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Symphonic Legacies: Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler in Vienna, 1911–1945

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Angus Howie

Doctoral Thesis

Durham University, Department of Music

Supervised by: Julian Horton and Katherine Hambridge

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Introduction

‘The battle for Mahler is long over. Mahler is moving into the neighbourhood of Brahms and Bruckner.’ Robert Konta¹

Between 1900 and 1945 Europe underwent a series of momentous changes: the First World War, the collapse of empires, an economic depression, the rise of fascism, and the Second World War. In Austria, the juxtaposition between the start and end points of this period is even starker, since it was only during this period that Austria emerged as a nation state, bookended chronologically by the Habsburg Empire at one end and the Third Reich at the other. This period has typically been studied as a slice history, in which scholars look at either the *fin-de-siècle* or the Third Reich. Other scholars focus on the middle ground of the interwar years. But the result of this mode of history is that it tends towards a focus on chronological ruptures, often at the expense of continuities. In the field of musicology, this carries significant ramifications for tracing the development of ideas. Current scholarship on the history of musical ideas across this period highlight a number of discrepancies whereby the start and end points fail to join up. This is most evident in the reception narratives of three symphonic composers: Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, and Gustav Mahler. The history contained in this thesis aims to view those ruptures and discrepancies as solidifying moments within a continuity of change and development. In order to understand how these reception narratives developed, it is necessary to study the entire period from *fin-de-siècle* to Third Reich.

In a certain sense, this thesis is about the collapse of Empire and the formation of nation states. It is also about the ways in which music is adopted, manipulated, and re-fashioned

¹ R.K., ‘Bruno Walter with the Philharmonic’, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10 January 1928: 5. ‘Der Kampf um Mahler ist längst vorbei. Mahler rückt in die Nähe eines Brahms und Bruckner.’

during the (re-)formation of national identities and in times of political upheaval. But more than both of these singularities, this thesis is a critique of historiography. Most historical studies adopt one of two strategies: chronological histories take a single topic and trace its development through time; slice histories take a single, short period of time and investigate a range of topics within that period.² Both approaches have evident advantages. One provides breadth of knowledge, the other provides depth. David Wyn Jones's *Music in Vienna: 1700, 1800, 1900* adopted a novel combination of these two approaches, by sampling and then comparing three historical slices to generate a narrative about Viennese music culture.³ Despite these varied modes of writing history it is inevitable that gaps will remain and, as historians, we must be vigilant to acknowledge these gaps and seek to investigate their contents to avoid falling prey to the enticing power of narrative. The historiographical approach that I have adopted for this study places a reception-history spin on the chronological model, which takes three symphonic composers as its topics. The period of this study is therefore continuous, while the depth of this study encompasses writings about three composers and the cultural and political contexts implicated therein. The studies on each composer serve to rethink and examine some of the gaps left by previous music histories, while the sum of those chapters sheds light on Viennese culture more broadly during the first half of the twentieth century and provides a series of case studies for the political adoption of musical figures as well as the development of narratives, identities, and symbols under such circumstances.

In his influential history, Wyn Jones identified the shortcomings of biographical music histories and narratives constructed around musical styles or schools.⁴ Instead, Wyn Jones advocates for a more 'open-minded approach', which is 'attuned to political and cultural

² Examples of chronological histories might include composer biographies, while examples of slice histories include Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Random House, 1979); or Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (W. W. Norton, 2002).

³ David Wyn Jones, *Music in Vienna: 1700, 1800, 1900* (Boydell & Brewer, 2016): 2.

⁴ Ibid.

developments in general and recognises that human agency was not the prerogative of composers only, but routinely involved emperors, princes, publishers, institutions, administrators, scholars and others.’⁵ In agreement with Wyn Jones, this thesis removes the agency of its chosen composers by focussing exclusively on a period of posthumousness. In doing so, the role and agency of advocates, critics, and institutions comes into greater clarity. This study, therefore, is not a history of events, but rather a history of ideas in dialogue with events. Music critics form the main focus of this history and are viewed as figures with agency to both respond to and generate events through the articulation of ideas. Viewing this history as a dialectical process between ideas and events deliberately flies in the face of the sort of prescriptive tendencies identified as problematic by Wyn Jones, attempting to represent by re-entanglement the intricate connection and non-linearity between ideas and events.

It is in an attempt to capture this dialectical relationship between events and ideas that the main sources drawn upon in what follows are published writings: newspaper feuilletons and criticism, contemporary monographs and essays, and extensive secondary literature. While writings such as letters and diaries could have provided fascinating insights into the experiences and perhaps private opinions of conductors, critics, politicians, and listeners, the function of these sources was not for public eyes. While these sources may serve to interpret events, therefore, they could not form stimuli for further events and ideas. Published writings, on the other hand, engage dialectically with events and ideas, generate responses, have the potential to influence popular thinking, and above all were written with the intention of a public readership and thus are more likely to contain ideas that were either deliberately polemical or largely agreeable to their Viennese readers.

Each chapter focuses on a topic which is pertinent to existing disjunct narratives across this period. Chapter 1 provides a quantitative overview of the Viennese performance history of

⁵ Ibid.

Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler symphonies in the repertoires of the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphony orchestras. Although this chapter does not address any distinct reception narrative, it is fundamental in facilitating the subsequent chapters. Chapter 2 considers the use of Brahms's music for Austrian identity-formation after the First World War, Viennese tourism and modernisation initiatives, as well as his adoption by Austrian Socialism as fundamental stimuli underpinning the tendency to view Brahms as an increasingly progressive composer. Chapter 3 considers the neglected trajectory of Mahler reception, which is often left to fall into the abyss under the assumption that his popularity tracked a steady decline from his death until the censorship of his music under the Third Reich. This chapter challenges the pervasive 'Mahler myth' by attempting to understand the popularity of Mahler's music in Vienna and the extent to which antisemitism has been over-emphasised in narratives about Mahler's reception between 1911 and 1938. Chapter 4 investigates the discourse on musical form in Bruckner reception to understand which critics and commentators instigated his changed reception from formlessness to formality. Discourse surrounding the *Gesamtausgabe* project and the appropriation of Bruckner for Austrian propaganda are considered as possible sources of this development.

The focus on the *symphonic* reception of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler stems not just from scholarly myths about their symphonic reception, but also from a historical phenomenon: Viennese critics and commentators during the period of this study tended to group those three composers together as an era of symphonic composers and often as the last successors to Beethoven. Moreover, the public nature of the symphony and its perceived utility in concepts such as *Bildung* and social uplift make it a particularly suitable genre for investigating social politics. Focussing exclusively on the numbered symphonies (discounting Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*) serves to eliminate complications arising from the need to discuss genres and their perceived status (including questions of public vs private or, in the case of Mahler, the

differences between symphony and song cycle), but also enables the scope of the project to remain manageable with regard to the frequency of performances and volume of necessary sources. This focus also affords a degree of consistency across the three composers, which facilitates their comparison.

It is worth acknowledging from the beginning some of the dangers and limitations of undertaking a reception history. By nature of its basis in historical writing, it is possible that some of the ideas discussed in the pages of these newspapers have since become outdated, corrected, or proven to be untrue. Further, the language and ideas surrounding topics such as religion, race, and nationality might feel uncomfortable for scholars and readers alike. Constructing my project around the newspaper reception of the early twentieth century therefore leaves my work potentially vulnerable to these discomforts. However, this literature is imperative for understanding how people (particularly the intelligentsia and bourgeoisie – identified as the ‘levers of musical life’ around 1900 by Wyn Jones) thought about and interacted with these works; how and why these composers remained relevant; and how consciousness of world events during this period affected Viennese music culture.⁶ The purpose of this project is to document what people thought about these composers, regardless of whether those opinions were accurate or compatible with the ideas that we hold now.

In the interest of integrity and fairness to my sources, I have chosen not to censor or alter any aspect of the newspaper coverage on the grounds of present-day ideas about politically acceptable terminology and ideas. Sources and quotations have been chosen based on their relevance to the central theme of each chapter, and translations have been made to represent the original as accurately as possible (retaining the original German where necessary). So as to avoid (or at least account for) selection biases, I have made every effort to represent both sides of each ideological perspective from across the political spectrum, insofar as this is possible. It

⁶ Wyn Jones, *Music in Vienna*: 5.

is necessary for these arguments to be accounted for in my re-evaluation of this reception history, even if they present discomforts to our modern sensibilities and preferences.

One of the primary objectives for this project is to illuminate stories about Austrian history that emphasise Austria's autonomy as a nation state. The elision of Austria and Germany between 1938 and 1945 has created many problems for the ways in which Austrian history is told. This is, in part, a response to the atrocious acts committed during the Second World War and the ways in which they have generated painful feelings of implicitness for Austrians, leading to a preference to overlook certain periods in their history. Ideas of Austria as the first victim of Nazism have also been generated as a means of sparing Austrians from having to be held accountable for this history. The period of Austro-fascism has typically been viewed as the younger brother of Nazism as if Austria were under some degree of German influence before 1938, rather than a political movement in its own right. In contrast to many of these retrospective approaches to Austrian history, in which Austria largely disappears under the shadow of Germany, this project focusses exclusively on Vienna so as to continually reinforce the fact that Austria was the head of a powerful European empire until 1918; was its own independent nation state from 1918 until 1938; and even between 1938 and 1945 Austria (specifically Vienna) was not always subjected to all of the same restrictions as those enforced in Germany.⁷ This thesis is therefore a story about Austrian autonomy, as well as a cultural foray into three musical legacies in Vienna.

⁷ For the differences between the Vienna Philharmonic and the Berlin Philharmonic, for example, see Fritz Trümpi, *The Political Orchestra: The Vienna and Berlin Philharmonics during the Third Reich*, trans. Kenneth Kronenberg (University of Chicago Press, 2016).

Chapter 1. Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler in the Repertoires of the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras

On 20 June 1933, an article in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* declared: ‘The Vienna Symphony Orchestra is politicised’.⁸ The author of this article was referring to the orchestra’s recent deal with the radio company RAVAG,⁹ which has been characterised by Manfred Permoser as ‘the prelude to increasing politicisation’.¹⁰ The significance of this *Arbeiter Zeitung* statement is not so much that it draws attention to the political developments of the 1930s and their impact upon the musical world, but that it suggests the Vienna Symphony Orchestra up until that point had been somehow ‘non-political’.

This chapter investigates how the symphonies of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler were politicised across the whole period of 1911 to 1945. To perform these symphonies was to programme symphonic politics.¹¹ And in that repertorial sense, as well as the organisational sense referred to by the author of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* article, the orchestra and its conductors were vessels for politics. To assess these programming practices, against the backdrop of a politically turbulent Vienna that saw the end of the Habsburg Empire, two world wars, an intervening republic, and the rise of fascism, I have constructed a performing history of the

⁸ ‘Symphony Orchestra deal with RAVAG’, *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 20 June 1933. ‘Das Wiener Symphonie-Orchester wird politisiert’.

⁹ (*Radio-Verkehrs-Aktiengesellschaft*). The article is un-signed, with no indication of the identity of the author. It is possible that the author was David Josef Bach who had been hired as the music critic of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* in 1904 and became editor in chief of the literature and art section of the newspaper in 1917.

¹⁰ Manfred Permoser, *Die Wiener Symphoniker im NS-Staat* (Peter Lang, 2000): 17. ‘der Auftakt zunehmender Politisierung’.

¹¹ ‘Der Städtische Musikbeauftragte kann Werke, die seines Erachtens nicht auf den Spielplan gehören, bemängeln. Einigt er sich mit dem Konzertveranstalter nicht, so ist der Ausschuß für Programmberatung bei der Reichsmusikkammer anzurufen. Die Entscheidungen dieses Ausschusses sind endgültig und nach ausdrücklicher Anweisung des Reichsministers für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda für alle Stellen bindend’ (‘The Municipal Music Commissioner may find fault with works which, in his opinion, do not belong on the programme. If he does not come to an agreement with the concert organiser, the Committee for Programme Consultation at the Reich Chamber of Music is to be called upon. The decisions of this committee are final and, according to the explicit instructions of the Reich Minister for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, binding for all authorities’). Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer, Bundesarchiv, BArch R 56–11/16, Bd.1, No.41 (5 December 1934): 139. Philipp Stein, ‘Das Wiener Konzerthaus 1930–1945’ (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2013): 86.

Vienna Symphony and Vienna Philharmonic orchestras (the city's most prominent concert orchestras) which details the symphonies of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler in their repertoires.

Each of these composers were appropriated by supporters of various political positions. While advocates of Bruckner tended towards the Right (such as Goebbels, at the extreme),¹² and advocates of Mahler tended towards the Left (such as the critic David Josef Bach),¹³ Brahms simultaneously seems to have inhabited a Liberal sphere and a supposedly 'apolitical' sphere (exemplified in essays by Paul Bekker and Wilhelm Furtwängler).¹⁴ This division is not a result of the composers themselves, but of the politically orientated camps of advocates (including conductors, critics, musicologists, and politicians) which gathered around each compositional figurehead.

This chapter interprets the performance histories of these two orchestras against this politically influenced backdrop of advocational circles, viewing the conductors as agents of musical and more or less political positions. I will address three facets of this performing history: the representation of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler; the organisation of the two

¹² An obvious example is Joseph Goebbels, who gave a speech in 1937 during which he described Bruckner as 'unequivocally the most vivid and strong representative of the survival of our best musical traditions.' 'Joseph Goebbels' Bruckner Speech at Ravensburg', abruckner, https://www.abruckner.com/editorsnote/features/bruckner_third_reich/Ravensburg/. Nicholas Atfield refers to the 'Bruckner Cult' including Robert Haas, among others, who were later implicated in National Socialism and Right-wing activism. Nicholas Atfield, *Challenging the Modern: Conservative Revolution in German Music 1918–33* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹³ David Josef Bach (13 August 1874–30 January 1947) was music critic of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* from 1904 and famous for his socialist politics which was met with hostility from Right-wing groups who denounced his artistic programme as a 'Jewish conspiracy'. He was a supporter of Mahler as well as the contemporary music of composers such as Schoenberg and Webern. In 1919, with the rise to power of the Social Democratic Party, Bach became, politically, highly influential. He also developed a close friendship with Anton Webern who was one of the leading conductors of Mahler's symphonies. Bach instituted the *Arbeiter Symphonie Konzerte* and organised the Vienna Music Festival Weeks. Victor Adler, leader of the labour movement and founder of the Social Democratic Party of Austria, was a member of Mahler's student group the Pernerstorfer Circle. 'Victor Adler (1852–1918)', Mahler Foundation, <https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/contemporaries/victor-adler/>. Deborah Holmes, 'The Feuilleton of the Viennese "Arbeiter Zeitung" 1918–1938: Production Parameters and Personality Problems', *Austrian Studies* 14, Culture and Politics in Red Vienna (2006).

¹⁴ Daniel Beller McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit* (Harvard University Press, 2004): 185–197; Wilhelm Furtwängler, 'Brahms und die Krise unserer Zeit: 1934', *Ton und Wort* (1955). Paul Bekker, 'Brahms', *Anbruch* 15 No.4/5 (1933). Brahms' association with Eduard Hanslick and *fin-de-siècle* Liberalism is thought to be responsible for an idea circulated in later National Socialist circles that his name might have been an abbreviation of the Jewish Abraham. Ulrike Petersen, 'The Era of National Socialism', in *Brahms in Context*, eds Natasha Loges and Katy Hamilton (Cambridge University Press, 2019).

orchestras and their performance practices; and the role of conductors. These three facets of Viennese performance history will form the bedrock for the remaining chapters, which delve into the reception of each composer.

Overall Trends: Brahms, Bruckner, Mahler

My performing history has been constructed from five sources: the online archives of the two orchestras, the Vienna Musikverein and Konzerthaus, and the microfilm collection of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.¹⁵ My study focuses exclusively on the symphonies of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler which were performed in Vienna by these orchestras between 1911 and 1945. Performances given by visiting orchestras, or by Viennese orchestras on tour, have not been included in the study; neither has Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*. Appendix 1 shows the full database of performances.¹⁶ The resulting performance history is presented in Figures 1 and 2. In total, these graphs represent 1,384 performances, organised by composer per year. Bruckner's symphonies were performed 643 times, forming 46.46% of the corpus. In comparison, Brahms's symphonies were performed 459 times (forming 33.16%), and Mahler's symphonies 282 times (forming 20.38%).

¹⁵ I am extremely grateful to Ilse Kosz and Ingrid Leis at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Erwin Barta at the Wiener Konzerthaus, Silvia Kargl at the Historisches Archiv der Wiener Philharmoniker, and Ulrike Grandke at the Archiv der Wiener Symphoniker for allowing me access to the sources in their archives and for their support during my visits and correspondence.

¹⁶ Appendix 1 can be found in a PDF format on page 260, or in a more functional format in the associated excel file.

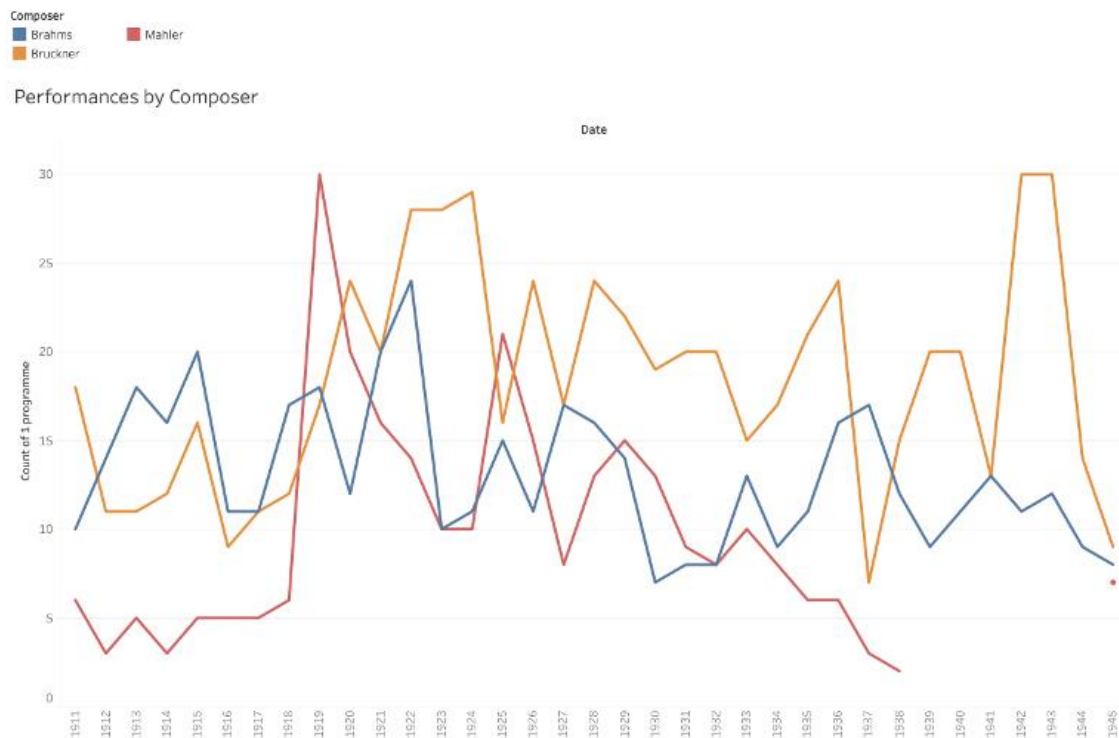


Figure 1: Performances by Composer per year

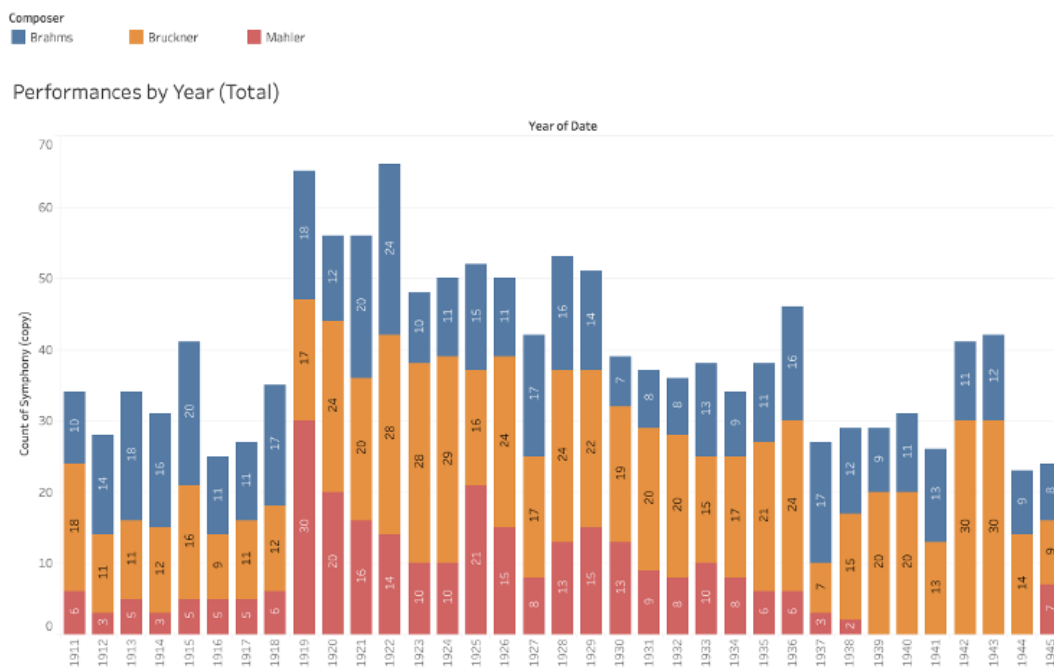


Figure 2: Performances by composer per year

What is perhaps surprising is not that Bruckner was performed more often than Brahms and Mahler, but that the three composers are relatively evenly represented, particularly between 1918 and 1927. Bruckner's symphonies were clearly performed more than the other two in most years; 1919 and 1925, however, saw Mahler performed most, while 1912–1918, and 1937, saw Brahms most frequently performed. Evidently, there was no all-encompassing sweep (either political or musical) that took up Bruckner's symphonies at the expense of Brahms and Mahler. There is, however, a caveat to this broad characterisation. Mahler's symphonies disappeared from Viennese concert halls in 1938, only to reappear in 1945. This was a result of the ban on his music, which was part of a larger 'Aryanisation' project imported to Austria following the *Anschluss*.¹⁷ With the liberation of Vienna in April 1945, however, Mahler's music bounced back with 7 performances taking place that year.

Despite the prevailing misconception about the decline of Mahler's music after his death, which Sybille Werner has emphatically corrected and whose conclusion is supported by my performance history, the 1920s were in fact a golden age for Mahler's symphonies.¹⁸ 1919 saw Mahler performances increase from an average of 5 to 30 performances a year.¹⁹ Not only did his symphonies hold their position in the repertoire, they increased it. Between 1919 and 1930, Mahler's symphonies were performed with much the same frequency as those of Bruckner and Brahms. It was not until 1935 that Mahler's symphonies dropped down again to pre-1919 performance levels, as the influence of antisemitism became more pronounced and the prohibition on *Entartete Musik* came into effect in Germany. 1945 saw his symphonies

¹⁷ In 1938 National Socialist propaganda sought to identify those 'foreign' musics which were degrading German art under the exhibition title 'Entartete Musik'. Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (St. Martin's Press, 1994): 82–123.

¹⁸ Sybille Werner, 'The Popularity of Mahler's Music in Vienna between 1911 and 1938' in *Naturlauf: Scholarly Journeys Toward Gustav Mahler – Essays in Honour of Henry-Louis de la Grange for his 90th Birthday*, eds Paul-André Bempéchat and Henry-Louis de la Grange (Peter Lang, 2015): 553–572.

¹⁹ This average is calculated based on the period 1911–1918.

recover to this pre-1919 level; but even today (according to Werner), Mahler's performance levels still do not match those of the 1920s.

The distribution of performances by each composer, in relation to the overall size of that year's symphonic corpus, indicates that the 1920s were not only the heyday of Mahler performance. Bruckner's symphonies also found an increased frequency in this period while Brahms's levels remained similar to the preceding decade. As a whole, the performance of these symphonists skyrocketed in 1919 and then remained high throughout the 1920s, gradually reducing throughout the 1930s. Even Bruckner's symphonies, which were taken up as a political symbol by National Socialism, only reached their 1920s performance frequency in 1942–43. Other than this two-year surge in Bruckner performances, which might be considered a result of the so-called '*Bruckner streit*' surrounding the ongoing *Gesamtausgabe* project, the 1930s and 1940s could not match his 1920s levels.

Despite the economic difficulties of the interwar period, which were even more keenly felt in the Austrian Republic than they were in Weimar Germany, Viennese concert life was booming.²⁰ Out of an Empire that had failed to keep pace with modernity, the Austrian Republic and specifically the Municipality of Vienna strove to modernise itself by establishing Vienna as a city of culture to stimulate tourism.²¹ This surge in performances during the 1920s, was therefore a politically motivated programme, which aimed to put Vienna back on the map (as it were) of the international economy.

Historian Steven Beller has argued that 'much of what made Vienna 1900 famous was actually the product of the interwar period', implying that the cultural prestige of the *fin-de-siècle* was an *ex post facto* construction.²² If Beller is correct, then the increased cultural

²⁰ See, for example, Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday: Memoirs of a European*, trans. Anthea Bell (Pushkin Press, 2009); Peter Berger, 'Wealth, Poverty and Institutions in the Habsburg Empire's Successor States (1918–1929)', in *From Empire to Republic: Post-World War I Austria*, eds Günter Bischof, Fritz Plasser, and Peter Berger (University of New Orleans Press, 2010): 370–407.

²¹ Stein, 'Das Wiener Konzerthaus': 53.

²² Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge University Press, 2007): 212–213.

imperative of the 1920s is crucially important to the ways in which we understand the vibrancy of the turn of the century as well as the increasing nationalisation placed on culture with the rise of fascism. This period of self-fashioning identifies a moment in which the essence of 'Austria' was in crisis, finding refuge in its cultural heritage. It is unsurprising, then, that this period resulted in the highest performance statistics of the study. The concerted effort to establish Vienna as a city of culture (and specifically a city of music) resulted in considerable representation of all three composers – but especially Bruckner and Mahler.²³

Although it is statistically unclear whether Brahms's music was also swept up in this cultural project, I will argue in Chapter 2 that his music was included. Precisely why Brahms's performance frequency did not increase to the same extent that Bruckner's and Mahler's did is unclear. Perhaps it was because he only wrote four symphonies, while Bruckner wrote nine and Mahler wrote ten. Perhaps it was because the institutions who chose to perform these composers had limited capacity to schedule performances. Or perhaps it was because Brahms had entered into the Viennese canon more readily than Bruckner and Mahler and therefore held a position of perceived stability which mitigated the need for frequent reinforcement in the concert halls. Although the performances of Brahms's music did not increase significantly after the First World War, the number of performances from across the whole corpus did. The increase in Bruckner and Mahler performances in this period might be attributed to the political imperative of fashioning an Austrian identity by establishing Vienna as a city of culture and even if Brahms's statistics do not directly correlate to this increase, it is possible that the perceived significance of his music was still transformed by this cultural project.

²³ Christian Glanz, 'David Josef Bach and the Viennese Debates on Modern Music', *Austrian Studies* 14, Culture and Politics in Red Vienna (2006): 195; Monika Sommer, 'Imaging Vienne – Das Surplus von Wien: Stadterzählungen zwischen Ikonisierung und Pluralisierung', in *Imaging Vienna: Innensichten, Außensichten, Stadterzählungen*, eds Monika Sommer, Marcus Gräser, and Ursula Prutsch (Verlag Turia & Kant, 2006)

Orchestras

My second topic is the role that the two orchestras performed in this history. Figure 3 shows the number of performances given by each orchestra per year. The Symphony Orchestra clearly performed considerably more concerts than the Philharmonic, particularly during the cultural boom in the 1920s. Between 1944 and 1945, however, the Philharmonic significantly out-performed the Symphonic. This change indicates the cultural importance of the Philharmonic, which was the only orchestra in Austria not to be shut down by the ‘Total War Deployment of Cultural Workers’ announced on 1 September 1944.²⁴

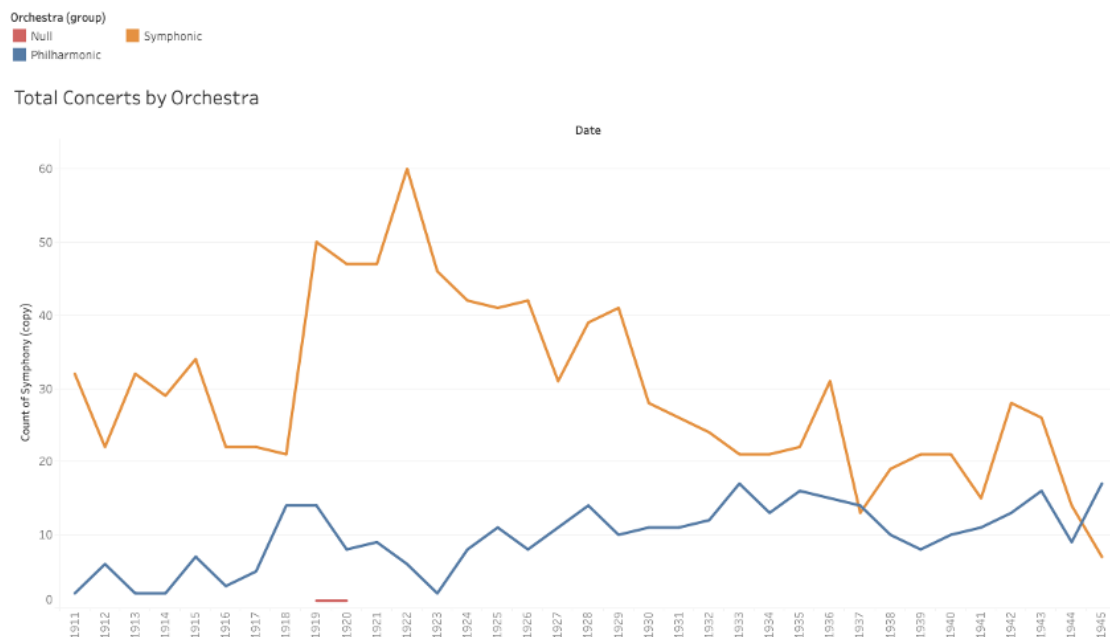


Figure 3: Performances by Orchestra per year

The distribution of performances by composer across the two orchestras (Figures 4–6) reveals that the Philharmonic had a slight preference for the symphonies of Brahms, but their

²⁴ A closure order of 1 September 1944 exists in the Vienna City and Provincial Archives for the Wiener Symphoniker and the Vienna Opera House (Volksooper). The Konzerthaus does not appear to have been issued any such order. Stein, *Das Wiener Konzerthaus*: 134. My performance history further illustrates that, in addition to the Konzerthaus, the Philharmonic and the Musikverein also remained open.

lower overall performance frequency results in rather marginal annual differences. The Symphonic Orchestra, on the other hand, had a distinct preference for the symphonies of Bruckner, and were clearly responsible for the increase in Mahler performances during the 1920s.

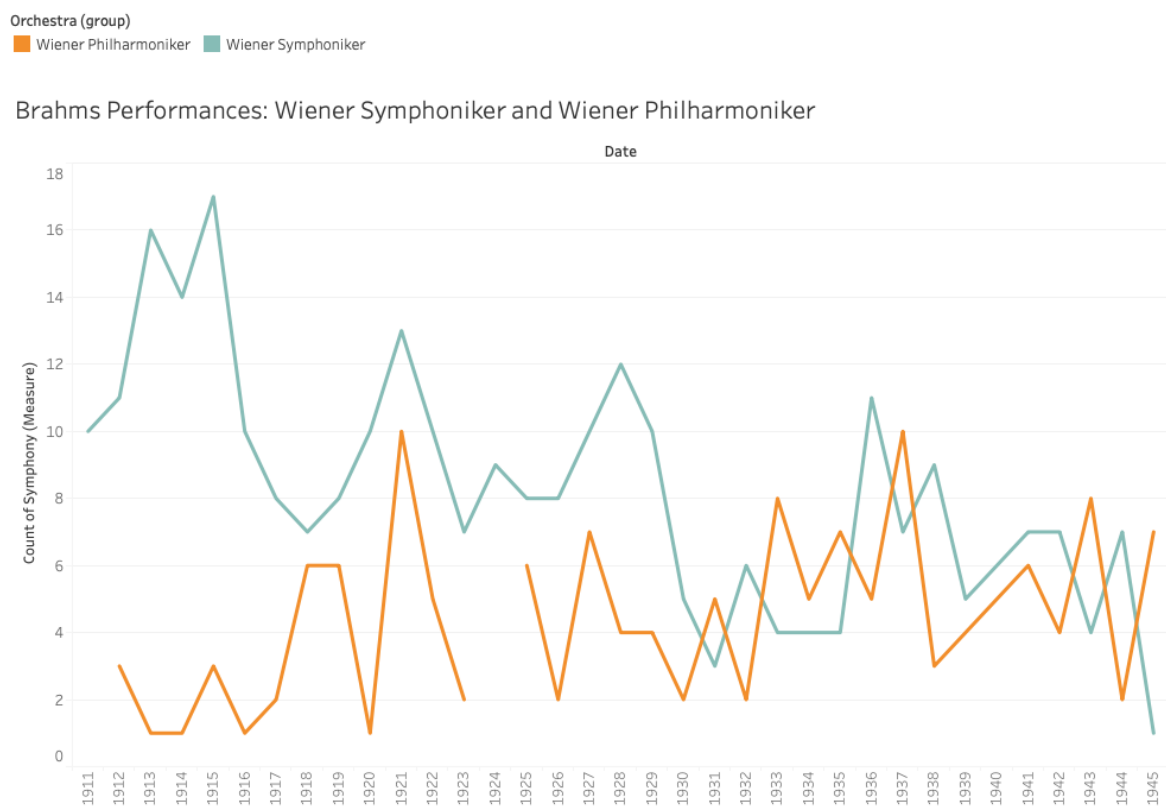


Figure 4: Brahms Performances by Orchestra

Orchestra (group)
 Wiener Philharmoniker Wiener Symphoniker

Bruckner Performances: Wiener Symphoniker and Wiener Philharmoniker

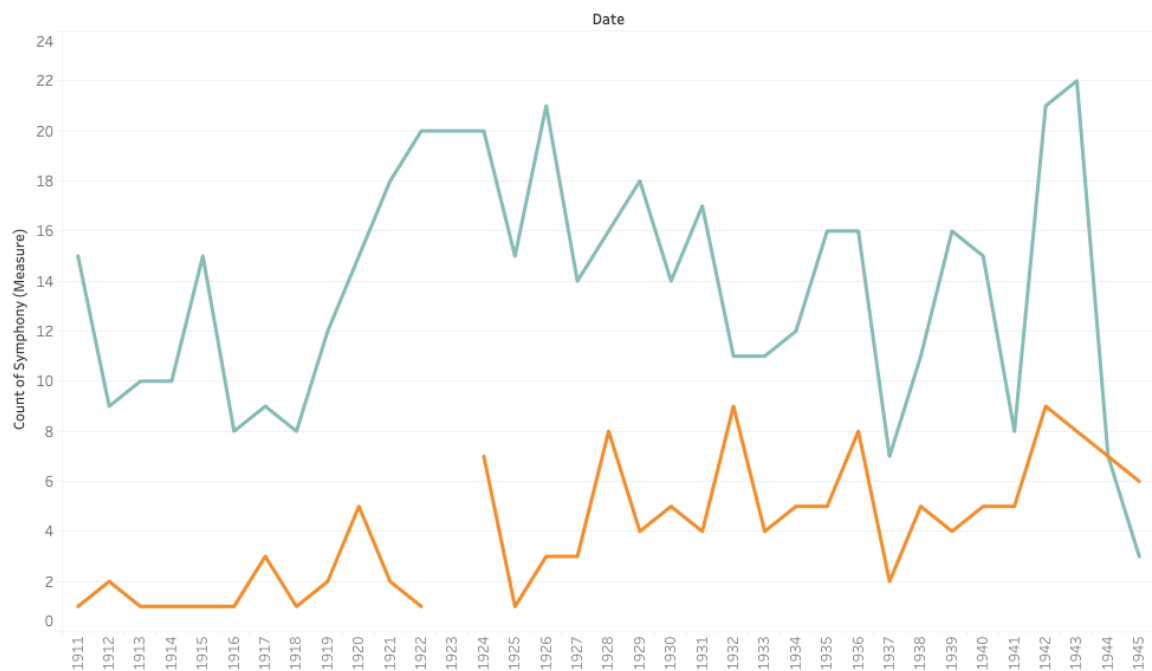


Figure 5: Bruckner Performances by Orchestra

Orchestra (group)
 Wiener Philharmoniker Wiener Symphoniker

Mahler Performances: Wiener Symphoniker and Wiener Philharmoniker

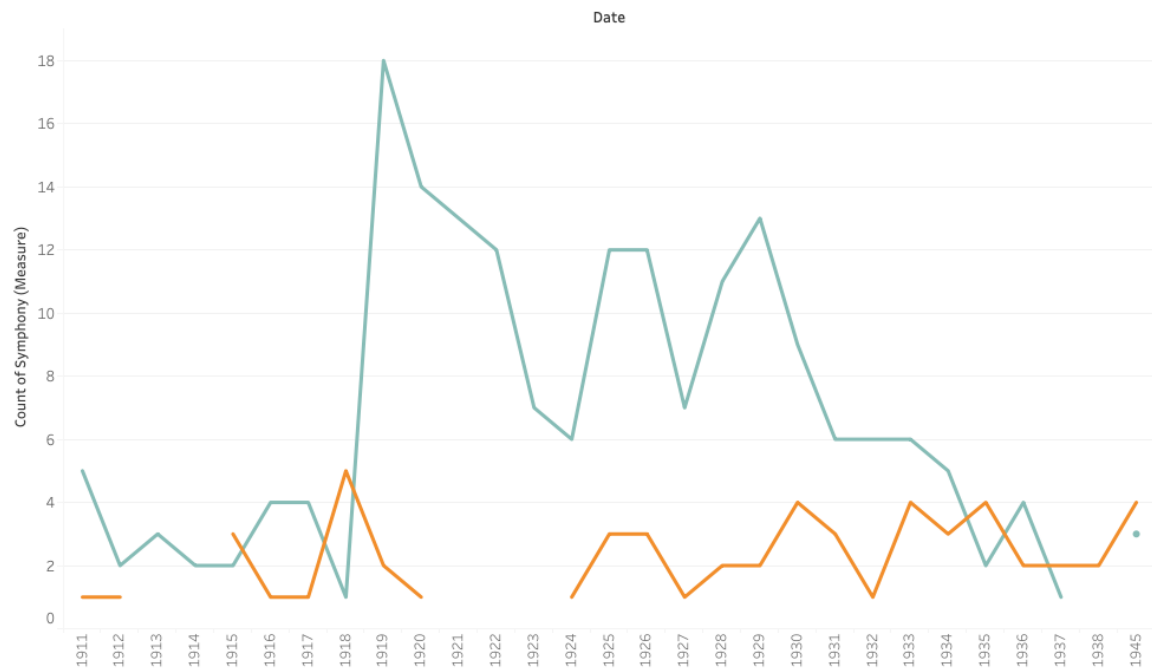


Figure 6: Mahler Performances by Orchestra

Comparing the two orchestras highlights the aesthetic and perhaps also political implications of their performance practices. The Philharmonic Orchestra performed 199 programmes, while the Symphonic Orchestra performed 805. Some concerts, although not many, were performed by both orchestras together.²⁵ There are a few obvious reasons why the Symphonic Orchestra performed this greater range of programmes, but none of them explain this detail completely. Unlike the Philharmonic, which was founded in 1842, the Symphonic Orchestra was only founded in 1900 and went through various organisational changes up until the 1930s. The Wiener Concertverein was founded to ‘fulfill the long-held desire for a permanent symphony orchestra, which should make the enjoyment of serious symphonic music accessible to wider circles’.²⁶ The orchestra’s founding committee aimed to both cultivate the ‘classic-romantic repertoire’, which the Philharmonic also saw as their artistic mission, as well as the spirit of Viennese modernism and contemporary music, an area generally neglected by the Philharmonic.²⁷ The Viennese music critic Richard Batka wrote on 19 February 1915: ‘The history of the Wiener Konzertverein is also the history of reconciliation between conservative and progressive music Vienna’.²⁸ Considering the political implications of such terms as ‘conservative’ and ‘progressive’, alongside the fact that both Bruckner (with conservative proponents) and Mahler (with progressive ones) were strongly advocated for by the Symphonic orchestra, it could be inferred that Batka was characterising the orchestra as a vessel of multifarious political opinions.

In 1919 the Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester (founded in 1907) merged with the Concertverein, taking up the name Wiener Symphonie Orchester in 1921, before finally adopting the name Wiener Symphoniker in 1933. The changing of name and organisation, as

²⁵ These were often referred to as ‘monster concerts’ because of the size of the resulting orchestra.

²⁶ ‘Viennese Sound Since 1900: The History of the Wiener Symphoniker’, Wiener Symphoniker Webpages, <https://www.wienersymphoniker.at/historie>.

²⁷ ‘Viennese Sound Since 1900’

²⁸ Richard Batka, ‘Ferdinand Löwe – on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday’, *Fremden-Blatt*, 19 February 1915, cited in ‘Viennese Sound Since 1900’.

well as having two orchestras between 1907 and 1919, results in a greater capacity for political and programmatic change. As new directors and committee members joined the Orchestra, they would have brought with them various artistic and political opinions which Batka could have been referring to when he characterised this history as reconciliatory. His identification of this aspect of the Symphonic Orchestra's history, suggests that such political variation did not occur to the same extent in the Philharmonic.

While the Philharmonic had its residence at the Musikverein, the Symphonic Orchestra did not have its own concert hall. Nor did it promote its own concerts after about 1920. Compared to the relative control and autonomy enjoyed by the Philharmonic Orchestra, the Symphonic was essentially an orchestra for hire, which was in the various hands of the venues and promoters that called upon its services, such as the Konzerthaus, Musikverein, or RAVAG. As well as this melting pot of artistic opinions, an additional consequence of the Symphonic Orchestra's status was that it performed far more frequently than the Philharmonic. Of the total 1,384 performances, the Symphonic Orchestra performed the majority share of 1,037 concerts. The Philharmonic performed only 345. The Symphonic Orchestra therefore performed approximately three times as many concerts as the Philharmonic.

The result is that the programming practices of the Symphonic Orchestra were more prone to political influences from Viennese society than were the Philharmonic's. That is not to suggest that the Philharmonic somehow remained above politics; but rather, that political influences were felt differently in the two orchestras. While the Philharmonic may have drawn audiences on account of the Orchestra's reputation, the Symphonic had to rely upon successful programming, thereby suggesting that their repertoire was by necessity a reflection of Viennese cultural politics and taste.²⁹ The wide variety of their programmes, the economic imperatives

²⁹ See Stein on the Konzerthausgesellschaft: 'economic considerations were often in the foreground when designing programmes, so that cost-intensive events with low income possibilities were replaced by better-selling, cheaper programmes'. Stein, 'Das Wiener Konzerthaus': 148.

that drove them, and the ‘for hire’ nature of the Symphonic Orchestra, contrasted with the relative autonomy of the Philharmonic and suggests that there may have been less institutional bureaucracy standing between the cultural politics of Viennese society and the construction of the Symphonic Orchestra’s programmes.

Conductors

Erwin Mittag, writing about the Philharmonic conductors, stated that the programmes were those of the conductors, suggesting that the conductor usually retained majority control of the programming.³⁰ There is further evidence from the committee meetings that, in the case of Franz Schalk, this practice was also the case for non-subscription events. The minutes of the Philharmonic committee meetings disclose correspondence between the conductors and the committee, pertaining to the programming of the subscription series.³¹ Typically, the conductor would propose a programme which the committee would then either accept or send back a counter proposal. The majority of programmes were accepted with only a few items changed each season.³² The real actors of my history, therefore, are not the composers at all but the conductors who brought their music to life in this twentieth-century context.

In relation to the Symphonic Orchestra, the minutes of a director meeting for the Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft refer to the ‘programme proposal of Director Reichwein’ for the 1932/33 season.³³ It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that the Symphonic Orchestra’s

³⁰ This was the case even after the Orchestra disbanded its practice of having a chief subscription conductor.

³¹ Minutes of the Committee Meetings of the Philharmonic Orchestra, 20 January 1911–11 December 1945. *Historisches Archiv der Wiener Philharmoniker*.

³² Over the course of 11 seasons for which there is conductor correspondence, there are an average of 9 items added to the programmes that were not on the original proposal from the conductor. Correspondence for seasons 1911/12, 1912/13, 1913/14, 1914/15, 1915/16, 1916/17, 1917/18, 1918/19, 1919/20, 1925/26, 1928/29.

³³ 10 May 1932. Stein, ‘Das Wiener Konzerthaus’: 24. ‘Für die Saison 1932/1933 wurde die Idee des thematischen Orchesterzyklus, die sich im Vorjahr mit dem ‚Beethoven-Zyklus‘ sehr bewährt hatte, wieder aufgegriffen. Auf Vorschlag des Konzertdirektors Reichwein wurden in den sieben Konzerten vier große Werke von Johannes Brahms und vier Sinfonien von Anton Bruckner aufgeführt.’ (For the 1932/1933 season, the idea of the thematic orchestral cycle, which had proved very successful the previous year with the ‘Beethoven cycle’, was taken up again. At the suggestion of concert director Reichwein, four major works by Johannes Brahms and four symphonies by Anton Bruckner were performed in the seven concerts.)

programmes were also a result of conductor-promoter correspondence, similar to the Philharmonic.

On these grounds, the conductors can be held responsible for their programmes. Figure 7 shows the most prolific conductors in this study. The top five conductors overall were Anton Konrath, Leopold Reichwein, Ferdinand Löwe, Wilhelm Furtwängler, and Franz Schalk, each of whom performed symphonies by all three composers; but Konrath aside, there is a prevailing preference for the symphonies of Bruckner.

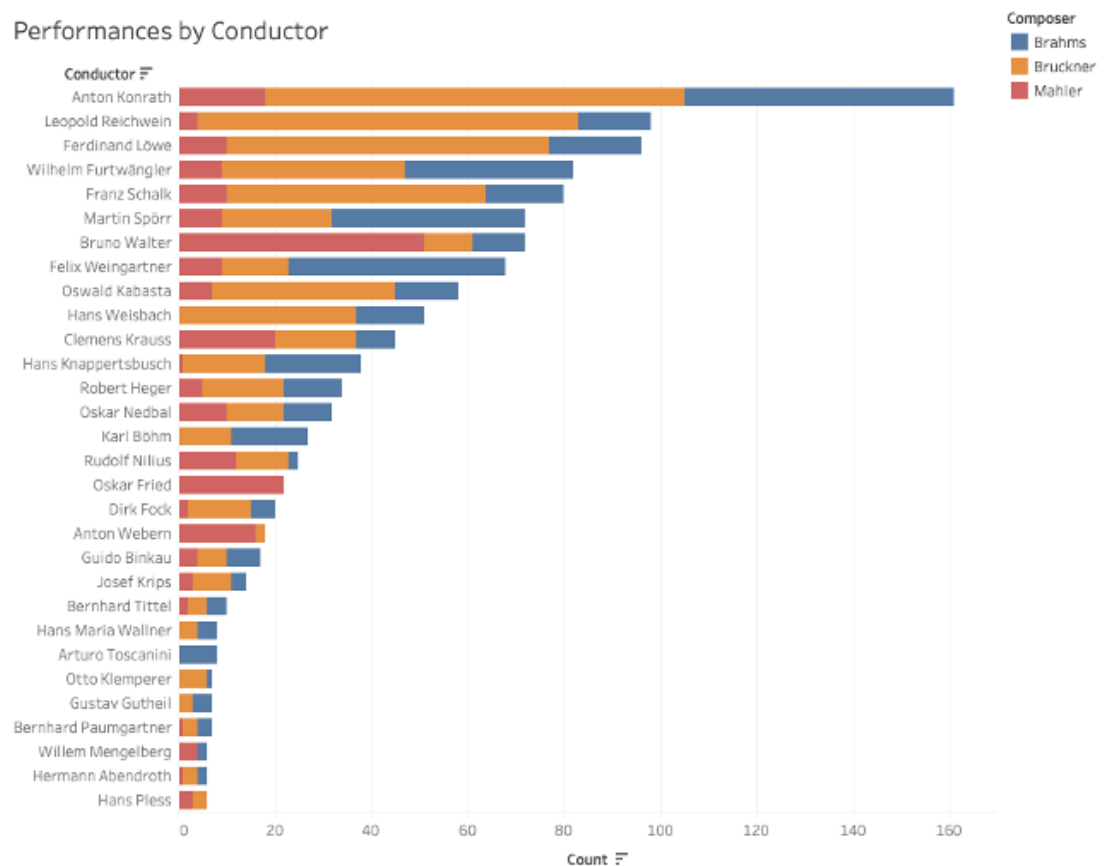


Figure 7: Performances by composer per conductor

Figure 8 shows the most frequent conductors for each composer. Anton Konrath is amongst the top five for all three, while Wilhelm Furtwängler is among the top five for Brahms and Bruckner. Leopold Reichwein, Ferdinand Löwe, Franz Schalk, and Oswald Kabasta are the

remaining Bruckner advocates. Felix Weingartner, Martin Spörr, and Hans Knappertsbusch are the remaining Brahms advocates. While Bruno Walter, Oskar Fried, Clemens Krauss, and Anton Webern form the remaining Mahler advocates.

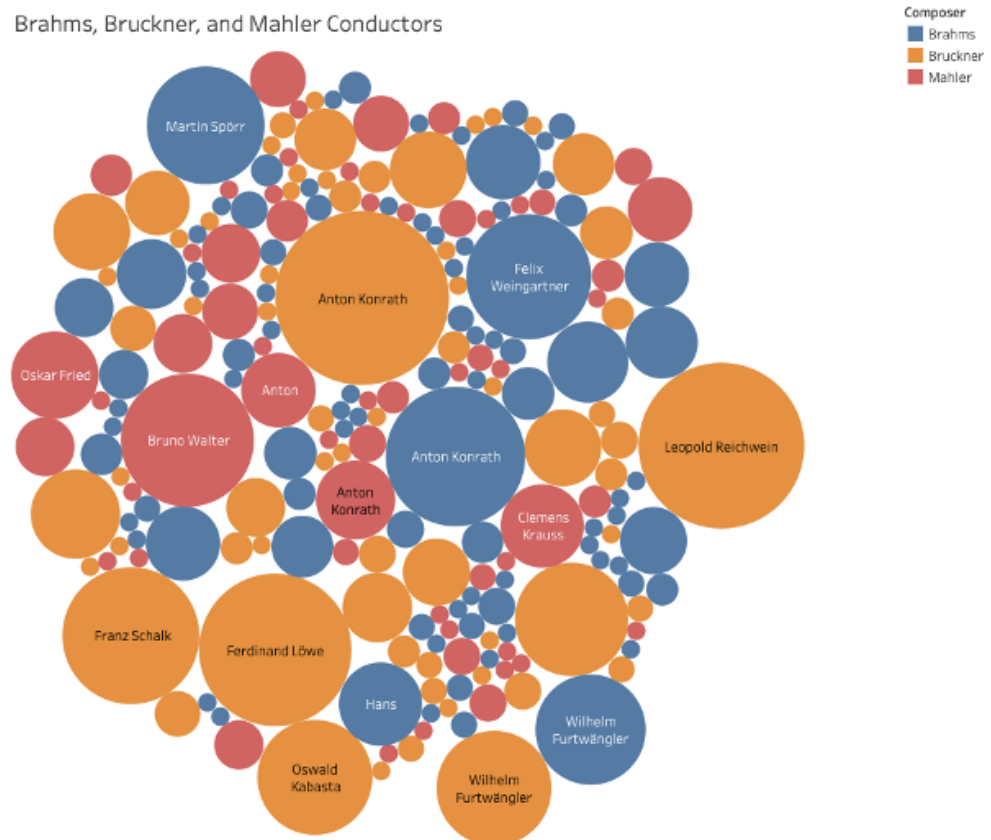


Figure 8: Most prolific conductors per composer

Aside from Konrath and Furtwängler, then, there are three distinct camps of conductors advocating for each composer. In some cases, it is possible to infer reasons for these connections: Walter was Mahler's assistant and friend; while Löwe and Schalk were Bruckner's students. Political correspondence to programmatic preferences can only be interpreted as correlative, but those conductors grouped by both composer and political orientation create an evidence base for such correlations.

Of the Bruckner conductors, Reichwein, Furtwängler, and Kabasta were all implicated in National Socialism.³⁴ Indeed, Reichwein's ardent support of the banned NSDAP during Austro-fascism turned his concerts into tremendous political rallies.³⁵ Of the Brahms conductors, Knappertsbusch refused to join the National Socialist Party and was frequently rude about the regime;³⁶ while Weingartner's political opinions are not known, and Spörr (who died in 1937) is a figure about whom very little is known.³⁷ Of the Mahler conductors, Walter and Fried were Jewish. Forced into exile during the *Anschluss*, Fried's decision to seek citizenship in the Soviet Union may indicate a personal predilection for the political Left.³⁸ Although Krauss seems to have been coerced by National Socialism towards the end of the regime, his previous political opinions are far from clear and his involvement in helping Jews escape the Third Reich came out in 1947 during denazification.³⁹ Webern (whose music was denounced by Nazism as 'cultural bolshevism') had come to prominence in the socialist era of Red Vienna, although his politics seemed to vary from being 'apolitical' or having 'left-wing ties' to associating Hitler with 'everything that was positive in Germany'.⁴⁰ The Bruckner conductors therefore seem to have a predominance of Right-wing political opinions; while the Mahler conductors seem to be grouped by association with those attributes ostracised by the

³⁴ There is abundant literature on Furtwängler for this reason. Roger Allen, *Wilhelm Furtwängler: Art and the Politics of the Unpolitical* (Boydell & Brewer, 2018); Alex Ross, 'The Disquieting Power of Wilhelm Furtwängler, Hitler's Court Conductor', *The New Yorker*, 2 May 2019. Further scholarship addresses Furtwängler, Knappertsbusch, and Krauss: Kater, *The Twisted Muse*. Kabasta was a member of the NSDAP who was so convinced by his political beliefs that he committed suicide during denazification.

³⁵ Stein, *Das Wiener Konzerthaus*, 147. His concerts developed into meeting places for the Austrian NSDAP.

³⁶ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*: 40–74.

³⁷ Most references to Spörr merely indicate his existence and the lack of information about him. His Wikipedia page and an article on the website 'Innsbruck erinnert sich', are the most detailed sources: 'Martin Spörr', Wikipedia, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Spörr; 'Martin Spörr – Komponist und Dirigent mit Innsbrucker Wurzeln', Innsbruck Erinnert sich, <https://innsbruck-erinnert.at/martin-spoerr-komponist-und-dirigent-mit-innsbrucker-wurzeln/>.

³⁸ Karen Painter asserts Fried's Left-wing politics, but does not evidence her assertion. Karen Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations: German Music and Politics, 1900–1945* (Harvard University Press, 2007): 163.

³⁹ Krauss was described by his friends as 'politically indifferent', but he nonetheless corresponded with Hitler suggesting some form of acceptability to the regime. See Kater, *The Twisted Muse*. Painter asserts Krauss's Right-wing politics, characterising him as 'a Nazi collaborator of the first rank'. Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*, 163.

⁴⁰ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*: 72. Julian Johnson, 'Anton Webern, the Social Democratic Kunststelle and Musical Modernism', *Austrian Studies*, 14 Culture and Politics in Red Vienna (2006): 197.

label *Entartete Musik*, namely Judaism and modernism – mixed with Left-wing opinions in some cases. The Brahms conductors, however, are hard to categorise by political orientation.

The Austrian self-fashioning of the 1920s were a golden age for Mahler performance, as they were too for Brahms and Bruckner. While the lower performance frequency of the Philharmonic Orchestra resulted in relatively small variation in the representation of these three composers, the prolific performing practices of the Symphonic Orchestra shaped the majority of Vienna's orchestral concert life and was mostly responsible for the high representation of Bruckner's symphonies and for the rapid increase in performances of Mahler's symphonies. The Symphonic Orchestra seems to represent the shifting cultural politics of the city better than the Philharmonic. The conductors, I have argued, are some of the most important actors in this history, who have organised themselves into advocational camps. The extent to which politics spilled out into every facet of Viennese life might suggest that to perform a symphony by Brahms, Bruckner, or Mahler, each of whom seemed to inhabit their own political sphere with their own camp of conductors, was to programme symphonic politics. The following chapters (2–4) expand upon the inferences and conclusions drawn in this chapter by delving separately into the realm of reception for each composer. Examining critical writing in the Viennese press will further enliven and explain the trends revealed by these performance statistics and, more importantly, sheds considerable insight into the role that Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler played in Viennese intellectual history.

Chapter 2. Tourism and Modernisation in Brahms Reception

‘There was rebellion, purely for the fun of rebelling against everything once accepted [...]. Every form of expression, of course including art, tried to be as radical and revolutionary as possible.’ Stefan Zweig⁴¹

Introduction

The interwar period in Vienna was racked with contradictions and inconsistencies. The experience and fallout of the First World War left the city battered and bruised and the sense of being stuck between periods was a common one for commentators. On 7 March 1927, Ernst Decsey wrote in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*: ‘The old time and the new, between which the artist lives today, relate to each other like the two grandfathers in Thomas Mann’s “Magic Mountain”’: the one ‘looks back into the irredeemable’, the other ‘looks ahead into the unredeemed’.⁴² Decsey also visualised his conception of 1920s culture as a landscape image: ‘there was daylight sunshine on the left, evening moonscape on the right.... This is how we live today: between sinking sun and rising moon...’.⁴³ In his memoirs Stefan Zweig also identified this disconnect by suggesting that ‘all the bridges are broken between today,

⁴¹ Stefan Zweig (28 November 1881–22 February 1942) was a Jewish writer particularly known for his *Feuilleton* writing and short stories. Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*: 323.

⁴² Ernst Decsey (13 April 1870–12 March 1942) was a critic for the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*. He also wrote a biography of Bruckner in 1919. Ernst Decsey, ‘Weingartner’s Farewell’, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 7 March 1927: 5. ‘Die alte Zeit und die neue, zwischen denen heute der Künstler lebt, stehen zu einander wie die zwei Großväter in Thomas Manns „Zauberberg“: der Hamburger Ratsherr geht im schwarzen Kostüm der Vorzeit, mit weißer Tellerkrause um den Hals, und der Mailänder Patriot geht mit in schwarzem Traueranzug, der eine, weil er ins Unwiderbringliche zurück-, der andre, weil er ins Unerlöste vorausblickt.’

⁴³ Decsey, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 7 March 1927: 5. ‘war links taghelle Sonnenstimmung, rechts abendliche Mondlandschaft... So leben wir heute: zwischen sinkender Sonne und aufgehendem Mond...’. An itemised list of primary source journal articles can be found in Appendix 2. For full reference details of short footnotes, Appendix 2 will be the most useful place to look.

yesterday and the day before yesterday’.⁴⁴ There was a desire to escape this present, which manifested in two cognitive directions of travel: the first, inwards, turning away from the world and instead looking for something inherent to Viennese people and their city; the second, outwards, looking to repair relationships with Austria’s neighbouring countries, the United Kingdom, and America to demonstrate Vienna’s continued legitimacy as a world city. While neither of these two directions, in theoretical construction, require a temporal directionality, the crisis response experienced by Vienna (as is typical of crisis responses in general) provoked a great desire to escape the present, either by reflecting back to a lost era, or by driving forwards to a better future.⁴⁵ The inward turn manifested in the desire to (re-)establish an Austrian identity and often looked backwards in search of something to which this identity could be fixed; the outward turn was often more forward looking and strove to implement and develop tourism infrastructures, hoping simultaneously to draw in economic capital to rebuild the Austrian economy and to demonstrate the continued life, value, and viability of Vienna after the War.

The need to look forwards and backwards, inwards and outwards, searching for and implementing complementary and contradictory cultural imperatives was highly significant for the ways in which individual composers and their music were adopted, utilised, and in some cases commodified after the First World War. Looking backwards, the symphonic genre and favoured composers such as Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms served to connect the new Austria with the old values and beliefs upon which national identities are usually formed. Looking forwards, initiatives of tourism and commercialism sought to propel Austria into a future in which their proud cultural prestige could demonstrate the vitality of Vienna as a world city and

⁴⁴ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*: 19.

⁴⁵ This response to crisis is also, in many ways, a mode of modernity and of time consciousness which is not specific to post-1918 Austria. The need to escape the present has emerged repeatedly throughout history and not only in Austria.

strengthen the Austrian economy by becoming a sought-after commodity.⁴⁶ The various interpretations and symbolic representations afforded to Brahms and his music in this period, which form the substance of this chapter, demonstrate how the post-war crisis of direction triggered a frenzy of adopting and re-interpreting pre-existing cultural symbols for varied and often contradictory political and social ambitions, but also for more deeply human requirements such as identity formation, collective remembering, and community (re-)building.⁴⁷ At times the various sections of this chapter will map neatly onto the inward-outward, forward-backward directions of travel, but these escape routes also became entangled or worked dialectically within certain topics.

In this chapter, the commercial potential and spiritual significance of Brahms's symphonies, resulting from these crisis responses, is investigated in its unapologetically multifaceted and sometimes contradictory nature. Firstly, I will investigate the perceived importance of the relationship between music and inwardness during and immediately after the First World War. Secondly, I will explore the pan-Germanist rhetoric in his music's newspaper reception as indicative of Austria's relationship with Germany in the formation of an Austrian identity. Both of these sections foreground ideas related to identity formation, re-formation, and

⁴⁶ See Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Mertin Reisigl, Ruth Rodger, and Karin Liebhart, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (Edinburgh University Press, 2012). See also Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit (eds), *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe* (Berghahn, 2004); Paul Miller, "'The First Victim of the First World War' Franz Ferdinand in Austrian Memory", in *Embers of Empire: Continuity and Rupture in the Habsburg Successor States after 1918*, eds Paul Miller and Claire Morelon (Berghahn, 2018): 284–317; Christian Karner, *Nationalism Revisited: Austrian Social Closure from Romanticism to the Digital Age* (Berghahn, 2019).

⁴⁷ See Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (eds), *Music and German National Identity* (University of Chicago Press, 2002); Judson and Rozenblit (eds), *Constructing Nationalities*; Karner, *Nationalism Revisited*; Paul Miller and Claire Morelon (eds), *Embers of Empire: Continuity and Rupture in the Habsburg Successor States after 1918* (Berghahn, 2018); Aviel Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires: Central Europe, Russia, and the Middle East, 1914–1923* (Routledge, 2001); Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, Roger, and Liebhart, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*; James H. Liu, *Collective Remembering and the Making of Political Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2022); David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford University Press, 2014); William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848–1938* (University of California Press, 1983); Günter Bischof, Fritz Plasser, and Peter Berger (eds), *From Empire to Republic: Post-World War I Austria* (University of New Orleans Press, 2010); a variety of articles in *Austrian Studies* 14, Culture and Politics in Red Vienna (2006); Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919–1934* (Oxford University Press, 1991); Deborah Holmes and Lisa Silverman (eds), *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity* (Boydell & Brewer, 2009).

individuality and therefore cover responses of directional inwardness and backwardness. Thirdly, I will investigate the discourse on tourism culture and the perceived role of Brahms and his music within this framework. Music festivals and the development of the cityscape are particularly important areas of research for Viennese tourism. This section covers responses of directional forwardness and outwardness. As a case study, the 1933 Brahms Festival for the centenary of the composer's birth exemplifies Brahms's centrality to both debates about Austrian, German, and pan-German identities and initiatives for Viennese tourism. Fourthly, the socialist reception of Brahms became significant in this period and set about re-evaluating the modernity of Brahms's music. This section includes aspects of modernity in Brahms's reception and therefore demonstrates responses of directional forwardness. Concerns with commodification, commercialisation, the cultural availability of music for the proletarian classes, and the need to represent Brahms as a composer for the people offer a line of Brahms reception almost untouched by scholars, but which is underpinned by essential sociological and political developments characteristic of Red Vienna (the dominant, socialist Vienna of the early interwar period). These re-configurations of Brahms and his music are vital to understanding the perceived role of Brahms (specifically) and music (more broadly) in attempts to stabilise the newly sovereign Austrian state.

Music, Inwardness, and Wartime

Critics writing during the First World War and commentators writing later who looked back to that time were keen to express the inner necessity of music to Vienna in particular, but also to humanity in general. Although these ideas had been a central component of nineteenth-century romanticism, the experience of World War One seemed to rejuvenate this spiritual and humanistic importance of music. S.D. Gallwitz, in an article entitled 'The War, the Music and Us' published in the *Neues Wiener Journal* on 24 December 1915, wrote: 'A cultural period is

dying for us. We stand still for a moment and listen to how it sounds from inside: the echo of the music of the time that has receded behind us. Something from the primeval times of humanity has come alive in this war: music as the manifestation of a supreme spiritual heightening and excitement.’⁴⁸ This critic seems to highlight the polar responses to conflict that music tends to reflect: on the one hand, a desire for escapism which aims to distract from suffering and hardship; and on the other, music as a response to or reflection of its context. Precisely what Gallwitz means by ‘a cultural period’ is uncertain, but given that he felt it to be dying and to have ‘receded behind us’, we might reasonably interpret his meaning as the cultural milieu of the *fin-de-siècle*. In this section of his article, Gallwitz identifies an inward turn – listening to ‘how it sounds from the inside’ – and a negation of forward momentum, to ‘stand still’. In the second half of this quotation, Gallwitz acknowledges the effect of the War on listening: ‘music as the manifestation of a supreme spiritual heightening’ became alive during the war. In both cases there is a turning inwards, to the echo, to the spiritual, during the War. Gallwitz goes on to identify Brahms as ‘one of the paths that led from the past to our star’, suggesting that something about Brahms’s music was especially well-suited for this wartime style of listening and successfully foreshadowed or encapsulated prematurely some essence of wartime experience, which resonated with listeners during the First World War and grounded them in a musical past relevant to their present.⁴⁹ The metaphorical link between composers and ‘paths’ seems to have been a common one. In the case of Brahms, his music was interpreted by some commentators as a way to connect the present to the past. The internal resonance that music was (and is) widely believed to possess seems to have given credence to the belief that music could connect identity and individual experience to past and present. He

⁴⁸ S.D. Gallwitz, ‘The War, the Music and Us’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 24 December 1915: 6. ‘Eine Kulturperiode ist für uns am Sterben. Wir stehen einen Augenblick still und horchen in uns hinein, wie es herausklingt von da drinnen: der Widerhall der Musik der hinter uns zurückgewichenen Zeit. // Es ist etwas aus der Menschheit Urzeiten lebendig geworden in diesem Krieg: die Musik als Erscheinung einer höchsten seelischen Steigerung und Erregung.’

⁴⁹ Ibid. ‘einer der Wege, die aus der Vergangenheit her bis zu unserem Gestirn führten.’

clarified further: ‘When the war came, it shook up our lives and ourselves so much that nothing remained in its old place. But then, when we found each other again, we immediately felt that the art of sound had to be with us at this time, that we would receive increases in our inner life from it as from religion.’⁵⁰ The impression of an initial shock that scattered and disbanded life as Vienna had known it, life which then gradually re-formed as the war progressed, is an enlightening perspective from which to view Viennese music culture during the War because it invokes a sense of panic, a loss of order, a scramble in which continuities were displaced and upon recovery were already a re-formulation based on memory.⁵¹ Gallwitz was writing at the end of 1915 when the War had been in session for seventeen months, but it is not clear when this revelation about the importance of music – as the dust settled – came.⁵² His continued use of the past tense as he wrote ‘the great orchestral concerts came to life’ suggests that by December 1915 Viennese music culture had already undergone its reawakening.⁵³

The role of Brahms in this new order was significant: ‘Brahms was cultivated with very special intensity; his heaviness [earlier in the article referred to as pessimism] appeared to us as a deepest echo of our strong and often like painful emotions of this year.’⁵⁴ Brahms in this sense became relevant during the War because the pessimism, or heaviness, in his music articulated by this critic (and others) resounded in the Viennese experience of wartime. While his music did not change, or suddenly become revolutionary, it became modern in the sense of

⁵⁰ Ibid. *‘Als der Krieg kam, schüttelte es unser Leben und uns selbst so stark durcheinander, daß nichts auf seinem alten Platz blieb. Dann aber, als wir uns wieder fanden, fühlten wir auch gleich, daß die Tonkunst bei uns sein müsse in dieser Zeit, daß wir aus ihr wie aus der Religion Steigerungen unseres Innenlebens entgegennehmen würden.’*

⁵¹ Pamela Potter has suggested a similar phenomenon in Berlin across both world wars. She concluded that the First World War demonstrated a slow uptake on cultural initiatives and propaganda, whereas officials during the Second World War, still fresh with memories of the First, understood the importance of culture, initiated wartime propaganda immediately, and remained wedded to the importance of music throughout the War. Pamela Potter, ‘Berlin in Two World Wars’, Keynote, Institute of Austrian and German Music Research Conference ‘Music and Conflict: The Politics and Escapism of Wartime Culture’, May 2023. I am very grateful to Pamela for granting me access to her unpublished essay and for allowing me to cite it here.

⁵² 1915 as a turning point for this awakening of music culture is also consistent with Potter’s findings in Berlin.

⁵³ Gallwitz, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 24 December 1915: 6. *‘Ueberall wurden die großen Orchesterkonzerte lebendig’*

⁵⁴ Ibid. *‘Dann wurde mit ganz besonderer Intensität Brahms gepflegt; seine Schwere erschien uns als ein tiefster Widerhall unserer starken und oft wie schmerzlichen Gemütsbewegungen dieses Jahres.’*

successfully encapsulating something essential to the experience of World War One in Vienna, despite having been written decades before the War.

The renewed importance of music appeared concurrently with ideas of Brahms as a successor to Beethoven, and the pairing of these two composers became fairly common. This pairing is highlighted by Gallwitz and most eloquently by Max Kalbeck in his article ‘Two hero symphonies’ published in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* on 20 January 1916.⁵⁵ Both critics emphasise the inwardness and spirituality of Brahms and Beethoven, which makes their music essential for receiving (as Gallwitz put it) ‘increases in our inner life [...] as from religion’.⁵⁶ For Gallwitz, Brahms was an ‘unwavering follower and believer in the ideals of musical art that had been adopted and fulfilled, summarised in the appearance of Beethoven’; his face was ‘turned backwards; it could not get away from the mighty peak of Beethoven’.⁵⁷ Kalbeck, meanwhile, argued that ‘Brahms’s ideals are united with those of Beethoven on the same goal, which both recognise in the service of apolitical humanity turned towards the highest spiritual tasks’.⁵⁸ The language here is revealing: ‘in the service of *apolitical humanity* turned towards the *highest spiritual tasks*’.⁵⁹ This suggests that Brahms and Beethoven are valuable to wartime listeners precisely because they boycott the political in pursuit of the spiritual. Brahms, Kalbeck goes on, was ‘No pathetic philistine, no opportunist and occasional politician, no syllabic, word-stealer and twister of meaning, but the straight, open, outwardly and inwardly German

⁵⁵ Gallwitz focuses on the monumental Beethoven, the revolutionary Liszt, and the spirit of Brahms. For Gallwitz, Brahms was focussed unwaveringly on Beethoven. Gallwitz, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 24 December 1915: 6; Max Kalbeck, ‘Two hero symphonies’, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 20 January 1916: 3.

⁵⁶ Gallwitz, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 24 December 1915: 6. ‘Dann aber, als wir uns wieder fanden, fühlten wir auch gleich, daß die Tonkunst bei uns sein müsse in dieser Zeit, daß wir aus ihr wie aus der Religion Steigerungen unseres Innenlebens entgegennehmen würden.’

⁵⁷ Ibid. ‘Brahms ist den übernommenen und erfüllten Idealen der Tonkunst, zusammengefaßt in der Erscheinung Beethovens’; ‘Sein Antlitz war rückwärts gewandt; es kam nicht los von dem gewaltigen Gipfel Beethovens’

⁵⁸ Kalbeck, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 20 January 1916: 3. ‘Brahms Ideale einigen sich mit denen Beethovens über dasselbe Ziel, das beide im Dienste der den höchsten geistigen Aufgaben zugewendeten apollinischen Menschheit erkennen.’

⁵⁹ Ibid. Emphases are my own.

man and patriot we know and love'.⁶⁰ It is significant that, although Kalbeck claims *apolitical* humanity for Brahms, a short jump it would seem from claims to universality, the strength of Brahms's character is located in having been a 'German man and patriot'. Patriotism during wartime would be hard pushed to defend a claim to be *apolitical*, but this synonymy between Germanness and claims of apolitical humanity or quasi-universality are littered throughout the history of Austrian and German music.⁶¹

However successful Brahms's music was during this period, Kalbeck predicted that Brahms's most successful time – a time when his music would find itself equal to that of Beethoven – was yet to come.

Brahms's music, which from year to year draws wider ripples in the public's sensibilities, is still, as far as its performance is concerned, in the position that Beethoven's occupied thirty and more years after the death of its master, professionals and dilettantes preparing the so-called beautiful passages to shine, until individuals put their special honours as Beethoven players into drawing new beauties out of obscurity into the light. Gradually, chaos disappeared and the cosmos took its place. We have become Beethoven-ready today. We are still to become Brahms-ripe.⁶²

In this construction, Brahms and Beethoven are presented as the two most important composers of (German?) music, but the time is not yet ripe for Brahms to claim his seat next to Beethoven.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 'Kein armseliger Philister, kein Opportunitäts- und Gelegenheitspolitiker, kein Silbenstecher, Wortklauber und Sinnverdreher, sondern der gerade, offene, äußerlich und innerlich deutsche Mann und Patriot, wie wir ihn kennen und lieben'

⁶¹ See Potter and Applegate (eds), *Music and German National Identity*.

