voudrais bien vous envoyer les partitions que vous me faites le plaisir de me demander ; malheureusement, mes

éditeurs ne m'en donnent plus depuis longtemps. Mais il y en a 2 et même 3 : le " Te Deum ", " l'Enfance du Christ " et " Léléo " (monodrame lyrique) , qui vont paraître dans peu de semaines, et celles-là au moins, je pourrai vous les envoyer.

J'ai votre " Lohengrin " ; si vous pouviez me faire parvenir le " Tannhäuser ", vous me feriez bien plaisir. La réunion que vous me proposez serait une fête ; mais je dois bien me garder d'y penser. Il faut que je fasse des voyages de désagrément, pour gagner ma vie, Paris ne produisant pour moi que des fruits pleins de cendre.

C'est égal, si nous vivions encore une centaine d'années, je crois que nous aurions raison de bien des choses et de bien des hommes. »

Berlioz à Théodore Ritter (Correspondance Générale, n° 2059 ; 6 décembre, Paris) :

« Où diable avez-vous pris cette invention ? Rien ne pouvait vous induire en erreur dans la partition ; les cors en ré font ce qui en tout pays fait, et en tout temps fit ré naturel ; je ne réponds pas de l'avenir. Peut-être que, dans " la musique de l'avenir ", cette note-là fera ré dièse, à cause de la tendance ascendante de l'art. Mais, à cette heure, de par tous les cinq cent mille diables ! »

1856

Berlioz à Henri Litolf (Correspondance Générale, n° 2143 ; 24 juin, Paris) :

« Je vous dirai, ce que vous savez déjà peut-être, que je viens d'être élu membre de l'Institut. Faites le savoir à Griepenkerl, quand vous le verrez. Cela fait à Paris grande sensation. C'est une espèce de révolution ou de coup d'état en faveur de la jeune musique, qui n'a pas grands rapports avec " la musique de l'avenir ", mais qui pourtant n'en a pas beaucoup non plus avec la musique du passé. Toutes ces dénominations, ces catégories, sont de véritables charges, à parler sérieusement. »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2163 ; 12 août, Bade) :

« Ce qu'il y a d'immensément difficile là-dedans, c'est de trouver la forme musicale, cette forme sans laquelle la musique n'existe pas, ou n'est plus que l'esclave humiliée de la parole. C'est là le crime de Wagner ; il veut la détrôner, la réduire à des accents expressifs, en exagérant le système de Gluck (qui, fort heureusement, n'a pas réussi lui-même à suivre sa théorie impie) . Je suis pour la musique, appelée par vous-même, libre. Oui, libre et fière et souveraine et conquérante, je veux qu'elle prenne tout, qu'elle s'assimile tout, qu'il n'y ait plus pour elle ni Alpes, ni Pyrénées ; mais, pour ses conquêtes, il faut qu'elle combatte en personne et non par ses lieutenants, je veux bien qu'elle ait, s'il se peut, de bons vers rangés en bataille, mais il faut qu'elle aille elle-même au feu comme Napoléon, qu'elle marche au 1er rang de la Phalange comme Alexandre. Elle est si puissante qu'elle vaincrait seule, en certain cas, et qu'elle a eu mille fois le droit de dire comme Médée : " Moi ! c'est assez ! " . Vouloir la ramener à la vieille récitation du Chœur Antique est la plus incroyable et, fort heureusement, la plus inutile folie qu'on puisse citer dans

l'histoire de l'art.

Trouver le moyen d'être expressif, vrai, sans cesser d'être musicien, et donner, tout au contraire, des moyens nouveaux d'action à la musique, voilà le problème. »

1858

Wagner à Hans von Bülow (Richard Wagner. « Sämtliche Briefe » , tome IX : lettre n° 118 ; 10 février, Zürich ; voir aussi la lettre n° 117, à la princesse Marie von Sayn-Wittgenstein) :

« Il ne faut jamais rien écrire en réponse à une commande, même quand celle-ci émane de la Comtesse Wittgenstein. Je l'ai constaté une fois de plus avec le malheureux livret de Berlioz [pour " les Troyens "]. J'ai été saisi d'horreur quand il me l'a lu, et j'en suis à souhaiter de ne jamais me retrouver face à face avec Berlioz. Je ne peux plus continuer à tromper le monde et moi-même pour maintenir Berlioz dans ses illusions sur moi et sur lui-même. Le voir assis là, ruminant sur le destin de cette absurdité sans nom, comme si le salut du monde et de son âme en dépendait, pour moi, c'est trop fort. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, n° 2274.

1860

Wagner à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2468 ; 21 janvier, Paris) :

« Je suis ravi de vous pouvoir offrir le 1er exemplaire de mon " Tristan ". Acceptez-le et gardez-le d'amitié pour moi.

(Dédicace sur la partition) " Au cher et grand auteur de ' Roméo et Juliette ', l'auteur reconnaissant de ' Tristan et Yseult '. »

Berlioz à Adolphe Samuel (Correspondance Générale, n° 2472 ; 29 janvier, Paris) :

« Wagner vient de donner un concert qui a exaspéré les 3 quarts de l'auditoire, et enthousiasmé le 4e quart. Moi, j'y ai souffert beaucoup, en admirant la véhémence de son sentiment musical dans certains cas. Mais les 7es diminuées, les discordances, les modulations sauvages, m'ont donné la fièvre et, décidément, ce genre de musique m'est odieux, il me révolte. »

Berlioz à Wagner (Correspondance Générale, n° 2476 ; 2 février, Paris) :

« Je suis en effet toujours malade, mais ce n'est pas la raison qui m'a empêché d'assister à votre second concert ; c'est encore moins un défaut d'intérêt pour vos compositions, croyez-le bien. Mais ma soirée était impérieusement prise et j'ai dû donner vos billets à 2 dames, excellentes musiciennes, qui désiraient vivement vous entendre. Je n'ai pu

encore écrire mon feuilleton, mais je m'y mettrai prochainement et je vous dirai sincèrement toutes mes pensées et mes impressions. »

Berlioz à Pauline Viardot (Correspondance Générale, n° 2480 ; 10 février) :

« Voici vos partitions de Wagner ; je vous remercie. J'ai peur que les 7es diminuées qu'elles contiennent ne s'échappent et ne rongent mes meubles. Prenez garde aux vôtres. J'aurai bien besoin de vous parler, au sujet de bien des choses ; je suis cruellement tourmenté de ne le pouvoir pas. »

Wagner à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2481 ; lettre ouverte publiée dans le « Journal des Débats » du 22 février) :

« Lorsqu'il y a 5 ans, à Londres, la destinée nous rapprocha, je me vantais d'avoir sur vous un avantage, celui de comprendre parfaitement et d'apprécier vos œuvres, tandis que vous ne pouviez vous rendre qu'un compte imparfait des miennes, ne connaissant pas la langue allemande, à laquelle mes conceptions dramatiques sont liées par une si étroite connexité.

Ce ne sont ni des vues ambitieuses, ni des espérances de lucre qui m'ont décidé à demander à la France l'hospitalité pour mes ouvrages. J'ai été guidé par le seul espoir d'arriver à faire représenter ici mes drames lyriques avec paroles françaises, et si le public veut bien accorder un peu de sympathie à celui qui est obligé de prendre tant de peine pour parvenir à entendre enfin ses propres créations, j'aurai, je n'en doute pas, mon cher Berlioz, la satisfaction d'être compris de vous.

Apprenez donc, mon cher Berlioz, que l'inventeur de “ la musique de l'avenir ”, ce n'est pas moi mais bien Monsieur Bischoff, professeur à Cologne (ami de Ferdinand Hiller et que vous vous rappellerez avoir connu comme ami de Rossini) . L'occasion qui donna le jour à cette creuse expression fut la publication faite par moi, il y a une dizaine d'années, d'un livre sous ce titre : “ L'Œuvre d'art de l'avenir ” (suit un long résumé de l'argument du livre) .

J'espère que bientôt l'un et l'autre, dans des conditions tout à fait égales, nous pourrons nous comprendre réciproquement. Laissez cette France si hospitalière donner un asile à mes drames lyriques ; j'attends de mon côté, avec la plus vive impatience, la représentation de vos “ Troyens ”. »

Berlioz à Charles Hallé à Manchester (Correspondance Générale, n° 2492 ; 4 avril, Paris) :

« Je n'ai pas, que je sache, été attaqué par Wagner, il a seulement répondu à mon article des “ Débats ” par une lettre prétendue explicative à laquelle personne n'a rien compris. Cette lettre amphigourique et boursouflée [Correspondance Générale, n° 2481] lui a fait plus de tort que de bien. Je n'ai pas répliqué un mot. »

Wagner à Paris à Liszt, 22 mai (« Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 tomes, Leipzig, 1910 : lettre n° 301a) :

« J'ai ensuite lu le dernier feuilleton de Berlioz sur " Fidelio ", paru aujourd'hui. Depuis mon concert, je n'avais pas revu Berlioz ; auparavant, c'était toujours à moi de lui rendre visite ou de l'inviter - mais lui ne s'inquiétait jamais de moi. Cela me causait une grande tristesse : je ne lui étais pas hostile, mais je me demande seulement si le bon Dieu n'aurait pas dû omettre les femmes de sa création. Il est très rare qu'elles fassent quelque bien et, d'ordinaire, elles nous font du tort, sans pour finir en tirer aucun profit elles-mêmes. Avec Berlioz, j'ai pu étudier une fois de plus avec la précision d'un anatomiste comment une méchante femme peut ruiner à volonté un homme absolument hors pair et le rendre tout à fait ridicule. Quelle satisfaction peut un tel homme trouver à se voir traiter de la sorte ? Sans doute, la triste satisfaction de voir la pire partie de son être étalée au grand jour ! Comme je le disais, je n'avais pas vu Berlioz depuis ce jour. J'ai lu alors son article, aujourd'hui. Cela m'a fait tellement plaisir que je lui ai écrit le billet suivant dans mon affreux français, dans la certitude que cela n'aurait pour résultat qu'une gigantesque incompréhension de sa part :

Cher Maître ! (Je sais qu'il trouve maintenant mon ton familier, gênant.) Je viens de lire votre article sur " Fidelio ". Soyez en mille fois remercié ! C'est une joie toute spéciale pour moi d'entendre ces accents purs et nobles de l'expression d'une âme, d'une intelligence si parfaitement comprenant et s'appropriant les secrets les plus intimes d'un autre héros de l'art : il y a des moments, où, je suis presque plus transporté en apprenant cet acte d'appréciation, que par l'œuvre appréciée elle-même, puisque cela nous témoigne infailliblement qu'une chaîne, ininterrompue d'intime parenté rallie entre eux les grands esprits, qui (par ce seul lien) ne tomberont jamais dans l'incompris. Si je m'exprime mal, j'espère pourtant, que vous me ne comprendrez pas mal. [Correspondance Générale, n° 2503.]

Dieu sait comment il prendra ce galimatias. S'il ne veut pas me comprendre cette fois-ci, je crains que mon français ne lui ait donné au moins une bonne raison. Néanmoins, d'avoir envoyé ces lignes au malheureux m'a rempli d'une chaleur particulière. L'article de Berlioz sur " Fidelio " m'a démontré clairement, une fois de plus, que le malheureux reste isolé ; il est si délicat et sensible que le monde ne peut que le blesser et abuser de son irritabilité pour le mener, lui et ceux autour qui l'influencent, dans d'étranges errements. Il devient tellement étranger à sa nature qu'il se mutile sans même s'en rendre compte. Mais c'est précisément par cet étrange phénomène que j'ai compris qu'un homme hautement doué a besoin d'un ami tout aussi doué qui puisse le comprendre. Cela m'a amené à la conclusion qu'à présent nous sommes les 3 seuls à appartenir vraiment les uns les autres, parce que nous seuls sommes égaux, et j'entends par là : toi - lui - et moi ! Mais, à aucun prix, il ne faut le lui dire : il résiste quand il entend cela. Un dieu qui se frappe ainsi n'est qu'un pauvre diable ! »

Berlioz à Wagner (Correspondance Générale, n° 2504 ; 23 mai, Paris) :

« Je suis tout à fait heureux que mes articles sur " Fidelio " vous aient plu. Je les avais étudiés avec soin, mais sans espoir qu'ils fussent le moins du monde utiles. Je ne crois plus guère à l'éducation du public par la critique ; ou, du moins, je crois qu'un très long temps est nécessaire pour que la critique porte ses fruits. Je ne sais pas si vous avez des illusions, quant à moi, je vois depuis bien des années les choses telles qu'elles sont. Vous êtes au moins plein d'ardeur, prêt à la lutte ; je ne suis, moi, prêt qu'à dormir et à mourir. Pourtant, une espèce de joie fébrile m'agite encore un peu, si, quand je crie d'amour pour le beau, une voix me répond au loin et me fait entendre au travers

des rumeurs vulgaires son salut approbateur et amical. Merci donc pour votre lettre ; elle m'a fait du bien. Je vous croyais encore en Belgique. Depuis que nous nous sommes vus, j'ai été bien malade, bien triste, bien tourmenté de mille manières. Pourquoi, en m'écrivant, me dites-vous : " Cher Maître ", comme les gens cérémonieux ? Entre nous, cela ne va pas. »

1861

Berlioz à son fils, Louis (Correspondance Générale, n° 2534 ; 14 février, Paris) :

« L'opinion publique s'indigne de plus en plus de me voir laissé en dehors de l'Opéra quand la protection de l'ambassadrice d'Autriche y fait entrer si aisément Wagner. »

Berlioz à J.-A. Demeur (Correspondance Générale, n° 2535 ; 19 février, Paris) :

« Nous sommes tous malades ici, on me tue de vilénies de toute espèce ; et nous allons avoir le " Tannhäuser " et une banque dont jamais on n'avait vu d'exemple. Mais j'ai pris mon parti, je leur ferai la guerre du silence. Mon malheureux ami d'Ortigue se dévouera pour parler de la chose. Ils ne s'attendent pas à cette Jarnacade. »

Berlioz à Louis (Correspondance Générale, n° 2536 ; 21 février, Paris) :

« Wagner fait tourner en chèbres les chanteuses, les chanteurs et l'orchestre et le chœur de l'Opéra. On ne peut pas sortir de cette musique du " Tannhäuser ". La dernière répétition générale a été, dit-on, atroce et n'a fini qu'à une heure du matin. Il faut pourtant qu'on en vienne à bout. Liszt va arriver pour soutenir " l'école du charivari ". Je ne ferai pas l'article sur le " Tannhäuser ", j'ai prié d'Ortigue de s'en charger. Cela vaut mieux sous tous les rapports et cela les désappoindra davantage. Jamais je n'eus tant de moulins à vent à combattre que cette année ; je suis entouré de fous de toute espèce. Il y a des instants où la colère me suffoque. »

Berlioz à Louis (Correspondance Générale, n° 2538 ; 5 mars, Paris) :

« On est très ému dans notre monde musical du scandale que va produire la représentation du " Tannhäuser " ; je ne vois que des gens furieux ; le Ministre est sorti l'autre jour de la répétition dans un état de colère ! L'Empereur n'est pas content ; et, pourtant, il y a quelques enthousiastes de bonne foi, même parmi les Français. Wagner est évidemment fou. Il mourra comme Jullien est mort, l'an dernier, d'un transport au cerveau. Liszt n'est pas venu, il ne sera pas à la Ire représentation ; il semble pressentir une catastrophe. Il y a pour cet Opéra en 3 actes, 160,000 francs de dépensés à l'heure qu'il est. Enfin, c'est vendredi que nous verrons cela. »

Comme je te l'ai dit, je ne ferai pas l'article là-dessus, je le laisse faire par d'Ortigue. Je veux protester par mon silence, quitte à me prononcer plus tard si l'on m'y pousse. »

Berlioz à Madame Massart (Correspondance Générale, n° 2542 ; 14 mars, Paris) :

« Eh ! oui, parbleu ! à ce soir donc !

Ah ! Dieu du ciel, quelle représentation ! quels éclats de rire ! Le Parisien s'est montré hier sous un jour tout nouveau ; il a ri du mauvais style musical, il a ri des polissonneries d'une orchestration bouffonne, il a ri des naïvetés d'un hautbois ; enfin, il comprend donc qu'il y a un style en musique.

Quant aux horreurs, on les a sifflées splendidement.

Tâchez donc de ne jamais mieux jouer que la dernière fois ; si vous continuez à faire des progrès, vous tomberez dans " le puits de l'avenir ".

La perfection suffit. »

Berlioz à Louis (Correspondance Générale, n° 2545 ; 21 mars, Paris) :

« La 2e représentation du " Tannhäuser " a été pire que la 1re. On ne riait plus autant ; on était furieux, on sifflait à tout rompre, malgré la présence de l'Empereur et de l'Impératrice qui étaient dans leur loge. L'Empereur s'amuse. En sortant, sur l'escalier, on traitait tout haut ce malheureux Wagner de gremlin, d'insolent, d'idiot. Si l'on continue, un de ces jours, la représentation ne s'achèvera pas et tout sera dit. La presse est unanime pour l'exterminer. Pour moi, je suis cruellement vengé. »

1863

Berlioz à Hippolyte Lecourt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2708 ; 7 avril, de Weimar) :

« J'ai vu hier une représentation de " Tannhäuser ", Madame Milde est la personnification idéalisée de l'Elisabeth, je la trouve admirable et adorable avec sa beauté de colombe. Il y a de bien belles choses dans le dernier acte, surtout ; c'est d'une tristesse profonde mais d'un grand caractère ; pourquoi faut-il ? etc. , etc. , il y aurait trop à dire. »

Berlioz à Ferdinand Hiller (Correspondance Générale, n° 2750 ; 8 juillet, Paris) :

« Votre ouvrage est écrit dans ce style clair et ferme que je vous félicite d'avoir conservé au milieu des tendances charivariques qui se manifestent depuis si longtemps parmi les nouveaux compositeurs allemands. »

1864

Berlioz à Toussaint Bennet (Correspondance Générale, n° 2843 ; 15 mars, Paris) :

« La folie de Wagner se dessine donc de plus en plus ? Il y a longtemps qu'on aurait dû le prévoir. Il finira comme

Schumann et comme Jullien. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, n° 2920.

1868

Vladimir Stasov à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 3375 ; 5-17 octobre, de Saint-Pétersbourg) :

« Ce soir, on donne, pour la Ire fois à l'Opéra russe, le " Lohengrin " de Wagner, et il est possible qu'il y aura une partie du public qui trouvera cette musique brutale et dépourvue de talent - à son goût. Tant pis qui le trouveront ainsi. Quant à nous tous, nous ne croyons pas que Wagner soit un " prophète de l'avenir " : nous pensons qu'il a fait seulement rétrograder la musique de Weber. Nous trouvons dans Wagner un manque total de mesure et de goût, un tas de choses banales, une instrumentation surchargée et criarde, nul talent pour le récitatif, et des modulations outrées qui font enrager à tout moment. Cependant, le prestige d'une célébrité allemande, le nom d' " avenir " attaché à cette musique, l'éclat des décors et des costumes produiront peut-être leur effet sur un public peu développé et seront la cause d'un engouement quelconque. Cela ne nous regarde pas : nous avons les yeux tournés vers le beau et le grand véritables, tels que nous les trouvons dans vos œuvres, nous ne songeons qu'à les connaître et à les apprécier dans toute leur étendue et en même temps. »

Wagner sur Berlioz : extraits de « Mein Leben »

Le texte utilisé est celui de l'édition de 1911.

« Mein Leben » , Band I ; pages 229-231 (sur le 1er séjour de Wagner à Paris, en 1839-1842) :

« Avec une suite à cette nouvelle, sous le titre : " Un musicien étranger à Paris ", je me vengeai de toutes les humiliations que j'avais dû souffrir. Elle plut beaucoup moins à Schlesinger [éditeur, Rue de Richelieu] , mais attira des marques touchantes d'approbation de la part de son pauvre commis, et de Heinrich Heine cet éloge : " Hoffmann n'aurait pu écrire rien de pareil. " Même Berlioz en fut touché, et il fit mention de ma nouvelle dans un de ses feuilletons du " Journal des Débats ". [Note : Berlioz mentionne un article antérieur de Wagner, " Une visite à Beethoven ", mais pas celui-ci ; voir " Critique Musicale ", tome IV ; page 402.] Un autre de mes articles sur l'esthétique musicale, " De l'Ouverture ", m'attira son approbation, tout au moins verbale, surtout parce qu'en expliquant mes principes pour ce genre de composition j'avais donné en exemple l'Ouverture à " Iphigénie en Aulide " de Gluck.

Ces marques d'approbation m'encouragèrent à essayer de me rapprocher de Berlioz. J'avais déjà été présenté à lui depuis quelque temps au bureau de Schlesinger où, depuis lors, je le rencontrais assez souvent. Je lui avais offert un exemplaire de mes " 2 grenadiers ", mais je n'avais pu tirer de lui d'autre réaction qu'il ne jouait qu'un peu de guitare mais ne savait pas jouer du piano. Mais, d'un autre côté, ses grandes compositions instrumentales, que j'avais entendues plusieurs fois sous sa direction, l'hiver précédent, avaient fait sur moi une impression peu commune. Cet

hiver-là (1839-1840), il donna pour la 1^{re} fois 3 exécutions de sa Symphonie “ Roméo et Juliette ” dont j’assistai à une. Ce fut pour moi un monde nouveau et, encore sous le choc que j’avais reçu, je voulus me faire une opinion tout à fait objective de l’œuvre. La puissance et la virtuosité de l’orchestre étaient, pour moi, quelque chose d’inouï et, tout d’abord, je fus complètement stupéfait. La hardiesse fantastique, la précision aigüe, l’audace des combinaisons que l’on pouvait presque toucher du doigt, tout cela fit sur moi une telle impression que mes propres conceptions du sentiment musical et poétique furent brutalement refoulées au fond de mon être. J’étais tout oreilles pour des choses dont je n’avais jusqu’alors eu absolument aucune idée, et je devais me les expliquer. Par contre, de nombreux passages de “ Roméo et Juliette ” m’avaient paru maintes et maintes fois vides et sans objet, et l’ouvrage souffrait gravement, il faut le dire, de ses longueurs et de son plan d’ensemble. J’en étais d’autant plus peiné que, d’un autre côté, tous les grands moments de la partition m’écrasaient au point que j’en perdais la possibilité d’émettre un jugement critique. Après cette nouvelle Symphonie, Berlioz fit entendre de nouveau sa “ Symphonie fantastique ” et “ Harold en Italie ”. J’avais été particulièrement saisi et fasciné par les tableaux qui constituent la trame de “ la Symphonie fantastique ” et presque complètement séduit par “ Harold ”. Mais ce fut la dernière composition de ce Maître merveilleux, sa “ Symphonie funèbre pour les victimes de la Révolution de Juillet ”, qu’il fit exécuter à l’été de 1840 pour la cérémonie du transfert des restes des victimes sous la colonne de la Bastille (œuvre d’une puissante imagination pour grande harmonie militaire) qui me convainquit pleinement de la grandeur et de la force de cette nature d’artiste, incomparable et unique en son genre. Et cependant, malgré cette impression d’ensemble, je ne pouvais m’empêcher d’éprouver un profond sentiment de malaise. J’étais comme effrayé par quelque chose d’étranger que je ne pourrais jamais comprendre entièrement. Chaque fois que j’entendais une des œuvres principales de Berlioz, j’étais surpris d’être à la fois séduit et rebuté et, parfois même, franchement ennuyé. Le problème de Berlioz me troubla pendant des années et ce n’est que plus tard que je parvins à me l’expliquer clairement et à en trouver la solution.

Ce qui est certain, c’est qu’à cette époque je me sentais petit comme un écolier à côté de Berlioz ; et je fus donc réellement embarrassé quand Schlesinger, voulant tirer profit pour moi du succès de ma nouvelle, m’invita à faire exécuter quelque œuvre pour orchestre dans un grand concert qui serait organisé par la “ Gazette musicale ”. (Wagner décide de jouer son Ouverture de “ Colomb ”, mais les répétitions vont assez mal.) Berlioz, qui assistait à cette répétition, resta tout le temps silencieux, s’abstenant de m’encourager ou de me décourager, et se contenta de sourire en soupirant que “ c’était difficile à Paris ”. »

Voir aussi les lettres Richard Wagner. « Sämtliche Briefe », tome I : lettres numéro 139 (Wagner à Ferdinand Heine ; 27 mars 1841) et numéro 189 (Wagner à Robert Schumann ; 5 janvier 1842) .

« Mein Leben », Band I ; page 235 (en 1841, à Paris) :

« Il me sembla que tout ce qui me restait était mon travail de journaliste ; il me rapportait peu, mais m’avait cependant apporté quelque succès. L’hiver précédent, j’avais déjà écrit pour la “ Gazette musicale ” un assez gros article sur le “ Freischütz ” de Weber, qui devait préparer le terrain pour les représentations à venir de cette œuvre à l’Opéra, avec l’addition des récitatifs de Berlioz. Il semble que cet article m’ait d’emblée attiré le déplaisir de Berlioz. Je n’avais pas pu éviter de souligner le défaut de l’entreprise : l’addition de récitatifs à un ouvrage conçu d’après les formes de l’ancien “ Singspiel ” en bouleversait les proportions pour l’adapter aux conventions fastueuses du répertoire

de ce théâtre. »

« Mein Leben », Band I ; page 346 (concernant la visite de Spontini à Dresde) :

« Concernant la mort de Spontini, Berlioz, qui ne quittait jamais son chevet, m'a raconté que le Maître avait lutté avec la plus grande énergie contre sa mort, et ne cessait de crier : " Je ne veux pas mourir, je ne veux pas mourir ! " Quand Berlioz, tentant de le consoler, lui dit : " Comment pouvez-vous penser mourir, vous, mon Maître, qui êtes immortel ! " Spontini lui répondit en colère : " Ne faites pas de mauvaises plaisanteries ! " »

« Mein Leben », Band II ; page 597 (sur la rencontre à Paris, en octobre 1853) :

« Ici aussi, on reprit la lecture du poème et, donc, du dernier acte du " Crépuscule des Dieux ", ce qui nous mena à la conclusion tant désirée de toute l'œuvre. Berlioz arriva pendant cette séance et se comporta avec une parfaite amabilité face à cette lecture malencontreuse. Il nous reçut le lendemain matin, au petit déjeuner, pour faire ses adieux ; il venait en effet d'empaqueter sa musique en vue d'une tournée de concerts en Allemagne. À cette occasion, Liszt accompagna au piano des extraits de " Benvenuto Cellini " chantés par Berlioz, dans le style sec qui lui était particulier. »

« Mein Leben », Band II ; pages 616-618 (sur la rencontre à Londres, en juin 1855) :

« Notre petit cercle fut grandement élargi par l'arrivée de Berlioz, qui lui aussi avait été invité à Londres pour diriger 2 concerts, mais par une Société nouvellement établie : la " New Philharmonic Society ". Mais pour donner quelque lustre à ces concerts, on avait comme je l'ai dit invité Berlioz à participer aux manifestations. À cette occasion, je l'entendis diriger plusieurs œuvres de musique Classique, entre autres, une Symphonie de Mozart [n° 40 en sol mineur] et fut surpris d'entendre ce chef, par ailleurs si énergique quand il dirigeait ses propres œuvres, sombrer dans la routine d'un batteur de mesure ordinaire. Quelques unes de ses propres compositions et, en particulier, les fragments les plus frappants de sa Symphonie " Roméo et Juliette ", firent certes encore sur moi une grande impression ; mais les étranges faiblesses qui défigurent même les plus belles créations de ce musicien exceptionnel me parurent maintenant beaucoup plus évidentes qu'auparavant, quand je n'éprouvais de manière générale qu'un sentiment de malaise à la mesure de l'impression que l'œuvre avait faite sur moi.

Par contre, les quelques occasions où Sainton m'invita à dîner chez lui avec Berlioz furent pour moi d'un très grand intérêt. Je me trouvai soudain face à face avec lui - personnage ravagé et déjà beaucoup diminué, mais tout de même un homme prodigieusement doué. Mon voyage à Londres avait pour but un changement d'air et la recherche d'un stimulant extérieur ; je devais, par conséquent, m'estimer très heureux et, pour ainsi dire, planant dans un ciel serein en voyant Berlioz, bien plus âgé que moi, venir ici dans le seul but de gagner quelques guinées. Tout en lui respirait la lassitude et le découragement, et je conçus subitement une profonde sympathie pour cet homme, dont les dons me semblaient tellement évidents et qui dépassaient de haut tous ceux de ses rivaux. Berlioz parut faire bon accueil à la camaraderie spontanée que j'affichai à son égard ; son comportement, d'ordinaire raide et réservé, se dégela visiblement pendant les quelques heures sympathiques passées ensemble. Il me raconta beaucoup d'histoires drôles sur

Meyerbeer et l'impossibilité de se dérober à ses flatteries et sa manière sinueuse qui visaient toujours à provoquer des articles favorables. Il avait fait précéder la Ire représentation du " Prophète " par l'habituel " dîner de la veille " ; Berlioz s'en étant excusé, Meyerbeer le lui reprocha doucement et l'invita à redresser ce grave tort en écrivant " un bien joli article " sur son Opéra. Selon Berlioz, il n'était pas possible de faire publier dans la presse parisienne un article critique sur Meyerbeer.

Il me fut par contre plus difficile de m'entendre avec lui sur des questions artistiques plus approfondies. Je retrouvais constamment en lui le Français à l'esprit vif qui s'exprime en certitudes lapidaires, tellement sûr de lui-même qu'il ne se demande jamais s'il aurait même bien compris son interlocuteur. Je cherchais à un moment donné à lui expliquer mon point de vue sur le mystère de la " conception artistique " - je m'étais échauffé et enhardi, surpris par ma soudaine Maîtrise de la langue française. Je cherchais à décrire le pouvoir des impressions de la vie sur nos sentiments qui, pour ainsi dire, nous tiennent captifs, jusqu'au moment où nous parvenons à nous libérer d'elles complètement grâce au développement intérieur de nos plus profondes intuitions spirituelles, qui se réveillent de leur profond sommeil - mais non par l'entremise de ces impressions. En d'autres termes, la création artistique n'est nullement l'effet de ces expériences de la vie, mais bien plutôt une libération de leur emprise. À ce moment, Berlioz sourit et me dit de haut avec condescendance : " Nous appelons cela digérer. " Ma surprise à ce résumé instantané de mes laborieuses explications fut confirmée par le comportement extérieur de mon nouvel ami. Je l'invitai à mon concert d'adieu, et ensuite à un petit dîner d'adieu que je donnais chez moi à mes quelques amis. Il partit tôt dans la soirée en prétextant qu'il ne se sentait pas bien ; mais les amis qui restèrent ne me firent pas mystère du fait qu'ils croyaient que Berlioz avait été froissé par l'accueil enthousiaste que le public venait de me donner. »

« Mein Leben » , Band II ; page 625 (en 1855) :

« Je reçus aussi une lettre charmante de Berlioz qui me fit plaisir ; elle était accompagnée par son nouveau livre " Les Soirées de l'orchestre ". Malgré tout le côté grotesque dans le goût de son auteur qui me rebutait tout autant que dans ses compositions, le lecture du livre me parut cependant d'un grand intérêt. »

« Mein Leben » , Band II ; page 663 (sur la rencontre à Paris, en janvier 1858) :

« Je rendis maintenant visite à Berlioz, le nouvel ami que je m'étais fait à Londres, et je le trouvai en général bien disposé à mon égard. Je lui avais dit que je ne faisais qu'un court séjour à Paris pour me divertir. Il était alors occupé par la composition d'un grand Opéra, " les Troyens " ; pour me faire une idée de l'ouvrage je voulais particulièrement connaître le poème qu'il avait écrit lui-même. Il passa une soirée tout seul à me lire le livret : mon impression fut très mauvaise, tant à cause de la conception du poème que par la surprenante sécheresse et l'affectation théâtrale de sa diction. Je pensais pouvoir y reconnaître le caractère de la musique qu'il avait dû écrire pour son texte, et je fus plongé dans un profond désespoir ; je voyais, en effet, que Berlioz considérait évidemment cet ouvrage comme son chef-d'œuvre et l'exécution qu'il cherchait à réaliser comme le but principal de sa vie. »

« Mein Leben » , Band II ; pages 706-708 (sur les concerts de Wagner à Paris, en 1860) :

« Le plus important semblait maintenant de réunir et d'engager un orchestre de 1er ordre pour mes concerts, et mes 2 agents eurent d'abord les mains pleines. C'est à la suite de leurs efforts à cette occasion que j'eus les 1ers indices d'une hostilité de la part de mon ancien ami Berlioz envers moi et mon entreprise, hostilité dont je ne m'étais pas encore douté.

Toujours plein des bonnes impressions laissées sur moi par ma rencontre avec Berlioz en 1855, à Londres, et qu'il avait entretenu lui-même par une correspondance amicale avec moi pendant quelque temps, je me rendis chez lui tout de suite après mon arrivée. Comme il n'y était pas, je redescendis dans la rue où je le rencontrai rentrant à la maison. Je m'aperçus qu'en me voyant il fut saisi d'un mouvement convulsif qui se reflétait de manière vraiment affreuse dans sa physionomie et dans tout son comportement. Sur le champ, je n'eus aucun doute sur l'état de nos relations, mais je cachai ma propre terreur sous l'expression d'une sollicitude bien naturelle pour sa santé ; il me fit savoir tout de suite qu'elle était bien mauvaise, car il souffrait des attaques violentes d'une névralgie qu'il ne pouvait supporter qu'au moyen d'un traitement par choc électrique, et qu'il revenait à l'instant d'une telle séance. Pour ne pas ajouter à ses souffrances, j'offris de le quitter à l'instant ; il eut tellement honte qu'il insista pour que je remonte avec lui à son appartement. Je parvins à le rassurer un peu en lui révélant la vérité sur mes intentions à Paris : même mon projet d'organiser des concerts n'avait d'autre but que d'attirer l'attention du public sur moi, juste assez pour permettre l'établissement d'un Opéra allemand où je désirais faire représenter mes œuvres, œuvres que je n'avais pas encore entendues moi-même. En contrepartie, je renonçais complètement à l'idée d'une représentation en français de "Tannhäuser", telle que le directeur Carvalho semblait envisager.

À la suite de ces explications, mes rapports avec Berlioz devinrent, pendant quelque temps, non seulement supportables mais, en apparence, tout à fait amicaux. Je pensais donc pouvoir donner à mes agents le conseil, pour l'engagement de musiciens pour les concerts projetés, de faire appel à l'expérience et aux conseils certainement bien avisés de mon ami. Ils me firent savoir que Berlioz, après s'être comporté au départ de manière serviable, changea subitement d'attitude quand, un jour, Madame Berlioz entra dans la chambre pendant qu'ils étaient en train de discuter et s'écria d'un ton surpris et plein de colère : " Comment, je crois que vous donnez des conseils pour les concerts de Monsieur Wagner ? " Au sujet de cette dame Belloni, l'un des agents de Wagner avait découvert que Meyerbeer venait de lui envoyer comme cadeau un bracelet coûteux. " Ne comptez pas sur Berlioz ! " Cet avertissement de mon agent bien renseigné remit toute l'affaire en bon ordre. »

« Mein Leben », Band II ; page 716 (sur le compte-rendu de Berlioz des concerts de Wagner, en 1860) :

« Berlioz souleva une forte indignation avec un article dans le " Journal des Débats " qui, partant de considérations laborieuses et alambiquées, finissait avec des insinuations ouvertement hostiles. Il avait été autrefois mon ami, et je résolus de ne pas laisser passer si facilement son mauvais comportement ; je lui répondis dans une lettre que je fis à grand-peine traduire en bon français et qui fut imprimé après une certaine insistance dans le " Journal des Débats ". Cette lettre semble m'avoir totalement acquis la sympathie de ceux qui avaient été impressionnés par mon concert. »

« Mein Leben », Band II ; page 731 (sur la rencontre chez Madame Viardot, en juillet 1860) :

« Spécialement pour le compte de Madame Kalergis, j'improvisai une écoute du 2e acte de " Tristan " ; Madame Viardot, avec laquelle je me liai d'amitié à cette occasion, devait se charger avec moi des parties vocales, tandis que pour la partie de piano, j'avais fait venir à mes propres frais Klindworth de Londres. Cette étrange exécution privée eut lieu au domicile de Madame Viardot. Outre Madame Kalergis, pour le compte unique de laquelle elle avait lieu, seul Berlioz était présent. Madame Viardot s'était particulièrement employée pour amener ce dernier dans l'intention expresse, semble-t-il, de dissiper les malentendus qui s'étaient élevés entre moi et Berlioz. Quelle impression l'exécution de ces fragments excentriques dans de pareilles circonstances a pu laisser sur les participants et ceux présents ne m'a jamais été clair ; Madame Kalergis resta muette, et le seul compliment que fit Berlioz fut de louer la " chaleur " de mon interprétation. Elle devait en tout cas faire un contraste frappant avec celle de ma partenaire qui chantait presque tout à mi-voix. Klindworth semblait particulièrement outré du résultat ; il s'était, pour sa part, fort bien acquitté de sa tâche mais, quant au comportement de Viardot et de la tiédeur de son interprétation, il se déclara furieux, et supposait que la présence de Berlioz en était la cause. »

Richard Wagner : article sur Berlioz (mai 1841)

Traduction française (par Camille Benoit) publiée dans « Le Ménestrel » du 5 octobre 1884 (pages 257-258) d'un article de Richard Wagner sur Berlioz, paru d'abord en allemand, le 5 mai 1841, dans le « Dresdner Abendzeitung » (disponible en ligne sur le site internet de la Bibliothèque nationale de France) . C'est le 1er texte sur Berlioz publié par Wagner, écrit au cours de son 1er séjour à Paris, de 1839 à 1842.

5 mai 1841

« Je vois bien qu'il me faut enfin parler de Berlioz à tout prix, car je me rends compte que l'occasion favorable ne se présentera pas si tôt.

Déjà, ce fait qu'en vous mentionnant les manifestations quotidiennes de la vie de plaisir de Paris (mettons " de la vie artistique ", si l'on veut) , l'occasion de m'occuper de ce musicien génial ne s'est pas toute seule offerte à moi, ce fait me semble assez caractéristique : j'y trouve une excellente entrée en matière pour mon jugement sur Berlioz, et cet artiste a bien le droit, en tous cas, de revendiquer une place importante toute particulière dans la correspondance que je vous envoie de Paris.

I

Berlioz n'est nullement un compositeur d'occasion, c'est même la raison pour laquelle je n'ai pas eu à m'occuper de lui occasionnellement. Il n'entretient pas de relations, il n'a rien à faire avec ces établissements artistiques de Paris, fastueux et exclusifs, l'Opéra et le Conservatoire, qui, dès le 1er abord, se sont empressés de lui fermer leurs portes en s'étonnant de son audace. On a forcé Berlioz à être et à rester une exception bien tranchée à la grande, à l'éternelle règle, et c'est cela qu'il est et qu'il reste, aussi bien au fond qu'en apparence.

Celui qui veut entendre la musique de Berlioz est obligé de se déranger tout exprès pour cela, et d'aller à lui, sans

quoi il n'en trouverait nulle part la moindre trace, pas même aux endroits où l'on rencontre côte à côte Mozart et Musard. On entend les compositions de Berlioz uniquement dans 1 ou 2 concerts qu'il organise lui-même chaque année ; ces concerts restent son domaine exclusif : c'est là qu'il fait exécuter ses œuvres par un orchestre qu'il a formé à son usage tout particulier, devant un public dont il a fait la conquête pendant une campagne de 10 ans. Quant à entendre ailleurs du Berlioz, il faut y renoncer, à moins que ce ne soit dans la rue ou à l'église, où le gouvernement l'appelle de temps en temps à une action politico-musicale.

Cet isolement de Berlioz ne s'étend pas seulement à sa situation extérieure ; c'est avant tout cet isolement qui est le principe de son évolution intellectuelle : si Français qu'il soit, si réelles que soient les sympathies qui unissent son essence, sa tendance à celle de ses concitoyens, il n'en reste pas moins seul. Il ne voit personne devant lui sur qui s'étayer, à ses côtés personne sur qui s'appuyer.

Du fond de notre Allemagne, l'esprit de Beethoven a soufflé sur lui et, certainement, il fut des heures où Berlioz désirait être un Allemand ; c'est en de telles heures que son génie le poussait à écrire à l'imitation du grand Maître, à exprimer cela même qu'il sentait exprimé dans ses œuvres. Mais, dès qu'il saisissait la plume, le bouillonnement naturel de son sang de Français reprenait le dessus, le bouillonnement de ce sang qui frémissait dans les veines d'Auber, lorsqu'il écrivit le volcanique dernier acte de sa " Muette ". Heureux Auber, qui ne connaissait pas les Symphonies de Beethoven ! Berlioz, lui, les connaissait ; bien plus, il les comprenait, elles l'avaient transporté, elles avaient enivré son âme et, néanmoins, c'est par là qu'il lui fut rappelé qu'un sang français coulait dans ses veines. C'est alors qu'il se reconnut incapable de faire un Beethoven, c'est alors aussi qu'il se sentit incapable d'écrire comme un Auber.

Il fut Berlioz, et écrivit sa " Symphonie fantastique ", œuvre dont Beethoven eût souri, tout comme en sourit Auber, mais qui était capable de plonger Paganini dans la plus fiévreuse extase, et de gagner à son auteur un parti qui ne veut plus entendre d'autre musique au monde que la " Symphonie fantastique " de Berlioz.

Celui qui entend cette Symphonie ici, à Paris, doit vraiment croire qu'il entend une chose étrange, inouïe. Une riche, une monstrueuse imagination, une fantaisie d'une énergie épique, vomissent, comme d'un cratère, un torrent bourbeux de passions ; ce qu'on distingue, ce sont des nuages de fumée de proportions colossales, traversés seulement par des éclairs, zébrés par des bandes de feu, et façonnés en fantômes changeants. Tout est excessif, audacieux, mais extrêmement désagréable. Là, il ne faut chercher nulle part la beauté de la forme, nulle part le courant majestueusement paisible, à la sûre ondulation duquel on aimerait à confier son espoir.

Après la " Symphonie fantastique ", le 1er morceau de la Symphonie en ut mineur de Beethoven eût été pour moi une jouissance bienfaisante et pure.

II

Je disais que, même en Berlioz, la tendance française était prédominante.

En vérité, si tel n'était le cas, et s'il y avait eu possibilité pour lui de se soustraire à cette tendance, peut-être alors

pourrait-on soutenir aussi en lui ce qu'en bon allemand on nomme un digne disciple de Beethoven.

Mais cette tendance l'empêche de s'assimiler plus à fond le génie beethovenien. C'est la tendance qui vise à l'effet extérieur, qui est en quête du succès auprès des catégories les plus divergentes du public. Alors qu'en pleine vie sociale, l'Allemand, pour sonder en lui-même la source véritable où s'alimente sa faculté de production, préfère s'isoler et se recueillir, nous voyons que le Français, au contraire, aspire à trouver dans les classes les plus extrêmes de la société ce principe de son activité productrice. Le Français pense avant tout à une chose, divertir, amuser ; même quand il cherche à perfectionner son art par l'ennoblissement, par l'idéalisation de cet amusement, jamais il ne perd de vue son but immédiat, à savoir que cet art ait le pouvoir de plaire et de captiver le plus grand nombre possible d'auditeurs. Aussi, l'effet, l'impression du moment, sont et demeurent pour le Français l'objet principal ; s'il est totalement dépourvu du sens intuitif, il lui suffit d'avoir tout simplement atteint ce but ; mais s'il est doué d'une véritable faculté créatrice, cela ne l'empêche pas de se servir de cet effet ; seulement, ce n'est plus alors que le 1er et le plus important moyen pour faire comprendre à tous sa pensée intime.

Quels tiraillements ne doivent-ils pas se produire dans une âme d'artiste comme celle de Berlioz ! D'un côté, il est poussé, par une force vive d'intuition, à puiser à la source la plus profonde, la plus mystérieuse du monde idéal ; d'un autre côté, par les exigences et le caractère particulier de compatriotes dont il fait partie et partage les penchants (et même par sa propre impulsion native) , il se sent engagé à n'exprimer sa pensée que dans les éléments les plus superficiels de sa création ! Il sent qu'il a quelque chose d'extraordinaire, quelque chose d'infini à rendre ; il sent que la langue d'Auber est bien trop insuffisante pour cela ; il sent qu'il doit néanmoins imaginer quelque chose d'équivalent, pour gagner, a priori et tout de suite, les bonnes grâces de son public : et c'est ainsi qu'il en arrive à employer cette langue musicale frappante à la moderne, aux entortillages profanes, qui lui sert à ébaubir et à recruter les badauds, tout en rebutant ceux qui eussent été aisément en état de comprendre ses intentions intimes, mais qui dédaignent de les pénétrer sous cette enveloppe.

III

Une autre chose fâcheuse, c'est que Berlioz a l'air de se complaire en son isolement, et semble s'efforcer opiniâtement de s'y maintenir. Il n'a pas d'ami qu'il juge digne de lui donner un conseil, auquel il permette de lui signaler dans ses œuvres tel ou tel défaut de forme.

À ce point de vue, l'audition de sa Symphonie, " Roméo et Juliette ", m'a fait éprouver les plus vifs regrets. Dans cette composition, à côté des trouvailles les plus géniales, il s'amoncelle une telle quantité de fautes contre le goût et la bonne économie artistique, que je ne pus me défendre de faire ce souhait : c'est que Berlioz, avant l'exécution de cette œuvre, l'eût soumise à un homme tel que Cherubini ; certainement celui-ci, sans nuire le moins du monde à l'originalité de la composition, aurait su la débarrasser d'un bon nombre d'imperfections qui la déparent.

Mais la susceptibilité de Berlioz est si excessive, que même son plus intime ami n'oserait lui faire une telle proposition ; d'autre part, il frappe ainsi ses auditeurs, au point qu'ils voient en lui un phénomène artistique pour lequel nul point de comparaison n'existe, auquel on ne peut appliquer aucune mesure : et voilà comment Berlioz restera toujours

incomplet ; voilà pourquoi, peut-être, il ne brillera réellement que comme une exception passagère, étrange.

Et c'est grand dommage ! Si Berlioz savait s'emparer de la quantité d'excellents éléments qui a surgi de la dernière et brillante période de la musique française moderne, si Berlioz pouvait renoncer à cet isolement auquel il est parvenu, et dont il se prévaut avec un si vain orgueil, pour se rattacher à quelque grande figure de la musique présente ou passée, pour y prendre son point d'appui, alors, forcément, il aurait l'assurance nécessaire pour exercer sur l'avenir de la musique en France une influence puissante, au point de rendre sa mémoire inoubliable.

Berlioz, en effet, ne possède pas seulement la force créatrice et l'originalité de l'invention : une vertu brille en lui, aussi peu commune, d'ordinaire, chez les compositeurs de son pays que chez nous autres Allemands, le vice de coquetterie. Cette vertu consiste à ne pas écrire pour l'argent ; et pour qui connaît Paris, pour qui connaît le train de vie et les pratiques des compositeurs de Paris, il est tout naturel de rendre hommage, dans cette ville même, à une telle vertu.

Berlioz est l'ennemi le plus acharné de toute banalité, de toute gueuserie, de toute trivialité, il a juré d'égorger le 1er joueur d'orgue de Barbarie qui oserait jouer une de ses mélodies. Si terrible que soit ce serment, je n'ai pas la moindre appréhension pour les jours d'un de ces virtuoses des rues ; je suis même convaincu que personne ne tient la musique de Berlioz en plus parfait mépris que les membres de cette vaste corporation musicale.

Et pourtant, il est un talent qu'on ne saurait contester à Berlioz : c'est précisément son entente à fournir des compositions parfaitement populaires, je dis " populaires " au sens le plus idéal du mot.

Quand j'entendis la Symphonie qu'il a écrite pour la translation des victimes de Juillet, j'éprouvai l'impression vive que le 1er gamin en blouse bleue et en bonnet rouge devait la comprendre à fond ; ce genre de compréhension, à vrai dire, exigerait de ma part le nom de " national " plutôt que celui de " populaire " ; car il est certain que du Postillon de Lonjumeau à cette " Symphonie de Juillet ", il y a encore un bon bout de chemin à parcourir.

Je n'aurais vraiment nulle répugnance à donner le pas à cette composition sur les autres œuvres de Berlioz : elle est noble et grande de la 1re à la dernière note ; un sublime enthousiasme patriotique, qui s'élève du ton de la déploration aux plus hauts sommets de l'apothéose, garde cette œuvre de toute exaltation malsaine.

En outre, je reconnais à Berlioz le mérite d'avoir employé, dans un style tout à fait noble, la musique militaire d'harmonie, qui seule était à sa disposition en cette circonstance. Je dois donc retirer ce que je disais plus haut du sort futur des œuvres de Berlioz, au moins en ce qui concerne cette " Symphonie de Juillet ", je dois exprimer avec joie ma conviction que cette Symphonie durera et exaltera les courages, tant que durera une nation portant le nom de France. »

Berlioz et Liszt

Correspondance entre Berlioz et Liszt, et entre Berlioz et la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein.

Choix de lettres de Berlioz, Liszt et autres.

« Tu es un homme à part. »

(Berlioz à Liszt, lettre du 15 janvier 1854 ; Correspondance Générale n° 1690.)

Franz Liszt (1811-1886), hongrois de naissance mais allemand et français par l'éducation, tient une place tout à fait exceptionnelle parmi tous les compositeurs et musiciens rencontrés par Berlioz au cours de sa carrière. Les rapports entre ces 2 géants de la musique de leur temps s'étendent pendant plus de 35 ans ; de leur 1^{re} rencontre en 1830, à leur dernière, en 1866, vers la fin de la carrière de Berlioz. Par leur importance, ces rapports n'auront d'égal que ceux qui se développeront à la fin des années 1840, parallèlement, d'abord et ensuite en concurrence, entre Liszt et un autre géant de la musique du 19^e siècle, Richard Wagner (1813-1883).

Sujet vaste et complexe, qui ne se laisse pas résumer en quelques mots : presque dès le départ, les rapports entre Berlioz et Liszt sont d'ordre personnel et non seulement musical ; ils s'étendent dans de multiples directions, et évoluent au cours de leurs carrières. Leur analyse en est rendue plus difficile du fait qu'une source de 1^{re} importance, la correspondance entre les 2 hommes, souffre d'un déséquilibre fondamental. Comme pour le reste de la correspondance de Berlioz (réunie dans la Correspondance Générale), les lettres écrites par Berlioz qui ont survécu l'emportent très largement en nombre sur celles reçues par lui de ses correspondants, et il en est de même pour sa correspondance avec Liszt (Berlioz en a sans doute détruit beaucoup avec bien d'autres, après la mort de son fils Louis, en 1867). D'un autre côté, on possède nombre de lettres écrites par Liszt à d'autres correspondants, et elles apportent parfois d'importants aperçus sur ses rapports avec Berlioz.

À cause de la longue période envisagée, on a réparti la matière en plusieurs phases distinctes, déterminées en 1^{er} lieu par les cheminements de Liszt au cours d'une carrière tout à fait exceptionnelle. Du point de vue de Berlioz, l'époque charnière s'étend de 1848 à 1857 quand Liszt, installé à Weimar, s'emploie à transformer la ville en centre de musique progressive. C'est pendant les années 1852 et 1856 que l'amitié entre les 2 hommes atteindra son apogée, mais c'est aussi au cours de la même période que des différences fondamentales entre eux se révèlent et, par la suite, leurs rapports vont se relâcher et finir par cesser complètement.

1830-1835 : Liszt à Paris

Chronologie

1803

11 décembre : Berlioz naît à La Côte Saint-André.

1811

22 octobre : Liszt naît à Raiding près de Sopron, en Hongrie.

1821

La famille de Liszt s'installe à Vienne.

Fin octobre : Berlioz arrive à Paris.

1823

Automne : La famille de Liszt vient s'installer à Paris.

1830

4 décembre : Ire rencontre de Berlioz et Liszt, le jour de la Ire exécution de « la Symphonie fantastique » au Conservatoire.

1832

9 décembre : Liszt présent au concert du Conservatoire où l'on joue « la Symphonie fantastique » et « Le Retour à la vie », en présence d'Harriet Smithson.

1833

2 avril : Liszt participe à un concert au bénéfice d'Harriet Smithson. (Correspondance Générale, n° 332.)

12 mars : Liszt donne un concert bénéfice au « Vauxhall », à Paris, où le chef Girard dirige l'Ouverture des « Francs-Juges » .

3 octobre : Liszt est témoin au mariage de Berlioz et Harriet Smithson.

24 novembre : Concert bénéfice donné par Berlioz pour Harriet Smithson avec la participation de Liszt. (Correspondance Générale, n° 363 ; « Mémoires », Chapitre 45.)

15 décembre : Liszt participe à un concert donné par Ferdinand Hiller. (« Critique Musicale », tome I ; pages 119 et 126.)

22 décembre : Liszt participe à un concert dirigé par Berlioz. (« Critique Musicale », tome I ; page 128.)

1834

28 décembre : Liszt participe à un concert donné par Berlioz où il joue des mouvements de « la Symphonie fantastique ». (Se référer à la Correspondance Générale, n° 420 ; « Critique Musicale », tome II ; pages 3 et 4.)

1835

9 avril : Liszt participe à un concert dirigé par le chef Girard à l'Hôtel-de-ville, où il joue sa fantaisie sur « Le Retour à la vie ». (Se référer à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 429 et 430 ; « Critique Musicale » II ; pages 127-133, 135-136.)

23 mai : Liszt joue le « Konzertstück » de Weber pour piano et orchestre. (« Critique Musicale », tome II ; page 195.)

À propos de la 1^{re} exécution de « la Symphonie fantastique » au Conservatoire, le 5 décembre 1830, Berlioz raconte (« Mémoires » : Chapitre 31) :

« Ce fut la veille de ce jour que Liszt vint me voir. Nous ne nous connaissions pas encore. Je lui parlai du « Faust » de Goethe, qu'il m'avoua n'avoir pas lu, et pour lequel il se passionna autant que moi bientôt après. Nous éprouvions une vive sympathie l'un pour l'autre et, depuis lors, notre liaison n'a fait que se resserrer et se consolider.

Il assista à ce concert où il se fit remarquer de tout l'auditoire par ses applaudissements et ses enthousiastes démonstrations. »

Une lettre de Berlioz à son père, le lendemain de l'exécution, y fait allusion brièvement. (Correspondance Générale, n° 190.) Dès le départ, le ton est donné : c'est une amitié presque sans limites qui s'étend dans toutes les directions. Bientôt, ils vont se tutoyer, ce qui place Liszt dans un groupe très restreint parmi les amis de Berlioz en dehors de sa famille, à côté de Joseph d'Ortigue et, plus tard, James Davison. Il se trouve que Berlioz se voit obligé de partir pour l'Italie à la fin de 1830, et il est absent de Paris pendant 1831 et presque toute l'année 1832. Il n'est pas question de Liszt dans les lettres connues de Berlioz de cette période, mais les 2 hommes ne tarderont pas à renouer leurs rapports dès le retour de Berlioz, et Liszt fait partie de l'auditoire au concert du 9 décembre au Conservatoire où Harriet Smithson est présente. Dès le départ, il est mêlé à la passion orageuse de Berlioz pour l'actrice irlandaise ; il semble qu'il ait cherché à dissuader Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 303) mais, pour finir, il lui accorde son entier soutien et est l'un des témoins à leur mariage, le 3 octobre 1833. (Se référer à la Correspondance Générale, n° 348.)

C'est en fait de l'époque où Berlioz faisait sa cour à Harriet Smithson que date le 1^{er} commentaire connu de Liszt sur Berlioz dans une lettre à Madame d'Agoult de 1833, mais sans date précise. On y rencontre déjà le ton de sollicitude apitoyée qui se reconnaît par la suite dans l'attitude de Liszt envers Berlioz : il estime de son devoir de venir en aide à son ami et, à ce moment de sa carrière, il le fait en mettant à la disposition de Berlioz son

prodigieux talent de pianiste. En 1833, et dans les années suivantes, il participe donc à des concerts, dont certains sous la direction de Berlioz. Il met en œuvre également l'un de ses talents particuliers, la transcription ou adaptation pour le piano d'œuvres écrites à l'origine pour orchestre. En 1833, outre la composition d'une fantaisie sur des thèmes du « Retour à la vie » (Correspondance Générale, n° 429) , il fait une transcription pour piano de « la Symphonie fantastique » et de l'Ouverture des « Francs-Juges » (se référer à la lettre à Madame d'Agoult de mai 1833) ; la transcription de l'Ouverture ne sera publiée qu'en 1845, mais celle de la Symphonie paraît en Allemagne, en 1834, et joue un rôle capital dans la diffusion de la renommée de Berlioz : c'est grâce à elle que son nom est porté pour la 1^{re} fois à l'attention du public allemand. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 342, 357, 384, 398, 416, 425, 453.) Quelques années plus tard (vers 1836) , Liszt transcrit également « Harold en Italie » et l'Ouverture du « Roi Lear » , et les soumet à Berlioz en vue d'une publication éventuelle. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 478, 498, 525, 538.) Berlioz accueille d'abord les transcriptions avec joie (Correspondance Générale, numéros 342, 453) , mais il exprimera plus tard des réserves de fond sur le genre même, bien que seulement à ses proches et en privé. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 968 et 969 ; se référer à aussi 1598bis (tome VIII) , 2100 ; et « Critique Musicale » , tome II, pages 577-578.) En 1852, Liszt réclamera à Berlioz ses manuscrits des transcriptions de « Harold » et des 2 Ouvertures, sans doute en vue d'une révision (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1499 et 1589) ; en réponse, Berlioz fait à Liszt quelques observations critiques sur la transcription de « Harold » (Correspondance Générale, n° 1501) et de l'Ouverture du « Roi Lear » . (Correspondance Générale, n° 1593.) Pour finir, la transcription de l'Ouverture ne sera jamais publiée, et celle de la Symphonie ne paraîtra intégralement qu'en 1879, 10 ans après la mort de Berlioz.

Par contre, Berlioz ne met jamais en question les prouesses de Liszt au piano, comme on peut le constater tout au long de ses écrits. (Voir, par exemple, le début de la 3^e lettre du « 1^{er} Voyage en Allemagne » ou le 3^e chapitre d' « À Travers chants » .) Dès ses débuts dans la carrière de critique musical, il vante les talents du grand virtuose, avec seulement quelques réserves sur le caractère parfois subjectif de ses interprétations. (Se référer à la « Critique Musicale » , tome II ; pages 131-132.) Dans le compte-rendu d'un concert de mars 1834, il dit de Liszt :

« Il parle piano comme Goethe parlait allemand, comme Moore parle anglais, comme Weber parlait orchestre. »

(« Critique Musicale » , tome I ; pages 188 et 189.)

Dans un article de juin 1836, consacré entièrement à Liszt, il célèbre en lui « le pianiste de l'avenir » (« Critique Musicale » , tome II ; pages 471-475) , expression destinée à l'avenir que l'on sait, mais dont nul n'aurait pu à ce stade prévoir la portée.

Liszt, tout comme Berlioz, n'est pas seulement un grand musicien : pénétrés tous 2 de littérature, ils font partie entière des cercles intellectuels de l'élite parisienne du temps. (Se référer à la Correspondance Générale, n° 370.) Un exemple : la réunion chez les Berlioz à Montmartre, au début de mars 1834, connue d'après la correspondance du compositeur. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 395, 396, 397.) Mais la période parisienne de Liszt va bientôt prendre fin : en 1833, il a rencontré à Paris la comtesse Marie d'Agoult et, plus tard en 1835, il quitte Paris pour aller s'installer avec elle à Genève.

1835-1847 : Liszt à l'étranger

Chronologie

1836

Juin : Récital donné par Liszt dans les salons Érard ; compte-rendu de Berlioz le 12 juin. (« Critique Musicale » , tome II ; pages 471-475 - se référer aux pages 535-536.)

7 août : Article de Berlioz sur le Conservatoire de Genève, fondé avec le soutien de Liszt. (« Critique Musicale » , tome II, pages 539-542 - se référer aux pages 447-449 ; Correspondance Générale, numéros 461, 470, 478.)

18 décembre : Liszt participe avec Berlioz à un concert au Conservatoire de Paris. (Correspondance Générale, n° 485 ; « Critique Musicale » , tome III ; page 27.)

1837

28 janvier ; 4, 11 et 18 février : Concerts de chambre donnés aux salons Érard par Liszt avec le violoniste Chrétien Urhan et le violoncelliste Alexandre Batta. (« Critique Musicale » , tome III ; pages 33-36, 41-43, 67-71, 83-84.)

5 décembre : Ire exécution du « Requiem » .

1838

10, 12, 14 septembre : Échec de « Benvenuto Cellini » à l'Opéra.

16 décembre : Hommage public de Paganini à Berlioz, suivi d'un don de 20,000 francs.

1839

13 janvier : Liszt publie un article à la louange de « Benvenuto Cellini » . (Se référer à la Correspondance Générale, n° 622.)

1840

20 avril : Récital donné par Liszt dans les salons Érard. (« Critique Musicale » , tome IV ; pages 313-314.)

1841

27 mars et 13 avril : Récitals donnés par Liszt dans la salle Érard. (« Critique Musicale » , tome IV ; pages 493-495.)

25 avril : Festival Beethoven au Conservatoire, dirigé par Berlioz et avec la participation de Liszt. (« Critique Musicale », tome IV ; pages 503-505.)

1842

2 novembre : Liszt est nommé directeur de musique extraordinaire au service du Grand-Duc de Weimar.

1843

28 août : La 3^e lettre sur les voyages de Berlioz en Allemagne est publiée dans le « Journal des Débats » ; elle est adressée à Liszt. (« Critique Musicale », tome V ; pages 275-284.)

1844

Janvier : Iers concerts dirigés par Liszt à Weimar.

21 et 25 avril : Concerts de Liszt au Théâtre Italien, à Paris. (« Critique Musicale », tome V ; pages 486 et 487 ; se référer à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 896-898.)

4 mai : Liszt participe à un concert dirigé par Berlioz. (Correspondance Générale numéros 899, 899bis [tome VIII] ; « Critique Musicale », tome V, pages 479-482.)

11 mai : Liszt participe à un concert à la Salle Herz. (« Critique Musicale », tome V ; pages 486-487.)

1845

Août : Liszt organise et dirige le Festival Beethoven à Bonn ; Berlioz assiste au Festival et publie un rapport sur les solennités.

1846

Fin mars : Liszt se rend à Prague et assiste à des concerts donnés par Berlioz. (Se référer à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1030, 1031, 1034.)

1847

Février : Liszt rencontre la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein à Kiev.

Malgré son départ pour la Suisse et ses voyages à l'étranger, Liszt revient de temps en temps à Paris pour y donner

des concerts (en 1836, 1837, 1840, 1841, 1844) . Même quand il est absent de Paris, il reste en rapport avec Berlioz, et continue à s'intéresser vivement à son sort, comme l'atteste ses réactions au succès du « Requiem » en 1837 (Correspondance Générale, n° 525) , et à l'échec de « Benvenuto Cellini » en 1838 (Correspondance Générale, n° 622) . Berlioz, de son côté, rend compte régulièrement des concerts de Liszt à Paris et évoque souvent ses voyages à l'étranger : voyages en Italie, en 1837 et 1838 (« Critique Musicale » , tome III ; pages 171, 436-437) ; à Vienne, en 1838 (« Critique Musicale » , tome III ; page 495) ; à Londres et en Belgique, en 1840 (« Critique Musicale » , tome IV pages 353-4, 476) ; en Russie, en 1842 (« Critique Musicale » , tome IV ; page 601) ; en Espagne, en 1844 (« Critique Musicale » , tome V ; page 571) . Liszt visiblement lui manque, comme on peut le lire dans 2 lettres de 1839 ; la 1re adressée à Liszt personnellement (Correspondance Générale n° 622) , l'autre une longue lettre ouverte parue dans la « Revue et Gazette musicale » , en août (Correspondance Générale n° 660 ; « Critique Musicale » , tome IV, pages 131-137) . Quand, finalement, Berlioz entreprend lui-même sa longue série de voyages musicaux, il a 2 fois l'occasion de rencontrer Liszt à l'étranger ; à Bonn, en août 1845, puis en avril de l'année suivante, à Prague.

C'est au cours des années 1840 que Liszt voyagera le plus, à la suite de sa rupture avec Marie d'Agoult, en 1839 (de Suisse, elle reviendra à Paris avec leurs 3 enfants, mais ils continueront à correspondre encore pendant bien des années) . À cette époque, Liszt, « vagabond infatigable » (Correspondance Générale, n° 660) parcourt le monde plus que peut-être n'importe quel musicien de son temps, plus que Berlioz lui-même : entre autres pays, il se rend en Turquie, en Espagne, au Portugal, et même en Islande (mais comme Berlioz et Wagner, il ne se rendra jamais en Amérique, même s'il y songera) . Mais, en même temps, l'idée de s'établir de manière durable le hante, et l'occasion s'en présentera grâce aux liens qu'il commence à nouer avec Weimar où, dès novembre 1842, il est nommé à un poste à mi-temps. Ses ambitions pour Weimar s'expriment dans une lettre à Marie d'Agoult, au début de 1844, peu après sa 1re série de concerts dans cette ville. Mais il faudra plusieurs années avant que ses projets se concrétisent. L'événement décisif est sa rencontre avec la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein à Kiev, en février 1847, au cours d'une tournée en Russie ; elle le persuadera finalement de mettre fin à sa carrière de virtuose errant pour s'établir avec elle à Weimar. Coïncidence singulière : c'est peu après la visite de Liszt que Berlioz fait lui-même son 1er voyage en Russie, où il rencontre lui aussi la princesse, et tous 2 forment une impression très positive de leur rencontre. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1108, 1154, 1242bis ; et Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult, 2 volumes, Paris, 1933-1934, tome 2, page 383.) Les voyages en Russie de 1847 auront donc une influence décisive sur la carrière de tous les 3.

1848-1856 : Liszt à Weimar

Chronologie

1848

Février : Liszt s'installe à Weimar.

La princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein ne peut obtenir du Tsar de Russie le droit de divorcer son mari.

1849

16 février : Liszt dirige la 1^{re} exécution du « Tannhäuser » de Wagner à Weimar. (Correspondance Générale, n° 1242bis.)

La princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein et Liszt s'installent à Weimar à l'Altenburg.

1850

28 août : Liszt dirige la 1^{re} exécution du « Lohengrin » de Wagner, à Weimar.

1851

Août : Liszt propose à Berlioz de monter « Benvenuto Cellini » à Weimar.

1852

20, 24, 27 mars : Liszt dirige 3 exécutions de « Benvenuto Cellini » à Weimar.

17 avril : Liszt dirige à Weimar une exécution de la version révisée (?) de « Benvenuto Cellini » .

Juin : Exécution d'extraits de « Harold en Italie » par Liszt au Festival de Ballenstedt. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1491 et 1499.)

14 novembre : Berlioz et Marie Recio arrivent à Weimar.

17, 21, 23, 25, 30 novembre : Liszt dirige plusieurs exécutions de la version révisée de « Benvenuto Cellini » .

20 novembre : Berlioz dirige un concert au théâtre de Weimar.

24 novembre : Berlioz et Marie Recio quittent Weimar.

1853

3 février : Liszt dirige au théâtre de Weimar des extraits de « la Damnation of Faust » et de « Roméo et Juliette » pour lesquels Berlioz a envoyé la musique. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1543, 1549, 1552, 1554.)

5 octobre : Au Festival de Karlsruhe (du 3 au 7 octobre) , Liszt dirige des extraits de « Roméo et Juliette » ; Berlioz n'assiste pas au Festival. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1627 et 1631 ; se référer à 1620 et 1624.)

8 au 19 octobre : Séjour de Liszt à Paris.

10 octobre : Rencontre de Berlioz, Liszt et Wagner à l'hôtel de Liszt, à Paris.

11 octobre : Berlioz reçoit Liszt et Wagner au petit-déjeuner ; Berlioz chante et Liszt joue des extraits de « Benvenuto Cellini » .

1er décembre : Liszt arrive à Leipzig pour assister à un concert donné le même jour par Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1657 et 1659) ; au cours d'une soirée chez Ferdinand David, il joue aussi sa nouvelle paraphrase sur 2 thèmes de « Benvenuto Cellini » (publiée l'année suivante) et revient bientôt à Weimar (Correspondance Générale, n° 1662) .

10 décembre : Liszt se rend de nouveau de Weimar à Leipzig pour un autre concert donné le même soir par Berlioz. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1664 et 1669.)

1854

Janvier : Liszt projette une étude de l'œuvre de Berlioz. (Correspondance Générale, n° 1696.)

27 janvier : Liszt dirige « La Fuite en Égypte » , à Weimar.

4 mars : Mort de Harriet Smithson.

3 au 6 mai : Berlioz et Marie Recio s'arrêtent à Weimar, en route de Dresde à Paris.

1855

11 février : Berlioz et Marie Recio arrivent à Weimar.

17 février : Au cours d'un concert à la cour, dirigé par Berlioz, Liszt donne la Ire exécution de son Concerto pour piano en mi bémol.

21 février : Liszt participe à un concert, dirigé par Berlioz, au théâtre de Weimar.

Juillet et août : Liszt publie dans la « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » un article en allemand sur « Harold en Italie » , écrit à l'origine en français ; une publication à Paris n'aura pas lieu.

Septembre : De passage à Paris, la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein voit Berlioz. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2005-2007, 2012, 2017, 2019.)

18 octobre : À un concert à Brunswick, Liszt dirige l'Ouverture de « Benvenuto Cellini », ainsi que ses poèmes symphoniques « Prométhée » et « Orphée ». (Correspondance Générale, n° 2044.)

1856

6 février : Liszt vient de Vienne pour assister à un concert à Gotha, dirigé par Berlioz.

7 et 8 février : Liszt accompagne Berlioz et Marie Recio pendant leur voyage de Gotha à Weimar.

16 février : Liszt dirige une exécution d'une version révisée de « Benvenuto Cellini », à Weimar.

17 février : 1er concert dirigé par Berlioz.

Vers le 18 février : Liszt dirige une exécution du « Lohengrin » de Wagner ; Berlioz et Marie Recio sortent pendant le 2e acte.

24 février : 2e exécution de « Lohengrin » dirigée par Liszt, en présence de Berlioz et Marie Recio.

1 mars : 2e concert dirigé par Berlioz.

2 mars : Berlioz et Marie Recio quittent Weimar pour Paris.

16 mars : 2e (et dernière) exécution de « Benvenuto Cellini », dirigée par Liszt.

La décision de Liszt de s'établir de manière permanente à Weimar a de grandes conséquences pour son soutien de Berlioz, qui tout d'abord ne semble cependant pas s'en douter. Certes, les ressources de Weimar ne sont nullement comparables à celles des grandes villes musicales d'Allemagne, mais Liszt est maintenant en mesure de réaliser pour son ami ce dont il a longtemps rêvé. Une lettre à son agent Belloni, du début de 1852, résume sa conception de la tâche qu'il s'est imposé : Berlioz, musicien hors pair, mérite d'être soutenu à fond, et Liszt va faire tout son possible pour l'encourager et promouvoir sa musique. On remarquera au passage que dans cette lettre Liszt ne prononce pas le nom de Wagner, pour lequel il a cependant déjà beaucoup fait à Weimar au cours des années précédentes.

Le point de départ est une reprise de « Benvenuto Cellini », dont l'échec en 1838 avait marqué un tournant dans la carrière de Berlioz à Paris. Liszt se passionne pour le projet, comme on peut le voir d'après sa correspondance avec Wagner, qui tente en coulisse de décourager l'entreprise. Hans von Bülow, élève de Liszt, prend une part très importante à la préparation du projet. Outre les représentations de 1852 et 1856, réalisées avec la participation active de Berlioz qui remanie la partition, Liszt essaie de faire monter l'œuvre ailleurs en Allemagne (Dresde en 1853 et 1854, mais sans succès), et encourage sa publication. À part « Benvenuto Cellini », il fait exécuter d'autres œuvres de Berlioz, à Weimar (1853, 1854) et ailleurs en Allemagne (Ballenstedt, en 1852 ; Karlsruhe, en 1853 ; Brunswick, en 1855). Il invite Berlioz à Weimar pour organiser et diriger des concerts de sa musique en novembre 1852 ; février

1855 ; et février 1856. Berlioz sera accueilli comme membre honoraire de la « Nouvelle Weimar » que Liszt et ses partisans essaient de créer. Mais l'action de Liszt s'étend au delà de Weimar. Les Iers grands voyages de Berlioz en Allemagne, en 1842-1843 puis en 1845-1846, avaient eu lieu pratiquement sans le concours de Liszt ; ce dernier prend maintenant une part active à ceux des années 1852-1856, soit en personne, soit par l'entremise de ses partisans et amis dans le monde musical d'Allemagne, tel Hans von Bülow à Dresde en 1853. En 1854, Liszt cherche semble-t-il à obtenir un poste permanent pour Berlioz comme chef d'orchestre à Dresde (se référer à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1746) , mais le projet n'aboutira pas. À plusieurs reprises, il insiste pour faire acte de présence et donner son appui à des concerts donnés par Berlioz (Leipzig en 1853 ; Gotha en 1856) . À l'occasion, il met ses talents de virtuose au service de Berlioz ou de sa musique : il exécute en l'honneur de Berlioz, et sous sa direction, son 1er Concerto pour piano (Weimar, 1855) , remanie quelques transcriptions pour piano d'œuvres pour orchestre de Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1499, 1501, 1589, 1593) , et compose aussi une nouvelle paraphrase sur 2 thèmes de « Benvenuto Cellini » qu'il joue à Leipzig en 1853, et publie l'année suivante. La critique musicale doit aussi prendre sa place : il envisage une étude de l'œuvre de Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 1696) mais, en définitive, seul un article sur « Harold en Italie » verra le jour ; il paraîtra en Allemagne à l'été de 1855, mais une publication en français dans la presse parisienne n'aura finalement pas lieu (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1962, 1995, 2012, 2017, 2019, 2025, 2044, 2065 ; se référer à « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 volumes, Leipzig, 1910, n° 192) .

Malgré la disparition de la plupart des lettres de Liszt à Berlioz, on peut lire entre les lignes de celles que Berlioz lui adresse l'intérêt qu'il porte à la carrière de son ami. En juin 1852, Liszt lui demande une liste complète de ses œuvres musicales et Berlioz en réponse le met à jour sur ses derniers travaux. (Correspondance Générale, n° 1471.) À partir de là, Berlioz tient Liszt au courant de ses plus importants projets et activités ; on possède plusieurs lettres qui relatent ses concerts de ces années : en 1853, Londres (Correspondance Générale, n° 1617) , Bade et Francfort (Correspondance Générale, n° 1624) , et Brunswick (Correspondance Générale, n° 1637) ; en 1854, Hanovre (Correspondance Générale, n° 1717) et Dresde (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1739, 1746, 1748) ; en 1855, Bruxelles (Correspondance Générale, n° 1927) . En remaniant « Benvenuto Cellini » pour les exécutions de Weimar, Berlioz se montre réceptif aux suggestions de Liszt et le considère pratiquement comme un collaborateur : dans ses lettres à Liszt, il parle de l'œuvre comme « notre Opéra » (Correspondance Générale, n° 1499) , « notre Benvenuto » (Correspondance Générale, n° 1556) , « ton protégé » (Correspondance Générale, n° 1617, se référer à 1568) , et la version publiée est, pour lui, « notre édition de Cellini » (Correspondance Générale, n° 1995) .

À part « Cellini » , Berlioz tient Liszt aussi au courant des progrès de ses œuvres les plus importantes. De 1852 à 1854, Liszt peut suivre l'élargissement de « La Fuite en Égypte » d'origine jusqu'à ce qu'elle devienne la trilogie de « L'Enfance du Christ » , et il prête son concours pour la réalisation de la traduction allemande de l'œuvre par Peter Cornelius. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1471, 1510, 1617, 1690, 1696, 1738, 1762, 1764, 1773, 1776, 1799, 1811.) Après le succès des exécutions à Paris, en décembre 1854, Berlioz lui confie son estimation personnelle de l'œuvre qui allait être jouée bientôt à Weimar dans la traduction de Cornelius. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1848 et 1869.) Liszt n'avait pas été mêlé de près à la genèse de l'œuvre mais visiblement se prend d'affection pour elle. Après l'exécution de Weimar, Berlioz lui donne un compte-rendu des exécutions à Bruxelles, le mois suivant (Correspondance Générale, n° 1927) , et tient à assister à une autre exécution l'année suivante à Gotha.

Liszt n'a jamais encore entendu le « Requiem » mais ambitionne de le diriger lui-même, comme il le souligne dans sa lettre de janvier 1852 à Belloni. Berlioz lui fait part de l'exécution à Paris, le 22 octobre de la même année (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1510, 1520, 1525) , et quelques mois plus tard, dans une lettre qui montre que Liszt l'encourage à écrire une Messe, il évoque la prédilection de Liszt pour une œuvre qu'il n'avait jamais encore entendue (Correspondance Générale, n° 1568) . Le « Te Deum » , qui n'a pas encore été exécuté quand Liszt en apprend l'existence (Correspondance Générale, n° 1471) , est souvent mentionné dans la correspondance de Berlioz avec Liszt. Il lui parle de la difficulté d'organiser une exécution (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1525, 1528, 1538, 1568) et, en réponse à une demande de Liszt pour la partition qu'il est obligé de refuser, il brosse un tableau de l'œuvre (Correspondance Générale, n° 1552) . Finalement, une exécution est mise sur pied pour l'ouverture de la grande Exposition de 1855, à Paris (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1773 et 1776) , et Berlioz écrit à Liszt pour solliciter son aide avec la publicité pour l'événement (Correspondance Générale, n° 1935) . Il ressort de cette dernière lettre que Berlioz et Liszt ont dû longuement discuter de l'ouvrage et, en réponse à des objections apparemment soulevées par Liszt concernant le prélude pour orchestre du « Dignare » (à présent, le 3^e mouvement) , il le supprime tout simplement (Berlioz ne l'inclura pas dans la publication de la grande partition) . À l'occasion de la 1^{re} exécution de l'œuvre, le 30 avril 1855, Liszt est le 1^{er} à recevoir un récit détaillé de l'événement, quelques heures plus tard. (Correspondance Générale, n° 1959.) Tout de suite, il exprime le désir de donner lui-même une exécution de l'ouvrage (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1962 et 1965) et, plus tard la même année, il sera question d'un Festival en Thuringe où le « Te Deum » et le « Requiem » devaient être joués tous les 2, mais le projet n'aura pas de suite (Correspondance Générale, n° 2012) . Autre œuvre d'envergure à recevoir sa 1^{re} exécution, en 1855 : la cantate « L'Impériale en l'honneur de Napoléon III » . L'ouvrage est mentionné pour la 1^{re} fois dans une lettre à Liszt de juillet 1854 (Correspondance Générale, n° 1773) ; il recevra sa 1^{re} exécution au cours de 2 concerts monstres, le 15 et 16 novembre 1855, et, une fois de plus, Liszt reçoit un compte-rendu détaillé de la solennité (Correspondance Générale, n° 2046 ; se référer à numéros 2044 et 2045.)

Au cours de 1854 et 1855, les liens entre Berlioz et Liszt semblent donc se resserrer de plus en plus. Liszt demande à Berlioz son portrait en médaillon (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1764 et 1776) et, de son côté, Berlioz affiche chez lui un portrait de Liszt au-dessus de son piano (Correspondance Générale, n° 2168, septembre 1856) . Au début de 1854, Liszt demande à Berlioz un exemplaire de ses « Mémoires » , alors encore inachevées et inédites (Correspondance Générale, n° 1696) , et Berlioz le lui fait parvenir l'année suivante en vue d'une éventuelle traduction allemande, avec recommandation à Liszt pour leur publication s'il devait décéder prématurément (Correspondance Générale, n° 1965 ; se référer à 1975 et 1995) . Pendant le séjour à Weimar, de février 1855, Berlioz évoque semble-t-il avec Liszt le projet d'une édition allemande de ses œuvres complètes, pour laquelle Liszt se propose d'être son représentant en Allemagne. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1901, 1908, 1913.) Il est question du projet dans plusieurs lettres à Liszt au cours des mois suivants mais, pour finir, le projet n'aboutira pas. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1918, 1927, 1965.) Qui plus est, Berlioz décerne à son ami l'honneur suprême de l'assimiler à des personnages de Shakespeare : dans une lettre, Liszt est Prospero tandis que la jeune princesse Marie von Sayn-Wittgenstein est Miranda (Correspondance Générale, n° 1927) ; dans une autre, il est nul autre que Hamlet vis-à-vis de Berlioz-Horatio :

« Adieu je te serre la main
Ton dévoué Horatio
et continuons à rire de tous les
Guildenstern, de tous les Rosencrantz,
et de tous les petits Osrick ;
sans compter les Polonius
de ce bas monde. »

(Correspondance Générale, n° 1975.)

On se rappellera que, jadis, Berlioz s'assimilait volontiers à Hamlet et son ami Humbert Ferrand à Horatio.

Apparences cependant trompeuses - le resserrement des liens entre Berlioz et Liszt a finalement pour effet de faire éclater au grand jour un désaccord que Berlioz, de son côté, aurait sans doute préféré passer sous silence mais que Liszt veut surmonter : leur divergence de vues sur Wagner. Qu'il suffise de dire ici que, sans doute dès 1849, et en tout cas à partir de 1853, Liszt s'emploie à faire partager par Berlioz et par Wagner l'admiration et la chaleur qu'il ressentait lui-même pour tous les 2. Au cours de l'été de 1855, Berlioz et Wagner se rencontrent à Londres et l'occasion semble se présenter d'y parvenir enfin ; mais les espoirs de Liszt sont rapidement déçus et le désaccord surgit ouvertement pendant les exécutions du « Lohengrin » de Wagner à Weimar, en février 1856.

1857-1866 : de Weimar à Rome

Chronologie

1857

1er juin : Liszt dirige une exécution de « La Fuite en Égypte », à Aix-la-Chapelle.

2 juin : Une exécution de « l'Enfance du Christ » à Aix-la-Chapelle, organisée et dirigée par Liszt, est sifflée.

1858

15 décembre : Manifestation publique contre Liszt à la 1re exécution du « Barbier de Bagdad » de Peter Cornelius, à Weimar ; Liszt démissionne de son poste de chef d'orchestre.

1859

20 octobre : Arrivée de la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein à Paris, sans Liszt ; Berlioz dîne avec elle. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2417 ; se référer à 2418.)

22 octobre : Berlioz organise chez Madame Viardot une exécution d'extraits des « Troyens » pour la princesse. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2419 et 2427 ; se référer à la lettre de Liszt à la princesse, du 24 octobre.)

28 octobre : La princesse quitte Paris. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2423.)

Fin octobre : À la mort de Spohr (le 22 octobre) , Liszt pose sa candidature à l'Institut avec l'appui de Berlioz.

3 décembre : Liszt n'est pas élu à l'Institut.

13 décembre : Mort à Berlin de Daniel, fils de Liszt, à l'âge de 20 ans.

1860

Mai : La princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein quitte Weimar pour s'établir à Rome ; elle voit le Pape pour lui demander un divorce avec son mari.

1861

13, 18, 24 mars : Exécutions du « Tannhäuser » de Wagner à l'Opéra ; Liszt n'est pas présent. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2534, 2535, 2536, 2538, 2542, 2545.)

10 mai : Liszt arrive à Paris pour 1 mois ; il voit Wagner avant son départ de Paris.

Vers le 13-15 mai : Liszt dîne avec Berlioz. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2551 ; la lettre de Liszt du 16 mai à la princesse.)

22 mai : Liszt dîne avec Napoléon III. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2555 et 2557.)

31 mai : Liszt est nommé Commandeur de la Légion d'honneur. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2552, 2555, 2557.)

Août : Liszt quitte Weimar.

1862

9 et 11 août : Ires exécutions de « Béatrice et Bénédict » à Bade, en l'absence de Liszt et de la princesse.

Septembre : Berlioz reçoit de Liszt un exemplaire de la « Symphonie Faust » qui lui est dédiée.

11 septembre : Blandine, fille de Liszt, meurt à l'âge de 26 ans.

1863

8 et 10 avril : Liszt et la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein n'assistent pas aux exécutions de « Béatrice et Bénédict » , à Weimar.

14 et 18 août : Liszt et la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein n'assistent pas aux exécutions de « Béatrice et Bénédict » , à Bade.

Novembre-décembre : Liszt et la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein n'assistent pas aux exécutions des « Troyens » , à Paris.

1864

Août : Festival à Karlsruhe où l'on joue de la musique de Liszt. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2887 et 2888.)

Début octobre : Liszt passe 1 semaine à Paris sans la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein, et dîne avec Berlioz le 7 et 10 octobre. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2905-2907, 2908, 2911, 2915, 2920, 2923, 2924.)

1865

Liszt entre dans les ordres.

1866

7 mars : Liszt assiste à un concert où le Septuor des « Troyens » est exécuté. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 3110, 3115, 3116, 3117.)

15 mars : Exécution de la « Messe de Gran » de Liszt, à l'église Saint-Eustache, en présence de Berlioz. (Correspondance Générale, n° 3116.)

16 avril : Berlioz dîne avec Liszt, d'Ortigue et Damcke chez Léon Kreutzer. (Correspondance Générale VII : page 405, note 1.)

20 avril : Berlioz et Liszt assistent à un concert donné par Saint-Saëns. (Correspondance Générale VII : page 422, note 1.)

Conséquence du désaccord ouvert entre Berlioz et Liszt sur la musique de Wagner : leur correspondance esquivait désormais ce débat. Par contre, quelques mois plus tard, Berlioz se sent libre de soulever la question de front avec la princesse pour bien marquer sa distance avec le rôle que Wagner, selon lui, attribuait à la musique. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2163.) Les encouragements prodigués par la princesse pour la composition des « Troyens » ont sans doute, en partie, l'arrière-pensée de contrecarrer l'influence de Liszt sur Wagner qui, de son côté, émet des réserves sur

l'influence que la princesse exerce sur Liszt. Liszt, néanmoins, continue avec sa générosité coutumière à soutenir la musique de Berlioz en Allemagne, ce qui va bientôt mener à un nouveau et sans doute plus grave désaccord. En 1857, Liszt veut à tout prix faire exécuter « l'Enfance du Christ » intégralement à un Festival à Aix-la-Chapelle, en juin ; Berlioz se prononce tout d'abord en faveur du projet (Correspondance Générale, n° 2209 ; se référer à 2207bis - tome VIII) , mais change ensuite d'avis quand des oppositions se manifestent sur place (Correspondance Générale, n° 2219) . Liszt persévère quand même, avec pour résultat le jour de l'exécution une cabale ouverte, dirigée sans doute plus contre Liszt que contre l'œuvre elle-même. (Ferdinand Hiller, ancien ami de Berlioz qui s'est prononcé contre Liszt, joue un rôle primordial dans l'affaire.) Berlioz reproche à Liszt d'avoir passé outre à ses conseils et ne se gêne pas pour le faire savoir à d'autres correspondants. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2232 et 2233 ; voir aussi le récit de Hans von Bülow.) L'affaire souligne une autre différence entre eux : Berlioz désire certes que l'on joue sa musique et qu'elle soit appréciée, mais n'a nullement l'intention de l'imposer à un public rétif. N'avait-il pas dit un jour à Liszt lui-même :

« Je persiste dans mon plan de ne plus marcher vers la montagne ; peut-être la montagne finira-t-elle par se mettre en marche vers moi ? »

(Correspondance Générale, n° 1250, mars 1849.)

Liszt, pour sa part, voit les choses d'un autre œil. Il écrit à Madame d'Agoult, en 1839 :

« Comme toujours, je maintiens et défends le droit de l'artiste d'imposer le beau et le supérieur à la masse. »

(Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult, 2 volumes, Paris, 1933-1934, tome I ; page 294.)

Profession de foi qui acquerra par la suite un sous-entendu wagnérien, comme Berlioz lui-même a pu l'apprécier. L'affaire d'Aix-la-Chapelle amène un froid passager entre eux (se référer à la Correspondance Générale, n° 2264) , et Liszt, par la suite, ne dirige plus de musique de Berlioz mais, de toute façon, il donnera l'année suivante sa démission de chef d'orchestre à Weimar. Dans les années qui suivent, il continue à s'intéresser aux dernières compositions de Berlioz qui le tient au courant, soit directement soit par l'intermédiaire de la princesse. (« Les Troyens » : Correspondance Générale, numéros 2149, 2317, 2338, 2632 ; « Béatrice et Bénédict » : Correspondance Générale, numéros 2632, 2634, 2651.) Quelques unes de ses transcriptions pour piano de Berlioz paraissent au milieu des années 1860 et, jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, il continuera à admirer la musique de Berlioz malgré les divergences qui les ont séparé.

Après le séjour de 1856 à Weimar, Berlioz ne reverra plus Liszt et la princesse ensemble, mais seulement séparément à l'occasion des quelques visites qu'ils font chacun à Paris : la princesse, en octobre 1859 ; Liszt, en mai 1861, octobre 1864 et mars-avril 1866. Berlioz continue à donner son soutien à Liszt, comme lors de sa candidature (malheureuse) à l'Institut vers la fin de 1859 (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2428, 2429, 2442, 2443, 2447, 2449, 2678) , et à l'occasion de la mort de Daniel, fils de Liszt, peu après (Correspondance Générale, n° 2451) et de sa fille Blandine en 1862 (Correspondance Générale, n° 2651) . De manière générale, la correspondance entre Berlioz et Liszt ralentit

considérablement après 1856, avec cependant cette compensation que celle avec la princesse s'épanouit entre 1856 et 1859 ; interrompue en 1860 par le départ de la princesse pour Rome où Liszt la rejoint l'année suivante, elle reprend bientôt ensuite. Mais ni Liszt, ni la princesse n'assisteront aux Ires représentations des 2 nouveaux Opéras, que ce soit « Béatrice et Bénédict » à Bade, en 1862-1863, et à Weimar, en 1863 ; ni (et surtout) « les Troyens » à Paris, en 1863, au grand regret de Berlioz. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2799 : « Et vous n'y étiez pas, et Liszt n'y était pas. ») L'Italie est maintenant le centre de leur existence, malgré le souhait exprimé par Berlioz qu'ils s'installent à Paris. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2557 et 2651.)

Les années qui suivent 1856 sont, pour Liszt, une succession de déboires et, dès 1862, Berlioz se demande si Liszt ne va pas être tenté de chercher refuge dans la religion (Correspondance Générale, n° 2651) , supposition que la princesse, elle-même catholique fervente, confirme (Correspondance Générale, n° 2656) . Les aspirations religieuses de Liszt remontent à sa jeunesse et Berlioz les connaît de longue date, comme il le laisse entendre dans une lettre de mai 1834 où il souligne son propre manque de croyances religieuses. (Correspondance Générale, n° 395.) Pas plus que dans ses rapports avec Joseph d'Ortigue, cela n'a jamais fait obstacle à leur amitié. Quand Liszt entre dans les ordres, en 1865, Berlioz n'est donc pas surpris (Correspondance Générale, numéros 3008, 3021, 3025) ; il ne lui en fait pas grief, mais c'est un signe de plus de la distance qui se creuse entre eux, outre le différend wagnérien. Rien de surprenant à ce qu'il décide de maintenir le silence sur Liszt et Wagner dans la Postface de ses « Mémoires » . (Correspondance Générale, n° 3008.)

Bilan et conclusion

En 1854, Berlioz dédie sa « Damnation de Faust » à Liszt (se référer à la Correspondance Générale, n° 1568) ; Liszt rend la pareille, en 1861, en dédiant sa « Symphonie de Faust » à Berlioz. (Se référer à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2632, et 2651.) Comme Berlioz le souligne dans ses « Mémoires » (Chapitre 31) , c'est lui qui a fait connaître le « Faust » de Goethe à Liszt. Mais les 2 dédicaces n'expriment pas le même ordre d'obligation : Liszt doit énormément à Berlioz, compositeur de musique d'orchestre (la « Symphonie Faust » , par exemple, n'aurait pu être écrite sans « la Symphonie fantastique ») , mais les dettes de Berlioz envers Liszt, non moins importantes, sont d'ordre personnel et plus général. Comme compositeur, Berlioz doit peu ou rien à la musique de Liszt et à ses procédés de composition. Vaste sujet que celui de l'influence de Berlioz sur Liszt, qui mérite traitement par une spécialiste de Liszt et déborde, par conséquent, le cadre de cet article.

Quant à la dette personnelle de Berlioz envers Liszt, elle commence par la transcription pour piano de « la Symphonie fantastique » qui lance sa réputation de compositeur en Allemagne, dès le milieu des années 1830 et avant ses voyages à l'étranger. Plus tard, dans les années 1850, Berlioz doit à Liszt la résurrection de son Opéra « Benvenuto Cellini » : sans la reprise de Weimar, Berlioz n'aurait peut-être jamais eu l'occasion de lui rendre l'existence. Mais la reprise de Weimar aura aussi, pour conséquence, de modifier le caractère de l'original et atténuant son côté burlesque, sa couleur et sa variété. Il existe des notes faites par Berlioz au cours de répétitions à Weimar, sans doute en novembre 1852, qui laissent supposer que la direction de Liszt tendait à des mouvements plus lents que ceux voulus par Berlioz. (Correspondance Générale IV : page 227, note I.) On peut se demander si Liszt était vraiment en plein accord avec l'œuvre telle qu'elle avait été conçue par Berlioz, et les 2 articles sur « Benvenuto Cellini » , publiés par

Hans von Bülow en 1852, renforcent ces doutes. Quoi qu'il en soit, Berlioz acceptera de bon gré les révisions proposées et en ajoutera d'autres de sa propre initiative ; il est profondément reconnaissant à Liszt de ce qu'il a fait, et considère le résultat comme étant pratiquement le fruit d'une collaboration. C'est sans doute une des raisons pourquoi, après les exécutions de Weimar, Berlioz semble peu enclin à rouvrir le dossier de « Cellini », encore moins à revenir à la version de Paris de 1838 : ce serait, en quelque sorte, désavouer le travail de son ami.

Comme on l'a dit précédemment, c'est aussi à Liszt que Berlioz doit, en partie, l'occasion de remanier et de faire représenter « Le Retour à la vie », en 1855 : Liszt, présent à la 1^{re} exécution de l'ouvrage, en décembre 1832, avait été intimement mêlé avec les relations de Berlioz et de Harriet Smithson après cette exécution. Liszt aide aussi à encourager la décision de Berlioz à entreprendre la composition des « Troyens », bien que le rôle décisif ait été joué en 1856 par la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein et non par lui, comme Berlioz le souligne souvent. (Par exemple, « Mémoires » : Postface ; Correspondance Générale, numéros 2264, 2427, 2814, 3008.)

De manière générale, Berlioz a peu à apprendre de son cadet, qu'il s'agisse de composition ou d'instrumentation. Il élabore son propre style et ses procédés, de la fin des années 1820 aux années 1840, longtemps avant que Liszt se tourne sérieusement vers la composition pour orchestre. Le nom de Liszt n'apparaît pas dans le « Traité d'instrumentation » dont la 1^{re} édition date de 1843. Quant à la direction d'orchestre, Berlioz fait là aussi figure de pionnier. En privé, il exprime en 1845 des réserves sérieuses sur la direction de Liszt. (Correspondance Générale, n° 992.) Pendant ses années à Weimar, Liszt a sans doute l'occasion de développer son talent de chef et d'acquérir de l'expérience, et Berlioz exprime, au départ, sa confiance dans son savoir ainsi que sa curiosité de s'entendre dirigé par Liszt. (Correspondance Générale, n° 1520.) Mais ce qu'il entend alors semble lui suggérer quelques doutes et, après sa visite à Weimar, en février 1856, il confie à sa sœur Adèle sa déception de ne pas avoir été laissé par Liszt diriger une seule exécution de « Benvenuto Cellini ». (Correspondance Générale, n° 2104.) Liszt aurait-il redouté une comparaison qui n'aurait pas été à son avantage ? La réputation de chef d'orchestre dont Berlioz jouissait en Allemagne et ailleurs était inégalée. (« Mémoires » : Post-Scriptum ; Correspondance Générale, numéros 1726 et 1752.) De façon générale, Berlioz n'aime pas s'entendre jouer par d'autres chefs d'orchestre, comme il le répète souvent : il est le seul à savoir diriger sa musique. (« Mémoires » : Post-Scriptum ; Correspondance Générale, numéros 1543, 1560bis, 1631.) Le seul domaine où la supériorité de Liszt sur Berlioz (et pratiquement tous ses contemporains) est incontestée est en tant que virtuose du piano : mais, de toute façon, Berlioz n'est pas pianiste, comme il le souligne dans les « Mémoires » (Chapitre 4) et il n'écrit pas de musique pour piano seul.

Il n'est pas aisé de savoir ce que Berlioz pensait de Liszt compositeur (par opposition à Liszt, virtuose du piano) . Dès 1835, il l'encourage ouvertement à entreprendre la composition d'une Symphonie. (« Critique Musicale », tome II ; pages 135-136.) À plusieurs reprises, il exprime un jugement positif sur telle ou telle œuvre de Liszt. Il loue la cantate jouée par Liszt au Festival de Bonn, en 1845, tant dans le rapport qu'il publie que dans une lettre à sa sœur Nanci. (Correspondance Générale, n° 992.) Dans un article du « Journal des Débats » (5 octobre 1854), il nomme les poèmes symphoniques de Liszt « vastes partitions de l'ordre le plus élevé, du style le plus neuf et le plus hardi ». (Se référer à la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1773 et 1776.) À propos du 1^{er} Concerto pour piano qu'il vient de diriger à Weimar, il parle à Liszt de son « magnifique ouvrage, si vigoureux, si neuf, si brillant, si frais et si brûlant » et regrette de ne pouvoir trouver à Paris un pianiste capable d'en donner une exécution satisfaisante. (Correspondance

Générale, n° 1918 ; se référer à 2074.) En 1862, après avoir reçu la partition de la « Symphonie Faust » qui lui est dédiée, il la décrit à la princesse : « C'est une grande œuvre ! » (Correspondance Générale, n° 2651 ; se référer à 2632) , mais il n'en est plus question dans sa correspondance par la suite.

Berlioz, aussi, manifeste régulièrement son intérêt pour les exécutions d'œuvres de Liszt : la « Messe de Gran » (Correspondance Générale, numéros 1965, 2168, 2178) , des œuvres pour orchestre à Berlin (Correspondance Générale, n° 2056) et Leipzig (Correspondance Générale, n° 2209) , un Oratorio en Hongrie (Correspondance Générale, n° 3046) . Vers la fin de 1855, il exprime le désir d'exécuter le poème symphonique « Orphée » à la salle Herz, mais le projet n'a pas de suite. (Correspondance Générale, n° 2074.) Berlioz n'a certes jamais joui d'une position comparable à celle de Liszt à Weimar, mais il n'en reste pas moins qu'il n'a jamais œuvré autant pour faire entendre la musique de Liszt que Liszt ne le fit pour lui. Aucune œuvre de Liszt ne figure dans tous les concerts qu'il donne à Bade, en 1853, puis chaque année de 1856 à 1861 ; le nom de Liszt n'entre au programme à Bade qu'en 1865 quand Berlioz n'est plus à la tête du Festival. (Correspondance Générale, n° 3025.) Dans les années 1850 et au début des années 1860, Berlioz n'utilise pas non plus sa position de critique musical pour faire avancer la cause de Liszt autant qu'il l'a fait dans les années 1830.

Le soutien accordé par Liszt à ce que Berlioz appellera, à partir de 1860, « l'école du charivari » (en d'autres termes, la musique de Wagner) finit par fausser le jugement de Berlioz, comme on peut le voir d'après le ton acerbe de 2 lettres de 1864 évoquant la participation de Liszt à un Festival à Karlsruhe. (Correspondance Générale, numéros 2887 et 2888.) Liszt, résigné sans doute au manque de compréhension de Berlioz envers la musique de Wagner, est blessé (et on le comprend) par le rejet de sa propre musique. Le problème éclate en mars et avril 1866, quand Liszt et Berlioz se voient pour la dernière fois. On joue la « Messe de Gran » de Liszt à l'église Saint-Eustache à Paris, et Berlioz est dans l'auditoire ; Liszt est conscient des réserves de Berlioz, mais non des termes précis utilisés par ce dernier dans une lettre à Humbert Ferrand. (Correspondance Générale, n° 3116 ; se référer à 3117.) Plus tard, les lettres de Berlioz à Humbert Ferrand sont publiées (« Lettres Intimes » , 1882) , et Liszt, maintenant âgé, est peiné par ce qu'il lit - triste et déplorable conclusion à l'une des grandes amitiés musicales du siècle.

Correspondance entre Berlioz et Liszt, et entre Berlioz et la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein

Comme pour tout le reste de la correspondance de Berlioz, il y a disproportion dans ce qui a survécu : les lettres connues de Berlioz à Liszt (99) dépassent de beaucoup celles de Liszt à Berlioz (9) , et il en est de même des lettres à la princesse (70) par rapport aux siennes à Berlioz (4) . Tous les chiffres renvoient à la Correspondance générale.

Lettres de Berlioz à Liszt

1830 : 197 (21 décembre) .

1831 : Aucune lettre n'a survécu.

1832 : 303 (19 décembre) .

1833 : 348 (6 octobre) .

1834 : 383 (10 mars) ; 395 (début mai) .

1835 : Aucune lettre n'a survécu.

1836 : 461 (25 janvier) ; 470 (28 avril) ; 478 (27 septembre) .

1837 : 498 (22 mai) ; 504 (20 juillet) .

1838 : 538 (8 février) .

1839 : 622 (22 janvier) ; 660 (6 août) .

1840-1842 : Aucune lettre n'a survécu.

1843 : 800bis (voir le tome VIII ; entre le 18-28 janvier) .

1844 : 890 (16 mars) ; 896 (21 ou 25 avril ?) ; 897 (22 avril) ; 898 (22 ou 26 avril ?) .

1845 : 962 (17 mai) ; 970 (voir le tome VIII ; 29 juin ?) .

1846 : 1030 (26 mars) .

1847 : 1108 (27 avril / 9 mai) .

1848 : 1216 (23 juillet) .

1849 : 1250 (vers le 25 mars) .

1850 : 1295 (8 janvier) .

1851 : 1426 (6 août) ; 1430 (29 août) .

1852 : 1444 (24 janvier) ; 1445 (4 février) ; 1454 (22 février) ; 1456 (2 mars) ; 1462 (29 mars) ; 1471 (12 avril) ; 1491 (7 juin) ; 1499 (2 juillet) ; 1501 (3 ou 4 juillet) ; 1505 (27 ou 28 juillet) ; 1510 (14 août) ; 1520 (10 octobre) ; 1525 (29 octobre) ; 1528 (6 novembre) ; 1529 (10 novembre) ; 1534 (22 novembre) ; 1538 (30 novembre) ; 1543 (20 décembre) ; 1549 (29 décembre) .

1853 : 1552 (1 janvier) ; 1554 (3 janvier) ; 1556 (14 janvier) ; 1559 (20 janvier ?) ; 1560bis (début février) ; 1568 (23 février) ; 1572 (4 mars) ; 1593 (fin avril) ; 1617 (10 juillet) ; 1620 (vers la fin juillet) ; 1624 (3 septembre) ; 1637 (26 octobre) .

1854 : 1690 (15 janvier) ; 1696 (24 janvier) ; 1704 (11 mars) ; 1717 (31 mars) ; 1725 (4 avril) ; 1738 (14 avril) ; 1739 (15 ou 16 avril) ; 1746 (23 avril) ; 1748 (26 avril) ; 1753 (30 avril) ; 1762 (26 mai) ; 1764 (30 mai) ; 1773 (2 juillet) ; 1776 (28 juillet) ; 1799 (15 octobre) ; 1811 (14 novembre) ; 1848 (16 décembre) .

1855 : 1869 (1 janvier) ; 1880 (10 janvier) ; 1893 (7 février) ; 1918 (14 mars) ; 1927 (23 mars) ; 1935 (vers le 14 avril) ; 1959 (30 avril) ; 1965 (10 mai) ; 1975 (7 juin) ; 1987 (24 juin) ; 1995 (21 juillet) ; 2012 (10 septembre) ; 2046 (17 novembre) ; 2056 (30 novembre) ; 2074 (31 décembre) .

1856 : 2115 (12 avril) ; 2149 (29 juin) ; 2178 (8 octobre) .

1857 : 2232 (14 juin) .

1858 : 2317 (28 septembre) ; 2338 (13 décembre) .

1859 : 2428 (4 novembre) ; 2429 (5 novembre) ; 2451 (vers le 20 décembre) .

1860 : Aucune lettre n'a survécu.

1861 : 2551 (10 mai) ; 2552 (31 mai) .

1862 : 2632 (19 juillet) .

1863 : Aucune lettre n'a survécu.

1864 : 2905 (6 octobre) ; 2096 (8 octobre) ; 2907 (9 octobre) .

Lettres de Liszt à Berlioz

1837 : 525 (vers le 8-10 décembre) .

1849 : 1242bis (voir le tome VIII ; 3 janvier) .

1851 : 1428bis (voir le tome VIII ; 20 août) .

1852 : 1459 (21 mars) .

1854 : 1711 (vers le 20-25 mars) .

1856 : 2109 (18 mars) .

1857 : 2207bis (voir le tome VIII ; vers le 10 février) .

1859 : 2447 (8 décembre) .

1864 : 2911 (10 octobre) .

Lettres de Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein

Voir aussi : Christian Wasselin. « Lettres à la Princesse » (2003) .

1852 : 1463 (29 mars) .

1853 : 1589 (23 avril) .

1854 : 1847 (16 décembre) .

1855 : 1962 (6 mai) ; 2005 (septembre) ; 2006 (septembre) ; 2006bis (voir le tome VIII ; septembre ?) ; 2007 (septembre) ; 2017 (14 ou 21 septembre) ; 2019 (vers le 15 ou 22 septembre) ; 2044 (6 novembre) ; 2045 (15 novembre) ; 2065 (16 décembre) .

1856 : 2094 (5 février) ; 2099 (entre le 10-15 février) ; 2126 (17 mai) ; 2145 (24 juin) ; 2150 (29-30 juin) ; 2163 (12 août) ; 2168 (3 septembre) ; 2173 (21 septembre) ; 2183 (14 novembre) ; 2195 (25-26 décembre) .

1857 : 2206 (voir le tome VIII ; 1er février) ; 2209 (13 février) ; 2216 (18 mars) ; 2219 (24 mars) ; 2264 (30 novembre) ; 2269 (27 décembre) .

1858 : 2279 (20 février) ; 2293 (6 mai) .

1859 : 2343 (7 janvier) ; 2347 (22 janvier) ; 2351 (8 février) ; 2361 (10 mars) ; 2380 (20 juin) ; 2390 (10 août) ; 2406 (25 septembre) ; 2418 (21 octobre) ; 2419 (22 octobre) ; 2423 (28 octobre) ; 2430 (7 novembre) ; 2442 (2 décembre) ; 2443 (4 décembre) ; 2449 (13 décembre) .

1860 : Aucune lettre n'a survécu.

1861 : 2557 (vers le 10 juin) .

1862 : 2634 (22 juillet) ; 2651 (21 septembre) .

1863 : 2779 (19 novembre) ; 2814 (23 décembre) .

1864 : 2871 (3 août) ; 2883 (vers le 17 août) ; 2892 (30 août) ; 2899 (24 septembre) ; 2908 (9 octobre) ; 2918 (19 octobre) ; 2923 (30 octobre) .

1865 : 2982 (20 mars) ; 2999 (23 avril) ; 3008 (11 mai) ; 3009 (12 mai) ; 3014 (8 juin) ; 3015 (16 juin) ; 3021 (30 juin) ; 3046 (17 septembre) ; 3069 (24 novembre) .

1866 : 3078 (11 janvier) ; 3092 (30 janvier) ; 3147 (13 juillet) .

1867 : 3290 (11 octobre) ; 3296 (27 octobre) .

Lettres de la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein à Berlioz

1856 : 2093 (début février) ; 2148ter (voir le tome VIII ; 28 juin) .

1862 : 2656 (27 septembre) .

1866 : 3079 (13-28 janvier) .

1830

Berlioz à son père (Correspondance Générale, n° 190 ; 6 décembre, Paris) :

« Liszt, le célèbre pianiste, m'a pour ainsi dire emmené de force dîner chez lui en m'accablant de tout ce que l'enthousiasme a de plus énergique. »

1833

Liszt à Marie d'Agoult (Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult, 2 volumes, Paris, 1933-1934, tome I : pages 19-20 ; sans date, de Paris) :

« Pauvre Berlioz ! Comme je me retrouve parfois dans son âme. Il est là, à côté de moi. Tout à l'heure, il pleurait, sanglotait dans mes bras et j'ai l'impudence de continuer à vous écrire !

Pourquoi le jour a-t-il été donné au misérable et la lumière à ceux qui sont dans l'amertume du cœur ?

La douleur, toujours la douleur. »

Liszt à Marie d'Agoult (Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult, 2 volumes, Paris, 1933-1934, tome I : pages 22-23 ; 3 mai, de Paris) :

« À propos de musique, j'ai ré-entendu hier soir, à la soirée de l'Europe littéraire, " la Symphonie fantastique " de Berlioz ; jamais cette œuvre ne m'avait paru aussi complète, aussi vraie. Si je ne suis pas tué d'ici à la fin de juin, probablement je me mettrai à l'œuvre, je l'arrangerai pour piano, quelque peine et difficulté qu'il y ait à cette entreprise. Je suis persuadé que vous en serez encore plus étonnée qu'à l'exécution. Pour moi, l'émotion est à peu près nulle maintenant mais l'admiration demeure. J'écoute sans entendre parfaitement, mais je sais que cela est très beau, je le dis, je le pense. »

Berlioz à Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 342 ; 30 août, Paris) :

« Liszt vient d'arranger ma Symphonie pour le piano ; c'est étonnant. »

Berlioz à Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 357 ; 25 octobre, Paris) :

« En outre, Liszt vient de réduire pour le piano seul, la Symphonie entière. On va la graver, et cela vous suffira pour vous en rafraîchir la mémoire. »

1834

Berlioz à sa sœur Adèle (Correspondance Générale, n° 397 ; 12 mai, Montmartre) :

« Nous avons eu, lundi dernier, une espèce de petite partie de campagne. Mes amis sont venus passer une demi-journée chez moi. C'étaient des célébrités musicales et poétiques, Messieurs Alfred de Vigny, Antoni Deschamps, Liszt, Hiller et Chopin. Nous avons causé, discuté art, poésie, pensée, musique, drame, enfin ce qui constitue la vie, en présence de cette belle nature, de ce soleil d'Italie que nous avons depuis quelques jours. »

Berlioz à Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 416 ; 30 novembre, Montmartre) :

« " La Symphonie fantastique " a paru ; mais comme ce pauvre Liszt a dépensé horriblement d'argent pour cette publication, nous sommes convenus avec Schlesinger de ne pas consentir à ce qu'il donne un seul exemplaire ; à telles enseignes que, moi, je n'en ai pas un. Ils coûtent 20 francs ; voulez-vous que je vous en achète un ? Je voudrais bien pouvoir vous l'envoyer sans tout ce préambule ; mais vous savez que, pendant quelque temps encore, notre position sera assez gênée. »

1835

Berlioz à Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 453 ; 16 décembre, Montmartre) :

« J'ai un grand succès en Allemagne, dû à l'arrangement de piano de ma " Symphonie Fantastique ", par Liszt. On m'a envoyé une liasse de journaux de Leipzig et de Berlin, dans lesquels Fétis a été, à mon sujet, roulé d'importance. Liszt n'est pas ici. D'ailleurs, nous sommes trop liés pour que son nom ne fit pas tort à l'article au lieu de lui être utile. »

1837

Liszt à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 525 ; vers le 8-10 décembre, de Milan) :

« Grâce à Dieu, j'ai eu assez de bon sens pour comprendre tout d'abord la portée de ton génie, la haute et incontestable valeur de tes Iers ouvrages, je crois aussi avoir le droit non pas de te complimenter de ton succès aux Invalides (ce qui serait une bêtise entre nous) , mais de me réjouir sincèrement et vivement de ce que pleine et entière justice t'ait été rendue une bonne fois.

Le regret que j'avais de ne pas assister à l'exécution de ta Messe, se trouve aussi adouci par l'idée qu'à cette heure plusieurs obstacles seront levés pour toi et que, probablement, tu arriveras au but désiré avant peu. Il est temps enfin. Assez longtemps, tu souffres et tu luttas avec un inébranlable courage. Il faut que la récompense vienne à ceux qui ont persévéré comme toi.

Tu recevras d'ici à peu l'arrangement de piano de ta seconde Symphonie. Si ton intention était de la livrer au public (ainsi que les Ouvertures des " Francs-Juges " et du " Roi Lear ") , Hoffmeister à Leipzig, me paye 6 francs par page pour tout ce que je lui envoie. Ce serait, par conséquent, environ 600 francs. Tu pourrais ne la publier qu'en Allemagne en supposant qu'on ne trouve point à la vendre à Paris ou en tout cas il faudrait garder ta propriété d'auteur pour plus tard s'il y a lieu. Réponds-moi là-dessus quand tu en auras le temps. Quoiqu'il me serait agréable que ces choses parussent, je tiens avant tout, à ne faire que ce qui te convient entièrement. Une autre chose que je veux te demander, c'est de m'envoyer aussitôt qu'elle aura paru ta " Messe des Morts " et d'y joindre les scènes de " Faust " (publiées chez Schlesinger) que je voudrais revoir. »

1839

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 622 ; 22 janvier, Paris) :

« J'allais t'écrire pour te remercier précisément de l'article dont tu me parles. Il a paru dans la " Gazette musicale ", 2 jours après la reprise de mon Opéra, et je t'avoue qu'il m'a touché plus que je ne saurais dire ; l'à-propos de son insertion est en outre un hasard heureux qui ne te fâchera pas. Oh, tu m'as fait bien plaisir ! Je n'ai rien changé à ta rédaction n'ayant appris l'existence de ton article qu'en le lisant dans le numéro du journal où l'on rendait compte de ma représentation. Merci ! tu es un bon, un excellent ami.

Tu ne me dis rien de Paganini ! C'est beau pourtant ! Tu aurais fait ça toi ! Réellement, mon dernier concert a été magnifique, je n'ai jamais été exécuté ni compris comme ce jour-là.

Je rumine en ce moment une nouvelle Symphonie, je voudrais bien aller la finir près de toi, à Sorrente ou à Amalfi (va à Amalfi) mais impossible, je suis sur la brèche, il faut y rester.

Bah ! J'aime cette vie-là ; j'aime à nager en mer ; tout comme toi. Et, à force de nous rouler dans les vagues, nous finirons par les dompter et par ne plus leur permettre de nous passer sur la tête.

Que je suis content de bavarder avec toi, ce soir ! Je t'aime beaucoup, Liszt. Quand nous reviendras-tu ? Aurons-nous encore des heures de causeries enfumées, avec tes longues pipes et ton tabac turc ? »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 660 ; 6 août, Paris ; voir « Critique Musicale » , tome IV : pages 131-137) :

« O vagabond infatigable ! quand reviendras-tu donc pour nous rendre ces nuits musicales que tu présidais si dignement ? Entre nous, il y avait trop de monde à tes réunions, on parlait trop, on n'écoutait pas assez, on philosophait. Tu faisais une dépense affreuse d'inspiration qui eût donné le vertige à quelques uns sans tous les autres. Te rappelles-tu notre soirée chez Legouvé, et la Sonate en ut dièze mineur, et la lampe éteinte, et les 5 auditeurs couchés sur le tapis dans cette obscurité, et notre magnétisation, et les larmes de Legouvé et les miennes, et le respectueux silence de Schœlcher, et l'étonnement de Monsieur Goubeaux ? Mon Dieu, mon Dieu, que tu fus sublime, ce soir-là !

Adieu ; mon indifférence ne va pas jusqu'à prendre mon parti de ta longue absence ; reviens, reviens donc ; il en est temps pour nous, et pour toi, je l'espère. »

1844

Liszt à Marie d'Agoult (Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult, 2 volumes, Paris, 1933-1934, tome 2 : pages 322-323; 23 janvier, de Weimar) :

« J'ai remis en vigueur la Chapelle (à Weimar) , organisé des concerts, lesquels, sans trop de fatuité, étaient à peu près impossibles sans moi. Je soutiens aussi une thèse assez brillante et qui me donne une sorte de position tant que je ne tomberai pas en défaveur (ce qui du reste ne me paraît guère probable) . Cette thèse qui vous semblera peut-être une marotte, je vous l'écrirai tout au long puisque vous y attachez un intérêt de curiosité.

Une position définie, circonscrite, ne m'est jamais échue en partage nulle part. Inconnue ailleurs, une faveur marquée, des invitations nombreuses à la Cour me mettent sur un pied différent d'un virtuose ou d'un Maître de chapelle, soit. Voici donc mon programme que je répète partiellement ou fragmentairement à tout propos, comme le bonhomme Marius (en fait, Caton l'Ancien) : “ Delenda Carthago ”, ou le général Bertrand : “ Je vote pour la liberté indéfinie de la Presse. ” Non pas “ Delenda Carthago ”, mais “ Ædificanda Vimaria ”.

Weimar était sous le grand-duc Charles Auguste une nouvelle Athènes, songeons aujourd'hui à construire la nouvelle Weimar. Renouons franchement et hautement les traditions de Charles-Auguste. Laissons les talents agir librement dans leur sphère. Colonisons le plus possible et tâchons d'arriver peu à peu à ce triple résultat qui doit être toute la politique, tout le gouvernement, l'Alpha et l'Oméga enfin de tout Weimar : une Cour aussi charmante, aussi brillante, aussi attractive que possible ; un théâtre et une littérature qui ne pourrisse pas dans les combles du grenier et qui ne se noie pas dans les soupentes des caves ; et, enfin, une Université (léna) . Cour, Théâtre, Université, voilà la grande triologie (sic) pour un état comme Weimar qui ne saurait tirer d'importance ni de son commerce, ni de son industrie, ni de son armée de terre, ni de son armée de mer, etc. , etc.

Voilà ainsi mon thème principal que je chanterai ici sur tous les tons dans le lointain espoir de faire peut-être un peu de bien, mais qui peut se flatter d'en faire ! »

1845

Berlioz à sa sœur Nanci (Correspondance Générale, n° 968 ; 6 juin, Paris) :

« Ta lettre m'a vivement intéressé, rien n'est plus curieux pour nous autres artistes que d'étudier les impressions de l'art sur les natures vierges comme la tienne. Je conçois donc à merveille l'effet que Liszt a produit sur toi ; seulement, je m'étonne que ce soit l'Ouverture de " Guillaume Tell " qui t'ait émue davantage ; car c'est un morceau que, selon moi, il a tout à fait manqué et qui produit à Paris moins de sensation que tous ceux de son répertoire.

Je suis ravi qu'il n'ait rien joué de moi à Grenoble, je déteste tous ces arrangements qui ne sont que des dérangements et qui donnent toujours une idée grotesque des morceaux que les pianistes ont choisis. (Cela est entre nous bien entendu.) . Ah ! j'aurais voulu pouvoir te faire entendre au dernier concert du cirque mon " Dies Irae " et je crois que tu en aurais tremblé 2 bonnes heures au moins. Mais il paraît que vous n'entendrez jamais rien de ma façon. »

Berlioz à sa sœur Adèle (Correspondance Générale, n° 969 ; 6 juin, Paris) :

« Nanci a été toute bouleversée par le jeu de Liszt, elle regrette qu'à son passage à Grenoble il n'ait rien joué de mes compositions ; je suis ravi de cela au contraire ; rien ne me déplaît davantage que ces travestissements de l'orchestre en piano. Et si tant est que je paraisse devant mes compatriotes, encore faut-il que ce soit dans mon état naturel et avec tous mes charmes. Malheureusement, je crois bien que cela ne m'arrivera qu'au cas où le Dauphiné ferait une émigration à Paris. Liszt a voulu me faire aller à Bonn pour l'inauguration du monument de Beethoven, grande fête musicale qui aura lieu au mois d'août. Mais les arrangements financiers ne me vont pas jusqu'à présent, et je suis obligé de convenir que l'or n'est pas une chimère, quoi qu'en dise Scribe. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 962 et 992.

1846

Voir la Correspondance Générale, n° 1034.

1847

Liszt à Marie d'Agoult (Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult, 2 volumes, Paris, 1933-1934, tome 2 : page 383 ; mai, de lassyl) :

« Berlioz m'écrit une grande et (illisible) lettre [Correspondance Générale, n° 1108] de Pétersbourg par l'intermédiaire de la Princesse Wittgenstein (qui est ma nouvelle découverte de princesse, comme disait Madame Allart, à cette différence près que nous ne songeons nullement à être amoureux l'un de l'autre) . Il a donné 4 concerts et me dit avoir tout lieu d'être enchanté de son succès et de l'argent qu'il y a gagné. Le roi de Prusse l'a engagé à monter “ La Damnation de Faust ” au théâtre de Berlin, et il se rendra à cette invitation ; mais le ton de sa lettre est désespéré comme un glas funèbre. Pauvre grand génie aux prises avec les 3 quarts de l'impossible ! »

Berlioz à Belloni (Correspondance Générale, n° 1154 ; 19 décembre, Londres) :

« Je suis bien heureux d'avoir enfin des nouvelles de Liszt ; je lui écrivis l'hiver dernier de Pétersbourg par l'entremise de Madame la Comtesse de Wiltenshtein (Sayn-Wittgentstein !) qui se chargea de lui faire parvenir ma lettre ; je crains qu'elle ne soit égarée (la lettre !) .Vraiment, je suis chagriné plus que je ne puis dire de rester si longtemps sans communications avec Liszt. Remerciez-le de ma part d'avoir songé aux 2 ouvrages dont vous me parlez. Mais, pour “ Roméo et Juliette ”, il n'y faut plus penser ; cette Symphonie est publiée, et, ne le fût-elle pas, le nom de Paganini, qui me la fit écrire, était le seul qui dût figurer dans la dédicace ; la reconnaissance et l'admiration eussent été cruellement outragées si j'avais un instant songé à agir autrement.

Quant à “ Faust ”, il n'est pas gravé, et il se développe même en ce moment d'une façon effrayante, car Scribe l'arrange en grand Opéra pour notre saison prochaine de Londres.

Pour en revenir aux dédicaces, dites à Liszt que je regrette de n'avoir pu adresser galamment “ Roméo ” à la personne qu'il voulait m'indiquer, et que pour “ Faust ”, quand on le publiera, j'ai en vue un prince de l'art que je préfère de beaucoup à tous les princes de la terre, même au prince héréditaire de Weimar qui est fort aimable et dont j'ai fait la connaissance à Paris il y a 2 ans : c'est à Liszt que je comptais dédier cette partition, et pour tous les cadeaux princiers imaginables, je ne renoncerais à me donner ce plaisir.

“ Faust ” est, je crois, parmi mes œuvres, la plus spécialement digne de lui être offerte ; il ne la connaît pas, mais je lui en donne ma parole, et il me croira. »

1849

Liszt à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 1242bis - tome VIII ; 3 janvier, de Weimar) :

« Depuis 7 mois, je n'ai pas quitté Weimar, où je compte encore passer tout l'hiver. J'y travaille et fais travailler chanteurs et orchestres, en m'occupant assez activement du théâtre. Le mois prochain, nous représenterons le dernier Opéra de Wagner, " Tannhäuser " ; c'est une grande partition dont je te recommande en particulier l'Ouverture, où tu auras le plaisir de retrouver de ton bien, notamment dans les effets de violons en trémolos aigus.

Somme toute, cette Ouverture est le morceau de musique qui m'a fait la plus forte impression depuis notre rencontre à Prague ; et si tu as l'occasion de la faire exécuter à quelque concert monstre de la République, je suis persuadé qu'elle ne manquera pas son effet. Il importe seulement de la faire répéter avec beaucoup de soin.

L'été prochain, j'espère que le singulier drame-Roman de ma vie sera arrivé à son dénouement par un mariage. Les énormités complexes d'une lâche et infâme ligue de famille, à laquelle le peu de bienveillance personnelle de Sa Majesté l'Empereur pour moi, vient en plus s'ajouter, peut sans doute retarder encore la conclusion que j'appelle de tous les vœux de mon âme ; mais avec l'inébranlable fermeté, la sublime hauteur du caractère et des sentiments de la Princesse Wittgenstein (laquelle a gardé de toi le souvenir le plus enthousiaste et le plus affectueux qu'elle me charge de t'exprimer) , ces difficultés ne sauraient se prolonger au-delà d'un certain temps assez court et quelques déplorables que puissent être les événements qui viennent et viendront se jeter à la traverse d'un sentiment suprême et absolu, j'ai tout lieu d'avoir plein espoir dans la prochaine réalisation de ce mariage. »

1851

Voir la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1426 et 1430.

1852

Liszt à son agent Belloni (texte cité par David Cairns. « Hector Berlioz » , 2002, tome 2 : pages 506-507 ; 14 janvier, de Weimar) :

« Après le succès de " Cellini " (que je ne mets pas en doute) , j'aviserais aux moyens de faire exécuter ici convenablement " la Symphonie dramatique de Roméo et Juliette ", " la Symphonie Fantastique ", etc. , et j'espère qu'il ne se passera (pas ?) plus d'un an que je ne parvienne à donner soit à Leipzig, soit ailleurs dans notre voisinage (car, ici, nous manquons malheureusement d'un local assez considérable pour une pareille solennité, sans compter les nombreuses difficultés qui se rencontreraient pour réunir un personnel de 300 à 400 musiciens tant chanteurs qu'instrumentistes) , le " Requiem " de Berlioz, en entier. Quand vous le verrez, vous pouvez lui dire, qu'amitié à part, je tiens à l'honneur de faire peu à peu à ses œuvres la place qu'elles méritent en Allemagne. C'est une question d'art et de conviction pour moi. Par conséquent, il s'agit de la résoudre sérieusement, dignement, sans blague d'aucune espèce. Or, vous savez, mon cher Belloni, que je ne manque ni de persévérance, ni peut-être de savoir faire, et s'il ne dépend pas toujours de moi de disposer de certaines circonstances et opportunité indispensable, je tâche néanmoins de m'arranger de façon à mettre le temps à profit. Il est un très petit nombre d'œuvres et d'hommes qu'on ne peut comprendre et admirer à demi. Aussi, est-ce à mon sens mal les servir que de leur marchander la part qui est à leur

faire. Il faut les traiter autrement que les autres. Berlioz est de ce nombre et je me plais à croire qu'il ne se méprendra pas sur les motifs qui m'ont différé jusqu'ici à m'occuper activement de l'exécution régulière et continue de ses œuvres en Allemagne. D'une part, je n'avais pas les moyens matériels en main (car il doit se souvenir de l'état au dessous de médiocre dans lequel il a trouvé l'Orchestre de Weimar sous la direction de Chélaré !), et de l'autre, il ne m'a pas fallu moins que ces 2 dernières années pour arriver au crédit moral nécessaire pour imposer à peu près le silence à la cohue des encroûtés, des imbéciles, des cuistres, etc., etc., etc. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1471 ; 12 avril, de Londres) :

« Tu me parles du Catalogue de mes ouvrages publié par mes Éditeurs de Paris. Tu le trouveras reproduit dans l'« Union Record » que je t'envoie et qui a annoncé aussi en 3 mots (« no more ») la mise en scène de « Benvenuto » à Weimar.

Il y a dans cette liste exorbitante, comme dit notre Caberetier Romain, bien des choses que je n'ai jamais entendues, entre autres, « Les Tristia », le « Te Deum » et l'Ouverture du « Corsaire » ; on grave en ce moment la Ire et la dernière de ces partitions. Quant au « Te Deum », je ne sais qu'en faire, c'est le canot de Robinson, il me faudra creuser un canal pour le faire arriver à la mer.

Les fragments de « La fuite en Égypte », mystère attribué à Pierre Ducre, Maître de chapelle imaginaire, sont le résultat d'une petite farce que j'ai faite à nos bons gendarmes de la critique Française. Je leur ai fait entendre 2 fois « l'Adieu des Bergers » de cet ancien Maître et quand ils ont eu bien divagué sur la vieille école et le style pur et simple, je me suis nommé, et j'ai vendu la partition à Richaut avec « Tristia » et « le Corsaire ». »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1501 ; 3 ou 4 juillet, de Paris) :

« J'ai retrouvé ta partition de piano d'« Harold », mais point de « Roi Lear » ce qui me confirme dans l'idée où je suis d'avoir remis cette Ouverture à Belloni avec celle des « Francs-Juges ». Tu auras beaucoup à changer dans ton manuscrit à cause des changements que j'ai faits dans la partition après que ton travail a été terminé. Le 3e morceau surtout contient une foule de modifications qui, je le crains, sont intraduisibles sur le piano, il faudra sacrifier beaucoup de tenues. Je te prie aussi de ne pas conserver la forme de trémolo arpégé que tu emploies dans l'introduction à la main gauche, cela produit au piano l'effet contraire de l'orchestre et empêche de bien distinguer le dessin lourd mais calme des basses. C'est encore un effet de trémolo à sacrifier, je le crains, et qui en tout cas, transporté ainsi au grave fait trop de bruit et distrait l'attention. D'un autre côté, ne penses-tu pas que la part que tu donnes à l'alto, plus grande que celle qu'il a dans la partition, altère la physionomie de l'ouvrage ? L'alto ne doit intervenir dans la partition de piano que de la façon dont il est employé dans l'autre. Ici, le piano représente l'orchestre, l'alto doit demeurer à part et se renfermer dans son radotage sentimental, tout le reste lui est étranger, il assiste à l'action et ne s'y mêle point. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1525 ; 29 octobre, de Paris) :

« En tout cas, je ferai mon possible pour aller te voir avant mon départ pour Londres. J'ai tant besoin de causer avec toi. L'exécution du " Requiem " a été grandiose sinon délicate, et jamais, depuis que je l'ai écrite, cette partition n'a produit un pareil effet. Combien j'aurais désiré te la faire entendre. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1543 ; 20 décembre, de Paris) :

« Maintenant, quant à Leipzig, je te prie de ne pas leur envoyer ce que je te confie ; je ne sais entre les mains de qui cette exécution tombera et je ne suis pas du tout désireux d'être entendu à Leipzig EN MON ABSENCE. Si une société veut mon ouvrage sérieusement et EN ENTIER, il faut que j'en surveille et dirige l'exécution. En ce cas, j'y consentirai. Sinon, non. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1459, 1462, 1463, 1471, 1489, 1499, 1520, 1538 ; et « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 volumes, Leipzig (1910) , numéros 70, 71, 78, 79, 81, 82.

1853

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1568 ; 23 février, de Paris) :

« Ton désir de me voir écrire une Messe solennelle me flatte beaucoup, bien que je ne sois pas le moins du monde certain de faire sur ce texte ressassé quelque chose de nouveau. Mais une Messe solennelle est la pire des grandes compositions à tenter, si l'on tient compte des chances qu'elle a d'être bien et souvent exécutée. Il n'y a pour tirer d'affaire le compositeur, qu'une commande Royale (comme tu le dis) . Mais les Rois et les Empereurs ont autre chose à commander par le temps qui court.

Tu vois, par l'exemple de mon " Te Deum ", quelles facilités j'aurais pour produire en France une œuvre pareille. En Angleterre, en Prusse et partout où règnent ces affreux schismes, bâtards scrofuleux du rationalisme, qu'on nomme Protestantisme, Luthérianisme ou tout autre chose en isme, les Messes sont un objet d'horreur. Les " Requiem " ont, au moins chez nous, une protectrice, la plus puissante de toutes, infatigable, et toujours à l'œuvre, la mort. Quant aux chants de reconnaissance, d'exultation, de foi, il n'y faut pas penser.

On annonce une cérémonie funèbre pour l'anniversaire de la mort de l'Empereur Napoléon, au 5 mai prochain ; ce serait le cas d'y faire exécuter mon " Requiem " ; on s'en gardera bien. Quelque plate combinaison l'emportera encore, même sur le bon vouloir des gens les mieux placés pour faire une chose convenable. Et, pardieu, s'il y eut jamais un " Requiem " destiné à une cérémonie pareille, je jure que c'est celui-là.

Tu ne l'a jamais entendu, et tu l'aimes pourtant !

Je me console de n'avoir pas fait 37 Opéras-comiques ; et de bien d'autres malheurs plus réels. Je te dis ces naïvetés parce que j'ai la tête pleine de cette partition, ayant passé ces derniers jours à corriger les épreuves de la nouvelle édition qu'en a fait Ricordi, à Milan. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1593 ; fin avril, de Paris) :

« J'allais oublier de te dire que, depuis que ton arrangement du " Roi Lear " a été fait, j'ai changé la coda de cette Ouverture. Tu en as je crois la grande partition. Prends donc la peine de revoir cette fin. En outre, je te prie de chercher une forme de trait de piano pour le passage de la péroration :

Toutes les fois que ce dessin se présente, tu as employé des triolets en octaves. Or, le triolet est tout à fait insuffisant à rendre l'effet des croches ; le rythme ternaire est là, inconciliable avec le caractère échevelé que j'ai voulu reproduire. On ne pourra pas avoir d'octaves, il est vrai, mais c'est un sacrifice qu'il faut faire, et tu trouveras j'en suis sûr quelque terrible et excellent moyen de faire entendre à peu près telles qu'elles sont, les 8 croches que contient chaque mesure. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1620 ; fin juillet, Paris) :

« Tu m'écris des lettres de 12 pages pour me parler de moi et de mes affaires, et j'ai la naïveté de te répondre sur le même sujet.

Mais ce n'est que de la naïveté, jointe à un peu de crainte de m'avancer indiscrètement sur des sujets que tu ne veux pas aborder. Sois bien persuadé, très cher Liszt, que personne, personne, entends-tu bien, ne s'intéresse plus vivement à tout ce qui te touche et que nul ne sera plus heureux que moi de la solution des difficultés qui s'opposent encore au repos de ta vie. »

Berlioz à sa sœur Adèle (Correspondance Générale, n° 1631 ; début octobre, de Paris) :

« Je te disais donc que, demain, commence le Festival de Karlsruhe dans lequel on exécute ma " Symphonie de Roméo et Juliette ". Le Grand Duc de Bade m'a fait adresser une invitation ; mais je n'ai pas le temps d'y aller. C'est Liszt qui dirige tout cela, il me donnera les détails qui peuvent m'intéresser. D'ailleurs, je n'aime pas à entendre ma musique quand je n'en conduis pas moi-même l'exécution. Sous ce rapport, je suis comme Spontini, qui se trouva mal, un soir à Dresde, de douleur, en entendant exécuter à contre-temps sa " Vestale ". »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1589, 1617, 1624, 1696 ; et « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 volumes, Leipzig (1910) , numéros 123, 124, 135.

1854

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1773 ; 2 juillet, de Paris) :

« Je vois par un journal que tu as fait exécuter ton " Mazeppa ", à Weimar ; tu devrais bien m'écrire là-dessus quelques détails ; j'en profiterais pour mon prochain feuilleton. Je dirais (ce qui est vrai) , que j'ai parcouru la

partition à mon dernier passage à Weimar. Je m'en tirerai de façon à ne pas te compromettre, sois tranquille. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1848 ; 16 décembre, de Paris) :

« Ainsi, je suis devenu bon enfant, humain, clair, mélodique, je fais enfin de la musique comme tout le monde, voilà qui est bien convenu. Adieu, la sensation causée par cette conversion augmente ; laissons-la augmenter. L'article de Scudo a mis tout le monde en rage, c'est excellent.

Je te dirai à toi que la véritable trouvaille que j'ai faite c'est la scène de l'air d'Hérode avec les Devins, ceci est d'un grand caractère et qui t'ira je l'espère.

Pour les choses gracieuses qui touchent davantage, à l'exception du Duo de Bethléem, je ne crois pas qu'elles aient autant de valeur d'invention. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1690, 1725, 1811 ; et « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt » , 2 volumes, Leipzig (1910) , n° 145.

1855

Berlioz à son beau-frère, Marc Suat (Correspondance Générale, n° 1901 ; 27 février, de Weimar) :

« J'ai à vous consulter aussi pour une grosse affaire qu'il faut que je fasse absolument. Il s'agit d'une édition allemande de mes œuvres complètes. Je veux la publier à Leipzig où je redeviendrai ainsi propriétaire de tout mon répertoire qui ne me rapporte plus rien à Paris et qui a été cédé pour presque rien aux éditeurs français. Il faut que je puisse disposer avec certitude d'une certaine somme tous les ans pour payer les frais de gravure et d'impression, au fur et à mesure que les œuvres paraîtront.

Cela ne me rapportera rien de longtemps, mais cela peut acquérir une grande valeur plus tard, et j'aurai une édition soignée, exacte, admirable, de moitié meilleur marché que les éditions françaises, inabordable pour les allemands, à cause de leur prix, et enfin mon œuvre sera sauvée. Liszt m'a offert d'être mon fondé de pouvoir pour les opérations que cette affaire nécessitera. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1918 ; 14 mars, de Bruxelles) :

« Je sais maintenant que je pourrai affecter de 1,500 à 1,800 francs par an à mon édition allemande. En tout cas, je commencerai par les partitions non publiées et rien ne m'obligerait à continuer ensuite si je ne pouvais pas aller.

Mon avis serait de commencer par la grande partition de " Cellini " que je voudrais pouvoir placer sous le patronage de Madame La Grande Duchesse Douairière de Weimar, en la lui dédiant, puisque c'est feu le Grand Duc (ou peut-être elle-même) qui t'a donné le moyen de galvaniser ce pauvre Opéra. Mais si tu vas à Leipzig, veuillez t'informer chez

Hoffmeister des arrangements qu'il y aurait ultérieurement à prendre avec lui au sujet des 3 ou 4 partitions dont Richaut lui a cédé la propriété en Allemagne, quoique lui, Hoffmeister, ne les ait pas publiées. Il serait peut-être mieux de prendre Hoffmeister pour dépositaire de ma publication et de lui donner un intérêt dans la vente, si vente il y a.

Demande aussi ce que coûteront la gravure et l'étain de chaque grande planche (comme celles de mon " Requiem ") plus grande d'un pouce et demi en hauteur et en largeur que celles de l'édition de Bach que tu m'as montrée. C'est le format que je veux adopter pour toute ma collection. Il y aura je crois économie, à cause de la grande quantité de lignes et de mesures que ces planches peuvent contenir.

J'ai voulu te demander ton Concerto pour mon concert du 7 avril à l'Opéra-comique, mais informations prises il se trouve que Fumagalli, à qui je le destinais, est si faible musicien qu'il lui faudrait 2 mois pour l'apprendre. J'ai donc renoncé à cette idée qui me souriait fort dans la crainte de faire incomplètement exécuter ton magnifique ouvrage, si vigoureux, si neuf, si brillant, si frais et si brûlant. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1927 ; 23 mars, de Bruxelles) :

« Je te remercie encore une fois de vouloir bien être mon Firmin Didot ; nous irons doucement et prudemment. Je ne sais si je t'ai appris que Richaut gravait à la fois " l'Enfance " et le " Monodrame ". Je t'enverrai cela aussitôt que les premiers exemplaires paraîtront.

J'ai beaucoup parlé de toi dernièrement avec une dame fort enthousiaste à sa manière des grandes choses de l'art. " O Liszt ! me disait-elle, j'aime tant Liszt, que vraiment entre un bon Opéra italien et une soirée musicale de Liszt, je crois que n'hésiterais pas, je me déciderais pour Liszt ! " »

Mille amitiés à nos excellents amis, Raff, Cornelius, Pohl. Il faudra donc renoncer à te voir à Paris cette année ! J'avais déjà annoncé ta venue à tout le monde.

Adieu, je reste aux pieds de la princesse, et, en ta qualité de Prospero, je te prie de faire agréer mes respectueux hommages à la jeune belle Miranda. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1935 ; vers le 14 avril, de Paris) :

« Voici des réclames pour le " Te Deum " ; veux-tu être assez bon pour les faire traduire et reproduire dans les journaux de Weimar et de Leipzig où tu connais quelqu'un. Il faut que cela se répande immensément pour que, la veille de l'ouverture de l'Exposition, notre immense église soit pleine.

A propos du " Te Deum ", j'ai purement et simplement supprimé le prélude où se trouvent les modulations douteuses. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1959 ; 30 avril, de Paris) :

« Je t'écris 3 lignes pour te dire que le " Te Deum " a été exécuté aujourd'hui avec la plus magnifique précision. C'était colossal, Babylonien, Ninivite. La splendide église était pleine. Les enfants ont chanté comme un seul artiste ; et les artistes comme je l'espérais et comme j'avais le droit de l'attendre d'eux à cause de la sévérité qui avait dicté mon choix. Pas une faute, pas une indécision. J'avais un jeune homme venu de Bruxelles (Adolphe Samuel) qui conduisait au loin l'organiste dans sa tribune et qui l'a fait marcher malgré l'éloignement.

Mon dieu que n'étais-tu là ! Je t'assure que c'est une œuvre formidable, le " Judex " dépasse toutes les énormités dont je me suis rendu coupable auparavant. Je t'écris à toi le 1er, tout harassé que je suis, parce que je sais bien que pas un homme en Europe ne s'intéresse à cet avènement autant que toi. Oui, le " Requiem " a un frère, un frère qui est venu au monde avec des dents, comme Richard III (moins la bosse) ; et je te réponds qu'il a mordu au cœur le public, aujourd'hui. Et quel immense public ! Nous étions 950 exécutants. Et pas une faute ! Je n'en reviens pas. Il m'était venu des amis de Marseille (Lecourt, Rémusat, etc.) . Lecourt était dans un état ; il ruisselait, c'était un fleuve ! Adieu, je vais me coucher. Quel malheur que je sois l'auteur de cela ! Je ferais un article curieux. Nous allons voir ce que vont chanter les confrères. Cette fois, il ne s'agit pas de " Piccoli paësi ", c'est une scène de l'apocalypse. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 1965 ; 10 mai, de Paris) :

« Si tu veux bien t'intéresser à une exécution du " Te Deum " plus tard, c'est tout ce que ton amitié infatigable pourra faire de plus pour l'auteur. Laissons aller les choses quant au reste. Si j'ai le temps de rassembler tous les journaux qui en ont parlé et en parleront, je te l'enverrai.

Hier, je t'ai envoyé en un paquet 3 volumes manuscrits reliés, que je t'avais promis. Tu sais que Monsieur Pohl veut bien se charger d'en faire la traduction, qu'il s'engage à ne pas publier de mon vivant et dont je lui cède toute la propriété en Allemagne. Il y aura là-dedans une foule de mots, d'allusions et de locutions tout à fait inintelligibles pour lui, mais je te prie de vouloir bien les lui expliquer.

Si je mourais avant d'avoir reçu de toi mon manuscrit, je te prie de le garder et d'en arranger une publication fidèle aussi avec Michel Lévy (Rue Vivienne) qui me l'a déjà proposée. Tu remettrais alors le produit de cette vente, quel qu'il soit, moitié à ma femme moitié à mon fils.

Pardon de te parler sur ce ton testamentaire ; mais, comme disent les bonnes femmes, cela ne fait pas mourir.

Feras-tu graver ta Messe catholique ? Malgré les fleurs du Jardin du Vatican dont tu l'as parsemée, je serais bien heureux de la connaître.

Nos paysans n'achètent pas autrement. Cela éloigne beaucoup mes projets d'édition allemande. Prends néanmoins toutes les informations auprès de Härtel, comme si j'allais l'entreprendre bientôt. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2046 ; 17 novembre, de Paris) :

« Je t'écris 6 lignes pour te dire que les 2 immenses batailles d'hier et d'avant-hier ont été gagnées. L'orchestre géant a fonctionné comme un quatuor. Hier surtout, nous avons descendu l'orchestre dans la grande nef, et la sonorité ayant par cela même gagné une puissance double, l'effet a été immense. Il y a eu un auditoire apocalyptique, je me suis cru dans la vallée de Josaphat ; 60,000 et quelques cents francs de recette !

Le jour de la cérémonie officielle dont je ne t'essaierai pas de te décrire la splendeur Babylonienne, l'orchestre a fait scandale. Après mon morceau de l'Apothéose, malgré l'étiquette, mes gaillards on fait un tapage de hurrahs, d'applaudissements, ont jeté leurs chapeaux en l'air, comme s'ils se fussent trouvés à une répétition.

Je voudrais bien te faire connaître la cantate (" L'Impériale ") , il y a là un tremblement final, à la reprise du thème :

“ Du peuple entier les âmes triomphantes
“ Ont tressailli, comme au cri du destin,
“ Quand des canons les voix retentissantes
“ Ont annoncé le jour qui vient de luire enfin. ”

Et sous ce raz de marée, les tambours battent aux champs comme à l'entrée de l'Empereur dans les cérémonies religieuses.

Je t'assure que cette Polka te donnerait envie de danser. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2056 ; 30 novembre, Paris) :

« Quand se réalisent tes projets sur Berlin ? Quelles œuvres y feras-tu entendre ? ton laconisme, au sujet de tes ouvrages, me cause une humiliation rentrée ; je suis d'une expansion honteuse quand il s'agit des miennes. Si tu continues, à l'avenir, je ne te parlerai dans mes lettres que politique, ou morale, ou conchyologie. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2074 ; 31 décembre, Paris) :

« Si je puis, à mon retour de Weimar, y donner (Salle Herz) un autre concert sans chœurs, je pourrai alors avoir un orchestre entier. En ce cas, je serais assez hardi pour tenter la dépense des 2 répétitions (!!!!) et je te demanderais ton poème symphonique sur " Orphée ", si tu n'y vois pas d'inconvénient. Je ne connais personne ici capable de rendre convenablement ton 1er Concerto en mi bémol, sans quoi, je te le demanderais aussi. Au reste, nous causerons de tout cela dans quelques semaines. Ces 2 morceaux sont, ce me semble, ceux qui conviendraient le mieux dans une si petite salle. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 1869, 1880, 1975, 1987 ; et « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt

» , 2 volumes, Leipzig (1910) , numéros 187, 188, 192.

1856

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2168 ; 3 septembre, Paris) :

« J'apprends de vous de bonnes et belles choses du séjour de Liszt en Hongrie ; mais quand et comment sera exécutée sa Messe, c'est ce que vous ne me dites point. Son noble profil, appendu au-dessus de mon piano, a semblé me sourire, quand je suis rentré chez moi hier en revenant de Plombières.

Tout va donc bien ! Je veux le croire. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2093, 2145, 2148ter, 2163, 2195.

1857

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2209 ; 13 février, Paris) :

« Quand Liszt sera revenu de son excursion à Leipzig, vous seriez bien bonne de me donner quelques détails sur l'exécution de ses œuvres au " Gewandhaus ", et de me parler des siens.

Remerciez, je vous prie, cet excellent Liszt de son infatigable et persévérante amitié. Je suis très heureux d'apprendre qu'on exécutera " l'Enfance du Christ " au Festival d'Aix-la-Chapelle. Mais Liszt serait bien aimable de m'écrire un mot au sujet de l'époque où se commenceront les études chorales de cet ouvrage et des autres détails de l'exécution. Est-ce de l'ouvrage entier qu'il s'agit ? A-t-on déjà fait venir les parties de chœur et d'orchestre ? Aura-t-on un orgue-Alexandre ? Etc. »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2219 ; 24 mars, Paris) :

« Je prie Liszt de ne pas se tourmenter pour l'affaire de " l'Enfance du Christ ". Je croyais que tout était arrêté avec les gens d'Aix-la-Chapelle. Ils sont donc revenus sur leur parole ? Puisqu'il en est ainsi, laissons-les en repos. Que Liszt se résigne à leur diriger quelque bon gros Oratorio, bien entre-bâillé, qui fera dormir les fidèles et sortir de la salle les infidèles. J'avoue que je ne suis pas du tout flatté d'être imposé à ce comité, et Liszt me rendrait un vrai service en n'insistant pas. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2232 ; 14 juin, Paris) :

« Je te remercie des détails que tu viens de me donner sur les petits événements d'Aix-la-Chapelle. Je ne connaissais le mot du " Signale " que depuis quelques heures, quand ta lettre est arrivée. Jusque-là, j'étais resté malade dans mon lit et dans la plus complète ignorance de ce qui s'était passé. Ton silence toutefois ne me semblait pas de bonne

augure. Je ne doute pas des peines que tu as prises et de l'ennui que tout cela t'a donné ; mais permets-moi de te faire très amicalement le reproche de m'avoir exposé inutilement à cette petite avanie. Lorsque je priai dans une de mes lettres la Princesse Wittgenstein, de t'engager à ne pas insister pour vaincre la résistance du comité du Festival au sujet de l'admission de " l'Enfance du Christ " dans le programme, je parlais très sérieusement. J'éprouvais une vive répugnance à être ainsi introduit de force dans une solennité dont les organisateurs ne voulaient pas de moi.

Plus tard, quand tu as vu le résultat de cette introduction et que ces messieurs de la coterie de Cologne se préparaient à faire un scandale, tu aurais dû, ce me semble, retirer sur le champ " l'Enfance du Christ " du programme, sans en conserver le moindre morceau ; quitte à expliquer plus tard la raison de ce coup d'état. Je rends donc grâce au hasard qui a mis Dalle Aste dans l'impossibilité de chanter et a épargné ainsi à la Ire et à la seconde partie de mon ouvrage les insultes qu'on leur préparait. Les vanités de province, les préjugés de clocher, de province allemande, de clocher allemand surtout, sont bien ce qu'il y a de plus stupide et de plus brutal au monde. Nous n'avons pas mission de les détruire ; pourquoi les honorer d'une lutte corps à corps avec nous ?

" Patience et longueur de temps
Font plus que force ni que rage. "

Ainsi, mon cher Liszt, je t'en prie, à l'avenir ne me propose plus, et à plus forte raison, ne m'impose plus aux gens qui ne me demandent pas, et ne cherchons pas à faire de la propagande. Tu vois que le jeu n'en vaut pas, etc. »

Berlioz à Jakob Melchior Rieter-Biedermann (Correspondance Générale, n° 2233 ; 14 juin, Paris) :

« Vous avez sans doute appris la petite cabale qui s'est organisée à Aix-la-Chapelle dernièrement contre mon " Enfance du Christ " par les gens d'Aix et de Cologne, irrités que Liszt leur eût imposé cet ouvrage. Cela est bien misérable. Mais Liszt a eu bien tort d'exiger que mon ouvrage fût dans le programme, malgré l'instance prière que je lui avais adressée de ne pas le présenter.

J'espère que cette imprudence ne sera plus commise à l'avenir. »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2264 ; 30 novembre, Paris) :

« Mille remerciements, Princesse, pour votre charmante mais beaucoup trop flatteuse lettre. Je ne suis pas tout à fait aussi coupable que je le parais. Je n'osais vous écrire, voilà le vrai. Je craignais que ma lettre fut inopportune et peut-être importune. Je craignais d'être désormais dans votre pensée un musicien arriéré, à vieilles idées et à convictions violentes, et qui de plus exprime fort brutalement ses opinions. C'est peut-être vrai - mais, enfin, il est si aisé d'abstenir de certains débats, et il y a tant d'autres points sur lesquels j'ai le bonheur d'être d'accord avec vous, que j'espère à l'avenir n'avoir plus la mauvaise chance d'être entraîné à de saignantes discussions.

Je n'oublierais jamais, princesse, que c'est à vous, à vous seule, que je dois de m'être livré à ce luxe de composition. Non, certes, sans vos encouragements, sans vos indulgents reproches, je n'eusse jamais rien entrepris de pareil ; laissez-

moi vous remercier des uns et des autres, quels que puissent être plus tard les chagrins que cet ouvrage me causera. Veuillez me mettre aux pieds de la princesse Marie et dire mille choses affectueuses de ma part à Liszt. J'ai vu un instant à Bade, Monsieur et Madame de Bülow. »

1858

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2338 ; 13 décembre, Paris) :

« J'ai écrit dernièrement au ministre d'État au sujet des partitions modernes que la bibliothèque du Conservatoire ne possède pas, et que l'insuffisance de son budget ne lui permet pas d'acquérir, à mon grand étonnement, le ministre accorde 3,000 francs. Je viens donc te prier de me donner la liste de tous ceux de tes ouvrages qui sont publiés en grande partition, et de ceux de Schumann que tu connais, également en grand partition. Quant à Wagner, nous avons le " Tannhäuser " et le " Lohengrin " ; sais-tu si le " Hollandais " et le " Rienzi " sont publiés ? Où le sont-ils ? Si tu peux m'indiquer quelques productions intéressantes, tu m'obligeras ; mais n'oublie pas l'adresse de l'éditeur. Nous en avons un qui est chargé des achats pour le Conservatoire et il demande à être bien renseigné. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2279 et 2317.

1859

Liszt à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Lettres de Franz Liszt à la princesse Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, éditions La Mara, Leipzig, 1899, page 495 ; 24 octobre ; texte cité de la Correspondance Générale VI : page 47, note 1) :

« Je vous envie d'entendre le duo des " Troyens ", tout en trouvant charmant de la part de Berlioz de vous offrir cette belle surprise. Pauvre grand ami, il s'en va tristement de ce triste monde, " saignant par tous les pores ", comme vous me dites ! Si, du moins, on pouvait adoucir son mal - mais il est difficile d'imaginer comment. Répétez-lui bien que je lui suis resté profondément attaché, et que ce me serait un bonheur de pouvoir lui être bon à quelque chose. »

Berlioz à son beau-frère, Marc Suat (Correspondance Générale, n° 2427 ; 2 novembre, Paris) :

« Dernièrement, la Princesse Wittgenstein (qui fut, il y a 4 ans, la véritable instigatrice de mon entreprise lyrique, et qui me fit donner ma parole d'honneur d'exécuter le plan de l'Opéra des " Troyens " ; plan que je lui avais exposé à Weimar) , la Princesse Wittgenstein, donc, est venue passer 4 jours à Paris. Elle est allée prier Madame Viardot de lui faire entendre quelques scènes de ma partition. On a arrangé une soirée intime et Madame Viardot, secondée de Lefort et de Ritter et de Mademoiselle Viardot et de Mademoiselle Moschelès, ont exécuté 5 scènes de mon ouvrage. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2428 ; 4 novembre, Paris) :

« Tu ne pouvais pas me faire un plus grand plaisir que de te mettre sur les rangs pour la place de Spohr à l'Institut.

J'y avais déjà pensé. Demain, je verrai nos confrères, et je tâcherai de les allumer s'ils sont encore inflammables. Cela doit aller tout seul. J'ignore si Wagner a l'intention de se présenter ; mais son nom (dans la section des Beaux-Arts) est fort loin d'avoir la popularité glorieuse du tien. »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2442 ; 2 décembre, de Paris) :

« Demain, samedi, nous sommes convoqués à l'Institut pour examiner les titres des divers candidats proposés par la commission pour les places vacantes de correspondants. On m'a fait cette curieuse question : " Est-ce comme compositeur ou comme virtuose que l'on présente Monsieur Liszt ? " »

C'est comme tout, ai-je répondu, cela vous va-t-il ? »

Liszt à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2447 ; 8 décembre, de Weimar) :

« Je te suis très reconnaissant, cher Berlioz, de la cordiale sympathie que tu m'as prouvé, une fois de plus, dans la circonstance de ma candidature à l'Institut. Le mauvais tour que d'autres m'ont joué dès la première séance, n'a pas de quoi me surprendre ; encore moins, passerai-je mon temps à m'en chagriner. Seulement, comme je ne saurais cesser de croire que ma prétention à faire partie, un jour ou l'autre, de l'illustre corps, est suffisamment fondée en raison, je te prie d'avoir l'obligeance de me prévenir quand l'occasion de me présenter de nouveau se trouvera, car il se pourrait que le décès de tel ou tel membre correspondant me restât inconnu. »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2449 ; 13 décembre, de Paris) :

« Pour en revenir à cette sottise de l'Institut, Verdi et Conti ont été nommés. C'est flatteur pour Verdi, n'est-ce pas ? En tout cas, il ne s'en est pas mêlé, et le voilà bien surpris sans doute de cet excès d'honneur. Il faut que je vous le dise : Verdi est un galant homme, très fier, très inflexible, et qui sait on ne peut mieux remettre à leur place les petits chiens et les gros ânes qui s'émancipent trop. »

Nous serons plus heureux dans notre tentative de nous adjoindre Liszt, si une vacance survient prochainement. De Lacroix et quelques autres sont passablement indignés. Quant à Liszt, j'ai été un peu chagriné de le voir attacher à cette nomination une sorte d'importance qu'elle ne saurait avoir pour lui ; elle en avait pour nous, mais pour nous seulement. L'Institut devrait tenir à s'attacher par les liens les plus étroits les gens de haute-taille, au lieu de prendre dans sa main d'un air protecteur tant de nains à peine dignes d'être noyés par les irrigations de Gulliver. »

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2451 ; vers le 20 décembre, Paris) :

« Un cruel malheur vient de te frapper ; tu ne doutes pas de la part que je prends à ta peine. Tu étais préparé depuis longtemps, je crois, à la perte de ce pauvre enfant et je sais qu'il s'est éteint sans souffrances. Mais le sort, jusqu'ici, t'avait épargné ; les déchirements de cœur de cette espèce t'étaient encore inconnus. Tu étais bien jeune quand tu perdis ton père et, depuis lors, tu n'as vu tomber ni frère, ni sœur, ni enfant, ni aucun être chéri, et c'est

l'inexpérience de la douleur que je redoute pour toi.

Je voudrais apprendre que tu as tes filles à Weimar. Elles sont l'une et l'autre si bien douées sous tous les rapports. Je ne les connais guère que depuis 1 an. J'ai passé la soirée, il y a quelques semaines, avec l'aînée et son mari chez Wagner.

Madame Ollivier parle toujours de son père avec une admiration tendre qui charme ceux qui en entendent les expressions. J'ai moins souvent vu sa sœur, je la crois néanmoins une personne d'une rare distinction et son culte pour toi se décèle dans chacune de ses paroles.

Adieu, cher ami, il te reste de nombreuses affections, laisse-moi t'embrasser en te renouvelant l'assurance de la mienne.
»

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2343, 2361, 2380, 2390, 2429, 2443.

1860

Voir la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2468, 2472, 2476, 2480, 2492, 2504, 2509 ; et « Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt », 2 volumes, Leipzig (1910) , n° 301a.

1861

Liszt à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (« Franz Liszts Briefe », tome V, Leipzig, 1900 : page 171 ; 16 mai ; cité dans la Correspondance Générale VI : page 219, note 1) :

« Notre pauvre ami Berlioz est bien abattu et rempli d'amertume. Son intérieur lui pèse comme un cauchemar et, à l'extérieur, il ne rencontre que contrariétés et déboires. J'ai dîné chez lui avec d'Ortigue, Madame Berlioz et la mère de Madame Berlioz. C'était morne, triste et désolé ! L'accent de la voix de Berlioz s'est affaissé. Il parle d'habitude à voix basse - et tout son être semble s'incliner vers la tombe ! Je ne sais comment il s'y est pris pour s'isoler de la sorte, ici. De fait, il n'a ni amis, ni partisans - ni le grand soleil du public, ni la douce ombre de l'intimité. »

Berlioz à son fils, Louis (Correspondance Générale, n° 2555 ; 2 juin, Paris) :

« Liszt vient de faire la conquête de l'Empereur : il a joué à la cour la semaine dernière et, hier, il a été nommé commandeur de la Légion d'honneur. Ah ! quand on joue du piano ! »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2557 ; vers le 10 juin, Paris) :

« Que faites vous donc à Rome et quand reviendrez-vous ? Liszt a fait une apparition brillante à Paris ; le voilà reparti. Mais notre grande ville l'a charmé, il ne la connaissait pas si belle. Venez donc l'habiter tous les 2. Que diable

faire à Weimar ? Est-ce qu'on vit ailleurs qu'à Paris ? »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2534, 2535, 2536, 2538, 2542, 2545, 2571.

1862

Berlioz à Liszt (Correspondance Générale, n° 2632 ; 19 juillet, de Paris) :

« Hier, nous avons fait une très bonne répétition ; j'ai donc l'esprit un peu plus libre que de coutume pour te répondre. Je te remercie d'abord d'avoir chargé Pohl de réparer la négligence incroyable de ton éditeur. Donc, je recevrai " Faust " à Bade, dans quelques jours. Je ne pars que le 28.

Je vais t'envoyer la partition de piano des " Troyens ". À celle-là, il n'y a pas d'Ouverture. Le raison qui m'a empêché d'en écrire une est une raison d'instrumentateur : pendant toutes les scènes populacières du commencement, la canaille Troyenne est accompagnée seulement par les instruments à vent (bois) ; les archets restent inactifs et ne font leur entrée qu'au moment où Cassandre prend la parole. C'est un effet spécial, qui eût été détruit par l'Ouverture ; car ne n'eusse pas pu m'y passer des instruments à cordes. Et puis, il y a tant de musique là-dedans ! »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2651 ; 21 septembre, Paris) :

« Avant tout, il faut que je vous demande des nouvelles de Liszt, comment supporte-t-il, comment a-t-il supporté le coup qu'il vient de recevoir ? [La mort de Blandine, le 11 septembre.] Voilà un arrachement de cœur ! C'est son tour aujourd'hui ; la mort frappe partout. La pauvre jeune femme idolâtrait son père ! Est-il vrai qu'il ait été repris par les idées religieuses ? Si cela est, tant mieux, il sera plus fort contre les tourments et les tourmentes de ce monde. Quant à moi, je suis tout à fait hors d'état de répondre aux affectueux et consolants raisonnements que votre bonté et la hauteur de votre esprit vous ont porté à m'adresser ; vous le savez, j'ai depuis longtemps pris en haine la philosophie et tout ce qui lui ressemble, philosophie religieuse ou non ; et si de telles réflexions pouvaient me faire pleurer, il ne tomberait de mes yeux (comme dit Shakespeare) que des meules de moulin.

J'ai reçu la partition de Liszt que je lis et relis ; je lui écrirai à ce sujet, en lui demandant quelques explications sur des signes que je n'ai pas compris dans la dernière partie. C'est une grande œuvre !

Je ne m'explique toujours pas ce que vous pouvez faire à Rome, on peut avoir la foi et l'espérance partout. Vous exercez bien la charité à distance, pourquoi ne conserveriez-vous pas les 2 autres vertus même à Paris ? Quand vous m'écrivez des lettres si cordiales, si affectueuses, et si indulgentes, c'est la charité qui vous fait parler. Merci, princesse, vous n'ignorez pas que de toutes les belles qualités du cœur humain, c'est la bonté que je préfère, et vous la joignez à tant d'esprit ! »

La princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2656 ; 27 septembre, de Rome) :

« Vous me demandez si les idées religieuses ont repris Liszt. Elles n'ont pu guère le reprendre, car elles ne l'ont jamais quitté au fond. Il est des bouderies, si j'ose dire, superficielles, et, entre l'homme et Dieu, il se passe souvent des Dépits amoureux (si une telle comparaison ne vous scandalise pas) durant lesquels on se fâche et on se plaint d'autant plus qu'on aime davantage, qu'on se fait plus besoin d'espérer et qu'on est plus disposé à croire. Illusion ! dira-t-on. Qu'importe, si c'est la seule illusion dont on ne puisse être désillusionné en cette vie. Tout peut nous manquer, nous laisser veufs ou orphelins de nos plus beaux songes et de nos plus beaux rêves, hormis cet amour de par delà la tombe, hormis cet espoir d'Éternité.

Liszt aurait bien voulu vous faire entendre son " Faust ", et son Éternel féminin, qu'est justement cet Amour là et ce Désir là, et cet Espoir là, - car qu'est ce que l'élément féminin dans l'univers et surtout dans le cœur de l'homme ? L'amour, toujours l'amour, jusque dans l'Infini Éternel. »

Richard Pohl à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 2678 ; 9 décembre, de Weimar) :

« Je vous remercie des nouvelles que vous me donnez de vos efforts pour Liszt dans l'Académie. Cela ferait beaucoup de plaisir à Liszt, j'en suis sûr. Je vous prie de bien vouloir me communiquer le résultat. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, n° 2634.

1863

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2814 ; 23 décembre, Paris) :

« Je me hâte de vous répondre ; et je débute par vous demander une faveur. Vous avez vu en tête de la partition de piano des " Troyens " ces deux mots : " Divo Virgilio ". C'est comme si j'avais mis ces paroles sacramentelles : " Sub invocatione Divi Virgilii. " Maintenant, je vais faire graver la grande partition des 2 parties du poème lyrique (" La prise de Troie " et " les Troyens à Carthage ") qui, sans vous, n'existerait pas ; permettez-moi de vous la dédier. Si vous y consentez, j'éprouverai une double reconnaissance. Le " Divus Virgilius " n'empêchera pas la dédicace, et je serai ainsi sous un double patronage. Cette publication ne pourra guère être terminée que dans 1 an. L'éditeur est un brouillon que je suis obligé de surveiller de très près et qui me ferait mille sottises si je le laissais faire.

Je n'ai pas reçu la lettre de Liszt. Je suis bien heureux d'apprendre que la vie de Rome ne vous est pas trop lourde et que votre santé est supportable. Votre lettre, que je vais relire plusieurs fois à présent que j'ai la clé de ses hiéroglyphes, me fera passer une meilleure journée que je ne pouvais l'espérer. Écrivez-moi quelquefois, voulez-vous ? Ce sera une bien bonne œuvre. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, numéros 2708 et 2750.

1864

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2871 ; 3 août, Paris) :

« Adieu, chère Princesse, vous ne me donnez pas de nouvelles de Liszt, mais j'en ai eu dernièrement par un jeune nigaud de l'Académie de France. »

Berlioz à Berthold et Louise Damcke (Correspondance Générale, n° 2887 ; 21 août, Paris) :

« C'est après-demain qu'a lieu le Festival de Karlsruhe. Liszt y est déjà. Le programme du 1er jour est publié. Comment pouvez-vous n'y pas aller ? Moi, j'ai une bonne excuse : je suis malade. »

Berlioz à Auguste Morel (Correspondance Générale, n° 2888 ; 21 août, Paris) :

« Il y a, après-demain, grand festival à Karlsruhe. Liszt y est venu de Rome ; ils vont y faire de la musique à arracher les oreilles, c'est le conciliabule de la jeune Allemagne, présidé par Hans von Bülow.

Vous savez que ce bon Scudo est reconnu fou et enfermé. Il y a longtemps que sa folie était manifeste, comme l'est celle de Wagner, comme l'étaient celles de Schumann et de Jullien, et de tant d'autres.

Quel malheur ! »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2908 ; 9 octobre, Paris) :

« Chère Princesse, ne raillez pas et ne confiez à personne ces misères de cœur dont je vous fais l'aveu et qui n'ont peut-être jamais eu d'exemple. J'ai vu Liszt avant-hier, je le verrai demain. Il me faudra parler de mille choses indifférentes. Plus rien ne m'intéresse. Et vous même, peut-être, riez de la multitude de mes affections. Celle-là est unique dans son genre ; elle persista à travers d'autres passions différentes. »

Berlioz à ses nièces, Joséphine et Nanci Suat (Correspondance Générale, n° 2915 ; 14 octobre, Paris) :

« Liszt a passé 8 jours ici ; nous avons dîné 2 fois ensemble avec sa fille. Les voilà repartis ! »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2918 ; 19 octobre, Paris) :

« P.S. : J'ai vu Liszt 2 fois, nous avons passé quelques bonnes heures ensemble. Il est bien charmant, comme toujours. Je ne pense pas qu'il me trouvât ridicule, si vous lui parliez de mes confidences, pourtant j'aime mieux ne pas lui paraître si enfant. »

Berlioz à Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 2920 ; 29 octobre, Paris) :

« Liszt est venu passer 8 jours à Paris, nous avons dîné ensemble 2 fois, et toute conversation musicale ayant été

prudemment écartée, nous avons passé quelques heures charmantes. Il est reparti pour Rome, où il joue de “ la musique de l’avenir ” devant le pape qui se demande ce que cela veut dire. »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 2923 ; 30 octobre, Paris) :

« Liszt est donc déjà de retour à Rome ? Je le croyais encore à Saint-Tropez. J’ai eu bien du plaisir à le revoir, il est si séduisant quand il reste lui-même, sans chercher l’effet, que je l’ai trouvé tout à fait beau. »

Berlioz à son beau-frère Marc Suat (Correspondance Générale, n° 2924 ; 1 novembre, Paris) :

« Liszt a passé 8 jours ici avec sa fille et nous avons dîné ensemble 2 fois, mais sans parler de musique, il a compris que nous ne nous entendions plus sur beaucoup de points ; en conséquence, comme il est excellent et plein d’esprit, ces soirées ont été charmantes. »

Voir aussi la Correspondance Générale, n° 2843.

1865

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 3008 ; 11 mai, Paris) :

« Voici l’épître dédicatoire qui sera inscrite sur notre partition. Je vous remercie de votre bonne et belle lettre. Je savais la détermination de Liszt. Je ne me moque pas, votre recommandation était superflue. Vos suppositions à l’égard de la Postface des « Mémoires » sont également gratuites. Il n’y a pas un mot, dans le récit de mes 10 dernières années, qui ait trait à Wagner, ni à Liszt, ni à “ la musique de l’avenir ”. Il n’y a pas moyen de vous envoyer les feuilles séparées du livre ; mais je demanderai la permission de vous prêter le livre lui-même, quand tout sera fini. »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 3021 ; 30 juin, Paris) :

« Mille amitiés à Liszt, je vous prie. Son changement de costume a fait ici beaucoup de bruit, vous devez le penser. Maintenant, on se tait. Demain, on n’y pensera plus. Au reste, qu’on se taise ou non, je pense qu’il est fort indifférent à tous les caquets et à tous les silences. »

Berlioz à son fils, Louis (Correspondance Générale, n° 3025 ; 11 juillet, Paris) :

« Le programme de Bade est bien tel que je te l’ai dit. C’est Jourdan qui chantera Énée, et madame Charton, Didon. Mais il y a du Wagner, du Liszt, du Schumann, et le pauvre Reyer ne sait pas ce qui l’attend aux répétitions.

La princesse Wittgenstein m’a aussi écrit de Rome une lettre charmante. Tu sais que Liszt est abbé ? »

Berlioz à la princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein (Correspondance Générale, n° 3046 ; 17 septembre, Paris) :

« Je suis bien content d'apprendre que l'œuvre nouvelle de Liszt a été tout de suite comprise, plus content encore que cela lui ait fait plaisir. Les événements du monde musical semblent tous pour moi maintenant se passer au fond d'un puits ; de temps en temps, je me penche sur la margelle pour écouter ce qui se passe là-bas. »

1866

Berlioz à Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 3110 ; 8 mars, Paris) :

« Je voulais vous parler de ce qui s'est passé hier à un grand concert extraordinaire, donné avec les prix triplés, au cirque Napoléon, au bénéfice d'une société de bienfaisance, sous la direction de Padeloup.

On y jouait pour la Ire fois le Septuor des " Troyens ". Madame Charton chantait ; il y avait 150 choristes et le grand bel orchestre ordinaire. À l'exception de la marche de " Lohengrin " de Wagner, tout le programme a été terriblement mal accueilli par le public. L'Ouverture du " Prophète " de Meyerbeer a été sifflée à outrance ; les sergents de ville sont intervenus pour expulser les siffleurs. Enfin est venu le Septuor. Immenses applaudissements ; cris de bis. Liszt y était, je l'ai aperçu du haut de mon estrade ; il arrive de Rome et ne connaissait rien des " Troyens ". Pourquoi n'étiez-vous pas là ? »

Auguste Morel à Berlioz (Correspondance Générale, n° 3115 ; 13 mars, de Marseille) :

« Que n'étais-je là !

Mais vous y aviez votre ami, j'oserais presque dire, notre ami Liszt ! »

Berlioz à Humbert Ferrand (Correspondance Générale, n° 3116 ; 16 mars, Paris) :

« L'exécution du Septuor fait de plus en plus de bruit. Hier, on a donné à Saint-Eustache la Messe de Liszt. Il y avait une foule immense. Mais, hélas ! Mais quelle négation de l'art. »

Berlioz à Auguste Morel (Correspondance Générale, n° 3117 ; 16 mars, Paris) :

« Vous avez dû voir sur l'exécution du Septuor bien d'autres articles que celui du " Ménestrel " ; on fait de cela un bruit immense. Il n'y a qu'heur et malheur en ce monde. Hier, on a exécuté à Saint-Eustache la Messe de Liszt. »

...

Franz Liszt a amorcé son éducation musicale à Vienne. Il est revenu dans la capitale autrichienne à plusieurs reprises, soit pour entendre ses propres œuvres, soit pour les diriger ou soit pour visiter ses parents qui y vivent depuis 1822.

Liszt arrive à Rome en 1861. Il a 50 ans. Le choix de la destination correspond aux aspirations religieuses du compositeur présentes depuis l'enfance et nourries de sa rencontre avec Lamennais. À Rome, Liszt souhaite réformer la musique sacrée moribonde. Il rejoint l'Ordre franciscain, en 1865, et reçoit les ordres mineurs. Un grand nombre d'œuvres sacrées (et notamment des Oratorios) voient le jour : « La légende de sainte Élisabeth » , « Christus » , « Messe de Gran » , « Messe hongroise pour le couronnement » , « Requiem » , etc. , témoignant de ses connaissances de la musique religieuse du Moyen-âge et de la Renaissance associées à son amour du terroir hongrois et de son éternel regard vers la musique de l'avenir. Néanmoins, Liszt ne reçoit pas de l'Église les signaux attendus et, à partir de 1869, le compositeur partage son temps entre Rome, Weimar et Budapest, où il crée en 1875 une Académie de Musique.

Liszt a subi plusieurs grandes épreuves familiales. Son fils Daniel est mort (à Berlin) à l'âge de 20 ans, le 13 décembre 1859 ; sa fille Blandine à l'âge de 26 ans, le 11 septembre 1862 ; et sa mère, en 1866.

Le « Salon Bleu »

Avril 1884 : Le compositeur hongrois Franz Liszt arrive à Vienne. Il donne rendez-vous à Anton Bruckner à la « Schottenhof » , plus précisément au « Salon Bleu » , une chambre privée avec piano, dédiée à la musique. Le sujet à l'ordre du jour : la dédicace de la 2e Symphonie.

Le « Schottenhof » est le complexe de bâtiments historiques du couvent bénédictin des Écossais situé juste à côté de l'église abbatiale de Notre-Dame des Écossais (la « Schottenkirche ») dans le 1er arrondissement (A-1010) .

Le « Salon Bleu » fait partie des appartements du cousin et oncle de Franz Liszt, le docteur Eduard Ritter von Liszt (1817-1879) .

Eduard (dont la 1re épouse, Karolina Pickhart, avait été emportée par le choléra en 1854) se remarie avec Henriette Wolf (mère de 3 enfants) . En 1863, ils décident d'aller s'établir à la « Schottenhof » . À partir de 1869, Eduard va offrir à Franz Liszt son lieu de résidence comme pied-à-terre, chaque fois que ce dernier sera de passage dans la capitale. Lui-même homme de culture, doué pour la musique, Eduard donne des leçons privées de piano dans une pièce intimiste. Avec l'arrivée de son célèbre cousin-neveu, il va la décorer au fil du temps de tapis luxueux, de tapisseries, de bustes, de statuettes, de peintures et de plusieurs instruments. Elle portera le nom de « Salon Bleu » (en raison de la couleur de la sellerie du mobilier et des finis muraux) . Des rencontres musicales mémorables se dérouleront dans ce « salon-musée » qui deviendra rapidement mythique. Parmi les invités : Richard Wagner, Ludwig Bösendorfer et Sophie Menter.

Après 1837, Eduard et Franz entretiennent des relations cordiales. Eduard connaît une brillante carrière comme juriste dans l'Empire austro-hongrois ; devenant, à la fois, procureur et procureur-général Royal et Impérial à la Cour suprême. Au début des années 1850, il va s'occuper des affaires juridiques et financières de Franz. À sa mort, en 1879, Liszt devra prendre la relève, ce qui lui causera beaucoup d'anxiété.

Liszt appréciera l'ambiance monastique qui règne dans ces bâtiments qui forment la « Maison des Écossais » . Le complexe possède 3 entrées qui mène à 2 cours intérieures du cloître, ornées d'arbres : le n° 6 sur la « Freyung » (rue de la liberté) ; le n° 2 sur la « Schottengasse » ; et le n° 2 sur la « Helferstorferstraße » . Une plaque commémorative offerte en l'honneur de Liszt, par la ville de Budapest, orne aujourd'hui le mur extérieur du n° 6 sur la « Freyung » .

L'inscription dit :

« In diesem Hause wohnte

Franz Liszt

vom Jahre 1869 bis 1886

so oft er in Wien weilte

Gewidmet von der Stadt Budapest »

...

A tastefully furnished room had been set aside in Vienna by Franz Liszt's aristocrat cousin and uncle, Doctor Eduard Ritter von Liszt (1817-1879) , for his permanent use, where he could relax, play the piano, compose, and receive his friends. It became a « home away from home » where he stayed whenever he was in the Austrian capital. With the passing years, these quarters were filled with memorabilia (furniture, carpets, paintings, and pianos) and the « Blue Salon » (as it became known) remained something of a Liszt shrine for nearly a Century, until everything was transferred to the « Burgenländisches Museum » in Eisenstadt, in 1970.

The English writer William Beauty-Kingston saw much of Liszt at this time and even heard him play at various private homes in Vienna. Many years later, he was able to recall the memory of those occasions in detail :

« At that time, all his capabilities of invention, memory, and technique, were still entirely at his disposal ; and, as a pianist, he was not only unrivalled, but unapproachable. Practice and will had so thoroughly disciplined his fingers and accustomed them to fulfil infallibly the orders transmitted to them from his brain, that he was absolutely free from any preoccupation as to their ability to execute, and was at liberty to give full play to the creative and constructive faculties of his intellect without giving a thought to the mere mechanical contrivances attached to his wrists. His interpretations of Beethoven and Bach were sublime revelations ; his improvisations bewildering realizations of the seemingly impossible. »

Now that Liszt had permanent quarters in Vienna, his visits to that city became more frequent (from 1871, he managed to return practically every year) .

Der Blaue Salon aus dem Schottenhof in Wien

Für das Burgenland war es eine moralische Verpflichtung, das Inventar des historischen « Liszt-Zimmers », den mit wertvollem, alten Kunstgut ausgestatteten « Blauen Salon » im Schottenhof zu Wien im Gedenken an Franz Liszt der Nachwelt zu erhalten. Selbst die Originaltapeten wurden abgenommen und nach Eisenstadt übertragen. Wenn Liszt nach Wien kam, hat er vom Jahre 1869 bis zu seinem Tod 1886 regelmäßig im Schottenhof Aufenthalt genommen.

Franz Liszt und das Schottenstift : Katalog zur Ausstellung im Museum im Schottenstift, 27. November 2008 bis 28. März 2009 / bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Martin Czernin.

Liszt Ferenc Emlékmúzeum

Pas question d'achever son séjour dans la capitale hongroise, Budapest, sans avoir assisté à un concert de musique Classique. L'un des endroits les plus agréables pour un concert de fin de journée est l'Académie Liszt Ferenc (Franz Liszt) . Depuis ses débuts, en 1963, cette institution défend particulièrement la musique nationale, l'occasion de revisiter les grands compositeurs hongrois, comme Béla Bartók. Tous les interprètes de renommée internationale comme David Oistrakh, Jean-Pierre Rampal, Sir Yehudi Menuhin ou Isaac Stern ont joué à l'Académie.

À Budapest, il est très facile d'assister à un concert de musique Classique ou d'aller à l'Opéra. Les places sont loin d'être hors de prix et la plupart du temps, il est inutile de réserver à l'avance. Si l'on vient en fin de matinée à l'académie Liszt Ferenc pour prendre son billet, il faut en profiter pour voir, dans la grande salle, une éventuelle répétition. Un spectacle passionnant pour comprendre l'empreinte du chef d'orchestre dans l'interprétation d'une œuvre. L'institut est un endroit magique, qu'il faut visiter même en dehors des heures de spectacle. Avec un peu de chance, il est possible d'assister à une répétition.

La musique Classique prend une grande place dans la vie des Hongrois. Dans la ville, il suffit de se promener dans la rue pour entendre, çà et là, quelques notes de musique, échappées d'un appartement ou d'une salle de répétition.

Le musée Liszt Ferenc est une reconstitution du dernier appartement de Liszt, à Budapest. Au 1er étage de la vieille Académie de musique, où le compositeur a vécu de 1881 à 1886, on peut voir une collection des instruments du Maître, ses livres et partitions et certains de ses objets personnels.

...

The Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre was opened in September, 1986, in the building of the Old Academy of Music (H-1064 Budapest, « Vörösmarty utca 35 ») . This building was used from late 1875 until mid-1907 for music teaching of the Academy of Music : it was the 2nd site of the institution which had been inaugurated in 1875 (the 1st building on « Hal-tér / Fisch-Platz » has been demolished ; its memory is preserved only by photos of the time) . After opening the new palace at Liszt Ferenc tér (12 May 1907) , the building on « Vörösmarty utca »

was used by several other institutions (among others : a music-school, a coffee-shop, political and social associations, a foreign trade company) , until the Ministry for Culture and Education bought it, in 1980, and put it at the disposal of the Academy of Music.

Liszt, the founding president and professor of the Academy who did not accept any salary for his teaching, got a service apartment in the building of the Old Academy of Music, of which the main front looked on « Andrassy út » (once called : « Sugár-út / Radialstraße ») while the entrance was on « Vörösmarty utca » . This apartment on the 1st store, in which Liszt lived from January 1881 until 1886, the year of his death whenever he stayed in Budapest, is today a memorial museum, furnished by his instruments, furniture, library and memorabilia. The entrance room of the apartment, such as Liszt's study-and-bedroom and drawing-room is awaiting visitors with a permanent exhibition, while the one-time dining-room and the foyer at the ground-floor is used for temporary (thematic) Liszt-exhibitions. In the concert-hall, near Liszt's apartment, the museum arranges Saturday « matinée » concerts for its visitors.

In the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, the heart of the collection is Liszt's donation to the Academy of Music as a heritage : his instruments (1 Bösendorfer piano ; 2 Chickering pianos ; a composing desk ; a Mason & Hamlin « cabinet organ » , a « piano-orgue » by Érard and Alexandre ; a « piano-harmonica » by Bachmann) , and his Budapest library (books and scores marked after Liszt's death by a stamp of Estate) , several pieces of his furniture, pictures, sculptures, personal belongings. After the opening of the 1st memorial room of the Academy (1925, in the « Liszt Ferenc tér » building) , this basic collection has been gradually completed by authentic memorabilia and manuscripts from Liszt's circle of relatives, pupils and friends (e.g. , Eduard von Liszt, Jenő Hubay, István Thomán, Árpád Szendy, Henrik Gobbi, Vilma Varga) . The Academy of Music has always made efforts to buy Liszt manuscripts and relics. Another important exhibition material in the former Liszt memorial rooms (supervised by the Academy Library) such as in their highly-enlargened continuation, the self-standing Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum (since 1986) , has come as loan from the Hungarian National Museum : Liszt, himself, had bestowed the most precious relics of his artistic career to this institution.

Entrance room

Opposite the entrance of the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, you can see this plaque on the wall, the reception plaque of Liszt, which was originally on the door of his flat. It says in Hungarian and German, at what time Liszt received his guest.

The lithographs by Joseph Kriehuber show the young virtuoso, the medallion by Ernst Rietschel shows the conductor from Weimar, the oil painting by Mrs. Elisa Nemes (« née » Ransonnet-Villez) depicts the aged artist-professor in the year the new building of the Old Academy of Music was opened (1879) ; the engraving by Jozsef Rippl-Ronai, after an oil painting by Mihály Munkácsy (1886) , represents the ailing Liszt in his last years.

One can find the ticket-office of the museum in the entrance hall where all those who are interested, can buy (in addition to the publications of the museum) Liszt-scores, music, books and several recordings as well.

Dining room

Here, periodic exhibitions are organized owing to the fact that neither furniture nor description of this room have remained. The richness of the collection of the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum enables us to fill the showcases, from time to time, with varying pictures, documentation, manuscripts, plaquettes and other objects to do with Liszt and his circle. For our thematic exhibitions, we often borrow additional material from other collections.

The piano, which can be seen here, was manufactured by the Boston company Chickering. Jonas Chickering's (1798-1853) most important patent was the cast-iron frame (1840-1843) which gave the instrument a greater stability and a richer sound. The American company, after the death of the founder, also had great success. His long concert-piano « Opus 30.540 » , with English mechanism, won a gold medal at the World Fair of Paris, in 1867, and even its manufacturer Mr. Charles Francis Chickering was awarded the « Légion d'Honneur » by the Emperor Napoléon III. The prize-winning instrument of 7 1/3 octaves volume, straight strung, with 2 pedals, and decorative on the outside as well (with a case made of rosewood, and with carved and bent legs) was taken by Chickering himself to Rome, on Christmas of 1872, for Liszt. Although the instrument was highly-appreciated by the Romans, Liszt (possessing no permanent residence in Rome) had problems to place the piano, with its dimensions of 254 centimeters long by 147 centimeters wide. In 1872, it was transported to the country-house of his Hungarian friend, Baron Antal Augustz in Szekszard, where previously himself had been a guest several times. Only after Liszt's death, in April 1887, was it delivered to the Academy of Music. The widow of Baron Augustz gave it to the Liszt Estate in Budapest (together with the glass-piano in her keeping) .

The water-colour caricature of Liszt above the glass showcases is by Árpád Szendy, after a drawing by Georg Henschel. On the picture, Liszt is portrayed with a « pince-nez » on his nose. Árpád Szendy was a student of Liszt between 1883 and 1884, and later on, became a teacher at the Academy of Music, and together with István Thomán, was one of the most representative inheritors of the Liszt-tradition in Hungary.

Study bedroom

On the basis of a picture published in one of the 1886 issues of the journal « Magyar Szalon » (Hungarian Salon) , together with other descriptions, it was possible to reconstruct the study-bedroom of his flat most like the original. Liszt obviously found some calm here, if he needed some rest and, here, he composed the works of his last years.

Ludwig Bösendorfer (1835-1919) was a personal friend of Liszt, as is proved by unique evidence in the Budapest Estate ; namely a 2 door writing-desk, with 3 drawers made of walnut. In the place of the middle-drawer, there is a small pull-out piano with 3 octave keyboard. This composing-desk with piano, « a splendid work of art, which decorated both the study-bedroom and the dining-room, on which the name Bösendorfer will soon be engraved, this name, which is so benign for me » (30 January 1877, Liszt) thanked Liszt in his letter to the donor. The small instrument, in which the miniature hammers, which are supplied with sound-dampers as well, strike fixed metal-sheets. Actually, it is rather a curiosity. It is only useful to check chords, fingering or any kind of passage or rapid scales, during composing. Its soft sound could hardly disturb Ferenc Erkel, who as the director of the Academy of Music lived

for some years above the study-bedroom of Liszt. Bösendorfer's gift is unique, we know of no other writing-desk like this one.

The small table is very similar to the one which stood here, at one time. On it, is placed the bronze replica of Liszt's right-hand, made by Alajos Strobl. The programme on the table with a drawing of Liszt by Munkácsy is that of Liszt's concert on 23 March 1886, in Paris, at the palace of Mihály Munkácsy.

The drapery behind the bed is from the Liszt Estate, though originally there hung here another tapestry embroidered by Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein. The original bed-cloth was also her work, but we have no information about their whereabouts. The picture above the bed is the painting by Alajos Györgyi Giergl, which portrays the daughter of Liszt, Cosima Bülow. The circumstances of its origin are unknown. The praying-desk was made for the flat on « Sugar ut », it was designed by Sándor Fellner. Most probably, the crucifix was presented by Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein. On the praying-desk of Liszt can be seen both his prayer-book and his rosary. The glass cabinet was also in the flat at « Sugar ut », with Liszt's library in it, which he left to the Academy of Music. In the other glass case, we keep some of his scores. Both the books and the scores, about which a detailed catalogue has been published, contain several important markings and inscriptions by Liszt and bear the impress of the stamp of the Estate.

The glass-piano of Liszt (even if not the only instrument like this) is a curiosity. It was made by Georges Bachmann, who had a factory in Tours and in Angers. He called his invention piano-harmonica, introducing it in 1865, though not without any precedents in the history of instruments. It had a range of 4 octaves (c1-c5) with piano action. Instead of strings, there are glass plates. We don't know either the year when Liszt's instrument was manufactured (it doesn't bear a serial number) or the time when he obtained it. Nevertheless, in 1872, it was in the safe-keeping of Bösendorfer, and Liszt asked that the small instrument, named by him as « joujou d'harmonica en verre », should, together with the Chickering piano of 1867, go to Szekszard, where it would be near the huge instrument like the small dog in the lions-house. It was Bachmann's score entitled « Fête des Nymphes » which gave the idea of this connection, which was personally dedicated to Liszt by Bachmann and which contains a duettino written for a piano-harmonica and piano.

The instrument became the property of the Academy of Music, in 1887. Above the glass piano, on the wall, can be seen portraits of Liszt's relatives.

Drawing room

4 arm chairs, one so-called X-seat, one Ottoman stove-bench and a card-table, these were the pieces of furniture which formed the combined furnishings with plush drapery and leather-cover designed by Fellner, in the style of Henry II.

The 2 piano stools were made of cane inter-woven with silk, as Liszt preferred to play the piano sitting on a cane inter-woven chair. The embroideries of all the pieces of furniture, pillows, curtains and table-clothes were done by a 15 member company of ladies. The embroidery of the X-chair was designed by Fellner, but all other embroideries of the ladies followed old Hungarian patterns. These artistic embroideries were quite different from the decoration of the

fashionable salons. After the death of Liszt, when the flat had to be made free for teaching purposes of the Academy of Music, the donators received back the pieces of furniture. After a couple of years, it was possible to obtain them back for the Liszt memorial collection at the Academy of Music.

In one of the corners of the drawing-room, we can see the miniature Beethoven statue made of bronze, with which Liszt was presented by the Viennese Beethoven Committee. There are valuable paintings hanging on the walls, among them, 2 drawings by Gustave Doré, which were illustrations after Liszt's « Dante Symphony » and the piano legend « Saint-Francois de Paule marchant sur les flots » .

The other Chickering piano, which is in the drawing-room, was specially made for Liszt, according to its « Opus Number 50.080 » , around the turn of 1879-1880. Inside the keyboard-lid, inscribed in gold letters : « Chickering & Sons / à F. Liszt » . Its range is AAA-c5 and its action is the same as in the other Chickering piano, but this instrument is much larger in size (260 centimeters long by 150 centimeters wide) , and cross-strung, having 3 pedals, of which the middle one is a divided damper level for increasing the volume of the treble notes. The case is laquered dark, with carved ornaments and carved legs, less decorated than the piano made for the World Exhibition.

When, in autumn 1880, Liszt (staying in Italy) learned Chickering's intention to present him with the piano, he wrote asking him to send the piano to the Academy of Music. Here, it was finally placed in the concert-hall near his flat, and both he and his students used this specially enduring instrument, the sound of which can still rival that of modern concert-pianos.

After Liszt's death, the 2 Chickering pianos were regularly used at the Academy of Music and, in 1927-1928, the manufacturing company hired them for a long American concert-tour. Nowadays, they serve only for representative and museum purposes.

The music stand of silver was presented to Liszt, in 1858. In the middle a Liszt relief, in the upper-part, 3 busts are seen : those of Beethoven, Schubert and Weber. The names engraved in the wide base are those of the donors, primarily from Liszt's circle, in Vienna and Pest.

Liszt held his lessons most often in his drawing-room, where (according to the descriptions of the time) there were always 1 or 2 Bösendorfer pianos. One of them has a serial number « 7561 » and the year of its manufacturing has not been precisely determined (around 1873) . The short piano of 7 octaves range (AAA-a4) , Viennese action, straight strung, with 2 pedals, is a special instrument. Inside its case, under the strings, a certificate reads in Hungarian and German : Mr. János Nepomuk Dunkl music-dealer, Henrik Gobbi professor of the Academy of Music, and Gusztav Chmel piano-dealer, certify, that Liszt used this instrument at his flat in Pest, between 1880-1886 until his death. The instrument has a mahogany-plated case with sections varnished black and shows the ravages of time. Its complete and total renewal and restoration could only have been done at the cost of its authenticity. Its tuning is one complete tone lower and deeper than the original one, therefore, on the CD-recordings demonstrating the sound of the instruments in the museum, the composition recorded on the Bösendorfer piano sounds a major second lower.

In the Budapest Estate, the large American harmonium has also remained, which was given to the Mæstro, in January 1877, by the Boston company Mason & Hamlin. The instrument with the mark « Style 496, No. 90243 » has a suction system, 5 octaves range (CC-c3) . The instrument was made expressly for Liszt in 1876, afterwards, the same type was manufactured in a series as well, named « Liszt Cabinet Organ » , with a reference to Liszt's appreciation. Its 15 stops and knee-pedals (for varying the dynamics) produce a rather varied sound.

In his letter concerning the piano-harmonica, Liszt also disposed of his other special instrument, the pianino-harmonium of Érard-Alexandre. This instrument had been transported to his flat in Pest and, during his moves, he had never parted from it. This combined instrument of 2 manuals is according to its inscriptions a « piano-orgue » . The serial number of the pianino-part (« 37537-44236.8740 D.N. ») refers to the fact that it was manufactured in 1866. The harmonium, with a bellows system of 5 octaves (C-c4) with its narrow frontal part, is lower. It is the work of Jacob Alexandre & Son, one of the best-known harmonium-manufacturers of his time, in Paris. The sound-box containing the strings of the pianino is wider and higher, the instrument has an iron-frame, and a range of 7 octaves (AAA-a4) supplied with a « pianino una corda » and a damp pedal (which can be found between the pedals of the harmonium) . This part of the instrument was made by the Érard Company, which had already supported Liszt as a child when he had arrived in Paris, at the end of 1823, Liszt maintained a good relationship to their mutual advantage, which lasted until the death of the composer.

The vitrine nearby contains memorabilia of Liszt's artistic life. We can see here, among other things, his award certificate presenting the freedom of Sopron, and a silver conducting baton, with which he was presented by the town, in 1846. On the lower-shelf, there are objects from his travels : his travelling case, lamp, writing-utensils, writing-box, his dummy keyboard, etc.

Concert hall

From the Salon (as it was in Liszt's lifetime) , we directly enter the concert-hall. As the salon no longer can serve as an artist's room, the stage has been transferred to the opposite end of the hall, where a separated artist's room is joining to it.

Unfortunately, the organ, which was originally in the room, could not be replaced, and in its place is a large allegorical drawing by Sándor Liezen-Mayer (an artist of Liszt's time) which decorates the background of the podium. In the concert-hall, the only original pieces of furniture are the wooden armchairs built along the walls. All the other pieces of furniture were designed in modern times by Gabor Mezey. The huge candelabra and wall lamps, in the style of the time, are the work of Imre Tatar.

Today, in the concert-hall near Liszt's flat, one can often hear music. There are lessons here, concerts by the Academy of Music and other organizers, as well as morning concerts organized by the museum itself, on Saturdays at 11.00 a.m. On special occasions even those instruments are played which used to be touched by Liszt's own hand.

...

The Liszt Academy of Music (« Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem » , often abbreviated as « Zeneakadémia » - Music Academy) is a concert-hall and music Conservatory in Budapest, founded on November 14, 1875. It is home to the Liszt Collection, which features several valuable books and manuscripts donated by Franz Liszt upon his death, and the AVISO studio, a collaboration between the governments of Hungary and Japan to provide sound recording equipment and training for students.

The Academy was named after its founder Franz Liszt, only in 1925. Initially christened the « Royal National Hungarian Academy of Music » , it was also called « College of Music » , from 1919 to 1925. It was founded in Liszt's home, and re-located to a 3 story neo-Renaissance building designed by Adolf Láng and built on today's Andrassy Avenue, between 1877 and 1879. That location is referred to as « the old Music Academy » and commemorated by a 1934 plaque made by Zoltán Farkas. It was re-purchased by the Academy in the 1980's, and is now officially known as « the Ferenc Liszt Memorial and Research Center » .

Replacing « the old Music Academy » , the Academy moved into a building erected in 1907, at the corner of Király Street and Ferenc Liszt Square. It serves as a centre for higher-education, music-training, and concert-hall. The « Art Nouveau » style building is one of the most well-known in Budapest. It was designed by Flóris Korb and Kálmán Giergl, at the request of Baron Gyula Wlassics, who was the Minister of Culture at that time. The façade is dominated by a statue of Liszt (sculpted by Alajos Stróbl) . The inside of the building is decorated with frescoes, Zsolnay ceramics, and several statues (among them, that of Béla Bartók and Frédéric Chopin) . Originally, the building also had stained glass windows, made by Miksa Róth.

Other facilities used by the Academy are the Budapest Teacher Training College, located in the former National Music School on Semmelweis Street, a secondary school (Béla Bartók Secondary Grammar and Technical School of Music) , and a student dormitory.

Ever since its foundation, the Academy has been the most prestigious Music University operating in Hungary. A major development in its history was the recent establishment of a new, independent Folk-Music Faculty. The Franz Liszt Academy of Music is as much a living monument to Hungary's continued musical life, as it is to the country's musical past.

...

L'université de musique Franz-Liszt (« Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem ») est aussi connue sous le nom d'Académie de musique de Budapest (« Zeneakadémia ») . Appelée parfois « Conservatoire de Budapest » , elle est la plus importante école de musique hongroise et une des plus prestigieuses d'Europe centrale. L'édifice, situé Liszt Ferenc tér, est l'œuvre de Kálmán Giergl.

L'Académie de musique a été créée le 14 novembre 1875, sous l'appellation d' « Académie royale nationale hongroise de musique » . Un de ses fondateurs est le célèbre pianiste et compositeur Franz Liszt qui en est élu 1er président.

De 1876 à sa mort, en 1886, il y donne régulièrement des cours pendant certaines périodes de l'année, partageant son temps entre Budapest, Rome et Weimar.

En janvier 1919, l'Académie prend le nom de « Collège de musique » puis, en 1925, celui de Liszt, qu'elle porte encore de nos jours.

C'est la seule université de Hongrie à délivrer un doctorat en musicologie.

L'Académie de musique Franz Liszt dispose d'une grande salle de concert, de la plus grande bibliothèque musicale de Hongrie (plus de 400,000 partitions, 70,000 livres et 15,000 enregistrements) et, depuis 1997, d'un studio d'enregistrement, le studio AVISO, fruit d'un accord entre les gouvernements hongrois et japonais.

Les locaux de l'Académie de musique se divisent en 4 bâtiments dispersés dans Budapest. Le bâtiment central, construit en 1907 dans le style Art nouveau, se tient au coin de la rue Király et de la place Ferenc Liszt. Le bâtiment de 1881 (celui de 1876 ayant été détruit), appelé Vieille Académie, est situé dans la rue Vörösmarty. Construit par l'architecte Adolf Lang, il accueille aujourd'hui le Mémorial et centre de recherche Franz Liszt, composante de l'Académie. Le compositeur y a vécu au 1er étage, de 1881 à 1886, dans un appartement reconstitué en 1986 et qui accueille le musée Franz Liszt de Budapest. On y trouve les legs de Liszt à l'Académie, notamment des instruments, des manuscrits et des lettres.

Certaines disciplines instrumentales sont enseignées et des studios de travail pour les élèves ont été aménagés.

Eduard Ritter von Liszt

Édouard Ritter von Liszt affirme que les parents de Franz parlaient allemand. Ces 2 confirmations ont été retenues par plusieurs biographes (Lina Ramann, August Göllerich junior, etc.) . Pourtant, plus tard, d'autres biographes magyars (Somssich, Falk, Pourtalès-Lányi) ont affirmé exactement le contraire. Mais le problème reste le même : celui du double emploi du terme « hongrois » . À en croire Anne Großer-Rilke, à la question : « ob er nicht am liebsten ungarisch spreche » , Franz Liszt s'est esclaffé :

« Je l'ai complètement oublié. »

Mais de quel hongrois parle-t-il ?

Pour compléter le tableau de la famille de Liszt, il reste sa mère, qui vécut longtemps, et dont nous savons très peu de choses. Son nom de jeune fille est Lager (ou Laager) . Elle naquit le 9 mai 1788, à Krems, en Basse-Autriche. Fille de boulanger, elle devient tôt orpheline. Son père meurt alors qu'elle n'a que 8 ans et demi ; sa mère, 6 mois plus tard. Mais nous savons qu'elle fut adoptée par la famille Lager. Elle est femme de chambre à Vienne lorsqu'elle épouse Adam Liszt, employé chez le prince Esterházy. À la mort de son mari, en 1827, elle s'installe à Paris pour soutenir son fils encore adolescent qui n'a que 16 ans. Les enfants de Franz et de Marie d'Agoult, plus tard, habiteront chez elle,

dès la Ire rupture de leurs parents en 1839, puis ils seront mis en pension à leur séparation définitive, en 1844. La mère de Liszt meurt en 1866. Une femme telle que Maria Anna Lager, d'origine autrichienne, aurait-elle accepté de se marier si rapidement avec un Hongrois ? Elle-même parlait très certainement mal l'allemand. Son nom ne confirme en rien son origine germanique. Nous savons qu'Adam Liszt, son mari, corrigea son nom déjà déformé par Édouard Liszt (1817-1879) , procureur Royal et Impérial à Vienne, qui s'était hâté d'ajouter un « a » à son nom de jeune fille. Les Allemands ne sont pas allés aussi loin que les Magyars quant à l'appropriation nationale de Franz Liszt. Ils connaissaient trop bien le problème des minorités slovène et slave en Autriche. Pour obtenir du travail, à l'exemple des Slovènes, les Slovaques durent souvent germaniser leur nom sous Joseph II. Ainsi, Lager devint Laager. Malheureusement, cette question n'a jamais été étudiée. Alan Walker précise qu'après le décès d'Adam, la vie d'Anna et de son fils Franz prend un tournant décisif :

« De retour à Paris, Franz s'installa avec sa mère qui, depuis 3 ans, vivait chez sa sœur à Graz ; d'abord au 38 de la rue Coquenard, puis au 7 de la rue Montholon, face à l'église Saint-Vincent-de-Paul. »

Cette période à Graz marqua définitivement la vie sentimentale, religieuse et culturelle de Franz Liszt, « esclavon » humilié et ridiculisé, s'éveillant à la conscience politique.

...

Eduard, Ritter von Liszt (1817-1879) : Austrian aristocrat and lawyer - and, as the youngest child from the 3rd marriage of Franz Liszt's grandfather, Georg Adam Liszt, Franz Liszt's uncle by marriage ; the composer, however, invariably referred to Eduard as his « cousin » . After 1837, the 2 men maintained cordial relations. Eduard enjoyed a brilliant career in the Austro-Hungarian legal profession and, eventually, became both Public Prosecutor and Procurator General. Beginning in the 1850's, he looked after the composer's legal and financial affairs ; when Eduard died, Liszt was obliged to look alter these himself, which caused him much anxiety.

Despite the more Liberal constitutional era that began in 1860, following a decision to draft a new Code of Criminal Procedure, another 12 years passed before the entry into force of the 1873 Code, on 1 January 1874, which re-established the Procurator General's Office at the Supreme Court, again now known as the Supreme Court of Justice and Cassation. Doctor Eduard Ritter von Liszt (uncle of the composer Franz Liszt and father of the great criminal law scholar Franz von Liszt) was appointed Advocate General and Deputy Procurator General, on 2 December 1873, but was only promoted to Procurator General at the end of 1875 (the post having been vacant until then) . He was replaced, in 1879, by the author of the Code of Criminal Procedure, Julius Glaser, after the latter's retirement from the office of Minister of Justice. The functions he wished the Code of Criminal Procedure to allocate to the Procurator General are particularly clear in his response to the words of welcome from the 1st President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Doctor Anton Ritter von Schmerling :

« Detached from any hierarchical connection to the Public Prosecutor's Office at the Courts of 1st and 2nd instance, the Procurator General's Office sees its field of activity as determined by the circle of hearings before the High-Cassation Court, its almost sole function being to participate impartially in the resolution of the legal issues arising. »

...

Eduard von Liszt, Jurist : geboren Margarethen am Moos (Niederösterreich) , 31 Januar 1817 ; gestorben Wien, 8. Februar 1879. Aus der 3. Ehe des Schulmeisters und späteren Esterházy'schen Herrschaftsbeamten Georg Liszt, Onkel des Vorigen und des Folgenden (dessen Adelsstand 1867 auf ihn übertragen wurde) , Vater des Juristen Franz von Liszt ; studium 1834-1842 an der Universität Wien Jus, 1844 Doktor juris, legte 1842 die Auskultantenprüfung ab und trat in das Kriminalgericht Wien als Rechtspraktikant ein. 1844 Richteramtsprüfung aus dem Kriminal-Justizfach, 1846 aus dem Zivil-Justizfach, 1849 Advokatenprüfung. Liszt war 1844-1849 Assistent an den Lehrkanzeln für Zivilprozeßordnung, adeliges Richteramt und Außerstreitverfahren sowie für Lehens-, Handels- und Wechselrecht an der Universität Wien. 1848 machte er mit Bewilligung des Justizministerium eine Studienreise nach Deutschland, Belgien und Frankreich. 1845-1847 war Liszt am Wiener Merkantil- und Wechselgericht, 1847-1850 beim Niederösterreichische Landrecht tätig. 1850 wurde er mit Einführung des Institut der Staatsanwaltschaft Staatsanwaltssubstitut beim Landesgericht Wien, wo er in mehreren Schauprozessen erfolgreich auftrat. 1854 Rat am Wiener Zivilgericht, 1866 erfolgte der Ruf in die Legislativabteilung des Justizministerium, 1867 OLGR, 1868 Oberstaatsanwalt, 1870 Hofrat, 1873 Generaladjunkt und Leiter der General-Prokuratur, 1875 General-Prokurator beim Obersten Gerichts- und Kassationshof. Liszt war ab 1850 Mitglied der judiziellen Staatsprüfungskommissar, viele Jahre Landtafelreferent beim Wiener Zivilgericht sowie Vorsitzender des Grundbuchssenates, Vorstand der Notariatskammer und Direktor des Notariatsarchivs. Große Verdienste erwarb er sich durch seine organisator. Leistungen auf dem Gebiet des Sträflingswesens, das unter seiner Amtsführung als Oberstaatsanwalt aus dem Wirkungskreis der Statthalterei in den der Oberstaatsanwaltschaft übertragen wurde. Liszt, von dem und andere der Entwurf einer Zivilprozeßordnung und eines neuen Strafrechts stammte, genoß wegen seiner legislativen Arbeiten zur Zivil- und Strafrechtsreform großes Ansehen. Krankheitsgründe verhinderten, daß er Julius Glasers Nachfolger als Justizministerium wurde. Von Zeitgenossen allgemeinen Als « Meister des Plaidoyers » bezeichnet, galt er als einer der bedeutendsten forens. Redner Österreich Seine Tochter Hedwig von Liszt (geboren Wien, 5. Januar 1866 ; gestorben Rödelmaier bei Neustadt an der Saale, 31. Dezember 1941) trat 1890 in den Karmel in Wien-Baumgarten ein (1891 Santa Maria Gabriela a Santissimo Sacramento) und gründete nach mehreren mißlungenen Versuchen 1926 (1928 kanonische Errichtung) in Rödelmaier ein Kloster für unbeschulte Karmelittinnen, welches sie ab 1929 als Priorin leitete.

An Unknown Grandmother of Franz Liszt

The genealogical basics of Franz Liszt's family tree have been established decades ago. This may have been caused by the debated question whether Liszt was a German or a Hungarian composer and by the fact that having been Richard Wagner's father-in-law, his ancestry simply was an important issue in the eyes of purebred Wagnerites and a Ministry of propaganda in Nazi Germany that used Liszt's « les Préludes » as signature tune of its regular reports from the theater of War.

While the details of Liszt's family's roots have been covered quite extensively back to Liszt's great-grandfather Sebastian List (around 1703-1793) , including the identification of the complete 4th generation of ancestors, 10 of Liszt's 16 great-great-grandparents still remain unknown.

At times, the genealogical literature is a little messy. Liszt's 4 grandparents (« Generation III ») , on whose identity the literature agrees unanimously, are given in Heinz Schöny's 2001 article in « Adler » .

A few things are gravely amiss in the list and one wonders, who served as editor at the « Gesellschaft Adler » back in 2001. Liszt's grandfather Georg Adam List was not born on 14 January, but on 14 October 1755. He did not marry in 1715, but in 1775. His 1st wife Barbara Schlesak was of course born in 1753, not in 1853. Mathias Lager was not born in 1815, but 100 years earlier. Lager did not get married in Kirchberg am Wagram on 26 May, but on 27 May 1777 (with Ludwig von Köchel's grandfather Georg Heinrich Köchel serving as his best man) , his bride's name was Schuhmann, not Schihmann and the place of her birth was not « Öttinger » , but Oettingen in Bayern. At least, Franziska Lager's date of death (9 June 1797) is correct, while Wamser gives it 1 month too early. It is also interesting to note that Georg Adam List was not only an organist, but up into the 1830's, was also in charge of rehearsing the Boys Choir in the chapel of Pottendorf Castle.

According to the literature, Georg Adam List (he always signed his name just « Adam List ») was married 3 times, namely to :

1) Barbara Schlesak (1753-1798) ; Liszt's supposed grandmother.

2) Barbara Weninger (1778-1806) .

3) Magdalena Richter (1780-1856) . His late 3rd marriage, in 1807, led to his last son Eduard (1817-1879) being actually 6 years younger than his 1st grandson, the famous pianist Franz Liszt.

A few days before Franz Liszt's father, Adam, married Maria Anna Lager, on 11 January 1811, in the Hungarian village of Unterfrauenhaid, the banns had to be published in the 2 Viennese home parishes of the bride. The sources in Vienna's parish archives concerning Adam List's wedding have hitherto not been acknowledged by Liszt scholarship. The information in these documents regarding the mother of the groom is starkly at odds with what is documented in the genealogical literature. According to the entries in the marriage records of Saint-Stephen's and the « Schottenkirche » , which were made on 7 and 8 January 1811 respectively, Adam List's mother was not Barbara Schlesak, but a certain Katharina Baumann :

January 7th, 1811, Mister Adam List, head accountant with Prince Esterházy in Raiding in Hungary, born in Mattersdorf in Hungary, legitimate son of Adam List, workman in Mattersdorf at Prince Esterházy's, alive and of Mrs. Katharina List, « née » Baumann deceased.

As a matter of fact, Adam List was born in Edelstal, not in Mattersdorf. And the fact that List's age is given as 30 (instead of 24) might also be of interest, considering his unknown mother that appears nowhere in the Liszt literature. The earlier original entry from 7 January 1811 (A-Wd, Rapular 1810-1813, folio 220) referring to the bride also yields new information : we finally learn for whom Liszt's mother had worked as parlourmaid in Vienna.

The maiden Maria Anna Laager, formerly parlourmaid with Frau von Kurzbeck, born in Krems, legitimate daughter of Matthäus Laager, deceased citizen in said town, and Mrs. Franziska, « née » Schuchmann deceased. Her current parish is Mattersdorf in Hungary, formerly at Saint-Stephen's parish, number 1139, then, at « Schotten » parish, number 235. Years of age : 22, born 9 May 1788.

In contrast to the groom, the bride was underage and, therefore, had to present a birth certificate and a licence from the Krems magistrate. On 10 January 1811, the couple also received a dispensation from the other 2 publications of the bans. Maria Anna Laager's employer « Frau von Kurzbeck » was Katharina von Kurzbeck, « née » Gerold (born on 15 November 1748 in Vienna ; died on 19 August 1821 in Baden bei Wien) , widow of the printer, merchant and Estate owner, Joseph von Kurzbeck (1736-1792) . The Kurzbeck family is of particular interest because of several very musical daughters, who were acquainted with Mozart and Haydn. They are listed in the 1788 « Taschenbuch des weiblichen Adels » , living at « Stadt 1152 » (today, « Bräunerstraße 1 ») , a house that had been owned by Joseph von Kurzbeck, since 1775.

The most prominent member of the family was, of course, Magdalena von Kurzbeck (1767-1845) , pianist, composer and student of Clementi, Haydn and Andreas Streicher. For a long time, she was regarded as Vienna's finest female pianist. Haydn dedicated the printed edition of his Piano Sonata in E-flat major (Hob. XVI/52) and the Piano Trio (Hob. XV/31) to her. Johann Nepumuk Hummel wrote his Piano Sonata, Opus 20 for her. Soon after the death of Joseph von Kurzbeck, his widow Katharina sold the house on « Untere Bräunerstraße » for 46.000 Florins and moved into the so-called « Hasenhaus » at « Kärntnerstraße 8 » (then, number 1082 ; from 1795 until 1821, number 1139) where, about 15 years later, Liszt's mother was to work as parlourmaid.

Shortly before the marriage of her maid, Kurzbeck must have moved to the house at « Stadt 235 » (today, « Tiefer Graben 22 ») . Surviving records from other Viennese parishes prove that, on 7 January 1811, Maria Anna Laager also had to submit a testimony by her employer to the government and the parish priest, regarding her good moral conduct during her service as maidservant.

There are 3 different copies of the entry concerning the publication of the bans for Adam List and Maria Anna Laager in Viennese parish archives :

a) The entry in the records of Saint-Stephen's.

b) A slightly shortened copy of this entry (lacking the Kurzbeck information) in the series of duplicate marriage records of Saint-Stephen's.

c) The entry in the marriage records of the « Schotten » parish which was made 1 day later, on 8 January 1811. The entry related to Adam List is basically identical with the earlier ones and Katharina Baumann is given, again, as Adam List's mother. Only the dates referring to the dispensation from 2 publications of the bans and the delivery of the certificate (« Ist der Braut den 13. Jänner 1811 der Verkündschein gegeben worden ») have been added. This and the

date « 12 Jänner » above the entry suggest that the bride was still in Vienna, on 13 January 1811, and that the supposed date of Adam List's wedding in Hungary may be wrong.

Who was Adam List's mother Katharina List, « née » Baumann ? The following explanatory scenarios come to mind :

Heinrich Wamser's genealogical chart is flawed, because Wamser overlooked one of Georg Adam Liszt's wives. Adam List the elder did not marry 3, but 4 times. The age given by his son, at the time of his marriage in 1811, pointing to 1780 as his year of birth, could be a clue in favour of this hypothesis.

Liszt's father, Adam List, was an illegitimate child and this family secret was already covered-up by Liszt's early biographers.

Adam List had been provided with false information regarding his ancestry. In times when many people didn't even know their own date of birth, such a situation was quite common. On the other hand, the fact that his father was still alive and he was in regular contact with his relatives makes such a lack of information unlikely.

Liszt's official paternal grandmother Barbara Schlesak and Katharina Baumann are one and the same person. Different Ist names bear little significance in 200 year old sources that sometimes are fraught with errors, caused by faulty readings and flawed transmission. And, yet, it is hardly conceivable that the name « Katharina Baumann », as mother of the groom, does not appear in the 1811 marriage records of Unterfrauenhaid. One wonders which documents the genealogists have actually examined.

The whole « Schlesak-construct » is a fabrication by the fervent Nazi, Heinrich Wamser, who discovered that Liszt had a Jewish grandmother by the name of Katharina Baumann and decided to erase her from the family tree. Composer Johann Strauß forgery is ample proof that the Nazis did not shy away from falsifying the sources for the sake of « preserving » a composer for the German nation.

Katharina Baumann's existence could remain undetected for over 200 years, because Viennese genealogists, who obviously considered the marriage of Liszt's parents in Unterfrauenhaid an exclusively Hungarian affair, never did any research in Vienna. Based on the newly discovered documents, it is very likely that Liszt's father did not make the acquaintance of his bride in Mattersdorf, but actually Ist met her in Vienna and, then, made her move to Hungary with his proposal of marriage. A lot of research still remains to be done on a topic that seemed to be covered so exhaustively.

Liszt et le « Schottenhof » : correspondance

Dimanche, 23 avril 1871, « Schottenhof », chez Édouard von Liszt.

En venant ce matin dans cette maison, je me suis senti à moitié chez vous. La meilleure part de l'ameublement a été donnée par vous (votre portrait orne le salon) c'est grâce au constant et généreux appui que vous avez prêté à mon

cousin, que son existence est devenue plus aisée et plus douce. Je vous ai plusieurs fois dit ma reconnaissance à ce sujet, et vous renouvelle aujourd'hui du fond du cœur mes remerciements pour les bontés effectives que vous accordez à mon très cher et très honorable cousin. Son fils aîné s'annonce bien, travaille assidument - et se montre capable de bien porter son nom. Sa sœur Marie vous plaisait, je crois. Elle a de la noblesse dans les traits et un certain charme doux et sérieux, sans nulle affectation.

Ma dernière semaine à Pest me devint passablement fatigante. Sans compter les ennuis quotidiens, il a fallu s'occuper des 2 soirées avec représentations dramatiques et concert au Palazzo Karatsonyi à Bude. Si le public avait pu être plus nombreux - du moins, sa satisfaction était complète et démonstrative. Diverses petites circonstances s'opposaient à plus d'affluence. Les dames patronnesses de Pest n'ont pas encore acquis la virtuosité transcendante de celles de Paris en matière d'arrangements de concerts, spectacles et quêtes charitables. Amortir les scrupules, fixer les hésitations, fusionner les rivalités, surtaxer les avarés et les avaricieux, charmer, entraîner et, tout à la fois, dévaliser le monde, sont des traits de bravoure, que n'exécutent avec une stupéfiante perfection que les dames à Paris, les étrangères en tête ! Somme toute, les soirées Karatsonyi ont suffisamment réussi, de la même façon que le concert au Palazzo Barberini, en avril 1865, avec les Chimay, et Madame de Montessuy. La recette était même plus considérable cette fois. La Comtesse Marie Rossi, fille de la Comtesse Rossi-Sontag, est une délicieuse cantatrice de salon, d'excellente méthode et parfait bon goût. Elle habite d'ordinaire Presbourg, ou sa parente avec les Palffy, lui garantit les amabilités et prévenances de l'aristocratie austro-hongroise.

Ce soir, je tâcherai de trouver Magne et vous ré-écrirai avant de quitter Vienne, samedi ou dimanche prochain.

B.B.

Mardi, 2 avril 1872, 10 heures du matin, « Schottenhof » .

Arrivé ici, ce matin, j'ai hâte de vous dire mon chagrin de ne pas vous avoir écrit avant de quitter Pest. Les offices de la Semaine-Sainte auxquels je tenais à ne pas manquer, me prenaient plusieurs heures par jour, et les autres se perdaient en menues affaires et obligations pressantes. Il m'a fallu aussi retarder ma communion, que je me proposais de faire le Jeudi-Saint. Mais mon confesseur, le Père Supérieur des Franciscains, était retenu à Raab par des exercices spirituels jusqu'au Dimanche de Pâques. Je me suis encore confessé à lui, hier, lundi, vers midi - et communierai demain ici, à l'église des Bénédictins du « Schottenhof » . Édouard m'a remis vos lignes, qui sont ma plus douce et glorieuse fête, avec le bouquet, et je viens de recevoir votre télégramme. Le Vendredi-Saint, j'ai revu le Prince Constantin à Bude, où il n'a passé que 3 ou 4 jours. Je le retrouverai ce soir à l' « Augarten » , et ferai votre commission à Magne. La reliure des exemplaires de la Messe du couronnement, destinés à « Her Majesty's » et au Prince Constantin, a parfaitement réussi - et je ne regrette point la dépense de près de 300 Florins qu'elle m'occasionne. Ainsi, en compagnie de ces 3 volumes, je me présenterai avec un tant soit peu de fierté ce soir, à l' « Augarten » !

Le Prince Constantin a pris sous son patronage Lenbach autrefois professeur à l'académie de peinture à Weimar, qui peindra prochainement 2 grands portraits en pied de l'Empereur et de l'Impératrice. Accessoirement, Lenbach a 84

portraits pré-notés à Vienne, et davantage encore en Russie ! Son registre de maîtresses « en peinture » ressemble fort à celui de « Don Juan » - exhibé dans le célèbre air de Leporello de Mozart.

Je crois vous avoir déjà écrit que je resterai ici jusqu'à vendredi soir. Les demandes de concerts de bienfaisance et autres me poursuivent. Même la Princesse Auersperg a daigné revenir à la charge - trouvant qu'il était de ma gloire de compléter le brillant succès du concert de Pest par un second concert à Vienne ! Hélas, il n'y a pire sourds que ceux qui ne veulent pas entendre (et je n'entendrai rien de la sorte avant l'hiver prochain, et même alors) vedremo !

Vous me demandez de vous raconter ma vie intime. Rien de plus simple - elle se partage entre les lettres que je vous écris et mes heures de prière. Je voudrais y ajouter quelques heures de travail musical - mais quand et où le retrouverai-je ? Du reste, je me sens tout à fait impersonnel et « selbstlos ». Ce mot m'a été appliqué élogieusement dans plusieurs articles à mon sujet, cet hiver. Il se traduirait difficilement en français sans périphrase, comme dépourvu d'égoïsme, ou débarrassé de soi-même. En dépit de la réputation de personnalité « efirenle », dont on m'a souvent gratifié autrefois, je crois que la ligne continue de ma vie intérieure est précisément ce manque de Moi, que signifie la « Selbstlosigkeit ». Cela ne rend guère ni agréable ni intéressant - quelque bonne envie que j'aie de l'être pour ceux que j'aime, et pour vous par-dessus tout !

On avait l'intention de me fêter aujourd'hui, à Pest. À cause de mon départ, que je ne voulais pas ajourner, quelques-uns de mes amis se sont entendus pour arranger un banquet à l'Hôtel Hungaria, le soir du Dimanche de Pâques. Augusz vous en parlera. Madame la Comtesse Szirmay Szechényi était la « Lady Patroness » de cette petite fête, qui avait bel air et bon ton. Beaucoup de dames de la meilleure société y sont venues, sur l'invitation de la Comtesse Szechényi - et le nombre des assistants dépassait 200, je crois. Abrényi, Albert Apponyi et d'autres ont porté des toasts. Je me suis borné à causer modestement, sans rien dire à haute voix - mais, à la fin de la soirée, j'ai fait mes compliments d'adieu au piano à la très bienveillante compagnie.

Je vous écrirai encore d'ici avant de partir.

B.B.

Je vous envoie l'article de Mihalovich sur le « Christ ». Les lignes sur mon « Christ » avec la citation de Saint-Thomas, sont de Madame Moukhanoff. Elle reste fidèle à son admiration esthétique pour l'Empereur Napoléon - et dit que c'est le seul Français honnête qu'elle connaisse.

Judi, 24 octobre 1872, Vienne, « Schottenhof » .

Je suis arrivé ici, hier matin - et ce matin, avant 7 heures, comme je vous l'écrivais avant-hier de Ratisbonne, je me suis confessé et j'ai communié à l'église des Franciscains. Mon confesseur m'était et me reste inconnu - il m'a dit d'un ton de douce piété plusieurs choses excellentes dont je tâcherai de profiter.

Hier, j'ai beaucoup causé avec Édouard. Mosenthal m'avait écrit à Weimar une lettre fort éloquente, pour me demander

de contribuer triplement (comme pianiste, chef d'orchestre et compositeur) au nouveau monument de Beethoven qu'on se propose d'ériger ici. Je me suis excusé, en observant que j'avais déjà fait à peu près ce qu'on me demandait en 1845, à Bonn - et qu'une récidive me semblait peu recommandable. Probablement aussi la très zélée Dominicaine, Patronnesse Raymondine Auersperg, me sommera d'aider de mes 10 doigts son œuvre pie - j'essaierai de la calmer, car il serait difficile d'obtenir un succès et une recette pareils à ceux du concert de l'hiver dernier, à Pest.

2 concerts de Bülow sont annoncés à Vienne, pour le 2 et 8 novembre ; je n'y assisterai point, et n'irai pas non plus à Presbourg comme l'hiver passé. Magne a eu la gracieuseté de me télégraphier pour le 22 octobre, à Bayreuth. Son télégramme m'a été renvoyé ici, hier - avec une toute charmante lettre du Comte Hohenlohe, à laquelle je répondrai prochainement. En ce moment, on m'apporte votre lettre, la bonne - que je lirai après l'expédition de celle-ci.

B.B.

Vendredi, 9 avril 1875, Munich, Hôtel Marienbad.

Plusieurs visites de peu d'intérêt, mais pressantes, m'ont empêché de vous écrire hier du « Schottenhof ». Je suis parti à 7 heures du soir, et arrivé ici avant 6 heures, ce matin. À l'« Augarten », tout est au mieux. Vous seriez contente de la bonne mine et de l'excellent maintien de Magne. Point de futilité, ni d'élégie superflue - mais parfait équilibre d'esprit, avec une exquise bonne grâce de manières fort dignes et mesurées, nullement prétentieuses. Je l'ai vue 4 fois, samedi et mercredi, seule ; lundi, à dîner à l'« Augarten » (où elle avait invité Wilczek, l'aîné des fils de Ratibor, attaché à l'ambassade allemande à Vienne, Mosenthal, Goldmark, Mihalovich et Riedel, jeune compositeur et accompagnateur de renom), et mercredi, à une petite soirée chez les Dönhoff. Là, se trouvaient quelques illustrations de Tart, Semper, Makart, Lenbach et Wilbrandt, le poète dramatique, fort célèbre maintenant. Sa dernière tragédie, « Arria et Messalina », a eu un succès plus retentissant encore que plusieurs autres de ses drames et comédies représentées sur les principaux théâtres d'Allemagne.

Le Prince Constantin est venu chez Bösendorfer sans Magne, qu'on ne s'était pas enhardi à inviter. C'était une petite réunion d'une quinzaine d'artistes : Sophie Menter, Pauline Fichtner, Brüll, Joseffy, Pinner, Zarembski, Mihalovich, etc. — plus Édouard et sa famille, Standhartner, Wilczek et les Dönhoff.

On n'a pas fait de musique le mercredi - Madame Dönhoff prétendant ne plus vouloir jouer du piano, depuis son triomphe du concert Auersperg, avril 1874. Le programme de la soirée Bösendorfer se composait de 4 morceaux seulement - 2 brillamment joués sur le piano par Joseffy, que Moritz protégeait autrefois - un « Albumblatt » pour violoncelle dédié à Madame Dönhoff, composé et exécuté par Popper, mari de Sophie Menter - et le « Walklirenritt » à 4 mains, que j'ai accompagné à Madame Popper. Le menu du souper était plus richement fourni que le programme musical - les convives se partageaient sans trop de division, à de petites tables. À celle de Madame Bösendorfer, nous nations que 4 personnes : Madame Dönhoff, moi et le Prince Constantin, qui me témoigne toujours une très affable bienveillance. Ce que j'ai entendu dire de lui, à Vienne, rend toute inquiétude superflue, sur la continuité de son éminente situation. La Cour et la ville s'accordent en cela - que le Prince Hohenlohe ne chancelle point !

Les représentations de « la Reine de Saba » sont interrompues pour quelque temps. Je ne puis vous en donner par conséquent d'autres nouvelles que celles de son succès un peu surfait, ce me semble - que vous savez par les journaux. Ni la partition ni le « Klavierauszug » n'ont paru - et Goldmark m'assurait qu'il ne s'était pas encore arrangé avec un éditeur. Veuillez dire à Sgambati que je vous enverrai ou apporterai l'Opéra de Goldmark, aussitôt qu'il sera publié.

Certainement, je reviendrai en septembre et terminerai le « Saint-Stanislas » - qui serait déjà bien plus avancé si les embarras du texte ne m'avaient arrêté. Vous ne connaissez que trop mes exigences à ce sujet - je ne puis m'en dédire, car elles me semblent raisonnables. Il faut que cet Oratorio se présente dans des conditions de viabilité, desquelles le texte décide principalement. Inutile désormais de faire même de la bonne musique - sur de la poésie banale, fade, outrée. Sans viser à un succès prompt, je ne voudrais pas affronter un fiasco mérité. Avant de quitter Rome, j'ai prié Blum de s'entendre avec vous sur la tournure définitive du livret de « Saint-Stanislas » . Il a paru comprendre mes intentions - et réussira peut-être à les réaliser, si vous avez la bonté de l'aider. Dès que j'aurai ce livret, ajusté selon mon gré - je vous promets de le composer en 3 ou 4 mois.

B.B.

Augustz vous écrira de ma corde au cou académique, dont je vous reparlerai un autre jour. Mardi ou mercredi, j'irai à Weimar, et serai le 22 à Hanovre.

Weimar, matin du 8 avril 1876.

Arrivé le 2 avril, à 6 heures et demi, au « Schottenhof » , Édouard me remit tout de suite votre lettre et votre magnifique bouquet. Je voudrais savoir vous remercier en paroles, et mieux encore - à défaut d'y réussir, je vous prie de me pardonner mes manquements et ignorances !

À Vienne, il ne m'a pas été possible de trouver 1 ou 2 heures pour vous écrire. J'ai revu Magne 2 fois, en tête-à-tête - et mercredi à dîner à l' « Augarten » . Elle se maintient en assez bonne santé, et garde un noble équilibre de sentiments et d'intelligence. Chez elle, rien d'équivoque ni de futile - son cœur est droit, pur, élevé et pieux - son esprit attrayant, judicieux, ferme - sa contenance dans le monde parfaitement mesurée, prudente, affable, sans ostentation quelconque. Je remercie Dieu de vous avoir donné une si bonne fille, et de bénir en elle le long travail de sollicitudes et d'enseignements que vous lui aviez voué. Vos vertus et mérites fructifient en elle !

De mes 4 journées à Vienne, rien de particulièrement intéressant à raconter. Édouard vous demeure toujours fort reconnaissant et attaché. Le 2 avril, nous avons invité à dîner au « Schottenhof » Monsieur et Madame Bösendorfer, que j'affectionne beaucoup, Camille Saint-Saëns, Gobbi de Pest et Oncken. Celui-ci expose un assez grand tableau, représentant quelques cyprès de la Villa d'Este. Magne m'a fait l'éloge de cette peinture, que je suis allé voir. Saint-Saëns a obtenu un succès de très bon aloi à Vienne, comme pianiste, et pour ses compositions. Sa « Danse macabre » , poème symphonique, devient populaire. La saison prochaine, on donnera sa « Dalila » , Opéra en 4 actes, à Vienne, et, auparavant, à Weimar. Depuis de longues années, je fais grand cas de son talent, tout à fait notoire. Pour vous le

définir d'un mot, je dirai que c'est le Rubinstein français doué, à la fois un virtuose éminent, et un compositeur très productif, largement doué, pouvant prétendre à exceller dans tous les genres : Symphonie, Oratorio, musique de chambre ou de salon et Opéras. De plus, il joue admirablement de l'orgue. Personnellement, je suis encore plus lié avec Saint-Saëns qu'avec Rubinstein. Il a eu l'amabilité d'illustrer le concert des élèves du Conservatoire, improvisé à mon intention, lundi dernier, en dirigeant sa « Danse macabre », et en jouant ma Fantaisie sur des motifs des « Ruines d'Athènes » de Beethoven. L'auditoire se composait de 200 à 300 personnes environ, en tête desquelles se trouvaient le Prince Metternich, le Prince Hohenlohe, etc. Le petit concert commença par une Marche du Comte Seilern, intitulé « Liszt-Marsch » - composition bien réussie et qu'on a beaucoup applaudie. Seilern l'a dirigée lui-même, et le Prince Constantin me dit qu'il la mettra sur le programme d'un des prochains concerts de la Cour. Zaluski vous a parlé de cette Marche au mois de décembre dernier. Lundi soir, il y avait réunion artistique et aristocratique chez Seilern, à laquelle Hohenlohe prit part. Le beau sexe y était représenté exclusivement par la Comtesse Dönhoff, qui nous avait invités à un petit dîner chez elle, entre le concert du Conservatoire et la soirée Seilern. Nous n'étions que 4 convives : Son Éminence le Baron Hofmann, le Docteur Standhartner (ancien ami de Wagner et l'habitué de tous les salons aristocratiques, aussi bien que des cercles artistiques) , Saint-Saëns et moi. Au dîner de l' « Augarten », on était 8 à table : Magne et son mari, Wilczek, la Comtesse Gizycka, née Zamoyska, Seilern, Makart (qui a rapporté de superbes esquisses d'Égypte) , Édouard et moi. Sans verboisement, le Prince Constantin a gracieusement porté mon toast. Wilczek reviendra à Weimar à la mi-mai, et sera de la Ire représentation des « Nibelungen » à Bayreuth. Vous savez que, par ordre, la Ire représentation de « Tristan et Isolde », à Berlin, a été donnée au bénéfice de la grande œuvre de Bayreuth. L'Empereur et l'Impératrice y assistaient du commencement à la fin, et notre Grande-duchesse aussi. La recette était de 5,000 Thaler. Depuis 2 mois, je n'ai pas de lettres de Cosima - nous nous entendons sans phrases ! Elle, Wagner et tout « Wahnfried » m'ont télégraphié le 2 avril.

Je répéterai du fond du cœur et aussi des lèvres, la belle prière polonaise pour tous ceux que j'ai fait pécher, ou n'ai pu empêcher de pécher. Quant à ma réponse à votre lettre « à lire en wagon » - elle ne pourrait s'écrire qu'en sanglots ! Que les bons anges vous protègent !

B.B.

Mercredi soir, 11 octobre 1876, Vienne, « Schottenhof » .

Pendant les 3 jours à Nuremberg, de vendredi à lundi, j'ai éprouvé quelque chose de ce plaisir intime, qui fait que les amoureux ne s'ennuient jamais en tête-à-tête ; car ils parlent toujours d'eux-mêmes. Avec Monsieur Ramann, votre sincère enthousiaste, nous n'avons fait que parler de vous, regarder vos portraits - et remémorer des jours passés, qui durent sempiternellement au fond de mon cœur. Quelques morceaux de piano et une visite au Musée Germanique, dont vous avez vu les commencements dans la maison du Baron von und zu Aufseß, étaient les seuls intermèdes à nos entretiens romains. Ces divertissements d'art et d'archéologie nous ramenaient encore sans cesse à vous.

Lundi, 2 heures de l'après-midi, je suis arrivé à Ratisbonne. L'éditeur Pustet (bien connu au Vatican par ses belles Éditions du missel, du bréviaire, etc.) et Haberl (prêtre et maître de chapelle au dome) continuent dignement l'œuvre de la restauration de la musique dans les églises catholiques, œuvre commencée et soutenue pendant plus de 30 années

par le chanoine Docteur Charles Proske. Votre Patron Saint-Charles l'a bien inspiré en cela - et Ratisbone, bon radeau, reste fidèlement attaché à la barque de Saint-Pierre. Je vous ai dit que la métropole de cette restauration est Ratisbonne. Entreprise un peu avant la Révolution de juillet 1830, elle s'opère lentement mais durablement. Réintégrer le chant grégorien et raviver les offices de musique a cappella de Palestrina, Lassus, Anerio, Vittoria, voilà le hic et le hoc. Selon l'exemple de Proske, mort en 1861, Witt, Haberl et quelques autres se dévouent avec une ardeur toute chrétienne, afin d'atteindre le but de la « Musica divina » - laquelle ne doit pas rester enfouie, comme lettre morte dans les bibliothèques, mais bien se chanter, se publier de nouveau, et résonner dans nos églises. Le « Cäcilienverein », présidé par Witt, a déjà produit de bons résultats pratiques et en produira davantage - si Nos Saintetés, les évêques, et Ses Éminences, les cardinaux, daignent lui prêter un quart d'oreille attentive. Mais la musique ne compte guère dans l'Église - elle y est comme la Cendrillon des Beaux-arts, sans aucune chance d'égaliser ses sœurs, la peinture, la sculpture et l'architecture, qui ont l'espace et le temps pour elles, tandis que la pauvre ne sait que devenir. Malheureusement, Witt est fort souffrant depuis 2 ans. Je regrette de ne l'avoir pas retrouvé à Ratisbonne, et j'aurais pu le chercher à son presbytère de Schatzhofen, village près de Landshut - mais il est, pour raison de santé, à Meran, climat doux, et y passera tout l'hiver.

Édouard m'a montré les dernières lignes de votre lettre. Hélas, je ne suis pas encore parvenu à sourire de mes afflictions - tout en espérant de la miséricorde divine qu'elles cesseront !

B.B.

Peut-être Magne reviendra-t-elle ici, après-demain. Dimanche, je serai à Budapest.

18 mars 1879, Budapest.

À mon retour ici, je trouve votre lettre du 3 au 13 mars. La chaîne continue de vos bienfaits pour moi, depuis 32 années, ne me laisse d'autre liberté que celle de la plus profonde gratitude. Vous m'avez presque défendu d'en parler, et je ne saurais guère l'exprimer comme je la ressens. Avant d'aller à Rome, j'ai déposé, fin septembre ou les premiers jours d'octobre 1861, mon testament écrit de cœur, sans conseil ni consultation quelconque, au « Stadtgericht » de Weimar. Je vous en ai envoyé alors la copie - sur vos observations, relatives à la singularité inopportune de la forme, j'ai déposé un 2^e papier, de quelques lignes seulement, à ce même « Stadtgericht », pour confirmer la disposition principale de mon testament. Elle se réduit simplement à ceci : je vous dois la conservation et l'accroissement de mon avoir - aussi bien que la meilleure part de mon être. Donc, je vous lègue cet avoir - et prie Dieu de disposer de mon être à votre service, en ce monde et en l'autre ! Jamais, je n'ai songé à retirer ou changer ce testament - quand la mort me viendra, j'y ajouterai ma dernière bénédiction pour vous ! Si je meurs avant vous, je vous supplie d'avantager ma bien-aimée fille, Cosima, dans la distribution des objets de ma possession. En regard du Musée de Pest, je maintiens la détermination que je vous ai écrite et répétée verbalement. Point de faste, même dans la générosité - restons simples et vrais, et bornons nos dons au Musée de Budapest, aux objets désignés en novembre 1873, lesquels sont : le sabre qui m'a été remis en plein public, au Théâtre de Pest, en 1840. Le gobelet en or des dames hongroises, dont le nom est inscrit - également donné en 1840. Le piano donné à Beethoven par la maison Broadwood - il resta dans la chambre de Beethoven jusqu'à sa mort, et fut acheté par Monsieur Spina, qui voulut bien m'en faire cadeau de la

fagon la plus amicale. Je n'avais nulle idée de m'approprier une telle relique, et ne l'acceptais que sur l'instance de Spina. Le magnifique pupitre en argent, produit d'une souscription en mon honneur à Vienne, en 1846. La chose n'a abouti que par votre efficace intervention subséquente. Votre merveilleux « Tactstock » en or massif, orné de pierres précieuses. Votre plus merveilleux encrier en platine, de composition si poétique. Plus, serait trop ! Vous savez que je désirais offrir tout de suite ces objets au Musée, après le jubilé de ma cinquantaine de carrière artistique, qu'on a célébré à Budapest en novembre 1873. Vos objections ont été respectées - mais je ne puis changer d'avis à cet égard. Demander un local spécial au Musée pour mes dons me répugne, et me semble même « nicht vornehm » ! Autre chose, si après ma mort, on fait une place à part à ces dons. Vis-à-vis du directeur du Musée, Monsieur de Pulsky, je me trouve un peu embarrassé, à cause de ma promesse d'il y a presque 6 ans. Je suis cependant parfois son « partner » au « whist » - et sa longue expérience des choses de ce monde le rend indulgent !

Pendant que j'étais à Klausenburg, le Prince Constantin, qui passait par Pest, a eu l'aimable attention de me laisser sa carte. La Ire semaine d'avril, je retrouverai Wilczek et son ami à Vienne - si vous avez quelque commission pour eux, veuillez m'en charger.

En Hongrie, tout le monde tâche de secourir les victimes du grand désastre de Szegedin. Le Roi est venu en personne à Szegedin et, dans une très noble proclamation, demande que les sommes considérables, votées pour la prochaine célébration de ses noces d'argent, soient employées au profit de 1,000 et 1,000 infortunés. À Budapest, la souscription en leur faveur a déjà atteint près de 200,000 Florins - presque autant en Angleterre. À Vienne, la Comtesse Andrésy arrange une représentation au théâtre, où la Princesse Metternich et la Comtesse Pallavicini rempliront les principaux rôles. Elle a bien voulu m'inviter à y participer de mes 10 doigts - je me suis excusé, et me bornerai au concert, qui aura lieu ici, mercredi prochain ; on espère que la recette dépassera 7,000 Florins.

Du 2 au 8 avril, je serai au « Schottenhof » , chez ma cousine. Toujours et partout de tout cœur,

Franz Liszt

1er avril 1879, Budapest.

Demain matin, je serai à Vienne, au « Schottenhof » . Le concert de Szegedin, mercredi passé, a réussi - 6,000 et quelques 100 Florins de recette nette. Il paraît que j'ai encore assez proprement joué du piano - ce sera encore à recommencer pour en finir finalement, dans 3 ou 4 jours à Vienne.

Mon évêque de Szathmar me demande une effigie quelconque de Palestrina, lithographie ou photographie, médaille ou gravure. Son médaillon doit figurer grandement sur le fronton de l'académie de musique. Veuillez avoir la bonté de demander à Sgambati d'expédier 1 ou 2 images de Palestrina à Monsieur Kornel Abranyi.

De plein cœur, tout a vos pieds,

Franz Liszt

Matin du 3 avril 1879, Vienne, « Schottenhof » .

Tendrement, merci de vos lettres, vœux, fleurs, prières et communion - pour la fête de Saint-François. Tout cela reste recueilli dans l'intime du cœur ! Revenu hier matin, dans cette chambre, où manque l'ami tutélaire et persévérant qui me garda une inébranlable confiance de même que ma mère - j'ai retrouvé votre photographie sur ma table à écrire. Elle m'incite à devenir meilleur - et à vivre de sorte à bien mourir !

À 1 heure, j'étais à l' « Augarten » . Le Prince Constantin est encore assez souffrant - je ne le reverrai qu'aujourd'hui à dîner. Avec Magne, nous avons tout de suite parlé de vous.

Franz Liszt

Mercredi, 9 avril 1879, Vienne.

Je suis retourné à l' « Augarten » , dimanche soir. Le Prince Constantin m'a dit affectueusement que Franz lui a fait bonne impression. Demain soir, je pars d'ici avec Franz (il va à Giessen, moi à Hanovre) , notre route est la même jusqu'à Leipzig. À Hanovre, je resterai de 6 à 8 jours. La soirée musicale, lundi, chez Andrézy, a parfaitement réussi - l'Empereur et plusieurs Archiducs et Archiduchesses y étaient. Hier soir, la Messe de Gran s'est trouvée pour la 1re fois en pleine lumière - tant par l'excellente exécution, que par le très bienveillant accueil du public. Hier matin, aussi, Hellmesberger, l' « Hofkapellmeister » , a fait très bien chanter à la Chapelle de la « Burg » , mes 2 compositions pour les « Sacramente » de l'Eucharistie et du Mariage. Magne m'a ménagé cette noble surprise - il n'y avait qu'une dizaine d'auditeurs discrets dans la Chapelle. De tout cœur, tout à vos pieds,

Franz Liszt

Mercredi matin, 24 mars 1880, « Schottenhof » , Vienne.

J'ai revu Magne hier matin. Malgré ses nombreuses veilles, ses angoisses, pendant plus d'une semaine, et ses fatigues continuelles - sa mine est bonne, plutôt meilleure que l'année passée. Elle paraît rassurée sur la guérison assez lente de son fils, aux soins duquel elle se consacre entièrement. Par conséquent, elle ne sort pas encore le soir, et ne reçoit qu'un petit nombre de personnes. Le Prince Constantin est venu à mon concert, hier soir, mais nous ne nous sommes pas rencontrés. Demain soir, je retournerai à l' « Augarten » , après l'heure du dîner.

Ci-joint, le programme du concert - l'impression du public était des plus satisfaisantes. L'exécution des « Idéale » et des « Cloches de Strasbourg » , excellente - un peu moins, mais convenable pourtant, celle de la Messe pour voix d'hommes qui, à la répétition, inquiétait plusieurs de mes amis. Le nombreux auditoire s'est montré très bienveillant, et m'a chaleureusement applaudi. Dame Critique se chargea de mettre son eau un peu trouble dans mon vin - je suis aguerri à ses procédés, et ne m'en plains nullement ! Ma cousine vous enverra les articles des principaux journaux.

Ce soir, le « Wagnerverein » m'invite à une soirée musicale, non payante, donnée en mon honneur dans la salle Bösendorfer. Demain, on exécutera ma Messe chorale, écrite au Monte Mario, dans la petite église dédiée aux 9 chœurs des Anges. Le Maître de chapelle de cette église se nomme Böhm, et appartient à l'école Cécilienne de Witt, à Ratisbonne, à laquelle je me rattache volontiers sans prétentions ni obséquiosité. Le chanoine de Lucca, évêque de Palestrina, a nommé le curé Witt, chanoine honoraire du chapitre de Palestrina. En cela, Son Éminence a suivi le bon exemple, donné l'an dernier par le Prince Hohenlohe, à Albano. Le Lundi de Pâques, à la Chapelle de la Cour, Hellmesberger dirigera de nouveau la Messe du couronnement. Elle a pris domicile à Vienne - sa brièveté et sa facilité d'exécution lui profitent.

Je commencerai ma douzaine de visites obligatoires aujourd'hui - par les Metternich ; les Reuss ; Dingelstedt qui a été malade et garde encore sa chambre ; Hellmesberger ; Standhartner. Vos très chères lignes sur Daniela me touchent profondément - ma tendre affection et ma prière lui sont dévolues. Le 4 avril, je pars d'ici pour Weimar.

Jeudi matin, 2 février 1882, « Schottenhof », Vienne.

Je n'ai jamais voyagé en hiver par un temps aussi doux que celui d'hier. Soleil du matin au soir - manteaux et plaids devenaient presque superflus. Le trajet de Venise à Vienne se fait en 18 heures - nous sommes exactement arrivés ici à 10 heures du soir. À la gare m'attendaient Brichta, Standhartner, Bösendorfer et Bülow - qui m'a mené seul dans son fiacre au « Schottenhof ». J'y ai trouvé quelques lignes de bienvenue de Magne, et lui porterai à une heure votre lettre et les objets. Ce soir, concert de Bülow, dont le programme se compose exclusivement des œuvres pour piano de Brahms. Le 8 février, Bülow donnera son concert à Budapest - après, il jouera à Presbourg, etc. Son humeur est des meilleures, et les prodigieux succès de sa Chapelle de Meiningen à Berlin, Hambourg et Leipzig l'ont ragailardi.

En revenant de l' « Augarten », j'acheverai ces lignes.

6 heures du soir :

Magne a l'air mieux portante que l'hiver passé, et paraît un peu engraisée, ce qui ne lui fait pas tort. Notre entretien a été court, à cause de la visite du Comte Gustav von Neipperg. Demain, je dînerai à l' « Augarten », et l'on parlera amplement de Rome. Chez la Comtesse Dönhoff (qui va un peu mieux, mais ne sort pas encore le soir), Bülow a causé en long avec Magne, et lui a fait le franc aveu qu'il n'aimait guère le Prince Constantin Hohenlohe. Celui-ci ne se chagrinerait point de cette privation et s'en dédommagerait aisément partout, à la Cour et en ville ! À moins de pratiquer la charité chrétienne - nul n'est besoin d'aimer beaucoup de personnes ! L'esprit du monde nous conduit nécessairement au dénigrement d'autrui et à l'exagération de nos égoïstes vanités.

Je suis très content des soins attentionnés et intelligents d'Achille. Samedi soir, je serai à Budapest. Demain, je tâcherai de retrouver le Comte Haynald, excessivement occupé par des délégations - et la Princesse Reuss, qui vient de m'écrire aimablement. Vostrissimo Sclavissimo.

Lundi matin, 17 avril 1882, Vienne.

Ma dernière lettre, expédiée de Budapest, était écrite le jour de mon départ de Kalocsa - quelques heures avant le dîner, ou, comme les jours précédents, j'étais assis près du Cardinal. Cette fois, il me parla avec de vifs éloges, sans restriction quelconque, des Causes - ce qui me surprit un peu, car Son Éminence protège ostensiblement les Révérends Pères de la compagnie de Jésus. Néanmoins, il admire beaucoup vos remarquables chapitres sur la situation des évêques. Il en loua l'exactitude, la perspicacité et la profondeur lumineuse, qu'il pouvait apprécier mieux que d'autres - s'étant trouvé, paraît-il, dans un des cas que vous assimilez maîtement, avec ampleur, de façon cardinalice. Ce flatteur et juste éloge vous fera plaisir. J'ajoute un médiant bon mot que je connais depuis plusieurs années - mais n'ai gardé de rentrer, et vous prie de ne pas redire. « Haynald n'est pas ultramontain - mais ultramondain. » Le fait est que Haynald emploie le considérable revenu de son siège archi-épiscopal, 300,000 Florins environ, de la manière la plus édifiante (comme aucun des hauts Prélats de Hongrie) en fondation d'écoles, d'hôpitaux, secours et largesses de toutes sortes. On en profite et glose - c'est le train ordinaire du monde. Les partis de l'opposition conservatrice et destructive reprochent aussi à Haynald son attitude archi-gouvernementale.

Mardi :

Au dîner d'hier, à l'« Augarten », le Prince Constantin brilla par son absence. La fête de la Sainte-Rodolphe est celle du « Kronprinz » - par conséquent, le Grand-Maître était retenu à la Cour. Nous n'étions que 7 à table : les Comtesses Gizycka et Dönhoff, 2 jeunes fils de Hohenlohe et Monsieur Lippe. Celui-ci m'avait porté hier votre aimable billet au « Schottenhof », sans me rencontrer - mais j'irai le trouver à l'Archevêché cet après-midi. Il vient de faire une éclatante conversion américaine.

Le pianiste de la Cour de l'« Augarten », le jeune Godefroi, n'a pas reçu, à ma surprise, mon petit Arbre de Noël. N'y pensez plus car, de Weimar, j'enverrai à Magne les 2 éditions à 2 et à 4 mains. À perpétuité, votre Sclavissimo,

Franz Liszt

Demain soir, je serai à Weimar, et le 27 avril à Bruxelles.

Jeudi, 23 octobre 1884, Weimar.

Hier, au moment d'aller à la Messe, lettre et télégramme de vous me sont arrivés - ils ont accompagné ma prière. Ce m'est un chagrin de vous dire que je ne pourrai rester à Rome, au-delà de 5 à 6 semaines. Il faut que je m'occupe de l'Académie de musique à Budapest - les mois d'hiver sont indiqués pour cela. Je ne voudrais pas manquer à ma tâche cet hiver et, comme les 14 années précédentes, je compte passer le mois de janvier à partir du 15, et les mois de février et mars jusqu'à la Semaine Sainte, à Budapest. On peut trouver que mon séjour là est de peu d'utilité, et je suis assez de cet avis - cependant, j'espère contribuer à diminuer l'ivraie et à faire lever la bonne semence. Donc, je vous prie, très chère « Beschutzerin », de ne faire retenir aucun logis pour moi. Je m'accommoderai soit de l'Hôtel Alibert, soit de l'Hôtel Vittoria, qu'on dit meilleur. Achille me l'avait déjà recommandé - il est à 2 pas

de Saint-Andrea, l'église des Minimes, qui est mon chemin naturel pour venir chez vous. Mon intention était de quitter Weimar avant la mi-octobre. Une de ces indispositions, comme il m'en prend au printemps et en automne chaque année, m'a repris la semaine passée, au moment où je faisais mes paquets. Selon l'assurance d'un excellent médecin, aucun mal organique ne m'a atteint ; je suis seulement sujet à gagner, de loin en loin, des petites fièvres de lassitude ou de surexcitation. Cela n'a rien d'inquiétant - sous le rapport physique, je suis quitte à bon marché de l'existence !

À cause de mon indisposition dont je suis remis, j'ai passé le 22 octobre assez tranquillement. La veille, les Altesses héréditaires m'ont invité à un petit dîner de 7 à 8 couverts.

Monseigneur est encore à Biarritz avec sa fille Elsi, la Grande-duchesse à Heinrichsau. Hier, j'ai dîné en tête-à-tête avec mon excellent ami Gilles. Après, l'héréditaire est venu me voir, ainsi que Beust, etc. - mais je m'étais endormi, et ne me suis réveillé que pour entendre un admirable harpiste, Monsieur Posse et de charmants morceaux de piano d'un jeune compositeur américain, Monsieur Bird. Ces 2 artistes étaient venus exprès de Berlin pour me complimenter à l'entrée de ma 74^e année. La soirée n'a pas été moins paisible, et je me suis mis au lit à 10 heures.

Voici mon prochain itinéraire : samedi, 25 octobre, Nuremberg ; lundi soir, Vienne, « Schottenhof » ; jeudi, 30 octobre, Budapest. Là, je prendrai les dispositions relatives aux 3 visites que, depuis longtemps, j'ai promis de faire : au Comte Géza Zichy, à sa terre de Tetetlen ; à Monsieur l'évêque Schlauch, à la résidence de son diocèse de Szathmar ; et à mon vieil ami, le Comte Alexandre Teleky, à son château de Kolto, sur la frontière de Transylvanie. Ensuite, reviendra nécessairement à Budapest, en route pour Rome, votre umilissimo Sclavissimo,

Franz Liszt

...

Lori Wittgenstein a écrit ici que son mariage sera célébré à Tegernsee, près de Munich - et qu'elle passera sa lune de miel à Paris, avant de revenir à Weimar.

Du Jeudi-Saint jusqu'au Lundi de Pâques, j'étais à Kalocsa chez le Comte Haynald. Revenu hier soir, j'ai trouvé vos 2 très chères lettres. Je reviens à mon portrait. C'est sur la recommandation de Hubert que j'ai posé pour Monsieur Layraud, 1^{er} prix de Rome qui s'annonçait comme un Berlioz de la peinture. Je suis bon gré au Prince Radziwill d'avoir acquis ce portrait. La Princesse Marcelline Czartoryska, née Radziwill, se garderait bien de pendre une effigie de grande dimension de Liszt dans son salon de musique - tout au plus, y admettrait-elle une photographie !

Le Comte Haynald est toujours très occupé et surchargé. Il n'y a de ces sortes de choses qu'on ne lui demande, et quelquefois avec impudence. Le portrait de Son Éminence, peint par Munkácsy, est fort beau, mais un peu vieilli, dit-on.

Mardi prochain, sera à Vienne, « Schottenhof » , votre umilissimo Sclavissimo.

Le couvent bénédictin des Écossais

Accolé à l'église, le complexe d'habitation de « Schottenhof », de l'architecte Joseph Kornhäusel possédant 2 cours intérieures, date de 1835. Franz Liszt demeura quelques années dans ce bel exemple du style « Biedermeier » .

