The Early Social and Musical Environment of Gustav Mahler

by

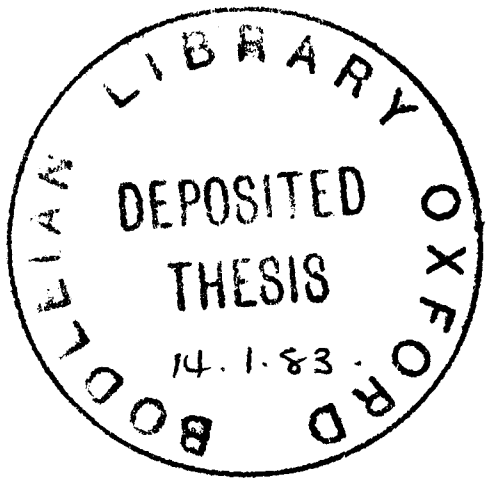
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D. Phil.

Trinity 1980

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis attempts to illuminate some aspects of the most obscure period of Mahler's life by setting the known biographical facts into a broader social and musical framework. It concentrates not on Mahler himself, but on the environment in which he lived and worked as a child and youth.

The opening chapter is a brief study of Mahler's background and childhood: the position of Jews in Austria during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the unusual ethnomusicological features of Mahler's early environment and musical life in Iglau during the 1870s.

The remaining five chapters are concerned with Mahler's three years of study at the Vienna Conservatoire and the works he composed before and during his years as a student there. Previously neither the courses he attended at the Conservatoire nor the musicians he encountered have been the subject of serious scholarly attention and much new information about the nature of the composer's early studies and the music his contemporaries were writing has been assembled. In particular, the influence of one student, Hans Rott, on Mahler's mature compositions is examined in detail.

This wide-ranging approach provides the basis for a fruitful re-examination of Mahler's early output, both lost and extant works. It leads to the identification of what may be a previously unrecognised orchestral work by Mahler, and to a re-assessment of the currently accepted dating of some of his early compositions.

The appendices include lists of works by Franz Krenn, Mathilde von Kralik and Richard von Kralik, and a catalogue of works by Hans Rott, together with biographical notes on the non-musicians among Mahler's Viennese friends, and transcriptions and reproductions of unpublished compositions by Franz Krenn, Rudolf Krzyzanowski and Anton Krisper.

Preface

Pride of place must go to my wife who has not merely succoured and suffered me during this study's protracted birth-pangs, but has also materially assisted in its genesis, helping to gather the source material and offering many suggestions. To her, my thanks.

Secondly I must record my sincere gratitude to the many scholars who by their example, encouragement and help, rendered me invaluable service. In particular, Dr Gerald Abraham, Mr Jack Diether, Baron Henry-Louis de La Grange and Hofrat Dr Franz Grasberger have gone out of their way to place essential material at my disposal. Apart from providing similar bibliographical assistance, two colleagues, Dr Donald Mitchell and Mr David Matthews have, through their patient listening and perceptive commentary, not only clarified my own thoughts, but also contributed some of their own which are appropriately acknowledged in the text. Their unfailingly enlightening and enthusiastic discussion of Mahlerian matters has been a continual source of encouragement. Last-mentioned, but by no means least, is my indebtedness to Dr Hugh Macdonald who, through his perceptive criticism has sought to encourage succinctness of thought and language, correctness of orthography and punctuation, and clarity of presentation.

By its very nature, this study relies heavily on the help offered by numerous European and American libraries and archives, the staff of which have unhesitatingly offered their assistance:

Internationalen Zeitungsmuseums Aachen

Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, East Berlin

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North Texas State University Library, Denton

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Bibliotheque municipale, Mulhouse

Osborne Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven

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Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, New York Public Library, Lincoln Centre, New York

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Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Vienna

Internationale Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft, Vienna

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Goethe und Schiller Archiv, Weimar

Hochschule für Musik 'Franz Liszt', Weimar

Staatsarchiv, Weimar.

To all, and to all the other individuals who have helped, I offer my thanks.

I owe one final debt of gratitude: to Mrs Kate Collins, for her painstaking preparation of this typescript.

N.B. An asterisk in the left hand margin indicates that additional information or an emendation may be found in volume II under 'Addenda and corrigenda'.

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Introduction

In his *Essay on Shelley*[1], Robert Browning draws a useful distinction between what he called objective and subjective poets. The former might more justly be called the fashioner, for he strives to

> reproduce things external (whether the phenomena of the scenic universe, or the manifested action of the human heart and brain) with an immediate reference, in every case, to the common eye and apprehension of his fellow man . . .

This he achieves

> through the poet's double faculty of seeing external objects more clearly, widely, and deeply, than is possible to the average mind, at the same time that he is so acquainted and in sympathy with its narrower comprehension as to be careful to supply it with no other materials than it can combine into an intelligible whole . . .

Knowledge of such an artist's life, Browning argues, is not without interest but it is not essential for the understanding or enjoyment of his creative work.

The opposite is true of the subjective poet, whose sphere of creative activity is memorably described by Browning (despite the fact that he considered himself to be of the objective type):

1) *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley with an introductory Essay by Robert Browning*, London, 1852./Unknown to Browning, the letters were forgeries and were subsequently withdrawn./

> He, gifted like the objective poet with a fuller perception of nature and man, is impelled to embody the thing he perceives, not so much with reference to the many below as to the one above him, the supreme intelligence which apprehends all things in their absolute truth . . . Not what man sees but what God sees - the *ideas* of Plato . . . it is towards these that he struggles. Not with the combination of humanity in action, but with the primal elements of humanity he has to do; and he digs where he stands, - preferring to seek them in his own soul . . . He is rather a seer, accordingly than a fashioner, and what he produces will be less a work than an effluence.

In the case of such a creative artist, therefore, an appreciation of his life and personality is a prerequisite for a complete understanding of the content of his work.

Inevitably, such a typology is not always easily or even usefully applied to composers. Such is the case with Richard Strauss: much that appears on the surface to be autobiographical is in fact evidence only of the persona Strauss wished to create, and no reflection of his true self at all. Only on a deeper level might a biographer delve further into Strauss' life in order to uncover the impulses that inspired this myth-making process. Mahler, on the other hand, is aptly and illuminatingly characterised by Browning's description of a subjective poet, and it is in Browning's sense that his works are autobiographical.

The study which follows stemmed from an implicit acceptance of Browning's view, and a belief that a study of Mahler's life provides insight into the central themes of his creativity. Mahler's youthful development is a fruitful

field for investigation, for not only is its importance for the composer's evolution well attested, but its documentation is also, despite much new evidence revealed by recent research, incomplete and contradictory. The approach most frequently adopted in the pages that follow, has been that of extending the enquiry beyond a simple but narrow study of Mahler and his music to include a far wider range of investigation encompassing the economic, social and musical environment in which he grew up, and, perhaps most importantly, the music and personality of his teacher and student associates.

The opening chapter - devoted to an account of Mahler's early life - would have been much shorter were it not for the need to prepare for discussion of the importance of Mahler's Jewish inheritance by examining closely the legal position of Jews within Austro-Hungary in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Though commenced in the most general terms, this survey is essential for an understanding of the Mahler family's history. The succeeding chapters deal with various aspects of Mahler's three years of study in Vienna, the main musical institutions of the capital, and his contact with them, student groups, Mahler's relationships with individual students, and finally his own early creative work.

The large amount of material uncovered by this approach has affected the scope and arrangement of the study. In order that the maximum attention can be devoted to topics on which fresh light may be thrown, the minimum of connecting narrative is given: attention is concentrated on certain restricted aspects of the composer's life and music. Similar considerations dictated the termination of the study in 1878. This had the additional advantages of coinciding with the end of Mahler's Conservatoire studies and of precluding the necessity of detailed examination of Mahler's relationships with Wolf and Bruckner, both of whom were closest to Mahler after that date. Nevertheless this chronological delimitation is not rigidly adhered to where, as in the accounts of the Pernerstorfer circle (Chapter II) and *Das klagende Lied* (Chapter VI) its observation would introduce an absurd break in the discussion of material.

Chapter I

The Origins and Childhood of a Composer

Jewish Life in the Czech Lands, 1726-1875

Folk Music in Iglau

Musical Life in Iglau, 1860-1875

I am thrice homeless. As a native of Bohemia in Austria, as an Austrian among Germans, and as a Jew throughout all the world. Everywhere an intruder, never welcomed.

Gustav Mahler.

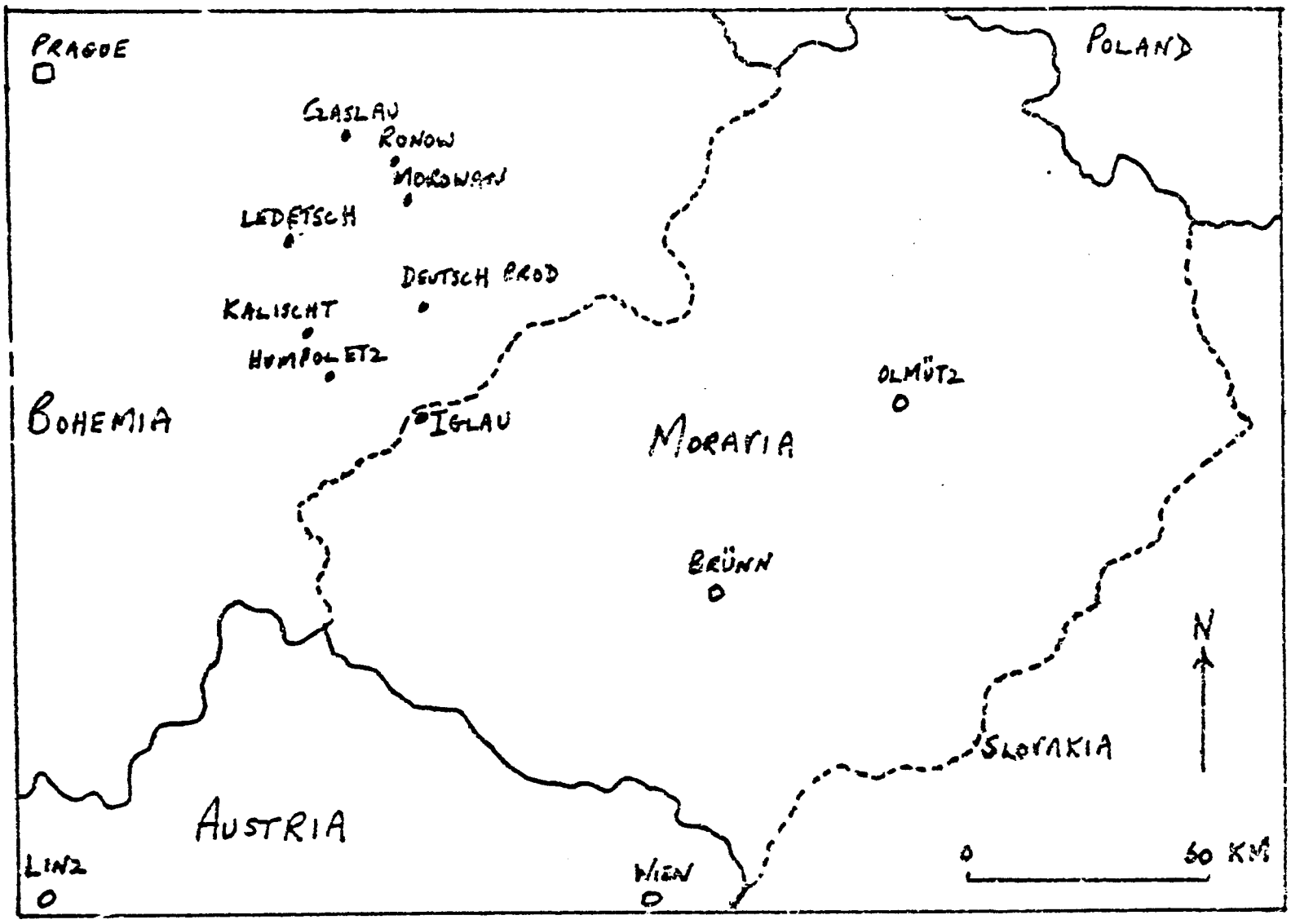

PRAGUE
GLASLAU
RONOW
MORAWAN
LEDETSCH
DEUTSCH BROD
KALISCHT
HUMPOLETZ
BOHEMIA
IGLAU
MORAVIA
OLMÜTZ
BRÜNN
POLAND
SLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
LINZ
WIEN
N
0
50 KM

Fig. I

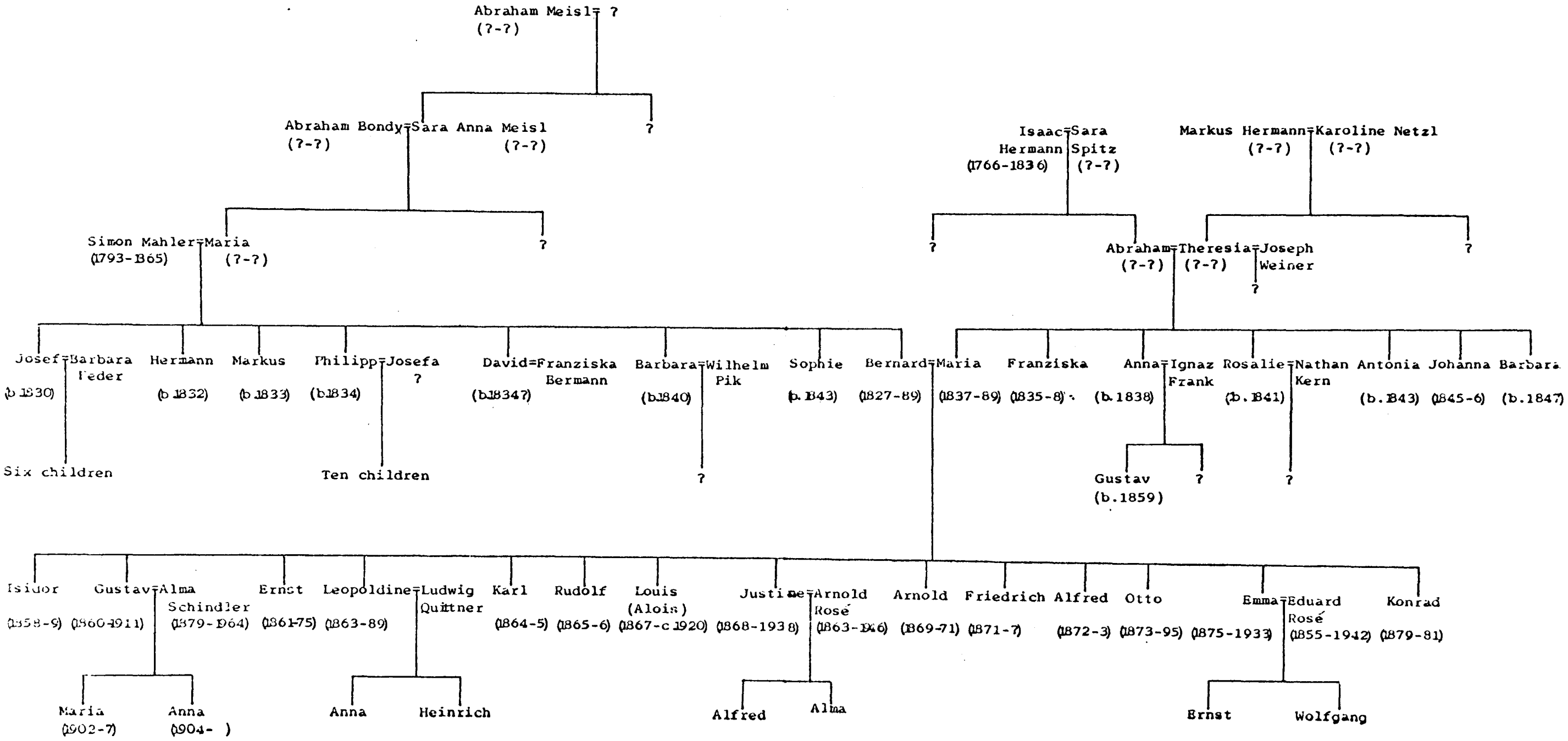

Abraham Meisl= ?
(?-?)
Abraham Bondy=Sara Anna Meisl
(?-?) (?-?)
?
Simon Mahler=Maria
(1793-1865) (?-?)
?
Isaac=Sara
Hermann Spitz
(1766-1836) (?-?)
Markus Hermann=Karoline Netzl
(?-?) (?-?)
?
Abraham=Theresia=Joseph
(?-?) (?-?) Weiner
?
?
Josef=Barbara
(b.1830) Feder
Six children
Hermann
(b.1832)
Markus
(b.1833)
Philipp=Josefa
(b.1834) ?
Ten children
David=Franziska
(b.1834?) Bermann
Barbara=Wilhelm
(b.1840) Pik
?
Sophie
(b.1843)
Bernard=Maria
(1827-89) (1837-89)
Franziska
(1835-8)
Anna=Ignaz
(b.1838) Frank
Gustav
(b.1859)
?
Rosalie=Nathan
(b.1841) Kern
?
Antonia
(b.1843)
Johanna
(1845-6)
Barbara
(b.1847)
Isidor
(1858-9)
Gustav=Alma
(1860-1911) Schindler
(1879-1964)
Ernst
(1861-75)
Leopoldine=Ludwig
(1863-89) Quittner
Anna
Heinrich
Karl
(1864-5)
Rudolf
(1865-6)
Louis
(Alois)
(1867-c.1920)
Justine=Arnold
(1868-1938) Rosé
(1863-1946)
Alfred
Alma
Arnold
(1869-71)
Friedrich
(1871-?)
Alfred
(1872-3)
Otto
(1873-95)
Emma=Eduard
(1875-1933) Rosé
(1855-1942)
Konrad
(1879-81)
Brnst
Wolfgang
Maria
(1902-?)
Anna
(1904-)

Fig.II

Jewish Life in the Czech Lands 1726 - 1875

Jews have been inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia for a long time - the earliest record of Jews in Prague dates from 906 A.D. - but for much of the period following this date they suffered from both legal and social anti-semitism. By 1860 legal restrictions on the life of the Jewish citizens of the Hapsburg Monarchy had largely been abolished and the process was completed by the early 1870s, so Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) experienced only spontaneous social anti-semitism. Nevertheless the effects of the anti-Jewish legislation of the 18th and early 19th centuries are to be seen in the lives of his immediate relatives.

During the first half of the eighteenth century Charles IV and his daughter Maria Theresa adopted violently anti-semitic policies which stemmed from their personal dislike of Jews. In many cases - for example expulsion from Prague - the effects were only felt for a limited time, but other legislation had long-term effects on the position of the Jews within Austrian society. A consistent feature was the attempt to limit the number of Jews within the Monarchy, and in this sphere the *Familiengesetz* of 16 October 1726 was certainly the most famous[1]. A limited number of the male heads of Jewish families were granted a *Familienstelle* each and thereafter only those men in possession of

1) See Heinrich, Ritter von Kopetz, *Versuch einer systematischen Darstellung der in Böhmen bezüglich der Juden bestehenden Gesetze und Verordnungen*, Prague, 1846, p.1 where details of this measure are summarised.

such a place, or who were the first sons of possessors of a place, were allowed to marry. Initially the numbers of tolerated families were in Bohemia 8541, in Moravia 5106. A slight relaxation was introduced in the *Hofreskript* of 22 March 1749 (this applied only to Bohemia):

> In die Verheurathung der Juden wird dergestalt gewilliget, dass von den aus der 1. und 2. Klasse, die nämlich 1000 und 700 fl. jährlich beitragen, nebst dem Erstgebornen, noch 2 Söhne, von der 3. jährlich 500 fl. entrichtenden Klasse nebst 4. und 5. Klasse aber nur dem Erstgebornen allein das Heurathen gestattet werde. (2)
>
> /With reference to the marriage of Jews it is decreed that of those (Families) of the first and second classes, i.e. those paying annually 1000 fl and 700 fl, two sons apart from the first born, in the third class paying 500 fl per year, one other son apart from the first born, and in the fourth and fifth classes, only the first born will be allowed to marry./

The reissue of this *Reskript* on 27 January 1769 (3) makes it abundantly clear that this apparent relaxation was intended as a means of encouraging the Jewish community to pay more to the Monarchy's exchequer.

The administrators of these laws were constantly admonished to adhere closely to the rules, and in 1778 the sanctions against Jews who married illegally were extended to the Rabbis who performed the ceremonies (4). The Patents of 17 November 1787 and 3 April 1789 (5) which raised the numbers of

2) SKKVG, vol.I, p.108. For key to collections of Austrian laws, see
* bibliography.
3) SKKVG, vol.V, p.399. It is to this reissue that Kopetz 1846(p.2) refers (erroneously) as the instrument which first introduced the change.
4) See: *Verordnung in Böhmen* of 3 September 1778 in SKKVG,vol.VIII,p.210.
5) VSR, vol.XIV, p.609f., and vol.XVIII, p.329f.

tolerated families in Moravia and Bohemia to 5400 and 8600 suggest, however, that practice lagged behind theory and it is clear that bribery and corruption were employed by wealthier members of the Jewish community to circumvent the problem.

In 1777, while Co-regent, Joseph wrote to his mother, Maria Theresa, expressing a view which appears to indicate a liberal attitude:

> Tolérance chez moi veut seulement dire que, dans des affaires uniquement temporelles, sans régard à la religion, j'employerais, je laisserais avoir des terres, des métiers, être bourgeois ceux qui en devaient capables et qui parteraient de l'avantage ou de l'industrie dans les Etats. (6)
>
> /To me toleration means only that in purely secular matters I am prepared, regardless of religion, to employ anyone, let anyone practise agriculture or a trade, or establish himself in a city, who has the required qualifications and who would bring advantage or industry into my states./

but when he came to power in 1780, Joseph was concerned only to modernise Austria's administrative and economic system, not with the human consequences of his actions. As a result the Jews were sometimes humiliated and harassed by the reforms (e.g. by the insistence on their adoption of German family and forenames which caused Joseph much administrative time and effort [7]) and were sometimes materially worse off as in the case of military service, for which Jews were considered

6) A. von Arneth, *Maria Theresia und Joseph II. Ihre Correspondenz*, Vienna, 1867, vol.II, p.152.

7) See: *Patent* of 23 July 1787, VSR, vol.XIV, p.536f., and also E.M. Dreifuss, *Die Familiennamen der Juden (in Baden)*, Frankfurt a.M., 1927, p.8f. for a brief account of Joseph's activities in this area.

eligible for the first time after 1788 (8). Even the famous *Toleranzpatent* of 2 January 1782 which declared:

> Se. Majestät haben es sich von Antretung Ihrer Regierung an zum vorzüglichsten Augenmerke sein lassen, dass alle Unterthanen, ohne Unterschied der Nazion und Religion sobald sie in Ihre Staaten aufgenommen und geduldet sind, an dem öffentlichen Wohlstand gemeinschaftlichen Antheil nehmen, eine gesetzmassige Freiheit geniessen, und auf jedem ehrbaren Wege zur Erwerbung ihres Unterhalts und Vergrösserung der allgemeinen Aemfigkeit kein Hinderniss finden sollten.(9)
>
> /His Majesty wishes it to be particularly observed from the outset of his reign onwards, that all subjects, without distinction of nationality of religion, as long as they are admitted into and tolerated in his states, enjoy a lawful freedom to take a collective part in the public weal, and should find no obstruction to those honourable means of acquiring their livelihood and the augmentation of the general prosperity./

was limited in its easing of legal and fiscal burdens. On the positive side, the education of Jews, albeit in Christian Schools, was encouraged, Jews were allowed to engage in any trade or the arts, and the special double taxes were abolished. But many restrictions remained: freedom of movement was limited and immigration of Jews was discouraged except in the case of those wealthy enough to make a substantial contribution to the state, though emigration, particularly for

8) See: *Hofdekret*, 7 July 1788 (promulgated in Bohemia: 17 July 1788) in VSR, vol.XV, p.991. If suitable, Jews in Bohemia could complete their military service in the fire brigade. See *Hofdekret*, 16 May 1789 in VSR, vol.XVIII, p.61.

9) VSR, vol.IV, p.66f.

poorer Jews, was easier[10]; the number of tolerated Jewish families and marriages was still restricted, Jews were subject to trading restrictions[11], were not allowed to purchase real estate[12], and were still subject to fiscal discrimination[13].

Such legal persecution underlines the hypocrisy, by no means restricted to Austria, of an administration which could at the same time announce that 'Jews should everywhere be treated as fellow-creatures (Nebenmenschen)'[14]. At about this period America and later France put such liberal sentiments into effect: in the Declaration of Independence the United States admitted the Jew, tacitly, to theoretical equality with the rest of mankind. The Constitution in turn admitted him to practical citizenship. A few years later, on 21 September 1791,

10) According to the *Hofentschliessung* of 2 March 1786, those with less than 200fl. capital were to be allowed to emigrate without taxation. The *Hofdekret* of 15 August 1788 (VSR vol.XV, p.768) referring to Bohemia declared that 'Die Juden sind in allen Emigrazionsfallen mit dem Christen vollkommen gleich zu halten ...' However, under the *Patent* for Bohemia of 3 August 1797 (SGR, vol.X, p.234f.) Jews had to pay an *Abfahrtsgeld* before leaving the province.

11) E.g. parag. 20 of the *Toleranzpatent* restricted Jewish pedlars to trading only in goods not previously handled by non-Jewish pedlars or tolerated Jews.

12) See Kopetz/1846 and Hieronymus von Scari, *Systematische Darstellung der im Betreff der Juden in Mähren und im K.K. Antheile Schlesiens erlassenen Gesetze und Verordnungen*, Brünn, 1835, for the complex legal situtation in Bohemia and Moravia.

13) According to Eduard Goldstücker, 'Jews between Czechs and Germans around 1848' in *Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute* (hereafter YLBI), 1972, p.64, Jews bore a threefold tax burden compared with non-Jews.

14) *Verordnung in Böhmen*, 2 November 1781 in VSR, vol.I, p.432.

the Constituent Assembly of France made the Jew a citizen of the Nation[15]. By the early nineteenth century the Austro-German and Franco-American attitudes to the problem were polarised:

> .... there were two concepts of Jewish emancipation, sponsored respectively by Germany and France: one enlightened etatist, the other liberal-revolutionary. Whereas in France action had been confined to one single act of emancipation leaving social integration to the unfettered interplay of social forces, opinion in Germany continued to look upon the state as an educational as well as legal institution, which accordingly was obligated to discharge its responsibility towards society also in respect of the Jews. Thus in France reliance was placed on the integrating forces of society, in Germany on the state. Here emancipation was conceived not as a single act but as a prolonged process of social integration, and full equality was visualised only as the crowning achievement at the end of that road.[16]

It was into this social and legal environment that Simon Mahler was born in 1793[17], Leopold II having made no significant alterations to the legal position of Jews in the monarchy. Largely because of Joseph II's decision to force Jews to adopt German names, it is impossible to trace the origins of the Mahler family beyond the birth of Simon, Gustav Mahler's grandfather. Nothing is known of Simon's parents or his place of birth[18], and the origins of the family

15) See A. Myserson and I. Goldberg, *The German Jew - His Share in Modern Culture*, London, 1933, p.3.
16) Reinhard Rürup, 'Jewish Emancipation and Bourgeois Society', in YLBI, 1969, p.73.
17) Henry Louis de La Grange, *Mahler*, London, 1974, p.5.
18) In view of the difficulties facing Jews who wished to travel it seems reasonable to assume that he was born in one of the Crown Lands.

name are open to doubt. Gerhard Kessler and E.M. Dreifuss [19] both take the view that it is derived from *Maler* - painter - and the former lists it as an *Ostjüdisches Handwerkname*. It is possible that the family adopted it before 1787 as both authors note its use in German states before the adoption there of Joseph's name policy. Two further derivations have been suggested: Dreifuss wondered whether 'Mahler' was related to 'Möhler', a name found in Karlsruhe as early as 1740[20] and Konrad Krause [21] suggests that 'Mahler', like 'Moll' (the family name of Gustav Mahler's wife's stepfather) was a Jewish miller (i.e. 'Müller') name.

Simon Mahler's youth was spent under the cloud of the French Revolution and later Napoleonic Wars, and in the Jewish legislation of these years the need to raise new taxes and armies played an important role alongside the more traditional activity of limiting the number of Jewish marriages in Austria. Two of these lines of development came together in the *Gubernialverordnung* of 19 August 1796 [22] which announced a new war loan to be extracted from the Jewish community. As a result Jews wishing to marry had either to first pay the loan, or to prove their ability to pay it within the first three years of their marriage[23]. Of more far reaching importance was the *Patent* of 3 August 1797 which dealt with various aspects of Jewish life in Bohemia:

19) *Die Familiennamen der Juden in Deutschland*, Leipzig,1935 and,*Die Familiennamen der Juden (in Baden)*,Frankfurt am Main, 1927.
20) Op.cit., p.137,n.113.
21) *Die Jüdische Namenwelt*, Essen, 1943, p.65.
22) This applied only to Bohemia. See: SGR, vol.VIII, p.163.
23) According to the *Gubernialverordnung* for Bohemia of 30 September 1799 (SGR,vol.XIII, p.481) a 4% interest was paid on this war loan.

Religion, Education, the civil Jewish community, employment and political and legal rights. This is of interest not so much for any significant changes it introduced, though it did announce[24] that those Jews who had failed to find suitable employment after one year would be expelled, but because of its long-lasting influence:

> After 1848 .... the Jews were able to rejoice in the weak rays of political happiness for a very short time. The so-called 'octroyed' constitution promulgated by Emperor Francis Joseph on March 4, 1849, was withdrawn on December 31,1851. Many legal restrictions previously imposed were again revived and remained in force during the following period of absolutism. Because there was no general legal settlement of the Jew's status, the Bohemian *Judenpatent* of 1797 remained the source of the laws regulating Jewry ..... thus it came about that the older *Judenpatente* remained a subsidiary legal source until the end of Austrian rule.[25]

The legislation of the early years of the nineteenth century continued the general trends of the eighteenth: a succession of administrative changes to tighten up controls on marriage, further restrictions on Jewish commerce, and fiscal alterations. In 1806 Jewish taxes were raised by 50%, and in 1808 the taxation system reorganised[26].

As a result of the complex marriage laws very little is known of Simon Mahler's union with Maria Bondy beyond the fact that as a result of it the composer's father, Bernard, was born in Lipnitz in 1827[27]. These laws affected the status of

24) See: SGR, vol.X, p.255, paragraph 50.
25) Guido Kisch, 'Linguistic conditions among Czechoslovak Jewry' in *Czechoslovakia. Past and Present*, ed. Miloslav Rechcigl, The Hague, 1968, vol. II, pp.1457-8.
26) See: *Hofkanzeleidekret*, for Bohemia, 5 November 1806(SGR vol.XXI, p.131) and the *Patent* of 9 November, 1808 again applying only to Bohemia (SGR,vol.XXIV, p.245).
27) La Grange, op.cit., p.7 and p.839 n.17.

both of Gustav Mahler's parents, so it is worth considering their provisions during the early nineteenth century. On 24 August 1801, a *Gubernialverordnung* surveyed the position as it stood in the hope that a reminder would spur officials to greater vigilance in the administration of Jewish marriages[28]. One of the crucial elements of the policy had been the establishment of the *Familienstelle*[29]: the bridegroom usually had to obtain a recognised *Familienstelle* before consent for his marriage was granted. A first born son, however, could marry on the basis of his father's place, since when the latter died he would inherit the place; unless, that is, his grandfather was still alive, in which case he had to wait until the latter's death, or had to obtain an unoccupied *Familienstelle*.

Certain other conditions had also to be fulfilled:

a) the bridegroom had to be 22 or older, the bride 18[30];

b) if under 16 in 1786, the bridegroom had to provide evidence that he had satisfactorily concluded his education in a German school;

c) the couple had to have a joint capital of at least 300fl. (500 fl. in Prague) in the form of cash, property or a dowry;

d) the bridegroom had to give notification of his occupation.

28) This applied only to Bohemia; SGR, vol.XV, p.434f.
29) The numbers remained at 5400 and 8600 in Moravia and Bohemia until 1849.
30) The age qualification was slightly different in Moravia. See Scari, op.cit., p.20.

A second born son could apply for permission to marry if i) he obtained the *Familienstelle* of a family which died out leaving no male descendants; ii) if he obtained one of the 642 vacant places[31]; iii) if his elder brother died leaving no male children and the younger therefore took over the *Familienstelle;* or if iv) the first born son emigrated and renounced his *Familienstelle*. Having obtained a place by one of these procedures, the fortunate lover then had to satisfy all the other conditions (a-d) laid down for a first born son.

The youngest male members of a family had to hope either for the death of their elder brothers or the extinction of another family to obtain a *Familienstelle*. The only other way in which they might legally marry was by i) volunteering for military service; ii) engaging in agriculture on leased land (not common land or land held in socage) or iii) becoming a member of a craft guild[32], and meeting conditions a-d above. The disadvantage of this was that although permission to marry might be forthcoming, it did not involve the acquisition of a *Familienstelle:* the applicant and his family would remain untolerated Jews[33]. This was also true of Rabbis and

31) As a result of a fall in the number of tolerated families in Bohemia (*Hofdekret* 10 August 1799; SGR, vol.XIII, p.379) 300 new families were allowed in Prague and a further 642 in the rest of the province. These places were filled by 1802 (*Gubernialverordnung* 23 May 1802, SGR, vol.XVI, p.372).

32) Such applicants were later required to have spent at least 3 years pursuing their craft. (*Gubernialverordnung* of 8 January 1818 and 21 July 1841. See Kopetz, op.cit., p.24.)

33) In Moravia, rather confusingly, Jewish families were of 3 types: Those with *Familienstelle*, the *überzählige* and the *tolerierte* who were a special case: 'Tolerierte Juden sind jene, welche vom Gubernium die Bewilligung erhalten, sich ausser ihrer Gemeinde, ihres Erwerbes wegen, aufhalten zu dürfen und solche können auch aus andere Provinzen sein'.
See Scari, op.cit., p.4.

Schoolteachers who, after 1841, were also allowed to marry but not to acquire a *Familienstelle*. The official attitude to such *überzählige* families is illustrated by Kopetz's comments:

> Die ... vorhandenen überzähligen Judenfamilien ... sind an dem Orte, wo sie wohnen, unter der Bedingung zu belassen, dass sie einen der im Patente enthaltenen Nahrungswege einschlagen; sie mussen jedoch erlöschen, und darf kein Sohn einer solchen Familie sich verehelichen, bis er in eine erledigte Familiennummer einrückt.(34)
>
> /The existing excess /*überzähligen*/ Jewish families .... are to remain in the places where they reside under the condition that they follow one of the modes of livelihood contained in the patent; they must however die out and no son of such a family may marry until he has acquired a vacant family number./

In fact c. 1830 there were only fourteen such families in the whole of Moravia(35) and the situation was probably very similar in Bohemia. This complex legislation continued in force until 1849 when the whole machinery, which had never had the remotest chance of succeeding in its avowed intention of restricting the numbers of Jews in Austria, was abolished on May 4th(36). It was only then that legal theory recognised the reality of the situation.

34) Kopetz, op.cit., p.27.
35) Scari, op.cit., p.5.
36) Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein, "The Jews between Czechs and Germans in the Historic Lands; 1848 - 1918" in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, New York, 1968, vol. I,p.27. I have been unable to find any clear reference to the removal of these restrictions, though the *Erlass des Ministerium des Innern* to the Governor of Upper Austria of 21 June 1849 suggests that this was the case. Nevertheless the last vestiges of discrimination in this matter were not removed until the issue of the *Kaiserliche Verordnung* of 29 November 1859 (RGR, Jahrg. 1859, p.605) which deleted the paragraph referring to Jewish marriages in the *Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* and insists that where special permission for marriage was required, it was to be granted to Jews under the same conditions as for Christians. It is worth remembering that serfs had been subject to restrictions in movement and marriage in much the same way as Jews, but in their case these had been removed by Joseph II. See Wiskemann,E.: *Czechs & Germans*, London 1967, p.20 and S.H. Thomson: *Czechoslovakia in European History*,London,1965, p.192.

It seems clear that in the 1820s Simon Mahler was unable, or unwilling, to comply with the existing marriage laws and so, like many others in a similar position, arranged a secret Jewish marriage. Such a marriage was not recognised by Church or State: the children were therefore registered in the Church records as illegitimate, and if such a marriage was discovered, the authorities would issue a divorce and separate the children from their parents[37].

Simon Mahler's legally unrecognised wife, Maria Bondy, was the daughter of Abraham Bondy of Lipnitz and Sara Anna Meisl[38] whose family lived at Ronow, a Bohemian village just west of Czaslau which in about 1849 had, in a total population of about 1400 inhabitants[39], two Jewish families[40]. Simon's father-in-law seems to have been a prosperous merchant and *Bestandjude* (i.e. a lessee of land and/or a tavern) in Lipnitz who later moved to Kalischt and became manager of a tavern and distillery there. At this time the movement of Jews was restricted within the crown lands though they might be allowed to move in order to take up a lease, and this was probably what happened in the case of Abraham Bondy. In 1832, however, Simon Mahler had contravened these regulations and had been

37) S. Dubnow: *History of the Jews*, trans. Mosche Spiegel, New York/London, 1971, vol.4, p.665. This is, however, a very unreliable source.
38) La Grange, op.cit., p.5-6. Unless otherwise stated, all information about Mahler's family is derived from this source. See also fig.1.
39) *Ritter's Geographisch-statistisches Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1855 (hereafter: RGL) p.1128.
40) Albert Kohn, *Die Notablenversammlung der Israeliten Böhmens*, Vienna, 1852, p.395. There must be some slight doubt about Maria Bondy's place of birth as there was a smaller village of the same name in the region of Iglau, but what evidence there is, suggests that she came from the Bohemian side of the border.

expelled from Lipnitz presumably for living there without permission, and had followed his father-in-law to Kalischt. In 1833 he was established there as a distiller and had also taken over the tavern previously run by his wife's family.

By the 1830s the restrictions on Jewish ownership of property had been relaxed very little: they could not buy houses previously owned by Christians(41), and were restricted in the type of agricultural land they might buy or lease (they were encouraged to take up dominical or *Städtische* holdings(42), but could not purchase rustical land(43). Apart from agriculture, one of the other main opportunities for Jewish ownership of property was in connection with the leasing of taverns which had for many years been a recognised privilege for Jews(44) - hence the reliance placed on it as a means of income by Abraham Bondy and his son-in-law. Some liberalisation was introduced in the early 1840s(45) and the Stadion constitution of 1848 granted complete freedom in this matter. The situation was, however, confused, until 1853 when the restrictions existing before 1849 were re-imposed(46)

41) See Kopetz, op.cit. pp.124-5.
42) See: *Gubernialverordnung* 1 April 1819 (Kopetz, op.cit., p.132) and the *Patent* of 3 August 1797, paragraph 45 (SGR, vol.X, p.234f).
43) Kopetz, op.cit., p.126.
44) See *Patent* of 3 August 1797(loc.cit.) paragraph 44. In Moravia, however, Jews were excluded from this occupation - see *Hofdekret* of 21 June 1791 (SGRL, vol.V, p.28) and also Macartney, op.cit., p.63,n.3.
45) Kopetz, op.cit., pp.126,128-9 and 132.
46) See Macartney, op.cit., p.517 n.3 and the *Kaiserliche Verordnung* of 2 October 1853 (RGR, Jahrg. 1853, p.1048).

Bernard Mahler, the composer's father and the first of Simon's eight illegitimate children, was born in Lipnitz, a small market town near Deutsch-Brod, in 1827, some years before Simon's expulsion (47). Very little is known of his youth and early manhood spent there and in Kalischt beyond his son's own statement:

> Mein Vater (dessen Mutter als Hausiererin mit Schnittwaren früher die Familie erheilt) hatte bereits alle möglichen Erwerbsphasen hinter sich und hatte sich mit seiner ungewöhnlichen Energie immer weiter empor gearbeitet. Erst war er Fuhrmann gewesen und hatte, während er sein Rössel und Fahrzeug trieb, allerhand Bücher studiert und gelesen - sogar das Französische hat er etwas gelernt, was ihm bei den Leuten den Spottnamen des 'Kutschbockgelehrten' eintrug. Später war er in verschiedenen Fabriken angestellt und dann wurde er Hauslehrer. Endlich heiratete er auf das Gütchen in Kalischt hin meine Mutter ... (48)
>
> /My father (whose mother had maintained the family by peddling drapery) had already tried every possible way of earning a living, and with his exceptional energy he had worked his way further and further up. At first he had been a carter, and had read and studied, while driving his horse and cart, all kinds of books - he had even learned a little French, which earned him the name of 'coach box scholar'. Later he worked in various factories, and then became a private tutor. Finally he married my mother on the strength of the property at Kalischt . . ./

It is therefore probable that during his youth Bernard continued his mother's trade, which prior to 1849 was the typical occupation of rural Jews in Czechoslovakia:

> As late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the principal occupation of the Jews of the Bohemian and Moravian countryside was still peddling. Each pedlar plied his own territory, which was carefully demarcated according to the villages in the area and the type of merchandise he traded in (e.g. haberdashery, leather goods, feathers, woollens or grain). Within his territory

47) By the 1850s, the population of Lipnitz was 1320(RGL,1855,p.776) Mahler, when baptised on 23.2.1897, rather carelessly, gave his father's place of birth as Deutsch-Brod. See Blaukopf, 1976, p.209.

48) Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler*,Vienna,1923, pp.52-3.

(his medina) the *Dorfgeher*, or travelling pedlar had exclusive rights of purchase and sale of his merchandise. These rights were passed on from father to son and were universally recognised. All week long, from Sunday to Friday, the pedlar carried about on his back loads of merchandise sometimes weighing over two hundred pounds. Since he observed the dietary laws, while away from home, he would have to subsist on a cold and dairy diet such as bread, butter, eggs,cheese and perhaps a little coffee or milk. Most of the pedlars were practically penniless, and had to borrow both the merchandise on sale and the money for the purchase of merchandise on trust from well-to-do Jewish merchants in the town. When the pedlars returned home on Friday afternoon, they settled their account with the merchant. The same procedure was followed when they travelled to the annual fairs. However, by the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century, most of the pedlars had managed to open shops selling one line of merchandise in their home towns, and no longer had to travel through the countryside for their livelihood. By this time, through a considerable sacrifice, they were in a position to send at least one son to an institution of higher learning and to marry off their daughters to men from the cities. (49)

Thus in their old age, and in a legally more tolerant decade, Simon and Maria Mahler were able in 1860 to move to Deutsch-Brod and buy a haberdasher's of their own, together with a house and garden(50).

Other aspects of Mahler's reminiscences are vague in their references, particularly those to factories and Bernard's period as a tutor. It may be, as Donald Mitchell argues, that 'factories' is Mahler's euphemism for the distilleries with which various members of Bernard's family were involved, but it now seems possible that they, and perhaps also the post of tutor were connected with the wealthy Jewish industrialist,

49) Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein, 1968, p.38
50) La Grange, op.cit. p.6.

Baron Schey von Koromla who, according to Berndt Wessling[51], provided the Mahlers with financial support when they moved to Iglau. Wherever he found employment Bernard had acquired by 1857 the lease of a small *Wirthaus* in Kalischt; according to Wessling it was

> . . . the grandmother /who/ saw to it that the Mahlers got the small house in Kalischt, the horse-carriage, and finally the schnapps distillery which had previously belonged to a cousin by marriage(52).

Kalischt at this time was a small village of only 470 inhabitants,[53] standing on the road from Czaslau to Pribram, with sixty houses, a church, a meeting hall, a school, farm, a tavern with distillery and a *Wirthaus* - the last two establishments being run by Simon and Bernard Mahler[54]. Out of the total population, three of the families were Jewish[55] and the village possessed a synagogue, though this was no doubt little more than a room in one of the houses:

> wo nur jeden Sabbath, auch nur an den höheren Festtagen die in einem Umkreis von einigen Stunden zerstreut Wohnenden Juden zusammenkommen, um Gottesdienst zu halten. - Das Andachtslocal ist in der Regel eine schmutzige verfallene Kammer, wo allerhand Haus-Küchen-oder Feldutensilien aufbewahrt liegen, grossentheils auch das Wohn-und Schlafgemach des Hausgesindes. Von Cultus Anstalten und Cultus-Organen ist da keine Spur; Vorbeter ist jeder, der sich vor das Betpult stellt, mag er lesen können oder nicht.(56)

51) *Gustav Mahler Ein Prophetisches Leben*, Hamburg, 1974, p.29f.
52) Wessling, op.cit., p.28. Wessling's book contains much unfamiliar information but gives no helpful details of the sources from which this is derived. Until this is forthcoming his study must therefore be treated with caution.
53) RGL, p.670
54) La Grange, op.cit., p.8
55) Albert Kohn, op.cit., p.397.
56) Ibid., p.413.

The Mahlers were probably important figures in this small community, and in 1857 Bernard felt able to marry. His chosen bride was Marie Hermann, the daughter of a wealthy soap-boiler from Ledetsch. Her father, Abraham Hermann, was the son of Isaac Hermann from Sniet and Sara Spitz of Habern(57), and had entered into an illegal Jewish marriage with Theresia Hermann, the widow of Joseph Weiner, a Ledetsch merchant(58). Marie, born on 2 March 1837, was their second child and was, like Bernard, illegitimate, though her parents were able to legalise their union on 7 December 1837. Simon and Maria Mahler, on the other hand, did not legalise their marriage until 8 February 1850, a year after freedom to marry had been granted to the Jews: the illegality of their relationship does not seem to have worried them unduly.

After their marriage in February 1857, Bernard and Marie returned to the *Wirthaus* in Kalischt where they lived in conditions of lower middle-class poverty. In 1858 their first child, Isidor, was born, only to die the following year in an accident; 1859 also saw the defeat of the Austrian Army at Solferino on 24 June and in the wake of this disaster new relaxations in the Jewish legislation were introduced, including, on 14 January,

57) Sniet and Habern: respectively a village and market town in Bohemia. See RGL, pp.1236 & 555.

58) Out of its total population of c.2400 the market town of Ledetsch had a comparatively large Jewish community of 155 souls. See RGL, p.754 and Kohn, op.cit., p.396.

59) *Verordnung des Ministeriums des Innern* and *Kaiserliche Verordnung* in RGR, Jahrg.1860, pp.45 & 81-2. There is some uncertainty surrounding the significance of the former document for it clearly names a number of the Crown Lands but fails to mention Moravia. It would seem, however, that this regulation did apply to, or was soon extended to, the Margravate.

repeal of the restriction on Jewish residence in *Bergorten*, and on 18 February 1860 the freedom to purchase real estate[59]. A few months later Bernard, Marie and Gustav, their sole surviving child (born on 7 July 1860), moved to Iglau, an expanding industrial town lying just on the Moravian side of the border. According to Alma Mahler:

> Immediately the Jews were granted the freedom to move from place to place, Bernard Mahler migrated to Iglau, the nearest town of any size ...[60]

an assertion which has caused some confusion. Freedom of movement was granted on 4 March 1849[61] and, contrary to at least one study[62], the *Kaiserliches Manifest* and *Kaiserliches Diplom* of October 1860, while reflecting the more liberal attitudes then prevailing, did nothing to alter the Jews' position. It was the status of Iglau as a *Bergstadt*, which had ensured that few Jewish families resided there prior to 1860 even after the freedom of movement was granted in 1849[63], that was crucial to Bernard's plans. Following the *Verordnung* of January 1860, however, it was open to Jewish business for the first time, as an area ripe for commercial enterprise. The attractions of a move to Iglau were no doubt increased by the fact that Jewish immigrants would be able to purchase property freely in the town and that all restrictions on

60) Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*, London, 1973, p.6.
61) See parag. 25 and 31 of the *Patent* of that date (RGR, Jahrg. 1849, p.153).
62) Kurt Blaukopf, *Mahler, A Documentary Study*, London, 1976, p1.5.

Jewish participation in the brewing and sale of beer (see below, note 44) in Moravia were removed on 13 January 1860[64].

Although there were specific factors which made the move to Iglau desirable for the Mahlers, not least Bernard's ambitions, their decision must also be viewed against the general pattern of the second stage of Jewish migration within the Czech lands[65]. The first had commenced soon after freedom of movement was granted in 1849 when, following years of life in narrow, unpleasant Jewish quarters in a limited number of Bohemian and Moravian towns (c.700), the inhabitants of the ghettos moved outwards a few miles from these centres, to surrounding towns and villages which previously had no Jewish population. In their new homes the immigrants usually continued their traditional occupations, though the drift to rural areas did encourage some to turn to agriculture. This first wave of migration soon slowed down, largely because it ran counter to the prevalent tendency towards urbanisation. Industrialisation was just beginning in the Monarchy and with it the growth of urban areas and consumer demand, so Jews were very soon drawn back to those areas they had recently left by economic forces. This process was probably accelerated by the attempts of the Parliament of 1848 to give tenant farmers ownership of the land they worked. Although this helped wealthier peasants, it

64) *Verordnung des Ministeriums des Innern*, in RGR, Jahrg. 1860, p.44.
65) This account of the migration is based on that of Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein, 1968, p.27f.

forced many of the poorer labourers to leave the land and seek industrial employment(66). The distances involved in the later Jewish migration towards the industrial centres seem to have been greater than in the first, and the distribution of the Jewish population was reversed: by 1890 the majority of Jews lived in German rather than Czech-speaking areas. A further result was that old communities were depopulated while newer ones expanded or were established for the first time. It is into this latter category that the community at Iglau falls: it came into being in 1861 and the synagogue was consecrated in 1863(67).

On 3 July 1866 the Austrians were defeated by the Prussians at Königgrätz and, as after Solferino, liberalisation of the Austrian constitution followed in 1867. From the early 1870s, when the theoretical equality of the Jews announced in the Compromise of 1867 was made a legal actuality, the Jews enjoyed legal freedom at least, but by that time new conflicts had emerged which had their roots in the social and political situation in Bohemia and Moravia, and had as profound an effect on the Jewish population as the repressive measures of Austrian absolutism. After 1848 a new factor emerged with the rise of nationalism within the various ethnic groups which formed the population of the Austrian Empire. The conflicts between them became an important feature of political and cultural life, and as a result, the Jew living in Bohemia or Moravia was faced with

66) Wiskemann, op.cit., pp.20 & 39.
67) Blaukopf, 1976, pl.13.

the choice of combining politically and linguistically with either the German or Czech community. Prior to 1918, most Jews in the Crown Lands spoke German, which was not only a prestige language, but also

> offered access to a broader European Civilisation ... For the Jews, the most attractive cultural centre of the whole monarchy was Vienna, the Kaiserstadt. The Sunday edition of the Vienna 'Neue Freie Presse', with its important and impressive cultural and literary section, was then widely read in Jewish circles in Bohemia and Moravia .... in Prague, a city which by 1890 had become almost entirely Czech, the Jews formed the majority of the German speaking population. This inclination towards German .... of course, aroused the anger of the Czechs .... who were then in the throes of an awakening political, cultural and economic nationalism. (68)
>
> ....However after 1867, the rapid growth of Czech cultural and economic strength brought many Jews to the conviction that their future lay in integration into the Czech community. (69)

This change in attitude was also encouraged by the increasingly unfavourable reaction of the German community, especially among students and professional classes, towards Jewish attempts at assimilation. This attitude of the German population was influenced in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by, among others, Georg Schönerer, who maintained 'that Jews could not be Germans because, due to their race or ancestral descent, they were aliens in "exile" among the Germans.'(70)

Thus the Jews were isolated from both of the dominant

68) Hans Kohn: "Before 1918 in the Historic Lands" in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia, vol.*1, p.17-18. For a further account of the importance of 'Die Neue Freie Presse' and Karl Kraus' critique of it, see Frank Field, *The Last Days of Mankind*, London, 1967, p.41ff. It is also worth recalling that throughout most of this period Moravian Czechs seem to have been far less strident in their nationalism than the Bohemians - see Macartney,op.cit., pp.215f & 644.

69) Hans Kohn, op.cit., p.18.

* 70) Kohn, loc. cit.

communities in Bohemia and Moravia. During the early part of the nineteenth century this seems to have been unimportant to the Jew, for whom it had been a way of life for centuries:

> .... the desire for assimilation at that time prevailed among the upper stratum of the Jewish population. During the decade and a half preceding the revolution of 1848, most of the Jews of Central Europe were still poor and followed the traditional way of life. (71)

Indeed in 1782, when Joseph II's reforms were announced, the Jews were suspicious that they were designed to undermine their religious separatism(72). After 1848, however, the desire for assimilation among the Jews became of great importance and Mahler, like many others, was keenly aware of his isolation(73); the natural reaction to this feeling was to seek acceptance by one or other of the communities. Mahler shared this attitude with his father who 'was goaded by the ambition to better himself'(74 and who sought entry for himself and his son into German-speaking society without completely renouncing his ties with the Jewish community. Indeed, as Hans Holländer has pointed out, Bernard Mahler symbolises the social and mental evolution of the Jew during this period of emancipation, but on the other hand Holländer is overstating his case when he asserts that '(Mahler's) free-thinking father shut the door upon every religious usage of traditional Hebraism' and that 'the chants of the synagogue were equally unfamiliar to him as the child of a free-thinking parent and as a Catholic of a maturer period who never visited a

71) R. Kestenberg-Gladstein, 1968, p.21-2.
72) Cecil Roth in *The Jews, their History, Culture and Religion*, London 1961, New York 1949, vol. I, p.262.
73) See the statement quoted at the head of this chapter.
74) N. Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.52-3.

Jewish temple'[75]. Recently published evidence indicates that whatever Bernard's views, the family probably maintained some respect for the observance of Jewish festivals and were certainly not apostates. As H.C. Stevens suggested in a fascinating letter to Donald Mitchell[76] it was probably Marie who was the most observant member of the family, women in general being the carriers of orthodoxy, and it was in his mother's company that Gustav made his sole recorded visit to the synagogue:

> Among the anecdotes about Mahler's childhood . . . is /one/ in which he relates one of his first visits to the synagogue, where, hidden in his mother's skirts, he interrupted the community's hymn singing with howls shouting 'Be quiet! Be quiet! It's horrible!' Then, when he had finally managed to quiet everyone he started to sing at the top of his voice one of his favourite songs: 'Eits a binkel Kasi (Hrasi)'. (77)

It is also apparent from Wessling's study[78] that it was Marie who was most horrified by the suggestion made by Professor Brosch (Mahler's piano teacher) that his young pupil should make his career as a Christian. As a result, and on the advice of the local Rabbi, Mahler was sent to Prague to remove him from Brosch's influence. This explanation seems far more likely than that previously put forward, that Mahler's removal to Prague was an attempt to improve his academic performance. Not only would the educational benefits of such a move be of doubtful value, particularly in view of the expense, but it is also understandable that the true reason might have been suppressed.

75) 'Gustav Mahler', *Musical Quarterly*, Oct. 1931, p.452f.
76) Dated 7 December 1958. It will be quoted in the second edition of Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler, The Early Years*, to be published in 1979.
77) La Grange, op. cit., p. 15, quoting an unpublished portion of the ms. of Bauer-Lechner, 1923.
78) Op. cit., p. 37f.

Henri-Louis de La Grange is surely correct when he argues that Bernard Mahler was 'a Jew whose religion meant much more to him than his son's biographers have so far led us to believe': on 12 December 1878 Bernard Mahler was elected by a large majority to the committee of the Iglau Jewish Community and the school committee, and Justine Mahler's godfather was the Cantor of the Iglau synagogue[79]. In view of this evidence it is important not to underestimate the tensions experienced by the young composer seeking assimilation into a German society and culture which did not always encourage his efforts. The loss of identity which Mahler must have experienced can only have reinforced similar reactions to his family life and it is not surprising that although he never became anti-semitic - a reaction common among assimilated Jews - Mahler remained in certain subtle ways conscious, even self-conscious, about his race. Alma Mahler even goes as far as to make the perhaps exaggerated claim that 'he never denied his Jewish origin. Rather he emphasised it'[80].

Anti-semitism as a political and social attitude had been a feature of Austrian society for many years, but, quite apart from the nationalistic reasons outlined above, it appears to have gathered strength as early as 1867 as a result of the increased legal freedom of the Jews.[81] In the 1870s anti-semitism

79) La Grange, op.cit., pp.21-2 & n.25.
80) Alma Mahler, 1973, p.101.
81) D. van Arkel, *Antisemitism in Austria*, Leiden, 1966, p.8.

was led by ardent Catholics for whom Jews were the originators and prime representatives of the 'modern spirit, the spirit of rationalism and materialism, of the science which denies the existence of God and creation'[82], a fact which explains why Mahler's Jewishness worried Bruckner[83], and the latter's references to 'die Herren Israeliten' which were far less respectful than they appear[84]. Ironically this anti-rationalist, anti-materialist sentiment was shared by Mahler and several of his Jewish acquaintances of the 1870s and 80s[85].

In 1873 the economic depression created conditions conducive to the growth of political anti-semitism, but it was only in the 1880s that it began to play a really significant role in the political life of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the last years of the century Mahler's career was continually affected by this prevalent attitude and, contrary to Gabriel Engel's statement that 'he never complained of religious discrimination'[86], Mahler was acutely aware of

82) Arkel, op.cit., pp.5-6.
83) Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner*, Leipzig, 1941, p.272.
84) See Alma Mahler, 1973, p.107 and August Göllerich & Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner, ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild*, Regensburg, 1936, IV/i, p.532.
85) See below, Chapter III.
86) *Gustav Mahler Song Symphonist*, New York n.d. (after 1970: reprint of original 1932 edition), p.14. George R. Marek in *The Eagles Die*, London, 1974 takes a similar view: 'Mahler's ill-treatment in Vienna is often ascribed to Austrian anti-semitism ... The accusation in my opinion is untenable.'(p.303.) As Marek points out, Vienna displayed an ambivalent attitude to many of her greatest artists, whether Jew or Gentile, and Mahler's experience is far from exceptional. It is obvious, however, from a reading of the many reviews quoted in de La Grange's biography (one detects a group preservation instinct in critics' repeated complaints about the copiousness of such material), that whatever the underlying reasons for the opposition which Mahler aroused, it was frequently - and not only in Vienna - voiced in strongly anti-semitic terms.

the difficulties which his race placed in his path:

> I am high on the list of candidates (for the directorship of the Vienna Opera), but two factors are against me, it seems: my 'madness', which my enemies mention whenever they want to put difficulties in my path, and the fact that I was born a Jew . . .(87)

> Despite negotiations with Munich and even Budapest, I can find no other employment. Everywhere things fall through at the last moment on account of my race! (88)

Yet despite his consciousness of such attitudes he seems never to have regretted his adoption of German culture: for him it had been successful. It was the racial prejudice of anti-semites that prevented them from accepting Mahler's contribution to that culture.

Folk Music in Iglau

The linguistic and cultural position of Iglau, an enclave of German population on the border between Bohemia and Moravia, was no doubt obvious to Mahler from his own observations, but in any case the study of such *Sprachinseln* was part of the course in the Geography and Government of Austria in which Mahler was examined at his Matriculation in 1877[89]. In view of the political tension between Czechs and Germans, which was at that

87) Letter to Edmund von Mihalovics (21 December 1897) quoted in La Grange, op.cit., p.389-90.
88) Letter to Arnold Berliner, *Gustav Mahler Briefe 1879-1911* (hereafter GMB) Berlin/Vienna/Leipzig, 1924, p.144.
89) See Blaukopf, 1976, p.154.

time growing, it is likely that the study of such matters was conducted with a degree of nationalistic bias, and probably contributed to Mahler's early commitment to such views[90].

Apart from inevitable social tensions, the complex ethnic situation which existed in Iglau during the second half of the nineteenth century offered Mahler an unusually wide range of musical stimuli and although their precise influence on his musical style is still open to debate, it is undeniable that folk music impinged on his consciousness at a very early stage of his life: Mahler's earliest biographers[91] are agreed that at an early age he learnt a number of folk-songs - although his childhood friend Theodore Fischer thought they had exaggerated the size of the boy's repertoire - and he later played them on the concertina he was given as a present[92]. It was primarily German folk songs which influenced the young composer, providing not merely material for direct quotation (Ex.1a-f), or the point of departure for an original melody (Ex.2a-f), but also the foundations of his folk style such as the anacrusic rising fourth[93], and certain melodic shapes (Ex.3a-an).

90) See Chapter III below.

91) Paul Stefan, *Gustav Mahler Eine Studie über Persönlichkeit und Werk*, Munich, 1910, p.9 and Richard Specht, *Gustav Mahlers VIII Symphonie Thematische Analyse*, Leipzig/Wein, n.d.(but probably c.1912),p.46.

92) See Stefan, loc.cit, Specht loc.cit., and Theodore Fischer, *Festrede bei der Mahler-Feier am 21. März 1931 im Stadttheater Iglau*, quoted in Blaukopf, 1976, p.149.

93) The use of upbeat rhythmic patterns is a particularly German characteristic: Ottakar Hostinsky 'Mitteilungen über das tschechische Volkslied in Böhmen und Mahren' in *III Kongress der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, Wien/Leipzig, 1909,p.269, found that in K.J. Erben's collection of Czech folksong only 1.5% of the melodies had upbeat figures, compared with 75% in German folk song collections. See also Werner Dankert: *Das Europäische Volkslied*, Bonn, 1970, where the melodic type quoted here is cited as being typically German.

The composer's treatment of such material changed rapidly during his twenties: in *Das Klagende Lied* (1878-80) such motives appear without engendering an authentic folk atmosphere, while the later *Hans und Grete* (1880) and *Selbstgefühl* (1887-1890) move to the opposite extreme in their consistent evocation of folk models. Neither approach is typical of Mahler's mature treatment which is already demonstrated by the other *Wunderhorn* settings in the *Lieder und Gesänge* collection: folk-inspired motives are usually employed as elements within Mahler's highly sophisticated musical language. The intention is not to create an imitation of folk music but a highly romanticised vision of it. In this sense Mahler's compositional process mirrors to a surprising extent the poetic reworking of motives derived from folk poetry by the editors of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, Achim von Arnim (1781-1831) and Clemens Brentano (1778-1842)[94]. Their techniques ranged from the simple improvement of an original (changing a few words, lines or stanzas) or the fusion of two separate poems, to the creation of an entirely new text perhaps based on some poetic ideas taken from oral sources. It is the latter technique which has most in common with Mahler's methods of composition, but all three were employed by the composer when arranging his texts: in many *Wunderhorn* settings he introduced small-scale textual changes which tone down the last remnants of peasant bluntness of expression (e.g. *Ich ging mit Lust*) and persistently undermine the original metric and

94) For a further discussion of the nature of the *Wunderhorn* collection, together with bibliographical references, see p.287 f. below.

strophic patterns with additions and word repetitions (e.g. *Nicht wiedersehen!*); in *Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen* he combines two closely related *Wunderhorn* poems ('Wer ist denn draussen und klopfet' and 'Auf dieser Welt hab ich keine Freud') and in the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* he creates original texts based on folk-like turns of phrase. The feature common to these poetic techniques and Mahler's musical handling of *volkstümlich* elements is the consistent sacrifice of folkloristic accuracy in favour of a romantic evocation of *das Volk*. The only possible example of Mahler's changing his literary source to bring it more closely into line with oral tradition (rather than to add a further layer of polished romantic lacquer) is the text of *Das klagende Lied*[95], yet even here the changes he introduced to the story are such that in the past they have always been analysed in the light of Mahler's individual psychological outlook rather than their folkloristic background.

The romanticisation of folk-song, and in particular the juxtaposing of historically disparate musical elements is well illustrated by *Urlicht*, the *Wunderhorn* setting which introduces the finale of the *Second Symphony*. The song also draws attention to Wagner's role as an early and influential explorer in this field, Mahler's extension of the technique and an interesting ethnomusicological phenomenon (Ex.4).

95) For a detailed discussion of the origins of this text, see p.[291] below.

The idea of combining archaic chorale-like material with highly chromatic writing was probably derived from *Parsifal*, which employs this type of musical contrast to underline the basic dramatic tension of the work. Mahler's originality lies in his introduction of a third stylistic type to the recipe. The four sections are based on:

a) Bars 1-35.

An imitation of early German folk models using an irregular rhythmic structure, a diatonic melodic line which moves (in general) by step, the melismatic extension of bars 22-32, and the 'archaic' cadences of bars 6-7 and 12-13. It is this passage which is of interest from an ethnomusicological point of view for one of the fascinating features of *Sprachinseln* like Iglau is their preservation of otherwise obsolete musical and poetic elements:

> Die Sprachinseln sind volkskundlich unschätzbare Erhaltungs- und Rückzusgebeite. In ihnen haben sich vielfach Formen erhalten die im Mutterlande verschwunden sind oder nur noch bruchstückhaft fortleben. Namentlich sind es die alten Sprachinseln die jahrhundertlang von Deutschland getrennt waren und deren Beharrungskraft sich daher gegen das Eindringen neuer Formen besonders zur Wehr setzte (96).
>
> /The *Sprachinseln* /lit. speech-islands/ are invaluable areas for the conservation and preservation of folklore material. In them are preserved many forms which in the motherland have disappeared or survive only in fragments. This is particularly true of the old *Sprachinseln* that have been separated from Germany for centuries and whose strength of conservation has provided particular resistance to the penetration of new forms./

96) W. Dankert, op.cit., p.61.

It might therefore be tempting to associate Mahler's use of features common in archaic German folk music - e.g. metre changes, pentatonicism and modality - to an early experience of such techniques in the folk music preserved by the oral traditions of the German enclave in Moravia. This initially attractive idea is, however, demolished by the fact that Iglau was unique among the old German *Sprachinseln* by virtue of its failure to preserve the older forms of German folk music(97). In any case it is clear that Mahler, as always, is concerned with a blend of old and new as is illustrated by the anachronistic enharmonic change of bars 17-18, and the specifically Wagnerian nature of the inspiration is made clear by the turn welded into the melodic line at bar 32.

b) Bars 36-49

The second section is the distinctively Mahlerian innovation: a passage typical of the composer's view of nineteenth century folk models with its regular metre, pedal points, wide ranging melodic line that often employs triadic formations, and its reliance on strong I-V harmonic progressions.

c) Bars 50-60

This is followed by the distinctly Wagnerian chromaticism of the third section which in turn leads to

d) Bars 61- end

a return to the material of the opening section now clothed

97) Guido Waldmann, 'Tonalitätsfragen im Volkslied der deutschen Sprachinseln', *Zur Tonalität des deutschen Volksliedes*, (ed.Waldmann), Wolfenbüttel and Berlin, 1938, p.70.

in a setting which looks forward to the comparatively austere idiom of the later Rückert settings.