⁶² Kalbeck, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 20 January 1916: 3. 'Die Brahms'sche Musik, die von Jahr zu Jahr weitere und weitere Wellenkreise im Empfinden des Publikums zieht, befindet sich doch noch immer, was ihre Ausübung betrifft, in der Lage, welche die Beethovensche dreißig und mehr Jahre nach dem Tode ihres Meisters einnahm. Professionisten und Dilettanten richteten die sogenannten schönen Stellen auf den Glanz her, bis einzelne ihre besondere Ehre als Beethovenspieler dareinsetzten, neue Schönheiten aus der Verborgenheit ans Licht zu ziehen. Ganz allmählich schwand das Chaos, und der Kosmos trat an dessen Stelle. Beethovenreif sind wir heute geworden. Brahmsreif sollen wir noch werden.'

Kalbeck presents this idea not as a criticism of Brahms, for whom he offers only praise, but as a commentary on the times and the unfolding of history which has not yet fully revealed the full potential of Brahms's music.

For Brahms, as for Beethoven, he remained wholly optimistic: 'In their final movements, Brahms's Germania Symphony [No.3] and Beethoven's "Eroica" touched each other. Here as there, the overwhelming vision of a coming golden age awaits us, a wonderful passion-flower blossoming from blood and tears, dissolving every instrument of torture into colourful splendour and intoxicating fragrance, vowing to bring back the lost paradise to atoned humanity.'⁶³ Kalbeck remains future oriented, awaiting the 'coming golden age' promised by Brahms and Beethoven. The metaphor of a passion-flower [*Passionsblume*] is a curious one, but perhaps 'passion' is the key word in this construction. Despite this hopeful, almost utopian, future orientation, Kalbeck curiously identified the objective of this 'golden age' as vowing to 'bring back the lost paradise to atoned humanity'. Taken to its extreme, this argument seems to employ utopia as a means to regain arcadia. Whether Kalbeck had intended such a widening of his metaphorical framework is less important than the ways in which this article demonstrates the tensions between Germanness and universality, and between forward- and backward-looking solution seeking.

Both Gallwitz and Kalbeck articulated the spiritual need for music during the First World War. These views of music were not isolated to the War, but the experience of wartime may have regenerated both public and political awareness of the power and value of music. These ideas were not entirely new, of course. The importance of music has been articulated repeatedly throughout history in different contexts, but the First World War and its aftermath formed moments in Austrian history during which this phenomenon was particularly

⁶³ Ibid. 'In ihren Finalsätzen berühren sich Brahms Germaniasymphonie und Beethovens „Eroica“. Hier wie dort erwartet uns die überwältigende Vision eines kommenden goldenen Zeitalters, einer aus Blut und Tränen erblühten wunderbaren Passionsblume, die jedes Marterwerkzeug in farbigen Glanz und berausenden Duft auflöst und der entsühnten Menschheit das verlorne Paradies wiederzubringen gelobt.'

pronounced. In 1942 Stefan Zweig, reflecting on the immediate cultural aftermath of the First World War, wrote: ‘Art was never more popular in Austria than at that time of chaos. Money had let us down; we sensed that what was eternal in us was all that would last.’⁶⁴ The War itself certainly formed a period of chaos, but the chaos that Zweig refers to here is the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the formation of the First Austrian Republic, and the social, economic, and political collapse into which Vienna was thrust. For Zweig, the post-War crisis was one of re-building, of identity formation, and of finding a way to navigate the present in relation to a lost past. The inwardness attributed to music during the War became an important means of connection, to the self, to others, and to the past. Brahms was highlighted as a composer whose music was particularly successful in this regard and while Gallwitz represented a perspective of backwardness, Kalbeck represented a perspective of backwardness as a way to move forwards. The connection between music and inwardness gained significance during the First World War as a means of navigating crisis and uncertainty, and it was under these conditions that Brahms’s music was adopted for national (re-)building in the immediate post-War period.

The Crisis of Austrian Identity After World War One

The 1920s formed an essential period of re-construction and self-identification for the newly formed Austrian state and saw the emergence of new imperatives of rehabilitation after the First World War. Contrary to the assumption that the interwar period consisted of ‘uneventful time’ sandwiched between two World Wars, this period formed ‘essential time’ for Austria as a nation state and the creation of its national identity, including the myths, values, and ambitions that accompany identity formation.⁶⁵ Psychologist James H. Liu has argued in his

⁶⁴ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*: 319.

⁶⁵ Liu, *Collective Remembering*: 135.

book *Collective Remembering and the Making of Political Culture* that ‘uneventful time’ is worth scholarly examination because it is ‘revealing of the culture of the present, and how it constructs itself vis-à-vis its relationship with the past.’⁶⁶ In short, ‘uneventful time’ is actually ‘essential time’ for scholars to consider in attempting to understand culture and its perceived relationship to the past. Liu interprets collective remembering as ‘a framing of the past in conjunction with the present’ which ‘gives new meaning to the word identity’.⁶⁷ To Liu, the negotiation of past and present in these eras of ‘uneventful time’ (‘uneventful’ because they fall between moments of historical rupture) are significant to the formation of both identity and political culture.⁶⁸ Liu here is highlighting a general trend in the history of identity formation and political culture which was certainly not new for the First Austrian Republic. This framework of navigating past and present has a long history, of which Austria in the 1920s is only one example. (According to Scott Spector, the role of culture and especially music during the *fin-de-siècle* was ‘a combative site of identity construction’.⁶⁹) Therefore, the 1920s form ‘uneventful time’ only insofar as the period exists between moments of historical rupture, but it is during this period that Austrians were afforded the time to construct a new national identity and begin to frame their experience of both their epoch and the recent war in relation to a longer history of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its culture. The identity formation efforts in 1920s Vienna clung especially to the city’s musical heritage and constructed a past which served to

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ ‘Collective remembering is a reflection, a template, and a framing of the past in conjunction with the present. It gives new meaning to the word identity, by creating and dissolving distances between people in time and space, making continuities, and creating discontinuities by the subjective manipulation of time.’ Liu, *Collective Remembering*: 45.

⁶⁸ Post-war culture, nostalgia, memory, and modernity is a massive area of research. See, for example, Gergely Romsics, *Myth and Remembrance: The Dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in the Memoir Literature of the Austro-Hungarian Political Elite*, trans. Thomas H. DeKornfeld and Helen D Hiltabidle (Center for Hungarian Studies Publications, Columbia University Press, 2006); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery* (Picador, 2004); Judson and Rozenblit (eds), *Constructing Nationalities*; Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁶⁹ Scott Spector, ‘Marginalizations: Politics and Culture Beyond *Fin-de-Siècle* Vienna’, in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. Steven Beller (Berghahn, 2001): 139.

navigate the present (with an added view to the future). When Stefan Zweig wrote in his memoirs ‘You were not truly Viennese without a love for culture’, he was tapping into a deeply-felt aspect of Viennese-Austrian identity.⁷⁰ Brahms was an eminent composer of the recent past, whose music and symbolic status could be collectively re-remembered in the Viennese press to serve the ambition of re-defining Austria after the First World War.⁷¹

The Pan-German Brahms

The identity of Austria had for a long time been defined to some extent in relation to German identity. The German-speaking part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire became Austria after the War, and often defined itself in contra-distinction to the non-German peoples of the Empire and surrounding nation states. To be sure, Austria was separate from Germany at its formation in 1918; but up until 1919 when it became the First Austrian Republic, the state had been operating under the name Republic of German-Austria. In the intellectual realm, however, such clear-cut distinctions were not to be found. In order to account for this somewhat pluralistic understanding of national identity, I combine the theoretical work of Bernd Sponheuer on ‘Germanness in music’ with Julie Thorpe’s work on Pan-Germanism to understand some of the seemingly contradictory tendencies appearing in Brahms’s symphonic reception during the interwar years.⁷²

Culturally, the differences between North Germany and South Germany were more distinct than those between South Germany and Austria, so much so, in fact, that ‘Austrian’ often seems to have been subsumed under the label ‘South German’ and vice versa. It is not

⁷⁰ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*: 41.

⁷¹ ‘Identity entrepreneurs use history in narratives that may frequently contradict the facts about history’ and can provide interpretations of history ‘to define meaning for a group and mobilize a political agenda.’ Liu, *Collective Remembering*: 85; 5.

⁷² Bernd Sponheuer, ‘Reconstructing Ideal Types of the “German” in Music’, in *Music and German National Identity*, eds Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago University Press, 2002); Julie Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism and the Austrofascist State, 1933-38* (Manchester University Press, 2011).

altogether clear whether critics viewed the Austrian Republic as ‘South Germany’ and the Weimar Republic as ‘North Germany’, or whether they viewed Austria and southern Germany collectively as ‘South Germany’. I suspect that there were divergent views on where the border between North Germany and South Germany should be drawn, but the most frequent character stereotypes constructed for differentiation tend to favour a distinction between Austria (South) and Germany (North). In an article in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* on 4 April 1922, Max Graf articulated those differences in relation to Johannes Brahms (the North German) and Anton Bruckner (the Austrian): ‘If southern Germany was the land of baroque, radiant, sensual, melodic music, northern Germany was the land of contrapuntal, strict musical forms, of serious musical thinking. Anton Bruckner and Johannes Brahms, the last two great Viennese musical classics, were also the last two great representatives of the different kinds of North and South German music-making.’⁷³ Here Graf subsumes Viennese classics into German music-making. Viennese and Austrian music more broadly, therefore, became synonymous with South German music. Modern-day scholars often continue to overlook the distinction between the musical cultures of these two nation states through the commonly used designation ‘Austro-German’. There has, however, been a significant effort in recent years to acknowledge Austria and Germany as distinct countries with entangled but not synonymous histories and cultures, even if some commentators at the time sought to minimise those differences.⁷⁴

Debates over national characteristics, how the two countries (as they are now conceived) relate to each other, and the extent to which they share identity in areas such as

⁷³ Max Graf (1 October 1873–24 June 1958) was a Jewish music historian and critic, described as the ‘dean of music critics in Vienna’ during the first decades of the twentieth century. He was also a student of Bruckner. Max Graf, ‘Johannes Brahms’, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 April 1922. ‘*War Süddeutschland das Land der barockhaft strahlenden, sinnlichen, melodischen Musik, so war Norddeutschland das Land der kontrapunktischen, strengen Musikformen, des ernsten Musikdenkens. // Anton Bruckner und Johannes Brahms, die zwei letzten großen Wiener Musikklassiker, waren auch die zwei letzten großen Vertreter der verschiedenen Art nord- und süddeutschen Musizierens.*’

⁷⁴ The Institute of Austrian and German Music Research, for example, is clear in its ambition to ‘explore and rethink customary twinned ‘Austro-German’ formulations and associated assumptions of ‘unmarked’ culture.’ ‘Welcome to the IAGMR’, IAGMR: Institute of Austrian and German Music Research, <https://iagmr.org/>

culture have been addressed throughout Austrian and German intellectual history over and over again.⁷⁵ Bernd Sponheuer, for example, has shown how writers from Forkel to Adorno used a common framework to articulate Germanness in music. This framework is fundamentally dialectical and seemingly contradictory: The first ideal type of the German in music focuses on the specifically German, which differs from non-German in its ‘depth, hard work and thoroughness’ and generates a chain of opposites, revolving around ‘sensuality (*Sinnlichkeit*) versus intellect (*Geist*)’.⁷⁶ Sponheuer offers a series of binaries founded upon this chain of opposites: ‘melody versus harmony, *galant* versus learned, nature versus art, beauty versus character, prosaic versus poetic, physical versus metaphysical, mechanical versus organic, sequence versus development, civilization (Western *civilisation*) versus culture (German *Kultur*), and entertainment versus ideas.’⁷⁷ In this initial type of German music, there is the establishment of antitheses between what is German and what is not. Although the most likely candidates for ‘not German’ music might be that of France and Italy, the binaries constructed by Sponheuer operate on the same axis as the characteristics attributed to North and South Germany, or Germany and Austria. As demonstrated by Graf, this distinction was used to differentiate the German Brahms, whose music clung to ‘serious musical thinking’, from the Austrian Bruckner, whose music was ‘radiant, sensual’, and ‘melodic’.⁷⁸ From this opposition, however, Sponheuer’s second ideal type conceives of the German in music as something ‘mixed’, ‘universal’ and ‘synthetic’.⁷⁹ This second type, then, forms a dialectical synthesis between what was German in the first type and something that was non-German. The history of Germanness in music, according to this framework, is one of plurality, synthesis, and dialectical hierarchy.

⁷⁵ English-language musicology has only recently started to catch up with this differentiation accepted and expected by disciplinary historians and Austrian musicologists.

⁷⁶ Sponheuer, ‘Reconstructing Ideal Types’: 40.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Graf, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 April 1922.

⁷⁹ Sponheuer, ‘Reconstructing Ideal Types’: 40.

One particularly fruitful development in studies of national identity which seeks to account for this pluralistic approach is Julie Thorpe's conception of pan-Germanism. Focussing on the period of Austrofascism, Thorpe defines pan-Germanism as 'both the particular or unique aspects of Austrian German identity [...] and the universal sense of all Germans belonging in a larger community united by culture and ethnicity.'⁸⁰ This dual construction of both the particular and the synthetic inherent in Thorpe's definition of pan-Germanism reflects the framework of Germanness in music outlined by Sponheuer. Given Brahms's central place in the cultural history of Vienna, alongside his North German birthplace, intellect, and musical style, I would like to argue that Brahms was perfectly positioned for appropriation by those advocating for a pan-Germanist ideology in 1920s Vienna, and that his music represented (to those so inclined) the undeniable success of unification. True to Sponheuer's model, Brahms's reception identified a dialectical relationship between his German seriousness and intellectual music-making (type 1) and the synthesis between his inherent German rigour and his adopted Austrian sensuality (type 2) which transcended his music to the level of artistic mastery in league with Beethoven. In an era of increasing nationalism, which (as scholars able to use hindsight) we know led to Austrian and German unification in 1938, the intellectual overlap of Sponheuer's framework of Germanness and the political-ideological concept of pan-Germanism provides reason to consider these two constructions as interpretatively interchangeable during this period. Indeed, this conflation is articulated by the historian Adam Wandruszka, cited by Anton Staudinger in his contribution to *Austria in the Thirties: Culture and Politics*:

these [pan-Germanist] academics "were trying to create a synthesis: on the one hand there were the ideas on nationality stemming from Herder and the Romantics, the

⁸⁰ Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism*: 7.

nation's experience of the First World War, the struggle on behalf of the borderlands and "extra-territorial Germany"; on the other hand, there were the universalist claims for the old Imperial ideal and the traditions of the Habsburg monarchy. A synthesis of these elements would, they hoped, be the blue-print for a supranational... order in Europe."⁸¹

Through this discourse, Brahms and his music become a symbol of pan-Germanism and the hope of a prosperous future of united Germanism.

As early as 1915, Graf was identifying the Germanness of Brahms's symphonies in contradistinction to his Austrian counterparts, in this case Schubert: 'Schubert always remains a symphonic walker who lets his skirt and neckerchief flutter in the breeze, while Brahms does not take off his steel armour, his brazen weapons, even in spring.'⁸² The characterisation of these two composers alludes to the difference between the relaxed, Austrian Schubert, and the uptight, German Brahms, highlighting the perceived differences in attitude between North and South Germans. Although Graf begins to approach the type 2 ideal by suggesting that Brahms's Second Symphony sometimes approaches Schubert, in this article he is clearer about the differences between the German Brahms and the Austrian Schubert than he is about their coming together and synthesis. By the time of his article in 1922, with which we started, however, Graf is much clearer in his articulation of synthesis in Brahms's music.⁸³

Having identified Brahms as a North German musician, Graf goes on to highlight his links with Vienna, and the positive effect the southern warmth had on his music.

⁸¹ Anton Staudinger, "'Austria' – The Ideology of Austrofascism', in *Austria in the Thirties: Culture and Politics*, eds Kenneth Segar and John Warren (Ariadne Press, 1991): 4.

⁸² Mg., 'Philharmonic Concert', *Die Zeit*, 12 April 1915: 2. '*Freilich bleibt Schubert immer ein symphonischer Spaziergänger, der Rock und Halstuch im Winde flattern läßt, während Brahms auch im Frühling seine stählerne Rüstung, seine ehernen Waffen nicht ablegt.*'

⁸³ Graf, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 April 1922.

North German and South German essence touched and merged, as in the days of the musical classics, whose ideal art unites South German melodic richness and North German rigour of thought. [...] a large part of the brittleness and reticence of Brahms's music has been poached in Vienna, nature and the old past, the sunnier air of the Viennese landscape have done their healing work and warmed the Brahmsian being.⁸⁴

Here Graf engages with Sponheuer's type 2 ideal of synthesis. The language chosen by Graf ('brittleness', 'poached') suggests that the specifically German Brahms was possessed with flaws, which were 'healed' in Vienna, the influence of which is characterised by natural and organic semantics – belonging to the non-German attributes of Sponheuer's antithetical categories. Through this synthesis, Brahms's music was 'healed' and 'warmed', connoting some sort of aesthetic elevation.

Graf was not the only critic to highlight these differences and their encouraged combination in Brahms's character and music. In 1927 Paul Stefan wrote an article entitled 'Brahms' in *Die Bühne*: 'And yet, we, so to speak compatriots, may also commemorate Brahms, an Austrian by choice, a Viennese by choice, with a few words here today. [...] He has retained his austere character and adopted the mildness of the Austrian. Perhaps that has become the greatest attraction of his art.'⁸⁵ The juxtaposition here between austerity and mildness speaks not so much of musical style, but of stereotyped national characteristics, both of which carry a tint of degradation. The Austrians certainly seem to come off better in Stefan's

⁸⁴ Ibid. Graf makes similar claims in his other writings too; see for example *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 27 March 1922. 'Nordeutsches und süddeutsches Wesen berührten sich und gingen in einander über, wie in den Tagen der musikalischen Klassiker, deren ideale Kunst süddeutsche Melodienfülle und norddeutsche Gedankenstrenge vereint. [...] Aber gewiß hat sich in Wien ein großer Teil der Sprödigkeit und Verschllossenheit der Brahmsischen Musik gemildert, haben Natur und alte Vergangenheit, die sonnigere Luft der Wiener Landschaft ihr heilsames Werk getan und das Brahmsische Wesen erwärmt.'

⁸⁵ Paul Stefan (25 November 1879–12 November 1943) was a music historian and critic from an assimilated Jewish family. He was editor of *Musikblätter des Anbruch* from 1922 to 1937. Paul Stefan, 'Brahms', *Die Bühne*, Heft 125, 1927: 12. 'Und doch dürfen wir, sozusagen Landsleute, heute an dieser Stelle auch des Wahl-Österreichers, Wahl-Wieners Brahms mit einigen Worten gedenken. [...] Er hat seine herbe Eigenart bewahrt und die Milde des Österreichers angenommen. Vielleicht ist das der größte Reiz seiner Kunst geworden.'

choice of language, but the oppositional and slightly negative division between these Austrian and German archetypes, which incidentally serves to demonstrate the differences rather than unity between the two nation states, creates a dialectic between Austrian and German which is synthesised in Brahms's music to become 'the greatest attraction' of his art. The language selected by Stefan belies a pan-Germanist ideology of progressive, dialectical synthesis which Brahms's music is employed to exemplify. In addition to this construction of synthesis, Stefan chooses to write on behalf of 'we, so to speak compatriots', writing from the beginning to establish a community. Whether that community is one of Brahms supporters, Austrians, Germans, or pan-Germans is difficult to decipher; although such ambiguity would have enabled readers to freely interpret Stefan's compatriotism (a word possessing strong military associations) as whichever group the reader themselves most identified with. Thus, Stefan constructs a pan-Germanist argument, using Brahms, that is framed with enough ambiguity to appeal to a reasonably wide section of readers.

Julius Korngold, writing in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 1 April 1922, refers to 'the Viennese Brahms from Hamburg', highlighting the same fruitful development at the hands of the Viennese landscape.⁸⁶ 'Vienna can boast a decisive influence on Brahms's development and on Brahms's art. Not because the rugged Brahms learned to write waltzes on the beautiful Danube; the influence reached deeper, grasped the moods, the technique, rounded the melody, made it swell with sweetness.'⁸⁷

Paul Stefan brings the idea of pan-Germanism: 'We cannot have and hold enough diversity here if we want to prove that the best Germanness has always been born of

⁸⁶ Julius Korngold, 'On the Brahms Commemoration', *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 April 1922. '*der Wiener Brahms aus Hamburg*'

⁸⁷ Ibid. '*Wien darf sich einschneidenden Einflusses auf Brahms' Entwicklung, auf Brahms' Kunst rühmen. Nicht darum etwa, weil der schroffe Brahms Walzer schreiben lernte an der schönen, blauen Donau; der Einfluß reichte tiefer, erfaßte die Stimmungen, die Technik, rundete die Melodie, ließ sie in Süßigkeit schwellen.*'

cosmopolitan intent.’⁸⁸ Stefan here engages with the synthetic type 2 and his choice of language maps directly onto the way Sponheuer essentialises this conception of Germanness: ‘The emphasis was on the mixed, not the purely German – on the synthetic, enlightened, cosmopolitan “general good taste in music,” which brings together “the best” of the various nations (which in their “pure” national form would remain “peculiar”).’⁸⁹ For Stefan, the cosmopolitanism of combining Vienna (Austria) and Germany could facilitate the realisation of the best possible Germanism. This pluralist nationalism, aiming to find ‘the best Germanness’, lends itself particularly well to pan-Germanism, which, Thorpe suggests, ‘became an all-consuming idea among German nationalists.’⁹⁰ Given the inherently nationalist ambitions of identity formation and the ways in which Austrians and Germans have continuously sought to identify the German in music, taken together with the evident similarities between the ideology of pan-Germanism and the strategies (outlined by Sponheuer) for identifying Germanness in music, it is reasonable to conclude that critics discussing Brahms on such terms were deliberately engaging with pan-Germanist ideology.

There is sometimes a subtle distinction between Brahms the man, who chose to settle in Vienna rather than remain in Germany, and his music which can be found to possess German and non-German elements. In political intention, these two components come to the same thing, but it is worth acknowledging that Brahms was not simply accepted as Viennese only on the basis of residence. An article in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 1 April 1922 wrote ‘His inclination towards folk song, national fashion and national dance already built a bridge to Austrian

⁸⁸ Paul Stefan, ‘The Reich Music City’, *Die Zeit*, 23 February 1919: 9. ‘Wir können gar nicht genug Verschiedenheit hier haben und halten, wenn wir beweisen wollen, daß das beste Deutschtum immer in weltbürgerlicher Absicht aufgegangen ist.’

⁸⁹ Sponheuer, ‘Reconstructing Ideal Types’: 47.

⁹⁰ Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism*: 36.

musical sensibility.’⁹¹ Here Brahms’s innate character, his ‘inclination’ prepared him to integrate into the Austrian way of life.

Three days later, an article appeared in the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* quoting a speech by the chairman of the Brahms Society, Regierungsrat Professor Dr. Mandysesewski:

When he was about to decide to settle down somewhere, he, the North German to whom the whole of Germany was open, settles in Vienna, attracted not so much by the musical life of this city as by its warm, homely character. He took a great liking to Vienna, to the natural beauty of its surroundings and above all to the Viennese way of life. [...] Over time, he had become quite Viennese.⁹²

Although it might seem odd to describe the cosmopolitan capital as having a ‘warm, homely character’, this conception of Vienna among its inhabitants was common and served to paint the city as a sensual counterpart to the hard, rigorous cities of Germany, especially Berlin. Mandysesewski here articulates the success with which Brahms fitted into the Viennese way of life, evidently claiming the composer for the city of Vienna.

Hugo Wittmann, too, writing of the Vienna Festival Days (to which I will return later in this chapter) in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 23 May 1920, wrote:

Musical talent is one of the innate qualities of the Viennese. [...] It is nevertheless a remarkable phenomenon that our great musical artists, with the exception of Schubert,

⁹¹ Korngold, *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 April 1922: 1. ‘*Schon seine Neigung zum Volksliede, zu nationaler Weise und nationalem Tanz schlug eine Brücke zu österreichischem Musikempfinden.*’

⁹² ‘Brahms’s 25th anniversary of his death’, *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 4 April 1922: 3. ‘*Als er vor dem Entschlusse stand, irgendwo festen Fuß zu fassen, da ließ er, der Norddeutsche, dem ganz Deutschland offen stand, sich in Wien nieder, eigentlich nicht so sehr vom Musikleben dieser Stadt, als von ihrem warmen, anheimelnden Wesen angezogen. Er fand großes Gefallen an Wien, an der Naturschönheit seiner Umgebung und vor allem auch am Wiener Menschenschlag. [...] Er war mit der Zeit ein ganzer Wiener geworden.*’

were not born in Vienna, but as soon as they settled here, they immediately became artistically devoted and remained under the spell of this city for their entire lives. [...] furthest away with Brahms, the son of the North, who was born in Hamburg, the contradiction of the Danube city. But it was Brahms who clung to his Vienna with love and soul, who was inwardly a dyed-in-the-wool Viennese, even if he never denied the Lower Saxon in his appearance and dialect.⁹³

Wittmann places a slight emphasis on the antithesis between Brahms's North German side and his Viennese side by describing Hamburg as 'the contradiction of the Danube city', but he is also clear to articulate that although Brahms did become Viennese, he did not lose or deny his North German attributes. Possessing of both and becoming a 'great musical artist' betrays the framework of a dialectic underpinning Wittmann's writing.

The reception of Brahms in the 1920s demonstrates a tendency to engage with the discourse of Germanness and the ideology of pan-Germanism. The framework of Sponheuer in identifying ideal types of Germanness which engage dialectically between the particular (defined by the opposition between German and non-German attributes revolving around the binary of intellect versus sensuality) and the universal (defined by synthesis) works in coordination with the ambitions of pan-Germanism and is evident in this strand of Brahms's symphonic reception. Across the writings of those critics discussed in this section, Brahms's music and character were simultaneously North German (type 1) and synthetic or pan-German (type 2). The resultant aesthetic and artistic transcendence accorded to Brahms's music by this

⁹³ Hugo Wittmann, 'Vienna Festival Days', *Neue Freie Presse*, 23 May 1920: 2. '*Musikalische Begabung gehört zu den eingebornen Eigenschaften des Wiener. [...] Eine bemerkenswerte Erscheinung ist es immerhin, daß unsere großen Tonkünstler, Schubert ausgenommen, keine gebornen Wiener waren, aber, kaum hier ansässig, sich sofort künstlerisch verwienerten und für ihre ganze Lebenszeit dem Zauber dieser Stadt verfallen blieben. [...] am weitesten mit Brahms, dem Sohne des Nordens, der in Hamburg geboren wurde, dem ausgesprochenen Widerspiel der Donaustadt. Doch gerade Brahms hing mit Leib und Seele an seinem Wien, war innerlich der eingefleischte Wiener, wenn er auch in seinem Aeußern, in Erscheinung und Mundart, den Niedersachsen nimmermehr verleugnete.*'

dialectical synthesis provided an example of the desired product of pan-Germanism. The rhetoric used by these critics to evaluate Brahms's relationship to Austria and Germany is one of artistic elevation through encounter and synthesis. From an Austrian perspective, Brahms was a prime example of the promise held by the adoption of Germanness into Austrianness, and vice versa. Although these critics at no point refer directly to the political project of pan-Germanism, their arguments could easily be extended or appropriated into such ambitions.

Viennese Tourism

Viennese tourism is a topic often overlooked in studies of interwar Vienna, and yet, it might be one of the most significant factors in Austrian modernisation that was at once backward-looking and socially progressive. Alfred Pfabigan identifies this contradiction as essential to Vienna: 'on the one hand for a path to modernity full of contradictions, under conditions of co-existing native and imported backwardness, and on the other for a modernization which gradually picked up tempo'.⁹⁴ What precisely Pfabigan means by his distinction between 'native and imported backwardness' is not entirely clear, but it nonetheless betrays a perceived distinction between inwards and outwards, between Austrian and non-Austrian. It is possible that he is thinking of (as a relevant example) the 'city of music' topos which reflects a backwardness inherent in the city's image of itself, but at the same time became a vision of Vienna held too from outside the city, reinforcing the strength of this retrospective myth.⁹⁵ Inherent to this construction, however, is the contradiction that the 'City of Music' topos was in many ways a mark of modernity, invented *ex post facto* and continually enforced, supported,

⁹⁴ Alfred Pfabigan, 'Freud's "Vienna Middle"', in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. Steven Beller (Berghahn, 2001): 155.

⁹⁵ Stefan Zweig characterised the differences between tradition and innovation in relation to Vienna and Berlin in the following way: 'Vienna, bound to the old ways and idolising its own past, was cautious when faced with young people and bold experiments, waiting to see what came of them. In Berlin, on the other hand, a city seeking to mould itself quickly and in its own individual form, innovation was much in demand.' Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*: 134.

and developed by tourism and commodification.⁹⁶ This contradiction, I argue, is therefore facilitated by a tourism that commodified Austrian culture, inventing an Austrian (specifically Viennese) past which could be sold for the economic benefit of the city's municipality. This invented past is, I believe, what Steven Beller was referring to when he wrote: 'Much of what has made Vienna 1900 famous was actually the product of the interwar period'.⁹⁷ Beller here suggests that the Vienna 1900 image, or 'city of music' topos was not a historical artifact or legacy retained from its own era, but rather an invented past born out during the interwar period. The need to present Vienna as a living city after the war and the collapse of the Empire, capitalised on the city of music myth which took on an imperative role in the self-identification of Viennese people and institutions. This self-identifying myth in turn provided fertile ground to present and market Vienna to international tourism as simultaneously a modern, cosmopolitan city and a living museum of a time gone by. Thus, if we are to understand the construction of an Austrian (and indeed, arguably, a specifically Viennese) identity, it is worthwhile to consider both the ways in which the 'city of music' topos was presented, and the ways in which Viennese music was commodified in relation to tourism projects of the 1920s.

In Philipp Stein's study of the Wiener Konzerthaus, he discovered that the 1920s saw efforts by the Municipality of Vienna, especially through their cultural office, to 'establish Vienna as a city of culture in international tourism', under the motto 'Tourism promotion through culture!'.⁹⁸ The most often cited examples of this project are the festival weeks usually organized during the summer to showcase Viennese music and culture, but this new initiative

⁹⁶ Stefan Zweig: 'It was the peculiar genius of Vienna, the city of music, to resolve all these contrasts harmoniously in something new and unique, specifically Austrian and Viennese.' Those contrasts included the various national elements that were present in the Austro-Hungarian courts, Empire, and nobility. Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*: 34.

⁹⁷ Beller, *A Concise History of Austria*: 212. 'There is no doubt that an era might be characterized by prevailing tendencies, but the entire thrust of research on collaborative remembering is to be aware that these characterizations are not objective observations so much as interpretations that reflect the time when these characterizations are made.' Liu, *Collective Remembering*: 36.

⁹⁸ Stein, *Das Wiener Konzerthaus*: 53.

could also be felt in the wider net of musical culture, ranging from concert programming to *Feuilleton* literature.

For example, an article in *Die Zeit* by Paul Stefan, which appeared on 23 February 1919, made a public call for the invention of Vienna as a '*Reichsmusikstadt*'. He began: 'Vienna was once, in the so to speak historical time of our living music, a brilliant residence of the broadest cosmopolitanism, if not universality.'⁹⁹ But by 1919, 'great artists' were 'strangers' in Vienna; the last heyday being that of 'Brahms – Bruckner – Mahler'.¹⁰⁰ For Stefan, the historical culture of Vienna provided great untapped potential through tourism under the concept of the *Reichsmusikstadt*, but so far this potential had not been seized and instead the musical standard of Vienna had been in decline.

A further article by Guido Adler published in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 26 March 1919, possibly in response to Stefan, addresses the need for and possibility of music festivals as a means of attracting economic income and tourism.¹⁰¹ He begins: 'Much is now being written and spoken about Vienna as a city of art. Expectations of all kinds are attached to this idea. Out of this misery of the day, out of the stagnation of the traffic, one longs for revival and drafts plans for the future. Everything is uncertain, politically, socially, economically, and culturally.'¹⁰² In this opening, Adler identifies a popular topic of discourse and hints towards the cause of its urgency. But he follows this diagnosis with a treatment plan: 'Music is the Viennese's life requirement. In the bleakest days of the world war, the crowds to good concerts and performances were strong. For the depressed and especially for those temporarily returning

⁹⁹ Stefan, *Die Zeit*, 23 February 1919: 9.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 'Wien war einst, in der sozusagen historischen Zeit unserer lebendigen Musik, eine glänzende Residenz von weitester Weltbürgerlichkeit, wenn nicht gar Universalität.'

¹⁰¹ Guido Adler, 'Vienna Music Festival', *Neue Freie Presse*, 26 March 1919: 1.

¹⁰² Ibid. 'Viel wird jetzt über Wien als Kunststadt geschrieben und gesprochen. Erwartungen aller Art knüpfen sich an diese Vorstellung. Aus dieser Misere des Tages, aus dem Stocken des Verkehres sehnt man sich nach Belebung und entwirft Zukunftspläne. Alles ist im ungewissen, politisch, sozial, ökonomisch und kulturell.'

home from the field, it was an urgent spiritual desire to rise above the misery of the day.’¹⁰³ At this point, his argument is clear: Vienna needs music to survive the turmoil of the war and its aftermath.¹⁰⁴ This, for Adler, was not only true of the spiritual needs of the people, but also of the political and economic needs of the state: ‘our musical activities and creations’, he writes, ‘our skills, our performances can be a source of income if we organise ourselves properly for this purpose.’¹⁰⁵ Adler here adopts the rhetorical understanding of music as suitable for times of hardship and highlights the adoption of this approach *en masse* during the First World War. But given his later concern about using music as a source of income, his two ambitions seem to come into tension. On the one hand, Viennese people needed music for some kind of spiritual uplift and – given the all-encompassing nature of his statement – this presumably included the economically subdued working class; on the other hand, however, he argued for music as a source of income, suggesting that a certain level of economic capital would be the entry requirement for this spiritual uplift. From a consumerist perspective, there is no tension: people need music and will be willing to pay for it, therefore music will bring in the economic capital necessary to re-build Viennese society. But from a socialist perspective, the tendency demonstrated here to overlook the resident working class in Vienna in favour of an international bourgeoisie able to pay higher ticket prices generates a tension between two important goals of interwar Vienna.

Adler advocates for the commodification of Austrian musical culture to increase tourism and become a source of income. He identifies various festival programmes, which, centred around particular composers, could facilitate the incorporation of both familiar and unfamiliar works. Familiar composers outlined by Adler are Haydn and Mozart; Beethoven

¹⁰³ Ibid. ‘Die Musik ist dem Wiener Lebensbedürfnis. In den trübsten Tagen des Weltkrieges war der Andrang zu guten Konzerten und Aufführungen ein starker. Den Gedrückten und besonders den zeitweilig vom Felde Heimkehrenden war es ein dringendes seelisches Verlangen, sich über das Elend des Tages zu erheben.’

¹⁰⁴ Stefan Zweig also identified this musical requirement in his memoirs. Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*.

¹⁰⁵ Adler, *Neue Freie Presse*, 26 March 1919: 1. ‘unser musikalisches Tun und Schaffen, unser Können, unsere Leistungen eine Quelle der Einnahmen sein können, wenn wir uns zu diesem Zwecke richtig organisieren.’

and Schubert; Brahms and Bruckner; Mahler and Wolf. All this, it seems, is built on Adler's experiences at the fourth and fifth congresses of the International Music Society, held in London (1911) and Paris (1914).¹⁰⁶ Here, he heard great praise of Viennese music culture, which his call for festivals in this article seeks to capitalise on by increasing tourism through festivals that showcase Viennese cultural history.¹⁰⁷ He finished by outlining the necessary intervention of the Office for Transport and the Bureaux for Transport Mediation within a 'many-branched network'.¹⁰⁸ His final herald: 'The Viennese Magic Flute should attract them to our city and its surroundings!'.¹⁰⁹ In this article, Adler re-enforces the 'City of Music' image for Vienna in an international light and explicitly connects this cultural heritage narrative with imperatives of modernisation and tourism. Given that all of the composers outlined as 'headlines' for the festivals had an extensive relationship with the city, it could be concluded that the prestige of Viennese music is found in the musical works of Austrian composers.

By 1929, Austrian composers had become identifiable as 'export articles', demonstrating the solidification of commodification. An article in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* on 9 February 1929 wrote of the struggle in Austria to extend the protection period of score publishing, which was only thirty years for Austrian composers but had been extended to fifty years for composers of other countries. This critic wrote:

Finally, we would like to point out to the economic circles that music in particular is a strong Austrian export article. Our works become outlaws after 30 years, our profits go to foreign directors and publishers, while we here are forced to protect foreign authors

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

for 50 years after their death. In recent years we have lost the “export articles” Brahms and Bruckner.¹¹⁰

This article clearly demonstrates the re-orientation of music as a source of income, a commodity, and most importantly a factor of concern in economics. Contrary to the romantic ideas about music’s relationship to the spiritual, the eternal, and the non-material that had prevailed during the War, the role of music by the end of the 1920s was one of utility, capital, and of important relation to the realities of the day. That is not to say that people listened differently, but that music had taken on a utilitarian role in interwar Vienna that would have been quite alien to pre-war Vienna. This change facilitated a re-orientation of music’s meaning, which enabled it to possess both spiritual and utilitarian functions, thereby generating fertile ground for a culture of music festivals aimed at both international tourism and native Viennese celebration.

Festivals and Performances

The Vienna Festival Weeks, which began in 1920 and ran annually during the months of May and June, were an initiative coordinated by the City of Vienna to both cultivate Viennese music and attract international music-lovers to the city. The festival in 1920 operated under the name ‘*Meisteraufführungen Wiener Musik*’ (Masterful performances of Viennese Music). By 1927, the festival adopted the name ‘*Wiener Festwochen*’. Robert Kosta writing in *Moderne Welt* in 1920 reflected back on the festival earlier in that year: ‘Admittedly, one of the main purposes of the music festival – to provide an overview of Vienna as a workshop of the richest and

¹¹⁰ ‘The struggle for the extension of the protection period’, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 9 February 1929: 6. ‘*Den Wirtschaftskreisen geben wir schließlich noch zu bedenken, daß insbesondere die Musik ein starker österreichischer Exportartikel ist. Unsre Werke werden nach 30 Jahren vogelfrei, unsre Erträge lukrieren ausländische Theaterdirektoren und Verleger, während wir hier gezwungen sind, die ausländischen Autoren 50 Jahre lang nach ihrem Tode zu schützen. In den letzten Jahren haben wir die „Exportartikel“ Brahms und Bruckners verloren.*’

noblest music – was achieved on the whole; the further effort to attract foreigners to Vienna through the music festival remained a rather unfulfilled hope.’¹¹¹ Kosta here identifies the role that festivals were intended to play in Viennese tourism initiatives, but concedes that this ambition had remained unfulfilled. If the festival had been a success, which most commentators agreed to be the case, then the unfulfilled tourism project suggests that the festival was attended predominantly by Viennese audiences. David Josef Bach, the socialist, music critic, editor, and leader of the *Arbeiter-Symphoniekonzerte*, played a fundamental role in the organisation of these festivals and sought to make them accessible to the working classes.¹¹² The perceived function of the festivals thereby gain socialist connotations by association. (This point will be addressed in my section on ‘Brahms and Socialism’, where the Left-wing reception of Brahms and the Brahms Festival of 1922 are discussed in detail.¹¹³) References to these festivals in the Viennese press dry up in 1939, suggesting that the final festival took place in 1938. The *Anschluss* in March 1938 and the impending war beginning in September 1939 might provide reasons for this cease in festivals. The *Wiener Festwochen* were not restarted until 1951.

From my performance history, there were only two festival concerts prior to 1919 (both part of the Vienna Music Week in 1912), but 1919 saw a marked increase in festivals, which lasted up until the onset of World War Two, the last one appearing in January 1941. Brahms Festivals were held in 1919, 1922 and 1933. Two questions are of particular interest in this section. Firstly, why did the festival in 1912 not continue with another festival in 1913? And

¹¹¹ Dr. Robert Kosta, ‘Masterful Performances of Viennese Music’, *Moderne Welt*, Heft 4, 1920: 31. ‘Freilich – ein Hauptzweck des musikfestes: der Überblick über Wien als Werkstatt reichster und edelster Musik – wurde im ganzen und großen erreicht; das weitere Bemühen, durch das Musikfest Fremde nach Wien zu locken, blieb ein ziemlich unerfülltes Hoffen.’

¹¹² See Glanz, ‘David Josef Bach’: 187; Jonathan Koehler, “‘Soul Is But Harmony’”: David Josef Bach and the Worker’s Symphony Concert Association, 1905–1918’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 39 (2008): 66–91; Michael Burri, ‘Austrian Festival Missions after 1918: The Vienna Music Festival and the Long Shadow of Salzburg’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 47 (2016): 147–166; John Warren, ‘David Josef Bach and the “Musik- und Theaterfest” of 1924’, *Austrian Studies* 14, Politics and Culture in Red Vienna (2006): 119–142.

¹¹³ See pages 89–95.

secondly, what changed between 1912 and 1919 that re-orientated the ways in which the festivals were envisioned and prioritised, thus enabling the later festival series to succeed?

During the Vienna Music Festival Week in 1912, an article in *Der Fremdenverkehr* articulated Vienna's position as the eminent city of music: 'Vienna is the world's first city of music [...]. In Vienna, the golden chain of music continues from the earliest centuries and closes link by link up to our days, which have received new splendour from Brahms, Bruckner and Hugo Wolf, and something new is always emerging'.¹¹⁴ This festival was the only one to take place prior to the First World War and although it is not entirely clear why the festivals did not continue between 1913 and 1919, it is possible that the cultural and contextual demands for festivals were simply not strong enough in Vienna until after the War. The role of tourism, too, supported the festivals in important ways, but this critic suggests that despite the world renown of Vienna as a city of music, the Viennese themselves were unwilling to capitalise on the opportunity for commodification: 'The fame of being the first city of music in the world is accorded to Vienna in all countries without exception. The all too modest Viennese themselves rarely flaunt that title of honour.'¹¹⁵ It would seem that without that touristic drive from Viennese institutions, the festival in 1912 may have struggled to continue in 1913. By 1920, however, things had changed. The city of Vienna sought to capitalise on cultural commodification through tourism initiatives and in this context, the festivals were able to continue year on year.

Julius Korngold, writing in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 21 June 1912 makes a similar observations about the Viennese character: 'It is not Vienna's style to make the most of its talent, and it is even less Vienna's style to enter the competition for the admiring stranger

¹¹⁴ 'The Vienna Music Festival Week 1912', *Der Fremdenverkehr*, 28 April 1912: 2. 'Wien ist die erste Musikstadt der Welt [...]. In Wien leitet die goldene Kette der Musik sich aus den frühesten Jahrhunderten fort und schließt Glied an Glied bis in unsere Tage, die von Brahms, Bruckner und Hugo Wolf neuen Glanz empfangen, und immer Neues setzt sich an'

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 'Der Ruhm, die erste Musikstadt der Welt zu sein, wird Wien in allen Ländern ohneweiters zuerkannt. Die allzu bescheidenen Wiener selbst prunken selten mit jenem Ehrentitel.'

[tourist] who pays for his admiration.’¹¹⁶ Here Korngold highlights the disinclination of Vienna to commodify its culture. But he also provides a separate suggestion: ‘It is no coincidence that music festivals in Vienna, in Austria in general, are not local, not national. Precisely because this soil of the art of sound is most fertile, saturated with music, steaming with it. Everything festive has an exceptional character.’¹¹⁷ This metaphorical construction muddies Korngold’s stance, making it unclear whether he views this critique in a positive or negative way. That he emphasises festivals as having to be exceptional, suggests that Vienna’s festival failed because the city’s musical heritage is so saturated with exceptional art work that the additional ‘exceptional character’ required of a festival was unattainable. Unattainable, but perhaps also undesirable: ‘Vienna’s musical culture also produces a musical cult that has reason to avoid exaggeration.’¹¹⁸ Whether Korngold is referring here to a cultish nature inherent in Viennese music culture, which if exaggerated could have significant consequences, or to a singular cult of Viennese music that is opposed to the exaggeration of Vienna’s musical talent is unclear. Remembering the cultural battles surrounding such figures as Wagner, Brahms, and Bruckner in the 1890s surely make the first interpretation possible. But given the approach taken by Korngold in the rest of his article, the second interpretation seems more likely: a Vienna which fails to ‘make the most of its talent’ is more likely to avoid exaggeration as a collective policy. For Korngold, then, the 1912 festival seems to have been unsuccessful because the Viennese view of music at the time did not accord with the necessary priorities for festivals targeted towards tourism. The Viennese character was too modest to boast of its music, and Vienna was

¹¹⁶ Julius Korngold, ‘To the Vienna Music Festival Week’, *Neue Freie Presse*, 21 June 1912: 1. ‘*Wesens aus seinem Talent zu machen, ist nicht Wiens Art, und in den Wettbewerb um den bewundernden und seine Bewunderung bezahlenden Fremden einzutreten, noch weniger.*’

¹¹⁷ Ibid. ‘*Kein Zufall, daß Musikfeste in Wien, in Oesterreich, überhaupt, nicht orts-, nicht landesüblich sind. Gerade, weil dieser Boden der Tonkunst fruchtbarster, von Musik durchtränkt ist, von ihr dampft. Alles Festliche trägt Ausnahmscharakter.*’

¹¹⁸ Ibid. ‘*Die Musikkultur Wiens erzeugt auch einen Musikkultus, der Uebertreibung zu meiden Grund hat.*’

too extraordinary and full of music that there was no need or opportunity for the ‘exceptional character’ generated by and demanded of a festival.

An article appearing in *Der Fremdenverkehr* on 28 April 1912 shadowed Korngold’s interpretation that Vienna was the musical capital of the world, and that any music festival (wherever it was held) was essentially a festival of Viennese music. Unlike Korngold, however, this critic shines a positive light on the festival proceedings: ‘Indeed, every great music festival in the world’s cities, resplendent in the splendour of classical symphonies and chamber works, is essentially a festival in Austria’s honour, a genuinely Viennese festival, for Vienna always and forever brings from its musical treasures the artistic gifts for such festive undertakings.’¹¹⁹ In addition to this glorification of Viennese symphonic and chamber music, this critic attempts to reconfigure Vienna’s international image: ‘If today the opinion often spread that the concept of Viennese music is mainly determined by the Viennese operetta, the Vienna Music Festival Week may also prove that the fame of Vienna as a city of music is founded on much deeper foundations.’¹²⁰ Here this critic invokes the ‘city of music’ topos to express the success of the festival as evidence of Vienna’s complete mastery of music, rather than accepting Viennese dominance only in the genre of operetta. Using the phrase ‘deeper foundations’ serves to argue that successful music making is inherent to Vienna and connects the 1912 city of music to a historical, inward-looking, spiritual realm afforded only to the Viennese. However successful this idea was among Viennese intellectuals, however, it does not seem that the festival was organised or marketed successfully for international tourism, and therefore missed the mark of its ambitions.

¹¹⁹ *Der Fremdenverkehr*, 28 April 1912: 2. ‘Fürwahr, jedwedes große Musikfest in den Weltstädten, das im Glanze klassischer Symphonien und Kammerwerke hell prangt, ist im Grunde ein Fest zu Österreichs Ehren, ein echt wienerisches Fest, denn Wien trägt immer und immer aus seinen Tonschätzen die künstlerischen Gaben für solche feierliche Unternehmungen herbei.’

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* ‘Wenn heutigen Tages vielfach die Ansicht verbreitet wird, als ob der Begriff der Wiener Musik hauptsächlich von der Wiener Operette bestimmt würde, so mag die Wiener Musikfestwoche auch erweisen, daß der Ruhm der Musikstadt Wien auf viel tiefer reichende Fundamente gegründet ist.’

An article appearing in the *Neues Wiener Journal* on 11 May 1913 provides a separate, more positive option for the non-continuation of festivals after 1912. Although there was no official festival in 1913, this article claimed: ‘Vienna will get a music festival week this autumn after all. The Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft intends to celebrate the opening of the Wiener Konzerthaus, which is planned for October of this year, in a particularly festive manner and is planning a series of events which, in their entirety, will form a kind of music festival.’¹²¹ Perhaps the opening of the new concert hall, and therefore the increased capacity of the city to hold more concerts throughout the year, mitigated the need for further festivals between 1913 and the end of the First World War. Of course, the onset of War in 1914 was likely to have been a significant factor in the non-continuation of festivals, which were generally aimed to some degree as tourism initiatives. By 1919, however, the sudden increase in performances, and the re-instatement of the Vienna Music Festival in 1920, suggest that a renewed sense of musical demand had emerged out of the First World War.

The critical reception stemming from the Brahms Festival in 1919 and the renewed Vienna Festival Days in 1920 demonstrate a re-considered approach to music and festivals, their spiritual necessity (which was re-awoken during the War), and their commercial potential through tourism (which became a post-war necessity, articulated by critics such as Stefan and Adler). An article in *Der Neue Tag* on 10 May 1919 read: ‘In Vienna, music had always been the magical means that in times of political depression has had the power to distract from the worries of life and to grant the depressed mind a refuge in the supernatural. This explains why, in this saddest of springs, the concerts are always full and one music festival follows

¹²¹ ‘The Opening of the Wiener Konzerthaus’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 11 May 1913: 24. ‘Wien wird im Herbst dieses Jahres doch eine Musikfestwoche erhalten. Die Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft beabsichtigt nämlich die Eröffnung des Wiener Konzerthauses, die für den Oktober dieses Jahres in Aussicht genommen ist, in besonders feierlicher Weise zu begehen und plant eine Reihe von Veranstaltungen, die in ihrer Gesamtheit gewissermaßen ein Musikfest bilden sollen.’

another.’¹²² This critic retained the ideas expressed during the War that music was suitable to periods of suffering and hardship by providing an escape from the moment of political depression. Although this article provides no clear development from the writings of critics during the War, it highlights that festivals after the War (in contrast to those before it) were afforded a position of cultural power able to ‘distract’ and ‘provide refuge’ through ‘magical means’ to those suffering from the War and its aftermath. In practice, this meant the majority (if not the entirety) of Vienna. The renewed demand for music, awakened during the War, created fertile ground for the re-introduction of Viennese music festivals. This renewed demand for music was not isolated to Vienna, it was a pan-European response to the War which transformed music and the consolation that it offered into a saleable commodity.

Hugo Wittmann, writing of the 1920 Music Festival, expressed pleasant incredulity at the introduction of the Vienna Music Festival which contrasted so starkly against the pitiful state of Vienna's population, economy, and society.

It takes some effort to write down this title [Vienna Festival Days]. One can literally hear one word shouting hostility at the other, and in any case, to use an old expression, these two words “Wiener Festtage” are extraordinarily eager to meet on paper. Is it really true that Vienna, the lamenting, sorrowful, overburdened with worries, is about to celebrate festivals, is it not a fairy tale, not a dream? No, it’s the plain truth, only you have to be told it twice or three times, that’s how unbelievable the news sounds.¹²³

¹²² ‘Brahms Festival’, *Der Neue Tag*, 10 May 1919: 8. ‘Musik war in Wien seit jeher das Zaubermittel, das in Zeiten politischer Depression die Kraft besaß, von den Sorgen des Daseins abzulenken und dem bedrückten Gemüte eine Zuflucht ins Uebersinnliche zu gewähren. So läßt es sich erklären, daß in diesem traurigsten aller Frühlinge die Konzerte stets gefüllt sind und ein Musikfest dem anderen folgt.’

¹²³ Wittmann, *Neue Freie Presse*, 23 May 1920: 2. ‘Es kostet einige Ueberwindung, diesen Titel niederzuschreiben. Man hört es förmlich, wie ein Wort das andere feindselig beschreit, und jedenfalls sind, um eine alte Wendung zu gebrauchen, diese zwei Wörter „Wiener Festtage“ außerordentlich erstaunt, einander auf dem Papier zu begegnen. Ist es wirklich wahr, daß Wien, das klagende, leidvolle, von Sorgen überlastete, Feste zu feiern im Begriffe steht, ist’s nicht ein Märchen, nicht ein Traum? Nein, es ist die lautere Wahrheit, nur muß es einem zwei-, dreimal gesagt werden, so unglaublich klingt die Kunde’

He went on:

When this city of mourning dares to take its festive dress, which has been unused for years, out of the chest and expose it to the light with its faded colours, it does not do so in order to yodel Dulieh, but in the consciousness of a serious fulfilment of duty, with the justified desire to prove to the world that our poor city of Vienna, even if it lies crushed in the dust, is still alive and viable, still a necessary member of the human community and an indispensable piece in the structure of the modern cultural world. Everything was taken from us, we were muzzled politically and destroyed economically, but our past could not be erased, Vienna's historical heritage, the spiritual legacy of the centuries could not be eradicated, its soul, the sounding and singing one, could not be robbed from it.¹²⁴

In this final section, Wittmann identifies the founding premise underpinning the resumption of Viennese festivals: 'to prove to the world' that Vienna was an 'indispensable piece in the structure of the modern cultural world'. This re-framing of music was new to the post-war period, and it was precisely this new perspective towards tourism and modernity, founded on 'spiritual legacy' – identity, essentially – that enabled the Viennese Music Festival of 1920 to succeed where the 1912 Festival had not.

¹²⁴ Ibid. *'Wenn diese Stadt der Trauer es wagt, das seit Jahren unbenützte Festkleid aus der Truhe zu holen und mit seinen verblaßten Farben dem Lichte auszusetzen, so tut sie es nicht, um Dulieh zu jodeln, sondern im Bewußtsein einer ernsten Pflichterfüllung, mit dem berechtigten Wunsche, der Welt zu beweisen, daß unsre arme Wienerstadt, wenn sie auch zermalmt im Staube liegt, noch immer lebendig und lebensfähig sei, noch immer ein notwendiges Glied der menschlichen Allgemeinheit und ein unentbehrliches Werkstück im Gefüge der modernen Kulturwelt. Man hat uns alles genommen, uns politisch mundtot gemacht und wirtschaftlich vernichtet, doch unsere Vergangenheit konnte man nicht auslöschen, Wiens historisches Erbe, das geistige Vermächtnis der Jahrhunderte konnte nicht vertilgt, seine Seele, die klingende und singende, ihm nicht geraubt werden.'*

Between 1912 and 1920, the way Vienna viewed its musical culture and heritage was fundamentally transformed. While the experience of the War had re-awakened an innate belief about the importance of music, the post-war collapse provoked the need to re-establish Vienna as a viable city in the modern world. The promise of festivals in the interwar period therefore catered to two imperatives that were direct consequences of the First World War. From the first festival in 1920 to the last in 1938, the interwar period, it would seem, remained wedded to festivals under the influence of these imperatives.

Tourism and the Cityscape

Alongside the festival programmes of 1912 and 1920, these events provided an opportunity to display the Viennese landscape to festival tourists. While a critic writing in 1912 remained wedded mostly to the natural landscape surrounding the city, Hugo Wittmann writing in 1920 drew much more so on the man-made architectural erections within the city. The interaction between tourism, festival, and cityscape in the critical press published in the 1920s presents Vienna as a complete experience, almost like a theatre stage dressed and ready for an international audience.

The article on the 1912 festival appearing in *Der Fremdenverkehr* on 28 April 1912 read:

The participants who accept the invitation to the Vienna Music Festival Week will be embraced by the sublimities and loveliness of the Austrian landscape, by the weaving and winding of nature, which set the soul of the Viennese masters vibrating and animated their imagination in such a special way; they will stroll past the intimate, secret landmarks of Old Vienna, the venerable buildings, the magnificent places of the

Viennese Renaissance, whose noble proportions and forms are reflected in the tonal works of the great Viennese masters.¹²⁵

Much of this image of Vienna is still familiar in its advertisement strategies and the popular imagination today, but the emphasis on Austrian landscape and natural imagery is less familiar. In *Music in Vienna*, Wyn Jones argues that the focus of identification for Austrians narrowed over the course of those two-hundred years, from empire in 1700 to city in 1900.¹²⁶ This trajectory of narrowing geographical focus seems to track across into the rhetoric used by critics to discuss landscape and cityscape either side of the First World War. Although critics writing in 1920 were not without natural metaphors, their focus seemed to zoom in on Vienna. In 1920, Hugo Wittmann wrote:

Thus, along with the music, the festival guests can also enjoy a little architecture, petrified music, as the works of architecture used to be called [...] After all, this proud festival programme is itself like a piece of architecture: it truly reaches for the sky like a Gothic tower or arches gloriously like the dome of a temple of Polyhymnia. In any case, it is the richest excerpt imaginable from our musical abundance.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ *Der Fremdenverkehr*, 28 April 1912: 2. 'Die Teilnehmer, die der Einladung für die Wiener Musikfestwoche folgen, werden von den Erhabenheiten und Lieblichkeiten der österreichischen Landschaft, von dem Walten und Weben der Natur umfungen werden, welche die Seele der Wiener Meister in Schwingung brachte und ihre Phantasie so eigen belebte; sie werden an den trauten, heimlichen Wahrzeichen Altwiens, an den ehrwürdigen Bauten, an den Prunkpalästen der Wiener Renaissance vorüberwandeln, deren edle Verhältnisse und Formen sich in den Tonwerken der großen Wiener Meister widerspiegeln'

¹²⁶ Wyn Jones, *Music in Vienna*.

¹²⁷ Wittmann, *Neue Freie Presse*, 23 May 1920: 2. 'So kann der Festgast mit der Musik auch etwas Architektur genießen, versteinerte Musik, wie man die Werke der Baukunst früher zu nennen liebte, tönende Gotik, klingende Renaissance, singendes Wiener Barock, Augenweide neben dem Ohrenschmaus. Ist ja doch dieses stolze Festprogramm selbst wie ein Stück Architektur: es strebt wahrhaftig himmelan wie ein gotischer Turm oder wölbt sich glorreich empor wie die Kuppel eines Polyhymnia-Tempels. Jedenfalls ist es der denkbar reichste Auszug aus unserem musikalischen Ueberfluß.'

This rhetoric all cumulates to present Vienna as an eminent ‘City of Music’, not just a city of composers or of great sounding art, but a city in which the fundamental building blocks of the cityscape are somehow musical. Wittmann here engages with a pre-existing rhetorical connection between architecture and music which was articulated widely across Viennese music history.

In 1912, a critic writing in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* described the second movement of Brahms’s Symphony No.4 as ‘a saga of a very old, abandoned castle’.¹²⁸ In 1939, Friedrich Bayer described the symphonies of both Brahms and Bruckner in this way: ‘the giant sounding building of Brahms’s First Symphony’ and Bruckner’s ‘great symphonic arches that arch towards the listener, enveloped in euphony, like gothic cathedrals’.¹²⁹ The link between music and architecture was certainly in place by 1912, but from 1920 the press began to make full use of this connection by emphasising the importance of the Viennese cityscape in the experience of the music festivals.

Within the framework of tourism infrastructure, the erection of monuments around the city served to solidify the ‘City of Music’ myth and had certainly begun before the War. Reuben Phillips has identified the *Ehrengräber* project, initiated in 1888, as physical manifestations of the Viennese self-fashioning as a city of music through the erection of memorial graves.¹³⁰ The addition of such memorials to the physical landscape of Vienna can be read as an important component in the display of Viennese culture that was to be marketed to tourism.

¹²⁸ ‘The Vienna Music Festival Week’, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25 June 1912: 3. ‘eine Sage von einem sehr alten, verlassenen Schlosse’

¹²⁹ Friedrich Bayer (22 March 1902–26 October 1954) was a composer, music theorist, and critic (writing for the *Völkischer Beobachter*). He was a member of the NSDAP from 27 September 1932. On Brahms: Dr. Friedrich Bayer, ‘Kabasta in the Musikverein’, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 December 1939: 4; on Bruckner: Dr. Friedrich Bayer, ‘Subscription Concert in the Musikverein’, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 24 November 1939: 5. ‘das Riesenklanggebäude der Ersten Symphonie Brahms’., der großen symphonischen Bogen, die sich dem in Wohlklang eingehüllten Hörer wie gotische Dome entgegenwölben’

¹³⁰ Reuben Phillips, ‘Exhumations, Honorary Graves, and the Fashioning of Vienna’s Self-Image as the “City of Music”’, *The Musical Quarterly* (2019).

In April 1922, Vienna celebrated the 25th anniversary of the death of Johannes Brahms. The press coverage of this festival was extensive, drawing comments from across the political spectrum. An article in the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* on 4 April drew attention to the attendance of ‘numerous public officials’ at the commemoration event organised by the Municipality of Vienna.¹³¹ According to the article Deputy Mayor Emmerling and Executive City Councillor Richter laid wreaths at Brahms’s memorial in Ressel park and his grave in the *Zentralfriedhof*. In addition, the Brahms Society in Vienna affixed a commemorative plaque to the annex of the Technical University in Karlgasse, chosen because it stood on the site of the composer’s final residence.¹³² The addition of such physical memorials to the cityscape presents Vienna as a museum, every historical moment of which has been curated for preservation and popular consumption.¹³³ The extensive coverage and participation of state officials in this memorializing and commemoration of Brahms suggest the importance of Brahms’s legacy to the ongoing cultural and social ambitions of the state. The article even stated that ‘The Municipality of Vienna has made it its duty of honour to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Johannes Brahms’.¹³⁴

A separate article in the *Neue Freie Presse*, published on 1 April 1922 read: ‘There is a saving Brahms tradition [*rettende Brahms-Tradition*] in Vienna, which has joined the Haydn, Mozart, and Schubert traditions.’¹³⁵ Precisely what this critic means by ‘saving’ Brahms is unclear. Based on his position in the repertory, it does not appear that Brahms was in need of saving, but nor too would the names Haydn, Mozart and Schubert form prime candidates of composers in need of saving. I therefore wonder whether this critic uses saving in the sense of

¹³¹ *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 4 April 1922: 3.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ See Miloš Jovanović, ‘Whitewashed empire: Historical narrative and place marketing in Vienna’, *History and Anthropology* 30, No.4 (2019): 460–76.

¹³⁴ *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 4 April 1922: 3. ‘Die Gemeinde Wien hat es sich zur Ehrenpflicht gemacht, den 25. Todestag Johannes Brahms’

¹³⁵ ‘On the Brahms Commemoration’, *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 April 1922: 1. ‘Es gibt eine rettende Brahms-Tradition in Wien, die sich an die Haydn-, Mozart- und Schubert-Tradition angeschlossen hat.’

storing, keeping safe, and making permanent, rather than in the sense of rescuing. Viewed in this way, the clumping of Brahms, Haydn, Mozart and Schubert as composers intended to be kept safe from history and to be permanently established as Viennese cultural landmarks makes sense as a project supported by the memorialisation of Brahms undertaken during this festival.

For Adler and Stefan, Vienna's musical heritage (of which Brahms was a central part) could offer economic support for the struggling state through the successful organisation and implementation of tourism infrastructures. Adler suggests festivals as particularly promising strategies, and correctly so, since the ensuing Viennese music festivals proved to be extremely successful. In addition to these performances, the city of Vienna erected memorials to its most famous cultural figures and drew attention to the city's architecture as 'petrified music'. The city of music myth which remains today as one of Vienna's top tourist attractions, was seeping into the cityscape, displaying Vienna as a curated museum of musical culture. The involvement of both politicians and critics in these tourism projects suggest their high importance to both the state and the intellectual milieu of the 1920s. This preserved museum of Old Vienna was completely imbued with the lingering spirits of its musical heritage. Brahms's figure, wrote Paul Stefan, 'still seems to walk the streets of this city. Some of the interpreters of his works are still there, Vienna still has, without all one-sidedness, the greatest Brahms tradition to all the other traditions of the city.'¹³⁶

1933 Brahms Festival

A survey of Brahms reception in the newspapers reveals that articles on Brahms appeared with much more frequency around anniversaries and festivals dedicated to the composer. This is unsurprising given that anniversary events and festivals were often much more significant

¹³⁶ Stefan, *Die Bühne*, Heft 125, 1927: 12. 'Noch immer scheint seine Gestalt durch die Straßen dieser Stadt zu gehen. Von den Interpreten seiner Werke sind noch manche da, noch hat Wien, ohne alle Einseitigkeit, die große Brahms-Tradition zu allen übrigen Traditionen der Stadt.'

sources of ideas and discourse than stand-alone concerts. The Brahms Festival in 1933, celebrating the centenary of Brahms's birth is the most significant event of this kind, which generated an enormous volume of newspaper articles on Brahms's life and works, remembrances of his friends and acquaintances, and advertisement and reporting on the events of the festival. While it is unsurprising that such events should generate discussions in this way, what is perhaps more surprising is the infrequency with which articles on Brahms appear in the surrounding years. Concert advertisements persist throughout, but lengthy articles on the composer become a rarity in certain periods (1934–1936, for example). 1941–1945 contains hardly any articles on Brahms, with most search results for 'Brahms' bringing up only concert listings or radio broadcast programmes.¹³⁷ Under National Socialism, the press came under strict control with extensive censorship measures in place which were particularly vehement against anyone interpreted as criticising the regime. Criticism in general, especially if it could be (mis-)interpreted as political, held higher stakes for writers in this period and may have resulted in a general negation of critical writing in the press in favour of a simpler reporting of events. Goebbels enforced strict regulation of the press, which included requirements to report events without criticism.¹³⁸

These 'gaps' in Brahms reception do not appear to imply anything in particular about the status of Brahms as a composer or his position in the performing repertoire, which both remained more or less securely placed within the Viennese canon. The Philharmonic Orchestra performed no Brahms Symphonies in Vienna during 1911, and only one article pertaining to Brahms's symphonies appeared in that year. While the Symphony Orchestra performed ten Brahms symphonies in that year, the press demonstrated a tendency to overlook their activities,

¹³⁷ Search results of the ANNO database.

¹³⁸ See, for example, Robert G. Young, "Not This Way Please!" Regulating the Press in Nazi Germany', *Journalism Quarterly* 64, No.4 (1987): 787–792; Leonard W. Doob, 'Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda', *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 14, No.3 (1950): 419–442; Michael H. Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany* (Yale University Press, 2019).

dedicating more attention to the Philharmonic Orchestra. 1924 is the only other year in which the Philharmonic omitted to play a Brahms symphony, but the Symphonic Orchestra played at least one Brahms symphony every year between 1911 and 1945. More so than this, though, gaps in the polemical writing about Brahms suggests that there were periods in which Brahms's music no longer needed to be contested. If the image of Brahms presented in the press during 1933 was one of a Viennese master, whose music represented a culturally united Austria and Germany, then the lack of coverage during 1934–1936 suggests that this image was non-controversial and that the majority of critics were happy to let it stand.

In 1933, a Brahms festival in Vienna was organised jointly by the German Brahms Society based in Berlin and the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. Giving the keynote address for the opening of the festival, Wilhelm Furtwängler began his speech by pointing out that the German Brahms Society had no reservations about holding the Brahms Festival in Vienna ‘since we belong together culturally, regardless of what high politics thinks.’¹³⁹ In this speech, Brahms is used as the exemplar symbol of Austrian and German cultural togetherness, or cultural pan-Germanism. The list of notables in attendance reeled off by the article reporting on Furtwängler's speech included President Miklos and Reich President Hindenburg, who had assumed the patronage of the festival, as well as Minister of Justice Schuschnigg, the German envoy Dr Rieth, ‘representatives of the educational authorities’, and ‘members of the government’.¹⁴⁰ The presence of these high officials of both Austria and Germany suggest official support for the idea of Brahms as pan-Germanist symbol. Heinrich Damisch, too, wrote of the 1933 Brahms Festival in the *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* on 7 May 1933: ‘Hamburg and Vienna, the German city of music at the foot of the Alps, are today united by a common festive mood in the sign of a cultural unity that bears witness to that unity which embraces all Germans

¹³⁹ ‘Opening Ceremony of the Brahms Festival’, *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, 17 May 1933: 10. “da wir – gleichgültig wie die hohe Politik darüber denkt – kulturell ja doch zusammengehören“.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

and will tolerate no separation.’¹⁴¹ Here Brahms represented Hamburg and Vienna, while the festival represented Berlin and Vienna, thereby suggesting that both the festival and its reception – in a newspaper whose title suggests an affinity with pan-Germanism – were interpreted as symbols of the unity of Austria and Germany.

But this festival too put the image of Brahms to the service of Viennese tourism and the solidification of the ‘City of Music’ construction. An article in the *Badener Zeitung* on 24 May 1933 reported that ‘One thing is certain: the VIII. German Brahms Festival in Vienna was an epoch-making event and a new proof of the world renown of Vienna as a city of music.’¹⁴² The Austrian organisers had borne the ‘lion’s share of the worries and financial risk’, but according to this and numerous other articles appearing in the press, the festival was a great success and all five concerts had sold out.¹⁴³ This critic highlights both the touristic attraction and the steadfast home support for the festival concerts:

The audience was international, faintly Reichsdeutsch, strongly English and Dutch; one heard many languages mixed up in the front rows and saw dinner jackets and evening dresses of un-Viennese – pardon! Of other than Viennese – elegance. But in order to fill the large golden hall to capacity, it needed the loyal audience of the serious Viennese concerts and the influx from the surrounding area – Badeners could also be welcomed – it needed the love of music, the understanding and sacrifice of the Austrian.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Heinrich Damisch (4 December 1872–8 June 1961) was a music critic who became an NSDAP member from 1 May 1933. See Robert Hoffmann, ‘Wer war Heinrich Damisch?: Versuch einer biographischen Annäherung’, *Musicologica Austriaca* 27 (2008): 181–209. Heinrich Damisch, ‘Johannes Brahms’, *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, 7 May 1933: 4. ‘Hamburg und Wien, die deutsche Hansastadt am nordischen Meer und die deutsche Musikstadt am Fuße der Alpen, sind heute durch gemeinsam Festesstimmung verbunden im Zeichen einer Kulturgemeinsamkeit, die, durch Volksnatur und Geschichte geschaffen, für jene Einigkeit Zeugnis gibt, die alle Deutschen umfaßt und keine Trennung dulden wird.’

¹⁴² ‘In Brahms Month’, *Badener Zeitung*, 24 May 1933: 1. ‘Eines ist sicher: das VIII Deutsche Brahmsfest in Wien war ein epochales Ereignis und ein neuer Beweis von der Weltgeltung der Musikstadt Wien.’

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. ‘Der Einschlag im Publikum war ein internationaler, schwach reichsdeutscher, stark englischer und holländischer; man hörte in den vorderen Reihen viele Sprachen durch einander und sah Smokings und Abendtoiletten von unwienerischer – pardon! Von anderer als wienerischer – Eleganz. Aber um den großen

This critic seems to encourage and welcome the international audience, suggesting support for and the success of the city's tourism initiatives, while simultaneously emphasising the higher level of artistic appreciation of Austrian (even over German) listeners. Perhaps in contrast to Furtwängler's address about the commonality between Austrian and German, the emphasised distinction between 'Reichsdeutsch' and 'Austrian' suggests that this Festival was not viewed by everyone as a pan-Germanist exhibition.

Another article in the same paper appearing on 22 April 1933 wrote of the hopes and expectations brought by the coming festival:

This year may be called an actual Brahms year. The most important event in the name of the greatest German master of absolute music after Beethoven is the VIII German Brahms Festival in Vienna from 16 to 21 May. [...] The impressions of this consecrated way of bringing Brahms's work in its most important representatives to an international festively tuned audience are among the unforgettable ones. And so the participants in the Vienna Festival will also take away a memory for life.¹⁴⁵

It is entirely possible that these two articles were written by the same critic. Both emphasised the importance of the festival as 'epoch-making' and 'consecrated', drew explicitly on the desire for the festival to serve as an event for international tourism, and in this earlier instalment, advertised the festival as 'a memory for life'. Both articles written before and after

goldenen Saal bis auf das letzte Plätzchen zu füllen, brauchte es ja doch wieder das treue Publikum der ersten Wiener Konzerte und den Zuzug aus der Umgebung – auch Badener konnte man begrüßen – es brauchte die Musikliebe, das Verständnis und den Opfermut des Österreicher.

¹⁴⁵ 'Day of Music Care', *Badener Zeitung*, 22 April 1933: 1. 'dieses Jahr ein eigentliches Brahms-Jahr genannt werden darf. Die bedeutendste Veranstaltung im Namen des größten deutschen Meisters der absoluten Musik nach Beethoven ist das VIII Deutsche Brahms-Fest in Wien vom 16 bis 21 Mai. [...] Die Eindrücke dieser weihvollen Art, das Brahms'sche Werk in seinen wichtigsten Vertretern einem internationalen, festlich gestimmten Publikum nahe zu bringen, gehören zu den unvergeßlichen. Und so werden auch die Teilnehmer an den Wiener Festtagen eine Erinnerung fürs Leben mitnehmen.'

the festival presented the event as an undeniable success: on the one hand as a promise of the ‘most important event’ in the name of Brahms; and on the other as ‘proof of the world renown of Vienna as a city of music’.¹⁴⁶

Similarly to the *Badener Zeitung* article on 24 May, an article by Max Graf in *Der Tag*, which appeared on 19 May 1933 part way through the festival expressed some doubt about the pan-Germanist ambitions of the festival.