Ces bâtiments abritent aujourd'hui le musée du Couvent des Écossais (« Museum im Schottenstift ») qui possède d'intéressantes collections de tableaux figuratifs de la fin du Moyen-âge ainsi que des instituts universitaires et des restaurants. Le collège voisin compta parmi ses élèves quelques futures personnalités comme l'acteur-dramaturge Johann Nestroy ; Wagner-Jauregg, prix Nobel de médecine ; Viktor Adler, père du marxisme autrichien ; ou encore le célèbre compositeur Johann Strauß.

...

Bienvenue à la « Benediktushaus » : l'hôtel de l'abbaye « Schottenstift », au cœur de Vienne.

L'abbaye « Schottenstift » dirige un hôtel conformément à la tradition de la règle de Saint-Benoît. La « Benediktushaus » propose des petits-déjeuners et est intégrée dans le complexe de bâtiments historiques du cloître des bénédictins, sur la « Freyung ». Elle fut ouverte en 1980 et a été complètement rénovée ces dernières années.

Nos clients apprécient particulièrement le calme absolu qui règne dans les chambres implantées dans l'une des cours intérieures du cloître, ornées d'arbres. C'est pourquoi nous avons renoncé, volontairement et conformément aux désirs de nos clients, à équiper nos chambres de télévision et de radio. Chacun des étages ne comprend que 5 chambres. Les couloirs larges et clairs sont une invitation à la flânerie.

Profitez de ce silence monastique au beau milieu du centre-ville et découvrez l'atmosphère particulière de la « Benediktushaus » .

...

Schottenhof : I. Bezirk - Freyung Nr. 6 ; Schottengasse Nr. 2 ; Helferstorferstraße Nr. 2.

Um 1155 rief der Babenberger Heinrich II. irische Benediktinermönche (« Schotten ») nach Wien. 1418 übergab Albrecht V. das Schottenstift wegen Missständen den Benediktinern aus Melk. 1724 bis 1794 entstand der sich aus mehreren Gebäuden zusammensetzende Komplex des Schottenhofs. Der hinter der Kirche und auf einem großen Teil der Freyung gelegene Klosterfriedhof (« Im Vogelsang ») wurde 1751 aufgelassen. 1826 bis 1832 wurden die meisten Gebäude des ausgedehnten Komplexes, der nun offiziell den Namen « Schottenhof » erhielt, nach Plänen von Josef Kornhäusel umgestaltet beziehungsweise neu erbaut. 1846-1847 ließ das Stift im rechten Winkel zum alten Schottensteigtrakt ein neues Miethaus errichten, 1871 bis 1874 wurde anstelle des Schottensteigtrakts ein neuer Trakt errichtet.

Das Museum im Schottenstift

Da das Schottenstift als eines der wenigen Klöster nie aufgehoben wurde, sind seine Sammlungen von besonderem Interesse. Die schönsten Stücke sind im Museum ausgestellt.

Das Museum ist in den Räumen der ehemaligen Abtwohnung eingerichtet. Kostbarster Schatz sind die Tafeln des sogenannten Schottenaltars, eines Hauptwerks der gotischen Tafelmalerei. Der namentlich leider unbekannte Künstler dürfte aus Nürnberg zugewandert sein. Auf zwei der Tafeln sieht man, wie Wien um 1470 ausgesehen hat : Es sind die ältesten topographischen Darstellungen der Stadt.

Weitere bedeutende Ausstellungsstücke sind eine Tafel des Peter Paul Rubens, frühe niederländische Landschaftsbilder und ein besonders schönes Bild des österreichischen Barockmalers Franz Anton Maulbertsch.

Den Charme des Museums machen auch wertvolle alte Möbel, liturgisches Gerät, kostbare liturgische Gewänder und natürlich Bücher, Handschriften und Urkunden aus.

Gerne planen und organisieren wir für Sie auch private, maßgeschneiderte Führungen - bitte kontaktieren Sie uns dazu hier.

Die Pflege von Kultur gehört zu den klassischen Aufgaben eines Benediktinerklosters.

Die Mönche des Schottenstiftes heißen Sie im Museum herzlich willkommen !

Franz Liszt et l'abbaye bénédictin des Écossais

Der berühmte Musiker Franz Liszt (1811-1886, oberes Bild) hat nicht nur in Wien seine Ausbildung begonnen, sondern kam auch später immer wieder nach Wien zurück. Einerseits gab er hier eigene Konzerte oder besuchte Aufführungen seiner Werke, andererseits besuchte er hier seine Wiener Verwandten.

Unter diesen Verwandten sticht vor allem der Onkel Franz Liszt's, Generalprokurator Doktor Eduard Ritter von Liszt (1817-1879, unteres Bild) , heraus, dem Franz Liszt nach dem Tod seines eigenen Sohnes Daniel (1859) den erblichen Ritterstand übertragen ließ. Doktor Eduard Ritter von Liszt zog 1863 in eine Wohnung im sogenannten « Schottenhof » ein. Selbst sehr kulturinteressiert und musikalisch begabt richtete er in seiner Wohnung einen eigenen Raum ein, der auf Grund der Farbe der Polsterung der Möbel als « Blauer Salon » bekannt wurde. Nachdem Franz Liszt ab 1869 im Rahmen seiner Wien-Aufenthalte regelmäßig bei seinem Onkel wohnte, fanden dort viele musikalische Treffen statt, an denen und andere Richard Wagner, Ludwig Bösendorfer, Sophie Menter und dergleichen teilnahmen.

Nach dem Tode des Generalprokurators und dessen Witwe übernahm der Sohn, Eduard junior, die Wohnung und begann bereits 1936 anlässlich der Feierlichkeiten zum 50-Jahr-Jubiläum des Todestages von Franz Liszt einige Gegenstände nach Ungarn zu verkaufen. Die Wohnung selbst wurde nach dem Tode von Eduard junior ausgeräumt und die noch vorhandenen Einrichtungsgegenstände auf verschiedene Orte aufgeteilt.

Die Ausstellung findet in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Ferenc Liszt Gedenkmuseum in Budapest, dem Burgenländischen Landesmuseum in Eisenstadt und dem Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien statt und versucht die Spuren Franz Liszt's rund um das Schottenstift, seine Aufenthalte in der Wohnung seines Onkels, die Beziehungen zum Konvent der Schottenmönche und das weitere Schicksal des sogenannten « Blauen Salons » darzustellen.

L'abbaye bénédictine et l'église de Notre-Dame des Écossais

Le monastère de « Schottenstift » - Abbaye bénédictine Notre-Dame des Écossais de Vienne.

Lorsque le duc Henri II (Jasomirgott) fonda le monastère en 1155 à Vienne, il fit appel à des moines écossais de sa précédente ville résidentielle de Ratisbonne. Dans l'acte de fondation le plus anciennement conservé datant de l'année 1161, ces moines sont appelés « Scottos », Écossais. Le monastère fut consacré à « Notre-Dame des Écossais », dont la statue se trouve être la plus ancienne statue mariale conservée à Vienne. Elle se trouve dans la chapelle Romane, la chapelle du Saint-Sacrement, accessible depuis l'entrée de la tour des cloches.

Du 6e au 15e siècle, les moines venus d'Irlande, puis plus tard d'Écosse, influencèrent le développement de la culture chrétienne européenne. Connus pour leur foi personnelle forte et leur profonde formation, ils pèrègrinèrent à travers toute l'Europe afin de répandre la foi chrétienne et fonder monastères et hôpitaux. Ils tinrent aussi des hospices pour pèlerins se rendant à Rome ou en Terre Sainte. À partir de l'année 1310, l'existence à Vienne d'une école du monastère des Écossais est attestée. Cette tradition perdure jusqu'à aujourd'hui avec le célèbre « Schottengymnasium ». Depuis la fondation de l'Université de Vienne, en 1365, plusieurs moines viennois y exercèrent en tant que recteurs ou professeurs. Différents privilèges furent concédés au monastère comme le droit d'asile, c'est-à-dire l'accueil et la protection d'une personne poursuivie politiquement ou coupable d'un délit jusqu'à ce qu'un accord de justice soit conclu. C'est pourquoi la place devant le monastère s'appelle encore aujourd'hui « Freyung » (« frei » signifiant libre). Cette tradition trouve son origine dans l'Ancien Testament, lorsque le peuple juif pris possession de la Terre Promise et fonda des villes d'asile afin de permettre aux personnes poursuivies d'échapper à la vengeance du sang.

Les moines iro-écossais n'abandonnèrent jamais leur étroite appartenance à leur patrie d'origine. Leur accroissement venait des abbayes irlandaises. C'est de là aussi que leur venait un soutien financier. Lorsque le Pape Martin V les obligea à accepter des personnes autres qu'iro-écossaises, les moines refusèrent. Ils préférèrent abandonner la maison de Vienne et retourner dans le monastère Saint-Jacques de Ratisbonne. C'est en 1418 que les 1ers moines de langue allemande investirent les lieux. Mais bientôt (aux 16e et 17e siècles) de nouveaux obstacles se dressèrent entravant le développement de la vie spirituelle du monastère : pendant la Réformation, le nombre des frères fut réduit au minimum, l'abbaye fut également lourdement taxée pour l'effort de guerre contre l'invasion des Turcs.

L'église Romane et Gothique était pratiquement d'un tiers plus grand que l'église actuelle. Après plusieurs incendies et tremblements de terre dévastateurs, l'église fut, de 1638 à 1648, reconstruite plus petite et Baroquée, ce qui se reconnaît aisément aux peintures des autels ainsi qu'aux riches appareillages des voutes. L'abbaye vécut sous l'abbatit de l'Abbé Carl Fetzer (1705-1750) un sommet de son histoire et s'enrichit sur les plans tant spirituels qu'économiques.

Les possessions actuelles de la riche bibliothèque ainsi que du musée viennent principalement de cette époque. Le chef-d'œuvre du musée est cependant un triptyque du « Schottenmeister » représentant des scènes de la Passion du Christ et de la vie de la Mère de Dieu. Avec sa haute valeur artistique, ce triptyque est également remarquable par le fait qu'il nous donne la plus ancienne représentation topographique de Vienne au 15^e siècle. Au 19^e siècle, en raison du mauvais état des bâtiments, le monastère fut partiellement rebâti. L'église fut également rénovée à l'intérieur dans un style néo-Baroque (notamment les tableaux au niveau de la voûte, de l'autel majeur et de la mosaïque) . En 1994, une rénovation globale permit de s'adapter aux nouvelles exigences liturgiques. Le grand orgue et l'orgue de chœur furent reconstruits à neuf.

Les moines s'acquittent de l'office choral (ouvert au public) , de la lecture spirituelle et du travail à l'école et dans les différentes paroisses du monastère. La communauté compte actuellement 26 frères. L'engagement des Iers moines iro-écossais pour l'honneur de Dieu reste l'option fondamentale de notre communauté, telle que nous la trouvons formulée par Saint-Benoît dans sa Règle :

« UT IN OMNIBUS GLORIFICETUR DEUS »

(Qu'en toutes choses, Dieu soit glorifié !)

...

Les origines de l'abbaye Schottenstift remontent à l'année 1155. À cette époque, le duc Henri II d'Autriche (Jasomirgott) fit venir à Vienne des moines iro-écossais du monastère Saint-Jacques de Ratisbonne. Ces moines quittèrent Vienne en 1418 mais le cloître germanophone conserva le nom de « Schotten » (écossais) .

Le « Museum im Schottenstift » (musée du « Schottenstift » , accessible depuis la boutique du cloître) , abrite l'imposant autel des Maîtres écossais, de style Gothique tardif, qui présente la plus ancienne vue de la ville de Vienne qui soit topographiquement correcte.

Nos clients sont invités aux services et aux heures de prière de l'église écossaise. La « Benediktushaus » elle-même comprend une chapelle.

La chapelle Romane de l'entrée de la « Benediktushaus » est la plus ancienne partie conservée de l'église et un lieu de culte au rayonnement méditatif considérable. Il est possible de la visiter.

Dès le seuil de notre porte, l'offre culturelle très riche de Vienne vous attend. Le « Hofburg » , le « Burgtheater » et l'Hôtel-de-ville ne sont qu'à quelques minutes à pied de la « Benediktushaus » , et le trajet jusqu'à la cathédrale Saint-Étienne vous permet de faire une courte promenade à travers le centre-ville de Vienne. Les monuments et lieux culturels les plus importants du centre sont tous très bien accessibles à pied.

La « Benediktushaus » est située juste à côté des sièges de différentes sociétés, ministères, lieux de formation et du

bâtiment principal de l'Université de Vienne, qui est étroitement relié à l'abbaye du « Schottenstift » , depuis 1365.

...

Le « Schottenstift » , nom complet : « Benediktinerabtei unserer Lieben Frau zu den Schotten » (Abbaye bénédictine de Notre-Dame des Écossais) est une abbaye au centre de Vienne fondée en 1155 quand Henri II Jasomirgott appela des moines irlandais et écossais à Vienne. Ces moines ne venaient cependant pas directement des îles Britanniques, mais de l'abbaye Saint-Jacques, près de Ratisbonne.

Elle dépend de la congrégation bénédictine d'Autriche.

Au Haut Moyen-âge, les moines irlandais étaient réputés pour leur œuvre missionnaire. En latin, l'Irlande fut appelée « Scotia Maior » et, dans les pays germaniques, ces moines furent souvent appelés Écossais, les monastères et abbayes fondés furent alors des « Schottenklöster » . Dans l'acte de fondation, Henri II Jasomirgott promettait de n'appeler que des moines « irlando-écossais » .

L'ancien margrave Henri II prend le titre de duc, en 1156. Il quitte alors Klosterneuburg pour Vienne qui devient sa nouvelle ville de résidence. Par conséquent, il a besoin d'une abbaye. Au Moyen-âge, les monastères et abbayes ne furent pas uniquement des lieux de prière mais également d'importants trésors du savoir. Par la fondation d'un monastère, le seigneur avait accès à une bonne administration, une bibliothèque, un hôpital et à des prêtres pour assurer la Messe dans sa nouvelle ville de résidence. Les « Écossais » participent également à la fondation de l'Université, en 1356.

La nouvelle abbaye reçoit des privilèges abondants. La Ire construction débute en 1160, la consécration a lieu vers 1200. Les moines de l'époque construisaient leur abbaye à l'extérieur de l'enceinte viennoise. Un hospice destiné aux pèlerins et croisés qui passaient par Vienne sur leur route vers Jérusalem est rajouté.

La Ire église de l'abbaye est construite en style Roman avec une abside. Quand Henri Jasomirgott meurt en 1177, il est enterré dans la nouvelle église, appelée « Église des Écossais » . En 1276, l'ancienne abbaye est détruite dans un incendie qui ravage Vienne.

Dans le cadre de la réforme de Melk, Albert V enlève l'abbaye aux Écossais en 1418 pour la donner aux bénédictins. Le nom d' « Écossais » était cependant déjà établi et a perduré.

À la fin de l'époque Gothique, on installa dans l'Église un nouveau Maître-autel. Les volets dont une « Déploration du Christ » sont conservés au Palais du Belvédère, et le reste au Musée des Bénédictins de l'Abbaye. Le peintre, encore anonyme, est ainsi appelé le Maître de l'Autel de l'Église des Bénédictins de Vienne.

L'œuvre littéraire du Maître d'école des Écossais, Wolfgang Schmelztl, est datée du 16e siècle, son successeur fut Johannes Rasch.

La foudre avait détruit une tour de l'église en 1638, une occasion pour Andrea Allio l'Ancien, son cousin Andrea Allio le Jeune et Sylvestre Carlone d'entreprendre une restructuration complète de l'édifice. Le tailleur de pierre impérial Peter Concorz est chargé des travaux pour lesquels il achète une carrière à Kaisersteinbruch. Lors de ces travaux, la longueur de l'église fut réduite et elle ne fut plus adjacente à la nef. Une nouvelle image d'autel fut créée par Joachim von Sandrart à l'époque Baroque qui se trouve aujourd'hui dans la salle des prélats. Au bout du siège de Vienne par les Turcs, l'église est de nouveau rénovée. Les tours Baroques n'étaient pas très hautes, il y a eu certains projets à ce sujet, mais aucun ne fut réalisé.

Vers 1700, le grand musicien Baroque Johann Joseph Fux est organiste de l'abbaye. Vers 1773-1774, une nouvelle maison du prieuré est construite sur le territoire du cimetière ouvert pour abriter l'école d'Andreas Zach. Le bâtiment ressemblait à une commode et fut appelé quotidiennement « Schubladkastenhaus ». À côté se trouvait l'hôtel « Römischer Kaiser » où une chanson de Franz Schubert fut entendue pour la 1re fois.

Un décret impérial crée, en 1807, l'école privée « Schottengymnasium ». Entre 1826 et 1832, les maisons autour de l'abbaye sont transformées ou reconstruites par Joseph Kornhäusel, surtout du côté de la « Freyung ». Les Maîtres de « Kaisersteinbruch » recevaient de nouveaux ordres comme des nouveaux escaliers en pierre impériale. Dans les années 1880, l'église est à nouveau modifiée ; des peintures murales de Julius Schmid ainsi qu'un nouvel autel, d'après les plans d'Heinrich Ferstel avec une mosaïque de Michael Rieser, sont ajoutés.

Dans la cour se trouve une Notre-Dame noire, une œuvre de Peter Nobile de 1825. La fontaine avec la statue du fondateur Henri II Jasomirgott est une œuvre de Sebastian Wagner.

Le musée de l'abbaye a été rénové en 2004-2005. S'y trouve entre autres l'« autel des Maîtres écossais », d'environ 1470, une œuvre importante du style Gothique tardif ainsi qu'une importante source visuelle pour l'histoire de Vienne à cause des vues sur la ville y présentes.

...

D'un jaune impérial (hérité de Marie-Thérèse et du château de Schönbrunn), l'église des Écossais doit son nom à la confrérie ecclésiastique qui s'y établit dès le milieu du 12e siècle, sous l'impulsion du duc Babenberg, Henri de Jasomirgott. Plusieurs fois modifiée, l'église n'acquies sa forme définitive et son intérieur Baroque assez Rococo qu'à la fin du siècle dernier. Cette église abrite aujourd'hui de très jolies fresques au plafond, relatant la « Passion du Christ », et la plus vieille statue de la Vierge datant du 12e siècle.

...

The « Schottenstift » (Scottish Abbey), formally called « Benediktinerabtei unserer Lieben Frau zu den Schotten » (Benedictine Abbey of Our Dear Lady of the Scots), is a Roman Catholic monastery founded in Vienna, in 1155, when Henry II of Austria brought Irish monks to Vienna. The monks did not come directly from Ireland, but came instead

from Scots Monastery in Regensburg, Germany. Since 1625, the abbey has been a member of the Austrian Congregation, now within the Benedictine Confederation.

In the early Middle-Ages, Irish monks were actively involved in missionary work. Ireland was known in Latin as « Scotia Major » ; therefore, in German, Irish monks were called « Schotten » (Scots) or « Iroschotten » . The monasteries that they founded were called « Schottenklöster » . In the foundation documents of the « Schottenstift » , Henry II specified that it was to be occupied exclusively by these « Iroschotten » (« Solos elegimus Scottos ») .

Henry II was elevated from the rank of Margrave (« Markgraf ») to that of Duke (« Herzog ») , in 1156. He moved his residence from Klosterneuburg to Vienna and required a monastery for his new city. In the Middle-Ages, monasteries were not only places for prayer, but also and above all, repositories of knowledge. The foundation of a monastery gave the ruler support for his administration (for example, schools to educate competent scribes) . It also provided a library, a hospice and old age home, architects, educated men, and priests to conduct services in the new ducal city. The « Schotten » were also involved with the University of Vienna, which was founded in 1365.

Henry granted the new monastery extensive privileges. Construction of the 1st monastery started in 1160, and the structure was consecrated in 1200. The monastery was outside the city walls of Vienna. The monks also built a hospice for pilgrims and crusaders, who often passed through Vienna on their way to Jerusalem.

The 1st church was a 3 aisled Romanesque pillar church with a single apse. Henry II was buried there upon his death, in 1177.

A fire, in the year 1276, destroyed the cloister and many other buildings in Vienna.

In 1418, Duke Albert V seized the cloister during the Melker Reform, an attempt to revive the original ideals of Benedictine monasticism, and settled a community of Benedictines in their place. These new residents, however, continued to be known as the « Schotten » .

In the middle of the 15th Century, the monastery was distinguished through the literary activities of its school Master, Wolfgang Schmeltzl, and his successor, Johannes Rasch.

The collapse of the tower, struck by a lightning bolt in 1638, was seized as an opportunity to completely rebuild the church, a project undertaken by the architects Andrea d'Allio the Younger and Silvestro Carlone. The church was somewhat shortened, and the tower no longer stood directly beside the basilica. Joachim von Sandrart provided the church with a new altar piece, which today is kept in the prelates' hall. After the Turkish siege, the church was restored. As the Baroque west tower was barely higher than the façade itself, its extension has often been proposed, but this has never come to fruition.

Around 1700, the great Baroque musician Johann Joseph Fux was the organist at the « Schottenstift » .

In 1773 and 1774, a new priory, with school, was built by Andreas Zach in the grounds of an open-air cemetery. As it resembled a piece of furniture, it became popularly known as the « Schubladkastenhaus » (the chest-of-drawers house) . Directly next door, stood the Hotel « Römischer Kaiser», where the first public performance of a song by Franz Schubert was held.

In 1807 the « Schottengymnasium » , an institute for secondary education, was founded by Imperial decree.

Around 1830, the auxiliary buildings of the Abbey, in particular those that bordered on the Freyung, were renovated and partially rebuilt by Joseph Kornhäusel.

In the 1880's, the church was restored and partially renovated. From this period, date the ceiling paintings by Julius Schmid, and a new high-altar, built from sketches by Heinrich von Ferstel, with a mosaic by Michaël Rieser.

In the court, there is a « Schwarze Muttergottes » (a « Black Madonna ») , designed in 1825 by Peter Nobile. The fountain, with a statue of Henry II, is the work of Sebastian Wagner.

The museum has been re-installed twice in recent history, in 1994-1995 and in 2004-2005. It contains, among other notable items, the « Schottenmeisteraltar » , from around 1470, which is not only a significant work of late- Gothic art, but also an important historical source, on account of its views of the city.

The « Schottenstift » is located on the « Freyung » (Freyung Nr. 6, A-1010 Wien) .

...

Um 1155 berief Markgraf Heinrich II. Jasomirgott irische Benediktinermönche aus dem Sankt-Jakobs-Kloster in Regensburg (wo er als Herzog von Bayern residiert hatte) nach Wien und stattete sie mit Grundbesitz auf dem sogenannten Steinfeld außerhalb der Stadtmauern (vom Tiefen Graben bis zur Burgfriedensgrenze am Alsbach) zur Erbauung von Kirche und Kloster sowie mit verschiedenen Gerechtigkeiten aus. Da Irland damals Neu-Schottland genannt wurde (Scotia minoris im Gegensatz zu Scotia maioris) , bürgerte sich im Volksmund die Bezeichnung « Schotten » ein.

Der älteste echte Stiftsbrief stammt vom 22. April 1161 (der Stiftsbrief von 1158 ist eine Fälschung aus der Zeit von 1258-1260, ebenso Urkunden von 1161 mit der angeblichen Schenkung der Pankrazkapelle) . Hierbei bestätigte Heinrich II. seine Stiftung und bestimmte das Schottenstift zur Begräbnisstätte für sich und seine Familie. Er ließ eine kleine Kirche, ein Kloster sowie ein Spital für erkrankte Kreuzfahrer errichten. Mit der Übergabe der Stiftung unterstellte er den Mönchen die Kirche Maria am Gestade (sie wurde 1303 gegen die Ulrichskirche eingetauscht) , die Peterskirche, die Ruprechtskirche und die Pankrazkapelle. 1181 wurde die autonome Gerichtsbarkeit verliehen, 1200 erfolgte die erste schriftliche Besitzbestätigung. Die Abtei erhielt auch die pfarrherrlichen Rechte über einen Teil der Stadt und ihrer Umgebung, was immer wieder zu Konflikten mit Sankt Stephan führte. Außerdem bekamen sie das Asylrecht, das anderen Wiener Kirchen erst unter Leopold VI. gewährt wurde, und das Recht der freien Abtwahl.

Heinrich II. hatte auch an das leibliche Wohl der Mönche gedacht und ließ ihnen Speise und Trank aus der Hofküche bringen. Die Überbringung der Nahrungsmittel erregte große Neugier in der Wiener Bevölkerung. Wurden anfangs die Speisenträger nur angehalten und ausgefragt, versuchten Neugierige bald die Deckel von den Töpfen zu heben. Daraufhin wurde die Naturalabgabe durch eine regelmäßige Zahlung ersetzt, « damit man nit wissen soll, was in seiner Kuchl auf seiner fürstlichen Gnaden Leib gekocht wird ». Aus dieser Zeit stammt das Wiener Wort « Häferlgucker ». Im Jahr 1280 wurde die Geldabfindung von Rudolf I. aufgehoben und den Mönchen das Patronat der Pfarre Gaunersdorf (heute Gaweinstal) als Ersatz überlassen.

Das erste Kloster aus der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts dürfte bereits bald durch ein größeres mit einer dreischiffigen Kirche ersetzt worden sein. Da sich der Bau aus nicht überlieferten Gründen in die Länge zog, konnte das Kloster erst 1200 durch Bischof Wolfger von Ellenbrechtskirchen geweiht werden. Bis dahin stand den Mönchen nur ein kleines Kirchlein an der Stelle des sogenannten Patronatshauses (Freyung 7) zur Verfügung. 1771 wurde hier ein Grab gefunden, das man für das Grab Heinrichs II. hält. Es enthielt einen Mann mit gebrochenen Schenkel (Heinrich II. war durch einen Sturz vom Pferd umgekommen) und zwei Frauen (zweite Gattin Theodora und Tochter Agnes). Wahrscheinlich war der Herzog nach seinem Tod wohl nur provisorisch beigesetzt worden, da die Stiftskirche noch nicht fertiggestellt war. Aus Jans Enenkels Reimchronik ist zu erfahren, daß sich in der Stiftskirche ein Stein mit dem Bild des Herzogs befand :

« Und noch hewt zu den Scoten ist begraben
sein Schein in ein Stein gehauen
der mitten in dem Minster stat. »

Durch häufige Umbauten (auch bedingt durch Brände) war das Herzogsgrab jedoch in Vergessenheit geraten. Heute befindet es sich in der Krypta der Stiftskirche.

In der Stiftskirche fand auch die Schwertleite (Vorform des Ritterschlages) der jungen Herzöge statt. Besonders bemerkenswert war jene, die im Jahr 1200 zu Pfingsten stattfand. Als das Schwert Leopolds VI. des Glorreichen von Bischof Wolfger von Ellenbrechtskirchen gesegnet wurde, waren unter den hohen Gästen auch der Kardinalerzbischof von Mainz und der Erzbischof von Salzburg anwesend. Noch glanzvoller soll die Schwertleite zu Maria Lichtmess im Jahr 1232 gewesen sein : Hier wurden neben Friedrich II. dem Streitbaren 200 junge Männer durch Bischof Gebhard von Passau zu Rittern geschlagen. Nach der Zeremonie zog man mit dem Herzog an der Spitze zum festlich geschmückten Turnierplatz in Penzing.

1185 erhielten die « Schotten » von Papst Lucius III. das Recht, Reisende und fremde Personen, die in Wien gestorben waren, sowie Leute des Herzogs und Mitbrüder in ihrer Klostergruft zu bestatten. Als nach der Schlacht auf dem Marchfeld (26. August 1278) Kaiser Rudolf I. die Leiche seines Gegners Ottokar II. Přemysl nach Wien bringen ließ, wurde sie zuerst im Schottenstift aufgebahrt, wofür Königin Anna, die Gemahlin Rudolfs I., eine Purpurdecke stiftete. Danach wurde die Leiche einbalsamiert, dreißig Tage lang im Kapitelhaus der Minoriten ausgestellt und danach über Znaim nach Prag überführt.

1313 wurde dem Kloster von Elisabeth, der Witwe Albrechts I. das Recht eingeräumt, jedes Jahr zum Georgitag 30 Fuder Salz von Hallstadt zollfrei einzuführen. Dafür hatten die Mönche für sie und ihren Gemahl jeden Jahrestag zu beten (Vigil und Seelamt) .

Bereits 1235 beauftragte Papst Gregor X. die Äbte von Heiligenkreuz und Lilienfeld sowie den Propst von Klosterneuburg, das Schottenkloster zu visitieren und gegebenenfalls Abt Dirmicus aus dem Amt zu entfernen. Die Mönche sollen zu dieser Zeit weder enthaltsam gelebt noch Wissenschaften und Künste gefördert haben. Auch soll ihre Gastfreundschaft zu wünschen übrig gelassen haben. Außerdem hielten sie an ihren Sitten und Gewohnheiten sowie ihrer Sprache fest und standen der Wiener Bevölkerung verständnislos gegenüber. Darüber hinaus kamen sie ihren übrigen Pflichten nur mehr bedingt nach und verwalteten ihr Vermögen schlecht. Immer wieder kam es daher zu Konflikten mit den Herzögen von Österreich. Da die Mönche offenbar ihr Recht des Blutbannes über Stiftsangehörige missbraucht hatten, wurde es ihnen von Albrecht III. entzogen und dem Stadtrichter übertragen.

Als die « Schotten » Kirche und Kloster verfallen ließen und sogar Turmglocken und Ornate verpfändeten, erwirkte Albrecht V. am 17. Jänner 1418 die päpstliche Vollmacht zu einer Generalvisitation. Die Mönche des durch einen Brand 1413 zusätzlich beschädigten Klosters lehnten dies mit der Begründung ab, nur Schotten dürften ihr Kloster betreten. Da der Herzog darauf bestand, resignierte Abt Thomas III. am 9. August 1418 und erklärte sich bereit, gegen Aushändigung eines Reisegeldes und der Zusicherung von freiem Geleit, Wien zu verlassen und sich mitsamt seinen Mitbrüdern ins Stammkloster nach Regensburg zurückzuziehen. Albrecht ging darauf ein und übertrug die Gottesdienste den Minoriten. Durch den Abzug der « Schotten » gingen viele Urkunden verloren. Bereits 1418 übergab Albrecht V. das Kloster den Benediktinern aus Melk, das infolge einer Neuorganisation 1432 alle Rechte zurück erhielt. Obwohl Maria Stuart später bei Rudolf II. intervenierte, kamen die « Schotten » nicht mehr nach Wien zurück. Noch auf dem Basler Konzil versuchte das Regensburger Sankt-Jakobs-Kloster, die Oberaufsicht über das Wiener Haus zurückzuerhalten. Nach einem langen Prozess verloren sie jedoch 1448 sämtliche Rechte am Kloster, das nun dem Passauer Bischof und ab 1480 dem neu gegründeten Wiener Bistum unterstellt wurde. Die Bezeichnung Schottenstift hat sich jedoch bis heute erhalten.

Unter den Benediktinern wurden die verpfändeten Güter eingelöst und die beschädigten Gebäude repariert. Das Kloster kam nun zu neuer Blüte : Abt Nikolaus, der erste Benediktinerabt, und seine Nachfolger legten viel Wert auf Unterricht und holten zahlreiche Gelehrte ins Kloster. In dieser Zeit erhielt es viele Zuwendungen von Wohltätern, die keine Gegenleistung forderten. Zum Beispiel unterrichtete Doktor Urban von Melk, der im Stephansdom begraben liegt, mehrere Jahre lang unentgeltlich Theologie, es wurden Gebäudeteile errichtet beziehungsweise deren Errichtung finanziert, aber auch Bücher und Altäre gespendet. Sogar Weingärten und Häuser wurden dem Kloster überlassen. Im Konflikt zwischen Kaiser Friedrich III. und seinem Bruder Albrecht VI. kam es erneut zu Problemen, da viele Gelehrte Wien verließen. Von den 103 Professoren lasen nur mehr 43. Außerdem wurden Besitzungen des Klosters von Söldnern verwüstet. Aus einer Urkunde des Jahres 1459 geht hervor, daß sowohl der Kaiser als auch der Bürgermeister und der Rat der Stadt Wien dem Kloster Entschädigungen zukommen ließen.

Unter den Äbten Hieronymus (1461-1466) , Johannes VI. von Lambach (1466-1467) und Matthias Fink (1467-1475) konnte das Schottenstift seinen Grundbesitz deutlich vermehren. Abt Mathias Fink, der auch Geheimschreiber Kaiser

Friedrichs war und großes Ansehen genoss, legte jedoch viel Wert auf Prunk. So ließ er sich zum Beispiel immer von dreißig Reitern begleiten, wenn er auf der Burg erschien. Er stürzte das Kloster in solche Schulden, daß er 1475 seine Abtwürde verlor und in Haft genommen wurde. Später konnte er entkommen und nach Ungarn fliehen.

1488 kam es erneut zu einem großen Brand, der in der Stadt etwa hundert Häuser vernichtete. Durch die enorme Hitze schmolzen sogar die Glocken und mehrere Mauern stürzten ein. Am 27. Mai 1488 kam es während des Kirchweihfestes zu einer Auseinandersetzung zwischen Bediensteten des Stiftes und königlich ungarischen Viehhirten. Als Bürger einschritten, kam es zu einem Handgemenge, bei dem ein ungarischer Hirte ums Leben kam. Daraufhin ließ der ungarische Stadthauptmann mehrere Priester und Stiftsdienner festnehmen. König Matthias Corvinus wurde berichtet, daß in Wien ein Aufstand gegen seine Herrschaft ausgebrochen sei. Er wollte daraufhin Abt und Mönche zusammengebunden in die Donau werfen lassen, ließ sich aber vom Bischof von Großwardein (heute Oradea, Rumänien) besänftigen. In der Folge kam Corvinus selbst nach Wien, um die Untersuchungen zu leiten. Er vernahm persönlich die Gefangenen und überzeugte sich von der Unschuld der Mönche.

Nach dem Ende der Ungarnherrschaft verbesserte sich die finanzielle Lage des Klosters zunehmend. Auch konnten die Wissenschaften wieder stark gefördert werden. Unter dem Abt Benedictus Chelidonus (1518-1521), der mit Dürer befreundet war, gab es einen außerordentlichen Andrang an Schülern. Es wurden auch Schauspiele aufgeführt, die von der Hofgesellschaft außerordentlich gelobt wurden. Durch die Reformation gingen die Schülerzahlen bald wieder merklich zurück. In die Zeit von 1542 bis 1550 fällt die schriftstellerische Tätigkeit des Schottenschulmeisters Wolfgang Schmeltzl, der durch seinen « Lobspruch der Stat Wienn » (1548) in weiten Kreisen bekannt wurde. Unter ihm wurden erstmals Dramen in deutscher Sprache aufgeführt. Sein Nachfolger war der gelehrte Schulmeister und Organist Johann Rasch. Auch rege Bautätigkeit setzte wieder ein: Der Schottenhof, der ursprünglich hinter der Kirche lag, erstreckte sich in den folgenden Jahren bis an die Bastei beziehungsweise mit seiner Hauptfront von der Kirche bis zum Schottentor und nahm die ganze nördliche Seite der heutigen Schottengasse ein.

Als die Osmanen zum ersten Mal Wien belagerten (Erste Türkenbelagerung - 1529), flüchteten die Mönche nach Passau. Nur ein Priester blieb zurück, er wurde jedoch umgebracht, als er sich zu weit aus der Stadt hinaus wagte. Im Kloster hausten nun Soldaten, die es beraubten und Bibliothek und Archiv verwüsteten. Selbst die Kirche wurde geplündert und auch der Klostergarten blieb nicht verschont. Als nach der Belagerung verboten wurde, außerhalb einer 50 Klafter-Zone vor der Stadt Häuser wiederherzustellen, verlor das Kloster mehrere Bauten.

Erst unter Abt Wolfgang Traunsteiner (1541-1562) scheint sich das Kloster wieder vollständig erholt zu haben. Zu dieser Zeit arbeiteten fünf Brüder im Konvent, weitere waren außerhalb mit der Seelsorge oder der Administration von Klostergütern betraut. In einer Urkunde aus dem Jahr 1566 werden Besitzungen des Klosters aufgezählt :

« anbau und äcker auf der Alserstrass, zu Sankt Ulrich, Stämersdorf, Gumpendorf bei 200 Joch, Weingartbau zu Enzersdorf, Prun, Pettersdorff, in der Mauer, Grintzing, Nußdorf, Döbling, Ottakring, Dornbach, Hernals, Sankt Ulrich, bei der Stadt vor dem Schottentor und Staimertorf, Wiesen zu Ottakring, Schwechat, Achau, Münchendorf, Laxenburg, einen Wald zu Dornbach, einen Hof zu Sankt Pankraz samt Kapelle »

Eine andere Urkunde, in der nach dem Tod des Abtes Johannes IX. Schretel (1562-1583) das Inventar aufgelistet wird, zählt zwanzig Melkkühe, zehn Kälber, einen Ochsen, zwei Stiere, 15 alte Schweine, zwölf Ferkel und einen Geißbock auf. Weiters wurden 3.000 Eimer Wein und eine große Menge an Weizen, Mehl und Hafer verzeichnet. Die im Haus vorhandenen Textilien (Tischtücher, Vorhänge, Handtücher und Bettzeug) wurden allerdings als alt und zerrissen vermerkt. An Bargeld wurden 135 Gulden und 20 Kreuzer vorgefunden, weiters besaß das Kloster Schuldbriefe in der Höhe von mehr als 2.500 Gulden. Diese waren allerdings zum Großteil uneinbringlich und wurden mit Anmerkungen wie « nichts einzubringen, längst verstorben », « zahlt nichts », « ist nichts », « hats ausgebeten », « ihm geschenkt » oder « ist arm, hat nichts zu zahlen » versehen.

Als man Abtes Johannes IX. Schretel beisetzte, wurde sein Grabstein neben dem Sakramentshäuschen aufgerichtet. Ein Zimmernmannsknecht versteckte sich nach der Arbeit in der Kirche, um ins Sakramentshäuschen einzubrechen und die wertvolle Monstranz und den goldenen Kelch zu stehlen. Der Organist Johann Rasch berichtet, daß er den Wein, der sich im Kelch befand, austrank und dabei einige Weintropfen auf seinen Rock fielen, deren Flecken er nicht mehr entfernen konnte. Als er die erbeuteten Gegenstände einem Händler anbot, erstattete dieser Anzeige. Daraufhin wurde der Dieb mitsamt seinem weinbefleckten Rock am 17. Dezember 1583 auf der Gänseweide zu Erdberg verbrannt.

Im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde die Unterrichtssprache der Schottenschule auf Deutsch umgestellt. Sie wurde jedoch bald darauf zugesperrt und erst im nächsten Jahrhundert wieder eröffnet. In den Jahren 1642 bis 1648 wurde die Schottenkirche in ihrer damaligen Gestalt erbaut, womit die Bauzeit in die letzten Jahre des dreißigjährigen Krieges fällt.

Am 14. Juli 1683, dem ersten Tag der sogenannten « Türkenbelagerung », brach im Schottenstift eine verheerende Feuersbrunst aus, die die Stadt in höchste Gefahr brachte. Die Restaurierungsarbeiten wurden erst 1690 abgeschlossen.

1724-1794 entstand der sich aus mehreren Gebäuden zusammensetzende neue Komplex des Schottenhofs. Der hinter der Kirche und auf einem großen Teil der Freyung gelegene Klosterfriedhof, der den Namen « Im Vogelsang » führte, wurde 1751 aufgelassen. Im Zuge der Erweiterung nach 1720 entworfenen Plänen ließ Abt Benno Pointner (1765-1807) auf einem Teil des Friedhofs beziehungsweise dem nach dem Umbau und der Verkleinerung der Kirche (1638-1648) freigewordenen Areal das Prioratshaus errichtet (Schublackkastenhaus) .

Am 24. März 1806 erhielt Abt Benno Pointner ein Landesregierungsdekret, das die unverzügliche Errichtung eines Gymnasiums befahl. Eine Kommission suchte am 28. Mai des selben Jahres einen geeigneten Bauplatz. Der ausgewählte Ort wurde für bestens geeignet erachtet, da er außerordentlich ruhig war, den Schülern durch das Kloster einen bequemen Weg zur Kirche bot und sich die Lehrer nicht auf fremden Grund zu begeben brauchten. Am 16. Jänner 1807 befahl der österreichische Kaiser Franz I. trotz Bedenken mancher Behörden den Bau der Schule. Noch bevor der Bau beginnen konnte, verstarb Abt Benno Pointner. Obwohl es dadurch zu Verzögerungen kam, konnte das Schottengymnasium (Gymnasium zu den Schotten) am 4. November 1807 eröffnet werden.

Im Französisch-österreichischen Krieg (1809) lagerten in den Höfen des Schottenstifts zwei- bis dreihundert Soldaten, für deren Verpflegung das Kloster zu sorgen hatte. Der Kreuzgang wurde als Magazin adaptiert, in dem sogar eine Bäckerei

untergebracht wurde. Trotz des hohen Schadens rüstete das Stift das vierte Bataillon der Wiener Freiwilligen, das an der Schlacht von Ebelsberg erfolgreich teilnahm, fast ausschließlich aus Stiftungsgeldern aus. Um dies finanzieren zu können, opferte man große Teile des Silbergeräts. Später wurden die Klosterweine von den Franzosen beschlagnahmt. Der damalige Abt, Andreas Wenzel (1807-1831), gehörte auch der Abordnung an, die Napoleon in Schönbrunn um Schutz für das von den kaiserlichen Truppen geräumte Wien bat.

1826 bis 1832 wurden die meisten Gebäude des ausgedehnten Komplexes, der nun offiziell den Namen Schottenhof erhielt, nach Plänen von Josef Kornhäusel umgestaltet beziehungsweise neu erbaut, insbesondere die der Freyung zugewandte Fassade und das eigentliche Stiftsgebäude im ersten Hof (siehe Baugeschichte). Am 24. Juli 1854 erregte der Brand des Dachstuhls großes Aufsehen. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Abbruch der Bastei wurde am 14. Jänner 1870 ein Durchgang zwischen der Helferstorferstraße und der Freyung geschaffen.

Aufgrund des Ostmarkgesetzes wurde 1938 das renommierte Schottengymnasium geschlossen. Auch durch den Krieg wurde das Schottenstift schwer getroffen: Mehrere Bombeneinschläge richteten schwere Beschädigungen an (siehe Baugeschichte).

Am 17. April 1945 konstituierte sich im Schottenhof die Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP). Auch das Schottengymnasium konnte bald wieder in Betrieb genommen werden.

Im Schottenhof wohnten (neben Wolfgang Schmelzl und Benedictus Chelidonus) unter anderem Johann Joseph Fux (1696-1702; Organist des Stiftes); Franz Liszt (1869-1886; Gedenktafel mit Porträtrelief); und Ignaz Abmayer (1827). 1817 kam hier auch Franz Grillparzer bei seiner Tante unter, da seine Mutter und er keine (finanzierbare) Wohnung fanden. Grillparzers Wohnung lag über der Backstube im von Abt Karl Fetzer erbauten Trakt. Wegen der Wärme und dem Lärm der Backstube konnte er hier nicht schlafen. Er übernachtete daher gerne in der Wohnung seiner zweiten Tante, die diese nur tagsüber benutzte und die sich in einem anderen Trakt des Schottenstifts befand. In dieser Zeit schrieb er « Sappho » und wurde zum Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofdichter ernannt, wodurch er mit seiner Mutter in eine Wohnung im Haus Stadt 403 (Judenplatz 1) übersiedeln konnte. 1908 verstarb der Staatsmann Ignaz Plener im Alter von 98 Jahren im Schottenstift.

Über die erste Klosteranlage gibt es kaum Informationen. Sie fiel dem Brand im Jahr 1276, der von einem Ziegelofen ausging, zum Opfer. Auf einer Grundfläche, die wesentlich größer war als die des heutigen Stifts, entstand eine neue Klosteranlage. Sie bestand aus vielen einzelnen Objekten, die ohne Gesamtplan nach den jeweiligen Bedürfnissen nach und nach errichtet wurden.

Im 15. Jahrhundert wurden diese Gebäude von den Benediktinern vielfach durch neue ersetzt. Wie schon erwähnt erhielten die Benediktinermönche viele Zuwendungen von Wohltätern. So ließ der Hubmeister Albrechts V., Berthold von Mangeln, anstelle eines Obstgartens ein neues Refektorium bauen. Außerdem trug er den Großteil der Kosten für das neue Dormitorium (Schlafraum). Unter Abt Martin von Leibitz (1445-1461) wurden eine neue Bibliothek und ein Gästehaus errichtet. Außerdem ließ er ein am Schottenhof gelegenes Gebäude restaurieren und daneben ein neues aufbauen. Darüber hinaus wurde der Kornspeicher repariert.

Von Hans Scharfenperger wurde ein Haus im Bereich des Schottenhofes erbaut sowie ein Brunnen gegraben, der in späterer Zeit verschüttet wurde und dessen Reste man noch heute im Keller des Schottenstifts findet. Leopold Süß baute ein Wohnhaus im Schottenhof, in dem er selbst wohnte. Beide stifteten auch Altäre für die Kirche.

Durch den Brand von 1488, bei dem der Kirchturm einstürzte, wurden viele Klostergebäude beschädigt. Noch größere Schäden entstanden durch die Belagerung Wiens 1529. Im Zuge der Reparaturarbeiten ließ Abt Konrad Weichselbaum (1528-1541) einen tiefen Keller unter dem Stift anlegen.

Wegen der schlechten finanziellen Situation des Stiftes im 16. Jahrhundert konnte der Erhaltung des großen Komplexes nur beschränkt nachgekommen werden. Da die Mieteinnahmen zu dieser Zeit nur wenig Geld einbrachten, verkaufte das Stift Grundstücke. Auf diese Weise konnten beim Bau des Kaiserlichen Zeughauses im Jahr 1585 der Stiftsmeierhof und ein großer Teil des Stiftsgartens in dessen Bauareal einbezogen werden.

Aus einer Beschreibung der Klosteranlagen, die aus dem Jahr 1600 stammt, geht hervor, daß die Prälatur sehr armselig ausgestattet war. Sie umfasste ein Vorhaus, einen Saal, das « alte Schlafhaus » und ein Vorzimmer, in dem allerlei Silber aufbewahrt wurde. Im Schlafzimmer des Abtes lagen seine Ornate und sein Eigentum, das sich in sieben Kisten befand. Die übrigen Kirchenschätze wurden in der oberen und unteren Sakristei aufbewahrt. In einer Inventarliste aus dem Jahr 1608 wird ein Neubau erwähnt, der im Zusammenhang mit der Prälatur stand und eine Stube und fünf andere Zimmer umfasste. Diese waren aber kaum oder gar nicht eingerichtet. Dem Abt standen darin eine Schreibstube und ein Grundbuchgewölbe zur Verfügung.

Die Konventualien hatten außer dem Dormitorium und Refektorium noch eine Konventstube und daneben einen Saal samt Vorhaus.

Zur Küchenanlage gehörte ein Speisegewölbe sowie eine Küche, ein « Kuchlhöfl » , ein « Kuchlstübl » , ein Keller und ein Fleischgewölbe.

Das Schulhaus bestand aus einem Vorhaus, einem Zimmer und einer Kammer für den Schulmeister, drei Studentenkammern und einer eigentlichen Schulstube. Die Einrichtung der Schule war ärmlich.

Zu den Wirtschaftsgebäuden zählte ein Meierhof mit Küche, Stube für die Magd, Krautkammer sowie ein Keller, ein Stall für die Reitpferde, ein Stall für die Wagenpferde, ein Kuh- und ein Schweinestall. Außerdem gab es eine Wagenhütte mit Stadel und Geschirrkammer sowie eine Kammer über der Küche. Im Anschluss an den Meierhof befanden sich die Kammern des Kellners, des Weingartenknechtes, des Zuschrotters und des Küchenknechtes. Weiters gab es ein Presshaus mit einem « Preßhöfl » und einem Gewölbe (Die Presse wurde 1654 im Stift abgebaut und in Sankt Ulrich wieder aufgestellt) . Zusätzlich gab es drei Kästen (Speicher) . In der Nähe des Meierhofes lagen zu dieser Zeit auch die Binderwerkstätte und die Sattlerei (Beide kamen später in den von Abt Johannes XI. Schmitzberger erbauten Trakt) . Schmiede, Wagnerei und Bäckerei schlossen den Schottenhof gegen die übrigen Wirtschaftsgebäude ab. Zwischen dem Kasten oder dem Stadel befand sich die Rossschwemme. Es muß auch eine Mühle gegeben haben, da dem Kloster 1645

empfohlen wurde, die ehemalige Rossmühle im Schottenhof wieder instand zu setzen.

Unter Abt Johannes Xaver Walterfinger (1629-1641) setzte eine Bauperiode ein, in der die einzelnen Bauten, durch große und zusammenhängende Gebäude mit einheitlichen Fronten ersetzt wurden. Als erstes wurde die Kirche zwischen 1638 und 1648 durch einen Neubau ersetzt. Die Neuerrichtung des baufälligen Klostergebäudes, die bereits 1638 angedacht war, konnte wegen knapper finanzieller Mittel nur in Etappen vorgenommen werden. Sie begann im Jahr 1672 und dauerte ungefähr hundert Jahre. Nur der sogenannte Heinrich-Jasomirgott-Brunnen konnte bereits 1652 unter Abt Petrus Heister (1649-1662) vom Bildhauer Johann Sebastian Wagner errichtet werden.

Abt Johannes XI. Schmitzberger (1669-1683) begann mit der Errichtung eines zusammenhängenden Hofes. Er begründete dies nicht nur mit der Baufälligkeit der alten Gebäude und der erhöhten Feuergefahr, die von den vielen Herden in den verwinkelten Häusern ausging, sondern auch damit, daß es keine sicheren Aufbewahrungsorte für Briefschaften gäbe. Auch bleibe kein Platz für die Aufnahme von Fremden und nicht einmal für ihn und seine Bediensteten gäbe es eine ordentliche Wohnung. Wichtiger scheint jedoch gewesen zu sein, daß das Stift dringend höhere Einnahmen benötigte, die man durch größere Zinshäuser erwirtschaften konnte.

Der Rat der Stadt Wien wollte die Arbeiten verhindern und reichte am 25. August 1673 in einer Audienz eine Beschwerde ein. Der bereits begonnene Bau solle eingestellt werden, da die Stadt durch die klösterlichen Bauten zu viel Steuergeld verliere. Da kirchlicher Besitz von der Steuer- und Quartierpflicht (Zwangswise Einquartierungen) befreit sei, könne das Kloster einen viel niedrigeren Mietzins verlangen. Der Abt erwiderte, daß er über seinen Grund frei verfügen könne und setzte die Arbeiten fort.

Der ziemlich niedrige Neubau war zweistöckig und nahm ungefähr die Fläche des heutigen Stiftes ein. Kaum war der Bau fertiggestellt, kam es zu schweren Beschädigungen durch die Brandkatastrophe vom 14. Juli 1683, die im Zusammenhang mit der Belagerung Wiens durch die Osmanen stand. Abt Sebastian I. Faber (1683-1703) ließ die zerstörten Gebäude wiederherstellen, wobei die Arbeiten 1690 beendet werden konnten. Als teilweise Wiedergutmachung für die Schäden der Belagerung erlaubte Leopold I. dem Kloster, den Neudeggerhof « mit den dazu gehörigen 13 Unterthanen, so alles zu dem Hochstift Passau gehörig eigentümlich an sich zu bringen » .

Als der erst 29jährige Karl Fetzer das Stift als Abt (1705-1750) übernahm, war es in einer schweren finanziellen Krise. Es verfügte zu diesem Zeitpunkt über 30 Gulden, hatte aber Schulden in der Höhe von 250.000 Gulden. In seiner Zeit als Abt wirtschaftete er dermaßen erfolgreich, daß er 200.000 Gulden in Bauten ; 20.000 Gulden in neue Bücher ; 60.000 Gulden in neue Ornate ; 13.000 Gulden in Silbergerät ; 5.000 Gulden in eine neue Monstranz ; und 4.000 Gulden in Musikalien investieren konnte !

Als erstes ließ er den Prälatusaal ausbauen und ausmalen, dann wurden leerstehende Räume hergerichtet und vermietet. Auf diese Weise konnte er den Zinsertrag eines einzigen Traktes auf 2.200 Gulden steigern. Als nächstes wurde der große Meierhof, der als feuergefährlich galt, abgebrochen und durch einen Neubau auf dem Schottenfeld ersetzt. Der dadurch entstandene Platz war für den Bau neuer Wohntrakte vorgesehen. Er konnte jedoch nur mehr zwei dreistöckige Trakte errichten, der Rest wurde erst unter seinen Nachfolgern fertiggestellt. In Richtung des Schottentores

wurde an der Wand ein sehr altes Kruzifix angebracht.

Am 8. Februar 1754 stellte eine von Abt Robert Stadler (1750-1765) zusammengerufene Kommission fest, daß zwei noch nicht erneuerte Trakte nicht nur baufällig, sondern auch feuergefährlich seien. Daher wurde ein Antrag auf Neuerrichtung eingebracht, welchen die Regierung am 13. Februar 1754 bewilligte. Sieben Tage später schloss der Abt mit dem Baumeister Matthias Gerl einen Vertrag über die Neuerrichtung eines zweistöckigen Gebäudes ab, das bis zum Georgitag des Jahres 1755 fertiggestellt sein müsse. Gerl hatte sämtliche Arbeiter und Materialien zu stellen. Die Kosten dieses Baus betragen 17.328 Gulden. Durch die Fertigstellung waren bereits die Umrisse des heutigen Schottenklosters erkennbar.

Kurz nachdem am 27. März 1765 Benno Pointner zum Abt (1765-1807) gewählt wurde, begann er mit dem Bau eines neuen Refektoriums, wobei im ersten Stock die Bibliothek untergebracht wurde. Es wurde vom Baumeister Ludwig Kaltner errichtet, kostete 15.581 Gulden und schloss sich an das Konventsgebäude an. Die Fresken in der Bibliothek wurden von Johann Wenzel Bergl geschaffen, der dafür 100 Dukaten erhielt. Am Eingang standen zwei vergoldete Statuen (heiliger Benedikt und heilige Scholastika). Im Garten ließ der Abt 1775 ein Lusthaus (kleiner Kuppelbau) bauen und sechs Nischen der Gartenmauer mit Motiven aus dem Leben des heiligen Benedikt und der heiligen Scholastika bemalen.

Der Plan, den von seinem Vorgänger erbauten Trakt noch im selben Jahr zu verlängern und den Hof zu vollenden, scheiterte wohl an fehlenden finanziellen Mitteln. Außerdem wollte er in der Nähe der Zeughausmauer ein Gebäude errichten, in dessen Erdgeschoß eine neue Wagenremise untergebracht werden sollte. In den oberen Stockwerken wären Mietwohnungen entstanden. Dieser Plan scheiterte jedoch am Widerstand des Feld- und Zeugamtes, da man eine erhöhte Feuergefahr verhindern wollte.

1792 verfügte der Abt über die notwendigen finanziellen Mittel, um zwei neue Trakte errichten zu können. Die Pläne entwarf der niederösterreichische Regierungsbaumeister Andreas Zach, der sich bereits beim Prioratsgebäude (Schublackkastenhaus) bewährt hatte. Dem Bau, durch den drei der heutigen Höfe voneinander getrennt werden, fielen die Stiftskanzlei und das Amtsrichterhaus zum Opfer. Die Arbeiten, die am 16. Mai 1792 vom Magistrat genehmigt wurden, hatten bereits am 27. Februar dieses Jahres begonnen und wurden am 28. Juni 1794 abgeschlossen. Die Kosten betragen 111.288 Gulden und konnten durch Ersparnisse des Klosters gedeckt werden.

Im Jahr 1807 wurde für das neue Gymnasium ein weiteres Gebäude erbaut, mit dem der Hof gegen Osten abgeschlossen wurde. Am 14. Mai 1807 konnte von der provisorischen Klosterleitung (Abt Benno Pointner war am 15. Februar 1807 verstorben) die Finanzierung auf Kredit festgelegt und der Bau begonnen werden. Die Arbeiten kamen aber nur langsam voran, da man im Hinblick auf die bevorstehende Abtwahl keine wichtigen Entscheidungen wünschte. Erst als am 18. Juni 1807 Andreas Wenzel zum Abt (1807-1851) gewählt wurde, kam es zu einer raschen Fertigstellung der Arbeiten. Die Kosten betragen circa 63.000 Gulden.

In der Mitte des Schottenklosters befand sich noch das alte Konventsgebäude, das seit der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts unverändert geblieben war. Abt Andreas Wenzel suchte 1826 um die Erlaubnis an, diesen Trakt, der an der

Schottengasse und dem Basteiweg lag und bisher zweistöckig war, auf vier Stockwerke zu erhöhen. Obwohl die Erlaubnis unter der Auflage, daß die Bauarbeiten innerhalb von drei Jahren abgeschlossen sein müssten, erteilt worden war, wurde am 5. März 1827 der Entschluss gefasst, daß das gesamte Gebäude abgebrochen und vollkommen neu erbaut werden sollte. Weiters plante man, alle außer dem von Abt Karl Fetzer erbauten Trakte auf vier Stockwerke zu erhöhen.

Bereits am Georgitag des Jahres 1828 konnte der an Schottengasse und Basteiweg gelegene Trakt bezogen werden. In den drei folgenden Jahren wurden weitere Trakte, darunter das Gymnasium um zwei Stockwerke erhöht und die Fassade erneuert.

Am 6. Mai 1831 wurde unter Anwesenheit des Hofes und vieler Adelliger der Grundstein für das neue Stiftsgebäude gelegt. Als man die Baugrube für das Fundament aushob, fand man einen großen, inschriftlosen Sarkophag aus Sandstein, der sich heute im Konventgarten befindet. Darunter befanden sich Ziegelsteine aus der Römerzeit, die den Stempel der achten Legion trugen. Im September 1832 wurde das neuerbaute Gebäude von den Behörden zur Benutzung freigegeben und 1832-1833 der Konventgarten neu angelegt. Die Gesamtkosten für die Umbauten betrugen 766.640 Konventionsgulden. Alleine der Architekt Josef Georg Kornhäusel erhielt 8.000 Gulden. Der eigentliche Bauleiter war der Baumeister Joseph Adelpodinger, der auch die Grundrisspläne signierte. Die Bildhauerarbeiten wurden von Jakob Schroth geschaffen, darunter der Schmuck des Bibliothekseinganges, die Aufstellung der Grabmäler im Mausoleum, Arbeiten an der Hauptfassade sowie mehrere Wappen. Gleichzeitig wurde die Bildersammlung in der Prälatur restauriert und die große und die kleine Bildergalerie in den Zimmern der Prälatur an der Ecke Freyung / Schottengasse eingerichtet. 1848 wurden sie samt dem Archiv von der Prälatur getrennt und zu einer Privatwohnung umgebaut.

Unter Abt Sigismund Schultes (1832-1861) wurde an der bisher unverbauten Fläche in Richtung des Zeughauses ein neuer Trakt errichtet, der im rechten Winkel zum alten Schottensteigtrakt stand und den Hof an dieser Seite abschloss. In diesem Trakt befanden sich Mietwohnungen, die ab Oktober 1847 bezogen werden konnten.

Nach dem Dachstuhlbrand vom 24. Juli 1854 erhielt der erste Hof ein Ziegeldach anstatt des bisherigen Kupferdaches. Als in den 1860er Jahren die Schottenbastei mitsam den Basteihäusern abgetragen wurde, kaufte das Stift ein kleines Grundstück, auf dem einige Verkaufslokale errichtet werden konnten. Die an der Rückseite einiger Basteihäuser liegende Feuermauer lag ab 1869 frei. Abt Othmar von Helferstorfer (1861-1880) berief daher am 20. Juni 1869 das Kapitel ein, da « die Mauer ein Schandfleck und eine anstößige Anomalie » sei. Man beschloss einstimmig, daß « in Berücksichtigung der ästhetischen Interessen Wiens und in billiger Rechnungstragung der Verschönerung der Hauptstadt das unschöne Bauwerk abgetragen und ein anständiger Neubau errichtet werde ». Auch der von Abt Karl Fetzer erbaute Doppeltrakt sollte in den Neubau einbezogen werden. Die Arbeiten verzögerten sich jedoch, da es Unstimmigkeiten zwischen Gemeinde Wien und dem Stift über die Anlage einer Straßenfläche gab. Das Angebot der « Wiener Baugesellschaft », den betreffenden Grund zu kaufen, wurde vom Kloster abgelehnt. Erst nachdem der Magistrat 1870 die Baulinie festgelegt hatte, konnte mit den Arbeiten begonnen werden. Franz von Neumann zeichnete Pläne für den Neubau, doch wurde der Architekt Ludwig Zettl beauftragt, der zwar grundsätzlich die Pläne Neumanns verwendete, aber mehrere, teils wesentliche Änderungen vornahm. Die Arbeiten wurden vom Baumeister Johann Sturany geleitet und dauerten vom 1. November 1871 bis zum 1. Mai 1874. Durch den Neubau wurde Wohnraum für 635

Personen geschaffen. Bereits etwas früher wurde im zweiten Hof ein neues Bassin errichtet.

1913-1914 wurde zwecks Erweiterung des Gymnasiums durch einen Turn-, Physik- und Zeichensaal ein neuer Flügel erbaut, der sich an den Nordtrakt des Konventsgebäudes in nördlicher Richtung anschließt und parallel zum Gymnasiumsgebäude verläuft.

Am 10. September 1944 schlug östlich der Stiege VI (erster Hof) eine Bombe ein, welche die oberen drei Stockwerke in einer Breite von sechs Fensterachsen zerstörte und auch Schäden im ersten Stock und im Erdgeschoß anrichtete. Im zweiten Hof (nahe der Heßgasse) kam es am 25. Jänner 1945 zu zwei Bombentreffern, die nur wenig Schaden anrichteten. Eine dritte durchschlug jedoch Wasser- und Gasleitungen und verwüstete mehrere Räumlichkeiten im Erdgeschoß.

Bis 1996 wurde das Schottenstift teilweise saniert. Schwerpunkte der Neugestaltung bildeten die Einrichtung des öffentlich zugänglichen Museums und das Innere der Stiftskirche.

Das Schottenstift besteht aus einer Vielzahl von in den Jahren 1724 bis 1770 entstandenen Trakten, die zum Teil nach dem großen Brand im Jahr 1818 neu errichtet wurden. Die an der Schottengasse und an der Freyung liegende Fassade wurde erst 1832 geschaffen. Das Stift steht auf einer verbauten Grundfläche von 14.963 Quadratmetern. Dazu kommen noch 5577 unverbaute Quadratmeter, auf denen sich die Höfe und Gärten befinden.

Im Konventgebäude befinden sich ebenerdig Aula, Johanneskapelle und Refektorium, in den Obergeschoßen unter anderem die bemerkenswerte zweigeschoßige Bibliothek (mit Tonnengewölbe auf ionischen Säulen, Fresken von Franz Weiner und Reliefs von Joseph Klieber) und der Prälatensaal. Im ersten Stock wurde in den Räumen der ehemaligen Prälatur das Museum des Schottenstifts (mit Gemälde- und Kunstgalerie) eröffnet, in dessen Zentrum der Altar des Schottenmeisters steht. Außerdem besitzt das Stift ein bedeutendes Archiv und eine Bibliothek.

Im Konventgarten steht auf einem Sockel die « Schwarze Muttergottes » (Entwurf von Peter Nobile, 1825 ; Gusseisenstatue von Johann Nepomuk Schaller) , im ersten Hof steht der von Johann Sebastian Wagner gestaltete Heinrich-Jasomirgott-Brunnen, im zweiten Hof ein (von Ludwig Zettl) 1872-1874 entworfener Zierbrunnen.

...

Das Schottenstift (eigentlich : Benediktinerabtei Unserer Lieben Frau zu den Schotten) ist ein Benediktinerkloster im I. Wiener Gemeindebezirk Innere Stadt, an der Freyung 6. Es wurde im Jahr 1155 gegründet, als Herzog Heinrich II. Jasomirgott iro-schottische Benediktinermönche nach Wien berief, und gehört seit 1625 zur Österreichischen Benediktinerkongregation. Die Klosterkirche der Abtei ist die Schottenkirche.

Der Babenberger Heinrich II. Jasomirgott, der nicht nur Markgraf von Österreich, sondern auch Herzog von Bayern war, verlegte, bevor er im Jahr 1156 mit dem Privilegium Minus zum Herzog von Österreich erhoben wurde, seine Residenz von Klosterneuburg nach Wien und benötigte dafür ein Kloster. Im Mittelalter waren die Klöster nicht nur Stätten des

Gebets, sondern vor allem Träger und Bewahrer des Wissens. Eine Klostergründung brachte dem Herrscher Sachkenntnis und Erfahrungswissen für seine Verwaltung (zum Beispiel Schulen, die kompetente Schreiber ausbildeten), eine Bibliothek, ein Hospital, Baumeister, Fachleute und Priester für den Gottesdienst in der neuen Residenzstadt. So berief er iro-schottischen Mönche, die er in Regensburg im Kloster Sankt Jakob kennengelernt hatte, nach Wien.

Heinrich II. sicherte den Mönchen in der Stiftungsurkunde ausdrücklich zu, nur Iro-schotten zu berufen (« Solos elegimus scottos »), stattete das neue Kloster mit umfassenden Besitzungen und Privilegien aus und bestimmte das Stift zu seiner Grabstätte. Zur Stiftungsdotation zählten in Wien die Kapellen von Sankt Ruprecht, Sankt Peter und Maria am Gestade, die Kapelle von Sankt Stephan in Krems, die Heilig Kreuz-Kapelle in Tulln, die Sankt Kolomann-Kapelle in Laab sowie die Pfarrkirchen von Pulkau und Eggendorf. Die Mönche erbauten ihr Kloster noch außerhalb der Stadtmauern des damaligen Wiens. Sie errichteten auch ein Hospiz für Pilger und Kreuzritter auf dem Weg nach Jerusalem, die oft durch Wien kamen.

Der Bau der Schottenkirche wurde 1155 begonnen; sie wurde 1200 geweiht. Es handelte sich bei der ersten Kirche um eine dreischiffige romanische Pfeilerkirche mit einer Apsis. Im Jahr 1177 starb Heinrich II. Jasomirgott und wurde in der Schottenkirche bestattet.

Bereits Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts scheinen die Schottenäbte die Pontifikalien verwendet zu haben. Eine förmliche Verleihung des Rechts zu ihrem Gebrauch datiert ins Jahr 1287.

Die Bedeutung der Schotten für den Wiener Hof drückt sich unter anderem in der häufigen Zeugenschaft von Schottenäbten in herzoglichen Urkunden aus. Eine Schreibschule gab es im Schottenstift nachweislich ab 1310. Auch an der Wiener Universität, die 1365 gegründet wurde, beteiligten sich die Schotten; so war etwa Abt Donaldus (1380-1392) ihr achter Rektor.

1418 entzog Herzog Albrecht V. im Zug der Melker Reform den Iro-schotten, die unter geringer klösterlicher Disziplin und Personalmangel litten, das Kloster und siedelte deutschsprachige Benediktiner an. Die Bezeichnung Schotten blieb aber erhalten. Das Schottenstift wurde im 15. Jahrhundert zu einem wichtigen Zentrum der Reform.

Während der Ersten Türkenbelagerung quartierten sich Söldner im Schottenstift ein und plünderten Kirche, Bibliothek und Archiv. Die Zeit der Reformation war auch für die Schotten keine leichte; trotzdem blieb das Schottenkloster durchgehend bestehen und führte auch weiterhin eine Schule. In der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts wurden sogar einige Schottenpatres als Äbte in andere Klöster postuliert. Besondere Bedeutung erlangten in dieser Zeit die verschiedenen an der Schottenkirche beheimateten Bruderschaften, unter denen die Sebastianibruderschaft die wichtigste war.

Das 17. Jahrhundert war im Schottenstift wie an vielen anderen Orten auch eine Zeit der Bautätigkeit. Ab 1638 wurde die Schottenkirche in Etappen neu errichtet, danach begann man mit dem Umbau der Schottenhöfe. Im ersten Hof wurde 1652 der von Sebastian Wagner stammende Heinrich-Jasomirgott-Brunnen mit der Statue des Gründers errichtet. Diese Bauarbeiten sowie durch die Zweite Türkenbelagerung erlittene Schäden an seinen Besitzungen führten zu großen

finanziellen Problemen des Klosters. Um die Landwirtschaft wieder anzukurbeln, wurde das bereits seit dem 12. Jahrhundert den Schotten gehörende Gut in Breitenlee neu kultiviert ; es bildet auch heute noch eine wichtige Grundlage für die Landwirtschaft des Stiftes.

1702 wurde dem Schottenstift die von den Türken zerstörte ungarische Abtei Telki samt der Dörfer Telki, Jenő (heute Budajenő) und Páty einverleibt. Bis zur Abtretung der Abtei 1881 führten die Schottenäbte daher zwei Mitren in ihren Wappen.

Abt Karl Fetzer (1705-1750) war in der Lage, die finanziellen Sorgen des Klosters zu mindern; gleichzeitig war er ein großer Förderer von Kunst und Wissenschaft. 1715 gründete er ein Gymnasium, an dem weltliche Schüler die philosophischen Kurse besuchen durften; dieses mußte aber bereits 1741 wieder aufgelöst werden. Abt Benno Pointner (1765-1807) gelang es, die Aufhebung des Klosters im Josephinismus zu verhindern. In diesen Zusammenhang fällt auch die Inkorporation zahlreicher Pfarren. 1773-1774 wurde auf dem Areal des aufgelassenen Friedhofs ein neues Prioratshaus mit Schule von Andreas Zach errichtet. Da es in der Form an eine Kommode erinnert, hieß es im Volksmund bald Schubladkastenhaus. Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts verkauften die Schotten große Teile ihrer Besitzungen in den heutigen Wiener Gemeindebezirken Neubau und Josefstadt, vor allem in Schottenfeld und Breitenfeld, um Platz für den Ausbau der dortigen Vorstädte zu schaffen.

Unter Abt Andreas Wenzel (1807-1831) wurde 1807 durch kaiserliches Dekret das Schottengymnasium gegründet, heute eines der letzten humanistischen Gymnasien Österreichs.

Von 1826 bis 1832 wurden die Schottenhöfe, der ausgedehnte Gebäudekomplex um das Stift, von Joseph Kornhäusel umgestaltet und das schon stark baufällige Konventgebäude abgerissen und neu errichtet. Dabei wurde unter anderem der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang zerstört. Die Kaisersteinbrucher Steinmetzmeister erhielten große Aufträge, unter anderem für lange Antrittsstufen im Konventsgebäude und zwei mit Bodenplatten ausgelegte große Treppen, die allesamt aus dem glattpolierten Kaiserstein mit durchscheinenden Farbeinschlüssen gefertigt wurden. 1858 wurde die bereits 1825 von Peter Nobile entworfene Schwarze Muttergottes-Statue im Konventgarten aufgestellt. Im zweiten Hof entstand 1874 der Delphinbrunnen. Abt Ernest Hauswirth (1881-1901) ließ die Schottenkirche restaurieren und teilweise umgestalten, an der Fassade der Kirche ein Monument zu Ehren des Stiftsgründers Heinrich II. Jasomirgott errichten und diesen in der Krypta in einen neuen Sarkophag umbetten.

Da eine seit 1924 angeordnete Klosterreform nicht ordentlich durchgeführt worden war, wurde 1930 das Schottenstift visitiert, der regierende Abt Amand Oppitz (1913-1930) zum Rückzug bewogen und der junge Mönch Hermann Peichl zum Abtkoadjutor ernannt. Nach der förmlichen Resignation seines Vorgängers wurde Peichl 1938 Abt des Schottenstiftes (1938-1966) .Während des Zweiten Weltkriegs wurden die meisten jungen Schottenmönche zum Wehrdienst eingezogen. Der Schottenkonvent hatte in dieser Zeit schwere Verluste zu verzeichnen. Von 1949 bis 1966 betreuten Patres des Schottenklosters das Priorat Mariazell. 1960 ließ Peichl die Krypta der Schottenkirche umgestalten. Unter seinem Nachfolger Bonifaz Sellinger (1966-1988) wurden Teile des alten romanischen Kirchenbaus freigelegt und das Gästehaus des Stiftes, das Benediktushaus, eröffnet. Abt Heinrich Ferenczy (1988-2006) entfaltete eine rege Bau- und Umgestaltungstätigkeit in Kirche, Krypta und Gymnasium.

Viele Äbte und Mönche des Schottenstifts waren herausragende Persönlichkeiten ihrer Zeit. Abt Donaldus (1380-1392) war achter Rektor der Universität Wien. Die ersten deutschsprachigen Äbte Nikolaus von Respitz (1418-1428), Johannes von Ochsenhausen (1428-1446) und Martin von Leibitz (1446-1461) wirkten als wichtige Akteure der Melker Reformbewegung. Abt Benedictus Chelidonius (1518-1521) war ein gelehrter Humanist und Dichter. Die Äbte Augustin Pitterich (1608-1629), Johann Walterfinger (1629-1641) und Johann Schmitzberger (1669-1683) waren allesamt Weihbischöfe von Wien. Die Äbte Andreas Wenzel (1807-1831) und Sigismund Schultes (1832-1861) waren ebenfalls Rektoren der Wiener Universität. Politisch besonders aktiv war Abt Othmar Helferstorfer (1861-1880), unter anderem als Landmarschall von Niederösterreich. Von Abt Ernest Hauswirth, einem Historiker, stammen die auch heute noch maßgeblichen Werke zur Stiftsgeschichte. Abt Hermann Peichl war Präsident der Wiener Katholischen Akademie, die Äbte Bonifaz Sellinger und Heinrich Ferenczy beide Erste Vorsitzende der Österreichischen Superiorenkonferenz.

Auch einige Mönche des Stiftes hatten Funktionen an der Universität Wien inne. Der Philologe Meinrad Lichtensteiner und der Pastoraltheologe Anselm Ricker waren Rektoren der Universität. Dekane der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät waren neben Ricker auch der Dogmatiker Adrian Gretsche, der Orientalist Andreas Oberleitner, der Philologe Paul Hofmann sowie die Kirchenhistoriker Bernhard Wagner und Cölestin Wolfsgruber; Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät war neben Lichtensteiner der Naturwissenschaftler Sigismund Gschwandner. Weitere Universitätslehrende in Wien waren der Philosoph Vincenz Knauer und zuletzt der Alttestamentler Georg Braulik. Der Bibelwissenschaftler Friedrich Wagl war Rektor der Universität Graz.

Von den Patres, die am Schottengymnasium unterrichteten, waren einige ebenfalls wissenschaftlich tätig. Zu ihnen zählen der Historiker Albert Hübl, die Philologen Maurus Schinnagl, Heinrich Maschek und Paulus Lieger sowie die Germanisten Berthold Sengschmitt, Hugo Marena und Meinrad Sadil. Als Musiker erlangten Karlmann Pachschnid und Theodor Zwettler Bedeutung. In der Seelsorge ragen Honorius Kraus, Urban Loritz, Hermann Schubert und Adolf Kern heraus. Mit Othmar Helferstorfer, Clemens Kickh und Cölestin Wolfsgruber stellte das Schottenstift darüber hinaus über 70 Jahre lang den Hofprediger an der Wiener Hofkapelle. Politisch als Wiener Gemeinderäte aktiv waren die Stiftsprioren Edmund Götz und Stephan Fellner.

Doch nicht nur im Kloster selbst, auch in dessen Umfeld finden sich bedeutende Persönlichkeiten. In die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts fällt die schriftstellerische Tätigkeit des Schottenschulmeisters Wolfgang Schmeltzl, sein Nachfolger war Johann Rasch. Um 1700 war der große Barockmusiker Johann Joseph Fux Stiftsorganist, die gleiche Funktion bekleidete Johann Baptist Henneberg. Als Regenschori des Schottenstiftes dienten die späteren Hofkapellmeister Joseph von Eybler und Ignaz ABmayer. Der Jurist Christoph Sonnleithner war Hofrichter des Stiftes.

Heute dem Schottenstift inkorporiert sind neben der Stiftspfarr die Pfarren Sankt Ulrich, Breitenlee, Enzersfeld, Kleinengersdorf, Gaweinstal, Höbersbrunn, Schottenfeld, Stammersdorf, Enzersdorf im Thale und Eggendorf im Thale; nicht alle von ihnen werden aber von Schottenpatres seelsorglich betreut. Nicht mehr zum Schottenkloster gehören die Pfarren Gumpendorf, Laab, Martinsdorf, Platt, Pulkau, Waitzendorf, Watzelsdorf und Zellerndorf.

Die ehemalige Prälatur des Schottenstiftes beherbergt heute des Museum im Schottenstift, in welchem Exponate aus den

verschiedenen Sammlungen der Abtei ausgestellt sind (Gemälde, Möbel, Tapisserien, Paramente und liturgische Geräte, Handschriften und Drucke) .

Hauptattraktion ist der Wiener Schottenaltar, ein vom sogenannten Meister des Wiener Schottenaltars ab 1469 geschaffener Flügelaltar, der bis ins 17. Jahrhundert als Hochaltar der Schottenkirche gedient haben dürfte. Dieser ist nicht nur ein bedeutendes Kunstwerk der Spätgotik in Österreich, sondern aufgrund seiner detaillierten und topographisch richtigen Stadtansichten von Wien und Krems als Hintergrundlandschaften auch eine wichtige historische Bildquelle.

Schwerpunkte der Gemäldesammlung liegen auf der flämischen, holländischen und österreichischen Malerei des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts sowie auf der Wiener Biedermeiermalerei. Gezeigt werden neben religiösen Darstellungen (Peter Paul Rubens, Joachim Beuckelaer, Marten de Vos, Orazio Samacchini, Jan Cossiers, Tobias Pock, Johann Spillenberger, Johann Heiss, Peter Strudel, Giovanni Battista Pittoni, Franz Christoph Janneck, Franz Anton Maulbertsch, Franz Josef Dobiaschovsky) auch Porträts (Christopher Paudiß, Christian Seybold) , Landschaftsmalerei (Gillis van Coninxloo, Joos de Momper, Maximilian Joseph Schinnagl, Christian Hilfgott Brand, Johann Leonhard Herrlein, Albert Christoph Dies, Jakob Alt, Thomas Ender, Luigi Bisi) , Stilleben (Carstian Luyckx, Alexander Coosemans, Nicolaes van Verendael, Franz Werner Tamm, Philipp von Purgau, Johann Baptist Drechsler, Johann Knapp) und Genremalerei (Simon de Vos, Cornelis Bega, Egbert van Heemskerck, Jan van der Bent, Adriaen de Gryeff, Jan Pieter van Bredael, Johann Peter Krafft) . Im Prälatensaal ist das ehemalige barocke Hochaltarbild Himmlische Glorie (1671) von Joachim von Sandrart zu sehen.

Außerdem zu besichtigen sind eine Dokumentation zur Stiftsgeschichte und den Stiftspfarrnen sowie ein naturhistorisches Kabinett. Ausschließlich im Rahmen von Führungen zugänglich ist die nach Plänen Joseph Kornhäusels errichtete klassizistische Bibliothek des Klosters.

In Wien sind beziehungsweise waren einige Straßen, Gassen, Plätze und auch Bezirksteile nach dem Schottenstift sowie einzelnen Äbten und Mönchen benannt : Schottenbastei, Schottengasse, Schottenring, Schottentor, Schottenviertel, Freyung und Helferstorferstraße (früher Schottensteig) in der Inneren Stadt ; Schottenfeld, Schottenfeldgasse, Hermannngasse, Sigmundgasse, Spindlergasse (heute Döblergasse) , Urban-Loritz-Platz und Zitterhofergasse am Neubau ; Neuschottengasse (heute Teil der Piaristengasse) , Schottentorgasse (heute Florianigasse) , Bennogasse und Bennoplatz in der Josefstadt ; Schottenpoint, Schottenberg beziehungsweise Schottenbühel (heute Berggasse) , Schottenau und Neuer Schottenfriedhof am Alsergrund ; Schottenwald und Schottenhof in Penzing ; Auf der Schottenwiese und Schottenhof (Ottakringer Freihof) in Ottakring ; Wolfsgrubergasse in Döbling ; sowie Schottenau und Schottenuastraße in der Brigittenau.

Am 7. Oktober 1994 brachte die Österreichische Post eine Dauermarke der Briefmarkenserie Kunstwerke aus Stiften und Klöstern in Österreich mit der Schottenmadonna als Motiv im Wert von 30,00 Schilling heraus. Bereits am 28. November 1975 war eine Weihnachtsmarke mit einem Ausschnitt der Tafel Geburt Christi des Wiener Schottenaltars als Motiv im Wert von 2,00 Schilling erschienen.

...

5 avril 1884 : Première du Quintette à cordes de Bruckner (**WAB 112**) donnée dans sa version intégrale par un Quatuor Winkler « élargi » : Julius Winkler, Carl Lillich, Hans Kreuzinger, Reinhold Hummer ... et Franz Schalk.

3 juin 1884 : Décès à Mattighofen du Maître d'école, organiste et compositeur Franz Sücka, l'ami personnel de Bruckner lors de son passage comme instituteur-adjoint à Windhaag.

11 juin 1884 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner au chef d'orchestre Arthur Nikisch.

« 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 2 final rehearsals which I would so very much like to attend ? 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 ! »

16 juin 1884 : Lettre du chef Arthur Nikisch à Anton Bruckner :

« 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. 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 ! »

17 juin 1884 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner au chef d'orchestre Arthur Nikisch.

« Recently, “ Messieurs ” Schalk and Löwe played the Finale of the 7th Symphony for me on 2 pianos, and I realized 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 2 rehearsals so that I can hear the work 3 times. Hellmesberger, the Court music-director, is so delighted with my new “ Te Deum ” and wants to perform it at the Court. »

28 juin 1884 : Les funérailles de Hans Rott ont lieu à la « Zentralfriedhof » de Vienne (groupe n° 23 ; rangée n° 2 ; lot n° 59) . Son Maître bien-aimé, Anton Bruckner, arrive tôt et passe beaucoup de temps, seul, auprès du cercueil de son protégé. L'on voit Bruckner pleurer amèrement lors de l'enterrement. Il déclare sans détour que le traitement cruel et déplacé de Brahms envers ce talent prometteur, déjà suffisamment isolé, est en grande partie responsable de la tragédie.

L'ami de Hans Rott, Friedrich Löhr (le père de la publiciste Maja Löhr) se verra forcer de faire un véritable exercice d'équilibre dans ses commentaires :

« Je crois que Brahms a fait cette réprimande au " débutant " , qui commençait par la mise en œuvre des plus grands moyens d'expression de son art, dans une louable intention pédagogique ; il ne pouvait rien faire d'autre à partir des expériences et des convictions que lui avaient forgées son évolution artistique et son être propre et je crois qu'il a commis là une véritable injustice artistique. Mais à ce moment là, c'était peu avant le début de la maladie, il n'était plus possible de sauver Rott, il avait succombé à son terrible destin : sa maladie, provoquée par de tout autres facteurs psychiques et émotionnels, se préparait déjà depuis longtemps. » (Friedrich Löhr, « Die Musik » , 1903-1904.)

...

Composer Hans Rott's funeral at the « Zentralfriedhof » in Vienna was attended by Anton Bruckner, who arrived early and spent a significant amount of time alone with the coffin of his young friend and student. At the funeral itself, Bruckner was seen crying, and stated openly that Brahms' uncalled-for, harsh treatment of an already isolated young composer was to blame for his demise.

...

Juin 1884 : For a gala performance on the last day of the Kassel season, Gustav Mahler composes incidental music for a set of « Tableaux vivants » (Living Pictures ; acted-out on stage with scenery) based on the popular poem « Der Trompeter von Säckingen » (The Trumpet-player of Säckingen) , the main piece of which, a serenade, will later be used as the « Blumine » movement of his Symphonic poem. (There is also a very popular Opera named « Der Trompeter von Säckingen » by Victor Ernest Nessler, which Mahler will have to conduct frequently.) Around this time, Mahler falls in love with Johanna Richter, a singer at the Kassel Theater.

25 juin 1884 : Living in the Lower-Austrian State insane asylum, Hans Rott dies of tuberculosis at age 25 ; the most tragic result of the Brahms-Bruckner dispute.

Été 1884 : Johannes Brahms, aged 51, composes the 1st and 2nd movements of his 4th Symphony.

The 13 year old Alexander von Zemlinsky enters the « Vorbildungsschule » (Preparatory School) of the Vienna Conservatory and studies piano and theory.

The 10 year old Arnold Schœnberg begins his 1st attempts at composition, writing small pieces for 2 violins modelled after the duets he plays with his teacher.

Été 1884 : On his summer vacation, Gustav Mahler spends a few days with his parents in Iglau. Then he visits Anton Bruckner in Vienna and persuades him not to revise his 3rd Symphony.

Vraisemblablement, juin-juillet 1884 : Anton Bruckner, âgé de 60 ans, revise le « Te Deum » et commence à travailler sur la 8e Symphonie.

Juillet 1884 : Gustav Mahler spends the month in Perchtoldsdorf, near Vienna.

The 27 year old Robert Hirschfeld receives his Ph.D. with a dissertation on Johannes de Muris, and is appointed teacher of music esthetics at the Vienna Conservatory.

1884 : Lors de son passage à Vöcklabruck, Anton Bruckner va louer une petite chambre au second étage de la maison du 38 de la « Stadtplatz » : le propriétaire est un certain monsieur Hartmann. Au rez-de-chaussée se trouve le quincaillier Franzmair, d'où le nom : « Franzmair-Haus » . Le propriétaire mettra un piano à la disposition du compositeur. C'est là, en 1884, que Bruckner va terminer la 1re version de sa 8e Symphonie. La charmante belle-fille de monsieur Hartmann va devenir la « muse » du 1er mouvement. Une plaque commémorative extérieure installée entre 2 fenêtres du 2e étage, souligne le passage d'Anton Bruckner : « Le membre honoraire du Liedertafel (orphéon) de Vöcklabruck et grand Maître de la tonalité, le docteur Anton Bruckner, a composé dans cette maison. » (inaugurée le 27 mai 1900) . (Aujourd'hui, le Stadtplatz 38, 4840 Vöcklabruck, abrite au rez-de-chaussée la boutique-mode « 17 & Co. » et un petit café de la chaîne « Resch & Frisch » / Telefon : 07672/90 801.)

1884 : Anton Bruckner passe ses vacances d'été à Steyr. Il séjourne dans le vieux presbytère de l'église paroissiale (« Stadtpfarrkirche ») . Une plaque commémorative apposée en 1908, et commanditée par la Société chorale de l'endroit, rappelle qu'il y a composé, de 1886 à 1894, des pages de ses 8e et 9e Symphonies.

L'autrichien Julius Bayer était organiste et chef de chœur à Steyr. Fils de Julia Bayer (1862-1921) , il deviendra un ami d'Anton Bruckner. Bayer sera l'auteur de mémoires sur le compositeur.

Dimanche de la Pentecôte 1898 : Un monument à la mémoire du compositeur Anton Bruckner est inauguré sur la place publique devant l'église paroissiale de Steyr. Le buste est l'œuvre du sculpteur viennois Viktor Oskar Tilgner (Bratislava, 1844 - Vienne 1896) . La base et le reste du monument (putti, muse, lyre, couronne de laurier) sont de Fritz Zerritsch. Tous les villageois sont rassemblés pour assister à la cérémonie. Elle est présidée par le maire Johann Redl, assisté du curé de la paroisse Johann Strobl. Pour l'occasion, la Société chorale de la Haute-Autriche est sous la direction des « Kapellmeister » Franz Xaver Bayer et Edward Werndl. (Tilgner récidivera plus tard avec un autre monument au cimetière central de Vienne.) Le lieu sera rebaptisée « Brucknerplatz » . Au cours de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, le monument sera retiré. Il sera ré-installé en septembre 1945.

Viktor Oskar Tilgner sera l'auteur du monument en hommage à Josef Werndl à Steyr et de celui en hommage à Mozart au jardin du Château (« Burggarten ») de Vienne.

Selon le journal « Alpenboten » , l'organiste Anton Bruckner s'est produit à Steyr.

L'année 1884 marque le décès du curé de la paroisse de Steyr, le grand amateur de musique Georg Arminger. L'événement fait tomber le rideau sur de la période initiale d'Anton Bruckner à Steyr.

...

It is well-known that Anton Bruckner, for the last 6 years of his life, received financial help from the so-called « Steyr consortium » and from a few private individuals. The information about the precise amount he received, as printed in August Göllerich and Max Auer's Bruckner biography (Volume IV/3) , is not correct and although there are 1 or 2 uncertainties, musicologist Erich Wolfgang Partsch, in his « Anton Bruckner und Steyr » (Vienna, 2003) , has already revised the annual amount received from the consortium downwards from 1,025 Florins to 500. In his article in : « Vier unveröffentlichte Leibrentenverträge für Anton Bruckner » , Partsch, drawing on hitherto unpublished documents in the Austrian National Library, also provides a re-assessment of the annual amounts received from Carl von Oberleithner, the father of Max, one of Bruckner's private pupils (500 Florins, as stated in Göllerich-Auer) ; Friedrich Eckstein, another of his private pupils (50 Florins, not 500) ; the industrialist Albert Böhler (50 Florins, not 500) ; and Gustav Riehl, a hospital consultant (100 Florins, as stated in Göllerich-Auer) . Bruckner was clearly well-provided for in his final years, but was by no means so richly endowed as has often been claimed.

Le mécène Karl Almeroth

L'homme d'affaires et manufacturier Karl Almeroth est né le 9 décembre 1852, à Vienne. Il deviendra rapidement un ami proche et un mécène d'Anton Bruckner.

Son père, Johann Almeroth, était représentant syndical de l' « Innerberger » . Son atelier sidérurgique se trouvait dans la grange « Schönauer » (appelée ensuite grange « Innerberger ») . Elle était située à côté du pont de « Neutor » . L'endroit abrite aujourd'hui le Musée historique de Steyr (« Heimatmuseum-Innerberger Stadel ») au 26 Grünmarkt. Le bel édifice fin Renaissance qui, remanié et quelque peu « Baroquisé » , garde son charme caractéristique du XVIIe siècle. Les expositions proposées réunissent des outils anciens, des œuvres représentant l'évolution artistique dans la région, des témoignages sur l'histoire du travail du fer et une superbe collection de couteaux à travers les âges.

Karl Almeroth deviendra le président du grand syndicat autrichien « Innerberger » de l'industrie du fer et du commerce et celui de la Société alpestre « Montan » (sections de Steyr et de Vienne) .

1867-1868 : Karl Almeroth se fait construire une immense Villa au 3 Garstnerstraße (aujourd'hui, la Leopold Werndlstraße) . Il retient les services des architectes Anton et Johann Pichler.

1877 : La Villa devient la propriété de madame Margaretha Moritsch (né Almeroth) .

13 janvier 1878 : Anton Bruckner dédie à Karl Almeroth son « Abendzauber » (magie du soir) , **WAB 57**, cantate profane en sol bémol majeur pour voix soliste (ténor ou baryton) , 3 voix de jodel (yodleurs) - ou 3 voix féminines distantes -, chœur d'hommes à 4 voix a cappella (TTBB) et quatuor de cors.

Almeroth deviendra aussi un ami personnel du sculpteur Viktor Oskar Tilgner. Ce dernier sera l'auteur de 3 mémoriaux importants à Steyr : la sépulture de Josef Werndl, le monument en hommage à Anton Bruckner et le buste de Franz Schubert devant la maison du 16 de la Place principale (« Stadtplatz ») .

Mars 1892 : Karl Almeroth fait l'acquisition d'une scierie à Neuzeug. Il la démolit pour faire place à une usine moderne de fabrication de lame de couteau de type « Solingen » .

...

Karl Almeroth was another friend and one of Bruckner's sponsors. An affluent merchant and factory owner, he had close personal and commercial ties to Steyr : his father had been a member of the prestigious « Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft » , in Steyr ; the well-known Almeroth blade factory was located in Neuzeug, the birth place of Bruckner's mother ; the family owned a villa in Steyr. Almeroth introduced the composer to influential circles, where he met the likes of Karl Reder, a wood merchant and land-owner, and the merchant Isidor Dierkes. This led to the formation of a « Steyrer Circle » which met on a regular basis in the Vienna of the 1880's. Reder was to play an important role in organising financial support for Bruckner as part of the activities of the so-called « Steyrer Consortium » .

...

When Anton Bruckner spent part of his summer vacations in Steyr, he particularly enjoyed the company of 3 music-loving businessmen : Carl Almeroth, Isidor Dierkes and Karl Reder who, in the 1880's, indulged the composer in 2 of his favourite pursuits : coach riding and Pilsner beer drinking.

The trio was involved in a short-lived scheme to provide Bruckner with some financial help.

Franz Xaver Bayer, director of the parish church choir from the late- 1880's, was an enthusiastic advocate of Bruckner's music and was responsible for several performances of Bruckner's sacred works. On one such occasion (a performance of his D minor Mass in Steyr Parish Church, on 2 April 1893) , Bruckner played the organ part ; at a special reception after the performance, the delighted composer paid tribute to conductor and performers for their exemplary preparation of the work.

L'Église municipale luthérienne de Vienne

Anton Bruckner devient le complice de Karl Almeroth lorsque ce dernier demande la main de mademoiselle Elizabeth Pracherstorfer (la fille d'un Maître tailleur de pierres, née le 16 février 1871) .

3 juillet 1893 : Mariage du couple à l'Église municipale évangélique luthérienne (« Lutherische Stadtkirche ») de Vienne, sise au 18 Dorotheergasse (dans le 1er arrondissement) . Le sculpteur Viktor Oskar Tilgner tient le rôle de garçon d'honneur tandis que Bruckner tient l'orgue durant la cérémonie.

Les organistes titulaires :

Friedrich Lachmund (1783-1794) .

Lebrecht Lorbeer (1794-1802) .

Johann Gottlieb Wosch (1802-1823) .

Franz Lachner (1824-1834) .

Vinzenz Lachner (1834-1836) .

Theodor Dirczka (1837-1882) .

Franz Urban (1882-1916) .

Richard Urban (1916-1919) .

Wolfgang Hiebisch (1919-1921) .

Franz Kemmler (1921-1945) .

Adolf Wurm (1945-1978) .

Martin Rieker (1978-1988) .

Jürgen Rieger (1988-1992) .

Arno Hartmann (1989-2003) .

Andreas Fauß (2003-2004) .

Zuzana Ferjencikova (2004-2006) .

Erzsébet Windhager-Geréd (2006-) .

The Lutheran City Church of Vienna is situated at Dorotheergasse 18, next to the Reformed City Church and opposite of the auction house Dorotheum in the « Innere Stadt » (the 1st district) . It was built in the Renaissance period and has a neo-Classical façade. There is a triangular pediment above the main entrance. A blind, round arched window is attached to this pediment. It is flanked by 2 pilasters on each side and topped by large triangular pediment. The Lutheran City Church has no steeple, but a bell-storey.

The aisleless church has a transept-like extension giving it a cruciform floor plan. On all sides of the church, there are matronea. The altar-piece painted by Franz Linder, in 1783, is a copy of van Dyck's painting « Christ on the Cross », which is kept in the « Kunsthistorisches Museum » just a short walk away. The carved choir stalls next to the altar were installed in 1876. The baptismal font on a « scagliola » column was transferred to the church in 1822. The hearts of Empress Anna, Emperor Matthias and Emperor Ferdinand II were originally buried in the building. The marble locking plates of their burial niches are located in the back of the church. Plaques commemorating the Protestant martyr Caspar Tauber and Emperor Joseph II are attached to the walls.

The Lutheran City Church was built as the monastery church of the Catholic Queen's Monastery (« Königinkloster ») from 1582 to 1583. The Poor Clare monastery was consecrated to Mary, Queen of the Angels. It was founded by Elisabeth of Austria, daughter of Emperor Maximilian II and widow of King Charles IX of France. The Queen dowager established the monastery probably as an atonement for the Saint-Bartholomew's Day massacre and spent her final years there. The original construction plans of the Queen's Monastery are by Pietro Ferabosco. The construction was carried out by Jakob Vivian, the later Architect to the Imperial Court.

In the course of the Josephinist reforms, the monastery was abandoned in 1782. The same year, both a Lutheran and a Reformed congregation were able to constitute themselves in Vienna due to the Patent of Toleration of 1781. The parish based in the Lutheran City Church is the oldest of the Lutheran Superintendentcy of Vienna's parishes. The Lutheran and the Reformed congregation both bought a part of the former Queen's Monastery in 1783. The Reformed congregation built the Reformed City Church which was the 1st building in Vienna intended to be a Protestant church from the beginning. The Lutheran parish purchased the central part of the abandoned monastery including the monastery church. The other parts of the premises were acquired by the banker Johann von Fries who built the Palais Pallavicini there. The former monastery church was extended and converted into a Lutheran church. The 3 church towers had to be removed since the Patent of Toleration stated that Protestant churches should not be recognizable as churches from the outside. On 30 November 1783, the Lutheran City Church was inaugurated.

After a few minor structural changes, a major modification of the building was carried-out by the architect Otto Thienemann in 1876. The façade was redesigned so that the church was recognizable as such from the outside as well. This had been allowed by the Protestant Patent of 1861. In the 19th Century, the composers Franz Lachner and Hermann Graedener were employed as organists in the Lutheran City Church and the distinguished piano maker Johann Andreas Streicher released a new service hymnal. The Lutheran City Church had to be rebuilt again in 1907 due to more stringent fire regulations after the « Ringtheaterbrand ». A direct exit to the street became necessary. The architect Ludwig Schöne turned the interior at 180 degrees by swapping the positions of the organ and the altar - an approach similar to the rebuilding of the neighboring Reformed City Church carried-out by the architect Ignaz Sowinski in 1887. In World War II, the Lutheran City Church suffered severe damage. The façade was completely destroyed by an aircraft bomb in 1945. In 1948, the façade was rebuilt : plain, with bricked-up windows and a distinctive stone cross on the smooth façade. This conversion was reversed in 1989 by restoring the neo-Classical façade of 1907.

...

Baujahr : 1582 / 1783.

Stil : Klassizismus.

Kurzbeschreibung :

1582 / 1783 als Klosterkirche des Konvents der « Heiligen Maria, Königin der Engel » erbaut.

Vermutlich mitunter als Erinnerung an die blutgetränkte « Bartholomäusnacht » .

Kaiser Joseph II. lässt das Kloster aufheben ; die Stadt Wien ist fortan Besitzerin der Gebäude.

Um 1783 kauft die evangelische Gemeinde die Kirche und einen Teil der Klostergebäude.

Aus- und Umbauarbeiten im Jahre 1783 nach Bedürfnis der evangelischen Gemeinde.

Die Fassade erleidet im 2. Weltkrieg schwere Schäden ; daraufhin restauriert.

Erneute Renovationen in den Jahren 1991 und 1998.

Hochaltarbild von Franz Linder um 1783.

Grabplatten von Kaiser Matthias, dessen Frau Kaiserin Anna von Tirol und von Kaiser Ferdinand II.

Gedenktafel für Kaspar Tauber (erster Blutzuge, der evangelischen Gemeinde in Wien) .

Dankschrift für Kaiser Joseph II. bezüglich seines Toleranzediktes rechts im Altarraum.

Die Lutherische Stadtkirche ist ein evangelisch-lutherisches Kirchengebäude im I. Wiener Gemeindebezirk Innere Stadt.

Die Lutherische Stadtkirche befindet sich in der Dorotheergasse 18 neben der Reformierten Stadtkirche und gegenüber dem Auktionshaus Dorotheum. Sie wurde in der Renaissancezeit erbaut und besitzt eine neoklassizistische Straßenfront. Über dem Hauptportal befindet sich ein Dreiecksgiebel an der Fassade. Oberhalb dessen schließt ein hohes Rundbogen-Blendfenster an, das von je zwei Pilastern flankiert und von einem großen Dreiecksgiebel gekrönt wird. Die Lutherische Stadtkirche besitzt keinen Kirchturm, sondern wird an der Frontfassade oben von einem Glockengeschoß abgeschlossen.

Die Saalkirche besitzt eine querhausartige Erweiterung bei kreuzförmigem Grundriss. Auf allen Seiten im Kircheninneren befinden sich Emporen. Das Altarbild von Franz Linder aus dem Jahr 1783 ist eine Kopie von van Dycks Gemälde Christus am Kreuz, das nur wenige Gehminuten entfernt im Kunsthistorischen Museum aufbewahrt wird. Beim Altar

wurde 1876 ein geschnitztes Chorgestühl eingebaut. Das Taufbecken auf einer Säule aus Stucco lustro befindet sich seit 1822 in der Kirche. Im hinteren Teil der Lutherischen Stadtkirche sind marmorne Verschlussplatten an den Beisetzungs-nischen der Herzen von Kaiserin Anna, Kaiser Matthias und Kaiser Ferdinand II. erhalten, die ursprünglich hier bestattet waren und später in die Loretokapelle der Augustinerkirche überführt wurden. Außerdem sind Gedenktafeln für den evangelischen Märtyrer Caspar Tauber und für Kaiser Joseph II. in der Kirche angebracht.

Die Lutherische Stadtkirche wurde als katholische Klosterkirche des Königinklosters in den Jahren 1582 bis 1583 erbaut. Dieses Maria, Königin der Engel, geweihte Klarissen-Kloster war eine Stiftung von Elisabeth von Österreich, einer Tochter Kaiser Maximilians II. und Witwe des Königs Karl IX. von Frankreich. Die Königinwitwe stiftete das Kloster vermutlich als Sühne für die Bartholomäusnacht, das Massaker an den Hugenotten in Frankreich, und verbrachte ihre letzten Lebensjahre dort. Die Baupläne zum Königinkloster stammten ursprünglich vom italienischen Architekten und Maler Pietro Ferrabosco, durchgeführt wurde der Bau jedoch vom späteren Hofbaumeister Jakob Vivian. Die Klosterkirche wurde am 2. August 1583 geweiht.

Im Zuge der josephinischen Reformen wurde das Kloster 1782 aufgelassen. Im selben Jahr hatten sich durch das Toleranzpatent von 1781 sowohl eine lutherische als auch eine reformierte Gemeinde in Wien konstituieren können. Die in der Lutherischen Stadtkirche beheimatete heutige Pfarrgemeinde Wien Innere Stadt ist die älteste innerhalb der Evangelischen Superintendentur A. B. Wien. Die lutherische und die reformierte Gemeinde kauften 1783 jeweils einen Teil des ehemaligen Königinklosters. Die reformierte Gemeinde ließ auf ihrem Grundstück die Reformierte Stadtkirche als erste als solche erbaute evangelische Kirche Wiens errichten. Die lutherische Gemeinde bekam den zentralen Teil des aufgelassenen Klosters mit der Klosterkirche. Einen weiteren Teil des Geländes erwarb der Bankier Johann von Fries, der dort das heutige Palais Pallavicini erbauen ließ. Die ehemalige Klosterkirche wurde zur Lutherischen Stadtkirche umgebaut und erweitert. Da den Bestimmungen des Toleranzpatents zufolge die Kirche von außen nicht als solche erkennbar sein durfte, mußten unter anderem die drei Kirchtürme abgetragen werden. Am 30. November 1783 wurde die Lutherische Stadtkirche eingeweiht.

Nach kleineren baulichen Veränderungen erfolgte 1876 ein größerer Umbau durch den Architekten Otto Thienemann. Hierbei wurde die Fassade so umgestaltet, daß die Kirche auch von außen als solche erkennbar war, was seit dem Protestantenpatent von 1861 nun gestattet war. Im 19. Jahrhundert waren die Komponisten Franz Lachner und Hermann Graedener als Organisten der Lutherischen Stadtkirche angestellt und der bedeutende Klavierbauer Andreas Streicher gab ein neues Gesangbuch für den Gottesdienst heraus. Auf Grund strengerer feuerpolizeilicher Vorschriften nach dem Ringtheaterbrand mußte die Lutherische Stadtkirche 1907 erneut umgebaut werden. Weil ein direkter Ausgang des Kirchenraums zur Dorotheergasse notwendig wurde, ließ der Architekt Ludwig Schöne das Innere der Kirche um 180 Grad drehen, also die Position von Orgel und Altar vertauschen - ein Verfahren, das in der benachbarten Reformierten Stadtkirche von Architekt Ignaz Sowinski bereits 1887 erprobt worden war. Im Zweiten Weltkrieg erlitt die Lutherische Stadtkirche schwere Schäden, die Fassade fiel 1945 vollständig einem Bombenangriff zum Opfer. 1948 wurde die Fassade neu errichtet: schlicht, mit vermauerten Fenstern und einem markanten Steinkreuz an der glatten Fassade. Diese Umgestaltung wurde 1989 rückgängig gemacht und die neoklassizistische Fassade in der Form von 1907 wiederhergestellt.

...

Un autre proche de Karl Almeroth à Steyr était l'avocat Franz Angermann (1854-1918) .

1894 : Karl Almeroth décide de vendre son entreprise de lames à monsieur Otto Christ.

Karl Almeroth faisait partie du « Cercle » restreint des amis, mécènes et disciples d'Anton Bruckner. Sa position respectable dans le monde des affaires (il est un membre influent du Consortium « Steyr ») et de la culture (de 1889 à 1894, il est membre de l'Association des artistes viennois) permettra de faire avancer la cause du Maître de Saint-Florian.

Almeroth et Bruckner font de nombreuses excursions en chariot tiré par un cheval.

C'est en pensant à la personnalité enjouée de Karl Almeroth que Bruckner donnera au Trio du Scherzo de sa 8e Symphonie son aspect anguleux. (Almeroth avait d'abord rejeté la 1re version de ce mouvement.)

Le fils du couple Almeroth voit le jour le 31 octobre 1895. Anton Bruckner est choisi comme parrain. De là, l'origine du prénom de l'enfant : Karl (le père) et Anton (le parrain) . La petite famille réside au 11 de la « Dukartstraße » à Steyr.

1885 à 1894 : Les Almeroth habitent la Villa (l'ancienne mairie technique dite « Technische Rathaus ») du 3 de la « Garstnerstraße » (aujourd'hui, « Leopold Werndl Straße ») . Plus tard, ils iront vivre au 17 « Lenaugasse » dans le 8e arrondissement de Vienne.

1896 : Herbert Moritsch von Morenau junior prend possession de la Villa. Puis, ce sera au tour de la famille de Joseph Hack.

L'ami de Karl Almeroth, le sculpteur Viktor Oskar Tilgner, meurt le 16 avril 1896.

Anton Bruckner rend l'âme le 11 octobre 1896. Le petit Karl Anton Almeroth se tiendra debout, à côté du cercueil, avec le bouquet de roses que son illustre parrain tenait dans ses mains.

1897 : Karl Almeroth doit faire face à une épreuve encore plus douloureuse : la mort de son épouse bien-aimée, Elisabeth (surnommée « Elsa » ou « Elserl ») alors âgée de 26 ans.

Karl Almeroth épousera en seconde nocces Johanna Muley. Ils auront 1 fils et 1 fille.

Karl Almeroth sera l'auteur de nombreux articles sur Bruckner ; notamment sur ses improvisations à l'orgue et le monument érigé à sa mémoire, en plein cœur de Steyr, par le sculpteur Viktor Oskar Tilgner.

En effet, Almeroth co-signe, en 1899, avec le musicologue Leopold Nowak (le futur président de l' « Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft » de Vienne) un ouvrage intitulé : « Wie die Bruckner-Büste entstand : zum Bruckner-Denkmal » (Format : 14, XII Seite : I Ill. ; 19 cm ; 46 illustrations ; 48 exemples musicaux. Ré-édition en 1973 et en 1979.)

Karl Almeroth meurt à Vienne le 3 octobre 1906. Il n'avait que 54 ans.

...

À l'initiative du « Kapellmeister » et organiste de Steyr, Franz Xaver Bayer, dans le cadre du Jubilé du « Männergesangsverein Kränzchen » (l'Association du chœur d'hommes de la « petite Couronne ») en 1908, l'on procédera devant l'église paroissiale à l'inauguration d'une plaque commémorative en hommage au docteur Anton Bruckner. Elle rappelle qu'il a écrit ses dernières œuvres majeures lors de ses vacances estivales passées dans ce village de 1886 à 1894. C'est en 1889 que Bruckner fut nommé membre honoraire de cette Association.

Texte

Hier schuf

Doktor Anton Bruckner

In den Ferienmonaten

Der Jahre 1886-1894

Seine letzten großen Werke

Seinem Ehrenmitglied der Männergesangsverein « Kränzchen » .

(A. D. 1908)

...

Buste et plaque commémorative en hommage à Anton Bruckner (une initiative privée de la Chambre de commerce de Steyr) inaugurés le 12 mars 1961 dans l'ancienne mairie technique (« Technische Rathaus ») du 3 de la « Leopold Werndl Straße » (anciennement, « Garstnerstraße ») ; aujourd'hui, propriété de monsieur Josef Hack (d'où le nom « Hackvilla ») . Karl Almeroth vécut dans cette maison de 1885 à 1894.

Texte de la plaque commémorative

In den Jahren 1885-1894

Doktor Anton Bruckner

Bei seinem Freund und Gönner

Karl Almeroth

(12. März 1961 - Technische Rathaus Josef Hack)

...

Eine Bruckner-Gedenktafel, die aus privater Initiative entstanden ist, wurde im Haus Leopold Werndl Straße 3 enthüllt. Der Stifter der Gedenktafel ist Herr Technische Rathaus Josef Hack, der Besitzer dieses Hauses.

Die Gedenktafel ist unterhalb einer Brucknerbüste angebracht. Carl Almeroth war früher Besitzer des Hauses. (Steyrer Kalender, 1962)

...

Karl Almeroth : Fabrikant, Generalvertreter der Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft. Geboren 9.12.1852 in Wien ; gestorben 3.10.1906 in Wien.

Karl Almeroth, Teilnehmer. Aufgenommen am 25.01.1889. Realitätenbesitzer in Steyr. Vorgeschlagen durch Rudolf Blümel, Gustav Koppel und Moriz Mayr. Mitglied des Billard-Clubs. Mit 29.01.1894 ausgetreten, hat wenig Gelegenheit in Wien zu sein.

Karl Almeroth war Fabrikant, Generalvertreter der Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft beziehungsweise der Alpinen Montangesellschaft in Steyr und Wien.

Die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft ist ein historisches österreichisches Unternehmen der Eisenindustrie und Eisenvermarktung.

Die Gesellschaft trägt mit Innerberg den bis ins 18. Jahrhundert verwendeten alten Namen der beim steirischen Erzberg gelegenen Stadt Eisenerz. Der Name Gewerkschaft hat nichts mit Arbeitnehmervertretung zu tun. Die Gewerke waren selbständige Unternehmer, und zwar die Radmeister, welche die Roheisenerzeugung besorgten, die Hammermeister oder Hammerherren, die sich mit der Verarbeitung des Roheisens zu Stahl und Eisen befassen und die Eisenhändler oder Verleger, die den weiten Vertrieb der Eisenwaren durchführten. Die Gewerkschaft war in diesem Fall ein Zusammenschluss der Gewerke. Ein Gewerke war zumeist nicht nur Industrieller sondern auch Gutsbesitzer, der einen Großteil seines Bedarfs an Brennstoff und Lebensmitteln aus seinem eigenen Grund und Boden bezog.

Die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft bestand von 1625 bis 1881. Sie war ein Vorgängerunternehmen der Österreichisch-Alpine Montangesellschaft und damit auch der heute bestehenden voestalpine AG. In der wechselvollen Geschichte dieser Unternehmungen bestehen gewisse Parallelen, vor allem was die mehrmaligen Änderungen der Struktur der Eigentumsverhältnisse betrifft. Zeitweise waren diese Unternehmungen gänzlich verstaatlicht, zeitweise waren zum Teil verstaatlicht und zum Teil privat und zeitweise auch überwiegend oder zur Gänze in privatem Eigentum.

Im 14. Jahrhundert wurde durch Verfügung des Landesfürsten der Abbau des Eisenerzes am steirischen Erzberg, die Erzeugung des Roheisens und die Weiterverarbeitung klar geordnet. Die obere Berghälfte wurde vom südlich gelegenen Vordernberg aus erschlossen, während der untere Teil von Innerberg, dem heutigen Eisenerz, ausgebeutet wurde. Eine waagerechte Linie in 1186 m Seehöhe, die so genannte Ebenhöhe, unterteilte den Berg. Eine Eisenordnung, erlassen 1448, führte auch zu einer Teilung der Absatzgebiete. Nordeuropa wurde von Innerberg beliefert, während Südosteuropa, über Venedig bis in die Levante, Eisen aus Vordernberg erhielt. Der Eisenhandel konzentrierte sich in Steyr und Leoben, die sich diesbezüglich als privilegierte Zentren durchsetzen konnten. Schon im Jahre 1287 erhielt Steyr vom Landesfürsten das Große Privileg für den Handel mit Innerberger Eisen und 1314 Leoben für den Handel mit dem Vordernberger Eisen.

Das Roheisen wurde ab dem 15. Jahrhundert in Radwerken erzeugt. In Innerberg gab es 19 und im Vordernberg 14 Radwerke. Die Betriebe gehörten den einzelnen Gewerken, die wiederum Erzrechte am Berg besaßen. Die Erzgewinnung geschah durch die bei den Gewerken angestellten Knappen.

Wie dies häufig der Fall ist, wurde auch im damaligen Eisenwesen beim Handel besser verdient als bei der Erzeugung. Die Eisenhändler wurden Verleger genannt, weil Sie den Rad- und Hammermeistern Verlag, das heißt eine Vorfinanzierung, gewähren mußten. Die finanzielle Überlegenheit der Verleger bewirkte mit der Zeit eine Abhängigkeit der Rad- und Hammergewerken.

Um eine Verbesserung der Situation zu erreichen, wurden im Jahre 1625 unter Kaiser Ferdinand II. die Hauptglieder des Eisenwesens im Bereich nördlich des Erzberges in einer Gesellschaft zusammengefasst. Es waren dies 19 Radwerke in Innerberg (Eisenerz), 18 Welschhammerwerke samt den dazugehörigen kleinen Hämmern bei Großreifling, Sankt Gallen, Weißenbach an der Enns und Altenmarkt bei Sankt Gallen, ferner 17 Hammerwerke in der Laussa, in Kleinreifling und Reichraming, sieben Hammerwerke in Weyer und zwei Hammerwerke zu Hollenstein an der Ybbs samt Gebäuden, Grundstücken und Wäldern und die Eisenhändler der Stadt Steyr. Das Ganze erfolgte unter starker Kontrolle des landesfürstlichen Kammergrafenamtes. Damit war das damals größte Industrieunternehmen Österreichs entstanden. Die Gewerken und Hammermeister wurden zu Teilhabern. Aus diesen Schichten kamen auch die leitenden Beamten der neuen Gesellschaft. Im Vordernberger und Leobener Bereich blieb die Struktur im Wesentlichen unverändert.

Die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft war mit 2.000 bis 3.000 Beschäftigten und einer Jahresproduktion von circa 5.000 Tonnen Eisen im 17. Jahrhundert das größte Eisen produzierende Unternehmen der Welt. Zu diesem frühkapitalistischen Montankonzern gehörten auch ein umfangreichen Waldbesitz, Waldnutzungsrechte, Einrichtungen zur Holzflößung und die Holzkohlenerzeugung.

Im Erzabbau und bei der Erzaufbereitung waren relativ wenige Personen beschäftigt. So beschäftigte im Jahre 1678 die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft 2.624 Personen, davor nur 153 Bergknappen. Dagegen wurden für die Radwerke und die Holzbesorgung 824 Arbeiter benötigt, für die Hammerwerke 973 und die Köhlerei 800.

An der Spitze standen die leitenden Beamten, die zwar einerseits Amtsträger des Landesfürsten waren, andererseits als sogenannte Verweser selbst Unternehmerfunktionen wahrnahmen. Daneben standen ein Bergrichter und einige Schreiber und darunter, aber über den Arbeitern, die Vorarbeiter, die sogenannten Hutleute.

Als sich herausstellte, daß auch nach dem Zusammenschluss in der neuen Konstruktion die Abhängigkeit von den Steyrer Eisenhändlern bestehen blieb und daß diese hohe Gewinne lukrierten, während die Gesamtgewerkschaft Verluste schrieb, wurde 1669 eine Reorganisation vorgenommen. Dabei wurde die Gewerkschaft dem Kammergrafenamt völlig unterstellt und damit zum quasi-öffentlichen, staatlich gelenkten und kontrollierten Betrieb. Der Sitz des Kammergrafen befand sich im Kammerhof in Innerberg-Eisenerz.

Als die englische Konkurrenz immer stärker wurde, übernahm 1783 die Stadt Steyr das Alleineigentum an der Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft. Das Kammergrafenamt wurde abgeschafft und die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft erhielt im Jahre 1787 wieder ihre Selbständigkeit zugestanden und Steyr übernahm deren Führung.

1798 verkaufte die Stadt Steyr ihre Gewerkschaftsanteile an die Kaiserlich und Königlich privaten Canal- und Bergbaugesellschaft. 1807 schließlich, in höchster Not und im patriotischen Gefühl der Napoleonischen Kriege ging die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft wieder zur Gänze in staatliche Verfügungsgewalt über, nämlich an das Montan-Ärar. Mit der Leitung betraute man die Kaiserlich und Königlich Hofkammer für das Münz- und Bergwesen. Im Jahre 1818 entstand die Kaiserlich und Königlich steiermärkisch-österreichische Eisenwerks Direction im Sitz in Eisenerz.

Die Modernisierung und Reduzierung der Anzahl der Frischhütten und Hammerwerke, der Bau dreier Hochöfen in Eisenerz und Hieflau als Ersatz für die unrentabel gewordenen alten Floßöfen und der verbesserte Transport auf und im Erzberg führte dazu, das die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft ein sehr solides Unternehmen wurde.

Nach der Verstaatlichung am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts wurde sie 1869 wieder privatisiert. Als Folge der Niederlage im Deutschen Krieg im Jahre 1866 mußte der Staat, um seinen Verpflichtungen nachkommen zu können, die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft verkaufen. Käufer war die Österreichische Creditanstalt, die jedoch unter den Folgen des Gründerkrachs vom Jahre 1873 sehr zu kämpfen hatte.

Im Jahr 1881 wurde die Österreichisch-Alpine Montangesellschaft gegründet, von der die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft gemeinsam mit den meisten anderen steirischen und kärntnerischen Industrieunternehmen des Eisenwesens übernommen wurde.

...

Er war von 1889 bis 1894 Mitglied des Wiener Künstlervereines. Er war ein guter Freund des Wiener Bildhauers

Professor Viktor Oskar Tilgner, in Steyr Schöpfer der Werndlgruft, des Werndl- und Bruckner-Denkmal sowie der Schubertbüste am Haus Stadtplatz 16. Auch der Symphoniker Professor Anton Bruckner zählte zu seinen besten Freunden. Beide galten als « Ehestifter » für seine Heirat mit Frau Elisabeth Pracherstorfer aus Unterhimmel Nummer 4, geboren am 16. Februar 1871, Tochter eines Steinmetzmeisters. Die Hochzeit fand am 03. Juli 1893 in der evangelischen Kirche A. B. Wien I. Dorotheergasse 18 statt. Viktor Oskar Tilgner war Trauzeuge und Anton Bruckner spielte auf der Orgel. Am 31. Oktober 1895 wurde ihr Sohn Carl Anton geboren. Anton Bruckner war sein Taufpate. Sie wohnten zuerst in Steyr, Dukartstraße 11, anschließend in der Villa Garstnerstraße 3 und später in Wien 8. Lenaugasse 17. Im März 1892 kaufte er in Neuzeug ein Sägewerk und baute an dessen Stelle eine moderne Messer-Klingenfabrik nach Solinger-Art. 1894 verkaufte er die Klingenschlägerei an Herrn Otto Christ. Karl Almeroth gehörte zum engsten Freundes- und Förderkreis von Anton Bruckner. Er stellte immer wieder gesellschaftliche Kontakte her. Er war wichtiges Mitglied des « Steyrer Consortiums » und unternahm mit Bruckner viele Ausflüge im « Zeugl » (Pferdegespann, daher auch sein Spitzname « Wagerl ») . Er war Widmungsträger des Chores Abendzauber und publizierte auch Artikel über Bruckner (Orgelimprovisation, Denkmal) .

Am 16. April 1896 starb sein Freund Professor Viktor Oskar Tilgner und im Oktober 1896 sein Freund Professor Anton Bruckner. Auf der Schleife des Rosenbouquets, welches Bruckner im Sarg in den Händen hielt, stand : Vom kleinen Karl Anton - seinem Taufpaten. Im Jahr 1897 starb dann auch noch seine geliebte Gattin Elisabeth, genannt Elsa oder Elserl, mit 26 Jahren. Mit seiner zweiten Ehefrau Johanna Muley hatte er einen Sohn und eine Tochter. Karl Almeroth starb am 3. Oktober 1906 im 54. Lebensjahr in Wien.

(Foto) Almeroth und Angermann (1892) .

In Steyr zählte auch der Advokat Doktor Franz Angermann (1854-1918) zu seinen Freunden.

Sein Vater Johann Almeroth war Vertreter der Innerberger Gewerkschaft und hatte bis Oktober 1871 sein Eisen- und Stahllager im Schönauer Kasten (Stadl) neben der Neutorbrücke und anschl. im Innerbergerstadl (Grünmarkt 26 - heute Museum der Stadt Steyr) . Er ließ sich 1867-1868 von den Baumeistern Anton und Johann Pichler eine mächtige Villa in der Garstnerstraße 3 (heute Leopold Werndlstraße 3) bauen. 1877 ging die Villa in den Besitz von Frau Margaretha Moritsch (geborene Almeroth) über. Von ihr erbte diese 1896 der minderjährige Herbert Moritsch Edler von Morenau. Später war die Familie Hack im Besitz dieser Villa.

...

6 août 1884 : Message de Anton Bruckner au chef d'orchestre Arthur Nikisch ...

« Requesting postponement of the concert till student term begins. I expect to gain many supporters among the young people. “ Gaudeamus igitur ”. I have begun my 8th Symphony ... »

WAB 129

20 août 1884 : WAB 129 - « Perger Präludium » (prélude de Perg) en do majeur pour orgue (ou harmonium) solo. Composée entre les 7e et 8e Symphonies lors d'une visite à Saint-Florian. Le manuscrit original est maintenant considéré comme perdu. Le Prélude a heureusement survécu grâce à 2 arrangements pour harmonium composés à l'intention de son ami et compagnon de voyage à Bayreuth : le docteur Karl Josef Diernhofer, maire du village de Perg, en plus d'être marchand de cuir et organiste à l'église paroissiale.

Une plaque commémorative qui orne la résidence du 24 de la « Herrenstraße » rappelle que, le 20 août 1884, le compositeur Anton Bruckner dédia un court prélude pour orgue en hommage à son ami Karl Josef Diernhofer, marchand de cuir, organiste et maire de Perg.

Une plaque commémorative (sur le même thème) orne également la façade de l'actuelle mairie (« Rathaus »), située sur la « Hauptplatz ». De facture Classique (s'inspirant des bâtiments grandioses de la « Ringstraße » de Vienne), l'édifice (dont on ignore qui sont les architectes) fut érigé en 1876 pour remplacer l'ancien Hôtel-de-ville de 1736 détruit par un incendie. En 2005, le « Rathaus » de Perg a été nommé bien patrimonial.

Anton Bruckner venait souvent dans les environs de Perg pour y jouer de l'orgue : son instrument de prédilection. La grand-mère d'Anton Bruckner, Marie-Thérèse Pruckner, est née dans le village de Perg.

Le « Perger Präludium » est probablement la pièce la plus courte (avec 27 mesures) et la moins connue des œuvres significatives de Bruckner. Elle semble être la seule œuvre pour orgue provenant de sa période tardive. L'influence de Richard Wagner est omniprésente. Le thème d'ouverture s'apparente à l'aria de « l'Étoile de la nuit » tiré de l'Opéra « Tannhäuser » puis les 3 mesures suivantes nous fait soudainement pénétrer dans le royaume de « Tristan und Isolde » et la « scène de l'adieu » de Wotan.

1re édition : UE 8752, Josef Venantius von Wöb, Universal-Edition, Vienne (1926) ; supplément à la revue « Musica Divina » XIV/10. Avec un avant-propos de Josef Venantius von Wöb.

« Anton Bruckner Orgelwerke » : Hans Haselböck, édition Ludwig Döblinger, Vienne (1970) ; en dehors de la nouvelle édition complète : Neuen Gesamtausgabe (NGA) .

Belwin Mills (Kalmus Organ Library, n° 3266) , page 20. Fin modifiée.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XII/6, édition Erwin Horn (1999) , page 16 ; esquisse imprimée en page 17.

Aujourd'hui, des éditeurs offre même une 3e version avec orgue.

(Photo) Une copie du manuscrit du « Prélude de Perg », autographiée par Bruckner, utilisée par la chorale de l'église, en 1927.

...

WAB 129 (1884) : « Perger Präludium » ; Prelude of Perg in C major for organ (or harmonium) .

The Prelude for organ in C major, the so-called « Perger Prelude » (or « Perger Präludium ») , is one of the least-known, perhaps the shortest, yet one of the most significant works by Anton Bruckner. Composed during an 1884 visit to Saint-Florian, the original manuscript is believed lost. The work survived in a 2 staved arrangement for harmonium which Bruckner made for his friend Karl Josef Diernhofer of Perg, providing the work's nickname. Modern editors of the score have provided a 3rd stave for organ performance.

This brief work (with 27 measures) was composed between the 7th and 8th Symphonies and is believed to be the only organ work of Bruckner's late-period. The influence of Richard Wagner is heavy, the opening subject bearing a resemblance to the « Evening Star » aria from the Opera « Tannhäuser » and within 3 measures entering the realm of « Tristan » and Wotan's « Farewell » . Even more significant is the remarkable tonal growth which begins at measure 7. A decade later, a similar passage will have emerged ghostlike in the Adagio of the 9th Symphony. In binary form, after a full measure's rest the reprise nestles the music to a serene close firmly in C major. However, it is the subtle link with Anton Bruckner's last completed musical utterance which renders this tiny work a sign post in the transition from the 19th to the 20th Century music.

The « Perger Prelude » is one of Anton Bruckner's shortest and least well-known works. Despite its brevity, it is, by no means, as simple in design as its scale might suggest. Rather, the Prelude is an ornately carved doll house. As we peer in through a window, we discover a drama being played out 4 characters come and go, and one more lurks in the shadows. To follow their story, we must look through the different windows of the house, as the action moves from room to room. It is thus that we must examine the Prelude : from several perspectives, all necessary to understand this brief, yet rich work.

The story concerns 5 characters who represent the central players in this piece. The main character is a harmonic motive (V-VI) that appears on both the surface of the Prelude, and at the level of the deep structure. The supporting roles are played by a motive of interval classes, a chameleon (whose colours change with the re-interpretation of functional roles throughout the piece) , and the part of the mysterious stranger is played by the key of A, always lurking in the shadows. Finally, the Master himself, Richard Wagner, makes several cameo appearances over the course of the work ; his interjections are akin to dramatic asides that comment on the music from without.

Bruckner was recognized for his abilities as an improviser at the organ, but committed few works for that instrument to paper. Written in 1884, the same year that he began work on the 1st version of the 8th Symphony. The Prelude is the only surviving work for organ that Bruckner wrote after his study with the conductor Otto Kitzler when he moved to Vienna.

Although, the autograph score of the « Perger Prelude » is lost, the work survives as a transcription for harmonium. The accompanying dedication to mayor Karl Josef Diernhofer of Perg, dated 20 August 1884, reads as follows :

« Your Honour Mister Josef Diernhofer, Perg.

Your Honour !

At present, I am staying at Kremsmünster, where I have copied for you the little piece (“ Stückchen ”) composed at Saint-Florian.

I would be very happy if it should please you.

My Symphony in D minor, including a piano reduction, has been published by Rättig, in Vienna ; my Quintet by Albert J. Gutmann, in Vienna (Opera Theatre) .

Your noble taste and enthusiasm for art redound to your highest ... »

L'orgue de l'église paroissiale « Sankt Jakobi » de Perg

En 1665, le directeur du marché publique de Perg, George Hagenauer, décide de faire ériger un nouvel orgue (le facteur et le type d'instrument sont aujourd'hui inconnus) . De 1673 à 1677, le Maître d'école Richard Christoph Haimb devient le 1er organiste titulaire de l'église paroissiale de « Sankt Jakobi » . En 1708, l'orgue sera lourdement endommagé (ou complètement détruit) lors d'un grave incendie. En 1828, le facteur Sebastian Schwarzmayr de Wippenham est choisi pour construire un nouvel instrument (on ignore aujourd'hui ses caractéristiques et sa place à l'intérieur de l'enceinte) ; il sera utilisé jusqu'en 1861. 1862-1863 : un orgue comprenant 12 registres du facteur Franz Xaver Meindl de « Ybbs an der Donau » (affluent de la rive droite du Danube) , du district de Melk en Basse-Autriche, sera installé durant le règne du curé Carl Auer. Il sera inauguré le **20 janvier 1863** par Anton Bruckner, l'organiste titulaire à l' « Alter Dom » de Linz, qui en fera alors une évaluation rigoureuse. Insatisfait de la sonorité de départ, il décide de rester sur place jusqu'à ce que l'instrument reçoive sa « bénédiction » (certification) . En 1875, le facteur entreprendra des réparations. En 1893, Bruckner va être de retour à Perg pour assister, en présence de Meindl, à l'inauguration de la mise à niveau de l'instrument qui possède dorénavant 23 registres. En 1903, l'entretien de l'orgue est accordé au facteur Breinbauer de Ottenheim. Déjà en 1911, le curé Johann Evangelist Stauchner avait à l'idée de remplacer toute la mécanique. Lors de son démantèlement pour faire place à l'instrument actuel, la découverte d'inscriptions faites au crayon révèle que des réparations de même qu'une maintenance soutenue avaient été effectuées en 1917, 1941, 1950 et 1973. L'orgue moderne de l'église paroissiale de « Sankt Jakobi » de Perg fut inauguré le 23 mars 1983 par l'évêque diocésain, Monseigneur Maximilian Aichern.

L'église paroissiale « Sankt Jakobi » de Perg

L'église paroissiale gothique de « Sankt Jakobi » est à voûte unique. Elle fut mentionnée pour la 1re fois dans un registre datant de 1363. En 1416, une chapelle vouée à Saint-Jacques sera érigée à cet endroit. En 1528, est agrandie et sacrée église. Lors de travaux, on découvre des fresques sur les façades Est et Sud de la tour qui datent de sa

construction. En 1542, une paroisse sera fondée. La tour du clocher est de 48 mètres de hauteur. Les magnifiques fonts baptismaux à l'intérieur sont de marbre rouge.

Perg

Le territoire de Perg se trouve d'un côté, dans la pleine fertile du « Machland » et de l'autre, au pied du Massif de Bohême. Perg est située à environ 25 kilomètres à l'est de Linz et au sud à seulement quelques kilomètres du fleuve Danube. Le centre-ville se trouve à l'endroit où la Naarn, un affluent du Danube, quitte sa vallée profondément érodée et entre dans la plaine du Machland.

La bourgade de Perg fut fondée par la Maison des Babenberg située dans la partie orientale du duché de Bavière. Elle appartiendra à l'Autriche dès le 12^e siècle. Perg doit son nom aux « Seigneurs de Perge » dont on trouve des traces dans des documents datant du 11^e siècle. En 1269, la commune de Perg reçoit des privilèges commerciaux (le droit de marché) de la part du roi Ottokar II de Bohême. Dès le début du 14^e siècle, les habitants ont droit à leur propre tribunal. À partir de 1490, Perg fera partie de la principauté de l'Autriche sur l'Ems. Pendant les Guerres de la Révolution française, le général Édouard Adolphe Mortier va y installer, en 1805, un camp militaire. Devenu indépendant en 1542, Perg va être occupé, à plusieurs reprises, durant les guerres napoléoniennes.

Perg offre à ses visiteurs un certain nombre d'églises intéressantes et de bâtiments historiques, 2 musées avec des collections variées et des monuments extraordinaires comme la colonne de la peste et les pierres de la justice qui rappellent l'histoire de la ville.

Du centre-ville historique, il ne reste que l'église paroissiale de « Sankt Jakobi » et la maison du savonnier ; plusieurs incendies ont détruit le reste.

Les principaux sites touristiques :

« Pergkirchen » : Église gothique vouée à Saint-Martin, possédant des éléments de style Roman. Elle est mentionnée dès 1088. Au cours des 15^e et 16^e siècles, elle subit plusieurs modifications. En 1527, on rajouta la chapelle de Sainte-Marguerite (« Sankt Margaret ») .

La « Kalvarienbergkirche » : L'église du Mont-du-Calvaire fut érigée sur une petite butte, entre 1734 et 1754. Visible de loin, elle représente l'emblème de Perg. Le conseil du marché ordonna sa construction afin de protéger les citoyens des désastres naturels et des épidémies. Il s'agit d'une rotonde du Baroque finissant avec un intérieur de style Rococo. Le bâtiment sera consacré en 1765 en l'honneur du Saint-Sauveur sur la croix.

« Burgfriedenstein » : Les « Pierres de la Justice » démarquaient le territoire de la juridiction locale.

La « Herrenstraße » (carte postale datant de 1920) : Vie de tous les jours dans la « Herrenstraße » .

La fontaine en granit (octogonale à 4 trombes) de Perg est située sur la place centrale. Elle fut construite durant la seconde moitié du 17^e siècle.

« Einhorn » : La grande sculpture d'une licorne inspiré des Armoiries de la ville. (Les armoiries de Perg montrent une colline noire avec 3 sommets sur fond rouge et un licorne couleur argent. Le rapport entre le licorne et la ville n'est pas connu ; peut-être s'agit-il d'une référence à un conte oublié de nos jours.)

La « Seifensiederhaus » (maison du savonnier) : La maison du fabricant de savon (incluant un atelier et une chaudière pour le bouillage) , située près du centre-ville, fut construite en 1563. De 1671 à 1879, elle hébergea une savonnerie. La façade de style Baroque avec ses belles décorations en stuc datent de 1720. Elle fut rénovée en l'an 2000.

« Perger Stainprecher » : La Ire teinturerie de Perg est mentionné en 1391.

« Martin Neugschwendner Geburtshaus » : À la maison natale de Martin Neugschwendner se trouve une plaque commémorative rappelant le geste courageux de cet homme, qui sauva la ville de Schrobenshausen de la mise à sac par des troupes anglaises et autrichiennes.

Le « Pranger » (pilori) : Cette colonne (un pilier de forme carrée, en granit) située sur la place principale de Perg fut érigé en 1583 (ou 1587) . Elle servait à exposer des condamnés au mépris et à l'indignation du public.

La « Heimathaus » : Le musée historique de Perg et de ses environs propose aux visiteurs une documentation impressionnante. Les pièces exposées mettent l'accent sur l'industrie de la pierre et des meules et sur l'exploitation des mines : des leviers importants de la région.

« Steinbrecherhaus » : La petite maison du casseur de pierres (qui travaille avec une meule) fut construite en 1802. Il s'agit d'une maison typique (avec un mobilier d'origine) de la famille d'un ouvrier qui travaillait dans les carrières meulières, située dans les anciennes carrières de Perg. Transformée en musée, en 2007, on y présente les conditions de vie de gens simples du passé.

« Erdstall Ratgöbluckn » : À quelques pas de la maison du « casse-pierres » se trouve une écurie troglodyte d'une longueur de 106 mètres qui date de 1,000 ans avant Jésus-Christ. Il s'agit d'une caverne avec un système de galeries, creusée par l'homme pour offrir à la population la possibilité de se cacher et de se retirer au cas d'une attaque ennemie. Elle est aujourd'hui classé site culturel patrimonial et se trouve sous la juridiction de la Société historique de Perg (« Heimatverein ») .

...

Der Erdstall Ratgöbluckn in Perg ist der größte gefahrlos begehbarer Erdstall im Mühlviertel.

Er befindet sich in der Stadtgemeinde Perg am Rand des Machlands im Bezirk Perg in Oberösterreich und steht als

schützenswertes Kulturgut unter Denkmalschutz.

Der Erdstall befindet sich in dem 1881 vom Verschönerungsverein als Spazierweg angelegten, nach der Gemahlin Erzherzog Rudolfs, Prinzessin Stephanie von Belgien, benannten Stephaniehain. Es handelt sich in der äußeren Hälfte um ein in Sandstein und in der inneren Hälfte in Flins (verwitterter Granit) gehauenes, unterirdisches, stark verzweigtes Gänge- und Kammernsystem, das wie viele andere um ungefähr 1000 nach Christus als Zufluchts- und Versteckmöglichkeit angelegt wurde. Der ursprünglich angelegte Erdstall dürfte im Verlauf der Jahrhunderte um mehrere Kammern im vorderen Teil erweitert worden sein. 1905 veranlasste der damalige Bürgermeister von Perg, Michael Fries, daß der Erdstall durch Stützen und Mauerungen in den Gängen vor dem Einsturz bewahrt wurde.

Die Anlage wurde 1944 im Auftrag des Landrates Gustav Brachmann im Rahmen eines Schulprojektes unter der Leitung von Hauptschuldirektor Karl Stummer von Schülern der 4. Klasse Hauptschule Perg untersucht, vermessen und in einem Plan festgehalten :

Demnach hat das größtenteils ausreichend hohe und leicht begehbare Gängenetz eine Gesamtlänge von 106 Metern und besteht aus 22 Gangstücken beziehungsweise Röhren, die 8 Kammern oder breitere Räume miteinander verbinden, in denen sich 2 Sitz- und 19 Lichtnischen befinden. Die Gänge sind stark ansteigend angelegt, sodass zwischen Eingang und höchstem Punkt ein Niveauunterschied von 5,4 Metern besteht. Bei dieser gründlichen Erforschung ergaben sich keine Anhaltspunkte, daß der Erdstall, wie in einigen älteren Schriften angeführt, über Verbindungsgänge zu einer Burg der Herren von Perg auf dem Dollberg, zum Markt Perg oder zu der mehrere Kilometer von Perg entfernt gelegenen Burg Mitterberg verfügte.

1945 erfolgte auf Veranlassung des Marktgemeindeamtes der Verschluss des Erdstalls durch eine Mauer. 1973 fasste der Heimatverein Perg den Beschluss, den Erdstall wieder zugänglich zu machen. 1975 wurde ein neuer Eingang freigelegt, mit Granitsteinmauern abgesichert und mit einem schmiedeeisernen Tor abgeschlossen. Seit 1976 ist der Erdstall wieder für die Allgemeinheit zugänglich. Erst 2002 wurde im Erdstall eine elektrische Beleuchtung installiert, da sich die zuvor bei Führungen verwendeten Fackeln nachteilig für den Erhaltungszustand ausgewirkt haben. Im selben Jahr bildete der Erdstall die Kulisse für einen im Auftrag des ZDF gedrehten dreiteiligen Film über den 30-jährigen Krieg.

2011 drehte die Theatergruppe Mining einen Kurzfilm, der bei der Begleitausstellung zur Landesausstellung 2012 in einem Verlies sowie danach in einer Dauerausstellung gezeigt werden soll.

Die zu den Außenanlagen des Heimatmuseums Stadtmuseum Perg zählende Freilichtanlage gehört seit 1976 zu den schützenswerten Kulturgütern nach der Haager Konvention. 2009 wurde der Erdstall im Ensemble mit dem Mühlsteinbruch Scherer und dem Steinbrecherhaus mittels Bescheid unter Denkmalschutz gestellt und wird im Rahmen des Donauradwegs und des Donausteigs als Sehenswürdigkeit angeführt.

« Perger Mühlsteinbrecher » : La carrière de Perg est créée en 1582, sous le règne de l'Empereur Rodolphe II. Elle sera complètement en opération jusqu'en 1895. Elle sera fermée après la Première Guerre mondiale. Aujourd'hui, on peut visiter une partie du site.

Les ruines du « Mitterberger » se trouvent à l'est de Perg (à environ 45 minutes, en empruntant la piste de randonnée) . Déjà en 1673, ces ruines furent le sujet d'une gravure sur cuivre de l'artiste Clemens Beuttler. Aujourd'hui, on peut à peine discerner les restes en bois.

Les « Tranches de Manner » : Manner SA, le plus grand producteur de friandises en Autriche, produit ses gaufrettes « Mannerschnitten » (tranches de Manner) à Perg dans le plus grand four à gaufrettes du monde.

La Fête de Perg : La plus grande fête de l'année qui a toujours lieu à la fin de l'été avec des prestations de musique, des saltimbanques, des artistes de la rue, un programme pour enfants et, bien-sûr, tout pour le palais et l'estomac.

En 1969 (soit 700 ans après avoir obtenu le droit de marché) , Perg fut élevée au rang de ville. Depuis 1938, les communes de « Pergkirchen » et de « Weinzierl zu Perg » ont été incorporées à la commune de Perg.

Perg est une localité dans le « Land » de la Haute-Autriche. Elle est la capitale du district du même nom.

Le district de Perg est subdivisé en 26 communes :

Allerheiligen im Mühlkreis.

Arbing.

Bad Kreuzen.

Baumgartenberg.

Dimbach.

Grein.

Katsdorf.

Klam.

Langenstein.

Luftenberg an der Donau.

Mauthausen.

Mitterkirchen im Machland.

Münzbach.

Naarn im Machlande.

Pabneukirchen.

Perg.

Rechberg.

Ried in der Riedmark.

Saxen.

Schwertberg.

Sankt Georgen am Walde.

Sankt Georgen an der Gusen.

Sankt Nikola an der Donau.

Sankt Thomas am Blasenstein.

Waldhausen im Strudengau.

Windhaag bei Perg.

21 août 1884 : Le lendemain de la composition de son Prélude de Perg (« Perger Präludium ») , Anton Bruckner va esquisser 3 thèmes pour une improvisation à l'orgue en do mineur (« Bausteine zu seiner Lebensgeschichte ») à l'église du monastère de Kremsmünster.

Ire édition : Franz Gräflinger (1876-1962) . Reinhard Piper & Co. , Munich (1911) .

21 août 1884 : The « Perger Prelude » in C for organ of Anton Bruckner is performed for the 1st time, in Kremsmünster Abbey.

Fin d'été 1884 : En revenant de Bayreuth, Anton Bruckner décide de s'arrêter à Munich.

« Paixhanslia » et « Schlaraffia »

Mercredi, 3 septembre 1884 : Anton Bruckner devient membre honoraire (tout comme l'écrivain Franz Stelzhamer) du chapitre « Paixhanslia », le club local (« Reych ») n° 315 du mouvement « Schlaraffia ». L'origine du terme « Paixhanslia » provient du canon « Paixhans » qui sera récupéré comme symbole militant : l'esprit plaisantin et satyrique permet à ses membres de tirer à boulets rouges créant une brèche dans les remparts de l'hypocrisie. Les cérémonies sont des parodies des rituels militaires. Les membres portent des noms purement imaginaires. Cette association « pour hommes seulement » (généralement d'âge mûr et occupant des postes sécurisés) fera la promotion des arts, de la tolérance, de l'amitié et de la joie de vivre. Incidemment, il y a une certaine ressemblance avec la franc-maçonnerie.

La nomination de Bruckner au sein de « Paixhanslia » est dû au fait que Friedrich Hueber, son grand-neveu (dit « Trawi Trawi »), était un « chevalier » du chapitre (club local) de Vöcklabruck. Le Maître de Saint-Florian sera baptisé « Credo » (« Non confundare in æternam ») à cause de son « penchant » pour la piété et la dévotion. Parions que la bonne chair, la bière et la musique étaient au rendez-vous.

Personnalités membres du mouvement « Schlaraffia » (avec leur surnom)

Beethoven, Ludwig van : « Florestan » .

Erhardt, Heinz : « Alberich von Schalk » .

Ginzkey, Franz Karl : « Jakobus vom Attersee » .

Gœthe, Johann Wolfgang : « Faust » .

Grillparzer, Franz : « Jaromir » .

Haydn, Franz-Josef : « Symphonie » .

Jungmair, Rudolf : « Freidhof » .

Kaplan, Viktor : « Turbine » .

Löns, Hermann : « Mümmelmann » .

May, Karl : « Kara Ben Nemsî » .

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus : « Don Juan » .

Petzelt, Otto : « Daheim » .

Rosegger, Peter : « Heimgarten » .

Rubens, Peter Paul (Oder) : « Malerfürst » .

Schiller, Friedrich : « Funke » .

Schubert, Franz : « Erbkönig » .

Stifter, Adalbert : « Hochwald » .

Stelzhamer, Franz : « Piesenham » .

Stolz, Robert : « Servus Du » .

Wagner, Richard : « Parsifal » .

Sans compter ...

Les compositeurs Alfred Grünfeld, Richard Bruno Heydrich, Karl Komzák junior, Franz Lehár, Hans Pfitzner et Oscar Straus.

Les directeurs du « Staatsoper » de Vienne, Wilhelm Jahn et Gustav Mahler.

Les chanteurs d'Opéra Walter Berry, Oskar Hillebrandt et Franz Innozenz Nachbaur.

Les musiciens Erwin Bootz, Norbert Pawlicki et Horst Winter.

Les acteurs Gustl Bayrhammer, Richard Eybner, Alexander Girardi, Konrad Adolf Hallenstein, Attila und Paul Hörbiger.

Les comédiens et écrivains Fritz Grünbaum, Fritz Riha et Peter Wehle.

Les écrivains Ludwig Ganghofer, Peter Rosegger, Eduard Schmidt-Weißfels, Albert Sixtus, Rudolf Stürzer, Karl Heinrich Tinti.

Les peintres Leo Sebastian Humer et Leopold Matzal.

Le criminaliste Max Edelbacher.

Le météorologue de la ZDF : Uwe Wesp.

L'histoire de « Paixhanslia »

L'ancêtre du club social « Paixhanslia » s'appelait « Lucke ». La gaieté et la bonne humeur y régnaient ; la musique et le chant avaient une place prépondérante.

« Paixhanslia » a été fondé en 1855 (4 ans avant son grand frère « Schlaraffia ») . Martin Brown, propriétaire d'entreprise, fut élu 1er président ; son surnom : « Capitaine Schnautzle ». Le quartier général du chapitre de Vöcklabruck reproduit à petite échelle un château Moyen-âgeux aux allures de taverne. On l'appelle le château de « Paixburg ». Le manuscrit de fondation (« Luckenbrief ») orne ses murs. L'endroit est le soubassement (double) du 22 et 22a de la Stadtplatz. L'édifice patrimonial a été scrupuleusement conservé selon les normes établies entre 1575 et 1625. En consultant un plan datant de 1700, on peut le qualifier d'imposante maison seigneuriale « jumelée » avec ses 2 pignons, ses 2 entrées et ... ses 2 caves. La partie secondaire du « château » occupe la cave de droite alors que la partie principale occupe celle de gauche (vue de la place publique) . Plus tard, les 2 espaces seront reliés par un passage étroit. Le bâtiment a changé plusieurs fois de propriétaire. Il a servi de centre communautaire, de caserne, d'école, de théâtre municipal, de bureau de district et de tribunal d'instance. Les parties sans voûte de la structure ont subi de multiples rénovations entre 1978 et 1982 mais la double cave en pierre est demeurée dans son état d'origine. Avant l'arrivée de « Paixhanslia », le soubassement a servi d'entrepôt de marchandises, d'armes, de charbon et de chambre à débarras.

Un poème humoristique de 8 strophes rédigé le 19 juillet 1862 par l'écrivain, romancier et compositeur Franz Stelzhamer (1802-1874) , intitulé « A lustige Eicht » (un joyeux étalon) , deviendra l'hymne officiel de « Paixhanslia » . La 1re strophe servira de devise. Stelzhamer qui a publié 270 poèmes (et qui est l'auteur de l'hymne national de la Haute-Autriche) résidait à Salzbourg l'hiver mais passait ses étés à Vöcklabruck. (Le manuscrit de « A lustige Eicht » se trouve aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque de Haute-Autriche.)

Une adaptation sans génie pour chœur d'hommes sera composée par un membre du chapitre, le « Kapellmeister » du Liedertafel (orphéon) de Vöcklabruck, Anton David dit : « Paixhans Blasele » (né le 25 mai 1832 à Mauerkirchen) . Bruckner interviendra au niveau de la partition pour limiter les dégâts. C'est sa version « améliorée » qui ouvre encore aujourd'hui les réunions de la confrérie. (La mélodie d'Anton David a été intégrée au carillon d'Ebelsberger.)

« A lustigö eicht da herrgott selm gweicht » : singende jugend, G131 (1948) .

A'lustig Eicht

Hat da Hergott selm gweicht,
Selm gweicht und selm gsöngt,
Ruck'n Huat, wannsta göngt.

Und da sei aft der Narr nöt,

Der zifert und zöhlt,
Der'n Apfel eh arn anbeißt,
Zerst speidelt und schölt.

Vothua da koan - lazt
Zwögna - Nachat und Aft,
Hau, dö Bira, weil s' 'n hat,
Dadl laßt s' 'n, san Saft.

Zwanzger is Zwanzga.
der erst wie da löst
Floigt gern ab als wia's Vögerl
Bald's kann, aus'n Nöst.

Da erst und da löst
Hat ain'n Klang und ain'n Glanz,
Und vospielt oda gwunga,
Ganz ausggspielt wird d'Schanz.

Hat'n d'Kellnerin kripst,
Kringnt'n Spielleut, ain Ding !
Kains derf kenna, mein Geldkatz
Is s'schwar oda gring.

Mit an Juchatza kimmi
Mit an Kreuzsprung gehts furt,
« Schlick einö ! » « schleck obi ! »
Hm, Hadern ain Burd.

Drum a'lustigö Eicht
Hat da Herrgott selm gweicht,
Selm gweicht und selm gsöngt
Und a'Glück is 's, wenn s'gögnt.

(Vöcklabruck, 19 juillet 1862.)

Le docteur Franz Leitner est l'auteur de : « Anton Bruckner in Vöcklabruck » , édité en 1996.

L'historique de « Paixhanslia » (textes allemands)

1855 (vier Jahre vor der Gründung Schlaraffias) wurde in Vöcklabruck die « Paixhanslia » gegründet. Das Vereinslokal hieß Lucke. Die Aufnahme erfolgte durch Kugelung und anschließende Taufe.

An den Luckenabenden regierten in freundschaftlicher Geselligkeit Humor und Heiterkeit, Musik und Gesang. Ihr Ceremoniale war persiflierend dem Militärischen nachempfunden. Die Mitglieder trugen Phantasienamen.

Der erste Obmann der vorschlaraffischen « Paixhanslia » war der Fabrikbesitzer Martin Braun (Feldhauptmann Schnautzle) .

Bedeutende Bürger gehörten ihr an.

Große Söhne unserer Heimat wie Anton Bruckner und Franz Stelzhamer waren Ehrenmitglieder.

Der Name « Paixhanslia » wurde von der damals entwickelten Kanone Paixhans abgeleitet. Originalzitat aus der Zeitung Luckenteufel aus 1876 : « Ihr Zeichen ist die Kanone Paixhans, die " Paixhanslia " will damit andeuten, daß sie sich berufen fühle, durch eigenes Bestreben, durch Frohsinn und gute Laune, durch Witz und Satyre eine Bresche zu schießen in die Bollwerke des Zopfthums der Gleißnerei, Scheinheiligkeit, Wohldienerei und der melancholischen Kopfhängerei. » .

Die Kanone war nicht nur das Vereinssymbol in vorschlaraffischer Zeit, sie ist auch heute noch allgegenwärtig :

Im Paixwappen, als Ahne und beim Eintritt unserer Gäste, die mit einem Salut aus der Reichskanone begrüßt werden.

Kontakte zu Schlaraffenreichen ließen in den Paixhanseln die Überzeugung reifen, daß sie ihrem Wesen nach eigentlich Schlaraffen sind :

Am 10. Christmond anno Uhu 90 wurde die « Paixhanslia » als Reich Nummer 315 in den Weltbund « Schlaraffia » aufgenommen.

Das Vorgängerhaus und der Keller (Burg) wurden laut Baualtersplan des Bundesdenkmalamtes zwischen 1575 und 1625 erbaut. Die Paixburg ist demnach an die 400 Jahre alt. Laut einer Zeichnung aus 1700 war es ein stattliches Doppelhaus mit 2 Giebeln und 2 Einfahrten. Daraus erklärt sich auch der Grundriss unserer Burg, die eigentlich aus zwei Kellern besteht : Die Vorburg war der Keller des rechten Hauses und die Hauptburg der Keller des linken Hauses (vom Stadtplatz aus gesehen) . Später sind dann die beiden Keller mit einem schmalen Durchgang verbunden worden. Dieses Haus, das mehrfach den Eigentümer wechselte, diente als Bürgerhaus, Kaserne, Schule, städtisches Theater, Bezirkshauptmannschaft und Bezirksgericht.

Der Keller fand demnach Verwendung als Lagerraum für Waren aller Art, Waffen, Ausrüstung und Vorräte und zuletzt als Kohlenkeller und Rumpelkammer.

1978 bis 1982 wurde das Haus neu errichtet. Der Keller blieb erhalten.

Trotz einiger Innenveränderungen im Laufe der Jahrhunderte dürften die beiden Keller von Anfang an die derzeitige Größe und Gestalt gehabt haben, wofür die Bauweise des Gewölbes und die einheitlichen Baumaterialien sprechen. Alle Teile ohne Gewölbe sind 1978 bis 1982 neu erbaut worden (Eingang, Garderobe, Toiletten und Küche) .

L'historique de « Schlaraffia »

« Schlaraffia » (mouvement purement idéaliste et apolitique) n'a pas de buts fixes, ni d'ordre du jour. Les « Schlaraffen » croient fermement au respect entre les humains. Ils ne se soucient pas si un individu croit en Dieu ou non, ils ne tiennent pas compte de son statut professionnel ou de ses opinions politiques. Rivalité et jalousie n'ont pas leur place. L'humour et l'appréciation des arts demeurent des valeurs essentielles.

Les membres sont appelés « Schlaraffen » : des hommes généralement d'âge mûr occupant des postes sécurisés. Ils se rencontrent une fois la semaine, du 1er octobre au 30 avril.

La langue parlée durant les cérémonies est l'allemand. Les membres n'ont pas à être d'origine allemande mais ils doivent assez bien maîtriser la langue pour suivre ce qui se déroule.

« Sippungen » est le nom donné à la cérémonie « chevaleresque » qui s'y déroule : on dépeint le quotidien de manière satirique par des présentations littéraires et musicales.

Lors des « Sippungen », on utilise une langue archaïque (comme le Latin) à laquelle on introduit avec beaucoup de fantaisie des mots du vernaculaire. Par exemple : « poudre pot » veut dire pipe à tabac ; « essence cheval » veut dire voiture à moteur ; « château monstre » veut dire ... belle-mère !

Chaque chapitre doit afficher, à l'entrée de son « château », la « mascotte » (empaillée, sculptée ou peinte) du mouvement « Schlaraffia » : le grand aigle ou le hibou grand-duc (dit « bubon bubon ») . Les membres n'idolâtrèrent, ne prient, ni s'inclinent devant la créature. Il ne s'agit que de la parodie !

Un « Club des arts » de l'aristocratie pragoise, avec en son sein des membres de la noblesse des Habsbourg, bloquait systématiquement l'adhésion d'artistes populaires provenant du Théâtre allemand. Ces derniers réagirent au snobisme arrogant de la classe supérieure. Une association sera mise sur pied afin de promouvoir la création, la vertu, la sagesse, l'amitié et l'humour. Son nom : « Schlaraffia » (un mot insignifiant) . Ce terrain de jeu « intemporel » qui regroupent les communautés de langue allemande prendra plaisir à se moquer de la noblesse, de l'autorité et surtout ... de sois-même.

Les quelque 280 « Reychs » (chapters) demeurent toujours en étroit contact. Chaque « Schlaraffe » (membre) est le bienvenu partout dans le réseau.

Les « prétendants » doivent être parrainés par un « Schlaraffe » . Une période de probation est obligatoire avant le grand jour du vote. Les nouveaux élus devront amorcer leur ascension au bas de l'échelle passant de « fripon » à « écuyer » à « chevalier » . Parmi les personnalités connues, citons : Franz Lehár, Gustl Bayrhammer et Peter Rosegger.

Le mouvement « Schlaraffia » n'englobait à l'origine que les pays germanophones. Il fut fondé le 10 octobre 1859, avec le soutien d'un groupe d'artistes et d'amis des arts, de la musique et de la littérature (suite à l'intolérance en cours en Europe au 19^e siècle) , par Franz Thomé, directeur depuis 1842 du Théâtre National de Prague, en Bohême (une province de l'Empire Austro-Hongrois) .

L'acteur, metteur-en-scène et directeur de théâtre Francis Thomé est né le 24 novembre 1807 à Vienne et est décédé le 22 mai 1872 à Prague. Thomé a fait ses débuts à l'âge de 17 ans à Vienne. Il sera actif dans différents théâtres de la ville comme acteur ou metteur-en-scène. Il se joint à la Compagnie d'Opéra allemand et passe un peu de temps à Paris. En 1837, il reçoit une offre du Théâtre de Pest. Après un court séjour à Nuremberg, il devient directeur des scènes de Klagenfurt, Ljubljana et Trieste. Puis, il dirige les théâtres de Graz et de Riga. De 1858 à 1866, il est à la tête du Théâtre national de Prague et en profite pour fonder le Nouveau Théâtre. De 1867 à 1870, il est directeur du Théâtre de Linz. Il retourne ensuite de nouveau à Prague.

« Schlaraffia » était devenue une Société internationale largement reconnue et en pleine expansion. Avant le début de la Première Guerre mondiale, elle totalisera plus de 197 chapitres, principalement en Allemagne et en Autriche mais aussi en Amérique du Nord (San Francisco, Milwaukee, New York, Chicago, Newark, Cincinnati, Philadelphie, Jersey City, Cleveland, New Haven, Boston, Clifton, Buffalo, Washington et Denver) .

Le conflit viendra tout changé. À partir de 1918, plusieurs chapitres en Europe et à l'étranger cesseront leurs activités à cause du nouveau contexte politique.

Les idéaux de « Schlaraffia » permettront l'arrivée de plus de 100 nouveaux chapitres entre 1919 et 1937, principalement en Allemagne et dans les nouveaux pays de l'Est qui ont émergé de la monarchie des Habsbourg. En 1937, le mouvement va subir un dur coup lorsque le Chancelier Adolf Hitler ordonne la fermeture et la dissolution de tous les locaux de « Schlaraffia » en Allemagne et en Autriche. (Seuls les chapitres en Suisse, en Amérique du Nord et en Amérique du Sud vont demeurer actifs.)

Après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, les Communistes d'Europe de l'Est interdisent à leur tour les activités de « Schlaraffia » qui continueront dorénavant dans la clandestinité. Les américains, eux, se méfient de leur présence à cause de la grande quantité de germanophones. Tout cela était évidemment absurde et sans fondement.

Alors qu'à l'origine la plupart des membres étaient des artistes, l'échantillonnage contemporain va des chanteurs d'Opéra, aux acteurs de théâtre, aux peintres, aux ingénieurs, aux inventeurs, aux ouvriers et aux enseignants. Ils se disent tous des « descendants » des derniers chevaliers Romantiques. Leur approche n'a rien de dogmatique mais empreinte de subtilité. Ce qui a permis au mouvement de survivre malgré les crises de l'Histoire.

Aujourd'hui, on retrouve des chapitres en Allemagne, en Autriche, en Suisse, en Italie, en Espagne, en France, en Belgique, en Suède, aux États-Unis, au Canada, au Mexique, au Venezuela, en Colombie, en Équateur, au Brésil, en Argentine, en Thaïlande, en Afrique du Sud et en Australie.

Le siège social se trouve à Berne, en Suisse. Un conseil général composé de 15 membres représente les 5 zones de « Schlaraffia » : Allemagne, Autriche, Suisse, Amérique du Nord, Amérique latine. Au total : 261 chapitres.

Le nombre total de « Schlaraffen » s'élève à environ 11,000.

Les 26 chapitres nord-américains représentent 666 membres.

...

The « Schlaraffia » movement is a world-wide German-speaking Society founded by Franz Thomé in 1859, in Prague (then, Bohemia, part of the Austrian Empire) , with a pledge of friendship, art and humour.

The « Schlaraffen » , members of a men's organization (many of a mellow age and in secure positions) , meet in mid-winter (from 1 October to 30 April) once per week in their « Schlaraffen » castle (equipped in the style of a knight's tavern from the Middle-Ages) for « Sippungen » (gatherings which take place in the fixed ceremonial form of a knight's play) . In doing so, everyday life is satirized as well as kept alive through recitations of literary and musical forms. An antiquated language with its own vernacular for everyday things (« Schlaraffen » Latin - for example : « powder pot » for tobacco pipe ; « gasoline horse » for car ; « castle monster » for mother-in-law) gives the « Sippungen » their own humorous note. The approximately 280 « reychs » (local clubs) stay in close contact with one another. Each Schlaraffe is always welcome in every reych in the world.

« Reychs » currently exist in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, France, Belgium, Sweden, the United States of America, Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, Thailand, South Africa, and Australia. The total number of « Schlaraffen » amounts to about 11,000. New members must be introduced by a « Schlaraffe » (godfather) , complete a probationary period before a general vote is recorded, and start their career as knave, which leads from the position of squire to knight.

Important artists were and are Schlaraffen (for example, Franz Lehár, Gustl Bayrhammer, Richard Bruno Heydrich, Leopold Matzal, Peter Rosegger and many more) .

Their « mascot » is the eagle owl (« bubo bubo ») symbolizing wisdom, virtue and humour (the owl itself represents knowledge and wisdom) .

...

The « Schlaraffia » Society was founded in 1859, in Prague, Bohemia, which, at that time, was part of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. It was the lack of tolerance during the 19th Century in Europe that spurred its founding. A high-society arts-club in the city which had among its members nobility from the Hapsburg monarchy, routinely rejected the membership of a well-known performing artists from the German Theater. The fellow German artist saw that as a wanton act of snobbishness and arrogance of the upper-class society, and promptly formed their own artist's round table, the 1st « Schlaraffia » : a name with no real meaning. With this, they formed a timeless playing field for men who cherish friendship and humour, and who devote themselves to the arts in the widest sense of interpretation. Within the framework of a joyfull and humorous play, they poked fun at the nobilities and authorities and most of all at themselves.

In 1914, before the start of the First World War, « Schlaraffia » had grown to 197 Chapters, mostly in Germany and Austria, but also in North America (with Chapters in San Francisco, Milwaukee, New York, Chicago, Newark, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Jersey City, Cleveland, New Haven, Boston, Clifton, Buffalo, Washington, and Denver) , and other European countries around German speaking artist and communities. « Schlaraffia » had developed into an international Society with broad recognition and growing fast. The War changed this bright picture. Many Chapters in post-War Europe but also abroad closed due to political reasons, the 1st time « Schlaraffia » had to pay tribute to the political environment.

Nevertheless, the ideals of « Schlaraffia » defied the politics and the Society grew by over 100 new Chapters, between 1919 and 1937, mainly in Germany and the new Eastern European countries. However, in 1937, « Schlaraffia » suffered a major blow to its existence, when Adolf Hitler ordered the closing and dissolution of all « Schlaraffia » Chapters, in Germany and Austria. Only the Chapters in Switzerland, North and South America were still in existence and meeting regularly.

After the War, members in Eastern Europe had to meet secretly because « Schlaraffia » was outlawed by the Communists. Also in the United States, « Schlaraffia » was looked upon with suspicion from time to time, when many a politician viewed U.S. citizens of German descent with mistrust. All this was ungrounded and proved to be total nonsense. « Schlaraffia » has no goals, it is not a lodge or fraternity pursuing whatever agenda. « Schlaraffia » is an idealistic Society based on friendship and tolerance. The members, called « Schlaraffen » , firmly believe in the give and take between human beings. They don't care if and where a man prays, what profession he has or what his political views are. Rivalry and jealousy have no place. Humour and the appreciation of arts are essential values. While originally most of the members were artists, today's « Schlaraffia » rosters range from Opera singers and actors to painters, engineers, inventors, factory workers and teachers, who all think of themselves as the last knights of Romantic past Centuries. They do not consider everything and in particular themselves with profound seriousness, but always try to give each other joy and friendship through the arts and with subtle humour.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the ideals and values of « Schlaraffia » survived near annihilation. The Society resurrected from the ashes of the Second World War strongly and, 155 years after its founding, is young and real as before. The umbrella organization, called « Allschlaraffia » is headquarterd in Berne, Switzerland. Today, a 15-member board represents the 5 zones of « Schlaraffia » : Germany, Austria, Switzerland, North America and Latin America with

a grand total of 261 Chapters. The 26 Chapters in North America have 586 members. The language spoken during the meetings world-wide is German, however, the members do not have to be Germans, but must know the language well enough to follow the meetings.

One additional observation is noteworthy :

The embodiment of wisdom, humour and virtue for « Schlaraffia » is the « Eagle-Owl » . Every Chapter has a stuffed or carved large eagle-owl as « Schlaraffia » 's symbol on display right next to the entrance of the meeting-room. When « Schlaraffen » bow to this symbol before they start their meeting, they do not pray to an owl, they do not show reference to a stuffed bird, they bow to the sphere of a playing field, they bow to theirs and the others desire to start the evening in « Schlaraffia » and they say with a winking eye :

« I am ready, let's play ! »

...

Die Schlaraffia ist eine am 10. Oktober 1859 in Prag gegründete, weltweite deutschsprachige Vereinigung zur Pflege von Freundschaft, Kunst und Humor. Das Wort « Schlaraffe » soll vom mittelhochdeutschen Wort « Slur-Affe » abgeleitet sein, was damals so viel hieß wie « sorgloser Genießer » (vergleiche Schlaraffenland) . Der Wahlspruch der Vereinigung lautet « In arte voluptas » (etwa : in der Kunst liegt Vergnügen) . Der Begriff « Schlaraffia » ist durch den « Allschlaraffenrat » (Vorstand des weltweiten Verbandes « Allschlaraffia ») markenrechtlich geschützt worden und kann demnach mit einem ® in allen Veröffentlichungen des Vereines geführt werden. Zu anderen Markennamen, die den Begriff Schlaraffia enthalten (etwa Schlaraffia-Matratzen) gibt es keinen Bezug. Eine Verbindung zur Freimaurerei besteht nicht, und auch von Service-Clubs, wie etwa Lions-Club oder Rotary International sowie von Karnevalsvereinen und ähnlichen Vereinigungen grenzen sich Schlaraffen deutlich ab. In der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus sowie später unter der Regierung der DDR mußten viele « Reyche » zwangsweise den Vereinsbetrieb einstellen und konnten nur in sehr vereinzelt Fällen durch geheime Treffen in sicherer Umgebung (meist Privatwohnungen) diese Zeiten überstehen. Durch die Flucht und Vertreibung Deutscher aus Mittel- und Osteuropa 1945-1950 kam es in der Bundesrepublik zu vielen Neugründungen.

Als 1859 der Direktor des Deutschen (Landständischen) Theaters, Franz Thomé, einen seiner jungen Künstler, den Bassisten Albert Eilers (1830-1896) , in die Prager Künstlervereinigung « Arcadia » einführen wollte, wurde dieser wegen seiner Mittellosigkeit als angeblicher Proletarier abgelehnt. Aus Protest gründeten Eilers und seine Theaterkollegen einen Stammtisch, den sie spöttisch « Proletarier-Club » benannten. Daraus entwickelte sich nach manchen Umwegen und Rückschlägen die heutige weltumspannende « Schlaraffia » .

Die Schlaraffen, ein Männerbund (« ... ausschließlich Männer in gesicherter Position ... ») , treffen sich in der sogenannten Winterung (Nordhalbkugel : 1. Oktober bis 30. April ; Südhalbkugel : 1. Mai bis 30. Oktober) einmal pro Woche an einem festgelegten Wochentag in ihrer « Schlaraffenburg » , dem im Stil eines mittelalterlichen Rittersaales ausgestatteten Vereinslokal, zu Sippungen. Diese Zusammenkünfte werden nach festgelegtem Zeremoniell in Form eines

Ritterspieles mit wohlgedachten Regeln in zwei Teilen (einem im Ablauf stets gleichen, auf wiederkehrende Regularien bedachten ersten und einem freier zu gestaltenden, eher künstlerischen zweiten) abgehalten. Sturmhauben, Helme und Rüstungen sind aus buntem Stoff in den festgelegten Reychsfarben, die Waffen wie Junkerdolch oder Ritterschwert zumeist aus Holz. Während der Sippungen wird sowohl der Alltag persifliert als auch durch Vorträge in literarischer bzw. musikalischer oder künstlerisch-darstellender Form (Fechtsungen genannt) das Interesse an der Kunst wachgehalten. Eine antiquierte Sprache mit eigenen Ausdrücken für alltägliche Dinge (Schlaraffenlatein) gibt den Sippungen ihre eigene, humorvolle Note. Alles außerhalb des schlaraffischen Spieles ist « profan » / die « Profanei » .

Schlaraffisches Symbol für Weisheit, Humor und Tugend ist der Uhu, der in jeder Burg zu finden ist. Beim Betreten derselben grüßen die Schlaraffen ihn mit einer tiefen Verbeugung, was zugleich das Abstreifen « profaner Schlacken » (also das Sich-ganz-Einlassen auf das schlaraffische Spiel) symbolisiert. Auch gehört eine besondere Zeitrechnung zum schlaraffischen Spiel : Im Gegensatz etwa zur Zeitrechnung nach christlichem Maßstab (nach Christus oder A.D.) orientieren sich Schlaraffen am Gründungsjahr ihrer Vereinigung - demzufolge bezeichnen sie 2012 als das Jahr a.U. (« anno Uhui ») 153.

Obgleich die Schlaraffia vielerorts ein eher zurückgezogener Idealverein ist, treten einige Reych (Vereine) mit öffentlichen Kulturveranstaltungen in ihren Heimorten auf. So betreibt zum Beispiel die Schlaraffia Oldenburgia (Oldenburg) seit 2004 eine Kleinkunsthöhne und veranstaltet Sonntagsmatinee mit Konzerten, Kabarett, Lesung und Theater.

Alle Rahmenbedingungen des schlaraffischen Spieles sind im Regelwerk « Schlaraffen-Spiegel und Ceremoniale » festgelegt. Die Bezeichnung Spiegel für « Gesetzeswerk » spielt auf eine seit der griechischen Antike vielfach neu belebte literarische Tradition an. Man hält sich selbst, einem Fürsten oder einer ethnischen Gemeinschaft den Spiegel vor, um zu erkennen, wer man sei - beziehungsweise wer und wie man sein sollte (vergleiche Spiegel - Literatur) .

Diese offizielle Satzung des Weltverbandes « Allschlaraffia » , die seit 1867 in verschiedenen Neuauflagen überarbeitet und den neuen politischen Verhältnissen angepasst wurde, ist durch die große Tradition von Fürstenspiegel, Sachsenspiegel, Narrenspiegel, Eulenspiegel, Ritterspiegel und Märchenspiegel präformiert worden.

Für Außenstehende sind Schlaraffen außerhalb ihrer Sippungen an der « Rolandnadel » , einer kleinen weißen Perle, die am linken Revers getragen wird, oder an einem am Fahrzeug befestigten Aufkleber erkennbar, der einen blinzelnden Uhukopf zeigt.

Der Gruß der Schlaraffen lautet Lulu. Das lautmalerische Kunstwort wird in den Sippungen auch als eine Interjektion (Einwurf) der Zustimmung und des Lobes verwendet. Nach dem Volkskundler Erich Kaessmayer gibt es für den Gruß zwei Erklärungen :

Es ist die Abkürzung der Übersetzung von « Spielt das Spiel ! » ins Lateinische - « ludum ludite ! »

Da fast alle Gründungsmitglieder der Praga (siehe unten « Reych ») Bühnenprofis waren, verwendeten sie passende

Textzitate in ihren heiteren Stammtischgesprächen. Aus Schillers « Wallensteins Lager » wurde die Textzeile « Lustig, lustig, da kommen die Prager ! » zitiert. Als Kurzform blieb schließlich « Lulu » übrig.

Die Buchstabenumkehr « Ulul » bedeutet einen Zuruf der Ablehnung und des Tadels.

Örtliche Gruppen der Schlaraffia in Städten werden von Schlaraffen « Reyche » genannt. Das erste Schlaraffenreych entstand in Prag (deshalb « Praga » genannt) , von deutschen Künstlern gegründet. Dort war ihre letzte Heimstatt in der Stefansgasse (Stepanska ul.) 36 (jetzt Hotel Alcron) . Inzwischen existieren weltweit derzeit 261 « Reyche » und « Colonien » (lokale Vereine) , in denen ausschließlich Deutsch gesprochen wird (wobei die Mitglieder keineswegs Deutsche sein müssen) und die in engem Kontakt zueinander stehen. Sie sind in der « Allschlaraffia » zusammengefasst, welche auch die « Allschlaraffische Stammrolle » herausgibt, ein über 1200 Seiten umfassendes Buch, das jeder Schlaraffe jährlich aktualisiert erhält und das einen Überblick über alle (auch untergegangenen) Reyche, Colonien und ihre Vorstufen (Stammtisch und Feldlager) sowie die « Sassen » (Mitglieder) bietet. Jeder Schlaraffe ist in jedem Reych der Welt jederzeit willkommen.

Momentan bestehen Reyche in Deutschland, Österreich, der Schweiz, Italien, Spanien, Frankreich, Belgien, Schweden, den USA, Kanada, Mexiko, Venezuela, Kolumbien, Ecuador, Brasilien, Argentinien, Thailand, Südafrika und Australien. Die einzelnen Reyche und Colonien sind in der Reihenfolge ihres Entstehungsdatums nummeriert.

Neue Mitglieder müssen durch einen Schlaraffen-Ritter (« Pate ») als « Pilger » eingeführt werden und eine Prüflingszeit absolvieren, ehe sie durch allgemeine Abstimmung, die sogenannte Kugelung, aufgenommen werden und als Knappe ihre Laufbahn beginnen, die über den Stand des Junkers zum Ritter führt (Ritterschlag) . Im Jahr 2013 sind rund 10.300 Schlaraffen in der gültigen Stammrolle registriert, davon im LV (Landesverband) Austria 2.519 ; im LV Deutschland 6.517 ; im LV Helvetica 466 ; im LV Lateinamerika 198 ; im LV Nordamerika 608. (Stand : 1. Juni 2013.)

Die schlaraffischen Zusammenkünfte werden Sippung genannt (das Verb lautet sippen) und laufen überall nach dem gleichen Muster ab. Sie bestehen aus zwei Teilen :

Der erste Teil ist den « Amtshandlungen » gewidmet. Dazu gehören die feierliche Eröffnung der Sippung durch den fungierenden Oberschlaraffen, die Begrüßung der eingerittenen Gäste, das heißt Sassen anderer Reyche, die Verlesung des amtlichen Protokolls der vergangenen Sippung durch den Marschall sowie eines nicht-amtlichen Protokolls (« NAP ») durch einen in der Woche zuvor bestimmten Sassen.

Nach dem Abschluß des ersten Teils folgt eine Schmus- und Atzungspause. Während derselben oder auch schon während des ersten Teils wird die Fechsungsliste heringereicht, auf welche sich jeder Sasse eintragen kann, der plant, im zweiten Teil auf die Rostra (Rednerpult) zu steigen und etwas vorzutragen.

Im zweiten Teil der Sippung werden Fechsungen vorgetragen, das heißt, jeder kann etwas zum Besten geben - gleich ob Prosa, in Versform oder musikalisch (Ausnahme : lediglich Witze zu erzählen, ist verpönt) . Dies kann etwas Gefechstes, also Selbstverfasstes, sein, oder man trägt ein Werk eines anderen Autors vor. Die Sippungen stehen in vielen Fällen

unter einem besonderen Thema, zu dem man etwas fechten kann, aber nicht muß.

Einen Überblick über alle Veranstaltungen samt Kontaktdaten bietet die Broschüre Sippungsfolgen, welche jährlich vom ASR herausgegeben wird.

Die Schlaraffia zeichnet sich, wie oben schon angedeutet, durch eine eigene Sprache aus, die Schlaraffenlatein genannt wird, obschon die schlaraffische Sprache auf der ganzen Welt das Deutsche ist. Dieses Deutsch enthält eine Reihe von bewusst altertümlich gewählten Ausdrücken und Wendungen, die die ritterliche, mittelalterliche Atmosphäre hervorheben sollen. Dazu gehört auch die Anrede « Ihr », die während der Sippungen durchwegs zu verwenden ist, auch wenn man sich in der « Profanei » duzt.

Ein paar Beispiele des Schlaraffenlateins :

Atzung und Labung = Essen und Trinken (Verben : atzen und laben) .

Quell = Bier.

Lethe = Wein.

Schaumlethe = Sekt.

Schmauchtopf = Tabakspfeife.

Lunte = Zigarre.

Luntette = Zigarette.

Bangk = Rhythmische Ehrerweisung, die einem Schlaraffen entgegengebracht wird.

Pön = Geldstrafe, die verhängt wird, wenn man sich ungebührlich verhält oder gegen Spiegel und Ceremoniale verstößt (Verb : pönen ; von lateinisch poena, Strafe) .

Benzinross = Auto.

Benzinelefant = Reisebus.

Dampfross = Eisenbahn.

Troß = Familie.

Burgfrau = Ehefrau.

Burgschreck = Schwiegermutter.

Burgwonne = Freundin Lebensgefährtin.

Burgmaid = Tochter.

Burgknäpplein = Sohn.

Clavicimbel = Klavier.

Zinkenmeister = Derjenige, der das Clavicimbel bedient.

Seufzerholz = Geige.

Kniewinsel = Violoncello.

Minneholz = Gitarre.

Quasselstrippe = Telefon.

Sendbote = Brief.

Sendwisch = Postkarte.

Krystalline = Geselliges Zusammensein außerhalb der Sippungen.

Vademecum = Jährlich erscheinende Broschüre, die alle Angaben und Veranstaltungshinweise des herausgebenden Reyches enthält.

Stammrolle = Mitgliederverzeichnis.

Rüstung = Helm und Schärpe, eventuell Rittermantel.

Schwalbenschwanz = Frack.

Grabinschrift für Eduard Schmidt-Weißfels am Stadtfriedhof Bozen-Oberau mit Schlaraffia-Nennung.

Künstler, Schauspieler, Schriftsteller und andere Persönlichkeiten des öffentlichen Lebens waren und sind Schlaraffen,

unter anderen :

Der Prager Theaterdirektor Franz Thomé, Gründer der Schlaraffia.

Die Komponisten Nico Dostal, Alfred Grünfeld, Karl Komzák junior, Franz Lehár, Hans Pfitzner, Oscar Straus.

Die Direktoren der Wiener Staatsoper Wilhelm Jahn, Gustav Mahler.

Die Opernsänger Anton Arnold, Eduard Bachmann, Walter Berry, Oskar Hillebrandt, Franz Innozenz Nachbaur, Louis Treumann (Operette und Schauspiel) , Fritz Windgassen.

Die Musiker Erwin Bootz, Joseph Keilberth, Norbert Pawlicki, Otto Schulhof, Horst Winter.

Die Schauspieler Gustl Bayrhammer, Roland Eugen Beiküfner, Richard Eybner, Alexander Girardi, Konrad Adolf Hallenstein, Attila und Paul Hörbiger.

Die Schriftsteller Ludwig Ganghofer, Rudolf Lothar, Karl Morré, Peter Rosegger, Eduard Schmidt-Weißenfels, Albert Sixtus, Rudolf Stürzer, Karl Heinrich Tinti.

Die Bildhauer Hans Brandstetter und Bernhard Kremser.

Die Architekten Ludwig Baumann, Richard Gach.

Die Maler Leo Sebastian Humer, Hugo Kunz und Jochen Kusber.

Der Kriminalist Max Edelbacher.

Der ZDF-Meteorologe Uwe Wesp.

Die Kabarettisten und Texter Fritz Grünbaum, Fritz Riha, Peter Wehle.

Der Kinderchirurg Hans Peter Hümmer.

Im Rahmen des Schlaraffenspieles werden darüber hinaus auch zahlreiche, nicht mehr lebende Persönlichkeiten namentlich verewigt, indem sie postum zu Ehrenscharaffen (ES) erkoren und immer wieder rezitiert werden, so zum Beispiel Heinz Erhardt (ES Alberich von Schalk) , Hermann Löns (ES Mümmelmann) , Robert Stolz (ES Servus Du) , Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (ES Faust) , Friedrich von Schiller (ES Funke) , Karl May (ES Kara Ben Nemesi) oder Peter Paul Rubens (ES Malerfürst) .

...

Schlaraffia ist eine erträumte und ersonnene humane Welt. Schlaraffia ist eine inniglich-herzlich-in-sich verbundene Gemeinschaft. Schlaraffia ist eine treue Gemeinschaft mit dem Hauptgrundsatz der Hochhaltung der Freundschaft.

Schlaraffia ist eine geistige Gemeinschaft mit dem Bestreben reine Freude am Edeltum der Künste und feines Ergötzen am liebevollen Wesen des Humors zu pflegen.

Schlaraffia ist eine fröhliche Gemeinschaft in der sich die Herzen öffnen zur Jubelhymne der Lebensfreude.

Ritter der lustigen Eicht

Ritter-der-lustigen-EichtStatut für die Verleihung des Willkomm-Ordens « Ritter der lustigen Eicht » .

Artikel 1

Das Reych Schlaraffia Paixhanslia an der Vechlapruggen stiftet den Willkomm-Orden « Ritter der lustigen Eicht » .

Artikel 2

Diese Stiftung soll :

Die Freundschaft unter den Sassen vertiefen.

Den Kontakt zu den oberösterreichischen Reychen pflegen.

Das ehrende Andenken bewahren an den unvergessenen großen oberösterreichischen Mundartdichter Franz Stelzhamer, Ehrenscharaffe Piesenham, der Ehrenmitglied der Paixhanslia war und ihr das Lied « A lustigö Eicht » als Motto gewidmet hat.

Artikel 3

Der Orden besteht aus einer runden Metallplakette, Durchmesser 6 centimeter, mit der Umschrift « 315 Paixhanslia - Ritter der lustigen Eicht » am äußeren goldfarbenen Teil. In der Mitte ist ein Bildnis des Mundartdichters Franz Stelzhamer auf einem silberfarbenen Teil dargestellt. Die beiden verschiedenfarbigen Teile des Ordens sind durch 8 freistehende Stege miteinander verbunden.

Er wird als Halsorden an einem 30 millimeter breitem Band in den Reychsfarben rot-schwarz-rot getragen.

Artikel 4

Der Orden wird verliehen, wenn in einer Winterung in allen oberösterreichischen Schlaraffenreychen zumindest einmal eingeritten und eine humorvolle Fechsung dargebracht wird.

Ritter der schönen oberösterreichischen Reyche :

Linzia 13 ; Styria 32 ; Ovilabis 132 ; Gamundia 205 ; Scardinga 211 ; Iscula 215 ; Brundunum 234 ; Castellum Palustre 314 ; Paixhanslia a.d.V. 315 ; Castellum Erolatium 380 ; müßen diese Bedingungen jedoch in zwei Winterungen erfüllen, um diesen Orden verliehen zu bekommen.

Artikel 5

Für die Anrechnung der Einritte ist maßgebend, daß an einem Sippungstag nur ein Reyche besucht werden darf. Es zählen alle Sippungen ab der Winterung « anno Uhui » 146/147, die im Vademekum eine Sippungsnummer tragen und vor der Verleihungssippung im Hohen Reyche Paixhanslia stattfinden. Die Verleihungssippung im Hohen Reyche Paixhanslia zählt nicht dazu.

Artikel 6

Der Orden wird gegen Berappung der Gestehungskosten verliehen.

Artikel 7

Die Verleihung findet nur einmal in einer Winterung (im Ostermond) im Hohen Reyche Paixhanslia statt. Die Verleihung erfolgt nur in dieser im Vademekum vermerkten Sippung durch den fungierenden Oberschlaraffen.

Artikel 8

Der Orden kann nur an Ritter verliehen werden. Einritte als Knappen und Junker werden jedoch nach dem Ritterschlag angerechnet.

Artikel 9

Der Nachweis der Einritte geschieht durch den Schlaraffenpaß.

Die Ordenswerber haben spätestens drei Wochen vor der Verleihungssippung dem Marschall der Paixhanslia eine Einrittliste vorzulegen, aus der die besuchten Reyche, das Datum der Einritte und die Bestätigung der Richtigkeit hervorgehen. Um die Bestätigung der Richtigkeit auf Grund des Schlaraffenpasses wird der Kantzler des Reyches, dem der Ordenswerber angehört, ersucht.

Artikel 10

Über die Verleihung wird eine Urkunde ausgestellt. Unterfertigung erfolgt nach den üblichen Regeln für Ordensurkunden.

Artikel 11

Die Ordensmatrikel ist vom Marschall des Hohen Reych Paixhanslia zu führen.

Artikel 12

Der Schriftverkehr über den Orden ist vom Kantzelar des Hohen Reych Paixhanslia zu führen. Er verständigt auch die jeweiligen Landesverbände Allschlaraffias von der Verleihung.

Artikel 13

Die Verwaltung (Anschaffung) der Orden erfolgt durch den Wappen- und Adelsmarschall des Hohen Reych Paixhanslia.

Artikel 14

Die Eintragung in die Stammrolle lautet : « Ritter der lustigen Eicht » .

Gegeben im Hohen Reych Paixhanslia an der Vechlapruggen im Lenzmond « anno Uhui » 146.

Änderung des Statuts (Artikel 4) .

Gegeben im Hohen Reych Paixhanslia an der Vechlapruggen im Lethemond « anno Uhui » 152.

Genehmigt vom ASR am 15. des Windmondes « anno Uhui » 152.

Qualm

ASR

Vorsitzender des SRA.

Was ist Schlaraffia ?

Schlaraffia ist eine weltweite Vereinigung von Männern, die der Pflege von Kunst, Freundschaft und Humor verpflichtet sind. Ihr Leitspruch heisst « In arte voluptas » , « In der Kunst liegt das Vergnügen » .

Sollte mich je ein Unwissender fragen :

Was macht ihr Schlaraffen ? Ich würde ihm sagen :

Wir sind Freunde, musisch meist,
Lachen gerne über Spaß mit Geist.

Wir sitzen beisammen, es wird nicht geprahlt,
Wer mehr verdient, wer mehr bezahlt.

Es gilt nicht das Alter, nicht die Position,
Dafür mehr der Stil, der gute Ton.

Alles Dinge, die in der heutigen Zeit
Registriert werden unter « Vergangenheit » .

Wenn andere meinen, sowas kann man nur träumen,
Sei ihnen gesagt, daß sie vieles versäumen,

Wenn sie nicht, wie wir seit Jahren,
Der Welt zum Trotz, dies alles bewahren.

Wenn Sie selbst gerne rezitieren, musizieren, dichten, komponieren, zuhören und zusehen, gerne malen, zaubern oder anderen Künsten nachgehen dann bietet Ihnen Schlaraffia ein Forum, das Ihnen mit Toleranz, Geist, und Humor ein Wunderland des Geistes eröffnet. Die Beiträge der Sassen (Mitglieder Schlaraffias) sind teils ernst, teils heiter und sollten humorvollen Ergänzungen, Kommentaren und Wortspielen durch die Zuhörerschaft durchaus Raum geben.

Heute gibt es circa 260 Reyche (Ortsvereine der Schlaraffen) mit über 10.000 Mitgliedern in Europa davon überwiegend in Deutschland, Österreich, Schweiz, Nord- und Südamerika, Südafrika, Thailand und Australien. In jedem dieser Reyche wird deutsch gesprochen.

Wenn Sie gerne zuhören wollen, wenn Sie bereit sind Leistungen anderer Sassen tolerant zu würdigen und sich einige Stunden nicht über Politik, Beruf und Religion zu unterhalten, dann sollten Sie den nächsten Schritt tun und sich weiter über Schlaraffia informieren.

Wie entstand Schlaraffia ?

Schlaraffia wurde 1859 in Prag gegründet. Dort traf sich eine zunächst vorwiegend aus Künstlern bestehende Runde, die nicht nur den schönen Künsten huldigte, sondern mit satirischer Lust die Überheblichkeit des Adels und die dünkelfhafte Titels- und Ordenssucht des tonangebenden Beamtentums aufs Korn nahm.

Damals wie heute geht es uns Schlaraffen um die Persiflage der alltäglichen « Wichtigkeiten » , die wir im normalen Leben eigentlich gar nicht mehr erkennen, in denen wir aber praktisch gefangen sind. Es geht darum, diese alltäglichen « Wichtigkeiten » spielerisch zu überzeichnen, aufzubauschen, dadurch erkennbar zu machen, sie durch den Kakao zu

ziehen und damit uns und unser Umfeld ein wenig auf den Arm zu nehmen, ohne zu verletzen. Wer dabei erkennt, daß man sich selbst nicht so ernst und so wichtig nehmen sollte, daß man auch über sich selbst lachen kann, der hat fast schon das ganze Spiel begriffen.

Gibt es Spielregeln ?

Ja, natürlich kann auch das schlaraffische Spiel nicht ohne Regeln gespielt werden. Die wichtigsten Regeln sind :

Achtung und Respekt vor dem Mitspieler bewahren.

Humor ist erwünscht, der Sarkasmus muß aber vor der Tür bleiben.

Ironie ist erlaubt, darf den Mitspieler aber nie verletzen.

Berufliches, Politik und Religion sind keine Spielthemen, bleiben Tabus.

Unser Spiel baut auf ein tolerantes und freundschaftliches Miteinander.

Warum ist Schlaraffia nur ein Männerverein ?

Die Schlaraffen spielen ihr Spiel im Winterhalbjahr (bis auf wenige Abende) nur unter Männern. Wir sind überzeugt, daß dies eines der Erfolgsrezepte der Schlaraffia war und ist - unsere (gespielte) Rivalität bleibt so garantiert problemlos. Tatsächlich schätzen es unsere Frauen sehr, wenn ihre Männer nach einem Abend in Schlaraffia fröhlich wieder heimkehren. Dass durch Schlaraffia viele private und enge Freundschaften zwischen den Familien entstehen, spricht für die hohe Akzeptanz dieser Regel. Übrigens : zweimal pro Winterung an speziellen Anlässen sowie während des Sommers, zum Beispiel auf unseren gemeinsamen Reisen sind die Partnerinnen herzlich eingeladen.

Ein Abend in Schlaraffia soll das Gemüt erhöhen !

Die Gründerväter Schlaraffias haben den Zusammenkünften den Rahmen eines Ritterspiels gegeben, als Persiflage auf die Eitelkeiten der Gesellschaft. Die Mitglieder, Sassen genannt, tragen deshalb auch eine « ritterliche Rüstung », aus Stoff. Im ersten Teil der Sippung erfolgen eine ironisch feierliche Eröffnung und die Begrüßung aller Gäste. Im zweiten Teil folgen dann die individuellen Beiträge der Sassen und Gäste, auch Fechtungen genannt. Es ist jedem Sassen freigestellt, ob und was er zum Gelingen der Sippung beitragen möchte. Natürlich lebt die ganze Sippung nur von der regen Beteiligung der Sassen.

Wann trifft man sich ?

Schlaraffia ist in Reychen organisiert. Die Treffen, « Sippungen » genannt, finden in Europa und Nordamerika im Winterhalbjahr vom 1. Oktober bis zum 30. April in jedem örtlichen Verein einmal pro Woche statt. In Lateinamerika, Australien und Südafrika, wo der Winter während unserer Sommerzeit stattfindet, wird in unseren Sommermonaten gesippt.

Schlaraffia ist für jeden offen aber keine öffentliche Institution !

Wenn Sie unser Spiel und den Ablauf eines Abends einmal erleben möchten, dann sind Sie herzlich eingeladen in Begleitung eines Schlaraffen teilzunehmen. Sie werden dann unverbindlich als « Pilger » eingeführt. Daraus ergeben sich für Sie keinerlei Verpflichtungen. Sollten Sie gefallen an unserem Spiel finden, haben Sie die Möglichkeit, weitere Abende als « Pilger » zu besuchen. Reift in Ihnen der Wunsch, unserem Bund beizutreten, dann folgt eine Zeit, in der Sie als « Prüfling » die Sassen des Vereins besser kennenlernen können und umgekehrt.

Schauen Sie in der Website nach wo der nächstgelegene Verein von ihrem Wohnort entfernt angesiedelt ist. Egal ob beim deutschen, österreichischen, dem schweizerischen oder gar dem nordamerikanischen oder lateinamerikanischen Landesverband, sie sind überall herzlich willkommen. Suchen Sie auf der entsprechenden Website der Reyche das in Ihrer Nähe liegt den Kontakt zum Kantzler des Vereins. Er wird Ihnen das Wichtigste mitteilen und Sie herzlich willkommen heissen.

(Der Allschlaraffenrat)

Wie wird man Schlaraffe

Die Informationen auf dieser Webseite sollen dem Besucher einen guten Überblick über den Männerbund Schlaraffia geben. Sicherlich gibt es noch viele zusätzliche Fragen, und die Mehrzahl dieser Fragen können sicherlich am besten dann beantwortet werden, wenn man an einem der informellen Zusammenkünfte der Schlaraffen in den Sommermonaten oder bei einem der formalen winterlichen Treffen, einer sogenannten « Sippung » teilnimmt. Auf die Frage : kann ich Schlaraffe werden gibt es zunächst zwei Grundfragen, deren Antworten wesentlich für die weiteren Schritte sind :

Zuerst sollten die folgenden Fragen hauptsächlich mit « Ja » beantwortet werden :

Haben Sie Sinn für Humor ?

Lieben Sie die Kunst - in jeder Form ?

Schätzen Sie die Freundschaft hoch ein ?

Sind Sie in der Lage anderen zuzuhören ?

Weiterhin gibt es zwei Voraussetzungen, die erfüllt werden müssen :

Sie müssen Deutsch sprechen und verstehen können.

Sie müssen ein Mann von unbescholtenem Ruf sein.

Sollten Sie dann interessiert sein, ein Mitglied der Schlaraffia zu werden, gibt es einen seit Bestehen der Schlaraffia vorgeschriebenen Vorgang. Er gibt beiden Seiten die Möglichkeit gegenseitigen Prüfens und die Gewissheit einen wirklichen Schlaraffen in den Bund aufzunehmen.

Kontakt herstellen

Der Interessent sollte mit dem Kantzler desjenigen Reyches das am nächsten von seinem Wohnsitz entfernt ist Kontakt aufnehmen. Der Kantzler wird ihm einen persönlichen Gesprächspartner vermitteln. Hier wird ihm die Möglichkeit gegeben alle offenen Fragen zu stellen und er kann sicher sein, detaillierte Antworten zu bekommen. Mehrere dieser informalen Gespräche und Zusammentreffen können folgen, und dann kommt der Zeitpunkt, wo beide Seiten sich zum nächsten Schritt entscheiden.

Pilger werden

Ein Schlaraffe, der ein « Ritter » des lokalen Vereins (des « Reyches »), sein muß, führt den Interessenten zu einem formalen Treffen des Vereins, einer « Sippung », ein und stellt ihn allen anwesenden Mitgliedern, den « Sassen », als neuen « Pilger » vor. Als der « Pate » des Pilgers versichert er die Unbescholtenheit des Pilgers und führt ihn von nun an durch die folgenden Sippungen mit vielen persönlichen Ratschlägen und Erklärungen. Es ist auch wichtig zu wissen, daß der Pilger an vielen Vorgängen des schlaraffischen Spiels aktiv teilnehmen kann und soll.

Prüfling werden

Hat der Pilger mindestens sechsmal an Sippungen teilgenommen, kann das Reych auf Empfehlung des Paten den Pilger zum nächsten Schritt vorschlagen. Nachdem der Pilger das formelle Anmeldeformular ausgefüllt hat und die Sassen des Reyches ihre Zustimmung gegeben haben, wird der Pilger zum « Prüfling » ernannt. Dies wird dann in der Schlaraffenzeitung veröffentlicht, und alle Schlaraffen weltweit können hierzu Stellung nehmen.

Die Knappenzeit

Die Zeit als Prüfling nutzt das Reych als auch der Prüfling, die schlaraffischen Ideale und Werte zu prüfen. Ohne eingehende Opposition von Schlaraffen aus anderen Reychen kann der Prüfling auf Empfehlung der Schlaraffen des Reyches zum « Knappen » vorgeschlagen werden. Hierzu muß der Prüfling mindestens einige Male innerhalb eines Jahres an Sippungen teilgenommen haben. In einer humorvollen Zeremonie wird über das Aufnahme-begehren des Prüflings durch eine sogenannte « Kugelung » abgestimmt. Dabei werden entweder weiße oder schwarze Kugeln von den Sassen verdeckt in einen Behälter gesteckt. Enthält beim Auszählen der Behälter mehr weiße Kugeln als schwarze ist der Prüfling zum Knappen erhoben worden. Der neue Knappe des Reyches ist von diesem Zeitpunkt an ein echter Schlaraffe, bekommt den sogenannten Schlaraffenpass und die Insignien des Knappen : Sturmhaube und Hellebarde.

Die Junkerzeit

Nach angemessener Zeit als Knappe wird er erstmals durch den Schulrat auf sein schlaraffisches Wissen geprüft. Hat er diese Prüfung hinter sich, beginnt die Zeit als Junker. Der Junker soll Vorbild an der Junkertafel sein und weiß nun schon sehr viel über das schlaraffische Spiel. Einmal pro Winter wird die Junkertafel in vielen Reychen den Thron erobern und selbst eine Sitzung leiten. Die Knappen und Junker haben nun auch schon das Rüstzeug Vorträge oder

eigens geschriebene Gedichte vorzutragen.

Der Ritterschlag

Dieser naht, sobald der Junker seine Prüfung, die der Schulrat durchführt, absolviert hat. Anschliessend erhält der Junker von den Oberschlaraffen ein Thema für die zu schreibende Ritterarbeit die der Junker meist ein paar Wochen vor dem Ritterschlag im Verein (Reich) vorträgt. Und nun kommt der Tag an dem der Junker seine höchste Ehre entgegennehmen darf, nämlich den Ritterschlag. Eine gar feierliche Zeremonie wo der zum Ritter zu schlagende Junker seine höchste Ehrbezeugung erhält. Nämlich seine Insignien als Ritter und den Ritternamen mit dem er in Zukunft und immerdar gerufen wird.

(Der Allschlaraffenrat)

L'historique de « Schlaraffia » (textes allemands)

Männer sind lustige Gesellen. Sie wollen ganz oben sein, wollen mehr Geld haben und vornehmer geboren sein als alle anderen, und wenn sie dann mehr Geld haben und vornehmer geboren sind, sehen sie auf die anderen herab und machen sich über sie lustig. Männer hocken gern gesellig beieinander bei Speis und Trank und deftiger Rede, die mit weniger Geld aber und von minderer Geburt, die sollen bitte anderswo hocken und nicht bei ihnen. Auch sonst halten Männer die alten Werte hoch, sie lieben die Kunst und gute Musik und pflegen ew'ge Freundschaft, und falls es jemand wagen sollte, einem der ihren Schmach und Kränkung zuzufügen, dann steh'n sie zusammen wie ein Mann und wissen sich zu wehren.

Ein großer ausgestopfter Uhu :

Anno 1859, im ersten Jahr des Uhus, geschah es zu Prag, daß Franz Thomé, der Direktor des Deutschen Theaters, seinen Bassisten Albert Eilers zur Aufnahme in den elitären Künstlerclub « Arcadia » empfahl. Dort jedoch wollten die vornehm gebor'nen Herren von dem minder bemittelten Eilers nichts wissen, er wurde abgelehnt, wobei das böse Wort « Proletarier » fiel. Erzürnt sagte Direktor Thomé dem Club Adieu, einige seiner Freunde nahm er mit sich, und dann gründeten sie einen Konkurrenzverein, den sie zuerst (trotzhalber) « Proletarier-Club » nannten. Weil aber ein Mann mit Trotz und Konkurrenz allein nicht glücklich sein kann, dachten sich unsere tapf'ren Recken für ihre Zusammenkünfte einen vornehmen Zweck aus, die Pflege nämlich von Kunst, Freundschaft und Humor. Und weil sie ihr Vorhaben sehr idyllisch dünkte, gaben sie dem Verein gleich auch noch den Namen, den er heut' noch hat. Aus den « Proletariern » wurde « Schlaraffia ». Dies geschah am 10. Oktober 1859 zu Prag.

...

Franz Thomé, Schauspieler, Regisseur und Theaterdirektor, geboren am 24.11.1807 in Wien ; gestorben am 22.05.1872 in Prag. Thomé debütierte als Siebzehnjähriger in Wien und war anschließend an verschiedenen Wiener Theatern, und andere auch als Regisseur, tätig. Er schloß sich der deutschen Operngesellschaft an, wirkte einige Zeit in Paris und

erhielt 1837 ein Engagement in Pest. Nach einem kurzen Aufenthalt in Nürnberg, wurde er Direktor der Bühnen Klagenfurt, Laibach und Triest. Anschließend leitete er Theater in Graz, Riga und von 1858 bis 1866 das Landestheater in Prag, wo er Initiator des Prager Neustädter Theaters war. Zwischen 1867 und 1870 war er Direktor des Linzer Theaters und übersiedelte anschließend wieder nach Prag.

...

Von nun an trafen die Schlaraffen einander regelmäßig zu Speis und Trank und kunstvollem Tun, und weil an der Wand, heißt es, ihres Gasthauses ein großer, ausgestopfter Uhu hing, sei einer von ihnen auf die Idee verfallen, den Vogel zum Clubmaskottchen zu nehmen und vor allem : ihre Zeitrechnung nach ihm zu richten.

Seither gilt den Schlaraffen das Jahr ihrer Gründung als « Jahr I des Uhus - Anno Uhui » .

Ritter Taktfest, der Tönebanner :

Und die Schlaraffen stellten fest, daß sie ohne « Schlaraffia » nicht sein konnten. Sobald einer von ihnen in die Welt hinauszog, gründete er an seinem neuen Heimatort sofort einen neuen Schlaraffen-Club. Heute zählt man weltweit an die zehntausend Schlaraffen in 257 Clubs, wobei allerdings die Schlaraffen sie gar nicht « Clubs » nennen, sondern, in ihrer eigenen, künstlich antiquierten Schlaraffensprache : « Reyche » . Sie selber tragen klangvolle Namen wie « Ritter Taktfest, der Tönebanner » oder « Graf Schneidertödter von der Pegnitz » , auf ihren Treffen, « Sippungen » genannt, essen sie nicht noch trinken sie, vielmehr « atzen » und « laben » sie sich, und wenn dabei Musik erklingt, heißen sie das Klavier ein « Clavicimbel » und die Gitarre ein « Minneholz » . Über seinem Alltagsgewand trägt der Schlaraffe am Sippungsabend einen bunten Umhang mit Ritterhelm und Schwert, und wiewohl « Schlaraffia » streng genommen immer noch ein reines Männerreich ist, freut man sich, wenn zuweilen ein paar Burgfrauen und -maidlein ihre Zusammenkünfte ins optisch Angenehme heben. Es geht vergnüglich zu bei den Schlaraffen, und überhaupt nicht elitär. Das hat man gelernt aus der Geschichte, damals, im Jahre eins des Uhus.

...

Die « Schlaraffia » ist eine am 10. Oktober 1859 in Prag gegründete, weltweite deutschsprachige Vereinigung zur Pflege von Freundschaft, Kunst und Humor. Das Wort « Schlaraffe » soll vom mittelhochdeutschen Wort « Slur-Affe » abgeleitet sein, was damals so viel hieß wie « sorgloser Genießer » (vergleiche Schlaraffenland) . Der Wahlspruch der Vereinigung lautet « In arte voluptas » (etwa : in der Kunst liegt Vergnügen) . Der Begriff « Schlaraffia » ist durch den « Allschlaraffenrat » (Vorstand des weltweiten Verbandes « Allschlaraffia ») markenrechtlich geschützt worden und kann demnach mit einem « ® » in allen Veröffentlichungen des Vereines geführt werden. Zu anderen Markennamen, die den Begriff « Schlaraffia » enthalten (etwa « Schlaraffia » -Matratzen) gibt es keinen Bezug. Eine Verbindung zur Freimaurerei besteht nicht, und auch von Service-Clubs, wie etwa Lions-Club oder Rotary International sowie von Karnevalsvereinen grenzen sich Schlaraffen deutlich ab. In der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus sowie später unter der Regierung der DDR mußten viele « Reyche » zwangsweise den Vereinsbetrieb einstellen und konnten nur in sehr vereinzelt Fällen durch geheime Treffen in sicherer Umgebung (meist Privatwohnungen) diese Zeiten überstehen. Durch

die Vertreibung und Flucht aus den deutschen Ostgebieten kam es nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in der Bundesrepublik zu vielen Neugründungen.

Als 1859 der Direktor des Deutschen (Landständischen) Theaters, Franz Thomé, einen seiner jungen Künstler, den Bassisten Albert Eilers, in die Prager Künstlervereinigung « Arcadia » einführen wollte, wurde dieser wegen seiner Mittellosigkeit als « Proletarier » abgelehnt. Aus Protest gründeten seine Theaterkollegen einen Stammtisch, den sie spöttisch « Proletarier-Club » benannten. Daraus entwickelte sich nach manchen Umwegen und Rückschlägen die heutige weltumspannende « Schlaraffia » .

Die Schlaraffen, ein Männerbund (« ausschließlich Männer in gesicherter Position ») , treffen sich in der sogenannten Winterung (Nordhalbkugel : 1. Oktober bis 30. April ; Südhalbkugel : 1. Mai bis 30. Oktober) einmal pro Woche an einem festgelegten Wochentag in ihrer « Schlaraffenburg » , dem im Stil eines mittelalterlichen Rittersaales ausgestatteten Vereinslokal, zu Sippungen. Diese Zusammenkünfte werden nach festgelegtem Zeremoniell in Form eines Ritterspieles mit wohlgedachten Regeln in zwei Teilen (einem im Ablauf stets gleichen, auf wiederkehrende Regularien bedachten ersten und einem freier zu gestaltenden, eher künstlerischen zweiten) abgehalten. Sturmhauben, Helme und Rüstungen sind aus buntem Stoff in den festgelegten Reichsfarben, die Waffen wie Junkerdolch oder Ritterschwert zumeist aus Holz. Während der Sippungen wird sowohl der Alltag persifliert als auch durch Vorträge in literarischer beziehungsweise musikalischer oder künstlerisch-darstellender Form (Fechungen genannt) das Interesse an der Kunst wachgehalten. Eine antiquierte Sprache mit eigenen Ausdrücken für alltägliche Dinge (Schlaraffenlatein) gibt den Sippungen ihre eigene, humorvolle Note. Alles außerhalb des schlaraffischen Spieles ist « profan » / die « Profanei » .

Schlaraffisches Symbol für Weisheit, Humor und Tugend ist der Uhu, der in jeder Burg zu finden ist. Beim Betreten derselben grüßen die Schlaraffen ihn mit einer tiefen Verbeugung, was zugleich das Abstreifen « profaner Schlacken » (also das Sich-ganz-Einlassen auf das schlaraffische Spiel) symbolisiert. Auch gehört eine besondere Zeitrechnung zum schlaraffischen Spiel : Im Gegensatz etwa zur Zeitrechnung nach christlichem Maßstab (nach Christus oder A. D.) orientieren sich Schlaraffen am Gründungsjahr ihrer Vereinigung - demzufolge bezeichnen sie 2012 als das Jahr anno Uhu 153.

Obgleich die « Schlaraffia » vielerorts ein eher zurückgezogener Idealverein ist, treten einige Reiche (Vereine) mit öffentlichen Kulturveranstaltungen in ihren Heimatorten auf. So betreibt zum Beispiel die « Schlaraffia » Oldenburgia (Oldenburg) seit 2004 eine von der GEMA anerkannte Kleinkunstabühne und veranstaltet Sonntagsmatineen mit Konzerten, Kabarett, Lesung und Theater.

Alle Rahmenbedingungen des schlaraffischen Spieles sind im Regelwerk « Schlaraffen-Spiegel und Ceremoniale » festgelegt. Die Bezeichnung Spiegel für « Gesetzeswerk » spielt auf eine seit der griechischen Antike vielfach neu belebte literarische Tradition an. Man hält sich selbst, einem Fürsten oder einer ethnischen Gemeinschaft den Spiegel vor, um zu erkennen, wer man sei - beziehungsweise wer und wie man sein sollte (vergleiche Spiegel - Literatur) .

Diese offizielle Satzung des Weltverbandes « Allschlaraffia » , die seit 1867 in verschiedenen Neuauflagen überarbeitet und den neuen politischen Verhältnissen angepasst wurde, ist durch die große Tradition von Fürstenspiegel,

Sachsenspiegel, Narrenspiegel, Eulenspiegel, Ritterspiegel und Märchenspiegel präformiert worden.

Für Außenstehende sind Schlaraffen außerhalb ihrer Sippungen an der « Rolandnadel », einer kleinen weißen Perle, die am linken Revers getragen wird, oder an einem am Fahrzeug befestigten Aufkleber erkennbar, der einen blinzelnden Uhukopf zeigt.

Der schlaraffische Gruß lautet : « Lulu » . Dieses Kunstwort wird in den Sippungen (siehe dort) auch als Interjektion der Zustimmung und des Lobes verwendet. Nach dem Volkskundler Erich Kaesmayer gibt es zwei Erklärungen :

Es ist die Abkürzung der Übersetzung von « Spielt das Spiel ! » ins Lateinische - « ludum ludite ! » .

Da fast alle Gründungsmitglieder der Praga (siehe unten « Reyche ») Bühnenprofis waren, verwendeten sie passende Textzitate in ihren heiteren Stammtischgesprächen. Aus Schillers « Wallensteins Lager » wurde die Textzeile « Lustig, lustig, da kommen die Prager ! » zitiert. Als Kurzform blieb schließlich « Lulu » übrig.

Die Buchstabenumkehr « Ulul » bedeutet einen Zuruf der Ablehnung und des Tadels.

Örtliche Gruppen der « Schlaraffia » in Städten werden von Schlaraffen « Reyche » genannt. Das erste Schlaraffenreych entstand in Prag (deshalb « Praga » genannt) , von deutschen Künstlern gegründet. Dort war ihre letzte Heimstatt in der Stefansgasse (Stepanska ul.) 36 (jetzt Hotel Alcron) . Inzwischen existieren weltweit derzeit 261 « Reyche » und « Colonien » (lokale Vereine) , in denen ausschließlich Deutsch gesprochen wird (wobei die Mitglieder keineswegs Deutsche sein müssen) und die in engem Kontakt zueinander stehen. Sie sind in der « Allschlaraffia » zusammengefasst, welche auch die « Allschlaraffische Stammrolle » herausgibt, ein über 1200 Seiten umfassendes Buch, das jeder Schlaraffe jährlich aktualisiert erhält und das einen Überblick über alle (auch untergegangenen) Reyche, Colonien und ihre Vorstufen (Stammtisch und Feldlager) sowie die « Sassen » (Mitglieder) bietet. Jeder Schlaraffe ist in jedem Reych der Welt jederzeit willkommen.

Momentan bestehen Reyche in Deutschland, Österreich, der Schweiz, Italien, Spanien, Frankreich, Belgien, Schweden, den USA, Kanada, Mexiko, Venezuela, Kolumbien, Ecuador, Brasilien, Argentinien, Thailand, Südafrika und Australien. Die einzelnen Reyche und Colonien sind in der Reihenfolge ihres Entstehungsdatums nummeriert.

Neue Mitglieder müssen durch einen Schlaraffen-Ritter (« Pate ») als « Pilger » eingeführt werden und eine Prüflingszeit absolvieren, ehe sie durch allgemeine Abstimmung, die sogenannte Kugelung, aufgenommen werden und als Knappe ihre Laufbahn beginnen, die über den Stand des Junkers zum Ritter führt (Ritterschlag) . Im Jahr 2013 sind rund 10.300 Schlaraffen in der gültigen Stammrolle registriert, davon im Landesverband Austria 2.519, im Landesverband Deutschland 6.517, im Landesverband Helvetica 466, im Landesverband Lateinamerika 198, im Landesverband Nordamerika 608 (Stand : 1. Juni 2013) .

Die schlaraffischen Zusammenkünfte werden Sippung genannt (das Verb lautet sippen) und laufen überall nach dem gleichen Muster ab. Sie bestehen aus zwei Teilen :

Der erste Teil ist den « Amtshandlungen » gewidmet. Dazu gehören die feierliche Eröffnung der Sippung durch den fungierenden Oberschlaraffen, die Begrüßung der eingerittenen Gäste, das heißt Sassen anderer Reyche, die Verlesung des amtlichen Protokolls der vergangenen Sippung durch den Marschall sowie eines nicht-amtlichen Protokolls durch einen in der Woche zuvor bestimmten Sassen.

Nach dem Abschluß des ersten Teils folgt eine Schmus- und Atzungspause. Während derselben oder auch schon während des ersten Teils wird die Fechsungsliste herumgereicht, auf welche sich jeder Sasse eintragen kann, der plant, im zweiten Teil auf die Rostra (Rednerpult) zu steigen und etwas vorzutragen.

Im zweiten Teil der Sippung werden Fechsungen vorgetragen, das heißt, jeder kann etwas zum Besten geben - gleich ob Prosa, in Versform oder musikalisch (Ausnahme : lediglich Witze zu erzählen, ist verpönt) . Dies kann etwas Gefechstes, also Selbstverfasstes, sein, oder man trägt ein Werk eines anderen Autors vor. Die Sippungen stehen in vielen Fällen unter einem besonderen Thema, zu dem man etwas fechsen kann, aber nicht muß.

Einen Überblick über alle Veranstaltungen samt Kontaktdaten bietet die Broschüre Sippungsfolgen, welche jährlich vom ASR herausgegeben wird.

Die « Schlaraffia » zeichnet sich, wie oben schon angedeutet, durch eine eigene Sprache aus, die Schlaraffenlatein genannt wird, obschon die schlaraffische Sprache auf der ganzen Welt das Deutsche ist. Dieses Deutsch enthält eine Reihe von bewusst altertümlich gewählten Ausdrücken und Wendungen, die die ritterliche, mittelalterliche Atmosphäre hervorheben sollen. Dazu gehört auch die Anrede « Ihr » , die während der Sippungen durchwegs zu verwenden ist, auch wenn man sich in der « Profanei » duzt.

Chapitres autrichiens de « Schlaraffia »

4 : Grazia.

13 : Linzia.

24 : Vindobona.

30 : Ćnipontana.

32 : Styria.

77 : Neostadia.

80 : Aquæ Thermæ.

114 : Veltcuria.

122 : Juvavia.

124 : Hippolytana.

126 : Claudium forum.

132 : Ovilabis.

165 : Kremisia Wachaviæ.

168 : Dornbirna.

174 : Villa ad aquas.

181 : Castellum Cornoviæ.

205 : Gamundia.

207 : Castrum Brigantium.

211 : Scardinga.

212 : Medelike.

215 : Iscula.

216 : Porta Tirolia.

217 : An der Pruggen.

219 : Ferrochalybsia.

221 : An der Klausen.

230 : Claustroneoburga.

231 : Ferrostadia.

234 : Brundunum.

239 : An der Leuben.

289 : First im Felde.

296 : Auf der Mauer.

315 : « Paixhanslia » .

318 : Aquae Salis.

319 : Stella Alpina.

352 : Don Quijote.

355 : Castellum Auri Africæ.

361 : Am Grimmingtor.

362 : Alta Carinthia.

363 : Im Zillertal.

366 : Barcinonensia.

371 : Malmöhus.

375 : Am schönen Bronnen.

377 : Castellum Cellense.

378 : Grætz an der Mur.

379 : Altenhoffen.

381 : Castra Montana.

400 : Monte Lunach.

407 : Am Cap der Guten Hoffnung.

419 : Medina Mayurca.

422 : Perla Costa Blanca.

423 : Zu den Vinokraten.

Le canon « Paixhans »

Der « Paixhans », eine sogenannte Bombenkanone, mit großem Kaliber und kegelförmiger Kammer, führt seinen Namen nach seinem Erfinder, dem am 22. Jänner 1783 in Metz geborenen Ingenieur Henri Joseph Paixhans (I). Warum sich die « Paixhanslia » nach dieser Kanone benannte, ist unter es begann 1855 nachzulesen.

Bombenkanone für eiserne Explosivgeschosse von 24 Pfund im Schnitt.

Die Bombenkanone, eine 1824 erstmals nach Plänen des Franzosen Paixhans aus dem Jahre 1822 gegossene Haubitze, die Bomben (Explosivgeschosse) im Flachschiß gegen Schiffe verfeuern konnte. Dieser Vorderlader war ein Glattrohrgeschütz mit sich verengendem Laderaum. Bomben waren bis dahin nur von Mörsern im Steilfeuer von Bombadiergalioten eingesetzt worden. Bombenkanonen wurden meist in den Kalibergößen 20 und 28 cm hergestellt. Die max. Schußweite betrug 1200 bis 2000 m. Ab 1838 konstruierte man langrohrige 21 cm Geschütze, die sowohl Vollkugeln als auch Explosivgeschosse verschießen konnten.

Als Bombenkanonen erreichten die glatten Geschütze ihre höchste Wirksamkeit gegenüber Holzschiffen. Die verheerende Wirkung der Explosivgeschosse unter Einsatz der Bombenkanonen wurde zuerst während des Dänisch-Deutschen Krieges (1848 bis 1851) und dann während des Krimkrieges (1853 bis 1856) offenbar. Das führte in der Folge zur Panzerung von Schiffen.

La tradition au sein de « Paixhanslia »

Gründungsritter Großfürst Ritter Schieberramsch war Ritter des erloschenen Reyches Budovicia (Reych Nummer 41) . In Gedenken an dieses Reych nennt sich « Paixhanslia » deshalb auch Traditionsreych der Budovicia.

Die « alte » « Paixhanslia » hat sich im Uhuversum sofort wohl gefühlt, Bande zu anderen Reychen geknüpft und schon kurz nach der Gründung mit den heilig Reychen Ovilabis, Castellum Palustre und « Paixhanslia » eine Gemeinschaftssippung gegründet (CaPa-Pai-0) , weiters wurde die Gemeinschaftssippung der Oberösterreich Mittwochreych ins Leben gerufen. Weit bekannt im Uhuversum wurde die Paixhansliatische Arkeley seit anno Uhu 111 und als jüngste Gründung die Mutter-Töchter Sippung anno Uhu 141.

« Paixhanslia » begründet und pflegt Traditionen !

« Paixhanslia » : Surmorden

Die « Paixhanslia » verleiht seit über 50 Jahren den « Surmorden » Allerdings gab es bis vor kurzem keinerlei Richtlinien für die Verleihung. Solche liegen nun vor (Beschluss des Großen Schlaraffenrates vom 24. Lethemond anno Uhu 153) . « Paixhanslia » definiert « Surm » im Sinne von Stelzhamer in Königin Not :

« Kreuzlustige Eichtn voll Surm und Saus. »

Demnach wird in Verbindung mit dem schlaraffischen Humor der Surmorden an jene Ritter verliehen, die in den Sippungen mit Humor, Witz und Geist spontan auf Augenblicks-Situationen reagieren, damit den Guldernen Ball in Schwung setzen und so zur fröhlichen Stimmung in der Sippung beitragen, ohne dabei verletzend zu sein.

Der Surmorden ist ein aus grün lasiertem keramischem Material gefechster Schild am Band auf dem ein Vöcklabrucker Stadtturm dargestellt ist. Der Surmorden wird, je nach dem wie ein Schlaraffe den Guldernen Ball beherrscht, in zwei Klassen verliehen, die sich in der Größe unterscheiden.

Der Surmorden II. Klasse (kleine Ausführung) wird Sassen verliehen, die gute Ansätze zeigen, es einstens zur Meisterschaft des Guldernen Balles zu bringen und was sich zum Beispiel durch den Erhalt von « Blitz-Ahnen » ankündigt.

Der Surmorden I. Klasse (große Ausführung) wird an Meister des Guldernen Balles verliehen. Der Meister zeichnet sich nicht nur durch die Anzahl, sondern vor allem durch die Qualität seiner Wortmeldungen aus.

Der Surmorden wird vom vom Ordenskapitel einmal jährlich taxfrei verliehen. Alle Inhaber dieses Surmordens bilden den Humor-Adel der « Paixhanslia » .

Der Surmorden wird in die Stammrolle als Titel « Surm I » oder « Surm II » eingetragen.

Vorschau Krystallinen anno Uhu 155.

Ritterbund Rosengarten zue Lintz lädt ein zu einem Ehrenkapitel für Schlaraffenreych und 45. Ritterjubiläum Dietrich von der Rosen am Samstag, 10. Wonnemond anno Uhu 155.

Alle Sassen Paixhanslias (mit Burgfrauen) sind eingeladen, an diesem Festkapitel teilzunehmen. « Paixhanslia » veranstaltet dafür eine Krystalline, über Anmeldung und gemeinsame Fahrgelegenheiten wird noch durch Ritter Pragmatikuß informiert.

Paixhansliatische Arkeley

Gründung : Die Paixhansliatische Arkeley wurde anno Uhu III von weiland Ritter Pontifex der Umfahrer gegründet. Im Einvernehmen mit dem Oberschlaraffat des hohen Reyches « Paixhanslia » an der Vechlapruggen und nach Genehmigung durch den Allschlaraffenrat wurde das Ceremoniale über Mitgliedschaft, Vergaberichtlinien sowie Dienstgrade und Rangabzeichen in einer eigenen Paixhansliatischen Wehrgesetzverordnung festgehalten.

Sinn der Arkeley : Der Gründungsgedanke bezweckt, einreitenden Schlaraffenfreunden, die eine weite Einrittstrecke (über 400 km Luftlinie) von ihrem Heimatreych bis in die Gemarkungen Paixhanslias zu bewältigen haben, Dank und Anerkennung für ihre Mühe auszudrücken. Die Arkeley dient der verdienstvollen Förderung des Ausrittgedankens und bedeutet wahre Freundschaftspflege.

Der Begriff Arkeley ist dem Militärischen entlehnt. Arkeley nannte man in einer Armee des Mittelalters alles was schießt. « Paixhanslia » hat als Reichssymbol eine Kanone im Reichswappen, das Militärische war aber zu jeder Zeit nur eine schlaraffische Persiflage, wie auch die Dienstgrade der Arkeley (Kanonier, Kornett, Zeugmeister, Hau-Bitzler, Mörs-Erich, Kapazunder) beweisen. Die Arkeley ist durch und durch von schlaraffischem Geist getragen, das Militärische ist nur ein humorvoller Spielrahmen.

Die Paixhansliatische Arkeley ist ein schlaraffischer Freundschaftsbund, in dem Humor und Persiflage besonders gepflegt werden und wo Schlaraffenbrüder, die aus großer Entfernung anreiten, besonders belohnt werden sollen.

Dieser Einrittssorden umfasst also alle Reyche weltweit, die mehr als 400 km Luftlinie vom hohen Reich « Paixhanslia » entfernt liegen. In den 42 Jahren des Bestandes der Paixhansliatischen Arkeley wurden (streng gelistet nach Soldbuchnummern) 468 Schlaraffen in diesen Freundschaftsbund aufgenommen. Leider sind viele Recken schon gen Ahall geritten oder von « Schlaraffia » ausgeschieden, doch umfasst die aktuelle, noch aktive Zahl der Mitglieder derzeit 228 Freunde aus 90 Reichen weltweit.

CaPa-Pai-0 - Sippung (Castellum Palustre-Paixhanslia-Ovilabis - Sippung)

Bald nach Aufnahme der « Paixhanslia » in Allschlaraffia anno Uhu 90 wurden rege Freundschaftsbande zu den Nachbarreichen geknüpft, besonders zum hohen Reich Ovilabis.

Der Oberschlaraffe Play von Egmont des hohen Reiches Castellum Palustre trat damals an die beiden Reyche mit dem Ausspruch heran : « Lasst uns sein in Eurem Bunde der Dritte ! » .

Dieser Wunsch fand freudig Gehör und am 23. Lethemond anno Uhu 93 zelebrierte das Oberschlaraffen-Dreigestirn Ritter Play (Castellum Palustre) Ritter Schieberramsch (« Paixhanslia ») und Ritter Arrestanteles (Ovilabis) in der Paixburg die erste CaPa-Pai-0 - Sippung .

Ritter und Ehrenscharaffe Daheim (« Paixhanslia ») hat aus Anlass dieses Ereignisses eine eigene CaPa-Pai-0 - Hymne getextet, die seither bei jeder gemeinsamen Sippung dieser drei Reyche zur Melodie des Prinz-Eugen-Marsches mit Begeisterung gesungen wird.

Diese bemerkenswerte Sippung findet bereits durch sechs Jahrzehnte hindurch ohne Unterbrechung in jeder Winterung abwechselnd in einem der drei Reyche statt und ist somit über Generationen hinweg ein eindrucksvolles Zeugnis für schlaraffische Beständigkeit, Treue und Freundschaft.

Mutter-Töchter-Sippung (32, 165, 315)

Die Initialzündung zu dieser Gemeinschaftssippung ging vom großartigen 50. Stiftungsfest der « Paixhanslia » (mit über 320 Gästen) am 25. Lenzmond anno Uhu 141 aus. Aus Anlaß dieses schlaraffischen Geburtstages wurden wir von der Mutter Styria und unserer Schwester Kremisia Wachaviae überaus fürstlich beschenkt. Mutter Styria spendete einen namhaften Geldbetrag zum Ankauf der neuen Burg und von der Schwester Kremisia Wachaviae bekamen wir einen wunderbar geschnitzten Uhu als Halter für unsere Blaue Kerze. Geschaffen wurde dieses Prachtstück von Ritter Skulptur, Sasse des Schwesterreyches Kremisia Wachaviae.

In seinem Dankschreiben an die Schwester bedauerte Ritter Murxl, damals Oberschlaraffe des Innern, daß der Kontakt zur Schwester wegen der Entfernung und der Tatsache, daß beide Reyche (damals noch) am Mittwoch sippen, recht spärlich sei und regte regelmäßige gemeinsame Sippungen an.

Sie sollten jährlich, abwechselnd auf Gozzoburg (nunmehr auf Lethe-Feste Crembs) und Paixburg stattfinden. Die Kremisen griffen das sofort auf. Durch die Zusage der Mutter Styria, ihre beiden Töchter bei diesem Unterfangen zu unterstützen, war der Weg zur Mutter-Töchter-Sippung geebnet.

Am 10. Eismond anno Uhu 142 war es dann soweit : 26 Paixhansln mit Reychorchester, ein stattliches Fähnlein der Mutter und die Sassen der Kremisia Wachaviae hoben die erste Mutter-Töchter-Sippung auf Gozzoburg aus der Taufe. Der Chronist berichtet von einem grandiosen Fest, das mehr als vier Stunden dauerte und exzellent vom Fungierenden Ritter Simandl zelebriert wurde. Fröhlichkeit, Musik, Humor ; gute Atzung und Labung waren die Zutaten für dieses unbeschwerte und fröhliche schlaraffische Verwandtschaftsfest. Das Sippungsschlusslied wurde weit nach der Mitternachtsstunde gesungen und die Paixhansln erreichten erst um Glock 4 des Morgens wieder die heimatlichen Gemarkungen.

Die ersten drei Gemeinschaftssippungen fanden noch jede Winterung statt. Seit anno Uhu 146 sippen wir im Zweijahresrhythmus.

Gemeinschaftssippung der Mittwoch-Reyche

Die Idee zu dieser Gemeinschaftssippung - die in der « Paixhanslia » auf fruchtbaren Boden fiel - hatte anno Uhu 123 der damalige Kantzler der « Paixhanslia » Ritter Dietzrich von Joka-hama.

Es wurde mit den Reychen Scardinga und Castellum Erolatium Kontakt aufgenommen, die sofort und begeistert diese Idee aufgriffen, eröffnete sich doch die Möglichkeit, als Mittwochreyche zumindest einmal im Jahr zu einer

Gemeinschaftssippung zusammenzutreffen.

Als ältestes Reyche zelebrierte die hohe Scardinga am 19. Eismond anno Uhu 124 die erste Mittwoch-Reyche-Sippung. Die folgenden Sippungen wurden in jeder Winterung zelebriert, und zwar abwechselnd in einem der drei Reyche. Ritter Dietzrich hat anno Uhu 136 in einem Vortrag über die Entstehung dieser Gemeinschaftssippung nicht sich, sondern die anno Uhu 123 amtierenden Oberschlaraffen Ritter Ali Pram (Scardinga) Ritter Schnauz (Castellum Erolatium) und Ritter Kantorl (« Paixhanslia ») als Gründungsmitglieder bezeichnet.

Die mitbegründende « Paixhanslia » sippt seit der Winterung anno Uhu 144/145 an einem Montag. Die Tradition der Gemeinschaftssippung der Mittwoch-Reyche wird derzeit von den Reychen Juvavia, Gamundia, Scardinga und Castellum Erolatium gepflegt.

Rainer Marsch

Professor Hans Schmid (1893-1987) komponierte 1915 den bekannten und auch in der « Paixhanslia » sehr beliebten Rainermarsch. Gesungen wurde bis anno Uhu 154 der von Josef Schopper verfaßte Kriegstext.

Der Komponist äußerte öfter den Wunsch, den auf den I. Weltkrieg bezogenen Urtext durch einen zeitgemäßen Text zu ersetzen.

Sein Neffe Karl Achleitner tat das. Zum 110 Geburtstag des Komponisten verfaßte er das Salzburger Heimatlied, das seit 2003 zur Melodie des Rainer Marsches gesungen wird.

Auch in der « Paixhanslia » gab es schon seit längerem den Wunsch, den Kriegstext durch einen auf die « Paixhanslia » passenden Text zu ersetzen.

Und so entstand der Paix-Marsch welcher seit 23. Eismond anno Uhu 154 zur beliebten Melodie des Rainer Marsches mit dem neuen Text der Ritter Emsig (1. Strophe) und Ritter Murxl (2. Strophe) mit viel Begeisterung gesungen wird.

« Paixhanslia » die Hohe, als fröhlich all bekannt, durch Frohsinn, gute Laune, wird Trübsal hier gebannt. Die Spießer wir vertreiben, es herrscht nur Freude vor, es fliegt der Ball der güldne, es sprüht hier der Humor.

Die Profanei muß weichen, « Schlaraffia » unser Ziel, es leben alle Sassen für 's frohe Uhu-Spiel. Ein Hoch dem hehren Bunde, ein donnerndes Lulu. Ehe all' uns'ren Freunden, das Herz gehört dazu.

Ehrenritter im hohen Reyche « Paixhanslia »

Ritter Carneoli der kuli-narrische, 132.

Ritter CondeQuent der strattheolingische Grenzgänger, 398.

Ritter Didi-di-Pyhrn, 381.

Ritter Dü-Bell, 289.

Ritter eF-De-L von der Dampfrosshalle, 215.

Ritter I-gitt-arius der Wackere, 234.

Ritter Kabelwurm der Wallseer, 32.

Ritter Petrolius - Oberleerer der Peip Lein, 278.

Ritter Pinguin der Luxusschiffer, 32.

Ritter Plombadour der Nervenkiller, 226.

Ritter Prozenti der Allgemeine, 13.

Ritter Recherl der Fee-lerhafte, 215.

Ritter Rom Ram Edler vom Bildschirm, 205.

Ritter Sensibus der Nebelreiter, 205.

Ritter Seppikur der Tassilo Lauser, 132.

Ritter Simandl der Aufmüpfige, 165.

Ritter Triabl der Viel-Lacher, 174.

Sippungsfolge anno Uhu 155

6. Oktober 1873 : * Eröffnungsschlaraffiade, Wiegenfest Spätlese.

13. Oktober 1874 : Sippung.

20. Oktober 1874 : Sippung entfällt.

21. Oktober 1874 : Ausritt i.d. Hohen Reych Linzia (13) .

1875 : 41937 Sa, * 8. Herbstmanöver der « Paixhanslia » Arkeley.

27. Oktober 1876 : Sippung « Bring deine Freunde mit » .

31. Oktober 1876, Freitag : Gräberbesuch - Glock 4 d. N.

3. November 1877 : ** Schlaraffiade, Ahallafeyer.

10. November 1878 : Einritt des h. R. Castellum Erolatium.

14. November 1878 : Ausritt * 62. CaPa-Pai-O Sippung im h. R. Castra Palustre.

17. November 1879 : Sippung.

24. November 1880 : Sippung.

1. Dezember 1881 : * Schlaraffiade.

8. Dezember 1881 : Sippung entfällt.

15. Dezember 1882 : * Stiftungsgedenken, 65 Jahre « Schlaraffia » « Paixhanslia » .

22. December 1883 : ** Uhubaumfeyer m. Bgfr. Anmeldung bis 15.12. erforderlich Beginn Glock 7 d. A.

29. Dezember 1884 : Sippung zum Jahresausklang Sippungsfolge anno Uhu 156.

5. Januar 1885 : * Schlaraffiade, Ehe Neujahr, Knappenexamen.

12. Januar 1886 : ** GU3b-Feyer Ritter Aufguß.

15. Januar 1886 : Ausritt i.d. Hohen Reych Vindobona (24) .

19. Januar 1887 : Turney um die Musi-Kas-Trophäe.

26. Januar 1888 : Sippung.

2. Februar 1889 : * Schlaraffiade.

9. Februar 1890 : Junkertafelsippung.

16. Februar 1891 : Rosenmontag Heringschmaus mit Burgfrauen - Anm. Erforderlich Beginn Glock 7 d. A.

23. Februar 1892 : ** Empfang unserer ER, BO und AM.

2. März 1893 : * Schlaraffiade, Passverlängerung.

9. März 1894 : Sippung, Gedenken ES Freidhof.

16. März 1895 : Einritt der Hohen Reych Castra Noricum (328) .

23. März 1895 : Ausritt in der Hohen Reych Castra Batava (Stoßquell) Paixburg geschlossen.

30. März 1896 : ** Ordensfest.

6. April 1896 : Ostermontag, Sippung entfällt.

13. April 1897 : * Schlaraffiade.

15. April 1897 : Ausritt in der Hohen Reych Kremisia Wachaviae.

* Mutter-Töchter-Sipp (32, 165, 315) .

20. April 1898 : Wahlwerbung und ** Ordenssippung des Ordens « Ritter der lustigen Eicht » .

27. April 1899 : Glock 6 d. A. Generalversammlung Teilnahme nur für Paix-Mitglieder * Glock 8 d. A. Wahl- und Schluß Schlaraffiade

OI : Ritter Epithel.

OK : Ritter Contra-Fey.

OÄ : Ritter's Basst-E.

K : Ritter Emsig.

Sch : Ritter Tiftl.

J : Ritter Wagerl.

M : Ritter Luckerle.

C : Ritter Kombüsier.

Ritter Atzletherl da Wirt.

Ritter Aufguß der Saunier.

Ritter Ausserdem bin i so.

Ritter Bau Schreck der Hof(g)rätige.

Ritter Bungi der Mechanische.

Ritter Charm-Öhrl der Fetzig.

Ritter Contra-Fey der Tiefenscharfe.

Ritter Dia-Lekte der Biviertler.

Ritter Dietzrich von Joka-hama.

Ritter Don Waldi der Immergrüne.

Ritter Doppelnull der Schlichte.

Ritter Drah-di der Tannhüsler.

Ritter Emsig der Phil-Viel-Sucher.

Ritter Epithel der Einschichtige.

Ritter Fex-l-nix der Lasterhafte.

Ritter Halifax der Knallige.

Ritter Isidor der Schlankschlemmer.

Ritter Kombüsier der Windreimer.

Ritter Kulant von der Wehr.

Ritter Lord Thai der Beflügelte.

Ritter Luckerle der Kanonenbändiger.

Ritter Lug und Klug der Mili-Derische.

Ritter Murxl der Tintinger.

Ritter Net-z-laut der im Takte.

Ritter Pakt A der Westbahnschläfer.

Ritter Paukerl der Atter-Seher.

Ritter Pragmatikuß der Querdenker.

Ritter's Basst-E vom Raunzereck.

Ritter Schlummerl der Fundamentale.

Ritter Seenator unter Rosenwind.

Ritter So Keiner der Beinamenlose.

Ritter Specht der Thronklopfer.

Ritter Spitzfeder der Erdverbundene.

Ritter Tiftl der Bi-Lanzierte.

Ritter Ton Golli vom Gla-surm-ien.

Ritter Viel-Klang der Stimmungsvolle.

Ritter Wagerl der Quetschfidele.

Jk Heli der Vor-Bild-liche.

Jk Stefan der Spätheimkehrer.

Jk Walter der Splendide.

Knappe 109.

Knappe 110.

Richtlinien für die Vergabe von Einrittsorden

- 1) Grundlage : OR-Beschlüsse vom 1. Oktober anno Uhu 131 und vom 29. Dezember anno Uhu 150.
- 2) Form : siehe Bild.
- 3) Verleihungsstufen : 50 - 100 - 250 - 315 - 500 Einritte.
- 4) Die Verleihung der jeweiligen Stufe des Ordens ist mit Urkunde zu bescheinigen.
- 5) Jeder, der eine Stufe dieses Ordens beansprucht, hat diese beim Marschall spätestens 1 Monat vor dem Ordensfest zu beantragen und nachzuweisen. Der Marschall hat dem Ordenskapitel hievon Meldung zu erstatten.
- 6) Die Verleihung findet nur 1 mal im Jahr beim Ordensfest nach Zuerkennung durch das Ordenskapitel statt.
- 7) Die Zahlenplättchen bleiben beim Sassen, bei Erreichen einer höheren Stufe muß das Plättchen mit der niedrigeren Zahl nicht zurückgegeben werden.

Richtlinien für die Vergabe von Ausrittsorden

- 1) Grundlage : OR-Beschlüsse vom 1. Oktober anno Uhu 131 und vom 19. Januar anno Uhu 151.
- 2) Form : siehe Bild.
- 3) Verleihungsstufen : 100, 250, 500, 750 und 1000 Ausritte.
- 4) Die Verleihung der jeweiligen Stufe des Ordens ist mit Urkunde zu bescheinigen.
- 5) Jeder, der eine Stufe dieses Ordens beansprucht, hat diese beim Marschall spätestens 1 Monat vor dem Ordensfest zu beantragen und nachzuweisen. Der Marschall hat dem Ordenskapitel hievon Meldung zu erstatten.
- 6) Die Verleihung findet nur 1 mal im Jahr beim Ordensfest nach Zuerkennung durch das Ordenskapitel statt.

7) Die Zahlenplättchen bleiben beim Sassen, bei Erreichen einer höheren Stufe muß das Plättchen mit der niedrigeren Zahl nicht zurückgegeben werden.

Zertifikate für über 1000 Ausritte

1) Grundlage : OR-Beschluß vom 6. April anno Uhu 151.

2) Form : Zertifikat A 4.

Papier : 100 g weiß (bis 2000 Ausritte) .

Papier : 120 g marmoriert (über 2000 Ausritte) .

3) Verleihungsstufen : 1200 - 1400 - 1600 - 1800 - 2000 - 2100 - 2200 - 2300 - 2400 - 2500 Ausritte.

4) Die Verleihung der jeweiligen Stufe ist mit Zertifikat zu bescheinigen.

5) Jeder, der eine Stufe dieses Zertifikats beansprucht, hat diese beim Marschall zu beantragen und nachzuweisen. Der Marschall hat dem Oberschlaraffat hievon Meldung zu erstatten.

6) Die Verleihung findet immer nur in einer Schlaraffiade statt.

Orden « Ritter der lustigen Eicht »

Willkomm-Orden Gestiftet anno Uhu 146 vom hohen Reych « Paixhanslia » an der Vechlapruggen.

Ziel der Stiftung :

a) Die Freundschaft unter den Sassen vertiefen.

b) Den Kontakt zu den Oberösterreich Reychen pflegen.

c) Das ehrende Andenken an den großen Oberösterreich. Mundartdichter Franz Stelzhamer bewahren (Ehrenmitglied der « Paixhanslia » und Ehrenscharaffe Piesenham) .

Ein paar Beispiele des Schlaraffenlateins

Atzung und Labung = Essen und Trinken (Verben : atzen und laben) .

Bangk = Rhythmische Ehrerweisung, die einem Schlaraffen entgegengebracht wird.

Benzinelefant = Reisebus.

Benzinross = Auto.

Burgfrau = Ehefrau.

Burgknäpplein = Sohn.

Burgmaid = Tochter.

Burgschreck = Schwiegermutter.

Burgwonne = Freundin Lebensgefährtin.

Clavicimbel = Klavier.

Dampfross = Eisenbahn.

Lethe = Wein.

Quell = Bier.

Kniewinsel = Violoncello.

Krystalline = Geselliges Zusammensein außerhalb der Sippungen.

Lunte = Zigarre.

Luntette = Zigarette.

Minneholz = Gitarre.

Pön = Geldstrafe, die verhängt wird, wenn man sich ungebührlich verhält oder gegen Spiegel und Ceremoniale verstößt (Verben : pönen) .

Quasselstrippe = Telefon.

Rüstung = Helm und Schärpe, eventuell Rittermantel.

Schaumlethe = Sekt.

Schmauchtopf = Tabakspfeife.

Schwalbenschwanz = Frack.

Sendbote = Brief.

Sendwisch = Postkarte.

Seufzerholz = Geige.

Stammrolle = Mitgliederverzeichnis.

Troß = Familie.

Vademecum = Jährlich erscheinende Broschüre, die alle Angaben und Veranstaltungshinweise des herausgebenden Reiches enthält.

Zinkenmeister = Derjenige, der das Clavicimbel bedient.

...

4 septembre 1884 : Anton Bruckner célèbre son 60e anniversaire à Vöcklabruck, en achevant sa 8e Symphonie.

5 septembre 1884 : Anton Bruckner achève sa 7e Symphonie à Saint-Florian.

11 septembre 1884 : A setting of the 3rd « Christus factus est » (**WAB 11**) , for chorus, by Anton Bruckner is performed for the 1st time, at the Vienna « Hofkapelle » .

Marie Demar

La 8e Symphonie sera dédiée à l'Empereur François-Joseph d'Autriche bien que Bruckner, âgé de 63 ans, ait d'abord pensé l'offrir à une ravissante jeune fille de 17 ans aux yeux bruns, provenant de Steyr, du nom de Marie Demar (1865-1946) , qu'il a rencontrée lors d'une représentation à l'Opéra de Vienne.

Elle va marier, ultimement, Wilhelm Blasdiek, en 1890.

Une lettre passionnée de Bruckner qui lui est adressée, nous permet de faire un lien entre sexualité, morbidité et

obsession :

« Merci de tout cœur pour votre superbe photo ! Ah, ces beaux yeux exprimant la confiance ... combien de fois ils m'ont réconforté ! Et avec quelle joie je les ai si souvent regardés. Je conserverai cette précieuse " relique " (« Reliquie ») jusqu'à la fin de mes jours. »

Le choix du mot « relique » (« Reliquie ») est plutôt insolite puisqu'il fait essentiellement partie du lexique des Saints dans l'Église catholique. L'utilisation du terme « Andenken » (objet souvenir) serait ici beaucoup plus appropriée. Mais Bruckner associe inconsciemment l'image de son objet de désir avec l'excitation démesurée qu'il manifeste devant la morbidité et les cadavres. Le compositeur arrive ainsi à contenir la souffrance que lui cause le célibat en se repliant sur sa collection de photographies de jeunes filles.

...

Marie Demar (1865-1946) : Female friend of Bruckner who lives at « Loco Wieden Waaggasse 9 » , in Vienna. Bruckner greatly admired her, so much so that their friendship became quite a serious matter (in 1885-1886) , and it was reciprocal. From all accounts, he felt that he had found his soul mate. Nevertheless, she declined his proposal of marriage, left his heart and ego in disrepair, and ultimately married someone else (Wilhelm Blasdiek) , in 1890.

...

In his single volume biography, Max Auer begins by remarking on the inspiring young women around Bruckner in Vöcklabruck. Bruckner hired a room with a piano from the local iron-monger and, upon learning that he had a pretty stepdaughter, apparently remarked :

« Oh that makes me happy : I can compose there ! »

Every day, he sent a bunch of flowers to a « Fraulein » von Rottenberger, and addressed the daughter of lawyer Doctor Alois Scherer as, « My pearl ! » . Auer speculates that these affections were then portrayed in the aspiring theme of the 1st movement « Gesangsperiode » . Certainly, at the time of the composition of the 8th, especially whilst composing the Adagio, from November 1884 to February 1885, he was in love with a young woman called Marie Demar and, by his own testimony, the inspiration for the Adagio-theme came when he « gazed too deeply into a maiden's eyes » .

Bruckner was 61 when writing the Adagio, and according to Max Auer, in love « zu einem jungen, schönen, kaum der Schule erwachsenen Mädchen » (a pretty young girl barely out of school) or « kaum dem Kindesalter entwachsene Marie Demar » (hardly more than a child, Marie Demar) - although, giving no reference, Constantin Floros says she was 20 years old. They met-up during the intervals in the 4th gallery at the Viennese Court Opera, where they would discuss together the Richard Wagner Opera and he would ply her with « Linzer-Torte » (reputedly one of the oldest cakes, for which Linz is famous and of which the « Bakewell Tart » is a distant relative.) She was obviously very

musical to have gone willingly to the Opera and, later, a student at the « Conservatoire » , and was apparently very taken with Bruckner, no doubt much flattered that the famous organist, University professor and composer should take time-out to talk with her. Looking through the « Hofoper » programmes, I see, for example, that Lilli Lehman sang Isolde, on 16th January 1885, and it could well have been that they both were there. The image that Max Auer describes is of the couple walking in the spring of 1885 in the large Vierma amusement park, the « Prater » , with her parents behind, and Bruckner whistling the « Dance of the Apprentices » from « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » , as Marie danced around him.

Shortly after finishing the 1st compositional work on the Adagio of the 8th Symphony, Bruckner sent his house-keeper « Frau Kathi » (Katherina Kachelmayer) to her house with a photograph of himself, and a message as follows:

« Dedicated to my highly-esteemed, dearest friend and comrade in art , Miss Marie Demar, as a small memento. »

And « Kathi » was instructed to solicit Marie to return the favour with a picture of herself.

As reported in Göllerich-Auer :

With pleasure and pride, the young lady fulfilled this request. Blissfully happy at this, Bruckner sent her the following registered letter (from anxiety, he would register all his letters) :

Most kind, most generous friend, Miss Marie ! Heartfelt thanks for your splendid picture. Those innocent, beautiful eyes ! How often they console me ! Till the end of my life, this keepsake will be beloved and priceless to me. And what joy from having frequent sight of it ! Etc.

Also, I ask for your so dear friendship, dearest young lady ! May the same never be withdrawn. Of mine, you are assured for all eternity.

I have just thanked the King of Bavaria for his acceptance of the dedication (of the 7th Symphony) . Levi's work.

Once again, I send my heartfelt thanks and devoutly kiss on your kind, fair hands.

Your exceedingly admiring friend,

Anton Bruckner. »

I don't know if it was as a result of this letter but, at some stage, the relationship was interrupted until her re-appearance as a pupil of Ferdinand Löwe at the Vienna Conservatory, in 1886-1887, so they had been friends then for 2 years. Bruckner now proposed to dedicate the 8th Symphony to her. When one considers the dedication of the 7th to King Ludwig of Bavaria, the eventual dedication of the 8th to the Emperor Franz-Josef, and the reported dedication of the 9th to « dear God » , one has some measure of the intensity of Bruckner's feelings for Marie. So, he proposed

marriage and that was the end of it.

Given the frequency with which Bruckner fell for young women, presumably one could find similar affections at the time of the composition of many of his Symphonies. Nevertheless, I don't think it is legitimate to dismiss them as « banal », or of no interest when discussing the emotional origins or impact of the music. It may well be that the imagined triumph of his dreams is what is celebrated in those 6 cymbal clashes that crown the 1st version of the Adagio of the 8th.

WAB 108 : Symphonie n° 8

1884-1887 : WAB 108 - Symphonie n° 8 « Die Apokalyptische » en do mineur pour 3 flûtes (la 3e peut être remplacée par 1 piccolo) , 3 hautbois, 3 clarinettes en si bémol, 3 bassons (le 3e peut être un contre-basson) , 4 cors en fa, 3 trompettes en fa, 3 trombones (ATB) , 2 tubas wagnériens ténor en si bémol (positions 5 et 6) , 2 tubas wagnériens basses en fa (positions 7 et 8) , 1 tuba, timbales, cymbales, triangle, 3 harpes et cordes.

L'exécution de la Symphonie dure selon les versions et les chefs (sauf exception) entre 75 et 85 minutes. Ce qui en fait la plus longue de Bruckner.

Amorcé en 1884, dès l'achèvement de sa 7e Symphonie et dans l'euphorie du succès remporté par celle-ci, la 8e Symphonie aura, par contre, une histoire difficile. Terminée en 1887, son rejet par le chef et ami Hermann Levi (qui avait pourtant eu un rôle déterminant dans le triomphe de la 7e) qui ne la comprend pas, faillit mener Bruckner, rarement aussi satisfait de lui-même, jusqu'au suicide, tant dans son esprit sa nouvelle partition représentait un absolu aboutissement.

Comme la majorité des autres Symphonies de Bruckner, la 8e existe sous différentes versions. L'instrumentation est légèrement modifiée également :

La version originale de 1887 fut publiée par Leopold Nowak, en 1972. Cette version, refusée par le chef Hermann Levi, représente le matériau brut. Quelques chefs, dont Eliahu Inbal et Georg Tintner ont voulu, en l'enregistrant, revenir en quelque sorte aux sources de Bruckner.

Création de la version originale (1884-1887) à Londres, le 2 septembre 1973.

La Symphonie subira 2 révisions successives :

Bruckner effectue une 1re révision de l'Adagio l'année suivante. Révision de 1888 : Nouvel Adagio.

La version intermédiaire de l'Adagio de 1888 a été éditée par Dermot Gault et Takanobu Kawasaki. La version intermédiaire des autres mouvements fut reconstituée par William Carragan et exécutée par Gert Schaller.

La version de 1890 est profondément modifiée. En plus des « inévitables » coupures, quelques passages aux harmonies trop futuristes sont modifiés. Le Trio est plus mélodique ; il possède moins de harpe ; et, comme déjà dans sa version intermédiaire de 1888, le climax de l'Adagio est dans une tonalité différente : mi bémol majeur au lieu de do majeur dans celle de 1887 ; et il a aussi moins de coups de cymbales. Cette nouvelle version requiert, par ailleurs, un élargissement des bois (un 3e est ajouté dans les 3 lers mouvements) dans les différentes parties ce qui lui donne une allure moins austère. Dans cette version, la Symphonie demande, en plus d'un grand orchestre de cordes, 3 flûtes traversières, 3 hautbois, 3 clarinettes, 3 bassons (dont 1 contrebasson) ; et comme cuivres : 4 cors, 3 trompettes, 3 trombones, 1 tuba et 4 tubas wagnériens, ainsi que cymbales, timbales, 3 harpes et 1 triangle.

La version de 1890 fut publiée par Leopold Nowak en 1955. Nowak rejeta les idées et retouches de Haas, et publia une version qu'il considéra comme authentique. Cette version est à la base de la nouvelle édition critique préparée par Paul Hawkshaw pour la Société Internationale Bruckner.

Édition : Leopold Nowak (1955) .

La « version mixte » de 1887-1890 fut publiée par Robert Haas en 1939. C'est la version la plus souvent enregistrée et qui garde la faveur de nombreux chefs et mélomanes. Longtemps considérée comme une tentative de synthèse entre les versions de 1887 et de 1890, elle a été rejetée par les spécialistes. Il est cependant apparu que plusieurs passages, que Haas avait soi-disant repris de la version 1887, étaient simplement rayés dans le manuscrit de la version 1890, et que Bruckner avait, par ailleurs, écrit dans une lettre adressée au chef d'orchestre Felix Weingartner, qu'il espérait que ces passages apparaîtraient « valides pour la postérité » .

Édition : Robert Haas (1939) .

La version dite « de Franz Schalk » contient de légers changements par rapport à celle de 1890, dont on ne sait dans quelle mesure ils ont été ou non approuvés par le compositeur. L'œuvre connut un grand succès lors de sa création à Vienne, le 18 décembre 1892, par l'Orchestre Philharmonique sous la direction du chef Hans Richter ; des critiques la qualifiant même de « Symphonie des Symphonies » ou « Sommet de la Symphonie Romantique » .

La version de 1892 diffère, en de nombreux endroits, de celles de Robert Haas et de Leopold Nowak. Dans « Bruckner Symphonie n° 8, Cambridge Music Guides » (Cambridge University Press, 2000) , le musicologue Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt affirme que le nombre considérable de changements de tempo additionnels, en particulier dans le Finale, a permis de mettre en lumière les pratiques de l'époque au moment de la création d'une Symphonie de Bruckner. La Ire édition nous montre une interprétation beaucoup plus explicite et musicalement convaincante par rapport aux partitions manuscrites des versions de 1887 et de 1890 et des éditions critiques modernes de Robert Haas et de Leopold Nowak.

Ire édition publiée : Franz Schalk et Max von Oberleithner, Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau, Vienne (1892) .

S 8288a, Ernst Eulenburg, édition Max Steinitzer, Leipzig (1912) .

...

Composée à Vienne (1884-1887) ; révision (1888-1890) .

Version originale (1884-1887) :

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) VIII/1, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak (1972) ; sur la page-titre : « Fassung von 1887 » .

Ernst Eulenburg (466) , édition Leopold Nowak (1994) .

(1) Allegro moderato ; (2) Scherzo. Allegro moderato ; Trio. Langsam ; (3) Adagio. Feierlich langsam, doch nicht schleppend ; (4) Finale. Feierlich, nicht schnell.

2e version (1888-1890) :

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) VIII/2, Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Leopold Nowak (1955) ; sur la page-titre : « Fassung von 1890 » .

Ernst Eulenburg (1526) , édition Leopold Nowak (1992) .

Source des tempi utilisés : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) VIII/1.

Version hybride à partir des 1re et 2e versions :

Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, édition Robert Haas (1939) ; ré-édition Brucknerverlag (1949) . G/A (August Göllerich / Max Auer) : VIII.

Breitkopf et Härtel (3622) , édition Robert Haas (1949) .

Source des tempi utilisés : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) VIII/1 et ABSW VIII/2 mais indications métronomiques : minim = 69, ajoutées au Finale.