This characteristic use of a variety of stylistic elements was one of the chief stumbling blocks to an appreciation of Mahler's music, particularly since the composer is far less concerned than Wagner to integrate the constituents into a homogenous whole: this attitude led to the music's dismissal as merely eclectic. Such a view does not take into account Mahler's ability to transform his material from whatever source it derives into something undeniably Mahlerian, nor the fact that his eclecticism, far from being a fault, may be seen as a positive virtue when employed, as it invariably is, for purely expressive purposes. Thus in *Urlicht*, the archaic elements of the first section not only imply by association the religious intention of the whole setting, but also the element of prayer in the opening lines; the straightforward diatonicism of the second section, with its regular pulse, emphasises the idea of motion and, later, the naive optimism of the singer as she approaches the angel, while the chromatic vocabulary of the third section is a powerful expression of *Angst*. In this context, the comparative directness of the final section functions as a resolution of the emotional tension and harmonic complexity of the preceding passage, thus prefiguring the role of the 'resurrection' chorale towards the end of the finale which likewise resolves the structural, textural and harmonic complexities of the movement in a passage of the utmost

simplicity of expression[98].

Mahler's early experience of folk music was, however, certainly not restricted to that of German origin. There is considerable evidence to suggest that as a child he learnt some of his folk song repertoire from the family servants[99] and it is probable that some at least were, like the majority in Iglau[100], Czech in origin. The young boy also visited relatives at Ledetsch[101], Ronow and Morawan[102], all of which lay in Czech-speaking areas (though on the Bohemian side of the border) and therefore had ample opportunity to hear Czech folk music. Ernst Klusen has suggested[103] that there are few examples of Mahler's actual quotation of Czech tunes, though the following is clear enough (Ex. 5a-b). Even here, however, the opening phrase with its fourths separated by a tone is, according to Klusen, characteristic of Moravian music. More general similarities discussed by Klusen include the use of parallel harmony (Ex. 6a-b) (though Klusen's claims for a purely Moravian source for this technique are not supported by F.E. Pamer or Guido Adler[104]) - and the use of melodic lines which unlike those of German folk music, employ note

98) See below, p.174 for a discussion of the philosophical significance of this particular technique.
99) See Paul Stefan, op.cit., p.9, Richard Specht, n.d., p.46 and Fischer, 1931.
100) Christian d'Elvert: *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Königlichen Kreis- und Bergstadt Iglau in Mähren*, Brünn, 1850, p.459.
101) La Grange, op.cit., p.13.
102) GMB, p.8, note.
103) 'Gustav Mahler und das Volkslied seiner Heimat', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 1963, p.29-37.
104) F.E. Pamer: *Gustav Mahlers Lieder. Eine stilkritische Studie.* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Vienna, 1922, p.136 and Guido Adler: *Gustav Mahler*, Vienna 1916, p.64.

repetitions or appear to revolve around one central note (Ex. 7a-b). As might be expected, these features are occasionally found in German folk songs from the Iglau region, while German characteristics - particularly the use of arpeggio figures - sometimes occur in Czech songs. This mutual influence is at times reflected in Mahler's *Wunderhorn* style (Ex.8).

Despite the concentration on vocal music in the foregoing examples, some of the techniques of Czech instrumental music are also to be found in Mahler's mature music. The influence of the Czech bagpipes on Mahler's compositional style has been discussed at least twice[105] and the use of pedal points has been recognised as an important stylistic element, but the crucial importance of the technique to the maturation of Mahler's musical language ought perhaps to be emphasised. In both the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* and the *First Symphony*, and in many other works from Mahler's *Wunderhorn* period, pedals, particularly double pedals (I-V), underlie almost the whole of a movement, articulating the tonal structure and providing a bass over which Mahler's contrapuntal writing is free to develop, but are less successfully employed in *Das Klagende Lied* and - as I hope will become clear in Chapter VI - this may help to explain why, remarkable though it is, the cantata is not completely satisfying.

Also of importance in Mahler's later music, and therefore deserving a mention in passing here, are his use of heterophonic

105) Klusen, op.cit., and J. Markl: *Ćeska duducka hudba*, Prague, 1962.

accompaniments (Ex.9) and 'fiddle' music. The Iglau fiddle players use a family of flat-bodied string instruments - the *Klarfiedel*, *Sekundfiedel* and *Grobfiedel* which are played like violins, and the *Bassfiedel* or *Plasch‿porment*, which is held like a 'cello - whose tone is penetrating and shrill[106]. Klusen believes, with some justification, that:

> Überall da, wo Mahler in seine Partituren schreibt 'grell' oder gar 'wie eine Fiedel' oder wo eine Violine einen Ton höher stimmen lässt, schwebt ihm der Klang und - wenn er ihn auch nicht ausdrücklich bezeichnet - der Musizierstil seiner Heimat vor. (107)
>
> /Wherever Mahler writes in his scores 'shrill' or even 'like a fiddle', or where he has the violin tuned up a tone, he has in mind the sound and - although he does not especially specify it - the musical style of his homeland/

Although Mahler's early contact with German and Czech folk music is fairly well attested, the precise nature and extent of his knowledge of Jewish music is still open to discussion. For the most part the debate is concerned with the general characteristics of Mahler's style - particularly his eclecticism - and whether these may be explained by the composer's racial origin. Needless to say this question was usually raised, and answered in the affirmative, by those strongly critical of Mahler's creative work. Interesting though this debate is, however, it need not concern us here, but the more specific question - does Mahler's music make use of any musical ideas which might be described as characteristically Jewish? - is very apposite.

106) For details of these instruments see: Josef Götz, 'Fiedelmusik in der Iglauer Sprachinsel', KJMG III, p.227.
107) Klusen, op.cit., p.36.

The only writer to have answered this question in the affirmative is Max Brod.

In an article which appeared in 1920[108], he argued that Mahler's march music does not stem from military sources, but from the same source as Hassidic Song, which also employs march rhythms:

> Seit ich chassidische Volkslieder gehört habe, glaube ich, dass Mahler ganz einfach aus demselben unbewussten Urgrund seiner jüdischen Seele so und nicht anders musizieren musste, aus dem die schönsten chassidischen Lieder, die er wohl niemals gekannt hat, entsprossen sind.
>
> /Since hearing Hassidic folksongs, I believe that Mahler quite simply had to compose from the same unconscious depths of his soul, from which the most beautiful Hassidic songs, which he certainly never knew, have sprung, and that he could compose in no other way/

One of Brod's intentions is to undermine the charge of triviality levelled against Mahler's marches:

> Diese 'Marsche' sind also nichts Unheiliges, Banales, Militärisches, sie scheinen mir vielmehr sehr glücklich die feste entschlossene aufrechte Gangart einer gotterfüllten Seele zu symbolisieren.
>
> /These 'marches' are therefore nothing unholy, banal, military; they appear to me rather to happily symbolise the firmly resolute, honest gait of a god-filled soul./

But such an interpretation ignores the simple, if uncomfortable fact, that Mahler's music is sometimes banal; it also ignores the conflict between the sublime and banal which is often a key factor in Mahler's dramatic designs. Later in the article Brod

108) 'Gustav Mahlers Judische Melodien', *Anbruch*, May (2), 1920, p.378-9.

mentions further similarities between Hassidic and Mahlerian melodic lines: the use of phrases which fluctuate between major and minor, and slow beginnings in which the same note is repeated several times before the melody begins to progress in short, ever lengthening arcs. Brod repeated his views in two later publications(109). His arguments dealing with the question of Mahler's relationship to Judaism in general are summed up in the following extracts:

> Es drangt sich mir die Vorstellung auf, dass für Mahler das Christentum ein verkleidetes Judentum war. Was er aber als 'christliche Werte' liebte, das waren jene urjudischen Werte, die zu seiner Zeit in seiner Umgebung nahezu verschuttet waren.
>
> .... der 'creator spiritus', an den sich sein achte Symphonie wendet, mit der 'rauch hakodesh' des judischen Schriftums identisch und keine christlich Neuerung ist!
>
> (Es ist) unzweideutig klar, dass Mahler sein sogenanntes Juden-Christentum gegen das klasslich echte Judentum vertauscht hatte, wenn er diese he kennen gelernt hatte. (110)

> /The idea forces itself on me, that for Mahler, Christianity was a disguised Judaism. What he loved as 'Christian values' were those fundamental Jewish values, which in his day and in his environment were virtually buried.
>
> ... the 'creator spiritus', to which he turned in his eighth Symphony, is no Christian innovation but is identical with the 'rauch hakodesh' of Jewish writing.
>
> It is beyond doubt that if Mahler had known pure classic Judaism he would have adopted it instead of his so-called Judeo-Christianity./

When assessing Brod's claims it should be remembered that he, like many other Jews at the end of the nineteenth century, reacted against Jewish isolation in the opposite manner to

109) *Die Musik Israels*, Tel Aviv, 1951 and *Gustav Mahler*, Frankfurt, 1961.
110) Max Brod, 1961, p.29.

Mahler - he was an ardent Zionist[111]. In 1919 he toured Slovakia advocating the cause of Zionism and National Jewry[112] at a time when he was the vice-chairman of the Jewish National Council of Prague and was heavily involved in the negotiations for Jewish rights in the then emerging Czechoslovak Republic. One of Brod's notable activities in later years was as the editor and biographer of Franz Kafka:

> .... and for many years he has tried, with varying success, to superimpose his own vibrant Judaism and Zionism upon his interpretations of Kafka.(113)

Despite these indications that Brod may not have been an impartial observer, the fact that he points to stylistic similarities rather than facile melodic parallels inspires some interest. Nevertheless his assertions require examination from a number of points of view: are his statements about Hassidic song confirmed by a study of such songs, and, more important perhaps, are these characteristics markedly different from those of other types of folk and art music familiar to Mahler? Under such an examination Brod's evidence gradually crumbles[114]:

111) In the census of 1920, 11,521 in Bohemia and 15,335 in Moravia declared themselves to be Zionists. See *La situation des minorités en Tchécoslovaquie*, Berlin, 1923, p.134.
112) See *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, Vol. I, p.89.
113) H. Zohn, 'Participation in German literature', *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, Vol. I, p.487.
114) For details of the collection studied and the methods employed, see Appendix I.

a) It is true that Hassidic song shows a predilection for 4/4 metre as Brod suggests: overall, about 59% of the songs employ this metre. Nevertheless, the rhythmic structures used in these songs are not typical of Mahler's march music and Mahler's characteristic upbeat figures, so common in German folk music, are used in only 8.5% of the melodies in 4/4.

b) The melodic lines of Hassidic song do not fluctuate between major and minor.

c) Repetition of one note is a feature of the melodies, but as has been pointed out above (page 33/4) it is common in Czech folk music.

Of the scales used in Hassidic song, two, the Ahavva Rabba mode and the Ukranian Dorian scale, are interesting because of their use of augmented 2nds (Ex.10). This interval also plays an important role in the only passage in Mahler's oeuvre which sounds at all oriental in character (Ex.11). But even this passage - which is in any case unique - has been described as 'Hungarian'[115] and since its peculiar character stems from the use of a lydian fourth it might equally well be ascribed to the influence of Moravian folk music[116].

115) August Beer reviewing the Budapest premiere of the work in *Pester Lloyd*, No.321, 21 November 1889; see Donald Mitchell, 1975, p.151f.
116) Ernst Klusen, 1963, p.31-2.

The melodic patterns employed by Hassidic song are in general not reminiscent of Mahler's music. One exception is associated chiefly with major and minor scales (Ex.12). This appears in 10% of tunes in the minor mode and in 16% of those using the major scale; in Mahler's music it is usually associated with the major mode. In both cases this melodic shape was without doubt borrowed from German sources, eclecticism being as much a feature of Hassidism's music output as of Mahler's oeuvre[117]. Another common phrase is more interesting (Ex.13) since it is also found frequently in Mahler's music (Ex.14).

The implications of this observation are far-reaching, and give some evidence of a distinctively Jewish element in Mahler's music. If this turn of phrase was restricted in its appearances to Hassidic music, or was a favourite device of the German and Czech music indigenous to central Europe in the mid-nineteenth century (which it was not) there would be little question of a Jewish connection, but a cursory examination of other types of Hebrew melody suggest that it is a component common to most, if not all. Since the Jewish communities in the Czech lands were all Ashkenazic[118] it is particularly interesting that Ex.13 seems to be a favourite melodic device in the chants of such communities (Ex.15). Of the eight tunes quoted by Werner (Eric Werner, *Hebrew Music*, Cologne, 1961, nos. 32-40), seven make prominent

117) See Evelyn Fosbury, *Jewish Folk Music*, unpublished thesis, North Western University, Evanston, Illinois, 1951, pp.62-3.
118) Jan Herman, 'Jewish Community Archives from Bohemia and Moravia, *Judaica Bohemiae, VII*, Vol. I, p.5.

use of the idea; in the Ashkenazic melodies quoted by A.Z. Idelsohn in his study of the history of Jewish Music[119], all seven tunes in the major scale, 42.1% of the motives identified in the tunes in the minor mode and 32.7% of the motives identified in settings of prose texts employ the phrase[120].

It is possible that it was through art rather than traditional music that this motive found its way into Mahler's vocabulary, and in some cases his use of it is closely related to earlier models (Ex.16). But such borrowings seem insufficient to explain Mahler's almost obsessive use of the device which would appear to stem from some personal or racial predilection for this particular melodic shape. The mechanism by which such a collective (i.e. racial) characteristic might be inherited, though frequently granted a hypothetical existence, has never been satisfactorily identified[121], and so the underlying assumption as well as the musical detail of Brod's arguments is open to doubt. Thus, although the role played by such a mechanism cannot be completely overlooked, Mahler's penchant for Ex.13 was most

119) *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, New York, 1948, p.137f.

120) Although Ex.13 is not particularly common in 19th century German folk-song, it had been during an earlier period when the influence of Gregorian chant was strong. The similarity in this respect between Ashkenazic melody on the one hand and plainchant and Minnesong on the other, is well illustrated by Idelsohn's Table XXVI, p.172-3.

121) See Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology*, London, 1973, p.30f.

probably an acquired rather than an inherited characteristic, a result of his personal psychological constitution and early experience of Hebrew ritual.

The difficulties in tracing Mahler's relationship with the traditional music of his early environment at enormous and will be successfully overcome only by expert ethnomusicologists: such a researcher may gain a profound understanding of Mahler's mode of expression with ease compared with the Mahlerian scholar faced with the task of acquiring expertise in ethnomusicology. There are signs that a more rigorous ethnomusicological approach is now being applied to this problem[122], but in the meantime, the existing evidence makes clear the variety of folk music on which Mahler drew, and the overwhelming importance of Austro-German sources in the constitution of his mature musical style.

Musical Life in Iglau: 1860-1875.

The town to which the Mahler's moved in October 1860, in which Bernard Mahler established himself as a successful businessman[123] and which succoured the early growth of his first son's musical talent was one of the oldest in Moravia and

122) See, for example, the synopsis of *Gustav Mahler und seine Umwelt* (to be published at Darmstadt in 1978), *News about Mahler Research*, 2, 1977, p.7. from which it appears that the author, Professor Vladimir Karbusicky, questions some of the conventional views repeated in the foregoing discussion.

123) For a detailed account of Bernard's business activities, see La Grange, op.cit., p.9ff.

first became important because of the surrounding mineral deposits[124]. According to legend, the first mines were worked in the area in 799 A.D., and the mining industry was the reason for its early wealth, the privileges it enjoyed and also its predominantly German population:

> The rise of capitalism throughout Europe stimulated the demand for gold and silver that lay in the mountains of Bohemia, and from the end of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth centuries, there was no lack of employment for experienced miners. German miners were so superior to the Czechs that Joachimstal, Kutna Hora (Kuttenberg) and Iglau, centres of the mining industry, became almost exclusively German in population. Some of these Germans became czechised in time, but for the most part they retained their German town law, local customs, culture and connection with Germany beyond the mountains. (125)

The degree to which Iglau in the late nineteenth century was a German-speaking centre is shown by the population figures: in 1900 the inhabitants of the town numbered 24,387, of whom only 4,200 were Czech; in 1921, of the 70 villages in the administrative district of Iglau, 40 still had German-speaking majorities[126].

By the 1860s the town was an expanding industrial centre with a growing Jewish population. In the mid fourteenth century Jews had been permitted to enter Iglau as *Kammerknechte*

124) Unless otherwise indicated, this paragraph is based on information from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1910, vol.XIV, p.291-2.

125) Thomson, op.cit., p. 143-4 . In the sixteenth century a severe earthquake damaged the mines beyond restoration. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1972, vol.12, p.1084.

126) *La situation des minorités en Tchécoslovaquie*, Berlin, 1923, p.134ff.

by Markgraf Carl[127], but after 80 years of more or less peaceful existence, they were expelled from the town in 1426 by Markgraf Albrecht[128]. From that date until 1860, the presence of Jews in Iglau was illegal, though as early as 1462 some had returned[129] and in 1837, 31 were recorded in the population figures for the town[130]. After 1860, however, the community grew rapidly and by 1890 accounted for 6.3% of the total population of 23,716[131]. Within this section of the populace, Bernard Mahler gained a respectable place as an elected member of the Committee of the Iglau Jewish Community and the School Committee[132]. According to Guido Adler, the Jewish and Christian communities lived in peaceful co-existence at this time, thanks to the attitude of the Parish Priest and the local Rabbi, Dr J.J. Unger[133]. This mutual toleration was, quite apart from its social benefit, of musical importance to Mahler, for it enabled him to sing in the Choir of the main church in the town, Sankt Jacob.

The impression of Iglau's musical life c. 1870 created by a mere cataloque of its musical institutions is slightly misleading since it is a fairly extensive list: a modern theatre seating 1200, a music collection in the lending library, choirs for men and women (founded in 1852 and c.1858) which combined

127) D'Elvert, 1850, p.51
128) Ibid., p.53
129) " p.55
130) " p.458
131) C. d'Elvert, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Mähren und Oesterr-Schlesien*, Brunn, 1895, p.160.
132) De La Grange, op.cit., p.841, note 25.
133) Guido Adler, *Wollen und Wirken*, Vienna, 1935, p.3.

to perform oratorios, and a municipal orchestra of 20 players with a permanent conductor and an annual subsidy from the town council of 1200fl[134]. This apparently healthy state of affairs masks the fact that the Iglau *Musikverein* founded in 1819 (one of the earliest such societies to be formed in Moravia), which had by the late 1840s expanded to provide tuition in singing, violin, viola, 'cello and woodwind, was wound up on 24 April 1862 because of lack of support[135]. It was only in 1868 that the *Stadtkappelle* was founded to replace the amateur orchestra formerly run by the *Musikverein*[136]. Similarly the town waited until 1850 for a theatre to replace the hotel room seating a mere 300, which had served in that role. At that date, some time after smaller Moravian communities had provided themselves with similar amenities, the converted Capuchin Church opened its doors to the theatrical public. Thus behind the superficial manifestations of musical activity, one may detect a certain degree of cultural apathy in the town's history. This together with the inevitably provincial outlook of audiences may help to account for Mahler's attitude as a conductor towards his public: he seems to have viewed himself as an apostle preaching to a more or less contemptible mass of people. Such a view was no doubt encouraged by the Wagnerian conception of

134) C.d'Elvert: *Geschichte der Musik in Mähren und Österr.-Schlesien mit Rucksicht auf die allgemeine böhmische und österreichische Musik-Geschichte*, Brunn, 1873, vol. I.
135) D'Elvert, 1873, vol. II, p.44f.
136) Ibid.

the artist and his role in society, but in Mahler's case its inception may lie in his early contact with the provincial musical public.

During Mahler's youth the dominant figure in the musical life of Iglau was undoubtedly Heinrich Fischer (1828-1917), the *Stadtlicher Musikdirector*, regens chori at the church of Sankt Jakob, conductor of the *Iglauer Männergesangverein*, and music teacher at one of the local schools(137). Fischer was also *Musikdirector* at the *Stadttheater* in 1868/9, 1873/4 and 1875/6(138). Heinrich's son, Theodore (1859-1934), was a childhood friend of Mahler and towards the end of his life wrote several articles which provide valuable details of the composer's early life. It is clear that the young musician was *persona grata* in the Fischer household(139) and it was from the *Stadtlicher Musikdirector* that he received his earliest instruction in harmony and counterpoint. He also sang under Fischer's baton in the Sankt Jakob choir and acted as accompanist at some of the rehearsals(140). Of his teachers in Iglau, Fischer made the deepest impression on Mahler and in later years, in January 1888 and 1908, he wrote at least twice to the ageing musician(141).

While Mahler's musical experience was limited to what he heard during the course of everyday life - none of his family

137) For Heinrich Fischer's biography, see d'Elvert, 1873, vol. II, p.93f.
138) De La Grange, op.cit., p.840, note 1.
139) Fischer, 1931.
140) De La Grange, op.cit., p.15
141) De La Grange, op.cit., p.175 and Blaukopf, 1976, p.149.

were musical except for Otto (b.1873) - and those songs he learnt to sing himself, his diet must have consisted largely of folk and popular music; but the discovery of a musical instrument opened the broad spectrum of serious art music to the young musician. This important event seems to have occurred during a visit to his maternal grandparents at Ledetsch:

> During a game of hide-and-seek in the attics he came upon an enormous box. Examining it with curiosity, he finally discovered that there was a keyboard under a lid which he could just reach by stretching his arms above his head. Standing in this uncomfortable position, he managed to bang out with his tiny hands a succession of melodies he had heard, so clearly recognisable that the whole family was struck dumb with amazement and pride when they discovered the author of the miniature concert. His grandfather / Abraham Hermann/ asked him if he would like to take this large toy home with him, and on receiving the little boy's enthusiastic reply sent it next day to Iglau, on an oxcart (142).

Although the facts of this event are fairly well established, the date is not[143]. At the age of about 4, Mahler was given a *Ziehharmonika* (a concertina or accordion: the word employed by both Stefan and Specht makes no distinction) and taught himself to play[144]; this accomplishment presumably preceded the discovery of the piano[145]. Since Holländer reports that the young pianist began receiving piano lessons at the age of five[146], his discovery of the instrument probably took place in the years 1864-6. Confusion also surrounds the identity of Mahler's

142) De La Grange, op.cit., pp.14-15, citing an unpublished portion of Natalie Bauer-Lechner's memoir of the composer.
143) See Donald Mitchell: *Gustav Mahler: The Early Years*,London 1958,pp18-19.
144) See Stefan, 1910, p.9, Specht, n.d., p.46 and Fischer, 1931. Fischer's translator opts for 'concertina'.
145) Only by a short period, according to Hans Holländer, 1931, p.451.
146) Information reported in Mitchell, 1958, p.22.

earliest teacher: Hans Holländer names him as Jakob Sladky, a double bassist or 'cellist (probably a member of the *Stadtkapelle*)[147], Nejedly describes him as J.Ziska, a violinist and *Stadtkapellmeister*[148], while Fischer identifies him as Franz Viktorin[149]. Of the various piano teachers who were involved in Mahler's musical education, Viktorin is the only one whose later career may be traced with any certainty. During his years at Iglau he was at various times *Kapellmeister* at the *Stadttheater* (1865, 1866 and 1868)[150] and also ran a *Musik Institute* at which piano and violin were taught, with Johannes Brosch, another of Mahler's teachers[151]. After 1868 Viktorin conducted at Budweis, Cracow and Bielitz, and then in 1874 he was appointed *Kapellmeister* at the Deutsches Theater in Pest where he remained until 1878. Two years later he took up a similar post at the Carl Schultze Theater in Hamburg for one year and in 1883 moved to the Neues Friedrich Wilhelmstädtisches Theater in Berlin as *Kapellmeister*, a post he retained until his death on 8 April 1888[152]. This curriculum vitae suggests that Viktorin was at least a competent conductor of light opera.

147) Holländer, 1931, loc.cit., and Mitchell, 1958, loc.cit.
148) Zdenek Nejedly, *Gustav Mahler*, Prague 1958. Ziska's official title is somewhat surprising, in view of Heinrich Fischer's similar designation.
149) Theodore Fischer, 1931. Since, however, Fischer dates the commencement of the lessons a year later than Holländer, it would seem that he has simply forgotten about the earlier teachers.
150) See Blaukopf, 1976, p.149.
151) La Grange, op.cit., p.840, n.13.
152) See the *Almanach der Genossenschaft Deutscher Bühnen-Angehöriger*, ed. Ernst Gettke, Kassel & Leipzig, for the relevant years.

His partner at the *Musik Institute*, Johannes Brosch was a violinist in the *Stadtkapelle*[153] who also gave piano lessons. Little is known of him beyond the facts contained in Wessling's account of his relationship with Mahler:

> Eines Tages bat der Vater den Theaterkapellmeister Viktorin zu einem Gespräch unter vier Augen. Ein Wunderkind in Iglau? Viktorin strahlte. Her mit dem Buben! Den werden herausstellen! Ein Sonderkonzert, rühmliche Presseberichte, Konservatorium, Bezeihungen, Wien . . . ! Vater Mahler Schwindelte es bei diesen Gedanken. Viktorin liess den Buben zu sich kommen. Das Vorspiel erregte den Maestro dermassen, dass er sofort zu Professor Brosch lief, um ihn über das 'Wunder aus Kalischt' zu informieren. Viktorin und Brosch übernahmen den Unterricht, denn der kleine Gustav kannte bis dahin weder Noten, noch hatte er jemals zuvor die Namen Beethoven, Mozart oder Bach gehört. . . . . Brosch hatte dem Eleven sehr bald die Fundamente des Klavierspielens beigebracht. Der kleine Gustav war so begierig, so lernwütig, dass er betagte Pädagoge bei den Eltern vorstellig werden musste, um von ihnen das Mittel zu erfahren, 'mit dem man den Wüterich bändigen könne'.
>
> Brosch war ein höchst eigenwilliger Mensch, der sein 'Handwerk' verstand, ansonsten aber engstirnig und nicht selten auch ungerecht handelte . . . .
>
> Es scheint Professor Brosch gewesen zu sein, der dem jungen Gustav Mahler eingab, sich vom Judentum abzukehren, um als 'ehrbarer Christ' Karriere zu machen. Als Gustav erstmals davon in seiner Familie berichtete, waren die Erwachsenen ausser sich. Sie beschlossen sofort, den Unterricht bei Brosch abzubrechen und den Rebbe zu konsultieren, damit dieser den 'Flausen' des Jungen ein Ende setze. . . . .
>
> Dennoch hatten die Worte des alten Brosch auf Gustav Mahler gewirkt . . . Brosch erzählte Wunderdinge über das Mysterium der Erlösungidee. Und: Er pflanzte dem jungen Mahler ein hartnäckiges Gefühl von Sündhaftigkeit ein . . .
>
> . . . Bernhard Baruch und, mehr noch, die Mutter Marie fühlten ihren Sohn 'gewissenlos entwurzelt'. Sie sannen darauf, wie sie ihren Sohn aus der 'verruchten' Einflusssphäre Broschs führen könnten. Der Rebbe schlug vor, die Schule zu wechseln - das Prager Gymnasium schien ihm günstiger zu sein als das Iglauer, um den kleinen Gustav 'gutjüdisch' zu erhalten; ausserdem würde

153) D'Elvert, 1873, vol.II, p.93.

Prag ganz andere Möglichkeiten bieten, um aus dem Wunderkind einen Virtuosen von Weltrang werden zu lassen.(154)

/One day the father invited the *Theaterkapellmeister* to a tête à tête. A Wunderkind in Iglau? Viktorin beamed. Bring the child here. Then we will lay out a lot! A special concert, glorious press reviews, Conservatoire, connections, Vienna. . . . Mahler père was tricked by such thoughts. Viktorin saw the boy. The performance excited the maestro so much that he immediately ran to Professor Brosch, in order to tell him of the 'Wonder from Kalischt'. Viktorin and Brosch took over his education, for the small Gustav until then could not read music and had never heard the names Beethoven, Mozart or Bach. . . . Brosch had very soon taught the pupil the fundamentals of piano playing. The little Gustav was so eager and studious that the aged teacher had to petition the parents in order to be told the means 'with which to be able to restrain the frantic lad'.

Brosch was a highly wilful man who understood his craft, but was narrow-minded and not infrequently behaved unjustly . . .

It appears to have been Professor Brosch who prompted the young Gustav Mahler to reject Judaism in order to make a career as an 'honourable christian'. When Gustav first reported this to his family, the grown ups were beside themselves. They immediately decided to end the lessons with Brosch and to ask the Rabbi how to put and end to the 'lies' of the child.

Nevertheless old Brosch's words had their effect on Mahler . . . Brosch recounted wonderful things about the idea of the Resurrection. And he planted in Mahler a persistent feeling of sinfulness . . . .

Bernard Baruch and even more his mother felt their son to have been 'unscrupulously uprooted'. They planned how they could lead their son out of Brosch's nefarious sphere of influence. The Rabbi suggested that the school be changed - the Prague Gymnasium seemed to him to be more favourable to keeping the young Gustav 'a good Jew' than that at Iglau; furthermore, Prague would offer much better opportunities for developing the Wunderkind into a Virtuoso of world class./

The journalistic presentation of this account hardly encourages confidence in its accuracy and it is disturbing to find no bibliographical reference in Wessling's book to

156) Wessling, op.cit., p.36f.

account for this plethora of information. If, however, Wessling is correct, Brosch took a particular interest in Mahler's religious development:

> Der Pianoforte-Professor konnte sich tagelang über die 'Ketzerei' nicht beruhigen / Mahler had told Brosch that he wanted to be a martyr/ und machte schliesslich dem Direktor des Gymnasiums von Iglau einen 'intimen' Bericht, in dem es hiess, man müsse auf den jungen Eleven Mahler aus Kalischt achtgeben, denn dieser verletze in entschiedenem Masse die 'gesetzliche Katholozität' des Landes . . . .
>
> Meister Brosch schlug 'zehn Tage verschärfer Karzer mit streckenweisem Nahrungsentzug und vollkommener Demütigung vor der gesamten Klasse' vor. Der Direktor des Gymnasiums ging jedoch auf diesen Vorschlag nicht ein. Was Herr Professor Brosch denn wolle? Es sei ein Zeichen besonderer Weisheit, Erleuchtung und Devotheit, wenn ein junger Mensch auf 'so edle und rare' Gedanken komme. Mahler sei ein Musterbeispiel für Tugendhaftigkeit und verinnerlichte Moral und verdiene es, vor seinen Klassenkameraden belobigt zu werden.
>
> Gustav Mahler wurde vor seinen Schulkollegen belobigt, und das war eine weitaus schlimmere Bestrafung, als wenn er verschärften Karzer bekommen hätte, denn fortan wurde er wegen seines 'Martyrertums' gehänselt und gefoppt. Der 'Märtyrer' bekam Klassenkeile und wurde von allen Veranstaltungen der Jungen ausgeschlossen. In wenigen Wochen war er so vereinsamt und eingeschüchtert, dass sich nicht nur psychische Schäden bemerkbar machten, sondern auch körperliche.
>
> Mahlers Schwester Justine schreibt darüber: 'Er kam sehr bald in eine Phase grosser Abgespanntheit und Zerrüttung. Ein Magenleiden musste auskuriert werdern; auch hatte er an einer Nierenentzündung und Herzkrämpfen zu leiden, so dass man schon glaubte, er habe die Konstitution der armern Mutter übernommen'. (155)

> /The pianoforte teacher was disturbed for days by the 'heresy', and finally sent a 'confidential' report to the director of the Gymnasium at Iglau, in which it was enjoined that attention must be paid to the young pupil Mahler from Kalischt, for he violated in certain ways 'the lawful Catholicism of the land'.

155) Op.cit., p.25f.

Herr Brosch recommended 'ten days of intensive confinement with occasional deprivation of food and complete humiliation before the whole class'. The director of the Gymnasium, however, did not agree with this recommendation. What did Professor Brosch mean? It would be a mark of particular wisdom, illumination and devotion, if a young man came to 'so honourable and rare' a thought. Mahler would be a model example of rectitude and deepened morals, and deserved to be praised before his classmates.

Gustav Mahler was praised before his schoolfriends and that was a far worse punishment than if he had been intensively confined, for he was thereafter teased and chaffed on account of his 'martyrdom'. The 'martyr' received thrashings from the class and was excluded from all the activities of the children. In a few weeks he was so lonely and intimidated that bodily as well as psychological harm manifested itself.

Mahler's sister Justine wrote of it: 'he soon reached a state of great exhaustion and confusion. A stomach complaint had to be cured; he also suffered from nephritis and heart spasms, so that it was soon believed that he had inherited his poor mother's constitution./

Wessling's evidence suggests that Brosch was Mahler's teacher as early as 1868 and that this appointment was terminated in about 1871. This conflicts with further information relating to the only other musician known to have taught Mahler in Iglau: Wenzel Pressburg (1842-1906), a pedagogue and composer of waltzes. In August 1883 he wrote to Mahler asking for a document certifying his abilities as a conductor, teacher and pianist, a request to which Mahler acceded(156). By a close examination of two newspaper reports it is possible to establish a rough date for Pressburg's tuition of Mahler and a glimpse of his character. On 13 October 1870 Mahler gave

156) La Grange, op.cit., p.841, n.14.

his first public piano recital in Iglau of which the local paper, *Der Vermittler*, commented on 16 October:

> If the budding artist's former teacher, the conductor Viktorin, hears of his success yesterday, he can certainly feel very pleased with his pupil. (157)

Four days later, there appeared in the same paper a public vote of thanks to and recommendation of Pressburg inserted by Bernard Mahler. Clearly the virtuoso's current teacher felt aggrieved that only his predecessor had been mentioned in the review, and persuaded Bernard to redress the balance. This interpretation of the events is supported by de La Grange's description of Pressburg as being 'publicity-minded' (op.cit., p.840, n.14) and indicates that Pressburg was Mahler's teacher by the time of the latter's first concert. But until further evidence comes to light, there is little hope of the obscurity surrounding the composer's earliest training being removed.

Such chronological information is perhaps of less than prime significance. What these provincial musicians taught Mahler is more important than the dates of their influence over the developing composer, but again very little evidence is available apart from one fascinating reference made by Mahler in later years:

157) Quoted in Blaukopf, 1976, p.150.

> I was . . . insatiable . . . in my passion for music . . . Every week I came back from the library, where we had taken out a subscription, with a brief case full of symphonies, opera arrangements, and salon pieces. All of them filled me with indescribable joy, though I was unable to say which I preferred: at that time I was peculiarly and utterly devoid of judgement. My imagination undoubtedly filled the most junky pieces with all sorts of imaginary beauties, transforming them and perfecting them in my mind.
>
> One day I asked my teacher which music was more beautiful, that of Beethoven or that of Tausig. He himself had no idea either. As soon as I came home from the library, I played over everything that I had brought, stringing the pieces together one after the other, beginning over again each day of the week so as to get the most out of these marvels. I would not leave the piano, even to eat. One after another, my brothers and sisters were sent after me: Emma, Justi, Alois, (158) 'Gustav, you are to come and eat'. In the end my mother came 'Oh Gustav, do come!' This did not work either, until my father's cane got me to the table. I would scarcely have put down my spoon, before I would rush back to sit before the music until evening. I could not be budged to go to the garden or even for a walk. A pleasure, as you know, so very important to me today. At that time it bored me and I hated it for separating me from the books and scores I was devouring. (159)

This makes clear the important role of the lending library in satisfying an omnivorous musical appetite which, having already assimilated large quantities of folk music, had developed a liking for art music. It also captures well the totally uncritical attitude of the young mind and its ability to project an imaginative world onto the most worthless pieces. The inability of the teacher (Pressburg?) to provide some critical yardsticks may be significant in the light of Mahler's later vigorously expressed critical views - were these a reaction compensating for an earlier and

158) Emma was born in 1875, but this anecdote almost certainly refers to events before Mahler's entry of the Conservatoire. It seems likely, therefore, that 'Emma' is a mistake for Leopoldine (a significant one in view of her tragic death in 1889) and, since Justine, the youngest was born in 1868, that the events probably date from c.1870.

159) La Grange, op.cit,p.17 quoting from the previously unpublished portion of Bauer-Lechner's reminiscences of Mahler.

persistent failure to distinguish the great from the mediocre? Moreover it would seem that although Mahler later acquired a knowledge of and profound sympathy for the language of the Austro-German symphonic and operatic tradition, this did not, as one might expect, involve a wholesale rejection of popular and/or trivial material. Instead this was retained in his style as an element to be contrasted with the accepted language of serious music. Under the influence of Freud, Mahler arrived at a rather naive explanation of this novel feature of his style:

> His father, apparently a brutal person, treated his wife very badly, and when Mahler was a young boy there was a specially painful scene between them. It became quite unbearable to the boy, who rushed away from the house. At that moment, however, a hurdy-gurdy in the street was grinding out the popular Viennese air *O, du lieber Augustin*. In Mahler's opinion the conjunction of high tragedy and light amusement was from then on inextricably fixed in his mind, and the one mood inevitably brought the other with it. (160)

He continued by saying

> that now he understood why his music had always been prevented from achieving the highest rank through the noblest passages, those inspired by the most profound emotions, being spoilt by the intrusion of some commonplace melody. (161)

But here one senses not only the desire to supply the required explanation, but also the power wielded over Mahler's critical attitudes by the conventional view of what consituted 'great' music. Thus one may question both the composer's judgement of his own music - this unusual element of contrast

160) Ernest Jones: *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work*, vol.II, London 1955,p.89.
161) Jones, loc.cit.

contributes to, rather than undermines its claims to greatness - and his explanation of its origin[162]. That the primal scene did influence some of his most powerful articulations of the device is possible, even likely, but it would find expression in his music in such terms only because the stylistic censorship which would normally have excluded the possibility of such contrasts between high tragedy and the commonplace was in Mahler's case, absent. And this may be traced to Mahler's teacher(s) who were unable to distinguish between Beethoven and Tausig, and Mahler's own personality: 'I was peculiarly and utterly devoid of judgement'.

Although Mahler never developed a stylistic censorship, he did eventually acquire the ability to distinguish between the sublime and the banal (essential to their meaningful exploitation) and in this, the experience of his early years in Vienna was no doubt invaluable: not merely the influence of the young Wagnerians he met there, but also that of teachers such as Epstein and Fuchs. However, the process probably began before he left Iglau under the guidance of Heinrich Fischer who, by inviting Mahler to sing in the Sankt Jakob choir, was responsible for his introduction to some of the

162) Michael Kennedy, in *Mahler*, London 1974, takes a similar view, and also points to Schubert's Octet as a precursor of this type of stylistic contrast.

major works of the choral repertoire:

Beethoven:	Christus am Ölberge (1870)
Rossini:	Stabat Mater (1872 and 1873)
Mozart:	Requiem (1872)
Haydn:	Die sieben letzten Worte (1874) (163)

Table I

To what extent Iglau's operatic life contributed to the early musical experiences of *Hofoperdirektor* Mahler, is uncertain, but in view of the theatrical connections of most of his teachers, his father's cultural aspirations and his own early interest in the genre which manifested itself in *Ernst von Schwaben* (1875?), it cannot have been negligible. The repertoire in the 1860s concentrated on lighter pieces:

Donizetti:	La Fille du Régiment
Flotow:	Alessandro Stradella
	Martha
Lortzing:	Zar und Zimmermann
Meyerbeer:	Robert le Diable
Offenbach:	La Belle Hélène
	L'Île de Tulipatan
	Orphée aux enfers
	Savoyards
	La Vie Parisienne
Schubert:	Die Zauberharfe

Table II (164)

but later included more serious works:

Bellini:	Norma
Gounod:	Faust
Mozart:	Don Giovanni
	Le Nozze di Figaro
Verdi:	Ernani
	Il Trovatore
Weber:	Der Freischütz

Table III (165)

163) From La Grange, op.cit., p.840, n.10.
164) La Grange, op.cit., p.18. The non-German works were no doubt given in translation.
165) La Grange, loc.cit.

The following list of the operatic productions in the season 1870-71 gives a representative example of the Theatre's repertoire:

7 January	Norma
11 January	Lucretia Borgia
14 January	Martha
23 January	Norma
30 January	Robert le Diable
3 February	Robert le Diable
17 February	Martha
24 February	Fra Diavolo
27 February	Robert le Diable
2 March	Fra Diavolo
4 March	La Dame Blanche
8 March	Don Giovanni
13 March	Don Giovanni
20 March	Zampa
23 March	Don Giovanni
27 March	Zampa
30 March	Fra Diavolo
1 April	Joseph

Table IV[166]

In the early 1880s Mahler began his own career conducting such works in provincial theatres.

The only details of the town's concert life currently available are concerned with the four concerts in which Mahler participated before his move to Vienna. Limited though they are, they do give a rather depressing picture of provincial musical taste. Of his first recital, given on 13 October 1870, no details survive, though Wessling is confident that it was at this event that Hofrat Gustav Janowitz, who later encouraged Mahler's parents to allow their son to

166) From Blaukopf, 1976, p.150.

study music, heard the young boy perform Beethoven's *Les Adieux* Sonata [167]. The nascent virtuoso's next appearance occurred two years later at a celebration of the anniversary of Schiller's birth held in the hall of the k.k. Obergymnasium on 10 November 1872. The programme included:

Beethoven	Overture to Prometheus, Op.43
Meyerbeer	Fantaisie
Hummel	Festmarsch
Donizetti/?	Medley on Lucia di Lammermoor for piano, 8 hands. (168)
Mendelssohn/Liszt	Wedding March and Dance of the Fairies from the music to 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', S.140. Solo piano: Gustav Mahler.

A few months later Mahler played at another celebratory function, this time at the *Stadttheater*, given on 20 April, 1873: a gala evening in honour of the wedding of the Archduchess Gisela to Prince Leopold of Bavaria[169]. The concert opened with a *Kaiser Overture* by Wilhelm Westmeyer (1832-1880) and Suppe's *Mein Oesterreich* (with hunting horn solo)[170] played by the k.k. Militärkapelle. Later, Heinrich Fischer conducted patriotic choruses and a performance of Wagner's *Kaisermarsch*[171]

167) Wessling, op.cit., p.39. The review of this concert quoted above, (see p 53) indicates that a series of subscription concerts was given in the town.
168) Research has revealed no further information about the works by Meyerbeer, Hummel and Donizetti, though it would appear that the *Festmarsch* was probably composed by Joseph Friedrich Hummel(1841-1919) who was at that time conducting at Troppau. Source of concert programme: La Grange, op.cit., p.25.
169) La Grange, op.cit., p.26.
170) This work is not listed in any of the surveys of the composer's output.
171) La Grange gives the work's title as *Festmarsch*.

by the *Stadtkapelle*. During the evening Mahler gave a performance of Thalberg's *Grande Fantaisie et Variations . . . sur les motifs de l'opera Norma de Bellini*, Op.12, a well-written piece well suited to display the talents of an enthusiastic amateur to advantage. On 17 May 1873, at a concert at the Czap Hotel to commemorate the foundation of the *Männergesang-verein* Mahler gave a repeat performance of the work[172].

These appearances were acclaimed by public and critics alike, and despite the fact that he had been composing from an early age[173], the general opinion was that the little Jewish boy would become a famous pianist. The first attempt to give his career a real impetus stemmed from Gustav Janowitz after the 1870 recital:

> Janowitz sammelte die Kritiken . . . und schickte sie mit einer Empfehlung an Professor Julius Epstein vom Wiener Konservatorium, der jedoch - ohne den Knaben gehört oder gesehen zu haben - zunächst abriet. 'Im Alter von zehn Jahren ist ein Unterricht am Konservatorium so gut wie ausgeschlossen' meinte Epstein. 'Die Konstitution des Knaben wird nicht ausreichen, um das geforderte Pensum zu erledigen. Ausserdem wird die Spannweite der Hände nicht ausreichen. Kommen Sie später gern zurück, wenn sich zeigen sollte, das die Entwicklung weitergeht. (174)
>
> /Janowitz collected the reviews . . . and sent them with a recommendation to Professor Julius Epstein of the Vienna Conservatoire who nevertheless - without having seen or heard the youth - was at first discouraging. Epstein was of the opinion that 'At the age of ten years an education at the Conservatoire is as good as impossible. The constitution of the youth will not be sufficient to see through the necessary curriculum. Moreover, the span of the hand will be insufficient. Certainly come back later if the development continues'./

172) La Grange, op.cit., p.26.
173) Since the age of 6 according to Mahler himself. See La Grange, p.18, quoting from an unpublished portion of Bauer-Lechner's memoirs.
174) Wessling, op.cit., p.39.

Epstein's sensible, but distinctly cool response merely delayed the inevitable, and perhaps played a role in the decision to send Mahler to Prague where, it was no doubt hoped, he might benefit from living with the musicians in the Grünfeld family. It appears, however, that the two brothers, Alfred and Heinrich hardly took the shy, taciturn child seriously, though he did surprise them by playing difficult works by ear. In later years this exploit surprised Mahler himself as he was no longer capable of the feat[175].

Although Bernard Mahler was ambivalent towards his son's future - though proud of his artistic ability, the security of a technical training held great attractions to his bourgeois temperament - it must have become clear long before the summer of 1875 when Gustav finally met Epstein in Vienna, that if he was to continue his musical education it would not be in Iglau. The circumstances of Mahler's first interview with his future piano teacher, which led to his acceptance as a pupil at the Vienna Conservatoire, are far from clear, but since the event involved some of Mahler's early compositions it is particularly important to compare the various sources of information, of which there are four:

a) An account given by one of the protagonists, Gustav Schwarz and published, together with two letters from Mahler to

175) La Grange, p.25.

Schwarz, in the *Neues Wiener Journal* on 6 August 1905[176].

b) 'Memories of my pupil Gustav Mahler by Professor Julius Epstein' which appeared in the *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, Nr.136, Friday 19 May 1911[177].

c) A second account of his first meeting with Mahler, published by Epstein in the *Neues Wiener Journal* of 19 May 1911[178].

d) A second-hand account by Berndt Wessling (op.cit., p.41f) who unfortunately fails to identify his sources, which are clearly not those listed above.

Gustav Schwarz worked as a farm manager on an estate near Morawan and in his spare time was a keen amateur musician. In 1874 or 1875 he discovered some unpublished manuscripts by Thalberg and a friend named Steiner recommended a young schoolboy who would be able to play them: Gustav Mahler[179]. La Grange speculates that it was the father of Joseph Steiner, one of Mahler's childhood friends, who made the recommendation, while Wessling states that it was during one of his holidays with Steiner at Morawan that Mahler met Schwarz. Steiner's daughter reports, however, that in 1875 and 1876, the two friends stayed nearby at Ronow with one of Steiner's aunts[180].

176) It has not been possible to consult the original article; accounts based on it appear in La Grange, op.cit., p.27ff. and Blaukopf: *Gustav Mahler*, London 1973, p.25f. An extract from the article together with part of the second letter and the whole of the first are published in Blaukopf, 1976, pp.151 and 154.
177) Reproduced in full in Mitchell, 1975, p.397-8.
178) An extract(?) is reproduced in Blaukopf 1976, p.151. See also La Grange, op.cit., p.30.
179) La Grange, op.cit., p.30.
180) Letter to Donald Mitchell, quoted in Mitchell, 1976, pp.55-6.

From this evidence we may conclude that during (probably at the beginning of) the summer of 1875, Mahler was introduced to Schwarz by one of Steiner's relatives. La Grange continues his account by stating that 'after sight-reading the music for Schwarz, the young boy played some of his own compositions, in particular extracts from an opera entitled "Ernst von Schwaben" which greatly impressed his host'[181]. This, together with Miss Annie Steiner's statement established that the two young men were working on the opera in the summer of 1875 and had made some progress on it. The text was probably based on Uhland's play of the same title[182]. According to Miss Steiner

> At the end of this holiday . . . they packed all the papers they were working on in a box and stored them in an attic room. When they returned to Ronow for a holiday in 1876 and wanted to continue their work, the papers were gone. / Steiner's / aunt just shrugged, and said there was such a mess of papers about that she had simply burned them when she tidied up the attic. The two young men were rather upset, but apparently did not write down the libretto or opera again . . . (183)

However, some of the material seems to have survived the conflagration since Mahler apparently showed it to Franz Krenn, his composition teacher, in the autumn of 1875 (see below, p.67).

According to Wessling, Schwarz was so impressed with the

181) La Grange, op.cit., p.27.
182) This assumption has recently been questioned by Mr Knud Martner who suggests that another source was probably also involved: *Das Volksbuch vom Herzog Ernst*, edited by K. Bartsch, Vienna, 1869.
183) Mitchell, 1976, p.55.

young man that he wrote to a friend in Vienna - Robert Fuchs. In his reply the latter said that if the boy had talent, the best teacher would be Julius Epstein[184]. Schwarz had already learned that Bernard Mahler wished his son to continue his academic studies and so became involved in the business of changing Bernard's mind[185]. On 28 August Gustav wrote to Schwarz, concluding with the request:

> . . . I beg you to be kind enough to call on us on Saturday, 4th September, for you are the only person who can really win my father over. (186)

On receiving this letter, Schwarz visited the Mahler family at Iglau and persuaded them to allow him to take Gustav to Vienna[187]. At this point in the narrative the various sources contradict each other: Epstein mentions only Mahler's father in both his accounts, while Wessling states that both Schwarz and Bernard Mahler accompanied the young pianist on his visit to Epstein. Furthermore Epstein states that the meeting took place at the Conservatoire[188], while Schwarz gives Baden as the venue[189]. This confusion is hardly surprising considering the age of Schwarz and Epstein when they gave their accounts, for both were over 60, and were describing events which had occurred a quarter of a century earlier. The possible

184) Wessling, op.cit., p.42.
185) La Grange, p.27.
186) Blaukopf, 1976, p.151.
187) La Grange, p.29.
188) In b) Epstein states that he was giving lectures at the Conservatoire, but since Mahler enrolled at the beginning of the academic year, this seems improbable.
La Grange, op.cit., p.29, is incorrect in implying that b) gives the locale as Baden.
189) See Mitchell, 1976, p.397.

explanations are four-fold:

1) Schwarz is correct;

2) Epstein is correct;

3) That there were two visits to Epstein, one with Schwarz, the other with Bernard Mahler[190];

4) That, as Wessling states, both men were present.

There is really no substantial evidence to resolve the conflicting accounts, though Wessling quotes Mahler as later saying:

> Ich kam mir vor wie der junge Franz Liszt auf der Fahrt nach Paris mit seinem Vater und einigen Freunden zu Cherubini. (191)
>
> /I appeared like the young Franz Liszt on the journey to Paris to see Cherubini, with his father and some friends./

More important, however, is the uncertainty about the music Mahler performed at the interview. Versions a) and d) report that Mahler began by playing music by other composers, but only Wessling identifies a work:

> Gustav Schwarz und Vater Bernard Baruch wurden immer unruhiger, weil sie glaubten, Epstein sei mit den Fähigkeiten des Kleinen nicht zufrieden. Schliesslich stand Schwarz nach dem Vortrag von Liszts *Mazeppa* auf und fragte Epstein: 'Nun Professor, was meinen Sie?' Epstein überlegte nicht lange. 'Es fehlt noch viel', erwiderte er, 'aber ich habe die Gewissheit, dieser Gustav Mahler ist der geborene Musiker'. (192)
>
> /Gustav Schwarz and father Bernard Baruch were restless because they believed Epstein to be unimpressed by the boy's ability. Finally, after the performance of Liszt's *Mazeppa*, Schwarz stood up and asked Epstein 'Now Professor, what do you think?'. Epstein didn't consider for long. 'Much is lacking', he replied,'but I am certain this Gustav Mahler is a born musician'./

190) La Grange, p.29, puts forward this explanation.
191) Wessling, op.cit., p.42.
192) Ibid, p.42-3.

On the other hand, c) asserts that the young pianist began by playing some of his own compositions[193]:

> I asked Mahler to sit down at the piano and play me something. He had already composed several things, so he said, without any previous training, and I asked him to play me one of his own compositions. I let him play for only a few minutes; the composition was immature, and later on he destroyed it himself.

while Schwarz adds the important comment:

> It was only when Mahler played him some of his own compositions that Epstein showed any enthusiasm and said over and over again that they were in direct descent from Wagner, and asked me why I had not sent him a telegram asking him to come to Vienna.(194)

If, therefore, Schwarz's memory was correct, Mahler had begun to absorb Wagnerian influences before he arrived in Vienna. Although the *Kaisermarsch* was the only Wagnerian work known to have been performed in Iglau - none of the music dramas had been heard at the *Stadttheater* - the library no doubt contained at least arrangements of selections from the most popular works (i.e. *Rienzi*, *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*) so there is nothing improbable about Schwarz's testimony. The identity of the works played by Mahler remains a mystery, but there is some circumstantial evidence that what Epstein heard was part of *Ernst von Schwaben*. This, after all, was the work on which Mahler had recently been engaged with Josef Steiner and therefore a likely choice[195];

193) Despite the fact that in the *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, Epstein states quite unequivocally: 'I can't even remember what he played'.
194) Blaukopf, 1976, p.151.
195) It was this work with which Mahler so impressed Schwarz.

moreover, the presence of Wagnerian traits in an operatic venture would be only natural. It is also remarkable that Epstein's judgement of the work(s) coincided with Krenn's view of the parts of the opera which he saw later that autumn:

> Kompositionslehrer wurde Professor Theodor /sic. recte: Franz/ Krenn, der Einblick in die Skizzen der Oper *Herzog Ernst von Schwaben* genommen hatte, an der Mahler damals komponierte. Krenn bat ihn, die Arbeit abzubrechen, da sich noch zuviel 'unausgegorene Probleme' zeigten. Immerhin bekannte er, dass die Skizzen von einer 'bemerkenswerten Erfindungsgabe und Musikalität zeugten.(196)
>
> /His composition teacher was Professor Theodore /recte: Franz/ Krenn, who had taken a look at the sketches of the opera *Herzog Ernst von Schwaben* on which Mahler was at that time working. Krenn asked him to discontinue the work which still exhibited too many 'insoluble problems'. Nevertheless he acknowledged that the sketches gave evidence of a 'notable inventiveness and musicality'./

It seems likely, therefore that even if Mahler had been able to return to the work in 1876, it would not have progressed very far. Nevertheless, despite the inadequacies of Mahler's early attempts at composition, the works Epstein heard convinced him of the boy's potential and his opinion persuaded Bernard Mahler to allow Mahler's entry into the Conservatoire in Vienna.

For an understanding of a composer's early development the most relevant data are not a list of the music he heard as a child, but a knowledge of the works which made the greatest impression on him, his reaction to them, and some at least of his earliest compositions. In the case of Mahler, however,

196) Wessling, op.cit., p.43.

such information is all but non-existent: none of his earliest works survive, and we have but one example of his response to a work he heard as a child - he was impressed by Mozart's Requiem[197]. Even the list of music he might have heard is incomplete. As a result, the picture of the 15-year old student that emerges possesses outlines only, is two-dimensional and relies on supposition as much as firm evidence. It is nevertheless apparent that although he began his serious musical studies as a young, inexperienced Jewish boy from the provinces, Mahler had gained an intimate knowledge of a wide range of folk music, was an able pianist - though probably more because of his passion for music than any profound interest in the piano itself - and a composer. He had also in all probability seen and heard operas and a limited amount of orchestral music, and had certainly gained valuable practical experience through his work with local choirs in Iglau, so as a musician he was no mere beginner.

Vienna offered and unprecedented opportunity to hear music, as well as a lively intellectual life, where a composer could discuss and share his enthusiasms with fellow students of his own age. By the end of his three years of Conservatoire training Mahler had certainly not found his way of life - that was to follow in the early 1880s - but with the commencement of *Das klagende Lied* in 1878 he had begun to forge his own musical language and it is the aim of the succeeding chapters to examine some aspects of these crucial years in his development.

197) La Grange, op.cit., p.15.

Chapter II

Musical Institutions in Vienna 1875-8

The Conservatoire 1875-6
1876-7
1877-8
Julius Epstein
Robert Fuchs
Franz Krenn

Operatic and Concert Life

The Akademischer Wagner Verein

/Hugo Wolf/ came to imagine that his progress was being retarded in the routine of the Conservatoire, and one day he announced to the director that he was leaving the establishment where he was forgetting more than he was learning.

Frank Walker

The Conservatoire

The most important Viennese society for the promotion of music, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien was founded in 1812 largely as a result of the efforts of Josef Ferdinand Sonnleithner (1766-1835), the Secretary of the Hoftheater and librettist of Beethoven's *Leonore*[1]. During the early years of its existence its energies were devoted solely to the mounting of concerts, and, in particular, performances of large-scale choral works, but as early as 1808 Ignaz, Edler von Mosel, who was later to become a member of the Board of Governors *(leitenden Ausschusses)* of the Gesellschaft, had begun advocating the establishment of a Conservatoire of Music in Vienna: his proposals were eventually accepted in principle by the Board, although they could not all be put into immediate effect because of the society's limited financial resources. It was, however, possible to start a *Singschule* on 1 August 1817 and the success of the enterprise led in 1819 to the establishment of the first instrumental course, a violin class taught by Josef Böhm. The following year[2] further classes for woodwind instruments,

1) For a detailed history, see: R.von Perger/R. Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der K.K. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, Vienna,1912 (hereafter: GKKGdM). For brief details in English see: *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed., London, 1954, vol.8, p.785 & p.787.

2) *Grove*, vol.8, p.787 gives 1821, but see GKKGdM, vol.I, p.324.

violoncello, theory and piano were begun and in succeeding years those for trumpet (1827), trombone (1831), double-bass (1831), harp (1847), declamation (1853), history of music (1853) and organ (1868 - Bruckner was the first teacher) were instituted. In 1819 the Gesellschaft acquired through the generosity of the famous lexicographer and collector, Ernst Ludwig Gerber (1746-1819), a library which formed the basis of the large and important collections built up during the nineteenth century.

In November 1847 the Conservatoire of the Gesellschaft was forced to close because of financial problems and it was only on 1 October 1851 that it was able to re-open under the directorship of Joseph Hellmesberger (1828-1893). Financial problems continued until 1857 despite an annual state subsidy of 3000 Gulden. By that time the problem of finding a competent chorus for the concerts, one which had dogged the Gesellschaft for many years, had become acute and in an attempt to alleviate it the *Singverein der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* was established, membership of which was open only to those with a satisfactory knowledge of singing. The choir, together with the *Orchesterverein*, became one of the most important concert-giving bodies in Vienna.

In 1870 the Gesellschaft and the Conservatoire moved to a new building designed by Theophil Hansen (1813-1891),

and the latter was enlarged by the establishment of an opera school and again in 1874 by that of a drama school. By this time the institution was one of the most prestigious of such establishments in Europe, and the natural goal of a young Austrian musician seeking a basic training, though from the point of view of an eager young composer, the predominant artistic outlook was one of conservatism.

Mahler's musical education begain in earnest in September 1875 when he was admitted as a student at the Conservatoire. The main sources of information about this crucial phase in his life are:

1) The annual *Bericht des Conservatoriums und der Schauspiel-schule der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, Wien 1876- (hereafter cited as the *Jahresbericht*) which reproduces the following types of information:

   a) An alphabetical list of all the students registered at the Conservatoire for that academic year, with their age, home town, *Hauptfach* (i.e. principle course of study), and *Nebenfach* (i.e. subsidiary course(s) of study); this list also states whether they paid full or half fees, or were exempt from paying fees altogether.
   b) The results of the annual class examinations.

c) The names of those competing in the annual competitions, together with the results.

d) The programme of student concerts.

This publication has, since Donald Mitchell's *Gustav Mahler: The Early Years*, formed the basis of all biographical research.

ii) The archival records of Mahler's studies at the Conservatoire (hereafter cited as Documents iia-e):

a) *Aufnahmgesuch* dated 10 September 1875 (1p).

b) *Matrikel* for the year 1875-6 (1p).

c) An untitled document relating to 1876-7 (1p)

d) *Matrikel* for the year 1876-7 (1p).

e) *Matrikel* which includes an 'Uebersicht der Jährlichen Studienfolge' for all three years.(4pp).

Of these, d) is reproduced in *Gustav Mahler in Vienna*[3], p.50, and part of e) appears in Blaukopf,1976 as plate 32, while a later entry in the same document is inaccurately transcribed and translated on p.154 of the same volume. This material is otherwise unpublished and no attempt has previously been made

3) Edited by Sigrid Weismann, London 1977.

to employ it in a study of this period of Mahler's life.

iii) Mahler's letters and applications to the administration of the Conservatoire (hereafter, Documents iiia-c)):

a) H83/D1876 to Director Hellmesberger. A request to be allowed to return to the Conservatoire. N.d., 2pp. Transcribed and translated in Blaukopf, 1976, p.154.

b) Letter to the Administration requesting leave of absence from Monday 20 to 28th of the month. No year given (probably c.1875-77). Postscript in support of the application, by Julius Epstein. 1p. Reproduced in Weismann, op.cit., p.53.

c) H518/C1876. Letter to the *Schulausschuss* requesting the reversal of the decision not to award exemption from payment of fees. Postcript in support of Mahler's application by Epstein. n.d., 3pp. Transcribed and translated on p.153 of Blaukopf, 1976.

While these sources are of great interest and have the merit of referring to Mahler directly, knowledge of his activities and training during this period may be greatly expanded by drawing on indirect as opposed to direct

evidence: Conservatoire regulations, details of course structure, and timetables. The general regulations governing the running of the Conservatoire are contained in the *Grundverfassungs-Statute und Vollzugsvorschrift des Conservatoriums der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*[4], while details of curricula, related regulations and fees are set out in the annual *Lehrplan*, to which is appended the weekly timetable for the year. These subsidiary sources broaden the range and depth of knowledge of Mahler's life as a student but must be used with care. Like many bureaucratic institutions, the Conservatoire was adept at creating rules, but inconsistent (or simply incompetent) in its application of them. When the two sources of information - direct and indirect - are compared it becomes clear that Mahler broke regulations without receiving the statutory punishment.

1875 - 1876

Mahler's interview with Julius Epstein was but the first step towards entry into the Conservatoire, and indeed an unofficial one. However on 10 September 1875 Mahler,

4) Vienna, 1869 (hereafter Vsdc). Over the years numerous changes were made in the regulations and a revised version was issued in 1876. As a result there is some confusion surrounding the precise nature of the rules in force during Mahler's first year as a student.

probably accompanied by his father, applied to the administration for entry and filled in (incompletely), the prescribed form [5] which has survived as Document iia). This indicates that initially Mahler applied only for inclusion in the piano course and that he was expected to pay all his fees, which would in this case be 120 fl. per annum. The other archival records (i.e. Documents iid) and iie)) agree, however, that Mahler was exempt from paying half of his fees throughout his years of study at the Conservatoire[6]. Such a concession was not infrequently granted in cases where the existence of financial need could be established and the talent of the student was of sufficient merit[7], but applications had to be submitted before the beginning of the academic term, i.e. before about 16 September[8]. However this was difficult for first year students since they had to establish satisfactorily their financial position and their musical ability; in later years, provided they had acquitted themselves well in their previous studies, they merely had to renew their application (VsdC/1869, para.39-40; VsdC/1876, para.38-39). Some evidence that Mahler indeed found it difficult to obtain exemption from payment is contained in a surviving letter of application, Document iiic). Although there is no date on the letter,

5) See VsdC 1876, para.10.
6) But not Document iib or the *Jahresbericht*; see below p.83 . It should be noted here that there is no evidence to support La Grange's statement "that the Committee ... simply awarded to Mahler one of the scholarships reserved for the most gifted pupils"(op.cit.p.34) and it is certain that Mahler was not awarded such a scholarship.
7) VsdC/1876, para.36.
8) The 1869 regulations are, to say the least, vague. According to them, the application was to be submitted before the entry examinations, but no regular date is given for this event. The details given in the text refer to the 1876 version, para.37 & 38.

beyond the file date '1876', certain details point to an earlier rather than a later period:

1) The fact that an earlier application has been refused and Mahler's emphasis on his father's poverty: once established (i.e. in 1875) there would have been no need for Mahler to provide further such evidence in applications in subsequent years. Moreover the letter can hardly date from the beginning of 1876/7 or 1877/8 since we know that Mahler was *halb befreit* in the immediately preceding terms.

2) The fact that Mahler had no pupils: this is surely the plea of a provincial boy newly arrived in Vienna and trying to establish himself rather than a second year student familiar with the problems of finding teaching jobs.

A date of late 1875/early 1876 may therefore be proposed. It is interesting to note that neither Mahler nor Epstein bother to mention the applicant's musical ability, suggesting that this was already known to members of the administration.

The significance of Epstein's postscript is unclear (as will be seen, it was apparently equally obscure to the author of the pencil notes on the letter): was he offering to pay half the fees himself? However keen his interest in

Mahler's future - and his whole attitude was one of the utmost respect for the young musician - it seems very unlikely that this was the case. It is more credible that his comment is connected with the repayment of unpaid fees, for students were not totally exempt, but merely temporarily excused from payment. On being designated *befreit* or *halb-befreit*, they had to sign, with the consent of their legal representative, a *Revers*, a legal undertaking, that having obtained an annual income of 2000fl. or more, they would repay the outstanding fees in 100fl. annual instalments(9). It may be that in order to expedite Mahler's application, Epstein was guaranteeing this repayment of half of the fees - an explanation that would account for the queried *'Revers'* added in pencil at the head of the letter by another hand, for the undertaking would, in the light of such a guarantee, be largely unnecessary. In any case, Mahler's final paragraph is a clear expression of his recognition of his obligation to pay the outstanding fees at some future date.

The academic year began at the Conservatoire in mid-September (16 September from 1876) but for new entrants like Mahler in 1875, the first few days (16-19 September from 1876)(10) were taken up with entrance examinations which

> Hat den Zweck, das Vorhandensein der erforderlichen Qualificationen neuer Aufnahmsbewerber zu ermitteln und darnach festzustellen, in welchen Jahrgang des von ihnen gewählten Faches dieselben vermöge ihrer Vorkenntnisse eingereiht zu werden geeignet sind.(VsdC,1876, para.42).

9) VsdC, 1876, para.40.
10) Ibid, para.8.

> /were designed to establish new applicants' possession of the necessary qualifications, and thereafter to determine in which year of their chosen subject their basic knowledge qualified them to be enrolled./

A candidate was required first to pay a registration fee of 3 fl. and was then examined, presumably in those subject he would expect to follow as part of his chosen course, and in any other with which, according to the *Lehrplan*, he had to be familiar [11]. Having surmounted the first hurdle, pupils were admitted to the finishing classes *(Ausbildungsschulen)* for a probationary period of one month, after which, if their work was considered satisfactory by their teachers, their membership of the student body was confirmed.[12] Wessling appears to have discovered material relating to Mahler's entrance examinations for he reports Hellmesberger as commenting on Mahler's general knowledge, and similarly states that Fuchs, who examined Mahler in other subjects "was astounded by the knowledge, which the youth had acquired on his own initiative . . ."(op.cit. p.43).