The German Reich President von Hindenburg and the Austrian Federal President Miklas are the protectors of the festival, which should be a joint celebration of Germany and Austria. It is not our fault if the Brahms Festival has now become primarily a Viennese festival. Hamburg, the city where Brahms was born, and Vienna, the city where Brahms lived and created, in the artistic and convivial atmosphere of the classical German cultural city of music, are further apart today than they were in Brahms’s day.¹⁴⁷

Here Graf acknowledges the ambitions of the organisers for the festival to be a celebration of Germany and Austria, but he clearly questions the success of those ambitions by suggesting that the festival had become primarily Viennese. He claims that this was ‘not our fault’ – ‘our’ in this sense can reasonably be presumed to mean the Viennese contingent of the festival – demonstrating a defensive manner that presupposes accusations from the German contingent. Most notable in this article is Graf’s observation that, despite the drive towards pan-

¹⁴⁶ *Badener Zeitung*, 22 April 1933: 1; *Badener Zeitung*, 24 May 1933.

¹⁴⁷ Mg., ‘Brahms Festival’, *Der Tag*, 19 May 1933: 8. ‘Der deutsche Reichspräsident von Hindenburg und der österreichische Bundespräsident Miklas sind die Protektoren des Festes, das ein gemeinsames Fest Deutschlands und Österreichs sein sollte. Es ist nicht unsere Schuld, wenn das Brahms-Fest jetzt vor allem ein Wiener Fest geworden ist. Hamburg, die Stadt, in der Brahms geboren wurde, und Wien, die Stadt, in der Brahms gelebt und geschaffen hat, in der künstlerischen und geselligen Atmosphäre der klassischen deutschen Kulturstadt der Musik, sind heute weiter auseinandergerückt, als in den Tagen von Brahms.’

Germanism, Austria and Germany had become ‘further apart than they were in Brahms’s day’. This could be seen as an articulated failure of the festival to obtain and celebrate the cultural togetherness of these two countries, demonstrating the futility of pan-Germanist ambitions in the 1930s. Alternately, however, it could be interpreted as a demonstration of Brahms’s suitability for pan-Germanist adoption because he had equal opportunity to call either country home at a time when there was less friction between the two. Brahms, in other words, could represent the desire for unification. The Brahms Festival could, in this way, have possessed specific political utility for bringing Austria and Germany together.

The 1933 Festival stands as a unique celebration of Brahms’s importance to both pan-Germanism and Viennese tourism. Furtwängler’s address at the beginning of the festival, which was recreated multiple times in the press coverage of the event, and the representation of Austrian and German political officials sought to employ this (highly successful) festival and the cultural prestige of Brahms to strengthen and advocate for cultural pan-Germanism. It was presumably hoped that this cultural pan-Germanism would then develop into political unification. Critics in the press seemed to delight in the tourism potential of the festival, drawing explicitly on the combination of Austrian and non-Austrian audiences.

Modernism and Socialism

Revising Brahms’s Modernity

By the end of the First World War, the constructed Vienna was already an image of arcadian nostalgia. While this ‘City of Music’ image created a shared imagined past upon which to build a modern (yet rooted) Viennese identity, the contemporaneous socialist project of uplifting the working class through culture (and the reported preferences of those workers) suggests that the lived experience of citizens in post-war Vienna was perhaps closer to the decadence and modernity associated with Weimar Germany or Jazz-Age America than it was to this newly

constructed Vienna. Navigating these lines, music critics reframed their chosen composers to accord with the values of modernity and socialism. In his memoirs, Stefan Zweig acknowledged the success of Vienna's tourism projects, although with apparent disdain: 'Austria was "discovered", and became disastrously popular with foreign visitors in a parody of the society season'.¹⁴⁸ But alongside this invasion of tourists, Zweig stressed the importance of culture and the craze of modernity: 'There was rebellion, purely for the fun of rebelling against everything once accepted [...]. Every form of expression, of course, including art, tried to be as radical and revolutionary as possible.'¹⁴⁹ Perhaps, then, there are two versions of Viennese culture: the first, self-fashioned and backwards looking, which valued tradition and an Austrian history constructed around great masters of the past, designed to draw tourists to the 'City of Music' or 'Living museum' of Vienna; the second, modern and revolutionary, designed to cast Vienna as a cosmopolitan city which had severed ties with the failed Monarchy and the traumas of the First World War and its devastating social, economic, and political aftermath.¹⁵⁰ This latter provided a welcome distraction from the burning 'embers of empire', while the first created a Vienna that never was, constructed through rose-tinted spectacles of arcadian nostalgia.¹⁵¹

Helmut Gruber's 1991 study *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture* seeks to understand some of the contradictions of interwar Vienna as a result of an ill-defined socialist cultural project containing 'insurmountable contradictions', activated by bourgeois politicians and intellectuals to transform the working class.¹⁵² The most relevant of those contradictions inherent in the cultural programmes of the *Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei* (SDAP), was

¹⁴⁸ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*: 316.

¹⁴⁹ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*: 323.

¹⁵⁰ John Hargreaves extrapolates from Hermann Broch's writings the idea of Vienna as a living museum; a city founded on decoration, which for Broch was tantamount to the 'misuse of art to mask, select, adorn, and thus deny reality.' John A. Hargreaves, *Music in the Works of Broch, Mann, and Kafka* (Boydell & Brewer, 2002): 49–54.

¹⁵¹ The phrase 'embers of empire' refers to Miller and Morelon (eds), *Embers of Empire*.

¹⁵² Gruber, *Red Vienna*: 5; 82.

the aim to ‘appropriate for the workers the best of elite/bourgeois culture, and at the same time to create a closed proletarian counterculture committed to the class struggle for a socialist society’.¹⁵³ In practical terms, critics and intellectuals invested in the cultural programme argued that works of artistic excellence (regardless of their date of composition) contained progressive elements and revolutionary overtones.¹⁵⁴ Those works viewed by this group of elite socialists to be enlightening, educative, and morally uplifting to the working classes were re-framed to become spiritually and essentially modern.

This re-evaluation of music, and the accompanying reversal of the perception of specific composers, is demonstrated in an article by Ludwig Karpath, written in 1917: ‘The hypermodern Strauss is in the last analysis a classic, the classic Brahms is modern to the fingertips.’¹⁵⁵ Here Karpath juxtaposed the previous perceptions of Strauss as hypermodern and Brahms as classic against the new evaluation of Strauss as classic and Brahms as modern. This reversal in Brahms’s reception is usually traced back to Schoenberg’s 1947 essay ‘Brahms the Progressive’, but it can actually be traced back to as early as 1916. After the First World War viewing Brahms as modern was a seemingly widespread phenomenon, especially during the period of 1918 to 1937. The period of 1918 to 1922 in particular, formed an especially productive period for critics in espousing these ideas. Max Graf and Julius Korngold were exceptionally prolific on this topic, although they were not the only critics re-framing the modernity of Brahms’s music; Heinrich Kralik, Paul Amadeus Pisk, Ludwig Karpath, and conductor Oswald Kabasta also penned articles in their own names, while a number of articles were written anonymously.

¹⁵³ Gruber, *Red Vienna*: 82.

¹⁵⁴ Gruber *Red Vienna*: 85.

¹⁵⁵ Ludwig Karpath, ‘Orchestra and Choir Concerts’, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 26 January 1917: 17. ‘*Der hypermoderne Strauß ist im letzten Grunde ein Klassiker, der Klassiker Brahms ist bis in die Fingerspitzen modern.*’

The earliest article that I have found appeared on 17 January 1916 in *Die Zeit*. Mg. (Max Graf) wrote: ‘Despite the classical form, Brahms is, what only his party people fail to recognize, a true modernist, and he stands next to Beethoven as Kleist and Hebbel stand next to Shakespeare and Goethe.’¹⁵⁶ This argument was to be put forward repeatedly by Graf over the following decade, but in this early mention Graf locates the source of the misnomer as Brahms’s ‘party people’. What precisely he means by this is unclear, but I am inclined to interpret it as pertaining to a political party, or those in the liberal circles of Hanslick and Brahms’s other late-nineteenth-century and *fin-de-siècle* critics who espoused Brahms as the classical proponent of absolute music, turned against the programmatic modernism of Wagner, Liszt, and Bruckner. The measure here for modernism is also curious. Because Brahms is modernist, according to Graf, he stands next to Beethoven – a composer stylistically modern for his time, but no longer by the beginning of the twentieth century when compared to composers such as Wagner or Mahler. What Graf does not articulate here, but highlights in his later articles, is that Brahms was a modernist because he composed with the modern spirit, and it is this, I think, which encouraged him to draw on Beethoven as the marker of this kind of modernism. This interpretation of modernism is notably different from the ‘progressiveness’ attributed to Brahms by Schoenberg.

Reviewing the first Philharmonic concert of the season in November 1921, Max Graf explained that: ‘According to old custom, the programme of the first philharmonic concert is a conservative one.’¹⁵⁷ The Philharmonic orchestra were the ‘true town musicians of the old city of music and for Viennese music lovers’.¹⁵⁸ And yet, having identified the concert as a standard-bearer of old Austria, Graf takes a contradictory view of Brahms’s First Symphony,

¹⁵⁶ Mg., ‘Philharmonic Concert’, *Die Zeit*, 17 January 1916: 2. ‘Trotz der klassischen Form ist Brahms, was nur seine Parteileute verkennen ein echter Moderner, und er steht neben Beethoven, wie Kleist und Hebbel neben Shakespeare und Goethe.’

¹⁵⁷ Max Graf, ‘Music from Sunday’, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 November 1921: 9. ‘Nach altem Brauch ist das Programm des ersten philharmonischen Konzertes ein konservatives.’

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. ‘die wahren Stadtmusikanten der alten Musikstadt, und den Wiener Musikfreunden’

which formed the central item on the programme: ‘The pessimistic undercurrent of Brahms’s music, which has found new colours for autumnal moods of the soul, is what is actually modern about it, and for Brahms, classical form is only the means to master the dark passionate nature of his being’.¹⁵⁹ For Graf, Brahms’s music was modern because it was borne from a modern spirit, but it appears conservative because it was channelled through classical form. He articulated this view particularly clearly in an article entitled ‘Johannes Brahms’, which appeared in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* five months later on 4 April 1922:

As a form thinker, Brahms turned backwards, to the classics, to Bach, to Handel, even further back to Schütz and Ekkard, to Italian madrigalists: but the Brahmsian content, the Brahmsian feeling is modern. [...] Like all modern creativity, he is not free of unresolved contradictions, and what contradiction does not lie in the union of classical form and modern feeling. [...] In this music, the master’s gaze is directed backwards, but the feeling tears the music forward, and so Brahmsian music will endure, a classical monument to modern times.¹⁶⁰

The emphasis here on modernity as a feeling or spirit, conforms with the socialist cultural programmes of modernisation.¹⁶¹ This conception of Brahms’s music as expressing a ‘modern feeling’ is one that comes up repeatedly.

It is necessary to draw out precisely how critics ascribe modernity to Brahms’s music, because the term is used to denote at least three different attributes in music criticism. Firstly,

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. ‘Der pessimistische Untergrund der brahmsischen Musik, die für Herbststimmungen der Seele neue Farben gefunden hat, ist das eigentlich Moderne an ihr, und die klassische Form ist für Brahms nur das Mittel, der dunklen Leidenschaftlichkeit seines Wesens Herr zu werden’

¹⁶⁰ Graf, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 April 1922: 6. ‘Als Formdenker ist Brahms nach rückwärts gewendet, zu den Klassikern, zu Bach, zu Händel, ja noch weiter zurück, zu Schütz und Ekkard, zu italienischen Madrigalisten: aber der Brahmsische Inhalt, das Brahmsische Gefühl ist modern.’

¹⁶¹ D.J. Bach’s aspirations for the cultural project, which he was fundamental in coordinating, were to provide the ‘finest and therefore most revolutionary art’ to the working classes. See Gruber, *Red Vienna*: 98.

there is modernity pertaining to musical style wherein the music sounds modern in some way (type 1); the post-tonal and atonal experiments of the Second Viennese School form an obvious example of this branch of musical modernity. Secondly, of particular familiarity to Brahms reception, there is modernity pertaining to compositional technique (type 2); this branch of modernism was famously espoused by Schoenberg about Brahms's progressive compositional process. Thirdly, there is modernity that is interpreted as a spiritual resonance to modern times (type 3); it is this 'modern feeling' that Graf articulates above and is essential for the re-configuration of Brahms's modernity in Vienna during the interwar period. Although Schoenberg would later argue Brahms's type 2 modernity, the modern Brahms of socialism and the assumptions carried by the term 'modern' in this chapter pertain wholly to a type 3 modernism.

To return to Graf's enlightening analysis, some of his linguistic constructions deserve further investigation. Graf identified a contradiction, which highlighted, on the one hand, the backward-looking form thinker and, on the other, the forward-moving modern feeling. The divide here between thinking and feeling engages with the same semantic fields as the German versus non-German rhetorical binary. Different than the nationalist discourse, however, Graf remained assured that this binary was not dialectical because Brahms's music was 'not free of unresolved contradictions'.¹⁶² The dialectician would search for a synthesis between the thinking and the feeling, but Graf deliberately emphasised the contradiction. This contradiction, indeed, was presented by Graf as the means by which Brahms's music would endure, suggesting that the navigation of past and future was to be a constant concern for the eternal present. The construction 'a classical monument to modern times' connects Brahms's music to architecture, giving it a state of solidity and permanence which is situated historically. Considering the role of architecture and monuments in tourism initiatives discussed above, this

¹⁶² Graf, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 April 1922:6.

monumentalising imperative was in fact an attribute of 1920s Viennese modernity: a modernity which sought to capitalise on the past, rather than negate it.

Attempting to explain the reception of the composer, Graf wrote:

The classical attitude of Brahms's music is to blame for the fact that people have long failed to recognise the modern element in Brahms. The emotional content of Brahms's music, with its preference for elegiac moods, moods of autumn, for uncheerful cheerfulness that only smiles softly, for broken colours; the pessimistic contemplation of the world and human fate, starting with the "Schicksalslied" and ending with the "ernsten Gesänge", the sombre passionate nature, are thoroughly modern. The classical form does not grow naturally out of Brahms's thoughts as it does in the classics. It is the result of a struggle, is hammered and forged, conquered with the power of thought.¹⁶³

Here, Graf clearly identified that the style of Brahms's music has led critics to overlook the essence of the work, leading them to label his music classical when in fact it is modern. Further, he goes on to compare the form of Brahms's music as emerging from a struggle, through the power of intellect. The struggle-victory narrative assigned to Brahms's music provides the basis for viewing this music as symbolic of the imagined success of the socialist cultural project. The adjectives chosen by Graf to articulate Brahms's modernity are curious. He attempts to encapsulate the 'emotional content' of Brahms's music, aligning with the idea of a

¹⁶³ Ibid. *'die Klassische Haltung der Brahmsischen Musik ist daran schuld, wenn man lange in Brahms das moderne Element verkannt hat. Der Gefühlsgehalt der Brahmsischen Musik mit ihrer Vorliebe für elegische Stimmungen, Stimmungen des Herbstes, für unfrohe Heiterkeit, die nur leise lächelt, für gebrochene Farben; die pessimistische Betrachtung von Welt und Menschenschicksal, vom „Schicksalslied“ angefangen, bis zu den „Ernsten Gesängen“, die düstere Leidenschaftlichkeit sind durchaus modern. Die klassische Form wächst bei Brahms nicht, wie bei den Klassikern naturhaft aus den Gedanken heraus. Sie ist Ergebnis eines Kampfes, wird gehämmert und geschmiedet, mit der Kraft des Denkens bezwungen.'*

modern feeling, but ‘elegiac moods’ and ‘uncheerful cheerfulness’ might not smack of modernity. Graf seemed to equate modernity with ‘the pessimistic contemplation of the world and human fate’. In the aftermath of ‘the war to end all wars’, the collapse of Viennese society, and the often referred to ‘misery of the day’ it is hardly surprising that type 3 modernism would become closely associated with pessimism at an existential level.

The idea of brokenness arises here, as it does in Graf’s 1933 article. In 1933 Graf wrote that Brahms ‘sought simplicity and strength in the German folk song, because he was basically a modern, that is, many times broken, nature.’¹⁶⁴ Again, modern here indicates an affinity with the experience of Vienna in a period of collapse, crisis, and fragmentation. In 1922, Graf identified ‘broken colours’, a curious construction – how can colours be broken? – but one which suggests a singular break-point. But by 1933, this break-point had become plural and compound: ‘many times broken’. Whether this trajectory was a deliberate one or not, it implies that the period between 1922 and 1933 experienced additional break-points which compounded the pre-existing break experienced during the First World War. The ruptures, contradictions, and pessimism reflected in Brahms’s music, therefore gave the music resonance in the mounting brokenness of Viennese society.

Not all critics shared this view, though. An article entitled ‘On the Brahms Commemoration’, which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 1 April 1922 took a more positive stance: ‘In the new conception, many a movement reveals its modern content, the character of the excited experience, more vividly than before.’¹⁶⁵ In contrast to Graf’s modernity-equals-pessimism construction, this critic identifies modernity as ‘the character of an excited experience’. Both are responses to change: change can either be frightening or exciting, but often it manifests both feelings. A separate feuilleton article appearing in the

¹⁶⁴ Max Graf, ‘Brahms’s Hundredth Birthday’, *Der Tag*, 7 May 1933: 17. ‘Er hat Einfachheit und Stärke beim deutschen Volkslied gesucht, denn er war im Grunde eine moderne, also vielfach gebrochene Natur.’

¹⁶⁵ *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 April 1922: 1. ‘Eindringlicher als zuvor offenbart in der neuen Auffassung mancher Satz seinen modernen Gehalt, den Charakter des erregt Erlebten.’

Neues Wiener Tagblatt on 23 December 1918 provided another ultimately hopeful view of Brahms's future orientation, but it also bore signs of present hardship: 'I had no choice but to console myself with many fellow sufferers and surrender to the soothing magic of Brahms's D Major Symphony, which immediately poured over me a full shower of honest melodies without back-worldly thoughts. [...] In his F Major Symphony, he interweaves the beautiful, hopeful past with the blissful present and visionary, far-sighted dreams of the future.'¹⁶⁶ Although there is no explicit reference to modernity in this quotation, this critic still relates their situational hardship to Brahms's music but through the more romantic idea of escapism. The F major Symphony in particular, encouraged a relatively optimistic – if unrealistic – view of the future, suggesting that Brahms's music may have played a part in the psychological framing of past, present, and future for this critic.

Heinrich Kralik takes a different approach, choosing to emphasise components of continuity as a component of change. Writing in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* in 1922, Kralik argues that in the years since Brahms's death in 1897: 'nothing new, nothing valuable has been created that has not somehow passed through the purifying sphere of Brahms's music.'¹⁶⁷ Kralik here establishes Brahms as the forefather of modern music, juxtaposed against Wagner and Bruckner (both of whom were more readily accepted modernists). What he means by 'the purifying sphere' is presumably a spiritual-aesthetic judgement more so than anything else, but the idea of purity in music carries the associational baggage of debates about absolute versus programme music thereby invoking Wagner as Brahms's programmatic counterpart. Kralik goes on to discuss precisely this topic: 'Brahms had to prove that it was possible to compose

¹⁶⁶ 'Feuilleton', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 23 December 1918: 3. 'und so blieb mir nichts weiter übrig, als mich mit vielen Leidensgefährten zu trösten und dem beseligenden Zauber der D-Dur-Symphonie von Brahms hinzugeben, die denn auch sofort einen vollen Blütenregen ehrlicher Melodien ohne Hinterweltlergedanken über mich ergoß. [...] In seiner F-Dur-Symphonie verwob er die schöne, hoffnungsreiche Vergangenheit mit der beglückenden Gegenwart und seherisch weit ausblickenden Zukunftsträumen.'

¹⁶⁷ Heinrich Kralik, 'Feuilleton: Johannes Brahms on the 25th Anniversary of his Death', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 3 April 1922: 2. 'nichts Neues nichts Wertvolles ist geschaffen worden, das nicht irgendwie durch die läuternde Sphäre Brahms'scher Musik hindurchgegangen wäre.'

in a new and original and modern way without reference to extra-musical things. [...] His mission was to bring back the prestige of unintentional music-making, the naïve singing and playing instinct which, after all, had possessed strength enough to lead the development from folk song to complicated symphonic form.’¹⁶⁸ It would seem that, to Kralik, modern music had to ‘pass through’ the influence of either Wagnerian and Lisztian programmaticism or Brahmsian absolutism. Given his opinion that ‘nothing valuable’ had been created that had not ‘passed through’ the Brahmsian path, it could be presumed that modern music should be founded on non-programmatic bases. Brahms, therefore, becomes the forefather of ‘valuable’ modern music.

The conductor Oswald Kabasta made similar gestures in an article published in the *Neues Wiener Journal* on 3 April 1937. He wrote:

Four decades have passed since Brahms closed his eyes forever. And now we see the strange spectacle that he is closer to us today than ever before. Not because we might feel obliged by an anniversary, not because we might have something to make good about him, but simply because the development of music in recent decades has brought us close again to this musician, whose work is strangely related in many details to the demands of so-called new music. [...] it is the chamber music spirit that prevails even in his most monumental orchestral creations that brings him so close to the music of today.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. ‘Brahms hatte es zu beweisen, daß auch ohne Bezugnahme auf außermusikalische Dinge neu und originell und – modern komponiert werden könne. [...] Seine Mission war es, das absichtslose Musizieren wieder in Ansehen zu bringen, den naiven Sing- und Spieltrieb, der immerhin Kraft genug besessen hat, die Entwicklung vom Volkslied bis zur komplizierten symphonischen Form zu führen.’

¹⁶⁹ Oswald Kabasta, ‘What we owe to Johannes Brahms’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 3 April 1937: 7. ‘Vier Dezennien sind vergangen, seit Brahms die Augen für immer geschlossen hat. Und nun zeigt sich das eigenartige Schauspiel, daß er uns heute näher steht als je. Nicht deshalb, weil wir uns durch einen Jahrestag vielleicht verpflichtet fühlen, nicht, weil wir an ihm vielleicht etwas gut zu machen hätten, sondern einfach deshalb, weil die Entwicklung der Musik in den letzten Jahrzehnten uns diesen Musiker wieder nahegebracht hat, dessen Schaffen in vielen Einzelheiten den Forderungen der sogenannten neuen Musik merkwürdig verwandt ist. [...] Der

For Kabasta, Brahms's music was underpinned by the spirit of chamber music, and this affinity with the small, the intimate, perhaps even the intellectual but without loss of the spiritual, draws parallels between his music and the new music of the day. In a different rhetorical guise, but perhaps still signalling to the same musical components, Kabasta, like Kralik, suggested even if indirectly that Brahms functioned as the forefather of modern music. It is fascinating that he suggested that (in 1937) Brahms was 'closer to us today than *ever before*', because this implies that Brahms had been misunderstood by, or was not wholly relevant to, or somehow remained out of step with his own time. But with the passing of time, the experience of the First World War and its aftermath, the musical climate (Kabasta implied) had ripened to elucidate the spiritual proximity of Brahms's music.

Writing in 1921 on the death of the critic and Brahms biographer Max Kalbeck, Julius Korngold identified Brahms's modernism as deliberately juxtaposed to that of Wagner and Liszt.¹⁷⁰ 'And with such an attitude Brahms, who represented to him the genius of the classical-conservative modernism that was emerging consciously from the Schumann-Mendelssohn circle as a contrast to the Liszt-Wagnerian worldview ... Brahms became Kalbeck's destiny.'¹⁷¹ Kalbeck, who had long been a supporter and close friend of Brahms, viewed Brahms's modernism (as Korngold understood it) as a direct challenge to Liszt and Wagner. But the construction of 'classical-conservative modernism' smacks of contradiction. For Kalbeck, it seems reasonable to propose that modernism – if he would have used that term – denoted Brahms's music as pertaining to the music culture of 1890s Vienna in contemporary opposition

ammermusikalische Geist aber, der auch in seinen monumentalsten Orchesterschöpfungen waltet, ist es, der ihn der Musik von heute so nahe bringt.

¹⁷⁰ Max Kalbeck authored an eight-volume Brahms biography, published between 1904 and 1914.

¹⁷¹ Julius Korngold, 'Max Kalbeck', *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 May 1921: 1. 'Und mit solcher Gesinnung verschrieb er sich Brahms, der ihm das Genie der sich im bewußten Gegensatze zu den liszt-wagnerischen Anschauungen aus dem Schumann-Mendelssohn-Kreise ablösenden klassisch-konservativen Moderne darstellte... Brahms wurde Kalbecks Schicksal;'

to the modernity of the Liszt-Wagner school of modernism. For Korngold, it would seem that the term modernism here had a closer association to Brahms as a type 3 modernist composer, as he articulated in his later writings.

Writing in *Neue Freie Presse*, on 1 April 1922, Korngold argued for Brahms's modernity: 'And behold, it shows how much modernity there is in Brahms, how full of character he orchestrated, beyond all the wearing perplexities of the moment.'¹⁷² But Korngold goes further; not content with simply labelling Brahms a modernist, he identifies the composer's seemingly remarkable ability to combine the modern with the un-modern: 'In the new conception, many a movement reveals its modern content, the character of the excited experience, more vividly than before. The wonderful thing about Brahms remains that the tone poet [*Tondichter*] never ceases to be a composer at the same time: an admittedly un-modern [*unmoderner*] trait.'¹⁷³

An article entitled 'The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde's Brahms Celebration', appearing in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* on 27 March 1922, expressed Brahms's modernism in similar terms to Graf's article on 4 April 1922. 'Now these tonal works belong to the classical creations of modern music, for Brahms, the master of ambivalent, broken, dusky moods, of autumnal colours, of masculine elegies, is also a modernist'.¹⁷⁴ The initialled signature of this article (mg.) suggests that it is likely penned by Max Graf, therefore rendering the similarities to his April article unsurprising. A further article, published in 1937, highlights Brahms's modernity in the same field of semantics, but connects those attributes to a more capitalist or popularised venture: 'The fashionable content of Brahms's music is also better

¹⁷² Korngold, *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 April 1922: 1. 'Und siehe, es zeigt sich, wieviel Modernität in Brahms steckt, wie charaktervoll er instrumentiert hat, über alle sich abnützenden Verblüffungen des Augenblicks hinaus.'

¹⁷³ Ibid. 'Eindringlicher als zuvor offenbart in der neuen Auffassung mancher Satz seinen modernen Gehalt, den Charakter des erregt Erlebten.'

¹⁷⁴ Mg., 'Brahms Celebration of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde', *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 27 March 1922: 8. 'Jetzt gehören diese Tonwerke zu den klassischen Schöpfungen der modernen Musik denn ein Moderner ist auch Brahms, der Meister zwiespältiger, gebrochener, dämmerhafter Stimmungen, der Herbstfarben, der männlichen Elegien'

recognised today: the melancholic, sombre, veiled, introspective moods of the soul that give Brahms's music its modern character.'¹⁷⁵ Those attributes of Brahms's modernity, articulated repeatedly by Graf and others, are here elided with 'fashionable content'. This usage of the term modern is a far-flung opposite to the kind of modernism represented by the Second Viennese School, most famously articulated by Schoenberg in 1946: 'If it is art, it is not for all, and if it is for all, it is not art.'¹⁷⁶ Compared to the elitist, anti-capitalist perspective on modernism espoused by Schoenberg, Graf articulated the opposite side of modernism: one that was fashionable, seemingly popular, and which therefore appeared to give voice to the masses. Graf's articulation of Brahms's modernism therefore aligns with the interests of socialism, by viewing modernity as a concern for and important feature of Viennese society during the interwar period.

To understand the extensiveness or controversiality of these perspectives, it is worth considering the work of critics who dissented to the modernisation of Brahms's image. Erwin Felber, writing in the *Wiener Morgenzeitung* on 24 October 1921 praised the conductor Karl Schuricht in his performance of Brahms's First Symphony with the Vienna Concertverein Orchestra, which took place on 19 October at the Vienna Konzerthaus: 'The way he conducted the first Brahms Symphony was sympathetically touching: simple and straightforward, he emphasised the strong healthy core of the music and resisted the temptation to force the old Brahms into modern garb through arbitrary tempi and the discovery of secondary voices.'¹⁷⁷ Felber's characterisation that Schuricht resisted the 'temptation' to modernise Brahms suggests an interest or practice at the time of composers to do exactly that. The specification of 'old

¹⁷⁵ Mg., 'Symphony Concert of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde', *Der Tag*, 22 April 1937: 7. 'Auch das Moderne des Inhaltes der Brahmsischen Musik ist heute besser erkannt: das Melancholische, Düstere, Verhüllte, in-sich-Versponnene der Seelenstimmungen, die der Brahmsischen Musik den modernen Charakter geben.'

¹⁷⁶ Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea* (Philosophical Library, 1950).

¹⁷⁷ Erwin Felber (9 March 1885–27 May 1964) was a Jewish musicologist and critic. Dr. Erwin Felber, 'Concerts', *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, 24 October 1921: 3. 'Die Art, wie er die erste Brahms-Symphonie dirigierte, berührte sympathisch: Einfach und gradlinig, betonte er den starken, gesunden Kern der Musik und leistete der Verlockung Widerstand, durch willkürliche Tempi und Entdeckung von Nebenstimmen den alten Brahms in moderne Gewandung zu zwingen.'

Brahms' identifies the mistake (as Felber saw it) of attempting to align Brahms's music with modernity. What is unclear from his article is the extent to which Felber saw Brahms's music as categorically not modern, as opposed to his aversion to the methods employed by conductors to make his music appear modern.

P.A. (Paul Amadeus) Pisk, writing in 1933 in *Der Kuckuck*, expressed a slightly uncertain line on Brahms the modernist: 'All the works are permeated by the romantic attitude of the emotional world, coupled with an unusually strict sense of form. Brahms has been called a classicist because of this, even though his works were innovative, especially in terms of harmony, and has a guiding effect on a whole generation of younger composers.'¹⁷⁸ Although Pisk calls Brahms a 'romantic' rather than a modernist, he identifies the same problem as Graf that Brahms has (evidently in Pisk's view too) mistakenly been called a classicist. The way in which Pisk articulates Brahms's romanticism, however, is through his 'innovative' works. This branch of modernism in Brahms reception is closer to the type 2 'progressive technique' characterisation of Schoenberg than it is to the other critics discussed above. Pisk therefore seems to possess a slightly uncertain approach to Brahms, which acknowledges his compositional innovation and the impact of his work on younger composers, but which stops short of actually labelling him a modernist. Although many critics omit to comment on Brahms's classical or modern persuasion, I have found no further articles (between 1918 and 1945) that seek to refute the claims of Brahms's modernity. The transformation of Brahms's image, it would seem, was predominantly thought to be the truthful correction of a critical misunderstanding.

Brahms's popularity does not seem to have been in question. Even those critics historically situated on the Bruckner side of the symphonic debates plaguing the 1890s seem

¹⁷⁸ P.A. Pisk, 'On the Brahms Memorial Day', *Der Kuckuck*, 7 May 1933: 9. 'Alle Werke durchzieht die romantische Einstellung der Gefühlswelt, gepaart mit einem ungewöhnlich strengen Formgefühl. Man hat Brahms deswegen einen Klassizisten genannt, obwohl seine Werke besonders in der Harmonik neuartig waren und auf eine ganze Generation von jüngeren Komponisten richtunggebend wirkten.'

to have made peace between the two composers in the second decade of the twentieth century. According to a critic in the *Neues Wiener Journal*, writing on 3 July 1921, ‘The Brahms Festival is a periodic celebration of a society behind which the whole nation stands.’¹⁷⁹ The festival had taken place in Mannheim in June of that year, and was the first to do so after the War. While it is not clear whether the ‘nation’ referred to by this critic is Austria (given that the newspaper was published in Vienna) or Germany (based on the fact that the festival had taken place in Mannheim), or even if the critic held any distinction between these two nations, the unanimous support attributed these festivals by A.W. (Alfons Wallis) – in a journal alleged to be politically ‘impartial’ – suggests the popular favour of Brahms’s music in Austria and/or Germany.¹⁸⁰

Elsa Bienenfeld, writing in the *Neues Wiener Journal* on 10 April 1922, also identified the widespread popularity and significance of Brahms:

The twenty-fifth anniversary of Johannes Brahms’s death has prompted increased performances of his works. In Vienna, where Brahms’s music has always been loved and cultivated, a commemoration did not have to mean a time of reflection; but it is an affirmation and a gladly made declaration of belief in the style and art of one of the greatest masters of music, whose impact has never been interrupted and is still growing. Brahms is one of the musical geniuses who, like Beethoven, Schubert, Mozart, Wagner and Schumann, dominate contemporary musical life; the quarter of a century that has passed since his death has elevated his work with ever increasing clarity. Brahms’s songs, piano and chamber music, and symphonies are among the most valuable parts of contemporary

¹⁷⁹ A.W., ‘The Fourth Brahms Festival’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 3 July 1921: 15. ‘Das Brahms-Fest ist eine periodisch wiederkehrende Feier einer Gesellschaft, hinter der die ganze Nation steht.’

¹⁸⁰ The *Neues Wiener Journal* appeared with the subtitle ‘impartial Tagblatt’ and pursued no clear political line. ‘Neues Wiener Journal’, *Mahler Foundation*, accessed: 8 May 2023, <https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/locations/austria/vienna/neues-wiener-journal/>.

musical culture, and there is no end to Brahms's festivals, insofar as one may count every successful performance among them.¹⁸¹

Bienenfeld here connects a number of points discussed so far. Brahms's music did not mark a view of backwardness for Bienenfeld, but rather a declaration of growing artistic recognition. His music dominated 'contemporary musical life' and his work had been elevated in the time since his death. The impression given here is that Brahms's music was an almost all-encompassing force in Viennese music culture during the 1920s.

Joseph Reitler, writing in *Radio Wien* on 24 September 1926, highlights the frequency with which Brahms had been broadcast on radio and written about in the accompanying articles: 'Johannes Brahms has already been written about so often and in such detail in these pages that I can easily spare myself a coherent account of his life and work.'¹⁸² Although Reitler made no direct claims to Brahms's popularity in the way that Wallis and Bienenfeld did, the subtext of Brahms's music having been performed regularly enough on radio broadcasts and accordingly written about in the radio newspaper suggests a certain popularity or at least widespread access to Brahms's music.

The idea of Brahms as a modernist is usually attributed to Schoenberg, but I have shown that a prominent body of reception was already attributing modernity to Brahms's music from as early as 1916. The most active period of revising Brahms's modernity took place in the

¹⁸¹ E. Bienenfeld, 'Brahms Memorial Days', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 10 April 1922: 2. 'Die fünfundzwanzigste Wiederkehr des Todestages Johannes Brahms' hat eine vermehrte Aufführung seiner Werke veranlaßt. In Wien, wo die Brahms'sche Musik seit jeher geliebt und gepflegt wird, mußte eine Gedenkfeier nicht erst Einkehr und Besinnen bedeuten; aber sie ist Bekräftigung und gern abgelegtes Bekenntnis zu der Art und Kunst eines der größten Meister der Musik, dessen Wirkung nie unterbrochen worden und noch immer im Wachsen begriffen ist. Brahms gehört zu den musikalischen Genien, die wie Beethoven, Schubert, Mozart, Wagner und Schumann das gegenwärtige Musikleben beherrschen; das Vierteljahrhundert, das seit seinem Tode verstrichen ist, hat mit immer steigender Klarheit sein Werk emporgehoben. Die Brahms'schen Lieder, die Klavier- und Kammermusik, die Symphonien zählen zum teuersten Bestand der gegenwärtigen Musikkultur und der Brahms-Feste gibt es kein Ende, insofern man jede gelungene Aufführung dazu rechnen mag.'

¹⁸² Josef Reitler, 'Johannes Brahms', *Radio Wien*, 24 September 1926: 19. 'Über Johannes Brahms ist in diesen Blättern schon so oft und ausführlich geschrieben worden, daß ich mir füglich eine zusammenhängende Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Schaffens sparen kann.'

1920s and the most common line of argument employed a type 3 modernism, which found Brahms's modernity in his 'modern spirit'. Max Graf, in particular, was an important advocate of this interpretation. The type 2 modernity of 'progressive technique' made famous by Schoenberg was adopted by some critics, although this was less pervasive than type 3 modernism. I have not found evidence of critics arguing in favour of type 1 modernism (modern sound) for Brahms. As I have alluded to throughout this section, the re-evaluation of Brahms as a modern composer was intricately connected to ongoing social and political imperatives in interwar Vienna and modernism frequently interacted with the ambitions, projects, and concerns of socialism.

Brahms and Socialism

Access to music was a significant concern for some critics from the political Left. Paul Friedländer, writing in *Die Rote Fahne* (the communist party newspaper) on 14 April 1922, rejected the socialist function of high art music, but still found inherent value in the music of Brahms.¹⁸³ Writing in response to the 25th anniversary of Brahms's death, Friedländer expressly stated that the event should be addressed differently in *Die Rote Fahne* than it had been in the other papers because the interests of the proletariat and the communist party were different than those of the other papers. The significance of the anniversary was therefore different for *Die Rote Fahne* and its readership. The works of Brahms, Beethoven, and Mozart, Friedländer suggests, were financially and socially (*not* intellectually) inaccessible to the working classes:

¹⁸³ For the political orientation of *Die Rote Fahne* see Wolfgang Rathert, 'Mahler and the Second Viennese School', trans. Juliane Schicker, in *Mahler in Context*, ed. Charles Youmans (Cambridge University Press, 2020): 247.

What do the workers know about the works of Brahms, Beethoven, Mozart? They are realms closed to them. Closed not because they could not penetrate the works of art of these masters. They could certainly do it as well, probably better than any opulent “art expert” among the aristocracy or moneyed people. The realms of art are closed to them as to the poor, as to the toiling.¹⁸⁴

These works of art, Friedländer suggested, were closed to the workers because they were economically unable to gain access – ‘The works of the great musicians can only be enjoyed by the wealthy, the rich’ – but the moneyed classes who could buy access were no better equipped to access these master works on an intellectual level.¹⁸⁵ Friedländer identified the ‘self-deception and fraud’ that he saw the aristocratic and moneyed classes pursuing:

the mostly feigned delight in the work of art is often a cheap and false escape from social reality, a whitewashing of this reality. Many believe that they can draw the “moral” right to affirm the social present, or at least to evade the social struggles of the present, precisely from their enjoyment of art and their ability to negotiate art. Since today the word is doubly valid: “whoever is not for me is against me”, these people thus become “beautiful-minded” opponents of the social revolution and the struggling working class.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Paul Friedländer, ‘On the 25th anniversary of the death of Johannes Brahms’, *Die Rote Fahne*, 14 April 1922: 3. ‘Was wissen die Arbeiter von den Werken eines Brahms, eines Beethoven, eines Mozart? Es sind ihnen verschlossene Reiche. Verschllossen nicht deswegen, weil sie in die Kunstwerke dieser Meister nicht eindringen könnten. Sie könnten es gewiß so gut, wahrscheinlich besser als irgend ein üppiger „Kunstverständiger“ unter den Adels- oder Geldmenschen. Verschllossen sind ihnen die Reiche der Kunst als den Armen, als den Schuftenden.’

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. ‘An den Werken der großen Musiker kann sich im allgemeinen nur der Wohlhabende, der Reiche erfreuen.’

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. ‘Sondern auch deshalb, weil ihnen häufig genug das noch dazu meist geheuchelte Ergötzen am Kunstwerk eine billige und erlogene Flucht aus der sozialen Wirklichkeit, eine Beschöntung dieser Wirklichkeit ist. Viele glauben, gerade aus ihrer Kunstfreude und Kunstverständigkeit das „moralische“ Recht schöpfen zu können, die soziale Gegenwart zu bejahen oder zumindest sich den sozialen Kämpfen der Gegenwart zu entziehen. Da heute

Though the music of Wagner and Richard Strauss come under direct fire, Friedländer explicitly stated that ‘the works of Brahms will certainly be and should be the artistic property of the broad masses.’¹⁸⁷ Friedländer held Brahms in high esteem because his music was relevant to the proletarian classes. He identified three reasons why Brahms’s music held such promise: His use of German folk song; the composer’s family lineage and commitment to the ‘common man’; and the capacity of his music to become popular. ‘When we call Brahms one of the greatest musical artists of all time, we also mean to say that his work is capable of becoming popular.’¹⁸⁸ The term ‘popular’ here is interesting because on the one hand it identifies itself with the will of the masses and therefore lends itself to the communist, socialist agenda; but on the other hand, popularity also lends itself to the music industry as a feature of capitalism and consumerism, therefore opening itself only to the monied classes again. Friedländer almost certainly uses this term to identify the first of these associations, highlighting the capability of Brahms’s music to become favoured among the proletarian classes as well as the bourgeoisie, but as impulses towards modernity accelerated alongside consumerism in the 1920s (not just in Austria) the term ‘popular’ carries a certain weight of ideological baggage. Almost as if to clarify, Friedländer continues: ‘Brahms came from a proletarian petit-bourgeois milieu, and his lineage was a determining factor in the most beautiful fruits of his art. Throughout his life, he remained wedded to the musical sensibilities of the common man.’¹⁸⁹ ‘The time will come when musical people – especially in the working class – will grow fond of Brahms’s German

das Wort doppelt gilt: „wer nicht für mich ist, ist gegen mich,“ so werden diese Leute damit zu „schönggeistigen“ Widersachern der sozialen Revolution und der kämpfenden Arbeiterklasse.’

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. ‘die Werke von Brahms gewiß künstlerisches Gut der breiten Massen sein werden und sein sollen.’

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. ‘Wenn wir Brahms als einen der größten Tonkünstler aller Zeiten bezeichneten, so wollten wir auch damit sagen, daß sein Werk geeignet ist, volkstümlich zu werden’

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. ‘Brahms stammt aus proletarisch-kleinbürgerlichem Milieu. Diese seine Abstammung war für die schönsten Früchte seiner Kunst mitbestimmend. Er blieb zeitlebens mit dem musikalischen Empfinden des einfachen Menschen verwachsen.’

folk songs.’¹⁹⁰ Friedländer here identifies Brahms as a member of the proletarian class, a comrade who understood the struggles and who transformed his experience into beautiful music. The rustic connotations of ‘beautiful fruits’ and ‘German folk songs’ lend his description of Brahms’s music an authentic, organic representation designed to reconfigure the image of Brahms from one of bourgeois elitism to proletarian popularity. However, the future tense indicates that the time has not yet come for people to grow fond of Brahms. Of the symphonies, that genre most often associated with elitism, absolutism, and abstraction, Friedländer makes his case: ‘His four symphonies are masterpieces. Harsh, brittle, felt and thought through to the last note of every bar. They open up to the listener with the greatest difficulty. Folk music resounds in all his works, especially Hungarian and Bohemian music in addition to German.’¹⁹¹ He does not deny that the symphonies are difficult, indeed it could be implied that this is one reason why Brahms’s period of popularity has not yet come, but ‘harsh’ and ‘brittle’ adjectives of struggle, resounding folk music influences, and ‘masterpieces’ full of feeling seem to present the symphonies as musical representations of the proletarian experience. That Friedländer highlights Brahms’s weddedness to the common man only supports the image of Brahms he is trying to construct. Despite their differences, then, both socialists and communists adopted Brahms’s music as their own.

An article in the social-democratic *Arbeiter Zeitung* on 7 May 1933 also identified the folkish aspect of Brahms’s music: His art music ‘comes from the depths of the folk consciousness and wants to return to the folk whole; the almost self-evident melody, even in the most difficult works, proves the connection.’¹⁹² P. Stf. (Paul Stefan), too, highlighted

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. ‘Es wird die Zeit kommen, [?] allen musikalischen Menschen – vor allem auch in der Arbeiterschaft – die deutschen Volkslieder von Brahms aus Herz gewachsen sein werden.’

¹⁹¹ Ibid. ‘Seine vier Symphonien sind Meisterwerke. Herb, spröde, bis zum letzten Ton eines jeden Taktes durchfühlt und durchdacht. Sie eröffnen sich dem Hörer am schwersten. IN allen seinen Werken klingt Volksmusik auf, insbesondere neben der deutschen ungarische und böhmische.’

¹⁹² ‘Johannes Brahms’, *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 7 May 1933: 12. ‘Seine Kunstmusik stammt ebenso aus den Tiefen des Volksbewußtseins und will zum Volksganzen zurück; die fast selbstverständliche Melodik, auch in den schwierigsten Werken, beweist den Zusammenhang.’

Brahms's folk affinity in an article on the 1933 Brahms Festival, published in *Die Stunde*, on 18 May 1933: 'Despite Vienna, Brahms remains of a Nordic-German nature, even in his folk affinity; but this is based above all on the fact that he has always been able to write the melody that is completely Brahms and yet almost already a folk song.'¹⁹³ The idea here that Brahms was capable of writing a melody which, as soon as conceived was 'almost already a folk song' serves to align Brahms's compositional style with the aesthetic preferences and comforts of the working class. The emphasis on folkishness from all three critics makes Brahms's music relevant and accessible – in ideological terms, if not economically – to the masses.

There is a central tension inherent in this interwar culture (although it is not exclusive to that period) between the spiritual needs, desires, and intellectual accessibility of music to the proletariat on the one hand, and the economic inaccessibility of music on the other. Friedländer lamented: 'We regret that the present Brahms celebration [the 1922 Festival] was not used to introduce his popular works to wider circles of the working class.'¹⁹⁴ Exactly why this ambition failed is not clear. Whether because the organising committee placed their priorities elsewhere, or because the ticketing structure denied access to large portions of the working class. Perhaps the combined ambitions of socialism and tourism created a conflict between those resident in Vienna who could not afford or felt excluded from the festival and those perhaps more wealthy travellers who brought money into the city.

An article in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* on 3 January 1930 spoke with biting criticism of the latest developments in the music industry: 'But the mechanization, the soullessness of the public music business is nothing more than a consequence of the capitalist cultivation of music, that is the mechanized music business. The question has already been raised mockingly

¹⁹³ P. Stf., 'Start of the Brahms Festival', *Die Stunde*, 18 May 1933: 3. '*Brahms bleibe trotz Wien eine nordisch-germanische Natur auch in seiner Volksverbundenheit; die aber beruhe vor allem darauf, daß er eben immer wieder die Melodie zu schreiben vermocht habe, die völlig Brahms und doch fast schon Volkslied gewesen sei.*'

¹⁹⁴ Friedländer, *Die Rote Fahne*, 14 April 1922: 3. '*Wir bedauern daß die gegenwärtige Brahms-Feier nicht benützt wurde, um seine volkstümlichen Werke breiteren Kreisen der Arbeiterschaft [?]zuführen.*'

whether the workers' symphony concerts should perhaps be contrasted with capitalist symphony concerts.'¹⁹⁵ The monetary driving force behind the music business has both reduced the artistic output to something 'mechanized' and 'soulless' and has seemingly limited the financial accessibility of tickets to events, even those specifically designed to incorporate the working class such as the *Arbeitersinfoniekonzerte*.

As early as 22 December 1913, Julius Korngold in the *Neue Freie Presse* highlighted without any hint of scorn the discrepancy between the socialist ambitions of the *Arbeitersinfoniekonzerte* and the decadence of the concert venue.

As always, we rejoiced in the healthy love of art, the fresh receptivity that makes the audience of the Worker's Symphony Concerts itself, as it were, the most refreshing programme number of these events. This beautiful objectivity did not allow the thought of a disproportion between the purpose of these concerts and the magnificent venue in which they are now offered to arise; a disproportion that often occurs at normal "bourgeois" concerts when they do not bear that stamp of a "social event".¹⁹⁶

Social, in this case, can reasonably be read as socialism. Korngold's enthusiasm for the Worker's Symphony Concerts (begun in 1905) clearly prevails over his acknowledgement of class discrepancies between architecture and political function, which were even more

¹⁹⁵ 'Philharmonic Concerts', *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 3 January 1930: 8. 'Aber die Mechanisierung, die Seelenlosigkeit des öffentlichen Musikbetriebes ist nichts weiter als eine Folge der kapitalistischen Wirtschaft auf diesem Gebiet; die kapitalistische Musikpflege, das ist der mechanisierte Musikbetrieb. Es ist schon spöttisch die Frage aufgeworfen worden, ob man vielleicht den Arbeiter-Symphonie-konzerten nicht etwa Kapitalisten-Symphoniekonzerte gegenüberstellen sollte.'

¹⁹⁶ Julius Korngold, 'Concerts', *Neue Freie Presse*, 22 December 1913: 1. 'Wie immer, freuten wir uns auch diesmal der gesunden Kunstliebe, der frischen Empfänglichkeit, die das Publikum der Arbeitersymphoniekonzerte gleichsam selbst zu der erquickendsten Programmnummer dieser Veranstaltungen macht. Diese schöne Sachlichkeit ließ den Gedanken an eine Unverhältnismäßigkeit zwischen dem Zweck dieser Konzerte und der prunkvollen Stätte, an der sie jetzt geboten werden, gar nicht aufkommen; eine Unverhältnismäßigkeit, die sich gar oft bei normalen „bürgerlichen“ Konzerten einstellt, wenn diese nicht den Stempel des „gesellschaftlichen Ereignisses“ an sich tragen.'

pronounced at these events than usual but were still disproportional for regular non-socialist 'bourgeois' concerts. This combination of old elite and progressive socialist appeared to become more pronounced in the writing of these critics as time passed. What was an almost amusing disproportion for Korngold in 1913 became a distinct rupture for Friedländer in 1922, but by 1930 the critic catastrophises the capitalist influence on music to represent the loss and mechanization of artistry. The very commodification argued for in relation to tourism initiatives, here poses a problem because the process of transforming music culture into an economic attraction starts to exclude those native Viennese who could not afford to compete with an international market. The socialist desire to improve conditions internally was therefore both at odds with and requiring support from international sources of economic income.

Successfully or otherwise, the 'best' of elite/bourgeois culture had to be made relevant to the progressive imperative of the working classes and socialists, but the discrepancies between elite and proletarian cultures, divided and distorted by capitalism, were not easily overcome. Brahms was presented and re-presented in various forms as modern, modernist, and in other ways relevant to the various and shared ambitions of socialism and communism. The capacity for Brahms to become popular, to unite the classes – or at least to become favoured across the classes – and to represent something relevant to the concerns, worries, and ambitions of the day lent his music a great commercial potential which could be tapped into and exploited by the music business in interwar Vienna.

Conclusion

In the years following the First World War, critics started to identify the spiritual necessity of music. This was especially true for the Viennese, for whom music was a central part of the identity of the city. Although music has always played a prominent role in Viennese history, something about the experience of the War re-ignited the inner necessity of music for the city's

inhabitants. In this context, the necessity of music was both a lifeline for the newly sovereign Austria to develop a national identity and an opportunity for the national re-building and modernisation initiatives to foreground Viennese musical culture as a means of re-starting the Austrian economy. Brahms's music in this context took on a significant role in a variety of initiatives borne from this period of crisis and instability.

The cultural significance of Brahms and his music was fundamentally revised in 1920s Vienna as a result of cultural projects to promote tourism and create an Austrian identity. In debates about identity formation after the War, Brahms's music, benefitting from northern and southern German influences, became a symbol of pan-Germanism which saw the fruitful conjoining of Austria and Germany. Ambitions to capitalise on tourism fuelled a specific brand of Austrian identity formation which looked backwards in arcadian nostalgia towards 'Old Vienna', inventing a 'city of music' which could be marketed to tourists. The implementation of music festivals, the memorialising of Viennese history, and the display of Viennese architecture as 'petrified music' transformed the 'City of Music' myth into a site of historical legacy, identity formation, and tourism infrastructure.

Claiming Brahms for Vienna, while also accounting for his German birthplace, led critics to adopt a pan-Germanist approach to Brahms's place in debates about national identity. The newly sovereign Austria had to both determine its identity as a nation state and establish modernisation strategies which would enable it to enter into the international economy. The contradictions inherent in these imperatives were facilitated by tourism projects founded on Vienna's self-identification with and the international image of Vienna as 'the City of Music'. The Brahms Festival of 1933 demonstrates the central role of Brahms and his music in projects of pan-Germanism and Viennese tourism. The significant interrelation between identity formation and tourism, the interaction that is between internal and external views of Vienna, are exemplified in the development and utilisation of the 'City of Music' myth.

In addition to the stable position of Brahms within the ‘City of Music’ myth, however, the interwar period brought significant revisions to the ways in which Brahms’s music remained significant. The socialist press in particular, and the political Left more broadly, sought to reconfigure the modernity of Brahms’s music, identifying a type 3 modernism, which articulated the modern spirit inherent in his music. This re-evaluation identified Brahms’s spiritual and emotional relevance to the post-war period and therefore sought to adopt his music as a cultural symbol capable of representing and uplifting the proletarian classes, while simultaneously remaining popular among the bourgeoisie. Whether through the pluralistic nationalism of pan-Germanism, the dynamically re-enforcing interaction between identity and tourism capitalising on the ‘City of Music’ myth, or the re-interpretation of his modernity in the Left-wing press, Brahms’s music demonstrated significant commercial potential during the interwar period and was adopted in various, often contradictory, ways to support a multitude of political and social agendas.

The contradictions and inconsistencies of interwar Vienna, which derived a multitude of crisis responses from the post-war chaos and societal collapse, appropriated Brahms’s music for multi-directional and disjunct purposes, in some cases resulting in significant revisions to his reception. These multi-faceted adoptions demonstrate not only the popular place of Brahms’s music in Viennese culture, but also the significance attributed to music and the manner of its appropriation in the hands of those with mass political ambitions. The plurality of Brahmses that exist in modern-day scholarship are therefore often more enlightening about the context in which they were constructed than they are about the composer. The progressive Brahms can be traced back to Schoenberg, while the modern Brahms can be seen as a product of Viennese interwar socialism. The German Brahms can be seen to interact with Viennese pan-Germanism, while the liberal Brahms might primarily result from the cultural milieu of the *fin-de-siècle*. The narrative of Brahms reception told by slice histories identifies a

conservative composer at the end of the nineteenth century, but a modern composer by the mid-twentieth century. By thoroughly examining Brahms's symphonic reception as a continuity between these two slices, I have demonstrated the ways in which post-World War One cultural and social politics in Vienna adopted, transformed, and utilised Brahms's music for varied political ambitions. Brahms himself clearly played no part in this posthumous re-imagining of his music's cultural significance, but it is for precisely this reason that such an array of Brahmses was able to open up during this period. In many ways, Brahms's music was safe: it was a standard part of the symphonic repertory; it was popular; and it was written during an era of relative stability, which the Austro-Hungarian Empire would later be reflected upon to be. His music therefore possessed important features that enabled it to become a symbol of security and consolation during a period of European history in which those attributes were in great demand. The treatment of Brahms's music and his public image during the interwar period can therefore be seen as a direct result of the cultural, economic, and political ruptures experienced by Viennese people after the First World War and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Chapter 3. Fashioning/Fashionable Mahler

‘Gustav Mahler’s fame has grown more and more, and the prophetic words that the artist proclaimed with choral and orchestral masses in the Second Symphony: “I will die in order to live!” have become a reality. Gustav Mahler is recognised as one of the most important artistic personalities to have lived and created in the second half of the 19th century, and his music is revered and honoured as the fervent expression of a man of philosophical mind, imposing will and ethical strength.’ Max Graf¹⁹⁷

Introduction

The so-called ‘Mahler myth’ has become a pervasive presence, both in scholarship on the composer and in the popular imagination.¹⁹⁸ This narrative of decline (1911–1945) and re-discovery (after 1960) suggests that Mahler’s music fell out of favour following the composer’s death (having been on rather unstable ground even during his lifetime) before falling prey to the outright ban on Jewish music instigated by the National Socialist Party in 1933 (Germany) and 1938 (Austria).¹⁹⁹ Having lain dormant in the aftermath of the Second World War (so runs

¹⁹⁷ Max Graf, ‘Gustav Mahler: On the 25th anniversary of his death on 18 May’, *Der Tag*, 17 May 1936: 7.

¹⁹⁸ Sybille Werner describes this myth as a ‘persistent belief’. Sybille Werner, ‘The Popularity of Mahler’s Music’: 553–572.

¹⁹⁹ Stephen Downes has suggested the activity of conductors Oskar Fried, Willem Mengelberg, Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer, Hermann Scherchen, and Wilhelm Furtwängler ‘belies the myth that during the period immediately after Mahler’s death his music fell into rapid and widespread neglect.’ Stephen Downes, ‘Posthumous Reputation 1911 to World War II’, in *Mahler in Context*, ed. Charles Youmans (Cambridge University Press, 2020): 236.

the story), his music was rediscovered and revived from the 1960s onwards separately by Leonard Bernstein in America and Theodore Adorno in Germany.²⁰⁰

Leon Botstein has identified the role of antisemitism in pre-1945 Mahler reception and noted the 1960s revival as resultant from popular attention given to the Holocaust in 1961: ‘With few exceptions, European Jewry had been obliterated in the years between 1933 and 1945. It is no accident that the Mahler revival occurred alongside the explosion of scholarly and popular attention to the Holocaust after the 1961 Eichmann trial.’²⁰¹ Adorno’s book on Mahler, which contributed to the composer’s revival began with a reference to the Nazi critique of Mahler and prior anti-Mahler criticism: ‘The difficulty of revising the judgement on Gustav Mahler passed not only by the Hitler regime but by the history of music in the fifty years since the composer’s death exceeds that which music generally presents to thoughts, and even to philosophical thought.’²⁰² Adorno here suggests that there was a unified judgement of Mahler that was in alignment with the perspective espoused by Nazism, which was proving difficult to overturn. By identifying this phenomenon as having existed in the ‘fifty years since the composer’s death’, Adorno suggests a continual fifty-year long period of rejection, criticism, and removal of Mahler’s music. Leonard Bernstein, likewise, articulated a fifty-year period of neglect for Mahler during his Harvard lectures, given in 1973.²⁰³ Both Adorno and Bernstein therefore espouse ideas of a critical decline in Mahler reception, which could be traced back to the composer’s death. As Botstein’s comment suggests, the role of Jewish experiences and the victim narratives associated with them was extremely important in post-World War Two

²⁰⁰ Bernstein’s contribution was his advocacy as a conductor of Mahler’s music, which he accompanied by various writings including a set of lectures given at Harvard University, published by Harvard University Press in 1973. Leonard Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question: Six Talks at Harvard* (Harvard University Press, 1973): 313–317. Adorno’s contribution was his book *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy* published in German in 1960, then translated into English in 1996. Theodor Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy* (University of Chicago Press, 1996). There are earlier writings by Adorno on Mahler but his monograph on the composer holds particular significance.

²⁰¹ Leon Botstein, ‘Whose Gustav Mahler? Reception, Interpretation, and History’, in *Mahler and His World*, ed. Karen Painter (Princeton University Press, 2002): 7.

²⁰² Adorno, *Mahler*: 3.

²⁰³ Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question*: 313–317.

Mahler reception. Large numbers of Jews left mainland Europe for America (in 1934 Adorno himself relocated to the UK and then to the USA before returning to Frankfurt in 1949) and therefore the Jewish experiences of Nazi suppression and exile were important factors in constructing the post-1960s Mahler myth. Botstein also cites the work of Christoph Metzger, whose ‘statistical material’ on Mahler performances demonstrates that ‘the explosion of Mahler performances begins only in a dramatic fashion during the late 1970s.’²⁰⁴ This statistical data, however, appears to be centred on performances in the USA and is not accurate for Viennese performance history.

Between 1911 and 1945 Mahler’s symphonies were performed 282 times in Vienna. Figure 9 shows the distribution of performances by year, clearly demonstrating an uptake in performances between 1919 and 1934. His music was performed within the framework of festivals, as well as subscription, charity, and other types of concert. Such festivals included the Vienna Festival Weeks in 1912 and 1930, the Brahms Festival in 1919, and the Festival of Master Performances of Viennese Music in 1920. In 1920 Willem Mengelberg also organised a Mahler Festival in Amsterdam, which was significant for the dissemination of Mahler’s music in the Netherlands specifically, but also across Europe. This festival received extensive press coverage in Vienna, where sentiments of not wanting to be outstripped by Amsterdam as the centre for Mahler’s music seemed to propagate.²⁰⁵ My performance history confirms the prevalence of Mahler’s symphonies in the concert halls during the interwar years (prior to *Anschluss*), compared to previous years 1911–1918.²⁰⁶ Statistically, therefore, the Mahler myth does not withstand scrutiny in the context of interwar Vienna.

²⁰⁴ Botstein, ‘Whose Gustav Mahler?’: 44. Botstein cites Christoph Metzger, *Mahler-Rezeption: Perspektiven der Rezeption Gustav Mahlers* (Wilhelmshaven, 2000).

²⁰⁵ See, for example, Egon Wellesz, ‘The Mahler Festival in Amsterdam’, *Neue Freie Presse*, 31 May 1920: 2; ‘Vienna [...] feels itself to be a true Mahler city, and did not want to be left behind’ Erwin Schaeffer, ‘Mahler Cycle’, *Wiener Zeitung*, 25 October 1920: 2.

²⁰⁶ This is supported by Werner’s more expansive study of Mahler’s output, which confirms the prevalence of Mahler’s entire oeuvre across this period. Werner, ‘The Popularity of Mahler’s Music’.

<Mahler Performances by Year>

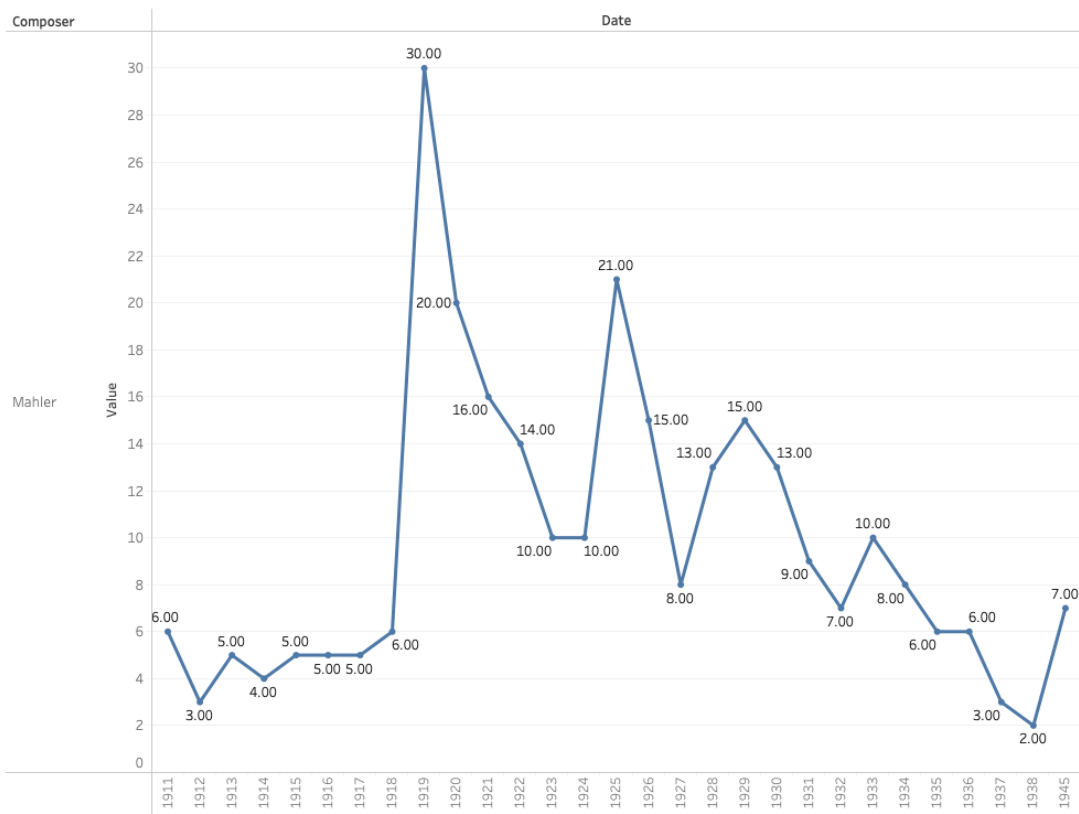


Figure 9: Mahler Performances by Year

There are two important distinctions to be made here. The first is the distinction between European (for this study, specifically Viennese) and American reception, which have a very complex series of commonalities and differences resulting in part from the mass emigration of European Jews. The Mahler myth is unsurprisingly ambiguous in its treatment of European and non-European reception. It is for the specific musical centre of Vienna that I challenge this myth and although my findings may also prevail elsewhere, I make no claims for the Viennese reception as representative of Mahler's reception elsewhere. The second distinction is between the interwar years and the *Anschluss* period. The narrative of Mahler's removal and the antisemitic critique of his music identified by the Mahler myth stands on reasonable fact in Vienna between 1938 and 1945. During this period, Austria was under German occupation and the ban placed upon Mahler's music by National Socialism was

extended to Austria. This ban on Jewish music under the *Entartete Musik* laws and the painful experiences and associations of European Jewry after the Second World War had an enormous impact on the memories, revisions, and revivals for post-World War Two culture. The interwar years prior to *Anschluss*, however, are often inaccurately bound to this period of removal, and it is for these years in particular that the Mahler myth is especially inaccurate. The experiences of World War Two and its consequences for European culture may be understandably responsible for this elision, but with a greater distance from the War it is now possible to reinvestigate Mahler's reception during the interwar years and find a prevailing spirit of popularity, especially during the 1920s.

The idea of Mahler as a suppressed figure in Vienna, which features into the Mahler myth, was propagated retrospectively by the efforts of the Mahler revival, but it was also propagated by a number of widely circulated music dictionaries at the time. Christoph Metzger identifies Hugo Riemann's 'negative attitude' towards Mahler in the *Riemann Musiklexicon* as having 'defined the composer's public image for generations between 1905 and at least 1960 in the most widely circulated music dictionary.'²⁰⁷ It was not until the revised twelfth edition of the dictionary, edited by Wilibald Gurlitt in 1961, that this image of Mahler was replaced with a wider range of divergent opinions on the composer.²⁰⁸

Each of these components has conglomerated with the others to generate the problematic Mahler myth as we now perceive it, but trying to track down the source of this myth in its conglomerated form is something of a challenge. True to the nature of myths, the origins and evidence base upholding these ideas are non-linear and, although pervasive, not at all rigorous.²⁰⁹ The work of Henry-Louis de la Grange, author of a four-volume biography of

²⁰⁷ Christoph Metzger, 'Issues in Mahler Reception: Historicism and Misreadings after 1960', in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Cambridge University Press, 2007): 205. The dictionary Metzger refers to is the *Riemann Musiklexicon*.

²⁰⁸ Metzger, 'Issues in Mahler Reception': 206.

²⁰⁹ Christoph Metzger has argued that the history of the Mahler myth is closely tied to the history of musicology as a discipline and that 'misjudgements found in various musical dictionaries and reference works from the early

Gustav Mahler (1873–1945), was a significant voice in the trajectory of the Mahler myth, but in recent scholarship there is more evidence of people identifying this myth in order to refute it than of people seeking to argue its strengths.²¹⁰ There are, I believe, a compound of four factors influencing the delayed correction of this myth:

Firstly, the period 1911–1938 has been largely neglected by Mahler scholarship and therefore ideas pertaining to his reception during those years have not been the subject of detailed investigation.²¹¹ There are some significant exceptions to this generalisation, all of which are from recent decades. Sybille Werner's (2016) chapter 'The popularity of Mahler's music in Vienna between 1911 and 1938' constructs a performance history of Mahler's music in Vienna across this period, illuminating the composer's popularity in Vienna.²¹² Although she does consider a few instances of his reception, Werner's main body of evidence reveals the high frequency of performances, especially during the 1920s, without extending to the critical discourse surrounding those events. Karen Painter (2007) has investigated criticism of Mahler and Bruckner between 1900 and 1945 in Austria and Germany.²¹³ Although Painter considers the reception of Mahler extensively, her focus is directed more towards reception of the

years still define the image of Mahler's performance history today'. Metzger does not identify a disciplinary problem, per se, certainly not a systemic problem; but rather, he acknowledges that the evolution of musicology from certain inaccurate reference works or early histories of music have tended to be overly pervasive and influential in the assumptions still held by the discipline. The mis-reading or misjudgement of early sources identified by Metzger, combined with the disinclination of scholars to interrogate Mahler's reception during the interwar period, has resulted in a pervasive yet inaccurate narrative which has come to be known as 'the Mahler myth'. Metzger, 'Issues in Mahler reception': 206.

²¹⁰ Henry Louis de la Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, 3 volumes in French, 4 volumes in English (Fayard, 1979, 1983, 1984 published in French; Brepols 2020; Oxford University Press 1995, 2000, 2008; HGL: 2008). 'Henry Louis de La Grange (1924–2017)', Mahler Foundation, accessed 29 October 2024, <https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/contemporaries/henry-louis-de-la-grange/>. Werner, 'The Popularity of Mahler's Music'; Metzger, 'Issues in Mahler reception'; Downes, 'Posthumous Reputation': 235–241; James L. Zychowicz, 'The Mahler Revival', in *Mahler in Context*, ed. Charles Youmans (Cambridge University Press, 2020): 251–257.

²¹¹ Most literary contributions on Mahler consider other aspects of the composer's life and works. There are numerous biographical accounts, analytical score-studies, and hermeneutic interpretations of his oeuvre. Reception studies tend to focus on the composer's lifetime rather than his legacy, and those that do consider his posthumous reception tend to consider an international landscape. See de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*; David Fanning, 'The symphony since Mahler: national and international trends', *The Cambridge Companion to the Symphony*, ed. Julian Horton (Cambridge University Press, 2013): 96–129.

²¹² Werner, 'The popularity of Mahler's music': 553–572.

²¹³ Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*.

symphony (or symphony concert) in general and the aesthetic values and preferences articulated by critics, than towards Mahler's symphonic reception in particular. Painter's study also encompasses both Austria and Germany, sometimes blurring the distinctions between the two, adopting an approach of cultural Germanism rather than political or state-defined nations. Instances of difference between Austrian and German reception are therefore less apparent. With the exception of Werner's chapter, therefore, there has been little attention paid to correcting the Mahler myth with significant evidence.

Secondly, the Mahler revival narrative from the 1960s onwards relied upon the under-evidenced idea that Mahler's music had been previously neglected or undervalued. Stemming from the National Socialist ban on the music of Jewish composers, whereby Mahler's music was removed from the performing repertoire altogether during the *Anschluss*, an easy narrative of removal and recovery could be constructed (or extrapolated).²¹⁴ The assumed suppression of Mahler's music, in other words, was a strategic framing that lent potency to the Mahler revival. Left unchecked, the era of neglect identified by this narrative has since expanded beyond the *Anschluss* period and acquired mythic proportions, now tracking back to at least 1911 as follows: 1911 Mahler dies; 1938 Mahler's music removed from the repertory; 1945 Mahler's music remains excluded despite the legislation having been lifted; 1960s revival of Mahler's music. Taking only these moments from history, it appears that there was a teleological decline from 1911 to 1938, followed by a period of neglect, which was then rectified in the 1960s. As a result of both Mahler's removal and a perceived neglect of his music, the revival sought to correct both of these problems and in doing so had to identify them as problems. Given the tendency of scholarship in general (not just Mahler scholarship) to neglect the interwar period in Austria until recent years, the perceived era of neglect (bound up

²¹⁴ Mahler's music was not performed in Vienna between the *Anschluss* in March 1938 and shortly before the end of the Second World War in 1945.

around a period of removal) has expanded back to the composer's death.²¹⁵ For those seeking to argue the necessity of reviving Mahler's music, of course, the larger the problem (the longer the period of suppression and the greater the level of neglect), the stronger their argument for revival would be.²¹⁶

Thirdly, Mahler's historical positioning has resulted in his identification as the 'last' of various categories (the 'last Romantic', the 'last Austro-German symphonist') and therefore creates the fallacy of Mahler's music as a metaphorical final chapter, finished and closed at the moment of the composer's death.²¹⁷ As the final component of these other narratives, there has been less interest in evaluating the continuation of Mahler's legacy after his death.²¹⁸ His treatment by National Socialism during the *Anschluss* and the revival beginning in the 1960s are the two exceptions because those events stand as important historical moments in their own right. This slice-history approach to Mahler's reception overlooks large gaps in the reception of his music and contributes significantly to the construction and perpetuation of the Mahler myth.

Finally, antisemitism is typically ascribed the position of perpetrator in the period of 1911 to 1945.²¹⁹ Tendencies in German history to view the years between the World Wars

²¹⁵ See Holmes and Silverman (eds.), *Interwar Vienna*.

²¹⁶ See Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question*: 313–317. Bernstein inaccurately overstated the period of neglect as having spanned 'fifty years'. See Zychowicz, 'The Mahler Revival': 255.

²¹⁷ See Vera Micznik, 'The Farewell Story of Mahler's Ninth Symphony', *19th-Century Music* 20, No.2 (1996): 144–166. For Mahler as the last Austro-German symphonist see: Fanning, 'The symphony since Mahler': 96–130; Mark Evan Bonds, 'Beethoven's Shadow: the Nineteenth Century', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Symphony*, ed. Julian Horton (Cambridge University Press, 2013): 329–343.

²¹⁸ The exception to this trend is scholarship interested in the influence of Mahler's legacy on later composers, which has been given a fair amount of attention and demonstrates the influence and importance of Mahler's work. Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, and Kurt Weill are identified by Stephen Downes, for example, as Mahlerian successors. Downes, 'Posthumous Reputation': 233–299.

²¹⁹ Although it is important to nuance European and non-European reception histories, which have very complex commonalities and differences, the importance of Jewish experiences and antisemitism is central to both. Stephen Downes has argued that the American reception of Mahler was strongly influenced by the experience of 'exiles driven from Europe by the rise of Nazism'. The extent to which American reception would have then bled into American cultural ideas about Mahler and musicological discourse, may have contributed to the prevailing focus on antisemitism in Mahler scholarship. Within Europe, ideas about correcting the image of Mahler after National Socialism have had a similar effect. See Marc. A. Weiner, 'Mahler and America: A Paradigm of Cultural Reception', *Modern Austrian Literature* 20 (1987): 155–169; Downes, 'Posthumous Reputation': 240–241; Karen Painter, 'Jewish Identity and Anti-Semitic Critique in the Austro-German Reception of Mahler, 1900–45', in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Ashgate, 2005): 175–194.

teleologically, ultimately leading to National Socialism, with antisemitism constantly escalating, have provided speculative evidence for the treatment of Mahler's music in this period.²²⁰ According to this argument: antisemitism was rising and becoming increasingly potent; as a result, Mahler's music was increasingly suppressed until it was eventually banned. This kind of teleological history-writing, however, is problematic because it transplants hindsight onto historical actors and overlooks the possibility that history could have taken a different course; Austria and Germany are viewed synonymously through the lens of World War Two and the *Anschluss*, and the differences between Austria and Germany and their treatment of Jewish musicians during the interwar years are overlooked.