1re version publiée :

S 8288, édition Haslinger-Schlesinger (1892) .

S 8288a, Ernst Eulenburg (66) , édition Max Steinitzer (1912) .

UE 2495, Philharmonia (212) , Universal-Edition, Vienne ; Wiener Philharmoniker Verlag 212, nouvellement révisée par Josef Venantius von WöB (1927) .

Ernst Eulenburg (466) , édition Wilhelm Altmann (vers 1930) .

10398, édition Peters (3840h) .

Source des tempi utilisés : version hybride, faite à partir des 1re et 2e versions.

...

Par la démesure de ses dimensions et la profondeur de sa vision, la 8e est considérée, par certains, comme étant le sommet de la Symphonie : le couronnement et l'épilogue de toute l'aventure humaine à l'aube d'un nouveau siècle.

La Symphonie est en 4 mouvements, le cœur étant constitué par l'association des 2 derniers mouvements, colossaux, Adagio et Finale. C'est sans doute pour créer cette union extraordinaire que Bruckner, suivant l'exemple de la 9e Symphonie de Beethoven, a inversé l'ordre traditionnel des mouvements en permutant le Scherzo et l'Adagio.

Allegro moderato :

Le 1er mouvement, à l'atmosphère sombre et presque funèbre, se termine dans la version originale par un fortissimo. Dans la version de 1890, cette Coda est supprimée, le mouvement s'achèvant ainsi sur un lent decrescendo au caractère de glas menaçant qui renforce sa vision pessimiste.

Bruckner described the Coda of the 1st movement as a grim scene :

« This is how it is when one is on his deathbed, and opposite hangs a clock, which, while his life comes to its end, beats on ever steadily : tick, tock, tick, tock. »

Scherzo, Allegro moderato - Trio, Langsam :

Le Scherzo, vif et enjoué, est censé dépeindre la figure populaire du « Deutscher Michel » , le bon paysan germanique, d'après le programme imagé que Bruckner a donné a posteriori sur l'insistance de ses amis et élèves, notamment Franz Schalk. Le thème est celui de la partie de pédalier du prélude pour orgue en do majeur de Georg Böhm, qui avait déjà été utilisé dans le Credo de sa 2e Messe : chez Bruckner, l'organiste n'est jamais loin !

Dans la version de 1887, le trio est accompagné par des trilles des violons, et, dans les versions ultérieures plus mélodiques, par des arpèges de harpe.

Dans le Scherzo, Bruckner peint le paysan têtu de Haute-Autriche, en le baptisant « Der deutsche Micherl » .

Un jour qu'il devait sortir par mauvais temps, il prit soin de mettre une housse sur le précieux manuscrit demeuré sur son piano :

« ... de peur qu'il ne s'enrhume en mon absence. »

Adagio - Feierlich langsam, doch nicht schleppend :

L'Adagio, dont le thème avait été trouvé « dans l'œil d'une jeune fille », disait Bruckner, a la forme d'une quête méditative intérieure, tendue vers un idéal inaccessible.

L'accompagnement du 1er thème est basé sur le rythme brucknérien typique « 2+3 » .

Un beau passage solo des tubas wagnériens suivi par les bois et des arpèges de harpe, qui précédait la ré-exposition du second thème, a malheureusement été supprimé dans la version de 1890. Le climax du mouvement, ponctué dans la version de 1887 par 6 coups de cymbales, ne l'est plus que par 2 dans les versions ultérieures.

Le mouvement se termine, en pianissimo, par le 1er motif que seuls les cuivres (cors et tubas wagnériens) chantent encore.

Le disciple de Bruckner, Friedrich Eckstein, se souvient :

« Concerning the Trio of the Scherzo, which Bruckner loved, he said : « Micherl dreams » . The 4 bars before F he called « Micherl's prayer » . He didn't say much about the Adagio 3rd movement. He only said that he came-up with the theme in Sierning near Steyr when « looking deeply into a young girl's eyes » . Regarding the 4th movement, on the other hand, he fell back into the strangest fantasies again. Apparently, he had in mind the coming together of the 3 Emperors at Skiemewice, near Brünn, when writing the introduction to the movement, the entrance of the Monarchs of Germany, Austria and Russia. »

There is no a tempo before letter N in either the manuscript or the 1st edition. Friedrich Eckstein's letter M should perhaps be letter L, and his a tempo letter M. Presumably, « Michel » takes-up the fight at letter N (August Göllerich / Max Auer : 4/3, pages 16-17.)

« Looking deeply into a young girl's eyes. » : A statement that would seem to offer more psychological scope than his statement to Carl Hrubý that the theme had come to him « after a glass of Pilsener beer » . (Carl Hrubý, page 37.)

Bruckner used harps for the 1st time in this Symphony. He had long believed, as Friedrich Eckstein recalled, that while the harp may have been appropriate in a Symphonic poem, it did not belong in « a proper Symphony », but, here, he changed his mind. He told Eckstein that he felt compelled to use harps in this work :

« I simply had to, there was no other solution. »

Finale - Feierlich, nicht schnell :

Le Finale, d'une puissance écrasante, sonne comme une résolution après la longue méditation. Le début en 3 vagues représente, dit-on, une rencontre récente entre les Empereurs d'Allemagne, de Russie et d'Autriche-Hongrie (la Symphonie est d'ailleurs dédiée à François-Joseph Ier d'Autriche) . Ceci étant et nonobstant la dédicace (qui, contrairement à celle de sa fameuse 9e, « Dédicée au bon Dieu » (oralement) , ne nous renseigne pas le moins du monde sur son intention) , cette description serait certainement très réductrice des messages que tout un chacun peut entendre dans cette œuvre.

La Coda foudroyante qui le conclut, avec la reprise des principaux thèmes de chaque mouvement, renforce cette idée d'ultime aboutissement de la Symphonie, au moment où celle-ci commence à se déconstruire et où émergent de nouvelles formes. Une mauvaise interprétation de cette fin monumentale a fait accoler parfois à la Symphonie le surnom, tout à fait apocryphe, d' « Apocalyptique » ; le terme pourrait à la rigueur être gardé dans son sens originel de révélation, plus proche du message brucknérien.

...

The composition of the Finale of the 8th Symphony gave Bruckner more trouble than did the other movements, and many observers, beginning with Hermann Levi, have not found the movement wholly convincing. Bruckner did not share this opinion. The day he finished composing it, he described it as « the most significant movement of my life » , and he resisted all suggestions to revise it radically.

Most superficially, at its 1st performance in December 1892, the Symphony was accompanied by a long, unsigned program written by Josef Schalk :

« The figure of Æschylus' Prometheus. Vague, resentful defiance, with a presumptuous, titanic feeling of inner strength elevating itself above gods and fate. Soon, the Oceanides' words of consolation. Terrible loneliness and silence. Soliloquy : gentle complaint rising to outbursts of delirious grief, occasionally shaken by the premonition of the bliss of redemption to come. Brazenly and unbidden the dreadful power of fate rears-up. Prometheus grindingly succumbs to the will of the hostile Cronides, and, sinking down, he cries-out :

So hurl lightning's fiery snake down upon me, the thunderous quake of Wild wind's rage convulses the air. And the cruel whirlpool of Fate casts my body down to black Tartarus :

Yet, he cannot kill me !

The ideal elements of the 1st movement come forth in realistic depiction. The deeds and sorrows of Prometheus appear parodic, reduced to a meager scale. The composer himself gave this movement the odd name " German Michaël

”

The sphere of solemn, calm sublimity. Like the silent workings of divinity throned in splendor high above all earthly woe and all earthly joy. Not Zeus-Cronos, the inaccessible, no ; the all-loving father of humanity is given to us in his entire, incalculable Grace.

The sun resounds in age-old fashion. With brother spheres in hymnic sound. And fulfills his pre-ordained round with thunderous progression.

Heroism in service of the Divine. No longer battling, suffering and succumbing solely as the bearer of his own inner strength, but as the messenger of eternal sacred Truth, herald of the idea of God. The work reaches its triumphant conclusion in a combination of all the main-themes, from which “ German Michaël ” is not absent ; in fact, now in gleaming armor and with a swinging sword, like his namesake the Archangel, he is at the head of the flock. »

Schalk's program has not often found a warm reception. Reviewers of the 1st performance easily identified it as the work of Schalk and were content to dismiss it as banal, if not ridiculous. Eduard Hanslick and Max Kalbeck both mocked it, and Bruckner's supporter Carl Hrubý criticized Schalk for merely providing critics with easy targets.

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WAB 108 (1884-1887) : Symphony No. 8 in C minor (« Die Apokalyptische ») with Wagner tubas, triangle, cymbals and harps. 1888 version : new Adagio ; 1890 version : 3rd woodwind in 1st 3 movements, fewer cymbal clashes in Adagio, harps in Trio.

In 1887, an elated Anton Bruckner sent the score of his 8th Symphony to his newly found champion, conductor Hermann Levi. The accompanying letter read, « To my artistic father. Alleluia ! May it find grace ! » . Nevertheless, this immense Symphony, dwarfing anything in history before it, was greeted with trepidation by the conductor. After the recent breakthrough success of the Symphony No. 7, Levi was reluctant to hurt the composer's feelings, so he sent a friend to break the news to Bruckner. The result was a nervous collapse on the part of the sensitive, self-doubting composer ; and, upon recuperation, an extensive revision of the Symphony. In its new form (somewhat pruned and with many dramatic new features ; including a different ending to the 1st movement and a new Trio) , the still imposing work was premiered, in 1892, under conductor Hans Richter with the Vienna Philharmonic. A more complete triumph could hardly have been hoped for. Bruckner's rival, Johannes Brahms, heartily joined in the long ovation, while the critic Hanslick, the bane of Bruckner's existence, fled the hall amidst jeers and hisses from the audience.

Even in its revised form, the work was the longest Symphony on record, with a performance time of roughly 80 minutes. The stern character of the work earned it the nickname « Apocalyptic » (a subtitle which has largely fallen by the wayside) , and, indeed, there is the impression of an eruption as the highly-chromatic opening theme thunders out in the full Orchestra. A complex of solemn themes unfolds, and an almost cosmic battle occurs in the development section ; the recapitulation reaches an awesome climax against an obstinate brass figure ; the grim, fading Coda,

appended in the revision, was described by the composer as a « wake » .

The immense Scherzo, one of Bruckner's best, is constructed around an infectious carillon-like figure, and was said by the composer to represent the German national figure « Cousin Michaël » . The Trio is expansive and dreamlike in quality.

The following Adagio is perhaps the longest in the literature and it unfolds in visions of religious ecstasy, reaching a climax similar but structurally surpassing that of the Symphony No. 7. The serenity of its Coda is jarringly contrasted with the opening of the Finale in which the opening urgency of the 1st movement returns with even greater intensity. Militant fanfares hammer-out the main-theme against a jabbing ostinato ; a meditative 2nd theme and a rhythmic 3rd are worked-out on a vast scale ; the sudden return of the opening theme in the recapitulation is one of the most terrifying moments in all of Bruckner's music. The Coda to the entire Symphony is perhaps Bruckner's greatest orchestral achievement. Over a slow, inexorable build-up the main-theme of each movement is re-worked in a major key and played in counterpoint with the others, bringing this titanic work to an awe-inspiring close.

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1887 Version (Nowak) .

Circa 1888 Adagio (unpublished) .

1890 Version ([Haas], Nowak) .

1892 Version (1892) .

The 1st version of the 8th Symphony, begun in July 1884, was completed in August 1887. This version did not find favour with the conductor Hermann Levi, so, Bruckner decided to revise the Symphony. The 1890 version, begun in March 1889, was completed in March 1890.

In between the 1887 and 1890 versions, there is at least an intermediate version of the Adagio ; a copy score of this movement is now Mus.Hs. 34614/b. (Mus.Hs. 34614/a is a copy of the 1887 Adagio made by the same copyist.) As documentary evidence indicates that Bruckner began revising the 8th by mid-October 1887 and had made considerable progress by February 1888, one might assume a date of 1888 for the intermediate Adagio. According to Takanobu Kawasaki, the 1888 Adagio consists of 315 measures (compared to 329 measures in 1887 and 291 measures in 1890) . As in the 1890 Adagio, the climax of the 1888 Adagio is in E-flat major (compared to a C major climax in the 1887 Adagio) . This form of the Adagio should be taken seriously, since Bruckner thought enough of it to pay to have it copied. In July 2000, it was performed on 4 electones in Tokyo.

The 1892 version contains some slight revisions made by Josef Schalk and Max von Oberleithner that may have been subsequently approved by Bruckner. Also, some of the revisions could have been made by Bruckner. Among the changes are alterations in length in the Finale : measures 93-98 of the 1890 Finale are cut, and measures 519-520 of the

1890 Finale are repeated. There are also some changes in orchestration and dynamics. But at least one modification suggested by Schalk and Oberleithner (a large cut in the Finale) was rejected by Bruckner. The cut in the Finale's exposition (measures 93-98) is similar to, but not identical to, a cut that Bruckner made in the recapitulation. If the cut in the 1892 printing corresponded to measures 89-98, then, the cuts in the exposition and recapitulation would be identical.

The Robert Haas edition is primarily based on the 1890 version with a passage from the 1887 Adagio mixed-in. In addition, Haas restored 4 passages from the autograph score of the 1890 Finale that originated from the 1887 version, which were crossed-out by Bruckner. The Finale also contains a passage written by Haas, based on a sketch by Bruckner (according to Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt) . In making these revisions, Haas cut 13 measures of the 1890 Finale that were composed by Bruckner.

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Original version, composed from October 1884 to August 1885. Many and important revisions take place until July 3, 1887. The 1st publication of this rarely performed version was by Leopold Nowak (1977) .

1890 version, prepared by Bruckner and Josef Schalk. The critical edition is Nowak (1955) . It includes a re-writing of the end of 1st movement (so that it gains a soft ending instead of the loud ending of the original version) , and substantial changes in the Adagio and the Trio. Also, some cuts were made with advice from Schalk. The Nowak edition includes all these changes and cuts, and considers them as representing the final decisions of Bruckner. Haas edition (1935) , if we leave aside some minor complications, can be said to be basically a combination of 1887 and 1890 versions. Haas accepted the re-writings and changes as being Bruckner's genuine decisions, but restored all the cuts introduced under the alleged influence of Schalk. Because of that, it is somewhat longer than Nowak's. This, among all Bruckner Symphonies, is the one that presents the largest differences when it comes to the Haas or Nowak editions, and the preferences of conductors are evenly distributed among them.

Revised version of 1892, prepared for the publication of the 1st Edition by Robert Lienau, in that same year. Further cuts were made at the suggestion of Schalk, who also introduced changes of dynamics, phrasing, and orchestration. This was the version played in the 1st performance, by Hans Richter, in Vienna on December 18, 1892.

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Anton Bruckner's Symphony No. 8 in C minor is the last Symphony the composer completed. It exists in 2 major versions of 1887 and 1890. It was premiered under conductor Hans Richter in 1892, in Vienna. It is dedicated to the Emperor Franz-Josef I of Austria. Although, at one stage, the repeatedly lovelorn 63 year old Bruckner sought to dedicate it to a young girl he met at the Opera, named Marie Demar.

We can speculate on Anton Bruckner's attitudes towards sex and death within a general obsessive condition. Possible evidence of this connection is glimpsed in a letter to another of his potential « love flames » , Maria Demar :

« Heartfelt thanks for your marvellous picture ! The beautiful, trusting eyes ! How frequently it comforts me ! This relic (“ Reliquie ”) will be dear and precious to me to the end of my life. And with what joy have I so often looked upon it ! »

The choice of the word « Reliquie » is striking and most unusual in this context, since it literally, and most commonly, signifies relics in precisely the Catholic, ritualistic sense. Certainly, it is quite distinct from the more appropriate « Andenken », which would simply imply a memento. Bruckner's attitude towards the photograph thus seems subconsciously tied to his curiosity about the relics of death. The compulsion that controls obsessional thoughts of death by grasping its physical relics finds a parallel here in the attempt to contain a fear of loneliness by assigning an almost religious value to the mementos of a potentially reciprocated desire.

The 8th Symphony is sometimes nicknamed « The Apocalyptic », but (as with the nicknames « The Tragic » for the 5th Symphony ; « The Philosophic » for the 6th ; and « The Lyric » for the 7th) this was not a name Bruckner gave to the work himself.

Anton Bruckner began work on the 8th Symphony, in July 1884. Working mainly during the summer vacations from his duties at the University of Vienna and the Vienna Conservatory, the composer had all 4 movements completed in draft form by August 1885. The orchestration of the work took Bruckner until April 1887 to complete : during this stage of composition, the order of the inner movements was reversed, leaving the Scherzo 2nd and the Adagio as the 3rd movement.

In September 1887, Bruckner had the score copied and sent to conductor Hermann Levi. Levi was one of Bruckner's closest collaborators, having given a performance of the 7th Symphony in Munich that was « the greatest triumph Bruckner had yet experienced ». He had also arranged for Bruckner's career to be supported in other ways, including financial assistance from the nobility, and an honorary doctorate from the University of Vienna. However, the conductor wrote back to Bruckner that :

« I find it impossible to perform the 8th in its current form. I just can't make it my own ! As much as the themes are magnificent and direct, their working out seems to me dubious ; indeed, I consider the orchestration quite impossible. Don't lose your courage, take another look at your work, talk it over with your friends, with Schalk, maybe a reworking can achieve something. »

By January 1888, Bruckner had come to agree with Hermann Levi that the Symphony would benefit from further work. He began work on the revision, in March 1889, and completed the new version of the Symphony, in March 1890. Once the revision was completed, the composer wrote to Emperor Franz-Josef for permission to dedicate the Symphony to him. The Emperor accepted Bruckner's request and also offered to help pay for the work's publication. Bruckner had some trouble finding a publisher for the work but, in late 1890, the Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau company agreed to undertake publication. Bruckner's associates Josef Schalk and Max von Oberleithner (1868-1935) assisted with the publication process : Franz Schalk prepared the musical text to be sent to the printer while doctor Max von

Oberleithner corrected the proofs and also provided financial support. The Symphony was eventually published, in March 1892. It was the only one of Bruckner's Symphonies to be published before its 1st performance.

By the time the 1890 revision was complete, Hermann Levi was no longer conducting concerts in Munich : as a result, he recommended that his « protégé » Felix Weingartner, « Kapellmeister » of Mannheim, lead the 1st performance of the Symphony. The premiere was twice scheduled to occur under the young conductor's direction during 1891 but, each time, Weingartner substituted another work at the last minute. Eventually, the conductor told Bruckner that he was unable to undertake the performance because he was about to take-up a new position at the Berlin Opera. However, Weingartner admitted, in a letter to Levi, that the real reason that he was unable to perform the Symphony was because the work was too difficult and he did not have enough rehearsal time : in particular, the Wagner tuba players in his Orchestra did not have enough experience to cope with their parts.

After a possible Munich performance by Hermann Levi was canceled because of a feared outbreak of cholera, Anton Bruckner focused his efforts on securing a Vienna premiere for the Symphony. At last, Hans Richter, subscription conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, agreed to conduct the work. The 1st performance took place on 18 December 1892. Although some of the more conservative members of the audience left at the end of each movement, many of Bruckner's supporters were also present, including Hugo Wolf and Johann Strauß.

The well-known critic Eduard Hanslick left after the slow movement. His review described the Symphony as :

« Interesting in detail, but strange as a whole, indeed repellent. The peculiarity of this work consists, to put it briefly, in importing Wagner's dramatic style into the Symphony. »

(Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt points-out that this was less negative than Hanslick's reviews of Bruckner's earlier Symphonies.)

There were also many positive reviews from Bruckner's admirers. One anonymous writer described the Symphony as

« The crown of music in our time. »

Hugo Wolf wrote to a friend that the Symphony was :

« The work of a giant “ that ” surpasses the other Symphonies of the Master in intellectual scope, awesomeness, and greatness. »

The Symphony was slow to enter the orchestral repertoire. Only 2 further performances occurred during Bruckner's lifetime. The American premiere did not take place until 1909, while the Symphony had to wait until 1929 for its 1st London performance.

The 1887 version requires an instrumentation of 3 each of the following woodwind : flutes (the 3rd doubling as

piccolo) , oboes, clarinets, bassoons (the 3rd doubling as contrabassoon) - the triple woodwinds, however, only enter in the Finale (with double woodwind for the earlier movements) - in addition to 8 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, a quartet of Wagner tubas, which double as Horns 5-8 in the Finale, and a single contrabass tuba, along with timpani, cymbals, triangle, 3 harps, and strings. The 1890 version deletes the piccolo part, and extends the triple woodwinds on all 4 movements. In addition, the 1890 score calls for 8 horns, 4 of which double as Wagner tubas at various points in the Symphony for all movements. This was, in total, the largest Orchestra Bruckner ever used (since the 9th Symphony, which uses an otherwise identical Orchestra, does not require harps and percussion other than timpani) .

The Symphony is in 4 movements. The total duration varies by performance and the edition of the score used, but is typically around 80 minutes.

1st movement : The beginning of the Symphony. According to theorist Heinrich Schenker, this passage is « like the beginning of the world » .

The Symphony begins in a tonally ambiguous manner with a theme rhythmically reminiscent of the main-theme of the 1st movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 in D minor, and of the March in D minor of 1862. A more song-like 2nd subject group uses the Bruckner rhythm. The 3rd subject group, which is strikingly dissonant, forms a smooth transition to the development. In structure, the opening movement is, therefore, a typically Brucknerian 3 subject Sonata form, though handled with more panache than in his previous works. The development was substantially refined, in 1890. In both versions, this section of the movement is most notable for its massive, augmented 3 part statement of the main-theme, impressively given on full Orchestra, in combination with the Bruckner rhythm of the 2nd subject group.

The beginning of the 2nd principal theme of the 1st movement : the « Bruckner rhythm » occurs in the melody, in the 1st and 3rd bars.

In the recapitulation, the 3rd theme leads to a great climax for the entire Orchestra, in which the bare rhythm of the main-theme is dominant. This suddenly breaks-off, leaving just the trumpets and 3 of the horns hammering-out the rhythm, timpani thundering beneath. When the strings and woodwinds rejoin, it is in a very dejected mood. At this juncture, the 2 versions differ significantly. In the 1887 version, this solemn passage leads to what many consider an unconvincingly premature victory Coda, which sounds the main-theme in C major. For the 1890 version, the triumphant ending was cut, and the despondent passage extended by a few bars to form a pianissimo Coda in itself (thus, becoming the only instance of a 1st movement ending softly in Bruckner's Symphonic œuvre) . This quiet, sombre ending is for low winds and low strings in a thoroughly bleak C minor, and there is no doubt from contemporary letters of Bruckner that it represented death in some way.

It has been suggested by some scholars that the Coda was inspired by the climax of the « Flying Dutchman » 's monologue in Wagner's « Der fliegende Holländer » , with the words : « Ihr Welten endet euren Lauf, ewige Vernichtung, nimm mich auf ! » .

2nd movement : The 1st appearance of the « Deutscher Michel » theme in the Scherzo. The « Deutscher Michel » theme is a reminiscence of the Credo of the Mass in E minor.

The main part of the Scherzo is fundamentally the same in both versions, though somewhat more repetitive in the 1st version. The orchestration and dynamics are more refined in the 2nd version, helping to give the movement a rich and original sound. The Trios, however, are quite different : the 1890 version was re-written as an adumbration of the ensuing Adagio movement, featuring the harps, and the tempo was slowed down. In both versions, this Scherzo is Bruckner's largest, lasting around 14 or 15 minutes in most performances.

3rd movement : The main difference between versions is at the climax, for which in the 1887 version Bruckner managed to insert 6 cymbal clashes. He must have thought that excessive, as he pared it down to 2, in the 1890 version. The key of this climax was also altered from C major, in 1887, to E-flat major, in 1890. The Coda of this movement is recalled in the Adagio of the 9th Symphony.

This Adagio differs from those in other Symphonies by the composer in that the 2nd thematic group is not presented in a more flowing tempo. The 2 themes are, 1st, a recollection of the slow movement of Franz Schubert's « Wanderer Fantasie » for pianoforte and an answering descending passage, both over throbbing, richly scored strings ; and, secondly, a tonally unstable passage radiant with ecstasy. The structure and scale of the Adagio as it develops these themes is grander than any of Bruckner's previous slow movements.

The Adagio is the most controversial of all the movements, in terms of different versions. For example, Robert Haas inserted one quiet, solemn passage in his edition of the 1890 score which restored a cut between 2 loud passages (before the main climax of the movement) , whereas in the Leopold Nowak edition these 2 loud passages are joined. This difference greatly affects the impression given to the listener for this section of the movement as it heads towards the great E-flat major climax. The 1890 Adagio, in both the edition of Robert Haas and that of Leopold Nowak, remains shorter than the 1887 original.

4th movement : Beginning belligerently (by Bruckner's standards) , this movement reaches a triumphant conclusion using themes (or, at least, rhythmic impressions of these) from all 4 movements. The form of this movement is complex, derived from a 3 subject Sonata structure but, like the opening movement of Bruckner's 7th Symphony, highly-individualised. The scale and complexity of this movement are both on a different level from that in the opening of the 7th Symphony, however, not least in that this movement must synthesise the entire Symphony (as it reworks old ideas and new ones into a coherent whole) , and forms what must be a satisfactory conclusion for the whole work.

The opening theme is a powerful chorale, originally given over a March, in which the rhythmic thundering of the timpani recalls certain passages in the opening movement. The 2nd subject, a song theme, is remarkable in that it recalls not only its counterpart in the 1st movement but also the Adagio. The 3rd subject is a March theme, which is a direct reworking of the introduction to the 3rd subject group of the opening movement. In the recapitulation, this 3rd theme is presented as a fugue which leads to the solemn Coda and the splendid, bright finish to the Symphony.

The development presents these 3 themes and other elements in ways which recollect earlier parts of the Symphony, both episodically and in simultaneously parallel combinations. The thematic treatment is subtle and counterpoint is frequently used in the presentation of themes. It, therefore, seems natural that such a synthesis concludes by contrapuntally combining all the main-themes of the Symphony : the Coda begins in a solemn C minor in which the opening theme of the Finale reaches a powerful climax. This is answered quietly by the woodwind giving-out the same theme, then more optimistically by the full Orchestra, from which, in a flurry of trumpets and timpani, the Scherzo theme heralds a remarkably succinct combination of all the themes in C major. For all its « grandeur », the ending is remarkably concise, and the perorations are more terse than those of, say, Bruckner's own Symphony No. 5 in B-flat major.

2 complete autograph manuscripts of the Symphony exist, dating from 1887 and 1890 respectively. More sketches exist from all phases of work on this Symphony than for most of Bruckner's works. For example, thanks to the sketches, we can see the evolution of the opening theme. Part scores show that the tonal ambiguity of the Symphony's opening was not how Bruckner originally envisaged the main-theme : the rhythm was to fit an arpeggiated contour in C minor. The final opening is much less defined and hovers in more of a B-flat major region, though it suggests several keys.

The 1887 version : Bruckner's 1st version of the Symphony, but was not published until 1972, in an edition edited by Leopold Nowak. It has some significant differences from the more familiar later versions, including a loud ending to the 1st movement and a different tonality for the climax of the slow movement. It is also notably longer than the 1890 version, and has a different instrumentation (the most significant consistent difference being that the 1890 version has triple rather than double woodwind throughout the 1st 3 movements) . The double woodwind of the 1887 version gives a somewhat more austere character to the overall sound of the work.

Some scholars support this version of the Symphony. Bryan Gilliam, for example, argues that the later version (from 1890) is shorter and smoother, and is hence a dubious concession to the Brahms loving « bourgeoisie » of the time. It was premiered by Hans-Hubert Schönzeler for the « BBC », in 1973, and has been recorded by Dennis Russell Davies, Vladimir Fedoseyev, Eliahu Inbal, Georg Tintner, Michaël Gielen and Simone Young.

The 1888 version : A fair copy of an intermediate version of the Adagio with an estimated date of 1888 exists in the Austrian National Library. It has been recorded by Akira Naito with the Tokyo New City Orchestra. The other movements have been recently reconstituted by William Carragan and performed by conductor Gert Schaller.

The 1890 version : Some scholars, such as Deryck Cooke and Robert Haas, have suggested that the 1890 revision was the product of Anton Bruckner's insecurity and pressure from his colleagues such as Josef Schalk : Cooke even referred to it as the « Bruckner & Schalk revision » . Against this, Leopold Nowak has pointed-out that there is no evidence of any hand-writing other than Bruckner's own in the 1890 manuscript. According to the testimony of Bruckner's friends and associates the composer was extremely resistant to outside interference.

The scoring of the 1890 version is fuller and more grandiloquent than the 1887 version, with subtler textures and

harmonies in the woodwind in particular, allowed for by the increased size of this section of the Orchestra. It was published in 1955, in an edition edited by Leopold Nowak.

The 1892 edition : The 1st publication of the Symphony, and was also the version used at the 1st performance. It contains some relatively minor changes from the 1890 manuscript, the most notable being a 6 measure cut and a 2 bar repeated passage in the Finale. The alterations were made by Josef Schalk and doctor Max von Oberleithner (1868-1935) , almost certainly without Bruckner's direct involvement, but were probably approved by the composer before publication. Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt writes that while the 1892 edition may not be « pure Bruckner » (whatever that might be) to all appearances Bruckner authorized it, and for that reason it needs to be taken seriously. This edition is available in complete recordings by Wilhelm Furtwängler, Hans Knappertsbusch, Josef Krips, William Steinberg, George Szell, Bruno Walter and Takeo Noguchi. Serge Koussevitzky also used this edition in his severely cut broadcast performance of 1947 ; this performance, which has been preserved on disc, amounts to a wholly new « edition » .

Robert Haas published his edition of the 8th Symphony, in 1939. Haas mainly based his work on the 1890 autograph but also included some passages from the 1887 version that were changed or omitted in the 1890 score.

Haas argued that Hermann Levi's comments were a crippling blow to Bruckner's artistic confidence, even leading him to « entertain suicidal notions » , although Haas had no evidence for this. This led, Haas maintained, to Bruckner's 3 year effort to revise the 8th Symphony and many of his earlier works. This line of thought supports Robert Haas' editorial methods. Haas took what he admired from Bruckner's different versions and rolled them into his own version. He justified the rejection of various features of Bruckner's 1890 revision on biographical grounds : they are the ideas of a Bruckner who mistrusted his own judgment and, therefore, non Brucknerian.

The most significant omissions that Anton Bruckner made (and, therefore, of Haas's restorations) are in the Adagio and Finale of the work. In addition, Robert Haas inserted 8 measures into the Finale that he appears to have composed himself by combining the harmonies of the 1887 manuscript with material Bruckner penciled into the margin of the 1890 score, discarding 5 measures of Bruckner's own music in the process. There were no footnotes or other indication in Haas's edition that these changes had been made. Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt has described these interventions as « exceeding reasonable limits of scholarly responsibility » . Despite its dubious scholarship, Haas's edition has proved enduringly popular : conductors such as Herbert von Karajan, Bernard Haitink and Günter Wand continued to use it even after the Leopold Nowak 1890 edition was published, while noted Bruckner conductor Georg Tintner has written that the Haas edition is « the best » version of the Symphony and referred to Haas himself as « brilliant » . On the other hand, Eugen Jochum used Haas's edition for his 1st recording, made in 1949, before Leopold Nowak published his edition, and Nowak's for his subsequent recordings, while Wilhelm Furtwängler, despite having given the premiere of the Haas score, reverted to the 1892 edition, in his final years.

The controversy over the Robert Haas edition centers on the fact that its musical text was a fabrication of the editor and was never approved by Bruckner himself. In particular Leopold Nowak, who succeeded Haas as principal editor of the Bruckner Complete Works, argued that there is little evidence for the psychological breakdown that Haas claimed

Bruckner suffered upon Hermann Levi's rejection of the work. Bruckner's letters, at the time, suggest that he was frustrated by Levi's judgment (dismissing Levi as having a « hard time grasping things ») and psychologically healthy. Bruckner's revisions, according to this view, are the result of his artistic perfectionism. Nowak, therefore, rejected Haas' approach by sticking closely to Bruckner's autograph scores. Since its publication, Nowak's edition of the 1890 version has become more popular than Haas's, although Haas's is still often performed.

However, on examining the microfilm of the original manuscript of 1890 version, the passages allegedly added by Robert Haas, from the 1887 version, are virtually all there. What Haas actually did was to restore certain passages that Anton Bruckner had crossed-out. In a letter, Bruckner wrote to the conductor Felix Weingartner, on January 1891, he mentioned the hope that these cut passages would prove « valid for posterity, and for a circle of friends and connoisseurs ». According to Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, however, this commentary actually applies to cuts in the Finale suggested to Weingartner, in October 1890, now lost, with the request, on March 1891, of not modifying physically the score so that the orchestral parts remain unaltered for publication.

In an 1891 letter to conductor Felix Weingartner, Bruckner gave extra-musical associations to several parts of the Symphony :

« In the 1st movement, the trumpet and horn passage based on the rhythm of the main-theme in the “ Todesverkündigung ” (the Annunciation of Death) , which gradually grows stronger, and finally emerges very strongly. At the end : surrender. Scherzo : Main theme named “ Deutscher Michel ”. In the 2nd part, the fellow wants to sleep, and in his dreamy state cannot find his tune : finally, he plaintively turns back. Finale : At the time, our Emperor received the visit of the Czars at Olmütz ; thus, strings : the Cossacks ; brass : military music ; trumpets : fanfares, as the Majesties meet. In closing, all themes thus as “ Deutscher Michel ” arrives home from his journey, everything is already gloriously brilliant. In the Finale, there is also the death March and then brass transfiguration. »

« Deutscher Michel » is a national symbol reflecting the Germans' conception of their own character. « Deutscher Michel » started-out in the 16th Century as a sleepy country person. Over time, the image and its meaning have changed to represent political opposition, innocent victims and many other aspects of German social life. The image can, in some ways, be compared to others such as the British « John Bull » , the American « Uncle Sam » and the French « Marianne » . Now, « Deutscher Michel » is portrayed as a sleepy character with a night cap.

...

« Der Deutsche Michel » (The German Michel) is a figure representing the national character of the German people, rather as « John Bull » represents the British and « Uncle Sam » represent the Americans.

Such figures differ from those that serve as personifications of the nation itself, as « Germania » did the German nation and « Marianne » the French. He is usually depicted wearing a nightcap and nightgown, sometimes in the colours of the German flag, and represents the Germans' conception of themselves, especially in his easy-going nature and « Everyman » appearance. In German, « Michel » is also the short form of « Michaël » , though quite rare

today.

Bruckner's associates report other comments that the composer is said to have made about the Symphony. The Coda to the 1st movement is how it is when one is on his deathbed, and opposite hangs a clock, which, while his life comes to an end, beats on ever steadily : tick, tock, tick, tock while, in the slow movement : « I have gazed too deeply into a maiden's eyes. » .

In an unsigned programme note, at the 1892 1st performance, Josef Schalk elaborated Bruckner's program, adding references to Greek mythology (Aeschylus's Prometheus, Zeus or Kronos) mixed with a few Christian references such as the « Archangel Michaël » .

Over the recorded lifetime of this Symphony, significantly different approaches have been taken, including tempo choices and the choice of score.

Wilhelm Furtwängler, in a live performance with the Vienna Philharmonic in 1944, used a modified Haas edition.

On 29 September 1944, the « Preussische Staatskapelle Berlin » , conducted by Herbert von Karajan, recorded the last 3 movements of the 8th Symphony with the Finale in experimental stereophonic sound. In his interpretation, Karajan kept strict metre whereas « recordings from the 1940's typically present this passage (the reprise of the 3rd subject group in the Finale) as a grand accelerando - rallentando, with a tempo increase of as much as 20 % » , while Karajan's recording « is a notable exception » .

The 1st commercial recording of the complete Symphony was made by Eugen Jochum with the Hamburg State Philharmonic Orchestra, in 1949, for « Deutsche Grammophon » . Jochum later recorded it in studio with the Berlin Philharmonic, in 1964, for « Deutsche Grammophon » and, in 1976, with the « Dresden Staatskapelle » for « EMI » using the Leopold Nowak 1890 edition, both times. Karl Böhm, in a studio recording with the Vienna Philharmonic, in 1976, for « Deutsche Grammophon » used the Nowak 1890 edition, but with one Haas passage in the Finale.

In the last 2 decades of the 20th Century, recordings tended to « set a broader basic tempo, abstain from dramatic tempo fluctuations (especially increases) and place great store by fullness of tone, precise ensemble, and textural clarity » .

Typically, this work lasts about 80 minutes, although there are performances running as long as 103 minutes. Herbert von Karajan and the aforementioned Günter Wand each recorded the Robert Haas hybrid version more than once. After Elisha Inbal recorded the 1887 version, for the 1st time, other conductors have followed. Takashi Asahina has recorded a disc comparing excerpts from the Robert Haas and Leopold Nowak editions.

...

A contemporary critic slated its « nightmarish hang-over style » , but Bruckner's last completed Symphony contains

music of sheer, breathtaking magnificence.

Anton Bruckner's 8th Symphony is the last he would complete. He never lived to finish his 9th (although, he came agonisingly close to completing the Finale, music that's still shamefully little heard in concert halls) , so the 8th is the summation of his Symphonic journey. And what a summit the 8th is ! Bruckner himself said when he finished the work's gigantic, revelatory Finale : « Hallelujah ! » . « The Finale is the most significant movement of my life. » Themes from all of the work's huge movements sound together at the end of the Symphony, a moment that burns with what Robert Simpson calls a « blazing calm » . It's the end point of a 75 minute (well, up to 100 minutes, if you are conductor Sergiù Celibidache) Symphonic journey, and it's one of the most existentially thrilling experiences a Symphony has ever created. Bruckner's achievement is to make you feel, when you get there, that the whole experience of the piece is contained and transfigured in this crowning coming together of Symphonic space and time, and that the work's sublime darkneses (like the terrifying abysses of dissonance in the 1st movement, the kind of music that conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler described as Bruckner's « battle of demons ») and its equally transcendent light, like the climax of the slow movement, are simultaneously vindicated and vanquished by the sheer, breathtaking magnificence of this music, the last Symphonic Coda that Bruckner would ever compose.

But Bruckner's journey to the work's 1st performance, by the Vienna Philharmonic in 1892, was as tortuous as the music is (sometimes) serene. He finished a 1st version of the piece in 1887, and sent it to the conductor Hermann Levi, « my artistic father » , who had already conducted the 7th Symphony with huge success in Munich. Levi rejected the piece, saying it was basically unperformable ; Bruckner was wounded, but returned to the piece to effectively recompose it over the next few years. And instead of the weak minded naif who never got over people's criticism (as Bruckner is sometimes described) his revision amounts to a much deeper act of recomposition than simply answering Levi's concerns. The 1st movement ended in 1887 with a major-key triumph ; in 1892, the audience heard instead music that winds down in minor key desolation with a repeated, exhausted, death rattle of a sigh in the violas. Bruckner himself wrote about this desperate moment, the only time in his life that he composed a Symphonic 1st movement that didn't end with a fanfare of fortissimo power : « This is how it is when one is on his deathbed, and opposite hangs a clock, which, while his life comes to its end, beats on ever steadily : tick, tock, tick, tock. » . The other movements were also subtly but profoundly recalibrated ; the effect is an intensification and sharpening of focus of Bruckner's musical ideas.

So all should have been set for the greatest night of his life at the premiere. And while the « Musikverein » was full of the great and good, including Johannes Brahms, Hugo Wolf and Johann Strauß, and with Bruckner's partisan supporters out in force, the naysayers were there as well. Brahms thought of Bruckner's works as « Symphonic bo-constrictors » , and the critic Eduard Hanslick (who left before the Symphony's Finale) wrote grudgingly, « In each of the 4 movements, especially the 1st and 3rd, some interesting passages, flashes of genius, shine through. If only the rest of it was not there ! It is not impossible that the future belongs to this nightmarish hangover style - a future we therefore do not envy ! » . Just as well he didn't stay till the end, Bruckner thought ; he would only have become « even angrier » .

Today, Bruckner's 8th should still be controversial. This is a piece that is attempting something so extraordinary that if

you're not prepared to encounter its expressive demons, or to be shocked and awed by the places Bruckner's imagination takes you, then you're missing out on the essential experience of the Symphony. If you think of Bruckner only as a creator of Symphonic cathedrals of mindful (or mindless, according to taste) spiritual contemplation, who wields huge chunks of musical material around like an orchestral stone mason with implacable, monumental perfection, then you won't hear the profoundly disturbing drama of what he's really up to. That unsettling darkness is sounded right at the start of this Symphony. Instead of setting out on a journey in which the outcome is certain, in which everything is its rightful place in the Symphonic, tonal, and structural universe, Bruckner builds his grandest Symphonic edifice on musical quicksand. The 8th starts with an unstable tremor of a semi-tone in the violas, cellos, and basses, which turns into a snaking, searching, chromatic collection of fragments. It's not so much a theme as a series of atomic musical explorations, and all of them in the wrong key. This is a Symphony « in » C minor, and, yet, in the early stages of the 1st movement, that home key is confirmed more by how much Bruckner avoids it instead of how much he inhabits it. You can describe the progress of this whole opening movement in terms of sonata forms and 2nd and 3rd themes and the other trainspotting jargon of the Symphonic rulebook, but that scarcely relates to the experience of living inside this music, which is what you will feel happens when you hear it. One special moment to listen out for : the cataclysm at the centre of the movement that results in one of the emptiest, most desolate musical landscapes Bruckner, or anyone else, ever conceived : a single flute that somehow survives the onslaught to play a remnant of the orchestral tutti over tolling, funereal tattoos in the trumpets and chromatic sighs in the basses.

All of this intensity invites a search for meaning. Bruckner's music is open to our imaginations, and he even suggested possible interpretations himself for the Symphony. In a letter to the conductor Felix Weingartner, he said that the Scherzo, which comes 2nd in this Symphony (the 1st time Bruckner places the Scherzo before the slow movement in a Symphony) is a portrait of the figure of « German Michaël » , a bucolic rustic from German folk tradition. The somnolent, radiant, harp-haloed Trio section of the Scherzo depicts Michaël dreaming, Bruckner says.

The opening of the Finale is inspired by the Cossacks, as the Russians had recently visited the Austrian Emperor, to whom the 8th is dedicated ; this movement also features « the death march and then (brass) transfiguration » . Bruckner doesn't talk about the slow movement, but the Adagio, the 3rd movement, is the huge, generous heart of the Symphony ; a consoling, palpitating dream in D flat major whose opening is the closest Bruckner ever came to an evocation of the erotic ; yet, that bodily experience is transfigured into a blindingly radiant climax that seems to speak for the universe rather than mere individual figures.

Or maybe that's just me : you will make-up your own mind, because the power of this piece can't be limited by any single interpretation, whether that's Bruckner's words, or the vision a particular conductor has of this Symphony. But as you listen to that awe inspiring but intimate, visionary but coherent Finale (whose drama again can't be explicated by the crude pigeonholes of musical rules and regulations ; instead, its « form » is phenomenological, something you just have to experience) I think you should hear the darkness as much as the « blazing calm » of the Coda. It's in its acceptance of doubt, darkness, and despair that this Symphony achieves its real glory. Bruckner's 8th is an act of enormous empathetic consolation because it's unafraid to confront and to recognise sublime terror and darkness as well as light. Just like him when he wrote the piece, you need to feel engaged in that « battle of demons » when you're listening.

...

The Upper-Austrian Youth Symphony Orchestra, composed of approximately 130 musicians with an average age of 17 performed the Symphony No. 8 at the « Stiftsbasilika Sankt Florian » with the conductor Rémy Ballot. The unanimously positive response from audience and music-critics alike can be gathered from the following quotes from reviews :

« Suddenly, the doors to Paradise stood wide open, the eternal transfiguration promised in the beyond is now palpable ! And who is playing ? Not some aesthetically unapproachable Vienna, Berlin or Munich Philharmonic, but the Upper-Austrian Youth Symphony Orchestra consisting of about 130 members and conducted by Rémy Ballot, who achieved the miracle of this production with the way he shaped his tempos and his subtle dynamics. »

(Upper-Austrian composer, Balduin Sulzer)

The doyen of Upper-Austrian music-criticism, Doctor Franz Zamazal, wrote :

« The “ Sankt Florian Bruckertage ” made the unbelievable achievable : the Upper-Austrian Youth Symphony Orchestra, under the French conductor Rémy Ballot, in the Saint-Florian abbey church made an enormous impression with its performance of the mighty Symphony No. 8 by Anton Bruckner. Intense, thrilling playing with a powerful sound, vested with considerable joy of playing, were experienced. The conductor Rémy Ballot's actions were free from any posturing and he led the Orchestra calmly through the score. The 8th Symphony required 104 minutes (!) to unfold fully, which flew by and was entirely in accord with the church's architecture and its acoustic. The grandiose Adagio exhibited long arcs that were embedded in the manifold and expressive dramatic course without loss of tension. The Finale followed Bruckner's instructions, joining the 1st 3 movements into a tremendous structure full of the hopes and fears of an artist, connected moreover to an overwhelming effect. Seconds of silence were followed by roaring applause. The concert showed that the Upper-Austrian Youth Symphony Orchestra is excellently positioned. »

The performance also caused a sensation internationally. Here is an extract from the review by Ken Ward, editor of the world-renowned « Bruckner Journal » (London, August 2014) :

« The triumphant close of Bruckner's vast 8th Symphony, where (as conductor Rémy Ballot wrote in the programme booklet) there is “ in truth, no ending, but a final ‘ baptism in light ’, a vision of eternity, of hope, of the elevation of humanity into a timeless dimension ”, was not only Bruckner's triumph, but that of the quite superlative Upper-Austrian Youth Orchestra. In this mighty Coda, paced at a grandly slow tempo, each internal paragraph shaped and measured to perfection, they presented with indomitable power the superimposition of the main-themes of each movement in a resplendent C major : it resounded through the Abbey, pulsating with energy and shining like silver and gold.

It was as long a performance of this Symphony as you are likely to hear, lasting over 1 hour 44 minutes. Partly, this was because Mæstro Ballot did what the score asks for : the Finale is to begin ‘ Solemnly, not fast ’ - it did ; and the

indication for the 2nd theme is 'Slower' - it was ; and there is nothing to say that the 3rd theme group should quicken-up - and it sounded very slow indeed. It's a little march-like theme that suddenly stops for a 'long pause', whereupon, out of the silence, a wonderful visionary chorale on high-strings and winds descends as though from heaven : the Youth Orchestra played it as though they were angels ; it was (as the saying goes) 'a moment to die for.'

Partly, the length was due to the need to perform to the special acoustic of this vast, reverberant sacred building : it's pointless ploughing on at speed if the music flounders within its own echo, and the conductor responded with patience and creative integrity to the voice of Bruckner's church. Of course, it's risky to go so slow, but the benefits were manifold. There are some woodwind solos (the oboe in the 1st movement development, the flute and clarinets' descending scale in the Adagio 2nd theme) that were played with such slow, passionate inwardness that one hardly dared breathe for fear of destroying the holy silence by which they were surrounded. And, at this slow tempo, the massive climaxes were as though spelt-out syllable by syllable, the young musicians voicing the old composer's message of holy dread.

The Adagio was, for me, as perfect a performance as I'm likely to hear, over half an hour of some of the most beautiful and visionary music the composer ever wrote. The passionately expressive string playing this Orchestra provided for its conductor belied their immaturity. That they could rehearse and perform such a sustained and intense performance as this seemed nothing short of miraculous. »

« My 8th is a mystery ! »

Like all of Anton Bruckner's works, the 8th Symphony also has a dramatic biography : begun in 1884, the Master at 60 years of age was at his peak, having at long last arrived at his arduous, hard-won life's goal. This was the year of the world-wide triumph of his 7th Symphony, which arose only after decades of demoralizing debacles, failures, humiliation, lack of understanding, deliberate hostilities and unwanted musical ideologies. It was with the 7th, in 1884, that Bruckner achieved his absolute, incontrovertible world-wide breakthrough as a « Symphonist ». Reveling in this good fortune, he could hardly divine the major set-back that was to come.

Now confirmed as one of the world's leading Symphonist, Bruckner planned his 8th Symphony as a crowning achievement - which, only after years of labor pains, was to become the key-work of the 19th Century that was coming to a close.

Bruckner proudly sent the 1st version of the 8th to his favourite conductor and significant supporter, Hermann Levi, where it met with complete (initially justified ?) incomprehension. Levi touchingly undertook thoughtful attempts (with the written aid of the Schalk brothers) to articulate his irritation and weighty concerns to the initially optimistic Master, in empathy, assured sympathy, and with all reverence for the composer. Despite all caution, these messages resulted in despondency, self-doubt and excessive (self-destructive ?), furious revision of his scores - naturally, going back many years and affecting several Symphonies. As is well-known, the (life-)time that fell victim to this « revision mania » brought Bruckner (and us) to the end of the Finale of the 9th Symphony : Bruckner had begun working on this movement already, in 1887, which underwent 9 years (the 9th !) of continuous and ultimately incomplete

composition.

Returning to the successful revision of the 8th. Following long-delayed emotional re-assurance and the composer's tenuously rediscovered self-confidence, the 2nd version was completed. This version achieved all compositional goals of the « great Symphonic tradition » under the motto « Per aspera ad astra » (A rough road leads to the stars) . As the Bruckner scholar Professor Paul Hawkshaw (from Yale School of Music, USA) once showed in a Symposium in Saint-Florian dedicated to the 8th Symphony, the aid of Bruckner's well-known « students » , the Schalk brothers, in the labor-intensive revision of the major work turned-out to be (for once) thoroughly constructive. The famous « Totenuhr » (deathwatch) , the closing of the 1st movement which fades to nothing, thus, 1st appears in Franz Schalk's handwriting and was, later, incorporated into the score by Bruckner.

Bruckner expressed his gratitude to Levi :

« Surely, I have reason to be ashamed of myself (this time, at least) for the 8th. What an ass I am !!! Now, it already looks different. »

Among the many reasons for the uniqueness of this Symphony, one stands-out in particular : in the end, all 4 main-themes from all 4 movements are played simultaneously. « The beginning lies in the end, the end lies in the beginning. » (Conductor Sergiù Celibidache) . All contradictions are resolved, all oppositions united into a triumphant apotheosis - an incomparable moment in Symphonic history. During his 1885 summer vacation, in the 2nd year of work on the 8th, Bruckner « experimented » in the « Stadtpfarrh » of Steyr on this thematic « 4 layeredness » (sic !), which was to transform the 8th into a musical and architectural circle. In the margin, the elated experimenter noted :

« Steyr, Stadtpfarrhof 16. August 1885. A. Bruckner mp. Halleluja ! »

The world-premiere of the 8th Symphony, on 18 December 1892, was Bruckner's 1st major triumph in Vienna. The conductor Hans Richter and the brilliant Vienna Philharmonic observed all of the daring and self-confident instructions called for by the composer :

« ... as a single piece of music ! No so-called virtuoso pieces whatsoever ! Neither before nor after ! The Symphony itself requires, at least, 80 minutes ! »

(From Bruckner's letters to Hans Richter, published in 2013 by the Anton Bruckner Institut Linz - ABIL.)

Emperor Franz-Josef accepted the dedication and generously assumed the printing costs, yet as always prioritized his beloved hobby of hunting over attending the concert.

Following the world-premiere, Hugo Wolf wrote :

« This Symphony is the creation of a giant. It was a complete victory of light over darkness ! »

Johann Strauß telegraphed to Bruckner :

« I am completely shaken. It was one of the greatest impressions in my life ! »

The day after the epochal premiere, Johann Strauß called to a friend of Bruckner's on the street :

« Hey, yesterday, I heard a Symphony by Bruckner ! It was simply great ! Bring him to me one of these days ! »

Feeling honoured, Bruckner accepted the invitation of the most-performed composer in music history and addressed Johann Strauß in his well-known submissive manner with « Großmeister » (grand Master) . Yet, Strauß staved-off the subservience with his usual poise and adroitness and replied in a respectful, collegial tone :

« Now, now, you are the grand Master. I'm just a simple sub-urban composer. The Symphony was truly wonderful ! »

In the presence of the sculptor Viktor Oskar Tilgner, who created the Bruckner bust, the evening reached convivially Symphonic dimensions.

Empathy, Inspiration, Resolution, Light

(Thoughts on the 8th Symphony by conductor Rémy Ballot.)

Filled with gratitude and a feeling of self-worth as a Symphonist for the 1st time, Bruckner commenced work on the 8th, his last completed Symphony, his « Masterpiece » . Composed 6 years prior to his death (did he presage his end ?) in retrospect, it appears like his life's balance sheet, entirely unflinchingly directed towards an ultimate victory over death and darkness. « Per aspera ad astra ! » Like all great music, it expresses a truth that reaches beyond the boundaries of humanly graspable dimensions. The 8th would unite the qualities of all of Bruckner's previous Symphonies : the mysticism of the 5th ; the conciseness of the 4th ; the harmonic and thematic inventiveness of the 7th ; and, of course, the 4th and its resolution in the Coda.

What do we hear, feel, experience in the 8th ? Longing ? Grief ? Love ?

When the 2nd theme of the 1st movement sings, can one feel an August day, one on which night falls over the apple trees full of ripe fruits ? Happiness, only imaginary, tinged by longing, hardly lived ? Failed love ? The scent of freshly cut hay ? The innocence of feelings of people who only know country life ? All of this is expressed in only a few notes. It is characteristic of this Symphony that Bruckner never lingers at the suggested impressions but rather fluidly and with a perfect sense of proportion elides from one musical image to the next. The « genius out of nowhere » composed this Symphony, as always, with exceptionally economical, concisely interrelated thematic material. In the whole diversity of this work, the uniformity of all thematic building blocks that spans over all 4 movements is still without

comparison to this day.

One of the fascinating characteristic traits of the 8th Symphony is the dynamics, designed with great architectural farsightedness : contrary to the original meaning of the word, they grow-out of neither a mobilizing of power nor sonic force. Rather, the dynamics are much more akin to a cosmic ladder, strengthened in their thematic homogeneity by unshakable confidence. The dynamics are also achieved through harmonic progressions that are breathtaking to this day. The rich instrumentation and the presence of tubas and harps lend the Orchestral sound at once a dark and yet bright, sometimes unreal colour. How could one not feel the breath of the cosmos or even experience weightlessness when the « annunciation of death » (as the Master referred to it several times in his letters) is played by the horns and later the tubas ? And, immediately thereafter, when in the course of the unfolding musical events, it reverts briefly to felicity ? And, at the end of the 1st movement (described by Bruckner as a « Totenuhr » , a deathwatch) , ebbing away into nothingness.

In the Scherzo, the middle-section, the Trio, might thoroughly conform to a « program » , as was customary at the time, perhaps describing contemporary country life in Upper-Austria. The theme exhibits nostalgic intensity and, possibly, illustrates the composer's great life disappointments - moments of happiness that can only be lived in imagination and creativity. Yet, a regal motive follows, played by the brass - we suddenly find ourselves in the middle of a village, sunlit, in Festival clothing, the church square richly decorated, the ladies adorned with flower wreaths : the bridal couple is ready to enter the church.

The 3rd movement, Adagio, with its slow and salutary « Buddhist » breathing, is ostensibly full of beauty, yet, at the same time, it derives from futile erotic passion. The genesis of this movement has been handed-down by Bruckner himself :

« I probably once looked a girl too deeply in her eyes. » ...

whereby, the rejection by the venerated Viennese young lady Marie Demar is meant. Sublimated compositionally, in its thematic development, it describes a path to another world. The eroticism melds with the divine, the inner-conflict manifests itself in the music. The strings accompaniment at the beginning of the movement (a written-out heartbeat) is, of course, reminiscent of the 2nd scene of Act 2 of « Tristan » , yet, in an entirely different function and connotation. The strings' lyrical themes could entirely mirror openly incurable wounds such as those of Amfortas in « Parsifal » . They heal only at the end of the movement, in the Coda. They awaken in us compassion and empathy. They remind us of our own mortality - phenomena that we find in all previous great Symphonic Masterworks.

In the Finale, there is (like, later, in the 9th Symphony) a Gothic-Medieval character, often typical of Bruckner, in the 3rd theme played by the strings in unison - as a final approach, a final path to the monumental Coda. This penitent pilgrim's path, which following the grandly composed return of the opening theme leads to the rhythmic return of the 1st movement's « annunciation of death » , dissolves in extended agony - expressed by the twilight of the harmonic characteristic style of the violin as an epilog. It also encompasses (immediately prior to the Coda) all suffering, all desperation, all of the sins of the world through the articulation of the lonely « lifeless flutes » , all the way to the

nearly inaudible strikes of the timpani in order to extinguish into emptiness, into nothingness, into a vacuum.

Yet, like earlier in the 4th and 5th Symphonies, when all the tensions that arise from the compositional diversity are resolved following the structural climax (the return of the very 1st theme) and « the work is thereby complete », the phoenix rises one last time out of the ashes to reach its summit in the union of the main-themes of all 4 movements. And, in reality, there will be no end ; this is one last « baptism by light », a vision of eternity, hope, the elevation of humankind to a timeless dimension.

Personal reflections on the work by Patrick C. Waller

Introduction

I have long since given-up hope of being invited onto Desert Island Discs but allow myself occasional fantasies. Over the years, my 8 discs would have changed considerably ... and I would now find it almost impossible to choose them. However, the piece I would choose for the « if you could only take only one » disc has remained unchanged for many years : Bruckner's 8th Symphony. This article attempts to explain why. I will also describe the work from a listener's perspective and consider the merits of some of the recordings which have been made. I am a music-lover rather than a musician or musicologist, so please don't expect anything erudite. If you know and love this work, there is probably little I can add to your understanding. My target audience is people who are discovering Bruckner and my aim is to help them to get to know this great Symphony.

In 1976, I was a student in Sheffield and a season-ticket holder for the Philharmonic concerts held in the City Hall. The resident Orchestra was the « Hallé » and their chief conductor James Loughran. One Friday night, Bruckner's music was on the programme - a composer I had not even heard of previously. Had I looked him up in my copy of the 9th edition of the Oxford Companion to Music (as I probably did) , I would have read the following quote :

« He was half Cæsar and half a village school Master : such men are, in art or life, difficult to place. »

Hardly words which would have produced great expectations. The piece being played was his most popular work (the 4th Symphony) and, at the concert, I was quite simply blown away by the music. By 10 o'clock the next morning, I was the owner of a tape of Karajan's then recent « DGG » recording and, by that evening, I had played it several times.

Of course, I then wanted to hear more of this composer and, soon afterwards, came across (and immediately bought) LPs of the 7th and 8th Symphonies in recordings conducted by Eduard van Beinum and Jascha Horenstein, respectively. Initially, the 7th Symphony appealed to me more but a friend to whom I lent the discs was immediately taken with the Adagio of the 8th. I soon came to understand that, and the 8th Symphony became a work which I played frequently. Since the work lasts for around 80 minutes, I invested a lot of time in getting to know it. 28 years later, my enthusiasm is undimmed.

A year or so later, I was delighted to see the 8th Symphony on the programme of a « Hallé » concert (under Loughran) and I heard it live for the 1st time. Alfred Brendel played Robert Schumann Piano Concerto in the 1st half. This was one of the most memorable concerts I have yet been to. I used to sit in the « choir » behind the Orchestra and recall that, as the Orchestra began the great crescendo in the Coda of the Finale (about a minute or so from the end of the work) , an elderly lady in the stalls got up and trotted-out, presumably to catch the last bus. Probably, the greatest live performance I have yet heard was at the 1985 « Proms » when Günter Wand conducted the « BBC » Symphony Orchestra.

Composition and Editions

In order to understand the composition of the 8th Symphony, some background is necessary. Bruckner was a devout Catholic, a rather simple man and a late developer. He was about 40 before he attempted Symphonic composition and his 1st four numbered attempts (there are 2 prior attempts, often known as No. 0 and No. 00) , written between 1866 and 1880, taxed him greatly. All were subject to revisions and there is scope for endless debate about which edition is best and what the composer's final intentions were (some of the revisions having being suggested or made by others) . Obviously, Bruckner wanted his works performed and the length of his Symphonies was a barrier. Many of the revisions were, therefore, cuts and often they added to structural problems which Bruckner had not quite solved. Curiously, a major revision of the 1st Symphony was undertaken after completion of the 8th. Many Brucknerians prefer the earlier version of the 1st and wish that he had spent the time on the 9th Symphony (which remained incomplete at his death) . The 5th, 6th and 7th Symphonies, however, flowed more easily between 1878 and 1883 and were not subject to significant revisions. The 7th was played in the « Leipzig Gewandhaus » under the baton of Arthur Nikisch, in 1884, and, for the 1st time, Bruckner triumphed. Sadly, he was never to hear the 5th played.

Bruckner set to work on the 8th, in 1884, and it was complete in 1887. He sent the score to one of his admirers, the conductor Hermann Levi and was distraught at his less than enthusiastic response. Nevertheless, he spent 3 years revising the Symphony in many ways. Most importantly, he omitted his traditional « blaze-up » Coda of the 1st movement and introduced a quiet ending. He also completely replaced the Trio in the 2nd movement. Most people (including me) take the view that Bruckner improved the work markedly - an inspired response to criticism. The 2nd version of 1890 is almost invariably played in preference to the 1st version but there is the complicating factor of editions.

In the 1930's, Robert Haas produced editions of most of Bruckner's Symphonies for the International Bruckner Society. In trying to put together the « best » versions for performance, he had a lot of difficult decisions to make about some of them but had no difficulty in opting for the 2nd version of the 8th. However, he believed a few of revisions, made between 1887 and 1890, were disadvantageous to the structure and / or the specific suggestions of others, notably Josef Schalk. He, therefore, added some passages from the 1st edition, which had been excised, back into the 2nd version.

In the 1950's, Leopold Nowak took-over and set-out to produce editions representing Bruckner's final intentions. In 1955, he published the 2nd version of the 8th as Bruckner left it and, since then, there has been much debate about

the merits of Haas versus Nowak. In 1972, Nowak also published the 1st version of the score and this was then performed for the 1st time and recorded. Haas's edition is probably still the most widely played and, certainly, the most recorded version of the work. His version lasts about 90 seconds longer than Nowak's and musicologists tend to argue that it is preferable. As a listener, I agree, primarily because the build-up to the great climax of the adagio seems more effective. However, I am happy to listen to the work in either version and, for me, this should not be a major factor for or against a particular recording. One practical point, however, is that if you want a score, buying the Nowak is easy whereas finding Haas may be more of a challenge.

A brief guide to the work

Bruckner's 8th has no programme but I have occasionally come across the soubriquet « Apocalyptic » (for example, in the 9th edition of the Oxford Companion to Music) . I do not know where this comes from and suspect it could be exclusive to the English-speaking world (as for Beethoven's « Emperor » Concerto) . In the sense of the word meaning « revelation » , it might be appropriate but this Symphony is not about the end of the world !

This work is in 4 movements with the Adagio placed 3rd. The key is C minor (with the Adagio in D-flat) and it is of interest that Bruckner's 1st 2 numbered Symphonies were both in C minor and that he had not since returned to the key. Tonality is very important, the 1st, 2nd and last movements are rooted in the home key and the Adagio is in D-flat, providing a markedly contrasting atmosphere. When Bruckner composed this work the world was just a few years away from atonal music - but, despite very imaginative harmonies, it seems light years away when you listen to it. The 1st 2 movements both last about 15 minutes, the Adagio is immensely long-breathed and takes about 25 minutes and the Finale takes, at least, 20 minutes. As with all Bruckner's works, a large Orchestra is required but this is the only one in which he used a harp ; to great effect, notably in the Trio and Adagio.

Below, I shall attempt to describe the main features of the work. It is intended that this could be read whilst listening to the work. A score is not necessary but would obviously be an advantage. Since it is one of the most readily available recordings, timings are taken from Karajan's 1988 « DGG » recording. If, as they might well do, any passing musicologist should spot glaring errors, please forgive them.

I. Allegro moderato.

Over a tremolando on the violins, the 1st theme enters immediately and quietly in the lower-strings. At 58 seconds, the tremolando is repeated fortissimo and the main-theme iterated majestically in the brass. After a long diminuendo, at 2 minutes, 10 seconds, the gently rising 2nd theme appears in the 1st violins with string accompaniment. Intensely beautiful and expressive, this seems to emerge-out of nothing, despite the absence of any pause. The 1st bar suggests D or G major but the final 3 bars take us back to the home-key. The woodwinds and, then, brass answer in music that, in just a few bars, conveys many moods, varying from sombre to exultant. After some development, there are 5 bars of increasingly prominent pizzicato on the strings before, at 4 minutes, 27 seconds, the 3rd theme bursts in fortissimo on the brass. This is based on a very simple downward progression in triplets but, by repeating it several times a tone higher and layering the sound between the instruments, Bruckner achieves a monumental effect.

Eventually, harmony is restored at 5 minutes, 20 seconds with a massive climax using a relative major (E-flat) chord. The music rapidly dies to pianissimo and returns to the 1st theme. Initially mysterious, Bruckner, here, conveys a very different mood to the opening - almost pastoral but ever ambiguous. The thematic material is shared between brass and woodwind, the upper-strings play tremolando and lower ones, pizzicato. Eventually, there is a diminuendo and it is time to return to the 2nd theme (7 minutes, 45 seconds) . As before, this emerges from nowhere in the 1st violins but, here, it is inverted (i.e. , downward moving) . The expressive calm of this theme is only brief as Bruckner is soon moving steadily towards a massive climax (which occurs at 9 minutes, 13 seconds) , primarily based on material from the 1st theme. Ultimately, this dies to a premonition of the ending, at 9 minutes, 44 seconds, following which Bruckner prepares us for a return to the 2nd theme in its original form. This occurs at 12 minutes, 13 seconds, and is played, here, in the relative major. As before, this leads into the 1st theme (13 minutes, 59 seconds) 1st stated boldly but, then, dropping to pianissimo before building to a massive climax at 14 minutes, 52 seconds. This ends with repeated Cs in the brass, giving-out the underlying dotted rhythm. At 15 minutes, 47 seconds, the music suddenly breaks-off and gives way to the powerful quiet Coda which is so much more effective than in the 1st version. Wisps of the 1st theme are played by the clarinet, the timpani trills at piano-pianissimo and the strings convey an intense feeling of mystery before ending with repeated pizzicatos in the tonic key. Some spice is added by the violas. The 1st movement of all Bruckner's other Symphonies ends in a blaze of sound but this passage seems so conclusive that it now seems hard to believe that he initially conceived a loud ending.

2. Scherzo: Allegro moderato ; Trio : Langsam.

A repeated appoggiatura on the horn and downward chromatic progression in the violins lead into the simple main-theme on the violas and cellos, after just 2 bars. Unlike the 1st movement, where tonality is initially ambiguous, this is firmly in the home-key. The theme is built on repetition, as is the whole of the 1st section. The punctuating appoggiaturas are repeated on the oboes and, soon, the main-theme is transferred to the brass. Gradually, a huge climax builds but the music breaks-off abruptly after, at 1 minutes, 50 seconds, and, in the 2nd section, the woodwinds muse whilst the strings play an inverted version of their underlying progression. At 3 minutes, 58 seconds, the mood is broken by a crescendo of pizzicatos in the violins, leading to a return of the main-theme, at 4 minutes, 15 seconds. A variant of the opening section leads to a massive climax and a repeat of the abrupt ending of the 1st section (at 6 minutes, 2 seconds) . After 2 beats of silence, the Trio provides a much contrasting, plaintive atmosphere in duple time. Initially, the strings dominate but, at 7 minutes, 11 seconds, the brass enter and rapidly build a climax which dies away amongst rising figures in the strings which are answered in the woodwind. At 7 minutes, 41 seconds, the harp enters to accompany a gentle motif in the horns and pizzicato strings. This is followed by the violins returning to the plaintive feeling of the opening (at 8 minutes, 1 second) before the main-theme of the Trio is recapitulated, at 8 minutes, 51 seconds. The brass climax is also repeated before the harp and flutes bring the Trio to an end, in pastoral vein. The Scherzo is then repeated unchanged.

3. Adagio : Feierlich langsam, doch nicht schleppend.

The main-theme enters on the 1st violins in the 3rd bar over a tonic chord (D-flat) played by the other strings. As in the previous movement, the theme has very simple roots but the music derived from it is ultimately profound. Initially,

although beginning on the A-flat above middle C, it is played on the G-string. The woodwind and brass enter at the end of the 6th bar, accompanying the violins in a chromatic downward scale which imparts an elegiac mood. At 1 minutes, 17 seconds, a climax is reached with a rhetorical upward arpeggio following which the violins leap downwards to A natural (or is it B double flat ? , Bruckner gives both in the score) . This leads to a peaceful interlude based on development of the initial material in which the harp is prominent. From 2 minutes, 44 seconds, there is a section of recapitulation before the cellos introduce the 2nd theme, at 4 minutes, 30 seconds. This is long-breathed and quite majestic. At 6 minutes, 3 seconds, the horns play a variant and, gradually, the music builds to a climax (at 6 minutes, 54 seconds) in which the 2nd theme is partially iterated in the lower-strings and brass. But, here, Bruckner breaks-off and introduces a questioning, ambiguous passage in triple time based on material from both 1st and 2nd themes and concluding with 4 bars of heart-rending accented string music. After a pause of 1 beat, the opening theme returns and Bruckner takes a long time to build a climax. This is reached at 10 minutes, 41 seconds but is foreshortened and dies away after just 4 bars to a quiet iteration of the downward scale theme in the violins. This gets louder and faster before giving way to a short woodwind passage which returns us to the original tempo and leads to a re-statement of the 2nd theme, at 11 minutes, 46 seconds. At 13 minutes, 19 seconds, the tenor trombone gets the tune and leads into an abrupt and anguished climax (at 13 minutes, 44 seconds) following which the violins play the 2nd theme and give it a quite different, more hopeful character. The mood gradually becomes calmer until, at 15 minutes, 9 seconds, the 1st theme re-enters. Almost immediately, dark overtones are added and the music builds to an anguished climax with the brass most prominent. At 17 minutes, 5 seconds, the 1st of the passages that Robert Haas re-inserted from the 1st edition is played. The effect of this passage is to bridge 2 climaxes by adding some music which builds towards the 2nd. The 2nd climax (at 17 minutes, 49 seconds) is more hopeful in character and brief. Soon, the strings are building towards another but it proves a false alarm. At 19 minutes, 9 seconds, a calm interlude briefly intervenes. Finally, we are moving towards the ultimate peak and this is reached at 20 minutes, 5 seconds with 5 bars of glorious blaze following which the Orchestra quietens immediately to leave the harp to conclude. Without a pause, the violins play a C-flat triple forte (at 20 minutes, 32 seconds) by way of introduction to a dark iteration of the 1st theme. These 8 bars of music are stunning in conception and must be difficult to bring-off in performance. A more peaceful mood gradually prevails over the next 8 bars with the harp again prominent. At 21 minutes, 50 seconds, after a long pause, we enter the Coda, initially with the 2nd theme played on the 1st violins. Horns play a prominent accompanying role as the strings play music of exquisite simplicity, ending with a simple downward tonic scale played very quietly. The mood is restful and ethereal.

4. Finale : Feierlich, nicht schnell

The opening of the Finale never fails to thrill me and, indeed, the contrast between the sublime close to the Adagio and blazing fanfares of the 1st section of the Finale is immensely striking. The fanfares are an unusual mixture of major and minor keys and, throughout the strings, play crotchets with chromatic appoggiaturas, establishing a very clear rhythm base. The feeling provoked is one akin to setting-out on an epic journey. At 1 minutes, 45 seconds, a slower section begins with deeply felt string writing. The mood is initially dark but there are flashes of light. The initial tempo is soon resumed and a pastoral interlude inter-spersed with semi-quaver figures on the flute and clarinet leads, at 4 minutes, 8 seconds, to important new material where the strings provide a plain rhythmic base and the woodwind and brass introduce a long descending 3rd main-theme. There is a gradual development to a climax

following which, at 4 minutes, 56 seconds, the music breaks-off. After a long pause, the downward theme is played slowly and expressively. After another pause, Bruckner seems to be building a climax but it is a false alarm again and then suddenly, at 5 minutes, 47 seconds, the brass are raging and anguished brass give vent to their feelings in triple-dotted rhythms. Eventually, the music dies and, at 6 minutes, 36 seconds, there is a pastoral interlude which is one of the passages Robert Haas re-inserted from the 1st edition. A brass chorale, at 7 minutes, 10 seconds, brings us back together with Leopold Nowak and is followed by a minor key rendition of the downward 3rd theme played with immense feeling on the strings. At the end of this is another additional passage in Haas (from 7 minutes, 54 seconds to 8 minutes, 6 seconds) - a kind of answering section just a few bars long. There follows then a return to the opening material but it is highly-developed and the climax comes on the strings. Here, Bruckner weaves in material from the various sections until, at 10 minutes, 6 seconds, there is another sudden blaze and, from 10 minutes, 44 seconds, several more concerted climaxes. At 11 minutes, 25 seconds, the music becomes peaceful and primarily based on the opening material. An emotional climax builds without the brass. At 12 minutes, 36 seconds, the music breaks-off and the brass quietly intone material reminiscent of the 1st movement and an ambiguous but beautiful passage gradually dies. At 14 minutes, 3 seconds, there is a proper recapitulation of the opening and if anything, an even greater climax, finally blazing in C major, in a foretaste of the ending. At 15 minutes, 17 seconds, the music is suddenly quiet, brooding and, then, building to a loud and positive sounding iteration of the downward theme of 3rd section. All the material is starting to come together here but there is time for recapitulation of the 2nd section, again, in a slower tempo (at 17 minutes, 5 seconds) . From 17 minutes, 47 seconds to 18 minutes, 17 seconds is the final additional passage in Haas, giving an extra brief mini-climax following which there is a link passage which dies away to lead us to a final recapitulation of the 3rd section (from 19 minutes, 3 seconds) . A climax is built and the 1st theme of the 1st movement appears in the brass at 20 minutes, 12 seconds, as preparations for the Coda are made. There is time for an iteration of the emotional string writing of the 2nd section. Then, a long pause is needed before the Coda steals in quietly, at 20 minutes, 28 seconds. This builds and builds and uses every block in the Symphony to achieve one of the most powerful endings in all music. Initially in the minor, C major bursts in providing majesty and hope. A sustained climax is reached and the work ends with the notes E, D, C - played fortissimo and tutti, simplicity itself ... but to quote Robert Simpson, it has « tremendous finality » .

Selected recordings

Bruckner's 8th Symphony has been recorded many times, perhaps, by as many as a hundred different conductors, some of whom have had several attempts. There is an excellent discography of his Symphonies, here. A check of a UK Classical CD sales website reveals that there are about 20 versions readily available, not counting those which are part of complete sets. Here, I will only consider the versions that I own, these are conducted by Jascha Horenstein, Bernard Haitink, Herbert von Karajan, Georg Tintner, Pierre Boulez and Günter Wand. I have heard other versions and there are some that I am still looking-out for so it should not be regarded as a comprehensive review - merely personal experience and choice.

The Horenstein recording is his studio version made for « Vox » with the « Pro Musica » Orchestra in the mid-1950's (a extraordinary live recording from 1970 is available on « BBC Legends ») . It was probably the 1st recorded version of Leopold Nowak's edition (which was published in March 1955) . Unfortunately, I do not think it is currently

obtainable - I imported the CDs from the United States, a few years ago, and the postage cost almost as much as the discs (it is coupled with Franz Liszt's « Faust Symphony ») . The sound is mediocre for the period and the Orchestra not in the same class as the Berlin or Vienna Philharmonics. And, yet, there is no doubt that this is a great interpretation. Perhaps, I am biased because this is the 1st version I ever heard but, in my view, this version should still have a place in the catalogue even though there are now many excellent alternatives. Horenstein's conception of the work is seamless and tempi are perfectly judged. Although he does not linger in the 1st movement, an essential sense of mystery is retained. His Adagio is perfectly poised, simply ethereal at the close and the Finale as fine as in any other version I have heard.

Bernard Haitink has rightly gained a reputation for his conducting of Bruckner but his 1st recording of the 8th, made in 1969, has been considered a relative flop. I have it as part of the complete set of « Concertgebouw » recordings he made in the 1960's and 1970's. When re-issued, about 10 years ago, Richard Osborne commented favourably on the whole set in the « Gramophone » but suggested that « you will need another version of the 8th » . That goes without saying but, personally, I would not write-off this version. At just under 74 minutes, it is the fastest reading I have heard but I do not have a problem with any of its speeds. For me, this work can legitimately last anywhere from, say, 73 to 88 minutes, without necessarily being too fast or slow. Haitink's reading has both vigour and structural coherence, and it is very well-played. I don't feel it detracts at all from the complete set. Interestingly, Haitink's 1995 version with the Vienna Philharmonic is a very different conception and, in some ways, it has the best sound of any of the recordings I have heard. This version runs for over 83 minutes and is evidently the product of long experience. Again, it has not really been given its due by some critics but it is currently available on a « Philips Duo » coupled with a magnificent version of the 3rd symphony at bargain price.

It would not be possible to have a discussion of recordings of this Symphony without considering those made by Herbert von Karajan. He made 3 studio versions and there is also a live version which has been reviewed recently on MusicWeb. Unlike Haitink, Karajan's conception did not vary dramatically over the years although he exhibited more urgency when performing live. If you can find his earlier studio versions cheaply, they are worth having but the 1988 reading with Vienna Philharmonic is the most desirable, particularly as it has recently become more affordable ; previously, the 2 discs were at full price without a coupling. This was one of Karajan's last recordings and was 1st issued around the time of his death, in 1989. The music-making affects you in a way that can't easily be described and this factor underlies the « Rosette » awarded in the « Penguin Guide » . In places, there is an « earthiness » that is not normally part of Karajan's make-up ; he had a special affection for the work and surely knew that this was his last time. The playing and sound are marvellous throughout and this version is well worthy of the praise that has been heaped upon it.

Georg Tintner's recording is one of only 4 that have yet been made using Nowak's edition of the 1st version of 1887. Whereas Eliahu Inbal, who made the 1st recording of this score, did so because he was recording a cycle of 1st versions for « Telefunken » , Tintner apparently did so because he believed that it was preferable to the 1890 version. He doesn't convince me but I am glad he made the recording since listening to it is a good way of exploring and understanding the origins of the work. Tintner adopts rather slow tempi throughout and the Adagio lasts for over half an hour. The playing of the National Symphony Orchestra of Ireland and recorded sound are fine. The coupled

Symphony No. 0 is a bonus and, being on the « Naxos » label, this will not break the bank.

Pierre Boulez made his recording with the Vienna Philharmonic live at Saint-Florian Monastery Church (where the young Bruckner was a chorister ; he later became the organist and is buried there) on the 100th anniversary of his death, in 1996. As far I am aware, he had not previously recorded any Bruckner nor conducted this Symphony. He brings surprising freshness and great coherence to the work, and his reading is highly-recommendable. It is available on CD or DVD video - I have the latter which also contains an interview with Boulez and has the benefit of displaying the wonderful surroundings. These provide some indications of the inspiration behind Bruckner's « cathedral of sound »

Last and, certainly not least, there is Günter Wand's final recording, made live with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, in 2001. As with Karajan's 1988 version, it was one of his last recordings and a fitting memorial. Wand and Karajan had little in common but their last readings are not dramatically dissimilar in overall approach. Wand's tempi are slightly broader and, to my ears, he brings rather more humility and humanity. Ultimately, this may be why at the moment, I prefer this recording by Wand to any other version. This is my current single choice for the desert island.

Postscript

If you are interested in this work, all of the recordings I have discussed above are worth hearing. The Wand is a personal 1st choice, Karajan a close 2nd and an obvious general recommendation. Haitink's « Concertgebouw » series would be an excellent choice for a set of all the Symphonies. All 3 of these recordings use the Roert Haas edition of the score but, if necessary, it is not difficult to follow them with Leopold Nowak's edition, bearing in mind that there are some short extra passages in the Adagio and Finale that will not be in the score. For an authoritative account of the works, Robert Simpson's « The Essence of Bruckner » (originally published in 1967 and updated 10 years later) is unsurpassed but, unfortunately, seems to be out-of-print. Apart from the discography mentioned above, I find the main sites that internet search engines take you to a little disappointing. However, a biography by Gabriel Engel which was originally published in 1940 is worth reading.

I hope I haven't given the impression that my devotion to this Symphony is to the exclusion of the others by this composer - far from it. However, there is no doubt in my mind that it was his greatest completed achievement. The work moves beyond the heights gained in the middle Symphonies into new territory - hence Bruckner struggled again initially but, in the revised version of 1890, he created something quite extraordinary. The unfinished 9th is comparable as far as it goes. Although I do not feel a sense of incompleteness as its great Adagio draws to a close, sketches (and realizations) of the Finale, with which he grappled for about 2 years before his death, show that he was struggling again. We shall never know whether or not he could have excelled the 8th. For me, therefore, this is a musical experience unsurpassed by anything else I have yet heard.

Addendum

To my surprise, quite a few readers included a conductor who was about to perform the work in Sheffield !

1st, I will mention 3 recordings made in the mid-1950's which are therefore contemporaneous with Jascha Horenstein's « Vox » recording mentioned above. Eduard van Beinum's rendition with the « Concertgebouw » Orchestra has resurfaced on « Decca ». This is a very decently played, dramatic reading with swift tempi and a reasonable recording. Otto Klemperer's Cologne recording on « Medici Masters » is live but has better sound. As one would expect, Klemperer adopts an objective approach and, interestingly, his tempi are remarkably similar to van Beinum - both versions come in at about 72 minutes. No need to dally much on Carl Schuricht's Stuttgart radio version (on « Hänssler », CD : 93.148). Although the interpretation is admirable enough and I have been impressed with some of the other Schuricht recordings of the period, this one has too many fluffs for repeated listening. Despite the virtues of van Beinum and Klemperer, the Horenstein's version remains the most desirable of the period and it is now much more readily available.

Also from the same era is Herbert von Karajan's « EMI » studio recording. Admirers of the conductor will want to have this version but I am increasingly of the view that his 1988 recordings with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra are finer. I say « recordings » because, in addition to the « DGG » set, Sony has issued a DVD containing a studio performance made in the same month which is very similar but not, I suspect, identical. The visual presentation is a little spartan but the sound has been remastered for surround capability and, in stereo, is better than on most DVDs I have heard. There is a coupling of a live Berlin performance of the 9th symphony dating from 1985, all on a single disc which costs about £ 7. This is an unmissable bargain and a reminder of how great a conductor Karajan was in this repertoire.

2 other conductors with a considerable reputation in Bruckner are Karl Böhm (notably his 4th for « Decca ») and Carlo Maria Giulini (notably his 2nd), both of whom recorded the 8th with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra for « DGG ». The former gives a very solid reading on a mid-price single disc with a notably light touch in the Scherzo. Giulini is more spacious and refined throughout but, perhaps, too beautiful in a work which is meant to have a tough side. I have also seen and heard him conduct this Symphony in a live performance on DVD, from Stockholm, which was the inaugural concert of the World Philharmonic Orchestra but had some reservations there too. To me, Giulini seems more completely convincing in his recordings of the 9th Symphony.

I recently acquired Bernard Haitink's 2005 live « Concertgebouw » performance - a very decent recording in all respects. It's a toss-up between this and his Vienna version but I seem to find myself less moved by Haitink in this particular work over time.

In addition to the above recordings, I have also acquired recordings of the 8th as part of complete sets conducted by Daniel Barenboim, Stanisław Skrowaczewski and Eugen Jochum (his « Dresden Staatskapelle » version on « EMI »). The 1st 2 are decent enough but neither lingers in my memory greatly. The Jochum reading does linger but for the wrong reasons - too many liberties with tempi and surprisingly poor sound for the period and venue. Wilhelm Furtwängler's 1944 live recording with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra has been made available on various labels but sounds most tolerable in a recent remastering by « Music & Arts ». Furtwängler also plays about with the tempi and he uses what is effectively his own edition by making several modifications to Robert Haas. There is some

indefinable magic here but it's hardly a mainstream choice.

One curiosity I should mention is the organ transcription made and performed by Lionel Rogg on « BIS » (CD : 946) . It is fascinating to hear the work played on Bruckner's own instrument and it works surprisingly well. Some of Rogg's tempi are as quick as I have heard, particularly the Adagio, but they make sense in this context.

Aside from the Rogg, I have covered 12 additional recordings above and been rather negative about only 2 or 3, perhaps because this is piece I find it hard not to enjoy listening to ! Nevertheless, I don't think any of them displace the version which was at the top of my pile. Since then, I would find it much harder to pick just 1 version. So, I am now going to recommend 3 :

Jascha Horenstein on « Vox » , as my historical choice.

Günter Wand on « RCA » , as a top modern CD version.

And Herbert von Karajan on « Sony » , for a DVD.

Such a Trio won't break the bank but it would give you 3 different but greatly satisfying views of this visionary work.

...

A contemporary critic slated its « nightmarish hang-over style » , but Bruckner's last completed Symphony contains music of sheer, breathtaking magnificence.

Anton Bruckner's 8th Symphony is the last he would complete. He never lived to finish his 9th (although he came agonisingly close to completing the Finale, music that's still shamefully little heard in concert halls) , so the 8th is the summation of his Symphonic journey. And what a summit the 8th is ! Bruckner himself said when he finished the work's gigantic, revelatory Finale :

« Hallelujah ! The Finale is the most significant movement of my life. »

Themes from all of the work's huge movements sound together at the end of the Symphony, a moment that burns with what Robert Simpson calls a « blazing calm » . It's the end point of a 75 minute (well, up to 100 minute, if you are conductor Sergiù Celibidache) Symphonic journey, and it's one of the most existentially thrilling experiences a Symphony has ever created. Bruckner's achievement is to make you feel, when you get there, that the whole experience of the piece is contained and transfigured in this crowning coming-together of Symphonic space and time, and that the work's sublime darkneses - like the terrifying abysses of dissonance in the 1st movement, the kind of music that conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler described as Bruckner's « battle of demons » - and its equally transcendent light, like the climax of the slow movement, are simultaneously vindicated and vanquished by the sheer, breathtaking magnificence of this music, the last Symphonic Coda that Bruckner would ever compose.

But Bruckner's journey to the work's 1st performance, by the Vienna Philharmonic in 1892, was as tortuous as the music is (sometimes) serene. He finished a 1st version of the piece, in 1887, and sent it to the conductor Hermann Levi, « my artistic father », who had already conducted the 7th Symphony with huge success in Munich. Levi rejected the piece, saying it was basically unperformable ; Bruckner was wounded, but returned to the piece to effectively recompose it over the next few years. And, instead of the weak-minded naif who never got over people's criticism (as Bruckner is sometimes described) , his revision amounts to a much deeper act of recomposition than simply answering Levi's concerns. The 1st movement ended in 1887 with a major-key triumph ; in 1892, the audience heard instead music that winds down in minor key desolation with a repeated, exhausted, death-rattle of a sigh in the violas. Bruckner himself wrote about this desperate moment, the only time in his life that he composed a Symphonic 1st movement that didn't end with a fanfare of fortissimo power : « this is how it is when one is on his death-bed, and opposite hangs a clock, which, while his life comes to its end, beats on ever steadily : tick, tock, tick, tock » . The other movements were also subtly but profoundly re-calibrated ; the effect is an intensification and sharpening of focus of Bruckner's musical ideas.

So, all should have been set for the greatest night of his life at the premiere. And while the « Musikverein » was full of the great and good, including Johannes Brahms, Hugo Wolf and Johann Strauß, and with Bruckner's partisan supporters out in force, the naysayers were there as well. Brahms thought of Bruckner's works as « Symphonic bo-constrictors » , and the critic Eduard Hanslick (who left before the Symphony's Finale) wrote grudgingly :

« In each of the 4 movements, especially the 1st and 3rd, some interesting passages, flashes of genius, shine through - if only the rest of it was not there ! It is not impossible that the future belongs to this nightmarish hang-over style - a future we, therefore, do not envy ! »

Just as well, he didn't stay till the end, Bruckner thought ; he would only have become « even angrier » .

Today, Bruckner's 8th should still be controversial. This is a piece that is attempting something so extraordinary that if you are not prepared to encounter its expressive demons, or to be shocked and awed by the places Bruckner's imagination takes you, then you are missing-out on the essential experience of the Symphony. If you think of Bruckner only as a creator of Symphonic cathedrals of mindful (or mindless, according to taste) spiritual contemplation, who wields huge chunks of musical material around like an orchestral stone mason with implacable, monumental perfection, then you won't hear the profoundly disturbing drama of what he's really up to. That unsettling darkness is sounded right at the start of this Symphony. Instead of setting-out on a journey in which the outcome is certain, in which everything is its rightful place in the Symphonic, tonal, and structural universe, Bruckner builds his grandest Symphonic edifice on musical quick-sand. The 8th starts with an unstable tremor of a semi-tone in the violas, cellos, and basses, which turns into a snaking, searching, chromatic collection of fragments. It's not so much a theme as a series of atomic musical explorations, and all of them in the wrong key. This is a Symphony « in » C minor and, yet, in the early stages of the 1st movement, that home key is confirmed more by how much Bruckner avoids it instead of how much he inhabits it. You can describe the progress of this whole opening movement in terms of Sonata forms and 2nd and 3rd themes and the other train-spotting jargon of the Symphonic rulebook, but that scarcely relates to the

experience of living inside this music, which is what you will feel happens when you hear it. One special moment to listen out for : the cataclysm at the centre of the movement that results in one of the emptiest, most desolate musical landscapes Bruckner, or anyone else, ever conceived : a single flute that somehow survives the onslaught to play a remnant of the orchestral tutti over tolling, funeral tattoos in the trumpets and chromatic sighs in the basses.

All of this intensity invites a search for meaning. Bruckner's music is open to our imaginations, and he even suggested possible interpretations himself for the Symphony. In a letter to the conductor Felix Weingartner, he said that the Scherzo, which comes 2nd in this Symphony (the 1st time Bruckner places the Scherzo before the slow movement in a Symphony) is a portrait of the figure of « German Michaël », a bucolic rustic from German folk-tradition. The somnolent, radiant, harp-haloed Trio section of the Scherzo depicts Michaël dreaming, Bruckner says.

The opening of the Finale is inspired by the Cossacks, as the Russians had recently visited the Austrian Emperor, to whom the 8th is dedicated ; this movement also features « the death march » and, then, (brass) transfiguration. Bruckner doesn't talk about the slow movement, but the Adagio, the 3rd movement, is the huge, generous heart of the Symphony ; a consoling, palpitating dream in D-flat major whose opening is the closest Bruckner ever came to an evocation of the erotic ; yet, that bodily experience is transfigured into a blindingly radiant climax that seems to speak for the universe rather than mere individual figures.

Or maybe that's just me : you will make-up your own mind, because the power of this piece can't be limited by any single interpretation, whether that's Bruckner's words, or the vision a particular conductor has of this Symphony. But, as you listen to that awe-inspiring but intimate, visionary but coherent finale (whose drama again cannot be explicated by the crude pigeon-holes of musical rules and regulations ; instead, its « form » is phenomenological, something you just have to experience) , I think you should hear the darkness as much as the « blazing calm » of the Coda. It's in its acceptance of doubt, darkness, and despair that this Symphony achieves its real glory. Bruckner's 8th is an act of enormous empathetic consolation because it's unafraid to confront and to recognise sublime terror and darkness as well as light. Just like him when he wrote the piece, you need to feel engaged in that « battle of demons » when you're listening.

5 key-recordings

Herbert von Karajan / Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra : Radiant and glorious, but opulently terrifying too.

Wilhelm Furtwängler / Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra : Protean, ever-changing, Symphonic « molten lava » . Bruckner as dæmonic inspiration instead of cosmic consolation.

Staatskapelle Dresden / Eugen Jochum : Jochum's idiosyncratic interpretation, with a remorselessly swift 1st movement, gives a unique shape to his performance.

Munich Philharmonic Orchestra / Sergiù Celibidache : On the face of it, Celibidache's glacial speeds are borderline bonkers - the slow movement alone lasts more than 35 minutes ! But is there a performance that makes you feel

space and time are dissolving into each other in the Coda of the Finale as much as this one ? Stick with it and see what you reckon.

Georg Tintner / National Symphony Orchestra of Ireland (1887 version) : Tintner makes the case for the original conception of the 8th : not so much another version as another Symphony.

Bruckner's 8th Symphony : Some Editorial Issues

(Paul Hawkshaw, Yale School of Music.)

In the 1st Act of Wagner's « Siegfried », a mysterious Wanderer lures the hapless dwarf Mime into a game of riddles. Each is required to ask the other 3 questions about the history of the « Ring ». Poor Mime is the only one in the Opera House unaware that the game is rigged. His adversary is none other than Wotan in disguise, the God who caused all the trouble in the 1st place. Not only can the Wanderer respond to all of Mime's questions, he crushes the dwarf with a query that only the God himself can answer : Who can forge the pieces of Siegmund's sword anew after Wotan had shattered it ? Of course, only he who is without fear can accomplish the task - not Mime.

Having worked now on the critical report for Anton Bruckner's 8th Symphony for more than 5 years, I have learned to empathize with poor Mime. Only the Gods may be able to answer some of the riddles. Here, I would like to share some preliminary conclusions about the sources - answers to the equivalent of Mime's 3 questions :

Which modern edition of the 1890 score more accurately reflects the surviving manuscripts : Robert Haas or Leopold Nowak ? (1)

What is the music « for later times » that Bruckner recommended the conductor, Felix Weingartner, cut from the Finale ? (2)

How reliable is the 1st edition ? (3)

To begin, a brief recapitulation of the history of the Symphony : Bruckner composed what is now known as the 1st version between the summer of 1884 and August 1887. In September of that year, he sent the score to one of his staunchest supporters, the conductor Hermann Levi, in the hopes of obtaining a 1st performance in Munich. Levi's now famous rejection of the Symphony, in early October of 1887, served as a catalyst for a tortuous series of revisions that resulted in what is now referred to as the 2nd or 1890 version of the Symphony. (4) In 1892, the 1st edition appeared, edited by Josef Schalk and Max von Oberleithner. It differed from both manuscript scores, although the 1890 version served as its starting-point.

To date, the truly astronomical number (by Bruckner's standards) of 79 primary sources for the Symphony, by far the most for any of his compositions, have been identified in libraries and private collections throughout the world. Undoubtedly, more will be found. At least 5 sources known to have existed during the composer's lifetime have yet to

surface. (5) The 1st point to be made here is that, as Dermot Gault alluded in his work on the Adagio, we should forget all traditional notions of clear-cut 1st and 2nd versions of the Symphony. (6) These will be referred to, from here on, as the 1887 and 1890 readings. Bruckner was so zealous, one might even say obsessive, in making his revisions that he left behind hundreds of superseded sketches and score pages in varying states of completion from the entire span of 1884 to 1890. The number of variant readings for the 4 movements is so overwhelming (almost 1,000 pages in all) that we have yet to decide how to deal with them in a practical manner from an editorial perspective.

Perhaps, the most significant contribution of work on the critical report has been the discovery, in private possession, of the earliest copy score of the 1890 reading of the Symphony. The copyist, Viktor Christ, began writing this score on 10 March 1890, the date of the composer's final revision and, with the exception of very minor discrepancies, copied the final reading of the autograph verbatim. Considered in conjunction with autograph materials, with the almost contemporaneous engraver's copy for the 1st edition, and with correspondence of the composer and his students, the newly-found manuscript provides unequivocal answers to the 3 questions posed at the outset.

In the course of making his revisions for the 1890 reading, Bruckner deleted a number of passages in the Adagio and Finale without discarding the bi-folios from the autograph score as he had done with dozens of others. Instead, for reasons as yet to be determined, he left the crossed-out measures in the autograph score. Robert Haas restored most of these deletions in his edition. He also reverted to the orchestration of 1887 in a number of places. Apart from a well-documented personal addition, Haas, in fact, printed a mixture of intermediate stages of the work. By contrast, with 2 notable exceptions to be discussed below, Leopold Nowak's edition contains the reading in the autograph score of 1890 - i.e., without the passages Bruckner had deleted. (7) Nowak's score is undoubtedly closer to Bruckner's final intentions.

The reading in the Nowak score was the one Bruckner sent to Felix Weingartner for a 1st performance that never materialized in Mannheim and the one the composer gave to Josef Schalk and Max von Oberleithner for printing in 1891. It was this reading to which Bruckner referred in his famous letter of 27 January 1891 to Weingartner (8) :

« Please, shorten the Finale as marked because it would be much too long and is valid only for later times, to be sure, for a circle of friends and aficionados. »

From an editorial perspective, the operative phrase in this passage is « as marked » .

The cuts in question are measures 345-386 and 583-646 of the Finale, both of which in fact are designated as optional readings in the autograph score and the copy in private possession. Dermot Gault pointed-out the 1st of the 2 optional cuts in his study of the Symphony. Otherwise, it has been impossible for modern performers and scholars to identify the cuts because neither Haas nor Nowak included the shorter alternative readings in their editions.

They are found on Folios 144r and 168r of the autograph score in the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Mus. Hs. 19.480/4. Both folios (144 is actually the 1st of a bi-folio) were inserted at rehearsal letters Z and

Pp, respectively, for the sole purpose of including the alternative shorter readings. At measure 345, Bruckner instructed that rehearsal letter Z should not be played in the abbreviated version and, at 583, partially erased : eliminate rehearsal letter Pp and skip to Uu. At measure 345, Bruckner added a new 4 measure transition with an indication that it led directly to rehearsal letter Aa (measure 387) . The transition will be printed in the critical report. The purpose of these alternate readings is clarified in the newly-found manuscript where Viktor Christ added annotations, presumably at Bruckner's instruction.

At measure 345, he wrote :

« If the cut is taken, skip bi-folios 17 and 18 and go directly to bifolio 19. »

At the end of the cut, before the 4 measure alternative transition leading to measure 386, he wrote :

« When the cut is taken, use the following 4 measures which lead directly to rehearsal letter Aa. And, at measures 580-581 : In cases of extreme necessity, skip from Pp to Uu. »

Finally, a word about the 1st edition : After the « Bruckner-Streit » of the 1930's, the 1st editions more or less disappeared from the corpus of performed Bruckner scores. During the late- 1970's, Manfred Wagner called for their re-evaluation and, in recent years, Thomas Röder, Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt and others have demonstrated that their universal banishment was, in fact, misdirected. (9) With the exception of relatively minor editorial emendations, the printed scores of Symphonies Nos. 3 and 4, for example, contain « bona fide » versions. The same cannot be said for the 1st edition of the 8th. The engraver's score (A178a) , in the Archive of the « Society for the Friends of Music » , in Vienna, was at 1st identical to the autograph and newly-found copy. 2 of its movements were also copied by Viktor Christ. Today, it contains hundreds of additions and changes in the hands of Josef Schalk and Max von Oberleithner, including cuts to the Finale different from those recommended by the composer, numerous additional tempo indications, and the systematic replacement of Bruckner's block dynamics with terraced crescendi and diminuendi. The only autograph entrance in the entire manuscript is the annotation « I. Satz » on the wrapper of the 1st movement.

Extensive correspondence between the 2 editors survives in the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library. (10) These letters demonstrate that, as in the case of the Mass in F minor and 5th Symphony, the editors conspired to keep most of their alterations secret from Bruckner until it was too late for him to object. The following citation is taken from a letter from Josef Schalk to Max Oberleithner, dated : Vienna, 31 July, 1891.

« Dear Sir :

After a week of the most arduous labour, the score of the Finale (of the 8th Symphony) is finally ready for printing. It was no small chore. The numerous alterations that I perceived as necessary throughout could only be done properly with the most careful attention to detail. You will easily recognize that my objectives were clarity of effect and expression. Moreover, I was fortunate to identify a most appropriate and easily implemented cut (measures 523 to 580) from the last page of bi-folio 24 to rehearsal letter Pp (in place of those designated by the composer who

would have made a victim of the 2 most interesting parts of the movement) .With my cut, only a relatively unnecessary crescendo (“ Steigerung ”) and the repetition of the otherwise lengthy chorale-like 2nd group (“ Gesangsperiode ”) are missing.

I assure you that I have made only the most necessary alterations ; much had to remain unchanged, because to do otherwise would have been irresponsible.

If you harbor any doubts, please get in touch.

I was not able to pass your greetings on to Bruckner because, when I went to visit him, his apartment was closed. He had already left. We can both only be happy about that in his best interests. »

And, on August 5th, Franz Schalk cautioned Max Oberleithner :

« Please, only communicate with the publisher about the corrections. If Bruckner has to read from a hand-written score at a rehearsal, all of our good intentions will come to naught, and instead of his thanks, we may earn his wrath. »

Pleas for the revival of the 1st edition have been based upon claims that the spurious additions and deletions reflected contemporary practice, and that Bruckner was aware of what Schalk and Oberleithner were doing. (11) However valuable the additional editorial markings may be as reflections of late-19th Century performance practice, there is no evidence that Bruckner had any knowledge of their presence in his score of the 8th Symphony until after it appeared in print.

Proponents of the 1st prints pointed-out that the student editors were devoted to Bruckner and were in touch with him about their alterations. (12) The Schalk - Oberleithner correspondence indicates that the editors did, indeed, communicate with Bruckner about some of the changes. It also demonstrates that the editors eventually lost patience with what they must have felt was Bruckner's pedantry and began, not only to make changes without consulting him, but also to deliberately conceal them from him. This change in attitude appears to have taken place among the editors over a period of years. As Thomas Röder observed, in the 1889 version of the 3rd Symphony, Franz Schalk and the composer worked hand-in-hand to produce a unique amalgam. A similar process resulted in the 1st edition of the 4th Symphony. The students grew less and less tolerant of the composer's interference through the early 1890's. Eventually, with the Mass in F minor and the 5th and 8th Symphonies, they came to disregard him, all together.

What constitutes a « bona fide » version is a question that, as with so many others about Bruckner's revisions, must be answered once piece at a time. That is perhaps the strongest argument in favour of continuing editorial efforts on the composer's behalf, however many different readings they may turn-up. Completing a critical report for the 8th Symphony will not produce a new definitive reading of the Symphony. It has already turned-up valuable sources that shed new light on editorial issues that have perplexed performers and scholars for generations - answers to Mime's questions so-to-speak. It will reduce misunderstandings, correct editorial errors and, most important, provide a better

context for informed discussion. As for unanswerable questions from the Gods (such as why did Bruckner do what he did ?) , when all the sources have been systematically organized and analyzed, we will have some important new information about the genesis of the Symphony, particularly about the years between 1887 and 1889. It is a sad fact that most of the rhetoric about Bruckner's relationship with Hermann Levi, the 1st print and the Nowak / Haas controversy has been generated in an almost total vacuum of published information about the primary sources. With a little luck and a lot more hard work the Critical Report should be able to fill that void.

Notes

(1) The Bruckner Collected Works Edition has published 3 scores of the Symphony : 2 different readings of the 1890 version and 1 of the 1887. « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke : Kritische Gesamtausgabe, viii, VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll (1890) », edited by Robert Haas, Leipzig (1939) ; « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke : Kritische Gesamtausgabe, viii/2, VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll : Fassung von 1890. » , edited by Leopold Nowak, Vienna (1955/1994) ; and « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke : Kritische Gesamtausgabe, viii/1, VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll : Fassung von 1887. » , edited by Leopold Nowak, Vienna (1972/1992) . The present writer is preparing a report on the sources for the Symphony because neither Haas nor Nowak provided a critical apparatus for their editions.

(2) « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke : Kritische Gesamtausgabe, xxiv/2, Briefe, 1887-1896. » , edited by Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider (†) , Vienna (2003) ; page 114.

(3) « Anton Bruckner, Achte Symphonie (in C-Moll) für großes Orchester. » , edited by Haslinger-Schlessinger-Lienau, Berlin and Vienna (1892) .

(4) For much of the 20th Century, Hermann Levi's rejection of the Symphony was the subject of a notorious apocryphal anecdote. Levi was alleged to have been afraid to tell the composer that he did not understand the new Symphony and, therefore, could not conduct it. According to the anecdote, he asked their mutual acquaintance, Josef Schalk, to communicate the bad news to Bruckner. Fortunately, Levi's letter of rejection directly to the composer, dated 7 October 1887, has been found and published. (Andrea Harrandt. « Bruckner Briefe » , Band 2 ; page 23.)

(5) Including the score that Bruckner sent to Levi and the parts that were prepared in Mannheim for Felix Weingartner. (Andrea Harrandt. « Bruckner Briefe » , Band 2 ; pages 94 and 120.)

(6) Dermot Gault. « Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 8 Intermediate Adagio : Critical Commentary. » Gault's commentary accompanies an edition of an intermediate version of the Adagio preserved in a copy-score, Austrian National Library Mus. Hs. 34.614.

(7) See : Leopold Nowak. « Anton Bruckners Achte Symphonie und ihre zweite Fassung. » , in : « Österreichische Musikzeitschrift 10/5 » (1955) ; pages 157-158. Dermot Gault. « The 1890 Version of Bruckner's 8th - Haas contra Nowak. » , in : « The Bruckner Journal » , 8/3 (2004) ; pages 17-25. And « For Later Times. » , in : « The Musical Times » , 131/6 (June 1996) ; pages 12-19.

(8) Andrea Harrandt. « Bruckner Briefe », Band 2 ; page 114.

(9) Manfred Wagner. « Der Wandel des Konzepts : Zu den verschiedenen Fassungen von Bruckners Dritter, Vierter und Achter Sinfonie. », Vienna (1980) ; pages 39-52. « Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, 3, Revisionsbericht. », edited by Thomas Röder, Vienna (1997) ; pages 241-245. « Bruckner Sämtliche Werke », 4/3. , edited by Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, Vienna (2004) ; « Vorwort » .

(10) The letters are preserved as : Fonds 32 Oberleithner 168. They have been printed in part, in : Thomas Leibnitz. « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner », Tützing (1988) ; page 276. « Anton Bruckner zum 150. Geburtstag », edited by Franz Grasberger, Vienna (1974) ; page 33. Leopold Nowak. « Bruckners Achte Symphonie und ihre zweite Fassung » ; page 158. They will be included in the forthcoming 2nd edition of Bruckner letters edited by Andrea Harrandt.

(11) Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt. « Symphony No. 8 », Cambridge (2000) ; pages 24-25, 88-90 and 93.

(12) See, for example : Werner Wolff. « Anton Bruckner Rustic Genius. », New York (1942) ; pages 261-262.

8e Symphonie de Bruckner (Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt)

Anton Bruckner's 8th Symphony (1890) , one of the great Romantic Symphonies, is a grandly complex Masterpiece. Its critical reception has been fascinatingly contentious. Its music, at once extensive and distilled, directly confronts the problem of the Symphony after Beethoven and after Wagner. This section explores this many-faceted work from several angles. It documents the complicated and often misunderstood history of the Symphony's composition and revision and offers an accessible guide to its musical design. It demonstrates, by means of a study of well-known recordings, how performance styles have evolved in the 20th Century. It also revisits the conventional wisdom about the various versions and editions of the Symphony and comes to some provocative new conclusions.

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For Paula and Sam.

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Preface and acknowledgments

Scholarly writing about Bruckner typically follows certain well-worn paths ; in particular, it tends to grant great emphasis to the notorious editorial problems that attend this composer's works. This study does undoubtedly devote more attention to text-critical concerns than do most others in the Handbook series, partly because the textual history of the 8th Symphony is complex and important, and partly because modern understanding of it is, as I hope to show, somewhat mistaken.

Editorial issues can, if approached with a critical spirit, open out into regions of broader significance, such as hermeneutics, reception history, and performance practice ; yet, I believe that the « Bruckner Problem » is ordinarily framed too simplistically, and that a reductive concern with textual authenticity has come to loom too large in the imagination of most Brucknerians. For these reasons, some parts of this study, notably Chapters 3 and 4, are deliberately unburdened by text-critical concerns.

Books that are apt for teaching advanced courses on late- 19th Century music are not thick on the ground. I have borne this in mind while writing this study, and will be gratified if it finds use in the classroom. I have tried to provide enough variety amongst the chapters to offer some small methodological range (from critical analysis and reception history, to textual history, with even a hint of the history of ideas in the Chapter on the sublime) for an enterprising teacher to build upon.

I owe great thanks to my wife Paula for her staunch support and help, and for her patience in hearing great gusts of and about the 8th Symphony. Our son Sam was, like Paula, a constant, glowing beacon of light and love.

Many other people earned my gratitude by offering me assistance of various kinds. Laurence Dreyfus generously shared with me the text of a crucial letter from Hetrmann Levi to Anton Bruckner he had uncovered in Munich. Morten Solvik, Derek Scott and Juan Cahis gave me copies of then-unpublished articles. Henry Lea and Lionel Tacchini aided me with some knotty problems of translation. Dermot Gault, Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs, Paul Hawkshaw, and John Allan Phillips helped me with some details about manuscript sources. Amie McEvoy of The Musical Quarterly responded with courtesy and promptness to an importune request, as did the Music Division of the Library of Congress. Thomas Christensen and David Aldeborgh lent me copies of rare scores. The conductor Georg Tintner shared with me some perceptive thoughts about the different versions of the Symphony. Lani Spahr and Dave Griegel gave me invaluable discographic assistance, as did Mark Kluge. He and William Carragan both read portions of the manuscript and generously shared with me insights and ideas about textual issues and the history of Bruckner performance. I also thank Julian Rushton for his many helpful editorial suggestions, and Penny Souster for suggesting the project to me. Thanks, too, to the Bruckner Gang.

Throughout the course of my work I was thankful to be dealing with a Symphony of such superb depth and complex satisfaction.

My final months of work on the book were supported by a Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities, for which I am grateful.

A note on editions and terminology

4 distinct editions of the 8th Symphony have been published : the 1st published score (Berlin and Vienna : Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau, 1892 - plate number 8288 ; later reprinted by Eulenburg, Peters, and Universal Edition) , Robert Haas's edition (Leipzig : Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1939) , and Leopold Nowak's critical editions of Bruckner's 1890 and 1887 versions (Vienna : Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1955 and 1972, respectively) .

Nowak's 2 editions are primary. These scores, which are based closely on Bruckner's manuscript scores of the Symphony, are widely accepted by scholars as definitive and are easily available. They are generally identified in this text as simply « the 1887 version » and « the 1890 version » . Nowak's edition of the 1890 version is the central source of the 8th Symphony, and unless otherwise noted, the discussions in this study are based on it.

The edition published in 1939 by Nowak's predecessor, Robert Haas, is not a reasonably faithful representation of either of Bruckner's versions, and is not therefore of primary concern in this study. See Appendix A for a commentary on Haas's edition.

The text of the 8th Symphony contained in the 1892 edition differs in some ways from the text of Bruckner's manuscript score of the 1890 version. It raises special questions, and is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. It is referred to herein as « the 1892 edition » .

Introduction

Meine Achte ist ein Mysterium !

Bruckner's 8th Symphony, the last he completed, embodies the composer's work, with all of its complexities and contradictions, in its late flowering. This Symphony, at once extensive and distilled, has attracted the passionate attention of listeners, musicians, scholars, and critics, yet, it remains fascinatingly inscrutable. Bruckner was correct : the 8th Symphony has proven a mystery. Of all of his Symphonies, it poses the most elaborate questions. Musically, it stands in complex relationship with the Symphonic genre. The grandeur, expressive intensity, and scope of the work directly confront the problem of the Symphony after Beethoven and after Wagner, and with its vaguely articulated program it inhabits the crucial space « between absolute and program music » . (2) In performance, the Symphony has always challenged both interpreters and listeners, and has engendered both exuberant praise and vociferous criticism.

Nowadays to address the 8th Symphony, or indeed any facet of Bruckner's work, critically means inevitably attending to modern traditions of reception. Our perceptions of Bruckner are mediated by the conceptual residue of preceding generations of interpreters ; this is true of any artist, but with Bruckner the situation is particularly acute.

Images of Bruckner as a simple genius, an unwitting mystic, a « Parsifal » -like naïf have long shaped attitudes toward him and his music. His music is also shadowed by a long tradition of negative criticism. In the 19th Century, one important body of opinion decried Bruckner's compositional approach as illogical, incapable of supporting large-scale structures, and thus fundamentally unsuited to the genre of the Symphony.

The charge continues to sound in this Century ; American reception of Bruckner in particular still betrays its traces. Bruckner's music largely does not figure in the American musicological canon, and perhaps because of the great influence of Heinrich Schenker, who frankly disdained Bruckner's music, American music theorists have all but ignored Bruckner. The belief that Bruckner is a « lesser composer » is not uncommon in many academic circles. (3) Although the partiality and mistakenness of these notions are increasingly evident, they are so well entrenched in public consciousness that new interpretations remain dependent on them, if only negatively.

Modern understanding of the musical text of the 8th Symphony is also oddly partial. The compositional history of the Symphony was unusually involved and circuitous, and scholars have both elucidated and obscured the genesis and evolution of the work. On the one hand, Leopold Nowak's publication (in 1972) of the initial version of the Symphony made available a text of signal importance that had been unpublished for more than 80 years. On the other hand, our understanding of the final version of the Symphony has been complicated and indeed clouded by modern editors. The text of the Symphony that was published by Bruckner, in 1892, and which was the only score known and performed for nearly 5 decades, has been entirely abandoned as an inauthentic redaction. While this position is not without some basis in fact, it misconstrues the significance of the 1892 edition and obscures an important historical phase of the Symphony. Finally, the 1st modern edition of the Symphony, edited by Robert Haas in 1939 and successfully promoted as the 1st publication of Bruckner's authentic text, is in reality something quite different. Haas's edition, which has found many partisans, does rely in the main on Bruckner's final manuscript text, but it also contains substantial editorial reworking and conflates parts of 2 distinct versions (see Appendix A) . Bruckner's final manuscript text was not published until 1955.

Clearly, the 8th Symphony invites interpretation, both as musical work and as historical text. This study accepts this invitation by thinking through anew its music, its genesis, its reception, and its various meanings.

Placing the 8th Symphony

In late- 19th Century Vienna, the Symphony was fraught with cultural significance ; it was widely seen as the musical genre, if not the art form, that most directly could, as Paul Bekker later put it, build a « community of feeling » , a process of acute significance in the Habsburg Empire at a time when the old Imperial system was increasingly strained by ethnic, nationalist, and democratic impulses. As a result, music became the focus of great cultural and political energy, and æsthetic judgments of 10 encoded cultural politics ; in particular, Wagner and the « Music of the Future »

excited nationalist, Socialist, racist, and aestheticist sentiments and fueled the energies of segments of society, especially youth, alienated by the liberalism and rationalism of the established social order. Bruckner's Symphonies, with their epic grandeur, monumentality, expressive fervor, and harmonic complexity, were widely linked to this Wagnerian ethos and cast as radical counterweights to the concert works of Brahms, who hewed more closely to traditional stylistic canons and, not coincidentally, was solidly entrenched as the composer of the Viennese bourgeois establishment. The critical reception of Bruckner's Symphonies makes it quite clear that, intentionally or not, they antagonized segments of the haute bourgeoisie.

It was in this context that the 8th Symphony received its premiere. The Symphony was the sole work in the Vienna Philharmonic subscription concert conducted by Hans Richter, on 18 December 1892. Bruckner's music had only rarely appeared on the program of a Philharmonic subscription concert. (2) The Philharmonic was a great bastion of bourgeois traditionalism and its regular patrons were generally ill-disposed (culturally and politically as well as musically) toward Bruckner's music. The 8th, which was accompanied by a lengthy explanatory program written by Bruckner's young advocate Josef Schalk, did not go down easily with the Philharmonic subscribers, many of whom left after each movement. Eduard Hanslick, the « éminence grise » of the group, ostentatiously left before the Finale, and his departure was greeted by sarcastic applause from Bruckner's supporters. (Bruckner later said that had Hanslick stayed, he would only have been « even angrier by the end » .) (3) In contrast, the concert generated great interest in other circles (it produced the season's biggest sale of standing room tickets) and the hall held many enthusiasts in addition to the dubious old guard. (4) Brahms attended the concert, as did many prominent supporters of Bruckner, including Hugo Wolf, Johann Strauß, Siegfried Wagner, Crown Princess Stephanie, Archduchess Maria Theresa, and the Bayreuth ideologue Houston Stewart Chamberlain. (The Emperor, to whom the Symphony was dedicated, was off on a hunting trip.)

Previous Viennese performances of Bruckner's Symphonies had invariably provoked energetic disagreement among competing factions of the musical community. An influential segment of Viennese musical opinion headed by Hanslick and Brahms vigorously opposed Bruckner's claim on the Symphonic genre. Bruckner was hailed in other quarters as the herald of a new epoch of the Symphony, and as Beethoven's true heir. The premiere of the 8th Symphony marked a turning point in this conflict. While the concert did not wholly win over Bruckner's antagonists, it did seem to convince them that, if nothing else, Bruckner had finally secured a lasting place as a Symphonist. As Theodor Helm saw it, « the artistic triumph Bruckner celebrated on 18 December belongs among the most brilliant of his fame-filled career, because the tumultuous applause came not only from his friends and admirers, but from the entire public » . (5) One reviewer even suggested that « a breath of reconciliation wafted over the parties that have battled for years for and against Bruckner » . (6) Even Hanslick's famously negative review of the Symphony betrays a hint of placation :

« I found this newest one, as I have found the other Bruckner Symphonies, interesting in detail, but strange as a whole, indeed repellent. The peculiarity of this work consists, to put it briefly, of importing Wagner's dramatic style into the Symphony. In each of the 4 movements, especially the 1st and 3rd, some interesting passages, flashes of genius, shine through - if only the rest of it was not there ! It is not impossible that the future belongs to this nightmarish hangover style - a future we therefore do not envy ! » (7)

Hanslick had a long, difficult, and personal, relationship with Bruckner. In the early 1870's, when Bruckner was still a relatively minor figure, Hanslick wrote favorably of him as organist and church composer, but, in 1874-1875, Hanslick staunchly, and ultimately ineffectively, opposed Bruckner's efforts to obtain a position at the University of Vienna (where Hanslick was on the faculty) . As Bruckner's prestige and international success as a Symphonic composer waxed (and as his Wagnerian affiliations grew clearer) Hanslick's opposition intensified. In the 1880's, he wrote a series of openly antagonistic reviews of Viennese performances of Bruckner's Symphonies. Soon, Hanslick's position became so obvious and the battle-lines so clearly drawn that his criticism became a sort of reverse praise : in 1886, an advertisement for Bruckner's 7th Symphony included not only the expected plaudits from various critics, but also Hanslick's verdict that the work was « unnaturally presumptuous, diseased and pernicious » (« unnatürlich aufgeblasen, krankhaft, und verderblich ») . (8)

By these standards, Hanslick's review of the 8th is not decisively damning. Less than alarm and vituperation, it expresses a rather resigned concession that personal taste aside, Bruckner's star might, for better or worse, be ascendant. Hanslick's « protégé » , Max Kalbeck, also admitted stubborn praise :

« Overall, the Symphony made a surprisingly favourable impression. It surpasses Bruckner's earlier works in clarity of arrangement, lucidity of organization, incisiveness of expression, refinement of detail, and logic of thought, but this in no way means that we should accept it as a model of its genre worthy of imitation. » (9)

Like Hanslick, Kalbeck acknowledged the work's relative merits, but he still suggested that « a 3rd of the expansive score » could well « be thrown overboard » and with his disavowal of the work as a « model » , he betrayed a deeper uneasiness over what the work and its success might portend.

Bruckner's partisans saw the work as a culminating achievement, even, as one critic put it, « unreservedly, the crown of music of our time » . (10) These enthusiasts judged the work by different standards than did Hanslick and Kalbeck ; they were less troubled by the Symphony's novelties of form and style, and more impressed by its expressive intensity and compositional boldness. Many also felt that it embodied a sympathetic « Weltanschauung » . A review published in the Catholic paper « Das Vaterland » , which lauded Bruckner for « blazing a path of conviction » , explicitly rejected classicizing standards of evaluation and directly took issue with the « main charge » leveled at Bruckner, namely « shortcoming of logic in the structure of his works » . « It is not to be denied » , wrote the anonymous reviewer, « that Bruckner's fantasy reaches beyond the established artforms, that some contrasts strike us as overt, that some repetitions appear superfluous. But how do such actions infringe on logic ? This is precisely greatness and sublimity in Symphonic artworks : the Master does indeed find a framework for the new creation of his fantasy in the basic pattern of the old building, but the fresh springs of his creative powers must not seep away into the ruins of rigid artforms. » (11)

Josef Stolzing, writing in the « völkisch » journal « Ostdeutsche Rundschau » , explained the significance of the 8th with words worthy of Bayreuth : « What makes Bruckner so valuable a musician is his unconscious recognition of the true mission of music, namely the direct illustration of the primordial (" urewig ") shaping, destroying, conflicting

world-feeling elements (" Welt-Gefühls-Elemente ") . » (12) Hugo Wolf wrote simply, « this Symphony is the work of a giant and surpasses the other Symphonies of the Master in intellectual scope, awesomeness, and greatness. Its success was a complete victory of light over darkness » . (13) This success was measured at least as much by the relatively conciliatory reactions of Bruckner's old nemeses as by the praise of his partisans.

Changing critical criteria

Over the last Century, the critical coordinates by which the 8th Symphony has been located have shifted and shifted again. For the 1st decades of its existence, judgments of the Symphony were still generally framed by the poles established in Bruckner's Vienna. Laudatory responses unreservedly (and usually airily) praised the spiritual depth and expressive strength of the Symphony, often to the edge of hagiolatry : Karl Grunsky wrote that, « in the 8th, strife and struggle emerge with primeval force. One thinks inevitably of Prometheus or Faust. » (14) Negative appraisals carried forward Hanslick's line of criticism and focused on Bruckner's perceived lack of logical coherence and stylistic propriety. Schenker, to take an acute example, found in the 8th a disturbing mixture of thematic inspiration and compositional failure. The Symphony « begins so splendidly, like the beginning of the world » , but soon loses its way as Bruckner is betrayed by his inability « to allow 2 musical thoughts (" Gedanken ") to follow each other properly » . Thus he can only « seek vainly to spin a thought by adding up moments of inspiration » and this « will not achieve unity » . « The individual tone-words (" Tonworte ") follow one another without necessary connection so that the thought admits no inner need for a middle, a beginning, or even an end. » (15) Like Hanslick and Kalbeck, Schenker's severe judgment contained a hint of ethical rebuke. Commenting on the « monotonous, clumsy » 2nd movement Trio, Schenker wrote, « in music, there are not only beautiful and unbeautiful thoughts, but also good and bad » . (16) Schenker concluded, « thought-substance (" Gedankenmaterial ") of worth (of goodness and beauty) is forfeited by such bad presentation. And in this sense, I say, all of Bruckner's works are, despite their entirely singular flights of Symphonic fancy, simply badly written » . (17)

Sustained discussion of the musical substance of the 8th Symphony has always been quite rare, yet, in the 1920's, 2 sympathetic music analysts wrote extended essays on the work. Ernst Kurth discussed the Symphony in depth in his extraordinary study, « Bruckner » . Kurth's exhaustive discussion (which covers 65 pages) cuts an unusual path between technical analysis and metaphorical exegesis ; it traces the entire Symphony with sparing recourse to analytical terminology, or even musical examples, yet, succeeds in explicating the phenomenal progress of the music's unfolding with acute perspicacity. (18) Hugo Leichtentritt wrote an extensive essay on the 8th (which was incorporated into the 3rd and subsequent editions of his « Musikalische Formenlehre ») that was designed to complement Kurth's analysis by detailing the « technical, structural features of the Symphony » not covered in the earlier author's « philosophical, æsthetic » study. (19) Kurth and Leichtentritt differed in their choice of emphasis (Kurth was far more interested in metaphysical symbolism, Leichtentritt more willing to provide detailed harmonic explanation) yet both essays, with their length and detail, respected the ineluctable complexity of Symphonic meaning and resisted the urge to substitute verbal formulas for musical experience.

In the 1930's, the landscape of Bruckner interpretation changed fundamentally. During this decade, the 1st modern collected edition of Bruckner's works, edited by Robert Haas, set-out to present the world, for the 1st time, with the «

pure » and « true » texts of Bruckner's music. (20) Haas's version of the 8th Symphony (1939) differed radically from the previously available editions, and was based on questionable philology (see Appendix A) . Also, in the 3rd « Reich » , Anton Bruckner's image and his Symphonies were appropriated as symbols of the Nazi ideal of German Art and, as a result, the « völkisch » tendencies that had long coloured the support Bruckner received in some quarters magnified terribly. In 1939, for example, Haas willfully described the 8th in terms of contemporary cultural politics. He claimed the Symphony as the « transfiguration » of the « deutscher Michel-Mythos » , and suggested that this myth was finally reaching historical reality with the emergence of the « idea of greater Germany » (« der großdeutschen Idee ») . Haas concluded that this aspiration was embodied by the fact that the « restored score (i.e. , his edition) could ring out as a greeting from " Ostmark " (the Nazi term for Austria) precisely in this year » : a transparently political statement a year after the annexation of Austria (and weeks after the occupation of Haas's native Czechoslovakia) .

(21)

After the War, when the ideological complicity of the fascist (and the earlier proto-fascist) Bruckner tradition seemed all too clear, commentators properly recoiled from the legacy of Nazi-era Bruckner criticism, and effectively broke with many of the interpretive approaches that had prevailed in previous decades. (In the process, many early 20th Century connections were also severed and the tradition of Bruckner interpretation cut by the divide of the 1930's.) Partly because of this, the highly-charged, impassioned partisanship that the 8th inspired in its 1st half Century of existence waned. (22) Modern scholars have, with a few notable exceptions, been most comfortable addressing such relatively cool topics as textual criticism and formal analysis while leaving aside the passionate concern 19th Century critics had for the musical value and spiritual significance of Bruckner's Symphonies. In other ways too, modern Bruckner reception exhibits an ahistorical mien. Modern notions of editorial propriety have prompted us to forget all too well the text of the 8th Symphony that was known in Bruckner's time. Current approaches to the performance of Bruckner's works similarly show little concern with history.

We face special problems, then, in placing the 8th Symphony. For various reasons, many latter-day critics and scholars have been tempted to play Bruckner's advocate and treat his music with sympathy so deferential that it courts condescension, and posthumously balance the critical ledger. Bruckner's music often therefore comes to us wrapped in a cloak of historicist piety that paradoxically thwarts the pursuit of more meaningfully historical understanding. To think freshly and critically about the 8th Symphony, or any of his works, requires the diligence, as Adorno wrote of Beethoven's « Missa solemnis » , to « alienate it » , to break through the crust of latter-day reception that « protectively surrounds it » . (23) This can happen only if we are willing to prove our interpretations, and the ideas upon which they rest, against the historical density of the Symphony's musical texts, its reception, and its original ideation.

The genesis and evolution of the 8th Symphony

The arduousness of Bruckner's process of composition and, especially, his habits of revision are legendary ; yet, even by these standards, the 8th Symphony had a long and difficult genesis and evolution. It was revised by the composer and exists in 2 distinct versions (1887 and 1890) ; the circumstances surrounding its revision were unusually complex ; and its path to performance and publication was tortuous. This chapter chronicles the long journey of this Symphony from

its initial composition in 1884-1887, through its rejection by Hermann Levi in October 1887, its recomposition by Bruckner in 1889 and 1890, and its performance and publication in 1892.

The composition of the 1st version

The 8th Symphony originated between the summer of 1884 and August 1887, a time when Bruckner's career was reaching high tide. He had recently completed 2 of his most successful and powerful works, the 7th Symphony and the « Te Deum », both of which were published in 1885. While Bruckner was at work on the 8th, the 7th enjoyed a pair of triumphant initial performances in Leipzig, on 30 December 1884, and in Munich, on 10 March 1885, and several subsequent performances in Cologne, Chicago, Hamburg, New York, Amsterdam, Graz, Berlin, London, Dresden, and Budapest, as well as Vienna. The « Te Deum », the 3rd Symphony (at that time, the only other of Bruckner's Symphonies available in print), and the String Quintet were also performed several times during these years. It was during this time of optimism and success that Bruckner set to work on the 8th Symphony. He sketched the 1st movement in August 1884, in the cathedral town of Kremsmünster, during his habitual summer sojourn in Upper-Austria.

The composition, revision, and publication of the 8th Symphony :

Composition of the 1st version : July 1884 through August 1887.

Composition of the 1st movement : Summer 1884.

Composition of the Adagio : November 1884 to February 1885.

Composition of the Scherzo and Finale : 23 July to 16 August 1885.

Orchestration of Scherzo and 1st movement : September - October 1885.

Orchestration of 1st movement and Adagio : February 1886.

Adagio installed as 3rd movement : Summer 1886.

Orchestration of Adagio and Finale : August - September 1886.

Orchestration of Finale is completed : March - April 1887.

Finalization of 1st version and copying of a finished score : July - August 1887.

Hermann Levi's rejection of the 1st version : September - October 1887.

Preparation of the 2nd version : March 1889 to January 1890.

Revision of the Adagio : March to May 1889.

Revision of the Finale : July 1889.

Revision of the Scherzo and Trio : September 1889.

Revision of the 1st movement : November 1889.

Bruckner declares « last note written » : 29 January 1890.

Copy of score prepared by Viktor Christ : February 1890.

Publication and performance : 1890-1892.

Emperor Franz-Josef accepts the dedication of the 8th Symphony : March 1890.

Preparations for Felix Weingartner's planned performance : October 1890 to March 1891.

Preparation of score for publication : Summer 1891.

Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau publishes the full-score : March 1892.

1st performance by the Vienna Philharmonic under Hans Richter : 18 December 1892.

Bruckner's faculty duties at the University of Vienna and the Vienna Conservatory severely limited his compositional activities during the academic year ; thus, like Gustav Mahler a generation later, Bruckner composed primarily during the summer. By late September 1884, when Bruckner returned to Vienna to resume teaching the movement was fully drafted in short score, and, on 23 September, he played through it on the piano for Josef Schalk and Robert Hirsch. (2) The Adagio (which was originally planned as the 2nd movement) was drafted between November 1884 and February 1885, with an interruption for his trip to Leipzig at the end of December to attend the 1st performance of his 7th Symphony. He then left off work on the 8th until the summer.

Bruckner returned to the work with renewed energy upon his arrival in Steyr, in late July 1885. On 7 July 1885, he wrote to Arthur Nikisch that he intended to work « quickly » . (3) He did. He drafted the Scherzo and Trio in the space of only 4 days (23 to 26 July) and immediately began to compose the Finale, which was largely drafted by 1 August and finished later that month. It is remarkable to note that the opening of this movement, which in its final form opens on a harmonically remote F, was 1st conceived, and sketched at some length, beginning on F. (4) The completed draft of the final pages of the Finale is signed : « Steyr, " Stadtpfarrhof " 16 August 1885. A. Bruckner.

Halleluja ! » (5) Later that same day, Bruckner reported enthusiastically to Franz Schalk that « the 8th Symphony is just now finished (but only) in draft (alas) . The Finale is the most significant movement of my life » . (6)

Although extremely few sketch materials from Bruckner's previous works are extant, many drafts and sketches for the 8th Symphony are preserved (the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » alone has more than 30 items containing sketches, drafts, and fragments of the work) . (7) These include not only continuity drafts and compositional scores, but also a number of early sketches, which provide a rare opportunity to glimpse Bruckner's compositional methods. Bruckner devoted considerable effort to exploring the compositional potential of motivic and thematic ideas ; he worked at length, for example, with the main-theme of the Finale, trying-out the theme itself and its bass in various contrapuntal combinations, worked in canon, inverted, in diminution, set in contrary motion variation, and so forth. (8)

Early sketch of the Adagio, December 1884

Nota Bene : Bruckner often did not notate key signatures in his sketches, but rather indicated keys verbally (e.g. , « Des dur » : D major) . This transcription supplies the key signatures Bruckner indicated. The signature for F minor seems to apply as early as measure 5.

Bruckner's 1st sketch of the Adagio is fascinating in this respect ; these 12 measures contain the kernel of much of the completed movement. Some elements are already quite fully formed, notably the opening motive, with its dotted rhythm, chromatic neighbor-note figure, and its juxtaposition of tonic major and tonic minor. The rising 6th is also already present but the scale-wise descent that follows in the final version is here only adumbrated. The 2nd half of the sketch contains a germinal version of the culmination of the opening thematic group. Measures 7 and 8 of the sketch show the rising arpeggio figure (already on A) that was to become measures 15-17 of the finished movement, although in the sketch this figure is more static than it was to become, lacking as it does both the quintuplet turn figure and the conclusive scalar ascent to the high A it later gained. Measures 9-12 of the sketch, on the other hand, are extremely similar to the final text (save for the extraneous B. in measure 12) . This sketch also contains some elements that were to appear subsequently in rather different form and context. The rhythm and contour of measure 5 supplied the motivic basis of the 2nd thematic group of the Adagio (beginning in measure 47 in the 1890 version) , and the dissonant superimposition of D. above the tonic D # / C. that is so important in the finished movement already hovers about the music (measures 5-7) . Here, Bruckner's compositional process works-out from the 1st E in fall ; it was a matter of sorting-out the elements and giving them effective shape, whether that meant simply sharpening them (as with the A major arpeggio) , using them as the basis for a separate thematic section (as with the motive in measure 5 of the sketch) , or developing their tonal and harmonic potential (as with the D/C opposition) .

Bruckner soon began to convert his short-score drafts into a full orchestral score. Between late August and October 1885, he orchestrated the Trio and began to score the Scherzo (which was still the 3rd movement) . He then began the score of the 1st movement, but only reached the middle of the movement (rehearsal K) ,before he broke-off work on the project. In February, he returned to finish the 1st movement and began to orchestrate the Adagio, which was still in place as the 2nd movement. Again, his work was interrupted until August, when, back in Steyr, he completed the score of the Adagio, which was now finally installed as the 3rd movement, and moved on to the Finale. (9) He worked

briefly on the orchestration of the Finale in September and October 1886, but soon temporarily stopped. On 16 November 1886, he wrote to Hermann Levi in a mood tinged by resignation and weariness :

« I still don't know when the 8th Symphony will be finished ; after all, I have 7 other Symphonies. » (10)

He returned to the project later that winter ; on 23 February 1887, in a letter to Elisabeth Kietz, he explained why his correspondence had flagged :

« It is the 8th ... So little time to work ! It makes me desperate. » (11)

He finished the score of the Finale on 22 April 1887. (12)

In the summer of 1887, once again back in Upper-Austria, Bruckner reviewed his manuscript one last time and had a copy of the score prepared by Karl (Borromäus) Aigner, one of his local copyists. (13) The copying was finished on 9 August. By then, Bruckner had begun to sketch the 1st movement of his 9th Symphony.

The Levi « affair »

On 4 September 1887, soon after the copy of the score was finished, Bruckner wrote to Hermann Levi in Munich :

« Hallelujah ! The 8th is finally ready and " mein künstlerischer Vater " (my artistic father) must be the 1st to know ... I would like to ask you, noble sir, for the (1st) performance of the 8th. » (14)

Levi responded with interest, and, on 19 September, Bruckner sent him the score. The accompanying note enthused :

« May it find favour ! My joy at the anticipated performance given by your noble, masterful hands is quite indescribable. » (15)

Upon studying the score, however, Levi concluded that he was unable to perform it. Bruckner, understandably deeply dismayed, withdrew from the work for some 18 months, re-worked it, and finally succeeded in having it published and performed in 1892.

The story of Hermann Levi's rejection of the 1st version of the 8th Symphony is customarily told as a tragic tale : the conductor's refusal to perform the Symphony staggers the composer who, with fractured confidence, proceeds to revise not only the work in question but several others over the course of several years. Commonly, these revisions are judged ill-advised and ineffective, and are blamed for diverting Bruckner from further composition of other potentially important works. (Some writers have even mawkishly suggested that, in this way, the Levi « affair » was ultimately responsible for Bruckner's failure to complete his 9th Symphony. (16)

This story needs to be revisited. Not only has our view of Bruckner's personality and biography evolved away from old

images of beset genius, but important new evidence (notably Levi's long-lost letter to Bruckner explaining his response to the score) has turned-up recently.

Levi and Bruckner first became acquainted at the Bayreuth Festivals of 1882 and 1884, and, in 1884, Bruckner arranged to have a score of the 7th Symphony sent to the conductor. Levi wrote that, initially, the work « took me aback, then fascinated me, and, finally, I developed tremendous respect for the man who could have created something so unusual and significant » (although, as he later admitted, he long remained rather befuddled by the Finale) . (17)

On 10 March 1885, in Munich, Levi conducted the Symphony, which had received its premiere in Leipzig under Nikisch, in December 1884. This concert was the greatest triumph Bruckner had yet experienced ; he was called to the stage by applause after each movement and the work was received warmly by the Munich press. On the following day, at the « Hoftheater » , Levi indulgently replaced the scheduled Opera, Viktor Nessler's « Der Trompeter von Säckingen » , with Bruckner's beloved « Die Walküre » . Levi further honoured his guest when the performance was over ; he had the brass section play the « Trauermusik » from the Coda of the Adagio of the 7th Symphony, 3 times. (18)

The following day featured a performance, again organized by Levi, of Bruckner's String Quintet.

Levi also aided Bruckner in less direct ways, often making good use of his connections to the Bavarian Court. After performing the 7th Symphony, Levi helped arrange for its publication. Not only did he intercede on Bruckner's behalf to help secure King Ludwig II's acceptance of the dedication but he was instrumental in raising the subvention required by the publisher, Albert Gutmann. In 1886, he worked to secure publication of Bruckner's 4th Symphony (again with Gutmann) , and, again, Levi raised the funds to pay the publisher's fee. In July 1886, Bruckner was awarded the « Ritterkreuz » of the Order of Franz-Josef (which brought with it an annuity of 300 Florins) and, again, Levi's influence was helpful. The primary instigator of this award was Princess Amélie of Bavaria, who had been deeply moved by Levi's performance of Bruckner's « Te Deum » , on 7 April 1886, and was quite taken by Bruckner himself. She expressed her enthusiasm to the conductor, and, in a long letter, Levi endorsed Amélie's assessment of Bruckner's great artistic importance and suggested that he might well merit royal support. (19)

Thus emboldened, she wrote to the Austrian Archduchess Marie Valerie, the youngest daughter of Franz-Josef, who proposed the idea of honoring Bruckner with the « Ritterkreuz » . (20)

Bruckner recognized Levi's role in this award and wrote to him :

« I have received the Order of Franz-Josef and 300 Florins annually ! This is your work, " Herr Hofkapellmeister " ! I know it for certain ! Eternal thanks from the bottom of my heart ! » (21)

Again, Levi offered decisive support for the honorary doctorate awarded to Bruckner by the University of Vienna, in 1891. Asked about Bruckner's significance as a composer, Levi responded with a testimonial that sang Bruckner's praises very boldly :

« Bruckner is, in my view, by far, the most important Symphonist of the post-Beethovenian period. » (22)

Obviously, Levi was a vigorous intercessor or, as Bruckner himself put it, his « noblest benefactor » (« edelsten Gönner ») . (23)

Levi had long been interested in the prospect of Bruckner's 8th Symphony and in light of the tremendous support he had offered Bruckner during the composition of the work, it is little surprise that the composer offered him the 1st performance. Things did not turn-out as either man would have wished. Levi's response to the work is remarkable, both in its musical judgments and for its genuine concern with Bruckner's feelings. He wrote 1st to Josef Schalk :

« Simply put : I cannot find myself in the 8th Symphony and do not have the courage to perform it. The orchestra and the public will, of this I am certain, offer great resistance. I am terribly disappointed ! I've studied it for days and can't make it my own. Far be it from me to pass judgment (it is possible that I'm deluded, that I'm too old or too dumb) but I find the instrumentation impossible and what has especially alarmed me is the great similarity with the 7th ; it virtually copies the form. The beginning of the 1st movement is grandiose, but with the development I don't know where to begin.

And the last movement : it is a closed book to me.

What to do now ! I dread the thought of the effect this report will have on our friend. I can't write to him. Shall I suggest to him that he might hear the working rehearsal here ? In my desperation, I have given the score to a musician here who's a good friend, and he also believes that a performance is impossible. Please write to me immediately about how I should act with Bruckner. When all is done, if he considers mean ass or, what would be worse, a traitor (einen Treulosen) , I can accept it. But I fear worse, that this disappointment will completely crush him. Help me, I don't know what to do ! » (24)

In a letter that is now lost, Schalk advised Levi to write directly to Bruckner, and, on 7 October, Levi did so, pronouncing his opinion of the 8th Symphony and informing the composer that he could not perform it. This letter was unknown for many years (Levi's draft copy of the letter was only recently unearthed in Munich by Laurence Dreyfus - and, in the absence of Schalk's letter to Levi, it was commonly assumed that Levi conveyed his message to Bruckner indirectly through Schalk. Now, we can see that Levi did indeed directly inform Bruckner of his opinion of the work, and that he communicated what was obviously a very painful decision with admirable frankness. (25)

« Dear and revered friend,

For the last 8 days already, I have been occupied with writing you (in my mind) long letters. Never in my life have I found it so difficult to find the right words for what I need to say ! But it can't be put-off any longer ...

So : I find it impossible to perform the 8th in its current form. I just can't make it my own ! As much as the themes are magnificent and direct, their working-out seems to me dubious ; indeed, I consider the orchestration quite

impossible. The performance of the 8th in a subscription concert would be a risk which, in your interest, I must not take ... I have pored over the score for hours, yea days, but I have not come closer to the work ... Release me from my promise to perform the work, I would certainly conduct it badly, too, let me put on the Romantic (i.e. , the 4th Symphony) in November ! Write to me soon, whatever it is, but do let me know what you make of these lines, which have taken a lot out of me ! Don't lose your courage, take another look at your work, talk it over with your friends, with Schalk, maybe a reworking can achieve something. Keep me in your good books ! Consider me an ass, I don't mind, but don't think that my feelings for you have changed in any way or could ever do so. » (26)

Levi heard nothing from Bruckner for a week. Understandably worried, he wrote to Schalk on 14 October :

« I wrote to Bruckner, but have not yet received any reply. Has he spoken to you or perhaps shown you my letter ? How has he taken it ? Please, go to see him and let me know how you find him. » (27)

Schalk responded 4 days later with a letter that has spawned more than its share of speculation :

« Your report has understandably hit Professor Bruckner very hard. He feels eternally unlucky and will hear no words of consolation. Your response was expected and was the gentlest way of preventing him from bitter disappointments. I hope that he will soon settle down and undertake a revision of the work at your advice. At the moment, certainly, he had best not work on it, since he is upset and despairs of himself and does not feel capable of anything. However, with his colossal natural power, physical as well as moral, he will be back to it soon. One must let him calm down by himself. In any case, he is indebted to you for your frank evaluation, which saved him from great failure and, even if he cannot see it yet, the time for it will come. » (28)

In just 2 days, Bruckner responded to Levi with a short letter :

« Only now do I have the time to study the matter. I'll do what is possible - to the best of my knowledge and belief. When at last all is done, I will ask you to lead a few rehearsals, at my expense, with your " Hoforchester " before the Princess (Amélie) , whom I will need in this case, as you well know. » (29)

Bruckner's wounded pride is not hard to detect in his curt tone and his grudging acceptance that the work might benefit from further « study » . His residual stubbornness is also evident in his suggestion that he might finance some orchestral rehearsals, presumably in the hope that this might demonstrate to Levi that the Symphony would actually come across effectively in performance. Bruckner was not, as Levi feared (and as many later writers have asserted) , utterly crushed by his friend's negative judgment of the 8th. He was staggered by the blow, yet with his inner resiliency and his great determination, he rallied. By 23 October, he had regained enough self-confidence to question privately Levi's capacity for judgment ; Princess Amélie recorded that Bruckner said to her that :

« Levi, he's a knave (" Schlankl ") . It's hard for him to grasp things, you know. » (30)

It took Bruckner some time to reconcile himself to the need to revise. He looked over the score in late 1887, and, by

the end of January 1888, he seems to have accepted that he must revise the work. (31) On 30 January, he wrote to his friend Betty von Mayfeld that « the 8th Symphony is far from done » and needed « major alterations » . (32) and, on 4 February, in a letter to Levi primarily concerned with a planned performance of the 4th Symphony, on 14 April 1888, he mentioned, almost incidentally :

« I certainly have reason to be ashamed of myself, at least this time, because of the 8th. I am an ass. Now, I see things differently. » (33)

The question of why and how Bruckner began to see the 8th differently needs detailed explication, and is the subject of Chapter 5. For the moment, suffice it to say that while Levi's rejection of the Symphony undoubtedly played a decisive part, Bruckner's eventual revision cannot fairly be described as a simplification or mollification of his original conception nor can it reasonably be seen as an attempt to make the score acceptable to Levi or even to other potential performers and listeners. If this was Bruckner's intention, he failed : Levi never did perform the Symphony and, even in its revised version, the work presented prohibitive technical difficulties for many orchestras.

Bruckner's revision

During the winter of 1887-1888, Bruckner had been occupied with the preparation of the final version of the 4th Symphony and its performance by the Vienna Philharmonic, on 22 January 1888, and he spent the remainder of the year working on the final revision of the 3rd Symphony. It was not until 4 March 1889, the very day on which he finished the revision of the 3rd Symphony, that the composer began the actual task of revising the 8th. He began by reworking the Adagio and finished on 8 May. (34) He then turned his attention to the Finale and completed its revision on 31 July 1889. In revising this movement, Bruckner worked directly on his autograph score from 1887, and wrote in changes, crossed-out passages, and inserted new pages as necessary. (35) He next revised the 2nd movement, finishing the Scherzo in Steyr, on 4 September (on his 65th birthday) , and the Trio, which was extensively re-written, on 25 September. (36) (This was the only movement of the revised version that Bruckner wrote-out entirely in his own hand.) In November 1889, back in Vienna, he began work on the 1st movement, and used, as he had with the Adagio, a manuscript of the movement from 1887, from his copist of Steyr Leopold Hofmeyer. (37) The revision of this movement moved more slowly, probably because of the extent of the revisions as well as the demands of Bruckner's teaching. Bruckner noted at the end of the score « last note written » , on 29 January 1890, yet, he continued to tinker with the movement in February. Finally, on 10 March, he signed and dated the score with the remark « entirely finished » and, on 14 March, he ran through the movement one last time. (38) When the composition was complete, Bruckner had 2 clean copies of the score prepared by his copyists. (39)

Dedication and publication

Bruckner long planned to dedicate the 8th to the Emperor ; in his letter to Levi announcing the completion of the 1st version of the 8th (4 September 1887) , he stated that he planned « to request that the Emperor accept the dedication ; then, Richter has promised (since my plan pleases him) to give a performance » in Vienna. (40) When the revised score was ready, Bruckner promptly wrote to Emperor Franz-Josef II requesting permission to dedicate the

Symphony to him. (41) Much to Bruckner's satisfaction, the Emperor accepted the dedication and, in addition, volunteered a subvention of 3,000 Florins to defray publication costs. (42) (Again, Levi seems to have been involved behind the scenes. As early as 14 November 1886, he had written to Franz Schalk that Princess Amélie had informed him that the Emperor would pay for the cost of publication.) (43)

Bruckner had always had difficulty getting his work into print. He struggled to find publishers and, when he did, was often displeased with their work. As a result, Bruckner's works were published piecemeal ; he enjoyed nothing like, for example, Brahms's long relationship with Simrock or Verdi's with Ricordi, nor did he make more than token income from his publications. His 3rd Symphony was, unusually, published shortly after its premiere in December 1877. This came about quite fortuitously : Theodor Rättig, a fledgling music-publisher who attended the 1st performance of the Symphony and was among the small group enthused by the work, immediately offered to publish the score. Eventually, he published 2 versions of the 3rd Symphony (1878 and 1890) , the « Te Deum » (1885) , and several smaller choral works.

In the 1880's, the Viennese impresario and publisher Albert J. Gutmann published Bruckner's Quintet (1884) and the 7th and 4th Symphonies (in 1885 and 1889, respectively) , but Bruckner was satisfied with neither Gutmann's terms (he demanded a fee of 1,000 Florins for each of the Symphonies) nor his work, which tended to be sloppy and late. The difficulties Bruckner encountered with Gutmann in preparing the 7th Symphony were great enough that Bruckner resolved never to work with the publisher again. He approached 2 German publishers, Schott (Mainz) and Bote & Bock (Berlin) , with his 4th Symphony, both of whom rejected it, before settling for Gutmann. Bruckner's misgivings about Gutmann proved well-founded. The 1st printing of the 4th Symphony was ridden with so many errors that Bruckner compelled Gutmann to withdraw it and issue a corrected printing. (44)

It was during the composition of the 8th Symphony, therefore, that Bruckner experienced his worst travails with Gutmann, and he never seems to have even considered offering this Symphony to Gutmann. Instead, as soon as Franz-Josef had agreed to accept the dedication, Bruckner immediately began to talk about finding a publisher in Germany. (45) In a letter to Levi, on 28 April 1890, Bruckner asked the conductor to support Bruckner's plan to have Schott publish the 8th. (46) Bruckner held-out hope for Schott as late as March 1891, but, in the end, they did not publish the score. (47) Bruckner did eventually succeed, at least in part, in finding a German publisher. In late 1890, the firm of Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau, which was based in Berlin but had an important branch in Vienna as a result of its incorporation of the Viennese firm of Haslinger in 1875, agreed to publish the Symphony. The score was prepared for publication in mid-1891 ; the proof reading and correction were done by Bruckner's student Max von Oberleithner (1868-1935) , who also seems to have contributed financially. (48) (For example, Oberleithner guaranteed the sale of 200 copies of the 4 hand arrangement of the Symphony and, in exchange, Lienau agreed to let Josef Schalk, and not the house arranger, prepare the score. This total was reached with the aid of Hugo Kaun, a Bruckner devotee and conductor in Milwaukee ! (49) The published score of the 8th Symphony was issued in March 1892, and thus became the only one of Bruckner's Symphonies to be published before it had been performed.

Bringing the Symphony to performance

Just as Bruckner struggled to have his works published, for much of his career he had difficulty in securing performances of his Symphonies, and, by the time of the 8th Symphony, Bruckner's music was only just beginning to win its way on to orchestral programs. The slowness with which Bruckner's works entered the repertory is often ascribed to the conservatism, even philistinism, of orchestral establishments. There is some truth in this charge ; certainly many orchestras were disinclined to perform such « modern » music, especially as part of their subscription concerts, which tended to be dominated by old-guard audiences. (50) Beyond these matters of musical taste, Bruckner's Symphonies presented great technical and practical challenges to orchestras. Concern about audience reaction and the difficulty of the orchestral writing were evident in Levi's response to the 1st version of the 8th Symphony. He wrote that, in his judgment, because of « the possible effect on an audience like my own, the performance of the 8th in a subscription concert would be a risk which, in your interest, I must not take » and found « the orchestration quite impossible » and worried that Bruckner's « sense for beauty and balance and euphony has somewhat suffered. How else could your treatment of the trumpets and tubas (really of the winds in general) be explained ! » (51)

Levi wrote that even with the rather easier 7th Symphony, « the orchestra started to become impatient, indeed voices were raised suggesting the work be removed from the repertory » . In other words, Levi felt that the 7th Symphony strained the limit of the practically possible, while the 8th Symphony over-stepped it. (This conclusion is quite remarkable for the man who, only 5 years earlier, had given the 1st performances of « Parsifal » , a work that would seem to be at least as challenging in all ways.)

Even after Bruckner revised the score, practical difficulties and stylistic doubts continued to hamper the dissemination of the 8th Symphony. By this time, Levi was no longer conducting concerts in Munich and was thus not in a position to perform it himself. Levi was apparently not particularly interested in promoting the 8th Symphony, in any case ; although he was able to arrange a concert of the 4th Symphony in Munich, on 10 December 1890 (conducted by his assistant Franz Fischer) , the 8th was not performed in Munich during Levi's tenure there. Instead, Levi recommended it to the young Felix Weingartner (1863-1942) , who had assisted him at Bayreuth and who had recently been appointed « Kapellmeister » in Mannheim. Weingartner was intrigued by the idea, and, on 14 September 1890, he wrote to Levi :

« Dear Papa, have you written to Bruckner regarding his 8th ? If Bruckner sends me the parts, then I'll certainly perform the Symphony and soon, in the 2nd or 3rd concert, but he mustn't give it to anyone else 1st. This is a condition. » (52)

Levi wrote apologetically to Bruckner that he could not do the 8th (« you must consider me a swindler ») but that Weingartner was interested. (53) Bruckner accepted Weingartner's proposal (he even boasted, possibly fancifully, that he had « refused » Richter in favour of Weingartner) and arranged to have the orchestral parts copied in Mannheim and had a score sent to Weingartner. (54) The concert was eventually scheduled for 26 March 1891 and was to feature Beethoven's 2nd Symphony and the 1st performance of Hugo Wolf 's « Christnacht » in addition to the 8th Symphony.

On 20 March, Weingartner informed Bruckner that he had to postpone the concert until 2 April, owing to the Good Friday performance of Bach's « Saint-Matthew Passion » on 27 March. (55) At the last minute, however, Weingartner removed the 8th Symphony from the program and replaced it with Liszt's « Dante Symphony » . On 9 April, he wrote

to Bruckner that his appointment as conductor of the « Königliche Oper » in Berlin had been « so sudden and the change in my position so unexpected » that it had disrupted his schedule and prevented him from rehearsing the Symphony adequately and would moreover obviously mean that he would not have another chance to do the Symphony in the foreseeable future. (56) The previous day, he had written to Levi more frankly :

« Unfortunately, I couldn't perform the Bruckner. The Symphony offers such difficulties that I could not demand the necessary rehearsals. We had new tuba players who were not experienced enough in their instruments. I clarified the circumstances to Bruckner. He seemed to be understanding and sees no harm as Richter will immediately perform it in London (this performance never materialized) . The sonorous effect of the 8th Symphony is unfortunately offensively raw. » (57)

Of course, Bruckner deduced the truth ; he wrote to Levi on 18 April :

« I think that the Symphony did not please " Herr " Weingartner or sounded poorly (" schlecht geklungen ") . » (58)

Although Weingartner's performance did not come to pass, it occasioned some of the most important (and most widely misinterpreted) of Bruckner's comments on the Symphony. On 27 January 1891, Bruckner sent Weingartner a letter containing a sporadically detailed, extra-musical program for the Symphony (see Chapter 3) . (59) Even more famously, Bruckner's correspondence about the performance makes mention of cuts in the Finale. His initial note to Weingartner (2 October 1890) contains a brief postscript :

« The Finale has indications for large cuts ; please shorten it because of its lengthiness. » (60)

The specific cuts Bruckner suggested are unknown, but they undoubtedly included one indicated in a loose page inserted into the manuscript (measures 345-386 of the 1890 version) . (61) In his letter, on 27 January 1891, by which time Bruckner seems to have been growing uneasy with the entire affair, he reiterated that Weingartner should « please shorten the Finale as indicated ; it would be far too long and is valid only for later times and for a circle of friends and connoisseurs (" gilt nur späteren Zeiten und zwar für einen Kreis von Freunden und Kennern ") . » (62)

On Good Friday, 27 March 1891, Bruckner again urged Weingartner to « please accept the cuts in the Finale, since otherwise it would be too long » . More interestingly, he also requested that Weingartner not physically alter the score and wrote that, « it is one of my dearest wishes » that the orchestral parts remain unaltered for publication. (63)

Much has been made of these comments ; the phrase « for later times and for a circle of friends and connoisseurs » in particular has been adopted as a motto by those who believe that the early editions of Bruckner are corrupt. Since the 1930's, it has been claimed as a sign that Bruckner privately wished that the so-called « original versions » of his works eventually be published. (64) In considering the validity of this interpretation, it should be borne in mind that although Bruckner's request has almost always been read as if it referred to the autograph manuscript, it did not.

The score that Weingartner had in his possession was a copy made by Viktor Christ, probably the one made in 1890. (65) It is probable, in fact, that the manuscript Weingartner had in his possession was the one eventually used in the preparation of the printed edition of 1892 ; not only does Bruckner's concern that the score and parts not actually be altered pre-suppose that they would eventually be used by the publisher, but we know that a copy made by Christ and Hofmeyer was the actual « Stichvorlage » (see Chapter 6) . Bruckner's allusion to posterity therefore has nothing to do with the earlier version of the Symphony - even less does it encode a wish for a posthumous edition based on his unpublished manuscript scores. His concern was simpler : he wanted to ensure that his revised score be printed without the actual excision of the passages he asked Weingartner to cut and without any alterations to the scoring made in rehearsal by Weingartner. Thus Bruckner seems, perhaps ironically in light of later interpretations, to have believed that the late revised version (and not the putative « Originalfassung ») was meant for later generations of connoisseurs.

Bruckner was stung by the fiasco with Weingartner. Even a year later, on 22 April 1892, he wrote to Levi :

« What I suffered in Vienna because of the 8th - I will remain silent for now. I conceived of performance only by you, certainly not the little orchestra with military tubas (!!!) and the (in my eyes) suspicious " Herr " Weingartner in Mannheim. Now a year is lost ! » (66)

Although Levi no longer regularly conducted the orchestral concerts in Munich, Bruckner clearly wanted him to perform the 8th ; on 24 July 1892, Bruckner played his trump card, Wagner's personal pledge to perform his Symphonies :

« Perhaps, I can hope that my " Künstler Vater " will perform my 8th Symphony once in Munich in one of his special concerts, as the noblest advocate of our immortal, blessed " Meister ", who also, as he assured me, wished to perform my Symphonies. » (67)

Levi apparently agreed (presumably somewhat grudgingly) to do either the 7th or the 8th Symphony at the « Tonkünstlerfest » of the « Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein » scheduled for Munich in September 1892. (68) These plans came to nothing : the Festival was relocated to Vienna, and, finally, canceled because of a feared cholera outbreak. (69) Levi was, for whatever reason, not willing to perform the 8th himself ; as late as 12 January 1892, after the successful performance in Vienna, he wrote to Bruckner that he still did not have the « courage » to do the 8th. (70)

Bruckner realized well before this time that Levi was not going to champion the 8th and, instead, focused his efforts on arranging a performance in Vienna. As Josef Schalk wrote, on 29 January 1892, « Bruckner is going at it with all seriousness to produce a performance of the 8th » . (71)

At last, Hans Richter, whom Bruckner had pointedly bypassed 5 years before in favour of Levi and 2 years before in favour of Weingartner, agreed to give the 1st performance, and, on 18 December 1892, the 8th Symphony was finally performed at a subscription concert of the Vienna Philharmonic. Despite the success of its premiere, the Symphony was slow to gain widespread acceptance. It was performed only twice more before Bruckner's death, in Olmütz

(Olomouc) under Vladimir Labler on 22 October 1893 and by Jean-Louis Nicodé in Dresden on 18 December 1895. The 1st performance in Munich was conducted by Siegmund von Hausegger on 17 December 1900, some 7 months after Levi's untimely death. The 2nd performance by the Vienna Philharmonic was on 21 October 1906 under Bruckner's old protégé Franz Schalk. The 8th was 1st played in America by the Boston Symphony Orchestra under Max Fiedler on 12 March 1909.

The musical design and Symphonic agenda of the 8th

In the final decades of the 19th Century, the Symphony was a loaded genre, both culturally and compositionally. Beethoven's great examples, especially the « Eroica », the 5th, and the 9th, had long since secured the Symphony as the highest, most elevated, and most meaningful genre of instrumental music. Yet, despite its cultural prestige, Symphonic composition was beset by special challenges in the late- 19th Century. A sine qua non of the Symphony during this era was monumentality, a trait that was essential to the public significance of the genre in an age given to bourgeois expansiveness and increasing rationalization, in which the construction of historical memory (which is what monuments do) increasingly substituted for religion and myth. (1) During this period, many progressive composers, including Bruckner, also desired to enrich the Symphony with an infusion of « Wagnerian » vocabulary. Gustav Mahler put it simply :

« Wagner took over the expressive means of Symphonic music, just as now the Symphonist will lay claim in his turn to the expressive riches gained for music through Wagner's efforts. » (2)

This desire to win some of Wagner's « expressive riches » for the Symphony raised something of a compositional puzzle. Monumentality pre-supposes grandeur, solidity, massiveness ; therefore, a crucial task of the Symphonist was to find ways of articulating large, coherent formal spans, which rested upon strong tonal and metrical frameworks, out of harmonic and motivic substance that was weighted toward expressive detail and pointed characterization and thus prone to fragmentation. Posed in these terms, a central concern of Bruckner's Symphonic project can be seen as a working-out of this synthesis and the construction of grand monumental Symphonies that, as Norbert Nägler wrote, « tectonically sublimate » , Wagner's chromaticism and « endless melody » . (3) Thus, it was given to Bruckner « as purifier of Wagner » , in Ernst Bloch's words, finally to separate « the benefits of the Wagnerian style, " eloquent " music, from the penalties of the programme or the music-drama and to have thus internalised it, as the route to other waters than those of poetry » . (4)

Movement I : Allegro moderato

The 1st movement, like all of Bruckner's opening movements, is built around the established framework of Sonata form. The scheme of exposition, development, and recapitulation is easily discerned, and the overall structure palpably enacts the tonal drama of Sonata form. Indeed, a bird's-eye view of the movement shows clear formal divisions ; upon closer examination, however, any hint of formal conventionality recedes and what Carl Dahlhaus called the « radical nature of Bruckner's compositional technique » grows increasingly vivid. (5) Particularly impressive is the virtuosity with which Bruckner harnesses a centrifugal, chromatic harmonic vocabulary for the purpose of building a tonally closed

Symphonic form. (6) In doing so, Bruckner performs a delicate harmonic balancing act. The tonic key of C minor is effectively defined by the tonal articulations of the movement, yet, many passages (and not only developmental ones) eschew standard harmonic syntax in favour of elaborate chromatic motion. Bruckner reserves clearly defined cadential progressions (i.e. , those in which, in Schönberg's definition, 3 successive chords « unmistakably express a region or tonality ») (7) for junctures that define the tonal framework of the movement.

The movement opens with an exposition consisting of 3 distinct thematic units of roughly equal length : the main thematic group (measures 1-50) , a contrasting thematic group in the dominant (measures 51-96) , and a closing section in E #, the relative major (measures 97-152) . There follow a substantial development section (beginning in measure 153) , a reprise of the 2nd and 3rd sections of the exposition (measures 311-392) , which unusually avoids solidly grounding the tonic key, and a compact Coda (measures 393-417) . The recapitulation of the opening material bridges the end of the development and the return of the 2nd thematic group in such a way that the crucial division of development and recapitulation (a juncture freighted with structural meaning) is artfully blurred.

The remarkable opening pages immediately unsettle expectation. The tonality of the opening theme is, at first, quite indefinable ; its most obvious tonal trait is that it is not in the movement's tonic key of C minor, or, indeed, any easily identifiable key. The striking use of G. and D. as chromatic neighbor tones, which will prove to be a crucial motive as the movement unfolds, both infuses the music with a charge of kinetic energy and clouds the latent suggestion of C minor accruing from the f' followed by g' sustained in the accompanying violins and horns, the arrival (under the g') on C in measure 5, and (a bit more distantly) the clarinet 5th on the dominant in measures 5-6. These provisional assertions of the tonic are swept away by the next dozen measures, which lead the opening motive through a stretch of roving harmony, the terminology coined by Schönberg to describe chromatic progressions that do not employ standard harmonic syntax and « fail to express a tonality » . (8) In measure 17, the chromaticism begins to clear in preparation for a half cadence on the dominant of C minor. Closure onto the tonic triad is preempted by a sudden restatement of the opening material (measure 23) in full orchestral dress. Here, the chromatic continuation is slightly different (measures 28-39) : it glances at the tonic (measures 40-41) , before arriving on the sub-mediante, which then serves as the basis of an augmented 6th progression (measure 43) that leads to the dominant, in which key the 2nd theme group begins.

This passage does the typical work of a Symphonic opening : presenting a protagonistic theme, exposing basic motives, and limning the tonic key. In addition, it establishes 2 principles that are important to the movement, and the Symphony, as a whole. 1st, it introduces the tendency of harmonic complexity to give way to relative stability and consonance as the point of cadence nears, a pattern that recurs on various levels throughout the piece, as does the particular strategy of anchoring spans of elaborate unstable chromaticism with cadential assertions of a structural key, here the tonic, later also the dominant, the mediant, and other related keys. (The particular device, which was canonized in « Tristan » , of asserting a key by sounding its dominant 7th, even in the absence of its tonic triad as in measures 21-22, also grows characteristic of the piece.) 2nd and more particularly, the prominence given to chromatic neighbor notes in the initial thematic unit (in measures 3-5 and, more forcefully, in measures 25-27) proves to be a basic motivic conceit. At many junctures of the movement, structural tones (the tonic, dominant, and sub-dominant) play-off in various ways with their chromatic neighbors ; sometimes, this happens with little moment (e.g. ,

in the course of the 2nd theme group) and, sometimes, with tremendous structural drama, as at the height of the development section.

The 2nd thematic group begins with a sudden unclouded G major triad and a disarming tune (measure 51). This thematic group is based in G, and, for all of its difference in mood and harmonic style (it is far more triadic), the tonal build of this section resembles that of its predecessor in 1 important way. Its tonic is, at first, only loosely defined and is surrounded by wandering sequential syntax; not until the clearly defined cadential activity around the restatement of the tune in G (measure 73) is the key of the dominant solidified. The harmony also has a tendency to turn from G major to G. major and its cognates, thereby not only tonicizing a pitch that was prominent in the opening theme, but also working-out in a new way the chromatic neighbor-note motive that opened the Symphony.

The 3rd thematic group introduces another strong contrast. It begins with a fresh, striding theme that quickly begins to describe the key of E #, the mediant of C minor, and thus the conventional contrasting tonal pole in a minor-key sonata-form exposition. E. is initially given as a minor key; the major is reserved until E. is regained after an intervening stretch of harmonic roving (measure 125). As in the 2 preceding thematic groups, cadentially secured harmonic poles anchor unstable chromatic harmony, although here, the proportions are quite different and the structural key, E #, is granted substantially greater weight. 14 measures are given to a very long dominant preparation of E #, balanced by 14 more that linger on the tonicized triad (measures 125-152).

The development section is elaborate. It opens with an intense meditation on the opening motive during which the brass and winds make obvious play with the motive's distinctively plastic shape against a background of tremolando strings. These variants generally adhere quite closely to the original form of the motive, often preserving it intact but inverted (as in the woodwinds, measures 169-171 and 179-181) or in inversion and augmentation (as in the brass, measures 173-177 and 183-187). At other times, the contour and pitch of the motive are changed more freely. These variations range from minor intervallic changes (horn, measures 141-145) to revamping the contour (measures 140-151; and trumpets, measures 175-179). As if in compensation for its textural and motivic clarity, this episode rises to great harmonic intensity by collapsing the chromatic neighbor notes into implacably sustained dissonances.

This overt manipulation of the primary motivic material dramatizes a process that imbues much of the movement in a less obvious way. As Werner Korte pointed-out, Bruckner's primary motives tend to be sharply profiled and highly-distinctive, and the strategic exploitation of this « capacity for meaningful flexibility (" flexibler Mehrdeutigkeit ") and re-interpretation » assumes a formative, structural function in Bruckner's Symphonies. Korte called this process, by which « decisive (motivic) traits are changed suddenly in favour of new ones », mutation. (9) In the process, as Carl Dahlhaus later pointed-out, the parameters of rhythm and pitch are separated and abstracted from « 'concrete' motives » and are treated as self-standing elements « unconnected to each other, freed from their original formation ». (10) These 2 parameters are handled differently: mutation almost always entails intervallic changes, while rhythmic features tend to be more stable. Thus rhythmic patterns become preeminent sources of continuity and coherence, while pitch structures continually evolve and develop. This is what happens in the opening bars of the movement. Measures 3-5 contain the basic idea, which immediately mutates in measures 7-9. The rhythm is preserved intact, but the melodic contour is changed fundamentally. Some intervallic features are retained, notably the initial minor 2nd, while others are

recognizably modified, for example the chromatic tail of measure 4, which is inverted in measure 8 (and echoed by the oboe and clarinet in measures 9-10, 13-14, and 17-18) . (Other less obvious intervallic connections might be drawn as well, including the inversionally related leaps of a minor 6th, measures 3-4, and major 3rd, measures 7-8, and the overall span of a minor 3rd common to both measure 4 and measure 8.) The ensuing bars continue this process, each successive unit deriving from its predecessor, like links in a chain. The next segment (measures 11-13) begins with a motivic minor 2nd and a simple rhythmic modification, but the continuation introduces a new triplet rhythm and new melodic intervals. The next link (measures 15-17) has the same rhythm, but new pitch content in its 2nd half. At measure 18, the triplet motive is broken-off and inverted as the music moves toward cadence.

As several scholars have shown in detail, the entire Symphony is inhabited by densely interlocking networks of motivic similarities, from the intervallic parallels (chromatic ornaments and upward minor 6th) between the head-motives of the 1st movement and Adagio to the manifold uses of the rhythm of the initial motive of the Symphony. (11) Modern notions of Symphonic aesthetics are inclined to underrate the importance of these patterns of motivic integration, connection, and mutation, since now the essence of Symphonic form is located primarily in formal and tonal architecture, not motivic connections. Yet, in the latter half of the 19th Century, different standards of judgment prevailed, as we can see in Wagner's definition of « Symphonic unity » as a « web of basic themes which contrast, complete, re-shape, divorce, and intertwine with one another » . (12) In Bruckner's Symphonies, this web is spun largely out of rhythm ; recurring rhythmic cells and a solidly quadratic periodic structure endow the music with great tensile strength. This rhythmic and hyper-rhythmic solidity, along with large-scale spans of tonal coherence, is the basis of Bruckner's Symphonic structure ; by under-girding surface features, notably locally modulatory harmony and vivid episodic contrasts, that might otherwise be prone to fragmentation, it allows the creation of Symphonic forms that incorporate great contrasts, diverse moods, and fine detail into an epic structure.

The development section continues with a statement of the main idea of the 2nd thematic group in inversion beginning in G . (measures 193-200) . This quickly devolves into what initially appears to be the beginning of a forceful dominant preparation in C minor (measures 201-212) , which seems to herald a return to the tonic. Historically, composers have treated this juncture (which typically delivers both the tonic key and the main thematic material) as a crucial dramatic stroke. But, in this movement, Bruckner diffuses the process of recapitulation, both tonal and thematic, over the space of some 75 measures. Thus, as the dominant of C minor begins to gather itself, the harmony slips (not by the most obvious path) to the dominant of B. minor (measures 217-224) and the music drives forward to a massive thematic statement that sets the opening theme, in the bass and low brass, below a clear variant of the 2nd theme group, in the upper-strings and woodwinds, with both elements rhythmically augmented to double their original value. Gesturally, this feels like a recapitulation, and it does restate the opening theme at its original pitch level, yet, the original theme itself deflects the tonic key, and Bruckner capitalizes on its tonal ambivalence. (13) He leans on the G. neighbor note heavily so that the harmonic weight veers away from the tonic, so much so that, when the phrase arrives on C (measure 229) , it feels provisional. Bruckner repeats this grandiose thematic unit twice, with each statement a 3rd higher (starting on A . in measure 235 and on C in measure 245) . (A close study will reveal that this passage masterfully throws the balance of harmonic tones and non-harmonic tones into controlled confusion ; see especially, measures 225-228 and 235-238.) The final repetition comes to rest on G (measure 249) and this pitch (the dominant) holds, rooted by a long, quiet tonic pedal in the timpani (measures 247-

264) , above which, in an oddly austere passage, 2 trumpets softly intone the bare rhythm of the main-theme in octaves on the pitch C while a flute adds a descant outlining an octave and 5th on C as the basses descend nervously to low G, again and again. The home tonality is thus reached, although without the usual cadential definition.

This harmonic stability dissolves into a passage (measures 267-278) that quickly ascends through G . major, crests on the dominant 9th of C minor (with the trumpets again playing the motto rhythm, now on G, in measures 271-278) , and subsides by falling through a diminished 7th chord. The music resumes quietly on the dominant of D. (measure 279) and, then, for the 1st time in the movement, the opening theme is sounded beginning on G (1st oboe, measures 283-285) , the pitch level at which it most clearly rests within C minor (it circles around the minor 6th, G - E #, that is part of the tonic triad) . The long passage on C above the timpani pedal and the powerful assertion of the dominant have done enough to restore tonal centrality that this statement of the theme does not need to decide on the tonic key ; indeed, this is exactly what it avoids. The oboe is surrounded by filigrees outlining the dominant of D # ; this extraordinary harmonization not only realizes the C - D. opposition introduced in the opening bars, but, again, shifts the music away from the key of C. This movement away from the tonic continues in the ensuing elaboration (as does the play with chromatic neighbor notes) , yet, in this midst, the strong cadential figure (outlining iv-i64-V7) that had punctuated the opening page of the movement returns squarely in C (measures 300-302) . This cadential gesture could easily usher in the entry on C minor, possibly with the opening theme or more likely the 2nd thematic group ; but while it does inaugurate the return of the 2nd thematic group, this is not in the tonic key. Instead, the music slides through G. to an augmented 6th that leads to the key of E #.

The 2nd thematic group is restated in full in E #, and the 3rd thematic group begins in due course in the key of C minor. The initial section of this unit leads, as it did in the exposition, to a turbulent, harmonically unsettled continuation, but, now, it turns in a new direction. A strongly directed chromatic rise leads to a thunderous, aggressively diatonic peroration in C minor (measures 369-384) , built-on a rising diatonic tetrachord and the resounding intonation of the motto rhythm on C by 3 trumpets and 3 horns. This tremendous magnification of the passage on C that occupied an earlier part of the recapitulatory space (measures 250-262) elevates the hollowness of the earlier passage to the proportion of tragic grandeur. At its peak, the orchestra drops-out, dramatically exposing the 3 horns and 3 trumpets and leaving them to peal alone into the abyss. For all its loud emphasis of C, this passage is so strongly based on the tonic 6/4 chord (the timpani pedal on the tonic notwithstanding) that it forecloses a finally clinching tonal arrival. The music quickly wanes, and a quiet roll of the timpani leads to a compact, tensely immobile Coda that gently unwinds the opening motive above an unwavering tonic pedal.

Movement 2 - Scherzo : Allegro moderato ; Trio : Langsam

Bruckner's Scherzi are outstanding for their freshness and rugged vigor, and this one is no exception. In the 8th, the Scherzo does, however, function differently from those in Bruckner's previous Symphonies. It is the 2nd movement, rather than the 3rd, and, for the 1st time since the 3rd Symphony, it is placed in the tonic key. Thus rather than appearing as a strong contrast (in tempo, key, and tone) to a preceding slow movement, this Scherzo, in effect, joins with the opening Allegro to form the 1st part of the Symphony.

The movement follows the Classical pattern of Scherzo, Trio, and da capo reprise of the Scherzo. The Scherzo is built almost exclusively out of 2 elements : a short string of chromatic, descending parallel 6th chords, and a squarely sturdy motive based on an arpeggiated tonic triad, which is solidly formed but not particularly expressive. This arpeggio figure functions as the main-spring of the movement ; it sets into motion an effortlessly steady forward flow that suffuses the whole Scherzo. As the music unrolls through superbly regular 4 bar units (a pattern broken only by 3 6-bar phrases : measures 19-24, 89-94, and 153-158) , it is easy to feel it as a grand piece of Symphonic clockwork.

The Scherzo is an expansive rounded binary form. The 1st half of the movement (measures 1-64) moves from C minor to E #, with mystery-making arrivals in A major, E major, and A. minor (measures 33-36, 37-40, and 49-52, respectively) along the way. The 2nd half of the movement opens with a developmental area that falls into several parts : a sequentially structured section dominated by diminished and half-diminished sonorities (measures 65-90) ; a rather formal cadential preparation in C minor (measures 91-94) ; a leisurely exploration of the inversion of the opening arpeggio figure (measures 95-114) ; and, finally, a tighter, rhythmically telescoped development of the same motive (again, in inversion) in the woodwinds above a tonic pedal in the timpani, which ends with a few moments of expectant waiting for the reprise (measures 115-134) . The form is rounded-off by the return of the opening section, unaltered save for its final cadential portion (measures 171-195) , which is transposed down a minor 3rd with Schubertian aplomb, all but note for note, so that it ends in C, not E #.

In contrast to the 1st movement, which used harmonic tension as a source of intensity and structural force, the Scherzo is relatively relaxed harmonically ; this difference is clearly encapsulated in the character (tautly wound in one and openly forthright in the other) of the motivic material of the 2 movements. The 1st chord change of the movement moves from C to D. (measure 7) , and it is remarkable to note the simplicity with which Bruckner here moves through (by means of a direct chromatic ascent) a harmonic juncture that was so elaborately problematized in the preceding movement. Throughout the Scherzo, the harmony is given to periods of triadic calmness (measures 3-6, 33-36, 37-40, 53-64, and the corresponding spots in the 2nd half of the movement) that are quite free of the kinetic charge that coloured even the few moments of harmonic stasis in the 1st movement (e.g. , measures 217-224 and 369-380) . So, despite its palpable rhythmic energy, the Scherzo serves as a stabilizing foil to the 1st movement. Here, we can sense the logic of Bruckner's unusual decision to locate it before the Adagio, and to have it essay the tonic key. The Scherzo is thus able to anchor the 1st act of the Symphony, before the long and magnificent tonal excursus enacted by the Adagio and much of the Finale.

The Trio is idiosyncratic. It is, in effect, a miniature slow movement tucked into the Scherzo. (The initial version was quite different ; see Chapter 5.) The 1st half of the Trio has 2 components. The opening strain (measures 1-24) is a touching tune that starts in A. major and immediately begins to drift through F minor, A. minor, and C #. The contrasting section (measures 25-44) leisurely spells-out a big, brightly lit E major progression of great simplicity (4 measures each of 16, 146, 149, and 1) . The arrival of the root-position triad ushers in a striking moment : 8 bars of pure, triadic E major stillness preceding the double bar, celebrated with rippling arpeggios played by 3 harps.

Bruckner used harps for the 1st time in this Symphony. He had long believed, as Friedrich Eckstein recalled, that while the harp may have been appropriate in a Symphonic poem, it did not belong in « a proper Symphony » , but, here,

he changed his mind. He told Eckstein that he felt compelled to use harps in this work :

« I simply had to, there was no other solution. » (14)

The 2nd half of the Trio begins with a brief modulatory passage (measures 45-60) that quietly leads from E major through C major and G. major back to A. for the reprise. The opening section returns in compressed form, with a new loud passage that moves through A major (measures 69-72) , and ends with the quiet triadic dwelling at the end relocated from E major to A. major (measures 85-94) .

If the Scherzo looks back to the 1st movement, the Trio looks forward to the Adagio. Like the subsequent movement, the Trio is slow, it makes use of harps, and its primary melodic strains are intense (with many expressive appoggiaturas) and tinged by somber harmonies. In addition, it shares some harmonic elements with the slow movement, notably the tendency of major keys to melt into minor and the juxtaposition of yearning chromaticism with preternaturally still triadic music, a device that returns in the Adagio. The Trio also italicizes E major, a key that, although unheard in the 1st movement, plays a considerable role after its striking appearance in the Trio. It is the key in which the B theme of the Adagio appears, it is prominently touched upon in the powerful build-up before the climax of that movement, and it is the starting point of an oddly significant chorale-like passage that interrupts the 3rd thematic group of the Finale.

Movement 3 - Adagio : Feierlich langsam, doch nicht schleppend

In Romantic Symphonies, the 2 inner movements tend, as Reinhold Brinkmann wrote, to be « character pieces of ‘ medium ’ dimensions and weight. This is already evident in the tempo markings : Andante or Larghetto, not a large-scale Adagio ; Allegretto or Moderato ; not a demonic Scherzo-Allegro. » (15)

Bruckner is an exception to this rule, probably the greatest one : his slow movements, of which all but one are marked Adagio, are big, grand statements ; his Scherzos are all boldly drawn and rhythmically charged. (16) In his slow movements, Bruckner began with the Beethoven of the « Eroica » and the 9th Symphony, not the 5th and 6th. The tempi are comparably slow, and the thematic principles are clearly derived: 2 well-characterized thematic groups, with the 2nd group in a new key (usually, some sort of mediant relation) and a brighter tempo (and, occasionally, a new meter) , appear in alternation (thus forming expansive ABABA schemes) with, as in Beethoven's 9th, incrementally increasing rhythmic animation. The Adagio of the 8th apotheosizes the genre. It carries the lyrical impulse, which can easily serve to cheer or to balm, far past the point of simple enjoyment to places of fervent vehemence. The movement's ardent expanse can feel more forbidding than enticing (it is amongst the longest and slowest slow movements in the entire Symphonic repertory, challenged only by the Adagio of Bruckner's 9th and the final movements of Mahler's 3rd and 9th) , but, in its course, it works through extreme contrasts and tensions, and, by its end, achieves a heroic peace.

The overall form of the Adagio is a variant of Bruckner's typical ABABA form. The movement, which inhabits an uncanny Neapolitan D. major, is anchored by 4 appearances of the opening theme, each of which begins in the tonic

key only to move-off in a different direction. This theme grows-out of an expressively drawn melody above an accompaniment that, with its repeated chords and indefinite, syncopated triplets, evokes the great love duet at the core of « Tristan und Isolde » (« O sink' hernieder, Nacht der Liebe ») . (17)

Later, at measures 203-205, Bruckner quotes the « Siegfried » motive « in memory of the Master » , as he put it. (18)

This music develops quite differently on each of its appearances. In the 1st statement, the several thematic components, notably a great arpeggiated 6th chord (measures 15-17) , a compact chorale (measures 18-24) , and a series of plagal progressions decorated by the harps (measures 25-28) , are neatly furrowed and presented with expository lucidity. In the 2nd (beginning in measure 95) , the striking A2 motive is entirely suppressed, and the main idea is allowed to unroll into a climactic progression. The 3rd statement (beginning in measure 185) pushes forward rather harder, and brings back the A2 material in a moment of great drama (measures 239-243) . The final appearance of the opening material begins the Coda (at measure 239) , which, in marked contrast to the preceding sections, remains to luxuriate for some 32 measures in the tonic key.

The returns to the opening material are set-off by 2 appearances of a relatively self-contained contrasting theme (measures 47-80 and 141-168) . This theme does not, unusually, move more quickly than does the opening theme, but it does deepen the melodic impulse of the movement. It is built around by an expressively flowing line played by the violas and cellos. (19) In the midst of this music, a new idea emerges quite unexpectedly, only to trail-off rather abruptly : the ongoing musical flux is momentarily arrested by a brief chorale sounded by the Wagner tubas (measures 67-70) . Within 8 bars, the original tune loudly returns, only slightly deflected by the interrupting chorale. On its 1st appearance, this thematic group is in the key of E major ; on its return, it is relocated to E #. Just before the Coda, a slight but significant fragment of the B theme appears, hovering on the threshold of the tonic (measures 255-258) .

The basic gesture of the Adagio is the movement, whether gradual or sudden, from darkness (which is described by dissonance and / or harmonic remoteness) to light, clarity, and consonance. This gesture is played-out in various ways and at various levels throughout the movement, and, through an increasingly elaborate chiaroscuro, the relative values of light and dark are transfigured. In the opening theme, the music circles darkly above the persistent D. pedal in the bass, and when the gathering dissonance is suddenly displaced by a lambent A major 6th chord in measure 15, which is technically a pure consonance, it feels oddly unsettling. This is partly the shock of a raw triad after a long stretch of richer sonorities, and it is also due to the chord's sonic imbalance, overweighed by the thickly doubled 3rd in the bass.

The chord's special character derives also from its harmonically inexplicable appearance as an unprepared, non-functional lowered sub-median. This way of making plain triads strange by locating them on distant, cross-modal relations, works even more magically in the 2nd thematic group. The initial strain of the section feels rather dark, as much because of its use of the cello's baritone register as its E major tonality ; in contrast, the tuba chorale gleams poignantly and strangely, despite its placement in a far flat-side tonality of C major. This special illumination is partly due to the replacement of the warm strings by cool brass and the unexpected instatement of a triadic, plagal

progression. Here too, a harmonic limit has been breached ; with the chorale, we have not merely reached the « darkest realm » , as Kurth called it, but actually begun to emerge on the far side of the harmonic sphere. (20) In progressing from the D. of the Adagio's opening, to the E major that begins the 2nd thematic group and finally coming to a C major chorale (all in the larger context of a C minor Symphony) , the harmonic removes become so great that the twain begin to approach each other, if not actually meet, and it is impossible to say for sure which is the light and which is the dark.

Movement 4 - Finale : Feierlich, nicht schnell

A great deal is invested in the Finale. The 1st movement, potent as it is, is so tightly compressed that it does not function as the Symphony's center of gravity. The Adagio may be slightly longer than the last movement (typically, some 26 minutes versus about 23) and more deeply affecting, but it falls to the Finale to bring the issues raised by the whole Symphony to a satisfactory conclusion. The Finale, as a genre, was a « problem » in the late- 19th Century Symphony, and Bruckner was not free from the burden of this history. (21) He labored more over his Finales than over his other movements, and they were subject to his most radical revisions (most notably, in the 3rd and 4th Symphonies). It was also in his Finales that Bruckner departed most widely from formal convention, especially as regards recapitulation (see the 6th and 7th Symphonies) . The composition of the Finale of the 8th Symphony gave Bruckner more trouble than did the other movements, and many observers, beginning with Hermann Levi, have not found the movement wholly convincing. Bruckner did not share this opinion. The day he finished composing it, he described it as « the most significant movement of my life » , and he resisted all suggestions to revise it radically. (22) It was the last Finale he was to complete, and represents a novel solution to the « Finale problem » .

The formal scheme of this movement, like that of the 1st, is derived from Sonata form, but, here, the thematic and tonal design is noticeably freer and, ultimately, follows a structural logic that is only loosely governed by what is now commonly understood as the « sonata principle » , a notion that invests great importance in the structural opposition of tonic and dominant established in the exposition and then resolved in the recapitulation. Nor does this movement, with its almost statuesque grandeur, even feign the sense of Symphonic inevitability generated by the 1st movement. This is not to say that the Finale does not share the musical concerns that fueled the 1st movement ; it does, but it treats them differently. In the 1st movement, the harmonic tensions that drove the music (which derived primarily from the C - D. crux) were played-out vertically as much as horizontally (as in the dissonant enjambments that unsettled the reprise of the opening material) . The Finale worries the opposition of C and G. (which is obviously derived from D #) , but does so more horizontally than vertically. In the Finale, as in the 1st movement, Bruckner strategically reserves decisive cadential action in the tonic key until late in the movement, and here, finally, the remote flat-key regions that have coloured so much of the Symphony are dissolved directly into the tonic key.

The movement opens very distinctively. The main-theme, boldly etched, fanfare-like and played by the brass, and accompanied by an oddly hitching accompaniment pattern in the strings, begins on F - which, as G #, links retrospectively to the long stretch of D. that just ended the Adagio. The statement of the theme spells-out a taut pattern of chromatic 3rds (from F. to D major to B. minor to G. major before moving to D #) , and, after a repetition of this thematic unit (transposed up a major 2nd) , the music moves directly to C for the 2nd clause of the

theme, which soon secures the tonic key (measures 31-68 ; note especially the cadence in measures 38-39) . Thus, unlike the unsettled opening of the 1st movement, this passage is clearly centripetal ; it begins remotely, but moves toward the tonic. A grand pause introduces a lyrical contrasting thematic group (measures 69-134) that centers on A. major and F minor, and includes excursions to the important flat-key reaches of C. (measure 99) , D. (= C #) minor (measure 105) , and G. (measure 123) before closing on the dominant of E #. The closing group of the exposition (which begins in measure 135) recalls the corresponding section of the 1st movement. Not only is it in the same key, E. minor (the « normal » contrasting key in a minor-key exposition, but not the usual mode) , but, in melody and texture, it strongly resembles the earlier passage. This section is punctuated by a meaningful parenthesis (measures 159-174) : an austere descending line in the high violins and woodwinds high above a triadic progression in the low brass appears unannounced in the distant region of C minor and creates such a sense of momentary dislocation that it seems to be a cipher or, as Kurth dubbed it, a « visionary episode » . (23) It is possible to deduce some motivic antecedents of this passage (its rhythm and contour resemble ideas introduced at measures 32-35 and 75-78) , yet, its predominant impression (because of its markedly different harmony, texture, tempo, sonority) is one of novelty. (24) This brief stretch of tranquillity suddenly vanishes behind a sustained outburst in B. major (measures 183-210) . The exposition ends with an expansive codetta on E. (measures 215-253) that recalls the opening material and the « visionary episode » (and even hints of the Scherzo : horn, measures 234-235) before coming to rest on a soft timpani roll on E #.

This exposition, while perhaps a bit diffuse, seems conventional enough in outline, if not in content. The 2nd half of the movement is wholly unconventional ; it traces an unforeseeable, yet marvelously effective, course back to the tonic key. It begins, straightforwardly enough, with a stretch of lyrical development dominated by the strings (measures 253-300) that moves from E. through a poignantly songful passage in G. (beginning in measure 265) and culminates in an aching, chromatic progression (measures 277-280) before ebbing in E. minor (measures 285-300) . The next episode is striking : it consists of a sequential series of musical units built-out of the contrapuntal combination, in the brass, of prime and inverted versions of the 2nd clause of the main-theme (measures 301-344) , beginning successively on E. (measures 301-308) , F (measures 323-330) , and G (measures 333-344) . This G holds and is prolonged in the next section (measures 345-386) by a very distinctive contrapuntal passage, scored with bright delicacy, that plays and replays the opening motive of the main-theme, and rises by whole step until it regains G. The next section (measures 387-436) begins, the music still lucent, with the opening theme sounding softly in the brass against a brightly lit C major figure in the violins, but, soon, the harmony begins to slip decisively flatwards and then pivots through D. on its way to a reprise of the movement's opening. This reprise begins (in measure 437) as it had in the exposition, on F, but, now, the successive statements follow a new course : B, then E, and stabilizing momentarily on A #, before moving quickly to C (in measure 475) . Thus, the tonic is regained, but only by way of a rather involved series of chromatic moves. As if to balance this circuitous approach, Bruckner follows it with a great wave of music (measures 481-518) that rises in clear forceful steps, and then, with elemental clarity, peaks and finally descends to the dominant. Now, at last, the music articulates a cadential progression that, although it is left open, unmistakably defines C as the eventual goal (measures 519-526) .

The 2nd thematic group now returns, but, in violation of formal convention, in the same key as in the exposition (A. with a pull toward F minor) . The return of the contrasting theme in the tonic, or, at least, a key closer to the tonic,

ordinarily functions as a structurally decisive stabilization. Here, things work differently. In the exposition, this thematic group did not articulate a fundamental tonal contrast ; the relationship of the submediant to the tonic is markedly less polarized than is that of the dominant to the tonic and, thus, is in less need of resolution. Here, the key of A. (poised between 2 long episodes that are strongly rooted on the dominant, G) can have the effect, as Robert Simpson put it, « not of going away, but of coming home » , yet, we still await our final arrival in the tonic key. (25)

The final stage of the recapitulation begins with the return of the thematic material that had closed the exposition (measures 583-646) . This, unlike the 2nd thematic group, is fundamentally altered upon its reappearance. It is firmly relocated to the dominant of C minor, and is initially presented in a series of loose imitative entries, beginning with an easy gait before tightening and gathering force. At the height of this process, still above G in the bass, the heavy brass intone a transformation of the theme that began the entire Symphony, now in rhythmic augmentation and, more importantly, at last resolutely on the dominant and in the tonic key. The music subsides and pauses silently above G. The Coda begins calmly in C minor, and rises steadily to its famous culmination : with the full orchestra in brilliant fortissimo, the main-themes of the 4 movements combine in a sonic panoply. 1st comes the Scherzo theme in the horns (at measure 679) , along with the trumpet fanfares that punctuated the opening pages of the Finale, and, as the music triumphantly reaches the tonic major in measure 697, 2 horns recall the sighing motive from the Adagio theme and trombones add a variant of the main-theme of the 1st movement that is recast so as to ring a C major triad. It is, quite literally, a moment of stunning glory.

For all its splendor, this peroration avoids a decisive perfect cadence in the tonic, the archetypal Symphonic gesture of hard-won victory. The dominant has, of course, been sounded at length in the 2nd half of the movement and has dominated the 60 odd bars preceding the Coda, and, yet, although the eventual arrival of the tonic is a foregone conclusion, the blaze of C major that ends the Symphony (measures 687-709) is reached through a grand plagal progression, rather than a syntactically explicit, authentic cadence (i.e. , one that leads from sub-dominant to dominant and then tonic) . Thus, the conclusive cadential preparation does not present itself as the final paroxysm of a long Symphonic struggle, but rather as a self-possessed expression of splendor and, at the end, the final tonic major is not wrested from the darkness with Beethovenian might, but granted to us with awesome ease. As Derek Scott aptly points -out, it is exactly this sort of « unveiling » or « disclosure » , that is essential to Bruckner's desire to create in his Symphonies a « musical form of apocalyptic vision » . (26) Bruckner's final, glorious reveling, as Robert Simpson wrote with acute poetry, « blazes with calm » , (27) yet, this fire is lit not by the lamp of humanity, but, as Scott understood, by « lux sancta, the holy light of salvation for the believer » . (28)

Programmatic levels in the 8th Symphony

One of the central æsthetic premises of the late- Romantic Symphony was that instrumental music was the art best able to express or represent the barely effable « Absolute » , the essentially indescribable, inner essence of things. This conceptualization of musical significance, which was most influentially formulated by Schopenhauer and, later, Wagner, precludes (in a way that Hanslick's position that musical content comprises nothing but « tonally moving forms » does not) any simple opposition of program and absolute music. Thus, while the 8th Symphony is in one sense undoubtedly absolute music (it engages both the musically absolute and the existential absolute) , it also carries several layers of

programmatic and « extra-musical » significance.

First and most superficially, at its 1st performance in December 1892, the Symphony was accompanied by a long, unsigned program written by Josef Schalk : (29)

« The figure of Aeschylus' Prometheus. Vague, resentful defiance, with a presumptuous, titanic feeling of inner strength elevating itself above gods and fate. Soon, the Oceanides' words of consolation. Terrible loneliness and silence. Soliloquy : gentle complaint rising to outbursts of delirious grief, occasionally shaken by the premonition of the bliss of redemption to come. Brazenly and unbidden the dreadful power of fate rears-up. Prometheus grindingly succumbs to the will of the hostile Cronides, and, sinking down, he cries-out :

So hurl lightning's fiery snake down upon me, the thunderous quake of Wild wind's rage convulses the air. And the cruel whirlpool of Fate casts my body down to black Tartarus :

Yet, he cannot kill me !

The ideal elements of the 1st movement come forth in realistic depiction. The deeds and sorrows of Prometheus appear parodic, reduced to a meager scale. The composer himself gave this movement the odd name " German Michaël " .

The sphere of solemn, calm sublimity. Like the silent workings of divinity throned in splendor high above all earthly woe and all earthly joy. Not Zeus-Cronos, the inaccessible, no ; the all-loving father of humanity is given to us in his entire, incalculable Grace.

The sun resounds in age-old fashion. With brother spheres in hymnic sound. And fulfills his pre-ordained round with thunderous progression.

Heroism in service of the Divine. No longer battling, suffering and succumbing solely as the bearer of his own inner strength, but as the messenger of eternal sacred Truth, herald of the idea of God. The work reaches its triumphant conclusion in a combination of all the main-themes, from which " German Michaël " is not absent ; in fact, now in gleaming armor and with a swinging sword, like his namesake the Archangel, he is at the head of the flock. » (30)

Schalk's program has not often found a warm reception. Reviewers of the 1st performance easily identified it as the work of Schalk and were content to dismiss it as banal, if not ridiculous. Eduard Hanslick and Max Kalbeck both mocked it, and Bruckner's supporter Carl Hrubý criticized Schalk for merely providing critics with easy targets. (31)

It did however exert some influence in the 1st decades of this Century ; a few commentators obviously recycled some of its motifs and several more followed Schalk in invoking Prometheus or Faust when describing the 8th. (32) Modern critics have been content to ignore or simply forget Schalk's program ; yet, as Carl Dahlhaus pointed-out, many musical progressives of the later 19th Century deemed explicative programs acceptable, even useful, as « hermeneutic ' parables

' » , since although they « were considered too weak to be able to touch the ' absolute ' essence of music » , they could perhaps point toward it. (33)

Schalk, who seems to have worked in this spirit, once compared poetic ideas to a « diver's bell » that afforded safe and rewarding immersion in the depths of the sea of music, and with his programs intended to proffer security and guidance to those trying to plumb Bruckner's Symphonies. (34) However, we judge the propriety of this undertaking, Schalk was quite imaginative in metaphorically mapping the form of the Symphony (e.g. , the soliloquy rising to « delirious grief » in the 1st part of the development section) , and he chose his literary allusions well. His evocation of the defiance of the doomed Prometheus and of Gøethe's pæan to the awesome course of the Heavens do seem to point to things of importance about the Symphony.

Bruckner's comments on the extra-musical meanings of the Symphony are now better known than is Schalk's program. The most extensive expression of them is found in a letter Bruckner wrote to Felix Weingartner, during the conductor's ill-starred effort to perform the 8th in early 1891 : (35)

« In the 1st movement, the trumpet and horn passage based on the rhythm of the (main) theme (measures 369-389) is the " Todesverkündigung " (the annunciation of death) , which gradually grows stronger, and, finally, emerges very strongly. At the end : surrender.

Scherzo : Main theme - named deutscher Michel (German Michaël) . In the 2nd part, the fellow wants to sleep, and, in his dreamy state, cannot find his tune ; finally, he plaintively turns back. (36)

Finale : At the time our Emperor received the visit of the Czars at Olmütz ; thus, strings : the Cossacks ; brass : military music ; trumpets : fanfares, as the Majesties meet. In closing, all themes ; (odd) , as in " Tannhäuser " in Act 2 when the King (presumably the " Landgraf ") arrives ; thus, as deutscher Michel arrives from his journey, everything is already gloriously brilliant.

In the Finale, there is also the death march and then (brass) transfiguration. »

Bruckner's program does present a rather enigmatic face. (37) In trying to make sense of it, it might be noted that Bruckner had an ulterior motive in writing to Weingartner. By this time, he had begun to doubt gravely (and, as it turned-out, correctly) that Weingartner would actually perform the Symphony. (38) To some extent, Bruckner may have tailored his commentary, including its incongruous association of the final thematic assemblage with the 2nd Act of « Tannhäuser » and its effort to impose a vague narrative line onto the Scherzo and the Finale, in the hope of making the Symphony seem more explicitly programmatic and, thus, presumably more appealing to the conductor, who was a protégé of Franz Liszt and a famous advocate of Hector Berlioz. (39) Bruckner did not, however, dream-up all of this material solely for Weingartner's benefit. He had long identified the main-theme of the Scherzo with the figure « deutscher Michel » , a folksy embodiment of the Teutonic that combined stout-heartedness and good-natured simplicity, and, several times, he stated that the opening of the Finale depicts the meeting of Emperor Franz-Josef, Czar Alexander III, and Kaiser Wilhelm I of Germany at Skierniewice (not Olmütz, as Bruckner thought) in September 1884. (40) Both

of these associations must have had some slight political or nationalistic import at the time, but, now, these meanings are obscure, and, in any case, such specific and relatively concrete frames of reference disarm interpretation. Indeed, Schalk's program, which clearly betrays knowledge of Bruckner's comments, seems in part an attempt to flesh them out and translate them into a form that is, at once, more conventional and less precise, and, thus, more amenable to Concert Hall, and, indeed, Coffee House, exegesis.

Bruckner's explanation of the eschatological symbolism of the climax and conclusion of the 1st movement is undoubtedly of greater hermeneutic value. Not only did Bruckner refer to it on several occasions, but his various comments on it are consistent, they offer richer soil for individual interpretation, and, most importantly, they make palpable musical sense : the last part of the 1st movement is striking, both in form and content, and it is not hard to accept that there is something extra-musical at play here. Bruckner described the Coda as a grim scene :

« This is how it is when one is on his deathbed, and opposite hangs a clock, which, while his life comes to its end, beats on ever steadily : tick, tock, tick, tock. » ; a scenario that nicely captures the ominous severity of the music. (41)

Bruckner's identification of the massive horn call that precedes the Coda as the « Todesverkündigung » is similarly apt. This moment in the Symphony does sound terribly portentous ; moreover, Bruckner's label inevitably recalls the 4th scene in the 2nd Act of « Die Walküre », which is commonly known by the same name. Although this part of the Symphony sounds nothing like the scene in Wagner's Opera, Bruckner's verbal allusion to it opens onto programmatic connotations that recall Schalk's : Siegmund's extreme devotion to Sieglinde and Brünnhilde's disobedient mercy both contain a seed of Promethean rebellion.

In the end, however, Bruckner's, and, for that matter Schalk's, extra-musical comments are curiously unsatisfying. Perhaps, they are best seen not as interpretive keys, but as reflections of what Werner F. Korte called the « Doppeldasein » , the double existence, of the 8th Symphony. (42) The work unites an expressive intensity, which seems to encode metaphysical meanings, and an intense musicality, which resists any concrete explanation. The motivic recurrences and transformations that cut across the Symphony and the scattered thematic allusions, especially Wagnerian ones (notably, the evocation of « Tristan und Isolde » 's love music in the main-theme of the Adagio and the sounding of the Siegfried motive later in that movement - horns, measures 203-205 -, that flicker across it carry a charge of palpable, if unconsummated, associative meaning. (43) In some passages, the music reaches such an uncommon depth of expression that it seems to give sounding form to intense subjective experiences, whether through sheer physical impact (as at the moment of reprise in the 1st movement, the grandiose perorations in the 1st and 3rd movements, or the beginning of the Finale) or through extraordinary lyrical fervor (in several stretches of the Adagio) . Furthermore, some phases of the Symphony's unfolding respond to expressive ends, not formal convention : the unusual recapitulation in the 1st movement, especially its precipitant treatment of the 3rd thematic group ; the great climactic deflection before the Coda of the Adagio ; the oddly intrusive « visionary episode » in the Finale exposition ; and the dramatic recasting of the 3rd group in the recapitulation into a great « Steigerung » that culminates in a transformed reminiscence of the thematic gesture that opened the Symphony. (44) In pushing so urgently, and so meaningfully, at the stylistic limits of Symphonic expression, these passages foreclose the possibility that this Symphony is a pure agon of « tonally moving forms » and insist that we accept it as an affair of

considerable symbolic depth.

The Adagio and the sublime

Allusions to sublimity often colour descriptions of Bruckner's music. Program notes and serious criticism alike have long effused about the transcendent, metaphysical depth of the Symphonies, and the Adagio of the 8th Symphony has been identified as « sublime » with particular frequency. Josef Schalk's program identified the Adagio as a « sphere of calm, solemn sublimity » , and ever since, the term « sublime » has been prone to attach itself to this movement. (1)

A popular guide to Bruckner's Symphonies published in 1907 called this Adagio « one of the most solemnly transfigurative, splendid, and sublime tone-pieces ever written » . (2) Bruckner's 1st American biographer, Gabriel Engel, referred to it as « the sublime slow movement that rises to unprecedented heights of devotional ecstasy » . (3) As recently as 1997, Edward Rothstein placed the 8th on a short list of works that successfully aspire to sublimity. (4)

The tradition of linking Bruckner's Symphonies with transcendent sublimity derives from various sources. It reflects the common awareness of Bruckner's religiosity as a person, as a church musician, and as a composer of both sacred music and Symphonies. The genre of the Symphony itself has long been associated with the sublime. Johann Georg Sulzer's « Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste » (1792) identified the Symphonic Allegro as a genre « admirably suited to the expression of grandeur, of the festive and sublime » . (5) Some 80 years later, Richard Wagner declared in his Centenary essay, « Beethoven » , that « the only æsthetic term to use » to describe the effect of Beethoven's 7th and 8th Symphonies is « the Sublime » . (6)

Modern critics have continued to connect the Symphony and the sublime ; recently, Reinhold Brinkmann stated simply that « the theory of the Symphony was always related to the aesthetics of the sublime » . (7) In late- 19th Century practice, slow movements, with their intimations of the other worldly and their temporal expansion, increasingly came to carry the main weight of the desire to find in the Symphony expressions of the most profound and spiritual kind, and Bruckner, who was sometimes styled as the great « Adagio-Komponist » , was perceived as the greatest exponent of the ideal of the Symphony as sublimely symbolic. (8)

We may be conditioned, therefore, to associate Bruckner's Symphonies with sublimity casually, even reflexively ; indeed, the term « sublime » has itself something of a dual character. While it is often used quite loosely to denote something outstanding, impressive, or awesome, in philosophy and aesthetics (from Shaftesbury through Kant to Lyotard) , the concept of the sublime has acquired a fairly specific range of significance and, as we shall see, it was often an important category in 19th Century aesthetics. Bruckner critics may not have always worked with full cognizance of this tradition, yet, approaching Bruckner's music from the vantage of the aesthetics of the sublime can reveal aspects of both its musical substance and its cultural meaning. This chapter thus has 3 tasks : to sketch-out the idea of the sublime and capture something of its historical and conceptual density ; to consider how the Adagio of Bruckner's 8th Symphony stages itself as sublime ; and, finally, to explore how this musical sublimity might have resonated in the Vienna of his time.

The sublime aesthetic

The history of the sublime as an aesthetic category begins with a treatise entitled « On the Sublime » (« Peri Hypsous ») by Longinus, a Greek writer active in the 1st Century AD. (9) Longinus' goal was to show, through both explanation and demonstration, how rhetoric could express grand and elevated ideas and exercise the passions to the level of « intense and enthusiastic emotion ». (10) Longinus' work was also important in that it codified qualities that were to remain central to later notions of the sublime : seriousness, grandeur, depth of meaning and feeling, passion, enthusiasm even to the level of violence. Although it is essentially an essay on rhetoric (with chapters on figures, oaths, similes, periphrasis, and so forth) , « On the Sublime » is oddly reticent to define the sublime as strictly a rhetorical manner. For example, Longinus' statement that sublimity is « the resonance of a great mind » , carefully leaves open some doubt whether the mind in question is that of the persuasive speaker or that of the listener who is raised to ecstasy. (11) This ambiguity is inherent in « true sublimity » , which, as Longinus put it, fills one « with delight and great glory, as if our soul itself had created what it had just heard » . (12) Longinus' work thus contains a productive tension between author, text, and audience that was to inform many of the richest and most interesting subsequent discussions of the sublime.

Despite its venerable origins, the idea of the sublime, with its preference for the passionately expressive rather than the serenely beautiful, exerted only modest influence until the 18th Century. (13) As David Simpson wrote :

« Those generations for whom some model of decorum was the presiding ethic tended to consign whatever seemed excessive or irregular to the realm of the grotesque or bizarre, rather than to a positively validated sublime. » (14)

Even in the 18th Century, when the sublime began to attract serious attention, the Classical sense of the term as a rhetorical mode or a manner of address tended to hold. This was clearly true in music. During this era, the musical sublime was conceived of within the prevailing system of musical rhetoric ; it was identified with the elevated, the serious, the grave and impressive. (15) Concern was focused less on the affective response of the individual listener than on a composer's deployment of a common stock of stylistic signs and topoi. (16)

In the decades before 1800, with the 1st stirrings of Romanticism, sublimity became a focus of renewed critical interest. (17) Edmund Burke's « A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and The Beautiful » of 1757 was the watershed of an emerging reevaluation of the sublime. (18) Burke was concerned to expand the domain of aesthetic value beyond beauty and find a place for more intense, and less immediately appealing, realms of experience. He set-up a basic opposition between 2 aesthetic categories, the beautiful and the sublime. Beauty is charming and pleasing ; it is that which arouses delight and « love » , which Burke identified as « satisfaction » unclouded by « desire or lust » . (19) Sublimity is quite opposite ; it arises not from satisfaction or contentment, but from strong, often dark emotions : fear, terror, and dread. As Burke wrote :

« Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects is a source of the sublime. » (20)

In a well-known passage, Burke contrasted the physical traits of beautiful and sublime objects : he characterized those beautiful as small, smooth, polished, light and delicate, and those sublime as vast, great, rugged, negligent, gloomy, dark, and massive.

Although it was not his main concern, Burke did begin to gauge the psychological aspects of sublimity. He speculated on why sublime objects should induce in us an astonishment verging on horror, and concluded that this response was born of our inability adequately to perceive grand and confusing objects. This epistemological dimension of the sublime (its straining at the limits of our powers of « apprehensive synthesis ») was to become the basis of the most important 19th Century understandings of the concept. (21) The crucial moves in the Romantic appropriation of the sublime were made by Immanuel Kant in his « Critique of Judgment » (1790) . Kant emphasized that sublimity is not a quality objectively inherent in things, whether natural or man-made, but is instead a mental state arising from our apprehension of them. When we are confronted by an object that is « great beyond all standards of sense » , he wrote, « it makes us judge as sublime, not so much the object, as our own state of mind in the estimation of it » . (22) Kant's aesthetics argue that the intuition of sublimity arises from the failure of our empirical faculties : when our senses prove incapable of comprehending an object as a coherent totality, we become « aware, by contrast, of the magnificence of Reason itself. The resulting feeling is the feeling of the sublime. » (23) Paradoxically, it is only because of the frustration of our power to perceive external reality that we are able, indeed compelled, to realize the superiority of what Kant called « Reason » , our innately transcendent rational and moral dimensions. This is « the importance of the sublime » , Thomas Weiskel wrote in his extraordinary « The Romantic Sublime » :

« It is the very moment in which the mind turns within and performs its identification with reason. » (24)

This identification thereby « resolves the traumatic disequilibrium of the sublime moment (through) a metaphorical substitution of a " power within " for the external power. The power within, Kant tells us, is greater far than the external power - to which, however, we remain subject as natural beings. » . (25)

By the beginning of the 19th Century the sublime had become a basic component in Romantic aesthetics. The Romantic sublime grew out of Kant's understanding of sublimity as revelatory experience, and, in contrast to 18th Century versions, the 19th Century sublime emphasized the subjective component of sublimity and its intensely inward process of subsuming « the perceiving mind into the eternal and infinite » . (26) In music, then, expressions of sublimity, along with other means of musical signification, began to migrate, as Richard Taruskin put it, from such public, « socially sanctioned » codes as genre, rhetoric, and the doctrine of the affections to the « gnomic, hermetic » modes of expression that characterized absolute music in the age of Beethoven, Schopenhauer, and Wagner. (27) Around the turn of the 19th Century, we can see the emergence of this new understanding of the musical sublime. Critics continued to identify certain styles and musical manners (typically grand and serious ones) as sublime ; at the same time, Kant's notion of sublimity as a moment of « epistemological transcendence » began to infiltrate discourses on music. Both tendencies can be found in William Crotch's lectures on music (which originated as early as 1800) . His definition baldly juxtaposes a Kantian sensibility with a more traditional rhetorical sense :

« The sublime is founded on principles of vastness and incomprehensibility. The word sublime originally signifies high,

lofty, elevated ; and this style, accordingly, never descends to anything small delicate, light, pretty, playful or comic. The grandest style is therefore the sacred style - that of the church and oratorio where the words express the most awful and striking images. » (28)

In 1805, the German aesthete Christian Friedrich Michaelis published « On the Beautiful and Sublime in Music » , which was, perhaps, the earliest thorough going attempt to work-out the musical implications of Kant's model of sublime transcendence. (29) He wrote :

« The feeling of sublimity in music is aroused when the imagination is elevated to the plane of the limitless, the immeasurable, the unconquerable. This happens when such emotions are aroused as either completely prevent the integration of one's impressions into a coherent whole, or when, at any rate, they make it very difficult. »

Michaelis argued that this difficulty could derive from 2 distinct types of musical phenomenon : from entrancing uniformity and repetition or from musical diversity and complexity so great as to dazzle the ear. He concluded :

« Thus, in music, the sublime can only be that which seems too vast and significant, too strange and wonderful, to be easily assimilated. Sublime notes, figuration and harmonies stimulate the imagination, which must exert itself and expand beyond its normal bounds to grasp, integrate and recall them. »

It is this musical sublime of surpassing strangeness and complexity that is engaged by Bruckner's Symphonies.

Articulations of sublimity in the Adagio

Immanuel Kant identified 2 genres of sublimity : the dynamical sublime and the mathematical sublime. The dynamical sublime, the more straightforward and traditional of the 2, is the sense of awe inspired by objects that seem to have power over us. It is akin to (and was, in fact, influenced by) Burke's notion that the sublime is always a « modification of power » and, as a rule, involves fright and terror. (30) The Adagio of the 8th Symphony explicitly plays at the dynamical sublime, with the frightening vehemence of its great climaxes, and its sheer sonic force. Indeed, Burke's adjectives seem tailor-made : great, rugged, negligent, gloomy, dark, and massive.

Less obvious, but ultimately more meaningful, are the ways in which the Adagio engages Kant's other category, the mathematical sublime. The mathematical sublime arises from that « which would force us to push comprehension to the bounds of the faculty of imagination » , whether by means of sheer size and expansiveness (Kant's famous example is the Pyramids of Egypt) or by æsthetic complexity. (31) Here, again, Bruckner Symphonies, with their expansiveness and, especially, their distinctive synthesis of formal convention and novel execution, quite obviously engage the mathematical sublime. Franz Schalk detected this early on :

« Bruckner's forms were so simple, so direct, that, at first, people overlooked them, as if they were not there. People wailed about chaotic incoherence, about pointless climaxes, about illogic and willfulness. As people finally began to comprehend Bruckner's works as wholes, suddenly, they stood clear in their primitive symmetry. They were the old

Classic Symphonic forms, but built-up into tremendous, sublime monumentality, in dimensions that no one could grasp up close. » (32)

Here, we have something very much like Kant's Pyramids.

The Adagio works at mathematical sublimity in another way, too, which lies a bit deeper and by its very nature challenges comprehension. Throughout the movement, Bruckner deploys a series of increasingly extreme harmonic progressions ; these seem designed to astonish the ear, to push it past its normal habitus, and, ultimately, set in motion the process of sublime crisis and sudden revelation. These passages move at the limits of the harmonic vocabulary of the late- 19th Century, the realm of enharmonic equivalence and symmetrical pitch formations - the sorts of things that, as Richard Cohn recently wrote, are capable of « inducing a mild type of vertigo » , (33) or as Bruckner's pupil Friedrich Eckstein put it, reveal « new, almost incomprehensible musical wonders » and « mysteries of daring chromaticism and enharmonicism. » (34)

The Adagio is in the key of D #, and, as we have seen, the 1st movement makes considerable use of D. (motivically, more than tonally) , but it is little heard in the Scherzo so that at its onset the tonality of the Adagio sounds fresh, even a bit precarious, yet, not wholly new. (Bruckner's late decision to place the Adagio after the Scherzo was likely inspired in part by considerations of key scheme ; see Chapter 5.) The movement opens with a broad thematic statement (measures 1-20) that unfolds above an unmoving tonic pedal, harmonized initially with a D. major triad and, at the end, by a dominant 7th on D. What is remarkable is how D. is treated in the middle of the passage. Bruckner overlays the tonic pedal with an array of chromatic, often dissonant harmonies that inflect the tonic enharmonically. The major key almost immediately begins to shade into the parallel minor (measures 4-5) , and beginning with the 2nd phrase (measures 7-10) , D. is treated as C #, if in a rather enigmatic way. The harmony slides toward F minor, producing a dominant sonority, which emphasizes D #, a pitch that contravenes the tonic status of D #. Still above the D # / C. in the bass, the music rises to an oddly massive A major 6th chord (measures 15-17) , which is marked by a wide, sweeping arpeggio figure, crowned by a distinctive turn figure. Then, with no further ado, there is a quick enharmonic move back to D #, where the passage comes to rest. This harmonic display serves no direct structural function : it does not tonicize a new tonal area, nor does it even solidly define the tonic key. Rather, it sits sphinx-like at the portal of the movement, and adumbrates a tendency to harmonic quixotism that characterizes several later junctures of the movement. The movement is shaped by a series of odd and unforeseen tonal slips that hinge on enharmonic progressions. The most important of these utilize the gesture of measures 15-17, which, it is worth noting, is immediately marked-off, as it were, by its appearance in a distinctive tonal region (A major, the lowered sub-mediante major) and an eccentric harmonic setting (a major triad in 1st inversion, with the 3rd massively doubled) . (35)

The movement is tripartite. Each section begins by restating the opening material and, then, cycles through the basic thematic material, although in slightly different ways each time. The final section (measures 185-258) brings the harmonic processes of the movement to a culmination. It starts with the music that opened the movement, and, for the 1st time, the enharmonic potential of D. to function as C. (and lead to D) is unleashed (measure 193) . This freeing of harmonic energy sets in motion a series of tonal waves (to borrow Ernst Kurth's terminology) that rise

chromatically and crest over irregular cadential progressions. The 1st of these waves (measures 185–210) rises above a series of ascending half steps in the bass from D. (= C #) to E and, after a short digression, F, which serves briefly as the basis for a forceful dominant preparation in B. minor (measures 205-207) . At its height, this dominant collection shades into a half-diminished chord, which, in turn, functions as a pre-dominant in A. and progresses to a massive statement of the arpeggio motive from measures 15-16 on a 6/4 chord in A. (measures 208-210) . Just as this gesture is reaching for a conventional resolution, via its dominant 7th, the ground slips-out from under it and the music is suddenly becalmed on E major, whereupon another wave begins to stir.

This 2nd wave (measures 211-226) is more intense and strongly directed. It rises through a long series of chromatically ascending parallel 10ths. As the volume of sound grows, the music builds and begins to compress and tighten, and the wave peaks through a quick series of 7th chords and culminates in a great dissonant knot that collapses the difference between dominant 7th and augmented 6th (measure 225, note the play between F / F. and G / G #) . At this pinnacle, the music simply stops. After a moment of silence, the movement resumes quietly, again on E major. For a 2nd time, an intensifying wave has suddenly ebbed, its power dissipated by an irregular, enharmonic progression, to mystifyingly inconclusive effect.

The 3rd and final wave (measures 227-238) again builds on an ascending bass. It quickly arrives at a grandiose peroration in C #, with a series of uncanny parallel 6th chords in the brass, and moves with great power through a searing 4/2 chord (measures 237-238) , crowned with a flurry of trumpet calls as the basses and cellos strain at the top of their range. Now, at last, a wave breaks with full force : the dissonance discharges itself enharmonically onto a huge, bald E. major 6/4 chord, which is topped by a crash from the cymbal and triangle, harp arpeggios, and an announcement of the arpeggio theme in augmentation (measures 239-242) . This almost absurd magnification of the most basic of cadential gestures tries with all of its might to prepare us for an authentic cadence. It is not to be. Just as the dominant of E. is driving to close on its tonic, we are thrown back, crushingly, to C. (measures 242-243) . With a huge shift of register, the music quickly comes to rest on the dominant of A #, and the force of the wave dissipates through a series of plagal progressions before finally drifting to a halt on C. From this uncertain point in harmonic space, the music cadences with disarming simplicity in the tonic, D. The ensuing Coda is a mirror image of the opening pages of the movement. It is based on a long, unmoving tonic pedal, but the Coda (in marked contrast to the opening) luxuriates in the tonic key. The music unfurls a peaceful, secure tonality. The stress and angst of the preceding episodes are wholly, almost miraculously, absent.

The Adagio (with its staggering climaxes, its dazzling harmonic shifts, its mysteriously fractured form, and its abrupt juxtapositions of violent upheaval and uncanny stillness) plays-out a sublime plot. Bruckner's willfully esoteric tonal schemes eschew conventional means of expressing harmonic coherence. The stunning collapses that fissure the last 3rd of the movement strain heroically at the limits of Symphonic possibility, and physically enact what Schopenhauer called the « conscious and violent tearing away » that epitomizes the moment of sublime crisis. (36) Finally, with the arrival of the remarkably still Coda, which by some standards might be judged inadequately motivated or artificially easy, we are presented with a sonic expression of Kant's model of sublime satisfaction : faced with music that « bewilders » and « perplexes » our power of apprehension, the « imagination, in striving to surpass (its maximum) , sinks back into itself, by which, however, a kind of emotional satisfaction is produced » . (37)

If, as Raimonda Modiano wrote, Kant's sublime is a fantasy in which the mind « suspends disbelief for a moment ; it pretends to itself that nature is sublime in order to claim sublimity for itself and savor its power over nature » , then, the unforeseen *lieto fine* of the Coda is the key to the parable of sublimity portrayed in the Adagio. (38) For much of its length, the Adagio seems insuperably complex ; but, in a passage of sublime transcendence, this perception is unmasked as a fiction by the miraculous resolution of the Coda, which ecstatically dissolves everything into D. major serenity.

The meaning of sublimity in Bruckner's Vienna

Anton Bruckner's music provoked the ire of many of his early Viennese listeners, and this outrage was clearly recorded by a group of critics headed by Eduard Hanslick, who responded to Bruckner with high levels of distaste, invective, and even fear. A classic formulation of the case against Bruckner is found in Hanslick's review of the premiere of the 8th Symphony (which was already quoted in Chapter 1) . (39) Although he did not use the term, Hanslick focused with remarkable acuity on exactly those musical traits that Bruckner used to articulate sublimity, namely expansiveness, harmonic complexity, stunning power and repetition. He wrote :

« Characteristic of Bruckner's newest C minor Symphony is the immediate juxtaposition of dry, contrapuntal academicism with unrestrained exultation. Thus tossed between drunkenness and desolation, we achieve no artistic contentment. »

Hanslick specifically criticized Bruckner's way of building climaxes :

« He begins with a short chromatic motive, repeats it over and over again, higher and higher in the scale and on into infinity, augments it, diminishes it, offers it in contrary motion, and so on, until the listener is simply crushed under the sheer weight and monotony of this interminable lamentation. »

Hanslick even described the effect of being sublimely overwhelmed, although without achieving the transport of « epistemological transcendence » that is the essence of the sublime experience ; as he described it, he was « tossed between intoxication and desolation » but, in the end, was left « simply crushed » , not inspired or moved to ecstasy.

We might dismiss Hanslick as simply insensible to musical transport and write-off his critique as reactionary carping. Yet, taken in its social and political context, Hanslick's rejection of Bruckner's aspirations to sublimity makes sense. Bruckner's music tended to appeal most strongly to people, typically younger ones, who, under the star of Richard Wagner and Friedrich Nietzsche, felt alienated by what they saw as the lifeless culture of the Viennese establishment. Hanslick, like most of Bruckner's committed opponents, represented social institutions (the University, the « Neue Freie Presse » , and, by extension, the professional and bureaucratic classes) that were pillars of the bourgeois order that had come to control the Viennese polity in the 1860's and 1870's. (40) At the time, the links between the social, the political and the musical were keenly felt. In 1896, Heinrich M. Schuster wrote, for example, that « the opposition

to Bruckner was and is a factional matter, and, in fact, it emanates from the party that means the same thing in the field of music that the old liberal does in the field of politics » . (41)

Audience reactions to Bruckner's music did reflect social divisions. After a performance of the 3rd Symphony at a subscription concert of the Vienna Philharmonic, in 1891, one critic reported that the galleries, which contained the only seats accessible to Bruckner's young partisans, « rang-out with noisy demonstrative applause » . In contrast, the parquet, which was occupied by old-guard subscribers, « began to empty after the 1st movement, and this process was repeated in increasing measure after each subsequent movement » . (42)

Hanslick's abjuration of Bruckner's sublime had a certain æsthetic logic as well. Hanslick's commitment to what he called « the musically beautiful » epitomizes the position of those who rejected Bruckner on principle. For Hanslick, « the primordial stuff of music is regular and pleasing sound » , which should operate « logically » on the mind ; this is hardly the stuff of sublimity. In fact, the musical sublime, which depends on inducing states of emotional intensity in the listener, found no welcome place in Hanslick's scheme. He frankly distrusted as « pathological » music and musical responses that were primarily concerned with the arousal of passions and emotions. (43)

Hanslick's musical ideal, its valorization of logic, internal coherence, and sober satisfaction, can be interpreted as a musical embodiment of what Max Weber was later to call « rationalization » , the principle of basing social organization and action on the practical application of reason (rather than on custom or tradition) in pursuit of efficiency, utility, and control. Rationalization was a crucial component of Weber's « spirit of capitalism » and the Viennese Liberal sphere, which Hanslick so successfully inhabited, was an early instantiation of rational, materialist, bureaucratic modernity. (44)

Bruckner's Symphonies sounded a different ethos (one drawing on Catholic piety, charismatic populism, Wagnerism, and atavistic mysticism) and thus mobilized opposing musical, cognitive, and, ultimately, social impulses. Sublimity, with its dialectical overcoming of empirical objectivity, is inimical to Apollonian order and the sovereignty of worldly rationality, to name two impulses that were at the heart of the ideology of Viennese Liberalism.

The sublime has always been fraught with revolutionary implications. (45) Radicals often embraced its possibility of tearing away the veil of convention. Others recoiled from the sublime as a force that could sunder the proper, traditional order of things. The sublime was politicized, for example, by Burke in his Classic counter-revolutionary statement, « Reflections on the Revolution in France » (1790) . Burke vehemently rejected the French Revolution and its goal of reconstructing society around a set of abstract ideas (namely, « fraternité, égalité, liberté ») as an illegitimate violation of the historically established social order, which, Burke believed, was a reflection of natural and divine laws. As several scholars, notably William R. Musgrave, have recently argued, Burke's political ideas and his æsthetic ideas link-up. For Burke, the monstrousness of the revolution resided in its freeing of the « threat of sublime energy to dislocate itself from these customary institutional constraints - to produce a self-authorizing political agent » . (46) Although it is not possible directly to transpose Burke's attitude to « fin-de-siècle » Vienna, intimations of the revolutionary moment inherent in sublimity may help explain the extraordinary defensiveness expressed by Bruckner's antagonists.

Gustav Dömpke, a critic closely allied to Hanslick, did in fact denounce Bruckner in terms that not only were explicitly political but actually invoked the threat of palace revolution. He wrote :

« Bruckner composes nothing but high-treason, rebellion and regicide. He is by far the most dangerous of the musical innovators of the day. » (47)

Yet, to others, who held different cultural and political ideals, the « sublime energy » unleashed by Bruckner's music was a welcome force.

At a Bruckner concert given by the Vienna Philharmonic, in 1888, a young Hugo Wolf jumped-up and shouted while « menacingly and imperiously raising his fist : ' Attention ! Now, the sublimest part is starting.' » and, as Max Graf later reported : « It sounded like a battle cry. » (48)

The 1887 version and the 1890 version

The 1887 version of the 8th Symphony has had a rather odd career. In the aftermath of Hermann Levi's negative appraisal in the fall of 1887, Bruckner set it aside, and it was soon eclipsed by the revised version of 1890. It was not until the appearance of Leopold Nowak's modern edition, in 1972, that the score became available for study, performance and, inevitably, comparison against the canonical 1890 version. For several decades before this, however, the 1887 version, then known only by reputation, and the events surrounding its revision led a shadow existence. During the « Bruckner-Streit » of the mid- 1930's (the debate, in Germany and Austria, about the authenticity of the previously available Editions of Bruckner's works sparked by the appearance and promulgation of the initial volumes of Robert Haas's collected edition) Levi's reaction to the 1st version of the Symphony occasioned far-reaching interpretation and speculation, some of it extravagant. For example, Haas asserted, without offering substantiation, that it depressed Bruckner to the point that he entertained « suicidal notions » (« Selbstmordgrillen ») . (1)

A number of writers and scholars, including Haas, came to believe that the incident and its psychological after-effects were decisive in sending Bruckner into what they saw as a spiral of uncertainty and self-doubt, during which he undertook, at least partly at external behest, a series of ill-advised revisions of not only the 8th Symphony, but also the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Symphonies (all of which were revised between 1887 and 1890) . (2) It was argued that, because of their ostensibly compromised origins, the revised versions of these works were less than fully authentic and needed to be discarded in favour of new editions based on Bruckner's « pure » manuscript scores. Several of Haas's later editions, notably the 4th Symphony (in 1936) , the 2nd Symphony (in 1938) and the 7th Symphony (in 1944) , put this belief into practice, and, in his edition of the 8th Symphony (of 1939) , Haas went so far as to incorporate passages of the 1887 version into the 1890 version in an effort to construct an « ideal » text that, as he put it, restored the work's « organic life-essentials » , which had supposedly been compromised by external pressure during the revision (see Appendix A) . (3) Several influential Brucknerians, notably Robert Simpson and Deryck Cooke, subsequently championed Haas's skepticism about the authorship of the 1890 version. Cooke, who asserted that Bruckner was beset by a « deep sense of insecurity in the face of others' criticism » , believed that Josef Schalk

exerted substantial, direct influence on the 1890 version, which he labeled dismissively as the « Bruckner - Schalk revision » . (4)

These doubts about the authenticity of the 1890 revision are misplaced. They stem ultimately from a highly-questionable, albeit traditional, view of Bruckner as a naive genius beset by his circumstances and prone to unwise compromise. In the 1930's, as Haas's revisionist arguments against the authenticity of the late, revised versions of Bruckner's Symphonies began to circulate, several of the composer's surviving acquaintances rejected any suggestion that the composer was liable to manipulation or even that he was open to persuasion. (5) Josef von Wöb (1863-1943) denied that the revision of the 8th was compromised in this way and offered a reminiscence of Bruckner's steadfastness in the face of unwanted editorial advice :

« At a gathering at the " Gause Gasthaus ", at the time of the revision of the 8th, Bruckner took-out a page, pointed-out to the students a passage for wind instruments and said :

" I have simply scored it this way, and if you rascals (Viechkerln) keep arguing with me ..."

At that moment, he angrily raised his clenched fist like Zeus hurling lightning bolts. » (6)

More importantly, as Leopold Nowak bluntly emphasized, « all of the corrections in the autograph (score of the 1890 version) stem from Bruckner and there is no sign of other hand-writing » . (7) Nowak sensibly (and rightly) supplanted Haas's edition with a modern edition of the 1890 version (1955) , which he later supplemented with an edition of the 1887 version. As Nowak recognized, the 1887 version and the 1890 version are exactly that : self-standing, complete versions of the same Symphony. In the later version, the orchestration was revamped somewhat, a few passages recomposed, and some short passages simply deleted, especially in the Finale. Bruckner himself regarded these revisions as « improvements » (« Verbesserungen») and clearly felt that the 1890 version superseded the earlier one. (8) Yet, the 1887 version is not only undoubtedly legitimate, but it has an integrity and musical logic of its own. It also opens a fascinating series of perspectives on the 1890 version, Bruckner's approach to revision, and his evolving view of the Symphony.

The nature of the 1890 revision

While it is obvious that Levi's opinion that the 1st version was deeply flawed was the spur that prompted Bruckner to rework the piece, Levi's influence on the revised version can easily be over-estimated. Any suggestion that Bruckner either slavishly submitted to his opinion or revised the piece in a state of emotional collapse is surely mistaken. Bruckner was, naturally, taken aback and deeply dismayed by the negative response of his trusted colleague, yet, he rebounded in a reasonable time and was never thrown into profound despair (see Chapter 2) . The composer realized that Levi had reason to cavil at some aspects of the Symphony (notably, the orchestration) , but he also had the sureness of vision to see that the conductor's overall response reflected an inability to grasp the work as a whole. Indeed, if nothing else, Levi's reaction demonstrated dramatically that, in its initial version, the work failed to make itself understood to someone who, as a consummate conductor of the most advanced music, certainly should have been

able to fathom it. With his critical judgment thus piqued, Bruckner returned to the Symphony. The musical substance of Bruckner's revision, which as we shall see goes far beyond simple adjustments and refinements, shows that he neither merely capitulated to Levi's judgment (let alone Schalk's) nor attempted to mollify or simplify his initial conception ; rather, he sharpened his conception of the Symphony.

Revisions to the orchestration

Hermann Levi stated frankly that he considered Bruckner's use of the orchestra, particularly « the trumpets and tubas (really of the winds, in general) », to be « impossible » . (9) In his revision, Bruckner did not generally simplify his orchestration ; indeed, he actually enlarged the woodwind choir by calling for triple woodwinds in all 4 movements, not only the Finale as in the 1887 version. He did, however, heed Levi's concern about his usage of the Wagner tubas. The inclusion of a quartet of Wagner tubas in a Symphony was highly-unusual ; Bruckner's 7th had been the 1st Symphony to include these instruments, which were famously introduced in « Der Ring des Nibelungen » . (10) In the 7th, these instruments are confined to the Adagio and the Finale, reserved for passages where their distinctive sonority is important, not given rhythmically active parts, nor used for very long stretches. The tuba quartet is, in effect, used as an adjunct to the regular orchestral forces. A clear example is the Coda of the Adagio, where the 4 Wagner tubas provide a striking timbral accompaniment to the horns.

This is similar to Wagner's prominent use of these instruments as a means of casting a somber hue across the music, e.g. , Hunding's music in « Die Walküre » , Act 1 ; the « Todesverkündigung » scene in « Die Walküre » , Act 2, scene 4 ; and Siegfried's death in « Götterdämmerung » , Act 3, scene 2.

In the 8th Symphony, Bruckner used the Wagner tubas more extensively. He included them in every movement but the Scherzo. In the Adagio and Finale, they are handled much as they were in the 7th, but, in the 1887 1st movement, they are used with considerably more freedom : the opening thematic statement includes 2 exposed interjections by them (measures 27-28 and 31-32) ; they are featured in the harmonically intense opening of the development section (measures 157-193) ; and they are used liberally throughout the movement, especially in heavily scored sections (e.g. , measures 102-143 and 425-453) . While these tuba parts may not quite be « impossible » (as recent recordings demonstrate) , it is understandable that Levi found them unidiomatic and needlessly difficult. Bruckner himself seems to have sensed quite early on that his use of the Wagner tubas in the 1st movement was immoderate ; even in the 1887 version, he deployed them far more judiciously in the Adagio and Finale, both of which were orchestrated after the 1st movement and both of which require 8 horn players with 4 doubling on Wagner tuba. And, in the 1890 version, Bruckner notably scaled back his use of the Wagner tubas in the 1st movement, too. Instead of scoring the movement for 4 horns and 4 Wagner tubas, as he had in 1887, he used 8 horn players, 4 doubling on tubas ; in this way, Bruckner was able to reserve the Wagner tubas for those places where their special timbre was used to effect (e.g. , the 1st part of the development section) without having to press them into service where horns were better suited (e.g. , most big tuttis) .

Bruckner's revisions to the orchestration, aside from the Wagner tubas, stem less from Levi's influence than the composer's growing Mastery of orchestral ends and means. (It is worth recalling he had prepared the final versions of

the 4th, 1887-1888, and 3rd, 1888-1889, Symphonies, both of which incorporate orchestral modifications, in the interim.) Most of these changes move in the direction of greater clarity and directness, but not always by simplification. The scoring of some of the passages for full orchestra is slightly less busy and cluttered in the 1890 version (compare the woodwinds in measures 559-570 of the Finale in the 1887 version and measures 527-534 of the 1890 version), while others are made more massively imposing (compare measures 225-232 of the 1st movement in the 1887 version and measures 217-224 of the 1890 version). Some of the re-orchestration in the 1890 version reflects a subtly different compositional conception. Consider the differing scoring of the loud restatement of the opening theme of the 1st movement (measures 23-44, in both versions): in 1887, the theme is immediately sounded in a 3 octave unison by trumpets, trombone, bass tuba, and low strings; in the 1890 version, the trombones are replaced by the horns and the trumpets play not the actual theme, but instead only its bare rhythm. These changes do lessen the simple power of the 1887 scoring, but they do have 2 longer range effects. The withholding of the full weight of the combined horns, trumpets, and trombones, until measure 40, shifts the center of gravity precariously close to the end of this passage, thereby, creating an energetic impulsiveness that seems to urge the music forward just before the thematic group abates. In addition, the trumpets now prefigure not only the fateful climax of the movement, where the main-theme is stripped-down to its bare rhythm and hammered-out with great force (measures 369-389), but also the important device of paring motives down to their rhythmic skeleton.

Structural revisions

Bruckner's revision of the structure of the Symphony can hardly be ascribed to any external motivation, Haas notwithstanding. Bruckner did shorten each movement by roughly 10%, but the Symphony remained unusually lengthy. He also recomposed portions of each movement, most extensively in the 1st movement, the Trio, and the Adagio. These changes exhibit a compelling musical logic and it is wholly understandable that Bruckner felt that they improved the work.

The 1st movement

The structure of the exposition of this movement was largely untouched, but the rest of the movement was materially changed. The most dramatic alteration is the removal of the grand, triple-forte statement of the opening theme that ends the Coda in the 1887 version. The original ending dramatically resolves the dissonant D. of the opening theme onto a blazing C major triad. The revised Coda, in contrast, ends not with conclusive resolution, but poised quietly on C minor. Bruckner substantially revised the area surrounding the reprise as well. He shortened the approach to the reprise by 4 bars and altered its harmonic scheme slightly so that its initial phase emphasizes the dominant of C, not that of D. This has the effect of solidifying the tonal framework of the entire mid-section of the movement by girding it at both ends with the dominant. Bruckner also slightly shortened the passage that ends the re-capitulation of the main-theme (measures 258-269 of the 1887 version are removed) and altered its musical character. The original version of this passage (measures 269-308 of the 1887 version) is complex in texture, with prominent rhythmic motives spiking the accompaniment. The revised version thins the texture, especially near the beginning (measures 249-262 of the 1890 version), where the music is ominously spare, and in the medial climax (measures 263-278), which crests with blunt simplicity through a pair of diminished 7th chords. Bruckner also tightened the

tonal framework of the beginning of this passage by more strongly articulating the tonic-dominant frame in measures 249-278 (note how the trumpets reiterate C at measures 255-261 and, then, G at measures 271-277, in the 1890 version) . At the same time, he made the following section, the reprise of the opening theme (measures 279-298, in the 1890 version) against a tangled, dissonant A. background, more complexly ambiguous.

The 2nd movement

The changes to the Scherzo are comparatively minor, comprising a few short excisions, some harmonic tinkering, and orchestral retouching. The revised Trio, in contrast, is fundamentally different. The tempo is changed from Allegro Moderato to Langsam, thus creating a much longer, slower interlude. Bruckner entirely recomposed the opening theme (measures 1-24) . He preserved the B and C themes more or less intact, but revised them so as to emphasize one of the most striking features of the Trio, the passages of pure, major triadic stillness (1st E, later A #) that dominate the latter portion of both halves of the movement. Bruckner clarified the harmonic preparation of these sections : the revised opening of the trio contains flashes of C #, the enharmonic dominant of E, and the revised voice-leading points very directly to E. He also added the distinctive harp flourishes that italicize E major (measures 37-44) , a tonality that is rather striking within a C minor context and one that comes to figure importantly in the Symphony. Although E major is not heard in the 1st movement, after it appears in the Trio, it plays a noteworthy role in the rest of the Symphony : it is the key in which the B theme of the Adagio appears, it is the starting point of the two climactic « waves » later in that movement, and it begins the striking, « Feierlich, innig » passage that intrudes on the 3rd thematic group of the Finale (measures 159-166, in the 1890 version) . In addition, the revised Trio contains some important motivic links to the surrounding movements, most notably, a trumpet call based on perfect intervals and a 16th-note triplet that recurs prominently in the Adagio (Trio : measures 26-39 and 85-87 ; and Adagio, measures 237-238 in the 1890 version) . (11)

The 3rd movement

Bruckner's revisions to the Adagio are important. As in the opening movement, the first part of the movement is essentially unchanged. Much of the remainder (measures 95-200 of the 1887 version, and measures 95-184 of the 1890 version) is, however, crucially modified. It is shortened by the removal of several brief passages. The harmonic scheme of the 2nd transition is modified (and this places renewed emphasis on the key of C ; see the 1890 version, measures 169-176) . The sublime culminating passage preceding the Coda (measures 269-273, in the 1887 version ; measures 239-243, in the 1890 version) is the single most elaborately re-worked area of the entire Symphony. Bruckner made several changes that intensify its power : he removed a gentle interlude of 10 bars that dissipates some of the gathering energy of the early stages of the « Steigerung » (measures 225-234 in the 1887 version - this is re-inserted in Haas's version) ; he deleted a forceful arrival on a D. 6/4 chord that anticipates the ultimate tonal goal and thus somewhat attenuates the accumulating tonal tension (measures 253-254 of the 1887 version) ; he made the long preparatory harmonic ascent more inexorably goal-directed ; he enriched the orchestral fabric of 2 tensely anticipatory passages (measures 223-226 and 235-238 of the 1890 version) to such striking effect that, as Ernst Kurth wrote that the final version appears « more expressive » than the later « Expressionists » . (12)

Most importantly, Bruckner re-oriented the terrible harmonic jolt that sunders the great final span of the movement. In the 1887 version, the progression moves from the dominant of C to a triad on A # ; in the 1890 version, it is relocated-up a minor 3rd so that it moves from the dominant of E. to a triad on C. It might sound, in the abstract, more « outré » for a movement in D. major to reach its high-point, as the 1887 version does, on a cadential progression in C major than on one in E. major, as in the 1890 version. Yet, in actuality, the revised version of this passage is more potent. In the 1st version, the G that supports the C major cadential preparation in measures 269-272 functions as a lower neighbor to the A. (which is, of course, the dominant of D #) that controls both ends of the passage ; thus, the move to the dominant of C major feels like a move away from the movement's prevailing tonal region, and the powerfully articulated irregular progression from the dominant of C to A. (measures 272-273) has the effect of returning the music to its « proper » orbit around the ultimate tonic, D #. In the 1890 version, this whole passage is harmonically renovated so that it begins and ends in the tonal region of E and B (= C #) . In this tonal context, the arrival on B. (as dominant of E #) in measures 239-242 is a move from a relatively distant region into a domain closer to the tonic, and, thus, the subsequent sudden deflection to C. in measure 243 pulls us suddenly away, and leaves us perched on a strange harmonic promontory.

The 4th movement

The revisions to the Finale are of a slightly different kind. The movement was shortened by 62 bars, primarily by several short excisions, but Bruckner left the fundamental structure and design of the movement intact. With only a few minor exceptions (i.e. , the substitution of new 4 bar passages for measures 119-130 and 223-242 of the 1887 version and the re-writing of measures 305-312) , Bruckner's revisions involve no recomposition ; indeed, the composer was able simply to enter most of his changes directly into his original score of the 1887 version. (13) Even the orchestration, which already included triple woodwind, was only lightly revised. The relatively minor nature of the changes made in this movement shows Bruckner's independence of mind. The Finale was the object of Levi's sharpest criticism (he called it a « closed book ») , yet, Bruckner's revisions can hardly be considered a response to this criticism. Nowhere did he alter the basic design of the movement ; he did nothing to open it to Levi's understanding. Rather, he stuck closely to his original conception of the movement that he had called « the most important of my life » .

The motivation and meaning of Bruckner's revisions

Bruckner's revisions have been interpreted variously. The common opinion, that Bruckner had intended largely to make the work more easily playable or practically acceptable, has been widely overvalued. The 1890 version is, as we have seen, hardly simplified and it failed to help the Symphony win performances. Not only did Levi eschew performing the Symphony despite Bruckner's urgings, but Felix Weingartner's decision to abandon the work, in 1891, hinged on its difficulty. As he wrote to Levi :

« Unfortunately, I couldn't perform the Bruckner. The Symphony offers such difficulties that I could not demand the necessary rehearsals. » (14)

Bruckner himself realized that the revised 8th surpassed the technical capacities of most orchestras ; in 1893, he actually advised his old mentor Otto Kitzler not to attempt a performance with his provincial orchestra in Brno, which Bruckner thought inadequate to the task. (15)

One relatively minor aspect of Bruckner's revision has been inadequately recognized. The 1887 version was largely composed, if not fully orchestrated, before Bruckner re-ordered the movements and placed the Scherzo in 2nd place and the Adagio in 3rd, and, in some details, this version retains the impress of the original sequence of movements. Some of the revisions contained in the 1890 version (most importantly, the changed Coda of the 1st movement and the new Trio) seem, in part, subtle responses to the new tonal scheme created by the new order of movements. The original fortissimo Coda of the 1st movement is the clearest vestige of this early phase of the Symphony's evolution. When the Adagio followed immediately, as it originally did, this emphatic tonic conclusion (with its strongly drawn resolution of D. as an auxiliary of C) served as an important point of contrast to the subsequent movement in D #. With the re-location of the Scherzo, which ends with a vigorous cadence in C, the 1st movement was freed of this obligation and could safely end in quiet mystery. Similarly, the 1890 Trio seems designed with the new sequence of movements in mind. With its unusual slow tempo and expressive intensity, the revised Trio is, in effect, a harbinger of the slow movement, and this premonitory quality is deepened by Bruckner's late addition of harps, which were already installed in the Adagio, and by the newly added motivic anticipation of the Adagio's climax. In contrast, the initial version of the Adagio, with a culmination that momentarily holds-out the promise of a cadence in C (measures 269-272) , seems more naturally to precede the Scherzo with its frank C minor beginning than the tonally ambivalent opening pages of the Finale.

The 1890 version also raises questions about the broader significance of Bruckner's revisions. These questions have been thoughtfully engaged by a few scholars, notably Manfred Wagner and Bryan Gilliam. Both Wagner and Gilliam recognize, albeit from different angles, that Bruckner's revisions embody the composer's renewed concern to reach his potential audiences. Wagner proposed, with a categorical sweep of the hand, that the 1st versions of Bruckner's Symphonies were composed with « no consideration » for orchestral practicalities or « acoustic economy » , and were not conceived in terms of audience response. (16) He pointed to a number of passages in the 1st versions of the 8th and, especially, the 3rd and 4th Symphonies that seem too busily cluttered and dense with musical information (« informationsreich ») to convey their sense in a concert-hall. This proposal is, undoubtedly, more apt in regard to the 3rd and 4th Symphonies, the earliest versions of which date from a time when Bruckner's radical Symphonic style was not yet fully mature ; Bruckner did, of course, revise both of these Symphonies over the course of some 15 years, each time making the score more obviously effective. The 8th is a rather different case (not only is it a fully mature work, but its revision followed the initial composition relatively soon) , yet, Wagner's sense that Bruckner's revisions clarify and focus the musical design and Symphonic texture does explain, at least, some aspects of the reworking. The 1890 version does tone down the few places in the 1887 version where the orchestration is gloriously « un-economical » (e.g. , the Coda of the 1st movement) , the texture fussier than necessary (e.g. , measures 185-194 and 293-294 of the Adagio) or the musical progression slightly awkward (e.g. , measures 263-307 in the 1st movement) . Gilliam reads Bruckner's revisions as an attempt to make the Symphony more acceptable to the conservative musical tastes of the time ; he suggested provocatively that the revised version of the 8th was designed to heighten the work's potential appeal to the Hanslick-Brahms audience by making it more « logical » and, in places, more « streamlined » .

Ultimately, this effort was, in Gilliam's view, misguided. By ameliorating some of the work's grandiosity and « sheer massiveness » (which, as Gilliam rightly pointed-out, are « words foreign to the Hanslickian vocabulary » and are « still often viewed with suspicion in modern critical discourse ») , Bruckner wrongly measured « his work by a standard other than his own » , and thus, in some measure, « compromised boldness for coherence » . (17)

I share Wagner's and Gilliam's sense that the 1890 version reflects a heightened concern with effect of the piece on the audience ; clearly, with its greater concentration and sharper lines, the revision presents a more imposing face than does the 1887 version. Rather than compromising the Symphony's boldness, then, the revisions sharpen it by drawing the music, at times, more daringly and, at times, more carefully. The 1890 version is, in other words, less striking for any taint of accommodation than for its intensification and concentration of characteristics that were already present, if less vividly, in the 1887 version. To take 1 significant example : one of the Symphony's characteristic gestures is a long climactic ascent that at its height deflects in some way, and, in some cases, even rives the musical fabric ; the 2 great examples are the reprise of the main-theme in the 1st movement (measure 225, in the 1890 version) and the tremendous climax preceding the Coda in the Adagio (measures 239-243, in the 1890 version) . In his revision, as we have seen, Bruckner intensified both of these passages. In the 1st movement, he accomplished this primarily by changing the preparation of the recapitulation : he focused the harmony more closely on the dominant of the tonic, C minor, and this heightened the tonal impact of the arrival of the primary theme. In the Adagio, Bruckner similarly modified the apex of the movement to make its harmonic effect more overwhelming and tightened its preparatory build-up by removing some passages that momentarily lower the tension, thus creating a longer, more unbroken, and, therefore, more unyielding, period of intensification - this, in turn, creates a greater effect when the anticipated culmination is subverted at the last moment. Bruckner made a few simpler revisions that tighten passages of gathering force in the 1st movement and the Finale as well (in the 1st movement, compare measures 217-225 of the 1887 version with measures 213-216 of the 1890 version, and, in the Finale, measures 515-524 of the 1887 version with measures 487-492 of the 1890 version) . These revisions do in a sense « smooth-out the nooks and crannies » , as Gilliam writes, but, in context, they have the effect not of planing but of honing the formal dynamics of the piece. (18) Even the revision of the massive accompaniment to the insistent trumpet calls that sound near the end of the 1st movement, which as Gilliam points-out is undoubtedly more static and less sweeping, exhibits a similar logic. The revised version, which reduces the chromatically inflected 3 octave upward sweep of the original (measures 379-395, of the 1887 version) in favour of a diatonic complex based on reiterated tetrachordal units (measures 369-385, of the 1890 version) , may be less extravagant, yet, it is more compactly coiled and its pure diatonicism not only adds to the air of austere tragedy, but also makes the triple forte arrival and subsequent resolution of an augmented 6th chord, an event of rare decision (measures 381-385) .

As well as reshaping climactic sections, Bruckner's revisions heighten a very different aspect of the Symphony. In addition to loudly grand passages, the 8th Symphony is characterized by stretches of remarkably still, quiet music, the greatest of which is the marvelous Coda to the Adagio, 33 bars that unfurl with glorious self-possession above a long tonic pedal. Episodes of relative stillness occur, if less dramatically, elsewhere too (e.g. , 1890 version : measures 140-164 of the 1st movement ; measures 115-134 of the Scherzo ; measures 45-69 of the Finale) , and, in the 1890 version, Bruckner subtly highlighted some of them. His removal of the loud ending of the 1st movement, for example, grants new importance to the quiet passage that now ends it and thus foreshadows the peaceful Coda of the Adagio

rather than the triumphant close of the Finale. In the revised Trio, the new broad tempo obviously creates an additional reservoir of slow, still music, and magnifies its several ruminative triadic areas (measures 37-44 and 85-93).

The genius of Bruckner's revision is fully present even in small things. In the 1890 version, the 4 bars preceding the Coda of the Adagio are modified with lapidary skill, so that the musical character of this passage is not changed but rather revealed to us with greater acuity. The harmonically full accompaniment of the 1887 version is reduced, and simply eliminated in the 1st bar ; the initial dynamic marking is lowered to piano ; and the woodwind counter-melody is trimmed. As the vehicle of the movement's final authentic cadence and as the only statement of the contrasting theme in the tonic key (a traditional gesture of formal consummation) , this juncture is naturally meaningful. The revised version, with its reticence to grant an explicit tonic triad, subtly underplays this significance and slyly makes resolution wait until the Coda. Moreover, by leaving a slender melodic fragment to stand alone for a long moment poised on the brink of the tonic, the revision renders its poignancy far more keenly.

The 1892 edition, authorship, and performance practice

The 1st published edition of the 8th Symphony has long been out of print, and its contents and history are veiled in some mystery. This much is clear : the Symphony was 1st published in March 1892 by the firm of Haslinger-Schlesinger-Lienau (Berlin and Vienna) and, although the published text is based on the 1890 version, it differs in some ways from the text preserved in Bruckner's final manuscript (which is reproduced by Leopold Nowak's critical edition of the 1890 version) . These differences include a cut of 6 bars in the Finale (following measure 92) , the repetition of 2 bars later in that movement (measures 519-520 of Nowak's edition are repeated) , some changes in the orchestration, and the addition of many tempo, dynamic, expression, and agogic markings (see Appendix B) . The 1892 edition also contains 2 suggested cuts, marked « vi-de » above the staves, which, if taken, would result in the excision of measures 262-278 of the 1st movement and measures 519-576 (which correspond to measures 523-580 of the 1890 version) of the Finale.

Authorship

The 1892 edition is now almost universally rejected as « inauthentic » and, its textual differences, like those found in all of the 1st printed editions of Bruckner's works, are generally assumed to be the result of illegitimate editorial changes made without Bruckner's consent and possibly even without his awareness. While this is the case with several editions published in the last 3 years of Bruckner's life (notably, the Masses in E minor and F minor and the 5th Symphony, not to mention Ferdinand Löwe's posthumous edition of the 9th Symphony published in 1903) , a blanket dismissal of the editions published during his lifetime is too broad and categorical. Recent research has shown that the published versions of the 4th Symphony (1888) and the 2nd Symphony (1892) , which, traditionally, have been summarily dismissed, are, by any reasonable standard, authentic. (1) As the real complexity and ambiguity surrounding the texts, both manuscript and printed, of Bruckner's works becomes evident, it also grows increasingly apparent that our view of the 1st printed editions of Bruckner's music has long been controlled by an elaborate mythology about their inauthenticity. It has become a virtual article of faith that Bruckner's music was altered illegitimately by various editors and that the editions of his music published during his lifetime are as a result simply not authentic. (2)

In a different context, Garry Wills recently wrote, with unintended applicability to the Bruckner case, that « a myth does not take hold without expressing many truths - misleading truths, usually, but important ones » , including « truth to the demand for some control over complex realities » . (3) The myths we have constructed about Bruckner editions, their authorship, and their nature and significance are not without some basis (witness the duplicity involved in the editing of the F minor Mass and the 5th Symphony) , but they have given us a control over complex realities that is often too easy and, thus, both illusory and artificial. In this light, we need to rethink our estimation of the 1892 edition of the 8th Symphony. Any positive determination of its precise authorship is not now possible. In part, this is because substantial documentary research remains to be done : to this day, no thorough study and collation of the extensive manuscript sources of the 8th Symphony (which number more than 40 items in Vienna, Munich, Kremsmünster, and Washington) has been undertaken (neither Haas nor Nowak published a critical report) ; in particular, the manuscript copy used in the preparation of the printed score needs to be examined. (4) Yet, even an exhaustive study of all the pertinent sources cannot answer the decisive questions about the text of the 1892 edition. It is not, of course, possible to prove definitively that Bruckner was not responsible for the revisions it contains ; even those not in his hand might have been made at his express instruction. More importantly, pure documentary research cannot by itself produce critical and interpretive judgments ; in order to come to a reasonable appraisal of this text, it is necessary to uncover the circumstances through which it originated and to evaluate the nature and significance of its musical substance.