In tracing Mahler's Conservatoire career it is important to bear in mind that students of the Conservatoire were by no means free in their choice of subsidiary courses: the study of each main subject *(Hauptfach)* entailed the

11) VsdC, 1876, para.27.
12) Ibid., para.14 & 15.

attendance of, and/or examination in, certain subsidiary courses (= *ordentliche Nebenfächer).* These were divided into two types: *obligat,* which the student had to attend and be examined in, and *facultativ,* at which attendance was not required, though the examination had to be taken. In the academic year 1875-6, a third type of subsidiary course - *frei* which the student did not have to attend or be examined in - was added. Students could also take additional (= *ausserordentliche) Nebenfächer* of their own choice, although this type of course was not established until 1876[13]. In addition to the subsidiary courses, students were obliged to attend certain rehearsals and to perform at student concerts.

In 1875 students who, like Mahler, took the first year of the finishing classes in piano as their main subject, were obliged to attend:

a) harmony classes

b) chamber music rehearsals

c) choral rehearsals, and

d) the first and second parts of the History of Music Course;

the *facultativ Nebenfach* was the History of Literature course, and in addition students might be expected to perform at the *Vortragsabenden*[14]. The regulations are clear enough,

13) VsdC, 1876, para.19
14) *Lehrplan,* 1875/6, p.8.

but the direct evidence of the *Jahresbericht* is at first sight in contradiction to them. According to its published record Mahler registered for the first year of the finishing class in piano as his main course, and with harmony and the first year of the composition course as his subsidiary subjects[15]. His name subsequently appears in the examination results of three classes: the first year of Julius Epstein's piano class, in which he attained first grade and from which he was admitted as a contestant in the piano competition held together with all other competitions at the end of each academic year; Robert Fuchs's harmony class, where he again achieved first grade, and the first year of Franz Krenn's composition class in which he was awarded first grade and from which he was admitted as a competitor at the composition competition. Mahler was in fact successful in both of the competitions. At the piano competition, held on June 23 1876 he was unanimously awarded first prize for his performance of a Piano Sonata in A minor by Schubert[16] and was similarly awarded first prize for the first movement of

15) For these and subsequent details, see the *Jahresbericht* 1875/6, pp.22,71,74,75,83 and 87.

16) The exact identity of this work is unknown. The Jury consisted of: J. Hellmesberger(Chairman), J.C. Gotthardt, R. Willmers (musicians), A. Roch v. Lagentreu, Dr. A. Schmidt (directors of the Conservatoire), W. Schenner and A. Zamara (professors at the Conservatoire).

a Quintet[17] at the composition competition held on 1 July[18].

The conflict between the regulations and the published information noted above is the result of two factors: the incompleteness of the information given in the *Jahresbericht* - attendance at rehearsals and concert evenings was never recorded there - and the fact that Mahler chose to attend a course not specified by the *Lehrplan*. A more complete picture of Mahler's academic performance during his first year is provided by Document iie which records that he failed to attend the choral rehearsals and the courses in literary and musical history but implies (by the omission of any note to the contrary) that he did participate in the chamber music class. This is a clear indication of the distance separating theory and practice in the administration of the Conservatoire, for his failure to attend these classes should have barred Mahler from participation in the annual competitions[19].

Mahler's decision to attend the Composition class raised procedural problems with which the Conservatoire's clerical staff were clearly unable to cope. These arose

17) In 1958 Donald Mitchell argued that Mahler's prize-winning work was the movement in A minor for Piano Quartet, which has survived, but see Chapter VI and the revised edition of Mitchell, 1958.
18) The jury consisted of: J. Hellmesberger(Chairman), Dr H.Billing, Edler v.Gemmen, Dr G.v.Breuning(directors of the Gesellschaft), Dr Gehring(music critic), T. Grammann(musician), C. Böck and W. Rauch (professors at the Conservatoire).
19) VsdC, 1869, para 50; VsdC, 1876, para.54.

because of the ambiguous classification of the course and led to a further confusion over Mahler's fees. The 1869 regulations contain no explanation of how a student like Mahler could attend a subsidiary course not prescribed by the *Lehrplan* - it was only in 1876 that *ausserordentliche Nebenfächer* were established (VsdC, 1876, para.19) - nor was it possible under the 1869 regulations to study two principal subjects (VsdC, 1869, para.22), though in 1876 this was allowed (VsdC, 1876, para.22) with special permission from the authorities. Under the 1869 rules, therefore, it would have been impossible for Mahler to have studied composition in his first year, but clearly in 1875, exceptions were already being made, although the procedure was not established until the following year. Hence the confusion over Mahler's 1875-6 fees: although Document iie states that Mahler was *halb-befreit* in that year, iib is equally definite that he actually paid 120 fl. The Conservatoire officials were left with no guidance about the amount, if anything, Mahler should pay for the additional course - even the 1876 regulations are vague about payment for the *ausserordentliche Nebenfächer* (see VsdC, 1876, para.19) - so they appear to have decided to treat it as a further *Hauptfach* and charged him a further 120 fl., putting his total fees up to 240 fl. Whoever was responsible for preparing the *Jahresbericht* simply noted that Mahler had

not initially applied for exemption from fees and that he had paid 120 fl. and assumed that the student had not been exempt, thereby misleading the composer's biographers. In subsequent years, since composition was an *ordentliche Nebenfach* for second year piano students in 1876/7 and Mahler's only main subject in 1977/8, his total fees were only 120 fl.

In order to attend Krenn's composition class in 1875/6, Mahler like any other student would have been expected to be familiar with the contents of the first year of the counterpoint course [20] - and was therefore probably tested in the subject at the entrance examinations - so it is rather strange that having been admitted to the composition class as the beginning of his first year, Mahler should have, in September 1876, registered for the *first* year of the counterpoint class. The explanation offered here must, in the absence of any firm evidence, be speculative, but one unsupported piece of information may be mentioned: Wessling asserts that in an official directive Hellmesberger wrote:

> Hiermit wird konstituiert, dass Gustav Mahler den Lehrgang für Contrapunktus II nicht zu besuchen braucht. Die Kenntnisse desselben sind ihm bereits hinlänglich zu eigen. Er kann seine Fähigkeiten anderweitig nutzen. (21)

20) Lehrplan, 1875/6, p.13.
21) Wessling, op.cit., pp. 50-1.

> /This is to certify that Gustav Mahler is not required to attend the second year of the counterpoint class. His knowledge in this field is sufficient. He can employ his talents in other ways./

The confusion surrounding the classification of the composition class clearly extended to the subsidiary courses he was expected to attend. If the course was considered an *ausserordentliche Nebenfach* then Mahler would certainly not have had to attend any further subsidiary courses, but the financial arrangement adopted suggests that the course was, at least from that point of view, thought of as a second *Hauptfach*. If the authorities adopted the latter attitude Mahler could have been considered eligible for the subsidiaries associated with the first year of the composition course (particularly since he had paid for them)[22]:

obligat: German
Italian
Choral rehearsals
First part of the History of Music Course

facultativ: Counterpoint II[23]

Of these, Mahler should have attended the choral rehearsals and the History of Music course as subsidiaries to his piano course (see above, p. 80). His absence from both was duly recorded in Document iie, but his evident non-attendance of the two language courses - both

22) Even VsdC, 1876, provides no clarification of this point
23) *Lehrplan*, 1875-6, p.13

obligat - passed unnoticed, or at least unremarked. It is possible that he had obtained exemption from those two courses on the grounds that he had enough to do already, particularly since this consideration seems to lie behind Hellmesberger's memorandum as reported by Wessling. Whatever the reason, it was apparently felt necessary specifically to excuse Mahler from attendance of the counterpoint course - a curious fact since Mahler was under no obligation to attend such a *facultativ Nebenfach*[24]. However in 1876-7, Counterpoint I was a *frei* subsidiary for students of the second year of the piano course, and it was thus as a student of that course that Mahler studied counterpoint in his second year.

Complex and incomplete though this explanation is, it does have the merit of a) accounting for Wessling's reference to *Contrapunct II* and b) of going some way towards explaining why Hellmesberger's memorandum was required at all: it was an attempt to clarify the confusion arising from Mahler's attendance of the composition course. Unfortunately further obscurity surrounds Mahler's studies in his second year, but in that case it stems from his study of counterpoint and may be more completely dispelled.

24) The explanation may simply be that Hellmesberger intended to excuse Mahler from all involvement - i.e. attendance and examination- with the counterpoint course.

1876 - 1877

Mahler's second year at the Conservatoire began officially with the start of the first term on 16 September. Students following the second year of the piano course engaged in a number of subsidiary subjects:

obligat:	Choral rehearsals
	Orchestral rehearsals
	Chamber music rehearsals
Frei:	Counterpoint
	Composition
	Literary history
	Participation in the *Vortragsübungen*

Despite the fact that the *Jahresbericht* records that Mahler had registered for three subjects - piano, with counterpoint and composition as subsidiaries - document iie again reveals that Mahler failed to attend the choral rehearsal (why were they so disagreeable to him?) but by giving no indication to the contrary, implies that he did turn up at the other practices. Of the *frei* subsidiaries, Mahler certainly did not take part in the last two, and the published record of his year's performance in the *Jahresbericht* also suggests that he failed to attend the counterpoint class, for his name appears in the results of only two classes: those of Julius Epstein, where Mahler attained first grade and from which he was admitted as a contestant at the piano competition, and Franz Krenn's composition class where he also attained first

grade, although he did not take part in the composition competition [26]. Mahler was again successful in the piano contest held on 21 June 1877, at which he was awarded first prize - though not unanimously - for his performance of some sections of Schumann's Humoreske Op.20. [27]

It was probably Dr Paul Stefan who first noticed the absence of Mahler's name from the results of the 1877 examination in counterpoint. He concluded:

> "Es heisst, Hellmesberger habe ihn vom Kontrapunct befreit, weil seine Kompositionen so viel Können zeigten, und Mahler habe diese Erleichterung später bedauert. Aber wie er den Kontrapunct beherrscht, beweisen die Symphonien wohl genügend." [28]
>
> /"It means that Hellmesberger had exempt him from Counterpoint, because his compositions exhibited so much ability, and Mahler later regretted this facilitation. But the symphonies show well enough how he mastered counterpoint."/

As is now evident, the rumour Stefan had heard (Mahler himself may well have been the source) was correct, but that Stefan was wrong in linking it with Mahler's 1876/7 counterpoint studies. No doubt it was the passage quoted above which Dr Robert Hirschfeld had in mind when he wrote to Ludwig Karpath on 15 March 1912:

> "....The 'Mahler boys', however, have written that he skipped his counterpoint. But I offer proof, according to the archives, that he reached Grade III and consequently from reasons of tact was not mentioned in the final exam. Please don't talk about this to

26) See *Jahresbericht* 1876/7, pp.19,61,64, and 71.

27) The jury consisted of J. Hellmesberger(Chairman), Dr G.von Breuning and F. Wilt(Directors of the Gesellschaft), Alf.Antoine and A. Drill (Professors at the Conservatoire), J.B. Gotthardt(Music seller) and Jul.Zellner (Musician).

28) Paul Stefan, op.cit. p.33.

> anyone, since it is a great secret. At the time, Bruckner taught counterpoint. So he (Mahler) was after all a pupil of Bruckner, but unsuccessfully so! With Professor Krenn it was easier to get full marks, to wit in composition without counterpoint." (29)

Hirschfeld had undertaken extensive research for his contribution to the *Geschichte der K.K. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* which was published in 1912. In this work Hirschfeld traced the Conservatoire careers of the most famous ex-students, and curiously, tells the whole of this story (which was such 'a great secret' according to his letter to Karpath!):

> Die Meinung, dass, Gustav Mahler die Kontrapunctklassen übersprungen habe, ist irrig. Es mag auffallen, dass Gustav Mahler in dem Jahresbericht 1876/7 wohl unter den Schülern der ersten Kontrapunctklasse angeführt erscheint, im Schlussberichte aber nicht verzeichnet ist. Das Rätsel löst sich, da Gustav Mahler, wie aus den Akten (Nr. 286 C 1877) erhellt, im Kontrapunct nur den dritten Fortschrittsgrad erhalten hat. Er ist also, was jetzt angezweifelt wird, wohl doch der Schüler Anton Bruckners gewesen, der damals allein neben Krenn unterrichtete, hat aber den Jahreskurs offenbar wegen des ungünstigen Fortgange nicht vollendet und ist deshalb im Schlussbericht unter den Frequentaten der ersten Kontrapunctklasse nicht genannt. Die an sich belanglose Tatsache wäre hier nicht vorgebracht worden, wenn man dem Jahresberichte, der nur diskret gewesen ist, nicht Unverlässlichkeit vorgeworfen hätte. (Op.cit. p.156).
>
> / The view that Gustav Mahler was excused the counterpoint classes is erroneous. It may appear striking that in the yearly report for 1876/7 Gustav Mahler certainly is included amongst the students in the first counterpoint class, but is not shown in the final report. The puzzle is easily solved as Gustav Mahler was only given a third grade in couterpoint: this is clear from the records (No.286 C 1877). Thus it is very probable that he was a pupil of Anton Bruckner (a fact at present being questioned) who at that time was the only other teacher of counterpoint besides Krenn; but that, apparently on account of his unsatisfactory progress, he did not complete the year's course and is therefore not named

29) Ludwig Karpath: *Begegnung mit dem Genius*, Wien/Leipzig, 1934, p.99. Translation from Mitchell, 1958, p.36.

> in the final report among those attending the first counterpoint class. This fact, in itself of no consequence, would not have been adduced here were it not for the reproaches of unreliability that have been directed at the yearly report, which was only being discreet./

Until now Stefan's account has been accepted, and Hirschfeld's dismissed as malicious. The latter would have been glad to score a point over Mahler if La Grange's evidence is to be believed[30] but it is evident from his letter to Karpath that he was also tilting against Mahler's biographers. In his desire to disprove their account of Mahler's counterpoint studies, Hirschfeld makes some unpardonable blunders which, in his position as official historian of the Conservatoire, he should have been able to avoid by reference to the documentary evidence. Why for instance, does he suggest that Mahler studied counterpoint with Bruckner? As he himself states, Bruckner and Krenn both taught the first year of the course[31] and even a cursory glance at documents iie and iid would have made it absolutely clear that Mahler studied counterpoint with Krenn in 1876/7. Equally gratuitous is Hirschfeld's statement that Mahler failed to complete the counterpoint course: as document iie shows, he certainly did complete it, and in a manner that would have qualified him for further study of the subject. Finally, and most disturbing, is the fact that Hirschfeld should have been so convinced that he had disproved

30) Op.cit., p.59
31) *Lehrplan*, 1876/7 p.10.

the story of Mahler's exemption from counterpoint study, the reasons for his mistake being his uncritical acceptance of Stefan's mistaken date of the exemption (1876/7 instead of 1875/6), his desire to prove Stefan wrong at any cost, and a staggering ignorance about the way in which the Conservatoire operated in the 1870s.

For all his faults, however, Hirschfeld was correct about the central fact concerning Mahler's study of counterpoint, and the relevant entry in document iie reads:

Counterpoint (Krenn) optional	3	Supplementary examination, 14 June 1st exercise handed in late, 2nd exercise not ready, 3rd no year's assignment produced and a 1st part of a fictitious work handed in: therefore not permitted to compete for the Prize in Composition.

Unfortunately this discovery, important though it is, does not unravel the Gordian knot of confusion which surrounds Mahler's study of counterpoint and it is difficult to see why Mahler's evident misbehaviour in the counterpoint class should have led to his exclusion from the composition competition: counterpoint was not an obligatory course, but one which Mahler chose to attend, and whereas students who were excluded from competitions because of non-attendance of, or failure in subsidiary courses were distinguished as such in

the *Jahresbericht*, the note explaining Mahler's non-participation in the 1877 composition competition is unique in reading:

> Die mit ** Bezeichneten /Mahler was the only student thus designated/ haben auf die Theilnahme am Concurse verzichtet. (op.cit, p.64)
>
> /Those designated ** have withdrawn from participation in the competition./

A careful reading of the *Matrikel* report on Mahler's counterpoint studies (document iie, quoted above), with particular reference to the dates, suggests that the first sentence refers to the last event: that the three exercises comprised the annual examination at which Mahler performed badly, or perhaps failed, and that as a result he was required to sit a subsidiary examination at the end of the academic year[32]. The truth would seem to be that Mahler had done no work for Kenn's counterpoint class, and in the early summer of 1877 his problems were multiplied by the fact that he had to return to Iglau in May to sit his *Matura* (school-leaving certificate examinations). The results in the latter were, almost without exception, unsatisfactory, and the luckless student had to resit the following September.[33]

32) The date of this examination is a further inconsistent fact. Such *"Überprüfungen"* could be sat by:

> Schüler, welche die Jahresprüfung aus einem nicht frequentirten facultativen Nebengegenstande mit ungenügendem Erfolge bestanden, im Hauptfache aber wie in der Conduite vorzügliche Censuren aufzuweisen haben. (VsdC, 1876, para.46b)

and it was no doubt under this regulation that Mahler, having paid the requisite fee of 10fl. resat the subject. However, it should have taken place at the time of the entrance examinations at the commencement of the following year. An exception may have been made to avoid a clash with the *Matura* examinations Mahler had to resit in September 1877.

33) See La Grange, op.cit p.50 and Blaukopf, 1976, p.154. The two sources do not agree on all points.

Mahler, it would seem, found it difficult to prepare for his academic examinations while pursuing the Conservatoire courses: such a hypothesis at least accounts for his poor result in a counterpoint course that was hardly demanding. During their first year, students were only expected to study simple and double counterpoint at the octave, imitation and simple fugue(34). It is also important to emphasise that in the end Mahler did not fail the counterpoint examination: a third grade would have constituted a fail in a *Hauptfach*, but was a pass mark, albeit a poor one, for *Nebenfächer*(35).

Although an inordinate quantity of ink has been used here and elsewhere in discussing this single course, the result may be the illumination of another problematic aspect of Mahler's early life. One of the curious features of Mahler's reminiscences about his time as a student at the Conservatoire is his reference to numerous 'prize-winning' works which almost certainly did not win prizes at that institution. The suspicion therefore arises that memories of this period carried an affective charge which led to these exaggerations, and this is perhaps confirmed in the revealing comments Mahler made to Ferdinand Pfohl while at Hamburg:

> Before the impending performance of the C minor Symphony, the Second, in Berlin, Mahler came to me and played the symphony, which made a strong impression on me, though without being able

34) *Lehrplan* 1876/7, p.10.
35) VsdC, 1876, para.49.

> to convince me completely, as Mahler's eclecticism emerged unmistakably throughout the first movement. He seems to have been reminded by a counterpoint of the violins in the first movement of the fact that during his time as a student at the Vienna Conservatoire he had failed his examination through a contrapuntal exercise. He triumphantly pointed out this line in his orchestral score and called out: 'What do you say to that counterpoint!? That really is counterpoint!'(36).

To this may be added his later conversation with Natalie Bauer-Lechner:

> Jetzt begreife ich, dass Schubert, wie man erzählte, noch kurz vor seinem Ende Kontrapunct studieren wollte. Er empfand, wie der ihm fehlte. Und ich kann ihm das nachfühlen, weil mir selbst diese Können und ein richtiges, hundertfältiges Üben im Kontrapunct aus der Lernzeit so abgeht. (37)
>
> /Now I understand why, as people say, Schubert wished to study counterpoint shortly before his death. He perceived what he lacked. And I know what he must have felt, because this ability and a correct well-practised training was lacking in my student years./

Now that the truth about Mahler's counterpoint studies is known, these comments, far from being awkward inconsistencies as they previously appeared to be, provide crucial evidence that lack of success in this subject lies at the root of Mahler's psychological complex - that is not too strong a word to use - and in this sense allow us a clearer understanding of his statements about his early attempts at composition. That this apparently trivial event should have had such a profound, indeed traumatic, effect is quite understandable when Mahler's position is recalled: a young, immature, provincial boy, probably (if we accept David Holbrook 's view) suffering from identity problems, who at

36) Ferdinand Pfohl: *Gustav Mahler: Eindrücke und Erinnerungen aus den Hamburger Jahren*, ed. Knud Martner, Hamburg, 1973, p.39. The translation is taken from Mitchell, 1975, p.375.

37) Bauer-Lechner, 1923 , p.138.

seventeen had pretensions to becoming a composer. There could be little more damaging for his ego than a failure such as this. To have been so unsuccessful in an undemanding counterpoint course is hardly significant in view of his subsequent mastery, however idiosyncratic, of the art. But the young composer must have viewed the event from a very different perspective.

1877 - 1878

The records of Mahler's final year at the Conservatoire do not, for once, contradict themselves. He changed his principal subject from piano to composition, the subsidiaries for which were:

obligat: eventuell Chorübung (possibly Choral rehearsals)
facultativ: Geschichte der Musik (History of Music)
frei: Literaturgeschichte II (History of Literature II)
englische Sprache[38] (English)

and according to the *Jahresbericht* Mahler indeed registered for composition III and the history of music course. However it is fascinating to note that in document iie two sets of course details are entered in the section dealing with Mahler's final year, the first being those for the piano course, deleted with the note 'Ubertreten am in Composition als Hauptfach' which implies that Mahler's decision to change courses was made

38) *Lehrplan* 1877/8,p.20

during, rather than before, his last year of study.[39] The second set of details confirm the published record, that Mahler attained first grade in the third year of Krenn's composition class and was allowed to compete in the annual competition, but also indicates that in his final year he at last attended the choral rehearsals and explains the absence of his name from the results of the history of music course: he attained only a third grade in the subject[40].

After a second year which was fraught with complications, Mahler's last year bore all the hallmarks of a distinguished conclusion to a successful student career. Early in the academic year Mahler was the soloist in a performance of the first movement of Scharwenka's Piano Concerto in Bb minor op.3 given at a student concert on 20 October 1877, and at the end of the year, at the composition competition held on 2 July, Mahler was awarded first prize for a Scherzo for piano quintet[41], which he performed together with F.Skalitzky, Stefan Wahl, Johann Kreutzinger and Eduard Rosenblum (= Rosé)[42] at the

39) Nevertheless, the possibility that this first set of details were the result of a simple scribal error cannot be discounted.

40) Only students attaining first grade were mentioned in the *Jahresbericht* (VsdC, 1876, para.49). The course consisted of a weekly lecture by Adolf Prosnitz (1829 - 1917), the set book being *Abriss der Musik-geschichte für Lehrerseminare und Dilettanten* by Bernard Kothe (1874).

41) The jury was: J. Hellmesberger(chairman), Alf.Antoine, Hans Schmidt (teachers at the Conservatoire), Dr.Billing, Edler von Gemmen (Vice-president of the Gesellschaft), H. Proschek(k.k.Sektionsrath) and Dr. V. von Raindl (directors of the Gesellschaft).

42) All four string players also participated in the performance of an *Adagio* for String Sextet by Rudolf Krzyzanowski given at the same concert. For further details of their careers, see notes 20 and 50, pp. 191 and 203 below.

'Schluss-Productionen der mit ersten Concurspreisen gekrönten Abituren' on Thursday 11 July 1878. In recognition of his outstanding success as pianist and composer over the three years, Mahler was awarded a diploma, in addition to his matriculation.

Having pieced together the outline of Mahler's studies at the Conservatoire, it is possible to proceed to a closer examination of that institution's impact on his development by examining the curricula of the main courses he attended, and the personalities of his teachers. The picture that emerges differs, sometimes significantly, from that previously accepted.

Julius Epstein

Of Mahler's principal teachers, Julius Epstein was undoubtedly the one whose association with the composer lasted the longest - Mahler evidently valued his friendship as late as 1885 (43) - and was influential in widening Mahler's musical experience. The *Lehrplan* entry for the *Ausbildungsschule* in piano gives some idea of the course he taught:

43) GMB, p.12.

Ausbildungsschule für Clavier

Drei Jahrgänge mit wöchentlich 6 Stunden für 8 Schüler.

Herr	Professor	Dachs	Parallelclassen
"	"	Epstein	
"	"	Door	
"	"	Schmidt	

Alter: 14 Jahre.

Jährliches Schulgeld: 120 fl.

Lehrstoff im 1. Jahrgang: Scalen in Doppelgriffen, Fortsetzung technischer Uebungen an den 3. Jahrgang der Vorbildungsschule anschliessend. - Etuden: Clementi, Moscheles, Kessler, Czerny etc., 3 Stimmige Inventionen von Bach. - Sonaten: Beethoven (1. Periode), Hummel, Schubert, Scarlatti, Clementi, Suiten (engl.) von Bach. - Concerte: Mozart, Beethoven, nebst leichteren Tonstücken von verschiedenen Meistern. Uebung im Vom-Blatt- und Zusammenspiel:

im 2. Jahrgang: Fortsetzung technischer Uebungen. - Etuden: Kessler, Thalberg, Köhler, Moscheles, Czerny, Kullak (Octavenschule) etc.; Wohltemperirtes Clavier 1. Theil. Sonaten: Beethoven (2. Periode), Schubert, Weber, Hummel, Schumann, Bach (Partiten). Concerte: Beethoven, Hummel, Moscheles, Mendelssohn, Bach, Weber und Sonstige Tonstücke von verschiedenen Meistern. - Uebung im Vomblatt- und Zusammenspiel. (44)

The notable features are the survival of music by early nineteenth century composers such as Hummel and Moscheles, the interest in Baroque music (Bach, Scarlatti) and the absence of modern contributions to the repertoire. In fact works by Chopin, Liszt, Brahms, Raff, Volkmann and Rubinstein were included in the third year course, but with the impression that they were there as an afterthought. Adequate as a basis for the development of pianistic ability, the curriculum, even when

44) *Lehrplan* 1876/77, p.4. Epstein taught from 9 - 11 a.m. on Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings in Room 15 of the Conservatoire.

the associated *Nebenfächer* are considered, caters for a limited range of interests and needs. This narrowness was, according to a pamphlet issued by Wenzel Schwarz in 1879[45], characteristic of the general Viennese approach which emphasised the development of 'effects' at the expense of a thorough musical training. Although at one point Schwarz excuses both teachers and parents from responsibility and states that

> Schuld ist das unter Einflussnahme entstandene Zusammenwirken aller Fehler und Unterlassungen, auf der Basis des einseitigen Unterrichtes und Unterrichtsstofes. (op.cit. p.5).
>
> /Guilty is the combination,arising under the influence of one-sided teaching and curricula, of all mistakes and oversights./

he later points out that while on the one hand

> 'Alles was Odem hat,' gibt, wenn es halbwegs die Tasten kennt, Klavierunterricht.
>
> /'All who have breath', if they know anything about the keyboard, give piano lessons./

on the other, parents paid as little as possible for their children's first lessons (8-10 kr. seem to have been the usual payment per lesson) when it was precisely at that stage that good instruction was most necessary.

Far from combating this situation, the Vienna Conservatoire helped to perpetuate it. In Schwarz's view the weaknesses in

45) *Die Misère des Wiener Klavierunterrichtes, ihre Ursachen Folgen und deren möglichen Abhilfe*, Vienna, 1879

the training offered by that institution resulted from a failure on the part of those responsible for the curriculum to recognise the fact that

> Neun Zehntel der Wiener Konservatoriums-Klavierschüler besuchen dasselbe, um einstens als Klavierlehrer ihr Fortkommen zu suchen, und zehn Zehntel absolviren dort und können nicht unterichten. (op.cit. p.7)
>
> /Nine tenths of piano pupils of the Vienna Conservatoire attend in order, some day, to seek their fortune as piano-teachers, and ten-tenths graduate and cannot teach./

The *Ausbildungsschule* was generally successful in catering for the few who wished to make some sort of a career as performers, in developing their technical and interpretative skills. The deficiencies lay more in the earlier parts of the course, particularly the *Vorbildungsschule*, where the various aspects of music were taught by different teachers: if he was never given a unified, coherent view of the interconnection between technical studies and musical theory, how could the student be expected to pass on such insights to his own pupils? In any case Schwarz felt, justifiably to judge from the curricula, that the technical exercises concentrated too much on general exercises - scales, arpeggios etc. - at the expense of more specialised studies designed to overcome specific technical problems. The course was designed merely to produce superficially proficient pianists rather than good teachers although, as Schwarz recognised, outstanding teachers may have no remarkable pianistic ability of their own.

Schwarz was not an unbiased observer - he was the author of a piano method and ran a school for piano playing in Vienna[46] - but his arguments are for the most part convincing and, in so far as they are aimed at improving the general level of musical culture by advocating a more rounded training for amateur pianists, they demand respect. More importantly, they provide one example - by no means isolated - of the failure of the Conservatoire to provide courses answering the professional needs of its students, and suggest that Mahler, and indeed many of his contemporaries such as Wolf, Krzyzanowski and Rott, may well have been hampered by this deficiency during his early years of poverty in the late 1870s. In Mahler's case it is clear that he was temperamentally unsuited to the task of instructing untalented pupils:

> The first of these was aged six or seven, a year younger than Gustav, and throughout the lesson the latter rested his arm on his pupil's shoulder, his open palm next the cheek, in order to be able to slap him as soon as he played a wrong note. If the wrong note was repeated several times, the unfortunate pupil was required to write out one hundred times: 'I must play C sharp, and not C.' With such radical educational methods it is not surprising that Gustav did not keep this pupil long.
>
> Another was found, however, to brave the wrath of the young teacher, and Gustav was no less severe with him. One day, he came running home to his mother with tears streaming down his face. Astounded, she asked him what had happened. Stamping his feet angrily, and still in tears, Gustav sobbed: 'I don't want to give any more lessons to that fool who plays the piano so badly. I won't, I won't, I won't!'(47).

46) For brief biographical and bibliographical details, see Konstantin von Wurzbach: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, Vienna, 1856-1890, vol.32,p.323, and Franz Pazdirek: *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Zeiten und Völker*, Vienna, 1904-1910, vol.28, p.521.

47) La Grange, op.cit.,pp.19-20. The source for this passage is the unpublished portion of Natalie Bauer-Lechner's reminiscences. This story was clearly well known in Mahlerian circles, since variants of it appear briefly in Stefan, 1910 and Specht,n.d.

and this impatience and lack of understanding characterised Mahler's later relationship with the performers under his baton. Training in pedagogy would hardly have removed this temperamental disability, but the lack of such a training may well have contributed to the uncertainty with which Mahler approached the problem of beginning a musical career. In the long term, however, Mahler had no need of skill as a teacher, whereas the pianistic training offered by Epstein was of considerable value.

Epstein was well known to contemporary Viennese audiences as a pianist of great sensitivity and technical perfection. He was born in Agram on 7 August 1832 and having received his first lessons in music from the regens chori of the cathedral there, moved to Vienna where he became a pupil of Anton Halm (piano) and Johann Rufinatscha (composition)[48]. Epstein's particular interest lay in the field of music of the past, as a list of the composers whom he served in an editorial capacity shows - W.F. Bach, Beethoven, Goldmark, Herbeck, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Pachelbel, Scarlatti, Schubert and Thalberg[49] - and his own style of performance was considered representative of the classical Mozartian tradition [50]. As both editor and performer he showed great

48) Unless otherwise stated, information about Epstein's life is taken from MGG, vol.3, col.1457-8. Epstein died on 1 March 1926.

49) Pazdirek, op.cit. vol8, p.133.

50) See Heinrich Schuster: *Julius Epstein. Ein tonkünstlerisches Charakterbild zu seinem 70 Geburtsfest*, Vienna, 1902, pp.9-10

respect for textural purity, his activities in the former field being exemplified by his edition of Mendelssohn's *Lieder Ohne Worte*[51]. In some ways the principles embodied in this publication approach those of a modern critical edition: an attempt is made to distinguish editorial additions from the composer's text and the text itself is based on a comparison of earlier editions though not, it would appear, the composer's manuscript. In his work for the Schubert Gesamtausgabe of 1884-1897 as editor of all the music for piano (two hands), Epstein showed even greater scrupulousness in performing a task which, as an early advocate of Schubert's piano sonatas in public recitals, he must have found congenial.

It is tempting to trace a connection between Epstein's evident interest in the music of the eighteenth century with his pupil's similar exploration of the music of Bach, Mozart and their contemporaries; but such a temptation is best resisted. The truth is that Mahler simply responded to the growing interest in the music of such composers which was making itself generally felt in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and in this response he was, in contrast to Epstein, ambivalent, combining a desire for authenticity with the re-creative urge that dominated his activities as a conductor. Thus, while using a harpsichord (or modified piano) in Bach and Mozart[52], he could also 'arrange' the former[53], and

51) Leipzig, August Cranz, n.d., plate no.C.39801.
52) See Mitchell, 1975, p.354.
53) See the *Suite aus den Orchesterwerken von Joh.Seb. Bach* arranged by Mahler. The title page is reproduced in Mitchell, 1975, p.353.

add scenes to, and reorchestrate the operas of the latter[54]; the conductor who re-introduced the secco recitatives into performances of *Don Giovanni* and *The Marriage of Figaro* at the Vienna *Hofoper*, dispensed with superfluous ornamentation, retained appoggiaturas[55] and advocated the use of small orchestra in such works(56), also accompanied the secco recitatives in *Don Giovanni* with the orchestral strings while working at Prague[57].

More important in Mahler's development was the role played by Epstein in the revival of interest in the music of Schubert which was bearing fruit in the 1870s. His pioneering advocacy of the piano sonatas in the concert hall, particularly Opp.78,120 and 122, and as a teacher, no doubt influenced Mahler in his choice of a Schubert sonata as his competition piece in 1875, and in the following year Mahler performed the 'Wanderer'Fantasy twice in Iglau, on 31 July and 10 September[58]. But perhaps the most impressive facet of Epstein's work as a teacher is his concern for the general well-being of his pupils. In Mahler's case manifestation of this extended beyond mere support in the matter of the reduction of

54) See: *Die Hochzeit des Figaros (Der Tolle Tag)*/Klavierauszug mit Secco Recitativen/Bearbeitung der Wiener Hofoper/Ins Deutsche übertragen/von/Max Kalbeck. C.F. Peters, Vienna, n.d., Edition no 9332.
55) Erwin Stein 'Mahler and the Vienna Opera', *The Opera Bedside Book*, edited by H. Rosenthal, London 1965, p.305.
56) Bauer Lechner, op,cit., p.77.
57) La Grange, op.cit. p.135.
58) La Grange, op,cit. pp.36 and 37.

Conservatoire fees and included the arrangement of teaching jobs, not least of which was that of instructing Epstein's own son, Richard. Mahler could at times be an irritating pupil but Epstein, like Robert Fuchs, tolerated the eccentricities - they must have seemed like affectations - of the impetuous teenager[59]. Later it was Epstein who advised Mahler to take up the conductor's baton at Bad Hall[60], thereby guiding the young student towards his vocation as an interpretative artist.

Robert Fuchs

Fuchs' tuition of Mahler lasted for only one year, but was perhaps not without its influence on the young composer. Both Fuchs and Epstein were members of the Brahms circle - Epstein helped to introduce Brahms's chamber music to Vienna[61] - and for this reason are not completely unfamiliar to the music historian. Robert Fuchs (15 February 1847 - 19 February 1927) was born in Frauenthal, Styria. His father, who met Schubert, was a composer[62], and his brother, Johann Nepomuk Fuchs, was active as composer, conductor - he worked at the Vienna *Hofoper* before and during Mahler's directorship there -

59) Mitchell, 1958 p.44.
60) Stefan, 1910, p.17.
61) For a typical Brahms-Epstein anecdote, see Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Fragmente; Gelerntes und Gelebtes*, Vienna, 1907, pp.227-9.
62) See A. Mayr, *Erinnerungen an Robert Fuchs*, Graz 1934, *Oesterreichische Biographisches Lexikon* (hereafter OBL), Graz and Cologne, 1957, vol.I, p.379 and MGG, vol.4, col.1080ff.

and editor of volumes devoted to orchestral and dramatic music in the Schubert Gesamtausgabe.

As a child, Robert studied the violin, flute, clarinet and piano with his brother-in-law, Martin Bischoff. Having completed his general education at Graz, where some of his early songs were performed by Amalie Materna, Fuchs moved, on the advice of his friend Wilhelm Gerike, to Vienna in order to study with Otto Dessoff at the Conservatoire. During his student years Fuchs suffered, just as many of his pupils were to do in the 1870s, from poverty, though in his case this was partially alleviated in 1866 by his appointment as organist at the Piaristenkirche - a post later held by Hans Rott - from which he received 5 fl. per month (raised to 6 fl. in 1867 - see Mayr, op.cit., p.18). Quite apart from the financial aspect, this appointment was a particularly happy one for Fuchs because of the quality of the instrument which it placed at his disposal. It possessed three manuals with 48 stops and, in the young organist's opinion, was one of the largest and best in the city[63].

In 1874 Fuchs was appointed teacher of Harmony at the Vienna Conservatoire, a surprisingly fortunate event for the young composer in view of his age and his early compositions which, particularly the songs op.6,16 and 18, seem uninteresting.

63) It was at this instrument that Bruckner gave a famous improvisation to qualify for a diploma as a teacher of Harmony and Counterpoint from the Conservatoire on 22 November 1861.

The exception to this generalisation is the delightful *Serenade for String Orchestra* Op.9 [64], which won Fuchs great acclaim when it was first performed in 1874. The five-movement structure of the work is interesting for its contrast of a Tempo di Menuetto with an Allegro Scherzando, a juxta-position later employed by both Mahler and Rott[65]. The material itself is not remarkable, but it is deftly handled. Here, as in the other early works, Fuchs seems closest to Mahler when he acts as a transmitter of Schubert, particularly the folkish Schubert of the Deutsche and Ländler (See Ex.17). It was, no doubt, this common ground which attracted the attention of the critic of the *Neue Freie Presse* (probably Heuberger) who, when reviewing the first Viennese performance of Mahler's Second Symphony on 9 April 1899, declared that 'the Andante evoked the serenades of Robert Fuchs' [66], though the delicate scoring for strings employed by both composers may also have contributed to his view.

If there is no closer connection between the music of Fuchs and Mahler, it is hardly surprising in view of their brief contact and the curriculum Fuchs taught:

64) Serenade/(D Dur)/für Streichorchester/Op.9. Leipzig, Fr.Kistner, pub.plate no.4240.
65) See below, Chapter 4.
66) La Grange, op.cit., p.507.

Harmonielehre

Zwei Classen; für die 1.Classe wöchentlich 4 Unterrichtsstunden, für die 2.Classe wöchentlich 2 Unterrichtsstunden.
.....

Vorkenntnisse: Allgemeine Musiklehrer; Clavierspiel entsprechend der Lehrstoffe der 2.Clavier-Vorbildungsschule.
.....

Lehrstoff: für die 1.Classe: Kenntniss der Intervalle und deren Umkehrungen, Lehre der Accorde und ihrer Verbindung, Begrifferung, Ausweichung, Modulation, Harmonisirung gegebener Melodien;
..... (67)

Unfortunately it is not possible to obtain any picture of how Fuchs worked, though it is clear that he represented the beginnings of a new tradition, just as Franz Krenn was the last representative of the one it replaced:

> Robert Fuchs . . . ist heute noch mit liebenswerten, gutklingenden Orchesterwerken bekannt. Theoretische Bücher stammen nicht von ihm: es beginnt die Zeit, in der die Lehrer nach einem eigenen, aus den gangbaren Lehrbüchern kompilierten Lehrsystem arbeiten und sich mehr der praktischen als der spekulativen Theorie verschreiben. Das Konservatorium is keine zentrale Ausbildungsstätte mehr, die gleichermassen Musikübung und Musiklehre umfasst, sondern eine 'Berufsschule' für den praktischen Musiker geworden. (68)

> /Robert Fuchs is today still remembered by lovable, well-sounding orchestral works. He wrote no theoretical books: the time had begun in which the teachers worked according to an individual teaching method compiled from existing text-books . . . . and spent their time writing practical rather than speculative theory. The Conservatoire was no longer a central training institution which embraced equally practical and theoretical music, but a 'technical college' for practical musicians./

67) *Lehrplan* 1875/6, p.12. Fuchs' name appears neither here, in the list of teachers responsible for the course, nor in the timetable for the year. According to the 1876/7 *Stundenplan*, Fuchs taught from 8a.m. until 10a.m. on Wednesdays and Fridays in Room 16 of the Conservatoire.

68) Ernst Tittel, 'Wiener Musiktheorie von Fux bis Schoenberg', *Beiträge zur Musiktheorie des 19.Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg, 1966, p.195.

According to La Grange (op.cit., p.32):

> /Fuchs/ is considered responsible for making Mahler conscious of the essential problems of musical form. He later declared that his brilliamt pupil 'was always playing truant', but added that 'nothing was impossible for him'.

Tha Fuchs should have concerned himself with the problems of musical form is curious for the subject does not appear in the *Harmonielehre* curriculum, but was part of the first year composition course that Mahler was also attending. Significantly, however, Fuchs also interested himself in Hugo Wolf's handling of form:

> My Sonata in G major met with lively appreciation from Professor Fuchs since in it sonata form is better commanded. Stimulated by this praise I wrote on the same day my fourth Sonata, in G minor. In this work sonata form is for the first time really clear to me . . . (69)

Wolf was apparently in the habit of asking Fuchs to read through and comment on his compositions, so it is possible that Mahler benefited from similar extra-curricular instruction.

Franz Krenn

It might be supposed that Franz Krenn (1816 - 1897), Mahler's composition teacher, was, to a young man of Wagnerian inclinations, the most unsympathetic of the three tutors with whom he studied, and yet Krenn taught Mahler for three years, longer than anyone else, and was unwittingly

69) Hugo Wolf in a letter to his family, dated 15 March 1876, quoted in Frank Walker, *Hugo Wolf, A Biography*, London, 1968 p.35.

the centre of the 'Mahlerian' circle of young musicians, all of whom were his students at one time or another. Krenn is for this reason alone an important figure, and yet Mahler's biographers - and those of Hugo Wolf for that matter - have been unable to shed very much light on his character or musical activities. If the information supplied here does nothing substantially to alter Decsey's view that Krenn was 'tüchtig, einsilbig und trocken'[70] it does at least give a clear indication that Mahler and Wolf were not influenced by their composition teacher.

As both teacher and composer Krenn represented, even in 1869 when he was appointed to the staff of the Conservatoire, something of an anachronism. In Vienna, as elsewhere, the roles of theoretician and Church musician were traditionally combined and this fusion of roles continued into the nineteenth century[71]. It is therefore, in view of the generally reactionary position of religious music of the time, no surprise to find that such Church musicians acted as carriers of the *Generalbass* theory. As a church musician himself Krenn made a late contribution to the tradition in his *Generalbass - (Harmonie) Lehre zum Selbstunterricht* of 1845[72].

70) Quoted in Stefan, 1910, p.12.
71) Tittel, op.cit., p.174.
72) For some indication of the generally conservative content of this work, see: Manfred Wagner, *Die Harmonielehren der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg, 1974, p.11-47.

Krenn was born at Dross in Niederösterreich on February 26 1816, but received most of his musical training in Vienna. As the Viennese theoretical tradition was largely maintained through the close teacher-pupil relationships, it is interesting to trace Krenn's pedigree. His uncle and early instructor, Ignaz Henritsch, was a pupil of Joseph Preindl (1756-1823)[73], who in turn had studied under Albrechtsberger; similarly Krenn's most important teacher in Vienna, Ignaz, Ritter von Seyfried (1776-1841) was also a pupil of Albrechtsberger, and studied the piano with Mozart. Despite this classical education Seyfried was in fact a perverter rather than a carrier of the classical tradition. Apart from his work as *Kapellmeister* at the Theater an der Wien and as a (mediocre) composer, Seyfried practised as an editor of 'Schools of Generalbass' by Viennese composers[74]; his only pupils of note were Wilhelm Ernst and Franz von Suppé[75].

Krenn's first important appointment was as regens chori at the Mariahilferkirche (1847-1862) and this was followed by a similar appointment at the Church of St Michael (1862-1897) where he conducted performances of then unfamiliar works

73) For a discussion of Preindl's importance, see Tittel, op.cit. p.174.
74) See Manfred Wagner, op.cit., p.16.
75) For a full biography of Seyfried and a list of works, see Wurzbach, op.cit., vol.34, p.177.

by old Italian and Flemish composers, an interest reflected in Krenn's remarkable collection of old music and, less directly, his own religious music(76).

Krenn clearly viewed composition as a craft rather than an art, facility was highly prized (see Appendix IVa, nos. 12 & 13), his scores strictly functional with frequent use of abbreviations and shorthand and with none of the painstaking calligraphy of Wolf's manuscripts. Stylistically he appears to have maintined a distinction between secular and sacred music, and in the latter he occasionally comes near to Bruckner (See Ex.18). This illustration comes from the Credo of an early setting of the Mass (Appendix IVa/22) which is atypical in its use elsewhere of the symphonic style of Haydn and Mozart. In his later works Krenn consistently restricts himself to a limited number of musical textures. At their worst these pieces degenerate into undistinguished harmonic progressions unadorned by any memorable melodic ideas (See Appendix VI/1), thus resembling, on an infinitely lower level, Bruckner's religious music which on occasion is itself only saved from mediocrity by a far more interesting harmonic palette. The origins of Krenn's sacred style are obscure, particularly since only a limited number of his religious compositions have been studied and it is not possible to

76) For details of Krenn's collection of manuscripts, and a list of his works, see Appendix IVa.

state whether it was consistently employed in the early works, or whether these utilised the more secular idiom found in the Ab Mass of 1839. It is conceivable that the sacred style was a later development inspired by the Cecilian movement which aimed at the reform of Roman Catholic church music. This suspicion is lent some support by the fact that an obituary for Krenn appeared in *Musica Sacra*, the periodical of the movement, in 1897 (*Jahrgang* 30, p.200). On the other hand, as Tittel points out:

> Obwohl Wien auch zur kirchenmusikalischen Restauration des 19.Jahrhunderts nicht Unwesentliches beigetragen hat, erfolgte der Anstoss zunächst von Bayern und von Rheinland her, da das verpflichtende Erbe des Symphonischen Kirchenstiles in der Kaiserstadt zu erdrückend war. Über dem Umweg der Provinz (Steiermark, Voralberg, Salzburg) gelangte der Cäcilianismus schliesslich nach Wien, wo er aber niemals eine dominierende Rolle spielte. (77)
>
> /Although Vienna had also made a not unimportant contribution to the nineteenth century restoration of church music, the initiative, chiefly from Bavaria and the Rheinland, that was to stifle the obligatory heritage of the symphonic Church style in the imperial city, succeeded there. Indirectly from the provinces (Steiermark, Voralberg, Salzburg) Cecilianism finally reached Vienna, where, however, it never played a dominant role./

and in the penultimate issue of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1880 (22 December, no.51), Krenn is specifically listed as one of the composers who did not conform to the Cecilian movement (p.809).

77) Ernst Tittel, op.cit., p.175.

In seeking a work representative of Krenn's secular music at its best, or rather, at its least uninspired, the best choice would perhaps be the Symphony in G minor of 1850. As in the earlier Mass of 1839, neapolitan progressions possibly redolent of Schubertian influence are a characteristic of the work, but are here combined with prominent Beethovenian features that include in the first movement, a serious attempt at motivic development and the use of 2/4 cross-rhythms in the 3/4 movement (indeed this movement has a rhythmic vitality unparalleled in the other works examined). The slow movement, which is placed second, makes use of orchestral recitative and shows a delightful lightness of touch in its orchestration (Ex.19). The third movement is a short sonata-form structure entitled 'Capriccio' and is followed by a dull sonata-form finale. Like the Ab Mass, this work can hardly be described as pedantic, but it is, for the most part, uninspired. Nevertheless, if any work of Krenn's is, for musicological reasons to be performed - works such as these that never had any artistic life cannot be revived or resurrected - then the Symphony in G minor would probably be the most obvious candidate.

Of Krenn's secular vocal works, two of the operas, *Johannisfeuer*[78] and *Psyche*[79] seem, on the basis of their scoring for physiharmonika and strings, to have been intended for domestic performance, while the third is laid out for conventional orchestra and refers in its uninspired way to

78) 1843, App.IVa/50. The text is presumably based on the same legend as Strauss' *Feuersnot*.

79) 1843, App.IVa/52.

the chief operatic styles of the day: Rossini in the overture, Weber and Schubert elsewhere. The few songs which have been studied - the three songs of 1854 - also show Schubertian elements, though of the popular type: they are *Gesänge* rather than *Lieder*, full of *Gemütlichkeit* and little else. The chamber music, particularly the string quartets, are written in a competent but uninteresting sub-Schubertian idiom.

Faced with this well-written but facile music, without a spark of inner life, it must be wondered what, if anything, this teacher was able to pass on to his pupils. The early works of a comparatively unoriginal pupil, Mathilde von Kralik, are more adventurous in their adoption of stylistic features from Brahms and Schumann, to say nothing of those by Mahler and Rott. The only possible point of contact - as with Fuchs - seems to have been the music of Schubert, and it is a striking coincidence that all three of Mahler's teachers at the Conservatoire in some way acted as carriers of the Schubertian tradition. Under such circumstances it is hardly surprising that their student himself reflected the influence of that tradition. Not only did Mahler inherit his predecessor's distinctly Austrian mode of expression (as in, say, the second movement of the Second Symphony), but he also seized with alacrity Schubert's pioneering exploitation of popular material

within the symphony (80). Furthermore he also borrowed thematic material from Schubert, particularly when writing the Fourth Symphony (see Ex.20 a - d). Nevertheless Mahler's attitude to Schubert was far from uncritical and at about this time he discussed the matter with Natalie Bauer-Lechner:

> Mahler sagte: 'Ich habe mir heute Schuberts ganze Kammermusik durchgelesen. Da trifft man unter zwölf Werken höchstens vier gute. So sind auch bei achthundert Liedern vielleicht achtzig vollständig schöne, was allerdings genug ist. Aber hätte er lieber nicht all dieses Unbedeutende gemacht,auf das hin man ihm, wenn man bei dem anderen auch noch so begeistert war, beinahe das Talent absprechen müsste!
>
> Das kommt daher, weil sein Können lange nicht an seine Empfindung und Erfindung heranreicht. Wie leicht macht er es sich mit der Durchführung! Sechs Sequenzen folgen aufeinander und dann noch eine in anderer Tonart. Keine Verarbeitung, keine künstlerisch vollendete Ausgestaltung seines Vorwurfs! Statt dessen wiederholt sich, dass man ohne Schaden die Hälfte des Stückes weg-streichen könnte. Denn jede Wiederholung is schon eine Lüge. Es muss sich ein Kunstwerk wie das Leben immer weiter entwickeln. Ist das nicht der Fall, so fängt die Unwahrheit, das Theater an. Denn Schuberts Melodie ist ja schon die ewige, wie bei Beethoven und Wagner. Drum darf er sich nicht mit dem Haydn-Mozartschen Formalismus helfen, auf dem deren Werke noch ganz der Wahrheit gemäss aufgebaut waren.'(81)
>
> /Mahler said, "I have today read through for myself all/ ! / Schubert's chamber music. There one finds among twelve works, at most four good ones. Similarly among 800/sic/ songs there are perhaps 80 completely beautiful which is, to be sure, enough. But rather had he not written all these insignificant ones, because of which, even if one was also enraptured by the others, one must almost deny him talent.
>
> That arose because his ability was not commensurate with his feeling and invention. How superficially he treats the development! Six sequences follow one another and then the same in another key. No working out, no artistically complete shaping of his theme! Instead

80) See H.F.Redlich:*Bruckner and Mahler*, London 1955, p.148.

81) A conversation which took place on 13 July 1900. See Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.138.

> it repeats itself, so that without loss one could cross out half of the piece. Each repetition is certainly a falsehood. An art-work, like life, must always progressively develop. When that is not the case, falsehood, the theatre, begins. Schubert's melody is certainly already endless, as in Beethoven and Wagner. For that reason he could not help himself with the formalism from which the works of Haydn and Mozart were entirely truthfully constructed."/

These comments must of course be seen in the light of Mahler's own creative personality and his continual concern with variation of material. In any case these strictures did not prevent Mahler from using in his Sixth Symphony a variant of a transitional device which he had first borrowed from Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* when composing *Waldmärchen* in 1878 (see Ex. 21 a - d).

The curriculum which Krenn taught seems to have aimed mainly at giving the students training in orchestration and other practical subjects:

> Schule für Composition
>
> Drei Jahrgänge mit wöchentlich 6 Stunden.
> . . . . . .
> Vorkenntnisse: Contrapunct, entsprechend dem Lehrstoffe des 1.Jahrganges der Schule für Contrapunct; gewandtes Clavierspiel.
> Jahrliches Schulgeld: 120 fl.
>
> Lehrstoff: im 1.Jahrgange: Formenlehre, Analyse, practische Composition für Clavier, Orgel, Streichinstrumente, Solo- und Chorgesang.
> im 2. und 3.Jahrgange: Lehre der Instrumentirung, practische Composition für Orchester; Partiturspiel.(82)

(Krenn taught from 3 to 5 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays(83))

82) *Lehrplan* 1876/7, p.10. No changes were introduced in 1877/8.
83) From the 1876/7 timetable.

In order to understand the nature of this course and its attraction for Mahler and his contemporaries, it is necessary first to consider the role played by the various rehearsals and practices in which the students were expected to participate. These fulfilled three functions. The first was to give the young musicians an opportunity to play together and learn the standard repertoire at first hand. According to Guido Adler[84], Mahler participated in the orchestral rehearsals as a percussionist, a fact that is certainly significant in view of the emancipation of the percussion section in Mahler's symphonies, particularly the Second and Third. The repertoire during Mahler's years of participation is unfortunately unknown, since the practice of recording details of the rehearsals in the *Jahresbericht* was discontinued after 1872/3, but some idea of the music played at the orchestral and chamber music rehearsals may be gained from the last such report to be published:

In 80 Orchesterübungen

Auber	Der schwarze Domino
Bach	Violin Concerto (?)
Beethoven	Symphonies 2,3,5,6 & 7
	Coriolan Overture
	Piano Concertos 3,4 & 5.
Cherubini	Overture to Anacreon
Chopin	Piano Concerto (?)
Donizetti	Arias from Lina Di Chamounix,
	Belisario and Lucia di Lammermoor.
Döppler	Flute Concerto

84) Guido Adler, 1935, p.8.

Forster	Overture to Die neue Psyche
Gluck	Dance of the Furies from Orpheus
Haydn	Six Symphonies (?)
Handel	Aria from Rosalinde
Henselt	Piano Concerto in F minor
Hérold	Aria from Der Zweikampf (?)
Latzelsberger	Mass (new)
Leonard	Violin Concerto
Mendelssohn	Italian Symphony, Overtures: Die schöne Melusine and A Midsummer Night's Dream. Piano Concerto in G minor and the Violin Concerto.
Mozart	Six Symphonies Overture to Die Zauberflöte Arias from La Clemenza di Tito and The Marriage of Figaro
Mottle	Cantata (new)
Nikolai	Duet from the Merry Wives of Windsor
Ries	Piano Concerto
Schumann	Symphony No. 3 Overture, Scherzo and Finale
Schubert	Symphony No.9
Servais	Cello Concerto
Spohr	Violin Concerto (?)
Scherff	Siegesmarsch
Vieuxtemps	Violin Concerto Op.10
Volkmann	2 Symphonies
Wagner	Overtures to Tannhäuser and Faust Chorus and duet from The Flying Dutchman
Weber	Overture to Preziosa Clarinet Concerto Piano Concerto in F minor.

In 80 Kammermusik-Übungen

Bargeil	Piano Trios Opp.6 and 37
Beethoven	Violin Sonatas in D major and C minor Cello Sonatas Piano Trios in C minor, Ebmajor, Bb major and G major Piano Quartet in Eb major All the quartets and quintet
Brahms	Piano Quartet in Bb Op.25(sic)
Cherubini	String Quartet No.1
Gade	Violin Sonata
Gotthard	Piano Quintet
Grahmann	Piano Quintet (new)
Grädener	Octet & Piano Quintet in B major
Haydn	All the String Quartets
Hartl	String Quartet (new)

Hummel	Piano Trios, Opp.83 & 93
	Piano Septet in D minor
	Piano Trio in D major
Kiel	Piano Trio in D major
	Quartet in A minor
Lachner	Piano Quartet Op.10
Landwehr	Piano Trio
Mendelssohn	All the String Quartets
	Piano Trios in D minor and C minor
Molique	Piano Quartet in Eb Op.71
Mozart	All the String Quartets
	Piano Quartet in G minor and Eb major
	String Quintet in C major
Onslow	Piano Trio in C minor
	String Quartet in Bb major
	String Quintet in F, Op.37.
Paganini	Moto Perpetuo
Raff	Piano Trio in G major
Reinhold	Piano Trio in G major
	Piano Quintet (new)
Rubinstein	Piano Trios in Bb major and G minor
	Cello Sonata
Scholz	Piano Quintet in C major
Schubert	Piano Trio in Eb major
Schumann	Piano Trios in F major and G minor
	Piano Quartet and Piano Quintet
Spohr	All the String Quartets and Octets
	3 Trios
Weber	Piano Quartet in Bb major
Witte	Piano Quartet in A major (85)

The range of music studied reveals an unexpected breadth and includes works by students at the Conservatoire: clearly the second function of these rehearsals was to provide a platform for the best works by composition students[86].

85) *Jahresbericht*, 1872/3, pp.48/9.

86) Wolf makes it clear that only works by composition students were considered for performance; see Frank Walker, op.cit., p.33. Mahler certainly wished to make use of this facility: see Chapter VI, p. 313

The third function of the choral and orchestral rehearsals is perhaps the most significant, for at these practices, composition students were expected to learn conducting by taking charge of the rehearsal. How far the instruction offered went beyond the rudiments of technique is open to doubt, particularly in view of Carl Flesch's condemnation of Hellmesberger's abilities as a conductor which:

> did not seem to amount to much, at any rate from the point of view of our own contemporary standards. In my recollection, he appears as a pretty mediocre and impersonal time-beater of the roughest variety, and as a chamber music teacher too, he showed a downright disarming negligence.(87)

Nevertheless it is certain that in his final year at the Conservatoire (and possibly in earlier years) Mahler gained at least rudimentary experience in the art which was to be his main source of income for almost the whole of his remaining life. The best student conductors were allowed on to the podium at public performances by the student orchestra and the talents of a number of Mahler's friends and associates (most notably, Krzyzanowski, Rott, Pichler and Ernst Ludwig) [88] were recognised in this way in 1877/8; Mahler's were not. His interpretative powers were either undeveloped or unappreciated.

87) *The Memoirs of Carl Flesch*, London, 1956, p.24.
88) See the *Jahresbericht*, 1877/8, p.58 and Chapter IV below.

More important, though, is the light this previously overlooked aspect of the Conservatoire's curriculum sheds on the nature of the composition course. In the past musicological hands have been raised in horror at the thought that one of the greatest conductors of the late nineteenth century had no proper training at the Conservatoire, and it is true that no course in conducting was established at that institution until after the state take-over in 1909 (89). An examination of the whole composition course indicates that it was intended to provide the training necessary for a young aspiring *Kapellmeister* who would be expected to conduct, compose, arrange and orchestrate. This interpretation is confirmed by a comparison of the Viennese composition course with the conducting course at the Stern Conservatoire in Berlin attended by Bruno Walter in the 1880s:

> The future conductors were taught through-bass, reading and playing of orchestral scores, the principles of form, composition and instrumentation. They were required to be present at chorus practice and orchestral rehearsals and gradually to take part in them. (90)

Clearly the two courses were identical in all but name. The belief underlying them was that a well-trained *Kapellmeister* should be a good all-round musician, no mere time-beater.(91)

89) Kurt Blaukopf, 1973, p.33.
90) Bruno Walter: *Theme and Variations An Autobiography*, translated by James Galston, London, 1947, pp.44-5.
91) See Blaukopf, 1973, p.33.

It was simply unfortunate for a Viennese student who wished to study composition at the Conservatoire, that so much of the composition classes was devoted to other matters. Whether Mahler was concerned solely with the training in composition that was included, this being the usual assumption, or whether the more general usefulness of the course played a role in his decision to change *Hauptfach* in September 1877 is not clear. It was well-nigh impossible for a young composer to support himself at the outset of his career unless active as a performer, teacher or theatrical conductor, and Mahler was not and enthusiastic pianist or teacher, so pragmatic as opposed to artistic reasons may have influenced his decision to study full-time with Krenn.(92)

Operatic and Concert life in Vienna

Apart from the Conservatoire, Vienna possessed three venerable musical institutions that contributed to the broadening of Mahler's artistic experience: the Hofoper and the concerts of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and the Philharmonic Orchestra. The Hofoper had moved into the magnificent, if stylishly heterogeneous building designed by van der Nüll and Siccardsburg in 1869, and under the directorship of Herbeck (1870-1875) and Janner (1875-1880)

92) A similar line of thought probably influenced Rott and Krzyzanowski in this respect.

produced a number of Wagner's stage works together with the standard repertoire. Guido Adler believed that as a young conductor Mahler was unfamiliar with many of the scores he had to direct. This may well be true, but considering Mahler's three known attempts at operatic composition, Wolf's repeated visits to the Hofoper despite financial insolvency, and Mahler's own passionate desire to obtain the directorship of the institution in subsequent years, a passion not to be explained on merely artistic grounds since his operatic reforms might equally well have been achieved in one of the larger German houses, it is inconceivable that Mahler did not attend many performances at the Hofoper.

Appendix IIa which summarises the repertoire of the Hofoper in years 1875-78 is as interesting for its omissions as for its inclusions. The works of Mozart which formed, with those of Wagner and Beethoven, the core of Mahler's operatic repertoire during his years as director, were rarely performed, the basis of the repertoire in the 1870s being supplied by Meyerbeer, Donizetti and Gounod. But Mozart's stage works were not merely infrequently performed. When his works did appear it was in mutilated versions, as in the case of *Figaro* where the recitatives were replaced by spoken dialogue. As late as 1910 a critic was complaining about the use of recitative accompanied by the 'monotonous' sound of the harpsichord rather than dialogue in the Mahler/Kalbeck

edition of the work[93]. This treatment of Mozart's texts, which seems to have been widespread in Germany and Austria, suggests that Mahler's use of recitatives accompanied by strings in *Don Giovanni* (see above, p.104) should be seen as a positive step along the path to a more faithful presentation of the work.

Mahler's connection with the Philharmonic concerts during his Conservatoire years is documented, at the outset at least. On 19 September 1875 a number of composition students from the Conservatoire drew up and signed a letter to Hans Richter, the conductor then in charge of the concerts, requesting that they be allowed to attend the *Generalproben* which were not open to the public:

> Löbliche Gesellschaft
> der Philharmoniker zu Wien!
>
> Der Unterzeichneten wenden sich hiermit an die verehrten Mitglieder der philharmonischen Gesellschaft zu Wien, mit der ergebenen Bitte, um die Erlaubniss, den Generalproben ihrer Conzerte beiwohnen zu dürfen.
>
> Ihre güte und Einsicht werden die Erfüllung diese Ansuchens gewiss auf's Beste fördern und die Behauptung gelten lassen, dass das Streben des Compositionsschülers sich nur sehr schwer zur selbständigen Leistung erheben kann, wenn demselben die Gelegenheit, der Auffuhrung musikalischer Meisterwerke beizuwohnen versagt bleibt.
>
> Nun aber verfügt die Mehrzahl der Compositionsschüler nicht über jene Mittel, welche den kostspieligen Conzertbesuch ermöglichen.
>
> In warmer Dankbarkeit gedächten daher die Bittesteller - falls deren Gesuch genehmigt würde - der hochherzigen Förderer ihrer künstlerischen Ausbildung, welche somit sich daran keinen geringen Antheil erworben hätten. Die Unterzeichneten hoffen auf gütige Berücksichtigung ihres Bittgesuches, im Hinblick auf die von den verehrten Mitgliedern der philharmonischen Gesellschaft stets bewiesene Theilnahme an Allem, was der weite Kreis des musikalischen Gebietes umschliesst, und verharren daher in Erwartung einer günstigen Entscheidung, hochachtungsvoll zeichnend.

93) *Die Musik*, 1910/11, Heft 5, p.305.

Wien den 19. September 1875

Jos. Pichler
Christian Schröder, Ludwig Schneider, Rudolf Krzyzanowski,
B. Baumann, Kitty Haus, Rudolf Pichler, Max Wodnausky,
Heinrich Janosch, Ludwig Ernst, Leopold Windhopp, Gustav Mahler,
Carl Zobel, Hermann von Zan, Josephine Wehns. (94)

/Honourable Gesellschaft der Philharmoniker
zu Wien!

The undersigned herewith apply to the honoured members of the Philharmonic Society of Vienna with the humble request to be granted leave to attend the *Generalproben* of their concerts.

Their kindness and understanding will certainly further this request in the best way possible and will admit the contention that the aspiration of composition students can only with great difficulty be promoted through independent work if the opportunity to attend performances of musical masterpieces is denied to them.

But the majority of the composition students do not have at their disposal the means to make attendance at expensive concerts possible.

The petitioners would - if their request was approved - think in warmest gratitude of the magnanimous patrons of their artistic development, which would thus have gained in no small measure. In the light of the continually manifested sympathy of the members of the Philharmonic Society for all enclosed within the wide domain of the musical province, the undersigned hope for indulgent consideration of their petition, and remain therefore in expectation of a favourable decision, your obedient servants, (etc.)/

Of the signatories, four (the Pichler brothers, Krzyzanowski and Ernst Ludwig) became more closely associated with Mahler during their years of study at the Conservatoire. The success of this application meant that it was financially possible for the students to hear the works performed by the Philharmonic, an opportunity all the more welcome as the programmes were on the whole more adventurous than those of the Gesellschaft.

94) Christl Schönfeldt: *Die Wiener Philharmoniker*, Vienna, 1956, p.63. That Wolf did not sign this letter may be simply explained by the fact that he was not a composition student.

Furthermore the experience of hearing Richter rehearse must have been useful even if the 'ideal bandmaster' (as Stanford called him) was not always an inspired interpreter. There is no proof that Mahler made use of this opportunity, but he would have been a strange student indeed to have failed to take advantage of it.