The creation and perpetuation of this myth has overlooked the popularity of Mahler's music in Vienna during the interwar period. The performances of his symphonies along with writings in the critical press, such as the article by Max Graf with which I started, demonstrate a period of Mahler reception which flies in the face of the conventional wisdom espoused by the Mahler myth. The role and activities of Mahler's advocates was clearly important to his music's posthumous rise to popularity. Conductors, critics, and composers formed the most prominent advocates who contributed to the fashioning of Mahler's music in Vienna. Anton Konrath,²²¹ Bruno Walter,²²² Oskar Fried,²²³ Clemens Krauss,²²⁴ Hermann Scherchen,²²⁵ and

²²⁰ See, for example, Eduard F. Kravitt, 'Mahler, Victim of the "New" Anti-Semitism', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 127, No.1 (2002): 72–94. Kravitt seemingly interprets antisemitism through a post-Nazi lens. Conversely, see K.M. Knittel, *Seeing Mahler: Music and the Language of Antisemitism in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Routledge, 2010) for a kind of universal antisemitic core in Mahler's contemporaneous reception.

²²¹ Anton Konrath was director of the Wiener Tonkünstler Orchestra from 1913 until 1927 and he directed the Reichssender Wien from 1941.

²²² Bruno Walter was born into a middle-class Jewish family in Berlin. He worked closely with Mahler. He fled Germany in 1933, becoming a French citizen in 1938 and settling in the US in 1939.

²²³ Oskar Fried was born into a Jewish family in Berlin. He left Germany in 1933 and settled in the Soviet Union in 1940, becoming one of the first pioneers of Mahler's music in Russia.

²²⁴ Clemens Krauss founded the Vienna Philharmonic's New Year's Day Concerts and conducted them up until 1954. He was never a member of the NSDAP, but he did attend several meetings with representatives from the regime including Göring and Hitler. He and his wife were involved with helping Jews escape Germany throughout the 1930s.

²²⁵ Hermann Scherchen was born in Berlin but left Germany in 1933 in protest of the Nazi regime. He put on a cycle of Mahler symphonies in Vienna in 1938, which earned him a reputation as a Mahler conductor. Mg., 'Gustav Mahler Cycle', *Der Tag*, 29 January 1938: 6.

Willem Mengelberg were significant advocational conductors of Mahler's music.²²⁶ Elsa Bienenfeld,²²⁷ David Josef Bach,²²⁸ Paul Stefan,²²⁹ Paul Bekker,²³⁰ and Stefan Zweig were prominent critics, feuilletonists, and writers whose advocacy of Mahler took place in print.²³¹ The majority of these critics were of Jewish origin and were detained in concentration camps or emigrated after 1938. Arnold Schoenberg, Hans Pfitzner, and Anton Webern were fellow composers who spoke out publicly in support of Mahler's music.²³² It is interesting that many of his advocates became so during his lifetime, and therefore Mahler the man was as much praised as his music. This was especially true for fellow composers, but it must be remembered that the audiences following Mahler are harder to track in the historical documents. To evaluate the size of his audiences, we must rely on the accounts of critics, who consistently identify an

²²⁶ Willem Mengelberg was a Dutch conductor who organised a Mahler Festival in Amsterdam in 1920 and founded the long-standing Mahler tradition of the Concertgebouw Orchestra. He was known for his 'pioneering advocacy of Gustav Mahler'. H.D. [Heinrich Damisch], 'Philharmonic Concert', *Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung*, 1 February 1939: 11. See also Downes, 'Posthumous Reputation': 239.

²²⁷ Elsa Bienenfeld (23 August 1877–26 May 1942) was a music critic of Jewish origin (writing for the *Neues Wiener Journal*), who was killed in the Maly Trostinez concentration camp on 26 May 1942. During the period of Austrofascism she was fired from the *Neues Wiener Journal*. She was the first woman to graduate from the University of Vienna with a degree in music.

²²⁸ David Josef Bach championed Mahler's music in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (of which he became editor-in-chief in 1917) and was the founder of the *Arbeiter Symphonie Konzerte* and the Vienna Festival Weeks. He was an active socialist who attracted hostility from right-wing groups. He was born to Jewish parents on 13 August 1874, was a loyal supporter of both Schoenberg and Mahler, and was one of the earliest members of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Association whose members were mostly Jewish. 'David Josef Bach', Mahler Foundation, accessed 20 March 2024, <https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/contemporaries/david-josef-bach/>.

²²⁹ Paul Stefan published a biography of Mahler in 1910, which was translated into English in 1913. He continued his support in press outlets such as *Die Bühne* and *Radio Wien*. He was a music historian and critic, born into an assimilated Jewish family. From 1922 to 1937 he edited the music journal *Musikblätter des Anbruch*. 'Paul Stefan', Mahler Foundation, accessed 20 March 2024, <https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/contemporaries/paul-stefan/>.

²³⁰ Paul Bekker advocated for Mahler's music from Berlin, publishing two books on the composer: *Die Symphonie von Beethoven bis Mahler* (1918), a work articulating Mahler's place alongside Schubert and Bruckner as the Austrian successors to Beethoven; and *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (1921), the first major work on the Mahler symphonies. He was chief music critic for both the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (1911–1923) and the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* (1934–1937). He fled Germany after Hitler's rise to power. Paul Bekker, *Die Symphonie von Beethoven bis Mahler* (Schuster & Loeffler, 1918). Paul Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (Severus Verlag, 1921).

²³¹ Stefan Zweig was a prolific literary personality who used his influence in the *feuilletons* to support Mahler's music. Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*.

²³² 'Arnold Schönberg on Gustav Mahler', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 4 November 1912: 4. 'Mahler, schloß Schönberg, war einer der größten Menschen und Künstler, für den er wie ein Apostel glühe.' Alfons Wallis, 'Feuilleton: Gustav Mahler: For his 75th Birthday', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 6 July 1935: 2. 'Ein Hans Pfitzner freilich wußte es anders: „Mahler, der geniale Interpret, der berühmte Dirigent, öffnete meinen Wünschen (in bezug auf die "Rose vom Liebesgarten") mit nie versiegender Geduld sein Ohr und setzte sie in die Tat um, und bei Abwesenheit eigener Dirigenteneitelkeit schmolz jede andre an der Glut seines Willens. Mahler wird jetzt fünfzig Jahre; er wird hoch gefeiert werden; ein jeder gibt, was er kann, und ich kann ihm nichts Besseres geben als zu sagen: In ihm ist Liebe.'"'

increase in Mahler's popularity from 1912 onwards. The increased performance frequency and reports of concerts being sold out, especially after 1918, alongside international events such as the Amsterdam Festival suggest an increased demand for Mahler's music, as I will demonstrate. Richard Strauss and Wilhelm Furtwängler later in this period also sought to defend Mahler's music when the racial laws came into effect in the Third Reich, declaring that 'Mahler's work and reputation should not be tampered with.'²³³ It is hard to say with certainty at what point advocates became advocates, but examples such as Mengelberg, Walter, and Scherchen instantiate conducting advocates with particular prominence after the composer's death.

This chapter seeks to understand Mahler's reception between 1911 and 1945 in Vienna in order to interrogate the Mahler myth.²³⁴ In so doing, the nuances of Mahler's interwar reception, his rise in popularity during the 1920s, and the role of antisemitism throughout this period will become clearer. I will argue that the status of Mahler as both a musical legacy in Vienna and as a Viennese Jew has been misinterpreted. While the popularity of his music in interwar Vienna has been overlooked, the importance of his Jewishness and the inferences thereby connecting him to pre-Holocaust antisemitism have been overstated. Evaluating the trajectory of Mahler's reception, I address two primary topics: 1) Mahler's popularity; and 2) antisemitism. It is my contention that antisemitism played a far smaller role than has typically been believed. If Mahler's Jewish heritage had been such an issue during the interwar years, then the popularity of his music that I will demonstrate in part one (and which Werner has already suggested) would surely not have come to pass.²³⁵ It was not until the *Anschluss* that

²³³ P. Stf., 'Mahler and our time', *Die Stunde*, 7 July 1935: 5. 'Im Dritten Reich ist er seiner Abstammung wegen natürlich in Bann getan, obwohl anfangs vor allem ein Richard Strauß, ein Furtwängler erklärt hatten, an dem Werk und der Geltung eines Mahlers dürfe nicht gerüttelt werden.'

²³⁴ For another example of correcting myths about Mahler, see Bernd Schabbing, *Gustav Mahler als Konzert- und Operndirigent in Hamburg* (Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 2002). Schabbing tracks all of Mahler's conducting activities in Hamburg and their associated reception to counter some of the misapprehensions handed down primarily by La Grange.

²³⁵ Werner, 'The Popularity of Mahler's Music'.

antisemitism significantly impeded Mahler's symphonic legacy in Vienna. Within part one, I address the role of the radio to propose/identify two phenomena: firstly, increased participation from the lower socio-economic classes drew Mahler's music closer to the realm of mass culture; secondly, the internationalism of radio meant that (even after *Anschluss*) it was still possible to hear Mahler's music in Vienna via broadcasts from abroad.²³⁶ In order to understand how antisemitism affected Mahler's music, part two investigates the rhetoric of Jewish, Austrian, and German identities in Mahler's reception against a backdrop of Viennese antisemitism more broadly. This section supports the argument that the looser definition of who was or was not Jewish adopted by Viennese antisemites allowed an environment favourable to Mahler's music, whereas the German, racial definition held by National Socialism did not. Taken together these two facets of Mahler's reception (popularity and antisemitism), in addition to opportunities provided by the radio, disprove the Mahler myth and instead project a much more nuanced account of his interwar history.

Part 1: Fashioning/Fashionable Mahler

In the following sections I will argue that the reasons for Mahler's posthumous rise to popularity were twofold. Firstly, objections to Mahler the man and his personality existing during his lifetime deterred a more widespread acceptance of his music. After his death, however, the man no longer posed a problem and the psychology of death created a re-framing that was more favourable, thus easing resistance against his music and creating the space for his advocates to multiply. Secondly, many of the problematic characteristics of his music identified by critics pertain to his fascination with death, philosophy, and metaphysics, resulting in a musical aesthetic which demanded too much of the listener. After the First World

²³⁶ It is unclear how easy it would have been to tune into international broadcasts, especially after the onset of the Second World War.

War, however, such existential concerns would have been brought into a more public light and critics started to view Mahler's music as prophetic or ahead of its time. The experience of war, therefore, may have made Mahler's musical aesthetic more comprehensible for his Viennese listeners. This re-orientation of Mahler as a person/memory in tandem with a rapidly and drastically shifting cultural-political context created a fertile ground for a rapid reassessment of his music.

Mahler at the *Fin-de-siècle*

The reception of Gustav Mahler towards the end of his life (as previously) was not particularly favourable. There were, to be sure, a select group of ardent advocates including conductor Bruno Walter, composer Arnold Schoenberg, and the literary personality Stefan Zweig, to name just a few. His critical reception, however, was distinctly mixed, with some strong voices speaking out against either his professional career as a conductor or his music. His relations with the Vienna Philharmonic, for example, were tumultuous and difficult, as was the case too with his appointment as Director at the *Hofoper*.

Writing in 1911, only a day after Mahler's death, Maximilian Muntz reflected back on the life of this musical personality in Vienna: 'Mahler's relations with the Philharmonic were extremely unpleasant, as he dismissed over sixty musicians from the Court Opera.'²³⁷ Muntz alludes here to the extremely high standard to which Mahler held his musicians; under his direction, failure to perform to those standards resulted in the musicians' dismissal from the orchestra even, as Muntz highlighted, if that meant dismissing a significant portion of the orchestra. Such a cut-throat culture was unlikely to be welcomed among the musicians of the Philharmonic, even if it did produce phenomenal artistic results.

²³⁷ Maximilian Muntz, 'Gustav Mahler', *Reichspost*, 19 May 1911: 2. 'Ueberaus unerquicklich waren die Verhältnisse Mahlers zu den Philharmonikern, da er über sechzig Musiker aus der Hofoper entließ.'

Herta Blaukopf in her chapter on Mahler as a conductor in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler* concurred with Muntz's judgement: 'The musicians who worked under Mahler did not have an easy time. There was scarcely an orchestra that did not rebel against him and his artistic demands.'²³⁸ Of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in particular, Blaukopf continued, 'the majority of musicians did not love him. He was too brusque towards them, too demanding, too obsessed with detail – and moreover he was a Jew, albeit one baptized as a Catholic.'²³⁹ Here then, Blaukopf connects two strains of Mahler reception: the demanding director, and the Jew. For Blaukopf, Mahler's personality as a director was undoubtedly demanding and difficult, but although the musicians might have been able to overlook those difficulties in another man, the fact of Mahler having been Jewish denied him of that opportunity. Charles S. Maier, in his chapter of *Mahler and His World*, articulates the conundrum of Mahler as a conductor: Although 'Testimonies abound to his unceasing demands at rehearsal', 'his leadership in transforming the theatrical experience, and his "salvation" of the Court Opera' demanded attention.²⁴⁰

As Maier suggests, critics were still able to see the artistic merit of Mahler's conducting, despite the difficulties associated with his demanding artistic standards. On 19 May 1911, Max Graf wrote: 'Gustav Mahler came and everything came to life.'²⁴¹ So here, there is a friction between, on the one hand, the treatment of the Philharmonic musicians identified by Muntz, and, on the other, the splendid artistic results of Mahler's directorship identified by Graf. This friction seems to be typical of Mahler's reception during his tenure at the *Hofoper* and of this period viewed retrospectively in 1911.²⁴²

²³⁸ Herta Blaukopf, 'Mahler as Conductor in the Opera House and Concert Hall' (trans. Jeremy Barham), in *The Cambridge Companion to Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barham (Cambridge University Press, 2007): 174-175.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Charles S. Maier, 'Mahler's Theater: The Performative and the Political in Central Europe, 1890-1910', in *Mahler and His World*, ed. Karen Painter (Princeton University Press, 2002): 56.

²⁴¹ Max Graf, 'Gustav Mahler', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 19 May 1911: 1.

²⁴² See Maier, 'Mahler's Theater'

Ferdinand Scherber, likewise writing the day after Mahler's death, reflected upon the misalignment of Mahler and the city in which he had chosen to settle: 'Vienna and Mahler – it was like an unhappy marriage in which both parts are in the right and yet, or precisely because of this, do not fit together.'²⁴³ For both Muntz and Scherber, there is no mention among these difficulties of Mahler's music, but rather an allusion to Mahler's personality being at odds or in confrontation with Viennese musicians and society.

There was also the strain of critical thought (noted by Blaukopf) that viewed Mahler through a more negative, antisemitic lens. In addition to the general disinclination identified by Blaukopf, some critics were deliberately set against Mahler and sought to demonstrate the freakish nature of his conducting. K.M. Knittel interrogates this aspect of his reception in her book *Seeing Mahler: Music and the Language of Antisemitism in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*.²⁴⁴ For Knittel, antisemitism could include the now-standard conception of Jew-hatred, but at the end of the nineteenth century there was a more fundamental idea of the Jew as different which most antisemitic stereotypes and ideas reinforced: 'To be antisemitic did not necessarily mean one hated the Jews. To be antisemitic in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna meant to see the Jews as fundamentally different'.²⁴⁵ Antisemitism at that time, of course, had not yet led to the Holocaust and so could not be viewed as having the same atrocious consequences that it holds today.

During his lifetime, then, critics tended not to differentiate Mahler's music from the plurality of identities ascribed to Mahler the man, the composer, the conductor, the Jew. There were both advocates and detractors in this period, so an altogether negative image of his reception would be unrepresentative. The friction between a tyrannical personality and an artistic saviour, however, wrapped in the problematic body of a Jew made it difficult for his

²⁴³ Ferdinand Scherber, 'Gustav Mahler', *Die Zeit*, 19 May 1911: 2. 'Wien und Mahler – es war wie eine unglückliche Ehe, bei der beide Teile im Rechte sind, und trotzdem oder gerade deshalb nicht zueinander passen.'

²⁴⁴ Knittel, *Seeing Mahler*.

²⁴⁵ Knittel, *Seeing Mahler*: 6.

music to be treated as something separate from Mahler himself, a figure whose reputation was something of a conundrum. Only a year after his death, however, the reception of Mahler began to change and this transformation had significant implications for the trajectory of his music and memory across the interwar period.

Reception Reversal

As early as 1912, not more than a year after the composer's death, Viennese critics started to report a significant reversal in Mahler's reception. Having previously been rejected, criticised, and objected to during his lifetime (the period leading to Mahler's resignation as director of the *Hofoper* has been named 'the Mahler Boycott' by Berta Zuckerkandl in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*), the Viennese critics now proudly reported Mahler as one of their own.²⁴⁶ This reversal is significant because it marks a watershed moment in the transformation of Mahler's popularity in Vienna. Although the performance statistics demonstrate a noticeable uptake after the First World War, this reversal demonstrates that his reception was already turning before the performances started to increase in frequency. This dynamic makes perfect sense, of course, given that the shift in discourse and increased popularity would generate a demand for more concerts, which in turn might influence the decisions made by concert programmers. Not all critics, however, were best pleased with this reversal; many who had been advocates during Mahler's lifetime, and longed for the composer's widespread acceptance, were critical of the *volte face* demonstrated by their fellow listeners.

Elsa Bienenfeld criticised her fellows for being slow on the uptake: 'although barely a year has passed since he died, driven out of Vienna, bitterly offended here, the tearful, proudly swollen "He was ours" is heard from all those warmly feeling minds that always know only

²⁴⁶ B.Z., 'In Memory of Gustav Mahler', *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18 May 1912: 3. 'der Mahler-Boycott'

how to proclaim the glory of Vienna as the city of musical posterity.’²⁴⁷ Bienenfeld wrote these lines during the inaugural Vienna Music Festival Week, which took place in the summer of 1912. Among the press publications surrounding the Festival, there was much talk about the inclusion of Mahler’s Ninth Symphony, an entirely unknown work in Vienna which had received its world premiere during the festival performance the previous day. Bienenfeld clearly sought to fend off any concerns about the inclusion of such an unknown work by proclaiming the success of this Symphony:

What Mahler has given to the world as a creative musician cannot be measured today, since his works are still new and too close; but his music speaks of ideal greatness; and this general appreciation despite all the counter-arguments and disparagement directed against the living composer Mahler, is today already so unconditional that it is not considered presumptuous to assign the highest place of honour to a still unknown work from his hand.²⁴⁸

For Bienenfeld, the detractors had objected primarily to Mahler, the man. But, although those memories were still close and his works still too new (perhaps suggesting an aesthetic aversion), the kernel of greatness was there. The true impact of Mahler’s art was prophesied to evolve, to grow into a community of listeners who were gradually developing a ‘general

²⁴⁷ Elsa Bienenfeld, ‘Mahler’s Ninth Symphony: Premiere in the Third Concert of the Vienna Music Festival Week’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 27 June 1912: 4. ‘In dem Programm der Musikfestwoche, die eine große Prunkschau der Vergangenheit darstellt, ist Mahler auf diese Weise zu den Klassikern erhoben worden; denn schon, obwohl kaum ein Jahr verstrichen ist, seit er, von Wien verjagt, hier aufs bitterste gekränkt, gestorben ist, meldet sich das tränenerstickte, stolzgeschwellte „Er war unser“ aller jener warm fühlenden Gemüter, die stets nur den Ruhm der Musiknachweltstadt Wien zu verkünden wissen.’

²⁴⁸ Ibid. ‘Was Mahler als schaffender Musiker der Welt geschenkt hat, läßt sich heute, da seine Werke noch neu und zu nahe sind, gar nicht ermessen; aber aus seiner Musik spricht ideelle Größe; und diese allgemeine Wertung ist trotz aller Gegenargumente und Herabsetzung, die gegen den lebenden Komponisten Mahler sich gerichtet haben, heute schon so bedingungslos, daß es nicht für vermessen gilt, einem noch unbekannten Werk aus seiner Hand den höchsten Ehrenplatz zuzuweisen.’

appreciation' for Mahler's music. This growing prestige was proof for Bienenfeld that the previously unknown Ninth Symphony had been granted the 'highest place of honour'.

In the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, B.Z. (likely Berta Zuckerkandl-Szepts)²⁴⁹ wrote in particularly confrontational tones:

It is now a year since Gustav Mahler died. Now it is also a year that he is being glorified. That Vienna is once again fervently indulging in its favourite pastime of paying off a debt of honour. The detractors of yesterday have become the worshippers of today. Because their caretaker souls were vibrated by the gloriole of death. No one wanted to have been the enemy. Each of them had always known what a great man Gustav Mahler was. And the chorus of the art philistines, which had lasted for years: God save our court opera! turned into a hymn: He is ours!²⁵⁰

The portrayed reversal of detractors to worshippers is severe here and not only demonstrates a polar distinction but also cloaks that trajectory in a pseudo-religious veil. The mystery of death and its associations with religion, souls, and uncertainty emerges here as a rationale. A disinclination to speak ill of the dead, still widely felt today, underpins Zuckerkandl's characterisation. But the term 'philistines' is confrontational, and the critic draws attention to

²⁴⁹ Berta Zuckerkandl-Szepts (13 April 1864–16 October 1945) was a writer, critic, journalist and salonniere whose circle of friends included Gustav Mahler. Her father, Moritz Szepts, was the boss of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*. Zuckerkandl was a journalist and art critic for the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* and, later, the *Neues Wiener Journal*. 'Berta Zuckerkandl-Szepts (1864–1945)', Mahler Foundation, accessed 24 December 2024, <https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/contemporaries/berta-zuckerkandl-szepts/>.

²⁵⁰ B.Z., *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18 May 1912: 3. 'Nun ist es ein Jahr, daß Gustav Mahler starb. Nun ist es auch ein Jahr, daß er verhimmelt wird. Daß Wien sich wieder einmal mit Inbrunst seiner Lieblingsbeschäftigung hingibt, eine Ehrenschild abzutragen. Aus den Schmähenden von gestern sind die Verehrenden von heute geworden. Weil ihre Hausmeisterseelen durch die Gloriole des Todes in Schwingung gerieten. Keiner wollte der Feind gewesen sein. Jeder von ihnen hatte es immer gewußt, was doch Gustav Mahler für ein Großer war. Und der Jahre währende Chorgesang der Kunstphilister: Gott schütze unsere Hofoper! wandelte sich in den Hymnus: Er ist unser!'

the irony of the ‘philistines’ hymns, therefore challenging the authenticity and connoisseurship of their new-found support for Mahler. Driving the point home further, Zuckerkandl continued:

comfortable Vienna also feasted on no longer being educated to uncomfortable “higher tasks” and did not resist the Mahler boycott in the slightest.

Until he was brought home wounded and dying. Triumphal gates would have been built for him, all the orchestras united would have been laid joyfully at his feet; the gates of the court opera were just waiting to open wide before him. Boundlessly, the city now admired its dying son.²⁵¹

Only with the threat of death, of loss (but also, to those more critical, the relief from Mahler’s living influence), did Vienna welcome him home. Once dead, Mahler’s influence had been contained so there was no further threat needing to be neutralised. The aesthetics of existentialism in Mahler’s music, or ‘higher tasks’ as Zuckerkandl put it, were too much for the Vienna of Mahler’s lifetime, and his personality too was a challenge to the Viennese. The relationship between Mahler and the Vienna Philharmonic and the revolutionary impact of Mahler as a conductor on European and American concert practices are aspects of Mahler the man that generated discomforts. Paired with the difficult, metaphysical, existential aesthetics of his music, this may have been too much for the Vienna of Mahler’s lifetime.

David Josef Bach articulated his views in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* that separating the art from the artist had been a positive development for Mahler’s music: ‘The struggles for Mahler

²⁵¹ Ibid. ‘So wie Wien ruhig zusah, wie unmittelbar Mahlers Nachfolger dessen Werk Programmmäßig demolierte; so wie Wien es ganz in der Ordnung fand, daß dieser Nachfolger die doppelten Bezüge als Direktor der Hofoper zugewiesen bekam, als sie einem Gustav Mahler zuteil geworden waren, so labte sich das bequeme Wien auch daran, nicht mehr zu unbequemen „höheren Aufgaben“ erzogen zu werden und stemmte sich nicht im geringsten gegen den Mahler-Boykott.// Bis man ihn todeswund heimbrachte. Triumphpforten hätte man ihm da gerne gebaut, alle Orchester vereint hätte man ihm freudig zu Füßen gelegt; die Pforten der Hofoper warteten nur, sich weit vor ihm aufzutun. Grenzenlos bewunderte nun die Stadt ihren sterbenden Sohn.’

are subsiding; for death has not only ended the struggle of the artist himself, but has also brought it into the light of objective observation.²⁵² In other words, Mahler's music could now be viewed objectively, on its own terms, without the overbearing composer-conductor hovering spectre-like over the listener.

Stefan Zweig, writing in 1915, shortly after the outbreak of the First World War, echoed similar thoughts to Bach and Bienenfeld. 'No war, no events have been able to prevent this elemental blossoming of his fame, and the same one who before the narrowest of deadlines was still an offence to the people here, an ogre and a nuisance, has now become a comforter and a liberator overnight.'²⁵³ Zweig's lexis is more extreme, more fantastical. The transition from ogre to liberator paints Mahler as something of a hero, a real-life fairy tale. The phrase 'elemental blossoming' suggests something natural, something raw and powerful, but also (and crucially to Zweig's argument) something inevitable. The natural meets with the supernatural in prophetic imagery. 'For he has risen, Gustav Mahler, in our midst, almost as the last of the German ones, our city salutes the master again.'²⁵⁴ This sense of natural inevitability was a recurrent theme in Mahler's reception during this period.

Zweig's prose continued the natural imagery: 'Mahler's songs, they now sound themselves, his symphonic works are allowed to fulfil themselves and now still, in the spring days, he gathers people around him in Vienna. In the same hall where he was shown the door, his work forced its way in, he now lives among us again as he once did.'²⁵⁵ There is a sense here of justice, of returning to the natural order. The final phrase reads as if coming into bloom,

²⁵² D.J. Bach, 'Gustav Mahler's Ninth Symphony', *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 4 July 1912: 1. 'Die Kämpfe um Mahler lassen nach: denn der Tod hat den Kampf des Künstlers selber nicht nur beendet, sondern auch in das Licht der objektiven Betrachtung gerückt.'

²⁵³ Stefan Zweig, 'Gustav Mahler's Return', *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 April 1915: 1. 'Kein Krieg, keine Geschehnisse haben dies elementare Aufblühen feines Ruhmes hindern können, und derselbe, der vor engster Frist den Leuten hier noch Anstoß war, Unhold und Aergernis, über Nacht ist er nun Tröster geworden und Befreier.'

²⁵⁴ Zweig, *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 April 1915: 4. 'Denn er ist auferstanden, Gustav Mahler, in unserer Mitte, fast als die letzte der deutschen grüßt unsere Stadt wieder den Meister.'

²⁵⁵ Ibid. 'Die Lieder Mahlers, sie tönen nun selbst, seine symphonischen Werke dürfen sich erfüllen und jetzt noch, in den Frühlingstagen sammelt er in Wien die Menschen um sich. In demselben Saale, wo man ihm die Türe wies, hat sein Werk sich Einlaß erzwungen, er lebt nun unter uns wieder wie einst.'

a contented breath of arrival. And yet, Zweig was not happy: ‘Those who loved him have waited for this hour, but now it has come, it does not make us happy.’²⁵⁶ He, like other critics, was distrusting of this reversal.

But one thing has already happened, the haters and agitators against him have disappeared, they have crawled into all corners of shame and mostly into those last dirtiest and most cowardly, into false mendacious admiration. Those who shouted crucify him yesterday shout hosanna today and anoint the trailing garment of his glory with myrrh and spices. The ill-minded of yesterday have disappeared, no one, no one wants to have done it. For so barren are the haters and agitators that they become fearful when their own hatred bears its fruit. Turmoil and strife – of opinions as well as peoples – is their murky world, but they become powerless wherever a will creates its order and purity inexorably strives towards unity.²⁵⁷

For Zweig, the new worshippers of Mahler were the old detractors. They swapped their criticism for praise not because they found an awakening or realised their mistake, but because of cowardice or ill-mindedness. Cowardice, during wartime, was surely an almighty criticism. When men fought for their country, for their lives, Zweig criticised those who cowered from

²⁵⁶ Zweig, *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 April 1915: 1. ‘Die ihn liebten, haben gewartet auf diese Stunde, aber nun sie gekommen ist, macht sie uns nicht froh.’

²⁵⁷ Zweig, *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 April 1915: 4. ‘Aber eines ist schon geschehen, die Hasser und Hetzer gegen ihn sind verschwunden, sie haben sich verkrochen in alle Winkel der Scham und zumeist in jene letzten schmutzigsten und feigsten, in die falsche verlogene Bewunderung. Die gestern noch Crucifige schrien, rufen heute Hosanna und falben das nachschleifende Kleid seines Ruhmes mit Myrrhen und Spezereien. Verschwunden sind die Uebelgesinnten von gestern, keiner, keiner will es gewesen sein. Denn so unfruchtbar sind die Hasser und Hetzer, daß sie furchtsam werden, wenn ihr eigener Haß seine Früchte trägt. Tumult und Zwist— der Meinungen wie der Völker— ist ihre trübe Welt, aber sie werden ohnmächtig, wo immer ein Wille sich seine Ordnung schafft und Reinheit der Einheit unaufhaltsam entgegenstrebt.’

their own ideas.²⁵⁸ And what's more, Zweig clearly compares Mahler to Jesus here, from crucifixes to hosannas, so dramatic is his account of this reversal.

Critics gradually lost interest in the reversal of Mahler detractors into advocates, identifying instead a more settled acceptance of Mahler's music. In 1917, J.K. (Julius Korngold) expressed the opinion that Mahler was no longer a figure of interest in Vienna. He had been subsumed into the musical heritage of the city and there was no further problem: 'Mahler is no longer an interesting dead man for Vienna. The relationship to his music has become an impersonal one, his symphonies have become naturalised, there is one more Viennese symphonist recognised in Vienna.'²⁵⁹ There is a slightly strange deflation in this extract, which is at odds with its contents. On the one hand, Mahler's music has been recognised as part of the Viennese symphonic canon: 'his symphonies have become naturalised'; 'one more Viennese symphonist recognised in Vienna'. But at the same time, there is a sad resignation that Mahler was 'no longer interesting' and the relationship to his music had become 'impersonal'. When placed into context with the rest of the article, however, it becomes apparent that Korngold had no intention of deflating Mahler's music. Rather, he established Mahler's symphonies as 'merely' canonical in Vienna so as to elevate *Das Lied von der Erde*, the 'noblest and most genuine part of his tonal thinking' which had 'conquered the rest of the musical world far beyond Vienna.'²⁶⁰ It is significant, however, that Mahler's symphonies could be backhandedly ascribed canonical status by 1917, suggesting that this was somehow secure and beyond reasonable doubt.

²⁵⁸ Zweig was a conscientious objector during the First World War and so was not compelled by patriotic fervour. See Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*.

²⁵⁹ J.K., 'Concerts', *Neue Freie Presse*, 22 October 1917: 1. 'Mahler ist für Wien kein interessanter Toter mehr. Das Verhältnis zu seiner Musik ist ein unpersönliches geworden, seine Symphonien haben sich eingebürgert, es gibt einen in Wien anerkannten Wiener Symphoniker mehr.'

²⁶⁰ Ibid. 'Der edelste und echteste Teil seines Tondenkens'. 'hat weit über Wien hinaus auch die sonstige Musikerde erobert.'

In 1918, rp. (possibly Ludwig Karpath)²⁶¹ made a simple but crucial observation which places acceptance for Mahler in the hands of time: ‘an audience was present to whom the symphony [No.1] was no longer alien, an audience, rather, that showed itself to be completely empathetic to the formerly hostile work. And this should not be forgotten either: a new generation has grown up since then, a youth to whom Mahler already appears as a classic.’²⁶² Here is Karpath’s central argument: the passing of time has left behind the old audiences who objected to Mahler’s music, and in their place a new generation has grown, for whom Mahler was not a dangerous modernist who radically transformed Viennese music culture, but rather a regular feature of the concert repertoire. Mahler had, perhaps, become a dead composer of value, rather than a living conductor of tyranny. ‘No matter how much the objectors of yesteryear shake their heads, it has become the truth: most of Gustav Mahler’s symphonies no longer pose any riddles today; they fit inconspicuously into the normal programme.’²⁶³ Perhaps there is only the passing of time and the emergence of a new generation. But perhaps too, the riddles of life and death with which Mahler was so preoccupied were no longer alien to a Vienna that had just experienced the largest war the world had yet witnessed.

The proximity of Mahler’s music to modernism is a point not to be overlooked in this reversal. In modern-day scholarship there are divergent opinions as to whether Mahler should be considered an early modernist or a late romantic. I think part of the reversal evident in his reception during this period is associated with the tendency to view Mahler increasingly as a

²⁶¹ Micaela Baranello suggests that the signature ‘-rp’ of an article in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* (dated 31 December 1905) belonged to Ludwig Karpath. Karpath (27 April 1866–8 September 1936) was a critic for the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and likely also wrote for other Viennese papers. Micaela Baranello, ‘Die lustige Witwe and the Creation of the Silver Age of Viennese Operetta’, *Cambridge Opera Journal* 26, No.2 (2014): 200.

²⁶² rp, ‘Feuilleton: Concerts: Philharmonic Concert – “Helmbrecht” by Zaiczek-Blankenau’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 4 March 1918: 2. ‘Den Philharmornikern fiel schon die reife Frucht in den Schoß, in ihrem gestrigen Abonnementskonzert war eine Zuhörerschaft anwesend, der die Symphonie nicht mehr fremd war, ein Publikum vielmehr, das sich in das ehedem angefeindete Werk vollständig eingefühlt zeigte. Und auch das ist nicht zu vergessen: eine neue Generation ist seither herangewachsen, eine Jugend, der Mahler schon als Klassiker erscheint.’

²⁶³ Ibid. ‘Mögen die Widerstrebenden von Anno dazumal noch so sehr die Köpfe schütteln, es ist zur Wahrheit geworden: die meisten Symphonien von Gustav Mahler geben heute keine Rätsel mehr auf, sie fügen sich unauffällig in das normale Programm ein.’

romantic, rather than a modernist through his associations with Second Viennese Modernism and the Viennese Secession.²⁶⁴ Arnold Whittall and Peter Franklin have identified Mahler's music as a precursor to expressionism and James Hepokoski has likewise listed Mahler among those composers belonging to the 'modernist generation' (born in the late 1850s and early 1860s).²⁶⁵ But the years intervening Mahler's death and the early interwar years saw modernism develop in a direction very different from Mahler's musical aesthetic. Schoenberg, for example, was experimenting with atonality from 1912 and completed his twelve-tone system in 1924.²⁶⁶ This new modernism no longer held sonic resemblance to Mahler's music and, as the critics cited in this section demonstrate, modernism was no longer a concern related to Mahler's music; his aesthetic was much more romantic than the term modernism suggested in 1918 and this enabled his music to become embedded more comfortably into the regular concert repertoire.

Ludwig Karpath, writing in 1919, found the source of Mahler's popularity in his music as distinct from his personality:

It is a strong Mahler year. One work appears after another[.] Gustav Mahler appears in concert halls, not once, but twice and three times. The audience throngs to these performances, they are all "oversubscribed" [*überzeichnet*], so to speak. Tracing the causes of this gradually awakened enthusiasm for the symphonies of the former court opera director would probably be worthwhile. But that would be a matter in itself. There is no doubt that we are dealing with a mass effect, except that it does not sprout out of

²⁶⁴ See François Baudot, *Vienna 1900: The Viennese Secession* (Assouline, 2006); Victoria Charles and Klaus Carl, *The Viennese Secession* (Parkstone International, 2014): 58; Walter Frisch, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts* (University of California Press, 2005): 203.

²⁶⁵ Arnold Whittall, *Romantic Music: A Concise History from Schubert to Sibelius* (Thames and Hudson, 1987): 177. Whittall specifies Mahler's influence on Schoenberg, Berg, Henze, and Maxwell Davies. Peter Franklin, *The Idea of Music: Schoenberg and Others* (Macmillan, 1985): xiv. James Hepokoski, 'Beethoven Reception: the Symphonic Tradition', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge University Press, 2008): 456.

²⁶⁶ Gay, *Weimar Culture*: 5.

the ground by chance. During the master's lifetime, sceptics believed that the strong impressions made by Mahler's works could be interpreted as an effect of his living personality. But Mahler has been dead for eight years, and his work did not flourish immediately after his death, but only now that the memory of a man shaken by battles is beginning to fade. So it is artistic causes, beyond good and evil, that brought about the appearance of the unquestionably dominant Mahlerianism.'²⁶⁷

Karpath here uses the same organic imagery as Zweig. That Mahler's popularity should 'sprout out of the ground' suggests that the kernel was sown long before and the full potential was there to flourish from the beginning. This flourishing, however, did not happen immediately, only once the memory of the man had started to fade. Reference to 'beyond good and evil' suggests an awareness of Nietzsche, but it is possible that Karpath was being literal with this phrase and was more concerned with art beyond morality, something that bridged right and wrong in the early interwar years. In Karpath's evaluation then, Mahler's popularity was a result of his music's artistic value, which due to the eight years since his death and possibly some changes of perspective resulting from the War, was now able to be detached from memories of Mahler's problematic personality and viewed on its own terms.

By 1920, Bienenfeld took pleasure in the growing popularity of Mahler's music. Presumably responding to the Mahler Festival in Amsterdam, which took place that year under Mengelberg, she interpreted Mahler's art as music for the world, possibly suggesting a sort of

²⁶⁷ Ludwig Karpath, 'Feuilleton: Concerts: Mahler's Third with the Philharmonic [...]', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 24 March 1919: 3. 'Es ist ein starkes Mahler-Jahr. Ein Werk nach dem andern von Gustav Mahler erscheint in den Konzertsälen, nicht einmal, sondern zweimal und dreimal. Das Publikum drängt sich zu diesen Aufführungen, sie sind alle sozusagen „überzeichnet“. Den Ursachen dieser allmählich erwachten Begeisterung für die Symphonien des ehemaligen Hofoperndirektors nachzuspüren, würde sich wohl verlohnen. Aber das wäre eine Sache für sich. Zweifellos hat man es mit einer Massenwirkung zu tun, nur daß diese nicht zufällig aus dem Boden sprießt. Bei Lebzeiten des Meisters glaubten Skeptiker, die starken Eindrücke, die Mahlers Werke ausübten, als eine Auswirkung der lebenden Persönlichkeit deuten zu dürfen. Aber Mahler ist seit acht Jahren tot, und sein Werk gedieh durchaus nicht unmittelbar nach seinem Hinscheiden, sondern erst jetzt, da die Erinnerung an den von Kämpfen geschüttelten Menschen zu verblassen beginnt. So sind es also künstlerische Ursachen, jenseits von Gut und Böse, die die Erscheinung des fraglos herrschenden Mahlerianismus zeitigten.'

pan-national value to Mahler's music. 'We can consider it a proud success that people everywhere are beginning to understand and love Mahler's work.'²⁶⁸ The anxieties voiced by Zweig earlier, and the criticism levelled by Bienenfeld, had dissolved by 1920. It would seem that the confidence of critics that Mahler's music was here to stay and that the growing support was genuine had reached a level of assurance. 'This year', she wrote, 'the Mahler cult in Vienna has reached a height that can hardly be surpassed. Even Beethoven is not performed so often.'²⁶⁹ Her construction here is fascinating because the designation of a 'Mahler cult' suggests a specific, non-unanimous faction of listeners particularly devoted to Mahler. And yet, comparison with Beethoven (the most frequently performed symphonist in Vienna, possibly even in Europe) argues for a widespread, almost universal popularity of Mahler's music.

In 1928 R.K. (Robert Konta) wrote: 'The battle for Mahler is long over. Mahler is moving into the neighbourhood of Brahms and Bruckner.'²⁷⁰ There was no further need to argue Mahler's place in the concert repertory and his position had been secured. Throughout this period and up until the *Anschluss*, the motto 'I will die in order to live!' from the Second Symphony became a regular catchphrase for Mahler's critics commenting on the flourishing of his music after his death. This idea, as far as his critics were concerned, proved to be true. It took Mahler's death, for his music to truly live.

²⁶⁸ E.B., 'Mahler Performances', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 23 March 1920: 8. 'Wir dürfen es als einen stolzen Erfolg betrachten, daß man allenthalben beginnt, Mahlers Werk zu verstehen und zu lieben.'

²⁶⁹ Ibid. 'In diesem Jahr ist der Mahler-Kult in Wien zu einer Höhe gediehen, die kaum noch übertroffen werden kann. Selbst Beethoven wird nicht so oft aufgeführt.'

²⁷⁰ R.K., *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10 January 1928: 5. 'Der Kampf um Mahler ist längst vorbei. Mahler rückt in die Nähe eines Brahms und Bruckner.'

Mahler after the War

A prominent strain in reception, criticism, and scholarship on Mahler identifies his preoccupation with death.²⁷¹ Although perhaps alienating for listeners during his lifetime, the First World War would have brought the idea of death acutely into the collective consciousness.²⁷² Did Mahler's preoccupation with death in his symphonies land differently and more resonantly after the First World War? And could that be a component in his rise to popularity during the interwar period? Alfons Wallis, from the vantage point of 1935, certainly thought so:

It was Mahler's troubled soul, which corresponded to our agitation, the turmoil caused by the war, by a world out of joint. Strange that Mahler had already died in 1911, meaning that his work came from a time when life had an easy pace, was full of confidence and full of the pleasure of knowledge and ability. But Mahler already had the premonition that something was wrong; the soul had to be saved, the person was in dire straits.... Mahler had called himself an untimely man. Now – in the first years after the war, his time had come. All great spirits are prophets.

²⁷¹ See Carl Niekerk, 'Mahler and Death', in *Mahler in Context*, ed. Charles Youmans (Cambridge University Press, 2020): 225–232. See also William J. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (Yale University Press, 1974)

²⁷² See Gunda Barth-Scalmani, 'Memory-Landscapes of the First World War: The Southwestern Front in Present-Day Italy, Austria and Slovenia', in *From Empire to Republic: Post-World War I Austria*, eds Günter Bischof, Fritz Plasser, and Peter Berger (University of New Orleans Press, 2010): 222–253; Patrick J. Houlihan, 'Was there an Austrian Stab-in-the-Back Myth? Interwar Military Interpretations of Defeat', in *From Empire to Republic: Post-World War I Austria*, eds Günter Bischof, Fritz Plasser, and Peter Berger (University of New Orleans Press, 2010): 67–89; Ke-chin Hsia, 'A Partnership of the Weak: War Victims and the State in the Early First Austrian Republic', in *From Empire to Republic: Post-World War I Austria*, eds Günter Bischof, Fritz Plasser, and Peter Berger (University of New Orleans Press, 2010): 192–221; Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*; Christoph Mick, '"What did they Die for?" War Remembrance in Austria in the Transition from Empire to Nation State', in *Embers of Empire: Continuity and Rupture in the Habsburg Successor States after 1918*, eds Paul Miller and Claire Morelon (Berghahn, 2018): 261–283.

But the mass influx to Mahler's symphonies had another reason: their easy comprehensibility. Where else had there been anything like this in recent music: simplicity and monumentality, childishness and circling around the last things?²⁷³

Wallis here seems to attribute Mahler's post-war success to the compatibility of his music with wartime experience. It was the easy comprehensibility of Mahler's music after the War which Wallis identified as the main reason for his rise to popularity. This demonstrates a remarkable transformation from the incomprehension previously levelled at his symphonies. The juxtapositions in Mahler's music identified by Wallis are surely those that might appeal most to a listener reeling from war: simplicity and childishness, but wrapped in an experience that knows monumentality, a spirit or mind that grapples with questions of death – for surely that is what he means by 'circling around the last things'. For Wallis, it seems, Mahler's music had become more real, more comprehensible, and more appealing as a result of the War. He sought to exemplify this in the following lines: 'But the *vox humana* of this music remained unforgettable, the voice of the soul, the voice of the heart that sobbed out: "Man is in great need" and ecstatically wanted to admit: "I am from God and want to return to God", in the middle of the war.'²⁷⁴

Josef Lechthaler, writing in *Radio Wien* in 1932 – whose articles read more like programme notes than critical reflections – noted Mahler's aesthetic: 'His works made great

²⁷³ Wallis, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 6 July 1935: 2. 'Es war die auf gewühlte Seele Mahlers, die unsrer Aufgewühltheit entsprach, der Aufgewühltheit durch den Krieg, durch eine aus den Fugen geratene Welt. Seltsam, daß Mahler schon 1911 gestorben war, sein Werk also durchweg einer Zeit entstammte, in der das Leben einen leichten Gang hatte, voll selbstbewußter Betriebsamkeit war und voll Behagen am Wissen und Können. Aber in Mahler war durchaus schon die Ahnung: es stimmt etwas nicht; es gilt, die Seele zu retten, der Mensch liegt in höchster Not.... Mahler hatte sich einen Unzeitgemäßen genannt. Nun— in den ersten Jahren nach dem Krieg war seine Zeit gekommen. Alle großen Geister sind Propheten. // Aber der Massenzustrom zu Mahlers Symphonien hatte noch einen andern Grund: ihre leichte Verständlichkeit. Wo gab's noch dergleichen in der neueren Musik: Einfachheit und Monumentalität, Kindlichkeit und Kreisen um die letzten Dinge?'

²⁷⁴ Ibid. 'Unvergeßlich aber blieb die *vox humana* dieser Musik, die Menschlichkeits-, die Herzensstimme, die aufschluchzte: „Der Mensch liegt in großer Not" und ekstatisch wahrhaben wollte: „Ich bin von Gott und will wieder zu Gott", es wahrhaben wollte mitten im Krieg.'

demands on the attitudes of both experts and the public. His tonal language and formal design were bold, almost fantastic. His inner attitude tended towards the problematic. He reached for the highest and descended into the deepest abysses. Following him was not easy and demanded love and perseverance.²⁷⁵ Mahler's symphonies, according to Lechthaler, posed too many philosophical problems and placed 'great demands' on the listener. The 'problematic' aesthetics articulated by Lechthaler, I argue, might have been more palatable to the public consciousness after the War – an experience that would have subjected listeners to 'the deepest abysses' and may have provoked an increased desire to 'reach for the highest'.²⁷⁶ The juxtapositional volatility of Mahler's symphonic language and metaphysical expression, therefore, might have felt more familiar to an audience that had already been subjected to the throws of wartime. The sharp uptake in Mahler performances after the First World War certainly suggests that something had become more favourable for his music during those years.

Max Graf, writing between these two critics in 1933, made a direct link between the First World War and the spreading of Mahler's music: 'The symphony of Death and Immortality – the Second –, the symphony of Nature and God – the Third –, the Symphony of

²⁷⁵ Josef Lechthaler, 'To the concert broadcast from Berlin on Saturday, 26 March: Gustav Mahler's Symphony No. II', *Radio Wien*, 18 March 1932: 3. *'Das Schaffen Gustav Mahlers stieß zu Lebzeiten des Meisters auf starken Widerstand. Dies ist begreiflich. Seine Werke stellten an das Einstellungsvermögen der Fachwelt und des Publikums große Anforderungen. Seine Tonsprache und Formgestaltung waren kühn, ja beinahe phantastisch. Seine innere Haltung neigte zum Problematischen. Er griff nach dem Höchsten und stieg in die tiefsten Abgründe. Ihm zu folgen war nicht bequem und verlangte Liebe und Ausdauer. // Nur ein Werk fand verhältnismäßig bald den Weg zur inneren Anteilnahme des Publikums: Die zweite Sinfonie.'*

²⁷⁶ There is a large volume of literature on the psychological and psychiatric impact of the First World War. The United States World War One Centennial Commission articulates that full comprehension of traumatic experiences often occurs after the encounter with death and that 'no one can fully recover from war'. It is therefore to be expected that the most significant period of psychological detriment from the War took place after the moment of violence and that the psyche of those subjected to these experiences had been irreversibly changed. 'A New Kind of Dream: Freud, Trauma, and WWI: A Look at War and Artistic Creation Through the Theories of Cathy Caruth and Sigmund Freud', The United States World War One Centennial Commission, accessed 23 October 2024, <https://www.worldwar1centennial.org/index.php/articles-posts/4636-a-new-kind-of-dream-freud-trauma-and-wwi.html>. See also, David Freis, 'Central European Psychiatry: World War I and the Interwar Period', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Psychology*, 28 Jun. 2021, accessed 23 Oct. 2024, <https://oxfordre.com/psychology/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190236557.001.0001/acrefore-9780190236557-e-836>; Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

Angels and Heaven – the Fourth –, the roaring ascension of the “Faust” Symphony – the Eighth – are Mahler’s music, which after the Great War has spread ever more strongly into time and the present.’²⁷⁷ Perhaps Graf only intended the War to be a marker of time with no further associations attached, but would his readers have understood his intentions as such? In describing the symphonies, Graf evokes death and immortality, God, angels, heaven, and ascension. In a single sentence, Graf has drawn together the First World War and a series of acute concerns for someone experiencing war – namely, death and the afterlife. Whatever Graf’s intentions, Mahler’s music here is articulated as grappling with the anxieties of war.

Concerns about death in Mahler’s music is a common theme, which Graf articulates clearly: ‘For Gustav Mahler, it is the eternal questions that torment him and fill him with anxiety. The problem of death, in particular, repeatedly frightens him.’²⁷⁸ Music by a composer repeatedly frightened by death might resound more clearly among audiences to whom that anxiety was a lived reality and there is some evidence, particularly that of Wallis, to suggest that critics believed this to be the case. On this basis, the very experience of the First World War may have played an important role in the increasing popularity ascribed to Mahler’s music during the 1920s because the anxieties newly understood on a mass scale as a result of the War unlocked a component of Mahler’s musical aesthetic that had previously been a barrier to audience comprehension of his symphonies.

²⁷⁷ Mg., ‘Fourth Philharmonic Concert’, *Der Tag*, 10 January 1933: 6. ‘*Die Sechste Symphonie Gustav Mahlers teilt nicht nur dieses allgemeine Schicksal des Großen. Sie hat auch ein spezielles Schicksal. Gehört sie doch zu jener Mittelgruppe der Symphonien Mahlers, welche überall noch nicht ganz ins Bewußtsein der Gegenwart ausgenommen worden sind. Die Symphonien fünf bis sieben sind eine Welt für sich. Mahler hat sich der Geister bisher mit seinen großen Symphonien, welche auch den Gesang heranziehen, bemächtigt, mit den großen Mysterienspielen, in denen auf geteilten Bühnen Tod und Engel um die Herrschaft über die Seele kämpfen, während Posaunen schmettern und Glocken klingen. Die Symphonie von Tod und Unsterblichkeit— die Zweite –, die Symphonie von Natur und Gott— die Dritte –, die Symphonie von den Engeln und dem Himmel— die Vierte –, die brausende Himmelfahrt der „Faust“-Symphonie— die Achte— sind die Musik Mahlers, die nach dem großen Krieg immer stärker sich in Zeit und Gegenwart ausgebreitet hat.*’

²⁷⁸ Max Graf, ‘Gustav Mahler: For his 75th Birthday’, *Der Tag*, 7 July 1935: 5. ‘*Bei Gustav Mahler sind es die ewigen Fragen, die ihn quälen, mit Unruhe füllen. Besonders das Todesproblem schreckt ihn immer wieder.*’

Fashionable Mahler: Novelty and Commerce

Descriptions of Mahler's music from 1919 to the mid-1920s identify the popularity of his music, but it is entirely unclear whether this should be interpreted positively or negatively. On the one hand, the legacies of nineteenth-century aesthetics still lingered in the minds of critics, whereby art should be for art's sake and commercialism and popularity were to be frowned upon. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Vienna recognised the need to modernise and commercialise their city and culture to rebuild after the War. Critics were therefore stuck between two poles: was Mahler's music popular because it contained inherent artistic value or was it becoming popular because of some sort of artificial fashioning or entrepreneurship? And which option was preferable anyway?

Writing in the *Reichspost*, on 2 April 1919, M.S. (Max Springer) articulated these conundrums very succinctly:

The question now is whether this incipient Mahler cult is the result of compelling artistic necessity, or whether it is the result of a calculating entrepreneurial spirit of various concert organisers speculating on the personal connections with the deceased master, which are still very much alive in Vienna; in short, whether Mahler's creations are asserting themselves on the basis of their artistic values, or whether they are being artificially brought into fashion.²⁷⁹

It seems needless to point out that these two aspects are not necessarily at odds with each other, even if Springer perceived them to be. For even if Mahler's music was being artificially brought

²⁷⁹ M.S., 'Gustav Mahler Performances', *Reichspost*, 2 April 1919: 2. 'Es handelt sich nun darum, ob dieser einsetzende Mahlerkult die Folge zwingender künstlerischer Notwendigkeit ist, oder als Ausfluß eines berechnenden, auf die in Wien noch stark lebendigen persönlichen Zusammenhänge mit dem verstorbenen Meister spekulierenden Unternehmungsgeistes verschiedenen Konzertveranstalter zu gelten hat, kurz, ob die Schöpfungen Mahlers sich zufolge ihrer künstlerischen Werte durchringen, oder ob sie künstlich in Mode gebracht werden sollen.'

into fashion, the implication that it forms an entrepreneurial commodity suggests that it contains some kind of inherent appeal. Springer makes his position clear when he continues: ‘The aforementioned unevenness of his ability and the limitations of his genius are evident in almost all of Mahler’s works and cannot be concealed, even in spite of the many superb orchestration effects and the often masterly colouring of the moods.’²⁸⁰ This description marks Mahler’s music as superficial, music with a weak central genus dressed up with empty special effects. Such language is reminiscent of Wagner’s essay *Das Judentum in der Musik*, in which he argued that the Jews were incapable of original artistic thought and so created music that might seem impressive through orchestrational set dressing.²⁸¹ K. M. Knittel, in her study on the language of antisemitism in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, summarised Wagner’s essay as it related to the reception of Mahler during his lifetime:

In his essay, Wagner carefully described what he believed to be wrong with Jewish music: 1. Jewish composers were not creative, but could only imitate other composers; 2. In attempting to hide their lack of creativity, Jewish composers would often strive for an “elaborate surface;” and 3. Jewish composers, with no source for creativity, could not manipulate large-scale musical forms in a convincing manner.²⁸²

The alignment of Wagner’s antisemitic ideas with Springer’s ideas is perhaps unsurprising for an essay written in the Right-wing *Reichspost*, expected to be more critical and disparaging of Mahler’s music and more prone to antisemitic tropes. But this disparagement does not succeed in denying Mahler’s popularity; his music was fashionable at this time. This critic frames

²⁸⁰ Ibid. ‘Die geschilderte Ungleichmäßigkeit seines Könnens und die Begrenztheit seines Genius zeigt sich in fast allen Werken Mahlers und läßt sich auch trotz aller experimentellen Instrumentationseffekte und der oft meisterhaften Stimmungskoloristik nicht vertuschen.’

²⁸¹ Richard Wagner, *Judaism in Music (Das Judentum in der Musik)*, (W. Reeves, 1910). See also, Knittel, *Seeing Mahler*.

²⁸² Knittel, *Seeing Mahler*: 11.

Mahler as something of a circus act – popular entertainment for the masses, a flashy spectacle, but ultimately rather hollow and lacking artistic value. What is less clear, however, is whether these concerns about the commodification of Mahler as inauthentic were simply the result of antisemitic disparagement or whether they also held significant weight in the cultural imagination.

Even the more amenable Bach was uncertain about the source of Mahler's rise to popularity: 'The question is different as to whether we are now dealing with [??] a cultivation of his works that springs from an artistic belief, a need of the heart, or simply with a busyness of performance that exploits a given favourable situation for business purposes.'²⁸³ Here Bach gives no indication of his personal stance on this question. He asks it as an either/or scenario, but his restraint from giving his opinion might imply that he understands both components to be playing a part. His works may well spring from an artistic belief, but that doesn't safeguard them against exploitation. Alternatively, Mahler's music was proving to be a successful business endeavour, but a popular belief in its artistic value may well have been driving that demand.

Erwin Schaeffer makes a similar point: 'Even this most selfless art has been seized by a lively spirit of business and profit, its emanations exploited and served up on all possible and impossible occasions to a willing audience, which is happy to pay a little if it is just the fashion to hear the music in question.'²⁸⁴ Here again this conundrum emerges. Mahler's art is selfless, suggesting a lack of vanity or expectation (as if art were a living being), but at the same time, the crowds gathered simply because it was the 'fashion to hear' Mahler's music. It sounds as

²⁸³ D.B., 'Orchestra and Choir Concerts', *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 26 March 1919: 2. 'Anders steht es um die Frage, ob wir es jetzt [?] einer Pflege seiner Werke zu tun haben, die einem Künstlerischen Glauben, einem Herzensbedürfnis entspringt, oder einfach mit einer Betriebsamkeit der Aufführungen, die eine gegebene geistige Situation geschäftlich ausnützt.'

²⁸⁴ Schaeffer, *Wiener Zeitung*, 25 October 1920: 2. 'Auch dieser selbstlosesten Kunst hat sich reger Geschäfts- und Profitgeist bemächtigt, ihre Emanationen ausgebeutet und sie bei allen möglichen und unmöglichen Gelegenheiten einem bereitwilligen Publikum serviert, das sich's gern etwas kosten läßt, wenn es nur gerade die Mode ist, das Betreffende zu hören.'

if it was more important to be seen to be in attendance than there being an artistic necessity to engage with a certain work of art. Perhaps this analysis is rather too sceptical, but the primary motivation for audiences (in Schaeffer's writing) was to participate in the fashion, rather than to hear the music. That notwithstanding, the apparent fact of Mahler's music being fashionable seems not to be in doubt. Schaeffer investigated the audiences of Mahler performances further:

On closer inspection in Vienna it is always the same, not too large circle of two or three thousand people who attend the performances out of genuine enthusiasm for the works; the fashionable listeners turn up from time to time and especially for the favourites (Second Symphony, "Lied von der Erde"); the real masses still keep their distance today, preferring to enjoy Beethoven or Puccini in the concert hall.

Thus the imperative demand remains that Mahler's works should be performed less frequently, but prepared all the more thoroughly, even if for our part we do not exactly favour the view of those who demanded the character of the extraordinary, the festive, for every single performance, because they want to see Mahler's music given a special status in today's world.²⁸⁵

Here then, there are three camps: the genuine enthusiasts; the fashionable listeners; and the real masses. The need to distinguish between the fashionable listeners and the real masses suggests that there may be a class-based concern here: the fashionable listeners are still drawn from the bourgeoisie while the working class stick to Beethoven and Puccini. Splitting the audiences in

²⁸⁵ Schaeffer, *Wiener Zeitung*, 25 October 1920: 2. 'Genau besehen, ist es in Wien stets der gleiche, nicht allzu große Kreis von zwei- bis dreitausend Menschen, der immer wieder aus echter Begeisterung für die Werke sich bei deren Aufführungen einfindet; die Modezuhörer erscheinen ab und zu und vor allem zu den Lieblingen (Zweite Sinfonie, „Lied von der Erde“); die eigentliche große Masse hält sich auch heute noch fern, genießt weiterhin im Konzertsale lieber Beethoven oder – Puccini. // So bleibt denn die gebieterische Forderung bestehen, Mahlers Werke seltener, dafür um so gründlicher vorbereitet aufzuführen, wenn wir für unseren Teil auch nicht gerade für die Ansicht derer schwärmen, die für jede einzelne Darbietung den Charakter des Außerordentlichen, des Festes verlangen, weil sie Mahlers Musik in der heutigen Zeit eine Sonderstellung eingeräumt sehen wollen.'

this way is clearly designed to undermine perceptions about the size of Mahler's followers, but a 'not too large circle' (elsewhere described as the Mahler cult) of two to three thousand doesn't sound like a small circle of enthusiastic followers. Given that the Golden Hall in the *Musikverein* seats 1,744 people, with additional standing room for approximately 300, and the Great Hall of the *Wiener Konzerthaus* can accommodate up to 1,800 audience members, a concert held at either venue could be oversubscribed from the demand of this 'not too large circle' without accounting for any other listeners.

Across all these critics, it becomes clear that regardless of whether Mahler's music was popular, and regardless of the individual persuasion of the critics, it had become fashionable by 1919. Whether this resulted from artistic value, or from opportunistic commodification which sought to fashion Mahler's music as a business enterprise is not certain. Following the world premiere of the Tenth Symphony fragments at the State Opera Theatre in October 1924, Heinrich Kralik warned that the public had a moral duty to protect Mahler's music from exploitation: 'The fragments of Gustav Mahler's Tenth Symphony should certainly not have been withheld from the public; but the public now has a duty to ensure that these relics, sanctified by so much mortal suffering, are not profaned in the ordinary music business.'²⁸⁶ This view marks a slight change from the earlier critics. For one thing, Kralik is clear that Mahler's Fourth Symphony (which was also on the programme) holds inherent value: 'the music was so splendid, and Felicie Mihacsek sang the soprano solo so movingly, warmly and so angelically pure, that the evening ended in the most beautiful harmony of general enthusiasm.'²⁸⁷ His argument is not founded in scepticism of Mahler's artistic value. Rather,

²⁸⁶ Heinrich Kralik, 'Gustav Mahler's X Symphony: World Premiere of the fragment at the Opera Theatre', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 13 October 1924: 5. 'Die Fragmente der Zehnten Symphonie von Gustav Mahler durften gewiß nicht der Öffentlichkeit vorenthalten werden; aber die Öffentlichkeit hat nunmehr die Pflicht, dafür zu sorgen, daß diese von so viel Todesleid geheiligten Reliquien im gewöhnlichen Musikbetrieb nicht profaniert werden.'

²⁸⁷ Kralik, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 13 October 1924: 5. 'Indessen wurde so prächtig musiziert, und Felice Mihacsek sang das Sopransolo so rührend, warm und so engelhaft rein, daß der Abend in die schönste Harmonie allgemeiner Begeisterung ausklingen konnte.'

the difference between Schaeffer's article and Kralik's suggests that a hardening concern for commercialism and the exploitation of the musical work had taken place during the four intervening years. Across both of their articles the need to focus on quality performances rather than quantity of performances emerges. This imperative is particularly clear in Schaeffer's writing, but emerges too in Kralik's desire to not 'profane' Mahler's music in the 'ordinary music business', which presumably would have focused more on finances than artistic concerns. Kralik's writing is a useful marker of Mahler's popularity, because it differentiates his music from empty fashion. He engages with the concept of *Kunstreligion*, relating Mahler's music to 'relics' and 'mortal suffering' and seeking to protect it from profanity, thereby presenting Mahler's music as something almost sacred that needed to be protected.²⁸⁸

Although one critic utilised antisemitic tropes, stereotypes, and sentiments to question the value of Mahler's artistic work, suggesting that the construction of a musical spectacle concealed a lack of creativity, this view does not seem to have been widely accepted. Critics were more frequently found trying to protect Mahler from the commercialism of popular entertainment or empty fashion. The widespread enthusiasm for Mahler's music in the first decade after his death is evident. Whether fashionable or popular, the reception of his music shifted drastically in 1912 to wave in a new era of 'Mahlerianism'. The concert halls filled with listeners and Mahler's music was welcomed into festivals in Vienna and elsewhere. While the popularity of Mahler's music attracted audiences into the festivals, the festivals helped to solidify Mahler's music in the standard repertory, placing it alongside the well-loved classics of Beethoven, Bruckner, and Brahms. Although there were concerns for the value of Mahler's music from certain camps of detractors, these did not seem to impede the still accelerating enthusiasm for his music. Issues of class and the size of Mahler's following in Vienna emerge

²⁸⁸ For *Kunstreligion*, see Elizabeth A. Kramer, 'The Idea of *Kunstreligion* in German Musical Aesthetics of the Early Nineteenth Century' (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2005).

in these discussions about the commercialism of Mahler's music. Ideas about mass culture were especially prevalent in Vienna from 1924 onwards in relation to another cultural development: the radio.

Mahler for Mass Culture: Radio Broadcasting

Although the radio is most often written about within the context of propaganda, it also served significant functions elsewhere. Crucially, listening to the radio meant that listeners were no longer required to enter into the concert hall. The social and economic results of this fact are plain to see – anyone able to purchase or find a space containing a radio could now engage with concert culture, regardless of whether or not they could afford to buy a ticket to see a concert. In this sense, concert culture became more accessible to the popular masses in Vienna. But more than that, radio also enabled cultural exchange between cities, countries, and even continents (provided that both ends possessed the necessary technology to record, broadcast, and receive). For listeners to Mahler in Vienna, this latter cross-national exchange enabled broadcasts of Mahler's music performed outside of the German-controlled lands to be heard in Vienna during the Second World War. Even if Mahler's music could no longer be performed in Vienna, that does not necessarily mean that it could no longer be heard in Vienna. This section will investigate these two facets of radio broadcasting as they pertain to Mahler's music and reception: radio as a medium of mass culture; and radio as cross-national instrument. These two aspects of radio culture were crucially important for the reception of Mahler's music because they increased the frequency with which listeners could hear his music – the previous infrequency had been identified as an impediment to the Viennese acceptance of Mahler's music – thereby improving audience familiarity. Audiences from lower social classes were invited to participate in concert culture and socialists in particular seem to have rallied around

Mahler's music.²⁸⁹ Susan Douglas has argued that the Socialists sought 'nothing less than to create a proletarian counterculture opposed to what they saw as the consumerism, intellectual vapidness, and political complacency of bourgeois culture'.²⁹⁰ There were fundamental flaws in this plan, as Douglas points out, stemming from the fact that the Socialists who sought to drive these changes were largely from the bourgeoisie themselves and therefore simply transplanted their own bourgeois preferences onto the workers. The adoption of Mahler for mass culture, whether successful or not, was entirely in-line with the cultural uplift plans of Austrian socialism.²⁹¹

In 1931 Paul Lazarsfeld was commissioned by RAVAG (*Radio-Verkehrs-Aktien-Gesellschaft*) to undertake a study of radio listeners. Lazarsfeld's study, which he completed in 1932, laid the foundations for an entire field of research into radio broadcasting.²⁹² Although the results of his questionnaires (which contained responses from 110,000 radio listeners) demonstrated that most listeners preferred 'light entertainment' rather than the programmes preferred by the Socialist Democratic Party, the ambitions held by the Austrian authorities for radio as a medium of social and cultural advancement for the working classes is evident.²⁹³ These benefits of radio broadcasting were not only felt from concerts held in Vienna. Since radio was an international enterprise, listeners were able to participate in Mahler concerts held in Prague, Amsterdam, and Stockholm (for example) if they so desired. This final component is a crucial piece of evidence, often overlooked, in the Mahler myth narrative. The fact that Mahler's music was banned in Austria from 1938 stimulates the assumption that it could not be heard in Austria after that date. The ability of radio listeners, however, to tune into

²⁸⁹ See Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (Random House, 1999). Douglas presents Paul Lazarsfeld (an Austrian emigre who settled in the US) as a figure whose work with the radio was associated with his socialist politics.

²⁹⁰ Douglas, *Listening In*: 127.

²⁹¹ See Gruber, *Red Vienna*.

²⁹² John V. Pavlik, 'Austria's Legacy in Early Radio Broadcasting: Lessons for Audio Media in the 21st Century', *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications* 3, No.4 (2017): 274.

²⁹³ Douglas, *Listening In*: 126.

international broadcasts of his music puts a metaphorical pin in that bubble of assumption. While Mahler's music was likely heard less during those years, and not heard live in the Viennese concert halls, it would be entirely wrong to assert that desiring listeners were not able to continue listening to his music. The end point of the narrative of decline, therefore, is significantly less absolute than has typically been asserted.

RAVAG, the radio broadcasting company in Vienna, was established in February 1924 and housed in the former War Ministry building on the Stubenring in Vienna.²⁹⁴ Radio transmissions began on 1 October that year and live broadcasts began in 1925. The company was dissolved shortly after the *Anschluss* in 1938. Transmissions became known as *Radio Wien*, which was also the name of the weekly publication listing radio broadcasts in Austria.²⁹⁵ The primary newspaper for advertising the broadcasting schedule to listeners in Vienna, ran from 19 October 1924 to 1953, and was typically published on Fridays. There was a pause in publications in March 1938, following the *Anschluss*, but the paper resumed in 1939, publishing its issues on Saturdays until the outbreak of the Second World War.²⁹⁶ Each issue contained the radio listings for the coming week along with a series of articles relating to those broadcasts. Articles in *Radio Wien* were more akin to programme notes than music criticism and tended to be written in the simplistic, presumptuous tone typical of that genre. John Pavlik has considered early radio broadcasting in Austria in fascinating detail and reports that 10,000 listeners tuned into Austrian radio from the first broadcast in 1924.²⁹⁷ By October 1924, 35,000 listeners were tuning in and by January 1925, the numbers had increased to 100,000.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ 'Radio Verkehrs Aktiengesellschaft (RAVAG)', Schenker Documents Online, accessed 18 March 2024, <https://schenkerdocumentsonline.org/profiles/organization/entity-004436.html>. See also 'The government building – a piece of radio history', Federal Ministry Republic of Austria, accessed 15 August 2024, <https://info.bml.gv.at/en/ministry/history-of-the-ministry/the-government-building/the-stubenring-transmitter.html>.

²⁹⁵ Pavlik, 'Austria's Legacy': 274.

²⁹⁶ 'Radio Wien', ANNO, accessed 18 March 2024, <https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=raw>.

²⁹⁷ Pavlik, 'Austria's Legacy': 275.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

Evidently, the radio was a growing enterprise that was able to accommodate many more listeners than the Viennese concert halls. Demands to hear Mahler's music on the radio were therefore also demands to adopt Mahler's music for mass culture. In 1930, ambitions and requests emerged for RAVAG to host a Mahler celebration, although it is uncertain whether such an event did eventually take place. Paul Stefan wrote an article entitled 'the omitted Mahler celebrations' in *Die Stunde* on 10 July 1930 in which he identified the intentions of RAVAG and the demand placed upon them to host a celebration for what would have been Mahler's seventieth birthday. His title seems to overstate his meaning since it appears that a few events did transpire, but for Stefan these events were found to be lacking in quantity and perhaps also in quality. Nonetheless, the inclusion of RAVAG in these lines demonstrates the significant role held by the radio company in Vienna. Stefan identified his own role in advocating for a celebration of Mahler and added the intentions of RAVAG: 'As far as Vienna is concerned, I confess quite openly that I have endeavoured to work towards a celebration of Remembrance Day. Ravag then planned a larger celebration, at least two concerts, one of which would have included the song composer Mahler, and three festive lectures, one of which would have been dedicated to the theatre director Mahler.'²⁹⁹ These impressive ambitions however, boiled down to a single concert in which the Philharmonic Orchestra (rather than the preferred Symphonic Orchestra) played *Das Lied von der Erde*.³⁰⁰

Ahead of the following season, RAVAG were once again called upon to broadcast Mahler's music, this time, in a symphonic cycle. But it would seem that the technical difficulties of broadcasting Mahler's works may have impeded such a request. The technical

²⁹⁹ P. Stf., 'The Omitted Mahler Celebrations', *Die Stunde*, 10 July 1930: 5. 'Soweit nun Wien in Betracht kommt, gestehe ich ganz offen, daß ich mich bemüht habe, auf eine Feier des Gedenktages hinzuwirken. Bei der Ravag beabsichtigte man daraufhin eine größere Feier, mindestens zwei Konzerte, in deren einem auch der Liederkomponist Mahler zu seinem Recht kommen sollte und drei Festvorträge, von denen einer auch dem Theater-direktor Mahler gegolten hätte.'

³⁰⁰ The Symphonic Orchestra was preferable because of its greater familiarity with and more frequent performances of Mahler's music.

difficulties in transmitting studio performances would have required such a large number of musical and technical rehearsals that performing a full cycle on the radio was impractical.³⁰¹ It seems that there were two problems here. Firstly, studio performances of Mahler's works generated difficulties in transmission, whereas live concert broadcasts seem to transmit more easily.³⁰² Secondly, unlike organisations in England and Germany, RAVAG had not taken the initiative of broadcasting public concerts, which hindered the available opportunities to broadcast Mahler's music. It is certainly true that Mahler's symphonies were broadcast less often than, for example, those of Brahms. The enlarged orchestra for Mahler's works seems to be a likely reason that his works may have been more difficult to broadcast from studio recordings. Between 1925 and 1936 Mahler's symphonies were performed on Viennese radio (by either the Philharmonic or the Symphonic orchestras) 22 times, but it is worth remembering that the number of Mahler symphonies available on Viennese radio would have been much higher than this on account of international transmission. It is evident that such overseas broadcasts were familiar to Viennese listeners because Stefan comments on the practices of English and German radio broadcasters.³⁰³

By 1931, however, it would seem that RAVAG had managed to sort out its technical difficulties since Paul Stefan reported in May of that year that the Mahler cycle continued and *Radio Wien* was preparing a celebration:

³⁰¹ P. Stf., *Die Stunde*, 10 July 1930: 5. 'Aus Kreisen des Arbeiterradiobundes ist, abermals bei der Ravag, der Antrag gestellt worden, die Ravag möge sämtliche Symphonien Mahlers zyklisch aufführen. Das wird aber solange nicht möglich sein, als sich die Ravag nicht entschließen kann, solche Werke öffentlich aufzuführen und zu übertragen, wie es etwa die englische Sendegesellschaft und manche deutsche schon tun. Studioaufführungen von Werken, wie es die Symphonien Mahlers sind, begegnen den größten Schwierigkeiten bei der Übertragung. Die Ravag müßte die entsprechenden Proben vornehmen lassen, mehr rein musikalische und etliche rein technische.'