The origins of the 1892 edition

In 1891, when the 8th Symphony was to be published, Josef Schalk and Max von Oberleithner were charged with the task of seeing the score through press. Apparently, Schalk took on the musical preparation of the « Stichvorlage » (the score used by the printer) , while Oberleithner handled arrangements with the publisher and corrected the proofs. (5) The manuscript used was a copy prepared by Viktor Christ and Leopold Hofmeyer, likely the one prepared in 1890, shortly after Bruckner finished the composition of the revised version. (6) (This was also probably the score sent to Felix Weingartner for use in his aborted performance in 1891.)

The crucial questions concern the revisions that were made to the text before it was sent to the publisher. Schalk's correspondence makes it immediately evident that he and Oberleithner edited the score. In a letter of 31 July 1891, he informed Oberleithner that « after a week of extremely strenuous work, I have finally made the score of the Finale ready for printing (" druckreif ") » . (7) 5 days later, Schalk wrote again to Oberleithner ; this letter contains a pair of frequently cited statements. Schalk wrote that, in the Finale, the « 6 bars before F (i.e. , the 6 bars following measure 92) must also be omitted in print. The entirely unmotivated reminiscence of Symphony No. 7 primarily led me to decide to remove it. » (8) These bars are, in fact, deleted in the 1892 edition, and they do resemble measures 197-202 of the 1st movement of the 7th Symphony, but it is unclear why Schalk would have considered this grounds for removal. Schalk must also have been influenced by the fact that Bruckner himself had removed the corresponding spot in the recapitulation in the 1890 version (compare measures 547-566 of the 1890 version) . Whatever its rationale, it is likely that the decision to cut these measures from the 1892 edition was Schalk's. Not only did Schalk say so, but the revision is so crude as to suggest that it was not made by Bruckner. The 6 bars are simply stricken

with no attempt to splice the music together smoothly. A more careful editor (i.e., Bruckner himself) might well have changed the final note in the bass in measure 92 from E. to D and might have removed the crescendo in the 2nd half of this bar since it now leads nowhere, or he might have simply started the cut 4 bars earlier as Bruckner had done at the corresponding spot in the recapitulation in the 1890 version (compare at measure 567 of that version).

The 1892 edition

In the same letter, Schalk also requested that Oberleithner « pursue ("treiben") the corrections only with the publisher. If Bruckner has to read from the cut ("gestrichenen") score at a rehearsal all of our good intentions will be thwarted, and, instead of his thanks, we would probably earn his curse. »

Several scholars have taken these sentences as evidence of extreme, surreptitious editorial intervention by Schalk and Oberleithner, and have even used this letter as support for the conclusion that the revisions contained in the 1892 edition are simply illegitimate. (9) It is likely, however, that we are faced here with an instance in which the reigning mythology about Bruckner editions has fostered mis-interpretation. First, the word « gestrichenen » (cut) has traditionally been transcribed inaccurately as « geschriebenen » (written), thus rendering the meaning of the sentence not only rather obscure but, also, apparently more damning by creating the implication that the entire « written score », meaning presumably the « Stichvorlage », contained changes that Schalk wanted to hide from Bruckner. (10) Furthermore, Schalk's letters to Oberleithner contain additional passages, which have been glossed over, that both explain the cryptic reference to the « gestrichenen » score and contravene any simple dismissal of their editorial activities as unauthorized meddling. (11) These passages reveal that Schalk and Oberleithner did not work in secrecy, but discussed at least some things with Bruckner, and, moreover, they show that Bruckner did not automatically accept suggested changes. In the 31 July letter, Schalk proposed a « very suitable » and « easily effected » cut before rehearsal letter Pp, in the Finale. No music is actually removed at this place in the 1892 edition, but it does contain a suggestion (marked « vi-de ») to cut « ad libitum » from 6 bars after Kk to Pp (this means, in effect, jumping from measure 522 to measure 581 of the Nowak edition). Schalk apparently would have been happy to remove this passage: he argued the merits of this excision to Oberleithner (« all that is lost is a rather superfluous build-up and the repetition of the anyhow very prolonged chorale-like lyrical thematic group » - "Gesangsperiode") and, in his 4 hand piano reduction, Schalk did simply leave-out this passage. (12) So, apparently, Schalk had some scruples about actually excising this long stretch of music in the orchestral score or, perhaps, he anticipated that Bruckner would not accept it. In any case, he instructed Oberleithner that « in print, the whole must, I suppose, be included », which of course is what happened. Schalk's 2nd letter states, somewhat cryptically, that « we must undo the cut at Letter Z! I have already discussed the retention of this passage with the Master and he agreed entirely ». Taken by itself, this reference is unclear, but it can be explained with reference to a loose sheet of paper inserted in Bruckner's manuscript score of the 1890 version (A-Wein Musik Handschriftlichen 19.480) that, as Dermot Gault reports, « carries a proposal to cut from the "Ruhig" episode (i.e., at Z) to just before letter Aa (i.e., measures 345-386) and substitute 4 bars of timpani roll. » (13) This was probably one of the cuts that Bruckner had suggested to Weingartner, in early 1891, and, presumably, Oberleithner (or less likely, Schalk) had actually crossed-out this passage in the « Stichvorlage » before Bruckner made it clear that he did not want this stretch eliminated from the printed score. (Bruckner had, of course, already made this clear to Weingartner in his letter of 27 March 1891; see Chapter

2.) This also explains Schalk's anxiety that Bruckner not see the « gestrichenen » score ; he was worried that it would reveal that he and Oberleithner had made the big cut after Z (which was soon undone) , and, also, possibly the shorter one after measure 92, before clearing it with Bruckner.

If some of the revisions, notably cuts, in the 1892 edition were made (or not made) contingent on Bruckner's prior approval, others were apparently not. In the letter of 31 July 1891, Schalk made it clear that he had made numerous changes on his own initiative and, with a scrupulousness that belies the image of him as a shameless bowdlerizer, he acknowledged that these pushed the limits of propriety :

« The many alterations I have made, which appear to me to be completely necessary, can be justified only through the most painstaking conscientiousness. You will easily recognize the intention toward greater clarity of effect or expression that the revisions contain. May the same conviction, which I have now gained, console you with the thought that the matter is extremely important and, actually, saves the life of this work. I assure you that I've done only what is absolutely necessary ; I had to leave much unchanged in view of the irresponsibility of the project. »

We are faced then with something of a puzzle : the 1892 score almost certainly contains changes (the cut after measure 92 of the Finale and, possibly, the new layer of performance indications and the few instrumental retouchings) that were made by Schalk without Bruckner's direct involvement. Although Schalk felt that these changes verged on the « irresponsible » , it is far from certain that he kept them secret from Bruckner (remember, he expressed worry only that Bruckner might see the « gestrichenen » manuscript, not the revised text itself) . Although Bruckner may, as Paul Hawkshaw wrote, have been « deliberately removed (emphasis original) » from the preparation of the editions of the F minor Mass and the 5th Symphony, we are not justified in making that claim about the 1892 edition of the 8th Symphony. (14) Rather, this case seems more closely analogous with those of the 2 other Symphonies published between 1889 and 1892, namely the 4th and the 3rd, in which Bruckner approvingly left part of the process (exactly how much can probably never be determined) of preparing the text for publication, including adding a final layer of performance markings, to an amanuensis. (15) Although the documentary history of the 1892 edition of the 8th Symphony has not yet been worked-out in detail, its origins appear to be similar and clearly involved a degree of collaboration in the final stages of editing. But this collaboration was presumably done only with Bruckner's consent. Indeed, Franz Schalk later said that Bruckner himself edited the revised text of the 8th and Josef von Wöb stated that Bruckner had authorized the published edition. (16)

The textual situation of the 8th Symphony is messy and cannot support simple, black-and-white answers ; so, while the 1892 edition may not be « pure Bruckner » (whatever that might be) to all appearances, Bruckner authorized it and, for that reason, it needs to be taken seriously. If we simply dismiss the 1892 edition in the name of honoring Bruckner's « real intention » , we paradoxically do something that contradicts the composer's own actions. For much of this Century claims about Bruckner's true, inner wishes have often been used in this way to defend the exclusive preserve of modern « Urtext » editions, to stifle debate about the « Bruckner Problem » , and to trump, legitimately or not, more complex answers. This process has obscured what is, as we shall see, an extremely valuable and historically important tradition of Bruckner performance and interpretation.

Notation, performance practice, and interpretation

In trying to come to understand the 1892 edition, it is essential to bear in mind that it (far more than Bruckner's manuscripts) is a score designed for practical use ; thus, if nothing else, this text does undoubtedly present a fascinating and valuable picture of 19th Century interpretations of the work. It explains how the music should sound and go far more explicitly (and in a musically compelling way) than do Bruckner's manuscript scores of the 1890 and 1887 versions and the modern critical editions based on them. This new, more careful and extensive notation of performance indications is consistent with Bruckner's practice with the other editions published in the late- 1880's and early 1890's. It was also only during the late- 1880's, with the growing success of the 7th Symphony and, later, the 4th and 3rd, that Bruckner began to gain extensive knowledge of how his Symphonies actually worked in repeated public performances. As Manfred Wagner pointed-out, Bruckner had little 1st hand experience with the orchestra until relatively late in his adulthood, and his early manuscript scores do not reflect a practiced orchestral hand in their notation of performance instructions and details of instrumentation. **(17)** Several of Bruckner's statements make it clear that he was aware of these short comings. Before the 1st performance of the 7th Symphony (which was based on Bruckner's manuscript score) , he wrote to the conductor Arthur Nikisch, « in the score, many important, frequent tempo changes are not marked » . **(18)** (When the score of the 7th Symphony was published in 1885, it contained some added tempo markings, clearly designed to remedy the lack Bruckner pointed-out to Nikisch.) Similarly, during rehearsal of the 8th Symphony, Bruckner felt compelled to ask Felix Weingartner to « please, freely modify the tempi (as necessary for clarity) » . **(19)** It was undoubtedly in order to avoid leaving important decisions about tempi to the discretion of conductors, which obviously admitted substantial room for misinterpretation, that Bruckner made sure to delineate clearly (far more so than in his unpublished manuscripts) the overall tempo schemes in the published editions of his works.

Unlike the 3rd and 4th Symphonies (and, for that matter, the 7th, 1st, and 2nd) , the 8th was not performed before it was published. Ordinarily, performances afforded Bruckner a chance to make minor adjustments (this was indeed the case with the 2nd and 4th Symphonies, for example) . **(20)** Although the composer was not to hear a note of the 8th for nearly 2 years, Weingartner's aborted performance, in early 1891, did provide him with, at least, some practical 2nd hand information. This experience must have shown Bruckner that his manuscript text of the 1890 version did not adequately represent his conception of the Symphony in one crucial respect : it failed to explain fully how to handle some important matters of performance, above all, the dynamic balance of the various choirs of the orchestra, the overall tempo schemes, and local changes of tempo. These are exactly the areas addressed by the revisions contained in the 1892 edition, all of which (the added tempo and dynamic markings, the minor changes to the orchestration, and even the suggested cuts) relate to performance. In light of the great difficulty that both Levi and Weingartner had in coming to grips with the score, which they knew only in manuscript, it is easy to understand why Bruckner felt the need to provide future interpreters with more adequate instructions about tempi and dynamics, as well as some minor instrumental changes.

Instrumentation

As Appendix B shows, the revisions made to the orchestration in the 1892 editions are generally subtle ; they are not

nearly as extensive as the revisions Bruckner made in re-working the 1887 version. (The tendency among reviewers and commentators of referring casually to the « wholesale re-orchestrations » found in the 1st editions of Bruckner's Symphonies is a mere reflex, and is not borne-out by the facts.) Aside from the re-orchestration of measures 637-643 of the Finale, only the additions to the timpani part in measures 445-446, 453-454, and 461-462 of the Finale, and the added cymbal crash in measure 479 of the same movement are striking. In some sections, different string techniques (pizzicato, mutes, tremolando) are incorporated. Occasional doublings are added, more often for reasons of clarity than of colour ; see, for example, the doubling of the cellos and basses with bassoons in measures 132-139 of the 1st movement, or the addition of horns in measures 331-332 of the Finale to support a poorly articulated bass-line. Another change made to clarify an important passage is the deployment of the woodwinds on the final pages of the Finale (measures 688-696) to double the climactic trumpet fanfares. None of these changes to the orchestration alters the basic character of the music, and they certainly do not represent a conceptual change. They simply strengthen and clarify what was already present.

Dynamics

In his manuscript, Bruckner followed an older method of notating dynamics : even in passages scored for a large and diverse group of instruments, he indicated only one dynamic level for all of the parts. This notation was standard for much of the 19th Century (see the orchestral scores of Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms) , and it assumes, as Erich Leinsdorf explained, that adjustments of the relative loudness of the different instruments would be made by the conductor :

« Balances are so obvious most of the time that no composer writing in the Classical manner dreamed of taking time for such minute and self-evident (notational) detail. » , as indicating graded dynamics for the various instrumental groups. (21)

Bruckner's use of the orchestra departs quite decisively from the lassical manner, and balancing his scoring, especially with its great use of brass instruments, is not easily done. When Felix Weingartner was rehearsing the 8th, he wrote to Bruckner complaining of the sonic predominance of the brass and winds (which he diplomatically ascribed to his small body of strings) and even asked if he could remove some of the doublings in the winds and brass. (22) Bruckner agreed provided Weingartner did not alter the score or parts. (23) The 1892 edition remedies this problem. It does not lighten the scoring in even the most powerful tutti passages, but it does consistently modify the dynamics. Brass are frequently notated 1 level lower than the strings and woodwinds (e.g. , forte brass with fortissimo strings and woodwinds) . (24) In this way, the published score merely spells-out what any conscientious conductor must do. Franz Schalk, who was an internationally esteemed conductor in the 1st 3 decades of the 20th Century, wrote that the brass and strings need different dynamic levels « because, otherwise in Bruckner's instrumentation, the brass will obscure the strings » . (25) This disparity was greatest in the days of gut strings, which do not project as brilliantly as do modern wound strings. Yet, even in the modern era, the great Bruckner conductor Eugen Jochum (1902-1987) reached the same conclusion as did Schalk :

« Even when the brass and strings play the same thing in a fortissimo, the brass must be handled with restraint. The

brass will come across anyway, the strings must be brought-out. » (26)

Tempo markings

Tempi are of particular importance in articulating the expansive and often episodic forms of the 8th Symphony, yet, apt tempi are not always immediately evident from the music, and Bruckner's manuscript scores (and thus Haas's and Nowak's editions) , with their sparing and inconsistent tempo indications, provide only partial answers. Bruckner noted most of the main tempi and, confusingly, some but not all of the major tempo changes. In Bruckner's original manuscript, the opening theme group of the Finale is marked « *Feierlich, nicht schnell* » (half-note = 69 measures) ; a slower tempo (« *Langsamer* » , half-note = 60 measures) is clearly marked for the 2nd theme (measure 69) , as is another slowdown (« *Noch langsamer* ») at measure 99, and the subsequent resumption of the « *langsamer* » tempo (measure 111) ; yet, Bruckner gives no further instruction with the beginning of the 3rd theme in measure 135. (27) Taken absolutely literally, this means that the « *langsamer* » tempo should continue until the next marked return of the main tempo 166 bars later. Surely, this is impossible ; not only would the music drag terribly, but it would rob the « *Feierlich, innig* » passage at measure 159 of some of its special character. The 1892 edition is much more detailed and leaves little to guess work ; it is noteworthy how carefully it prescribes the resumption of the original tempo for the 3rd theme (measure 135) and after each ritard. Constantin Floros was right to say that, in Bruckner's autograph scores, the « sparse tempo indications are not always sufficient for a meaningful performance » and, as Floros demonstrated, conductors generally do not even try to follow them slavishly. (28) Even so, modern-day Bruckner conductors do, at times, evince some difficulty in finding just tempi and, even more, in working-out the apt and convincing tempo relationships - a problem that is effectively resolved in the 1892 edition.

In addition to large-scale tempo schemes, numerous local fluctuations of tempo are indicated in the 1892 score. For example, occasional momentary italicizations are spelled-out, as in measures 221 and 229 of the Finale, where the tempo is broadened to highlight the flute chords. Several passages are punctuated by instructions to hold back momentarily and, then, resume the main tempo, thus shaping the flow of relatively large musical paragraphs (see, for example, the several « *ritardando - a tempo* » indications in the 2nd thematic group of the 1st movement reprise at measures 299-340) . This device is also used to introduce musical events that do not involve a basic tempo change (see, for example, the onset of the 2nd thematic group of the Adagio, measures 47 and 141) . Perhaps, the most striking of the tempo indications in this score are its many prolonged accelerandi that accompany Bruckner's characteristic « *Steigerungen* » , passages that climb toward a culminating point of arrival by building in intensity, loudness, register, and harmonic and surface rhythm (good examples are the prolonged approaches to the climaxes in the Adagio discussed in Chapter 4 and the build-up to the reprise of the opening theme in the 1st movement at measures 201-224) . In Bruckner's manuscript, these passages are marked only with long crescendi, while, in the printed score, they are additionally marked with progressive increases of tempo. As Robert Philip has shown, this application of accelerandi is a typical « 19th Century » interpretation of this sort of passage : modern performers are strongly inclined to eschew prominent accelerandi. (29) Thus, as with the other performance instructions added to the 1892 edition, such written accelerandi undoubtedly do not represent a new conception of the pieces, but simply make explicit what Bruckner left implicit in his manuscript text.

The tempo notations in the 1892 edition describe a rhetorical « give and take » that is wholly typical of progressive, late- 19th Century interpretive ideas. For example, in « On Conducting » (1869) , Richard Wagner wrote in detail of the need for « well-considered modifications of the tempo » , which are just as necessary « as the correct intonation of the notes themselves, if an intelligible rendering is to be obtained » .Wagner wrote that the artful manipulation of the tempo was particularly important in pieces of moderate pace (e.g. , « sehr mäßig bewegt ») and in which « the themes are treated episodically » , a category that contains many of Bruckner's Symphonic movements. (30) Since almost all of Bruckner's early champions (Hans Richter, Hermann Levi, Athur Nikisch, Felix Mottl, and the Schalk brothers) , not to mention the composer himself, were Wagnerians, they would have shared the belief that the successful performance of music entailed rhetorical and structural adjustments of tempo, another hint that tempi modifications added in the 1892 editions probably do not add something that was previously entirely absent from the music. Franz Schalk's comments, from the 1920's, on the performance indications in the printed version of Bruckner's scores help place the whole issue in proper historical perspective. He explained that, when Bruckner's Symphonies began to appear in concert in the 1880's, « Kapellmeisters » still followed the « ' rigid system (starre System) ' » marked by « an inflexible tempo » , « dynamics with little transitional shading » and little « concern for thematic clarity in performance » . (31) The markings in Bruckner's published score were intended, it would seem, largely to ward off the stiff, severe style of interpretation that prevailed in the 1880's (and, as we shall see, perhaps in the 1980's, too) . If, in an age of virtuosic, visionary conductors, Schalk felt called upon to emphasize that these tempo indications should not « be given too much weight » , today, in an age with a rather more abstemious interpretive ethos, we might well invert Schalk's concern, and stress that they should not simply be forgotten or ignored.

Changing interpretive approaches and their significance (a short case study)

The musical implications of the performance markings in the 1892 edition become vividly apparent when they are studied in conjunction with an array of recordings made over the past 60 years. The reprise of the 3rd thematic group in the Finale (measures 579-642 ; compare measures 583-646 of the 1890 version) can serve as a concise example for such a survey. This passage begins quietly with a series of fugal entries of the head motive of the 3rd theme in the violas and violins above a sustained timpani roll on the dominant. As the strings continue to spin-out, this motivic material, the clarinets, oboes, horns, and flutes enter in turn as the music gradually builds to a powerful fortissimo arrival (measure 617) above a big dominant pedal, whereupon the trombones, trumpets, and bass tuba proclaim the opening theme of the 1st movement. From this peak, the music recedes until it comes to rest with a series of 3 pianissimo timpani strokes on G. The manuscript text of the 1890 version of this passage contains relatively complete instructions regarding dynamics, while tempo indications are all but absent. In marked contrast, the 1892 edition presents a detailed set of instructions for the temporal progress of the passage that effectively describe the desired dramatic shape : the music is to begin calmly, very gradually increase in tempo and volume, peak vigorously, and then, slow and grow ever calmer as it comes to rest. (Note too that the 1892 tempo markings spell-out a continual process, not a series of states : beginning very calmly, very gradually growing more lively.) The few changes to the orchestration found on these pages in the 1892 edition also contribute to the dynamism of the music. The percussiveness of the pizzicato cellos in measures 609-616 helps to propel the music, and the more extensive use of tremolo in the cellos (measures 601-606 and measures 627-631) and violas (measures 627-630) contributes to the surging and ebbing flow of the music by increasing the vibrating energy of the climax. (The re-orchestration of

measures 637-644, where 1 oboe, 2 clarinets, 2 horns, and 1 tremolando violin supplant the violins and viola of the 1890 version, is a simple change of timbre.)

Recordings reveal a clear historical trend. Older conductors, especially those who were active in the 1st decades of the 20th Century, tended to shape these pages in ways reminiscent of the 1892 edition (and to a degree that might well strike modern sensibilities as extreme) ; recordings by conductors of younger generations are generally much less rhetorical and far steadier in tempo. For example, recordings from the 1940's (which are the oldest that exist) typically present this passage as a grand accelerando-rallentando, with a tempo increase of as much as 20 % . (Herbert von Karajan's 1944 recording is a notable exception.) Equally important in these performances are the waxing and waning of sonic intensity of the orchestral playing, the incisiveness of the phrasing, and the increasing rhythmic animation that accompany these tempo modifications ; the music drives forcefully toward the climax, crests, and then subsides. Recorded performances of the 1892 score by Bruno Walter (1876-1962) and Hans Knappertsbusch (1888-1965) naturally exemplify this approach, but other conductors of the old school, notably Carl Schuricht (1880-1967) , Wilhelm Fürtwängler (1886-1954) , and Eugen Jochum (1902-1987) , played this passage in the spirit of the 1892 version, no matter what edition they were actually using. Recordings from the 1980's and 1990's by such eminent figures as Karajan (1908-1989) , Günter Wand (1912-2002) , Carlo Maria Giulini (1914-2005) , and Lorin Maazel (1930-) present this music much differently ; as a rule, these performances set a rather broader basic tempo (perhaps, reflecting Leopold Nowak's « viel langsamer » , in measure 583) , abstain from dramatic tempo fluctuations (especially increases) and place great store by fullness of tone, precise ensemble, and textural clarity. (Daniel Barenboim's tempi reflect something of the older tradition.)

Differing performances of the re-appearance of the main-theme of the 1st movement (measures 617-623) , an obvious high-point, encapsulate the evolution in interpretive approaches. The 1892 edition (and most older conductors) highlights this moment by surging through it as the crest of a wave. The modern tendency is to approach this point with steady, inexorable strides and, during the statement itself, allow the weighty brass tone ample time to resound ; indeed, most current-day conductors broaden the tempo (not hasten it) at this spot. Today, we usually hear this passage unfold patiently and splendidly ; older generations of listeners, likely reaching back to the 1890's, heard it played as high musical drama. (32)

These developments in performance style obviously parallel the rise of the « Urtext » editions of Haas and Nowak, yet, the sea change that Bruckner performance experienced in the 3rd quarter of the 20th Century was not based solely on the emerging supremacy of modern editions. During this era, performance styles in general moved in the same general directions traceable in the evolution of Bruckner performances : performers began to favour steadier tempi, to eschew marked accelerandi, and, generally, to pursue interpretive sobriety and « objectivity » . This impulse to play simply « what is written » (« com'è scritto » , in Arturo Toscanini's famous words) is often justified as simple adherence to a composer's intentions, and, as the renunciation of overly personal, subjective, or « Romantic » approaches to interpretations. With the Bruckner 8th, as we have seen, this position rests on slippery historical and text-critical ground, and, in any case, pinning down a composer's intentions about performance (or about anything else, for that matter) is always a tricky business - or, better, an endlessly fascinating project. Surely, it is unwise, and perhaps obfuscatory, to claim that this score or that score preserves in amber « Bruckner's interpretation » . (33)

Furthermore, framing the question in terms of narrowly defined notions of authorial intention is not the most enlightening approach. Performance styles, changing standards of scholarship, the evolving meaning of a given repertory, and the ideological, social, and material foundations of musical culture exist in a complex inter-relationship. The overtly dramatic interpretations of Bruckner's Symphonies of generations past were part of musical culture that differed crucially from ours. At that time, a Symphony was an event to be experienced in a concert-hall, and conductors aimed to put the music across to the audience as vividly and persuasively as possible (an impulse nicely reflected in the 1892 score) . Now, in an age of infinitely repeatable digital recordings, musicians are prone to be much more restrained. A recorded musical work is liable to be listened to in a living room (or even on headphones) , heard repeatedly, and sometimes closely scrutinized, but more often attended to casually ; as a result, listening to music, especially Symphonic music, becomes less a rare transporting event than a matter of either relatively inattentive consumption or exquisite delectation.

Just as manners of performance contribute decisively to a work's æsthetic effect and its perceived meaning, at the same time, they reflect changing attitudes toward the nature and significance of a given repertory. Conductors Bruno Walter and Wilhelm Fürtwängler, for example, presented the 60 odd measures before the Coda of the Finale as an intense, viscerally affecting experience, more gripping and ultimately more cathartic than attractive. Half a Century later, Wand, Giulini and Maazel played it serious, solemn, and beautiful. We can trace a parallel evolution in the metaphors used to describe Bruckner's music. Schalk's program notes from 1892 depict the titanic struggles of Prometheus. For Ernst Kurth (1886-1946) , Bruckner's music was composed of great « Symphonic waves » that play-out musical energy through space and time. Fürtwängler found « battles of demons » (« Kämpfe der Dämonen ») as well as « sounds of blessed transfiguration » in Bruckner's music. (34) Now, it is far more common to concentrate descriptions of Bruckner's Symphonies on images of peace and stability. Robert Simpson wrote, in a moving and resonant phrase, that « the essence of Bruckner's music lies in a patient search for pacification » . (35) The close relationship of this attitude and the interpretive approach of most modern conductors is not hard to see ; yet, an attitude of reverent patience is prone to obscure other, rather different and deeply important qualities that may be found in Bruckner's music. Now, it is easy to feel that the 8th has become all too tame and has lost much of the urgent excitement and demonic struggle that emerged from it a Century, or even half a Century, ago. Studying the Symphony in its 1892 edition may open new corridors for interpretation and, perhaps, help provide us with a renewed purchase on the work's awesome vitality and its visionary, even apocalyptic, quest for deliverance. For this reason, if no other, this score surely deserves serious attention and (is it too much to hope ?) the passionate creative energies of modern-day conductors.

Appendix A

Robert Haas' edition of the 8th Symphony

Robert Haas's edition of the 8th Symphony is a problem. It was one of the last of his Bruckner editions to appear, and it represents his editorial approach at its most extreme. Despite its label of « Original Version » , Haas's edition does not strictly follow either the 1887 version or the 1890 version, but, instead, is an editorial conflation that incorporates some elements derived from the 1887 version into the text of the 1890 version. Haas justified this

procedure on the basis of what he understood to be the story of the Symphony's creation and revision. He believed that Bruckner was crushed by Hermann Levi's response to the 1887 version and contended that, in its aftermath, Bruckner was subject to manipulation, if not coercion, by Levi and Josef Schalk. In the preface to his score, Haas wrote darkly of Bruckner's « forced promise » (« abgezwungene Versprechen ») to revise the Symphony and of the « coerced cuts » (« abgenötigte Kürzungen ») found in the revised version. Because of this supposed taint of external influence (what Haas called : « fremden Einflußbereichs ») , Haas felt called upon when preparing his edition, which is based primarily on the 1890 version, to « reach back to the 1st version in some passages, in order to restore the authentic sound and sense » . (1)

Compared to the 1890 version, Haas's score contains sporadic minor changes in the orchestration, which are derived from the 1887 version, in the 1st movement, the Finale, and more extensive ones in the Adagio. (He made no such alterations in the Scherzo.) The form of the 1st 2 movements was left intact, but, in the 2 final movements, Haas selectively « undid » some of the cuts Bruckner had made in the course of his revision. Haas believed that the cuts that Bruckner effected by simply crossing-out passages reflected a « nonchalant manner of revision » and were made without the composer's « inner participation » , and thus were not legitimate. (This despite the fact that all the revisions are confirmed by Bruckner's characteristic « metrical numbers » , which demonstrate that the composer did consider them seriously. (2) Accordingly, Haas's edition contains several sections from the 1887 version that Bruckner struck from the 1890 version : in the Adagio, a stretch of 10 measures is re-instated following measure 208 (measures 209-218 in Haas's score) , and, in the Finale, measures 211-214 of the 1890 text are replaced by 20 measures from the 1st version, 4 bars are re-instated following measure 238 of the 1890 version, 12 bars are restored following measure 566 of the 1890 version, and 4 bars following measure 636 of the 1890 version (these are measures 211-230, 255-258, 587-598, and 671-674, respectively, in Haas's score) . Haas also replaced measures 577-582 of the 1890 version with a new 8 bar passage (measures 609-616 in Haas's score) . (Haas seems to have synthesized this passage himself by composing-out the underlying harmonies of the 1887 version of this passage to fit a sketchy flute part Bruckner penciled into the upper-margin of the revised manuscript. All of the material Haas worked with was clearly deleted by Bruckner and obviously replaced.) This creative editing surely exceeds reasonable limits of scholarly responsibility ; moreover, his edition does not include any scholarly apparatus nor does the introduction adequately explain this editorial intervention. (3)

Robert Haas's motivations are obscure. Presumably, he came to feel that he was able to identify so strongly with Bruckner that he could intuit the composer's true intentions even though there is no actual evidence that Bruckner's revision involved any coercion, manipulation, or hastiness and nonchalance. It is hard to ignore the consanguinity of Haas's approach and the cultural politics of National-Socialism. Haas's portentous rhetoric about Bruckner and « greater Germany » surely evokes the passions of the time (as is acutely evident in his comments quoted in Chapter 1) and his stated mission finally to « liberate the true Symphonic will of the Master » seems to embody something of the Nazi ethic. (4) Whatever Haas's thought process, it is paradoxical that a scholar who railed so fiercely against what he perceived as the illegitimate and intrusive editorial practices of the Schalk brothers and Ferdinand Löwe should himself intervene editorially in such extreme and obviously unauthorized ways.

Although the Haas edition is now obtainable only as a photo-reprint study score, a number of prominent conductors

(including : Bernard Haitink, Günter Wand, Herbert von Karajan, and Daniel Barenboim) committed themselves to this version of the Symphony. (5) Several writers, including Robert Simpson and Deryck Cooke, have argued that Haas's score is musically superior to Nowak's. This point is, of course, debatable ; it could be argued, for example, that the passage Haas inserted in the Adagio unnecessarily dissipates the accumulating tension that spans much of the final 3rd of the movement. In the end, however, one might respond to Haas's edition, it must not be forgotten that it does not correspond to any version of the Symphony that Bruckner actually wrote.

Appendix B

Textual differences between the Finale in the 1890 version and the 1892 edition

The musical text of the 1892 edition is currently almost unknown. It does, nevertheless, have a very negative reputation. Deryck Cooke, for example, called it « an appalling picture of the muddled, amateurish and senseless desecration brought about by his pupils' tampering » . (1) Such dismissive description is not only tendentious, but it is also seriously in error. For this reason, it seems worthwhile to tabulate its differences from Nowak's well-known and authoritative edition of the 1890 version. The Finale contains the most important and numerous points of variance, and thus can serve as a representative example of the whole.

Notes

Introduction

(1) August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild » , 4 volumes in 9 part, Regensburg (1922-1937) ; IV/3, page 21.

(2) I allude to Walter Wiora's well-known essay, « Zwischen absoluter und Programmusik » , in « Festschrift Friedrich Blume zum 70. Geburtstag » , edited by Anna Amalie Abert and Wilhelm Pfannkuch. Kassel (1963) . Pages 381-388.

(3) William Rothstein, « Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music » , New York (1989) , page 249.

Placing the 8th Symphony

(1) See Paul Bekker's « Die Sinfonie von Beethoven bis Mahler » , Berlin (1918) . Also see : Margaret Notley, « Volkscconcerte in Vienna and Late 19th Century Ideology of the Symphony » , Journal of the American Musicological Society, No. 50 (1997) , pages 421-453 and Stephen Hinton, « Not Which Tones ? The Crux of Beethoven's 9th » , 19th Century Music, No. 22 (1998) , page 75, note 48.

(2) 3 previous subscription concerts had included a Symphony by Bruckner : the 7th Symphony on 21 March 1886, the 3rd on 21 December 1890, and the 1st on 13 December 1891, all under Hans Richter. Wilhelm Jahn had included the Adagio and Scherzo of the 6th Symphony at a subscription concert, on 11 February 1883. The Philharmonic also

performed Bruckner Symphonies at concerts sponsored by the « Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein » (the 4th was given on 20 February 1881, the 7th on 24 February 1889, and the 3rd on 25 January 1891) . Another performance of the 4th, on 22 January 1888, was also privately funded.

(3) See August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild » , 4 volumes in 9 parts, Regensburg (1922-1937) ; IV/3, pages 284-285.

(4) See Clemens Hellsberg, « Demokratie der Könige : Die Geschichte der Wiener Philharmoniker » .Vienna (1992) ; page 275.

(5) Review dated 5 January 1893, excerpted in Norbert Tschulik, « Bruckner im Spiegel seiner Zeit » ,Vienna (1955) , page 51 ; unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

(6) « -n. » , review dated 21 December 1892 in « Das Vaterland » , reprinted in Franz Grasberger, « Das Bruckner-Bild der Zeitung " Das Vaterland " in den Jahren 1870-1900 » in Festschrift Hans Schneider zum 60. Geburtstag, edited by Rudolf Elvers and Ernst Vogel, Munich (1981) . Page 126 (emphasis in the original) .

(7) Review of Bruckner's 8th Symphony, « Neue Freie Presse » , 23 December 1892 ; reprinted in Eduard Hanslick, « Fünf Jahre Musik » , Berlin (1899) . Pages 190-191 ; English translation in Eduard Hanslick, « Music Criticisms 1846-1899 » , translated by Henry Pleasants, Baltimore (1950) . Pages 288-289, translation modified.

(8) See the photo of the leaflet in Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, « Bruckner » , London (1970) . Page 158.

(9) August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild » , 4 volumes in 9 part. Regensburg (1922-1937) ; IV/3, 298.

(10) « Österreichische Volks-Zeitung » , 21 December 1892 ; quoted in Manfred Wagner, « Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Anton Bruckners Achter Symphonie » , « Bruckner Jahrbuch » 1991-1992-1993, Linz (1995) . Page 115.

(11) Reprinted in Grasberger, « Das Bruckner-Bild der Zeitung " Das Vaterland " » , page 128.

(12) Quoted in Manfred Wagner, « Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte » , page 111 ; also, see Ingrid Fuchs in « Round Table : Bruckner und die österreichische Presse » in « Bruckner-Symposion : Bruckner Rezeption » , edited by Othmar Wessely, Linz (1991) . Page 91, note 43.

(13) Letter to Emil Kauffmann, 23 December 1892, in Hugo Wolf's « Briefe an Emil Kauffmann » , edited by Edmund Heller, Berlin (1903) . Page 82.

(14) Karl Grunsky, « Anton Bruckner » . Stuttgart (1922) , pages 86-87. Franz Gräßlinger also analogized with Goethe's Faust ; see « Bruckners Achte Sinfonie » in « In Memoriam Anton Bruckner » , edited by Karl Kobald,Vienna (1924) .

Pages 100-113 ; especially, page 113.

(15) Heinrich Schenker, « Anton Bruckner » , « Die Zeit » No. 7 (1896) ; reprinted in Schenker, « Heinrich Schenker als Essayist und Kritiker : gesammelte Aufsätze, Rezensionen und kleinere Berichte aus den Jahren 1891-1901 » , edited by Hellmut Federhofer, Hildesheim (1990) . Pages 200-201.

(16) Ibid. , page 202.

(17) Ibid. , pages 203-204.

(18) Kurth, « Bruckner » . Berlin (1925) . Pages 1035-1099 ; also, see pages 346-355.

(19) « Leichtentritt, Musikalische Formenlehre » , 3rd edition, Leipzig (1927) . Pages 384-426 ; English translation in « Musical Form » , Cambridge, Massachusetts (1961) . Pages 379-424.

(20) See Leopold Nowak, « Die Anton Bruckner-Gesamtausgabe : Ihre Geschichte und Schicksale » in « Bruckner Jahrbuch » 1982-1983, Linz (1984) ; pages 33-67, and Benjamin Korstvedt, « ' Return to the Pure Sources ' : The Ideology and Text-Critical Legacy of the 1st Bruckner Gesamtausgabe » in « Bruckner Studies » , edited by Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw, Cambridge (1997) . Pages 91-109.

(21) Robert Haas, « Einführung » in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , 8. Band : « VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll (Originalfassung) , Studienpartitur » , edited by Haas, Leipzig (1939) . Haas generally toned down his comments in the 1949 reprint of the score, and entirely removed the allusion to the political significance of the Symphony.

(22) On the relationship of post-War and Nazi-era Bruckner reception, see Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, « Anton Bruckner in the 3rd « Reich » and After : an Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception » , « The Musical Quarterly » , No. 80 (1996) . Pages 132-160.

(23) Theodor Adorno, « Alienated Masterpiece : the " Missa solemnis " » (1959) , translated by Duncan Smith, Telos No. 28 (1976) . Page 113.

The genesis and evolution of the 8th Symphony

(1) Claudia Röthig, « Studien zur Systematik des Schaffens von Anton Bruckner » , Göttingen (1978) , page 234.

(2) Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , Tutzing (1988) , page 72.

(3) Anton Bruckner, « Gesammelte Briefe, neue Folge » , edited by Max Auer, Regensburg (1924) , page 194 ; « Bruckner, Gesammelte Briefe » , edited by Franz Gräßlinger, Regensburg (1924) , page 192-194 ; Steffen Lieberwirth, « Anton Bruckner und Leipzig : Einige neue Erkenntnisse und Ergänzungen » , « Bruckner Jahrbuch » 1989-1990, Linz

(1992) , pages 283-284.

(4) See the transcriptions in August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild » , 4 volumes in 9 part. Regensburg (1922-1937) ; IV/2, pages 543-546 and in Claudia Röthig, « Studien zur Systematik » , pages 342-343.

(5) A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 6070 ; see the fac-similé in Franz Grasberger, « Anton Bruckner zum 150. Geburtstag (eine Ausstellung) » , Vienna (1974) . Page 3.

(6) See Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , Tutzing (1988) , page 102 and Franz Schalk, « Briefe und Betrachtungen » , edited by Lili Schalk, Vienna (1935) . Page 70.

(7) Very few sketches exist for any of Bruckner's works other than the 2 final Symphonies, for which they exist copiously. Many earlier compositional materials were destroyed by Bruckner, in 1895, as he prepared to move from his long-established apartment on the 4th floor of the « Wohnhaus » , on « Heßgasse 7 » , to his final residence, the « Kustodenstöckl » of « Schloß Belvedere » ; see August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, page 521.

(8) The sketches are preserved as A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 6052 ; see Claudia Röthig, « Studien zur Systematik » , page 339.

(9) On date of the relocation of the Adagio, see Claudia Röthig, « Studien zur Systematik » , page 234 and Franz Scheder, « Anton Bruckner Chronologie » , 2 volumes, Tutzing (1996) ; volume I, pages 511 and 514.

(10) Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner : Leben und Schaffen » (Umgearbeitete Bausteine) , Berlin (1927) . Page 334.

(11) August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, page 537.

(12) Bruckner's original manuscript of the 1887 version is not preserved in its original state. The 1st 3 movements do remain in their original form in the « Musiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » : the 2 opening movements are A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 6083 and 6084, respectively, and Bruckner's 1887 manuscript of the Adagio is now preserved as the 3rd volume of A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 19.840, which, otherwise, contains the 1890 version. Bruckner used his 1887 autograph of the Finale as the basis for his later revision of the movement (now preserved as volume IV of A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 19.840) , thereby obscuring much of the initial text. The 1887 version of this movement can only be recovered from Karl (Borromäus) Aigner's copy (A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 6001) . See Leopold Nowak's preface in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , Band VIII/1 : « VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll, Fassung von 1887 » , Vienna (1972) and Dermot Gault, « For Later Times » , « Musical Times » , No. 137 (1996) . Page 16.

(13) It is likely that Bruckner had more than 1 copy of the score made ; not only was this his usual practice, but although no other complete copy now exists, several fragments do.

(14) Franz Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner » , page 338.

(15) Ibid. , page 339.

(16) Max Auer wrote, for example, that the time Bruckner spent revising the 8th Symphony « was the real reason that work on the 9th Symphony was postponed » and was why that work « remained a torso » ; « Anton Bruckner : Sein Leben und Werk » , Vienna (1947) . Page 409.

(17) Letter of 30 November 1884 ; Franz Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner » , page 338 and Frithjof Haas, « Zwischen Brahms und Wagner : der Dirigent Hermann Levi » , Zürich (1995) . Page 299.

(18) On these events in Munich, see Frithjof Haas, « Zwischen Brahms und Wagner : der Dirigent Hermann Levi » , Zürich (1995) . Pages 300-302.

(19) See August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/2, pages 486-490.

(20) On the events that led to the award see Brigitte Hamann, « Musikalisches aus dem Tagebuch der Prinzessin Amélie in Bayern » , in « Bruckner-Symposium » 1994 : « Bruckner-Freunde, Bruckner-Kenner » , Linz (1997) . Pages 21-23.

(21) Franz Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner » , page 333.

(22) August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, pages 181-182.

(23) See Bruckner's letters to Hermann Levi dated 8 December 1884 and 3 January 1887 in Franz Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner » , pages 326 and 335.

(24) Letter dated 30 September 1887 ; « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 395 ; August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/2, pages 560-561 ; Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , pages 130-131.

(25) The letter is in the « Bayerische Staatsbibliothek » , Leviana, Munich. Excerpts are included in Frithjof Haas, « Zwischen Brahms und Wagner : der Dirigent Hermann Levi » , Zürich (1995) . Pages 306 and 379.

(26) This translation is by Laurence Dreyfus, to whom I am indebted for generously sharing his discovery with me.

(27) « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 396 ; August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/2, page 562 ; Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , page 131.

(28) Robert Haas, « Vorlagenbericht » in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke », 4. Band / I. Teil : « IV. Symphonie in Es-Dur (Fassung von 1878 mit dem Finale von 1880) , Finale von 1878, Partituren und Entwürfe mit Bericht » , Vienna (1936) , page 11.

(29) Letter of 20 October 1887 in Franz Gräßlinger, « Anton Bruckner » , page 339 ; August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/2, page 563. Bruckner mentioned his idea of organizing a reading of the Symphony, with Levi present, at his expense to Princess Amélie on 23 October ; see Brigitte Hamann, « Musikalisches aus dem Tagebuch » , page 25.

(30) Brigitte Hamann, « Musikalisches aus dem Tagebuch » , page 25.

(31) Bruckner noted the date 3 December 1887 in a score of the Finale (A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 6047) , although he seems not to have made any changes at this time ; see Claudia Röthig, « Studien zur Systematik » , page 235-236.

(32) « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 220.

(33) Franz Gräßlinger, « Anton Bruckner » , page 341.

(34) Bruckner worked with a copy of the score prepared in 1887 by Leopold Hofmeyer. In the process of revisions, Bruckner replaced numerous pages with new ones written in his own hand. This manuscript entered the collection of the « Österreichische Nationalbibliothek » only in 1990 (A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 4099) ; see Günter Brosche, « Quellen für künftige Forschungen » , « Studien zur Musikwissenschaft » (1993) , pages 425-426. Dermot Gault reports that an intermediate version of the Adagio is preserved in yet another copyist's score (A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 34.614) ; see « For Later Times » , page 16.

(35) A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 19.480, volume IV.

(36) A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 19.480, volume II.

(37) A-Wn Musik Handschriftlichen 19.480, volume I.

(38) Bruckner's prayer list of 15 March 1890 : « 14.3.90 letzte auswendige Wiederholung von I. Satze der 8. Sinfonie » ; see August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, page 124 and Leopold Nowak, « Anton Bruckners Achte Symphonie und ihre zweite Fassung » in « Über Anton Bruckner » , Vienna (1985) , page 27.

(39) The copying was done in the winter of 1889-1890 by Leopold Hofmeyer and Viktor Christ. See Erich Partsch, « Bruckner-Pflege in Steyr bis zur Jahrhundertwende » , « Mitteilungsblatt der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft » No. 5-6 (1990) , page 35 and Andrea Harrandt, « Unbekannte Bruckner-Autographe entdeckt » , « Österreichische Musikzeitschrift » No. 49 (1994) , page 32.

(40) Franz Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner » , page 338.

(41) March 1890 ; « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 229 ; August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, page 46 ; Manfred Wagner, « Anton Bruckner » , Mainz (1983) , page 291.

(42) Max von Oberleithner, « Meine Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner » , Regensburg (1933) , page 52 and Franz Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner » , page 342.

(43) Franz Schalk, « Briefe und Betrachtungen » , page 52.

(44) See Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, « The 1st Edition of Anton Bruckner's 4th Symphony : Authorship, Production, and Reception » , Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (1995) , pages 315-316.

(45) August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, pages 48-49.

(46) Franz Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner » , page 342.

(47) See his letter of 27 March 1891 to Felix Weingartner in « Briefe » , edited by Franz Gräflinger, pages 131-132 and « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 241 (dated incorrectly as 17 March 1891) . On 15 June 1891, Siegfried Ochs wrote to Bruckner that the Berlin firm « Raabe und Plotow » was willing to publish the 8th Symphony, including piano scores, for a fee of 1,200 Florins ; see « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 341 and August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, page 162. By this time, Bruckner had already reached an agreement with « Haslinger » , and wrote to Ochs that he would keep « Raabe » in reserve ; see letter dated 15 June 1891 in « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, pages 249-250 ; « Briefe » , edited by Franz Gräflinger, pages 94-95 ; August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, pages 163-164.

(48) Max von Oberleithner, « Erinnerungen » , pages 52-53.

(49) Ibid. , page 53.

(50) When he was preparing to perform the 7th Symphony in Leipzig, in 1884, Arthur Nikisch, for example, avoided presenting the work as part of the « Gewandhaus » subscription concerts so as to minimize the antagonism of Leipzig's traditionalists ; instead, it was given as part of the « Opern-Abonnement » at the « Neues Theater » . See Steffen Lieberwirth, « Anton Bruckner und Leipzig : Die Jahre 1884-1902 » , « Anton Bruckner Dokumente und Studien » No. 6, Graz (1988) . Pages 18-26, 42.

(51) Letter of 7 October 1887 ; see note 27 above.

(52) « Bayerische Staatsbibliothek » , Leviana, Munich ; courtesy of Laurence Dreyfus.

- (53) 20 September 1890 ; « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, pages 320-321.
- (54) 2 October 1890 ; « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 233.
- (55) « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, pages 368-369.
- (56) Ibid. , pages 369-370.
- (57) 8 April 1891 ; « Bayerische Staatsbibliothek » , Leviana, Munich ; courtesy of Laurence Dreyfus.
- (58) Franz Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner » , pages 347-348 ; August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, page 143.
- (59) « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, pages 369-370.
- (60) Ibid. , page 233 ; « Briefe » , edited by Franz Gräflinger, page 129.
- (61) Dermot Gault, « For Later Times » , page 18.
- (62) « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 237.
- (63) Ibid. , 241 (dated 17 March) ; « Briefe » , edited by Franz Gräflinger, pages 131-132.
- (64) See for example Robert Haas, « Einführung » in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , 2. Band : « II. Symphonie in C-Moll, Studienpartitur » , Vienna (1938) .
- (65) See August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, page 73. Bruckner always used copy scores, not his precious autograph manuscripts (which would, in any case, have been very difficult to read on the podium) , for performances.
- (66) Franz Gräflinger, « Anton Bruckner » , page 352.
- (67) Ibid. , page 353.
- (68) Bruckner reported Hermann Levi's plans in a letter to Felix Weingartner, dated 8 August 1891 (see « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 250 ; « Briefe » , edited by Franz Gräflinger, pages 132-133) ; and a letter to Ludwig Koch von Langetreu, dated 27 July 1892 (« Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, pages 259-260 ; « Briefe » , edited by Gräflinger, pages 33-34) .

(69) Franz Scheder, « Bruckner Chronologie », volume I, page 685.

(70) « Briefe », edited by Max Auer, page 326.

(71) Quoted in Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner », page 166.

The musical design and symphonic agenda of the 8th

(1) On Symphonic monumentality see : Norbert Nægler, « Bruckners gründerzeitliche Monumentalsymphonie », « Musik-Konzepte Nummer 23-24 : Anton Bruckner », Munich (1982), pages 86-118 - especially, pages 109-113 ; and Margaret Notley, « Volksconcerte in Vienna and Late 19th Century Ideology of the Symphony », « Journal of the American Musicological Society » No. 50 (1997), pages 432-439.

(2) Letter to Max Marschalk, 26 March 1896, quoted and translated in Peter Franklin, « Mahler : Symphony No. 3 », Cambridge (1991), page 15.

(3) Norbert Nægler, « Bruckners gründerzeitliche Monumentalsymphonie », page 112.

(4) Ernst Bloch, « Essays in the Philosophy of Music », translated by Peter Palmer, Cambridge (1985), pages 42-43. Also see : Carl Dahlhaus, « The Idea of Absolute Music », translated by Roger Lustig, Chicago (1989), pages 122-123.

(5) See Carl Dahlhaus, « Wagner's Musical Influence » in « The Wagner Handbook », edited by Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, translated by edited by John Deathridge, Cambridge, Massachusetts, (1992), page 553.

(6) See Carl Dahlhaus's important discussion of the relationship of harmonic style and formal design during the period in « Issues in Composition » in « Between Romanticism and Modernism », translated by Mary Whittall, Berkeley and Los Angeles (1980), pages 40-78.

(7) Arnold Schœnberg, « Structural Functions of Harmony », revised edition, New York (1969), page 3.

(8) Ibid., pages 3 and 164-165.

(9) Werner Korte, « Bruckner und Brahms : Die spätrömantische Lösung der autonomen Konzeption », Tutzing (1963), page 25.

(10) Carl Dahlhaus, « Bruckner und die Programmmusik : zum Finale der Achten Symphonie » in « Anton Bruckner : Studien zu Werk und Wirkung, Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1986 », Tutzing (1988), page 23. Also see Dahlhaus, « 19th Century Music », translated by J. Bradford Robinson, Berkeley and Los Angeles (1989), pages 272-274.

(11) See Werner Korte, « Bruckner und Brahms », especially pages 24-29, 34-38, 44-57 ; Paul Dawson-Bowling, «

Thematic and Tonal Unity in Bruckner's 8th Symphony » , « Music Review » No. 30 (1969) , pages 225-236, and Erwin Horn, « Evolution und Metamorphose in der Achten Symphonie von Anton Bruckner : Darstellung der thematischen Zusammenhänge » , « Bruckner Jahrbuch » 1989-1990, Linz (1992) , pages 7-34.

(12) « Über die Anwendung der Musik auf das Drama » (1879) , quoted and translated in Carl Dahlhaus, « The Music » in « The Wagner Handbook » , page 304.

(13) Critics and analysts have not agreed on where the recapitulation begins. Some writers have placed it at measure 225 ; see Robert Simpson, « The Essence of Bruckner » , revised edition, London (1992) , pages 194-195 ; Erwin Doernberg, « The Life and Symphonies of Anton Bruckner » , London (1960) , page 197. A larger group have located it at measure 283 ; see Alfred Orel, « Anton Bruckner : Das Werk, der Künstler, die Zeit » , Vienna (1925) , page 85 ; Robert Haas, « Anton Bruckner » , Potsdam (1934) , page 147 ; Hugo Leichtentritt, « Musical Form » , Cambridge, Massachusetts (1961) , page 386 ; Constantin Floros, « Die Fassungen der Achten Symphonie von Anton Bruckner » in « Bruckner-Symposion : Die Fassungen » , edited by Franz Grasberger, Linz (1981) , pages 55-56 ; and Willibald Kähler, « Sinfonie No. VIII (in C-Moll) » in « Bruckner's Symphonien, Meisterführer Nummer 4 » , edited by Karl Grunsky, Berlin and Vienna n. d. (1907) , pages 157-158. As ever, Ernst Kurth refused to cut and dry things, « Bruckner » , Berlin (1925) , pages 1044-1047.

(14) Friedrich Eckstein, « Alte unnennbare Tage ! » , Vienna (1936) , page 145.

(15) Reinhold Brinkmann, « Late Idyll : The 2nd Symphony of Johannes Brahms » , translated by Peter Palmer, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1995) , page 144.

(16) The one important exception is the 2nd movement of the 4th Symphony, which is marked « Andante quasi Allegretto » .

(17) Bruckner began sketching the Adagio very shortly after he attended a performance of « Tristan » in Leipzig, on 27 December 1884 (the earliest extant sketches of the Adagio are from the following month) . Bruckner also apparently returned to the score of this movement after he heard « Tristan » in Bayreuth, in late July 1886 ; see Franz Scheder, « Anton Bruckner Chronologie » , 2 volumes, Tutzing (1996) , volume I, pages 510-511.

(18) August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner : Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild, 4 volumes in 9 parts, Regensburg (1936) , IV/3, page 19.

(19) This tune is strongly prefigured in Bruckner's « Fantasie » for piano of 1868 (WAB 118) , measures 13-16. (I thank William Carragan for pointing this out to me.)

(20) See Ernst Kurth, « Bruckner » , pages 1066-1068.

(21) On the « Finale Problem » , see Paul Bekker, « Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien » , Berlin (1921) , pages 15-20 ; and

Reinhold Brinkmann, « Late Idyll » , pages 203-217.

(22) See Bruckner's letter to Franz Schalk, 16 August 1885 ; quoted in Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , Tutzing (1988) , page 102.

(23) See Ernst Kurth, « Bruckner » , page 1087.

(24) For competing views on the nature and significance of this passage see Constantin Floros, « Brahms und Bruckner » , « Studien zur Musikalischen Exegetik » , Wiesbaden (1980) , pages 204-205, who emphasized its meaningful strangeness ; and Carl Dahlhaus, « Bruckner und die Programmmusik » , pages 23-24, who emphasized its explicability.

(25) Robert Simpson, « The Essence of Bruckner » , page 209.

(26) Derek Scott, « Bruckner and the Dialectic of Darkness and Light (II) » , « The Bruckner Journal » 2/2 (1998) , page 13.

(27) Robert Simpson, « The Essence of Bruckner » , page 232.

(28) Derek Scott, « Bruckner and the Dialectic of Darkness and Light (II) » , « The Bruckner Journal » 2/2 (1998) , page 12.

(29) The full text of the program is in August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, pages 288-290 and Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , Tutzing (1988) , pages 170-172.

(30) Franz Schalk's program contains 2 internal quotations. One is from « Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound » , lines 1041-1052. The other is the opening lines, spoken by the Archangel Raphael, of the « Prologue in Heaven » , in Gøethe's « Faust » , lines 243-246.

(31) See Eduard Hanslick's review in the « Neue Freie Presse » , 23 December 1892 ; repeated in Eduard Hanslick, « Fünf Jahre Musik » , Berlin (1899) , pages 190-191 ; English translation in « Eduard Hanslick, Music Criticisms 1846-1899 » , translated by Henry Pleasants, Baltimore (1950) , pages 288-289 and Max Kalbeck's in the « Montags-Revue » , 19 December 1892; reprinted in August Göllerich and Max Auer, Anton Bruckner, IV/3, 297–300. Even the favourable review of the Symphony in « Das Vaterland » , 21 December 1892, commented negatively on Schalk's program ; reprinted in Franz Grasberger, « Das Bruckner-Bild der Zeitung " Das Vaterland " in den Jahren 1870-1900 » in « Festschrift Hans Schneider zum 60. Geburtstag » , edited by Rudolf Elvers and Ernst Vogel, Munich (1981) , page 129. Carl Hrubý's comments can be found in « Bruckner Remembered » , edited and translated by Stephen Johnson, London (1998) , page 120.

(32) See Willibald Kähler, « Symphonie No. VIII » , pages 152-169 and Karl Grunsky, « Anton Bruckner » , Stuttgart (1922) , page 87.

(33) Carl Dahlhaus, « The Idea of Absolute Music » , page 135.

(34) Quoted in Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , page 237.

(35) Letter of 27 January 1891, « Anton Bruckner, Gesammelte Briefe, neue Folge » , edited by Max Auer, Regensburg (1924) , pages 369-370 ; also see Constantin Floros, « Brahms und Bruckner » , page 183.

(36) Constantin Floros has argued that, in this phrase, Bruckner's hand-writing is traditionally misread, and that the line actually reads : « Finally, it (i.e. , Michaël's tune) is plaintively inverted. » - « Endlich klagend kehrt es (not : er) selbes um. » . Floros suggests it is a direct reference to measures 95-98 of the Scherzo in which the main-theme is inverted ; see « Brahms und Bruckner » , pages 191 and 215.

(37) In the 1980's, the program provoked 2 significant, contrasting interpretations : Floros' « Brahms und Bruckner » , especially pages 182-210, which entertains Bruckner's program seriously ; and Carl Dahlhaus' in « Bruckner und die Programmusik » , which is rather less credulous.

(38) On 14 January 1891, Hugo Wolf wrote :

« (Between us,) Bruckner is enraged over the endless delay of his 8th, and, recently, I had great difficulty convincing him of Weingartner's sincerity and honest enthusiasm for his Symphonies. He no longer believes in the performance in Mannheim. » ; quoted in Günter Brosche, « Anton Bruckner and Hugo Wolf » in « Bruckner Studien » , edited by Othmar Wessely, Vienna (1975) , page 181.

(39) See Ernst Kurth, « Bruckner » , page 1048-1049, note 1 ; and Hans Redlich, « Das programmatische Element bei Bruckner » in « Bruckner-Studien » , edited by Franz Grasberger, Vienna (1964) , pages 92-93.

(40) See August Stradal, « Eine Erinnerung an Anton Bruckner » , « Zeitschrift für Music » , No. 93 (1926) , pages 505-506 and « Erinnerungen aus Bruckners letzter Zeit » , « Zeitschrift für Music » , No. 99 (1932) , page 977 ; as well, the comments recorded in August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, pages 15-23. Bruckner explained to Theodor Helm that, with his « Michel » theme, he meant to depict « the German Austrians, not to jest » ; quoted in *ibid.* , IV/3, page 16, note 1.

(41) Quoted in August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, page 15. Bruckner used similar imagery in explaining this passage on other occasions, too ; see Ernst Decsey, « Anton Bruckner » , Berlin (1921) , page 216 and Friedrich Eckstein, « Alte unnennbare Tage » , page 145.

(42) Werner Korte, « Bruckner und Brahms » , page 69.

(43) Bruckner himself pointed-out this evocation of « Siegfried » , which he said was « in remembrance of the Master

» ; quoted in August Göllerich and Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner » , IV/3, page 19.

(44) The significance of the 1st 2 of these examples is discussed in Constantin Floros, « Brahms und Bruckner » , pages 182-210, especially 186 and 204-206 ; and Carl Dahlhaus, « Bruckner und die Programmmusik » , especially 12-13 and 22-26.

The Adagio and the sublime

(1) Quoted in Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , Tutzing (1988) , page 171.

(2) Willibald Kähler, « Sinfonie No. VIII (in C-Moll) » , in « Bruckner's Sinfonien, Meisterführer Nummer 4 » , edited by Karl Grunsky, Berlin and Vienna, n. d. (1907) , page 165.

(3) Gabriel Engel, « The Symphonies of Anton Bruckner » , Iowa City (1955) , page 70.

(4) Edward Rothstein, « Contemplating the Sublime » , « American Scholar » No. 66 (1997) , page 513.

(5) Quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, « The Idea of Absolute Music » , translated by Roger Lustig, Chicago (1989) , page 59.

(6) Richard Wagner's « Prose Works » , translated by William Ashton Ellis, London (1896) , volume V, page 93.

(7) Reinhold Brinkmann, « Late Idyll : The 2nd Symphony of Johannes Brahms » , translated by Peter Palmer, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1995) , page 202.

(8) See, for example, Karl Grunsky's comments on the « truth » and « depth » that reside in the interior spaces of Bruckner's Adagios in « Anton Bruckner » , Stuttgart (1922) , pages 21-23.

(9) Longinus, « On the Sublime » , translated with commentary by James A. Arieti and John M. Crosssett, New York (1985) .

(10) Ibid. , section 8.1, page 46.

(11) Ibid. , section 9.2, pages 52-53. Also see : Neil Hertz, « A Reading of Longinus » in « The End of the Line : Essays on Psychoanalysis and the Sublime » , New York (1985) , pages 1-20.

(12) Longinus, « On the Sublime » , section 7.2, page 42.

(13) « On the Sublime » was rediscovered only in the 16th Century, and its 1st important modern translation, by Boileau into French, appeared in 1674.

- (14) Robert Simpson, « Commentary : Updating the Sublime » , « Studies in Romanticism » No. 26 (1987) , page 245.
- (15) James Webster made a similar point in « The Creation, Haydn's Late Vocal Works, and the Musical Sublime » in « Haydn and his World » , edited by Elaine Sisman, Princeton (1997) , pages 60-61.
- (16) Elaine Sisman nicely explicated the rhetorical design of the Finale of Mozart's « Jupiter » Symphony, notably its use of the learned style as a « signifier of the sublime » in « Mozart : The Jupiter Symphony » , Cambridge, Massachusetts (1993) , pages 68-79, especially page 76.
- (17) On this renewed influence see, for example, « Longinus, Hazlitt, Keats, and the Criterion of Intensity » in Meyer (Mike) Howard Abrams, « The Mirror and the Lamp : Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition » , New York (1953) , pages 132-138.
- (18) Edmund Burke, « A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and The Beautiful » , edited by James T. Boulton, Notre-Dame (1968) .
- (19) Ibid. , part III, section I, page 91.
- (20) Ibid. , part I, section 7, page 39.
- (21) The term « apprehensive synthesis » is Jean-François Lyotard's ; see « Lessons on the Analytic of the Sublime » , translated by Elizabeth Rottenberg, Stanford (1994) , page 81.
- (22) Immanuel Kant, « Critique of Judgment » , translated by John Henry Bernhard, New York (1951) , § 26, page 94.
- (23) Monroe Beardsley, « Aesthetics from Classical Greece to the Present : A Short History » , New York (1966) ; reprinted, Tuscaloosa, Alabama (1975) , page 219.
- (24) Thomas Weiskel, « The Romantic Sublime : Studies in the Structure and Psychology of Transcendence » , Baltimore (1976) , page 94.
- (25) Ibid. , page 95.
- (26) Peter De Bolla, « The Discourse of the Sublime : Readings in History, Aesthetics and the Subject » , Oxford (1989) , page 44. De Bolla nicely distinguishes between the role of the subject in the 18th and 19th Century versions of the sublime, as exemplified by Joseph Addison and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, respectively ; see pages 44-48.
- (27) Richard Taruskin, « Resisting the 9th » in « Text and Act » , New York (1995) , page 247.
- (28) William Crotch, « Substance of Several Lectures on Music » , London (1831) ; excerpted in « Music and Aesthetics

in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries » , edited by Peter Le Huray and James Day, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1981) , page 431.

(29) « Berlinische musikalische Zeitung » , Volume I, No. 46 ; excerpted and translated in « Music and Aesthetics » , edited by Peter Le Huray and James Day, pages 289-291.

(30) Edmund Burke, « A Philosophical Enquiry » , part II, section 5, page 64.

(31) Immanuel Kant, « Critique of Judgment » , § 26, pages 92 and 90.

(32) Franz Schalk, « Briefe und Betrachtungen » , edited by Lili Schalk, Vienna (1935) , page 81.

(33) Richard Cohn, « Maximally Smooth Cycles, Hexatonic Systems, and the Analysis of Late-Romantic Triadic Progressions » , « Music Analysis » No. 15 (1996) , pages 11.

(34) Review of a performance of the Adagio of the 7th Symphony on piano, by Josef Schalk at « Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein » , on 4 November 1884, « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » No. 80 (1884) , page 522 ; quoted in Othmar Wessely, « Bruckner Berichterstattung in der Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » in « Bruckner-Symposium : Bruckner Rezeption » , edited by Othmar Wessely, Linz (1991) , page 140.

(35) Robert Simpson mentioned the significance of the voicing of this chord in « The Essence of Bruckner », revised edition, London (1992) , page 199.

(36) Artur Schopenhauer, « The World as Will and Representation » , translated by E. F. J. Payne, 2 volumes, New York (1969) , § 39, Volume No. I, page 202.

(37) Immanuel Kant, « Critique of Judgment » , § 26, page 91.

(38) Raimonda Modiano, « Humanism and the Comic Sublime : From Kant to Friedrich Theodor Vischer » , « Studies in Romanticism » No. 26 (1987) , page 235.

(39) Review of Bruckner's 8th Symphony, in the « Neue Freie Presse » , 23 December 1892 ; reprinted in Eduard Hanslick, « Fünf Jahre Musik » , Berlin (1899) , pages 190-191 ; English translation in Eduard Hanslick, « Music Criticisms 1846-1899 » , translated by Henry Pleasants, Baltimore (1950) , pages 288-289, translation modified.

(40) On Viennese liberalism and music, see Leon Botstein, « Time and Memory : Concert Life, Science, and Music in Brahms' Vienna » in « Brahms and His World » , edited by Walter Frisch, Princeton (1990) , pages 3-22 ; and Margaret Notley, « Brahms as Liberal : Genre, Style, and Politics in Late-19th Century Vienna » , « 19th Century Music » No. 17 (1993) , pages 107-123.

(41) « Deutsche Zeitung », 5 November 1896 ; quoted in Margaret Notley, « Brahms as Liberal », page 109, translation modified.

(42) Felix Warteneck in « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » No. 87 (1891) , page 80 ; quoted in Othmar Wessely, « Bruckner Berichterstattung in der Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » , page 140.

(43) Eduard Hanslick, « On the Musically Beautiful » , translated by Geoffrey Payzant, Indianapolis (1986) , see especially page 28.

(44) See Max Weber, « The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism » , translated by Talcott Parsons, New York (1958) ; also see Herbert Marcuse's critical view in « Industrialization and Capitalism in the Work of Max Weber » in « Negations : Essays in Critical Theory » , Boston (1968) , pages 201-227.

(45) See Marie-Hélène Huet, « The Revolutionary Sublime » , « 18th Century Studies » No. 28 (1994) , pages 51-64.

(46) William R. Musgrave, « ' That Monstrous Fiction ' : Radical Agency and Aesthetic Ideology in Burke » , « Studies in Romanticism » No. 36 (1997) , page 10.

(47) « Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung » , quoted in Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner : Seine Leben und Schaffen » , Vienna (1947) , page 381.

(48) Max Graf, « The Legend of a Musical City » , New York (1945) , page 136. The 1887 version and the 1890 version « Studienpartitur » , edited by Robert Haas, Leipzig (1939) .

The motivation and meaning of Bruckner's revisions

(1) Robert Haas, « Einführung » in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , 8. Band : « VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll (Originalfassung) » .

(2) See Max Auer, « Die biographischen Tatsachen » in « Anton Bruckner : wissenschaftliche und künstlerische Betrachtungen zu den Originalfassungen » , Vienna (1937) , pages 10-11 ; and Robert Haas, « Vorlagenbericht » in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , 4. Band / I. Teil : « IV. Symphonie in Es-Dur (Fassung von 1878 mit dem Finale von 1880) , Finale von 1878, Partituren und Entwürfe mit Bericht » , edited by Robert Haas, Vienna (1936) .

(3) Robert Haas, « Einführung » in « VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll » . Haas followed a rather similar editorial method in his edition of the 2nd Symphony.

(4) Deryck Cooke, « Anton Bruckner » in « The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians » , edited by Stanley Sadie, London (1980) , volume III, pages 361-362 ; reprinted in « The New Grove Late Romantic Masters » , New York and London (1985) , pages 34-36 ; also see his « The Bruckner Problem Simplified » in « Vindications : Essays on

Romantic Music » , Cambridge, Massachusetts (1982) , pages 65-69.

(5) As Bruckner's friend and student Friedrich Eckstein put it : « I can testify that it was impossible to coerce him in artistic matters. » ; quoted in « Leidenschaftliche Erörterungen um Bruckner » , « Anbruch » No. 18 (1936) , page 48. Similar sentiments were offered by Friedrich Klose, response to Alfred Orel's « Original und Bearbeitung bei Anton Bruckner » , « Deutsche Musikkultur » No. 1 (1936-1937) , page 223 ; and Josef von Wöb in comments quoted in Max Morold, « Noch einiges zur Bruckner-Frage » , « Zeitschrift für Musik » No. 103 (1936) , page 1188.

(6) Max Auer, « Der Streit um den ' echten ' Bruckner » , « Zeitschrift für Musik » No. 103 (1936) , page 542.

(7) Leopold Nowak, « Vorwort » in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , 8. Band : « VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll, Fassung von 1890 » , « 2. Revidierte Ausgabe » , Vienna (1955) .

(8) Quoted in Constantin Floros, « Die Fassungen der Achten Symphonie von Anton Bruckner » in « Bruckner-Symposion : Die Fassungen » , edited by Franz Grasberger, Linz (1981) , page 53.

(9) Letter of 7 October 1887 ; see page 18.

(10) On the use of Wagner tubas in Symphonic music, see Stephen Parkany, « Kurth's Bruckner and the Adagio of Bruckner's 7th Symphony » , « 19th Century Music » No. 11 (1988) , page 269.

(11) Bryan Gilliam points-out several other subtle motivic links in « The 2 Versions of Bruckner's 8th Symphony » , « 19th Century Music » No. 16 (1992) , page 62, note 13.

(12) Ernst Kurth, « Bruckner » , Berlin (1925) , page 1077.

(13) Bruckner did replace a few pages of the score, but the majority of the cuts were effected by simple crossing-out ; see Dermot Gault, « For Later Times » , « Musical Times » , page 137 (1996) , page 17.

(14) Letter dated 8 April 1891, now in the « Bayerische Staatsbibliothek » Leiana, Munich. I am grateful to Laurence Dreyfus for sharing this letter with me.

(15) See « Bruckner, Vorlesungen über Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt an der Universität Wien » , edited by Ernst Schwanzara, Vienna (1950) , pages 201-202.

(16) See Manfred Wagner, « Bruckner : Leben, Werke, Dokumente » , Mainz (1983) , pages 394-396 ; and « Der Wandel des Konzepts : zu den verschiedenen Fassungen von Bruckners Dritter, Vierter und Achter Sinfonie » , Vienna (1980) .

(17) See Bryan Gilliam, « The 2 Versions of Bruckner's 8th Symphony » , pages 62-64, 69.

(18) Ibid. , page 63.

The 1892 edition, authorship, and performance practice

(1) See Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, « The 1st Printed Edition of Anton Bruckner's 4th Symphony : Collaboration and Authenticity » , « 19th Century Music » No. 20 (1996) , pages 3-26 ; and William Carragan, « Introduction » in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , 2. Band : « II. Symphonie in C-Moll, Fassung 1887-1892, Studienpartitur » , Vienna.

(2) Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, « ' Return to the Pure Sources ' : The Ideology and Text-Critical Legacy of the 1st Bruckner Gesamtausgabe » in « Bruckner Studies » , edited by Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1997) , pages 91-109.

(3) Garry Wills, « John Wayne's America : The Politics of Celebrity » , New York (1997) , page 26.

(4) Only the Scherzo (copied by Leopold Hofmeyer) is currently preserved, in the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in Vienna (A-Wgm XIII 32.394W) . In 1994, another late manuscript copy (not an autograph) of the score appeared on the market, and was purchased by a private collector ; see Andrea Harrant, « Unbekannte Bruckner-Autographe entdeckt » , « Österreichische Musikzeitschrift » No. 49 (1994) , page 32.

(5) See Max von Oberleithner, « Meine Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner » , Regensburg (1933) , pages 52-53 ; and Leopold Nowak, « Anton Bruckners Achte Symphonie und ihre zweite Fassung » in « Über Anton Bruckner » , Vienna (1985) , page 28.

(6) See Robert Haas, « Einführung » in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , 8. Band : « VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll (Originalfassung) , Studienpartitur » , edited by Haas, Leipzig (1939) .

(7) Franz Grasberger, « Anton Bruckner zwischen Wagnis und Sicherheit (eine Ausstellung) » , Linz (1977) , page 56 ; and Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , Tutzing (1988) , page 276.

(8) Franz Grasberger, « Anton Bruckner zwischen Wagnis und Sicherheit (eine Ausstellung) » , Linz (1977) , page 56 ; Leopold Nowak, « Anton Bruckners Achte Symphonie » , page 28 ; and Thomas Leibnitz, « Die Brüder Schalk und Anton Bruckner » , Tutzing (1988) , page 276. Emphasis in the original.

(9) See for example Paul Hawkshaw, « The Bruckner Problem Revisited » , « 19th Century Music » No. 21 (1997) , pages 100-101, where the source of this quotation is mistakenly given as the letter of 31 July 1891.

(10) Although the hand-writing is not entirely clear, Schalk almost certainly wrote « gestrichenen » , as can be confirmed from the fac-similé in Franz Grasberger, « Anton Bruckner zum 150. Geburtstag (eine Ausstellung) » , Vienna (1974) , page 33. Note that, in 1977, in « Anton Bruckner zwischen Wagnis und Sicherheit » , Grasberger did

transcribe this word as « gestrichenen » .

(11) These portions of the letters have been published only in Grasberger, « Anton Bruckner zwischen Wagnis und Sicherheit » , page 56. All subsequent quotations are from this source.

(12) See Ernst Kurth, « Anton Bruckner » , Berlin (1925) , page 1331.

(13) Dermot Gault, « For Later Times » , « Musical Times » No. 137 (1996) , page 18. Gault states that the cut covers bars 325-386, but this is undoubtedly a misprint for 345-386.

(14) Paul Hawkshaw, « The Bruckner Problem Revisited » , page 104 ; where Hawkshaw does make this claim about the 8th Symphony.

(15) See Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, « The 1st Printed Edition of Anton Bruckner's 4th Symphony » and Thomas Röder, « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , 3. Band : « III. Symphonie in D-Moll, Revisionsbericht » , Vienna (1997) , especially pages 241-246 and 331-341.

(16) See Lili Schalk, « Gespräche über Bruckner mit Franz » , unpublished typescript and Josef von Wöb, unpublished letter to Wilhelm Fürtwängler dated 23 April 1936 (both, Wn F 18 Schalk 360/4/3—4) . Wöb was proof-reader, and, eventually, director of « Waldheim-Eberle » , the firm that engraved all of Bruckner's editions, including the 8th Symphony, published after 1890.

(17) Manfred Wagner, « Bruckners Sinfonie-Fassungen - grundsätzlich referiert » in « Bruckner-Symposion : Die Fassungen » , edited by Franz Grasberger, Linz (1981) , page 18.

(18) Letter to Arthur Nikisch, 5 November 1884, « Anton Bruckner, Gesammelte Briefe, neue Folge » , edited by Max Auer, Regensburg (1924) , page 170.

(19) Letter to Felix Weingartner, 27 January 1891 ; « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 237.

(20) See Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, « The 1st Printed Edition of Anton Bruckner's 4th Symphony » , pages 13-16.

(21) Erich Leinsdorf, « The Composer's Advocate : a Radical Orthodoxy for Musicians » , New Haven (1981) , page 198.

(22) Letter of 20 March 1891 ; « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, 368.

(23) Letter of 27 March 1891 ; « Briefe » , edited by Max Auer, page 241.

(24) The dynamic character of a few passages is altered more fundamentally, notably the addition of a diminuendo to the pealing horns and trumpets in measures 386-389 of the 1st movement and the lowering of measures 301-308 of

the Finale from fortissimo to something like mezzo-forte. Also, a few big tuttis that are presented as a steady fortissimo in the 1890 version are made to build gradually to this peak of loudness in the 1892 edition ; e.g. , measures 183-211 and measures 679-686 of the Finale.

(25) Comment dated 20 October 1924 in Franz Schalk, « Gespräche über Bruckner mit Franz » .

(26) Eugen Jochum, « The Interpretation of Bruckner's Symphonies » , essay accompanying the DGG box-set « Bruckner : 9 Symphonies » , conducted by Eugen Jochum (DGG 429 079-2) .

(27) For some reason, conductors almost never follow the metronome markings in this movement. As a rule, the opening tempo is taken more quickly than indicated and the 2nd, significantly more slowly ; yet, this is probably exactly what Bruckner's metronome markings were designed to avoid !

(28) Constantin Floros, « Historische Phasen der Bruckner-Interpretation » in « Bruckner-Symposium : Bruckner-Interpretation » , edited by Frans Grasberger, Linz (1982) , page 99. For another important discussion of tempo schemes, see William Carragan, « Reconstructing Bruckner's Tempos » , « American Record Guide » , November / December 1996, pages 73-75 and 177.

(29) John Alan Phillips, « Flexibility of Tempo » in « Early Recordings and Musical Style : Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance, 1900-1950 » , Cambridge, Massachusetts (1992) , pages 7-36, also 38-41.

(30) Manfred Wagner, « Über das Dirigieren » , translated by Eduard Dannreuther as « On Conducting » , London (1887) ; reprinted New York (1989) , pages 92-93, also 43 and 67.

(31) Franz Schalk, « Briefe und Betrachtungen » , edited by Lili Schalk, Vienna (1935) , pages 83-84.

(32) Discographic details for Table 6.3 : Bruno Walter, New York Philharmonic, concert performance, 26 January 1941 (« Historical Performers » 23) ; Herbert von Karajan, « Preussische Staatskapelle » , radio broadcast, September 1944 (« Koch / Schwann » 314482) ; Wilhelm Fürtwängler, Vienna Philharmonic, concert performance, 17 October 1944 (« Unicorn » 109-10) ; Fürtwängler, Berlin Philharmonic, concert performance, 14 March 1949 (« EMI » 5 66210 2) ; Eugen Jochum, Hamburg State Philharmonic, 1949 (« DG » 449 758-2) ; Hans Knappertsbusch, Berlin Philharmonic, concert performance, 7-8 January 1951 (« Music & Arts » 856) ; Wilhelm Fürtwängler, Vienna Philharmonic, concert performance, 10 April 1954 (« Fonit Cetra » FE 17) ; Carl Schuricht, Vienna Philharmonic, 1964 (« EMI » CZ57 67279-2) ; Eugen Jochum, Berlin Philharmonic, 1964 (« DG » 429 079-2) ; Karl Böhm, Vienna Philharmonic, 1977 (« DG » 2709 068) ; Kurt Masur, Leipzig « Gewandhaus » Orchestra, June 1978 (« Eurodisc » 300 639-440) ; Barenboim, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, 1981 (« DG » 2740 253) ; Carlo Maria Giulini, Vienna Philharmonic, 1984 (« DG » 415 124-1) ; Herbert von Karajan, Vienna Philharmonic, 1988 (« DG » 427 611-2) ; Lorin Maazel, Berlin Philharmonic, 1990 (« EMI » 69796-2) ; Kurt Eichhorn, Bruckner Orchestra Linz, July 1991 (« Camerata » 225) ; Jesús Lopez Cobos, Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, 14-15 March 1993 (« Telarc » 80343) ; Günter Wand, North German Radio Symphony Orchestra, 5-7 December 1993, concert performance (« RCA » 68047-2) ; Christoph von Dohnányi, Cleveland Orchestra,

6-7 February 1994 (« London » 443 753-2) .

(33) On this issue, see Richard Taruskin's thought-provoking meditations in « On Letting the Music Speak for Itself » and « The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past » in « Text and Act » , Oxford (1995) , pages 51-66, especially pages 53-56, and 90-155, especially pages 90-102.

(34) Wilhelm Fürtwängler, « Anton Bruckner :Vortrag gehalten anlässlich des I. Großdeutschen Brucknerfestes in Wien (1939) » quoted in Keith Cunliffe, « Fürtwängler and Bruckner » , Newsletter of the « Wilhelm Fürtwängler Society » (United Kingdom) , No. 95, April and June (1989) , n. p.

(35) Robert Simpson, « The Essence of Bruckner » , revised edition, London (1992) , page 231.

Appendix A

(1) Robert Haas, « Einführung » in « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » , 8. Band : « VIII. Symphonie in C-Moll (Originalfassung) , Studienpartitur » , edited by Haas, Leipzig (1939) .

(2) See Leopold Nowak, « Anton Bruckners Achte Symphonie und ihre zweite Fassung, in « Über Anton Bruckner » , Vienna (1985) , page 28.

(3) It is interesting to note that Robert Haas did not re-introduce all of the material Bruckner crossed-out in his revised score ; see Dermot Gault, « For Later Times » , « Musical Times » No. 137 (1996) , page 17.

(4) Quoted in Morten Solvik, « The International Bruckner Society and the N.S.D.A.P. : A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition » , « The Musical Quarterly » No. 83 (1998) , page 367. On the ideology of Haas's Bruckner editions, also see Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, « ' Return to the Pure Sources ' : The Ideology and Text-Critical Legacy of the 1st Bruckner Gesamtausgabe » in « Bruckner Studies » , edited by Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1997) , pages 91-109. On Haas's early membership in the Nazi Party and its political advantage after the « Anschluß » , see Pamela Maxine Potter, « Most German of the Arts : Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's " Reich " » , New Haven (1998) , pages 115-117.

(5) In the United States, a photo-reprint of Robert Haas's edition is available from Kalmus (number : K 00382) .

Appendix B

Deryck Cooke, « Anton Bruckner » in « The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians » , edited by Stanley Sadie, London (1980) , volume III, page 362 ; reprinted in « The New Grove Late-Romantic Masters » , New York and London (1985) , page 36.

« Anton Bruchner : Ein Handbuch » , edited by Uwe Harten, Salzburg and Vienna (1996) .

Max Auer, « Anton Bruckner : Sein Leben und Werk » , Vienna (1947) .

William Benjamin, « Tonal Dualism in Bruckner's 8th Symphony » in « The 2nd Practice of 19th Century Tonality » , edited by William Kinderman and Harald Krebs, Lincoln, Nebraska (1996) , pages 237-258.

Ernst Bloch, « Essays in the Philosophy of Music » , translated by Peter Palmer, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1985) .

Leon Botstein, « Time and Memory : Concert Life, Science, and Music in Brahms's Vienna » in « Brahms and His World » , edited by Walter Frisch, Princeton (1990) , pages 3-22.

Reinhold Brinkmann, « Late Idyll : The 2nd Symphony of Johannes Brahms » , translated by Peter Palmer, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1995) .

« Anton Bruckner, Gesammelte Briefe » , edited by Franz Gräßlinger, Regensburg (1924) .

« Gesammelte Briefe, neue Folge » , edited by Max Auer, Regensburg (1924) .

William Carragan, « Reconstructing Bruckner's Tempos » , « American Record Guide » , November / December 1996, pages 73-75 and 177.

Deryck Cooke, « Anton Bruckner » in « The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians » , edited by Stanley Sadie, London (1980) , volume III, pages 352-371 ; reprinted in « The New Grove Late-Romantic Masters » , London (1985) , pages 1-73.

« The Bruckner Problem Simplified » in « Vindications : Essays on Romantic Music » , Cambridge, Massachusetts (1982) , pages 43-71.

Carl Dahlhaus, « Issues in Composition » in « Between Romanticism and Modernism » , translated by Mary Whittall, Berkeley and Los Angeles (1980) , pages 40-78.

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L'Alliance des 3 Empereurs

Re-inforcing the idea of the new Empire as a voluntary union of princes, not something based on the will of the people, required the « performance » of monarchical rule by « Kaiser » Wilhelm I - above all in Berlin, but also in the capitals of Germany's individual Federal States. A woodcut from Leipzig's « Illustrierte Zeitung » depicts the « Imperial Days » in Dresden, specifically the « Kaiser » 's entry into the city on September 14th, 1882. Wilhelm I is accompanied in the carriage by King Albert.

15 au 17 septembre 1884 : Meeting of the 3 Emperors (« Der Dreikaisertreffen ») at Skierniewice (in Russian Poland) to discuss the extradition of political offenders. This event took place during the composition of Bruckner's 8th Symphony.

(Das Dreikaisertreffen von 1884 bekräftigte im Dreikaiserbund letztmals das nach 1871 verwirklichte Dreikaiserverhältnis.

So kam es im September 1884 in Skierniewice zu einem Zusammentreffen der Kaisermächte Osteuropas unter dem deutschen Kaiser Wilhelm I., dem österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchen Franz Joseph I. und dem russischen Zaren Alexander III., an der auch Bismarck und die Außenminister Österreich-Ungarns und Russlands teilnahmen. Es gelang den drei Kaisermächten nicht, die durch die andauernde österreichisch-russische Balkanrivalität verstärkten Gegensätze im Dreikaiserbund während dieses Treffens zu überwinden, womit es ohne nachhaltigen Erfolg blieb.)

This was an attempt to revitalise the alliance between « Kaiser » Wilhelm I of Germany, Emperor Franz-Josef of Austria, and Tzar Alexander III of Russia, part of Bismarck's system of alliances that seems to have led inexorably, in hindsight, to the First World War. This particular exercise was short-lived and the alliance collapsed again, in 1887. In the letter to Felix Weingartner quoted by Werner Wolff, Anton Bruckner states that the opening of the Finale of the 8th Symphony illustrates this event. This was a serious letter written to an intelligent young conductor, a pupil of Hermann Levi's, charged with the planned 1st performance of the 8th, so a very important letter - and yet, it is full of incredible mistakes of fact.

« Finale : At the time our Emperor received the visit of the Czars at Olmütz ; thus strings : the Cossacks ; brass : military music ; trumpets : fanfares, as the Majesties meet. »

Looking-up how the event was reported in the Vienna press, so as to get an idea of how Bruckner may have envisaged it, the 1st discovery you make is that it took place not at Olmütz, but at Skierniewice. The significance of that is that Skierniewice was in Russian Poland, so the Emperor did not receive any Czars, singular or plural. At 1:30 pm, Russian dignitaries and troops assembled at the station ; at 1:45 pm, the Tsar arrived to hurrahs ; at 2:00 pm precisely, the Emperor Franz-Josef arrived by train at the Grand Station, and sedately inspected the troops - no mention of any galloping Cossacks : the sound of the steam engine would, perhaps, have been a more appropriate music. There had been a meeting 30 years earlier at Olmütz, with the previous Czar involving troop movements, and maybe Bruckner's memory of this event when he was, in his early 30's, informed his idea of the 1884 meeting. Of course, Bruckner was neither political journalist nor historian so maybe these confusions count for little ; he merely had the impression of a grand Royal event and, no doubt, there were military parades. But he was a musician and Wagnerian, so, it is a little more disconcerting when he goes on to compare the combination of all the main-themes at the end of the Finale to Act II of « Tannhäuser », when the King arrives. There is no King in « Tannhäuser », just the Landgraf, and he does no « arriving » ; it is his guests who arrive to an attractive « Weber-ish » March. There is no combination of all themes that Bruckner writes of in his letter.

Again, commentators are non-plussed. Werner Wolff writes :

« And what about the beginning of the Finale. Where the very forces of Nature seem to shake themselves loose ? Of this part of the work. Bruckner wrote to Weingartner :

“ Finale. Our Emperor had the Czars to visit at the time, in Olmütz. Hence, the strings : the Cossacks on horse-back. Brass instruments : military music. Trumpets : a flourish when their Majesties meet.” »

The analyst is disarmed.

...

By the beginning of 1884, Vienna was in a fairly confident mood. In February, Baron Max Wladimir von Beck, departmental chief of the Ministry of Emperor Franz-Josef surveyed the horizon : relations with Italy had become increasingly stable, the only threat to them being a revolution in Rome and a consequent re-alignment of the Latin races under the Republican banner in a battle against the monarchical principle. With Roumania, relations had been greatly improved and clarified by the alliance (though that State might still hesitate to lend positive assistance in a War) . Bulgaria was no longer a problem ; but it would be well to keep in favour with Turkey, who could be useful in preventing trouble from Montenegro or in the occupied provinces. Russia, therefore, was in a fairly isolated position - particularly now that her friend France was so busy overseas. Of course, much still needed to be done to improve the Monarchy's defences and to reduce the time needed for mobilization.

But, all in all, Beck decided :

« The year 1883 has brought a real change for the better. »

It was in this contented mood that the Austrians proceeded to the renewal of the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » . They still kept a wary eye on Russia. For example, at Salzburg, in August 1883, Count Gustav Kálnoky rejected out of hand a Russian proposal which Chancellor Otto von Bismarck put to him that the alliance be modified in the sense of the « Reichstadt » Agreement of 1876, to take account of the eventual collapse of Turkey, and even of Russia's designs on Constantinople. The Emperor and the Hungarians would never agree to this, he said. Besides, the alliance was strictly defensive ; and the Monarchy had no interest whatever in anything remotely offensive to Turkey, who might still prove useful in a War. Nor had he any time for Bismarck's favourite idea of spheres of influence in the Balkans : Russia would not observe the principle in Serbia and Montenegro and, hence, it would just be pure loss for the Monarchy to abandon Bulgaria.

During the negotiations for the renewal of the treaty, he made only 1 concession to Russia. That was an important one : the text was amended to extend the prohibition of military action without prior consultation from Turkey proper and Bulgaria to the whole of the Balkan peninsula. Admittedly, he had sold this particular pass to the Russian Foreign Minister Nicholas de Giers, in the summer of 1883 ; but this formal amendment was to give the Austrians a good deal of trouble in the Serbo-Bulgarian War of 1885. Otherwise, there were no significant changes. Kálnoky rejected

Bismarck's suggestion that Italy might be brought-in : this would overthrow the whole basis of existing treaties, he said, in which Italy's role was only as part of the wall he had built against the danger of a Russian attack if the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » failed. (By the same token, he later refused another suggestion of Bismarck's to admit Russia to the Triple Alliance, and told Bismarck to confine himself to informing Russia of its conservative monarchical content.) Besides, Kálnoky said, the Near-East was no business of Italy's : she would only complicate matters. When Giers seemed to be prevaricating about Bosnia and the Herzegovina, Kálnoky firmly reminded him that their annexation was not to be regarded as a change in the « status quo » ; and that it would not authorize Russia to precipitate a union of the 2 Bulgarias - all of which Giers accepted. On this basis, the treaty was renewed for 3 years in Berlin, on 27 March 1884.

Now, during the negotiations, Kálnoky had agreed to a Russian suggestion for a meeting between Emperor Franz-Josef and Alexander III at the Tsar's hunting-lodge, at Skierniewice (in Poland) , to take place in the summer. But hardly was the ink dry on the renewed treaty than he began to find Russia's behaviour exasperating. In the spring, there were difficulties over Eastern Roumelia, where in view of the impending expiry of the term of office of the Turkish governor-general, Aleko Pasha, a nationalist movement was growing-up in favour of union with Bulgaria ; and this spread to the principality. The Tsar, meanwhile, was pressing strongly for the appointment of a pro-Russian successor to Aleko Pasha - no friend of Saint-Petersburg. All this alarmed Kálnoky : for with a pro-Russian governor-general in Eastern Roumelia, the Russians might expel Alexander from Bulgaria, and recover their prestige by bringing about a union under Russian auspices. To make matters worse, Bismarck seemed to be lending the Russians every assistance. For example, in June, he gratified the Tsar by delivering a crushing humiliation to Alexander of Battenberg, preventing the prince's marriage to the half-English Princess Victoria of Prussia.

To a certain extent, Kálnoky felt constrained to keep in step with his partners in the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » - at least to the extent of not actually opposing the Russian nominee for Eastern Roumelia. And he cooperated with them in sorting-out a Serbo-Bulgarian frontier dispute despite Franz-Josef's indignation at Russia's stiff opposition to Serbia's « just claims » . On the other hand, a bland suggestion from Bismarck that he should accept that Bulgaria lay in Russia's sphere provoked him too far. Again, he declaimed against the doctrine of spheres of influence, which, as he rightly observed, Russia herself did not accept. Austria-Hungary could never give Russia a free-hand in Bulgaria : to do so would be to create that same big Slav kingdom under Russian control that Count Gyula Andrassy had so tenaciously opposed. Such a State would dominate the whole Balkans. Besides, Austria-Hungary had a great material stake in Bulgaria.

On top of all this came an exasperating suggestion from Bismarck that the German Emperor should also participate in the Skierniewice meeting. This filled the Austrians with alarm : the participation of Germany, in her present frame of mind, could only benefit Russia ; and it might even look like a down-grading of the « Dual Alliance » in favour of the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » . Besides, such a spectacular meeting could only cause general wonder and disquiet.

Kálnoky complained to the ambassador in London :

« You can imagine what a noise it will make. »

Yet, at the same time, it could do no good to snub the Germans, especially at a time when the Russians were so alarmingly assiduous at Berlin. To make the best of an embarrassing situation, therefore, the Austrians decided to comply with Bismarck's plan, but to make sure that the Skierniewice meeting was preceded by meetings between Franz-Joseph and Wilhelm I, and between Kálnoky and Bismarck, at Ischl and Varzin. This would put the « Dual Alliance » in the foreground, and give the public the impression that Skierniewice was merely a subsidiary re-inforcement of Austro-German solidarity. Franz-Josef was most anxious that Germany should be squared in advance of any tripartite talks. Not that he was expecting much of lasting value to emerge from Skierniewice anyway :

« My distrust of conditions in Russia is so deep-rooted. »

An Austro-Hungarian foreign-office memorandum reviewing the situation in August took an extraordinarily gloomy view : the Balkan situation had recently become extremely precarious. Austria-Hungary might well prefer to humour Giers and the conservatives in Russia, but she might nevertheless soon have to call on that Power to halt - for she herself could not retreat in the Balkans without sacrificing the hard-won gains of recent years. Faced with this problem, she was virtually isolated : the feeble William Ewart Gladstone government seemed to have withdrawn from the Near-East ; and although the « Dual Alliance » remained the basis of Austro-Hungarian policy, Bismarck, with his talk of spheres of interest, was giving the Monarchy virtually no backing. It would be essential at Varzin, therefore, to find-out just what Bismarck had in mind. This was also Kálnoky's view, and in the weeks before he went to Varzin, he did his best to humour the Germans. He supported their opposition to an Anglo-Portuguese treaty about the Congo basin, and impressed strongly on Tibor Károlyi, in London, that it was vitally important in the London conference, then meeting on Egypt, to lend Bismarck wholehearted support against Gladstone. The latter's policy was, in any case, « a disaster » (« höchst unheilvoll ») for Austria-Hungary who had no interest whatever in seeing him continue in office.

In the event, Wilhelm I showered Franz-Josef with fulsome expressions of loyalty at Ischl ; and at Varzin, Bismarck, while not having any significant suggestions to make, at least did not return to his obnoxious advice of the summer. The talks at Skierniewice too (15-17 September) were also academic ; but they were very remarkable for their cordiality. Indeed, in this respect, they surpassed all expectation, and provided a good illustration of summit diplomacy at its most successful. This 1st personal contact brought a real improvement in the relations between Franz-Josef and the Tsar ; and, from this moment, Kálnoky too began to take a markedly more hopeful view of the possibility of lasting co-existence with Russia. Writer Theodor von Sossnosky's assessment of Skierniewice (« the electrifying of a corpse, which could deceive only the short-sighted ») certainly underrates the importance of the meeting. The Italians, for example, were not short-sighted in discerning a significant down-grading of the « Triple Alliance », the « raison d'être » of which was, of course, the possible collapse of the « 3 Emperors' Alliance ». They felt resentful at not being invited to join in the junketings of their allies (« siamo noi servitori ? ») and tried, in vain, to find-out what had transpired. The « 3 Emperors' Alliance » had, in fact, made a real recovery.

Kálnoky had no doubts about this. Indeed, when, in October, Count István Tisza allowed the Hungarian parliament to express its suspicion of Russia in a formal vote, his rage knew no bounds. He even went so far as to tender his resignation. Not only was it intolerable, he complained to the Emperor, that Tisza should allow any debate at all in

the Hungarian parliament, rather than in the Delegations, where the minister for foreign-affairs would, at least, have a chance to defend his policy. The content of the Hungarian declaration was even more serious :

« For Austria-Hungary, today, it is a question of life and death to avoid War with Russia. »

At Skierniewice, he had managed to secure peace and friendship with Russia, without even a written agreement, « with a hand-shake, so to speak » ; and, here, were the Hungarians are giving the impression that the Monarchy was now drawing-back. In the end, Franz-Josef refused to accept Kálnoky's resignation ; and Tisza promised to behave more correctly in future. But the incident is as eloquent of Kálnoky's renewed faith in Russia as of the continuing mistrust of that Power in Hungary.

The Hungarians were, at the same time, raising obstacles in the way of Kálnoky's Balkan policy. Agrarian Hungary gained little from the Monarchy's commercial treaties with the Balkan States ; but, so long as she could send 75 % of her own exports to Austria and the rest to Germany and Western Europe, she was prepared to admit cheaper Balkan live-stock for home consumption. Now, in October 1884, foot and mouth disease broke-out in Serbia ; and when Serbia persisted in sending infected animals into Hungary, the Hungarians reacted drastically and closed the frontier to all live-stock from Serbia, Roumania, and Bulgaria. The Serbian government, backed-up by Rudolf Graf von Khevenhüller-Metsch, protested at this ; and Franz-Josef and Kálnoky eventually prevailed on the Magyars to relent and re-open the frontier (in December) . The affair had, of course, done nothing to raise the popularity of Hungary among the ordinary peasants, who made-up the bulk of the population in Serbia. Worse still, in February 1885, infected cattle from Roumania passed through Hungary to Germany, and a major disruption of the international cattle trade resulted. Britain forbade the entry of German cattle, Germany thereupon closed the frontier to Hungary ; and Hungary to Roumania. (The Hungarian government wanted to extend the ban to Serbia too ; but Kálnoky and the Emperor insisted that the Monarchy could not ignore its treaty obligations towards Serbia just because a 3rd party had made difficulties.) Relations with Roumania, of course, became seriously strained. Irredentism was as rife as ever, but Kálnoky had resignedly concluded that no Roumanian government, however well-intentioned, would ever have the power to check it effectively. Now, however, Bucharest decided not to renew the Austro-Roumanian commercial treaty, due to expire in 1886 ; and the Hungarians, to Kálnoky's dismay, did not seem to care. The Russophile press in Roumania, of course, had a field-day ; but Kálnoky's appeals to Budapest went unheeded. He was again feeling the shackles of the 1867 Constitution, which allowed the foreign-minister only an advisory function in internal and economic questions. He had no legal means of enforcing his views about a commercial policy which was made by others, but which had none the less important consequences in foreign policy for all that.

On top of these difficulties came a political crisis in Serbia, where King Milan Obrenović's political embarrassments were now complicated by the fact that his licentious life had alienated his Russian-born Queen, Natalia Keschko. The Royal pair quarrelled openly in the « cafés » of Belgrade. Milan now began to despair, and yearned for a life of pleasure in Paris or Vienna. But he had no money. In the summer of 1885, therefore, he hit on the idea of amending the Austro-Serbian treaty. The Austrians could provide him with a pension if he ever abdicated ; and they could also educate his son in Vienna, away from the influence of the Queen. In return, Milan would allow them to annex Serbia if they saw fit. He concocted a draft with the help of Khevenhüller, who sent it to Vienna.

Kálnoky would have nothing to do with it. He rebuked Khevenhüller and, in June, took Milan himself to task in Vienna ; monarchs had duties as well as privileges, he told the abject King, and it was Milan's duty to remain in Serbia and govern his people. Unless an openly hostile regime appeared in Belgrade to threaten the tranquillity of Austria-Hungary's southern Slavs, no one in the Monarchy had the faintest desire to intervene in Serbia :

« A flourishing and independent Serbia, on friendly terms with us, suits our intentions best - in any case, better than the possession of an unruly province. »

At the same time, Kálnoky had no illusions about the vital importance of Serbia. That State, he told Viscount Eduard Taaffe, in September 1885 , was « the key to the Monarchy's position in the Near-East » . True, he was at the time trying to persuade Taaffe to give Milan some secret-service money. Nevertheless, he was sincerely convinced that if Austria-Hungary did not control Serbia, Russia would ; and « that moral encirclement by the leading Slav Power, which will always remain the chief-danger for Austria-Hungary, would then extend from Montenegro to the banks of the Vistula ; Austria-Hungary would be cut-off from the Near-East » . Worse still, the south Slav idea would, then, have found a material basis for its political activity and would soon penetrate deep into the Monarchy - which would, then, find foreign problems turning into domestic problems. This prophecy of doom was remarkably percipient ; and, even in the immediate future, Kálnoky can have drawn but little comfort from the thought that the personality of King Milan was the « surest and almost the only guarantee against these dangers » .

In this situation, it seemed vital to preserve the good relations with Russia achieved at Skierniewice. Certainly, there seemed no hope of salvation from any other quarter, from the Western Powers, for example. On the contrary, Kálnoky found Italy's expedition to Massawa, in February 1885, profoundly unsatisfactory, and would have liked Bismarck to tell Italy plainly that she could expect no help from the « Triple Alliance » if she embroiled herself with France in the Red Sea. By the summer, both Bismarck and Kálnoky had a very poor opinion altogether of Italy ; and, at Varzin, in August 1885, they agreed that although the « Triple Alliance » was probably still worth renewing, Italy should be given no further concessions whatever. The behaviour of Britain who, in the spring, became involved in a dispute with Russia over Afghanistan was equally unsatisfactory. The idea that Britain might choose to fight-out this remote quarrel in the Black Sea filled Kálnoky with alarm. For if, Turkey allowed a British fleet through the Straits, Russia would take this as an Act of War ; and the conflagration would spread to the whole Balkans. To avoid this catastrophe, therefore, and, in accordance with her obligations under the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » , Austria-Hungary lost no time in joining the other continental Powers in reminding the Turks that they must, in no circumstances, open the Straits. Not that the Austrians were ready to render Russia any active assistance if Britain actually forced the Straits. They had no desire to see British influence disappear altogether from the Near-East, where it might, one day, prove a useful counter to Russia's. Nor did they share, in the least, Bismarck's relish for an Anglo-Russian War. Any gains that might accrue to Austria-Hungary from the weakening of her commercial rival, Britain, would be more than out-weighed by the danger of an increase in Russia's prestige or, if Russia were defeated, by the danger of a revolution in Russia which might produce an adventurous, pan-Slav policy.

Nor was France regarded, at this time in Vienna, as a potential source of support. Indeed, as Kálnoky came to rely

more on the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » , considerations of monarchical principle assumed increased importance ; and, in this respect, he saw in France, perhaps not an enemy as Bismarck did (and, after all, Austria-Hungary still had no quarrel of her own with France) but a potential menace to the Monarchy's alliance system and, hence, to its security. His attitude was, therefore, less narrowly diplomatic than Bismarck's - Germany was simply confronted with a hostile neighbour who had to be isolated. And, at Varzin, in August 1885, he impressed on Bismarck that « the long continued existence of a French Republic, recognized as a fully equal Power, is a dangerous matter for the monarchical principle » . There was more than sentiment to this : the greatest menace was the extension of the Republican principle to France's Latin neighbours : « the realization of the well-known idea of the “ Confédération des races latines ” » . It would be very serious if some 80 million people from Cadiz to Lake Constance, from Syracuse to the North Sea, came to live under a Republican system of government. Belgium, with its numerous revolutionary elements, would not hold-out for long. One dream of the revolution would be realized ; and this would threaten the 3 Eastern Empires, for the Confederation of Slav States and the United States of Germany were inscribed on the same programme. Clearly, it was more than ever important that the 3 Empires stand together. A few days later (on 25-26 August) , a very cordial return-visit by Alexander III to Franz-Josef, at Kremsier, proclaimed again the Austrians' new-found faith in the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » .

In the summer of 1885, Austria-Hungary seemed to enjoy a reasonable measure of security. This was, in great part, due to the alliances she had built-up in the past 6 years. True, Count Gyula Andrassy's original simple idea of a grand alliance including Germany, Britain, and Italy to resist Russia had proved unrealizable owing to the vagaries of British policy and Germany's obsessive concern for good relations with Russia. It had been transformed by his successors into a more complex, but basically dualistic, system of alliances. On the one hand, undoubtedly in the ascendant since Skierniewice, was the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » , embodying the desire to co-operate with « official » Russia and by the exercise of mutual self-restraint to avoid a clash over the Balkans that could only prove disastrous to all 3 great Monarchies. On the other hand, and temporarily of less urgent importance as the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » seemed to be working and the risk of War receded, was the « Dual Alliance » and its ramifications, which would strengthen the Monarchy in War if the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » should fail to keep the peace. Of these alliances, the « Dual Alliance » was clearly the most important, with its promise of German military assistance. The Roumanian alliance promised a support that would hardly materialize, and the « Triple Alliance » no support at all. Moreover, the alliances with Serbia, Italy and Roumania were all plagued with irredentism. Nevertheless, all these alliances were important if the Monarchy needed rear-cover to concentrate its resources on the Russian front. And, even in peace-time, they were useful, like the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » , in bolstering-up the monarchical principle and conservative interests generally. Apart from this, the Monarchy had managed to establish good relations with Turkey, and had a firm foothold in Bulgaria - both of which States might prove useful, even without an alliance, in the event of War. Finally, with Salisbury's return to power in London (on June 24) , there even seemed a chance of some British support.

Yet, even the most elaborate alliance system can hardly provide for every use. The alliance system of 1879-1883 offered Austria-Hungary a fair chance of peaceful co-existence with Russia, provided the pacific Tsar continued to direct Russian policy ; and as strong a military position as she was ever likely to attain in the event of a final armed confrontation with Russia. There always remained the problems of day-to-day diplomacy, however ; perhaps, of less obvious urgency than the risks of actual War and annihilation, but, nonetheless, of vital importance when taken

together over a number of years. The perpetual struggle for influence in the Balkan States had immense implications for the whole Great Power position of the parties concerned. At least, this was the conviction of those directing policy in Vienna and Saint-Petersburg. It might happen that a diplomatic crisis would prove severe enough to estrange even « official » Russia from the Monarchy and to destroy the « 3 Emperors' Alliance » , but would yet stop short of that War which would bring the other alliances into operation. Such a crisis would not only intensify the contradictions in the Balkan alliance system, given the conflicting ambitions of the Monarchy's friends and allies in the peninsula ; it would also reveal the inadequacy in diplomacy of alliances designed for use in War.

...

« Triple Alliance » , secret agreement between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy formed in May 1882 and renewed periodically until World War I. Germany and Austria-Hungary had been closely allied since 1879. Italy sought their support against France shortly after losing North African ambitions to the French. The treaty provided that Germany and Austria-Hungary were to assist Italy if it were attacked by France without Italian provocation ; Italy would assist Germany if Germany were attacked by France. In the event of a War between Austria-Hungary and Russia, Italy promised to remain neutral. This abstention would have the effect of freeing Austrian troops that would otherwise have been needed to guard the Austrian-Italian border.

When the treaty was renewed in February 1887, Italy gained an empty promise of German support of Italian colonial ambitions in North Africa in return for Italy's continued friendship. Austria-Hungary had to be pressured by German chancellor Otto von Bismarck into accepting the principles of consultation and mutual agreement with Italy on any territorial changes initiated in the Balkans or on the coasts and islands of the Adriatic and Ægean seas. Italy and Austria-Hungary did not overcome their basic conflict of interest in that region, the treaty notwithstanding. On November 1, 1902, 5 months after the « Triple Alliance » was renewed, Italy reached an understanding with France that each would remain neutral in the event of an attack on the other. Although the alliance was again renewed in 1907 and 1912, Italy entered World War I, in May 1915, in opposition to Germany and Austria-Hungary.

...

Automne 1884 : Gustav Mahler, now aged 24, returns to Kassel.

26 septembre 1884 : Anton Vergeiner publishes an article about Anton Bruckner (aged 60) in the « Linz Tagepost » . He attacks Viennese critics for not giving proper recognition to Bruckner.

28 septembre 1884 : Anton Bruckner commence à rédiger la version dite finale de son « Te Deum » .

Octobre 1884 : Anton Bruckner dédie son Quintette à cordes (**WAB 112**) « à Sa Majesté Royale, le duc Max Emmanuel de Bavière, avec mon plus profond respect » .

Octobre 1884 : Lors de son passage à Vienne, Franz Liszt refusera la dédicace de la 2e Symphonie de Bruckner.

11 octobre 1884 : Ceremonial opening on « Franzensring » , in the presence of Emperor Franz-Josef I, of the Main Building of the new « University Palace » (in the Renaissance style) by architect Heinrich von Ferstel. The site, known as « Dr. Karl-Lueger-Ring I » during the 20th Century, is renamed today : « Universitätsring I » (for anti-Semitic reasons) .

Université de Vienne

L'Université de Vienne (« Universität Wien ») , ou l' « Alma mater Rudolphina » est fondée en 1365 par Rodolphe IV. C'est la seconde plus vieille université du monde germanophone après l'université Charles de Prague qui, en 1348, au moment où elle est fondée (enseignant en latin, comme partout alors) par Charles IV, est l'université principale du Saint-Empire Romain germanique.

Le bâtiment principal est l'œuvre de l'architecte Heinrich von Ferstel. Il s'élève sur le boulevard circulaire (le « Ring ») au centre de Vienne.

L'architecte autrichien Heinrich Freiherr von Ferstel est né le 7 juillet 1828 à Vienne et est mort le 14 juillet 1883 aussi à Vienne. Il est considéré comme représentatif de l'historicisme.

Son 1er projet important est pour le concours de l'église votive (« Votivkirche ») de Vienne, son projet néo-Gothique dans le style des cathédrales françaises est sélectionné en 1855 et lui apporte une célébrité immédiate.

Il a construit quelques autres bâtiments publics dans le centre-ville. Après des débuts dans un style historiciste Roman (notamment, le bâtiment de la bourse à Vienne, aujourd'hui, le palais Ferstel qui héberge le Café Central) , il devient professeur au « Polytechnikum » . Le caractère fonctionnel notamment de ses bâtiments d'enseignement supérieur, dès l'époque de leur construction, a été critiqué par ses contemporains, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'il a été un architecte célèbre et célébré de son vivant.

...

The University of Vienna (« Universität Wien ») was founded on 12 March 1365 by Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria, and his 2 brothers, Dukes Albert III and Leopold III, hence the additional name « Alma Mater Rudolphina » . With its long and rich history, the University of Vienna has developed into one of the biggest Universities in Europe and, also, one of the most renowned, especially in the Humanities. It is associated with 15 Nobel Prize winners and has been the academic home of a large number of figures both of historical and academic importance.

After the Charles University in Prague and Jagiellonian University in Kraków, the University of Vienna is the 3rd oldest University in Central Europe and the oldest University in the German-speaking world. It was modelled after the University of Paris. However, Pope Urban V did not ratify the deed of foundation that had been sanctioned by Rudolf IV, specifically in relation to the department of theology. This was presumably due to pressure exerted by Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, who wished to avoid competition for the Charles University in Prague. Approval was finally

received from the Pope, in 1384, and the University of Vienna was granted the status of a full University, including the Faculty of Catholic Theology. The 1st University building opened in 1385. It quite grew into the biggest University of the Holy Roman Empire and, during the advent of Humanism in the mid- 15th Century was home to more than 6,000 students.

In its early years, the University had a partly hierarchical, partly cooperative structure, in which the Rector was at the top, while the students who had little say and were settled at the bottom. The « Magister » and Doctors constituted the 4 faculties and elected the academic officials from amidst their ranks. The students, but also all other « Supposita » (University members) , were divided into 4 Academic Nations. Their elected board members, mostly graduates themselves, had the right to elect the Rector. He presided over the Consistory which included procurators of each of the nations and the faculty deans, as well as over the University Assembly, in which all University teachers participated. Complaints or appeals against decisions of faculty by the students had to be brought forward by a « Magister » or Doctor.

Being considered a Papal Institution, the University suffered quite a set-back during the Reformation. In addition, the 1st Siege of Vienna by Ottoman forces had devastating effects on the city, leading to a sharp decline, with only 30 student numbers enrolled at the lowest point. For King Ferdinand I, this meant that the University should be tight to the church to an even stronger degree and, in 1551, he installed the Jesuit Order there. With the enacting of the « Sanctio Pragmatica » edict by Emperor Ferdinand II, in 1623, the Jesuits took-over teaching at the theological and philosophical faculty and, thus, the University became as stronghold of Catholicism for over 150 years. It was only in the mid- 18th Century that Empress Maria Theresa forced the University back under control of the monarchy. Her successor Joseph II helped in the further reform of the University, allowing both Protestants and Jews to enroll as well as introducing German as the compulsory language of instruction.

Big changes were instituted in the wake of the 1848 Revolution, with the Philosophical Faculty being upgraded into equal status as Theology, Law and Medicine. Led by the reforms of Leopold, Count von Thun und Hohenstein, the University was able to achieve a larger degree of academic freedom. The current main building on the « Ringstraße » was built between 1877 and 1884 by Heinrich von Ferstel. The previous main building was located close to the Stuben Gate (« Stubentor ») on Ignaz-Seipel Square, current home of the old University Church (« Universitätskirche ») and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (« Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften ») . Women were admitted as full students from 1897, although their studies were limited to Philosophy. The remaining departments gradually followed suit, although with considerable delay : Medicine, in 1900 ; Law, in 1919 ; Protestant Theology, in 1923 ; and, finally, Roman Catholic Theology, in 1946. 10 years after the admission of the 1st female students, Elise Richter became the 1st woman to receive habilitation, becoming professor of Romance Languages, in 1907 ; she was also the 1st female distinguished professor.

In the late- 1920's, the University was in steady turmoil because of anti-Democratic and anti-Semite activity by parts of the student body. Professor Moritz Schlick was killed by a former student while ascending the steps of the University for a class. His murderer was later released by the Nazi Regime. Following the « Anschluß » , the annexation of Austria into Greater Germany by the Nazi regime, in 1938, the University of Vienna was reformed under political

aspects and a huge number of teachers and students were dismissed for political and « racial » reasons. In April 1945, the then 22 year old Kurt Schubert, later acknowledged doyen of Judaic Studies at the University of Vienna, was permitted by the Soviet occupation forces to open the University again for teaching, which is why he is regarded as the unofficial 1st rector in the post-War period. On 25 April 1945, however, the constitutional lawyer Ludwig Adamovich senior was elected as official rector of the University of Vienna.

...

The construction of the Main Building took place between 1877 and 1884, according to plans by the architect Heinrich von Ferstel that combined the forms of the Renaissance and the monumentality of the Baroque era. On the site of the former military parade area on Vienna's splendid new « Ringstraße », the Parliament, the City Hall and the University were all built at the same time. The architecture of these 3 monumental buildings echoes the democracy of the Greeks (in the Ancient Grecian style of the Parliament) , the aspirations of the bourgeoisie in the Middle-Ages (in the Gothic City Hall) , and the flowering of Humanism (in the Renaissance style of the University) .

In spite of the grand proportions of the whole complex (with a ground plan of 161 metres by 131 metres) , the original intention of accommodating all bodies of the University in one central building could not be fulfilled. In addition to the official rooms of the Rector, 2 ceremonial halls and the central administration the building was able to accommodate the 4 Deans, the University Library and many departments and lecture halls. But a considerable proportion of the University's institutions had to be located in many other buildings away from the centre.

...

The architect Heinrich Freiherr von Ferstel was born on 7 July 1828 in Vienna ; and died on 14 July 1883 in Grinzing, near Vienna (now a part of Döbling) . With Hansen and Schmidt, he helped build the late- 19th Century Vienna.

His father Ignaz Ferstel was a bank-clerk of Prague. After wavering for some time between the different arts, he finally decided on architecture which he studied at the Academy under Eduard van der Nüll, August Sicard von Sicardsburg, and Carl Rösner. After several years during which he was in disrepute because of his part in the 1848 Revolution, he entered the atelier of his uncle, Stache, where he worked at the votive altar for the chapel of Saint-Barbara in Saint-Stephen's Cathedral of Vienna, and co-operated in the restoration and construction of many castles, chiefly in Bohemia. Journeys of some length into Germany, Belgium, Holland, and England confirmed him in his tendency towards Romanticism. It was in Italy, however, where he was sent as a bursar in 1854, that he was converted to the Renaissance style of architecture, and his admiration for Bramante. He began to use of polychromy by means of « Graffito » decoration and terra-cotta. This device, adapted from the Early Renaissance and intended to convey a fuller sense of life, he employed later in the Austrian Museum of Applied-Arts.

In 1855, while still in Italy, he was awarded the prize in the competition for the votive church (« Votivkirche ») of Vienna (1855) over 74 contestants. He built it between 1856 and 1879. After his death, it was proposed by Sir Tatton Sykes as a model for the new Westminster Cathedral in London. Another of Ferstel's monumental works belonging to

the same period is the Austro-Hungarian bank in Vienna, in the style of the Early-Renaissance (1856-1860) . The expansion of the city of Vienna enabled Ferstel, with Rudolf Eitelberger, to develop civic architecture along artistic lines : Burgomaster's residence ; Stock-Exchange (1859) . At the same time, he had also the opportunity of putting his ideas into practice in a number of private dwellings and villas, in Brünn and Vienna.

The more important buildings designed during his later years (passing over the churches at Schonau near Teplitz, really products of his earlier activity) are the palace of Archduke Ludwig Victor ; his winter palace in Klessheim ; the palace of Prince Johann II of Liechtenstein in the Rossau, near Vienna ; the palace of the Austro-Hungarian Lloyd's, in Trieste ; but, above all, the Austrian Museum for Applied-Art (completed in 1871) , with its imposing arcaded Court. Next comes the University of Vienna (1871-1884) . He was also an author of the project of the reconstruction in the neo-Gothic style the evangelical Church's of Saviour in Bielsko (1881-1882) . Through a technical error, his design for the Berlin « Reichstag » building received no award. In 1866, Ferstel was appointed professor at the Polytechnic School ; in 1871, chief government inspector of public works ; and, in 1879, was raised to the rank of Baron (« Freiherr ») .

...

After wavering for some time between the different arts, all of which possessed a strong attraction for him, Heinrich von Ferstel talented youth finally decided on architecture which he studied at the Academy under Eduard van der Nüll, August Sicard von Sicardsburg, and Carl Rösner. After several years during which he was in disrepute because of his part in the Revolution, he entered the atelier of his uncle, Stache, where he worked at the votive altar for the chapel of Saint-Barbara in the cathedral of Saint-Stephen and co-operated in the restoration and construction of many castles, chiefly in Bohemia. Journeys of some length into Germany, Belgium, Holland, and England confirmed him in his tendency towards Romanticism. It was in Italy, however, where he was sent as a bursar in 1854, that he was converted to the Renaissance style of architecture. This was, thenceforth, his ideal, not because of its titanic grandeur, but because of its beauty and symmetrical harmony of proportion, realized pre-eminently in Bramante, his favourite Master. He turned from the simplicity and restraint of the late- Renaissance to the use of polychromy by means of « graffiti » decoration and terra-cotta. This device, adapted from the Early-Renaissance and intended to convey a fuller sense of life, he employed later with marked success in the Austrian Museum.

In 1855, while still in Italy, he was awarded the prize in the competition for the votive church (« Votivkirche ») of Vienna, over 74 contestants, for the most part celebrated architects. In the Masterpiece of modern ecclesiastical architecture, he produced from 1856 to 1879 a structure of marvellous symmetry designed along strong architectural principles, with a simple, well-defined ground plan, a harmonious correlation of details, and a sumptuous scheme of decoration. After his death, this edifice was proposed by Sykes as a model for the new Westminster cathedral, in London. Another of Ferstel's monumental works belonging to the same period is the Austro-Hungarian bank in Vienna, in the style of the Early Italian Renaissance (1856-1860) . The expansion of the city of Vienna enabled Ferstel, with Eitelberger, to develop civic architecture along artistic lines ; Burgomaster's residence ; Stock-Exchange (1859) . At the same time, he had also the opportunity of putting his ideas into practice in a number of private dwellings and villas, at Brünn and Vienna.

Ferstel is the most distinctively Viennese of all Viennese architects ; able to give a structure beauty of design and harmony without prejudice to the purpose it was to subserve, and this because of his artistic versatility and inexhaustible imagination. These qualities also assured him success as a teacher, and were evident in his memoirs and numerous treatises, which are Masterpieces of clearness. Special mention should be made those which appeared in Forster's architectural magazine.

...

Die Universität Wien (lateinisch Alma Mater Rudolphina Vindobonensis) ist mit derzeit rund 92.000 Studierenden und 9.500 Mitarbeitern die größte Hochschule in Österreich sowie im deutschsprachigen Raum und eine der größten in Mitteleuropa. 1365 in Wien gegründet, ist sie die älteste Universität im heutigen deutschen Sprachraum.

Die mittelalterliche Universität war in verschiedenen Gebäuden im Stubenviertel der Wiener Innenstadt untergebracht. Ihr erstes Haus war das 1385 eröffnete Herzogskolleg in der heutigen Postgasse 7-9. Nach der Inkorporation des Jesuitenkollegs in die Universität 1623 wurde an derselben Stelle das frühbarocke Jesuitenkolleg errichtet, welches zusammen mit der Universitätskirche und einigen Zubauten noch heute als Alte Universität erhalten ist und beispielsweise das Archiv der Universität Wien enthält. 1753-1755 ließ Maria Theresia unmittelbar neben dem Jesuitenkollegium ein neues Hauptgebäude, die Neue Aula, errichten. Die Aula war ein zentraler Versammlungsort im Rahmen der Revolution von 1848. Nach der gewaltsamen Niederschlagung der Revolte wurde die Universität vom Militär besetzt und die Studenten vertrieben ; das Gebäude wurde 1857 der Akademie der Wissenschaften übergeben. Der Studienbetrieb fand in provisorischen Ausweichquartieren statt.

Für den Bau eines Hauptgebäudes der Universität wurde ab 1854 zunächst ein Platz hinter dem Chor der Votivkirche vorgesehen. 1868 wurde jedoch ein Areal an der Ringstraße verfügbar, und die Universität dort gebaut. Mit dem Bau wurde 1877 begonnen. Architekt Heinrich Ferstel wählte für das Gebäude den Stil der italienischen Hochrenaissance, wobei die Universitäten von Padua und Genua Pate standen. Den Blickfang an der Ringstraße bildet die markant vorspringende Säulenhalle. Im Giebel stellt ein Relief die Geburt der Minerva dar, der Göttin der Weisheit. 1884 war die Universität fertiggestellt. Das Areal der Uni umfasst 21.412 Quadratmeter, wovon 14.530 Quadratmeter verbaut sind. Die Kosten hatten 7,7 Millionen Gulden (circa 68 Millionen Euro) betragen.

Heute befinden sich in diesem Hauptgebäude am Universitätsring I vor allem das Rektorat, die meisten Dekanate, die zentralen Dienstleistungseinrichtungen, die Hauptbibliothek, einige wenige Institute mit ihren Fachbibliotheken und zahlreiche Hörsäle.

Die Gründungsurkunde der Universität, heute im Archiv verwahrt, wurde am 12. März 1365 von Herzog Rudolf IV. und seinen Brüdern Albrecht III. und Leopold III. unterzeichnet. Daher rührt auch der Name der Universität Alma Mater Rudolphina. Die Gründungsurkunde enthält in programmatischer Weise das Leitbild der Universität, daß « *gemin guot, rechte gericht, menschlich vernunft und bescheidenhait aufneme und wachse und daz ein yeglich weiser mensch vernünftiger und ain unweiser zuo menschlicher vernunft in rechte erkantnüsse mit goetlicher lerung bracht und geczogen werde* » .

Die Universität Wien ist somit nach der Karls-Universität Prag die zweitälteste Universität im damaligen Heiligen Römischen Reich nördlich der Alpen und die älteste bestehende Universität im deutschen Sprachraum. Bis zur Aufnahme des geregelten Lehr- und Lernbetriebs sollten jedoch noch fast zwanzig Jahre vergehen ; 1383 nützte Herzog Albrecht III. einen Streit an der Sorbonne, um zahlreiche Professoren von Paris nach Wien zu berufen, und nachdem auch der 1365 noch ausgesprochene päpstliche Vorbehalt, eine theologische Fakultät einzurichten, gefallen war, erließ Albrecht III. 1384 einen zweiten Stiftsbrief, mit dem die kontinuierliche Entwicklung begann.

Bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters wuchs die Universität Wien stetig an und hatte in der Zeit des Humanismus (um 1500) über 6.000 Studenten, womit sie die größte Universität des Reiches geworden war. In den 1520er Jahren führten Pestepidemien, die Bedrohung durch das türkische Heer und die Reformation zu einem starken Schwund bei den Studentenzahlen ; im 16. Jahrhundert hatte die Universität zeitweilig nur mehr 30 Studenten. Am 13. Oktober 1623 wurde die Universität mit dem 1551 gegründeten Jesuitenkollegium vereinigt und die gesamte theologische und philosophische Fakultät den Jesuiten (der Gesellschaft Jesu) überantwortet. Nach dieser Reform nahm die Universität wieder einen gewissen Aufschwung.

Tiefgreifende Reformen erfolgten dann unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II. ab 1749, mit denen der Einfluss der Jesuiten zurückgedrängt und schließlich ganz beseitigt und die Universität in eine Staatsanstalt umgewandelt wurde, womit ein fast gänzlicher Verlust der Universitätsautonomie verbunden war. Auf Forschung wurde wenig Wert gelegt, die Lehre straff organisiert.

Die Revolution 1848 richtete sich nicht zuletzt gegen diese Einschränkungen der Lehr- und Lernfreiheit, die dann auch 1849 die Prinzipien der Universitätsreform des Unterrichtsministers Leo Thun-Hohenstein wurden. In diesem Zusammenhang wurde auch die Philosophische Fakultät aufgewertet und den drei « höheren » Fakultäten (Theologie, Jus, Medizin) gleichgestellt.

1850 wurde die Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät gegründet, aber erst 1922 der Universität inkorporiert. Mit der Universitätsreform 1975 wurde die Universität in acht Fakultäten neu gegliedert : Katholische Theologie, Evangelische Theologie, Rechtswissenschaften, Sozial- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Medizin, Grund- und Integrativwissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften sowie Formal- und Naturwissenschaften.

Im Jahr 1897 wurden Frauen erstmals als ordentliche Hörerinnen zugelassen, wenn auch zunächst nur an der philosophischen Fakultät. Die restlichen Fakultäten folgten teils mit erheblichem Abstand : 1900 die medizinische, 1919 die juristische, 1923 die evangelisch-theologische. Im Jahr 1946 ließ schließlich auch die katholisch-theologische Fakultät Frauen als ordentliche Hörerinnen zu. Acht Jahre nach Beginn des Frauenstudiums an der Universität Wien gelang es der Romanistin Elise Richter 1905 als erster Frau, sich zu habilitieren ; sie wurde 1921 auch die erste außerordentliche Professorin. Die erste Ordinaria wurde an der Universität Wien erst 1956 ernannt : die Physikerin Berta Karlik.

Schon lang vor dem « Anschluß » von 1938 waren demokratiefeindliche und antisemitische Studenten, von einigen Professoren wohlwollend toleriert, an der Universität aktiv. 1928 fanden Hochschulkrawalle statt, 1932 waren ebenfalls

Studentenkrawalle zu verzeichnen, die mit Demonstrationen vor dem Haupteingang der Universität verbunden waren. Im Juni 1936 wurde der Physiker und Philosoph Moritz Schlick, Begründer des Wiener Kreises, auf der Philosophenstiege im Hauptgebäude der Universität von einem seiner ehemaligen Studenten erschossen ; der Mörder wurde zwei Jahre später vom NS-Regime aus der Haft entlassen.

Nach dem « Anschluß » Österreichs an das Deutsche Reich wurde die Universität Wien 1938 unter Rektor Fritz Knoll nach nationalsozialistischen Gesichtspunkten « gleichgeschaltet » und eine große Anzahl an Lehrenden und Studierenden aus rassistischen beziehungsweise politischen Gründen vertrieben. 1943 folgte ihm der Anatom Eduard Pernkopf.

...

Zentrales Bauwerk der Universität Wien ist ihr Hauptgebäude im 1. Bezirk. Das von Heinrich Ferstel konzipierte Gebäude wurde 1873-1884 erbaut.

Die mittelalterliche Universität war in verschiedenen Gebäuden im Stubenviertel der historischen Altstadt Wiens untergebracht. Ihr erstes Haus war das 1385 eröffnete Herzogskolleg in der heutigen Postgasse 7-9. Nach der Inkorporation des Jesuitenkollegs in die Universität, 1623, wurde an derselben Stelle das frühbarocke Jesuitenkolleg errichtet. Es ist mit der Universitätskirche und einigen Zubauten noch heute als Alte Universität erhalten und beherbergt unter anderem das Archiv der Universität Wien.

1753-1755 ließ Maria Theresia unmittelbar neben dem Jesuitenkollegium ein neues Hauptgebäude, die « Neue Aula » , errichten. Die Aula war zentraler Versammlungsort bei der Revolution von 1848. Nach der gewaltsamen Niederschlagung der Revolution wurde die Universität vom Militär besetzt. Die Studenten wurden aus der Altstadt vertrieben ; das Gebäude wurde 1857 der Akademie der Wissenschaften übergeben.

Der Studienbetrieb fand nun in provisorischen Ausweichquartieren statt : Die Medizinische Fakultät wurde in einer ehemaligen Gewehrfabrik in der Währinger Straße 13 im 9. Bezirk untergebracht (heute das « Anatomische Institut ») . Die juristischen, philosophischen und theologischen Vorlesungen wurden im ehemaligen Stadtkonvikt der Piaristen in der Altstadt abgehalten. Das Chemische Laboratorium kam im Theresianum im 4. Bezirk unter, und zahlreiche Institute wurden in Erdberg, einem vom Stadtzentrum entfernteren Teil des 3. Bezirks, angesiedelt.

Im Jahr 1854 plante Unterrichtsminister Leo von Thun und Hohenstein den Neubau eines Universitätsgebäudes am Rossauer Glacis, beim Beginn der Währinger Straße beziehungsweise der heutigen Günthergasse im heutigen 9. Bezirk. Thun beauftragte die Architekten Sicardsburg und van der Nüll, den Neubau zu projektieren, der dann 1855 beschlossen wurde. Der Standort gefiel der Obrigkeit auch deshalb, weil die unberechenbaren Studenten nicht die Ringstraße, sondern nur den Alsergrund unsicher machen würden.

Die Medizinische Fakultät fand den Standort attraktiv, weil er in günstiger Nähe zum damaligen Allgemeinen Krankenhaus lag. Inzwischen war aber der Baugrund für die Votivkirche, ein Projekt von Kaiserbruder Ferdinand Maximilian, abgesteckt worden, und dieses 1856 begonnene Bauvorhaben war nun der Universität im Weg. Sicardsburg

und van der Nüll planten um und projektierten ein Universitätsgebäude hinter dem Chor der Votivkirche. Der Stil war an die Gotik angelehnt, um zur Votivkirche zu passen.

Ende 1857 entschied Franz Joseph I., die Stadtmauer um die Altstadt aufzulassen und um die Altstadt die Wiener Ringstraße zu errichten; ein Vorhaben, das viele Jahre in Anspruch nahm. Unabhängig davon wurden 1858 der Plan für das neue Universitätsgebäude bei der Votivkirche und seine sofortige Umsetzung beschlossen. 1859 konnte aber mit dem Bau wegen des norditalienischen Kriegs nicht begonnen werden, und 1860 schied Thun aus der Regierung aus, wodurch das Vorhaben ins Stocken geriet.

Das Vorhaben wurde zunehmend kritisiert. Vor allem Heinrich Ferstel protestierte heftig dagegen, daß ein zweites monumentales Gebäude seiner Votivkirche Konkurrenz machen sollte. Im Gegensatz dazu kämpfte die Bezirksvertretung des Alsergrunds für das prestigeträchtige Projekt in ihrem Bezirk. Jahrelange Diskussionen waren die Folge. In diesen Jahren änderten sich die Planungen oft. Die Universität wurde zeitweise als einzelnes Gebäude geplant, dann wieder als Campus mehrerer Gebäude nach englischem Vorbild. Als einziges Gebäude dieses Campus' wurde von Heinrich Ferstel 1869-1872 das Chemische Institut in der Währinger Straße 10 gebaut.

Die Situation änderte sich grundlegend, nachdem der Kaiser am 17. August 1868 die von der Stadtverwaltung lang verlangte Auffassung des großen Parade- und Exerzierplatzes nahe der Altstadt genehmigt hatte. Im Winter 1868-1869 gebar Bürgermeister Cajetan Felder die Idee, auf der Fläche des Paradeplatzes drei Monumentalgebäude errichten zu lassen, das Parlament, das Rathaus und die Universität. Der Plan fand sofort Gefallen. Es wurde auch sogleich bestimmt, daß Theophil Hansen das Parlament und Heinrich Ferstel die Universität bauen würde.

Allerdings gab es auch Widerstand. Obwohl nun viel Platz am Parade Gelände zur Verfügung stand, wollten mehrere Fakultäten an dem Standort am Alsergrund festhalten, - vor allem die Mediziner fühlten sich in der ehemaligen Gewehrfabrik wohl. Architekt Ferstel hatte stets gegen einen Monumentalbau neben seiner Votivkirche opponiert; nachdem er nun die Universität selbst bauen durfte, wurden seine Proteste noch heftiger.

Schließlich gelang es Franz von Matzinger, dem Leiter des Wiener Stadterweiterungsfonds, den neuen Standort an der Ringstraße endgültig durchzusetzen, und zwar dort, wo der damalige Franzensring (nach mehreren Namensänderungen heißt dieser Abschnitt seit 2012 Universitätsring) vor dem Schottentor (heute Verkehrsknotenpunkt neben der Universität) eine markante Richtungsänderung aufweist, in Sichtweite, aber ohne direkte Verbindung mit der Votivkirche. Der Bauplatz wurde von Ring, Rathausplatz, Reichsratsstraße und Universitätsstraße begrenzt.

Nachdem die Baupläne Ferstels publiziert wurden, war die Universitätsleitung von der Größe des Gebäudes freudig überrascht; vor allem konnte man nun die ganze Universitätsbibliothek im Haupthaus unterbringen.

Am 25. Juli 1870 wurde in der Amtszeit von Kaiserlich-Königlich Ministerpräsident Alfred Józef Potocki endgültig entschieden, die Universität am Ring zu bauen. Im Frühjahr 1871 unternahm Heinrich Ferstel eine Studienreise nach Italien, bei der er vor allem die Universitäten von Bologna, Padua, Genua und Rom besuchte. Bis zum Sommer 1872 fanden unzählige Verhandlungen und Besprechungen statt, in denen die einzelnen Fakultäten ihre Raumanforderungen

bekanntgaben, die dann von Ferstel koordiniert werden mußten.

Das Projekt wurde schließlich von Architekt Gottfried Semper begutachtet. Sempers Expertise war grundsätzlich positiv, wobei er einige Verbesserungsvorschläge machte. Unter Berücksichtigung dieser Vorschläge erteilte Kaiser Franz Joseph I. am 29. Juli 1872 seine Genehmigung. Zugleich bewilligte der Kaiser 7 Millionen Gulden aus dem Staatsvermögen für den Universitätsbau. Zu dieser Zeit war das Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofoperntheater an der Ringstraße bereits eröffnet, der Neubau des Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofburgtheaters hingegen noch nicht begonnen. Kunsthistorisches Museum und Naturhistorisches Museum, die beiden großen Hofmuseen an der Ringstraße, waren seit einem Jahr in Bau. Der Bau der nahen Votivkirche hatte zwar schon 1856 begonnen, dauerte aber bis 1879.

Mit den Bauarbeiten wurde ein Jahr später, am 14. Juli 1873, begonnen. Die Anlage der Fundamente erwies sich als sehr schwierig. Unmittelbar vor der Universität hatte sich einst die Mülker Bastei erstreckt ; das Areal war von alten Minengängen aus der Zeit der Türkenkriege durchzogen.

Auf den Tag genau zehn Jahre nach Baubeginn, am 14. Juli 1883, starb Heinrich Freiherr von Ferstel in seiner Sommerwohnung im damaligen Wiener Vorort Grinzing. Sein langjähriger Mitarbeiter und Schwager Karl Köchlin (1828-1894) und sein Sohn Max von Ferstel übernahmen den Weiterbau. Ein Jahr später war der Bau im Wesentlichen fertiggestellt, am 10. Oktober 1884 wurde die Universität in Anwesenheit des Kaisers feierlich eröffnet. Die dekorative Ausgestaltung nahm aber noch Jahre in Anspruch. Die Gesamtkosten betragen bis 1890 7.633.186 Gulden (circa 67 Millionen Euro) .

...

Heinrich Freiherr von Ferstel (geboren 7. Juli 1828 in Wien ; gestorben 14. Juli 1883 in Grinzing, heute zu Wien) war ein österreichischer Architekt, Hochschullehrer und gilt als herausragender Vertreter des Historismus.

Als Sohn von Ignaz Ferstel, einem Bankdirektor aus Prag, studierte er an der Wiener Kunstakademie unter Eduard van der Nüll und August Sicard von Sicardsburg (1812-1868) Architektur. Seine besondere Begabung ermöglichte es ihm kleinere, prämierte Concurrencen zu gewinnen und Studienreisen nach Deutschland, ab 1855 Italien und abschließend Frankreich.

Für den Wettbewerb um die Votivkirche, das erste Bauprojekt der damals noch projektierten Wiener Ringstraße, reichte Ferstel einen neugotischen Entwurf im Stil der französischen Kathedralgotik ein. Dies tat er, kurz bevor er seine Italienreise antrat, und er war gerade in Neapel, als ihn die Nachricht erreichte, daß der erste Preis auf seinen Entwurf gefallen sei und er 4.000 Gulden gewonnen habe, die den Grundstock eines später beachtlichen Vermögens bildeten. Durch den Sieg in diesem Wettbewerb gelangte er 1855 zu schlagartiger Bekanntheit, hatte er sich doch gegen 74 Konkurrenten aus dem In- und Ausland durchgesetzt.

Er baute einige weitere öffentliche Gebäude in der Innenstadt und an der Ringstraße. Nach Anfängen in einem romantisierenden Historismus (namentlich im Bank- und Börsengebäude an der Freyung in Wien, heute Palais Ferstel

genannt, das auch das bekannte Kaffeehaus Café Central beherbergt) wandte er sich einem strengeren Stil zu und wurde nicht zuletzt durch seine Professorenstelle am Polytechnikum stilistisch sehr einflussreich. Auf seine Initiative hin wurde der Wiener Cottage-Verein ins Leben gerufen, der das Cottageviertel gründete, mit dem Ziel, « den Bürgern ein Leben in gesunder frischer Luft » zu ermöglichen.

Ferstel wohnte mit seiner Familie, seiner Frau Lotte (gestorben 8. April 1922) sowie den sechs Kindern, in einer Villa in Grinzing, das damals noch nicht nach Wien eingemeindet und ein Dorf war. Seine Tochter Marianne ehelichte den Kaiserlich-Königlich Eisenbahnminister Zdenko von Forster zu Philippsberg.

1879 wurde Ferstel in Wien zum Ehrenbürger ernannt und von Kaiser Franz-Josef I. in den erblichen Freiherrenstand erhoben. 1882 wurde ihm die Royal Gold Medal verliehen.

Er stand jahrelang im persönlichen Kontakt mit Hermann von der Hude (1830-1908), der am 3. September 1883 in der Versammlung des Architekten-Vereins Berlin über sein Leben und Schaffen berichten wollte.

Am 14. Juli 1883 starb Heinrich Freiherr von Ferstel in Grinzing. Er wurde auf dem Grinzinger Friedhof (Gruppe MA, Nummer 46) in einer ehrenhalber gewidmeten Gruft beigesetzt; sein Mausoleum ist einer gotischen Kapelle nachempfunden. Die Inschrift auf der Gruftplatte nennt nur seinen Namen sowie den seiner Ehefrau Lotte, einer geborenen Fehlmann. Erbaut wurde die Familiengruft 1891 von Heinrich von Ferstels Sohn, Max von Ferstel, der ebenfalls Architekt, Hofrat und Professor an der Technischen Hochschule in Wien war und wie weitere Familienmitglieder dort bestattet wurde.

Im Jahr 1886 wurde in Wien Alsergrund (9. Bezirk) unmittelbar hinter der Votivkirche die Ferstelgasse nach ihm benannt. Um 1980 wurde das von ihm erbaute Bank- und Börsengebäude an der Freyung im Zuge der Revitalisierung vom Eigentümer Palais Ferstel benannt.

...

15 octobre 1884 : Lettre du chef Arthur Nikisch à Anton Bruckner :

« Today, I have played through the Symphony in E major to “ Herr ” 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 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. »

2 novembre 1884 : Prince Konstantine Hohenlohe-Shillingstfurst writes in his Memoirs ...

« Berlin, November 2, 1884.

This morning, church. Then, the Foreign-Office, where I studied the matter of the West-Coast of Africa. I was interrupted in this occupation by a letter from the Adjutant, summoning me to the Emperor at half-past 3. I thought the Emperor surprisingly well and cheerful, and remained an hour. He spoke of the satisfactory relations with France, and smiled. Then, he spoke about England, and lamented the Radical tendencies of the Government and Chamberlain's intention of carrying the Reform Bill by creating a number of peers. That disquiets him, and he is afraid that the Republican movement may gain the upper-hand in England. What would be the outcome ? " We shall have trouble in retaining our position. " It was consequently necessary that, at any rate, the 3 Imperial Powers should unite to defend the monarchical principle. That was also the main-reason for the meeting at Skiernevitze. Prince Wilhelm had exerted a very good influence over the Emperor of Russia. The Emperor and Bismarck had given the Prince instructions to advocate the union of the 3 Imperial Powers, and he had accomplished this very creditably. So that, when the visit of the Emperor of Austria was decided, he, the Emperor Wilhelm, had also expressed a wish to be present. No documentary agreement had been drafted, nor was any necessary. We, then, spoke of the opening of the Polytechnic School, at which the Emperor was present, and of the revival that is apparent in Berlin, and so forth. At 6 o'clock, I dined at Bismarck's. Conversation turned upon the Emperor's words with regard to the Skiernevitze meeting, and Bismarck said the Emperor was making a mistake when he said that he had expressed a wish to be present. That had been an understood thing. The only difficulty had been in Vienna and with Hungary. The Empress always wanted to know what had been arranged at Skiernevitze, and had worried the Emperor about it. When I took my leave, he gave me his compliments for Ferry, whom he holds in high-esteem. I am to say that we do not desire any friction between England and France. Gladstone may remain in office. It will be good for us, not for England. »

Karl Viktor. Memoirs of Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, Volume 2, Forgotten Books, London (2013) - Original work published 1906.

5 novembre 1884 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner au chef d'orchestre Arthur Nikisch.

« " Herr " Levi, the Munich music-director, wants to see the score of the 7th 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 2 final rehearsals ", so that I can request leave. In the score, there are actually a lot of important details apart from the tempo changes which have not been marked. Perhaps, the most important people should attend the 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 the Orchestra ?

With my heartfelt request for many rehearsals. »

WAB 40

14 novembre 1884 : **WAB 40** - « Salvum fac populum tuum » (sauve ton peuple, Seigneur) , offertoire en fa majeur pour chœur mixte à 4 voix a cappella (SATB) . Une adaptation des versets 22 à 30 du « Te Deum » . Composé à Vienne.

G/A (August Göllerich / Max Auer) : IV/2 (1936) , pages 496-497 ; fac-similé du manuscrit autographe.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXI/1, édition Hans Bauernfeind - Leopold Nowak (1984) (2001) , pages 126-128. .

Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine
Et benedic hereditati tuae.
Et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in æternum.
Per singulos dies benedicimus te.
Et laudamus nomen tuum in saeculum,
Et in saeculum saeculi.
Dignare Domine die isto sine peccato nos custodire.
Miserere nostri Domine, miserere nostri.
Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos,
Quemadmodum speravimus in te.

...

Sauve ton peuple, Seigneur,
et bénis ceux qui ont recueilli ton héritage.
Et conduis-les
Et donne-leur l'éternité.

Chaque jour nous te bénissons ;
Nous louons ton nom pour toujours,
Et pour les siècles des siècles.

Pitié, Seigneur, aujourd'hui,
garde nous du péché.
Prends pitié de nous, Seigneur,
prends pitié de nous.

Que ta miséricorde, Seigneur, soit sur nous,
ainsi que nous l'espérons.
C'est en toi, Seigneur, que j'ai espéré.
Que je ne sois jamais confondu.

...

« *Salvum fac populum tuum* » (O Lord, save thy people) , **WAB 44**, is a Motet (based on a few verses of the « *Te Deum* ») composed by Anton Bruckner on 14 November 1884, presumably on request of Franz Xaver Witt for the Cecilian Society. It was 1st published in Band IV/2, pages 496-497 of the GÖLLERICH / AUER biography. It is put in Band XXI/31 of the « *Gesamtausgabe* » .

The 57 bar Motet in F major for choir a cappella, is based on the verses « *Salvum fac populum tuum* » till « *Quem ad modum speravimus in te.* » of the « *Te Deum* » . This, for Bruckner a quite unique composition, alternates passages in unison, in « *Falsobordone* » and in polyphony.

...

29 novembre 1884 : Décès de l'évêque de Linz, monseigneur Franz-Josef Rüdiger à l'âge de 73 ans. Anton Bruckner touche l'orgue dans l'exécution du « *Requiem* » de Mozart. Le service funèbre est officié par le cardinal Josef Ganglbauer, archevêque de Vienne.

Le cardinal autrichien Cölestin Josef Ganglbauer est né le 20 août 1817 à Thanstetten, près de Kremsmünster en Haute-Autriche ; et est mort le 14 décembre 1889 à Vienne.

Membre de l'Ordre des Bénédictins, Ganglbauer devient abbé de l'abbaye de Kremsmünster. Il est ensuite élu archevêque de Vienne, en 1881. Le pape Léon XIII le nomme cardinal, lors du consistoire du 10 novembre 1884.

Josef Ganglbauer était l'oncle de l'entomologiste Ludwig Ganglbauer (1856-1912) .

...

C'est Rüdiger qui, le 1er, offrit à son organiste favori la possibilité d'être inhumé à l'intérieur même d'un édifice religieux. Plus tard, poursuivant sa quête de liberté jusque dans l'au-delà, Bruckner notera dans son testament vouloir être inhumé dans la crypte, sous l'orgue de l'église abbatiale de Saint-Florian.

30 novembre 1884 : Message du chef d'orchestre Hermann Levi à Anton Bruckner (proposant une exécution de l'Adagio de la 7e Symphonie) :

« In the meantime, preparations are going well. I am playing the Adagio and (as far as it is possible on the piano) the 1st 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. »

Décembre 1884 : Gustav Mahler, exasperated over his love for Johanna Richter, composes his song-cycle « *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* » (Songs of a wayfarer » ; more properly : « *Songs of a traveling journeyman* ») :

« *Wenn mein Schatz Hochzeit macht* » (When my sweetheart is married) .

« Ging heut' Morgen übers Feld » (I went this morning over the field) .

« Ich hab' ein glühend Messer » (I have a gleaming knife) .

« Die zwei blauen Augen von meinem Schatz » (The 2 blue eyes of my beloved) .

13 décembre 1884 : Hugo Wolf, noted composer of Lieder and pro-Wagner music-critic, writing in the « Wiener Salonblatt » ...

« Brahms' " Tragic Overture " strongly reminds of the appearances of ghosts in Shakespeare's dramas, who frighten the murderer by their presence while they remain invisible to those present. We do not know which hero Brahms has murdered in his " Tragic Overture ". Let us assume that Brahms is Macbeth, and the " Tragic Overture " is the murder embodied in the ghost of Banquo, whom he murders with the very 1st down bows, which fall like axe blows. »

19 novembre 1884 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner au chef d'orchestre Arthur Nikisch.

« 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 27th 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 7th Symphony, superbly. »

21 décembre 1884 : Lettre du chef Arthur Nikisch à Anton Bruckner :

« 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 5 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 coming on Saturday, we will certainly have enough time to make the changes. »

22 décembre 1884 : Other performance by Josef Schalk of his solo piano arrangement of the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony at a « Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein » concert. At the same concert, Ferdinand Löwe plays his arrangement of the 1st movement of the 4th Symphony, and the 2 pianists play Löwe's piano-duet arrangement of the 1st Symphony. Concert reviews by : Theodor Helm, in the « Deutsche Zeitung » of 24 December 1884 ; Hugo Wolf, in the « Salonblatt » of 28 December 1884 ; and Emil von Hartmann, in the « Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung » , XII, of 1 January 1885.

27 décembre 1884 : Bruckner assiste à une représentation de « Tristan und Isolde » , à Leipzig.

Bruckner begins sketching the Adagio of the 8th Symphony very shortly after this event (the earliest extant sketches of the Adagio are from the following month) . Bruckner also apparently returned to the score of this movement after he heard « Tristan » in Bayreuth, in late July 1886.

28 décembre 1884 : Un Hugo Wolf, âgé de 24 ans, publie une condamnation cinglante du compositeur Anton Bruckner dans sa chronique du « Wiener Salonblatt » .

29 décembre 1884 : While staying in Leipzig, Anton Bruckner played the « Gewandhaus » organ for a full complement of friends. He regularly requested a subject upon which to improvise a fugue. Professor Alexander Winterberger proposed him a theme in B minor.

Alexander Winterberger was a music-critic for the « Leipziger Nachrichten » . He was also a keyboardist and organist of some accomplishment. He had been one of Franz Liszt's earliest pupils.

Alexander Winterberger

The German pianist, organist, composer and music-critic Alexander Winterberger was born on 14 August 1834 in Weimar and died on 23 September 1914, aged 80.

He lived at various times in Vienna, Saint-Petersburg and Leipzig. His pupils in Vienna included Samuel de Lange junior. He is mostly remembered for his association with Franz Liszt, in particular, his close involvement with the 2 great organ Fantasies Liszt wrote for the Merseburg Cathedral organ : the Fantasy and Fugue on the chorale « Ad nos ad salutarem undam » and the Fantasy and Fugue on the Theme B-A-C-H.

Winterberger studied at the Leipzig Conservatory, then, at Weimar with the Weimar Municipal Organist Johann Gottfried Töpfer. Although he also studied under Franz Liszt until 1853, he was in the « outer circle » of students, that is, not among those with whom Liszt spent most time and was on most intimate personal terms. He displayed a Mastery of novel registrations which, in some cases, Liszt and he worked-out together. Winterberger had been a classmate of Julius Reubke in Berlin, and he was instrumental in Reubke deciding to come to Weimar to study with Liszt.

In 1855, Liszt inspected the construction of the new organ at Merseburg Cathedral, and resolved to write (some sources say he was commissioned by Winterberger) a grand piece for the official opening : his Fantasy and Fugue on the Theme B-A-C-H. The date was set for 26 September 1855 but, by 22 September, the Fantasy was still not ready. Instead, he decided to have Winterberger premiere the revised version of the Fantasy and Fugue on the chorale « Ad nos ad salutarem undam » (it had been published in 1852, but Liszt revised it more than once, most recently in 1855) . They rehearsed the work together a few days before the official opening.

The B-A-C-H Fantasy and Fugue, dedicated to Winterberger, finally had its premiere on 13 May 1856, again at

Merseburg Cathedral. On the same occasion, Winterberger also played Liszt's arrangement of the Church Festive Overture on the Chorale « Ein feste Burg » (A Mighty Fortress) by composer Otto Nicolai.

Winterberger toured the Netherlands in 1856, receiving much praise for his performances of the 2 Liszt fantasies and fugues.

On 31 August 1856, he played the organ part in the premiere of Liszt's « Missa solennis zur Einweihung der Basilika in Gran » (Gran Mass) , at the inauguration of Esztergom Basilica, conducted by the composer, in the presence of Emperor Franz-Josef I of Austria and his Viennese Court.

Winterberger arranged for the organ Liszt's 1859 Prelude on Bach's Cantata « Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen » , originally written for piano.

He went to Vienna in 1861 and, in 1869, to Saint-Petersburg, where he succeeded A. Dreyschock as piano professor at the Conservatory. In 1872, he took-up his residence permanently in Leipzig.

In 1886-1887, he compiled and published 12 volumes of technical exercises composed by Liszt. Winterberger edited the Piano Sonatas by Ludwig van Beethoven, with preface and annotations, Edition « Musikwoche » printed in Leipzig (« Bibliographische Anstalt Adolph Schumann ») .

Alexander Winterberger's photographic portrait by Sergey Lvovich Levitsky is housed at the State Piotr Ilich Tchaïkovsky Memorial Museum in Klin, Russia.

Winterberger's own compositions are interesting and original and include music for piano and organ, songs and duets :

Alinen-Tänze. Walzer, Mazurken und Menuetten für Pianoforte (1873) .

Ave Maria und Pater Noster für gemischtem Chor a capella (1874) .

Bergstimme. Romanze von Heinrich Heine, und Schottische Ballade von Friedrich Martin von Bodenstedt für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung (1875) .

2 Idyllen für Pianoforte (1875) .

3 Klavierstücke : Albumblatt, Treulos, Entschluss (1875) .

Salon-Étude und Valse-Caprice für Pianoforte (1875) .

Wie Gott es will, Glaube, und Vater unser für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte (1875) .

4 geistliche Gesänge für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte (1876) .

Volks-Poesien für eine oder zwei Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte, Opus 43 (1876) .

Die Kapelle-Gedicht von Uhland (begins : « Droben stehet die Kapelle ») für eine Alt- oder Bassstimme mit Begleitung (1876) .

Concert-Adagio. Fantasiestück für Pianoforte (1877) .

5 Slavische Volkspoesien (ins Deutsche übertragen von Josef Wenzig) für zwei Frauenstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte (1877) .

6 Slavische Volkspoesien (deutsche Uebersetzung von Josef Wenzig) für zwei Frauenstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte (1877) .

24 Instructive charakteristische Clavierstückchen für ... Anfänger (1878) .

5 Slavische Volkspoesien (ins Deutsche übertragen von Josef Wenzig) , für zwei Frauenstimmen mit Begleitung des ... (1878) .

Scherzo und Trauer-Marsch für Pianoforte (1879) .

Dainos. Littauische Volkslieder übersetzt von Georg Heinrich Ferdinand Nesselmann, für zwei Frauenstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte (1881) .

2 Valses pour piano, Opus 80 (1883) .

2 Valses pour piano, Opus 84 (1883) .

2 Romanzen für Pianoforte, Opus 90 (1883) .

2 Sonatinen für Pianoforte, Opus 93 (1885) .

Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier (oder Orgel, oder Harmonium) , Opus 58 ; text : Julius Sturm.

Dreissig Lieder und Gesänge, Opus 91.

9 leichte Sonatinen für Pianoforte, Opus 104.

5 Geistliche Gesänge für Singstimme und Klavier (oder Orgel, oder Harmonium) , Opus 119 ; text : Johann Friedrich

Räder.

29 décembre 1884 : Anton Bruckner est choisi pour donner le récital d'orgue inaugural du « Neue Gewandhaus » (édition de 1884) . L'événement historique se déroule devant un groupe sélect d'amis. Durant sa prestation, il leur demande à plusieurs reprises un thème sur lequel il peut improviser une fugue. Le professeur Alexander Winterberger, présent dans l'auditoire, lui suggère un thème en si mineur. Winterberger était critique musical pour le « Leipziger Nachrichten » . Pianiste et organiste accompli, il fut l'un des Iers élèves de Franz Liszt.

L'orgue, surnommé l' « Opus 432 » , est l'œuvre du facteur E.F. Walcker & Cie. de Ludwigsburg. Il n'a été achevé que quelques jours avant l'ouverture. Le buffet, conçu par Martin Gropius, s'harmonise avec l'architecture de la salle.

Durant la Ire moitié du XXe siècle, les « Thomaskantor » Karl Straube et Günther Ramin démontreront également leur virtuosité sur cet instrument. Il a été détruit (avec le « Konzerthaus ») lors de 2 bombardements alliés : celui de la nuit du 3 au 4 décembre 1943 et celui du 20 février 1944, alors que la toiture s'effondre complètement. Malgré tout, on va réussir à sauver le buste de marbre de Bruckner (le 1er présent en sol allemand) , exécuté en 1931 par le peintre, graveur, sculpteur et poète allemand Fritz Zalisz (né le 17 octobre 1893 à Gera et décédé le 13 décembre 1971 à Holzhausen) . Il s'agit d'une commande du docteur Theodor Armbruster. Il se trouve aujourd'hui en montre au moderne « Gewandhaus » .

30 décembre 1884 : Le lendemain du récital d'orgue inaugural offert par Bruckner, Ire exécution (sans les tubas Wagnériens) , en présence du compositeur, de la 7e Symphonie en mi majeur de Bruckner sous la direction du chef Arthur Nikisch à la tête de l'Orchestre du « Gewandhaus » de Leipzig. L'événement a lieu exceptionnellement lors d'un concert d'abonnement (« Opern-abonnement ») au Nouveau Théâtre municipal (« Neues Theater ») . Nikisch évite ainsi de présenter l'œuvre devant les habitués, conservateurs et traditionalistes, qui assistent aux concerts d'abonnement du « Gewandhaus » , de manière à minimiser les réactions négatives.

Et ce fut un triomphe ! Les applaudissements durent plus de 15 minutes. Bruckner se voit même remettre 2 immenses couronnes de lauriers.

« In Leipzig, they clap at the end for a quarter of an hour. The papers are glowing with admiration. » (Anton Bruckner)

Il dira à Nikisch :

« Kindly accept the inexpressible thanks which I ought you. My God rewards you for the noble and inspired things you have done for me. »

Following the concert, Johannes Brahms wrote to Elisabeth von Herzogenberg, who had asked for his views on Bruckner's music :

« Everything has its limits. Bruckner lies beyond them, one can't speak of the good or bad points of his music, it's not possible to discuss it at all. Any more than the man himself. He is a poor deranged man, whom the worthy monks of Saint-Florian have on their conscience. »

Pour sa part, les critiques sont partagés. Mais une chose est sûre : il s'agit là du 1er véritable succès d'Anton Bruckner au niveau international. Il est alors âgé de 61 ans.

30 décembre 1884 : Anton Bruckner presse l'éditeur Albert J. Gutmann de publier son Quintette à cordes.

AB 84 : 1885

La correspondance de Bruckner

Anton Bruckner. Sämtliche Werke - Kritische Gesamtausgabe : Briefe 1. (1852-1886) . Edited by Andrea Harrandt, Otto Schneider and Leopold Nowak ; 336 pages. (« Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft » , Wien 1998 - 25. Januar 2007 : ISBN-13 : 979-0500252672, ASIN : 050025267X.)

Anton Bruckner. Sämtliche Werke - Kritische Gesamtausgabe : Briefe 2. (1887-1896) . Edited by Andrea Harrandt, Otto Schneider and Leopold Nowak, Band 24/2, Volume 24 ; xii, 381 (383) pages. (« Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft » , Wien 2003 ; ISBN 3-900270-54-6, 9783900270544 - 25. Januar 2007 ; ISBN-13 : 979-0500252344, ASIN: 0500252343.)

This, the 2nd of the 2-volume edition of Bruckner's letters, covers the final 10 years of the composer's life and provides the essential documentary background to the gestation of the 8th and 9th Symphonies (including the incomplete Finale of the latter) , « Psalm 150 » , and « Helgoland » , as well as revisions and / or pre-publication changes made to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Symphonies and the D minor, E minor, and F minor Masses. The format is the same as in the 1st volume, which was published in 1998 (see my review in « Music & Letters » , No. 80, 1999, pages 306-307) . Of the 554 letters published in the 2nd volume, many for the 1st time, 259 were written by Bruckner. The remaining 295 were either written to him or make direct reference to him. In the appendix, there are 6 undated letters as well as 12 letters (from 1855 to 1886) that are addenda to the 1st volume. These include a remarkable letter from the organist Robert Führer to Ignaz P. Traumihler, choir director at Saint-Florian abbey who has been excluded from the preliminary competition for the vacant post of cathedral organist at Linz, in December 1855.

(Crawford Howie. « Music & Letters » , Volume 87, No. 2, Oxford University Press, May 2006 ; pages 332-334.)

...

Anton Bruckner - Sein Leben und seine Werke. Eine Biographie. , Severus Verlag (15.08.2012) .

« Ein Urteil Wagners über mich erfuhr ich neulich erst, worin er sagte : ich sei der einzige, dessen Gedanken bis zu

Beethoven hinaufreichen. Groß ! Meinen Dank und tiefen Respekt. »

Doktor Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) war Komponist, Organist und Musikpädagoge. Auch wenn er erst spät als Komponist anerkannt wurde, leistete er Erstaunliches für die österreichische und die internationale Musikwelt. Briefe Bruckners, handschriftliche Faksimiles und Notenblätter bereichern dieses sensible Portrait des Musikkritikers und Brucknerforschers Franz Gräßlinger.

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ISBN-13 : 978-1173073947 .

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Franz Gräßlinger. « Anton Bruckner Gesammelte Briefe » , published by Gustav Bosse (1924) .

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1885-1893 : Selected, translated, and annotated correspondence of Anton Bruckner by Mary E. Hetzel. Ph.D. Dissertation number 15861, 28 centimetres, 304 (608) pages, bounded. Kent State University (2004) .

ABSTRACT - Author has provided translated, transcribed and annotated correspondence (leaves 60-299) . Thesis (Ph.D.) Kent State University (2004) . Includes bibliographical references (leaves 300-304) . ML410.B88 H48 2004 : Microfiche (microform) .

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Hi Gilles,

Many thanks for this interesting find !

I have announced it on my website :

<https://www.abruckner.com/editorsnote/news/correspondence/>

For your generosity, please feel free to request a CD from me that I can send to you to offset your expense in buying this dissertation and then giving it to me.

Best wishes for the Holidays !

(John)

See it as a little something for Xmas. A generous man of your quality and humanity more than deserves it.

...

Thanks to my colleague Gilles Houle, I have discovered a Doctoral Dissertation by Mary E. Hetzel that translates some of Bruckner's correspondence into English. The 337 page dissertation is available for download. While much of her own writing about Bruckner falls into some of the old theories, the translations are interesting.

Hetzel's claim that Bruckner suffered from Asberger's is thought-provoking, but there is no clinical data that supports this and the practice of attaching ailments to long-dead personalities is a risky business.

Selected, translated, and annotated correspondence of Anton Bruckner from 1885 to 1893 (by Mary E. Hetzel)

A dissertation submitted to the College of Fine and Professional Arts of Kent State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

By Mary E. Hetzel

(August, 2004)

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Dissertation written by Mary E. Hetzel.
B.S.Mus. , Hunter College (1960) .
M.Mus. , Hardin-Simmons University (1976) .
Ph.D. , Kent State University (2004) .

Approved by Chair, Doctoral Dissertation Committee, Members of Doctoral Dissertation Committee.

Preface

Among the many elements that comprise the musicologist's world, 3 emerge as the most important ; music, its analysis, and composers' biographical data.

Biographies line the shelves of libraries, but collections of letters are less often found. Systemized, psychologically crucial matter gleaned from the correspondence of any composer is, in fact, rare.

Most of the letters selected for this study were written by (Josef) Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) , from 1885 to 1893. In order to substantiate and clarify the intent of this project, a number of letters from others have been included.

Translations of a few relevant calling cards are here, along with an occasional telegram and Bruckner's Testament.

Background

Born in Ansfelden, Anton Bruckner came from the humblest background in the Upper-Austrian countryside. The elder Anton was the town school Master and organist, placing him 1 degree away from the peasantry. Bruckner's mother sang in the local church choir and, reportedly, had a lovely voice. Bruckner's humble background certainly affected his later opinion of himself ; his religious background would further this self-portrait, as would his psychological and physiological problems.

Bruckner was the eldest of 4 surviving children ; he studied music 1st with his father, then harmony with his cousin and godfather, Johann Baptist Weiß. The life of Weiß ended in tragedy, for he committed suicide due to a scandal. While attending the priest for the last rites of his father, Bruckner fainted. He was just 13 years of age. Bruckner's later preoccupation with death may be traced back to his early childhood, after seeing several of his siblings die in infancy, along with the deaths of his father and godfather.

Due to his mother's intervention, the prior of Saint-Florian Monastery took Bruckner in as a chorister. Although his voice would break after the 1st year, he was allowed to stay on, playing the violin and deputizing at the organ. Bruckner's serious study of music began in 1837 at the monastery.

Even though his gifts were manifest, Bruckner was never confident as a musician in his own right and felt that he could not give himself up completely to musical pursuits ; thus, at age 16, he went to Linz for 1 year to train as a teacher. After graduation, he was assigned to be assistant school Master in the small village of Windhaag, where his supervisor, who was very unsympathetic toward his composing, delegated him even the duty of mucking-out the barn. This did nothing to further his self-esteem, and the whole situation must have added to his depression.

After 15 months, Michaël Arneth, his old mentor from Saint-Florian, came to Windhaag to inspect the school and had Bruckner transferred as assistant school Master in the village of Kronstorf, near Steyr. Although even smaller than Windhaag, Kronstorf is much closer to Saint-Florian and Linz.

In 1845, there was an opening at Saint-Florian, and Bruckner became a teacher there. He went there at the age of 20 and taught there for 10 years. Although secure in habitation and thankful to be there, he nevertheless showed symptoms of depression, even stating that he was alone in his little room, feeling melancholic and poor.

Unfortunately, he had no one with whom to speak freely and openly about his inner life and felt hurt that he was often misunderstood. Bruckner had come to the realization that the monastery was not the place for him to be, although he had once considered the priesthood.

In 1855, Bruckner became organist at Linz Cathedral. He had previously applied for a position at Olomouc but was sharply scolded by the « Stiftsprälat » , Frederick Theophil Mayer (1793-1858) , prior of the foundation of Saint-Florian, because he auditioned.

Always affected by what others said or thought of him, Bruckner must have been abashed by the display of anger directed at him. In addition, Bruckner nearly always bowed to authority, even lesser authority.

When the position of organist at Linz Cathedral became vacant, Bruckner was afraid to audition ; however, friends took him there and he won. At this time, he fulfilled the duties of organist, worked diligently on his organ technique, gave piano lessons in order to support his family, and sang (and later directed) the Liedertafel « Frohsinn » . That same year, Bruckner began to travel to Vienna to study counterpoint privately with Simon Sechter (1788-1867) , who taught theory at the Conservatory ; in reviewing Bruckner's 16 completed books of exercises, Sechter would tell him it was

not good for him to work so hard. For a task Master like Sechter to make such a declaration would have been very unusual ; however, Bruckner had spent 7 hours a day for nearly 7 years on strict harmony and counterpoint In 1861, he finished these studies with great praise in the form of a testimonial from Sechter. Due to his insecurity, Bruckner requested a written testimonial. Bruckner had worked diligently and would work just as hard in his further studies. His persistence was evident later when he made many changes to his compositions, although often misguided.

As time passed, Bruckner developed some strange aberrations ; for example, he counted windows in buildings and numbered every measure in his Symphonies. He was curious about what topped a building in Bayreuth, whether it was a cross or a lightning rod ; and he asked why the woman was set on fire in a Wagner music-drama - ail of which are proofs of his having Asperger's Syndrome. He was oddly preoccupied with the death of Maximilian (1832-1867) in Mexico, wanting to know all of the details and viewing the casket several times. He also had a penchant for « falling in love » with very young girls, his intentions being of the highest order as he did not believe in sexual contact outside of the marriage contract. (As Bruckner aged, the young ladies were always the same age.) Of course, these attractions always came to nothing. Having always been of a depressed nature, in addition to his disappointments in love, his tremendous work load, and his dashed hopes of success, Bruckner experienced a breakdown, in 1867, and spent 4 months at the « spa » in Bad Kreuzen in a sanitarium setting.

Bruckner was truly a victim of Asperger's Syndrome. (I)

(I) According to the DSMIV (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders) , 4th edition (Washington, D.C. - American Psychiatric Association, 2000) , the diagnostic tool used by ail psychiatrists and psychologists, criteria for the syndrome include qualitative impairment in social interaction and restricted repetitive and stereotyped patterns of behavior, interests, and activities, including apparently inflexible adherence to specific, non-functional routines or rituals and persistent preoccupations with parts of objects.

The disturbance causes clinically significant impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning ; but it does not significantly delay cognitive development. Asperger's Syndrome does not meet the criteria for Schizophrenia but is a pervasive developmental disorder and always includes some degree of autism, although the autism may be a lesser component. Experts in the field agree that Bruckner had Asperger's.

In 1868, Bruckner assumed the responsibilities of professorship at Vienna Conservatory. Although he should have been overwhelmed with joy that the eminent Professor Johann Herbeck (1831-1877) would consider him as the direct successor of Simon Sechter, as always Bruckner was replete with indecision. Faced with having had his Symphonies dubbed nonsense and unplayable by the Vienna Philharmonic, having been rejected as organist for the Imperial Chapel and, again, as lecturer at the University of Vienna, and with consideration of the reduction in income that would result from acceptance, he straggled until summer before accepting the position. Nevertheless, Herbeck was a great persuader. Perhaps, Bruckner might never have accepted at all if he had envisioned the vastly contemptible behavior of many of his fellow professors ; or, perhaps, a more stable person could have ignored the bad behaviors of others. Even so, it must have hurt him deeply when children in the street ran after him making fun of his old-fashioned, provincial clothing and the large handkerchief protruding from a pocket in his short, rather baggy pants. Mercifully, the future

was unknown.

The situation became even worse when he declared himself a Wagnerite ; the Viennese critics, namely Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) , hounded him nearly to the end of his life. In 1885, the Vienna Philharmonic decided to perform Bruckner's 7th Symphony due to the success of the premiere in Leipzig, but Bruckner entreated them not to do so because the Viennese criticism would probably impede his reputation in Germany.

Subsequently, more doubts plagued Bruckner, and he allowed others to change, cut, and publish his works under his name. Concurrently, he began to revise his own works because he was so unsure of himself and often acted according to the thinking of others. Some of those who tinkered with his compositions were greatly annoyed with his wanting to approve every measure that they wanted to change. (Nevertheless, unauthorized changes were made, printed, and performed ; and Bruckner sometimes miscalculated what those whom he trusted were going to do.) He wanted so much for his Symphonies to be heard, but the time spent in these pursuits probably explains why the 9th Symphony is incomplete.

In spite of his accomplishments, and in part due to his failures, Bruckner never outgrew his insecurity. Having Asperger's, along with manifestations of other types of disorders, such as depression, would not allow this. Without the treatment and medications which would be discovered later, Bruckner simply labored on, as an anomaly to some, a puzzle to others, and a complete « Geheimnis » to many more ; but not to those who have discovered his letters and other prose. Bruckner can be known intimately through careful scrutiny of his correspondence.

Having always been concerned about health (his and that of others) , his conditions actually did become worse ; and, in 1891, his health began to deteriorate terminally. He could no longer play the organ, a major blow to a performer who had made a reputation for himself in Austria, France, and England ; and he wrote pitifully about his problem.

The study of Bruckner's correspondence does not replace other biographical material ; on the contrary, it is the long-awaited factor that both clarifies and expands it. Herein lies its true and intrinsic value.

Survey of Literature

In this English translation, I have identified Anton Bruckner, people with whom he worked, his friends and students, his problems, and places of significance. Common knowledge came from « The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians » and « Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart » ; but, because they are not cited anywhere, there are no footnotes concerning them and they are not found in the bibliography. My footnotes contain few complete bibliographical references since all of the letters came from Max Auer's « Gesammelte Briefe » (2) and Franz Gräßlinger's « Gesammelte Briefe » (3) and are mostly identifications of people and places plus my own usually brief commentaries.

(2) Max Auer, editor. « Anton Bruckner : Gesammelte Briefe : Neue Folge » , Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg (1924) .

(3) Franz Gräßlinger, editor. « Gesammelte Briefe », Reinhard Piper & Co., Munich (1911) ; Gustav Bosse Verlag, Regensburg (1924) .

Although these 2 books were just what was needed for this dissertation, they were incomplete as far as what is extant. Auer's book contained most of the letters then known, but Gräßlinger had only a few « new » ones to add, in fact, fewer letters altogether. Since my dissertation deals mostly with the letters in these 2 books, I read the remaining material for further knowledge, sometimes citing other references that pertained to letters in the 2 books mentioned above. The most important of the other books and articles that I consulted can be found in my bibliography. Such authors as Elizabeth Maier, Leopold Nowak, Franz Grasberger, Manfred Wagner, and others will be known to Bruckner scholars, but there will be some surprises.

The Topic

My topic is « Selected Correspondence of Anton Bruckner From the Years 1885 to 1893, in Translation from the Original German ». Such a work has been long in coming and should take its place beside other collections of letters. After this presentation other scholars or students will still find it necessary to collect all of the remaining Bruckner correspondence and publish it 1st in the original German for accuracy. Then, others can translate and arrange all of it in chronological order. The aim should always be for accuracy. One of the letters, with which I worked, had a section missing which I later found imbedded in another letter. (4) I was not so fortunate in most cases.

(4) Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider. « Anton Bruckner, Briefe : Band I », Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Vienna (1998) .

Source Materials

My source materials have been discussed under the heading « Survey of Literature ». However, I would like to add a few materials that were particularly informative and very enjoyable with which to work.

A Masterpiece is Uwe Marten's « Anton Bruckner : Ein Handbuch » (5), which contains pictures and photographs of nearly every place and everyone who came in contact with Bruckner. For deeper understanding of Bruckner, his times, and a wonderful study of the Finale of the 7th Symphony, I would suggest Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw's « Bruckner Studies ». (6) An enjoyable volume to read is Stephen Johnson's « Bruckner Remembered ». (7) Johnson has extracted the personal reminiscences of Bruckner's contemporaries. Before each, Johnson sets the scene historically ; however, such remembrances are always questionable.

(5) Uwe Harten, Renate Grasberger. « Anton Bruckner : Ein Handbuch », Residenz Verlag, Salzburg (1996) ; 544 pages.

(6) Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw. « Bruckner Studies », Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1997) .

(7) Stephen Johnson. « Bruckner Remembered », Faber and Faber, Boston (1988) .

A worthwhile book, indeed, is Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt's « Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 » , (8) although it does not reveal its virtues after a single reading. The analytical details are all there « en masse » .

(8) Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt. « Bruckner : Symphony No. 8 » , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2000) .

Methodology

The 1st step in my method was to use Ohio Link and then USA Link for needed books. After I chose the specific Bruckner correspondence to be used, I then translated all of it from the original German and began to search for qualities in Bruckner's make-up that would explain his behaviors and reveal his inner being. This work would then add to the knowledge of his music and his biography.

There was little editing to do because Bruckner wrote well and was able to express himself in extraordinarily clear language. « Reading between the lines » was not so easy. Every allusion had to be checked in other sources or stated as the result of a hard-won conclusion. Of course, obsolete formations and idioms were difficult but not impossible to find.

Bruckner is a difficult and complicated figure. His letters, cards, and testament show us that he was not merely a country bumpkin but an educated person who thought logically when his emotional problems were not controlling his thinking patterns. Though not an easy subject, Bruckner had many qualities that all readers might envy, but also many that kept him in the shadows of success.

Acknowledgments

1st of all, I must thank all of those who have helped and encouraged me during a decade of illnesses. Members of the University faculty and staff have been very considerate and kind.

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(Photo) « To the Great Master Anton Bruckner in Thankful Admiration and ... Remembrance. Siegfried Ochs. »

(Photo) « To the Great Symphonist Anton Bruckner from his grateful interpreter. Doctor Karl Muck. » (Graz, March 16, 1886.)

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Chapter I - Bruckner's Correspondence and its implications

The outstanding quality that illumines Bruckner's letters is graciousness. Nearly every one of his letters, even those written when he was discouraged or depressed, still displays the quality which appears to be 2nd nature to him.

In a brief « thank you » letter to Theodor Helm, **around 1891**, Bruckner begins :

« Highly-Honoured Doctor ! » (1)

(1) No. 127, in this collection (by Mary E. Hetzel) .

In a letter to Siegfried Ochs dated **June 26, 1891**, Bruckner addresses Ochs as :

« Wonderful Conductor ! » (2)

(2) No. 159, in this collection.

On **August 2, 1892**, and **October 31, 1891**, Bruckner's salutations read :

« Most Venerable, Most Noble Friend ! » (3)

(3) No. 186, in this collection.

and, « Noble, Beloved Brother in Art and War ! » (4)

(4) No. 164, in this collection.

The 1st letter is to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol at Kremsmünster, a young priest whom he greatly admired ; the 2nd, to August Göllerich, his friend and biographer. Of course, these salutations reflect the conceits of the day, but each is flavoured with Bruckner's special caring and graciousness toward his friends.

Bruckner was always grateful for any kindness shown to him, so his graciousness flowed over into many « thank you » letters.

In the letter of **June 7, 1885**, to conductor Felix Mottl, Bruckner wrote :

« Accept my heartfelt thanks with the greatest admiration stemming from the innermost part of my soul, in loving kindness and friendship toward you. Never will I forget that ! I request that you, just such a great artist, remain always, my old young friend and brother ! May your ingenious art be, also forever and ever, always the benefactor of my works ! May God's will be done ! Again, from my entire soul which thanks you, I remain ... » (5)

(5) No. 29, in this collection.

Even allowing for writing style, one can see that Bruckner's kindness and his caring nature are always present. He wrote to Arthur Nikisch on **New Year's Day, 1887**, thanking him for his great artistic kindness :

« With the most sincere wish that God may preserve your irreplaceable health, to the renown of German musical art. I kiss the hand of your gracious wife, and I also wish her everything good ! Forever and forever, I ask that you give a kiss to your dear son in place of my own that I shall never have. To Bernard Vogel, again, my sincerest thanks, etc. My leave-taking from you in Bayreuth was very difficult for me. A fond farewell !!! » (6)

(6) No. 74, in this collection.

On **January 4, 1887**, a letter to Elizabeth Kietz reads :

« To your “ Herr ” Papa, my deepest respect. For you, I send my thanks from the bottom of my heart ; and I kiss your very gracious and benevolent hand. » (7)

(7) No. 75, in this collection.

Bruckner never disregarded or forgot anyone who did anything for him no matter how small or how large the favour,

as evinced by his letter of **June 2, 1887**, to Theodor Helm :

« Thank you sincerely for your kind letter ! »

He stated :

« I cannot deny that I felt genuine pain at that time ! » **(8)**

(8) No. 85, in this collection.

Because Bruckner was very sensitive to the opinions of critics and musicians, he was especially depressed by the fact that conductor Hans von Bülow disliked his work.

To the wife of Baron von Mayfeld, on **January 30, 1888**, Bruckner wrote :

« Thank you from the bottom of my heart for your graciousness, as well as that of your husband, the Government Councillor. » **(9)**

(9) No. 92, in this collection.

Baron Moritz and Baroness Betty von Mayfeld were friends of Bruckner ; he often visited with them at Schwamenstadt, and this letter may well refer to one of those occasions. Nevertheless, they showed him so many kindnesses that it is impossible to be certain, for the letter also contains a number of details about forthcoming performances of his Symphonies.

The letter of **January 1, 1889**, is to Baron Hans von Wolzogen and includes these sentiments :

« From the fullness of my soul, I shout to my noblest patron, especially today at the beginning of the New Year :

“ 3 Cheers ” !

May God bless you, Baron, and be a generous benefactor to you for all the proven good that you do ! » **(10)**

(10) No. 102 in this collection.

It is not surprising that Bruckner would write to von Wolzogen with such enthusiasm because the Baron was a true friend to Bruckner. As a writer on music, as well as a Bruckner enthusiast and friend, von Wolzogen was in a position to help Bruckner both critically and financially. However, it is evident from extant sources that they would have been friends in any event ; Bruckner was appreciative and loyal to his friends and family, even those who were not interested in Classical music.

One of the few letters, which is not centered around a « thank you » , is dated **December 12, 1890**, and was written to Hans Puchstein :

« I must beg greatly for your acceptance of my apology for being prevented from meeting with you, on Wednesday evening, which I had not realized is Christmas Eve. I beg you whole heartedly for another evening of your choice when I can be of service, which will make me very happy. » (11)

(11) No. 122, in this collection.

Puchstein was a music reviewer in Vienna, and Bruckner was extremely pleased about the meeting. Because Bruckner was sometimes absent-minded, he apologized for his error ; however, he may have been doubly embarrassed, for Puchstein was also one of his patrons. Bruckner's gracious nature would have warranted the apology in any case.

This is revealed in an undated letter from **around 1891** :

« Most kindly, permit me to send you 2 issues of the “ Weltblatte ” - very interesting ! May I not look forward to seeing my noble patron again soon ? The 2nd performance of the D minor was splendid, wasn't it ? In Graz, the 4th with jubilation - and encore. » (12)

(12) No. 128, in this collection.

About the same time, Bruckner left a « Calling-Card » for August Göllerich :

« Anton Bruckner gives you heartfelt thanks for everything !

Please accept my excuse for Saturday ! Saturdays are never free ; Monday, at the “ Weingartner ” (next to the “ Theater an der Wein ”) . » (13)

(13) No. 126, in this collection.

This message would certainly have been easier to convey than the last. Göllerich was Bruckner's close friend and biographer, by choice, and would have known him as well as or better than any other person, with the possible exception of Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol.

On **June 26, 1891**, Bruckner wrote the following to Siegfried Ochs :

« Above all, and once more, in the deepest feeling of my heart, my thanks for the highly-brilliant rendering of my “ Te Deum ”, as well as for the excellent effort put forth toward the thorough learning of the work, which resulted in a never-before achieved level.

Also, for my masterful, dearest beloved choir, I ask you very much to give members my sincerest thanks and heartfelt greetings.

Still today, I hear the “ fff ” of the “ Tu Rex Gloriæ ”, etc.

Nevermore, will I hear my work performed like that. » (14)

(14) No. 159, in this collection.

Bruckner continues by saying that he and his Symphonies will continue to be greatly admired due to the genius of « Herr » Ochs, as displayed in the performance. Although, wishful thinking can be noted on the part of Bruckner, Ochs was a renowned choral conductor who gave the 1st Berlin performance of the « Te Deum » , and who was particularly celebrated for his performances of the Bach « Saint-Matthew Passion » . Hearing his own work done so well must have been extremely electrifying for Bruckner, and he wanted to impart both his appreciation and his realization of the elegance of the performance.

Bruckner again wrote to August Göllerich on October 31, 1891 :

« I thank you and everyone who so troubled themselves to secure the arrival of the “ Romantic ” Symphony (No. 4) with my whole heart ; and I congratulate you in particular, you noble hero of the battle won ! Once again, thanks and a brother-kiss from your Bruckner. » (15)

(15) No. 164, in this collection.

On December 5 of the same year, Bruckner again wrote to Göllerich :

« Dearest Beloved “ Herr ” Colleague !

To see you or simply to be able to be near you is for me indescribable joy and delight ! Accordingly, away with diabolical influences, at present, and in all time to come. You know my way of thinking now, and have for such a long time. You also know my character.

Lies - suspicion - dissension are the weapons of my enemies ! But you have mercy upon me, you, my noble friend, so extensive a journey to travel as far as here !!!

I entrust everything to you : even more details when you are here. » (16)

(16) No. 169, in this collection.

Göllerich did agree to visit with Bruckner. No doubt they discussed details about the biography Göllerich was to write. The depth of Bruckner's Platonic love for this man is apparent.

The letter of October 18, 1892, is to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol, a young priest at Saint-Florian :

« Most Venerable, Most Noble Friend !

On this occasion, I am sending you the hymn for the holy Mass of my dear, young friends, whom I salute very sincerely.

I permit myself to send along my favourite " Tantum Ergo ", composed in 1868. I thank Right Reverend Georg for everything, and I will advise the Director of these small matters. To Professor Romauld, everything beautiful. To His Grace, Father Prior, and all of the venerable gentlemen of the monastery, my respect ! and thanks !!

May these lines find you in further progression toward your recovery ! With most heartfelt greetings. » (17)

(17) No. 194, in this collection.

Although it is common courtesy to send friends get-well wishes, Bruckner's concern about his health and that of everyone else was always at the core of his thinking. Nevertheless, his gratitude and true regard for Father Loidol, whose life was comparatively short, are certainly the greater impetus of the letter.

On June 1, of the same year, Bruckner had informed Father Loidol that :

« The heat is intensive ! Everyone is fleeing from Vienna. But I must thank Your Grace most deeply - as much as it pains me (because I would with pleasure be in Kremsmünster) - on behalf of your invitation honoring me so. My feet, particularly the right, are swollen so much that I am able to walk only ponderously and cannot play the organ at all. Please be informed, Your Grace, of my deepest respect and thanks ; perhaps Your Grace would permit me to pay a visit some time later. Please remember me to the Reverend Chapter, especially Professor Romauld. Heartfelt greetings. » (18)

(18) No. 182 in this collection.

Again to Father Loidol, on August 2 :

« To my sadness, I heard that you, the Right Reverend Father, are still sick. I want most sincerely to beg God that He, through His divine goodness, take away this difficult affliction, and grant you the best of health ! I am in Steyr, likewise a patient.

Repeating my most heartfelt wish, I ask again that you allow me to know how you are.

Your admiring, warmest friend. » (19)

(19) No. 186 in this collection.

At this time, Bruckner was himself quite ill with liver and stomach ailments and persistently swollen feet. He and Father Loidol had a friendship that defied age and time, so it is not surprising that Bruckner, though sick himself, would write a consoling letter which included his prayer for Father Loidol's recovery. It was not to be so, for Father Loidol died the next year.

Related to graciousness is the quality of consideration of others, which also displays Bruckner's deep feelings for them. Though very humble and usually unable to speak highly of himself or his work, he was indescribably pleased that August Göllerich was writing his biography. Even so, on September 20, 1885, Bruckner again put another person ahead of his own wishes :

« Dear Friend ! I think that the biography can wait ; you ought not to undertake expense on its behalf. » (20)

(20) No. 37, in this collection.

On September 20, 1885, Bruckner would have been thinking of his schedule at the Conservatory ; and he knew that he would have little time to spend with Göllerich ; but there is still that flavour of wanting to insure the welfare of another, in this case, Göllerich (and, in particular, his finances) .

When the mother of Baroness Marie Anna (of Amstetten) died, Bruckner wrote a letter expressing his sympathy, on December 31, 1885 :

« I am so deeply and profoundly moved that it is barely possible for me to arrange words of comfort and condolence. Allow me to say, " Fräulein ", only that I ask God that He grant you the needed strength in this most grievous sorrow
...

May the new year assuage your greatest sorrow.

I send my sincere condolences to ail of the ladies of your noble family. » (21)

(21) No. 43, in this collection.

On April 13, 1886, Bruckner expressed his concern about Wilhelm Floderer's having to work so hard. At that time, « Kapellmeister » Floderer was at the « Linz-Theater » (in 1887, he became also the Choir-Master of the Liedertafel « Frohsinn ») :

« It pains me that you have to labor so hard. » (22)

(22) No. 57, in this collection.

Bruckner was referring to a concert (of his choral works and I Symphonic movement) which was, at the time, in rehearsal and, then, given shortly after his letter.

Even to one of his paid copyists, Leopold Hofmeyer, Bruckner wrote a business letter, on February 2, 1890, containing Bruckner's wish not to take liberties in regard to possible future requests :

« You have written everything wonderfully. Sincere thanks, and I shall look highly upon your splendid copy as a gift from heaven. I will later inconvenience you again, if I may. Enclosed, please find 5 “ Gulden ”. » (23)

(23) No. 108, in this collection.

It is to be expected that Bruckner would write friendly and loving letters to his brother, Ignaz Bruckner ; in addition, on **February 3**, he demonstrated deep concern :

« How very alarmed I am over your misfortune, you can only imagine. We thank God out of fullest heart that He has saved you so wonderfully. All the same, be really careful about what you eat, and inspect each bite you intend to eat. I congratulate you on your life's being saved ! Please find 10 Florins enclosed. Be careful later about eating smoked meat, and I will be grateful. “ So be really careful ! ” » (24)

(24) No. 109, in this collection.

It appears that Ignaz Bruckner had stomach problems similar to those of Anton. Bruckner mentions that his sister, Rosalie (« Sali ») Hueber, complained of having to pay the doctor so much money for their brother's treatment. Bruckner inquires as to whether or not Ignaz knows anything about this situation, for his inquiries have so far netted no information.

Nevertheless, he sent Ignaz a bit of money anyway. Bruckner always looked to the financial situation of his family members, supporting all of them at one point, as a young teacher giving music lessons in addition to his other duties.

Bruckner's letters prove that he did not forget old friends and that he remembered each with a letter at a special time in that person's life, displaying his gratitude as well.

To Arthur Nikisch, in regard to his forthcoming wedding, he wrote on **May 7, 1885** :

« You were my 1st apostle who made known in Germany, with the fullest dignity, my hitherto unknown expression. For that reason, be thanked in all eternity not only by me but also by my true friends. May God repay you for it !!!

Therefore, it is only natural that I take the liveliest interest in the events in your life. The greatest joyfulness now is your wedding. Take along my deepest-felt, most sincere congratulations !

God bless your marriage ! and permit you to enjoy this great good fortune in the best good health until the profoundest old age, arrayed with the 1st musical honors !

I offer your gracious young lady my congratulations and a kiss on the hand. » (25)

(25) No. 34, in this collection.

Although this rhetoric would be unfashionable today, it displays clearly the sincere regard and gratitude that Bruckner felt toward the most influential conductor of his day.

The next letter was written recently after the death of the brother of Felix Mottl.

A well-known conductor of the time, Mottl had been a student of Bruckner at the Conservatory. Dated **April 29, 1885**, the letter is actually a list of performance instructions for the Symphony No. 7 ; but Bruckner did not fail to address the passing of Fritz (Mottl) , cleverly knitting it into the very fabric of the communication :

« I have kept my funeral music especially for the “ Schotten-Kirche ”. Dear old departed Fritz wanted to visit me at Gause's (restaurant) !!! » (26)

(26) No. 22, in this collection.

On **June 19, 1885**, Bruckner wrote to Theodor Helm :

« To my eminent patron :

“ 3 Cheers ” !

When shall I have the good fortune to say this to you in person ? My Cheers must not be conveyed to you from a distance. » (27)

(27) No. 31, in this collection.

In the 1st paragraph of the letter, Bruckner is asking Helm to clarify some words that he wrote in the « Deutsche Zeitung » in a brilliant article concerning the 1885 music Festival, in Karlsruhe. Bruckner's insecurity is manifesting itself here, for he thinks he has the need to know precisely what the words imply. He also sends his Cheers and desires to convey them in person.

Sometimes, Bruckner would tell old friends of his compositions and their successes. He does so in a letter to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol, in **April, 1892** :

« I must set the “ 150th Psalm ” for the “ Musikfest ”, in September. The 8th Symphony will be 1st performed in the Autumn. “ Te Deum ” - pleased enormously in Hamburg ; also in Saint-Louis, in North America.

Sincere greetings from your old friend. » (28)

(28) No. 180, in this collection.

Writing from Vienna, on **February 3, 1892**, to Siegfried Ochs in Berlin, Bruckner states :

« They also liked my “ Te Deum ” very much, here ; however, would not the Viennese have been astounded to have heard the same work by you and your beloved choir ? I will never again hear it, thus !!! Never, but never again. Thank you, noble friend. Permit me, also, the “ 1st Symphony in C minor ” had great success in the Philharmonic concert. My fondest wish is and will remain eternally this ; that you, yourself, likewise, should conduct my Symphonies. For me, you are a 2nd “ artistic ” father. » (29)

(29) No. 175, in this collection.

This is a great compliment to Siegfried Ochs, for Bruckner loved his own father who died early. Bruckner's childhood memories of his father's tutelage probably elevated the elder Bruckner to the status of an artist, although he was probably only a church musician typical of the time and place. However, emphasis on the word « artistic » and the use of the word father raised Ochs to the highest of all positions in Bruckner's idea of the world and the people in it.

Bruckner remained a very humble person ; and he never wanted to cause his friends any kind of inconvenience or expense, as he stated in his letter of **June 17, 1885**, to Bernhard Deubler at Saint-Florian :

« Thank you very much for the remembrance and honour to my humble self, and I wish you everything good.

In addition, I rejoice to be able to be at Saint-Florian, where I can engage in composition peacefully. Only one thing weighs me down heavily - having to place the burden of my being there on the praiseworthy monastery. If only I myself could pay for my board, I would be much happier and would be more at ease staying there, because every good has its limits. » (30)

(30) No. 30, in this collection.

On **October 13, 1885**, Bruckner wrote to the Vienna Philharmonic requesting they not perform his Symphony No. 7. He had been experiencing substantial problems with the music-critics in Vienna, the most influential of all being Eduard

Hanslick. Bruckner briefly addressed the circumstances leading to this request :

« Although the project would very much honour and please me, I desire that my most submissive request be approved, that the honourable Committee might, “ for this year ”, pursue another course concerning the performance of my E major Symphony, on grounds which originate solely in connection with the lamentable local situation in relation to the influential criticism which could only inhibit my commencing successes in Germany. » (31)

(31) No. 39, in this collection.

In line with the request for dedication of the 7th Symphony is a desire for a performance of the work. There is actually a total of 3 requests ; and they can be found in a letter written to King Ludwig II of Bavaria, **around 1886** :

« In the highest sense of joy, I beg most humbly that Your Majesty be willing to permit me the honour, to accept most graciously the most humble dedication of my 7th Symphony, and to allow me to place the deepest heart-felt thanks most respectfully at the feet of Your Royal Majesty.

Permit me, Your Majesty, to close also with the humblest request ; may it please Your Majesty to allow a performance in the presence of Your Royal Majesty of my most graciously received Symphony. » (32)

(32) No. 46, in this collection.

Bruckner was an extremely religious man, and his humble nature may spring in large part from the teaching that humility is a virtue. This idea was no doubt part of his everyday experience at home, as a young child. In addition, he probably felt that it was necessary for him to be even more humble due to previous rejections and the unfavorable climate in Vienna, in regard to his work. Furthermore, even at the University, he was treated shamefully by the other professors, although his students loved him. Finally, it really was part of the writing style of the time when making a request, as in the following excerpt. Nevertheless, writing style played only a miniscule part in actually clouding the presence of humility in the man.

The letter from **December 1, 1885**, to the Austrian critic, Theodor Helm, contains the requested sketch of Bruckner's life, but it is the 1st line of the letter that is significant for this study :

« Permit me, your Esteemed Self to be allowed to send you belatedly the enclosed little sketch concerning my humble self. » (33)

(33) No. 31, in this collection.

In 1886, Austrian Emperor Franz-Josef I bestowed upon Bruckner the Franz-Josef Medal making him a knight of the Order of Franz-Josef. It was through the intercession of Princess Amalie of Bavaria that this display of recognition came to Bruckner, and he expressed his feelings of thankfulness in a letter to her, dated **July 9, 1886** :

« May Your Royal Highness permit me most graciously to lay at your feet my most humble, thankful feelings for the highest favour which your Royal Highness effected through your highest influence with His Majesty concerning my future artistic endeavors. » (34)

(34) No. 64, in this collection.

According to the way Bruckner thought, and also according to tradition, it followed that Bruckner wished to dedicate one of his Symphonies to the Austrian « Kaiser » Franz-Josef. On **March 30, 1890**, Bruckner wrote to His Majesty, asking permission to do so :

« The most subserviant undersigned, to whom a few years ago very great fortune became his lot, in receiving the most distinguished, highest sanction of all begs to lay before the same feet, a very humble request :

Will Your Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty concede to permit the most reverential dedication to be printed on the title page of the score ? » (35)

(35) No. 111, in this collection.

Bruckner never wanted to inconvenience his friends or anyone in any way ; and he was always grateful for any gesture on his behalf, as he conveyed, in addition to his thanks, to Karl Waldeck, on **March 27, 1891** :

« In advance, I thank you very much for your trouble. By this time, I am in Saint-Florian and, on Sunday, will come in good time for the High-Mass.

Please do not be angry over the many inconveniences on my behalf. » (36)

(36) No. 143, in this collection.

Karl Waldeck was a former student and had become « Kapellmeister » in Linz, in 1890. On Easter Sunday, Bruckner was to play for High-Mass at the Cathedral in Linz, but there were complications in the arrangements. Bruckner felt compelled to apologize for them and to assure his friend that he felt sorry about them. On **March 7, 1892**, Bruckner wrote to Bernhard Deubler, the Choir Director at Saint-Florian concerning one of his compositions :

« I am allowing myself to send you my “ Vexilla regis ”. I composed it following purely heartfelt urgings. May it find favour. In addition, may it go well for “ Herr ” Aigner and the Boys’ Choir, and may they study it “ very slowly ”. » (37)

(37) No. 176, in this collection.

In this letter, Bruckner's humility is overcome by love for his composition.

There is no record of Deubler's requesting the work, although this may have been the case because the date of the letter is so close to Holy Week, just before Easter. Even so, Bruckner wanted his work to be pleasing to those who would read and perform it and hoped that it would go well with the director.

By trade, Karl (Borromäus) Aigner was a book-keeper for a bank ; but he was also a monastery musician (« Stiftsmusiker ») , and local copyist, an assistant to Bruckner, in charge of the Boys' Choir.

Because the offering was very special, very close to Bruckner's heart, he wanted every detail in this particular music to be addressed ; he, therefore, added the admonition to study the piece very slowly. However, such an instruction is inconsistent with his allowing others to butcher his Symphonies or take liberties with tempi. As discussed later and from general knowledge of his procedures, inconsistency was just another feature of his insecurity.

The « very-slowly » thought may have come partially from his experiences as a choir boy. Sight reading is done only once. No one can concentrate on one topic for long periods of time without having some thoughts come into his or her mind, as proven by modern psychological studies. This is often doubly true with young boys, even those who know mental discipline. Bruckner was writing about a rehearsal tempo but inferring a need for much practice so that performing correctly would be almost automatic, including the necessities of singing the exact words and notes, remembering artistic interpretation, and following the director. After all, he himself had been a member of the Boys' Choir.

Bruckner possessed a great sense of humor. It does not often appear in his letters, for they were usually written in a serious and formal mode - and, often, he displayed his depression rather than his caprice. Nevertheless, every once in a while, a glimmer comes through ; for example, to Felix Mottl on **April 17** and, for a 2nd time, on **June 7, 1885** ; on **April 17**, he wrote :

« Dear Old Young Friend ! This must be Bruckner you say, and right you are ; it is he. Listen : Professor Riedel from Leipzig has offered to present my Adagio from the 7th Symphony. » (38)

(38) No. 18, in this collection.

And on **June 7**, but a little more seriously :

« I request that you remain always my old, young friend and brother ! » (39)

(39) No. 29, in this collection.

Much later, he wrote to his own brother, Ignaz, on **February 3, 1890** :

« Talk has it, in Vienna, that there is a teacher whose name is Anton Bruckner, and he pretends to be my brother. »
(40)

(40) No. 109, in this collection.

When August Göllerich arranged an organ recital for Bruckner in Wels, he began his return letter on **March 27, 1891**, thus :

« I do not know from where the nice letter of my noble patron and defender came. All the same, Wels will shortly have a joyous time. » (41)

(41) No. 142, in this collection.

Bruckner could be sentimental at times, too ; but this quality rarely appeared in his letters. Having written to Göllerich, a few months earlier, on **January 1, 1891**, he also approached pathos and humor in the same letter :

« At present, the new D minor Symphony has grown on my heart. Hugo Wolf threw himself around my neck, crying following the concert, which also affected me, and yet, a 3rd musician. Therefore : the weeping trio. » (42)

(42) No. 130, in this collection.

The last sentence, or course, constitutes a pun in German : « der Wein » being the beverage, and « weinen » being the verb, to weep. Bruckner was intelligent, and even clever, but his poor self-esteem, along with his depression, suppressed evidence of the capacity of his intellect, except for his music.

Not being a solitary person by nature, Bruckner found it increasingly difficult to live alone in the world. As a young man residing and working at Saint-Florian, he had felt alone and lonely in his little room. As time progressed, he began to look for a soul mate, a wife. He was, perhaps, the least likely prospect for marriage, but he was not without desires.

As an extremely religious man (he kept a list of the « Ave Maria » and « Pater Noster » prayers that he said each day) , he would never have sought a sexual relationship outside of marriage. Unfortunately, he often fell in love with young women, one after another, and, for the most part, his private students and daughters of his neighbors. His amorous feelings were almost never returned ; and when it seemed that 1 or 2 would be, nothing came from these attachments.

On **November 6, 1885**, Bruckner wrote to his friend Moritz von Mayfeld about the ladies who pursued him. It was fortunate that he was wise enough to realize that his celebrity-like status was behind their seeming admiration :

« Concerning my marriage, I still have no bride, up to this date ; if only I could find a properly becoming sweetheart

! To be sure, I have many female friends ; for, in recent times, the darlings pursue me extensively, and they think that they have to treat me in an idealistic manner. It's terrible if one is not well !! Entirely forsaken ! A hand-kiss to your gracious lady ! » (43)

(43) No. 41, in this collection.

In 1888, there are 2 letters to a woman identified as « Fräulein M » . She was further identified as « Fräulein Martha » , but none of the source materials gave a clue as to who she really was. No one knows where or how Bruckner met her ; nevertheless, it is obvious from the 2 letters that he was enchanted with her.

The 1st message, dated **November 5, 1888**, spoke to the fact that Bruckner had lost the treasured letter he had received from her :

« What will you think of me ? I felt indescribably joyful over your dear, sweet letter and put it immediately in my pocket next to my heart, where it was to stay until “ Fräulein Martha ” can come to Linz. Suddenly, I can find my jewel no more.

Therefore, I am using this address. » (44)

(44) No. 98, in this collection.

18 days later, on **November 23**, he wrote thanking her for her portrait. In those days, one sent one's portrait to another for whom one had the highest regard. The conclusion remains that she did, at least, respect him — and, a little more, he may have hoped ; but who was she ? And did she respond to the 2nd letter ? Obviously, nothing of a significantly Romantic nature came from this encounter. In addition, why did he sign the missive, « Your admiring old friend, Anton Bruckner » ? (45)

(45) No. 100, in this collection.

« I cannot express my great joy at receiving your magnificent portrait. Thank you for it, from the bottom of my heart ! That, being portrayed through this well-done likeness, is not a trivial thing ; you are such a highly-intelligent, splendidly turned-out, beautiful young lady, proclaimed with the most feminine virtues. Whoever knows you can only admire. » (46)

(46) No. 100, in this collection.

Herein lies one of the mysteries surrounding a man who was, by all accounts, completely open, honest, and naive. However, who was Martha, the old friend ?

By 1885, Bruckner had only 2 surviving siblings, Rosalie (Hueber) to whom he often referred as « Sali » , and his

brother Ignaz. Bruckner's deep feelings for members of his family do not manifest themselves often in his letters, but he loved them and never forgot them in times of need. This excerpt is from a letter dated **March 14, 1889** :

« Please accept my heartfelt sympathy at the deepest, saddest loss of your only daughter ! God give you two-fold strength ! For the departed (our dear niece) , however, eternal peace ! A week ago (Wednesday) , I attended a High-Mass at the “ Schottenkirche ” for the deceased Johanna ; I am sending the enclosed 20 “ Gulden ” to help with the cost of the funeral. Let us pray regularly for the dear one who has gone before us ! **(47)**

(47) No. 104, in this collection.

Bruckner's intimate feelings are sometimes hidden in his wishes for the good health of everyone, but they are always present. He worried about his own health nearly enough to make himself ill.

In the early 1880's, Bruckner began to be preoccupied with his health and, in general, with that of everyone he knew. Since his breakdown, in 1867, he had never been completely well. In 1883, in wishing everything good to a friend, he wrote that, above all else, was good health, upon which he expounded for the remainder of the paragraph. The same can be seen in one of his longer letters, from around 1884, where he ended with the 2 words :

« Mein Magen ! » (My stomach !)

On **February 9, 1885**, Bruckner wrote to his brother-in-law, including his sister's name in the salutation ; however, the letter really was to Johann Napomuk Hueber (the husband of « Sali ») . The message is newsy and mostly about the symphonies, but a few other details stand-out :

« Thank you for the letter. Sali, do not send anything. Here is 10 “ Gulden ”. I am well and wish that Sali may also be healthy soon ! » **(48)**

(48) No. 5, in this collection.

Bruckner was reasonably well and wished to stay so. At times, Rosalie would send her brother packages - parcels of meat, as is apparent in later correspondence. Anton had particular problems with his stomach and could not eat smoked meat, which was the customary method of preserving it ; this was the only type that could be sent to him during this era. Of course, he was concerned about Rosalie's health, too, and wished her a speedy recovery.

Bruckner gave only a glimpse of illness in a letter of **November 6, 1885**, to Moritz von Mayfeld :

« It's terrible if one is not well ! » **(49)**

(49) No. 41, in this collection.

In a letter of **June 17, 1886**, to Elisabeth Kietz, daughter of sculptor Gustav August Kietz, Bruckner wrote :

« May you remain in good health, “ Fräulein ”. » (50)

(50) No. 61, in this collection.

Such a statement could have meant nothing but a politeness for the beginning of a paragraph, which contained other customary refined phrases, but not from Bruckner. The mention of health was just another small reminder that it was at the top of his wish list, right-up there with musical success.

On **November 3, 1888**, Bruckner communicated with Karl Waldeck, one of his former students and his successor at Linz Cathedral, writing :

« May you receive the sincerest renewal of my deeply felt congratulations on your Name-Day ! Notwithstanding the highly-delightful fruits of your artistic work (for which I heartily congratulate you) , it is your physical well-being, your health, that I desire with my whole being from the all-bountiful heaven.

God grant you many, many healthy years to come. » (51)

(51) No. 97, in this collection.

Bruckner was bereft when his brother almost died in 1890. His message in the letter of **February 3**, is one of joy at the recovery of Ignaz :

« How very alarmed I am over your misfortune, you can only imagine. We thank God, out of fullest heart, that He has saved you so wonderfully. All the same, be really careful about what you eat, and inspect each bite you intend to eat. “ Frau Kati ” and I congratulate you on your life’s being saved ! Enclosed is 10 “ Florins ”. Be careful later about eating smoked meat, and I will be grateful. So be really careful ! » (52)

(52) No. 109, in this collection.

In **June, 1891**, Ignaz was ill again. This time, Bruckner wrote to his friend, Bernhard Deubler, on the 14th, asking him to find a new doctor for Ignaz :

« My brother, as he writes me, has been afflicted with influenza for a week.

Might I not request the most venerable “ Herr Professor ” (on my account) to arrange for a replacement and doctor for him, because this insidious disease, when it is neglected, often leaves behind bitter consequences. » (53)

(53) No. 154, in this collection.

It was not odd that Bruckner would write to his friend for this favour, for Ignaz resided in the town of Saint-Florian and was associated with the Monastery. In addition, Bruckner was not asking for himself, and he knew Professor Deubler would be understanding and kind.

On **February 19, 1891**, Bruckner again requested that no meat be sent to him until fall ; but, this time, the letter was to his brother and openly stated that Bruckner was not well :

« Thank you for the delicious meat. Here is 10 “ Gulden ”. But please, do not send me any more because I have a stomach disorder ; send me meat again only at harvest time. » **(54)**

(54) No. 139, in this collection.

As ever, Bruckner was gracious and did not refuse further gifts of meat altogether, but only until the new cattle were slaughtered for fresh meat in the autumn.

The stomach disorder, along with a throat disorder, were mentioned in 2 more letters, dated **March 17** and **March 27, 1891**.

To Felix Weingartner, on **March 17** :

« Because I have been suffering from throat and stomach disorders for a long time, I was advised to go to the countryside, for a certain time ; and, thus, at the present time, I find myself at Saint-Florian Monastery, in Upper-Austria - one and one-half hours from my birthplace. » **(55)**

(55) No. 140, in this collection.

The text of this letter reveals that Bruckner had not been feeling well for quite some time. Even so, at this point, he must have received some restorative power merely from being, again at Saint-Florian Monastery, and relatively close to his native Ansfelden.

And to August Göllerich, on **March 27** :

« On Easter Sunday, I am playing the organ, in Linz, for the Bishop's Pontifical Mass ; then, I am returning to Saint-Florian where I shall stay through Saturday, in order to take a rest, particularly since I am continually suffering from throat and stomach problems.

I wish you a good holiday, and a good rest ! » **(56)**

(56) No. 142 in this collection.

Also cited is a letter from **June 1, 1892**, to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol, at Kremsmünster, in which Bruckner stated his regrets at not being able to accept the invitation to visit the Monastery. All in all, a sad letter. Bruckner could no longer play the organ due to the swelling in his legs, which allowed him to walk only ponderously.

On **August 18**, a letter to Bernhard Deubler found Bruckner in Steyr :

« I am in Steyr with swollen feet and may not do any organ playing ; on the contrary, I require the “ Karlsbad Cure ”. In September, I must go to Weimar ; they want to perform my new composition, the “ 150th Psalm ”. » (57)

(57) No. 190, in this collection.

On **September 6**, Bruckner was still residing in Steyr, from which location he wrote to Cyrill Hynais ; this means that he had not left between **August 18** and **September 6**, due to his poor physical condition :

« My feet are better but not yet healthy. » (58)

(58) No. 192, in this collection.

For more than one reason, Bruckner was very much aware that he might not be able to attend a proposed performance of his 4th Symphony. He explained in a letter, dated **December 27**, written to Otto Kitzler who would conduct :

« Whether I am actually able to come to the performance depends on my constantly precarious state of health ; and the performance of one of my own works always agitates me. Stay very healthy. » (59)

(59) No. 198, in this collection.

Again, Bruckner's preoccupation with physical health is obvious. In his own case, it was truly justified at this point, for he would never fully recover from his maladies. In the case of Kitzler, who was in good health, it was Bruckner's hope that his friend not miss any good part of life, either on the personal or professional level.

For this study, the last letter relating to health is dated **January 4, 1893**, and was written to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol. Although much younger than Bruckner, Father Loidol would die in this same year. This letter demonstrates Bruckner's grief at the illness, eventually proving fatal, that Father Loidol was experiencing :

« From the bottom of my heart, I beg God above all for your health ! Alas ! if only I knew how to help. » (60)

(60) No. 200, in this collection.

This « communiqué » may have been a telegram ; nevertheless, it clarifies Bruckner's feelings, thus demonstrating that, in the face of his own deteriorating health, he was even yet very much concerned about the welfare of others - especially, one who was a beloved friend.

Bruckner was a man afflicted with self-doubt and insecurity. Even in times of great success, he often followed the inane suggestions of others and sometimes missed wonderful sections of music reviews by dwelling on specific negative details. Being devastated by the opinions of others was one characteristic that Eduard Hanslick discovered and used against Bruckner in the searing criticism which Ist smoked and, then, became incendiary by way of Hanslick's viciousness. Consequently, after Hanslick changed his mind negatively in regard to Bruckner's work, his insecurity became even worse and finally blossomed into the « fleur du mal » of paranoia.

Insecurity and unsuredness are found in profusion in Bruckner's correspondence. Separating them completely out from the matters that caused Bruckner's depression is impossible, but there is a magnitude of examples that can be used to explain instances of both ...

On **April 17, 1885**, Bruckner wrote to Felix Mottl concerning a rehearsal of the 7th Symphony in Karlsruhe :

« Ist : the Orchestra was not too unfavorably disposed toward me. » (61)

(61) No. 18, in this collection.

« Not too unfavorably disposed » placed Bruckner in a very vulnerable position. This is not merely humility ; this is depression looking for confirmation.

Even today, it is unfortunate if an orchestra has to play something that its members do not like ; however, this happens frequently, and one rehearsal may not be adequate in order to make any kind of judgment, if value judgments are ever justified. At Ist reading, an orchestra will often follow the conductor through a piece, unless the music makes no sense at all to them. However, under unusual circumstances, their likes and dislikes could affect the number of further performances ; but schedules usually remain schedules ; and Bruckner could have avoided worrying at all.

2 paragraphs later, he questions Mottl's enthusiasm and willingness to give his utmost to performances of the Symphony, especially the Adagio movement :

« 3rd : would you be willing to engage your whole artistic being, as Messieurs Levi and Nikisch, in rehearsing and conducting this Adagio with the tubas and the funeral music to the late Master, for your old, former teacher to whom you were always so dear ? Provided that you can fill yourself with enthusiasm for it, you, as highly-celebrated conductor, are the right artist to perform it.

If, my dear Mottl, you tell me this with your German word of honour, then, “ 3 Cheers ” ! The matter is then in order,

and I must then send the parts to Leipzig. » (62)

(62) No. 18, in this collection.

These 2 paragraphs illustrate nearly all of Bruckner's problem areas. He was really unaware of normal functioning, in behavior and expression. Bruckner's method of approaching Mottl was certainly a strange one. Mottl was his former student and would obviously give the best performance possible. What conductor would risk damaging his own reputation ? As a friend, Mottl would naturally do everything in his power to heighten the quality of his presentation ; however, such odd requests are not unfamiliar to those who have learned about Asperger's Syndrome. Although the degree of autism, in Bruckner's case, must have been lesser than some, he nevertheless had trouble fitting into a social structure and frequently missed cues and refinements that his era and circumstances demanded. Nevertheless, he made and kept friends, which would not be expected of a person with Asperger's.

One of Bruckner's major failings was his uncertainty in regard to his composing.

Few composers spend as much time as he revising written compositions. Whole Symphonies were re-worked and sometimes cut and patched, often with the good intentions of others (and, perhaps, at their whims, now and then) in the hope of performances, but to the detriment of the music, ruining both the form and its ingenious contrapuntal structure. The only Symphony that may have been improved is the 3rd, and there are 3 versions of that one about which scholars still argue. Even so, Bruckner wanted to leave perfected Symphonies for posterity ; but not nearly all of the revisions can be blamed on those who might be considered his helpers.

In the case of the Mass in E minor, one might ask why revisions were made just because of the death of Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger, with a new bishop in place ; naturally, this is very likely the wrong question. As was Bruckner's practice, which became even more radical as time progressed, he felt that changes were necessary. In a letter to Vicar Johann Baptist Burgstaller (the Choir director of Linz New Cathedral - the « Neuen Dom ») , on **May 18, 1885**, Bruckner reported what he had done :

« The Mass dedicated to the late most venerable Bishop, belongs to the “ Dombau-Verein ”. I have undertaken revisions, and might they now be copied into the parts, since a new Bishop is reigning ? (63)

(63) No. 27, in this collection.

By 1885, Bruckner was famous, for his music was being performed in other European countries, as well as in the New World. Good reviews were important to him, of course ; but having received no news from a Karlsruhe critic, Bruckner assumed the worst and hastily wrote to Felix Mottl on **June 7, 1885** :

« Several days ago, I received the most enthusiastic and honourable review from Professor Nohl in Heidelberg, wherein I saw that my success had probably been very good. In vain, I waited always for a message from Doctor Schönaich, - from the “ Karlsruhe Blätter ”, nevertheless in vain ! No doubt, they must have been severe. » (64)

(64) No. 29, in this collection.

Could there not have been an unaccounted-for delay in the delivery of a message from Karlsruhe or a delay in printing the review ? Bruckner's insecurity continued throughout his life. On **March 17, 1891**, he wrote to Karl Waldeck :

« In advance, I thank you very much for your trouble. By this time, I am at Saint-Florian ; and, on Sunday, will come to the Cannon Restaurant, in good time for the High-Mass.

Please, do not be angry over the many inconveniences on my behalf. » (65)

(65) No. 143, in this collection.

« Please, do not be angry » is more than politeness of writing style. Waldeck was a friend, admirer, and former student. Feeling unworthy describes Bruckner's attitude toward himself. It is possible that Bruckner had his humble beginnings always at the front of his thoughts. Irrational guilt over something small, but perceived as serious ; or one small infringement for which he could not forgive himself, although God could do so, could begin each of his downward spirals. Since a person cannot focus on any one idea for consistently long periods of time, there would have been times of relief when his mood lightened. If he had had a bi-polar II personality with an obsessive / compulsive overlay, then his depression, with mood swings and anxiety, could be very easily understood. Nevertheless, the inherited presence of Asperger's Syndrome, which is a collection of problems, not all of which are present in any victim, and not to the same degree in any 2, was most certainly the culprit.

On **August 8**, of the same year, Bruckner was residing in Steyr and wrote to Felix Weingartner, in Mannheim :

« Genuine heartfelt thanks for taking part in my being honoured. Nevertheless, I still have no diploma and believe the documents from the ministry and the " Kaiser " will be returned to me after much difficulty. Premature gossip came-out in the " Linzer Volksblatt ". On this occasion, I once more beg your good will, " Herr Hofkapellmeister ", in reference to the performances of my Symphonies.

You have my fullest trust.

I ask please, please. » (66)

(66) No. 160, in this collection.

In this instance, Bruckner was worrying about his diploma, gossip in the local newspaper, and quality in the upcoming performances of his Symphonies. Everyone knew, even in Roman times, how slowly bureaucracies work ; but he thought that he would have more of a problem than anyone else. Gossip was around even before antiquity ; and it always

frightened Bruckner, but rightly so. Due to the unfavorable climate in Vienna, his professional reputation had long been assaulted ; unfortunately, his predilection for thinking the worst inevitably caused him undue agony. Finally, he knew Weingartner's reputation and his work and did not need to beg for fine performances. One wonders what Weingartner thought of this letter, in general ; of course, Weingartner knew Bruckner's modus operandi well.

To August Göllerich, Bruckner wrote on **October 31, 1891** :

« Forges, in Munich, wrote a year ago :

“ The Finale of the Romantic Symphony is, by far, the weakest movement. I would have liked to pull the themes together, but it was not possible for me to do so successfully. ” - and such chatter.

I request that you chastize this unhappy man ; tell him that it did not occur to me to make all of the themes reconcilable. The same learned man finds this only in the Finale of the 8th. » **(67)**

(67) No. 164, in this collection.

That Bruckner waited a year to react becomes only one part of the reader's bafflement. Bruckner could have taken care of the matter himself or simply been confident and sophisticated enough to ignore the whole of it. Composers do not explain their work outside of classrooms, friendly gatherings, learned papers, if at all. Most do not even try because it is impossible to explain inspiration.

Bruckner's « not pulling the themes together » was a legitimate procedure if he did not wish to do it, or if it would have affected the composition adversely. His making the statement that it never occurred to him could only serve to open him up to further criticism. That statement was really a blunder. Traditional forms were altered and expanded in Romantic Austro-German music but not altogether abandoned, in order to go in new directions until later.

In conclusion, his biographer Göllerich also knew Bruckner well and could ignore any absurdity that came from him. Göllerich admired Bruckner's work and knew the true goodness which was so much a part of his character.

Bruckner was far too much affected by the opinions of others ; if negative evaluations of his work were the case, he began to feel depressed, then hopeless, then worthless. If positive criticism were his lot, often he was too elated, with flights of « grandeur » invading (Bi-Polar Disorder) ; but sometimes, even in his perception of the goodness of his life and work, there was the hint of a dark cloud lingering just below the sun. Having hoped for fame but being held back frequently by his own indecision, insecurity, and inability to remain objective in the face of success and defeat, he made bad decisions and worse attempts to undo the results. Of course, musical successes and failures were not the only situations which caused him bouts of depression ; he also had to deal with the other phenomena of daily life. His psychological make-up left him unprepared for the ups and downs everyone experiences.

On **February 9, 1885**, Bruckner wrote to Doctor Rudolf Prohaska who was a board member of the « Linz Musikverein

» :

« I was already in the unpleasant situation, here in Vienna as well as in Graz, of having to decline such honors. I am now even infinitely sorrier to have to say that I must also decline the wishes of the worthy “ Musikverein ” in Linz for the same honour that was meant for me. » (68)

(68) No. 6, in this collection.

Bruckner felt that he had to decline honorary membership in the Music Societies in Vienna, Graz, and Linz, in order to maintain a low-profile. Telling of performances in Munich, Leipzig, Hamburg, and Holland, and the good criticism regarding those that had already taken place, Bruckner sought to protect his successes abroad, as well, by receding into the background in Vienna. His words, « honour that was meant for me » , do indicate that he had some anger toward the situation.

In an obviously depressed mood, Bruckner wrote to August Göllerich on **June 24, 1885** :

« Thank you very much for your letter. Unfortunately, I must inform you of the hurt which resulted from the breaking of your word that you were going to write to Doctor Helm. This brings-out a deep hurt in my inner being. As a consequence, Helm wrote no report, and Doctor Schönaich and Mottl did not write anything, either. Indeed, I gave your letter to Doctor Helm, yet, he sent it back to me unopened. Accept, once again, the assurance of my deepest hurt that people of importance will receive no report from my friends. » (69)

(69) No. 33, in this collection.

In this letter, Bruckner proposed that he was hurt, and then repeated the thought, intensifying it with the words, « deepest hurt » . He must have been disappointed in both his friend and in the outcome of the situation ; but, in reality, Bruckner was depressed and anxious, the obverse and reverse sides of the same problem. Unfortunately, he rarely expressed real anger, usually turning it inward, which undoubtedly contributed to his gastro-intestinal upsets and his anxious / depressed moods.

Approximateiy 2 weeks later, on **July 7**, Bruckner again wrote to Göllerich on the same subject but in a different tone :

« You will find it completely understandable, that it would mean much to me if only Doctor Helm, by way of addition (if only belatedly) , would at least give to the “ Deutsche Zeitung ” the pronouncement of German artist about me ; “ since Beethoven ceased to compose, German artists are measured solely by feeling and Wagner’s creative work ”. He (Doctor Helm) is in Salzburg. He seems, regardless of his lovely words, again to be somewhat difficult to move. You, my most worthy, my dear biographer, can do it, in particular if you do not let him have any peace. Therefore, please ! It is indeed the 1st general Festival in Germany where I am mentioned. I repeat my request that Helm may not be left in peace. » (70)

(70) No. 34 in this collection.

This time, Bruckner seems to have sent the right message in the right way. He knew that Göllicher could help him get the positive criticism that he felt he needed. Already, Bruckner had been mentioned in the critical review of the « Fest » ; but he wished for the distinction of German Artist. One can hardly realize the turmoil in Bruckner's mind because this pronouncement had not yet been made. The picture, though, was not as bleak as he was perceiving it ; he was in the process of reaching true fame, even though he was impatient and fearful due to Vienna's climate and the rejections he had felt, which completely stole his confidence. There was a component of reality in his fear, but his anxiety level magnified the possibility of his never being recognized, by at least tenfold in his imagination.

In **1886, on June 16**, Bruckner wrote to his younger friend and admirer, Carl Wilhelm Zinne :

« About Hanslick and unfortunately about Brahms, I have been told stories which have been very hurtful to me, concerning which I prefer to keep quiet ; but my heart is sorrowful !!!

N.B. : Hanslick is still dictating to 2 reviewers to criticize me ; they really try everything to alienate me from Hans Richter who is enthusiastic for me, because everybody knows Richter's fear of the press. Many, many thanks for everything. » **(71)**

(71) No. 60, in this collection.

Such injustice, causing sadness for Bruckner ! Hanslick was, indeed, a formidable enemy, even though Bruckner had done nothing to provoke his wrath. Being associated with Richard Wagner and his music was enough. Thus, the Wagner-Bruckner camp and the Brahms camp. Vienna and its music-critics joined in on disagreements exacerbated by hatred, jealousy and hangers-on ; the music circles behaved like spectators at a cockfight, with Bruckner caught between the protagonists. Always fragile, Bruckner now battled emotional, physical, and psychosomatic illnesses.

January 9, 1887, found him writing to Theodor Helm about his plight in musical life :

« “ Herr Doktor ”, in a highly-noble manner and with admirable decorum, you are the only person who raises your noble voice for me, while all the others - long since sleeping again (except for my adversaries) - false, weak friends that are already safe and sound in the camp of my opponents.

Already many times, someone has shown me telegraphed reports from New York wherein is reported that Thomas has conducted my 7th Symphony and the public accepted it enthusiastically.

May I not, once more on this occasion, request a little notice ?

N.B. : Also, in Amsterdam. Pleading not to be abandoned. » **(72)**

(72) No. 76, in this collection.

Bruckner's feelings of abandonment are apparent here, but he lets them eclipse his realization and enjoyment of considerable success elsewhere. Vienna was not yet prepared to praise him. Times would change.

Again, on **April 22, 1887**, Bruckner wrote to Theodor Helm :

« Greetings ! As the only representative of my work in Vienna, I thank you for allowing my 5th Symphony to be recommended. At your request, I have consented to the preliminary performance. The chorus, " Um Mitternacht ", is new, the 3rd with the same title. The Society has returned from " Strasbourg " (in the region of Alsace) , no doubt by the shortest route from the Schottenring. » (73)

(73) No. 84, in this collection.

Bruckner still regarded Theodor Helm as his only Viennese ally ; and ally is the correct word, considering the musical war zone that was Vienna. In addition, how badly Bruckner actually felt about himself is shown in regard to the return of the University's Singing Society from Strasbourg. Bruckner lived on the 4th floor of the « 7 Heßgasse » , only a short block from where the members of the Society would pass, in returning to the University. What a wonderful tribute to the composer if the whole Society would have turned and walked the short distance to his home, singing the composition for him as a fitting tribute of appreciation. However, they did not. Bruckner felt that he was not regarded highly enough for this to happen ; and, again, in his feelings of unworthiness, perhaps even worthlessness, fell into place, making him depressed more than ever.

Bruckner never learned that, often, people think of a person as he thinks of himself and how others, then, perceive him. Such an attitude is reflected in the whole body, and others are quick to notice and stay away from that person, probably because of some personal fear of becoming like the person and repellent to others. Who would really want to deal with someone like that or have him as a new friend ? Bruckner never learned this truth because he did not notice, no one ever told him, and he did not see it at home. This concept can apply to professional relationships, too.

The situation looked even worse to Bruckner when he wrote to Helm, on **June 2** of the same year :

« Thank you sincerely for the kind letter ! I cannot deny that I felt genuine pain and isolation. Look closely for yourself at the situation in Vienna (to mention only one) , I agree. Von Bülow will work for my ruin as long as he lives.

May I beg your further good will !!! » (74)

(74) No. 85, in this collection.

However, the end was not at hand. Eventually, von Bülow would speak-out for Bruckner ; but Bruckner was not to know that until von Bülow's conversion.

Around 1888, Bruckner sent a letter to Hermann Levi concerning the rejected score of the « Romantic » Symphony, he had sent it to Mainz, and had received the news upon his return from Bayreuth. He lists also his problems with publishers, Albert J. Gutmann and Theodor Rättig, feeling it necessary to compare his circumstances with those of Brahms :

« Again, in Vienna, there is nothing new. That nothing at all will be performed this year is preferable to me. Old friends have again become adversaries, and you know how that is. In brief, the reactionary, old-established treatment from all factions ! Without Hanslick - nothing proceeds in Vienna. Indeed, I might have already done a dozen years' penance for my position as lecturer. » (75)

(75) No. 91, in this collection.

Being treated shoddily by the Viennese music circle and shamefully by his fellow professors at the University would shake anyone's confidence, but it was especially true with Bruckner. Because he viewed himself as a person who always loses, he fulfilled his own prophecy. It never occurred to Bruckner to wait and see ; thus, he perceived every set-back, no matter how small, as a major disaster. The road was extremely rough for him ; but he made it even bumpier for himself, then was completely unable to smooth it out through his own efforts, sometimes plunging into a deep depression.

Baron Hans von Wolzogen received a letter from Bruckner, dated **January 1, 1889**. Besides wishing that Richard Wagner were there with him, Bruckner related his impression of Viennese musical life in relation to himself :

« The Brahms cult has achieved here the most unbelievable thing. Hans Richter, the very first in line !!! maintained that the new trend would have no justification in the concert at all ; and (because of Hanslick) he no longer dares to accept anything of mine for the prospectus. » (76)

(76) No. 102, in this collection.

Bruckner was not exaggerating in the tone of this letter. In the 1st place, Hans Richter was deathly afraid of critics ; and, 2ndly, the followers of Brahms were powerful and ruthless. Finally, little really did go on musically in Vienna during the years when Hanslick held sway, unless he approved. However, Bruckner had friends and supporters, was a teacher beloved by his students, and was a concert organist, not a composer only. As usual, though, Bruckner's thinking eclipsed the good in his life and settled in on the non-successes of his performances, all in all feeling inferior because Brahms was doing so well.

A letter of **October 11, 1889**, addressed to Wilhelm Floderer, in Linz, sums-up Bruckner's state of mind. Sadly, he writes :

« I am glad when the Austrians sing anything of mine. » (77)

(77) No. 106, in this collection.

On **March 30, 1890**, Bruckner wrote to Theodor Helm :

« In all haste, I ask you sincerely, for my sake to make no mention today (since I myself am at fault) that the Philharmonic has performed nothing of mine. I have taken away from them the “ Audacious Broom” (the 1st Symphony) , and the D minor Symphony is not yet printed. Also, Richter did not know that the 6th Symphony is already written. At both ends, we have waited on the D minor Symphony about which “ Herr ” Schalk has been assuring me for 3 months that it will undoubtedly come in good time. » (78)

(78) No. 110, in this collection.

As nearly always, problems stymied Bruckner, Franz Schalk being one of those problems, though unwittingly on his part. Schalk's good intentions and Bruckner's wishes to have his music performed and to please his listeners made-up a poor equation.

As time progressed, Bruckner's mental state worsened and his old aberrations, from 1867, began to recur. Already in **1889, on August 12**, he wrote to August Göllerich :

« I wish to know of what the spires above the dome of the city towers, where we were, consist. Next to the dome is a) the stud ; then, b) the weather-vane with ornament ; isn't it ? Then, c) a cross ??? And a lightning rod or what else ? Is there a cross ?

What is on the spire of the Catholic church ? I believe only a weather-vane without a cross ?

Excuse me many times, and I thank you in advance. Please, make a note of “ everything ” ; in the autumn, I shall ask for clarification. » (79)

(79) No. 105, in this collection.

Since Bruckner was asking about Bayreuth, he could not easily check for himself.

Nevertheless, this is a very unusual request for information, seemingly of no real significance, except to a victim of what looks like an obsessive-compulsive disorder.

Bruckner also had a fascination, almost a preoccupation, with death. After his signature, at the very end of a letter of condolence to his sister Rosalie, he wrote on **March 14, 1889** :

« Yesterday, a young officer, the son of a very rich citizen, was stabbed to death at a fencing practice. » (80)

(80) No. 104, in this collection.

What such a statement is doing at the bottom of a letter of condolence regarding the death of Johanna (his niece) , only daughter of Rosalie Hueber, is hard to understand except in psychological terms. However, by now, Bruckner's problems must have been making themselves obvious again to his family. Unfortunately for Bruckner, this incident illustrates only one of his strangenesses.

Along the same line, in 1867, Bruckner was intrigued by the death of Maximilian, brother of Franz-Josef I. As Archduke of Austria, Maximilian was made Emperor of Mexico ; but, for political reasons, he was court-marshalled and, then, executed by gunfire. Bruckner was interested in all of the details surrounding the death and visited the casket several times while Maximilian lay in state.

Bruckner remained a puzzle in Vienna, with his old-fashioned peasant clothing, which included a large red handkerchief protruding from a pants pocket, and his rustic table manners. Children laughed and followed him in the street. One of his oddest preoccupations was the counting of windows in buildings, the type of repetitive behavior that those suffering from autism display.

Bruckner was inconsistent in his behavior which was one of his failings, although he seemed to be powerless to change or even detect the problem. When necessary, he gave performance instructions to conductors, directors, and performers. At times, these directions were very clear and to the point. At other times, he granted ad libitum rights, occasionally even asking for advice. Then, there were those times when his ability to be direct was marred by indecision, too many qualifiers, and contradictions.

On **March 31, 1885**, the Benno Walther Quartet, with an added violinist, played Bruckner's String Quintet. A few days beforehand, on **March 27**, Bruckner wrote to the Quartet, giving what he considered a performance direction in regard to a portion of the Scherzo :

« In reference to the Quintet, I would like to request that the Scherzo not be played as prescribed ; on the contrary, in the 2nd section (nearly up to the recapitulation of the opening Andante) , please take the tempo as you ordain. I wish you much luck. » (81)

(81) No. 15, in this collection.

Bruckner had already heard Josef Hellmesberger's String Quartet play the work and must have liked the tempo, but his letter gives no clue as to what was done or what was to be done.

Bruckner wrote to Felix Mottl, on **April 29** of the same year, asking that he change an expression mark in the Adagio

of the 7th Symphony. What is more important, however, is Bruckner's insistence on the use of the Wagner tubas ; at least here, Bruckner overcame his unassuredness. Nonetheless, he gave the conductor too much freedom, for he was very concerned about what the laymen would think of what they heard. As a matter of fact, everyone was a layman in regard to this Symphony until the Symphony was played more than once or the score was studied at least twice.

« At X in the “ Adagio ” (“ Funeral Music ” for tubas and horns) , I beg you most sincerely (3 measures before Y) to increase the “ crescendo ” to “ fff ” by the next measure (about 1 measure before Y) , in order to allow a “ decrescendo ” on the 3rd quarter-note.

Be sure to use the Wagner tubas. (In no case are horns to replace these tubas.) Would it not be desirable to introduce the Scherzo with the Trio also ? (In particular, for the laymen ?) » (82)

(82) No. 22, in this collection.

Still in **March, 1887**, Bruckner was fussing over the funeral music in the 7th Symphony. Jean-Louis Nicodé had written him the most complimentary letter stating that he (Nicodé) was going to conduct the 7th Symphony in Dresden, as his last Philharmonic Concert. As he was already pleased with the Symphony, he may have been somewhat surprised when Bruckner wished him good luck :

« N.B. : At the end of the 2nd movement (“ Adagio ”) , in the tuba passages (the true funeral music) , 3 measures before Y, “ 4 horns playing fff ” sound much better than 2. Good luck ! » (83)

(83) No. 82, in this collection.

On **October 2, 1890**, Bruckner wrote to Felix Weingartner recommending the 8th Symphony for performance. Arthur Nikisch had already expressed a desire to conduct it ; but Bruckner was so unsure about its performance, and then its acceptance, that he begged Weingartner to honour the large cuts which Josef Schalk had made in the Finale :

« Please, “ Herr Kapellmeister ”, allow me to recommend my 8th Symphony ; when copied, it will come to your hands. The Finale has large cuts ; because of the length of the same, I beg you to allow these cuts. » (84)

(84) No. 124, in this collection.

In truth, Bruckner's Symphonies do tend to be long, especially as the numbers increase ; however, making cuts neither improves them nor makes them more desirable. It only spoils the composer's intentions.

Now and then, Bruckner was very precise in his directions. A letter of **December 30, 1890**, to Theodor Helm, contains an example :

« The “ Credo ”, in the absence of the orchestra, requires at least 2 keyboards, 4 hands ; and, then, requires solid full-

score playing in order to bring-out well the bass of the foundation of the entire work (to bring-out the unison sections for the whole string orchestra in the “ er resurrexit ”), the Symphonic basses and the same with all of the “ unison ” lines for the string orchestra. » (85)

(85) No. 117, in this collection.

By 1891, Bruckner had still not desisted in cutting parts out of his Symphonies, expressly from the Finale of the 8th. On January 27, he wrote to Felix Weingartner :

« How is it going with the 8th ? Have you already had rehearsals ? How does it sound ? Please, cut the “ Finale, as it is indicated ”, because it would be too long and will matter only in later times for a circle of friends and those in the know. I ask that the “ tempi ” be intentionally altered, completely “ ad libitum ” (as is necessary for clarity) .

Again I ask : how does the 8th sound ? » (86)

(86) No. 133, in this collection.

In a letter of March 17, Bruckner asked Weingartner not to change the full-score of the Symphony but also requested that he accept the abridgement in the Finale :

« Please, just let me know what your orchestra needs ; however, I ask that the full-score not be changed. Also, it is one of my fondest prayers that, at the printing, the orchestra parts remain “ unaltered ”.

By all means, accept the abridgement in the Finale because, otherwise, it would be too long, and that would be detrimental. » (87)

(87) No. 140, in this collection.

Detrimental to what ? Bruckner composed the Symphony. In all probability, he meant that the critics or listeners, in general, might not like such a long performance ; but the Symphony makes better musical sense if unaltered. In spite of all, Bruckner desperately wanted, at least parts of his works, to be performed and heard during his lifetime and was willing to make any sacrifice, though he felt in his inner being that his works were for posterity. Again, he stated that it would matter only in later times and for the circle of his own friends. Understanding this « mélange » of fears and desires allows the excerpt above to make some sense.

Bruckner wrote to Hans Puchstein, on January 3, 1892, in order to correct an error concerning his 2 Symphonies in C minor ; Puchstein was to conduct Symphony No. 1. After affixing his signature to the letter, he amended it with :

« The harmonies (woodwinds and brass) are mostly indispensable (for keeping the lines separate) . » (88)

(88) No. 174, in this collection.

Even here, Bruckner qualifies his statement with the adverb « mostly » . Such a statement conveys his admonition but Puchstein was not told how much mostly meant.

If Bruckner had problems giving performance instructions, he certainly had more than his share of difficulties with publishers. He was always bemoaning the fact that he could not find a publisher ; but often when he did find one, he inevitably had knots and snarls to unravel. Nevertheless, Hermann Levi also saw that the problems were real :

« How is it, at present, with Gutmann ? I have heard nothing more. Just between us, I offered him 1,000 Marks as subsidy for the cost and so, I am of the opinion that he could folly well give a royalty to “ Herr ” Schalk. If he does not give it, I will certainly find a publisher in Germany. This situation would be resolved only if he were to give a definite Yes or No. If you are absolutely against Gutmann, write your answer to me. I have only turned to him since he published the Quintet. » **(89)**

(89) No. 21, in this collection.

The citation above appeared in a letter from Hermann Levi, which is dated **April 26, 1885**. About 3 years later (around 1888) , nothing had changed very much ; Bruckner was continuing to have problems with Albert J. Gutmann and others. As was his custom, Bruckner recounted his woes to Levi :

« Upon my return from Bayreuth, to my sorrow, I received back from Mainz, the “ Romantic ” Symphony in E-flat and, indeed, without any alleged reason. After that, “ Herr ” Seidl asked for the score and was of the opinion that he would find a publisher over there. Now, “ Herr ” Gutmann, himself, wants (and is of the opinion that I am obliged to request) 1,000 Florins from the Palace for him. In no case, can I do that. Rather, he, himself, should negotiate there without my having to proffer the fee ; indeed, I have never received anything.

(N.B. : From Rättig, 50 Florins.) » **(90)**

(90) No. 91 in this collection.

On **March 17, 1891**, Bruckner wrote to Felix Weingartner telling of his desire to have his 8th Symphony printed (not even published) ; just printed for an opening performance :

« If Schott would accept the printing, the goal would be achieved ; and I would have great joy. That he has gone to great lengths to further recognition of me is, for me, a great consolation, namely through your ingenuity. » **(91)**

(91) No. 140, in this collection.

Schott did admire Bruckner's work ; on the other hand, getting the publisher to go forward with the printing, at such

a crucial time, was paramount and not at all an easy task.

After a while, Bruckner's general situation did look more promising. Relating his pleasure at the brilliant performance of his « Te Deum », he wrote to the conductor, Siegfried Ochs, on **June 26, 1891** :

« Never more, will I hear my work performed like that.

N.B. : I intend to secure the publishing firm of Raabe for myself. » **(92)**

(92) No. 159, in this collection.

At last, Bruckner felt confident enough to state what he intended to do and, then, pursue his goal with no qualms. It goes without saying that the work was, again, published for him. Bruckner's printing and publishing distresses were over.

Along the way, Bruckner frequently had few opportunities to compose. Time after time, he wrote to friends, and even to the King of Bavaria, that he lacked the proper number of hours to do so ; but how overjoyed he was when he could slip away to Saint-Florian Monastery where he could compose without interruption. Nevertheless, he had more than enough commitments to fill his schedule and could spend time there, only infrequently.

On **May 18, 1885**, Bruckner wrote to Johann Baptist Burgstaller (the Choir director of the Linz New Cathedral - « Neuen Dom ») :

« Although I have only my times of rest for composing, and not even these for a long time !!! Even so, I have kept my promise and send you under separate cover the new “ Ecce sacerdos magnus ”. » **(93)**

(93) No. 27, in this collection.

No doubt Bruckner was rushed, with all of his duties as professor and organist, but he always kept his word. Withstanding stress was not his « forté », and it made his nervous condition even worse.

A reference to one of the rare times that he could anticipate a visit to Saint-Florian can be found in a letter of **June 17, 1887**, addressed to Bernhard Deubler :

« Thank you very much for the remembrance and honour to my humble self, and I wish you everything good.

In addition, I rejoice to be able to be at Saint-Florian, where I can engage in composition peacefully. Only one thing weighs me down heavily : having to place the burden of my being there, on the praiseworthy Monastery. If only I myself could pay for my board, I would be more at ease staying there because every good has its limit ! » **(94)**

(94) No. 30, in this collection.

Still thinking 1st of others, Bruckner, nevertheless, was overjoyed about his visit and the prospect of time to compose.

In **1886**, Bruckner wrote to King Ludwig II of Bavaria asking for permission to dedicate the 7th Symphony to him. After much ritualistic rhetoric, Bruckner informed the King of his problems with finding time to compose :

« I am all the more fortunate that, likewise, the golden rays of the Royal grace touch me, as I, nearly 61 years old, in addition to all of my many school periods at the Vienna Conservatory, must also give private instruction in music, so that not very many residual hours remain left to me for musical composition. Because, at the present time, I feel myself honestly vigorous enough to create my best and would like to turn with pleasure toward dramatic composition, this lack of time fails heavily on my heart ! » **(95)**

(95) No. 46, in this collection.

The Symphony was dedicated to the King. In his letter of request, Bruckner made a point of mentioning Richard Wagner's statement about wanting to have all of Bruckner's Symphonies performed, no doubt, because the King considered Wagner a friend and was highly-influenced by him - so much so that individual walls in « Schloß Neuschwanstein » are covered with paintings depicting scenes from Wagnerian music dramas.

Bruckner was obviously hoping for more than acceptance of the dedication of his Symphony, plus a performance of it ; but King Ludwig was far too occupied with bankrupting his country by building castles to notice the dire needs of an overworked professor and composer.

By **March 25, 1886**, Bruckner was, indeed, buried in his 8th Symphony, as he wrote to Baron Hans von Wolzogen :

« A thousand thanks for your kind visit ; I was sincerely sorry that I did not know, and that I was unable to make a return visit, in particular, however, that I had to miss Your Grace's distinguished speech. (Once again, I'm in the same state of affairs.)

Your letter, which honoured me so and was so highly-ingenuous, cheered me greatly ! Unfortunately, I am now buried in the 8th Symphony and have almost no time for composition. » **(96)**

(96) No. 54, in this collection.

On **February 23, 1887**, Bruckner mentioned the lack of opportunity to work on his 8th Symphony again, this time, in a letter to his friend Elisabeth Kietz :

« Accept herewith my most sincere thanks and my deepest admiration for your highly noble heart ! Forgive my negligence, - it is the 8th Symphony that lays claim to my attention ; and, painfully, so little time for work ! which

makes me feel so often discouraged. » (97)

(97) No. 80, in this collection.

Having almost no time to compose not only dispirited him but also added to his depression, thus heightening the other pathology in his psyche.

January 30, 1888, is the date on a letter to « Frau » Betty von Mayfeld, the wife of Moritz von Mayfeld - both of them close friends of Bruckner. It, too, emphasizes that Bruckner is working on the 8th Symphony with too little time to spend on it :

« Thank you from the bottom of my heart for your graciousness as well as that of your husband, the Government Councillor. The 8th Symphony is far from finished ; I have many proposed changes and too little time for working at them. » (98)

(98) No. 92, in this collection.

Bruckner had just finished the (1st) definitive version of the Symphony, in 1887 ; and already, early in 1888, he was concerned with making many proposed changes. Proposed by whom ? Unfortunately, changes were made in the course of the next 2 years, 1888 and 1889, under the guidance of Josef Schalk, a former student. This process was later dubbed « re-composition » . One need not wonder why the 9th Symphony was never finished, although the Trio in F, composed as the Scherzo of the Symphony, was already completed in 1889.

On **March 26, 1892**, Bruckner wrote to Theodor Helm :

« I have much to do ; must compose music for the “ 150th ” Psalm. » (99)

(99) No. 177, in this collection.

A month later, on **April 26**, Bruckner wrote to Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol :

« I must set the “ 150th Psalm ” for the “ Musikfest ”, in September. » (100)

(100) No. 181, in this collection.

Most likely, the « Psalm » was completed in Steyr, his alternate haven for composition ; in fact, he once expressed that he could work constantly in Steyr. The « Psalm » was scheduled for performance before **July 27**, according to a letter to Adolf Koch Edler von Langentreu, a friend of Bruckner and the Director of the music Festival :

« The “ Psalm ” belongs precisely at the closing of the Festival. » (101) , wrote Bruckner.

(101) No. 185, in this collection.

Although, throughout his lifetime, Bruckner was plagued with too little time to compose, he was able to complete 10 Symphonies, leave fragments of numbered Symphony No. 10 with other Symphonic works, compose a String Quintet, and write a myriad of large and small vocal works. He wrote only a few minor organ works for students. Because he improvised so freely and well at the organ, he never wrote down what he played.

To his detriment, Bruckner was massively affected by the opinions of others. He considered the criticism of his music and his person to be the final word on the subjects. Seeking positive evaluation was ever his goal, while negative criticism nearly destroyed him. In his mind, bad press and personal attack often eclipsed the goodness and loyalty of his friends and followers - but most of all, his actual successes.

In a letter of **February 9, 1885**, to the Librarian at the Hague, Wilhelmus Ludovicus van Meurs, Bruckner told of several successes :

Recently (on January 8) , Hellmesberger performed my Quintet in Vienna. I myself was called back repeatedly after every movement and, “ indeed ”, by the “ entire ” audience ; at the conclusion, fully 10 times. Court “ Kapellmeister ” Hellmesberger intends to perform it, again, in November. He requested me to write him still another one, called the work a “ revelation ”, and called me the “ Composer of the Modern Age ”. Vienna can be very proud, etc. , etc. ... Otherwise, I am despised by the music cliques, one and all in Vienna (with the exception of the “ Deutsche Zeitung ”) . For this reason, except for the 3rd Symphony and the Quintet, nothing has been published. » **(102)**

(102) No. 7, in this collection.

Inside the letter, by Bruckner's placement of the problems that he saw, one is made aware that, to him, the more significant part of his experience remained the negative element. It is almost as though his recital of his successes consisted merely of a prelude to the recitation of his difficulties. Bruckner was, again, depressed.

Bruckner was so concerned about the bad critical evaluations, which he was receiving in Vienna, that he actually requested that the Vienna Philharmonic not perform his 7th Symphony during the 1885 and 1886 season. Therefore, he wrote to the Committee on **October 13, 1885** :

« Although the project would very much honour and please me, I desire that my most submissive request be approved, that the honourable Committee might, “ for this year ”, pursue another course concerning the performance of my E major Symphony, on grounds which originate solely in connection with the lamentable local situation in relation to the influential criticism which could only inhibit my commencing successes in Germany. » **(103)**

(103) No. 39, in this collection.

Most composers would probably not have refused a performance by the Vienna Philharmonic, but there is great truth in Bruckner's statement. Unfortunately, he anticipated disaster as a result of the performance, which may have been the result of his not being quite resilient enough to face possible local defeat ; but further foreign success was paramount in his mind. Bruckner was aware of his enemy, Eduard Hanslick, reigning critic supreme. One is then left with the question as to, whether or not, Hanslick could have thwarted Bruckner's success in Germany, for the Germans are quite apt to think for themselves.

Bruckner repeated his fears in a letter of **November 6**, to Moritz von Mayfeld :

« I protested against the performance of my 7th Symphony because, in Vienna, this has no purpose because of Hanslick and his associates. If the Philharmonic does not heed my protest, then, it can do as it will. » (104)

(104) No. 41, in this collection.

As always, Bruckner was looking for approval for his actions, still being unsure that he had taken the right step.

In a letter of **April 22, 1887**, Bruckner intimated that he was alone in Vienna, when it came to representatives, with the exception of Theodore Helm :

« Greetings ! As the only representative of my work in Vienna, I thank you for allowmg my 5th Symphony to be recommended. At your request, I have consented to the preliminary performance. » (105)

(105) No. 84, in this collection.

Most assuredly, one or more of his friends and followers could have recommended his work. As was the custom with Bruckner, his « naïveté » forced him to see all situations in black and white ; and so, at that moment, he saw Helm as his only ally.

Even so, Bruckner had changed his mind over a year and a half, in regard to a performance ; but he was incapable of changing Bruckner.

The only other possibility is that Bruckner was playing the fox, in order to insure future gain. However, this picture of him does not explain away his other behaviors, and is simply not a likely image of him.

On **June 2**, Bruckner followed-up a return letter with another to Theodor Helm :

« Thank you sincerely for the kind letter ! I cannot deny that I felt genuine pain and isolation, at that time ! Looking closely for yourself at the situation in Vienna (to mention only one) I agree. Von Bülow will work for my ruin as long as he lives.

Mister Barry wrote me from London that, on May 23, Richter conducted my 7th Symphony with masterly skill before a large audience, and that the work excited his highest delight and his deepest admiration. But he does not write how the public itself received the work. Also, to date, no critical review has become known to me. » (106)

(106) No. 85, in this collection.

1st, admission of his loneliness and malaise ; then, worry about audience and critics (with a fearful ideation toward the outcome) before anything is known. Although composers are always anxious about critical reviews, some wait calmly ; others wait nervously ; and, then, there was Bruckner who dreaded failure enough to bring him close to the point of terminal illness.

On November 11, 1889, Bruckner wrote to Leopold Hofmeyer, of success and astonishment :

« “ Hofkapellmeister ” Hans Richter is inexpressibly enthusiastic about my 1st Symphony. He ran-off with the score. He had it copied and he conducted it in a Philharmonic concert ; afterwards, he cried, kept on kissing me, and “ prophesied ” immortality for me. I was astonished. » (107)

(107) No. 118, in this collection.

Bruckner did not say whether his astonishment came from the prophesy or the tears, although kissing and emotionality were within the behavioral repertoire of Europeans, during the era, persisting in some areas even today. The fact that Richter loved the Symphony and felt that Bruckner would be another immortal artist both pleased and astounded him, although he craved for recognition. In addition, Hans Richter, an orchestral conductor of international renown, had not always been so fond of Bruckner's music, partly because Richter was deathly afraid of Hanslick ; thus, here was another victory for the composer. Nonetheless, Bruckner's elation did not last.

Writing to Arthur Nikisch, in Leipzig, on November 23, 1888, Bruckner revealed his own fright in regard to the critics :

« Hanslick !!! Bülow !!! Joachim !!! In God's name ! I work ; I do whatever is possible. » (108)

(108) No. 99, in this collection.

Bruckner seemed to think that working hard was the complete answer. Even inspired works are not always understood and accepted by those who think they know and those who simply have different taste. Fortunately, in a larger sense, Bruckner was right about his composing ; he did work diligently, magnificently and, at the highest level that his superior gifts would allow. It was his non-musical mistakes that marked him as being less than his worth, that reflected on his musical output.

It is true that the situation was not favourable in Vienna for Bruckner's music, in 1888, but his successes elsewhere should have taken the edge-off of the scathing remarks of the professional critics and a conductor or 2. As could be

expected of Bruckner, he saw the immediate situation in Vienna and assumed that it would reflect on his success elsewhere ; and he became distraught.

Perhaps, the letter to Hans Puchstein, a music reviewer in Vienna, best demonstrates Bruckner's concern and emotional entanglement in the face of any critical review of his work. The time was **January 19, 1891** :

« Thousands and thousands of thanks for your genial, wonderful article. How often I've read it ; in addition, I did so again, on Saturday, when I read for the 1st time (with shuddering) the one by Hanslick. At 1st, I almost became ill ; then, I quickly reached for " yours ", and I became well again ! God be thanked, and may He bless you. » **(109)**

(109) No. 132, in this collection.

The contents of the letter cited above are the keystone to understanding exactly how personally and seriously Bruckner regarded the opinions of « all » others, in regard to his music. In his letters, there is not very much information regarding the way people saw him as a person, for it would be mostly painted black, due to his emotional problems. However, we do know that he had a large number of students and other followers who loved him, which is revealed by inference and passing reference rather than by outright statement. Other biographical writings make this aspect very clear, however.

About the same year, Bruckner wrote again to Hans Puchstein :

« Most kindly, permit me to send you 2 issues of the " Weltblatte " - very interesting ! I don't know who ? ... ? (sic) May I look forward to seeing my noble patron again soon ? The 2nd performance of the " D minor " was splendid, wasn't it ? In Graz, the 4th with jubilation - and encore. » **(110)**

(110) No. 128, in this collection.

Of course, it was splendid ; Bruckner did not need to ask Puchstein about it. A tag question from Bruckner signified the need for verification and re-affirmation. Bruckner never lost his need for the positive opinions of others, not just critics.

In the following case, he relied on a chorus Master and composer to re-assure him.

On **February 3, 1892**, after great success in Vienna, Bruckner wrote to Siegfried Ochs :

« They also liked my " Te Deum " very much, here. Permit me, also, the " 1st Symphony in C minor " had great success in the Philharmonic concert.

At 1st, the Orchestra declared it to be the work of a madman ; after that, to be phenomenal. Hanslick writes absolutely nothing. » **(111)**

(111) No. 110, in this collection.

It was not necessary for Bruckner to repeat the statement about a madman. Telling a friend about his triumph should have been enough. Eduard Hanslick restrained himself from writing anything ; he might have known not to comment negatively on a grand success.

On **March 26, 1892**, Bruckner related to Theodor Helm the opinion of a Berlin newspaper that can only be described as his music's being damned by faint praise :

« The “ Berliner Börsen-Courier ”, from March 17, writes that I have the right to be performed, even if a work should be slightly or not at all pleasing, and recommended the 4th as very interesting, fresh, and elaborate. » (112)

(112) No. 177, in this collection.

How can one figure-out that review ?

Such a review from Berlin, where he had had so much success, came as a nasty surprise. It is easy to understand that Bruckner was upset by the words in the « Courier » , although anyone might wonder at his writing so quickly to Theodor Helm, a friendly critic in Vienna, for re-assurance. The great concern that Bruckner had over one declaration of mediocrity seems rather too much. He appears to have forgotten or overlooked his successes, there ; and, for another time, he succumbed to the opinion of a detractor, even after finally conquering Vienna. But did he even read the whole of the Berlin article ?