As Appendices IIb - d indicate, the Philharmonic concerts provided a varied musical fare, but it would be remembered that, together with the less frequent Gesellschaft performances, they were the only sources of professionally performed orchestral music in nineteenth century Vienna. Even a cursory glance at these appendices is sufficient to cast doubt on Frank Walker's description of the Philharmonic concerts as exhibiting 'hide-bound conservatism'[95] and demonstrates that the 'beautification of Brahms'[96] had not, by 1878, begun. The temptation to accept Wolf's one-sided, myopic view of the Brahms-Wagner controversy in Vienna, to which Walker submits, must be avoided at all costs, for as Mosco Carner writes:

> That strongly developed tendency in creative artists towards egocentricity, which in some cases rises (or descends) to actual narcissism (e.g. Wagner), often compels such natures, though frequently unconsciously, to see everything in relationship to their own creations and ideas, and to appreciate in others only what they can bring into harmony with their own personal outlook. This one-sided and irreconcilable attitude towards others frequently causes the most grotesque statement to be made, at which unbiased readers of later times can only smilingly shake their heads; as when Hugo Wolf, for example . . . says of Brahms:'In a single cymbal-clash from a work of Liszt may be expressed more spirit and feeling than

95) Frank Walker, op.cit., p.148.
96) Ibid, p.24.

> in all the three symphonies of Brahms, with the serenades into the bargain'.(97)

Wolf's position in the 1880s vis-à-vis Brahms was extreme, and it is important that an awareness of it should not obscure the non-Wagnerian elements of his musical development. This is even more true of Mahler, whose espousal of the Wagnerian cause in no way blinded him to the merits of composers proscribed by Wolf and other over-zealous followers of the Meister.

It is interesting to observe that arrangements made frequent appearances on the programmes of the Gesellschaft and Philharmonic concerts during Mahler's student days, and, in the case of Bach, were heard more often than the unadulterated orchestral works. This practice, which was by no means a purely Viennese phenomenon, was continued by Mahler in his arrangements of music by Bach, Beethoven and Schubert. The arrangements of four movements from Bach's orchestral suites in B minor and D major ('performing edition' would perhaps be a better description; see Mitchell, 1975, p.345f.) that Mahler prepared in America in 1909 is thus, in one sense, retrogressive, though in as far as it was designed to counteract the comparative neglect of Bach's orchestral music then current, it may also be seen in a more positive light. In any case it provides fascinating documentary evidence of Mahler's interpretative approach to Bach's music. Appendix IId also makes

97) Mosco Carner, *Of Men and Music*, London, 1944, p.5.

one of Mahler's more obscure references to Bach a little clearer. In March 1901, he discussed Bach with Natalie Bauer-Lechner in the following terms:

> . . . bad Bach performances . . . don't give us the remotest idea of how his music sounded when he played it on the harpsichord. Instead of the real Bach, they give us a wretched skeleton of him. The chords, which provide the wonderful richness fullness and body of the music are, as a rule, simply left out, as if Bach had written the figured bass without aim or purpose. But it is meant to be realised - and then what a ringing sound those surging chords produce! That is how his violin sonatas - played so ridiculously by just one fiddler - should be performed, and the cantatas too.'(98)

Donald Mitchell's query: 'what is one to make of his extra-ordinary reference to the violin sonatas?'(99) may be answered by pointing to the arrangements of the Chaconne in D minor for unaccompanied violin by Raff and of a Violin Sonata (unidentified) for String orchestra by Hellmesberger, both of which were performed at Philharmonic concerts during Mahler's youth. It would seem almost certain that a memory of these lay behind Mahler's comment.

Beethoven's music, unlike that of Bach, hardly suffered from neglect during the 1870s as Appendix IId shows - indeed some out-of-the-way works were performed in Vienna during the period under discussion - and the arrangements of his works represented extensions to, rather than substitutes for the composer's orchestral oeuvre. The arrangement of two movements from the third of the Op.59 string quartets is of particular interest in view of Mahler's arrangement of the

98) Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.157. Translation from Mitchell, 1975,p.348.
99) Mitchell, 1975, p.349.

Op.95 quartet which he performed with the Vienna Philharmonic on 15 January 1899[100]. Mahler explained his reasons for presenting the work in this form to Natalie Bauer-Lechner[101] - they stem from his antipathy towards chamber music - but neither critics nor his young supporters in the audience were convinced by the result. The former seem to have forgotten the precedent for Mahler's action established by his predecessor, Hans Richter, and treated the event as an isolated phenomenon that had been more or less successful (the majority favoured the latter view). Hanslick was less than damning, however, and suggested that other works, such as the Schubert and Mendelssohn octets might benefit from similar treatment. Mahler had in fact already performed Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" quartet with string orchestra at a Hamburg subscription concert in November 1894[102]

In the absence of any letters or diaries dating from these early years it is only possible to guess at the impact Viennese orchestral concerts had on Mahler, but those of Robert Fuchs and Hugo Wolf give an impression of the reaction they evoked in two musicians who, like Mahler, had been reared in provincial towns. On 1 December 1865 Fuchs wrote to his father:

100) La Grange, op.cit., p.498.
101) Ibid., p.498 and Bauer-Lechner, 1923, pp.107-8.
102) La Grange, op.cit., pp.315-6.

Als ich diese /Beethoven's Fourth Symphony/ hörte, glaubte ich mich wahrhaftig in ein Geisterwelt versetzt und schon als der erste Satz beendet war, konnte ich die Menschen um mich herum nicht mehr ausnehmen, denn meine Augen schwammen in Tränen des Entzückens und der tiefsten heiligen Ehrfurcht vor der Göttlichkeit dieses Werkes. In diesem Augenblicke mochte ich wohl glauben, das der König der Töne, Beethoven, kein gewöhnlicher Mensch, sondern ein Gott war. Wie schön und wehmütig stolz war das Adagio. Wie pikant das Scherzo. Und erst das Finale! Das hat mich vollends aus dem Sattel gehoben. Wie ein Besessener schrie ich Bravo und immer Bravo bis ich endlich gewahr wurde, dass das Haus bereits leer war. (103)

/When I heard this, I believed myself actually transported into a spirit world and indeed when the first movement was over, I could no longer look at the people around me, for my eyes swam with tears of joy, and the deepest, holy reverence before the divinity of this work. In this moment I might well believe that the king of tone, Beethoven, was no common man, but a god. How beautiful and sadly proud the Adagio was! How piquant the Scherzo! And best of all the Finale! That lifted me right out of the saddle. Like one possessed I shouted "Bravo!" over and over, until I finally became aware that the house was already empty./

Eleven years later, on 9 January 1876, Wolf noted in his diary:

> Sunday, 9th January, Philharmonic Concert . . . . I was for the first time at a Philharmonic concert. I was quite enraptured over the wonderful expression which this orchestra brings out. Naturally the Beethoven Symphony (No.6) pleased me the most. Strangely enough I find no words to describe it. It is the first time I have heard an orchestral work by Beethoven. There was only one round of applause.(104)

The Akademischer Wagner Verein

In November 1872 three students, Felix Mottl, Karl Wolf and Guido Adler established the Wiener Akademischer Wagner Verein and during the first years of its existence (it was disbanded in July 1939) it was joined by a number of Mahler's

103) Anton Mayr, op.cit., p.17.
104) Frank Walker, op.cit., pp.31-2.

later associates. In 1873 Bruckner and Wilhelm Schenner, both teachers at the Conservatoire, and Eugene Grünberg, a student violinist who played with both Mahler and Krzyzanowski, became members and were followed by Victor Adler, the future social democrat leader and friend of Mahler and in 1876 by Hans Rott, one of Mahler's closest associates. It was therefore natural that Mahler himself, already a supporter of Wagner, should have eventually joined the Verein, as he did, together with Rudolf Krzyzanowski, in 1877 (105).

An important part of the Society's activities was the promotion of concerts. The programmes of these events were remarkable for their scope, a typical example being that of 7 May 1873 which included songs by Robert Franz, Schubert and Schumann, duets by Brahms and Schumann, Beethoven's Piano Trio Op.70 No.1, Liszt's transcription of the 'Tannhäuser' overture, a Chopin nocturne, works for cello and piano by Zellner and Schumann and three lesser works by the Master: the Huldigungsmarsch arranged for two pianos, eight hands, the Polonaise for piano duet and the Albumblatt for violin and piano (106). Apart from Wagner, Beethoven was the composer most consistently championed and on 2 April 1877 a special Beethoven concert was given including the song-cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*, the Violin Concerto

105) All information is taken from the relevant *Jahresbericht des Akademischen Wagner-Vereines*. (hereafter JAWV)
106) JAWV, 1873, p.34.

and the first Leonore Overture. One of the two conductors was Hans Rott.

In 1879 two further members of Mahler's circle of friends joined: Karl Rott, Hans' brother, who was also a musician, and Anton Krisper who became a particularly close friend of Mahler during the late 1870s. Then inexplicably both, together with Mahler, Krzyzanowski, Hans Rott, and another of Mahler's associates, Fritz Löhr, left the Society. The cause of this mass exodus has never come to light. It was certainly not the result of any cooling of their interest in Wagner, and since it occurred during the year it is unlikely that the problem of finding the subscription fee was the cause. However, attention may be drawn to the concert given by the Verein in the Bösendorfer Saal on 12 November 1879. At this event Hans Paumgartner and Felix Mottl performed the Adagio and Scherzo from Bruckner's Third Symphony in an arrangement for piano duet.(107) Since the first published duet arrangement - that prepared by Mahler - did not appear until 1880, it must be wondered whose arrangement was employed: Mahler's or a different arrangement by another of Bruckner's young admirers? Considering the volatile natures of many of the young Wagnerians it is easy to understand how disagreement over this item of the programme could have stirred up sufficient ill-feeling to cause a break between the Mahler

107) For an excerpt from a review of the concert, see Blaukopf, 1976, p.156. Hans Paumgartner (1843-1896) married the singer Rosa Papier, who was one of Mahler's greatest supporters in his diplomatic efforts to secure the directorship of the Vienna Hofoper.

group and the Verein.

Whatever the cause of the break, Mahler was, during the years immediately following the completion of his studies at the Conservatoire, becoming more closely involved with fellow-students whose chief interest lay not so much in the German composer's music as in his political and cultural programme. In doing so Mahler was committing himself to groups who, far from adopting the ultimately respectable non-conformism of the Wagner Verein, proclaimed stridently their opposition to the status quo in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

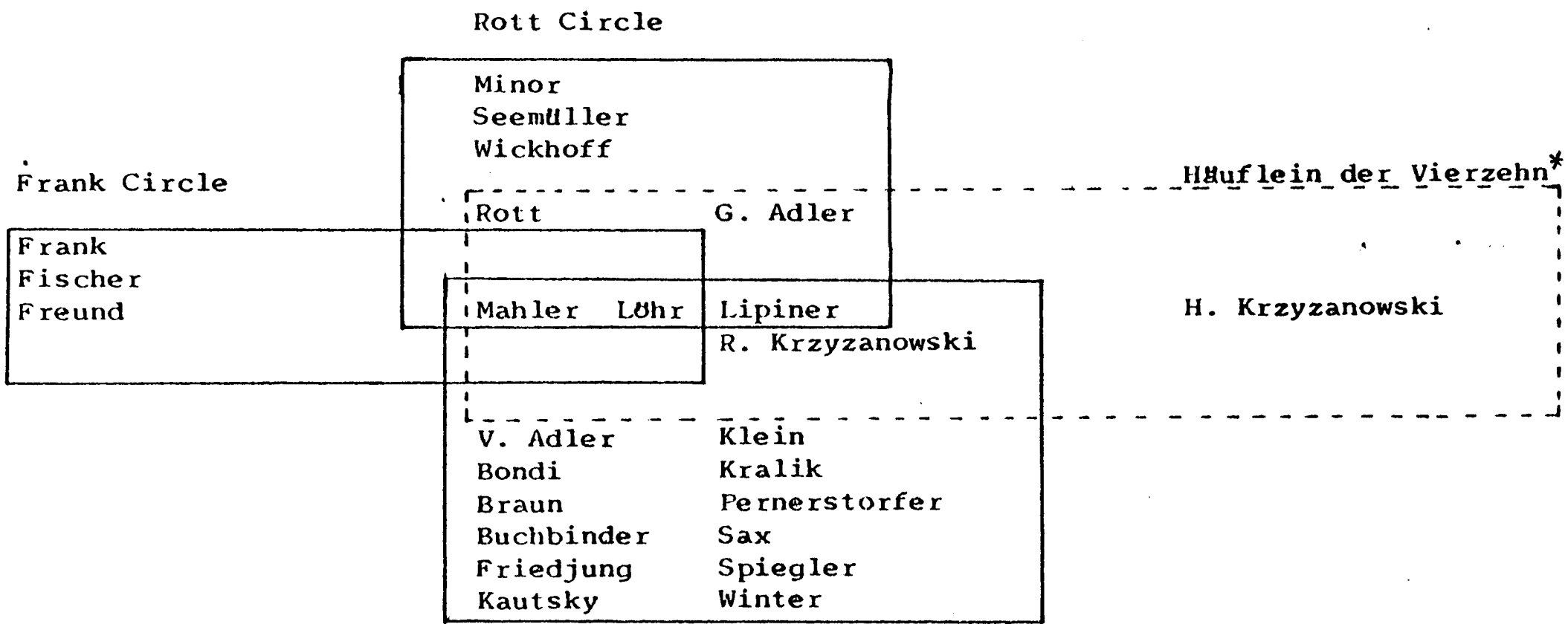
Chapter III

Student Circles: Nationalism, Socialism, Religion and Art.

Is all change in the direction of progress? if not, how shall we discern which change is progress and which not? and . . . how far and in what ways can we act upon the course of change so as to promote it where it is beneficial, and divert it where it is injurious?

George Eliot

Student Circles in Vienna, 1875-1880



*Only Wessling mentions this group. Its existence must therefore be considered unsubstantiated.

Fig. III

Mahler's studies at the Vienna Conservatoire and the musical experiences he gained through the activities of the other Viennese musical institutions were, as the previous chapter illustrates, important factors in his development, but by their very nature, particularly within a state which had only recently made the first tentative steps towards constitutional government, these organisations devoted most of their attention to the past. This innate conservatism was not a wholly unfruitful stance for it not only ensured as far as possible that young musicians had a substantial knowledge of the continually evolving musical tradition to which they belonged - however reluctantly - but also, particularly in the case of the paternalistic Conservatoire, provided a target for their youthful rebellion. Mahler's own revolt was not unusual, though it was apparently less vigorous than that of Hugo Wolf. Such behaviour was, however, merely the explicit and isolated manifestation of a more general discontent felt by Mahler and his contemporaries, a discontent which, though fuelled by the restlessness of adolescence, was of far more profound significance and which in Mahler's case was to last for the whole of his life. Mahler shared this experience with a large circle - a number of interlocking circles to be more precise - several members of which were to play significant roles in the intellectual

life of the Monarchy and later the Austrian Republic. Their common philosophical outlook illuminates many aspects of Mahler's artistic credo and his position in a tradition of German and Austrian thought. The aim of this chapter is not to trace in detail the evolution of thought within these groups[1], but to emphasise Mahler's early personal and intellectual bonds with them, and to illustrate the significance of such bonds for an understanding of his music.

In 1875 Vienna was experiencing the effects of the first liberal ministry in the history of the Empire - one of which was the disastrous stock exchange crash of 1873 - and was also literally changing its face; these two features of Viennese life were not entirely unconnected.

On 20 December 1857 Franz Josef sent a letter-patent to Alexander Bach, the Minister President, authorising the removal of the fortifications surrounding the *Innere Stadt* of the capital[2]. This move signified a victory for industrial and commercial interests which had been pressing for it since the revolution of 1848. The arguments of the militarists in the administration, who

1) This has already been done in the case of the most coherent group, the Pernerstorfer circle, in William J. McGrath, op.cit.
2) Ilsa Barea, *Vienna, Legend and Reality*, London 1966, p.237. This book, together with C.A. McCartney, op.cit., Allan Janik/ Stephen Toulmin,*Wittgenstein's Vienna*, London,1973 and McGrath, op.cit., forms the basis for the opening of the chapter.

believed that such defences were necessary because of the possibility of another proletarian revolution, had been dominant during the years of absolutism which followed the events of 1848, but financial interests which, because of the inevitable spread of industrialisation even within the conservatively run Habsburg state, were gaining ground, played a gradually more important role in the formation of policy.

By 1865 the *Ringstrasse*, a wide boulevard following the outline of the old ramparts, was ready for use and in 1869 the first of the public buildings which grew up along it was opened: the Opera. Further examples of the much-maligned *Ringstrasse Styl* followed: the two museums (1881), the Parliament Building (1883), the Rathaus (1883), the University (1884) and the Burgtheater (1888). Even before the building programme was completed the younger generation had developed a dislike for the style, and in 1885 Fritz Löhr, one of Mahler's closest friends, wrote:

> Who'll buy Classical - Gothic - German or Italian Renaissance? And all of it - what more could one ask - neatly displayed; for this is the architectural old-clothes market of the Imperial capital city of Vienna. Now, in an old-clothes market everybody grabs what he particularly wants. So I stand in front of a building. I know quite well that it is the Imperial Parliament. Anyone who does not know this already is certainly not going to guess it . . . (3)

3) 'Ueber einige Einflüsse der Antike auf unsere Kulture', *Deutsche Worte*, vol.V, no.1, p.184-5, quoted in Blaukopf,1976,p.173.

However unsatisfactory the results - and when trying to picture the Vienna Mahler knew as a student it is worth remembering that only the Opera was completed before he left in 1880 to take up his first conducting appointment - they must be viewed for what they were at the time: a reaction against years of aesthetic conformity. Moreover, as one Viennese writer has put it:

> The fact remains that the mixture of inventive drive and petrified pride, or real and imitation marble, in the Ringstrasse architecture was appropriate as the official face of New Vienna. It was a contrived mask, but so are all official faces. Because of its bogus elements, not in spite of them it was genuine in its way. (4)

If the demolition of the fortifications was the result of capitalism's success in Austria, the impulse to complete most of the great public buildings arose from one of its failures.

The absolutism of the 1850s had not halted the progress of industrialisation in the Empire[5] and there had been a considerable amount of industrial expansion; on the other hand the Ministry of Finance, although successful in reducing the annual national deficit was, by the end of the decade, running out of assets and credit. It was therefore natural that when the financial crisis of 1857 spreading from New York, London and Paris reached Vienna

4) Barea, op.cit.,p.244.
5) See Macartney, op.cit. p.466 for details.

there should be demands for constitutional control over Government expenditure. This pressure became irresistible after the military defeats at Marengo and Solferino in 1859 and the inevitable rise in Government spending, and the Monarchy embarked on eight years of constitutional experiment which led ultimately to the Compromise of 1867. The final impetus was supplied by the Prussian defeat of Austrian arms at Königsgratz in 1866 and the ending of Austrian hopes of hegemony with Germany.

The financial boom which followed was based on stock exchange speculation and between 1868 and 1 January 1874, 1005 concessions for the foundation of joint stock companies were granted, although only 682 came into existence[6]; the prosperity, though ephemeral, did enable the state to record surpluses in the national budgets for 1869-1872. The bubble eventually burst on 7 May 1873, Black Friday, many small investors were ruined and the boom brought to an abrupt end. Thus the completion of the majority of the Ringstrasse buildings conceived in times of prosperity, was hastened in order to provide employment for those thrown out of work by the slump.

6) Macarteney, op.cit., p.608. This was probably due to the 'peculiar economic laws of Austria - which hampered rather than promoted the launching of joint stock companies.' I.T. Berend/G. Ránki, *Economic Development in East-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries*, New York & London, 1974, p.96.

It was to this city of changing architecture and society that Mahler moved in 1875. Although it is possible to glean some idea of his life as a student from the Conservatoire records, the absence of any letters from this period of his life, and the scantiness of the surviving biographical material, ensure that details of his life outside the Conservatoire are almost unknown. The young composer no doubt met many non-musicians from the beginning, but the earliest of the friendships he formed outside the Conservatoire about which information survives date from about 1877.

One of the characteristic activities of young bourgeois Austrians in the later part of the nineteenth century was the formation of clubs, literary societies and discussion groups. Many were short-lived and among these may be numbered most of the groups to which Mahler belonged in the 1870s. One of the earliest, apparently dating from c.1877, was the literary club which met once a week at the lodgings of Gustav Frank (1859-?), one of Mahler's cousins (see fig.1. Chapter I); the other members were Emil Freund (1859-1928)[7], Theodore Fischer[8] and Hans Rott (1858-1884)[9],

7) Freund was in the same gymnasium class as Mahler in 1873 and in 1877 began his law studies at Vienna. In later years he was Mahler's lawyer. See Blaukopf, 1976, p.158.
8) The son of Heinrich Fischer, one of Mahler's earliest teachers. See Chapter I, above.
9) See below, Chapter IV .

the common bond being, with the exception of Rott, their origin in Iglau[10]. Another, calling itself the *Häuflein der Vierzehn*, was according to Wessling, active about this time[11], and numbered Fritz Löhr[12], Guido Adler, Hans Rott, Siegfried Lipiner and the brothers Rudolf[13] and Heinrich Krzyzanowski as well as Mahler among its members. However, during his student years Mahler belonged to one circle which continued in existence over a number of years and which, far from being an outlet for vapid parlour talk, was a forum for the serious discussion of current political, artistic and social questions, and played a significant role in the intellectual development of several of its members - not least Mahler.

The composer was introduced to Siegfried Lipiner and several other members of the Pernerstorfer circle by Dr Albert Spiegler. Mahler and Spiegler first became acquainted at the home of Spiegler's father, a Viennese industrialist[14], some time before 1878, and their friendship endured until Mahler's death. Like the majority of the members of the Pernerstorfer circle, Spiegler came from an upper middle class background, yet he and a brother and sister were concerned (to put it no stronger) with social

10) De La Grange, op.cit., p.51 and Hans Holländer, 1928, p.128, who also includes in this group Heinrich and Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Anton Krisper and Fritz Löhr.
11) Wessling, op.cit., p.67
12) An archeologist and one of Mahler's closest friends until the latter's marriage.
13) See below, Chapter IV.
14) J. Brauenthal, *Victor und Friedrich Adler*, Vienna 1965, p.35.

questions: Heinrich Spiegler was a close friend of Karl Kautsky, the socialist politician, and Josephine Spiegler became Heinrich Braun's first wife[15]. Albert qualified as a doctor of medicine but never practised - presumably his father's wealth made this unnecessary - and he devoted himself instead to research into dietetics.

In 1888 Spiegler married Nina Hofmann[16]. Her profound understanding of music endeared her to Mahler, and, later, Bruno Walter:

> Brilliantly faceted though her mind was, it was wholly embedded, as it were, in her love of music. To understand her nature, one had to realise that fact. So saturated was she with music that she might have been called a creature of the musical universe, just as Goethe's Makarie was a creature of the solar system. Her musical absorbtion led to friendship with Mahler, and the same may be said of our friendship, which remained a vital force for forty years. Never in my life did I feel so thoroughly understood as a musician as I did by Nina Spiegler. (17)

The Spieglers shared an interest in socialism and their friendships with Braun, Victor Adler and Engelbert Pernerstorfer were to last for many years. Walter recalled hours of stimulating conversation with Pernerstorfer at the Spieglers' home in the early years of the twentieth century[18].

15) Karl Kautsky, *Erinnerungen und Erörterungen*, The Hague,1960,p.528.
16) De La Grange, op.cit., p.178
17) Bruno Walter, 1947, p.164.
18) Ibid., p.163.

Mahler met Siegfried Lipiner for the first time at Spiegler's home, probably in 1878 (19). Born in Jaroslau in Galizia on 24 October 1856, Lipiner moved in 1862 to Tarnow and then in 1871 to Vienna where he entered the University in 1875. The following year he studied with Fechner (20) and Gottshall in Leipzig for one term, and after completing his University career, stayed briefly in Strassburg and then Berlin before returning to Vienna. In 1881 Lipiner was appointed librarian to the Austrian Parliament, a post he held until his death in 1911 (21).

A detailed account of Lipiner's influence on the members of the Pernerstorfer circle, whom he first met in 1875 at the *Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens*, and Mahler in particular, lies beyond the scope of this study, and has already been given by W.J. McGrath. However, in view of the unsuccessful nature of his artistic productions and Alma Mahler's contemptuous dismissal of him, it is worth recalling Bruno Walter's view that his poems give a very incomplete reflection of the man's true qualities (22).

19) McGrath, op.cit., p.89
20) It was thanks to Lipiner that Mahler acquired his interest in this philosopher's writings.
21) See Hartungen, *Der Dichter Siegfried Lipiner (1856-1911)*, pp.1-8.
22) Walter, 1947 , p.161.

Through Lipiner, Mahler was introduced to other members of the Pernerstorfer circle, particularly Victor Adler, H.E. Sax and Heinrich Braun, and took part in some of their meetings[23]. Several of the bonds which united these men and Mahler in friendship during the late 1870s and 1880s are readily discernible: a common interest in music, in Wagner, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, in German Nationalism, and a common social position as assimilationist Jews. In the case of the Pernerstorfer circle itself, the development of these interests can be traced with some certainty, so, at the risk of resorting too frequently to history by association, knowledge of this development may be employed to illuminate the early stages of the evolution of Mahler's philosophical and aesthetic views.

The origins of the Pernerstorfer circle lay in an * adolescent group called the Telyn Society. The motives which lay behind its establishment in March 1867[24] were as much nationalistic as literary in origin. The founders - Victor Adler, Max von Gruber, Engelbert Pernerstorfer and Heinrich Friedjung - were all students at the *Schotten-gymnasium*[25], and fervently hoped for the creation of a

23) For biographical details of these, and more obscure members of the circle, see Appendix III.

24) For the origins of the name, see McGrath, op.cit., p.17. Unless otherwise stated, all information concerning the Pernerstorfer circle is taken from this source.

25) Heinrich Krzyzanowski, Joseph Seemüller and Dr Seraphin Bondi, all of whom were associated with the circle at a later date, were also pupils at the school.

unified German nation. With the exception of Pernerstorfer, they came from wealthy Jewish homes, but rejected the liberalism of their parents. Pernerstorfer, a gentile, was their link with a revolutionary past: his father had fought in the 1848 revolution and when he died the family were left in poverty.

In view of their strong identification with German culture which was strengthened by their education at the *Schottengymnasium*, it is hardly surprising that the members of the Telyn viewed the exclusion of Austria from the newly emergent Germany and the disastrous Austro-Prussian War of 1866 with disgust, and came to hate the Habsburg dynasty. Moreover, the fact that Austria's first liberal administration came to power as a by-product of Austria's need to gain the assistance of Napoleon III, the occupant of what Victor Adler described as 'the worm-eaten throne of despotism', filled them with distaste for the new government. This reaction was heightened by the hostile attitude of the ministry towards the working-class movement which emerged after 1867, for the Telyn were already subscribing to socialist periodicals and taking a keen interest in the social question.

In 1870 the socialist leaders of a workers' march

were convicted of treason and various workers' organisations dissolved by the government, moves which led the Telynen to form a new Socio-Political Society, the aim of which was the 'clarification and establishment of our view on the social question'. By 1871, when they graduated and entered the University, the members had presumably accomplished this task, for they then returned to the original programme: a more general approach to literature, aesthetics, philosophy and science. 'In shifting the focus of their discussions from specific political and social problems to the larger concerns of art, philosophy, and science the Telynen began to prepare themselves, however unconsciously, for what was soon to become a systematic search for philosophical alternatives to the ideas of liberal culture.'[26] In their second year at Vienna University, the Telynen became involved with the *Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens*, a society set up the previous year as a front for covert German nationalist views. At this stage the *Leseverein*, though nationalistic in outlook, was nearer to the left wing of the liberal movement than to the embryonic socialism of the Pernerstorfer circle. Within two years, however, members of the Telyn Society had been appointed to influential positions in the leadership of the *Leseverein*, and their views, together with the impact of the 1873 financial crisis contributed to the distinctly anti-liberal attitude subsequently adopted

26) McGrath, op.cit., p.33.

by the *Verein*.

At this stage in the development of the new world-view of the *Leseverein*, and more specifically the Pernerstorfer circle, the negative elements resulting from a critique of liberal ideas were still dominant, and the impact of Nietzsche and Wagner on their thought was thus two-fold: the theories of both writers provided a coherent attack on this very culture and also offered a solution to the problem. Their writings first came to the attention of Adler and his associates around 1874-5[27] and very soon their influence was reflected in the discussions of the *Leseverein* itself. In the case of Nietzsche, it was his early writings - such as *The Birth of Tragedy* and *Schopenhauer as Educator* - rather than the later, more nihilistic writings[28] which were known to the Pernerstorfer circle, and this appears to be true of Mahler's own early acquaintance with the philosopher's works. If so, his later attitude towards Nietzsche - he told his future wife to burn her copy of the philosopher's complete works[29] - becomes readily understandable as an indication that he, like Thomas Mann[30] recognised the nihilistic element, and rejected it. He had,

27) McGrath, op.cit., p.53.
28) Klemens von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism: Its History and Dilemma in the TWentieth Century*, Princeton, 1968, p.38.
29) Alma Mahler, 1973, p.18.
30) Klemperer, op.cit., p.38.

moreover, rejected Nietzsche's idea of a cultural brotherhood, writing in a letter to Alma of December 1901, of 'the whole deceitful and viciously shameless immorality of Nietzsche's superiority of an elite'(31).

In *The Birth of Tragedy* Nietzsche argues that during the great age of Greek culture, the two opposing forces within - Apollonian objectivity and Dionysian ecstasy - were in perfect balance and that the decline of the culture coincided with Euripides' attempt to 'eliminate from tragedy the primitive and persuasive Dionysiac element, and to rebuild the drama on a foundation of non-Dionysiac art, custom and philosophy'(32). The Nietzscheian embodiment of the one-sided ideal of pure Apollonian contemplation was Socrates, and it was this unbalanced approach which in Nietzsche's view dominated the later 'Alexandrian' culture of the Greeks. Having analysed the decline of Greek culture in these terms, Nietzsche went on to argue that contemporary German society, in its reliance on scientific rationalism, optimism and faith in progress, was also of the Socratic/Alexandrian type. A similar critique of contemporary culture on the basis of the disintegrating influence of a dominant reason, plays an important role in Wagner's writings, though there it is frequently combined with anti-semitism:

31) La Grange, op.cit., p.686.
32) Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, translated by F. Golffing, New York, 1956, p.76.

> 'Jew' meant 'modern', everything Wagner hated, it was a symbol. This was admittedly an unfortunate mode of expression. Yet the problem here is to some extent one of language. Wagner's anti-semitism reflected that of the 1840s, a period in which the terms *Judenthum* and *Kapital* were often . . . used synonymously. (33)

In fact the association of ideas outlined here dates from the end of the eighteenth century, when continental observers became aware of the threat to the status quo posed by the spread of industrialisation: at that period the chain of ideas was linked with a pronounced anglophobia(34), another element in Wagner's thought. However, there are no grounds for arguing, as does Dr R.E. Herzstein, that Wagner represents the culmination of pre-industrial anti-semitism rather than the fountain-head of the racial variety of Houston Stewart Chamberlain and the National Socialists: Wagner made clear the racial component of his anti-Jewish views.

In so far as the views of the Pernerstorfer circle lay great stress on the over-emphasis on rationalism and the materialism of liberal society, they have clear parallels with the views of romantic philosophers and poets:

> (The) movement against modernity has gone through many stages. It began as a criticism of modernity in the minds of some romantics; it received its most radical intellectual

33) R.E. Herzstein, 'Richard Wagner at the Crossroads of German Anti-Semitism 1848-1933. A Reinterpretation', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden*, Jahrg.IV, 2/3(1967), p.126.

34) See H.D. Schmidt, 'Anti-Western and Anti-Jewish Tradition in German Historical Thought', YLBI, 1959, p.37.

> expression in Nietzsche and Dostoevski, who deepened the attack on modernity by a radical reinterpretation of man and who concluded with a persuasive pessimism concerning the future of the West . . . .
>
> In Germany from 1770 to 1830, cultural criticism and the denigration of rationalism were often fused, and it was this tradition which was to play such an important role in the formation of the later conservative revolution in Europe. In the West, where modern society was already emerging, a succession of moralists from Carlyle to Burkhardt warned about the particular ills of this new culture.(35)

This may well explain why Mahler was so attached to Dostoevski's works. Stern summarises the community of thought between the two best-known critics of liberal society:

> Despite the many differences between them, Nietzsche and Dostoevski may be regarded as the leading figures of this movement. In their attacks on contemporary culture they pierced to the heart of liberalism and denied its philosophical premises. Man is not primarily rational, but volitional; he is not by nature good, nor capable of perfectability; the politics of liberal individualism rests on an illusion; evil exists and is an inherent aspect of human life; positivic science and rationalism are derived from reality and at best only partly valid; the idea of historical progress is false and blinds men to the approaching catastrophe . . . . (36)

Thus Nietzsche and Dostoevski were continuing a criticism of industrial society that had its origins in the late eighteenth century[37]. However it is important to recall

35) F. Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, Berkley/Los Angeles/ London, 1974, pp.xvi & xvii.
36) Stern, op.cit., pp.xvii-xviii.
37) See H.D. Schmidt, op.cit.

that German Romanticism differed from that which appeared in England and France, and that of the Pernerstorfer circle, in that the economic changes which accompanied it were less far-reaching, and that in political outlook it was far more conservative than that of the other countries. Up to 1830, industrialisation proceeded slowly in the German states and the process'was still so embryonic that one could hope to render it stillborn by launching theories against it' (38). On the other hand, social pressures did exist in Germany, notably those resulting from the explosion of the French Revolution and the years of warfare which followed, which may be reflected in the high level of unemployment in Prussia at the time. In all three countries - Germany, France and England - Romanticism developed against a background of actual, or at least threatened, social change and the Telynen arrived at a philosophical position comparable to that of Nietzsche and Dostoevski before they discovered the former's writings not merely because of factors such as their adolescent rebelliousness, individual psychology and education, but also because of the economic changes which were belatedly felt by Austria after 1848, and the social transformation which followed as a consequence.

A comparison between the economic history of Austria and that of Great Britain and France, shows that the former

38) W.M. Simon, 'The Historical and Social Background', *The Romantic Period in Germany*, ed. S. Prawer, London, 1970, p.31.

lagged behind the other two in the establishment of a modern capitalist economy[39]. Its geographical position and natural resources were not favourable to industrialisation[40], but such disadvantages were compounded by the very slow agrarian transformation which in Western Europe was begun by the French Revolution: in Austria, serfs were emancipated in 1849 and it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that agrarian activity in the Austro-Hungarian Empire was transformed. Although

> the birth and function of modern banks and the spread of railway transport in the western parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, or more accurately in Austria and Bohemia, were not essentially different, in timing or character, from developments in the Western part of the Continent, particularly Germany and France (41)

they did differ quantitatively:

> During the 1840s . . . another 800 km of railway lines were built by the state . . . This was far behind the contemporaneous new lines of 2,500km in France, 5.400km in Germany, and 7,300km in Great Britain . . . (42)

Similarly in 1860 there were only 1.6 miles of road per square mile in Austria, compared with 4.72 in Great Britain, and 4.84 miles in France. The first phase of the expansion of the Austrian economy occurred in the years 1865-1873 as is clearly indicated by the fact that despite the economic

39) The fact that France produced no indigenous romantic movement until the 1830s is sufficient indication of how much caution must be employed when drawing such parallels.

40) See I.T. Berend/G. Ránki, op.cit, pp. 2 & 116. For a brief account of the economic and social changes within the Czech lands after 1848 see also William V. Wallace, *Czechoslovakia*, London & Tonbridge 1977, p.17f.

41) Berend/Ránki, op.cit., p.60-1.

42) Ibid., p.71.

crisis and stagnation of the 1870s

> the average yearly growth of industrial production amounted to 4.1 per cent in the two decades from 1865 to 1885, far exceeding the yearly average of 2.25 per cent in the preceding twenty-five years (from 1841 to 1865). These figures indicate that in the period of initiative and enterprise in the 1860s the industrial development of Austria and Bohemia achieved an annual growth of 8 to 10 per cent. (43)

Thus the emergence in Austria at such a comparatively late date, of a fairly coherent group of young intellectuals with a strongly anti-modernist social and economic critique, may be explained, at least partially, by the tardiness of Austrian economic development (44). It was only after 1848 that Austrian society experienced the benefits of industrial progress, that the social question with which the Telynen were so concerned, was first raised. The crash of 1873 served merely to strengthen the group's anti-liberal views. Austria's particular economic history may also have played a role, along with the forces associated with Jewish assimilation, in the development of the group's nationalism:

> The countries of East-Central Europe presented a peculiar paradox. On the one hand, the advance of capitalism, even in a slow, contradictory, and inconsistent form, created the minimum maturity required for national aspirations. On the other hand, the very backwardness was the main factor in the rising nationalist feelings. In other words, in the West the bourgeois national state was born of the advancement of bourgeous civilisation; in the East it was rather the failings, the contradictions and

43) Berend/Ránki, op.cit., p.115.

44) There were, of course, earlier expressions of anti-modernist feelings, and the influence exerted by such views during the reign of Franz I contributed to the slow development of industrialisation in the early nineteenth century. See C.A. Macartney, op.cit., p.160-1.

> impediments, of this development which fostered nationalism and strengthened independent national endeavours. (45)

In any case, economic forces had an effect on the course of Jewish emancipation itself:

> /the/ process of emancipation is closely linked with the general development of the modern bourgeois-industrial society: the fact that the two main phases of Jewish emancipation - from 1780 - 1815 and from 1840 - 1870 respectively - can be observed in central Europe, corresponds accurately to the changing dynamics of political and social development during that period. (46)

The reaction of the Jewish members of the group - a rejection of the faith of their fathers - was thus not merely an act of defiance against their parents, but part of a more general process, and their identification with the nationalist cause was intensified by their desire to put down their roots in an Austrian society.

Similar factors no doubt lay behind Mahler's strong identification with German culture, and in recognising the philosophical connection between the Telynen and Romanticism, a new insight into Mahler's quite extraordinary rapprochement with that period of cultural history is gained. It is not merely that the literary products of Romanticism were part of the cultural heritage of every German youth of the 1870s: in the case of Mahler and his associates in Vienna, they represented a clear prefigurement of the younger generation's intellectual preoccupations. It is therefore

45) Berend/Ránki, op.cit., p.9.
46) R. Rürup, op.cit., p.67.

hardly surprising that Romantic models played a role at least as important as any others, in the formation of Mahler's early style and that he borrowed freely from Romanticism's mythology:

> If one surveys German Romantic literature as a whole, one comes to see, in fact that /the/ author's private mythologies interlocked in a meaningful way - that they produced a nearly coherent system of tales, partly invented and partly adapted, which tell of man's relation to the demonic and the divine. This is dominated by a quest for the Blue Flower, symbol of all man's longings in this world for something that transcends it
>
> /In *Das klagende Lied* it is a Red Flower/
>
> by Night, the mother of all creation and also the bringer of terror
>
> /as in 'Revelge', 'Der Schildwache Nachtlied', 'Um Mitternacht' and the Seventh Symphony/
>
> by the Mountain of Venus, with its demoniacally enslaved Tannhäuser, and Lorelei, that Belle Dame Sans Merci whose love brings death
>
> /c.f. the Queen in *Das klagende Lied*/
>
> by messengers from another world, strange minstrels, who call to hidden and frequently dangerous knowledge
>
> /*Das klagende Lied*/
>
> by the *Doppelgänger*, a spectral double that confronts man with another side of his nature
>
> /Mahler seems to have experienced such a vision when composing the *Totenfeier*/
>
> by the Flying Dutchman, the Wandering Jew of the sea, who may find release through love and death
>
> /this archetype has certain parallels with the wandering scholar/artisan of Schubert's *Winterreise* and Mahler's *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*/
>
> by the 'Naked Saint' obsesses by time, Tieck-Wackenroder's nackter Heiliger, who may find release through music
>
> /Mahler himself?/
>
> . . . by sylvan solitude, *Waldeinsamkeit*, full of divine or demonic adumbrations . . . (48)
>
> /here the examples are considerable in number: 'Waldeinsamkeit' from the *Lieder und Gesänge* and the first movement of the Third Symphony may serve as representative illustrations/

Some of these elements also occur in the music of Mahler's contemporaries and immediate predecessors - particularly

47) See Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p. 34.

48) Adapted from Siegfried Prawer, 'Introduction' to *The Romantic Period in Germany*, p. 9.

those composers influenced by Wagner - but rarely so frequently or with such naturalness as in Mahler's early works. All too often the impression created is that the symbols have been tarnished by mechanical repetition; only rarely to they regain their pristine beauty and come alive again as they do in even so immature a work as *Das klagende Lied*. Indeed the vitality with which Mahler invests the romantic symbolism of the cantata, together with the quality of musical invention keep the work alive today. It is certainly noteworthy, however, that two of the most frequently repeated of Wagner's preoccupations - human sexuality and the redemptive power of human love, are completely absent from Mahler's oeuvre. These lacunae in Mahler's symbolic vocabulary are in one case connected with Mahler's well-documented fastidiousness in sexual matters[49] - perhaps a result of sexual fears - and in the other related to his difficulty in establishing human relationships[50], his isolation as an artist and man: answers to his existential problems had to arise from within rather than from without.

In connection with Mahler's thoroughly, and, it should be emphasised, genuinely, Romantic view of nature, it is worth recalling the emotional aura frequently associated with pastoral elements in Mahler's music, the

49) Alma Mahler, 1973, p.15.
50) For example, see Bruno Walter, 1947, p.165.

bird song, Mahler's own love of mountainous landscape and his invocation of it in the opening movement of the Sixth Symphony and the first two movements of the Seventh, and Friedrich Schlegel's typical comments:

> As the rustling of the forest, the murmur of the fountain, plunge us always into a soothing melancholy; as the wild cry of solitary birds calls up a mingled feeling of unrest, a yearning for freedom and solitude; so nature herself seems eternally present in her ancient mountains, those monuments which recall to us the grandest features of history and awaken such profound and majestic ideas, as the luxuriance of a level landscape could never inspire. (51)

On the other hand, the composer's awareness of nature seems to have altered during his life, for not only are there fewer overt naturalistic references in the later works, the relationship of the poet/composer to nature also changed. In the earlier works, apart from the use of *Naturlaute* to invoke responses described by Schlegel, the dominant feeling is one of communion with nature, while in the final testament to Mahler's love of nature - *Das Lied von der Erde* - the underlying feeling is one of dissociation from nature, and it is only during the heart-melting transition that leads into the coda of the last movement, when the long-held E finally achieves its apotheosis as the third of a C major triad, that union with Nature is finally accomplished.

51) 'Principles of Gothic Architecture', *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works*, translated by E.J. Millington, London, 1849, p.183.

A further indication of Mahler's Romantic affiliations may be derived from a survey of his favourite reading material:

Arnim, Achim von	Der Knaben Wunderhorn
Beethoven	Letters (the Nohl edition?)
Brentano, Clemens	Des Knaben Wunderhorn
	Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia
	Ponce de Leon
Bruno, Giordano	
Cervantes	Don Quixote
Dehmel, Richard	Zwei Menschen
Dostoevski	The Brothers Karamazov
	A Silly Affair
Eschenbach, Wolfram von	Parzifal
Fechner	Zend-Avesta
	Nana
	Vorschule der Aesthetic
Galileo	
Goethe	Faust .
Grillparzer	Das Goldene Vliess
Hartmann, Eduard von	Das Problem des Lebens
Hauptmann, Gerhart	
Heine	
Helmholtz	
Hoffman, E.T.A.	Rath Krespel
Hölderlin	Patmos
	Der Rhein
Lange, Friedrich	Geschichte des Materialismus
Lotze	Microcosm
Mommsen	History of Rome
Nietzsche	
Novalis	Hymnen an die Nacht
Plato	Symposium

Richter, Jean Paul	Titan
	Die Flegeljahre
	Der Siebenkäs
	Leben des Quintus Fixlein
Rückert	Kindertotenlieder
Schopenhauer	Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung
Shakespeare	
Silesius, Angelus	
Sterne	Tristram Shandy
Strassburg, Gottfried von	Tristan
Wedekind	Frühlings Erwachen

Table I [52]

There also exist some hints of the composer's early acquaintance with German philosophy in an essay he wrote in 1877 at the end of the winter semester:

The Influence of the Orient on German Literature

> Perhaps the most productive influence on a people that has already developed a distinctive national identity and consequently an individual character, is that exercised by a knowledge of the intellectual products of other peoples. For in this way a nation's horizons are extended and will develop a comprehensive outlook which is the source of humanity and of the conditions for the creation of art, and in particular of poetry. A cautionary example is that of the Chinese who., though once a very important race from the cultural point of view, have barred the way for culture and enlightenment in their realm by rejecting everything that is foreign.

52) Though inevitably incomplete, this list does not restrict itself to Mahler's early reading, but covers the whole of his life. Citation of a specific work does not necessarily imply that Mahler's knowledge of the author's oeuvre is restricted to that one book.

> If I may be permitted a brief digression on the origins of poetry, I would call this precisely the inevitable result of the human spirit. Man feels impelled to give expression to whatever mood he happens to find himself in, and this in as beautiful a way as he possibly can: thus does lyric poetry come into being. In like manner, he wants to tell of what has happened to him, what he has done or what his fellow men have experienced: here we find the origins of epic poetry. Dramatic poetry, the acme of the art, probably developed last. But we must also take into account the individuality of each artist. For everything that man thinks and does is always founded in his personal character, and so it is with his poetry. Thus it is quite natural that every race imprints its literature with its own, its national character, and then what we have is world literature. And almost invariably we find that the further races are distinct from each other in the geographical respect, the more different are their climates and locations, the more different will be the nature of their literature, and the more strange will be the impression it makes on the peoples themselves. And yet we find an attraction in what is strange. Let us now recall our opening words: 'What is most productive for a people is the knowledge of the literature of other peoples . . . . '
>
> It is above all the German mind which aspires to a comprehensive outlook; through the assimilation of different nations there emerges, with regard to ideas of form . . . . /the essay breaks off here/ (53)

In his commentary on this essay, Hans Holländer suggests that some, at least, of these ideas were derived from Friedrich Schlegel's writings[54], and Mahler's knowledge of the philosopher's writings may well have been deepened by contact with Jacob Minor, who, a few years later, in 1882, was to publish

53) First published by Hans Holländer in 'Gustav Mahler in der Schule', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 10 June 1929. The article will appear for the first time in English, in the new edition of Mitchell,1958, from which the above translation is taken.

54) Holländer presumably has in mind Schlegel's *Von der Sprache und Weisheit der Inder*, though a perusal of Millington's translation (op.cit., p.425f.) has failed to uncover any close parallels.

an edition of some of Schlegel's early writings. It is therefore intriguing to find that in his *Letters on Christian Art*, Schlegel provides an aesthetic justification for one of the most frequently misunderstood aspects of Mahler's style.

In describing an allegory by Mantegna the critic recognises that here deliberate ugliness is exploited to express the painter's intentions:

> Here we have palpable evidence of a mæter whose whole soul was fraught with images of ideal beauty, yet intentionally depicting ugliness when it becomes a necessary element of that strife between the principles of good and evil, to exhibit which was the paramount design of the old masters.(55)

Schlegel believed the same to be true of Caravaggio's shepherd in his 'Notte' and the group around the Saviour in the same artist's 'Deposition from the Cross' [56], and later gives a more theoretical exposition of this views when answering his own question: whence is it that martyrdom has been so absolutely and uncompromisingly rejected, as an unfavourable, and indeed unworthy subject of representation?

> .. . would not the pursuit of such subjects as are gay and pleasing alone lead to a confirmed mannerism, and the most narrow ideas, not to mention that such bewitching grace frequently eludes those who strive most earnestly to imagine and represent it? It is a destructive and erroneous principle in works of art to seek only outward grace and sensible beauty, which may not always be compatible with general truth and fidelity in the treatment of the

55) Schlegel, op.cit., p.10.
56) Schlegel, op.cit., pp.16 & 21.

> subject; but the painter's first and highest aim should be, to render justly that divine signification, without which no picture can properly be called a work of art, and when this is correctly given, the blossom and fruit of divine loveliness frequently starts unsought into existence.(57)

Mahler's refusal to 'seek only outward grace and sensible beauty' is one of the most distinctive features of his style, and set alongside passages of conscious beauty, grace and nobility, one finds equally explicit exploitation of deliberate ugliness (for example, the third movement of the First Symphony, the second movement of the Fourth Symphony and the Rondo Burlesque of the Ninth) or banality (for example the third and fifth movements of the Second Symphony, the first movement of the Third and the third movement of the Seventh). It has been suggested in ChapterI(p.54f. above) that the composer was able to utilise such elements previously considered unsuitable for (or rather, unworthy of) symphonic music, because of his tardy development of what might be described as a stylistic censorship. Merely to have employed, with no underlying purpose, disparate stylistic elements would, however, result in a meaningless disorientation of the listener, and what gives Mahler's best music its coherence is the purposeful manner in which such contrasts are utilised. The juxtaposition

57) Schlegel, op.cit., p.86-7.

of beauty/grace and ugliness/banality could not be introduced simply as a further abstract element of contrast, because of the power of the emotional responses it evokes, which undirected, could confuse the listener. Mahler clearly perceived this, and exploited such responses in the expression of what Schlegel describes as 'the paramount design', the 'strife between good and evil', a procedure that gives coherence to a potentially incoherent mixture of styles, and expands the expressive range of his music.

How Mahler arrived at this solution is unclear: it may have been reached under the direct influence of Schlegel's essay, which, given the literary interests of Jacob Minor, and those of the art-historian Franz Wickhoff, Mahler may well have heard discussed in the Rott circle. Or it may simply be that, with his affinity with other areas of romantic thought, Mahler developed for himself an aesthetic outlook remarkably close to that of Schlegel. It is worth recalling, however, that Mahler's use of popular material is not restricted in its role to the portrayal of the light/dark, good/evil conflict, as passages like the post-horn solo in the third movement of the Third Symphony, the Andante of the Second Symphony and the slow waltz in the third movement of the Fifth Symphony show [58]. Here Mahler's

58) The last mentioned passage is particularly rich in symbolic background. See Chapter IV, p. 262 below.

method is closest to that of Novalis:

> By giving what is common a deeper meaning, what is everyday a mysterious aspect, what is known the dignity of the unknown, what is finite the appearance of infinity, I romanticise it. (59)

Using methods such as these, Mahler creates in musical terms his own *Märchenwelt*, particularly in the opening movements of the Seventh Symphony[60].

The undeniable similarity of thought existing between the Pernerstorfer circle and the early representatives of German Romanticism should not obscure the fact that far from being isolated phenomena, these two groups were manifestations of a recurring, century-old cycle:

> . . . Romanticism is a mode of feeling that can appear at any time in human history, but . . . only at certain periods and under certain conditions of cultural climate can it find a full and adequate means of expression. (61)

Some elements in the cultural climate out of which the Pernerstorfer circle's strange blend of politics and art, reaction and revolution, grew, have already been identified and parallels with the backgrounds of earlier manifestations of the Romantic mode of feeling drawn. Social and economic change, together with a reaction against the prevailing acceptance of a liberal political philosophy, faith in

59) Novalis, *Werke und Briefe*, Leipzig, 1942, p.441, quoted in J. Trainer, 'The Märchen', *The Romantic Period in Germany*, p.100.

60) Mahler seems to have been particularly aware of this work's Romantic associations, though his specific reference was to Eichendorf. See Alma Mahler, 1973, p.89.

61) Eric Newton, *The Romantic Rebellion*, London 1962, p.12.

science and reason, and the perfectability of man, seem to have contributed to the viewpoint of the group and its musical associates, Mahler and Wolf. A similar situation may be observed in the musical environment provided by Vienna: apart from Liszt and Wagner, both of whom were personae non gratae in the Austrian capital, most German composers had retreated from the full-blown romanticism of the 1830s and 40s, to a faintly romanticised classicism influenced chiefly by Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn and the more classical works of Schumann. Having renounced the search for new modes of expression composers could hardly avoid this trend:

> It is characteristic of the romantic temperament that without a constant self-renewal by technical experiment it loses its eloquence . . . for the romantic must renew and enlarge his vocabulary of formal expression.(62)

Brahms alone possessed a distinctive and eloquent mode of expression. The time was therefore ripe for a re-awakening of romantic ideals in music.

The concern of the romantic attitude of mind with irrational modes of human behaviour and introspection was frequently connected with an awareness, at first ill-defined, of the unconscious processes of the human mind. Plotinus (204-270 A.D.) may be mentioned as an early exponent of a romantic aesthetic(63) who had a rudimentary

62) Newton, op.cit., p.74.
63) Ibid., p.20.

perception of the non-conscious part of the human psyche(64), but

> the discovery of the unconscious by self conscious man occupied some two centuries, roughly from 1700 to 1900 . . . . *the idea of unconscious mental processes was, in many of its aspects, conceivable around 1700, topical around 1800 and became effective around 1900.* (65)

Thus the ease with which Mahler grasped the principles of psycho-analysis during his interview with Freud in 1910(66) is readily understandable, particularly in view of the composer's close acquaintance with the works of some of Freud's most important nineteenth century predecessors: Jean Paul Richter, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Dostoevski, Fechner, Lotze and Helmholtz(67) Indeed, the surprising fact of the interview was Freud's reaction to Mahler's grasp of the subject, a response that reveals much of Freud's conception of his own originality.

******

Initially the Pernerstorfer circle's outlook had been one of social and cultural criticism, but by 1878, when Mahler was brought into its sphere of influence, its members were concerned with the Wagnerian/Nietzscheian programme for social and cultural regeneration. One of the main proponents was Lipiner, who in 1877 delivered before the Rede Klub (a section of the *Leseverein*), a report on

64) L.L. Whyte, *The Unconscious Before Freud*, London,1962,p.79.
65) Ibid., p.63.
66) See Ernest Jones, op.cit., vol.II, p.89.
67) See Whyte, op.cit., p.131f. and Table I above.

Nietzsche's *Schopenhauer as Educator*[68]. In this work the philosopher carries forward his attack on contemporary society, particularly its economic structure, and proposes the first step towards regeneration. Here Schopenhauer becomes a symbol, an inspiring 'image of man' which may assist the individual in his transcendence of base motivation:

> Only he who has given his heart to some great man receives the first consecration of culture. The sign of this is shame without self-loathing, hatred of one's own narrow and shrivelled nature, sympathy with the genius who tears himself away from our dullness and dryness. (69)

This self-overcoming was to be furthered by membership of the cultural community:

> Everyone who possesses culture is, in fact saying: 'I see something higher and more human than myself, above me. Help me, all of you, to reach it, as I will help every person who recognises the same thing . . .' so that finally the man may again come into being who feels himself infinite in knowing and living, in seeing and ability, and who with all his being is a part of nature. (70)

Nietzsche demanded almost monastic devotion to this ideal, though his community is more outward-looking than Wagner's Order of the Grail, and it demanded not only inner self-transcendence, but also action against those forces and institutions which failed to embody the aims of the community.

68) Part II of Nietzsche's *Untimely Observations*.
69) Nietzsche: *Schopenhauer as Educator*, translated by J.W. Hillesheim and Malcolm R. Simpson, Chicago, 1965, p.61.
70) Nietzsche, ibid.

The earliest action of the *Leseverein* in this direction was the organisation in 1876 of celebrations in honour of Joseph V. von Scheffel and Anastasius Grün, both of whom were actively involved in the revolution of 1848, and this was followed by political activity within the University. Political activism on a broader scale was advocated by Heinrich Friedjung's *Ausgleich mit Ungarn* in which the 1867 Constitution was viewed as a defeat for the German *Volk*. Friedjung drew a parallel between individual and national wholeness *(Ganzheit)* and went on to argue that only by uniting the two halves of the German nation - which had produced, on the one hand, the German philosophical tradition, and on the other, Mozart - would national vitality be restored. The politics of learning were to be replaced by the politics of art[71].

The aesthetic and metaphysical analogue to Friedjung's poetic politics was provided by Lipiner in a Rede Klub lecture in 1878, entitled 'On the Elements of a Renewal of Religious Ideas in the Present', the content of which is summarised by McGrath (p.79f):

> Lipiner began by explaining, 'I call religious everything that transcends the common conceptual world of the human species, the so-called reality, *in so far as it is emotionally experienced.*' Having equated religion with transcendent emotion, Lipiner went

71) McGrath, op.cit., p.74f.

on to echo Wagnerian doctrine in calling for a revival of wholeness. 'For man cannot split himself; there is not a moment in which his entire being might not be engaged; and the mightier a man is, the more energetically do all the elements of his nature join together and yearn as a whole for a unified impression'. As Friedjung had traced political apathy to this lack of wholeness, Lipiner blamed it for religious indifference . . .

Lipiner attempted to survy the prospects for a revival of religious feeling. He found one important source of encouragement in philosophy, specifically citing the works of Kant and Friedrich Albert Lange . . . These two thinkers said Lipiner, had shown that reality was simply a mental construct and that learning could claim to say nothing about the essence of things. Since they had shown the emptiness of materialism's basic assumption, he concluded that anyone who studied their work would turn from the empirical materialistic outlook to one of artistic and religious feeling . . . the third source to which Lipiner looked was art . . . He believed that where realistic art merely showed life as it existed, tragedy offered man the possibility of moving beyond the narrow limits of reality, 'for in tragic art he sees himself as he destroys reality'. . . . By participating in the suffering of the tragedy, the observer was 'torn free from his transitory individuality' to find unity with all nature.

It is far from certain that Mahler heard this lecture, but such ideas were clearly under discussion within the circle in 1878, and must have been familiar to the composer. Some aspects, it is clear, were congenial to him: others were not, or at least became less so in the years that followed (see above, p.150). For all his enthusiasm for cultural regeneration, it is probable that Mahler was initially drawn to the group as much by a common interest in Wagner. For most of these young men Wagner, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, were held in the highest esteem: they represented Nietzsche's 'images of man' and were also 'guiding fatherly images' (McGrath, op.cit., p.69) which provided reassurance for

individuals who for the most part had failed to establish a relationship with their own parents. It is therefore important to remember that Mahler not only came from a Jewish background, but also, as a child, came into conflict with his father[72] : by 1878 Mahler's psychological and social development had mirrored those of the Pernerstorfer circle and it was only natural that having come into contact with its members deeper bonds would be formed.

The importance of the existential questions raised by this common rejection of the parental world was considerable:

> The deep insecurity generated by their rejection of the political and social world of their parents and government drove them to seek revolutionary alternatives to the ideals of that world. In Max Guber's eyes he had experienced a generational fall from innocence, a fall from the unified and secure world of his parents to one in which the ideals and values he had been taught to esteem were seen as irreconcilably opposed to one another. As he later wrote, 'I had eaten of the tree of knowledge. There was no return'. Yet it was precisely the desire to return to the garden of these lost unities - political, social, psychological, and artistic - and to regain this lost sense of wholeness which was to inspire the members of the Telyn Society in so many of their later interests and activities. (73)

It is this sense of insecurity, or lack of identity which David Holbrook analyses (not always rigorously, but convincingly enough) in Mahler's individual psyche[74]

72) See, for example, Alma Mahler, 1973, p.7.
73) McGrath, op.cit., p.26-7.
74) *Gustav Mahler and The Courage to Be*, London, 1975.

and the disintegration of the lost unities on many different levels of experience led to the central role played by *Ganzheit* in Mahler's thought:

> It is a peculiarity of the interpretation of works of art that the rational element in them (that is, what is soluble by reason) is almost never their true reality, but only a veil which hides their form. But in as far as a soul needs a body - which there is no disputing - an artist is bound to derive the means of creation from the rational world. Whenever he himself is not clear, or rather, has not achieved wholeness within himself, the rational overcomes what is spontaneously artistic, and makes undue claim to attention. (75)

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> That our music involves the 'purely human' (everything that belongs thereto, thus also the 'intellectual') cannot be denied. It depends, as in all art, on the pure means of the expression, etc. If one wants to make music one must not want to paint, to write poetry, or to describe. But *what* one makes into music is still only the whole (thus feeling, thinking, breathing, suffering) man. (76)

Such views, almost certainly derived from Lipiner's interpretation of Nietzsche and Wagner, may be seen to have influenced the whole design of Mahler's Third Symphony, the most overtly Nietzscheian of Mahler's works, and Professor McGrath suggests that the composer's use in that work of folk-like ideas and actual quotations from Beethoven's Op.135 and *Parsifal* are intended to engage the whole man. It may nevertheless be doubted that 'it was in the Third Symphony that Mahler first achieved and fully expressed a clear vision of

75) Alma Mahler, 1973, p.320
76) GMB, p.277, translation taken from McGrath, op.cit., pp.125-6.

a higher reality'[77]. In almost all his mature works, from the First Symphony onwards the concept of wholeness plays an important role in Mahler's music, and the vision of a higher reality presented in the Second Symphony is at least as clear as that in the Third. For the composer wholeness, if not to be found in an actual return to childhood or surrender to nature, was at least to be achieved through child-like humility and simplicity. Indeed the majority of his mature works are concerned on some level with the desire to return to the garden of lost unities and almost invariably this involves the process of musical simplification. One recurring device is the use of the chorale, with its straightforward texture and its association with a united German religious community. On a purely musical level there were precedents for the use of this type of material within a symphony (e.g. Bruckner, particularly the Fifth Symphony, Mendelssohn in the 'Reformation' Symphony and Rubinstein in the 'Ocean'Symphony), but in Mahler's hands it takes on a further significance as the resolution - musical and emotional - of the preceding conflicts. This technique appears tentatively in the finale of the First Symphony where the wildness of the main material is finally resolved in a chorale-like peroration which only achieves dominance at its third and final appearance (see Ex.22).

77) McGrath, op.cit., p.126.

In the Second Symphony the resolution is achieved through an even more obvious chorale imitation (see Ex.23), and there for the first time, Mahler exploits to the full the contrast between the complexity of what goes before and the directness of expression of the choral conclusion. In the symphonies that followed, it was this progression of complexity ——→ simplicity which became one of the dominant structural features, though it was not invariably associated with the use of chorales. Thus in the Third and Fourth Symphonies the process culminates in movements expressing a childlike vision through the medium of straightforward lyricism.

In the Fifth Symphony the two functions - resolution of emotional tension and textural simplification - are to a certain extent dissociated, the Adagietto providing the emotional release, while the musical texture remains complex until the appearance of the chorale in the coda of the Finale. In a sense Mahler is here attempting to copy the plan of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in which the emotional release occurs at the end of the transition between the scherzo and finale and the latter movement functions as a joyous celebration. Such a plan is difficult to sustain, and of Mahler's predecessors, only Brahms in his First Symphony is successful in the attempt. Bruckner, on the other hand, spent a lifetime of symphonic composition trying to develop and alternative finale structure in which that moment of celebratory triumph could convincingly appear late in the final movement, thus avoiding the necessity of sustaining

the mood. Mahler only twice attempted a finale of the Beethovenian type, and if he succeeds in the Fifth, it is only with the active co-operation of his interpreters. The chief problem lies in the complexity of Mahler's musical language: not for him the sublime directness of Beethoven's mode of speech which is maintained throughout the finale of his work. This is as much a result of Mahler's historical position as his own personality. In order that the dichotomy between the joyous intent and the complex mode of expression should never become too obvious it is essential that Mahler's interpreters keep his main tempo indication - Allegro giocoso - in mind.

The Eighth Symphony is clearly related to the Second both thematically and in the use of a vocal chorale to complete the work, and again the progression from complexity (Part I) to directness of expression (via the partly symbolic use of children's voices) is unmistakeable. Moreover, this work shares with the Fourth references to heaven, the second Garden of Eden which exists above conflict. In *Das Lied von der Erde* on the other hand *Ganzheit* is symbolically achieved by reunion with Nature, and, as in the Second, Eighth and later in the Ninth and Tenth Symphonies, the resolution is postponed until the very end of the last movement, where contrapuntal and harmonic complexity dissolves into a single, long held chord.

The Sixth and Seventh symphonies are the two exceptions to this pattern, one being one of Mahler's supreme achievements, the other the least successful, as a totality, of all the symphonies. The overall plan of the Seventh is clearly related in some respects to that of the Fifth:

a) both have five movements;
b) both open with a funeral march employing a characteristic anacrusic rhythm;
c) both have a central scherzo;
d) both end with a rondo finale;
e) both end a semitone higher than they begin: the Fifth commences in C sharp minor and ends in D major, while the Seventh begins in B minor and ends in C major.

But as Donald Mitchell has suggested, Mahler had no overall musico-dramatic plan for the later work and this may well explain why there is no resolution of the complexity and symphonic conflict before the celebratory finale: none of the central movements is able to function as the Adagietto does in the Fifth, and all simply postpone the expected moment of resolution which never arrives.

Whereas the Seventh fails because the happy end is contrived, having no prior internal justification, Mahler's refusal to impose such an ending on the Sixth is one of the work's most impressive features: at no point is lyricism able to establish itself in the role of mediator

(the impression that it might do so in the slow movement is frustrated towards the end of the movement) and none of the potential chorales assumes dominance over the disparate thematic elements. The Finale therefore ends with a polyphonic elaboration of two of the main ideas of the symphony, a confirmation of the failure to achieve any sort of *Ganzheit*.

By the 1880s the Pernerstorfer circle was beginning to divide into two groups: the political activists and the aesthetes. Although Mahler maintained cordial relations with the former, he remained more closely associated with the latter, and in October 1881 founded the *Sagagesellschaft* with Lipiner and Richard Kralik. Ten years after this date Mahler had lost touch with all the leading members of the group, with the exception of Lipiner, rejected many of Nietzsche's ideas, and in 1905 poured scorn on Wagner's prose writings(78). His admiration for Schopenhauer seems to have remained, as did his concern to express the struggle for, and achievement of spiritual wholeness in his music, and these facts, together with the way in which the Wagnerian/Nietzscheian credo as promulgated by Lipiner helped to clarify and focus Mahler's youthful preoccupations must be considered when an assessment of the importance of his contact with the Pernerstorfer circle is attempted. Clearly, Mahler's meeting with

78) Alma Mahler, 1973, p.92.

Spiegler and subsequent introduction to Lipiner were two of the more important events of his years as a student in Vienna.

Chapter IV

Students of Composition	Rudolf Pichler
	Josef Pichler
	Alfred Stross
	Rudolf Krzyzanowski
	Mathilde von Kralik
	Richard von Kralik
	Anton Krisper
	Hans Rott
	Hugo Wolf

The youthful works of masters who have become great are looked upon with very different eyes than are the works of composers who promised much but did not keep their word.

Robert Schumann

With one exception - Hugo Wolf - the young musicians whom Mahler met in Vienna have remained shadowy figures, and although several names, particularly those of Hans Rott, Rudolf Krzyzanowski and Anton Krisper, have repeatedly appeared in the Mahler literature, no attempt has been made to assemble even the most rudimentary biographical data, let alone to study their music. In many cases such an investigation does no more than point to certain common traits, interests and lines of development, but even this evidence is invaluable when trying to piece together an account of Mahler's own path to artistic maturity. The aim of the present chapter is to supply biographical information, and in some cases a brief account of the composers' music; no account of Hugo Wolf's early life is given simply because there is nothing to be added to that given by Frank Walker in his biography of the composer[1]. In one case, that of Hans Rott, the quality of the music and its profound influence on Mahler demand a detailed discussion, and both aspects are dealt with here.