³⁰² For a detailed account of technical difficulties facing early radio broadcasting, see Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Duke University Press, 2003): 237–240.

³⁰³ P. Stf., *Die Stunde*, 10 July 1930: 5.

The introductory words spoken on last year's commemoration day dealt with the subject of the transitional master Mahler and his time, which the works chosen at the time, Mahler's last works, called for. This time we dwell on the Mahler who belongs to our present. Idyllic works that achieve special effects with small means are the demand of our time. It is no coincidence that the Fourth Symphony is probably Mahler's most frequently performed symphonic opus. It offers the most varied faces to any considerations. Above all, however, next to the pathetic is always the idyllic, the friend of folk melodies, folk dances and popularly felt poems. None of his works contains him completely, exhausts him entirely. Again and again we are driven to approach the others, starting from one.³⁰⁴

Evidently, the concert that Stefan had complained about being omitted did take place. It contained both *Das Lied von der Erde* and the fragments of the Tenth Symphony, both works noted to be among Mahler's most popular. The final few sentences here demonstrate an imperative of constantly approaching Mahler's symphonies as a cycle, rather than selecting certain popular numbers, because of the ways in which each symphony articulates a different part of the composer. The Fourth Symphony was to be the next to receive a performance in the Mahler cycle organised by the radio company. In Stefan's commentary on the event, the division between connoisseurship and the masses gained particular salience.

³⁰⁴ Paul Stefan, '2 Decades since Mahler', *Radio Wien*, 15 May 1931: 4. 'Die Feier des siebenzigsten Geburtstages im vorigen Jahr (vielmehr jenes Tages, der sein siebenzigster Geburtstag geworden wäre) brachte den pathetischen Mahler: Lied von der Erde und die fragmentarische Zehnte Symphonie. Radio-Wien wird beiden Daten gerecht geworden sein. // Die gesprochenen Einführungsworte zu dem Gedenktag des vorigen Jahres behandelten das Thema von dem Übergangs-Meister Mahler und seiner Zeit, wozu die damals gewählten Werke, die letzten Mahlers, so recht aufforderten. Diesmal verweilen wir bei jenem Mahler, der unserer Gegenwart gehört. Idyllische Werke, die mit kleinen Mitteln zu besonderen Wirkungen gelangen, sind so recht die Forderung unserer Zeit. Es ist kein Zufall, daß die Vierte Symphonie wohl das zumeist gespielte symphonische Opus von Mahler ist. Er bietet jeder Betrachtung die mannigfaltigsten Gesichte. Vor allem aber steht neben dem Pathetiker immer gleich der Idylliker, der Freund der Volksmelodien, Volkstänze und volkstümlich empfundenen Gedichte. Keines seiner Werke enthält ihn völlig, erschöpft ihn ganz. Immer wieder werden wir dazu getrieben, uns, von einem ausgehend, auch den übrigen zu nähern.'

Until [Beethoven], the audience had been made up of courtly and aristocratic music lovers; now they were joined by the bourgeoisie, who dominated musical life throughout the nineteenth century. Bruckner and Mahler, especially the latter, now hoped for a larger audience from even broader social classes. Mahler deliberately built on the fourth estate, on the petty bourgeoisie, the workers, the people who had been excluded from concerts up to this time and for whom the great soul was now created, the cheap seats made accessible. He never thought of an audience of experts, although his works could certainly stand up to experts. His oral statements, his letters prove that when he composed, he heard the sound of the universe and wanted to make this song of the spheres audible to all people in his own way.³⁰⁵

Stefan here articulates a few thoughts that converge to suggest the radio as a natural medium for Mahler's music. Mahler, according to Stefan, sought larger audiences built out of listeners from lower social classes as well as the existent bourgeoisie. The connection here between Mahler's music, cheaper more accessible seats, and (by implication) the accessibility of radio broadcasting is fairly explicit and Stefan successfully depicts Mahler's music as music for the

³⁰⁵ Ibid. 'Auch Radio-Wien bereitet eine Feier vor. Der Mahler-Zyklus geht weiter. Er ist gerade bei der Vierten Symphonie angelangt— sie wird am 18. Mai aufgeführt werden. Es ist nicht das Werk, an das man gemeinhin denkt, wenn der Name Mahler genannt wird. Trotzdem ist es für Mahler sogar im besonderen Maß bezeichnend. // Man denkt sich Mahler gern als Pathetiker, als Beherrscher großer Orchester und Chormassen, wie er sie etwa in der Zweiten und Achten Symphonie verwendet. In diesen beiden Werken tritt auch am stärksten der Bekenner Mahler hervor, der sozusagen philosophische Musiker, der Nacheiferer Beethovens. Denn seit Beethoven ringt die Symphonie mit dem All, mit der Welt, in die sich der Tondichter versetzt sieht. Jede einzelne Symphonie von Beethoven setzt das Ich ihres Schöpfers in Beziehung zu Welt und Gott und erörtert diese Beziehung immer von neuem. Dabei bestimmt Beethoven diese seine Werke, namentlich die späteren und im besonderen Maß die Neunte einer Gemeinschaft von Hörern, wie sie bis auf ihn noch nicht zu finden war. Denn bis dahin hatten höfische und adelige Liebhaber der Musik das Publikum gebildet: jetzt kam das Bürgertum hinzu, das im ganzen neunzehnten Jahrhundert das Musikleben bestimmte. Bruckner und Mahler, besonders dieser letzte, erhoffen sich nun eine größere Zuhörerschaft aus noch breiteren Schichten. Mahler baute ganz bewußt auf den vierten Stand, auf den Kleinbürger, den Arbeiter, die Leute, die bis zu seiner Zeit von den Konzerten ausgeschlossen waren und für die nun die große Seele geschaffen, die billigen Plätze zugänglich gemacht wurden. Niemals hat er an eine Hörerschaft von Sachverständigen gedacht, obgleich seine Werke gewiß auch Sachverständigen standhalten konnten. Seine mündlichen Äußerungen, seine Briefe beweisen, daß er, wenn er komponierte, das All klingen hörte und diesen Gesang der Sphären auf seine Weise allen Menschen hörbar machen wollte.'

people. It was Mahler's wish (according to Stefan) that his music should be accessible to all, regardless of class, and so his music is presented here by Stefan as a symbol of the fourth estate and those who had typically been excluded from concerts.

A further article from 1933 by Robert Konta in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* also draws on the idea that radio had opened up Mahler's music to a broader mass of listeners.

Last night's "Eighth" was also a festive evening in purely external terms. The work celebrates the 75th anniversary of the Vienna Singakademie, a musical organisation so highly valued and successful in Vienna's musical life. Two performances, both in a sold-out theatre. This at a time of irritable and overwrought moods, which are ready at any moment to embrace with open arms any shuddering lie. Those who were in the hall will never forget it. But those who were connected to the performance by the broadcast must also have felt that the unprecedentedly passionate rallies for Bruno Walter were much more than a political demonstration. A huge rally of loyalty and adoration against disloyalty and contempt.³⁰⁶

Here Mahler's Eighth was sold-out twice over and those who were inside the concert hall would 'never forget it'. But there is also an acknowledgement that the audience was much larger than those contained within the concert hall. Mention of politics and irritable times surely allude to the elections in Germany, and the rallies for and against Bruno Walter were likely fuelled accordingly by antisemitism. But it seems that the Viennese audience rallied against their

³⁰⁶ R.K., 'Bruno Walter Conducts the VIII Mahler: Anniversary of the Singakademie', *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14 April 1933: 5. 'Die "Achte" des gestrigen Abends war auch rein äußerlich ein Festabend. Das Werk, mit dem das 75jährige Bestehen der Wiener Singakademie, dieser für das Musikleben Wiens so hoch zu schätzenden und erfolgekrönten musikalischen Körperschaft gefeiert worden ist. Zwei Aufführungen, beide im ausverkauften Saal. Das in einer Zeit der gereizten und überreizten Stimmungen, die in jedem Augenblick bereit find, mit offenen Armen irgend eine Schauerlügenmeldung an sich zu drücken. Die im Saal waren, die werden es nie vergessen. Aber auch die durch die Uebertragung an die Aufführung Angeschlossenen müssen gefühlt haben, daß die beispielloos leidenschaftlichen Kundgebungen für Bruno Walter ungleich mehr waren als eine politische Demonstration. Eine Riesenkundgebung der Treue und Verehrung gegen Untreue und Verachtung.'

German neighbours to demonstrate unwavering support for Walter and Mahler: ‘a huge rally of loyalty and adoration’. In this light, Konta employs mention of the radio listeners to multiply the number of Viennese advocates for Walter. In doing so, they include those listeners into a community of Mahler and Walter supporters that, being unlimited by concert hall capacity, becomes almost synonymous with unanimity.

In 1945, Hugo Huppert shared Stefan’s view that Mahler was the composer of the working people. Following the liberation of Vienna, which he tied emotively to Mahler’s music as an ‘inner jubilation’, Huppert quoted Mengelberg’s speech from 1920, given during the opening of the Amsterdam Mahler Festival: “‘Gustav Mahler is the symphonist of our coming, nascent age. Just as Beethoven is to be understood as a symphonist from the awakening of individualism, so Mahler from that of democracy. Or to put it even more realistically: Beethoven – the composer of the third estate, the bourgeoisie; Mahler – that of the fourth estate, the working people.’”³⁰⁷ And again, in his own words, Huppert elaborated: ‘This resurrection had to come, for Gustav Mahler is truly the symphonist of our nascent age, the composer of the working people. Music also conveys social knowledge; that is why enemies of the people had banned this music. There was a logic in the ostracism that honoured the great composer.’³⁰⁸ For Huppert, Mahler’s music was a symbol of the people, the working people. His music was

³⁰⁷ Hugo Huppert, ‘Music in Response: After the First Mahler Concert in Vienna’, *Neues Österreich*, 6 June 1945: 4. ‘Vor einem Vierteljahrhundert eröffnete er die niederländische Mahler-Feier mit den Worten: „Gustav Mahler ist der Symphoniker unserer kommenden, werdenden Zeit. Wie Beethoven als Symphoniker aus dem Erwachen des Individualismus zu verstehen ist, so Mahler aus dem der Demokratie. Oder noch realpolitischer ausgedrückt: Beethoven – der Komponist des dritten Standes, der Bürgerlichen; Mahler – des des vierten Standes, des arbeitenden Volkes.“’

³⁰⁸ Ibid. ‘Und noch andre freudige und trunkene Stimmen stiegen auf aus einer unverlorenen Welt, die Gustav Mahler heißt, und der musikvoll Heimkehrende hätte nicht jeweils sagen können, aus welchem Werk und welchem Satz. Aber eins wußte er genau: daß diese herbe Musik zu dieser herben Heimkehr gehörte und daß sie beseligend immer hier zu Hause geblieben war und blieb; und daß sie auch in ihrer zeitweiligen Unhörbarkeit niemals verschollen gewesen war, weil sie in vielen Menschen innen weiterklang und tönend ihrer Auferstehung harnte. // Diese Auferstehung mußte kommen, denn Gustav Mahler ist wahrhaftig der Symphoniker unserer werdenden Zeit, der Komponist des arbeitenden Volkes. Auch Musik vermittelt gesellschaftliche Erkenntnis; darum hatten Volksfeinde diese Musik verboten. Es lag in der Verfemung eine Logik, die den großen Tondichter ehrt. Nun ist der Bann gebrochen, wir dürfen sinnlich hörend uns an Gehörtes erinnern. // Wollen wir denn nie vergessen, daß auch Gunst und Gnade der Musik in blutigstem Kampf zurückerobert werden mußte; und wollen wir, den auferstandenen Gustav Mahler neu genießend, hellhörig werden! Daß nie wieder jene Macht der Entmenschung aufstehe, die ihn zum Schweigen hatte verdammen wollen.’

not banned, necessarily, because of Mahler's heritage, but because music conveyed social knowledge. In this account, there is a clear resonance to Mahler's music. For Huppert, it accorded with the layman, the normal working man in times of harsh homecoming to a home torn by warfare.

From these accounts, it is clear that there was a strain of reception which viewed Mahler as a composer for the working people. Mengelberg, Stefan, and Huppert all espoused this view in 1920, 1931, and 1945 respectively. The radio was called upon to broadcast Mahler's music and to make it accessible to more listeners than were able to enter into the concert hall. Although broadcasting Mahler's music was not without its difficulties, his music was transmitted through radio with the primary aim of serving the masses. Although politics is clearly not absent from these accounts, they tend to betray a reactionary approach to politics, leaning more towards the working people, socialism, and the masses than towards support of the establishment. It was German politics, more so than Austrian politics, that tended to come under fire. But it is clear that the perception of radio as it emerged in literature on Mahler was not concerned with propaganda; rather, it was concerned with serving his massed supporters in Vienna.

The radio served one further purpose, which held great significance for listening to Mahler after 1938. The international nature of radio ensured that, even if Mahler's music could not be performed live in Vienna, Viennese listeners could still tune into broadcasts of Mahler's music from elsewhere. In 1939, the newspaper *Radio Wien* advertised a series of radio broadcasts of Mahler's music from concerts given throughout Europe: 15 January (Prague), 20 January (Hilversum, Netherlands), 6 March (Warschau, Poland), 20 April (Stockholm), 27 April (Copenhagen), 28 April (Brussels).³⁰⁹ Alongside each listing was the frequency of the

³⁰⁹ *Radio Wien*, 15 January 1939: 29; *Radio Wien*, 4 March 1939: 9; *Radio Wien*, 15 April 1939: 26; *Radio Wien*, 22 April 1939: 26.

broadcast for listeners to tune into. It has not been possible to ascertain whether these broadcasts continued to be listed in Vienna between 1940 and 1945, since there are no further mentions in 1940 or 1941, and the newspaper seems to have been suspended from June 1941. Regardless of how singular or extensive this phenomenon actually was, however, this single facet of radio broadcasting and listening meant that although Mahler's music could not be performed in Vienna after 1938, it could still be heard (certainly in 1939). Whether listeners chose to tune in or not was up to them and it would be almost impossible to trace back the relevant sources to find out. But the fact of his music having been accessible via this medium means that any assumptions about his music being entirely absent from the musical world of Vienna during the *Anschluss* are on unstable ground. What was previously considered a certainty (Mahler's music could not be heard in Vienna) is no longer certain. What we do know, however, is that listeners retained the autonomy to turn the radio on or off, to change the channel, and to tune into radio broadcasts of their choosing. The control exerted by National Socialism over listening preferences, therefore, may have been somewhat minimal, or limited to live music. The radio was beloved by the authorities as a medium of propaganda but if the reactionary politics associated with Mahler's music is anything to go by, those radio receivers might well have been set to receive their broadcasts from elsewhere.

Mahler's music grew in popularity within the first year of his death and remained popular until the *Anschluss*. I have suggested that the reason for Mahler's suppression during his lifetime was a result of objections to Mahler the man and his personality, which were translated onto his music. After his death, the man no longer posed a problem, and the psychology of death created a re-framing that was more favourable, thus easing resistance to his music and creating the space for his advocates to multiply. In tangent to this wave of acceptance, the experience of the First World War may have stimulated more widespread contemplation of death, escape

from worldly hardship, and other existential questions; questions that are attributed to Mahler's symphonic music despite having been written decades earlier. After Mahler's rise to popularity, critics became concerned with commercialism and the fashioning of Mahler's music in Vienna. Discussions of class culture became especially prevalent in this discourse as it pertained to the development of radio broadcasting and Mahler's music was interpreted by some critics as a symbol of the working classes. Although the reasons for Mahler's rise to popularity are likely to remain somewhat murky, it is crucial to note the simple fact that Mahler's music did rise to popularity between 1912 and 1938. The narrative of decline espoused by the Mahler myth is therefore inescapably inaccurate and, as the radio broadcasts from 1939 demonstrate, we cannot be altogether certain that Mahler's music had been entirely removed from the ears of his Viennese listeners even after 1938. Both the performance frequency of his symphonies and the reception of those works demonstrate the prominence of Mahler's music in interwar Vienna.

Part 2: Antisemitism

No discussion of Mahler's reception across this period would be complete without addressing antisemitism and the extent to which the so-called 'Jewish problem' impeded Mahler's music. It is a commonplace belief, held in accordance with the Mahler myth, that a linear trajectory can be drawn between Mahler's death and the Third Reich under which antisemitism became an ever-increasing problem, ultimately reaching completion in the ban placed upon his music by National Socialism. While there are elements of truth in this conception – his music was banned by National Socialism and the nature of antisemitism did change across this period – the popularity of Mahler's music in Vienna during the interwar years necessitates a more thorough investigation into exactly how Jewishness and antisemitism arose in his reception. It is my contention that, although antisemitism was never completely absent from Viennese

cultural circles, it was only under German occupation that this posed a significant problem for the legacy of Mahler's music. In other words, there was no linear trajectory of antisemitism in Mahler's Viennese reception because Austria and Germany held and developed different models and definitions of Jewishness. The negotiations between Austrian, German, and Jewish identities took on different forms in Habsburg, Interwar, and *Anschluss* Austria and it was only under the German-imposed definition of Jewishness that Mahler's music became seriously impeded.

Steven Beller has investigated the experience of Viennese Jews between 1867 and 1938, arguing that Vienna needs to be treated on its own terms because of the extent to which Viennese Jewry performed such a major role in constructing Viennese culture during the *fin-de-siècle*.³¹⁰ Beller is clear in describing the differences between German and Viennese forms of antisemitism. While racial antisemitism was largely adopted in Germany, Vienna held its own version, created by the Christian Socials, which was much more ambiguous when it came to determining who was or was not Jewish: 'Most Christian Socials never went to the trouble of a definition because the great advantage of Viennese antisemitism for its adherents was precisely that it left it to one's discretion whom one regarded as Jewish, that is to say whom one wanted to attack, and left one free to ignore what was happening in the rest of the party.'³¹¹ This Viennese brand of antisemitism was based upon cultural antisemitism dating from around 1800 and developed in the late 1870s by Georg Ritter von Schönerer, which adopted the concept of the Jew as an idea.³¹² Hannah Arendt has suggested that 'Schoenerer's agitation [...] became the actual beginning of an articulate antisemitic movement in Austria.'³¹³ Crucially this model turned Jewishness into a 'psychological quality' not necessarily tied to any physical,

³¹⁰ Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge University Press, 1991).

³¹¹ Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*: 195.

³¹² Georg Ritter von Schönerer (17 July 1842–14 August 1921) was an Austrian politician, fierce antisemite, and a major exponent of pan-Germanism.

³¹³ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Meridian Books, 1951): 43.

biological, or religious components of Jewish people: ‘The point about cultural antisemitism for a Jewish individual was that, because Jewishness was a psychological quality, it was there to be overcome. If one really wanted to be German, there was no obvious barrier to this’.³¹⁴ This understanding of Jewishness, which remained the model for Viennese antisemitism, is obviously and importantly different from the clear-cut racial laws adopted in Germany during the Third Reich. Mahler, as we will see, was not therefore considered by everyone in Vienna to be Jewish; and even if he was Jewish, that did not prevent his music from becoming an important feature of Viennese concert life before the *Anschluss*.

A Mahler Debate in the Viennese Press, 1920

In 1920 a debate broke out in the Viennese press over the Jewishness of Mahler’s music. The catalyst of this debate was an article by Max Brod titled ‘Gustav Mahler’s Jewish Melodies’ which appeared in *Der Jude* in August 1916 and was brought to the attention of the non-Jewish public when it was reprinted in the *Musikblätter des Anbruch* in May 1920.³¹⁵ Articles in the *Wiener Morgenzeitung* (Konrad Maril), *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* (anonymous), and *Neues Wiener Journal* (Max Graf) all passed comment on the reprinted version of Brod’s article.³¹⁶

Brod’s article, according to Konrad Maril, ‘asserted that Mahler’s music was clearly influenced by Jewish melodies and that, in particular, the march rhythms characteristic of

³¹⁴ Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*: 191.

³¹⁵ Three separate critics and various subsequent scholars identify the place of publication as Max Brod, ‘Gustav Mahler’s Jewish Melodies’, *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, No.10 (May 1920): 378–379. Yuval Shaked identifies the earlier publication as having been printed under a different title: Max Brod, ‘Jüdische Volksmelodien’, *Der Jude* 1, No.5 (August 1916): 344–345. Brod’s article from 1920 can be found online: Max Brod, ‘Gustav Mahlers Jüdische Melodien’, *Rodoni.CH.*, accessed 2 January 2025, <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://www.rodoni.ch/mahler/brod.pdf&ved=2ahUKewjj1ea96taKAXU1VUEAHUypDrEQFnoECBkQAQ&usg=AOvVaw3nY3hdr6HwBZi0BGGFfiQ77>. Yuval Shaked, ‘Arno Nadel. The Musical Work of a Man of Many Talents’, *Jewish Culture and History* 25, No.1 (2024). See also Lóránt Péteri, ‘Mahler: Music, Reception, Identity’, *Studia Musicologica* 60, Nos.1–4 (2019): 240; Michał Jaczyński, ‘The Presence of Jewish Music in the Musical Life of Interwar Prague’, *Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów* UJ 34, No.3 (2017): 127; Ryan M. Bassett, ‘A Typology of Religious Influence on Gustav Mahler’s “Resurrection” Symphony’ (MA diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2017): 5.

³¹⁶ Konrad Maril, ‘A Mahler Rescue’, *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, 9 September 1920: 4. ‘The Jews in Music’, *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, 11 June 1920: 4. Max Graf, ‘Glosses on Art and Culture: Gustav Mahler’s Jewish Melodies’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 20 June 1920: 8.

Mahler could be attributed to the influence of Chasidic chants.’³¹⁷ However, Maril was only secondarily concerned with Brod’s original article, since his primary interest was the response by Theodor Haas in the *Musikalischer Courier*: ‘This provisional, emotional thesis, which has yet to be verified by the young Jewish musicologists, has now prompted a certain Dr Theodor Haas in the “*Musikalischer Courier*” to stage a rescue of Mahler from the imminent danger of having to be considered a Jewish composer.’³¹⁸ Maril here casts doubt over the validity of Brod’s assertions. In contrast to Max Brod, named without a title, Theodor Haas is provided his doctoral title, suggesting a critic of higher learning and expertise. This is further emphasised by the need for ‘young Jewish musicologists’ to verify Brod’s findings. Without stating so explicitly, then, Maril seems to side with Haas in the need to ‘rescue’ Mahler from being considered ‘a Jewish composer’. This phrasing is fascinating: ‘to stage a rescue of Mahler from the imminent danger of having to be considered a Jewish composer’. This suggests that, up until that point, Mahler had not been considered a Jewish composer. Haas is clearly trying to exempt Mahler from accusations of Jewishness and the wording that he needed to rescue Mahler from ‘imminent danger’ suggests that these accusations were not customary at that time. If Jewishness was a prominent and established accusation for Mahler, Haas’s rescue mission might have been phrased along the lines of ‘saving Mahler from pre-existing danger’ or ‘rescuing Mahler from common misinterpretations’. That Mahler needed to be rescued from this danger suggests that the danger was significant enough for a rescue mission to be staged (given that Mahler was indeed Jewish, it is reasonable enough to believe the sticking-power of

³¹⁷ Maril, *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, 9 September 1920: 4. ‘hat die Behauptung aufgestellt, daß in Mahlers Musik deutlich Einflüsse jüdische Melodienbildung zu finden wären und daß man insbesondere die für Mahler charakteristischen Marschrhythmen auf die Einwirkung chasidischer Gesänge zurückzuführen hätte.’

³¹⁸ Ibid. ‘Diese vorläufig gefühlmäßig aufgestellte These, die der Nachprüfung durch die junge jüdische Musikwissenschaft noch entbehrt, hat nun einen gewissen Herrn Dr. Theodor Haas veranlaßt im „Musikalische Courier“ eine Rettung Mahlers aus der drohenden Gefahr, als jüdischer Komponist gelten zu müssen, in Szene zu setzen.’

Brod's assertions) and that to consider Mahler as a 'Jewish composer' was, in fact, a danger worth rescuing him from.

Maril identified that, for Haas, 'the terms "Jewish" and "artistic" were regarded as irreconcilable, indeed, equating these terms was simply "blasphemy".'³¹⁹ This mode of argument identifies two problems; indeed it may create a significant problem. Firstly, it demonstrates the cultural antisemitism that Beller identifies as specifically Viennese, in which Jewishness was to be transcended, in Mahler's case, to the artistic realm. To identify Mahler as Jewish was, for Haas, a 'criminal attempt to strip Mahler of the glory of true artistry'.³²⁰ The second, more sinister problem is the creation of an either/or system between the terms Jewish and artistic (between the ideas of Jewish and non-Jewish) because this lends itself more clearly to the German-state, racial, definition of Jewishness whereby Mahler is either Jewish or German, Jewish or Austrian, but is unable to be both. For Haas, he was either Jewish or artistic, but he could not be both. 'According to Haas's theory, Mahler can never be considered a Jew, as he was "far too great a spirit" and by no means walked in the lowlands of Judaism, but, as Haas states with lyrical flourish and great linguistic beauty, "in the bright heights of that heaven which arches over all mankind".'³²¹ Here, Haas's defence of Mahler was to demonstrate his ascension beyond the Jewish psychological state by emphasising his spirit. The gloss added to Haas's argument by Maril suggests his support: 'Mahler can never be considered a Jew' and Haas states this with 'lyrical flourish and great linguistic beauty'. While Maril could be simply explaining Haas's arguments, the continually positive way in which he framed his discussion

³¹⁹ Ibid. 'Gelten die Begriffe "jüdisch" und "künstlerisch" schlachthin als unvereinbar, ja eine Gleichstellung dieser Begriffe einfach als „Blasphemie“.'

³²⁰ Ibid. 'Er erblickt in den unschuldigen Gedankengängen Max Brods den sträslischen Versuch, Mahler der Gloriole echter Künstlerschaft zu entkleiden'

³²¹ Ibid. 'Mahler darf also nach der Haasschen Theorie nie und nimmer als Jude gelten, da er ein „viel zu großer Geist“ war und keineswegs in den Niederungen des Judentums, sondern, wie Haas mit lyrischem Aufschwung un hoher sprachlicher Schönheit feststellt in den lichten Höher jenes Himmels wandelte, die sich über der gesamten Menschheit wölben“.'

suggests that his real motivation for writing was to support Haas's arguments, while simultaneously undermining those of Brod.

Max Graf, on the other hand, found Brod's arguments more convincing: 'Observations such as those convincingly presented by Max Brod are fruitful if the thought is not missing that the greatness of an artist rests in the power with which he penetrates out of the narrowness of the national into the free general realm of the spirit.'³²² Graf, unlike Maril, paid close attention to Brod's article and reproduced passages of it. He cited Brod's writing:

I think the tremendous resistance his art had to overcome with the public and also with serious critics... – They are based on the fact that his work may look German on the outside, but the instinct seems un-German (and rightly so). From a German point of view, this work therefore appears incoherent, stifling, informal, even bizarre, cutting, cynical, all too soft, mixed with all too hard. Viewed from a German perspective, it does not create a unity.³²³

Viewed from a Jewish perspective, however, 'the picture changes immediately, form and content are right, nothing is exaggerated'.³²⁴ For Brod, Mahler's music was incomplete if it was viewed as German, and his rhetoric is not so different from that of Wagner. However, the Jewish-nationalist leanings of Brod, identified by Graf, mean that unlike Wagner, Brod's

³²² Graf, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 20 June 1920: 8. 'Betrachtungen, wie die von Max Brod überzeugungsvoll vorgetragenen, sind fruchtbar, wenn der Gedanke nicht fehlt, daß die Größe eines Künstlers in der Kraft ruht, mit der er aus der Enge des Nationalen hinausdringt in das freie allgemeine Geisterreich.'

³²³ Brod cited in Graf, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 20 June 1920: 8. 'Ich glaube, die ungeheuren Widerstände, die seine Kunst bei Publikum und auch bei ernster Kritik zu überwinden hatte... - sie beruhen darauf, daß sein Werk zwar äußerlich deutsch aussieht, der Instinkt aber undeutsch (und das mit Recht) anmutet. Von einem deutschen Blickpunkt aus erscheint dieses Werk daher inkohärent, stillos, unförmlich, ja bizarr, schneidend, zynisch, allzu weich, gemischt mit allzu hartem. Es ergibt, deutsch betrachtet, keine Einheit. Man ändere die Perspektive, suche sich in Mahlers jüdische Seele einzufühlen. Sofort ändert sich das Bild, Form und Inhalt stimmen, nichts ist übertrieben'

³²⁴ Brod cited in Graf, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 20 June 1920: 8. 'Sofort ändert sich das Bild, Form und Inhalt stimmen, nichts ist übertrieben'.

ambitions here were to claim Mahler for the Jews rather than to use Jewishness as a pejoration of Mahler's music.

Graf seems receptive and accepting of Brod's interpretation and adds his own experience as evidence. Mahler, wrote Graf,

is the most problematic of modern musicians, and one only has to contrast him with Richard Strauss to see the difference between an unredeemed man struggling with the riddles of the world, life and death, and an almost pagan, naïve musical personality, secure in spirit and splendour. [...] Max Brod deserves thanks for the fact that, disregarding popular prejudices, he also pointed out what part Gustav Mahler's Jewishness played in the spiritual battles that Mahler had to endure in agony.³²⁵

This comparison with Richard Strauss is not uncommon for Mahler, and many critics commented on his metaphysical ponderings: 'Gustav Mahler always seemed to me a strange modern incarnation of these Jewish mystics of the Middle Ages'.³²⁶ Graf viewed Mahler as the last in a series of German musicians who were also metaphysicians. For Graf 'the way Gustav Mahler sought God in his symphonies reminded [him] personally of the medieval men of the Kabbalah, whose brooding was calmed by the ecstasy preached by the Neoplatonists.'³²⁷ The association here between Mahler and the Jewish mystics is not uncommon in Mahler's reception, but nor is it pervasive. He is elsewhere associated by Graf with Ahasver – a mythical, immortal man, whose legend spread throughout thirteenth-century Europe, known as the

³²⁵ Graf, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 20 June 1920: 8. 'Unter den modernen Musikern ist er der problematischste und man muß ihm nur Richard Strauß gegenüberstellen, um den Unterschied zu sehen zwischen einem unerlösten, mit den Rätseln der Welt, des Lebens und des Todes schwer ringenden Mann und einer fast heidnisch naiven, in Geist und Glanz sicher schwingenden Musikerpersönlichkeit.'

³²⁶ Ibid. 'Gustav Mahler schien mir immer eine merkwürdige moderne Inkarnation dieser jüdischen Mystiker des Mittelalters'

³²⁷ Ibid. 'wie Gustav Mahler in seinen Symphonien Gott gesucht hat, lebhaft an die mittelalterlichen Männer der Kabbala erinnert, deren Grübeln sich beruhigte in der von den Neuplatonikern gepredigten Ekstase.'

wandering Jew: 'Ahasver-Mahler dies unredeemed. His struggles, his despair, his longing for God are monumentalised in his symphonies, which are harrowing human documents of his life.'³²⁸

The debates arising in response to Brod's article, drawing support from writers like Graf and opposition from those such as Haas and Maril, demonstrate that Mahler's Jewishness was not unanimously accepted by Vienna in 1920. While Brod sought to champion Mahler for his Jewish melodies, Haas sought to protect him from such accusations. Either way, both sides of this debate were positively in favour of Mahler's music, even if their perspectives on its Jewishness diverged. The brand of antisemitism on display in this debate therefore exemplifies the obscure definition typical of Viennese antisemitism, whereby Mahler could be seen as non-Jewish on account of being a favourable artist in German culture. In other words, regardless of whether Mahler was seen to be Jewish or not, his music was still received favourably by both sides of this debate.

The Jewish Mahler

In order to understand the role of antisemitism in Mahler's Viennese reception, it is necessary to evaluate how critics were using Jewish references. Some critics engage in the discussion of ideas previously articulated as Jewish characteristics such as modernity, nervousness, and a lack of creativity. Such characteristics were outlined by Wagner as Jewishness in music. Others, however, related Mahler's character and music more abstractly to Jewish fictional characters or to aspects of the religion. Of these various orientations, some critics used these characterisations pejoratively, while others used them objectively or factually – that is to say, without the intent to pass judgement. To be clear, there was a constant awareness of Mahler's

³²⁸ Max Graf, 'For the Concert on Monday 20 October: Gustav Mahler as a Symphonist', *Radio Wien*, 17 October 1930: 6. 'Unerlöst ist Ahasver-Mahler gestorben. Seine Kämpfe, seine Verzweiflung, sein Gottverlangen sind in seinen Symphonien monumentalisiert, die erschütternde menschliche Dokumente und erhebende Kunstwerke sind.'

Jewishness across this period; that is not to say that all people across all persuasions were constantly concerned or even aware of this aspect of Mahler's life and work, but rather that a variety of views were in circulation across this period, some of which were antisemitic. As I will demonstrate later, the inclusion of antisemitic viewpoints in the press did not necessarily hold significant sway over popular opinion.

In 1921 Drag. wrote a lengthy article in the Right-wing *Reichspost* entitled 'The "Gustav Mahler" Problem'. The title suggests that Drag. would go on to discuss Mahler's Jewishness, which indeed he did, but he began by criticising Paul Stefan's Mahler book because of Stefan's perceived elision of Mahler detractors and antisemites.³²⁹

In view of the fact that there are serious, modern musicians to whom Mahler says little and who recognise great weaknesses in him, it is quite unreasonable to suspect the character and motives of dissenters from the outset, to expect them to approach the assessment with the simple cry of "darr Jud!" and to want to shout down enthusiasm for Mahler.³³⁰

In this opening, Drag. acknowledged that musicians are capable of disliking Mahler's music without becoming *de facto* antisemites. That is not to deny, however, that Mahler was Jewish:

Among other things, the racial relationship with him is certainly a favourable disposition. For it is wrong to want to deny absolutely that there is absolutely nothing Jewish in Mahler, as Stefan does. Of course, the term "Jewish" only has the same

³²⁹ Paul Stefan, *Gustav Mahler: A Study of His Personality and Work* (G. Schirmer, 1913).

³³⁰ Drag., 'The "Gustav Mahler" Problem', *Reichspost*, 26 March 1921: 6. 'Charakter und Motive der Andersdenkenden von vornherein zu verdächtigen ihnen zuzumuten, daß sie mit dem einfachen Rufe „darr Jud!“ an die Beurteilung herantreten und die Mahlerbegeisterung niederschreien wollen, ist angesichts der Tatsache, daß es ernste, moderne Musiker gibt, denen Mahler wenig sagt, die große Schwächen an ihm erkennen, recht unbillig.'

meaning as when we speak of the genuinely Italian Meles in Puccini or the genuinely French, perfumed sentiment in Debussy. In fact, the Zionist Max Brod vigorously claims Mahler for Judaism and finds the explanation for Mahler's preference for marching rhythms in the melodies of Hasidic Jews.³³¹

The desire here to articulate Mahler's 'Jewishness' as nothing more or less than a nationality is an attempt to claim neutrality, but it also demonstrates a sort of racial understanding of Jewishness appearing in 1921. Drag. seems to be undecided about Mahler since he identifies a Jewish element (although precisely how that should be defined he cannot say) but he also later acknowledges Mahler as a pupil of Goethe, Schopenhauer, Beethoven, and Wagner, in other words, as a German. He is uneasy about how these two influences mix but ultimately contends that inauthenticity could not reasonably be levelled at Mahler's music.

This Jewish element, which the intellect may not be able to define, but which feeling can, does not exactly blend harmoniously with the many German cultural elements; Mahler is certainly as much a disciple of Goethe and Schopenhauer as of Beethoven and Richard Wagner. He loved the German spirit and especially Romanticism, which was close to his heart, and devotedly followed the German folk song in his lyrical work.³³²

³³¹ Drag., *Reichspost*, 26 March 1921: 6. 'Günstig disponiert unter anderen gewiß auch die Rasseverwandtschaft mit ihm. Denn es ist verkehrt absolut leugnen zu wollen, es gebe bei Mahler absolut nichts Jüdisches, wie es Stefan tut. Natürlich hat der Ausdruck „Jüdisches“ nur den Sinn, wie wir bei Puccini vom echt italienischen Meles, bei Debussy von echt französischem, parfümierten Sentiment sprechen. In der Tat nimmt der Zionist Max Brod Mahler ganz energisch für das Judentum in Anspruch und findet in den Melodien chassidischer Juden die Erklärung von Mahlers Vorliebe für Marschrhythmen.'

³³² Ibid. 'Dieses jüdische Element, das vielleicht der Verstand nicht definieren kann, wohl aber das Gefühl, mischt sich nicht eben harmonisch mit den vielen deutschen Kulturelementen; sicher ist Mahler ebenso ein Schüler Goethes und Schopenhauers wie Beethovens und Richard Wagners. Er hat deutschen Geist und besonders die ihm innerlich nahestehende Romantik geliebt und ist dem deutschen Volkslied in seinem lyrischen Schaffen hingebend gefolgt.'

He too compares Mahler to Bruckner and Brahms, not altogether negatively, but distinctly:

The Bruckner-Brahms type ennobles the material, does not always arrange it effectively, but contains hidden beauties and cultural values. It is quality work, the works of art expect to be appreciated as such in the details. Mahler's work is more an expression of the experience of the totality, is therefore more concerned with effect, arrangement and does not claim to be taken as quality work in the noble shaping of detail; he leaves the raw material unprocessed and therefore performs quantity work in a certain sense.³³³

The conflation of Bruckner and Brahms into a 'type' here is noteworthy in itself - nobody in Vienna during the 1890s would have considered these two composers as belonging to the same category. Although the partisanship between Bruckner and Brahms had largely dissolved by 1921 (as I will demonstrate in Chapter 4), Drag.'s distinction here seems to be based on a German vs Jewish axis, whereby Brahms and Bruckner simply form his chosen representatives of musical Germanness. There is a perceived criticism in Mahler's production of 'quantity work', rather than quality work, but at the same time, Drag. seems keen to emphasise the monumental or sublime aspects of Mahler's music. In this sense the metaphor seems to be intended for comparative rather than critical purposes. That said, drawing attention to 'effect' rather than content comes into contact with Wagner's antisemitism. So too does the following by Drag.:

³³³ Ibid. *'Der Typus Bruckner-Brahms veredelt das Material, arrangiert nicht immer effektiv, enthält dafür verborgene Schönheiten und Kulturwerte. Es ist Qualitätsarbeit, die Kunstwerke rechnen darauf, als solche in den Einzelheiten gewürdigt zu werden. Mahlers Arbeit ist mehr Ausdruck des Erlebens der Gesamtheit, geht daher mehr auf Effekt, Arrangement und beansprucht nicht in der edlen Formung des Details als Qualitätsarbeit genommen zu werden; er läßt das Rohmaterial unbearbeitet und leistet in gewissem Sinne daher Quantitätsarbeit.'*

Thus there is something theatrical in Mahler's art, not in the pompous, but in the above sense [a theatrically constructed overall picture]. This sense of the theatrical is also a peculiarity of the race. Judaism is said by Sombart and others to be dominated by the will.³³⁴ In art it expresses itself, regardless of whether this is done with artistic or non-artistic elements. Accordingly, the Jewish people are an acting race; the passionate love of theatre among their youth is just as well known as the long line of their representatives among the mimes. Mahler's music is therefore characterised by illusiveness (which is not identical with a rich inner life!), faith, as with everything from another plane of existence that appears imperfectly (trivially) in perceived reality.³³⁵

Rudolf Louis is also cited by Drag., but it is clear that Drag. does not agree with Louis's evaluation, even if they might otherwise agree that Mahler had Jewish attributes: "If Mahler's music spoke Jewish, it would perhaps only be incomprehensible. But it is disgusting to me because it is Jewish, i.e. it speaks musical German, but with the accent, with the tone of voice and above all with the gesture of the Eastern, all too Eastern Jew"³³⁶ This perspective is one not held by Louis alone. The idea of the Jew as a weak impersonator of its host culture, in this case German, is a common antisemitic trope.

Drag. confronts these ideas put forth by Louis, instead taking up a defence of Mahler: 'It should be clear from my remarks that the accusation of inauthenticity cannot be levelled at

³³⁴ Werner Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Duncker & Humblot, 1911).

³³⁵ Drag., *Reichspost*, 26 March 1921: 6. 'So ist etwas Theatralisches in Mahlers Kunst, nicht im Pomphaften, sondern in obigem Verstande. Auch dieser Sinn für das Theatralische ist eine Eigentümlichkeit der Rasse. Dem Judentum wird von Sombart u. a. nachgesagt, daß bei ihm der Wille vorherrsche. In der Kunst äußert er sich als Trieb zum Ausdruck an sich, ohne Rücksicht, ob dies mit künstlerischen oder unkünstlerischen Elementen geschieht. Dementsprechend ist das jüdische Volk ja eine Schauspielerrasse, die leidenschaftliche Theaterliebe ihrer Jugend ist ebenso bekannt, wie die lange Reihe ihrer Vertreter unter den Mimen. Zu Mahlers Musik gehört daher Illusionsfähigkeit (was nicht mit reichem Innenleben identisch ist!), Glaube, wie zu allem aus einer anderen Daseinsebene, das in der wahrgenommenen Wirklichkeit unvollkommen (trivial) in Erscheinung tritt.'

³³⁶ Ibid. '„Wenn Mahlers Musik jüdisch sprechen würde, wäre sie nur vielleicht unverständlich. Aber sie ist mir widerlich, weil sie jüdet. d. h. sie spricht musikalisches Deutsch, aber mit dem Akzent, mit dem Tonfall und vor allem auch mit der Geste des östlichen, allzu östlichen Juden“'

Mahler, whose musical style has a different basis'.³³⁷ Drag. discards Louis's views as those of a man cold and outdated: 'All those who believe that every art must be an expression of its time and its people do not want it to usher in a new era, as his followers hope. For this reason, Mahler was coldly rejected by Rudolf Louis.'³³⁸ Further to this, Drag. connects the 'Mahler cult' with modern developments in intellectual life: 'The connection between the abundant Mahler cult and other deeply rooted currents in the intellectual life of the present, Expressionism, the emergence of Neo-Buddhism, even occultism, seems to us to be quite clear on the level we have found, and it is also suitable to enable Mahler's judgement in some respects in a more correct light.'³³⁹ In other words, those like Louis make inaccurate judgements because they are trying to view Mahler through an outdated lens. Drag., on the other hand, recognised the significance of Mahler's music to the culture of the present – the 1920s were an era right for Mahler's music.

Drag. also identified a specific aspect of Mahler's interaction with antisemitism, seeming to highlight Mahler as somehow different from other Jewish composers: 'The Mahler problem in particular has found critics who were certainly not concerned with the exercise of antisemitism in artistic matters, but rather with a kind of defence.'³⁴⁰ It seems reasonable to suggest that critics such as Theodor Haas discussed above might be on his mind with this statement. For Drag., then, Jewishness was not so much an accusation to be thrown at Mahler, but rather an accusation against which Mahler must be protected. Of course, the need to protect

³³⁷ Ibid. 'Aus meinen Ausführungen dürfte erhellen, daß der Vorwurf der Unechtheit Mahler, bei dem es sich um eine andere Basis des musikalischen Stiles handelt, füglich nicht gemacht werden kann;'

³³⁸ Ibid. 'Das sie eine neue Zeit einleiten wird, wie seine Anhänger hoffen, wünschen alle die nicht, die glauben, daß jede Kunst Ausdruck ihrer Zeit und ihres Volkes sein muß. Aus diesem Grunde hat Mahler bei Rudolf Louis („Die deutsche Musik der Gegenwart“) kalte Ablehnung erfahren.'

³³⁹ Ibid. 'Der Zusammenhang des reichlichen Mahler-Kultus mit anderen tief wurzelnden Strömungen im Geistesleben der Gegenwart, dem Expressionismus, dem Auftreten eines Neo-Buddhismus, ja dem Okkultismus heint wir auf der gefundenen Ebene recht deutlich zu ein und er ist auch geeignet, Mahlers Beurteilung in manchen Belangen in richtigerem Lichte zu ermöglichen.'

³⁴⁰ Ibid. 'Besonders das Problem Mahler hat Beurteiler gefunden, denen es gewiß nicht um Betätigung eines Antisemitismus in Kunstfragen, sondern weit eher um eine Art Abwehr zu tun war.'

Mahler at all suggests an imminent threat of attack, but Drag. reassured their readers that a line of defence critics were lining up to fight.

In 1925, H. Justus articulated similar thoughts as those written by Graf in 1920, sympathising with a Jewish interpretation of Mahler's music:

Not long ago, however, Mahler's supporters realised how little of his work is Viennese and how much more Hasidic! Mahler was a "phenomenon of decomposition", as each of his works teaches us; the great symphonies as well (whose inner hollowness is shown by the piano reduction), as well as the songs, which appeal to the original German sensibility (*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*!) but are thoroughly un-German, because there is always a twist somewhere, such as in the whining of Mahler's children's choirs: the mockery is certainly unconscious, it springs elementally from Mahler's Jewish nature, he always retains the grimace.³⁴¹

For Justus, Mahler's Jewishness was inescapable. There was something Jewish inherent in his nature, which could not be avoided and was always a present force in his music. Justus seems to side with the binary between Jewish and Viennese in this opening sentence, and then again with German and un-German in relation to *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. Aside from the potential pejoration of describing Mahler's music as a 'phenomenon of decomposition' consisting of an 'inner hollowness', it is unclear whether Justus viewed Mahler's Jewishness as a criticism or not. The fact of writing in the *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, a paper whose title demonstrates a pan-

³⁴¹ H. Justus, 'Vienna as a City of Music', *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, 5 July 1925: 9. 'Indessen ist doch vor nicht langer Zeit, und zwar aus dem Kreis der Mahler-Anhänger, festgestellt worden, wie wenig Wienerisches sein Werk birgt, und wieviel mehr Chassidisches! Mahler war eine „Zersetzungserscheinung“, das lehrt jedes seiner Werke; die großen Symphonien ebenso (deren innere Hohlheit der Klavierauszug zeigt), wie auch die Lieder, die sich an urdeutsches Empfinden wenden (*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*!), aber durchaus undeutsch sind, weil immer irgendwo eine Verdrehung kommt, wie z. B. im Geplärr der Mahlerschen Kinderchöre: die Verhöhnung ist gewiß innerlich unbewußt, sie quillt aus Mahlers jüdischer Natur elementar hervor, er behält eben stets die Fratze, die Grimasse bei.'

Germanist persuasion, suggests that the German, racial antisemitism may have been a prominent idea among Justus's readership. Under these contextual parameters, the Jewishness ascribed to Mahler's character can be inferred as criticism even if it is not overt in the article.

Even in 1936, Graf, who had been somewhat unfavourable towards Mahler, still identified his Jewish characteristics through antisemitic stereotypes but without any overt critical edge: 'Mahler, who possessed modern nerves, modern colours, a new kind of sensibility, a new spirit.'³⁴² Indeed, Graf seems to present Mahler's spirit in a positive way: 'Mahler is more than a musician. He is a searching soul, an Ahasuerus spirit, a mystic.'³⁴³

In 1936 Ludwig Karpath cited the following from the Berlin critic Karl Krebs, calling his view 'the ignorance of a very respected critic': "'Mahler lacks any self-creative potency; what he has to offer is pieced together, without a spark of that fire that must burn even in lesser talents if they are to create living works.'"³⁴⁴ Krebs reproduces antisemitic tropes, but Karpath, situated on the Austrian rather than German side of the political landscape, dismissed such criticism as ignorance.

In 1937 Otto Schumann published *Meyers Konzertführer*, an application of the National Socialist racial laws into the concert business, which 'undertakes to tell the concert-going public what it should think of the creators of concert-performed orchestral music.'³⁴⁵

³⁴² Graf, *Der Tag*, 17 May 1936: 7. 'Mahler geschaffen, der die modernen Nerven, moderne Farben, eine neue Art der Sensibilität, einen neuen Geist besessen hat.'

³⁴³ Ibid. 'Mahler ist mehr als ein Musiker. Er ist eine suchende Seele, ein ahasverischer Geist, ein Mystiker.'

³⁴⁴ Karl Krebs (Berlin critics) cited in Ludwig Karpath, 'Feuilleton: A few more things about Gustav Mahler', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 1 July 1936: 2. 'Ein zweiter Fall ist viel krasser, weil er die Ignoranz eines in Berlin sehr angesehenen Kritikers, Karl Krebs, aufzeigt. Dieser schrieb: "Von andern Kompositionen möchte ich nicht berichten. Es ist zwar um manches noch viel Geschrei gewesen, wie um die Fünfte Symphonie von Mahler, aber es lohnt nicht, auch nur ein Wort darüber zu verlieren. Mahler fehlt jede selbstschöpferische Potenz; was er zu bieten hat, ist zusammengesucht, ohne einen Funken jenes Feuers, das selbst in kleineren Talenten brennen muß, sollen sie lebendige Werke schaffen.'"

³⁴⁵ 'A New German Concert Guide', *Die Stunde*, 5 June 1937: 5. 'unternimmt, dem Konzertpublikum mitzuteilen, was es von den Schöpfern konzertmäßig aufgeführter Orchestermusik zu halten habe.'

Mahler was probably a “sensation” for the listener, but never an experience. [...] one felt consciously and unconsciously that a Jewish artist was preaching something in these symphonies – but one did not understand him, remained a stranger to him... [...]

It is significant that Mahler was not able to come up with a single theme that was both original and convincing.³⁴⁶

The fact that these debates and comments even existed, demonstrates that antisemitism or an awareness of Mahler’s Jewishness affected his reception during this period. Evidently therefore, it is not possible to claim that being Jewish had no impact on Mahler’s legacy. That does not mean, however, that Mahler’s legacy can be reduced down to being only about his Jewishness. As this section has demonstrated, Mahler’s Jewishness was a point of contention for critics. Some were keen to identify him as a Jewish composer, whether that be for positive or negative ends, while others were determined to protect him from such accusations. Over the course of these debates, the problem of assimilation bubbles under the surface as a significant problem in antisemitic discourse. The perceived disconnect between a Jewish essence and a learned German culture led to accusations of inauthenticity which proved problematic for some critics. The incompatibility of Jewishness and Germanness or Jewishness and Austrianness was articulated early on by, among others, Theodor Haas. Although Haas articulated this opposition so as to protect Mahler (if he was German he could not be Jewish), the creation of such an opposition could later play into the hands of racial antisemitism. However, Haas was certainly not alone in viewing Mahler as Austrian (ergo non-Jewish) and it is now worth considering the

³⁴⁶ *Die Stunde*, 5 June 1937: 5. ‘„Zunächst .gilt es festzustellen, daß Mahler für den Hörer Wohl eine “Sensation”, niemals jedoch ein Erlebnis bedeutet hat. Diese (vom Verfasser fast zwei Jahrzehnte beobachtete) Tatsache ist bedeutsam ab Stimme des musikalischen Gewissens eines Volkes: Man empfand bewußt und unbewußt, daß in diesen Symphonien ein jüdischer Künstler etwas predigte— aber man verstand ihn nicht, blieb ihm fremd... Scharfsichtig und scharfsinnig erblickte Mahler, wie sich die europäische Welt seiner Tage auflöste in Sinn- und Geistlosigkeit. Er wollte sie bessern, sprach und schrieb zu seinen Zeitgenossen mit ihren Mitteln und ihrer Sprache und predigte doch tauben Ohren ... // Es ist bezeichnend, daß Mahler nicht ein einziges eigenwüchsiges und zugleich andere überzeugendes Thema aufzustellen vermöchte.“’

ways in which Mahler was understood as a central, native component of Austrian concert culture.

The Austrian Mahler

In some cases belonging to the national culture (German or Austrian) was a strategy of defence against being considered Jewish, undertaken by Mahler's supporters. It is not necessarily the case, however, that all assertions of Mahler's Austrianness or Germanness were designed to counter accusations of Jewishness. This section investigates the ways in which Austrianness and Germanness arose in Mahler's reception so as to investigate whether, at certain times, Mahler was perceived as both Austrian and Jewish, or as Austrian instead of Jewish.

Critics in favour of Mahler's music were keen to connect it to the realm of German art, perceived by many in Vienna as the highest branch of musical aesthetics. Stefan Zweig, writing in 1915, demonstrated this opinion: 'Mahler's work already resounds to you from the essenceless, from the high heavens of German art; we are forever reminded of the high example of how he wrestled his infinite from the earthly.'³⁴⁷ Alfons Wallis too relayed similar sentiments in 1935, quoting Gerhart Hauptmann as evidence for his own assertions about Mahler's 'self-conquest, purification [and] refinement': 'Gerhart Hauptmann wrote on Mahler's 50th birthday: "The genius of Gustav Mahler is representative in the sense of the great traditions of German music. He has the demonic and the fiery morality of German spirits, the only nobility that is still able to bear witness to its truly divine origin."' ³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Zweig, *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 April 1915: 4. 'Ihnen tönt Mahlers Werk schon aus dem Wesenlosen, aus den hohen Himmeln der deutschen Kunst, uns ist für immer das hohe Beispiel gewärtig, wie er sein Unendliches dem Irdischen entrang.'

³⁴⁸ Wallis, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 6 July 1935: 2. 'Gerhart Hauptmann schrieb zum 50. Geburtstag Mahlers: „Das Genie Gustav Mahlers ist repräsentativ im Sinne der großen Traditionen deutscher Musik. Er hat die Dämonie und die Feuermoral deutscher Geister, den einzigen Adel, der seinen wahrhaft göttlichen Ursprung noch zu bezeugen vermag.“'

A connection already implicit in Zweig's reference to 'high heaven' and Hauptmann's 'divine origin' is made explicit by Kr., and Joseph Lechthaler. In 1932 Lechthaler wrote: 'Mahler's world of thought is baroque, Austrian, borne by the religious longing for the faith of our people.'³⁴⁹ Here the Austrian and the religious are synonymised. For Kr., in 1918 this was the essence of Germanness in Mahler's music: 'Mahler's desire to produce German music repeatedly points to two sources: the popular and the religious.'³⁵⁰ The combination of Germanness and Christianity (specifically Catholicism) reached its highest achievement for Kr. in Mahler's Eighth Symphony: 'This primal phenomenon of Mahler's art, his passionate endeavour to be absorbed in the German, in the Christian circle of ideas, is shown in the Eighth Symphony in its highest potential.'³⁵¹ There is a significant volume of reception which emphasises to greater or lesser extents, a religious focus in Mahler's music. This is most commonly expressed through the idea that Mahler was a seeker of God in his symphonies, for example by Stefan in 1935:

Mahler is the metropolitan man, a student of German philosophy, which he immersed himself in time and again, a sceptic in many respects, but never doubter or even denier, always remained a symphonic-poetic God-seeker. That and the genuine and deep humanity results in the shattering experience that Mahler's art and above all through his great symphonic compositions is conveyed to us again and again.³⁵²

³⁴⁹ Lechthaler, *Radio Wien*, 18 March 1932: 3. 'Mahlers Gedankenwelt ist barock, österreichisch, von der religiösen Sehnsucht nach dem Glauben unseres Volkes getragen.'

³⁵⁰ Kr., 'Feuilleton: Hofoper Theatre: Gustav Mahler's Eighth Symphony: By Order of the Most High: in Favour of the Imperial-Royal Austrian Military Widows' and Orphans' Fund', *Wiener Zeitung*, 9 April 1918: 20. 'Der Wille, deutsche Musik zu produzieren, weist Mahler immer wieder auf zwei Quellen: auf das Volkstümliche und auf das Religiöse.'

³⁵¹ Ibid. 'Dieses Urphänomen von Mahlers Kunst, sein leidenschaftliches Streben, in deutschem, in christlichem Vorstellungskreis aufzugehen, zeigt die Achte Sinfonie in seiner höchsten Potenzierung.'

³⁵² P. Stf., *Die Stunde*, 7 July 1935: 5. 'Mahler ist der Großstadtmensch, Schüler der deutschen Philosophie, in die er sich immer wieder versenkte, in vielem Skeptiker, der aber niemals zum Zweifler oder gar zum Leugner geworden, sondern immer symphonisch-poetischer Gottsucher geblieben ist. Das und die immer wieder

This sentiment is repeated by Max Graf in 1911: ‘In these giant symphonies, in which all the effects of modern orchestral technique, the witty and delicate and the garish, the bizarre and the booming, are exhibited as in a panorama, the marvellous man has truly sought his God with fervour.’³⁵³ In 1935: ‘The songs that Gustav Mahler wrote and the ten symphonies are the stages of his struggle with God and the eternal questions. That is their human value and their greatness.’³⁵⁴ In 1936: ‘For Mahler, the world is a path to God, to the beyond, to the circling spheres of the sun.’³⁵⁵ And in 1937:

It begins with a funeral march, which for Mahler always signifies the metaphysical as music of thoughts of death, and with a subsequent music of despair that fights its way through to choral celebrations. The “Fifth Symphony” receives its spiritual background, its philosophical content, which is never lacking in Mahler’s music and which is intrinsically related to Kabbalah’s contemplation of God, from its connection with Gustav Mahler’s other symphonic music. What is Mahlerian in this vision of God is that every rise is followed by another fall into the depths.³⁵⁶

hervorbrechende echte und tiefe Menschlichkeit ergibt das erschütternde Erlebnis, das uns durch Mahlers Kunst und vor allem durch seine großen symphonischen Gebilde immer wieder vermittelt wird.’

³⁵³ Graf, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 19 May 1911: 1. ‘In diesen Riesensymphonien, in denen wie in einem Panorama alle Effekte der modernen Orchestertechnik, die geistreich-zarten und die grellen, die bizarren und die dröhnenden, ausgestellt sind, hat der merkwürdige Mann wirklich inbrünstig seinen Gott gesucht.’

³⁵⁴ Graf, *Der Tag*, 7 July 1935: 5. ‘Die Lieder, die Gustav Mahler geschrieben hat und die zehn Symphonien, sind die Stationen seines Ringens mit Gott und den ewigen Fragen. Das ist ihr menschlicher Wert und ihre Größe.’

³⁵⁵ Graf, *Der Tag*, 17 May 1936: 7. ‘Für Mahler ist die Welt ein Weg zu Gott, zum Jenseits, zu den kreisenden Sonnensphären.’

³⁵⁶ Mg., ‘Fifth Philharmonic Concert’, *Der Tag*, 19 January 1937: 7. ‘Sie beginnt mit einer Trauermarschmusik, die bei Mahler stets als Musik der Todesgedanken Metaphysisches bedeutet, und mit einer nachfolgenden Musik der Verzweiflung, die sich zu Choralfeierlichkeiten durchkämpft. Aus dem Zusammenhang mit der anderen Symphonie Musik Gustav Mahlers erhält die „Fünfte Symphonie“ ihren geistigen Hintergrund, ihren philosophischen Gehalt, der bei Mahler niemals fehlt, und der im Innersten verwandt ist dem Gottesgrübeln der Kabbala. Was Mahlerisch in dieser Gottesschau ist, daß jeder Erhebung wieder ein neuerlicher Sturz in die Tiefe folgt.’

This God-believing orientation might be viewed as a way to overcome the denominational divisions between Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic in favour of a higher authority. In other words, whether Mahler was Jewish or not, he pursued the God shared by Christians. But crucially, it seems to me, the God-seeker rhetoric of Mahler's reception connects his music to philosophy, metaphysics, and higher existential questions about which German art is and was perceived to be concerned. Discussions of God do not therefore serve a singularly religious purpose, but rather, they serve an aesthetic, romantic purpose.

Engagement with metaphysics was considered by some critics, such as David Joseph Bach, to be an essential aspect of German art: 'What lifts Mahler's work above the ordinary, even in its undeniable banalities, is the metaphysical glimmer that lies spread over every true work of art, especially every German one.'³⁵⁷ This connection between the ineffable or sublime (not uncommonly associated with theology and religion) and philosophy was a central concern for an enduring German romanticism.³⁵⁸ The emphasis placed on *Bildung* in Austrian and German culture (not only in the nineteenth century) meant that an understanding of high culture, philosophy, classic literature, and music were embedded in a sense of Germanness and became a form of national identity.³⁵⁹ Mahler's often commented upon engagement with metaphysics, therefore 'lifts Mahler's work' into the realm of true, German art.³⁶⁰

Elsa Bienenfeld wrote similarly of 'the philosophical element' in Mahler's music. For her, Mahler's music expressed refuge from the world in the realm of ideas.

³⁵⁷ D.B., 'Concerts', *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 12 December 1911: 7. 'Was Mahlers Werk auch in den unleugbaren Banalitäten über die Gewöhnlichkeit hinaushebt, ist der metaphysische Schimmer, der über jedes wahre Kunstwerk, vor allem über jedes deutsche, gebreitet liegt.'

³⁵⁸ See Christoph Bode, 'German Romanticism and the Sublime', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Romantic Sublime*, ed. Cian Duffy (Cambridge University Press, 2023): 69–80; Nicholas Saul (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

³⁵⁹ This is an important aspect of the *Sonderweg* thesis. See Jürgen Kocka, 'German History before Hitler: The Debate about the German Sonderweg', *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, No.1 (1988): 3–16. See also James Shedel, 'fin de siècle or jahrhundertwende: The Question of an Austrian Sonderweg', in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. Steven Beller (Berghahn, 2001): 80–104.

³⁶⁰ D.B., *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 12 December 1911: 7.

Mahler's creations do not speak through their musical content alone. The philosophical element in them stimulates thoughts that strive towards transcendental needs, and they are hours of contemplation, far from the turmoil of the world, which Mahler has prepared for us. This is partly the solution to the enigmatically powerful effect of his symphonies. More than ever, the mind, oppressed by material events, seeks refuge in the realm of ideas and gratefully sees a heaven opening up.³⁶¹

For Bienenfeld, Mahler's music creates a world in turmoil so as to transcend that turmoil through philosophical contemplation. This trajectory from 'oppression' to transcendence, clearly engages with the concept of sublimity, thereby situating Mahler's music in the realm of German art which pursues such expression.

Josef Lechthaler stated this outright in 1932:

Throughout his life, Mahler wrestled with the great problems of human existence. One wonders whether his art was able to follow his bold will. An idle question! Enjoy what is certain: he was serious. He was one of the very few who, in that worldly-minded age, used all their strength to proclaim the sublime, the great, the lasting and, in a broader sense, the religious.³⁶²

³⁶¹ E.B., *Neues Wiener Journal*, 23 March 1920: 8. 'Mahlers Schöpfungen sprechen nicht durch ihren musikalischen Gehalt allein. Das Philosophische in ihnen regt Gedanken an, die den transzendentalen Bedürfnissen entgegenstreben, und es sind Stunden der Einkehr, fern von dem Getümmel der Welt, die uns von Mahler bereitet wurden. Hierin liegt zum Teil die Lösung von seiner Symphonien rätselhaft starken Wirkung. Mehr denn je sucht das von materiellen Ereignissen bedrängte Gemüt eine Zuflucht im Reiche der Ideen und sieht dankbar einen Himmel sich öffnen.'

³⁶² Lechthaler, *Radio Wien*, 18 March 1932: 3. 'Mahler hat sein ganzes Leben lang mit den großen Problemen des menschlichen Daseins gerungen. Man fragt, ob seine Kunst dem kühnen Willen zu folgen vermochte. Müßige Frage! Man erfreue sich an dem, was sicher ist: Es war ihm ernst. Er war einer der ganz wenigen, die in jener diesseitig eingestellten Zeit ihre ganze Kraft einsetzten, um das Erhabene, Große, vom Zufälligen Gelöste, Bleibende und in weiterem Sinne Religiöse zu verkünden.'

The connection here between the religious, the sublime, and the philosophical serves to connect Mahler's music to German culture. It is perhaps significant that nowhere is any specific denomination of religion or God mentioned. It is therefore the idea of a higher power, the eternal, the ineffable which Mahler's music expresses and in doing so, his music engages with German romanticism. In accordance with the Viennese variety of antisemitism, the perceived success of Mahler's music in this artistic, metaphysical expression transcends the psychological quality of Jewishness and situates his music in the realm of German art.

It was not only his music, however, that was perceived as belonging to the mainstream culture in Vienna. His music belonged to the realm of German art, and to many Mahler himself was perceived to be Austrian. Paul Stefan writing in 1935 identified Mahler's position as that of a German symphonist in the tradition of the Austrian symphony, who was simultaneously an Old Austrian by origin and by choice, who also engaged with the Romantic tradition of Berlioz:

An earlier art review had already placed Mahler as a German symphonist in the realm of the "Austrian symphony": Schubert, Bruckner, Mahler. Today we recognise Mahler's relationship to the Bohemian-Moravian folk song of his native Iglau more clearly. Relationships to Romanesque music as well, parallelisms with the work of Berlioz. But we know very well that Mahler was not only an old Austrian by origin. He loved Vienna and was happy that his life on earth could take place in the shadow of the great Viennese masters.³⁶³

³⁶³ P. Stf., *Die Stunde*, 7 July 1935: 5. 'Schon eine frühere Kunstbetrachtung hat Mahler als deutschen Symphoniker in das Gebiet der „österreichischen Symphonie“ eingewiesen: Schubert, Bruckner, Mahler. Wir erkennen heute deutlicher Mahlers Beziehungen zu dem böhmisch-mährischen Volkslied seiner Iglauer Heimat. Beziehungen auch zur romanischen Musik, Parallelismen mit dem Werk eines Berlioz. Aber wir wissen genau, daß Mahler Altösterreicher nicht nur der Herkunft war. Er liebte Wien und war selig, daß sein Erdenwandel im Schatten der großen Wiener Meister vor sich gehen durfte.'

Here, rather than only connecting Mahler's music to the world of German art, Stefan described Mahler as a German symphonist. The symphony, as Karen Painter has argued, continued to hold sway over the musical aspirations of Austrians and Germans as the epitome of German culture.³⁶⁴ This is marginally different because, while one aligns the work of art with a national context, the other claims the composer for the nation. In describing Mahler not only as a German symphonist, but as an Austrian symphonist in the realm of Schubert and Bruckner, this critic mirrored the argument made by Paul Bekker in his book *Die Sinfonie von Beethoven bis Mahler*, first published in 1918 in Berlin.³⁶⁵ For Bekker, there were three symphonic lines after Beethoven: the German line of Schumann, Mendelssohn and Brahms; the line of programmatic symphonies of Liszt; and the Austrian line of Schubert, Bruckner and Mahler.

Reviewing Bekker's book in 1921, shortly after its publication, Elsa Bienenfeld wrote the following in the *Neues Wiener Journal*:

Bekker expresses the conviction that Mahler shaped and created the new type of symphony, which was different in nature from Beethoven's symphony, related to it only through the basic concepts of the genre and thus equally justified and equal to it. He summarises the symphonists between Beethoven and Mahler in three groups: the Central German Romantic with Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms and the academics surrounding them, the programmatic composers with Liszt's enthusiastic leading appearance and the Austrian symphonists, whose herald was Schubert, whose strongest elemental force was Bruckner and whose completer was Mahler. This new type of symphony shifted the emphasis from the first movement to the last, thereby also

³⁶⁴ Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*.

³⁶⁵ Bekker, *Die Sinfonie von Beethoven bis Mahler*.

resolving the question of the middle movements in a new sense. All of Mahler's symphonies are final symphonies.³⁶⁶

For Bekker, Mahler was both a successor of Beethoven in the German symphony and a member of the Austrian symphonic line alongside Schubert and Bruckner. Comparison with Bruckner (held by many as the prime Austrian composer bar only Schubert) was common in Mahler's reception. In 1924, Heinrich Kralik reviewed the world premiere of Mahler's Tenth Symphony, suggesting that the Adagio in particular 'points to the sphere from which Mahler's entire life's work originally emanated: the sphere of Bruckner's symphonies.'³⁶⁷

Stefan in 1935 also highlighted this connection through the American Bruckner Society's advocacy of Mahler as well as Bruckner, because the two 'belong together in terms of developmental history: Mahler seeks to expand Bruckner's symphonic world and fill it with even greater richness of life.'³⁶⁸

The idea that Mahler expanded what Bruckner had started arises time and again. The Austrian line of the symphony – Schubert, Bruckner, Mahler – articulated by Bekker also

³⁶⁶ Elsa Bienenfeld, 'Paul Bekker's Mahler Book', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 1 March 1921: 3. 'Bekker hat vor mehreren Jahren ein Buch über Beethoven veröffentlicht, eines der meistumstrittenen in der zahlreichen Literatur der letzten Jahre, das vielfach aufrührerisch und schon aus diesem Grunde, anregend gewirkt hat. Er erklärt, daß wenn er jetzt ein Buch über Mahler veröffentliche, er in dieser Folge keinen Widerspruch sehe, sondern die natürliche Weiterführung einer Linie, die vom Heros der Symphonie zum Menschlichsten seiner Nachfolger führe. // Bekker spricht die Ueberzeugung aus, daß Mahler den neuen Symphonietyp geprägt und geschaffen habe, der anders geartet als die Symphonie Beethovens, ihr nur durch die Grundbegriffe der Gattung verwandt und eben dadurch ihr gleich berechtigt und ebenbürtig sei. Die Symphoniker zwischen Beethoven und Mahler faßt er in drei Gruppen zusammen: die mitteldeutsch romantische mit Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms und den sie umgebenden Akademikern, die Programmusiker mit der enthusiastisierenden Führererscheinung Liszts und die österreichischen Symphoniker, deren Herold Schubert, deren stärkste Elementarkraft Bruckner und deren Vollender Mahler gewesen sei. Dieser neue Symphonietyp habe den Schwerpunkt ans dem ersten Satz in den letzten verlegt und dadurch auch die Frage der Mittelsätze in einen neuen Sinn gelöst. Alle Symphonien Mahlers seien Finalsymphonien.'

³⁶⁷ Kralik, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 13 October 1924: 5. 'Der Satz gehört zu dem Tiefsten, Schönsten, Gehaltvollsten, das Mahler geschaffen hat. Er weist mit seiner Klangfülle, mit seiner weiten und breiten Linienführung deutlich auf die Sphäre hin, von der das gesamte Lebenswerk Mahlers ursprünglich ausgegangen ist: auf die Sphäre der Brucknerschen Symphonie.'

³⁶⁸ P. Stf., *Die Stunde*, 7 July 1935: 5. 'In den Vereinigten Staaten gibt es eine Bruckner-Society, die auf die große symphonische Musik der jüngsten Vergangenheit hinweisen und sie durch Aufführungen in der neuen Welt beleben will. Die Bestrebungen der Bruckner-Society gelten jedoch nicht bloß Bruckner, sondern auch Mahler. Bruckner und Mahler gehören: nämlich entwicklungsgeschichtlich zusammen, Mahler sucht die symphonische Welt Bruckners zu erweitern und mit noch größerem Lebensreichtum erfüllen.'

seems to be a popular one, still receiving iterations in 1935.³⁶⁹ The acceptance of Mahler as Austrian, therefore, even by the mid-1930s, seems not to be under too much doubt. This can also be seen in attempts to physically monumentalise Mahler in Vienna, along the lines of Brahms etc.... One critic, writing in the *Wiener Morgenzeitung* in 1926, complained that ‘in Vienna, after a long break, Brahms, Bruckner and Mahler were the main representatives of symphonic music in the wake of the original Viennese composer Schubert. Monuments have been erected to all of the above – with the exception of Gustav Mahler.’³⁷⁰

In 1931 O.K. (reasonably assumed to be Oswald Kabasta) concurred with the assignation of Mahler as an Austrian musician when he wrote the following:

today Mahler’s gigantic oeuvre and his outstanding personality stand above all discussion, indeed, the thought that barely two decades have passed since this great Austrian was still the subject of bitter fighting has the same shameful flavour of our time as the memory of the time when the titan Bruckner and the work of Hugo Wolf were fought over in Vienna.³⁷¹

Kabasta here suggests that Mahler’s music had reached a settled status, whereby discussion of his place in the repertory was no longer required. He describes Mahler as ‘this great Austrian’, a title that would have been almost unthinkable at this time in Germany and would certainly

³⁶⁹ Bekker, *Die Sinfonie von Beethoven bis Mahler*.

³⁷⁰ ‘A Viennese Monument to Gustav Mahler’, *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, 2 December 1926: 6. ‘In Wien schufen nach langer Pause Brahms, Bruckner, Mahler, als Hauptrepräsentanten der symphonischen Musik im Gefolge des Urwieners Schubert. Allen den Genannten wurden daselbst Denkmäler errichtet - ausgenommen Gustav Mahler.’

³⁷¹ O. K., ‘Impressive Mahler Celebration at the State Opera’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 19 May 1931: 5. ‘steht heute das gigantische Werk Mahlers und seine überragende Persönlichkeit über jeder Diskussion, ja, der Gedanke, daß kaum zwei Jahrzehnte vergangen sind, da um diesen großen Oesterreicher noch erbittert gekämpft wurde, hat für unsere Zeit den gleichen beschämenden Beigeschmack wie die Erinnerung an die Zeit, als man in Wien den Titanen Bruckner und das Werk Hugo Wolfs bekämpfte.’

become so in the following few years. However, at this moment in Vienna, Mahler could, according to Kabasta, be comfortably considered an Austrian, indeed, a 'great Austrian'.