Bruckner never overcame his insecurity and dependence on the good will and approval of musicians and laymen alike. Of course, he did revel in his successes. Because he was so often depressed and uncertain, each true success must have been for him much like a flash of the mystical ; but it is his music that raises him into the realm where mystics are found. Even so, he seemed always to have descended rather quickly. Nevertheless, there are those who think that he was a mystic. Thinking so little of himself and his work becomes ever more apparent as his letters are read and cited, even though there were times when his good fortune is apparent, yet, did not bring him intrinsic joy.

The year of **1885** was really the beginning of his fame. On **January 14**, he wrote to an unnamed editor :

« I am sending a short biography (with photograph, as per your request) . On the 8th of the month, “ Herr Hellmesberger, Senior ”, presented my Quintet for the 1st time, with success that I cannot describe. Called at the closing of each movement ; at the end, 6 to 10 curtain calls, and the general applause, even the conservatives applauded vigorously. Hellmesberger called the Quintet “ Revelation ”, and intends to repeat it by demand, as soon as November. » (113)

(113) No. 3, in this collection.

That Bruckner was thrilled with his success fairly leaps from this letter. Surely, it should have given him some degree of lasting confidence, although it failed to do so.

To his brother-in-law and sister (Johann Napomuk Hueber and Rosalie) , he wrote on **February 9, 1885** :

« Now, “ Holland ” is added to the list where, on the 4th of the month, my 3rd Symphony was performed with very great success. In Leipzig, on January 28, the 2nd performance of my 7th Symphony was given before the Royal couple. The newspapers are full of admiration just like the Dutch people. In March, it is going to “ Munich ”. The performance in Hamburg is, likewise, imminent. » (114)

(114) No. 5, in this collection.

On the same day, he wrote to Doctor Rudolf Prohaska, in Linz ; but he told of his problems 1st, then, of his great success. He was saving the better part until last but seemed not as enthused, as in the other letter to his brother-in-law and sister.

Bruckner was certainly busy writing letters on **February 9, 1885**, for he wrote also to Doctor Wilhelmus Ludovicus van Meurs, the librarian at the Hague. Bruckner told of his success in Leipzig. He added a line referring to « extraordinary success » and, then, added :

« I received 2 laurel wreaths (one from the University, and one from the Orchestra) , which is very grand. In March, the same takes place in Munich, where “ Kapellmeister ” Levi raves most extraordinarily about the work. » (115)

(115) No. 13, in this collection.

As Bruckner had told Doctor van Meurs, the concert did take place in Munich and was a rousing success. Bruckner reported his triumph to Arthur Nikisch, on **March 15** :

« I have just returned from Munich where, on the 10th of the month, there was an extremely magnificent performance of my 7th Symphony. The audience received it very enthusiastically ; the conductor and the Orchestra applauded vigorously. 2 laurel wreaths. Next performance, in the autumn. The reviews were very good. Also, especially splendid ; “ Neueste Nachrichten ”, “ Süddeutsche Presse ”, and such.

At a large reception for musicians, “ Herr ” Levi declared :

“ This is the most significant Symphonic work since Beethoven’s death. ”

He added that the performance of this work is going to be the pride and high-point of his artistic career. And the banquets ! The King will also be informed. The Intendant, likewise, sent for me. My portrait was painted by (Hermann

von) Kaulbach and I was photographed twice. » (116)

(116) No. 13, in this collection.

Bruckner was so excited that he also told his friend Baron Hans von Wolzogen of the events, in a letter dated **March 18**. In this letter, he added :

« Please, permit me to tell you something of the happiest week of my life, due to the glorious events in Munich.

The reaction was, as they say, indescribable jubilation. No one could remember such a scene in the “ Odeon ”. My Symphony (No. 7) remains in Munich. » (117)

(117) No. 14, in this collection.

On **May 12**, Bruckner was still thrilled with his success. In a letter to Moritz von Mayfeld, Bruckner recounted his success for another time :

« The success in Munich was the greatest of my life. There never has been such enthusiasm in Munich, as I was told. The most enthusiastic applause of hundreds. My Quintet and, above all, the “ Te Deum ”, which Wetzlar wants to print, has evoked the greatest jubilation. » (118)

(118) No. 26, in this collection.

On **November 6**, Bruckner wrote to Moritz von Mayfeld informing him that :

« 2 orders for the score and parts of the 7th Symphony arrived from foreign countries ; 3 from America. » (119)

(119) No. 42, in this collection.

As Bruckner sought recognition, thus, it came to him.

To a friend, Elizabeth Kietz, he wrote on **January 4, 1887** :

« In Amsterdam and especially in New York, the 7th has aroused enthusiasm. Oh ! How I would like that to happen in Dresden, too. In addition, it will be performed in Berlin. » (120)

(120) No. 75, in this collection.

A few weeks later, on **February 23, 1887**, he wrote to « Fräulein » Kietz, again, telling her :

« It is the 8th Symphony that lays claim to my attention. » (121) , making it obvious that he was hard at work on the large project.

(121) No. 80, in this collection.

Meanwhile, on **January 9**, he informed Theodor Helm of his success in New York :

« Already, many times, someone has shown me telegraphed reports from New York wherein is reported that (Theodore) Thomas has conducted my 7th Symphony and the public accepted the work enthusiastically. » (122)

(122) No. 76, in this collection.

Bruckner was always very fond of his friends, the Mayfelds. On **January 30, 1888**, he wrote to Betty von Mayfeld to thank her and her husband for their graciousness. Being very happy about the success of his Symphonies, he included in the letter :

« On the 22nd of the month, Crown Princess Stefanie bestowed upon me her utmost sincere congratulations. During the course of March, the 4th Symphony (the “ Romantic ”) will be performed in Munich. In London, Boston, and Prague, the 7th Symphony has had enormous success. » (123)

(123) No. 92, in this collection.

Writing on **April 24**, to the « Stiftsorganist » at the Monastery of Saint-Florian, Bruckner recounted to Josef Gruber :

« I was sincerely gladdened by the great success of the 4th Symphony, in New York, through the recent performance by the celebrated conductor (Anton Seidl) . » (124)

(124) No. 95, in this collection.

August Göllerich received unexpected news from Bruckner on **January 1, 1891**. Bruckner had triumphed even with the staunchest critic in Vienna :

« I am still deeply moved by the acceptance of the audience at the Philharmonic concert, which hailed me back 12 times - and how !!! That was not all. You will have to be astounded :

Yesterday, Hanslick revered me with his photograph, the inscription on which reads : “ To my esteemed friend. ” » (125)

(125) No. 130, in this collection.

Bruckner, who had once feared music-critic Eduard Hanslick so greatly that he declined a proposed performance by the Vienna Philharmonic, had seen his 7th Symphony hailed by those present, who accorded him 12 calls-back. Even more significant, in the eyes of Bruckner, was that Hanslick had put to paper on the photograph that he was his esteemed friend.

It would have been unlike Bruckner to send the picture back with the inscription crossed-out, but there are those who would have done just that. The all-forgiving Bruckner was so pleased about his acceptance that Hanslick's attempt to mend the bridge between them arrived with status equal to his other triumphs. Perhaps, Bruckner possessed a little more sophistication on the inside than he displayed on the outside and for which he was never given credit. A more likely scenario would involve his simple happiness and true joy, his graciousness, and his kindness, as inspired by his devotion to his religious beliefs. With these qualities in mind, one can see why he would never think of retribution.

Perhaps, the « essentiel » , as well as the apex, of Bruckner's career is contained in the letter of **June 12, 1891**, written to Theodor Helm :

« Having just returned from Berlin, I permit myself to ask you to put together a few words from the enclosed reviews, and even the best from your celebrated newspaper. All of the Berlin papers pass very good judgments ; nothing unfavourable. - That was never the case. Tappert and Leßmann, wonderful.

The jubilation at the reception, after the final choir rehearsal and at the general rehearsal ; marvelous - at the end also, trumpets and kettle drums.

However, the jubilation after the concert defies description ; most of the notables came to me, and they congratulated me so much that I had to remain on the podium for a long, long time thanking them.

Next winter, the “ Te Deum ” will be performed, again in Berlin, and 1 or 2 of my Symphonies ; likewise, in Dresden Stuttgart, etc. “ Christiania ” came 8 days earlier. Von Bülow recommended the “ Te Deum ” for performance, brought my photograph to conductor Siegfried Ochs (who led the Orchestra in a masterful performance of the work) , and called the work, excellent. » (126)

(126) No. 153, in this collection.

Theodore G. Tappert : Distinguished church historian and author. He was Schieren Professor of the History of Christianity at Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. He was also archivist of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Synod and a consultant to the Lutheran Church in American's Board of Publication.

Helmut T. Lehmann : Author of Martin Luther's Works Liturgy and Hymns.

Christiania, also known as Freetown **Christiania** (« Fristaden **Christiania** » , in Danish) is a self-proclaimed autonomous neighbourhood, covering 34 hectares (84 acres) in the borough of Christianshavn in the Danish capital, Copenhagen.

The area of **Christiania** consists of the former military barracks of Bådsmadsstræde and parts of the city ramparts. The ramparts and the borough of Christianshavn (then, a separate city) were established, in 1617, by King Christian IV by reclaiming the low-beaches and islets between Copenhagen and Amager. After the siege of Copenhagen during wars with Sweden, the ramparts were reinforced, during 1682 to 1692, under Christian V to form a complete defence ring. The western ramparts of Copenhagen were demolished during the 19th Century, but those of Christianshavn were allowed to remain. They are today considered among the finest surviving 17th Century defence works in the world.

The University of Oslo (« Universitetet i Oslo ») , formerly The Royal Frederick University (« Det Kongelige Frederiks Universitet ») , is the oldest and largest University in Norway, located in the Norwegian capital of Oslo. The University is recognized as one of Northern Europe's most prestigious Universities.

Its Faculties include : (Lutheran) Theology (Norway's State religion since 1536) ; Law ; Medicine ; Humanities ; Mathematics ; Natural Sciences ; Social Sciences ; Education. The University's original neo-Classical campus is located in the centre of Oslo ; it is currently occupied by the Faculty of Law.

The University was founded in 1811 and was modelled after the University of Copenhagen and the recently established University of Berlin. It was originally named for King Frederick VI of Denmark and Norway, and received its current name in 1939. The University is informally also known as « Universitetet » (the University) , having been the only University in Norway, until 1946, and was commonly referred to as « The Royal Frederick's » (« Det Kongelige Frederiks ») prior to the name change.

In 1811, a decision was made to establish the 1st University in the Dano-Norwegian Union, after a successful campaign which resulted in an agreement with King Fredrik VI. Fredrick agreed to the establishment of an institution that he had earlier believed might encourage political-separatist tendencies. In 1813, The Royal Fredrik's University was founded in **Christiania**, a small city during that time. Circumstances then changed dramatically, 1 year into the commencement of the University, as Norway proclaimed independence and adopted its own constitution. However, independence was somewhat restricted, as Norway was obliged to enter into a legislative union with Sweden based on the outcome of the War of 1814. Norway retained its own constitution and independent State institutions, whilst Royal power and foreign affairs were shared with Sweden. At a time when Norwegians feared political domination by the Swedes, the new University became a key institution that contributed to Norwegian political and cultural independence.

The main function of The Royal Frederick University was to educate a new class of (higher) civil servants. Although Norway was in a legislative union with Sweden, it was a sovereign State, and needed educated people to run it. Civil servants were needed, as well as parliamentary representatives and ministers. The University also became the centre for a survey of the country - a survey of national culture, language, history and folk traditions. The staff of the University strove to undertake a wide range of practical tasks necessary for developing the infrastructure critical to a modern society. When the union with Sweden was dissolved, in 1905, the University became important for producing highly-educated men and women who could serve as experts in a society which placed increasing emphasis on ensuring that all its citizens enjoy a life of dignity and security. Education, health services and public administration were among

those fields that recruited personnel from among the University's graduates. In 1939, the University was renamed the University of Oslo and it remained Norway's only University, until 1946.

Throughout the 1800's, the University's academic disciplines became more specialized. One of the major changes in the University came during the 1870's when a greater emphasis became placed upon research. The management of the University became more professional ; academic subjects were reformed and the forms of teaching evolved. Disciplines became more specialized and Classical education came under increasing pressure.

...

On **June 14**, Bruckner imparted the same information to Bernhard Deubler. Also mentioned was his Symphony No. 3, which would be performed in London. He wrote to his landlord, the architect Anton von Ölzelt-Newin (1817-1875) , the next day, giving him some of the important details of the success ; even then, he described his triumph in Berlin in very simple and humble terms :

« “ Berlin ”, most incredibly, is again going to present the “ Te Deum ” this winter, and 1 or 2 of my Symphonies. »
(127)

(127) No. 154, in this collection.

Incredibly ?

Yet, in August, Bruckner was elated about his achievement. To Felix Weingartner, he wrote on **August 8** :

« In Berlin, the days were so beautiful for me - as at no other time. » (128)

(128) No. 160, in this collection.

Bruckner wrote to the Vienna Philharmonic, on **December 16** of the same year ; he was indeed pleased with the recent performance of the 1st Symphony :

« May I extend, herewith, my inexpressible thanks for the splendid rendering of my 1st Symphony, both to “ Herr Kapellmeister ” Doctor Hans Richter and to all of the gentlemen of the Philharmonic. In everlasting admiration - “ 3 Cheers ”. » (129)

(129) No. 171, in this collection.

On **April 26, 1892**, Bruckner wrote to his friend, Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol, who was serving at the Monastery of Kremsmünster, in Upper-Austria. Bruckner did mention an upcoming performance of his 8th Symphony, but it was the « Te Deum » that was uppermost in his mind :

« “ Te Deum ” - pleased enormously in Hamburg ; also, in Saint-Louis in North America. » (130)

(130) No. 180, in this collection.

Bruckner must have felt superb pleasure when the letter from Hamburg, which had been written 10 days earlier, related that everyone present at the performance had been deeply moved.

To Theodor Helm, Bruckner sent a letter of thanks on **January 3, 1893** :

« I have just now come back from Saint-Florian, and I ask most kindly that you accept, here within, my fondest New Year's Congratulations and my deepest, warmest thanks, in the 1st place, for your highly-ingenious review and truly heroic advocacy for my 8th. God bless Your Honour for such noble effort. We shall shout the “ profit ” over the land. »

(131)

(131) No. 199, in this collection.

Although reviews of the 8th Symphony were not all favourable, Helm recognized a work of genius, at once, and wrote about it in excellent terms. As always, Bruckner was grateful, but he realized that Helm did not quite understand the work.

By careful wording, Bruckner made his point to Helm :

« N.B. : “ Herr Doktor ” ! In the Finale of the 8th Symphony, at double letter ZZ in the score, all 4 themes are united. Please, pardon very much my bringing this matter to your attention. Your articles, so wonderfully memorable, I will preserve it for myself for life. » (132)

(132) No. 199, in this collection.

As Bruckner had previously been criticized for not weaving themes from all movements into the fabric of his Finales, he wanted to make sure that he cited evidence of this point for all, which meant correct information for the critics. Bruckner's letters are, in many ways, like his Symphonies : « I reading - I hearing » is just not enough for complete understanding. It has been commonly accepted that Bruckner's letters contain nothing out of the ordinary. Such an assumption is a groß over-simplification. As the reader can perceive in this essay, Bruckner's life, letters, and music (all 3) have wonders and mysteries for those who seek.

...

Vers 1885 : Une strophe, attribuée à Anton Bruckner, trouvée au début d'un album.

Love, it can elevate the earth, -
With its clay existence, - to heaven.
It teaches us to bear suffering willingly
And peacefully look forward to a better day.

Incipit : « Die Liebe, sie kann erheben - »

Source : Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 149 ; pages 164-165.

This autograph-book poem was written for the niece of Bruckner's « old » copyist, Franz Sailer (1803-1848) . He was the Court scribe and was employed by the Monastery of Saint-Florian. It was from Sailer that Bruckner received his Bösendorfer piano, which he treasured for the rest of his life ; this piano is now preserved in Saint-Florian Monastery.

At the time when Franz Gräßlinger was compiling his reference-book, the original copy was in possession of Franz Müller, the « Kapellmeister » at the « Stephansdom » , in Vienna.

...

1 janvier 1885 : Bernhard Vogel's music-review, about the Bruckner 7th Symphony, for the « Leipziger Nachrichten » ...

« This work commands the highest-admiration. »

6 janvier 1885 : Lettre de Otto Kitzler (Brünn) à Anton Bruckner (Vienne) .

« Dear Old Friend !

My brother in Dresden, who visited me for a few days at Christmas, has informed me that he heard your Symphony in D, there, and was witness to the marvelous success. I congratulate you most heartily to that end and sincerely rejoice that you have, at last, gained a deserved honour and recognition !

Besides, you have endured long enough ! Also, about a performance of a Mass (is it of a more recent date ?) in the palace cathedral, I have read splendid things. A great pleasure has been spoiled for me through the unfortunately necessary postponement of our Music Society concert, from today to next Sunday, because I really wanted to come to Vienna, on the 10th, to attend the performance of your “ Te Deum ”. I have obtained the score and I am presenting it, next fall, because the program for this season is already established and the required printed music has already been purchased. A great, majestic thread is woven through the “ Te Deum ”. I congratulate you sincerely for that, as well, and am already excited about its reception. I will be with you, in spirit, on Sunday.

Additionally, something yet of a prosaic nature. Befittingly, I have spent this summer very pleasantly with my family in Waidhofen. In addition, was in Linz on the 1st of August ; inquired after you of Zappe, who could not tell me where

you have been ; had you been in Florian, I should certainly have sought you out. Now, farewell ; my wife and I send our compliments.

Your old friend,

Kitzler »

Incipit : « Mein Brüder in Dresden, welcher mich zu Weihnachten ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 1 de Otto Kitzler ; page 310.

Otto Kitzler (1834-1915) : « Kapellmeister » . While living in Linz, Bruckner studied orchestration, performance theory, and methods of composition, although Bruckner felt that composition itself could not be taught. Kitzler always felt humble when he was recognized as one of Bruckner's teachers.

Karl Zappe (1812-1971) : Cathedral and town parish church « Kapellmeister » , from 1840 to 1871, thus, being Bruckner's superior.

8 janvier 1885 : Exécution du Quintette à cordes de Bruckner par le Quatuor Hellmesberger. Également au programme, des œuvres de Mozart et de Beethoven.

10 janvier 1885 : Lettre de Josef Schalk (un des défenseurs les plus controversés de Bruckner) à son frère Franz. Soit 11 jours après la création leipzigoise de la 7e Symphonie.

« Ferdinand Löwe et moi avons dernièrement examiné la partition de la 7e avec Bruckner et discuté d'une ou 2 modifications et améliorations. Tu ignores probablement que Nikisch a arraché son accord pour notre coup de cymbales dans l'Adagio (accord de sixte et quarte en ut majeur) , avec le triangle et les timbales - à notre incommensurable joie. »

« Notre coup de cymbales » : voilà qui résout à coup sûr l'affaire ! Mais le fait est que nous ne saurons très certainement jamais combien de « modifications » et d'« améliorations » Bruckner fit sur l'insistance des Nikisch, Löwe et autres Schalk. Contrairement à ce qu'on croit, pourtant, il savait fort bien résister quand une idée lui déplaisait vraiment. Et bien qu'il pût être relativement puriste en matière d'instrumentation Symphonique (les harpes n'intégrèrent la Symphonie n° 8 qu'au bout d'un mois de bataille, à en croire son élève Friedrich Eckstein) , s'il avait douté du bien-fondé des cymbales et du triangle, pourquoi les introduire de nouveau dans l'Adagio de sa Symphonie n° 8 ? Musicologiquement parlant, c'est là une question difficile à trancher.

14 janvier 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à un éditeur inconnu (Cologne) .

« Honourable Professor :

I am sending a short biography, with photograph, as per your request. On the 8th of this month, “ Herr ” Hellmesberger, Senior, presented my Quintet for the 1st time, with success that I cannot describe. Called at the closing of each movement ; at the end, 6 to 10 curtain calls, and the general applause ! - even the conservatives applauded vigorously. Hellmesberger called the Quintet, “ Revelation ”, and intends to repeat it, by demand, as soon as November. Thanks very much for your kindness and, please, be willing to bear in mind my most favourable attitude toward you, in the future. Once more, wishing you a “ Happy New Year ”, thankfully, respectfully, and devotedly.

Yours truly,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Ihrem Wunsche gemäss übersende ich ... »

Source : Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 107 ; pages 122-123.

Josef Hellmesberger, Senior (1828-1893) : Violinist, conductor, founder of the Hellmesberger Quartet. From 1851 to 1859, he was artistic director and conductor of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » concerts, transforming the Orchestra into one of professional status and giving the programs their lasting form. In 1849, he founded the String Quartet which was regarded as the leading Viennese Quartet, from their 1st performance onward. (The Beethoven String Quartets were its particular « fortés » .) Hellmesberger was a witty, congenial « man about town » , and his playing pleased even the music-critic Eduard Hanslick.

15 janvier 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Alfred Stroß (Vienne) .

« Dear Good Friend !

I have “ not ” found a publisher. If you write to Professor Winterberger, would you ask him about the theme in B minor that he gave me at the “ Gewandhaus ” (in Leipzig) .

Sincere thanks for your kindness, noble friend !

Yours,

Bruckner

P.S. : Monday’s “ Extrablatt ”, terrible. Wednesday’s “ Deutsche Zeitung ”. »

Incipit : « Ich habe “ keinen ” Verleger gefunden. »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 144 ; page 173.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 107 ; pages 122-123.

Autograph Letter about the 7th Symphony : Elusive autograph signed letter and envelope from the influential Austrian composer and organist Anton Bruckner who writes regarding the world-premiere of his 7th Symphony. Autograph material of any kind from Bruckner is extremely rare. Sold together with a vintage postcard photograph.

1 page, double-sheet, 8vo. Dated « 15.01.1885 » . To the composer Alfred Stroß, envelope postmarked Vienna. In fine condition, tiny tears to 2 edges, envelope torn along the right edge. Translated :

« Dear, good friend ! I've found NO publisher. When you write to Professor Winterberger, you will want to ask him for the theme in B minor that he gave me in the “ Gewandhaus ”. Thank you for your support, dear noble friend. Your Bruckner » , and adding a postscript : « Special edition from Monday was terrible. The German newspaper by Wednesday, very good. »

The composer is referencing reviews of his 7th Symphony which was 1st performed on December 30, 1884. The premiere, given under Arthur Nikisch and the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra in the Opera House of Leipzig brought Bruckner the greatest success he had known in his life. The Symphony was eventually published by Albert J. Gutmann, in 1885.

Alfred Stroß

Alfred Stroß (1858-1886) : Estimable pianist and composer of keyboard music. His unfortunately early death came as a result of his insanity. He had been one of Bruckner's students and an acquaintance of Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf, Friedrich Eckstein, Rudolf Steiner and Fritz Lemmermayer.

Rudolf Steiner was present during Bruckner's lectures on harmony and counterpoint at the University of Vienna. He joined the Master at the « Café Griensteidl » , during the period 1886 to 1890.

From Rudolf Steiner auto-biography :

« Alfred Stroß, the composer, was a gifted man, but one tinged with a profound pessimism. When he took his seat at the piano in “ delle Grazie's ” home and played his “ études ” . One had the feeling ; Anton Bruckner's music reduced to airy tones which would fain flee this earthly existence. Stroß was little understood ; Fritz Lemmermayer was inexpressibly devoted to him.

Both Lemmermayer and Stroß were intimate friends of Robert Hamerling. Through them, I was led later into a brief correspondence with Hamerling. Stroß finally died of a serious illness in spiritual darkness. »

« We often had the opportunity to hear the 4 women artists of the Austrian Ischamper Quartet ; there, Fritz Lemmermayer melodramatically recited Hebbel's " Heideknabe ", to a fiery piano accompaniment by Alfred Stroß. »

« At that time, the visitors on Saturdays included church historians and theologians. Occasionally, one could meet the philosopher Adolf Stöhr, Maria Goswine von Berlepsch ; the sensitive story-teller Emilie Mataja, whose pen-name was Emil Marriot ; the poet and writer Fritz Lemmermayer ; and the composer Alfred Stroß. I first met Fritz Lemmermayer, who later became a close friend, at « delle Grazie's » afternoon gatherings. An unusual man, he spoke of his interests with an inner, measured dignity. He looked like the musician Rubinstein. He also resembled the actor Lewinsky. He worshipped Hebbel almost as a god. He had very definite views about art and life, which arose from an intelligent, knowing heart. He had written a profound and interesting novel, « The Alchemist », and much of his work possessed great beauty and depth. He could also endow the simplest things in life with importance. I remember when I visited him with other friends in his charming little room in a side-street of Vienna. He had just prepared his meal, 2 soft-boiled eggs with bread. While the water was boiling to cook eggs for us, he said emphatically, « This will be delicious ! »

The composer Alfred Stroß was somewhat of a genius, but his disposition was deeply melancholic. When he played his " études " at " delle Grazie's ", one felt that the music of Anton Bruckner evaporated in these tones, seeking escape from earthly existence. Stroß was not well-understood, but Fritz Lemmermayer's admiration for him knew no bounds.

Lemmermayer and Stroß were both close friends of Robert Hamerling. Later, I was able, through them, to exchange a few letters with Hamerling. Stroß's spirit clouded, and his life ended in serious mental illness. »

...

« Café Griensteidl » : Siehe den Hinweis zu Brief 113. Alfred Stroß (1860-1888) , Komponist ; war mit Friedrich Lemmermayer eng befreundet, gehörte zum delle Grazie-Kreis. Siehe auch « Lebens-gang », 7. Kapitel.

Eigenhändiger Brief mit Unterschrift an einen Freund Komponist. Ohne Ort, datiert « 15.01.1885 » . Doppelblatt Gr.-8°, gefaltet. Beiliegend Briefumschlag, adressiert an den Komponisten Alfred Stroß, Poststempel, Wien (rechter Rand eingerissen) . Provenienz : Schweizer Privatsammlung (durch Erbschaft) .

Alfred Stroß, der Komponist, war ein genialisch, aber tief pessimistisch angelegter Mensch. Wenn er sich bei delle Grazie ans Klavier setzte und seine Etüden spielte, so hatte man das Gefühl : Anton Bruckners Musik verdunstet in Tönen, die dem Erdensein entfliehen wollen. Stroß wurde wenig verstanden ; Fritz Lemmermayer liebte ihn ganz unsäglich.

Beide, Lemmermayer und Stroß, waren mit Robert Hamerling sehr befreundet. Und ich wurde durch sie später zu einem kurzen Briefwechsel mit Hamerling veranlaßt, von dem ich noch sprechen werde. Stroß endete in schwerer Krankheit, geistig umnachtet.

...

Alfred Stroß, Klavier-Compositionen. Es liegen zwei umfangreiche Werke des in der Kunstwelt noch wenig genannten Autors zur Beurtheilung vor und zwar als Opus 1 zwei Hefte « Silhouetten » und als Opus 2 « Fantasiestücke ». Das zuerst genannte Werk aus nicht weniger als 20 ziemlich ausgeführten Stücken bestehend, ist durchweg harmonisch und rhythmisch ungewöhnlich und in vielen Theilen interessant. Freilich leidet der natürliche Gang der Melodie recht oft durch die unlegbar auftretende Absichtlichkeit der harmonischen Folgen, aber es lässt sich dennoch nicht in Abrede stellen daß das Talent des sich anscheinend noch in der Sturm- und Drangperiode befindenden Componisten ein recht bedeutendes ist. Wird es Herrn Stroß erst gelingen seinen Stil natürlicher zu gestalten, dann dürften seine Compositionen noch mehr in alle Kreise dringen. Die « Silhouetten » sind nur solchen Spielern zugänglich deren musikalische Fähigkeiten nicht nur pianistisch-technisch hervorragender, sondern auch speciell musikalisch bedeutender Art sind ; ihre Reproduction fordert durchbildeten Musiksinn. In den « Fantasiestücken » deren Tanzrhythmen wesentlich dazu beitragen den Inhalt Jedem nahe an legen finden sich manche Sätze von großer Anziehungskraft. Scheint es doch schon hier in diesem Opus 2 als ob der Komponist vorsichtiger in seinen Harmoniebildungen verfare, denn neben den stellenweise recht gesucht klingenden Accordfolgen begegnet man hier manchen recht einfachen und dabei nie trivial geführten Wendungen. Unzweifelhaft wird der Komponist noch von sich reden machen, jedenfalls sei hiermit ernstlich auf diese seine Erstlingswerke hingewiesen, denn sie verdienen rückhaltlos Beachtung.

Fritz Lemmermayer

Fritz Lemmermayer, österreichischer Schriftsteller und Journalist : geboren 26. März 1857 in Wien (damals Österreich-Ungarn) ; gestorben 11. September 1932 in Wien 6, Sandwirtgasse 5 (Spital ; Zentralfriedhof, Gruppe 17B/1/26) .

Der Vater Carl Lemmermayer, ein Porträtmaler, starb früh, so daß die Mutter Anna (gestorben 1886) , eine Pianistin, vier unmündige Kinder allein großziehen mußte. Ab 1876 studierte Fritz Lemmermayer in Wien Philosophie, Geschichte und Literatur. Bald schrieb er schon Artikel für Journale. Zu seinem Freundeskreis zählten Robert Hamerling und Johann Fercher von Steinwand, vor allem aber Friedrich Hebbel und Richard Wagner. 1887 wirkte Lemmermayer in Genua an der Sammlung und Herausgabe der Briefe Friedrich Hebbels.

Am 31. März 1900 wollte Lemmermayer mit seinem Freund Hugo Astl-Leonhard (gestorben 1870) , Chefredakteur der Zeitschrift « Trautes Heim » , Doppelselbstmord begehen. Während der Freund starb, überlebte Lemmermayer. Er zog sich daraufhin für 25 Jahre auf das Schloß des Fürsten Elimar von Oldenburg in Brogyán zurück. Wieder nach Wien zurückgekehrt kam Lemmermayer in den Kreis von Richard Kralik und freundete sich mit Rudolf Steiner an, deßen Anthroposophischer Gesellschaft er 1926 beirat.

...

Fritz Lemmermayer, Schriftsteller und Journalist : geboren 26. März 1857 in Wien ; gestorben 11. September 1932 ebenda. Nach kurzem Technik und Handelswissenschaften Studierte. Studium er ab 1876 Literatur, Geschichte und Philosophie an der Universität Wien. Schon als Hochschüler war er bei mehreren Zeitung journalistisch tätigkeit

Lemmermayer stand Fercher von Steinwand (Kleinfischer) und Hamerling (Hammerling) nahe, er war ein Verehrer Hebbels und Richard Wagners, in dessen Haus er verkehrte. 1887 wirkte er in Genua an der Sammlung und Herausgeber der Hebbel-Briefe mit. Persönlich befreundet war er und andere mit Richard von Kralik, der ihn als Mitarbeiter für seinen Kreis gewann. Lemmermayer anfängliches Bekenntnis zum Pessimismus Schopenhauers wurde abgelöst durch seinen Glauben an die heilbringenden Kräfte der Liebe sowie der Schaffung und Pflege geistiger Werte ; diese Zielsetzung des leidenschaftlichen Antimaterialisten Lemmermayer begründete seine Zugehörigkeit zur anthroposophische Gesellschaft. Für Rudolf Steiner bewirkte er dessen Beziehungen zum Kreis der « Iduna », der Lemmermayer angehörte und die er leitete. Mehr als durch seine Bücher errang Lemmermayer als Mitarbeiter der « Wiener Literatur-Zeitung » durch seine Kritiken und Essays Ansehen. Die von ihm geschaffene Anthologie enthält vorwiegend Dichtung aus Österreich, dessen reicher, wenn auch vielfach ungefördert gebliebener literarische Schaffenskraft Lemmermayer im gesamt. Kulturbereich den ersten Rang zuwies. Lemmermayers eigene frühe Lyrik und ein Teil seiner Prosaschriften tragen epigonenhafte Züge. Diese Feststellung ist nicht zu trennen von der Tatsache seiner hervorragenden Einfühlung in Wesen und Werk anderer. Lemmermayers Verdienste als Biograph wurden von Berufenen anerkannt. Die Gedichte seiner Spätzeit sind den Schöpfungen der großen österreichische Lyriker des 19. Jahrhundert, wie etwa Nikolaus Lenaus, als ebenbürtig anzureihen.

...

Fritz Lemmermayer studierte Technik und Handelswissenschaften, ab 1876 Literatur. Bereits während seines Studiums war er journalistisch tätig. Er kannte Robert Hamerling, Rudolf Steiner (Begründer der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft) und Richard Wagner und verehrte Hebbel, dessen Briefe er gemeinsam mit Doktor Richard Maria Werner herausgab (2 Bände, 1900) . Neben seinen Büchern (Prosa, Lyrik, Biographien auf sehr hohem Niveau) schrieb Lemmermayer auch zahlreiche Kritiken und Essays, die in der « Wiener Literarischen Zeitung » veröffentlicht wurden.

...

Als engster Jugendfreund Rudolf Steiners nimmt Fritz Lemmermayer eine einzigartige Stellung innerhalb der anthroposophischen Bewegung ein. Fritz Lemmermayer wies seinen Freund nicht nur in die verschiedensten Künstlerkreise Wiens ein, er veranlaßte ihn auch zu einem Briefverkehr mit Robert Hamerling und verhalf zur Begegnung mit Fercher von Steinwand. Er ist der Einzige aus Rudolf Steiners Wiener Freundeskreis, der sich später mit Anthroposophie verbinden konnte.

Reich an Klängen, schwermütigen, düsteren, aber auch himmlischen, war sein Leben. Er war ein Mensch des Herzens. In Wien wurde er geboren zu einer Zeit, da die Stadt als Festung aufgegeben wurde und der Ringstraßen-Bau ein großes Schaffensareal für die verschiedensten Künstler ermöglichte. Auch die Enthüllung des Gøthe-Schiller-Denkmal in Weimar von Ernst Rietschel gehört in diese Zeit ; von diesem sollte er später durch einen Brief Rudolf Steiners voll Anerkennung und Bewunderung erfahren.

Als er acht Jahre alt war, starb sein Vater Carl Lemmermayer, ein Porträtmaler. Das kindliche Leben zwischen Farbtöpfen und Musik (die Mutter Anna Lemmermayer war Pianistin) nahm eine radikale Wende. Früh schon mußte Fritz

Lemermayer der Mutter, die mit vier unmündigen Kindern um ihren Lebensunterhalt kämpfte, mitverdienen helfen. Zur Mutter sowie zur Schwester Marie fühlte sich der scheue Knabe innig hingezogen.

Nach der Mittelschule fing Fritz Lemermayer ein technisches und handelswissenschaftliches Studium an, 1876 begann er mit dem Universitätsstudium ; Philosophie, Geschichte und Literatur wollte er studieren. Bald entdeckte der junge Student seine Liebe zur Dichtkunst, in den verschiedensten Journalen schrieb er. 1883 entstand sein Roman « Der Alchymist » . Anerkennende Worte sandte ihm Robert Hamerling und Rudolf Steiner erlebte die Entstehung dieses Werkes aus allernächster Nähe mit. Unzählige Male besuchte er den Schreiber in seiner « Alchymisten-Klausur » in der Nähe des Stefansdomes. Junge Dichter scharten sich um ihn. Einem großen Freundeskreis gehörte er an. Mit Rudolf Steiner gemeinsam besuchte er die Samstagnachmittage bei der Dichterin Marie Eugenie delle Grazie.

Die Künstlergesellschaft, die sich bei dem Ehepaar Marie und Alfred Formey traf, besuchten sie ebenfalls. Durch starke Gemütskräfte versuchten sie den heraufkommenden Materialismus, Nihilismus und Pessimismus in Schach zu halten ; dies war auch das Motiv, das eine neue Literaturgesellschaft, « Iduna » genannt, ins Leben rief. Bei der Herausgabe von Friedrich Hebbels Werken arbeitete Fritz Lemermayer unermüdlich mit.

1884 starb seine Schwester Marie, 1886 seine Mutter. Marie war verheiratet mit dem Musiker Carl Udel, einem Vertrauten des Kronprinzen Rudolf. Vieles aus dem Leben des Kronprinzen erfuhr Fritz Lemermayer aus nächster Nähe.

Nachdem Rudolf Steiner nach Weimar übersiedelte und der anfängliche Briefverkehr verebbte, wuchs Fritz Lemermayers Freundschaft mit Martin Greif. 1893 erschien Lemermayers Tragödie « Simson und Delila » , sie verklingt mit den Worten :

« Selig ist es, diese Welt des Wahns und der Wirrnis zu verlassen. »

Sieben Jahre nach diesem Schlußsatz, am 31. März 1900, entschloßen sich Fritz Lemermayer und der 14 Jahre jüngere Hugo Astl-Leonhard (Chefredakteur vom « Trauten Heim ») , durch einen Doppelselbstmord aus dem Leben zu scheiden. Der Freund starb, Fritz Lemermayer konnte gerettet werden. Durch dieses Ereignis ist seine Wiener Zeit zu Ende gegangen.

Fritz Lemermayer fand eine Bleibe auf dem Schloß des Fürsten Elimar von Oldenburg (in Brogyán, heute Brodzany in der Slowakei) . Fritz Lemermayer arbeitete an diesem Ort an einer Übersetzung von 200 englischen Gedichten aus zwei Jahrhunderten in die deutsche Sprache. 1910 bot er seine Arbeit dem Cotta-Verlag an. Dieser lehnte ab. Er kam in Verruf, kein Schriftsteller mehr zu sein, denn viele Jahre hatte er nichts veröffentlicht. Erst 1998 wurde das Manuskript seiner « Englischen Lyrik » gefunden und herausgegeben.

Die letzte Begegnung mit Rudolf Steiner war in Berlin in einer Bahn, die nach Friedenau fuhr. Es war in der Zeit, in der Rudolf Steiner Vorträge im Architektenhaus Berlins hielt. Die Jugendfreunde begrüßten sich aufs Herzlichste, standen sich noch einmal Aug in Auge gegenüber.

Am 24. September 1924 wurde Lemmermayer auf dem Schloßgelände in Brodzany auf einem Spaziergang von zahlreichen Hunden, welche sehr gefürchtet waren, ihm aber bis dahin gut waren, überfallen. Sie zerrissen ihn vom Hals bis zu den Füßen und brachten ihm klaffende Wunden bei. Ein halbes Jahr mußte er nun das Bett hüten, Fieber, Thrombose, doppelseitige Lungenentzündung stellten sich ein. Ein zweites Mal stand er an der Todesschwelle. Aufopferungsvoll wurde er von dem damals 23-jährigen Heinz Robert von Wallpach gepflegt. Ende März 1925 konnte der Kranke das erste Mal sein Lager verlassen und wenige Wochen darauf verließ Fritz Lemmermayer in Begleitung seines Pflegers für immer den Ort, an den er sich so viele Jahre wie « gebannt » gefühlt hatte.

Nach Wien kehrte er zurück, in die Stadt, in der er einst Rudolf Steiner kennen lernte und wo er nun der Anthroposophie begegnen sollte. Von ? Ferdinand Wanschura aufgenommen, wohnte er bis zuletzt in der Neubaugasse 29. Fritz Lemmermayer wurde 1926 Mitglied der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft. Im Jahre 1927 erkrankte er an einer selten schweren Art von Masern und einer Pneumonie. Immer mehr und mehr verband er sich mit dem Geistesgut seines Jugendfreundes, von dem er nun, durch Österreich, Deutschland, die Schweiz, Frankreich, Holland und England reisend, in kleinen und größeren Versammlungen, auf die gemeinsam verbrachte Wiener Zeit zurückblickend, sprach. Mit der Lauterkeit und Vornehmheit sowie dem feinen Takt seines Herzens führte er die Zuhörer ; er sprach auch über Fercher von Steinwand, Robert Hamerling, schrieb noch manchen Aufsatz in der Wochenschrift « Das Gøetheanum » , erlebte eine Neuauflage seines Jugendromans « Der Alchymist » sowie das Erscheinen seiner Gedichte und seines Buches « Erinnerungen » . Mit zahlreichen bekannten Anthroposophen kam er in Berührung : ? Marie Steiner, ? Albert Steffen, ? Elisabeth Vreede, ? Ita Wegman, ? Otto Graf von Lerchenfeld, ? Ernst Uehli, ? Emmanuel Joseph van Leer, ? Ludwig Graf von Polzer-Hoditz und vielen anderen.

Das Pastell Rudolf Steiners, 1923 entstanden mit dem Namen « Der Forscher inmitten von Marianus und Gabrilein » , zeigt eine Hauptgestalt aus des Dichters Jugendroman.

...

Fritz Lemmermayer war ein österreichischer Schriftsteller, Journalist und engster Jugendfreund Rudolf Steiners in Wien. Später fand er auch, als einziger von Steiners Jugendfreunden, zur Anthroposophie.

Fritz Lemmermayer wurde als Sohn von Carl und Anna Lemmermayer geboren. Sein Vater war Porträtmaler, seine Mutter Pianistin. Zu ihr und zu seiner Schwester Marie hatte der scheue Knabe ein besonders inniges Verhältnis. Als Fritz acht Jahre alt war, starb der Vater und die Mutter mußte nun unter schwierigen Verhältnissen für den Unterhalt von vier unmündigen Kindern sorgen und schon früh mußte Fritz mitverdienen helfen.

Fritz besuchte die Mittelschule und begann nach abgelegter Reifeprüfung für kurze Zeit ein technisches und handelswissenschaftliches Studium. Ab 1876 studierte er dann Philosophie, Geschichte und Literatur und entdeckte seine Liebe zur Dichtkunst und schrieb schon bald für die verschiedensten Journale. Zu seinem großen Freundeskreis zählten auch die Dichter Robert Hamerling und Fercher von Steinwand. Vor allem aber war Fritz auch ein glühender Verehrer von Friedrich Hebbel und Richard Wagner, in deßen Haus er regelmäßig verkehrte. Sein anfänglicher Hang zur pessimistischen Philosophie Schopenhauers wich bald dem unverbrüchlichen Glauben an die heilbringenden Kräfte der

Liebe. Als leidenschaftlicher Anti-Materialist wollte er sein Leben der Schaffung und Pflege geistiger Werte widmen.

1883 vollendete Fritz Lemmermayer seinen Roman « Der Alchemist », seine bedeutendste literarische Leistung, zu der auch Hamerling sehr anerkennende Worte fand. 1884 starb seine geliebte Schwester Marie, die mit dem Musiker Carl Udel, einem Vertrauten des Kronprinzen Rudolf, verheiratet gewesen war, wodurch Lemmermayer vieles aus dem Leben des Kronprinzen aus unmittelbarer Nähe erfahren hatte. 1886 starb auch Lemmermayers Mutter.

Rudolf Steiner lernte Lemmermayer im selben Jahr 1886 im Kreis der Dichterin Marie Eugenie delle Grazie kennen. Ein ausgedehnter Briefwechsel bezeugt die enge Freundschaft, die zwischen den beiden entstand. In « Mein Lebensgang » berichtet Steiner :

« Fritz Lemmermayer, mit dem ich später eng befreundet wurde, lernte ich an den delle Grazie- Nachmittagen kennen. Ein ganz merkwürdiger Mensch. Er sprach alles, wofür er sich interessierte, mit innerlich gemessener Würde. In seinem Äußeren war er ebenso dem Musiker Rubinstein wie dem Schauspieler Lewinsky ähnlich. Mit Hebbel trieb er fast einen Kultus. Er hatte über Kunst und Leben bestimmte, aus dem klugen Herzenskennen geborene Anschauungen, die außerordentlich fest in ihm saßen. Er hat den interessanten, tiefgründigen Roman “ Der Alchymist ” geschrieben und manches Schöne und auch Gedankentiefe. Er wußte die kleinsten Dinge des Lebens in den Gesichtspunkt des Wichtigen zu rücken. Ich denke, wie ich ihn einmal in seinem lieben Stübchen in einer Seitengasse in Wien mit anderen Freunden besuchte. Er hatte sich eben selbst seine Mahlzeit bereitet : zwei kernweiche Eier auf einem Schnellsieder ; dazu Brot. Mit Emphase sprach er, während das Wasser wallte, uns die Eier zu sieden : “ Das wird köstlich sein. ” »

1887 arbeitete Fritz Lemmermayer in Genua an der Sammlung und Herausgabe von Hebbels Briefen mit. Wenn Lemmermayers frühe Dichtungen und Prosaschriften vielfach auch nur epigonenhafte Züge trugen, so zeichnete ihn ganz besonders sein tiefes Einfühlungsvermögen in die Werke anderer aus. Die reiferen Gedichte seiner Spätzeit sind denen der großen österreichischen Lyriker des 19. Jahrhunderts, wie beispielsweise Nikolaus Lenau, aber durchaus ebenbürtig. Als Mitarbeiter der « Wiener Literatur Zeitung » fand er besonders durch seine Kritiken und Essays großes Ansehen.

Lemmermayer und Steiner reihten sich auch in den Wiener Künstlerkreis ein, der sich wöchentlich im Haus des evangelischen Pfarrers Alfred Formey (1844-1901) und seiner Gattin Marie in der Dorotheergasse versammelte. Hier verkehrte auch Christine Hebbel, die Witwe Friedrich Hebbels.

« Es war auch im Jahre 1888, als ich in das Haus des Wiener evangelischen Pfarrers Alfred Formey eingeführt wurde. Einmal in der Woche versammelte sich dort ein Kreis von Künstlern und Schriftstellern. Alfred Formey war selbst als Dichter aufgetreten. Fritz Lemmermayer charakterisierte ihn aus Freundesherzen heraus so : “ Warmherzig, innig in der Naturempfindung, schwärmerisch, trunken fast im Glauben an Gott und Seligkeit, so dichtet Alfred Formey in weichen, brausenden Akkorden. Es ist, als ob sein Schritt nicht die harte Erde berührte, sondern als ob er hoch in den Wolken hindämmerte und träumte. ” Und so war Alfred Formey auch als Mensch. Man fühlte sich recht erdentrück, wenn man in dieses Pfarrhaus kam und zunächst nur der Hausherr und die Hausfrau da waren. »

1891 wurde Lemmermayer Vizepräsident des Schriftstellerbundes Iduna, benannt nach Iduna, der nordischen Göttin der

Jugend und Unsterblichkeit, der als Gegengewicht gegen die Strömungen des Naturalismus und insbesondere gegen die von Hermann Bahr angeführte Gruppe Jung-Wien gegründet worden war. Ehrenpräsident des Bundes war Fercher von Steinwand und die Dichterin Auguste Hyrtl, Gattin des weltbekannten Anatomen Josef Hyrtls, der dem materialistischen Fortschrittsglauben kritisch gegenüberstand, wurde Vorstandsmitglied dieses Kreises, und auch Alfred Formey nahm daran teil.

Nachdem Steiner im Herbst 1890 nach Weimar gegangen war, um an der Herausgabe der Naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften Goethes für die große Weimarer Goethe-Ausgabe mitzuarbeiten, vertiefte sich die Freundschaft Lemmermayers mit Martin Greif. 1893 veröffentlichte Lemmermayer seine Tragödie « Simson und Delila », die mit den Worten endet :

« Selig ist es, diese Welt des Wahns und der Wirrnis zu verlassen. »

- eine Sehnsucht, die Lemmermayer sieben Jahre später gemeinsam mit dem jungen Chefredakteur von « Trautes Heim » , Hugo Astl-Leonhard, am 31. März 1900 durch einen Doppelselbstmord stillen wollte. Der Freund starb, doch Lemmermayer überlebte.

Die nächsten 25 Jahre verbrachte Lemmermayer auf dem Schloß des Fürsten Elimar von Oldenburg in Brogyán, dem heutigen heute Brodzany in der Slowakei. Hier arbeitete er an der Übersetzung von 200 englischen Gedichten aus zwei Jahrhunderten, die allerdings 1910 vom Cotta-Verlag abgelehnt und erst 1998 aus dem Nachlaß veröffentlicht wurde.

Am 24. September 1924 wurde Lemmermayer Opfer eines dramatischen Zwischenfalls. Während eines Spaziergangs auf dem Schloßgelände in Brodzany wurde er von mehreren Hunden angefallen und vom Hals bis zu den Füßen so schwer verletzt, daß er ein halbes Jahr lang das Bett hüten mußte. Fieber, Thrombosen und eine doppelseitige Lungenentzündung brachten ihn an den Rand des Todes. Nur der aufopferungsvollen Pflege des damals 23-jährigen Heinz Robert von Wallpach war es zu verdanken, daß er Ende März 1925 erstmals sein Krankenlager verlassen und bald darauf in Begleitung seines Pflegers nach Wien übersiedeln konnte. Er verließ damit für immer den Ort, an den er sich so viele Jahre wie gebannt gefühlt hatte.

In Wien wohnte Lemmermayer bis zu seinem Tod in der Neubaugasse 29. Er lernte nun die Anthroposophie Rudolf Steiners näher kennen und schätzen und wurde 1926 Mitglied der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft. 1927 erkrankte Lemmermayer an einer schweren und seltenen Art von Masern und an einer neuerlichen Lungenentzündung. Er verband sich nun immer mehr mit der Geisteswissenschaft Steiners und auf vielen Reisen durch Österreich, Deutschland, die Schweiz, Frankreich, Holland und England sprach er in seiner feinsinnigen Art von der gemeinsam mit Steiner in Wien verbrachten Zeit, und pflegte auch die Erinnerung an Robert Hamerling und Fercher von Steinwand. Daraus entstanden die 1929 veröffentlichten Erinnerungen an Rudolf Steiner, an Robert Hamerling und an einige Persönlichkeiten des österreichischen Geisteslebens der 80er Jahre. Darüber hinaus veröffentlichte Lemmermayer auch manche Artikel in der Wochenschrift « Das Goetheanum » . Auf seinen Reisen lernte er auch viele bedeutende Anthroposophen kennen.

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Erich Schwebsch

Music and Mysticism in the Weimar Republic : The Case of Anton Bruckner and Erich Schwebsch

(Doctor Nicholas Attfield, Saint-Catherine's College, Oxford.)

I will begin with my title. Anton Bruckner clearly needs no introduction to the readers of the « Bruckner Journal » ; likewise, the Weimar Republic (that is, the German State in the years 1918-1933) is surely familiar to most people. I can see that I am going to have to work a little harder, though, with my title's 2 outstanding terms, namely mysticism and Erich Schwebsch. Let's get underway by travelling from the latter towards the former.

I have to confess straight away that, presumably like most readers, I don't know very much about Erich Schwebsch. He is not a character who crops-up in the « New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians » or « Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart » (MGG) ; while his name is occasionally seen in other large Germanic reference works, it is almost always in the middle of a long list of long forgotten names. Even in the esteemed pages of the « Bruckner Journal » , he seems to have had only one mention, in a paragraph from Raymond Cox's 2002 article, « Bruckner's Cosmic Musical Background in Relation to the Zodiac » - this title, alone, should give you a flavour of what is to come.

What I can say for certain about Schwebsch is that he lived from 1889 to 1953, that he studied modern languages and « Germanistik » in Berlin, and that he was a life-long devotee of Johann Sebastian Bach, Richard Wagner and, of course, Anton Bruckner. He wrote a number of books on these subjects : « Goethe and Wagner » , for example, published in Bayreuth in 1919 ; and « Johann Sebastian Bach and the Art of Fugue » , published in Stuttgart in 1931. His principal Bruckner text, which first appeared in 1921, was entitled, « Anton Bruckner : Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis von Entwicklungen in der Musik » (Anton Bruckner : A Contribution to Awareness of Developments in Music) ; he later added a considerable essay in the « Neue Musik-Zeitung » journal, in honour of the Centenary of Bruckner's birth, and a monograph on the 6th Symphony. I will return to the content of these texts shortly. But first, I want to outline Schwebsch's general approach to Bruckner - and it is here that we step-back into or, at least, around the peripheries of the realm of mysticism. For Schwebsch was one of the world's first, and, perhaps, still one of the world's only, self-proclaimed « music anthroposophists » . Anthroposophy, otherwise known as « spiritual science » , was largely the brainchild of the prolific Austrian thinker Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) . Prolific is really the word here : I doubt that, at least in the modern age, there have been many thinkers with influence in so many different directions at once. Steiner's formal training was in maths and philosophy (undertaken in Vienna) and, so, he began his career as

something of a philosopher and literary scholar, working on editions of the texts of G ethe, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche. He later became, nonetheless, an educational reformer (he was the founder of Steiner schools, as we tend to call them - or « Waldorf-Schule » , as they are known in German) ; he was a social activist, he wrote plays, he painted pictures, he invented bio-dynamic agriculture, and the art form « Eurythmy » - which involves expressive movement in response to music and speech. His life's writings and lectures, unsurprisingly then, take-up over 350 volumes.

Amidst all this activity, anthroposophy remained Steiner's most highly-prized doctrine, the jewel in the crown of all his esoteric thought (and indeed, still is : the Anthroposophical Society that Steiner and others established in Germany, in 1913, is still today very much a thriving concern) . Its name's Greek roots literally referring to « human wisdom » , anthroposophy was described by Steiner as « a path of knowledge, to guide the Spiritual in the human being to the Spiritual in the universe » .

He says :

« It arises in man as a need of the heart, of the life of feeling ; and it can be justified insofar as it can satisfy this inner need. »

It is, by no means, however, the same as conventional mysticism ; Steiner found this latter too clouded in its approach to spiritual questions ; rather, with anthroposophy, he aimed to apply the clarity of thought found in the natural sciences to inner life - hence, the alternative name « spiritual science » . Overall, he advocates spiritual enquiry driven by thought freed from the empirical senses ; the kind of « internal » thought, I suppose, that we might conventionally apply to a question of logic or geometry.

When, in the 1924 lecture « Eurythmy as visible song » , he asks the question « Was ist das Musikalische ? » , then, it is not entirely surprising to find that his answer is similarly non-empirical - « Das Musikalische » , he states, is that « which is not heard » ; that which you « don't hear » between the tones of a melody is the « music in reality » or « the spirit in the thing » , whereas the tones themselves are simply the spirit's sensory expression.

Before we come to the application of Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophical thinking in Schwab's writings, though, I just want to clarify part of my agenda here. I'm anxious not to see these modes of thought in their own esoteric vacuum, as revealing as that may (or may not) prove. Rather, I am interested in reconnecting these kinds of esotericism with the political and cultural contexts from which they grew. And I should state right away, then, that, in Steiner's quest for a spiritual essence hiding behind the tones of a piece of music, I see a parallel with other searches for essence taking place in Germanic countries, at this time. I also see a cataclysmic provocation for these searches in common : the First World War, an event more disastrous and humiliating for German-speaking countries than anything before it, brought in its wake an urgent need to identify and cling on to the so-called « eternal values » of its culture, in the hope that they might soon be rejuvenated.

Now, of course, there are varying degrees in which such quests could be outspoken in their connection with

contemporary politics ; perhaps, Steiner's writings on music reflect the mostly implicit end of the scale, by which I mean that their approach claims to transcend all earthly concerns. At the other end of the scale, however, I think we might place the writings from this period that asked « Was ist deutsche Musik ? » , that is, those writings that, within the pages of Germany's most conservative music periodicals, sought a specifically national and racial essence lying somewhere in or between the tones of great works of music. These, as is well-known, directed an unprecedented amount of vitriol towards the self-consciously « new » music of the period, finding there a foreign, and highly-damaging, influence on Germany's musical life. « New at any price » was the slogan of modern composers, the reactionaries claimed.

Yet, what is particularly fascinating is that, whether we consider the period from the perspective of Steiner, his apostle Schwebsch, or the ultra-conservatives, one name appears again and again as a saving grace in the midst of all this cultural confusion : and that, of course, is : Anton Bruckner. Bruckner's Symphonies, since their earliest reception in the late- 19th Century, had always been associated with « absolute » or essential revelation ; they had always offered, for many, a mystical glimpse of the Schopenhauerian world-in-itself and the promise of its transcendence. But, in the era after the First World War, these claims took on a new eloquence and urgency : Steiner, for instance, speaks in a late lecture that he gave (in Torquay, of all places) of Bruckner's 9th Symphony as necessitating a bold step into the purely musical (« in rein Musikalischen ») that, in turn, conjures the essence of the world, « das Wesenhafte » , in tones. And we also know of the rapid flourishing of a concerted « Bruckner-Bewegung » (Bruckner Movement) throughout German society at this time, that, in keeping with the nostalgic goal of rejuvenating past values, sought to promote the « true » Bruckner, a figure allegedly obscured by the vituperative excesses of his ignorant critics - a considerable part of this project, of course, was to produce and perform unadulterated editions of his Symphonies. These activities reached their height at Bruckner's Centenary, in 1924, with a variety of events in celebration of his life and works : music festivals in major cities and small towns alike, « Festschriften » and special periodical issues, and the dedication of Societies in the composer's name. Moreover, with the official foundation of the « Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft » (IBG) in Vienna, in February 1929, an organization came into being that could coordinate these wide-spread activities. These years, as Carl Dahlhaus once put it, were indeed the highest-height of Bruckner's fame.

Schwebsch's writings

I have used this introduction to establish a constellation of connected ideas : Rudolf Steiner and anthroposophy, quests for Germanic cultural essence in the inter-War period, and stinging critiques of that period's « modern » culture and music. This constellation is now going to help us, I hope, to chart an intelligible course through the twists and turns of Schwebsch's labyrinthine writings on Anton Bruckner. Straight away, in the 2nd line of the foreword to his 1921 book, « Anton Bruckner : A Contribution to Awareness of Developments in Music » , we find one of our ideas.

Schwebsch says :

« From thoughts arising from years of following recent music, the author was led to the anthroposophically-oriented spiritual science of Rudolf Steiner, that brought with it a new, boundless revelation of all historical Becoming. »

Schwebsch seems to mean that Steiner's work has given him new belief in the progress of human history - a promising development, since, for Schwebsch at least, the 1st decades of the 20th Century had been utterly bleak in cultural, musical, and spiritual terms. He finds the modern artist to be descended from the decadent figures of Nietzsche, Strindberg, and Dostoyevsky, in whom « the pathological became a quality of genius » ; he says that the modern artist is driven by materialism, agnosticism, and arbitrariness. Like civilization itself, his art is homeless, rootless and, above all, spiritless. In what sounds like a direct denunciation of expressionism, Schwebsch rails against modern music as that in which « the sick human screams and grows ever darker » ; as that in which the « all-too-human is repeatedly called-up for the listener » . He resorts to a striking Christian metaphor to claim that within modern music, the « essence of mankind » is nothing less than « crucified » .

As we might suspect from what we have already seen, the saving grace in this situation for Schwebsch is Bruckner. Though it is highly-unlikely that he ever met the composer, Schwebsch clearly feels a profound and personal connection to him ; let's not forget, after all, that Bruckner had been dead for less than 30 years at this point and, so, was very much in fond communal living memory. Indeed, at the opening of his Centenary salutation for the composer, Schwebsch even brings the apparent fact of Bruckner's death itself into question.

He says :

« Measured in spiritual terms, a conception of life cannot come to an end. The creative essence continues its spiritual existence, and human love is the bridge through which it participates in life even after earthly death. »

For Schwebsch, then, Bruckner and his music are very much a contemporary concern, and, moreover, something of a Schwelle, or threshold : on the one hand, they are the prize for which the human soul had been striving for the past 2 Centuries ; on the other, and even more significantly, they present a new attitude of that soul, a « neue Seelenhaltung » . This is music, according to Schwebsch, that is « not of this world » , music that « awakens the highest humanity in everyone. Here reign powers of resurrection in a human essence that, at its very core, is built upon the essence of Christ » . Ultimately, this is music that uncovers the true meaning of the word religion.

Schwebsch writes :

Here is found re-ligio, reconnection, re-discovery. Here, the divine world of humankind is created anew. Here, re-sounds for the 1st time and in the highest æsthetic and ethical sense : pure music ! »

Schwebsch makes this identification partly on the basis of his knowledge of Bruckner's own devout faith.

Schwebsch claims :

« Since childhood, Bruckner's humble consciousness purified itself of all personal content so that an inspirational spiritual world could stream in. »

Thus, unlike Beethoven, who « forged his music from the sheer act of concentration », Bruckner's themes came into existence and developed, through religious meditation.

Equally demonstrative of Bruckner's importance in human history is, for Schwebsch, his mature musical investment in the Symphony.

He says :

« Born from spiritual sound, Symphonic music treads forth as witness of a spiritual world, as a Master of feelings that it presents in their greatest purity and strength. »

This is music that truly offers an « image of the world » that stands contrary to the one we receive from our eyes : it unites the sensory with the extra-sensory, the revealed with the hidden. It is nothing less, says Schwebsch, than the « tönende Weltidee », that is, the idea of the world in tones ; a catch-phrase that, at once, blends Eduard Hanslick's famous « tönend bewegte Formen » (sounding moving forms) with Plato's and Schopenhauer's doctrine of the fundamental ideas underlying all empirical existence. At the same time, it fulfills the tenets of anthroposophy as defined by Steiner : the guiding of the Spiritual in the human being to the Spiritual in the universe.

Through Bruckner, then, the young generation of the 1920's would overcome the rubble of the War and would experience the « resurrection of modern music », an event driven by the birth of a « self in full inner-contact with the spiritual world » and « a life directed by a clear knowledge of God and, never again, torn to pieces in the world of its nerves ». Employing rhetoric that became ever more common in the following decade, Schwebsch adds that Bruckner will, thus, become seen as the 1st « Klassiker » of a new spiritual human elite, of a new race of the soul borne of « deutsche Gemüt und Geblüt » : the German mind and bloodline.

A Musical Case Study : The Adagio of Bruckner's 6th Symphony

Having reviewed Schwebsch's words about Bruckner, I would now like to bring us down to earth a little (but only a little) by offering something more practical : namely, an account of his approach to a specific movement from Bruckner's « œuvre ». What I want to know here is how the rich complex of ideas, doctrines, and motivations that define Schwebsch's writing inflect his view of Bruckner's Adagio ; in other words, how do his anthroposophical beliefs and conservative cultural outlook guide his hand in interpreting this music ? In turn, I am interested to know if and how Schwebsch's interpretation might give us new ways to think about and engage with Bruckner's Symphonies. And the movement that I have chosen for this purpose is the Adagio of the 6th Symphony, as described in Schwebsch's book on the work. If the 1st movement of the 6th is, for Schwebsch, the Symphony's « Kopfsatz » (literally, head-movement) , then, the Adagio is its « Herzsatz » : the work's very heart. As such, he says, it sets us on a trajectory inwards ; if the 1st movement showed us « shimmering cosmic distances », then, this one leads us into the « flourishing fullness of maternal inner-life ». Its home key of F major also makes it, according to Schwebsch's sparsely outlined theory of tonality, evocative of nature : F, he says, spreads a sense of the « elementary life of slumbering nature » and, hence, Beethoven, Wagner, and Weber's use of it as a « pastoral key ». (He independently verifies,

incidentally, that on a trip to the American side of the Niagara Falls, in Winter 1939, he himself heard nature sound in the key of F major) .

Perhaps, most meaningfully of all, though, this movement is the spiritual night in contrast to the opening movement's spiritual day : as Schwebsch himself points-out, Novalis's « Hymnen an die Nacht » , a favourite document of Romantic æsthetics, found night to be the best metaphor for the « real, world lying outside the senses » and took sleep as representing the journey of the human soul into that world. Schwebsch can, thus, claim that, likewise, Bruckner's Adagio allows those « nocturnal powers of the world » to sound that guide the human being into the « deeper reality » of sleep and allow him (or her) to become spiritually regenerated.

The 1st theme, then, is the beginning of this nocturnal spiritual journey : Schwebsch treats its regular ascending and descending motion, best evoked by the lower-strings, as the « solemn breathing of a peaceful slumberer » . With the plaintive accents of the oboe melody that enters at bar 5, we are, then, borne down into a world of dreams, the equivalent, so it would seem, of the hidden life of the soul. And this sinking motion is fundamental, in Schwebsch's view, to the movement as a whole : in contrast to the ascending trajectory of many of Bruckner's other movements, we are here drawn downwards, he says, using another of his favourite metaphors, into the « maternal womb » (« mütterlichen Schoß ») .

The 2nd theme, based in the dominant of the 1st movement's A major tonality, provides a brief stopping-place on this downwards journey : it allows the higher sound world of this earlier music to mix, if only for a short time, with the dark sounds of the Adagio. With the 3rd theme, finally, we seem to have arrived somewhere : the « sinking current of movement » becomes, in Schwebsch's words, a « serious and quiet funeral procession (" Trauerzug ") » , marked by shadow-like pizzicato basses and toneless, dull timpani rhythms.

Nonetheless, as we recall from Schwebsch's preamble, this journey into the night was not so much about death as about regeneration and transfiguration, and so, in the 2nd part of his reading, this is exactly what we find : the recapitulation of themes he hears not as dictated by formal convention but rather as necessary to the chronicling of the development of the soul. In particular, the reprise of the 1st theme is a passage of revelation : its new figures in accompaniment and richer inner-polyphony bring a « wonderful excitement » for Schwebsch.

He says :

« The plaintive tone is forgotten and, from it, comes a newly-delivered and flourishing life. »

This is the high-point of the entire movement. Likewise, he hears the 2nd theme's return as the sound of « deepest, most spiritualized worship » , a change in part brought about by its key of F major - the tonality of nature, of course, that unites this theme, in Schwebsch's words, « with the maternal fundament » (« mütterlichen Urgrund ») .

Finally, the end of Schwebsch's description of this Adagio gives rise to a striking description that, for me, in its appeal to anthroposophical connection as to spiritual re-birth, neatly sums-up his approach to the movement, to Bruckner's

music, and even to his hopes for the future of German culture.

He remarks :

« All the movement's descending scales come together at the end like a sonorous ladder from heaven, from which we experience the descent of the divine, through the spiritual realm and into the earthly sphere. There are few sounds like those of this spirit-blessed sleep-Adagio - it is the most tender artistic transfiguration of a spiritual conception, that now grows towards birth in the womb of the soul. »

Conclusions

So, to a few concluding remarks. I mentioned the possibility of finding something new here, and I would like to begin by pursuing that end. Certainly, I do not think that Schwebsch's means of analyzing Bruckner's 6th Symphony offers us anything out of the ordinary : in spite of his commitment to the revelation of Brucknerian secrets through meditation, as he puts it, his approach boils down to a relatively common place (and even unacceptably broad-brush) labelling of thematic material and harmonic areas inside a Sonata structure - as we might find in far more incisive shape in many writings of the period and since.

Perhaps, it is in Schwebsch's rhetorical and hermeneutic approach to this Symphony, then, that something more valuable is to be discovered - that is, the manner in which he interprets meaning in the 6th is arguably the most compelling quality of his writing. Yet, even here, it strikes me that we struggle to come across anything excitingly new for Bruckner criticism : as strange as an anthroposophical approach might appear at 1st glance, Schwebsch's conviction in Bruckner's music as disclosing the mysteries of inner-life, the infinite cosmos, or a spiritual re-birth are not so different, in my opinion, to beliefs found in virtually any vintage of writings about Bruckner.

Nonetheless, I do not want to dismiss Schwebsch as old hat, or as a pale imitation of other better-known Brucknerians. On the contrary : I want to suggest that, precisely because we are so comfortable and familiar with the conclusions at which he arrives, the rhetoric and hermeneutics adopted by Schwebsch and his mystical contemporaries must have become woven into the fabric of Bruckner discourse. I recall, as an example of this fabric's influence, reading about the Nazi « Dunkelkonzerte » (Darkness-Concerts) . As you may know, these were events that took place in the Vienna « Konzerthaus » , between 1939 and 1944, in which the « Wiener Symphoniker » would take to the stage and, under the direction of Hans Weisbach, would perform a program of works in near-complete darkness. The crowning piece would always be a Symphony and, in the vast majority of cases, a Bruckner Symphony. Their underlying æsthetic, I would suggest, points back to the ideas that we have heard about today : as one organizer explained in a « Dunkelkonzert » program note, « the tones resonate on this occasion through the room, dark as night » , so that « the essence of music is recognized » , or, as is elsewhere remarked, « our newly-introduced concerts in the darkened hall correspond to National-Socialist strivings after the internalization and absorption of the art experience » . In the writings of Schwebsch and others, then, it seems to me that Nazi ideologues found a rich fund of ideas for the taking ; a fund that still makes its presence known in the ways in which we, today, write about and play Bruckner's music.

Ultimately, then, outlandish though they may seem on 1st inspection, the mysteries of anthroposophy and similar modes of thought were inextricably bound-up with the conservative forces of German culture and music in the inter-War period. As such, they became a defining feature of the discourse and remain part and parcel of the mysteries of Anton Bruckner today - and so, I would suggest, an intrepid descent into their world is never likely to be dull, or indeed, uninformative.

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Ernst Kurth makes several references to Erich Schwebsch, in : « Anton Bruckner : Ein Beitrag zur Erkemzmis von Entwickelmtgen in der Musik » , in : « Der Kommende Tag » , Stuttgart (1921) . Schwebsch's extensive writings have appeared as « Bruckners Symphonien » , edited by Jürgen Schriefer, Freies Geistesleben & Urachhaus, Stuttgart (2003) .

...

Erich Schwebsch, Musikwissenschaftler, Publizist, Pädagoge, Anthroposoph, Waldorflehrer : geboren 9. Juli 1889 Frankfurt an der Oder (Deutschland) ; gestorben 24. Mai 1953 in Freiburg im Breisgau.

Kurzbiografie : Leiter des Bundes der Freien Waldorfschulen (1889-1953) .

Wirkungsorte : Stuttgart.

Beziehung zu anderen Personen : Felicia Schwebsch (Ehefrau) .

Ein junger Mann, klein von Wuchs, aber mit einem ausdrucksvollen, an Wilhelm Furtwängler erinnernden Schädel, besucht zusammen mit seinem Vater den berühmten Wagner-Fachmann Professor Sternfeld in Berlin. Der junge Mann ist universell begabt, er war im Gymnasium in allen Fächern immer der Beste, spielte vorzüglich Klavier und hatte sich mit seinem um fünf Jahre älteren Bruder, der Geige spielte, ein beachtliches Repertoire aufgebaut und sich autodidaktisch ein profundes musikwissenschaftliches Fachwissen angeeignet. Er war ein begeisterter Wagnerianer, aktiv im Akademischen Wagnerverein in Berlin, wo er Engelbert Humperdinck und Siegfried Wagner kennenlernte. Er studierte dort neuere Sprachen und Germanistik an der Universität. Sein großer Wunsch und sein Lebensziel aber ist es, Dirigent zu werden. Arthur Nikisch und seine Anton Bruckner Interpretationen hatten einen nachhaltigen Eindruck auf ihn gemacht. Der Vater geht mit seinem Sohn und dessen Lebenswunsch zu Professor Sternfeld und läßt sich die Aussichten auf diesen Beruf erklären. Der spricht von einem brotlosen Beruf und der Vater weiß genug. Kurzerhand verbietet er dem 23-jährigen diesen Berufswechsel und zerknirscht verläßt er die Wohnung des verehrten Professors. Der junge Mann war Erich Schwebsch.

Das war 1912. Mit seiner Verlobten Felicia Sintenis entschließt er sich, das Studium fortzusetzen. Bei Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges meldet sich Erich Schwebsch als Kriegsfreiwilliger und liegt drei Jahre vor Verdun. Da der Krieg nicht enden will, entschließen sie sich trotz der widrigen Umstände zur Ehe und werden von Friedrich Rittelmeyer getraut. Er

liest Bücher von Rudolf Steiner. Mit der « Philosophie der Freiheit » kann er nichts anfangen, aber « Gøethe als Vater einer neuen Ästhetik » zündet bei ihm sofort. Nach Kriegsende mußte das Staatsexamen nachgeholt werden. In der Zeit hört er zum ersten Mal Rudolf Steiner sprechen. Diese erste Begegnung ruft in ihm das Bild des Atlas hervor, der Welten trägt. In der Referendarzeit arbeitet er auf Anregung von Rittelmeyer an einem Aufsatz « Rudolf Steiner und Gøethe » zur Festschrift von Steiners 60. Geburtstag. Dieser Aufsatz führt zum ersten Gespräch mit Rudolf Steiner und zu dessen Aufforderung, an der Waldorfschule mitzuarbeiten.

Seine Liebe zur Musik war keineswegs erloschen. 1921 bringt er auf Drängen von Alexander Strakosch sein Brucknerbuch heraus, das schon ein Jahr später eine zweite, erweiterte Auflage erfährt. Neueren Auflagen widersetzt er sich gewissenhaft, da inzwischen die Brucknerforschung eingesetzt hatte. Seine Analysen aber, zum Beispiel die der Sechsten Symphonie des Meisters, sind bis heute beispielhaft.

Erich Schwebsch tritt im dritten Jahr nach der Gründung 1919 in das Lehrerkollegium der Waldorfschule in Stuttgart ein. Es wird berichtet, daß Steiner den Kunstunterricht der Oberstufe nur einrichten wollte, wenn Schwebsch ihn übernehmen würde. So geschieht es auch. Sein Motto, nur der Künstler ist Mensch, beginnt er an der Oberstufe der Waldorfschule zu leben und zu lehren. Zahllose Schüler erlebten durch ihn die großen Zusammenhänge der Kulturen, lernten die Bildersprache der Mythen deuten und erfuhren durch die Kunstbetrachtung, daß auch die Gegenwart ein Teil menschlicher Entwicklung ist.

Schwebsch kann dank seiner Selbstdisziplin eine gewaltige Arbeitsfülle meistern, die er nicht nur für die Schule einsetzt, sondern auch für die Anthroposophie selber. Er spricht 1922 am Wiener « West-Ost Kongress », nimmt am « Dramatischen Kurs » teil, ist mit Kurt Piper Redakteur der Zeitschrift « Die Drei », ist Teilnehmer im Siebener-, dann im Dreißigerkreis und gestaltet die Geschehnisse der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland mit, redigiert über viele Jahre die « Erziehungskunst » und reist als Vortragsredner bis in die USA, wo er 1939 auf einer « Tournée » 70 Vorträge hält. Zurück in Deutschland kann er noch an der Dresdener Waldorfschule unterrichten, bis auch diese von den Nazis geschlossen wird. Schwebsch kehrt mit seiner Frau 1943 nach Stuttgart zurück. In den letzten Kriegsjahren arbeitet er an einer gøethianistisch inspirierten Ästhetik, all' seine Erfahrungen und Arbeiten der vergangenen 30 Jahre darin zusammenfassend. Das Manuskript war fast fertig, als es in einer Bombennacht im September 1944 zusammen mit seinem Haus verloren geht. Einem Leistenbruch verdankt er, daß er nicht im « Volkssturm » aktiv werden muß.

Ernst Bindel schildert drei Stationen der Stuttgarter Waldorfschule : Gründung, Schließung und Wiedereröffnung. Für jede Stufe bezeichnete er eine markante Gestalt. Für die Gründung Emil Molt, für die Schließung Fritz Graf von Bothmer und für die Wiedereröffnung 1945 Erich Schwebsch. Tatsächlich : kaum war die Befreiung für Deutschland gekommen, ruft er die Freunde zusammen und bereitet den Wiederbeginn der Schule vor. Mit Emil Leinhas erwirkt er bei der Besatzungsmacht die Wiedergenehmigung der Schule im September 1945. Einen Monat später beginnt in der Stuttgarter Waldorfschule wieder der Unterricht in den von Schülern, Eltern und Lehrern notdürftig hergerichteten Ruinen. In vielen Städten wollen Eltern nach dem Krieg Waldorfunterricht für ihre Kinder haben und er reist von Stadt zu Stadt, um über innere Schulreformen zu reden. Der Ansturm der Schulgründungen macht eine übergreifende Koordination notwendig. Schwebsch übernimmt neben der Geschäftsführung der Stuttgarter Schule die Leitung des neu gegründeten Bundes der Waldorfschulen, bevor diese Aufgabe von Ernst Weißert weitergeführt wird. Er unterrichtet neben der Schule

auch am Lehrerseminar und wird wieder Redakteur von « Die Drei » .

Aber auch die Anthroposophische Gesellschaft in Deutschland muß neu aufgebaut werden. Im Mai 1949 werden Paula Dieterich, Friedrich Husemann und Erich Schwebsch gebeten, den Kern einer Gesellschaftsleitung zu bilden. Anfang 1950 übernimmt er das Sekretariat der Gesellschaft in Deutschland. Am Gøetheanum kann er noch (im Rückblick erscheint es wie ein Vermächtnis) einen Kurs über « Die Künste als Offenbarer geistiger Impulse » geben, in dem er das, was durch die Bombennacht verloren ging, noch einmal mündlich zur Darstellung bringt. Im Frühjahr 1953 muß er zur Kur aussetzen, erholt sich aber nicht. Er stirbt am Pfingstsonntag, während in Stuttgart eine öffentliche Tagung der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft stattfindet, die er noch mit vorbereitet hatte.

Sein Jugendwunsch, Dirigent zu werden, hatte sich nicht erfüllt - und doch stand er dirigierend inmitten derjenigen, mit denen er die Erziehungskunst und die Anthroposophie der europäischen Kultur mit einschrieb.

...

Erich Schwebsch. Bruckners Symphonien, Herausgeber von Jürgen Schriefer, Verlag Freies Geistesleben.

Seitenzahl : circa 500 Seiten, zahlreiche Notenbeispiel.

Einbandart : Leinen gebunden.

Lieferbarkeit und Preis vorbehaltlich zwischenzeitlicher Änderungen.

Durch umfaßende, in die Tiefe gehende Analysen erschließt Erich Schwebsch den gesamten Kosmos der Brucknerschen Symphonien. Seine Darstellungen tragen damit wesentlich zu einem intensiveren Erleben und zu einem Verständnis dieser Musik bei. Bruckners Musik erschließt sich erst, wenn zum Hören die genaue Kenntnis ihrer Strukturen, ihrer Bewegungen und Entwicklungstendenzen hinzukommt. In diesem Sinne sind Erich Schwebschs ausführliche Betrachtungen zu Bruckners Symphonien eine unschätzbare Hilfe.

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aber immer auch nach dem geistigen Gehalt der einzelnen Symphonien. Auf diese Weise eröffnet sich der ganze Kosmos der Brucknerschen Musik, ihre tieferen Dimensionen werden sichtbar.

Der Komponist und Musikwissenschaftler Jürgen Schriefer hat in dieser Darstellung Schwebschs gesamten Nachlaß zu Bruckners Werk aufgearbeitet.

Bruckners unstillbarer Drang nach Vollendung war rein musikalisch-künstlerisch. Sein Bildungstrieb ging auf immer stärkere Durchlässigkeit seines Musikerorgans für die Kräfte, in denen er sich bewegte. Er wollte ganz reines Instrument werden, auf dem der Gott von einem neuen Menschen sprechen konnte. Daher hatte er auch eigentlich ein religiöses, nicht ein technisches Verhältnis zu seinen Studien.

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1953-1955 : Lauter ungelöste Fragen

Wie bereits Mitte der 1930er Jahre trennte sich auch durch den Konflikt mit Marie Steiner und dem Nachlaßverein ein Teil der Mitgliedschaft von der « Allgemeinen » Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft. Die Sezession gab sich einen eigenen organisatorischen Status, insbesondere als « Anthroposophische Vereinigung in der Schweiz » , die mit einer Reihe von Zweigen (Arbeitsgruppen) noch heute existiert. Die Spaltung zog sich aber durch alle bestehenden (oder im Aufbau begriffenen) Landesgesellschaften und erschwerte auf vielfache Weise die Zusammenarbeit.

In Deutschland hatte es seit dem Verbot durch die Nationalsozialisten 1935 keine Anthroposophische Gesellschaft mehr gegeben und aufgrund des Nachlaßkonfliktes drohten hier zwei Landesgesellschaften (von Steffen- respektive Marie-Steiner-Anhängern) zu entstehen. Die unbewältigten Erkenntnis- und Lebensfragen der Gesellschaft spiegelten sich bei den offiziellen Zusammenkünften in Krisendiagnosen und Äußerungen der Resignation. Der Vertreter des Hamburger Arbeitszentrums, Julius Solti, sprach auf der Generalversammlung der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland im Herbst 1953 von drei Erkenntnisrätseln, die sich lähmend auf die Mitgliedschaft auswirkten. Das erste betreffe die « Fortführung der Klassenstunden » (also das Verständnis der Hochschule für Geisteswissenschaft) , deßen Unlösbarkeit zu einem tiefgreifenden Konflikt zwischen Ita Wegman und Marie Steiner geführt habe. Das zweite die Verwaltung des « literarischen Werkes » Rudolf Steiners. Hier stünden sich das « spirituelle Recht » der Hochschule auf Verwaltung des Erbes innerhalb der Gesellschaft und das testamentarische « Erbrecht » unversöhnbar gegenüber. Das dritte Rätsel schließlich betreffe die Frage der « spirituellen Kontinuität » , die sich an der Ernennung Albert Steffens zum stellvertretenden Vorsitzenden und dem damit möglicherweise verbundenen Auftrag entzündet habe. Das erste Rätsel brachte er mit der luziferischen Versuchung in Verbindung, das Geistige wie eine Offenbarung empfangen zu wollen, das zweite mit der ahrimanischen, die sich durch irdischen Besitz eröffne und das dritte mit Todeskräften, die innerhalb der Gesellschaft walteten, die durch Auferstehungskräfte überwunden werden müßten.

Soltis Debattenbeitrag ist ein Beispiel für die im inneranthroposophischen Diskurs verbreitete Tendenz, symbolische Denkformen als Strategem der Erkenntnisvermeidung einzusetzen. Statt die Designate klar zu benennen, die mit den von

ihm verwendeten Signifikaten verbunden waren, ließ er das von ihm Gemeinte in der Schwebelage und verschleierte mit seiner Konstruktion eines « dreifachen » Rätsels zugleich die offenkundige Tatsache, daß es sich bei den von ihm angesprochenen Problemen in Wahrheit nur um ein einziges handelte : das Problem nämlich, ob und wie im Rahmen der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft nach dem Tode Steiners der Anspruch auf Geisterkenntnis eingelöst und verifiziert werden konnte.

Erst im Oktober 1954 gelang es, die « Anthroposophische Gesellschaft in Deutschland » mit einer föderativen Struktur, die den widerspenstigen Arbeitszentren in den verschiedenen Landesteilen weitgehende Autonomie zugestand, unter der Leitung eines Arbeitskollegiums neu zu begründen, dem Friedrich Husemann (Psychiater, Begründer der Husemann-Klinik in Wiesneck, 1887-1959) ; Paula Dieterich (Waldorflehrerin, Hamburg, 1892-1974) ; Rudolf Kreuzer (Unternehmer, Firma Staedtler in Nürnberg, 1887-1976) ; und Carl Johannes Brestowsky (Waldorflehrer, Wuppertal, 1896-1974) angehörten. Erich Schwebisch (Waldorflehrer in Stuttgart, 1889-1953) , der die Gründung maßgeblich mit vorbereitet hatte, war 1953 verstorben.

Die führenden Persönlichkeiten der deutschen Landesgesellschaft waren alle nach Anbruch des neuen michaelischen Zeitalters (1879) geboren, hatten zwei Weltkriege, den Zusammenbruch eines Kaiserreichs, einer Republik und eines Terrorregimes sowie das Verbot der Gesellschaft in Deutschland erlebt und befanden sich nun ausnahmslos in ihrem siebten Dezennium, zwischen dem 60. und 70. Lebensjahr. Sie alle hatten auch Rudolf Steiner erlebt und sich zwischen 1909 und 1922 der Theosophie beziehungsweise Anthroposophie angeschlossen. Auf der anderen Seite der Grenze hatten sie es mit dem 70jährigen Steffen, dem 61jährigen Wachsmuth, dem 63jährigen Poppelbaum und dem geradezu jungen, 56jährigen Lewerenz zu tun. Angesichts dieser generationellen Konstellation drängt sich der Gedanke auf, die Anthroposophie sei zu einer Gerontosophie geworden. Aber das äußerliche Alter sagt bekanntlich nichts über die innere Lebendigkeit und Kreativität eines Menschen aus. Trotzdem geht das fortschreitende Alter häufig mit einer Verfestigung der Lebenseinstellungen und Lebensauffassungen einher. Es wäre interessant, die Frage zu untersuchen, ob der dogmatische Charakter, den die öffentliche Repräsentation der Anthroposophie durch die Anthroposophische Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts annahm, nicht möglicherweise ein Altersproblem war. Die Vorstandsmitglieder, die bis 1963 berufen wurden, waren zwar etwas jünger (mit Ausnahme der Ärztin Margarete Kirchner-Bockholt, 1894-1973, die 69 war, befanden sich alle in der zweiten Hälfte ihres sechsten Jahrzehnts, weitaus der jüngste sollte Rudolf Große, 1905-1994, sein, der sich bei seiner Berufung im 50. Lebensjahr befand) , aber wenn man diese Alterskonstellation mit jener des Gründungsvorstandes von 1923-1924 vergleicht, ist die Differenz doch erheblich : Rudolf Steiner war 1923 mit 62 Jahren weitaus der älteste, Marie Steiner war 56, Ita Wegman 47, Elisabeth Vreede 44, Albert Steffen 39 und Günther Wachsmuth sogar erst 30 Jahre alt ! Erst 1966 sollte die « Allgemeine » Anthroposophische Gesellschaft mit Hagen Biesantz, 1924-1996, der bei seiner Berufung 42 Jahre alt war, wieder an die von Steiner begründete Tradition anschließen.

Nachdem bis Ende der 1940er Jahre die unmittelbaren Kriegsschäden beseitigt waren, begann in den Jahren zwischen 1950 und 1960 - so wie in den meisten vom Krieg heimgesuchten europäischen Gesellschaften, die in den Genuß des Marshallplans kamen - auch in der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft und der mit ihr in Beziehung stehenden - aber keineswegs identischen - anthroposophischen Bewegung eine Zeit der Konsolidierung und Ausbreitung. Die lebensgeschichtliche Dimension dieser Entwicklung läßt sich an der eben beschriebenen Generation, die 1954 das

Arbeitskollegium der neugegründeten deutschen Landesgesellschaft bildete, verdeutlichen. Die Angehörigen dieses Kollegiums befanden sich in der Zeit zwischen 1935 und 1945 in ihrem vierten Lebensjahrzehnt, in dem in der Regel die individuellen Lebensmotive zur stärksten Entfaltung kommen und die Persönlichkeit sich in der Auseinandersetzung mit ihrem Umfeld sich diesem am intensivsten einprägt. Berufsausbildung, Studium, Familiengründung und ein gutes Jahrzehnt beruflicher oder familiärer Erfahrung haben Menschen in diesem Lebensalter bereits zurückgelegt, ihre Persönlichkeit durch die vielfältigen Erfahrungen gefestigt, ihren Horizont erweitert und häufig entwickeln sie die Bereitschaft oder das Bedürfnis, über den damit erreichten Lebenshorizont zu neuen (inneren oder äußeren) Ufern aufzubrechen. Diese bedeutende Epoche im Leben eines Menschen (im Leben der potentiellen Kontinuitätsträger der anthroposophischen Impulse) fiel aufgrund des Verbots anthroposophischer Arbeit in Deutschland aus, ihre schöpferischen Kräfte wurden zurückgedrängt, ihre moralischen Intuitionen unterdrückt - mit anderen Worten : die historischen Mächte des Bösen warfen die betreffende Generation um ein Jahrzehnt zurück, wenn sie die Kontinuität nicht sogar gänzlich zunichte machten, indem sie zu Emigration und Flucht zwangen oder die potentiellen Träger anthroposophischer Impulse schlichtweg zermalzten. Hinzu kamen die inneranthroposophischen Verwerfungen, die ihrerseits ein beträchtliches Maß geistiger Kräfte in unsinnige, überflüssige, zerstörerische Auseinandersetzungen kanalisiert. Weßen seelische und geistige Kräfte durch all diese Prüfungen nicht aufgezehrt waren, der hätte sie nun in gesteigertem Maß und zugleich aufgrund des fortgeschrittenen Lebensalters in überpersönlicher Form dem Neuaufbau der anthroposophischen Bewegung zur Verfügung stellen können. Gleichzeitig begann der Freien Hochschule für Geisteswissenschaft (der nach ihrem Selbstverständnis einzigen spirituellen Hochschule der Welt, die eine moderne Form abendländischer Esoterik mit der neuzeitlichen Wissenschaft verband) im Jahrzehnt zwischen 1950 und 1960 bereits eine neue Generation von Suchern zuzuströmen, deren spirituelle Sehnsüchte durch den bisherigen Lauf der Welt enttäuscht worden waren.

Diesen Sehnsüchten versuchten die öffentlichen Hochschulkurse entgegen zu kommen, die ab 1954 wieder von den einzelnen Sektionen zu unterschiedlichen Fachgebieten am Goetheanum durchgeführt wurden. Die Sektionen wurden personell verstärkt, insbesondere die medizinische Sektion durch Ärzte aus der Ita Wegman Klinik Arlesheim, die sich nach dem Beschluß der Generalversammlung von 1948 allmählich wieder auf das Goetheanum zubewegten und in die Leitung der Sektion aufgenommen wurden.

Bereits 1952 war der Beschluß gefaßt worden, den noch immer im Rohbau befindlichen großen Saal des Goetheanum auszugestalten. Der Auftrag erging im Rahmen eines Wettbewerbsverfahrens, an dem sich 27 Architekten beteiligten, schließlich an den Stuttgarter Johannes Schöpfer. Wie alle bedeutenderen Vorhaben der Gesellschaft war auch dieser Innenausbau Anlaß zu langwierigen Auseinandersetzungen. 1957 konnte der große Saal endlich dem Publikum zugänglich gemacht werden.

Doch trotz (oder vielleicht gerade wegen) des fortgeschrittenen Alters der Protagonisten waren die Dornacher Generalversammlungen auch in den 1950er Jahren weiterhin Schauplatz ideologischer Grabenkämpfe, bei denen sich in Schützengräben eingegrabene Parteien unversöhnlich gegenüberstanden. Aus heutiger Sicht erscheinen manche dieser Auseinandersetzungen wie Szenen aus einem dadaistischen Theaterstück. Die Existenz und die Publikationen der Nachlaßverwaltung erwiesen sich als der hartnäckigste Stachel im Fleisch der Gesellschaft. Die damit verbundenen Fragen sollten ihr bis in die 1970er Jahre erhalten bleiben.

1955, dreißig Jahre nach dem Tod ihres Begründers, sah sich der Vorsitzende, Albert Steffen, veranlaßt, auf der Generalversammlung Anfang April zu Vorwürfen Stellung zu nehmen, die in den « Mitteilungen der Anthroposophischen Vereinigung in der Schweiz » erhoben worden waren. Das Goetheanum sei « tot » , hieß es darin und Steffen wurde der Vorwurf gemacht, er habe die Gesellschaft zu einer « Sklavengesellschaft » umgeformt. Auf die Unterstellung, er habe dieselben Methoden angewandt, wie « gewisse Volksgruppenführer » , antwortete Steffen mit Ausführungen, die einen tiefen Einblick in sein Selbstverständnis gewähren :

« Es wird dabei wohl an den letzten Weltkrieg gedacht, wo diese Usurpationen ja stattfanden, von gewissen Führern von Volksgruppen, sowohl in Deutschland wie in Italien. Es wird darauf hingewiesen, daß diese Praktiken auch in unserer Gesellschaft angewendet werden, in der Hauptsache vom Vorsitzenden. Also wörtlich :“ Man identifiziert ein Volk mit einer Partei, die im Parteiführer gipfelt, oder das Christentum mit einer Kirche und dem Haupt dieser Kirche, oder Rudolf Steiner und die Anthroposophie mit dem Vorsitzenden.” Also das ist doch deutlich genug, daß ich da als Vorsitzender verglichen werde mit denjenigen Persönlichkeiten, welche dieses namenlose Elend über Europa gebracht haben, was ich zum Beispiel in zweien meiner Dramen dargestellt habe, natürlich in künstlerischer Art - , es schließt dann der Aufsatz :“ Diese Methode hat sich bei uns glänzend bewährt, wohl auch, weil sie in ihrem Wirken fast durchaus unerkant bleibt.” Also. »

So schließt Steffen, « die Mitglieder haben nicht erkannt, nach der Aussage dieses “ Schriftstellers ”, daß da ein Usurpator am Werk war mit der Absicht, nach den Praktiken übelster Okkultismen eine Gesellschaft von freien Menschen in eine “ Sklavengesellschaft ” zu verwandeln » .

Bei der Generalversammlung standen drei Anträge zur Debatte : der Dornacher Architekt Albert Baravalle (1902-1983) versuchte die Versammlung dazu bewegen, gegen den Entwurf Johannes Schöpfers zu protestieren, da er die Vorgaben Steiners für die Ausgestaltung des Saales mißachte, eine Reihe von Mitgliedern, unter ihnen Jakob Streit (1910-2009) , schlug vor, sämtliche Bücher Rudolf Steiners, gleichgültig in welchem Verlag sie erschienen seien, am Büchertisch des Goetheanum zu verkaufen und sie in den von diesem verantworteten Zeitschriften anzuzeigen und eine weitere Gruppe von Mitgliedern, zu denen wiederum Jakob Streit gehörte, stellte den Antrag, die weitere Verbreitung des Gutachtens von Professor A. Egger « Die Wege der richterlichen Rechtsfindung » , das gegen die Nachlaßverwaltung Stellung bezog, seitens der Gesellschaft zu unterbinden. Gegen den Antrag Baravalle lag ein Geschäftsordnungsantrag vor, der auf Nichteintreten in die Debatte plädierte, zum Antrag Egger lag ein Gegenantrag vor, der dessen Ablehnung befürwortete. Interessant ist, zu verfolgen, wie die Versammlung mit den jeweiligen Anträgen verfuhr, und welche Begründungen im einzelnen für oder gegen die Anträge vorgebracht wurden. Mit demselben Argument konnten nämlich Teilnehmer dieser Versammlung sowohl das Eintreten in eine Debatte und eine Abstimmung über einen Antrag ablehnen, mit dem sie kurz darauf eben dieses Eintreten und die Abstimmung rechtfertigten. Niemandem, auch nicht dem Leiter der Versammlung, dem Naturwissenschaftler Hermann Poppelbaum, schienen diese Widersprüche aufzufallen. Carl Jerome Bessenich begründete den Geschäftsordnungsantrag zum Antrag Baravalle mit der Behauptung, eine Entscheidung über den Entwurf des Saalausbaus durch die Generalversammlung widerspreche der « Konstitution der Hochschule » , da Fragen des « freien Geisteslebens » allein in die Kompetenz der Hochschulleitung fielen, die ihre Entscheidungen in Freiheit treffen müße. Gegen den Antrag Streit (zum Bücherverkauf) argumentierte Rudolf Große, die Annahme dieses Antrages würde die Konstitution der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft verändern, die der Goetheanumleitung auch die

Verantwortung über den Büchertisch zuweise. Die Leitung des Gœtheanum dürfe in dieser Frage nicht « dem Befehl » der Generalversammlung unterstellt werden. Mit diesem Argument setzte er sich jedoch nicht (was angesichts der eben vorangegangenen Auseinandersetzungen konsequent gewesen wäre) für ein Nichteintreten in die Debatte oder in eine Abstimmung ein, sondern dafür, den Antrag mittels einer Abstimmung abzulehnen. Das eine Mal wurde also der Generalversammlung mit dem Argument der Autonomie der Hochschulleitung das Recht bestritten, über eine Frage des freien Geisteslebens abzustimmen, das andere Mal wurde ihr mit demselben Argument genau dieses Recht eingeräumt. Daß sich die Hochschulleitung ebenso dem « Befehl » der Generalversammlung unterwarf, wenn diese den Antrag Streits ablehnte, schien Große nicht aufzufallen. Auch über den Antrag zum Rechtsgutachten Professor Eggers, der erst recht tiefgehende Erkenntnisfragen (also Fragen des freien Geisteslebens) aufwarf, wurde schließlich von der Generalversammlung abgestimmt. Er wurde ebenso abgelehnt, wie der Antrag zum Bücherverkauf. Daß es dreißig Jahre nach dem Tod Rudolf Steiners möglich war, diametral entgegengesetzte Verhaltensweisen innerhalb kürzester Zeit mit ein und demselben Argument zu rechtfertigen, zeigt, wie wohlfeil inzwischen die Berufung auf die Freiheit des Geistes geworden war und wie wenig Ernst die Gesellschaft ihren eigentlichen Auftrag, die Förderung der Geisterkenntnis, nahm.

Die letzte Viertelstunde der Versammlung, die um 23 Uhr zu Ende ging, war dem Traktandum « Berichte über die Arbeit am Gœtheanum und in der Gesellschaft » gewidmet. Was eigentlich im Mittelpunkt der Zusammenkunft hätte stehen sollen, spielte somit nur eine marginale Rolle, ja der Versammlungsleiter sah sich am Ende zur Aufforderung gezwungen, die Berichte über diese Arbeit nicht mehr mündlich, sondern schriftlich abzugeben. « Alle erklären sich einverstanden », bemerkt das Protokoll lakonisch. Von besonderer Taktlosigkeit zeugen die Schlußbemerkungen Poppelbaums, der die gesellschaftsinternen Kritiker unter Berufung auf ein Gedicht Goethes mit « Kläffern », also Hunden verglich.

Rudolf Steiner

Avec le 21e siècle, la tâche de la religion et de la tradition culturelle (donner un sens et une orientation à la vie) a été confiée à chaque individu. Nous sommes, en tant qu'êtres humains, parvenus à nous-même, dans toute l'ampleur de notre existence. La grandeur et le défi de notre époque réside dans le fait que chaque individu est maintenant tenu de se donner lui-même ses lignes directrices, pour ses actes et sa pensée, s'il ne veut pas se perdre dans les méandres du monde matériel.

C'est là que naît généralement le besoin de conquérir un lien conscient avec le monde spirituel. Développer une forme de connaissance par laquelle la réalité d'un monde de l'esprit peut être éprouvée de manière concrète et qui soit intérieurement aussi solide que les sciences de la nature - ce fut l'œuvre de vie de Rudolf Steiner.

Cette anthroposophie (conscience de notre humanité) ne peut donner une orientation à l'être humain individuel, mais peut lui apporter des impulsions pour tous les domaines de la culture. Elle a ouvert de nouveaux horizons à beaucoup de personnalités importantes dans leurs productions culturelles et leurs idées. Les réalisations émanant de l'anthroposophie dans les domaines de la pédagogie, de la médecine, de l'agriculture et de l'architecture sont considérées avec intérêt dans le monde entier. Cela commença surtout à partir du dernier tiers du 20e siècle, époque où les idées spirituelles devinrent un bien communément admis. Plus de 10,000 institutions anthroposophiques,

cliniques, écoles, fermes et foyers, jouissent d'une reconnaissance sur tous les continents. Des initiatives culturelles naissent dans des contextes sociaux difficiles comme en Afrique du Sud, en Amérique du Sud ou au Moyen-Orient, et l'attribution du Prix Nobel alternatif à 2 personnalités porteuses d'initiatives culturelles anthroposophiques témoigne d'un respect inattendu envers cette réalité. La Société anthroposophique offre dans le monde entier un espace et un contexte dédié au développement spirituel, à l'épanouissement artistique et à l'engagement dans la société civile.

« Par “ anthroposophie ”, j'entends une investigation du monde de l'esprit qui constate le caractère unilatéral de la seule connaissance de la nature, mais aussi de la mystique habituelle, et qui, avant d'essayer d'entrer dans le monde supra-sensoriel, développe dans l'âme connaissante les forces latentes, encore inactives dans la conscience et la science habituelles, qui permettent d'accomplir cette entrée dans ce monde supra-sensoriel. »

(Rudolf Steiner)

« Je voudrais bien que vous deveniez attentifs à l'importance du battement de cœur qui fait que l'on est vraiment un pédagogue. »

(Rudolf Steiner, Stuttgart, 22 juin 1922.)

Le futur théosophe Rudolf Steiner, qui a suivi pendant quelque temps les fameuses conférences de Anton Bruckner à l'Université de Vienne, l'a bien caractérisé d'un mot :

« Ce qu'il disait en chaire n'était pas extraordinaire, mais la manière dont il le présentait était tout originale. »

Rudolf Steiner, Anton Bruckner et la vie musicale viennoise (1879-1925) :

Vienne et la musique, un phénomène géographique.

Rudolf Steiner à Vienne en compagnie des supporters de Bruckner et de Wagner : Friedrich Eckstein, Fritz Lemmermayer, Alfred Stroß, et Hugo Wolf.

Rudolf Steiner était un auditeur assidu aux conférences de Bruckner sur l'harmonie et le contrepoint à l'Université de Vienne.

Steiner a étudié l'importance du contrepoint abondant dans la création brucknérienne.

Rencontres avec Bruckner au « Café Griensteidl » , de 1886 à 1890.

Rudolf Steiner et les Symphonies 4, 6 et 9 de Bruckner.

Rencontres en 1911 à Linz et en 1912 à Kitzbühl avec August Göllerich, le secrétaire et biographe officiel de Bruckner.

Les travaux de recherche de Rudolf Steiner et de Erich Schweschs sur Bruckner.

Un concert Bruckner inaugure la session académique de l'Université de Vienne, en septembre 1920.

Un Festival Bruckner se tient durant le Congrès « Est-Ouest » de 1922.

Rudolf Steiner à propos de l'importance de la musique de Bruckner en tant que nouveau départ spirituel.

La musique de Bruckner est jouée (notamment au piano) lors de séances eurythmiques.

L'eurythmie (du Grec ancien « bon rythme ») est une forme d'art créée par Rudolf Steiner et sa femme Marie von Sivers.

L'eurythmie est une expression artistique dans laquelle la musique et les paroles sont exprimées par les mouvements spécifiques du corps qui correspondent à des notes, à des accords. On l'a également appelée « discours visible » ou « chant visible ». D'après Rudolf Steiner, mouvement, parole et chant n'étaient par le passé qu'une seule activité. Les prêtresses dansaient dans les temples pour honorer les dieux. Le chant et la musique y étaient associés. Ces arts se sont ensuite individualisés. L'eurythmie serait donc un chemin moderne où le mouvement du corps serait à nouveau expression objective du chant, de la parole, de la musique.

L'eurythmie fait partie intégrante du programme de toutes les écoles Steiner-Waldorf dans le monde. Les enfants entrent naturellement dans les rythmes et les exercices simples qui les aident à harmoniser leur corps et leurs forces vitales. Plus tard, les élèves plus âgés élaborent des représentations eurythmiques à partir de poèmes, de pièces de théâtre ou de morceaux de musique, gagnant ainsi une perception plus fine des œuvres en étudiant par exemple les différentes tonalités d'une œuvre musicale. L'eurythmie améliore la coordination et renforce la capacité à écouter.

Selon Rudolf Steiner, faire de l'eurythmie permet de préparer son corps à recevoir les mouvements du monde spirituel, la regarder permet d'intensifier le corps astral et le « Moi » :

« L'eurythmie fortifie l'âme en la faisant pénétrer vivante dans le supra-sensible. »

Cette discipline a pris plusieurs formes : l'eurythmie pédagogique, l'eurythmie de scène et l'eurythmie thérapeutique.

Art social par excellence, il permettrait de se relier en conscience avec le groupe ainsi qu'avec l'espace. L'utilisation de cannes en cuivre permet de travailler concrètement ce lien avec l'autre ainsi qu'avec soi-même.

L'eurythmie en France est enseignée sur un cycle de 4 ans d'étude à l'institut de formation Eurythmée, à Chatou, et permet, notamment, d'enseigner cet art dans les écoles Waldorf.

...

Le philosophe, occultiste et penseur social Rudolf Steiner est né le 25 février 1861 à Donji Kraljevec, à l'époque partie de l'Empire austro-hongrois, actuellement en Croatie ; et est mort le 30 mars 1925 à Dornach, en Suisse. Il est le fondateur de l'anthroposophie, qu'il qualifie de « chemin de connaissance », visant à « restaurer le lien entre l'Homme et les mondes spirituels ». Ses adeptes le considèrent généralement, à la fois, comme un homme de connaissance et un guide spirituel.

Membre de la Société théosophique puis secrétaire-général de la section allemande en 1902, il s'en sépare 10 ans plus tard pour fonder la Société anthroposophique.

Son enseignement est à l'origine de projets aussi divers que les écoles Waldorf, l'agriculture biodynamique, les médicaments et produits cosmétiques Weleda, le mouvement Camphill et la Communauté des Chrétiens.

Les parents de Steiner sont autrichiens. En 1869, sa famille s'installe à Neudörfel, aujourd'hui en Autriche. Il entre au Collège moderne et technique (« Realschule ») de Wiener-Neustadt, en 1872. 3 ans plus tard, il commence à s'intéresser à la philosophie. En 1877, il étudie la pensée d'Emmanuel Kant.

En 1879, Rudolf Steiner obtient son diplôme de fin d'études avec félicitations. Il continue à étudier la philosophie, en particulier Johann Gottlieb Fichte. En octobre, il devient étudiant à l'École supérieure technique de Vienne et se lie avec son professeur de littérature Karl Julius Schröer (1825-1900), philologue et grand connaisseur de l'œuvre de Goethe. Il suit également des cours de philosophie à l'Université. En 1880, il fait la connaissance de Félix Kogutzki (1833-1909), le cueilleur de « simples » (herbes médicinales ou aromatiques) qui l'initie à l'occultisme traditionnel et lui aurait fait rencontrer un « maître spirituel » éminent.

En 1882, Schröer conseille Steiner à Josef Kürschner en tant qu'éditeur de l'œuvre scientifique de Goethe. La famille Steiner s'installe à Inzersdorf am Wienerberge, dans les environs de Vienne. En 1883, il achève le 1er volume pour Josef Kürschner (parution en 1884). En octobre, il met fin à ses études supérieures car il s'intéresse davantage à la philosophie.

En 1884, Steiner devient le précepteur des enfants des époux Specht, et se consacre au jeune Otto qui est hydrocéphale. Il entame une correspondance avec Edouard von Hartmann. En 1886, il fréquente le salon de la poétesse Eugénie delle Grazie et les théologiens de son entourage. Il accepte de collaborer à l'édition des œuvres scientifiques de Goethe dans la grande édition de Weimar, celle dite « de la Grand Duchesse Sophie ». Il étudie les archives de Goethe et de Schiller et fait paraître, en 1886, son ouvrage « Fondements d'une épistémologie de la conception gœthéenne du monde » compte particulièrement tenu de Schiller.

En 1888, de janvier à juillet, il participe à la rédaction de l'hebdomadaire allemand « Deutsche Wochenschrift ». Le 9 novembre, il donne une conférence : « Goethe, père d'une esthétique nouvelle ». L'année suivante, il lit Nietzsche et fréquente le salon de la théosophe Marie Lang. Son travail aux archives, à partir de 1890, élargit le cercle de ses

connaissances, dont Ernst Hæckel, Hermann Grimm, Otto Erich Hartleben, etc. Il soutient, en 1891, sa thèse de doctorat en philosophie à l'Université de Rostock :

« La Question fondamentale de la théorie de la connaissance, compte particulièrement tenu de la Doctrine de la Science de Fichte » .

Elle est publiée en 1892, complétée d'un chapitre sous le nom « Vérité et science » .

À partir de 1892, à 31 ans donc, il loge chez la veuve Anna Eunike et l'aide dans l'éducation de ses 5 enfants. En 1894, Steiner publie « La Philosophie de la Liberté » . Alors qu'il continue son étude de Friedrich Nietzsche, il rencontre la sœur de celui-ci, Elisabeth Förster, en 1894, et entre en relations avec les Archives Nietzsche à Naumburg. L'année suivante, il publie Nietzsche, un homme en lutte contre son temps. En 1896, il prépare pour la maison d'éditions Cotta l'édition des œuvres d'Arthur Schopenhauer et de Jean Paul. Il termine son travail pour Kürschner. En 1897, il fait paraître Gœthe et sa conception du Monde. Il s'installe à Berlin chez la famille Eunike. Il est alors corédacteur avec Otto Erich Hartleben du « Magazin für Litteratur » . Il met en scène la pièce de Maurice Maeterlinck : « L'Intruse » . Il donne aussi des conférences à l'association scientifique « Giordano Bruno » et à celles des jeunes chercheurs et écrivains « Die Kommenden » . En 1898, il donne un cycle de conférences sur « Les Grands courants de la littérature allemande de 1848 à nos jours » à la Société Littéraire Indépendante.

À partir de 1899, il commence à enseigner l'histoire, les sciences et la technique de l'expression orale à l'Université Populaire de Berlin fondée par Wilhelm Liebknecht. Il publie un article dans le « Magazin für Litteratur » : « La révélation secrète de Gœthe » . Il épouse civilement Anna Eunike. Il publie aussi son texte « L'Égoïsme en philosophie » . En 1900-1901, il fait paraître « Visions du monde et de la vie » au 19e siècle, repris en 1914 dans une édition élargie et « Les Énigmes de la philosophie constituant une histoire de la philosophie occidentale » .

En 1900, à la demande du Comte Brockdorff, Rudolf Steiner donne une conférence sur Nietzsche à la Bibliothèque Théosophique. Une semaine plus tard, il donne au même endroit une conférence sur Gœthe, à caractère ésotérique cette fois. Durant l'hiver, c'est une conférence sur Gustav Theodor Fechner, à laquelle assiste Marie de Sivers. Il cesse alors ses activités à la rédaction du « Magazin für Litteratur » . L'année suivante, il donne 2 cycles de conférences chez les théosophes : le 1er cycle portant sur la Mystique auquel assiste Marie de Sivers ; le second cycle a lieu chez les théosophes de Berlin : « Le Christianisme » , fait mystique.

En janvier 1902, il devient membre de la Société théosophique et secrétaire-général pour l'Allemagne. En juillet, à Londres, il rencontre les responsables de la Société théosophique, dont sa présidente Annie Besant. En octobre, il participe à la fondation de la Section allemande de la Société théosophique dont il devient le secrétaire-général. Marie de Sivers devient sa collaboratrice.

En 1903, c'est la 1re parution de la revue « Luzifer » qui s'appelle, à partir de 1904, « Lucifer-Gnosis » . À partir de 1904, son activité de conférencier prend de l'ampleur, notamment en dehors de Berlin. Il publie le petit livre « Théosophie » , et écrit des articles pour la revue « Lucifer-Gnosis » sur la « Chronique de l'Akasha » . Steiner

fréquente Franz Kafka et le peintre Kandinsky et publie le « Drame » d'Édouard Schuré, « Les Enfants de Lucifer » dans « Lucifer-Gnosis ». Steiner se sépare de sa Ire épouse, Anna Eunike, et vit avec Marie von Sivers. Annie Besant le nomme responsable de l'École ésotérique de la Section allemande. En 1905, il cesse d'enseigner à l'Université populaire de Berlin (École de formation ouvrière). Il donne de nombreuses conférences à Berlin. C'est 1 an après la création du Cercle intérieur de l'École ésotérique, en 1905, que le « rite Yarker » le sollicite mais « Ni ce rite, ni l'École ésotérique n'avait à exercer d'influence sur la moelle de son enseignement, le présent doit reposer sur le passé. Certes, il apporte un message nouveau qui ne pouvait ni ne devait puiser ailleurs qu'à sa propre source : toutefois il cherchait encore à se rattacher par la forme aux traditions existantes ». Il rattache le germe nouveau au fait existant dans le respect de la tradition historique. Rudolf Steiner est donc sollicité par l'obédience maçonnique de l'Ordre Memphis-Misraïm, sous l'égide de John Yarker qui avait succédé à Garibaldi. Ce dernier avait réuni les 2 Ordres séparés jusque-là Memphis et Misraïm. Steiner œuvre avec Marie von Sivers durant une décennie à restaurer le cérémonial cultuel et symbolique basé sur la tradition de la sagesse ancienne. En 1906, Théodor Reuss, représentant de Yarker en Allemagne, présente un cadre à Steiner pour son propre enseignement :

« Un bon nombre de participants, il est vrai, parlèrent de notre institution comme s'il s'agissait d'un ordre. Il est vrai que nous avons Marie de Sivers et moi, signé des documents concernant nos rapports avec cette institution Yarker. D'aucuns s'en sont servis pour répandre sur notre compte des calomnies de toutes sortes. En fait, on avait attaché une grande importance à une affaire insignifiante. Nos signatures avaient été apposées au bas de certaines " formules ". Nous avons respecté les coutumes. Alors que nous signions, j'avais encore clairement insisté et dit : tout cela n'est que formalité et l'institution que je vais instaurer n'empruntera rien au courant Yarker. Mais j'aimerais faire remarquer en toute modestie qu'à cette époque je croyais encore à la droiture des gens à qui j'avais affaire. »

(Rudolf Steiner. Autobiographie, tome II ; pages 217-218.)

L'activité culturelle de l'École ésotérique s'y déroule, elle est ouverte à tous les Ordres ou Sociétés ésotériques. Nombreuses conférences à Berlin, Stuttgart, Cologne, Paris, Munich, Düsseldorf. À la fin de l'année, il voyage en Italie avec Marie von Sivers. Ils passent Noël et le Nouvel-An à Venise. En 1907, il multiplie les conférences à Berlin, Karlsruhe, Leipzig, Munich, Kassel, Stuttgart, Vienne, Bâle, Nuremberg, Cologne. En mai, le Congrès théosophique européen a lieu à Munich. On y représente la pièce « Le Drame sacré » d'Eleusis d'Édouard Schuré. Annie Besant et Rudolf Steiner constatent qu'ils ont des conceptions différentes de ce que devrait être l'ésotérisme. Fin mai, avec le 100e membre affilié à « Mystica Aeterna », Steiner devient le dirigeant du « Rite de Memphis-Misraïm » en Allemagne, des loges sont installées à Berlin, Cologne, Leipzig, Stuttgart et Munich. Il voyage en Italie durant 4 semaines au cours de l'été : 2 semaines à Rome, puis Pise, Gêne, Milan, Lucerne, Berne et lors du retour, en septembre, séjourne quelques jours à Barr, en Alsace, invité par Édouard Schuré. En 1908, il continue ses conférences : Francfort, Heidelberg, Berlin, Munich, Hambourg, Cologne, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Leipzig et effectue un nouveau voyage en Italie par mer sur l'Adriatique. Il visite Pæstum et fait l'escalade du Vésuve.

En 1909, le drame de Schuré « Les Enfants de Lucifer » est joué au Congrès théosophique d'été de Munich. Au printemps, Steiner est invité à Rome par la princesse del Drago. Il donne des conférences dans la Ville. Il séjourne au Palazzo del Drago dans les pièces où Winckelmann avait vécu et développé ses idées sur l'art, qui avaient très

fortement intéressé Gœthe. Il fait un nouveau séjour de 2 semaines en Italie, au printemps 1910. La même année paraît l'ouvrage « La Science de l'occulte » dans ses grandes lignes. C'est aussi la représentation du 1er drame-mystère. Il donne de nombreuses conférences à Berlin, Strasbourg, Karlsruhe, Heidelberg, Pforzheim, Kassel, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Vienne, Stuttgart, Munich, Rome, Palerme, Hanovre, Hambourg, Oslo, Berne.

En mars 1911, alors qu'il donne un cycle de conférences à Prague, « La Physiologie occulte » ; le 17 mars meurt Anna Steiner-Eunike. Au printemps, il fait un séjour de 3 mois au bord de l'Adriatique, puis de 2 semaines en Autriche, pour le rétablissement de Marie von Sivers. Il donne une conférence à Bologne à l'occasion du Congrès international de philosophie. Marie von Sivers traduit le livre de Schuré « Les Sanctuaires d'Orient » . En septembre, nouveau voyage en Italie et conférences en Suisse et à Milan. À l'automne, il entre en conflit avec Annie Besant à cause de l'affaire Alcyone-Krishnamurti qu'elle veut faire passer pour une ré-incarnation du Christ. Steiner poursuit ses conférences à Berlin, Stuttgart, Cologne, Coblenz, Bâle, Munich, Copenhague, Lugano, Milan, Neuchâtel, Karlsruhe, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Hanovre. En 1912, il fait un dernier voyage en Italie, visite Florence, Pérouse, Assise et donne 2 conférences à Milan. Il donne ensuite des conférences à Hanovre, Berlin, Munich, Winterthur, Zürich, Kassel, Breslau, Vienne, Stuttgart, Helsinki, Helsingfors, Stockholm, Düsseldorf, Copenhague, Norrköping, Cologne, Hambourg, Bâle, Milan, Neuchâtel, Saint-Gall, Berne. À l'automne 1912, ce sont les Iers pas de l'eurythmie, art du mouvement. Fin 1912, il se sépare de la Société théosophique et, à Noël, fonde la Société anthroposophique.

La Ire assemblée générale de la Société anthroposophique a lieu les 2 et 3 février 1913. Steiner n'exerce aucune fonction administrative, seulement celle d'enseignant et de guide spirituel. Il n'en était même pas membre. La direction devait être assurée par un comité de 3 personnes : Carl Unger, Michaël Bauer, Marie von Sivers. La Société anthroposophique est exclue officiellement de la Société théosophique, le 7 mars 1913, par décision venant d'Adyar. En mai, Steiner voyage à Paris pour la fondation du Groupe Saint-Michel. Il visite Chartres avec Schuré et Marie von Sivers. Le 20 septembre, il pose la Ire pierre du futur « Gœtheanum » , à Dornach. Il donne des conférences à Cologne, Berlin, Linz, Vienne, Tübingen, Stuttgart, Francfort, Munich, La Haye, Breslau, Düsseldorf, Londres, Paris, Strasbourg, Helsinki, Helsingfors, Oslo, Bergen, Copenhague, Leipzig.

La guerre limite les déplacements de Steiner à l'Allemagne, l'Autriche et la Suisse. Le 1er avril 1914, lors de la fête de l'érection des sapins, la charpente du « Gœtheanum » est construite. En août, la guerre éclate. De Bayreuth, Steiner et Sivers rentrent rapidement à Dornach. Eliza Von Moltke, membre de la société théosophique, fait venir Rudolf Steiner au chevet de son mari atteint dans sa santé, le général et chef de l'état-major allemand Helmuth Johannes Ludwig von Moltke, le 27 août 1914, à Coblenz mais son action réelle est restée ignorée. Le 24 décembre, Steiner épouse Marie von Sivers. Il donne des conférences à Leipzig, Berlin, Stuttgart, Pforzheim, Munich, Vienne, Dornach, Paris, Bâle, Norrköping. Cette année-là ferme l'école ésotérique, qui fonctionnait depuis 1904.

Il donne des conférences en 1915 à Berlin, Dornach, Vienne, Düsseldorf, Stuttgart et, en 1916, à Berne, Liestal, Berlin, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Dornach, Zürich, Bâle. En 1916, il publie un livret très controversé « Pensées du temps de guerre » publié à Berlin, qui fit démissionner Édouard Schuré.

1917 : Ses activités sociales et politiques, ses remises des mémorandums à de hauts-responsables de Berlin et de

Vienne restent sans écho. Il réalise la Ire formulation de la tri-articulation de l'être humain. Il donne des conférences à Dornach, Berlin, Zürich, Saint-Gall, Bâle et, en 1918, à Dornach, Berne, Munich, Stuttgart, Berlin, Heidenheim, Ulm, Hambourg, Bâle.

1919 : Fondation de l'École Waldorf à Stuttgart. Il donne de nombreuses conférences à Bâle, Zürich, Dornach, Düsseldorf, Stuttgart, Ulm, Berlin ; en 1920, à Stuttgart, Bâle, Dornach, Zürich, Berne ; en 1921, à Stuttgart, Dornach, La Haye, Berne, Oslo, Berlin, Bâle.

1922 : Conférences à Dornach, Berne, La Haye, Londres, Vienne, Stuttgart, Oxford, Berlin. Mais à la fin d'une conférence donnée à Munich, Steiner échappe de peu à une agression de perturbateurs fascistes. Dès lors, il ne fait plus de conférences publiques en Allemagne. La Communauté des Chrétiens est fondée cette année-là. Le 31 décembre, un incendie criminel détruit le « Gœtheanum » .

1923 : Conférences à Dornach, Stuttgart, Berne, Bâle, Penmaenmawr, Prague, Ilkey, Londres, La Haye. Création de la nouvelle Société anthroposophique : la Société anthroposophique universelle, dont Steiner prend la présidence et Albert Steffen, la vice-présidence. Création de l' « École libre de Science de l'Esprit » .

1924 : 1er janvier, Steiner se serait dit empoisonné. Conférences à Dornach, Berne, Zürich, Stuttgart, Prague, Paris, Koberwitz, Breslau, Arnheim, Torquay, Londres. Fin mars, Steiner achève la maquette du second « Gœtheanum » . Mai, Ire assemblée générale de la Société anthroposophique en France. Juin, naissance de la pédagogie curative à Iéna ; naissance de la Bio-dynamie suite au cycle de conférences faites devant les agriculteurs à Koberwitz. Juillet, Congrès anthroposophique et pédagogique à Arnheim aux Pays-Bas. 28 septembre, dernière conférence aux membres. À partir du 1er octobre, Steiner est alité. Il poursuit son « Autobiographie » et « Les Lignes directrices de l'anthroposophie » pour parution dans « Das Gœtheanum » .

1925 : Termine avec Ita Wegman, l'ouvrage médical à la base de la médecine anthroposophique. Données de base pour un élargissement de l'art de guérir. Steiner meurt le 30 mars, vers 10 heures du matin, à l'âge de 64 ans.

Jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, Rudolf Steiner attachera une importance première à cet ouvrage. Il déclara, au cours de la 2e décennie du XXe siècle, au seul étudiant qu'il conseilla en vue du doctorat d'État, Walter-Johannes Stein, qui lui demandait ce qu'il subsisterait de son œuvre dans quelques siècles :

« Rien ! Sauf “ La Philosophie de la Liberté ”, mais à partir d'elle le reste peut être retrouvé. »

Dates biographiques

1861

Naissance de Rudolf Josef Lorenz Steiner, le 27 février à Kraljevec, en Autriche-Hongrie (aujourd'hui, en Croatie) . 1er enfant des époux Franziska et Johann Steiner, originaires des régions boisées de la Basse-Autriche.

La profession du père (1829-1910) , tout d'abord télégraphiste puis chef de gare du « réseau sud » (« Südbahn ») des chemins de fer autrichiens. Ce qui amena la famille à déménager à de multiples reprises.

1862

Le père est nommé à Mödling, près de Vienne.

1863

Enfance à Pottschach, station de chemin de fer du Semmering.

1864

Naissance d'une sœur, Leopoldine.

1866

Naissance d'un frère, Gustav.

1868

Adolescence à Neudörfl, au bord de la Leitha-Burgenland.

1869

Déménagement à Neudörfl.

1872

Collège à Wiener-Neustadt.

1879

Le père est transféré à Inzersdorf, près de Vienne.

Études à Vienne à la « Technische Hochschule » (École supérieure technique) , avec comme objectif l'accès à la profession d'enseignant à la « Realschule » (équivalent approximatif des anciens collèges techniques) . Matières principales : mathématiques, physique, botanique, biologie, zoologie, chimie, ainsi que littérature, histoire, philosophie. Obtention de baccalauréats avec mention.

Professeur de littérature allemande : Karl Julius Schröer. Professeur de philosophie : Robert Zimmermann et Franz Brentano. Histoire : Otto Karl Lorenz. Il commence à étudier Goethe.

1882

Sur recommandation du professeur Karl Julius Schröer, historien de la littérature et spécialiste de Goethe, Steiner est sollicité comme éditeur des « Écrits scientifiques de Goethe » (« Goethes Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften ») , dans la collection « Kürschner Deutsche National-Literatur » .

Article : « Einzig mögliche Kritik der atomistischen Begriffe » (Unique critique possible des concepts atomistes) . Steiner dira plus tard qu'il s'agissait là du « nerf principal » de ses recherches.

1883

À 22 ans, on lui demande de publier dans la « Littérature Nationale de Kürschner » , les Écrits scientifiques de Goethe.

1884-1890

Précepteur dans la famille du négociant viennois Ladislaus Specht. Rencontre du médecin de famille, le célèbre spécialiste en médecine interne Joseph Breuer, considéré comme un précurseur de la psychanalyse. Le 1er volume des « Écrits scientifiques de Goethe » paraît. Les volumes II à IV suivront, entre 1887 et 1897.

Amitié avec la poétesse et future féministe Rosa Mayreder (« Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit » : Critique de la féminité) et avec Friedrich Eckstein (qui sera, plus tard, le secrétaire de route et un des biographes d'Anton Bruckner) . Correspondance avec le philosophe Eduard von Hartmann.

Parallèlement aux travaux d'édition de l'œuvre scientifique de Goethe, nombreux articles pour différents dictionnaires encyclopédiques (entre autres, le « Pierers Konversations-Lexikon ») , à la demande du professeur Josef Kürschner.

1886

Épistémologie de la pensée goethéenne. À Vienne, à la « Société Goethe » , Rudolf Steiner fait une conférence : « Goethe, père d'une nouvelle esthétique » . Publication d'un 1er livre : « Grundlinien einer Erkenntnistheorie der Goetheschen Weltanschauung » (Une théorie de la connaissance chez Goethe) . Sollicitation d'Erich Schmidt, Directeur des Archives de Weimar, pour une collaboration aux « Éditions Sophie » (ou weimarienne) des œuvres de Goethe. Article : « La nature et nos idéaux » , publié dans : « Morale et liberté » .

1888

Rédacteur à l'hebdomadaire viennois « Deutsche Wochenschrift » . Nombreux articles et commentaires à propos des événements politiques en Autriche-Hongrie. Conférence au « Gœtheverein » de Vienne : « Gœthe, père d'une esthétique nouvelle » , publié dans : « L'art, sa nature, sa mission » .

1889

Ire visite à Weimar, Eisenach et Berlin. Contrat avec Suphan.

1890

À l'automne, installation à Weimar. Collaboration aux Archives de Gœthe et Schiller. Publication des écrits scientifiques de Gœthe aux « Éditions Sophie » . Rencontres avec Hermann Grimm, Gustav von Lœper, Erich Schmidt, Heinrich von Treitschke, Hermann Helmholtz, Ernst Hæckel. Amitié de Ludwig Laistner et Gabrielle Reuter. Ire rencontre avec Otto Erich Hartleben.

1890-1897

Collaborateur aux Archives Gœthe et Schiller. Édition de quelques sections des « Écrits scientifiques de Gœthe » , qui paraissent en 1891 et 1896.

Rencontre de Hermann Grimm, Ernst Hæckel et Eduard von Hartmann ; amitié avec la poétesse Gabriele Reuter ; l'élève de Franz Liszt, Conrad Ansoerge ; le biographe de Max Stirner, John Henry Mackay ; et l'éditeur de Friedrich Nietzsche, Fritz Kœgel.

Pour la « Cotta'sche Bibliothek der Weltliteratur » , Steiner assure une édition en 12 volumes des œuvres complètes de Schopenhauer, ainsi qu'une édition de Jean-Paul en 8 volumes. Dans la série « Berliner Klassiker-Ausgaben. Mit Einleitungen namhafter Literaturhistoriker » (Éditions berlinoise des Classiques, pourvues d'introductions d'historiens de la littérature renommés) paraissent les œuvres de Ludwig Wieland et de Ludwig Uhland, éditées et introduites par Rudolf Steiner.

1891

Promotion à Rostock au grade de docteur en philosophie. Son professeur de Thèse est Heinrich von Stein. Thème : « La question fondamentale posée par la théorie de la connaissance, en se référant particulièrement aux enseignements scientifiques de Fichte. » (Prolégomènes d'un accord de la conscience philosophique avec elle-même.)

1891-1892

Obtention du doctorat de philosophie à l'université de Rostock, avec une thèse, dirigée par le professeur Heinrich von

Stein, sur « Die Grundfrage der Erkenntnistheorie mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Fichtes Wissenschaftslehre » (La question fondamentale de la théorie de la connaissance, compte particulièrement tenu de la Doctrine de la science de Fichte. Prolégomènes à la compréhension de la conscience philosophant avec soi-même) . Parution en 1892, sous le titre : « Vérité et science. Prélude d'une philosophie de la liberté. Dédié à Eduard von Hartmann » .

1892

« Vérité et Science. »

1893

À l'automne, parution de son ouvrage philosophique principal : « La philosophie de la liberté » .

1894

« Philosophie de la liberté » . Visite à Nietzsche, malade à Naumburg.

1894-1896

Visites et séjours de travail aux Archives Nietzsche, à Naumburg. Il fait la connaissance d'Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, qui veut retenir Steiner comme co-éditeur des œuvres de son frère. Rencontre de Friedrich Nietzsche, malade. En 1895 paraît la monographie sur Nietzsche : « Friedrich Nietzsche, un homme en lutte contre son temps » .

1895

« Friedrich Nietzsche, un combattant contre son époque. »

1896

« Goethe et sa conception du monde. »

1897

Installation à Berlin.

Steiner présente un exposé synthétique des études sur Goethe qu'il a pu réaliser jusqu'alors dans son livre : « Goethes Weltanschauung » (Goethe et sa conception du monde) .

1897-1900

Éditeur et rédacteur du « Magazin für Literatur et des Dramaturgische Blätter », organe officiel du « Deutscher Bühnenverein » (Fédération des théâtres allemands) . Là et dans d'autres journaux, paraissent de nombreux articles concernant des questions littéraires et philosophiques, ainsi que des critiques de pièces de théâtre ou de livres.

En association avec Otto Erich Hartleben, éditeur du « Magazine Littéraire et des Feuilles Dramatiques » . Activité au sein de la « Société libre de littérature » , de la « Société dramatique libre » , du cercle de « Ceux qui viennent ... » , de « l'Université libre » , de la « Ligue Giordano Bruno » . Amitié d'Henry Mackay et Louis Jacobowski. Relations avec Bruno Wille et Wilhelm Bölsche.

1898-1905

Conférences à la « Freie Literarische Gesellschaft » , au « Giordano-Bruno-Bund » et au cercle littéraire « Die Kommenden » , dont Steiner prend la direction après la mort de Ludwig Jacobowski. Rencontre d'Else Lasker-Schüler, Peter Hille, Stefan Zweig, Käthe Kollwitz, Erich Mühsam, Paul Scheerbarth, Frank Wedekind et des membres du « Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis » (cercle poétique de Friedrichshagen) . Amitié avec Ludwig Jacobowski et Otto Heinrich Hartleben.

1899

31 octobre : mariage avec Anna, Vve Eunike (née Schultz) ; elle meurt en 1911.

1899-1904

Activité d'enseignant à l' « École de formation des Ouvriers » (« Arbeiterbildungsschule ») , fondée par Wilhelm Liebknecht à Berlin et, à partir de 1902, également à celle de Spandau. Conférences, cours, exercices de déclamation pour les conférenciers. Disciplines enseignées : histoire, exercices d'expression orale, littérature, sciences. Rencontre de Kurt Eisner et de Rosa Luxemburg, entre autres personnalités.

1900

Le 1er volume de « Welt- und Lebensanschauungen im neunzehnten Jahrhundert » (Visions du monde et de la vie au XIXe siècle) paraît ; l'an plus tard, suit le second ; cet ouvrage est publié en 1914 dans une édition revue et augmentée, sous le titre : « Les énigmes de la philosophie » .

Conférences à la Bibliothèque théosophique sur Nietzsche et sur « Le Conte de Goethe » . Là, à l'automne, début du cycle de conférences intitulé : « La mystique » .

1re rencontre avec Marie von Sivers, qui devient, à partir de 1902, la plus proche collaboratrice de Steiner. Elle avait suivi auparavant une formation en déclamation au Conservatoire de Paris et une formation en art dramatique à Saint-Petersbourg. Traductrice de plusieurs œuvres d'Édouard Schuré.

1901

Suite des conférences à la Bibliothèque théosophique sur le Christianisme comme fait mystique (25 conférences) .

9 mars : Conférence solennelle pour la création de l' « Union des femmes et des jeunes filles de la classe ouvrière » .

9 mai : Conférence à l'occasion de la mort de Louis Jacobowski.

Cycle de conférences dans le cercle de « Ceux qui viennent » sur « De Bouddha au Christ » (24 conférences) .

22 novembre : Conférence pour les étudiants de l'École supérieure technique sur Hegel.

1901-1902

Parution de « Die Mystik im Aufgange des neuzeitlichen Geisteslebens und ihr Verhältnis zu modernen Weltanschauungen » (La mystique à l'aube de la vie spirituelle moderne et les conceptions de notre temps) . Le 2e cycle de conférences, donné en 1901-1902 dans la Bibliothèque théosophique, paraît dans une édition corrigée, sous forme de livre intitulé : « Das Christentum als mystische Tatsache » (Le christianisme et les mystères antiques) .

Steiner devient membre de la Société théosophique et est, à partir d'octobre 1902, Secrétaire-général de la Section allemande de la Société théosophique.

Rencontre d'Annie Besant.

1902

Entrée dans la Société théosophique. Continuation du travail à l'École pour la formation des ouvriers, ainsi qu'à la Bibliothèque théosophique, dans le cercle de « Ceux qui viennent » et à la « Ligue Giordano Bruno » . Participation, avec Marie de Sivers, à la 13^e assemblée générale de la section européenne de la Société théosophique, en juillet à Londres. Fondation de la section allemande de la Société théosophique, en octobre. Rudolf Steiner, secrétaire-général de celle-ci. Conférence à l'Université libre. Au Théâtre Schiller, soirée « Ferdinand Freiligrath » . Publication du Journal « Lucifer » , devenant plus tard « Lucifer-Gnosis » .

1902-1904

Activité d'enseignant à la « Freie Hochschule » (Université populaire) fondée par Bruno Wille et Wilhelm Bölsche, membres du « Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis » .

1902-1912

Avec Marie von Sivers, fondation de Loges théosophiques en Allemagne et à l'étranger. Intense activité de conférencier aussi bien dans un cadre public que dans le cercle des membres de la Société théosophique.

Fondation, édition et rédaction du mensuel « Luzifer », qui deviendra « Lucifer-Gnosis » en 1903. Il y paraît des séries d'articles fondamentaux, parmi lesquels : « Comment acquiert-on des connaissances des mondes supérieurs ? » / « Extraits de la Chronique de l'Akasha » / « Théosophie et question sociale » / « L'éducation de l'enfant » / « Les degrés de la connaissance supérieure ». Ces articles paraîtront plus tard, également sous forme de livre.

Amitié avec Christian Morgenstern et Édouard Schuré. Rencontre de Wassily Kandinsky.

À chaque semestre d'hiver (à partir de 1903-1904), cycles de conférences publiques à la Maison des Architectes de Berlin, entre autres : « Ursprung und Ziel des Menschen » (Origine et but de l'être humain) / « Metamorphosen des Seelenlebens » (Métamorphoses de la vie de l'âme ; Expériences de la vie de l'âme) / « Antworten der Geisteswissenschaft auf die großen Fragen des Daseins » (Réponses de la science de l'esprit aux grandes questions de l'existence) .

1903

Continuation des activités à Berlin jusqu'en 1914. Début d'une activité publique théosophique à Weimar, Cologne, Hambourg et Londres.

1904

22 avril : Steiner prend la parole pour la 1^{re} fois à Stuttgart (« Goethe théosophe ») .

Conférences à Lugano, Nuremberg, Hanovre, Munich, Dresde, Ratisbonne, Karlsruhe, Heidelberg, Düsseldorf.

21 juin : Congrès théosophique à Amsterdam sur le thème « Mathématiques et occultisme » .

Parution de : « Théosophie. Introduction à la connaissance supra-sensible de l'univers et à la destination de l'être humain » , ouvrage central pour l'anthroposophie.

1905

Rudolf Steiner termine son activité à l'École pour la formation des ouvriers avec une conférence solennelle à l'occasion du 12^e anniversaire de sa création, le 22 janvier. Conférences et extension de la Société théosophique à Berlin et dans les grandes villes allemandes. Cycle sur « l'Évangile selon Saint-Jean » .

1906

Les Iers grands cycles de conférences hors de Berlin. Paris (18 conférences) . Ire rencontre avec Édouard Schuré, Leipzig (14 conférences) . Stuttgart, en août, « Cycle n° 1 : Au seuil de la théosophie » . Fondation de branches à Francfort et Brême. Conférences sur « l'Évangile selon Saint-Jean » , à Munich (8 conférences) .

1907

Cycles de 14 conférences à Munich, Kassel, Hanovre, Bâle (8 conférences) .

Dans le cadre du Congrès de la Société théosophique internationale à Munich, dont l'entière organisation incombe à Rudolf Steiner, représentation du « Drame sacré d'Éleusis » , d'Édouard Schuré, mis en scène par Rudolf Steiner, avec Marie von Sivers dans le rôle principal. Steiner a également assuré l'aménagement artistique et plastique de la salle de conférences, qui permet déjà de pressentir ses futurs concepts artistiques en architecture.

1908

Ier voyage en Scandinavie.

Mars, avril : Lund, Malmö, Stockholm, Upsula, Oslo, Göteborg. Copenhague.

Mai : 12 conférences sur « l'Évangile selon Saint-Jean » , à Hambourg.

Juin : 12 conférences à Nuremberg sur « Théosophie et apocalypse » .

2e voyage en Scandinavie. 15 conférences à Rome. Cycles à Düsseldorf.

Juillet : Conférence à Oslo.

Cycles à Stuttgart et Leipzig.

1909

Ernst Hæckel et ses adversaires. Conférences sur Nietzsche à l' « Union pour l'encouragement de l'Art » . Conférences à la « Ligue pour une pédagogie universitaire » .

Ire rencontre avec Christian Morgenstern à Berlin. Rudolf Steiner commence à annoncer « Le retour du Christ » (7 conférences à Rome) . Cycles à Düsseldorf, Oslo, Budapest (10 conférences) , Kassel, Munich, Bâle (« l'Évangile selon Saint-Luc ») .

17 juin : Fête en mémoire de Nietzsche, conférence solennelle à la fin du 5e Centenaire de Gutenberg devant 7,000

auditeurs et dans un cirque berlinois.

« L'action de Gutenberg, signe de l'évolution de la culture » . Ires conférences à la « Bibliothèque théosophique » dans la demeure du comte et de la comtesse Brockdorff. « Le monde et les différentes conceptions de la vie au XIXe siècle dédié à Hæckel » .

1910

L'année commence avec un cycle de 11 conférences sur « l'Évangile selon Saint-Jean » , à Stockholm. Cycle à Vienne en mars. Voyage par Klagenfurt vers Rome, Palerme en avril. Cycles à Hambourg, Oslo, Munich, Berne (« Évangile selon Saint-Matthieu ») , Munich.

Publication des résultats de ses investigations spirituelles sur des questions portant sur la cosmologie et l'évolution, dans : « La science de l'occulte dans ses grandes lignes » .

Ire représentation du 1er Drame-Mystère.

1910-1913

Premières à Munich des 4 Drames-Mystère de Rudolf Steiner (« La porte de l'initiation » , 1910 ; « L'épreuve de l'âme » , 1911 ; « Le gardien du Seuil » , 1912 ; « L'éveil des âmes » , 1913) , sous la direction de celui-ci.

Les 4 Drames-Mystères de Rudolf Steiner mettent en scène les lois complexes de la ré-incarnation et du karma telles qu'elles se manifestent dans l'existence de diverses personnes liées par le destin. Ils nous transportent dans les paysages de l'âme humaine et de l'esprit où vivent et agissent des êtres supra-sensibles. Par la perception de ces mondes cachés, l'occasion nous est donnée de comprendre les luttes que nous livrons lors de nos tentatives d'appliquer la connaissance de l'esprit à nos vies et à nos relations quotidiennes. Écrits entre 1910 et 1913, pendant des périodes de travail intérieur et extérieur intense, ces Drames-Mystères témoignent de l'originalité de la création théâtrale de Rudolf Steiner. En montrant sur une scène certaines réalités de l'âme et de l'esprit, ils préfigurent une nouvelle forme de dramaturgie qui nous éclaire sur les rapports mystérieux qui se jouent entre les humains.

Esquisse d'un édifice (« Johannes-Bau ») destiné à des représentations artistiques et des manifestations de l'École supérieure de science de l'esprit. La réalisation de ce projet à Munich-Schwabing ne peut aboutir, en raison des réticences de quelques riverains et des autorités.

Parution de : « Die geistige Führung des Menschen und der Menschheit » (Les guides spirituels de l'homme et de l'humanité) ; « Ein Weg zur Selbsterkenntnis des Menschen » (Un chemin vers la connaissance de soi) ; « Die Schwelle der geistigen Welt » (Le seuil du monde spirituel) . L'ouvrage commencé en 1910, « Anthroposophie » , reste inachevé. Études approfondies relatives à la théorie des sens.

En 1911, à Cologne, Ire rencontre avec l'écrivain russe Andréï Biély de Pétersbourg. Cet événement devait marquer durablement la vie et l'œuvre de Biély. À Prague, rencontre de Franz Kafka et de Hugo Bergmann.

Prémices d'un nouvel art du mouvement, l'eurythmie (1911) . À l'automne, 1er cours d'eurythmie à Bottmingen, près de Bâle. Les années suivantes, en collaboration avec Marie Steiner, développement de l'eurythmie, qui prend place parmi les arts de la scène.

Conférences dans différentes villes d'Allemagne et de l'étranger sur : « la ré-incarnation et le karma » / « les Évangiles » / « la vie entre la mort et une nouvelle naissance » / « l'histoire des Mystères » / « la théorie des sens » / « l'évolution » , etc. Fondation de Branches anthroposophiques en Allemagne et à l'étranger, en collaboration avec Marie von Sivers.

Séparation d'avec la Société théosophique et fondation de la Société anthroposophique (1912-1913) .

1911

« La Physiologie occulte » à Prague. 8 conférences en mars.

Anna Steiner, Vve Eunike, meurt le 17 mars.

Steiner parle au Congrès international des philosophes à Bologne, sur « Les bases psychologiques et la position de la théorie de la connaissance de la théosophie » . Cycles à Copenhague, Munich, Karlsruhe et Hanovre. Conférences séparées à Lugano, Locarno, Milan, Neuchâtel, Berne et Munich. Représentation du 2e Drame-Mystère.

1912

Septembre : Création de l'eurythmie. Préparation de la création de la Société anthroposophique.

Visite de Florence, cycles à Helsingfors, Norrköping, Oslo, Munich et Bâle. « L'Évangile selon Saint-Marc » à Cologne. Conférences « séparées » à Saint-Gallen, Vienne, Klagenfurt, Copenhague, Milan, Berne et Munich.

Représentation du 3e Drame-Mystère.

1913

2-3 février : Constitution de la Société anthroposophique.

Cycles à La Haye, Helsingfors, Munich, Oslo, Leipzig.

20 septembre : Pose de la pierre de fondation du bâtiment de Dornach.

Conférences séparées à Vienne, Gratz, Klagenfurt, Linz, Prague, Tübingen, Augsburg, Zwolle, Breslau, Erfurt, Essen, Elberfeld, Londres, Paris, Strasbourg, Stockholm, Bergen, Copenhague, Munich.

Représentation du 4e Drame-Mystère.

1913-1919

Avec la participation de nombreux artistes venus de différents pays, sous la direction de Rudolf Steiner et sur ses plans, construction à Dornach, en Suisse, du « Gœtheanum » : un édifice de bois à double coupole aux formes organiques.

Réalisations artistiques de Steiner : volumes intérieurs et extérieurs (esquisses) , peintures du plafond (esquisses et exécution partielle) , vitraux (esquisses pour les motifs) , sculpture (d'une hauteur de 9 mètres) : « Le Représentant de l'Humanité » (esquisses et exécution partielle) . Les calculs statiques déterminants pour l'édifice ont été faits par Steiner lui-même.

La construction du « Gœtheanum » , centre international du travail anthroposophique et lieu de représentation des Drames-Mystères, commence en septembre 1913 et se poursuit au cours de la Première Guerre mondiale, à Dornach, près de Bâle, avec des collaborateurs et artistes venus de tous les pays d'Europe. Pendant les travaux, des institutions scientifiques et artistiques naissent autour du « Gœtheanum » . Les modèles architecturaux de Steiner pour des habitations et des bâtiments utilitaires sont réalisés. Marie Steiner met en scène des extraits du « Faust » de Gœthe et l'eurythmie continue à être développée. Grâce au « Gœtheanum » , l'anthroposophie devient visible pour un public plus large.

1914

Cycle à Vienne.

1er avril 1914 : Inauguration solennelle du 1er « Gœtheanum » .

Dans l'environnement du « Gœtheanum » , s'élèvent peu à peu un ensemble de maisons d'habitation ou de bâtiments utilitaires, d'après des esquisses de Rudolf Steiner (« Glashaus » , maison Duldeck, chaufferie, « Verlagshaus » , transformateur) ; plus tard, furent également construites la maison « de Jaager » (« Atelierhaus ») et d'autres maisons d'habitation.

La colline de Dornach devient une colonie d'artistes ; de nombreux artistes russes, entre autres, viennent s'y installer, parmi lesquels Assia Tourgueniev, Andreï Biély et Margarita Volochine.

Nombreuses conférences sur l'art, l'architecture, l'histoire contemporaine et la science de l'esprit.

31 mars : Mort de Christian Morgenstern.

Paris, Chartres, Norrköping : « Le Christ et l'âme humaine » .

Quand la guerre éclate, il est à Bayreuth en juillet pour assister à « Parsifal » . Conférences à Hambourg, Berlin, Munich : « Le Peuple des barbares » , Schiller et Fichte.

24 décembre : Mariage avec Marie de Sivers.

1914-1918

Rudolf Steiner vit tantôt à Dornach, tantôt à Berlin.

1915-1916

Achèvement du « Gœtheanum » . Conférences en Allemagne, Autriche, Suisse. 1er cours d'eurythmie, en septembre.

1917

Cycle à Berlin : Pierres de construction pour la connaissance du « Mystère du Golgotha » à Dornach. Karma du matérialisme.

Sous le titre : « Des énigmes de l'âme » paraissent les résultats des investigations spirituelles de Rudolf Steiner sur l'organisation ternaire de l'organisme humain (système neuro-sensoriel, système rythmique, système du métabolisme et des membres) et des exposés sur le rapport de l'anthropologie à l'anthroposophie.

À la suite d'entretiens sur la situation en « Mitteleuropa » avec le comte Otto von Lerchenfeld, lié au monde politique, naissent 2 mémorandums, dans lesquels Steiner ouvre des perspectives pour une nouvelle organisation sociale de la vie publique. Ceux-ci sont remis à des personnalités politiques influentes en Allemagne (Kühlmann, le Prince Max von Baden) et en Autriche (l'Empereur Charles 1er) .

1918

1re moitié de l'année à Berlin. 2e à Dornach. Mouvement pour la triple organisation de l'organisme social « Tripartition sociale » .

1919

Dans la période de l'après-guerre, Rudolf Steiner et quelques uns de ses collaborateurs s'engagent pour un nouvel

ordre social avec l'idée de la tri-articulation de l'organisme social. En avril 1919, Emil Molt demande à Rudolf Steiner de prendre la direction d'une école pour les enfants des ouvriers de son usine de cigarettes Waldorf-Astoria ; en septembre, la Ire école Waldorf ouvre à Stuttgart. Rudolf Steiner est invité à donner des cours de pédagogie en Suisse, en Angleterre et en Hollande ; d'autres écoles sont fondées.

Le 24 février, Ire représentation publique d'eurythmie sous la direction de Marie Steiner au « Pfautheater » de Zürich.

Cycles de conférences, données à Munich et à Dornach, sur « La question sociale » (appel au peuple allemand et au monde cultivé ; germes des questions sociales) , paraît en avril sous forme de livre, dans une édition revue et corrigée, sous le titre : « Die Kernpunkte der sozialen Frage in den Lebensnotwendigkeiten der Gegenwart und Zukunft » (Fondements de l'organisme social ; Éléments fondamentaux pour la solution du problème social) . L'idée directrice est « l'organisation ternaire de l'organisme social » , c'est-à-dire la décentralisation de l'État en 3 domaines : une vie culturelle libre, une vie juridique démocratique et une vie économique associative.

Dans des conférences et de nombreux entretiens avec des représentants des ouvriers des usines « Bosch-Delmonte » et « Daimler » , mais aussi avec des industriels, Steiner s'engage pour l'instauration de conseils d'entreprise.

Au terme d'un intense travail préparatoire, est ouverte à l'automne à Stuttgart l' « École libre » de Waldorf (« Freie Waldorfschule ») , école unitaire englobant les niveaux primaire et secondaire, sous l'égide d'Emil Molt, directeur de l'usine de cigarettes Waldorf-Astoria. La direction est confiée à Rudolf Steiner, rôle qu'il assumera jusqu'à sa mort en 1925. Il prépare les professeurs à leur tâche en leur dispensant des séminaires et des cours de pédagogie.

Représentation de « Faust » au « Goetheanum » à Dornach.

1920-1925

Nombreuses conférences publiques en Allemagne et à l'étranger, cycles de conférences pour les membres de la Société anthroposophique, par exemple :

« Entsprechungen zwischen Mikrokosmos und Makrokosmos » (Correspondances entre le microcosme et le macrocosme) .

« Anthroposophie als Kosmosophie » (L'anthroposophie, une cosmosophie) .

« Der Mensch als Zusammenklang des schaffenden, bildenden und gestaltenden Weltenwortes » (L'homme, les animaux et les êtres élémentaires) .

« Esoterische Betrachtungen karmischer Zusammenhänge » (Le karma. Considérations ésotériques) .

Parallèlement, Steiner est de plus en plus souvent sollicité pour donner des conférences et des cours sur des thèmes spécialisés : pédagogie, médecine, économie sociale, théologie, agriculture, physique, art dramatique, pédagogie curative, etc.

Il crée une série d'esquisses au pastel et d'aquarelles, conçues comme exercices de base pour les peintres (« Ambiances dans la nature », « esquisses Friedwart ») .

Nombreuses représentations d'eurythmie en différents théâtres d'Allemagne et de l'étranger, spectacles que Rudolf Steiner présente fréquemment par une brève conférence sur les aspects fondamentaux de ce nouvel art du mouvement.

Fondation d'instituts de recherche et de cliniques anthroposophiques, ouverture de nouvelles écoles.

Dans les journaux « Dreigliederung des sozialen Organismus » et « Das Goetheanum » , paraissent régulièrement des articles de Steiner.

1920

À la demande, entre autres, de Oskar Schmiedel et Ita Wegman, Rudolf Steiner donne des conférences sur l'élargissement de la médecine par la science de l'esprit. À Dornach, 3 conférences sur Thomas d'Aquin. Collaboration continue au travail de l'École Waldorf de Stuttgart et, surtout, participation aux conférences du « Collège des professeurs » (1919-1924) . 1er et second cours de sciences naturelles : la lumière (10 conférences) , la chaleur (14 conférences) , cours sur l'art de la parole, cours pour les médecins et étudiants en médecine (20 conférences) , cours de pédagogie à Bâle (14 conférences) . À partir de 1921, naissent des cliniques d'orientation anthroposophique et des produits pharmaceutiques.

1921

Le rapport des divers domaines de la science avec l'astronomie publié à Stuttgart. Cours aux conférenciers à Stuttgart. Voyage en Hollande. Mathématiques, expérience scientifique, observation et résultats de la connaissance du point de vue de l'anthroposophie (Stuttgart) . 2e cours médical. Cours sur l'eurythmie curative. 1er et 2e cours aux théologiens. Anthroposophie et Science. Organisation de l'École supérieure de Darmstadt, activité publique à Oslo, conférences à l' « Association pédagogique » , à l' « Union théologique » , à l' « Union pour l'économie de l'État » . Cours de Noël aux éducateurs (16 conférences à Dornach) .

1921-1922

La pratique et l'orientation scientifique de l'anthroposophie sont présentées lors de cours universitaires dans différents pays européens. Les tournées de conférences de Rudolf Steiner, organisées par une agence de concerts, rencontre un large écho dans le monde publique. Les revues culturelles « Das Goetheanum » et « Die Drei » , encore éditées aujourd'hui, sont fondées à cette époque.

1922

Cours supérieur d'anthroposophie à Berlin. « New Ideals in Education » (Nouveaux idéaux dans l'éducation) , à Strattford pendant la fête consacrée à Shakespeare. Cours d'économie politique. « Oxford holiday conference » : « Spiritual Values in Education and Social Life » (Valeurs spirituelles dans l'éducation et la vie sociale) . Semaines françaises. Cours de pédagogie pour les jeunes de Stuttgart. Voyages en Hollande et en Angleterre. Soirée de la Saint-Sylvestre. Incendie et destruction du Goetheanum.

2e congrès international d'anthroposophie, appelé Congrès international « Orient-Occident » ou « Est-Ouest » (« West-Ost-Kongress ») qui se tient du 1er au 12 juin au « Musikvereinsgebäude » de Vienne.

Organisé notamment par Ludwig Polzer-Hoditz, qui prononce le discours d'ouverture. Steiner y est l'orateur principal.

Jules Sauerwein n'assistait pas à ce congrès. C'est la raison pour laquelle il n'a pas eu connaissance des événements importants qui se sont produits à cette occasion au sein du mouvement anthroposophique, événements qui auraient pu avoir une influence directe sur sa compréhension de la politique et de la société.

Ce second (et dernier) congrès anthroposophique international organisé du vivant de Rudolf Steiner fut l'occasion pour lui d'exposer certaines idées qui, si elles s'étaient concrétisées, auraient pu éviter au monde de connaître les catastrophes que l'on sait.

Jules Sauerwein n'avait pas perçu les vrais arrière-plans du concept pan-européen, concept qui trouve sa continuité dans l'idée européenne actuelle. Jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, il a eu la conviction (en partie, en raison de ses liens avec Aristide Briand, le président d'honneur de l'Union pan-européenne qui, dans son célèbre « Mémoire » de 1939, appelait de ses vœux la fondation d'une fédération européenne) que la concrétisation de cette idée permettrait à l'humanité d'atteindre une forme supérieure de liberté et de spiritualité. Thomas Meyer, s'appuyant sur les recherches de Ludwig Polzer-Hoditz, a établi des parallèles intéressants et riches d'enseignements entre le « West-Ost Kongress » , au cours duquel Rudolf Steiner parla devant environ 2,000 personnes d'anthroposophie et de tripartition, et la « naissance » de l'idée pan-européenne, cette idée à l'origine de laquelle on trouve Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, et qui repose sur une vieille tradition impérialiste anglo-saxonne. Or, c'est cette même année 1922 que Coudenhove-Kalergi, « entiché de son calamiteux projet pan-européen, alla frapper à la porte de la “ Hofburg ” » . (Thomas Meyer. « Ludwig Polzer-Hoditz » , opus citatum ; page 224.)

Septembre : Les initiatives de théologiens, prêtres et étudiants en théologie conduisent un cercle réuni autour de Friedrich Rittelmeyer à fonder un mouvement de renouveau religieux : la Communauté des chrétiens.

1922-1923

Dans la nuit de la Saint-Sylvestre, de 1922 à 1923, le « Goetheanum » est détruit par le feu par une main criminelle.

Le travail (manifestations artistiques et conférences) se poursuit au même rythme dans la « Menuiserie », à proximité immédiate des ruines qu'a laissées l'incendie. À l'automne de 1924, Rudolf Steiner, en raison de sa maladie, ne sera plus en mesure que de créer la maquette d'un second « Gøetheanum en béton » (achevé en 1928) .

Dans la nuit de la Saint-Sylvestre de 1922-1923, le « Gøetheanum » est détruit par un incendie criminel. L'animosité augmente et les formes de la Société anthroposophique ne correspondent plus à ce mouvement dont l'action est désormais publique. Rudolf Steiner incite à la formation de Sociétés territoriales autonomes. Un regroupement au niveau international doit être fondé à Noël 1923. La décision de reconstruire le « Gøetheanum » est prise dès juillet 1923.

...

Dans l'hebdomadaire « Das Gøetheanum », n° 42 (2005), Günter Aschoff lançait un appel en vue d'une recherche dans les archives sur les circonstances et causes de l'incendie du 1er « Gøetheanum ». Ainsi, le travail a-t-il été complété et enrichi par les « archives Rudolf Steiner », les « archives au " Gøetheanum " », les « archives d'Albert Steffen » et, aussi, avec le soutien des « archives Ita-Wegam » et par des profanes.

Selon Günter Aschoff, 13 personnes ont répondu à l'appel à ce jour, pour ce travail mené étroitement en collaboration avec Hella Wiesberger des « archives Rudolf Steiner », et d'autres indications ont été ainsi fournies. La connaissance centrale de leurs déclarations et à partir de diverses découvertes faites dans les archives, c'est que Jacob Ott, que l'on soupçonnait jusqu'à ce jour, ne peut plus être mis en cause (soulignement du traducteur) .

Selon Günter Aschoff :

« Ott n'a pas pu être l'incendiaire, puisqu'il avait passé toute la journée de la Saint-Sylvestre chez lui, avant de ce rendre, dans la soirée, à une répétition de chorale et d'assister ensuite à un service divin consacré à la clôture de l'année, dans l'Église réformée. »

Vers 22h30, Ott serait rentré chez lui en prenant le tramway. Lorsqu'il vit les nuages de fumée qui s'élevaient au-dessus du « Gøetheanum », dans la nuit éclairée par la Lune, il aurait monté rapidement la colline pour apporter son aide. Lors de la lutte contre l'incendie, Ott se serait trouvé en haut dans la petite coupole, mais il a dû perdre connaissance là-haut, au moment où les autres personnes s'étaient déjà retirées à cause des fumées devenues trop abondantes. Lorsque la petite coupole s'effondra dans les flammes, il tomba sur la scène et on a retrouvé, par la suite, ses restes dans un couloir qui passait sous la scène.

Les autres connaissances définitives de ces dernières années concernent le lieu exact du départ du feu et son heure.

À ce sujet, Günter Aschoff commente :

« L'après-midi du 31 décembre 1922, il y eut à 17 heures une représentation d'eurythmie. Après une allocution de

Rudolf Steiner, commença le prologue orchestral, et la musique se mit à résonner puissamment ; c'est exactement à ce moment-là, vers 17h20, que quelqu'un perça un trou dans la pièce située à l'angle de l'aile sud et de la paroi extérieure ouest, et glissa du matériel inflammable dans l'espace entre la paroi extérieure et la paroi intérieure. »

Cet incendie volontaire a été par la suite reconnu comme un fait par les autorités.

Dans la contradiction qui semble se présenter au sujet de souvenirs vécus lors de l'incendie du 1er « Gøetheanum » , le 31 décembre 1922, selon Günter Aschoff, il faut prendre en compte un détail qui a encore été découvert dans les archives.

L'horloger Jacob Ott portait toujours un chapeau gris jusqu'à la Noël 1922. Le jour de Noël, il acheta le même modèle mais en noir, et il le portait également à la Saint-Sylvestre. Peu après lui, un homme acheta à Båle exactement le même chapeau que celui que Ott avait porté jusqu'alors. Cet homme ressemblait à Ott et il fut pris pour lui par plusieurs personnes à Dornach et ses environs le jour de la Saint-Sylvestre et ... du Nouvel An, alors que ce pouvait pas être Ott, pour les raisons exposées précédemment (il était décédé dans l'incendie de la nuit de la Saint-Sylvestre) . La raison pour laquelle cet homme déambulait ces jours-là à Dornach, n'est toujours pas connue jusqu'à présent.

(Paru dans « Das Gøetheanum » , en 2007.)

Un courrier de lecteur au sujet de l'article « Du nouveau dans l'Incendie du 1er “ Gøetheanum ” » , paru dans « Das Gøetheanum » , n° 1/2 (2007) .

C'est avec soulagement et, en même temps, avec une consternation qui me touche profondément que j'accueille avec reconnaissance la nouvelle si importante de Günter Aschoff, à savoir :

« ... que l'homme qui fut soupçonné (à tort par nous) jusqu'à présent, Jacob Ott, ne peut plus être mis en cause. »

Pendant de nombreuses années, j'ai été moi aussi de ceux qui parlèrent de ce « coupable d'incendie volontaire » et j'ai cru que l'auteur de l'incendie avait péri ensuite dans les flammes. Je ne l'ai pas seulement entendu dire pendant de nombreuses années à Berlin, mais (malheureusement, je dois le reconnaître) je l'ai raconté aussi moi-même à d'autres personnes.

Et voilà qu'à présent, non seulement cet homme a été accusé à tort d'incendie volontaire, mais on sait que c'est même exactement le contraire qui s'est produit : Jacob Ott a laissé sa vie en tentant d'éteindre l'incendie « en haut de la petite coupole » , le 31 décembre 1922.

Je présente ici mes excuses, après (12 fois 7) 84 ans, à Jacob Ott et à sa famille, peut-être également au nom de ceux, nombreux, pour le tort qui lui a été fait ainsi qu'à sa famille, à la suite de mes fausses allégations. Mon cœur en est profondément peiné. Éventuellement, ne pourrait-on pas envisager même de poser une plaque commémorative en un endroit approprié qui rappelle cet acte. Je subviendrai volontiers aux frais.

Au sujet des résultats de l'enquête sur l'incendie du 1er Gœtheanum dans « Das Gœtheanum » :

Au sujet des événements de l'incendie du 1er « Gœtheanum » voici 84 ans et en rapport avec la personnalité de Jakob Ott, au sujet de laquelle ont été apportées les précisions dans la revue « Das Gœtheanum », les faits et détails suivants doivent être mentionnés : au début de janvier 1923, on entreprit des investigations dans les décombres du « Gœtheanum ». La presse suisse rapporte que, le 10 janvier 1923, des restes d'os humains furent découverts dans les cendres, mais ils semblaient trop peu abondants pour pouvoir procéder à une identification. Par la suite, en s'appuyant sur l'identification dentaire, on parvint cependant à établir qu'il s'agissait du maître-horloger Jakob Ott, qui restait introuvable depuis l'incendie.

Ce n'est que le 7 juillet 1923, vers midi, qu'eurent lieu ses funérailles. Rudolf Steiner, Albert Steffen et Günther Wachsmuth, participèrent à la cérémonie d'inhumation de Monsieur Jakob Ott. Qu'est-ce qui les avait motivés à participer à cette inhumation ? Rudolf Steiner pensait-il que Monsieur Ott devait avoir mis le feu au « Gœtheanum », ou bien savait-il que Monsieur Ott avait contribué à sauver le « Gœtheanum » et qu'il y perdit la vie ? Par sa présence, voulait-il honorer la mémoire du défunt ?

Il est vraisemblable qu'il dut s'interdire de savoir si Monsieur Ott était ou pas l'auteur de l'incendie, puisqu'un initié aussi élevé que Rudolf Steiner ne doit pas utiliser l'investigation spirituelle à des intérêts cognitifs personnels.

Au sujet de la lettre de Gerhard Mächtle : après que l'enquête judiciaire fut terminée, en mai 1923, et que pour cette raison la somme assurée pour l'incendie du « Gœtheanum » fut versée en juin, les parents de Jakob Ott firent une requête en vue de la restitution des restes de leur fils.

Après la déclaration judiciaire de décès officiel, le 3 juillet 1923, par le conseil gouvernemental de Solothurn, qui ne pouvait effectivement que suivre aussi la reconnaissance de l'innocence de Jakob Ott par le tribunal, l'inhumation eut lieu le 7 juillet 1923, à 15 heures, dans l'ancien cimetière de Arlesheim.

Depuis juillet 1922, Jakob Ott était devenu, en effet, membre de la Société Anthroposophique et il s'était occupé des annonces pour la revue « Das Gœtheanum ». C'était déjà compréhensible, dans cette mesure, que Rudolf Steiner et de nombreux anthroposophes fussent présents lors de cette inhumation. Mais il faut cependant prendre en compte ceci : il fallait alors la mobilisation de toutes les forces pour continuer le travail à tous égards, et ainsi réduire à néant le dessein véritable de l'adversaire.

...

Lors du Congrès de Noël, du 24 décembre 1923 au 1er janvier 1924, Rudolf Steiner fonde la Société anthroposophique générale. Il constitue un Comité d'initiative composé d'Albert Steffen, Marie Steiner, Ita Wegman, Elisabeth Vreede et Günther Wachsmuth, et prend lui-même la présidence. En même temps, en tant que centre de l'action spirituelle, il fonde l'Université libre de science de l'esprit. Elle est constituée de classes et de sections pour l'anthroposophie

générale, la pédagogie, la médecine, les arts de la parole et de la musique, les Belles-Lettres, les mathématiques et l'astronomie, les sciences de la nature et les arts plastiques (Edith Maryon) . Peu de temps après, une section pour la jeunesse s'y ajoute (Maria Röschl) , et, plus tard, un département agricole et une Section pour les sciences sociales.

1923

Ré-organisation intérieure de la Société anthroposophique, pour préparer la fondation de la Société anthroposophique universelle (Allemagne, Norvège, Suisse, Angleterre, Hollande, Autriche) . Cours de pédagogie pour les éducateurs suisses ; même cours à Ikley, en Angleterre (25 décembre) .

1924

1er janvier : Semaine de Noël de la Société anthroposophique universelle. Fondation de l'Université libre de science spirituelle.

Cours pour les jeunes médecins. Les conférences sur le karma (Dornach, Prague, Berne, Breslau, Arlesheim, Londres) . Cours de pédagogie à Stuttgart, Berne, Arnheim, Torquay (Angleterre) . Cours d'eurythmie musicale ; cours aux agriculteurs à Koberwicz, en Silésie. Cours d'eurythmie parlée. Conférence aux ouvriers. Cours d'art de la parole et d'art dramatique. Dernier cours aux théologiens sur L'Apocalypse. Dernière conférence pour les membres, le 28 septembre 1924.

Automne 1924 : Rudolf Steiner doit rester alité. Les cours et les conférences, qui avaient pris une ampleur considérable, sont brutalement interrompus.

1924-1925

À travers les questions d'agriculteurs (Carl Graf von Keyserlingk) , de pédagogues curatifs (Franz Löffler, Albrecht Stroschein, Siegfried Pickert) et les cours spécialisés donnés par Rudolf Steiner, naissent l'agriculture bio-dynamique, la pédagogie curative et la socio-thérapie anthroposophiques. À l'initiative de Marie Steiner, Max Gumbel-Seiling, Gootfried Haass-Berkow et d'autres, de nouvelles perspectives sont données pour le théâtre et l'art de la parole avec le « Cours d'art dramatique » .

Par son intense activité de conférencier, les « Lignes directrices anthroposophiques » et les « Lettres de Michaël » , une nouvelle formulation de l'anthroposophie apparaît.

Pendant cette période, poursuite de l'écriture de son autobiographie : « Mein Lebensgang » (Autobiographie) .

« Ma vie » paraît chaque semaine dans le journal « Das Goetheanum » .

En collaboration avec le Docteur Ita Wegman, naît l'ouvrage intitulé : « Grundlegendes für eine Erweiterung der

Heilkunst » (Données de base pour un élargissement de l'art de guérir) .

À travers des lettres et des directives (« Lettres aux membres » , « Les Directives ») , il s'adresse régulièrement aux membres et les encourage à approfondir leur travail sur le plan spirituel.

...

Quand on atteint l'année 1924 dans la vie de Rudolf Steiner, on s'arrête comme au seuil d'un mystère qui ne s'éclairera qu'à la longue. Elle commence par un coup direct qui lui est porté. Le 1er janvier 1923, le « Goetheanum » flambait. Un an plus tard, jour pour jour, Steiner contracte brusquement une maladie que rien ne pourra vaincre, ni le formidable pouvoir qu'il a sur lui-même, ni les soins les plus éclairés. Certes, la perte du « Goetheanum » avait déjà ébranlé sa force de vie. La distance avait grandi entre l'âme et le corps, mais rien de comparable avec le choc que Marie Steiner a comparé à un coup de poignard. C'était dans l'après-midi du Jour de l'An ; l'Assemblée venait de se terminer. Avant que les membres se séparent et reprennent le chemin du retour, ils s'étaient tous réunis pour un « rout » amical dans la « Menuiserie » . Tasses de thé et pâtisseries légères circulaient. On lui en offrit ; il but, avala une bouchée et fut soudain pris d'un malaise violent. Il se dit empoisonné, mais toute nourriture par la suite devait également lui faire l'effet d'un poison et rien n'a pu prouver l'empoisonnement. En tout cas, de ce jour, tout aliment absorbé provoqua une souffrance et il se nourrit de moins en moins. Il est impossible de comprendre comment, dans ces conditions, il put mener pendant 9 mois encore cette vie que personne auprès de lui ne pouvait soutenir. Il devenait pourtant chaque jour plus diaphane. Il semblait traîner son corps au bout d'un fil. Mais quand il prenait la parole, ce n'était plus le même homme. Une telle intensité de vie rayonnait de lui qu'on ne pouvait pas croire qu'il fût sérieusement atteint. Fatigué, oui, mais gravement malade ? L'idée n'en effleurait pas l'esprit. Avec lui, on était habitué au miracle ; on avait confiance. L'effet n'en fut que plus terrifiant quand, arrivant au soir du 25 septembre pour la conférence, les membres virent la porte d'entrée close et lurent la pancarte annonçant que, ce soir-là, la conférence n'aurait pas lieu. Jusqu'à la Saint-Michel, il résista au mal qui consumait ses entrailles. Le 28, il put encore parler pour la dernière fois. Il le fit en levant le voile sur les arrière-plans du courant anthroposophique dans le passé et dans l'avenir. Mais il dut s'arrêter. Il ne restait à Rudolf Steiner que 9 mois pour terminer ce qui avait été entrepris.

Dans les lettres qu'il écrivit à Marie Steiner depuis son lit de malade il expliqua cet effondrement de la façon suivante :

« Cela fait déjà un bon moment que je n'ai plus guère de lien avec mon corps physique. Cela provoque un équilibre labile des forces physiques qui n'obéissent que si elles sont prises en main par une initiative correcte. Et cette rupture du lien avec le corps physique n'est pas due aux journées de conférences, ni même au fait que je me rendais entre-temps à la clinique - car tout cela était savamment dosé par la Doctoresse Wegman et moi-même, mais s'explique par la ruée des gens (le portier comptait 400 visiteurs pendant les journées où il donnait successivement 4 conférences du même jour, selon le récit de Marie Steiner) , et qu'il fallait alors, contrairement à tout dosage de ses propres forces, se tenir à leur disposition. »

(2 octobre 1924)

« Je t'ai déjà dit depuis longtemps que, dès janvier 1923 (à la suite de l'incendie) , le lien des membres supérieurs de mon être ne se réalisait plus entièrement avec mon corps physique ; dans ma vie en esprit, je perdais en quelque sorte le contact direct avec mon organisation physique. Pas avec le monde physique. Bien au contraire : la possibilité d'une appréciation saine de celui-ci ne fait que se renforcer et grandir. Mais c'est précisément parce qu'au niveau spirituel tout se passe sans la moindre déviation à l'égard du monde physique, que les forces adverses s'en prennent au corps physique. »

(15 octobre 1924)

Il ne quittera plus désormais l'atelier attenant à la « Menuiserie » où il travaillait au grand groupe de bois encore inachevé qui représente le Christ maîtrisant Lucifer et Ahrimane. Il l'a sous les yeux. Il reste au cœur du travail. Le jour tombe d'en-haut sur le lit qu'on a dressé là et que jonchent bientôt des papiers, des livres, les épreuves du Cours qu'il écrit sur la médecine avec la Doctoresse Wegman. Celle-ci, secondée par le Docteur Noll, veille sur lui, atténue ses souffrances.

(Édition du livre écrit en collaboration avec la Doctoresse Ita Wegman : « Bases d'une meilleure et plus vaste thérapeutique d'après les connaissances de la science spirituelle. »)

Ces 9 mois virent pourtant grandir encore son activité. Cela peut paraître superficiel de citer le nombre de conférences qu'il donna au cours de ces 9 mois qui lui restaient à vivre : 338 conférences et 68 allocutions et entretiens, tout cela en 272 jours ! Cet aspect extérieur des choses prouve bien une activité spirituelle intense et fournit un continuel sujet d'étonnement. Chaque mot de ces conférences fut transcrit et presque tout ce qu'il dit alors est aujourd'hui imprimé. Toute personne qui s'y intéresse peut donc suivre, jour après jour, tout ce qu'il fit et dit. Était-ce, ainsi qu'il l'a insinué lui-même, une sorte de compensation offerte par le monde spirituel à la perte que subit l'anthroposophie lors de l'incendie du « Gœtheanum » ? Était-ce l'approche de la mort qui lui donnait cette abondance de possibilités spirituelles ? Immédiatement après la semaine de Noël, Rudolf Steiner fit un cours « aux jeunes médecins » , qui les enthousiasma tout particulièrement. Il ne leur donna pas seulement des connaissances spirituelles, mais chercha surtout à approfondir l'être de ceux qui se préparaient à soigner les autres, ce que l'on peut appeler la « conscience morale et ésotérique » du médecin.

Depuis des années, Rudolf Steiner avait régulièrement fait des conférences aux ouvriers qui participaient à la construction du « Gœtheanum » , sur les problèmes pratiques et spirituels de la vie. Les ouvriers appréciaient beaucoup ces conférences. Il possédait à la perfection la manière de se faire comprendre des gens simples. Même en 1924, sa faiblesse physique et le surcroît de travail qui l'écrasait, ne purent l'empêcher de faire ce qu'il aimait et considérait comme son devoir social. Ces conférences étant éditées, tout le monde peut se les procurer. C'est à cette époque, qu'il fit la maquette du 2e « Gœtheanum » . Cet édifice, inauguré 3 ans après sa mort, est d'un style architectural qui (bien que tout à fait différent du précédent) s'éloigne considérablement du style traditionnel de notre époque. Expression d'un autre matériau (le 1er « Gœtheanum » était en bois ; le second est de béton) , l'édifice,

malgré ses formes sévères, s'inscrit harmonieusement dans les lignes du paysage jurassien de Dornach. Ce « Gœtheanum » se tient là, maintenant, comme un être à l'esprit éveillé ; il regarde vers l'ouest, vers l'Occident, vers le soleil couchant. De cet édifice, la question devenue pierre s'élève : l'Occident, dont le destin est d'apporter par la technique la mort de la culture sur la Terre, trouvera-t-il aussi la force de transformer cette chute en une ascension ?

Ce que fit Rudolf Steiner à cette époque, personne d'autre que lui n'aurait pu le faire. Autour de lui, on se demandait souvent alors s'il prenait jamais le temps de dormir. Alors que tout le monde dormait, la lumière brûlait dans sa chambre (il travaillait) et, aux Ires heures de la matinée, il était le 1er à reprendre la tâche. C'est au cours de ces mêmes mois que furent fondées les sections pour la pédagogie curative et pour l'agriculture, que les pédagogues, les eurhythmistes et les médecins reçurent leurs dernières instructions, que la Communauté des chrétiens bénéficia d'un vaste concours. Les voyages que Rudolf Steiner entreprit à Prague, à Paris, en Hollande et en Angleterre lui permirent de faire participer ces pays à l'impulsion extraordinaire donnée à Dornach, pendant la semaine de fondation. Il semble qu'une zone spirituelle encore plus étendue s'était ouverte à Rudolf Steiner et qu'il ne pouvait parler que des choses qui, bien que reposant en lui depuis fort longtemps, venaient seulement d'atteindre leur complète maturité et demandaient à être exprimées. Le cycle de conférences de la semaine de fondation (Noël de 1923) , dont le titre est : « L'Histoire du monde à la lumière de l'anthroposophie et comme base de la connaissance de l'esprit de l'homme » , avait ouvert la porte aux Considérations karmiques qu'il poursuivit pendant tous ces mois et jusqu'au dernier jour.

La conception que l'individualité de l'homme doit s'incarner d'époque en époque pour compenser une vie par une autre et mûrir grâce à de nouvelles expériences nous vient de l'Antiquité. Elle domine depuis des millénaires la vie spirituelle de l'Orient. Ne serait-elle pas la première de toutes les conceptions ? Ces enseignements sont toujours demeurés vagues et limités. Aussi loin que l'on puisse remonter, Rudolf Steiner fut probablement le 1er qui osa, par son investigation spirituelle, suivre concrètement les courants historiques ainsi que les vies de certains personnages pendant de longues périodes et eut le courage d'exposer les résultats de ces investigations devant un vaste auditoire. Dans cet auditoire, justement, personne n'aurait pu « contrôler » jusque dans les détails, le contenu de ses dires. Mais nous tous, qui avons reçu alors de Steiner lui-même, toutes ces indications, nous eûmes l'impression qu'il avançait dans ce domaine avec le même souci d'exactitude et d'authenticité que celui des meilleurs physiciens ou astronomes modernes dans leur propre domaine. Du 20 janvier au 10 août, 18 lettres aux membres parurent dans « Les Nouvelles de la Société Antroposophique » . Il tenta alors d'expliquer les exigences spirituelles relatives à la « semaine de fondation » .

« L'anthroposophie ne peut se développer que comme une chose vivante, car son essence même est vie. Elle est la vie dont la source est l'esprit. La forme première qu'elle doit prendre parmi les hommes, est celle de l'Idée. Et elle s'adresse, en premier lieu, à l'intelligence de l'homme. S'il n'en était pas ainsi, elle perdrait tout contenu - elle ne serait qu'exaltation sentimentale. Mais l'esprit réel n'est ni délirant ni romanesque. Il parle un langage compréhensible, substantiel. »

Ces Lettres aux membres passèrent dans « Les Directives » qui, plus tard, furent publiées sous le titre : « Le Mystère de Michaël » . Rudolf Steiner en écrivit la plus grande partie dans son lit de malade. Elles parurent chaque semaine, jusqu'à la dernière semaine de mars 1925. Il y a décrit, et pour la dernière fois, mais sous de nouveaux aspects.

l'essence de l'anthroposophie, sa mission et ses devoirs. En 1924, au début du mois de septembre, lors de son retour d'Angleterre, plus de 1,000 personnes l'attendaient à Dornach, parmi lesquelles des médecins, des acteurs, des théologiens (il leur avait promis des cours particuliers) . Bien que souffrant déjà énormément, il tint ses promesses. Pendant 3 semaines, devant un auditoire d'acteurs, de récitants, de professeurs, il parla de « La Formation de la parole et de l'art dramatique » . Aux théologiens de la Communauté des chrétiens, il parla de « L'Apocalypse de Jean » , et aux prêtres et aux médecins il fit un cours sur la « Médecine pastorale » .

Dans le « Bulletin » paraissent chaque semaine « Lettres » et « Directives » . Leur but est d'inciter les membres à se concentrer sur l'Enseignement, à reprendre, à la lumière de l'impulsion reçue à Noël, l'étude coordonnée de tout ce qui est disséminé dans les quelque 6,000 conférences sténographiées et la vingtaine de livres écrits. C'est maintenant aux groupes de travail de retrouver l'unité à travers la profusion des textes et le foisonnement des sujets traités. Lui-même entreprend au début de dégager dans un style lapidaire les motifs essentiels. Très vite, pourtant, ce n'est pas à une systématisation de l'œuvre qu'il travaille mais il allume de nouveaux foyers de lumière. Il poursuit l'investigation qu'il avait dirigée sur le karma historique du mouvement anthroposophique, et il la pousse vers ce qu'il appelle le « mystère de Michaël » . À mesure qu'il avance, son regard s'affranchit de plus en plus des limites de temps et d'espace et s'étend largement sur le passé et sur l'avenir de la « pensée michaëlique » . Ce qu'il décrit s'applique prophétiquement aux conditions d'existence dans lesquelles nous vivons aujourd'hui. Il voit déjà les conséquences du dessèchement des liens entre l'homme et la nature, l'emprise d'Ahrimane sur la pensée, les bouleversements historiques dus à l'âme de conscience, la lutte de Michaël pour la liberté humaine, la technocratie menaçant d'écraser cette liberté. Pour sauver l'humanité de ces dangers, il indique la seule ressource : conquérir une science de l'esprit qui s'élève aussi haut dans le monde supra-sensible que la technique nous entraîne dans la matière et la sous-matière. Son regard trouve encore la force de dissiper l'écran sombre qui recouvre l'avenir. Et pourtant, jusque dans ces ultimes conquêtes de l'esprit, il doit subir les assauts d'un adversaire qui joue sa partie décisive. C'est dans le secret de l'âme qu'il mène ces combats. Il n'en parle point et, jusqu'au bout, ne donne au monde que les résultats positifs des victoires qu'il obtient, gardant pour lui, si l'on ose dire, le sang versé. Mais ici, encore, les carnets de notes recueillis après sa mort fournissent des preuves. Celui de novembre 1924 porte ces quelques vers qui soulèvent un coin du voile sur les luttes qu'il poursuit en silence :

« Toi, magicien négateur de toute vie,
Tu t'insinues de nuit
Et instilles une force adverse
Dans la noble puissance du feu cosmique,
Dans la trame judicieuse du destin,
Dans l'éternel pouvoir des volontés divines,
Pour mieux répandre un venin démoniaque,
Qui tourmente les âmes et vers moi
Comme un serpent se glisse. »

Sur les traversées de ses nuits obscures, n'a-t-il vraiment jamais rien dit ? Pourtant, si. Pas de confidence personnelle, mais une scène des Drames-Mystères. Le dernier tableau du dernier drame, qui se déroule chaque année sous les yeux

de milliers de spectateurs au « Gœtheanum » , met en scène un pareil affrontement. Plus que seul, isolé de ses disciples, cerné par Ahrimane, Bénédicte mis à l'épreuve se délivre de l'adversaire lorsqu'il le discerne, le reconnaît, le « pense » . Ahrimane doit alors s'enfuir, démasqué :

« Il est temps que je m'écarte au plus vite de son champ de conscience. Car, dès que sa vision pourra me penser dans ma vérité, aussitôt se créera dans sa pensée une partie de la force qui lentement m'anéantit. »

Si l'on rapproche cette fin des « Mystères » des ultimes avertissements qu'on tient de la main de Rudolf Steiner, on y retrouve bien la même victoire sur les ténèbres et la même injonction, il faut être vigilant, lucide, et comme il l'écrivait après l'incendie, « s'astreindre à la pensée forte » .

Ce fut « sans doute une expérience vraiment amère » pour Rudolf Steiner, lorsque le 26 septembre, il eut pour la 1^{re} fois à décommander une conférence. Les autres conférences aux ouvriers du « Gœtheanum » , aux membres, aux élèves de l'Université libre, furent poursuivies sans interruption jusqu'au 28 septembre. Le 28 septembre, il rassembla encore une fois toutes ses forces, selon Marie Steiner ...

« pour donner la 1^{re} partie d'une allocution qui devait être complétée le 29, à l'occasion de la fête de la Saint-Michel. Mais sa voix était déjà à moitié éteinte ; c'était comme un écho venant de très loin ; il dut interrompre plus tôt que prévu ... et le jour de la Saint-Michel, il n'y eut pas de suite. »

Ainsi, cette allocution du 28 septembre était-elle devenue sa conférence d'adieu. 2 jours plus tard, Marie Steiner dut entreprendre en Allemagne une tournée d'eurythmie qui avait été planifiée de longue date. Le 2 octobre, Rudolf Steiner lui communiqua qu'il avait convenu avec la Doctoresse Wegman de quitter la maison « Hansi » (appartement de Rudolf et Marie Steiner) pour s'installer dans son atelier à la « Menuiserie » du « Gœtheanum » . Son lit se trouvait dans son atelier, au pied de la statue inachevée du Christ. L'atelier où se trouvait la statue était lui-même accolé à la « Menuiserie » , et c'est pourquoi, tout comme la statue, il échappa au sinistre :

« Cela est nécessaire parce que j'ai besoin de soins très attentifs ; le trajet aller-retour efface chaque fois les résultats des soins. Je suis donc ici et y resterai tant que cela sera nécessaire. La Doctoresse Wegman fait tout ce qui est en son pouvoir. Bien entendu, j'aurais préféré m'installer à la maison Hansi. Lorsque nous avons vu que le trajet aller-retour était impossible, nous en avons discuté. Mais on ne peut pas faire aménager à la maison Hansi les installations de bain indispensables que nous avons ici. »

C'est ainsi que se réalisa une séparation spatiale entre Rudolf et Marie Steiner après une vie en commun de plus de 2 décennies. Alors que la Doctoresse Wegman se fut rendue entièrement libre pour se charger des soins dont Rudolf Steiner avait besoin, et que le Docteur Noll, de Cassel, se fut également mis à disposition, Marie Steiner ne put dorénavant revoir Rudolf Steiner que lorsqu'elle séjournait à Dornach, certes quotidiennement mais aux seules heures programmées. Cela doit avoir été très pénible pour elle et c'est probablement à cela que Rudolf Steiner fait allusion dans sa lettre du 27 février 1925 :

« Je t'écris ces lignes à peu près à l'heure où tu es d'habitude assise à mes côtés. C'est avec la plus profonde émotion intérieure que je pense combien c'est beau quand je peux écouter le récit de ton activité et que nous pouvons nous entretenir de cette activité qui est la tienne. Et quand je sais que tu lis de temps à autre le récit de notre activité commune décrite dans mon " Autobiographie ", je sens profondément combien nous sommes unis. Que le karma amène aussi d'autres personnes à mes côtés est une réalité karmique. Et la maladie a montré comment ce karma est incisif. Mais tu es parvenue à comprendre cela ; c'est une bénédiction pour moi. C'est vraiment avec toi seule que je puis, lorsqu'il s'agit de porter un jugement, être uni dans le penser et le ressentir. Je me suis déjà senti frustré de ne pouvoir te soumettre les dernières pages de l'article sur Steffen avant de le remettre (hier) à l'imprimeur. Car c'est à ton seul jugement que je reconnais, en ce qui me concerne, une compétence fondée sur l'être intérieur. »

Au printemps, pressé de tous côtés, Rudolf Steiner avait commencé à écrire une autobiographie qui paraissait chaque semaine sous forme d'esquisses et qui, plus tard, publiée, devint : « Mein Lebensgang » (Ma vie) . Même à l'époque de sa maladie, cet ouvrage ne fut pas interrompu. Alors que tous les fascicules écrits de sa main, portaient la mention à suivre, le dernier manuscrit qu'il envoya à l'imprimerie, la dernière semaine de mars 1925, ne portait aucune mention. Ainsi, couché dans son atelier, terrassé par la maladie, son esprit demeura actif et infatigable.

Par ces paroles, Rudolf Steiner confirme peu de temps avant sa mort ce qu'il avait déjà fixé par testament en 1907 :

« Après ma mort, Mademoiselle Marie de Sivers doit avoir le droit de disposer en mon nom. Ce qu'elle fera ainsi sera fait en mon nom. Elle doit considérer ma mort comme voulue par les puissances supérieures et, en aucun cas, y voir une énigme. Les choses ont un lien qu'il faut honorer même si on ne le comprend pas encore. Mais Marie de Sivers sera toujours auprès de moi. Notre union demeure indissoluble.

(Docteur Rudolf Steiner : Berlin, 19 février 1907.)

Marie Steiner ressentit comme un destin tragique le fait de n'avoir pu être présente au moment de la mort de Rudolf Steiner. Elle était en tournée avec la troupe d'eurythmistes lorsque l'état du malade se détériora brusquement. À la fin de cette tournée d'eurythmie, pour laquelle Rudolf Steiner avait collaboré à l'élaboration du programme, il était prévu de donner 2 représentations supplémentaires lors d'un congrès pédagogique, ainsi qu'une représentation pour les élèves de l'école Waldorf. Par ailleurs, Rudolf Steiner l'avait priée de s'occuper sur place de problèmes liés à la vie de la Société anthroposophique :

« Si tu trouvais encore le temps de parler avec les adversaires de Unger, ce serait une bonne chose. Je t'ai déjà écrit à quoi t'en tenir. »

(23 mars 1925)

Il appréciait et souhaitait de tout cœur cet engagement en faveur de l'eurythmie :

« Avec quelle grande émotion il recevait toujours les dépêches que Madame Steiner lui expédiait de chaque ville où avait été donnée une représentation d'eurythmie, des dépêches annonçant de grands succès », raconte la Doctoresse Wegman.

Cela ressort régulièrement dans ses lettres, dans une des toutes dernières (le 23 mars 1925) en termes suivants :

« Je ne peux vraiment pas t'exprimer combien j'admire ton dévouement, et combien je te suis reconnaissant pour tout ce que tu accomplis ainsi avec tant de bonheur. »

En fin de soirée du 29 mars, Marie Steiner fut informée par téléphone de l'aggravation de l'état de Rudolf Steiner, mais avec l'indication que ce n'était pas nécessaire de voyager tout de suite et qu'elle serait de nouveau tenue au courant le lendemain matin. Elle essaya néanmoins (mais sans succès) de trouver un moyen de locomotion. Le lendemain matin, peu avant 6 heures, elle reçut un second appel. On se procura immédiatement une voiture et, accompagnée de Emil Leinhas, Marie Steiner roula d'un trait jusqu'à Dornach. Lorsqu'elle arriva peu avant midi, c'était déjà trop tard. Elle apprit qu'il était décédé vers 10 heures.

Albert Steffen écrit :

« Elle n'a pu assister à la mort de l'être le plus cher mais, intérieurement, elle avait tout pressenti au cours du voyage. »

« Il aimait à entendre le bruit du marteau et la rumeur vivante, autour des échafaudages, qui pénétraient le silence de son atelier. Ces bruits qui parvenaient du lieu où l'on reconstruisait le " Gœtheanum " lui parlaient de l'édifice à venir. »

Il était lié par toutes les fibres de son être à ce nouveau centre de l'anthroposophie et à la Société qui en était le porteur, le responsable humain, ainsi qu'à ses membres. Puis, vint la journée du 30 mars. Günther Wachsmuth, qui a vécu cette journée, la raconta en ces termes :

« Les derniers instants de la vie terrestre de Rudolf Steiner furent délivrés de toute lutte avec le physique et exempts de tous les doutes qui assaillent généralement la plupart des hommes ; son visage respirait la paix, la grâce, la certitude intérieure, la contemplation spirituelle. Il joignit les mains sur la poitrine, ses yeux étaient lumineux et fermement dirigés vers les mondes de l'esprit auxquels il s'unissait par la contemplation. Lorsque vint le dernier souffle, il ferma lui-même les yeux et l'espace autour de lui s'emplit non pas de l'impression d'une fin, mais d'un acte spirituel d'une élévation infinie. Ses traits, la puissance des mains jointes pour la prière, parlaient d'un éveil sublime, radieux. Le corps qui reposait là ressemblait à ceux que les grands artistes ont prêté aux chevaliers du Moyen-âge, gisant sur leurs sarcophages, dont les yeux fermés voient, dont la position de repos éternel donne cependant l'impression d'une immense possibilité de mouvement; un éveil supra-terrestre, une marche vers les sphères de l'esprit. »

Il n'a pas dit une seule parole relative à la mort qui approche. On a seulement remarqué après-coup qu'en remettant comme chaque semaine les feuillets manuscrits du texte destiné à la revue « Das Goetheanum », il n'a pas ajouté comme à son habitude « à suivre » aux derniers mots qu'il a tracés et qui devaient paraître après sa mort. Mais il y a plus énigmatique encore : dans la nuit du 29 au 30 mars, quand les dernières heures sont arrivées et que la mort est imminente, la Doctoresse lui demande s'il a une dernière recommandation à faire, un message à lui laisser pour la Société ? Il la regarde les yeux dans les yeux, se tait et détourne la tête. Il faut que tout s'accomplisse ... Le temps de la parole est passé. Le temps du silence est venu. Il ne le rompra plus, même lorsqu'à l'aube elle appellera les autres membres du Comité directeur présents à Dornach pour qu'ils assistent à ses derniers moments. Ils se rassemblent : Albert Steffen, Günther Wachsmuth, Élisabeth Vreede. Ils le voient absorbé dans une contemplation intérieure qu'il semble suivre avec une extrême attention ; son regard dirigé droit devant lui plonge en d'autres mondes ; il prête l'oreille à d'autres sonorités. Le souffle se ralentit paisiblement. Lorsqu'entre cet esprit rayonnant et le corps dépouillé la distance devient si grande que le fil est prêt à se rompre, il croise les mains sur la poitrine et, sur la dernière expiration, ferme lui-même les yeux. Guéri.

A-t-il voulu par son silence élever ceux qui l'entouraient à la pleine responsabilité des tâches qui allaient leur demander d'acquiescer, à leur tour, la maîtrise ? Trop de « paroles du Docteur » avaient servi de prétexte à trop de mots d'ordre pour qu'à l'heure décisive il ne préfère simplement laisser germer l'avenir. Le temps était venu pour que les phrases, dont on fait passivement des formules, fassent place au silence qui voit mûrir les libres décisions. Tel est en tout cas le sens qu'on peut donner à la grandeur de cette scène.

« C'était un lundi matin à 10 heures. Dans la " Menuiserie ", les ouvriers arrêtaient les machines et, sans bruit, rangèrent les outils. Au dehors, la colline couverte de cerisiers en fleurs était envahie des forces du printemps, mais d'un printemps silencieux et solennel. Dans ce silence commença bientôt à se former la longue file des membres montant le chemin de la colline. Pendant 3 jours, sous un ciel d'avril qui rayonnait, il en vint de partout. En un lent défilé, ils pénétraient dans l'atelier et ne pouvaient se rassasier de contempler, au pied du Christ, les traits de leur Maître d'où émanait une lumière de résurrection. »

Marie Steiner racontera plus tard :

« Le voilà mis en bière, aux pieds du " Représentant de l'Humanité ". La foule se portait en masse vers l'atelier ; silencieuse, pleine de reconnaissance et de respect, profondément bouleversée. La pièce fut, pendant quelques jours et nuits, comme remplie d'une atmosphère non terrestre. »

4 semaines plus tard, elle écrivit à la sœur de Rudolf Steiner :

« Maintenant, nous nous disons tous que nous avons été trop optimistes, mais compte-tenu de l'immense énergie vitale dont Rudolf Steiner a toujours fait preuve, même pendant sa maladie, nous nous sommes toujours bercés d'espoir. Cela semblait impossible qu'il puisse s'en aller, et personne de nous n'a voulu y croire. Depuis qu'il ne pouvait plus voyager, j'ai pour ma part dû accentuer mon action vers l'extérieur, dans le sens voulu par lui ; c'était pénible mais, d'autre part, cela l'apaisait de savoir que l'activité n'était pas interrompue. Mes jambes malades ne m'auraient pas

permis d'assurer les soins dont la Doctoresse Wegman et le Docteur Noll se sont chargés avec dévouement. Mais j'ai beaucoup souffert de devoir être si souvent absente. Je crois qu'il a voulu faire un trop grand effort pour guérir. Il m'avait écrit qu'il devait guérir maintenant pour pouvoir reprendre son travail à la maquette du nouvel édifice. Mais l'organisme était déjà trop épuisé pour supporter cet effort. Surmenage ; par suite du travail sur-humain jamais interrompu, et sous-alimentation parce qu'il ne supportait plus rien, c'est sans doute cela qui a empêché la guérison. Comme le monde est mort depuis qu'il s'en est allé ! ... »

Il s'est avancé, seul, à des hauteurs où nul ne peut le rejoindre. À ceux qui le suivent, il doit laisser le temps de gagner par eux-mêmes les étapes. Il les a dotés de 3 trésors :

D'abord, une somme de connaissances, recouvrées ou conquises sur l'avenir, qui est loin d'être encore parfaitement explorée. Elle constitue la base d'une Science de l'esprit. De ce 1er trésor est sorti un fleuve de vie : l'œuvre qui s'épanche en un nombre sans cesse grandissant d'Écoles, Instituts curatifs, Cliniques, Laboratoires de recherche scientifique et d'applications thérapeutiques, Écoles d'art, Domaines bio-dynamiques, etc.

Enfin, une méthode de développement intérieur pour rétablir le contact perdu entre l'esprit dormant en l'homme et l'esprit dans l'univers. Aujourd'hui, trois-quart de siècle après sa mort, l'œuvre bienfaisante, convaincante, est en pleine extension ; elle confirme la vigueur des germes qu'en elle il déposa. Mais lui-même garde en partie le secret de son être profond. Il dépassait trop son époque pour être compris des hommes de son temps. La nôtre lui fait déjà une plus large place partout où l'excellence des fruits fait augurer de l'arbre. Quand donc sera-t-il vraiment reconnu pour ce qu'il fut ... ? Le temps doit faire son œuvre et voir lever les facultés spirituelles que lui-même posséda pleinement et voulut éveiller chez ceux qu'il appela ses frères.

Écho :

Un lourd nuage plane sur la civilisation européenne, et, dans un certain sens, il est étonnant de voir combien peu l'humanité accepte (...) de sentir, de percevoir ce lourd nuage.

(Rudolf Steiner, 1924.)

À la mort de Rudolf Steiner, le soubassement de béton du second « Gœtheanum » était à peine terminé. Ce que le Maître avait projeté, ébauché, des novices et des compagnons devaient le mener à bien. Un instant seulement avait suffi pour que la Société et l'Université perdent leur chef, alors que, si tout venait d'être organisé, rien n'était encore fait. Dans ce domaine, aussi, les novices et les compagnons durent, par leurs seules forces, faire ce que le Maître leur avait enseigné. Mais l'œuvre était trop grandiose, elle devait embrasser tout un monde et, bien souvent, la tâche dépassa les forces des disciples. Dans une société aussi vaste, qui rassemblait des individualités aussi disparates, les luttes étaient inévitables. Chez tout homme qui étudie l'anthroposophie et cherche à la vivre activement, celle-ci

s'individualise, prend un autre visage, se colore de la personnalité de l'anthroposophe.

La routine détruit la recherche anthroposophique. Il n'est pas étonnant que la Société, peu de temps après la mort de Rudolf Steiner, ait traversé des crises - sans compter le fait qu'elle dut subir des interdictions sévères en Allemagne, sous le régime nazi. Mais elle s'est montrée pleine de forces, et les difficultés du début ont été vaincues. Après la mort de Rudolf Steiner, c'est Albert Steffen qui prit sa succession à la présidence de la Société. Presque toutes les sections de l'Université libre sont aujourd'hui sous la direction d'autres personnes. Tous les membres, qui ont fait partie du 1er Bureau, sont aujourd'hui décédés : Ita Wegman et Élisabeth Vreede, en 1943 ; Marie Steiner, en 1948 ; Günther Wachsmuth, en mars 1964 ; et Albert Steffen, en juillet 1964. Chaque année, des milliers de membres et de spectateurs affluent au « Gœtheanum » , surtout pour assister aux représentations des 4 Drame-Mystères de Rudolf Steiner, des drames d'Albert Steffen, et voir le « Faust » de Gœthe. Le « Gœtheanum » est, en effet, le seul endroit au monde où l'on peut voir représentées les 2 parties du « Faust » , dans le texte intégral et sans coupures.

Tout au long de l'année, une quantité de conférences, de séminaires, de représentations artistiques, d'expositions, ont lieu au « Gœtheanum » . La clinique d'Arlesheim ainsi que l'Institut pour la recherche du cancer, les fabriques de médicaments « Valeda » ont été agrandis par de nouveaux bâtiments. Le nombre des écoles et instituts pédagogiques croît d'année en année, dans le monde entier. Un groupe de collaborateurs travaille à l'édition de l'œuvre tout entière de Rudolf Steiner, c'est le « Rudolf Steiner Nachlaßverwaltung » . Si l'on jette un regard sur la vie et l'œuvre de Rudolf Steiner, on est tenté de crier au monde moderne qui se sait au bord de l'abîme : Qui et que cherchez-vous ? La victoire sur le matérialisme ? La solution des questions sociales ? Une renaissance de la science, de l'art, de la religion ?

À toutes ces questions, Rudolf Steiner a apporté des réponses. Elles sont différentes de celles que l'on attend. Cela suffit-il pour les rejeter ? Parce que le langage est inhabituel ? Parce que beaucoup parmi ses disciples ne sont pas convaincants ? En était-il autrement dans l'Antiquité des grands prophètes et des guides de l'humanité ?

Notre époque s'est-elle donné la peine d'examiner réellement son œuvre et sa vie ? A-t-elle pesé ses paroles sur la balance d'or ? A-t-elle accepté ses impulsions innombrables ? Les a-t-elles contrôlées ? Une monographie de Rudolf Steiner, écrite de nos jours pour le public, ne peut se terminer que par d'amères et graves questions ...

1943

4 mars : Mort d'Ita Wegman.

1948

27 décembre : Mort de Marie Steiner.

1963

2 mars 1963 : Mort de Günther Wachsmuth.

13 juillet : Mort d'Albert Steffen.

Rudolf Steiner : Penseur de l'éducation en Autriche

Rudolf Steiner, le précepteur

Rudolf Steiner fut très tôt confronté avec ce qui, dans les dernières années de sa vie, devint la « pédagogie curative ». Sur le conseil du professeur Karl Julius Schröer, il devint en 1884, précepteur dans la famille de Ladislav et Pauline Specht, et le demeura jusqu'à son départ de Vienne, en 1890.

« Le destin me donna, dans le domaine de la pédagogie, une mission particulière. J'entrai comme précepteur dans une famille où il y avait 4 garçons. Je faisais préparer l'école communale aux 3 premiers, puis, je leur donnais des répétitions pour le cours moyen. Je fus chargé de toute l'éducation du 4e, âgé d'environ 10 ans. C'était lui qui causait le plus de soucis aux parents, particulièrement à la mère. Lorsque j'arrivai dans la famille, il connaissait à peine les éléments de la lecture, de l'écriture et de l'arithmétique. Il était tellement anormal quant à son développement physique et psychique que, dans la famille, on doutait qu'il soit encore éducatible. Sa pensée était lente et endormie ; le moindre effort lui valait des migraines, chute de tension, pâleur, et le rendait même craintif. J'eus la satisfaction au bout de 2 ans, de voir l'enfant suivre l'école communale, et réussir l'examen d'entrée au lycée. Sa santé s'était beaucoup améliorée. L'hydrocéphalie était en régression très nette. Je pus proposer aux parents de présenter l'enfant à l'école publique.

Je suis reconnaissant au destin de m'avoir placé dans de telles circonstances, car j'ai acquis par cette expérience, de façon vivante, la connaissance de l'entité humaine. Je crois que je n'aurais jamais pu en avoir une connaissance aussi vivante si mon chemin ne m'avait conduit là. Mon élève fit donc ses études au lycée. Je restai à ses côtés jusqu'à la "unterprima", classe de Ire. Il avait alors fait tant de progrès qu'il n'avait plus besoin de moi. Après le lycée, il entra à la faculté de Médecine, devint médecin, et c'est comme tel qu'il fut tué pendant la Guerre. Une bonne partie de ma jeunesse est liée à cette mission. »

Plus tard, Rudolf Steiner se souvint avec gratitude de sa vie dans la famille Specht, de sa mission auprès de cet enfant (Otto Specht) et de sa guérison. Sa destinée lui permit ainsi, de très bonne heure, de se tourner vers les problèmes de la santé et de la maladie, de façon concrète. Sans ces 7 années d'apprentissage, il n'aurait guère eu, par la suite, la possibilité d'inaugurer son mouvement de pédagogie curative.

...

Les idées réformatrices de Steiner ont aujourd'hui, dans de nombreux domaines (éducation, médecine, agriculture et arts plastiques, notamment) un impact pratique tout à fait extraordinaire.

Sur le plan théorique, en revanche, ses écrits n'ont suscité, de la part des milieux scientifiques et philosophiques, que peu d'intérêt et encore moins remporté l'adhésion. Cela étant, sa pensée soulève des controverses passionnées parmi ceux qui la connaissent. Alors que ses partisans y adhèrent sans réserve, les chercheurs universitaires en font un sujet de polémique et la critiquent en bloc. Il n'y a pas de juste milieu dans l'appréciation des idées de Steiner.

Cela tient tout d'abord à la diversité et à l'hétérogénéité et à l'importance de son œuvre littéraire et rhétorique (2), ainsi qu'à l'impossibilité de l'appréhender dans son intégralité ; son style, souvent étrange et ésotérique, constitue un obstacle quasi insurmontable pour l'analyse scientifique et philosophique. En outre, il n'existe à ce jour aucune biographie critique de Steiner, celles que l'on trouve s'apparentant plus ou moins à l'hagiographie : pour ne pas nuire à son prestige, elles passent sous silence les nombreuses influences intellectuelles qui l'ont marqué et ses faiblesses de caractère, et s'arrangent pour présenter comme un tout harmonieux une vie personnelle et professionnelle caractérisée par d'évidentes discontinuités. Nous nous bornerons à exposer brièvement les principaux faits indiscutables de sa vie et ses grands principes les plus accessibles qui fondent son approche de l'éducation.

Fils d'un employé des chemins de fer autrichiens, Rudolf Steiner naît le 25 février 1861 à Kraljevec (Croatie). Après avoir fréquenté l'école secondaire (n'apprenant ni de latin ni de grec), il étudie les mathématiques, l'histoire naturelle et la chimie à l'École supérieure technique de Vienne, de 1879 à 1883, en vue de devenir professeur de l'enseignement secondaire général. Toutefois, il ne termine pas ces études et s'attache plutôt à approfondir ses connaissances littéraires et philosophiques. À l'expiration de sa bourse, il travaille de 1884 à 1890 comme précepteur et éducateur d'un enfant handicapé dans une famille juive de la grande bourgeoisie viennoise. Philosophe dilettante et autodidacte, il entreprend entre 1882 et 1897, à l'instigation de son professeur de littérature et mentor intellectuel Karl Julius Schröer, l'édition et le commentaire des œuvres scientifiques de Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832). À partir de 1890, il travaille, en tant que collaborateur indépendant, aux Archives Goethe et Schiller de Weimar (Allemagne). Ses premiers écrits, et notamment son œuvre principale, « Der Philosophie der Freiheit » (La philosophie de la liberté) (1894), sont l'aboutissement de ses efforts pour donner une explication philosophique systématique du mode de pensée objectif en même temps qu'idéaliste de Goethe. En 1891, il passe en tant qu'étudiant libre son doctorat en philosophie à l'Université de Rostock (Allemagne) en soutenant une thèse qui deviendra ultérieurement une de ses œuvres majeures, « Wahrheit und Wissenschaft » (Vérité et science).

En 1897, une fois terminés ses travaux d'édition, Steiner va s'établir à Berlin. Il travaille comme rédacteur, écrivain, conférencier et chargé de cours et participe aux activités des milieux littéraires bohèmes d'avant-garde, du mouvement ouvrier et des réformateurs religieux. En 1900, il donne un cycle de conférences à la « Bibliothèque théosophique » occultiste, où il rencontre Marie von Sivers qui deviendra plus tard sa seconde femme. De 1902 à 1913, il assume, en qualité de secrétaire-général, la direction de la section allemande de la Société théosophique dont le porte-parole international était Annie Besant. En tant que chef de file d'un mouvement de renouveau spirituel, le « Docteur Steiner » déploie alors une immense activité, multipliant conférences et voyages, comme en témoignent un nombre impressionnant de comptes-rendus sténographiques de conférences (plus de 6,000) et près de 30 monographies.

En 1913, Steiner rompt avec Annie Besant, en raison, essentiellement, de divergences d'opinion sur l'interprétation ésotérique de la vie du Christ, et fonde avec la majorité de ses partisans allemands la Société anthroposophique dont

le siège se trouve aujourd'hui encore au « Goetheanum » de Dornach, près de Bâle (Suisse) , dont il avait lui-même dessiné les plans. En tant que fondateur charismatique d'une communauté idéologique entièrement axée sur lui, Steiner développe au cours des 20 dernières années de sa vie, dans d'innombrables cours et conférences donnés dans toute l'Europe, un programme de réforme spirituelle dans les domaines de l'art, de l'éducation, de la politique et de l'économie, de la médecine, de l'agriculture et de la religion chrétienne.

L'ambiance révolutionnaire qui règne dans l'Allemagne vaincue des années 1918-1919 lui offre l'occasion de mettre en pratique ses idées sur l'éducation dans une nouvelle école. Le 7 septembre 1919, il inaugure solennellement pour 256 élèves issus essentiellement de familles ouvrières travaillant à la fabrique de cigarettes Waldorf-Astoria de Stuttgart (Allemagne) , la Ire « Libre École Waldorf » , établissement d'éducation mixte du primaire et du secondaire. Il faut replacer sa réforme pédagogique dans le contexte de l'utopie radicale de « structuration tripartite de l'organisme social » qu'il avait lui-même proclamée : la création spontanée de nouveaux établissements dotés d'une constitution autonome (jardins d'enfants, écoles et collèges) ainsi que l'organisation coopérative d'entreprises économiques doivent permettre de parvenir à une stricte séparation entre la vie culturelle et économique d'un côté ; et le système politique étatique, de l'autre.

Le programme politique de « liberté de la vie spirituelle » et « d'économie associative » , tel que défini par Steiner, a échoué ; ses écoles, en revanche, ont été une réussite. Lorsqu'il meurt à Dornach, le 30 mars 1925, en laissant inachevée la rédaction de son autobiographie, la Ire promotion d'élèves de l'École Waldorf prépare le baccalauréat.

Le « Goethéanisme »

La perception intérieure du monde spirituel et la spiritualisation de tous les domaines de la vie constituent le thème central de l'œuvre de Steiner. À 19 ans, déjà, Steiner souffre de la démythification du monde due à l'économie, la technique, les sciences naturelles et la philosophie critique. Au plus profond de son être persiste, au contraire, la certitude, courante en d'autre temps, de l'existence d'un univers spirituel. Au début de ses études, censément en sciences naturelles, il écrit à un ami :

« L'année dernière, je me suis efforcé de comprendre si Schelling a raison de dire qu'il existe, en chacun d'entre nous, “ une merveilleuse faculté cachée, au-delà de l'instabilité du moment, de se retirer au plus profond de soi-même pour y observer ce qu'il y a d'éternel en nous dans sa forme immuable ”. Je pensais, et pense encore, avoir indubitablement découvert en moi cette faculté intérieure. Il y a d'ailleurs longtemps déjà que je l'avais pressentie. »

Dans ses œuvres pré-théosophiques, Steiner, réfutant délibérément le criticisme de Immanuel Kant, qui limite l'expérience objective, s'efforce de justifier, par la théorie de la connaissance, cette expérience mystique solitaire. Il part, au contraire, du principe que, par-delà les limites de la connaissance définies par Kant, tout ce qui est nécessaire à « l'explication du monde » est accessible à la pensée humaine, car il est convaincu que la pensée est, sous la forme des idées, l'essence du monde. La connaissance de soi permet de « pénétrer progressivement les fondements de l'univers » . Le spirituel s'incarne dans l' « organisme universel » ; sa manifestation la plus haute et la plus achevée est la pensée humaine car l'homme exprime le contenu de la pensée, c'est-à-dire les idées éternelles. La « perception

intellectuelle » permet à l'homme de faire l'expérience directe des idées et de fusionner ainsi (à nouveau) de manière altruiste avec les fondements de l'univers. La théorie de la connaissance du jeune Steiner est donc, à la fois, une ontologie et une cosmogonie - un retour à la doctrine pré-moderne, à la fois naïve et réaliste, du réalisme des Universaux : elle a pour but de montrer à l'homme sa mission et sa place dans le monde par le biais de la réflexion sur soi et doit lui permettre de « conquérir par le travail de la pensée ce que l'on obtenait naguère par la foi en la révélation : la satisfaction de l'esprit » .

Le désir de réhabiliter une vision du monde objective et idéaliste explique aussi l'intérêt de Steiner pour les recherches de Goethe sur la nature : contrairement aux sciences naturelles expérimentales, basées sur l'analyse de causalité, Goethe était, dans sa morphologie idéaliste, à la recherche de l'unité universelle de la nature ; il découvre dans ses phénomènes primitifs ou dans les archétypes du règne végétal et animal, les manifestations graduelles du spirituel qui est susceptible de s'exprimer consciemment dans le microcosme que constitue l'homme.

Ce « gœthéanisme » métaphysique, avec son anthropomorphisme implicite, est la 1^{re} réponse de Steiner à la question Romantique fondamentale qu'il se posait : comment est-il possible de transcender intellectuellement l'intellect afin d'exprimer l'invisible dimension spirituelle ? Comme les 1^{ers} Romantiques, Steiner cherche dans sa critique de la modernité, à réconcilier la science, la religion et l'art, c'est-à-dire à re-mythifier la culture en faisant accéder la pensée à l'expérience intuitive du « savoir originel » . Sa 2^e réponse, qui est moins philosophique et systématique que théosophique et ésotérique, est « la science spirituelle anthroposophique » sur laquelle repose aussi pour l'essentiel son anthropologie pédagogique.

L' « anthroposophie »

Steiner considère l'anthroposophie comme une forme plus large de la connaissance scientifique, qui mène du « spirituel en l'homme jusqu'au spirituel dans l'univers » , comme une forme de mystique rationalisée. À la connaissance scientifique normale du monde physique, elle ajoute celle d'un monde spirituel immatériel, de prime abord, invisible. L'hypothèse fondamentale de Steiner est « que, derrière le monde visible, existe un monde invisible qui est tout d'abord caché aux sens, ainsi qu'à la pensée liée à ces sens » , et « qu'il est possible à l'homme de pénétrer dans ce monde caché s'il développe certaines facultés qui sommeillent en lui » .

La seconde hypothèse est que tout un chacun peut, en entraînant son « organe de la connaissance » à la méditation, acquérir les facultés lui permettant d'accéder aux mondes supérieurs : « l'être humain s'élève à la connaissance des mondes supérieurs lorsqu'en dehors du sommeil et de la veille, il accède à un 3^e état de conscience » (7) où toutes les impressions sensorielles sont éliminées alors même qu'il conserve toute sa conscience. Au cours de son apprentissage, l'élève spirituel abandonne la forme conceptuelle figée de la pensée ordinaire et franchit les phases imaginative et inspirée pour atteindre le stade intuitif de la « vision claire et exacte » . Une fois devenue une enveloppe vide, l'âme se répand dans l'univers tout entier, ne fait plus qu'un avec lui, sans pour autant perdre sa propre individualité.

L' « organe de la connaissance » est alors ouvert à l'expérience de la « logique vivante » du monde spirituel et de

son ordre cosmique. Les lois fondamentales de ce monde spirituel occulte sont les processus de la ré-incarnation, du karma et la corrélation entre le macrocosme et le microcosme. D'après Steiner, le fonctionnement de ces lois explique pleinement l'évolution de l'univers et le cours de la vie de chacun. Pour lui et pour ses adeptes, l'univers et l'homme ont une seule et même origine Ire spirituelle ; par le biais de l'incarnation en 7 âges planétaires ou de la ré-incarnation en d'innombrables vies, le monde et l'homme s'élèvent de nouveau jusqu'au spirituel. La cosmogonie de Steiner a la forme fondamentale du mythe gnostique : chute hors de l'esprit universel et asservissement à la matière, élévation de l'âme et du monde jusqu'à l'auto-rédemption dans une nouvelle fusion avec la source divine et spirituelle qu'ils portent l'un et l'autre en eux.

L'homme moderne vit au 4e stade planétaire de développement de la terre, caractérisé par l'expérience de l'individuation et de la re-spiritualisation. Il est utile, à ce stade, de croire en Jésus-Christ, que Steiner ne considère pas d'abord comme un personnage historique mais comme un « être solaire » cosmique qui, en tant que ré-incarnation conjointe de l'esprit de Bouddha et de Zarathoustra, en représente la sagesse religieuse. Avec sa mort sacrificielle, ces « forces » se sont répandues dans le monde ; depuis, elles aident l'homme à retrouver, au sein d'une civilisation matérialiste séculière, le chemin du monde de l'esprit.

Il existe donc en chaque homme un noyau spirituel qui descend des mondes spirituels avant la naissance pour s'unir à son « enveloppe » physique et psychique ; il s'en sépare à nouveau au moment de la mort pour se ré-incarner dans une autre vie terrestre. Lors de sa ré-incarnation suivante, et du fait de son karma, c'est-à-dire l'enchaînement des vies successives, l'âme fait l'expérience de la récompense ou de la punition pour les pensées et les actes de la vie antérieure, tout comme dans la doctrine bouddhiste de la sagesse.

Dans l'anthroposophie de Steiner, la loi de la ré-incarnation entraîne une compréhension radicalement différente de la mort et de la naissance et de l'expérience historique et sociale. Chez le nouveau-né, nous rencontrons, en tant que parents, un être primitif et unique doté de dispositions innées encore inconnues, qu'il n'est pas encore capable de manifester sous sa nouvelle forme physique. L'éducation devient un moyen d'aider à l'incarnation, de soutenir et d'harmoniser la croissance de l'être spirituel pour qu'il prenne sa forme physique qui est génétiquement et spirituellement déterminée et qui porte, dès avant, la naissance l'empreinte du karma. Là où l'on parlait jusqu'alors de « hasard » pour expliquer les événements de la vie, existe en réalité un réseau de « dettes » non acquittées et de relations remontant à des existences antérieures.

La 2e loi du monde spirituel est l'analogie microcosmique : l'homme est le monde à échelle réduite, un microcosme ; et le monde est l'homme à grande échelle, le « macroanthrope ». La hiérarchie des divisions de la nature (règne minéral ; règne végétal ; règne animal ; et espèce humaine) représente un ordre ascendant vers la spiritualité ; l'être humain, qui est le couronnement de la création, réunit en soi les 4 formes d'existence ou « forces cosmiques actives ». De la doctrine de l'être découle également une doctrine de l'évolution (ou, plus exactement, de l'émanation) : animaux, plantes, minéraux se sont progressivement séparés de l'être humain avec lequel ils ne faisaient qu'un ; ils lui demeurent cependant étroitement apparentés. Le monde minéral est, pour ainsi dire, la partie solide de l'homme qui est restée au stade saturnien de développement de la terre ; les plantes proviennent de la partie végétative éthérique de l'homme, qui est restée au stade solaire, et les animaux enfin du corps humain du stade lunaire, déjà doté d'une

âme animale, mais qui n'est pas parvenu à aller plus loin dans le processus d'incarnation de l'esprit.

Ces différents règnes de la nature, qui ont été éliminés du processus d'évolution de l'homme, se retrouvent aujourd'hui face à lui - non pas comme des éléments étrangers, mais comme des êtres étroitement apparentés. La médecine homéopathique et la thérapeutique naturelle de Steiner, ainsi que l'enseignement scientifique et écologique des écoles Steiner, se fondent sur cette doctrine primitive, pré-moderne, de l'unité du Cosmos. Dans l'optique anthroposophique, la nature de l'homme est présentée comme la combinaison génétique de 4 sortes de forces ou éléments cosmiques : le « corps physique », seul visible, soumis aux lois mécaniques du règne minéral ; deuxièmement, le corps « surnaturel » ou corps de vie, caché, dans lequel opèrent les forces de la croissance et de la reproduction, comme dans le règne végétal ; troisièmement, le corps « astral » occulte, ou corps sensible, qui recèle les forces animales que sont les pulsions, les désirs, et les passions ; et quatrièmement, le corps humain individuel qui se ré-incarne, et qui ennoblit et purifie les 3 autres éléments.

Pour l'anthroposophie, considérer ces 4 « corps », entités ou champs de force permet essentiellement de comprendre l'homme et l'univers ; de nombreux phénomènes sont attribués à l'action du chiffre « 4 ». Par exemple : les 4 éléments, les 4 saisons, les 4 tempéraments, les 4 stades de la connaissance, etc. ; ce qui les explique, en apparence. Dans ses ouvrages ultérieurs, Steiner ajoute à cela une structure tripartite de la nature humaine fondée sur l'ancienne triade spirituelle : pensée, sentiment, volonté.

Revenons un instant en arrière : la pensée Romantique de Steiner qui a commencé, en tant que théorie de la connaissance faisant référence à Johann Gottlieb Fichte et Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, par une auto-intuition intellectuelle de la pensée, a abouti à une conception anthroposophique occulte du monde assorti d'une nouvelle mythologie. De la réflexion sur la pensée, on passe à l'hétéronomie d'une unité magico-mythique du monde dans laquelle le corps humain devient un élément du processus de salut.

Le paradoxe de l'anthroposophie est de déclarer comme scientifique ce qui n'est en vérité qu'un mythe de 2e ordre. Présence universelle du spirituel, symbolique des chiffres, magie de l'analogie, la « logique vivante des images » de Steiner est une tentative de réhabilitation de la pensée mythique et de la vie rituelle dans une civilisation dominée par la science.

Un bilan contradictoire

Le débat auquel donne lieu la pédagogie de Rudolf Steiner dans les milieux spécialisés a, encore aujourd'hui, ceci de paradoxal que cette pédagogie est acceptée dans la pratique et méconnue sur le plan théorique. Alors que, jusqu'aux années 1980, les spécialistes de l'éducation ont, à de rares exceptions près, négligé l'œuvre pédagogique de Steiner et de ses disciples, en Allemagne par exemple, d'éminents spécialistes des programmes et praticiens de l'éducation nouvelle avaient, dès les années 1920, constaté en visitant la Ire « Libre école Waldorf » (à Stuttgart) que l'établissement, créé par Steiner, était animé par le même esprit réformiste. La Ligue mondiale pour l'éducation nouvelle, fondée en 1921, n'a toutefois admis les écoles Rudolf Steiner comme membres de sa Section germanophone qu'en 1970, les tirant ainsi de 50 ans de « splendide isolement ». Entre-temps, elles sont, parmi les écoles du Mouvement de l'éducation nouvelle

en Allemagne, de plus en plus nettement apparues comme la véritable alternative aux établissements publics et confessionnels. Compte tenu de cette évolution, les milieux allemands de l'enseignement se sont, depuis 10 ans environ, lancés dans une étude et une discussion approfondies de la pédagogie de Steiner.

Les positions sur le sujet sont extrêmement contrastées, allant de l'approbation enthousiaste jusqu'à la critique impitoyable. Les uns soulignent la pratique positive d'une éducation « complète » adaptée à l'enfant et passent sous silence l'anthropologie métaphysique de Steiner. Les autres critiquent justement, sans merci, cette néo-mythologie occulte de l'éducation et mettent en garde contre les risques d'endoctrinement qui en découlent (« école où est enseignée une conception du monde »), leur insistance sur ce point les empêchant de juger impartialement les multiples facettes de la pratique steinerienne. La position des critiques idéologiques est encore confortée par l'assertion des pédagogues anthroposophes selon laquelle toutes les normes et toutes les formes de leur pratique éducative procèdent de l'anthropologie « cosmique » du Maître.

Est-il possible de résoudre ce paradoxe fondamental de la pédagogie de Steiner : la création d'une pratique fructueuse sur la base d'une théorie douteuse ? Nous estimons, quant à nous, qu'il ne faut pas chercher le fondement systématique de la pratique éducative étonnamment stimulante et efficace des écoles Steiner dans les « vérités » simples de la doctrine anthroposophique, mais dans la diversité des points de vue, métaphores et maximes pédagogiques sur lesquels elle s'appuie. La pédagogie de Steiner demeure fidèle aux principes de bon sens qui fondent la pédagogie moderne depuis Comenius et Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi : premièrement, le concept d'enseignement et d'apprentissage génétiques ; progressivité de la formation en fonction du développement des capacités et des connaissances culturelles de l'enfant ; deuxièmement, le postulat de l'offre d'une formation « complète » (faisant appel à la tête, au cœur et à la main) ; troisièmement, le principe de l'apprentissage et de l'activité communautaires grâce, par exemple, au maintien, pendant toute la scolarité de classes homogènes quant à l'âge mais hétérogènes quant au niveau et à l'organisation d'une vie scolaire aux aspects multiples.

C'est sur cet ensemble de dogmes pédagogiques classiques que repose le consensus fondamental entre les enseignants, éducateurs et parents associés à la pratique éducative des établissements Rudolf Steiner. Contrairement aux autres pédagogues du Mouvement de l'éducation nouvelle (Montessori, Neill, Geheeb, etc.), dont le dogmatisme est moins affirmé, les pédagogues des écoles et jardins d'enfants Rudolf Steiner manifestent une indiscutable volonté d'orthodoxie, de prosélytisme, d'orgueil ou d'isolement sectaires, ce qui rend d'autant plus remarquable le dialogue que d'éminents disciples de Steiner ont noué en Allemagne avec des spécialistes de l'éducation ; à cette occasion, ils ont pu comparer leur conception anthropologique de la pédagogie, et les formes d'enseignement qui en découlent, avec les concepts et les modèles des sciences humaines ainsi que les critères de recherche.

Compte tenu de la propagation de la pédagogie de Steiner dans le monde entier, même hors de la sphère culturelle européenne, et du dialogue tout juste entamé avec les spécialistes de l'éducation, il sera peut-être possible d'en adopter et d'en développer les éléments sous de nouvelles formes moins empreintes du culte de la personnalité. Enfin, la pratique de cet enseignement, avec son large éventail de possibilités d'apprentissage dans le domaine des arts, des travaux manuels, des soins à apporter à la nature et les nombreuses occasions de participer à des tâches communautaires, est beaucoup trop importante pour qu'on se contente de la laisser aux inconditionnels de Rudolf

Steiner.

...

La destinée plaça sur le chemin de Rudolf Steiner un homme qui eut une influence sans égale sur sa formation : Karl Julius Schröer, le germaniste (fils de Tobias Gottfried Schröer, qui dirigeait à Presbourg un lycée allemand et écrivait des drames et de livres d'Histoire et d'Esthétique) qui enseignait à cette époque la littérature allemande à l'école supérieure d'enseignement technique (de l'Université de Vienne) . L'Histoire de la poésie allemande, de Gervinus, exerça sur lui une forte influence. Son cours, la Ire année, avait pour objet : « La littérature allemande depuis Gœthe » et « La vie et les œuvres de Schiller » .

Dès sa Ire conférence, je fus fasciné. La chaleur de son comportement, son enthousiasme lorsque, du haut de la chaire, il récitait les poèmes, nous faisaient pénétrer véritablement l'essence même de la poésie. C'est à 19 ans seulement que Rudolf Steiner découvrit le « Faust » de Gœthe pour lequel il se passionna. Après quelques-unes de ses conférences, j'eus l'occasion de faire plus intimement la connaissance de Karl Julius Schröer. Il m'invitait souvent chez lui, me parlait de ses cours, répondait volontiers à mes questions, et me confiait les livres de sa bibliothèque que je devais lire. Au cours de ces rencontres, nous parlions aussi un peu de la seconde partie du « Faust » dont il était en train de préparer une édition assortie de ses commentaires. C'est donc à cette époque que je lus la seconde partie du « Faust » . Les heures passées à la bibliothèque, je les consacrais à l'étude de la Métaphysique de Herbart, ainsi qu'à l'Esthétique ou science de la forme de Zimmermann. À cela s'ajoutait la Morphologie générale de Ernest Hæckel.

Rudolf Steiner écrivait le 13 janvier 1881 à un ami :

« Je dois à Dieu et à un heureux destin d'avoir rencontré ici, à Vienne, un homme que j'estime, admire et respecte tant comme professeur, savant, poète, que comme homme. Il s'agit de Karl Julius Schröer. »

Les efforts de Schröer tendaient principalement à détruire le jugement erroné enraciné dans les cercles littéraires de l'époque, selon lequel la 2e partie du « Faust » était œuvre de l'esprit défaillant d'un Gœthe sénile. On peut dire que ses efforts furent, jusqu'à un certain point, récompensés. Une autre de ses occupations consistait à sauvegarder les mystères de Noël du Haut-Rhin dont il publia un recueil sous le titre : « Jeux de Noël allemands joués en Hongrie » . Ces jeux populaires faisaient revivre les récits du Paradis de la Nativité du Christ et de l'Apparition des 3 Rois mages. Ces mystères étaient joués chaque année par les paysans allemands émigrés en Hongrie et installés dans les environs de Presbourg. Plus tard, Rudolf Steiner ressuscita ces jeux en les représentant chaque année au « Gœtheum » . Schröer voyagea pour étudier les dialectes allemands. Chaque fois qu'il trouvait des traces du folklore allemand dans les régions slaves, magyares et italiennes de la Monarchie danubienne, il s'efforçait d'en connaître le caractère spécifique. C'est ainsi que naquirent ses dictionnaires de grammaire du dialecte de Zip répandu au sud des Carpathes, de celui de Gottschee parlé par une petite partie de la population allemande dans le Krain et du dialecte des Heanzen, encore en usage à l'époque de Steiner dans l'ouest de la Hongrie. (Ils sont encore actuellement présentés chaque année au « Gœtheum » , à Dornach, et sont au nombre de 3 : le jeu d'Adam et d'Eve ; le jeu des Bergers et de la Nativité ; le jeu des Rois mages et d'Hérode.

Le thème de base de la vie de Schröer demeurait Goethe. Lorsque je me trouvais à ses côtés, je me réchauffais spirituellement. Il m'autorisait à passer des heures en tête à tête avec lui et j'avais alors l'impression qu'un 3e être se joignait à nous : l'esprit de Goethe. Schröer vivait, en effet, si pleinement dans l'esprit et dans l'œuvre de Goethe, qu'à chaque sentiment, à chaque idée qui naissait en son âme, on se disait instinctivement : Goethe n'aurait-il pas ressenti ceci, n'aurait-il pas pensé cela de la même façon ? Cet abandon de l'homme à la spiritualité de Goethe se transmet du Maître à l'élève. Goethe fut, pour chacun d'eux, l'étoile qui les guida sur le chemin de la connaissance, mais ce fut pour l'un et l'autre, d'une façon tout à fait différente.

Il y avait, à Vienne, une jeune poétesse, Marie Eugénie Delle Grazie. À 16 ans déjà, elle avait fait parler d'elle en publiant non seulement des poèmes, mais aussi une épopée, « Herman » ; un drame, « Saül » ; et une nouvelle intitulée « la Bohémienne » . Robert Zimmermann, esthète et philosophe éminent, a déclaré à son sujet :

« Elle est le seul véritable génie qu'il m'ait été donné de rencontrer. »

À peine Steiner eut-il lu un recueil des poèmes de Delle Grazie, qu'il rédigea un article qui lui valut la joie de la rencontrer une 1re fois. Elle habitait la maison de Laurenz Müllner, prêtre catholique et professeur de théologie (1848-1911) qui, en 1894, fut nommé Recteur de l'Université de Vienne. Il était son professeur et son plus fidèle ami.

« Le développement ascétique de son âme avait imprégné non seulement son visage, mais encore tout son être, il possédait par ailleurs une vaste culture philosophique, artistique et littéraire. »

Ils formaient, à eux deux, le centre spirituel le plus puissant de Vienne. Chaque semaine, un cercle composé des personnalités les plus éminentes, parmi lesquelles on comptait des artistes et des savants, se réunissait chez eux. L'atmosphère de ces réunions faisait grande impression sur le sensible Steiner. Elles l'attiraient comme un aimant, tout en le repoussant immédiatement.

Des personnalités aux opinions les plus diverses se rencontraient chez Delle Grazie. La poétesse était le centre du cercle. Elle lisait ses poèmes ; son visage mobile exprimait tout ce qu'elle ressentait en dévoilant sa conception de l'univers. Elle projetait ses idées sur l'existence et celles-ci n'étaient certes pas très lumineuses, mais plutôt sombres, rappelant un paysage lunaire, un ciel orageux qui faisait écran à la clarté du soleil. Des demeures des hommes s'élançaient dans l'obscurité, les grandes femmes porteuses des passions et des rêves où se consomment les humains. Les images au travers desquelles elle nous parlait étaient profondément humaines et extrêmement attachantes, saisissantes, même ; ce qu'elles contenaient d'amertume et de tristesse était comme voilé par le charme généreux d'une personnalité tout entière spiritualisée.

Au cours des années où Rudolf Steiner, introduit par le protestant Schröer dans la vie et le monde spirituel de Goethe, découvrait son propre « gœthéanisme » , il se trouvait également en présence, dans la maison de Müllner, d'un catholicisme cultivé dont la conséquence était une grande aversion pour Goethe. Au contraire, ils étaient fortement attirés par les romans de Dostoïevsky dont ils appréciaient les descriptions géniales de la souffrance et des passions

humaines. Dans les drames de Shakespeare, les personnifications réalistes des meurtriers et les égarements de leur faible nature humaine, éveillaient un intérêt intense. Cependant, Delle Grazie et Müllner reniaient tous deux violemment Goethe. L'antipathie de Laurenz Müllner pour Goethe portait l'empreinte du théologien catholique. Chez Delle Grazie, il s'agissait plutôt d'une profonde antipathie personnelle. Dans sa maison, le pessimisme se manifestait avec une violence extraordinaire, en faisant par là-même le centre de l'anti-goethéanisme.

Il est très significatif que pour son développement, son évolution, Steiner ait accepté de faire l'expérience de cette opposition des atmosphères spirituelles de Schröer et du cercle de Delle Grazie. Schröer lui-même vint dans ce cercle le 1er soir ; ce fut la 1re et la dernière fois. Steiner en demeura l'hôte permanent aussi longtemps qu'il le put. Le fait que le cercle refusait Goethe ne le dérangeait point. Car, l'une des maximes qui l'accompagna toute sa vie fut de ne jamais traiter un sujet, sans s'être auparavant familiarisé avec le sujet contraire, ni de juger un esprit sans connaître à fond les adversaires de celui-ci. C'est pourquoi, longtemps après, il put dire à propos du cercle de Delle Grazie :

« Je leur dois plus que je ne saurais le dire. »

Nous touchons ici l'un des traits essentiels de l'être de Rudolf Steiner qui, souvent, lui valut d'être méconnu : l'intérêt inhabituel pour le « tout autre » dans les âmes de ses contemporains. Rudolf Steiner n'a trouvé que peu de compréhension parmi ses professeurs et ses amis d'enfance pour ses propres problèmes spirituels, mais lui-même était toujours prêt à écouter et à comprendre leurs problèmes. Cette attitude l'amena tout naturellement à une sorte de double vie spirituelle. Mon âme luttait à cette époque contre l'énigme de la connaissance, et cette lutte, tout en éveillant parmi mes amis un grand intérêt, ne provoquait chez eux aucune participation active. Je demeurais donc assez seul face à cette énigme. Cependant, je vivais pleinement ce qu'éprouvaient mes amis et cherchais à comprendre leurs problèmes. C'est ainsi que 2 courants opposés vivaient en moi. Je suivais l'un en solitaire, et l'autre dans la compagnie vivante d'hommes aimables. Rudolf Steiner souffrit de l'opposition de ces 2 cercles auxquels il se savait profondément lié : ma vie sentimentale partagée entre ces 2 sphères, pour lesquelles mon affection et ma vénération étaient égales, fut comme déchirée.

C'est sous le même jour qu'il faut voir ses rapports avec son très éminent et respecté professeur Schröer. Ce dernier lui avait pour ainsi dire ouvert la porte de l'œuvre de Goethe. J'accueillais avec la plus grande sympathie tout ce qui venait de Schröer. Même alors, je ne pus faire autrement que de construire, dans ma propre âme, dans une totale indépendance, même vis-à-vis de lui, ce qui était le but de ma recherche intérieure. Schröer était un idéaliste. Le monde des idées s'identifiait pour lui avec la force créatrice qui se manifeste dans la nature et dans l'homme. Pour moi, l'Idée n'était que l'ombre du monde vivant de l'esprit. Ces quelques mots que l'on trouve dans l'autobiographie de Rudolf Steiner, expriment l'abîme qui le séparait de Schröer et de tous les autres hommes.

L'une des silhouettes les plus intéressantes du riche cercle spirituel qui entourait les Delle Grazie-Müllner, était Wilhelm Neumann, prêtre cistercien de l'Ordre de la Sainte-Croix, dont le nom était connu tant dans le monde des savants que dans celui des ecclésiastiques. Rudolf Steiner aimait tout particulièrement à s'entretenir avec lui lorsqu'ils revenaient ensemble des soirées de Delle Grazie. J'aimerais mentionner ici 2 de ces conversations. L'une se rapportait à l'entité du Christ. J'exprimai mon opinion, selon laquelle Jésus de Nazareth avait, grâce à une influence extérieure, accueilli en

lui le Christ et que depuis le mystère du Golgotha, le Christ vit comme entité spirituelle, et comme telle, participe à l'évolution de l'humanité. Cette conversation est restée profondément gravée dans mon âme et elle me revenait souvent en mémoire, car elle fut extrêmement importante. 3 interlocuteurs étaient en quelque sorte, en présence : le Professeur Neumann et moi, plus un être invisible, personnification de la dogmatique catholique, qui se tenait menaçante et visible aux yeux de l'esprit, derrière le Professeur Neumann. D'une tape sur l'épaule, elle le remettait dans le droit chemin, quand la logique subtile du savant me faisait trop de concessions. Il était très curieux d'entendre celui-ci émettre des conclusions contraires à ce que ses prémices faisaient prévoir. Cet homme, à cette époque, était l'un des plus représentatifs de la vie catholique, que j'ai appris à connaître, par l'observation d'abord, mais également et de façon réelle et profonde, grâce à lui.

Quant à l'autre entretien, il fut consacré aux vies terrestres successives. Le Professeur m'écouta, puis parla de toute la littérature qui traitait du même sujet ; souvent, il secouait doucement la tête, sans manifester l'intention de discuter d'un thème aussi singulier. Malgré cela, cet entretien est également demeuré dans ma mémoire. Le malaise qu'avait éprouvé Neumann à formuler intérieurement et sans les exprimer, des objections contre ce que j'avais, est resté profondément gravé en moi. Il n'est pas surprenant que, 40 ans plus tard, Steiner se souvienne si exactement de ces 2 conversations avec Wilhelm Neumann. Il s'agissait, en effet, des 2 thèmes, des 2 points culminants de la future « anthroposophie » qu'il allait enseigner : la christologie et la ré-incarnation. Rudolf Steiner, âgé alors de 24 ans, voyait ces 2 thèmes simultanément confrontés, grâce à la présence de Neumann, avec les enseignements de l'Église que lui-même avait reçus, et ressentait fortement la « gêne » que ses idées faisaient surgir chez les représentants de la théologie romaine. C'est la raison pour laquelle il y reconnut le prélude à toutes les expériences qu'il devait plus tard affronter.

À ces réunions chez la poétesse assistaient occasionnellement le philosophe Adolf Stöhr, la romancière Goswine von Berlepsch, Émile Mataja (qui écrivait sous le pseudonyme d'Emil Marriot) , le poète et écrivain Fritz Lemmermayer, avec qui Rudolf Steiner devait établir une amitié durable : lorsqu'il parlait de sujets qui l'intéressaient, il s'exprimait avec une dignité mesurée. Extérieurement, il ressemblait à la fois au pianiste Anton Rubinstein et à l'acteur Josef Lewinsky. Son admiration pour Hebbel était sans limites. Ses opinions sur l'art et sur la vie résultaient d'un sentiment intérieur profond et sage, et il ne manquait pas de les affirmer avec conviction. Il était l'auteur d'un roman intéressant et subtil : « L'alchimiste » - ainsi que d'autres ouvrages remarquables. Il possédait l'art de mettre en valeur les plus petits faits de la vie. Je me souviens du jour où, avec quelques amis, j'étais allé le voir dans sa petite chambre donnant sur une ruelle de Vienne. Il venait de préparer lui-même son repas, composé de pain et de 2 œufs à la coque cuits sur un réchaud. Pendant que bouillait l'eau, il annonça avec enthousiasme :

« Ce sera un repas délicieux ! »

Était aussi présent Alfred Stroß, ce compositeur génial, était un grand pessimiste. Lorsque, chez Delle Grazie, il se mettait au piano pour nous jouer ses œuvres, nous avions le sentiment d'une musique proche d'Anton Bruckner mais s'évaporant, s'efforçant de fuir l'existence terrestre. Stroß était peu compris ; Fritz Lemmermayer l'aimait beaucoup. Tous deux, Lemmermayer et Stroß, étaient liés d'amitié avec Robert Hamerling. Je leur dois d'avoir eu un échange de correspondance avec ce dernier. Stroß tomba gravement malade et mourut frappé d'aliénation mentale. Le sculpteur

Hans Branstetter se rendait aussi chez Delle Grazie.

Les cafés viennois avaient alors une renommée mondiale. C'est là que se réunissait la majorité des intellectuels de la monarchie austro-hongroise. On y prenait des décisions politiques, on y écrivait des poèmes et des romans, et ce qui était plus important, on « s'y rencontrait » sans contrainte, comme par hasard, sachant cependant où, quand et qui on pouvait y trouver. Bien souvent me reviennent les conversations interminables que nous eûmes alors dans un café renommé de la place Saint-Michel, à Vienne. C'était le café « Griensteidl », où il recevait son courrier. Les gens que Rudolf Steiner fréquenta à Vienne et dont les noms, à l'époque, étaient connus, même hors de la capitale autrichienne, sont aujourd'hui oubliés. Un des plus jeune de ce groupe était Joseph Kitir, qui cultivait un genre lyrique inspiré par Martin Greif. C'était une nature naïve. Pendant une courte période, il fut étroitement lié à Rudolf Steiner. C'est tout juste si l'on se souvient encore du poète Fercher von Steinwand, idéaliste plein de sensibilité et d'idées. Fils de pauvres gens, il avait connu dans sa jeunesse de grandes privations. L'éminent anatomiste Joseph Hyrtl sut l'apprécier et faire en sorte qu'il put se consacrer à sa poésie, sa pensée et sa réflexion. Robert Hamerling l'avait apprécié dès son 1er ouvrage poétique, « Comtesse Seelenbrand ». Grande fut ma joie le jour où il apporta ses « essais cosmiques ». Il s'agissait du « Chœur des impulsions originelles », et du « Chœur des rêves originels » ; poèmes enthousiastes exprimant des sensations qui semblent émaner des puissances créatrices de l'univers. Je considère comme une des choses les plus importantes de ma jeunesse le fait d'avoir pu connaître Fercher von Steinwand. Cette personnalité agissait comme celle d'un sage dont la sagesse rayonne à travers la poésie pure.

À l'époque où j'acquis de plus en plus de notions concrètes sur les incarnations successives, je fis la connaissance du mouvement théosophique dirigé par Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. Un ami me procura « Le Bouddhisme ésotérique » de Alfred Percy Sinnett. C'est le 1er livre théosophique que j'eus entre les mains ; il ne me fit aucune impression. J'étais heureux de ne pas l'avoir lu avant d'avoir acquis par moi-même certaines vérités. Son contenu me rebutait ; mon aversion contre cette manière de présenter le supra-sensible m'aurait sans doute empêché de m'engager plus avant sur la voie qui m'était pourtant tracée.

L'année 1888, parut l'épopée satirique « Homunculus », de Robert Hamerling. Elle offrait à la société de l'époque un miroir qui grossissait d'une façon caricaturale son matérialisme et son penchant pour le côté frivole de la vie. Hamerling voulait stigmatiser la double déformation de la civilisation moderne : d'une part, un manque de sensibilité pour le spirituel, le monde étant considéré comme un mécanisme et la vie organisée comme une machine ; d'autre part, une fantaisie privée d'âme, ne cherchant pas à établir de rapport véridique entre cette fiction de vie spirituelle et la réalité. Le côté grotesque des images peintes par Hamerling lui fit perdre un grand nombre de ses anciens admirateurs. Cet « Homunculus » me fit une impression très profonde. Il me semblait mettre en évidence les forces qui, dans la civilisation moderne, obscurcissent l'esprit. J'y trouvai un sérieux avertissement à l'adresse de notre temps.

Cette année là, aussi, Rudolf Steiner fut introduit dans la famille du pasteur Alfred Formey. Une fois par semaine, des artistes et écrivains se réunissaient chez lui. Lui-même était poète. Son grand ami Fritz Lemmermayer l'avait caractérisé en ces termes :

« Plein de bonté, avec une sensibilité profonde pour la nature, quelque peu exalté, pour ainsi dire ivre de croyance

divine et de béatitude ; il semble vivre et rêver dans les nuées. »

La veuve de Friedrich Hebbel y venait de temps à autre. Quand Christine Hebbel racontait des histoires, une chaleur d'âme envahissait tous ces auditeurs. L'actrice Wilborn venait aussi chez les Formey. Ce cercle qui s'était constitué autour de Formey avait pris l'habitude de se réunir également chez Madame Wilborn. Mais quelle différence ! L'ouverture sur le monde, la joie de vivre et le besoin d'humour régnaient ici et contaminaient aussi ceux qui, chez le pasteur, demeuraient toujours graves et sans réaction, même quand le poète populaire viennois Friedrich Schlögl faisait le récit de ses histoires drôles. Chez Wilborn, on riait à gorge déployée. Chez Wilborn, Formey était un homme du monde. Chez Formey, Wilborn ressemblait à une abbesse. On pouvait faire des études intéressantes sur la manière dont ces gens se transformaient, jusque dans l'expression de leur visage.

Lorsque Steiner évoquait, plus tard, ce foisonnement d'idées et de physionomies originales, des noms se pressaient sans fin sous sa plume ou sur ses lèvres. Aujourd'hui, les 9/10 sont tombés dans l'oubli. Ils n'en ont pas moins composé ce miroir du monde où pouvaient se lire déjà maints signes précurseurs de l'histoire qui s'est inscrite depuis dans la réalité. Quelques-uns de ces noms sont pourtant, aujourd'hui encore, évocateurs de toute l'époque. Par exemple, celui de Victor Adler, le chef du Socialisme autrichien, personnalité ardente et volontaire qui, de sa table, lançait des théories que Steiner, d'ailleurs, « écoutait avec peine ». Comment eut-il admis, en effet, l'image d'une société qui concentrait tout le pouvoir dans une dictature économique, et pour qui la vie spirituelle ne serait qu'une survivance du passé, une super-structure accessoire ? Il fit également la connaissance de Engelbert Pernenstorfer qui voulait quitter le Parti national pour rejoindre les Socialistes. C'était une personnalité forte au savoir étendu et un critique éclairé des misères de la vie publique. Je fus amené par eux à étudier Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Rodbertus et d'autres écrivains d'économie sociale. Je ne pouvais adhérer à leurs doctrines. Il m'était personnellement douloureux d'entendre dire que seules les forces matérielles et économiques assurent le développement de l'histoire de l'humanité, et que l'esprit n'est qu'une superposition idéelle à ce monde « véritablement réel ». Pour moi, les affirmations des théoriciens socialistes résultaient de ce qu'ils fermaient les yeux devant la vraie réalité. Je me rendais compte pourtant que la « question sociale » avait une importance illimitée.

Un peu plus loin se discutaient avec ardeur les curieux phénomènes dont Sigmund Freud, le contemporain de Steiner, allait déduire sa psychanalyse. Steiner n'a pas personnellement connu Freud et il a même fait, plus tard, une critique pénétrante de ses théories. Mais il a participé à la vie très animée des cercles médicaux, il a connu et estimé le médecin qui a le plus influencé les origines du freudisme : le docteur Josef Breuer. Chacun de ces germes nouveaux apportait avec lui un progrès dans le matérialisme, un recul des traditions idéalistes dont avaient été imbus jusqu'alors les milieux viennois. Dans les salons où, il n'y a pas longtemps encore, dominait le charme léger et sentimental d'une mélodie de Franz Schubert, d'un poème de Eduard Mörike, la sécheresse du matérialisme commence, en cette fin de siècle, à opérer ses ravages, à préparer des effondrements. Cette sécheresse est un poison pour l'âme autrichienne ; elle l'atteint dans sa sensibilité déjà nostalgique et y introduit le désenchantement, le doute. Elle gagne les sciences exactes et jusqu'à la médecine, où elle provoque le nihilisme ; elle s'attaque aux arts mêmes.

...

Rudolf Steiner greatly admired the Austrian composer Anton Bruckner, remarking that « something essentially spiritual, which is the foundation of all music, still lived in Bruckner » .

At the time of his 9th Symphony, the composer suffered from poor health and chronic nervous agitation ; after composing 3 magnificent movements, he struggled mightily but was unable to complete the 4th. Keith Francis will speak about Bruckner's achievement, his interest to anthroposophists, and the 9th Symphony. The talk will be illustrated with passages from the Symphony ; those who wish may stay to hear a complete recording of the « reconstructed » Finale.

Keith Francis majored in physics at Cambridge University, worked as an engineer at Bristol Aircraft before becoming a teacher. On the faculty of the Rudolf Steiner School in New York, for 31 years, he taught physics, chemistry, mathematics, earth science, English and music. Since retirement, he has written several novels and a history of atomic science and has founded and led the « 15th Street Singers » .

From the Life at the « Gœtheanum »

Michæl Kurtz on « Rudolf Steiner and Music » . Biographical, Humanities Research, Future Impulses, 160 black and white illustrations, 8 colour pages, published at the « Gœtheanum » , Dornach (2015) ; 608 pages. The appendix contains documents and current texts, including contributions from musicians on singing, instruments, music education and personal additions from 7 composers from different continents.

After 10 years of research, Michæl Kurtz, for the 1st time, documents a comprehensively study on the theme of : « Rudolf Steiner and Music » , and in this work, reveals a number of new sources.

A work comprised of more than 600 pages, Michæl Kurtz presents a comprehensive compendium. It contains detailed descriptions of Rudolf Steiner's musical experiences, his relationships with contemporary composers, his research into spiritual science and suggestions for the further development of music.

In Vienna, Weimar and Berlin, Rudolf Steiner met composers such as Anton Bruckner, Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf, Richard Strauß and Hans Pfitzner, he commented on Claude Debussy and occupied himself in many regards with Richard Wagner. His commentaries on music, in the early years of modernism, were taken-up very little. But there are parallels to be found between Arnold Schœnberg, Alexander Scriabin and Charles Ives, as well as more recently between Giacinto Scelsi and Wolfgang von Schweinitz. Rudolf Steiner could see the source of the essence of music in the innermost souls of people. A new kind of music can arise-out of the souls of man, as a contribution to a future culture that humanizes people and becomes a bridge to the spiritual world, when one's inner schooling is fruitfully taken-up.

Rudolf Steiner gave suggestions for singing, for the construction of string instruments, for composing from the « melody in the single tone » and, thus, to expanding tonality. He made preparations for a singing course, a special course for trained musicians, and 5 more musical eurythmy courses (« Ton Eurythmy ») , which did not come about due to his death, in 1925.

THE LANGUAGE OF TONALITY in the music of Bach to Bruckner

Author : Hermann Beckh, original in German. Translated in English by Alan Stott. Published by Anastasi Limited (2015) .

Booklet : 123 pages, Paperback, Illustrated, 244 x 170 mm.

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Hermann BECKH (« The Language of Tonality ») :

Why are musical works named by their keys : « Mass in B minor » , « Symphony in D major » , and so on ? Can certain things be said best, or even « only » , in certain keys ? Can we hear the essence of a key ? Are « subjective » and « objective » relevant, or is there a higher synthesis ? How could the common chord express so much musical variety for over 3 Centuries and, for some decades, concentrated in one city, Vienna, in Central Europe ?

Hermann BECKH's (1875-1937) tone-zodiac (by 1922, not the 1st to be suggested) is still respected almost a Century on. With it, he explores the motivating power in our tonal system as lived - nobody's invention, so in no way a « theory » . The author (acknowledged polymath who also wrote music) played on the piano all the music mentioned in this pioneer study. In his explanation of tonality as an organizing, creative principle, Beckh cites music from Bach (effectively, the father of tonality) concluding with Wagner's music dramas. Beckh's apparently unique perspective on Wagner is one excellent reason to re-visit him, and Beckh, too, because his tone-zodiac invites access into the workshop of creation.

Beckh extends the concept of « music » and « musical » . The profession of music is not challenged, but upheld - from within. To see music as « abstract » , or deriving from sonic vibrations are both challenged. Through Beckh's holistic intuition, the reader is invited « back-stage » to research creativity itself. There is a practical path beyond the restrictions of dualism, beyond all « feel-good » factors (whether of « Mozart » , « Wagner » , or any other) in order to research « what is » .

In-depth researchers already recognize Professor Doctor Hermann Beckh as a pioneer ; musicians and music-lovers will gain innumerable enriching insights and stimuli. But even more, in telling us least about himself, and without notating a single musical example, the author is able to tell us a very great deal about the personality - of his reader.

Beckh on Beckh, and by his colleagues :

« In all other respects, I stand on the shoulders of my predecessors in scholarship, and my particular view of life I owe to Rudolf Steiner ; but in music, I feel I am really breaking ground. »

Steiner himself said of him in this respect,

« Beckh ventures into provinces which I have not yet had an opportunity of investigating myself. And there is a great deal in what Beckh says about them. »

There are not many people of whom Rudolf Steiner would have made such a remark.

(Alfred Heidenreich, 1938.)

...

It is clear that a « great » composer doesn't simply take-over where a previous « great » composer left-off. The trade has to be learnt. Franz-Josef Haydn's early compositions are musical and enjoyable but it wasn't until he reached the age of 40 that he created music worthily representative of his mature style, reaching a point where he was no longer limited by technical considerations and was free to launch-out in whatever direction he wished. It is arguable that something similar happened to Beethoven when he was in his mid-30's, and even then, the idea, which we often used to hear, that he « continued and improved the work of Haydn and Mozart » is manifest rubbish. Oddly enough, the people who expressed this opinion also regarded Beethoven as a great revolutionary, to which the only possible response is, « Huh ? » . Having adopted certain techniques of composition developed by his great predecessors, he had not only to achieve fluency in them but also to adapt them to fit his own evolving needs and intentions. The early Romantics (Felix Mendelssohn, Frédéric Chopin, Robert Schumann) did not abandon Classical techniques but developed and used them with new intentions and a new sensibility, so that the change in the flavour of the music was much more deep-seated than that which had taken place between Haydn and Beethoven. Richard Wagner's supporters claimed Beethoven's mantle for him, but, even supposing this claim to have been justified, it was a long time before he reached a level of competence at which it could be made. His early Operas are quite crude and even with « Tannhäuser » and « Lohengrin » , products of his mid-30's, there are still plenty of bumps in the road. By the time he reached « Die Walküre » , at the age of 43, he was in the somewhat the same situation as Haydn at a similar age ; his technique and intentions might still change, but not in the sense of improvement. People who were inclined to listen to his ideology rather than his music saw him as the culminating figure in the history of music and didn't seem to worry about what comes after a culmination. Others thought that his great musical genius had been subverted by a megalomaniac tendency and an overwhelming need for self-justification, and some believed that rather than providing us with the great entrance hall into the « music of the future » , Wagner's works constituted a dead-end.

That the « dead-end » interpretation has, to a large extent, been the verdict of history doesn't mean anything bad about Wagner's music, although it does suggest that his view of the music of the past, the present and the future needs some revision. Composers who rejected Wagner, in principle, sometimes had a hard time shaking-off his influence, but they did feel that it was necessary to try. The view from a dead-end may be entrancing, but if you want to travel further you have to go back a bit before proceeding. In any case, it's clear that, even without Wagner's work, it was inevitable that, by about 1900, some composers would feel that the resources of the traditional tonal system were exhausted and that a radical change was needed. At that time, we entered a confusing period in which attempts to

throw-out everything connected with traditional ideas of melody and harmony vied with efforts to maintain continuity by doing something different with old techniques. The so-called nationalist movement, involving Edward Grieg, Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák and the Russian Masters of the late- 19th Century, produced wonderful music with distinctive flavours without venturing beyond the existing system of tonality. Claude Debussy, who appears to have loved and hated Wagner's works in approximately equal measure, had struggled to rid himself of their influence and shown that there are ways of using triadic harmony other than those prescribed in the textbooks of the time. In the following generations, a more thoroughgoing exploration into national roots, most prominently by Béla Bartók and Ralph Vaughan Williams, led to genuinely new insights, modifying the use of traditional harmony without completely ousting it.