Rudolf and Josef Pichler

As has already been pointed out, one of the earliest documents relating to Mahler's first years in Vienna, the

1) Frank Walker, op.cit.

letter to Hans Richter[2], is illuminating for it was signed by Mahler and several of the young men with whom he was subsequently to become more closely acquainted. Of these the least important are Josef and Rudolf Pichler. Rudolf joined the Conservatoire in 1874[3] and like Mahler, Krzyzanowski, Ernst Ludwig, Mathilde von Kralik, Stross, and Rott, studied composition with Krenn in 1876/7 and 1877/8. In the former year he attained first grade in the class and won second prize in the annual competition with a Vorspiel zum Wintermärchen; in the following year, at the end of which he graduated, he won a first prize at the competition with a Praeludium und Sarabande aus eine Suite für Orchester. Having left the Conservatoire, Pichler submitted an entry for the Beethoven prize in 1879 but, like Rott who also took part in the competition that year, he was unsuccessful[4]. Rudolf's brother, Josef, was two years his junior and studied the flute at the Conservatoire. None of Rudolf's compositions have been traced and nothing more is known of him or his brother except that it was at their home that Mahler met his future companion and biographer, Natalie Bauer-Lechner:

> I first met Mahler at the Conservatoire; later I met him briefly at the house of the Pichlers, the family of a fellow student of his, who were very kind and hospitable; there we spent happy carefree hours such as are possible only in early youth.(5)

2) See Chapter II, p.125f.
3) Information concerning Pichler's Conservatoire career is taken from the *Jahresberichte* for 1876/7 and 1877/8.
4) Blaukopf,1976,p.158. It appears that in 1880 Pichler was for a brief period taught by Bruckner. See Göllerich/Auer, op.cit., IV/1,p.626
5) Bauer-Lechner,op.cit.,p.1-2, translation from Blaukopf, 1976,p.165.

Alfred Stross

Another young musician of passing interest, Alfred Stross, should also be mentioned here, if only because he has been overlooked by Mahler's earlier biographers. The only account of his relationship with Mahler is that given by Fritz Lemmermayer, the Austrian writer and critic, who described Stross as a musician of Jewish descent who studied with Mahler and Mathilde von Kralik at the Conservatoire, and who also knew Rudolf Steiner[6]. Stross's compositions - sonatas and other pieces for piano - were, according to Lemmermayer, influenced by Schumann and Chopin, though he also admired Berlioz. Although not himself a musician, Lemmermayer was passionately fond of music, particularly that of Liszt, Wagner and Bruckner[7], and Stross, sharing this enthusiasm, played Bruckner symphonies as piano duets with Mahler:

> Die Symphonien des Meisters lernte ich zuerst auf dem Klavier kennen. Die Komponisten Kollegen aus dem Konservatorium, Gustav Mahler und Alfred Stross, spielten Klavierauszüge davon zu vier Händen - da mussten vorerst die Fenster geschlossen werden, denn war ein leidenschaftlisches chaotisches Gestürm von Tönen, was da in mächtigen Tonwellen dahim rauchste. Bruckners Musik ist orchestral, das Piano lag ihm nicht. (8)

6) See Fritz Lemmermayer, *Erinnerungen*, Stuttgart, 1929, p.38f., and Rudolf Steiner, *The Story of My Life*, London, 1928.
7) Lemmermayer, op.cit., p.40. Lemmermayer publicly broke a lance with Hanslick, on Wagner's behalf.
8) Lemmermayer, op.cit., p.42.

> /I first got to know the master's symphonies at the piano. The composition colleagues from the Conservatoire, Gustav Mahler and Alfred Stross, played piano-duet arrangements of them, - the windows had to be closed, for at such times there was a passionate, chaotic gabble of notes, which thundered forth in mighty waves of sound: Bruckner's music is orchestral, not pianistic./

These performances must have taken place in the early 1880s at the latest, for thereafter Mahler lost touch with all but the closest of his Viennese associates and was only infrequently in Vienna; moreover Stross's mental illness appears to have manifested itself about 1885. The work performed at the duet sessions can therefore only have been the Third in Mahler's arrangement, unless manuscript arrangements of other symphonies were in circulation at the time. Stross was in fact a pupil of Bruckner:

> Stross war ein ausgezeichneter Pianist und Klavier-Komponist. Er war oft in Gesellschaft des Meisters. Bruckner erklärte Marschner gegnüber, das Talent Stross grenze ans Geniale. Bruckner soll ein Variationen-Werk von Stross gewidmet worden sein. Mit grosser Befriedigung erzählte Bruckner, dass Stross das 'Et Incarnatus' der F-Messe allein für Bruckners Unsterblichkeit hinreichend erklärt habe.(9)
>
> /Stross was an outstanding pianist and composer for the piano. He was often in the master's company. To Marschner Bruckner described Stross's talent as bordering on genius. A variation work by Stross was to have been dedicated to Bruckner. Bruckner reported with the greatest satisfaction that Stross pronounced the 'Et incarnatus' of the F minor Mass alone to be sufficient for Bruckner's immortality./

9) Göllerich/Auer, op.cit., IV/2, p.225.

Tragically Stross, always of a profoundly pessimistic outlook, was struck down in the 1880s by insanity, and remained in asylums until his death at the age of 28. He did, however, publish several sets of piano pieces which are worth listing in detail because of the high level of craftsmanship and inventiveness they exhibit:

1) /20/ Silhouetten/für das Klavier componirt/ und/Herrn Professor Franz Krenn/in dankbarer Verehrung zugeeignet/ von/Alfred Stross/Op.1/
Hamburg, Aug. Cranz. n.d., plate no. C.25354-5.

2) Phantasiestücke/in Tanzform/für das Pianoforte/von/ A. Stross/Op.2.
Hamburg, Aug. Cranz, n.d., plate no.35527

3) Aus Mythen und Märchen, Fantasiestücke, Op.4.
Vienna, Gutmann. (10)

4) Seinem Freunde Joseph Saphier/zugeeignet/Vier Intermezzi/ für Pianoforte/componirt/von/Alfred Stross/Op.5.
Leipzig, J. Reiter-Biedermann, 1885, pl.no.1359.

5) Theodore Kirchner/in Liebe und Verehrung zugeeignet/ Zwölf Bagatellen/für/Pianoforte/componirt/von/Alfred Stross/Op.6.
Leipzig, J. Rieter-Biedermann, 1885, pl.no.1360a/b (11).

Stross had something of a fixation for 3/4 time which he embodied in music ranging from a Schumannesque vision of the Schubert Ländler and Brahmsian Waltzes, to passages more reminiscent of Bruckner's scherzi (see Appendix VI/2 for a reproduction of Op.1 no.7). In dedicating his Op.1 to Krenn, Stross was certainly not implying any stylistic influence - the harmonic and tonal range of his music is far greater than that of his teacher - but presumably acknowledging his master's encouragement.

10) No copy has so far been traced, and this information is taken from Pazdirek, op.cit., vol.XXIX p.1156. As will be noted, no publication of an Op.3 has been located: perhaps that number was assigned to the variation work intended for Bruckner.

11) Theodore Kirchner (1823-1903) was a talented follower of Schumann and in the years 1875-1883 he lived in Leipzig. He then moved to Dresden. It would seem possible that Kirchner played a part in the publication of Stross' Opp.5 & 6.

There is little profundity in these small works, though all rise above the level of mere salon music. It is noticeable, however, that at times the composer seems to be seeking a range of expression incompatible with the formal scale he has chosen for himself: an indication perhaps that had he lived longer, he might have turned his attention to larger forms.

Rudolf Krzyzanowski

A more significant relationship, and certainly a longer lasting one, was that which grew up between Heinrich Krzyzanowski's brother Rudolf, and Mahler. Fritz Löhr, their mutual friend, wrote:

> /Krzyzanowski/ had brilliant musical gifts and immense personal charm. During this time /1875-6/ Mahler developed a profound affection for him, and they shared all the experiences and all the phases of human and artistic adolescence; for years they saw each other every day. Mahler retained this affection in later life, remained undeviatingly faithful when things were going well for him and badly for his friend, and went out of his way to help him to get on; his affection remained unshakeable, although it certainly was not returned in like manner. (12)

That this summary is substantially correct is confirmed by the surviving biographical evidence which, because the relevant material is widely dispersed and has not previously been dealt with in a coherent way, is given here in full.

12) GMB p.473, n.8, translation from Blaukopf, 1976, p.152.

The son of a china shop owner, Rudolf Krzyzanowski was born at Eger in Bohemia on 5 April 1862[13]. His mother was German and his father of Polish descent - Chopin's mother's maiden name was also Krzyzanowski[14]. In 1872 Rudolf entered the Vienna Conservatoire and for the first four years his main course of study was violin playing in the classes of Karl Heissler[15]. In his first year, Krzyzanowski attended the first year of the preparatory course in violin playing and, as a subsidiary, the second year of the course in piano accompaniment which he studied under Wilhelm Schenner[16]. In both subjects he not only attained first grade by the end of the year, but was also awarded first prize within the class[17].

In 1873/4 Krzyzanowski continued both courses, attending the second year of the preparatory classes in violin playing, and the third-year class for piano accompaniment, and in addition joined the first year of the harmony course taught by Franz Krenn. At the end of the year he attained first grade and won first prize in both violin and

13) This date has finally been established, after years of confusion, by Krzyzanowski's death certificate (see below, p.220). The *Jahresbericht* for 1872/3 gives Krzyzanowski's age at entry as 13½ and La Grange (op.cit., p.842, no.16) gives his date of birth as 1859. For brief details of Eger at about this time, see RGL, p.400.

14) See the short biographical article in *Daheim*, 1900, No.2, p.5.

15) Heissler taught at the Conservatoire from 1851 until 1878. See GKKGM, p.324 and Wurzbach, op.cit.,vol.VIII, p.239.

16) Schenner taught there from 1864 until 1904, see GKKGM, p.235.

17) *Jahresbericht* 1872/3, pp.34, 64, 73 and 74.

harmony classes, though he was less successful in the piano course in which he attained second grade but did not win a prize. During this academic year Krzyzanowski was exempt from paying half of his fees, an exemption which appears to have remained in force for the remaining years of his attendance at the Conservatoire(18).

In 1874/5 Krzyzanowski registered for the third and final year of the preparatory violin classes as his main subject, and a repeat of the first year harmony course as a subsidiary. The latter entry in the *Jahresbericht* is a mistake and his name appears not in the results of Krenn's harmony class, but in those for the first year of his counterpoint class where Krzyzanowski not only attained first grade, but also won first prize; he gained the same results in the violin class(19).

The following year appears to have been an unhappy one for Krzyzanowski. In September 1875 he registered with the first year of the finishing course in violin playing as his main subject, and the first year of Krenn's composition course as his subsidiary. On the 23 November 1878 Krzyzanowski took part in a performance of the first movement of Ludwig Maurer's Symphonie Concertante in A minor for four violins with three fellow students playing the other solo

18) *Jahresbericht* 1873/4, pp.22,73,79,80,84 & 86.
19) *Jahresbericht* 1874/5, pp.23,77,84,92 & 93.

parts - Grünberg, Kreutzinger and Holly[20] - and a month later on 22 December, along with four other students - Winkler, Kreutzinger, Grünberg and Schramm [21] - he gave a performance at the Conservatoire of the first movement of his Piano Quintet in C minor. Soon afterwards, however, on 9 March 1876, Krzyzanowski withdrew from the courses and his name does not appear in any of the examination lists for that year. The reason for Krzyzanowski's departure is not stated[22], and no reference is made to it in any of the other biographical sources at present available. It is clear, though, that Mahler had already formed a friendship with him since in the summer of 1876 Krzyzanowski was invited to stay at Iglau and took part in a charity concert there.

In his biography of Mahler, La Grange connects this visit with an account by Josef Stransky, who many years

20) Eugene Grünberg came from Lemberg and was 21 years old (see *Jahresbericht*, 1872/3, p.15). He also played for Mahler and Krzyzanowski at a concert in Iglau in the summer of 1876. Johann Kreutzinger, born in Jagerndorf, graduated from the Conservatoire in 1878 (see GKKGM, p.331) and played the first viola part in the première of Bruckner's String Quintet on 17 November 1881 (see the Preface to Band 13/2 of the new Bruckner Gesamtausgabe). On 1 October 1883 he was appointed K.u.K. Hofmusiker and a member of the Hofkapelle, a post he held until 1 October 1917. He died on that very date, in 1933 (see *Festschrift: Wiener Philharmoniker 1842-1942* (hereafter FWP), p.117f.) Thomas Holly was born in Vienna c.1858. (See *Jahresbericht*, 1872/3, p.16)

21) *Jahresbericht*, 1875/6, p.53. Julius Winkler was born in Raab, Hungary c.1855, studied violin at the Conservatoire (see *Jahresbericht, 1872/3*, p.31) and graduated in 1876 (see GKKGM, p.333). In 1881 he took part, as first violin in the first performance of Bruckner's String Quintet. /According to Göllerich/Auer, IV/1p.676 the quartet which formed the basis for this performance was assembled by Winkler and gave at least two other performances of the work in the 1880s/. Bauer-Lechner (op.cit. p.65) reports an anecdote concerning Mahler and his violin sonata recounted to her by Winkler. Willibald Schramm was born in Vienna c.1852 (see *Jahresbericht*, 1875/6, p.29)

22) *Jahresbericht*, 1875/6, p.36. It is certainly tempting to link this event with Mahler's rebellion, especially since La Grange (op.cit.p844,n.1) reports the *Protocol* (?) as recording that Mahler re-entered the Conservatoire on 15 March 1876.

later succeeded Mahler as conductor of the New York Philharmonic Socity, of a meeting with Mahler, and having reported Stransky's story, identifies the unnamed visitor as Krzyzanowski, though without providing any corroborative evidence. Blaukopf, 1976, gives the following translation of part of Stransky's original article:

> When I was eight, I spent my summer holidays with relations in the small Bohemian town of Ledetsch, where an aunt of Mahler's lived. She was his mother's sister, and her house was the most important in the place; the local dignitaries of Ledetsch regarded it as an honour to be invited by Frau Freischberger. My relations made that quite plain to me, and so I was full of awe as I entered the house, when we were invited for afternoon coffee. She was a thin woman with serious grey eyes and a smiling mouth; as soon as we arrived she proudly told us that her young nephew Gustav, who was already the admired idol of the family, had come to see her with a friend, and that they would soon be back from their walk. They came in at that moment. I can still see them; they both had fine heads with black hair and sparkling eyes, and they both gesticulated violently. They took hardly any notice of the other visitors at first, but went on with their discussion without any sense of embarrassment. At last they consented to sit with us at the coffee-table. Mahler stroked my hair and asked my name; when I told him, he said, 'You have the same name as the village schoolmaster, for whom I have composed the memorial anthem for the Empress Maria Anna. Are you a relation of his?' And as I could say that I was, I felt that a sort of commection had been established between this admired man and my insignificant self. (23)

La Grange, paraphrasing Stransky, continues:

> Mahler took an enthusiastic part in the general conversation, but the child /Stransky/ noticed that his friend remained gloomy and silent. Mahler's aunt finally asked Krzyzanowski - for it was he - why he said nothing, and it was Mahler who replied with a laugh,'You must take him as he is. He will always be a bulldog'.(24)

23) Blaukopf, 1976, p171, quoting Stransky's 'Begegnungen mit Gustav Mahler',*Signale fllr die musikalische Welt*,Berlin, 19 July 1911. This translation makes the nature of the anthem quite clear and is in general, superior to La Grange's account. The anthem does not appear in the latter's list of works.

24) La Grange, op.cit., p.37.

The internal evidence points to two conflicting dates for this encounter: Stransky was born in 1872 and would therefore have been eight in 1880, but, as Blaukopf points out, Empress Maria Anna's death (she was the widow of the deposed Emperor Ferdinand I) did not occur until 14 May 1884. The events recounted by Stransky must therefore have occurred after this date, a simple mistake having been made about his age. On the other hand it may be added that the Memorial Anthem would probably have been written soon after the death of the Empress. Mahler in fact visited Iglau in the summers of 1884, 1885 and 1886 and during the first of these he was joined by Fritz Löhr who describes their brief holiday together:

> In den acht Tagen, die ich nun mit Mahler in Iglau in seinem Elternhaus verlebte, trat meines Erinnerns das Müsizieren zurück. - Hauptsache und unersetzlicher Gewinn ist mir's geblieben, dass ich den Grund und Boden kennen gelernt, auf dem er erwachsen, die alten Stadtteile, die herrliche Landschaft um Iglau, die wir in hochsommerlicher Zeit halbe Tage lang durchstreiften, mit ihren blumigen Gefilden, reichen Wasserläufen und Teichen, weit ausdehnten Wäldern, die eigenartigen, runden Tanzplätze darin und die zum Teile slawischen Bauerndörfer und Häuser.(25)
>
> /According to my memory, music-making was unimportant during the eight days I spent with Mahler in Iglau at his parents' house. The chief and irreplaceable gain which remains to me, is that I learnt to know the land and soil from which he sprang, the old part of the town, the magnificent countryside around Iglau - with its verdant fields, abundant pools and ponds, extensive forests, the curious circular dancing-places within them, and the partly slav villages and houses - through which we roamed for half a day at a time during the high summer./

25) GMB, p.475, n.17.

Mahler's two other visits were short and there is no record that any of Mahler's friends visited him during them. Any later date for the visit seems ruled out by the comment about the anthem which suggests that its composition was a recent event. The description of the companion might fit either Krzyzanowski or Löhr, neither being particularly sparkling personalities, while the admiration bestowed on Mahler seems to have been that due to a rising young conductor rather than an unknown student. Thus La Grange's date of 1876 can be ruled out and that of the summer, 1884 proposed as being more likely. As a result of this redating it may be assumed that the companion described by Stransky was in fact Fritz Löhr.

Nevertheless it is certain that Krzyzanowski did stay with the Mahler family in the summer of 1876, even if he did not visit Ledetsch. The concert at Iglau in which he and Mahler participated was in aid of the local gymnasium. The programme, though advertised, is shrouded in mystery:

1.	Krzyzanowski:	Quartet for Piano, two Violins and Viola
2.	Vieuxtemps:	First movement of the Violin Concerto in D minor. (soloist: Siebert)
3.	Schubert:	Fantasy in C major (Mahler)
4.	Mahler:	Sonata for Violin and Piano. (Mahler and Siebert)
5.	Mahler:	Quartet for Piano, two Violins and Viola.
6.	Chopin:	Ballade. (Mahler)
7.	Alard:	Concerto for Two Violins. (Siebert and Grünberg) (26)

26) Blaukopf, 1976, pl.30.

Despite the references to Quartets for piano, two violins and viola, and the fact that only four players are named - Mahler, Krzyzanowski and two fellow students, both violinists, Eugen Grünberg and August Siebert[27] - the review of the concert mantions two quintets and states that Mahler's work had won a first prize at the Conservatoire[28]. If this latter statement is true, then Mahler's composition was undoubtedly the prize winning quintet of 1876[29], and it seems very likely that the other 'quartet' was in fact Krzyzanowski's Piano Quintet in C minor which had already received an airing in Vienna in December 1875. Yet no cellist is mentioned anywhere. Another musician did participate, Carl Schnurmann, who, according to Hans Holländer, turned the pages for Mahler. La Grange suggests that Schnurmann was also a student at the Conservatoire (op.cit., p.38), but no trace of his name has so far been found in the institution's records; nevertheless he was one of Mahler's friends, attended a Beethoven concert given by Liszt in

27) The last named players are both identified as 'Mitglieder des k.k. Hofopernorchesters'. Siebert was a student at the Conservatoire, and had graduated in August 1876. He was, according to EWP, not made a member of the orchestra until 1 March 1878. He was later appointed *Orchester-direktor*, retired on 1 October 1925 and died on 13 December 1938. Siebert was, for a time, second violin in the Rosé Quartet; for a photograph, see Blaukopf, 1976, p.156.
No doubt one of the three violinists would have taken the viola part. At this date there was no separate course in viola-playing at the Conservatoire - violinists were introduced to that instrument in the third year of the preparatory course.

28) The whole review, which appeared in the *Mährischer Grenzbote*, on 17 September 1876, is translated in Blaukopf,1976, p.153.

29) A further consequence of the acceptance of this statement would be the establishment of the exact nature of the prize-winning work of 1876; a *piano* quintet.

Vienna on 16 March 1877 (see Appendix IIb, p.18 below), and also thought of travelling from Iglau for a performance of Liszt's 'Dante' Symphony at a Gesellschaft concert on 12 April 1881[30]. Schnurmann was a good pianist, but not a cellist, so knowledge of his involvement in the concert helps not at all in the elucidation of the mystery.

From the evidence currently available it must be concluded that no cellist took part, however unlikely it may seem that a town large enough to possess a municipal orchestra was unable to supply one reasonably competent cellist. The ensemble works must therefore have been either works specially composed for the combination of instruments available, or arrangements of existing works. The review of the event quoted above makes it clear that in the case of Mahler's work at least, the second explanation is the most likely. Moreover, if the cello and piano, left hand, parts of the quintets by Krzyzanowski and Mahler were as closely linked as those in the latter's Piano Quartet Movement, the simple omission of the cello part with the pianist supplying essential entries, would not have involved too serious a loss.

Whatever the provenance of the main items, the Iglau concert was a success. The review is of particular interest because it includes a description of Krzyzanowski's work:

30) See Hans Holländer, 'Gustav Mahlers jeugd', *De Muziek*, 1928-9, p.212f. and GKKGM, p.308.

> The first piece on the programme was Rudolf Krzyzanowski's Piano Quintet, of which we heard only the first movement. The merit of this work is that not only the themes, but also the development, are very carefully worked out. The first subject is tragic and the second passionate but restrained. The development begins with a double fugue, unfolds with passionate momentum, and gradually sinks down to the point of repose, an ingenious adaptation of the central theme (Adagio). The first movement ends with a repeat of the main theme, which now appears as a funeral march. We can justifiably maintain that the composer of this quintet has created a beautiful work, and that time will come when we can number him among the great . . . (31).

Two aspects of this account are worthy of comment - the slow central episode (c.f. the opening movements of the Sixth and Seventh Symphonies) and the funeral-march transformation of the main theme, both of which invite comparison with Mahler's predilections. However the movement seems to have exhibited a far greater degree of creative imagination than any of Krzyzanowski's surviving works and may therefore be less than typical of its composer's output.

One of the less frequently quoted sources of information about Mahler's early life is the reminiscences of Frau Marie Lorenz, who at the time was Krzyzanowski's fiancée. Clearly when writing to Göllerich, she bore little friendship towards Mahler, but at some stage such a relationship must have existed for Mahler dedicated some songs to her:

31) Blaukopf, 1976, p.153.

> 'Alle diese Musenjünger aber waren,' wie Frau Marie Lorenz, eine Schwägerin Krzyzanowski, an Göllerich schreibt, 'wie Bruder untereinander'. Wolf stellte damals die Lieder, die 'jener andere' (gemeint ist jedenfalls Mahler) Frau Lorenz gewidmet hat, weit höher als seine eigenen Kompositionen. (32)
>
> /'All these votaries of the muses were,' as Frau Marie Lorenz, Krzyzanowski's sister-in-law, wrote to Göllerich, 'like brothers together'. Wolf at that time ranked the songs which 'the other one' (Mahler no doubt is meant) had dedicated to Frau Lorenz, far higher than his own compositions./

The reference to Wolf suggests that these songs must have been completed before the end of 1879 when the Wolf-Mahler friendship ended (or at least began to cool rapidly). Nothing further is known of these works and they are probably lost (though no concerted effort has been made to locate them, so they could still exist somewhere), but in view of Wolf's opinion of them, they may include the songs referred to in the following anecdote:

> . . . Wolf told me how, when they were still very young, he once met Mahler in the Herrengasse with a roll of music under his arm. On being asked what he was carrying, Mahler replied that it was some songs he had only just composed, and he asked Wolf to have a look at them. Wolf read the manuscript through in the street very attentively and said, grinning with pleasure, 'Very fine! Tip-top! I like them immensely!' Mahler, delighted by this opinion, dropped his eyes, hesitated self-consciously and said, 'Well, I think we've got Mendelssohn beat!'(33)

When he returned to the Conservatoire in September 1876, Krzyzanowski registered, not for the violin course, but for the first year of the finishing class in organ

32) Göllerich/Auer, op.cit., IV/1, p.450. It is one of Rudolf's relatives, Heinrich Tschuppik, who corrects Göllerich's mistaken description of the relationship between Rudolf and Marie Lorenz.

33) Friedrich Eckstein: *Alte unnennbare Tage!*, Vienna, 1936, p.105f.; translation from Blaukopf, 1976, p.162. See also Chapter VI, p.3[illegible]f.

playing, and the second year of the composition course with Krenn. That the change in Krzyzanowski's instrumental course was not the result of any new-found talent as an organist is testified by the fact that he had to repeat the first year of the course in 1877-8; it was most probably Bruckner's position as the only member of the musical establishment in Vienna wholly sympathetic to Wagner which influenced his decision [34]. Krzyzanowski's name does not appear in the results of the organ class and although he attained first grade in that subject, he was not permitted to take part in the Composition competition because he was one of the students who:

> wiewohl sie gemäss ihren Leistungen im Hauptfach zum Concurse zulässig gewesen wären, können in die Preisswebung nicht einbezogen werden, weil sie die ihnen vorgeschreibenen Nebenfächer entweder nicht besucht oder die Prüfung daraus mangelhaft bestanden haben. (35)
>
> /Although according to their achievement in their principal subject would be admitted to the competition, cannot be included in the prize competition because they have either not attended, or have unsatisfactorily completed their examination in their prescribed subsidiary subject./

This indicates that Krzyzanowski's main subject was composition, not, as given in the registration details, organ (it was in composition that he graduated in 1878), and that he had attained only fourth grade in the organ class.

The following year - Krzyzanowski's last at the

34) *Jahresbericht*, 1876/7, p.18.
35) *Jahresbericht*, 1876/7, p.64. It was perhaps because of his poor results in 1877, that Krzyzanowski's mother visited Bruckner, See below, p. 248f.

Conservatoire - was an altogether happier one, at least from an academic point of view. He registered for a repeat of the first year of the finishing class in organ playing, the third year of Krenn's composition class, and also the History of Music course[36]. His organ playing and conducting were presumably thought respectable, as he was allowed to display both talents at the Conservatoire: on 2 May 1878 he performed a fugue for organ by Rink [37], and at some time during the year he conducted the Conservatoire orchestra in a performance of the Overture to *Così fan tutte*[38]. As a composer too, Krzyzanowski won academic approval and was awarded the first prize of 20 ducats in the Zusner song composition with a setting of Zusner's 'Das Abendglöcklein' [39]. This competition was not one of the official Conservatoire examinations, but was set up through the generosity of a private individual. The benefactor in question was a little-known Austrian lyric poet, Vinzenz Zusner who was born in Bischoflacik near Laibach on 18 January 1803 and who died at Graz on 12 June 1874 [40]. In his will he left a sum of 6200 gulden to the Conservatoire in Vienna, the annual interest of which was to be awarded annually in the form of two prizes of 20 and 10 ducats, for the two best settings of his poems by students at the Conservatoire[41]. Evidence that

36) *Jahresbericht*, 1877/8, p.19.
37) *Jahresbericht*, 1877/8, p.50.
38) *Jahresbericht*, 1877/8, p.58.
39) *Jahresbericht*, 1877/8, p.66.
40) Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Literature-Lexicon*, Band 4, Bern 1958. For further biographical details see Wurzbach, op.cit., vol.60, p.322.
41) For further details see GKKGM, vol.I, pp.136-7 and Wurzbach, op.cit., vol.60, p.323. For the rules of the competition see *Rechenschaftsbericht der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde für das Verwaltungsjahr 1873/4*, Anhang II, pp.98-9.

Mahler also entered this competition is contained in an anecdote told by Ludwig Karpath:

> Als ich einmal . . . mit /Mahler/ im Cafe Kremser sass, kam ein Herr auf ihn zu und begrüsste ihn mit den Worten: 'Kennen Sie mich noch, mein Name ist Ludwig'. 'Oh, ich weiss sehr gut, wer Sie sind,' erwiderte Mahler, 'wir waren doch beide am Konservatorium, wir nahmen auch beide an einer Liedkonkurrenz teil, ich ging leer aus, Sie aber erhielten den ersten Preis mit einem Lied, das so anfing.' Und nun pfiff Mahler die fünf oder sechs Anfangstakte jenes Liedes, worüber Ludwig, der als Klavierlehre am Konservatorium wirkte, so bestürt war, dass er mit einem kurzem Gruss von dannen ging. (42)
>
> /While I was sitting one day with Mahler at the Cafe Kremser, a man came up to him and greeted him with the words: "Do you remember me, my name is Ludwig?" "Oh, I know very well who you are," replied Mahler. "We were both at the Conservatoire, we also both took part in a song competition, from which I went away empty handed, but you received first.prize for a song which began . . ." And then Mahler whistled five or six of the opening bars of the song, at which Ludwig, who worked as a piano-teacher at the Conservatoire, was so disconcerted that, with a short farewell, he left./

Ludwig taught at the Conservatoire from 1883 and published a few works, including some piano studies for left hand alone, and songs (43). He won first prize in the Zusner competition in two successive years - 1875/6 (the first year the competition was held) and 1876/7 - so Mahler's lost entry may date from either of these years.

Zusner's poetry appeared in four publications: *Gedichte* (1842), *Neue Gedichte* (1853), *Im Walde (Naturbilder)* (1863) and *Gedichte (Gesamtausgabe)* (1871). It is of little merit, being a pale imitation of Heine, and according to Robert Hirschfeld the prize caused something of a problem:

42) Ludwig Karpath, op.cit., p.62.
43) See GKKGM, vol.I, p.325 and Pazdirek, op.cit., vol.18, p.681.

> Die gutgemeinte Stiftung hatte, weil auf nur geringe Zahl zur Vertonung geeigneten Lieder Vinzenz Zusners beschränkt, einen problematischen Wert.(44)
>
> /Because it was restricted to the few of Vinzenz Zusner's songs which were suitable for musical setting, the well-intentioned bequest had a problematical value./

Nevertheless, apart from Mahler himself, three members of his circle of friends set texts by Zusner, though only Krzyzanowski was successful in the competition. 'Das Abendglöcklein' also attracted Hugo Wolf[45] and Hans Rott[46]. Wolf, however, made only one attempt at a Zusner song, a clear indication that whatever the financial inducement, the failure of the poetry to evoke a response prevented a serious attempt at the prize. Rott, perhaps less sensitive than Wolf to the poetic quality of the texts he set, made a number of settings, indicating that he made a determined effort to win the prize: unfortunately all match the poetry in their lack of inspiration.

In the summer of 1878 Krzyzanowski successfully completed his final examinations: he attained first grade in both composition and organ classes, and was allowed to compete in both competitions[47]. At the Concurs für Harfe, Orgel,

44) GKKGM, p.136.
45) Wolf's setting is unpublished; see Frank Walker, op.cit. pp.37 and 498.
46) See Appendix IVd, no.19. Ernst Ludwig's first success came with a setting of this text. In 1890/1 the first prize was again won by an Austrian composer of note: Alexander von Zemlinsky.
47) *Jahresbericht*, 1877/8, pp.65 and 66.

Violoncelle, Contrabass und Blasinstrumente on 19 June 1878 he played Mendelssohn's Organ Sonata in F minor, Op.65 no.1, and was awarded first prize[48] and at the Concurs für Composition on 2 July he won another first prize with an Adagio for String Sextet[49], which was subsequently performed by six students - Friedrich Skalizky, Stefan Wahl, Johann Kreutzinger, Hans Winter, Alexander Finkel and Eduard Rosenblum (=Rosé, he later married Mahler's sister Emma) - at the *Schluss-production* held on 11 July[50].

Earlier, in 1877, Bruckner conducted the première of his Third Symphony. The well-known story of the concert, given by the Vienna Philharmonic on 16 December, need not be repeated here[51], except to point out that Mahler, Krzyzanowski and the publisher Theodor Rättig were present. The latter was impressed by the work and decided to issue the score and a piano-duet arrangement simultaneously. Exactly

48) The jury consisted of: J. Hellmesberger(Chairman), R. Bibl (K.K. Hof- und Dom-Organist), A. Drill and L. Landskron (professors at the Conservatoire), H.M. Kässmener (composer), Dr A. Schmidt and F. Wilt (Directors of the Conservatoire). See *Jahresbericht*, 1877/8 p.72.

49) The jury consisted of: J. Hellmesberger(Chairman), Alf. Antoine, Hans Schmidt (teachers at the Conservatoire), Dr Billing, Edler von Gemmen (Vice-president of the Gesellschaft), Herr H. Proschek (K.K. Sektionsrath), Dr V. von Raindl (Director of the Gesellschaft), and J. Rufinatscha (musician). *Jahresbericht*, 1877/8 p.76.

50) Skalitzky was born in Vienna c.1857 and studied violin at the Conservatoire (see *Jahresbericht* 1872/3, p.28). Wahl graduated from the Conservatoire in violin playing in 1879(see GKKGM, p.332) and on 15 August that year was appointed member of the Philharmonic Orchestra. He was also k.u.k. Hofmusiker and a member of the Hofkapell, serving until his death on 23 March 1911.(See FWP, p.117f.) Winter was also a k.u.k. Hofmusiker, member of the Hof-kapell and Vienna Philharmonic, his appointment dating from 1 January 1879. He died on 13 August 1915. (See FWP, loc.cit.)

51) See La Grange, op.cit., p.46 and Mitchell, 1958, p.64f.

who was responsible for the arrangement which subsequently appeared is far from clear: it is certainly Mahler's name alone which appears on the title page of the edition(52), but it has been suggested that Krzyzanowski helped in its preparation, and in particular that he was responsible for the arrangement of the last movement(53). Göllerich adds that Epstein acted as editor(54). Whatever its origin, the arrangement was performed by Mahler and Krzyzanowski at the Conservatoire apparently before they graduated in 1878:

> Bald nachher /the publication of the work/ spielt Mahler und Krzyzanowski das Werk nach einer Stunde im Konservatorium, wie A.v.Goldschmidt berichtet, im Beisein J. Schalks, Goldmark vor, der sich wohlwollend reseviert verhielt.
>
> Professor Epstein, einer der wenigen Kollegen des Meisters, der sich ihm gegenüber freundlich verhielt, war von dem Werk begeistert und erklärte vor allem den zweitem Satz für eines der schönsten Adagio. Hellmesberger aber äusserte sich: 'Ich begreife den Epstein nicht, es ist ja ein ganz verworrenes Stück. Epstein ist doch ein besonnener Mensch'.(55)
>
> /Shortly afterwards /the publication of the work/, A.v. Goldschmidt reports, following a lesson at the Conservatoire, Mahler and Krzyzanowski in the company of J. Schalk, played the work to Goldmark, who maintained an attitude of benevolent reservation.
>
> Professor Epstein, one of the few colleagues of the master who maintained a friendly attitude towards him, was enraptured by the piece and declared that in particular, the second movement was one of the most beautiful Adagios. However, Hellmesberger expressed the opinion: "I don't understand Epstein - the piece is completely muddled. Epstein is, after all, a sensible man."/

Not surprisingly, the end of Krzyzanowski's career as a

52) Reproduced in Mitchell, 1975, p.65.
53) See Mitchell, 1958, p.68 and Mitchell, 1975, p.65. In *Mein Leben* (Frankfurt, 1960) Alma Mahler states that 'Den letzten Satz sollte Ferdinand Löwe bearbeiten'(p.282). However the rest of the passage is at variance with the known facts of Mahler's work on the arrangement and so the whole passage must be treated with caution.
54) Göllerich/Auer, op.cit., IV/1, p.481.
55) Göllerich/Auer, op.cit., IV/1, p.482. Unfortunately the conflict between the apparent date of this event (1878) and the generally accepted date for the publication of the arrangement (1880) cannot, as yet, be resolved.

student at the Conservatoire marks a hiatus in the supply of biographical information. The thread of the narrative may be resumed in 1879 when Mahler, Krzyzanowski and Wolf were living in the same accommodation on the Opernring in Vienna[56]. Frank Walker has given an admirable sketch of this period in their lives (op.cit., p.83):

> Heinrich Werner records a story that Mahler lived with Wolf and even shared a bed with him, on the fourth floor of Opernring 23. Alma Mahler, too, has in her reminiscences storied of Wolf and Mahler's early life together. With a young musician named Rudolf Krzyzanowski, one of the most intimate of Mahler's friends, they rented a single room and lived there together for a few months. They were all very sensitive to noise and whenever any one of the three of them wished to compose, the other two had to spend the night walking the streets. Thus Mahler once wrote a quartet movement for a musical competition in a single night, while Wolf and Krzyzanowski slept on benches in the Ringstrasse . . . The three friends got to know Götterdämmerung at the same time and in their passion for the work they made such a frightful row in their lodgings, singing the trio between Gunther, Brünnhilde, and Hagen, that the landlady appeared, trembling with rage, and turned them all out into the street. Now it is interesting to recall that the first performance of Götterdämmerung in Vienna took place on 14 February 1879, the very day on which Wolf first moved into lodgings on the Opernring . . .

Later in the same book (p.92), Walker gives a further glimpse into Krzyzanowski's life at this time:

> Wolf's extreme penury at this time was not unconnected with his friendship with Mahler and Krzyzanowski. The latter had been engaged as accompanist to Marie Wilt, who was touring the provinces with the pianist Annette Essipoff. It was arranged that during his absence from Vienna Krzyzanowski's pupils should be taught by Wolf. This would have kept him fully occupied for two whole months but unluckily Frau Wilt fell ill and abandoned the concert tour, so that Krzyzanowski returned to Vienna and took over the lessons from Wolf who was left stranded.

56) The date of the following incident is disputed. Here I follow Frank Walker and Mitchell, 1958, p.33 in preference to La Grange, op.cit., p.43-4 and p.844, n.12.

Frau Maria Wilt was a well-known and much respected singer who spent most of her professional life in Vienna. Her voice was greatly admired by the young Mahler:

> So erinnere ich mich, da ich als kleiner Junge die Wilt einmal hörte (gesehen habe ich sie von der vierten Galerie aus wahrscheinlich nicht), dass ich ausser mir war und wahnsinnig verliebt in diese Stimme tagelang umherlief - denn nur mit Liebe lassen sich diese Empfindungen vergleichen. (57)
>
> /Thus I remember that when I once heard Wilt as a young man (apparently I did not *see* her from the fourth gallery) I was beside myself and for days rushed around madly in love with that voice - for the feeling may only be compared to love./

Born in 1834(or 1835), Maria Viktoria Liebehart[58] began her operatic career at a late age because of her unattractive features, but had earlier been successful as a concert and oratorio singer. From 1867 until 1878 she was a member of the Hofoper in Vienna, after the termination of which appointment she worked principally as a guest artist. For some time before her death she had suffered from mental instability and it was said that "a morbid, unrequited passion for a young man led the once honoured singer to /her/ terrible end": on 24 September 1891 she committed suicide by defenestration[59]. Friedrich Wilt, the singer's husband, was a well-known architect who was a member of the jury which judged the plans for the Gesellschaft building, and

57) Bauer-Lechner, op.cit., p.79.

58) According to H.A.Mansfeld('Theaterlaute in den Akten der K.K. Obersten Hoftheater-Verwaltung von 1792 bis 1867', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theater*, XIII, 1962) a Louise Leibenhart - a sister? - (born Oldenburg, 31.vii.1828, died London 21.ii.1894) worked at the Wiener Hoftheater in the 1850s.

59) See the obituary in the *Neuer Theater-Almanach*, Berlin, 1892 (hereafter: NTA), p.98. Frau Wilt appeared in England in the years 1866-78, at first under the name Madame Vilda. See P.A. Scholes: *The Mirror of Music*, London 1947, pp.31 and 277.

the Organ Committee; he was also a long-standing member of the board of directors of the Gesellschaft (1869-1909)[60]. It was in the latter capacity that Wilt was appointed to the juries which awarded Mahler first prize for his performance of Schumann's *Humoreske*, Op.20 in 1877, and a similar prize to Krzyzanowski in 1878 for his performance of an organ sonata by Mendelssohn (see n.48 above). It is possible that this second event led to Krzyzanowski's engagement as Frau Wilt's accompanist.

In the early summer of 1880, Mahler took up his first post as a musical director at the theatre at Bad Hall. This engagement forced him to abandon a walking trip he had planned to make with Anton Krisper and the Krzyzanowski brothers. It would seem that the two friends continued to correspond during the early 1880s when Mahler was taking the first hesitant steps in his career. Rudolf, however, was not so fortunate and he had to wait until September 1883 for his first post as a conductor: Kapellmeister at Laibach[61]. This appointment may have resulted, like that of Mahler to the same post in 1881, from the influence of Anton Krisper and his family. The season ran from 22 September 1883 to Palm Sunday 1884, and the conditions were much as they had been during Mahler's tenure - an orchestra of 18 and a chorus of 13 - though it

60) GKKGM, vol.I, pp.112 and 115.
61) Mahler informs Löhr of the fact in a letter of 19 September 1883 (GMB, p.24) though he mistakenly identifies Laibach as his own first engagement: it was in fact his second.

appears that no operas were performed during Krzyzanowski's year there[62].

The following season Rudolf was employed as 'Kapellmeister für grosse Oper' at Würzburg's Stadttheater, an institution dating from 1805, the auditorium of which could seat 900[63]. The company was of moderate size - 19 principal singers, a chorus of 23 and an orchestra of 33 - and no remarkable talent; the list of novelties similarly reveals no enterprise on the part of the management. It is interesting to note, however, that one of the guest artists who appeared at the theatre was a Herr Siebert, almost certainly August Siebert who had collaborated with Krzyzanowski and Mahler in their concert at Iglau in 1875.

The information given by AGDBA for the 1885-6 season is confusing for although Krzyzanowski is again listed in the index as Kapellmeister at Würzburg, his name is absent from the relevant page. This may indicate that Krzyzanowski's reappointment did not take place as expected. Whatever the case in 1885, Rudolf was certainly without a theatrical post in 1886-7 for after a break of some years, Rudolf's name reappeared in Mahler's correspondence, and a series of letters to Fritz Löhr written in 1886 give an account of Mahler's attempts to secure a conducting post for his old friend:

62) *Almanach der Genossenschaft Deutscher Bühnen-Angehöriger* (hereafter: AGDBA), edited by Ernst Gettke, Kassel/Leipzig, 1884, p.299.
63) AGDBA, 1885, p.281.

August 1886 (from Leipzig)

Rudolf hat mir noch im letzten Moment abgeschrieben, weil er nicht mehr im Stande war, seine Reise zu unterbrachen und ist, wie Du vielleicht wissen wirst, nach Starnberg. (GMB, p.48)

1 October 1886 (from Leipzig)

Der Hauptzweck meines heutigen Briefes: Sende mir sofort die genaue Adresse Rudolfs. Vielleicht habe ich etwas für ihn, was eventuell augenblicklich erledigt werden müsste. (GMB, p.51)

October 1886 (from Leipzig)

Leider sind meine Pläne in bezug auf Rudolf vorderhand wieder ins Wasser gefallen; doch werde ich wieder anderes versuchen. Er soll nur Kopf oben behalten. (Ich weiss wie schwer das ist)

(GMB, p.52)

/August 1886

Rudolf wrote to me recently because he was no longer in a position to break his journey and is, as you perhaps know, at Starnberg.

1 October 1886

The chief object of my present letter: send me immediately Rudolf's proper address. I perhaps have something for him, which possibly may have to be settled immediately.

October 1886

Unfortunately my plans with respect to Rudolf have for the moment come to nothing; but I will try something else. He should merely keep his head up. (I know how difficult that is)./

From Mahler's letter of 25 December (see below) it is clear that during this time (1885-7) Krzyzanowski worked as conductor of the Hanoveranische Chorverein and presumably supplemented his income by teaching. That Rudolf was not a good correspondent is conveyed by Mahler's next letter to Löhr:

October (?) 1886 (from Leipzig)

Wie ist denn die Sache mit Rudolf ausgefallen? Natürlich bekomme ich von ihm nichts darüber zu hören. (GMB, p.54)

/October (?) 1886

How have things turned out for Rudolf? Naturally I get to hear nothing about it from him./

Just when it seemed that Mahler was unable to help Krzyzanowski, he wrote to Löhr:

25 December 1886 (from Leipzig)

Bestimme sofort den Rudolf, sich sämtliche Empfehlungen, deren er habhaft werden kann, zu verschaffen und dieselben an Dir. Staegemann hier einzusenden mit einem Briefe folgenden Inhalts: Sehr g. Herr D.! Ich bin der und der, war 2 Jahre Theaterkapellmeister in Laibach und Würzburg, hierauf Dirigent des Hannoveranischen Chorvereins, habe das Wiener Konservatorium vorher mit I. Preis absolviert, kann das und dass, und bitte Sie, bei einer eventuell nun sich ereignenden Vakanz meine Person ins Auge zu fassen. Ich bin zu jeder Probetätigkeit gerne bereit. Ihr etc. R. Krz.'(GMB, p.54)

/25 December 1886

Tell Rudolf to collect all the recommendations he can lay his hands on immediately, and send them here to Dir. Staegemann with a letter along the following lines: 'Dear Director, I am so and so, was Kapellmeister at Laibach and Würzburg for two years, and thereafter conductor of the Hanover Choral Society, was previously absolved from the Vienna Conservatoire with a first prize, can do this and that, and ask you to keep me in view in connection with any vacancy that might possibly arise./

This urgent message resulted from Mahler's belief that either he or Nikisch were likely to leave Leipzig in the near future. In the event it was Mahler who was the first to leave, though his departure did not take place until the summer of 1888. Later in the same letter, however, Mahler mentions another plan:

Ich bitte Dich, lieber Fritz, schiebe den Rudolf. War er beim Agenten im Hotel Imperial? Für den Fall, dass er meinen Brief nicht bekommen hätte, setze ich es noch einmal her: Er soll sofort zu H. Ledner, Vertreter des Agenten Entsch in Berlin, der sich derzeit im Hotel Imperial in Wien befindet. Derselbe ist durch mich bereits von allem unterrichtet, und ist gewillt, ihn eventuell nach Hamburg zu bringen. Von Leipzig weiss er nichts, den das besorge ich schon allein.

Er soll mir aber gewiss von allem Unternommen sofort Nachricht geben. (GMB, p.55-6).

/Please, dear Fritz, push Rudolf. Did he visit the agent at the Hotel Imperial? In case he has not received my letter, I will set it down again: he should go immediately to Herr Ledner, representative of the agent Entsch in Berlin, who is at present at the Hotel Imperial in Vienna. I have already informed the latter of everything and he is willing, if the occasion arises, to take him /Rudolf/ to Hamburg. He knows nothing of Leipzig for I alone am attending to that.

He should, however, certainly inform me as soon as possible of all undertakings./

When he next wrote to Löhr, in January 1887, Mahler still expected one of two possible developments to occur: either Nikisch would move to Pest, or he himself go to Hamburg:

> Ich habe mir zugleich (in beide Fällen) ausbedungen, das Rudolf (Krzyz.) mit engagiert würde. - Ich bitte Dich, ihn davon zu verständigen und mir sofort seine Adresse anzuzeigen. Er müsste sich natürlich im Anfange mit einer bescheidenen Stellung begnügen - ich würde ihm schon nach und nach einen seiner würdigen Wirkungskreis verschaffen. (GMB, p.57)
>
> /I have also (in both cases) stipulated that Rudolf (Krzyz) will be engaged with me. Please inform him of this and immediately notify me of his address. Naturally he would have to be satisfied with a modest position to begin with - by and by I would certainly secure for him a suitable sphere of activity./

But neither development took place, and by May 1887, Mahler had still not been able to help:

> Mit Rudolf habe ich riesige Sorgen; ich schreibe und rede in einem fort herun und bis jetzt ohne jedes Resultat. Es ist furchtbar schwer, als Anfänger wo anzukommen. Aber ich gebe die Hoffnung nicht auf und werde ihn endlich doch durchbringen. (GMB, p.61)
>
> /I am dreadfully concerned about Rudolf; I write around and discuss constantly, yet so far without any result. As a beginner it is terribly difficult to get established. But I don't give up hope and will finally pull him through./

In the summer of 1887 Mahler was able to take a vacation away from the frantic activity of the opera house, and set to work on *Die Drei Pintos*. He also visited Löhr at Perchtoldsdorf, and went on a tour to the Bavarian Alps, and later Innsbruck, where he met Heinrich and Rudolf Krzyzanowski. They crossed the Alps to Starnbergsee and Mahler spent several days there with Heinrich before returning to Leipzig[64].

By this time, however, Rudolf had secured a new appointment as Kapellmeister of the Stadttheater at Halle, initially for the season from 15 September 1887 to 1 May 1888, though eventually he stayed on for the 1888-9 season[65]. The theatre was larger than any Krzyzanowski had previously worked in, and the company too was well-constituted with an orchestra of 45 (with a further 12 stage musicians) and a chorus of 72. During the young conductor's first year at Halle *Das Rheingold* was added to the repertoire - probably the first Wagner opera he conducted.

64) La Grange, op.cit., p.168.
65) AGDBA, 1888, p.119; 1889, p.117.

By the beginning of his second season at Halle, Krzyzanowski had apparently decided to move for in November 1889 Mahler was again trying to find a post for his friend:

> Eben unterhandle ich in München bei Levi für Rudolf, welchen ich für eine dortige Vakanz am Hoftheater als Kapellmeister dringend vorschlage.
>
> Ich hoffe sicher, dass die Sache zustande kommt. - Er weiss noch nichts - ich will ihn damit von dort überraschen lassen. (GMB, p.84-5).
>
> /I am even negotiating with Levi at Munich on Rudolf's behalf, who I have urgently proposed for a vacancy for a Kapellmeister at the Court Theatre there.
>
> I certainly hope that the matter will come off. He knows nothing - I will let him be surprised by it /when he hears/from there /i.e. Munich/ /

Mahler's efforts were evidently unsuccessful for when Rudolf moved in 1889 it was to Elberfeld-Barmen, not Munich[66]. The theatre, at which he was first Kapellmeister, was very new, though of slightly smaller capacity than that at Würzburg. The company was not large - a chorus of 40 and an orchestra of 45 - but is of interest for the second Kapellmeister and Chordirektor was Max Steinitzer, a friend of Mahler, and one of the principal sopranos, Ida Doxat, was to become Krzyzanowski's wife on 29 July 1893[67].

Both management and conductor were presumably happy about the latter's engagement for it was renewed the following

66) ADGDBA, 1890, p.71.
67) See Krzyzanowski's death certificate, quoted below. La Grange's statement that they married during Rudolf's time at Halle (op.cit., p.899, n.28) is therefore erroneous.

season, by which time the Kapellmeister was living a few doors away from his future bride[68]. The company grew during the two years - the orchestra increased in size to 51 members - and the repertoire indicates that Krzyzanowski's taste was similar to Mahler's, including as it does *Das Rheingold*, *Die Walküre*, *Euryanthe*, *Die Meistersinger*, *Die Widerspänstigen Zähmung* and *Così fan tutte*.

In the summer of 1891 the two friends met for the first time in some years when Mahler visited Rudolf at Eger, arriving there on 25 July [69]. By December of that year Mahler was able to report to Löhr:

> Rudolf ist, wie ich in einer lakonischen Anzeige von ihm erfuhr, von nächsten Jahr ab in Prag engagiert. Ob in erster Stellung (als mein mittelbarer Nachfolger) kann ich noch nicht mit Sicherheit entnehmen; doch ist dies zu hoffen. (GMB, p.96)
>
> /Rudolf is engaged from next year at Prague, as I was told in a laconic intimation from him. Whether in the prime post (as my direct successor) I can't determine with certainty; but let's hope so/.

However, until able to take up that post in 1892, Rudolf was again without a theatrical engagement, though the article in *Daheim* (see footnote 14) reports that after Elberfeld, Krzyzanowski moved to Munich, so it would seem that he worked there in some non-theatrical capacity.

Prague, however, was obviously a step forward, for

68) NTA, 1891, p.253.
69) La Grange, op.cit., p.236 and GMB, p.95

not only was this Rudolf's longest engagement yet - three seasons - it was also a post of some prestige: the director was Angelo Neumann, Krzyzanowski's immediate predecessor had been Muck and his successor was to be Franz Schalk. Nevertheless Krzyzanowski was not "entirely at home" (70) at Prague and inspired no great enthusiasm; indeed his conducting of the Philharmonic concerts failed so signally to win support that Neumann was forced to engage guest artists in order to win back the audience(71). The repertoire at Prague during these years was not of great interest apart from one première, which Krzyzanowski conducted: that of Reznicek's *Donna Diana*, given on 16 December 1894(72). No doubt Krzyzanowski, like Mahler before him, had little say in such matters and it was probably for the sake of greater freedom and a more congenial atmosphere that he decided to move.

Although he was married and his wife had been working at the Leipzig Stadttheater since 1891, Rudolf was unable to find a post near to her and so in 1895-6 he worked as Kapellmeister at Weimar. In the light of subsequent events this was a significant appointment, though at the time it can hardly have seemed so: the company was comparatively small and although Krzyzanowski's immediate superiors,

70) R. Rosenheim; *Die Geschichte der Deutschen Bühnen in Prag. 1883-1918.* Prague, 1938, p.107. It is worth noting that Rosenheim suggests that it was Mahler's recommendation that won the post for Krzyzanowski.
71) Rosenheim, op.cit., p.113.
72) Rosenheim, op.cit., p.114. In view of Krzyzanowski's later appointment at Weimar, it may not be coincidental that Reznicek worked there at about this time. It may well have been Krzyzanowski who drew Mahler's attention to *Donna Diana*. See La Grange, op.cit., p.494.

Eduard Lassen and Bernhard Stavenhagen were both distinguished, the institution had lost most of the prestige it had attained under Liszt in the 1850s[73].

It would seem that Rudolf did not appreciate Mahler's repeated attempts at help - he may have been unaware of them of course - for, according to a letter Mahler wrote to Löhr in August 1895, the two conductors had not been in contact with one another for some time:

> Krzyz. soll wirklich ab 96 hier engagiert sein. Von ihm selbst habe ich seit Jahren nichts erfahren. Auch Pollini schweigt darüber, was aber seiner Gepflogenheit entsprechend ist. - In keinem Falle tangiert es irgendwie meine Stellung am hiesigen Theater - höchstens, dass es mir nur angenehm sein kann, einen solchen Mitarbeiter zu bekommen. (GMB, p.106)
>
> /Krzyz. will actually be engaged here from 96. I have heard nothing from him for years, Pollini is also silent about it which is, however, typical of him. It touches upon my position at this theatre in no way - at most it can only be very agreeable for me to gain such a colleague./

This letter is important, for it establishes that Mahler was quite aware that Krzyzanowski was to conduct at Hamburg, and moreover, that Mahler respected Krzyzanowski's abilities enough to look forward to their collaboration[74]. Unfortunately the two old friends did not get on well, and Pollini, the director of the Hamburg Theatre, did his best to undermine their relationship:

73) NTA, 1896, p.520.

74) See La Grange, op.cit., p.379 where it is suggested that Mahler was unaware of Pollini's plans to engage Krzyzanowski. Moreover, as I hope the preceding account has shown, Krzyzanowski was not merely a childhood friend as La Grange suggests, though his relationship with Mahler had certainly grown distant in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

> Pollini's new policy, intended to drive Mahler out by inflicting all sorts of humiliations upon him, first showed itself on September 4th (1896), when he entrusted the direction of Tristan to Rudolf Krzyzanowski, whose wife, Ida Doxat, was making her debut as Isolde. In a rather lukewarm article, Pfohl praised the new conductor's 'precision' amd again remarked on the many weaknesses in the orchestral performance, blaming them not on the conductor but on the theatre's 'system', which resulted in 'the most exhausted' orchestra in the world. The Fremdenblatt was equally reserved in its praise of both Krzyzanowski, 'a careful conductor rather than a virtuoso' and the new Isolde. (75)

This account is confirmed by the historian of the theatre, Heinrich Chevalley:

> Es ist bezeichend für die starke Abkühlung des Verhältnisses zwischen Pollini und Mahler, die besonders im letzten Stadium der Mahlerschen Tätigkeit in Hamburg eingetreten war, dass in jener letzten Spielzeit Pollini die Leistung der grossen Wagnerschen Musikdramen, namentlich die jenige des 'Tristan', dem neben Mahler wirkenden, sicherlich sehr tüchtigen, aber keineswegs irgenwie genialen Zweiten Kapellmeister Krzyzanowski übertrag, während er Mahler mit zum Teil untergeordneten künstlerischen Aufgaben belastete. (76)
>
> /It is characteristic of the considerable cooling off of the relationship between Pollini and Mahler, which occurred particularly in the last period of Mahler's activity at Hamburg, that Pollini in that final season transferred the direction of the great Wagnerian music-dramas, in particular that of *Tristan* to Mahler's colleague, the certainly very efficient but by no means in any way talented second Kapellmeister Krzyzanowski, while to some extent he burdened Mahler with inferior artistic duties./

Ida Doxat was born at Senazac on 24 January 1867[77] and studied under Luise Dustmann. According to La Grange 'she seems to have been a mediocre singer who gravely imperilled her husband's career'[78]. It must therefore be wondered

75) La Grange, op.cit., p.380
76) *Hundert Jahre Hamburger Stadt-Theater*, Hamburg, 1927, p.130-1. See also a programme note by Chevalley (1923) quoted in Blaukopf, 1976, p.206.
77) This date appears on the relevant card in the index of the Handschriftsammlung of the ONB.
78) Op.cit., p.899. n.28.

how she reacted to Mahler's direction in the production of Cherubini's *Der Wasserträger* which he conducted, and in which she sang the role of Constance. This production, which opened on 5 January 1897, was given only three times, despite critical acclaim[79].

Of course their double appointment at Hamburg, one of the most important German opera houses, was a heaven-sent opportunity for the Krzyzanowskis and they remained there until 1898, when Rudolf was offered the post of Hofkapellmeister at Weimar; this, following the departure (retirement?) in 1900 of Lassen, the General-Musikdirektor, whose position was left vacant, became the senior musical appointment in the institution. Krzyzanowski retained the post for the rest of his life, though during the last two years he was given leave of absence - probably for reasons of ill-health - and his work taken over by Peter Raabe[80]. In 1900 Frau Krzyzanowski joined the company and sang with them until 1905.

Krzyzanowski's last years at Weimar were unremarkable apart from the Cornelius festival of 1904 at which *Der Barbier von Bagdad* in its original version (10 June) and *Der Cid* (9 June) were given their first performances since the composer's death[81]. If anything, Krzyzanowski was more conscientious than Mahler in his search for new works, though

79) La Grange, op.cit., p.398 and p.901, n.5.
80) See NTA for the relevant years.
81) See the *Rechenschaftberichte* to vols. III and IV of the Cornelius Gesamtausgabe, ed. Max Hasse, Leipzig, 1905.

no more successful, and his main achievement was as a conductor of Wagner whose music dramas he performed, like Mahler, uncut [82]. Although as a concert conductor he included such modern works as Dukas' *L'Apprenti-sorcier* and Strauss' *Sinfonia Domestica* in his repertoire, Krzyzanowski only once performed a work by Mahler: the *Kindertotenlieder* which were given with Friedrich Strathmann as soloist in 1906[83].

After his departure from Hamburg in 1897, Mahler seems to have again lost touch with Krzyzanowski, their last meeting occurring in December 1901:

> In the afternoon . . . (Mahler) set out for Weimar to see the conductor of the Weimar Opera, Rudolf Krzyzanowski, and put in a good word for his brother-in-law, the cellist Eduard Rosé, who had solicited a post at the opera. During a walk to the Belvedere with Krzyzanowski, the latter proved as "kind and trusting as always" and promised to hasten Eduard's appointment. Having found, moreover, that the "friendliest relations" had been established between Emma and the Krzyzanowski family, Mahler left Weimar again with a load off his mind. (84)

By a curious twist of fate, Krzyzanowski died only a few weeks after Mahler, while travelling through, or visiting, Graz. The official record reads:

> Rudolf Krzyzanowski, sächs. Hofkapellmeister, verstorben am 20.6.1911 in Graz II., Heinrichstrasse 31/II (Matrik Pfarre St Leonard), verheiratet seit 29.7.1893, geboren am 5.4.1862 in Eger (Böhmen), 49 Jahre alt, zuständig nach Weimar, Todesursache: Urämie, Carc. vesicaue, verbrannt im Krematorium, (Wohnung) Berlin, Goethestrasse 21, bei Eminger. (85)

82) See the obituary in NTA, 1912, p.166, and *Die Musik* IV/4 (April 1903), p.129.
83) Paul Stefan, op.cit., p.114.
84) La Grange, op.cit., p.658. Rosé remained at Weimar until 1926. Mahler did write to Krzyzanowski in August 1897 in connection with Bruno Walter's search for a conducting post. See GMB, p.266.
85) Sterbenprotokollen 1911/VI, Zl.2223.

/Rudolf Krzyzanowski, Saxon Court Conductor, died on 20.6.1911 in Graz II, Heinrichstrasse 31/II (Parish roll, St Leonard), married since 29.7.1893, born on 5.4.1862 at Eger (Bohemia), 49 years old, native of Weimar, cause of death: uraemia, corpse cremated, (address) Berlin, Goethestrasse 21, c/o Eminger./

The biographical evidence currently available gives no portrait of Krzyzanowski's character or personality. As a musician it seems that he had a fairly distinguished career as a student, but never rose above the average as a conductor, an impression amply confirmed by the following typical review:

> Am 30. Januar /1903/ hörten wir die Weimarische Hofkapelle unter Krzyzanowski, der trotz aller Mühe, die er sich gab, nicht den Eindruck verswischen konnte, dass seine Leistungen mehr von grosser Routine als von spontanem musikalischen Empfinden getragen werden. (86)
>
> /On the 30 January we heard the Weimar Hofkapelle under Krzyzanowski who, despite all the trouble that he took, could not blot out the impression that his direction stemmed more from considerable routine than from spontaneous musical feelings./

As young men, he and Mahler were drawn together by their common interest in Wagner and their situation as students. As the years passed Mahler became more aware of his own powers as a composer and conductor and the gulf that separated his artistic visions and abilities from those of his less inspired friend must have become evident to both; hence Krzyzanowski's dilatoriness as a correspondent and

86) M. Meier-Wöhrden in *Die Musik*, IV/13 (April 1905), p.65.

the patronising tone that occasionally creeps into Mahler's letters.

There is no record of Mahler's opinion of Krzyzanowski's music, indicating that he probably had no strong feelings about it, and in any case it seems unlikely that Rudolf composed much after his departure from the Conservatoire. At present two Krzyzanowski manuscripts can be described:

1) Title: Fuge über den Namen Dachs
Date: (1874-8?)
Scoring: Piano solo.
Material: Complete autograph score.
Lebhaft, G major, 4/4, 50 bars
This is the fourth fugue in a volume in the *Musiksammlung* of the Wiener Stadtbibliothek, the title of which is 'Fügen über den Namen "Dachs"/von 17 Schülern (Josef) Dachs grösstenteils den Jahren 1874-6'. Cat.no. MH 10843.
The other fugues are by:
1. Robert Erben, dated 27.ii.1882.
2. Kitty Haus.
3. Heinrich Janoch.
5. Franz Krezma.
6. Marie Latzel.
7. Ernst Ludwig.
8. Anna Lübeck, dated 1874.
9. Josef Manas.
10. Ida Morgenbesser, dated Wien 22.vii.1876.
11. Ernst Pollak, dated 31.iii(?).1882.
12. Fanni Rosenthal, dated 4.vi.1875.
13. Johann Salamon, dated 3.vi.1875.

14. ? Schirman.
15. Ludwig Schneider.
16. Marie Sperlich.
17. Franziska Teplitzky.

As the transcription of this work in Appendix VI/3 illustrates, Rudolf's youthful "academic" style shows no signs of originality, or a distinctive personality.

2) Title: 5 Lieder
Date: ?
Scoring: voice and piano
Texts: Texts for the fourth and fifth songs are by Lenau, being two of the *Schilflieder*. The authors of the other texts are unknown.
First lines:
1) O wäre mein Lieb der Fliederbusch.
2) O die klar blauer Himmel.
3) Sie haben ihn Tod getragen.
4) Trübe wird's die Wolken jagen.
5) Sonnen-untergang.

Material: Neat copies of all five songs bound together.
1) Nicht schleppend aber zart und innig, D major, 3/4, 52 bars; numbered as '1'.
2) Lebhaft und freudig bewegt, G major, 9/8, 31 bars; numbered as '2'.
3) Im gehender Bewegung, Bb minor, 4/4 and 3/4, 42 bars; numbered as '3'.
4) Unruhig, bewegt schnell, Eb minor - E minor, 3/4, 36 bars; numbered as '1'.
5) Schnell und scheu, F minor - Db major, 4/4, 40 bars; numbered as '2'.

> The first page of the manuscript bears the autograph inscription 'Meiner lieben, lieben Marie 5 Lieder von Ihren Rudolf', while the last page bears the following note: 'Ich bestätige, dass das vorliegende Manuscript (5 Lieder) eine, bischer unveröffentlichte, Handschrift meines Onkels Rudolf Krzyzanowski ist (1859-1911), der ein Lieblingschüler Anton Bruckners war. Zürich 12.4.1949. Heinrich Tschuppik. (Die Widmung besieht sich auf seine damalige Braut Marie Lorenz).' Manuscript in the Musiksammlung of the ONB, Cat.no. SM 28.208.

Little else can at present be added by way of commentary beyond the fact that Josef Dachs taught piano-playing at the Conservatoire from 1860 until 1896 [87] and that the musical equivalent of his surname forms the basis not only of the fugues in the Stadtbibliothek volume, but also of a four-movement String Quintet by Hans Rott (see Appendix IVd no.49). Curiously, however, neither Rott nor Krzyzanowski studied with him at the Conservatoire. Krzyzanowski's songs have no stronger personality than the rather dull fugue[88].

87) GKKGM, vol.I, p.355 and photo, p.129.

88) As a last footnote to these contributions to a family history of Krzyzanowskis, mention must be made to another artistically active member of the clan, Otfried Krzyzanowski (?-?). Biographical details are lacking beyond the fact of his contribution to the Viennese periodical *Der Ruf* in 1912-13 (Schoenberg and Peter Altenberg were also contributors; see E. Castle, op.cit., p.2114) and Krenek's setting of nine of Otfried's texts in his Op. 19 (no.1,2 and 4 only were published in 1924 by Universal Edition). The Handschriftsammlung of the Wiener Stadtbibliothek possesses one letter from Heinrich Krzyzanowski to Otfried.