Finally, Paul Stefan, writing in 1933, passed comment on Mahler being both Austrian and Jewish. In this article, Stefan demonstrates a fluid conception of identity. Unlike Theodor Haas, for whom Austrian and Jewish were antonyms, Stefan adopted a more pluralistic approach which was more common under the multi-national Habsburg Empire. Mahler could be both Jewish and Austrian, and while Stefan expresses the impressive accomplishment of obtaining Austrian acceptance despite Jewish descent, he still allows Mahler to be categorised by both groups:

But first of all, the Mahler period marks the beginning of an era of purification and streamlining. Mahler is thirty-seven years old when he is appointed, an Austrian to boot and even of Jewish descent; only purified by an already dreaded passion for art, by the highest ardour, tormented by all flames. His tormented, consuming life has led him beyond all the ignominy of small and medium-sized theatres and twice, in Pest and in Hamburg, to a new construction of shattered sites; an unknown, a mocked composer, he struggles at the same time with his contemporaries and with the duty of day after day. No one has fulfilled it more conscientiously.³⁷²

Although Stefan here reflects back on Mahler's appointment at the Hofoper, it is suggested that he still held those opinion of Mahler at the time of writing.

³⁷² Paul Stefan, 'The magic of the Artist: Gustav Mahler', *Die Bühne*, Heft 344, 1933: 1. 'Auch darin gehört Mahler uns Menschen von heute, daß er dem Theaterbesucher und wohl auch dem Volk auf dem Theater die Augen geöffnet hat: „Theater“ heißt, der Wortbedeutung nach, Schau-Stätte. // Aber zunächst beginnt mit der Mahler-Zeit erst eine Epoche des Reinigens und Straffens. Mahler ist, da er eingesetzt wird, siebenunddreißig Jahre alt, Österreicher obendrein und sogar jüdischer Abkunft; nur eben von schon gefürchteter Leidenschaft für die Kunst, von höchster Glut, durch alle Flammen gepeinigt, gereinigt. Sein verhetztes, verzehrendes Leben hat ihn über alle Schmach der kleinen und mittleren Theater und zweimal, in Pest und in Hamburg, an einen neuen Aufbau zertrümmerter Stätten geführt; ein unbekannter, ein verhöhnter Komponist, ringt er zugleich mit den Zeitgenossen und mit der Pflicht des Tag-für-Tages. Niemand hat sie gewissenhafter erfüllt.'

This collection of excerpts ranging from 1911 to 1937 demonstrates a continual perception of Mahler as an Austrian composer, regardless of changing perceptions and strengths of antisemitism developing elsewhere. In Vienna, Mahler could be considered Austrian in 1911, and in 1935, and at various points in between. As evidenced by the debate over Mahler's Jewishness that took place in 1920, there was no consensus about Mahler's position in relation to Austrian and Jewish identities. Some commentators were determined to see Mahler as either Austrian or Jewish, while others were more than happy to admit him to both identities. What is remarkable, however, is that even among those keen to view Mahler's music as Jewish, this was not always a detriment to his popularity. It would be wrong to assert a universal popularity for Mahler's music in Vienna – he did still have detractors – but he had significant followings from a range of philosemitic, antisemitic, and ambivalent perspectives so as to make any Jewishness attributed to his music insignificant as a factor in his popularity.

Antisemitism evidently played an important role in Mahler's reception, but the critics cited in this section demonstrate that there was no pervasive consensus about what that should mean. Some critics were keen to demonstrate Mahler's Jewishness, while others were adamant about arguing his lack thereof. Identifying Mahler as Austrian manifested itself in two different lines of argumentation: firstly, that Mahler's music belonged to German art; and secondly, that Mahler was himself Austrian. Unlike in alternate versions of antisemitism, however, it was entirely possible for Mahler to be both Austrian and Jewish, as demonstrated by Paul Stefan in 1933. Precisely what critics thought between 1938 and 1944 is impossible to tell since Mahler's name no longer appeared in print. It seems reasonable to suggest, therefore, that despite certain hard-line experiences of antisemitism imposed by National Socialism, Mahler's legacy remained more-or-less unscathed by antisemitism in Vienna.

Conclusion

The reception and legacy of Mahler's music between 1911 and 1945 has been subjected to a narrative of decline, upheld by the so-called Mahler myth. This chapter has disproved the accuracy of this narrative by focussing on two topic areas. In the first section I have demonstrated the popularity of Mahler's music in interwar Vienna by constructing a performance history of his symphonies which details the increased frequency of performances of his music during this period. I have analysed his critical reception, which emphasised a reversal in his popularity that took place in 1912 followed by a gradual period of solidification into the Viennese canon and standard repertory. I have suggested two possible reasons for this change in reception. Given that criticism during his lifetime tended to sublate Mahler's personality (which was viewed as tyrannical) and his music, the reception of his music was largely dictated by the ways in which critics and listeners responded to Mahler as a man. Shortly after his death, however, critics started to articulate a separation between his art and personality which enabled the music to succeed or fail on its own terms. Following this separation, Mahler's music earned more positive reviews and started to grow in popularity, suggesting that the problematic personality of the living Mahler may have unintentionally suppressed the popularity of his music. Following his death, Mahler's personality posed no further danger and his music became liberated from his influence. The catchphrase 'I will die in order to live!', taken from the Second Symphony, became a motto for Mahler's music during these years. In addition to separating his music from his personality, I have argued that the experience of World War One may have provided a re-framing of Mahler's aesthetics whereby audiences now more familiar with contemplation of death and of turmoil and hardship may have been more amenable to the metaphysical and existential aesthetics of Mahler's musical style. Mahler's music, therefore, became popular because it felt more relevant to audiences fresh with experiences of wartime. The final part of this section assessed the ways in which

Mahler's music became involved in commerce. After the war it was necessary to re-build the Austrian economy and critics saw in the music business attempts to capitalise on the fashionable Mahler repertoire. The radio contributed to the commercialism of Mahler's music, transforming it into a culture of mass media and an international enterprise. Various commentators argued that Mahler was a composer of the fourth estate and they did so within the context of articles commenting on radio broadcasts. The radio offered a more affordable way for those previously excluded from concert culture to participate and enabled music culture to enter into mass media. These themes were sometimes taken up by critics to express reactionary political agendas. The international nature of the radio was of crucial significance in Vienna under *Anschluss*, because although it was not possible to perform Mahler's music in Vienna during that time, that did not mean that it was impossible to hear Mahler's music in Vienna. *Radio Wien* published broadcast schedules from across Europe detailing Mahler performances which Viennese listeners could tune into if they wished. Whether they did or not is unknown, but they had the option to and this crucially undermines the assumption that Mahler's music was completely absent from Viennese ears under *Anschluss*.

The second section of this chapter questioned the pervasiveness of antisemitism in Mahler's reception legacy. The Mahler myth is primarily founded on an overstatement of antisemitism in this period which, I have argued, is not applicable to the context of Vienna. As Steven Beller has suggested, the racial antisemitism of National Socialism was not particularly prevalent in Vienna. Viennese antisemitism had a much looser definition of Jewishness that was not always at odds with Austrian or German identities. A debate emerged in 1920 in response to an article entitled 'Gustav Mahler's Jewish Melodies', whereby critics variously wanted to claim Mahler for Judaism or protect him from such dangers by proclaiming his artistry. For those keen to ascribe German artistry to Mahler's music, Jewishness was a psychological quality that Mahler had surpassed in his ascension to the rank of artist. Claiming

Mahler for Austria featured two components: ascribing his music to the ranks of German art, and arguing for Mahler as an Austrian composer alongside Schubert and Bruckner. Unlike in other variants of antisemitism, in Vienna Mahler could be Austrian or Jewish, or Austrian and Jewish and there was no consistency to the ways in which these labels were applied. Even among those who viewed him as Jewish it was not clear that they intended to distance him from being Austrian and it was typical that critics on both sides wished to elevate rather than degrade his music. Any teleological account of increasing antisemitism does not withstand scrutiny in the context of Vienna. There were, to be sure, antisemitic strands of reception throughout this period, but there was no organisation or acceleration of those ideas until the *Anschluss*.

This chapter therefore demonstrates: 1) the popularity of Mahler's music in interwar Vienna; 2) Mahler's music could still be heard in Vienna even after the *Anschluss*; and 3) antisemitism played a smaller, non-teleological role in Vienna than has typically been suggested. Taken together these three components disprove the Mahler myth. Although the revival efforts from the 1960s onwards are not under dispute here, the narrative of decline upon which the myth is built is demonstrated in these pages to be incorrect. Mahler's music was not in decline between 1911 and 1945. Throughout most of that period, his popularity was rising, and even after a period of removal under *Anschluss* (a removal that may not have been quite complete), the strong accordance between soldiers returning home in 1945 and Mahler's music demonstrates that the popularity and reputation of his music had not suffered from the intermission. By interrogating Mahler's reception during this period, it has not only been possible to nuance how Mahler's music was understood during that period, but also to challenge a mode of history writing that relies too heavily on slice histories and myths, while also overlooking the gaps and assumptions inherent in those historiographical methods. The Mahler myth constitutes a fallacy generated by a combination of retrospective memory, biased storytelling, and relying too heavily on historical slices. Although this myth served the

ambitions of those like Adorno and Bernstein who wanted to revive Mahler's music from the 1960s onwards, it does not provide a rigorous, compelling, or even accurate historical record of Mahler's interwar reception in Vienna. In order to access those features of Mahler's Viennese history, it is necessary to consider sources from across the entire period. By doing so, it is plainly evident that Mahler's music in interwar Vienna was on the rise...

Chapter 4. Formlessness to Formality in Bruckner Reception

‘To proclaim the unity, purity and clarity of [Bruckner’s] life’s work should be our proud and supreme law’. Friedrich Bayer³⁷³

Introduction

The perceived formality (or lack thereof) attributed to Bruckner’s symphonies has been a continual point of interest for scholars and critics alike. The historical phenomenon of a complete *volte face* in Bruckner’s reception on this topic during the first decades of the twentieth century has been noted by scholars, but there have been few attempts to understand how the development of Bruckner’s reception during those years underwent such a change.³⁷⁴ This disjunction of Bruckner’s perceived formality has been exacerbated by the tendency to view Bruckner’s reception as a dichotomy, generated by slice histories, rather than a continuity. His symphonies were seen as formless at the end of the nineteenth century, but by the mid-twentieth century had become the paradigm of formal coherence.³⁷⁵ It is my task to understand how this change took place. I will argue that the transformation from formlessness to formality took place across three stages: the resolution of the Bruckner-Brahms antithesis; the rising popularity and canonisation of Bruckner’s symphonies; and then the emergence of his perceived formality. This tripartite path suggests that canonisation facilitated the reversal in Bruckner’s reception (as it pertained to the topic of form), but the fact that Bruckner’s formality

³⁷³ F.B., ‘The German Bruckner Society to its Festive Assembly in the Großer Musvereinssaal’, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 6 July 1939: 6.

³⁷⁴ Benjamin Korstvedt has investigated this duality from an analytical perspective. Benjamin Korstvedt, ‘Between Formlessness and Formality: Aspects of Bruckner’s Approach to Symphonic Form’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 170–189.

³⁷⁵ See Benjamin Korstvedt, ‘Reading Music Criticism beyond the Fin-de-Siècle Vienna Paradigm’, *The Musical Quarterly* 94, No.1/2 (2010): 156–210; Korstvedt, ‘Between formlessness and formality’; Julian Horton, *Bruckner’s Symphonies: Analysis, Reception and Cultural Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 26–91. Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna, 1896–1897: Critically Moving Forms* (Clarendon Press, 1996).

only emerged after his music became canonical, indicates that other factors were also significant. I argue that two other factors (also resultant from canonisation themselves) were of primary importance in the discourse on formality surrounding Bruckner's music: the critical debates resulting from the *Gesamtausgabe* project; and the critical and political emphasis placed on Bruckner's Austrianness. This chapter is therefore split into two parts. In the first part, I demonstrate how the reception of Bruckner's music changed from formlessness to formality. In the second part, I explore the reasons why the *Gesamtausgabe* and Bruckner's Austrianness were so significant in instigating this reversal.

Part 1: Formlessness to Formality

The Bruckner-Brahms Antithesis

Criticism of formlessness in Bruckner's music stemmed from the critical writings of Eduard Hanslick, Max Kalbeck and their fellow Brahms supporters.³⁷⁶ The issue of 'rationality', a quality often denied to Bruckner, was of particular importance for these critics and was frequently related to their harsh criticism of Bruckner's use of form.³⁷⁷ Gustav Dömpke, for example, famously declared on 30 March 1886 that 'Bruckner composes like a drunkard'.³⁷⁸ Meanwhile, writing on the same day, Hanslick described the Seventh Symphony as a 'monstrous symphonic serpent', 'unnaturally inflated, morbid, and pernicious'.³⁷⁹ The Sixth Symphony possessed 'barely understandable platitudes' and 'empty and dull patches, stretched out over such unsparing length'.³⁸⁰ The Second Symphony was formed of 'a mosaic-like form'

³⁷⁶ Eduard Hanslick (11 September 1825–6 August 1904) was a historian and chief music critic of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

³⁷⁷ See Korstvedt, 'Reading Music Criticism': 182.

³⁷⁸ Gustav Dömpke, 'Concerts', *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30 March 1886: 1. 'Bruckner componirt wie ein Betrunkener'

³⁷⁹ Eduard Hanslick, 'Concerts', *Neue Freie Presse*, 30 March 1886: 2. 'symphonischen Riesenschlange'; 'Unnatürlich aufgeblasen, krankhaft und verderblich'

³⁸⁰ Eduard Hanslick, 'Concerts', *Neue Freie Presse*, 13 February 1883: 3. 'schwer begreiflichen Gemeinplätzen, leeren und trockenen Stellen, oft ohne erkennbaren Zusammenhang wechseln'

which ‘weakly fell apart’.³⁸¹ And the Third was a ‘vision of how Beethoven’s Ninth made friends with Wagner’s *Walküre* and wound up trampled under the hooves of their horses’.³⁸² The partisan Bruckner-Brahms antithesis from which critiques like these abounded was especially prominent at the end of the nineteenth century and was viewed by twentieth-century critics (as well as by twenty-first century scholars) as one of the primary reasons that Bruckner’s music was denied canonical status for so long.³⁸³ Eduard Hanslick in particular was a partisan of Brahms who sought to use his influence in the Viennese press to suppress Bruckner’s music. He and others often levelled criticism of Bruckner’s form as a means to achieve this end.³⁸⁴ After the death of Hanslick in 1904, and certainly (I will argue) by 1912, the antithesis between Bruckner and Brahms was dissolving, thus liberating Bruckner’s

³⁸¹ H., ‘Concert’, *Neue Freie Presse*, 28 October 1873: 6. Translation by Andrea Harrandt in Andrea Harrandt, ‘Bruckner in Vienna’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 30.

³⁸² H., ‘Concerts’, *Neue Freie Presse*, 18 December 1877: 7. ‘vielleicht eine Vision, wie Beethoven’s „Neunte“ mit Wagner’s „Walküren“ Freundschaft schließt und endlich unter die Hufe ihrer Pferde geräth’

³⁸³ The party antithesis between Bruckner and Brahms during the 1890s in Vienna has received extensive coverage. See Andrea Harrandt, ‘Students and Friends as ‘Prophets’ and ‘Promoters’: the Reception of Bruckner’s Works in the *Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein*’, in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, eds Crawford Howie, Paul Hawkshaw, and Timothy Jackson (Ashgate, 2001): 317–327; Korstvedt, ‘Reading Music Criticism’: 192–193; Benjamin Korstvedt, ‘Mahler’s Bruckner, between Devotion and Misprision’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70, No.2 (2017): 357–432. See also Margaret Notley, ‘Brahms as Liberal, Bruckner as Other’, in *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (Oxford University Press, 2006): 15–35; Margaret Notley, ‘Brahms as Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late Nineteenth Century Vienna’, *Nineteenth-Century Music* 17 (1993): 107–123; Margaret Notley, ‘Volksconcerte in Vienna and Late Nineteenth-Century Ideology of the Symphony’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50 (1997): 421–453; Margaret Notley, ‘Musical Culture in Vienna at the Turn of the Twentieth Century’, in *Schoenberg, Berg and Webern: A Companion to the Second Viennese School*, ed. Bryan R. Symms (Greenwood Press, 1999): 37–71; Leon Botstein, ‘Brahms and Nineteenth Century Painting’, *Nineteenth-Century Music* 14 (1990): 154–168; Leon Botstein, ‘Music and Its Public: Habits of Listening and the Crisis of Musical Modernism in Vienna, 1870–1914’ (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1985): 732–735; Leon Botstein, ‘Brahms and His Audience: The Late Viennese Years, 1875–1897’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Cambridge University Press, 1997): 51–75; Leon Botstein, ‘Time and Memory: Concert Life, Science, and Music in Brahms’s Vienna’, in *Brahms and His World*, ed. Walter Frisch (Princeton University Press, 1990): 3–22; McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna*; Sandra McColl, ‘Karl Kraus and Music Criticism: The Case of Max Kalbeck’, *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 279–308.

³⁸⁴ It should be noted that Alexander Wilfing has challenged the idea that Hanslick deliberately and frequently attacked Bruckner’s works in the Viennese press. Although the influence of Hanslick’s writings was significant and he was often viewed as the figurehead of anti-Bruckner criticism, it should be noted that he actually wrote little about the composer compared to the volume often ascribed to his pen. Wilfing has shown in a conference paper delivered at the Fourth International Conference of the IAGMR that, between 1865 and 1902, Hanslick only wrote fourteen reviews of Bruckner’s works in the *Neue Freie Presse*. Alexander Wilfing, ‘“Whom I want to destroy, I will destroy!” Bruckner, Hanslick, and Musical Criticism in 19th-Century Vienna’, Conference Paper delivered at The Fourth International Conference of the Institute of Austrian and German Music, 6–7 September 2024. I am grateful to Alex for granting me permission to cite his paper.

reception from continued critical bombardment in the ‘authoritative press’.³⁸⁵ It was not that critics suddenly started to see Bruckner and Brahms as similar or possessing common ground in their use of form, but rather that there was no longer a need to pit the two composers against one another. This enabled Bruckner’s advocates to stimulate the canonisation of his music and created space for critics to evaluate the formal coherence of his works without a barrage of disparagements citing his ‘formlessness’.

The Bruckner-Brahms antithesis, even after its resolution, was not forgotten by critics. In 1914, an article appeared in the *Neues Wiener Zeitung* by a French music critic, commenting on the impact of Brahms’s disciples on Bruckner’s life and work: ‘Throughout his life, Bruckner was oppressed by the powerful party of Brahms admirers, the most intolerant, the most jealous, the least generous party ever seen in the history of music. His German admirers see in Bruckner a musician whose sole concern is not form or formula, but who above all wants to express what he feels.’³⁸⁶ A similar observation was made by Max Springer in 1918, writing in *Reichspost*: ‘Brahms who was played off against Bruckner by his admirers and Bruckner who was always set up as a symbol of disgust for Brahms’s followers.’³⁸⁷ Springer paints a slightly more balanced picture than the French critic by suggesting that both parties criticised the other to some degree. But across both writings, it is suggested that Brahms’s followers were the more vociferous of the two. Springer writing again in 1921, identified the destructive influence of Bruckner’s opposition, but this time those opponents were highlighted as having been ineffective at impeding Bruckner’s greatness:

³⁸⁵ ‘Wagner – Bruckner – Hanslick’, *Die Neue Zeitung*, 24 February 1913: 4.

³⁸⁶ ‘Interesting artefacts from a French music critic about Brahms, Bruckner, Mahler and Richard Strauss’, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 7 April 1914: 4. ‘Zu gleicher Zeit wie er lebte Bruckner, der sein Rivale war. Bruckner wurde zeit seines Lebens von der mächtigen Partei der Brahms-Bewunderer unterdrückt, der intolerantesten, eifersüchtigsten, der am wenigsten generösen Partei, die man in der Geschichte der Musik je gesehen hat. Seine deutschen Bewunderer sehen in Bruckner einen Musiker, der eben nicht als alleinige Sorge die Form oder Formel hat, sondern der vor allem ausdrücken will, was er fühlt.’

³⁸⁷ M.S., ‘Viennese Music’, *Reichspost*, 10 January 1918: 12. ‘Brahms der von seinen Verehrern gegen Bruckner ausgespielt wurde und Bruckner der den Anhängern Brahms als Symbol des Aergernisses aufgestellt wurde.’

No means was too unsubtle for a malicious opposition to prevent the artist Bruckner from being recognised. But eternal values cannot be destroyed by malicious people and today Bruckner stands in undisputed greatness as one of the first symphonists of all time. The love and commitment to him is penetrating ever wider circles and jubilant tributes are being paid to his genius everywhere.³⁸⁸

The designation of Bruckner's opponents as malicious portrays them as the villains in this scenario. But despite their efforts, Springer claims, Bruckner possessed 'eternal values' and his 'genius' was being recognised and celebrated 'everywhere'.

Across these three sources, each articulating the destabilising effect (or intention) of Bruckner's opponents, there is a gradual trend towards a more widespread acceptance of Bruckner's music. In 1914, the French critic articulated Brahms and Bruckner as different, one concerned with formula, the other with feeling. In 1918 there was a certain evenness to Springer's account, but one which painted the Brahms camp as the worse of the two parties. By 1921, the Brahms followers were 'malicious opposition' for whom no means was 'too unsubtle'; but despite their efforts, Bruckner stood in 'undisputed greatness as one of the first symphonists of all time'. Somewhere before 1921, then, Bruckner's music had started to acquire canonical status, suggesting that the partisan antithesis (while not forgotten) had started to wane in significance.

Eduard Hanslick in particular was openly recognised as the primary detractor of Bruckner's music.³⁸⁹ Although he had possessed significant power and support during his lifetime, criticisms of his efforts to leave 'no means untried' to prevent Bruckner's music from

³⁸⁸ M.S., 'Bruckner's "Third"', *Reichspost*, 17 March 1921: 6. 'Einer böswilligen Gegnerschaft war kein Mittel zu unfein, um den Künstler Bruckner nicht aufkommen zu lassen. Aber Ewigkeitswerte können von boshafte Menschen nicht vernichtet werden und heute steht Bruckner in unumstrittener Größe da als einer der ersten Sinfoniker aller Zeiten. Die Liebe und das Bekenntnis zu ihm dringt in immer weitere Kreise und seinem Genius werden allenthalben jubelnde Huldigungen dargebracht.'

³⁸⁹ See, for example, Benjamin Korstvedt, *Bruckner: Symphony No.8* (Cambridge University Press, 2000): 5.

being performed or recognised became pervasive after his death.³⁹⁰ An article in *Die Neue Zeitung* in 1913 reported on the unveiling of a Hanslick memorial at the University of Vienna. The ceremony had to be postponed several times because the ‘most distinguished members of the university’ kept refusing to attend.³⁹¹ The critic noted that ‘all the important musical bodies of our hometown kept their distance’.³⁹² Clearly, the affront to Bruckner perpetrated by Hanslick during his time as ‘one of the most influential music consultants in Vienna’ who ‘regarded it as his main task to fight against the world-renowned musical heroes Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt and Anton Bruckner’ had not been forgotten or forgiven.³⁹³ This anonymous critic identified the discrepancy between the ‘general recognition’ for Bruckner and the disparagement of the ‘authoritative press’: ‘From the very beginning, the audience received his works with sympathetic warmth: an enthusiastic Bruckner community soon formed, which grew more and more until the master found the most general recognition. The situation was different with the authoritative press, which was dominated by Hanslick: as the enthusiasm of the public grew, the tone of the criticism became increasingly animated.’³⁹⁴ For this critic, Hanslick’s primary motivation was to prevent Bruckner’s works from being performed and from entering into the canonical repertory.³⁹⁵ This argument implies that

³⁹⁰ *Die Neue Zeitung*, 24 February 1913: 4. ‘Hanslick ließ kein Mittel unversucht’

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid. ‘Vor kurzem wurde im Arkadenhofe der Wiener Universität ein Denkmal für Eduard Hanslick enthüllt. Die Feier, die, wie man uns mitteilte, schon mehrmals verschoben worden war, weil die hervorragendsten Mitglieder der Universität ihre Teilnahme versagten, fand unter Ausschluß der großen Oeffentlichkeit statt; alle bedeutenden musikalischen Körperschaften unserer Vaterstadt hielten sich derselben ferne. // Bekanntlich war Hanslick einer der einflußreichsten Musikreferenten Wiens und betrachtete es als seine Hauptaufgabe, die von aller Welt anerkannten Tonheroen Richard Wagner, Franz Liszt, Anton Bruckner zu bekämpfen; der letztere hatte am meisten darunter zu leiden.’

³⁹⁴ Ibid. ‘Das Publikum nahm seine Werke gleich von Anfang an mit sympathischer Wärme auf: bald bildete sich eine begeisterte Bruckner-Gemeinde, welche immer mehr anwuchs, bis der Meister die allgemeinste Anerkennung fand. Anders verhielt es sich mit der von Hanslick beherrschten maßgebenden Presse: in dem Maße, als die Begeisterung des Publikums größer und immer größer wurde, zeigte sich eine steigende Animosität im Tone der Kritik. Louis schreibt in seiner Bruckner-Biographie, daß Hanslick den Komponisten in erster Linie als Wagnerianer bekämpft habe; offen gab er seinem Mißfallen an der Musik des Meisters Ausdruck, ohne einen ernst zu nehmenden Versuch sachlicher Motivierung mit der deutlich erkennbaren Absicht, sich dem Emporsteigen des Komponisten hindernd in den Weg zu stellen. Hanslick ließ kein Mittel unversucht, um die Dirigenten von der Aufführung Brucknerscher Werke abzuschrecken.’

³⁹⁵ Rudolf Louis, *Anton Bruckner* (Georg Müller, 1905).

Hanslick's criticism of Bruckner's music was merely a strategy to impede Bruckner's 'ascent'. This is generally accepted by scholars as an accurate representation of Hanslick's motivations.³⁹⁶ The distinction here between the sympathetic warmth of the audience and the criticism of the authoritative press is significant. While it was true that Bruckner did have a loyal group of advocates (mostly formed of his students), this critic appears to be attempting to re-write history by suggesting that the audiences had always appreciated Bruckner and the only thing getting in their way or obscuring this fact was the writings of Hanslick and the authoritative press.

All of these sources (1913, 1914, 1918, 1921) demonstrate that the influence of Hanslick's disparagement of Bruckner had a lasting legacy. The bitter criticisms and treatment of Bruckner had not been forgotten. But between 1913 and 1921 it is clear that the general attitude to Bruckner was becoming much more positive than it had been during Hanslick's heyday. A widespread acceptance seems to have accelerated and designations of Bruckner as a perceived 'master' became more and more frequent. An important turning point for this appeared in 1912 when Bruckner and Brahms were programmed together in the same Philharmonic concert by Arthur Nikisch. An article written by Max Graf, reporting on the concert, demonstrates that the perceived antithesis between Bruckner and Brahms that had been upheld by Hanslick was starting to dissolve.

Bruckner and Brahms juxtaposed in the same festive concert with their greatest symphonic works; this beautiful programme idea would have seemed impracticable only a few years ago, whereas today it seems almost self-evident, since every educated music lover knows that these two musicians belong to each other as the two last great,

³⁹⁶ See, for example, Korstvedt, *Bruckner: Symphony No.8*: 5.

idealistic musicians. The contrast of their works and their personalities joins together in harmony at a higher point.³⁹⁷

It is hard not to picture a dialectical spiral in this description: the antitheses Bruckner and Brahms joining together at a 'higher point'. He continued: 'Thus, different in personality but equal in creative power, Brahms and Bruckner join the ranks of the classical masters, Bruckner more turned towards the sensuous Schubert, Brahms with a clear eye on Beethoven. Both Brahms and Bruckner are still advancing, and the works they created are being processed more and more mentally by music lovers.'³⁹⁸ This concert appears to have been a momentous occasion in bridging the divide between these two composers.³⁹⁹ Julius Korngold, also reporting on the concert, echoed Graf's account: 'Peacefully they united the festive programme: Brahms and Bruckner. The fighters are silent'.⁴⁰⁰ The distinction in Graf's article between Bruckner and Schubert (the sensuous Austrians) and Brahms and Beethoven (the Germans) is one that comes up repeatedly and which I address later in this chapter when I turn my attention to Bruckner's Austrianness.

Richard Batka, writing in 1915, for the occasion of Ferdinand Löwe's fiftieth birthday, commented on the importance of Löwe in bridging the divide between Brahms and Bruckner since, in Batka's opinion, Löwe had never been a 'one-sided party man'.⁴⁰¹ Batka connects

³⁹⁷ Mg., 'Philharmonic Concert under Nikisch', *Die Zeit*, 25 June 1912: 2. 'Bruckner und Brahms in demselben Festkonzert mit ihren größten symphonischen Werken nebeneinandergestellt; dieser schöne Programmgedanke wäre noch vor wenigen Jahren undurchführbar erschienen, während er heute fast selbstverständlich erscheint, da jeder gebildete Musikfreund es weiß, daß diese beiden Musiker als die zwei letzten großen, idealistischen Musiker zueinander gehören. Der Gegensatz ihrer Werke und ihrer Persönlichkeiten schließt sich in einem höhergelegenen Punkte zur Harmonie zusammen.'

³⁹⁸ Ibid. 'So, verschieden an Persönlichkeit, aber gleich an großartiger schöpferischer Kraft, reihen sich Brahms und Bruckner den klassischen Meistern an, Bruckner mehr dem sinnenfrohen Schubert zugewendet, Brahms mit dem klaren Auge auf Beethoven blickend. // Sowohl Brahms wie Bruckner sind noch immer im Vordringen, und die Werke, die sie geschaffen haben, werden von den Musikfreunden immer mehr geistig verarbeitet.'

³⁹⁹ Arthur Nikisch. Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. 24 June 1912. Brahms Symphony No.4, Bruckner Symphony No.9. Musikverein, Golden Hall.

⁴⁰⁰ J.K., 'The Vienna Music Festival Week: First Philharmonic Concert', *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 June 1912: 9. 'Friedlich vereinigte sie das festliche Programm: Brahms und Bruckner. Die Kämpfe schweigen; man blickt lächelnd zurück, um allenfalls neuem Streite zu verfallen, über den die lächeln werden, die nach uns kommen.'

⁴⁰¹ R.Batka, *Fremden-Blatt*, 19 February 1915: 9.

Löwe's bridging of Bruckner and Brahms to his role as chief conductor of the Vienna Konzertverein Orchestra:

The great Brucknerian Löwe has thus also been one of the best advocates of Brahms' art. The reconciliation of the two great musical parties in Vienna, so long divided, first became a living reality in Löwe. The history of the Vienna Konzertverein, which Löwe has now headed for half a century, is therefore at the same time the history of reconciliation between conservative and progressive music Vienna.⁴⁰²

Although I have found no evidence that Ferdinand Löwe programmed Bruckner and Brahms in the same concert as Nikisch did, his history of conducting does demonstrate that he performed symphonies by both composers fairly often. Between 1911 and 1945, Löwe conducted 67 performances of Bruckner's symphonies (out of a total of 643) and 19 performances of Brahms's symphonies (out of a total of 459). He therefore gave 10.4% of all Bruckner performances in Vienna and 4.1% of all Brahms performances. In 1911, he performed a ratio of 8:1 (Bruckner:Brahms); in 1912 4:2; and in 1913 4:3. Although he may not have been programming them together, these statistics demonstrate that his advocacy of the two composers was on a fairly even footing in 1912 and 1913 compared to the previous years. He was the third most frequent conductor of Bruckner, and the sixth most frequent conductor of Brahms. He was a student and advocate of Bruckner, but he was not sucked into partisanship and did seem to advocate for both composers. The characterisation of the Vienna

⁴⁰² Ibid. 'Sein beherztes und erfolgreiches Eintreten für die großen Genien der Moderne hat Loewe aber nie zum einseitigen Parteimann gemacht. Er hat zum Beispiel stets für Johannes Brahms einen Winkel seines Herzens offen gehabt und durch sein praktisches Beispiel dargetan; daß feurigste Liebe für den einen Meister nicht notwendig mit kalter Abneigung gegen bedeutende Künstler anderer Richtung sich paaren muß. Der große Brucknerianer Loewe ist so auch einer der besten Anwälte der Brahms'schen Kunst gewesen. Die Versöhnung der beiden großen, so lange entzweiten Musikparteien Wiens ist in Loewe zuerst lebendige Wirklichkeit geworden. Die Geschichte des Wiener Konzertvereines, an dessen Spitze Loewe nun durch ein halbes Menschenalter steht, ist darum zugleich die Geschichte der Versöhnung zwischen dem konservativen und fortschrittlichen Musik-Wien.'

Konzertverein's history as 'reconciliation between conservative and progressive music Vienna' is also stated (in quotation of Batka) on the orchestra's website, suggesting that the orchestra embraces this characterisation.⁴⁰³ Therefore, both Ferdinand Löwe and the Vienna Konzertverein stood as advocates for a united Vienna, one in which, as was also found in the critical press, the phenomenon should be Bruckner and Brahms, not Bruckner or Brahms.

Bruckner and Brahms were not suddenly conflated into similarity, but rather, a pluralistic view of greatness seemed to be opening up, one which by and large, focussed on the differences between Austria and Germany, between conservative and progressive, between feeling and intellect. These are the paradigms outlined in Bernd Sponheuer's 'types' of Germanness in music (discussed in Chapter 2), the synthesis of which was desired as a higher 'universal' form of Germanness in music.⁴⁰⁴

Throughout this period, there is evidence of critics seeking to identify the togetherness of Bruckner and Brahms. Ludwig Karpath in 1919 wrote that: 'In Vienna, people have become accustomed to mentioning Brahms and Bruckner in the same breath. The fact that they were virtually antipodes is irrelevant.'⁴⁰⁵ In 1921, D. observed: 'Slowly but surely, the realisation dawned that it should not be: "Wagner or Brahms, but Wagner and Brahms, not Bruckner or Brahms, but Bruckner and Brahms".'⁴⁰⁶ In 1924 an article in *Radio Wien* commented: 'Only a new era placed the romantic Bruckner on an equal footing with the classicist Brahms; in many

⁴⁰³ 'Viennese Sound Since 1900'

⁴⁰⁴ Sponheuer, 'Reconstructing Ideal Types': 40. For further discussion of Sponheuer's chapter, see Chapter 2.

⁴⁰⁵ Ludwig Karpath, 'Cheerful Works by Brahms, Bruckner and Menzel', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 22 January 1919: 3. 'Man hat sich in Wien daran gewöhnt, Brahms und Bruckner in einem Atem zu nennen. Daß sie geradezu Antipoden waren, tut nichts zur Sache.'

⁴⁰⁶ D., 'Anton Bruckner: On the 25th Anniversary of his Death', *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, 11 October 1921: 3. 'Die Kritik und die große Gesellschaft waren ihm nicht gewogen. Nur an der Universität und am Konservatorium hat er die Liebe und Anhänglichkeit eines anfangs zwar kleinen, aber bald immer größer werdenden Kreises von Freunden und Schülern gefunden, die ihm auf seinem künstlerischen Wege unbeirrt das Geleite gaben, bis auch seine Gegner die Größe seines Schaffens zu ahnen begannen und sich in stummer Bewunderung beugten oder doch wenigstens den gehässigen Kampf einstellen. Langsam, aber doch, dämmerte die Erkenntnis auf, daß es nicht heißen durfte: „Wagner oder Brahms, sondern Wagner und Brahms, nicht Bruckner oder Brahms, sondern Bruckner und Brahms“.'

respects Bruckner even surpassed Brahms in the judgement of posterity.’⁴⁰⁷ And in 1939, Hans Rutz too sought to transcend the antithesis:

For us today, Bruckner’s genius in its creative power must stand above all the struggle which, after the Brahms-Wagner conflict of the past, still sometimes seems to resurface today. In this context, one has spoken of two “cultures of music”. However, their comparison and contrast must not be pushed to the point where they cannot be compared. Every orthodoxy, both the one-sided discipleship of a master and the one-sided rejection of a spirit, has its two sides. Just as there is Goethe and Schiller, there is also Bruckner, Wagner and Brahms.⁴⁰⁸

All of these arguments show that it was no longer necessary to choose one composer over the other; a plurality of masters, each with their own style, was a desirable outcome. No one was suggesting that Bruckner and Brahms had somehow become similar, but they did argue that Bruckner and Brahms were both masters of symphonic music. Those critics who suggested that the two belonged together did so because of the extent to which they belonged to the same epoch in Viennese history and therefore were products of the same cultural period. They were still viewed as different, but now it was that difference that tied them together as two sides of the same thing.

⁴⁰⁷ ‘Bruckner Celebration: As Part of the Bruckner Centenary Celebration of the Federal Ministry of Education’, *Radio Wien*, 29 November 1924: 2. ‘*Erst eine neue Zeit hat den Romantiker Bruckner dem Klassizisten Brahms ebenbürtig zur Seite gestellt; in vielem wuchs Bruckner im Urteil der Nachwelt sogar über Brahms hinaus.*’

⁴⁰⁸ Hans Rutz, ‘*Wilhelm Furtwängler on Bruckner: Bruckner Symphonies under Weisbach and Kabasta*’, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 6 July 1939: 9. ‘*Uns Heutigen muß über allem Kampf, der nach der Auseinandersetzung Brahms-Wagner von einst auch heute noch manchmal aufzuleben scheint, das Genie Bruckners in seiner schöpferischen Gewalt stehen. Man hat in diesem Zusammenhang von zwei „Kulturen der Musik“ gesprochen. Ihr Vergleich und Gegensatz darf aber nicht bis zu Dingen vorgetrieben werden, die sie dem Vergleich entziehen. Jede Orthodoxie, sowohl die einseitige Jüngerschaft für einen Meister wie die einseitige Ablehnung eines Geistes, hat ihre zwei Seiten. Wie es Goethe und Schiller gibt, so gibt es eben auch Bruckner, Wagner und Brahms.*’

Also writing in 1939, Max Rote looked backwards in a sort of reminiscence, echoing the same dissolution of the antithesis and ascendance to canonical status articulated by Rutz:

To the contemporaries of the two masters, Bruckner and Brahms were considered musical antipodes. In many cases, people sought to disparage the work of one in favour of the other. Time bridges such contrasts and makes a selection of the truly valuable. Both champions were able to hold their own in this one. Yes, one may even dare to let their compositions follow each other.⁴⁰⁹

Here Rote highlights the bridging of the Bruckner-Brahms antithesis and in doing so equates that bridging with canonisation. Only the ‘truly valuable’ are selected by the bridging powers of time. In this last sentence, Rote was referring to the fact that the Fourth Symphonies of both composers were programmed together in the third symphony concert of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, under the direction of Hans Knappertsbusch on 22 November.⁴¹⁰

The antithesis between Bruckner and Brahms, once so ferocious, was dissolved or bridged in the decades following the death of Hanslick. A concert in 1912 by the Vienna Philharmonic, as well as the efforts of Ferdinand Löwe and the Vienna Konzertverein orchestra served as important moments in the reconciliation of these two musical parties (or ‘conservative and progressive music Vienna’, as Richard Batka put it in 1915). Although the bridging discourse continued until at least 1939, the report given by Graf on the Philharmonic concert in 1912 and the subsequent confirmations of a Brahms-Bruckner compatibility (paired

⁴⁰⁹ Max Rote, ‘Hans Knappertsbusch Interprets Bruckner and Brahms’, *Das Kleine Volksblatt*, 25 November 1939: 9. ‘Den Zeitgenossen der beiden Meister galten Bruckner und Brahms als musikalische Antipoden. Man suchte vielfach das Schaffen des einen zugunsten des anderen herabzusetzen. Die Zeit überbrückt solche Gegensätze und trifft eine Auslese des wahrhaft Wertvollen. Bei dieser konnten sich beide Meister behaupten. Ja, man darf es auch längst wagen, ihre Kompositionen einander folgen zu lassen.’

⁴¹⁰ 22 November 1939; Bruckner Symphony No.4 (first edition), Brahms Symphony No.4; Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker; Musikverein, Großer Saal.

with an emerging acceptance of Bruckner's music) suggest that the dissolution of the Bruckner-Brahms antithesis took place in the years between Hanslick's death in 1904 and the Philharmonic concert in 1912. The work of Löwe was celebrated in 1915 but can be seen in his performance statistics to have been in action from 1912 onwards.

Canonisation

Although Bruckner had attracted a strong, if small, following in Vienna during his lifetime, it was not until much later that his music started to really take hold. I will argue that, if canonisation could be determined by critical discourse, Bruckner's music can be seen to have entered the Viennese canon between 1912 and 1919.

In 1911, r. h. (Robert Hirschfeld) wrote that 'the enthusiastic procession of Bruckner's symphonies [were] already flowing through all popular concerts.'⁴¹¹ Hirschfeld frames this statement as a criticism of those critics and musicians who 'direct a cold shot at the enthusiastic procession of Bruckner's symphonies'.⁴¹² Despite the enthusiasm found for Bruckner's symphonies in the popular concerts, Hirschfeld argued that his music was still attracting 'cold shots' from the critical press in February 1911.⁴¹³ I have found limited evidence of these alleged 'cold shots', however, and Hirschfeld does identify a growing presence of Bruckner's symphonies: 'Even hesitant concert institutions can no longer avoid the regular and constant engagement with Bruckner's symphonies.'⁴¹⁴ These 'hesitant institutions' can reasonably be interpreted as the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, which did not start to perform Bruckner's symphonies regularly until the 1920s, and consistently performed his music much less often than the Vienna Symphony Orchestra, whose performances clearly increase after the First

⁴¹¹ Robert Hirschfeld (1858–1914) was a music critic particularly opposed to Gustav Mahler. R.h., 'Feuilleton: Music', *Wiener Zeitung*, 21 February 1911: 25.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ See for example D.B., 'Philharmonic Concert', *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 9 January 1911: 3.

⁴¹⁴ R.h., *Wiener Zeitung*, 21 February 1911: 25.

World War (see Figure 10). The fact that Bruckner's music was already appearing in the popular concerts (a titular designation for concerts containing popular works) suggests that Bruckner's music had already gained some sense of popularity, but the low levels of Philharmonic performances and the alleged 'cold shots' identified by Hirschfeld suggest that Bruckner's music had not yet reached canonical status.

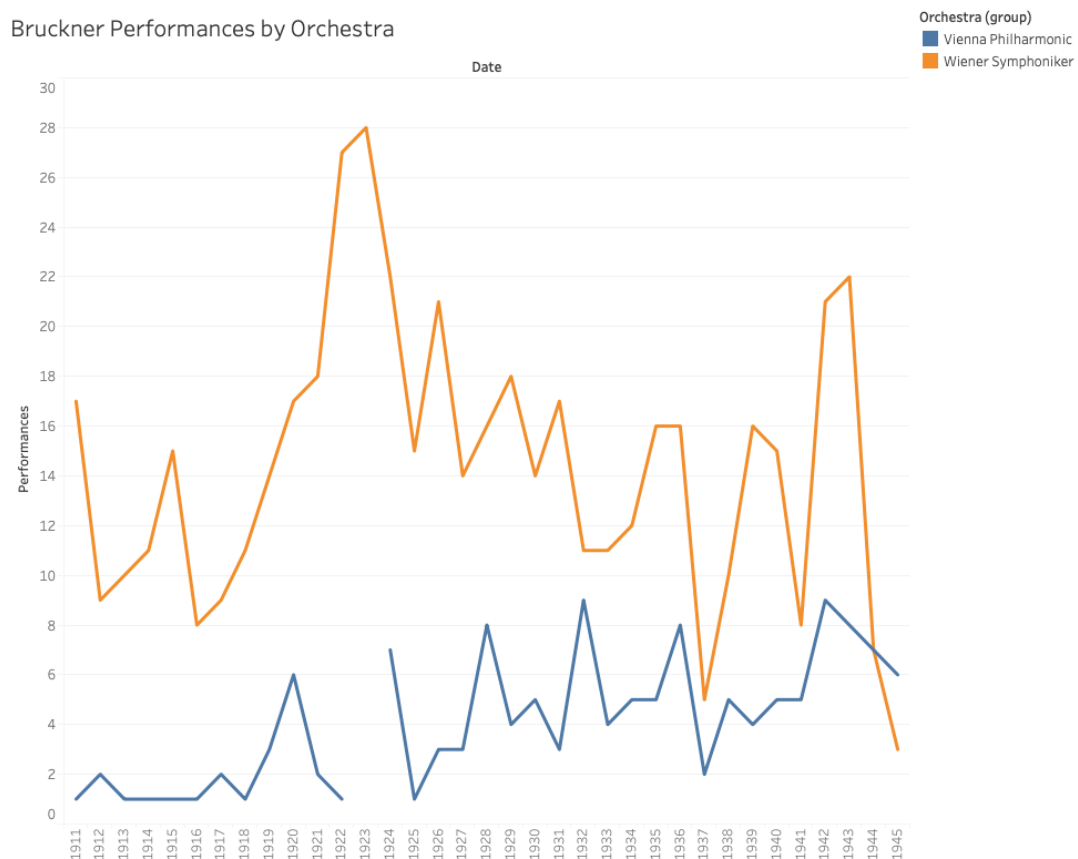


Figure 10: Bruckner Performances by Orchestra

In April of that year, Hirschfeld reviewed the conclusion of the Bruckner cycle, performed by the Vienna Konzertverein and Ferdinand Löwe.

Bruckner's art, long thought to be only a problem, has become a fact. [...] With its lecture cycles and popular events, the Wiener Konzertverein has succeeded in ensuring

that true music lovers, who are not burdened with prejudices, are taken in by a very specific, characteristic idea at the mere mention of a Bruckner symphony, the third, fourth, fifth, seventh or ninth[.]⁴¹⁵

The idea that Bruckner's symphonies had, as Hirschfeld put it, 'become a fact' suggests that they had somehow become indisputable. They were no longer a 'problem' as they had once been, and were now sufficiently in demand to warrant an entire cycle devoted to Bruckner's symphonies. The inclusion in this cycle of not only concerts, but lectures and popular events too (according to the article), suggests that this endeavour was an attempt to institutionalise Bruckner's music by educating those music lovers who were not 'burdened with prejudices'.

1912 saw the inaugural Vienna Music Festival Week (discussed in Chapter 2), which sought to showcase the best of Viennese music for the purposes of tourism. The performance of Bruckner's Ninth Symphony alongside Brahms's Fourth (the same performance discussed in Graf's article with which this chapter began) took place on 24 June 1912 as part of the Vienna Music Week. Perhaps Bruckner and Brahms were viewed then, as is common now, as representatives of the same era of Viennese symphonic composition. The inclusion of Bruckner in this programme suggests a development towards canonical status for such purposes as festivals provide and require.

Favourable criticism of Bruckner's symphonies continued to circulate in the Viennese press, but in 1917 H. (Camillo Horn)⁴¹⁶ identified a caveat: 'Let it not be said that Bruckner is

⁴¹⁵ R.h., 'Orchestra- and choral concerts', *Wiener Zeitung*, 19 April 1911: 16. '*Der Wiener Konzertverein hat mit drei außerordentlichen Aufführungen – außerordentlich der Zahl und dem Range nach – den Bruckner-Zyklus beschlossen. Nicht in der zeitlichen Aneinanderreihung der Brucknerschen Sinfonien ruht die Bedeutung dieser künstlerischen Tat, sondern in der Feststellung, daß Bruckners Kunst, die man lange nur für ein Problem halten wollte, eine Tatsache geworden ist. Ferdinand Löwe, der Inbegriff eines vollkommenen bruckner-Interpreten, der allen Konzertsinstituten Beispiel und Lehre geworden ist, wurde nach verdienst gefeiert. Der Wiener Konzertverein hat es mit seinen Vortragszyklen und populären Veranstaltungen dahin gebracht, daß die wahren Musikfreunde, die nicht mit Vorurteilen belastet sind, nun beider bloßen Nennung einer Brucknerschen Sinfonie, der dritten, vierten, fünften, siebenten oder neunten, schon von einer ganz bestimmten, charakteristischen Vorstellung eingenommen werden*'

⁴¹⁶ H. was the initial used by Hanslick, but its appearance after Hanslick's death seems to signify Kamillo Horn.

generally recognised today. As long as we still believe we are authorised to speak of a “Bruckner community” among us, the debt to Bruckner has by no means been repaid.’⁴¹⁷ The title of this article ‘Honour your German Masters!’ betrays Horn’s intentions. He argued that ‘none of our great composers in the realm of sound’ had to wait as long as Bruckner ‘until the world remembers the duty imposed on it by the heavenly gift of a genius’.⁴¹⁸ Although he claimed that Bruckner was insufficiently recognised, the title of his article, the identification of a ‘debt’ to Bruckner and offence at the continued salience of the phrase ‘Bruckner community’ suggest that Horn was a devoted advocate of Bruckner who believed the composer worthy of canonical status. Bruckner was becoming popular, but perhaps his popularity was not sufficiently pervasive for Horn to believe his music to have become generally recognised. Not yet, at least.

By 1919, it seems that Bruckner’s music was truly starting to attract popular favour.⁴¹⁹ Writing in *Der Neue Tag*, K. identified the inversion of responses to Bruckner’s music: ‘while there were once all too few who wanted to praise the work of the great Upper Austrian, there are now almost too many.’⁴²⁰ K. continued to allocate Bruckner quite explicitly to the highest rank of composers: ‘The last years of Bruckner’s life were warmed a little by the sun of fame, but Bruckner never learnt what every conservator learns today: that he stands in the first rank of the symphonists of all time and that his nine symphonies, like his musical work in general, are among the imperishable treasures of the highest human goods.’⁴²¹ An article in the *Neues*

⁴¹⁷ H., ““Honour your German Masters!” A word about the upcoming Bruckner performance by the “Dreizehnlinden” Singerbund”, *Reichspost*, 10 February 1917: 9. ‘Man sage nicht, daß Bruckner heute allgemein anerkannt sei. Solange man noch immer von einer „Bruckner-Gemeinde“ unter uns zu reden befugt zu sein glaubt, ist die Schuld an Bruckner noch lange nicht getilgt.’

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ See also, Max Graf, ‘Feuilleton: From the Concerthalls’, *Die Zeit*, 30 April 1919: 1.

⁴²⁰ K., ‘The Bruckner Festival’, *Der Neue Tag*, 25 April 1919: 8. ‘waren es dereinst allzu wenige, die das Schaffen des großen Oberösterreichs rühmend anerkennen wollten, so sind es nun beinahe zu viele.’

⁴²¹ Ibid. ‘Die letzten Lebensjahre Bruckners waren ja ein wenig von der Sonne des Ruhmes erwärmt, aber das, was heute jeder Konservatorist lernt, das hat Bruckner doch nie erfahren: daß er in der ersten Reihe der Symphoniker aller Zeiten steht und daß seine neun Symphonien wie überhaupt sein musikalisches Wirken zu den unvergänglichen Schätzen der höchsten menschlichen Güter zählen.’

Wiener Journal on 11 October 1919 reproduced the words of Artur Nikisch from an interview with the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* ahead of a complete cycle of Bruckner's symphonies with the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra. Nikisch spoke similarly of Bruckner's place alongside the symphonic greats: 'I feel the same way about these symphonies [Bruckner's] as I do about Beethoven's four greatest, Brahms's and the Wagner operas; the work I am conducting now seems to me to be the greatest, the pinnacle of symphonic creativity.'⁴²²

Based on the increasing prevalence of support and canonical discourse in Bruckner's symphonic reception, his music can be seen to have entered the Viennese canon by 1919. This canonical rhetoric continued throughout the 1920s, 30s, and 40s, but was no longer as wavering or guarded as it had been before 1919. In 1921 D. wrote in the *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*: 'Bruckner's life story and his art must become common property of the entire German people'.⁴²³ In 1925 an article in the *Reichspost* stated: "'We Germans want to be allowed to love what we should find great. Bruckner the man makes it easy for us.'"⁴²⁴ In 1928 Max Graf, writing in *Der Tag*, claimed that: 'Bruckner has become a national treasure – revered even by the youngest musicians.'⁴²⁵ Graf also drew attention to the *volte face* of Viennese audiences to Bruckner concerts: 'The Viennese audience used to run out of the large Musikverein hall when a Bruckner symphony was played; they would leave the hall in a hurry after each movement. Now they crowd into the same hall when Furtwängler plays a Bruckner symphony and fill the large hall twice. What a change of times!'⁴²⁶ In 1938, Ber-. (possibly Willibald Bertl) reviewed

⁴²² 'Artur Nikisch and Anton Bruckner', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 11 October 1919: 6. 'Es geht mir bei diesen Symphonien wie bei den vier größten von Beethoven, von denen Brahms und den Wagner-Opern; das Werk, das ich eben leite, erscheint mir das größte, als der Gipfel des symphonischen Schaffens.'

⁴²³ D., *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, 11 October 1921: 3. 'Bruckners Lebensgeschichte und seine Kunst müssen Gemeingut des ganzen deutschen Volkes werden'

⁴²⁴ 'Bruckner Celebration in Berlin', *Reichspost*, 22 September 1925: 9. '„Wir Deutschen wollen lieben dürfen, was wir groß finden sollen. Der Mensch Bruckner macht es uns leicht.[“]'

⁴²⁵ Mg., 'Nicolai Concert', *Der Tag*, 17 April 1928: 6. 'Bruckner ist ein – auch von den jüngsten Musikern verehrter – Nationalheiliger geworden.'

⁴²⁶ Ibid. 'Früher ist das Wiener Publikum aus dem großen Musikvereinssaal fortgerannt, wenn eine Bruckner-Symphonie gespielt wurde; fluchtartig hat es nach jedem Satz den Saal verlassen. Jetzt drängt es sich in denselben Saal, wenn Furtwängler eine Bruckner-Symphonie spielt und füllt den großen Saal gleich zweimal. Welcher Wandel der Zeiten!'

the Eighth Symphony in (*Neuigkeits*) *Welt Blatt* with reverence, claiming Bruckner and his music as symbols of German strength.

In this Adagio [No.8], Bruckner is likely to partake of the grace of the Most High. Thus, with heroic strength, German perseverance and firm faith in his mission, the German is called to triumph victoriously over all earthly obstacles that stand in the way of his noble endeavours. Thus this symphony, like no other, stands before us in its mighty beauty as an imperishable monument to the most genuine German art.⁴²⁷

And in November 1944, H. D. (possibly Heinrich Damisch) wrote an article in *Kleine Wiener Kriegszeitung* about the radio performance of Bruckner's Eighth Symphony which was to be broadcast at 18:00 on 19 November 1944 during the hour 'Immortal Music of German Masters'.⁴²⁸

If canonisation could be determined by music criticism alone, then the above sources suggest that Bruckner's symphonies had entered into the Viennese canon by 1919. The number of performances of Bruckner's symphonies, which in 1920 surpassed those of the already-established Brahms, support the view that Bruckner had entered the canon by this time in terms of performance frequency as well as critical reception.⁴²⁹ In literary representation, too, Bruckner had started to gather a number of publications.⁴³⁰ Rarely, however, does the topic of

⁴²⁷ Ber-., 'The Festive Concert of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra', (*Neuigkeits*) *Welt Blatt*, 23 March 1938: 6. 'In diesem Adagio dürfte Bruckner der Gnade des Höchsten teilhaftig werden. So, mit Heldenkraft, deutscher Beharrlichkeit und festem Vertrauen an seine Sendung, ist der Deutsche berufen, über alle irdischen Hindernisse, die sich seinem edlen Streben in den Weg stellen, siegreich zu triumphieren. So steht diese Symphonie, wie kaum eine andere, in ihrer gewaltigen Schönheit vor uns, als ein unvergängliches Denkmal echter deutscher Kunst.'

⁴²⁸ H. D., 'Bruckner's "Eighth" on the Radio', *Kleine Wiener Kriegszeitung*, 19 November 1944: 7.

⁴²⁹ Bruckner's symphonies were performed 24 times in 1920, Brahms's symphonies were performed 12 times in 1920. This was the first year in which Bruckner surpassed Brahms since 1911 (in which the ratio was 18:10). Brahms was not performed more often than Bruckner again for the rest of the period, with the single exception of 1937.

⁴³⁰ Ernst Decsey, *Bruckner: Versuch eines Lebens* (Schuster & Loeffler, 1920); Friedrich Eckstein, *Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner* (Universal Edition, 1923); Karl Grunsky, *Bruckners Symphonien* (Schlesinger'sche Buch und Musikhandlung, 1907); Karl Grunsky, *Anton Bruckner* (J. Engelhorn, 1922); Karl Grunsky, 'Bruckner als

Bruckner's form appear in this canonising discourse. Critics are far more concerned with Bruckner's spirit, German or Austrian strength, or with an observation of his audiences. To find discussions of Bruckner's formality, it is necessary to study slightly different debates than those surrounding canonisation.

Becoming Formal

Having surpassed the Bruckner-Brahms antithesis and obtained canonical status (the latter of which was dependent on the former), discussions of Bruckner's formality gradually started to emerge. Although there are some discussions of Bruckner's formal coherence prior to 1919, these arguments only gained significant support in the 1930s and 40s. This section covers three aspects of formality in Bruckner discourse: firstly, those critics who, despite liking Bruckner's music continued to comment upon its formlessness; secondly, those critics who sought to argue Bruckner's coherence on the grounds of spiritual purity; and finally, those who argued for Bruckner's formal coherence as an axiomatic fact.

On 13 November 1913, Walter Niemann wrote an article in the *Deutsches Volksblatt*, articulating some of the formal shortcomings of Bruckner's symphonies. His positioning differed crucially from earlier critics because he identified that 'one may say this today without being labelled a Bruckner despiser'.⁴³¹ Ideas about formlessness in Bruckner's music were no longer inherently attached to the negative reception of Bruckner as they had been during the partisan Bruckner-Brahms divide. It was possible, Niemann suggests, to find Bruckner 'inwardly rich' and show support for his music while also maintaining that his form 'lacks

Künder einer neuen Zeit', *Die Musik* 24 (1932); Karl Grunsky, *Der Kampf um deutsche Musik!* (E. Walther, 1933); Hans Alfred Grunsky, 'Der erste Satz von Bruckners Neunter, ein Bild höchster Formvollendung', *Die Musik* 18 (1925): 21–34, 104–12; Robert Haas, *Anton Bruckner* (Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1934); August Halm, *Die Symphonie Anton Bruckners* (Georg Müller, 1914); Ernst Kurth, *Bruckner*, 2 vols (Max Hesse, 1925); Louis, *Anton Bruckner*; Alfred Orel, 'Original und Bearbeitung bei Anton Bruckner', *Deutsche Musikultur* 1 (1936–7): 222–5; Egon Wellesz, 'Anton Bruckner and the Process of Musical Creativity', *Musical Quarterly* 24 (1938): 265–90.

⁴³¹ Walter Niemann, 'Anton Bruckner', *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 13 November 1913: 1.

symphonic development'.⁴³² Niemann was critical of Bruckner's form, especially in the first and final movements, but it is also clear that he was favourable towards Bruckner's music. The insert that 'one may say this today without being labelled a Bruckner despiser' suggests that even among those who championed the composer, the formlessness of Bruckner's music could not be denied. This insert also re-enforces my conclusion that Bruckner's rise to popularity preceded widespread acceptance of his music's formal coherence. Describing Bruckner as 'inwardly rich' is a topic that comes up repeatedly in this reception. As I will demonstrate, it was a strategy of favourable Bruckner critics to dismiss concerns about form or to re-evaluate the parameters of form on the basis of Bruckner's inner strength, purity, or spirit. At the end of this chapter, I will suggest that this prioritisation of inner strength or spirit was linked to the politicisation of Bruckner's Austrianness.

In 1914, the 'anonymous French critic' whose artefacts were published in the *Neues Wiener Journal* on 7 April wrote a particularly biting criticism of Bruckner's formlessness:

Everything is extraordinarily lacking in order and architecture. No episode, no link; episodes that seem to line up at random. You never know where you are going. One would say a musician who has written a page, then goes travelling and on his return

⁴³² Ibid. 'Die Linie der festgefügtten inneren Einheitlichkeit der Beethovenschen Symphonie bewegt sich an Schubert und Bruckner seitwärts vorüber zu Brahms. Bruckners Symphonien mit ihrer Sprunghaftigkeit und Unlogik der inneren Entwicklung, mit ihrer Maßlosigkeit der Ausdehnung stehen zu den Beethovenschen wie das kühn skizzierte Fresko zum ausgeführten Gemälde. Bruckners Respekt vor der überlieferten großen klassischen Sonatenform ist rührend genug. Immer setzt er sich am glücklichsten im Scherzo in die Tat um; die Scherzi seiner Symphonien sind formell die gelungensten seiner großen Sätze. Weit weniger aber in den ersten Sätzen und – man darf es heute ruhig sagen, ohne zum Bruckner-Verächter gestempelt zu werden – ganz und gar nicht in den Schlußsätzen. Ueber ihre unmäßige Länge nichts. Wer innerlich so reich ist wie Bruckner, hat ein Recht, sich um kein Konzertpublikum der Welt zu kümmern. Die Vielheit ihrer oft ganz verschiedenartigen Themen, die gewaltigen Ausweitungen der einzelnen Perioden, die trennenden Orgelpunkte vor Durchführung, Wiederholung und Coda, diese selbst in ihrer ungeheueren Ausladung aber – alles das sind Zeichen nicht der Stärke, sondern der Schwäche. Es fehlt Bruckner die symphonische Entwicklung. Er entwickelt nicht die einzelnen Teile eines Symphoniesatzes auseinander, sondern er reiht sie aneinander. Aneinander, obwohl er sie durch thematische Motive miteinander verbindet.'

home records his composition, having forgotten what had been written so far and not bothering to look closer. It is the most amazing mess you can ever see.⁴³³

In other parts of their article, this critic's view that Bruckner was a composer deserving of respect but lacking formal and intellectual rigour shines through: 'Bruckner absolutely wants to express thoughts and great emotions, and the sincerity of his aspirations demands respect. But he continues to take the grandiloquence of expression for greatness of idea and the powerful phrase for depth of feeling.'⁴³⁴ This critic clearly views Bruckner's music as formally incoherent, but they also demonstrate a certain warmth towards the composer's intentions. These two critics represent a period of Bruckner's reception in which his popularity was growing, but his music was still viewed as formally incoherent.

Other critics also contributed to this period of positive reception which simultaneously acknowledged Bruckner's formal shortcomings. Although many of his favourable critics avoided the topic of form, some of them sought to explain why form was not the best grounds upon which to evaluate Bruckner's contribution to the musical world. E. B. (Elsa Bienenfeld) wrote on 9 January 1911: 'No performance is capable of concealing the formal dichotomy [between form and feeling], nor should it. Within the characteristic abrupt start, however, to show the splendour, grandeur and passion of the juxtaposed tonal images in all their breadth and fullness without reserve would probably give the opportunity to reveal the peculiar world of Bruckner.'⁴³⁵ For Bienenfeld, the formal inconsistencies of Bruckner's music should be

⁴³³ *Neues Wiener Journal*, 7 April 1914: 4. 'Alles ermangelt in ganz außerordentlicher Weise der Ordnung und der Architektur. Keine Folge, kein Band; Episoden, die sich nach dem Zufall anzureihen scheinen. Man weiß nie, wohin man geht. Man würde sagen, ein Musiker, der eine Seite geschrieben hat, dann auf Reisen geht und bei seiner Heimkehr seine Komposition aufnimmt, wobei er vergessen hat, was bisher geschrieben wurde und wobei er sich nicht die Mühe nimmt, näher hinzusehen. Es ist die erstaunlichste Unordnung, die man je sehen kann.'

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.* 'Bruckner will absolut große Gedanken und große Emotionen ausdrücken, und die Aufrichtigkeit seiner Bestrebungen erfordert Respekt. Aber er nimmt fortgesetzt die Großsprecherei des Ausdrucks für Größe der Idee und die mächtige Phrase für Tiefe des Gefühls.'

⁴³⁵ E.B., 'philharmonic concert', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 9 January 1911: 4. 'Den formalen Zwiespalt zu verdecken, vermag gewiß keine Aufführung und soll es auch nicht. Innerhalb der charakteristischen abrupten Ausdrucksweise

viewed as an opportunity to enter into ‘the peculiar world of Bruckner’. She flips the issue on its head. Instead of berating Bruckner’s lack of form, she seems to champion it. She transforms it into a natural or organic depiction of ‘the tremendous expression of feeling’, which is ‘already at its climax with the magnificent entries of ravishingly beautiful themes’.⁴³⁶

A month later, Robert Hirschfeld wrote similarly of the need to overlook Bruckner’s formal shortcomings in view of the magnificent depth of feeling: ‘If one wanted to prove even formal wonders, cracks, compositions, one would have to admit that these supposed shortcomings simply disappear before the outstanding virtues, the never-ending inventiveness, the depth of feeling and purity of heart, the noble structuring and heightening of the tonality, before the overwhelming symphonic grandeur.’⁴³⁷ Responding to a Bruckner Festival in 1912, both R. (writing in the *Neue Freie Presse*, previously Hanslick’s newspaper) and G.v.B. (writing in the *Reichspost*) chipped in with thoughts on Bruckner’s form.⁴³⁸ Both of these critics were much more eager to identify strengths in Bruckner’s form than the critics cited so far. G.v.B. thought that Bruckner’s Seventh Symphony was ‘one of the greatest, for it shows the master’s musical idiosyncrasy and musical greatness in truly perfect form.’⁴³⁹ While R. concluded their article: ‘And so, as if made of ore and cast in one mould, this music arose before us in all its beauty and dazzling splendour.’⁴⁴⁰ Both critics identified the formal

Glanz, Größe, Leidenschaft der aneinandergereihten Tonbilder aber in ihrer ganzen Breite und Fülle rückhaltlos zu zeigen, gäbe wohl die Möglichkeit, die eigentümliche Welt Bruckners zu offenbaren.’

⁴³⁶ E.B., *Neues Wiener Journal*, 9 January 1911: 4.

⁴³⁷ r.h., *Wiener Zeitung*, 21 February 1911: 25. ‘Wollte man selbst formale Wunderlichkeiten, Risse plötzliche Übergänge in den Brucknerschen Fügungen nachweisen, so müßte man doch eingestehen, daß diese vermeintlichen Mängel vor den überragenden Tugenden, der nie versiegenden Erfindungskraft, der Gefühlstiefe und Herzensreinheit, der edlen Gliederung und Steigerung des Klangwesens, vor der überwältigenden sinfonischen Größe einfach verschwinden.’

⁴³⁸ R., ‘Festival Concert’, *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 February 1912: 11; G.v.B., ‘Bruckner Festival Concert’, *Reichspost*, 15 February 1912: 8.

⁴³⁹ G.v.B., *Reichspost*, 15 February 1912: 8. ‘Diese gilt vielen Brucknerverehrern als die bedeutendste unter seinen neun gewaltigen Sinfonien; jedenfalls gehört sie zu den größten, denn sie zeigt die musikalische Eigenart und die musikalische Größe des Meisters in wahrhaft vollendeter Form. [...] Alle Themen Bruckners, wo immer er sie in reicher Fülle gibt, sind nicht aus Not und Sorge geboren, wie die Gedanken unserer modernsten Komponisten, sondern sie sind die göttliche Eingebung der Ursprünglichkeit und Wahrheit.’

⁴⁴⁰ R., *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 February 1912: 11. ‘und so erstand, wie aus Erz und in einem Gusse gefügt, diese Musik vor uns in ihrer ganzen Schönheit und in blendendem Glanze.’

coherence of Bruckner's music and argued it in rhetoric usually associated with canonical figures. G.v.B. follows the argument that Bruckner's spirit, the 'divine inspiration of originality and truth' generated a 'musical idiosyncrasy' which showed 'musical greatness in truly perfect form'.⁴⁴¹ R., on the other hand, demonstrates a line of argumentation that appears occasionally and most often in relation to the *Gesamtausgabe* project: namely, that Bruckner's music is inherently well-formed. These two approaches are marginally different, even if they amount to the same thing. The spirituality route taken by G.v.B. was important because it viewed Bruckner's music as a representation of a pure and organic (therefore coherent) spirit. The axiomatic route taken by R. was simpler because it sought to articulate Bruckner's formality as a fact in and of itself. On 15 February 1912, F. wrote in *Die Zeit* that Bruckner's Seventh Symphony was: 'A work without a crack in the cast; mighty in its genuinely symphonic ideas as well as in its monumental layout.'⁴⁴² This style of Bruckner commentary is the same as that of R.. It is declamatory, aimed at objectivity, and (accurate or otherwise) straightforwardly axiomatic about the formal coherence of Bruckner's music. It is clear that ideas about Bruckner's formality were already emerging in 1912, but it was not until after the First World War that these ideas seemed to really gain pervasive traction. In 1919, conductor Artur Nikisch was reported to have said that:

Bruckner's symphonies are sublime marvels, supreme emanations of the spirit, even on the formal side. I have always been puzzled by the claim that their comprehension is made more difficult by a lack of architectonics, especially that the clarity of the

⁴⁴¹ G.v.B, *Reichspost*, 15 February 1912: 8.

⁴⁴² F., 'Bruckner Festival Concert', *Die Zeit*, 15 February 1912: 3. 'Die siebente Symphonie Bruckners folgte. Ein Werk ohne Riß im Guß; gewaltig in seinen echt symphonischen Ideen ebenso wie in seiner monumentalen Anlage.'

structure should suffer due to the many general pauses. On the contrary, in conjunction with the sharp contrast of the motifs they facilitate this overview.⁴⁴³

Nikisch here exemplifies a combination of the two strategies I have identified above. He first identifies Bruckner's spirit as a unifying component of his symphonies. He secondly identifies the general pauses as a feature of the score which facilitate, in his view, a clear understanding of Bruckner's form. For Nikisch, and for others employing the 'spirituality' approach, the idea that the 'true Bruckner' somehow shines forth from the notes was important.

Hans Weisbach received great praise from Hans Rutz in July 1939 for his strict adherence to Bruckner's 'original version':

Hans Weisbach is one of those Bruckner conductors who complete Bruckner's work with a thoroughly spiritual will. A magnificent objectivity in the composition is achieved. The indispensable adherence to the basic movement of time, the strict adherence to the dynamic contrasts, which alone now makes the formal significance of the pauses appear completely justified, and finally the rhythmic relentlessness in the clear outline of the themes, which is intensified to the point of harshness – these are all laws of interpretation derived convincingly from the work, which must apply to Bruckner, especially in the Second Symphony. Here the Bruckner interpretation is really derived from the original version right up to the organic conclusion, and the clarity of the work, its inner order and its creative relationships, which extended over all movements, become reality without any "interpretation" in the romanticising

⁴⁴³ *Neues Wiener Journal*, 11 October 1919: 6. 'Bruckners Symphonien sind für mich erhabene Wunderwerke, höchste Emanationen des Geistes, auch nach Seite der Form hin. Die Behauptung, ihr Verständnis werde durch mangelnde Architektonik erschwert, war mit stets rätselhaft, besonders auch, daß durch die vielen Generalpausen die Klarheit des Aufbaues leiden sollte. Im Gegenteil, gerade sie erleichtern in Verbindung mit der scharfen Kontrastierung der Motive diese Uebersicht.'

“comparative” sense. With Weisbach, one senses that now that Bruckner’s work has been recognised in all its purity as typical and decisive for his oeuvre, there can no longer be any “interpretation” in the usual sense.⁴⁴⁴

Rutz argues that Bruckner’s music speaks most clearly when conductors remain true to the score without retouching or interpretation. Reference here to the ‘original version’ engages with debates about Urtext editions that give credence to the idea of authorial intention. That it is combined with terms such as ‘organic’ and ‘purity’ are characteristic of Bruckner’s reception, especially during the 1930s and 1940s.

Writing again in 1941, Rutz employed a rhetorical tool often used by critics and compared Bruckner’s form to architecture in music:

Bruckner’s work still appears to us today as a gigantic colossus, which will probably continue to pose many a riddle in the distant future. [Walter] Abendroth, one of the clearest and most characterful minds among German music writers, prefaces his actual introductions which do not use the mnemonic bridge of poetic “explanations”, but rather arrive at an understanding of the large-scale symphonic form in the sense of an “architecture of music”.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁴ Rutz, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 6 July 1939: 9. ‘Hans Weisbach zählt zu den Bruckner-Dirigenten, die Bruckners Werk in einem durchaus geistigen Willen vollenden. Eine großartige Objektivität in der Gestaltung wird erreicht. Das unabdingbare Festhalten an der Grundbewegung des Zeitmaßes, das stricte Einhalten der dynamischen Gegensätze, das allein auch die formale Bedeutung der Pausen nun vollkommen berechtigt erscheinen läßt, und schließlich die bis zur Härte gesteigerte rhythmische Unerbittlichkeit im klaren Umriß der Themen – das alles sind vom Werk her überzeugend abgeleitete Interpretationsgesetze, die für Bruckner, zumal in der Zweiten, zu gelten haben. Hier wird die Bruckner-Darstellung wirklich bis zum organischen Schlußpunkt aus der Originalfassung abgeleitet, und die Klarheit des Werkes, seine innere Ordnung und seine schöpferischen Beziehungen, die sich über alle Sätze erstrecken, werden ohne jede „Deutung“ im romantisierenden, „vergleichenden“ Sinne Wirklichkeit. Bei Weisbach spürt man, daß es im Grunde nun, da Bruckners Werk in seiner ganzen Reinheit als für sein Schaffen typisch und entscheidend erkannt ist, für die Interpretation keine „Deutung“ im üblichen Sinne mehr geben kann.’

⁴⁴⁵ The idea of ‘architecture of music’ was a common rhetorical tool used by music critics, whereby music was interpreted as sounding architecture. I have demonstrated these links between music and architecture in the chapter on Brahms in relation to memorialisation and cityscape projects linked to Vienna’s self-imaging. Hans Rutz, ‘The Path to Anton Bruckner: Walter Abendroth: “The Symphonies of Anton Bruckner” Published by Bote and Bock,

This view of Bruckner's form as representative of or sufficiently explained away by virtue of his spirit or personality (elements I'll explore later in relation to Austrianness) formed a major component in the debates around Bruckner's formality.⁴⁴⁶ But in addition to identifying Bruckner's formality in his spiritual strength, critics sought to find his formality in the score, or assert his formality through a combination of 'absolute' claims and pseudo-spiritual platitudes.