For many years, it was believed, although not by everyone, that the great breakthrough came when Arnold Schönberg got tired of writing big, and sometimes enormous, works in the late- Post-Romantic tradition and developed the 12 tone system. Some of us, finding that « Verklärte Nacht » and « Gurrelieder » strain our collective patience more than anything by Anton Bruckner or Gustav Mahler, have concluded that Schönberg stopped writing this kind of stuff because he wasn't very good at it. Schönberg's pupil, Anton Webern, however, interpreted musical history in such a way as to show that there was a stream of evolution which led inevitably to the 12 tone method of his Master. In Webern's view, Schönberg's method was the ultimate expression of the tendency for music to move-up the harmonic series until the half-step became the basic intervallic unit and the octave contained 12 tones with no class distinctions allowed. To at least one reader, Webern's book seems to be an even more advanced case of special pleading than anything by Wagner, but it does have the advantage that, like its author's music, it is very brief. Meanwhile, Igor Stravinsky was also engaged in historical self-justification, and he was, by no means, the last.

Historical research has given us a clear picture of the progressive employment of a greater and greater proportion of all the available resources of the tonal system. If it seems occasionally that the knowledge of music history built-up by generations of distinguished and devoted musicologists, many of whom have been fine musicians in their own right, contradicts Rudolf Steiner's esoterically informed view of history, it may well be because we have misunderstood or over-simplified Rudolf Steiner.

It would be natural to expect that the music produced by human beings would not be as beautiful as that produced by the Gods. When I 1st became involved in anthroposophy, I was assured that our slide into scientific materialism had produced art whose main characteristic was ugliness. Steiner referred to most of the music of the 19th Century as « un-musical » . I found this rather confusing since I had observed that a great deal of beautiful music was still being composed in the mid- 20th Century.

Tinctoris, as already noted, had found himself in a similar position 500 years previously, but he went a little further in his analysis of the situation than I did :

« I cannot pass-over in silence the opinions of many philosophers, among them Plato and Pythagoras and their successors Cicero, Macrobius, Boethius, and our Isidore, that the spheres of the stars revolve under the guidance of harmonic modulation, that is, by the consonance of various concords. But when, as Boethius relates, some declare that

Saturn moves with the deepest sound and that, as we pass by stages through the remaining planets, the moon moves with the highest, while others, conversely, ascribe the deepest sound to the moon and the highest to the sphere of the fixed stars, I put faith in neither opinion. Rather, I unshakeably credit Aristotle and his commentator, along with our more recent philosophers, who most manifestly prove that, in the heavens, there is neither actual nor potential sound. For this reason, it will never be possible to persuade me that musical concords, which cannot be produced without sound, can result from the motion of the heavenly bodies. »

« Concords of sounds and melodies, from whose sweetness, as Lactantius says, the pleasure of the ear is derived, are produced, then, not by heavenly bodies, but by earthly instruments with the co-operation of nature. »

I quote these words not with approval or disapproval but simply to illustrate the change in people's relationship to music. But although this view of music as a natural phenomenon rather than a gift from the Gods may have become the majority opinion, many people have continued to ascribe a super-natural or, at least, mysterious origin to music, right-up to the present-day.

Knowledge of Rudolf Steiner's descriptions of the evolution of consciousness does not leave us with any less work to do and allows us as many opportunities of floundering in the morass of actual historical process as someone who has never heard of Rudolf Steiner. One of the most helpful thoughts to have been recorded is the idea that music is an activity, not an organism or a gift from the Gods. It is something that people do. This may not have been true in the past, but it is true now.

Some remarks made by Rudolf Steiner on the subject of tone eurythmy :

« For in eurythmy, music is made visible ; and one must have a sense for the place in man's being where music has its true source if its fundamental nature is to be made visible. »

« Tone eurythmy makes visible what in music is invisible and audible. »

This is not what the ballet purports to do. Unlike eurythmy, the dance does not represent the music or translate what is audible into what is visible. It uses it as a suitable rhythmic, atmospheric and suggestive background for a story or a picture.

Steiner emphasized that at the time (March, 1924) when he made these remarks, tone eurythmy was in its infancy, so presumably, he was speaking of his intentions rather than of what had already been accomplished. He also said that it was inevitable that eurythmy would come into the world at this time, and the question I have asked myself is why this would happen after several Centuries in which music had become an experience complete in itself. Surely, the most wonderful thing about music is that it goes straight into the soul without verbal explanation or visual imagery. What happens, however, if it can't get in ? Can visual aid really help ?

The answer is a conditional « yes » , but 1st, it must be understood that people for whom the musical experience is

so powerful that it overwhelms the other senses and is already visible to the inner-eye, not as pictures but as music, may well find tone eurythmy superfluous. Like many of my most musical acquaintances, I find that any kind of visual accompaniment, whether it is dance, colour slides, hospital procedures, antics by the musicians on stage, or tone eurythmy, simply gets in the way of the music. This is not the same thing as saying that we dislike or disapprove of the proceedings - such things can be very entertaining but we find that they simply don't take hold of the soul the way the purely musical does.

There is nothing inherently wrong with entertainment ; one of the worst sins a work of art can commit is to be dull, and I question whether any artistic performance can be entertaining if it has no deeper implications whatever. « Hamlet » , for example, is far more entertaining than « The Importance of Being Earnest » , and Oscar Wilde's light-hearted frolic is far more entertaining than the average Soap Opera. « Hamlet » , however, is not merely entertaining. It does something to the configuration of your soul. Steiner actually bewailed the fact that people frequently « found tone eurythmy more pleasing than speech eurythmy and comparatively easy to understand » . Speech eurythmy was more highly-developed and was linked to a medium (the spoken word) which demanded some attention for its understanding, whereas most people are not used to the idea of giving music that degree of attention. Tone eurythmy was experienced more as a congenial diversion ; this is very likely to be the case if your capacity to respond to music is limited. Music that can't get through to your soul is merely a pleasant undemanding background, unless the composer tries to insist, in which case, you may regard it as a thundering nuisance.

Rudolf Steiner believed that opposition to tone eurythmy signified a refusal « to allow the complete revelation of the human being » , and linked this opposition to the materialism with which, as he said, we are all infected. What makes this position problematical in relation to a great deal of the music composed in the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries is that there was an increasingly conscious effort by composers to write music which, in itself, already gives a complete revelation of the human being. The Orchestra of the Classic-Romantic period is, as Steiner remarked, a picture of the human being. Mozart's music, in the words of Friedrich Blume, runs the whole gamut of human emotion. Haydn brought drama and humour into his music in ways for which there is no earlier parallel. In their different ways, Classical and early-Romantic composers probed the deep recesses of the human soul. Many 19th Century compositions appear to tell stories and paint pictures. Gustav Mahler believed that a Symphony could present a whole world of experience (autobiographical, religious and philosophical) and Bruno Walter believed that Anton Bruckner had found God. Rudolf Steiner made it clear that he didn't approve of representational music, but when I say that composers tried to give a complete revelation of the human being, I am not referring to representational music. The music is not there to paint pictures of primeval forests or mediæval knights, but to be taken in, experienced, savoured. It changes you when you allow it into your soul. To add any kind of visual accompaniment to Mozart's G minor Symphony, Beethoven's 7th, or Mahler's 9th, would be, at best, impertinent and at worst disastrous. Richard Wagner wanted his Operas to unite the music, the drama and the spectacle in a significant whole, so he called them « music-dramas » , echoing the early Italian Opera composers who used the term « dramma per musica » . He thought that one of the defects of earlier Operas was the domination of the music over the drama. It is clear, however, that he underestimated the power of his own music, as Herbert von Karajan tacitly acknowledged when he performed the « Ring » cycle in practically complete darkness. Tchaikovsky, having attended a performance of « Die Walküre » , in Vienna, made the point a little more forcefully :

« There is no question that Wagner is a marvelous Symphonist. You have probably heard of the renowned “ Ride of the Valkyries ” ? What a huge and wonderful panorama ! How we actually seem to see those fierce heroines soar on their magic horses through thunder and lightning ! In the concert-hall, this selection makes an extraordinary impression. On the stage, however, in view of the cardboard rocks, the canvas clouds, and the awkward soldiers running about in the back, the music loses all its expressive power. In this the stage, does not enhance the effect but acts as a wet blanket. »

Why was all this music so powerful and why is it losing its grip on the population ? It may be that, since the early-20th Century, our relationship to music has changed with our changing relationship to the spiritual world. In several lectures given in 1910, Steiner spoke about the « Kali Yuga », the period of spiritual darkness described in ancient Indian philosophy and related it to the coming of Christ :

« At the beginning of “ Kali-Yuga ”, there were still many who could either see or re-collect the divine-spiritual world but, for normal humanity, the time set-in when they could only see the physical world of nature. That was the descent of man to “ Kali-Yuga ”. It was the time of deepest descent. Into that had to come the impulse for re-ascent. That is why this impulse, the “ Christ-Impulse ”, had to come during the “ Kali-Yuga ”, in the “dark” age. »

This period is said to have lasted from 3101 B.C. until 1899 A.D. and it is clear that although the human race was under siege, the blockade was not total. Communication with the spiritual world did not cease altogether and there were still great initiates and lesser mortals whose spiritual intimations were received with varying degrees of consciousness. One of the functions of the age of musical autonomy, which lasted from some time in the later- Middle-Ages until some time in the 20th Century, was to keep communication open with the spiritual world for people who might, otherwise, have lost it altogether. Steiner explains the relationship between the musical intervals and clairvoyance, as follows :

« The 4th is a real perceiving, but a perceiving from the other side. It would be as if the eye, in perceiving itself, had to look back on itself. This is the experience of the 4th gained from the soul. The interval of the 5th is a real experience of imagination. He who can experience 5ths correctly is in a position to know subjectively what imagination is like. One who experiences 6ths knows what inspiration is. Finally, one who experiences 7ths (if he survives the experience) knows what intuition is. »

Imagination, inspiration and intuition are the 3 successive soul capacities through which the human being attains knowledge of the spiritual world. Experiencing the 5th, the 6th and the 7th puts the human soul into the configurations that go with clairvoyant imagination, inspiration and intuition.

« That is why, in the older mystery schools and remaining mystery traditions, clairvoyant cognition is also called a musical cognition, a cognition living in the musical element. »

What composers from Guillaume de Machaut in the 14th Century to those in the 20th who maintained any significant

contact with traditional tonality have done is to unite the experience of the upper-intervals (4th to 7th) with that of the lower ones, particularly, the major and minor 3rds, making an indivisible bond between soul and spirit. This may seem to be an enormous over-simplification of 700 years of musical history and, in many ways, it is. In this period, there have been both radical changes and gradual transformations of style and technique, but the effect has always been that the music that we value most highly speaks to the intelligent, feeling soul and brings intimations of the spirit.

It is in the nature of music to keep us in touch with the spirit and, from my own humble experience, I know that the intense concentration that is needed for the process of composition puts the mind into a heightened state of awareness in which musical relationships are visible and almost tangible. Things begin to click into place in the most amazing way, almost as if someone is doing it for you. In an earlier essay, I tried, without much success, to characterize what we mean when we talk about « great composers » and concluded that the best thing to do would be to drop the phrase from our musical vocabulary. But you don't have to be a « great » composer to experience musical substance in this way and pass something on to your listeners - just sincere and competent. If I now suggest that the « great » composers have been able to go a stage further, I am neither suggesting this as a criterion for « greatness » nor hinting that they were or are initiates in the modern sense in which Rudolf Steiner uses the word. If I am right, the real difference not only between Mozart and Antonio Salieri but also between William Byrd and Nicholas Yonge ; Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Philipp Telemann ; Franz-Josef Haydn and Karl Stamitz ; Ludwig van Beethoven and Muzio Clementi ; Johannes Brahms and Karl Goldmark ; Modest Mussorgsky and César Cui ; and Dmitri Shostakovich and Tikhon Khrennikov, is that the former member of each pair so often takes us out of ourselves and places us in new worlds of experience that are indescribable in ordinary language. The music doesn't have to be deeply tragic or trail clouds of incense - it is the way the composer works with the musical substance that creates the magic and the only way you can tell if it works is by listening. After listening, you may or may not be able to understand how the composer did it, but that really isn't important unless you have a professional interest.

Rudolf Steiner gave us some precise knowledge of these « magic casements » . Composers and performers have helped us, ordinary mortals, to see through them at a time when such vision was extraordinarily difficult. But, in the 20th Century, the human condition is changing again and it is not only a matter of the strengthening of the Christ impulse through the re-appearance of Christ in the etheric, early in the 20th Century. Lucifer and Ahriman have their own plans for the future of mankind and we have no wish either to be automatically good and spiritual or to be totally isolated within our own consciousness. It cannot be merely coincidental that the « Kali Yuga » ended just at the time when the exploration of the tonal resources that had enabled these composers to work their miracles was nearing completion and that tone eurythmy appeared at the same time as atonal music. Over the past 100 years, our relationship to music has been changing along with our relationship to the spiritual world and to explore the nature and consequences of these changes will be a major undertaking for someone. My feeling is that, whether we like it or not, we have seen the end of the great period of musical autonomy, when composers from Bach to Bruckner stormed the heavens for us because we were unable to reach them on our own. But now, although the path to a new clairvoyance is open, it is beset by toll-collectors and armed guards in the shape of the minions of Lucifer and Ahriman. For both good and bad reasons, people no longer hear the music in the old way and, so, they need visual representations or interpretations of it. This why I remarked earlier that today's composers are the inheritors of a

diminished kingdom. Some of us don't like it but it looks as if we'll have to put-up with it.

...

Anton Bruckner had already made his 1st attempt to be appointed teacher of musical composition at the University of Vienna, in 1867 ; in 1875, he finally became unpaid lecturer in harmony and counterpoint in spite of the opposition of Eduard Hanslick and, evidently, with the support of Karl von Stremayer, Minister for Culture and Education. On 24 April 1876, he gave his inaugural lecture and, for the 1st time in 1880, he was able to obtain an award of the normal semester's remuneration. His students provide numerous reports of his unconventional style of teaching. Bruckner's ideas and his methods attracted many of the curious who nevertheless approached him with respect. Among his students were Alois Hofler, later professor of pedagogy at the University of Vienna, and Rudolf Steiner, the founder of anthroposophy.

Rudolf Steiner continued to be interested and actively involved in Vienna's public life and in current issues and developments in science, art, religion, and also in politics. As a student, he had been librarian and later president of the « Deutsche Lesehalle » at the Technical College, and had written « begging letters », asking for free copies of newly published books for the library, all of which he read. Now, in the 2nd half of the 1880's, Steiner worked in the Specht household and on Kürschner's Gœthe edition and encyclopedias. He also wrote for various journals and absorbed everything that was going on in literature, the theatre (he was an ardent theater-goer) , and in the world of music that played such a prominent role in Vienna.

Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt, and Anton Bruckner became subjects for discussion at many cultural gatherings. Fritz Lemmermayer, who had the necessary connections, even went to Bayreuth to attend the dress rehearsal of Wagner's « Parsifal » . But people were also moved by Bruckner's Masses, performed on Sunday mornings in the chapel of the Imperial Palace (« Hofkapelle ») , with the composer himself playing the organ. Rudolf Steiner had several conversations with Anton Bruckner. He took an intense interest in the visual arts (the paintings of Arnold Böcklin, for instance, touched him deeply) and with the basic questions of æsthetics he had addressed in the final chapter of Gœthe's Theory of Knowledge (« Knowledge and Artistic Creation ») . He made an impression on his audience when he developed his thoughts on this theme in a public lecture on November 9, 1888, given to the Vienna Gœthe Society at the invitation of Karl Julius Schröer.

Side by side with the scientific undertakings of the Congress, one experienced the religious questions and the artistic impulses. On Pentecost Sunday, June 4, Doctor Friedrich Rittelmeyer spoke on « The Spirit of Pentecost and Religious Renewal » . The artistic part of the conference was introduced by Albert Steffen in a lecture on « The Position of the Artist between West and East » and a lecture by Doctor Erich Schwebesch on « Anton Bruckner's Musical Mission » . Out of Albert Steffen's lecture was later developed one of his most beautiful literary productions, and Doctor Schwebesch, inspired by Rudolf Steiner's long-continued high-evaluation of Bruckner, produced later a book which helped greatly in expanding the appreciation of this composer. During the Congress, there was a magnificent production of Bruckner's great Mass in F minor by a combination of 3 musical organizations of Vienna. Classical music was represented by a program produced on modern instruments built by the violin-maker Doctor Franz Thomastik (luthier

and Doctor of Philosophy) .

In the course of the past Centuries, had not Vienna been to the development of music what Athens had once been to the creation of sculpture and architecture ? Both cities-seedbeds for gifted geniuses ! Yet, just as Plato and Aristotle appeared only after the arts had come into full-flower, so it was only after Anton Bruckner's great accomplishments that the young Rudolf Steiner left Austria, for the end of the Classical and Romantic epoch of music coincided with the beginning of the Michæl age, which led to the birth of anthroposophy.

Much more so than in Stuttgart, the musical element was a fully integrated part of the activities at the Vienna Congress. This became evident in the distinctive artistic performances, scheduled for the afternoons and culminating on Whit-Monday in the Bruckner celebration to be presented by members of the Vienna Philharmonic, the Bruckner Choir under the direction of Professor Weber, and also the Maireck-Buxbaum String Quartet. In addition to the 2 string concerts by the Thomastik Quartet, 2 eurythmy presentations under the direction of Marie Steiner took place in the « Volksoper » . A performance of recitation, an evening of arias and songs by Valborg Svardstrom-Werbeck, and 2 lectures ; one by Albert Steffen entitled « The Position of the Artist Between East and West » , and the other by Erich Schwebsch called « Anton Bruckner's Musical Mission » were also on the program.

Rudolf Steiner, in some ways, resembles Anton Bruckner, another rustic genius who was known for his social « faux-pas » and who was Steiner's older contemporary. Like Steiner, Bruckner had an unshakable belief in spiritual reality ; he once remarked that his Symphonies were all dedicated to God.

Steiner was determined and worked late into the night, his gaze turned firmly to the future. By 1886-1887, he had moved to Vienna and often spent the evenings meeting friends in town-young artists, poets and other seekers - whom he felt close to and with whom he discussed cultural issues. One of these friends was Fritz Lemmermayer, the affable poet he had 1st met in « delle Grazie's » salon. Lemmermayer lived in simple lodgings in an old building near Saint-Stephen's Cathedral where he wrote his novel « The Alchemist » , which is set in 15th Century Cologne. He had studied philosophy, history, and literature at the Vienna University and brought his friend, the highly-musical composer Alfred Stroß, who later died under tragic circumstances, to « delle Grazie's » meetings to play the piano. Lemmermayer looked after many young artists among his friends and introduced them to Rudolf Steiner. He also published an anthology of Austrian verse.

On the title page of Bruckner's recent published work, Friedrich Eckstein wrote a friendly inscription to Rudolf Steiner, recalling their days of joint spiritual search (this title page is reproduced in « Briefe » , volume I) . Eckstein's memoirs, « Alta unnennbare Tage » is a mine of information concerning the years that Steiner was in Vienna.

In his article « Schœnberg and the Occult : Some Reflections on the “ Musical Idea ” » (Theory and Practice : Journal of the Music Society of New York State, No. 17, 1992 ; pages 103-118) , the musicologist John Covach speculates that some of the people influenced by Rudolf Steiner's work on Gœthe, and who may even have heard of his « café » conversations, were the composers Arnold Schœnberg and Anton Webern, members of the so-called Second Viennese School, responsible for modern developments in music like the 12 tone system and serial composition. Both Schœnberg

and his friend Wassily Kandinsky were later clearly influenced by Steiner's occult ideas, as is apparent from Kandinsky's essay, « On the Spiritual in Art », and in his correspondence with Schönberg ; Kandinsky attended some of Steiner's lectures as well. (Another central occult influence on Schönberg was Emanuel Swedenborg.) Covach points-out that, by the time Schönberg was himself a frequenter of Vienna's « cafés », the occult scene in Vienna was at its height, and that although Steiner himself had by this time (the 1890's) moved on to Weimar and Berlin, his ideas about Goethe's world-view were still part of « café » discussion. Webern's radically compressed compositions are a musical expression of Goethe's « Urphänomen », the most vocal and visible advocate of which at that time was Steiner.

Rudolf Steiner, das musikalische Wien und Anton Bruckner (1879-1925)

Wien und die Musik, ein geologisches Phänomen.

Rudolf Steiner in Wien im Kreise von Bruckner- und Wagnerverehrern : Friedrich Eckstein, Fritz Lemmermayer, Alfred Stroß, Hugo Wolf, Rudolf Steiner als Hörer von Bruckners Vorlesungen für Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt an der Universität Wien.

Die Bedeutung von Bruckners ausgiebigem Kontrapunkt Studium für dessen Schaffen.

Begegnungen mit Bruckner im Café Griensteidl zwischen 1886 und 1890.

Rudolf Steiner und Bruckners Symphonien IV, VI und IX.

Begegnungen mit dem Bruckner Sekretär und Biographen August Göllerich in Linz 1911 und Kitzbühl 1912.

Rudolf Steiner und Erich Schweschs Bruckner-Forschungen.

Bruckner Aufführungen zur Eröffnung des Ersten Hochschulkurses September 1920, zur Bruckner-Feier während des West-Ost Kongresses 1922 und zu anderen Gelegenheiten.

Bruckners Musik in eurythmischer Darstellung.

Rudolf Steiner über die Bedeutung von Bruckners Musik als eines spirituellen Neubeginns.

Rudolf Steiner und die Kunst der Musik

1) Der Musikbegriff des frühen Rudolf Steiner, seine Musikalität und seine musiktheoretischen Kenntnisse (1872-1925)

Rudolf Steiner und die Musik.

Musik in der Kindheit.

Musikbegriff in der frühen Wiener Zeit (1879-1882) .

Rudolf Steiners früher Musikbegriff und Goethes Ästhetik, Über das Heilige und Profane in der Musik (1882-1896) .

Schopenhauer und die Musik.

Rudolf Steiners Musikalität, seine Kenntnis der Musiktheorie ; seine Anschauung über Musik nach Aussagen von ihm selbst sowie Adolf Arenson, Fritz Kœgel, Ralph Kux, Ilona Schubert und Jan Stuten.

2) Rudolf Steiner, das musikalische Wien und Anton Bruckner (1879-1925)

Wien und die Musik, ein geologisches Phänomen.

Rudolf Steiner in Wien im Kreise von Bruckner- und Wagnerverehrern : Friedrich Eckstein, Fritz Lemmermayer, Alfred Stroß, Hugo Wolf.

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Bruckners Musik in eurythmischer Darstellung.

Rudolf Steiner über die Bedeutung von Bruckners Musik als eines spirituellen Neubeginns.

3) Rudolf Steiner und Richard Wagner (1879-1924)

Rudolf Steiner und der Besuch verschiedener Wagner Opern in Wien, Weimar, Berlin und Stuttgart zwischen 1880 und 1924.

Rudolf Steiner und das Weimarer Musikleben : Wagner, Liszt, Strauß und andere.

Rudolf Steiner in Bayreuth ; über das Bayreuther Festspielhaus und das erste Götetheatrum.

Die tragische « Sternen-Freundschaft » zwischen Richard Wagner und Friedrich Nietzsche.

Über die geistige Bedeutung Wagners als einem « der größten Musiker der neueren Zeit » in verschiedenen Aspekten
zahlreicher Vorträge zwischen 1904 und 1924.

Über die Bedeutung des « Parsifal » .

Über das « Unmusikalische » in Wagners Musik, Hanslick contra Wagner, von Rudolf Steiner kommentiert und über die
Wirkungen von Wagners Musik.

Richard Wagner über Wiedergeburt.

Rudolf Steiner über Richard Wagner als Mensch und seine Entelechie.

4) Erste Okkulte Betrachtungen über das Wesen des Musikalischen (1906ff)

Die Musikmetropole Berlin vor dem I. Weltkrieg ; Hans Pfitzner im Kreis der Kommenden ; Ferruccio Busoni und seine
Ästhetik der neuen Musik.

Erste Vorträge über geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung zum Musikalischen und der Beginn der musikalischen Moderne.

Das kompositorische Schaffen als unbewußte Erinnerung an die Sphärenharmonien im Schlaf.

Dur und Moll als menschenkundlich gegründete musikalische Phänomene.

5) Auf dem Weg zum Gesamtkunstwerk - München und die Mysteriendramen (1906-1913)

Die Kunststadt München.

Der Münchner Kongreß, Rosenkreuzerische Geisteswissenschaft und der Impuls zur Erneuerung des Künstlerischen.

Edouard Schuré's Mysteriendrama « Eleusis » (1907) mit Musik von Bernhard Stavenhagen.

Edouard Schuré's « Die Kinder des Luzifer » (1909) mit Musik von Adolf Arenson.

Rudolf Steiners Mysteriendramen als Gesamtkunstwerk : Sprache, Schauspiel, Eurythmie, Musik, Farben.

Zur Musik für die Mysteriendramen von Adolf Arenson.

Zeitgleiche Experimente und Entwicklungen bei Arnold Schœnberg « Die Jakobsleiter » , Alexander Skrjabin « Das Mysterium » , Charles Ives « Die Weltall Symphonie » .

6) Kunst im Lichte der Mysterienweisheit (1914-1920)

Der Baubeginn in Dornach ab 1914 und die anthroposophische Künstler-Kolonie.

Die dreifache Stellung der Musik in den frühen Dornacher Jahren.

Die Anfänge der Musik und Toneurythmie zu den Faust-Aufführungen.

Die Vorträge : Kunst im Lichte der Mysterienweisheit.

Technik und Kunst.

Die Künste und insbesondere die Musik und ihr Zusammenhang mit den Wesensgliedern des Menschen.

Astralleib und Ätherleib und das Musikalische.

Musik als Ausdruck der Einweihungserlebnisse.

Das sittlich-moralische Erleben des einzelnen Tones.

7) Das neue Erleben des Einzeltones (1915-1924)

Die Eröffnung des Gœtheanums mit dem Ersten Hochschulkurs September-Oktober 1920.

Fragen und Gespräche zum Einzeltonerlebnis während des Hochschulkurses.

Weitere Darstellungen verschiedener Aspekte des Einzeltonerlebnisses vor Musikern, Pädagogen, Priestern, Anthroposophen in Dornach, Stuttgart, Oslo.

Zeitgleiche Gedanken zur musikalischen Umbruchsituation und deren möglichen neuen musikalischen Mitteln (zum Beispiel als Reaktion auf Busonis Schrift von 1907 bei Bartók, Pfitzner und Schœnberg) .

Edmund Hussels Phänomenologie und das Erlebnis des Einzeltones.

Einzeltonerlebnis bei anderen Komponisten : Claude Debussy, Giacinto Scelsi, Karlheinz Stockhausen « Ich bin die Töne » und andere.

8) Das Hören, der musikalische Ton und das Musikerleben

Der hörende Mensch.

Der musikalische Ton.

Musik als Akustik (Mersenne, Helmholtz, Meyer-Eppler) und als sinnlich-sittliches Erlebnis (Goethe) , eine kulturgeschichtliche Zwischenbemerkung.

Das Okkulte Erleben des Musikalischen.

9) Zur Frage des Gesangs (1910-1924)

« Das Überleiten des Tones auf den Ätherleib » (1916) .

Hinweise Rudolf Steiners für das künstlerische Singen für die amerikanische Sängerin Gracia Ricardo, die Opernsängerin Martha Hundshausen-Hemsoth und Carl von Behr.

Valborg Werbeck-Svärdströms Zusammenarbeit mit Rudolf Steiner und ihre von ihm 1924 autorisierte « anthroposophisch orientierte Gesangspädagogik » .

Rudolf Steiner über die zukünftige Aufgabe des Singens und Gesangs und deren neue Elemente.

10) Zur Frage der Instrumente (1914-1924)

Zu den neuen Streichinstrumenten von Franz Thomastik in Wien.

Rudolf Steiners Zuordnung der Orchesterinstrumente und der Orgel zu verschiedenen Bereichen der geistigen und terrestrischen Welt.

Die neue Leier - Edmund Pracht, Lothar Gärtner, Julius Knierim.

Zum Klavier.

Zur Geschichte der Orgel im ersten Goetheanum.

11) Zur Frage der Tonordnungen und der Erweiterung des Tonsystems (1921-1924)

Die englische Musikarchäologin und Musikwissenschaftlerin Kathleen Schlesinger und die australische Komponistin und Pianistin Elsie Hamilton als Teilnehmerinnen des Zweiten Anthroposophischen Hochschulkurses in Dornach, April 1921.

Rudolf Steiner im Austausch mit Kathleen Schlesinger und Elsie Hamilton über Schlesingers Forschungen zu griechischen Aulos-Skalen Dornacher Musiker (und andere Leopold van der Pals und Wilhelm Dörfler) und Kathleen Schlesingers Forschungen.

Elsie Hamilton als Schülerin Alban Bergs sowie eine Begegnung von Kathleen Schlesinger und Elsie Hamilton mit Arnold Schönberg in London.

Béla Bartók und die Forschungen Schlesingers.

Aus musiktheoretischer Überschau : Hermann Pfrogner und Heiner Ruland.

Neue Wege bei Komponisten : wie Ferruccio Busoni, Béla Bartók, Alois Hába, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Luigi Nono, und andere.

12) Musikalisch-konkrete Anregungen Rudolf Steiners im Gespräch mit verschiedenen Musikern

Rudolf Steiners ungeschriebene Musikgeschichte von der Lemuris bis zur Neuzeit als Spiegel der Entwicklung des Menschen.

Zur Bedeutung des « Melos » .

« Großrhythmus und Kleinrhythmus » - zu Wilhelm Lewerenz, später bei Stockhausen, Gubaidulina, Bleffert unter andere mehr.

« Musikalische Form heißt Biographik » - zu Jan Stuten.

Die Bedeutung des Tones C und der Stimmung C 128 hz und die daraus entwickelte.

Renold-Stimmung.

Musikpädagogische Anregungen : Paul Baumann und das Ehepaar Ziemann-Molitor.

Anregungen zur Kultusmusik auf Fragen der Priester der Christengemeinschaft.

Rudolf Steiners musikalisches Vermächtnis im letzten Vortrag des Vortragszyklus « Das Initiatenbewusstsein » .

Weitere von Rudolf Steiner für Herbst 1924 und 1925 geplante Musik-, Gesangs- und Toneurythmiekurse, die durch seine Krankheit und den frühen Tod nicht mehr zustande kamen.

13) Toneurythmie und der Toneurythmiekurs (1915-1924)

Die Anfänge der Toneurythmie in Köln 1913, Dresden 1914 und Dornach 1915ff.

Rudolf Steiners Formen zur Toneurythmie nach dem Klavier und Formen zur Toneurythmie auf dem Krankenbett ohne Klavier.

Rudolf Steiner und Josef Matthias Hauer's Musikbegriff zwischen Tao und Moderne.

Zur Vorbereitung des Toneurythmiekurses : mit den Musiklehren von Hugo Riemann und Hermann Grabner.

Komponisten zur Eurythmie in Dornach zu Steiners Lebzeiten : Lewerenz, Leopold van der Pals, Max Schuurmann, Jan Stuten und andere.

14) Die Wirkenskräfte des Musikalischen

Was wollte Rudolf Steiner im Musikalischen und was dachte er sich dazu im ersten Gøetheanum ? Im Zentrum standen Dramatische Kunst und die Eurythmie. Marie Steiner-von Sievers wollte keinen Orchestergraben.

Die ersten Musikertagungen nach Steiners Tod 1926 und 1927.

Seither Studien verschiedener Musiker auf verschiedensten Gebieten zur Erneuerung und Vertiefung des Musikalischen.

Das Schaffen dreier Generationen von Komponisten, deren Schaffen von der Anthroposophie befruchtet war/ist, hauptsächlich in Europa, aber auch in Nordamerika, Ostasien und Australien : Georg von Albrecht, Frank Michæl Beyer, Hans Georg Burghardt, Lamberto Caffarelli, Johann Nepomuk David, Wilhelm Dørfler, Eve Duncan, Takashi Fudjii, Claudio Gregorat, Alois Hába, Roberto Lupi, Gianni Luporini, Wilhelm Petersen, Felix Petyrek, Peter Michæl Riehm, Jay Sydemann, Viktor Ullmann, Henri Zagwijn.

Wirkensfelder des Musikimpulses Rudolf Steiners in Pädagogik, Therapie und Kultus, bis hin zur Pflanzenzucht.

Anhang.

Wie entwickelten sich die Impulse Rudolf Steiners bis in die Gegenwart weiter ?

Originaltexte.

Zum Erleben des Einzeltons : Heiner Ruland (geboren 1934) , Gunhild von Kries (geboren 1956) , Steffen Hartmann (geboren 1978) .

Zur Frage des Gesangs : Name unbekannt.

Zur Frage der Instrumente : Christian Ginat-Streichinstrumente, Johann Sonnleitner-Tastensinstrumente, Gerhard Beilharz-Die Leier.

Zum Komponieren : Manfred Bleffert (geboren 1950) , Elmar Lampson (geboren 1952) , Eve Duncan (geboren 1956) , Wolfram Graf (geboren 1965) , Jitka Koželuhová (geboren 1966) , Torben Maiwald (geboren 1978) .

Rudolf Steiners Musikbibliothek.

Rudolf Steiners Vorträge über Richard Wagner.

Literaturliste.

Personenregister.

Eurythmie

Eurythmy is an expressive movement art originated by Rudolf Steiner in conjunction with Marie von Sivers in the early 20th Century. Primarily a performance art, it is also used in education, especially in Waldorf schools, and (as part of anthroposophic medicine) for claimed therapeutic purposes.

The word eurythmy stems from Greek roots meaning beautiful or harmonious rhythm.

The gestures in the eurythmist's movement repertoire relate to the sounds and rhythms of speech, to the tones and rhythms of music and to soul experiences, such as joy and sorrow. Once these fundamental repertoire elements are learned, they can be composed into free artistic expressions. The eurythmist also cultivates a feeling for the qualities of straight lines and curves, the directions of movement in space (forward, backward, up, down, left, right) , contraction and expansion, and colour. The element of colour is also emphasized both through the costuming, usually given characteristic colours for a piece or part and formed of long, loose fabrics that accentuate the movements rather than the bodily form, and through the lighting, which saturates the space and changes with the moods of the piece.

Eurythmy's aim is to bring the artists' expressive movement and both the performers' and audience's feeling experience into harmony with a piece's content ; eurythmy is, thus, sometimes called « visible music » or « visible speech » , expressions that originate with its founder, Rudolf Steiner, who described eurythmy as an « art of the soul » .

Most eurythmy today is performed to Classical (concert) music or texts such as poetry or stories. Silent pieces are also sometimes performed.

When performing eurythmy with music (also called tone eurythmy), the 3 major elements of music, melody, harmony and rhythm, are all expressed. The melody is primarily conveyed through expressing its rise and fall; the specific pitches; and the intervallic qualities present. Harmony is expressed through movement between tension and release, as expressions of dissonance and consonance, and between the more inwardly directed minor mood and the outwardly directed major mood. Rhythm is chiefly conveyed through livelier and more contoured movements for quick notes, slower, dreamier movements for longer notes; in addition, longer tones move into the more passive (listening) back space, quicker tones into the more active front space.

Breaths or pauses are expressed through a larger or smaller movement in space, giving new impulse to what follows. Beat is conveyed through greater emphasis of downbeats, or those beats upon which stress is normally placed. Beat is generally treated as a subsidiary element. Eurythmy has only occasionally been done to popular music, in which beat plays a large role.

The timbre of individual instruments is brought into the quality both of the tonal gestures and of the whole movement of the eurythmist. Usually, there will be a different eurythmist or group of eurythmists expressing each instrument, for example in chamber or Symphonic music.

A piece's choreography usually expresses elements such as the major or minor key, the shape of the melody line, the interplay between voices or instruments and the relative dominance of one or another voice or instrument. Thus, musicians can often follow even the finest details of their part in the movements of the eurythmists on stage. Particular musical forms (e.g., the Sonata) can have special characteristic choreographic expressions.

Eurythmy is often performed with spoken texts such as poetry, stories or plays. Speech eurythmy includes such elements as the sounds of speech, rhythms, poetic meters, grammar and mood. In speech eurythmy, all the sounds of language have characteristic gestural qualities: the sound of an « A » is open due to the position of the articulators during the vowel. A « k » sounds sharper due to the manner of articulation of the consonant, that it is a plosive. Note that it is the audible sounds themselves, not the letters of the written language, that are expressed.

Eurythmy was conceived in 1911 when a widow brought her young daughter, Lory Smits, who was interested in movement and dance, to the Austrian philosopher Rudolf Steiner. Due to the recent loss of her father, it was necessary for the girl to find a career. Steiner's advice was sought; he suggested that the girl begin working on a new art of movement. As preparation for this, she began to study human anatomy, to explore the human step, to contemplate the movement implicit in Greek sculpture and dance, and to find movements that would express spoken sentences using the sounds of speech. Soon, a number of other young people became interested in this form of expressive movement.

During these years, Steiner was writing a new drama each year for performance at the Anthroposophical Society's

summer gatherings ; beginning in 1912, he began to incorporate the new art of movement into these dramas. When the Society decided to build an artistic center in Dornach, Switzerland (this later became known as the « Gœtheanum ») , a small stage group began work and offered weekly performances of the developing art. Marie Steiner-von Sivers, Steiner's wife, who was a trained actress and speech artist, was given responsibility for training and directing this ensemble. This 1st eurythmy ensemble went on tour in 1919, performing across Switzerland, the Netherlands and Germany.

Steiner saw eurythmy as a unique expression of the anthroposophical impulse :

« It is the task of Anthroposophy to bring a greater depth, a wider vision and a more living spirit into the other forms of art. But the art of Eurythmy could only grow-up out of the soul of Anthroposophy ; could only receive its inspiration through a purely Anthroposophical conception. »

(Rudolf Steiner)

According to Steiner :

« In eurythmy, we present in the form and movement of the human organism a direct external proof of a man's share in the life of the super-sensible world. When people do eurythmy, they are linked directly with the super-sensible world. Whenever art is formed from a truly artistic conviction, it bears witness to the connection of the human being with the super-sensible world. »

(Dornach, Switzerland, 12 September 1920.)

In 1924, Steiner gave 2 intensive work-shops on different aspects of eurythmy ; transcripts of his talks during these workshops are published as « Eurythmy as Visible Speech » and « Eurythmy as Visible Singing » .

Eurythmy ensembles in Stuttgart, Germany, and at the « Gœtheanum » soon became established parts of the cultural life of Europe. The « Gœtheanum » ensemble was recognized with a gold medal at the Paris Exposition of 1937-1938. The Stuttgart training and ensemble, led by Else Klink, had to close in the Nazi period but re-opened shortly after the close of World War II. There are now training centers and artistic ensembles in many countries.

The word « eurythmy » stems from Greek roots meaning beautiful or harmonious rhythm. The term was used by Ancient Greek and Roman architects to refer to the harmonious proportions of a design or building ; the English word « eurythmy » was used from the 17th to 19th Century to refer not only to harmonious architectural proportions, but also to « rhythmical order or movement » and « a graceful proportion and carriage of the body » .

There are notable eurythmy ensembles in Dornach, Switzerland ; Stuttgart, Germany ; The Hague, Netherlands ; London, England ; Järna, Sweden ; and Chestnut Ridge, New York (near NYC) . All of these groups both perform locally and tour internationally. Many smaller performing groups also exist. High-schools that have their own performing ensembles

include the San Francisco Waldorf High-School ensemble.

When the 1st Waldorf School was founded in 1919, Eurythmy was included in the curriculum. It was quickly recognized as a successful complement to gymnastics in the school's movement program and is now taught in most Waldorf schools, as well as in many non-Waldorf pre-school centers, « kindergartens » and schools. It is taught to all ages from pre-schools through high-school and into college. Its purpose is to awaken and strengthen the expressive capacities of children through movement, stimulating the child to bring imagination, ideation and conceptualization to the point where they can manifest these as « vital, moving forms » in physical space. It is also thought to improve balance, coordination, concentration, rhythm, and form an awareness of patterns.

Eurythmy pedagogical exercises begin with the straight line and curve and proceed through successively more complicated geometric figures and choreographed forms, developing a child's coordination and concentration. An extensive set of special exercises has also been developed for pedagogical purposes. These include metamorphosing geometric patterns and dynamic movement sequences.

Rods or balls are sometimes used in exercises to develop precision in movement, to expand the experience of space, develop precise balance, and to objectify the movement experience. The rods are usually approximately the length of an arm ; the balls are of a size to fit comfortably in one hand. Both are generally made of copper, a material receptive to warmth.

Though there are some independent post-graduate trainings for pedagogical eurythmy, this aspect is frequently included in courses focusing on artistic work.

Eurythmy is a component of anthroposophic medicine, a system of alternative medicine which has been characterized by some critics as unscientific, pseudo-scientific and as « pure quackery » .

According to the precepts of anthroposophic medicine, a human has 4 aspects which need to be treated : spirit, soul, life and matter. Eurythmy is one of the practices said to act on the « life » aspect, and is claimed to effect an « improvement of health related life functions » . A person receiving eurythmy therapy moves under the guidance of a eurythmy therapist, who will have been trained 2 years beyond the 4 year fundamental course in eurythmy. The movements may be adapted to the condition of the person being treated ; for example, they may be done while either sitting or even lying down. Therapeutic eurythmy is claimed to bring about a « re-integration of body, soul, and spirit » .

A 2008 review in BMC Complementary and Alternative Medicine said that eurythmy was a « potentially relevant add-on » to a therapeutic program, but though the studies reviewed reported improvement in symptoms, limitations in the underlying data and in the review methods means these conclusions « warrant cautious interpretation » .

Le « Goetheanum »

Le 1er « Gœtheanum » était un imposant bâtiment en bois surmonté de 2 coupoles, sculptées et ornées de fresques à l'intérieur. Sa construction commença en 1913. Inauguré en 1920, l'édifice fut détruit par un incendie dans la nuit de la Saint-Sylvestre 1922-1933. Rudolf Steiner présenta en 1924 la maquette du « Gœtheanum » actuel.

Ce 2e « Gœtheanum » fut édifié de 1925 à 1928. C'est la 1re construction aux dimensions monumentales qui utilise les possibilités plastiques du béton armé pour élaborer des formes. Selon le style architectural des 2 « Gœtheanum », chaque élément, chaque forme et chaque couleur sont conçus dans une correspondance interne et s'articulent selon des métamorphoses qui constituent un tout. Les silhouettes du second « Gœtheanum » et des bâtiments annexes épousent la topographie du paysage, le relief du terrain et les contours de la montagne qui surmonte la vallée de la Birse, voisine du Jura, à 10 kilomètres au sud-est de Bâle.

Les hautes fenêtres sur les flancs et la vaste fenêtre orientée vers l'ouest suggèrent la présence de la grande salle par derrière. Un regard à l'intérieur donne un aperçu de ce qu'expriment l'architecture, l'aménagement intérieur et les vitraux colorés de cet espace clos sur lui-même. Autour de la salle, de la vaste montée d'escalier côté ouest et derrière la scène côté est, se trouvent les garde-robes des artistes, des scènes annexes pour les répétitions, des salles d'exercices, les ateliers techniques et de couture et le dépôt des décors. Au nord et au sud sont situés les salles de séminaire, de conférence et de travail, la librairie, la bibliothèque et les archives, les secrétariats des sections et de la Société, les bureaux administratifs et destinés aux séminaires, la réception, le bureau d'information et la cafétéria.

La colline qui entoure le « Gœtheanum » est une vaste zone de verdure, où sont répartis divers bâtiments : les maisons des sections, des ateliers, des laboratoires de recherche et un observatoire céleste ; des centres de formation et des logements pour les étudiants ; la jardinerie, des ateliers et des bureaux ; des maisons d'habitation et d'hébergement des visiteurs et, au pied de la colline, le restaurant « Speisehaus » .

Plus de 300 personnes travaillent sur ce campus. Des milliers de visiteurs se rendent au « Gœtheanum » chaque année. Le « Gœtheanum » ressemble à une immense sculpture, à un être vivant. C'est un centre de culture et de rencontre.

...

Le « Gœtheanum » est un bâtiment érigé sur la colline de Dornach, à 10 kilomètres au sud de Bâle. Il constitue le siège de la Société anthroposophique universelle et de l'« École Libre de Science de l'Esprit » fondées par Rudolf Steiner qui lui a donné ce nom en référence aux travaux de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

Dans ce bâtiment construit autour d'une grande salle de théâtre, sont encore données des représentations intégrales du « Faust » de Goethe. On y donne encore régulièrement des concerts et des spectacles d'eurythmie. En outre, plusieurs congrès s'y tiennent chaque année.

Le « Gœtheanum » comporte une vaste bibliothèque publique, une librairie, des salles de cours et de conférences. On peut aussi y voir des vitraux obtenus par la technique du dessin hachuré, ainsi que le groupe sculpté du «

Représentant de l'Humanité » , qui échappa à l'incendie du 1er « Gøetheanum » , car il n'était pas encore en place.

Dans les Iers temps du mouvement anthroposophique, les représentations théâtrales étaient données dans des salles louées, notamment à Munich entre 1910 et 1913. Ce fut le cas pour les « Drames-Mystères » de Rudolf Steiner et pour certaines pièces d'Édouard Schuré. Les membres envisageaient de construire un théâtre et centre d'activités qui leur fut propre à Munich. Bien que les esquisses et préparatifs d'une telle construction fussent déjà bien avancés en 1911, il ne fut pas possible de construire un tel bâtiment à Munich pour des raisons urbanistiques et administratives. Certains membres de la Société anthroposophique offrirent à Rudolf Steiner un terrain situé sur une colline à Dornach, à proximité de Bâle. Le projet de Munich fut alors adapté à son nouvel environnement et la 1re pierre fut posée le 20 septembre 1913, sur la colline de Dornach. C'était une construction en bois à coupole double, ornée de sculptures et de peintures. En pleine Guerre, les membres de 17 nations ennemies œuvrèrent ensemble à son édification. Il fut inauguré en septembre 1920 par un congrès bien qu'il ne soit pas complètement achevé intérieurement. Une trentaine d'orateurs furent conviés à y prendre la parole à cette occasion. Cet édifice d'une taille respectable (80 mètres par 60 mètres au sol, pour une hauteur de 34 mètres) avait été conçu pour accueillir environ 900 spectateurs environ.

Dans ce 1er « Gøetheanum » , il y avait 9 fenêtres munies de vitraux colorés disposés en triptyque. Rudolf Steiner fit construire un atelier spécial (« Das Glashaus » : la Maison de verre) , à proximité, pour la fabrication de ces vitraux, qui furent gravés au moyen de meules au carborundum. La technique de gravure consistait à faire naître le motif en faisant varier l'épaisseur du verre coloré. L'impression de relief était obtenue par les variations de la profondeur de gravure qui modulaient le passage de la lumière. Il fut détruit par un incendie criminel dans la nuit de la Saint-Sylvestre 1922-1923. Au matin du Nouvel-An de 1923, il était consumé : seules demeuraient les fondations en béton. Une place spéciale avait été réservée à une sculpture haute de 9 mètres 50 réalisée par Edith Maryon et Rudolf Steiner. Cette sculpture monumentale, de quelque 20 tonnes, que Steiner nommait « le Représentant de l'Humanité » , échappa à l'incendie car elle était en cours d'achèvement dans un atelier attenant à la menuiserie.

En mars 1924, Rudolf Steiner réalisa des esquisses et la maquette du second « Gøetheanum » , qui fut construit en béton armé entre 1925 et 1928. Toutefois, pour des raisons urbanistiques, certaines modifications durent être faites au projet initial. L'édifice fut ainsi un peu moins élevé qu'initialement prévu. C'était le 1er bâtiment de taille monumentale (85 mètres par 91 mètres à la base, pour une hauteur de 37 mètres) à être construit avec ce matériau. En 1928, on inaugurait un bâtiment encore à l'état brut et, dans les 70 années suivantes jusqu'en 1998, la construction fut poursuivie par étapes sur l'emplacement même du 1er bâtiment. Ce nouveau « Gøetheanum » devait, outre une salle de spectacle pour 1,000 personnes, contenir des locaux pour les diverses activités : ateliers, salles de conférences, bureaux, etc. Une petite salle de spectacle, non prévue à l'origine, fut ajoutée au rez-de-chaussée, la « Grundsteinsaal » (salle de la pierre de fondation) . Elle peut accueillir 450 personnes.

La grande salle de spectacle, qui se trouve à l'étage supérieur, resta inachevée jusqu'en 1957. Les vitraux, qui ornent cette grande salle, et le grand hall de l'entrée principale située du côté ouest, furent cette fois réalisés au moyen d'une autre technique de gravure. Steiner demanda à Assia Tourgueniev d'exécuter toutes les gravures selon la technique du dessin hachuré. Dans la partie sud de l'étage supérieur, un emplacement fut aussi réservé dans un local distinct pour le groupe en bois d'orme sculpté par Steiner et Edith Marion. En août 1996, des travaux importants

furent entrepris pour remodeler la grande salle dont l'architecture laissait à désirer pour satisfaire aux principes de l'architecture organique particulière de Steiner. Les plafonds furent, à cette occasion, ornés de fresques dont les sujets sont empruntés à « La science de l'occulte » et au processus initiatique moderne. La Grande salle fut inaugurée lors d'un congrès à Pâques, en 1998.

...

Le « Gœtheanum » s'élève sur la colline de Dornach, à 10 kilomètres au sud de Bâle, dans le paysage du Jura. Il constitue le centre de la Société Anthroposophique Universelle, qui est active dans le monde entier. Il s'engage à promouvoir une vie culturelle et spirituelle libre, dans différents domaines :

École de science de l'esprit.

Siège de la Société Anthroposophique Universelle.

Centre de séminaires et de cours.

Spectacles : théâtre, eurythmie, concerts, récitation, marionnettes.

Expositions.

Bibliothèque et archives.

Le but de l'École de science de l'esprit au « Gœtheanum » est d'effectuer des recherches dans le domaine de l'esprit et d'approfondir ainsi la compréhension de l'existence, en étudiant les fondements de la science, de l'art et de la religion du point de vue de l'esprit, grâce à la formation permanente, à l'échange d'expériences, à l'enseignement et aux publications.

L'École s'articule selon les sections suivantes :

Section d'anthroposophie générale.

Section médicale.

Section des mathématiques et d'astronomie.

Section des sciences de la nature et département d'agriculture.

Section pédagogique.

Section des sciences sociales.

Section des arts plastiques.

Section des arts de la parole et de la musique.

Section des belles-lettres.

Section pour la recherche spirituelle de la jeunesse.

Siège de la Société anthroposophique universelle, le « Gœtheanum » cultive et coordonne les liens avec les membres des sociétés anthroposophiques de 45 pays et entre les membres organisés en nombreux groupes de travail locaux. Cette tâche est placée sous la responsabilité du comité directeur, du collège de l'École de Science de l'esprit et des collaborateurs du « Gœtheanum ». Le bulletin hebdomadaire « Das Gœtheanum », avec un supplément réservé aux membres, est une publication émanant de la société anthroposophique.

Les cours, les séminaires et les congrès présentent les réalisations artistiques et les résultats scientifiques des travaux de section, sous forme de séminaires d'anthroposophie générale, de congrès spécialisés ou de rencontres de travail entre enseignants, gestionnaires, artistes, apiculteurs, oncologues ou généticiens, pour ne citer que quelques exemples. Entre 120 et 150 cours, congrès ou séminaires, d'ampleur et de durée variables, se déroulent chaque année au « Gœtheanum » .

Rudolf Steiner né dans une région frontalière austro-hongroise et yougoslave, étudia à Vienne les sciences de la nature (mathématiques, physique, chimie) et publia, à Weimar, les œuvres scientifiques de Goethe. Il développa les méthodes de recherche de Goethe, qui avaient conduit celui-ci à la découverte de la plante primordiale (« Urpflanze ») et à la théorie de la métamorphose. Il choisit plus tard le nom de « Gœtheanum » pour l'édifice construit à Dornach. Dans ses écrits et ses conférences, il présenta les résultats de ses recherches.

Dans les 4 salles de théâtre (1,000 ; 450 ; 300 ; 180 places) , un programme très varié de représentations théâtrales, d'eurythmie, de récitations et de concerts est offert au public, que ce soit par le « Gœtheanum » lui-même avec son propre ensemble permanent de théâtre et d'eurythmie, ou par d'autres troupes ou ensembles invités, venant du monde entier. Entre autres, les 4 Drames-Mystères de Rudolf Steiner et le « Faust » de Goethe sont représentés régulièrement.

Le 1er « Gœtheanum » , dont la 1re pierre fut posée en 1913, fut inauguré en 1920, mais détruit par un incendie dans la nuit de la Saint-Sylvestre de 1922-1923. C'était une imposante construction de bois à coupole double, ornée de nombreuses sculptures et peintures. Avec ce bâtiment, Rudolf Steiner développa un style d'architecture organique, c'est-à-dire un style dans lequel, comme dans la plante, chaque partie, chaque forme, chaque couleur est en rapport étroit avec l'ensemble, et cet ensemble se relie aux éléments par des métamorphoses. En mars 1924, Rudolf Steiner réalisa la maquette du second « Gœtheanum » , qui fut construit en béton dans les années 1925-1928. C'était le 1er bâtiment de taille monumentale à être construit avec ce matériau et selon des formes plastiques. Mais les travaux

restèrent inachevés : en 1928, on inaugurait un bâtiment encore à l'état brut et, dans les 70 années suivantes jusqu'en 1998, la construction fut poursuivie par étapes, avec différents architectes :

Escalier sud.

Salle de la pierre de fondation de 450 places (1952 et 1989) .

Entrée ouest.

Aile nord (1985-1989) .

Grande salle (1re étape, 1956-1957, avec Johannes Schöpfer ; nouveaux aménagements en 1996-1998 avec Christian Hitsch et Ulrich Ölsner) .

La grande salle dispose d'environ 1,000 places et la grande scène (23 mètres de large, 20 mètres de profondeur ; 23 mètres de hauteur) est le cœur du bâtiment. Le thème de l'évolution est représenté de 3 façons : les murs de béton façonné et leur double rangée de 7 chapiteaux, socles et architrave évoquent les développements cosmiques et terrestres, depuis la création du monde jusque dans les lointains futurs. Les 12 motifs de la fresque du plafond illustrent la progression de l'humanité à travers les différentes époques culturelles, depuis la création de l'homme jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Les 9 vitraux de couleur sont des images du cheminement individuel de l'homme. Tous ces motifs sont liés à ceux du 1er « Gœtheanum » , mais sont extrapolés selon la forme et le style architectural du 2e. La grande sculpture en bois du « Représentant de l'Humanité » est une œuvre de Rudolf Steiner et d'Edith Maryon, sculpteur anglaise. Réalisée pour la scène du 1er « Gœtheanum » , elle n'était pas terminée au moment de l'incendie de 1922-1923 et se trouvait alors dans l'atelier de la « Menuiserie » , échappant ainsi aux flammes. Cette œuvre est exposée aujourd'hui dans une salle du 5e étage de l'aile sud.

Rudolf Steiner ne réalisa pas seulement le « Gœtheanum » , les bâtiments qui l'entourent et le site ont aussi été partiellement conçus par lui. La place ronde à l'ouest du « Gœtheanum » , les chemins, le rocher (« Felsli ») et le modelage du paysage remontent à l'époque du 1er « Gœtheanum » . Au cours des décennies s'est créée ici une atmosphère particulière qui associe repos, utilité, variété biologique et écologie.

Les constructions conçues par Rudolf Steiner sont visibles sur le plan de situation. Dans l'entourage du « Gœtheanum » , une centaine de maisons ou d'ateliers ont été construits au fil des ans par différents architectes, dans ce style d'architecture organique.

Le « Gœtheanum » , la maison Duldeck et le « Felsli » ont été classés monuments cantonaux et nationaux protégés, dans les années 1989-1993.

Plan des abords du « Gœtheanum » :

« L'Atelier de Verre » (« Glashaus ») édifié en 1914 pour tailler les vitraux du 1er « Gœtheanum » . Aujourd'hui, siège de la Section des sciences de la nature et de la maison d'édition « Verlag am Gœtheanum » .

La Maison Duldeck construite en 1915 comme maison d'habitation pour Monsieur Grosheintz, donateur du terrain sur lequel fut construit le « Gœtheanum » . Aujourd'hui, librairie et Éditions Rudolf Steiner.

3 Maisons d'eurythmistes construites en 1920 comme habitations pour les collaborateurs du « Gœtheanum » . Plan conçu par Edith Maryon, en collaboration avec Rudolf Steiner.

Maison van Blommestein : Maison-atelier construite en 1919 pour Louise van Blommestein, artiste-peintre. Aujourd'hui, maison d'habitation.

Magasin des livres (« Verlaghaus») construit en 1924 pour entreposer les livres des Éditions philosophiques-anthroposophiques. Aujourd'hui, salle de séminaires.

Annexe nord de la maison Brodbeck avec une salle d'eurythmie au rez-de-chaussée et un atelier à l'étage. Aujourd'hui, à l'étage, salle de travail et d'exposition des Archives Rudolf Steiner.

Maison de Jaeger - atelier construit en 1921 en mémoire du sculpteur Jacques de Jaeger, avec des pièces d'habitation pour sa veuve. Aujourd'hui, pièces à sa mémoire et appartement.

Transformateur public construit en 1921 pour la distribution de l'électricité.

Les frais courants du « Gœtheanum » et de près de 250 collaborateurs sont couverts, pour la plus grande partie, par les recettes des manifestations et par les cotisations des membres de la Société anthroposophique universelle. Le reste des frais, ainsi que les travaux de construction, sont financés par des dons. Le « Gœtheanum » ne reçoit aucune subvention publique, en exceptant un soutien pour la rénovation du béton de la façade par les Monuments historiques cantonaux et nationaux. Le « Gœtheanum » est reconnu institution d'utilité publique par les autorités suisses.

...

The « Gœtheanum » , located in Dornach (near Basel) , Switzerland, is the world center for the anthroposophical movement. The building was designed by Rudolf Steiner and named after Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. It includes 2 performance halls (1,500 seats) , gallery and lecture spaces, a library, a book-store, and administrative spaces for the Anthroposophical Society ; neighboring buildings house the Society's research and educational facilities. Conferences focusing on themes of general interest or directed toward teachers, farmers, doctors, therapists, and other professionals are held at the center throughout the year.

Both the present « Gœtheanum » building and its precursor have been widely cited as Masterpieces of modern architecture.

The « Gœtheanum » is open for visitors 7 days a week and offers tours several times daily.

The 1st « Gœtheanum », a timber and concrete structure designed by Rudolf Steiner, was one of 17 buildings Steiner designed and supervised between 1908 and 1925. It was intended as a « Gesamtkunstwerk » (the synthesis of diverse artistic media and sensory effects), infused with spiritual significance. Begun in 1913 to house the annual summer theater events of the Anthroposophical Society, it rapidly became the center of a small colony of spiritual seekers located in Dornach and based around Steiner. Numerous visual artists contributed to the building: architects created the unusual double-dome wooden structure over a curving concrete base, stained glass windows added colour into the space, painters decorated the ceiling with motifs depicting the whole of human evolution, and sculptors carved huge column bases, capitals, and architraves with images of metamorphoses.

Already during the construction, musicians, actors and movement artists began performing a wide variety of pieces in a neighboring workshop. When the « Gœtheanum » hall was completed, in 1919, these performances moved onto the stage located under the « Gœtheanum »'s smaller cupola. The auditorium was located under the larger cupola.

This building was destroyed by arson on New Year's Eve, December 31st, 1922 - January 1st, 1923.

In the course of 1923, Steiner designed a building to replace the original. This building, now known as the 2nd « Gœtheanum », was wholly built of cast concrete. Begun in 1924, the building was not completed until 1928, after the architect's death. It represents a pioneering use of visible concrete in architecture and has been granted protected status as a Swiss national monument. Art-critic Michael Brennan has called the building a « true Masterpiece of 20th Century expressionist architecture ».

The present « Gœtheanum » houses a 1,000 seat auditorium, now the center of an active artistic community incorporating performances of its in-house theater and eurythmy troupes as well as visiting performers from around the world. Full remodelings of the central auditorium took place in the mid- 1950's and, again, in the late- 1990's. The stained glass windows in the present building date from Steiner's time; the painted ceiling and sculptural columns are contemporary replications or re-interpretations of those in the 1st « Gœtheanum ».

In a dedicated gallery, the building also houses a 9 meter high wooden sculpture, « The Representative of Humanity », by Edith Maryon and Rudolf Steiner.

Steiner's architecture is characterized by a liberation from traditional architectural constraints, especially through the departure from the right-angle as a basis for the building plan. For the 1st « Gœtheanum », he achieved this in wood by employing boat-builders to construct its rounded forms; for the 2nd « Gœtheanum », by using concrete to achieve sculptural shapes on an architectural scale. The use of concrete to achieve organically expressive forms was an innovation for the times; in both buildings, Steiner sought to create forms that were spiritually expressive.

Steiner suggested that he had derived the sculptural forms of the 1st « Gœtheanum » as spiritual inspirations.

Steiner designed approximately 12 to 13 other built structures, principally residences in and around Dornach, as well as purpose built buildings such as the Glass House which houses the School of Spiritual Sciences. Steiner is one of very few major architects who was never the pupil of another major architect.

Architects who have visited and praised the « Goetheanum » 's architecture include : Henry van de Velde, Frank Lloyd Wright, Hans Scharoun and Frank Gehry.

Rudolf Steiner et Friedrich Eckstein

Au début du siècle, Vienne, cette ville où Jules Sauerwein fit ses premiers pas importants dans la vie, était un pôle culturel où se retrouvaient des compositeurs, des hommes de lettre, des mélomanes et des philosophes, mais aussi où des mouvements spirituels attiraient à eux les personnes en quête de formes de vie et de pensée différentes. De nature extrêmement sociable, Jules Sauerwein ne tarda pas à lier connaissance avec les personnes les plus diverses. Mais il considère tout d'abord avec un certain « scepticisme » les théosophes et les « voyants et guides spirituels » de tout acabit qu'il eut l'occasion de rencontrer :

« J'avais eu des motifs de concevoir quelques doutes, non point sur l'existence des mondes invisibles, mais sur la valeur morale et intellectuelle de ceux qui font métier d'en parler. »

Pourtant, si ces rencontres ne lui apportèrent pas ce qu'il recherchait, elles le menèrent tout de même plus loin. Ainsi, il fit la connaissance d'un certain nombre de disciples du franc-maçon chrétien Kerning, fondateur à Stuttgart, au début du XIXe siècle, d'un institut de formation spirituelle, parmi lesquels se trouvait une « vieille connaissance » de Rudolf Steiner, Friedrich Eckstein.

Friedrich Eckstein (1861-1939) , fils d'un directeur d'usine et protecteur des artistes viennois en mal d'argent, passait pour un touche-à-tout de génie. Ce grand voyageur était aussi à l'aise dans les sciences qu'en philosophie ou dans les arts, et il aimait la musique par-dessus tout. Jules Sauerwein se rappelle de lui comme d'un homme d'une « intelligence universelle » qui lui donna de précieuses clartés sur la vie intérieure, notamment sur les liens entre le corps éthérique et la pensée. Tout ce que Vienne comptait d'artistes, de musiciens et de scientifiques de renom se réunissait autour de la table qu'occupait Eckstein depuis le matin jusqu'au soir au « Café Impérial » . En 1887, alors qu'il n'avait que 25 ans, Helena Blavatsky, qui avait cru reconnaître en lui un « initié » , le nomma responsable de la branche viennoise de la Société théosophique. Mais, à l'époque où Jules Sauerwein fit sa connaissance, il s'était éloigné depuis longtemps de la théosophie, invoquant, d'après Rudolf Steiner, une vieille tradition de l'ésotérisme selon laquelle il ne faut pas « répandre la connaissance ésotérique comme on répand la connaissance ordinaire » .

On ne dira jamais assez l'importance d'Eckstein dans la vie du jeune Steiner (précisons que tous deux avaient le même âge) .

Steiner avait écrit à son ancien ami à la fin du mois de novembre 1890 :

« Il y a dans ma vie 2 événements que je considère comme les plus importants de mon existence. Ils sont si importants que je ne serais pas le même homme s'ils ne s'étaient pas produits. Je ne puis parler du 1er ; quant au second, il s'agit du fait que je vous aie rencontré. »

Friedrich Eckstein aurait dit à Sauerwein :

« L'homme qu'il vous faut connaître, c'est Rudolf Steiner. C'est mon ami intime. Je l'ai connu ici quand il était précepteur dans une famille. C'est plus et mieux qu'un théosophe. Je crois qu'il a travaillé sur lui-même avec des résultats assez étonnants. »

Certains indices laissent d'ailleurs supposer que la Ire rencontre entre Sauerwein et Steiner a été arrangée par Eckstein en personne. Il avait, en effet, assisté à l'une des conférences viennoises de Rudolf Steiner, et il se pourrait bien qu'il ait présenté personnellement Sauerwein à Steiner.

Alice Sauerwein a décrit, en 1928, cette Ire rencontre entre son frère et Rudolf Steiner :

« C'était à Vienne, il y a près de 25 ans, un soir, à la porte d'une salle de conférences, un tout jeune homme abordait Rudolf Steiner et lui demandait la permission d'entrer avec lui et de l'entendre parler. Ce fut le début d'une profonde et respectueuse amitié. »

On était en février 1907, le 22 très exactement. Steiner donnait à Vienne une conférence sur « l'ésotérisme chrétien et rosicrucien et le " Graal " » dans le cadre d'une tournée de conférences à travers l'Autriche-Hongrie. Et, ce soir-là, le jeune Sauerwein (peut-être était-il accompagné d'Eckstein) retint le conférencier à la porte de la salle pour le prier de bien vouloir le laisser entrer, la conférence étant réservée aux membres de la Société théosophique dont il ne faisait pas encore partie à l'époque. Et ce à quoi il eut alors l'occasion d'assister resta à jamais gravé dans sa mémoire.

Souvenirs de Jules Sauerwein

Rudolf Steiner : Un coup d'mil sur l'au-delà

(Cahiers trimestriels de l'Anthroposophie, décembre 1928.)

J'aborde ici l'histoire de mes relations avec le personnage le plus étrange, le plus séduisant, le plus admirable à beaucoup d'égards, que j'aie connu dans mon existence. Les autres, hommes d'État, chefs militaires, voire même souverains, font, sauf exceptions rares, assez petite figure quand on les regarde dans le recul du passé. Rudolf Steiner, au contraire, est un être derrière lequel tout un monde inconnu et formidable s'étend à l'infini, comme un décor qui prolonge la scène où évolue un personnage, mais un décor qui serait de la réalité. Quand je le revois sortant de la Ire conférence où je l'entendis, à Vienne, en 1906, quand je l'évoque descendant à petits pas la colline de Dornach, où s'élevait son école anthroposophique, il me semble qu'à travers lui une fenêtre s'est ouverte pour mon regard vers des

univers insoupçonnés.

J'avais de tout temps dans mon existence étudié avec passion la théosophie. J'avais été membre de plusieurs sociétés secrètes et je dois dire que j'avais eu des motifs de concevoir quelques doutes, non point sur « l'existence des mondes invisibles, mais sur la valeur » morale et intellectuelle de ceux qui font métier d'en parler. Je vivais à Vienne, depuis environ 1 an, d'une existence qui se partageait entre l'étude de la banque et le secrétariat de l'ambassadeur de France, avec, comme récréation, un peu de bonne musique de temps à autre, et j'avais plutôt tendance, à cette époque, à considérer avec quelque scepticisme « les voyants et les guides spirituels » .

Je trouvai à Vienne, heureusement, un homme qu'aujourd'hui encore, je considère comme un grand ami et un puissant esprit et qui, en m'expliquant les travaux étonnants des disciples de Kerning, prononça pour la Ire fois le nom de Rudolf Steiner. Cet homme qui vit encore à l'heure où j'écris ces pages, se nommait Maxim (Friedrich) Eckstein.

Comme les disciples de Kerning et comme tout bon Viennois, il avait lui aussi son café attitré. Chaque jour, avant et après le dîner, on le voyait au « Café Impérial » dégustant son « mélange » et dissertant paisiblement au milieu de ses amis. Son intelligence était universelle. Mais à côté de cela, il était réellement savant. Il avait fait des études de chimie très poussées. Sur l'histoire de l'art, il était imbattable. La musique, il la connaissait dans sa technique comme il en jouissait dans son esprit, et il s'honorait d'avoir aimé et compris Anton Bruckner, le fameux Symphoniste viennois, à une époque où il était à peu près seul à posséder ce privilège.

Eckstein me donna sur la vie intérieure quelques clartés qui, à 23 ans de distance, me demeurent encore aujourd'hui aussi précieuses. C'est lui qui m'apprit, par exemple, que pour équilibrer le corps éthérique, il faut en arriver à répandre la conscience dans des parties correspondantes aux parties les plus diverses du corps physique. À l'état normal, nous pensons dans notre tête, nous ressentons nos émotions et nos impulsions dans les régions du cœur et du grand sympathique et, dans le reste du corps, nous connaissons simplement les perceptions sensorielles ou motrices. Eckstein m'enseigna, ce que je n'avais pas vu dans la théosophie, que pour prendre conscience du véhicule supérieur au corps physique, c'est-à-dire le corps éthérique, il fallait s'habituer à penser partout, c'est-à-dire à répandre dans notre organisme visible et invisible une activité spirituelle consciente, par le moyen des courants qui circulent dans le corps éthérique.

Il était très modeste. Il me disait qu'il savait très peu et qu'il tenait ce peu de science d'un disciple de Kerning (un certain W...) qu'il avait connu à Stuttgart, et il concluait :

« L'homme qu'il vous faut connaître, c'est Rudolf Steiner. C'est mon ami intime. Je l'ai connu ici quand il était précepteur dans une famille. C'est plus et mieux qu'un théosophe. Je crois qu'il a travaillé sur lui-même avec des résultats assez étonnants. »

Enfin, ce jour arriva. Steiner vint faire une conférence à Vienne.

À l'heure qu'il est, des milliers de gens ont entendu parler de Rudolf Steiner, de son fameux « Goetheanum » , l'édifice

qu'il avait construit près de Bâle, qui fut brûlé dans la nuit de la Saint-Sylvestre, en 1922, et de sa mort inattendue au moment où s'élevait un nouveau bâtiment, tout différent de l'ancien. Il a été et sera l'un des hommes les plus discutés de notre temps.

Ce qu'il a écrit subsiste : une trentaine de grands ouvrages et plusieurs centaines de conférences sur les sujets les plus sublimes et les plus variés. Mais si beaucoup sont à même d'admirer ou d'attaquer ces écrits, peu de gens l'ont connu pendant aussi longtemps et dans des circonstances aussi intimes que le destin m'en a donné le privilège.

Périodiquement, même pendant la guerre, j'ai vu ce grand penseur. J'ai recueilli ses conseils, ses vues sur le monde et sur la politique et j'ai été, en quelque sorte, le témoin de ses activités les plus mystérieuses.

La 1re fois que l'on entendait Steiner, on avait un certain sentiment d'angoisse. Il était clair qu'il ne préparait jamais une conférence dans le sens ordinaire du mot préparation. Il méditait sur un thème. Il se le faisait, suivant son expression : « passer devant l'esprit ». Il entassait ainsi en lui-même une sorte de réserve d'images et d'intuitions dans lesquelles il pouvait aller puiser au fur et à mesure de son discours. Mais ce champ où il avait ainsi semé le fruit de ses perceptions spirituelles, il le fécondait par le Verbe. Sa parole rythmée, sonore, avec des résonances d'incantations, avait une sorte de vertu mystique qui faisait surgir vers lui des profondeurs de sa conscience les visions qu'il dépeignait ensuite avec une incroyable vigueur et avec des couleurs inconnues avant lui. Il était au point de croisement où l'artiste et le penseur se rejoignent dans la connaissance de l'au-delà.

Sa jeunesse s'était passée dans les archives de Goethe, à Weimar, dans la fréquentation de Nietzsche et de Häckel ; c'est-à-dire qu'il avait connu, lui, né d'une humble famille à la frontière austro-hongroise, les génies allemands les plus hauts, soit personnellement, soit par la pénétration intime de leurs œuvres. On s'en apercevait quand il causait ou écrivait. Mais quand il parlait, il s'élevait à un degré où l'on ne peut plus se référer aux œuvres des autres, si grands soient-ils. Il prenait en quelque sorte, dans son étreinte, les réalités supra-sensibles, pour les célébrer dans une sorte de cantique lyrique d'où l'analyse lucide ne disparaît pourtant jamais.

Dans son cabinet de travail de Dornach, il me montrait un jour un immense groupe en bois sculpté dû à son ciseau. Au centre, le Christ, mais non point le Christ de la légende. C'était un Christ beau comme Apollon, au visage imberbe, avec, dans la partie gauche du front, un développement anormal suivant des lignes rayonnantes qui partaient des yeux. De la main droite, levée vers le ciel, il domptait Lucifer, une immense et radieuse figure à la chevelure bouillonnante, au visage exalté. De la main gauche, il aidait à sortir d'une sorte de caverne souterraine, l'autre grand révolté, Ahriman, une entité aux membres noueux, aux mains sclérotiques, avec le visage pétrifié dans la ruse que l'on attribue à Méphistophélès. En me montrant cette œuvre, Steiner me disait :

« Voilà le Christ tel que je le vois en Palestine. »

En face du groupe, il y avait une sorte de bas-relief hallucinant. Dans le royaume d'Ahriman, tout tissé de gigantesques toiles d'araignées, des âmes humaines symbolisées par des figures drapées, s'avançaient courageusement vers le personnage épouvantable d'où partaient tous les fils et d'où sortaient des espèces d'arêtes rocheuses qui

donnaient au paysage un aspect de cauchemar. Ici encore, Steiner me disait :

« Voici Ahriman tel que je le vois. »

Il était impossible de le prendre pour un simple halluciné. La magnifique ordonnance de son système, l'absolue lucidité de ses propos et surtout l'immense bonté qui s'exprimait dans chacune de ses actions, repoussaient bien loin toute idée soit de supercherie, soit de déséquilibre. Il n'avait rien non plus qui rappelât les transes des sibylles ou des prophètes de l'ancien temps. Il demeurait toujours conscient et intégralement Maître de tous ses moyens. Seulement, quand on était admis à toutes ses réunions, il apparaissait successivement comme à différents étages de grandeur spirituelle. Dans ses conférences publiques, il était éloquent et inspiré. Dans ses conférences plus intimes, il mêlait son discours d'incantations en langage semi-poétique qui touchaient l'âme des auditeurs par la puissance de leur sonorité et de leur rythme. Dans les cérémonies, il mettait en œuvre des rites connus de lui seul et ses invocations aux 4 Archanges-Régentes demeurent dans ma mémoire comme les plus grandes émotions, à la fois religieuses et artistiques, que j'aie ressenties dans mon existence.

Le 1er « Gøtheanum » , celui qui fut brûlé, était en quelque sorte l'incarnation de tout son enseignement sous des formes architecturales. L'édifice était abrité sous 2 coupes ; l'une plus grande que l'autre. La plus petite couvrait la scène ; la plus grande, la salle. Sous la 1re, 12 colonnes, sculptées dans des bois soigneusement choisis, étaient rangées en demi-cercle, représentant les 12 signes du zodiaque, symbole de la permanence dans les lois cosmiques. Sous la plus grande, 2 séries de 7 colonnes descendaient le long des gradins d'un amphithéâtre, chacune portant dans ses chapiteaux et dans ses soubassements, des ornements qui représentaient les 7 périodes successives de notre évolution. D'un côté, tout parlait de l'espace ; de l'autre, chaque détail disait le perfectionnement progressif des choses à travers le temps.

Il m'est arrivé, dans cette salle, d'une beauté si écrasante, de traduire 10 conférences au fur et à mesure que Steiner parlait. Généralement, il se laissait aller à son inspiration pendant 10 ou 15 minutes, tandis qu'assis derrière lui, à une petite table, je prenais des notes natives pour fixer dans mon souvenir le torrent de ses pensées. Quand il avait fini, c'était à moi de m'avancer et d'essayer, avec une peine indicible et une insuffisance dont je rougissais, de traduire ses magnifiques périodes dans un français abstrait et sec. Mais je sentais qu'il m'aidait de toutes ses forces. C'était comme si j'avais eu derrière moi un foyer qui empêchait mon esprit de se paralyser et qui me vivifiait au moment où j'allais perdre courage. Il me donnait bien, avant la conférence, un petit résumé écrit, mais emporté par sa propre puissance, il ne le suivait jamais.

Ce sont là des impressions inoubliables.

3 ans plus tard, Steiner mourait. J'ai toujours pensé qu'il mourut avec la claire vision que des difficultés insurmontables s'opposaient à une œuvre comme la sienne.

Il reste de Steiner son œuvre gigantesque et des enseignements compatibles avec la civilisation occidentale, qui sont les plus précis qui aient été donnés sur notre continent à ceux qui veulent entreprendre le travail périlleux d'affronter les

problèmes que la nature nous a cachés, il a fécondé des branches très variées de l'activité humaine qui ont été profondément baignées de spiritualité grâce à sa doctrine, et qui, sous le nom de « sections » persistent encore avec une vigueur remarquable au moment où j'écris.

Des disciplines ont été créées dans les branches les plus diverses et les hommes, désireux de trouver dans les sciences ou dans l'art un chemin pour la connaissance spirituelle, ont ainsi des voies particulières à leur choix et conformément à la personnalité de chacun d'entre eux.

...

In Vienna, in the 1880's, Rudolf Steiner developed contacts with various literary, progressive, and mystical groups. The circle of the feminist and Theosophist Marie Lang, for instance, which attracted artists, literati, and social reformers, also took in Steiner. It was here that Steiner first met Franz Hartmann, who had introduced Lang to Theosophy. Vienna also contained the mystical circle around Friedrich Eckstein, whose knowledge of ancient esoteric texts Steiner found impressive but whose insistence on keeping his knowledge secret Steiner found repellent.

Rudolf Steiner :

« At the home of Rosa Mayreder, I was often privileged to share in conversations for which gifted men gathered there. Very quiet, seemingly with his gaze inward upon himself rather than listening to those about him, sat Hugo Wolf, who was an intimate friend of Rosa Mayreder. One listened inwardly to him even though he spoke so little. For whatever entered into his life was communicated in mysterious fashion to those who might be with him. With heartfelt affection was I attached to the husband of " Frau " Rosa, Karl Mayreder, so fine a person both as man and as artist, and also to his brother, Julius Mayreder, so enthusiastic in regard to art. Marie Lang and her circle and Friedrich Eckstein, who was then wholly given over to the spiritual tendencies and world-conception of theosophy, were often present. This was the time when my " Philosophy of Freedom " was taking more and more definite form in my mind. Rosa Mayreder is the person with whom I talked most concerning this form at the time when my book was, thus, coming into existence. She relieved me of a part of the inner-loneliness in which I had lived. She was striving for a conception of the actual human personality ; I toward a revelation of the world which might seek for this personality at the basis of the soul by means of spiritual eyes, thus, opened. Between the two, there were many bridges. Often, in later life, there has arisen before my grateful spirit one or another picture from this experience, for example, memory pictures of a walk through the noble Alpine forests, during which Rosa Mayreder and I discussed the true meaning of human freedom. »

...

If we look at Rudolf Steiner's life during his time in Vienna, we find him, on the one hand, engaged in serious natural-scientific studies ; he visits Edmund Reitlinger's laboratory amongst others. On the other hand, he still sees Karl Julius Schröder, whose life's breath is art. Thirdly, he is acquainted with the pessimistic young poetess, Marie Eugénie delle Grazie. In her circle, to which belonged many theology professors, there reigned a deep respect and reverence for the spirit of the Middle-Ages, and a strong dislike of Goethe. These different and various relationships provide him with the

experience of how science, art and religion have become separated from the living source of the spirit and of how, when unable to attain to a real experience of the spirit, they are eventually forced to give themselves over to forces that lead to one-sidedness and final isolation. We may assume that, already at that time, out of his conscious life in the spiritual world, the necessity of uniting science, art and religion presented itself to Rudolf Steiner with particular clarity. In particular, too, that more conscious seeking after the spirit which he met in the Vienna theosophists grouped around Marie Lang remained alien to him because of her unclear, mystical frame of mind. This, however, did not affect his warm friendship with Rosa Mayreder in this circle. He was looking for « a meeting with the spirit by means of ideas illumined by the spirit ». So, it is also understandable that Alfred Percy Sinnett's « Esoteric Buddhism », the 1st theosophical work to come into Rudolf Steiner's possession through a friend, made a repugnant impression on him. It was only in Friedrich Eckstein that he 1st met a great scholar of Classical occultism and of the Cabbala.

His experience of these diverse spiritual streams of the past, all of which wished to continue to play a leading role, was transformed for him into occult experiences, and he devotes the whole of Chapter XI of his « Autobiography » to a description of them.

He says there :

« Towards the end of the 1st chapter of my life, I felt an inner-need to attain clarity concerning certain orientations of the human soul. One of these orientations was mysticism. I found it difficult to gain any relation to mysticism as it appeared in the various epochs of mankind's spiritual development, in “ Oriental wisdom ” (Marie Lang) , “ Neo-Platonism ” (Friedrich Eckstein) , the “ Christianity of the Middle-Ages ” (the circle around Marie Eugenie delle Grazie) and in the strivings of the Cabbalists. »

If one reads this chapter carefully, one can sense quite clearly that Rudolf Steiner only accepted mysticism where it had been able to free itself completely from the forces of Lucifer, which are a constant threat to the mystic ; for, in mysticism, « one has to surrender completely the relation of the human being to the spirit to “ subjective feeling ” ». But it is in the arbitrary nature of the subjective that Lucifer holds sway.

And he continues :

« By looking at this with the eyes of the soul, the forces in me which were in inner-opposition to mysticism became stronger and stronger. »

One can see in this statement how he was wrestling at that time with the 1st Tempter of mankind, which he then also describes :

« It was not so very difficult to confront this “ inner-existential conflict ” with that clarity which finally rises above it. »

In these simple words, Rudolf Steiner confirms his inner-victory over the luciferic forces of temptation.

The year 1888, in which he completed the 1st 7 years of his « Sun » period, was particularly important.

He writes :

« At this period of my life (about 1888) , I felt, on the one hand, impelled to strong spiritual concentration while, on the other hand, I led an extensive social life. »

We see how strongly he felt the polarity of the 2 streams in which he had lived from his early youth, and how the urgent need to unite them and, thereby, complete the Rosicrucian path of initiation for the future became more and more impelling.

He later says of this time :

« Thus, I led an inner-life that had no connection with the external world while, on the other hand, my interests were strongly bound-up with that world. »

But this intensification in his inner-life increased his search even more for forms of thinking suited to the expression of spiritual experiences and to the transformation of thinking in such a way that it could become capable of grasping the spiritual, as had happened with Goethe.

...

Rudolf Steiner's work on Goethe's natural-scientific writings helped him in his growing loneliness. But Goethe's perception of the world was something alien for those around Rudolf Steiner :

« I found no one with whom I could speak about this perception. »

And further :

« The only release I found from the feeling of living in spiritual isolation was reading and re-reading the conversation that took place between Goethe and Schiller, as they went away together from a meeting of the Society for Scientific Research, in Jena. In a few strokes, Goethe sketched for Schiller his “ archetypal plant ”. »

In its sensible-supersensible form this « archetypal plant » , at last, signified the direct bridge to the world of pure Imaginations.

He could now say :

« Goethe's way of looking at things appeared to me to be one in accordance with the spirit. »

Göethe's perception of nature also brought him to recognize that the time had come to start writing about his own spiritual experiences. This is clearly expressed in his « Autobiography » :

« Through the detailed introduction which I had to write for the 2nd volume of Göethe's natural-scientific works, which I was editing, I felt an inner-need to bring my perception of the spiritual world into the form of a presentation visible to thinking. »

He, then, quotes an extract from this introduction on a number of pages where he characterizes the essential nature of man's new relation to the spiritual world, to which he had managed to come at that time :

« The moment thinking takes hold of an idea. It merges with the primordial foundation of existence ; what is effective in the world that surrounds man is experienced within the human spirit ; man “ unites ” with objective reality at its source. “ Man's true communion is his experience of the idea within reality. ” Thinking has the same relationship to ideas as the eye has to light, the ear to sound. “ It is the organ of perception. ” »

These words written by Rudolf Steiner, in 1888, can be seen as the sum of the magnificent struggle for the true nature of thinking which he began at the age of 14. They bear witness to the fact that the battle for a new thinking (a thinking not in contradiction to spiritual experience but, on the contrary, actually opening the door to the spiritual world) , « that » battle is won, and won for the whole of mankind ! This historical fact was the 1st blow against the 2nd enemy of humanity : Ahriman. This was the 1st step in the battle to free human intelligence from his power, the 1st step of human intelligence on its path into the sphere of Michæl. The 2nd 7 year span in the « Sun » period of Rudolf Steiner's life is dedicated to securing this victory, once and for all, and the climax is reached with the appearance of « The Philosophy of Freedom » : the « 1st Michælic book » in the 5th post-Atlantean epoch.

...

In 1889-1890, just before leaving Vienna, Rudolf Steiner spent time with another group of people who would play an important part in his life, up to his departure for Weimar. This group met for spiritually inspiring conversations at the house of the theosophist Marie Lang. It included prominent and spiritually open-minded people such as Friedrich Eckstein, an expert in ancient occult knowledge who was personally acquainted with Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the founder of the Theosophical Society. Eckstein was just 10 days younger than Rudolf Steiner. Their very dissimilar paths did not cross for the first time at Marie Lang's house. Eckstein grew-up in Perchtoldsdorf, near Brunn, the son of a wealthy factory-owner. In Vienna, he was widely known as a worldly and financially independent genius. He was at home among the upper-classes, highly-educated in philosophy and well-versed in the natural sciences. He discussed specialized issues (the time-space problem, for instance, that occupied Rudolf Steiner so deeply) with eminent scholars such as the mathematician Oskar Simony or the physicist Ernst Mach.

Eckstein was a knowledgeable patron of modern art. He had studied with composer Anton Bruckner, acting as his private secretary for a period of time and, later, made friends with the writers Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, Karl Kraus,

and Hermann Bahr and, also, with Sigmund Freud. Rudolf Steiner met Eckstein frequently in Eckstein's « haunt », « Café Griensteidl » and, later, at the Hotel Imperial, often joining him at his table. After Eckstein had called on Helena Petrovna Blavatsky in Oostende, toward the end of 1886, talking with her over several days, she made him President of the Vienna-branch of the Theosophical Society. Rudolf Steiner consulted him for more information about the spiritual stream represented by Blavatsky. That Eckstein possessed an impressive knowledge of esotericism and occult traditions was known to Rudolf Steiner from earlier encounters in the circle around Karl Julius Schröer, where they had discussed the symbolism and esotericism in the works of G ethe. Friedrich Eckstein, in turn, was interested in Steiner's book on G ethe's « Theory of Knowledge » and his introductions to G ethe's scientific writings, which were discussed in various artistic and intellectual circles in Vienna. (« What was created there had been unknown before : an amazing picture of G ethe's view of the world. » - Fritz Lemmermayer)

Now, in Steiner's final year in Vienna, they met regularly as part of the circle around the sophisticated theosophist and later suffragette Marie Lang with whom Friedrich Eckstein had been in contact since 1887. In his « Autobiography », Rudolf Steiner wrote about these gatherings :

« The hours I was privileged to spend in the home of this lady, Marie Lang, were extremely valuable to me. Marie Lang's earnest view and feeling for life was expressed with nobility and beauty in her words. In melodious, impressive language, she expressed very deep soul experiences. A life of difficult inner-struggles with herself and with the world could find resolution (though incomplete) only through mystical seeking. Thus, it was only natural that she was the soul of a group of seekers.

Theosophy, inaugurated by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky at the end of the 19th Century, had penetrated this group. Franz Hartmann, who had become widely known for his many theosophical works and his relationship to Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, had also brought his theosophy into this group. Marie Lang was largely accepting of this. The meaning she found in it seemed to match her soul quality in many ways. Yet, what she received in this sense came only from outside. Within herself, she had a store of mystical knowledge that life's difficult trials had made conscious in a completely elemental way. The architects, writers, and others I met at Marie Lang's could hardly have been interested in the theosophy of Franz Hartmann if Marie Lang, herself, had not participated in it. And I certainly would not have become interested. The whole attitude to the spiritual world presented in the writings of Franz Hartmann was in direct opposition to my own. I could not credit it with inner-truthfulness. I was less interested in its content than in how it affected those who were, after all, truly seeking souls. »

Rudolf Steiner had long been attracted to such « seeking souls » in Vienna. His very 1st friends in the city, the group around Emil Sch onaich, Rudolf Ronsperger and Moriz Zitter, were without doubt such seekers. Ever since he had come to Vienna, in 1879, he had observed, with deep interest, how many yearning and spiritually sensitive people went on pilgrimages to Richard Wagner, in Bayreuth, or looked for other forms of new spiritual inspiration (theosophy with its Eastern orientation being one of them) because the prevailing culture and scientific thinking could no longer offer answers to the spiritual concerns, questions, and impulses they had, even if they were not always aware of them or willing to admit them. Looking back to the years in Vienna, Rudolf Steiner said, in 1923 :

« It was indeed interesting how spiritual life, spiritual activity, the yearning for a spiritual world began to find its way into European civilization. You have to bear in mind that this was much more difficult in the late-1880's than it is today. Even if it was less harmful, it was nevertheless more difficult to admit that one believed in a spiritual world since there was evidence of the ... »

...

Rudolf Steiner's former « mentor » and now friend, Professor Karl Julius Schröer, had initially encouraged his interest in Gœthe and, perhaps, importantly to Gœthe's esoteric symbolism, now, also, introduced him to Friedrich Eckstein (1861-1939) and, thus, ultimately, to many others within the Lang circle. Notably, Friedrich Eckstein mediated between the 2 worlds in which Rudolf lived, the outer-world, the cultural circles of Vienna ; and, the inner-world of Felix and the « Master » . One of the most knowledgeable men of his age, Eckstein was a chemist, industrialist, music-lover, alpinist and traveller ; also, he had a profound knowledge of traditional occultism. It was to him that Steiner could go if he wanted any exposition of occult (hidden) facts :

« Steiner was in complete harmony with Gœthe's way of looking at nature, but it was Eckstein who could explain to him the symbolism and occult (hidden) terminology in the poet's writings. »

And, as Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke says :

« Steiner had read Sinnett's " Esoteric Buddhism " , soon after its German translation (1884) , and asked Eckstein to explain the secret doctrine. In due course, Eckstein introduced Steiner to Rosa Mayreder and the theosophical circle of Edmund and Marie Lang. Steiner perceptively described them as " homeless souls from Wagnerland " but, nonetheless, however, empathized with the subjective pietism of Marie Lang and remained the life-long friend of Eckstein, who had shown him the occult key to Gœthe's symbolism. Under the influence of the circle, Steiner studied Oriental thought, Medieval mysticism, neo-Platonism and the Cabala. By the time Steiner left Vienna, in 1890, to take-up his post as editor of Gœthe's scientific works, in Weimar, his interest in both theosophy and German idealism was firmly established. »

Although Eckstein out-lived Steiner, it is clear from his autobiography that Rudolf Steiner never unveiled to him the insights, which he had already gained.

...

Because of the way it mingled material and spiritual realities, as well as other obvious shortcomings, the theosophy of Franz Hartmann had not convinced Rudolf Steiner when he came across it, in Vienna, in the circle around Marie Lang and Friedrich Eckstein. (« He simply declared it to be spiritually feeble. ») Yet, Rudolf Steiner had, at the time, appreciated Marie Lang's and Friedrich Eckstein's obvious spirituality - as he had the circle of truly seeking individuals who gathered around Marie Lang. Toward the end of his time in Vienna, he read the 1st theosophical books (Mabel Collins' « Light on the Path » and Alfred Percy Sinnett's much discussed « Esoteric Buddhism ») , but he probably did

not go much further than that. (« I met various theosophists but nothing in what they had to say induced me to develop an interest in the kind of writings propagated by this Theosophical Society. »)

Rudolf Steiner stayed in touch with Eckstein and Lang after leaving Vienna ; he also read new theosophical publications while he was in Weimar, writing critical reviews in which he dealt with the, then, controversial phenomena of hypnosis and spiritism (they were for him as justified as they were problematic) as well as the dangers of taking on without reflection the Eastern spirituality favoured in theosophical circles. In a book review of 1892, he wrote that he did indeed think highly of the « intuitive Eastern wisdom » and its imagery. (« It is characteristic of the Eastern spiritual life that it creates images that express in the most detailed and pictorial way the great thoughts of humanity. ») At the same time, he spoke of the (entirely different) role that fell to Central Europe that consisted in the conscious taking hold of the « I ». This task could not be by-passed by borrowing from ancient Eastern wisdom or by making recourse to « spiritistic suggestions » . (« In basing their doctrine on the suggestions of a consciousness that is detached from the “ I ”, the spiritists are mocking science, because science can only rest on judgments formed by the “ I ”. By adopting views suggested to them from outside, they place themselves on the same level with those who believe in Revelation. It shows the dullness and cowardice of today's rationality that people often seek to gain knowledge of the world without thinking. ») In Berlin (3 years before he gave his 1st lectures at the Brockdorff's house) Rudolf Steiner occupied himself again with the theosophist Franz Hartmann, who enjoyed great popularity in Germany and Austria. When Hartmann founded the « International Theosophical Brotherhood » and published a German translation of the « Bhagavad-Gita » , Rudolf Steiner wrote in 1897 (in his « Magazin für Litteratur ») that the theosophists failed to recognize the responsibility of Central Europe for the advancement of knowledge and referred to the followers of Hartmann as ignorant and arrogant :

« They shrug their shoulders at the European approach to science, deriding its reliance on reason and insisting that the truth can only be found on the Oriental path. Nothing but empty phrases borrowed from Eastern writings without a trace of substance. Their inner-experiences are mere hypocrisy. Adopting phrases from writings that in themselves constitute profound literature, and using them to declare the entire Western striving for knowledge to be worthless, is nothing short of impertinent. The Theosophists know nothing of the depth and inwardness that pertains to the Western approach to science and, yet, they reject it as superficial and purely conceptual.

Their talk of highest-knowledge (which they do not possess) and their mystifying way of citing foreign knowledge without comprehension nonetheless seems to mesmerize a number of people today. The Theosophical Society is spread all over Europe and has followers in all the major cities. Their opaque ramblings about experiencing the divine within seem to attract many more people than the clear, bright, conceptual knowledge of the West. »

Rudolf Steiner et Anton Bruckner

« They had the audience in their control. In the Vienna hall, Bruckner's 4th Symphony was presented in 1887. I attended a concert by Franz Schalk. That was the 1st performance of Bruckner's Symphony. »

(Doctor Eduard Steiner)

In « Bruckner Propositions III » , Constantin Floros writes :

« In the 1920's especially, Bruckner was celebrated as a mystic “ par excellence ” as a composer whose work could be grasped from the standpoint of the mystical experience behind it. He was claimed by anthroposophists and theosophists as one of their own. »

...

Rudolf Steiner's teachings arose-out of his personal and clairvoyant research into the world of spirit. In his early (1906) lecture series « Concerning Music » , the effect of music upon man was discussed. Steiner explained that the individuality of a musician unites in a « karmic » way with the physical characteristics of his heredity. Steiner's most important lectures on music came in 1923. They included « The Experience of Tone in the Human Being » and « The World of the Hierarchies and the World of the Tones » as well as the seminal course, « The Arts and Their Mission » .

Throughout his life, Steiner held Anton Bruckner in high-esteem. This inspired Erich Schwebach to write a book entitled « Anton Bruckner. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis von Entwicklungen in der Musik » (Anton Bruckner : A Contribution to the Perception of Developments in Music) . In 1922, Schwebach lectured on « Bruckner's Musical Mission » at Steiner's Nest-East Congress, in Vienna. Both here and in his book, he considers the significant part which the zodiac plays in the scheme of things :

« ... The keys in music represent space in soul and spirit, and, depending on the key, experiences can differ. They (keys) determine in a way the constellation of a theme in a Symphony, the law by which it enters in, and assert their will, just as the constellations of the zodiac determine the rhythm of 12 months of the year, each with its special nature and its special effect upon the human soul. »

...

Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) enrolled for Bruckner's lectures on the theory of harmony at the University of Vienna in the winter semester of 1879 and the summer semester of 1880. He became a philosopher, teacher, seer and investigator of the spiritual world, which was as real to him as the material world. Steiner was the founder of anthroposophy, or spiritual science. It involves such subjects as the nature of the human being, reincarnation and karma, esoteric Christianity, education, curative education, medicine, biodynamic farming and much more. Steiner would refer to many scientists, philosophers, writers, and occasionally composers when speaking of art and music. Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner and Bruckner were mentioned as representing a bridge to the world of Spirit.

An understanding of what Steiner had to say can only really be gleaned from his lectures and books, particularly « The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone » . According to his biographer Günther Wachsmuth, he called attention to the idea that, at early stages in the evolution of humanity, « the musical experience blended with a

religious experience » . Then, there was still a consciousness that the action of the Godhead was expressed in the intervals of the 7th, the 5th, the 3rd. Man still shared in the experience of the « cosmic sound of jubilation of the gods » and the « cosmic mourning of the gods » . But, in the last few Centuries, the human being has more and more lost this experience and is for that reason in danger of becoming unproductive in music.

In the lecture cycle « True and False Paths in Spiritual Investigation » , Steiner speaks of Bruckner's music :

« The Christ Impulse can be found in music. And the dissolution of the Symphonic into near-dissonance, as in Beethoven, can be redeemed by a return to the dominion of the cosmic in music. Bruckner attempted this within the narrow limits of a traditional framework. But his posthumous symphony (i.e. , the 9th) shows that he could not escape these limitations. »

It is emphasized that he is not criticizing Bruckner's music « per se » ; he considered that Bruckner came near to realizing the spiritual in music.

...

Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt, and Anton Bruckner became subjects for discussion at many cultural gatherings. Fritz Lemmermayer, who had the necessary connections, even went to Bayreuth to attend the dress rehearsal of Richard Wagner's « Parsifal » . But people were also moved by Bruckner's Masses, performed on Sunday mornings in the Chapel of the Imperial Palace (« Hofburgkapelle ») , with the composer himself playing the organ. Rudolf Steiner had several conversations with Anton Bruckner. He took an intense interest in the visual arts (the paintings of Arnold Böcklin, for instance, touched him deeply) and with the basic questions of æsthetics he had addressed in the final Chapter of Gœthe's Theory of Knowledge (« Knowledge and Artistic Creation ») . He made an impression on his audience when he developed his thoughts on this theme in a public lecture, on November 9th, 1888, given to the Vienna Gœthe Society, at the invitation of Karl Julius Schröer.

...

Vienna, 4 years after the fall of the multi-national Empire : the former capital city and residence of the Habsburg Monarchy was in chaotic confusion, having lost its identity, and loudly screaming its desperation ! There was the misery of refugees, corruption of officials, poverty and beggars at every street-corner. The monetary standard suffered ceaseless devaluation : 1,000 « Kronen » bill and, in exchange for it, barely more than a meager breakfast ! 10 times that amount, and it was not even enough for a Theater ticket ; 50 times that, and it was just enough for paltry lodgings in an inn !

On the streets of the inner-city, past the Palaces of the aristocracy where the patrons of Beethoven had resided, in whose magnificent halls Mozart had given concerts - there, the young Rudolf Steiner, too, had walked at one time. He had strolled along the Belvedere to the « Technische Hochschule » (the Technical College) ; had walked-down the « Ringstraße » to the University to listen to a music conference given by professor Anton Bruckner ; or had stood at the

« Hohe Markt » on his way to the nearby apartment of Karl Julius Schröer.

It was 33 years since he had left Austria to move 1st to Weimar and, then, to Berlin, until he finally established the last center of his international activity in Western Switzerland, in an area where 3 countries meet. Now, 33 years later, he was returning to Vienna with his world-wide and growing spiritual movement. The famous building of the « Musikverein » , with all its side-rooms, meeting-halls, study-rooms, and all its personnel had been put at his disposal for 2 weeks.

There, in the largest building of this musical city, this city whose music and lyric art had united nations, there a festive, joyful Whitsun mood ruled the meeting entitled « For the Comprehension of Western and Eastern World Contrasts » . How to build the bridge between West and East out of the new spirituality, the bridge destroyed by the past's lack of spirit - this was what the 2,000 listeners were to focus on for 12 days ! 12 days of Pentecostal contemplation !

The beauty of Providence appeared to have chosen Vienna as the city for the 2nd Congress of the Anthroposophical Movement. During these spring days, the genius of this locality seemed to harmonize with the blessings of the spirit of Whitsuntide. A multi-national union of musical artists had reigned in Vienna for Centuries, mysteriously called there by fate. The creative beauty of sounds reconciled the geniuses of all nations, for the language of music is common to all people. It defies all borders. It requires no rights of translation. It represents the universal bridge over the chasm torn open by materialism and agnosticism.

The faces of those who sit in a concert-hall often appear up-lifted as if by an inner-light. There is no colour to look at with their eyes ; there is nothing tangible to touch with their hands. There is no taste to titillate their palates ; there is no smell to tempt their noses. Yet, they sit devoutly without stirring, as if involved in a preliminary, spirit-training exercise of concentration. Concert-halls, where the Classic-Romantic art of music found its domicile, could become sites for new temples through the benevolence of spiritual geniuses, temples where people can receive a premonition of their inner-soul being, though still immersed, dream-like, in the starry night's kingdom of rhythms with which the soul harmonizes in sleep.

In the course of the past Centuries, had not Vienna been to the development of music what Athens had once been to the creation of sculpture and architecture ? Both cities : seed-beds for gifted geniuses ! Yet, just as Plato and Aristotle appeared only after the arts had come into full-flower, so it was only after Bruckner's great accomplishments that the young Steiner left Austria, for the end of the Classical and Romantic epoch of music coincided with the beginning of the Michæl age, which led to the birth of anthroposophy.

...

With reference to this lecture (« Gæthe the as the Father of a New Æsthetics ») , Rudolf Steiner wrote in his « Autobiography » :

« I wanted to discover what was preventing the idealism so urgently conveyed in the philosophies of Fichte and Hegel from understanding living spirit. In my search for the cause, I reflected on the errors of the purely idealistic philosophy of æsthetics. The opinion of Hegel and the Hegelians was that the meaning of art is found in the ideas presented to the senses ; in other words, embodied in a physical medium, an idea manifests as beauty. But the age following that of idealism no longer wished to acknowledge the reality of ideas. Because the idea, as it lived in idealistic philosophy, could not point to a spiritual world, the succeeding age was unable to maintain the intrinsic reality of ideas. This led to a “ realistic ” æsthetic that, in terms of art, was unconcerned with the idea embodied by physical form ; it concerned itself only with the physical image itself, which, because of the needs of human nature, assumed an unreal form in art. In my view, the sensory aspect should be the important aspect in a work of art. Nevertheless, I recognized that the path of the true artist is a path to the true spirit. One begins with what is physically perceptible but, then, transforms it. And what guides the artist is not a mere subjective impulse ; rather one tries to impart to the senses a form that appears as though the spirit itself were visible. I told myself that beauty is not an idea that is given sensory form, but a presentation to the senses in the form of spirit. Consequently, I viewed art as a way of placing the spirit realm into the sensory realm. A true artist affirms the spirit more or less unconsciously. I told myself repeatedly that it is necessary only to transform the soul forces (with which the artist works upon physical materials) into extra-sensory, purely spiritual perception, so that one may penetrate real knowledge of the spiritual world. »

...

What has been the musical evolution of the human being ? It begins with the experience of the spiritual, the actual presence of the spiritual in tone, in the musical tone structure. The spiritual fades away ; the human being retains the tone structure. Later, he links it with the word, which is a remnant of the spiritual ; and what he had earlier as imaginations, namely, the instruments, he fashions here in the physical world out of physical substance as his musical instruments. To the extent that they arouse the musical mood, the instruments are all derived from the spiritual world. When he built physical musical instruments, the human being simply filled the empty spaces that remained after he no longer beheld the spiritual. Into those spaces, he put the physical instruments.

It is correct to say that in music, more than anywhere else, one can see how the transition to the materialistic age proceeds. In the place where musical instruments resound today, spiritual entities stood formerly. They are gone, they have disappeared from the ancient clairvoyance. If the human being wishes to take objective hold of the musical element, however, he needs something that does not exist in outer nature. Outer nature offers him no equivalent to the musical element ; therefore, he requires musical instruments.

The musical instruments basically are a clear reflection of the fact that music is experienced by the whole human being. The wind instruments prove that the head of the human being experiences music. The string instruments are living proof that music is experienced in the chest, primarily expressed in the arms. All percussion instruments (or those in between string and percussion instruments) are evidence of how the musical element is expressed in the 3rd part of the human being's nature : the limb system. Also, everything connected with the wind instruments has a more intimate relation to the element of melody than that which is connected with the string instruments, which have a

relation to the element of harmony. That which is connected with percussion possesses more inner-rhythm and relates to the rhythmic element. An Orchestra is an image of the human being ; it must not include a piano, however. Why is that ? The musical instruments are derived from the spiritual world ; the piano, however, in which the tones are abstractly lined-up next to each other, is created only in the physical world by people. All instruments, like the flute or the violin, originate musically from the higher-world. A piano is like the Philistine who no longer contains within him the higher-human being. The piano is the Philistine instrument. It is fortunate that there is such an instrument, or else, the Philistine would have no music at all. The piano arises-out of a materialistic experience of music. It is, therefore, the instrument that can be used most conveniently to evoke the musical element within the material realm. Pure matter was put to use so that the piano could become an expression of the musical element. Naturally, the piano is a beneficial instrument (otherwise, we would have to rely from the beginning on the spiritual in musical instruction in our materialistic age) but it is the one instrument that actually, in a musical sense, must be overcome. The human being must get-away from the impressions of the piano if he wishes to experience the actual musical element.

It is, therefore, always a great experience when a composition by an artist who basically lives completely in the element of music, such as Anton Bruckner, is played on the piano. In Bruckner's composition, the piano seems to disappear from the room ! One forgets the piano and thinks that one is hearing other instruments ; this is, indeed so, in Bruckner's case. It proves that something of the essentially spiritual, which lies at the basis of all music, still lived in Bruckner, though in a very instinctive way.

...

In the spring of 1923, Rudolf Steiner stayed in Stuttgart several times. On February 27th and 28th, as well as on March 6th and 7th, eurythmy performances took place, and Rudolf Steiner gave an address before each of them. The Domach eurythmists, who were in Stuttgart just at that time, were able to attend both lectures, which were held for Waldorf school teachers and musicians on March 6th and 8th, in « The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone » . In the lecture on March 8th, he gave 1st the spatial forms for the intervals and stressed that these are all contained in his « standard forms » . In addition, Rudolf Steiner spoke, in the same lecture, about the « spiritual origin of the musical instrument » .

It is to be assumed that he visited the « Eurythmeum » before March 8th, as was his custom on his trips to Stuttgart. (The leadership and management of this Conservatory was incumbent upon Marie Steiner.)

During one of these visits, Hedwig Köhler, who taught tone eurythmy, did a performance with her students of an arrangement of the orchestral movement from the 8th Symphony by Anton Bruckner. After this performance, Rudolf Steiner drew the spatial arrangement for a « eurythmic orchestral » piece, with quite differentiated forms for the string instruments, the reed instruments, and the brass. (An original is not available.) The lemniscate is the basis for the string instruments ; the form of the instrument is the basis for the woodwinds. The percussion instruments stand on a raised platform, in the center.

...

Much more so than in Stuttgart, the musical element was a fully-integrated part of the activities at the Vienna Congress. This became evident in the distinctive artistic performances, scheduled for the afternoons and culminating on Whit-Monday in the Bruckner celebration to be presented by members of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, the Bruckner-Choir (« Wiener Bruckner-Chor ») under the direction of Professor Ignaz Leo Weber and, also, the Maireck-Buxbaum String Quartet. In addition to the 2 String-Concerts by the Thomastik Quartet, 2 eurythmy presentations under the direction of Marie Steiner took place in the « Volksoper ». A performance of recitation, an evening of arias and songs by Valborg Svardstrom-Werbeck, and 2 lectures : one by Albert Steffen entitled « The Position of the Artist Between East and West » ; and the other by Erich Schwebsch called « Anton Bruckner's Musical Mission » were also on the program.

...

The eurythmy performance on 27 August 1923 opened with « The Rune of the 4 Winds » by Fiona Macleod, 1st published in 1896, in : « From the Hills of Dream » .

The author prefaced the collection by a note :

« I do not use the word “ Rune ” in its ancient or exact significance, but rather as a suitable analogue for Chant ; occasionally, however, with something of the significance of the old word “ Ran ”, meaning a mystery, or the more or less occult expression of mystery. »

The eurythmic version is performed by 4 eurythmists : one in yellow robe with blue veil ; one in blue robe with grey veil ; one in red robe with yellow veil ; and one in lilac robe with bright orange veil.

By the voice in the corries
When the Polestar breatheth :
By the Voice on the summits
The dead feet know :
By the soft wet cry
When the heat-star troubleth :
By the plaining and moaning
Of the sigh of the Rainbows :
By the 4 white winds of the world,
Whose father the golden Sun is,
Whose mother the wheeling moon is,
The North and the South and the East and the West :

By the 4 good winds of the world,

That Man knoweth,
That One dreadeth,
That God blesseth -
Be all well
On mountain and moorland and lea,
On loch-face and lochan and river,
On shore and shallow and sea !

By the Voice of the Hollow
Where the worm dwelleth :
By the Voice of the Hollow
Where the sea-wave stirs not :
By the Voice of the Hollow
That sun hath not seen yet :
By the 3 dark winds of the world ;
The chill dull breath of the Grave,
The breath from the depths of the Sea,
The breath of To-morrow :

By the white and dark winds of the world,
The 4 and the 3 that are 7,
That man knoweth,
That one dreadeth,
That God blesseth -
Be all well
On mountain and moorland and lea,
On loch-face and lochan and river,
On shore and shallow and sea !

Referring to this poem in a review of « From the Hills of Dream » published in the December 1896 number of « The Bookman », William Butler Yeats observed :

« I am altogether moved and impressed. »

In the eurythmy performance, there followed another poem by Fiona Macleod, « The Moon-Child » and, then, a Prelude by Johann Sebastian Bach, a couple of poems by Albert Steffen, a piece by Anton Bruckner, the song « April, April » by William Watson, and theme and variations from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Violin Sonata.

After an interval, the 2nd part began with 2 Intermezzos by Johannes Brahms and a poem by Eduard Mörike. Then, came the fairies' lullaby « You spotted snakes with double tongue » from « A Midsummer Night's Dream » by Felix

Mendelssohn and the song « When daisies pied and violets blue » from « Love's Labour's Lost » . The whole performance was concluded with further musical pieces by Piotr Ilitch Tchaikovsky and Robert Schumann.

...

Here, a man faced the Viennese public with the strength of upright, selfless determination to break-off the old bridges that had tied him until when to his Protestant church. As is known, this happened barely 3 months before the inauguration of the Christian Community, the movement for religious renewal, which took place in September of that year at the « Gœtheanum » , in Dornach. When Friedrich Rittelmeyer spoke of the Pentecostal speaking-in-tongues as the spiritual opposite to the construction of the Tower of Babel as the symbol of the confusion of tongues, his words rang with the heart-felt, almost palpable undertone of the wealth of wisdom of spiritual science, strengthened by the power of the Whitsun mystery to outlast all ages. As though in a higher-octave, Rudolf Steiner bore witness to this in his lecture on the following Sunday, which was the only one in this world-wide proclamation of anthroposophy he had set aside for members of the Anthroposophical Society only.

This Whitsun presentation, in the morning, tried to free religion as an element of humanit from the spell of dogmas, and something similar happened in the afternoon when Erich Schwebsch spoke of « Anton Bruckner's Musical Mission » . Bruckner had started as a church musician, but soon crossed from the monastic confines to the free artists' world of his Symphonic inspirations.

Schwebsch wrote in an essay he had published before the Vienna Congress in the weekly « Das Gœtheanum » :

« Nobody would consider the late “ 150th Psalm ” a church creation, and someday comprehending the “ Te Deum ” will depend not on grasping the traditional church concepts but on the super-sensible, cosmic experience of reality contained in it. »

Erich Schwebsch's lecture given that Whitsun Sunday, between the afternoon's artistic presentations, was intended as a preparation for the great Anton Bruckner Concert scheduled for the afternoon of Whit-Monday. This is why Schwebsch referred particularly to the mighty Mass in F minor, the String Quartet in F major and the « Te Deum » . Schwebsch, the art-instructor of the 11 per classes of the Stuttgart Waldorf School, had just recently published a biography of Bruckner. On the basis of the foundations of spiritual-scientific biographies, he was able to point to the spiritual background of these 3 musical works. The Mass was composed after completion of the 1st Symphony and after Bruckner's recovery from a difficult, critical illness. The String Quartet was conceived around the year 1879, between completion of the 5th Symphony and the beginning of work on the 6th Symphony. The « Te Deum » belongs to the time of Bruckner's final period of maturity.

Just as Rittelmeyer, a former Protestant preacher, succeeded in reaching the hearts of the Catholic Viennese, so Schwebsch, a former school inspector of a Prussian high-school in Berlin, was able to illustrate how Bruckner, a man who grew-up among the peasantry in Upper-Austria, rose to the heights of unique creative genius. Here, through anthroposophy's view of the human being, a cosmopolitan spirit had become active in an exemplary way !

Then Sunday evening approached to which I was looking forward with the greatest anticipation because the 4th lecture by Rudolf Steiner was scheduled for that time. In the program, the lecture's title was « Anthroposophy and World Evolution from the Stand-point of Geography » . The lectures describing the relationship of anthroposophy to natural science, psychology, and history had preceded this one. The inner-theme revolved around a new teaching of the earth's life, a geography of the etheric containing at the same time a higher-ethnology.

...

The entire building was occupied by many scientific or artistic programs. For instance, in one hall, there were discussions in the fields of chemistry and physics ; in another, in those of biology or psychology, medicine or pedagogy, sociology or economics ; while, in another, the interpretation of the German lectures was proceeding in French or English. For persons had come from various parts of Europe and from great distances, including America. It was really a great gathering of companions at the very time when mutual understanding in the outside world had sunk to its lowest-level. The good spirit which worked at the « Goetheanum » was here also to teach the human beings in the Congress of Vienna mutual understanding.

Side by side with the scientific undertakings of the Congress, one experienced the religious questions and the artistic impulses. On Pentecost Sunday, June 4th, Doctor Friedrich Rittelmeyer spoke on « The Spirit of Pentecost and Religious Renewal » . The artistic part of the conference was introduced by Albert Steffen in a lecture on « The Position of the Artist between West and East » and a lecture by Doctor Erich Schwesbch on « Anton Bruckner's Musical Mission » . Out of Albert Steffen's lecture was later developed one of his most beautiful literary productions, and Doctor Schwesbch, inspired by Rudolf Steiner's long-continued high-evaluation of Bruckner, produced later a book which helped greatly in expanding the appreciation of this composer. During the Congress, there was a magnificent production of Bruckner's great Mass in F minor by a combination of 3 musical organizations of Vienna. Classical music was represented by a program produced on modern instruments built by the violin-maker Thomastik. All of this artistic production came to a conclusion in the lecture of Rudolf Steiner.

...

The West-East Congress had not been sought for or brought about through propaganda but that, here, out of the very force of the external relations, a task had been given by destiny to the Movement, a question which had to be answered. He said, in earlier years, that his task in this time was « to say » the things and, then, leave it to the freedom of every human being to draw his own conclusions. Since now, in recent years, and especially through the activity of the younger element, these questions had come from the external world, the answer had now been given from the center of the Movement to the questioning periphery, neither less nor more than this spiritual necessity and concrete putting of questions from without correspondingly required. Rudolf Steiner said, therefore, in his report of June 18th :

« You know from much that I have said here that such Congresses as that in Stuttgart and, then, the Vienna Congress

are really necessities demanded of the Anthroposophical Movement from without. I have said to you that the Anthroposophical Movement, from the beginning on, has worked-out of the esoteric and, in the case of an esoteric movement, it is obvious that there can be nothing of an agitative quality ; but it must so far as possible seek its path in such a way that, in spite of giving to every one who wills to hear the opportunity to hear, the Movement directs itself to those human beings who feel a certain inclination toward it, out of their hearts and out of their thinking, and who then (this must be said) find the way according to destiny. »

...

In late-March 1925, Rudolf Steiner lay on his sick-bed in the studio of the joinery work-shop, in Dornach. It was a high-ceilinged room with a skylight. At the foot of his bed soared the wooden sculpture which he had carved with the aid of his pupil, the sculptress Edith Maryon. It depicted the « Representative of Humanity » striding between the adversary powers of Lucifer and Ahriman. Steiner was working on the book, later published as his autobiography, which appeared in weekly instalments in « Das Goetheanum » magazine. Books and periodicals lay around on tables and stands. These probably included a book by Friedrich Eckstein, whom Steiner, in his autobiographical reminiscences published on 25 January 1925, had mentioned warmly ; at this, in gratitude, Eckstein had sent him his book entitled « Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner » (Memories of Anton Bruckner) with the dedication :

« In memory of long-past days of joys of the spirit. »

For Steiner, this was a warm greeting recalling his youthful experiences in Vienna, when he had met Eckstein. In a letter to Eckstein, at the end of November 1890, Rudolf Steiner had said that the importance of this meeting for his own development was equalled only by one other of that time, about which however he must remain silent :

« There are 2 experiences in my life which I count among the most important of my existence, so that I would be a quite different person if they had not occurred. Of one I must remain silent ; the other is the fact that I became acquainted with you. »

There can be no doubt that the 1st of these 2 experiences refers to Steiner's encounter, at the age of 19, with his Master, which he later described to Edouard Schuré.

Bruckner, le cosmique et le Zodiaque

Bruckner's Cosmic Musical Background in Relation to the Zodiac

(Raymond Cox)

Rudolf Steiner was the founder of the Anthroposophical Society. His vast survey of the spiritual evolution of man included many diverse subjects and disciplines - the nature and spiritual background of music and the other arts among them. Steiner's teachings arose-out of his personal and clairvoyant research into the world of spirit. In his early

(1906) lecture series « Concerning Music » , the effect of music upon man was discussed. Steiner explained that the individuality of a musician unites in a karmic * way with the physical characteristics of his heredity. Steiner's most important lectures on music came in 1923. They included « The Experience of Tone in the Human Being » and « The World of the Hierarchies and the World of the Tones » as well as the seminal course, « The Arts and Their Mission » .

* karma (Sanskrit) : Sum of person's actions in one of his successive states of existence, viewed as deciding his fate in the next ; destiny.

Throughout his life, Steiner held Bruckner in high-esteem. This inspired Erich Schwab to write a book entitled : « Anton Bruckner. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis von Entwicklungen in der Musik » (Anton Bruckner : A Contribution to the Perception of Developments in Music) . In 1922, Schwab lectured on « Bruckner's Musical Mission » at Steiner's West-East Congress, in Vienna. Both here and in his book, he considers the significant part which the zodiac plays in the scheme of things :

« The keys in music represent space in soul and spirit, and, depending on the key, experiences can differ. The keys determine in a way the constellation of a theme in a Symphony, the law by which it enters in, and assert their will, just as the constellations of the zodiac determine the rhythm of 12 months of the year, each with its special nature and its special effect upon the human soul. »

Stuart Easton, in « Man and the World in the Light of Anthroposophy » (New York, 1975) , describes Steiner's insights into the arts from various points of view. Easton finds the zodiacal implications of great importance. In a section dealing with music, he quotes Steiner as saying that Pythagoras' « Music of the Spheres » is a reality, and that there is an area of the spiritual world into which an initiate enters and becomes « clairaudient » . Some of the great composers, including Bruckner, have been able to enter this world. They could capture and retrieve the sounds they heard in a way that could be sung by human voices or played by human beings on musical instruments. The 12 signs, or constellations, of the zodiac have been connected by tradition with the 12 parts of the human organism. But they also have a connection with the original 12 consonants, from within which the vowels sound forth to create human speech and song. Similarly, in the cosmos or macrocosm, the planets play the part of the vowels and sound forth through the « fixed » stars of the zodiac in greatly varied tones. Man after death experiences (actually, sees and hears) the world of stars and planets as qualities of soul and spirit belonging to the different constellations.

Steiner likens sound to « a window opening on to a spiritual world. In the future, we shall try to penetrate behind the sounds - each sound, in itself, will have a moral and spiritual value. » He always said that we do not experience musical notes as such and that our souls create within us the intervals between the notes. This is what Elsie Hamilton, a student of Steiner, calls the « spiritual experience in time between the 2 notes » . One cannot help recalling, in this respect, the significance of the pauses and spaces which are so characteristic of Bruckner's Symphonic movements.

With regard to the zodiac, special attention must be given to the thoughts of Anny von Lange and, particularly, her book called « Man, Music and Cosmos » (Rudolf Steiner Press, 1992) . Here, Bach, Wagner and Bruckner are prominent

figures, Bruckner taking-up the whole of the concluding chapter. One of the book's striking features is the description of the relation of the various major and minor keys to certain qualities in human beings that are expressed through them - together, with the connection with the zodiac. (Minor-keys represent the return of the soul to its own inner-world ; major-keys, the movement of the soul forward to a world outside itself.) Bruckner's use of the key of D minor is touched upon twice, as is its place in the zodiac : the Ram, « Aries » . When it occurs in Bruckner's 3rd Symphony, it denotes a process of development towards individuality and earthly existence seeking expression :

« Man stands “ between heaven and earth ”. He grasps the possibility of mentally combining both regions. »

The 2nd occurrence is in Bruckner's « uncompleted » 9th Symphony, which offers a parallel with Bach's « The Art of Fugue » . Bruckner's process of development would have ended with the crowning Finale of the 9th. According to von Lange, Bruckner trod an unconscious path from his 1st Symphony onwards, united as an artist with the world of divine origin, and protected from any deviation as one « who knew himself to be a child of God » .

Von Lange does not include in her study Bruckner's early F minor and D minor (« Die Nullte ») Symphonies, and she indicates that the process of spiritual development, for Bruckner, really began with the 3rd. What, then, of the 2 C minor Symphonies, Nos. 1 and 2 ? These are represented by « Gemini » (the Twins) and show the composer setting-out to gain Mastery in his creative activity. The 1st Symphony finds joy in this creation and was written as the « outer » world sounding through the composer, while the 2nd was composed more from within. C minor is described as the world of Capability. The Twins operate between the duality of right and left in the body, between active and passive existence, between giving and receiving. When Bruckner reaches another Symphony in C minor, the 8th, it is in a higher-sense of creation (von Lange says : « creative play ») and he is now Master of this realm :

« It is the control of the unity of content and form in which one's every faculty works without question. »

We are left with the major-key Symphonies to consider. No. 4 in E-flat has « Aquarius » (the Waterman) , as its zodiacal counter-part. It is described by von Lange as an « Equilibrium » . Here, the attainment of the sphere of E-flat confirms the discovery of the « I » : Bruckner is growing mature in a cosmic world-consciousness. The E-flat element forms an axis in the zodiac with the « Feeling » element of A major, the key of Bruckner's 6th Symphony. In this axis, the soul is said to be connected to the regulating power of the harmony of the spheres. The 6th Symphony is represented by « Leo » (the Lion) , and it reveals the power of love. Highly-inspired though it is, the 6th remains a preliminary trial for the next stage of the process, which is found in the 7th.

Erich Schwebsch remarks of the 6th :

« Through the 12 spaces, which, as zodiacal spaces, form the whole heaven of sound for our music today, Bruckner lets the phases of the main-theme ring through all 12 keys. »

The 7th Symphony brings a new experience in the round of the zodiac. Its key of E major is a key of light and illumination. The word is « Contemplation » and the sign is that of « Virgo » (the Virgin) . Anny von Lange provides

another poetic description :

« A feeling of freedom arises like a sigh of relief, clear and light, as though one were standing before a wide sunlit landscape. The relationship between the “ I ” and the universe, illumined by a knowledge which is still strongly united with feeling, is connected with the warmth of the sun and leaves a happy impression of un-defiled purity. A work of resounding light has to be developed. On this path to the heights, dimensions are attained which sound in a divine, star-like way to the (by now, clairaudient) ear of the maturing Master. »

Bruckner's 5th Symphony lies on the axis of « equilibrium » between his 4th and 6th Symphonies. The sign is « Pisces » (the Fishes) , and the description is « Destiny » . The « angel-consciousness » of the 4th Symphony was such that it had to be acquired anew, step by step. B-flat, the key of the 5th, is the natural progression from E-flat. The B-flat Symphony represents Bruckner's complete achievement of outward Mastery.

To quote von Lange again :

« It must prepare the way to a conquest of the personal realm and to a powerful all-embracing love. The difficulty, the solitude and the responsibility of an overwhelming artistic destiny must be made to sound but, also, the up-lifting grace it brings. »

At the 1922 Anthroposophical Congress, in Vienna, Professor Ignaz Leo Weber directed the Vienna Bruckner-Choir (« Wiener Bruckner-Chor ») in performances of Bruckner's Mass in F minor and « Te Deum » .

At a « matinée » concert in the Leipzig Conservatory, on 13 October 1940, an address by Erich Schwebsch preceded the 1st performance of Bruckner's String Quintet, in its original form by the Strub Quartet of Berlin with Emil Seiler. The concert also featured Franz Schubert's Quartet Movement (« Quartettsatz ») in C minor and the premiere of Bruckner's 2 discarded sketches for the Trio of his 9th Symphony, arranged by Armin Knab.

...

On **December 29, 1884**, while staying in Leipzig, Anton Bruckner played the « Gewandhaus » organ for a full complement of friends. He regularly requested a subject upon which to improvise a fugue ; the one in question was from Professor Winterberger. Here, Bruckner is inquiring about the forgotten theme.

The 2 reviews of which Bruckner speaks concern the 1st performance of his Quintet.

Autograph Letter about the 7th Symphony

Elusive autograph signed letter and envelope from the influential Austrian composer and organist who writes regarding the world-premiere of his 7th Symphony. Autograph material of any kind from Bruckner is extremely rare. Sold together with a vintage postcard photograph.

1 page, double-sheet, 8vo. Dated : « 15.01.1885 » . To the composer Alfred Stroß, envelope post-marked « Vienna » . In fine condition, tiny tears to 2 edges, envelope torn along the right edge.

Translation :

« Dear, good friend ! I've found NO publisher. When you write to Professor Winterberger, you will want to ask him for the theme in B minor that he gave me in the “ Gewandhaus ”. Thank you for your support, dear noble friend. Your Bruckner. »

And adding this postscript :

« Special edition from Monday was terrible. The German newspaper by Wednesday, very good. »

The composer is referencing to reviews of his 7th Symphony which was 1st performed on December 30, 1884. The premiere, given under Arthur Nikisch and the « Gewandhaus » Orchestra, at the Leipzig Opera House, brought Bruckner the greatest success he had known in his life. The Symphony was eventually published by Albert J. Gutmann, in 1885.

22 janvier 1885 : Anton Bruckner is elected an honorary member of the « Akademischer Richard-Wagner-Verein » , in Vienna. This new Academic Richard Wagner Society was distinct from the one Karl Goldmark helped create, which had as one of its bylaws the explicit provision that no Jew could be a member.

Karl Goldmark

Le compositeur hongrois Károly Goldmark (Karl Goldmark, en allemand) est né le 18 mai 1830 à Keszthely et est mort le 2 janvier 1915 à Vienne.

Goldmark est issu d'une famille nombreuse juive (plus d'une vingtaine d'enfants) , dont le père exerce la profession de cantor. Il apprend le violon et, dès l'âge de 12 ans, fait montre d'un réel talent de compositeur en écrivant, notamment, des pièces vocales. Il fait ses études à l'école de la Société musicale de Sopron (1842-1844) où l'on remarque ses capacités de violoniste.

Il se rend ensuite à Vienne où il est l'élève de Leopold Jança puis poursuit ses études au Conservatoire de Vienne avec Gottfried Preger pour l'harmonie et Joseph Böhm pour le violon. Il se fait un nom comme pédagogue (Jean Sibelius compte parmi ses élèves) et comme compositeur.

En 1851, il est engagé au Théâtre de « Josefstadt » , puis au « Carlstheater » approfondissant ses connaissances musicales qu'il met à profit dans ses propres œuvres. En 1858, il organise un concert de sa propre musique mais la réaction de la presse viennoise est négative ce qui le décide à partir pour Budapest où il donne des leçons de piano

et continue l'étude de la composition. En 1859, il donne un second concert et retourne à Vienne, en 1860, où il rencontre Johannes Brahms avec qui il se lie d'amitié. Avec Joseph Joachim, Brahms et le critique musical Eduard Hanslick, il défend la musique pure contre celle de Richard Wagner.

Son Quatuor à cordes, Opus 8, le rend immédiatement célèbre.

Les grandes étapes de sa carrière sont la création de son Ouverture « Sakuntala » par l'Orchestre philharmonique de Vienne, le 26 décembre 1865 de même que la 1re représentation de son Opéra « La Reine de Saba » à l'Opéra de Vienne, le 10 mars 1875. Ces 2 œuvres remportent un immense succès. On ne saurait passer sous silence son Concerto en la mineur pour violon et orchestre, composé en 1877, soit 10 ans après le 1er Concerto de Max Bruch.

Sa musique évoque surtout la musique traditionnelle de la Hongrie et la musique liturgique juive.

Ses Opéras le placent entre Giacomo Meyerbeer et Wagner.

Œuvres principales

Opéras

La reine de Saba (« Die Königin von Saba ») , (1875) ; création à Vienne, le 10 mars 1875.

Merlin (1886) ; création à Vienne, le 19 novembre 1886.

« Das Heimchen am Herd » , d'après « The Cricket on the Hearth » de Charles Dickens (1896) ; création à Vienne, le 21 mars 1896.

« Die Kriegsgefangenen » ; création à Vienne, le 17 janvier 1899.

« Götz von Berlichingen » , d'après Goethe ; création à Budapest, le 16 décembre 1902.

« Ein Wintermärchen » , d'après « A Winters's Tale » de Shakespeare ; création à Vienne, le 2 janvier 1908.

Œuvres symphoniques

Ouverture « Sakuntala » (1865) .

Ouverture « Penthesilea » .

Ouverture « Im Frühling » .

Ouverture « Der gefesselte Prometheus » .

Ouverture « Sappho » .

Ouverture « In Italien » .

Ouverture « Aus Jugendtagen » .

Poème symphonique « Ländliche Hochzeit » ; création à Vienne, le 5 mars 1876.

Symphonie n° 1 dite « Symphonie Rustique » , Opus 26.

Concerto pour violon n° 1, Opus 28 ; création à Nuremberg, le 28 octobre 1878.

Symphonie n° 2, Opus 35.

Musique de chambre

Quintette en la mineur pour 2 violons, 1 alto et 2 violoncelles, Opus 9.

Quintette en si bémol majeur pour 2 violons, 1 alto, 1 violoncelle et piano, Opus 30.

Quintette en ré bémol majeur pour 2 violons, 1 alto, 1 violoncelle et piano, Opus 54.

Quatuor à cordes en si bémol majeur, Opus 8 (1860) .

Trio en si bémol majeur pour violon, violoncelle et piano, Opus 4.

Trio en mi mineur pour violon, violoncelle et piano, Opus 33.

Suite en mi majeur pour violon et piano, Opus 11.

Suite en mi bémol majeur pour violon et piano, Opus 43.

Sonate en ré majeur pour violon et piano, Opus 25.

Sonate en fa majeur pour violoncelle et piano, Opus 39.

...

Hungarian composer Karl Goldmark, also known originally as Károly Goldmark (Goldmark Károly, in Hungarian) and later sometimes as Karl Goldmark ; born May 18, 1830, in Keszthely - died January 2, 1915, in Vienna) .

Goldmark came from a large Jewish family, one of 20 children. His father, Ruben Goldmark, was a chazan to the Jewish congregation at Keszthely, Hungary. Karl Goldmark's older brother Joseph Goldmark became a physician and was later involved in the Revolution of 1848, and forced to emigrate to the United States. Karl Goldmark's early training as a violinist was at the musical academy of Sopron (1842-1844) . He continued his music studies there and, 2 years later, was sent by his father to Vienna, where he was able to study for some 18 months with Leopold Jansa before his money ran-out. He prepared himself for entry 1st to the Vienna « Technische Hochschule » and, then, to the Vienna Conservatory to study the violin with Joseph Böhm and harmony with Gottfried Preyer. The Revolution of 1848 forced the Conservatory to close down. He was largely self-taught as a composer. He supported himself in Vienna playing the violin in Theatre Orchestras, at the « Carlstheater » and the privately supported Viennese institution, the « Theater in der Josefstadt » , which gave him practical experience with orchestration, an art he more than mastered. He also gave lessons : Jean Sibelius studied with him briefly. Goldmark's 1st concert in Vienna, in 1858, met with hostility, and he returned to Budapest, returning to Vienna, in 1860.

To make ends meet, Goldmark also pursued a side career as a music journalist :

« His writing is distinctive for his even-handed promotion of both Brahms and Wagner, at a time when audiences (and most critics) were solidly in one composer's camp or the other and viewed those on the opposing side with undisguised hostility. » (Liebermann, 1997)

Johannes Brahms and Goldmark developed a friendship as Goldmark's prominence in Vienna grew. Goldmark, however would ultimately distance himself because of Brahms' prickly personality.

Among the musical influences Goldmark absorbed was the inescapable one, for a musical colorist, of Richard Wagner, whose anti-Semitism stood in the way of any genuine warmth between them ; in 1872, Goldmark took a prominent role in the formation of the Vienna Wagner Society. He was made an honorary member of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , received an honorary doctorate from the University of Budapest and shared with Richard Strauß an honorary membership in the « Accademia di Santa Cecilia » , in Rome.

Goldmark's Opera « Die Königin von Saba » (The Queen of Sheba) , Opus 27, was celebrated during his lifetime and for some years thereafter. 1st performed in Vienna, on 10 March 1875, the work proved so popular that it remained in the repertory of the Vienna « Staatsoper » continuously until 1938. He wrote 6 other Operas as well.

The « Rustic Wedding Symphony » (« Ländliche Hochzeit ») , Opus 26 (premiered 1876) , a work that was kept in the repertory by Sir Thomas Beecham, includes 5 movements, like a suite composed of coloristic tone poems : a wedding march with variations depicting the wedding guests, a nuptial song, a serenade, a dialogue between the bride and groom in a garden, and a dance movement.

His Violin Concerto No. 1 in A minor, Opus 28, was once his most frequently played piece. The Concerto had its premiere in Bremen, in 1877, initially enjoyed great popularity and then slid into obscurity. A very Romantic work, it has a Magyar march in the 1st movement and passages reminiscent of Antonín Dvořák, and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, in the 2nd and 3rd movements. It has started to re-enter the repertoire, through recordings by such prominent violin soloists as Itzhak Perlman and Joshua Bell. Nathan Milstein also championed the work and Milstein's recording of the Concerto, in 1963, is widely considered the definitive one. Goldmark wrote a 2nd Violin Concerto, but it was never published.

A 2nd Symphony in E-flat, Opus 35, is much less well-known. (Goldmark also wrote an early Symphony in C major, between roughly 1858 and 1860. This work was never given an Opus number, and only the Scherzo seems to have ever been published.)

Goldmark's chamber music, in which the influences of Robert Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn are paramount, although critically well-received in his lifetime, is now rarely heard. It includes the String Quintet in A minor, Opus 9, that made his 1st reputation in Vienna ; the Violin Sonata in D major, Opus 25 ; 2 Piano Quintets in B-flat major, Opus 30, and C-sharp minor, Opus 54 ; the Cello Sonata, Opus 39, and the work that 1st brought Goldmark's name into prominence in the Viennese musical world : the String Quartet in B-flat, Opus 8 (his only work in that genre) .

Goldmark also composed choral music, 2 Suites for violin and piano (in D major, Opus 11 ; and in E-flat major, Opus 43) , and numerous concert Overtures, such as the « Sakuntala » Overture, Opus 13 (a work which cemented his fame after his String Quartet) ; the « Penthesilea » Overture, Opus 31 ; the « In the Spring » Overture, Opus 36 ; the « Prometheus Bound » Overture, Opus 38 ; the « Sappho » Overture, Opus 44 ; the « In Italy » Overture, Opus 49 ; and the « Aus jungendtagen » Overture, Opus 53. Other orchestral works include the Symphonic poem « Zrínyi » , Opus 47 ; and 2 orchestral Scherzos : in E minor, Opus 19 ; and in A major, Opus 45.

Karl Goldmark's nephew Rubin Goldmark (1872-1936) , a pupil of Dvořák, was also a composer, who spent his career in New York.

Goldmark died in Vienna and is buried in the « Zentralfriedhof » (Central Cemetery) , along with many other notable composers.

Many of his autograph manuscripts are in the collection of the National Széchényi Library, with « G » catalogue numbers attached to various works (including those without Opus number) .

Operas

« Die Königin von Saba » (The Queen of Sheba) (1875) .

Merlin (1886) .

« Das Heimchen am Herd » (1896) ; adapted from Charles Dickens's « The Cricket on the Hearth » .

« Der Fremdling » (The Changeling) (1897) .

« Die Kriegsgefangene » (The Prisoner of War) , (1899) ; a Trojan War story taking Achilles' captive Briseis as central figure.

« Götz von Berlichingen » (1902) ; after Gœthe's play about the historical figure.

« Ein Wintermärchen » (1908) ; adapted from Shakespeare's « The Winter's Tale » .

Symphonies

« Rustic Wedding Symphony » , Opus 26.

Symphony No. 2 in E-flat, Opus 35.

Concerti

Violin Concerto No. 1 in A minor, Opus 28.

Violin Concerto No. 2 (unpublished) .

Chamber Music

Ballad for Violin and Piano, Opus 54.

Piano Quintet in B-flat major, Opus 30.

Piano Quintet in C-sharp minor, Opus 54.

Romanze for violin and piano.

Sonata for violin and piano, Opus 25.

Piano Trio, Opus 33, No. 2.

Piano Trio, Opus 4.

String Quartet in B-flat major, Opus 8.

Suite in D major for violin and piano, Opus 11.

Suite in A major for violin and piano.

Piano works (solo unless indicated) :

« Sturm und Drang » , 9 characteristic pieces, Opus 5.

3 Pieces for piano duet, Opus 12.

Hungarian Dances for piano duet, Opus 22 (later orchestrated by the composer) .

« Zwei Novelletten » , Opus 29.

« Georginen » , 6 pieces, Opus 52.

Choral works

« Regenlied » for unaccompanied chorus, Opus 10.

2 Pieces for unaccompanied men's chorus, Opus 14.

« Frühlingsnetz » for men's chorus, 4 horns, and piano, Opus 15.

« Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt » for men's chorus and horns, Opus 16.

2 Pieces for unaccompanied men's chorus, Opus 17.

« Frühlingshymne » for contralto, chorus, and orchestra, Opus 23.

« Im Fuschertal » , a set of 6 choral songs, Opus 24.

Psalm CXIII for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra, Opus 40.

2 Pieces for unaccompanied men's chorus, Opus 41.

2 4-Part Songs with piano accompaniment, Opus 42.

Lieder

12 Gesänge, Opus 18.

« Beschwörung » , Opus 20.

4 Lieder, Opus 21.

7 Lieder aus dem « Wilden Jäger » , Opus 32.

4 Lieder, Opus 34.

8 Lieder, Opus 37 (Leipzig, 1888 or 1889) .

« Wer sich die Musik erkiest » , for piano and 4 solo voices, Opus 42.

6 Lieder, Opus 46.

...

Composer Karl Goldmark, famous in Vienna throughout the 2nd half of the 19th Century, was born into an enormous Jewish family (Goldmark had over 20 siblings) in Hungary, in 1830. The family moved to the outskirts of Ödenburg (now, Sopron) in 1834 and, 7 years later, Goldmark began to study the violin (in a most rudimentary way, his 1st teacher being a singer with little instrumental experience) . After 2 years at the Ödenburg music school (1842-1843) , the talented, but untrained, 14 year old was sent to Vienna for serious violin studies (1844) . Forced for monetary reasons to abandon the lessons after a little over a year, but nevertheless determined to pursue music as a vocation, Goldmark managed to gain admittance 1st to the Vienna technical school and, in 1847, to the city's Conservatory, where he studied violin with the respected performer Joseph Böhm and harmony (for a very brief time) with Gottfried Preyer.

Political troubles in the city, in 1848 (which shut down many Viennese institutions of learning, including the Conservatory) , forced Goldmark to abandon school after just a year of formal study. Working as a theater violinist and music teacher (1st in Ödenburg and, later, back in Vienna) for the next several years, Goldmark began trying to hone his skills as a composer and, in 1858, he organized a concert of his own music in Vienna. The concert was not a success, and Goldmark, disillusioned by the reception of his music in the city and uncomfortable with his lack of thorough compositional grounding, opted to relocate to Budapest, where he immersed himself in the music of Bach, Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven and studied contemporary texts on musical form and language.

Upon his return to Vienna, in 1860, Goldmark met with considerable and immediate success and, by the 1870's, a string of successful works such as : the String Quartet, Opus 8, of 1860 ; the « Sakuntala » Overture of 1865 ; and, most significantly, the 1875 Opera « Die Königin von Saba » (The Queen of Saba) ; and the 1877 Symphonic poem «

Rustic Wedding » had placed Goldmark in the front tier of contemporary Austro-German composers. Despite the objections of many leading musicians (among them, the outspoken critic Eduard Hanslick) who considered him to be just another 2nd-rate Wagnerian, Goldmark remained an honoured and very visible part of Viennese musical life until his death, in 1915, at the age of 84.

Goldmark's musical influences were many and varied, beginning with his exposure to local folk-dances while a child in Hungary, and later moving through Wagner towards a unique blend of German Classicism and impressionism (a style he was just beginning to explore, at the time of his death) . Some of Goldmark's mature pieces, particularly the Operas « Die Königin von Saba » and « Ein Wintermärchen » (A Winter Tale) , in 1908, and the Opus 28 Violin Concerto, successfully employ a unique and beautiful language, rich in melody and warmly chromatic ; at other times (as in most of the music for piano, an instrument for which Goldmark had little native sympathy) , his work falls rather short of its hyper-expressive goal.

...

Hungarian by birth, Karl Goldmark made his principal career in Vienna after earlier years during which he earned his living as a violinist in Theatre Orchestras and as a teacher. Largely self-taught as a composer, he had his 1st success with his String Quartet, Opus 8, in 1860. He joined in the establishment of a Wagner Society, in Vienna, and gradually assumed a position of great importance in the musical life of the city.

Goldmark's Opera « Die Königin von Saba » (The Queen of Sheba) enjoyed considerable popularity also in Italy, its musical idiom influenced to some extent by the music of the synagogue with which the composer was familiar from his childhood. Other Operas were less successful, although his Opera based on Shakespeare's « A Winter's Tale » exemplified a form of stagework more familiar from Engelbert Humperdinck.

In addition to 2 Symphonies and 2 Violin Concertos, Goldmark wrote a series of concert Overtures and the popular « Rustic Wedding Symphony » .

Goldmark wrote a series of works for conventional chamber ensembles, Duos, Trios, Quartets and Quintets, the later compositions showing signs of other contemporary influences within the prescribed forms.

...

Karl Goldmark, häufig auch Karl Goldmark und Károly Goldmark, (geboren 18. Mai 1830 in Keszthely ; gestorben 2. Januar 1915 in Wien) war ein österreichisch-ungarischer Komponist, Musiklehrer und Geiger jüdischer Herkunft.

In Keszthely am Balaton als Sohn eines jüdischen Kantors geboren, übersiedelte er im Alter von vier Jahren nach Deutschkreutz im Burgenland, wo er in ärmlichen Verhältnissen in seiner deutschjüdischen Familie aufwuchs. Mit 11 Jahren bekam er den ersten Geigenunterricht, mit 14 Jahren zog er nach Wien und gab dort im Alter von 18 Jahren seine ersten Soloauftritte als Geiger. Über viele Jahre wirkte er unbeachtet als Theatergeiger am Carltheater, wo er

seine Einkünfte durch Klavierunterricht aufbesserte. 1863 erhielt er ein Stipendium für Musik, das ihm von den drei Kommissionsmitgliedern des Unterrichtsministeriums Eduard Hanslick, Esser und Herbeck zugesprochen wurde.

Mit 27 Jahren fasste er erstmals den Entschluss, mit eigenen Kompositionen vor das Publikum zu treten, mit 28 Jahren gab er sein erstes Konzert mit eigenen Werken. Zu Beginn der Sechziger Jahre war Goldmark als Bratschist eines jungen Streichquartetts tätig. Diesem Quartett übergab Johannes Brahms sein später mehrfach umgearbeitetes Streichquartett in F-Moll zur Probe. In dieser Zeit entwickelte sich zwischen Brahms und Goldmark eine (nicht immer ganz problemlose) Freundschaft, die in zahlreichen Ausflügen etwa nach Baden oder Klosterneuburg und auch in einer gemeinsamen Italienreise zum Ausdruck kam. Goldmark gehörte daneben auch zu den regelmäßigen Gästen bei der Familie Johann Strauß. Gustav Mahler, der drei Goldmark-Opern auf seiner Dirigierliste hatte, « Heimchen am Herd » (1896) , « Die Kriegsgefangene » (1899) und die Neuinszenierung von « Die Königin von Saba » (1901) , und Goldmark begegneten sich mit einer gewissen Reserviertheit. Dies wurde teilweise darauf zurückgeführt, daß Mahler es Goldmark stets verübelt hatte, daß dieser als Mitglied der Juroren-Kommission (bestehend aus Hanslick, Brahms, Hans Richter und Goldmark) in den Jahren 1878 und 1881 den « Beethoven-Preis » der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien nicht ihm, sondern Robert Fuchs und Victor von Herzfeld zugesprochen hatte.

Als Autodidakt schaffte er 1865 mit der Sakuntala-Overtüre den ersten Durchbruch, aufgeführt im 4. Philharmonischen Konzert der Saison 1865-1866. Der Kritiker Eduard Hanslick, der die Aufführung insgesamt wohlwollend kritisierte, nahm allerdings wie in vielen späteren Kritiken an seinem « Dissonanzenreichtum » Anstoß. In der Uraufführung von Goldmarks Overtüre « Im Frühling » stellte Eduard Hanslick die Frage, ob « der Dissonanzenkönig es über sich gewinnen wird, dem Mai zuliebe seine schneidenden Akkorde zu verabschieden » , und in Goldmarks « Sappho-Ouverture » brandmarkte er dessen « Dissonanzenurwald » .

Seine Grabstelle befindet sich auf dem Wiener Zentralfriedhof (Alter jüdischer Friedhof - Tor I) . 1925 wurde der Goldmarkplatz in Wien-Hietzing ihm zu Ehren benannt.

Karl Goldmark war zu Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in seinen späteren Jahren ein sehr populärer Komponist, der mit Superlativen überhäuft wurde. Jean Sibelius, zeitweiliger Schüler von Goldmark ab 1890, schrieb 1892, daß er in Wien einen außerordentlichen Ruf habe und man vielerorts beneidet würde, dessen Schüler zu sein. Julius Korngold, Nachfolger von Eduard Hanslick, sprach vom « Goldmark-Kultus » . Karl Kraus bescheinigte ihm, seit Richard Wagners Tod der größte lebende Musikdramatiker zu sein. Er wurde nach Brahms Tod gewissermaßen als der letzte Exponent des sich verlierenden spätromantischen Zeitalters angesehen, wobei die ungarische Musikwelt ihn als « Nationalkomponist » bis heute mit größerer Aufmerksamkeit bedacht hat.

Sein bekanntestes Werk ist die 1875 uraufgeführte Oper Die Königin von Saba, mit der er über Nacht berühmt wurde. Hanslick, der alles im Umkreis Richard Wagners Stehende befandete, glaubte bei allen Opern Goldmarks eine zu große Nähe zu Richard Wagner feststellen zu müssen. Auch viele andere Kritiker stigmatisierten Goldmark als Wagnerepigone. Am schonungslosesten mit seiner Kritik gegenüber Goldmark war Hugo Wolf. Die Oper Die Königin von Saba war noch bis 1936 an der Wiener Staatsoper präsent, bis das Verdikt der Nationalsozialisten für ein endgültiges Aufhören der Rezeption sorgte. Nach 1945 bot der Musikbetrieb Wiens Goldmark praktisch keinen Raum mehr.

Seine musikalischen Leitbilder waren Felix Mendelssohn, Robert Schumann und später auch Richard Wagner. 1860 ist seine einzige Begegnung mit Wagner dokumentiert. Um die Jahrhundertwende war er neben Gustav Mahler und Ludwig Bösendorfer Mitglied im Komitee zur Anschaffung einer neuen Orgel für den Musikvereinssaal. In seinen späten Jahren erhielt er neben zahlreichen Ehrungen die Ehrendoktorwürde der Universität Budapest.

Neben Sinfonien, anderen Orchesterwerken, Kammermusik, Chorwerken und Liedern komponierte er eine Reihe von Opern.

Sein Neffe Rubin Goldmark, Pianist und Komponist, Sohn seines 1879 in die USA emigrierten Bruders Leo Goldmark, studierte im Alter von 17 bis 19 Jahren 2 Jahre in Wien bei Robert Fuchs, danach in New York bei Antonín Dvořák und war zuletzt Lehrer der Kompositionsklasse an der Juilliard School in New York.

Im burgenländischen Deutschkreutz wurde 1980 das Haus, in dem Goldmark die Jahre 1834 bis 1844 verbrachte, von der Gemeinde angekauft und darin das Goldmark Museum errichtet.

Goldmarks frühes Streichquartett B-Dur, Opus 8 erfährt in letzter Zeit wieder eine gewisse Aufmerksamkeit und wurde vom Lajtha-Quartett (Hungaroton, 1993) und dem Klenke-Quartett (Classic, 1998) auf CD eingespielt.

Opern

Die Königin von Saba. Oper in 4 Akten (Opus 27 ; 1871) . Libretto : Salomon Hermann Mosenthal. Uraufführung 10. März 1875 Wien (Hofoper) .

Merlin. Oper in 3 Akten. Libretto : Siegfried Lipiner. Uraufführung 19. November 1886 Wien (Hofoper) .

Das Heimchen am Herd. Oper in 3 Akten. Libretto : Alfred Maria Willner (nach Charles Dickens : « The Cricket on the Hearth ») . Uraufführung 21. März 1896 Wien (Hofoper) .

Der Fremdling. Libretto : ? , Uraufführung 1897.

Die Kriegsgefangene (Briseïs) . Oper in 2 Akten. Libretto : Emil Schlicht (Alfred Formey) . Uraufführung 17. Januar 1899 Wien (Hofoper) .

Götz von Berlichingen. Oper in 5 Akten. Libretto : Alfred Maria Willner (nach Goethe) . Uraufführung 16. Dezember 1902 Budapest (Nationaloper) . Neufassung : Uraufführung 1910 Wien.

Ein Wintermärchen. Oper in 3 Akten. Libretto : Alfred Maria Willner (nach Shakespeare) . Uraufführung 2. Januar 1908 Wien (Hofoper) .

Ouvertüren

Sakuntala, Opus 13 (1865) ; erster großer Erfolg.

Penthesilea, Opus 31 (1884) , nach Heinrich von Kleist.

Im Frühling, Opus 36 (1887) .

Der gefesselte Prometheus, Opus 38 (1889) .

Sappho, Opus 44 (1894) .

In Italien, Opus 49 (1904) .

Sinfonien

Sinfonie Nr. 1, Opus 26, Ländliche Hochzeit (1877) .

Sinfonie Nr. 2 in Es-Dur, Opus 35 (1887) .

Orchesterwerke

Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 1 in A-Moll, Opus 28.

Scherzo, Opus 45.

Chorwerke

Regenlied, Opus 10.

Zwei Stücke für Herrenchor, Opus 14.

Frühlingsnetz, für Herrenchor, 4 Hörner und Klavier, Opus 15.

Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt, für Herrenchor und Hörner, Opus 16.

Zwei Stücke für Herrenchor, Opus 17.

Frühlingshymne, für Alt, Chor und Orchester, Opus 23.

Im Fuschertal, sechs Chorgesänge, Opus 24.

Psalm CXIII, für Solostimmen, Chor und Orchester, Opus 40.

Zwei Stücke für Herrenchor, Opus 41.

Zwei vierstimmige Gesänge mit Klavier, Opus 42.

Werke für Violine beziehungsweise Cello und Klavier

Suite für Violine und Klavier in E-Dur, Opus 11 (siehe Erstausgabe, Edition Schott) .

Suite für Violine und Klavier in Es-Dur, Opus 43.

Sonate für Violine und Klavier, Opus 25.

Ballade für Violine und Klavier, Opus 54.

Romanze für Violine und Klavier, Opus 51.

Sonate für Cello und Klavier in F-Dur, Opus 39.

Violinkonzert in A-Moll, Opus 28 (1878) .

Werke für Klavier

Sturm und Drang - Neun charakteristische Stücke, Opus 5.

Drei Stücke für Klavier zu 4 Händen, Opus 12

Ungarische Tänze für Klavier zu 4 Händen, Opus 22 (später durch den Komponisten orchestriert) .

Vier Klavierstücke, Opus 29.

Georginen - Sechs Stücke für Klavier, Opus 52.

Kammermusik

Klaviertrios, Opus 4 und Opus 33.

Klavierquintett in B-Dur, Opus 30.

Klavierquintett in C-Moll, Opus 54.

Streichquartett in B-Dur, Opus 8 (1860) .

Streichquintett, Opus 9.

Lieder

12 Gesänge, Opus 18.

Beschwörung, Opus 20.

4 Lieder, Opus 21.

7 Lieder aus dem « Wilden Jäger » , Opus 32.

4 Lieder, Opus 34.

8 Lieder, Opus 37 (Leipzig, 1888 oder 1889) .

Wer sich die Musik erkiest, Opus 42.

6 Lieder, Opus 46.

...

27 janvier 1885 : Lors d'un concert spécial donné en l'honneur du couple royal de Saxe, le chef Arthur Nikisch dirige le « Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchester » dans les 2e et 3e mouvements de la 7e Symphonie d'Anton Bruckner.

1885 : Max Stägemann, director of the Leipzig Theater, engages Gustav Mahler to conduct alongside Arthur Nikisch for 6 years, beginning in **June 1886**, but Mahler longs to return to Vienna.

...

Ludwig van Beethoven est de passage à Prague en 1796 (puis en 1798) . Il préfère se loger non pas dans le centre-ville mais de l'autre côté du Pont Charles, dans le quartier Malá Strana, quartier fréquenté par de nombreux artistes à l'époque. Il loge au n° 11 (anciennement, n° 285) de la rue Lázenská dans un hôtel Baroque qui porte aujourd'hui le nom de Palais Beethoven (« Palác Beethoven ») . En tournant au coin de la porte principale du bâtiment, on trouve

le porche près duquel on voit une plaque représentant Beethoven.

Beethoven compose plusieurs œuvres pour mandoline, dédiées à la Comtesse Joséphine de Clary qui organisait des soirées musicales à Prague :

Les mouvements pour mandoline et clavecin (WoO 43) .

La Sonatine en do majeur pour mandoline et clavecin (WoO 44a) .

Le thème avec variations en ré majeur pour mandoline et clavecin (WoO 44b) .

L'attic de la salle de concert du « Rudolfinum » accueille plusieurs statues dont une de Beethoven.

Il existe plusieurs traces de passage de Beethoven à Prague. On sait aussi qu'il vint porter son violon chez un fameux luthier, fondateur de l'École de Prague. L'enseigne de sa boutique, située au n° 12 de la rue Nerudova (anciennement n° 210) , représente 3 violons bien mystérieux puisque l'un des 3 est retourné. À Prague, une légende dit que les nuits de pleine lune, les spectres de Malá Strana y viennent pour donner un concert. Aujourd'hui, l'ancienne lutherie est devenue une brasserie pragoise.

On peut également trouver à Prague, au musée Antonín Dvořák (Ke Karlovu 20, Prague 2) , le bureau, la chaise et le portrait de Ludwig van Beethoven, que Dvořák acheta dans la seconde moitié du 19e siècle.

27 février 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner au Baron Karl von Ostini.

« 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 ” (Hotel) . 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 “ Herr ” von Levi was agreeable. A few corrections have also to be made to the score. »

Karl von Ostini

Le Baron Karl von Ostini (1830-1895) considérait Richard Wagner comme « le plus grand compositeur de tous les temps » .

...

Baron Karl von Ostini (1830-1895) : « Vorsitzender » of the Munich Wagner Society. His son, Fritz von Ostini, (1861-1927) , who was a journalist and critic, met Anton Bruckner in Bayreuth.

...

Friedrich Fabrizius Max Karl Freiherr von Ostini (geboren 27. Juli 1861 in München ; gestorben 1. Juni 1927 in Pöcking) war ein deutscher Redakteur, Schriftsteller, Humorist und Lyriker.

Fritz von Ostini absolvierte 1880 das Ludwigsgymnasium in München und begann im Anschluß daran an der dortigen Universität Jura zu studieren. Seinen literarischen und künstlerischen Neigungen folgend, wechselte er bald an die Akademie der Bildenden Künste München und war für einige Semester Schüler bei den Professoren Alois Gabl und Ludwig von Herterich.

Ostini publizierte gelegentlich neben dem Studium für die « Süddeutsche Presse ». Mit 26 Jahren (1887) wurde er fester Mitarbeiter der Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten und übernahm die Redaktion des Feuilletons.

Als Doktor Georg Hirth 1896 die Kunst- und Literaturzeitschrift Jugend gründete, wurde Fritz von Ostini deren leitender Redakteur. Er zeichnete mit « F. v. O. », so etwa das Gedicht « Er war ein König ! » über Ludwig II. in der « Jugend » Nummer 35 (1902) .

Von Ostini schrieb weiterhin als Kunstreferent für die Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten und verfasste Artikel für verschiedene Kunstzeitschriften.

Besondere Beachtung fanden unter anderem seine zahlreichen Künstlermonographien, wie zum Beispiel über Eduard Grützner, Franz von Defregger und Julius Diez, mit denen er zum Teil auch freundschaftlich verbunden war.

Fritz von Ostini war verheiratet mit Sophie Hohnhaußen und Vater von drei Söhnen und einer Tochter.

Schriften

Arme Seelen : Geschichten und Schnurren (2. Auflage 1910) , Bildschmuck von Paul Rieth Großes und Kleines (1888) .

Arme Seelen, Geschichten und Schnurren (1905) .

Deutsche Illustratoren (1906) .

Schwarmgeister, Gedichte aus Zeit und Zufall (1908) .

Der kleine König (1909) .

München in der Kriegszeit (1915) .

Tat und Schuld (1919) .

Fröhliche Kindheit (1921) .

Prinzessin Goldkind und die Wunderlilie (1922) .

Wurstel-Peters Mondreise (1922) .

Künstlermonographien

Eduard Grützner (1896) .

Hans Thoma (1900) .

Fritz von Uhde (1902) .

Anselm Feuerbach (1903) .

Arnold Böcklin (1904) .

Anton Braith (1905) .

Franz von Defregger (1905) .

Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1906) .

Adolf Hölzel (1907) .

Wilhelm Busch (1908) .

Leo Samberger (1910) .

Hugo von Habermann (1912) .

Carl Spitzweg (1912) .

Paul Hœcker und seine Schule (1913) .

Franz von Stuck (1920) .

Fritz Erler (1921) .

Aus Moritz von Schwinds Füllhorn (1925) .

...

Février 1885 : 2nd advertisement in the « Hofmeister Monatsbericht » for the full-score and the piano score of the 3rd Symphony. The piano score was in effect an unchanged, uncorrected 2nd edition of the Gustav Mahler - Rudolf Krzyzanowski arrangement, edited by Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk. In her article, « Die vierhandigen Bearbeitungen der Dritten Symphonie von Anton Bruckner » , in : « Bruckner-Jahrbuch 1987-1888 » , Linz (1990) ; pages 67-78, Gertraud Kubacsek-Steinhauer suggests that Gustav Mahler's name was omitted because ...

a) He was no longer in Vienna and no longer a member of the « Wagner-Verein » .

b) Of personal differences between Josef Schalk and Gustav Mahler.

c) As a result of Josef Schalk's increasing involvement in the « Wagner-Verein » (he became its artistic director in 1887) and his desire to emphasize his own crusading zeal for the dissemination of Anton Bruckner's works.

Début février 1885 : Anton Bruckner se rendra successivement en visite à Prague, Bayreuth et Munich. Il visite la ville de Prague dans le cadre de sa dernière tournée organistique internationale.

7 février 1885 : Anton Bruckner inaugure le nouvel orgue du « Rudolfinum » (construit en 1883-1884 par le facteur allemand Wilhelm Sauer, de Francfort sur l'Oder) , en présence du dedicataire du lieu : l'Archiduc d'Autriche et Prince héritier de l'Empire austro-hongrois, Rodolphe François Charles Joseph de Habsbourg-Lorraine (Rudolf Franz Karl Joseph von Habsburg-Lothringen) . Mais tout cela a bien failli être gâchée par des querelles nationalistes : la plupart des invités présents étaient allemandophone et l'on ne retrouvait qu'une poignée de Tchèques. On pouvait s'apercevoir aussi que des éléments décoratifs manquaient encore dans l'enceinte. La presse tchèque mit le blâme sur le fait que trop peu d'artistes tchèques ont été invités à contribuer. (La construction de l'édifice s'est étendue sur une décennie.)

La façade du grand-orgue de la salle Dvořák est celle de l'instrument construit par la maison allemande SAUER pour la grande salle du « Rudolfinum » , en 1883 et 1884. Il fut inauguré par Anton BRUCKNER le **7 février 1885**. Il s'agissait d'un orgue de 50 jeux de style symphonique. Cet orgue a été transféré en 1925 par la maison MÖLZER dans la grande salle du Conservatoire de BRNO, après que le parlement se fut installé dans le « Rudolfinum » après 1920. MÖLZER a reconstruit la traction pneumatique. En 1930, la maison des frères RIEGER de Krnov a restauré la transmission qui était défectueuse et modifié la disposition. En 1940, le « Rudolfinum » a retrouvé sa destination de salle de concert. En 1941 et 1942, la maison RIEGER y a construit un orgue neuf de 55 jeux dans la salle Dvořák, en réutilisant la façade de l'orgue SAUER de 1885, ainsi qu'une partie du matériel sonore. En 1957, RIEGER-KLOSS a agrandi l'instrument à 70 jeux. En 1975, RIEGER-KLOSS a reconstruit entièrement l'orgue, tout en gardant la façade de SAUER. Il reste encore quelques jeux de SAUER. La traction des claviers est mécanique et celle des jeux électromécaniques. La console originale a été préservée et est exposée dans une vitrine. Cet instrument jouit d'une excellente réputation.

...

In **October 1941**, the high-ranking German Nazi official Reinhard Heydrich became patron of the German Philharmonic Orchestra and re-opened the German Concert Hall in Prague, the « Rudolfinum » , founded in the 19th Century, but converted into the Czech Chamber of Deputies after the Great War (1914-1918) . At the festive opening of the newly-renovated « Rudolfinum » , on **Thursday, October 16th**, to which Heydrich had invited the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra to perform Beethoven's 9th Symphony, he reiterated his firm conviction that culture and politics were inseparably intertwined, a point he sought to underline by pointing to the history of the « Rudolfinum » itself. Heydrich recalled that Anton Bruckner had played the organ here, but noted sadly that, after 1918, musical life had become « Czechified » and had, therefore, « degenerated » .

Cutting the ribbon at the re-opening ceremony, Heydrich said :

« The organ console at which Anton Bruckner once sat was smashed with an axe to make way for a bust of Masaryk. »

After 20 years of darkness, the « Rudolfinum » was now once more a « site of German art » .

...

While he attempted to undermine Czech culture and national identity, Reinhard Heydrich emerged as a patron of the arts, an unusual role for a security policeman. Czech higher-education was systematically attacked, but Heydrich built-up the German university in Prague, endowing several new chairs and attempting to transform it from an educational backwater into a leading academic institution. He hoped that it would function as a tool of Empire, providing ideas and surveys useful to the SS in the grisly task of creating a new Nazi civilisation in the Slavonic lands to the East. As a musician himself, Heydrich did not neglect this branch of the arts, although he employed it as a tool of German cultural supremacy. He became a patron of the German Philharmonic Orchestra, a congenial role in view of his father's difficulties with the musical establishment of Prussia, and re-opened the « Rudolfinum » concert-hall in Prague, founded in the 19th Century, but converted at independence into the Czech Chamber of Deputies, something considered by Heydrich an act of desecration. As he remarked cuttingly at the re-opening ceremony :

« The organ console at which Anton Bruckner once sat was smashed with an axe to make way for a bust of Masaryk. »

This one sentence asserted German artistic superiority and dismissed Czech independence as a barbaric anomaly.

Le « Rudolfinum » de Prague

Le « Rudolfinum » est un bâtiment néo-Renaissance situé place Jan Palach à Prague. Il sert de salle de concert (en

particulier, pour l'Orchestre philharmonique tchèque) et de salle d'expositions (« Galerie Rudolfinum ») .

Le « Rudolfinum » ouvre ses portes le **7 février 1885** comme complexe culturel comprenant des salles d'exposition et une salle de concert. C'est un cadeau de la caisse d'épargne tchèque (« Česká spořitelna ») à la ville de Prague et la nation tchèque à l'occasion du 50e anniversaire de sa fondation. Il doit son nom au prince héritier de l'Empire austro-hongrois, Rodolphe d'Autriche auquel il est dédié.

Le concours architectural qui a conduit à son édification a été remporté par les architectes Josef Zitek et Josef Schulz (son étudiant) , auteurs, en 1881, du Théâtre national.

Le bâtiment a été achevé en 1881, les sculptures sur le pignon du grenier ont été ajoutées en 1884 et au cours de la même année, la salle de concert et les espaces environnants ont été meublés. Le concert d'inauguration eut lieu le **7 février 1885** ainsi que les Ires expositions dans le bâtiment adjacent.

Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, le « Rudolfinum » servit au parlement tchécoslovaque de salle plénière. Il est aujourd'hui utilisé, tel qu'initialement prévu, comme salle de concerts et d'expositions artistiques. La salle Dvorak, du nom du grand compositeur tchèque, est un site exceptionnel pour les concerts et accueille de nombreux évènements commémoratifs du « Printemps de Prague » . Le Suk Hall, plus petit, est principalement utilisé pour les petits concerts vocaux et instrumentaux. La magnificence de l'intérieur et du bâtiment dans son ensemble et la qualité des concerts eux-mêmes font d'une soirée au « Rudolfinum » un moment inoubliable.

L'ensemble du « Rudolfinum » a subi des changements importants au cours de la reconstruction générale qui eut lieu entre 1990-1992, selon le projet de Karel Prager. Au cours de cette reconstruction, les salles de concert furent rénovées.

Le « Rudolfinum » est également remarquable pour les figures des célèbres compositeurs qui se tiennent au sommet de son toit. Il existe une célèbre nouvelle romanesque tchèque intitulée, « Mendelssohn est sur le toit » , qui raconte l'histoire de 2 travailleurs tchèques qui reçurent l'ordre des Nazis de retirer la statue du compositeur juif Felix Mendelssohn. Par erreur, ils détruisirent celle de l'idole d'Adolf Hitler : Richard Wagner. La raison ? Il avait le plus gros nez !

...

Nommé, en 1942, successeur de Konstantin von Neurath, protecteur de Bohême et de Moravie, Reinhard Heydrich mène dans ces régions une politique à la fois répressive et paternaliste, améliorant sensiblement le sort des populations paysannes et ouvrières (négligées depuis 1919 au profit de la bourgeoisie) .

...

Le 24 septembre 1941, Adolf Hitler nomme Reinhard Heydrich suppléant (« stellvertreter ») du gouverneur du

Protectorat de Bohême-Moravie, Konstantin von Neurath, jugé peu efficace et officiellement en congé de maladie. Si von Neurath reste officiellement en place, il n'a plus son mot à dire et la situation est claire pour tout le monde : Heydrich est seul Maître à bord à Prague.

Traduisant une notable extension de ses pouvoirs, cette nomination permet, en outre, à Heydrich d'avoir des rapports directs avec les plus hauts-dirigeants du 3^e « Reich », sans devoir passer par l'intermédiaire d'Heinrich Himmler. De plus, il est persuadé qu'elle lui conférera un profil d'homme d'État.

Il tire ainsi parti de ses succès et fait oublier ses échecs comme l'accusation d'homosexualité portée contre le général Werner von Fritsch, accusation montée de toutes pièces et qui débouche sur l'acquiescement de von Fritsch par le tribunal de guerre du « Reich », le 17 mars 1938.

Dès son arrivée à Prague, Heydrich fait arrêter et condamner à mort le premier ministre Alois Eliáš, qui avait eu des contacts avec le gouvernement tchécoslovaque, en exil à Londres. Il met au pas le président du gouvernement fantoche, Emil Hácha, afin de dissiper toute idée d'indépendance vis-à-vis du « Reich », aussi minime soit-elle.

La population tchécoslovaque ne faisant pas preuve d'assez de docilité, Heydrich utilise rapidement son arme de prédilection : la terreur.

Entre la date de son arrivée, le 27 septembre, et le 29 novembre, 400 Tchécoslovaques sont exécutés. La « Gestapo » s'installe au palais Pecek et fait disparaître plus de 4,000 opposants ou résistants. Heydrich entreprend aussi de vider le Protectorat de sa population juive, en la déportant dans le camp de concentration de Theresienstadt, puis dans les camps d'extermination.

Il veut aussi maintenir la production industrielle tchécoslovaque, vitale pour l'effort de guerre allemand et ne plus apparaître uniquement sous l'image d'un bourreau. Il augmente les rations alimentaires, met en place des soupes populaires et lutte contre le marché noir.

Ses responsabilités dans le protectorat n'empêchent pas Heydrich de continuer à diriger le « Reichssicherheitshauptamt » (RSHA), au prix d'allers-retours incessants entre Prague (Tchécoslovaquie) et Berlin (Allemagne). Il veille notamment à la répression des tendances anglophiles d'une partie de la jeunesse allemande, qui apprécie le « swing ». Il suit également avec attention le recrutement des prostituées du salon Kitty, bordel de luxe fréquenté par de nombreuses personnalités, dont les chambres sont truffées de micros, sans aucun résultat probant.

Au bout de quelques mois de règne absolu sur le Protectorat de Bohême-Moravie, Heydrich se sait craint. Il se croit aussi respecté, voire apprécié par la « partie saine » de la population.

Au matin du 27 mai 1942, Heydrich est au faite de sa puissance : promu Obergruppenführer, Protecteur, dans les faits, de Bohême-Moravie, directeur du RSHA, décoré à de nombreuses reprises, reconnu par les plus hautes personnalités du Reich, dont Hitler lui-même, il envisage de transposer en France les méthodes qu'il a appliquées à Prague.

Pour lui l'avenir est porteur de promesses et, à seulement trente-huit ans, il veut poursuivre son ascension.

Comme à son habitude, Heydrich est seul avec son chauffeur, sans escorte ni protection particulière, à l'arrière d'un cabriolet décapoté. Un peu avant 10 heures 30 du matin, sa voiture ralentit dans un virage sur la route qui le mène au quartier-général établi dans le château de Hradcany.

3 résistants tchèques (dont 2 formés à Londres) sont parachutés en Tchécoslovaquie avec mission d'assassiner Heydrich dans une embuscade. Le chef du commando, Josef Valčík, signale l'arrivée de la Mercedes de Heydrich à l'aide d'un miroir. Lorsque la voiture passe à moins de 3 mètres de Jozef Gabčík, celui-ci braque sa Sten en direction de Heydrich, mais l'arme s'enraye et aucun coup ne part. Alors qu'Heydrich se redresse et dégaine son pistolet, le 3e membre du commando, Jan Kubiš, lance une grenade qui explose à l'arrière du véhicule. Les éclats transpercent le siège arrière et blessent Heydrich au dos. Mission accomplie.

Il n'est transporté à l'hôpital Bulovka, dans une fourgonnette de livraison, qu'au bout d'une heure. La blessure de Heydrich n'est en elle-même pas mortelle. Mais en traversant le siège arrière, les éclats de grenade ont également fait pénétrer dans la plaie des particules du rembourrage constitué de crins de cheval. La septicémie est foudroyante et rapidement généralisée.

Le 4 juin 1942, à 9 heures 24, Heydrich meurt à l'âge de 38 ans.

Rapatrié à Berlin, le corps de Heydrich a droit à des funérailles nationales, au cimetière des Invalides, orchestrées avec toute la pompe nazie. Heinrich Himmler salue tout d'abord « le caractère d'une rare pureté du défunt qui, du plus profond de son âme et de son sang, a compris, réalisé et matérialisé la conception du monde d'Adolf Hitler » .

Après le « SS-Reichsführer » , c'est le « Führer » lui-même, Adolf Hitler, qui rend hommage au défunt :

« Je n'ai que peu de mots à dédier à ce mort. Il était l'un des meilleurs Nationaux-Socialistes, l'un des plus vaillants défenseurs de l'idée du " Reich " allemand, et l'un des adversaires les plus résolus de tous les ennemis du " Reich ". »

(Adolf Hitler, 9 juin 1942.)

En privé, Hitler se déchaîne contre l'imprudence de Heydrich :

« Des gestes héroïques comme se déplacer dans une voiture ouverte sont des folies dont la nation n'avait pas besoin. Les hommes de la stature politique de Heydrich devraient avoir conscience qu'on les guette comme du gibier et que d'innombrables personnes n'ont qu'une idée en tête : Comment les tuer ? »

Cet assassinat est prétexte à une répression allemande particulièrement féroce : le village de Lidice (Tchécoslovaquie) , par exemple, est rayé de la carte.

Après un intérim assuré par Heinrich Himmler, Ernst Kaltenbrunner reprend les rênes du RSHA, le 30 janvier 1943, sans jamais atteindre le niveau de pouvoir et d'influence de son prédécesseur.

De mai 1942 à avril 1945, Lina Heydrich vit dans le château et le domaine de Jungfer-Breschnan, près de Prague, qu'elle fait notamment entretenir par des détenus extraits du camp de concentration de Theresienstadt. C'est dans le parc du château qu'elle fait inhumer, en présence de Heinrich Himmler, son fils Klaus, mort lors d'un accident de la route subi le 24 octobre 1943.

Lors de la fuite devant les troupes soviétiques, elle réquisitionne les services du conducteur de car impliqué dans l'accident mortel de son fils, dont la « Gestapo » avait pourtant déclaré qu'il n'avait aucune responsabilité dans le décès de Klaus : il disparaît lors du voyage ...

Poursuivie et condamnée lors du processus de dénazification en Allemagne, Lina Heydrich multiplie les procédures pour se voir finalement disculpée ; elle intente ensuite procès sur procès et finit par obtenir une pension sur la base d'un jugement déclarant que Reinhard Heydrich avait été la victime d'un acte de guerre. Après avoir défendu la mémoire de son mari dans la presse et à travers ses mémoires, allant jusqu'à affirmer à maintes reprises qu'il n'avait eu aucune part de responsabilité dans l'extermination des Juifs, elle meurt sur son île natale, le 14 août 1985.

...

The « Rudolfinum » is a music auditorium and art gallery in Prague, Czech Republic. It is designed in the neo-Renaissance style and is situated on Jan Palach Square on the bank of the river Vltava.

The « Rudolfinum » has been the home of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra since 1946 and is one of the main venues of the Prague Spring International Music Festival held each year, in May and June. The building was designed by architect Josef Zitek and his student Josef Schulz, and was opened **8 February 1885**. It is named in honour of Rudolf, Crown Prince of Austria, who presided over the opening.

The « Rudolfinum » 's Dvořák Hall is one of the oldest concert halls in Europe and is noted for its excellent acoustics. On 4 January 1896, Antonín Dvořák himself conducted the Czech Philharmonic in the hall in its 1st ever concert.

The building also contains the « Galerie Rudolfinum » , an art gallery that features some of the city's most interesting and imaginative retrospectives, focusing on contemporary Czech and international artists. The beautiful building is decorated with statues of the world's most famous composers - it was the one of Jewish composer Felix Mendelssohn that was particularly bothersome to the Nazis during their occupation of the city. With the order to remove the statue, the job was given to a couple of Czech labourers who unfortunately had no idea what Mendelssohn looked like. Remembering their lessons in « racial science » , they decided to get rid of the statue that had the biggest nose. It was only after they had finished the job that they realized the statue they had pulled-down was ... Richard Wagner's.

...

The « Rudolfinum » is one of the most famous concert halls in Prague - it is the 2nd most important pseudo-Renaissance building after the National Theatre, in Prague.

Crown prince Rudolf became the patron of the project and the building was named after him. Well-known Prague architects Ignác Ullmann, Antonín V. Barvitius, Josef Zitek, Josef Schulz a F. Beníšek, as well as Viennese architects A. Wieleman, Otto Thienemann, G. Niemann, V. Lunche a Köchlin were invited to enter their bids into the project competition. The winners (Josef Schulz and his student Josef Zitek) presented the 1st plans in the year 1875. The façade is an analogy of the fire destroyed « Semper Oper » in Dresden (1838-1841) . The building was finished in the year 1881, the sculptures in the attic gable come from 1884 and, during the same year, the concert-hall and the surrounding spaces were furnished.

The inauguration concert was held on **February 7, 1885** and, in this year, also began exhibitions in the adjacent building.

The « Rudolfinum » is the seat of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra.

The Dvořák Hall is a concert-hall with excellent acoustics, appropriate for Oratorios and Symphonic and chamber music. Exceptionally high-quality organ.

...

The « Rudolfinum » is a 19th Century Czech concert-hall that served as the 1st Czechoslovak Parliament building, from 1918 to 1938. When the Germans occupied Prague, they changed the « Rudolfinum » into a German concert-hall and renamed it : the German House of Art. Reinhard Heydrich, the acting « Reich » Protector in Bohemia and Moravia, was a music-lover eager to inaugurate the German House of Art with the bellowing sounds of a German Symphony. While admiring the sculptures adorning the roof of the « Rudolfinum » , Heydrich was revolted to find a statue of Felix Mendelssohn, the 19th Century German composer who had Jewish roots. Infuriated, Heydrich ordered the statue toppled at once. Within hours, 2 Czech underlings found themselves on the roof of the « Rudolfinum » , searching for the statue of the Jew. Since neither knew which statue was Mendelssohn, the workers decided to measure the noses of each of the statues. The one with the biggest nose, they decided, had to be the Jew. After locating the largest nosed statue, they put a rope around its neck and toppled it to the ground.

On the opening night of the German House of Art, Heydrich looked-up to the statues and nearly fainted on the spot. The statue that had been destroyed was that of Richard Wagner.

This semi-apocryphal tale is often related in Prague as a proud example, in pure Hasek fashion, of moral victory in the face of occupation. Jiří Weil spun a transcendent version in his novel : « Mendelssohn Is on the Roof » . The novel,

which examines almost every conceivable angle of the Nazi extermination of Prague's Jews, places statues (and not only Mendelssohn's) at the heart of its chronicle of genocide.

...

You can see an impressive neo-Renaissance building near the Manesuv Bridge in Prague Old Town. It is a seat of Czech Philharmonic Orchestra and a place of concerts and exhibitions. The world famous Festival of Classical music « Prague Spring » takes place here, in the Dvořák Hall. The building is called « Rudolfinum » (or « House of Artists ») .

The « Rudolfinum » was built by the banking institution « Böhmisches Sparkasse » (Czech Savings Bank) on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. It was intended as a monumental house of arts with a picture gallery, concert halls and a collection of antiquities. It was named « Rudolfinum » after the crown prince Rudolph of Austria.

The « Rudolfinum » was built by important Czech architects of the 19th Century : Josef Zitek, who also built the National Theater, and Josef Schulz (his student) , the author of the National Museum. The building was opened in 1885.

The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra had its 1st concert there, in 1896, conducted by Antonín Dvořák. The concert-hall was called Dvořák Hall, later.

The « Rudolfinum » was a seat of the Chamber of Deputies of the National Assembly, between 1919 and 1939. It was called « House of Artists » since 1918, because the name of the Habsburg monarch Rudolph was politically unacceptable.

During the Nazi occupation (at the beginning of the 1940's) , the « Rudolfinum » was restored for the German Philharmonic Orchestra. Reinhard Heydrich, the Nazi Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, ordered that a statue of composer Mendelssohn-Bartholdy has to be removed from the « Rudolfinum » , because of his « non-Aryan » origin. The workers accidentally began to remove a statue of Richard Wagner, Adolf Hitler's favourite composer. Fortunately, the mistake was recognized soon enough. The statue of Mendelsohn-Bartholdy was hidden during the War and, afterwards, it was returned back to its place.

After the World War II, the « Rudolfinum » became the seat of Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. The Festival of the « Prague Spring » took place there, in 1946, for the 1st time.

You can see statues of famous composers, such as Mozart, Beethoven and others, on the attic of the building. The staircase leading from the square is decorated with statues of music Muses. There is a statue of composer Antonín Dvořák in front of the « Rudolfinum » .

Dvořák Hall is the most important hall in the « Rudolfinum » . It has excellent acoustics and there are 1,023 seats. You can also visit the beautiful « café » in the building.

...

The construction of the « Rudolfinum » , a multi-purpose building whose concept was unique at the time, was initiated by the « Böhmische Sparkasse » (« Česká spořitelna ») . Founded in 1825, this savings bank was the oldest financial institution in the Kingdom of Bohemia.

The prestigious building project bore witness not only to the financial strength and potential of the « Böhmische Sparkasse » , but also to its self-confidence, sense of corporate social responsibility and belief in the supreme role of art. The new building was to be located on the right bank of the Vltava, just opposite the Prague Castle.

An early construction effort on the site had given rise to a riding hall ; this was later replaced by a prison, which, in turn, gave way to a sawmill owned by the leading businessman Sir Vojtěch Lanna. Now, it seemed the site would finally be used for a truly outstanding purpose.

The exceptional status of the investor and the project itself is evident from the list of illustrious names that took part in the architectural tender : Antonín V. Barvitius, V. Lunche a Köchlin, G. Niemann, Otto Thienemann, V. I. Ullmann, A. Wieleman, Josef Zitek and Josef Schulz.

The jury, made-up of leading architects of the day such as K. von Ferstel, Theophil von Hansen or Friedrich von Schmidt, chose Zitek's and Schulz's project, even though contemporary opinions criticized it for having overly suppressed the required architectural unity of the building's mass and outward appearance to clearly distinguish its 2 functionally differentiated parts : the concert premises and the gallery. The façade of the concert-hall, with a rusticated elevated ground-floor that is separated from the other floors by a string course, faces southwards to the present-day Jan Palach Square.

The façade is articulated by Ionic columns and topped by a balustrade decorated with vases and statues of famous musicians. The gallery part, with 2 monumental corner-towers in its north façade, has the same decorative elements, which gives the building a unified visual appearance. The entrance in the west-front, facing the Vltava embankment, leads to the impressive Ceremony Hall of the « Rudolfinum » , lined by 25 arches. The central ceremonial staircase leads-up to the gallery rooms. Translucent ceilings ensure proper illumination of the collections.

The Czech-German animosity did not escape the attention of contemporary press. The « Rudolfinum » often appeared, e.g. , on the pages of the Czech satirical weekly « Humoristické listy » . In one of the magazine's jokes, a visitor to the Rudolfinum asks :

« Tell me, please, is there an exhibition of wooden sticks on ? »

« No, my dear sir, you are mistaken. These are only the “ Ziegenhainer ” (student walking sticks) of the “ Burschenschaft ” whose permanent residence here gives our house its character. »

The « Rudolfinum » was inaugurated on **7 February 1885**, 10 years after its construction started. Crown prince Rudolph was present at the opening ceremony, but the great event was nearly spoiled by nationalist quarrels (most of the guests present at the inauguration spoke German, there was only a handful of Czechs) and the missing decoration of the Ceremony Hall. Contemporary Czech press blamed it on the fact that too few Czech artists had been asked to contribute.

Evoking the world of ancient Greece and Rome, Italian Renaissance and German music, the statues on the top of the building and other sculptures were also resented by the contemporary Czech society whose representatives would have preferred works commemorating leading Czech artists or, at least, artists who had been born or worked in the Czech lands. In protest against the poor representation of national art, those Czech artists and craftsmen who did take part in decorating the building refused to finish their work.

After its opening the « Rudolfinum » became the seat of the Czech Philharmonic and, also, of what was probably the most important art association in the Czech lands - The Fine-Arts Society (« Krasoumná jednota ») or, in German, « Kunstverein für Böhmen ». Another association that found a worthy home here was the Bohemian Society of the Patriotic Friends of Art. This organization, one of the oldest Czech associations of art-lovers, brought to the « Rudolfinum » the picture gallery previously housed by the Czernin Palace, in Hradčany.

On Saturday, 4 January 1896, the « Rudolfinum » witnessed the inaugural concert of the Czech Philharmonic which forever linked the Orchestra's beginnings with one of the most famous Czech composers. Antonín Dvořák ascended the stage to conduct his own works : the « Slavonic Rhapsody » No. 3 in A-flat major, the world-premiere of his « Biblical songs » Nos. 1 to 5, his « Othello Overture » and, also, the already world-famous Symphony No. 9 « From the New World ». The concert-hall that saw the performance, now the home-stage of our leading Orchestra, bears Dvořák's name today.

The well-known quotation says that, in times of War, the Muses fall silent. In the « Rudolfinum », however, the Muses fell silent once again after the War when, in 1918, the newly-created Czechoslovak State started looking for a worthy home for its parliamentary chamber. The building was adapted for its new purpose in several stages, between 1919 and 1932. The alterations were supervised mostly by architects Václav Roštlapil and Rudolf Křiženecký and involved substantial changes of both function and appearance, especially in the interior.

During the 1st phase, the stage was brought level with the concert-hall floor ; the organ was removed shortly afterwards. The loggias, galleries and lounges were also adapted. Connecting the north and east parts of the building together with construction changes in the lobby facilitated communication between the various parliamentary premises. To create rooms that could be used for the meetings of parliamentary clubs and for the newly-founded canteen, the builders had to lower the ceilings and partition the halls in the gallery wing of the « Rudolfinum » .

The rehabilitation of the « Rudolfinum » as an arts centre began, somewhat paradoxically, during the Second World War. The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was not an autonomous political entity so there was no longer any need to house the nation's supreme legislative and political body. Although not all of the original plans were

implemented, the alterations made between 1940 and 1942 brought the building back to its original use, if only for the German Philharmonic Orchestra, active in Bohemia until 1945.

On February 11th and 12th, 1941, the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra appeared (at the instruction of Josef Goebbels) , in Berlin and Dresden. Conductor Václav Talich put the entire « My Country » (« Má Vlast ») Symphonic cycle (by composer Bedřich Smetana) on the program - a brave move in programming. But after its success in the bosom of the 3rd « Reich » , the cycle could, once again, be performed in the Protectorate. The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra could not shy from giving concerts directly for the ruling regime : in March 1942, it played « My Country » for the Czech National-Socialist Union and, in April 1944, it gave a concert to celebrate « the 55th birthday of “ Führer ” Adolf Hitler » .

Architects Bohumír Kozák and Antonín Engel, the latter a student of Josef Zíték, restored the original function and decoration of the concert-stage and auditorium, but also tried to improve the hall's acoustics, which had been criticized ever since the beginning of concert activities in the building. They also made an important creative contribution by adding another small concert-hall on the ground-floor, the present-day Suk Hall, whose design and decoration correspond with the original design of the « Rudolfinum » interiors.

The « Rudolfinum » served as the administrative offices of the occupying Nazis during WWII.

The plot of a novel is one thing and reality another. While you would indeed find Felix Mendelssohn on the roof of the « Rudolfinum » , you would be looking in vain for Richard Wagner. His statue has never been there. The statue looking toward the Charles Bridge on the photo is that of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

The history of the « Rudolfinum » under the Nazi occupation is connected with the last finished novel of Jiří Weil, a Czech author, literary critic and journalist. A deeply symbolic story, Weil's « Mendelssohn Is on the Roof » begins with an order of the acting « Reichsprotektor » Reinhard Heydrich to remove the statue of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy from the « Rudolfinum » parapet, since the composer's Jewishness allegedly taints the shrine of German art.

2 Czech workers, supervised by a « Schutzstaffel » member, are sent-up to remove the « enemy statue » , but barely escape demolishing the statue of the Nazi idol Richard Wagner, misled by his prominent nose. With the help of a learned Jew, they discover their mistake just in time to avoid a tragic fate - while, below them, Heydrich himself watches a performance of Mozart's « Don Giovanni » as the stone statue of the Commendatore drags the rake into hell.

In 1946, the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra returned to the « Rudolfinum » and, until a major reconstruction in the 1990's, shared it with the Academy of Performing Arts and the Prague Conservatoire. While the southern part of the « Rudolfinum » continued to serve as a venue for concerts and other music performances, the northern part had to get used to a quite different form of « art » .

To accommodate the requirements of the secondary school curriculum, the Ceremony Hall was converted into a «

gymnasium » for Conservatoire students. Ropes for climbing were suspended from the ceiling and the majestic space of the hall resounded with the thumping of balls and the shouted instructions of teachers rather than sophisticated art discussions. In the late 1980's, the Ceremony Hall almost fell victim to plans for the demolition of the central staircase and the construction of another concert-hall. Fortunately, these came to nothing and the hall was preserved in its original appearance.

(Photo) The « Rudolfinum » in 1947, with the Communist 5 pointed star on the square whose name has changed several times with the caprices of history.

Until 1915 it had been called « Na Rejdišti » (The Riding Grounds) . In 1915, it was renamed « Empress Zita Square » . Subsequently, it was « Smetana Square » , from 1919 to 1942 ; « Mozartplatz » during the Nazi occupation ; and, once again, « Smetana Square » after the Liberation. From the 1950's, the toughest decade of the Communist era, to 1990, the people of Prague walked across the « Red Army Square » . « Jan Palach Square » , the present name commemorating the voluntary martyrdom of a student protesting against the 1968 Soviet occupation, can be found in city maps issued after 1990.

With the designation of the « Rudolfinum » , as a cultural monument in 1989, it became quite clear that the whole building was in urgent need of reconstruction. It also needed new technical equipment, air conditioning, security systems, a gas boiler room, etc. The reconstruction, which took place between 1990 and 1992, was entrusted to a team of architects led by Karel Prager. Their task was to carry-out the required work while respecting as much as possible the original design by Josef Zitek and Josef Schulz.

After its re-opening, in 1992, the whole building was, once again, dedicated to the service of the arts, to which it had been consecrated from the start. The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra is currently its main resident institution ; the reconstructed exhibition premises in the northern part serve the « Rudolfinum » Gallery.

...

Born in the German city of Halle, near Leipzig on March 7th, 1904, Reinhard (Eugen Tristan) Heydrich (nicknamed « The Blond Beast » by the Nazis ; and « Hangman Heydrich » by others) was raised in a cultured, musical environment. His father founded the Halle Conservatory of Music and was a Wagnerian Opera singer, while his mother was an accomplished pianist. Young Heydrich trained seriously as a violinist, developing expert skill and a lifelong passion for the violin.

...

The 2nd of 3 children, Reinhard Heydrich's father, Bruno, was a singer and minor composer, and his mother Elizabeth came from a well-to-do musical family. The Heydrichs intended Reinhard to have a musical career, and taught him to play the violin, a skill he retained for the rest of his life.

...

Reinhard Heydrich regarded the repression of indigenous cultures in occupied Europe as an essential pre-condition for the creation of a flourishing German culture in the East. This included a policy of « intellectual sterilization », permitting the local population no more than basic vocational training. According to Heydrich, vocational experience and cultural Germanization had to be the goals of the Czech education system. In the autumn of 1941, he ordered that Czech history lessons at school were to be cancelled in favour of German classes.

Heydrich's « educational policy » was very much in line with Heinrich Himmler's view, articulated in May 1940, that schooling for the local population in the occupied territories should be reduced to « simple arithmetic up to 500 at most ; writing one's name ; a doctrine that it is divine law to obey the Germans and to be honest, industrious and good ». In February 1942, Heydrich further announced that he intended to « strike violently » at the heart of the Czech teaching establishment, which he saw as the « training corps of the opposition », and threatened that he would drastically reduce the number of Czech secondary schools. Czech youth, he noted bitterly, had for too long been misled by its « thoroughly chauvinistic teachers » .

The collaborationist press echoed the view that education was an unnecessary luxury for the majority of the Czech population. On 1 May 1942, Labour Day, the widely circulated paper « České slovo » commented :

« The fact that we have, at present, 70,000 secondary school pupils is economically unbearable. »

Boys in secondary education, the paper argued, should leave school immediately in order to become apprentices and attend professional schools after training. The aim of these measures, as a British Intelligence Report pointedly remarked, was to turn Czech youths « into a race of slaves which the “ Herrenvolk ” system requires » .

Heydrich pursued a similar policy line towards the universities. He announced that the Czech University in Prague, which according to the University Act of 1920 had assumed the sole legal succession of the former Charles University and had been « temporarily » closed after student unrest in 1939 during which 9 students had been shot and 1,200 arrested, would never re-open. Henceforth, the German University of Prague, 73 % of whose academic staff consisted of Nazi Party members, would be the only remaining university in Prague.

Heydrich insisted :

« The oldest university of the Reich' should “ not only maintain a status worthy of its historical tradition ” but also serve as a “ pathbreaking ” institution for a new form of academia that “ infuses scholarship with the ' völkisch ' necessities ” of the New Age. »

In institutional terms, the university was to work closely with a new and independent educational foundation, later called the Reinhard Heydrich Foundation. The purpose of the foundation was to undertake research on the « “ völkisch ”, cultural, political and economic conditions of Bohemia and Moravia as well as the peoples in the Eastern and South-

eastern European region » . Overall, the Heydrich Foundation comprised 8 institutes occupying the buildings of the dissolved Czech University. The directors of the institutes simultaneously served as professors at the German Charles University so that a close link between the university and the foundation could be guaranteed.

The foundation was a key element of Heydrich's long-term vision for the Protectorate's place in Nazi Germany's academic landscape, which he outlined to Martin Bormann, in May 1942. He flagged 2 principal political tasks for future academic scholarship in the Protectorate : 1st, to conduct research into the history of Bohemia and Moravia ; and 2ndly, actively to pursue scholarship on the re-Germanization of South-eastern Europe more generally. In essence, the Reinhard Heydrich Foundation was to conduct scientific studies that would facilitate the Germanization of the region. With regard to the intended denationalization and depoliticization of the population, so-called « tschechenkundliche » (Czechological) studies were conducted in order to demonstrate the Centuries-old positive German influence on the region.

But Heydrich's cultural Imperialism, aimed at undermining and eventually eradicating Czech culture, was by no means limited to academia. It was also to be applied to the field of architecture. When, on 4 December 1941, Albert Speer visited Heydrich in Prague, in order to negotiate future contingents of Czech slave labourers to be sent to the Old « Reich » , they also discussed the architectural future of Prague. One of Heydrich's aims was to turn Prague into a thriving German city, the gateway of the New Nazi Empire into the Balkans and the occupied East. After a 2 hour sight-seeing tour of the city, Heydrich and Speer contemplated a variety of architectural plans for the post-War rebuilding of Prague as a German city, including the construction of new German university buildings and a German Opera House as well as a new German government complex around the castle. Furthermore, the city was to be encircled by a major ring road that would link-up with the German « autobahn » system. In architectural matters, too, Speer found Heydrich to be refreshingly straight forward :

« There was no comparison with all those “ Gauleiters ”, who indulged in their hobby-horses, plans that were technically or architecturally impossible, perhaps, an old dream from their youth or their wives' fantasies, which they obstinately stuck to. By contrast, Heydrich was uncomplicated. He had only a few objections to my suggestions, all of which showed his sensible approach to the problem. If his objections were impractical for technical reasons, he was prepared to be convinced of this instantly. »

While he attempted to undermine and eventually eradicate Czech culture and national identity, Heydrich emerged as a patron of German arts. Particularly in the field of music, he energetically pushed for cultural Germanization. Under the ægis of Heydrich, Prague celebrated the 150th anniversary of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's death, on 5 December 1941, with considerable pomp - including the renaming of Smetana Square as « Mozart Platz » , a number of elaborate Mozart exhibitions and guest-performances by the Vienna State Opera. Heydrich also planned the establishment of a permanent Opera in Prague, in 1943-1944, a plan supported by Josef Goebbels but which, despite personal discussions between Heydrich and the « Reich » Finance Minister, had to be postponed for War-related reasons.

In October 1941, Heydrich became patron of the German Philharmonic Orchestra and re-opened the German Concert Hall in Prague, the « Rudolfinum » , founded in the 19th Century, but converted into the Czech Chamber of Deputies

after the Great War. At the festive opening of the newly-renovated « Rudolfinum » , on 16 October, to which Heydrich had invited the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra to perform Ludwig van Beethoven's 9th Symphony, he reiterated his firm conviction that culture and politics were inseparably intertwined, a point he sought to underline by pointing to the history of the « Rudolfinum » itself. Heydrich recalled that Anton Bruckner had played the organ here, but noted sadly that, after 1918, musical life had become « Czechified » and had, therefore, « degenerated » . After 20 years of darkness, the « Rudolfinum » was now, once more, a « site of German art » .

The opening of the « Rudolfinum » gave Heydrich an opportunity to reflect on his cultural policies in the Protectorate. After urging those engaged in cultural work « always to act as German artists in the spirit of the “ Reich ” » , he pledged that, as a professed admirer of the arts, he would provide German artists with all « the inspirational and material conditions they need for their work » . He, then, reminded his audience of the close inter-connection between « art and politics, race and character » and the particular relevance of the arts for « the soul and the heart of our people » .

He observed :

« Historical periods of true greatness and true inner-meaning have always prompted a flourishing of true art and genuine ability. »

Times of « cultural and ideological decline » , on the other hand, were historical periods in which Jewry thrived. It was the Jews, Heydrich insisted, who had « injected the Czech people with the madness of independent statehood and made it blind to their self-evident belonging to the “ Reich ” » .

Heydrich also wanted to start a new cultural tradition by establishing Prague's « Cultural Week » as « a festive manifestation of German power » . This was to be a week-long display of German cultural achievements, particularly in the field of music, which he considered a source of spiritual recreation « in great times of struggle » . He firmly believed that such a display of cultural superiority, coupled with the political message of abandoning Slavic influences in the Protectorate, would have « the greatest impact on the Slav ; it testifies to our power and culture and eases the integration of the racially desired part of the (Czech) population » . As patron of the Festival, Heydrich opened the 1st concert, on 15 May 1942 : Bruckner's 8th Symphony performed by the German Philharmonic Orchestra of Prague (« Deutsche philharmonische Orchester Prags ») and their head-conductor Joseph Keilberth, with whom Heydrich occasionally played « house music » in his country mansion. Shortly thereafter, he and Lina attended a concert given by the famous « Leipzig Thomaner-Choir » , during which the choirboys, much to their delight, sang Johann Sebastian Bach's Motets in « Hitler Youth » uniforms.

On the evening of 26 May 1942, the night before his assassination, an event of special emotional relevance to Heydrich was staged in the Wallenstein Palace : a Violin Concerto composed by Heydrich's father, Bruno. As a special tribute to his father (whom he had treated rather disdainfully and unsympathetically, between 1931 and his death in 1938) , he had engaged a Quartet of former employees of the Halle Conservatory who played those pieces from Bruno's Opera « Amen » that celebrated its hero figure, Reinhard. One of the Opera's more memorable pieces, «

Reinhard's Crime » , was wisely omitted by the musicians. Visibly touched by the event, Heydrich displayed his softer side : he invited the « Oberlandräte » and several senior civil servants and their wives to join him for a surprise banquet at the fashionable Hotel Avalon where he greeted his guests with unusual friendliness, kissing the ladies' hands and presenting himself as a « Master of etiquette, entertaining, interested in everyone, a charming conversationalist » .

...

In September of 1941, the ever-ambitious Heydrich had achieved favoured status with Adolf Hitler and was, thus, appointed Deputy « Reich Protector » of Bohemia and Moravia, in former Czechoslovakia, and set-up headquarters in Prague. Soon after his arrival, he established a Jewish ghetto at Theresienstadt.

He also established a successful policy of offering incentives to Czech workers, rewarding them with food and privileges if they filled Nazi production quotas and displayed loyalty to the « Reich » . At the same time, Heydrich's « Gestapo » and SD agents conducted a brutal crack-down of the Czech resistance movement.

« SS Obergruppenführer » Heydrich was, by now, a supremely arrogant young man who liked to travel between his country-home and headquarters in Prague in an open top green Mercedes car without an armed escort as a show of confidence in his intimidation of the resistance and successful pacification of the population.

December 1941 : Staging of the Mozart week in Prague. Karl Hermann Frank made a speech describing the city as « Mozart's 2nd home » , a cradle of German art and culture. To push the message home, Smetana Square was renamed after the German composer. Heydrich's ultimate aim was to convert Prague into one of the leading cities of the « Reich » , the gateway to the new Nazi Empire in the Balkans and the occupied East. He dreamed of transforming the city into a monument to his own greatness with the assistance of Adolf Hitler's architect, Albert Speer, a figure Heydrich was eager to cultivate because of his friendship with the « Führer » . According to his wife, he considered Speer's very agreement to visit the Protectorate and discuss the project as a sign of Hitler's special favour. Heydrich planned to rebuild Prague, like Berlin, in the Nazi Imperial style, with a German Opera House and a new government complex around Hradčany Castle. The city was to be encircled by a ring-road and linked by « autobahn » to the rest of the « Reich » . This grandiose vision, which aped Hitler's plans for Berlin and other major cities, showed how far Heydrich had emerged from Heinrich Himmler's shadow. He clearly now considered himself a candidate for the inner-circle of Nazi power, a view confirmed by his enthusiastic reception at the « Führer » headquarters, in February 1942.

On May 27th, 1942, as Heydrich's car slowed to round a sharp turn in the roadway, it came under attack from Free Czech agents who had been trained in England and brought to Czechoslovakia to assassinate him. They shot at Heydrich, then, threw a bomb which exploded, wounding him. He managed to get-out of the car, draw his pistol and shoot back at the assassins before collapsing in the street.

Heinrich Himmler rushed his own private doctors to Prague to help Heydrich, who held-on for several days, but died on June 4th from blood poisoning brought-on by fragments of auto upholstery, steel, and his own uniform that had lodged in his spleen.

In Berlin, the Nazis staged a highly-elaborate State funeral with Hitler calling « SS Obergruppenführer » Reinhard Heydrich : « the man with the iron heart » . For the occasion, the « Berlin Staatskapelle » played Richard Wagner « Siegfried's Funeral Music » .

Meanwhile, the « Gestapo » and SS hunted down and murdered the Czech agents, resistance members, and anyone suspected of being involved in Heydrich's death, totaling over 1,000 persons. In addition, 3,000 Jews were deported from the ghetto at Theresienstadt for extermination. In Berlin, 500 Jews were arrested, with 152 executed as a reprisal on the day of Heydrich's death.

...

After the invasion of the Soviet Union spurred a previously dormant communist resistance movement in Bohemia and Moravia into acts of sabotage, Adolf Hitler dismissed « Reich » Protector Konstantin von Neurath and appointed Reinhard Heydrich acting « Reich » Protector, in September 1941. Heydrich 1st ordered a narrow wave of terror targeting real and perceived leaders of opposition in the Czech lands. In October and November 1941, Protectorate special Courts sentenced 342 people to death and turned 1,289 « over to the “ Gestapo ” » . Heydrich also established the Theresienstadt camp-ghetto, in November ; under his rule, 14,000 German and Austrian Jews and more than 20,000 Czech Jews were deported from Theresienstadt to the Lodz ghetto, to the Government General, and to the « Reich Commissariat Ostland » .

Heydrich as acting « Reich » Protector, then, courted Czech industrial workers and farmers, whose productive capacity was necessary to the German War effort, with wages and benefits packages equivalent to those of their German counterparts. The result of his policies was a 73 % reduction in acts of sabotage within 6 months. By spring of 1942, the German authorities could boast of a pacification of the Protectorate. Some have speculated that Heydrich aimed next to assume a newly-created top-civilian position in occupied Northern France and Belgium.

Heydrich was so confident that his pacification program had succeeded that he flagrantly disregarded measures for his own security and traveled around Prague in an open vehicle. On May 27th, 1942, as he traveled on a familiar route to the airport to fly to Adolf Hitler's headquarters, 2 Czech parachute agents succeeded in rolling a hand grenade under Heydrich's transport vehicle. Though not mortally wounded by the blast itself, the grenade splinters in his leg and lower-back led to an infection that killed him on June 4th, 1942.

Both Hitler and Himmler mourned this most ruthless implementer of the « Final Solution » . Hitler described Heydrich as :

« One of the best National-Socialists, one of the staunchest defenders of the concept of the German “ Reich ” and one of the greatest opponents of all enemies of this “ Reich ” . »

Himmler would later praise Heydrich's loyalty to the unified SS elite :

« With all the ambition that he invested in his Security Police and his “ Reich ” Security Main-Office, he saw all things
Ist of all from the viewpoint of the entire SS. »

...

Das Rudolphinum (tschechisch Rudolfinum) ist ein im Stil der Neorenaissance errichtetes Konzert- und Galeriegebäude am rechten Ufer der Moldau in der Prager Altstadt (Staré Město) in Prag.

Das herausragende Gebäude aus hellem Sandstein wurde im Auftrag der böhmischen Sparkassen von den beiden Architekten Josef Zitek und Josef Schulz in den Jahren 1876-1884 errichtet. Die gerundete Fassadengestaltung lehnte sich an die der Dresdner Semperoper an. Schirmherr war Kronprinz Rudolf. Nach ihm und seinem kunstliebenden Vorfahren Kaiser Rudolf II. wurde das Gebäude benannt. Es war von Anfang an als ein Haus der Künstler (Dům umělců) konzipiert und sollte der Pflege der Musik und der Bildenden Künste dienen.

In der neu gegründeten Tschechoslowakei wurde das Haus im Jahr 1920 zum Abgeordnetenhaus umgestaltet. Erst nach der deutschen Besetzung unter den Nazis ab 1938 wurde das Gebäude dem ursprünglichen Zweck zugeführt. Anfänglich arbeiteten dabei nur tschechische Arbeiter, die bewusst statt der Statue von Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy jene von Richard Wagner entfernten. Nachdem dieser « Irrtum » aufflog, wurde der Rückbau durch deutsche Arbeiter fortgesetzt. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg residierte in dem Haus nochmals kurz das tschechische Parlament. Seit 1946 dient das Gebäude aber wieder als Konzert- und Ausstellungsstätte. Dazu beherbergt es verschiedene Konzertsäle. Deren größter, der sogenannte Dvořák-Saal, ist die Heimstatt des wichtigsten klassischen Prager Orchesters, der Tschechischen Philharmonie. Hier finden auch wichtige Konzerte des Musikfestivals Prager Frühling statt.

Das Prager Rudolfinum unter den Nationalsozialisten

Das Rudolfinum dürfte den meisten Prag-Touristen wohl bekannt sein. Am Prager Moldauufer vor dem imposanten Panorama der Prager Burg gelegen ist eine der wichtigsten kulturellen Sehenswürdigkeiten der tschechischen Hauptstadt. Das Rudolfinum war jedoch nicht immer Konzert- und Ausstellungshalle wie heute. In unseren Archiven haben wir eine Reportage aus dem Jahr 1941 gefunden.

« In wenigen Tagen wird in einem feierlichen Staatsakt dem deutschen Musikleben in Prag eine neu gestaltete würdige Pflegestätte übergeben : das Rudolfinum. »

Von dort berichtete der Rundfunk am 13. Oktober 1941. Das Rudolfinum wurde in den Jahren 1876 bis 1884 im Neorenaissancestil erbaut. Der damalige Schirmherr war Kronprinz Rudolf. Nach ihm und seinem Kunst liebenden Vorfahren der Spätrenaissancezeit, Rudolf II. , wurde das Gebäude am Prager Moldauufer benannt. Es war als Konzert- und Ausstellungsgebäude konzipiert. Am 13. Oktober 1941 fährt der Rundfunkreporter, ganz auf nationalsozialistische Linie gedrillt, fort :

« Im Jahre 1920 wurde das Rudolfinum zum Abgeordnetenhaus umgestaltet. Kunst und Ruhe waren aus dem Rudolfinum verbannt worden. Die Kunst mußte einer als so genannte Demokratie aufgezogenen Politik weichen. An die Stelle der Musik trat die Kakophonie des oft stürmischen politischen Getriebes und Kampfes. Das Haus, das zum Tempel der Kunst bestimmt war, wurde zum Geschäftsgebäude der Politik. Das ist die Vergangenheit. »

1939 hatten die Nazis in Böhmen und Mähren ein Reichsprotektorat eingerichtet. Die tschechische Bevölkerung wurde gegängelt und terrorisiert. Die tschechoslowakische Nationalversammlung, die seit 1920 das Rudolfinum nutzte, wurde abgeschafft. Die Nazis wollten das Gebäude wieder seinem ursprünglichen Zweck zuführen :

« Wieder erfüllt lärmendes Getriebe die weiten Gänge und Säle des Rudolfinums. Aber jetzt ist es der Rhythmus zielbewußter aufbauender Arbeit. Die Handwerker und Bauleute legen letzte Hand an die Neugestaltungsarbeiten. Das deutsche philharmonische Orchester Prags probt für die Konzerte und für den Staatsakt. »

Anschließend referiert Regierungsbaurat Mittmaier, der für den Umbau zuständige Architekt, nüchtern über seine Aufgabe, die er offenbar unter großem zeitlichen und politischen Druck durchführen mußte. Dann entlockt der Reporter dem Architekten eine Aussage, die den Nazis sicher nicht gefallen hatte :

« “ Es erhellt allein schon daraus, wie groß das Arbeitsvolumen in diesem Gebäude war, daß im Zuge dieses Umbaus über 200 Arbeiter beschäftigt wurden. ”

“ Eine Frage Herr Regierungsbaurat : Arbeiter beider Nationalitäten ? ”

“ Arbeiter beider Nationalitäten, zum größten Teil allerdings tschechische Arbeiter. ”

“ Tschechische Arbeiter ! ”

“ Es standen uns für diese Aufgaben nur beschränkt deutsche Firmen zur Verfügung, die diesen großen Arbeiten gewachsen waren. ” »

Die tschechischen Arbeiter sollten auf Geheiß von Reichsprotektor Reinhard Heydrich persönlich eine Statue des jüdischen Komponisten Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy vom Rudolfinum entfernen. Sie begannen jedoch stattdessen die Statue von Adolf Hitlers Lieblingskomponisten Richard Wagner zu demontieren, der sich zu Lebzeiten nicht nur mit seiner Musik sondern auch mit antijüdischer Hetze gegen Mendelssohn-Bartholdy hervorgetan hatte. Der Irrtum wurde jedoch bemerkt. Als am 16. Oktober 1941 der Staatsakt im Beisein Heydrichs stattfand, war davon und auch von der Überforderung deutscher Firmen keine Rede mehr.

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg zog das tschechische Parlament wieder kurzzeitig ins Rudolfinum ein. Seit 1946 dient es wieder als Konzert- und Ausstellungshalle.

...

Durant son passage à Prague, Anton Bruckner touchera également l'orgue de la cathédrale de Saint-Guy, celui de l'église de l'Assomption de la Vierge (« Klosterkirche Mariä Himmelfahrt ») du monastère de Strahov (œuvre du Prémontré local Lohel Öhlschlägl, datant de 1774, sur lequel improvisa Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart lors d'un séjour au monastère à Prague, en 1787 ; l'instrument a été remplacé après 1900). et celui du monastère d'Emmaüs.

L'orgue de la cathédrale de Saint-Guy de Prague

L'orgue Baroque de la cathédrale de Saint-Guy date de 1765 et se trouve sur 2 paliers. Il est composé de 40 registres répartis sur 3 claviers et 1 pédalier. Il est l'œuvre du facteur Antonín Gartner en provenance du village de Tachov, dans la région de Plzeň. L'ensemble de l'instrument a été retiré vers 1909 et a été perdu. En 1932, le facteur Joseph Melzel installe un orgue neuf, tout en conservant le buffet d'origine d'Antonín Melzer. Il a été restauré en 2001 par la firme Kánský et Brachtl. La partie instrumentale contient encore des tuyaux de 1765. Au total, on compte 4,475 tuyaux.

...

The Saint-Vitus Cathedral organ has 2 leaflets. The upper-Baroque prospectus, built in 1765 by Antonín Gartner, belonged to an organ with 40 registers, which were spread over 3 manuals and pedal. Today, this Prospectus is only decorative. The entire instrument was removed around 1909 and was lost.

The lower neo-Classical prospectus contains today's cathedral organ and was built by Joseph Melzel in the years 1929-1931. A major overhaul was carried-out by the organ-builder Brachtl a Kánský (1999-2001) . That in relation to the large church rather modest instrument has 58 registers on 3 manuals and 1 pedal, 4,475 pipes in total. The key action is purely pneumatically. With a large number of basic votes (flutes and principals) and low-reeds (trumpets) , the instrument has a gentle tone - a typical characteristic of post-Romantic organs.

In 1750, František Xaver Brixi (born in 1732) is the organist at Saint-Vitus Cathedral. Because of his extraordinary musical talent, he was also appointed choir Master on January 1st, 1759. He held this important post until his death in 1771.

...

The north transept is dominated by the Renaissance organ loft by Bonifác Wohlmüt, from between 1559-1561. Originally, it closed-off the main nave of the Parlě Cathedral but, during the completion of the Cathedral, it was transferred to its present site. In the loft is a Baroque organ built by Antonín Gartner, from Tachov, in 1757.

The Chapel of the Choir is on the ground-floor of the Wohlmüt organ-loft and is enclosed by 3 carved doors. Inside it, is an early Baroque archbishop's throne from the 2nd half of the 17th Century and a late-Renaissance altar from 1579.

On May 12, 1929, the completed Prague Cathedral of Saint-Vitus, Wenceslas and Adalbert was consecrated by the bishop Antonín Sedlák. According to Bedřich Antonín Wiedermann's plans, a monumental 5 manual organ was to be placed there. There was a tender and a Czech company by J. Mölzer won with their bid of 1,737,000 CZK. Because of the finances only a double manual organ was built at the bottom level of Wohlmüt's gallery. Later, the organ was enlarged with another manual.

Mölzer's Romantic organ, together with the furnishings, creates a harmonic unity. The fact that the organ was preserved in an almost unchanged condition is very rare. During the years 1999 to 2001, the organ went through a difficult restoration by Kánský - Brachtl company from Krnov and, on March 30, 2001, it was ready to be played. The organ has 3 manuals, 58 vocal registers and 4,475 pipes. The general restoration was funded by the Prague Castle Administration and it cost 5,000,000 CZK.

...

Der Veitsdom besitzt zwei Orgelprospekte. Der obere Prospekt gehörte zu einer Barockorgel, die 1765 von Antonín Gartner erbaut wurde. Sie hatte 40 Register auf 3 Manualen und Pedal. Dieser Prospekt ist nur noch Dekor. Das dazugehörige Werk wurde um 1909 abtransportiert und ging verloren.

Der untere neoklassizistische Prospekt enthält die heutige Domorgel. Sie wurde von Josef Melzel in den Jahren 1929-1931 gebaut. Eine Generalüberholung wurde durch die Orgelbaufirma Brachtl a Kánský (1999-2001) durchgeführt. Das im Verhältnis zum großen Kirchenraum eher bescheidene Instrument hat 58 Register auf 3 Manualen und Pedal, 4.475 Pfeifen insgesamt. Die Traktur ist rein pneumatisch. Mit einer großen Anzahl von Grundstimmen (Flöten und Prinzipale) und wenig Zungenstimmen (Trompeten) besitzt das Instrument einen eher sanften Ton - eine typische Eigenschaft postromantischer Orgeln.

František Xaver Brixi (1732-1771) wurde 1750 Organist am Veitsdom in Prag. Wegen seiner außergewöhnlichen musikalischen Begabung wurde er am 1. Januar 1759 zum Regens chori am Veitsdom berufen. Dieses bedeutendste Amt im Prager Musikleben bekleidete er bis zu seinem Tod.

Robert Führer (1807-1861) wurde am 11. Januar 1831 erster Organist am Veitsdom. Josef Foerster (1833-1907) war ab 1887 Chorleiter am Veitsdom.

Le monastère de Strahov de Prague

Le monastère de Strahov situé à Prague, est l'un des plus anciens monastères du pays incluant une célèbre bibliothèque.

Le monastère a été fondé en 1140 par Vladislav II et l'Ordre des Prémontrés. L'église abrite la dépouille de Saint-Norbert, fondateur de l'Ordre.

Détruit par le feu en 1258 et reconstruit dans le style Gothique, le couvent de Strahov connut un important remaniement Baroque au XVII^e siècle qui lui donna l'essentiel de son aspect actuel.

Sa célèbre bibliothèque, vieille de plus de 800 ans, reste une des plus importantes de Bohême malgré les pillages effectués par bien des envahisseurs. Elle renferme des manuscrits enluminés, des cartes, des globes et des gravures du Moyen-âge. La salle philosophique fut construite pour accueillir les livres du couvent de Louka, en Moravie, fermé en 1782. Les fresques du plafond par Franz Maulbertsch retracent la lutte de l'humanité pour la connaissance. La salle théologique, ornée de fresques exaltant l'amour du savoir, abrite des globes astronomiques réalisés au XVII^e siècle par William Blaeu.

La pinacothèque de Strahov comporte une des plus importantes collections conventuelles de peintures médiévales.

En 1783, sa transformation en institut de recherche évita la fermeture du monastère par Joseph II.

Depuis 1953, le Musée de la littérature tchèque est dans les bâtiments du monastère de Strahov.

Des expositions sont organisées dans les salles Romanes et dans le réfectoire d'été.

Le monastère est toujours un monastère des Prémontrés qui dans la brasserie du couvent fabriquent une bière locale.

...

Le couvent de Strahov est le 1^{er} couvent de Prémontrés de Bohême. Il fut fondé en 1140 par Jindřich Zdík, évêque d'Olomouc, et par le prince Vladislav II. À la fin du XII^e siècle, le cloître, construit dans un style Roman, occupe une surface un peu plus grande que celle du Château de Prague aujourd'hui. Suite à un incendie survenu en 1258, le couvent est rénové en 1^{er} Gothique. Le monastère connaît son heure de gloire en 1627 lorsqu'on y transfère les restes du fondateur de l'Ordre, Saint-Norbert, depuis la ville de Magdebourg, devenue protestante.

Durant la Guerre de trente ans, le couvent est saccagé par les troupes suédoises et est ensuite reconstruit dans un style Baroque. Sa forme est celle d'un carré irrégulier au centre duquel se dresse la cathédrale abbatiale de l'Assomption de la Vierge Marie. Le couvent comptait une bibliothèque Baroque unique ainsi qu'une galerie de peintures exceptionnelle qui abritait autrefois la « Vierge de la fête du Rosaire » d'Albrecht Dürer. Les moines y brassaient également une bière de haute-qualité, dont la brasserie qui se trouve dans la cour d'entrée reprend la tradition.

Depuis les années 1950, le Musée de la littérature nationale, des archives littéraires uniques, occupe les bâtiments du monastère.

L'église de l'Assomption de la Vierge Marie était à l'origine une basilique de style Romane, qui fut restaurée en

Gothique sous le règne d'Ottokar II Přemysl, après l'incendie de 1258. Une chapelle consacrée à Sainte-Ursule, aujourd'hui à Saint-Norbert, fut alors ajoutée à la nef Nord. Détruite par les Hussites au XVe siècle, l'église fut à nouveau reconstruite, puis rénovée sur ordre de l'abbé Gaspard von Questenberg à la Renaissance. La basilique fut alors agrandie et une nouvelle façade fut édifiée. La basilique Baroque actuelle est l'œuvre de l'architecte italien Anselmo Lurago, qui restaura l'église endommagée par les bombardements pendant le siège des troupes françaises, en 1742.

...

À l'origine Romane, l'Église Notre-Dame de l'Assomption de l'Abbaye de Strahov a été le fruit de remaniements successifs : Gothique, Renaissance et enfin Baroque. En regardant attentivement cette église, on ressent à la fois une impression de nouveau et d'ancien. Toute la décoration se concentre au niveau du portail en pierre couronné par une niche dans laquelle se trouve une statue de la Vierge Marie en prière. Même si elle est fermée, vous pourrez, à travers la grille, jeter un oeil sur sa décoration intérieure qui date du XVIIIe siècle. La voûte est partagée en une quantité de médaillons en stuc ornés de peintures évoquant l'Histoire de la Vierge Marie. De même, les autels et les statues dorées disposés le long des piliers de la nef accentuent davantage encore la pompe de l'église.

...

En regardant attentivement cette église, on ressent à la fois une impression de nouveau et d'ancien. En fait, au XIIe siècle, l'église était une basilique Romane. Son aspect actuel est le fruit de remaniements successifs : Gothique, Renaissance, et Baroque.

C'est une façade somme toute sobre, composée de 2 niveaux, mais toute la décoration se concentre au niveau du portail. Ce portail en pierre est couronné par une niche dans laquelle se trouve une statue de la Vierge Marie en prière et vénérée par 2 anges agenouillés à ses pieds. Sa tête est cernée par une auréole étoilée, ce qui permet de l'identifier car seule la Vierge est couronnée par un nimbe étoilé. Son corps flotte sur un croissant de lune pendant que son pied écrase fermement le serpent, symbole du Mal. C'est bien la représentation de l'Assomption de la Vierge Marie, c'est-à-dire l'épisode relatant l'enlèvement miraculeux de la Vierge au ciel par les anges, célébrée chaque 15 août dans l'Église catholique.

Au second niveau, sur la corniche, des Saints attirent, puis dirigent notre regard au-dessus de leur tête vers le sommet du fronton où trône la représentation d'un agneau tenant une croix haute entre ses pattes. C'est l'Agneau de Dieu, symbole du sacrifice du Christ sur la Croix. Et c'est sous cet aspect héroïque que Quinaert l'a représenté. L'agneau domine fièrement le portail, loin de tout effet pathétique, loin du mouvement extensif qui anime la Vierge, les pattes bien droites et la toison épaisse, il est comme exposé au monde, et illustre parfaitement la phrase de Saint-Jean-Baptiste :

« Voici l'agneau de Dieu qui enlève le péché du monde. »

L'ensemble du programme, sculpté en 1744, est attribué à Johann Anton Quitainer, un artiste très actif à Prague. Son registre est plutôt celui du calme, de l'apaisement. Durant la période Baroque, les personnages des statues seraient apparus en mouvement, tourmentés. Regardons la vierge : on perçoit juste un long et calme mouvement ondulatoire. Pareil pour l'Agneau : il apparaît presque figé ; dressé sur ses pattes. C'est une nouvelle manière, plus décorative, qui d'ailleurs se retrouvera chez d'autres sculpteurs pragois.

Toute la décoration intérieure de l'église date du XVIIIe siècle. La voûte est partagée en une quantité de médaillons en stuc ornés de peintures évoquant l'Histoire de la Vierge Marie. Au rez-de-chaussée, les autels et les statues dorées disposés le long des piliers de la nef accentuent davantage encore la pompe de l'église, tout semble baigner dans la lumière et le marbre. L'austérité de cette église qui fut d'abord Romane puis Gothique s'est totalement diluée dans les ors, les stucs et les marbres, pour laisser place à la théâtralité du Baroque.

...

The Basilica of Assumption of Our Lady was constructed as a triple-aisle Romanesque basilica 56 metres long and 22 metres wide with a transept and 2 prismatic towers. This design did not last long, because the church was rebuilt in Gothic style after a fire, in 1258. The flat wooden ceiling was replaced by a dome and the Chapel of Saint-Ursula was added to the northern transept.

After being plundered by the Hussites and left to fall into disrepair for many years, Abbot Jan Lohelius started repairing and reconstructing the church in Renaissance style. Lohelius' successor, Abbot Kašpar Questenberg, had the basilica extended westwards and built a new façade. The Chapel of Our Lady of Passau was added to the southern transept.

The Basilica of Our Lady was severely damaged again, this time during the French bombardment of Prague. The building was given a Baroque overhaul under the leadership of Italian architect Anselmo Lurago, and the fruit of this project is today's church.

Today, the basilica nave is 63 metres long ; 10 metres wide ; and 16 metres high. It ends in an apse, which hosts an altar of marble from Slivenec, made by Lauer mann in 1768. There are 10 side-altars located at the pillars which separate the nave from the transepts. The sculptural work on the main-altar was made by Ignác Platzer, in 1768. Pictures by Liška, Willmann, and Palko adorn the 10 side-altars, devoted to the Nativity of Our Lord, the Sacred Heart of Jesus-Christ, Saint-John Nepomuk, Mary Magdalene, the Conversion of Saint-Paul, Saint-Martin, Saint-Anne, Saint-Augustine, the Bohemian Patron Saints, and the Visitation.

The west-side of the basilica ends in an organ loft, holding an organ built in 1774 by the Strahov Premonstratensian Lohel Öhlschlägl. Mozart improvised on the organ when he visited Strahov, in 1787.

The Chapel of Our Lady of Passau has been added to the basilica transept, and contains the tomb of General Pappenheim, a hero of the Thirty Years' War.

The vault of the church was painted in 1774 by Georg Wilhelm Neunhertz, who created a cycle of frescoes there with motives of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Along the walls of the nave, in the cartouches by Jan Palliardi, there are frescoes with scenes from the life of Saint-Norbert by Neunhertz.

A chapel originally devoted to Saint-Ursula but now to Saint-Norbert is situated along the northern transept. Here, on the main-altar, in a gilded brass sarcophagus, the body of the founder of the Premonstratensians and, later, Archbishop of Magdeburg Saint-Norbert lies buried in an ebony coffin. His relics were translated to Strahov by Abbot Kašpar Questenberg in 1627 ; and, in 1873, they were transferred from the main nave of the basilica to this chapel, where they rest near the Eucharist up today.

...

The Church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary is in its core a 3 aisle Romanic basilica with a Gothic transept, prolonged in 1627, and with a Renaissance chancel. The church was built in the 3rd quarter of the 12th Century. It was rebuilt in a Gothic style in the years 1258 to 1263, and this appearance outlived Centuries. Historical research in the 1950's did not find proofs of the devastating fire in the 13th Century, or of the destruction of the church by the Hussites. In 1601-1605, the era of abbot Lohel, there was a Renaissance reconstruction probably drafted by Giovanni Bossi de Campione. It was damaged during the shelling and bombing of Prague, in 1742, and subsequently, late-Baroque modifications were made on the church's front (T. Haffenecker, Anselmo Lurago, sculptural decorations by Jan Antonín Quittainer) , as well as in the interior : frescoes from the life of Saint-Norbert and scenes from the life of Virgin Mary by a Silesian painter Vilém Neuenherz (1743) . Stucco decoration by Jan Palliardi, the main-altar and 10 side-altars by the renowned Prague stonemason Josef Lauer mann (1769) . The statues on the main-altar were made by Ignác Platzer, the statues on the side-altars by Jan Antonín Quittainer. Paintings on the altars were mostly made by Michael Leopold Willmann, Franz Xaver Balko and Siard Nosecký.

From the very beginning, chapels were being added to the church. In the middle of the aisle, there is the Chapel of Virgin Mary of Passau (in place of a Gothic Chapel of Saint-Angels from the 14th Century) . It was built by Albrecht of Valdštejn for the Imperial general Pappenheim and Albrecht's nephew Berthold, who died in the Battle of Lützen. There is a copy of the painting of Virgin Mary of Passau on the altar, and on the ceiling, there is a fresco depicting the Battle of Lützen by Siard Nosecký. On the opposite side of the church, there is a larger Chapel of Sankt Voršila, which was Gothic, originally. There is an altar of Sankt Voršila and an altar of Saint-Norbert, the founder of the Premonstrate Order and the land patron, the remains of who were brought to Strahov from a Magdeburg Premonstrate Monastery in 1627 and are buried in this chapel. The church's co-founder, Vladislav II, was also buried in the church in 1174, and before him his wife Gertruda, just like the 2nd co-founder Jindřich Zdík (died in 1150) . However, their graves were not found during archæological research.

Famous organists Jan Křtitel Kuchař and Robert Führer played in the church. In 1787, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart improvised on the local organ. The original organ was replaced after 1900.

...

The history of Strahov monastery's church reflects that of the monastery itself. Originally built as a Romanesque basilica, the church was rebuilt in Gothic style after it was destroyed by fire, in 1258. 2 Centuries later, the church was plundered by the Hussites and repaired in Renaissance style. After a bombardment by French troops, in 1742, the church was repaired once again, this time in Baroque style.

The Strahov church, which is also known as the Basilica of our Lady, has a richly decorated interior. The nave's 16 meter high vault features frescoes painted in 1774. Along the side of the nave above the arcades are 12 frescoes depicting the life of Sankt Norbertus, founder of the Premonstratensians. The Strahov church also houses an organ on which Mozart played during his visit to the monastery, in 1787.

Le monastère d'Emmaüs de Prague

Le cloître d'Emmaüs (« Emauzský klášter ») , dans la Nouvelle Ville de Prague, est une abbaye de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît dont les clochers sont un hommage payé par l'architecture moderne à la « ville aux 100 clochers » . Cette abbaye fait partie de la congrégation slave au sein de la confédération bénédictine.

Le cloître d'Emmaüs encore appelé le monastère bénédictin de l'église Notre-Dame et des Saints-Patrons-Slaves surnommé « Na Slovanech » (chez les Slavons) ou d'Emmaüs est fondé le 21 novembre 1347 par le roi de Bohême et Empereur du Saint-Empire Charles IV et l'Ordre des moines bénédictins slavons.

Charles IV fonde le monastère et l'église attenante sur la base de privilèges accordés par le pape Clément IV, le 9 mai 1346. L'église est vouée à Marie de Nazareth, à Saint-Jérôme de Stridon, aux Saints Apôtres des Slaves, Cyrille et Méthode et aux Saints tchèques, Adalbert de Prague et Procope de Sázava. Elle est consacrée le 29 mars, le jour de Pâques de l'an 1372 par le 1er archevêque de Prague, Jan Očko, en présence de l'Empereur, de 2 Princes-Électeurs, de plusieurs évêques et du prince héritier, le futur Venceslas 1er.

Charles IV, prince allemand par son père et tchèque par sa mère, tente ici une œuvre œcuménique au cœur de l'Europe, à la frontière entre les mondes slave et german, catholique et orthodoxe. Il décide de rétablir la liturgie en vieux slave créée par Cyrille et Méthode et de fonder un centre spirituel pour éduquer et proférer la foi catholique dans le monde slave en utilisant cette langue d'église qu'est le vieux slave. Pour ce faire, il fait appel aux moines bénédictins issus de l'actuelle Croatie, les glagolites, spécialistes de l'alphabet glagolitique.

Durant les croisades contre les Hussites, qui mettent le pays à feu et à sang, le monastère est relativement épargné. L'Église hussite professe un protestantisme avant l'heure, se révolte contre la pratique des indulgences et prône un retour aux sources liturgiques (d'où la relative mansuétude à l'égard d'un monastère certes bénédictin mais en quelque sorte « pré-schismatique » et œcuménique. Le monastère, sous influence hussite, adopte en 1419 le principe de la communion sous les 2 espèces, et la pratiquera jusqu'en 1589.

En 1611, Rodolphe II fait appel à l'archiduc d'Autriche, Léopold de Habsbourg, pour barrer le chemin de l'Empire à son frère Matthias. Léopold marche sur Prague où il se heurte à Matthias, fait que les annales tchèques appellent l'invasion des armées de Passau (« vpád pasovských vojsk ») , armée dont les soldats mettent à sac le monastère.

Benoît Peñalosa, confesseur de l'épouse de l'Empereur Ferdinand III du Saint-Empire, obtint pour les quelques moines tchèques encore présents, l'autorisation de quitter Emmaüs. Lorsqu'ils se retirent, en 1636, à Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Vieille-Ville, Peñalosa lui-même est installé comme abbé du monastère d'Emmaüs avec des moines bénédictins espagnols venus du monastère catalan de Montserrat. Commence alors une nouvelle période d'épanouissement. Parmi les abbés « espagnols » , l'abbé Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz (1647-1657) se distingue par son activité scientifique.

Ces bénédictins espagnols y restent jusqu'en 1880 quand ils sont remplacés par ceux du monastère allemand de Saint-Martin, expulsés de leur base à Beuron suite au « Kulturkampf » . Avec l'indépendance de la Tchécoslovaquie, en 1918, les Ordres monastiques allemands sont expulsés. Les moines se replient alors à l'abbaye de Grüssau en Basse-Silésie allemande et un autre groupe à l'abbaye de Neresheim pour sa seconde fondation. En 1919, le cloître d'Emmaüs héberge le Conservatoire de musique de la ville de Prague. Un an plus tard, cependant, quelques moines bénédictins de Beuron reviennent y célébrer de nouveau la liturgie glagolitique.

La « Gestapo » expulse les moines en 1942 pour transformer les bâtiments en hôpital militaire. Le 14 février 1945, un bombardement allié a détruit une partie importante de l'église et ses tours. La reconstruction est entreprise dans les années 1950. Ensuite après le coup de Prague et la prise du pouvoir par le Parti communiste tchécoslovaque, le monastère est nationalisé. Les moines partent alors pour l'Italie et les bâtiments sont occupés par l'Académie tchécoslovaque des sciences.

...

Le Cloître d'Emmaüs fut fondé par Charles IV, en 1347, le pape Clément VI lui ayant donné l'autorisation de fonder un monastère où les liturgies seraient chantées en vieux slave. L'Empereur invite alors à Prague des moines de tradition orientale originaires de Dalmatie et de Croatie qui utilisent le slavon d'église comme langue liturgique. Avec cette initiative, Charles IV entend éviter le schisme qui menace entre les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident. Le cloître devient rapidement un centre d'arts et de savoir. C'est ici qu'est effectuée la 1^{re} traduction complète en langue tchèque de la « Vulgate » , la version officielle en latin de la Bible.

On considère avec raison le bâtiment du monastère, achevé avec sa nouvelle église, en 1372, comme un joyau de l'architecture Gothique. Les frais engagés lors de sa construction dépassent ceux du Pont Charles. Il est très probable que les ouvriers de Peter Parler aient pris une part importante à son édification. Les fresques Gothiques qui y sont conservées sont exceptionnelles.

Après la bataille de la Montagne blanche, en 1620, l'Empereur Ferdinand III invite des moines bénédictins espagnols à résider dans le cloître. Pendant leur présence, ce dernier sera largement rénové dans le style Baroque : le haut-toit à une seule pente de l'église est détruit, et 2 clochers en bulbe sont ajoutés sur la façade. À la fin de la Seconde

Guerre mondiale, l'église est fortement endommagée par un raid aérien de l'aviation américaine. C'est en 1967 que le clocher abîmé est remplacé par une construction moderne en béton blanc.

On raconte que vivait au couvent d'Emmaüs un moine si cupide qu'il n'hésitait pas à se livrer à de viles transactions avec un Juif. Il se faisait payer pour donner l'hostie sainte au Juif, lequel l'utilisait pour accomplir des rites clandestins et jeter des sorts sur les chrétiens. Ce commerce avait lieu sur les anciennes marches du couvent d'Emmaüs, qui menaient vers la vallée de Podskali, et étaient couvertes d'un toit et munies de palissades, de sorte que même au grand jour, il y faisait noir. De cette manière, le moine s'enrichit considérablement, menant de sombres tractations dans un escalier sombre.

Cependant, le Juif était si peu prudent en exécutant ses rituels et de ses maléfices, qu'il finit par être découvert et qu'il trahit son complice sous la torture. La sentence fut rapide et impitoyable. Le Juif fut écartelé et brûlé vif, tandis que le moine cupide était décapité dans la cour du couvent.

Dès la semaine suivant, l'esprit du moine apparut sur les marches, portant sa tête décapitée sous un bras et la bourse contenant l'argent du Juif sous l'autre. Il y pousse toujours d'effrayants gémissements, désirant la libération que seul peut lui apporter un prêtre nouvellement ordonné qui accepterait de lui donner la sainte hostie en échange de sa bourse. Mais personne, pour l'instant, n'a eu le courage de le faire, et les lamentations du moine maudit résonnent toujours dans les marches.

...

Le monastère d'Emmaüs (Monastère « Na Slovanech ») de Prague est classé monument culturel national. Charles IV a fondé le monastère, en 1347, pour les bénédictins slaves qui donnaient des offices divins en vieux slave. En 1371, une église a été annexée au monastère. Peu à peu, le monastère est devenu un centre d'érudition et d'art. Parmi les étudiants de la langue cyrillique figuraient également Jan Hus et Jeroným Pražský. Cependant, en 1611, le monastère a été dévasté et n'a été rénové que dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle après une reconstruction dans le style Baroque, réalisée par des Bénédictins espagnols. Dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, le monastère a été reconstruit par les Bénédictins de Beuron, qui ont créé un style d'art spécifique dans l'esprit du style de Beuron. En 1945, le monastère d'Emmaüs a été détruit lors du bombardement de Prague. Le complexe n'a été rénové que dans les années 1966 à 1969. Ensuite, le monastère est devenu le siège de l'Académie tchécoslovaque des Sciences. En 1990, Emmaüs a été restitué aux Bénédictins. Le monastère et l'église ont été reconstruits au cours des 20 années suivantes.

...

The Emmaus monastery (« Emauzský » or « Emauzský klášter ») is an abbey established in 1347, in Prague. The area became the only Benedictine monastery of the Bohemian kingdom and all Slavic Europe.

In the 1360's, the Cloisters of the Monastery were decorated with a cycle of 85 wall Gothic paintings with parallels from the Old and New Testaments. The Gothic cloisters also feature original faded frescoes with bits of Pagan

symbolism from the 14th Century. The monastery was Baroquized in the 17th and 18th Centuries and the 2 temple towers were added.

Charles IV gave to the just-founded monastery the manuscript Reims Gospel, it was probably lost from Prague in the time of the Hussite Wars, manuscript later became part of the Reims Cathedral treasury. The monastery became a center of culture and art, students of Cyril and Methodius studied there in addition to Jan Hus.

During WWII, the monastery was seized by the « Gestapo » and the monks were sent to Dachau concentration camp. The monastery building and vaults were destroyed by a U.S. bombing raid on Prague, on 14 February 1945. The modern roof with steeples was added in the 1960's. It was returned to the Benedictine order in 1990, the monastery currently belongs to 3 monks, 2 of whom live there.

...

9 février 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) au couple Johann Nepomuk et Rosalie Hueber (Vöcklabruck) .

« My Dear Brother-in-law and “ Sali ” !

Thank you for the letter. “ Sali ”, do not send anything. Here is 10 “ Gulden ”. I am well and wish that “ Sali ” may also be healthy soon ! The good woman has no idea of what I have to do ! Then, the correspondence from at home and abroad !!! Now, “ Holland ” is added to the list, where, on the 4th of this month, my 3rd Symphony was performed with very great success. * In Leipzig, on January 28th, ** the 2nd performance of my 7th Symphony was given before the Royal couple. The newspapers are full of admiration just like the Dutch (papers) . In “ March ”, it (Symphony No. 7) is going to “ Munich ”. *** (The performance in Hamburg is, likewise, imminent.) **** Unfortunately, I need a great deal of money. In The Hague (in Holland) , they really want to see me “ in person ”.

Hearty farewell ! Greetings to all !

Your brother and brother-in-law,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Danke Euch für das Geschickte. »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 145 ; pages 173-174.

Bruckner's brother-in-law and younger married sister. Bruckner was the eldest of 11 children, most of whom died either at birth or in infancy. He remained close to his sister Maria-Anna, who served as his house-keeper in Vienna, his sister Rosalie, who was married to Johann Nepomuk Hueber and lived in Vöcklabruck, and his brother Ignaz, who lived in Saint-Florian. Little is known of his sister Josefa.

From time to time, Bruckner would receive gifts of food from Ignaz. Here, he may be referring to food. His stomach gave him problems, and he may be saying that he has to watch his diet.

Bruckner always re-imbursed family members when he received gifts of food or services from them. The sum of 10 « Gulden » is a generous one for the time ; perhaps, the value of \$ 20, today.

* Under Johann Verhulst (1816-1891) .

** Actually, January 27, 1885.

*** The performance was on March 10, 1885.

**** The performance was on February 19, 1886, under Julius von Bernuth (1830-1902) .

9 février 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) au docteur Rudolf Prohska (Linz) .

« Right Honourable Sir !

I was already in the unpleasant situation, here in Vienna, as well as in Graz, of having to decline such honours. I am now even infinitely sorrier to have to say that I must also decline the wishes of the worthy “ Musikverein ”, in Linz, for the same honour that was meant for me. In the month of March, I must go to Munich for the 1st performance, there, of my 7th Symphony, but I do not know exactly when. On January 28th, the 2nd performance in Leipzig took place before the Saxon Royal couple. The newspapers sparkle with admiration. In Hamburg, a performance is imminent. I have just received several letters from Holland where, in The Hague, my 3rd Symphony (dedicated to Wagner) was performed, on the 4th of this month, with very great success.

Again, thanking you very much for the intended honour, I am

Yours devotedly,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Schon war ich in der unangenehmen Lage ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 146 ; pages 174-175.

Doctor Rudolf Prohaska (1839-1909) : Lawyer and Board Member of the Music Society (« Musikverein ») , in Linz.

Bruckner declined honorary membership in the Music Societies in Vienna, Graz, and Linz, in order to keep a low-profile.

9 février 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) au docteur Wilhelmus Ludovicus van Meurs (La Haye) .

« Right Honourable Sir !

Thank you very sincerely for your great kindness. “ Meister ” Wagner wanted to perform “ all ” of my Symphonies, as he assured me a few months before his death. On December 30th and January 28th, my 7th Symphony was performed in Leipzig (before the Royal couple) in concerts of the “ Stadttheater ” under “ Herr ” Nikisch with the most “ extraordinary success ”. I received 2 laurel wreaths (one from the University, and one from the Orchestra) , which is very grand. The performance in Hamburg is imminent. In March, the same takes place in Munich, where “ Kapellmeister ” Levi raves most extraordinarily about this work. He writes with still more admiration and, also, about the joy in this work that he has finally had. Recently (on January 8th) , Hellmesberger performed my Quintet, in Vienna. This artist has “ never ” had a greater success in quartet playing. I myself was called-back repeatedly after every movement and, “ indeed ”, by the “ entire ” audience ; at the conclusion, fully 10 times. Court “ Kapellmeister ” Hellmesberger intends to perform it again, in November. He requested me to write him still another one, called the work a “ Revelation ”, and called me the “ Composer of the Modern Age ”. Vienna can be very proud, etc. , etc. The Quintet is published by Guttman, in Vienna (situated near the Opera House) . Otherwise, I am despised by the music cliques, one and all in Vienna (with the exceptions of the “ Deutsche Zeitung ” ; the “ Fremde Blatt ” ; the “ Tageblatt ” ; the “ Morgenpost ” ; and the music newspapers) . You no doubt understand why. For that reason, except for the 3rd Symphony and the Quintet, nothing has been published. Oh, “ if only I could find a publisher ! ” I am now writing the “ 8th ” Symphony. “ Herr ” Brahms treats me almost insultingly !

Finally, I thank you once more from my heart and request your continued good will ! Also, I thank all of the praiseworthy Societies and the conductors, with the Orchestra. I also thank “ Herr ” A. Simon, compatriot and Orchestra member, most sincerely.

With deepest respect,

Your most grateful,

Anton Bruckner

N.B. : I have written nothing for organ.

To : Doctor W. L. van Meurs, Librarian
The Hague, Holland »

Incipit : « Danke recht herzlich für Ihre ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 147 ; pages 175-176.

Manfred Wagner. « Bruckner » , pages 281-282.

Doctor Wilhelmus Ludovicus van Meurs was the Librarian at The Hague.

Richard Wagner (1813-1883) : Bruckner always referred to Wagner as, « the Master » . Having dedicated his 3rd Symphony to Wagner, he wrote the Adagio to his 7th Symphony as a lasting memorial to Wagner.

Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922) : Most impressive and influential conductor of his day. He excelled in Romantic Music. His performances of Beethoven, Schumann, Bruckner, Brahms, Tchaïkovsky, and Wagner became legendary and remain so, even today ; and his passionate, yet, controlled string tone must have accomplished exactly what Bruckner intended. With his premiere of Bruckner's 7th Symphony, he won the 1st wide recognition of Bruckner's work.

Hermann Levi (1839-1900) : Distinguished German conductor with serious-mindedness toward life, music, and relations with others. His series of letters to Bruckner reflect the spiritual quality of his character ; and he was able to infuse this quality into Bruckner's already spiritual music, making him one of Bruckner's great interpreters and champions. In 1882, he conducted the premiere performance of Richard Wagner's « Parsifal » ; a highly unlikely occurrence, all things considered.

Josef Hellmesberger, Senior (1828-1893) : Violinist and conductor, professor of violin, and Director of the Vienna Conservatory. In 1849, he founded his famous String Quartet. From 1851 to 1859, he was conductor and Artistic Director of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » ; and he transformed this amateur Orchestra into a group of professional musicians, leaving an indelible mark on its repertoire.

Albert J. Guttmann (died in 1914) : Publisher and concert agent in Vienna. Bruckner's 4th and 7th Symphonies and the String Quintet were 1st published by him.

Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) : Composer who became increasingly condescending toward and about Bruckner. As the Wagner and Brahms camps emerged and became ever more antagonistic toward one another, Bruckner was caught-up in the hostilities ; because of his admiration for Wagner, as well as his being a Symphonist, he was paired with Wagner, especially in Vienna.

Wilhelmus Ludovicus van Meurs (1817-1906)

Aged 64, Anton Bruckner exclusion from greatness seemed much more final than young author, dramatist and physician Arthur Schnitzler. True, he had some encouraging news on his return to Vienna, in September. His mail brought him 2 issues of the Parisian magazine, « Guide Musicale » , which were both wholly devoted to him :

« Un symphoniste d'avenir, Antoine Bruckner. »

But that was from the friendly distance of Paris. The same mail contained a blow from enemies closer by. He found his « Romantic » Symphony rejected by a Mainz conductor without even the courtesy of an explanation. In Vienna, the Philharmonic halls remained inhospitable. From the heights of the « Neue Freie Presse », the sovereign music-critic Eduard Hanslick decreed that Bruckner was still unworthy of performance. The old man walked the streets in his country togs, lonely and dazed, like a stranger. Even the chaos of his bedroom, on the 4th floor of the « Wohnhaus », on « Heßgasse 7 », was no longer familiar.

Bruckner wrote a letter to one of his far-away supporters, doctor Wilhelmus Ludovicus van Meurs who lives in the Netherlands :

« Dear Sir, it is a mystery. What you can do (for me) ... as it is a mystery what Hanslick, Bülow and Joachim do against me ... Till 1876, Hanslick was my greatest supporter and friend, and then became my greatest enemy because I accepted the Lectureship for Music at the University. Brahms is full of jealousy ... therefore, nobody dares to perform anything of mine. »

Bruckner felt abandoned in his « Heßgasse » flat on the 4th floor, at the onset of the fall in Vienna. His sometime ally, Gustav Mahler, was away, struggling to re-organize the Budapest Opera. Hugo Wolf, another occasional friend, was engrossed in his surreptitious love-affair and in his own work. Bruckner abided in isolation, just like Sigmund Freud, across the street.

(Up to 1891, the Freud family lived in the so-called « Sühnhaus » in Vienna, on « Maria Theresienstraße 8 ». Emperor Franz-Josef had this house built on the grounds of the former « Ringtheater » destroyed by fire, on December 8, 1881. In the course of this tragic event, 386 people had been killed.)

But he was more than 30 years older than these others, a rumpled, vulnerable village creature in the big city, bullied by his house-keeper « Frau » Kathi Kachelmayer for misplacing a slipper.

Still, he kept working. A new draft of the 3rd Symphony was almost finished. In his low mood, he feared more than ever Hanslick's anti-Wagnerian wrath and removed most of the direct Wagner quotes from the score. Saturday evening and Sunday morning, he played the organ in the Chapel of the Imperial Palace - not even Hanslick could take that away from him. He enjoyed his Pilsner beer, his roast pork and cabbage at the restaurant « Zur Kugel » .

At home, snuff from his silver box was a solace, even if « Frau » Kachelmayer growled about brown stains everywhere. He also had the memory of « Fräulein » Martha Rauscher, « a very nice, lovely girl » he would meet during the summer, in Upper-Austria ; she would send him a duplicate of the photograph he would lose on the journey back to Vienna. And the organizers of the Industrial Fair, in the « Prater », asked him to display his virtuosity on an organ there. It was the only public occasion to which he was invited. The great things happening that autumn passed him by.

And yet, Bruckner had a sort of season of his own. On the 1st day of fall, this wrinkled mystic from the Upper-

Austrian meadows received a State visit in the dimension special to him.

On 22 September 1888, at noon, he began to get himself ready to meet his visitor. He put on his best black suit with its trousers too short and too wide, his Sunday Saint-Florian jacket, and his top hat which « Frau » Kachelmayer refused to brush because, she said, it was no use, the « Herr Professor » had let it get wet again the night before.

So, he brushed it himself at great length. At 3 pm, he boarded the horse tramway out to Währing, to the district cemetery there. A number of officials from musical organizations had already gathered at a graveside together with some doctors and anthropologists. Bruckner took his place in the front row.

At 3:45 sharp, the cemetery workers started digging. Within minutes, the vehicle of the visitor rose into view : a crane lifted the heavy sarcophagus from the tomb, and transported it to the chapel where only Bruckner and a few officials and scientists were admitted. In the chapel, the coffin lid was opened. Anton Bruckner stood face to face with Franz Schubert, now 60 years dead.

As in his earlier confrontation with Beethoven, Bruckner started forward, but was restrained. Ist, others had their turn. The Mayor's representative delivered an address praising the bones that had produced such beautiful melodies. Today, he intoned, these exalted remains had been exhumed not only to give them a more dignified resting place in the Central Cemetery but also to afford scientists a chance to examine the physical evidence of genius.

Everything proceeded with characteristic Viennese ritual. On a small table covered by black velvet, Schubert's skull was placed, as ceremoniously as though it were a priest's monstrance. A Doctor Langl photographed it 4 times, especially the profile on the right side, which was much better preserved. A secretary, in top hat, took down minutes of the event. It was noted that Schubert's head was a deep yellow ; that his teeth were still in excellent condition (much better than Beethoven's as observed in the similar procedure, in June) and that only one molar was missing ; that the face was strongly developed in proportion to the skull top ; and that some clothes and hair were still present.

Now came the anthropologists. Their calipers ascertained curvature and depth of the brain cavity. Whereupon another commemorative appreciation was pronounced by the Mayor's representative. At half past 5, the officials wanted to replace the remains in the coffin, when Bruckner pressed forward, greatly excited, and insisted on touching the head « of the Master » . With both hands, he grasped the forehead. He clutched it until the Mayor's representative had to dislodge his hold gently. But he was permitted to put the skull into the coffin. Thus, Bruckner became the last man to touch Schubert.

Finally, Bruckner went home again in the horse tramway, while Schubert wended his way toward the Central Cemetery in a black coach. It was hard to say who was more fulfilled.

9 février 1885 : Alban Berg is born in Vienna. He lives the 1st 14 years of his life at « Tuchlauben 8 » , in central Vienna, during the main part of each year ; and summers at the « Berghof » summer villa, near Villach, and the Ossiacher See, in Carinthia.

14 février 1885 : Gustav Mahler achieves his 1st great success as a conductor by leading a Festival performance of Franz-Josef Haydn's « Die Jahreszeiten » (The Seasons) , in Münden.

18 février 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Rosa Papier-Paumgartner (Vienne) .

« Gracious Lady !

I thank you very sincerely for your great kindness toward my humble self and, in particular, for the wonderful advice concerning the “ Te Deum ”. I will never forget your esteemed card ; I will keep it always and follow your excellent advice. You certainly know, Gracious Lady, that I am among your greatest admirers ; and, indeed, my hands are often chafed from applauding for you.

As recently as the 13th of this month, I was totally enchanted by your wonderful voice ! I hope that the “ Verein ” * has already presented its request, in respect to the “ Te Deum ”, a request in which I join with all my heart !

Your charming hands receive kisses from

Your most admiring of all admirers,

Anton Bruckner

P.S. : I kiss your husband a thousand times, and thank him sincerely for everything ! »

Incipit : « Recht herzlich danke ich für die große ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 148 ; pages 176-177.

* The « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » .

Rosa Papier-Paumgartner

La mezzo-soprano d'Opéra et de Lieder Rosa (née Papier) Paumgartner est née le 18 septembre 1859 à Baden près de Vienne, en Basse-Autriche ; et est décédée le 9 février 1932 au 7 « Frankenberggasse » dans le 4e arrondissement de Vienne. Elle fut inhumée au cimetière central de Vienne puis transférée au cimetière de Mautern près de Krems.

Fille d'un fonctionnaire, elle fréquente l'école secondaire pour jeunes filles de Krems. Élève privée de Mathilde Marchesi en chant. Étudie la théorie musicale auprès du pianiste et compositeur Johann Paumgartner. Elle fait ses débuts, le 15 mars 1881, au « Theater an der Wien » dans l'Opéra « Aïda » de Giuseppe Verdi. Elle incarne le rôle d'Amneris ; le chef Wilhelm Jahn est au pupitre. Elle est invitée à se produire dans les grandes maisons d'Opéra en Allemagne mais

aussi à Amsterdam, Prague et Budapest.

Excellente interprète de Richard Wagner, elle chante au « Wiener Staatsoper », de 1881 à 1891 - date à laquelle la maladie la force à mettre fin à sa carrière sur scène. En 1892, elle se tourne vers l'enseignement au Conservatoire de la Société des Amis de la Musique (« Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde »). Parmi ses élèves, citons : Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, Melanie Domenego, Felicie Hüni-Mihacsek, Sabine Kalter, Helene Offenberg, Bella Paalen, Rose Pauly, Lucie Weidt, Helene Wildbrunn.