Mathilde von Kralik

An interesting feature of the Conservatoire's classes was their inclusion of young women among the students. The male participants may well have been tempted to treat these members of the fair sex with scepticism, but to judge from the efforts and results of one of them, Mathilde von Kralik, such an attitude was unjustified. For this reason, and her connections with Mahler, Frau Kralik deserves a place in this account of Mahler's student associates.

The outline of Mathilde's early life is best given in her own words, taken from a manuscript curriculum vitae dated 19.x.1904:

> Ich bin am 3.December 1857 zu Linz an der Donau geboren. Mein Vater (gest. 1877) war Glasfabrikant (Chef de Firma Mayr's Neffe in Böhmen), meine Mutter ist eine geborene Lobmeyer (Schwester des Herrenschaumitgleids und Glasindustrieller Lobmeyer zu Wien)(89). Meinem Vater und meiner Mutter verdanke ich den musikalischen Sinn und die Liebe zur Musik. Mein Vater war passionirte Geigenspieler, wiewohl Autodidakt und pflegte im Böhmerwalde eifrig das Quartett-spiel. Meine Mutter spielte als Dilettantin gut Klavier und neigte schon als Mädchen der ernsten Klassischen Richtung zu. Von meinem Eltern hörte ich zuerst Beethovens Violin-Klavier Sonaten. Haydn, Mozart lernte ich durch Anhörung der hausliche Quartette kennen. (oder Haydns und Mozarts Klänge wurden nur zunächst durch die hauslichen Quartette vermittelt). Später übernahmen dann meine beiden alteren Brüder und schliesslich ich mit ihnen die Hausmusik, die in Duos, Trios und Quatuors /klassischen Richtung - deleted/ unser Klassiker bestand. /Meine ersten Kompositionsversuche förderte meine Bruder Richard, der sich lebhaft dafür interessirte. - deleted/.
>
> Meinen ersten Klavierunterricht genoss ich bei meiner Mutter, dann bei Eduard Hauptmann in Linz. Meine ersten Kompositions-versuche förderte meine Bruder Richard, der sich lebhaft dafür interessirte. Nach unserer Übersiedlung nach Wien im Jahre 1870

89) For a brief account in English of this notable family, see Barea, op.cit., p.290f.

erheilt ich Unterricht im Klavierspiel und in der Harmonielehre von Karl Hertlein (Flötist der Hofoper). Im Jahre 1875 würde ich Privat-Schülerin von Prof. Julius Epstein für Klavier. Er nahm ernsten Anteil an meinen Kompositionen und /?/iet mir zur weiterem Ausbildung Anton Bruckner für Kontrapunct, dessen Unterricht ich privat in ein Jahr genoss bis zum meinem Eintritt in die Kompositionsschule des Wiener Conservatoriums im Oktober 1876. Ich wurde in den zweiten Jahrgangs Schule Professor Franz Krenn übernommen. Nach Absolvierung des folgenden dritten Jahrganges erhielt ich den ersten Preis /in 1878/. In den folgenden Jahren pflegten wir in unseren Haus den a capella-Gesang, wodurch ich mit den Werben den niederländischen, italienischen u. deutschen Meister des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts vertrauten wurde. Als meine grosstens Lehrmeisters betrachte ich Bach; für die modernen Formen interessierte mich zumeist Liszt. (90)

/I was born on 3 December 1857 at Linz am Donau. My father (d.1877) was a glass manufacturer (head of the firm "Mayr's Nephew"/ ? /in Bohemia), my mothers maiden name was Lobmeyer (sister of the nobleman and glass manufacturer of Vienna). I am indebted to my mother and father for a feeling for and love of music. My father was, though self taught, a keen violinist and in the Böhmerwald ardently cultivated quartet playing. My mother played the piano well as an amateur, and already as a child she inclined to the serious classical direction. I first heard Beethoven's sonatas for violin and piano played by my parents. I got to know Haydn and Mozart by listening to the domestic quartet (or rather Haydn's and Mozart's sounds were next procured through the domestic quartet). Later my two elder brothers and finally I took over the domestic music, which consisted of Duos, Trios and Quartets /of Classical tendency - deleted/by our Classical composers. /My first attempts at composition were encouraged by my brother Richard, who rapidly became interested in them. - deleted/.

I took my first piano lessons from my mother and then from Eduard Hauptmann in Linz. My first attempts at composition were encouraged by my brother Richard, who rapidly became interested in them. After our removal to Vienna in 1870, I received tuition in piano playing and harmony by Karl Hertlein (flautist at the Hofoper). In 1875 I became a private pupil of Prof. Julius Epstein in piano. He took a serious interest in my compositions and /sent/ me for further instruction to Anton Bruckner for counter-point, whose teaching I received privately for a year until my

90) Wiener Stadtbibliothek, Handschriftsammlung, Cat.no. IN 189 405.

> entry into the composition class of the Vienna Conservatoire in October 1876. I was accepted into the second year of Professor Krenn's class. After completing the succeeding third year I received first prize /in 1878/. In the following year we cultivated a-capella music in our home whereby I became familiar with the aspirations of the Netherland, Italian and German masters of the 15th and 16th centuries. I regard Bach as my greatest master; for modern forms, Liszt interests me most./

Having left the Conservatoire, Mathilde worked as a composer and music-teacher, and had some success in the former field to judge from the publication and performance of her music. She died in 1944 while working on a *Missa Pacis*. Many of Mathilde's manuscripts are preserved in the Stadtbibliothek and Nationalbibliothek in Vienna [91] and a study of them reveals that she was a talented, but uninspired composer. The chief defect of her work is that she never developed a personal style, and many different stylistic models may be traced in her music, most from the more conservative German traditions. Nevertheless she paid homage to her former teacher, Bruckner, with a passing reference to his Third Symphony, in the first movement of her Piano Trio (Appendix IV/c no.2) (See Ex. 24). In addition, some of Mathilde's songs show an affinity with those of Hugo Wolf (see Ex.25). Mathilde and Mahler both attended Krenn's composition class in the years 1876/7, and 1877/8; that ties of friendship, albeit weak ones, existed between

91) For a list of works, see Appendix IVc.

Mahler and his fellow student is suggested by the fact that it was at the Kraliks' home that Natalie Bauer-Lechner renewed her acquaintance with the young composer:

> I met him for longer at the Kraliks' where they asked him to play the Prelude to the *Mastersingers*, which he did so magnificently that he conjured forth all the thunder of an orchestra. As a rule Mahler behaved like an 'unlicked cub' in all 'refined' circles, and never seemed to feel at ease. When we came to sit together at supper, however, he thawed out completely and we became deeply involved in an absorbing conversation about *Wilhelm Meister* (92).

Richard von Kralik

Mathilde's brother, Richard (1852-1934) was, as has already been pointed out in Chapter III, a member of the Pernerstorfer circle, and devoted most of his life to literary work. A less familiar side of his activities was his repeated forays into musical composition(93). The earliest date from c.1870, but so far as is known, Kralik received no musical training, and the products themselves suggest that he was unsuccessful as an autodidact. Put bluntly, Richard was, both as author and composer, a wealthy but untalented amateur who diverted himself, and possibly some of his more insensitive friends, with a deluge of attempts at creativity. The utter banality of Kralik's music is illustrated by the extract taken from the opening of the "Ostralied"(Appendix IVbno.5) (see Ex.26).

92) Bauer-Lechner, op.cit., p.1-2. Translation from Blaukopf, 1976, p.165.

93) See Appendix IVb for a list of works.

In 1881 Kralik and Lipiner formed a new society, the *Sagengesellschaft*, which also numbered Friedjung among its members; the "Ostralied" was to be the group's song. The aim of the members was that "of living, thinking, and working in myths, gods and heroes, as, say, the ancient Greeks or the ancient Germans"(94). There is some evidence that Mahler may also have belonged to the group: what Mahler made of Kralik's dilettantism is hard to imagine, but it seems that some degree of friendship existed since Mahler was a guest of Kralik at the Wiener Cottage-Verein in 1879(95), and in 1882 wrote to Kralik from Olmütz(96). It would appear from his letter of 17 December 1879(97), that Hugo Wolf followed Mahler to the Verein despite the fact that he despised Kralik's poetry(98): in later years he openly execrated it in his articles for the *Wiener Salonblatt*(99).

Anton Krisper

One of the difficulties which stands in the way of the formation of a satisfactory impression of the relationships in which Mahler was involved during the late 1870s is the almost total absence of correspondence. For this reason alone, Mahler's letters to Anton Krisper are of particular interest, and they also provide information about other

94) See McGrath, op.cit., p.101
95) Mitchell, 1976, p.118.
96) Blaukopf, 1976, p.165-6.
97) Quoted in Walker, op.cit., p.92.
98) Walker, op.cit., p.142-3.
99) Ibid, p.177. For further biographical details, see McGrath, op.cit., and Castle, op.cit., p.160lf.

aspects of the composer's life and work.[100] On the other hand neither the existence of the letters, nor indeed their content, can be taken as an indication that this friendship was any closer than the others under discussion.

Anton Valentin Ferdinand Krisper was born in Laibach (Ljubljana) on 28 December 1859, the fourth son of Josef and Engelholde (née Baumgartner) Krisper[101]. Anton's father was a merchant in the town and Dragotin Cvetko suggests that father and son may have used their influence to arrange Mahler's appointment to the Laibach Provincial Theatre in 1881. Anton was educated at the local *Volkschule* and later the *Mittelschule;* in Vienna he attended the Conservatoire and the University. Krisper's first year at the former was 1876/7 when he registered for the first year of the composition course, his main subject, and the first year of the counterpoint and piano courses as subsidiaries[102]. Illness prevented him from sitting the examinations, but the following year he was permitted to enter the second year of the composition class, although he had to repeat the first year of the piano course; in addition he registered for the History of Music Course[103]. Again Krisper seems to have avoided examination since his name does not appear in the list of results for 1878.

100) Printed in Hans Hollander, 'Unbekannter Jugendbriefe Gustav Mahlers', *Die Musik*, vol.20, no.11.

101) For these and most other biographical details, see Dragotin Cvetko, 'Gustav Mahlers Saison 1881/2 in Laibach(Slovenien)', *Musik des Ostens*, IV (1968), p.74f.

102) *Jahresbericht* 1876/7, pp.18 & 79-80.

103) *Jahresbericht* 1877/8, p.19.

To judge from the letters, Krisper was the recipient of Mahler's confidences in the years 1879/80 during the composition of *Das klagende Lied* and the ill-fated love affair with Josephine Poisl(104). By 1881 this *Sturm und Drang* period in Mahler's life was over, but the friendship remained and Mahler lodged with Krisper's parents during his season at the Laibach theatre(105). The end of that appointment however, marks the end of documentary evidence referring to the friendship, but according to J. Mantuani, an opera by Krisper was performed at Prague c.1885, perhaps thanks to Mahler's influence (this at least is Cvetko's view):

> Uglasbil je opero, ki so jo peli v Pragi, najbrž leta 1885., ko je bil Mahler kapelnik tamošnjega nemškega deželnega gledališča. Ker je bil uspeh nepovoljen, je pustil Krisper skladanje. A o operi ni bilo dosedaj dognati ničesar: ne o snovi, ne o libretistu, ne o obsegu, ne o glasbi in njeni kakovosti. V bivšem nemškem deželnem gledališču ni partiture in nikakega porocila v aktih. (106)

> /He (Krisper) composed an opera which was sung in Prague c.1885 when Mahler was the musical director of the German *Landestheater* there. As he had no success, Krisper gave up composition. It has been impossible to obtain information about this opera, about its source, the librettist, its contents or about the music and its quality. In the former German *Landestheater* there is neither a score of the opera nor any reference to it in the archives./

Details of this work are still completely lacking and the possibility that the work may be ficticious cannot be dismissed. Whatever the reason, Krisper abandoned composition,

104) See La Grange, op.cit., p.60f.
105) Hans Holländer, 1931, p.455.
106) J. Mantuani, 'O slovenski operi', *Zbori*, VI (1930), p.39.

wrote a theoretical work *Die Kunstmusik in ihrem Prinzip, ihrer Entwicklung und ihrer Konsequenz*[107] and then turned his attention to the study of mining. He died insane in 1914, although Mahler was concerned about his mental health as early as 1880[108].

The only example of Krisper's music to survive is a Sonata in E major for piano[109]. Unfortunately this cannot be dated though the manuscript's inscription "Dr Anton Krisper" suggests that it was copied in the 1880s or later. As the reproduction in Appendix VI demonstrates, Cvetko's description of the work as being in Liszt's manner is excessively flattering to Krisper. The piano writing bears no trace of Liszt's influence and virtually the only Lisztian feature is the augmented dominant chord that pervades the slow movement. Otherwise the only influence to make itself felt in this barely competent work, is that of early Wagner. The quality of writing casts doubt on Krisper's ability to sustain extended operatic structures and the likelihood of Mahler's recommendation of such a work.

107) According to La Grange, op.cit., p.847, this was Krisper's thesis submitted for a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Leipzig in 1882.

108) See GMB, pp.14-15.

109) Held by the Narodna in Univerzitetna knijiznica, Ljubljana which also possesses an incomplete manuscript of a suite for keyboard written on the same paper and in the same hand as the sonata. This suite, which consists of a Toccata, Canzona, Allemande, Courante and Double is probably a copy of an eighteenth century work, but may be a pastiche. The incipits of the five surviving movements are given in Appendix VI.

Hans Rott

Thus far it has not been necessary to discuss in detail the music of the composers and would-be composers under discussion, either because the music is of so little intrinsic value, or, as in the case of Stross and Mathilde von Kralik, it had no direct influence on Mahler. However, the music of Hans Rott deserves close examination on both counts: its own value and its profound influence on Mahler. In fact Mahler, who in later life took little or no interest in the music written by the friends of his Conservatoire days, discussed Rott's music with Natalie Bauer Lechner in 1900:

Mahler sprach über Hans Rott, dessen Symphonie er sich zum Durchsehen für eine eventuelle Aufführung in den philharmonischen Konzerten mitgenommen hat:

"Wass 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 schreib 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 Würfe 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 mich mir wie zwei Früchte von demselben Baum erscheinen, die derselbe Boden gezeugt, und vielleicht hätten wir zwei zusammen den Inhalt dieser neuen Zeit, die für Musik anbracht, einigermassen erschöpft".

Mahler erzählt weiter, dass Rott diese Symphonie im Piaristenkloster geschrieben, wo er mit dem kleinsten Gehalt eine Stelle als Organist bekleidete. Da hatte er ein kleines, allerstillstes Zimmer. Mahler kam damals oft zu ihm, schlief sogar manchmal bei ihm in seiner Zelle. Er erinnerte sich noch, dass Rott zur Stillung seines Hungers, wenn er gerade "bei Geld" war, einen ganzen Kranz Extrawurst kaufte, die dann im Zimmer auf einem Nagel an der Wand hing, bis sie verschlungen war. Später verlor Rott leider diese Stelle, und zwar auf höchst kränkende

Weise: die Mönche, die ihm spinnefeind waren, beschuldigten ihn des Diebstahls und Verkaufs von Büchern aus dem Archiv. Seine Unschuld stellte sich erst später, schon in der Zeit seines Wahnsinns, heraus.

Auch habe Rott höchst eigenartige Lieder komponiert und oft am Klavier den Freunden vorgespielt. Doch hatte er sie leider nicht aufgeschrieben und so sind sie mit ihm untergegangen. Ein Sextett von ihm hat Mahler nie gehört.(110)

/Mahler spoke about Hans Rott, whose Symphony he had taken with him to look through for a possible performance in the Philharmonic concerts:

"It is completely impossible to estimate what music has lost through his death, /for/ his genius rises to such flights already in this First Symphony, which he composed as a twenty-year old youth and which - it is no exaggeration to say - made him the founder of the new symphony as I understand it. Certainly not everything he wanted is completely achieved. It is as if one prepares to throw into the far distance and yet clumsily fails to hit the mark. But I know at what he aimed. He is so close to my own being that to me he and I appear like to fruits of the same tree, who sprang from the same soil, and perhaps we would have together to some extent exhausted the possibilities of this new period which dawns in music."

Mahler further explained that Rott wrote this Symphony in the Piaristen monastery where he occupied the post of organist for the smallest salary. There he had a small, most peaceful room. Mahler visited him frequently at that time, even sometimes sleeping with him in his cell. He still remembered that when he was "in funds" Rott would buy a whole ring of Extrawurst to quell his hunger, which then hanged on a nail on the wall until it was consumed. Later Rott unfortunately lost this post, and in a highly insulting way: the monks, who hated him like poison, accused him of the theft and sale of books from the library. His innocence was established later, during the period of his insanity.

Rott also composed highly individual songs and often played them on the piano to his friends. But unfortunately he never wrote them down and so they were lost with him. Mahler never heard the Sextet he composed./

Despite these intriguing comments, Rott's music, most of which has survived and is now housed in the Rott *Nachlass*

110) Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.137.

of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, in Vienna, has attracted little scholarly attention, and the only published account, Dr Leopold Nowak's thematic catalogue[111], nowhere mentions Mahler's name and gives no description of Rott's musical style. As the evidence presented here for the first time will demonstrate, such a description opens up a previously unknown aspect of Mahler's creative personality: the way in which he enshrined Rott's memory in the music of his own symphonies. This was Mahler's tribute to a friend of his youth who, he felt, was prevented by a tragically short life from fulfilling the extraordinary promise displayed in his completed compositions.

Although his name continued to inhabit the pages of books devoted to Mahler's life and work, very little is known of Rott's life, and even La Grange, who provided the most detailed account, gives little insight into the early life of the composer. In 1958 Maja Löhr, the daughter of Fritz Löhr, who in turn was a close friend of Mahler and Rott, published a short article about the latter: 'Hans Rott, der Lieblingsschüler Anton Bruckners'[112] - the title of which is indicative of the general interest in Rott: his role as a pupil of Bruckner. It seems fair to conclude that it was a similar approach which motivated Nowak's study.

111) 'Die Kompositionen und Skizzen von Hans Rott in der Musiksammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek', *Beiträge zur Musikdokumentation. Franz Grasberger zum 60 Geburtstag*, Tutzing, 1975, p.273f.

112) *Lebendige Stadt*, Vienna 1958, p.16f.

Frau Löhr's essay, valuable though it is, was merely the preliminary work for a larger biographical work, which, though completed before her death, has sadly remained unpublished. Fortunately, however, Professor Nowak has drawn on her work in the compilation of his chronological survey of Rott's life[113] and these two sources, together with the few other scattered references to the composer, form the basis for the following account of Rott's career.

Hans was born in Braunhirschengrund, Vienna, on 1 August 1858, the son of Christine (née Hoffmann) and Karl Mathias Rott. Of his mother,little is known and he can have had few memories of her, for she died in 1860. Karl on the other hand was not merely a character in his own right, but also one of the most famous actors of comic characters on the Viennese stage. Born on 23 February 1807, Karl led a varied, and for the most part, successful life[114]. He was considered by many to be the successor of Ferdinand Raimund (1790-1836) on whose style of acting his own was modelled and, in view of his son's musical ability, it is fascinating to note that like his predecessor Raimund and his contemporary, Johann Nestroy (1801-1862), Karl Rott had a considerable musical talent. At the age of ten he was

113) Op.cit., p.336f.
114) Unless otherwise stated, information about Karl Rott's career is taken from Wurzbach, op.cit., vol.27, p.145.

appointed organist at the Marie Geburt Kirche in Vienna, appeared at the Hofoper two years later and, having worked as a member of the chorus there, in 1824 became a cellist in the theatre orchestra at Pressburg (Bratislava). After an unsuccessful venture in 1828 as a composer of incidental music (to *Des Wüstlings Radicaltur*, the first of Nestroy's stage works) Karl turned to acting, a career that he continued to follow for the rest of his working life. Nevertheless he drew on his early musical training while a member of the leading operetta ensemble in Vienna, that of the Theater an der Wien, where he created the title role in Johann Strauss' *Indigo* (1871) and was also the first Dr Falke in *Die Fledermaus*. Rott's position as one of the most popular comic actors of the day was in 1872 officially recognised when, after a performance as Knöpfl in Anton Langer's *Judas im Frack* marking the 40th anniversary of his first appearance on stage, Emperor Franz Joseph presented Ross with the *goldene Verdienstkreuz mit der Kron* - the first time that such an honour had been accorded to an actor not attached to the court theatre. According to Wurzbach (op.cit.) Karl's continued acting until his death on 10 February 1876, but Nowak (i.e. Frau Löhr) reports that his stage career came to an end in 1874 after which the family's fortunes declined.

Such evidence as there is points to a rather unhappy home-life in the Rott household. On 9 October 1862 Karl

married a dancer-turned- actress, Maria Rosalie Lutz (b.1840), thirty years his junior, but the marriage must have been placed under a considerable strain by Marie's frequent absences while playing at theatres outside Vienna. In any case, when she finally settled in the Austrian capital in 1869 she was already ill and eventually died on 17 August 1872. It may be assumed that her relationship with her stepson Hans was little more than superficial, but it is much more difficult to assess Hans' relationship with his father. Karl was clearly a dominating and rather daunting figure in theatrical circles: whether these characteristics also revealed themselves within the family circle is unknown.

Hans' education was begun in 1866 as a Privatschuler at the k.k. Normal Hauptschule St Anna in Vienna and from 1868 until 1872 was continued in the four lower classes at the Akademischen Gymnasium. Then in the year of his stepmother's death Hans was transferred to the Öffentliche Höhere Handels-Lehranstalt from which he graduated in 1874. Perhaps his father wished to discourage an artistic career or simply felt that some sort of commercial training would be a useful background for his son. At what date Hans' musical talent manifested itself is unknown - the earliest surviving composition that may be dated with any degree of certainty, the Symphony for Strings[115], was begun in 1874 - nor is it clear whether

115) Appendix IVd no. 37.

Karl encouraged the development of his son's talent, but Hans had received some sort of preliminary training as a performer before 1874, for in September of that year he was admitted as a student at the Vienna Conservatoire and his earliest dated compositions suggest that he probably began composing some time before his acceptance as a student there.

During his first three years at the Conservatoire Hans' main course of study was the organ under Anton Bruckner during which he attended the second preparatory class and the first and second finishing classes in successive years. He was clearly an able pupil, attaining first grade at the end of each academic year, the second prize in the preparatory class in 1875, and first prizes in the organ competitions held in his second and third years[116]. At the first of these, on 21 June 1876, Rott played Mendelssohn's Organ Sonata in D minor Op. 65 no.6 and at the second, on 16 June 1877, a Fugue in G minor by Bach. In his second and third years he also performed a number of times at the Conservatoire:

16.2.1876	Choral mit Variationen für Orgel by Rink[117]
3.5.1876	Adagio from Mendelssohn's Organ Sonata in F minor Op.65 no.1 and a Fugue in C by Vockner (118)
15.2.1877	The organ part in a 'Largo' for violins, violas, harp and organ by Handel (119)
16.5.1877	Fugue in G major by Bach
30.5.1877	Fugue in E minor by Bach
12.7.1877	Toccata in D minor by Bach

116) All information relating to Rott's Conservatoire career is taken from the *Jahresbericht* for 1874/5 and succeeding years.

117) Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck (1770-1846), author of a famous Practical Organ School,Op.55 which was the tutor used in the preparatory classes for organ at the Conservatoire(see *Lehrplan*, 1875/6,p.4). Part II of this work consists of twelve chorals with variations, and the piece played by Rott was no doubt one of these.

118) Josef Vockner, Bruckner's successor as teacher of organ at the Conservatoire, who taught there from 1890 until 1906.

119) This work was probably the 'Largo für Violinen, Violen, Harfe, Harmonium u. Orgel. Händel, arrangirt v. J. Hellmesberger sen.' which was performed at the Hofoper on 16 April 1876. See A.J. Weltner/Alois Przistanpinsky/F. Graf, op.cit.,pp.177, 203.

At the end of these three very successful years of study Rott took his *Abitur* and received both a Diploma and the silver *Gesellschaftsmedaille.*

Rott's subsidiary courses changed from year to year. For the first two years he studied piano with Leopold Landskron in whose classes he attained first grade in both years and won first prize in 1875. His theoretical studies began in 1874-5 with Harmony under Hermann Grädener (1844-1929), in whose class he attained first grade and won second prize, and they continued with counterpoint under Franz Krenn in 1875-6, in which Rott again attained first grade. In 1876-7, the year he took his *Abitur* in organ, Rott registered for the second year of the composition course and studied with Mahler and Krzyzanowski under Krenn; his name is, however, missing from the annual class result list, which indicates that he only attained second or third grade. Rott's financial situation during these years seems to have been similar to, if not actually worse than Mahler's: in his second year he was exempt from paying half of his fees and in his third and fourth years he was awarded a free place at the Conservatoire donated by J.B. Lichtenhain.

In the year after his graduation as an organist, Rott returned to the Conservatoire to take the third year of the composition course and thus again worked with Mahler and Krzyzanowski under Krenn. During this year he shared with

Krzyzanowski and some other composition students (not including Mahler) the distinction of being allowed to direct a performance by the Conservatoire orchestra, in Rott's case that of Beethoven's 'Prometheus' Overture Op.43. At the end of the year, like Mahler and Krzyzanowski, he attained first grade in Krenn's class and was deemed eligible to enter the composition competition, but, unlike his friends, who both had works performed, won first prizes, and received diplomas, no work of his was performed and he was merely *absolviert* - i.e. he completed the course without distinction[120].

Little can at present be added to these details of Rott's student days. It is clear, however, that he was one of Bruckner's favourite pupils, for the latter wrote on 14 June 1878 the following - ineffectual - letter of recommendation to Ignaz Traumihler, the choirmaster at St Florian:

> Reflektieren E. Hochwürden nicht positiv auf einen Ausländer als Nachfolger, so möchte ich aufs allerwärmste einen absolvierten Conservatoristen der Orgelschule, Hans Rott, empfehlen. Er, der Sohn des sel. Schauspielers am Theater an der Wien ist ein genialer Musiker, höchst liebenszeichnet und improvisiert (als 18 jähr. Jüngling) /Rott was nearly 20!/ staunenswert. Einen besseren jungen Menschen bekommen Sie nicht. Er war bis jetzt mein bester Schüler. Contrap. studierte er bei Krenn, der ihn ebenfalls sehr liebt, sowie auch Composition. Gegenwärtig ist er Organist bei den Piaristen in der Josefstadt. Er sowohl und, wie ich meine, Euer Hochwürden ebenfalls würden sich sehr glücklich fühlen. Doch will ich keineswegs damit vorgegriffen haben. (121)
>
> /If your Reverence does not have a foreigner positively in mind as a successor, may I most warmly recommend a graduate of the Conservatoire Organ School Hans Rott. The son of the well-known actor at the Theater an der Wien, he is a talented musician, most charming and unassuming, very moral, plays Bach excellently, and

120) See below, p.248f. for the probable explanation.
121) Göllerich, op.cit., II/1, p.263.

> improvises (as an 18 year old youth) wonderfully. You will not find a better young man. He was until now, my best pupil. He as well as your Reverence would, I think, feel very happy. But I by no means wish to anticipate the matter./

Rott's post was as *Angestellter* (Organist) of the Josefstädter Kirchenmusikvereins an der Piaristenkirche, an appointment he took up in February 1876. It appears that the post carried with it a right to a cell in the monastery, for Mahler recalled his friend's inhabitation of such a room:

> My room faces a large, spacious square, shaded by big old trees. It is surrounded by a complex of village-like houses which fit the landscape in a lovely and natural way. The elder bushes in the small garden immediately in front of my window will scent my room during the summer. Can you imagine a corridor, exactly like the one in the Piaristen Monastery (where Rott lived) only a little longer, even more gloomy and with more atmosphere. My room opens on to it, just like Rott's. It is long, very large and spacious, cheerful and comfortably furnished. Wagner's picture, the one Frank painted for me, is on my desk. I also have a good piano (122).

According to Natalie Bauer-Lechner's reportage, the termination of the appointment was not undertaken under happy circumstances[123] but unfortunately Frau Löhr gives no further information about the matter beyond the date: 1 October 1878. However, it is certain that after his departure, Rott's only sources of income were fees from private lessons and loans from Joseph Seemüller.

122) Letter to Krisper, probably written in 1879. Translation from La Grange, op.cit., p.60. See also Mahler's comments to Bauer-Lechner quoted on page 233 above.
123) See above, p.233.

At about this time Rott fell in love and therefore sought a post as organist or *Kapellmeister* so that he could marry. All attempts to find such a position failed until the summer of 1880 when he was offered the post of musical director of the Concordia, a choral society in Mühlhausen, which offered the monthly salary of 200 florins. The prospect of leaving Vienna and his friends was, however, unattractive to Rott, who hoped that either by winning the Beethoven Prize with his Symphony in E major (Appendix IVd/45) and the String Sextet (Appendix IVd/48), or by persuading Hans Richter and the Vienna Philharmonic to perform the symphony, he would be able to remain in Austria. It was, no doubt, to further the former plan that Rott decided to visit Brahms, a member of the committee that awarded the Beethoven Prize, and on 23 August 1880 he wrote to Hans Richter from Glashütte where he was spending the summer with Seemüller. In neither direction was Rott successful. On the 17 September he visited Brahms but was received in a manner similar to that earlier accorded to Wolf. Whether this event had any significant effect on Rott's mental stability is not clear. Bruckner evidently believed that it did:

> . . . erbittert war er /Bruckner/ über das Verhalten von Brahms gegenüber dem jungen Rott. Ich und Hynais begleiteten Bruckner, als er sich zum Leichenbegängnisse dieses jungen Komponisten begab, der von ihm ungemein geliebt werden war. Es schein, dass er die Erkrankung und Tod des jungen Mannes wesentlich der Härte des Urteils beimass, das Brahms über eine Komposition Rotts gefällt hatte. (124)

124) Göllerich, op.cit., IV/2, p.131.

/He /Bruckner/ was embittered by the behaviour of Brahms towards the young Rott. Hynais and I accompanied Bruckner as he set out for the funeral of this composer, of whom he was extraordinarily fond. It appears that he attributed the illness and death of the young man principally to the harshness of the judgement Brahms had passed on one of Rott's compositions/

but Fritz Löhr was of the opinion that by that time Rott was beyond help:

Damals aber, es war knapp vor dem Ausbruch der Krankheit, war Rott überhaupt nicht mehr zu retten und seinem herben Geschick verfallen: seine Erkrankung, durch ganz andere physische und Seeliche Momente hervorgerufen, hatte sich lange schon vorbereitet. (125)

/But at that time, it was shortly before the onset of the illness, Rott was really beyond help and had fallen into the power of his harsh fate: his illness, caused by quite separate physical and spiritual factors, had already been brewing for some time./

In any case Rott must have been shaken to find himself rejected by the composer whose C minor Symphony had inspired certain aspects of the design of his own first symphonic venture. After that disastrous meeting, the young musician pinned all his hopes on Richter's support:

Rotts Gemütszustand war schwer erschüttert. Aber noch ergibt er sich nicht . . . Hans Richter, der verehrte Wagner-Interpret, muss sie mit den Philharmonikern aufführen! Richter ist bereit, das Werk aus der Partitur mit ihm durchzugehen. Rott lässt in fieberhafter Eile die Stimmen ausschreiben, um für eine Aufführung bereit zu sein. Aber Richter ist überbeschäftigt, das Vorspielen verzögert sich zweimal, was Rott abermals in grösste Erregung versetzt. 'Jetzt heisst es warten - für mich gegenwärtig das Fürchterlichste.' Endlich kommt es in Richters Heim in Weidling zum Vorspielen (Mitte Oktober/actually 14 October/). Richters Urteil über die Symphonie soll nach mündlicher Überlieferung sehr anerkennend und ermunternd gewesen sein, aber - zur Aufführung durch die Philharmoniker hat er das Erstlingswerk nicht angenommen.(126)

125) Fritz Löhr, 'Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Revue',*Die Musik*, III/10 (1903/4), p.280-1.
126) Maja Löhr, 1958, p.21.

> /Rott's frame of mind was severely shaken. But he did not give up. . . . . Hans Richter, the respected interpreter of Wagner must perform the work with the Philharmonic. Richter is prepared to go through the work in score with him. Rott in feverish haste has the parts copies, in order to be ready for a performance. But Richter is over-occupied, the play through twice postponed, which greatly agitated Rott. "Now it's wait - for me at present the most dreadful /word/". Finally came the play-through at Richter's home at Weidling (mid October). Richter's view of the Symphony was, according to oral tradition, very appreciative and encouraging, but he did not accept this first work for performance by the Philharmonic./

In the face of two defeats Rott was forced to try to resign himself to his departure from Vienna, but clearly his overwrought mind was unable to cope with the situation.

On 21 or 22 October, Rott was on his way to take up the post in Mülhausen having left Vienna by train for Munich. During the journey a fellow passenger wished to light a cigar, whereupon Rott threatened him with a revolver, saying that Brahms had filled the train with dynamite. By 23 October he was in the Psychiatrische Klinik of the Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Vienna[127], where he remained until 16 February 1881 when he was transferred to the Nort Oest. Landes-Irrenanstalt in Lazarettgasse. On the 20th of that month, too late, it was announced that Rott had been awarded a state grant for the support of talented artists. At first his condition was not thought to be hopeless, but by 7 October 1881 the view was that he was suffering from hallucinations and a persecution

127) Run by the famous brain anatomist, Theodore Meynert, who taught both Freud and Schnitzler and was connected with the Pernerstorfer circle in the 1870s. Freud worked at the Klinik in 1883 (see E. Jones, op. cit., vol.I, p.72) as did Victor Adler in the late 1870s.

complex, and that recovery could not be expected. Initially he saw his friends, played the piano, read and composed, but later sank into deep melancholia, in which condition he destroyed the scores of several compositions including the String Sextet, using them as lavatory paper saying 'that is all the works of men are worth'[128]. He died on 25 June 1884 aged 25, the official record reading:

> Rott, Johann, Musiklehrer, 25 Jahre, kath.,
> Geburts-und Zuständigkeitsort: Wien
> Todesart: Lungentuberkulose,
> Adresse: I, Totenturmstrasse 16 (beschaut von N.Ö.
> Landesirrenanstalt. (129)

The fact that four of Mahler's Conservatoire friends - Rott, Stross, Wolf and Krisper - died insane and that another, Heinrich Krzyzanowski, showed signs of mental instability is perhaps important. It may be an indication of the over-wrought emotional climate of Vienna at that time, but equally important is the attitude to life exhibited, to a greater or lesser extent by all of these young men - including Mahler. All showed a marked inability to come to terms with the demands of everyday social existence: Rott and Wolf found it impossible to find permanent posts that suited them and had to rely on the financial support of friends; Krisper's life was highly erratic; Mahler too seems to have been unsettled in the period between 1878 and 1880, although he subsequently

128) Alma Mahler, 1973, pp.8-9.
129) Information kindly supplied by Hofrat Dr Kratochwill of the Wiener Stadt-und Landesarchiv.

settled into the 'hell of theatrical life' (130), his career is notable for the frequent changes of post. The problem was that of the romantic artist in society, posed in its most extreme form by Wagner. Only Mahler, and to a lesser extent Wolf, were able to find some sort of solution to this psychological problem. That in extreme cases it could lead to a neurosis is quite clear:

> . . . when an individual, as a result perhaps of some anomaly in his personal disposition (no matter what this may be), ceases to conform to the canon of collective ideas, he will very likely find himself not only in conflict with society, but in disharmony with himself . . . In that case he will become neurotic. (131)

Rott's circle of friends was also remarkable because of its almost total exclusion of fellow musicians: only Guido Adler and Mahler had a musical training while the others had a wide range of interest. It was an interest in literary and philosophical matters, in particular the writings of Nietzsche, Ibsen and Bjornsen, that bound such diverse figures as Löhr, Seemüller, Adler, Wickhoff, Minor, Lipiner, Mahler and Heinrich Krzyzanowski to the circle. Rott appears to have been particularly close to the latter and visited him at Eger in the summer of 1878, but one of the surviving manuscripts (Appendix IVd/53) suggests that he also

130) Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.104.
131) C.G. Jung, *The Practice of Psychotherapy* (Collected Works, Vol.16), London , 1954, p.120. For one analysis of the social changes which forced many nineteenth century artists into such a position of alienation, see Jacques Barzun, *Berlioz and the Romantic Century*, vol.I, New York/London, 1969, pp.533-4.

knew Rudolf well enough to contemplate composing a work for violin and piano for him. However it was Seemüller who was most concerned for the composer's welfare in the difficult years before his final collapse into insanity: in July and August 1880 he entertained Rott as a guest at Glashütte [132] and also provided financial support. After Rott's death it was Seemüller and Löhr who took charge of his remaining manuscripts and it was no doubt through Löhr that Mahler obtained the Symphony in E major in 1900. The *Nachlass* was later passed on to Löhr's daughter Maja, who in turn gave them to the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek where it may be seen today.

Mahler's friendship with Rott was important to him both on musical and personal levels. His comments to Natalie Bauer-Lechner make it clear that he admired Rott's talent, and these were obviously not isolated reminiscences, for Mahler later told his wife, Alma, a few Rott anecdotes. Furthermore, two of Mahler's earliest biographers [133] mention Rott as one of Mahler's first friends, surely an indication that they had been told of this obscure musician, dead for a quarter of a century, by Mahler himself [134]. The information preserved by Alma Mahler is both helpful and

132) Unfortunately it is not possible to identify precisely the location of this village: there were places of this name in Bavaria, Lower Franconia, Hessen, Nassau, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary.
133) Specht, n.d., p.46, and Stefan, 1910, p.14.
134) Unless they had derived the information from other members of the circle, e.g. Löhr or Guido Adler.

confusing:

> He /Mahler/ won the first prize for composition. His fellow student and friend, Hans Rott, an extraordinarily talented musician, was unsuccessful. Mahler went home and told them proudly of the prize he had won. His mother wept tears of indignation and said: "All the same, Rott's work was better than yours." It was just like his mother. (135)

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> Mahler had a friend whom he looked up to and admired. His name was Hans Rott; it was he whose symphony, although the better of the two, failed to win the prize. Rott's mother once knocked at Bruckner's door on a hot summer day to ask how her son was progressing. In response to a loud "Come in!" she entered the room. Bruckner advanced stark naked to shake her by the hand. She fled screaming, but for a long time he could not understand "what was up with the woman". (136)

This information, at first sight rather vague, can be fitted into the established facts of the Conservatoire careers of both Rott and Mahler. The "first prize in composition" presumably refers to the annual Composition Concurs at the Conservatoire, which Mahler entered in 1876 and 1878 but which Rott was also eligible to enter only in 1878. Furthermore, Rott *was* unsuccessful at this competition and Mahler did win first prize, though for a Piano Quintet movement, not a symphony. It is probably this competition to which Göllerich refers in the following anecdote:

135) Alma Mahler, 1973, p.8.
136) Ibid, p.107.

> Als Rott zur Reifeprüfung einen Symphonie-Satz vorlegte, welcher der engherzigen Zunft, die damals am Prüfungstisch sass, und für welche R. Wagner der Marat in der Musik war, als zu Wagnerisch'erschein, ertönte vom Prüfungstisch her zum Schluss hönisches Lachen. Darüber war Bruckner so empört, dass er den Prüfungs-kommission zurief: 'Lachen Sie nicht, meine Herren, von dem Namen werden Sie noch Grosses hören.'(137)
>
> /When Rott submitted for the leaving examination a symphonic movement which to the narrow-hearted clique who at that time sat on the examination board (and to whom Richard Wagner was the Marat of music) appeared too Wagnerian, mocking laughter resounded from the examination table at the end. Bruckner was so engraged by it that he called to the examination commission: "Don't laugh, my dear sirs, you will hear great things of that name"./

This symphonic movement was almost certainly the first movement of the E major Symphony and, although the autograph bears no date it was probably this part of the work on which, as Mahler remembered Rott was working during his residence at the Piaristenkirche. Alma's characteristic Bruckner anecdote presents a garbled version of the story: after all Rott's mother died when he was two years old, and his stepmother passed away before he began studying with Bruckner. According to Natalie Bauer-Lechner's version, it was Frau Krzyzanowski who had the unexpected view of the great composer's person.

Rott's *Nachlass* is of immense importance for research into the early development of Viennese composers of the generation born around 1860 for it is, apart from the similar collection left by Hugo Wolf, the only record of any degree

137) Göllerich, op.cit., IV/1, p.446.

of completeness of what such a composer was writing in the years 1875-1880. A knowledge of the contents of these two bodies of work help to place the isolated examples of work by Krzyzanowski and Mahler into better perspective, and in the case of Rott also reveals some remarkable but hitherto unknown compositions. Rott's works cover a wide range of media - sacred and secular vocal music, orchestral music, chamber music, a small amount of piano music, and sketches for an opera - but rather surprisingly there is no organ music. Rott may have relied on his powers of improvisation and never bothered to notate any of his ideas, or it may all have been lost - perhaps left at the Piaristenkirche. Naturally the intrinsic value of the music varies from work to work, ranging from some curious pieces for string quartet (Appendix IVd/54-59) that apparently date either from Rott's childhood or his years of insanity, to orchestral and chamber works which show considerable talent. The most interesting work from the point of view of Rott's influence on Mahler, is the Symphony in E major (Appendix IVd/45), for not only is it the only work (apart from the lost songs) with which we know from external evidence Mahler was familiar, but it is also clear that Rott spent a number of years over its composition. Though not entirely successful as a whole, it contains much very impressive music. The suspicion that this one work had a profound effect upon Mahler is confirmed by a study of the manuscript, but before

it is considered in detail it is important to describe certain interesting features of the other works.

In his early years, Rott was influenced by the mainstream of Germanic music - Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann and Brahms - and only to a lesser extent by the neo-German school - Liszt, Wagner and Bruckner. Thus Beethoven was the inspiration for the slow movement of the String Quartet in C minor (Appendix IVd/50), and Schubert's scherzi were clearly the models for the scherzo of the Symphony for String Orchestra (Appendix IVd/37). Schumann was one of the most important single influences, as can be seen with particular clarity in the Overture to 'Julius Caesar' (Appendix IVd/42), and in the first movement of the String Quartet in C minor, where the rather Lisztian main theme is treated more in Schumann's manner (see Ex.27); in the scherzo of the same work, the influences of Schumann and Mendelssohn combine (Ex. 28). In fact an examination of Rott's oeuvre serves to underline the paradox underlying the creative activity of several members of his generation of composers: for all their espousal of the Wagnerian cause, the stylistic foundations from which they developed a personal mode of expression were derived almost entirely from the music of the past and their more conservative German contemporaries. In the case of Rott, it seems that Brahmsian influence was, as far as Siegfried Lipiner was concerned, the dominant feature of his music:

> Die gewaltigsten Streithähne in dieser Gruppe /das Häuflein der Vierzehn/ waren Rott und Mahler: Ersterer ein glühender Verfechter der Brahmsschule, letzterer Wagnerianer bis aufs Blut und durch diesen ein Jünger Arthur Schopenhauers, dessen Thesen zu diskutieren uns alleweil die höchste Lust brachte. (138)
>
> /The most violent fighting-cocks of this group were Rott and Mahler: the former a fervent advocate of the Brahms school, the latter a Wagnerian to the quick and thereby a follower of Arthur Schopenhauer, the discussion of whose theses always gave us the greatest pleasure./

There is some justification for this view: the layout of Rott's String Quartet owes much to Brahms' technique of writing short, intermezzo-like middle movements in multi-movement works, but Rott's treatment of the idea shows Schubertian influence in the juxtaposition of the 'new' scherzo and an old-fashioned minuet, and this very technique was used again by Mahler in his Third Symphony. A Brahmsian model is suggested even more strongly by the main theme of the finale of Rott's Symphony in E major, which is related in both context and construction to the equivalent theme in Brahms' First Symphony (Ex.29). The finale of Brahms' Second Symphony also uses material which bears some resemblance to one of Rott's themes (Ex. 30 a/b); both of these ideas, * together with the opening of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony (Ex.31 a/b). A further example of Brahms' influence occurs in the sketch of the scherzo of Rott's Second Symphony (Appendix IVd/46), where a hemiola rhythm is combined with

138) Wessling, op.cit., p.67.

a Mahlerian double pedal and a Schubertian/Brahmsian/ Mahlerian major-minor alternation (Ex.32).

The extent of the reliance placed on Brahmsian models in Mahler's student works is more difficult to estimate. The movement for Piano Quartet certainly possesses Brahmsian overtones, the later works borrow thematic ideas from the Brahms canon(139), and Mahler's attitude to the older composer's works gradually mellowed(140). Mahler was at least open to influences from this source. Brahmsian features (not to mention others derived from earlier composers such as Löwe, Schubert, Mendelssohn and Schumann) also make occasional appearances in a far more unexpected environment: Wolf's early songs (Ex.33). Even in later years, Wolf admitted that in his youth he had admired Brahms' chamber music and songs(141). It was impossible for any of these young composers to escape the influence of Brahms (just as it is unlikely that, even if his father had been less conservative, Strauss in Munich could have successfully avoided it) and they were perhaps not altogether passive in their relationship with the master. It seems unlikely that Wolf and Rott made their approaches to him for purely mercenary reasons, and in this sense Kalbeck's account of Wolf's kissing the latch of Brahms' door(142), if literally improbable, does

139) See Rosamund McGuiness,'Mahler und Brahms: Gedanken zu "Reminiszenzen" in Mahlers Sinfonien',*Melos/NZfM.*,May/June 1977, p.215f.
140) La Grange, op.cit., p.524.
141) Frank Walker, op.cit., p.84.
142) Ibid.

ring true on a metaphorical level. In any case it must be doubted whether Frank Walker is correct when he writes that:

> Considering that Wolf moved principally in Wagnerian circles, he showed considerable independence of mind in successfully combining a passion for Wagner with a strong liking for Brahms. (143)

As was pointed out in Chapter II above, the Akademisch Wagner Verein itself had not closed its doors to Brahms' music, any more than had its student members like Wolf, Mahler and, contra Lipiner, Rott.

Lipiner appears to have misunderstood Rott's position entirely, for despite the evidence indicating that he was more open to Brahmsian influence than either Mahler or Wolf, there can be no doubt at all about his receptibility to Wagnerian ideas. Indeed, in 1876 he was one of the first of Mahler's musical acquaintances to join the Akademischer Wager Verein [144] and in the summer of that year, despite his poverty, he made the trip to Bayreuth and attended the first *Ring* cycle, probably under the aegis of the Wagner Verein[145]. Wolf and Mahler had to wait until the 1880s. Rott's immediate creative response to this experience was to sketch the introduction of an opera, *Hermannsschlacht* (21 and 24 September 1876)

143) Frank Walker, op.cit., p.84.
144) See p.132 above.
145) See Nowak, op.cit., p.336. Victor Adler was apparently the only other associate of Mahler to attend the festival.

(Appendix IVd/16). There is some evidence that work on the opera had begun at the end of July, but it is clear that the Bayreuth visit provided a further though not overwhelming, impetus to its composition (it remained unfinished). A further example of Wagnerian influence is provided by the ending of the E major Symphony which is indebted to the sonorities found in the closing pages of *Die Walküre*. Unlike Wolf and Mahler who appear to have acquired most of their progressive ideas directly from the Wagnerian source, Rott absorbed many of his from Bruckner. One of the most obviously Brucknerian passages in Rott's oeuvre is the second subject of the first movement of the String Quartet (Ex.34) and the Sanctus of April 1878 (Appendix IVd/7) seems to look back to the opening of Bruckner's Second Symphony; it was presumably the latter's Third Symphony which gave Rott the idea of opening his own First Symphony with a long trumpet melody (Ex.35). Such overt references are perhaps more common in Rott than in the music of Mahler and Wolf, though they also borrowed from Bruckner in their early works. Wolf can at times employ characteristic harmonic progressions (Ex.36) while Mahler clearly had the Fourth Symphony in mind while composing the Piano Quartet [146].

Lipiner (or Wessling) was mistaken. Rott, like Mahler and Wolf, the more conservative Mathilde von Kralik

146) It is possible that Bruckner's influence on Mahler was far more extensive and earlier in date than implied here. See below, p. 321f.

(who was not ashamed to admit to the influence of Liszt and Wagner) and Alfred Stross (interested enough to play through Bruckner Symphonies), was open to the influence of progressive and conservative composers. Lipiner may well have overheard a discussion in which Rott found himself defending Brahms against an attack launched by Mahler, but in both cases their music provides strong evidence that in the 1870s their views were not polarised.

Of Rott's works, the Symphony in E major is of the greatest interest to the scholar concerned with Mahler's music. It is unfortunately not possible to give a firm date for the composition of the first movement[147], but 1877-8 seems to be the best estimate. The forces required are more or less typical of Rott's orchestral music - double woodwind and contra-basson, four horns, three trumpets, three trombones, three timpani, triangle and strings - and his handling of them, with its tendency towards overscoring, is in general also representative of the composer's usual practice. The brass writing, however, is unique in its frequent use of the unusual instruction 'mit aufwärts gerichteten Schalltrichter', also commonly employed by Mahler.

The work has four movements, the slow movement being placed second. The first (E major,2/2, Alla breve, 266 bars) opens quietly with a long trumpet melody which forms

147) See Appendix IVd/44.

the basis of a long build-up to a tutti in the tonic key (see Ex. 35). During this tutti the flattened submediant makes an unexpected appearance (Ex.37); in itself this harmonic event is not remarkable, but when the gesture is repeated during the development, it bears a striking resemblance to a passage in the Rondo Finale of Mahler's Seventh Symphony (Ex.38), and since C major is used extensively in both the development section of this movement and as the tonic of the Scherzo, it would seem that Rott is attempting the prefigurement of tonality so often employed by Mahler. After this use of a relationship typical of late nineteenth century music, the second subject appears in the conventional key of B major.

In the development much of the contrapuntal treatment of the thematic material is given to the brass in a manner which, in its avoidance of the rich tutti effects of Bruckner and Wagner in favour of clarity of line, was obviously inspired by Schubert - in particular the Ninth Symphony - and which may in turn have influenced Mahler. At the end of one of these solemn ruminations on the main theme, the bassoons and clarinets enter with a diminution of the same material suggesting a Mahlerian parody (Ex.39). Later, Rott, writes a striking passage developing material from the second subject, in which the first horn, clarinets and later bassoon engage in an eerie unaccompanied colloquy (Ex.40);

this sparseness of texture calls to mind Mahler's drastic reductions of orchestral sonority (Ex.41).

The recapitulation is ushered in by a long dominant pedal, over which the two main themes are combined[148], and consists of a tutti, in E major, based on the first theme, that includes a very Mahlerian progression (Ex.42) but which makes no reference to the second subject. A similar foreshortening of a sonata-form recapitulation, by the ommission of the second subject, is found in the first movement of the Symphony for String Orchestra. Although Mahler never actually omits the second subject[149], his recapitulations always shorten the material of the exposition, in particular that of the second group[150].

The second movement (3/4, Sehr Langsam, 154 bars) combines interesting material with an experimental and ultimately unsuccessful form. The main theme which dominates the movement, attains a dignity of expression that is akin to that of Mahler's great slow movements, particularly the last movement of the Third Symphony (Ex.43), and one of the movement's climaxes makes use of an idea which Mahler employs in the first and last movements of his Third Symphony and the last two movements of the Sixth (Ex.44). But perhaps the

148) This technique is also used in the scherzo of the work.
149) Or does he? See below, p. 321f.
150) Notably in the opening movements of the Sixth and Seventh Symphonies.

most surprising feature of Rott's slow movement is its tonal structure: the movement begins in A major and ends *in* (not on) E major. Rott later attempted a more extreme example of progressive tonality in his setting of Goethe's 'Der Sänger' (Appendix IVd/24) which begins in D major and ends in Db major; Krzyzanowski, it may be noted, used the device in two of his undated songs[151] and Mahler exploited its dramatic and expressive potential in a series of works commencing with *Das klagende Lied* and two of the unpublished *Poisl-Lieder*. The technique was certainly not novel and had been explored during the early years of the nineteenth century by Schubert and Loewe in their songs[152]. Invariably employed to underline a change of mood implied by the text, their experiments (Schubert abandoned them after 1822; Löwe made few after 1847) frequently exploited a purely musical development, the growing lack of distinction between major keys and their relative minors[153]: an alternation between relative keys was often used as a heightened form of a simple change of mode. This kind of unpolarised key change was soon exploited in purely instrumental works (Chopin, Bb minor/ Db major Scherzo Op.31; F minor/Ab major Fantasy, Op.49) but

151) See above, p.222.
152) These were not the first composers to use the device, but probably the earliest known to Rott, Krzyzanowski and Mahler. In later years the latter pointed to Loewe's Ballades as the model for his Humoresken, i.e. the first *Wunderhorn Lieder* (see Natalie Bauer-Lechner, 1923,p.119).
153) See Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, London 1976, p.26.

it was left to a later generation to discover the dramatic possibilities offered by the use of more strongly etched tonal changes in instrumental music.

Rott's employment of the device is not always convincing, and early examples - the Symphony for String Orchestra whose three extant movements are in Ab major, C sharp minor and D minor[154] and the four movements in D major, C major, G major and C major of the 'Dachs' Quintet(Appendix IVd/49) - give rise to the suspicion that the tonal juxtapositions may spring not from any inner necessity (as they invariably do when employed by Mahler) but from a weak sense of tonality. However, such is not the case with the slow movement of the E major Symphony, for not only does the modulation to E major create a sense of radiant splendour at the end of the movement - the use of the chorale-like theme at this point no doubt contributes to the effect - but, since the scherzo which follows is in C major, it also results in the emphasis of the E major/C major juxtaposition first heard in the opening movement.

The Scherzo of Rott's Symphony influenced Mahler considerably, not only in matters of thematic material, but also in questions of formal design. This influence is concentrated in, but by no means limited to, the Scherzo of Mahler's Fifth Symphony, a movement which may be referred to in an early plan of the Fourth (c.1896):

154) If my suggestion is correct, the finale of this work was to be in F major! See Appendix IVd/38. It is perhaps also worth noting that the overall tonal structure of Rott's 'Der Sänger' is identical to that of Mahler's Ninth Symphony. (Appendix IVd/26).

Sinfonie Nr.4 (Humoreske)

Nr.1 Die Welt als ewige Jetztzeit, G-dur
Nr.2 Das irdische Leben, es-mol.
Nr.3 Caritas H-dur (Adagio)
Nr.4 Morgenglocken, F-dur.
Nr.5 Die Welt ohne Schwere, D-dur (Scherzo)
Nr.5 /sic/Das himmlische Leben, G-dur. (155)

The D major scherzo mentioned here may have eventually grown into the central movement of the Fifth Symphony, but it is unlikely that very much, if any, was written before August 1901 when, according to Natalie Bauer Lechner[156] Mahler was hard at work on the movement.

Although Mahler's symphonic scherzi are often constructed on a large scale, the third movement of the Fifth Symphony is certainly the longest (819 bars) and the only example of a scherzo bearing the whole weight of the symphonic structure. It is also unique in that the trio is preceeded and followed by long transitions; in Mahler's other scherzi the structural divisions are always more sharply drawn. All of these features are also found in Rott's scherzo: it is long (618 bars), is by far the most important and formally developed movement of the symphony (thus giving Rott a finale problem he was unable to resolve), and there is a long transition preceding the trio. The first and second of these features are also found in both the Symphony for String Orchestra and the 'Dachs' Quintet, while the dissolution of contrasts

155) Taken from a sheet originally belonging to Paul Bekker. See his *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien*, Berlin, 1921, p.145.

156) Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p. 164.

between scherzo and trio is also attempted, using different means, in the Symphony for String Orchestra.

The character of the main material of Rott's scherzo is that of a Ländler, the style of which looks back to Bruckner and forward to Mahler's First Symphony, but whereas Bruckner's scherzi maintain their heavy-footed peasant character throughout their length, Rott makes extensive use of contrasting material which ranges from Mahlerian sentimentality (Ex.45) to the downright vulgar (Ex.46). This use of vulgarity is quite as deliberate and as carefully calculated as a Mahlerian parody: it interrupts a hushed and solemn reappearance of the opening theme of the first movement. In contrast to Bruckner's scherzi, this movement never repeats itself, and there is much development throughout involving contrapuntal textures of a complexity much closer to that of Mahler's scherzi. The polyphonic writing culminates in a fugato which clearly foreshadows similar passages in Mahler's Fifth Symphony (Ex.47a-c). This is far from being the only instance of close thematic parallels between this movement and Mahler's symphonies. Rott's first subject itself is not merely Mahlerian in outline, but is strikingly similar to a theme from the third movement of Mahler's Second Symphony that does not appear in the *Wunderhorn* song 'Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt', which provides most of the material for the movement (Ex 48a and b). Later in his scherzo Rott writes a beautiful

extension of the 'sentimental' theme (Ex.49a) which Mahler must have had in mind when he wrote the subsidiary section of the Fifth Symphony's scherzo (Ex.49b), a theme which is treated with great tenderness whenever it reappears. Like the main theme of the scherzo, the principle theme of Rott's trio bears a Mahlerian outline (Ex.50a and b) and later in an evocative horn melody, is combined with a four note motive heard earlier in the movement, which also plays an important role in the scherzo of Mahler's Fifth (Ex.51a and b). The last parallel with Mahler occurs at the very end of the movement where the final cadence uses the same striking progression as that of the last movement of Mahler's Seventh Symphony, although Rott, in contrast to Mahler, prolongs the penultimate chord for eleven bars (Ex.52).

After this impressive and fascinating movement, the finale of Rott's symphony comes as a great disappointment. It opens with a long introduction (4/4, A minor, Sehr Langsam, 125 bars) - clearly inspired by the corresponding passage in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and perhaps also a similar one in Bruckner's Fifth (completed in January 1878) - which employs thematic material from earlier movements, culminating in the statement of the main theme of the body of the movement (4/4, E major , Belebt, 372 bars), a theme which owes much to Brahms (Ex.53). Neither the theme itself nor its subsequent treatment is of the least merit: faced with the problem of writing a finale to follow the expansive and highly developed

scherzo, Rott chose to try to crown the symphony with an imposing final movement, and failed because of a lack of formal control and impressive thematic material, and also, perhaps, because the problem he had posed himself was insoluble. In his Fifth Symphony, Mahler, by applying Occam's Razor, avoids the problem altogether: the Adagietto and Finale, though providing emotional resolution and, eventually, textural simplification, do not attempt to provide a crown to the whole work. The finale, though celebratory is not the culmination of a structural crescendo, but the pillar in an arch, the highest point of which is the central scherzo.

Rott's music was clearly of importance in the development of Mahler's own musical language, for not only did Rott experiment with certain techniques that became characteristic of Mahler's music, (e.g. parody, progressive tonality), he also created ideas and themes which Mahler incorporated into his vocabulary of musical symbolism. In connection with this last fact, the way in which Rott's themes are treated by Mahler is highly significant. The scherzo theme in the third movement of Mahler's Second Symphony (Ex.48b) is surely asking in ironic terms one of the symphony's questions thrown out by the brass at the menacing equanimity of the rest of the movement. Its final appearance leads directly to the'cry of disgust' (bar 465), after which the music collapses into a state of alienation, all doubt about the emotional state Mahler was attempting

to portray being removed by the quotation from the ninth song of Schumann's *Dichterliebe*, itself a study in alienation and a model for Mahler's original *Wunderhorn* song (Ex.54a and b). It is the superimposition of Rott's theme onto the transcription of the *Wunderhorn* song which gives this movement its depth and grimness. That Mahler's use of Rott's idea was not fortuitous, but dictated by strong emotional involvement is confirmed by the material borrowed for the Third and Sixth Symphonies (Ex.44): on each appearance the idea is associated with moments of the greatest *angst*. The treatment of the *Ländler* idea in the third movement of the Fifth is of a different type, for this gentle theme is always handled with loving care. It may be that Mahler employed Rott's ideas as symbols of his own frustrations and bitterness, for Mahler, albeit erroneously[157], connected Rott with his own lack of success in the competition for the Beethoven Prize:

> 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 and would thus possibly have been spared my whole cursed operatic career. Instead, however, Herr Herzfeld got the composition prize, and Rott and I went away empty handed. Rott despaired and died soon afterwards insane, and I was (and always shall remain) condemned to the hell of theatrical life. (158)

But it seems possible that the incorporation of Rott's ideas was also an expression of Mahler's grief and despair at his

157) See Mitchell, 1958, p.145f. for a full account of this confused episode. Mahler entered the competition in 1878 and 1881, Rott in 1879 and possibly in 1880.

158) Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.104. Translation from Mitchell, loc.cit.

friend's tragic fate. That Rott's insanity may have been part of an altogether larger and more widespread phenomenon of late nineteenth-century Viennese life is already clear, but his tragedy was that he was allowed no time to make his work known: unlike Stross, not a note of his music was published. Moreover he was unable in his short life to fulfil his ideals: having aimed at something far larger in scale and more profound, he achieved less than Stross the miniaturist. This is perhaps Rott's ultimate tragedy.

Hugo Wolf

Although they must have met in Fuchs' harmony class in 1875, Mahler and Wolf became closely acquainted only after Mahler's graduation from the Conservatoire in 1878. Up to that time their social paths crossed very little except as a result of their common interest in Wagner, Wolf being little in contact with students at the Conservatoire. It is unlikely therefore that Mahler had much knowledge of the works Wolf was writing in the years 1875-78, but nevertheless these act as an appendix to Rott's early works, amplifying our knowledge of the sort of influences to which a young composer was exposed in Vienna during the 1870s.

The earliest extant works - e.g. the Variations Op.2, the G major Piano Sonata Op.8 (159) and the Violin

159) Both published in vol.18 of *Hugo Wolf Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Hans Jancik, Vienna, 1974.

Concerto[160] - reveal the classical basis of Wolf's style, particularly the influence of Beethoven, which was to culminate in the String Quartet of 1879-84 (though there it is late rather than early Beethoven that is most in evidence). Other more or less expected echoes of earlier composers also emerge: Weber in the polacca-like final variation of Op.2 and Spohr in the second theme of the Violin Concerto's first movement. What is most remarkable is the rapidity with which Wolf's style changed from the gauche pseudo-classicism of the Variations (1875) and the first movement of the Piano Sonata (January 1876) to the competent, indeed imaginative imitation of the Mendelssohn/Marschner fairy music style in the Rondo Capriccioso of April 1876[161] and the Schumannesque Humoreske of September 1877. Rott's earliest piano works (Appendix IVd/60-63), dating from 1875 and 1876, indicate that he too began by following classical models and turned to more romantic sources of inspiration during the latter year.

A similarly rapid development also occurred in Wolf's early songs which to begin with imitated the simple *gesang* style of Schubert (Op.9 no.5) and Loewe ('Frühlings-Grüsse', January 1876), their ballade style ('Der Fischer', 1875, 'Der Raubschnitz', 1875-6 and the Ballade of 1875) and the popular style of composers like V. Nessler

160) Unpublished; Vienna Stadtbibliothek, MH 6663/c.
161) An orchestral version of this movement, curiously described by Frank Walker as 'rather wooden and jejeune', became the finale of the unfinished symphony. The piano version, and the Humoreske are published in vol.18 of the *Sämtliche Werke*.

('Wanderlied' and 'Auf dem See', 1875)[162]. Later the influence of Schumann and Franz become more important. By 1877 the uncertainties of the first settings had been forgotten and although a characteristic mode of expression had not emerged, Wolf had acquired a fluent mastery of the *Lied*.

Only once in his early works does Wolf in any was prefigure Mahler's music, and then in a curious way. The *volkstümlich* style, which Mahler adopted with such alacrity, was not congenial to Wolf and was dropped from his musical language in the 1880s. However, a comparatively late and successful example, 'Auf der Wanderung' (August 1878) is obviously indebted to the trio of the unfinished Symphony of 1876[163] and thus its relationship to the symphony is the inverse of that between Mahler's 'Hans und Grete' and the second movement of the First Symphony, where the song preceded the symphonic movement. The technique of deriving instrumental movements of chamber works or solo sonatas from song had been employed on several occasions by earlier composers such as Schubert ('Trout' Quintet, 'Death and the Maiden' Quartet), Schumann (Piano Sonatas in F sharp minor and G minor) * and Brahms (Violin Sonatas Op.78 and 100), but Mahler is unusual in deriving symphonic movements from songs and Wolf unique in deriving a song from the movement of a symphony.

162) These songs all remain unpublished; Vienna Stadtbibliothek, MH 6700, MH6765/c, MH 6700, MH 6679/c, MH 6694/c and MH 6700.

163) The Scherzo and Finale have been published (ed. Helmut Schultz, Leipzig/Wien, 1940).

Not only is it fascinating to find song and symphony cross-fertilizing one another in Wolf as in Mahler[164], but also curious that the character of the four movements should be so similar (Ex.55a-d).

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Mahler borrowed ideas and themes from only one of his student associates, Hans Rott, but an examination of the music by his contemporaries is invaluable for it provides valuable evidence concerning

a) the catholic tastes of young composers working in the 1870s, and the wide range of stylistic models on which they drew;

b) the speed at which technical skill could be acquired, and new stylistic elements absorbed, by young composers;

c) the general line of development leading from a pseudo-classicism with comparatively simple harmonic structure and texture (the influence of Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn etc.) via a harmonically more complex stage (Schumann being the primary influence) to a point where the innovations of Bruckner and Wagner could be absorbed;

d) certain technical features (most notably progressive tonality) that appear characteristic of Mahler, but which were clearly the subject of experimentation in the 1870s.

164) But there is no example of the reverse relationship - symphony leading to a song - in Mahler.

The music of Mahler's contemporaries also provides a strong hint that in attempting to uncover the roots of Mahler's style it is unwise to restrict the field of investigation to the most obvious - i.e. Beethovenian, Schubertian and Wagnerian - sources: Mahler's frame of reference was altogether larger and more complex.

Chapter V

Mahler's Early Compositions - The Texts: Song Fragments

Waldmärchen

When I conceive a great musical idea, I always come to the point where I must make 'the word' the bearer of the idea.