In May 1941, H. Müllner wrote an article entitled 'Paths to Anton Bruckner'. For Müllner, the 'principle of form' in Bruckner's symphonies had been 'misinterpreted'.⁴⁴⁷ He argued that the form of a symphony needed to be regarded as 'the product of the respective growth of an epoch or a few ingenious individual personalities' because it was always 'the result of the mental attitude of the master who utilises it as a vessel for his musical knowledge'.⁴⁴⁸ Bruckner, like those who had come before him, expanded the form into a 'colossal structure of his religious and moral world'.⁴⁴⁹ Here then, Müllner engages with the idea that Bruckner's form was a representation of Bruckner's spirit. He elaborated this point further: 'a closer look at the structure of Bruckner's symphonies reveals the unconditional consistency of the form, which is not built according to the standards of everyday life, but arises from the intentions of the genius, whose centres of power grow far beyond the human

Berlin, 1940', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 17 February 1941: 6. 'Erscheint doch Bruckners Werk auch uns Heutigen noch als der gigantische Koloß, der wohl auch einer fernerer Zukunft noch manche Rätsel aufgeben wird. Abendroth, einer der klarsten und charaktrevollsten Köpfe der deutschen Musikschriftsteller, schickt seinen eigentlichen Einführungen, die nicht die Eselsbrücke poetisierender „Erklärungen“ benützen, vielmehr aus der Betrachtung des thematischen Kerns zur Erkenntnis der symphonischen Großform im Sinne einer „Architektur aus Musik“ gelangen, ein Vorwort voraus, das in knappen Formulierungen die besondere Stellung Bruckners in unsrer Zeit umreißt.'

⁴⁴⁶ See Rutz, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 6 July 1939: 9. 'Alle Vorwürfe, Bruckner habe kein Formgefühl, und andre Einwendungen, treffen nicht das Wesentliche. Allein die Kraft der Aussage bestimmt den Wert eines Werkes. Das Fehlen von Angriffsflächen erleichtert vielleicht die internationale Verbreitung, der innere Wert wird aber dadurch nicht berührt. Bruckner mußte das Uebernatürliche wirklich machen.'

⁴⁴⁷ H. Müllner, 'Paths to Anton Bruckner', *Völkischer Beobachter*, 30 May 1941: 4.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

average and give expression to the inspirations of a superior world.’⁴⁵⁰ Bruckner’s form is the product of ‘genius’, constructed with an ‘unconditional consistency of form’. Müllner here engages with both lines of argumentation frequently used to identify Bruckner’s formality: the spiritual and the axiomatic. He goes on to identify a problem similar to the idea articulated by Rutz as the reason for Bruckner’s formality having been underappreciated. In the same way that Rutz criticised the interpretation of conductors, Müllner identifies the influence of Bruckner’s editors. Müller describes the edited scores of Bruckner’s symphonies as ‘adaptations and arrangements which clearly bear traits alien to his nature and imposed from outside’.⁴⁵¹ Bruckner’s personality and spirit was so essential for the way that Müllner understood the form of his symphonies that any interventions deviating from the Urtext version created formal discrepancies. Bruckner’s form as the composer intended it, on the other hand, demonstrated a consistency of form representative of his ‘religious and moral world’.

Critics variously responded to Bruckner’s formality in terms of either a misunderstanding or muddying of Bruckner’s form, which (in their view) was perfectly coherent in the ‘original

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid. *‘Ebenso wurde das Formprinzip in Bruckners Symphonien mißdeutet. Es ist die Kernfrage aller solcher Diskussionen, ob die Form ihrem Wesen nach als eine stetige Größe, etwa als ein von Beethoven mit letzter Gültigkeit aufgestelltes Dogma zu werten ist, dem sich alle späteren Komponisten zu beugen haben, oder ob die Form der Symphonie das Produkt des jeweiligen Wachstums einer Epoche oder einiger genialer Einzelpersonlichkeiten ist. Eigentlich genügt schon ein Blick in den musikgeschichtlichen Werdegang der Symphonie, um zu bestätigen, daß die Form stets das Ergebnis der seelischen Haltung des Meisters, der sie jeweils als Gefäß seiner Musikerkenntnisse verwertet, ist. // Bruckner weitete nun die auf ihn gekommene Form zum Kolossalbau seiner religiös-sittlichen Welt. Als wesentliche Neuerung führt er in der Sonatensatz-Exposition ein drittes Thema, das sich meist zu einer ganzen Themengruppe ausgestaltet, ein. Diese Erweiterung des thematischen Materials bedingt dementsprechend weitgespannte Durchführungen, die als Ausdruck der ungeheuren Kraftreserven des Meisters sicherlich nicht geringe Anforderungen an die Aufnahmefähigkeit des Hörers stellen. Es ist eine stets wiederum von neuem erstaunliche Tatsache, wie sehr gerade hier das Verstehen und Miterleben Bruckners Größe Aufnahmekräfte von ungeahntem Ausmaß bereitstellt. Jedenfalls erweist sich beim näheren Eingehen auf den Aufbau der Symphonien Bruckners die unbedingte Folgerichtigkeit der Form, welche eben nicht nach Maßstäben des Alltags gebaut ist, sondern aus den Intentionen des Genies entspringt, dessen Kraftzentren weit über den menschlichen Durchschnitt hinauswachsen und Eingebungen einer übergeordneten Welt Ausdruck verleihen. // Wer so Schritt für Schritt sein Bruckner-Bild von Vorurteilen freimacht, dem wird die Tatsache, daß uns Bruckners Werk bis vor kurzem zum Großteil gar nicht in der vom Meister konzipierten „Originalfassung“, sondern in Um- und Bearbeitungen, die deutlich wesensfremde, von außen aufgezwungene Züge tragen, zu Gehör gebracht wurde, zum Quell neuer Erkenntnisse um Bruckners Werk und Persönlichkeit werden.’*

version' designed by Bruckner; or as an organic expression of Bruckner's inner spirit. Some critics and commentators pursued both lines of argumentation. I have argued that the reversal from formlessness to formality in Bruckner's symphonic reception took place over three stages. The anchor-point of 'formlessness' in Bruckner's reception took place as a result of the antithesis between Bruckner and Brahms, in which Brahms's followers (led by Hanslick) used formlessness as a mode of aesthetic aversion to Bruckner's music. The dissolution of this antithesis, following the death of Hanslick (who had been the ringleader of the anti-Bruckner movement), was well under way by 1912 and thus began to ease Bruckner's more volatile reception. The resolution of Brahms and Bruckner gave way in 1912 to an increasing wave of popularity for Bruckner's music which, I have argued, reached canonical status by 1919. With the harshest criticisms of formlessness behind him, and his popularity in Vienna on the rise, critics started to identify the formal coherence of Bruckner's symphonies. This formalising discourse seemed to gain traction in 1919 and began to attract serious widespread attention throughout the 1920s, 30s and 40s. The primary topics identified by critics in relation to Bruckner's formality were the *Gesamtausgabe* project and Bruckner's Austrianness, the latter of which sometimes manifested in discussion of soul, spirit, nature, purity, or religion. The two remaining sections of this chapter, therefore, take each of these topics in turn. I evaluate the role of the *Gesamtausgabe* first, along with their associated debates; before moving onto the adoption of Bruckner for Austrian propaganda and the advocacy of his Austrianness.

Part 2: Re-evaluating Bruckner

The *Gesamtausgabe* Project

The 1930s witnessed the publication of new editions of the Bruckner symphonies, which were based on Bruckner's manuscript versions and appeared under the titular designation 'original version'. These editions form the textual output of the first *Gesamtausgabe*. The problem of

the editions in Bruckner scholarship is complicated and ongoing.⁴⁵² For the purposes of this period (1911–1945), however, the editions problem is a relatively straightforward one. There were two sets of performing editions available for most of the symphonies: the first editions, published during Bruckner's lifetime; and the *Gesamtausgabe*, published between 1934 and 1944.⁴⁵³ The first editions were the sole performing editions up until the 1930s, but they were later criticised as inauthentic because of the editorial interventions of Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe.⁴⁵⁴ The creation of the *Gesamtausgabe* of Bruckner's symphonies was the primary and founding aim of the International Bruckner Society (established on 2 December 1928 in Augsburg and moved to Vienna in February 1929), whose purpose was to 'promote understanding, general dissemination and recognition of Anton Bruckner's life's work everywhere, to publish practical editions free of errors, to maintain Bruckner memorials and to organise Bruckner festivals and concert performances.'⁴⁵⁵ Robert Haas, chief editor of the *Gesamtausgabe*, sought to recover the 'authentic' Bruckner from his manuscripts, and in doing so believed that he would secure Bruckner's intentions for posterity.⁴⁵⁶ In 1938, the International Bruckner Society was transformed into the German Bruckner Society by Hitler's decree and Alfred Orel was placed at the head of the organisation as commissioner.⁴⁵⁷ For this

⁴⁵² See Benjamin Korstvedt, 'Bruckner Editions: the Revolution Revisited', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 122; Julian Horton, 'Recent Developments in Bruckner Scholarship', *Music and Letters* 85, No.1 (2004): 83–94.

⁴⁵³ The *Gesamtausgabe* started to appear in the early 1930s under the editorial supervision of Robert Haas and Alfred Orel, with Orel's edition of the Ninth Symphony first among the symphonies to be published in 1934. Bruckner's Requiem and *Missa Solemnis* was the first volume of the *Gesamtausgabe*, which was published in 1930. See Morten Solvik, 'The International Bruckner Society and the N.S.D.A.P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition', *The Musical Quarterly* 82, No.2 (1998): 364.

⁴⁵⁴ Many Bruckner scholars agree that the editorial liberties taken by Bruckner's students were more significant in some symphonies than others. The Fifth and the Ninth, for example, are widely accepted as having been altered significantly. On the other hand, the Third, Fourth, and Seventh Symphonies are widely accepted as authenticated by Bruckner. See Korstvedt, 'Bruckner Editions': 122.

⁴⁵⁵ 'Festive Meeting of the International Bruckner Society: Transfer of Headquarters from Leipzig to Vienna – Franz Schalk Honorary President – The Annual General Meeting of the Vienna Bruckner Society', *Ostdeutsche Rundschau*, 19 February 1929: 6. 'die es als Zweck der Gesellschaft bezeichnen, dem Lebenswerk Anton Bruckners allorts Verständnis, allgemeine Verbreitung und Anerkennung zu verschaffen, sowie fehlerfreie praktische Ausgaben herauszugeben, Bruckner-Gedenkstätten zu erhalten und Bruckner-Feste und Konzertaufführungen zu veranstalten.'

⁴⁵⁶ Robert Haas, 'Posterity Canonises Bruckner's Intention: On the Text of the Eighth Symphony', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 5 July 1939: 11.

⁴⁵⁷ Alfred Orel (3 July 1889–11 April 1967) was a musicologist and editor of the First Bruckner *Gesamtausgabe*.

later incarnation of the society, the *Gesamtausgabe* project remained a priority.⁴⁵⁸ Under the Society's new structuring, however, only the Eighth Symphony (in 1939) and the Seventh (in 1944) appeared in new editions, the latter of which was never granted too much value on account of the reliability of the first printed edition. Table 1 details the publication dates for each of the Bruckner symphonies that could have been performed in Vienna before 1945. Despite the widespread acclaim for the *Gesamtausgabe* declared by critics, the number of performances of these editions was rather moderate. Of a total of 223 performances of Bruckner's symphonies between 1934 and 1945, only 38 performances featured a symphony in its 'original version', as the scores of the *Gesamtausgabe* came to be known. This suggests that the first editions continued to dominate in the Viennese concert halls, regardless of any claims to the contrary.

Year	Symphony	Publisher/ Editor
1879	No.3 (1877)	Theodor Rättig
1885	No.7	A.J. Gutmann
1889	No.4 (1888)	A.J. Gutmann
1890	No.3 (1889)	Theodor Rättig
1892	No.2	Ludwig Doblinger

'Renewal of the Bruckner Society', *Neues Österreich*, 11 September 1945: 4. 'Im Jahre 1938 wurde die Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft durch einen Machtspruch Hitlers in eine „Deutsche Bruckner-Gesellschaft“ umgewandelt und an die Stelle des damaligen Präsidenten als Kommissar Professor Alfred Orel gesetzt. Die Tätigkeit der neuen Gesellschaft war nicht gerade erfolgreich. Von den geplanten Gesamtausgaben der Werke Bruckners wurde in den verflossenen sieben Jahren bloß eine einzige Symphonie herausgebracht.'

See Solvik, 'The International Bruckner Society'; Bryan Gilliam, 'The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation', *The Musical Quarterly* 78, No.3 (1994): 584–604; Benjamin Korstvedt, 'Language and Ideology in the German Reception of Bruckner's Symphonies in the 1930s', *The German Quarterly* 91, No.4 (2018): 460–472. As a result of Haas's editorial processes and concerns about the political ideology underpinning his editions, Leopold Nowak (who took over the International Bruckner Society during 'denazification' in late 1945) began work on the second *Gesamtausgabe*, which published versions of the symphonies as they appeared in the manuscripts.

⁴⁵⁸ F.B., *Völkischer Beobachter*, 6 July 1939: 6. 'Eines der wichtigsten Ziele ist die planmäßige Entstehung einer historisch-kritischen Gesamtausgabe der Werke.'

1892	No.8	Schlesinger/Haslinger
1893	No.1 (Vienna)	Ludwig Doblinger
1896	No.5 (Schalk)	Ludwig Doblinger
1899	No.6	Ludwig Doblinger
1903	No.9 (Löwe)	Ludwig Doblinger
1934	No.9 (Orel)	<i>Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag</i>
1935	No.1 (Haas)	<i>Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag</i>
1935	No.6 (Haas)	<i>Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag</i>
1935	No.5 (Haas)	<i>Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag</i>
1936	No.4 (Haas)	<i>Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag</i>
1938	No.2 (Haas)	<i>Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag</i>
1939	No.8 (Haas)	Leipzig
1944	No.7 (Haas)	Leipzig

Table 1: Brucker Editions Publication Dates

The *Gesamtausgabe* project generated debates in the Viennese press about the formal coherence of Bruckner's music. In the process of arguing for one edition over another, commentators were seen to articulate the formal coherence of their preferred edition (with little consensus over which set of editions was favourable). The manipulation of and argumentation over Bruckner's form in relation to the *Gesamtausgabe* was essential to the re-evaluation of Bruckner's formal coherence. The 1930s in particular are marked by these polemical writings. Some articles, typically stemming from the Bruckner Societies, argued the success of the *Gesamtausgabe* and the coherence of the symphonic form intended by Bruckner. Critics on this side of the debate argued that the formal incoherence previously ascribed to Bruckner's music was a direct repercussion of the editorial corruption of his music committed by Schalk

and Löwe. The form found in Bruckner's manuscripts, reproduced in the *Gesamtausgabe*, had no such flaws and therefore constituted an organic construction. Others, notably Max Graf, were more critical (even scathing at times) of the *Gesamtausgabe* and held more store by the first editions. What does not change for either side of this divide, however, is the reverence with which critics treated Bruckner's work. Both sides identified a symphonic master, and both sides found formal coherence in their chosen editions. The following two sections investigate the ways in which commentators engaging in this debate over the editions contributed to Bruckner's perceived formality. It is clear that both sides argued the strengths of Bruckner's form for their chosen edition, which propagated ideas about the formal coherence of Bruckner's music more broadly and thus served to transform the general perception of Bruckner's music from formlessness to formality.

The 'original versions'

From the vantage of 1936, the so-called 'original versions' published by the *Gesamtausgabe* had two aims: to canonise Bruckner's work for posterity; and to preserve the 'pure form' of his music. An article published in *Radio Wien* on 2 October 1936, advertising the first subscription concert of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, identified these ambitions: 'The previous printed editions of Anton Bruckner's works, on which performance practice is based, show such profound differences from the manuscripts that the printed texts must be referred to as "adaptations". In order to preserve the great master's work in its pure form for posterity and to safeguard his artistic will, the *Gesamtausgabe* publishes only original versions.'⁴⁵⁹ The crucial ambition of the *Gesamtausgabe* was to preserve Bruckner's 'pure form'. This construction

⁴⁵⁹ 'In Memory of Anton Bruckner: I Subscription Concert Conductor: Oswald Kabasta: Broadcast from the Großer Musikvereinssaal on Wednesday 7 October, 19:35 hrs', *Radio Wien*, 2 October 1936: 5. 'Die bisherigen Druckausgaben der Werke Anton Bruckners, auf denen ja die Aufführungspraxis beruht, weisen gegenüber den Handschriften derart tiefgreifende Unterschiede auf, daß man die gedruckten Texte als „Bearbeitungen“ ansprechen muß. Um das Werk des großen Meisters in reiner Form der Nachwelt zu bewahren und seinen künstlerischen Willen sicherzustellen, veröffentlicht die Gesamtausgabe nur Originalfassungen.'

suggests two facets of the emerging conception of Bruckner's formality: firstly, that his music was considered well-formed; and secondly that his form was conceived of as somehow 'pure', which, given the political circumstances in which this article was written, cannot be divorced from ideas of race, national identity, and the rhetoric of national-political ideology.

In July 1939, Robert Haas published an article in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* titled 'Posterity canonises Bruckner's Intention: On the text of the Eighth Symphony'.⁴⁶⁰ This title makes it clear that Haas understood the *Gesamtausgabe* as representative of Bruckner's intentions, and that the editions were intended to canonise Bruckner's authoritative works for posterity.

it has been possible to prove that almost all of them were not published in their original form but in an arrangement which, as such, represents a well-planned system but is at odds with Bruckner's intellectual attitude and his will to sound. The texts of the *Gesamtausgabe* had to fulfil the task of conveying the musical personality of our master in a pure and unadulterated form and freeing him from time-bound ingredients.⁴⁶¹

Here the role of Bruckner's intellect was essential to determining the 'original form' of his symphonies. Bruckner's personality was, for Haas, somehow conveyed in a 'pure and unadulterated form'. Haas explained that, in generating the *Gesamtausgabe* it was

⁴⁶⁰ Haas, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 5 July 1939: 11.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. 'Durch die von mir seit 1926 geschaffene *Gesamtausgabe* der Werke Anton Bruckners, die heute beim neunten Band halt hat die Frage der Textlegung bei seinen großen Schöpfungen eine neue Deutung erhalten. Für die Symphonien und die Messen konnte der sachliche Nachweis erbracht werden, daß sie fast alle nicht in der Originalgestalt veröffentlicht worden sind sondern in einer Bearbeitung, die als solche ein planvolles System darstellt, aber mit der Geisteshaltung und mit dem Klangwillen Bruckners in Widerspruch steht. Die Texte der *Gesamtausgabe* hatten die Aufgabe zu erfüllen den musikalischen Persönlichkeitswert unsres Meisters rein und unverfälscht zu vermitteln und ihn von zeitgebundenen Zutaten zu befreien.'

not only necessary to restore the original markings, but also to remove the sensitive interventions of contemporary line practice and occasionally, for internal reasons, to take up details of the first version in order to reproduce the tonal form uninfluenced. Gaps and foreign overpainting were no longer allowed to damage the genuine sound, especially as the riddles of the text's genesis could be solved through careful source criticism.⁴⁶²

Here Haas identifies that the 'original markings' (that is, those in the manuscript but not in the printed edition) had to be added back in. 'Sensitive interventions' of Bruckner's earlier editors (determined by their absence from the manuscript) were removed. Reference here to the 'first version' acknowledges that Bruckner's Eighth Symphony exists in two manuscript versions, one from 1887 and the other from 1890. Although the *Gesamtausgabe* was based on the 1890 manuscript, Haas also incorporated elements of the 1887 manuscript.⁴⁶³ All this, he claimed, was to 'reproduce the tonal form uninfluenced'. The irony is that his editorial method committed the same acts of 'overpainting' that he accused Bruckner's earlier editors of. That notwithstanding, however, Haas clearly intended the *Gesamtausgabe* to present Bruckner's form in the most coherent and authentic manner. Haas went on to acknowledge Bruckner's

⁴⁶² Ibid. 'An der Neunten und an der Sechsten Symphonie wurden zunächst die echten Texte den nach Bruckners Tod veröffentlichten Bearbeitungen gegenübergestellt, dann folgte der innerlich zwingende echte Text zur Fünften, zu der der Partiturerstdruck im Todesjahr Bruckners erschienen war; endlich konnten die Texte zur Zweiten und zur Achten vertreten werden, die zur vollen Geltendmachung der musikalischen Persönlichkeit ihres Schöpfers schon eine beträchtliche Erziehungsaufgabe zur Voraussetzung hatten, wie sie eben zuvor erst geleistet werden konnte. // Die neuen Wege der Herausgeberarbeit, die bei der Zweiten eingeschlagen werden mußten, werden bei der Achten weitergegangen. Schon bei der Zweiten galt es, das Werk von zeitgebundenen äußeren Einwirkungen freizulegen, die von Bruckner selbst als ein „Zusammenschrecken“ seiner Symphonie bezeichnet worden sind. Deshalb war nicht nur die ursprüngliche Zeichengebung wiederherzustellen, sondern es mußten auch die empfindlichen Eingriffe der zeitgenössischen Strichpraxis beseitigt und gelegentlich aus inneren Gründen Einzelheiten der ersten Fassung aufgegriffen werden, um die Klangform unbeeinflusst wiederzugeben. Lücken und fremde Uebermalungen durften nicht länger das echte Klangbild beschädigen, zumal sich durch sorgfältige Quellenkritik die Rätsel der Entstehungsgeschichte des Textes lösen ließen.'

⁴⁶³ This conflation of manuscript sources is one of the primary problems associated with the first *Gesamtausgabe*.

own editorial efforts on the Eighth Symphony and in doing so seems to attempt justification for his (Haas's) conflation of Bruckner's original manuscripts.⁴⁶⁴

The promise made to reshape the Eighth to the best of his [Bruckner's] knowledge and belief was kept. Through a truly titanic struggle, which can be shatteringly demonstrated in the sources, the first movement was brought into a final and fully developed form, while the finale, which Bruckner himself had called the most important movement of his life, suffered great damage through the demands for excessive cuts.⁴⁶⁵

To conclude his advertisement of the *Gesamtausgabe*, Haas argued the formal strengths of this incarnation: 'The *Gesamtausgabe* thus offers the fully developed form based on the last text in Bruckner's hand'.⁴⁶⁶ He conceded that certain actions were necessary to maintain the unity of (as he would have understood it) Bruckner's intention. The actions taken by Haas in compiling the *Gesamtausgabe* of the Eighth Symphony were carried out with the intention of preserving and revealing Bruckner's intended form for the symphony, which Haas viewed as 'fully developed' and 'pure'.

An essay written by Alfred Orel in 1936 demonstrates that the two editors had different views on their editorial duties.⁴⁶⁷ While Haas believed that the mission of the *Gesamtausgabe* was the 'liberation of the true symphonic will of the Master', Orel acknowledged that

⁴⁶⁴ See Korstvedt, *Bruckner: Symphony No.8*: 104–106.

⁴⁶⁵ Haas, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 5 July 1939: 11. 'Das gegebene Versprechen, die Achte nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen umzugestalten, wurde eingehalten. Durch ein wahrhaft titanisches Ringen, das sich in den Quellen erschütternd nachweisen läßt, konnte der erste Satz in eine endgültige und voll ausgereifte Form gebracht werden während das Finale, das Bruckner selbst den bedeutendsten Satz seines Lebens genannt hatte, durch die Forderungen nach übermäßiger Kürzung großen Schaden erlitten hat.'

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid. 'So bietet die Gesamtausgabe durch die Erschließung von zehn neuen Takten im Adagio und von fünfzig neuen Takten im Finale die ausgereifte Form auf Grund des letzten Textes von Bruckners Hand, wobei wieder an einigen Stellen aus gewichtigen Gründen auf die unbeeinflusste erste Fassung gegriffen werden mußte.'

⁴⁶⁷ Alfred Orel, 'Original and Arrangement by Anton Bruckner', *Deutsche Musikkultur*, Heft 4 (1936): 193. See Solvik, 'The International Bruckner Society': 367.

recovering Bruckner's intention was not always philologically sound.⁴⁶⁸ Morten Solvik has clearly articulated the ideological divide between the two editors: 'Orel's weighing of the evidence and willingness to find positive aspects in Bruckner's collaboration with his followers were anathema to Haas's uncompromising, "purist" view of the composer.'⁴⁶⁹ Orel argued that the *Gesamtausgabe* 'shifted the question of the authentic form [...] from the sphere of Bruckner scholars to the wider sphere of interest of the musical public.'⁴⁷⁰ Other critics writing in support of the *Gesamtausgabe* who articulated the strength of Bruckner's form tended to align themselves more clearly with Haas's 'purist' view of the composer's intentions. In 1939, for example, F. B. (Friedrich Bayer) declared:

the bitter battle against the score retouching of Bruckner's friends has been decided in favour of the so-called original versions [...] Today, Bruckner stands in the Greater German Empire as a Romantic symphonist of the late 19th century. To proclaim the unity, purity and clarity of his life's work should be our proud supreme law. In the simplest terms, the aim of the German Bruckner Society is to bring Bruckner's music to the people, as it is so closely connected to them.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁸ F.M., 'Wiener Erstaufführung der Fünften in ihrer Originalfassung', *Bruckner-Blätter* 1 (1936): 1. Cited in Orel, *Deutsche Musikkultur* Heft 4 (1936): 201. Cited in Solvik, 'The International Bruckner Society': 367.

⁴⁶⁹ Solvik, 'The International Bruckner Society': 369.

⁴⁷⁰ Orel, *Deutsche Musikkultur*, Heft 4 (1936): 193.

⁴⁷¹ F.B., *Völkischer Beobachter*, 6 July 1939: 6. 'Heute, wo der erbitterte Kampf gegen die Partiturretuschen der Bruckner-Freunde zugunsten der sogenannten Originalfassungen entschieden ist, wollen wir, wie Minister Seyß-Inquart in seiner Ansprache ausführte, jenen Männern dankbar sein, die die vielumstrittenen Änderungen in der denkbar besten Absicht und nur zu dem Zweck vornahmen, um des Meisters Musik dem Publikum mundgerecht und verständlicher zu machen. Wohl sind wir für das Verständnis der Urfassungen reif geworden, doch wissen wir nicht, ob wir ohne diese Versuche so schnell zu Bruckner gefunden hätten. Bruckner steht heute im Großdeutschen Reich als romantischer Symphonist des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts da. Die Einheit, Reinheit und Klarheit seines Lebenswerkes zu künden, soll uns Ostmärkern stolzes oberstes Gesetz sein. Auf die einfachste Formel gebracht, gilt als Ziel der Deutschen Bruckner-Gesellschaft, Bruckners Tonkunst ins Volk zu tragen, ist sie doch mit dem Volk so eng verbunden.'

The declaration that the ‘supreme law’ should be to ‘proclaim the unity, purity and clarity’ of Bruckner’s work is bold but not uncharacteristic of Bruckner’s reception during this period. It is unclear whether these words come directly from a speech given by Seyß-Inquart or from Bayer. Seyß-Inquart, an Austrian Nazi politician, was Austrian Chancellor for two days from 11–13 March 1938, during which time he issued a telegraph invitation to German troops to cross the Austrian border, before joining the Nazi party himself on the 13 March 1938. The significance attributed to Bruckner’s ‘purity’ under these conditions is highly suggestive and reminiscent of the rhetoric used by Joseph Goebbels in 1937 during his infamous speech at the Regensburg Valhalla.⁴⁷² This configuration of unity, purity and clarity connects Bruckner’s music to the racial ideology of National Socialism, but it also places Bruckner’s music as a paradigm of formal coherence in no uncertain terms. Bayer is not merely writing cultural criticism here, he is arguing that the pronouncement of these characteristics should be a ‘supreme law’.

In the same year, L. Schmid. Reviewed a performance of Bruckner’s Eighth Symphony. Wilhelm Furtwängler:

shaped the original version of the mighty work with the strongest impulses of his mature leadership into the most marvellous symphonic Bruckner experience of those days. After the marvellous domed construction of Bruckner’s most beautiful finale, the cheers were unending, and Furtwängler and the Philharmoniker had to thank the audience again and again for the applause, which was also for the original version.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷² See Gilliam, ‘The Annexation of Anton Bruckner’, Appendix ‘Joseph Goebbel’s Bruckner Address in Regensburg (6 June 1937)’: 605–609.

⁴⁷³ L.Schmid., ‘Festive Finale to the Bruckner Festival’, (*Neuigkeits*) *Welt Blatt*, 7 July 1939: 7. ‘*Wilhelm Furtwängler, der schon am Vormittag ein flammendes Bekenntnis zu Bruckner abgelegt hatte, gestaltete nun die Originalfassung des gewaltigen Werkes mit den stärksten Impulsen seiner reifen Führerschaft zum herrlichsten symphonischen Bruckner-Erlebnis dieser Tage. Nach dem wunderbaren Kuppelbau von Bruckners schönstem Finale wollte daher auch der Jubel kein Ende nehmen, und immer wieder mußten Furtwängler und die Philharmoniker für den Beifall danken, der gleichzeitig auch der Originalfassung galt.*’

The strength of construction found in this performance demonstrates a perceived formal coherence in the *Gesamtausgabe*. The finale, in particular, is picked out by Schmid. This is significant because the finale was a movement in which Haas transplanted sections from the 1887 version into the framework of the 1890 version.⁴⁷⁴ The finale would therefore have been different from the first edition, perhaps more so than any other movement.

If the fundamental intention of the *Gesamtausgabe* was to demonstrate Bruckner's 'pure form', then the growing support for these editions suggests that the advocates of this line of thinking were successful. The writings of Haas demonstrate his commitment to Brucknerian form in his editorial work; while the responding critics likewise drew attention to the 'unity' and 'clarity' (Bayer) or 'marvellous domed construction' (Schmid) of Bruckner's symphonies. The importance of cohesion in the discourse surrounding the *Gesamtausgabe* means that, by logical necessity, the debates surrounding the *Gesamtausgabe* served to establish, provoke, or solidify ideas about the formal coherence of Bruckner's work more broadly. If critics preferred the first editions and wanted to argue their case, then they would have to do so on the grounds of their formal construction and authenticity.

The First Editions

Many critics sought to defend the first editions against the arguments of the *Gesamtausgabe*. In 1932, Max Springer (chairman of the International Bruckner Society) published an article in the *Reichspost*, reviewing the premiere of the 'original version' of the Ninth Symphony. He

⁴⁷⁴ For details on the cross-version construction of Haas's edition of the Eighth Symphony, see Korstvedt, *Bruckner: Symphony No.8*: 104–106. See also Benjamin Korstvedt, "'Return to the Pure Sources": the Ideology and Text-Critical Legacy of the First Bruckner *Gesamtausgabe*', in *Bruckner Studies*, eds Timothy Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw (Cambridge University Press, 1997): 91–109.

remained uncertain about which edition he preferred until late into the report, initially identifying a distinction between the opinions of scholars and those of musicians:

Scholars are faced with a riddle and cannot decide which version is to be considered authentic. The musician will hardly get into such doubtful situations and will recognise everywhere the polishing hand of Ferdinand Löwe, who is filled with touching reverence and loyalty towards his teacher and master, especially when he knows what valuable advice the great master received from his pupil, who was highly gifted as a conductor, with regard to instrumentation and also gratefully accepted.⁴⁷⁵

This sounds as if scholars were creating a problem that no musician would identify as a problem. The issue of authenticity, for the musician, was not really an issue because although the influences of Löwe could be recognised, Springer argues that Bruckner ‘gratefully accepted’ the input of his ‘highly gifted’ pupil. By this reasoning, any ‘polishing’ undertaken by Löwe was done so with the authentication of Bruckner himself; or at least, it would have been, if Bruckner had lived long enough to give it. Springer ultimately concludes that: ‘All in all: from a purely musical point of view, the version known so far seems to deserve preference over the original.’⁴⁷⁶ The idea of Bruckner’s approval for changes that appear in the first editions is of central importance in this debate because the *Gesamtausgabe* was advocated for on the basis of representing Bruckner’s intentions. If critics like Springer could demonstrate

⁴⁷⁵ Max Springer, ‘World Premiere of the Ninth Symphony by Bruckner’, *Reichspost*, 24 October 1932: 2. ‘Die Gelehrten stehen vor einem Rätsel und können nicht entscheiden, welche Fassung als authentisch zu gelten hat. Der Musiker wird kaum in solche Zweifelsnöten geraten und überall die feilende Hand des von rührender Pietät und Treue gegen seinen Lehrer und Meister erfüllten Ferdinand Löwe erkennen, zumal wenn er weiß, welch wertvolle Ratschläge der große Meister von seinem als Dirigenten hochbegabten Schüler hinsichtlich der Instrumentierung erhalten und auch dankbar angenommen hat.’

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid. ‘Alles in allem: Von rein musikalischem Standpunkt aus scheint die bis jetzt bekannte Fassung vor der originalen den Vorzug zu verdienen.’

that the first editions were authenticated by Bruckner, then the criticism levelled at those editions by advocates of the *Gesamtausgabe* would struggle to gain traction.

The writings of Max Graf in defence of the first editions are particularly eloquent and extensive. Two articles in particular, published in *Der Tag* on 15 March 1936 and 22 February 1938, articulate his opinions. His arguments largely followed two strains. Firstly, Graf argued that the first editions were authenticated by Bruckner; or, in instances where this was not the case, the reverence held by Schalk and Löwe for Bruckner and vice-versa meant that any changes made by his editors would have been approved by Bruckner had he lived long enough to give it. Secondly, although advocates of the *Gesamtausgabe* had identified discrepancies between the form of the first editions and the manuscripts, Graf argued against this conclusion.

In his 1936 article ‘The so-called “original version” of the V Bruckner’, Graf demonstrates scepticism at the claim for originality assigned to the *Gesamtausgabe* and argues that the loyal, reverent students of Löwe and Schalk were not psychologically capable of altering Bruckner’s works without permission from the composer. Graf argued that the first edition was authenticated by Bruckner and were therefore true to his intentions: ‘The printed version was written during Bruckner’s lifetime and was regarded by Bruckner as authentic. No one has the right to overturn Bruckner’s will. No one has the right to reject a version [...] which Bruckner had printed as the final form of his music.’⁴⁷⁷ Graf wrote passionately to discredit the *Gesamtausgabe*, claiming that the editors’ overturning of the printed version of the Fifth Symphony was a rejection of Bruckner’s will. His barbed criticism of Haas and Orel was

⁴⁷⁷ Max Graf, ‘The so-called “Original Version” of the V Bruckner’, *Der Tag*, 15 March 1936: 12. ‘Vor zwei Jahren hat man Bruckners „Neunte Symphonie“ in der sogenannten authentischen „Urfassung“ aufgeführt und ich habe damals sofort erklärt, daß diese Manuskriptfassung eine viel unvollkommenere Form der Brucknerschen Ideenwelt sei als die Umarbeitung, die angeblich von Löwe her stammt, wofür auch nicht der Schatten eines Beweises erbracht wurde. Immerhin ist Bruckners Neunte Symphonie ein Nachlaßwerk gewesen, das unvollendet geblieben ist und zu Lebzeiten Bruckners weder gedruckt noch aufgeführt worden war. Anders ist es aber, wenn jetzt Bruckners Fünfte Symphonie in ihrer Druckfassung als Umarbeitung des Werkes durch Löwe und Schalk erklärt wird. Die Druckfassung ist zu Lebzeiten Bruckners entstanden und von Bruckner als authentisch angesehen worden. Niemand hat das Recht, den Willen Bruckners umzustößen. Niemand hat das Recht, eine Fassung – sie mag von Bruckner her stammen, wie ich glaube, oder von Löwe und Schalk, wie die Herausgeber der Gesamtausgabe meinen –, die Bruckner als endgültige Form seiner Musik hat drucken lassen, zu verwerfen.’

pointed and he further declared that the ‘so-called authentic “original version” of the Ninth Symphony was ‘a much more imperfect form of Bruckner’s world of ideas than the reworking that allegedly originated with Löwe’.⁴⁷⁸ Throughout all of this, Graf sought to discredit the arguments put forth by the *Gesamtausgabe* by identifying the authenticity of Bruckner’s first editions. Building on the work of the *Gesamtausgabe* which identified a clarity and purity of Bruckner’s intentions, this emphasis on the authenticity of the first editions was designed to initiate a positive re-evaluation of their formal construction. Graf turns to the issue of form and articulates this quite clearly.

The arguments in favour of the *Gesamtausgabe* were based largely on the discrepancies of form between the first editions and the manuscripts. For Haas and Orel, the form of the manuscripts was much more coherent than the first editions and this was the basis of the ‘formally coherent’ *Gesamtausgabe*. Graf, however, argued against this conclusion: ‘The Brucknerian form, which was supposedly incoherent, was repeatedly criticised. Löwe and Schalk should therefore have made connections in order to make the symphonies more comprehensible, but nowhere in the so-called reworkings of the symphonies do we find changes in the transitions, in the so offensive pauses, but always only [...] changes in the sound.’⁴⁷⁹ The difference between the coherent scores of the *Gesamtausgabe* (based on the manuscripts) and the first editions, then, were not (as Graf saw it) anything to do with form. The differences between the editions was simply a matter of sound. The formal coherence argued for the *Gesamtausgabe*, therefore, was also a formal coherence present in the first editions. Finally, Graf returned to the argument of authenticity:

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid. ‘Immer wieder stieß man sich an der Brucknerischen Form, die angeblich unzusammenhängend war. Löwe und Schalk hätten also Verbindungen herstellen müssen, um die Symphonien verständlicher zu machen, aber nirgendwo in den sogenannten Umarbeitungen der Symphonien findet man Änderungen in den Übergängen, in den so anstößigen Pausen, sondern immer nur (abgesehen von einem „Strich“ im Schlußsatz der „Fünften“, der die Steigerung verstärken sollte) Änderungen des Klangbildes.’

It is certain that two versions of Bruckner's Fifth Symphony exist: one written in Bruckner's hand and one printed version recognised by Bruckner as his final version. Two versions of works by Bruckner are nothing unusual. There are even two different printed versions of the Third Symphony, for Bruckner repeatedly altered and polished his works, and nothing is more understandable than that Bruckner would have reworked the Fifth Symphony for printing, since there were twenty years between the composition of the work and its printing. Anyone who considers the engraver's version, which was published during Bruckner's lifetime and is therefore authentic, to be non-Brucknerian would have to prove it somehow; not with conjecture and assumptions, but with notes in the hand of the arrangers. Only in this way could Bruckner's declared will be declared null and void.⁴⁸⁰

In his 1938 article, Graf repeated many of the same arguments in relation to Bruckner's Fourth Symphony.

What could be more self-evident than that the form in which Bruckner's 'Fourth' was printed during the master's lifetime, i.e. with his consent [...] is to be regarded as Bruckner's last original version? Only philological bickering has been able to obscure the self-evident fact that only Bruckner himself could determine the final form of his

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid. *'Fest steht, daß von Bruckners „Fünfter Symphonie“ zwei Fassungen existieren: eine von Bruckners Hand geschriebene und eine von Bruckner als seine letzte Fassung anerkannte Druckfassung. Bei Bruckner sind zwei Fassungen von Werken nichts Ungewöhnliches. Von der Dritten Symphonie gibt es sogar zwei verschiedene Drucke, denn Bruckner hat immer wieder an seinen Werken geändert und gefeilt, und nichts ist begreiflicher, als daß Bruckner die Fünfte Symphonie für den Druck umgearbeitet hätte, da zwischen der Komposition des Werkes und dem Druck zwanzig Jahre liegen. Wer die Fassung des Stiches, die zu Lebzeiten Bruckners erschienen, also authentisch ist, für nicht brucknerisch hält, müßte es irgendwie beweisen; nicht mit Vermutungen und Annahmen, sondern mit Noten von der Hand der Bearbeiter. Nur so könnte man Bruckners erklärten Willen für nichtig erklären.'*

symphony. What scholarly arrogance. To reply to Bruckner, who himself brought his 'Fourth' Symphony to print: "Bruckner is wrong here!"⁴⁸¹

Graf is clear that, in his opinion, any changes between the manuscript version and the first edition were changes made by Bruckner. He concedes that the Ninth Symphony might be different, since Bruckner did not live to complete it; but for the other numbered symphonies, any changes should be regarded as approved by Bruckner: 'If the manuscripts and printed versions of the symphonies differ, then the changes in the print are undoubtedly Bruckner's changes; only in the Ninth Symphony, which Bruckner did not complete, might the situation be different. There are printed copies with Bruckner's handwritten changes, for example in the Third Symphony, as well as manuscripts with Bruckner's cuts.'⁴⁸² This is especially so with the Fourth Symphony: 'With the Fourth Symphony, considerations of this kind are superfluous. Its printed score is authorised by Bruckner. It is his last word, for which even philologists, but above all artists, must have reverence.'⁴⁸³ In modern scholarship Benjamin Korstvedt has

⁴⁸¹ Mg., 'VI Philharmonic Concert', *Der Tag*, 22 February 1938: 8. 'Die zweite Hälfte des Konzerts wurde von Bruckners „Vierte Symphonie“ in der sogenannten „Originalfassung“ – also nicht in der Fassung des Partiturdruks – ausgefüllt. Ungern sehe ich Bruno Walter auf diesem Weg, den unter den großen Dirigenten Furtwängler mit richtiger Überlegung vermeidet. Was kann es Selbstverständlicheres geben, als daß jene Form, in der Bruckners „Vierte“ zu Lebzeiten des Meisters, also mit dessen Zustimmung gedruckt worden ist, und in der das wunderbare Werk in Anwesenheit Bruckners im Wiener philharmonischen Konzert am 20. Februar 1881 gespielt worden ist, die Form, in der es Hermann Levi und Arthur Nikisch Muck und Franz Schalk als vollkommene Arbeit erschienen ist und Tausende Hörer zu Brucknerianern gemacht hat, als letzte Brucknersche Originalfassung zu gelten hat? Nur Philologengezänk hat die selbstverständliche Tatsache, daß nur Bruckner selbst zu bestimmen habe welches die endgültige Form seiner Symphonie sei verdunkeln können. Welcher Gelehrtenwindel. Bruckner, der seine „Vierte Symphonie“ selbst zum Druck befördert hat, zu antworten: „Hier irrt Bruckner!“'

⁴⁸² Ibid. 'Wenn Handschriften und Druck der Symphonien voneinander abweichen, so sind die Änderungen im Druck ohne jeden Zweifel Brucknersche Änderungen; nur bei der „Neunten Symphonie“, die Bruckner nicht vollendet hat, mag es vielleicht anders sein. Druckvorlagen mit handschriftlichen Änderungen Bruckners liegen vor, so bei der Dritten Symphonie, auch Handschriften mit Kürzungen Bruckners. Bruckner war sehr peinlich auf Befolgung seiner Niederschriften bedacht.'

⁴⁸³ Ibid. 'Bei der Vierten Symphonie sind Erwägungen dieser Art überflüssig. Ihre gedruckte Partitur ist von Bruckner autorisiert. Sie ist sein letztes Wort, vor dem auch Philologen, vor allem aber Künstler Ehrfurcht haben müssen. Die verschiedenen Handschriften der Brucknerschen Symphonien zeigen, wie ein Werk wird, und Franz Schalk bedauerte als er von Wien und von Bruckner ging, nichts mehr, als daß er nicht mehr „in nächster persönlicher Nähe“ am Schaffen des Meisters teilnehmen könne und er sich nur in Gedanken vorstellen könne, „wie ein neues Werk kräftig emporwächst...“ „Kräftig emporwächst“; vielleicht schreiben sich die neumodischen Bruckner-Philologen, die den von seinen Schülern tyrannisierten, eingeschüchterten und umgearbeiteten

argued that the first editions of the Third (1879 and 1890 versions), Fourth, and Seventh Symphonies should be regarded as ‘authentic versions prepared, supervised, and authorized by Bruckner’.⁴⁸⁴ For these symphonies, then, Graf’s argument of authenticity can be accepted.

The fundamental framework of debates around the *Gesamtausgabe* on the one hand and the first editions on the other was a matter of formal construction. While the advocates of the *Gesamtausgabe* argued that Bruckner’s form had been obscured by the editorial practices of Schalk and Löwe, Graf and the advocates of the first editions explained that Bruckner’s form was seldom different in the first editions than it was in the manuscripts; and in those instances where it was different, those changes could often be reasonably seen to be authenticated by Bruckner. The exception to this was the Ninth Symphony which was completed and published after Bruckner’s death. Both sides of this debate argued inaccuracies: Haas committed the crime of restructuring Bruckner’s work, the very same crime of which he accused Schalk and Löwe, therefore negating any claims that his editions (particularly Nos.2 and 8) were authentic Bruckner originals; and Graf’s argument that Bruckner’s Fifth Symphony was published during his lifetime and was therefore authentic has been disproved by modern scholarship on the editions.⁴⁸⁵ Regardless of the accuracy or validity of their arguments, however, it is certain that the treatment of Bruckner’s form found in these debates sought to identify an inner unity, coherence, or logic that was vital in re-shaping the perceived relationship between musical form and Bruckner’s symphonic writing in Viennese critical discourse. This debate articulated the formal coherence of Bruckner’s symphonies for both sets of editions and therefore played an important part in the dissemination of formality as an aesthetic characterisation of Bruckner’s symphonic music more broadly. Many of these attributes were not only significant

Bruckner erfunden haben, der Bruckner, wie wir ihn erlebt und gekannt haben, so unähnlich wie möglich ist, das Schalksche Wort hinter die Ohren. Kräftig Gewachsenes lässt sich nicht hin- und herbiegen. ‘

⁴⁸⁴ Korstvedt, ‘Bruckner Editions’: 132.

⁴⁸⁵ Korstvedt, “‘Return to the Pure Sources’”; Korstvedt, ‘Bruckner Editions’; Margaret Notley, ‘Bruckner Problems in Perpetuity’, *19th-Century Music* 30, No.1 (2006): 81–93. Horton *Bruckner’s Symphonies*.

in the debates surrounding the editions, however. Ideas about Bruckner's inner strength and the coherence of that expression surfaced in the writings of critics identifying Bruckner's Austrianness and it is to that topic that my attention now turns.

The Austrian Bruckner

Every Bruckner symphony is basically a fantasy on the subject of Austria. That is why we love Anton Bruckner, who is still measured with critical yardsticks elsewhere. This mystic's faithful wealth of feeling pours out in an elemental stream over the adopted architectural framework, because his heart has more to say, because his feelings are stronger than he could express in the conventional framework. Like a Gothic cathedral master builder, he aspires to zones close to heaven and makes the forests and fields, the whole atmosphere of his, our homeland, resound.⁴⁸⁶

Peter Lafite wrote these words in the *Neues Österreich* on 13 June 1945. I open with this quotation because it succinctly demonstrates the various ways in which Bruckner's Austrianness was articulated. Bruckner's symphonies were perceived to be demonstrative of Austria. Bruckner's Catholicism was central to his life and differentiated him from northern Germans; for Lafite and many other critics, the combination of religious belief and overflowing emotion were explanations for any overflowing of conventional form (or 'architectural framework') in Bruckner's symphonies. Both Catholicism and emotion were viewed as traits

⁴⁸⁶ Peter Lafite, 'Philharmonic Concert', *Neues Österreich*, 13 June 1945: 4. 'Jede Bruckner-Symphonie ist im Grunde eine Phantasie über das Thema Österreich. Deshalb lieben wir Anton Bruckner, den man anderswo immer noch mit kritischen Maßen mißt. In elementaren Strom ergießt sich der gläubige Empfindungsreichtum dieses Mystikers über das übernommene architektonische Formgerüst, weil sein Herz mehr zu sagen hat, weil sein Gefühl stärker empfindet, als er in dem herkömmlichen Rahmen ausdrücken könnte. Gleich einem gotischen Dombaumeister strebt er in himmelnahe Zonen und bringt die Wälder und Felder, die ganze Atmosphäre seiner, unserer Heimat zum Klingen.'

specific to Austrians and typically misunderstood by other Germans. Bruckner's music, in being representative of Austria, was also perceived to evoke the Austrian landscape; allusions to 'forests and fields', for example, were common in this discourse. Lafite succinctly articulates the culmination of these components in Bruckner's symphonies with his final sentence: 'Like a Gothic cathedral master builder' (magnificent structural form), 'he aspires to zones close to heaven' (religious devotion) 'and makes the forests and fields' (nature), 'the whole atmosphere' (spirit) 'of his, our homeland, resound'.⁴⁸⁷ At this final moment, Lafite connected Bruckner's homeland to the identity of the people, suggesting a desire to unite national identity under the banner of Bruckner's music.

Austrian Form

In 1913 Walter Niemann drew attention to the difference between North German musical formality and an implied Austrian looseness:

Thus, when listening to Bruckner's symphonies, one must completely abandon the North German architectural sense, the North German power of concentration and brevity, and temporarily become an Austrian. One must immerse oneself deeply in each individual part, feel its often marvellous beauties and just as quickly turn to the new with the same power of conception; one must not think that unity can only arise from multiplicity. This is not given to everyone, least of all to the North Germans, and so it can be prophesied with certainty that Bruckner's empire will probably remain limited to Upper [Austria] and Southern Germany much less because of its pious Catholic colour than because of its lack of inner organisation.'⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ Niemann, *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 13 November 1913: 1. 'So muß man beim Hören Brucknerscher Symphonien völlig des norddeutschen architektonischen Sinnes, der norddeutschen Konzentrationskraft und Knappheit sich

This seems to be a curious way of defending Bruckner against criticisms of ‘formlessness’, to suggest that his music should be popular in Austria because Southern Germany has a ‘lack of inner organisation’, but Niemann is attempting to re-frame the mode of analysis adopted for Bruckner’s symphonies. Evidently it would miss the mark to view Bruckner’s form through the same critical lens as Brahms’s. To understand Bruckner’s form, it is essential to think like an Austrian.

Max Graf in 1919 made similar observations about the difference between North German and South German (i.e. Austrian) music:

Bruckner’s two greatest symphonies, the Eighth and the Ninth, were on the programme of the Bruckner Festival. How distant seem the days when it was possible to misjudge this music! Today one recognises that Anton Bruckner reached out to Schubert, and that in Bruckner’s symphonies Schubert’s folkloristic music-making, with its joy in natural sound and landscape moods, has been revived. The tradition of southern German Symphonic music, which is close to nature, sensuous and bright-sounding, while northern German symphonic music from Philipp Emanuel Bach to Brahms weaves in the stricter element of thought, reaches up to Anton Bruckner, the farmer’s son, who presses the plough deep into the soil of symphonic thoughts, while the birds sing around him and the radiant sun shines above his bald peasant skull.⁴⁸⁹

entschlagen und vorübergehend zum Oesterreicher werden. Man muß sich tief in jeden einzelnen Teil hineinleben, seine oft wunderbaren Schönheiten empfinden und ebenso schnell dem Neuen die gleiche Empfängniskraft zuwenden; man darf nicht daran denken, daß aus der Vielheit erst die Einheit erstehen soll. Das ist nicht jedem gegeben, am wenigsten dem Norddeutschen, und so kann mit Bestimmtheit prophezeit werden, daß das Reich Bruckners viel weniger durch seine fromme katholische Farbe, als durch seine mangelnde innere Organisation wohl auf Ober- und Süddeutschland beschränkt bleiben wird.

⁴⁸⁹ Graf, *Die Zeit*, 30 April 1919: 1. ‘Bruckners zwei größte Symphonien, die Achte und die Neunte, standen auf dem Programm des Bruckner-Festes. Wie weit entfernt scheinen die Tage, da es möglich war, diese Musik zu verkennen! Heute erkennt man, daß Anton Bruckner Schubert die Hand reicht, und daß in den Symphonien Bruckners das volkstümlich breite Schubertsche Musizieren mit seiner Freude an naturhaftem Klang, mit seinen Landschaftsstimmungen sich neu belebt hat. Die Tradition süddeutscher Symphoniemusik, die, sinnensfreudig und

Hans Rutz, in 1939, identified this difference too. But rather than ascribing Brahms to North Germany and Bruckner to South Germany, as was usually the case, Rutz compared the conducting styles of Hans Weisbach (North) and Oswald Kabasta (South) in their interpretations of Bruckner's Sixth Symphony:

Whereas in Weisbach's work one senses the distinctly North German relentlessness in the entire intellectual order and structure, in Kabasta's work the South German immediacy of feeling is at work. Thus, especially in the Sixth, the Adagio had to become the blossoming, melodious centre of the composition. The movement was shaped like a single, magnificent melodic arch. Here, Bruckner has completed what has been realised in many previous works: Bruckner's indestructible sense of unity, which binds an unearthly bliss in the "material" of the sound, becomes a radiant victory here.⁴⁹⁰

In the same article, Rutz reported on a speech given by Minister Dr Seyß-Inquart, in which he said: 'Just as Germany regarded Bruckner as the "musical expression of the heroic" in the German, so Germany should also regard the Ostmark: as the "musical expression of the

hellklingend, der Natur nahesteht, während die norddeutsche Symphoniemusik von Philipp Emanuel Bach bis Brahms im strengerem Element der Gedanken webt, reicht herauf bis zu Anton Bruckner, dem Bauernsohn, der den Pflug tief eindrückt in das Erdreich symphonische Gedanken, während um ihn herum die Vögel singen und über seinem kahlen Bauernschädel die strahlende Sonne leuchtet.'

⁴⁹⁰ Rutz, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 6 July 1939: 9. 'Oswald Kabasta, ein Bruckner-Dirigent der impulsiven Gestik mit einem urwüchsig-kraftvollen Sinn für die unbedingte Intensität alles Melodischen, mußte gerade in der Sechsten Bruckners auf eine Welt stoßen, in der sich seine dirigentische Bedeutung am unzweideutigsten offenbaren konnte. Die Zäsuren werden nun mit erlebnishafter Vehemenz überspannt und in einem neuen Sinn überwunden. Denn das Klangliche lebt sich breit aus und wirkt über weite Strecken der Zwischenspeile hinweg. Spürte man bei Weisbach die ausgesprochen norddeutsche Unerbittlichkeit in der ganzen geistigen Ordnung und Anlage, so wirkte bei Kabasta die süddeutsche Unmittelbarkeit der Empfindung. So mußte, zumal eben in der Sechsten, das Adagio zum blühenden, klangseligen Mittelpunkt der Gestaltung werden. Wie ein einziger, großartiger Melodiebogen war der Satz gestaltet. Hier hat Bruckner vollendet, was in vielen vorhergegangenen Werken bis zur großartigen Ahnung vorgedrungen ist: Bruckners unzerstörbares Einheitsgefühl, das eine überirdische Seligkeit im „Material“ des Klanges bindet, wird hier strahlender Sieg.'

German soul”.⁴⁹¹ This statement accesses an idea widely propagated in political ideology at the time: that Austria (referred to as the ‘Ostmark’ or Eastern part of the German Reich by pan-Germanists) represented the pure, untarnished soul of the German people.⁴⁹²

Central to the writings of these critics was the distinction between North German and South German (or Austrian). While one was outwardly rigorous and strict, the other possessed a more organic, natural order. On the whole, these critics seem to articulate a preference for the Austrian softness of construction although perhaps only insofar as they wished for Austria and its characteristics to become better recognised and valued by the wider community of German people.

Significant emphasis was placed on Bruckner’s Austrian soul (sometimes German soul) because Upper Austria was viewed as a place unhindered by what National Socialism would have deemed to be racial contamination. In 1943 Alexander Witeschnik wrote in the official National-Socialist Party newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*: ‘Bruckner came from one of the most Germanic corners of old Austria, a region that had lost all Slavic blood influence.’⁴⁹³ The German soul found in Bruckner’s music could therefore be understood to be purely German. But it was not only after National Socialism marched into Austria that these ideas could be found. Walter Niemann wrote similar ideas (if in a different way) in November 1913: ‘With these Upper Austrian peasant idylls, the great local artist Bruckner has taught our ever more inexorably Americanising and cosmopolitan times that the tree of all genuine art will never have its roots sunk deep into its native soil destroyed with impunity.’⁴⁹⁴ For Niemann,

⁴⁹¹ Ibid. ‘Wie Deutschland Bruckner betrachte, als den „musischen Ausdruck des Heldenhaften“ im Deutschen, so möge auch Deutschland die Ostmark betrachten: als „musischen Ausdruck der deutschen Seele“.‘ For the political orientation of the *Völkischer Beobachter* see, Roland V. Layton, ‘The *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1920–1933: The Nazi Party Newspaper in the Weimar Era’, *Central European History* 3, no. 4 (1970): 353–82.

⁴⁹² For pan-Germanism see Chapter 2. Also see Thorpe, *Pan-Germanism*.

⁴⁹³ Alexander Witeschnik, ‘Cultural Police and Entertainment: Anton Bruckner and Vienna’, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 4 June 1943: 3. ‘Bruckner stammt aus einem der deutschesten Winkel des alten Österreichs, einem Landstrich, dem jeder slawische Blutseinfluß ferngeblieben war.’

⁴⁹⁴ Niemann, *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 13 November 1913: 1. ‘Mit diesen oberösterreichischen Bauernidyllen hat der große Heimatkünstler Bruckner unserer immer unaufhaltsamer amerikanisierenden und kosmopolitischen

the genuine art of Bruckner could not be ‘destroyed’ by cosmopolitanism or ‘Americanising’; I think the latter here can reasonably be assumed to mean commercialism.

There is another composer, besides Bruckner, who lingers on the tongue in discussions of Austrian soul: Franz Schubert. Niemann compared the two Austrian composers in this way:

The essential difference between Schubert and Bruckner in terms of soul actually only concerns Lower and Upper Austria. The more closely woven are the threads that lead from one to the other. These are general, brilliant characteristics of the musically eminently gifted Austrian people: warmth of heart, full-blooded feeling, the soul of nature, a sense of sound, a folkloristic flavour. All of this is Austrian, Viennese.⁴⁹⁵

While Peter Lafite compared them in this way in 1945:

When one hears Schubert’s small ‘insignificant’ Sixth and Bruckner’s monumental Seventh in succession, one senses very clearly what unites these works and their creators, what unites Schubert and Bruckner in general: the heartbeat of genuine Austrianism, the Austrian soul, which manifests itself to the outside world in an unmistakable native dialect that speaks from the harmony and melos of those two masters who have grown so dear to us.⁴⁹⁶

Zeit gelehrt, daß dem Baum aller echten Kunst seine tief in den Heimatboden gesenkten Wurzeln nie ungestraft zerstört werden.‘

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid. ‘Zwischen Schubert und Bruckner betrifft der wesentliche Unterschied seelisch eigentlich nur Nieder- und Oberösterreich. Desto enger gewebt sind die Fäden, die von einem zum anderen leiten. Es sind allgemeine glänzende Eigenschaften des musikalisch eminent begabten österreichischen Volkes: Herzenswärme, vollblütiges Empfinden, Naturbeseelung, Klangsinne, volkstümlicher Einschlag. Das alles ist österreichisch, ist wienerisch.’

⁴⁹⁶ Lafite, *Neues Österreich*, 13 June 1945: 4. ‘Wenn man Schuberts kleine “unbedeutende” Sechste und Bruckners monumentale Siebente nacheinander hört, dann empfindet man überdeutlich, was diese Werke und ihre Schöpfer, was überhaupt Schubert und Bruckner vereint: Der Herzschlag echten Österreichertums, die österreichische Seele, die sich nach außen kundtut in einem unverkennbaren Heimatdialekt, der aus Harmonie und Melos dieser beiden uns so sehr ans Herz gewachsenen Meister spricht.’

Although Lafite ascribes greater value (or so it seems) to Bruckner's 'monumental Seventh' than he does to Schubert's 'insignificant Sixth', an imbalance not found in Niemann's comparison, the grounds for connecting the two composers remains the same. For Niemann, it was the 'full-blooded feeling' and 'warmth of heart' that set these Austrians apart; for Lafite, it was 'the heartbeat of genuine Austrianism'. For both critics, despite their temporal distance, it was heart and soul that defined the Austrian.

All of these sources indicate that the Austrian character had a certain softness, which contrasted with the rigour of Northern Germany. Chapter 2 has already embellished this phenomenon in the comparison of Brahms and Bruckner, and Chapter 3 has identified the varied approaches to antisemitism in Austria and Germany which mirrors the relaxed vs strict characteristics attributed to the two countries. Discussions about Bruckner's Austrianness abound in his reception, but none of the critics that I have studied ascribed the rigorous form of someone like Brahms to Bruckner's symphonies. Rather than foraying into musical theory, in pursuit of a mode of analysis that would unlock Bruckner's form, the general approach was to open up a pluralistic view of how form was conceived. Some music theorists did try to theorise Bruckner's music, but they did so in the same way as the critics: by explaining Bruckner's form as an outflowing of his personality and lived experience.⁴⁹⁷ In 1920, Ernst Kurth argued that:

In Bruckner's closed forms of the symphony, a substantially different trait of form breaks through than in classical art, even though he leaves the basic blocks of its

⁴⁹⁷ On theorisations of Bruckner, see Grunsky, *Bruckners Symphonien*; Grunsky, *Anton Bruckner*; Grunsky 'Bruckner als K nder einer neuen Zeit'; Grunsky, *Der Kampf um deutsche Musik!*; Grunsky, 'Der erste Satz von Bruckners Neunte': 21–34, 104–12; August Halm, 'Melodie, Harmonie und Themenbildung bei Anton Bruckner', ' ber den Wert der Brucknerschen Musik', 'Etwas  ber musikalische Logik', *Neue Musik Zeitung* 28, No.2 (1906), 42–43, cited in Lee A. Rothfarb, *August Halm: A Critical and Creative Life in Music* (Boydell & Brewer, 2009); Halm, *Die Symphonie Anton Bruckners*; Kurth, *Bruckner*. For the spirituality of Bruckner's form, see Margaret Notley, 'Formal Process as Spiritual Progress: the Symphonic Slow Movements', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 190–204.

structure outwardly intact, albeit greatly expanded and inwardly multiplied [...]. This trait could be characterised by the fact that it is not so much directed towards form as an outline, but towards form as a force, instead of closed circles it drives towards real undulations.⁴⁹⁸

In his other writings, Kurth generated theorisations of form based on a psychoanalytic biography of Bruckner.⁴⁹⁹ The idea of form as a ‘symphonic wave’ was central to Kurth’s theorisations, which used the first editions as their music-analytical textual basis.⁵⁰⁰ August Halm, in his 1914 book on Bruckner, also found a new way of understanding musical form in Bruckner’s music. Halm viewed form as a living being, devoting an entire chapter to the topic of ‘Form as experience’.⁵⁰¹ What is common to both of these theoretical endeavours, is the extent to which the very concept of form, and its parameters, were re-conceptualised. In the case of Bruckner, both theorists and critics viewed his form as a representation of something living, a soul, a personality. The vitality of Austria was often evoked by critics in this re-framing. If his music deviated from formal structures, therefore, it was because it had organically outgrown the bounds of pre-existing templates. In other words, Bruckner’s music possessed an inner coherence that became accepted as quite different but no less successful than the outward form of Brahms. Indeed, as national socialist ideology exploded across German-Europe, the internal became far more valued than the external (the latter of which could be adopted or learned).

⁴⁹⁸ Ernst Kurth, *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners “Tristan”* (Max Hesse, 1920): 299–300. Cited in Alfred Orel, *Anton Bruckner: Das Werk – Der Künstler – Die Zeit* (A Hartleben’s Verlag, 1925): 73. I have consulted the original source to confirm Orel’s citation.

⁴⁹⁹ Kurth, *Bruckner*.

⁵⁰⁰ See Lee A. Rothfarb (ed.), *Ernst Kurth: Selected Writings* (Cambridge University Press, 2009): 149–207.

⁵⁰¹ Halm, *Die Symphonie Anton Bruckners*. Cited in Orel, *Anton Bruckner*: 74. I have consulted the original source to confirm Orel’s citation.

Politics and Tourism

The role of politics in Bruckner's twentieth-century reception has been studied thoroughly in some areas: his preferential treatment by Adolf Hitler, for whose death the Adagio of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony was played on the radio in commemoration; the speech given by Joseph Goebbels for the addition of the Bruckner bust to the Regensburg Valhalla in 1937; the *Dunkelkonzerte* performed by Hans Weisbach in Vienna between 1939 and 1944, in which Bruckner's symphonies are typically assigned pride of place; and the financial backing provided by the National Socialist Party for the *Gesamtausgabe* of Bruckner's works.⁵⁰² In other words, the National Socialist politicisation of Bruckner's symphonies has been covered, and for good reason. The topics drawn out in this literature appeared in the critical press at the time too, but owing to its extensive coverage thus far I will draw out only a few examples of this reception so as to focus on earlier eras of the Austrian politicisation of Bruckner's work.

In 1939, Friedrich Bayer identified two acts undertaken by Hitler that demonstrated the cultural and historical significance he (Hitler) attached to Bruckner's works: 'the honour paid to the master when he was ceremoniously ushered into the Valhalla as a national hero on the occasion of the Regensburg Music Festival' and the provision of an 'annual subsidy for the production of the complete scholarly edition'.⁵⁰³ These two actions are precisely the two moments identified most often by present-day scholars.

⁵⁰² Margaret Notley, 'Bruckner and Viennese Wagnerism', in *Bruckner Studies*, eds Paul Hawkshaw and Timothy L. Jackson (Cambridge University Press, 1997): 107–123; Gilliam, 'The Annexation of Anton Bruckner'; Benjamin Korstvedt, 'Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception', *The Musical Quarterly* 80 (1996): 132–160; Stephen McClatchie, 'Bruckner and the Bayreuthians: Or *Das Geheimnis der Form bei Anton Bruckner*', in *Bruckner Studies*, eds Paul Hawkshaw and Timothy L. Jackson (Cambridge University Press, 1997): 110–121; Solvik, 'The International Bruckner Society'; Nicholas Attfield, 'Throwing Some Light on the Dunkelkonzerte: Towards a New Image of Concert Life in Vienna, 1939–1944', in *Music and World War II*, eds Pamela Potter, Roberta Montemorra Marvin, Christina Baade (Indiana University Press, 2020): 148–171; Korstvedt, 'Language and Ideology'.

⁵⁰³ F.B., *Völkischer Beobachter*, 6 July 1939: 6. 'Welche kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Führer und Reichskanzler als engster Landsmann des Meisters dem Schaffen Anton Bruckners beimißt, lassen zwei Regierungsakte des deutschen Staatsoberhauptes deutlich erkennen. Vorerst die Ehrung des Meisters, als er gelegentlich des Regensburger Musikfestes als Nationalheros feierlichen Einzug in die Walhalla hielt. Bei den Eröffnungsfeierlichkeiten dieses Bruckner-Festes – und das ist die zweite Kulturtat des Nationalsozialismus im Sinne Anton Bruckners – ließ die deutsche Reichsregierung verkünden, daß sie zur Herztellung der wissenschaftlichen Gesamtausgabe eine namhafte jährliche Subvention bis zur endgültigen Fertigstellung aller

L. Schmid., writing in 1940 also identified the Valhalla celebration as a ‘significant step on the path to Anton Bruckner’: ‘which was determined by none other than the Führer himself. Anton Bruckner to the whole German people! That is the meaning of the elevation of the simple village schoolteacher to the German Valhalla. That is why the great, strong Bruckner movement of the present day is by no means merely a current, a fashion.’⁵⁰⁴ But Schmid also pulled out an event that I have not come across before:

It was therefore a highly significant idea of District IV of the NSDAP to take Bruckner out into the city’s inner ring road to the workers and employees of Favoriten and let him perform for them. Many of them were there, who perhaps came into contact with serious music for the first time in their lives. But it would be too little to merely speak of a successful attempt. This Sunday morning celebration was a success in itself. It is the beginning of a great work under the motto: “The masters of German music to the whole German people.”⁵⁰⁵

This concert is clearly borne of the same ideas that modern scholarship articulates of this period, but it is remarkable that it has received so little attention given how strongly it demonstrates the ‘socialist’ aspect of National Socialist cultural politics. Ideas of *Bildung* in Austria and Germany, and especially the power of culture to effect this kind of intellectual and

Sammelbände bereitgestellt habe. Dadurch war das Lebenswerk des Meisters für die deutsche Nation und darüber hinaus der gesamten Musikwelt sichergestellt.‘

⁵⁰⁴ L.Schmid., ‘Anton Bruckner is All of Ours: Morning Celebration of District IV of the NSDAP’, (*Neuigkeits*) *Welt Blatt*, 8 October 1940: 4. ‘ein bedeutsamer Schritt auf dem Weg zu Anton Bruckner, den kein geringerer als der Führer selbst bestimmt hat. Anton Bruckner dem ganzen deutschen Volk! Das ist ja der Sinn der Erhebung des schlichten Dorfschullehrers in die deutsche Walhalla. Darum ist auch die große, starke Bruckner-Bewegung der Gegenwart keineswegs lediglich eine Zeitströmung, eine Modesache.’

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid. ‘Es war daher ein hochbedeutsamer Gedanke des Kreises IV der NSDAP, Bruckner hinauszutragen in die Bannmeile der Stadt, zu den Arbeitern und Angestellten von Favoriten und ihn vor diesen wirken zu lassen. Viele waren dabei, die vielleicht zum ersten Male in ihrem Leben zu ernster Musik in Verbindung traten. Es wäre aber zu wenig, hier lediglich von einem geglückten Versuch zu sprechen. Diese morgendliche Sonntagsfeier trug den Erfolg in sich. Sie ist der Anfang eines großen Werkes unter dem Motto: „Die Meister deutscher Musik dem ganzen deutschen Volk.“‘

spiritual uplift were here employed in a remarkable political occasion. How this intersected with the ongoing war, however, is unclear to me. I wonder whether these events continued on account of the commented upon ‘success’ of this celebration. Would they have continued in times of peace, or did they find increased demand precisely because of the War? There is not the space to investigate this further here, but I do hope that further research will be conducted in relation to this socialist utilisation of Bruckner’s music.

These instances of Bruckner’s reception provide a flavour of the National Socialist appropriation of Bruckner, and offer support, acknowledgement, and concurrence with the work of my colleagues and predecessors.⁵⁰⁶ These depictions of Bruckner are of great significance not only for the treatment of Bruckner under National Socialist rule, but also for the continued legacy of Bruckner’s music since 1945. That is not to say, however, that the history of politicising Bruckner can be boiled down to the National Socialist era alone; nor to the individual slices of *fin-de-siècle* Bruckner-Brahms antithesis and National Socialism. No scholar, I am sure, would attempt to make such a claim, but the current historical literature on the subject focusses so primarily on these two eras that the intervening years have remained slightly overlooked.

As I will demonstrate, the years of the First Austrian Republic laid the foundations for many of the strategies later adopted by National Socialism. This is not to say that Brucknerian politicisation was teleological, inevitably destined to land in the Third Reich, but rather to re-assign some political autonomy to Austria (specifically Vienna) in the decades prior to *Anschluss*. The historical actors in 1911, 1919, or 1921 (for example) could have had no way of knowing the ends to which their cultural strategies would later be used.

⁵⁰⁶ For a more thorough account of Bruckner’s National Socialist reception see Gilliam, ‘The Annexation of Anton Bruckner’; and Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations*.

In 1919 as the newly formed Austria sought to establish itself under its newly assigned title German-Austria, Max Graf used Bruckner's symphonies as a way to generate sentiments of national identity:

After all, in Anton Bruckner's music the word "German-Austria" has long been more than just an empty term. Even if the fine urban cities, who felt happy with French novels and Italian operas, mocked this music, it was still intimately connected with all that was great and strong in the German-Austrian homeland. It was full of folk power and folk splendour, the colours strong and unbroken, the lines broad and simple. The Upper Austrian landscape looked in, green fields and dense forest, the old river and the ice mountains in the distant background.⁵⁰⁷

Graf also related this German-Austria to Catholicism, the faith held devoutly by Bruckner, widely found to be expressed in his music, and crucially, an identity to which many of the Austrian population could attach personal significance: 'The Catholic mood of Bruckner's musical world is probably also one of the elements from which the term "German-Austria" is formed. The old peasant country was full of the old peasant faith.'⁵⁰⁸

In 1921, an anonymous article in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (a socialist newspaper that seems to have been curiously quiet on the topic of Bruckner) identified a desire to claim Bruckner for Vienna: 'the city of Vienna cannot stand back when others at the same time endeavour to bring Bruckner's sublime masterpieces to ever wider audiences, an art remains, even in the modest

⁵⁰⁷ Graf, *Die Zeit*, 30 April 1919: 1. 'Ist doch in der Musik Anton Bruckners das Wort „Deutschösterreich“ schon längst kein leerer Begriff. Mochten auch die seinen städtischen Kritiker, die bei französischen Romanen und italienischen Opern sich glücklich fühlten, über diese Musik spotten, so war sie doch mit allem Großen und Starken der deutschösterreichischen Heimat innig verbunden. Volkstümliche Kraft, volkstümlicher Glanz waren in ihr, die Farben stark und ungebrochen, die Linien groß und einfach. Die oberösterreichische Landschaft blickte herein, grüne Felder und dichter Wald, der alte Strom und das Eisgebirge im fernen Hintergrund.'

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid. 'Die katholische Stimmung der Brucknerschen Tonwelt, auch sie gehört wohl zu den Elementen, aus denen der Begriff „Deutsch-österreich“ sich bildet. Das alte Bauernland war voll des alten Bauernglaubens.'

forms that we can achieve today, the art of the mighty master of the German nation.’⁵⁰⁹ The impulse to claim artists for Vienna seems to be a recurring trend. The previous two chapters have identified this same desire in relation to Brahms and Mahler, suggesting that Vienna possessed a view of ownership over the artists who had once created music from within its walls. This claiming phenomenon, of course, is not specific to Vienna or to musicians and can be seen all over the world in tourism advertising.⁵¹⁰

The role of tourism, and by extension festivals designed to stimulate tourism, was an important part of the reception of Bruckner’s music during the interwar period. The earliest incarnation, predating the First World War, was the Vienna Festival Week of 1912 which received significant attention in Chapter 2. From 1919 through to 1939, Bruckner festivals cropped up every few years and the tourism initiatives of Upper Austria in particular started marketing itself as ‘Bruckner-Land’.