En 1882, Rosa Papier épouse le journaliste musical et chef d'orchestre Hans Paumgartner. Leur fils est le musicologue et chef d'orchestre Bernhard Paumgartner.

...

Rosa Papier-Paumgartner (1858-1932) : A famous Court-Opera singer, married to Hans Paumgartner (1844-1896) , a writer on music and a friend and supporter of Bruckner. Bernhard Paumgartner (born in Vienna, 14 November 1887 ; died in Salzburg, 27 July 1971) , their son, came into contact with the giants of Viennese music, including Bruckner, Wolf and Mahler, at an early age. He became a horn player, violinist, and pianist, a conductor, and a musicologist.

...

The mezzo-soprano Opera and Lieder singer Rosa Paumgartner (née Papier) was born on 18 september 1858 in Baden, Lower-Austria ; and died on 9 February 1932 in Vienna.

Private student of Mathilde Marchesi. Studied music theory with Hans Paumgartner.

Sang at the Vienna Court Opera from 1881 to 1891.

Ended her career in 1891 for health reasons and became, in 1892, a famous singing teacher at the « Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » , in Vienna.

Amongst her students were Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, Melanie Domenego, Felicie Hüni-Mihacsek, Sabine Kalter, Helene Offenberg, Bella Paalen, Rose Pauly, Lucie Weidt, Helene Wildbrunn.

Mother of conductor and musicologist Bernhard Paumgartner.

...

Rosa Papier, verehelichte Paumgartner (geboren 18. September 1859 in Baden bei Wien ; gestorben 9. Februar 1932 in Wien) war eine österreichische Opernsängerin und Gesangspädagogin.

Rosa Papier war eine Schülerin von Mathilde Marchesi. 1889 Kammersängerin. Die Mezzosopranistin war von 1881 bis 1891 an der Wiener Hofoper tätig. Sie brillierte als Wagner-Interpretin und war eine gefeierte Liedsängerin. 1891 mußte sie ihre Bühnenlaufbahn auf Grund einer Krankheit beenden.

1892 wurde Rosa Paumgartner Professorin am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien und unterrichtete Gesang. Die bekannten Wagner-Sängerinnen Anna Bahr-Mildenburg und Helene Wildbrunn sowie Rose Pauly zählten zu ihren Schülerinnen. Sie gehörte dem Freundeskreis um Gustav Mahler an und setzte sich für dessen Berufung zum Direktor der Wiener Hofoper 1897 ein. Der Musikwissenschaftler und Dirigent Bernhard Paumgartner war ihr Sohn.

Schülerinnen : Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, Melanie Domenego, Felicie Hüni-Mihacsek, Sabine Kalter, Helene Offenberg, Bella Paalen, Rose Pauly, Lucie Weidt, Helene Wildbrunn.

1955 wurde die Papiergasse in Wien-Liesing nach ihr benannt.

...

Rosa Papier, verheiratete Paumgartner, geboren 18. September 1858 Baden bei Wien (Niederösterreich) ; gestorben 9. Februar 1932 Wien 4, Frankenberggasse 7 (Zentralfriedhof, später nach Mautern bei Krems überführt) ; Opernsängerin (Mezzosopran) ; Gatte (1882) Hans Paumgartner, Musikjournalist, Dirigent (Sohn Bernhard Paumgartner) . Kammersängerin (1889) .

Wuchs in der Wachau auf und zeigte schon frühzeitig Talent, das von einer Gräfin Todesco gefördert wurde. Sie besuchte ab 1878 das Konservatorium in Wien, wurde später Privatschülerin von Mathilde Marchesi und nahm Musiktheorieunterricht bei Paumgartner. Nachdem sie das Publikum bei ihrem Debüt im Theater an der Wien (15. März 1881) als Amneris (« Aida ») stark beeindruckt hatte, lud sie Wilhelm Jahn ein, am 21. April 1881 dieselbe Rolle in der Hofoper zu singen, worauf sie Mitglied der Hofoper wurde (bis 1891) . Papier war eine bedeutende Richard-Wagner-Interpretin und gab zahlreiche Gastspiele in verschiedenen europäischen Ländern. Wegen eines (nach einer Grippe aufgetretenen) chronischen Kehlkopfkatarrhs mußte sie ihre Operntätigkeit beenden und wurde Gesangslehrerin am Konservatorium (am Orte Professor) ; sie bildete zahlreiche erfolgreiche Sopranistinnen aus.

...

Rosa (geborene Papier) Paumgartner : geboren 18.09.1858 Baden bei Wien (Niederösterreich) ; gestorben 09.02.1932 Wien. Sängerin (Mezzosopran) , Musikpädagogin und -schriftstellerin. Tochter eines Staatsbeamten, Ausbildung an der höheren Mädchenschule in Krems, Mitglied im dortigen Gesang- und Orchesterverein, ab 1878 Gesangsstudium bei Mathilde Marchesi am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde beziehungsweise privat, Partiturspiel bei Johann Paumgartner, den sie 1882 heiratete. 1880 erster öffentlicher Auftritt, am 15.03.1881 Amneris in Giuseppe Verdis Aida im Theater an der Wien, dieselbe Rolle am 21.04. auf Einladung Wilhelm Jahns als Gast mit großem Erfolg an der Hofoper, deren Mitglied Paumgartner daraufhin bis 1891 war. Liederabende und Gastspiele an vielen großen deutschen Opernhäusern, auch in Amsterdam, Prag und Budapest. Paumgartner war eine bedeutende Interpretin der Werke Richard

Wagners. Ein Kehlkopfkatarrh beendete 1891 ihre aktive Karriere als Sängerin. Ab 1893 war sie erfolgreich als Gesangslehrerin (am Orte Professor) am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde tätig, zu ihren bekanntesten Schülerinnen zählen Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, Melanie Domenego, Felicie Hüni-Mihacsek, Sabine Kalter, Helene Offenberg, Bella Paalen, Rose Pauly, Lucie Weidt und Helene Wildbrunn. Paumgartner unterstützte 1897 Gustav Mahlers Berufung an die Wiener Hofoper.

...

Rosa (« née » Papier) Paumgartner : Sängerin und Musikpädagogin, geboren 18.09.1858 Baden bei Wien (Niederösterreich) ; gestorben 09.02.1932 Wien. Tochter eines Staatsbeamten, Gattin des Vorigen ; sang schon als Kind im Kirchenchor, während ihrer Ausbildung an der Höheren Mädchenschule in Krems auch im dortigen Gesang- und Orchesterver. Ab 1878 war sie zunächst am Wiener Konservatorium, dann privat - Schülerin von Mathilde Marchesi (Gesang) , im Partiturspiel wurde sie von Johann Paumgartner unterrichtet, den sie 1882 heiratete. 1880 trat sie erstmals in einem öff. Konzert auf, im folgenden Jahr mit überwältigendem Erfolg als Gast (Amneris in Giuseppe Verdis „Aida“) an der Wiener Hofoper, deren Mitgl. sie dann bis 1891 war. Gastspielreisen führten sie an fast alle großen Deutsche Opernhäuser und nach Amsterdam, Prag, Budapest etc. Auch bei zahlreichen Lieder-abenden wurde ihr klangvoller, in allen Lagen gleich hervorragend geschulter dramatischer Mezzosopran bewundert. 1889 wurde sie zur Kammersängerin ernannt. Ihrem Versuch, sich auch im jugendlich-dramatischen Sopranfach auszuzeichnen, war nur ein kurzer Erfolg beschieden, denn schon 1891 zwang sie ein Halsleiden zur Aufgabe ihrer aktiven Laufbahn. 1893 wurde Paumgartner als Gesanglehrerin (am Orte Professor) an das Wiener Konservatorium berufen, wo sie bis kurz vor ihrem Tode sehr erfolgreich wirkte. Zu ihren berühmtesten Schülerinnen zählen Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, Melanie Domenego, Felicie Hüni-Mihacsek, Sabine Kalter, Helene Offenberg, Bella Paalen, Rose Pauly, Lucie Weidt und Helene Wildbrunn. Paumgartner, die Mahlers (siehe dies) Berufung nach Wien (1897) tatkräftig unterstützte, veröffentlichte in der « Neuen Freien Presse » mehrere Aufsätze über Persönlichkeiten und Probleme des Wiener Musiklebens.

...

Rosa Papier, verheiratete Paumgartner : Schülerin von Mathilde Marchesi, der bekanntesten Gesangslehrerin ihrer Zeit ; sie sang von 1881 bis 1891 an der Wiener Hofoper, wo sie in vielen Glanzrollen brillierte. Gastspiele an deutschen und holländischen Opernbühnen brachten ihr viel Erfolg.

1891 mußte sie ihre Bühnenlaufbahn wegen Krankheit aufgeben und wurde 1892 Professorin am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien und eine berühmte Gesangslehrerin (zu ihren Schülerinnen zählten unter anderem Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, Melanie Domenego, Felicie Hüni-Mihacsek, Sabine Kalter, Helene Offenberg, Bella Paalen, Rose Pauly, Lucie Weidt, Helene Wildbrunn) .

...

Rosa Papier, verheiratete Paumgartner : Kammersängerin (Mezzosopran) ; Mutter von Bernhard Paumgartner. Schülerin von Mathilde Marchesi ; 1881-1891 an der Wiener Hofoper ; beendete 1891 wegen Krankheit ihre Tätigkeit und wurde

eine berühmte Gesangslehrerin. Zu ihren Schülerinnen zählten unter anderem Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, Melanie Domenego, Felicie Hüni-Mihacsek, Sabine Kalter, Helene Offenberg, Bella Paalen, Rose Pauly, Lucie Weidt, Helene Wildbrunn.

Hauptrollen

Sieglinde (Richard Wagner, Die Walküre) .

Elisabeth (Richard Wagner, Tannhäuser)

Azucena (Giuseppe Verdi, Der Troubadour)

Orpheus (Christoph Willibald von Gluck, Orpheus und Eurydike) .

Fides (Giacomo Meyerbeer, Der Prophet) .

Grabe : Papiergasse - Wien XXIII (Inzersdorf) .

Preis : Kammersängerin (1889) .

Schriften

Signale für die musikal.

Mehrere Artikel über das Wiener Musikleben in der Neuen Freien Presse.

Neue Frei Presse (9. - 10.02.1932) .

Neue Wiener Tagblatt (12.08.1932) .

Welt (1932) ; Seite 137.

Wiener Neueste Nachrichten (10.02.1932) .

Wiener Zeitung (10.02.1932) .

Literatur

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Franz Hadamowsky. Jubiläumsausst. 100 Jahre Wiener Oper, Katalog (1969) ; Seite 81.

Hugo Riemann.

Baker. Frank-Altman, Band I.

Georg Müller, Eisenberg (1893) .

Kosel, Rollen. Neue Beiträge, Teil 12 (1899) ; Seite 42.

K-R (1997 und 2002) .

Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon, Band 7 (1978) .

Bernhard Paumgartner. Erinnerungen (1969) ; Seiten 6, 55.

Felix Czeike. Historisches Lexikon Wien, Band 4 (1995) .

Paumgartner, Familie

Johann : geboren 10.01.1844 Micheldorf (Oberösterreich) ; gestorben 23.05.1896 Wien. Pianist, Komponist, Musikschriftsteller. Sohn eines Richters, 1861-1865 Jusstudium an der Wiener Universität, bis 1880 als Jurist tätig. Nach einem erfolgreichen Klavierkonzert unter Felix Mottl im November 1879 widmete sich Paumgartner ganz der Musik. Sologesang-Korrepetitor an der Wiener Hofoper, zahlreiche Privatschüler, ab 1884 anerkannter Musikreferent der Wiener Zeitung. Paumgartner war befreundet mit Anton Bruckner und Johannes Brahms und ein Vorkämpfer für das Werk Richard Wagners in Wien. Hervorragender Kammermusiker und Klavierbegleiter.

Werke

Symphonien ; Quartette ; Klavierstücke ; Chöre; Lieder und andere.

Hans Paumgartner

Le célèbre critique musical viennois et pianiste, le docteur Hans Paumgartner (1843-1896) , fut un ami proche d'Anton Bruckner. Ce dernier lui donne le surnom de : « Muckerl » .

Anton Bruckner had, for some time, been receiving support in the press from Helm and another critic associated with the Academic Wagner Society, Hans Paumgartner (as well as from a 3rd critic, Ludwig Speidel, who had no use for Wagner) . While Helm and Paumgartner, critics for long-established newspapers, couched their reviews of Brahms in language with anti-Liberal overtones, critics for the new papers borrowed the linguistic innovations of « sharper key » politics. Indeed, in 1901, Carl Hrubý, a student of Bruckner in the years around 1890, explicitly connected the gains

that had finally been made on that composer's behalf to the political changes :

« During the Liberal era, now defunct, one believed that everything must be handled with kid gloves and that, in all things, one had to maintain the wonderful so-called “ parliamentary tone ” . That has fortunately changed, in recent times. »

A covert anti-Semitism can be discerned in the reviews of so eminent and steadfast an associate as Hans Paumgartner, for as Stolzing's remark suggests, anti-Semitism was an inevitable part of the Wagnerian world-view.

En 1873, la Société académique Richard Wagner de Vienne joue un rôle important dans la diffusion du nouveau répertoire. Elle favorise non seulement les œuvres de son « Saint-Patron » mais également (par la suite) celles d'Anton Bruckner et de Hugo Wolf. Au fil du temps, Hans Paumgartner, les frères Franz et Josef Schalk, Franz Zottmann et, surtout, Ferdinand Löwe se sont impliqués (soit en tant que pianiste-interprète ou soit en tant qu'arrangeur) dans la réalisation de nombreux concerts « Bruckner » . Le 1er a eu lieu le **12 novembre 1879**, à la « Bösendorfer-Saal » de Vienne. Le duo composé de Hans Paumgartner et de Felix Mottl a joué une transcription pour piano à 4 mains (de Gustav Mahler) de l'Adagio et le Scherzo de la 3e Symphonie. Cette version ne remplace pas la partition pour orchestre mais elle permet au moins au public d'obtenir une bonne 1re impression.

The 1st performance of a piano arrangement of the 3rd Symphony took place on **12 November 1879** when Hans Paumgartner and Felix Mottl played the Adagio and Scherzo in Mahler's arrangement. The critic for « Die Presse » reported :

« There is 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. »

Le **19 novembre 1879**, « Die Presse » écrit :

« Ces dernières années, nous sommes redevables à cette Association pour la présentation d'œuvres nouvelles sans que le public ne montre des signes de ressentiment. »

The next music of a Bruckner Symphony in Vienna was presented on **4th February 1880** when, once again, Hans Paumgartner and Felix Mottl played the piano parts in their own arrangement of the 2nd and 3rd movements of the 4th Symphony, in the composer's presence. As it was the 1st performance of this work, one critic expressed his desire to « hear it in full orchestral sound » so that he would be able to say more about it.

In the 1st common concert of the Schalk brothers, on **24 March 1882**, Josef Schalk performed his arrangement of the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony in the composer's presence. One reviewer praised both Schalk for his arrangement and Bruckner for the vitality of his composition, which was by no means « only a series of phrases strung together » .

In **1883**, Hans Paumgartner, who was also a performer of Bruckner's music, wrote in a biographical article about

Bruckner that the composer had not yet obtained the recognition he deserved.

On **10 February 1883**, Josef Schalk and Franz Zottmann played, in their 1st joint recital, the 1st and 3rd movements of the 7th Symphony, although Bruckner had still not finished the work. In May 1883, Hans Paumgartner showed his own interest in Bruckner's music by mentioning this 7th Symphony in an article.

27 mars 1883 : Article du docteur Hans Paumgartner paru dans le « Wiener Abendpost » , à propos de la 7e Symphonie de Bruckner ...

« Bruckner's 7th Symphony stands before us as an everlasting tonal construction. The time is very close when Bruckner's Symphonic works will fill the programs of all concerts and enter into the hearts of all musical men. Prejudice and insolence can torture, but never prevent. »

On **30 December 1884**, the orchestral version of the 7th Symphony was performed by Arthur Nikisch in Leipzig, for the 1st time, followed by a performance, in **March 1885** in Munich, under Hermann Levi, both in the composer's presence.

On **30 May 1885**, the Adagio was performed in Karlsruhe. Hans Paumgartner criticized the « learned musicians at the Court Opera Orchestra » for their inability to evaluate the true worth of Bruckner's Symphonies and for forcing him to « eat the bread of artistic exile » as a result of their refusal to perform his works.

At times, Theodor Helm and the pianist-critic Hans Paumgartner used their reviews as a forum for criticizing aspects of the modern concert world that made the success of a composer like Bruckner improbable. Both took aim at such familiar Wagnerian targets as subscription concerts, inconsequential or conservative programs, fashionable audiences, and irresponsible critics. They found an occasion to denounce several of these in their reviews of the Viennese premiere of Bruckner's 7th Symphony, in **1886**.

Helm wrote that « a part of the parquet audience which appears at the Philharmonic Concerts only for the sake of fashion left the hall after the sublime but very long Adagio to provide for their hungry stomachs, a process that was repeated, as well, after the Scherzo. »

Paumgartner, like Helm and Josef Schalk closely associated with the « Wiener akademischer Wagner-Verein » , concurred about the behavior of the audience and went on to place some of the blame on certain unnamed critics :

« The audience for the Philharmonic concerts has degenerated increasingly, from year to year, into a fashionable public. They come to see and be seen, just as they do on the " Ringstraße " or in the " Stadtpark ". They come and go freely as they wish ; the whole thing is truly a kind of promenade with music. Of course, critics, too, have professional responsibilities. One of the most salient is surely, while maintaining full freedom in their personal judgment, to hear a new work through to the end, so that, by departing prematurely, they do not give that elegant, modern part of the public an excuse to leave at the same time. »

In **1885**, Schalk devoted an entire article in the « Deutsche Worte » to a consideration of contemporary musical life in Germany and Vienna. He addressed the question :

« How is it possible in our musically blessed age that an artist of such significance (i.e. Bruckner) could remain unrecognized into his 60's ? »

Suite à la parution d'un brillant exposé d'Hans Paumgartner sur une de ses Symphonies (probablement la 8e) , Anton Bruckner s'est rendu à sa résidence vêtu d'un frac et portant des gants blancs. Il a offert un bouquet de fleurs à l'épouse et un gros morceau de viande fumée (typique de la Haute-Autriche) au critique musical.

Hugo Wolf was already known in other cultured circles, notably that of the composer Adalbert von Goldschmidt (which included the critics Gustav Schönaich and Hans Paumgartner, and the conductor Felix Mottl) .

It was only on **2 March 1888** that any Wolf song had been publicly performed (by Rosa Papier, Hans Paumgartner's wife) . By **23 March**, Wolf was playing and singing his latest « Mörike » settings to the « Wagner-Verein » .

The mezzo-soprano Rosa Papier later became a well-known member of the Vienna Court Opera and, following her early retirement on health grounds, a distinguished singing teacher whose pupils numbered Anna von Mildenburg. She also exerted considerable influence on Vienna's musical scene, helping in no small way to bring about Gustav Mahler's appointment as director of the Court Opera. The wife of the pianist Hans Paumgartner, she was the mother of Bernhard Paumgartner, later to become well-known as a Mozart scholar and as president of the Salzburg Festival.

Mercrèdi, 14 octobre 1896 : C'est un Bernhard Paumgartner, âgé de 9 ans, qui assiste (dans la pénombre) avec sa mère, Rosa Papier-Paumgartner, aux funérailles d'Anton Bruckner à la « Karlskirche » de Vienne. Placé derrière une colonne, au fond de l'église, l'enfant voit des larmes coulées sur les joues du compositeur Johannes Brahms qui va mourir le 3 avril 1897.

...

Ungekürzt erklang die Symphonie erstmals in einem Konzert der Stuttgarter Hofkapelle im März 1901. Der Uraufführung der Binnensätze widmete Hans Paumgartner (der Vater des nachmaligen Präsidenten der Salzburger Festspiele und Dirigenten Bernhard Paumgartner) in der Wiener Zeitung vom 5. Februar 1883 eine Besprechung, die zeigt, daß Bruckner nicht nur Feinde in der Musikkritikerzunft hatte :

« Das Adagio ist ein Stück voll wehevollster Empfindung und rührendster Innigkeit. Von großer Schönheit ist das zuerst in E-Dur und späterhin in F-Dur in den Celli auftretende eigentliche Gesangsmotiv des Adagio. Bruckner ist eine hoch bedeutsame, das Durchschnittsmaß weit überragende künstlerische Persönlichkeit, deren Schöpfungen jederzeit das ungeteilte Interesse aller wirklichen Kunstfreunde für sich haben werden. »

Daran hat sich bis heute nichts geändert.

Bernhard Paumgartner

Le chef d'orchestre et compositeur Bernhard Paumgartner a joué sous la baguette d'August Göllerich, fils :

« Il a été l'instigateur de Festivals aussi uniques qu'extraordinaires. Personne depuis n'a dirigé cette musique avec autant d'amour ! »

Works

« Das Taghorn » : Works of minnesingers (1922) .

« Mozart » Biography (1927) .

« Franz Schubert. Eine Biographie » (1943) ; published in Spain by Alianza Editorial, SA (1992) under the title : « Franz Schubert » .

« Bach » Biography (1950) .

« Mozart » Biography (1957) ; published in Spain by Alianza Editorial, SA (1991) .

« Das von der Antike Instrumentelle Ensemble bis zur Gegenwart » (1966) .

Decorations and awards

Honorary title of privy councillor.

Honorary doctorate from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Salzburg (14 November 1967) .

Austrian Decoration for Science and Art (1962) .

Honorary Citizen of the City of Salzburg (1963) .

Ring of Salzburg (1963) .

Naming of « Bernhard-Paumgartner-Weg » , in Salzburg.

...

Bernhard Paumgartner : geboren 14.11.1887 Wien ; gestorben 27.07.1971 Salzburg. Dirigent, Musikforscher, -pädagoge,

Komponist, Herausgeber. Schüler des Wiener Theresianums, Jusstudium an der Wiener Universität (Promotion 1911), daneben Musiktheorie und -geschichte, Komposition, Kontrapunkt und Dirigieren bei Eusebius Mandyczewski und Bruno Walter, Klavier bei Rudolf Dienzl und Horn bei Karl Stiegler, private musikwissenschaftliche Studien bei Guido Adler. 1906 Assistent Gustav Mahlers beim 7. Salzburger Musikfest; 1911-1912 Sologesangskorrepitor an der Wiener Hofoper unter Bruno Walter; 1914-1917 Dirigent des Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchesters (Wiener Symphoniker); vertrat Eusebius Mandyczewski 1915-1916 als Lehrer an der Wiener Musik Akademie (Partiturspiel, Gesangsliteratur); 1916-1918 Leiter der Musikhistorischen Zentrale beim Kaiserlich und Königlich Kriegsministerium (systematische, monarchieweite Soldatenliedersammlung, und andere gemeinsam mit Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, Konrad Mautner, Felix Petyrek, Rudolf Zoder); 1917-1938 und 1945-1959 Direktor beziehungsweise ab 1953 Präsident des Mozarteums in Salzburg, dessen Verstaatlichung er 1922 durchsetzte. Unter seiner Leitung wurde das Mozarteum 1922 Akademie und 1953 Hochschule. Paumgartner war und andere gemeinsam mit Max Reinhardt an der Gründung der Salzburger Festspiele beteiligt und 1960-1971 Präsident des Direktoriums. Während des Zweiten Weltkriegs erhielt er von der Wiener Universität einen Forschungsauftrag in Florenz über italienische Musikgeschichte und die Anfänge der Oper. Ab 1949 war Paumgartner auch Professor an der Wiener Musik Akademie und unterrichtete Musiktheorie und -geschichte, sein bekanntester Schüler war Herbert von Karajan.

Paumgartner schrieb mit Einar Nilson 1920 die erste Bühnenmusik zu Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Jedermann und dirigierte 1921 das I. Orchesterkonzert, die von ihm initiierte I. Mozart-Serenade sowie das I. geistliche Konzert der Festspiele. Er bemühte sich besonders um Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Jugendopern, begründete 1930 die Sommerkurse am Mozarteum, 1949 die Mozart-Matineen und 1952 die Camerata Academia des Mozarteums, mit der er, wie schon seit 1922 mit dem Mozarteum-Orchester, auf zahlreichen Tournées in Europa, den USA und Japan wie auch durch Plattenaufnahmen den « Salzburger Mozart-Stil » bekannt machte. Paumgartner initiierte die Aufführung der von ihm ergänzten Messe in C-Moll von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in der Stiftskirche Sankt Peter, die Rappresentazione von Emilio de' Cavalieri in der Felsenreitschule beziehungsweise in der Universitätskirche, die Renaissance des Hellbrunner Steintheaters, das Fest in Hellbrunn, die Musica aurea-Konzerte sowie das Musische Gymnasium.

In seinen umfangreichen Schriften und Vorträgen beschäftigte sich Paumgartner vor allem mit den Themen Mozart, Salzburg, Festspiele und Aufführungspraxis.

...

Bernhard Paumgartner (geboren 14. November 1887 in Wien; gestorben 27. Juli 1971 in Salzburg), war ein österreichischer Dirigent, Komponist und Musikwissenschaftler, Pädagoge, Gründungsmitglied und Präsident der Salzburger Festspiele.

Bernhard Paumgartner war der Sohn des Komponisten und Musikschriftstellers Hans Paumgartner und der bekannten Sängerin Rosa Papier. Er studierte in Wien, unter anderem bei Bruno Walter sowie an der dortigen Universität, wo er im Jahr 1911 in Jus promovierte.

Zusammen mit Felix Petyrek arbeitete Paumgartner in den Kriegsjahren an der Musikhistorischen Zentrale beim

Kaiserlich und Königlich Kriegsministerium. Er leitete von 1914 bis 1917 das Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester und wurde 1917 Leiter des Mozarteums Salzburg. Dort hat er maßgeblich an der Gründung der Festspiele mitgewirkt und leitete unter anderem Serenadenkonzerte.

Als Komponist verfasste Bernhard Paumgartner Opern, Kantaten, Lieder und Chöre. Seine Lieder und instrumentale Kammermusik wird auch heute noch gelegentlich gespielt. Als Herausgeber veröffentlichte er 1922 Das Taghorn, eine Sammlung von Werken der Minnesänger. Er gab die Violinschule von Leopold Mozart sowie Werke von Monteverdi, Locatelli und anderen Meistern des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts neu heraus.

Als Autor wurde er durch seine Biografien über Mozart und Bach bekannt. Beachtung fanden auch seine autobiographischen Erinnerungen.

Von den Nationalsozialisten wurde Paumgartner nach dem Anschluß Österreichs seiner Aufgabe als Direktor des Mozarteums enthoben. Paumgartner verbrachte die Kriegsjahre im Rahmen eines Forschungsauftrages der Wiener Universität in der Folge in Florenz. Seit 1952 war Paumgartner Gründer und Leiter der Camerata Academica des Mozarteums Salzburg. Er war 1953 Mitgründer der « Association Européenne des Conservatoires », « Académies de Musique » und « Musikhochschulen ». 1955 hatte er die musikalische Leitung in der Mozart-Verfilmung Don Juan - Opernfilm (Regie Walter Kolm-Veltée) mit den Wiener Symphonikern und mit großem Ballett. Von 1960 bis 1971 war er Präsident des Direktoriums der Salzburger Festspiele.

Er liegt in einem Ehrengrab auf dem Petersfriedhof in Salzburg.

Bernhard Paumgartner - Ein Leben für die Musik und für Salzburg

Als BERNHARD PAUMGARTNER am 27. Juli 1971 gestorben war, resümierte der Salzburger Journalist Max Kaindl-Hönig :

« Nun können wir den Polyhistor Salzburgs und der Festspiele nicht mehr fragen. Nun ist nur noch Musik. Nur noch Geschichte. Nur noch Dank. Und eine Art von Dauer, die es den Bewohnern dieser Stadt und ihren Freunden erlauben wird, zu sagen :“ Das war zu Paumgartners Zeiten ...” »

Welche Zeit ist gemeint ? Und wer war Paumgartner ?

Er dürfte vielen Musikliebhabern von heute, die die Worte « Mozart » und « Salzburg » geläufig im Munde führen und sich auch noch zu « Hofmannsthal » und « Max Reinhardt » etwas denken können, nicht einmal mehr dem Namen nach bekannt sein. Dies, obgleich er Salzburg und der Welt Mozarts mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert eines bedeutenden Lebens gedient hat.

BERNHARD PAUMGARTNER wurde am 14. November 1887 in Wien geboren. Er entstammte einer hochgebildeten Familie : Seine Mutter war die bedeutende Sängerin Rosa Papier-Paumgartner, die im Ensemble der Wiener Hofoper unter Gustav Mahler wirkte und später eine über Österreichs Grenzen hinaus hochangesehene Gesangspädagogin war. Der

Vater, Doktor Hans Paumgartner, war Musikreferent der « Wiener Amtlichen Zeitung » und ein enger Freund von Anton Bruckner, Johannes Brahms und Hugo Wolf. So wurde Paumgartner schon in seiner Jugend im ganz selbstverständlichen Umgang mit den bedeutendsten Persönlichkeiten des Wiener Kunstlebens geprägt von der kulturellen Atmosphäre jenes alten legendären « Kaiserlich und Königlich - Österreich », die ein Leben lang seine Arbeit bestimmen sollte. Als Dirigent wurde Paumgartner Schüler Bruno Walters, als Jurist, als Kunst- und Musikwissenschaftler promovierte er an der Wiener Universität. Universell ausgerüstet tat er (mitten im ersten Weltkrieg) den Schritt von der Metropole in die Provinzialität der kleinen Stadt Salzburg, die damals noch nicht einmal ahnungsvoll das war, wozu sie im Laufe der Jahrzehnte werden sollte : Salzburg verdankt den Aufstieg seiner Geltung nicht zuletzt dem lebenslangen tatkräftigen Wirken BERNHARD PAUMGARTNERS !

« Er blieb über ein halbes Jahrhundert lang im Schatten der schlagkräftigen Namen, war aber für dieses halbe Jahrhundert eine der Säulen, auf denen die Festspiele ruhten, eine der Konstanten, die sie als Substanz überhaupt nur möglich machten, und der vielleicht Einzige, dem es gelang, in seinen köstlichen Mozart-Serenaden und Matineen so etwas wie ein Salzburger Stammpublikum zu schaffen, das bescheiden (und unbescheiden) genug war, nach Salzburg vor allem zu Mozart zu kommen. »

(Helmut Reinold, 1981)

Vom allerersten Tag an war Paumgartner dabei, als die von Max Reinhardt, Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Richard Strauß initiierte Idee Gestalt anzunehmen begann : in Salzburg Festspiele zu etablieren : Das erste Konzert der ersten Festspiele 1921 (mit einem aus Wiener Philharmonikern und Mitgliedern des Mozarteum-Orchesters gebildeten Ensembles) dirigierte kein anderer als Bernhard Paumgartner !

« Wäre es nicht verboten, so etwas auf ein Denkmal zu schreiben, man müßte sagen, daß Paumgartner für die Festspiele Bier geholt hat, bevor er deren letzter großer Präsident geworden ist. »

(« Die Presse » , Wien, 29. Juli 1971.)

Ebenso wie einst seine Konzerte, vor allem die Mozart-Matineen und die Serenaden im Residenzhof (seit 1949) , lassen auch seine überaus zahlreichen (heute gleichwohl fast völlig vergessenen) Schallplatteneinspielungen deutlich den “ Salzburger Mozartstil ” erkennen, der zugleich Paumgartners “ Personalstil ” war und getragen wurde von der Überzeugung und Erkenntnis, zum Musizieren Mozarts gehöre “ vor allem Demut ”, die alle Eitelkeitsbestrebungen aus den menschlichen Bezirken des Künstlers fernhält, die vielgerühmte, “ eigene Auffassung ” vor allem, das Streben nach absonderlichen Effekten und leerer Virtuosität. Mozart ist in dieser Beziehung besonders empfindlich ... Die unbeschreibliche Diskretion seiner Kunst im Orchester und auf der Szene nachzufühlen, ihre lächelnde, transzendente Unergründlichkeit, ihre Universalität und göttliche Selbstverständlichkeit in diesem Sinne inmitten unserer problemgeladenen Zeit ganz natürlich wirkend zu machen, ist, glaube ich, die edelste Aufgabe jedes heutigen Interpreten, vielleicht auch das, was man mit Beruhigung als den wahren “ Mozart-Stil ” (wenn auch als wandelbarer Begriff verstanden) bezeichnen könnte. »

(Bernhard Paumgartner. « Erinnerungen » , Salzburg, 1969.)

« Bernhard Paumgartner nahm im europäischen Musikleben eine distinguierte Stellung ein. „ Grand Seigneur ” auf verschiedenen Ebenen, so könnte man seine Persönlichkeit charakterisieren, in deren Wirken die Vielseitigkeit eines weit gespannten Bildungshorizontes ebenso zum Tragen kam wie die gezielte Forschung auf Spezialgebieten, zu denen außer dem großen Thema Mozart auch der italienische Barock gehörte. In ihm verbanden sich spontane künstlerische Aktion mit Organisation und Repräsentanz, strenge Wissenschaftlichkeit mit literarischem Ausdruck in fruchtbarster Weise. »

(Karl Grebe)

Paumgartners bester Schüler am Mozarteum war HERBERT VON KARAJAN. Zum 80. Geburtstag huldigte er dem Jubilar, indem er sich zum Sprecher für alle Interpreten machte, die « in Berührung mit Dir, Deiner Interpretation der Kunst und in der Bereicherung und Erkenntnis aus Deinen Schriften Dir tiefen Dank schuldig und in aller Welt Deine Verehrer sind : wir alle können uns ein Vorbild an Deinem erfüllten Leben nehmen, das seine Harmonie im schönsten Ausgleich zwischen dem Wissen um die Musik und der Darstellung der Musik gefunden hat ... »

Bernhard Paumgartner und das Heute

Man rufe sich dies alles ins Bewußtsein : Der kleine Berndl Paumgartner wird zur Winterszeit vor der Wiener Karlskirche aus einem Schneeloch, in das er hineingerutscht war, von einem Herrn mit majestätischem Vollbart herausgezogen, und dieser Herr war Johannes Brahms - sein Vater, der bekannte Wiener Musikreferent Doktor Hans Paumgartner ist mit Anton Bruckner eng befreundet und wird von diesem Muckerl genannt - Hugo Wolf war ständiger Gast in seinem Elternhaus - seine Mutter sang Lieder Hugo Wolfs zum ersten Mal - der Neunjährige sieht in der Karlskirche bei der Einsegnungsfeier für Anton Bruckner im Dunkel eines Pfeilers Johannes Brahms stehen, und Tränen laufen über seine Wangen - der junge Mann sitzt bei einer Hauptprobe im Zuschauerraum des Salzburger Stadttheaters neben dem zusehenden Gustav Mahler und hört dessen Bemerkungen zu dieser altmodischen Inszenierung - der junge Direktor des Mozarteums geht mit Max Reinhardt über den Domplatz, und eine Idee formt sich : Die Stadt als Bühne. 1947, nach den dunklen Jahren, die Bernhard Paumgartner im Exil in Florenz und in der Schweiz verbringen mußte, fährt er in Lugano im kleinen Fünfziger-Steyr-Auto Richard Strauß spazieren Man versuche zu ermessen, was dies für ein Leben bedeutet, welche Prägungen dies bewirkt, und dies um so nachhaltiger, je stärker der Geist ist, dem dies alles zuteil wird.

Aber Menschen mit starkem Geist leben mit offenen Augen und Sinnen in ihrer Zeit, und sie schauen nach vorn, so lebendig in ihnen auch die Prägung durch ihre Herkunft bleibt. Zu solchen Menschen zählte in eindrucksvoller Weise Bernhard Paumgartner, der uns vor dreißig Jahren und drei Tagen verlassen hat. Wenn wir heute seiner gedenken, so soll jedoch nicht lediglich achtungsvoll an ihn erinnert werden, nein, das würde er wohl mit einem ironisch-geistvollen Aperçu kommentieren, sondern es soll herausgearbeitet werden, was diese von konstruktiven und weiterhelfenden Ideen sprühende Persönlichkeit uns heute zu geben hat, wie sie manche Entwicklung heute sehen würde.

Und da scheint mir, der ich lange Jahre in beruflicher und persönlicher Nähe zu ihm leben durfte, daß da einiges

festzuhalten ist - festgehalten und ausgesprochen natürlich im Bewußtsein, auf einem heiklen Boden zu stehen, mittendrin im ewig prekäraktuellen Themenbereich Vergangenheit - Gegenwart, Tradition - Fortschritt, alt - jung, oder großgeschrieben : die Alten - die Jungen.

« Alles fließt » - Veränderung gehört zum Kosmos wie zum menschlichen Leben, und dies ist eine ebenso banale Erkenntnis wie die Folgerung daraus, daß es, salopp ausgedrückt, früher eben anders war als es heute ist. Und uns jetzt Lebenden wird das Schicksal zuteil, daß wahrscheinlich unsere Zeit in höherem Maß anders ist als es jemals früher aufeinanderfolgende Zeiten waren. Damit bin ich nun mitten im Thema « Bernhard Paumgartner und das Heute » . Das « Heute » - natürlich ein abstrakt zusammenfassender, ein undifferenzierter Begriff, trotzdem drückt sich darin etwas Unbestimmt-Bestimmtes aus.

Meine Überlegungen stützen sich auf die vielen Gedanken, die Bernhard Paumgartner in seinen unzähligen Publikationen aufschrieb, und zudem hatte ich das Glück, mit ihm oft Gespräche über diese Themen führen zu dürfen.

Paumgartner war dem « Neuen » - auch solch ein undifferenzierter Begriff - lebenslang aufgeschlossen. Das erwies sich nicht nur darin, daß er bei den ersten Autorennen auf der neubauten Gaisbergstraße als Radioreporter fungierte, sondern dies erwies sich vor allem auch in für die Musik Lebenswichtigem : In der Zeit, da er bei den Salzburger Festspielen Mitglied des Direktoriums und dann ihr Präsident war, gab es wesentlich mehr Opernuraufführungen lebender Komponisten als etwa in letzter Zeit. Er war aufgeschlossen für Neues, ja, aber nicht für alles, was unter « neu » firmiert. Mit der heutigen Polarisierung von « konservativ » und « innovativ » in der Kunst, der fast zur Ideologie gewordenen Überschätzung des Kriteriums « neu » hätte er bestimmt keine Freude, vor allem nicht mit deren Folgen. Es kam ihm an auf dieses Undefinierbare, aber Entscheidende, das mit Wert, ja Bewertung zusammenhängt, es kam ihm an auf Qualität. « Innovation » sollte nicht unbedenken mit « Qualität » gleichgesetzt werden, wie dies heute oft geschieht.

Paumgartner hatte Geist, und er verlangte von der Kunst Geist, und, selbst ein großer Könnner, er setzte Können voraus. Er zählte zu jenen Menschen, für die sich der Wert von Kunst an anderem und nicht nur zum Beispiel am Grad ihres Provozierens bemißt. Würde er umherblicken im edlen Kreise mancher heute Künstler genannten Künstler - na ja. Von Christian Morgenstern stammt das Wort :

« Alles Vorwärts der Menschheit geht auf Kosten ihres Einwärts. »

In seinem Buch « Erinnerungen » , dessen Neuauflage in einer halben Stunde präsentiert wird, schrieb Paumgartner :

« Die Zukunft gehört nicht den Schwachmütigen, nicht den Problematischen, nicht den am Leben Leidenden. Sie gehört denen allein, die das Leben mit zu bilden verstehen, die seinen Sinn vom Geist, vom Gemüt und von der Gesinnung her erfassen und zu durchleben wagen. »

Auf musikalischem Gebiet beklagte er das Vorherrschen eines wurzellosen « Intellektualismus » , die Leidenschaft endlosen Experimentierens sowie die dadurch hervorgerufene Breitstreuung der Argumente, Stil und Darstellungsformen,

die Unsicherheit des Urteils innerhalb der Fachwelt, bei Kritik und Publikum. Das ist vor mehr als dreißig Jahren geschrieben. Hat sich da etwas geändert, oder ist die Situation seither nicht noch unübersichtlicher, Anführungszeichen : « pluralistischer » geworden ? Wir wissen : sie ist es. Stellt dies einen Gewinn für den Menscheng Geist dar, oder erfreut sich das Kulturleben heute schon einer derartigen Vielfarbigkeit, daß es zu dem Endzustand kommt, den man in der Optik als « weißes Licht » und in der Akustik als « weißes Rauschen » bezeichnet ? Lassen wir die Antwort offen. Vor fast fünfhundert Jahren schrieb Ulrich von Hutten :

« O Jahrhundert ! O Wissenschaften ! Es ist eine Lust zu leben ! »

Halten wir uns an die letzten sechs Worte : Es ist eine Lust zu leben.

Bernhard Paumgartner war ein « Beweger des Geistes » , wie es der damalige Universitätsrektor Stefan Rehr 1967 bei der Ehrenpromotion des Achtzigjährigen sagte. So spricht er in einem Rundfunkvortrag schon lange vor der Formierung der EU vom Europa-Gedanken, und als Österreicher, als in Selbstverständlichkeit mit seinem Heimatland verbundener Österreicher findet er gute Worte über die « Kraft des österreichischen Raumes, die Eignung dieses Raumes, Individualitäten aus dem größeren europäischen Raum anzuziehen, festzuhalten, sich diese in geheimnisvoll liebenswürdiger Weise zu assimilieren, zu neuen schöpferischen Leistungen anzuregen » . Er schrieb auch einmal :

« Kultur ist immer streng umgrenzt. Sie braucht Heimat, Boden, Wachstum und Klima. »

Paumgartner meinte mit dieser « Kraft des österreichischen Raumes » aber zweifellos nicht jene seltsame Kraft, mit der es zum Beispiel unseren öffentlich-rechtlichen ORF in die trüben Sümpfe unserer Spaß- , Krimi- und Talkshow-Gesellschaft zieht. Natürlich hatte er als versierter Praktiker Sinn für Kommerzielles. Wenn aber Kommerzmotive sich vor Forderungen des Geistes oder der Kunst zu drängen begannen, schrie er auf. Und er konnte sehr eindrucksvoll aufschreien, der Herr Hofrat.

« Ein so talentierter Kerl ! » schrieb Gustav Mahler in einem Brief an Paumgartners Mutter. Da war nicht nur ein Talent, sondern da war eine Fülle von Talenten, da war nicht nur Musik, Komponieren, Dirigieren, da war Wissenschaft, Forschen, Schreiben, da war Lehren, da war Organisieren, da war Präsidieren, da war Erblicken von Utopien, da war Erfinden - und noch vieles andere mehr, Malen, Segeln und Kochen, zum Beispiel aber auch Folgendes : Um das Jahr 1930 fuhr er nach Wien und legte dort seine Ideen und Anregungen zum Mutterschutz dar. Diese Anregungen wurden zum Gesetz erhoben.

Und er hat Ideen und Phantasien nicht bloß so hingesagt oder hingeschrieben, sondern diese Utopien wurden durch seine Tatkraft realisiert. Das ist das ganz Besondere an Bernhard Paumgartner: Er hat zeitlebens etwas bewirkt, das geblieben ist. Geblieben und erfolgreich sind nicht nur seine Werke, geblieben und erfolgreich sind die Serenaden und Mozart-Matinee der Salzburger Festspiele, geblieben ist und erfolgreich weiterwirkend die Camerata des Mozarteums, das Musische Gymnasium, als Idee schon 1948 formuliert, dessen Erfolg in Salzburg zu den « beglückendsten Tatsachen meines Lebens gehört » , wie er sagte, fruchtbar weiter entwickelte sich der von ihm ausgegangene Anstoß zur Wiederentdeckung Mozartscher Jugendwerke, zu hoher Bedeutsamkeit gelangte der « Verein der Freunde der Salzburger

Festspiele » . Es ist sehr deutlich festzuhalten : Alles dies, und noch viel mehr, ist Ideen, Anstößen, Gründungen Bernhard Paumgartners zu verdanken. Alles dies ist heute wunderbar lebendig « Bernhard Paumgartner und das Heute » .

1917 zum Direktor der Salzburger Musikschule ernannt, hatte er schon 1919 einen Vortrag in Wien gehalten mit dem Titel :

« Eine musikalische Hochschule in Salzburg »

Er plante damit einen Versuch einer « idealen Verbindung zwischen Kunst und Wissenschaft » . Mit der Entwicklung « seines » Mozarteums vom Konservatorium zur Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst hätte er große Freude. Es ist von ganzem Herzen zu wünschen, daß in diesem Haus jene Ausgewogenheit von Kunst und Wissenschaft erreicht wird, von der Paumgartner träumte, als er vom « musischen Gedanken » schrieb :

« Der musische Gedanke uralter Verbundenheit des Künstlerischen mit dem Erkennenden. »

Und als er 1959 sein Amt als Präsident der Akademie Mozarteum an seinen Nachfolger Doktor Eberhard Preußner übergab, sagte er die schönen Worte :

« Nehmen Sie im Geiste aus meiner Hand den goldenen Schlüssel. Er hat mir täglich, über vierzig Jahre lang, mit der gewissen Unterbrechung, getreu den sonnigen Garten unserer Schule aufgeschlossen. Vor allem : pflegen Sie fürderhin getreu die blühenden Beete unserer Jugend. Sie verdient es. »

Bernhard Paumgartner, der Lehrer : Unzählbar ist die Zahl seiner Schüler, die in der ganzen Welt für Kunst und Wissenschaft wirkten und wirken. Der Name eines seiner Schüler sei genannt : Herbert von Karajan. Und lebenslang hat sich dieser den Rat Paumgartners geholt.

Wissenschaft und Kunst. Wissenschaftler und Künstler - meist aber : Wissenschaftler oder Künstler. Nichts davon bei Bernhard Paumgartner. Bei jedem Schlag seines Taktstocks war zu spüren, daß er nicht nur die Noten in der vor ihm liegenden Partitur kannte, sondern um den Erfinder dieser Noten, den Komponisten, sein Umfeld, seine Zeit, seine Position in der Geschichte in bewundernswertem Ausmaß wußte. Und jede Zeile der wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten Bernhard Paumgartners ist geschrieben von einem Künstler, der formulieren konnte wie ein Dichter, ohne die Forderung nach wissenschaftlicher Korrektheit des Inhalts zu vernachlässigen. Eine herrliche Verbindung, besonders, wenn sie in solcher Selbstverständlichkeit geschieht wie bei ihm. Und er wäre recht einverstanden mit der heute sich abzeichnenden Tendenz in der Musikerziehung, sehr darauf zu achten, daß es beim Musiker nicht nur auf die Finger oder die Stimmbänder ankommt, sondern auch auf das Hirn.

Bernhard Paumgartner wurde in Wien geboren, Salzburg wurde seine zweite Heimat, die ihn allerdings, wie hier nicht unüblich, nach seiner Berufung nicht mit allzuweit geöffneten Armen empfangen hatte. Aber bald kannte er diese Stadt bis in die kleinsten Winkel ihrer architektonischen und landschaftlichen Kostbarkeit, und er kannte die Salzburger bis in

die kleinsten Winkel jener in ihnen steckenden Mischung von leicht arroganter Weltstädtichkeit und alpiner Provinzialität. Er wohnte eine Zeit lang in Constanze Mozarts Sommerwohnung am Nonnberg, später auch in Mozarts Geburtshaus in der Getreidegasse. Er kannte Salzburg so gut, daß er es nicht nur lobte und pries, sondern beschrieb in einem Buch, in dem historische Präzision und architektonische Sicht mit poetisch-geistvollen Reflexionen brillant miteinander verbunden sind.

Wie könnte man zum Beispiel unsere Stadt und unsere Landschaft trefflicher beschreiben, als es in diesem Buch zu lesen ist :

« Ein alter Bauer sitzt neben Paumgartner auf dem Gaisberg, mit dem Rücken an den steinernen Sockel des Gipfelkreuzes gelehnt, und sagt zu ihm : Dös is wohl a freudigs Umanandschau´n. »

Ich füge hier an : würde angesichts architektonischer Kapitalschnitzer heute der alte Bauer dies noch sagen, und was würde Bernhard Paumgartner in seinem Salzburg-Buch dazu bemerken ? « A freudigs Umanandschau´n ? » Meine Damen und Herren, er würde nicht nur schriftlich in seinem Buch, er würde, da bin ich ganz sicher, bei den dafür verantwortlichen Politikern mit aller ihm verliehenen Kraft zu herrlicher Grobheit feurig dreinfahren.

Oder wie einprägsam ist doch an einer anderen Stelle des Buches die Atmosphäre des Sankt Petersfriedhofs gesehen und erfüllt :

« Unsagbar ernst und doch gar nicht traurig. Seine Aura scheint von jener unverwechselbaren " hilaritas animi " erfüllt, von der lächelnden Heiterkeit, die nur dem im Leide Gereiften aus dem Antlitz strahlt. »

Hilaritas animi, die Heiterkeit des Geistes, diese Ahnung eines Seelenziels, eines Lebensleitbildes. Wir hörten Paumgartner oft davon sprechen, versonnen und nachdenklich.

Auch ich denke nach : Heiterkeit des Geistes ? Heute ? Wie steht es heute mit dem Sinn für Heiterkeit, und wie steht es heute mit dem Sinn für dieses geheimnisvolle Lebenselement, das man « Geist » nennt ? Weiß die heutige Gesellschaft, was unter « Geist » zu verstehen wäre, oder versteht sie darunter die Figuren in den Harry-Potter-Romanen ? Wird heute statt « Geist » nicht allenthalben « Fun » gewünscht ? Heute, in einer Zeit, da Veranstaltungen, jetzt auch schon Kulturveranstaltungen für unsere Konsumgesellschaft vor allem dann zählen, wenn sie nicht bloß ein Ereignis, sondern ein Event werden - einer Zeit, in der zum Beispiel die Zahl der Museumsbesucher sich drastisch vervielfacht, wenn dort Artisten, Zauberkünstler oder Feuerschlucker auftreten ? Heute, in einer Gesellschaft, die ihre panische Angst vor der Kürze, Ausgesetztheit und Hinfälligkeit des menschlichen Lebens loveparadierend verdrängt, indem sie das Leben als Happening betrachtet.

Bernhard Paumgartner wäre wohl recht betroffen, ja entrüstet, sähe er sich heute kaum mehr von hilaritas animi, sondern weithin von stupiditas animi umgeben. Ich möchte einen Satz von André Gide hierhersetzen :

« Wenn ich aufhören werde, mich zu entrüsten, werde ich zu altern begonnen haben. »

Paumgartner und die Medien : Er wußte, daß diese für das Leben auf unserem Globus eine wichtige, eine entscheidende, wenn auch von ihnen immer bagatellierte Rolle spielen, und er bediente sich ihrer gekonnt, indem er seine Gedanken und seine Meinung unzählige Male in Zeitungsartikeln und Rundfunkinterviews veröffentlichte. Seine Meinung als Künstler über die medial agierende Musikkritik sei nur kurz durch zwei Aussprüche und eine von ihm erzählte Geschichte angedeutet.

Er sagte einmal : Das Fernsehen haben wir erfunden, aber den Weitblick haben wir verloren. In seinen « Erinnerungen » schreibt er : Kurz, nachdem sein Vater ein glänzendes Referat über eine Symphonie von Anton Bruckner geschrieben hatte, wahrscheinlich war es die VIII. , erschien Bruckner im Frack und weißen Glacéhandschuhen im Hause Paumgartner und überreichte der Mutter einen Blumenstrauß und dem Vater ein riesiges Stück oberösterreichischen Selchfleisches. Vom Festspielpräsidenten Paumgartner vernahm ich zwei Tage nach Aufführungen manchmal den Seufzer :

« Was schreiben s´ denn wieder, die Tinterln. »

Horribile dictu. Man sieht also, daß die Meinung Paumgartners zur kritischrichtenden Zunft eine durchaus ausgewogene war. Lehren für die Gegenwart ? Die Sache mit dem Selchfleisch sollten sich heutige Künstler überlegen. Es muß ja nicht Selchfleisch sein.

Der Dirigent Paumgartner und das Heute wie würde er wohl die doch andere Art, heute Mozart zu spielen, sehen und kommentieren ? Er hatte stets von der « Labilität » des sogenannten Mozart-Stiles gesprochen, denn er war der Meinung : Es ist das Recht jeder Generation, das Übernommene anders als die Väter (stets im Licht der eigenen Geisteshaltung) neu zu erleben. Er wußte, daß jede Zeitspanne überzeugt ist, etwas absolut Richtiges zu tun. Er wußte natürlich, daß es « das Richtige » in der Kunst nicht gibt. Ob er mit der heute als « richtig » verkündeten zur Weltanschauung gewordenen Musikanschauung « Originalklang » glücklich wäre - lassen wir es offen. Der Zukunft sei die Lösung der Frage übergeben :

« Musik im Klang ihrer Zeit » oder « Musik im Klang unserer Zeit » .

Der Komponist Paumgartner - er hätte viel mehr komponieren sollen ! Die Stücke zum Beispiel auf der CD, die gleich präsentiert werden wird - einfach schöne, berührende Musik. Gutes bleibt, Zeitgeist wechselt. Schade übrigens, daß Paumgartners E-Moll Trio heute hier aus praktischen und zeitlichen Gründen nicht aufgeführt wird. Es ist auf der CD enthalten.

Der Festspielpräsident Paumgartner und das Heute : Er hätte Freude über die Bewußtheit, mit der im heurigen Programm der Blick sich auf das ganze Europa und Österreich richtet. Er wäre sicher glücklich über den Erfolg des Festivals « Pfingsten Barock » . Er wäre einverstanden mit heutigen Opernregien, in denen Regisseure nicht sich selbst, sondern die durch die Musik verlebendigten Menschen und Menschenschicksale inszenieren. Auf welche Produktionen des heurigen Sommers dies zutrifft oder nicht zutrifft, darüber wird gestritten. Übrigens hatte Paumgartner 1959 seinen Gedanken zur Programmgestaltung der « Salzburger Festspiele » in einem Artikel für die « Salzburger Nachrichten »

den Titel gegeben :

« Die Summe muß Salzburg heißen. »

Natürlich meinte er damit, daß Unverwechselbarkeit die tragende Säule dieses Festspiels sein muß.

Ich schließe mit zwei Wünschen. Erstens : Um die Erinnerung an Bernhard Paumgartner nicht nur ideell, sondern pragmatisch lebendig zu erhalten, könnte vielleicht eine Stiftung oder ein « Verein der Freunde Bernhard Paumgartners » gegründet werden. Und ganz zum Schluß : Der Erinnerung an ihn, dem Weiterwirken seiner Ideen, denen die Kunst, die Wissenschaft und Salzburg so viel verdanken, all dem gelte der Wunsch : Ad multos annos.

Bernhard Paumgartner - Ein Leben für die Musik und für Salzburg

Als Bernhard Paumgartner am 27. Juli 1971 gestorben war, resümierte der Salzburger Journalist Max Kaindl-Hönig :

« Nun können wir den Polyhistor Salzburgs und der Festspiele nicht mehr fragen. Nun ist nur noch Musik. Nur noch Geschichte. Nur noch Dank. Und eine Art von Dauer, die es den Bewohnern dieser Stadt und ihren Freunden erlauben wird, zu sagen :

“ Das war zu Paumgartners Zeiten. ” »

Welche Zeit ist gemeint ? Und wer war Paumgartner ?

Er dürfte vielen Musikliebhabern von heute, die die Worte « Mozart » und « Salzburg » geläufig im Munde führen und sich auch noch zu « Hugo von Hofmannsthal » und « Max Reinhardt » etwas denken können, nicht einmal mehr dem Namen nach bekannt sein. Dies, obgleich er Salzburg und der Welt Mozarts mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert eines bedeutenden Lebens gedient hat.

...

Bernhard Paumgartner wurde am 14. November 1887 in Wien geboren. Er entstammte einer hochgebildeten Familie : Seine Mutter war die bedeutende Sängerin Rosa Papier-Paumgartner, die im Ensemble der Wiener Hofoper unter Gustav Mahler wirkte und später eine über Österreichs Grenzen hinaus hochangesehene Gesangspädagogin war. Der Vater, Doktor Hans Paumgartner, war Musikreferent der « Wiener Amtlichen Zeitung » und ein enger Freund von Anton Bruckner, Johannes Brahms und Hugo Wolf. So wurde Paumgartner schon in seiner Jugend im ganz selbstverständlichen Umgang mit den bedeutendsten Persönlichkeiten des Wiener Kunstlebens geprägt von der kulturellen Atmosphäre jenes alten legendären « Kaiserlich und Königlich -Österreich » , die ein Leben lang seine Arbeit bestimmen sollte. Als Dirigent wurde Paumgartner Schüler Bruno Walters, als Jurist, als Kunst- und Musikwissenschaftler promovierte er an der Wiener Universität. Universell ausgerüstet tat er (mitten im ersten Weltkrieg) den Schritt von der Metropole in die Provinzialität der kleinen Stadt Salzburg, die damals noch nicht einmal ahnungsvoll das war, wozu sie im Laufe der

Jahrzehnte werden sollte : Salzburg verdankt den Aufstieg seiner Geltung nicht zuletzt dem lebenslangen tatkräftigen Wirken Bernhard Paumgartners !

« Er blieb über ein halbes Jahrhundert lang im Schatten der schlagkräftigen Namen, war aber für dieses halbe Jahrhundert eine der Säulen, auf denen die Festspiele ruhten, eine der Konstanten, die sie als Substanz überhaupt nur möglich machten, und der vielleicht Einzige, dem es gelang, in seinen köstlichen Mozart-Serenaden und Matineen so etwas wie ein Salzburger Stammpublikum zu schaffen, das bescheiden (und unbescheiden) genug war, nach Salzburg vor allem zu Mozart zu kommen. » (Helmut Reinold, 1981.)

Vom allerersten Tag an war Paumgartner dabei, als die von Max Reinhardt, Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Richard Strauß initiierte Idee Gestalt anzunehmen begann : in Salzburg Festspiele zu etablieren : Das erste Konzert der ersten Festspiele 1921 (mit einem aus Wiener Philharmonikern und Mitgliedern des Mozarteum-Orchesters gebildeten Ensembles) dirigierte kein anderer als Bernhard Paumgartner !

« Wäre es nicht verboten, so etwas auf ein Denkmal zu schreiben, man müßte sagen, daß Paumgartner für die Festspiele Bier geholt hat, bevor er deren letzter großer Präsident geworden ist“ („Die Presse“, Wien - 29.7.1971).

Ebenso wie einst seine Konzerte, vor allem die Mozart-Matineen und die Serenaden im Residenzhof (seit 1949) , lassen auch seine überaus zahlreichen (heute gleichwohl fast völlig vergessenen) Schallplatteneinspielungen deutlich den « Salzburger Mozartstil » erkennen, der zugleich Paumgartners « Personalstil » war und getragen wurde von der Überzeugung und Erkenntnis, zum Musizieren Mozarts gehöre « vor allem Demut, die alle Eitelkeitsbestrebungen aus den menschlichen Bezirken des Künstlers fernhält, die vielgerühmte, “ eigene Auffassung ” vor allem, das Streben nach absonderlichen Effekten und leerer Virtuosität. Mozart ist in dieser Beziehung besonders empfindlich ... Die unbeschreibliche Diskretion seiner Kunst im Orchester und auf der Szene nachzufühlen, ihre lächelnde, transzendente Unergründlichkeit, ihre Universalität und göttliche Selbstverständlichkeit in diesem Sinne inmitten unserer problemgeladenen Zeit ganz natürlich wirkend zu machen, ist, glaube ich, die edelste Aufgabe jedes heutigen Interpreten, vielleicht auch das, was man mit Beruhigung als den wahren “ Mozart-Stil ” (wenn auch als wandelbarer Begriff verstanden) bezeichnen könnte. » (Bernhard Paumgartner : « Erinnerungen » ; Salzburg, 1969.)

« Bernhard Paumgartner nahm im europäischen Musikleben eine distinguierte Stellung ein. Grand-seigneur auf verschiedenen Ebenen, so könnte man seine Persönlichkeit charakterisieren, in deren Wirken die Vielseitigkeit eines weit gespannten Bildungshorizontes ebenso zum Tragen kam wie die gezielte Forschung auf Spezialgebieten, zu denen außer dem großen Thema Mozart auch der italienische Barock gehörte. In ihm verbanden sich spontane künstlerische Aktion mit Organisation und Repräsentanz, strenge Wissenschaftlichkeit mit literarischem Ausdruck in fruchtbarster Weise. » (Karl Grebe)

Paumgartners bester Schüler am Mozarteum war Herbert von Karajan. Zum 80. Geburtstag huldigte er dem Jubilar, indem er sich zum Sprecher für alle Interpreten machte, die « in Berührung mit Dir, Deiner Interpretation der Kunst und in der Bereicherung und Erkenntnis aus Deinen Schriften Dir tiefen Dank schuldig und in aller Welt Deine Verehrer sind : wir alle können uns ein Vorbild an Deinem erfüllten Leben nehmen, das seine Harmonie im schönsten Ausgleich

zwischen dem Wissen um die Musik und der Darstellung der Musik gefunden hat. »

« Dem großen Österreicher Bernhard Paumgartner schuldet die Nation den Dank des Nichtvergessens. »

So beschloß einst Rudolf Klein seinen Nachruf in der Österreichischen Musikzeitschrift. Daß es heute dennoch dringend vonnöten ist, neu und immer wieder an Paumgartner zu erinnern, seine Verdienste und seine überragende künstlerische Bedeutung auch den nachgeborenen Generationen zu Bewußtsein zu bringen, ist nur zwangsläufige Folge der Gesetzmäßigkeiten unserer immer schnelllebiger, oberflächlicher gewordenen Zeit. Die in Zusammenarbeit von ORF und Gramola in Wien entstandene CD « BERNHARD PAUMGARTNER - EIN LEBEN FÜR DIE MUSIK UND FÜR SALZBURG » , deren Verwirklichung einer Schülerin Paumgartners, Frau Margarete Bietak in Wien, zu danken ist, vereint in ihrer Programmwahl in glücklichster Weise ein weitgefaßtes Spektrum der Charaktereigenschaften Paumgartners : Ausgehend von dem von ihm besonders geliebten, oft dirigierten und ebenso gern « zugegebenen » « Col-legno-Marsch » KV. 335 Nummer 1 erleben wir Paumgartner selbst als den charismatisch Vortragenden eines seiner zahlreichen Wort-Beiträge für Studio Salzburg :

« Die Wandlung des Mozart-Stils im Laufe der Zeit. »

Als hochbedeutend erweisen sich drei (zum Teil Erst-)Einspielungen von Kammermusikwerken Bernhard Paumgartners ! Ein Nachruf aus dem Munde Herbert von Karajans und der Mitschnitt einer Aufführung aus einem Paumgartner-Gedenkkonzert des Mozarteums (1981) , Paumgartners « Concerto per voce, oboe, archi e cembalo » auf Texte von Karl Heinrich Waggerl, bilden den Beschluß dieser « Entdeckungs-Edition » .

Die eine oder andere CD-Ausgabe mit Aufnahmen Paumgartners ist in den vergangenen Jahren dank der Initiative von Gottfried Kraus, dem ehem. Musikchef des ORF, bei ORFEO oder in Sonderausgabe für die Freunde der Salzburger Festspiele zu verzeichnen gewesen. Zumeist handelte es sich dabei um Mitschnitte aus Matineen, aber auch um eine Aufführung der C-Moll Messe KV. 427 aus der Stiftskirche Sankt Peter. Wir dürfen für alle diese Veröffentlichungen dankbar sein, und doch geht ein besonderer Dank an Frau Bietak für die vorliegende Programmmzusammenstellung, die es erstmals auch einem breiteren « Hörpublikum » ermöglicht, sich mit unbekanntem, noch nicht erschlossenen Seiten der künstlerischen Persönlichkeit Paumgartners vertraut zu machen. Dazu trägt auch das mit Kennerschaft und Wissen ums Wesentliche ausgezeichnete betextete und bebilderte Booklet bei.

Mit einem Wort : Dieser CD, die an einen Europäer im besten geistes- und musikgeschichtlichen Sinne erinnern will, kann nichts Besseres gewünscht werden: möge ihr eine weite Verbreitung beschieden sein !

Werke

Mit Alfred Rottauscher : Das Taghorn. Dichtungen und Melodien des bayrisch-österreichischen Minnesangs. Eine Neuausgabe der alten Weisen für die künstlerische Wiedergabe in unserer Zeit. Mit beigefügter Klavierbegleitung, Buchschmuck nach zeitgenössischen Werken. In drei Bänden. Stephenson, Wien (1922) .

Mozart. Mit Noten- und Handschriftenproben und Illustrationen. (Biografie) Wegweiser-Verlag, Berlin (1927) .

Franz Schubert. (I. Auflage.) Atlantis-Verlag, Zürich (1943) .

Johann Sebastian Bach. Leben und Werk. Band I (mehr nicht erschienen) . Atlantis-Verlag, Zürich (1950) .

Das instrumentale Ensemble. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Atlantis-Verlag, Zürich (1966) .

Dokumente

Der Nachlaß von Bernhard Paumgartner befindet sich im Archiv des Forschungsinstituts für Salzburger Musikgeschichte am FB Kunst-, Musik- und Tanzwissenschaft der Universität Salzburg. Ein Teil der beruflichen Nachkriegs-Korrespondenz liegt im Mozarteum in Salzburg. Einige Briefe von 1929-1947 befinden sich außerdem im Bestand des Leipziger Musikverlages C.F. Peters im Staatsarchiv Leipzig.

Den Titel eines Hofrates

Ehrenpromotion an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Salzburg (14. November 1967) .

Mozartmedaille durch die Mozartgemeinde Wien (1960) .

Österreichisches Ehrenzeichen für Wissenschaft und Kunst (1962) .

Ehrenbürger der Stadt Salzburg (1963) .

Ring des Landes Salzburg (1963) .

Benennung der Verkehrsfläche Bernhard-Paumgartner-Weg im Mirabellgarten, Salzburg.

...

25 février 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Arthur Nikisch (Leipzig) .

« Dearest, Most Noble Friend !

Accept my inexpressible thanks, for that which I am most kindly indebted to you. May God reward you for the very noble and brilliant deed which you have done for me. If only I knew how I could give you a little joy. Just write and tell me how ! A few days ago, I received the “ Leipziger Nachrichten ” with the wonderful articles by Professor Vogel. When you see him, please tell him of my heartfelt thanks ! Take care of your health ! I kiss the hands of your noble “ fiancée ”. Likewise, the gracious wife of the Director. Again, I thank the Director from my heart for his great noble-

mindedness and for the sublime kindness to me ! Has the Director already been in Vienna ? I was unable to find-out and would like to see him. “ Herr ” Levi still has the better score of the 4th (“ Romantic ”) Symphony. What is going on with the 7th ? Have you most kindly had the parts corrected ? “ Please, send me the bill. ” Have you sent the parts to Hamburg ? Or will it be later ? Or does “ Herr ” Levi have them already ? I am as ill-informed as a child ? The 3rd Symphony in D minor was performed in The Hague (Holland) ; I received magnificent letters about it. Are publishers, in fact, not to be found ? Everything on earth has already happened to me, and I am becoming entirely indifferent toward noble mankind. I know nothing from Munich. How are the 2 movements which were recently received ?

Most sincerely thankful, once more, I am, with greatest respect and admiration,

Eternally gratefully yours,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Nimm den unaussprechlichen Dank ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 149 ; pages 177-178.

« Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft » , Catalogue Reference ; page 19.

The deed was the performance by Arthur Nikisch of Bruckner's 7th Symphony, in Leipzig. In a letter dated March 10, 1884, from Adalbert von Goldschmidt (1848-1906) , « Chordirektor » , then « Kapellmeister » , at the « Neues Theater » , Leipzig, to Josef Schalk (1863-1931, brother of Franz Schalk and a Bruckner student and enthusiast) , Goldschmidt refers to « your Bruckner project » , which was to make all of the amogements for the premiere performance on December 30, 1884. It was a mighty task, headed-up by Nikisch ; and Goldschmidt dubs him « a hero » .

Bruckner and Nikisch were friends, and he felt comfortable in addressing Nikisch as « Du » .

Adolf Bernhard Vogel (1847-1897) : Music-critic for the « Leipziger Nachrichten » .

A little irony on Bruckner's part. He considered Hermann Levi to be noble, but not mankind as he experienced it - and, most especially, not Viennese philologists.

27 février 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à son frère Ignaz (Saint-Florian, près de Linz) .

« Dear Brother !

Thank you very much for the shipment. Enclosed is 5 “ Gulden ” toward defraying the cost of postage. You will receive

the other money later.

I have been asked to make it known that on March 8, “ Herr ” Hellmesberger will perform my Quintet in Linz. Please, apprise Professor Deubler and other music-lovers of my greetings, and inform them about “ this ”.

On Saturday, March 7, I must travel to Munich, where my new work (Symphony No. 7) will be performed on the 10th. Farewell !

Your brother,

Anton

To : “ Herr ” Ignaz Bruckner
In the Noble Monastery of Saint-Florian,
Near Linz »

Incipit : « Ich danke Dir sehr für das Übersendete. »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 150 ; pages 178-179.

Ignaz Bruckner : Younger brother of the composer who lived in the town of Saint-Florian.

Josef Hellmesberger, Senior (1828-1893) : Founder of the Hellmesberger Quartet. With an added viola, the Quartet premiered Bruckner's String Quintet in F major.

Professor Bernhard Deubler (1842-1907) : Priest, Consultant, Professor of Theology, Choir Director at Saint-Florian monastery. In 1884, he succeeded Ignaz P. Traumihler (1815-1884) . A friend to Bruckner.

27 février 1885 : Anton Bruckner écrit cette lettre, en provenance de Vienne :

« Illustrious Baron,

Again, I have to burden you with something. Since the Symphony is going to be performed on March 10, I will arrive in Munich on Sunday morning (March 8) and, will again, be staying at the “ Vier Jahreszeiten Hotel ”. I asked “ Herr Hofkapellmeister ” for a few rehearsals in advance, since there are many hidden difficulties in the work. Thus a rehearsal could very well take place on Sunday, if it is convenient to “ Herr ” von Levi. Could I ask “ Herr Baron ” to intervene on my behalf !? Furthermore, there are several corrections in the score.

“ Herr ” Landgraf feels better and sends cordial greetings ; he also supports my request. “ Herr ” Landgraf asked me to let “ Herr ” Baron know that it might be very good to introduce me to the distinguished members of the Wagner

Society, which might enable me to win many friends. Similarly, also with the members of the Holy Grail. Thus, I beg for the help of your Highness in this very important matter. I would not burden the gentlemen if I did not consider the situation so very important. With the expression of my deepest respect, and repeating my heartfelt requests, I remain your Illustrious Baron's most grateful. »

...

The 55 year old Hans von Bülow, impressed with Richard Strauß's Symphony in F minor, offers the 20 year old composer a position as Assistant-Conductor with his Meiningen Orchestra - a position which Gustav Mahler had desperately sought. Johannes Brahms is present at Strauß's debut, and congratulates him on his Symphony. Bülow soon resigns, eventually settling in Hamburg, and Strauß takes-over as musical-director at Meiningen. During this period, Strauß composes his « Burleske » in D minor, for piano and orchestra.

2 mars 1885 : Anton Bruckner (Vienne) envoie sa photographie à Marie Demar (Vienne) , avec cette inscription :

« For my highly-respected, dearest friend and admirer of the arts, “ Fräulein ” Marie Demar, as a little remembrance.

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Meiner hochverehrten, liebsten Freundin ... »

Source : Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 13 (A) ; page 22.

Marie Demar (1865-1946) : Female friend of Bruckner. He greatly admired her, so much so that their friendship became quite a serious matter (in 1885-1886) , and it was reciprocal.

4 mars 1885 : Lettre de Hermann Levi (Munich) à Anton Bruckner (Vienne) .

« Highly-Honoured Master !

According to your wish, I have scheduled on Sunday, at 10:30, a rehearsal (in the “ Odeon ” Hall) . The dress rehearsal will be held on Monday morning, at 10:00. The day before yesterday, I rehearsed the Symphony (No. 7) . Naturally, the Orchestra hesitated ; the musicians understand absolutely nothing about it. Of course, the people here are incredibly reactionary. But that does not matter. If only they play well : and that, they will do. It is the same with Wagner. (I believe there are not 3 Wagnerites in the Orchestra !) - Just be of good spirits and trust me ! I do not yet know where to begin with the final movement. But that will come soon, I hope.

I have received a letter from the Vienna Academic Wagner Association which caused me great joy.

If you have the opportunity to see one of the gentlemen, please say to him that I am going to answer the letter “ after ” the performance of your Symphony. Baron Ostini passed your letter on to me. I will see to it that a few friends of our cause meet on Monday evening.

Until, we meet again soon !

Your entirely devoted,

Hermann Levi »

Incipit : « Ihrem Wunsche gemäss habe ich auf Sonntag ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 2 d'Hermann Levi ; pages 314-315.

Baron Karl von Ostini (1830-1895) : « Vorsitzender » of the Munich Wagner Society. His son, Fritz von Ostini, (1861-1927) , who was a journalist and critic, met Anton Bruckner in Bayreuth.

16 mars 1885 : Lettre de Josef Schalk à son frère Franz.

« The success was truly splendid. Levi showed a remarkable amount of understanding and care. We were very pleased with the performance. Bruckner is overjoyed. All in all, the whole “ Munich-affair ” looks like a triumphant procession for Bruckner. He has been honoured, to a surprising extent, in all artistic circles (banquets, laurel wreaths) . (Hermann von) Kaulbach has painted his portrait ; (Edgar) Hanfstängl has taken his photograph. »

Josef Löwy

Le peintre et photographe autrichien Josef Löwy est né le 16 août 1835 à Pressburg (aujourd'hui, Bratislava en Slovaquie) ; et est mort le 24 mars 1902 à Vienne. Il est inhumé à Viedeň, Rakousko.

Fils de Hermann Löwy et Rosalia Löwy. Époux de Mathilde Löwy. Frère de Ignaz Löwy ; Marie Weinberger et Babette Betty Buchwald.

Actif à Vienne, au numéro 31 de la « Weihburggasse » et au numéro 17 de la « Parkgasse » , des années 1860 aux années 1880. Il a travaillé de 1856 à 1902 à Vienne et Baden.

Photographe de la Cour Impériale de François-Joseph dans les années 1880. Membre de la Société française de photographie, de 1874 à 1885.

Anton Bruckner se fait photographe au studio de Josef Löwy à Vienne, au début et à la fin de sa carrière : en 1854

et en 1894.

...

The Austrian painter and photographer Josef Löwy was born on 16 August 1835 in Pressburg (today, Bratislava in Slovakia) ; and died on 24 March 1902 in Vienna. He rests in Vídeň, Rakousko.

Son of Hermann Löwy and Rosalia Löwy. Husband of Mathilde Löwy. Brother of Ignaz Löwy ; Marie Weinberger and Babette Betty Buchwald.

Decades 1860 to 1880 : Active in Vienna, at number 31 « Weinburggasse » and at number 17 « Parkgasse » .

Löwy was a prominent Viennese photographer whose studio became one of the leading establishments in the Austrian capital city between the decades 1870 and 1900. Trained as a lithographer and having received an artistic education at the Vienna Academy, Löwy eventually turned to photography in 1861. Since 1864, he regularly exhibited in photographic salons, leading to his participation in the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition, where his work was awarded with medals. This exposure led to his appointment as an official photographer to the Austrian Court, in the same year. Member of the « Société française de photographie » , from 1874 to 1885.

Löwy's studio production was highly-multifaceted. It included a wide-range of subjects - from Royal portraits to documentation of industrial sites. Of particular interest are the Löwy studio's studies of Theatre and Opera actors, which stand-out due to their expert use of « mise en scène » (staging) and performance. After the photographer's death, the studio was taken-over by his widow, Mathilde, who run the operation until 1908. It was purchased by Löwy's nephew and (presumably) assistant, Gustav Löwy who renamed the business into « Art Institute J. Löwy » .

Source

Durstmüller. « Josef Löwy » , in : « Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon (1815-1950) » , Band 5, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien (1972) ; Seite 296f.

...

Josef Löwy was a very prominent and talented Vienna photographer who was active in the capital, between the 1870's and early 1900's. He was an Austrian. He was trained as a lithographer and received an artistic education at the Vienna Academy. He entered the field of photography in 1861 and was a regular exhibitor in photographic salons, beginning in 1864. He won medals in the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition and became an official photographer to the Austrian Court. Löwy had varied interests in photography. He did Royal portraits and also photographed industrial sites. He photographed many Theatre and Opera stars. Upon Löwy's death, his wife (Mathilde) took-over operation of the studio until 1908. Mathilde Löwy (1854-1908) had married Josef, in 1875. She was succeeded in business by Löwy's nephew, Gustav Löwy, who renamed the studio « Art Institute J. Löwy » .

...

Josef Löwy (geboren 16. August 1834 in Pressburg ; gestorben 24. März 1902 in Wien) war Maler, Verleger, Fabrikant und Kaiserlich und Königlich Hoffotograf.

Josef Löwy übersiedelte 1848 nach Wien, wo er das Lithografieren lernte. Dann studierte an der Wiener Akademie in der Malklasse. Er eröffnete 1856 sein erstes Zimmeratelier in Wien. 1859 zog er in ein neues Atelier um. Eine seiner bezogenen Räumlichkeiten war in der Weihburggasse 31, I. Bezirk. 1861 trat er der Photographischen Gesellschaft in Wien bei und 1864 beteiligte er sich an der Ersten photographischen Ausstellung in Wien. Von 1866 bis 1873 besaß er ein Sommeratelier in Baden bei Wien. Seit 1872 beschäftigte er sich mit dem Lichtdruckverfahren und er gründete ein Atelier für Industriaufnahmen im Wiener Gemeindebezirk Landstraße.

1873 wurde Löwy Mitglied der Wiener Photographen-Association, die anlässlich der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873 gegründet wurde. Diese hatte die Konzession zur Produktion von Bildaufnahmen im Ausstellungsgelände. Im selben Jahr wurde er aufgrund seiner fotografischen Leistungen um die Weltausstellung zum Hoffotograf ernannt.

Unter anderem sind seine Industriefotografien sowie die ab den 1880er Jahren erstellten Heliografien bekannt geworden. 1885 gründete er mit dem Amateurfotografen Josef Plener eine Trockenplattenanstalt. Löwy hat in seiner Laufbahn aus seinem Unternehmen eine international bekannte Reproduktionsanstalt mit Fotoverlag gemacht. Themenschwerpunkte seiner Fotografie waren Porträts, Wiener Architektur, Kunst- und Aktfotografie. Seine Firma wurde von der Witwe Mathilde Löwy fortgeführt und 1908 durch den Neffen Gustav Löwy unter dem Namen « Kunstanstalt J. Löwy » übernommen.

...

Josef Löwy, Maler und Fotograf : geboren 16. August 1834 in Pressburg (Bratislava, Slowakische Republik) ; gestorben 24. März 1902 in Wien. Studierte an der Wiener Akademie, besaß ab 1856 ein Fotoatelier in Wien und beschäftigte sich ab 1872 mit Lichtdruck ; gründete ein Atelier für Industriaufnahmen, ab Anfang der 80er Jahre stellte er auch Heliogravüren her. Als Kaiserlich-Königlich Hoffotograf schuf er zahlreiche Porträts und Darstellungen der vornehmen Gesellschaft. Weitere Themenschwerpunkte waren Akt, Kunst und Architektur.

Literatur

Durstmüller. « Josef Löwy », in : « Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon (1815-1950) », Band 5, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien (1972) ; Seite 296f.

Otto Hochreiter und Timm Starl (Redaktion) . « Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich », 2 Bände (1983) ; Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon.

Edgar Hanfstängl

Musicienne dotée d'une jolie voix, éprise d'absolu et admirant la musique de Richard Wagner, Sophie-Charlotte en Bavière (dit « Sopherl ») refuse d'abord tous les partis qui se présentent à elle, au grand dam de sa mère.

Ainsi, « Sopherl » refuse-t-elle successivement les propositions du roi Louis Ier de Portugal, qui épouse en 1862 la pétulante Maria-Pia de Savoie, fille du roi d'Italie ; du prince Philippe de Wurtemberg, un petit-fils du roi des Français Louis-Philippe, qui épouse en 1865 l'archiduchesse Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche, fille de l'archiduc Albert ; un intime de l'archiduchesse Sophie ; et même en 1866, celle de l'archiduc Louis-Victor d'Autriche, le propre frère de l'Empereur d'Autriche (le beau-frère de « Sissi ») .

Pour la duchesse Ludovica, ces refus sont autant de catastrophe et le mariage de sa benjamine, toujours célibataire à 19 ans, devient un véritable casse-tête.

C'est alors que se présente le plus intéressant et le plus beau des prétendants : Louis II. Le roi Maximilien II de Bavière est mort en 1864 ; son fils-aîné lui a succédé sous le nom de Louis II. Âgé de 19 ans, c'est un très beau jeune homme qui apprécie ses cousins de la branche cadette, ami d'enfance du duc Charles-Théodore en Bavière, frère aîné de Sophie-Charlotte. Fasciné par son Impériale cousine « Sissi », il apprécie le charme et le talent de Sophie-Charlotte et partage avec elle son goût (qui, chez lui, tournera à l'idolâtrie) pour la musique de Richard Wagner, le compositeur qu'il a appelé à sa Cour dès son avènement.

Sur les conseils d'un ami intime, le prince Paul de Tour et Taxis, le jeune souverain se décide à se marier et choisit d'épouser sa cousine qu'il surnomme Elsa, du nom de l'héroïne de « Lohengrin », l'Opéra du « Maître », qu'il a dû disgracier sous la pression de ses ministres tant l'impopularité du compositeur devenait grande.

Le 22 janvier 1867, sont proclamées les fiançailles officielles du roi Louis II de Bavière, qui est également le chef de la Maison de Wittelsbach avec la duchesse Sophie-Charlotte, sa cousine.

La duchesse Ludovica exulte : princesse de second rang, voici qu'elle va devenir la mère de sa souveraine, et si un fils naît, la grand-mère du futur roi de Bavière.

Les préparatifs vont bon train, le carrosse des noces est prêt, la couronne de la mariée également et nouveauté, le couple, ensemble ou séparément, pose pour des photographies officielles dans le studio munichois du photographe de la cour, Franz Hanfstängl.

Cependant, Louis II, qui découvre ses tendances homosexuelles, conçoit difficilement une vie conjugale avec une femme. N'osant s'engager, il repousse plusieurs fois la date du mariage tout en faisant une cour extravagante à sa fiancée, la laissant sans nouvelles ou la faisant réveiller en pleine nuit pour lui faire offrir des fleurs. De son côté, Sophie se désespère et s'écrie au sein du cercle familial : « Ne voyez vous pas qu'il ne m'aime pas. »

Déconcertée par la situation, la jeune « Sopherl-Elsa » noue, avec la complicité de ses 2 dames d'honneur, une idylle secrète avec le séduisant fils du photographe de la Cour, Edgar Hanfstängl, dont il reste quelques lettres.

Outre les étranges fiançailles de Louis et Sophie-Charlotte, l'année 1867 est une année de deuil pour les Maison de Habsbourg-Lorraine et de Wittelsbach : en quelques mois meurent la jeune épouse de Charles-Théodore, le mari d'Hélène, l'archiduchesse Mathilde qui meurt brûlée vive à 20 ans, et l'archiduc Maximilien, frère de François-Joseph, devenu Empereur du Mexique, exécuté par ses sujets rebelles tandis que son épouse sombre dans la folie. À ces drames familiaux, s'ajoute le compromis Austro-hongrois qui marque la défaite politique de l'archiduchesse Sophie. Tous viennent à Possi épancher leur cœur.

En octobre, vexé par les atermoiements du roi, le duc Max, abandonnant pour une fois son ton badin et sa vie bohème, exige la fixation définitive de la date des noces. Offusqué par l'attitude du duc en Bavière qui, s'il est son oncle et futur beau-père pressenti, n'en est pas moins son sujet, Louis II, rompt ses fiançailles avec Sophie-Charlotte.

Il est également possible que Louis II ait appris l'aventure de sa fiancée avec le fils de son photographe, qu'il en ait été blessé mais surtout qu'à l'instar de Wagner qu'il divinisait, il se soit rendu compte que Sophie était aussi un être de chair et non l'héroïne d'Opéra qu'il imaginait.

Le jeune roi, fuyant un monde qu'il rejette et dont il se sent incompris, se réfugie dans une vie de plus en plus solitaire.

...

Chief-Clerk, Commercial Purchaser and Art-Publisher Edgar Hanfstängl was born on 15 July 1842 in Munich ; and died on 28 May 1910 in Munich. He is a significant figure because he was the son of a famous Bavarian Court photographer connected with the circle of Ludwig II, and became a close confidant of the Duchess Sophie-Charlotte in Bavaria. He was also the father of Ernst Hanfstängl, the political figure.

Edgar Hanfstängl was the son of the photographer Franz Hanfstängl (1804-1877) and his 1st wife « Frau » Franziska Hanfstängl-Wegmeier (1809-1860) . Edgar completed a training as commercial purchaser in Stettin and with a London wholesaler. At the beginning of the 1860's, Edgar set-out for Asia, to work as financial clerk to the « Clark Tea Wholesaler's Company » . In 1867, he returned to Munich to his father's Art-business, where he was put to work as head-clerk. In the same year, he embarked upon a love-affair with the « fiancée » of Ludwig II of Bavaria, Princess Sophie-Charlotte. On November 12, 1868, Edgar took-over the photographic work-shop and expanded the business to the « Franz Hanfstängl Art Publishing-House » .

The engagement between Sophie in bavaria and Ludwig II was arranged at the behest of her father Duke Max Josef, even though the King, considering his own distinctly homosexual character, was concerned that she would not be happy in the union. The engagement was agreed upon, on 22 January 1867. 3 days later, Sophie met Edgar in his father's photographic studio, where he had recently arrived as senior clerk after his travels abroad. Possibly, they had

known each other since childhood, when Franz Hanfstängl was a readily welcomed guest in the artistic circle of Duke Max.

The many photographs of the Royal bride which, then, had to be prepared, and additional work which brought Edgar regularly to Possenhofen Castle, brought them more closely together and they fell in love. Their meetings, attended by the utmost secrecy, occurred in the Pähl Castle, the Palace in Munich, and even at Possenhofen. 5 love-letters, which Sophie-Charlotte wrote to Edgar Hanfstängl, between July and September 1867, have been preserved. The wedding was called-off by Ludwig, in October.

Edgar was not able to make-up his mind to marry, until 1882. Edgar's wife, the Berlin-born Katharine Wilhelmina Heine (1859-1945) , produced for him 5 children : Edgar (1883-1958) ; Egon (1884-1915) ; Erna (1885-1981) ; Ernst « Putzi » (1887-1975) ; and Erwin (1888-1914) . From 1907, the eldest son Edgar took control of his father's Art-business. Edgar's only daughter Erna found, after her father's death, an envelope with the hand-written endorsement by her father : « Letters of Princess Sophie-Charlotte - burn these unread. Edgar. » Erna did not carry-out her father's wishes but, instead, handed-over the letters, in February 1980, to the author Heinz Gebhardt, in order « once (for all) to set the record straight » and he published details of the affair with excerpts from the correspondence in his history of the Hanfstängl family business.

Edgar Hanfstängl, Sophie's « dear, beloved friend » , died on 28 May 1910. He was buried in the old Munich south cemetery in the Hanfstängl family-plot.

...

Edgar Hanfstängl (geboren 15. Juli 1842 in München ; gestorben 28. Mai 1910 ebenda) war ein deutscher Prokurist und Handelskaufmann.

Edgar Hanfstängl wurde als Sohn des Fotografen Franz Hanfstängl (1804-1877) und dessen Frau Franziska Hanfstängl-Wegmeier (1809-1860) in München geboren. Edgar absolvierte eine Ausbildung als Handelskaufmann in Stettin und in einem Londoner Großhandel. Anfang der 1860er Jahre begab sich Edgar nach Asien, um als Kontorist beim Teehandelsunternehmen Clark zu arbeiten. 1867 kehrte er in den Kunstbetrieb seines Vaters nach München zurück, wo er als Prokurist tätig war. Im gleichen Jahr entwickelte er ein Liebesverhältnis zur Verlobten von Ludwig II. , der Prinzessin Sophie-Charlotte. Am 12. November 1868 übernahm Edgar das photographische Atelier und erweiterte den Betrieb zum Kunstverlag Franz Hanfstängl.

1882 heiratete Edgar Hanfstängl die in Berlin geborene Katharina Wilhelmina Heine (1859-1945) . Sie hatten fünf Kinder : Edgar (1883-1958) ; Egon (1884-1915) ; Erna (1885-1981) ; Ernst « Putzi » (1887-1975) ; und Erwin (1888-1914) . Der älteste Sohn Edgar führte seit 1907 den Kunstbetrieb seines Vaters. Die einzige Tochter Erna fand nach dem Tode ihres Vaters ein Kuvert mit dem handschriftlichen Vermerk ihres Vaters : « Briefe von Prinzessin Sophie-Charlotte - ungelesen verbrennen. Edgar. » Erna folgte dem Wunsch ihres Vaters nicht, sondern übergab die Briefe im Februar 1980 dem Autor Heinz Gebhardt, um « die Sache einmal richtigzustellen » .

Edgar Hanfstängl, Sophies « theurer, lieber Freund » , starb am 28. Mai 1910. Er wurde im Alten Münchner Südfriedhof im Familiengrab der Familie Hanfstängl begraben.

Franz Hanfstängl

Le peintre, lithographe et photographe allemand Franz Seraph Hanfstängl est né le 1er mars 1804 à Baiernrain, près de Bad Tölz ; et est mort le 18 avril 1877 à Munich.

Hanfstängl est issu d'une famille roturière. En 1816, sur les recommandations de l'instituteur du village, il intègre la classe de dessin du congé-école de jour à Munich, dirigée par Hermann Josef Mitterer. Il y suit les cours de lithographie, il a des contacts avec Alois Senefelder et étudie, de 1819 à 1825, à l'Académie des Beaux-arts de Munich. Surnommé « le comte Litho » , Hanfstängl acquiert une certaine popularité en réalisant des portraits en lithographie de la société munichoise. En 1833, il fonde à Munich son propre établissement lithographique, qu'il dirige jusqu'en 1868, et auquel il joint ensuite une imprimerie d'art et, en 1853, un atelier photographique.

Entre 1835 et 1852, Hanfstängl produit quelque 200 reproductions lithographiques de chefs-d'œuvre de la galerie de tableaux de Dresde, et les publie dans un porte-folio. Plus tard, il devient photographe de la Cour et réalise les portraits de personnes distinguées, comme celui du jeune roi Louis II de Bavière, de Franz Liszt, de Richard Wagner, d'Otto von Bismarck et de l'Impératrice d'Autriche Elisabeth.

Il influence son beau-frère, le médecin, inventeur et homme politique autrichien Norbert Pfretzschner dans l'évolution de la plaque photographique à sec, en 1866. Il est le père de Edgar Hanfstängl. Un autre membre de la famille, Erwin von Hanfstängl, épouse en 1873 la chanteuse d'Opéra Marie Schröder.

...

The Bavarian painter, lithographer and photographer Franz Seraph Hanfstängl was born on 1 March 1804 in Baiernrain, near Bad Tölz ; and died on 18 April 1877 in Munich.

Hanfstängl originated from a commoner family and, in 1816, came on the recommendation of the town-school-teachers into the drawing-class of the leave-day school at Munich, led by Hermann Josef Mitterer. He was instructed in lithography, he had contact with Alois Senefelder and studied, from 1819 to 1825, at the Munich Academy of Fine-Arts. In 1826, he went to Dresden and began his great work, completed in 1852, of copying in lithograph the canvases of the Dresden Gallery. Between 1835 and 1852, Hanfstängl brought-out about 200 lithographic reproductions of Masterworks from the Dresden picture-gallery, and published them in a portfolio. When he returned to Munich, he left his establishment at Dresden to his brothers Max and Hans.

In 1833, he founded in Munich a lithographic establishment of his own, which he operated until 1868, and to which he later attached a fine-art printing-shop and, in 1853, a photographic work-shop. Hanfstängl won for himself much

popularity as the portrait lithographer of Munich society, being nicknamed « Count Litho » . Later, he became Court photographer and produced portraits of distinguished persons, amongst others of the young King Ludwig II, of Franz Liszt, of Otto von Bismarck and of Empress Elisabeth of Austria. In 1858, Hanfstängl tutored renowned French photographer Antoine Samuel Adam-Salomon.

He influenced his brother-in-law, the Austrian physician, inventor and politician Norbert Pfretzschner, senior, in the evolving of the photographic dry-plate, in 1866. He was married to Franziska Wegmeier (1809-1860) , by whom he became the father of Edgar Hanfstängl. Another family member, Erwin von Hanfstängl, married in 1873 the Operasinger Marie Schröder.

...

Franz Seraph Hanfstängl (geboren 1. März 1804 in Baiernrain bei Tölz ; gestorben 18. April 1877 in München ; Alten Südlichen Friedhof : Gräberfeld 2 - Reihe 7 - Platz 37) war ein deutscher Maler, Lithograf und Fotograf.

Franz Hanfstängl entstammte einer alteingesessenen Bauernfamilie aus Baiernrain bei Tölz und kam 1816 auf Empfehlung des Dorfschullehrers in die Zeichenklasse der von Hermann Josef Mitterer geführten Feiertagsschule in München. Er wurde in Lithografie ausgebildet, hatte Kontakt zu Alois Senefelder und studierte 1819-1925 an der Königlichen Akademie der Bildenden Künste in München.

Als Porträtlithograf der Münchner Gesellschaft erfreute sich Hanfstängl, « Graf Litho » genannt, bald großer Beliebtheit. 1833 gründete er in München eine eigene lithografische Anstalt, die er bis 1868 leitete und der er 1853 eine Kunstdruckerei und ein Fotoatelier angliederte. 1835-1852 stellte Hanfstängl rund 200 lithografische Reproduktionen von Meisterwerken der Dresdner Gemäldegalerie her und veröffentlichte diese in einer Mappe. Er war später Hoffotograf und schuf Porträts berühmter Persönlichkeiten, und andere des Königs Ludwig II. von Bayern, Franz Liszt, Otto von Bismarcks und der Kaiserin Elisabeth von Österreich.

Er beeinflusste seinen Schwager, den österreichischen Arzt, Erfinder und Politiker Norbert Pfretzschner senior bei der Entwicklung einer fotografischen Trockenplatte 1866. Er war der Vater des Kaufmanns Edgar Hanfstängl und Großvater des Politikers Ernst Hanfstängl.

Unter seinem Namen wurde die von ihm 1833 gegründete Anstalt als Kunstverlag über seinen Tod hinaus bis 1980 weitergeführt. Diesen Betrieb professionalisierte ab 1868 der kaufmännisch und überseeisch tätige Sohn Franz Hanfstängls, Edgar. Dessen massenhafte Vervielfältigung von Kunst ironisierte der Schriftsteller Thomas Mann in seiner 1902 erschienenen Novelle Gladius Dei, indem er ihn und seine « Reproduktionsindustrie » als « Kunsthandlung Blüthenzweig » beschrieb.

Auszeichnungen

Medaille mit Aufschrift aus Anlaß der Ausstellung in Brüssel 1856.

Medaille für guten Geschmack für Portrait-Photographien, Reproduktionen und Vergrößerungen anlässlich der Weltausstellung 1873 in Wien (Abteilung Photographie) .

...

May 1886 : In this edition of « la Revue wagnérienne » (1885-1888) , the London correspondent Louis N. Parker mentioned :

« Benjamin Lewis Moseley a fondé la branche anglaise de la Société Wagnérienne. »

Moseley's name suffered various misrepresentations throughout his life, though Parker must personally have known him.

The next month, Parker reported :

« Lors du passage de Franz Liszt à Londres, le 17 avril, une adresse lui a été présentée, de la part du Cercle Wagnérien, par Monsieur Benjamin Lewis Moseley. »

The « Revue » got the name right, though, when Parker reported the London Society's prospectus for 1886 which included the lecture to be given, on 16 March :

« Un simple description des principes d'art de Wagner par Monsieur Benjamin Lewis Moseley » and, earlier, when it listed the international central committee of « l'Association wagnérienne » , in Munich :

« Le président honoraire est Franz Liszt ; et les membres du Comité sont :

le Baron Karl d'Ostini et le Comte de Sporck, présidents ; Messieurs Sachs et Porges, secrétaires ; Schmid, trésorier ; et Hermann Levi, chef d'orchestre de Munich ; Oskar Merz ; le Baron Hans de Wolzogen ; Franz de Fischer ; Max Ritter de Schmædel ; et Franz Seitz. Le représentant à Paris est Monsieur Houston Stewart Chamberlain ; à Bruxelles, Monsieur Henri La Fontaine ; à Londres, Monsieur Benjamin Lewis Moseley. »

L'activité publique et professionnelle de Henri La Fontaine (1854-1943) à la fois avocat, homme politique, bibliographe, auteur, alpiniste et musicien (ami de Richard Wagner, il traduit « la Walkyrie ») permet de comprendre que La Fontaine a eu une vie bien remplie, conduite par des idées et des actions que connaissent parfaitement les enseignants documentalistes : le partage, l'autonomie, l'épanouissement, le respect et la reconnaissance des personnes.

...

1885 : Richard Wagner fut l'idole d'Anton Bruckner. À l'annonce de sa mort en 1883, Bruckner était à composer l'Adagio de sa 7e Symphonie. Il acheva alors le mouvement par un passage plutôt obsédant qu'il a toujours surnommé

« musique funèbre pour le Maître » . 2 ans plus tard (1885) , Bruckner immortalisa son Maître bien-aimé Richard Wagner lors d'un concert d'orgue inoubliable donné au monastère de Saint-Florian. Voici le compte-rendu d'un critique musical présent, rattaché au quotidien de la ville de Linz :

« Les admirateurs de Bruckner sont arrivés au monastère de Saint-Florian de toutes les façons possibles : à pied, en charrette, en voiture et par chemin de fer. Ils voulaient tous entendre la musique sublime du fameux organiste capable d'amadouer le magnifique instrument. Peu avant 3 heures de l'après-midi, la chapelle du monastère était rempli, et, après quelques instants d'attente, apparut le visage amical de notre cher Bruckner à l'orgue. »

« Bruckner a fait la preuve qu'il était l'un des plus célèbres improvisateurs du monde. Le thème de la lamentation sur la mort de Siegfried de l'Opéra « Götterdämmerung » s'amorça lentement, tout en prenant de manière graduelle de l'expansion, jusqu'au moment où il atteignit une puissance inattendue. Les sonorités du magnifique instrument ont secoué l'auditoire. Puis, il démontra son génie en tant que contrapuntiste. La lamentation de « Siegfried » fut bientôt suivie par un nouveau, et tout aussi sublime, chant solennel : celui de la musique funèbre tirée de l'Adagio de sa 7e Symphonie, écrite sous le choc de l'annonce de la mort de Richard Wagner. »

« C'est alors que les cieux se dégagèrent ; laissant apparaître un Intermezzo lyrique dans le style de Georg Friedrich Händel, entrelacé d'un thème extrait de la 8e Symphonie. Le « Walsungen » et les motifs de « Siegfried » tirés de l'Anneau réapparurent de nouveau. Cette fois, la douleur avait disparu. Les puissantes lignes de chant retentirent dans tous les registres, se précipitant au final vers une explosion de joie. La force de cette complexe improvisation de Bruckner souleva nos esprits et nous toucha profondément. Il serait difficile d'exprimer, en quelques mots, notre sincère gratitude pour ce qu'elle nous a apporté. »

The concert was reviewed in the Linz daily newspaper :

« Bruckner's admirers arrived at the Monastery by every possible form of transport (in carriages and carts, by rail and on foot) in order to hear the sublime music which Bruckner was able to coax from the magnificent instrument. Shortly before half past 3, the Monastery chapel filled-up, and, soon, the friendly face of our dear Bruckner appeared at the organ. Bruckner gave an excellent example of one of his world-famous improvisations. Beginning quietly, continually swelling-up until it reached unexpected power, the sounds of the magnificent lamentation on the death of Siegfried from " Götterdämmerung " shook the audience. Bruckner then brought all his genius to bear in a contrapuntal reworking of the piece ; but Siegfried's lamentation was soon joined by a new and equally sublime, solemn dirge : it was Bruckner's own funeral music from the Adagio of his 7th Symphony, which he wrote in deepest grief on the death of Wagner. Then, the heavens cleared and a lofty intermezzo in the style of Händel sang-out. This jubilant song, which followed the funeral music, was interwoven with a theme from the 8th Symphony. The " Walsungen " and " Siegfried " motifs from the " Ring " retuned once again. This time, however, the grief had disappeared, and powerful singing lines resounded in all registers, rushing and rejoicing towards the end of the piece. Bruckner's artistic achievement had stirred us and lifted our spirits powerfully, and it would be hard to express in mere words our thankfulness for what he gave us. »

Gisèle Louise Marie de Habsbourg-Lorraine

Bruckner séjourne à Munich du **8 au 14 mars 1885**, à l'occasion de la première de sa 7e Symphonie donnée à la salle du « Théâtre de l'Odéon ». Et, au retour d'un périple à Bayreuth, Bruckner s'arrête de nouveau à Munich du 29 juillet au 5 août, toujours soucieux d'une autre possible exécution de sa 7e Symphonie. À cette occasion, il sera reçu en audience privée par l'archiduchesse Gisela, l'épouse du prince Léopold de Bavière.

Gisèle Louise Marie de Habsbourg-Lorraine, archiduchesse d'Autriche et princesse de Bavière est née le 12 juillet 1856 à Laxenburg et est décédée le 27 juillet 1932 à Munich. Elle était la 2e fille de l'Empereur et roi François Joseph Ier d'Autriche et de son épouse Elisabeth de Wittelsbach, la célèbre « Sissi » .

Tout comme sa sœur aînée Sophie et leur frère le Kronprinz Rodolphe, Gisèle n'a pas été élevée par sa mère, mais par sa grand-mère l'archiduchesse Sophie d'Autriche, femme de caractère, qui jugeait sa belle-fille trop jeune pour s'occuper d'un enfant.

Ressemblant tant au physique qu'au moral à son père, elle a, contrairement à sa mère qui a peu d'affection pour elle, les pieds bien sur terre.

L'oncle de Gisèle, le duc Maximilien-Emanuel en Bavière surnommé par la famille « Mapperl » , s'était épris de la princesse Amélie de Saxe-Cobourg-Kohary, laquelle répondait au sentiment du jeune homme. Mais Amélie avait été fiancée par sa famille au prince Léopold de Bavière. L'Impératrice Elisabeth entreprit alors de faire renoncer Léopold à ce mariage en lui proposant un parti plus avantageux : sa propre fille. « Mapperl » put ainsi épouser Amélie en 1875. Ils formèrent un couple très uni.

De ce fait, le 20 avril 1873, Gisèle épousa à Vienne, à l'âge de 16 ans, le prince Léopold de Bavière, frère cadet du futur roi Louis III, son cousin au 2e degré. Ils vécurent à Munich, en Bavière. Le couple eut 4 enfants :

Elisabeth (1874-1957) .

Augusta (1875-1964) .

Georges (1880-1943) .

Conrad (1883-1969) .

Elle s'investit dans de nombreuses sociétés de charité, afin d'aider les plus démunis, les personnes sourdes et aveugles. Pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, elle installe un hôpital militaire dans son palais, pendant que son mari est maréchal sur le front de l'Est.

Quand la révolution éclate en 1918, toute la famille fuit Munich, mais Gisèle reste et prend même part aux élections

de 1919 pour l'Assemblée nationale de Weimar, lres élections où les femmes de plus de 20 ans purent voter.

Son mari meurt en 1930, et Gisèle ne lui survivra que 2 ans : elle meurt âgée de 76 ans, le 27 juillet 1932. Elle est enterrée près de son mari à Munich, dans l'église Saint-Michel.

...

Lors de son passage à Munich, Bruckner sera accompagné de son ami proche, ancien élève du Conservatoire et « secrétaire personnel volontaire », Friedrich Eckstein, fasciné par la partition de la 7e Symphonie.

Dans « Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner » - Universal-Edition, Wiener Philharmonischer Verlag, Wien (1923) - , Eckstein donne un compte-rendu assez détaillé de son voyage à Munich en compagnie de son Maître.

La « Place de l'Odéon » à Munich

L'« Odeonsplatz » est une place publique de Munich. Elle marque la fin Sud de la « Ludwigstraße » et se situe dans l'alignement « Siegestor », « Ludwigstraße », « Odeonsplatz ». Son nom vient de la salle de concert de l'Odéon que le roi de Bavière Louis Ier a fait construire, en 1827, à l'angle sud-ouest de la place.

La Place marque la délimitation entre les secteurs de « Maxvorstadt » (au nord) et « Altstadt-Lehel » (au sud) . La place est délimitée à l'ouest par l'ancien Odéon et le « Leuchtenbergpalais » et à l'est par le « Basargebaude » (où se trouve le traditionnel Café Tambosi. Au fil des années, le nom d'« Odeonsplatz » a été également utilisé pour désigner le parvis de la « Feldherrnhalle », qui se trouve dans le prolongement de la place, entre la « Theatinerkirche » et la « Residenz » . Au sud, 2 rues piétonnes (la « Residenzstraße » à l'est et la « Theatinerstraße » à l'ouest) partent de la place. En direction nord se déroule la longue « Ludwigstraße » .

À partir d'environ 1790, des plans sont dressés pour la création d'une nouvelle place devant faire la liaison entre le quartier de « Schwabing », le château de « Nymphenburg » et la « Residenz » . Son aspect actuel a été fixé par Leo von Klenze, en 1816, chargé par Louis Ier de Bavière (seulement « Kronprinz », à l'époque) de la planification générale de la « Ludwigstraße » dont la place fait partie.

En 1972, la zone au sud de la place devient piétonne, le trafic venant de la « Ludwigstraße », en direction du centre-ville, étant dévié par les rues parallèles (la « Brienner Straße » ou la « Von-der-Tann-Straße ») .

Traditionnellement, les différentes parades organisées dans la ville (de deuil, comme pour celle de Franz-Josef Strauß, en 1988) ou de célébration de victoires (dont la Ire sera celle de la Guerre franco-prussienne de 1870) se déroulent le long de la « Ludwigstraße » en direction de la « Feldherrnhalle » .

C'est probablement en souvenir de ces parades qu'Adolf Hitler, après le « Putsch » de la brasserie en 1923, suit le même tracé dans son défilé jusqu'à l'« Odeonsplatz » où eut lieu l'affrontement avec la police qui mettra fin à ce

coup d'État. Plus tard, sous le régime nazi, les défilés militaires vont partir de l' « Odeonsplatz » en direction de la « Königsplatz » .

...

« Odeonsplatz » is a sight to see. It is a magnificent square. As you pass a statue of Ludwig I on his big bronze horse, you come to the entrance of what used to be the « Odeon » Theater. It was here that Ulrichs made his famous speech in 1867. Fortunately, the city printed a booklet on the history of the « Odeon » . Here is Ulrichs' account of his visit to the « Odeon » :

« Until my dying day, I will look back with pride when on August 29, 1867, I found the courage to come face to face in battle against the specter of an age old, wrathful hydra which for time immemorial has been injecting poison into me and into men of my nature. Many have been driven to suicide because all their happiness in life was tainted. Indeed, I am proud that I found the courage to deal the initial blow to the hydra of public contempt. »

« What gave me strength at the last moment finally to mount the speaker's box at the Association of German Jurists was the awareness that at that very moment, the distant gaze of comrades of my nature was fixed on me. Should I return their trust with cowardice ? Also giving me strength were thoughts still fresh, indeed, still smoldering, of a suicide caused by the ruling system, in Bremen in 1866. And also a letter I received as I was on my way to our session, informing me that a colleague had remarked about me : ' Numa is afraid to take action. ' » .

« In spite of all this, moments of weakness continued to assail me, and an evil voice whispered in my ear : ' There's still time for silence, Numa. You need only to renounce the words you have prepared. Then your heart palpitations shall cease ! ' »

« But then, it seemed to me as if another voice began to whisper. It was the warning not to be silent, the voice that had warned my predecessor Heinrich Hössli in Glarus (Switzerland) 30 years before, and which at that moment loudly resounded in my mind with all its force : ' Speak, or be judged ! ' »

« I should like to be worthy of Hössli. I, too, did not desire to come under the hand of the grave digger without having openly attested to my oppressed inalienable rights and without having broken through a narrow passage to freedom, even if with less renown than a greater name of the past. »

« With these thoughts and with my heart pounding in my breast, I mounted the speaker's box on August 29, 1867, in the Grand Hall of the Odeon Theater in front of more than 500 jurists of Germany, among whom were members of the German parliament and a Bavarian prince. I mounted with God ! »

« There was apparent amazement and scorn ; isolated calls to adjourn. There was a tempestuous outcry : ' Adjourn, adjourn ! ' But now, outbursts as loud as the previous ones came from the opposite side of the hall : ' No, no, continue, continue. ' »

« There was a chaotic uproar and violent interruption. Uncommon excitement in the gathering on that side that previously called for adjournment. The president says : ' I request that the speaker continue reading his proposal in Latin.' But I took my notes and left the speaker's box. »

Le « Nationaltheater München »

Le « Bayerische Staatsoper » (Opéra d'État de Bavière) est une compagnie publique d'Opéra et de ballet située à Munich. C'est l'un des plus prestigieux Opéras allemand.

Les représentations d'Opéras se déroulent principalement au « Nationaltheater München ». Ce théâtre d'Opéras se situe au sein de la Résidence de Munich. C'est un édifice d'architecture néo-classique construit sur le modèle du Théâtre de l'Odéon de Paris. Il abrite 2,101 places. Érigé entre 1811 et 1818, il est détruit par un incendie en 1823, il est reconstruit en 1825. Par la suite, le roi Louis II de Bavière y impose la création des œuvres de Richard Wagner. Le Théâtre a été à nouveau détruit pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, le 3 octobre 1943, et reconstruit entre 1958 et 1963.

L'Orchestre en résidence est l'Orchestre de l'Opéra d'État de Bavière, créé en 1653.

...

The National Theatre Munich (« Nationaltheater München ») is an Opera House on the Max Joseph Platz. It is the home of the Bavarian State Opera and the Bavarian State Ballet (« Bayerisches Staatsballett ») .

The Bavarian State Opera also performs in the « Prinzregententheater » , which opened in 1901 and, like the Bayreuth « Festspielhaus » , is built to Richard Wagner's specifications, and in the Cuvilliés Theatre at the Residenz, constructed in 1751-1753 and described by Thierry Beauvert as « a Rococo gem » .

The 1st Theatre was commissioned, in 1810, by King Maximilian I of Bavaria because the nearby Cuvilliés Theatre had too little space. It was designed by Karl von Fischer, in 1811-1818, with the 1782 Odéon in Paris as its architectural model. Construction began on 26 October 1811 but was interrupted in 1813 by financing problems and in 1817 by a fire in the unfinished building. The new Theatre finally opened on 12 October 1818 with a performance of « Die Weihe by Ferdinand Fränzl, but was soon destroyed by another fire on 14 January 1823 ; the stage décor caught fire during a performance of « Die beyden Fuchse » by Étienne Méhul and the fire could not be put out because the water supply was frozen. (Coincidentally, the Paris Odéon itself burned down in 1818.) It was then immediately rebuilt and re-opened in 1825.

This 2nd Theatre, designed by Leo von Klenze, incorporated neo-Greek features as seen in its portico and triangular pediment. The entrance is supported by Corinthian columns.

In 1925, it was modified to create an enlarged stage area with updated equipment. During World War II, it was gutted in an air raid on the night of 3 October 1943.

The 3rd and present Theatre (1963) recreates Karl von Fischer's original neo-Classical design, though on a slightly larger, 2,100 seat scale. The magnificent Royal box is the center of the 2,100 seater indoor rondel. It is decorated with 2 large caryatids on both sides. The new stage covers 2,500 square metres (3,000 square yards) , and the Theatre thus has the world's 3rd largest Opera stage, after the Opéra Bastille in Paris and the Grand Theatre, Warsaw. Through the consistent use of wood as a building material, the auditorium has excellent acoustics. Architect Gerhard Moritz Graubner closely preserved the original look of the foyer and main staircase. It opened on 22 November 1963 with a performance of Richard Wagner's « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » .

During its early years, the National Theatre saw the premieres of a significant number of Operas, including many by German composers. These included Richard Wagner's « Tristan und Isolde » (1865) , « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » (1868) , « Das Rheingold » (1869) and « Die Walküre » (1870) , after which Wagner chose to build the « Festspielhaus » in Bayreuth and held further premieres of his works there.

During the latter part of the 19th Century, it was Richard Strauß who would make his mark on the Theatre in the city in which he was born in 1864. After accepting the position of conductor for a short time, Strauß returned to the Theatre to become principal conductor, from 1894 to 1898. In the pre-War period, his « Friedenstag » (1938) and « Capriccio » were premiered in Munich.

In the post-War period, the House has seen significant productions and many world premieres.

The following list refers only to those premières of the Bavarian State Opera staged in the National Theatre. The Bavarian State Opera had additional premieres also in other Theatres. Also, the Bavarian State Ballet had premieres in the National Theatre.

7 October 1849 : « Benvenuto Cellini » by Franz Lachner, Henri-Auguste Barbier and Léon de Wailly.

10 June 1865 : « Tristan und Isolde » by Richard Wagner.

21 June 1868 : « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » by Richard Wagner.

22 September 1869 : « Das Rheingold » by Richard Wagner.

26 June 1870 : « Die Walküre » by Richard Wagner.

29 June 1888 : « Die Feen » by Richard Wagner.

23 January 1897 : « Königskinder » (Melodrama edition) by Engelbert Humperdinck and Elsa Bernstein.

10 October 1897 : « Sarema » by Alexander von Zemlinsky, Adolf von Zemlinsky and Arnold Schönberg.

22 January 1899 : « Der Bärenhäuter » by Siegfried Wagner.

19 March 1906 : « I quattro rusteghi » (« Die vier Grobiane ») by Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari and Giuseppe Pizzoloto (German by Hermann Teibler) .

11 December 1906 : « Das Christelflein » by Hans Pfitzner and Ilse von Stach.

4 December 1909 : « Il segreto di Susanna » (« Susannens Geheimnis ») by Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari and Enrico Golisciani (German by Max Kalbeck) .

28 March 1916 : « Der Ring des Polykrates » by Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Leo Feld and Julius Korngold and ; « Violanta » by Erich Wolfgang Korngold and Hans Müller-Einigen.

30 November 1920 : « Die Vögel » by Walter Braunfels (freely adapted from Aristophanes) .

15 November 1924 : « Don Gil von den grünen Hosen » by Walter Braunfels (by Tirso de Molina) .

12 November 1931 : « Das Herz » by Hans Pfitzner and Hans Mahner-Mons.

24 July 1938 : « Friedenstag » by Richard Strauß, Joseph Gregor and Stefan Zweig.

5 February 1939 : « Der Mond » by Carl Orff.

28 October 1942 : Opera « Capriccio » by Richard Strauß and Clemens Krauss.

27 November 1963 : « Die Verlobung in San Domingo » by Werner Egk (by Heinrich von Kleist) .

1 August 1972 : « Sim Tjong » by Yun I-sang and Harald Kunz.

9 July 1978 : « Lear » by Aribert Reimann and Claus H. Henneberg.

10 May 1981 : « Lou Salomé » by Giuseppe Sinopoli and Karl Dietrich Gräwe.

22 July 1985 : « Le Roi Bérenger » (« König Bérenger I ») by Heinrich Sutermeister (by Eugène Ionesco) .

8 November 1985 : « Night » by Lorenzo Ferrero and Peter Wehran (after Novalis) .

25 January 1986 : « Belshazar » by Volker David Kirchner and Harald Weirich.

7 July 1986 : « Troades » by Aribert Reimann and Gerd Albrecht (by Euripides and Franz Werfel) .

6 July 1991 : « Ubu Rex » by Krzysztof Penderecki (by Alfred Jarry) .

1 July 1996 : « Schlachhof 5 » by Hans-Jürgen von Bose (by Kurt Vonnegut) .

24 May 1998 : « Was ihr wollt » by Manfred Trojahn and Claus H. Henneberg.

30 October 2000 : « Bernarda Albas » Haus by Aribert Reimann (by Federico García Lorca) .

27 October 2006 : « Das Gehege » by Wolfgang Rihm and Botho Strauß.

30 June 2007 : « Alice in Wonderland » by Unsuk Chin and David Henry Hwang.

...

10 mars 1885 : Peu de temps après le succès retentissant de la 7^e de Bruckner à Leipzig, sous la direction d'Arthur Nikisch, le chef d'orchestre israélite Hermann Levi la programmera à son tour à Munich, en présence du compositeur. Le programme assez copieux aurait pu avoir un effet dissuasif au moment de l'exécution de la nouvelle Symphonie.

Grâce à ce concert, la ville de Munich deviendra le carrefour du « culte » brucknérien en Allemagne.

I. Ouverture du compositeur français Étienne-Nicolas Méhul.

II. L'un des (29) Concertos pour violon du compositeur italien Giovanni Battista Viotti.

III. Lieder de Robert Schumann.

IV. Solos de violon.

V. 7^e Symphonie d'Anton Bruckner.

Le succès s'avérera plus grand qu'à Leipzig ; ce qui est en soi fort remarquable. Bruckner est appelé sur scène, après chaque mouvement, par des applaudissements nourris. L'œuvre est chaleureusement reçue par la presse munichoises.

À Vienne, le critique Theodor Helm se porte à la défense de Bruckner. Dans le « Deutsche Zeitung » , il accuse Hans Richter et le Philharmonique de négliger ses œuvres et de les qualifier injustement d'atonales.

Lors de la réception d'après concert, Hermann Levi portera un « toast » à Anton Bruckner en affirmant que « cette Symphonie est l'œuvre la plus importante depuis la mort de Beethoven » .

Levi deviendra l'un des plus grands admirateurs de Bruckner. Il s'avérera un promoteur des plus efficaces, déployant des efforts considérables pour amasser les fonds nécessaires à la publication de quelques-unes de ces œuvres. (Levi a lui-même avancé une forte somme d'argent.)

Bruckner le surnommera, à juste titre, mon « noble bienfaiteur » (« Edelsten Gönner ») .

En 1886, les efforts du chef ont permis la publication chez Albert J. Gutmann de la 4e Symphonie dite « Romantique » . C'est lui qui a recueilli les fonds pour payer les honoraires.

Grâce à ses nombreux contacts à la Cour de Bavière, il a aussi aidé le Maître de Saint-Florian de manière indirecte. Son intervention auprès de riches admirateurs munichois a permis de régler le montant exigé par l'éditeur Gutmann pour la 1re publication de la 7e.

11 mars 1885 : L'indulgence de Levi envers Bruckner le force à remplacer l'Opéra prévu au « Hoftheater » , « Der Trompeter von Säckingen » de Viktor Nessler, par la bien-aimée « Walküre » . Suite à la représentation, Bruckner pleure amèrement alors que le public est déjà parti :

« Je ne peux pas décrire la scène à l'intérieur de ce sombre Théâtre royal. » , écrira-il à un ami.

Bruckner demande alors à Levi d'interpréter l'Adagio de sa 7e Symphonie en hommage à Richard Wagner. Levi honore son hôte. Il ordonne à la section des cuivres d'interpréter, par 3 fois, la « Trauermusik » de la Coda.

La représentation sera suivie d'une petite fête donnée en l'honneur de Bruckner.

12 mars 1885 : Le chef Hermann Levi organise un concert privé de musique de chambre chez le Docteur Konrad Fiedler (1841-1895) , célèbre critique d'art et auteur de Munich. Le Quatuor à cordes Benno Walter (composé de : Benno Walter, Johann Ziegler, Anton Thoms et Johann Wihan) accompagné de l'altiste Heinrich Seifert (1873 - 25 mars 1931) joue le Quintette à cordes en fa majeur de Bruckner (**WAB 112**) . (Le compositeur a fait la connaissance de Fiedler durant ce même mois.)

Hermann Levi va épouser en 1895 Mary Fiedler, « née » Meyer (1854-1919) , la fille de l'historien d'art Julius Meyer et la veuve de l'historien d'art Konrad Fiedler (1841-1895) .

12 mars 1885 : Music review of the 7th Symphony from the Munich « Neueste Nachrichten » ...

« This is finally a composer who is not struggling to raise small and flimsy themes by way of careful calculation to something great, but those original feelings are “ truly great ” to begin with. »

13 mars 1885 : Music review of the 7th Symphony by Doctor Paul Marsop, for the « Berliner Tageblatt » ...

« The 1st 3 movements are highly-meaningful, the themes of the Adagio are full of touching beauty, and the structure is imposing. A trait of greatness pervades the whole. »

15 mars 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Arthur Nikisch (Leipzig) .

« Dearest Friend ! Noble Benefactor !

I have just returned from Munich where, on the 10th of the month, there was an extremely magnificent performance of my 7th Symphony. The audience received it very “ enthusiastically ” ; the conductor and the Orchestra also applauded vigorously. 2 laurel wreaths. Next performance, in the autumn. The reviews very good. Also, especially splendid : “ Neueste Nachrichten ”, “ Sddeutsche Presse ”, and such.

At a large reception for musicians, “ Herr ” Levi declared :

“ This is the most significant Symphonic work since Beethoven’s death. ”

He added that the performance of this work is going to be the pride and high-point of his artistic career. And the banquets ! The king will also be informed. The Intendant' likewise sent for me. My portrait was painted by Kaulbach and I was photographed “ twice ”.

Upon your request, “ Herr ” Levi will send you the 4th Symphony.

Please, give my compliments to my benefactors, especially to the Director and “ Herr ” Vogel, and hand-kisses for the ladies. I “ kiss you a thousand times ”, as the source of all good for me ! And thank you, thank you in all eternity ! Herewith, I send only the review from the “ Neueste Nachrichten ” ; when you have read it, I ask you most graciously to pass it on to “ Herr ” Vogel with my most sincere request about publication - if, at all, feasible. Perhaps, this will make a good impression on the publishers ! After the performance of “ Die Walküre ”, “ Herr ” Levi had the funeral music from the “ Adagio ” of my (7th) Symphony played, for me 3 times, by the tubas and horns. You will get a chuckle-out of this.

How are you ? So, write back to me. I kiss the hand of your dear “ fiancée ”.

Filled with gratitude and respect and admiration for you, most noble benefactor, I am and remain

Your most thankful

Anton Bruckner

N.B. : To “ Herr ” von Vogel, my respect and thanks for his kindness in the press. »

Incipit : « Sæben komme ich retour von München, ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 151 ; pages 179-180.

Manfred Wagner. « Bruckner » , page 283.

This performance of the 7th Symphony took place at an evening festivity of what lay Americans would call a composers' convention ; it would be an event which all of those gathered in Munich would expect to attend.

Baron Karl von Perfall (1824-1907) : German administrator and composer. He championed Richard Wagner's music and was instrumental in saving Bayreuth, under king Ludwig II. He advanced to General Intendant of the National Theater and made many improvements, both in the theater itself and in the quality of its productions. In the 1850's, he directed the Munich « Liedertafel » and, here, he summons Bruckner in order to arrange for him to sit for his portrait.

Hermann von Kaulbach (1846-1909) : German painter who did the 1885 portrait of Bruckner.

Director Max Stægemann (1843-1905) : Originally, a singer. Ultimately, he became director of the Leipzig « Neue Theater » , in 1882. The post became vacant only through his death.

Adolf Bernhard Vogel (1847-1897) : Music-critic for the « Leipziger Nachrichten » .

Bruckner was always searching for publishers for his compositions. His 8th Symphony was published in this same year (1885) .

18 mars 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) au Baron Hans von Wolzogen (Bayreuth) .

« “ Herr ” Levi proposed a toast during the artist's 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 !

(11th March - a performance of “ Die Walküre ”) After the audience had left, “ Herr ” Levi agreed to my request that the tubas and horns play the funeral song from the 2nd movement of the 7th Symphony 3 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. »

18 mars 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) au Baron Hans von Wolzogen (Bayreuth) .

« Right Honourable Baron !

Please, permit me to tell you something of the happiest week of my life, due to the glorious events in Munich. The performance took place on the 10th of this month. I was at the last 2 rehearsals. In the beginning, the Orchestra was hostile, but, then, enthusiastic for me. The performance was ideal and excellent beyond all measure.

The reaction was, as they say, indescribable jubilation and enthusiasm ; even the conductor and the Orchestra applauded most vigorously. No one could remember such a scene in the “ Odeon ”. At the reception for the musicians, “ Herr ” Levi toasted me :

“ To the most important ' Symphonic ' work since Beethoven's death ! ”

And he continued :

“ The performance of this splendid work ” (as he called it) “ is the crown of his artistic activity ! ” (as far as concert life is concerned, of course) . 2 magnificent laurel wreaths !

What a disparity on the part of “ Herr ” Richter who is said, 2 weeks ago, to have declared me a crazy person “ without form ” ; and, then, as these witnesses maintain, he declared the Brahms 3rd Symphony (which is said to have failed, again, on Sunday) to be the new “ Eroica ” (naturally, Hanslick liked it) . My Symphony (No. 7) remains in Munich. “ Herr ” Levi is not allowing them to ruin me, in Vienna. He wants to take care of the publication. He and the Intendant want to refer the matter to the King and the Symphony is to be performed, again, in November. On the 11th of the month, my friends from Vienna and I attended a performance of “ Die Walküre ”, in Munich. Magnificent, as I had not heard this wondrous work in its entirety, since 1876. And, after the audience had left, “ Herr ” Levi, upon my request, had the “ Trauergesang ” from the 2nd movement of the 7th Symphony performed 3 times, by the tubas and horns, in remembrance of the late, highly-beloved, immortal “ Meister ” Wagner, whereupon innumerable tears flowed. I cannot describe the event in the darkened “ Hoftheater ”. “ Requiescat in pace !!! ” The reviews are all glorious ; many say “ marvelous ”. The finest was in the “ Neueste Nachrichten ” (through “ Herr ” Forges, as I hear) and the “ Süddeutsche Presse ”. Thank God, I now have Munich ; in it, I have enough success to last me the rest of my life. I permit myself to send you only one review ; it is from the “ Neueste Nachrichten ”.

In veneration, I kiss the gracious hand of the Baroness. Right Honourable Baron, I beg for your further favour and affection. I have your article to thank for the performance in Holland (The Hague) , as well as innumerable others !
Endless thanks !

With deepest respect, I remain

Your most thankful servant,

Anton Bruckner

P.S. : In Holland, they want all of my Symphonies. »

Incipit : « Gestatten mir Hochderselbe Ihnen ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 152 ; pages 180-182.

Franz Gräflinger, lettre n° 135 ; page 144 (fragment) .

Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen (1848-1938) : German writer on music, as well as a librettist. He was a great Wagner and Bruckner enthusiast and a true friend to Bruckner. Von Wolzogen edited much Wagner literature, including 3 volumes of letters. He later revised E. T. A. Hoffman's « Ündine » .

Bruckner's 7th Symphony had just been a great success in Munich.

If Bruckner is quoting Hermann Levi word for word, then « his » should really read « my » . Evidence found in a letter to Arthur Nikisch and dated March 15, 1885, would confirm this conclusion.

Hans Richter (1843-1916) : Austro-Hungarian conductor of international acclaim. He was one of the 1st great international conductors and one of the 1st to appreciate Bruckner's work. He conducted 1st performances of Symphonies No. 1 (the « Vienna » version) ; No. 3 (the 1889 Version) ; No. 4, and No. 8. The comment above reflects Bruckner's emotional insecurity, not Richter's intrinsic feelings toward his music.

Doctor Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) : Viennese music-critic, scholar, and civil servant ; sometimes referred to as a philologist. At 1st, he was enthusiastic for Bruckner but, later, hostile and cruelly critical of him and his works. In Wagner's « Die Meistersinger » , the character of Beckmesser is named « Veit Hanslick » , in a draft of the music-drama. It did little good to change the name because everyone recognized the restrictive attitude as portrayed in Beckmesser. Hanslick, of course, was in the Brahms camp ; and he caused self-critical Bruckner much grief.

King Ludwig II of Bavaria (1845-1886) reigned from 1864 until his mysterious death, in 1886. He was very much affected by Richard Wagner's music dramas, so much so that he built « Schloß Neuschwanstein » with these works in mind. This castle, though never completely finished, abounds in rich carvings and wall paintings of scenes from the music-dramas. A good example is the bedroom where the wall paintings (by August Spiess) and, also, the carvings depict scenes from « Tristan » , the King's favourite music-drama.

« Die Walküre » of Richard Wagner (1813-1883) : Bruckner always called him « The Master » , and grieved soulfully at his death. Having dedicated his Symphony No. 3 to Wagner, early on, he wrote the Adagio to his Symphony No. 7 as a lasting memorial to Wagner.

Heinrich Forges (1837-1900) : Conductor, writer on music, and music-critic for the Munich « Neueste Nachrichten » .

Heinrich Porges

The Bohemian-Austrian composer, conductor, Choir-Master, journalist, music-critic, and writer on music (of Jewish descent) Heinrich Porges was born on 25 November 1837 in Prague ; and died during a rehearsal of Franz Liszt's Oratorio, « Christus » , on 17 November 1900, in Munich. His grave is situated at the « Ostfriedhof » Cemetery (left-wall : No. 94) .

Possibly, a illegitimate son of Franz Liszt ; officially, the son of Simon Porges (1801-1869) and his wife, Charlotte. He originally studied Philosophy and Law in Prague, later turning to music. He was a pupil of Celestin Müller (piano) , Walter Morse Rummel (harmony) and Zwonar (theory and counterpoint) .

In 1863, Porges moved to Leipzig where he became a co-writer (assistant) for the « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » (New Musical Review) . There, Doctor Franz Brendel introduced him to Wagner's circle of friends. He was in close intercourse with Peter Cornelius and became a devotee disciple and intimate of the Master. He zealously worked to bring him recognition and defend his principles. His extensive notes on Wagner's rehearsal and staging (« Die Bühnenproben zu den Bayreuther Festspielen des Jahres 1876 ») were published in the journal « Bayreuther Blätter » , over the period 1880-1896. He took a very active part in the preparation of the Bayreuth Festival.

He lived for a time in Vienna and, in 1867, was called to Munich by King Ludwig II of Bavaria (who gave him a life pension) . He wrote for the King a study of « Tristan und Isolde » which was published after his death, in 1906, by Baron Hans von Wolzogen.

Porges was a Lieder composer. In addition to articles for musical newspapers, he wrote numerous essays in German periodicals :

« Über die Aufführung der 9. Sinfonie unter Richard Wagner in Bayreuth » (1872) .

« Das Bühnenfestspiel in Bayreuth, Eine Studie über Wagners Ring der Nibelungen » (1877) .

In 1871, Porges became literary editor of the Munich « Süddeutschen Presse » and, from 1880, music-critic for the Munich « Neueste Nachrichten » . He was also, for a short period of time, a music teacher at the Royal School of Music, then, named Director of the institution. In 1886, he formed the « Porgesschen Gesangverein » (Porges Choir Society) which he used to make an intense propaganda for the « New School » represented by his favoured composers : Hector Berlioz, Franz Liszt, Peter Cornelius and Anton Bruckner ; but he also directed Bach and Palestrina's works as well.

Recollections and letters were published by R. Balka, in his book : « Kranz » (1903) .

Porges married Wilhelmine Merores ; the writer Elsa Porges-Bernstein was their daughter. She is the author of « KönigsKinder » with music by Engelbert Humperdinck. Elsa's daughter, the violin player Eva Bernstein, married a son of Gerhard Hauptmann.

A street in Munich bears his name : « Porgersstraße » .

Wagner Rehearsing the « Ring »

An eye-witness account of the stage rehearsals of the 1st Bayreuth Festival (translation by R. L. Jacobs) , Cambridge University Press (1983) ; ISBN : 052123722X .

« The stage rehearsals of the “ Ring ” brought home the imperative need to moderate dynamic expression-marks, convert fortissimos into fortes, fortes into mezzo fortes etc ... , in order to ensure that the singers’ words and inflections make their proper impact. We must never be allowed to forget that we are attending a dramatic performance which seeks to imitate reality ; we are not listening to a purely Symphonic work. From which it follows that Symphonic passages during which words are being sung should never become excessively loud. This was a recurring problem during the rehearsals. Wagner declared that the Orchestra should support the singer as the sea does a boat, rocking but never upsetting or swamping - he employed that image over and over again. » (Heinrich Porges)

This book presents Wagner's view of how the « Ring » should be performed.

He requested Heinrich Porges, a member of his circle and an able writer as well as an accomplished musician, to « follow all my rehearsals very closely and note down everything I say, even the smallest details, about the interpretation and performance, so that a tradition goes down in writing » . In the opinion of the eminent Wagner scholar, Curt von Westernhagen (expressed in his recent biography) , Porges's conscientious record shows « amazing insight and perception » since what distinguishes it is his « ability always to locate the endless detail of Wagner's instructions in an overall intellectual context » . The book is, therefore, required reading not only for conductors, producers, instrumentalists and singers but also for musicologists and critics. In addition, it is a fascinating read for anyone who knows and loves the « Ring » since it takes the form of a blow-by-blow commentary on the stage action as it unfolds. The writing has vitality and flow and one is caught-up in the spirit of the thing, as Wagner felt it. It provides a re-experience of the « Ring » through his eyes.

The « Bühnenproben » was originally published in the monthly « Bayreuther Blätter » in instalments that were not completed until 1896, when the « Ring » was 1st given again at Bayreuth ; its publication in book form was equally protracted. Its translation now is a sign of the times. Wagner in his black moods longed for an « invisible theatre » . He did not foresee the electronic revolution that has enabled countless people to sit comfortably at home, hi-fi equipment at their elbow, vocal score on their lap, revelling in his fusion of music and poetry and (guided by his stage directions) envisaging his « invisible theatre » in their minds.

Letters from Franz Liszt to Heinrich Porges, in Prague

Heinrich Porges was, then, Royal music-director and conductor of a « Gesang-verein » (Choral Society) in Munich, where he has lived since 1867.

...

« Dear Sir and Friend,

Owing to your affectionate understanding of what I have striven after in the “ Dante Symphony ” and the “ Ideale ”, you have a special right to both works. Allow me to offer them to you as a token of my sincere attachment, as also of the grateful remembrance which I keep of the Prague performance. (At Porges' initiative, the medical students had invited Franz Liszt, in 1858, to a concert, at which his “ Dante Symphony ” and the “ Ideale ” were given. In 1859, Hans von Bülow was also invited at Porges' inducement.) Taking your kindness for granted, I beg you to give the other 2 copies to “ Herr ” Professor Mildner and “ Herr ” Doctor Ambros with my best thanks.

It is to be hoped that this year's “ Medical ” Concert will have favourable results. My valiant son-in-law, Hans von Bülow, cannot fail to be recognized among you as an eminent musician and noble character. I thank you and “ Herr ” Musil (to whom I beg you to remember me most kindly) for offering Bülow this opportunity of doing something in Prague. There is no doubt that he will fulfill all your expectations.

For the next “ Medical ” Concert, I willingly place myself at your disposal. Possibly, we might, on this occasion venture on the Symphonic Poem No. I, “ Ce qu'on entered sur la Montagne ” (the chorus “ An die Künstler ”, and the “ Faust Symphony ” ?) . The respected medical men would, thus, take the initiative in the new musical pathology !

For the “ Tonkünstler-Versammlung ”, etc. (Meeting of Musicians) , in Leipzig at the beginning of June, Doctor Brendel is expecting you, and I rejoice at the thought of meeting you again, there. If the affair is not too much hampered in its natural course by local miseries and malevolence, it may do much for the bettering of our suffering musical position. In any case, we will not fail in doing our part towards it.

With highest esteem, yours most truly,

Franz Liszt

Weimar, March 10th, 1859. »

...

« Dear Friend,

Your letter for the 22nd October gave me heartfelt pleasure, and you need not be in doubt as to the correctness of

the affectionate and deep perception of my endeavour, which “ has proceeded both from man's need of freedom as well as of love ”, and which, by and with the grace of God, has been impelled to raise itself toward the “ Divine ”. I cannot say much on this subject ; but may my works only remain no dumb witnesses, and may your intimate understanding of them give you some satisfaction.

I send you, herewith, Dingelstedt's “ Festal Song ” for the Schiller Celebration, which I have purposely composed in a very simple, national manner. Perhaps, there might be an opportunity of bringing the thing to a hearing during the Schiller Festival, in Prague. Will you ask Apt whether he would be disposed to do it ? The studying of it would not give the least trouble. It requires only a baritone or bass for the solo part, and an ordinary chorus of men's voices without any accompaniment.

Leaving it entirely in your hands to act about it as you may think best, and either to promote the performance or to let it alone, I remain, with best thanks and high esteem,

Yours very truly,

Franz Liszt

October 30th, 1859.

My composition to Halm's Festival play has been sent through “ Herr ” von Dingelstedt to “ Herr ” Thome, and will probably be performed on the 9th or 10th November. (The Festival play was given in Prague under the Theater conductor Thome. The music to it was never published. The Weimar archives probably possess the score.) Write and tell me how the matter is settled. »

...

Dear Sir,

In conveying my sincere thanks for your careful endeavours for the musical transcription of “ Faust ”, I would like to ask you one more favor :

I would like to modify the arrangement of the portion of the tenor voice solo : “ the Eternal Femininity ”, both times as marked on the attached musical sheet. This way, it is more singable and feminine, if I am not mistaken.

Please receive, dear Sir, the assurance of my deep appreciation,

Very sincerely,

Franz Liszt

July 18, 1861, Weimar.

P.S. : The “ Faust ” Symphony is supposed to be presented here, August 6. Perhaps, you will be able to attend this concert and let me have the pleasure of your visit. »

...

« Dear Porges !

You absolutely will have to do something so that the highly-commendable works of Rubinstein will not be ignored. I would appreciate some good articles, as you, no doubt, can work out for the musical papers to which we have access, amongst which we also can consider the “ Bösendorfer Blatt ”, in Vienna.

Best wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,

Richard Wagner

January 9, 1876. »

...

Heinrich Porges, Chordirigent, Musikschriftsteller : geboren 25. November 1837, in Prag ; gestorben 17. November 1900, in München.

Heinrich Porges wurde als das Kind einer wohlhabenden jüdischen Familie in Prag geboren. Zeit seines Lebens hielt sich das Gerücht, daß er ein illegitimer Sohn von Franz Liszt wäre ; dies konnte jedoch nie eindeutig bestätigt oder widerlegt werden.

Porges studierte Jura und Philosophie in Prag, privat betrieb er musikalische Studien und hoffte auf eine Laufbahn als Pianist. Als junger Mann ließ er sich protestantisch taufen. Seit 1859 war er als Korrespondent der in Leipzig erscheinenden « Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik » tätig. Er lud Richard Wagner 1863 zu einem von ihm organisierten Konzert in Prag ein. Gespielt wurden ausschließlich Kompositionen Wagners, Porges übernahm sämtliche Kosten der Veranstaltung. Für weitere Konzerte überwies er Wagner, der zu dieser Zeit in Penzing bei Wien lebte, Vorschüsse und linderte damit dessen finanzielle Sorgen. 1864 wurde Porges Redakteur der « Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik » und übersiedelte im selben Jahr nach Wien, wo er mit Peter Cornelius und Karl Tausig zum engsten Freundeskreis um Wagner gehörte. Nach der Flucht Wagners vor seinen Gläubigern aus Wien versuchte Porges, die umfangreichen Verbindlichkeiten Wagners zu regeln. Am 28. Mai 1864 schrieb ihm Wagner, dessen Lage sich durch die Verbindung zu

Ludwig II. schlagartig verbessert hatte, und bot ihm eine Stelle in München an :

« Mein junger König will, daß ich Alles habe, was ich brauche. Ich brauche einen Sekretär, und zwar Einen, wie eben ich ihn brauche. Er muß mir meine geschäftliche Correspondenz abnehmen, meine Manuskripte in Ordnung halten, literarische wie musikalische Reinschriften, Einrichtungen meiner Partituren und so weiter machen können - kurz, er muß ein ganzer Kerl sein. Wollen Sie sich damit befassen ? »

Porges lehnt dieses Angebot jedoch zunächst ab. Als er schließlich 1865 nach München umzog, war die Position des « Sekretärs » bereits von Cosima von Bülow eingenommen worden. Für Wagner war Porges in München als Kopist tätig und er erstellte die Abschrift der « Walküre », die Wagner Ludwig II. schenkte. Zudem verfasste er für Ludwig II. einführende Texte zu « Tristan und Isolde », « Die Meistersinger » und « Lohengrin ». Nach der Abreise Wagners nach Tribschen blieb Porges in München zurück, wo er als Redakteur der « Süddeutschen Presse » für Wagner Öffentlichkeitsarbeit leisten sollte ; doch wurde er nach dem Eklat, den Wagners Artikel-Reihe « Von Deutscher Kunst und Deutscher Politik » in der « Süddeutschen Presse » ausgelöst hatte, wieder entlassen. Er war für kurze Zeit als Klavierlehrer an der neugegründeten Musikschule tätig, bis ihn Ludwig II. , der ihn außerordentlich schätzte, 1870 den Titel eines Musikdirektors « extra statum » und eine lebenslange Pension verlieh. Als Wagner anlässlich der Grundsteinlegung des Bayreuther Festspielhauses im Jahr 1872 Beethovens 9. Sinfonie dirigierte, veröffentlichte Porges eine eingehende Darstellung dieses Ereignisses. Gegenüber Cosima äußerte er zu dieser Zeit :

« Ich kann es nie vergessen, wenn sich einer so gut benommen hat, er hat damals in Prag das Konzert mir schön eingerichtet, und in Wien in üblen Zeiten war er der einzige, an den ich mich wenden konnte, da hat einer einen Stein im Brett bei mir, worauf er lang sündigen kann. »

Während der Proben für die Uraufführung des « Ring des Nibelungen » 1876 in Bayreuth protokollierte Porges die Regieanweisungen Wagners und publizierte diese als Dokumentation. Die gleiche Arbeit leistete Porges für die Uraufführung des « Parsifal » 1882. Später übernahm Porges in München die Leitung eines eigenen Chors und er unterstützte die Münchener Aufführungen der Opern Wagners als Solokorrepetitor und Chordirigent. Er starb während einer Probe zu Franz Liszts « Christus » und wurde in einem Ehrengrab in München bestattet.

Es bleibt unklar, ob Wagner und Cosima Kenntnis von der vermeintlichen Verwandtschaftsbeziehung zu Liszt besaßen. Auffällig ist, daß Cosima, trotz der Wertschätzung Wagners, sich wiederholt in besonders herablassender Weise über Porges geäußert hat. So schrieb sie am 1. März 1870 an Nietzsche :

« Wir haben nämlich den unerwarteten Besuch Heinrich Porges bekommen, ein ausgezeichnet guter Mensch und unbedingt der edelste Jude den ich habe kennen gelernt. Seine Überzeugung ist felsenfest und seine Geistesgaben sind durchaus ideal wie seine Stirn und sein Auge bezeugen, allein auch von ihm den ich wirklich lieb habe und ganz besonders schätze, muß ich mir sagen : er ist kein Deutscher. »

Die Tochter von Heinrich Porges, Elsa Bernstein, wurde unter ihrem Pseudonym Ernst Rosmer eine erfolgreiche Bühnenautorin und Schriftstellerin. Engelbert Humperdinck vertonte ihr Märchenspiel « Königskinder ». Als Elsa

Bernstein im NS-Staat wegen ihrer jüdischen Abstammung zunehmend in Bedrängnis geriet, wandte sie sich mit der Bitte um Hilfe an Winifred Wagner, die sich für sie erfolglos im Reichsjustizministerium einsetzte. 1942 wurde Elsa Bernstein zusammen mit ihrer Schwester Gabriele in das KZ Theresienstadt deportiert, wo Gabriele nach kurzer Zeit verstarb. Elsa Bernstein wurde in Theresienstadt im « Prominentenblock » untergebracht, die jüdische Selbstverwaltung des KZ bezeichnete sie als Enkelin von Liszt. Nach ihrer Befreiung lebte sie bis zu ihrem Tod 1949 bei ihrer Tochter in Hamburg. Elsa Bernstein wurde im Grab ihres Vaters in München beerdigt.

...

Heinrich Porges, Dirigent, Chorleiter und Musikschriftsteller (jüdisch, später evangelisch) : geboren 25.11.1837 Prag ; gestorben 17.11.1900 München / Deutschland. Begraben München, Ehrengrab Ostfriedhof.

Studierte Jus und Philosophie, dann Musik in Prag, arbeitete (laut Hugo Riemann) ab 1863 in Leipzig als Mitredakteur für die von Franz Brendel herausgegebene Neue Zeitschrift für Musik. In Wien verkehrte er im Freundeskreis Richard Wagners. 1867 wurde er auf dessen Wunsch als Klavierlehrer an die Musik-Schule nach München berufen, daneben wirkte er als Redakteur der Süddeutschen Presse. 1871 wurde Porges zum königlichen Musikdirektor ernannt, 1876 war er Wagners Assistent bei den Vorbereitungen zu den ersten Bayreuther Festspielen, 1882-1897 Solorepetitor und Chorleiter. 1880 wurde er Musikreferent der Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten, unterrichtete eine Zeitlang Klavier an der königlichen Musik-Schule und gründete 1886 den Porgesschen Gesangverein. Von Ludwig II. mit einer lebenslänglichen Pension ausgestattet, setzte er sich neben dem Schaffen Wagners auch für die Verbreitung der Werke von Franz Liszt und Hector Berlioz ein.

Grabe : Porgersstraße (München) .

...

Aus begüterter Familie stammend, studierte Porges zunächst Philosophie und Rechtswissenschaften an der Universität Prag, daneben Klavier, Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt, mit dem Ziel, Pianist zu werden. 1858 lud er Liszt, 1863 Wagner zu von ihm mitorganisierten Konzerten nach Prag ein und wurde einer ihrer eifrigsten Anhänger. 1859 wurde er Prager Korrespondent der Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik und 1863 deren Mitredakteur. Im selben Jahr ging er als Musiklehrer nach Wien. Von Wagner aufgefordert, übersiedelte Porges 1866 auf Dauer nach München, wo er für König Ludwig II. Einführungen zu « Tristan » , « Die Meistersinger » und « Lohengrin » verfaßte. 1867 arbeitete er drei Monate als Redakteur der Süddeutschen Presse, bis Wagner seine Artikelserie « Deutsche Kunst und Politik » abbrach. 1868-1869 war er für ein Jahr als Klavierlehrer an der neueröffneten Musikschule angestellt. 1870 verlieh ihm König Ludwig II. den Titel eines Musikdirektors extra statum, doch mangels Dirigiererfahrung blieb es bei nur zwei Dirigaten in der Hofoper. Als « Der Ring des Nibelungen » 1876 in Bayreuth uraufgeführt wurde, war Porges einer der Assistenten Wagners und hielt dessen Äußerungen zu Werk und Wiedergabe detailliert fest. Auch zu « Parsifal » sind entsprechende Aufzeichnungen in einem Klavierauszug erhalten. 1882-1897 war Porges als Solorepetitor und Chorleiter bei den Bayreuther Wagner-Aufführungen tätig, gleichzeitig arbeitete er bis 1900 als Konzertkritiker der Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten. 1885 gründete er in München den Porges'schen Chorverein (ohne Vereinsstatus) , mit dem er,

auch unter Einsatz eigener finanzieller Mittel, vor allem die großen Werke von Berlioz und Liszt in München bekannt machte. Porges war einer der treuesten jüdischen Mitstreiter Wagners und wurde von diesem, auch seiner Schriften wegen, hoch geschätzt.

...

Heinrich Porges, Dirigent und Musikschriftsteller. Vater der Schriftstellerin Elsa Bernstein-Porges ; studium zunächst Jus und Philosophie, wandte sich dann der Musik zu und wurde von Celestin Müller (Klavier) , Walter Morse Rummel (Harmonielehre) und Zwonar (Kontrapunkt) ausgebildet. Ab 1863 red. er in Leipzig mit Brendel die « Neue Zeitschrift für Musik » und fand als begeisterter Liszt-Anhänger im Wagnerschen Freundeskreis in Wien Aufnahme. 1867 berief ihn König Ludwig II. auf Vorschlag Wagners nach München, wo Porges an der von Bülow geleiteten Musikschule Klavier unterrichtete und gleichzeitig Redakteur der « Süddeutschen Presse » war. 1871 wurde er Musikdirektor, 1880 übernahm er die Musikberichterstattung der « Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten » . 1886 gründete er in München den Porgesschen Gesangverein, mit dem er Werke von Palestrina, Bach, Berlioz, Liszt, Cornelius und Bruckner aufführte. Ludwig II. setzte ihm eine lebenslängliche Pension aus, welche ihn aller materiellen Sorgen entthob. Porges, einer der frühesten und unermüdlichsten Anhänger Wagners, setzte sich Zeit seines Lebens auch nachdrücklich für die Verbreitung der Werke von Liszt und Berlioz in Deutschland ein. Seine enge Beziehung zu Bayreuth dokumentierte er in zahlreichen Schriften.

Genealogie

Vater nomen nominandum ; Mutter nomen nominandum ; verheiratet 1865 Wilhelmine Merores (geboren 1842) , aus Porges ; Brüder Friedrich (nach 1837 - vor 1874, verheiratet Ottilie Hirschl, 1850-1926, in 2. Ehe verheiratet mit der Bildhauer Heinrich Natter, 1844-1892, siehe NDB, Band 18) , Arzt in Wien ; Schwester Mathilde Stern-Porges ; 2 Tochter : Elsa (Pseudonym : Ernst Rosmer) (1866-1949, Max Bernstein, 1854-1925, RA in Merores, Schriftsteller, siehe NDB, Band II) , Schauspiel, Schriftsteller, und andere Autorin der Märchendramas « Die Königskinder » , 1942-1945 im Ghetto Theresienstadt, Gabriele (1867-1942, Ghetto Theresienstadt) , beide führten ein Salon in Merores ; E : Eva Bernstein (1894-1986, verheiratet Klaus Hauptmann, Sohn der Schriftsteller Gerhart Hauptmann, 1862-1946, siehe NDB Band VIII) , Konzertgeigerin, Hans Heinrich Bernstein (1898-1980) , RA.

Werke

Sieben Lieder (um 1888) .

Chorlied « Über allen Gipfeln » (1892) .

Elegie für Klavier (1901) .

Schriften

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Hugo Riemann (1961 und 1975) .

Richard Wagner. Mein Leben, Band 2, herausgeber von Martin Gregor-Delfin (1969) , siehe Regierung.

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Salomon Wininger.

24 mars 1885 : Anton Bruckner sollicite de nouveau un doctorat honorifique de l'Université de Philadelphie (la demande n'a peut-être jamais été envoyée) . Et le projet d'une grande biographie sur le compositeur, par August

Göllerich junior, prend forme.

27 mars 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) au Quatuor Benno Walther (Munich) .

« Right Honourable Sir !

Sincere thanks for your kindness. In reference to the Quintet, I would like to request that the Scherzo not be played as prescribed ; on the contrary, in the 2nd section (nearly up to the recapitulation of the opening Andante) please take the tempo as you ordain. I wish you much luck. Hellmesberger did it in the fullest measure. To “ Herr ” Court “ Kapellmeister ” Levi, my deepest respect ! I shall write to him immediately. With best wishes to your colleagues, I remain

Most devotedly yours,

Anton Bruckner

N.B. : In spirit, I am still totally in Munich ; my artistic home is there. I can be completely happy there. “ 3 Cheers ” ! »

Incipit : « Innigsten Dank für Dire Liebenswürdigkeit. »

Source : Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 114 ; pages 127-128.

The Walther Quartet was made-up of Concert Master Benno Walther (1847-1901) ; Michaël Steiger (active from 1872 to 1912) ; Anton Thoms (1858-1888) ; and Franz Bennat (1844-1913) . With Johann Wihan (1855-1920) , they played Bruckner’s String Quintet at the home of music-critic Konrad Fiedler, an enthusiastic supporter of Bruckner, on March 14, 1885. The public performance was on March 31, in the Great Concert Hall of the Museum.

From the late- 18th Century to the present, the Scherzo has been a standard Symphonic and Quartet (in this case : quintet) movement which originally replaced the Minuet. It is normally in rapid 3/4 time and is in rounded binary form, usually with a contrasting Trio and, then, repetition of the 1st section. Although many Scherzi are light and playful in character, they can be sinister or macabre. This Scherzo has the tempo marking of Andante : moderately slow, between Adagio and Allegro. The Trio of a Scherzo usually provides relief for the listener and, usually, by tempo, timbre, or other means. To mark the A section of a multi-Scherzo Andante, followed by a « Langsamer » (very slow) Trio seems less that effective. Therefore, knowing that the Benno Walther Quartet was artistically experienced, he entrusted the tempo of the Trio to their discretion. In this case, a wise decision on his part.

Benno Walther

The German violinist and teacher Benno Walther was born on 17 June 1847 in Munich and died on 23 October 1901

in Konstanz, at the age of 54. He had associations with Richard Strauß and his family, to whom he was closely related and, also, with Richard Wagner.

Benno Walther had a close relationship with Richard Wagner. He played the solo violin part at the 1st performance of « Parsifal » at Bayreuth, in 1882, and was a frequent guest at Villa « Wahnfried » .

Benno's father (Johann) Georg Walther was a municipal musician. He started to train his son at the Royal School of Music, in Munich, when he was 4. Benno was a child prodigy on the violin, and his father took him on concert tours when he was 8. 3 years later, the young kid so pleased the King of Bavaria by his virtuosity that he was presented with a Guarnerius violin.

In 1862, Benno Walther became a trainee musician at the Munich Court Theatre.

In 1863, he joined the Munich Court Orchestra.

In 1864, he achieved full status as a Court musician.

In 1870, he became the Orchestra leader, and also began to teach at his « alma mater » , the Royal School of Music.

He owned the Cremona 1720 « ex Bavarian » violin made by Antonio Stradivari. The Royal House of Bavaria had acquired the violin during the early 19th Century. King Ludwig II of Bavaria, the patron of Richard Wagner, presented the violin to Walther, in 1870. Its later owners included Henri Verbrugghen.

At the Royal School of Music, in 1872, he became the violin teacher of the 8 year old Richard Strauß, his cousin's son. Georg Walther's sister, Maria Anna Kunigunde Walther, was the mother of Richard's father Franz Strauß, making Franz and Benno, 1st cousins. Richard Strauß and Benno Walther were, therefore, cousins once removed, but Strauß called him « cousin » (and Walther is sometimes referred to as his « uncle ») .

Born in a little town in the Fichtelgebirge of northeast Bavaria, Franz Strauß was apparently unrelated to the Viennese Straußes. His father was a policeman, but his mother, « née » Walther, came from a musical family. (One of her relatives was Benno Walther, a violinist and founder of the Walther String Quartet.) Franz Strauß came to be one of the greatest horn virtuosos since Jan Václav Stícha (Giovanni Punto) . He was solo horn with the Court Opera Orchestra, in Munich, and professor of his instrument at the Royal School of Music. In 1853, a cholera epidemic killed his wife and children. Later, he married Johanna Pschorr, the daughter of a Munich brewer, who bore him 2 more children, Richard and Johanna, and brought him sufficient wealth that he never had to worry about money again.

The (original) Walther String Quartet was composed of : Josef Walther, 1st violin ; Franz Brückner, 2nd violin ; Anton Thoms, viola ; Hippolyt Müller, cello.

Benno Walther took-over as professor of violin at the Munich Conservatory and as concert Master (1st violinist) of the

Walther String Quartet when his elder brother and founder of the Quartet, Josef Walther, died in 1875. He toured with the Quartet in Europe and America.

The (renewed) Walther String Quartet was composed of : Benno Walther, 1st violin ; Michaël Steiger, 2nd violin ; Anton Thoms, viola ; Hippolyt Müller or Hanuš Wihan, cello.

Richard Strauß's String Quartet in A major (1879-1880) , Opus 2, was dedicated to his violin teacher, Benno Walther and to the members of his own String Quartet, on 14 March 1881.

The year 1881 saw the beginning of Richard Strauß's fame, as far as the general public was concerned. 4 of his works were performed in Munich during March. On the 14th, his String Quartet in A major, Opus 2 (November 1880) was performed in the « Museumssaal » by a Quartet led by his teacher, Benno Walther. The cellist was Hanuš Wihan, principal cellist of the Munich Court Orchestra. The work is a typical product of a youth brought-up on Haydn, Mozart and Mendelssohn, at its most promising in the Scherzo where the strait-jacket of strict Sonata form was not such a constricting influence on the boy's imagination.

The performance of the String Quartet was not, by any means, the only time the boy Strauß heard his works given in public. Apart from amateur performances given by his father, « Frau » Cornelia Meysenheim, one of the singers at the Munich Opera, sang 3 of his Lieder (all settings of Emanuel Geibel) , 2 days later, at a concert in the same hall :

Waldgesang (« Die Liebe Sass als Nachtigall ») , Opus 55.

O schneller mein Roß (AV 159) .

Die Lilien glühn in Düften (AV 160)

Only Waldgesang survives.

After this recital Strauß's relatives and friends gave him a gold signet ring, with his monogram « RS » inscribed on a black stone and a laurel wreath inscribed in gold letters « Presented on the most memorable day of your life » . Strauß wore the ring until he gave it to his elder grandson Richard for his 18th birthday, on 1 November 1945.

Benno Walther was a relative and colleague of Franz Strauß, Richard's father, and had been the boy's violin teacher since Richard was 8. He helped, taught, and encouraged the young composer right up to the early years of his maturity, and the Violin Concerto in D minor, Opus 8, is also dedicated to him.

Benno gave the 1st performance, on 5 December 1882, in Vienna, with Strauß playing a piano reduction of the orchestral part. Walther also gave the 1st performance with Orchestra, on 4 March 1890, in Cologne, with an Orchestra conducted by Franz Wüllner.

Adolf Sandberger's Violin Sonata (1892) , Opus 10, was dedicated to Benno Walther.

3 avril 1885 : Lettre de Hermann Levi (Munich) à Anton Bruckner (Vienne) .

« Dear and Honoured Friend !

Sincere thanks for your kind letter. If I can arrange it, I should like to spend a few days with you in the country. At the beginning of May, I am going to Florence (where Fiedler and I are going to meet. There, the Quartet Society will learn your Quintet thoroughly) . Then, off to my friend Lenbach in Rome ; and, at the beginning of June, to Switzerland. I am very worn-out and long for tranquility ! The performance of the Quintet, here, was quite good. On the previous day, Fiedler invited people to his home ; there, I analyzed the work carefully with them (before which 5 rehearsals had already taken place !) . I believe that the tempi were correct. (The 1st movement : “ molto moderato ! ”) The acceptance, on the part of the audience, was very enthusiastic. I have not read the “ Süddeutsche Presse ”. Ostini was absent, but Forges wrote very beautifully and warmly in the “ Neuesten ”. I am going to tell him to send you the article. The matter with the King (Ludwig II) can be recorded only in 2 weeks. I made a long report to the Director's office which passed it on to the Office of the Royal Secretary ; and it appears that no one over there hurries in order to expedite matters. There is no question that the King will accept the dedication, but it must also provide something for you. Before my departure, this matter will be secured in good order.

Wüllner, in Cologne, has announced a performance of the 7th Symphony for next winter. In addition, Müller, in Frankfurt, has appealed to me for it. Gutmann had better hurry a bit so the score and parts will be ready before the beginning of the winter season.

At the beginning of May, could you perhaps meet me in Florence ? This would be magnificent !

I did not arrange for the parts to be sent back to you again. In the meantime, however, hang on to them.

Remain well-disposed toward myself, and accept best regards, in admiration and reverence to you.

Yours,

Hermann Levi »

Incipit : « Herzlichen Dank für Ihren lieben Brief ! »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 3 de Hermann Levi ; pages 315-316.

Doctor Konrad Fiedler (1841-1895) : Music-critic in Munich, where Bruckner met him in March, 1885.

Baron Karl von Ostini (1830-1895) : President of the Munich Wagner Society.

Heinrich Forges (1837-1900) : Conductor, writer on music, and music-critic.

« Neueste Nachrichten » and « Münchner Anzeiger » , the newspapers in Munich.

Franz Wüllner (1832-1902) : In 1878, Bruckner wrote to Wilhelm Tappert (music-writer, teacher, musicologist : 1830-1907) that Wüllner, in Dresden, had written to him asking him for a score to peruse. From 1877, Wüllner was « Königlicher Hofkapellmeister » there.

Karl Müller (1818-1894) : Conductor of the Frankfurt Museum Concerts. From 1860 to 1892, he conducted the « Cäcilienverein » in Frankfurt. On December 4, 1885, he presented Bruckner's 3rd Symphony.

Albert J. Gutmann : Publisher and concert agent in Vienna. He died in 1914.

Konrad Fiedler

Le savant et théoricien de l'art allemand Konrad Fiedler est né le 23 septembre 1841 à Oederan, près de Dresde ; et est mort le 3 juin 1895 à Munich.

Originaire d'une riche famille juive, il compléta ses études à Leipzig, où la famille avait emménagé en 1846 et où son père, un industriel qui s'était retiré, décéda en 1854. Après avoir terminé ses études en droit et avoir travaillé pendant un certain temps avec un avocat, Fiedler abandonna sa carrière juridique et se consacra à une série de voyages en Europe et au Moyen-Orient, dans la tradition du Grand Tour.

Au cours de l'un de ces voyages à Rome, entre 1866 et 1867, Fiedler rencontra le sculpteur Adolf von Hildebrand et le peintre Hans von Marées avec lesquels il se lia d'une amitié durable qui contribua à une fécondation mutuelle des leurs idées. L'Italie resta une destination constante des voyages de Fiedler, qui acheta une maison dans le parc du manoir d'Hildebrand, près de Florence. La résidence d'Hildebrand, au cours de ces années, était l'un des nombreux salons fréquentés par des intellectuels et des artistes comme Anselm Feuerbach, Albert Lang et Arnold Böcklin.

En 1876, Fiedler épousa Marie Meyer et ils emménagèrent à Berlin puis en Bavière. C'est dans ces années-là que son travail, en tant que critique et théoricien, devint de plus en plus vif, avec l'élaboration de plusieurs essais et articles. À Munich, en 1895, il décéda dans des circonstances peu claires après la chute d'une fenêtre.

L'objectif principal des travaux de Fiedler était de construire une théorie de l'art figuratif indépendant de toute affirmation d'évaluation et de définir une épistémologie provenant d'autres disciplines telles que l'esthétique, l'histoire de l'art, l'iconographie ou l'anthropologie. Fiedler entendait trouver les bases de sa théorie dans la vue : en libérant la perception visuelle de la langue et de la pensée, et en attribuant aux sens une opinion indépendante, il aurait été possible d'étudier l'art avec les moyens qui lui sont propres. En fait, les arts visuels, selon Fiedler, sont l'activité qui créent des formes interprétables dans le domaine exclusif de la perception visuelle.

Cette théorie esthétique, que l'on retrouve également dans la production artistique et les théories de Hildebrand et de Marées, a été définie par la suite par Benedetto Croce comme étant de « pure vision ». Elle eut une grande influence sur la plupart des critiques de l'art au tournant des XIXe et XXe siècles, en particulier sur Alois Riegl.

Œuvres

« Über die Beurteilung von Werken der bildenden Kunst » - Sur l'évaluation des œuvres de l'art visuel (1876) .

« Über den Ursprung der künstlerischen Tätigkeit » - Sur l'origine de l'activité artistique (1887) .

« Hans von Marées » (1889) .

...

Konrad Fiedler (geboren 23. September 1841 in Oederan ; gestorben 13. Juni 1895 in München ; gelegentlich auch in der Schreibweise « Conrad Fiedler ») war einer der bedeutendsten deutschen Kunsttheoretiker des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Fiedler studierte von 1861 bis 1865 in Lausanne, Heidelberg, Berlin und Leipzig, wo er mit einer Promotion in Jura abschloß. Nach kurzer Beschäftigung in einer Anwaltskanzlei gab Fiedler den Beruf als Jurist wieder auf. Stattdessen widmete er sich der Kunst und reiste als Mäzen, Kunstsammler und Kunstkritiker durch Europa und den Vorderen Orient. In Rom lernte er Hans von Marées und Adolf von Hildebrand kennen, deren Freund und Förderer er wurde. 1876 heiratete Fiedler Mary Meyer, die Tochter des Kunsthistorikers Julius Meyer. 1880 ließ sich das Paar in München nieder, wo er sich und andere mit der bedeutenden Komponistin Ethel Smyth in geistigen und künstlerischen Angelegenheiten rege austauschte. 1895 starb Konrad Fiedler durch den Sturz von einem Balkon. Er wurde in der Familiengrabstätte auf dem Gut Crostewitz beerdigt. Da Dorf und Rittergut Crostewitz 1967 dem Braunkohleabbau weichen mußten, erfolgte eine Umbettung der sterblichen Überreste zum Südfriedhof Leipzig.

Fiedler gilt als ein für die Kunstanschauung im 20. Jahrhundert « bahnbrechender Theoretiker » (Kultermann) . Er entwickelte im Kreis der deutsch-römischen Künstler Anselm Feuerbach, Adolf von Hildebrand und Hans von Marées ein auf der Philosophie Kants und auch Schopenhauers fußendes kunstphilosophisches Konzept des autonomen Kunstwerks. In den Werken von Hildebrand und Marées sah Fiedler die Möglichkeit einer neuen Kunstsprache, die einzig den Gesetzen der Kunst und nicht, wie in der damaligen offiziellen Historienmalerei üblich, der außerkünstlerischen Realität verpflichtet war.

Fiedler übte großen Einfluss auf Künstler des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts aus, unter ihnen Paul Klee und Wassily Kandinsky. Unter den Kunsthistorikern ist vor allem Heinrich Wölfflin (auch über Adolf von Hildebrand) von Fiedler geprägt. Darüber hinaus sind die Ansätze des Kunstmäzens und Privatgelehrten nicht allein für die Ästhetik, sondern auch für eine Philosophie der Wahrnehmung von Bedeutung.

Zu den wichtigsten zu Lebzeiten veröffentlichten Werken Fiedlers zählen Über die Beurteilung von Werken der Bildenden Kunst (1876) ; Über Kunstinteressen und deren Förderung (1879) ; Moderner Naturalismus und künstlerische Wahrheit (1881) ; Über den Ursprung der künstlerischen Tätigkeit (1887) sowie Hans von Marées (1889) .

Der Titel von Moderner Naturalismus und künstlerische Wahrheit (1881) könnte vermuten lassen, daß Naturalismus in der Kunst zu Wahrheit führt. Ganz im Gegenteil ist in Fiedlers kunstphilosophischem Konzept Kunst jedoch von aller « äußeren Wirklichkeit » unabhängig - und somit auch von der Naturnachahmung (Mimesis) , von welcher der Naturalismus ausgeht. Wirklichkeit und damit auch Wahrheit realisieren sich im Schaffen des Künstlers, der im Kunstwerk das Sehen als solches veranschaulicht. Fiedler hebt die Autonomie und Eigenbedeutsamkeit einer als « absolut » verstandenen Kunst hervor. Das Kunstwerk ist zu schaffen als aus sich selbst und einer « reinen Sichtbarkeit » heraus zu Verstehendes - und nicht als eines, das auf gedankliche oder geistige Inhalte verweist.

Die wohl wichtigste Schrift Fiedlers Über den Ursprung der künstlerischen Tätigkeit (1887) sondiert die Rolle des Kunstwerks für die Erkenntnis von Welt in völlig neuer Weise, indem sie ausgehend von Immanuel Kant und Erkenntnissen des Impressionismus eine eigene Theorie der Wahrnehmung entwickelt. Diese ist gekennzeichnet durch eine Akzentuierung des « wahrnehmungsbildenden » Subjekts, eine monadische Sicht auf den Wahrnehmungsvorgang sowie die idealistische Stilisierung des Kunstwerks (fernab des Kantischen Geschmacksurteils) zum möglichen Ort « reiner » Sichtbarkeit.

Ausgaben

Konrad Fiedler. Der Ursprung der künstlerischen Thätigkeit, Hirzel, Leipzig (1887) .

Konrad Fiedler. Schriften über Kunst, Herausgegeben von Hans Marbach, Leipzig (1896) .

Konrad Fiedler. Vom Wesen der Kunst. Auswahl aus seinen Schriften. Zusammengestellt und eingeleitet von Hans Eckstein, München (1942) .

Konrad Fiedler. Schriften zur Kunst, Herausgegeben von Gottfried Böhm, München (1971) ; 2 Bände - 2. verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage (1991) .

Konrad Fiedler. Die Tagebücher (1866-1875) , Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Brigitte Boiar, Kulturförderverein Ruhrgebiet - Amazon-kindle-edition, Gladbeck (2011) .

Franz Wüllner

Le compositeur et un chef d'orchestre allemand Franz Wüllner est né le 28 janvier 1832 et est mort le 7 septembre 1902. Il a dirigé les Ires représentations des Opéras de Richard Wagner : « l'Or du Rhin » , le 22 septembre 1869 ; et « la Walkyrie » , le 26 juin 1870.

...

The German composer and conductor Franz Wüllner was born on 28 January 1832 in Münster ; and died on 7 September 1902 in Braunfels. He led the premieres of Richard Wagner's Operas « Das Rheingold » and « Die Walküre » , but was much criticized by Wagner himself, who greatly preferred the more celebrated conductors Hans von Bülow and Hermann Levi.

Wüllner studied in his native place and in Frankfurt, Berlin, Brussels, and Munich. Among his teachers was Anton Schindler, who styled himself Beethoven's amanuensis carrying on the true traditions of the Master's style, a claim disputed by Beethoven's pupil Carl Czerny. In 1856, Wüllner became instructor in piano at the Munich Conservatory. He held the position of town musical director at Aix-la-Chapelle, from 1858 to 1864. In 1867, he became director of the choral classes in the re-organized School of Music at Munich and wrote for them « Chorübungen der Münchener Musikschule » , text of score reading and singing (« Solfège ») .

He succeeded the temperamental Bülow, in 1869, as conductor of the Court Opera and the Academy Courts. Here, he conducted the 1st performances of « Rheingold » , on 22 September 1869, and « Walküre » , on 26 June 1870, before the production of the entire « Ring » cycle at the 1st Bayreuth Festival of 1876. It is for these renditions that he is usually remembered now.

He became Court « Kapellmeister » in Dresden and artistic director of the Conservatory, in 1877, and director of the Cologne Conservatory and conductor of the Gürzenich concerts, in 1884. After 1864, he appeared frequently as conductor of the Lower-Rhenish Music Festival.

Among his notable pupils were Volkmar Andreae, Fritz Brun, Lothar Kempfer, Bruno Klein, Jan van Gilse, Hans von Kössler, Karl Aagard Østvig, Ernst von Schuch, and the conductor Willem Mengelberg. Mengelberg controversially claimed that his teacher's ties with Schindler gave Mengelberg a direct connection with Beethoven performance tradition.

Among his works :

« Heinrich der Finkler » , cantata for solo, male chorus, and orchestra.

Additional recitatives to Carl Maria von Weber's « Oberon » , accepted by many of Germany's principal theatres.

« Psalm 125 » for chorus and orchestra.

« Miserere » for double choir.

« Stabat Mater » for double choir.

Masses, Motets, Songs, chamber music, and piano pieces.

...

Franz Wüllner (geboren 28. Januar 1832 in Münster ; gestorben 7. September 1902 in Braunfels) war ein deutscher Komponist, Dirigent und Professor.

Sein Vater war der gleichnamige Philologe und Lehrer Franz Wüllner. Während seiner Kindheit in Düsseldorf erhielt er bereits früh Violin- und Klavierunterricht. Einer seiner Lehrer in dieser Zeit war Anton Felix Schindler, der einen prägenden Einfluss auf ihn hatte.

In der Zeit von 1850 bis 1854 unternahm Wüllner ausgedehnte Konzertreisen als Pianist, gleichzeitig neben Studien in Köln, Brüssel, Berlin und Leipzig. Hauptinhalt seiner Vorträge waren hierbei die Klaviersonaten von Ludwig van Beethoven. Bei dieser Gelegenheit begegnete er Johannes Brahms, mit dem ihn fortan eine lebenslange Freundschaft verband. Wichtige Anregungen verdankte Wüllner auch dem Kontakt zu Joseph Joachim, Ignaz Moscheles, Otto Jahn, Ferdinand David und Moritz Hauptmann.

Nach einer ersten Anstellung als Musikschullehrer in München wechselte Wüllner im Jahr 1858 als Städtischer Musikdirektor zum Theater Aachen und leitete dort bis 1865 das Sinfonieorchester Aachen. Danach ging er zurück nach München, um die Leitung der Königlichen Vokalkapelle zu übernehmen. Auf Anordnung von Ludwig II. und gegen den Willen von Richard Wagner dirigierte Wüllner 1869-1870 die Uraufführungen der Werke Das Rheingold und Die Walküre am Nationaltheater München und wurde daraufhin zum Ersten Hofkapellmeister ernannt.

Von 1874 bis 1892 war Wüllner, gemeinsam mit Josef Gabriel Rheinberger, Inspektor der Königlich bayerischen Musikschule, wo er Chor- und Orchesterklassen einrichtete. Seine « Chorübungen der Münchener Musikschule » wirkten bis weit in das 20. Jahrhundert hinein.

Ab 1877 wirkte er in Dresden als Professor, Leiter des Konservatoriums und Hofkapellmeister. Durch Intrigen in seiner Arbeit behindert, wechselte er nach Berlin. Dort dirigierte er die Philharmonischen Konzerte und war (wie vor ihm schon Meyerbeer, Lortzing und andere namhafte Künstler) Chorsänger in der Sing-Akademie. 1884 übernahm er auf Empfehlung von Brahms die Leitung des Kölner Konservatoriums als Nachfolger von Ferdinand Hiller. Er zeichnete für die Umwandlung des Gürzenich-Orchesters in ein Städtisches Orchester verantwortlich und prägte das Musikleben der folgenden zwei Jahrzehnte wesentlich. Zwischen 1864 und 1898 war Wüllner siebenmal verantwortlicher Festspielleiter der Niederrheinischen Musikfeste in Aachen, Düsseldorf und Köln.

1900 begründete Franz Wüllner gemeinsam mit dem Musikwissenschaftler Hermann Kretzschmar sowie dem Inhaber des Verlags Breitkopf & Härtel Oskar von Hase und Martin Blumner, Siegfried Ochs, Joseph Joachim und dem Thomaskantor Gustav Schreck die Neue Bachgesellschaft.

Als Komponist schuf Franz Wüllner Klavier- und Kammermusik sowie viele Vokalwerke. Er gilt als Vertreter der deutschen Hochromantik und als Förderer vieler junger Komponisten, stellvertretend sei hier Richard Strauß genannt. Strauß

widmete Wüllner 1884 eine Vertonung des Gøethe-Gedichts Wandrers Sturmlied für Chor und Orchester.

Franz Wüllner war der Vater des Sängers, Schauspielers und Rezitators Ludwig Wüllner (1858-1938) .

Schüler : Ernestine Schumann-Heink.

Instrumentalwerke

Variationen über ein altdeutsches Volkslied für Klavier zu vier Händen, Opus 24 (1862) .

Violinsonate in E-Moll, Opus 30 (1871) .

Variationen über ein Thema von Franz Schubert für Violoncello und Klavier, Opus 39 (1875) .

Chorwerke

Messe Nr. 1 für 4-stimmig gem. Chor und 4 Solo-Stimmen, Opus 20 (1865) .

Miserere für Doppel-Chor und Soli a cappella, Opus 26 (1867) .

Messe Nr. 2 für 4-stimmig gem. Chor und 4 Solo-Stimmen, Opus 29 (1868) .

Drei Motetten zum Gebrauch in Concert und Kirche für 4-stimmig gem. Chor, Opus 42 (1889-1890) .

Stabat Mater für 8-stimmig gem. Chor, Opus 45 (1886) .

Drei Motetten (Gradualien) zum Gebrauche in Kirche und Konzert für 4-5-stimmig gem. Chor, Opus 47 (1887 ?) .

Abendgesang für 6-stimmig gem. Chor oder 6-stimmigen Männerchor, Opus 52 (1892) .

Te Deum für 4-8 stimmigen gem. Chor und großes Orchester, Opus 50 (1888) .

Tonträger

Violinsonate in E-Moll, Opus 30 (Suyoen Kim, Violine, Tobias Bredohl, Klavier) .

Variationen über ein altdeutsches Volkslied, Opus 24 (Alina Kabanova und Tobias Bredohl, Klavier) .

Variationen über ein Thema von Franz Schubert, Opus 39 (Konstantin Manaev, Violoncello, Ekatherina Titova, Klavier) .

Dohr DCD020 (Köln, 2003) .

Wilhelm Tappert

Wilhelm Tappert (19. februar 1830 - 27. oktober 1907) var en tysk musikforfatter, der også optrådte som komponist af sange og klaveretuder.

Tappert var oprindelig skolelærer, men gik 1856 ganske over til musikken, i hvis teori han fik Siegfried Dehn til lærer. I en lang årrække levede Tappert, der stod Richard Wagner og hans kreds nær, i Berlin som musiklærer, forfatter og fag- og dagbladskritiker. Han havde særlig fortjeneste af sine samlinger af og studier over luttabulatur.

I øvrigt har han udgivet skrifter som Musikalische Studien, Richard Wagner, Wagner-Lexikon, Wörterbuch der Unhöflichkeit (en kuriøs samling af « grove, hånende, hadefulde og bagtaleriske » udtryk, brugt om og mod Wagner, 2. oplag 1903), Wandernde Melodien, Entwicklung der Musik-Notenschrift, 54 Erlkönig-Kompositionen, etc.

...

10 april 1885 : Le chef Hermann Levi dirige la 7e Symphonie de Bruckner avec l'Orchestre de la Cour de Munich (« Hoforchester ») . Une première munichoise dans le cadre du 2e concert d'abonnement de la saison qui se tient à la salle de l'Odéon de Munich (« Königlich Odeon Konzerthaus ») .

10 april 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Eva Wagner (Bayreuth) .

« Dear Gracious “ Fräulein ” !

Having just arrived in Vienna from my home in Upper-Austria, I must ask for gracious indulgence. Already in September of last year, I sent the desired letter from your dear, late “ Papa ” to Managing Director Groß, in “ Bayreuth ”, that is, a “ copy ”. I have also enclosed other distinctions received orally throughout the years from the immortal Emperor of music. Now, I permit myself to send a copy of my precious relic to “ Fräulein ” Eva. I must have been distracted to the utmost that I cannot recall your entire instructions at all. Please, “ pardon ” me ! I immediately wrote to Otto Bach.

“ Fräulein ” Eva will probably have learned of the enthusiasm for my 7th Symphony, in Munich, through Baron von Wolzogen. Following “ Die Walküre ”, the funeral music from the 2nd movement of my 7th Symphony was performed, with the 4 new tubas, the “ contrabass tuba ”, and the horns, played “ 3 times ” in the “ darkness ” of the Court Theater. I wrote it to the memory of “ my unattainable ideal ” directly in that very sad time of mourning, carried-out, and, indeed, to the memory of the “ Beloved, Immortal Master of all Masters ! ”

How deeply moved we all were !

I am very disturbed over the unsettled status of your health and wish, from my entire soul, imminent and continual recovery ! Thank you very much for your very esteemed letter ; it is for me a precious gem. “ 3 Cheers ” to your “ gracious Mama ”.

“ Cheers ” to the young ladies. “ Cheers ” to “ Herr ” Siegfried ! “ Cheers ” to you, “ Fräulein Eva ” !

My noble patroness !

With thanks and respect,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Eben erst aus meiner Heimat, Oberösterreich ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 177 ; pages 203-204.

Eva Wagner (1867-1942) : Younger daughter of Richard Wagner and his 2nd wife Cosima von Bülow, « née » Liszt. In 1908, she married the author and cultural philosopher Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a union which produced the « famous » Wagner grandsons who made so many changes at Bayreuth - especially, in staging and lighting.

Bruckner would have spent the Easter Feasts at Saint-Florian Monastery.

Bruckner is referring to the Church Year, around which organists arrange their lives.

Baron Hans von Wolzogen (1848-1938) : German writer on music as well as a librettist ; a good friend to Bruckner.

Cosima Wagner (1837-1930) : Daughter of Franz Liszt (1811-1886) . She was 1st married to Hans von Bülow (1830-1894) , then divorced and remarried to Richard Wagner (1813-1883) , in 1870. He wrote “ Mein Leben ” for King Ludwig II of Bavaria (1845-1886) , but dedicated it to Cosima. The 4th part was written with her in mind, as she does not appear in the earlier sections. Detractors once thought that this 4th section may have been written by Cosima herself - to her own benefit ; however, in the 3rd volume, Wagner refers constantly to his work on the 4th, thus, confirming its authenticity. Also, it is written in his informal, poetic style and with his inherent frankness.

Eva's half-sisters : Daniela (1860-1940) ; Blandine von Bülow (1863-1941) .

Eva's sister : Isolde Wagner (1865-1919) .

Eva's brother : Siegfried Wagner (1869-1930) . He both composed and conducted.

Eva Wagner

Naissance : 17 février 1867, à Tribtschen près de Lucerne, en Suisse.

Mort : 26 mai 1942, à Bayreuth.

Fille de Richard Wagner et de Cosima Liszt - von Bülow.

1908 : Épouse Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927) .

Autres formes du nom : Eva Chamberlain-Wagner (1867-1942) .

Eva von Bülow (1867-1942) .

Eva Wagner (1867-1942) .

Mère : Cosima Liszt.

Père : Richard Wagner.

Frère : Siegfried Wagner.

Sœurs : Isolde et Daniela von Bülow.

...

Birthdate : 17 février 1867.

Birthplace : Tribtschen near Lucerne, Switzerland.

Death : Died on 26 mai 1942, in Bayreuth, Upper-Franconia, Bavaria.

Grave Location : Bayreuth (« Bayern Stadtfriedhof ») .

« Famille proche » : Daughter of Hans Guido « Freiherr » von Bülow et Cosima Francesca Gaetana Liszt.

Wife of Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Sister of Daniela Senta Thode von Bülow ; Blandine Gräfin Gravina von Bülow et Isolde Ludowitz Beidler.

Half sister of Siegfried Helderich Richard Wagner.

...

Daughter of Richard Wagner and Cosima Liszt. Because her mother was still married to Hans von Bülow at the time of her birth her official name was Eva von Bülow. She married racial theorist Houston Stewart Chamberlain, in 1908. He had wanted to marry her sister and she was 40.

They lived at « Wahnfriedstraße I » , in Bayreuth, and the marriage remained childless. Eva deleted pages from Richard Wagner's notebook and kept it hidden for many years. Only a select number of biographers was allowed to see parts of this important source. She and her half sister Daniela protested when the costumes for « Parsifal » were renewed in the 1930's for the 1st time since the Opera was first performed in 1882.

...

Eva Chamberlain (geboren 17. Februar 1867 in Tribschen bei Luzern ; gestorben 26. Mai 1942 in Bayreuth ; geborene Eva Maria von Bülow) war die Tochter von Richard Wagner und Cosima Wagner und die Gattin von Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Eva wurde als Tochter Richard Wagners geboren, ihre Mutter war aber noch mit Hans von Bülow verheiratet. Mit ihren Geschwistern Isolde und Siegfried wurde Eva durch einen Hauslehrer erzogen, ihre Halbschwestern Blandine und Daniela wurden in einem Internat untergebracht.

1906 übernahm Eva in der Villa Wahnfried in Bayreuth die Oberaufsicht über die Pflege der kranken Mutter, erledigte deren Post und hatte als einziges Familienmitglied Zugriff auf das Familienarchiv. Sie nutzte dies zur Schönung von Wagners Biografie. 1908 heiratete sie den Schriftsteller Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Sie erwarben eine stattliche Villa neben der Villa Wahnfried, die sie 1916 bezogen (heute Jean-Paul-Museum) .

In den 1920er und 1930er Jahren waren sie und ihre Schwester Daniela das Haupt der Altwagnerianer, die sich gegen jede Modernisierung der Werke Richard Wagners aussprachen. 1933 erhielt sie die Ehrenbürgerwürde der Stadt Bayreuth. Sie war Trägerin des Ehrenzeichens der NSDAP. Als sie 1942 an einem Krebsleiden verstarb, wurde ihr ein Ehrenbegräbnis der NSDAP zu teil, bei dem der bayrische Minister Adolf Wagner die Trauerrede hielt.

Otto Bach

The composer (primarily, liturgical music) and Opera « Kapellmeister » , Doctor Otto Bach, was born on 9 February 1833 in Vienna ; and died on 3 July 1893 in Unterwaltersdorf, a municipality of Ebreichsdorf (Lower-Austria) . Brother of Austrian Minister Alexander Freiherr von Bach (1849-1859) .

He studied under Simon Sechter.

He became the « Kapellmeister » and Artistic Director for the Salzburg « Dom-Musikverein » (Cathedral) and the « Mozarteum » Music College, from 1868 to 1880 (7 years before, Anton Bruckner placed a request for the same vacant position) .

In 1880, Bach became church « Kapellmeister » , in Vienna.

Works : Church music, Operas, Symphonies, incidental music (for Hebbels « Nibelungen ») .

...

Otto Bach (geboren 9. Februar 1833 in Wien ; gestorben 3. Juli 1893 in Unterwaltersdorf bei Ebreichsdorf, Niederösterreich) war ein österreichischer Komponist, Kirchenmusiker, Kapellmeister und einer der ersten Chefdirektoren des Mozarteum-Orchesters.

Otto war der jüngste Sohn des Rechtsanwalts Michaël Bach ; seine älteren Brüder waren die späteren Politiker Alexander und Eduard. Seine Schulbildung erhielt er am Wiener Schottengymnasium.

Nach den politischen Ereignissen von 1848-1849 begann Bach bei Simon Sechter in Wien Musik zu studieren. Weitere Studien führten ihn zu Adolf Bernhard Marx nach Berlin sowie zu Moritz Hauptmann nach Leipzig.

Privat war Bach seit 1864 mit Therese Bach-Marschner, der Witwe von Heinrich Marschner, verheiratet. Er pflegte auch engen Kontakt zur Familie von Franz von Hillebrandt, dessen Tochter Marie er einige Lieder widmete.

Mit 35 Jahren berief man 1868 Bach zum Direktor des Dommusikvereins und Mozarteums in Salzburg. Nach der Übergabe des Mozarteums an die Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum im Jahr 1880 ging er 1880 wieder zurück nach Wien, wo er zehn Jahre Kapellmeister an der Votivkirche (Wien) sowie Lehrer an der Horak Musikschule war. Außerdem leitete er von 1880 bis 1888 den Orchesterverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien. Um 1890 zog sich Bach ins Privatleben zurück und starb sodann im Alter von 60 Jahren in Unterwaltersdorf, Niederösterreich.

Als Dirigent galt Bach als bedeutend, als Komponist war er zu Lebzeiten in Österreich geschätzt und erfolgreich. Doch erlangte er darüber hinaus keine große Bekanntheit. Besonders seine frühen Lieder, die sich an Mendelssohn und Schumann orientieren, konnten Aufmerksamkeit erregen. Später wandte sich Bach der Neudeutschen Richtung zu. Kritiker haben ihm wiederholt einen Mangel an selbständiger kompositorischer Erfindungsgabe vorgeworfen. So schreibt Eduard Hanslick über eine Symphonie von Otto Bach :

« ... eine Symphonie von riesiger Dauer, offenbar mit verschwiegenem “ Programm ”. Dieses Thauwetter von Schwulst, Lärm und Reminiscenzen analysieren zu wollen, wäre vergebliche Arbeit. Die trockenste Nüchternheit feiert hier mit wüster Phantastik ein anmuthloses Hochzeitsfest. Ein großes Orchester mit zwei Harfen, Ophicleide, großer Trommel und Becken ist in fortwährendem Tumult ; aber alle Lärminstrumente des türkischen Reichs vermöchten diese

Gedankenarmuth nicht zu maskiren. Es war uns zu Muth wie Einem, der vor dem Schlafengehen alle Wagner'schen Opern und einige Liszt'sche Symphonien dazu gehört hätte, und nun in wirrem Durcheinander davon träumt. Von einer künstlerischen Form ist da kaum zu reden ; drei- bis viermal in jedem Stück glaubt man den Schluß gekommen, und - täuscht sich. Die Instrumentierung ist von erschreckender Rohheit, die Posaunen, Trompeten, Ophicleiden kommen nicht zu Athem - eine Panzerfregatte auf dem Stadtparkteich. »

An groß besetzter Kirchenmusik für Soli, Chor und Orchester komponierte Bach ein Te Deum (1856) , eine Missa solemnis in D (1869) und ein Requiem (1879) . In seinem Werk finden sich aber auch mehrere Opern, darunter Sardanapal (Lord Byron, 1862, nicht aufgeführt) Leonore, Opus 30 (Otto Prechtler, Uraufführung 1874 in Gotha) , Die Argonauten und Medea (beide Franz Grillparzer, 1876, nicht aufgeführt) . Er vertonte auch Friedrich Hebbels Tragödie Die Nibelungen. Weiters komponierte Bach vier Symphonien, eine symphonische Dichtung Frühlings-Nahen, ein Violin- (1854) und ein Klavierkonzert (1870) , ein Streichquartett in G-Moll (1851) , ein Streichquintett in A-Moll (1864) , Kammermusik, Klavier- und Chorwerke sowie zahlreiche Lieder. Ferner bearbeitete er mehrere Werke Mozarts.

Die meisten Werke von Otto Bach liegen heute in der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien.

...

Otto Bach studierte in Wien bei Simon Sechter, später in Berlin und Leipzig, bevor er sich 1868 für die Nachfolge von Hans Schläger als Künstlerischer Leiter des Dommusikverein und Mozarteums bewarb. Wie bereits sieben Jahre zuvor bei der Bestellung Schlägers war auch diesmal Anton Bruckner einer der Mitbewerber um die vakante Stelle. Und wie damals zog er gegen den erfahreneren Gegenkandidaten den Kürzeren. Am 1. Juli 1868 trat Bach die Stelle an.

Neben seiner Tätigkeit für das Mozarteum war Bach von 1869 bis 1872 auch Chorleiter der Salzburger Liedertafel.

Als Komponist war Bach vor allem mit seinen vier Sinfonien und seinen fünf Opern erfolgreich, zumindest eine davon - Leonore (1874) - entstand während seiner Zeit in Salzburg.

Am 1. April 1880 legte Bach unter der drohenden Übernahme seines Vereins durch die Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum sein Amt als Künstlerischer Leiter nieder und übersiedelte als Kirchenmusikleiter zurück nach Wien.

Otto Bach war der Bruder des ehemaligen österreichischen Innenministers Alexander Freiherr von Bach (1849-1859) .

...

Si l'on songe que Bruckner avait plus de 60 ans lorsqu'il l'écrivit, on sera surpris de son caractère candide et juvénile, et de la naïveté de l'enthousiasme qui s'en dégage. Il s'agit de la 7e Symphonie en mi majeur, celle qu'Hanslick avait surnommé « trémolo-Symphonie » , comme il avait baptisé « pizzicato-Symphonie » , la 5e en si bémol, la plus belle peut-être, la plus haute, la plus brucknérienne ; pour déprécier ces œuvres et empêcher qu'on les prit au sérieux. L'Adagio en ut dièse mineur, dont il va être question, est une sorte de marche funèbre à la mémoire

de Richard Wagner. (Encore un grief du Parti de Brahms contre Bruckner, cette admiration pour l'auteur de « Parsifal » !)

« Une lettre est une âme », dit quelque part Honoré de Balzac.

17 avril 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à monsieur Félix Mottl, l'illustre « Kapellmeister » de Karlsruhe.

« Cher vieil ami, cher jeune ami ! Noble “ Kapellmeister ” de la Cour !

Ce doit être le bon Bruckner, vas-tu dire ; bien deviné, c'est justement lui.

Écoute : le professeur Riedel, de Leipzig, m'a demandé si je voulais consentir à laisser exécuter au Festival de l'Association des musiciens allemands, qui doit avoir lieu le 30 mai, à Karlsruhe, l'Adagio de la 7e Symphonie. Franz Liszt et Henriette Standthartner m'y engagent. Tu es dans cette circonstance, le personnage principal.

Premièrement, l'Orchestre n'est-il pas trop mal disposé pour moi ?

Deuxièmement, as-tu les nouveaux tubas, les mêmes qui ont servi dans “ L'Anneau des Niebelungen ”, ou si tu ne les as pas, peux-tu te les procurer ?

Troisièmement, voudras-tu, comme l'ont fait messieurs Levi et Nikisch, consacrer ton moi artistique tout entier pour ton vieux Maître qui t'a toujours tenu en grande affection, et étudier et diriger cet Adagio avec les tubas et la musique funèbre pour le compositeur défunt, comme s'il s'agissait de ton propre ouvrage ?

Si mon cher Mottl me promet cela et m'en donne sa parole d'honneur, alors, “ 3 Hourrah ” ! Tout va bien, et je puis faire envoyer les partitions à Leipzig.

N.B. : Les 4 tubas sont très essentiels, et aussi le tuba contrebasse. Je pense que nous serons contents tous les deux.

Ma détermination repose en ce moment dans tes mains.

Sois salué de tout cœur, et embrassé par celui qui te tient en la plus haute estime et reste

ton Anton Bruckner. »

...

« Dear Old, Young Friend !

This must be Bruckner you say, and right you are, it is he !

Listen : Professor Riedel, from Leipzig, has offered to present my “ Adagio ” from the 7th Symphony to the “ Allgemeines deutsches Musikfest ”, in Karlsruhe, on May 30th, if I would give my consent. Liszt and Doctor Standthartner advise me to do it. However, you are now the central figure in this matter.

1st : Is the Orchestra not too unfavourably disposed toward me ?

2nd : Do you have the new tubas like those found in the “ Ring of the Niebelungen ”, or, if not, can you obtain them ?

3rd : Would you be willing to engage your whole artistic being, as “ Messieurs ” Levi and Nikisch, in rehearsing and conducting this Adagio with the tubas and the funeral music to the late “ Master ”, for your old, former teacher to whom you were always so dear ?

Provided you can fill yourself with enthusiasm for it, you, as a highly-celebrated conductor, are the right artist to perform it.

If, my dear Mottl, you tell me this with your German word of honour, then, “ 3 Cheers ” ! The matter is then in order, and I must then send the parts to Leipzig.

N.B. : The 4 tubas are very important, moreover ; also, Contra-Bass tuba. I believe we both can be joyful.

In your hands rests my decision. Be most sincerely greeted and kissed by

Your most admiring

Anton Bruckner

My sincerest sympathy ! I am very sorry about the noble man ! May he rest peacefully ! »

Incipit : « Das muß der Bruckner sein ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 153 ; pages 182-183.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 76 ; pages 84-86.

Bruckner is referring to the death of Felix Mottl's father, Peter, on March 18, 1885.

Felix Mottl (1856-1911) : Austrian conductor, editor, and composer ; a theory student of Bruckner at the Conseratory, in Vienna. By 1881, he was « Hofkapellmeister » in Karlsruhe, where he set the highest Opera standards in the

Germany of his day, and also championed Bruckner's compositions. He conducted in Bayreuth, for the 1st time, in 1886.

Franz Liszt (1811-1886) : Extremely innovative and dramatic Hungarian composer, pianist, teacher, and conductor. His compositional methods anticipated 20th Century ideas, and he evolved the method of transformation of themes. As the greatest piano virtuoso of his time, he familiarized his audiences with the works of others through his transcriptions. A true Romantic, he was forever torn between spirituality and sensation.

Carl Riedel

The German chorus Master, conductor and composer Carl Riedel was born on 6 October 1827 in Cronenberg, Wuppertal ; and died on 3 June 1888 in Leipzig.

He initially worked as a dyer of silk before conductor Karl Wilhelm discovered his musical talent and encouraged him to pursue a music career. He studied at the Leipzig Conservatory and, after graduating from the school, joined the Conservatory's faculty as a professor of piano and music theory, teaching there for several decades. He was notably one of Julius Reubke's teachers, and Reubke dedicated his Sonata on the « 94th Psalm » to him. He was a highly-respected choral conductor in his native country. In 1854, he founded the Choral Society which became known as the « Riedel'scher Verein » .

He put special emphasis on Protestant works such as those of Bach and Heinrich Schutz, as well as newer German composers and Bruckner.

Riedel was one of the founders and president of the « Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein » , from 1868 until his death, at the age of 60.

...

Carl Riedel - auch : Karl (geboen 6. Oktober 1827 in Cronenberg ; gestorben 3. Juni 1888 in Leipzig) war ein deutscher Kapellmeister und Komponist.

Riedel war ursprünglich Seidenfärber. Karl Wilhelm entdeckte sein musikalische Begabung in der Krefelder Liedertafel und förderte ihn. 1849 bis 1852 studierte Riedel am Konservatorium zu Leipzig, der heutigen Hochschule für Musik und Theater « Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy » Leipzig. Anschließend blieb er hier als Lehrer des Klavierspiels und der Theorie.

Seine Zeitgenossen sahen sein Hauptverdienst in der Gründung (1854) und Leitung des nach ihm benannten Gesangvereins für geistliche Musik (Riedel-Verein) , der in seinen regelmäßigen Aufführungen Pionierleistungen vollbrachte nicht allein durch Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach (H-Moll Messe, 1859) , Georg Friedrich Händel, und Ludwig van Beethoven (Missa solemnis, 1860) , sondern auch kirchliche Tonwerke der vorbachschen Zeit sowie der

damaligen Gegenwart zur Aufführung brachte und infolgedessen eine gewisse Berühmtheit erlangte. 1859 sang der Chor die Uraufführung der Graner Festmesse von Franz Liszt, 1872 bei der Grundsteinlegung des Bayreuther Festspielhauses unter Richard Wagners Leitung die 9. Sinfonie von Beethoven.

Für die Literatur des Chorgesanges hat Riedel Werke geschaffen, die bleibende Bedeutung erhielten, etwa durch Veröffentlichung seiner Bergischen Weihnachtslegenden. Aber auch seine recht eigenwillige Bearbeitung der Passionsmusiken von Heinrich Schütz, die die Schütz-Renaissance vorwegnahm, die Herausgabe der Weihnachtslieder von Michaël Praetorius (Den die Hirten lobeten sehre, Es ist ein Ros entsprungen) , der altböhmischen Hussitenlieder sowie der Eccardschen Preußischen Festlieder waren von Bedeutung. Bis heute viel gesungen werden aus den altböhmischen Liedern die Weihnachtslieder Kommet, ihr Hirten, das sowohl im Evangelischen Gesangbuch (EG 48) wie in einigen Diözesananhängen des Gotteslob zu finden ist, und Freu dich, Erd und Sternenzelt.

Riedel war Mitbegründer des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins und übernahm 1869 dessen Präsidium von Franz Brendel. 1871 wurde er Vorsitzender des Leipziger Wagner-Vereins.

An seinem Geburtshaus Hütter Straße Nummer 4 wurde eine Gedenktafel angebracht.

Auszeichnungen

1864 erhielt er den Professorentitel durch Herzog Ernst I. von Sachsen-Altenburg.

1883 wurde er von der Universität Leipzig zum Ehrendoktor ernannt.

1884 Herzoglich Sächsischer Kapellmeister.

Werke

Drei bergische Weihnachtslegenden für gemischten Chor.

Zwölf Gesänge für Männerchor.

Nachtgesang - Tonstück für Streichorchester (1887) .

Altböhmische Gesänge für gemischten Chor.

Historia des Leidens und Sterbens unseres Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi : Chöre und Recitative aus den 4 « Passionen » von Heinrich Schütz. Zusammengestellt und herausgeber von Carl Riedel, Siegel, Leipzig (1870) .

Die sieben Worte unseres lieben Erlösers und Seligmachers Jesu Christi, so er am Stamm des heiligen Kreuzes gesprochen, ganz beweglich gesetzt von Heinrich Schütz. Herausgeber von Carl Riedel, Siegel, Leipzig (1872) .

Josef Standthartner

Doctor Josef (Johann Nepomuck Vincenz) Standthartner was born on 4 February 1818 in Troppau, Austrian Moravian Silesia (now, Opava Moravskoslezsky, in the Czech Republic) ; and died after a long and serious illness, on 28 August 1892 (shortly before midnight) , at his home in the « Alsergrund » district of Vienna. He was buried at « Heiligenstadter Friedhof » .

He was the son of Leopold Standthartner et Johanna Nepomuck Schönaich.

He was the husband of Wilhelmina (« Minna ») Josefa Khym Standthartner (1819-1900) , widow Schönaich.

1897 : « “ Frau ” Schönaich married the famous physician, Doctor Standthartner, director of the largest hospital in Vienna. She received in her salon the principal artists and greatest musicians of the time. » (Henry-Louis de La Grange)

The Home of Doctor and Mrs. Josef Standthartner was at the corner of « Seilerstätte » and « Singerstraße » , in the 1st district of Vienna.

Standthartner was the Imperial and Royal Councillor and Head physician and Director of Vienna's General Hospital. He was the personal physician (« Leibarzt ») of Empress Elizabeth of Austria (wife of Emperor Franz-Josef) .

He was a major benefactor of the composer Richard Wagner, the libretto of whose Opera « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg » having had its 1st public reading in the parlor of Doctor and Mrs. Standthartner's apartment.

He was also a staunch supporter of Anton Bruckner.

He was the Director of the board of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » in Vienna ; and the vice-President of the « Rudolfiner-Verein » .

Standthartner was the father of Mathilde Maria Wilhelmina Josefa Standthartner Schnabel (1856-?) .

Honours

Knight of the Order of the Iron Crown.

Knight of the Royal Prussian Red Eagle Order (3rd class) .

Comthur of the Royal Bavarian Michael Order.

Order of Christ of Portugal.

Order of the Ernestine House of Saxony.

North Star of the Hawk of Weimar.

Commander of Isabelle of Northern Spain.

Takowa Order of Serbia.

Standhartner and Wagner

Adrian Williams. « Portrait of Liszt by Himself and his Contemporaries » , Clarendon Press, Oxford, United Kingdom (1990) ...

The German-Bohemian pianist August Stradal (1860-1930) , who was a pupil of Liszt, reports in **1885** :

« One morning, when Doctor **Standhartner**, the long-standing friend of Wagner, Schönaich, the well-known writer on music, and I were at the Master's (Franz Liszt) . Anton Bruckner appeared. He was wearing an old-fashioned tail-coat and, in his hand, held an Opera hat. His clothes were not quite up to date, for, with the coat, he wore short grey leggings out of which peeped a pair of enormous boots. A smile came over all faces, especially when Bruckner addressed Liszt humbly with the words, " Your Grace, ' Herr ' Canon ". He had come to ask Liszt to recommend a performance of his 7th Symphony at the " Karlsruhe Tonkünstler-Versammlung " (under Felix Mottl) . Liszt apparently found Bruckner's request difficult to refuse. It was no longer possible to include the whole work, however, as the programme had already been drawn-up. Otherwise amenable to all requests, he seemed to find Bruckner's reiterated entreaties disagreeable. At this short meeting between the 2 Masters, I felt that Liszt had no great liking for Bruckner as a composer. To be sure, I remember that, on saying farewell, he showed Bruckner great friendliness, promising that, if it were still possible, he would comply with his request. But at the " Tonkünstler-Versammlung ", only the Adagio of the Symphony was played. After the return from Karlsruhe to Weimar, Liszt did indeed express a favourable opinion of the Adagio, but, all the same, one had the impression that the work did not impress him particularly.

Before leaving Vienna, Bruckner visited the Musicians' Society (« Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde ») . Anton Rubinstein, who was in the Austrian capital to attend rehearsals of his Opera " Nero ", also turned-up that evening, as did Johannes Brahms, the Society's honorary president. »

...

Doktor Josef Standthartner : Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofrath und Primararzt im allgemeinen Krankenhause, Directionsmitglied der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vicepräsident des Rudolfiner-Vereines, Ritter des Ordens der eisernen Krone, Ritter des königlich preussischen rothen Adlerordens dritter Classe, Comthur des königlich bayrischen

Michaelsordens, des portugiesischen Christusordens, des Sachsen-Ernestinischen Hausordens, des Sachsen-Weimarischen Falkenordens mit dem Stern, Commandeur des spanischen Isabellenordens und des serbischen Takowa Ordens, am 28. August, kurz vor Mitternacht, versehen mit den Tröstungen der heiligen Religion, nach langem, schweren Leiden, selig in dem Herrn entschlafen ist.

Die entseelte Hülle des theuren Verblichenen wird Dienstag, den 30. Dieses Monats, präcise 3 Uhr Nachmittags vom Trauerhause : IX. , Alserstrasse Nummer 4, in die Pfarrkirche zur allerheil. Dreifaltigkeit in der Alserstrasse geführt, daselbst feierlich eingeseget und sodann auf dem Friedhofe zu Heiligenstadt im eigenen Grabe zur ewige Ruhe bestattet.

Die heilige Seelenmesse wird Mittwoch, den 31. Dieses Monats, um 9 Uhr Früh in obgenannter Pfarrkirche gelesen.

(Wien, am 29. August 1892.)

Professor Doktor Isidor Schnabel, ... Gustav Schönaich, als Schwiegersohn ... Franz Schönaich, Karl Schnabel, ... Kaiserlich und Königlich Generalmajor, Rosa Schnabel, ... Mathilde Schnabel, geborene Standthartner, als Enkel ... als Kinder.

Selected Texts

Selected texts from « Richard Wagner, My Life » (translated by Andrew Gay) , edited by Mary Whittall, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom (1983) .

1861 :

« I stopped 1st of all at Karlsruhe for another interview with the Grand Duke, was accorded the same friendly reception, and got permission to engage in Vienna those singers I might need for a model performance of “ Tristan ” at the theatre, in Karlsruhe. Armed with this command, I went on to Vienna, where I stayed at the Archduke Karl and awaited the fulfilment of a promise “ Kapellmeister ” Esser had made by letter to put on a few performances of my Operas for me. It was here I 1st heard my “ Lohengrin ” performed on the stage. Although the Opera had already been given very frequently, the whole ensemble got together for the complete rehearsal I had requested. The Orchestra immediately played the Prelude with such beauty and warmth, and the voices of the singers and their other good qualities were displayed to such good advantage in the performance of a work they already knew well that, overcome by these impressions, I lost all inclination to criticize any aspect of the production. People seemed to notice how deeply moved I was and, to Doctor Hanslick, this no doubt appeared the proper moment to have himself amicably introduced to me, while I was sitting on the stage and listening ; I greeted him shortly as if he were entirely unknown to me, whereupon the tenor Ander introduced him to me again with the comment that this was my old-acquaintance Doctor Hanslick ; I replied laconically that I remembered Doctor Hanslick very well, and turned back to the rehearsal. It seems my Viennese friends now had the same experience as previously my London acquaintances, when they had tried to direct my attention to the most fearsome critic and found me disinclined to any such gesture. This fellow, who, then still a young student, had attended one of the 1st performances of “ Tannhäuser ” , in Dresden, and

had written about the work with glowing enthusiasm, had since developed into one of the most vicious opponents of my work, as had been amply demonstrated on the occasion of productions of my Operas, in Vienna. Those members of the Opera company well-disposed toward me seemed, henceforth, to have no greater concern than to effect a reconciliation between me and this critic ; as they did not succeed, those who ascribed to the enmity thus aroused the ensuing failure of every undertaking in which I counted on Viennese support may not have been far wrong. I was able to go about the real business I had in mind. The academic young of Vienna had wanted to do me the honour of a torchlight procession, but I declined this, thereby gaining Esser's wholehearted approval, in particular. Together with the highest authorities at the Opera, he began considering how these triumphs could be exploited. I presented myself to Count Lanskoronsky, Comptroller of the Imperial Court, who had been described to me as a strange man who knew absolutely nothing about art and its requirements. When I submitted my appeal that he should give the principal singers at his Opera House, namely " Frau " Dustmann (formerly, Luise Meyer) , " Herr " Beck, as well as possibly " Herr " Ander, leave at some future time to participate in the performance of " Tristan " I was planning for Karlsruhe, the old gentleman replied dryly that this would not be possible. He thought it far more reasonable, given the fact that I was satisfied with his ensemble, to give my new work in Vienna. I promptly lost the courage necessary to oppose this proposition.

As I was descending the steps of the " Hofburg " meditating about this new turn of events, I was met at the gate by a stately gentleman of unusually sympathetic countenance, who offered to conduct me in his carriage to my hotel. This was **Josef Standhartner**, a famous society doctor and an earnest devotee of music, destined henceforth to be a staunch friend for life. »

1861 :

« On my last visit to Vienna, Kolatschek had called on me to offer the hospitality of his house if I should ever return for a longer stay, in order to spare me the unpleasantness of residing in a hotel. For reasons of economy alone, very urgent at the time, I had willingly accepted this offer, and now drove with my luggage directly to the address he had given me. To my astonishment, I discovered at once that it was in a very remote suburb, virtually without any transport to Vienna. Moreover, the house was quite deserted, for Kolatschek had gone off with his family for a summer vacation in Hutteldorf ; with some difficulty, I unearthed an old servant who had been given some vague idea by her employer that I was to be expected. She showed me to a little room where I was to sleep, if I wanted ; there appeared to be no arrangements for laundry or any other service. Greatly put-out by this disappointment, I went back into the city in order to wait for Kolatschek in a " café " near Saint-Stephen's square where, according to the maid, he would show-up at a particular hour. I sat there, for a long time, repeatedly asking after the man I expected to meet, when suddenly I saw **Standhartner** come in. His utter amazement at finding me here was intensified, as he told me, by the fact that he had never before entered this particular " café ". It was only a peculiar coincidence that had led him there, on this day and at that time. When I informed him of my situation he, at once, became incensed that I should be living in the most remote part of Vienna when I had such urgent business in the middle of the city, and he immediately offered me his own home, which he was about to leave for 6 weeks with his family, as a temporary abode. An attractive niece (Seraphine Mauro) , who was living in the same house with her mother and sister, would take care of breakfast and the necessary services. I would, thus, be able to make myself comfortable with

the whole house at my disposal. He jubilantly led me to the house, which had already been vacated by his family to spend their summer holidays in Salzburg. Kolatschek was notified, my bag brought in, and, for several days, I enjoyed **Standhartner's** company, as well as his splendid hospitality. But I also had to recognize a number of new complications for my situation in the further news my friends gave me. The rehearsals scheduled the previous year, for this time (I had arrived in Vienna on August 14th) , had already been postponed indefinitely, because the tenor Ander had reported trouble with his voice. Upon hearing this, I at once came to the conclusion that my stay in Vienna would be pointless ; yet, I could not think anybody would have any idea where I should turn to pursue any constructive purpose. »

1861 :

« Princess Metternich, who had sensed my difficulty in these matters when I left Paris, had recommended me most heartily in Vienna to the family of Count Nakos, of whose wife she had spoken to me with particular emphasis. I had now also made the acquaintance through **Standhartner**, during the few days I spent with him before he left, of young Prince Rudolf Liechtenstein, known to his friends solely as “ Rudi ”. He had been commended warmly to me as a fervent admirer of my music by his doctor, with whom he was on close terms. I often met him for meals at the Archduke Karl after **Standhartner** had rejoined his family, and there we agreed upon a plan to visit Count Alakos at his Estate, Schwarzau, some distance away. »

1861 :

« While this whole “ Tristan ” affair was running its endless course like some chronic illness, **Standhartner** had returned at the end of September with his family. Consequently, the next thing I had to do was to look about for a residence, which I found in the Hôtel Empress Elizabeth. Through my cordial association with my friend's family, I got to know his wife (Wilhelmina) and 3 stepsons (Gustav, Karl and Franz) , as well as a daughter (Wilhelmina) from her 1st marriage, plus another daughter (Mathilde) from her 2nd with **Standhartner**. With regard to my stay in this congenial home, I would henceforth greatly miss the kindly care devoted to me by the aforementioned niece Seraphine, who was not only tireless in her solicitude but also an amusing companion. Because of her dainty figure and hair always curled “ à l'enfant ”, I had named her “ the doll ”. Now, I found it more difficult to get along in a gloomy hotel room. My living expenses also increased severely. »

1862 :

« My only worry was to arrange things so that I could leave Vienna and transfer to Paris in a dignified way. In this, an arrangement made through the **Standhartners'** intermediation, involving an offer by the management to pay me a part of the fee stipulated for “ Tristan ”, seemed to afford some help. »

1862 :

« In Mainz, I saw Friederike Meyer again. As I was also about to leave for Vienna, she was pleased to be able to make

part of the journey with me, because she expected to stop for 1 day in Nuremberg where I could meet her for the rest of the trip. This, we did and arrived in Vienna together, where she went to the Hôtel Munsch, while I again took up residence in my already familiar Empress Elizabeth. Friederike's own condition soon aroused my most intense concern. She had contracted for 3 guest performances at the " Burgtheater " without bearing in mind how unfit she was, at that time, to make a favourable impression in the theater, particularly before a Viennese audience ; the severe sickness from which she had recovered only in the most turbulent circumstances had disfigured her by making her unduly thin ; in addition, her head had grown virtually bald, and, yet, she insisted on refusing to use a wig. The enmity of her sister had alienated the members of the " Burgtheater " company, and as a result of all this, as well as an inept choice of roles, her appearances were a failure, and there could be no question of a permanent engagement. Although she grew steadily weaker and suffered from constant insomnia, she still tried to conceal her true situation from me out of courageous reticence. At a somewhat cheaper inn, The City of Frankfurt, she now intended, as she did not seem to be embarrassed for funds, to spare her nerves as much as possible and await an improvement : at my request, she summoned **Standhartner**, who didn't seem to be able to help her very much.

While these matters involved me in all sorts of difficult complications, I had been keeping-up my old acquaintances in Vienna. A strange incident had occurred at the outset of this visit. I was to read my " Meistersinger " for the **Standhartner** family, just as I had done everywhere else : since " Herr " Hanslick was now considered a friend of mine, they thought it would be a good idea to invite him as well ; but, here, we noticed in the course of the reading that this fearsome critic became constantly paler and angrier, and remarkably enough, when the reading was over he could not be persuaded to remain for a time, but departed at once in obvious vexation. My friends all concluded that Hanslick had interpreted the entire libretto as a pasquinade directed at him and our invitation to the reading as an insult. And the critic's attitude toward me indeed underwent a highly-noticeable change from that evening forward and turned into bitter enmity, the results of which we were soon to see. »

1862 :

« I recognized Madame Kalergis, who had just arrived to spend some time in Vienna, being motivated, I fondly hoped, by the desire to do something for me as well. As she was also a friend of **Standhartner**, she got together with him at once to consider how I could be helped-out of the critical situation I was in, once again, as a result of the heavy expenses of the concerts. She herself had stated to our mutual friend that she had no funds at her disposal and could only meet special expenditures by going into debt. Thus, richer patrons needed to be enlisted. Chief among these was Baroness von Stockhausen, wife of the Hanoverian minister : as a very intimate friend of **Standhartner**, she was warmly attached to my cause, and also won over Lady Bloomfield together with her husband, the English ambassador. There was a " soirée " at the residence of the latter, as well as several evening parties at the house of " Frau " von Stockhausen. One day, **Standhartner** delivered 500 guilders to me from an anonymous donor to help cover my expenses. Madame Kalergis managed to scrape together 1,000 guilders, and these were also turned over to me by **Standhartner** for my subsequent needs. In her efforts to interest the Court in me, however, she remained unsuccessful, despite her close friendship with Countess Zamoiska. »

1863 :

« After the marked success of my 1st concert, I received some approaches from those circles to which, as now became clear to me, I had been secretly but strongly recommended by Marie Kalergis. My unseen patroness had most circumspectly prepared my introduction to the Grand Duchess Helene. I was instructed 1st of all to make use of a recommendation from **Standhartner** to the Grand Duchess's personal physician, Doctor Arneth, whom he had known in Vienna, and who, in turn, could introduce me to her most trusted lady-in-waiting, "Fräulein" von Rhaden. I would have been well content to make the acquaintance of this lady alone, for in her I found a woman of wide culture, great intelligence and noble bearing, whose increasingly earnest interest in me was admixed with a certain anxiety, which seemed to pertain to some worry about the Grand Duchess. It struck me that she felt something more should be done for me than could plausibly be expected from the Grand Duchess, her temperament and character being what they were. I was still not admitted directly to this exalted person, but rather received 1st an invitation to an evening party in the quarters of the chief lady-in-waiting, at which among others the Grand Duchess would also be present. »

1863 :

« In the company of my gun-dog named Pohl, one of the most loveable and excellent animals that ever became attached to me, I undertook long walks every day, for which the extremely pleasant neighbourhood afforded admirable opportunities. Otherwise, I remained more or less alone for a time, as Tausig had been confined to his bed by a severe illness for an extended period, and Cornelius was suffering from an injured foot as a result of having jumped down carelessly from an omnibus when visiting Penzing. I continued my amicable association with **Standhartner** and his family. »

1863-1864 :

« I was able to spend New Year's Eve with the **Standhartners** in a confident mood and enjoy a poem specially written for the occasion by Cornelius, which was equally humorous and appropriate.

But the new year of 1864 soon assumed an increasingly ominous aspect. I fell ill with a rapidly worsening, painful catarrhal malady, which necessitated my making frequent demands on **Standhartner's** care. »

1864 :

« Now, it became clear to me that under these circumstances I could no longer maintain my position in Vienna or my establishment in Penzing, because there was not only no prospect of earning any money even on a temporary basis, but, also, my short-term debts had mounted to such an ominous height under the well-known system of usury that without some extraordinary assistance my very person was actually threatened. In this situation, I turned in utter frankness, at 1st only for advice, to Eduard Liszt, the youthful uncle of my old friend Franz and a judge at the Imperial Provincial Court. During my 1st stay in Vienna, he had commended himself to me as a warmly devoted friend, who would always be willing to do me a favour. As far as the redemption of my short-term bills was concerned, he could see no way out other than to find a rich benefactor who would settle with the creditors. For a time, he

believed that a certain Madame Schöller, a devoted admirer of mine and also the wife of a rich merchant, not only possessed the means but the willingness to use them on my behalf. **Standhartner**, from whom I concealed nothing, also thought he could do something for me in this regard. By these efforts, my situation was held in a state of suspension for a few more weeks, until it eventually turned-out that the best my friends could do for me was to provide enough money to take what seemed the absolutely necessary step of fleeing to Switzerland, where I would be personally protected until such time as I could raise funds to redeem my bills.

Thoughts of death gripped me so tightly that I lost all desire to shake them off. I set about bequeathing my books and manuscripts, of which Cornelius was to receive a share. Some time previously, I had taken the precaution of commending my household effects remaining in Penzing, now no longer secure, to the protection of **Standhartner**. As my friends now most urgently recommended that I get ready to flee, I had turned to Otto Wesendonck, given the fact that my path would take me to Switzerland, and asked him to shelter me in his house. He rejected my request categorically : in response, I could not avoid pointing-out how shabbily he was behaving. Now, it was a question of arranging my departure so that it would appear I would be coming back in the near future. In his great anxiety to cover-up my departure, **Standhartner** had me come to dine at his house, where my servant Franz Mrazek brought me my luggage. I bade a very distressed farewell to him, his wife Anna (should read “ Minna ”) , as well as my good dog Pohl. **Standhartner**'s stepson, Karl Schönaich, who wept from grief, and Cornelius, who, by contrast, was in a frivolous mood, accompanied me to the station, where I departed on the afternoon of March 23rd, to go 1st of all to Munich, where I hoped to be completely unnoticed and have a chance to recuperate for 2 days from the frightful strain of the recent past. I spent those days in the “ Bayerischer Hof ”, from which I undertook a few walks through the city. It was Good Friday : the weather was very bad and seemed to reflect the mood of the entire populace, whom I saw proceeding, from one church to another, in deepest mourning. King Maximilian II, whom the Bavarians had grown to love, had died a few days before, leaving his son to ascend the throne at the youthful but still legitimate age of eighteen and a half. In a display window, I saw a portrait of the young King Ludwig II, and felt that special emotion awakened in us by the sight of beauty and youth being placed in what will presumably be a very difficult situation. Here, I wrote a humorous epitaph for myself and, then, journeyed unmolested over Lake Constance, a refugee, once again, and in need of shelter, and on to Zürich, from where I immediately proceeded to the estate of Doctor Wille, at Mariafeld. »

1864 :

« I got very bad news from Vienna : to protect the household effects, I had left behind in my apartment there, **Standhartner** had gone so far as to sell them to a Viennese agent, reserving the right to repurchase. To this, I responded in extreme indignation, as I saw my landlord, to whom I had to pay rent within a few days, compromised by this action. Through “ Frau ” Wille, I managed to obtain the money needed to meet this obligation and forwarded it, at once, to Baron Rackowitz. Unfortunately, I learned that **Standhartner** and Eduard Liszt had done a thorough job of things, having already paid the rent from the proceeds of the furniture and, thereby, cutting-off all possibility of my returning to Vienna, which both believed would be ruinous for me. But when I heard, at the same time, from Cornelius that Tausig, who was then in Hungary and had previously added his endorsement to one of my demand notes, now felt himself prevented by me from going back to Vienna as he wished, I was so deeply upset that I decided on the

spot to return there, no matter how great the danger might be. I notified my friends there of this but decided I st to try to provide myself with enough money to be able to offer my creditors a settlement of sorts. »

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Martin Gregor-Dellin. « Richard Wagner : His Life, His Work, His Century » translated by J. Maxwell Brownjohn, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, NY (1982) .

1861-1862 :

« Then, he climbed into a 1 horse carriage and drove to Salzburg, reaching Vienna on the following day.

Reality turned-out to be harsher than his recent experiences in the Austrian capital had led him to expect. He had taken everything and everyone too literally. An apartment lent him by the journalist Adolph Kolatschek proved quite unsuited to his needs, and the local theater magnates, Intendant Count Lanskoronsky and Director Matteo Salvi, left him completely in the dark as to when rehearsals of “ Tristan ” could commence.

By a fortunate last-minute coincidence, Wagner bumped into Doctor **Standhartner**, who was on the point of taking his family abroad. **Standhartner** offered him the use of his “ Seilerstätte ” apartment for several weeks, complete with the services of his pretty niece, Seraphine Mauro, who lived in the same house and could, therefore, attend to his creature comforts. Half-Italian and half-Viennese, Seraphine had a doll-like face framed by a wealth of dark ringlets that hung down to her ripe young bosom. Wagner could hardly have remained indifferent to the charms that had already enslaved Peter Cornelius, who was tortured with jealousy. For a short while, “ Seraphinchen ” or “ Dolly ” became the sole focus of Wagner's interest in the opposite sex ; so much so that he shunned the company of everyone save Cornelius and Tausig.

1862 :

« It is difficult to guess how the Viennese reacted when Wagner set-out, late in 1862, to build a livelihood in their city on the threadbare promises of a theater manager, and how “ Tristan und Isolde ” would have sounded to Viennese ears had it been performed there. Ander persistently forgot the 1st Act as soon as he turned his attention to the 2nd, and Luise Dustmann, when asked by the conductor, Heinrich Esser, how she managed to memorize her part, is reputed to have answered that his guess was as good as hers. Torn between hope and despair because the singers proved incompetent or were unavailable for rehearsals, Wagner looked for other ways of endearing himself to the Viennese.

On November 23, 1862, he gave a reading of the “ Meistersinger ” libretto at the home of Doctor **Standhartner**. The latter, obviously with Wagner's consent, had included Eduard Hanslick in the guest list. Hanslick, who left in high-dudgeon when the reading was over, is widely reported to have done so because he recognized himself in Beckmesser or thought the character a deliberate travesty of himself. A more likely assumption is that someone in the know tipped him off to the fact that Beckmesser's name had originally been Hanslich. No one would admit to this

indiscretion, of course, and the critic was cynically congratulated on having sat through the reading without losing his temper. Although Hanslick disclaims any annoyance in his memoirs, it is true that most of his subsequent pronouncements on Wagner contained some element of malice. »

1862 :

« Money problems gave him no rest. “ Minna ” was again set-up independently, and his own needs were far from small. No new income would be forthcoming until “ Tristan ” was performed and started on the round of German theaters. News from Vienna's great “ Kärntner ” Opera House was not encouraging. The tenor, Ander, so glorious a “ Lohengrin ”, had become terrified of Tristan's part and was succumbing to a series of strategic indispositions. By mid-August, Wagner was in Vienna and took-up residence in the house of Doctor **Standhartner**, a Wagner enthusiast and physician to Empress Elizabeth. Tausig formed part of Wagner's Viennese circle, as did Peter Cornelius, to whom had been entrusted the copying of those alterations and transpositions in the part of Tristan indispensable to Ander's recuperation.

In May, a surprise visit to the Wesendonks in Zürich had netted Wagner little, and when, during his Vienna sojourn, they invited him to join them on a Venetian holiday in November, he saw the opportunity of striking again. (Fearful of mentioning Mathilde's name to “ Minna ”, he wrote her that Doctor **Standhartner**, summoned to Venice for consultation by Empress Elizabeth, had insisted on his companionship during the journey !) The “ Tristan ” project, which he described as dangling on the lax vocal cords of a fatigued tenor, was moribund, and his situation desperate ; plans to import Schnorr or Tichatschek to Vienna had fallen through. But Otto and Mathilde, at the end of their “ largesse ”, were deaf to hints. Poor Bülow, who could barely keep his household together, was soon bothered for a loan. »

1862 :

« Though harsh, his estimate of Wagner is closer to modern criticism than is the indiscriminating adulation of the Wagnerites. As a partisan of the Leipzig school, Hanslick was deaf to many beauties in Wagner's scores and, in respect to Wagner, Berlioz, and Liszt (and, later, Bruckner and Richard Strauß) was unable to surmount an innate conservatism and a prejudice against “ literary ” music. Nonetheless, he could never be accused of intellectual dishonesty. One may disagree with his complaints about Wagner's unvocal writing, boring declamation, orchestral din, clumsiness, monotony, exaggeration of expression, and perpetual modulation ; yet, considering the hysterical excesses of the Wagnerites, he generally kept his temper, his logically presented opinions being based not on emotion but on a thorough study of the score in question. He had had 4 years of theory, composition, and piano with Tomaschek and was thoroughly professional at the keyboard.

Though he fought Wagner vigorously, he never denied him ; if he found little to praise in this music, he nonetheless could extol the beauty of a strong, sincere effort ; if he detested Wagner the man, he found him invulnerable in respect to artistic morality. If Hanslick was at times wrong, he was not unrighteous.

Wagner's attitude toward Hanslick was less dichotomous and generous ; after the “ Lohengrin ” review, he thoroughly

loathed him.

The Vienna Opera was well aware of Hanslick's writings on Wagner. Its optimism in planning a production of "Tristan" was an echo of clinking coin at the box-office on Wagner nights. The Viennese public read and respected Hanslick but usually formed its own judgments. Yet, in the case of the novel and uncompromising "Tristan", the management, and especially the cast, felt from the beginning that a Wagner - Hanslick rapprochement would be advantageous. Efforts had been made in this direction by Ander and "Frau" Dustmann. Even Laube was besought to use his influence. But, at arranged "chance" encounters, Wagner was uncivil. Only when Hanslick gallantly remarked to him upon the relationship between misjudgments and personal limitations and declared himself willing to learn, did Wagner seem to respond. But to this call of the critic for social intercourse and friendship, he was to give strange answer when he returned to Vienna from the Rhineland. Ironically, it was probably because of their supposed reconciliation that the "Kärntnertor" Opera House had summoned Wagner back.

Hanslick was subsequently invited to the home of Doctor **Standhartner** to hear Wagner recite the "Meistersinger" poem (November 23, 1862). At this time, the pedantic, narrow minded character now known to the world as Beckmesser appeared in Wagner's manuscript under the name of Hanslick. Wagner had maliciously trapped the critic in a barbarously contrived situation. Pale and upset, Hanslick fled the reading as soon as he could, Wagner doubtlessly finding the whole affair vastly amusing. As Hans Sachs, he had acted-out the last act of "Meistersinger" and sent the cantankerous Marker fleeing the scene of contest. He wanted no mercies from the critics. Success would come from the Folk, from those with no knowledge of the musty Tabulatur. »

1863 :

« Wagner had visited Vienna for a few days, in May and June, to gather-up his servants (the Mrazeks) and the dog, to pay the most urgent debts, and to repurchase what could be located of his auctioned possessions. In a fury against friends who had faithfully acted to protect what they could of his property from the Viennese deluge he himself had let loose, he blamed them for his losses and wrote Mathilde Maier of their "unbelievable stupidity". Cornelius especially aroused his ire by refusing an invitation to settle permanently with him in Bavaria. In his strange way, he loved Peter. During the dark hours at Mariafeld, he had gloomily written to Doctor **Standhartner** in Vienna, "One thing ! Send Peter to me soon ! He must share all sorrow with me. Only death must he leave to me alone ; he need only be close by !" Now, he found it incomprehensible that Peter preferred work on his Opera "Le Cid" to the post of jester at the new Wagnerian court. Wagner was becoming more and more intractable. The opposing side of a problem had never been within his vision ; now, even the middle ground was blurring. One was either for or against him, and to be for him implied a complete sacrifice of personal desires. Cornelius reflected that he was treating old friends "like bootblacks". In a mood of deep resentment, Wagner had stormed Wotan like from Vienna to take-up residence at Villa Pellet.

He was lonely ; the house was desolate, his bed unshared, the rarefied air enveloping his interviews with the King left him gasping. »

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Ronald Taylor. « Richard Wagner : His Life, Art and Thought » , Taplinger Publishing Company, New York, NY (1979) .

1862 :

« Sitting in a “ café ” on the “ Stephansplatz ” the next afternoon, he suddenly saw a man enter whom he had met earlier in the year, when he had been in Vienna to look for singers for “ Tristan ”. The man was, personal physician to the Empress Elizabeth and an enthusiastic follower of Wagner's music. He insisted that Wagner should come and stay with him while his family was away, and Wagner made **Standhartner's** house his own for over a month, visiting the aristocracy, making new acquaintances, like that of the dramatist Friedrich Hebbel, discussing the world with his old friend Heinrich Laube again, now director of the Vienna “ Burgtheater ”, and trying to get “ Tristan ” finally performed.

But nothing went right. Suitable singers, above all a tenor for the title role, were either unavailable, like Tichatschek and Schnorr von Carolsfeld, or diplomatically “ indisposed ” ; the music was again adjudged unplayable, and the whole opera unperformable. “ It became clear to me ”, he said in “ Mein Leben ”, “ that my position was utterly desolate. The whole world seemed to have given-up interest in me. ” The same self-pitying tone fills a long letter to “ Minna ” at the time : “ My new works are far, far in advance of the time and far beyond the capabilities of our theatres. Nobody asks for me. I shall have to start again from the very beginning. ”

When the **Standhartner** family returned from vacation, Wagner moved into the “ Kaiserin ” Elizabeth Hôtel, in the “ Weihburggasse ”, which quickly proved far too expensive. At the invitation of the Wesendonks, he spent a week with them in Venice, then returned to Vienna. But this time with a new purpose in mind - to carry “ Die Meistersinger ” through to the end. In November, he wrote a fresh scenario - in December, back in Paris at the invitation of the Metternichs, he started the poem, and the complete libretto was ready by the end of the following January. »

1862-1863 :

« But less than 5 months later this, together with the remains of sundry fees and loans, had disappeared, most of it swallowed-up by the expenses of a large, handsome apartment in a villa at Penzing, some 5 minutes ride from the beautiful palace of Schönbrunn, just outside Vienna. Biebrich had become petty and provincial, no place from which to launch an offensive against the theatrical establishment of Europe. The choice of Vienna was motivated by 2 thoughts : one was the lingering hope of seeing “ Tristan ” performed there ; the other, as he put it in “ Mein Leben ”, was because “ with no other German city had I developed so close an artistic relationship ”. Here, in the company of Cornelius, Tausig, **Standhartner** and others, and waited upon by a servant couple who remained faithful to him for a number of years, he celebrated his 50th birthday in grand style. “ Wagner is just like a child when he has money in his pocket ”, said the Viennese conductor Heinrich Esser, who was to have directed the 1st performance of “ Tristan ”, “ and it does not seem to enter his head that it will not last for ever. And, then, he claims that he cannot work at all unless his rooms are luxurious and unless he has exclusive use of a large garden - in a word, unless he can live like a lord. ” »

1864 :

« Wagner liked neither Brahms the man nor Brahms the composer (though many of Brahms' greatest works were yet to come - the 4 Symphonies, the Violin Concerto, the B-flat major Piano Concerto, the Clarinet Quintet - they would hardly have changed Wagner's opinion) . Together with Tausig, Peter Cornelius and Weissheimer, Brahms had corrected the orchestral parts for Wagner's concerts in Vienna, in 1862-1863, but this counted for little. The 2 men had met only once, in February 1864, when Doctor **Standhartner** brought Brahms to Wagner's house, in Penzing. Musically, there was hardly a single point of contact between them. Brahms had gone to “ Das Rheingold ” and “ Die Walküre ” in Munich, in 1870, but later was known to dissuade his pupils from concerning themselves with Wagner's music. In 1875, there was to be an unpleasant “ contretemps ” between them when Brahms, who, back in the 1860's, had received as a present from Tausig the manuscript of Wagner's new “ Venusberg ” scene for the Paris “ Tannhäuser ” of 1861, refused to return it for Wagner to publish. Eventually, he did, but only in return for a copy of the “ de luxe ” edition of “ Das Rheingold ”. In her diary, Cosima makes no effort to disguise her and Wagner's scorn for the “ crude, boorish ” man and his “ mediocre ” music. »

1864 :

« The press was equally consistent in its hostility, although faced with the growing public acceptance of Wagner's music, less sure of itself than a few years earlier. Much of his free time Wagner spent in the company of old friends, like Semper and Doctor **Standhartner**, and of more recent acquaintances, among them the painter Hans Makart. »

1881 :

« His health weakened, his energy diminished (the doctors failed to ascribe his frequent chest pains to a heart condition) Wagner now worked more slowly. Cosima, who begins almost every entry in her diary with a sentence on how her husband had slept, still records a large number of nights disturbed by pains and discomforts of one kind or another, or by strange and often unpleasant dreams. But his will lost none of its power, and he still dominated the social evenings at “ Wahnfried ”. Old friends came - Carl Brandt, who was to control the stage machinery for “ Parsifal ” but who died before seeing his work accomplished ; the Munich painter Franz von Lenbach, who made a number of famous portraits of Wagner and his circle : Karl Ritter, from his Dresden days ; Doctor **Standhartner**, from Vienna ; the Countess Marie von Schleinitz and her husband ; Liszt, of course, who stayed at the house for a number of days each time, and Malwida von Meysenbug. »

1883 :

« The hearse, drawn by 4 horses, moved-off on its mile-long journey down into the centre of the town, up past the old Margraves' Opera House and on to the Villa “ Wahnfried ”. By the side of the carriage walked the 12 men who were to bear the body to its last resting-place - Feustel, Muncker, Adolf Groß, Wolzogen, Joukovsky, Anton Seidl, August Wilhelmj, leader of the Bayreuth Orchestra, Heinrich Porges, Hermann Levi, Hans Richter, Doctor **Josef Standhartner** from

Vienna, and the singer Albert Niemann (the Berlin “ Tristan ” of 1876 and the 1st Siegmund, at Bayreuth) . Crowds lined the route ; men, women, even children. »

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Hans Gál. « Richard Wagner » , translated by Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, Stein and Day, New York, NY (1976) .

1864 :

« Thanks to the memoirs of Wendelin Weissheimer, who was constantly in Wagner's company during the Vienna concerts, in the winter of 1861-1862, we know of another pretty and typically Wagnerian episode :

Wagner had been staying at his hotel for 2 months. He was still hoping for the payment which was to be made to him after the 1st performance of “ Tristan ”, but it did not arrive - the proprietor became worried and sent him one bill after the other. When one evening, together with Tausig, I went to visit him, he was full of woe and bemoaned his miserable position. Full of sympathy, we listened to him and sat on the sofa in deep depression, while he was pacing up and down in nervous haste. Suddenly, he stopped dead and said :“ Ah, now I know what is missing and what I need.” He ran to the door and rang the bell loudly. The waiter finally appeared, slowly and with hesitation, for these people soon know which way the wind is blowing, and he was no less amazed than we were when Wagner ordered :“ Will you bring us immediately 2 bottles of champagne on ice ! ” - “ For God's sake, in this situation ! ”, we cried out when the waiter had left again. But he gave us a fervent lecture on the absolute necessity of champagne, especially in desperate situations - only champagne could help one to overcome such embarrassments. If you associated with Wagner you went from surprise to surprise. When I entered his room next morning, he showed me 1,000 guilders which the Empress had sent him, presumably at the instigation of Doctor **Standhartner** (Wagner's friend and personal physician to Empress Elizabeth) .

Talking of champagne, let us just mention by the way that when Wagner's Penzing home was compulsorily auctioned-off, the contents included 100 bottles of that precious liquid. There is no record, however, of whether Wagner had ever paid for them. »

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Ernest Newman. « Wagner As Man & Artist » , Tudor Publishing Co. , New York, NY (1937) .

1862 :

« ... solely to his limitations ; and that to widen the boundaries of his knowledge he desired nothing more ardently than to learn from me. These explanations were made with such an explosion of feeling that I could do nothing but try to soothe his grief, and promise him my unreserved sympathy with his work in future. Shortly after my departure from Vienna, I heard that Hanslick had praised me and my amiability in unmeasured terms.

Whether Wagner's account of the interview is strictly accurate or not, we have no means of knowing ; but the story, even as he tells it, indicates that Hanslick was not, at this time, a hopelessly prejudiced or evil-natured antagonist. In November 1862, they met again at the house of Doctor **Standhartner**, in Vienna. Wagner read the “ Meistersinger ” poem to the company.

As Doctor Hanslick was now supposed to be reconciled with me, they thought they had done the right thing in inviting him also. We noticed that, as the reading went on, the dangerous critic became paler and more and more out of humour ; and it was noticed that, at the end, he could not be persuaded to stay, but took his leave, at once, with an unmistakable air of irritation. My friends all agreed that Hanslick regarded the whole poem as a pasquinade against himself, and the invitation to listen to it as an outrage. And truly from that evening the critic's attitude towards me underwent a striking change ; it ended in an intensified enmity, of the consequences of which we were soon made aware.

The touching innocence of it, the air of perfect candour, of conscious rectitude, of surprise that men should be found so base as Hanslick proved himself to be ! Would it be believed from this ingenuous record that Wagner had given Hanslick the most unmistakable cause of offense ? It may have occurred to more than one reader to ask how Hanslick managed to recognize a caricature of himself in Beckmesser. It is hardly likely that he could have done so from the poem alone. We may be tolerably sure he had something more to go upon.

We possess three prose sketches of the “ Meistersinger ” libretto. The 1st was made in 1845, the 2nd and 3rd ; there is hardly any difference between the two, in the winter of 1861. The actual libretto was written in Paris, in November 1861 and January 1862. In the 2nd sketch, the Marker is given the name of “ Hanslich ”. In the 3rd, he becomes “ Veit Hanslich ”. In these 2 later sketches, the Marker is drawn with a perceptibly harsher hand. That the conferring of this name on the Marker was something more than a passing joke is shown by its appearing in both sketches, and not merely in the list of “ dramatis personae ”, but written-out in full throughout. These 2 sketches were made, as we have seen, after the 1st meeting of Wagner and Hanslick in Vienna, in 1861. With an author so fond of reading his own works to his friends as Wagner was, it is incredible that news of Hanslick being satirized as the pedantic Marker in the forthcoming Opera should not have spread through musical Vienna, and have reached the critic's ears. His feeling, therefore, at the party in November 1862, that the shaft was aimed at himself may safely be put down not so much to his own intuition as to either a pre-suspicion or a knowledge of the truth. He would be quite justified, then, in regarding the invitation to be present at the reading as an insult. But even if we allow no weight at all to this theory, in spite of its inherent probability, what are we to think of Wagner's later conduct ? He tells us more than once of Hanslick's enmity towards him ; he makes no mention of himself having treated Hanslick, in the “ Meistersinger ” sketches, in a way that the critic and his friends could only regard as insulting. Hanslick was, of course, hopelessly wrong about Wagner, the musician ; but after Wagner's brusque treatment of him whenever he met him, and after the attempt to ridicule him in the “ Meistersinger ”, who will say that Hanslick was under any obligation to be fond of Wagner the man ? Yet, it is only Wagner's side of the case, as usual, that is given us in “ Mein Leben ”.

The autobiography, then, has to be used with caution : not that Wagner, I suppose, often consciously perverted the

truth, but that it was impossible for him to believe he was ever in the wrong in his judgments of other people. »

1861 :

« After the disastrous “ Tannhäuser ” performances, in March 1861, Wagner fluctuated for a while between Paris, Karlsruhe and Vienna, at length settling down on the 14th August in the last named city, where it was proposed to produce “ Tristan ”. “ Minna ” had gone to Soden for a cure, on the 10th July : from there, she went on to Dresden once more. In Vienna, Wagner had the loan of Doctor **Standhartner's** house, for some weeks, during the physician's absence. His wants were attended to by a “ pretty niece ” of **Standhartner's**. This pretty niece was one Seraphine Mauro. According to Kapp's book “ Richard Wagner und die Frauen ”, “ Wagner was not insensible to so much beauty in his daily surroundings, and his “ dear little doll ” (“ Puppe ”), as he always called Seraphine, did not let him sigh in vain. The suffering in this affair of Wagner's fell upon his friend Peter Cornelius, who had lost his heart to the beautiful Seraphine, some time before.

Standhartner having returned to Vienna, at the end of September, Wagner had to leave his comfortable quarters, and as there seemed no prospect of an early performance of “ Tristan ”, and life at a hotel was expensive, he accepted an invitation from the Wesendoncks to meet them in Venice. He remained there only 4 days - “ 4 miserable days ”, he calls them. How unbridgeable was the gulf made between him and “ Minna ” by the memory of the Mathilde affair of 3 years before may be estimated from his letters to his wife of 19th October and 13th November 1861. The 1st is sensible and tender ; he is full of pity for the poor suffering woman, and will gladly do anything in his power to alleviate her misery - anything, that is, but give-up the Wesendonck acquaintance. He still has plans for a reunion, and a quiet old age to be spent together. But as a preliminary to any rapprochement he insists, as he had always done, on her consenting never again to mention the name of Mathilde, for whom, he declares, his passion has from beginning to end been absolutely pure. Of all the tragedies of Wagner's life, this surely is the greatest, that his one noble love, the one that was so necessary to him as an artist, to which we owe “ Tristan ” and many of the finest moods of the “ Meistersinger ” and “ Parsifal ”, should have been the one to embitter his existence and his wife's beyond all hope of remedy while his less worthy attachments were either unknown to “ Minna ” or counted for little with her. With Wagner obstinately resolved not to give-up the Wesendonck acquaintance, and “ Minna ” (blind to the true nature of the attachment, and seeing it, in all probability, merely as another Lausot affair) as obstinately bent on making the cessation of this acquaintance a condition of a full reconciliation with her husband, it was impossible that the breach between the 2 tortured and self-torturing souls should ever be healed. That Wagner dreaded giving “ Minna ” any cause to be reminded of Mathilde's name is evident from the sophisticated version he gives her of his Venice excursion, in his letter of 13th November 1861 : we can only regard as a piece of well-meant fiction his story that Doctor **Standhartner**, having been summoned in haste, as deputy physician in ordinary, to attend the Empress of Austria in Venice, had pressingly insisted upon Wagner accompanying him for his health's sake. “ I returned early this morning. I hope it has done me good ; at least, I had no talking to do for several days, but only to go sight-seeing, which really benefitted me. ” Not a word, it will be observed, as to having gone to Venice at the request of the Wesendoncks, or even as to their being in Venice, at that time. »

1862 :

« When Wagner is settled at Sternberg under the protection of King Ludwig II of Bavaria, Cornelius is, again, to come live with him and be his love. They are to live in the same house ; Cornelius can bring his piano, and there is a box of cigars awaiting him - yet, each is to maintain his own independence. “ Exactly 2 years ago, I ardently expected you in Biebrich : for a long time, I had no news of you, and then I suddenly learned from a 3rd person that you had let Tausig take you off to Geneva. You have never fully known how deeply this put me out of humour. Nothing of that sort must happen this time ; but we must be open with each other, like men. ” He knew that Cornelius was working at his Opera “ Le Cid ”, and doubted whether he could do this as well in Wagner's proximity as apart from him. Wagner will have it that Cornelius can work at “ Le Cid ” and he at his “ Meistersinger ” in their common home ; he is willing and anxious, indeed, to advise his friend about his Opera. “ Either you accept my invitation immediately ”, he concludes, “ and settle yourself for your whole life in the same house with me, or - you disdain me, and expressly abjure all desire to unite yourself with me. In the latter case I abjure you also root and branch (' ganz und vollständig '), and never admit you again in any way into my life. From this, you can guess one thing - how sorely I need peace. And this makes it necessary for me to know definitely where I stand : my present connection with you tortures me horribly. It must either become complete, or be utterly severed ! ”

Cornelius hesitated, as well he might, to give himself up body and soul to this devouring flame of a man ; he knew Wagner, and knew what sacrifices a friendship of his kind meant for the friend. Wagner was very angry with him for not accepting the invitation, at once. He came to Vienna to liquidate his debts with the 135,000 « Gulden » placed at his disposal for that purpose by the King and, generally, to put his affairs in order. Asked by Seraphine Mauro, the object of his visit to the city, he curtly replied, “ To quarrel with my friends. ” Heinrich Porges and his brother had called upon Wagner, but Cornelius did not go. “ There were such scenes ”, he writes to his brother Carl on 15th June, “ and tears of rage and despair over my conduct : no answer to his letter ; my “ Cid ” had “ miscarried ”, he could put everything in order, go through it all cordially and calmly with me ; at Sternberg, etc. , etc. , pianoforte ready ; a box full of cigars ; Peter as man and artist, etc. , etc. ” He saw **Standhartner**, who advised him, in case he did not mean to accept Wagner's invitation, not to go near him just then, as it would probably lead to a complete rupture. So, Cornelius writes to Wagner between 1 and 3 in the morning, telling him that he could not settle in Munich now with anyone but his brother, but that when he has finished “ Le Cid ” he will be willing to live there in merry companionship with Carl and Wagner. No answer was vouchsafed to this letter. “ Standhartner speaks to him again, in my interest. Heinrich Porges writes him : “ Reconciliation with Peter ; otherwise, Egoist ! ” Thereupon, he writes at once to Porges : “ do not visit me to-day ”, and to **Standhartner** : “ do not come till to-morrow ”, etc. , etc. , etc. , and, when they come next day, he is gone ! So that one can truly say that he has treated his best friends in Vienna like so many shoe-blacks. He came in May 1861. This is the upshot of these 3 years! ”

1862 :

« He (Wagner) writes to Cornelius from Paris, at the end of January 1862 : “ Listen ! On Wednesday evening, the 5th February, I am to read the “ Meistersinger ” at Schott's house, in Mainz. You have no idea what it is, what it means to me, and what it will be to my friends ! You must be there that evening ! Get **Standhartner** at once to give you, on my account, the necessary money for the journey from Vienna. In Mainz, I will reimburse you, and whatever may be

necessary for the return journey. »

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« Richard to Minna Wagner : Letters to His 1st Wife » , 2 Volumes translated, prefaced by William Ashton Ellis, Vienna House, New York, NY (1972) .

August 16, 1861 (Vienna) :

« I had another shock with my lodgings. Good Kolatschek lives in a frightfully distant suburb so that I promptly recognized I couldn't stay there as my cab-fares alone would have cost more than my lodgings. Moreover, it was very uninviting otherwise, and I was on the point of hunting for fresh lodgings when Doctor **Standthartner**, my highly-enthusiastic Viennese friend (a kind of Doctor Schuster) , luckily intervened, offering to house me in his roomy abode for as long as his family is away - til about the middle of September. This lies in the heart of the city and I'm getting to feel quite at ease in it ; the only thing I have to procure for myself is dinner. At least so far as lodging is concerned, then, I can quietly wait now and see if anyone else will invite me thereafter, or if I must look out for a furnished logis for myself which, indeed, is what would suit me least. For now, comes the other melancholy item in my communications, which will make it comprehensible to you that I'm not exactly in a cheerful mood ! »

August 26, 1861 (Vienna) :

« I cannot conceal that I am in a very melancholy humour through it all, and my kind host, Doctor **Standthartner**, has a pretty bad time with me. Nevertheless, I am glad I can remain in his house a few weeks longer ; by then, the Ander question must have come to its full resolution and, once the thing has a definite good purpose, I shall find more heart to hire myself a room in case of need. Even as it is, my stay here costs an awful lot of money. »

September 4, 1861 (Vienna) :

« I am delighted to see you are in humour enough to adorn your letters to me with such admonitions. For the rest, I am really much troubled by my stay in Vienna turning-out far more expensive at present than I had presumed ; and what is chiefly to blame for this, is the highly-inconvenient circumstance that my singers are scattered all over the country, causing me a wicked outlay on conveyances etc. Neither have I any regular meals provided me and, for the moment at least, I'm saving nothing but the cost of lodgings : if I could accept invitations to the country, it would be another matter. Still, I hope for some relief with the approach of autumn, especially when everybody is in town again. My host, Doctor **Standthartner**, has gone to join his family at Salzburg ; I'm quite alone in his abode, now. Tausig and Cornelius haven't come back to Vienna yet, so I'm happily protected for the present from the injurious influence of too youthful company on my views of life and general morals ; though I hope to expose my weak mind as little as possible to such contamination even later. »

September 26, 1861 (Vienna) :

« I have moved-out, had to pack and unpack everything once more, and got terribly cross with it this time ! My host's family (the **Standhartners**) will return in a day or two ; I hunted for a furnished lodging (lost hours and days over it) found nothing in needful proximity to the theatre, and finally struck-up friendship with the landlord of the hotel named above (i.e. , the “ Kaiserin ” Elizabeth on “ Weihburggasse ”) , who is an art-enthusiast, constantly harbours famous musicians, and has let me have a big parlour with bedroom on the 3rd floor, looking over the court, for the same terms as a private furnished lodging (all of which are dear enough !) . So, I'll here await the consummation of my Vienna fortunes. »

« Those (God be praised) are gradually assuming a rather propitious aspect. Ander has come back to town, and will reappear in a week. He boasts that his voice has grown better and clearer than ever ; whilst he is as full of zeal for “ Tristan ” as before. »

« So, my heart is considerably lightened on that score at any rate, and the only thing I have to bewail is the long delay and the loss of a hospitable house (the **Standhartners**) that eased my so protracted sojourn in Vienna. I seem doomed to have everything fall-out incredibly hard now ; God knows when Luck will smile on me a little once again ! »

November 13, 1861 (Vienna) :

« Last Wednesday (the 6th) , my friend Doctor **Standhartner** (as deputy physician in ordinary) was summoned in haste by the Empress to a consultation in Venice ; as doctor and friend, he insisted on my accompanying him, since I needed a change, some distraction, if I meant to hold-out here. I returned this morning, and shall hope it has benefitted me : at least, I had no talking to do for a few days running, but only sights to see, which really did me good. »

August 21, 1862 (Vienna) :

« You are quite right to be returning by Vienna. Call on the Laubes ; they live in the “ Stoss im Himmel ” block (sounds droll enough !) . The **Standhartners** , unfortunately, are not at home. »

November 12, 1862 (Biebrich) :

« I hope to start my trip tomorrow, though ; so, expect my next letter from Vienna. If you have anything of moment to write me meanwhile, please address to : “ Doctor **J. Standhartner**, Stadt 806. Wien. ” »

December 27, 1862 (Vienna) :

« Among all my cares and troubles, the care for you has still remained the most consuming. Nothing having turned-up from anywhere, at last, I begged **Standhartner** to advance me the needful on my “ Tristan honorarium ”. He has had my wish complied with through his banker - so now, take heart, good “ Minna ” ! »

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Karl Geiringer. « Brahms : His Life and Work » , translated by H. B. Weiner and Bernard Miall, George Allen and Unwin, London (1942) .

1864 :

« As to his male acquaintances, he was on terms of increasing friendship with the well-known critic Eduard Hanslick, who even sought the acquaintance of Brahms's family, in Hamburg, sending his photo to the delighted Elise. He continued to see much of Tausig and Cornelius. Both were friends of Richard Wagner, who was then living in Vienna, and were anxious to arrange a meeting between Brahms and the composer who was responsible for the resuscitation of the music-drama. The introduction was, at last, effected through the medium of a 3rd mutual acquaintance, Doctor **Standhartner**, who took Brahms to see Wagner, on February 6, 1864. The evening was a gratifying success : apart from Classical music, Brahms played his “ Händel Variations ”, and Wagner could not but be impressed by this magnificent work. He expressed his admiration in the following words :

“ One sees what can still be done with the old forms in the hands of one who knows how to deal with them. ”

Never again were the 2 greatest German composers of their time to meet face to face. It would, therefore, seem appropriate to give some account of their relations here. In their art, Brahms and Wagner had no points of contact whatever (as will be more fully explained in another chapter) . Precisely because of their dissimilarity, one might have thought that each could have respected the other's achievements. Actually, however, their relations (mainly owing to the intervention of 3rd persons) became less friendly. The attack delivered upon the “ music of the future ” by Brahms, in 1860, can hardly be held responsible for this. In that year, Brahms, together with Joachim, Grimm, and Scholz, drew-up a manifesto in which they and a number of sympathizers sought to protest against the influence of the “ new German school ”. Owing to an indiscretion this manifesto, which was really aimed at Liszt rather than Wagner, was published over the names of the 4 principals only and, in this form, excited mirth rather than anger in the camp of their opponents. »

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« The Diary of Richard Wagner (1865-1882) : The Brown Book » , presented and annotated by Joachim Bergfeld ; and translated by George Bird, Cambridge University Press, London (1980) .

October 24, 1865 (Vienna) :

« Yesterday evening, **Standhartner** was with me : we've put a lot in order. Today, it's off with him to the dentist (it's that monster who will now decide my existence) that is to say, in Vienna. »

October 26, 1865 (Vienna) :

« Yesterday, as a result of a very poor night, I was in a bad way : a tooth operation was undertaken ; reading Balzac brought balm - in the evening, an hour at the **Standhartners**. »

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Cosima Wagner's Diaries. Volume I (1869-1877) , edited and annotated by Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack ; translated, and with an Introduction by Geoffrey Skelton, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, NY (1978) .