Gustav Mahler

Although it cuts through the intimate connections between musical and verbal inspiration which exist in so much of Mahler's music, the division of the following account of Mahler's earliest compositions into a more or less separate discussion of their literary and musical aspects is essential for the sake of comprehensibility and continuity. In view of the inherent disadvantages, it is worth emphasising at the outset, that very early in life Mahler possessed a strongly narrative conception of music [1], which found its immediate expression in verbal additions to his favourite pieces:

> From early childhood /Mahler/ would picture in great detail actions to illustrate all the musical works he know. He would weave whole stories around them, which he would relate to his parents and friends, after having carefully closed the windows and pulled the curtains in order to create an impressive and mysterious atmosphere. In Beethoven's Trio Variations on 'Ich bin der Schneider Kakadu' for example, he evoked the whole life of the poor tailor; his poverty, his misfortunes and his sufferings from the cradle to the grave. According to him the last variation is a parody of a funeral march, informing the listener: "Now the poor beggar is the equal of kings!" (2)

At the age of about six, Mahler was offered a small present if he would compose a song and chose a poem by Lessing which he was in later years able to recite to Natalie Bauer-Lechner:

> Die Turken haben schöne Töchter,
> Und diese scharfe Keuschheitswächter;
> Wer will, kann mehr als Eine frei'n:
> Ich möchte schon ein Türke sein.
> Wie wollt' ich mich der Lieb' ergeben!
> Wie wollt' ich leben, ruhig leben,

1) For an awareness of this element of Mahler's conception of music I am indebted to Dr Donald Mitchell, who put forward this view in a public lecture in the Hlywell Music Room, Oxford, on 10 March 1976.
2) La Grange, op.cit., p.20, based on unpublished portions of Bauer-Lechner's study of the composer.

Und . . . Doch Sie trinken keinen Wein:
Nein, nein, ich mag kein Türke sein. (3)

Although the attitude towards love is hardly that of the mature composer, the sentiments of the last two lines parallel - rather surprisingly in view of Bernard's dislike of alcoholic beverages[4] and his son's moderate consumption of them in later life - those of two songs from *Das Lied von der Erde:*

No.1

Die Laute schlagen und die Gläser leeren,
Das sind die Dinge, die zusammen passen.

No.5

Was geht mich denn der Frühling an!?
Lasst mich betrunken sein!

However the mature Mahler considers the solutions offered by the poet to the overburdening awareness of the brevity and sufferings of human existence - defiance and forgetfulness - to be unsatisfactory.

The setting of Lessing must have been followed by other lieder for Mahler's reputation among his Conservatoire associates as another Schubert[5] indicates that he produced works in the medium during and perhaps before his student years, although he later commented that 'my lieder of the period were most unsatisfactory, because my imagination was

3) La Grange, op.cit., p.19 - again quoting unpublished material by Bauer-Lechner.
4) Ibid., p.11.
5) Alma Mahler, 1973, p.8.

then too wild and uncontrolled, and the hardest task of all, that which requires the greatest skill, is to pour a rich substance into a small mould'[6]. This analysis certainly explains some of the inadequacies of the two surviving song fragments.

1) Song fragments/c.1875/6?/: a) Im wunderschönen Monat Mai
b) Es fiel ein Reif.

These unfinished settings, the manuscripts of which were owned by Alma Mahler but which disappeared after her death[7], together with the reference to a Zusner setting[8], are the only reliable sources of information, apart from his own statement quoted above, concerning his early work as a song composer. From a literary point of view, Mahler's treatment of Heine's famous poem is unremarkable. The setting of 'Es fiel ein Reif' on the other hand, has a fascinating literary background and the identification of the source on which Mahler probably drew is of some importance.

In 1958 Donald Mitchell was unable to identify the author or source of the text[9] and it was not until 1969 that Jack Diether suggested that the poem is

> a lower-Rhenish folk song entitled 'Weder Glück noch Stern' ('Neither Luck nor Star'), of which two very simple and diatonic musical settings were collected in the 1830s by the same Heinrich Heine who wrote the other poetic object of Mahler's early attention, and which are currently published in Ludwig Erk's *Deutscher Liederschatz*, Volume III. (10).

6) La Grange, op.cit., p.720.
7) Photocopies of the originals were generously supplied by Mr Jack Diether.
8) See Chapter IV, p. 201 above.
9) Mitchell, 1958, p.116.
10) Jack Diether, 'Notes on some Mahler Juvenilia', *Chord and Discord*, III/1 (1969), p.66.

The whole story is, however, much more complex.

The text was first published in a four stanza version, on January 25 1825, in the periodical *Rheinischen Flora, Blätter für Leben, Kunst, Wissen und Verkehr,* ascribed to'Wilhelm von Waldbrühl', a pseudonym used by F. von Zuccalmaglio. Zuccalmaglio later sent the text to F.K. Freiherr von Erlach, who included it in his *Volkslieder der Deutschen*[11] in 1835 (vol.4, no.602), and to August Kretzschmer, who published it in his *Deutscher Volkslieder nach ihren Original-melodien* in 1838[12]. In both cases it was accepted as a genuine folk text, though it is worth noting that the version printed by both Erlach and Kretzschmer differs from that which appeared in 1825.

In the meantime, Heine printed a three stanza version of the text in the *Taschenbuch für Damen*(Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1829) and in his 'Sammelschrift' *Der Salon* of 1834[13]; it eventually found its way into the *Neue Gedichte* of 1844. Heine used it as the centrepiece of a three-part 'Tragödie', and in each case the 'folk-song' bears the comment: 'Diese ist ein wirkliches Volkslied, welches ich am Rhein gehört'[14].

11) 5 volumes, Mannheim, 1834-7.
12) 2 volumes, Munich, 1838-40. The second volume was edited by Zuccalmaglio himself.
13) Published in Hamburg.
14) It must have been the earliest of Heine's publications that Mendelssohn found the text, which he used in nos. 2,3 and 4 of his Op.41 - Six Partsongs for mixed voices - which were completed by 22 January 1834 (see *Grove*,vol. 5, p.701). Schumann also set Heine's text complete, as nos.3a-c of his *Romanzen und Balladen*, Volume IV, Op.64, which were based on an unfinished setting for chorus and orchestra (see *Grove*, vol.7, pp.628,635).

In his notes to the *Deutscher Liederhort*[15] Ludwig Erk argued that the poem was in fact written by Zuccalmaglio in the early 1820s, passed off as a folk song and borrowed by Heine in 1829 who reproduced it in a three stanza form by omitting the final stanza. This view of the text's history is disputed by Walter Wiora in a study[16] whose main theme is that 'the melodies (published by Zuccalmaglio) are truly authentic old song-tunes of the inhabitants of the Rheinland, and that Zuccalmaglio did not compose them, but discovered and romantically coloured them'[17]. Wiora goes on to argue that Erk, who erroneously believed that German peoples only used major scale forms in their melodies, was quite wrong in criticising the many minor melodies in Zuccalmaglio's collections.

In connection with the text of 'Es fiel ein Reif' Wiora writes, 'the text of the song . . . now in fact seems artistic. But to consider it on that account to be wholely the creation of Zuccalmaglio is methodically erroneous. It could have as its basis a true folksong, which Zuccalmaglio merely recast'[18]. Some support for this hypothesis is provided by the existence in a manuscript collection assembled by Vincenz Jacob von Zuccalmaglio (August's brother) of a text which is obviously related to 'Es fiel ein Reif' and which is

15) Op.cit., vol.I, p.587-9.
16) Walter Wiora, *Die rheinisch-bergischen Melodien bei Zuccalmaglio und Brahms. Alte Liedweisen in romantischer Färbung*, Bad Godesberg, 1953.
17) Wiora, op.cit., p.11.
18) Ibid., p.26

'free from those characteristics, on account of which the song has been considered Zuccalmaglio's creation'[19]. A comparison of the two versions (see fig.1) makes it clear, however, that unless Zuccalmaglio actually worked from a so far untraced folk source representing an intermediate stage, the amount of reworking involved in producing from the folk original the text he published was considerable. The Heine version might be considered evidence in support of the existence of such in intermediate version and Zuccalmaglio does mention[20] two records of the song dating from 1823 and the other from 1837; the latter was obviously identical to that contained in his brother's collection, while the earlier is now lost. But like the Zuccalmaglio version of 1825, Heine's is thoroughly artistic rather than folk in tone (see fig.2): it is very unlikely that the two poets, working independently on a common oral source would have created texts so similar. It is far more probable that Heine did simply borrow the text from Zuccalmaglio's 1825 publication.

That while he considered the preservation of the melody of a folk song in a more or less authentic form to be of importance, Zuccalmaglio was willing to make textural changes is made abundantly clear by an autograph version of the song found in his *Nachlass*. Wiora's presentation[21] of the

19) Ibid., p.45.
20) Zuccalmaglio's note to no.90/2 in Kretschmer, op.cit.
21) Wiora, op.cit, p.201.

a) The text as found in a ms. collection entitled *Bergische Volkslieder* assembled by V.J. von Zuccalmaglio.

28. Altes Volkslied, zu Paffrath aufgeschrieben

Es ging sich ein Mädchen in einer Nacht
Wohl über die frische Blaublümelein.
Das Mädchen wollte gerne geheirat sein.

Das Mädchen das hat sich ein' jungen Knab lieb
Viel lieber noch als sich selber.
Sein Vater und Mutter die wussten es nicht.

Der Wirt er tät sich sein Nachtkleid an.
'Wo kommen ihr zwei so späte,
So späte wohl in der kühlen Nacht?'

'Es ist fürwahr so späte noch nicht.
Wohl über Grünlinde da steht ein Stern
Der Mond der leucht uns zweien noch fern.'

Sie trunken das Bier aus einem Glas,
Von Gold und Silber eine Schale,
Bis dass das Mädchen betrogen war.

b) The text as published by A.von Zuccalmaglio in 1825.

Es fiel ein Reif in der Frühlingsnacht,
Wohl über die schönen Blaublümelein
Sie sind verwelket, verdorret.

Ein Jungling hatt' ein Mägdlein lieb;
Sie flohen gar heimlich von Hause fort,
Es wusst' weder Vater noch Mutter.

Sie sind gewandert hin und her,
Sie haben gehabt weder Glück noch Stern,
Sie sind verdorben, gestorben.

Auf ihrem Grab Blaublümlein blühn,
Umschlingen sich zart wie sie im Grab,
Der Reif sie nicht welket, nicht dörret.

Fig. 1.

The text as printed by Heinrich Heine

Es fiel ein Reif in der Frühlingsnacht,
Er fiel auf die zarten Blaublümelein,
Sie sind verwelket, verdorret.

Ein Jüngling hatte ein Mädchen lieb,
Sie flohen heimlich von Hause fort,
Es wusst weder Vater noch Mutter.

Sie sind gewandert hin und her,
Sie haben gehabt weder Glück noch Stern,
Sie sind verdorben, gestorben.

Fig. 2.

opening of this version and that of the earlier *Bergische Volkslieder* variant demonstrates that while it preserves the melody of the earlier (and probably authentic) version, the autograph uses a version of the text corresponding to Zuccalmaglio's published versions. Zuccalmaglio himself wrote that

> Ich hatte die schönen Weisen gehört und aufgeschrieben, hatte die Worte nicht mit aufgefasst oder nur sehr mangelhaft auffassen können. Zudem legte ich denselben damals keinen besonderen Wert bei . . . (22).
>
> /I heard and wrote down the beautiful melodies, but I did not take in the words at the same time, or was only able to understand them imperfectly. At that time I attached no particular value to them . . ./

As the foregoing survey makes clear, it is difficult to defend Zuccalmaglio against charges of tampering, indeed re-writing his texts, and Wiora himself admits[23] of Zuccalmaglio's *Deutsche Volkslieder* that it includes 'so many of his own stanzas and poems, that it has only a limited value as a source for the history of folk poetry'. In the case of 'Es fiel ein Reif' it appears that Zuccalmaglio simply borrowed a few motives from an oral source (or sources) and used them as a basis for a romantically-coloured pseudo-folk song.

So much for the nature of the text: the problem

22) Quoted in Wiora, op.cit., p.25.
23) Ibid., p.109.

of identifying the publication used by Mahler remains. By comparing Heine's three stanza version with the four stanza text employed by Mahler, Diether naturally came to the conclusion that Mahler had written the final stanza himself, and in this conclusion he is followed by Donald Mitchell, David Holbrook and La Grange[24]. Clearly, however, Mahler was not using Heine's text and must therefore have drawn on some other collection which used Zuccalmaglio's text as its source. Of these there are six:

1. F.W. Arnold, *Deutsche Volkslieder*, 12 vols., Elberfeld, 1864.
2. F.K. Freiherr von Erlach, *Volkslieder der Deutschen*, 5 vols., Mannheim, 1834-7.
3. A. Kretzschmer, *Deutsche Volkslieder nach ihrem Original-Melodien*, 2 vols., Munich, 1838-40.
4. J.B. Longard, *Altrheinische Mährlein und Liedlein*, Coblenz, 1843.
5. G. Scherer, *Die schönsten deutschen Volkslieder*[25].
6. K. Simrock, *Die Deutschen Volkslieder*, Frankfurt a.M., n.d.

Of these, the second and third, whose texts are identical, the fourth, and the last may be excluded from the discussion because of their readings of various lines which differ markedly from Mahler's text[26]. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to consult a copy of Arnold's publication, but in view of the rarity of the collection and its date, it is

24) Mitchell, 1975, p.117; Holbrook, op.cit., p.11; La Grange, op.cit., p.742.
25) Details of the work's publication are given in the next paragraph.
26) In the case of the second and third publications, the variant readings are:2/1'Ein Knab' hatt' ein Mädchen lieb' and 3/1'Sie liessen weit ins fremde Land'. Simrock's text differs even more markedly:1/2'Wohl über die schönen blau Blümelein, 2/2'Sie Liesen heimlich von Hause fort',with 3/1 as above. Longard's text corresponds to that given by Simrock, but with a few further variants.

unlikely that Mahler had access to it. Scherer's book on the other hand, was cheap and popular. The history of its publication is complex, and the following account is no doubt only partially complete.

The first edition, which appeared some time in the 1850s or early 1860s[27], consisted of six volumes containing 50 poems with melodies. The first two were printed and published by Eduard Hallberger of Stuttgart and bear the dates 1854 and 1855, while the remainder were published by Scherer himself and are dated 1862; whether all six volumes were actually issued together or in instalments is not clear. A further volume containing 14 more poems with melodies was issued in Stuttgart in 1867. In this edition the texts were given with illustrations and melodies arranged by K.M. Kunz. The book's subsequent editions are difficult to trace: Erk/Böhme, op.cit., cites a second edition of 1868 and a third of 1880 without melodies (see p.xlvii), while an 'Illustrierte Pracht-Ausgabe' appeared in Leipzig in 1875, containing 87 poems without melodies. The situation is further confused by the work's metamorphosis into 'Jungbrunnen. Die schönsten deutschen Volkslieder' the third edition of which appeared in Leipzig in 1875. This publication dispenses with illustrations and melodies and reduces the page size while increasing the number of texts to 176. Complex though its career was, it is obvious that

27) Erk/Böhme, op.cit., gives the date of the edition as 1864, but reviews dating from 1861-3 are printed in the inside rear cover of the last two volumes. The third and fourth volumes have notes by Scherer himself dated 1861.

this collection was highly popular and also, by no coincidence, inexpensive.

That Mahler did use one of Scherer's collections as his source is confirmed by the relatively close agreement between his text and those printed by Scherer (see fig.3). Unfortunately, though, it is impossible to be sure whether he used *Die schönsten deutschen Volkslieder* or *Jungbrunnen*. The use of 'weder' rather than 'nicht' in line 2/3 points towards the former, but such a change might easily have been the result of Mahler's verbal tinkering, of which there is already an example in line 1/2. So there is little strong evidence from which to determine which of these two sources Mahler employed. Nevertheless both publications have an interest that extends beyond the early period in Mahler's creative career, because of their inclusion of a number of texts which also appear in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and which Mahler subsequently employed in his songs.

Until 1920, when Siegfried Gunther pointed out that the text of the opening song of the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* was similar to a poem in the *Wunderhorn* collection(28), it had been confidently stated that Mahler discovered this source of inspiration only in 1888(29), though the folk

28) See Alma Mahler, 1973, p.xxiv and La Grange, op.cit., p.743 for comparisons of the two texts.

29) See Paul Stefan,1910,p.75. In 1936 Bruno Walter(Walter,1936,p.68) expresses the same view, and Mahler's own statement is definite enough: "You will also see that at a time when I did not even suspect the existence of the *Wunderhorn*/i.e. at the time of *Das klagende Lied*/ I already lived completely in its spirit."(A letter to Bauer-Lechner, 9 December 1893, quoted in La Grange, op.cit., p.285.)

a) The text as used by Mahler[30]

Es fiel ein Reif in der Frühlingsnacht
Fiel auf die zarten Blaublümelein,
Sie sind verwelket, verdorret.

Es hat ein Knab' ein Mägdlein lieb,
Sie flohen gar heimlich von Hause fort
Es wusst's weder Vater noch Mutter.

Sie sind gewandert hin und her,
Sie hatten weder Glück noch Stern,
Sie sind verdorben, gestorben

Auf ihrem Grab Blaublümlein blühen
Umschlingen sich wie sie einmal,
Dem Reif sie nicht welken, nicht dorren.

b) The text as printed by Scherer in *Jungbrunnen**

Es fiel ein Reif in der Frühlingsnacht,
Er fiel auf die zarten Blaublümelein,
Sie sind verwelket, verdorret.

Es hatt ein Knab ein Mägdlein lieb,
Sie flohen heimlich von Hause fort,
Es wusst's nicht Vater noch Mutter.

Sie sind gewandert hin und her,
Sie haben gehabt weder Glück noch Stern,
Sie sind verdorben, gestorben.

Auf ihrem Grabe Blaublümlein blühn,
Umschlingen sich treu wie sie in Grab,
Der Reif sie nicht welket, noch dorret.

* Variants in the *Illustrierte Pracht-Ausgabe*:
2/1 Es hatt' ein Knab' ein Mägdlein lieb
2/3 Es wusst's weder Vater noch Mutter.

Fig.3.

30) This text is based on Jack Diether's transcription of the song (unpublished and kindly supplied by Mr Diether). The reading of the final stanza is 'tentative'(see Diether, op.cit., p.68) because of the indistinct calligraphy of the autograph. The numerous deviations between the two texts at this point may therefore be due to inaccurate transcription.

elements in his earlier texts were recognised. Following Gunther's discovery mostcommentators concluded that Mahler must have been acquainted with some *Wunderhorn* texts in other source prior to 1888. More recently, however, Donald Mitchell has argued that Mahler probably knew the collection at least as early as 1884 and probably much earlier. Apart from Gunter's discovery this suggestion is supported by Ida Dehmel's statement that:

> from the earliest childhood his relationship to the book had been particularly close. (31)

and two letters received by Dr Mitchell which deserve quotation here. The first was from Frau Annie Steiner, the daughter of Mahler's childhood friend, Josef Steiner.

> Most of the words of Mahler's songs (also the text of *Das klagende Lied*) show the substantial influence of early German folk songs, as collected in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* by Arnim and Brentano at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some of my father's own poems are likewise influenced by the *Wunderhorn*. I do not doubt that, as German poetry was the subject of my father's early University studies just between 1875 and 1880, and since he was an enthusiastic teacher as well as pianist and singer, he must have discussed the *Wunderhorn* Lieder /i.e. the poems/with Mahler extensively, read them to him, and roused his enthusiasm, when they lived together for some time. (32)

The second letter was sent by Anna and Karl Fränkel:

> /Richard Kralik/ . . . was an historian, romantic poet, composer of his own ballads, plays etc. He was born in 1852 at

31) Alma Mahler, 1973, p.93. Ida Dehmel was the wife of the poet Richard Dehmel.

32) Mitchell, 1975, p.118.

> Eleonorenheim in the'Böhmer Wald'. His father was a glass manufacturer. He had a house in the 'Cottage' where Mahler was a guest. Kralik's sister, Mathilde - pianist, composer and music teacher (1857-1944) - was a pupil at the Musik Akademie, together with Mahler. This he /Kralik/told us in 1926, when we used to visit his house and listen to his lectures and readings of his literary work and music. He told us that Mahler first came to know folk-song through him. (33)

This information is of great interest, but it is worth pointing out that there is no mention of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* in the second letter and that Dr Mitchell's subsequent statement that 'folk song for Kralik must largely, if not exclusively, have meant *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*[34] may be questioned. The fact is that the *Wunderhorn* is far from being a reliable collection of folk texts and consists of a random selection of material ranging from more or less unmutilated authentic folk texts, to poems by the editors and others. The exact nature of the collection was suspected from the beginning[35] and became increasingly obvious as other collectors published their findings - Scherer himself points to the unreliability of the *Wunderhorn* in his notes

33) Loc.cit.
34) Ibid, p.119.
35) See the forward to Büsching and Fr.H. von der Hagen, *Sammlung deutscher Volkslieder*, Berlin, 1807. Friedrich Schlegel was another dissenting voice. See J.E.V. Müller, *Arnim und Brentanos romantische Volkslied-Erneuerungen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Kritik des "Wunderhorn"*, Hamburg, 1906, p.34-5.

to the songs in his collection. The final result was a number of scholarly investigations into the sources of the *Wunderhorn* texts, and the techniques employed by Arnim and Brentano in arranging them, the finest of which was probably Karl Bode's *Die Bearbeitung der Vorlagen in Des Knaben Wunderhorn*(36).

By the 1870s not only was the nature of the *Wunderhorn* well known, at least in German literary circles, but there were also numerous more reliable collections of German fold poetry - e.g. by Ditfurth (*Deutsche Volks- u. Gesellschaftlieder des 17 u. 18 Jahr.*, Stuttgart, 1872), Erlach (op.cit.) and Hofmann von Fallersleben (*Schlesiche Volkslieder mit Melodien, aus dem Munde des Volks gesammelt*, Leipzig, 1842) to name but a few - with the result that Mahler's evident interest in folk-like texts cannot be taken as indicating an almost certain knowledge of the *Wunderhorn*.

Unfortunately these arguments cannot be neatly capped by pointing to a version of 'Wenn mein Schatz Hochzeit macht' in any of Scherer's collections. Nevertheless in one instance Scherer gives a version of a *Wunderhorn* text which appears to shed light on Mahler's subsequent treatment of it(37). The text in question is that of 'Urlicht', the

36) Similar works include the study by Müller cited above and Ferdinand Rieser, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn und seine Quellen*, Dortmund, 1908.

37) A number of other texts which Mahler was later to set appear in Scherer's publications, but none shed light on his settings of them. In the *Jungbrunnen* of 1875 the texts were 'Ich ging mit Lust', 'Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz','Scheiden und Meiden','Nicht wiedersehen','Der Schildwache Nachtlied','Verlor'ne Müh'','Trost in Unglück', 'Das Irdische Leben', Rheinlegendchen','Lied eines Verfolgten im Turm', 'Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen','Es sungen drei Engel','Revelge'.

fourth movement of the Second Symphony, which appears in a modified form as stanzas four, six and seven of the last poem in the 1875 issue of *Jungbrunnen*. However it is the first three stanzas of this version that suggest that Mahler must have known it and that this knowledge may have influenced - consciously or unconsciously - his decision to include the setting of the *Wunderhorn* poem in the Symphony.

1. Wenn der jüngste Tag will werden,
   Fallen die Sternlein auf die Erden,
   Beugen sich die Blümelein,
   Singen die schönen Waldvögelein.

2. Da kommst der liebe Gott gezogen
   Auf einem schönen Regenbogen:
   Ihr Todten, ihr sollt auferstehn!
   Ihr sollt vor's jüngste Gerichte gehn!

3. Ihr sollt treten auf die Spitzen,
   Da die lieben Englein sitzen;
   Ihr sollt treten auf die Bahn,
   Und unsern Herrn Jesum beten an.

4. O Jesu, Jesu rosenroth,
   Wie leidt der Mensch so grosse Noth!
   Wie leidt der Mensch so schwere Pein!
   Viel lieber möcht' ich im Himmel sein.

6. Ich kam auf einem breiten Weg,
   Ich kam auf einem schmalen Steg;
   Da kam ein Engel, wollt' mich abweisen;
   Ach nein, ich lass mich nicht abweisen!

7. Ich bin von Gott, will wieder zu Gott;
   Der liebe Gott hat mir ein Licht beschert,
   Und dieses Licht das wird mir leuchten
   Bis in die ew'gen Himmelsfreuden. (38)

What Scherer prints in this version is in fact a fusion of

38) G. Scherer, *Jungbrunnen*, Leipzig, 1875, p.324-5.

two folk texts - the first three stanzas being a well-known, self-sufficient folk poem. In Bohemia these stanzas were linked with a different continuation, but elsewhere Scherer's version was known [38a]. So Mahler could have known an oral version of 'Urlicht' preceded by this vision of the Day of Judgement.

The extent to which the three opening stanzas prefigure images that recur in Mahler's programmes for the last movement [39] - the day of judgement, the singing of the bird (of death/a nightingale), the raising of the dead and their judgement - seems to exclude the possibility that coincidence was at work, but if Dr Mitchell's supposition is correct, the song was destined for inclusion in the symphony as early as 1893 [40], that is, before the resurrection finale of 1894 was completed. Whether Mahler had any clear ideas about the nature of the finale he wished to write is uncertain. Some evidence suggests that he did, and that he may even have tried to sketch the movement late in the summer of 1893; other sources seem to indicate that both the conception and composition of the Symphony's concluding movement dated from after the memorial service for Hans von Bülow, which affected Mahler deeply, and which was held on 29 March 1894.

Despite the circumstantial nature of the evidence provided by Scherer's vision of 'Urlicht', it

38a) See Erk/Böhme, op.cit., vol.3, p.165.
39) See Natalie Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.22 and Mitchell, 1975, p.179f.
40) Mitchell, 1975, p.171f.

does lend some additional weight to the view that in 1893 Mahler had already some conception of the dramatic structure of the finale. This after all would not be surprising. Given Mahler's conception of the symphony - as embodying the resolution of conflict, through the achievement of wholeness, embodied in music of transcendental directness of emotional appeal - and the power exterted over him by religion, particularly Christian theology it seems almost inevitable that a Mahlerian symphony beginning with a'Totenfeier' would conclude with references to the day of judgement and resurrection. As interesting though, is Mahler's change in the role of 'Urlicht'. In Scherer's text it follows the description of 'der jüngste Tag', and may even represent a plea by one of the souls on its way to judgement. In Mahler's Second Symphony the song seems to embody a universal human aspiration - 'Ich bin von Gott, will wieder zu Gott' - the fulfilment of which is glimpsed in the apocalyptic vision of the finale.

2) Waldmärchen

The strong inclination towards narrative which Mahler's music exhibits - the Second Symphony is a good illustration - raises the important question: when was Mahler first inspired by the poetic muse? Clearly her influence on him was far less strong than on his idol, Richard Wagner, and it would be tempting to suppose that it was the latter's example which led the young composer

to try his hand at composition of poems and libretti, were it not for the fact that, though lacking any texts from the pre-Vienna period, we have plenty of evidence that Mahler was, from an early age, fascinated by the printed word[41]. The earliest Mahlerian text to survive - *Das klagende Lied* - is, for all its gaucheries, more than a first experiment in versification, and while at first sight this effort on the part of the aspiring composer-librettist seems to bear something of a Wagnerian stamp, there is no conclusive evidence that it was originally conceived as the verbal component of a youthful *Gesamtkunstwerk:* there is a possibility that the poem was written independently of any plans for a musical setting.

Mahler's activities as a poet may be divided into two categories:

a) The composition of original verse, e.g. 'Hans und Grete', Nos.2-4 of the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* and the various poems not set to music. (For the latter, see La Grange, op.cit., pp.824-837).

b) The expansion or re-writing of existing texts, e.g. 'Wenn mein Schatz Hochzeit macht', and Klopstock's Ode[42].

The extent of the alterations made in works which fall into the second category covers a wide range. On the one hand, in

41) See La Grange, op.cit., p.17.

42) The verbal tinkering which one finds over and over again in Mahler's vocal works from 'Es fiel ein Reif' to *Das Lied von der Erde*, is more an aspect of his work as a composer.

texts such as 'Der Abschied' from *Das Lied von der Erde* and 'Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen', the text is formed by joining or fusing two poems together - a method often used by the original editors of the *Wunderhorn* as in the 'Lied des Verfolgten im Turm' which Mahler set - while elsewhere, as in the Finale of the Second Symphony, the original is used simply as the starting point for an extension by the composer. The position of *Das klagende Lied* within this spectrum is difficult to define for the simple reason that the exact relationship of the poem to the sources employed by Mahler is obscure; certainly the text is based on some earlier version of the story, but the extent to which Mahler moulded the elements of the story to suit his own intentions requires elucidation. La Grange suggests[43] that the changes were made as the result of a Wagnerian study of the sources of the tale, while other commentators[44] consider the changes to be the result of the particular psychological content Mahler (unconsciously?) wished to express. Diether's arguments - based on the conclusions of Theodore Reik[45] are certainly persuasive, though as Dr Mitchell suggests, they do not provide aesthetic justification for Diether's view that the omission of the original opening part of the Cantata *(Waldmärchen)* is artistically unsatisfactory. In any case the importance of such psychological factors should

43) La Grange, op.cit., p.731.
44) Diether, op.cit.; Mitchell, 1958.
45) Theodore Reik, *The Haunting Melody*, New York, 1953.

not be allowed to obscure the literary aspects of the alterations.

The earliest text of *Das klagende Lied* is dated 18 March 1878 (46), but the origins of the work go back at least as far as 1876, when on 3 May a poem by Martin Greif (a pseudonym for Friedrich Hermann Frey) entitled *Das klagende Lied* was performed at the Vienna Conservatoire. Whether Mahler attended the performance (presumably a recitation by one of the drama students), which took place during a concert of new music, is not known, though in view of the nature of the event in which it was included it must seem likely that he did.

The story is a common folk tale (47) which was published in a variety of forms even before 1878; of these the following have previously been identified as Mahler's sources:

a) (i) 'Der singende Knochen', No.28 of Grimms' *Kinder und Hausmärchen* (48);

(ii) 'Van der Machandel-Boom', No.47 of Grimms' *Kinder und Hausmärchen* (49);

b) L. Bechstein, 'Das klagende Lied', *Neues deutsches Märchenbuch*, Leipzig & Pesth, 1856, p.16f. (50);

c) Martin Greif (i.e. Friedrich Hermann Frey), 'Das klagende Lied, *Gedichte*, Leipzig, 1895, p.265f. (51)

46) See La Grange, op.cit., p.729. The text as set is given in Appendix V.
47) Type 780 in Aarne's classification. See Antti Aarne, *The Types of the Folktale*, trs Stith Thompson, Helsinki, 1961.
48) *Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm. Vollständige Ausgabe in der Urfassung*, ed. Friedrich Panzer, Wiesbaden, n.d. First suggested by Bruno Walter, 1936, p.68.
49) Suggested by Mitchell, 1958, p.143.
50) Ibid., p.142. This version is reproduced in Appendix V.
51) Ibid., p.141, and La Grange, op.cit., p.731. Reproduced in Appendix V.

to which must also be added:

d) A folk tale, related to Mahler during his childhood by a servant, entitled 'Ballade vom Brudermord'(52).

The two Grimm stories, though they employ certain motives which recur in Mahler's text, cannot be said to have exerted any influence on its composition and may be best considered in the account which follows of various folk versions of the tale. Holländer unfortunately gave no source for his information concerning the folk-tale, but an extract from a manuscript of Theodore Fischer, reproduced by Blaukopf(53), makes it clear that Fischer was Holländer's informant. Fischer's reminiscences have the ring of authenticity - he was one of the composer's childhood friends - and so it may be asserted with some confidence that Mahler heard an oral version of the tale in his youth and that this, together with the two other versions (listed as b and c above) constituted the material on which he drew when writing his poem.

Ludwig Bechstein's source was, as he acknowledged in the notes to his book(54), Theodore Haupt's *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, III (1843), p.35, though a later scholar, Dr Lutz Mackensen, argues(55) that the 'song of the flute' was

52) Hans Holländer, 1931, p.453.
53) Blaukopf, 1976, p.148.
54) Op.cit., p.ix. Bechstein also mentions the connection with the related stories in the Grimms' collection.
55) 'Der singende Knochen. Ein Beitrag zur Vergleichenden Märchenforschung.', *F.F. Communications*, 49 (1923), p.3f.

taken from another version unacknowledged by Bechstein:

> Ach Mutter mein, ach Mutter mein,
> Die Flöte ist vom Totenbein.
> Mein Bruder hat mich tot geschlagen,
> Er nahm das Blümchen, das ich fand,
> Aus meiner Hand,
> Und sagt, es sei ja sein.

This is clearly similar to Bechstein's version (see Appendix V) and the fragment of verse which appears in Grimms' 'Der singende Knochen' (op.cit., p.129), and derives from two publications by Dr U. Jahn[56], both of which appeared after Bechstein's work. Mackensen presumably believes that Bechstein based his text of the song on an oral source collected later by Jahn. According to early scholars, such poetic insertions within prose tales were spoken, but in 1931 research provided strong evidence that they were originally sung[57]. Later, in 1936 a tune for a variant of the stanza quoted above was collected in a German *Sprachinsel* within Hungary (see Ex.114). Despite the anomalous nature of Iglau as a *Sprachinsel* (see p.30f,) it must be wondered whether the 'Ballade vom Brudermord' told to Mahler included such a musical component, particularly as there are two passages in Mahler's setting of his own text which sound as if they may reflect folk influence: the description of the flute's song (Ex.115a), with its extraordinarily convoluted melodic line, and the setting of the song itself (Ex.115b), which combines

56) *Volksagen auf Pommern und Rügen*, Stettin, 1886, p.400 and *Wisla*, VII (1894), p.561.
57) See Guido Waldmann, op.cit., p.62f.

a sense of improvisation, with a primitive vocal melody.

It was in Bechstein's publication that Greif came across the tale in the 1860s, though his version was not completed until 1869 (58). Mackensen reports the extremely effective denouement in Bechstein's (and hence Greif's) version, which takes place at a feast, to be Bechstein's own, having nothing to do with any authentic folk version(59), which confirms that Mahler must have employed one, or both of these literary forms of the tale. Indeed it seems probable that the composer drew on both for although, for example, the smile on the lips of the victim is derived from Greif alone, the idea, which Mahler apparently considered at one stage, of employing a child's voice for 'Das klagende Lied' itself, stems from Bechstein.

The numerous oral versions of the tale have been studied in detail by Mackensen whose work provides an invaluable tool for the elucidation of Mahler's treatment of the story, since in the absence of any precise information about the version Mahler heard in Iglau, his study presents the only evidence - imprecise but often crucial - relating to its probable nature. Mackensen identifies three main versions which may be distinguished by the type of musical instrument involved:

58) Wilhelm Kosch, *Martin Greif in seinem Werken*, Leipzig, 1907, p.65.
59) But it does have literary parallels, such as Geibel's 'Vom Pagen und der Königstochter' - see below, p.3 5.

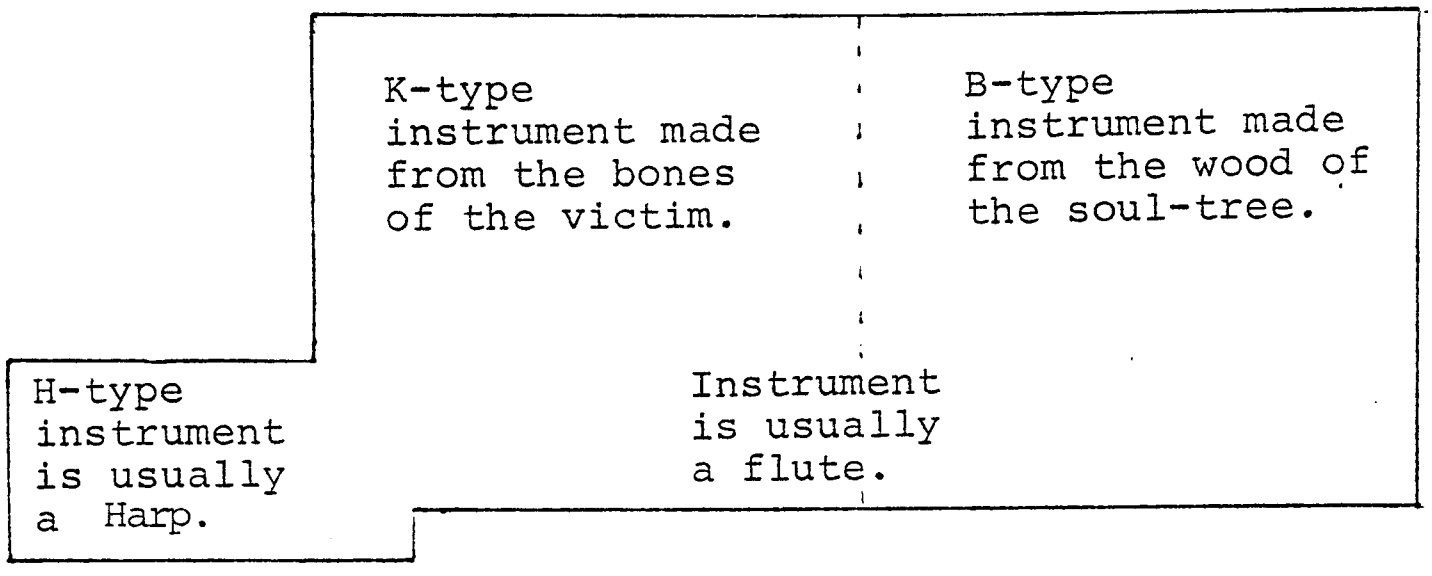


Fig.4. (60)

The H-type is limited almost entirely to Scandinavia and Britain and is usually cast, like Mahler's text, in Ballad form, while the two remaining types are indigenous to the mainland of Europe. In Mackensen's view the text originated in Flanders at a very early, probably pre-Christian date(61).

The following tabulation is designed to focus the attention on a) the important motifs of the tale (the divisions of the tale are derived from Mackensen) and b) Mahler's re-working of the literary sources of the story:

60) Based on Mackensen, op.cit., pp.3-4.
61) Ibid, pp.71 and 76. For Mackensen's proposed ur-form of the tale, see p.64.

Bechstein	Greif	Mahler
1. The principal characters and their relationship.		
The king has died leaving a queen, son and daughter. Both children wish to rule. The queen shows them a flower: whichever finds a similar bloom in the wood will be the new ruler.	As in Bechstein	Whoever finds a red flower which grows in the forest will win the hand of the proud queen. Two brothers go in search of the plant.
2. The reason for the murder.		
The princess finds the flower and falls asleep; her brother finds and kills her.	As in Bechstein	The younger brother finds the flower and falls asleep. The elder finds and kills him.
3. The character who discovers the murder/the instrument.		
A shepherd finds a white bone and makes a flute. As he plays it, a child's voice sings the song.	As in Bechstein, but no child's voice	A minstrel finds a small bone from which he makes a flute. He plays it and hears the song.
4. The confrontation with the murderer.		
The shepherd wanders the country playing the flute which is bought by a knight who plays it at the request of the old queen. Having heard the song, she takes the flute and plays it at her son's feast. He dies in her arms in a deserted hall.	As in Bechstein, with slight variants	The minstrel goes to the wedding feast of the elder brother and queen and plays the flute. The King snatches the instrument and plays it himself. The guests flee, the queen faints and the castle walls collapse.

Fig.5.

The crucial alteration made by Mahler is concerned with the protagonists and their relationship.

Diether [62] makes the point that Mahler's version suggests sibling rivalry and the psychoanalytic interpretation - that the younger brother was Mahler's own younger brother, Ernst, that the murderer was Mahler himself and that the queen retained, in Mahler's mind at least, her original role of mother - is, within the framework of Freudian psychology, convincing. Related interpretations are offered by Robert Still, William E. Moody and David Holbrook[63] but all four perhaps overestimate the psychological significance of the changes introduced by Mahler, for there were no doubt aesthetic and literary considerations at work. In any case it is certainly worth noting that most of these changes have frequent precedents in the folk versions of the tale.

Thus the substitution of the two brothers for a brother/sister pair has fifteen precedents in the versions of the tale studied by Mackensen[64], though the latter combination is certainly more common. The murder in Mahler's text is, as in Bechstein and Greif, the result of the (elder) brother's jealousy, but Mahler combines the jealousy of the younger brother's/sister's winning of the kingdom, with that of the brother's success in love, a new element which again finds numerous parallels in folk versions of the story[65] and one which cannot be introduced if the brother-sister pattern is adopted. On the other hand the discovery of the bone by a

62) Op.cit., p.13f.
63) See 'Gustav Mahler and psychoanalysis', *The American Image* (Winter 1960), 'Gustav Mahler-A note on Life and Death in Music', *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, (January 1968) and Holbrook, op.cit., p.75f.
64) See Mackensen, op.cit., p.5.
65) 59% of the versions studied by Mackensen; ibid., p.6.

minstrel rather than a shepherd is rare and occurs in only three versions - though one of these is German and another, Czech.

In the light of this evidence it is important not to lay too much stress on Mahler's individual psychological involvement with this text, even if it may still be argued that psychological mechanisms must have had some role to play in his choice of variants. It may also be that Dr Mitchell is not entirely fair to Mahler when he writes that:

> the story as Bechstein had it is much richer in dramatic and psychological content than Mahler's version, which is crude in comparison and stripped of a central source of tension - the figure of the mother who destroys the son who has offended against nature (in the Shakespearian sense). Then there is the substitution of the pair of brothers for Bechstein's brother-sister relation which, if nothing else, results in diminished contrast. (66)

After all, the sheer number of interpretations cited above is some indication that Mahler's version is ripe for interpretation, and from a dramatic point of view the replacement of the mother (whose role, though important, is hardly 'central' in Bechstein) by the 'proud queen' has the advantage of making the sibling conflict more readily comprehensible: the will to power and sexual jealousy have greater impact than an infantile quarrel over an empty throne.

66) Mitchell, 1958, p.143-4.

It is also worth noting that in making this change and introducing the motif of the murderer as self-accuser Mahler appears to be following a folk precedent very common in German variants of the tale[67].

If Mahler's retelling of the tale is not quite as crude as Dr Mitchell argues, it is, as a text, less than first rate. But for all its faults it drew from the composer the earliest manifestation of his personal musical language: the music of *Waldmärchen*, the first part of the Cantata, may not always be well organised but the thematic material itself is the product of an extraordinarily fertile imagination working at white heat.

67) Mackensen, op.cit., p.9.

Chapter VI

Mahler's Early Compositions

Lost Works

Surviving Works Song fragments
Symphonic Prelude
Piano Quartet
Waldmärchen

There is more hope of approaching the truth indirectly, and by means of the imaginative mirror of art, than directly, and by means of rational theorizing.

John Cowper Powys

However much may be gleaned from a study of the compositions by Mahler's associates in Vienna, the chief source of information relating to his development as a composer must stem from the few surviving works composed by him during this period and our knowledge, however limited, of those works which have been lost. For the most part, information about the latter is confused, even contradictory; in the discussion of Mahler's early music that follows, no attempt has been made to repeat familiar details of lost works, and in most cases only the most accessible sources are cited [1]

Lost Works

1) *Polka mit einem Trauermarsch als Einleitung* /1867?/

La Grange, op.cit., pp.18 and 719. Very little is known about this work, but the contrast of mood implied by its title is already distinctly Mahlerian.

2) *Die Türken* /song, text by Lessing; c.1870?/

La Grange, op.cit., pp.19 and 720. See Chapter V, p.273f. above.

3) *Piano Pieces* / - 1875/

The works played to Julius Epstein in September 1875. See Chapter I, p.64f above.

1) All previous work in this field will no doubt be superseded by Knud Martner's long-awaited catalogue of Mahler's music.

4) *Herzog Ernst von Schwaben* /opera; 1875/

See Chapter I, p.63f. Mahler and his librettist, Josef Steiner, were hard at work on the opera during the summer of 1875, but it seems unlikely that much was subsequently added. Steiner's daughter reports that thirty years later her father, an enthusiastic amateur musician, was still able to play parts of the work from memory[2].

5a) *1. Satz zu einem Quintett* /1876/

The work for which Mahler was awarded first prize in the composition competition on 1 July 1876, the title given here being as it appears in the *Jahresbericht* for that year (p.87). Unfortunately this designation is not convincing evidence that further movements ever existed. However there is circumstantial evidence to link this work with:

5b) *Quartett für Piano, 2 Violinen und Viola* /1876/

See Chapter IV, p.194f.for an account of the circumstances of the work's first performance. The fact that the review of the concert[3] repeatedly describes the ensemble works by Mahler and Krzyzanowski, both of which had been advertised as Piano Quartets, as piano quintets, is evidence that what the Iglau public heard were arrangements. Moreover the reviewer's identification of Mahler's Quintet as

2) See Mitchell, 1975, p.55f.
3) *Mährischer Grenzbote*, 17 September 1876, quoted in Blaukopf, 1976,p.153.

having won "the first prize at the Conservatoire in Vienna" strengthens the view that 5a and b were the same work. Finally, the review also provides a hint that more than one movement of Mahler's Quintet was played, for it makes a point of emphasising that only the first movement of Krzyzanowski's Piano Quintet was performed, but makes no such remark when referring to Mahler's work[4]; see also pp.336 below.

6) *Violin Sonata* /1875(?) - 1876/

La Grange, op.cit., p.719. This work was first performed by Mahler and another Conservatoire student, Richard Schramml, at a concert of the Stadtische Musikkapelle in Iglau on 31 July 1876, and was repeated on 12 September at a concert given by Mahler and Krzyzanowski, when the violin part was played by August Siebert. A hint about the work's composition is to be found in an anecdote reported by Natalie Bauer-Lechner:

> Sein Konservatoriumskollege /Julius/ Winkler erzählte mir einst, Mahler sei nach einer Probe seiner Klavier-Violinsonate aus dem Musikverein - es was im Winter - so vertieft in Gedanken weggerannt, dass er Mantel, Stock und Hut vergass; ja auf der Ringstrasse verlor er selbst die Hälfte der Noten, die zum Glück die ihm folgenden Kollegen fanden und nebst den Kleidungsstücken ihm nachtrugen. (5)
>
> /His conservatoire colleague /Julius/Winkler once told me /that/following a rehearsal of his sonata for violin and piano - it was winter - Mahler ran out of the Musikverein so deeply in thought that he forgot his stick, hat and coat; indeed he lost half of the music on the Ringstrasse, which fortunately the colleagues who followed him found and carried after him, along with his articles of clothing./

4) The possibility that Mahler's Quintet was a single movement work may be discounted for such a structure would itself have been unusual enough to have provoked the reviewer to comment.

5) Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p. 65.

As Winkler graduated from the Conservatoire in the summer of 1876 (see footnote 21, p.191 above), this story may be dated to the winter of 1875-6 with some certainty, indicating that work on the Sonata was begun several months before the first performance.

According to Paul Stefan, the work acquired 'a certain celebrity' among Mahler's friends [6] and the review of the second performance reports that the work possessed a 'very difficult' violin part. Mahler told Natalie Bauer-Lechner that the work won a prize - this was not quite accurate (but see below, p.333 for further details) - and that the work was never written out completely [7]: this too seems unlikely,particularly if Wessling is correct in reporting that Mahler sent the work to Eduard Remenyi. According to Wessling the latter replied that the piece was 'unfertig, dilettantisch und von Mendelssohn abgesehen' [8]. Why Remenyi was chosen as the recipient is far from clear. No obvious personal connection between the violinist and members of Mahler's circle of acquaintances has been traced, so it may simply have been his connection with Liszt and/or the revolution of 1848 [9] which determined Mahler's decision.

6) Stefan, 1910, p.14.
7) Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.39.
8) Wessling, op.cit., p.68.
9) Remenyi was still politically suspect in the 1850s and '60s. See Woldemar Lippert, *Wagner in Exile 1849-62*,tr. Paul England, London, 1930, p.106.

7) *Nocturne for cello* /and piano?, c.1875-8?/

La Grange, op.cit., p.719.

9) *Songs dedicated to Marie Lorenz* /1875-1880?/

These songs have previously escaped the attention of Mahler's biographers: they are mentioned only be Göllerich:

> Alle diese Musenjünger aber waren, wie Frau Marie Lorenz, eine Schwägerin Krzyzanowskis, an Göllerich schreibt, 'wie Bruder untereinander'. Wolf stellte damals die Lieder, die jener andere (gemeint is jedenfalls Mahler) Frau Lorenz gewidmet hat, weit höher als seine eigenen Kompositionen. (10)
>
> /All these votaries of the muses were, as Frau Marie Lorenz, a sister-in-law of Krzyzanowski /actually an ex-fiancée/ wrote to Göllerich, 'like brothers together'. Wolf at that time placed the songs which that other one (Mahler no doubt is meant) had dedicated to Frau Lorenz, far higher than his own compositions./

10a) *Conservatoire Symphony*

10b) *Movement for String Quintet*

10c) *Suite for Piano*

Scattered through the early biographical studies of Mahler are an alarming number of vague references to works composed during his student years, the only certainty being that the majority, if not all, were subsequently destroyed or lost. The three works listed above are all apparently linked together in accounts of the 'Conservatoire' Symphony and the following is an attempt to piece together a coherent account from the conflicting evidence. The two sources of information are Natalie Bauer-Lechner and Richard Specht, neither

10)Göllerich, op.cit., IV/1, p.450.

version being entirely compatible with the known facts of Mahler's Conservatoire career:

> Meine erste Erinnerung an Gustav Mahler reicht in die Konservatoriumszeit zurück, da meine Schwester Ellen und ich nach früh absolvierten Geigenstudium als Hospitantinnen die Orchesterübungen unter Hellmesberger besuchten.
>
> Es war knapp vor dem Kompositions-Konkurse; eine Symphonie Mahlers sollte gespielt werden. Dazu hatte dieser, da er sich einen Kopisten hiefür nicht bezahlen konnte, Tage und Nächte hindurch das Stimmenmaterial für alle Instrumente herausgeschrieben, wobei es ihm geschah, dass sich da und dort ein Fehler einschlich. Hellmesberger geriet darüber in den hellsten Zorn, schleuderte Mahler seine Partitur vor die Füsse und rief mit seinem leeren Pathos: 'Ihre Stimmen sind voll von Fehlern: glauben Sie, dass ich auch mit den nachher ausgebesserten Stimmen Mahlers Werke zu bringen, musste dieser im letzten Augenblick eine 'Klavier-Suite' komponieren, die, 'weil sie eine flüchtigere und viel schwächere Arbeit war, prämiiert wurde, während meine guten Sachen vor den Herren Preisrichtern alle durchfielen', erzählte Mahler später davon. (11)

*

> /My first memory of Gustav Mahler goes back to the Conservatoire period, when my sister and I, having graduated from the violin course, attended as guests the orchestral practices conducted by Hellmesberger.
>
> It was shortly before the composition competition: a Symphony by Mahler was to be played. To that end, because he could not afford a copyist, he had worked day and night copying out parts for all the instruments, during the course of which it appeared that here and there mistakes crept in. Hellmesberger fell upon them in the greatest rage, tossed the score to Mahler's feet and shouted, with his empty pathos: "Your parts are full of mistakes. Do you think I'm going to conduct something like that?" And since he was not to be moved to perform Mahler's work, even by subsequently corrected parts, the latter had to compose a Piano Suite at the last moment which, as Mahler later explained, 'because it was a more careless and much weaker work, won a prize, while my good things were all rejected by the judges'./

Specht's account is:

11) Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.1.

Einen Tag vor Ablauf des Einreichungsterminus wird die Symphonie vom Schülerorchester vor der Jury durchgespielt: ein heillos kakophonisches Chaos, eine unkenntliche Missklangsorgie kommt zutage. Es stellte sich heraus, das freundliche Mitschüler heimlich in Partitur und Stimmen beliebige entstellende Noten eingefügt hatten, um das Werk des Kollegen zu disqualifizieren. Mahler ist verzweifelt, unmöglich, bis zum nächsten Tag die Partitur wieder herzustellen und neue Stimmen kopieren zu lassen - man kann die Stimmung des um seinen Wunsch durch albernste Gehässigkeit betrogen Jünglings begreifen. Aber diese Stimmung ist nicht von Dauer: er überlegt, dass bis zum Ablauf des Termins doch noch mehr als zwölf Stunden übrig sind, rafft sich zusammen und konzipiert aus schon geliegten Themen einen Streichquintettsatz - Freunde erzählen sogar von einen ganzen Quintett -, den er über Nacht niederschreibt. Und erringt damit den Preis. (12)

/One day before the expiry of the period for submissions the symphony was played before the jury by the student orchestra: an unholy, cacophonous chaos, an unbelievable orgy of dischords was revealed. It turned out that obliging fellow students had secretly introduced arbitrary, disfiguring notes into the score and parts in order to disqualify their colleague's work. Mahler was in despair. It was impossible to correct the score and have the parts re-copied by the next day - one can imagine the mood of the youth cheated of his wish by such absurd malice. But this mood did not last long: he reflected that there still remained over twelve hours before the closing date for submissions, pulled himself together and drafted a movement for string quintet from pre-existing themes - friends even speak of a whole quintet, - which he copied out overnight. And with it he won the prize./

Bauer-Lechner's account assumes priority simply because at least part of it is the evidence of an eye-witness, but it is uncertain how much of the description she provides is based on her own memory of the events rather than on Mahler's version, which is clearly inaccurate in at least one important detail, given ten or more years later. Mahler evidently discussed the experience with his companion, and the extent to which this coloured Natalie's memory is

12) Richard Specht, 'Gustav Mahler', *Die Musik* , VII, (1907/8, Heft 15), p.152-3.

difficult to assess. Nevertheless it must be remembered that at the time of the rehearsal, Natalie was no longer a student at the Conservatoire[13] and had not met Mahler : it would be surprising if events connected with an unknown student in the midst of a rehearsal were firmly impressed on her memory. It was only later, after the beginning of her association with Mahler that there was any reason for Natalie to pay particular attention to the course of Mahler's life.

Specht's version is second-hand, its possible origins being:

a) Mahler himself - this seems unlikely since in the paragraph following that quoted here Specht acknowledges that Mahler disliked such stories;

b) Natalie Bauer-Lechner - but not from Natalie's book which was not published until 1923, and to which, so far as is known, Specht did not have prior access. Curiously Paul Stefan, who did have access to Natalie's manuscript when writing his study of Mahler in 1910, makes no mention of this eminently recountable story indicating perhaps that at that time Natalie had not written the opening page of her book.

c) From one of Mahler's Conservatoire associates.

If c) was indeed Specht's source, as seems likely, there are

13) She graduated in 1872. See GKKGM, p.332.

some grounds for considering Specht's report as being at least as important as Bauer-Lechner's, for Mahler's contemporaries at the Conservatoire would have been more likely than Natalie to have a clear memory of the event.

The two accounts agree that the rehearsal of the Symphony took place at about the time of the annual composition competition, i.e. in late June or early July. Natalie, however, merely points out the chronological proximity of the two events, thereby indicating the possibility that the rehearsal was merely a run-through of the score for Mahler's benefit. Rehearsals of the student orchestra were certainly used as a platform for works by student composers at the Conservatoire [14] and in a letter dating from September 1876 or September 1877 Mahler wrote that 'they will very probably play one of my works at a Conservatoire concert, and that means a lot of work for me'[15] probably referring to this facility. Whether the work referred to in this letter was in any way connected with the one which caused all the trouble is not known. Specht on the other hand recounts the event as being part of the competition itself although it seems unlikely that after such a fiasco Mahler would have been permitted to submit another work at short notice.

The reasons given for the disaster are also

14) See Chapter II, p.120 above.
15) La Grange, op.cit., p.36.

different - Natalie's attribution of the scribal errors to haste on Mahler's part is more readily believable than deliberate sabotage on the part of his student colleagues, but a further contributory factor also presents itself: the work may have been one of Mahler's first (if not *the* first) orchestral scores and the errors simply those of
* inexperience.

Only Natalie reports Hellmesberger's role in the affair, but both versions agree that another work was rapidly completed and successfully entered for the competition. Natalie based her statement on information from Mahler that was obviously incorrect: Mahler never won a prize for a Piano Suite. On the other hand he did win prizes in 1876 and 1878 with quintet movements. Moreover Specht's account of the overnight creation of the quintet movement from existing themes (taken from the Symphony?)has the ring of plausibility about it. Perhaps his reference to a string quintet is simply an error: a vague student memory of a prize-winning quintet being transformed into a reference to a *string* quintet. Some consideration must also be given to the original orchestral work. Both versions speak of a symphony, but if the work was in any way connected with the annual competition it is very unlikely that the whole work was intended for submission, for complete multi-movement works rarely appear in the lists of prize-winning compositions.

And so to the date of the event. The fact that

Mahler did win prizes in 1876 and 1878 suggests that these two years are the most likely. However, without progressing too far into the realm of speculation, it is possible to be even more specific. The crucial phrase in Specht's account, is that explaining that Mahler wrote a Symphony

> . . . weil er durch den zu erringenden Preis seinen Eltern den Beweis seiner berufenen Kunstlerschaft geben wollte.
>
> /. . . because he wished, by the winning of a prize, to give his parents proof of his artistic qualifications./

In view of Bernard Mahler's attitude this would in 1876 have been entirely natural, whereas in 1878, when Mahler's prize winning abilities were proven, there would have been no such motivation. Confirmatory evidence is provided by Stefan who, in discussing Mahler's early works, wrote of a

> Preisarbeit, die übrigens förmlich über Nacht entstanden ist . . .(16)
>
> /Prize winning work, which incidentally must have been written literally overnight. . ./

a reference which could apparently refer to either the 1876 or 1878 prize winning works, but significantly Stefan nowhere in his account mentions the 1878 Scherzo as a *Preisarbeit*, and refers to it only as the work performed by Mahler at the 1878 *Schlussproduction*[17]. The 1876 Quintet

16) Stefan, 1910, p.14.
17) Ibid, p.12.

movement must therefore be the work to which Stefan is referring.

Such deductions are based on the assumption that Mahler did win a prize with his replacement work, but is there not a suspicion that this aspect of the story is merely a device to give the story a happy ending? If this conclusion is omitted the whole story immediately invites association with Mahler's known withdrawal from the 1877 competition[18]: it is easy to imagine the indignant, embarrassed young student, infuriated by Hellmesberger's remarks, angrily renouncing his opportunity fo compete in the contest. Nevertheless the overwhelming weight of evidence points to 1876 as the most likely date for the events under consideration.

As the foregoing account illustrates it is difficult to be sure of anything in connection with these three works, even their existence, for, as far as its role in this anecdote is concerned, one of the replacement works must be the product of a faulty memory. The conclusions arrived at here suggest the following hypothetical account: in the early summer of 1876 a symphonic work by Mahler was unsuccessfully rehearsed by the student orchestra of the Conservatoire and a movement for piano quintet quickly composed and entered into the annual composition competition

18) See above, pp. 88, 92.

where it won first prize. Assuming this movement of the Quintet to have been the first to be composed, the remaining movements must have been written in July and August of 1876, before the work's performance in Iglau in September of that year. However there is another line of enquiry which may have some bearing on this matter, for which see below, p.321.

11) *Scherzo für Clavierquintett* /1878/

The prize-winning work of Mahler's final year at the Conservatoire, performed at the *Schlussproduction* on 11 July 1878 under the title 'Clavierquintett (Scherzo)'. It seems unlikely that this work was in any way connected with No.5a - the rapid technical and stylistic development of a youthful composer would render a two-year-old work obsolete as far as competitions were concerned - and in all probability the scherzo was the only movement ever completed.

12) *Prelude to 'Die Argonauten'* /1878/

Mitchell, 1958, p.196f.; La Grange, op.cit., p.712; Blaukopf, 1976, p.158.

This work, unsuccessfully entered for the 1878 Beethoven Prize, was perhaps not the only music written for the projected opera: according to Wessling (op.cit., p.68) the first act and the finale of the third were also completed and were:

> ebenfalls eingeäschert, als die Freunde Libretto und 'erste musikalische Ausführung' für unreif und unwürdig erklärten.
>
> /also reduced to ashes, when friends pronounced the libretto and 'earliest musical realisation' to be immature and unworthy/

13) *Rübezahl* /opera; 1879?-?/

La Grange, op.cit., p.712f.

Mahler was certainly working on this opera at various times in the 1880s, but the work remained unfinished.

14) *Piano Quartet* /c.1878/9?/

La Grange, op.cit., p.720

But see below, No.18, p. 321.

15) *Quartettsatz* /1879?/

Alma Mahler, 1973, p.63:

> Once Mahler composed a movement of a quartet for a competition while the other two /Wolf and Krzyzanowski/ spent the night on a bench in the Ringstrasse.

Frank Walker suggests 1879 as a likely date (op.cit., p.63); had the movement been for a quintet it would have been tempting to link it with 10b (i.e. No. 5a/b) above.

16) *Nordic Symphony (or Suite)* (destroyed c. 1882)

See Mitchell, 1958, p.225. There is some doubt about the date of composition of this work, but it may have been a product of Mahler's student years.

Surviving Works

17) *Song Fragments* /c.1875/6?/ a)'Im Wunderschönen Monat Mai'
b)'Es fiel ein Reif'.

The only bibliographical clue to the date of these incomplete settings was their inclusion in the same folder that contained the autograph score of the Movement for Piano Quartet, which itself was dated 1876. This simple fact is hardly conclusive evidence and in any case, as is explained below (see No.18), the dating of the Quartet is open to some doubt. An examination of the fragments reveals few pointers, and dating on the basis of stylistic features alone, particularly works from the formative years of a composer's development, is a singularly inexact art [19]. The music has been described and reproduced almost in its entirety by Jack Diether [20] and further analysis is unnecessary, but two general observations may be added here. Firstly, the fragments represent stylistic extremes, a rich Tristanesque chromaticism in the case of 'Im Wunderschönen Monat Mai', and a prefigurement of Mahler's *gesang* style in that of 'Es fiel ein Reif'. Secondly both make rather dismal reading. The Heine setting in particular, with its aimless harmonic and tonal scheme, and total lack of any memorable thematic material represents the most incompetent music ever to come from Mahler's pen and survive. An early, rather than late date therefore suggests itself, though it is difficult to see why these

19) See Wiora, op.cit.,for similar views in connection with folk-song research.
20) Op.cit., p.69f.

manuscripts should have survived Mahler's musical autos-da-fe, unless it was by accident, or because of some extra-musical significance.

Both songs had their successors in 1880: the unimpressive 'Im Lenz', with its bizarre tonal scheme, clearly looks back to the Heine setting, while 'Maitanz im Grünen' (better known as 'Hans und Grete') takes the proto-folkishness of 'Es fiel ein Reif' as its starting point. These works are two of the three songs completed early in 1880 for a projected group of five dedicated to Josephine Poisl, with whom Mahler was at the time infatuated. Nothing is known of the two remaining songs; La Grange conjectures that:

> they were probably never composed, possibly because the break with Josephine and the Poisl family occurred soon after 'Maitanz im Grünen' was finished in Vienna. Mahler, who was then busy with the *Klagende Lied* may then have abandoned the idea of completing the cycle, which he probably intended as an Easter present for the young girl. (21)

It might be tempting to view the two fragments as sketches for the missing songs, were it not for the existence of two poems by Mahler, both apparently dating from March 1880, which it seems certain were addressed to Fräulein Poisl, and intended as the texts of the never-begun songs[22]. The gaucheries of the first Poisl song are important, for they

21) La Grange, op.cit., p.72.
22) Ibid., p.824f.

indicate that Mahler had to work hard to master his craft. Nevertheless the two fragments appear to represent an earlier stage in the composer's development: hence the date ascribed to them here.

18) *Symphonic Prelude* /1876/

One of the confusing aspects of Mahler's career as a student at the Conservatoire is the disparity between his frequent references in later years to prize-winning works and the relatively small number of competitions that he actually entered. The explanation may simply be that Mahler exaggerated the success of his youthful compositions, but perhaps he confused works entered for the annual competition with those submitted to the annual examination. Unfortunately neither the published records nor the archival material of the Conservatoire currently available refer to works submitted for the examination, and only one other source refers to an examination work by Mahler:

> Mahler studierte bei Professor Krenn Compositionslehre und hatte zur Jahresprüfung einen Symphoniesatz vollendet. Da kam einen Tag (!) vor der Prüfung 'hoherenorts' (von der Direction) die Weisung, man wünsche von den Schülern keine Orchester-compositionen sondern Sonatensätze vorgelegt zu sehen. Mahler setzte sich hin und schrieb über Nacht (!) einen Sonatensatz (Andante), der - nach Professor Krenns eigenem Ausspruch - 'würdig war, den Namen des grössten Meisters an der Spitze zu tragen!' (23)
>
> /Mahler studied composition with Professor Krenn and completed a symphonic movement for the annual examination. Then, one day (?) before the examination there came from above (the administration) the instruction that it was desired that sonata movements rather than orchestral compositions should be submitted

23) One of Bruckner's favourite stories, reported in Carl Hruby, *Meine Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner*, Vienna, 1901, p.13.

> by the students. Mahler sat down and overnight (!) wrote a sonata movement (Andante) which, according to Professor Krenn's own opinion "was worthy to bear at its head the name of the greatest master!"/

This seems merely to confuse the issue, simply adding two new examination works to an already long list of Mahler's lost or destroyed Conservatoire works. However, the Music Collection of the Oesterreichische Nationalbibiothek contains a manuscript with Krzyzanowski connections of considerable interest in this respect. The title page reads:

> Sinfonisches Praeludium/nach der Niederschrift des/Bruckner-schülers/Rudolf Krzyzanowski aus/dem Jahre 1876/angeblich von/ Anton Bruckner.
>
> Klavierauszüg nach der Partitur/von/Heinrich Tschuppik (24)
>
> /Symphonic Prelude from the copy of the Bruckner pupil Rudolf Krzyzanowski from the year 1876 ostensibly by Anton Bruckner. Piano arrangement of the score by Heinrich Tschuppik./

This is written in ink in Tschuppik's hand; underneath in ball-point is added by another hand the note:

> Könnte das nicht eine Arbeit f. Prüfung von Gustav Mahler sein? ? Krzyzanowski gab den Klavierauszug zur 3.S. Bruckners (2.Fassung) heraus mit Mahler zusammen.
>
> /Couldn't this be an examination work by Gustav Mahler? ? Krzyzanowski, together with Mahler, published the piano arrangement of Bruckner's Third Symphony (second version)/

This manuscript was presumably one of the two donations referred to by Gertrud Staub-Schlaepfer in a codicil on the autograph of Krzyzanowski's songs:

24) SM 34 241, 1r.

> Von Herrn Tschuppik Geschenkt bekommen 2 weiter Geschenkt an die Musiksammlung der Oesterr. Nationalbibliothek.
> Zürich, 7. Sept. 1949. Gertrud Staub-Schlaepfer.
>
> /2 further presentations to the music collection of the Austrian National Library received from Herr Tschuppik's donation./

It seems probable that Tschuppik made his arrangement about 1949 for a donation to the library, so Krzyzanowski's copy, now untraced, was presumably then still in existence. Tschuppik died in 1950 (25).

The manuscript of the Symphonic Prelude consists of 8 leaves, a bifolium enclosing six individual sheets, of 16 stave paper, of which 7v, 8r and 8v are blank. The arrangement is laid out on two, or sometimes three staves and contains some indications of the original instrumentation. The work itself, with its moderate tempo and frequently slow harmonic rhythm gives an impression of spaciousness, even grandeur, but is not long - a mere 283 bars. After the expansive opening the brevity is rather unexpected and is a result of the abbreviation of both the development and the recapitulation. The piece is, despite some uncertainties, an impressive acheivement, but because of its unconventional treatment of sonata form it creates the sense of incompleteness implied by the title: the movement's introductory nature is made explicit by

25) Information kindly supplied by Hofrat Dr Franz Grasberger. In another note on the manuscript of Krzyzanowski's songs, Tschuppik himself wrote that he was the nephew of Rudolf Krzyzanowski (see p. 223 above), but their relationship was probably more distant, for it was not Rudolf, but his brother Heinrich who married a Tschuppik, Augusta, in 1882 (see Appendix III, p. 33). Mahler knew Augusta and her sister Clothilde, see GMB, p.21.

the music itself.

The main theme of the work is presented quietly at the outset (Ex.56) and is developed extensively (over a period of 73 bars) to build up a climax of Brucknerian proportions. The transition that follows (32 bars) employs, apart from Ex.1, two new, linked ideas, the first of which plays an important part in the development section while the second reappears unexpectedly in the unusually arranged recapitulation (Ex.57a and b). The tonality, though firmly centred round C minor for the first subject, is unstable throughout the transition and even when what appears to be the second subject arrives, the expected cadence in Db major is avoided and Gb major established instead (Ex.58). This comparatively brief passage of only 18 bars is interrupted by a strident new idea (Ex.59) which concludes the exposition and leads without a break into the central section of the movement.

Of particular interest is the way in which the moment of recapitulation is handled. The well-laid out development (73 bars) of material derived exclusively from Exs.56 and 57a moves from a darkly coloured opening in Eb minor to a well-contrived climax on a dominant pedal in C minor, but the expectations so carefully built up are only partially fulfilled by the recapitulation. Tonal expectations are certainly satisfied by a clear return to the tonic but the

appearance of Ex.57b as the subject of a rather routine fugal exposition is quite unexpected. Although its execution is marred by dull polyphony this manoeuvre has two advantages: it prevents the over-exposure of Ex.56 which dominates the early parts of the movement, and enables the composer to create a second and much more striking recapitulatory effect when, at the climax of the fugue, C minor reappears and a simultaneous presentation of Exs. 56 and 57b is thundered out by the whole orchestra. The movement is now swiftly concluded with a peroration of considerable power and thereby omits entirely the recapitulation of Exs.58 and 59.

The idea of delaying the resolution of structural tension to a point late in a sonata form movement, and indeed the means - the splitting of thematic and tonal recapitulations - are explored in some of Bruckner's symphonic finales from the first version of the Fourth Symphony (1874) onwards, but despite these broad similarities the technique used in the Symphonic Prelude is the opposite of that employed by Bruckner. When delaying the moment of resolution in his finales the latter invariably does so by marking the beginning of the third section of the movement with a thematic recapitulation in a tonally unstable environment: the tonal recapitulation is postponed until the coda. The implication is clearly that the Symphonic Prelude is not

the work of Bruckner himself but of a composer familiar with Bruckner's innovation in finale structures, yet independent enough to adopt a different and perhaps more easily handled solution. Similarly the opening accompaniment figure, with its distant resemblance to that at the opening of Bruckner's *Te Deum* and the power of the crescendo in the opening pages seem to support the work's attribution to Bruckner - it was probably these features that prompted Tschuppik to make his tentative suggestion - until it is realized that Bruckner would never commence a movement of this type abruptly with an appearance of the main theme. What follows in the rest of the exposition fails to exhibit any further Brucknerian features, being redolent rather of ill-digested Wagner, and it must be noted that there is no record of a lost symphonic movement in C minor in the Bruckner literature.

If however, the work is not authentically Brucknerian it does look like the product of a composer with Brucknerian and Wagnerian sympathies while the occasional uncertainties seem to betray the hand of a talented youngster rather than that of an established figure dabbling in a new style. Together with Krzyzanowski's preparation of a copy of the score such considerations suggest that the search for the composer of the Prelude ought to be concentrated on the circle of young Viennese musicians who

surrounded Bruckner in the 1870s. In 1876 this was not large and its most talented members were Krzyzanowski, Rott and Mahler. Wolf may be excluded from consideration for, although a Bruckner supporter and a musician of genius, he was never a Bruckner pupil,rarely showed the influence of Bruckner, and in 1876 was composing in a style, based on early nineteenth-century models, far removed from that of the Symphonic Prelude, as a comparison between that work and Wolf's charming but unfortunately incomplete Symphony of 1876, illustrates. It is possible that the composer of the Prelude was a less well-known member of the group such as Mathilde von Kralik and Alfred Stross, but a study of their music suggests that neither would have been capable of creating such a convincing large-scale structure at that date.

Of the three candidates, Krzyzanowski's claim may be most speedily dismissed on the ground that Tschuppik is clear in his statement that his source was a copy by Krzyzanowski: the fact that he sought to attribute the Prelude to Bruckner reinforces the impression that he must have been convinced that the work was not by his relative. The latter's five songs, which can hardly have been composed before the Symphonic Prelude (they are dedicated to Rudolf's fiancée and can therefore hardly date from before the 1880s), though skillful enough, show no stylistic parallels with

that work and no glimmering of the creative fire that pervades the orchestral piece; in any case it is improbable that at 13 or 14 years of age Krzyzanowski was capable of writing such a composition.

Rott, however, certainly did possess the creative energy to have written a work of comparable stature, and by 1876 was composing substantial orchestral works, although there is no trace in the Rott *Nachlass* of any material that might be associated with the Tschuppik manuscript. And while it is true that Rott occasionally shows the influence of Bruckner in his orchestral music, it does not appear in his known orchestral works of 1876 and was, rather, a later stylistic acquisition. In any case the thematic material of the Symphonic Prelude is more broadly conceived than is usual in Rott's music - his ideas tend to fall all too readily into two or four bar phrases (see Exs. 27, 29 and 34) - while, paradoxically, the form of the Prelude is too concise to be considered typical of his work. Nevertheless it must be admitted that in the opening movements of two works, the Symphony for Strings (Appendix IVd/37) and the Symphony in E major (Appendix IVd/45) the recapitulations are, as in the Prelude, abbreviated by the omission of the second subject. Contrapuntally this talented composer, who gave evidence before his tragically early death, of possessing some spark akin

to genius, might have written the most inspired and the most sterile of the polyphonic writing found in the Tschuppik score, but harmonically he avoided the sort of astringency found in Ex.59.

So, could the music be by Mahler? It appears distinctly un-Mahlerian until it is recalled that the Movement for Piano Quartet and *Waldmärchen* are the only contemporaneous works in Mahler's oeuvre to have survived. The scantiness of this record of Mahler's early development is unfortunate, but the two existing works do provide useful pointers.

The commencement and conclusion of the Prelude constitute contradictory evidence relating to Mahler's claim to the work. The opening would not be typical of Mahler at any stage of his career, for, like Bruckner, he prefers to begin large-scale works before the entry of the first theme and the exceptions - the Third, Fifth and Tenth Symphonies and *Das Lied von der Erde* dating from 1896 and later - are all products of the composer's maturity; conversely the abrupt ending (Ex.60) was not infrequently employed by Mahler (see Part II of *Das klagende Lied*, and the First, Second and Eighth Symphonies). It should also be noted though, that the concluding progression is reminiscent of the striking ending of the scherzo of Rott's E major Symphony which Mahler seems to have borrowed for the end of his Seventh. However

the sombre character of Ex.56, with its unbroken melodic arc is strikingly Mahlerian (but not characteristic of Rott) and is akin to the opening theme of the Piano Quartet Movement. As in its counterpart in that work, the submediant plays a prominent role during and at the termination of the phrase (see Ex.61). The Symphonic Prelude and the Piano Quartet share certain other features:

a) the extensive use of repeated notes/tremolos to provide harmonic support;

b) the sequential development of the opening theme to create the first climax;

c) a tendency to over-work the main theme (this is also found in *Waldmärchen* and Rott's music, and may simply be a symptom of a Conservatoire training; at least, the Prelude has an independent second subject which the Piano Quartet does not);

d) A comparatively brief second subject (see bars 54-63 of the Piano Quartet);

e) the use of a meandering quaver counterpoint within a polyphonic texture spun over a tonic pedal (Exs. 62a and b).

On the other hand it is in *Waldmärchen* that the lush lyricism of Ex. 58 and the harmonic asperity of Ex.59 find echoes (see Exs. 81 and 103 below). It is unfortunate that only two works by Mahler are available for comparison, but notwithstanding this limitation stylistic parallels between these pieces and

the Prelude are readily discernible. Un-Mahlerian it may be in terms of the composer's maturity, but the Symphonic Prelude shares a common musical vocabulary with the Piano Quartet and the first part of the Cantata.

The possibility that the Prelude was the work of a composer not considered here, though unlikely, cannot be overlooked, but of the three young musicians identified here as potential authors of the piece, Krzyzanowski's claims may be discounted while those of Rott and Mahler must be given serious attention. The two latter were talented composers capable of writing such an extended work in 1876, both were drawn to the music of Bruckner and Wagner and both knew Rudolf Krzyzanowski, the copyist of the score. Such general considerations leave the matter undecided, but an examination of their early works and the Prelude itself reveals that the balance of probability is weighted heavily in Mahler's favour, for the connections between Rott's oeuvre and the Prelude seem merely incidental beside the pervasive stylistic parallels between the work Krzyzanowski copied and Mahler's two earliest surviving compositions. But it is perhaps the treatment of the recapitulation that is the decisive factor, for although the effectiveness of the passage is undermined by the undistinguished counterpoint of the fugue, the underlying idea shows an awareness of the dynamics of musical structure beyond the grasp of Rott, whose treatment

of large-scale form is highly schematic. Mahler on the other hand was certainly well aware of the dynamic and dramatic potentialities of form by the time he composed the First Symphony, and it is not surprising that in the 1870s he already possessed such knowledge for there is substantial evidence that Mahler's ability as a composer was then already outstanding [26].

Mahler's first year at the Conservatoire was no doubt a hectic one, and he composed during the early months of 1876 at least two other works, the (Piano?) Quintet Movement which won first prize at the composition competition, and the Violin Sonata. If the Symphonic Prelude is by Mahler, it is tempting to identify it with the symphonic movement referred to by Bruckner, in which case it too must have been completed by early June 1876 (the exact dates of the annual examinations are at present unknown). This in turn would indicate that Mahler has absorbed a fair amount of Brucknerian influence within a few months of his arrival in Vienna, but considering his self-confessedly insatiable appetite for music [27] and the assimilative powers of youth this is hardly remarkable. The first performance of Bruckner's Second Symphony which took place at a Gesellschaft concert on 20 February 1876 may have helped to fuel Mahler's interest in Bruckner, though the Symphonic Prelude's Brucknerian

26) See above, p. 109.
27) See above, p. 54.

references, particularly the handling of the recapitulation, are more akin to later symphonies. In 1876 none of the existing Bruckner symphonies were in print, the first to appear being the Third (1880), but there is evidence that Bruckner allowed some of his students and associates to examine his unpublished scores: Mahler's Piano Quartet employs a melodic idea from the first movement of the Fourth Symphony (see below, p.342) and there remains in the Rott *Nachlass* a bifolium[28] containing a short score copy on six staves, in Rott's hand, of the last 34 bars of the Andante of the same Symphony. It is therefore quite possible that Mahler had access to Bruckner's scores while composing the Symphonic Prelude.

By using the Prelude to date Bruckner's anecdote, illumination may be unexpectedly cast on the genesis of the Violin Sonata. This work, though lost, certainly existed and was apparently the only sonata Mahler composed during his student years. Might not the Andante sonata movement hurriedly composed by Mahler to replace his redundant orchestral work be part of this same Violin Sonata? If this hypothetical reconstruction is correct, Mahler's memory was not completely at fault: his sonata did not win a prize, but a movement from it gained him first grade in Krenn's composition class in 1876. Moreover this dating of Bruckner's story helps to provide an explanation for one of its more curious

28) SM 28. 409 It bears no date, but was presumably prepared before Rott's mental breakdown in 1880.

passages:

> Da kam ein Tag (!) vor der Prüfung 'hoherenorts' (von der Direction) die Weisung, man wünsche von den Schülern keine Orchestercompositionen sondern Sonatensätze vorgelegt zu sehen.

In this form it is hardly credible, but it does apparently have some factual basis, for in the summer of 1876 Mahler was just completing the first year of his composition course, the curriculum of which did not include the study of orchestral composition [29]: presumably it was pointed out to him shortly before the date on which the examination works were to be submitted, that an orchestral work would, under the circumstances, be inadmissible.

This correlation between Bruckner's anecdote and the curriculum of the Conservatoire provides substantial proof that for all the similarities his story does not relate to the events concerned with an ill-fated symphony recorded by Natalie Bauer-Lechner and Richard Specht[30]. This being the case the list of Mahler's works dating from the early months of 1876 begins to suffer from an *embarras de richesse:*

a) Symphonic Prelude
b) Andante Sonata movement
c) Violin Sonata
d) Symphony
e) 1) Piano Suite or 2) String Quintet movement
f) (Piano?) Quintet Movement
g) Piano Quintet.

29) Chapter II, p.117.
30) See above, p.309f.

Even allowing for the fertility of youthful invention, such an output is improbably large. However the arguments presented above indicate that b) was probably one movement of c), that e2) and f) were identical and formed one movement of g), and that the existence of e1) is therefore doubtful: the list thereby assumes more plausible proportions. One final speculation: despite the fact that the Bruckner anecdote does not relate to the same events as the Bauer-Lechner/ Specht story, is there not a common factor, namely the orchestral work? Having fruitlessly composed the Symphonic Prelude for the examination Mahler may well have felt it to be suitable for entry in the competition instead, or at least worth a run-through by the student orchestra.

There being little time between the two events the parts and neat full score would have had to be prepared rapidly - hence the mistakes and Krzyzanowski's preparation of a copy of the score. In this context it is important to note that far from being busy with the preparation of his own examination and competition works, Krzyzanowski was, in the summer of 1876, not even studying at the Conservatoire, having left his courses on 9 March that year (see above, p.191), and was, therefore, presumably in a position to help Mahler in this way. With this account in mind a revised work list for early 1876 may be drawn up:

a) Symphonic Prelude
b) Violin Sonata
c) Piano Quintet.

The attribution of the Symphonic Prelude to Mahler proposed here implies no radical reappraisal of the composer's early career but does supply crucial help in the attempt to resolve the confusing and conflicting information about Mahler's early Conservatoire compositions(31). As a forerunner of the mature symphonies the chief interest of the Prelude would be, in a sense negative, emphasising, together with the Piano Quartet, that for all his innate youthful ability, Mahler's highly individual style was not innate and that the emergence of his characteristic mode of expression in the late 1870s and early 1880s involved a rejection of some of the Brucknerian and Wagnerian features of his early music.

19) *Movement in A minor for Piano Quartet* /1877-8/

This work - Mahler headed the manuscript '1. Satz' - is of great interest not merely because it is apparently one of the earliest complete movements by the composer to have survived, but also because of its very real beauties which have hitherto received scant praise.

The date of the work is apparently put beyond question by the note '1876' which appears on the title page of the sole surviving manuscript(32), but Peter Ruzicka in

31) This latter fact was not clear to me when preparing my article 'An early Symphonic Prelude by Mahler?', *19th Century Music*, III/2 (1979), p. 141f.

32) This belonged to Mrs Alma Mahler-Werfel, but disappeared after her death. Microfilms of the manuscript are held by the New York Public Library.

the notes to his edition of the work [33] suggests that two different handwritings may be distinguished on this page, and he identifies neither as Mahler's. As important is the question of the work's origin. In 1958 Donald Mitchell came to the conclusion that the work was probably the prize-winning Quintet of July 1876 and also the work performed in Iglau on 12 September 1876[34], but this view can no longer be accepted [35]. Fortunately the observation that the previously well-established dating of the work is of uncertain provenance opens up a fruitful line of investigation. The first clue lies in the biographical reference to a Piano Quartet by Mahler - it is surely significant that there is only one such reference -

> 'Das Beste davon war ein Klavierquartett,' erzählte er mir, 'welches am Schluss der vierjährigen Konservatoriumszeit entstand und das grossen Gefallen erregte. Graedener behielt es monatlang bei sich und es gefiel ihm so, dass er es bei Billroth zur Aufführung brachte. Bei einer Preiskonkurrenz, zu der ich das Quartett nach Russland schickte, ist es mir verloren gegangen.' (36)
>
> /He told me, 'the best of them /his Conservatoire compositions/ was a Piano Quartet which originated at the end of the four-year Conservatoire period and caused great pleasure. Graedener retained it for months and it pleased him so much that he gave it a performance at Billroth's. It was lost during a Prize-competition for which I sent the Quartet to Russia'./

In the past the supposedly conclusive dating of the surviving

33) Gustav Mahler/Klavierquartett (1876)/1. Satz und Skizze/ eines Scherzo-Satzes/Herausgegeben von Peter Ruzicka/(Erstausgabe)/ Edition Sikorski, Hamburg, 1973.
34) Mitchell, 1958, pp.34-5 and 123.
35) See p.194f above and Mitchell, 1980, p.279f
36) Bauer-Lechner, 1923, p.39.

manuscript usually prevented the otherwise inevitable association of this anecdote with the existing movement[37]: now that this obstacle has been removed such an association is irresistible. Donald Mitchell has pointed out that Mahler was mistaken in the statement of the length of his Conservatoire studies and came to the conclusion that the work probably dated from c. 1879; using the reference to a Russian competition reliable evidence may be adduced.

Dr Gerald Abraham has kindly informed me of the competition to which Mahler undoubtedly referred[38]: this was run by the St Petersburg Society for Chamber Music and was announced in 1877. 'Composers of All Nations' were invited to submit chamber works and 95 entries were received: the first prize was not awarded but the second went to Bernhard Scholz (1835-1916). No further information about the competition is currently available but unless Mahler submitted an already composed work (which, given the speed with which a young composer's development renders earlier works unrepresentative, is unlikely) the Piano Quartet was almost certainly begun in 1877 and completed by 1878[39]. It is also worth considering the fate of Mahler's neat copy:

37) La Grange, op.cit., p.706 and Ruzicka tentatively suggest the association, but draw no conclusions.

38) Private communication, 7.xi.77. The Russian Music Society had run a similar competition the previous year (closing date: 15 September 1876) but this was probably open only to Russian composers.

39) The latter date is proposed on the assumption that about a year elapsed between the announcement of the competition and the closing date for entries.

not lost, but merely never returned by the St Petersburg Society, a possibility which inspires the hope that if any of the Society's archives still exist in Russia, Mahler's manuscript may yet be contained within.

An examination of the surviving movement reveals a curious mixture of unimaginative, conservative and academic features with moments of power and audacity, suggesting that Mahler failed finally to decide whether he was writing for himself (as he did in his last competition work, *Das klagende Lied*) or to please a jury. As Professor Mitchell and Baron de la Grange rightly point out[40] the chief fault of the work lies in the excessive attention paid to a limited number of motivic fragments, particularly the first (Ex.62) which is subjected to a number of unspectacular transformations and repeated in various contrapuntal textures and sequences (Ex. 63). This method of manufacturing music was almost certainly learnt by Mahler and his contemporaries at the Vienna Conservatoire. The technique can be found in Krenn's music (e.g. the Symphony in G minor, Appendix IVa/77) and it is quite clear that in his case it stemmed from a superficial observation of Beethoven's and Schubert's methods; moreover it is easy to see how this process, often associated with the highest levels of creative imagination in these two masters, could be used to extend the meagre materials of

40) Mitchell, 1958, p.124f.; La Grange, op.cit., p.721. Dr Mitchell's detailed analysis of the movement renders any further account superfluous.

an uninspired successor such as Krenn, and later become established as academic dogma. Krenn seems to have been quite successful in indoctrinating his pupils for, apart from Mahler, Stross, Mathilde von Kralik, Rott and Krzyzanowski exhibit the same symptoms; he was no doubt aided by his pupils own perception of Beethoven's style.

Mahler alone grew out of the habit of mechanically repeating motives because he had no need of the device; at the time, however, it must have been academically helpful to have acquired it.

Set against this academically respectable (if artistically sterile) feature are several which would have at least caused raised eyebrows among the more conservative members of the Conservatoire's staff and a Russian jury. The most obvious of these, discussed in detail by Dr Mitchell[41] is the tonal structure, for it is the recapitulation rather than the exposition which exploits most significantly the contrast of tonalities (though in bar 54f. of the exposition, F major is established sufficiently strongly to have some of the effect of a 'second subject'). It is the intrusion of F sharp minor into the recapitulation which represents the most unorthodox feature. Another unconventional aspect

41) Mitchell, 1958, p.125f.

of the movement is the functional ambiguity of the opening section: it might be the first of Mahler's recurring slow introductions [42] and/or the first subject.

The most striking rejection of convention occurs in the harmonic vocabulary which is extended beyond that expected of a well-groomed Conservatoire student of the 1870s (Ex.64). Admittedly the remarkable feature here results from the use of a pedal point (which persists for a further 11 bars - a Mahlerian device used in an as yet un-Mahlerian manner), but the young composer has further surprises in store for the listener (see Ex.65) besides which his more typical false-relations seem tame enough (ex.66).

On a subjective level this work sounds too committed for a mere exercise: the brooding opening, for all its indebtedness to Brahms and Schubert, has an immediate emotional impact and sustains its length. It is the integrity of the whole movement which is impressive: nothing gives the impression of being a mere effect and even the over-insistent repetitions of Ex.63 in the development (bars 110f.) arise from an as yet ill-directed but nonetheless genuine impulse. And the youthful passion of the composer does create some impressive material (Ex.67). There is also subtlety, as in the first entry of the strings: marvellously controlled reticence underlined by the position of the entry - mid-phrase -

42) Mitchell, 1958, p.125f.

and the harmony - submediant rather than tonic or dominant. This choice of chord is hardly fortuitous for the whole of the opening passage bears a submediant tinge, as it in preparation for the appearance of F major - the only contrasting tonality of the exposition - shortly before the double bar.

As evidence of Mahler's early development this movement is an invaluable counterweight to the more progressive Symphonic Prelude and *Waldmärchen*, for in it Mahler emphasises his indebtedness to the more conservative Austro-German tradition of Schubert, Schumann and Brahms. Yet as Paul Stefan points out[43] the melodic writing of the work has some connection with that of the mature symphonies; he was surely thinking of the first movement of the Sixth Symphony in particular (Ex.68). This thematic pre-echo is made even more fascinating and perplexing because of its Brucknerian associations (Ex.69a and b). These associations go beyond melodic similarities, for three of the four works begin with references to the flattened submediant (admittedly the effect is modified in the case of Bruckner's Sixth Symphony because of the pedal C sharp in the violins)[44]. Thus three of the works show similarities in two distinct areas - thematic and harmonic. In the case of motive 'y'

43) *Gustav Mahler, Eine Studie über Persönlichkeit und Werke*, revised ed., Munich, 1912, p.29-30. Clearly Stefan saw the work only after Mahler's death.

44) Cb appears near the opening of Bruckner's Fourth Symphony, but not very prominently, and with even less effect in the 1874 version.

the melodic connection may be accounted for by at least two earlier works which employ the idea - Schubert's Overture for Piano Duet, Op.34, and the opening of the second act of Wagner's *Lohengrin* - which may have acted as models for the Viennese composers (Exs. 70a and b). On the other hand it seems likely that Mahler, having seen the score of the Fourth Symphony by Bruckner, simply

* borrowed fig.'z'. And fig.'x'? Perhaps just a coincidence, although it is one of Mahler's favourite melodic patterns (see Exs. 13 and 14). If not yet a characteristic or masterly work, the Piano Quartet Movement has a sincerity and breadth of association which invite serious attention. As Stefan asserts, if it didn't win a prize, it deserved one.

20) *Waldmärchen* /originally part I of *Das klagende Lied*, omitted after 1892/3/1878-9?/

The literary origins of *Das klagende Lied* have already been discussed in detail (see Chapter V above) and the history of the text makes it possible to affix certain dates to Mahler's work on the Cantata. Assuming that the performance of Greif's poem provided the initial stimulus to work, the text must have been begun after 3 May 1876 and was completed by 18 March 1878 at the latest. Whether it was intended for a musical setting from the outset, is not known, nor is the date on which the composition of the music commenced. It is worth noting, however, that Mahler was probably working

on the Prelude to *The Argonauts* (which he unsuccessfully entered for the 1878 Beethoven Prize) and the Scherzo for Piano Quintet, during the early months of 1878, so unless some sketches for *Waldmärchen* were notated during the composition of the poem, work was probably begun in the latter part of 1878, after completion of the Prelude. Very little is known of Mahler's activities during the years 1879-80, but he worked on *Rübezahl* during the winter of 1879-80 (45) and in the early months of 1880 composed the *Poisllieder* while working on the two remaining parts of the *Das klagende Lied*. In view of this, and the greater accomplishment of the two later sections of the Cantata it would seem that Mahler probably completed *Waldmärchen* in the autumn of 1879.

A detailed and critical view of *Waldmärchen* is necessary for a number of reasons, not least in order to help account for its omission from the published revision of the Cantata. It is certainly true that psychological motives may have laid behind Mahler's decision to omit it (46), and it is hardly far-fetched to link the death of Mahler's favourite brother, Ernst, with the murder of the tale; similarly the role of *Waldmärchen* , that of presenting much of the musical material of the two remaining parts, and telling a story which is subsequently recounted three times, must lead to a certain amount of monotony (47). However, it must also be recognised that although 'the best inspirations

45) La Grange, op. cit., p.712
46) See Diether, op. cit., p. 13f
47) Mitchell,1976, p.58.

of *Waldmärchen* may be quite the equal of those in *Der Spielmann* or *Hochzeitsstück* ,[48] it is, overall, a far less competent piece of work than its successors, and betrays the youth and inexperience of the composer; Mahler was surely well aware of this when he took the Cantata out of his composition drawer in later years. *Waldmärchen's* importance in Mahler's development is that its composition provided the experience necessary for the creation of the far more successful - though still immature sections of the Cantata that followed. Indeed its pages provide an unusual opportunity to observe a young composer's gradual mastery of certain facets of his craft.

A close examination of *Waldmärchen* also sheds light on the work's ancestry, and even though detailed family tree can be assembled, some of its older relations may be identified. From a poetic point of view the predecessors are obvious if unfamiliar: the late choral works of Schumann and the related works of later composers. The poetic forms are similar (e.g. four of Schumann's works are settings of ballades: *Der Königssohn* Op. 116, *Des Sängers Fluch* . Op. 139 (both based on Uhland), *Vom Pagen und der Königstochter* , (Op. 140 (Geibel) and *Das Glück von Edenhall* , Op. 143 (Uhland)) and in one case - *Vom Pagen und der Königstochter* - there appears the motif of a murder revealed through a musical instrument (in this case a harp) constructed from the bones of the victim. The revelation takes place at the wedding feast of the Princess who had loved the ill-fated page, and is preceded by the extinction of the hall's illuminations and the silencing of the musical

48) Ibid, loc. cit.

accompaniment to the feast. Such striking parallels with *Das klagende Lied* are undoubtedly coincidental [49] (Schumann's Op. 140 was performed in Vienna on 6 November 1859, but none of these late works ever achieved any real popularity) but they do illustrate how close in content and atmosphere Mahler's story is to these unjustly neglected compositions.

The treatment of the texts is, however, very different, for while in Schumann and indeed the vast majority of dramatic choral works the events are dramatised with one singer narrating and the remaining soloists and the chorus portraying characters and crowds in direct speech, Mahler's text is solely narrative, no direct speech is used (except for the flute's song in *Der Spielmann* and *Hochzeitsstück*, and in the concluding couplet of *Waldmärchen*) and all the soloists as well as the chorus are used to relate the story. The only approach to personification occurs in *Der Spielmann* and *Hochzeitsstück* when the song of the flute appears, but the lack of consistency in scoring (the first two statements are sung by the contralto, the last by the soprano) undermines any such effect. This aspect of the dramatic treatment is sufficient to discredit the reports of the operatic origins of the Cantata [50], and as Dr Mitchell points out, any intention to use the tale as the basis for a stage work must have been abandoned before the composition of either text or music,

49) Although Bechstein's take may well have been influenced by Geibel's poem.
50) Engel, op. cit., p. 23; Stefan/1912, p. 110.

for neither show any traces of such a plan. Indeed Mahler's narrative is conscious in its avoidance of any theatrical effects, particularly in comparison with its forebears, and Guido Adler's criticism of the work, because it had not wholly renounced its operatic pretensions, seems singularly inapt. It should also be remembered that the rhetorical questions addressed by the singers to the flora, fauna and human population of the tale, are completely atypical of earlier works of this type.

From a musical point of view, there are few connections between Schumann's works and *Das klagende Lied*, even though Mahler admired his predecessor's music[51]. The reason lies at least partly in Schumann's approach to his tales of mediaeval chivalry, for unlike Mahler (not to mention Weber and Wagner) he had little feeling for the romantic forest settings and limited his few pictorial references to horn-calls and folk-like choruses[52]. The former are very stylised compared with Mahler's evocative versions, and Mahler did not employ the latter in his cantata, partly because they had no place in his text or its setting, and also because the style was a later addition to his musical vocabulary, the first completed example being 'Maitanz im Grünen' (i.e. 'Hans und Grete' of the *Lieder und Gesänge*, vol. I) dated 5 March 1880[53]. Schumann

51) Mitchell,1958, pp. 144-5 and Mitchell,1976, p. 56.
52) However, Louis Halsey is mistaken when he asserts that 'German "folkiness"... dominates the score' of *Die Rose Pilgerfahrt*. See 'The Choral Music' in *Robert Schumann, The Man and His Music*, Edited, Alan Walker, London, 1972, p. 385.
53) Mitchell,1958, p. 119, 'Es fiel ein Reif' apparently represents an early (and barely coherent) attempt at the style.

was mainly concerned with the sentimental possibilities of the poems he chose (particularly *Paradies und die Peri* and *Die Rose Pilgerfahrt*) and he portrays such aspects in music combining great beauty with Victorian preciosity: of the two, Mahler, with his immediacy and simplicity of expression, is far closer to early romanticism. The sole similarity lies in the treatment of tonality, for Schumann is not only willing to employ open-ended tonal forms (*Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*: Part I, A major to C sharp major, Part II, E major - C major; *Des Sängers Fluch*: F sharp minor to C minor; *Der Königssohn*: D minor to G major), but also at times employs a rapidly modulating harmonic idiom. Nevertheless, in the absence of any more conclusive evidence it is unwise to consider this aspect of the choral music of Schumann and Mahler to be of any significance; rather it should be recognised that Schumann's late music exhibits early symptoms of what was to become, in the later stages of the nineteenth century, a more general problem.

The relationship between *Waldmärchen* and earlier compositions can be more tangible than this, and Mahler's setting of the first stanza of his text presents a particularly rich web of thematic allusions. The setting of the stanza falls into a Bar-form: the orchestral statement of new material in Eb major (Ex. 73b) and a repetition in G major with added vocal line (tenor soloist) forming two stollen, followed by a two-part Abgesang consisting of a chorale-like setting for tenors and basses, of the last two lines (Ex. 74a) and a cadential figure for orchestra (Ex. 74b).

The same Abgesang appears as a refrain at the end of the two following stanzas, but thereafter the chorale idea is dropped and does not appear in the work again. The cadential figure (Ex. 74b) however, is given to chorus and orchestra at the third appearance of the refrain and is used alone at the end of the fourth and eighth stanzas; its last appearance in *Waldmärchen* is a brief reference at the end of the final stanza.

The chorale refrain is important as a means of defining the musical and poetic structure at the outset of the setting. The origin of the idea would seem to lie in the chorales of Bach's cantatas and Mendelssohn's oratorios[54]. Neither composers' vocal music was sung by the Sankt Jakob choir during Mahler's years of participation, but it may have been used for choral rehearsals at the Conservatoire, and at least two of Bach's cantatas were publicly performed in Vienna in the years 1875-8 (see Chapter II, table IIc). Although Mendelssohn's choral music was by the 1870's appearing infrequently on Viennese concert programmes - the peak of its popularity having been reached in the 1850's - it was nevertheless a familiar part of the choral repertoire and can hardly have been unknown to Mahler. Later in *Waldmärchen* a melodic shape from *Elijah* is introduced (Ex. 75), but Mahler's chorale may even have a more direct connection with 'Sleepers, wake, a voice is calling' from *St. Paul* (Ex. 76). The quiet

54) This account of Mendelssohn's importance stems from a suggestion made by Dr. Mitchell (private communication, 8.ii.1977).

horn-calls at the end of each phrase of Ex. 76b are pastoral echoes of the fanfares introduced at the corresponding point by Mendelssohn: it should not be forgotten that Mahler's fanfares often take on a pastoral colouring (see the first movement of the First Symphony, bar 9f.). Ex. 76b is, however, even more closely related to the 'Liebesbund' motive from *Siegfried* (first performed in Vienna on 9 November 1878, though the *Siegfried Idyll*, in which the theme also appears at bar 259, was played earlier at a Philharmonic concert on 21 January 1878)(Ex. 76c). Despite this Wagnerian reference, Mendelssohn's importance should not be underestimated: his was an influence that Mahler and his contemporaries had to outgrow. In Wolf's case the process of maturation involved an almost wholesale rejection of Mendelssohn, the sole exception being the music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*[55], a work for which Mahler also retained a particular affection. Nevertheless Wolf recognised Mendelssohn's influence in his own songs, and found the "Meerstille und glückliche Fahrt" overture 'wunderschön' when he first heard it on 9 January 1876. Similarly Krzyzanowski and Rott both performed organ sonatas by Mendelssohn while at the Conservatoire, a choice probably influenced by Bruckner who was much attached to the works. In Mahler's case Mendelssohn continued to exert an attraction for both the creative and the recreative artist. His first great success as a conductor came with a performance of *St. Paul* at the Gmunden Festival on 29 June 1885 and the 'Italian'

55) See Walker, op. cit., pp. 60 and 275.

Symphony was included in the programme of his last concern[56]. After *Das klagende Lied*, Mahler drew on Mendelssohn again in the First Symphony and *Lob des hohen Verstandes*[57] and the Fifth Symphony[58] (Ex. 77). There are also connections between Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang* and Mahler's symphonic oeuvre, though not specifically between Mendelssohn's symphony and Mahler's Second, for in Mendelssohn's work, unlike Beethoven's Ninth and the 'Resurrection' Symphony

> The orchestral part, is not.... a big symphonic drama creating instrumental tension which cries out for choral release, but a modest three-part introduction to a large self-sufficient cantata. (59)

On the other hand it does represent an attempt, however lacking in coherence, to fuse symphony and cantata into one, comparable to Mahler's fusion of symphony and suite (particularly in the Third, but also, perhaps, in the Seventh), and symphony with cantata/oratorio/motet (the Eighth).

This simple and effective chorale introduced by Mahler into his Cantata is, like so much of the material in the work, and his works in general, Janus-faced: it looks forward and back. In this case the passage anticipated is the refrain from *Das himmlisches Leben* (Ex. 6a).

More frequently discussed, and more controversial is the role played by Wagner's music in the formation of Mahler's musical idiom. Opposing views are expressed by Redlich and Krenek:

56) See la Grange, op. cit., p. 128ff. and Blaukopf, 1976, pl. 328.
57) Mitchell, 1976, p. 294f.
58) First noticed by Richard Dupree in *Recurring Thematic and motivic material in Gustav Mahler's Symphonies I-IX* M.A. Thesis, North Texas State University, 1970, p.97.
59) Deryck Cooke: 'Chorus and Symphony: Liszt, Mahler and After', *Choral Music* edited Arthur Jacobs, Harmondsworth, 1963, p. 249.

> With great skill the music manages to integrate cross-influences such as Wagner's *Ring*, Bruckner's earlier symphonies and the operatic gesture of Weber and Marschner, whose music re-echoes here and later in Mahler's work.(60)

> The landscape which /Mahler/ populated with his musical characters was still the picturesque German Middle Ages as seen through the eyes of the early German romanticists... Just as Mahler chooses to associate his music with the picture of an archaic stage of life, so he clings to a musical idiom which is prevailingly pre-Wagnerian - that is, to a musical material which is not yet affected by the destructive principles let loose by Wagner against tonality.(61)

Dr. Mitchell suggests[62] that in assessing the Wagnerian component in Mahler's early style both are at fault and argues that

> the idiom is often, if not prevailingly, Wagnerian; but early Wagner, not the Wagner of the *Ring* or *Tristan* or *Die Meistersinger*.

Apart from the occasional use of Wagnerian melody or texture, *Waldmärchen* draws on Wagnerian techniques, most obviously in the employment of a system of leitmotives (see Exs. 71-74). In their brevity and simplicity many of these ideas are uncharacteristic even of early Mahler. The main theme of the Piano Quartet is eleven bars long and the material composed for the two later portions of *Das klagende Lied* is also on a larger scale than the majority of ideas created for *Waldmärchen*[63]. The simplicity of the material, the reliance on arpeggios, fourths, fifths and thirds engenders numerous melodic connections between the various ideas, but is also responsible for the expressive neutrality of some of the

60) Redlich, op. cit., p. 175
61) 'Biographical Essay', in Bruno Walter: *Gustav Mahler*, trans. James Galston, New York, 1941 (1970), pp. 187 & 189.
62) Mitchell, 1958, p.169.
63) The opening idea of the Symphonic Prelude is 8 bars long.

melodic patterns. This is problematic since, as in Wagner's late stage works, such leitmotives are not necessarily presented as reminiscence motives: the first nine appear orchestrally before any clear verbal associations are established. In Wagner this rarely leads to meaningless ambiguity because from the outset his themes possess strong pre-verbal expressiveness. In *Waldmärchen* Mahler is able to mitigate the expressive blandness of his melodic material in a number of ways, most obviously through the association of motives with timbre, tempi and dynamics. Thus there is a clear expressive distinction between Ex. 71a and Ex. 72a, between an exemplification of peace, calm, and - thanks to the use of horns - a specific association with Nature and the assertive, potentially destructive character of Ex. 72a marked 'Schneller' and scored for the tutti with trumpets prominent.

So it is through such contrasts that some melodic ideas attain expressive definition, but the most significant contrasts occur on a harmonic level. By taking over Wagner's technique of juxtaposing contrasting harmonic types Mahler is able to specify and later modify the expressive connotations of his melodic material while creating a structural framework for the work. As *Waldmärchen* progresses a clear association between poetic content and harmonic type [64] is established. The music interprets the text as being concerned with two chief elements: Nature and a Crime against Nature. Nature, which is also onomatopoeically evoked through birdsong imitations and horn-calls, is associated with the idea of peace and repose. It is into union with it that the younger

64) As will become apparent the characteristics of the two types of music in fact extend beyond harmonic structure.

brother enters through loss of consciousness - sleep - and finally through death. The music exemplifying these states (α-type music) is always recessive[65]. The melodic material is diatonic, the overall contour downward; the harmony is diatonic, triadic and major; it is usually based on a pedal point so the harmonic rhythm is generally very slow; the dynamics are usually low and tend to become quieter; the tempo is slow and strong metrical accentuation is avoided; the texture is simple. This music seeks constantly to reach a state of minimum activity, of maximum repose; the loss of identity in sleep and death is mirrored by a dissolution of thematic characteristics into simple accompanying figures.

The Crime is embodied in music (β-type music) which is always progressive. The melodic material is still primarily diatonic, but the overall contour is upwards; the harmony is chromatic, uses dissonance freely and is predominantly in the minor mode: it avoids tonal stability and most characteristically employs progressions which move upwards through an ascending semitone progression in the bass; the dynamic level is usually high and increases; tempi are fast and both rhythmic and metrical patterns well defined; themes are clearly etched and often combined in comparatively dense textures. The Crime disturbs the repose of Nature: it is from the music that is associated with it that *Waldmärchen* derives its impetus.

Mahler employs his leitmotives within this predominantly bi-polar harmonic framework in a number of ways.

65) For the definition of this term and its opposite - progressive - see Wallace Berry, *Structural Functions in Music*, New Jersey, 1976, p. 4f.

Some themes are unambiguously associated with one of the harmonic types. Exs. 71a & b only appear within the context of α-type music, while Exs. 72 d & f are associated exclusively with the narrative of the Crime. The majority of ideas, though, are treated in a more flexible manner: while clearly associated primarily with one particular harmonic context (as shown in Exs. 71 & 72) they appear at times in the opposite context. Occasionally this procedure seems at first sight to stem from solely musical considerations as when Ex. 71c participates in the build up to the first climax of β-type music (b. 67f). The horn calls of Ex. 71c, because of their similar timbre, lead smoothly into the fanfares of b. 70f so the alternations of the two ideas is on this level simply an exploitation of their musical contiguity. But Mahler is also exploiting poetic associations. Initially presented as a clearly recognisable evocation of the great outdoors through the associations horn calls - hunting - Nature, this idea nevertheless leads easily to material associated with chivalry: fanfares - warfare - chivalry, and the juxtaposition of horn calls and fanfares emphasises the fact that both warfare and hunting were chivalrous pursuits.

Other uses of this sort of device are more explicitly poetic and expressive in content as when Ex. 71e (b. 169) a theme otherwise associated with natural repose, appears in a clearly progressive context: rising dynamics, increased contrapuntal complexity, chromatically ascending harmonic progression. This passage follows the setting of the text

Welch Rittersmann die Blume fand,
Der konnt' die Frau gewinnen!

The desire to win the hand of the Queen leads to the Crime that destroys the natural equilibrium - hence the transformation of Ex. 71e to hint at this fact.

Elsewhere the other possible means of interaction between leitmotive and harmonic context is employed: a leitmotive associated with one harmonic type is introduced as an irritant or foreign body into a passage employing procedures of the opposite type. One theme in particular is exploited in this manner with striking effect. Ex. 72a is one of the most prominent ideas associated with β-type procedures, but is frequently employed as a means of undermining the repose of a recessive passage and of initiating a progressive development (e.g. b.370f.). The most subtle and significant use of this device occurs at the end of *Waldmärchen*, where peace and repose seem, with the clear establishment of Gb major (b.520) to be unambiguously achieved. However, at bar 552 the bass clarinet quietly introduces Ex. 72a: this precipitates the gradual transformation of the repose of Gb major into the final tragic lament in F sharp minor:

'Im Wald auf der grünen Heide,
Da steht eine alte Weide.'

Unlike the majority of leitmotives, some are not clearly associated with one particular harmonic context. Ex. 73a is a particularly interesting example. It first appears in a minor form at the end of the first outburst of material associated with the Crime (b. 30f.) and again at bar 55, but now in association with Exs. 71c & 71d. At bar 60 it appears

in a major format and thereafter appears in both progressive and recessive contexts. It is the text that gives this apparently ambivalent use of the theme its meaning: the first time the theme is sung (in a major form) the text is:

Zwei Brüder zogen zum Walde hin

It is next sung - again in the major form - in an account of the younger brother's search:

Der Junge zieht durch Wald und Heid'

The minor form is never sung but figures prominently in the accompaniment of the elder brother's murder of his sibling (b. 455f.):

Ein Auge blickt in wilder Freud',
Dess' Schein hat nicht gelogen; . . .

The two brothers are thus represented by variants of the same theme differentiated by mode.

A further example of the use of a leitmotive in differing harmonic contexts to emphasise the difference between the two brothers is the treatment of Ex. 73b. Initially (b. 115f.) it is employed merely to begin the narrative - 'Once upon a time' - and is ambiguous in its harmonic type: the opening Eb major is soon replaced and is anyway chromatically inflected from the outset. The changes in this theme's harmonic context, from disturbed chromaticism (b. 490f.) to the most peaceful diatonicism (b. 520) reflect the changes in narrative mood. But a variant in F major (Ex. 71f) accompanies the description of the younger brother as being 'von milden Sinn' (b. 210f.). Almost immediately the same variant in E minor (Ex. 72d) is used to accompany the text describing the elder brother:

Der Andre konnte nur fluchen![66]

While themes such as Exs. 73a & 73b are multivalent in their harmonic allegiances, there is a further group of ideas which stand apart from the main harmonic types altogether and are in that sense neutral, although their tone is unremittingly tragic. Ex. 74a borrowed from Mendelssohn and/or Wagner is always associated with a pedal point, but the rapidity of chord movement above the bass and the use of the minor mode are features incompatible with the characteristics of ∝ music. The musical isolation of this idea reflects the position of the texts it sets within the poem as a whole: couplets at the ends of stanzas one, two and three that they are rhetorical questions or statements which stand outside the narrative of the poem. This is also true of the functionally related Ex. 74c which on its first appearance sets the non-narrative couplet at the end of stanza 4. On its second and final appearance it sets a text that is unique in the poem of *Waldmärchen*, the final couplet, the lament of the flowers, the only direct speech in the whole poem.

Mahler's use of leitmotives within, and in the case of Exs. 73a & b, outside a harmonic palette consisting of two contrasting harmonic types produces a very flexible and subtle medium for musico-poetic expression. But the

66) Later this minor transformation reverts to the original narrative role of Ex. 73b when it accompanies the soprano's despairing exclamation:

O weh! wem er dort schlafend fand,
Die Blume am Hut, am grünen Band!

significance of Mahler's bi-polar harmonic palette extends beyond hermeneutics to the level of musical structure. In *Waldmärchen* the harmonic systems take over from theme and tonality the function of articulating the whole structure. The structure that emerges is not simply an alternation of the two main harmonic types: there are short passages of neutral character (Exs. 74a, b, c) which while tonally stable are in the minor mode, and one passage - the setting of the opening quatrain of stanza 1, which is narrative without clearly referring to either of the main harmonic types. Moreover the structure that is articulated by harmony is clearly proportioned and this fig. IV seeks to elucidate.

The orchestral introduction presents in microcosm the patterning of the main body of *Waldmärchen*. As will be shown later this prelude begins by presenting the two main harmonic types in as close a juxtaposition as possible and thereafter expands them in alternation. The appearance of β music follows this pattern strictly in the setting of the text. In stanza one there is barely a hint of its characteristics (but see bb. 123-5 and 136-8 for that hint); in stanza two a 7-bar passage of β, in stanza three a 15 bar passage. Up to this point β material has played a subsidiary role in the setting of the first three stanzas. In stanza four it takes on greater importance for not only does it occupy 30 bars, but also it alone constitutes the setting of the opening quatrain of the stanza.

Figure IV: Harmonic Types and Tonal Structure in Waldmärchen

Fig. IVa

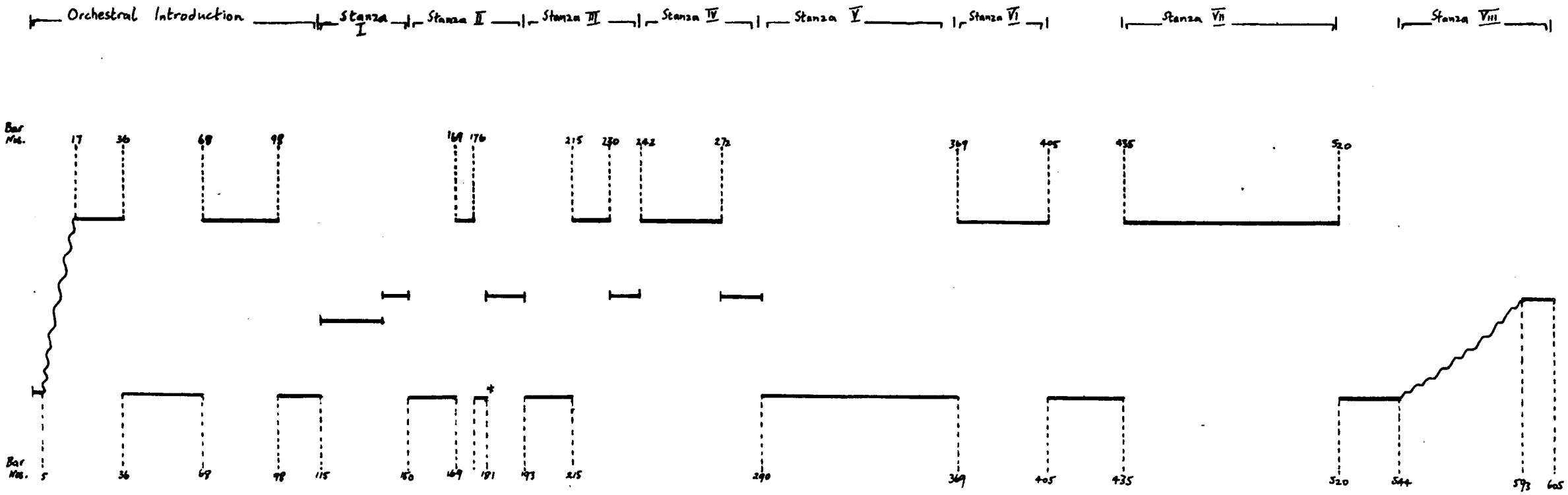


Fig. IVb

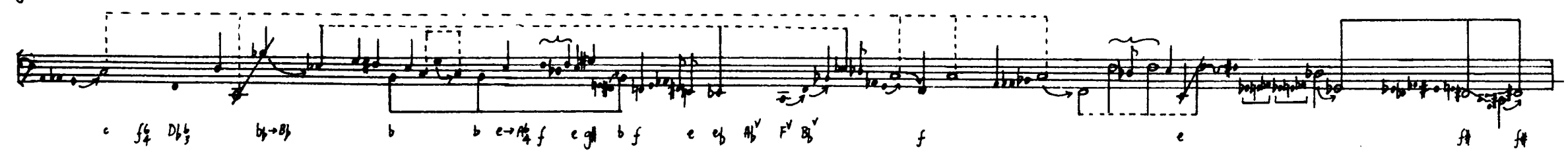
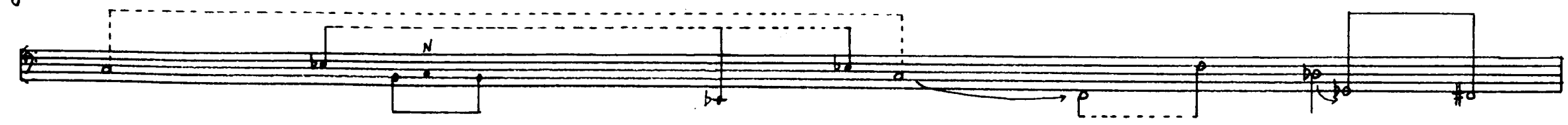


Fig. IVc



Notes

Fig. IVa

No attempt has been made to show the progressive/recessive characteristics of individual sections: the aim is to present visually the proportions of the structure articulated by harmonic type. The bar numbering is necessarily approximate. The horizontal scale is 1 bar = 0.5 mm.



represents passages where α and β characteristics merge.

Fig. IVb

This is an attempt to represent in outline the bass line and tonal structure of *Waldmärchen*. The position of noteheads in Fig. IVb corresponds approximately with the position of the events they represent within the time-scale of fig. IVa.

Key

represents a bass note that is not the root of a tonicised triad



represents a bass note functioning as the root of a tonicised triad



represents a bass note functioning as the root of a structurally unimportant, tonicised triad



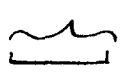
represents direct and uninterrupted chromatic bass motion



represents indirect and/or interrupted passing bass motion in summary

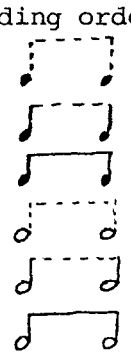


indicates dominant relationships



indicate recurring harmonic/tonal features

Tonal hierarchy is shown by beaming and the use of open and solid note heads in the following ascending order:



Upper and lower case letters referring to keys (occasionally in conjunction with figuring to indicate inversions of triads) are employed to clarify harmonic, tonal and modal features. Unless otherwise indicated any tonicised triad is major.

Fig. IVc

A simplified graph of the overall tonal design. N = neighbour note

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* These five bars of music are the only passage inconsistent with the processes and design outlined in the text.

Similarly ∝ procedures expand in temporal extent: in stanza two they occupy 19 bars, in stanza three, 23 bars. Again this process has already been anticipated in the orchestral prelude where the first two appearances of ∝ occupy 4 and 32 bars respectively. Having been excluded entirely from the setting of stanza four, ∝ processes reassert themselves with an extended passage (78 bars long) which sets stanza five, but this is the limit of their expansion. From here onwards the Crime and its associated musical ideas dominates *Waldmärchen* and the last two appearances of ∝ processes are reduced in length (30 and 24 bars respectively) while β processes continue to expand steadily (stanza six: 36 bars; stanza seven: 86 bars). Moreover the ∝ sections are not merely shortened, they lose their narrative function and their last two appearances are essentially instrumental interludes[67]. Thus the last stanza is not set to ∝ music, but primarily to neutral material (Exs. 74b & c).

The patterning of the main body of *Waldmärchen* is clear. On the one hand ∝ procedures gradual expand to occupy the greatest extent at the centre of the setting, thereafter diminishing in extent and narrative significance. On the other hand β processes steadily increase in extent and narrative significance, reaching a climax (the chief climax of *Waldmärchen*) within a hundred bars of the end. The orchestral introduction provides a model for this patterning.

67) The brief appearance of the soprano soloist in the penultimate passage of ∝ music does nothing to disturb the essentially instrumental character of the section.

So it is on the level of harmonic type rather than theme or key that a coherent musical procedure which meaningfully interlocks with the poetic structure of the text is to be found. The use of leitmotives is to a large extent governed by narrative considerations and does not take on a structural role. Similarly tonality is employed more for its colouristic or expressive effect than as a structural function. Some slight connections between poetic content and tonality do emerge. The rhetorical couplets of stanzas one and two appear in B minor and that of stanza two moves from B minor to E minor. In a more general way ∝ processes frequently involve the appearance of C major. Nevertheless a quasi-symetrical tonal arrangement is discernable amid the tonal flux of the first 400 bars. The first and third appearances of C major/minor enclose cadentially prepared and comparatively stable passages of Eb major/minor which in turn enclose a kernel of B minor (see fig. IV for a graphical presentation). But this arrangement fails to give a sense of purposeful direction to the fluid tonal motion of the opening bars. It is only with the series of V-I relationships which emerge during the setting of stanza five that a degree of coherence enters the tonal motion.

Despite the vagaries of Mahler's treatment of tonality, an overall design may be discerned (see fig. IV). The greatest tonal flux occurs near the beginning of the work, partly as the result of the way in which the harmonic types are distributed. It is in the second half of *Waldmärchen* that C major/minor and F major/minor begin to emerge as tonal

plateaus of some substance, and these eventually lead to the very clearly articulated cadential progression to Gb major. This sort of design with wide ranging tonal fluctuation at the outset of a composition gradually giving way to a relatively focused and stable tonal area at the end has been identified as typical of much late tonal music(68).

At the end of the work a clearly defined structural progression is desirable as a means of closure, and as such the move to Gb major works well. But Mahler is able to modify the effect: with Gb major so firmly established he can employ a change of mode to undermine the sense of finality without destroying the sense of closure. This procedure not only mirrors the final stanza of the text, it also leaves unresolved musical forces which may be taken up in the succeeding portions of the Cantata.

The end of *Waldmärchen* illustrates how alive Mahler was, even at the age of 19-20 to the expressive potential of a simple major-minor alternation. The work contains several other examples, though on a much smaller scale. Perhaps the most memorable occurs as the beauty of the red flower is compared by the bass soloist to the beauty of the Queen (b. 150f.). The orchestral continuation is surely intended as a musical exemplification of this beauty, yet, significantly (in view of the tragic influence both Queen and flower have on the two brothers) the bright E major turns to a sombre E minor. The music exemplifies beauty and is a

68) Wallace Berry, op. cit., p. 59.

commentary on it.

However, at one point Mahler takes the contrast of mode beyond the range of all but the most advanced harmonic practices of the 1870's. One implication of the overall design of *Waldmärchen* is that the opening will present short passages embodying the two chief harmonic procedures. The opening idea (Ex. 71a) implies A minor, but it is immediately transformed into Ex. 71b in A major: despite the initial suggestion of A minor (more characteristic of β music) these four bars are a recognisable evocation of Nature. This is immediately contradicted by two events, the *forte* interjection of the first three notes of Ex. 72a (2 oboes, and cor anglais) and the assertion of an F sharp minor chord (harp, 2nd violins, flutes and oboes). In six bars Mahler has presented some of the characteristics of the two harmonic types and also some of the melodic ideas most closely associated with them later in the piece. At this point Mahler, with a stroke of compositional daring unmatched elsewhere in his student works proceeds to present both harmonic types simultaneously. Beneath the sustained F sharp minor chord the horns present another Nature theme in an unambiguous D major. The C sharp refuses to behave as an appogiature to D; instead the whole bi-tonal harmonic complex falls a semi-tone. The voice-leading of the resolution of the Db-C is unusual: the Db falls to B natural (horn 2) and the C rises to F (violin 1) (see Ex. 78). Out of the resulting diminished 7th grows the first extended passage of β music and the process of expansion is begun.

Far from being 'the confusions of a wasted youth' these extraordinary bars anticipate similar tonal rifts in Mahler's later music (for example see VI_1, b. 208f. and *Das Lied von der Erde*$_1$, b. 50f.). Moreover they are no mere decorative feature within *Waldmärchen* but are the result of its overall design. What is unusual about them is that they occur so early in the piece: such tonal knots are usually tied later in a structure. This feature of *Waldmärchen* is in some ways problematic, for it is impossible for the listener to initially realise the significance of the opening; its full import is only revealed retrospectively. This sort of problem was almost bound to occur given Mahler's ground-plan for *Waldmärchen*. Another is the maintenance of coherence in the initial stages of the piece, where the alternating sections are comparatively brief, and one heightened by the explicit, illustrative employment of brief leitmotives. Mahler, like so many of his contemporaries using similar devices, is unable to prevent the opening pages of the Cantata from sounding like a thematic patchwork, and this impression is further heightened by the roving tonal structure. If in this sense Mahler's problem is that of too much contrast, there are also examples of an imbalance in the opposite direction - too little contrast. Forward momentum can also be hampered by the recessive tendencies of α processes. Such features are illustrated by bars 50-52. Here the first main α section ends with an impressive sense of closure: if any sort of momentum is to be maintained contrast must be achieved and without delay. Tonally this is what Mahler seems to try to do.

Using a two-bar transitional device borrowed from Schubert (see Ex. 21) the music attempts to move to F minor (though in fact the bass remains on C) but instead of reinforcing the harmonically weakened tonal progression with a thematic progression, Mahler actually nullifies it by returning to two themes already heard. So the thematic treatment underlines the sense of stasis already too apparent in the passage.

This example illustrates a fundamental feature of *Waldmärchen* and one which distinguishes it from its Wagnerian models. In works such as *Tannhäuser*, *Die Meistersinger* and *Parsifal*, what are juxtaposed are different types of harmonic motion; in *Waldmärchen* the juxtaposition is between chromatic harmonic motion (β processes) and diatonic harmonic stasis (α processes). The result is that the music of *Waldmärchen* moves with an erratic, stop-go motion (an effect heightened by the brevity of much of the thematic material and the absence of any processes of melodic growth). It is only towards the end that the last two extended passages build up any sense of musical impetus, which in both cases is anyway short-lived. It is this feature more than any other which undermines the success of *Waldmärchen* and one which *Der Spielmann* and *Hochzeitsstück* for the most part avoid. Thus both the musico-poetic strengths and the musical weakness stem from the same source: Mahler's adoption of the Wagnerian device of contrasting harmonic types.

Mahler may have been conscious of the liabilities imposed by the scheme he adopted in *Waldmärchen*, for he

abandoned the bi-polar harmonic framework in the two later parts of the Cantata. The results, if in some ways more conventional, are nevertheless more coherent. But Mahler had by no means finished with the device: it was to become a common feature of his style in the early 1890's (for an example, see the discussion of 'Urlicht' on p. 29f.). So *Waldmärchen* anticipates Mahler's later works not merely thematically, but also structurally.

It is not as a youthful masterpiece that *Waldmärchen* is of interest - far from it. In structural terms it is far less successful than the Piano Quartet and the Symphonic Prelude. In these latter works Mahler is better able to meet the self-imposed demands on his technique, but the setting of the text of *Das klagende Lied* required a far more extended musical structure; it was by actually trying to compose a work on a large scale that Mahler became aware of the inherent problems of continuity and coherence and began to develop solutions. Experience of a comparative failure such as *Waldmärchen* was probably necessary for Mahler's successful handling of extended musical forms in later years: it provided a lesson Mahler had to learn for himself.

A detailed examination of Mahler's juvenilia, though not concerned with masterworks, has its rewards. Admittedly it offers few glimpses of the naked face of genius, but the early works possess incidental beauties, and a sympathetic observer may appreciate the sense of satisfaction

the young composer must have gained from the composition of the Piano Quartet and the intellectual and emotional struggles involved in the writing of *Waldmärchen*.

Such an examination also evokes a challenge: the resolution of the chronological and other factual discrepancies contained in current bibliographical sources. A thorough knowledge of the workings of the Conservatoire help to provide some answers, and the identification of the Symphonic Prelude as a work probably by Mahler (the songs for Marie Lorenz are best considered as possible additions to Mahler's oeuvre) suggests a new hypothetical chronology for Mahler's creative work during the years 1875-8.

Four works may be dated only approximately:

1875-7	Zusner Song(s)
1875-8	Nocturne for cello
1875-8	Suite for Piano
1875-80	Songs for Marie Lorenz

More precise dating may be attempted for the rest:

Summer 1875	Ernst von Schwaben
1875/6	Song fragments
Spring 1876	Symphonic Prelude
" 1876	Violin Sonata
Spring/Summer 1876	Piano Quintet
1877-8	Piano Quartet
Winter 1877/8	Text of *Das klagende Lied*
Spring 1878	Scherzo for Piano Quintet
Spring/Summer 1878	Prelude to the Argonouts
Autumn 1878-1879	*Waldmärchen*

Coda

> Men, like planets, have both a visible and an invisible history. The astronomer threads the darkness with strict deduction, accounting so for every visible arc in the wanderer's orbit; and the narrator of human actions, if he did his work with the same completeness, would have to thread the hidden pathways of feeling and thought which lead up to every moment of action, and to those moments of intense suffering which take the quality of action . . . . (1)

In revealing hitherto unknown aspects of Mahler's human activity a wide-ranging approach is unexpectedly successful. Study of the Vienna Conservatoire as an institution clears away much of the confusion surrounding Mahler's career as a student there, particularly his activity as a compóser, and if nothing else, disposes of the myth of his lack of training as a conductor prior to 1880. Investigation of Mahler's student associates and the intellectual groups they formed reveals one previously unknown friendship and in clarifying the course of several others, demonstrates the extent to which his egocentricity did not prevent Mahler from extending a helping hand in later years. Thorough examination of Mahler's use of folklore illuminates the nature and probable source of one of his earliest song texts and throws light on the origins of his own earliest surviving poem. Attempts to trace the music of his contemporaries exposes and unexpected indebtedness on Mahler's part and leads to the discovery of one of his student compositions.

1) George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, Chapter XVI.

Close examination of the biographical sources adds two new items to the list of Mahler's lost works and a re-examination of existing bibliographical information indicates the need to re-date one of the surviving compositions.

An examination of early compositions by Mahler's contemporaries reveals that all, having started from classical and/or romantic models gradually incorporated into their music influence of more recent composers such as Wagner and Bruckner, and that in some cases, notably those of Hans Rott and Hugo Wolf, the emergence of a characteristic mode of expression was intimately connected with this process. The limited evidence available suggests that Mahler's creative development differed from this pattern in at least two significant aspects. To begin with, strong Wagnerian influence is noticeable in his music at a very early date - 1876 if the evidence of the Symphonic Prelude is reliable - and it is very likely that it was already present in works composed before Mahler entered the Conservatoire in 1875. The remaining works of the 1870s indicate that, like his contemporaries, he was open to influence from progressive and conservative composers, but the emergence of his highly individual style, though anticipated to some extent in parts of *Das klagende Lied*, was postponed until the mid-1880s and involved the jettisoning of many Wagnerian and Lisztian traits. That at the time Mahler's music tended to be labelled as Wagnerian was simply a result of the failure of the contemporary critical

vocabulary to recognise progressive approaches to music other than those of the Bayreuth master. Mahler's early (and already highly linear) mature style has in general little to do with Wagner's mode of expression, though Wagnerian references are common enough (*Die Walküre*, in the first movement of the Second Symphony, and *Parsifal* in the finale of the Third Symphony). But such references are no more indicative of general stylistic parallels than Mahler's borrowings from Brahms. In this sense Mahler is the exact opposite of a composer like Strauss whose creative liberation was facilitated, paradoxically, by his whole-hearted adoption of a consciously Wagnerian/Lisztian musical language. Mahler's creative evolution is most closely paralleled by that of Dvorak, who emerged as an autonomous creative personality only after a period of fiery Wagnerism. Even here,however, there are differences, for in Dvorak's case this change involved a deliberate re-adoption of classical models and a retreat from the experimentation of his Wagnerian period: Mahler however, though open to classical influence (or rather, willing to exploit classical references) was more radically innovative in the music of his early maturity than before. And if Mahler shows greater awareness of Wagner's achievement in his later works, he does so without sacrificing his own individuality as a composer, or the integrity of the works within which this rapprochement is expressed; Dvorak, however, is neither at his most

characteristic nor at his most convincing in the late Wagnerian orchestral works.

In view of the untypical course of Mahler's musical evolution it is as well to be cautious when drawing on knowledge of the philosophical and psychological development of his Viennese associates to form some idea of the composer's inner life. Particularly since contemporary reports of his personality while a young man are contradictory - to Marie Lorenz he was tyrannical on the verge of heartlessness, to Emma, Victor Adler's wife, open and modest. Unfortunately it is only in fiction that the 'narrator of human actions' can 'thread the hidden pathways of feelings'. But behind all the superficial contradictions Mahler's paternal inheritance stands out: determination. The determination that overcame a bourgeois father's opposition to an artistic career, that refused to give in when success in a Conservatoire competition seemed impossible, that made possible the completion of a long and complex cantata. It was this remarkable strength of will that enabled Mahler to overcome social and racial disadvantages, and his own spiritual conflicts; that made possible his remarkable achievements as conductor, opera producer and composer. In 1878 he was an unknown Jewish student, uncertain of his future and with no immediate prospect of employment;

in 1898 the director of the Vienna Hofoper, a rallying point for a new generation of young artists and an object of admiration and identification for Stefan Zweig's contemporaries:

> To have seen Gustav Mahler on the street was an event that we proudly reported to our comrades the next morning as a personal triumph.