Sunday, May 22, 1870 :

« Many letters and telegrams (King Ludwig II of Bavaria, Richter, **Standhartner** ... »

Monday, August 21, 1871 :

« Letter from Doctor **Standhartner** (business affairs) . »

Friday, November 3, 1871 :

« Richard writes letters to Doctor **Standhartner**, “ Herr ” Feustel in Bayreuth ; business affairs, in short. »

Tuesday, January 2, 1872 :

« He (Wagner) writes to Doctor **Standhartner** and Kafka. »

Monday, March 11, 1872 :

« Richard sends the score of “ Tannhäuser ” to Doctor **Standhartner**, to have the 1st scene copied. »

Wednesday, April 24, 1872 :

« Letters from the **Standhartners**, Levi ... »

Friday, May 10, 1872 :

« Doctor **Standhartner** reports that people wish to form a Wagner Society in Prague and are inquiring through a member whether Wagner would agree to Czechs and Bohemians being represented in it in equal numbers. Wagnerian art is the only kind which unites hostile elements. »

Tuesday, May 21, 1872 :

« Morning rehearsal, many Bayreuth people in my box, but friends too, among them Doctor **Standhartner**, who has come all the way from Vienna. »

Wednesday, May 22, 1872 :

« Dinner at the “ Fantaisie ” with **Standhartner**, who, like everybody else, praised the behavior of the children, particularly of “ Fidi ”, at the ceremony. »

Friday, October 25, 1872 :

« Sent my father (the composer Franz Liszt) the telegram from Doctor **Standhartner** describing Princess Hohenlohe's 18,000 Florins as “ a ridiculous exaggeration - one zero too many ”, to my great relief. »

Wednesday, November 6, 1872 :

« Telegrams from my uncle and **Standhartner**. »

Wednesday, January 21, 1874 :

« I write to Doctor **Standhartner**, regarding the concert in Vienna. »

Tuesday, July 28, 1874 :

« Telegram from our friend **Standhartner**, saying he is arriving today with his daughter, preparations and reception. Great joy at seeing this dear, loyal, and understanding friend again. Made music in the evening : 3rd Act of “ Siegfried ”. To my delight, Doctor **Standhartner** finds that Richard is looking very well. »

Saturday, August 1, 1874 :

« Richard relates some experiences from his life, the encounter with the King's erstwhile “ fiancée ”, Princess Sophie. **Standhartner** tells me how utterly the princes hate Richard. »

Sunday, August 2, 1874 :

« Richard very unwell, he seems to have caught cold yesterday, and singing is always a great strain on him. I alone accompany our friends to the railroad station ; I am glad of **Standhartner's** love for Richard and his delight in what he calls Richard's good fortune. Comfortingly, he finds him more cheerful than previously. But in what state do we leave our friends ? In these last 2 years, he has lost one son (Karl Schönaich) and is returning to the other (son,

Gustav Schönaich) , who is wasting away. Oh life ! We drape our wounds with rags. Last night, I heard “ Fidi ” sobbing. I went to him, he complained that his throat was sore, in alarm, I sent for **Standhartner**, it turned-out to be nothing - but the shock, the alarm ! Richard spends the day in bed. »

Sunday, January 3, 1875 :

« Very nice letter from Doctor **Standhartner**, asking us to stay with him and his family. »

Saturday, February 20, 1875 :

« In Vienna, at 10 o'clock, on Sunday ; **Standhartner**, the Academic Wagner Society, 80 young people, and all sorts of others. Taken to **Standhartner's** house, cordial welcome. »

Wednesday, March 3, 1875 :

« Received calls, in the evening a “ soirée ” in Makart's studio in Richard's honour - Count and Countess Andrassy, Count and Countess Széchenyi, Countess Festetics, lady in waiting to the Empress, who told me in the morning that for her Richard's art is like the creation of the world. Countess Wickenburg, Count Hoyos, Countess Wilczek, Prince Liechtenstein, the **Standhartner** family, the Liszt family, “ Herr ” and “ Frau ” von Angeli, Doctor Mosenthal, Prince Metternich, the Hellmesberger Quartet, Semper (whom Richard, seeing him for the 1st time in 8 years, does not at 1st recognize) , Countess Dönhoff, “ Frau ” Wolter, and many others — perhaps, 60 people in all. A pleasant occasion, everyone looking his best, face and clothes, and the general mood very cheerful. »

Thursday, March 4, 1875 :

« In the evening, went through the 3rd Act of “ Götterdämmerung ” , in **Standhartner's** house, with piano accompaniment. »

Thursday, March 11, 1875 :

« At 2 o'clock, welcomed by the good **Standharters**, in Vienna. »

Friday, March 12, 1875 :

« A letter has arrived from the King Ludwig II, as exalted and enthusiastic as ever. He wants the fragments to be performed after Easter. Richard wants to do the concert here without a rehearsal, our friend **Standhartner** is against it. »

Monday, May 3, 1875 :

« At 5 o'clock, left for Vienna, tolerable night journey ; arrival at **Standhartners**, at 9. »

Thursday, May 6, 1875 :

« Concert at 12 o'clock - fine impression, " Hagen's Watch " repeated. But Richard is tired. I, then, visit the picture and flower exhibition with Prince Liechtenstein and **Standhartner**. »

Monday, May 10, 1875 :

« Sent-off copies of " Götterdämmerung " (to " Mimi ", the King, **Standhartner**. »

Thursday, July 8, 1875 :

« Preparations for the children's arrival, and rehearsals, between times letters ; I to Doctor **Standhartner**, asking him to visit Hans von Bülow (her 1st husband) and give me a report on his condition. »

Monday, November 1, 1875 :

« Battered arrival at 6 o'clock in the morning ; friend **Standhartner**, at the station. »

Thursday, December 2, 1875 :

« A Quartet " soirée ", at Hellmesberger's. In the evening, our **Standhartner** friends. »

Saturday, January 1, 1876 :

« Went to church, afterwards received visitors. Richard discovers that the newspapers are saying that " Herr " Scaria demanded 2,000 Florins for his entire stay in Bayreuth and had been turned down by the management committee ! Richard is requesting a correction through **Standhartner**. »

Thursday, February 10, 1876 :

« **Standhartner** writes that " Lohengrin " will be possible in Vienna, only on March 2. »

Friday, January 14, 1876 :

« Letters, a very good one from **Standhartner** with an account of the royalties, then, a nice one (as always) from the King Ludwig II. »

Wednesday, April 12, 1876 :

« Richard receives a letter from Doctor **Standhartner**, saying “ Herr ” Jauner is making the release of “ Frau ” Materna conditional on the performances of “ Tristan ” and “ Walküre ” in Vienna, next winter. So, before the work has even been done here, the seeds of its dissolution are being sown ! »

Sunday, April 23, 1876 :

« Around mid-day, while our musicians are having lunch with us, various telegrams arrive ; firstly, from “ Herr ” Niemann, recommending for Sieglinde a “ Fräulein ” von Pretfeld, of whom all present say she would be (because of her figure alone) impossible ! Then, from “ Herr ” Jauner, saying he is awaiting a reply to his letter in order to come to an agreement with “ Frau ” Materna ! A veritable parade of baseness, Richard refers him to his letter to Doctor **Standhartner** and concludes with the sentence that he hopes he will not have to prepare himself for a hostile attitude on the part of the management. »

Wednesday, March 28, 1877 :

« God be praised ! Richard is continuing to work on “ Parsifal ”, even though it means we sometimes have to deal with repugnant business matters till late in the night. “ Herr ” Hodge asks for a postponement of the guaranteed payment, we grant it to him through the lawyer. Arrival of (Hans) Richter, very vulgarly bringing the 20,000 Marks, with the request that Richard should sign a declaration of consent to the performance of the other 3 works. Richard is standing by what my father has written to **Standhartner**. Richter praises “ Die Walküre ”, in Vienna - from my father's account, I gather that it lacks all dedication and nobility. »

Saturday, April 21, 1877 :

« Richard writes to friend **Standhartner**, setting-out the terms for the use of the “ Nibelungen ” : 10 % instead of 7 ; 20,000 Marks as an advance (not as a gift) ; in return, exclusive rights for the Austrian monarchy. »

Wednesday, April 25, 1877 :

« From friend **Standhartner**, a telegram saying that neither the Prince nor the management is raising any significant objections to Richard's proposals (10 %, 20,000 Marks advance) . »

Wednesday, August 1, 1877 :

« Once again, in “ Wahnfried ”, Friend **Standhartner**. »

Friday, August 3, 1877 :

« Friend **Standhartner** departs. »

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« The Letters of Franz Liszt to Marie zu Sayn-Wittgenstein » , translated and edited by Howard E. Hugo, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut (1971) .

March 31, 1877 (Bayreuth) :

« You know that **Standhartner** and Mister Jauner have saddled me with a commission, concerning the complete performance at Vienna of the tetralogy, “ The Ring of the Nibelungs ”. Wagner is now not at all inclined to deal with the Opera directors : the obvious proof, is that he declined the 20,000 Mark letter of credit brought him by Richter, the day before yesterday, as a premium from Mister Jauner for the “ Nibelungs ”. When I spoke to him, however, of the supreme good-will that the Emperor so kindly displayed toward his work, he answered me immediately in tones of real emotion :

“ As soon as His Majesty will be so good to convey me his desire to see my " Nibelungs " performed at Vienna, I shall comply most respectfully and, then, place my work at the disposal of the Imperial Theater. ” »

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« Cosima Wagner's Diaries. Volume II (1878-1883) » , edited and annotated by Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack ; translated, and with an Introduction, Postscript, and Additional Notes by Geoffrey Skelton, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, NY (1980) .

Monday, January 28, 1878 :

« Friend **Standhartner** reports that Hans Richter has made-up for his remissness and that “ Rheingold ” is a big success in Vienna - which we doubt, insofar as we have received no telegrams about it. »

Wednesday, June 5, 1878 :

« Memories of all our other good old friends - **Standhartner**, Mathilde Maier ... »

Saturday, September 14, 1878 :

« Friend **Standhartner**, yesterday, announced a visit, he is coming from the international exposition in Paris and, since he wrote in French, Richard says, “ Il s'est exposé lui-même comme ami de Wagner et, en cette qualité, il était en effet assez exposé là-bas. ” As always, when he jokes in French, he makes use of the best and most original of expressions. »

Sunday, September 15, 1878 :

« Beautiful day ; after waiting in vain at the station for friend **Standhartner**, we drive to the “ Ermitage ”. »

Monday, September 16, 1878 :

« Friend **Standhartner** tells us about the policemen in Gastein who surround the German Emperor in masses, and if somebody has a hand in his pocket when the Emperor or Bismarck passes by, he is politely requested to take it out !
»

Tuesday, November 5, 1878 :

« Before reading this libretto (Spontini's “ Fernand Cortez ”) , he received and answered a letter from friend Standh. He tells me that **Standhartner** was pleased with his clear, straightforward letter. »

Tuesday, November 12, 1878 :

« He comes upstairs to fetch me, sits down beside me, and suddenly laughs about Gurnemanz's herbs and roots : “ He sounds so cross, so disgruntled. ” Then, he became a bit impatient and said, “ If you only knew ! ” And soon, I do know for, when I enter the salon, I see a magnificent Persian carpet for my room lying there ! He had been in correspondence with **Standhartner** about it and, now, he sends-off a telegram of thanks, signed : “ He and she. ” »

Tuesday, January 4, 1881 :

« A nice letter from **Standhartner** pleases him and starts him reminiscing about Vienna ; **Standhartner** is proof, he says, that one can get through to the Viennese with music ; how much had he done for him when he settled in Vienna ! He describes the bone structure of **Standhartner's** skull as frighteningly Slavonic, yet, at the same time, pleasing. »

Saturday, May 21, 1881 :

« At coffee time, the **Standhartners** appear, father and daughter ; introductions and memories of Vienna. »

Sunday, May 22, 1881 :

« Richard slept well ; the “ Flower Greeting ” takes place a 8 o'clock and is very successful, the clock presented by “ Fidi ” - “ Parsifal ” delights Richard, and he is pleased with the flower costumes. The coats of arms of the Wagner Society towns genuinely surprise him, and he is pleased with the ceiling. In a mood of divine happiness, he strolls to the summer house with me in the blue robe, and we exchange gold pens and little poems ! Our lunch table consists of : **Standhartners** 3 (with Gustav !) , Ritters (the parents) , the Count, Joukowsky, “ Boni ”, Lusch, and “ Fidi ” ; in the hall : Eva, “ Loldi ”, Ferdi Jager, Julchen and Elsa ; the latter two have to slip away unnoticed, so that the singing of

the verse will float down from the gallery. Siegfried speaks Stein's poem very well, splendidly proposing the health of eternal youth and, then, in a full voice Elsa movingly sings " Nicht Gut noch Pracht ", etc. , from above. Over coffee, Fafner, from the Festival Theater, appears with the program for this evening on his back. The dear good children act-out the little farces by Lope and Sachs magnificently, and Lusch speaks Wolz's linking epilogue particularly well. To the conclusion of the Sachs play J. Rub. linked the Prelude to " Die Meistersinger ", and when Richard went into the salon, the children, in different costumes, sang his " Gruss der Getreuen " ; at the conclusion of the evening, after the meal, came the " Kaisermarsch ", with altered text. All splendidly done by the children, though we are not entirely successful in sustaining the mood. Before lunch, Richard was upset by the military band, which he (somewhat to my concern) had allowed to take part, and it required Siegfried's toast to raise his spirits again. In the evening, he was irked by the dullness of our friends, he asked **Standhartner** to remain behind, without considering that the stepson (Gustav Schönaich) would also then remain, and the presence of this man whom he cannot bear kept him from expressing all that was in his heart, and that made him almost painfully unhappy. The successful parts are what delighted me - the fact that unbidden things intervene no longer bothers me, however much it once used to pain me : I keep remembering that " all transient things are but an image. " »

Monday, November 6, 1882 :

« I have to wait a long time in Saint-Mark's Square for him (Wagner) and, when he arrives with the children, he tells me he had a very severe spasm (I wrote to **Standhartner**) . But he quickly recovers. »

February 22, 1883 :

« Certainly, Cosima's 1st intention was exactly as Joukowsky described it. In her desire for death, she refused all nourishment for many hours after Wagner died, then, yielding to the inevitable, cut-off her hair and laid it in Wagner's coffin. Hidden from sight in black robes, she accompanied her husband's body in the train, back to Bayreuth. At " Wahnfried ", it was carried to the grave at the bottom of the garden by Muncker, Peustel, Groß, Wolzogen, Seidl, Joukowsky, Wilhelmj, Porges, Levi, Richter, **Standhartner**, and Niemann. Daniela, Isolde, Eva, and Siegfried walked beside the coffin ; Blondine, expecting her 1st child, was not present. Only after their friends had left, did Cosima emerge from the house to join her children as the coffin was lowered into the grave. »

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William James Henderson. « Richard Wagner : His Life and His Dramas » , a Biographical Study of the Man and an Exploration of His Work, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, NY (1901) .

1883 :

« The exertions necessary for the production of " Parsifal " had told severely on Wagner. It is said that, at one rehearsal he fainted and, on recovering, exclaimed : " Once more, I have beaten Death ". Doctor **Standhartner**, one of his firm Viennese friends, examined him in the course of the summer, and found that a heart affection (sic) , from

which the composer had long been suffering, had made dangerous progress. Wagner was not told of his exact condition, but he was warned that immediate rest and relief from care was absolutely essential. »

...

17 avril 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Rudolf Weinwurm (Vienne) .

« Dearest Friend !

Today, I am seizing the opportunity to render to you my sincerest belated congratulations on the present feast of your Name-Day and all the feasts in your honour recently, even though my good wishes are late. May you have more and more noble and glorious years to continue among the highly-praised and beloved, intelligent academic youth ; for whom I also live, and may you shortly harvest true and worthy fruit on the part of high-authorities. May God make it so !

Accept also my most heart-felt thanks for the good you have always done for me and, particularly, in the recent past. Heaven blesses you ! In most cordial, sincere respect,

Your old friend,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Heute zum Feste Deines Namens ergreife ich ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 154 ; pages 183-184.

Rudolf Weinwurm (1835-1911) : Viennese choir director and composer. In the Max Auer collection, the 1st Bruckner letter to Rudolf Weinwurm is dated November 30, 1856. Bruckner and Weinwurm became very good friends, and Weinwurm was to be an important contact for Bruckner, in Vienna.

In Austria, a child or adult celebrates the feast or Name-Day of the Saint after whom the person is named, rather than his or her actual birthday, although the 2 are often the same. The feast of Saint-Rudolf is traditionally celebrated on April 17. (Weinwurm's 50th birthday was on April 3, 1885.) The celebration was held at the « Harmonie-Saal » .

As a choir director, Weinwurm worked with both boys and men ; the compliment is meant as much for the instructor as for the youth, for Weinwurm was a gifted Choir-Master. The old plea : « Give me your good students, and I'll give you a good choir. » , remains true even today.

Bruckner wishes his friend Weinwurm wordly appreciation but implies the necessity of pleasing God and asking for His help.

22 avril 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Felix Mottl (Karlsruhe) .

« Dear Highly-Esteemed Friend !

Upon becoming aware of the public report, I was both grief-stricken and horrified. Please, accept my most sincere sympathy ! It is very painful to all of us ! Please, be kind enough to apprise your respected “ Frau Mama ” also, and all the dear members of your noble family just how difficult for me is the loss of my dear friend, and that I am taking part in the same deep sorrow. I will tell you more when we meet. I am truly afflicted because I am unable to appear at the funeral, since I have 7 classes to give at the Conservatory ; please, kindly pardon me for this reason. I will certainly perform my obsequies for this noble friend in the Church ! “ Requiescat in pace ” !!

With sincerest respect,

Your friend who grieves with you,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Voll Trauer und Entsetzen vemahm ich ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 155 (incomplète) ; page 184.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 77 ; page 86.

Felix Mottl (1856-1911) : Conductor ; student of Bruckner at the Conservatory.

This dear friend is Felix Mottl's brother, Fritz.

23 avril 1885 : Performance by Ferdinand Löwe and Josef Schalk of the 1st movement of the 3rd Symphony (Mahler revised version ?) and the 2nd and 4th movements of the 4th Symphony. Reviewed by Emil von Hartmann in the « Deutsche Kunst-und Musikzeitung » , XII, of 1 May 1885.

26 avril 1885 : Lettre de Hermann Levi (Munich) à Anton Bruckner (Vienne) .

« Honourable Friend !

After repeated consultations with the Court Secretary to the King (“ Herr Hauptmann ” Greßer) , I am sharing with you that His Majesty will most certainly accept the dedication of your “ 7th ” Symphony. In good time (I hope in the next few days) , an official announcement on the part of the Cabinet or the Director will come to you, to which I request that you “ immediately ” reply directly to the King. In this “ thank you ” letter, you must ask whether His

Majesty desires to have your Symphony or the Adagio alone be played in special presentation for Himself. For neither the Director nor his Cabinet Secretary can propose this to the King. (To explain this to you in more detail would take too much time. Also, with respect to dramas and Operas performed as a special presentation, "no one" is permitted to make suggestions ; that requires an order directly from the King.) In your letter of thanks, fill your mouth with the phrases "most humble" and "most gracious" ; He, the King, thinks highly of formalities such as these. How is it, at present, with Gutmann ? I have heard nothing more. Just between us (no one else needs to know this !), I offered him 1,000 Marks as subsidy for the cost. (Fiedler, a certain Earl Oriolla, and I are the members of this Universal Anton-Bruckner Society !) and so, I am of the opinion that he could fully well give a royalty to "Herr" Schalk. If he does not give it, I will certainly find a publisher in Germany. This situation would be resolved only if he gave a definite "Yes" or "No". If you are absolutely against Gutmann, write your answer to me. I have only turned to him since he published the Quintet.

I will set-out on the 1st or 2nd of May. Unfortunately, I cannot come to Vienna ; Doctor Bolle has invited me to be present for the "Bruckner-Evening" ; I have a fellow traveler with whom I have promised, for a long time, to go to Italy. Until May 6, a letter will find me directly through the address :

Sculptor "Hildebrand,
Piazza San Francesco di Paola, No. 4
(fuori Posta Romana)
Florence "

From the 6th to the 16th, at

"Herr von Lenbach
Palazzo Borghese
Roma "

("Today, tomorrow, and Wednesday, we are doing only 'Parsifal' for King Ludwig II, in Italy !")

Sincere greetings from

Your faithful

Hermann Levi »

Incipit : « Nach wiederholter Rücksprache ... »

Source : Max Auer, Lettre n° 4 de Hermann Levi ; pages 316-318.

« Hauptmann » (Captain) Greßer was Court Secretary to King Ludwig II of Bavaria.

Doctor Konrad Fiedler (1841-1895) : Art-critic and author in Munich, where Bruckner met him in March, 1885.

29 avril 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Felix Mottl (Karlsruhe) .

« Dear Friend !

Herewith, I am sending you the Orchestra parts (for Symphony No. 7) . You will be receiving the full-score from Hermann Levi. At X, in the “ Adagio ” (“ Funeral Music ” for tubas and horns) , I beg you most sincerely (3 measures before Y) to increase the “ crescendo ” to “ fff ” by the next measure (about 1 measure before Y) , in order to allow a “ decrescendo ” on the 3rd quarter-note. Be sure to use the Wagner tubas. (In no case are horns to replace these tubas.) Would it not be desirable to introduce the Scherzo with Trio also ? (In particular, for the laymen ?)

I have kept my funeral music especially for the “ Schotten-Kirche ”. Dear old departed Fritz wanted to visit me “ at Gause ” !!!

Now, again, I appeal most sincerely to your “ undivided artistic strength ”, on behalf of my “ 7th child ”. Keep in touch. Take care !

Your old friend,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Hier sende ich Dir die Orchesterstimmen. »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 156 ; pages 184-185.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 78 ; pages 86-87.

If Bruckner's original score were to read like the 1954 « Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag » (MWV) publication, Bruckner would have had to issue these instructions because only Horns 1 and 2 are told to diminish after the 1st count of the measure ; and these instructions are not clear enough to effect the sound that he wants, « dim. » (diminuendo) is printed under the 2nd half of the 3rd count, and the accent marks further muddy the instructions. At any rate, Bruckner does not mean the 3rd quarter note ; he must mean the 3rd count of the measure.

« Schotten-Kirche » : Literally, the « Scottish Church » in Vienna. Benedictine priests and monks, from Scotland and Ireland, established churches and centers of learning on the Continent, around between the 9th and 12 Centuries. Bruckner is referring to his private memorial for the brother of Felix Mottl, mentioned earlier.

Bruckner is referring to the deceased Fritz Mottl, the brother of Felix.

« At Gause » : Name of a famous Viennese restaurant frequented by Bruckner, his students and disciples (not a town or an area) .

Mai 1885 : Après avoir refusé, en octobre 1884, la dédicace de la 2e Symphonie, Franz Liszt invitera Anton Bruckner à venir assister à une exécution de l'Adagio de la 7e, donnée à Karlsruhe par le chef Felix Mottl.

Cet ancien élève doué de la classe de Bruckner au Conservatoire de Vienne a jeté tant de feu spirituel dans la Symphonie que même un noble Franz Liszt aux cheveux blancs, assis parmi le distingué auditoire, est devenu instantanément un « brucknérien convaincu » .

Selon August Stradal, cette conversion est d'autant plus remarquable que le grand pianiste fut longtemps resté de glace (malgré son allégeance pro-Wagnérienne) devant les compositions du Maître de Saint-Florian, en partie à cause de sa tenue vestimentaire peu orthodoxe et de ses manières ampoulées. Lorsqu'il fut invité à montrer plus de gentillesse à son endroit, Franz Liszt aurait répliqué : « Je ne peux pas supporter l'entendre me répondre : " Votre Grâce, Monsieur Canonicus ! " » .

Franz Liszt soutenait l'idée que ses Poèmes symphoniques ne pourraient être compris du grand public tant et aussi longtemps que celui-ci n'ait appris à apprécier les drames lyriques de son beau-fils.

Selon Max Auer, le compositeur Franz Liszt (dont l'idéalisme et l'altruisme sont sans précédent !) avait montré un grand intérêt pour la 7e Symphonie de Bruckner (plus que pour tout ce qui a précédé) mais sans vraiment comprendre cette musique.

2 mai 1885 : A setting of the « Te Deum » for chorus and 2 pianos is conducted by Bruckner himself. This premiere is given in Vienna at the « Akademischer Wagner-Verein » (Academic Wagner Society) .

11 mai 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Marie Demar (« Loco Wieden, Waaggasse 9 » , Vienne) .

« Kindest, Most Noble Friend ;“ Fräulein ” Marie !

Most sincere thanks for your wonderful picture. The trusting, beautiful eyes !

How often they comfort me. Till the end of my life, this relic will be precious and valuable to me. And what joy upon viewing it so frequently, etc. Also, I beg for your sincere friendship. Dearest “ Fräulein ” !

May your friendship never be taken away from me. You are assured eternally of mine.

Just now, I extended my thanks to the King of Bavaria for accepting the dedication. It is Levi's work. Once more, sincere thanks and fondest kiss on your gracious, lovely hands.

Your extremely admiring friend,

Anton Bruckner

“ Loco Wieden
Waaggasse 9
Wien ”

Incipit : « Herzlichsten Dank für Ihr herrliches Bild ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 157 ; page 185.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 13 (B) ; pages 22-24.

Marie Demar (1865-1946) : Female friend of Bruckner. Bruckner greatly admired her, so much so that their friendship became quite a serious matter (in 1885-1886) , and it was reciprocal. Here, he writes to her expressing this admiration, as he views the photograph that she has recently sent to him. From all accounts, he felt that he had found his soul mate. Nevertheless, she declined his proposal of marriage, left his heart and ego in disrepair, and ultimately married someone else (Wilhelm Blasdiel) , in 1890.

« Heartfelt thanks for your marvellous picture ! The beautiful, trusting eyes ! How frequently it comforts me ! This relic (“ Reliquie ”) will be dear and precious to me to the end of my life. And with what joy have I so often looked upon it ! »

The choice of the word « Reliquie » is striking and most unusual in this context, since it literally, and most commonly, signifies relics in precisely the Catholic, ritualistic sense. Certainly, it is quite distinct from the more appropriate « Andenken » , which would simply imply a memento. Bruckner's attitude towards the photograph thus seems subconsciously tied to his curiosity about the relics of death. The compulsion that controls obsessional thoughts of death by grasping its physical relics finds a parallel here in the attempt to contain a fear of loneliness by assigning an almost religious value to the mementos of a potentially reciprocated desire.

King Ludwig II of Bavaria (1845-1886) , ruled from 1864 until his death - under questionable circumstances. He was a great admirer of Richard Wagner and built « Schoß Neuschwanstein » with Wagner's music dramas in mind. The bedroom, for example, is resplendent with wall paintings (by August Spieß) depicting scenes from the King's favourite music-drama, « Tristan » .

The dedication for Symphony No. 7.

11 mai 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Johannes Peregrin Hupfauf (Salzbourg) .

« Dear Sir !

I thank you very much for your kindness, and request patience since the “ Te Deum ” is just now being printed, as I hear, by Wetzler. “ Post-festum ”, it can be very easily obtained. I would have the greatest joy, if I once would hear my work resounding in the magnificent Cathedral of Salzburg !

With respect,

Your most devoted

Anton Bruckner

I cannot read your name, unfortunately. »

Incipit : « Ich danke sehr für Ihre Freundlichkeit, ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 158 ; page 186.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 90 ; page 100-101.

Emmanuel (Emil) Wetzler (1839-1901) : Viennese publisher and music-dealer. His establishment was located on the « Kärntner Ring ». He may have been connected with one or both of 2 companies which may have been related. Wetzler in Prague published light-music from 1866, continuing until at least 1899, while Wetzler in Vienna operated from 1881 until being bought by Ludwig Döblinger, in 1890. The latter's catalog included, in addition to dances, songs and piano pieces, some famous names : Franz Lehár, Oscar Straus and Hugo Wolf. Violin works by Ignaz Brüll, Zdenek Barták, Jan Hřimalý, and Josef Hellmesberger were also published.

« Post-festum » : Latin term meaning after the Feast or Fest. In the actual context, it means after the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord into Heaven which the Church year places 40 days after Easter.

Johannes Peregrin Hupfauf must have written to Bruckner inquiring about obtaining copies of the “ Te Deum ”. Bruckner responded in kind, even though he was unable to decipher the signature on the letter.

Johannes Peregrin Hupfauf

Johannes Peregrin Hupfauf (1856-1889) : Music scholar, teacher, composer, and choir director at Salzburg Cathedral, from 1882 to 1889. His pseudonym : Peregrinus.

...

Johann Peregrin Hupfauf (Pseudonym : Peregrinus) geboren 22.03.1856, Schwaz / Tirol ; gestorben 14.10.1889, Salzburg. Chorleiter, Komponist, Musikpädagoge und -forscher. Zunächst Arbeiter und Chorsänger in Schwaz, lernte dann Orgel und wurde Regens chori. 1875 ging er als Bassist und Gesangslehrer an den Dom-Musikverein und Mozarteum nach Salzburg, wo ihn und andere Pater Peter Singer, Karl Santner und Otto Bach musikalisch ausbildeten und Hupfauf dann 1879 provisorischer, 1882 definitiver Domchordirektor wurde. Seit 1887, als der Chor auf die Mitwirkung von Frauen verzichten mußte, war Hupfauf auch mit der Ausbildung der Domsingknaben betraut. Zusätzlich unterrichtete er als Gesangslehrer an Salzburger Schulen. Neben der Verbreitung eigener Kompositionen setzte Hupfauf sich auch für die Aufführung zum Teil in Vergessenheit geratener a cappella-Werke salzburgischer Hofmusiker des 17. Jahrhunderts ein.

...

Johann Peregrin Hupfauf (Pseudonym : Peregrinus oder Johannes Peregrinus) : geboren 22. März 1856 Schwaz (Tirol) ; gestorben 14. Oktober 1889 Salzburg, war ein Komponist, Musikhistoriker und Direktor des Salzburger Domchores.

Johann Peregrin war Sohn eines armen Nagelschmiedes. Nach des Vaters Tode (gestorben 1864) mußte er sich als Arbeiter in einem Drahtzug verdingen.

Da er in Schwaz als Chorsänger seine musikalische Begabung bewies, wurde ihm die Erlernung des Orgelspiels ermöglicht. Er wurde Chorregent und 1875 als Basssänger und Gesanglehrer vom Dom-Musik-Verein und Mozarteum nach Salzburg berufen. Hier erhielt er seine musikalische Ausbildung unter Pater Peter Singer, Karl Santner und Otto Bach und studierte er Musikgeschichte.

An die Spitze des Salzburger Domchores folgte er Otto Bach 1879 als provisorischer, 1882 definitiver Domchordirektor. Daß 1887 die Mitwirkung von Frauen im Domchor eingestellt wurde, schränkte die Aufführungsmöglichkeiten sehr ein. Nun befasste sich Hupfauf besonders mit der Schulung der Domsingknaben. Gleichzeitig wirkte er als Gesangslehrer an der Kaiserlich-Königlich Oberrealschule und unterrichtete 1886 an der Kaiserlich-Königlich Lehrerbildungsanstalt.

1886 heiratete er Marie Spängler, Tochter des Kaufmanns Josef Spängler.

Johann Peregrin Hupfauf entdeckte manche vergessene A-capella-Werke salzburgischer Hofmusiker des 17. Jahrhunderts neu.

Es schuf selbst eine Anzahl kirchenmusikalischer Werke, die er zum Teil mit orchestralem Prunk ausstattete.

In seinen historisch-archivalischen Studien leistete er wertvolle Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Salzburgs.

...

Hupfauf Johann Peregrin (Pseudonym : Peregrinus) - Domchordirektor. Geboren Schwaz (Tirol) , 22.03.1856 ; gestorben

Salzburg, 14.10.1889.

Als Sohn eines armen Nagelschmiedes mußte Hupfau nach dem Tode des Vaters 1864 als Arbeiter in einen Drahtzug eintreten. Da er als Chorsänger in Schwaz seine musikal. Begabung bewies, ermöglichte man ihm die Erlernung des Orgelspiels. Hupfau wurde Chorregent und 1875 als Baßsänger und Gesanglehrer vom « Dom-Musik-Verein Und Mozarteum » nach Salzburg berufen. Hier erhielt er seine musikal. Ausbildung unter Pater Peter Singer, Karl Santner und Otto Bach und studierte Musikgeschichte. 1879 provisorischer, 1882 definitiver Domchordirektor. Da 1887 die Mitwirkung von Frauen im Domchor eingestellt wurde, befaßte sich Hupfau Besonders mit der Schulung der Domsingknaben. Gleichzeitig wirkte er als Gesanglehrer an der Kaiserlich-Königlich Oberrealschule und unterrichtete 1886 an der Kaiserlich-Königlich Lehrerbildungsanstalt. Hupfau entdeckte manche Schätze der alten Salzburger A-capella-Musik neu, schuf viele kirchenmusikal. Werke, zum Teil Mit orchestralem Prunk, und gab in seinen historische-archival. Studient wertvolle Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Salzburgs.

...

Jobannes Peregrinus, Geschichte der salzburgischen Dom-Sänger-knaben oder schlechthin des Kapellhauses. Josef Oberer's Wittwe, Salzburg (1889) ; 187 Seiten, gr. 8.

Das genannte Buch lag gerade behufs Besprechung auf meinem Pulte, als mich die Kunde traf von dem Tode des jungen, erst 34 Jahre alten Verfassers. Johannes Peregrinus ist der Künstler- und Schriftstellernamen des verstorbenen Dommusikdirektors Johann Peregrin Hupfau in Salzburg. In seiner rastlosen Thätigkeit als Leiter der Dommusik, als Lehrer der Kapellknaben, als Komponist und Schriftsteller überspannte er seine Kräfte, überschritt er das Maß der ihm taugenden Arbeit. Als Schriftsteller, in welcher Thätigkeit wir ihn jetzt zu betrachten haben, war er schon früher hervorgetreten. Mit seinen kleinen Beiträgen zur salzburgisch-österreichischen Musikgeschichte I. Die neue Orgel im Dom zu Salzburg (erbaut von Matthäus Mauracher im Jahre 1883) Salzburg, Herm. Kerber 1883 und 2. Johann Stadlmayr, Salzburg 1885, reihte er sich den Salzburger Lokalchronisten der Musik wie Pillwein, Sigismund Keller, Pirckmayer, Achleitner und Hammerle in würdiger Weise an. In seiner « Geschichte des Salzburger Kapellhauses » zeigt er etwas gereifere musikhistorische Einsicht und Erfahrung. Die Arbeit erscheint als Sonderabdruck aus den im Selbstverlage der « Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde » erschienenen Mittheilungen Band XXVII. Sie enthält eine vielfach aktenmäßig belegte Darstellung der Salzburger « schola cantorum » , eigentlich des Internates für Dommusikknaben. Die Ergänzung hierzu, die Geschichte der Dommusik hätte folgen sollen. Peregrinus legt den Entwicklungsgang des Hauses, welches von dem Salzburger Bürger Martin Aufner im Jahre 1432 gestiftet worden war, bis auf unsere Tage in übersichtlicher Weise dar. Alle Wandlungen, alle Förderer und Neider des Institutes werden vorgeführt. Der Autor schrieb nicht nur mit dem Griffel des Historikers, er belebt die einzelnen Vorgänge, vertheidigt sein ihm anvertrautes Institut auch vor all den Eingriffen, die es im Lauf der Zeiten zu zerstören, zu vernichten drohten.

Seine Darstellung erhält hierdurch einen persönlichen Reiz, welcher die Schwächen derselben gern vergessen läßt. Es wäre dankenswerth auf diese Nachtheile näher einzugehen, wenn der Autor sich dieselben vorhalten und in zukünftigen Fällen behersigen könnte. So aber ist es fruchtlose Bemühung und könnte obendrein den Schein erwecken, als ob die Verdienste desselben geschmälert werdensollten. Ich für meinen Theil finde mich leichter mit den Fehlern eines

begabten, geistvollen Autodidakten zurecht, als mit dem Eigensinn eines, nicht eigentlich neue Gedanken schöpfenden, Schulschreibers. Künstlerische Anlage und Phantasie finden sich eben selten in gleichem Maße gepaart mit Strenge der Schulung und wissenschaftlicher Disziplin. Peregrinus wäre sicherlich auf der von ihm betretenen Bahn erfolgreich weitergeschritten, hätte nicht der Tod seinem ehrlichen Streben ein allzufrühes Ende bereitet.

Prag.

(Guido Adler.)

Werke

Großes und kleines Libera.

Mehrere Graduale.

Motetten.

Elf Messen.

Zwei große Instrumentalmessen.

Fünf Lieder (bis Opus 19 gedruckt) nach Texten von Erzherzogin Marie Antoinette von Toskana.

Pange lingua.

Stella cœli.

Requiem.

Te Deum.

Publikation

Beiträge zur Salzburger-österreich Musikgeschichte I. Paul Sartorius ; 2. Johann Stadlmayr (1885) .

Geschichte der Salzburg. Domsängerknaben, in : Mitt(h)eilungen Der Geschichte für Salzburger Landeskunde, Nummer 28 (1888) ; Nummer 29 (1889) .

Literatur

Salzburger Zeitung, Jahrgang 1889, Nummer 27-77 ; Deutscher Zeitung (Wien) vom 06.11.1889 ; Mitt(h)eilungen Der Geschichte für Salzburger Landeskunde, Nummer 30 (1890) ; Seiten 273-275.

Constantin Schneider. Geschichte der Musik in Salzburg (1935) .

Viktor Keldorfer. Klingendes Salzburg (1951) .

...

Doch nicht nur Zeitungsberichte verschickte Anton Bruckner, sondern auch Briefe. Erwähnt sei hier jener von Ludwig Nohl aus Heidelberg, der sich nach der Aufführung des Adagio der 7. Symphonie in Karlsruhe begeistert an Bruckner gewandt hatte. Nur zwei Wochen später sandte Bruckner dieses Schreiben oder wohl besser eine Abschrift desselben an Hans von Wolzogen mit folgenden Worten :

« Entschuldigen Hochderselbe, wenn ich mir erlaube, den herrlichen Brief des Professor Nohl an meine Wenigkeit zu übersenden, der überall Sensation erregen dürfte ! »

Der Brief vom 6. Juni war bereits am 14. desselben Monats in der Deutschen Zeitung erschienen. Ob Bruckner die Erlaubnis vom Ludwig Nohl dazu eingeholt hatte, sei dahingestellt.

Neben den grandiosen Erfolgen kam oft gleichzeitig Bruckners (angeblich) so schlechte Lage gleichsam in einem Atemzug zur Sprache, zum Beispiel in einem Brief an seine Schwester Rosalia Hueber :

« Jetzt ist auch Holland hinzugekommen, wo am 4. das ist meine 3te Sinfonie mit sehr großem Erfolge aufgeführt wurde. In Leipzig war am 28. Jänner die 2. Aufführung meiner 7. Sinfonie vor dem Königspaare. Die Blätter sind voll Bewunderung : eben so wie die Holländischen. Im März gehts nach München. (In Hamburg steht die Aufführung ebenfalls bevor.) »

Und einige Zeilen weiter :

« Leider brauche ich viel Geld. »

Wie jetzt schon leicht zu ersehen, war Bruckner zumindest in gewissen Lebensabschnitten ein eifriger Briefschreiber. So scheint er in den Tagen des Mai 1885 besonders schreibfreudig gewesen zu sein : 68 Briefe sind allein aus dem Jahre 1885 erhalten. Im Krakauer Schreibkalender für das Jahr 1878 verzeichnet Bruckner für Mai 1885 folgende Adressaten :

« 10./5. Briefe : König. Redaktion Linz. Mottl. Riedel, Ostini, Wolzogen, Levi, Demar, Rappoldi, Friedrich (Regensburg.) . P. Richter. Mayfeld. Fritsch. Perfall Linz Red. »

Erhalten geblieben sind davon : vom 9. Mai 1885 Briefe an König Ludwig II. von Bayern und an Felix Mottl in Karlsruhe, vom 10. Mai 1885 an Hermann Levi in München und an Hans von Wolzogen in Bayreuth und vom 11. Mai 1885 an Marie Demar in Wien, an Johannes Peregrin Hupfaut in Salzburg, an Eduard Rappoldi in Dresden und an die Redaktion des Musikalischen Wochenblattes in Leipzig, das heißt eigentlich an Theodor Helm. Abgesehen von dem Brief an König Ludwig II. sind diese Briefe relativ gleichen Inhalts. Als Beispiel hierfür soll der bis dato unbekannte Brief an Hans von Wolzogen zitiert werden, der alle wichtigen schon erwähnten Punkte eines Bruckner-Briefs beinhaltet : Danksagung, Verehrung, Berichte von Aufführungen. beigelegte Zeitungsausschnitte :

Hochgeborner Herr
Baron !

Es ist unbeschreiblich, wie viel ich in der kurzen Jahresfrist Euer Hochgeboren verdanke !

Nehmen Hochderselbe diesen meinen tiefstgefühlten Dank und meine Bewunderung für Hochdesselben Edelmuth gnädigst entgegen !

...

11 mai 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Eduard Rappoldi (Dresde) .

« Highly-Respected Sir !

Thank you very much for your kindness to me. The “ Quintet ” for Strings is published by Gutmann, in Vienna. The “ D minor Symphony ”, No. 3, dedicated to Wagner, is in Vienna to be published by Rättig. The “ 7th Symphony ”, dedicated to the “ King of Bavaria ”, is now being published and printed by Gutmann (inside the Court Opera building) . The “ Te Deum ” is being published and printed by Wetzler, in Vienna. A men’s chorus “ Germanenzug ” is in Austria, in Ried in the Innkreise region above the Enns, published by Kränzl. Nothing else is published. I request your affection and remain

Yours faithfully,

Anton Bruckner

P.S. : I’ll be very thankful for your intercession with the Royal Chapel. »

Incipit : « Ich danke dir für Ihre Gute ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 159 ; page 186.

« Anton Bruckner, 10 Briefe » , Berlin-Charlottenburg (1953) , Herausgeber und kommentiert von Felix von Lepel

Ferdinand Bruckner, seit 1911 literarisch publizierend, gehört wie die nur wenige Jahre jüngeren Carl Zuckmayer und Bertolt Brecht zur Generation der erfolgreichen jungen Dramatiker der zweiten Hälfte der Weimarer Republik. Er wurde (Sohn eines österreichischen Bankkaufmanns jüdischer Konfession und einer französischen Übersetzerin) 1891 in Sofia als Theodor Tagger geboren. In Wien, Berlin und Graz wuchs er auf ; er studierte Musik, Germanistik und Philosophie in Paris, Wien und Berlin. Er trat bereits in sehr jungen Jahren mit Veröffentlichungen (Essays, Rezensionen, Gedichte) hervor und begründete die aufwendig gestaltete, wenn auch kurzlebige ästhetische Zweimonatsschrift MARSYAS (1917-1919) , in der Max Brod, Alfred Döblin, Kasimir Edschmid, Yvan Goll, Franz Kafka, Carl Sternheim (nur um diese zu nennen) gedruckt wurden. Seit Beginn der zwanziger Jahre wandte er sich dem Theater zu und gehörte bald zu den vielgespielten Dramatikern seiner Zeit. Er änderte in dieser Zeit seinen Namen und legte sich das Pseudonym Ferdinand Bruckner zu, entstanden aus seiner Bewunderung für Ferdinand Raimund und Anton Bruckner. Erst 1930 lüftete er das Geheimnis, 1946 änderte er seinen bürgerlichen Namen offiziell in Ferdinand Bruckner um. Mit seiner Frau Bettina Neuer gründete er 1922 in Berlin das Renaissance-Theater, mußte aber dessen Leitung später wegen finanzieller Fehlschläge abtreten ; übernommen wurde die Direktion von Gustav Hartung. Zwischen 1928 und 1933 häuften sich die großen spektakulären, wenn auch nicht unumstrittenen Bühnenerfolge, die Bruckner mit seinen Zeitstücken und Historienstücken erlangte : Krankheit der Jugend (1926) , Die Verbrecher (1928) , Die Kreatur (1930) , Elisabeth von England (1930) , Timon (1932) , Die Marquise von O. (1933) . Der faschistische Terror zwang ihn, kurz nach der Machtübernahme Hitlers ins Exil zu gehen. Über Österreich und die Schweiz emigrierte er nach Paris. 1933 führte Gustav Hartung Bruckners antifaschistisches Zeitstück Die Rassen in Zürich am Schauspielhaus auf; das Stück fand eine « sehr günstige Aufnahme » , wie Thomas Mann in seinem Tagebuch notierte. Die Emigrationszeit verbrachte Bruckner zunächst in Frankreich, ging dann aber 1936 in die USA, wo er in Hollywood für die Paramount Productions arbeiten sollte. Als sich die Kooperation zerschlug, ließ er sich in New York nieder und widmete sich seinem Werk - allerdings ohne Aussicht auf größere literarische Erfolge in der amerikanischen Öffentlichkeit. Er übersetzte seine und anderer Autoren Stücke ins Englische, arbeitete zeitweilig mit Erwin Piscator zusammen und gestaltete Probleme des Widerstands in neuen Historien- und Zeitstücken. Freilich fanden seine europäisch orientierten Texte kaum das Interesse der New Yorker Theater. Dennoch sind Bruckners antifaschistisches Engagement und sein literarischer und außeliterarischer Einsatz gegen die nazistische Gewaltherrschaft in Europa höchst beeindruckend und geschichtlich sehr verdienstvoll gewesen. Nach Kriegsende versuchte Bruckner wieder im deutschsprachigen Kulturraum Fuß zu fassen, was aber nur schwer gelang. Die Kritik konnte mit seinem Spätwerk wenig anfangen. Seine Nachkriegsstücke wurden zwar da und dort gespielt, aber der große Erfolg der Jahre vor dem Exil stellte sich nicht mehr ein - weder in Deutschland noch in der Schweiz noch in Österreich. Bruckner lebte seit 1953 bis zu seinem Tode am 5. Dezember 1958 in Berlin. Er war unter anderem als dramaturgischer Berater am Schillertheater tätig. Nach seinem Tode geriet sein Werk weitgehend in Vergessenheit ; im Zuge der Erforschung der Literatur der Weimarer Republik und der Exilliteratur wurde man seiner erneut gewahr. So hat Bruckners Gesamtwerk (abgesehen von einigen Teilpublikationen) keine Publizität erfahren. Das ist um so bedauerlicher, als Bruckner gerade zu den literarisch qualifiziertesten Seismographen der bewegten ersten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts gehört und höchst aufschlußreich für die unterschiedlichsten geistigen Problemfelder des ersten Weltkriegs, der Weimarer Republik, des amerikanischen Exils und der Nachkriegszeit ist. Allein schon deshalb verdient sein vielgestaltiges Werk (bis hin zu seinen Tagebüchern und zur Korrespondenz) eine Integration in die Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Die Ausgabe seiner Werke, Tagebücher

und Briefe soll diesem Ziel Rechnung tragen. Die Ferdinand Bruckner-Ausgabe entsteht in Zusammenarbeit mit der Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste Berlin-Brandenburg im Rahmen der Projekte des Studienganges Editions-wissenschaft der Freien Universität Berlin. Die Überlieferung der gedruckten und der ungedruckten Texte ist günstig. Der Nachlaß Bruckners befindet sich seit 1961 im Archiv der Akademie der Künste und kann in vollem Umfang für diese Ausgabe ausgewertet werden. Die Edition ist als wissenschaftliche Ausgabe unter Berücksichtigung der vorhandenen Textüberlieferung konzipiert worden. Die Struktur der Ausgabe ist durch die Textgattungen bestimmt : Schauspiele, Bearbeitungen und Übersetzungen, Schauspiele aus dem Nachlaß, Filmskripte, Prosa, Lyrik, Kleine Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe. Innerhalb der Textgattungen gilt das chronologische Prinzip der Entstehung beziehungsweise ersten Publikation, sei sie als Uraufführung oder als Erstdruck erfolgt. Editorische Textgrundlage ist in der Regel die editio princeps. Varianten späterer Fassungen werden, sofern sie relevant sind, berücksichtigt. Der Ausgabe werden Kommentarbände beigegeben, die neben den Sacherläuterungen die Überlieferung des Textes, seine Entstehung und seine Rezeption nach Möglichkeit darstellen werden. In besonderen Fällen sollen textgenetische Transkriptionen in einzelnen Studienbänden vorgelegt werden, die geeignet sind, die Arbeitsweise des Autors zu dokumentieren. Eine bündig-geschlossene Textgenese läßt sich allerdings nur im Ausnahmefall vorstellen, da vor allem bei den Texten aus den zwanziger Jahren und aus der Exilzeit zahlreiche textuelle Zwischenstufen verloren gegangen sind. Sehr aufschlußreich für die Person des Autors und ihre Lebensumstände wird die Edition der Notiz- und Tagebücher sein, die in beträchtlichem Umfang erhalten sind. Sie umfassen über viertausend, meist kleinformatige Kalenderseiten mit unterschiedlich dichter Eintragungsfolge. Die Notizen sind (wie auch die Werkmanuskripte) seit den vierziger Jahren häufig in Gabelberger Stenographie erfolgt. Die Eintragungen betreffen gesellschaftliche und politische Vorgänge, beziehen sich auf Werkkonzeptionen, Lektüren und Schreibkrisen ; sie geben Auskünfte über Bruckners Verhältnis zu Kollegen. Eben solche Informationsqualität über Werk, Autor und Zeit besitzt der umfangreiche Briefwechsel Bruckners, von dem an die 6.000 Briefe, Postkarten und Telegramme im Nachlaß vorliegen ; weitere Briefe dürften sich noch finden lassen. Zu den Korrespondenten gehören die bedeutendsten Geister der ersten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Die Ausgabe wird mit einer Dokumentation zu Biographie, Bibliographie und Rezeption des Autors und mit einem ausführlichen Register zur Gesamtausgabe abgeschlossen werden. Die Bände der Ausgabe werden als Einzelpublikationen vertrieben, so daß die Textbände ohne die umfangreichen wissenschaftlichen Beigaben auch ihre Aufgabe als Lese-Ausgabe erfüllen können, allerdings mit dem Vorteil, daß die Texte philologisch-kritisch behandelt worden sind, so daß auch dem am wissenschaftlichen Apparat weniger interessierten Leser zuverlässige Texte vorliegen.

Theodor Rättig (1841-1912) : Viennese music-publisher who issued the 1887 (1st) version of Bruckner's 3rd Symphony (1877) . Because Bruckner would revise this Symphony (at least) twice, this version is not that which we commonly hear today ; however, Bruckner was glad to see his works in print. This version, as a comparative tool, is extremely important to us because the 3rd Symphony is the only one which Bruckner actually improved upon through revision, in his endless search for « perfection » , approval, and performance of his Symphonies.

Emmanuel (Emil) Wetzler (1839-1901) : Viennese publisher and music-dealer.

Joseph Leopold Kränzl (1825-1907) : Printer and publisher in the town of Ried, located in the Innkreis region of Upper-Austria. In the summer of 1864, the « Kränzl Verlag » produced the « Germanenzug » , which was Bruckner's 1st work to appear in print. This was very encouraging to Bruckner. At the time, he was still organist in Linz, «

studying » (orchestration and form) with Otto Kitzler (1834-1915, « Kapellmeister ») . As they poured over the score of « Tannhäuser » , in 1863, their time would not be wasted. Bruckner would learn to escape the tyranny of Simon Sechter's rules of counterpoint and apply his newly-found freedom in composing his 2 remaining student works : the Overture in G minor and the Symphony in F minor. Ultimately (in 1869) , Bruckner would conduct the 1st performance of the closing section of « Die Meistersinger » , 2 months in advance of the actual premiere - and with Richard Wagner's permission !

Eduard Rappoldi

The Austrian violinist, teacher, conductor, and composer Eduard (Edouard) Rappoldi was born on 21 February 1839 in Vienna and died on 16 May 1903 in Dresden, at age 64.

He is best-known for his teaching and his close association with Joseph Joachim. He began his violin studies at an early age, as do most concert violinists. His 1st teachers were 2 violinists : Leopold Jansa and « Herr » Doleschall. At only age 7, Rappoldi made his 1st public appearance as a violinist and pianist. It has been said that he later became a skilled pianist. At the Vienna Conservatory, he studied from 1851 to 1854 with 2 of the best teachers of the time : Josef Hellmesberger, Senior, and Joseph Böhm. From 1854 to 1861, he played violin in the Vienna Court Opera Orchestra, though presumably not as concert Master. He also toured Europe as a soloist. He was 15 years old when he joined the Orchestra, and 22 when he left.

From 1861 to 1866, he was concert Master of the Rotterdam German Opera Orchestra. He then became an successful Orchestra conductor between the years 1866 and 1870 : in Lübeck, in 1866 ; in Stettin, in 1867 ; and Prague, in 1869. In 1871, at age 32, he was appointed violin teacher at the Royal School of Music, in Berlin, which Joachim had helped establish. Joachim was already teaching there.

Rappoldi was a member of the Joachim Quartet (as violist) , between 1871 and 1877. When Rappoldi joined the Quartet, Heinrich de Ahna moved from viola to 2nd violin and, after Rappoldi left the Quartet, Emmanuel Wirth took his place as violist. De Ahna stayed on 2nd. In 1877, Rappoldi was appointed principal violin instructor and professor at the Dresden Conservatory. He taught there for 15 years.

From 1887, he was also concert Master of the Dresden Court Opera during those years but retired from playing, in 1898. He was then 59 or 60 years old. One source claims he was also conductor at the Dresden Opera. Perhaps, he was one of the conductors, as Opera companies seldom (if ever) hire just 1 conductor.

He, like Bruckner, was a student of Simon Sechter (1788-1867, renowned Austrian theorist ; also composer, conductor, and organist) . His wife Laura Rappoldi-Kahrer (1853-1925) , who had been a theory student of Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory, was a famous pianist. In 1890, she, too, became a professor at the Dresden Conservatory.

His compositions include Symphonies, Quartets, and Sonatas. His music is seldom performed now except, perhaps, in Germany and Austria. One of Rappoldi's best-known and most accomplished pupils was Charles Martin Loeffler, a very

influential violinist and composer in the United States, in the 1st half of the 20th Century.

According to a usually-reliable source, Rappoldi played a 1719 Stradivarius violin now known as the « Rappoldi Strad » .

...

The Austrian violinist, teacher, conductor, and composer Eduard (Edouard) Rappoldi studied at the Vienna Conservatory under Leopold Jansa, Josef Hellmesberger Senior, Joseph Böhm (violin) , and Simon Sechter (composition) . From 1854 to 1861, he was a member of the Vienna Court Opera Orchestra, and made successful tours through Germany, Holland, and Belgium. From 1861 to 1866, he was concert Master at Rotterdam and, from 1866 to 1870, conductor at Lübeck, Stettin, and Prague. In 1871, he was appointed teacher of the violin at the « Königliche Hochschule für Musik » , in Berlin, where he remained until 1877, when he became chief instructor in the violin at the « Dresden Conservatorium » , which position he held for 15 years. Until his retirement, in 1898, he was also concert Master of the « Dresden Oper Orchester » . In 1874, he married the pianist Laura Kahrer. Since that year, the couple made extensive concert tours. Rappoldi's eminent execution is consecrated to the highest object of art. He is noted for his rendering of Beethoven's Violin Concerto and Joachim's Hungarian Concerto.

Though a violinist of the 1st rank, Rappoldi prefers artistic interpretation to display. He is also distinguished as a Quartet player, and has contributed greatly to the advancement of Chamber music, in Dresden. His compositions include Symphonies, Quartets, Sonatas, and Lieder with pianoforte accompaniment.

...

Noted Austrian violinist and composer ; born in Vienna, and began his music study very early under Doleschall. In his 7th year, he appeared publicly as a violinist, pianist and composer. Studied under Leopold Jansa, later under Josef Hellmesberger, Senior, at the Vienna Conservatory, and under Joseph Böhm. He also studied composition at the Conservatory under Simon Sechter and Ferdinand von Hiller. He played in the Vienna Opera Orchestra, from 1854 to 1861. From 1861 to 1866, he was leader of the German Opera at Rotterdam, and was conductor successively at Lübeck, Stettin and Prague. From 1870, he was teacher at the Royal School of Music, in Berlin, where he was a colleague of Joseph Joachim and a member of his String Quartet. In 1876, he was made a Royal professor. In 1877, he became orchestral conductor of the Dresden Opera, and later became the headship of the violin department in the Dresden Conservatory. In 1874, he married the pianist Laura Kahrer. He has composed a number of Symphonies, Sonatas, instrumental Quartets and solos, and Songs.

...

Eduard (Edouard) Rappoldi was placed by his father, at an early age, under the teaching of Doleschall, and made his 1st appearance, in his 7th year, as violinist, pianist, and composer. His talent for the pianoforte was so great as to induce the Countess Irma Banffy (1851-1875) , born Baroness Banffy de Losonczo, to put him under Johann Gottfried

Mittag, Sigismund Thalberg's teacher. But the violin was the instrument of his choice, and he succeeded in studying it under Leopold Jansa, who induced him to go to London, in 1850. Here, he made no recorded appearance.

On his return to Vienna, he was so far provided for by the liberality of the same lady, that he became a pupil of the Conservatory under Josef Hellmesberger, Senior, from 1851 to 1854. He then put himself under Joseph Böhm, and shortly began to travel, and to be spoken of as a promising player. The 1st real step in his career was conducting a concert of Joseph Joachim's in Rotterdam, in 1866. At the end of that year, he went to Lübeck as « Kapellmeister » ; in 1867, to Stettin in the same capacity ; and, in 1869, to the « Landestheater » in Prague.

During this time, he was working hard at the violin, and also studying composition with Simon Sechter and Ferdinand von Hiller. From 1870 to 1877, he was a colleague of Joachim's at the « Hochschule » , in Berlin (where he proved himself a 1st rate teacher) , and a member of his Quartet Party. In 1876, he was made Royal Professor and, soon after, received a call to a Concertmeistership in Dresden. This, however, his love for Joachim and for Berlin, where he had advanced sufficiently to lead the Quartets alternately with his chief, induced him for a long time to hesitate to accept, notwithstanding the very high terms offered. At length, however, he did accept it, and is now joint- « Konzertmeister » with Johann Christoph Lauterbach, at the Dresden Opera, and chief teacher at the « Conservatorium » . Though a virtuoso of the 1st rank, he has followed in the footsteps of Joseph Joachim by sacrificing display to the finer interpretation of the music, and has succeeded in infusing a new spirit into Chamber music, in Dresden.

Eduard Rappoldi has composed Symphonies, Quartets, Sonatas, and Songs, some of which have been printed. They are distinguished for earnestness, and for great beauty of form, and a String Quartet was performed in Dresden, in the winter of 1878, which aroused quite an unusual sensation.

In 1874, he married a lady who is nearly as distinguished as himself, Miss Laura Kahrer, who was born in Vienna, in 1853, and whose acquaintance he made many years before at Prague. Her talent, like his, showed itself very early. On the nomination of the Empress Elisabeth, she became a pupil of the Vienna Conservatory, under piano teacher Dacha and Otto Dessoff, from 1866 to 1869. After taking the 1st prize, she made a « tournée » (tour) to the principal towns of Germany, ending at Weimar. There, she studied under Franz Liszt, and matured that beauty of touch, precision, fire, and intelligence, which have raised her to the 1st rank of pianists in Germany, and which induced Herr Hans von Bülow (no lenient critic) to praise her playing of Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 29 in B-flat major, Opus 106, in the highest terms. She is the worthy colleague of her husband in the best concerts in Dresden. Madame Kahrer-Rappoldi has not yet visited England.

...

Eduard Rappoldi (21. februar 1839 i Wien - 16. maj 1903 i Dresden) var en østrigsk violinist.

Rappoldi var 1854-1861 medlem af hofoperaens orkester i Wien, 1861-1866 koncertmester i Rotterdam, 1866-1870 kapelmester i Lübeck, Stettin og Prag, 1871-1877 lærer ved den kongelige højskole for musik i Berlin, 1877-1898 koncertmester i Dresden og lærer ved konservatoriet.

Rappoldi har udgivet nogle kammermusikværker. Hans Hustru Laura Kahrer, født 14. januar 1853 i Mistelbach ved Wien, var en fortræffelig pianistinde, elev af Wienerkonservatoriet. Begge har gentagne gange foretaget koncertrejser (København 1877 og 1878) .

...

Der Violinspieler Eduard Rappoldi war ein Schüler von Leopold Jansa und Joseph Böhm, 1854 Mitglied des Hofopernorchesters in Wien, 1861 bis 1866 Konzertmeister der Deutschen Oper in Rotterdam, darauf Operkapellmeister in Lübeck, Stettin und Prag. 1871 ging er als Lehrer an die königliche Hochschule für Musik in Berlin.

Rappoldi kam 1877 nach Dresden. Er arbeitete bis 1898 als Hofkonzertmeister. Bis 1893 war er zugleich Lehrer am Konservatorium. Er veröffentlichte Lieder, zwei Violinsonaten, eine Klaviersonate und andere. Seine Gattin Laura, geborene Kahrer, geboren 14. Januar 1853 in Mistelbach bei Wien, Schülerin des Wiener Konservatoriums, dann von Franz Liszt, Adolph von Henselt und Hans von Bülow, war ab 1890 ebenfalls Lehrerin des Klavierspiels am Konservatorium in Dresden. Die Familie Rappoldi wohnte in der Albrechtstraße 10, I. Stock.

...

Der langjährige königliche Hofkonzertmeister Eduard Rappoldi, eigentlich Rappold, in Dresden zählt zu den größten Geigenvirtuosen der Gegenwart. Seine Technik ist eine vollendete und sein Ton voll Seele, rührend, hinreißend und poetisch. Er singt wundervoll auf seinem Instrument, versteht aber auch die Rhythmen selbst im schnellsten Tempo noch auszuprägen. Ich habe es bereits in meinem Buche : « Das Dresdener Hoftheater in der Gegenwart » ausgesprochen, daß er Joseph Joachim in keiner Weise nachsteht : Dieser edle, volle, durch und durch gesunde Ton, diese Stilgröße und die Abgeklärtheit im Vortrag, die Reinheit und Feinheit der Nuancierung, alles das erinnert an den Berliner Geigerkönig. Aber er kopiert ihn nicht, sondern ist durchaus selbstständig- und individuell; dabei verschmäht er jede Virtuosenkoketterie und seine große Technik dient ausschließlich einem ernsten künstlerischen Zwecke.

Daß Rappoldi ein musikalisches Wunderkind war, versteht sich von selbst. Geboren am 21. Februar 1839 in Wien, trat er schon mit sieben Jahren in einer von seinem damaligen Lehrer Doleschall veranstalteten Akademie als Pianist, Violinist und mit einer eigenen Komposition auf. Er war ein Schüler von Hellmesberger Senior, Joseph Böhm, Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst und Leopold Jansa. Nach vollendeten Studien unternahm er erfolgreiche Kunstreisen nach allen Städten der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, sowie nach Norddeutschland, Belgien und Holland und spielte auch an den verschiedensten Höfen mit der größten Auszeichnung. Er folgte einem Rufe als Konzertmeister nach Rotterdam und war dann Kapellmeister in Lübeck, Stettin und am Deutschen Landestheater zu Prag. 1876 wurde er zum königlich preußischen Professor ernannt und erhielt eine Berufung als Hofkonzertmeister nach Dresden, wo er sich allgemeiner Beliebtheit erfreute und zahlreiche Schüler ausbildete. Die Konzertreisen, die er von dort aus mit seiner als Klavierspielerin berühmten Gattin, geborene Laura Kahrer, nach Kopenhagen, Warschau, Wien, München, der Schweiz unternahm, glichen wahren Triumphzügen.

Eduard Rappoldi hat auch als Komponist eine erfreuliche Tätigkeit entfaltet. Es existieren von ihm teilweise gedruckt, teilweise im Manuskript vorhanden : zwei Streichquartette ; zwei Klavier-Violinsonaten ; zwei Symphonien ; gegen 30 Lieder für eine Singstimme ; kleine Chöre ; eine Overtüre.

Vor einiger Zeit hat er seine Entlassung als erster Konzertmeister genommen, die ihm unter den ehrenvollsten Bedingungen bewilligt wurde.

Interessant ist's, daß sein Nachfolger als erster königlich sächsischer Hofkonzertmeister ein polnischer Jude aus Sulkow bei Krakau, der am 17. März 1870 geborene Max Lewinger, ist, der sich als Geigenvirtuos bereits einen klingvollen Namen gemacht hat.

Werke

Opus 2, Nr. 3 : Die Lotosblume (Vier Lieder) ; Text : Heinrich Heine.

Opus 4, Nr. 1 (Acht Lieder für I Singstimme mit Pianoforte) : Stille Sicherheit ; Text : Nikolaus Lenau.

Opus 4, Nr. 2 (Acht Lieder für I Singstimme mit Pianoforte) : Der kühne Schiffer ; Text : Samuel Christian Pape.

Opus 4, Nr. 3 (Acht Lieder für I Singstimme mit Pianoforte) : Rastlose Liebe ; Text : Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

Opus 4, Nr. 4 (Acht Lieder für I Singstimme mit Pianoforte) : Nun die Schatten dunkeln ; Text : Emanuel von Geibel.

Opus 4, Nr. 5 (Acht Lieder für I Singstimme mit Pianoforte) : Gefunden ; Text : Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

Opus 4, Nr. 6 (Acht Lieder für I Singstimme mit Pianoforte) : Abschied ; Text : Justinus Kerner.

Opus 4, Nr. 7 (Acht Lieder für I Singstimme mit Pianoforte) : Erster Verlust ; Text : Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

Opus 4, Nr. 8 (Acht Lieder für I Singstimme mit Pianoforte) : Des Knaben Berglied ; Text : Johann Ludwig Uhland.

2 Streichquartette.

2 Klavier-Violinsonaten

2 Symphonien.

Gegen 30 Lieder für eine Singstimme.

Kleine Chöre.

I Ouverture.

WAB 13

20-28 avril 1885 : WAB 13 - « Ecce sacerdos magnus » (voilà le grand prêtre qui plut au Seigneur) , antienne en la mineur pour chœur mixte à 7 ou 8 voix, 3 trombones et orgue. Composée à Vienne pour le millénaire du diocèse de Linz, en 1885. Création à Vöcklabruck, le 21 ou 24 novembre 1912, sous la direction de Max Auer.

Arrangement : Josef Venantius von Wöb (1863-1943) .

Ire édition : UE 3298, Viktor Keldorfer (1873-1959) , Universal-Edition, Vienne (1911-1916) ; avec un avant-propos de Viktor Keldorfer.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXI/1, édition Hans Bauernfeind - Leopold Nowak (1984) (2001) , pages 130-140.

Ferdinand Habel, édition Anton Böhm & Sohn, Augsburg (1933 ?) .

EE 4185, Ernst Eulenburg, édition Peters (1939) , pages 19-26.

Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo.
Ideo iurejurando fecit illum Dominus crescere in plebem suam.
Benedictionem omnium gentium dedit illi
Et testamentum suum confirmavit super caput ejus.
Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto :
Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper,
Et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

« Ecce sacerdos magnus » est un antienne et un répons de la Liturgie des Heures et du « Graduale Romanum » .

Le texte latin est « Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis, placuit Deo » , ce qui signifie : « Voilà le grand prêtre qui plut au Seigneur. » . Dans certains cas, ces mots sont suivis de « et inventus est iustus » . Dans d'autres, la réponse est « Non est inventus similis illi, qui conservaret legem excelsis » (personne n'est comme lui comme gardien des lois du Très-Haut) .

Ce texte peut être utilisé lors de la procession de l'Évêque durant une ordination.

Ce texte a été mis en musique par les compositeurs Anton Bruckner et Edward Elgar.

...

« Ecce sacerdos magnus » (Behold a great priest) , **WAB 13**, is an 1885 sacred Motet by the Austrian composer Anton Bruckner. It is a musical setting of the antiphon of the same title.

This setting was composed at the request of Choir Director Johann Baptist Burgstaller, to be performed at the Linz Cathedral on the 100th anniversary of the founding of the diocese. It was completed by 28 April 1885 and sent to Burgstaller in mid-May. However, the work was not performed at that event. The work, which was edited by Viktor Keldorfer, in 1911, was premiered, on 21 November 1921, by the Vöcklabruck women's Choral Society. The Motet is put in Band XXI/33 of the « Gesamtausgabe » .

The piece of in total 106 bars is a 6 part « responsorium » in A minor for 8 voice mixed choir, 3 trombones and organ :

« Ecce sacerdos magnus » (bars 1-22) . As in Bruckner's « Te Deum » , the work begins with bare 5ths.

« Ideo jure jurando » (bars 23-39) . This 2nd part the work, which is recalling the harmony of the previous « Locus iste » and « Christus factus est » (**WAB 11**) , is repeated 2 times as a « ritornello » on bars 64-80 and 90-106.

« Benedictionem omnium » (bars 40-63) . As in Mass No. 1 and the Adagio of most of Bruckner's Symphonies, this 3rd part contains Bruckner's typical ascending scales.

« Ideo jure jurando » (bars 64-80) . 1st repeat of bars 23-39.

Chorale : « Gloria Patri et Filio » (bars 81-89) . This 5th part, which is sung a cappella in unison, is a transcription of the Gregorian « plain-chant » « Gloria Patri » with a different metric structure.

« Ideo jure jurando » (bars 90-106) . 2nd repeat of bars 23-39.

The antiphon, which was intended as processional music for the entrance of the Bishop into the cathedral, was thus designed to be « majestic » and « ceremonial » in character. The work's « most enthralling feature » is « the antiphonal writing of Gabrielian “ grandeur ” » in bars 64-66. Kinder calls the piece, « one of Bruckner's crowning achievements in the small forms » and « a work of almost barbaric intensity » .

The trombones, which usually double the low-voices, occasionally adopt independent lines. The « ritornello » on the words « Ideo jurejurando » is expanded and contrasted with episodes « that seem to trace the evolution of church music » in their varied use of texture. In contrast, the harmonic structure is more reflective of Bruckner's own compositional style. The piece includes several references to Bruckner's 1854 « Libera me » , particularly in the harmonic writing.

...

WAB 13 (1885) : « Ecce sacerdos magnus » ; antiphon in A minor for mixt choir (SSAATTBB) , 3 trombones and organ.

Arranger : Josef Venantius von Wöb (1863-1943) .

Universal-Edition, Vienna (1916) .

During the 3 year period Anton Bruckner spent on the composition of his immense 8th Symphony, the composer found little time to produce much else. Yet, those few works which came from 1884-1887, mostly sacred vocal pieces, are of very high-quality and imaginative. Perhaps, the most arresting is the Motet « Ecce sacerdos magnus » for mixed chorus, 3 trombones and organ from 1885.

From its very opening, impassioned in utterance and almost barbaric in its opulence despite its economy of means, it is apparent that this Motet inhabits the same world as the recent « Te Deum » and the contemporary 8th Symphony. It is a vital, almost militant, assertion of Faith which yields to a highly-contrapuntal interweaving of voices and organ. At the word « Benedictionen » , the Trio of trombones enter with solemn dignity, underlining the benevolence of the text. The following « Gloria Patri » utilizes ancient plain song for a cappella unison voices until the vigor of the opening returns at the words « Ideo jurejando fecit » , a curious, yet effective, choice for reprisal. Bruckner then opts for a serene ending with the words « plebem suam » , an humble invocation to God to bless and increase His people. « Ecce sacerdos » is perhaps the most unusual of Bruckner's mature Motets. Even in returning to the beloved idioms of his youth, one is reminded of the composer's dictum :

« They would like me to compose a different way but I cannot. I must not. » .

...

12 mai 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Moritz von Mayfeld (Linz) .

Right Honourable Sir.

Sincere sympathy at the bitter loss to your entire, highly-respected and honoured family.

“ Requiescat in pace ! ”

The success in Munich was the greatest of my life. There never had been such enthusiasm in Munich, as I was told. Excellent reviews. “ Neueste Nachrichten ”, “ Süddeutsche Press ”, in particular, with the most spirited approval, “ Herr ” Levi toasted the most significant Symphonic work since 1827, with the most enthusiastic applause of hundreds, and called the performance of the marvelous work, as he called it, the crown of his artistic activity. Levi reported to the

King, who accepted the dedication. My Quintet and, above all, the new “ Te Deum ”, which Wetzler wants to print, has evoked the greatest jubilation.

A kiss on the hand to your gracious wife !

With deepest respect, I remain

Devotedly yours,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Herzliches Beileid zu dem herben Verluste ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 161 ; pages 187-188.

Moritz von Mayfeld (1817-1904) : Government official, composer, pianist, painter, and writer. He and his wife, Betty von Mayfeld (1831-1908) , lived in Linz, from 1859 to 1873 ; and they both were very fond of Bruckner, considering him a close friend and a gifted composer.

This may allude to the death of Moritz von Mayfeld's mother.

Bruckner is referring to the performance of his 7th Symphony in Munich, on March 10, 1885.

Emmanuel (Emil) Wetzler (1839-1901) : Viennese publisher and music-dealer.

14 mai 1885 : Otto Klemperer is born in Breslau, Germany (now, Wrocław, in Poland) , of Jewish parents. His mother, Ida, is a composer and pianist.

18 mai 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Johann Baptist Burgstaller (Linz) .

« Reverend Vicar !

Although I have only my times of rest for composing, and not even these for a long time !!! Even so, I have kept my promise and send you under separate cover the new “ Ecce sacerdos magnus ”.

The “ Te Deum ”, as I hear, will be published. The Mass (in E minor) , dedicated to the late most venerable Bishop, belongs to the “ Dombau-Verein ”. I have undertaken revisions, and might they now be copied into the parts, since a new Bishop is reigning ? The Mass is vocal-music, with woodwinds and brass-ensemble accompaniment without strings. In 1869, I rehearsed the Mass and conducted it on the most magnificent days of my lifetime at the consecration in the votive chapel. The Bishop and the Governor toasted me at the Bishop's table.

With sincerest respect, I remain

Most devotedly,

Anton Bruckner

It was not required of me to write-out the “ Sicut erat ”, but I have made note of it in the chorale. »

Incipit : « Obwohl mir nur meine Erholungsstunden ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 160 ; page 187.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 11 ; pages 19-20.

Johann Baptist Burgstaller (1840-1925) : Cathedral Curate. Choir director at the New Cathedral (« Neuer Dom ») in Linz, from 1869 to 1909.

This would be the Mass in E minor. It was dedicated to Bishop Franz-Josef Rüdiger (1811-1884) , who had especially liked to sit and listen as Bruckner practised and improvised. He had loved Bruckner's music and had been an enthusiastic friend and supporter of Bruckner.

The words « Dombau-Verein » literally mean the cathedral building association. The manuscript belonged to the Cathedral and was probably housed in the Library, there.

The new Bishop was Ernest Maria Müller (1822-1888) , consecrated Bishop of Linz on April 26, 1885.

It was not only Bishop Rüdiger who had recognized the quality of Bruckner's music, but also the Governor. He and the new Bishop both toasted Bruckner as he sat at the Bishop's table as a guest of honour at the banquet which followed the ceremonies of consecrating this new Bishop.

Ernest Maria Müller

30 June 1822 : Born in Irritz, Czech Republic.

13 July 1846 (Aged 24) : Ordained Deacon in Vienna.

20 July 1846 (Aged 24) : Ordained Priest in Vienna.

17 February 1885 : (Aged 62.6) : Selected as Bishop of Linz.

27 March 1885 (Aged 62.7) : Confirmed as Bishop of Linz.

26 April 1885 (Aged 62.8) : Ordained Bishop of Linz.

3 May 1885 (Aged 62.8) : Installed as Bishop of Linz.

28 September 1888 (Aged 66.2) : Died as Bishop of Linz.

...

30. Juni 1822 : Geboren in Irritz (Mähren) .

20. Juli 1846 : Priesterweihe in Wien.

1847 : Studienpräfekt am fürsterzbischöfl. Alumnat in Wien.

1849 : Dozent für Erziehungskunde.

22. Juli 1853 : Promotion zum Doktor der Theologie in Wien.

1858-1868 : Professor für Moraltheologie an der Universität Wien.

1868 : Domherr in Wien.

17. Februar 1885 : Kaiserliche Ernennung zum Bischof von Linz.

27. März 1885 : Päpstliche Bestätigung.

26. April 1885 : Bischofsweihe in Wien.

3. Mai 1885 : Inthronisation in Linz.

28. September 1888 : Gestorben in Linz.

Ernest Maria Müller (geboren 30. Juni 1822 in Irritz, Mähren ; gestorben 28. September 1888 in Linz) war katholischer Bischof der Diözese Linz.

Der Sohn eines Volksschullehrers besuchte das Gymnasium in Nikolsburg, studierte 1843 Theologie in Wien und wurde am 19. Juli 1847 zum Priester geweiht. 1853 promovierte er zum Doktor der Theologie war Professor für

Moraltheologie an der Universität Wien. 1863 Regens am Priesterseminars und 1864 Ehrendomherr in Wien.

Kaiser Franz Josef von Österreich ernannte ihn am 26. April 1885 zum Bischof von Linz. Papst Leo XIII. bestätigte ihn am 27. März 1885. Konsekriert wurde er am 26. April 1885 durch Cölestin Josef Ganglbauer dem Erzbischof von Wien. Seine Inthronisation in Linz erfolgte am 3. Mai 1885. Er setzte sich für den Weiterbau des neuen Doms ein und war der Kirchenmusik sehr zugetan.

Seine letzte Ruhestätte fand er im neuen Dom zu Linz.

...

Ernest Maria Müller : Bischof von Linz, geboren am 30. Juni 1822 zu Irritz in Mähren ; gestorben am 28. September 1888. Er wurde 1846 zum Priester geweiht, Cooperator zu Preßbaum, 1847 Studienpräfect im fürsterzbischöflichen Alumnat in Wien, 1849 Docent der Erziehungskunde an der Universität, 1850 Subrector des Priesterseminars, 1853 Doktor der Theologie, 1857 bis 1868 ordentlicher Professor der Moraltheologie an der Universität, 1863 zugleich Director des Priesterseminars, bis 1885, und fürsterzbischöflicher Consistorialrath, 1868 Domcapitular zu Sankt Stephan in Wien, 1877 päpstlicher Hausprälat ; am 17. Februar 1885 zum Bischof von Linz ernannt, am 27. März präconisirt, am 26. April von dem Fürsterzbischof von Wien, Cardinal Ganglbauer in Wien consecrirt, am 3. Mai in Linz inthronisirt.

Als Erzieher des Clerus genoß Müller während seiner langjährigen Wirksamkeit als Seminardirector in Wien ein großes Ansehen. Als Bischof trat er in der kurzen Zeit seines Wirkens mit Ernst und Eifer in die Fußstapfen seines Vorgängers Rüdiger. Auf dem Gebiete seiner Fachwissenschaft verfaßte er vor allem ein geschätztes, auch außerhalb Oesterreichs verbreitetes Lehrbuch : « Theologia moralis » (3 Bände, Wien 1868-1876 ; 1887 erschien Band I und II in 5. , Band III in 4. Auflage ; nach dem Tode des Verfassers bearbeitete Adolf Schmuckenschläger die seitherigen weiteren Auflagen ; Band I und II in 8. Auflage 1899 ; Band III in 7. Auflage 1902) . Als Bischof veröffentlichte Müller die Schrift : « Lösung der für die Pastoral-Conferenzen des Jahres 1886 dem Linzer Diöcesan-Clerus vorgelegten Fragen » (Linz 1887) , und das populär religiöse « Belehrungsbüchlein » : « Geistliche Apotheke für Alle, die ewig leben wollen » (Steyr 1887, 3. Auflage 1889 ; auch in verschiedene fremde Sprachen übersetzt) . In der von Scheiner und Häusle herausgegebenen « Zeitschrift für die gesammte katholische Theologie » (Wien) waren Müller's erste moralwissenschaftliche Arbeiten erschienen : « Über Herbart's Begriff des Sittlichen und des Sittengesetzes. Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung seiner Moral » (Band VII, 1855, Seiten 82-105) ; « Über das höchste Gut in der katholischen Ethik » (Band VIII, 2, 1856, Seiten 189-228) . Zahlreiche, in der Regel an der Spitze der Quartalshefte gedruckte Beiträge aus dem Gebiete der praktischen Theologie enthält von seiner Hand die Linzer « Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift » in den Jahrgängen 1875-1885. Auch zu den « Blättern für Kanzel-Beredsamkeit » lieferte er Beiträge.

...

Ernest Maria Müller wurde am 30. Juni 1822 in Irritz bei Misslitz (Jirice und Miroslavi) , Mähren, geboren. Der Sohn eines Volksschullehrers besuchte das Gymnasium in Nikolsburg und studierte anschließend Theologie in Wien (1843-1846) . Nach der Priesterweihe am 19. Juli 1846 wirkte Müller ein Jahr als Kooperator in Preßbaum, 1847 wurde er

Studienpräfekt und 1849 Subrektor am Wiener Priesterseminar sowie Supplent für Erziehungskunde. 1853 Promotion zum Doktor der Theologie, 1857 Berufung zum am Ort und 1858 zum oder Professor der Moraltheologie an der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien. 1861 wurde er Dekan des Professorenkollegiums, 1863 zugleich des Professoren- und Doktorenkollegiums. Bekannt wurde Müller durch sein ab 1868 erscheinendes dreibändiges Werk « Theologia moralis », das zehn Auflagen erlebte. 1863 wurde Müller zum Regens des Wiener Priesterseminars bestellt, 1864 zum Ehrendomherrn ernannt ; 1868 wurde er « canonicus universitatis » des Metropolitankapitels bei Sankt Stephan. Nun legte er seine Professur zurück.

Die Ernennung des angesehenen Moraltheologen zum Bischof von Linz durch Kaiser Franz Josef am 17. Februar 1885 kam für viele überraschend (Bischofsweihe in Wien am 26. April 1885 durch Kardinal Cölestin Ganglbauer, Inthronisation in Linz 3. Mai 1885) . Müller erwies sich als eine Kraft des Ausgleichs und leistete einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Beendigung der Konflikte zwischen Kirche und Liberalismus. Schon 1885 ordnete der Bischof die Führung von Pfarrchroniken verpflichtend an. Unter ihm machte der Dombau gute Fortschritte (1885 Einweihung des Presbyteriums, 1886 Beginn des Turmbaus) .

Das 100-Jahr-Jubiläum der Diözese 1885 hielt Müller bereits im Neuen Dom ab, wobei Anton Bruckner ebenso die Orgel spielte wie auch am 29. September 1887 beim 25-Jahr-Jubiläum der Grundsteinlegung des Neuen Domes. In diesem Jahr erließ Müller, ermutigt durch ein römisches « regolamento » und beeinflusst vom Kirchenmusiker Johann Evangelist Habert, eine Verordnung über die Kirchenmusik, in der er sich entgegen den Bestrebungen des Allgemeinen Deutschen Cäcilienvereins (ACV) für den figurierten mehrstimmigen Gesang und die Instrumentalmusik aussprach. Der musikalisch begabte Bischof förderte den Oberösterreichischen Cäcilienverein (OÖCV) und unterstützte auch den Komponisten Habert.

Einen wesentlichen Beitrag leistete Müller zum Aufschwung der Herz-Jesu- und Herz-Mariä-Verehrung in der Diözese. Müller starb am 28. September 1888 nach längerer Krankheit in Linz und wurde im Neuen Dom beigesetzt.

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Rudolf Zinnhobler. Ernest Maria Müller, in : Uwe Harten (Herausgeber) , Bruckner, Seiten 294.

20 mai 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Friedrich Eckstein (Vienne) .

« I authorize, herewith, my dear friend, Director Friedrich Eckstein, to undertake the necessary steps, in his opinion, with regard to the publication of my “ Te Deum ” .

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Ich ermächtige hiemit ... »

Source : Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 19 ; page 28.

Friedrich Eckstein (1861-1939) : Publicist, philosopher, author, industrialist, and amateur musician - Viennese dilettante. He wrote 2 books of reminiscences on Bruckner : one on his theoretical values and teaching methods (« Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner ») ; the other, an auto-biographical account (« Alte unnennbare Tage ») , is a portrait of Bruckner as man and artist. Eckstein had been a student of Bruckner at the Conservatory and privately, from 1880 to 1884. He largely financed the publication of the « Te Deum » .

30 mai 1885 : The Adagio of the 7th Symphony is performed in Karlsruhe. Hans Paumgartner criticized the « learned musicians at the Court Opera Orchestra » for their inability to evaluate the true worth of Bruckner's Symphonies and for forcing him to « eat the bread of artistic exile » as a result of their refusal to perform his works.

La peinture allemande au XIXe siècle

Sous l'influence du Romantisme grandissant, au XIXe siècle, le viennois Moritz von Schwind (1804-1871) fut le 1er à traiter des épisodes du Moyen-âge. Mais la principale réaction partit, vers 1810, d'un groupe d'artistes, catholiques ardents, surnommés les Nazaréens, qui vivaient à Rome : Overbeck (1789-1869) , Cornelius (1783-1867) , Fürich (1800-1876) , Schnorr von Carosfeld (1794-1879) , travailleurs et instruits, mais au talent limité. Overbeck n'a exécuté que des pastiches maladroits de primitifs italiens. Cornelius et Kaulbach ont peint à Berlin et à Munich des cycles d'œuvres à tendances philosophiques, lourdes de pensées et d'intentions.

Des Nazaréens prirent la tête des 2 grands centres artistiques allemands : Munich et Düsseldorf. L'école de Munich fut fondée par Cornelius, qui en fut avec Kaulbach (1805-1874) le principal protagoniste. Ils servirent les desseins de Louis 1er qui les avait appelés, car il voulait faire de sa capitale une Athènes allemande, bâtie avec des copies de temples grecs et de palais florentins.

À la génération suivante, cette école se continue par des peintres d'histoire tels que Piloty (1826-1886) , inféodé aux Français et à Delaroche, et Makart (1840-1884) , virtuose imitateur des Vénitiens qui joua plus tard un grand rôle à Vienne. Ensuite, elle subit une éclipse. Un autre Nazaréen avait fondé, en 1826, l'école de Düsseldorf, imprégnée de Romantisme rhénan, de vieilles légendes que traduisent Hildebrandt (1804-1874) , Sohn (1805-1867) , Steinbrück. Ils avaient été précédés dans ce genre par Rethel (1816-1859) , auteur de la Salle impériale à Aix-la-Chapelle, et par Moritz von Schwind, déjà cité, qui avait traité des sujets Romantiques à Stuttgart, Munich et Vienne.

Ensuite, le centre artistique de l'Allemagne du Nord se déplaça. Berlin voulut être une capitale de l'art. C'est dans le milieu berlinois plus précis et moins rêveur que s'élabora la réforme réaliste de Menzel (1815-1905) ; il rompt avec ses prédécesseurs par ses tableaux de genre qui l'apparentent à Meissonier et par ses scènes de la vie contemporaine. Il a pour lieutenants Werner (né en 1843) , Gussow et Max Michel. Après Menzel, le chef du réalisme dans l'Allemagne du Nord sera Max Liebermann (1849-1935) . Cependant, Munich redevient la capitale de l'art. Ses 2 sociétés aux nombreux membres, ses expositions, les plus célèbres de toute l'Allemagne, lui assurent de nouveau l'hégémonie artistique. Un groupe d'artistes, les élèves d'Arthur de Ramberg, au 1er rang desquels se place Leibl (1844-1900) , le champion du réalisme en Allemagne, reçoit triomphalement Gustave Courbet. De même, en 1879, c'est Munich qui révèle les impressionnistes à l'Allemagne.

Après Leibl, Lenbach (1836-1904) est à Munich le principal représentant du réalisme. Intelligent et érudit, ce serait uniquement un virtuose ayant su analyser et s'approprier les manières de plusieurs grands Maîtres, si ses portraits, notamment ceux de plusieurs célébrités de l'Allemagne contemporaine, Bismarck, Moltke, n'étaient remarquables par leur acuité psychologique. Cependant l'idéalisme reprend ses droits.

Dernier stade de la peinture en Allemagne au XIXe siècle, comme il l'est aussi de la sculpture, une école néo-idéaliste et symboliste, à laquelle appartiennent les « Worpswédiens » , a succédé à celle des réalistes et impressionnistes trop uniquement préoccupés de l'aspect extérieur des choses, et se présente sous diverses formes : ici, inspirée des Primitifs et des pré-Raphaélites et imprégnée d'un vague mysticisme ; là, cherchant son inspiration dans la légende ; ailleurs, amoureuse de symbole ou d'expression subtile et tombant facilement, comme il arrive souvent dans ce cas en

Allemagne, dans l'obscurité ou l'affectation ; ou bien, au contraire (et sur beaucoup de représentants de ce dernier groupe l'exemple de compatriotes Paul Cézanne et Paul Gauguin n'a pas été sans influence) , montrant une recherche du style et de la ligne décorative.

C'est Munich qui lance le Bâlois Arnold Böcklin (1827-1899) , inventeur d'un nouvel art aux yeux des Allemands, sur qui il exerça une profonde attraction non point tant par ses paysages que par ses mythologies pesantes au trait alourdi, parfaitement germaniques d'inspiration. Hans von Marées (1837-1887) est, avant tout, un décorateur dont les compositions, notamment ses fresques à l' Aquarium de Naples, montrent des recherches originales, quoique desservies par un dessin sans force et un coloris sombre et terne. Le sculpteur Max Klinger se montre, dans ses tableaux, raffiné et poétique. Hans Thoma (1839-1924) interprète de vieux contes dans une manière naïve calquée sur les primitifs allemands. Plus jeune, Fritz von Uhde (1848-1911) mêle le réalisme à l'idéalisme dans des scènes évangéliques à costumes modernes. Franz Stuck (né en 1863) , chef de la jeune école munichoise, procède de Böcklin avec un style plus synthétique.

L'École de Munich

L'école de Munich est le nom donné au groupe de peintres actifs à Munich autour de l'académie des Beaux-arts de Munich du milieu du XIXe siècle, jusqu'au début du XXe siècle. Elle se caractérise par son naturalisme et son style clair-obscur. Ses thèmes de prédilection sont le paysage, le portrait, la peinture de genre, la peinture d'histoire et la nature morte.

Munich devient le lieu d'attraction de peintres attirés par l'académisme à partir des années 1850 et notamment par Carl von Piloty, professeur à l'Académie à partir de 1856, dont il devient le directeur en 1874. Ils mettent l'accent sur le style des fresquistes et s'éloignent du Romantisme en vogue auparavant. Leur peinture d'histoire est influencée par le Français Paul Delaroche, par le colorisme de Rubens et par l'école vénitienne. Outre Piloty, d'autres professeurs, comme Wilhelm von Diez, Wilhelm von Kaulbach et Arthur von Ramberg, s'attirent une renommée certaine.

On cite parmi ses représentants les artistes suivants : Robert Beyschlag, Anton Braith, Bernhard Buttersack, Franz Defregger, Rudolf Epp, Alois Gabl, Eduard von Grützner, Theodor Horschelt, Friedrich Kaulbach, Hermann von Kaulbach, Eduard Kurzbauer, Wilhelm Leibl, Franz von Lenbach, Wilhelm von Lindenschmit, Hans Makart, Christian Mali, Gabriel von Max, Victor Müller, Ferdinand von Piloty, Karl Raupp, Anton Seitz, Wilhelm Trübner.

Les affinités historiques entre le royaume de Bavière et la Grèce (le prince Othon de Wittelsbach est roi des Hellènes, de 1832 à 1862) impliquent que de nombreux peintres grecs sont formés à l'Académie des Beaux-arts de Munich, comme Constantin Volanakis, Nicolas Gysis, Polychronis Lembesis, Nicolas Vokos, Nicéphore Lytras, et Georges Jakobides, qui se rattachent ainsi à l'école de Munich.

...

L'école appelée « École de Munich » est créée sous la régence de Louis 1er alors que Munich se fait un nom en tant

que centre artistique important. L'École de Munich est connue pour son niveau académique élevé et elle est fortement attachée aux préférences dynastiques.

En outre, les peintres nazaréens Cornelius et Schnorr exercent à l'Académie des Beaux-arts de Munich. Mais c'est plus tard que la véritable École de Munich connaît son apogée sous la direction de Carl von Piloty.

L'école s'intéresse à la peinture historique, à la peinture de genre mais également à la peinture paysagiste ; les natures mortes et les représentations animales appartiennent aussi au répertoire standard de l'école.

Les représentants de l'École de Munich sont : Nikolaus Gysis, Hans Makart, Wilhelm von Diez, Franz von Lenbach et Karl von Piloty.

...

« Munich School » is the name given to a group of painters who worked in Munich or were trained at the Royal Academy of Fine-Arts of Munich (« Münchner Akademie der Bildenden Künste ») , between 1850 and 1918. In the 2nd half of the 19th Century, the Academy became one of the most important institutions in Europe for training artists and attracted students from across Europe, and the United States.

Munich was an important center of painting and visual art in the period between 1850 and 1914. The mid-Century movement away from the Romanticism and emphasis on fresco painting of the earlier Munich school was led by Karl von Piloty, who was a professor at the Munich Academy, from 1856, and became its director in 1874. Piloty's approach to history painting was influenced by the French academician Paul Delaroche, and by the painterly colorism of Rubens and the Venetians. Besides Piloty, other influential teachers at the Academy were Wilhelm von Diez (1839-1907) , Wilhelm von Kaulbach, and Arthur von Ramberg.

Artists of the Munich School include Anton Braith, Alfred Kowalski, Hans Makart, Gabriel Max, Victor Müller, Franz von Lenbach, Friedrich Kaulbach, Wilhelm Leibl, Wilhelm Trübner, and the genre painters Franz Defregger, Eduard von Grützner, Hermann von Kaulbach and Miroslav Kraljević.

The last generation of students of the Munich School included nearly all the major figures of the German avant-garde, such as Lovis Corinth, Vassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee and Franz Marc.

There were notable schools of Munich trained painters active outside of Germany. The formative influence of teachers and examples of the Munich School shaped the academic naturalism in many European countries - e.g. : the Greek academic art of the 19th Century. Due to the historical affinity between Bavaria and Greece (Prince Otto I was, from 1832 to 1862, the 1st King of Greece) , many Greek artists were trained in Munich. The Munich School in Greek art is the most important artistic movement of Greek Art in the 19th Century with strong influences from the Academy of Munich. Among the leading artists of this school were Konstantinos Volanakis, Georgios Roilos, Nikolaos Gyzis, Polychronis Lembesis, Nikolaos Vokos, Nikiphoros Lytras und Georgios Jakobides.

Most of the artists of the Hungarian Nagybanya school of art were educated in Munich.

The Swedish painters Johan Christoffer Boklund and Johan Fredrik Höckert studied in Munich.

Frank Duveneck and William Merritt Chase were the most prominent exemplars of the Munich School in American art. Other American artists who studied in Munich include John Henry Twachtman and Walter Shirlaw.

The Munich school is characterized by a naturalistic style and dark chiaroscuro. Typical subjects are landscape, portraits, genre, still-life, and history painting.

...

Als Münchner Schule wird ein Malstil der Münchner Malerei des 19. und dem Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts bezeichnet. Er entstand im Umfeld der Königlichen Akademie der Bildenden Künste und erlangte bald große Bedeutung in der akademischen Malerei.

König Ludwig I., der seit 1825 regierte, förderte die Kunst einerseits durch Museen, andererseits auch durch Förderung der zeitgenössischen Kunst, die München zwischen 1850 und 1914 zu einem der weltweit bedeutenden Zentren der Malerei machte. Dieses ungewöhnlich starke Kulturengagement wird als Kompensation der geringen wirtschaftlichen und militärischen Bedeutung des Landes interpretiert. Weder in Berlin noch in Düsseldorf gab es eine vergleichbare öffentliche Förderung. Gleichzeitig schaffte es die Kunstkritik deutschlandweit ein Publikum zu gewinnen, teilweise wurde durch die Kunstkritik auch politische Kritik geübt. König Ludwig I. war bemüht, auch außerhalb der Landesgrenzen die Kunst zu fördern, so etwa deutsche Künstler in Rom durch entsprechende Auftragsvergaben.

An der Akademie waren zuvor der Nazarener Peter von Cornelius und Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld tätig. Mit der Berufung von Karl von Piloty als neuem Leiter wurde einerseits das akademische Niveau perfektioniert, andererseits aber auch auf die dynastischen Präferenzen abgestimmt. Dieser Zeitpunkt gilt als Beginn der Münchner Schule. Ein Anliegen Ludwigs I. war es, auch die Freskomalerei wieder zu etablieren. Nachdem Peter von Cornelius die Fresken in den Hofgartenarkaden geschaffen hatte, erlangte die Münchner Schule erstmals größere internationale Aufmerksamkeit und Bedeutung. Das Repertoire der Malerei umfasste zunächst vornehmlich die Historienmalerei, später auch Genre- und Landschaftsmalerei sowie Porträts und Tierdarstellungen. 1843 wurde die Neue Pinakothek eröffnet, in der auch Werke der Münchner Schule ausgestellt wurden. Spätestens seit der Weltausstellung 1867 in Paris hatte die Münchner Schule die Führung der Kunstentwicklung übernommen und die Düsseldorfer Malerschule abgelöst.

Eine beachtliche Anzahl von Künstlerinnen und Künstlern erwirtschaftete ein beachtliches Vermögen. Ein bedeutender Anteil der Kunstwerke wurde im Ausland, vor allem in den USA abgesetzt. Die Künstlerin Tini Rupprecht malte nur in schneller Pastelltechnik, lehnte fünfmal mehr Aufträge ab als sie annahm und erwirtschaftete trotzdem einen siebenstelligen Betrag. Zum Wohlstand einiger Künstler trug das neue Urheberrecht bei. Zahlreiche Werke wurden durch Lithographien und Stiche verbreitet. Mit Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs brachen die Verkaufszahlen auf dem Kunstmarkt

ein, wodurch es zu einem künstlerischen Niedergang der Münchener Schule kam.

Bekannte Vertreter

Johan Christoffer Boklund.

Anton Braith.

Bernhard Buttersack.

Robert Beyschlag.

William Merritt Chase.

Franz Defregger.

Wilhelm von Diez.

Frank Duveneck.

Anton Doll.

Rudolf Epp.

Alois Gabl.

Eduard von Grützner.

Nikolaos Gyzis.

Karl Heinisch.

Theodor Horschelt.

Georgios Jakobides.

Friedrich August von Kaulbach.

Hermann von Kaulbach.

Eduard Kurzbauer.

Wilhelm Leibl.

Polychronis Lembesis.

Franz von Lenbach.

Wilhelm von Lindenschmit.

Nikiphoros Lytras.

Hans Makart.

Christian Mali.

Karl Heinisch.

Theodor Horschelt.

Georgios Jakobides.

Friedrich August von Kaulbach.

Hermann von Kaulbach.

Eduard Kurzbauer.

Wilhelm Leibl.

Polychronis Lembesis.

Franz von Lenbach.

Wilhelm von Lindenschmit.

Nikiphoros Lytras.

Hans Makart.

Christian Mali.

Die Münchner Schule zeichnete sich durch Genauigkeit und Naturalismus bei der Darstellung aus. Typische Genres waren Landschafts-, Historien- und Porträtmalerei. In der Historienmalerei wurde eine Versachlichung gepflegt, die dieses Genre von den Effekten und dem übertriebenen Pathos des 17. Jahrhunderts befreite.

Neben der Akademie entstanden zahlreiche Kunstschulen, darunter die renommierten von Heinrich Knirr und von Anton Ažbe. 1914 gab es fast sechzig Kunstschulen in der Stadt. Ein Grund war, auch daß Frauen in der Akademie nicht zugelassen waren, 1882 wurde der Münchner Künstlerinnenverein gegründet. Ein weiterer Grund war, daß versucht wurde, anders als in den anderen Großstädten, die Zahl der Studierenden an der Akademie gering zu halten. Viele Künstler waren in der Münchner Künstlergenossenschaft organisiert, ein Teil spaltete sich später ab und gründete die Münchener Secession. Die große Bedeutung für die Kunst in Deutschland zeigt sich nicht zuletzt daran, daß nahezu die gesamte folgende Avantgarde an der Akademie studiert hatte, darunter Lovis Corinth, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Ernst Oppler und Franz Marc. Diese begleiteten jedoch auch das Ende der akademischen Malerei und der Münchener Schule als stilistische Abgrenzung.

Neben Paris war München eines von zwei Studienorten der Kunst internationaler Dimension : Nahezu jede europäische Malerei hat Einflüsse der Münchener Schule zu verzeichnen. Wenngleich es sich insgesamt nur um einige hundert ausländische Studierende handelte, so zählten diese häufig zu den wichtigsten Künstlern ihrer Heimatländer.

Johan Christoffer Boklund der in München studiert hatte, etablierte deren Prinzipien an der Königlich Schwedischen Kunstakademie. Einen ebenso großen Einfluss hatte München auf die Malerei Griechenlands ; da auch Griechen an der Akademie lehrten, entstand eine vielfältige Wechselwirkung. Auch Polen und Litauer entschieden sich in nennenswerter Anzahl für ein Studium in München. Ein von impressionistischen Freiheiten bereicherter Realismus machte für die litauische Malerei München zum Vorbild. Die Neue Bulgarische Malerei geht ebenfalls auf Münchener Vorbilder zurück. Amerikanische Vertreter der Münchener Schule waren und andere Frank Duveneck und William Merritt Chase sowie John Henry Twachtman und Walter Shirlaw.

Die Münchener Schule wurde lange Zeit dem Historismus vollkommen gleichgesetzt und ihre Bedeutung für die europäische Malerei und die deutsche Avant-garde wurde aus vielfältigen Gründen vergessen, teilweise wurde das Werk einzelner Protagonisten aus dem Zusammenhang gerissen. 1979 wurde die Ausstellung Die Münchner Schule : 1850-1914 der Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen gezeigt, 2008 die Ausstellung Vor den Alpen : Malerei der Münchner Schule. Werke der Münchener Schule befinden sich in zahlreichen Kunstsammlungen. Die Anzahl der Werke auf dem Kunstmarkt ist heute jedoch eher gering, so daß selbst kleinere Arbeiten unbekannter Künstler aus dem Umfeld hohe vierstellige Beträge auf Auktionen erzielen.

...

Unter der Förderung König Ludwigs I. (Regierungszeit 1825-1848) bildete sich in München die sogenannte Münchner Schule heraus, deren Ruhm als eine der führenden Malerschulen Deutschlands bis ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein wirkte.

Ludwig I. war es auch, der den Bau der Neuen Pinakothek in München initiierte, um die zeitgenössische Kunst angemessen zu bewahren und zu präsentieren.

Carl Theodor von Piloty (1826-1886) ist als führender Vertreter im Bereich der Historienmalerei zu benennen. Er war auf die Inszenierung tragisch-dramatischer Ereignisse spezialisiert. Piloty lehrte ab 1856 an der Münchner Akademie und hatte von 1874 bis 1886 den Direktorenposten inne. Zu Pilotys Schülern zählten unter anderem Hans Makart, Alexander von Liezen-Mayer und Heinrich Lossow sowie die Genremaler Nikolaus Gysis, Eduard von Grützner, dessen bevorzugtes Sujet trinkende Klosterbrüder waren, und Franz von Defregger, der mit seinen ländlich-bayerischen Szenen Erfolge feierte.

Für die Landschaftsmalerei sind Joseph Wenglein, Adolf Heinrich Lier und Eduard Schleich der Ältere anzuführen. Die beiden letztgenannten gelten als Hauptmeister der stimmungsvollen « intimen Landschaft ». Anton Doll und Friedrich Eibner schufen als Vedutenmaler detailverliebte Stadtansichten. Als Tiermaler wirkten Robert Eberle und Heinrich von Zügel. Weitere wichtige Vertreter der Münchner Schule sind Franz von Lenbach, Wilhelm von Diez, Hugo Kauffmann, Carl Spitzweg und Wilhelm Leibl, um den sich in der Folge ein eigener Künstlerkreis konstituierte (« Leibl-Kreis » mit Wilhelm Trübner und Carl Schuch als wichtigste Mitglieder) .

Künstler und Werke der Münchner Schule wirkten prägend auf die nachfolgenden Maler, beispielsweise auf die Vertreter des deutschen Impressionismus Lovis Corinth, Max Slevogt und Fritz von Uhde.

Hermann von Kaulbach

Les artistes de Munich étaient très intéressés à réaliser un grand portrait d'Anton Bruckner en raison de ses traits uniques et fort impressionnants.

Le peintre Hermann von Kaulbach va en produire un de profil, « grandeur nature » mais sans tenir compte de la demande pressante du compositeur :

« S'il-vous-plaît, veuillez faire mon nez un peu plus petit ! »

Bruckner mesurait 5 pieds et 9 pouces, portait des chemises à large col, des pantalons amples et n'attachait jamais son veston.

...

As Bruckner had told Doctor van Meurs, the concert did take place in Munich and was a rousing success. Bruckner reported his triumph to Arthur Nikisch, on **March 15, 1885** :

« I have just returned from Munich where, on the 10th of the month, there was an extremely magnificent performance of my 7th Symphony. The audience received it very enthusiastically ; the conductor and the Orchestra applauded

vigorously. 2 laurel wreaths. Next performance, in the autumn. The reviews were very good. Also, especially splendid ; “ Neueste Nachrichten ”, “ Süddeutsche Presse ”, and such.

At a large reception for musicians, “ Herr ” Levi declared :

“ This is the most significant Symphonic work since Beethoven’s death. ”

He added that the performance of this work is going to be the pride and high-point of his artistic career. And the banquets ! The King will also be informed. The Intendant, likewise, sent for me. My portrait was painted by (Hermann von) Kaulbach and I was photographed twice. »

...

1885 : Ludwig Grande (1865-1940) réalise une caricature d'Anton Bruckner.

1885 : L'artiste-peintre allemand Hermann von Kaulbach (1846-1909) qui appartient à l'École de Munich achève son célèbre portrait d'Anton Bruckner : huile sur carton, 74 cm x 56 cm. Il se trouve aujourd'hui exposé au Musée de la Haute-Autriche, au Château de Linz (« Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum - Schloßmuseum, Linz ») .

Portrait Anton Bruckner, Ölfarben auf Karton, 74 cm x 56 cm (1885) , im Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum - Schloßmuseum, Linz, Sign. G. 297.

...

Le peintre Wilhelm Kaulbach sera l'auteur du « Torquato Tasso » (1838) et de « la Bataille des Huns » (« Hunnenschlacht ») (vers 1850) , dont s'inspira Franz Liszt dans ses poèmes symphoniques.

« Torquato Tasso » : The portrait depicts a man with a laurel wreath, a cape, loosely pleated black jacket resting his hands on a large book. The man also has a beard and mustache. The background is a muted green.

Le poème symphonique « Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo » (Tasso, lamentation et triomphe) , S.96, fut composé par Franz Liszt en 1849. Il le révisera en 1850-1851 et, de nouveau, en 1854. Il est le 2e des 13 poèmes symphoniques écrits par le musicien durant son séjour à Weimar.

La Ire esquisse de Liszt date du 1er août 1849. Il aurait entendu le thème principal de « Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo » à Venise, en Italie, quelques années plus tôt. Cependant, il l'utilisa dans la version datant de 1840 de sa pièce pour piano « La Gondoliera » du recueil « Venezia e Napoli » . Liszt termina la version de 1849 de « Lamento e Trionfo » comme une Overture en 2 parties, qu'il demanda à August Conradi d'orchestrer. Cette version fut réalisée à Weimar, en Allemagne, en l'honneur du centenaire de la naissance de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe et comme étant une Overture sur drame, « Torquato Tasso » . Liszt a plus tard corrigé la partition de Conradi et demanda à Joachim Raff

d'en produire une nouvelle, entre 1850 et 1851. Il la révisa ensuite assez largement lui-même par l'ajout d'une section centrale. Cette dernière version fut jouée le 19 avril 1854, à Weimar, sous la direction de Liszt lui-même.

La version de 1849 est une Ouverture Classique conventionnelle, divisée en une section lente (« Lamentation ») et une rapide (« Triomphe »). Même avec cette division, toute l'œuvre était en fait un ensemble de variations sur une mélodie simple et un hymne folklorique chanté à Liszt par un gondolier de Venise, à la fin des années 1830. Parmi les modifications les plus importantes, l'une d'entre elles sera l'ajout d'une section centrale dans le style d'un menuet. Dans une note en marge, Liszt informe le gondolier que l'orchestre « assume un double rôle » dans cette section : en effet, les cordes et les vents jouent un contenu radicalement différent. Ce style d'écriture est très ressemblant de celui du compositeur italien Pietro Raimondi, dont la Maîtrise du contrepoint était telle qu'il avait écrit 3 Oratorios (nommés Joseph, Potiphar et Jacob) qui peuvent être joués individuellement ou à la suite. Liszt a étudié les œuvres de Raimondi, mais le compositeur italien est mort avant de Liszt n'ait pu le rencontrer personnellement.

...

« Hunnenschlacht » : Huile sur toile exposé à la « Neue Pinakothek » de Munich.

Le poème symphonique « Hunnenschlacht » (« la Bataille des Huns »), S. 105, de Franz Liszt fut écrit en 1857 d'après l'œuvre picturale homonyme de Wilhelm von Kaulbach. La peinture décrivait la bataille des champs Catalauniques qui eut lieu en l'an 451 et, au cours de laquelle, les armées hunniques, menées par Attila rencontrèrent une coalition romaine dirigée par le général romain Flavius Aetius et le roi Wisigoth Theodoric.

La Ire section de cet ouvrage, Tempestuoso, allegro non troppo, porte les instructions suivantes de la part du compositeur :

« L'on devra s'efforcer de maintenir couleur orchestrale très sombre, tous les instruments devant sonner comme des fantômes. »

Le compositeur français Christophe Looten a réalisé, à l'occasion de l'année du bicentenaire de la naissance de Liszt, une transcription de ce poème symphonique pour quatuor à cordes.

...

Hermann von Kaulbach est né le 26 juillet 1846 à Munich et est mort le 9 décembre 1909 à Munich. Il est le fils du peintre Wilhelm von Kaulbach (Bernhard Wilhelm Eliodrus von Kaulbach). Il suit l'enseignement de Carl von Piloty à Munich. Peintre de genre, il s'attache à la précision des détails et au réalisme de ses scènes historiques qui lui font rencontrer le succès dans la mouvance de l'Académie des Beaux-arts de Munich.

Parmi ses autres œuvres, citons :

Louis XI et Olivier Le Daim (1869) .

Confession enfantine (1871) .

Hänsel et Gretel chez la sorcière (1872) , musée national de Riga.

Les Derniers jours de Mozart (1873) , Städtische Galerie de Vienne.

Jean-Sébastien Bach chez Frédéric le Grand (1879) .

Lucrece Borgia (1882) .

Le Couronnement de Sainte-Élisabeth par Frédéric II (1886) , musée de Wiesbaden.

...

Le peintre allemand Friedrich August von Kaulbach est né le 2 juin 1850 à Munich et mort le 26 juillet 1920 à Ohlstadt, près de Murnau am Staffelsee. Il est un réputé pour ses portraits de la haute-société de l'époque, souvent dans le goût français « fin-de-siècle » .

...

Friedrich August von Kaulbach (il signait aussi Fritz August von Kaulbach) est le fils du peintre d'histoire Friedrich Kaulbach et le petit-neveu de Wilhelm Kaulbach. Il étudie à l'Académie royale des Beaux-Arts de Nuremberg auprès d'August von Kreling, parent par alliance, et de Karl Raupp, puis de son père. Il s'installe à Munich en 1871 et fait ensuite partie d'un groupe qui se baptise les princes de la peinture munichoise, avec Franz von Lenbach et Franz von Stuck. Il débute une carrière de portraitiste et devient l'un des mieux payés de cette catégorie dans l'Empire allemand. Il peint des personnages de la société mondaine de l'époque, allemands et même américains.

...

The German painter of the Munich School, Hermann von Kaulbach, concludes his famous portrait of Anton Bruckner in 1885. It is now at the « Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum - Schloßmuseum, Linz » .

Hermann von Kaulbach was born on 26 July 1846 in Munich and died on 9 December 1909 also in Munich. He was the son of painter Wilhelm von Kaulbach. He was originally a medical student at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich but, perhaps inspired by his father, quit school to study painting instead. In 1867, he became a student of Karl von Piloty. Under his influence, Kaulbach devoted himself almost entirely to historical themes. Ultimately though, he became best-known for his portraits of children. He made 2 study trips to Rome, in 1880 and 1891. Meantime, in 1886, he was appointed a Professor of History Painting at the Academy of Fine-Arts in Munich. In 1906, he published

a picture book, with children as motifs, that sold 135,000 copies.

He was married to Sophie Schroll, the daughter of an engraver, and they had 3 children. Many of his works are on display at the Museum in Bad Arolsen (his father's birthplace) . His letters and other papers are in the collection of the German Literature Archive (part of the Museum of Modern Literature) in Marbach am Neckar. He is buried in the « Alter Südfriedhof » , in Munich.

Although his work was generally well received, he was occasionally criticized for giving too much attention to detail, while missing the significance of the painting's main subject. His portrait of Lucrezia Borgia created a controversy because it was considered « too lewd » , and his version of the Coronation of Saint-Elizabeth by Emperor Frederick II was dismissed by some critics as « costume painting » .

Major works

« Hänsel und Gretel bei der Hexe » - Hänsel and Gretel with the Witch (1872) ; Municipal Gallery, Riga.

« Mozarts Letzte Tage » - Mozart's Last Days (1878) ; Municipal Gallery, Vienna.

« Krönung der heiligen Elisabeth durch Kaiser Friedrich II. » - Coronation of Saint-Elizabeth by Emperor Frederick II (1886) ; Museum at Wiesbaden.

« An der Grabstätte des Freundes » (At the Tomb of a Friend ; 1888, in the Neue Pinakothek, Munich) .

...

Kaulbach : German family of artists. The goldsmith, engraver and amateur painter Philipp Karl Friedrich Kaulbach was born on 25 November 1775 in Arolsen, Waldeck (now, Hessen) ; and died on 10 December 1846 in Mülheim an der Ruhr. One of his 2 sons was Wilhelm von Kaulbach. Head of the new German school, he was a pupil of Peter Cornelius, and associated with him in painting the frescoes in the « Glyptothek » , in Munich. Among other works, which have made his name famous, he executed the splendid series of compositions that adorn the vestibule of the Berlin Museum. He illustrated Gøethe's « Faust » and his « Reinecke Fuchs » (1805-1874) . The other son was the sculptor and painter Karl Kaulbach who was born in Arolsen, on 5 March 1808.

Wilhelm von Kaulbach's son, Hermann Kaulbach, was born in Munich on 26 July 1846 and died in Munich on 9 December 1909. He was a history and genre painter. Christian Kaulbach (1777-1847) , brother of Philipp Karl Friedrich Kaulbach, was a cabinet maker. He was the father of Friedrich Kaulbach. Friedrich Kaulbach's son Friedrich August von Kaulbach was born in Munich on 2 June 1850 and died in Ohlstadt bei Murnau, Bavaria, on 26 July 1920. He was a portrait and genre painter.

...

Hermann von Kaulbach (geboren 26. Juli 1846 in München ; gestorben 9. Dezember 1909 ebenda) war ein deutscher Maler der Münchner Schule.

Hermann von Kaulbach, Sohn des Malers Wilhelm von Kaulbach, brach sein Medizinstudium an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München ohne Abschluß ab und widmete sich ganz der Malerei. Er wurde 1867 Schüler von Karl von Piloty. Beeinflusst durch seinen Lehrer behandelte Kaulbach meist historische Themen in seinen Genrebildern. Bekannt ist er für seine Kinderbildnisse. Für eine Opern-Galerie schuf Kaulbach mehrere Grisailen. 1871 heiratete er Sophie Schroll, die in Nürnberg geborene Tochter eines Kupferstechers, der Ehe entstammten drei Kinder. 1880 und 1891 hielt er sich zu Studienzwecken in Rom auf. 1886 wurde er zum Professor für Historienmalerei an die Akademie der bildenden Künste München berufen. Sein erstmals 1906 erschienenes Bilderbuch, vornehmlich mit Kindermotiven, erschien in mehreren Auflagen und wurde über 135.000 mal verkauft.

In Bad Arolsen befindet sich das Geburtshaus seines Vaters. Neben den Werken des Vaters sind im Museum Bad Arolsen auch seine Werke zu besichtigen. Ein Teil seiner Briefe und sonstigen Korrespondenzen ist im Deutschen Literaturarchiv Marbach verwahrt.

Hermann von Kaulbach verstarb am 9. Dezember 1909 und wurde am Alten Südlichen Friedhof zu München begraben.

...

Hermann von Kaulbach, Maler, geboren 26. Juli 1846 zu München, Sohn von Wilhelm), widmete sich anfangs auf der Universität gelehrten Studien, ging dann aber zur Malerei über und wurde Schüler von Karl Piloty. Seine historischen Genrebilder behandeln interessante Stoffe mit malerischem Reiz, der namentlich in der raffinierten Behandlung des Nebensächlichen liegt, während der Hauptinhalt weniger bedeutungsvoll hervortritt. Seine Gemälde gehören meist dem Kostümgenre an. Unter seinen frühern sind hervorzuheben : Ludwig XI. und sein Barbier Olivier le Dain im Gefängnis zu Péronne (1869), Kinderbeichte (1871), eine Kirchenszene (1872), Hänsel und Gretel bei der Hexe, Mozarts letzte Tage (1873), zechende Johanniter (1874), Sebastian Bach bei Friedrich der Große (1875), Voltaire als Paris (1876), der Turm-falke (1879) und mehrere Grisailen zu einer Operngalerie. Ein figurenreiches Bild : Lucrezia Borgia tanzt vor ihrem Vater (1882), verletzt durch die lüsterne Auffassung, und auch ein Gemälde ernstern Inhalts : Krönung der heil. Elisabeth durch Kaiser Friedrich II. von Hohenstaufen (1886), erhob sich nicht über den Wert einer glänzenden Kostümmalerei ohne tiefe Empfindung.

...

1er juin 1885 : « Frankfurter Zeitung » article about the Karlsruhe Music Festival organized by the « Deutscher Musikverein » ...

« Bruckner is a genius who educated himself by emulating Beethoven and who shows, indeed, traits that would be worthy of Beethoven. »

7 juin 1885 : In a letter to conductor Felix Mottl, Bruckner wrote :

« ... Accept my heartfelt thanks with the greatest admiration stemming from the innermost part of my soul, in loving kindness and friendship toward you. Never will I forget that ! I request that you, just such a great artist, remain always, my old young friend and brother ! May your ingenious art be, also forever and ever, always the benefactor of my works ! May God's will be done ! Again, from my entire soul which thanks you, I remain ... »

7 juin 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Felix Mottl (Karlsruhe) .

« Dearest Friend ! Excellent Court “ Kapellmeister ” !

Several days ago, I received the most enthusiastic and honourable review from Professor Nohl, in Heidelberg, wherein I saw that my success had probably been very good. In vain, I waited always for a message from Doctor Schönaich (from the “ Karlsruhe Blätter ”) , nevertheless in vain ! No doubt they must have been very severe ! Otherwise, I have heard nothing further, than through Göllicher who is, in my estimation, too great an enthusiast in this way. (Just a few days ago, I also read some few lines in the “ Frankfurter ” and “ Elsaß Lothringer Zeitung ”.) Otherwise, nothing ! To me, “ Herr ” Nohl is authoritative and frankly enthusiastic about what he would do, if he had not heard an excellent performance ! Thus, accept my heartfelt thanks with the greatest admiration stemming from the innermost part of my soul, in loving kindness and friendship toward you. Never will I forget that ! I request that you, just such a great artist, remain always my old, young friend and brother ! May your ingenious art be, also forever and ever, always the benefactor of my works ! May God's will be done ! Again, from my entire soul which thanks you, I remain

Your admiring, most obligated, dutiful friend,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Vor einigen Tagen bekam ich begeistertes ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 162 ; pages 188-189.

Doctor Gustav Schönaich (1840-1906) : Viennese musician, music-critic, and Bruckner enthusiast ; step-son of Doctor Joseph Standthartner (1818-1892) . The latter was a friend of Richard Wagner and, also, a Bruckner enthusiast.

August Göllicher junior (1859-1923) : Pianist, conductor, teacher, music-editor, Bruckner's official biographer, and a great devotee of Bruckner's music. He became Director of the the « Linzer Musikverein » , in 1896. His father August, Senior (1819-1883) , was Munciple Secretary in Wels, Imperial Deputy, and member of the Board of Directors of the Upper-Austrian Singing Society of Salzburg. August, junior, had been a pupil of Franz Liszt (1811-1886) .

Karl Friedrich Ludwig Nohl

Le musicologue et auteur allemand Karl Friedrich Ludwig Nohl est né le 5 décembre 1831 à Iserlohn, en Rhénanie-du-Nord-Westphalie ; et est mort le 15 décembre 1885 à Heidelberg, dans le Land de Bade-Wurtemberg au sud-ouest de l'Allemagne. Il est principalement connu pour avoir publié, en 1865, « la Lettre à Élise » de Ludwig van Beethoven.

...

Professor Karl Friedrich Ludwig Nohl (1831-1885) : German editor and writer on music. Following his father's wishes, he studied law at the Universities of Bonn, Heidelberg, and Berlin. In 1865, King Ludwig II appointed him as honorary professor at the University in Munich. He returned to Heidelberg, in 1872, where he taught Music History and Aesthetics at the University there, until his death in 1885.

...

The German music scholar Karl Friedrich Ludwig Nohl was born on 5 December 1831 in Iserlohn ; and died on 15 December 1885 in Heidelberg. He was best known for discovering and publishing Beethoven's famous bagatelle, « Für Elise » .

After graduation from the « Gymnasium » , in Duisburg, Nohl studied jurisprudence at the Universities in Bonn, Heidelberg, and Berlin, where he received instruction in music from Siegfried Dehn and Friedrich Kiel. From 1853 to 1856, he was a referendary and undertook journeys to France and Italy, and he also taught music in Heidelberg. In 1860, he wrote his thesis on Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and earned the rank of « privatdozent » for « History and Aesthetic of Musical Art » .

In 1864, he moved to Munich and made an introduction to Richard Wagner, whose works he had praised in his writings. In 1865, he was awarded, by King Ludwig II, the title of Professor of Music at the University of Munich for his compilation of Mozart's letters. The University faculty, however, was disinclined to Nohl, and he was not given any teaching duties. In that year, he discovered through the « industrial teacher » Babeth Bredl, in Munich, the now-lost autograph of Ludwig van Beethoven's Bagatelle « Für Elise » . The work was first published, in 1867, in Nohl's book entitled : « New Beethoven Letters » (« Neue Briefe Beethovens ») .

From 1868 to 1872, he lived in Badenweiler and, eventually, returned to Heidelberg. In 1875, he was a « Dozent » at the polytechnic in Karlsruhe (predecessor to the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology) and became a full professor in 1880.

He was one of the most widely read writers on music of his time. His many books went through a lot of printings. His main legacy is, as a Beethoven scholar, and a portion of his writings are housed at the State archive, in Iserlohn.

...

Karl Friedrich Ludwig Nohl (geboren 5. Dezember 1831 in Iserlohn ; gestorben 15. Dezember 1885 in Heidelberg) war ein deutscher Musikwissenschaftler und Musikschriftsteller.

Nach dem Besuch des Gymnasiums in Duisburg studierte Nohl zunächst Jura an den Universitäten in Bonn, Heidelberg und Berlin, wo er daneben Musikunterricht bei Siegfried Dehn und Friedrich Kiel nahm. 1853 bis 1856 war er Referendar, unternahm anschließend Reisen nach Frankreich und Italien und wurde dann Musiklehrer in Heidelberg. 1860 habilitierte er sich mit einer Arbeit über Mozart und wurde Privatdozent für « Geschichte und Ästhetik der Tonkunst » .

1864 übersiedelte Nohl nach München, suchte die Bekanntschaft von Richard Wagner (für dessen Werke er sich schriftstellerisch einsetzte) und wurde 1865 für eine Sammlung von Mozart-Briefen von König Ludwig II. mit dem Titel eines Professors an der Universität München geehrt. Die Universität lehnte Nohl jedoch ab, so daß er dort keine Lehrtätigkeit ausüben konnte. Im selben Jahr entdeckte er bei der « Industrielehrerin » Babeth Bredl in München das heute verschollene Autograph von Beethovens Albumblatt « Für Elise » , das er 1867 in seinem Buch Neue Briefe Beethovens erstmals veröffentlichte.

1868 bis 1872 lebte er in Badenweiler und kehrte danach wieder nach Heidelberg zurück. 1875 wurde er Dozent am Polytechnikum in Karlsruhe und dort 1880 zum Professor ernannt. (Aus der Einrichtung ging später das Karlsruher Institut für Technologie hervor.)

Nohl war einer der meistgelesenen Musikschriftsteller seiner Zeit. Seine zahlreichen Bücher erlebten oft mehrere Auflagen. Bleibende Verdienste erwarb er sich vor allem als Beethoven-Forscher. Einen Teil seines Nachlasses besitzt das Stadtarchiv in Iserlohn.

Friedrich Nietzsche ist im Frühsommer 1888 in einer Hotelbibliothek auf Nohls Wagner-Biographie gestoßen, in der er auch selbst als Wagner-Anhänger vorkam. 1888 war Nietzsche freilich schon zum erbitterten Wagner-Feind geworden, so daß er Nohls Elaborat nur verspotten konnte. Dies hinderte ihn freilich nicht daran, Nohls Buch für seine eigene Polemik gegen Wagner auszubeaunen. So benutzte er es in Der Fall Wagner.

Robert Eitner charakterisiert Nohls unkritische Verfallenheit an Wagner mit den Worten :

« Er hatte sich durch diese Schriften und unzählige Zeitungsartikel in Fach-, Unterhaltungs- und politischen Blättern schließlich in eine wahre Berserkerwuth gegen Alles, was nicht von Wagner und Liszt herrührte, geschrieben. Jedes Thema, jeder ältere Meister, mußte nur zum Piedestal dienen, auf welches er Wagner und Liszt erhob. Er verstieg sich bis zur tollsten Verachtung alles dessen, was vor und neben Wagner componirt worden ist. Seine Verblendung ging so weit, daß er das ganze deutsche Volk schmähte und jede Gelegenheit benutzte, es verächtlich hinzustellen, nur unter dem Eindrucke, daß es Wagner und Liszt nicht hinreichend vergötterte, die er als die Einzigen erkannt wissen wollte, die zur Errettung der Kunst und der Menschheit überhaupt erstanden wären. Oder am andern Ort :“ Es ist das Musikgebahren Meyerbeer's durchweg die Art des Affen, der uns die natürlichen Bewegungen des äußeren und inneren Menschen in einer das tiefe Gefühl verletzenden Entstellung zeigt. Es ist ein erschreckendes Bild innerer Armuth. ” Nohl

selbst bietet uns in allen diesen Dingen ein erschreckendes Bild von Absurdität. Seine Urtheile sind so gut auf der einen wie auf der anderen Seite geschraubt und lächerlich, so wenn er über die Elsa im Lohengrin sagt :“ sie ist das Weib der Zukunft, von der wir alle die Erlösung zu erhoffen haben ”. Obwol die Kritik unbarmherzig über Nohl Gericht hielt, ließ er sich doch in seinem Gebahren nicht steuern ; sie schwieg ihn schließlich todt. »

Bücher

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Ein Versuch aus der Aesthetik der Tonkunst. Habilitationsschrift zur Erlangung der venia docendi bei der philosophischen Facultät der Universität Heidelberg, Bangel und Schmitt, Heidelberg (1860) .

Der Geist der Tonkunst, Frankfurt am Main (1861) .

Die Zauberflöte. Betrachtungen über die Bedeutung der dramatischen Musik in der Geschichte des menschlichen Geistes, Sauerländer, Frankfurt am Main (1862) .

Mozart, Bruckmann, Stuttgart (1863) .

Inventarium des Beethoven'schen Nachlasses, soweit sich derselbe in dem Nachlasse ... Anton Schindler vorgefunden hat und zur Zeit in den Händen der Frau Marie Egloff ... befindet : (jetziger Besitzer dieser Sammlung Herr Nowotny ...) aufgenommen im Juni 1864 in Mannheim durch Ludwig Nohl, Karlsbad (1864) .

Beethovens Leben, 3 Bände, Wien (1864) ; Leipzig (1867 und 1877) - die erste wissenschaftliche Beethoven-Biographie.

Briefe Beethovens, mit einem Facsimile, Stuttgart (1865) .

Musikalisches Skizzenbuch, Frankfurt am Main (1866) .

Neue Briefe Beethovens, Stuttgart (1867) .

Musikerbriefe. Eine Sammlung Briefe von Christoph Willibald Gluck, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Franz-Josef Haydn, Carl Maria von Weber und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Duncker und Humblot, Leipzig (1867) .

Mozarts Briefe, Taube, Salzburg (1877) .

Neues Skizzenbuch. Zur Kenntniß der deutschen, namentlich der Münchener Musik- und Opernzustände der Gegenwart, Carl Merhoff, München (1869) .

Neue Bilder aus dem Leben der Musik und ihrer Meister, Louis Finsterlin, München (1870) .

Beethovens Brevier. Sammlung der von ihm selbst ausgezogenen Stellen aus Dichtern und Schriftstellern alter und neuer

Zeit ; nebst einer Darstellung von Beethovens geistiger Entwicklung, Ernst Julius Günther, Leipzig (1870) .

Gluck und Wagner. Über die Entwicklung des Musikdramas, Louis Finsterlin, München (1870) .

Die Beethoven-Feier und die Kunst der Gegenwart. Eine Erinnerungsgabe, Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien (1871) .

Beethoven, Liszt, Wagner. Ein Bild der Kunstbewegung unseres Jahrhunderts, Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien (1874) .

Eine stille Liebe zu Beethoven. Nach dem Tagebuche einer jungen Dame, Ernst Julius Günther, Leipzig (1875) .

Musik und Musikgeschichte. Ansprache zur Eröffnung seiner Lehrtätigkeit an der Großherzoglichen Polytechnischen Schule in Karlsruhe am 17. November 1875, gehalten von Ludwig Nohl, Müller, Karlsruhe (1876) .

Unsere geistige Bildung, Schlömp, Leipzig (1877) .

Mozart's Leben. Für die Gebildeten aller Stände erzählt, 2. Auflage, Günther, Leipzig (1877) .

Beethoven, nach den Schilderungen seiner Zeitgenossen, Johann Georg Cotta, Stuttgart (1877) .

Mozart nach den Schilderungen seiner Zeitgenossen, Thiel, Leipzig (1880) .

Allgemeine Musikgeschichte, populär dargestellt, Reclam, Leipzig (1881) .

Mosaik. Für Musikalisch-Gebildete, Gebrüder Senf, Leipzig (1882) .

Richard Wagner's Bedeutung für die nationale Kunst, Prochaska, Wien (1883) .

Spohr, in : Musiker-Biographien, Band 7, Reclam, Leipzig (1884) .

Das moderne Musikdrama. Für gebildete Laien (1884) .

Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Kammermusik und ihre Bedeutung für den Musiker, Vieweg Braunschweig (1885) .

Aufsätze

Beethoven's Tod, in : Westermanns illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte, Band 18 (1864-1865) ; Seiten 620-650.

Ungedruckte Briefe Beethoven's, in : Westermanns illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte, Band 19 (1865) ; Seiten 306-313.

Ein Gebet Beethovens. Neue Mittheilungen aus seinem späteren Leben, in : Die Grenzboten, Jahrgang 2 (1873) ; Seiten

42-120.

Die Fischhofsche Handschrift. Ein Beitrag zu Beethovens Leben, in : Im neuen Reich, Jahrgang 9 (1879) ; Seiten 313-330.

Drei Freunde Beethovens. Über Beethovens Beziehung zu Ignaz von Gleichenstein, Stephan von Breuning und Johann Malfatti, in : Allgemeine Deutsche Musikzeitung, Jahrgang 6 (1879) ; Seiten 305-308, 313-315, 321-323, 329-331 und 337-339.

Beethovens letzte Liebe, in : Der Salon (1880) ; Seiten 537-545.

...

17 juin 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Bernhard Deubler (Saint-Florian, près de Linz) .

« Dear Highly-Regarded Professor !

Thank you very much for the remembrance and honour to my humble self, and I wish you everything good.

In addition, I rejoice to be able to be at Saint-Florian, where I can engage in composition peacefully. Only one thing weighs me down heavily : having to place the burden of my being there on the praiseworthy Monastery. If only I myself could pay for my board, I would be much happier and would be more at ease staying there, because every good has its limits !

I wish you everything good during your vacation !

Devotedly,

Anton Bruckner

P.S. : I beg you most graciously to remember me to “ Herr Oddo ” and Ignaz. »

Incipit : « Danke recht sehr für die Erinnerung ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 163 ; page 189.

Professor Bernhard Deubler (1842-1907) : Priest, Consultant, Professor of Theology, Choir Director at Saint-Florian monastery. In 1884, he succeeded Ignaz P. Traumihler (1815-1884) . A friend to Bruckner.

Saint-Florian's Monastery is located outside of Linz, near the small-town of Enns, but in its own village of Saint-

Florian, Florianus was a Roman tribune who was tortured then martyred for his Christian faith, in the 4th Century.

Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol (1858-1893) : Priest, composer, and friend of Bruckner. During 1879 and 1880, he audited Bruckner's lectures at the University of Vienna. In August 1880, he entered the Novitiate at « Stift Kremsmünster », taking the name « Oddo ». He studied at Saint-Florian's Monastery for 4 years, and was ordained on July 19, 1885, in Kremsmünster. He became a friend and advocate of Bruckner at the University of Vienna and remained so, for the rest of his life.

Ignaz is Anton Bruckner's younger brother.

19 juin 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Theodore Helm (Vienne) .

« Right Honourable Doctor !

Pardon most graciously my most sincere request about some words, from your gifted hand, taken from the “ Deutsche Zeitung ” and referring to Karlsruhe. “ Post-festum ”, I am again asking for Göllerich's letter.

To my eminent patron : “ 3 Cheers ” ! When shall I have the good fortune to say this to you, in person ? My Cheers must not be conveyed to you, from a distance.

Professor Nohl, with whom I am acquainted, writes to me in a truly touching manner. He will soon come to see me and will say even more than, Guttmann furnished the article in the newspaper.

“ Herr ” Vogel, from Munich, read Göllerich's letter and wrote in kindness and enthusiasm (derived from that already from Munich) , to the best friend of his King, the “ Riding Master ”, at whose table the King is frequently entertained. Because of Court “ Hofkapellmeister ” Rheinberger's behavior toward me, Vogel even left the “ Hofkapelle ”. I thank you in advance for the prebend, as for everything already received, from the depths of my soul.

Yours most indebtedly,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Entschuldigen gnädigst meine innigste Bitte ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 164 ; page 190.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 26 ; pages 34-36.

Theodor Otto Helm (1843-1920) : Austrian writer on music. Critic for the Vienna « Neues Fremdenblatt » and, later, the « Deutsche Zeitung » (1884-1901) . He received the title of Professor, in 1901. Helm was one of Bruckner's 1st

admirers and wrote a biographical sketch and sketches of his Symphonies. Naturally, he found himself in conflict with such conservative, anti-Wagnerian critics as Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) . There is nothing caustic in the writings of Helm, and he was always ready to acknowledge talented young composers. His commentaries provide a true picture of the Viennese musical scene, during his lifetime.

« Post-festum » : Latin term which means after the Feast or Celebration. In this case, Bruckner is referring to the 1885 Music Festival, in Karlsruhe.

Karl Friedrich Ludwig Nohl (1831-1855) : Music-editor and writer.

Adolf Bernhard Vogel (1847-1897) : Music-critic for the « Leipziger Nachrichten » .

Josef Gabriel Rheinberger (1839-1901) : Composer, organist, and conductor. « Hofkapellmeister » in Munich, from 1877 to 1894. He composed in the Classical Tradition and understood neither Wagner nor Bruckner.

20 juin 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) au Baron Hans von Wolzogen (Bayreuth) .

« Dear Baron !

Pardon me if I permit myself to send you the wonderful letter of Professor Nohl to my humble self : it has stirred-up a sensation everywhere ! A genuine consolation against Hanslick and his associates' persecution ! In Germany, there are many nobler men ! I ask most graciously for this letter to be published in the newspapers. Your celebrated newspaper has introduced me in Holland. Thanks from my whole soul to my highly-noble patron ; you are the aristocrat in the true sense of the word, gifted with higher-genius.

I kiss the hand of your gracious wife ! With deepest respect and most heartfelt thanks, I am

Most devotedly yours,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Entschuldigen hochderselbe, ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 165 ; page 191.

Baron Hans von Wolzogen (1848-1938) : German writer on music, as well as librettist ; friend to Bruckner.

The letter from Professor Nohl.

The « Bayeuther Blätter » .

24 juin 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à August Göllerich junior (Weimar) .

« Honoured Friend !

Thank you very much for your letter. Unfortunately, I must inform you of the hurt which resulted from the breaking of your word that you were going to write to Doctor Helm. This brings-out a deep hurt in my inner being. As a consequence, Helm wrote “ no report ”, and Doctor Schönaich and Mottl did not write anything, either. Indeed, I gave your letter to Doctor Helm, yet, he sent it back to me, unopened. Accept, once again, the assurance of my deepest hurt that people of importance will receive no report from my friends.

Yours,

Bruckner

August Göllerich,
At the Moment : in Weimar. »

Incipit : « Danke sehr für Ihre Briefe. »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 166 ; page 191.

Theodor Helm (1843-1920) : Viennese critic and professor ; one of Bruckner's 1st admirers.

Doctor Gustav Schönaich (1840-1906) : Viennese musician, music-critic, and Bruckner enthusiast.

...

Juin 1885 : Gustav Mahler is engaged by the Prague Opera for the 1885-1886 season. At a Festival, in Kassel (frequently cited erroneously as the Münden Festival) , on **June 29**, a week before his 25th birthday, he gains notice with his outstanding success leading Felix Mendelssohn's Oratorio « Paulus » (Saint-Paul) .

In England, John Kemp Starley patents his « Rover » safety bicycle, employing the chain-and-sprockets transmission of Lawson's « Bicyclette » , but making the size of the 2 wheels nearly equal and increasing the angle of the front fork, so that the steering is direct. This machine incorporates all of the essential design features of the modern bicycle, and changes to it, since then, have consisted of only minor improvements.

In America, the « Volta Graphophone Company » is established by Bell and his associates to demonstrate and promote the « Graphophone » .

1er juillet 1885 : Anton Bruckner writes to Georg Armingier's successor, Johann Evangelist Aichinger :

« If I may be so bold, I will take the liberty of asking your Reverence whether I might, in the holidays, sometimes install myself (as a paying guest, of course) in your wonderful rectory ? »

Aichinger was no unknown quantity to Bruckner since he had been parochial vicar under Armingier for many years. This letter marks the beginning of the 2nd phase of the « holiday composer » in Steyr, with its clear emphasis on creativity (8th and 9th Symphonies, « Wiener Fassung » (Vienna version) of the 1st Symphony, the revision of the « Requiem » , **WAB 39**, and « Helgoland » , **WAB 71**) .

Juillet 1885 : Anton Bruckner est désormais invité régulièrement à Steyr. C'est dans le presbytère de l'église paroissiale, durant ses vacances d'été, qu'il va terminer l'esquisse du 1er mouvement de sa 8e Symphonie qui se conclut avec un triomphant « Hallelujah ! » final, dans la tonalité de majeur. La Symphonie sera achevée au mois d'août ; il s'agira de la version originale de 1887.

7 juillet 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à August Göllerich junior (Weimar) .

« You will find it wholly understandable that it would mean a great deal to me if Doctor Helm were to print in the “ Deutsche Zeitung ”, albeit belatedly, what the German musicians have to say about me, “ nothing like this written since Beethoven ”, can only be compared with Beethoven in feeling and Wagner in compositional facility. »

7 juillet 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à August Göllerich junior (Weimar) .

« N.B. : If you can do so, I request you to send the Master my most sincere respect.

My Dear, Good Friend !

You will find it completely understandable, that it would mean much to me if only Doctor Helm, by way of addition (if only belatedly) , would at least give to the “ Deutsche Zeitung ” the pronouncement of German artist about me ; “ since ” Beethoven “ ceased to compose ”, German artists are “ measured solely by ” Beethoven’s “ feeling and ” Wagner’s “ creative work ” . He (Doctor Helm) is in Salzburg, Nonnthal, Hahn-Wirtshaus. He seems, regardless of his lovely words, again to be somewhat difficult to move. You, my most worthy, my dear biographer, can do it, in particular if you do not let him have any peace. Therefore, please ! It is indeed the 1st general Festival in Germany where I am mentioned. Give my sincere greetings to van der Sandt, the great pianist ; give my compliments to the Court organist and the Court “ Kapellmeister ”. Through your kindness, I learned that “ Herr ” Stradal is actually still alive. I congratulate him ! While I shake your hand in hearty spirit, and longingly hope for a conversation in person, I repeat my request that Helm may not be left in peace.

Yours,

Bruckner

Gutmann told me that von Bülow recommended the 7th Symphony for Berlin. At the end of this week, I am going to Steyr. Mottl was filled with enthusiasm when he visited with me. My hand-kiss to the « Fräuleins » Stahr. Fritsch's "Wochenblatt", No. 27, is wonderful about me.

N.B. : For Doctor Helm :

Where is there a single living person, who has created something similar to the Adagio of my 7th, or who we believe could have created it, and how far must we reach back to the past to find anything similar ! Honour to whom honour is due ! - but this "Adagio" is a unique example among the creations of the post-Beethoven decades.

Reported among other things :

"May the glory, however, be withheld from the Viennese, to pay homage to their excellent fellow-citizens, even though Krähwinkel and Pfaffenbeurfurt have finally been moved to cast a vote for Anton Bruckner." (Comment below.)

"As soon as our time allows it, we will look for a French or Hungarian countess who might be inclined to make Bruckner her 'protégé'."

I ask you to write this down quite clearly to Doctor Helm, "and I also request its inclusion in the 'Deutsche Zeitung'." »

Incipit : « Sie werden es ganz begreiflich finden, ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 167 ; pages 192-194.

August Göllerich junior (1859-1923) : Pianist, teacher, conductor, and writer on music ; Bruckner's official Biographer. Politically anti-Semitic.

Bruckner was referring to Hans von Bülow (1830-1894), the pianist, conductor, and composer. He had been a law student. Bruckner met him in 1865 ; on June 21, 1868, von Bülow conducted the 1st complete performance of « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg ». His association with Richard Wagner would later prove disastrous to his personal life although he never became bitter. He actually wrote a consoling message to Cosima, addressing her as : « Soeur » .

This was the « Allgemeines Fest », in Germany. It was held on May 30, 1885, in Karlsruhe.

The « Musikalisches Wochenblatt » was edited by Ernst Wilhelm Fritsch (1840-1902), a German music-publisher.

Bruckner is quoting Franz Liszt.

Max van de Sandt (18 October 1863 - 14 July 1934) : Pianist and composer. A student of Franz Liszt.

August Stradal (1860-1930) : Pianist. At the Vienna University, he studied theory with Bruckner, who made a profound impression on him. In Weimar, he studied piano with Liszt and made piano reductions of all of the Bruckner Symphonies.

Anna and Helene Stahr were sisters who studied with Franz Liszt, in Weimar.

Anna et Helene Stahr

Anna Stahr : geboren 1835 in Oldenburg ; gestorben 1909 in Weimar.

Helene Stahr : geboren 10. Juli 1838 in Oldenburg ; gestorben 1914 in Weimar.

Pianistinnen und Klavierlehrerinnen. Anna und Helene Stahr waren die Töchter des Schriftstellers und Literaturhistorikers Adolf Wilhelm Theodor Stahr (1805-1976) und seiner Ehefrau Marie geborene Krätz (1813-1879) . Ihre Kindheit verbrachten die beiden Mädchen zusammen mit den Eltern und drei Brüdern (Alwin, Adolf und Edo) in Oldenburg, wo ihr Vater als Konrektor und Professor für alte und neue Sprachen am Gymnasium tätig war. Anfang der 50er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts lebte die Familie in Jena und später in Weimar.

1854 ließen sich die Eltern scheiden. Adolf Stahr heiratete kurz darauf die Schriftstellerin Fanny Lewald (1811-1889) , die er während eines Italienaufenthalts Mitte der 1840er Jahre kennengelernt hatte, und siedelte mit ihr nach Berlin über. Marie Stahr ist seit 1855 in den Weimarer Adressbüchern aufgeführt. Vermutlich lebten die Töchter bei ihr. In Weimar erhielten sie ihre musikalische Ausbildung bei Liszt, der die Schwestern bei einem Besuch der Familie Anfang der 1850er Jahre in Jena spielen gehört und sie daraufhin zu sich nach Weimar eingeladen hatte. Er « unterrichtete sie nicht allein im Pianospiele sondern verschaffte ihnen auch eine weitere Ausbildung dadurch, daß er für sie Zutritt zu den Opernproben auswirkte. Bei weiterem Fortschreiten spielte er mit den jungen Damen seine Compositionen » . (Wissenschaftliche Beilage der Leipziger Zeitung 19. Februar 1887.) Zwischen 1857 und 1862 besuchten Anna und Helene Stahr den Klavierunterricht bei Sophie Pflughaupt (1834 oder 1837-1867) (ebenfalls eine Schülerin Liszts) und ihrem Mann Robert Pflughaupt (1833-1871) .

Anfang der 60er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts erfolgten erste Auftritte der beiden Pianistinnen, die sich fast ausschließlich zusammen hören ließen. 1862 gastierten sie in Leipzig, 1865 traten sie in Weimar auf, 1867-1868 in Aachen und Jena und 1869 in Berlin. Später zeigten sie sich überwiegend in den von ihnen seit 1866 in Weimar veranstalteten Soireen. Die Schwestern spielten vorwiegend vierhändige Werke, darunter Liszts PastoraleSchnitterchor aus dem Entfesselten Prometheus (Searle 508) , sein Vom Fels zum Meer. Deutscher Siegesmarsch (Searle 229) , eine Mazurka von Glinka sowie Kompositionen von Robert Volkmann, Robert Pflughaupt, August Goltermann und den Brüdern Louis und Willy Thern.

Schon früh konzentrierten sich Anna und Helene Stahr auf die Lehrtätigkeit. Seit etwa 1855 erteilten sie Klavierunterricht und wurden später « zu den vortrefflichsten Clavierlehrerinnen unserer Zeit » (Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 1889, Seite 188.) gezählt. In Weimar veranstalteten sie spätestens seit 1865 öffentliche Prüfungskonzerte, sogenannte « Klavierexamen » (Bock 1865, Seite 61.) , die von der Presse große Aufmerksamkeit erfuhren. Ihre SchülerInnen waren der « Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik » zufolge « meist nur Dilettanten » (Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 1877, Seite 128.) . Zu ihnen gehörten und andere zwei Enkelinnen von Johann Gottfried von Herder und Alexander Oglobinsky.

Bekanntheit erlangten die Schwestern vor allem durch ihre musikalischen Veranstaltungen im eigenen Salon. Carl Lachmund schreibt hierüber :

« Jedermann in Weimar kannte die Stahr-Schwestern Anna und Helene und ihre gemütliche Villa in der Schwanensee-Straße am Rande der Stadt. Kein wohlangedechnener Lisztianer fehlte je bei ihren Soireen, die sie “ Musikalischer Kaffee ” nannten. » (Lachmund, Seite 89.)

Die Soireen fanden einmal in der Woche statt. Im Zentrum stand die Aufführung Liszt'scher Kompositionen. Daneben kamen vor allem Werke von Komponisten der Neudeutschen Schule zur Aufführung. Unter den regelmäßigen BesucherInnen befanden sich und andere die Brüder Louis und Willy Thern, Alexander Siloti, Eugène d'Albert, Eduard Lassen, August Göllerich und Peter Cornelius. Auch Liszt wohnte während seiner Aufenthalte in Weimar diesen Veranstaltungen bei und trat hier mehrfach auf. Der « Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik » zufolge entwickelten sich die Soireen von Anna und Helene Stahr zu einem « Centralpunkte für alle jungen Lisztianerinnen und Lisztianer, welche hier bei diesen lieben Menschen immer aufrichtig und herzlich empfangen werden » . (Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 1873, Seite 331.) Zu ihrem ehemaligen Lehrer pflegten die Schwestern offenbar ein enges Verhältnis. In der « Leipziger Zeitung » heißt es :

« Es kann sich wohl keiner der vielen Schüler rühmen, so wie sie Liszt's musikalisches Leben in solchem Maße geteilt zu haben. »

(Wissenschaftliche Beilage der Leipziger Zeitung 19. Februar 1887.)

Nach Liszts Tod engagierten sich Anna und Helene Stahr für die Gründung und Erhaltung des Liszt-Vereins. Für diesen organisierten sie Konzerte und warben durch Anzeigen in der Fachpresse Gelder ein. Mitte der 1890er Jahre spendeten sie selbst für die Errichtung eines Liszt-Denkmal in Weimar.

1890 wurde ihnen vom « Vorstand des “ Lisztvereins ” zu Leipzig ein kunstreich hergestelltes Diplom übersendet, wonach dieselben “ als treue Freundinnen der Lisztsache, als unermüdete Vertreterinnen der Interessen des Vereins und in Anerkennung der besonderen Verdienste um denselben ” zu Ehrenmitgliedern des Lisztvereins ernannt worden sind » .

(Der Klavier-Lehrer 1890, Seite 19.)

Die Musikerinnen sind Widmungsträgerinnen von Kompositionen einiger Zeitgenossen. Carl Thern widmete ihnen seine 1869 veröffentlichten Musikalischen Bilder aus Weimar für Pianoforte zu vier Händen, Opus 32, und Alexander Winterberger sein Jugend-Album, Opus 101, mit 40 kleineren Klavierstücken.

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(1889) ; Seite 188.

(1890) ; Seite 34.

(1891) ; Seite 178.

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Bildnachweis

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7 juillet 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne)   Arthur Nikisch (Leipzig) .

« Sublime Great Benefactor and Friend !

You were my 1st apostle who made known in Germany, in highly-brilliant art and, with the fullest energy and dignity, my hitherto unheard expression. In eternity, you will be praised because your eminent, great genius has shone forth to illumine the misunderstood and deserted ! For that reason, be thanked in all eternity not only by me but, also, by my true friends. May God repay you for it !!

Therefore, it is only natural that I take the liveliest interest in the events in your life. The greatest joyfulness now is your wedding. Take along my deepest-felt, most sincere congratulations ! God bless your marriage ! and permit you to enjoy this great good fortune in the best good health until the profoundest old age, arrayed with the 1st musical honours ! Although unacquainted with her, I offer your gracious young lady my congratulations and a kiss on the hand. I am soon going to the town of Steyr, in Upper-Austria, where I shall work industriously. Where and when, I wonder, will you encounter my letter ? Fare thee well !

With gratitude,

Your Bruckner »

Incipit : « Du warst mein erster Apostel ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n  168 ; page 194.

Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922) : Most impressive and influential conductor of his day who was affianced to Am lie Heu ner.

Amelie Heu ner

The Belgian actress, soprano, Opera « soubrette » , and composer Am lie Nikish (« n e » Heu ner) was born on 28 December 1862 in Brussels ; and died on 8 January 1938 in Berlin.

On 1 July 1885, she married the famous conductor Arthur Nikisch.

She had been engaged, the preceding years, at the Kassel Court Theatre by Gustav Mahler.

Mother of Demetrius Mitja Nikisch and noted pianist-composer Arthur Philipp Nikisch (1899-1936) .

She is buried in the Leipzig « Südfriedhof » - « Leipziger Stadtkreis, Sachsen » (Saxony) .

...

Amélie Heußner Nikisch (geborene Amélie Heußner) (geboren 28. Dezember 1862 in Brüssel ; gestorben 18. Januar 1938 in Berlin) war eine belgische Schauspieler, Sopranistin und Komponistin.

Die Tochter deutschstämmiger Eltern heiratete am 1. Juli 1885 den ungarischen Dirigenten Arthur Nikisch. Ihre Kinder sind der Rechtswissenschaftler Arthur Philipp Nikisch und der Pianist, Komponist und Bandleader Mitja Nikisch.

Kompositionen

Daniel in der Löwengrube. Burleske Oper in 3 Akten von Ernst von Wolzogen. Bearbeitet von Ilse Friedländer. Harmonie, Berlin 1914.

Bearbeitungen

Aebelö. Romantische Oper in 3 Akten und einem Vorspiel. Nach dem gleichnamigen Roman von Sophus Michaelis. Bearbeitet mit Ilse Friedländer. Musik von Joseph Gustav Mrazek, Drei-Masken-Verlag, München, Berlin (1915) .

12 juillet 1885 : Lettre du Baron Hans von Wolzogen (Bayreuth) à Anton Bruckner (Vienne) .

« Highly-Honoured Professor !

Having been absent from Bayreuth for a long time, I have not yet managed to thank you for your last kind letter. I already knew the beautiful words of Nohl ; I simply do not yet know under which mode I would be able to cite them in our papers ; but I intend to take advantage of the next offered opportunity. About the performance in Karlsruhe, I heard (or rather) one read again peculiarly divergent so-called “ opinions ” in our “ Tagespresse ” ! I am becoming more and more desirous to hear your work with Orchestra. When Levi played the 1st and 2nd movements on the piano for me, in Munich, I would have liked to say what Nohl had already said. In Berlin, I recently became acquainted with a superior body of tone, in the Elberstadt Philharmonic Orchestra. Popular concerts, at 50 Pfennigs per entrance fee, act as a mediator between the general public and knowledge of the newer music, in a completely artistic way. But why must it always be the music of Saint-Saëns or Auber ? Why not the “ German ” Symphonic composer, in addition ? To be sure, for such a Symphony in its entirety, the untrained patience of this audience would

not, in the end, suffice ; but the Adagio of the 7th would be bound to have precisely the most beautiful and most impressive appeal there. (It could be performed, say, for February 13th, a Memorial Day.) All the same, our “ special ” Berlin is certainly lost to the great and the good. Just look around you at the “ popular ” !

Has the Symphony in transcription for piano arrived yet at Gutmann's ? As soon as I come to know this, I will take possession of it - for I require personal interaction with these sounds.

Sincere and deeply respectful regards from

Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen »

Incipit : « Längere Zeit von Bayreuth abwesend, ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 1 du Baron Hans von Wolzogen ; pages 379-380.

Baron Hans von Wolzogen (1848-1938) : German writer on music, librettist, and Bruckner enthusiast ; a true friend to Bruckner.

Karl Friedrich Ludwig Nohl (1831-1855) : Writer on the subject of music, and editor. He began his studies of music history and aesthetics at the University of Heidelberg, in 1872.

Elberfeld, now part of Wuppertal.

Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (1782-1871) : French composer. He was best-known for his « Opéras-comiques » and was considered to be the foremost representative of the genre in 19th Century France.

Été 1885 : During his summer vacation, the 52 year old Johannes Brahms completes his 4th Symphony, his last, with the 3rd and 4th movements.

The 24 year old Julius Korngold graduates from the University of Vienna and becomes a lawyer. He also begins reviewing concerts for the « Brünnner Morgenpost » (Brünn Morning Post) , then, becomes editor of the newly-formed « Brünnner Montags-Zeitung » (Brünn Monday Times) . An article he writes about Johannes Brahms's 4th Symphony gets the attention of Eduard Hanslick which, eventually, results in Korngold getting a job at the main Brünn paper, the « Tagesbote » , and also meeting and befriending Brahms.

The 42 year old Emil Schindler moves his family to a small castle called Plankenberg, in Upper-Austria near Vienna, where Alma, now aged 6, spends her childhood amidst sumptuous parties and musical evenings.

Août 1885 : Anton Bruckner completes in Vienna the short score of his 8th Symphony. The orchestration takes another 2 years.

16 août 1885 : In the 2nd year of work on the 8th, Bruckner « experimented » in the « Stadtpfarrh » of Steyr on the thematic of « 4 layeredness » (sic !), which was to transform the 8th into a musical and architectural circle. In the margin, the elated experimenter noted :

« Steyr, Stadtpfarrhof 16. August 1885. A. Bruckner mp. Halleluja ! »

...

The 9 year old Bruno Schlesinger enters the Stern Conservatory, in Berlin.

The 11 year old Arnold Schönberg enters secondary school and becomes friend with Oskar Adler, who teaches him the rudiments of music-theory. Together, with his cousin and Adler, the group performs String Trios every Sunday. Schönberg eagerly teaches himself as much as he can about music as each instalment arrives for his family's encyclopaedia. With the addition of another violinist to the group, Adler produces an over-size viola, strung with zither strings and tuned like a cello, on which Schönberg can play the cello part of String Quartets. After studying the long-awaited encyclopaedia entry for « Sonata », as well as some Beethoven String Quartet scores, he begins composing Quartet movements that can be tried-out by his little ensemble.

WAB 52

3 septembre 1885 : **WAB 52** - « Virga Jesse floruit », graduel en mi bémol majeur pour chœur mixte à 4 voix a cappella (SATB) ; chanté lors des Fêtes de la Vierge Marie (« Beatæ Mariæ Virginis »). Usage liturgique : le temps de l'Avent. Dédié à Ignaz P. Traumihler (1815-1884), le directeur de la musique (organiste et chef de chœur) du monastère de Saint-Florian. Traumihler fut un adepte du Cécilianisme : mouvement puritain ultra-conservateur de renouveau de la musique liturgique dans l'Église, apparu au XIXe siècle, visant à ré-introduire le style choral a cappella de Palestrina. Création à la chapelle de la Cour de Vienne, le 8 décembre 1885, sous la direction du compositeur. Une version en concert sera également offerte à Vienne, le 7 mars 1907, sous la direction du chef E. Thomas. Durée approximative : 3 minutes.

1re édition : TR 42, Theodor Rättig, Vienne (1886) ; le 4e des « Vier Graduale für Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Baß » .

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EE / EP 4185, Ernst Eulenburg, édition Peters (1939) , pages 27-30.

EP 6317, édition Peters.

NGA (« Neuen Gesamtausgabe ») : « Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke » (ABSW) XXI/1, édition Hans Bauernfeind - Leopold Nowak (1984) (2001) , pages 141-145.

« German Romantic Motets » , édition Novello, Londres (2004) , page 62.

Virga Jesse floruit :

Virgo Deum et hominem genuit :

Pacem Deus reddidit,

In se reconcilians ima summis.

Alleluia.

...

WAB 52 (1885) : « Virga Jesse floruit » (The branch from Jesse) ; graduale in E-flat major for 4 voice, mixed choir a capella. SATB (brief T & B divisi) .

Average Duration : 3 minutes.

1st Edition : Theodor Rättig, Vienna (« Vier Graduale ») .

The 1st recording of Bruckner's « Vexilla regis » occurred in 1931. Ferdinand Habel conducted the Choir of the « Sankt-Stephans-Dom » , in Vienna (78 rpm : « Christschall » 129) .

Traditional medieval text, based on Isaiah : 11, stating that Jesus belongs to David's lineage (Jesse being King David's father) . In the Tridentine Rite, it is assigned as the « Alleluia » verse for the Feast of the Annunciation when it falls in Eastertide instead of Lent. More commonly, it is heard at Votive Masses.

The early E-flat version of Johann Sebastian Bach's Magnificat (**BWV 243**) has a fragmentary duet for soprano and bass, « Virga Jesse floruit, Emanuel noster apparuit » , unrelated but for the incipit.

Virga Jesse floruit :

Virgo Deum et hominem genuit :

pacem Deus reddidit, in se reconcilians ima summis.

The branch from Jesse blooms :

a Virgin brings forth God and man :

God restores peace,

reconciling in Himself the lowest with the highest.

Alleluia.

« Virga Jesse » (The branch from Jesse) , **WAB 52**, is a Motet by the Austrian composer Anton Bruckner. It sets the gradual « Virga Jesse floruit » for unaccompanied mixed choir.

The work was completed on 3 September 1885 and may have been intended for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Linz diocese ; however, like the « Ecce sacerdos magnus » that Bruckner composed A.M.D.G. for that event, it was not performed there. It was performed on 8 December 1885 at the « Wiener Hofmusikkapelle » for the Feast of the Immaculate-Conception.

The Motet was edited together with 3 other Graduals (« Locus iste » , **WAB 23** ; « Christus factus est » , **WAB 11** ; and « Os justi » , **WAB 30**) , by Theodor Rättig in 1886. The Motet is put in Band XXI/34 of the « Gesamtausgabe » .

This 91 bar Gradual in E minor is for mixed choir a cappella. In the 1st part on the verse « Virga jesse floruit » (bars 1-20) , Bruckner used twice the « Dresdner Amen » on the word « floruit » (bars 7-9 and 17-19) . The last part (bars 63-91) consists, as in the earlier « Inveni David » (**WAB 19**) , of an Alleluja, for which Bruckner drew his inspiration from the Hallelujah of Georg Friedrich Händel's « Messiah » , on which he often improvised on organ. The Motet ends in pianissimo by the tenor voice on a pedal point.

Max Auer regards it as the most accomplished and magnificent « a cappella » Motet of the composer. The Bruckner biographer Crawford Howie also calls this work :

« One of Bruckner's finest Motets. »

...

Anton Bruckner subscribed to the Cecilian movement in choral music, which attempted to restore Gregorian chant and Renaissance polyphony to Austrian sacred music. Composed in 1885, the text of « Virga Jesse floruit » is based on Isaiah 11, establishing Jesus' place in the lineage of King David (Jesse was David's father) . Although written in the « stille antico » , this rather dramatic Motet is nearly Symphonic. There is a magnificent climax that builds in imitative sequences on the phrase « pacem Deus reddidit » . Of special note is the text : « in se reconcilians imo sumis » , (reconciling in Himself the lowest with the highest) . Bruckner's musical setting mirrors this reconciliation of opposites, climaxing at the extremes of range and dynamics. Harmonically this Motet journeys far, until the Coda arrives in E major, culminating in a sequence of « alleluias » from the tenors.

The course of Anton Bruckner's musical development may have taken a new turn when he 1st made the acquaintance of Richard Wagner's music in the 1860's, but to regard him as a simple musical off shoot of Wagner, a disciple who brought to the Symphony something of what Wagner brought to music-drama, is both inaccurate and unfair. Indeed, an understanding of Bruckner's own sacred music (both the large Masses and such smaller works as the a cappella Motet « Virga Jesse floruit » of 1885) provides many keys to understanding Bruckner's immense Symphonic works.

« Virga Jesse floruit » , which is one of comparatively few sacred works composed after Bruckner turned to Symphonies, reminds us once again that even the idea of classifying Bruckner as a Romantic is not without problems. His musical mind-set was, as has often and rightly been observed, more of the Renaissance or even the pre-Renaissance than 19th Century modern, and no amount of chromatic elaboration and structural expansion can hide the fact that, psychologically speaking, his Symphonies have nothing whatever to do with the throbbing, searching new ways of Franz Liszt, Richard Wagner, and others. In « Virga Jesse floruit » , Bruckner very consciously draws on an ancient musical heritage, spinning out rich, pure lines in a style reminiscent of Palestrina and the « stile antico » . It is as if time itself has no meaning to Bruckner, and in his music-making (long or short, old or new) his identity remains the same.

« Virga Jesse floruit » is one of Bruckner's most famous pieces ; it is sung at Christmas time by choirs, amateur and professional, around the globe. The brief gradual text translates something as follows : « The rod of Jesse flourished ; a virgin produced both God and man : and God restored peace, reconciling both lowest and highest within Himself. Alleluia. » . Bruckner's 92 measures of music move from a group of isolated phrases at the beginning of the piece through some expansive imitative play on the text « pacem Deus reddidit » , and finally to the staggered « alleluias » , at 1st ecstatic and then absolutely tender, that fill the final 3rd of this most effective piece.

...

1885 : Le Quintette à cordes sera exécuté à Munich et à Cologne. Pour sa part, la 3e Symphonie sera donnée à Amsterdam, Dresde, Francfort et La Haye de même qu'au « Metropolitan Opera House » de New York sous la baguette du chef Walter Damrosch. Quant à lui, Hans Richter a mené à bien la 7e Symphonie à Vienne, le 21 mars 1886. Il a été le 1er succès de Bruckner dans la ville Impériale. Richter a pu annoncer « un radical volte-face de la part de l'ensemble de la Société philharmonique concernant Bruckner » .

Une des grandes satisfactions de Bruckner durant les dernières années de sa vie fut de voir ses œuvres jouées aux États-Unis. Prenant connaissance de la critique du « New York Tribune » , il dira : « L'Amérique m'accepte. Je suis ravi. » .

1885 : Ire exécution américaine (à New York) de sa 3e Symphonie dédiée à Richard Wagner.

1885 : L'aménagement de « WC » (Water Closets) devienne la norme dans les appartements neufs de Vienne.

20 septembre 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à August Göllerich (Vienne) .

« My Dear Biographer !

Have you read the “ Berliner Tagblatt ” of August 10 ? Thereupon, “ Bote und Bock ” of Berlin offer to be my publisher. Dear Friend ! I think that the biography can wait ; you ought not to undertake expense on its behalf. In addition, Conservatory classes begin already on Tuesday. Do as you see fit. Sincerest greetings.

Yours,

Bruckner »

Incipit : « Haben Sie das Berliner Tagblatt ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 169 ; page 195.

« Anton Bruckner, 10 Briefe » , Berlin-Charlottenburg (1953) , Herausgeber und kommentiert von Felix von Lepel (1899, Dresden - 1979, Berlin) - lettre n° 1 ; page 6.

August Göllerich junior (1859-1923) : Pianist, teacher, conductor, and writer on music. Politically anti-Semitic. Göllerich had offered to assume expenses on behalf of Bruckner's biography.

25 septembre 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) au Père Raffael « Oddo » Loidol (Kremsmünster) .

« Dear Worthy, Noble Friend !

Herewith, I send you the “ Christus factus est ” ; accept it as a “ memento ” of August 2, 1885.

Please give my respects to the Director, Father Georg, with the request that the Mass in F be copied, as soon as possible. In the “ Berliner Tagblatt ” of August 10 is a colossal article about me by Doctor Paul Marsop, in which I am proclaimed the Number 1 living Symphony composer. 2 days later, “ Bote und Bock ”, the Number 1 publisher in Berlin, approached me and offered to publish works of mine. Thank you very much for your birthday congratulations. May you accept congratulations for all, in the future. I am, of course, too over-exerted to be able to go into every particular.

In the most sincere friendship and reverence,

Anton Bruckner

October 4 : I feel I should be in Linz (Mass in E minor. No. 2) . »

Incipit : « Hiemit sende ich Ihnen ... »

Source : Max Auer, n° 170 ; pages 195-196.

Father Raffael « Oddo » Loidol (1858-1893) : Priest, composer, and friend of Bruckner. During 1879 and 1880, he audited Bruckner's lectures at the University of Vienna. In August 1880, he entered the Novitiate at « Stift

Kremsmünster » , taking the name « Oddo » . He studied at Saint-Florian's Monastery for 4 years, and was ordained on **July 19, 1885**, in Kremsmünster. He became a friend and advocate of Bruckner at the University of Vienna and remained so, for the rest of his life.

Paul Marsop

Doctor Paul Marsop (1826-1925) : German music-editor and critic from Munich. He championed Bruckner's music and praised him in his columns. He worked, « inter alia » , for the « Berliner Tagblatt » .

...

Le juriste, bibliothécaire, écrivain et directeur musical indépendant, l'érudit juif protestant allemand Paul Marsop, est né le 6 octobre 1856 à Berlin ; et est mort le 31 mai 1925 à Florence. Docteur en philosophie, il va travailler à Munich, à Berlin et en Italie. Il écrira comme critique musical, entre autres, pour le « Berliner Tagblatt » .

Il est le père fondateur d'environ 2 douzaines de bibliothèques musicales en Allemagne dont la Ire pour le grand public : la bibliothèque de musique municipale de Munich (« die städtische Münchener Musikbibliothek ») située au « Markthalle » sur la « Salvatorplatz » (aujourd'hui, ce lieu se nomme Maison de la littérature) .

D'abord un anti-bruckérien, il finira par devenir l'un de ses plus fervents supporters.

...

Paul Marsop : Geboren 6. Oktober 1856 in Berlin ; gestorben 31. Mai 1925 in Florenz.

Konfession : Jüdisch, protestantisch.

Musikalischer Beruf : Musikschriftsteller.

Weitere Tätigkeiten : Bibliothekar, Schriftsteller, Jurist.

Zeitgenössische Angaben : Musikdirektor, Gründer der städtischen Musikbibliothek.

Wirkungsorte : Italien, München, Berlin.

Doktor der Philosophie, Musikschriftsteller Marsop hat die Musikkritik um die Jahrhundertwende stark beeinflusst, er war zu einem Teile schuld an der Verfälschung des Beethovenbildes (Beethoven als Verfechter einer liberalistischen Weltauffassung) .

Privatgelehrter und Musikdirektor. Er war Gründervater von etwa zwei Dutzend Musikbibliotheken in Deutschland, unter

anderem die erste musikalische Volksbibliothek in Deutschland, die städtische Münchner Musikbibliothek, die sich mittlerweile in der ehemaligen Markthalle am Salvatorplatz (heute : Literaturhaus) befindet.

Er ist Namensgeber der Marsopstraße.

Netzwerk

Hermann Levi (1839-1900) : Dirigent.

Hans Wihan (1855-1920) : Violoncellist.

Felix Weingartner (1863-1942) : Dirigent.

...

Septembre 1885 : Anton Bruckner sends the score of the 1881 version of the 4th Symphony to music-publishers Bote & Bock, of Berlin, with a view to publication. But it is rejected.

4 octobre 1885 : Création à Linz de la 2e version de la Messe en si mineur (**WAB 27**) par le « Linzer Musikverein » sous la direction d'Adalbert Schreyer.

13 octobre 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) adressée à la Philharmonique de Vienne.

« Honourable Committee !

Although the project would very much honour and please me, I desire that my most submissive request be approved, that the honourable Committee might, “ for this ” year, pursue another course concerning the performance of my E major Symphony, on grounds which originate solely in connection with the lamentable local situation in relation to the influential criticism which could only inhibit my commencing successes in Germany.

With all respect,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Es wolle mir das ergebenste Ansuchen ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 171 ; page 196.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 124 ; page 137.

28 octobre 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Adalbert Schreyer (Linz) .

« Dear Esteemed Director !

From afar, I cry-out to you, once more, with my sincerest thanks and deepest admiration for the artistic-heroic deed, the very successful performance of my E minor Mass. My joy over it will be inextinguishable. I request that these, my thanks and congratulations, most graciously be extended to the Board of the honourable Society, as well as to all of the ladies and gentlemen who have been so gracious and enthusiastic about art and who made the performance possible through their perseverance. Because of this performance, Linz shall always have a special place in my heart. The endeavor of the honourable Society was truly blessed. This is no longer the old Linz. Once more, congratulations to all of the artists.

Your most indebted,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Aus der Feme rufe ich Ihnen nochmals ... »

Sources : Max Auer, lettre n° 172 ; pages 196-197.

Franz Gräßlinger, lettre n° 100 ; pages 115-116.

Göllerich-Auer, Band III/1 ; pages 591-192.

Adalbert Schreyer (1850-1925) : « Kapellmeister » in Olmütz, Baden, and « Wiener-Neustadt » . From 1883 to 1896, he was Director of the « Linzer Musikverein » and Choir-Master of the « Männergesang Verein “ Sängerbund ” » .

6 novembre 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Moritz von Mayfeld (Linz) .

« Dear “ Herr ” Councillor !

I protested against the performance of my 7th Symphony because, in Vienna, this has no purpose because of Hanslick and his associates. If the Philharmonic does not heed my protest, then, it can do as it will. In no case, can anything be done before January because the parts have not been printed yet. Actually, the full-score, etc. (piano arrangement) will take an even longer time to get into print, so I hear. 2 orders arrived from foreign countries ; 3 from America.

Concerning my marriage, “ I still have no bride-up to this date ” ; if only I could find a properly becoming sweetheart ! To be sure, I have many female friends ; for, in recent times, the darlings pursue me quite extensively, and they think that they have to treat me in an idealistic manner. It's terrible if one is not well ! Entirely forsaken ! A hand-kiss to your gracious lady !

Respectfully yours,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Ich protestirte gegen die Aufführung ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 173 ; pages 197-198.

Moritz von Mayfeld (1817-1904) : Government official, composer and pianist. He and his wife were close friends of Bruckner.

Bruckner differentiates between European and American requests. His earliest performance in America was in Cincinnati.

1er décembre 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Theodor Helm (Vienne) .

« Highly-Esteemed Sir !

Permit me, your esteemed self, to be allowed to send you belatedly the enclosed little sketch concerning my humble self.

With deepest respect

Most devotedly yours,

Anton Bruckner

Sketch :

Born in 1824 in Ansfelden, in Upper-Austria.

Choir boy at Saint-Florian Monastery, from 1837 to 1840.

Teacher from 1841 to 1855 ; incidentally, monastery organist at Saint-Florian for the last 5 years there, as well.

Cathedral organist in Linz, from 1855 to 1868.

Court Organist since 1868, and also, professor at the Conservatory.

I completed my studies in strict counterpoint with Professor Simon Sechter in Vienna, from 1855 to 1861, where I

always stayed for longer periods.

Then, until 1863, I studied composition in Linz with Otto Kitzler from Dresden.

In 1869, I concertized on the organ in Nancy and Paris ; in 1871, in London : 6 times in (Royal) Albert Hall ; 5 times in the Crystal Palace ; with the greatest success.

Compositions : 3 grand Masses, " Te Deum ", String Quintet, 7 Symphonies, choruses, etc. , etc. , etc.

N.B. : Since 1875, I have been Lecturer at the University.

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Gestatten mir Hochselber ... »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 174 ; pages 198-199.

Theodor Helm (1843-1920) : Austrian writer on music, critic, and professor.

5 décembre 1885 : Le chef Walter Damrosch programme la 3e Symphonie à New York. Il s'agit de la 1re exécution d'une œuvre de Bruckner aux États-Unis.

8 décembre 1885 : A setting of Anton Bruckner's « Virga Jesse floruit » (**WAB 52**) for unaccompanied chorus is performed for the 1st time, at the Vienna « Hofkapelle » .

11 décembre 1885 : Exécution de la 3e Symphonie de Bruckner à Dresde sous la direction du chef Ernst von Schuch. Au même moment, le compositeur presse l'éditeur viennois Albert J. Gutmann de publier sa 7e Symphonie et l'éditeur Theodor Rättig de publier son « Te Deum » .

Anton Meißner felt that the Scherzo of the 3rd Symphony was always taken too rapidly, and Amalie Klose recalls his broad tempo for the Scherzo of the 8th. In 1885, Bruckner wrote to Ernst von Schuch in Dresden to « ask fervently ...

Ernst von Schuch

Le chef d'orchestre autrichien Ernst Edler von Schuch (né Ernst Gottfried Schuch) est né le 23 novembre 1846 à Graz, en Styrie, Autriche ; et est mort le 10 mai 1914 à Niederlößnitz-Radebeul, Kötzschenbroda (Dresde) , dans le « Land » de Saxe, en Allemagne. Il s'est fait connaître par sa collaboration avec Richard Strauß à l'Opéra de la Cour de Dresde.

Schuch étudia à Graz, puis à Vienne, auprès de Felix Otto Dessoff et débuta, en 1867, en tant que Maître de chapelle

au « Lobe-Theater » de Breslau. Suivirent des contrats à Würzburg (1868-1870) ; Graz (1870-1871) ; et Bâle, avant qu'il soit engagé en 1872 par Pollini, à Dresde. Dans cette ville, il fut, à partir de 1872, directeur musical au « Hofoper » ; à partir de 1873, Maître de chapelle royale aux côtés de Julius Rietz et, par la suite, aux côtés de Franz Wüllner. En 1882, il prit la direction du « Hofoper » avec le titre de conseiller aulique ; en 1889, il devint directeur général de la musique. En 1882, il s'installa à Niederlöbnitz, au 15-17 de la « Weintraubenstraße » (en 1883, à sa propre demande, elle fut rebaptisée rue Schuch) . En 1898, il fut anobli par l'Empereur d'Autriche et, en 1899, nommé au Conseil privé de Saxe. Du fait de son influence, on a parlé de l' « époque Schuch » dans l'histoire de l'Opéra.

Jusqu'en 1914, il ne quitta plus Dresde, mis à part des invitations à Berlin, Munich, Vienne et Paris, et il fit de son Opéra un des principaux temples de la musique en Europe ; il créa un ensemble prestigieux et fit de son Orchestre un des plus réputés du monde. Outre le répertoire de Richard Wagner, il dirigea les créations de « Feuersnot » (1901) ; « Salomé » (1905) ; « Elektra » (1909) ; « le Chevalier à la rose » (1911) , toutes de Richard Strauß, ainsi que les Ires représentations en allemand de Giacomo Puccini et Pietro Mascagni. On l'appréciait également pour diriger des concerts et dans ce domaine il s'imposait en particulier pour les œuvres orchestrales de Felix Dræseke et de Strauß.

Schuch était l'époux de la soprano coloratura Clementine von Schuch-Proska (1850-1932) . Elle était membre honoraire du Théâtre royal de la Cour. Sa fille, Liesel von Schuch, a chanté à Dresde et à Vienne.

...

The Austrian conductor Ernst Edler von Schuch (born Ernst Gottfried Schuch) was born on 23 November 1846 in Graz, Austria ; and died on 10 May 1914 in Niederlöbnitz-Radebeul, Kötzschenbroda (Dresden) , Saxony, Germany. He became famous through his working collaborations with Richard Strauß, at the Dresden Court Opera.

Schuch Ist studied law but, then, turned to music, trained at Ist by Eduard Stolz. He studied in Graz and, later, in Vienna, briefly with Felix Otto Dessoff, and started his conducting career, in 1867, as « Kapellmeister » at Lobe's Theatre, in Breslau, while the Breslau Opera was out of action following a fire.

Coincidentally, a father and son with the same family name Schuch had built and run the Ist Opera Theatre in Breslau, 120 years earlier. There followed engagements in Würzburg (1868-1870) ; Graz (1870-1871) ; and Basle, until he was employed in 1872 by Pollini's Italian Opera for Dresden. There, in 1872, he became Music director at the Court Opera ; from 1873, Royal « Kapellmeister » with Julius Rietz, later with Franz Wüllner. In 1878, he was appointed Royal Professor. In 1882, he undertook the direction of the Court Opera with the title of privy councillor and, in 1889, became its general music-director. From 1882 onward, he lived in Niederlöbnitz on the « Weintraubenstraße » (in 1883, renamed at his own suggestion as « Schuchstraße Nr. 15-17 ») . In 1898, he was ennobled by the Austrian Emperor and, in 1899, was appointed to the Saxon Confidential Privy Council. His period of influence is known as the « Schuch era » in Operatic performing history.

Tours as guest-conductor in Berlin, Munich, Vienna and Paris aside, he remained committed to Dresden until 1914, and made its Opera House there into one of the leading musical stages of Europe. He created a surpassing ensemble and

enlarged the Orchestra to make it one of the greatest in the world. Specializing in the music-dramas of Richard Wagner, he also led the original productions of the Richard Strauß Operas « Feuersnot » (1901) ; « Salome » (1905) ; « Elektra » (1909) ; and « Der Rosenkavalier » (1911) as well as the 1st German productions of Operas by Giacomo Puccini and Pietro Mascagni. Also highly valued as a non-Operatic conductor, he was particularly known in the concert-hall for his renditions of the orchestral works of Felix Dræseke and Strauß.

He married coloratura soprano Clementine von Schuch-Proska (Klementine Procházka) (1850-1932) , who became an honorary member of Dresden's Royal Theatre Company. Their daughter Liesel von Schuch sang in Dresden (from 1914 on) and Vienna.

...

Ernst Edler von Schuch, geboren als Ernest Gottfried Schuch, (geboren 23. November 1846 in Graz ; gestorben 10. Mai 1914 in Niederlößnitz) war ein österreichischer Dirigent, der als Generalmusikdirektor der Dresdner Hofoper und durch seine Zusammenarbeit mit Richard Strauß, als dessen « Leibdirigent » , berühmt wurde. Die vierzig Jahre seines Schaffens in Dresden (1872-1914) werden als die Ära Schuch rezipiert.

Schuch war der Sohn eines höheren Beamten. Nach seinem Abitur studierte er in Graz Jura, daneben musizierte er weiterhin wie bereits seit früher Kindheit (Geige, Klavier) . Er leitete den Akademischen Musikverein und war ein Schüler des Dirigenten Eduard Stolz. Dann immatrikulierte er sich in Wien und wurde Schüler von Felix Otto Dessoff. 1867, nach seiner juristischen Zwischenprüfung, begann er als Kapellmeister bei Theodor Lobe in Breslau. Es folgten Verpflichtungen in Würzburg (1868-1870) , Graz (1870-1871) und Basel, bevor er 1872 von Bernhard Pollini (1838-1897) als Musikdirektor für dessen italienische Oper nach Dresden an die Hofoper engagiert wurde. Dort wurde er 1873 Königlicher Kapellmeister neben Julius Rietz, später neben Franz Wüllner. 1879 stieg er zum Leiter der Königlichen Kapelle auf. 1882 übernahm er die Direktion der Hofoper als Hofrat, womit er entscheidenden Einfluss auf die Programmgestaltung wie auch die Weiterentwicklung der Kapelle selbst nehmen konnte. 1889 wurde er zum Generalmusikdirektor ernannt.

Im Jahr 1898 wurde Schuch vom österreichischen Kaiser in den erblichen Adelsstand erhoben und 1899 wurde er zum sächsischen Geheimen Hofrat ernannt. Im selben Jahr 1899 erhielt er die sächsischen Adelsanerkennung. Sein Wirken ging als Ära Schuch in die Operngeschichte ein.

Neben Gastspielreisen in Berlin, München, Wien und Paris blieb er Dresden bis zu seinem Tode verbunden und schlug einige verlockende Angebote an andere bedeutende Häuser aus, darunter das Richard-Wagner-Festspielhaus in Bayreuth. Schuch machte Dresden zu einer der führenden Musikbühnen Europas, erweiterte die Sächsischen Staatskapelle zu einer der größten der Welt und schuf daraus ein Ensemble von Weltruf. Mit diesem pflegte er einerseits das Repertoire seines Amtsvorgängers Richard Wagner, den er verehrte und dessen Werk er dem Dresdner Publikum in Gänze erschloss. Daneben präsentierte er der Öffentlichkeit das Wirken der zeitgenössischen italienischen Opernkomponisten, ergänzt um Werke aus dem slawischen Kulturkreis. Als Pianist begleitete Schuch 1905 die sogenannte Traumtänzerin Magdeleine Guipet im Dresdner Schauspielhaus, die sich vor ihrem Auftritt unter Hypnose setzen ließ. Bei dieser und auch

mehreren anderen Gelegenheiten in den 1900er Jahren waren Karl May und Gattin auf Einladung oder auch zusammen mit den Schuchs zu Musikveranstaltungen in Dresden.

Von seinen vielen Ur- und Erstaufführungen werden insbesondere die Uraufführungen von Richard Strauß' Feuersnot (1901), Salome (1905), Elektra (1909), Rosenkavalier (1911) sowie deutsche Erstaufführungen von Puccini und Mascagni rezipiert. Daneben wurde Schuch auch als Konzertdirigent geschätzt und setzte sich als solcher besonders für Orchesterwerke von Felix Dräseke, Strauß und Gustav Mahler ein, von dem er zwischen 1897 und 1914 viele Werke als Erstaufführungen nach Dresden brachte.

Schuch war ab 1875 mit der Koloratursopranistin Clementine von Schuch-Proska (1850-1932) verheiratet. Nachdem Schuch sich ab 1880 jeweils in der Löbnitz eine Sommerwohnung gemietet hatte, nahm er 1882 seinen Sommerwohnsitz in der Niederlöbnitz, in der Weintraubenstraße direkt nördlich des Gasthofs Goldene Weintraube (heute Stammhaus der Landesbühnen Sachsen). Die Straße wurde im Folgejahr, 1883, auf seinen Antrag umbenannt in Schuchstraße. Dort unter der heutigen Adresse Nr. 15-17 stand ursprünglich ein eher kleineres Haus, das der Baumeister Moritz Ziller 1866 (oder 1876-1877) als Landhaus im Schweizerstil für den Eigentümer der Goldenen Weintraube errichtet hatte und das in den Folgejahren mehrfach für Schuch erweitert werden mußte und ab 1897 als Ganzjahreswohnung diente. Schuch selbst nannte das Haus, dessen heutige Besitzer Villa Schuch an den Giebel geschrieben haben, Villa Favorita (damalige Adresse Schuchstraße 11). Dort kam 1891 seine Tochter Liesel von Schuch (1891-1990) als jüngstes von fünf Kindern zur Welt, die ebenfalls wie die Mutter eine erfolgreiche Koloratursopranistin wurde. Liesels ältere Schwester Käthe (1885-1973; auch verheiratet Ullmann beziehungsweise Schmidt) schlug ebenfalls die Sängerkarriere ein. Bruder Hans (1886-1963) wurde ein bekannter Cellist. Dessen Tochter Clementine von Schuch (1921-2014) wurde wiederum Opernsängerin. Schuch führte dort ein gastliches Haus, in dem « wohl alle namhaften Musiker und Theaterleute seiner Zeit einmal gern und ohne Förmlichkeit aufgenommen wurden ». Mit diesen erging er sich gern auf ausgedehnten Spaziergängen durch die Löbnitz.

Schuch fuhr viele Jahre mit der Eisenbahn von der nahegelegenen Station Weintraube zur Arbeit. Extra für ihn wurde ein Sonderzug eingerichtet, im Volksmund « Schuch-Zug » genannt, der jeweils zur Probenzeit fuhr.

Schuch starb kurz nach der Dresdner Erstaufführung von Wagners Parsifal. Er wurde am 14. Mai 1914 unter großer öffentlicher Teilnahme zu den Klängen von Wagners Trauermarsch aus der Oper Götterdämmerung auf dem Kötzschenbrodaer Friedhof beerdigt. Dort liegt er zusammen mit seiner Ehefrau Clementine, die dort 1932 neben ihm beerdigt wurde. Direkt in der Nähe liegt auch das Grab ihrer Tochter Liesel.

Schuch dirigierte in Dresden 122 oder 123 Erst- und Uraufführungen, darunter :

Giuseppe Verdi : Rigoletto, Eigenmächtig Abwesend Dresden (1874) .

Giuseppe Verdi : La Traviata, Eigenmächtig Abwesend Dresden (1875) .

Giuseppe Verdi : Messa da Requiem, Eigenmächtig Abwesend Dresden (1876) .

Georges Bizet : Carmen, Eigenmächtig Abwesend Dresden (1880) .

Robert Schumann : Genoveva, Eigenmächtig Abwesend Dresden (1882) .

Richard Wagner : Tristan und Isolde, Eigenmächtig Abwesend Dresden (1884) .

Richard Wagner : Der Ring des Nibelungen, Eigenmächtig Abwesend Dresden (1884-1886) .

August Bungert : Homerische Welt (anderer Titel : Die Odyssee) , Opern-Tetralogie, Opus 30.

1. Teil : Kirke, Musik-Tragödie in 3 Akten, Opus 30/1, Uraufführung Dresden (1898) .

2. Teil : Nausikaa, Musik-Tragödie in 3 Akten, Opus 30/2, Uraufführung Dresden (1901) .

3. Teil : Odysseus' Heimkehr, Musik-Tragödie in 3 Akten, Opus 30/3, Uraufführung Dresden (1896) .

4. Teil : Odysseus' Tod, Musik-Tragödie in 3 Akten, Opus 30/4, Uraufführung Dresden (1903) .

Richard Strauß : Feuersnot, Opus 50. Libretto : Ernst von Wolzogen. Uraufführung Dresden (1901) .

Richard Strauß : Salome Opus 54. Libretto : Richard Strauß, nach dem gleichnamigen Schauspiel von Oscar Wilde, deutsch von Hedwig Lachmann. Uraufführung Dresden (1905) .

Richard Strauß : Elektra, Opus 58. Libretto : Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Uraufführung Dresden (1909) .

Richard Strauß : Der Rosenkavalier, Opus 59. Libretto : Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Uraufführung Dresden (1911) .

Schuch erhielt im Laufe seiner Tätigkeit zahlreiche in- und ausländische Auszeichnungen und Ehrungen, die Orden teilweise in unterschiedlichen Stufen.

Im Jahr 1898 wurde Schuch als österreichischer Bürger durch Kaiser Franz Joseph I. nobilitiert. Das auch für seine Familie geltende erbliche Adelsprädikat war Edler von, dazu gab es ein Wappen. Anfang 1899 erhielt Schuch die Bestätigung des sächsischen Hofes zur Führung seines Adelstitels. Im April jenes Jahres wurde er dann zum Geheimen Hofrat 3. Klasse ernannt. 1907 folgte die Rangerhöhung auf Rang 18c der 2. Klasse in der Hofrangordnung, womit er an der königlichen Tafel selbst sitzen durfte (Platz Nr. 23) .

...

Ernst von Schuch begann seine musikalische Ausbildung an der Steirischen Landesmusikschule (Violine und Klavier)

seiner Heimatstadt. 1853 trat er erstmals öffentlich auf. Nach Abschluß des Gymnasiums studierte er Jurisprudenz in Graz, Wien und Breslau ; das Studium beendete er mit dem Referendarexamen. Daneben erlernte Schuch das Kapellmeisterhandwerk (Dirigieren, Korrepetition) bei Eduard Stolz und Otto Deshoff, außerdem übernahm er die Leitung des Akademischen Gesangsvereins Graz. Nach kurzen Kapellmeistertätigkeiten in Breslau (1867 am Lobe'schen Theater) , Würzburg, Graz und Basel und einem erfolgreichen Gastspiel mit der Pollinischen italian Operngesellschaft im März 1872 in Dresden trat Schuch am 1. August 1872 die Stelle als zweiter Kapellmeister an der Sächs. Hofoper an. Noch im selben Jahr übernahm er die Leitung der Abonnementskonzerte der Sächsischen Hofkapelle. 1873 wurde er « Königlich Kapellmeister » (Anstellung auf Lebenszeit) ; 1877 « Etatmässiger Kapellmeister » ; 1879 « Erster Kapellmeister » (Oberleitung der Hofkapelle) . 1880 wurde Schuch die alleinige musikalische Leitung der Hofoper übertragen ; 1882 erfolgte seine Ernennung zum « Direktor der Hofoper » .

Schuch war 42 Jahre lang mit Dresdens Hofoper und der Königlich Kapelle verbunden. Mit 123 Erst- und Uraufführungen unter seiner Leitung verhalf er der Dresdner Hofoper zu außergewöhnlichem Ruhm und Ansehen in Europa und Amerika. Am Beginn seiner Tätigkeit standen die Erstaufführungen von Giuseppe Verdis « Rigoletto » (1874) ; « La Traviata » (1875) ; und die « Missa da Requiem » (1876) ; gefolgt von Georges Bizets « Carmen » (1880) ; und Robert Schumanns « Genoveva » (1882) . Einen ersten Höhepunkt in der Reihe der von Schuch geleiteten Erstaufführungen bildeten die Werke von Richard Wagner (« Tristan und Isolde » , 1884 ; « Der Ring des Nibelungen » , 1884-1886) .

Schuchs beständige Neugier auf zeitgenössische Werke verband sich mit außergewöhnlicher Musikalität, perfekter Partiturbeherrschung, Einsatzfreude und Disziplin - die letztgenannten Eigenschaften vermochte er in besonderer Weise auf das Ensemble der Hofoper und die Kapelle zu übertragen. Die Qualitäten Schuchs und seines Orchesters schätzte nicht zuletzt Richard Strauß : Er übertrug Schuch die Uraufführungen der Bühnenwerke « Feuersnot » , Opus 50 (Uraufführung 21. November 1901) ; « Salome » Opus 54 (Uraufführung 9. Dezember 1905) ; « Elektra » Opus 58 (Uraufführung 25. Januar 1909) ; und « Der Rosenkavalier » Opus 59 (Uraufführung 26. Januar 1911) . In Schuch fand Strauß die künstlerische Professionalität, die der Interpretation seiner Werke höchste Authentizität sicherte.

Schuch war einer der maßgeblichen Interpreten des Musiktheaters seiner Zeit. Nicht weniger bedeutungsvoll sind seine Konzertdirigate, in denen er sich vor allem für die Symphonien von Gustav Mahler einsetzte ; diese nahm er von 1897 bis zu seinem Tod regelmäßig als Erstaufführungen in den Spielplan der Dresdner Orchesterkonzerte auf. Seit 1900 führten ihn Gastdirigate nach Berlin, New York (1900) , Paris (1904) und London (1905) .

...

Geheimrat Ernst Edler von Schuch, « né » als Ernest Gottfried Schuch (geboren 23. November 1846 in Graz ; gestorben 10. Mai 1914 in Niederlößnitz) , war ein österreichischer Dirigent, der durch seine Zusammenarbeit mit Richard Strauß an der Dresdner Hofoper berühmt wurde.

Er war mit Karl May bekannt, den er gezielt zu Aufführungen einlud.

1872 wurde er Musikdirektor an der Dresdner Hofoper, ab 1873 Königlicher Kapellmeister. 1882 übernahm er die Direktion der Hofoper als Hofrat, 1889 wurde er Generalmusikdirektor. 1898 wurde Schuch vom österreichischen Kaiser in den Erbliehen Adelsstand erhoben und 1899 wurde er zum sächsischen Geheimen Hofrat ernannt. Im Jahr 1909 erhielt er die sächsischen Adelsanerkennung.

Seinen Wohnsitz nahm er 1882 in Niederlößnitz in der Weintraubenstraße (1883 auf seinen Antrag umbenannt in Schuchstraße 15-17) , wo der Baumeister Moritz Ziller 1866 ein Landhaus im Schweizerstil errichtet hatte.

...

Ernst (Ernest) Gottfried von Schuch, Dirigent : geboren Graz (Steirmark) , 23. November 1846 ; gestorben Kötzschenbroda, Sachsen (Dresden, Deutschland) , 10. Mai 1914. Sohn eines höheren Beamten, Gatte der Sängerin Clementine Schuch. Schuch besuchte die Schule in Graz und Marburg an der Drau (Maribor) und trat bereits in seiner Kindheit als Geiger und Pianist in öffentlichen Konzerten auf. Während seines Studium an der Universität Graz leitete er den Akademischen Gesangverein und nahm Unterricht beim Dirigenten Eduard Stolz, in Wien bei Otto Dessoff. Nach Abbruch seines Studium begann er 1867 als Dirigent in Breslau (Wrocław) und kam über Würzburg (1868-1870) und Graz (1870-1871) nach Basel. Ein Gastdirigat 1872 in Dresden führte zu seinem Engagement an die dortige Hofoper ; 1879 Erster Kapellmeister ; 1889 Generalmusikdirektor Schuch setzte sich früh für das Oratorienwerk Franz Liszts ein, ebenso für das Werk Richard Wagners (« Der Ring des Nibelungen » , « Tristan und Isolde » , « Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg ») . Trotzdem gelang es nicht, den von Wagner geschätzten Dirigenten nach Bayreuth zu verpflichten. Während seines Wirkens an der Dresdner Hofoper brachte Schuch 51 Uraufführung und 117 Erstaufführung heraus. Von besonders musikgeschichtliche Bedeutung ist dabei auch sein Eintreten für Richard Strauß, dessen Opern « Feuersnot » (1901) ; « Salome » (1905) ; « Elektra » (1909) ; « Der Rosenkavalier » (1911) er in Dresden zur Uraufführung brachte. Auch im Rahmen seiner Europa und die USA umspannenden Konzerttätigkeit (er war ab 1877 Dirigent der Königlich Hofmusikkapelle in Dresden) setzte er sich (neben der Klassik) für das zeitgenössische Schaffen (und andere Strauß, Mahler, Reger, Pfitzner, Debussy, Ravel) ein. Schuch, als Orchester- und als Ensembleerzieher ebenso wie als Interpret eine « Ausnahmeerscheinung unter den großen Dirigenten seiner Zeit » , machte die Dresdner Oper zu einem der führenden Häuser der Welt und kann als einer der wichtigsten Propagatoren der Musik seiner Periode bezeichnet werden. 1898 wurde er in den österreichische Adelsstand mit dem Ehrenwort « Edler von » erhoben.

...

Ernst Gottfried von Schuch, Dirigent : geboren 23 November 1846 in Graz ; gestorben 10. Mai 1914 Kötzschenbroda / Sachsen (heute Radebeul bei Dresden / Deutschland) . Schon als Kind trat er als Geiger und Pianist auf. Er begann später ein Jus-Studium an der Universität Graz, leitete daneben den Akademischen Gesangverein in Graz und wurde von den Dirigenten Eduard Stolz (geboren circa 1817 Salzburg ; gestorben 5. Juni 1889 Prag) und in Wien von Otto Dessoff ausgebildet. Er war als Musikdirektor in Breslau (Wrocław / Polen, 1867) ; Würzburg / Deutschland (1868-1870) ; Graz (1870-1871) und Basel / CH tätig. 1872 wurde Schuch an die Dresdener Hofoper engagiert (1. Kapellmeister 1879, Generalmusikdirektor 1889) . Ab 1877 dirigierte er auch die HMK. Er setzte sich vor allem für das Werk Franz Liszts, Richard Wagners und Richard Strauß' ein.

...

Ernst Edler von Schuch (geboren 23. November 1846 in Graz ; gestorben 10. Mai 1914 in Niederlöbnitz) war Generalmusikdirektor in Dresden.

Ernst Edler von Schuch führte von 1872 die Dresdner Oper in eine neue Blütezeit. Unter seiner Leitung wurde das Dresdner Orchester die « Wunderharfe » genannt. Schuch machte die späten Opern Richard Wagners heimisch und begeisterte durch die Grazie und Geschmeidigkeit, mit der er die Werke der Italiener deutete.

Ernst Edler von Schuch gilt als der Entdecker der Opern von Richard Strauß. Unter seiner Leitung gab es die Uraufführungen von « Salome » , « Elektra » und dem « Rosenkavalier » .

Ernst von Schuch und Karl May

Zu Schuchs 30jährigen Jubiläum, zur Erinnerung an seinen Antritt besuchten Karl und Emma May sowie Klara Plöhn am 16. März 1902 die Oper und sahen Don Pasquale. Anwesend waren auch Albert von Sachsen und seine Frau Carola.

Am 11. April erhielten Mays und Klara Plöhn Dank der Güte Schuch's doch noch Karten zu der eigentlich ausverkauften Vorstellung Manfred von Lord Byron mit Musik von Robert Schumann.

Am 3. Januar 1903 besuchten Karl May und Klara Plöhn das Theater (Hoffmanns Erzählungen) , was ihnen von Schuch warm empfohlen wurde.

Am 25. Januar 1904 waren Karl und Klara May gemeinsam mit Schuchs in der Oper bei Lohengrin von Richard Wagner.

Im März 1905 besorgte Schuch Karl und Klara May Billets zum Postillon von Lonjumeau und für die Vorstellung der Traumtänzerin Madeleine G. im Schauspielhaus, das sie am 10. März und 12. März besuchten. Bei der Traumtänzerin spielte Schuch selbst Klavier.

Am 10. Dezember leitete Schuch die Uraufführung von Richard Strauß' Salome in der Dresdner Hofoper.

Drei Tage später widmete May Ernst von Schuch ein Exemplar der Sascha-Schneider-Mappe in aufrichtigster und dankbarer Hochachtung.

Sonstiges

Marie Hannes berichtete May am 11. Juli 1902, daß sie Hans von Schuch, den Sohn Ernst von Schuchs, kennengelernt habe, der ihr erzählte, er sei mit Mays mal mit der Tram von einem Konzert nach Hause gefahren.

Genealogie Schuch, Familie

Vater - Josef Schuch, Staatsbeamter ; Mutter - Wilhelmine Dieffenbach ; verheiratet 1875 Clementine Procházka (1850-1932) , aus Sopron, Sängerin, 1873-1904 an der Hofoper in Dresden ; 3 Sohn - Ernst (1876-1945, verheiratet 1 ; Marga Mankiewicz, 2 ; 1924 Olga von Höffern, geboren 1886, evangelisch, aus Wien, Pianistin, Klavierpädagogin, siehe Deutsche Musiker-Lexikon, herausgeber von E. H. Müller, 1929) , Offz. - Friedrich (1882-1962, sächsische Adelsanerkennung 1909, verheiratet Susanne Hohl) , Doktor iuris, Oberregierungsrat (siehe Lexikon) , Hans (1886-1963, verheiratet 1 ; Valerie Koslerova, 2 ; Hanna Beck) , Cellist an der Hofoper in Dresden, 2 Tochter - Käthe (1885-1973, verheiratet 1 ; Leopold Ullmann, 1882-1917, Opernsänger, zuletzt in Graz, siehe Kutsch-Riemens, Große Sängerlexikon, 2) Reinhold Schmidt, Oberregierungsrat) , Sängerin - Elisabeth (1891-1990, verheiratet Wilhelm Ganzel, Korvettenkapitän der deutschen Marine) , Sängerin, bis 1935 Mitglied der Sächsischen Staatsoper in Dresden, bis 1967 Gesangslehrerin an der Dresdner Musikhochschule, Ehrenmitglied der Sächsischen Staatsoper, Ehrenbürgerin von Dresden.

Seine Frau Clementine von Schuch (« né » Procházka, Pseudonym : Schuch-Proska) : geboren 12. Februar 1850 Ödenburg (Šopron) / Ungarn ; gestorben 11. (Kürschner : 8.) Juni 1932 Kötzschenbroda. Sängerin (Koloratursopran) . Gesangsausbildung am Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde bei Mathilde Marchesi. 1873-1894 sang sie an der Dresdener Hofoper. Gastspiele führten sie nach Wien, Berlin, Zürich, London, Moskau, Sankt Petersburg.

Preis : Königliche Kammersängerin Dresden (1878) ; Ehrenmitglied der Hofoper Dresden (1894) .

Deren Kinder

Käthe (verheiratet Schmidt) : geboren 18. März 1885 in Dresden ; gestorben 1973 (Ort ?) . Sängerin (Sopran) . War 1910-1912 in Dessau / Deutschland engagiert, danach Konzertsängerin.

Hans : geboren 19. Juni 1886 Dresden ; gestorben 1963 (Ort ?) . Violoncellist, Musikpädagoge. Studierte am Konservatorium Dresden und war als Cellist in Berlin, Wien und Dresden tätig. Ab 1922 war er pädagogisch tätig.

Liesel : geboren 12. Dezember 1891 Dresden ; gestorben 10. Januar 1990 Dresden. Sängerin (Sopran) . Ihre Ausbildung bekam sie von der Mutter, dann in Dresden und Wien. 1914-1935 war sie Mitglied der Dresdener Staatsoper. Gastspiele führten sie auch nach Wien. 1935-1967 unterrichtete sie an der Musik Hofschule Dresden. Ihr Mann Leopold Ullmann (geboren 25. Januar 1882 [Ort ?] ; gestorben 16. Oktober 1917 in Graz) war Sänger in Dresden (1909-1915) und Graz (1915-1917) .

Preis : Kammersängerin (1935) ; Ehrenbürgerin von Dresden.

Hans von Schuchs Tochter Clementine junior (geboren 24. Juli 1921 in Dresden) war Schülerin ihrer Tante Liesel. Sie trat in Königsberg (Kaliningrad / Russland) , Dresden und Berlin (Komische Oper, ab 1948) auf.

Künstlerfamilie

Ernst Edler von Schuch war mit der Koloratursängerin Clementine von Schuch-Proska (geboren 12. Februar 1853 in Wien ; gestorben 8. Juni 1932 in Niederlößnitz) verheiratet. Das Paar hatte eine Tochter :

Elisabeth von Schuch (geboren 12. Dezember 1891 in Niederlößnitz ; gestorben 10. Januar 1990 in Dresden) , die spätere Opernsängerin und Ehrenbürgerin von Dresden.

...

Auf die Eltern Ernst und Clementine von Schuch folgten zwei weitere Generationen musisch begabter Nachkommen :

Ernst von Schuch (1846-1914) , Dirigent und Generalmusikdirektor verheiratet Clementine von Schuch-Proska (1850-1932) , Kammersängerin (Koloratursopranistin) .

Käthe von Schuch (1885-1973) , Sopranistin.

Hans von Schuch (1886-1963) , Cellist.

Clementine von Schuch (1921-2014) , Sopranistin.

Liesel von Schuch (1891-1990) , Kammersängerin (Koloratursopranistin) .

Orden

Sachsen

Zivilverdienstorden : Komtur I. Klasse (1912) .

Albrechts-Orden : Komtur II. Klasse (1891) .

Ritter I. Klasse (1878) .

Goldene Medaille Virtuti et ingenio am Band (1902) .

Carola-Medaille in Silber (1899) .

Goldene Medaille für Verdienste der Stadt Dresden (1898) .

Erinnerungsgedenkmünze an das 350-jährige Bestehen der Dresdner Hofkapelle (1899) .

Sächsischen HR (1882) .

Sächsischen Generalmusikdirektor (1889) .

Sachsen, vereinigte herzogliche Häuser

Herzoglich Sachsen-Ernestinischer Hausorden :

Komtur I. Klasse (1893) .

Ritter I. Klasse (1884) .

Sachsen-Weimar

Hausorden vom Weißen Falken : Kommandeur mit dem Stern.

Baden

Orden vom Zähringer Löwen : Kommandeur I. Klasse (1908) .

Bayern-Kurköln : Orden vom Heiligen Michaël : II. Klasse mit dem Stern (1896) .

Bayern

Verdienstorden der Bayerischen Krone : Großkomtur (1912) .

Lippe

Lippischer Hausorden : Ehrenkreuz III. Klasse (1876) .

Österreich-Ungarn

Franz-Joseph-Orden : Komtur mit dem Stern (1906) .

Ritter (1879) .

Orden der Eisernen Krone : Ritter III. Klasse (1886) .

Preußen

Roter Adlerorden : II. Klasse (1912) .

IV. Klasse (1882) .

Kronenorden (Preußen) : II. Klasse (1903) .

Niedrigere Klasse (1897) .

Württemberg

Friedrichs-Orden : Komtur I. Klasse (1906) .

Komtur II. Klasse (1896) .

Päpstlicher Stuhl

Gregoriusorden : Komtur (1898) .

Rumänien

Orden der Krone von Rumänien : Offizier (1888) .

Russland

Russischer Orden der Heiligen Anna : II. Klasse (1890) .

Schweden

Wasaorden : Ritter (1875) .

Serbien

Takovo-Orden : II. Klasse.

Siam

Weißer Elefantenorden : Komtur II. Klasse (1897) .

Spanien

Orden de Isabel la Católica : Komtur mit Stern (1908 oder 1909) .

Toskana

Zivilverdienstorden : Komtur (1877) .

...

GHR (1899) .

Preis

1898 : Nobilitierung (« Edler von ») .

1899 : Ehrenmitglied des Steiermärkischen Musikvereines.

Ehrungen

1879 : Ehrenmitglied des Tonkünstlervereins in Dresden.

1882 : Ehrenmitglied der Dreyssigschen Singakademie Dresden.

1889 : Ehrenmitglied des Dresdner Männergesangvereins.

1890 : Ehrenmitglied des Steiermärkischen Musikvereins.

1891 : Alter Herr im Deutschen Akademischen Gesangverein Graz.

1895 : Ehrenmitglied des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikervereins.

1900 : Ehrenmitglied der Berliner Liedertafel.

1903 : Ehrenmitglied des Österreichisch-Ungarischen Hilfsvereins Dresden.

1911 : Ehrenmitglied der American Philharmonic Academy.

Werke und andere Komposition

Korr. : G. Hanke Knaus, Richard Strauß.

Ernst von Schuch, Ein Briefwechsel, Bibliografie (1999) .

Nachlaß : Briefe vor allem im Richard-Strauß-Archiv, Garmisch, in der Richard-Strauß-Gesammelte, München, und in Familie besitz.

La « Staatskapelle » de Dresde

La « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » , plus communément appelé « Staatskapelle » de Dresde, est un Orchestre allemand basé dans la ville de Dresde. Fondé par le prince-électeur de Saxe, Maurice, le 22 novembre 1548, c'est un des plus anciens Orchestres du monde, si ce n'est le plus ancien. Il est aussi considéré comme l'un des plus prestigieux Orchestres européens.

La « Staatskapelle » de Dresde, comme son homonyme berlinois, remplit une double fonction : celle d'Orchestre d'Opéra en qualité d'orchestre attitré du « Semperoper » de Dresde, et celle d'Orchestre symphonique. La majorité de ses concerts ont lieu au « Semperoper » , quelques-uns à l'Église Notre-Dame de Dresde. Les enregistrements de l'Orchestre ont généralement lieu à l'Église Saint-Luc (« Lukaskirche ») de la ville. L'Orchestre philharmonique de Dresde, créé en 1870, joue lui au « Kulturpalast » .

À sa création, la « Hofkapelle » (Chapelle de la Cour) remplit essentiellement une fonction religieuse. C'est alors une formation vocale plus qu'instrumentale. Par la suite, sa composition et ses missions évoluent, avec le développement de l'Opéra au 18e siècle.

L'Orchestre a eu, au cours de son histoire, d'éminents chefs. Le nom de Heinrich Schütz est associé à ses 1res années, et ceux de Carl Maria von Weber et de Richard Wagner au 19e siècle. Avec ces 2 personnalités, Dresde et sa « Staatskapelle » jouent un rôle central dans la création de l'Opéra national allemand, à une époque où le genre est dominé en Allemagne par la musique italienne. Au 20e siècle, c'est en partie cette tradition qui est prolongée par la collaboration entre l'Orchestre et Richard Strauß, aussi bien en tant que chef d'orchestre que compositeur. Bon nombre de ses œuvres, surtout scéniques, ont été créées par la « Staatskapelle » de Dresde, et font depuis partie de la tradition de l'Orchestre. Karl Böhm, Rudolf Kempe et (moins fréquemment) Herbert von Karajan, 3 chefs particulièrement prestigieux et familiers de l'œuvre de Strauß, l'ont également dirigé au cours du 20e siècle. Herbert Blomstedt en a été le directeur musical, de 1975 à 1985. C'est avec lui que l'Orchestre a enregistré l'intégrale des 9 Symphonies de Ludwig van Beethoven.

Giuseppe Sinopoli en a été le chef jusqu'à sa mort brutale, en 2001. D'août 2002 à l'année 2004, c'est Bernard Haitink qui lui a succédé. Depuis, Fabio Luisi a été désigné « Generalmusikdirektor » . Il a pris officiellement ses fonctions, en août 2007. Entre-temps, Sir Colin Davis a reçu le titre d' « Ehrendirigent » (chef honoraire) . Christian Thielemann a succédé à Fabio Luisi, en 2012.

Directeurs musicaux successifs

Christian Thielemann (2012-) .

Fabio Luisi (2007-2012) .

Bernard Haitink (2002-2004) .

Giuseppe Sinopoli (1992-2001) .

Hans Vonk (1985-1990) .

Herbert Blomstedt (1975-1985) .

Martin Turnovský (1966-1968) .

Kurt Sanderling (1964-1967) .

Otmar Suitner (1960-1964) .

Lovro von Matačić (1956-1958) .

Franz Konwitschny (1953-1955) .

Rudolf Kempe (1949-1953) .

Joseph Keilberth (1945-1950) .

Karl Elmendorff (1943-1944) .

Karl Böhm (1934-1943) .

Fritz Busch (1922-1933) .

Fritz Reiner (1914-1921) .

Ernst von Schuch (1884-1914) .

Franz Wüllner (1877-1884) .

Julius Rietz (1874-1877) .

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The « Staatskapelle Dresden » (officially known in German as : the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden ») is an

Orchestra based in Dresden, Germany founded in 1548 by Kurfürst Moritz (Elector Moritz, or Maurice) of Saxony. It is one of the world's oldest Orchestras. The precursor ensemble was « Die Kurfürstlich-Sächsische und Königlich-Polnische Kapelle » (The Saxony Elector and Royal Polish Band) .

The Orchestra is the musical body of the « Sächsische Staatsoper » (Saxon State Opera) . Venue of the Orchestra is the « Semperoper » Opera House.

The Orchestra has had many eminent chief conductors. Heinrich Schütz was associated with it early in its existence, and, in the 19th Century, Carl Maria von Weber and Richard Wagner were both chief conductors.

In the 20th Century, Richard Strauß became closely associated with the Orchestra as both conductor and composer, which premiered several of his works. Karl Böhm and Hans Vonk were notable among the Orchestra's chief conductors in that they served as chief conductors of both the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » and the State Opera simultaneously. Herbert Blomstedt was musical director of the « Staatskapelle » , from 1975 to 1985.

In 1990, the « Staatskapelle » elected Colin Davis as its 1st (and so far only) « conductor laureate » , a position that he held until his death in 2013.

Giuseppe Sinopoli was chief conductor, from 1992 until his sudden death in 2001. Bernard Haitink replaced him in August 2002, but resigned in 2004 over disputes with the « Staatskapelle » 's Intendant, Gerd Uecker, on the Orchestra's choice of successor. In August 2007, Fabio Luisi began his tenure as chief conductor after having appointed as far back as January 2004. He shared with Böhm and Vonk the historic distinction of being chief conductor of both the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » and the « Sächsische Staatsoper » simultaneously. Luisi was scheduled to step down as chief conductor in 2012 in accord with the October 2009 announcement of Christian Thielemann as the Orchestra's next chief conductor, effective with the 2012-2013 season. But Luisi resigned as chief conductor of the « Staatskapelle » in February 2010, effective immediately, after reports that the management had secured a contract with the ZDF network for a scheduled televised concert on New Year's Eve 2011 without consulting him at all in his capacity as the Orchestra's « General Musik Direktor » .

The Orchestra has named Myung-Whun Chung as its 1st-ever principal guest-conductor, effective as of the 2012-2013 season.

In 2007, the Orchestra inaugurated the post of « Kapell-Compositeur » (or composer-in-residence) , each appointed composer holding the post for 1 concert season.

In April 2007, the European Cultural Foundation awarded the Orchestra a prize « zur Bewahrung des musikalischen Weltkulturerbes » (for preservation of the world's musical heritage) . In June 2011, the Orchestra was announced as the new resident Orchestra of the Salzburg Easter Festival, as of 2013.

« Kapellmeister » and Chief Conductors

1548-1554 : Johann Walter.

1555-1568 : Mattheus Le Maistre.

1568-1580 : Antonio Scandello.

1580-1584 : Giovanni Battista Pinelli.

1587-1619 : Rogier Michaël.

1615-1672 : Heinrich Schütz (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1654-1680 : Vincenzo Albrici.

1656-1680 : Giovanni Andrea Bontempi.

1666-1688 : Carlo Pallavicini.

1688-1700 : Nicolaus Adam Strungk (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1697-1728 : Johann Christoph Schmidt (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1717-1719 : Antonio Lotti.

1717-1729 : Johann David Heinichen.

1725-1733 : Giovanni Alberto Ristori.

1733-1763 : Johann Adolph Hasse (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1776-1801 : Johann Gottlieb Naumann (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1802-1806 : Ferdinando Paer (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1810-1841 : Francesco Morlacchi (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1816-1826 : Carl Maria von Weber (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1826-1859 : Carl Gottlieb Reißiger (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1843-1848 : Richard Wagner (« Hofkapellmeister ») .

1850-1880 : Carl August Krebs.

1874-1877 : Julius Rietz.

1877-1884 : Franz Wüllner.

1884-1914 : Ernst von Schuch.

1914-1921 : Fritz Reiner.

1922-1933 : Fritz Busch.

1934-1943 : Karl Böhm.

1943-1944 : Karl Elmendorff.

1945-1950 : Joseph Keilberth.

1949-1953 : Rudolf Kempe.

1953-1955 : Franz Konwitschny.

1956-1958 : Lovro von Matačić.

1960-1964 : Otmar Suitner.

1964-1967 : Kurt Sanderling.

1966-1968 : Martin Turnovský.

1975-1985 : Herbert Blomstedt.

1985-1990 : Hans Vonk.

1992-2001 : Giuseppe Sinopoli.

2002-2004 : Bernard Haitink.

2007-2010 : Fabio Luisi.

2012- : Christian Thielemann.

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The Dresden State Orchestra (its official name is « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » or Saxon State Orchestra

Dresden) is one of the oldest Orchestras in the world and is renowned for its special, well-blended sound.

The Dresden State Opera dates its founding to 1548 when the ruler, Elector Moritz, founded a « Hofkantorei » (Court Chorus) and brought in foreign musicians to augment it. Dresden came to possess one of the finest Royal musical establishments in Europe, under the leadership of such stellar names as Michaël Prætorius and Heinrich Schütz. Johann Adolf Hasse, « Kapellmeister » from 1734 to 1763, brought Dresden Opera to its highest-level during the Baroque.

Saxony's defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) required the Opera to be curtailed drastically. Elector Friedrich Augustus III realized that the Orchestra must be the nucleus if the Opera were ever to rebuild its prestige. Johann Gottlieb Naumann, director from 1776 to 1801, returned the « Kapelle » to the highest-standards of instrumental playing. By 1810, the Opera was again one of Europe's greatest.

The post-Napoleonic Congress of Vienna made Saxony a kingdom. In 1817, the director of the new Royal « Kapelle » founded a German Opera in addition the established Italian troupe. Under the leadership of Carl Maria von Weber, from 1817-1826, this company won the favour of the populace. The Italian company disbanded in 1832. « Kapellmeister » Karl Gottlieb Reissinger maintained high-standards, assisted by Richard Wagner until the later was exiled in 1849 for Revolutionary activities. Wagner premiered his « Rienzi », « Flying Dutchman » and « Tannhäuser » in Dresden's new Opera House, opened in 1841, designed by Gottfried Semper. Wagner called the Orchestra a « magic harp » that stimulated his ideas of orchestration and led it often in Symphony concerts.

The Orchestra presented its 1st concert series, in 1858. In 1869, the Royal Opera Theater burned down. When a new concert-hall, the « Gewerbehause », opened in 1870, the Orchestra gave its concerts there (along with the newly formed Dresden Philharmonic) until 1878, when a 2nd Semper-designed Opera House opened. The music-director of Opera and Orchestra, from 1882 to 1914, was Ernst von Schuch, who gave the premieres of Strauß' « Feuersnot », « Salome », « Elektra », and « Der Rosenkavalier » at the « Semperoper » .

After World War I, the Royal « Kapelle » became the « Sächsischer Staatsoper » and the « Sächsischer Staatskapelle » . The Orchestra remains the Orchestra of the Opera, which is still also called the « Semperoper » . In 1923, the Orchestra founded its own orchestral school under Fritz Busch (later under Karl Böhm) , now known as the State Academy for Music and Theater. The majority of musicians in the Orchestra are natives of the region and graduates of the school, a reason for the remarkable continuity of its special sound.

The 2nd Semper Opera House was destroyed by bombing, in 1945. After the War, the Orchestra and the Opera performed in temporary halls until 1948, when a City Theater was re-modeled and opened as the « Grosses Haus » of a State theater complex. Joseph Keilberth brought the Opera and the Orchestra both to their feet as music-director, from 1945 to 1950. His successors with the Orchestra included Rudolf Kempe, Lovro von Matačić, Othmar Suitner and Kurt Sanderling, while Rudolf Neuhaus was general music-director of the Opera. In 1975, Herbert Blomstedt became conductor of both the Orchestra and the Opera.

In 1985, the Opera and Orchestra, again, regained their own home when the replacement « Semperoper » (built on

Semper's plans for the 2nd house) finally opened with a performance of Weber's « Der Freischütz »). Under Giuseppe Sinopoli, its conductor from 1991 to 2001, the « Dresden Staatskapelle » continued its tradition of performance at the highest-level.

...

Founded by Prince Elector Moritz von Sachsen in 1548, it is one of the oldest Orchestras in the world and steeped in tradition. Over its long history, many distinguished conductors and internationally celebrated instrumentalists have left their mark on this one-time Court.

Previous directors include Heinrich Schütz, Johann Adolf Hasse, Carl Maria von Weber and Richard Wagner, who called the ensemble his « miraculous harp ». The list of prominent conductors of the last 100 years includes Ernst von Schuch, Fritz Reiner, Fritz Busch, Karl Böhm, Joseph Keilberth, Rudolf Kempe, Otmar Suitner, Kurt Sanderling, Herbert Blomstedt and Giuseppe Sinopoli.

...

The « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » (The Dresden State Orchestra of Saxony) celebrated its 450th Anniversary on 22 September 1998. Founded in 1548 by Elector Moritz of Saxony, it is not only one of the oldest Orchestras in the world and most rich in tradition, but it may well be the only one which has continuously played for more than 4 and a half Centuries and which, at the same time, has always been one of the leading Orchestras during various epochs. Heinrich Schütz already knew in the middle of the 17th Century that « it may shine forth and be praised as a light among Protestant chapels ». Jean-Jacques Rousseau characterised the Orchestra as « the one with the most balanced forces and the most perfect ensemble ».

In 1823, in one of Ludwig van Beethoven's conversation booklets is stated :

« It is generally said that the “ Dresden Hofkapelle ” is the best Orchestra in Europe. »

For Richard Wagner, it was a « miraculous harp », and Richard Strauß called it « the best Opera Orchestra in the world. » Seiji Ozawa, after recording « Salome », in 1991, said :

« This Orchestra is a dream. »

And, for Sir Colin Davis, it is « the most individual Orchestra ».

In addition to the stylistic variability, the technical standards, the culture of playing and the commitment, which comes from a love for music and the very specific spirit of the ensemble, it is primarily the character, distinctive in timbre, transparency and homogeneity of its sound, which has grown through tradition and has lived on through generations of musicians, which leads the public and the press throughout the world to speak, even today, of one of the greatest

Orchestras in the world.

Excellent Music Directors and internationally renowned instrumentalists have characterised what used to be the Court Orchestra and is today the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden ». Its conductors have include : Johann Walter, Heinrich Schütz, Johann Adolf Hasse, Carl Maria von Weber, Richard Wagner and Ernst von Schuch. Worthy of mention from the 20th Century are : Fritz Reiner, Fritz Busch, Karl Böhm, Joseph Keilberth, Rudolf Kempe, Franz Konwitschny, Otmar Suitner, Kurt Sanderling and Herbert Blomstedt. Giuseppe Sinopoli was the Chief Conductor from 1992 up to his sudden death, in April 2001. In the summer of 2002, Bernard Haitink took-over this position. Sir Colin Davis is Honorary Conductor. Richard Strauß was connected to the Orchestra, whose international reputation as the « Strauß Orchestra » continues until today, as composer, conductor and friend for more than 60 years ; 9 of his Operas were premiered in Dresden (including « Salome » , « Elektra » , and « Der Rosenkavalier ») and he dedicated the « Alpine Symphony » to the Dresden Orchestra.

The list of works premiered by the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » , or dedicated to it, is long : it ranges from Antonio Vivaldi, Richard Wagner, Robert Schumann, Franz Liszt, Richard Strauß, Paul Hindemith, Kurt Weill, Boris Blacher and others, to newer compositions by Zimmermann, Matthus, Rihm and Kantscheli. Many prominent guests have played with the Orchestra : composers such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Niccolò Paganini, Felix Mendelssohn, Robert Schumann, Franz Liszt, Hector Berlioz, Johannes Brahms, Igor Stravinsky, Witold Lutosławski, Hans Werner Henze ; the conductors : Herbert von Karajan, Carlos Kleiber, Wolfgang Sawallisch, Eugen Jochum, Seiji Ozawa, James Levine, Zubin Mehta, Lorin Maazel, André Prévin, Nikolaus Harnoncourt, John Eliot Gardiner, Christoph Eschenbach, Myung-Whun Chung, Daniele Gatti, Georges Prêtre, Kent Nagano, Fabio Luisi, Christian Thielemann and others.

An Opera Orchestra since the 1st 3rd of the 17th Century, the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » today disposes of a wide-ranging repertoire between the Baroque and the most modern, in the reconstructed Semper Opera House. It started by giving public concerts at the end of the 18th Century ; subscription concerts were introduced in 1858. The « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » members are dedicated, with a unique setting of idealistic goals, to a continuous maintenance of chamber music in the « Chamber Music of the Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » , which traces its roots back to the « Tonkünstler-Verein » , founded in 1854. At present, the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » plays about 50 Symphonic and chamber music concerts each season in the Semper Opera House. More than 50 members of the Orchestra teach as professors and lecturers at the « Carl Maria von Weber » College of Music.

The « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » regularly undertakes extensive tours to the musical centres of the world. Since 2000, they have given guest performances in Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan, the United States, Greece, Italy, Spain, France, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Poland and in all the major German cities. They have also participated in Festivals such as the Vienna and Berlin « Festwochen » , the Beethoven Festival in Bonn, the Salzburg Festival, the Schleswig-Holstein and the Rheingau Festivals, the Osaka Festival, the « Luzern Musikfestwochen » , the Edinburgh Festival and the London « Proms » .

The catalogue of albums released by the Orchestra since the 1920's lists a large number of recordings of the Symphonic and Opera repertoire with prominent guest-conductors.

Chief Conductor Bernard Haitink has been working continuously with the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » since 1989 for concerts in Dresden as well as on tour with a repertoire including : Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Franz-Josef Haydn, Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz Schubert, Carl Maria von Weber, Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Gustav Mahler, Richard Strauß, Igor Stravinsky, Piotr Ilitch Tchaïkovsky, Dmitri Shostakovich, Anton Webern and Béla Bartók. Together with the Orchestra, Haitink has recorded « Fidelio » for « Philips » ; « Der Rosenkavalier » for « EMI » ; and Beethoven's Piano Concertos for « Teldec » , with soloist András Schiff.

As Sponsor of the « Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden » , the « Dresdner Bank » , has supported important artistic projects of the Orchestra, since 1994.

...

Die Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden gilt als eines der führenden und traditionsreichsten Orchester der Welt. Sie wurde am 22. September 1548 im Auftrag des Kurfürsten Moritz von Sachsen von Johann Walter gegründet und gilt als einziges noch existierendes Orchester, das über mehr als viereinhalb Jahrhunderte hinweg ununterbrochen musiziert hat und zugleich (wie zeitgenössische Berichte belegen) stets zu den führenden Klangkörpern der verschiedenen Epochen gehörte. Herausragende Kapellmeister und international geschätzte Instrumentalisten haben die einstige Hof- und heutige Sächsische Staatskapelle seit ihrer Gründung geprägt. 2013 übernahm das Orchester unter Christian Thielemann die Bespielung der Salzburger Osterfestspiele.

Die Hofkapelle war das bedeutendste Musikensemble ihrer Zeit. Sie erreichte im 17. Jahrhundert unter Heinrich Schütz ihre erste Blüte, aber am Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges auch einen Tiefstand.

Die Kurfürstlich-Sächsische und Königlich-Polnische Kapelle bestand zwischen 1697 und 1756 unter der Herrschaft von Friedrich August I. und seinem Sohn Friedrich August II. Die damalige Bezeichnung des Ensembles hatte ihren Grund darin, daß beide Herrscher (mit kleineren Unterbrechungen) nicht nur Kurfürsten von Sachsen waren, sondern auch als Könige über Polen herrschten.

Am sächsischen Hof zu Dresden stand die Hofmusik vor allem unter den Kurfürsten Johann Georg II. (1656-1680) und Johann Georg III. (1680-1691) schon in hoher Blüte. Doch im Zeichen des Hochbarock erlebte sie einen weiteren Aufschwung. 1697, im Jahr der Königskrönung von Friedrich August, war das Deputat der Hofmusik zwar im Vergleich mit 1691 von über 15000 Talern auf nur mehr knapp 7600 Taler zusammengestrichen worden, steigerte sich dann aber über fast 17000 Taler bis 1719 sogar auf 26400 Taler. Darin enthalten ist allerdings auch der Etat für die nach Friedrich Augusts Konversion notwendig gewordene katholische Hofkirchenmusik. Kapellmeister war Johann Christoph Schmidt, der anfänglich immerhin schon über 31 Musiker (Kapellknaben mitgerechnet) verfügen konnte.

Als Glücksfall erwies sich die 1709 erfolgte Verpflichtung des Violinisten Jean-Baptiste Volumier zum Konzertmeister, dem das stolze Jahresgehalt von 1200 Talern zugesprochen wurde. 1712 wurde der junge aufstrebende Violinist Johann Georg Pisendel eingestellt, 1715 der damals bereits hochberühmte Pantalonist Hebenstreit, 1716 als zweiter Kapellmeister Johann David Heinichen, 1717 als dritter Antonio Lotti. Dazu kamen u.a. dessen Frau, die Sopranistin

Santa Stella, der Kastrat Francesco Bernardi, genannt « Senesino » (für ein Gehalt von 70.000 Talern) und der italienische Violinvirtuose Francesco Maria Veracini. Während der längeren Krankheit Heinrichens bis zu seinem Tod im Jahr 1729 vertrat ihn der Komponist Jan Dismas Zelenka in seiner Funktion als Kapellmeister der Kurfürstlich-Sächsischen und Königlich-Polnischen Kapelle.

1716-1717 wurde Pisendel nach Italien geschickt, um sich über den neuesten Stand der Violinkunst zu informieren. Dort lernte er vor allem Antonio Vivaldi kennen, dessen Musik er sehr bewunderte. Am Hof zu Dresden betrachtete man sich damit allmählich für die anstehenden Vermählungsfeierlichkeiten des Thronfolgers mit der österreichischen Erzherzogin Maria Josepha gerüstet.

Nach 1763 nun wieder kurfürstlich-sächsische Kapelle wurde aus dieser ab 1807 die Königlich-sächsische musikalische Kapelle und nach 1918 die Sächsische Staatskapelle. In der DDR-Zeit wurde sie « Staatskapelle Dresden » oder auch « Dresdner Staatskapelle » genannt und erhielt erst nach der Wende ihren heutigen Namen.

Die öffentliche Konzerttätigkeit des Orchesters begann gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts ; Abonnementskonzerte wurden 1858 eingeführt.

Die Sächsische Staatskapelle ist seit dem ersten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts Opernorchester - bis 1945 und nach der Wiedereröffnung 1985 spielt sie in der Semperoper.

Von 1992 bis zu seinem plötzlichen Tod am 20. April 2001 stand Giuseppe Sinopoli an der Spitze des Orchesters. Anschließend übernahm 2002 Bernard Haitink interimsmäßig die Position des Chefdirigenten, verließ jedoch im Jahr 2004 vorzeitig das Orchester. Sein letztes Konzert als Chefdirigent gab er im November 2004 im Rahmen einer « Tournée » in Wien. Im September 2007 übernahm Fabio Luisi, Chefdirigent der Wiener Symphoniker, die Position des Generalmusikdirektors. Seit der Spielzeit 2012-2013 wurde Christian Thielemann für vorerst sieben Jahre zum neuen Chefdirigenten verpflichtet.

Pro Saison gibt die Sächsische Staatskapelle heute 12 bis 15 Sinfonie- und Sonderkonzerte und spielt bei sämtlichen Opernproduktionen, also nahezu täglich. Zu den Sonderkonzerten zählen Konzerte in der Frauenkirche sowie spezielle Aufführungsabende. Außerdem gibt es Matineen und Jugendprojekte.

Die Komponistin Isabel Mundry erhielt in der Saison 2007-2008 den Titel Capell-Compositrice, die Reihe (bei Männern : Capell-Compositeur) wurde mit Bernhard Lang, Rebecca Saunders, Johannes Maria Staud, Lera Auerbach, Hans Werner Henze und Wolfgang Rihm fortgesetzt ; in der Saison 2014-2015 hat Sofia Gubaidulina den Titel inne. Die Staatskapelle ist Mitglied im KlangNetz Dresden.

Am 26. April 2007 erhielt die Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden im « Palais Beaux-Arts » in Brüssel den erstmals von der Europäischen Kulturstiftung ehrenhalber verliehenen « Preis für die Bewahrung des musikalischen Weltkulturerbes »

Seit der Saison 2013 ist die Sächsische Staatskapelle das Orchestra in Residence der Salzburger Osterfestspiele, als

Nachfolgerin der Berliner Philharmoniker. Alljährlich stehen in Salzburg eine Opernproduktion und mehrere Orchesterkonzerte auf dem Programm. Die Osterfestspiele stehen seit 2013 unter der Leitung von Christian Thielemann, der auch die meisten Salzburger Programmpunkte dirigiert.

Konzerttourneen führten die Sächsische Staatskapelle bislang in verschiedene deutsche Städte, nach Japan, in die Schweiz, die Niederlande, Österreich, Großbritannien, Spanien, in die USA, Griechenland, Ungarn, Frankreich, Abu Dhabi und Hongkong sowie zu den Festivals in Luzern, Edinburgh, London Proms, Salzburg, Prag, Bukarest und auf die Kanarischen Inseln.

Neben der eigentlichen Orchestertätigkeit wird von Orchestermittgliedern auch die Kammermusik der Sächsischen Staatskapelle gepflegt, die auf den 1854 gegründeten Tonkünstler-Verein zurückgeht.

Bekannte Kapellmeister und Dirigenten

450 Jahre Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden : Sonderbriefmarke von 1998.

Die wichtigsten Kapellmeister und Dirigenten im Laufe der Geschichte der Kapelle :

Johann Walter (1548-1554) .

Mattheus Le Maistre (1555-1568) .

Antonio Scandello (1568-1580) .

Giovanni Battista Pinello di Ghirardi (1580-1584) .

Rogier Michaël (1587-1619) .

Heinrich Schütz (« Henricus Sagittarius ») (1615-1672, Hofkapellmeister) .

Vincenzo Albrici (1654-1680) .

Giovanni Andrea Bontempi (1656-1680) .

Carlo Pallavicini (1666-1688) .

Nicolaus Adam Strungk (1688-1700, Hofkapellmeister) .

Johann Christoph Schmidt (1697-1728, Hofkapellmeister) .

Antonio Lotti (1717-1719) .

Johann David Heinichen (1717-1729) .

Jan Dismas Zelenka (Vertreter Heinichens, erfolglos als Hofkapellmeister beworben) .

Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1725-1733 Vertreter Heinichens, erfolglos als Hofkapellmeister beworben, ab 1750 Vizekapellmeister unter Hasse) .

Johann Adolph Hasse (1733-1763, Hofkapellmeister) .

Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1776-1801, Hofkapellmeister) .

Ferdinando Paer (1802-1806, Hofkapellmeister) .

Francesco Morlacchi (1810-1841, Hofkapellmeister) .

Carl Maria von Weber (1816-1826, Hofkapellmeister) .

Carl Gottlieb Reißiger (1826-1859, Hofkapellmeister) .

Richard Wagner (1843-1848, Hofkapellmeister) .

Carl August Krebs (1850-1880) .

Julius Rietz (1860-1877, Hofkapellmeister) .

Franz Wüllner (1877-1882, Hofkapellmeister) .

Ernst von Schuch (1872-1914, Hofkapellmeister, ab 1889 General Musik Direktor) .

Hermann Kutzschbach (1898-1936) .

Kurt Striegler (1886-1958) .

Karl Pembaur (Kapellmeister 1913-1939) .

Fritz Reiner (1914-1921) .

Fritz Busch (1922-1933)

Karl Böhm (1934-1942) .

Karl Elmendorff (1943-1944) .

Joseph Keilberth (1945-1950) .

Rudolf Kempe (1950-1953) .

Franz Konwitschny (1953-1955) .

Lovro von Matačić (1956-1958) .

Otmar Suitner (1960-1964) .

Kurt Sanderling (1964-1967) .

Martin Turnovsky (1967-1968) .

Herbert Blomstedt (1975-1985) .

Hans Vonk (1985-1990) .

Giuseppe Sinopoli (1992-2001) .

Bernard Haitink (2002-2004) .

Fabio Luisi (2007-2012) .

Christian Thielemann (ab 2012-2013) .

Ehrendirigent ab 1991 : Sir Colin Davis (gestorben 2013) .

In neuerer Zeit wurde das Orchester auch von Carlos Kleiber, Georges Prêtre, Sir John Eliot Gardiner, Daniele Gatti, Herbert von Karajan, Myung-Whun Chung, Kent Nagano, Charles Dutoit, Daniel Harding, Nikolaus Harnoncourt, Sylvain Cambreling und Michail Pletnjow dirigiert.

Mitglieder der sächsischen Staatskapelle, die teilweise auch solistisch auftreten, waren :

Geiger

Carlo Farina (1626-1629, Konzertmeister) .

Johann Jakob Walther (1674-1680, Konzertmeister) .

Johann Paul von Westhoff (1674-1697) .

Jean-Baptiste Volumier (Woulmyer) (ab 1709) .

Johann Georg Pisendel (1712-1755, Konzertmeister) .

Francesco Maria Veracini (1717-1722, Konzertmeister) .

Karol Lipiński (1840-1861, Konzertmeister) .

François Schubert (1861-1878, Konzertmeister) .

Johann Christoph Lauterbach (1861-?) (Konzertmeister) .

Theo Bauer (1898-1939) .

Henri Petri (1853-1914, Konzertmeister) .

Gambist

Carl Friedrich Abel (1748-1757) .

Cellist

Justus Johann Friedrich Dotzauer (1811-1850) .

Friedrich August Kummer (ab 1817) .

Friedrich Wilhelm Grützmacher.

Rudolf Kratina (1916-1938) .

Karl Hesse (bis 1945) .

Peter Bruns.

Jan Vogler (Konzertmeister 1984-1997) .

Isang David Enders (Konzertmeister) .

Kontrabassist

Constantin Christian Dedekind (1666-1675, Konzertmeister) .

Jan Dismas Zelenka (1719-1745) .

Lautenist

Silvius Leopold Weiss (1718-1750) .

Pantaleonist

Pantaleon Hebenstreit (1714-1733) .

Flötist

Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin (1714-1749) .

Johann Joachim Quantz (1728-1741) .

Anton Bernhard Fürstenau (1819-1852) .

Moritz Fürstenau (1845-1889) .

Eckart Haupt.

Oboist

François le Riche.

Johann Christian Richter.

Klarinettist

Johann Gottlieb Kotte (um 1817) .

Hornist

Anton Joseph Hampel (ab 1750) .

Josef Rudolf Lewy (1837-1851) .

Peter Damm (1969-2002) .

Posaunist

Antonio Scandello (1549-1580) .

Carbonio Besozzi (ab 1549) .

Alois Bambula (1934-1982) .

Werner Beyer (1952-1985) .

Stefan Fritzen (1973-1980) .

Tubist

Heinz Forker (1934-1967) .

Paukist

Heinrich Knauer (1879-1947) .

...

Der Staatskapelle wurden verschiedene Werke gewidmet, andere wurden von ihr uraufgeführt. Dazu zählen Werke von Vivaldi über Wagner, Schumann, Liszt, Strauß, Hindemith, Weill, Blacher und andere bis zu neueren Kompositionen von Geißler, Kochan, Zimmermann, Matthus, Rihm, Kantscheli und Ruzicka.

Besonders Richard Strauß war dem Klangkörper, der heute international oft noch als « Strauß-Orchester » betrachtet wird, über 60 Jahre als Komponist, Dirigent und Freund verbunden, insbesondere seinem « Leibdirigenten » Schuch, der ihn beförderte ; neun seiner Opern wurden in Dresden uraufgeführt (darunter Salome, Elektra und Der Rosenkavalier) . Die Alpensinfonie widmete er der Dresdner Kapelle.

Die Diskographie des Orchesters weist seit Anfang der 1920er Jahre eine Vielzahl von Aufnahmen des sinfonischen und des Opernrepertoires mit renommierten Dirigenten aus. Im Studio der Lukaskirche in Dresden entstanden zahlreiche Aufnahmen für das DDR-Label Eterna, auch heute wird die Kirche für Aufnahmen der Staatskapelle genutzt. Mit dem Preis ECHO Klassik wurde 2007 eine Edition von Hänssler gewürdigt, die archivierte Opern- und Konzertmitschnitte aus frühen Schallplattenzeiten bis heute dem Publikum wieder zugänglich machte. Daneben war und ist die Staatskapelle weiterhin Vertragspartner großer Plattenlabel.

...

27 décembre 1885 : Décès à Linz, à l'âge de 65 ans, de Marie Freiin von Czerny, la Baronne Zobel (Zobel-Giebelstadt-Friesenhausen) .

Marie von Czerny est née le 21 août 1820. Elle épouse Franz-Josef Karl Cyrillus von Czerny. À 37 ans, elle met au monde une fille, Hedwig, qui épousera Thomas Hranac, fils de Alois Hranac.

Franz Josef Karl Cyrillus von Czerny est né le 30 mars 1816 à Vienne et est mort le 28 octobre 1890 à Vienne. Il était le fils de Franz Seraph Stefan von Czerny et d'Elisabeth von Czerny. Son frère était Franz Czerny.

31 décembre 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à la Baronne Marie Anna Lederer (Amstetten) , la fille de Marie Freiin von Czerny.

« Highly-Honoured Baroness Marie Anna !

I am so deeply and profoundly moved that it is barely possible for me to arrange words of comfort and condolence. Allow me to say, “ Fräulein ”, only that I ask God that He grant you the needed strength in this most grievous sorrow.

Yesterday, like the day before, a holy Mass was read at the “ Schottenkirche ” in her highly-blessed memory !

Those were my obsequies.

May the New Year assuage your greatest sorrow.

I send my sincere condolences to all of the ladies of your noble family.

Sorrowfully, I kiss your hand.

Your mourning friend,

Anton Bruckner »

Incipit : « Selbst aufs Tiefste ergriffen ist es ... »

Source : Franz Gräflinger, lettre n° 58 ; pages 66-67.

Baronne Marie Anna Lederer

Baroness Marie Anna Lederer was the wife of Baron Lederer of Amstetten.

This letter concerns the death of her mother Marie von Czerny, born Baroness Zobel, who died on December 27, 1885, in Linz. Baroness Lederer appeared to be pleasantly surprised that Bruckner had written his letter to her already on December.

Marie von Czerny died in Linz, a place that Bruckner knew and loved ; he would have known Baroness Lederer as a young girl and probably still pictured her thus ; and, so, he addresses her as « Fräulein » in the letter of condolence. It was not unlike him to be attracted to young girls in his quest for a wife, although he always knew his place and was circumspect.

Zur Genealogie der Freiherren Zobel von Gieselstadt und Darstadt

Thomas Friedrich Freiherr Zobel von Gieselstadt zu Darstadt, Feldmarschall-Lieutenant und Kämmerer, Ritter des

kaiserlichen Leopold-Ordens, Inhaber des 61. Infanterie-Regiments (1799-1869) .

Die Zobel sind eine alte fränkische Familie, deren ältere 1238 mit dem Würzburger Canonicus Adalbert von Zobelstein erloschene Linie das Unterschenkenamt des Herzogthums Franken besaß. Die jüngere Linie, die Zobel von Giebelstadt, blüht noch heute in drei Zweigen. I : von Giebelstadt ; II : Darstadt ; und III : Friesenhausen. Die Zobel sind ein bei allen Hochstiftern des weiland römisch-deutschen Reiches, sowie bei allen Ritterorden häufig aufgeschworne und zu den reichsritterschaftlichen Cantonen in Franken gehöriger Adel. Die Sproßen desselben zählen Kirchenfürsten, Würdenträger des Staates und der Armee in ihren Reihen. Ein Melchior Zobel von Guttenberg war Bischof von Würzburg und fand in den Grumbach'schen Händeln 1558 einen gräßlichen Tod durch Mörderhand, ein Hans Georg starb 1518 als Bischof von Bamberg ; Andere dieses Geschlechtes bekleideten die Würden von geheimen Räten, Kämmerern und Amtsmännern an verschiedenen Aemtern des Herzogthums Franken ; zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart erscheinen zahlreiche Sproßen dieses Hauses in den Reihen der kaiserlichen Armee, unter denen der General und Maria Theresien-Ordensritter Thomas Friedrich Freiherr von Zobel seinen Namen in die Gedenkblätter der österreichischen Kriegsgeschichte in ruhmvollster Weise einzeichnete. Bei Entstehung des Landes-Unterkammeramtes des ehemaligen Herzogthums Franken wurde die Familie für immerwährende Zeiten damit belehnt, und ist dasselbe Seniorat. Die Familie wurde siehe dies in Oktober 1818 bei der Freiherrnklasse der königlich bayrischen Adelsmatrikel eingetragen. Durch Heiraten ebensowohl der männlichen wie der weiblichen Sproßen des Hauses ist dasselbe mit den besten und ältesten Familien des deutschen und seit Beginn des laufenden Jahrhunderts auch des österreichischen Adels versippt, und wir finden und andere die Namen der Echter von Mespelbrunn, Gemingen, Neipperg, Greiffenclau von Vollraths, Berlichingen, Schertel von Burtenbach, Speth von Zwyzalten, Stetten, Schenk von Stauffenberg, Stadion, Reischach, Spannoch, Feretti di Rocco, Traun, Redwitz, Thüngen, Zamoyki, Bothmer in (215) den Stammtafeln vertreten.

Johann Christian Hellbach, ab 1819 von Hellbach. Adelslexikon oder Handbuch über die historischen genealogischen Nachrichten vom hohen und niederen Adel besonders in den deutschen Bundesstaaten und so weiter (Ilmenau 1826, B. F. Voigt, 8°.) Seite 829, mit Angaben zahlreicher Quellen.

...

Die Familie von Zobel, später auch Zobel von Giebelstadt, ist ein schwäbisch-fränkisches Adelsgeschlecht mit vormaligen Besitzungen im Ritterkanton Odenwald. Der Stammsitz Giebelstadt für diesen Zweig der Familie ist heute ein Markt im unterfränkischen Landkreis Würzburg.

Schon früh wurde der Familie das Unterkammereramt im Hochstift Würzburg übertragen. Andreas Zobel von Giebelstadt kaufte vom Landgrafen Johann von Leuchtenberg die Herrschaft Lobenhausen mit Burg und verschrieb ihm im Jahre 1398 daraufhin die Öffnung. Etwa zur selben Zeit erhielt Hans Zobel von Giebelstadt vom Kurfürsten Rupprecht III. von der Pfalz, die Schirmgerechtigkeit der Kessler zu Lehen, die vorher Dieter Zobel von Giebelstadt besaß. Einen weiteren Hans Zobel von Giebelstadt belehnte der Abt von Fulda 1440 mit dem gesamten Burgsitz zu Retzstadt. Bereits 1483 verkaufte Andreas Zobel von Giebelstadt den Sitz wieder. Melchior Zobel von Giebelstadt wurde am 19. August 1544 zum Bischof von Würzburg erwählt und starb, vermutlich ermordet, während der Grumbachschen Fehden am 15. April 1558. Johann Georg I. Zobel von Giebelstadt war von 1577 bis 1580 Bischof von Bamberg.

1596 erfolgte die Teilung in die Linien zu Giebelstadt und zu Darstadt und Messelhausen.

In Goßmannsdorf am Main, heute ein Stadtteil von Ochsenfurt, herrschten die Zobel von Giebelstadt als Ganerben über das Dorf, das heißt sie teilten sich den Besitz gemeinschaftlich mit den Geyer von Giebelstadt und dem Würzburger Domkapitel.

In der bayerischen Adelsmatrikel waren 1818 noch zwei Linien des Geschlechts, der Giebelstädter Zweig und der Giebelstadt-Dorfstätter Zweig, bei der Freiherrenklasse eingetragen. Der Freiherrenstand war durch Lehensbriefe nachgewiesen

Während des 18. bis Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts waren die Herren Zobel von Giebelstadt wegen des Besitzes beziehungsweise Teilbesitzes von Baiertal, Balbach, Darstadt, Giebelstadt, Großmannsdorf, Guttenberg mit Schloß Guttenberg, Herchsheim, Messelhausen mit Schloß und Kloster Messelhausen, Osthausen, Segnitz, Lipprichhausen und Rüttschdorf, Mitglied der Reichsritterschaft im Ritterkanton Odenwald des fränkischen Ritterkreises. Außerdem waren Angehörige der Familie im Ritterkanton Altmühl, Baunach und Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts auch im Ritterkanton Rhön-Werra immatrikuliert. Wegen der als Erbschaft von der Familie Thüngen erhaltenen Anteile an Freudental wurden sie von 1717 bis 1727 und von 1727 bis 1770 als Personalisten im Ritterkanton Kocher des schwäbischen Ritterkreises geführt.

1808 fielen Messelhausen, Balbach und Rüttschdorf an das Großherzogtum Baden, Giebelstadt an das Großherzogtum Würzburg und Lipprichshausen an das Königreich Bayern.

2002 geriet Schloß Giebelstadt in die Schlagzeilen, als eine Versteigerung historischer Gegenstände aus dem Schloß angekündigt worden war. Das Landratsamt Würzburg ordnete unter Federführung des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege an, daß 64 Objekte im Giebelstädter Schloß bleiben müßen. Die Verschuldung der Familie führte dazu, daß die vierflügelige Schlossanlage der Zobel im Zentrum von Giebelstadt schließlich am 19. Februar 2008 in Würzburg auf Antrag der Raiffeisenbank Ochsenfurt zwangsversteigert wurde. Der neue Schlossbesitzer Walter Konrad ist in Giebelstadt geboren und gründete im Jahr 1980 im US-Bundesstaat Texas ein Unternehmen für Jalousien.

...

A delightful story his linked to the origin of Anton Bruckner's « Te Deum ». When rehearsing for the 1885 performance in Vienna, the conductor Hans Richter stepped-down from the podium with tears of rapture in his eyes, embraced Bruckner and exclaimed :

« The only other person who could have written that was Beethoven ! »

But Bruckner said candidly :

« And did you know, “ Herr Hofkapellmeister ”, it isn't really by me at all ! »

Seeing Richter's surprise and bafflement, he went on eagerly :

« Yes, that isn't by me but by Spohr ! And do you know how it happened ? It was like this : I'm lying in bed one night and, in a dream, Spohr comes in and says to me : “ Bruckner, get-up and write this down ! ” Then, I woke-up and I really did write it down. Now, tell me : is it by me or by Spohr ? »

Hans Richter conducted the 1st performance with full-orchestra on **10 January 1886**, in the « Großer Musikvereinsaal » of Vienna.

...

31 décembre 1885 : Lettre de Anton Bruckner (Vienne) à Carl Ferdinand Pohl (Vienne) .

« Honourable Sir !

I wish, you a Happy New Year from my heart ! May these few items of data be sufficient ! I ask for your customary good will and remain with respect,

Yours truly,

Anton Bruckner

N.B. : The 7th Symphony is to be performed in March. I have composed 3 grand Masses. No. 1 in D, dated 1864. Performed under my direction in the same year, at the end of November, in Linz Cathedral for Saint-Cecilia's Day ; and, again, on December 6 of the same year, in the Linz “ Redoutensaal ”, in a “ concert spirituel ” also conducted by me. Then, in Linz Cathedral, on January 6, 1868, once again under my direction. In February, 1867, Herbeck conducted the same Mass for the 1st time, in the Court Chapel (Vienna) . I conducted the repeat performances in the Court Chapel. The 2nd Mass, in E minor, is in part an 8 part vocal Mass with wind accompaniment. Composed, I believe, in 1866. Dedicated to Bishop Rüdiger ; performed under my direction at the consecration of the Votive Chapel in the new Cathedral in Linz, September 29, 1869. Performed the 2nd time by the “ Musikverein ” in Linz, under Schreier's direction, on October 4, 1885. The 3rd Mass, in F (minor) , also composed in Linz, in 1868. Performed for the 1st time in June, 1872 (the 16th, I believe) , in the “ Augustiner ” Church (Vienna) , under my own direction, with large choir and large orchestra, as has not happened again, since then. (Government Councillor Hanslick wrote splendidly about it and advocated a grand concert performance.) It is dedicated to the late Court Councillor Imhof. On December 8, 1872, the 1st time in the Court Chapel ; often performed there since. I directed ail of the performances. In addition to these Masses, I wrote a cantata for the laying of the corner-stone of Linz Cathedral, in 1862. Furthermore, graduals, offertories (vocal) , etc. Before my studies, together with smaller interludes, “ Tantum Ergo ”, and so forth, I wrote a Mass in B-flat for the investiture of the Monastery Prelate Maier at Saint-Florian, in 1854. In 1849, a “ Requiem ” in D

minor for my late patron Sailer (monastery official) ; in the same year, performed at Saint-Florian, in September, and on Founders Day, in Kremsmünster (December 11, 1849) .

Incipit : « Wünsche von Herzen gates neues Jahr ! »

Source : Max Auer, lettre n° 175 ; pages 199-200.

Carl Ferdinand Pohl (1819-1884) : German music scholar (music historian) , organist, composer, and teacher. From 1863 to 1866, he lived in London, where he did research for the British Museum. The resulting book is entitled : « Mozart and Haydn in London » and is still of use today because of its accuracy and attention to detail. From 1866 on, he was Archivist for the « Gesellschaft Musikfreunde » , in Vienna. His biography of Franz-Josef Haydn (1732-1809) remains valuable to all serious biographers of Haydn.

November 22nd is the Feast of Saint-Cecilia, patroness of music.

Johann von Herbeck (1831-1877) : Composer, conductor of the « Hofoper » in Vienna, « Hofkapellmeister » , and one of the most prominent personages in the musical life of Vienna during Bruckner's time, there. His 1st music post was as Choir-Master at the « Piaristenkirche » , in Vienna, beginning in 1852. Successively, he was Choir-Master of the « Männergesangverein » , then, teacher at the Conservatory and director of the Choral Society of the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » . He conducted concerts for the « Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde » for 2 different periods and, finally, became a member of Emperor Franz-Josef's « Hofkapelle » , where he became « Kapellmeister » , in 1866. He directed the Vienna Court Opera, from 1870 to 1875, but declined to become conductor of the Dresden Opera, in 1877. He recognized Bruckner's talent and was responsible for his appointment as professor of counterpoint at the Vienna Conservatory.

Adalbert Schreyer (1850-1925) : « Kapellmeister » in 3 cities in succession ; Choir-Master of the « Männergesangverein " Sängerbund " » .

Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) : Critic scholar, « philologist » . Unnecessarily unkind to Bruckner in his critical evaluations of Bruckner's work.

Anton Ritter von Imhof-Geißlinghof (1816-1872) : Privy Councillor and Chancellery Director in the Supreme Court Council.

Friedrich Theophil Mayer (1793-1858) : Provost at Saint-Florian's Monastery, from 1854.

...

1885-1886 : 25 représentations de la 7e Symphonie de Bruckner sont données en Allemagne ; et c'est sans compter les exécutions en Autriche et aux États-Unis durant cette même période.

Anton Bruckner presse l'éditeur viennois Theodor Rättig de publier 4 de ses graduels : le « Christus factus est » n° 3 (**WAB 11**) ; le « Locus iste » (**WAB 23**) ; le « Os Justi » (**WAB 30**) ; et le « Virga Jesse floruit » (**WAB 52**) .