The Viennese coverage of the 1935 Bruckner Festival in Linz and St Florian made explicit the perceived links between festivals, international tourism, and the canonisation of Bruckner’s music. Whereas with Brahms the composer was used as a lure for the benefit of Viennese tourism, the ambitions of Bruckner tourism seems to have been aimed more towards the benefit of Bruckner’s widespread acceptance and canonisation. Franz Gräflinger, writing in *Radio Wien*, made this absolutely clear:

Many calls go out to all nations “Come to Austria!” Many advertising agencies are active in Austria to attract foreigners to our country. Tourist organisations work in

⁵⁰⁹ ‘Bruckner Celebration of the City of Vienna’, *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 12 October 1921: 6. ‘Nicht etwa weil es sich um bescheidene Kunst handelte, haben wir Sie zu einer bescheidenen Feier geladen. Aber die Stadt Wien kann nicht zurückstehen, wenn andere zur selben Zeit es unternehmen, Bruckners erhabene Meisterwerke in immer breitere Schichten zu tragen, eine Kunst bleibt auch in den bescheidenen Formen, wie wir sie heute leisten können, die Kunst des gewaltigen Meisters der deutschen Nation.’

⁵¹⁰ The claiming of Wagner in Bayreuth, Mozart in Salzburg, Elgar in Birmingham, or from literature, Wordsworth or Beatrix Potter for the English Lake District are just a few examples of which there are many.

words and pictures to portray the beauty of Austria's nature and landscape in all world languages. Last but not least, in addition to landscape and sport, music and its old, high culture in Austria is also an effective means of advertising... We know that every province in Austria has its patron saint. In recent years, Upper Austria has also chosen a patron saint of music and calls itself: Bruckner-Land. Admittedly, not all nations know or are familiar with the name of the Ansfelden master, the greatest symphonic composer after Beethoven. There is still valuable and important pioneering work to be done here... Linz, which has adopted the name Bruckner City, is making an attempt to advertise the festive Bruckner Days internationally for the first time in the days from 26 to 28 July. Linz has a certain right and at the same time a moral obligation to cultivate Bruckner. Historically and culturally.⁵¹¹

It is clear that, for Gräflinger, Bruckner was a means to generate Austrian tourism. But on the flip side, festival tourism was also a way to propagate awareness of Bruckner. A win-win perhaps, but I remain somewhat sceptical of the idea that an 'unfamiliar' composer could somehow provide the key to international tourism. Nevertheless, Austria certainly believed that Bruckner's 'greatness' held the power to do just that, as Gräflinger's report demonstrates. The Festival was apparently organised by the Upper Austrian Provincial Tourist Office, the City of Linz, and the International Bruckner Society in response to the Salzburg Festival:

⁵¹¹ Franz Gräflinger, 'Art and Culture in Brucknerland: Bruckner Festival in Linz and St Florian, 26–28 July 1935', *Radio Wien*, 19 July 1935: 3. *'Viele Rufe gehen an alle Nationen „Kommt nach Österreich“! Viele Werbestellen sind in Österreich tätig, um Ausländer in unser Land zu bringen. Verbände des Fremdenverkehrs arbeiten in Wort und Bild, die Schönheiten der Natur, der Landschaft Österreichs in allen Weltsprachen zu schildern. Nicht zuletzt ist neben Landschaft und Sport auch die Musik, ihre alte, hohe Kultur in Österreich ein wirksames Werbemittel... Wir wissen: jedes Bundesland hat in Österreich seinen Schutzheiligen. Oberösterreich hat sich in den letzten Jahren auch noch einen Musikschutzpatron erkoren und nennt sich: Bruckner-Land. Freilich, nicht allen Nationen ist der Name des Ansfeldner Meisters, des größten Symphonikers nach Beethoven, bekannt oder geläufig. Hier ist noch wertvolle und wichtige Pionierarbeit zu leisten... Linz, das sich den Namen Bruckner-Stadt beigelegt hat, macht in den Tagen vom 26. Bis 28. Juli den Versuch erstmalig zu den festlichen Bruckner-Tagen international zu werben. Linz hat ein gewisses Anrecht und zugleich eine moralische Verpflichtung der Bruckner-Pflege. Geschichtlich und kulturell.'*

Since Bruckner understandably appears sparingly or not at all in the Salzburg festival programme, the organisers of the Bruckner Festival: the Upper Austrian Provincial Tourist Office, the City of Linz and the International Bruckner Society, want to organise such events every year by way of international advertising. Under the brand “Art and Culture in the Bruckner Land”, the events are to be organised in close contact with Salzburg. Accordingly, participants from abroad and, of course, visitors from Austria are to be introduced to Bruckner’s immortal music, which is rooted in his homeland, from the landscape, culture and folklore of Upper Austria. This is only possible through exemplary performances and the appointment of conductors who understand Bruckner emotionally, for whom the form and content of his symphonies are an open book and who do not experiment with Bruckner. In Bruno Walter, the world-famous baton conductor, who has been familiar with Bruckner’s Gothic style since his youth and who acted as an apostle for Bruckner, the objective and at the same time enthusiastically understanding and warming artist has been found. And in the Vienna Philharmonic, an instrumental body has been secured in which every player is able to empathise with the Austrian spirituality of the Ansfelden master.⁵¹²

⁵¹² Ibid. ‘Da Bruckner im Salzburger Festspielprogramm begreiflicherweise spärlich oder gar nicht aufscheint, wollen die Veranstalter der Bruckner-Festtage: das oberösterreichische Landesverkehrsamt, die Stadt Linz und die Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft, im Wege der internationalen Werbung alljährlich solche durchführen. Unter der Marke „Kunst und Kultur im Bruckner-Land“ sollen die Veranstaltungen in engster Fühlungnahme mit Salzburg stattfinden. Dementsprechend soll den Teilnehmern aus dem Ausland und natürlich auch den Besuchern aus Österreich, die unvergängliche Musik Bruckners, die mit seiner Heimat verwurzelt ist, aus der Landschaft, der Kultur und dem Volkstum des oberösterreichischen Landes erschlossen werden. Dies ist nur möglich durch mustergültige Aufführungen und die Heranziehung von Dirigenten, die Bruckner seelisch erfassen, denen Form und Inhalt seiner Symphonien ein offenes Buch ist, die mit Bruckner nicht experimentieren. In Bruno Walter, dem weltbekannten Stabführer, der seit seiner Jugend mit Bruckners Gotik vertraut ist, der als Apostel für Bruckner auftrat, ist der sachliche und zugleich begeistert-verstehende und erwärmende Künstler gewonnen worden. Und in den Wiener Philharmonikern ist ein Instrumentalkörper gesichert, in dem jeder Spieler sich in die österreichische Geistigkeit des Ansfeldner Meisters einzufühlen vermag.’

This quotation is revealing in a number of ways. The aim of the festival was international advertising (presumably of both Bruckner and Austria). The close connection with Salzburg suggests a common pursuit of Austrian art, rather than competition or squabbling. The role of landscape, culture and folklore are placed as central to Bruckner's 'immortal music', which means that to understand Bruckner requires an understanding of Upper Austria. In performances of his music, 'form and content' are an 'open book' for those conductors who understood Bruckner 'emotionally' and the Vienna Philharmonic, which could 'empathise' with Bruckner's 'Austrian spirituality'. Branding the Festival 'Art and Culture in Bruckner Land' also deliberately strengthens the connections between Bruckner's art and the surrounding landscape.

Robert Konta commented on the sudden influx of visitors to Ansfelden in 1936 as a result of that year's Bruckner Festival: 'In the past, only a few Bruckner enthusiasts actually came to Ansfelden, Bruckner's birthplace; now, large motorcars take almost all the guests at the Bruckner festivals to the tiny Upper Austrian farming village.'⁵¹³ Considering that the ambitions of the festival were clearly interested in the mutual benefit of pairing Upper Austria with Bruckner, the emphasis placed on landscape and experiencing Austria during the festival is unsurprising. Gräflinger was very clear about this and viewed this emphasis on landscape as one of the great attractions of the festival that would in turn ensure Bruckner's canonisation: 'The fact that this Bruckner festival, which also attracts an international audience, takes place on the very soil and in the very places where the master himself lived, played and created, makes it particularly attractive. And so this Bruckner Festival will contribute to making Anton

⁵¹³ Robert Konta, 'The Bruckner Festival', *Das Interessante Blatt*, 23 July 1936: 14. 'Früher sind eigentlich nur wenige Bruckner-Enthusiasten nach Ansfelden, dem Geburtsort Bruckners gekommen; jetzt führen große Autocars fast alle Festgäste der Bruckner-Feste nach dem winzigen oberösterreichischen Bauerndörfchen.'

Bruckner world-famous.’⁵¹⁴ The *Kleine Volks-Zeitung*, in their announcement of the Festival, wrote: ‘I welcome you to the land of Bruckner.’⁵¹⁵

Although it is difficult to determine precisely when these ideas came into common usage, I think the First World War can be seen as a turning point in the Austrian idealisation of Bruckner. While there will probably always be outlying comments that defy any such hypothesis, the difference in rhetorical approach between the 1912 Vienna Music Festival Week and the 1919 Bruckner Festival suggest that the First World War (or the years leading up to it) formed a crucial turning point.⁵¹⁶ Of course, this may be a slightly biased comparison, since one festival was aimed at promoting Viennese music in general, while the other was specifically dedicated to Bruckner; but there is little that can be done to get away from that fact, and perhaps it is even highly suggestive that the trend of Austrian music festivals became a composer-specific affair after the First World War.

The 1912 Festival spoke of Bruckner in the same breath as Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms. He was not particularly special, aside from the fact that he belonged among the Viennese musical canon, which was collectively formed of the greatest artistic value. Wilhelm Freiherrn v. Weckbecker wrote in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 3 March 1912:

And yet, even without detailed commentary, this is a great and beautiful thing, a matter of equally far-reaching artistic and economic significance. A start should be made in ensuring that Vienna also takes its rightful place among the centres of great travel, and this on the basis of the most beautiful and strongest artistic tradition of the old imperial

⁵¹⁴ Gräßlinger, *Radio Wien*, 19 July 1935: 3. ‘Dadurch, daß dieses auch für internationales Publikum werbende Bruckner-Fest auf jenem Boden und in jenen Stätten stattfindet, wo der Meister selbst gelebt, musiziert und geschaffen hat, gewinnt es besondere Anziehungskraft. Und so wird dieses Bruckner-Fest mit dazu beitragen, Anton Bruckner Weltgeltung zu verschaffen.’

⁵¹⁵ ‘The Bruckner Festival’, *Kleine Volks-Zeitung*, 27 July 1935: 3. ‘begrüße ich Sie im Bruckner-Land.’

⁵¹⁶ See also Thomas Lebnitz, ‘Anton Bruckner and ‘German Music’: Josef Schalk and the Establishment of Bruckner as a National Composer’, in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, eds Crawford Howie, Paul Hawkshaw, and Timothy Jackson (Ashgate, 2001): 328–340.

city, the musical. We want to put the everlasting magic of the tones that emanate from the city of Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms and Bruckner at the service of this idea.⁵¹⁷

The crux of this argument is not how Bruckner should be received, but that the Viennese canon and the city's 'strongest artistic tradition' should be put to the use of tourism through the Festival Week. A different article in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* on 29 April 1912 wrote likewise:

The Vienna Music Festival Week, which opens on 21 June, will include a programme of high artistic value, worthy of attracting friends of music from the most distant parts of the world. The main group of the festival week consists of three philharmonic concerts. Beethoven will begin the series with the Third Leonore Overture, and he will conclude it with the Ninth Symphony. Anton Bruckner's Ninth Symphony and the premiere of Gustav Mahler's as yet unpublished Ninth Symphony should indicate that the symphonic works of these tone poets also reached the number nine in Vienna.⁵¹⁸

I have discussed the 'canonical composers for tourism' style of writing (to which this article belongs) in Chapter 2; but it is crucial for this chapter that aside from ensuring that Bruckner

⁵¹⁷ Wilhelm Freiherrn v. Weckbecker (1859–1936) was a politician, publisher, and musician.

Wilhelm Freiherrn v. Weckbecker, 'Vienna Music Festival Week 1912', *Neue Freie Presse*, 3 March 1912: 12. 'Und doch handelt es sich um eine, auch ohne ausführlichen Kommentar für sich selbst sprechende, große und schöne Sache, um eine Angelegenheit von ebenso weittragender künstlerischer als wirtschaftlicher Bedeutung. Es soll ein Anfang damit gemacht werden, daß auch Wien den ihm gebührenden Platz unter den Zentren des großen Reiseverkehrs einnehme, und dies auf der Grundlage der schönsten und stärksten künstlerischen Tradition der alten Kaiserstade, der musikalischen. Den unvergänglichen Zauber der Töne, der von der Stadt Beethovens, Schuberts, Brahms' und Bruckners ausgeht, wollen wir in den Dienst dieser Idee stellen.'

⁵¹⁸ 'Vienna Music Festival Week', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 29 April 1912: 10. 'Die Wiener Musikfestwoche, die am 21. Juni eröffnet wird, wird ein Programm von hohem künstlerischem Werte enthalten, das würdig ist, aus den fernsten Teilen der Welt die Freunde der Musik anzulocken. Die Hauptgruppe der Festwoche bilden drei philharmonische Konzerte. Beethoven wird die Reihe mit der Dritten Leonoren-Ouvertüre beginnen und er beschließt sie mit der Neunten Symphonie. Die Neunte Symphonie von Anton Bruckner und die Uraufführung der noch unveröffentlichten Neunten Symphonie von Gustav Mahler sollen darauf verweisen, daß die symphonischen Werke auch dieser Tondichter die Neunzahl in Wien erreichten.'

and Mahler were both lined up next to Beethoven, Bruckner received no specific treatment that was not also granted to Beethoven or Mahler. The praise of Bruckner ahead of the 1912 Festival, in other words, was generic. By the 1919 Festival, however, the advocacy of Bruckner had become specific.

On 30 April 1919, Max Graf wrote of the difficulties associated with festival spirit after the First World War. In the aftermath of the War, Austria had been plunged into a crisis of national identity: nothing of the old Austrian Empire remained and the new ‘German-Austria’ meant little. It was only in Bruckner’s music that the designation ‘German-Austria’ could gain some traction and take on meaning.

Now this undertaking has really been carried out, moreover in gloomy and anxious times, when it is difficult to raise spirits for music festivals, and symphonies, choral works and chamber music have proclaimed in four concerts the greatness of the master of Ansfelden, whose work has grown out of the strong soil of the Upper Austrian homeland.

For many listeners, it must have been a special experience to hear Bruckner’s music in the present day. “German-Austria” is still a new concept to us, one that has not yet fully entered into our emotions and does not yet carry with it the ghostly army of centuries-old associations. When the word “Austria” was mentioned, everything we learnt at school resonated. Prince Eugene and Maria Theresa and Radetzky marched past, all the dynastic and historical legends hummed along, an old gentleman with a white beard and blue eyes stood there and saluted. The word “German-Austria” does not yet have such sound and image magic.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁹ Graf, *Die Zeit*, 30 April 1919: 1. ‘Nun ist dieses Unternehmen wirklich durchgeführt worden, nach dazu in trüber und sorgenvoller Zeit, in der es schwer ist, für Musikfeste Stimmung aufzubringen, und Symphonien, Chorwerke und Kammermusik haben in vier Konzerten die Größe des Meisters von Ansfelden verkündet, dessen Werk aus der starken Ackererde der oberösterreichischen Heimat herausgewachsen ist. // Für viele Hörer dürfte

K. too, writing in *Der Neue Tag* on 25 April 1919 noted the change in status awarded to Bruckner: ‘No external occasion gives rise to these days of musical consecration; only the need to honour Bruckner and to bestow this honour on the musical city of Vienna. In the history of German music, and especially the music of German Austria, “Bruckner” has a different status today than it did during the master’s lifetime.’⁵²⁰ Evidently, the years intervening 1912 and 1919 ignited a desire to connect with Bruckner’s Austrianness. Austrian and German culture, as is well known, have always had a complicated, intertwined relationship. Even in K.’s words above, Bruckner’s music belonged to the history of ‘German music’ but especially the music of ‘German Austria’. For Austrians mourning the loss of their old Austrian national identity, searching for something to hold onto as an anchor point, the music of Anton Bruckner provided a connection to the (Upper) Austrian landscape (always commented upon but subsequently adopted almost unanimously) as well as a broader cultural connection to the wider category of German music. I think it was during those years of mourning after the foundation of the First Republic of Austria that the Austrian elements of Bruckner’s music became nostalgic, eternal, even legendary and were viewed as a musical expression of the identity of the Austrian. In her chapter of *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, Christa Brüstle agreed with this conclusion, commenting that ‘after 1918 and the foundation of the First Austrian Republic, a little more was made of Bruckner the ‘Austrian’.’⁵²¹ In subsequent festivals this identification

es ein Erlebnis besonderer Art gewesen sein, gerade in den jetzigen Tagen Brucknersche Musik zu hören. Noch ist uns „Deutschösterreich“ ein neuer Begriff, der nicht ganz ins Gefühl übergegangen ist und noch nicht das Geisterheer jahrhundertealter Assoziationen nach sich zieht. Nannte man das wort „Oesterreich“, so klang alles mit, was man als Kind in der Schule gelernt hatte. Prinz Eugen und Maria Theresia und Radetzky zogen vorbei, alle dynastischen und historischen Legenden summten mit, ein alter Herr mit weißem Bart und blauen Augen stand da und salutierte. Das Wort „Deutschösterreich“ hat noch keine solche Klang- und Bildermagie.’

⁵²⁰ K., *Der Neue Tag*, 25 April 1919: 8. ‘Kein äußerer Anlaß läßt diese Tage musikalischer Weihe zustandekommen; nur das Bedürfnis, Bruckner zu ehren und mit dieser Ehrung die Musikstadt Wien reich zu beschenken. In der Geschichte der deutschen Musik und ganz besonders der Musik des deutschen Oesterreich nimmt das Blatt „Bruckner“ heute einen anderen Rang ein als zu Lebzeiten des Meisters.’

⁵²¹ Christa Brüstle, ‘The Musical Image of Bruckner’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 253.

with Bruckner's Austrianness developed, either as a source of pride for fellow Austrians or a source of tourism and widespread appreciation not only for Bruckner but also for Austria.

In 1924 the Austrian Ministry of Education held a Bruckner Celebration to mark the centenary of his birth. An article in *Radio Wien* on 29 November 1924 reflected: 'The centenary celebrations held in Anton Bruckner's memory in the autumn of this year showed how deeply the creative essence of the once derided Bruckner is rooted in Austrian native soil.'⁵²²

On 2 December, Max Graf wrote: 'I can still hear laughter when people in Vienna spoke of Anton Bruckner, the comic fool, the boorish eccentric, and I can still see the reviews in the major Viennese newspapers that treated Bruckner as a composing idiot who babbled Wagnerian nonsense. Now Anton Bruckner is being celebrated as a national hero. As the great Austrian. As the genius.'⁵²³ Some sort of transition is demonstrated here between the liberal, intellectual milieu of the late nineteenth century, which portrayed or perceived Bruckner to be something of a simpleton, and the increasingly nationalist, purist ideology of a country suffering in the wake of external conflict and internal identity crisis. The role of Austrian identity is important in this revised image of Bruckner. Benjamin Korstvedt has argued that, at the end of the nineteenth century, 'critical resistance to Bruckner's music was part of a debate then swirling about the proper definition of Austrian *bürgerlich* identity.'⁵²⁴ The 'great Austrian' Bruckner of this 1924 article was evidently important to Austrian identity, but on this side of the *fin-de-siècle* supporting Bruckner's music was the path to an Austrian identity that had dropped some of its earlier, liberal values.⁵²⁵ Ernst Decsey, in 1920, had linked the 'battle

⁵²² *Radio Wien*, 29 November 1924: 2. 'Die Jahrhundertfeier, die im Gedächtnis Anton Bruckners im Herbst dieses Jahres begangen ward, wies, wie tief das schöpferische Wesen des einst verspotteten Bruckners in österreichischem Heimatboden wurzelt.'

⁵²³ Max Graf, 'Bruckner Celebration', *Der Tag*, 2 December 1924: 4. 'Noch höre ich Gelächter, wenn man in Wien von Anton Bruckner, dem komischen Narren, dem bäurischen Sonderling sprach, noch sehe ich die Kritiken der großen Wiener Blätter vor mir, die Bruckner als komponierenden Idioten behandelt haben, der wagnerisch Unsinn lallt. // Jetzt feiert man Anton Bruckner als nationalen Heros. Als den großen Österreicher. Als das Genie.'

⁵²⁴ Korstvedt, 'Reading Music Criticism': 160.

⁵²⁵ A Bruckner obituary written by Heinrich Schuster in the *Deutsche Zeitung* on 5 November 1896 'associated opposition to Bruckner with "the old Liberal" tendency in politics.' Korstvedt, 'Reading Music Criticism': 164.

of the Brucknerian symphony' with the struggle of the Catholic ethos against 'the faithless soul of liberalism'.⁵²⁶ The simplicity, authenticity, or rural grounding of Bruckner's personality and music became in this temporal gap an increasing priority for Viennese critics.

In November 1924, J.B. wrote of the forthcoming celebration in the *Neues Wiener Journal*:

The German Reichstag celebrated the Centenary of Anton Bruckner's birth with an impressive rally. The German parliament did not miss the opportunity to give Anton Bruckner, the German composer, a worthy birthday celebration. Bruckner is not only a German, but also an Austrian composer, one of the most Austrian there is. The highest state art department – the Art Department of the Ministry of Education – has therefore taken it upon itself to organise a Bruckner celebration and has found out with its tact that the state cannot pass by the Bruckner year without having drawn attention to this centenary.⁵²⁷

Despite the evident role of politics in this celebration, J.B. claimed that Bruckner was a completely 'apolitical but not extra-parliamentary matter':

In a long and persistent clash of opinions, Bruckner's work has today been raised to a height from which it can no longer be brought down and in which it must continue to

⁵²⁶ Decsey, 'Die bekenntnislose Seele des Liberalismus', in *Bruckner: Versuch eines Lebens*, 98. Translation cited from Korstvedt, 'Reading Music Criticism': 164.

⁵²⁷ J.B., 'The Tone Poet in the National Council: On the Bruckner Celebration of the Ministry of Education', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 19 November 1924: 5. 'Der deutsche Reichstag hat den hundertsten Geburtstag Anton Bruckners durch eine imposante Kundgebung gefeiert. Die deutsche Volksvertretung hat es sich nicht nehmen lassen, Anton Bruckner, dem deutschen Tondichter, eine würdige Geburtstagfeier zu bereiten. Nun ist Bruckner aber nicht nur ein deutscher, sondern auch ein österreichischer Tondichter, einer der österreichischen sogar, die es gibt. Die oberste staatliche Kunststelle – die Kunstabteilung des Unterrichtsministeriums – hat es sich daher nicht nehmen lassen, eine Bruckner-Feier zu veranstalten, hat mit seinem Takt herausgefunden, daß der Staat an dem Bruckner-Jahr nicht vorüber kann, ohne von Staats wegen auf diesen hundertsten Geburtstag aufmerksam gemacht zu haben.'

exist in the sense of absolute art, untainted by any political influences. Bruckner is a completely apolitical but not extra-parliamentary matter, if one understands parliament as the epitome of the people, whose opinion in the case of Bruckner must culminate in the fact that Bruckner is a master to whom the adoration of the people belongs.⁵²⁸

The idea that Bruckner's work could 'no longer be brought down' from its canonical 'height' supports my earlier assertion that Bruckner had entered the canon by about 1919.

The Ministry of Education sent out the following announcement (according to J.B.) about the Bruckner celebration: 'This year, the musical world is celebrating the centenary of Anton Bruckner's birth in a festive manner. The supreme state arts administration is also taking this important event as a welcome occasion to celebrate this great Austrian master.'⁵²⁹ It is clear from the programme of the celebration that visitors were hoped to interact with the city of Vienna. Each of the events of the programme were held in different locations, thus ensuring that celebration goers sampled a variety of Viennese locations:

The programme of the Bruckner celebration is as follows:

1. Bruckner celebration at the University of Vienna with the participation of the Vienna academic choral and orchestral Society on Thursday 20 November at 4:30pm in the Ballroom of the Vienna Hofburg.

⁵²⁸ Ibid. *'In langem und hartnäckigem Widerstreit der Meinungen ist das Werk Bruckners heute zu einer Höhe emporgehoben worden, aus der es nicht mehr herabgeholt werden kann und in der es im Sinne absoluter, von keinerlei politischen Einflüssen angekränkelter Kunst fortbestehen muß. Bruckner ist eine vollkommene unpolitische aber nicht außerparlamentarische Angelegenheit, wenn man unter Parlament den Inbegriff des Volkes versteht, und dessen Meinung muß ja im Falle Bruckner darin gipfeln, daß Bruckner ein Meister ist, dem die Verehrung des Volkes gehört.'*

⁵²⁹ Ibid. *'Das Unterrichtsministerium versendet über die Bruckner-Feier die folgende offizielle Mitteilung: // Die musikalische Welt begeht in diesem Jahre die hundertste Wiederkehr des Geburtstages Anton Bruckners in festlicher Weise. Auch die oberste staatliche Kunstverwaltung nimmt dieses bedeutsame Ereignis zum willkommenen Anlaß, diesen großen österreichischen Meister zu feiern.'*

2. Viennese premiere of Bruckner's Mass in B flat minor in the Vienna Court Chapel, Sunday 23 November at 10:30am.
3. Bruckner celebration in the rooms of the rector of the Castle Chapel in the Schweizerhof, Wednesday 26 November, 8pm.
4. Festive reception at the Federal Ministry of Education, Saturday 29 November at 5pm.
5. Festive concert by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra under the direction of Franz Schalk in the large Musikvereinssaal, Sunday 30 November at noon.
6. Bruckner celebration of the University of Music and Performing Arts, beginning of December.⁵³⁰

Off the back of the successful Bruckner Festival in Linz in 1935, at which the 'Bruckner-Land' motto was first installed, the organisers were quick to start plans for a second Bruckner Festival the following year. On 23 July 1936, the day after the second festival closed, Robert Konta reported:

The magnificent success of the Bruckner Festival of 1935, the first far-reaching event of the Austrian "Art and Culture in Bruckner Land" movement, had already led to the certainty in autumn 1935 that the festival would not end with the start of the high artistic sensation. No, the real artistic success on the one hand and suggestions from the broad community of Austrian Bruckner friends on the other hand had brought about the

⁵³⁰ Ibid. 'Das Programm der Bruckner-Feier ist folgendes: 1. Bruckner-Feier der Wiener Universität unter Mitwirkung des Wiener akademischen Gesang- und Orchestervereines am Donnerstag den 20 November ½ 5 Uhr nachmittags, im Festsaal der Wiener Hofburg. 2. Wiener Uraufführung der Messe in B-moll von Bruckner in der Wiener Hofkapelle, Sonntag den 23 November um ½ 11 Uhr vormittags. 3. Bruckner-Feier in den Räumen des Rektors der Burgkapelle im Schweizerhof, Mittwoch den 26 November, 8 Uhr abends. 4. Festlicher Empfang im Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Samstag den 29 November um 5 Uhr nachmittags. 5. Festkonzert der Wiener Philharmoniker unter Leitung des Direktors Franz Schalk im großen Musikvereinssaal, Sonntag den 30 November mittags. 6. Bruckner-Feier der Hochschule für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Anfang Dezember.'

programme for the second Bruckner Festival in 1936, which now took place from 18 to 22 July.

This time however, we are focussing on the addition to the Bruckner Festival – the Bruckner landscape.⁵³¹

He commented on the intended authenticity of the festival: ‘The five days of the Second Bruckner Festival begin on 18 July; what they offer – in terms of art and landscape – is true Austria. Just as Bruckner is the true Austrian composer of the great symphonic forms.’⁵³² In the same sentence, Konta here connects Bruckner ‘the Austrian composer’ to the Bruckner of ‘great symphonic forms’. Austrianness and formality, therefore, come together in Konta’s review of the 1936 festival.

A further festival took place in October 1936, entitled the VII International Bruckner Festival. Professor of Musicology, Professor Robert Lach, gave an hour-long speech at the University of Vienna, in which he ‘sought to fathom why people everywhere today flee to Bruckner as a refuge of music’.⁵³³ Stefan in his report of the festival let loose a call for ‘Bruckner propaganda’ to spread to those countries previously indifferent to Bruckner’s music, claiming that this would be beneficial not just for Bruckner, but also for Austria:

⁵³¹ Konta, *Das Interessante Blatt*, 23 July 1936: 14. ‘Der großartige Verlauf des Bruckner-Festes vom Jahre 1935, der ersten weitausgreifenden Veranstaltung der österreichischen Bewegung „Kunst und Kultur im Bruckner-Land“, hat schon im Herbst 1935 die Gewißheit reifen lassen, nicht mit dem Auftakt der hohen künstlerischen Sensation abzuschließen. Nein, der wirklich künstlerische Erfolg einerseits und Anregungen aus der breiten Gemeinde der österreichischen Bruckner-Freunde andererseits haben das Programm für das zweite Bruckner-Fest vom Jahre 1936, das nun von 18. bis 22. Juli stattfand, gezeitigt. // Diesmal aber gilt unser Augenmerk der Beigabe zum Bruckner-Fest – der Bruckner-Landschaft.’

⁵³² Ibid. ‘Mit dem 18. Juli setzen die fünf Tage des zweiten Bruckner-Festes ein; was sie schenken – an Kunst und Landschaft –, das ist echtestes Oesterreich. So wie Bruckner der eigentlich österreichische Tondichter der großen symphonischen Formen ist.’

⁵³³ P.Stf., ‘Epilogue to the Bruckner Festival’, *Die Stunde*, 16 October 1936: 4. ‘der Ordinarius der Musikwissenschaft Prof. Lach eine einstündige Rede, die sich mit allen Elementen von Bruckners Lebenswerk befaßte und namentlich zu ergründen suchte, warum man heute allenthalben zu Bruckner als zu einem Hort der Musik flüchtet’

The participation of foreign audiences at the Bruckner Festival was gratifying, that of the Viennese audience was warm and grateful – but not always as expected in terms of numbers. Were they offered too much Bruckner? We can't believe that in Austria. It is more likely that Bruckner's works are so dear and familiar to us in our daily lives that some of us do not need a festive incentive to hear them again. It is at least possible that some have regarded the "original versions" of the symphonies with a kind of shyness and then recorded them. They should be told: Bruckner remains, original or in conventional version, but Bruckner and for many the differences will not be noticeable at all. For the rest of us, who are "from the building", they have of course sometimes given us a shock, which has already been reported on – but they were also very interesting to us and at least certainly worth listening to, one more thing before we conclude with thanks to the organisers of this Bruckner Festival: Bruckner propaganda should now be attempted especially in those countries which have hitherto been indifferent, even hostile to Bruckner. Of course, it would not only be about Bruckner, but above all about propaganda for the Austria that Bruckner meant and without which he cannot be understood: landscape, architecture, tradition, culture in the broadest sense. So let us first proclaim this Austria before we complain about a lack of understanding for Bruckner!⁵³⁴

⁵³⁴ Ibid. *'Die Teilnahme des Auslandes am Bruckner-Fest war erfreulich, die des Wiener Publikums zwar herzlich und dankbar – aber der Zahl nach nicht immer die erwartete. Hat man ihm zuviel Bruckner geboten? Das können wir in Österreich nicht glauben. Es wird eher so sein, daß uns Bruckners Werke sozusagen im täglichen Gebrauch dermaßen lieb und vertraut sind, daß manche keinen festlichen Anreiz brauchen, sie wieder zu hören. Möglich ist es immerhin, daß manche die „Original-Fassungen“ der Symphonien mit einer Art Scheu betrachtet und dann auch aufgenommen haben. Ihnen sei zugerufen: Bruckner bleibt, Original oder in herkömmlicher Fassung, doch Bruckner und für viele werden die Unterschiede gar nicht merkbar sein. Uns ändern, die wir „vom Bau“ sind, haben sie freilich manchmal einen Schock versetzt, worüber schon berichtet wurde – aber sie waren uns allerdings auch in hohem Maß interessant und zum mindesten gewiß wert, gehört zu werden. Noch etwas, ehe wir mit dem Dank an die Veranstalter auch dieses Bruckner-Festes schließen: Bruckner-Propaganda sollte jetzt ganz besonders in den Ländern versucht werden, die sich gegen Bruckner bisher gleichgültig, ja ablehnend verhalten. Es würde sich da freilich nicht allein um Bruckner handeln, sondern vor allem um Propaganda auch für jenes Österreich, das Bruckner meinte und ohne das er nicht zu verstehen ist: Landschaft, Architektur, Tradition, Kultur im weitesten Sinn. Verkünden wir also zuerst dieses Österreich, ehe wir über mangelndes Verständnis für Bruckner klagen!'*

It is unbelievably clear here that Bruckner was a musical representation of Austria. For Stefan it was impossible to understand Bruckner if you did not already understand Austria. Much of this discourse evidently stems from a desire to canonise Bruckner's music.

The final festival to which I draw attention took place in 1939. Hans Rutz published the following in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* on 6 July 1939, arguing that the festival had been a 'manifestation' of 'Bruckner's position in our time':

the Bruckner Festival of 1939 became a manifestation of Anton Bruckner's position in our time in general. In Linz and St Florian, Bruckner's music communicated the spirit of the landscape in all its relationships to the work and the man to the receptive senses; in Vienna, in the Musikvereinssaal, as Bruckner's life's work took the hard-fought path into the musical world and ended it victoriously, the confirmation of this in the solemn setting of the Bruckner Festival had to become an unmistakable certainty, which since the publication of the original versions had become increasingly clear on the horizon of the struggle for or against the "right" Bruckner: Bruckner's work has become the firm possession of the German musical world, his will and spirit alone are the sacred standard and untouchable for the musical practice of the present day. Today, now that the original versions of Bruckner's complete works are available, all this must become all the more true and irrefutable certainty, the more consciously and temporal distance of the present to the creation of the works and their assertion enables the well-intended will of the friends who helped Bruckner's work to victory through revisions of all kinds to be recognised as a historical necessity.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁵ Rutz, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 6 July 1939: 9. 'erhoben sich die Bruckner-Festtage des Jahres 1939 zu einer Manifestation der Stellung Anton Bruckners in unsrer Zeit überhaupt. In Linz und St. Florian teilte sich der Musik Bruckners der Geist der Landschaft in all seinen Beziehungen zu Werk und Mensch den aufnehmenden Sinnen mit, in Wien im Musikvereinssaal, da Bruckners Lebenswerk den schwer umkämpften Weg in die musikalische

The connection between Bruckner's music and the Austrian landscape appears here. The original versions and the battle for the 'right' Bruckner fought by the *Gesamtausgabe* is also drawn out. His music had become canonical: the 'firm possession of the German musical world', 'the sacred standard' and 'untouchable'. These three components: Austrianness, the *Gesamtausgabe*, and canonisation were not only the three primary features of Bruckner's position in 1939. They were also the three primary factors contributing, as I have demonstrated, to the re-evaluation of Bruckner's formality. After the First World War, the frequency of associations between Bruckner and Austria increased. In order to understand Bruckner's form, many critics argued, it was essential to understand Austria. This was especially clear in the tourism advertising of festivals, which sought to promote Austria while simultaneously canonising Bruckner on the international stage. The arguments famously associated with Bruckner's National Socialist reception appeared during the interwar years in Vienna. The rhetoric of these discussions focussed on the purity of Austrian spirit, the resulting unity of Bruckner's form (which was viewed as an expression of his Austrian spirit), and the role of Bruckner's music in unifying the Austrian people. The re-orientation of how form was perceived and argued in this discourse enabled Bruckner's music to be viewed as formally coherent because it was an organic outflowing of a 'pure', Austrian soul.

Welt nahm und siegreich beendete, mußte nun die Bestätigung dessen im feierlichen Rahmen der Bruckner-Tage unmißverständliche Gewißheit werden, was sich seit dem Erscheinen der Originalfassungen immer deutlicher am Horizont des Kampfes für oder wider den „richtigen“ Bruckner abhob: Bruckners Werk ist fester Besitz der deutschen Musikwelt geworden, sein Wille und Geist allein sind der Musikübung der Gegenwart heiliger Maßstab und unantastbar. Dies alles muß heute, nachdem die Originalfassungen des Bruckner-Gesamtwerkes vorliegen, gerade dann um so mehr zur Wahrheit und unumstößlichen Sicherheit werden, je bewußter der zeitliche Abstand des Heute zur Entstehung der Werke und ihrem Durchsetzen den wohlgemeinten Willen der Freunde, die Bruckners Werk durch Ueberarbeitungen jeglicher Art zum Sieg verholfen haben, als eine geschichtliche Notwendigkeit anzuerkennen ermöglicht.

Conclusion

Bruckner's music underwent an aesthetic re-evaluation from formlessness to formality which was facilitated and stimulated by three factors: the canonisation of Bruckner's symphonies; the critical discourse surrounding the *Gesamtausgabe* project; and the adoption of Bruckner as a symbol for musical Austria. These latter two factors (outcomes themselves of canonisation) were of primary significance in the transformation of Bruckner's perceived formality. I have argued that the transition from formlessness to formality took place across three phases and was the result of three factors that were intricately entwined with the canonisation of Bruckner's music. The first phase took place in the years leading up to 1912 and resolved the Bruckner-Brahms antithesis which had been primarily responsible for accusations of formlessness levelled at Bruckner's symphonies. The death of Hanslick (the most significant voice holding up this antithesis) in 1904 allowed other critics and conductors (Ferdinand Löwe in particular) to bridge the gap between these two composers. The second phase took place between 1912 and 1919 and saw Bruckner's indoctrination into the Viennese canon. The resolution of the Bruckner-Brahms antithesis and the growing support for Bruckner's music gradually allowed the status of Bruckner's music to rise to comparison with other canonical composers, especially Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms. The third phase found critics identifying the formal coherence of Bruckner's symphonies and took place primarily from 1919 onwards, reaching full maturation in the 1930s and 1940s. These three steps: removing formlessness, gaining popularity, and becoming formally coherent map the trajectory from formlessness to formality in Bruckner's symphonic reception between 1911 and 1945. The role of canonisation in this mapping is of self-evident importance, but the side-effects of canonisation which manifested in the *Gesamtausgabe* project and the adoption of Bruckner for Austrian propaganda were of even greater significance.

The *Gesamtausgabe* project stimulated debates in the Viennese press in which critics argued over the formal coherence of both sets of editions. Advocates of the *Gesamtausgabe* sought to discredit the first editions and argue instead for the formal strengths of Bruckner's manuscripts, which were published by the *Gesamtausgabe*. The supporters of the *Gesamtausgabe* therefore articulated the formality of their editions. Those critics who preferred the first editions, however, responded to those arguments by arguing instead for the formal coherence of the first editions. They did this by arguing that the alterations made by Schalk and Löwe were primarily changes to instrumentation rather than form, and therefore the formal coherence of the manuscripts was no different to the formal coherence of the first editions. These critics (headed by Max Graf) also drew significant attention to Bruckner's personality and the reverence held for him by his early editors. Regardless of their preferred editions, therefore, commentators engaging in this debate propagated ideas about Bruckner's formal coherence, which found their way into the pool of ideas associated with Bruckner's music more broadly.

The adoption of Bruckner by and for Austrian tourism, identity formation, and propaganda meant that a synthesis of factors crystallised to present Bruckner's symphonies as inherently coherent. Central to this Austrian formality were ideas of inwardness, feeling, soul and a natural, organic purity of construction. This was sometimes contrasted with the North German rigour ascribed to the music of Brahms and J.S. Bach. In the process of becoming formal, therefore, Bruckner's music was not suddenly ascribed the formal powers of intellectual construction for which Brahms was famous. Rather, critics drew attention to an inner logic, spiritual necessity, or surplus of feeling that underpinned Bruckner's use of form and to understand his form, it was necessary to first understand what it meant to be Austrian.

As will have become clear, none of the components of Bruckner's reversal from formlessness to formality can be completely divorced from their political context. The

Bruckner-Brahms antithesis was fraught with political dissonances; the canonisation of Bruckner's music and the resolution of the antithesis therefore had certain political resonances too; the *Gesamtausgabe* project was financially supported by the National Socialist Party; and the adoption of Bruckner for Austrian propaganda was frequently and distinctly entwined with various national-political agendas. But in this chapter I have also demonstrated that Bruckner's reception cannot be reduced down to a teleological process of fascistisation. Yes, national socialism played an important part in the reception of Bruckner's symphonies, but the role of Austria, of the Viennese press, and of the editors and conductors surrounding his works were of enormous significance.

By interrogating the gap left by slice histories, I have demonstrated that the reversal of Bruckner's reception from formlessness to formality was at a fundamental level the result of canonisation. But at a more nuanced level the reversal of Bruckner's formality was predicated on the debates surrounding the *Gesamtausgabe* project and the politicisation of Bruckner's Austrianness. The compound, therefore, of canonisation focussed through the lenses of these two factors resulted in the transformation of Bruckner's music from formlessness to formality.

Conclusion

This study has sought to critique a mode of history writing determined solely on a slice-history approach by highlighting three case studies for which the narratives have been distorted by this method. The tendency to treat history as a series of chronological ruptures, constituting periods of interest and periods assumed to be unworthy of attention, is problematic.⁵³⁶ The problem here does not stem directly from slice-history, nor from the idea that history is created by ruptures, but rather from the practice of overlooking the gaps between these slices. Slice histories are a fantastic way of documenting large-scale developments, but as historians we have a responsibility to interrogate the narratives that are generated by such studies.

In Chapters 2–4, I have sought to ‘plug the gap’ between *fin-de-siècle* and Third Reich (1911–1945) for the reception of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler in Vienna. The issue for these case studies is not only one of time, but also one of place. The slices of history considered most often for these composers consists of a cluster of scholarly activity around *fin-de-siècle* Vienna and a different cluster of scholarship around Germany in the Third Reich. Evidently there is the temporal gap between 1900 and 1945, but there is also a geographical jump from Austria to Germany, from Vienna to Berlin. To some degree, the end of my period necessarily sublates Austria and Germany because Austria came under German control in 1938, but I have resisted any temptation to look back through Viennese history with a retrospective understanding that the historical actors I study would ultimately land in the Third Reich. Part of the value of this research is that it places Vienna at the centre of musical and political debates; it foregrounds the struggles Austria faced in recovering from the First World War, constructing its own national identity, and developing modernisation initiatives; and crucially, it ascribes autonomy

⁵³⁶ Liu, *Collective Remembering*: 135.

to a nation that has variously had that autonomy muddled by its close and complicated interrelations with Germany. Instead of opting for a comparative study of Austria and Germany (which would have been an impractical and unwieldy undertaking), a deliberate objective of this project has been to tell stories about Austrian history in a period that has typically placed Austria in the shadow of Germany. The interwar years, particularly the years of Austrofascism, the *Anschluss* years, and the period of World War Two have tended to be viewed through the rear-view mirror of German occupation. The facts that, between 1918 and 1938, Austria was a fully autonomous nation state; that the period of Austrofascism (1934–1938) was independent of German Nazism and employed political and cultural policies distinct from their German neighbours (notably for this study in relation to racial laws and antisemitism); and that even after Annexation, Austria was still treated differently, often being proscribed more liberties than areas of Germany, all necessitate that Austrian history should be told as its own story.⁵³⁷ Austrian history is, by necessity, closely related to German history for various reasons, not least because of the ways in which Austrians often identified themselves as cultural Germans. But the history told in this thesis has sought to give Austria its due as a nation state with autonomy, filled with cultural and political actors who were not dependent on the actions of their colleagues across the border.

The interrelation between Austria, Germany, and their respective identities took on a fascinating relationship in the reception of Bruckner and Brahms in particular. Bruckner, the Upper Austrian, was adopted by Austrian politics as the supreme emanation of musical Austria. Bryan Gilliam has argued that the German appropriation of Bruckner, memorialised in 1937 at the unveiling of Bruckner's Bust in the Regensburg Valhalla, was a precursor to the German Annexation of Austria that took place in March 1938.⁵³⁸ For both Austria and Germany

⁵³⁷ For some of the differences between Austria and Germany during the Third Reich see Trümpi, *The Political Orchestra*.

⁵³⁸ Gilliam, 'The Annexation of Anton Bruckner'.

Bruckner was adopted as a political symbol of Austrian purity. I have suggested here that Brahms, the North German, was adopted by Austrian pan-Germanists as a symbol of the hoped-for success of a united Germany. These critics argued that it was the combination of Brahms's North German spirit and his adopted Viennese sensuousness that elevated his music to the level of greatness. From the dual-faced perspective of pan-Germanism, then, Bruckner was the Austrian representative adopted by Germany, while Brahms was the German representative adopted by Austria. Mahler did not figure in these discussions. In his case, the debates about national identity struggled with the difference between Mahler as Jewish and Mahler as Austrian, although not all critics understood those two categories as mutually exclusive. While the hard-line racial laws in Germany during the Third Reich were proscriptive in this matter, Austrian antisemitism was more fuzzy in its definitions of who was or was not considered Jewish. Some critics saw Mahler as Jewish, not Austrian; others saw him as Austrian, not Jewish; and others still saw him as both. Those who sought to identify Mahler as Austrian typically also identified him as belonging to the realm of German music. In this sense, German music was typically used by critics writing in relation to all three composers as an umbrella category under which the specific category of Austrian music was safely nestled in the perceived canonical repertory.

All three composers were adopted for projects of identity formation and international tourism. Festivals were held in celebration of each composer as well as Viennese music more broadly, generating income for the city through international tourism, and constructing a Viennese identity founded on the self-fashioning of Vienna as a 'city of music'. While the inclusion of Bruckner and Mahler in these festivals often served to canonise those composers, the inclusion of Brahms in Viennese festivals was more often employed as a means of advertising the city. The ways in which their music was treated by politics has shaped the way these composers are viewed today. Brahms is ascribed multifaceted and sometimes

contradictory representation. He has accumulated more adjectival characterisations than almost any other composer: the liberal Brahms, the German Brahms, the apolitical Brahms, the progressive Brahms. I argue that this mosaic-like accumulation of ascribed identities is the result of factional squabbling over the ownership of Brahms during the interwar years. Brahms's popularity was seemingly so unanimous that everyone sought to fashion Brahms for their political agenda, resulting in a plethora of imaginary Brahmses, each constructed by a different political persuasion. Bruckner, by contrast, was adopted primarily by the political Right and therefore the image of Bruckner that was projected by the majority of his advocates was one that was amenable to many aspects of National Socialist ideology. An emphasis on purity, organicism, and Bruckner's connection to the Upper Austrian landscape were fundamental to his reception between the wars, but they were also the aspects of his music that National Socialism heralded and which have served to continue the perceived connection between Bruckner and the political Right. The role of Catholicism in Bruckner's music was one area that his earlier reception was keen to comment on, but which Joseph Goebbels and the National Socialist State more broadly sought to sweep under the rug (so to speak). Mahler's treatment by Austrian politics was different again. The typical impression of Mahler's treatment during this period is one of ostracism in the hands of National Socialist antisemitism. His music was banished from the concert halls after the *Anschluss* in 1938, but this narrative of victimhood overlooks the widespread success and popularity that Mahler's music found in Vienna throughout the interwar period. The political utility of Mahler was not lost on the Viennese Socialists who sought to fashion Mahler as a composer for the working classes. The treatment of these three composers, then, was starkly different from case to case. Brahms was the object of political and factional squabbling, while Bruckner was the object of factional appropriation. Mahler is a trickier case because he was an object of ostracism in the hands of German antisemitism, but for Austrian politics he was a symbol of socialism in music.

The radio was an important technological development in musical culture which was adopted and largely spearheaded by Vienna after the First World War. In 1924 RAVAG, the Austrian broadcasting company, was created and enabled Vienna to transmit its concerts to the rest of the world. The socialist government of Red Vienna were keen to capitalise on the radio as a means of educating the working classes and widening their engagement with high culture. The expansive number of listeners, 100,000 by January 1925, evidently demonstrates the increased capacity for engagement with concert culture through the radio as compared with the 2,044 person capacity of the Musikverein's Golden Hall or the 1,800 capacity of the Konzerthaus. The socialist idea of transforming Brahms or Mahler into mass culture (even if this plan was flawed by the workers' preference for light entertainment) transformed the images of these composers and in both cases they were adopted as symbols of socialism. Bruckner's music seems to have been used differently for radio broadcasting. His inclusion in programmes such as 'Immortal Music of German Masters' in 1944 demonstrates that his music was more often used for propagandistic aims. The performance of his music over the radio as supplement to political announcements during the Third Reich has been articulated by scholars such as Gilliam.⁵³⁹

Across each of these chapters there are various topics that appear repeatedly in different guises. National identity, radio, tourism, and commerce are a few such topics discussed comparatively above. But each chapter also contains certain topics specific to each composer. In Chapter 2, the discrepancy identified by historical slices between Brahms as conservative and Brahms as modernist is interrogated. It is clear that the adoption of Brahms by Viennese Socialism and the use of his music in modernisation efforts such as tourism effected a re-evaluation of Brahms's music that sought to present it as modern. I have articulated three different types of modernism: stylistic modernism (type 1), modernity pertaining to

⁵³⁹ Gilliam, 'The Annexation of Anton Bruckner'.

compositional technique (type 2), and the idea of a ‘modern feeling’ or spiritual modernism (type 3). Although Schoenberg ascribed type 2 modernism to Brahms in his essay ‘Brahms the Progressive’, it was type 3 modernism, ascribed to Brahms by Socialism, which was most prevalent across this reception history.⁵⁴⁰

In Chapter 3, the widely-perpetuated Mahler myth (which claims a decline, erasure, and revival narrative for Mahler’s posthumous reception) is disproven. Contrary to ideas of decline, Mahler’s music reached a high level of popularity which is demonstrated by both the frequency of his symphonic performances and his critical reception. The separation of man and work which took place from about 1912 allowed Mahler’s music to gain recognition on its own without impediment from objections held by critics and listeners to Mahler the man. Mahler’s music became particularly fashionable after the end of the First World War and his music was adopted by Socialism and Viennese tourism as a form of culture for the masses. While Mahler’s reception was certainly not altogether free from antisemitism, this influence was much less pervasive than has typically been asserted. The close examination of critical reception studied in this chapter demonstrates that, for much of this period, Mahler’s Jewishness presented no problem at all and was seldom discussed by critics.

In Chapter 4, the discrepancy between the perceived formlessness and formality of Bruckner’s music is interrogated. The resolution of the Bruckner-Brahms antithesis, the canonisation of his music, the debates surrounding the *Gesamtausgabe*, and the adoption of Bruckner for Austrian propaganda generated a series of circumstances in which the formality of Bruckner’s music was repeatedly articulated. I have argued that the canonisation of Bruckner’s music was the root cause of this reversal, but the subsequent developments of the *Gesamtausgabe* and articulations of Bruckner’s Austrianness were the most acute phenomena initiating claims for his music as a paradigm of formal coherence.

⁵⁴⁰ Schoenberg, *Style and Idea*.

Across these three chapters, I have illuminated, challenged, nuanced, and explained the narratives of reception held about three of the most prominent composers in Vienna. I have demonstrated the need to investigate history across historical ruptures as well as within them in order to understand both change and continuity so as to avoid creating or perpetuating inaccurate or misleading narratives. Slice histories should continue because they enable us to study much larger periods that could be achieved otherwise and can be illuminating in their findings, but we must not neglect continuous histories as a method of intersecting and interrogating slices of history. This is especially true in the case of reception histories.

Every historian is subject to limitations in the amount of material that they can access, process and meaningfully comment upon. This is no fault of the individual historian, of course, and is simply an axiomatic phenomenon of historical research. To account for this, scholars need to find a way of slimming down their research materials. One traditional approach is to take a single topic or idea and trace it through a period of history. This method typically takes events as its primary source base; in musicology, composers often become events representative of a cultural movement. This method allows a somewhat shallow traverse through history. In counterpoint to this approach, there is the option of a slice history which takes a certain short period of time as its central topic and aims to understand a multitude of events, topics, and ideas prevalent during that period. Studies on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna are a good example of this method, which allows a short but deep insight into individual periods of history. It is in slice histories that ideas are most prevalent as a scholarly source and attention to schools of thought in particular are typically desirable.

In this project I have attempted to adapt the method of chronological history to the area of reception history. I have tracked the ways in which critics responded to the music of three deceased composers in relation to changing politics, culture, and conflict. I do not, therefore, view Brahms, Bruckner, or Mahler as an event; rather, I view their music as an object that was

praised, criticised, manipulated, and appropriated by other people. I construct a history of ideas which responds dialectically to events in a chronological manner. In doing so, I critique and supplement both event-based chronological histories and slice histories. By focussing on a time span *between* typically-studied historical slices, I elucidate the ways in which reception narratives can be transformed between slices. By focussing on three composers rather than just one, I have also been able to mitigate many of the shortcomings of shallowness associated with chronological history. I have generated a comparative history which includes enough depth to accommodate areas of significance for three case studies, while not being so deep as to require a shorter time period or become unmanageable.

If it is the role of the historian to portray history in the most accurate way, generating narratives and uncovering stories that can inspire, describe, or generate empathy and understanding of our human predecessors and their actions, then we must employ every methodology available to us. Each of these three approaches to history (chronological, slice, and comparative) is an essential tool in the historian's quest for understanding. In this thesis, I have ironed out three particular wrinkles in the history of Viennese reception so as to more clearly understand how the images of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler constructed around the two focal nubs of Vienna 1900 and World War Two connect together. The transformation of each composer's legacy was the result of a series of individual cultural and political tensions, imperatives, and preferences which are themselves essential to the ways in which we understand the images of these composers today.

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.⁵⁴¹

For the full database of performances with filters and search functions, see the associated spreadsheet. For a key to the Press Coverage abbreviations in column ‘O’, see the primary sources list in the bibliography.

⁵⁴¹ Appendix 1 has been compiled from the following sources: firstly the online archives of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra. These entries were then cross-referenced with the online archives of the Wiener Konzerthaus and the Musikverein. In the case of the Musikverein, the online archives only extended back as far as 1926; the Musikverein performances between 1911 and 1926 have therefore been verified by the microfilm collection of concert programmes held at the historical archive of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*. On occasions where the records of the orchestra and venue were not in alignment, a note has been made to identify the nature of the discrepancy; in instances where both orchestra and venue records are in agreement, a note has also been made to reflect this.

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		07/01/1911	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Hans Maria Wallner	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Ouvertüre zur Oper "Die Zauberflöte" KV 620; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Entstanden 1874, rev. 1878-80, rev. 1887-88; Dauer 62min, Werkdetails, Komponist:Anton Bruckner (1824 - 1896) Details; 1. Satz: Bewegt, nicht zu schnell, 2. Satz: Andante, quasi allegretto, 3. Satz: Scherzo. Bewegt, 4. Satz: Bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell; Georges Bizet: Suite Nr. 1 WD 40, zusammengestellt aus der Bühnenmusik "L'Arlesienne" ("Das Mädchen aus Arles") WD 28; Georg Goltermann: Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 1 a-moll op. 14; Johann Strauss (Sohn): "Gedankenflug", Walzer op. 215				
Bruckner	No.3	1877	08/01/1911	17:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Grossen Musikvereins saale	Gustav Guhheil	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Sinfonie Nr. 3 D-Moll; W.A. Mozart Violinkonzert A-dur; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zu "Fidelio"			Yes	
Bruckner	No.7		08/01/1911	12:30	5th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Goldnen Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Overture „Die Hebriden“ ("The Hebrides") or „Die Fingalshöhe“ ("Fingals Cave"), op. 26; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107; Ludwig van Beethoven Overture No. 3 to the Opera "Fidelio" ("Leonora Overture") op. 72b			Mitgliedern des k. k. Hof-Opernorchesters. Felix Weingartner. Philharmonische Konzerte. Felix Mendelssohn Ouvertüre zu "Die Fingalshöhe" (Hebriden); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zu "Leonore" Nr. 3 op.72	Z 09.01.1911; AZ 09.01.1911; NWJ 09.01.1911
Brahms	No.4		29/01/1911	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Richard Wagner: Vorspiel zum 1. Akt der Oper "Lohengrin" WWV 75; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Sinfonia concertante für Violine, Viola und Orchester Es-Dur KV 364; Franz Liszt: "Orpheus", symphonische Dichtung Nr. 4 S. 98; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98			Wiener Concertverein. Martin Spörr. Richard Wagner Vorspiel zur Oper "Lohengrin"; W.A. Mozart Konzertante Sinfonie für Violine und Viola; Franz Liszt "Orpheus" Sinfonische Dichtung; 15 Minuten Pause; Johannes Brahms Vierte Sinfonie, E-Moll (Das Werk wurde nach dem Manuskript zum ersten Male am 17. Janner 1886 in einem Philharmonischen Konzert in Wien aufgeführt.)	
Bruckner	No.5		05/02/1911	12:00	Ausserordentliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Großen Musikvereins- Saale	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	C.W. Gluck Ouvertüre zu "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit dem Schlusse von Richard Wagner; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur			Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. On a programme for the Ausserordentliches Sinfonie-Konzert in the Großen Musikvereins Saal on 21 Jan 1911. Also on its own	
Bruckner	No.5		05/02/1911	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Christoph Willibald Gluck: Ouvertüre zur Oper "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit Konzertschluß von W. A. Mozart bzw. R. Wagner; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878); Entstanden 1875-76, rev. 1877-78, Dauer 79min; 1. Satz: Adagio – Allegro 2. Satz: Adagio. Sehr langsam 3. Satz: Scherzo. Molto vivace, schnell 4. Satz: Finale. Adagio – Allegro moderato			Wiener Concertverein. Ferdinand Löwe. C.W. Gluck Ouvertüre zu "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit dem Schlusse von Richard Wagner; Anton Bruckner, Fünfte Sinfonie, B-dur.	DV 06.02.1911; R 11.03.1911
Brahms	No.4		09/02/1911	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven: "Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus", Ouvertüre op. 43a; Camille Saint-Saëns: Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 1 a-moll op. 33				
Brahms	No.2		09/02/1911	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Max von Oberleithner: Einleitung zum 4. Akt der Oper "Ghitana"; Karl Goldmark: Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op. 28; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: "Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt", Konzertouvertüre nach Gedichten von Goethe op. 27			Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2; Enrico Bossi Intermezzi Goldoniani. Für Streichinstrumente (Neu. I. Aufführung in Wien); Karl Goldmark Violinkonzert; Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Ouvertüre "Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt"	
Brahms	No.2		11/02/1911	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Hans Maria Wallner	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: "Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt", Konzertouvertüre nach Gedichten von Goethe op. 27; Johannes Brahms: Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Carl Maria von Weber: Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Felix Weingartner: Serenade für Streichorchester op. 6; Johann Strauss (Sohn): "Accelerationen", Walzer op. 234				
Bruckner	No.4		12/02/1911	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 452; Piotr Iljitsch Tschaiakowski Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 b-moll op. 23; Richard Wagner "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"			Ouvertüre zu "Die Hochzeit des Figaro"; Tchaikovsky Klavierkonzert B-moll Richard Wagner Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds aus: "Die Götterdämmerung"; 15 Minutes Pause; Anton Bruckner Sinfonie Nr. 4 (romantische) Es-dur (Die Sinfonie wurde in Ihrer zweiten Fassung im Juni 1880 beendet und im Februar 1881 in Wien unter Hans Richter zur ersten Aufführung gebracht).	
Brahms	No.2		12/02/1911	10:30			Theater an der Wien	Hans Maria Wallner	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Frédéric Chopin "Noctume" für Violoncello und Orchester in einer Bearbeitung von J. Klengel; Daniel Popper "Ungarische Rhapsodie" für Violoncello und Orchester op. 68; Pablo de Sarasate "Zigeunerweisen" für Violine und Orchester op. 20; Franz Liszt "Hunnenschlacht", symphonische Dichtung Searle 105				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		18/02/1911	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Hans Maria Wallner	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Franz Liszt "Hunnenschlacht", symphonische Dichtung Searle 105; Pause; Jules Massenet Ouverture zur Bühnenmusik "Phédre"; Jean Sibelius "Valse triste" aus der Schauspielmusik zu Arvid Jämfelts Drama "Kuolema" ("Der Tod") op. 44; Ruggero Leoncavallo Phantasie aus der Oper "I Pagliacci" ("Der Bajazzo")				
Bruckner	No.6		21/02/1911	19:30	Fünftes Sinfonie-Konzert in Dienstag-Zyklus		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johann Sebastian Bach Orchestersuite (Ouverture) Nr. 4 D-Dur BWV 1069; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106 Entstanden 1879-1981 Dauer 55min 1. Satz: Majestoso 2. Satz: Adagio. Sehr feierlich 3. Satz: Scherzo. Nicht schnell – Langsam 4. Satz: Finale. Bewegt, doch nicht zu schnell; Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 Es-Dur S 124; Franz Liszt Zweiter Mephisto-Walzer aus Lenau's "Faust"			Wiener Concertverein. Ferdinand Löwe. Bach Suite D-dur; Bruckner Sinfonie Nr. 6 A-dur; Liszt Klavierkonzert Es-dur; Liszt Zweiter Mephisto-Walzer (Erste Aufführung in Wien)	R 11.03.1911
Brahms	No.2		22/02/1911	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Hans Maria Wallner	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Ferdinand Robert Volkmann Serenade Nr. 3 d-moll für Violoncello und Streichorchester op. 69; Pause; Bedrich Smetana Ouverture zur komischen Oper "Prodaná nevěsta" ("Die verkaufte Braut"); Richard Wagner Szenenfolge aus der Oper "Der fliegende Holländer"; Josef Strauss "Sphärenklänge", Walzer				
Brahms	No.1		23/02/1911	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Gustav Guthell	Wiener Concertverein	Beethoven Sinfonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 2; Richard Wagner Ouverture zur komischen Oper "Prodaná nevěsta" ("Die verkaufte Braut"); Lothar Kempter "Capriccio" für Flöte und Orchester; Pjotr Iljitsch Tschairowski Serenade für Streichorchester C-Dur op. 48; Johann Strauss (Sohn) Ouverture zur Operette "Die Fledermaus"; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 2				
Bruckner	No.8		23/02/1911	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890); Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-moll op. 104; Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper "Oberon"			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. Oskar Nedbal. Anton Bruckner Sinfonie Nr. 8; Anton Dvorak Konzert für Violoncello; C.M.v. Weber Ouverture "Oberon"	Z 05.03.1911
Bruckner	No.4		26/02/1911	10:30			Theater an der Wien	Hans Maria Wallner	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Franz Schubert "Deutsche Tänze", instrumentiert von Johann Herbeck; Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper "Oberon"				
Bruckner	No.4		02/03/1911	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Hans Maria Wallner	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper "Oberon"; Pause; Giuseppe Verdi Phantasie aus der Oper "Rigoletto"; Josef Strauss "Delirien", Walzer op. 212				
Bruckner	No.7		03/03/1911	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan", Ouverture c-moll op. 62; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107			Wiener Concertverein. Ferdinand Löwe. Beethoven Ouverture zu "Coriolan"; Beethoven Klavierkonzert G-dur; Anton Bruckner Sinfonie Nr. 7 E-dur	R 11.03.1911; Z 19.03.1911; WZ 19.04.1911
Bruckner	No.8		12/03/1911	12:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)				DV 13.03.1911; Z 19.03.1911; WZ 19.04.1911
Bruckner	No.7		17/03/1911	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107; Richard Wagner Schlusszene des 1. Aktes aus der Oper "Die Walküre" WWV 86B			Wiener Concertverein. Ferdinand Löwe. Grossen Musikvereinsaal. Drittes Konzer für die Arbeiterschaft Wiens. Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7; Wagner Die Walküre, 1. Akt, schlusszenen (Siegmund und Sieglinde).	AZ 16.03.1911; WZ 19.04.1911
Bruckner	No.9		24/03/1911	19:30	Außerordentliche Sinfonie-Konzert im Bruckner-Zyklus		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll			außerordentliche Sinfonie-Konzert im Bruckner Zyklus. Beethoven Ouverture zu "Egmont"; Beethoven Klavierkonzert Es-dur; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9.	NZ 03.04.1911; WSMZ 17.04.1911; WZ 19.04.1911; Z 10.05.1911
Bruckner	No.7		02/04/1911	11:00			Deutsches Volkstheater Wien, Wien	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Franz Liszt "Orpheus", symphonische Dichtung Nr. 4 S. 98; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107				WZ 19.04.1911
Brahms	No.3		05/04/1911	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Richard Wagner "Siegfried-Idyll", symphonische Dichtung WWV 103; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67			Wiener Concertverein. Ferdinand Löwe. Sechster (letztes) Sinfonie-Konzert im Mittwoch-Zyklus. Brahms Sinfonie Nr. 3 F-dur; Wagner "Siegfried-Idyll"; Beethoven Fünfte Sinfonie C-moll	
Brahms	No.3		06/04/1911	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Gustav Guthell	Wiener Concertverein	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zur Oper "Die Zauberflöte" KV 620; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Pause; Henri Vieuxtemps Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 4 d-moll op. 31; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96				
Bruckner	No.4		23/04/1911	12:00		Österreichischer Musikpädagogischer Kongress	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Franz Liszt "13. Psalm" für Tenorsolo, Chor und Orchester			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. Franz Schalk. Fest-Konzert. J.S. Bach Zwei Choralvorspiele für die Orgel; J.S. Bach Phantasie und Fuge in G-moll für die Orgel; Johannes Brahms "Fest und Gedenksprüche" für gemischten Chor a capella; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4; Franz Liszt "Der XIII. Psalm" für Tenorsolo, Chor und Orchester.	MWM 24.04.1911; DV 24.04.1911; NWT 24.04.1911; R 24.04.1911; V 24.04.1911; NWJ 25.04.1911

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.1		19/10/1911	19:30	Ausserordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur; Gustav Mahler "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler "Ich atmet' einen linden Duft" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler "Rheinlegendchen" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur			Yes	NFP 20.10.1911
Mahler	No.4		19/10/1911	19:30	Ausserordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur; Gustav Mahler "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler "Ich atmet' einen linden Duft" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler "Rheinlegendchen" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur			Yes	NFP 20.10.1911
Mahler	No.5		05/11/1911		1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 5 in C-sharp Minor</i> ; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 40] in G Minor, K. 550</i>			Wiener Philharmoniker. 1 Abonnement-Konzert. Veranstaltet von den Mitgliedern des k. k. Hof-Opernorchesters. Großen Saale der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Felix Weingartner, Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5; W.A. Mozart Symphonie C-Dur (Jupiter)	NFP 06.11.1911
Mahler	No.6		28/11/1911	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll; Gustav Mahler "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler "Blicke mir nicht in die Lieder!" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler "Um Mitternacht" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert			Wiener Concertverein. Zweites Sinfonie-Konzer im Dienstag-Zyklus. Ferdinand Löwe. Im Grossen Musikvereins-Saale. Gustav Mahler Sinfonie Nr. 6; Gustav Mahler Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen; Gustav Mahler Blicke mir nicht in die Leide! Gustav Mahler m Mitternacht.	
Mahler	No.2		02/12/1911	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan" Overture; Gustav Mahler "Kindertotenlieder", Liederzyklus nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll			Wiener Concertverein. Bruno Walter. Grosser Musikvereinsaal. 1. (statutarisches) Akademie-Konzert. Gedenk-feier für Gustav Mahler. Beethoven Coriolan-Ouvertüre; Gustav Mahler Kinder-Totenlieder (mit Orchester); Gustav Mahler Sinfonie Nr. 2 C-moll	NFP 03.12.1911
Mahler	No.3		08/12/1911	12:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll			1. Ausserordentliches Gesellschafts-Konzert. Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. Oskar Nedbal. Grosser Musikvereins-Saal. Gustav Mahler Sinfonie Nr. 3.	
Brahms	No.1		14/12/1911	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54; Leone Sinigaglia "Regenlied" für Streichorchester op. 35 Nr. 1; Leone Sinigaglia Etude de Concert (Konzertétude) für Streichorchester op. 5; Bedrich Smetana "Výšeňad", 1. symphonische Dichtung aus "Má Vlast" ("Mein Vaterland")			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. Oskar Nedbal. Johannes Brahms Sinfonie Nr. 1 C-moll; Robert Schumann Klavierkonzert; Leone Sinigaglia 2 Stucke für Streichorchester (Neu 1. Aufführung in Wien); Friedrich Smetana "Vysenrad" Sinfonische Dichtung.	
Bruckner	No.4		26/12/1911	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Gustav Guthell	Wiener Concertverein	Franz Liszt "Hamlet", symphonische Dichtung Nr. 10; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade Nr. 4 D-Dur KV 203; Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op. 81 J 291; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"			Saale. Liszt "Hamlet" (Im Zyklus der sinfonischen Dichtungen); Mozart Serenade D-dur; Bruckner Sinfonie Es-dur (Romantische) (Die Sinfonie wurde in ihrer zweiten Fassung im Juni 1880 beendet und im Februar 1881 in Wien unter Hans Richter zur ersten Aufführung gebracht).	
Brahms	No.3		07/01/1912	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Gustav Guthell	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Franz Liszt "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo", symphonische Dichtung S 96; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Otto Nicolai Ouvertüre zur komischen Oper "Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor"			Gustav Guthell. Brahms Sinfonie Nr. 3 F-dur (Die Sinfonie wurde am 2. December 1883 durch Hans Richter I einem Philharmonischen Konzerte aus dem Manuskript zum ersten Male aufgeführt. Im darauffolgenden Jahre erschien sie im Druck.); Franz Liszt "Tasso" Im Zyklus der sinfonischen Dichtungen); Ludwig van Beethoven Klavierkonzert Nr. 5 Es-dur; O. Nicolai Ouvertüre zu "Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor".	
Brahms	No.1		28/01/1912	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum 1. Akt des Bühnenweihfestspiels "Parsifal" WWV 111; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Edouard Lalo Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 2 d-moll op. 21 "Symphonie espagnole"; Franz Liszt "Hungaria",			Wiener Concertverein. Populären Orchester-Konzerte. Martin Spörr. Wagner Vorspiel zu "Parsifal" Brahms Sinfonie Nr. 1 C-moll; Lalo Sinfonie espagnole; Liszt "Hungaria".	
Brahms	No.1		28/01/1912		6th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert Symphony No. 7 in B Minor, D. 759 ("Unfinished"); Felix Weingartner Das Gefilde der Seligen, sinf. Dichtung op. 21; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			Wiener Philharmoniker. Großen Saal Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Felix Weingartner. VI Abonnement-Konzert. Schubert Sinfonie H-moll (unvollendete); F. Weingartner "Das Gefilde der Seligen"; Brahms Sinfonie Nr. 1 C-moll.	
Brahms	No.1		01/02/1912	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 492; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Franz Liszt "Der Tanz in der Dorfschenke", Mephisto-Walzer, Episode aus Lenau's "Faust"; Richard Wagner "Walthers Prelied" aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" in einer Bearbeitung für Violine und Orchester von Wilhelm; Piotr Iljitsch Tschaiowski Capriccio Italien op. 45				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.2		04/02/1912	20:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Gregor Fitelberg	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms symphonie nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58; Richard Strauss "Also sprach Zarathustra", Föndichtung frei nach Friedrich Nietzsche für großes Orchester			Symphonie-Konzert. Exactly as given in 'programme' column.	
Brahms	No.2		07/02/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy "Die Hebriden" oder "Die Fingalhöhle", Konzertouvertüre op. 26; Friedrich Robert Volkmann Serenade Nr. 3 d-moll für Violoncello und Streichorchester op. 69; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Carl Maria von Weber Konzertstück für Klavier und Orchester f-moll op. 79 J 282, Bearbeitung des Klavierparts: Franz Liszt, S 367a; Carl Maria von Weber "Aufforderung zum Tanz", instrumentiert von Felix Weingartner op. 65 J 260			Wiener Concertverein. Zweites Konzert für die Arbeiterschaft Wiens. Mendelssohn Ouvertüre "Die Hebriden"; Volkmann Serenade für Streichorchester; Brahms Zweite Sinfonie; Weber Konzertstück für Klavier und Orchester; Weber Aufforderung zum Tanz.	
Brahms	No.2		11/02/1912	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge von Johann Sebastian Bach, für Orchester eingerichtet von Albert; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Carl Maria von Weber Konzertstück für Klavier und Orchester f-moll op. 79 J 282, Bearbeitung des Klavierparts: Franz Liszt, S 367a; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg", WWV 96			populären Orchester Konzert. J.S. Bach Introduction, Choral und Fuge; Johannes Brahms, Sinfonie Nr.2 D-dur; C.M.v. Weber Konzertstück für Klavier und Orchester; Wagner Vorspiel zu "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"	
Bruckner	No.7		14/02/1912	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107			Festauflührung anlässlich der Enthüllung des Anton Bruckner-Denkmales in der k. k. Universität. Ferdinand Löwe. Programme same as column K	Z 15.02.1912; DV 15.02.1912; R 15.02.1912; NFP 15.02.1912
Brahms	No.2		15/02/1912	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Musik zu Plus Alexander Wolffs "Preciosa" op. 78 J 279; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Rudolf Braun Suite aus dem Ballett "Marionettentreue"; Richard Wagner Marsch und Chor in der Orchesterfassung aus der Oper "Tannhäuser"				
Bruckner	No.7		25/02/1912	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Pjotr Iljitsch Tschaiowski "Romeo und Julia", Fantasieouvertüre nach William Shakespeare; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 g-moll op. 25; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107			Wiener Konzertverein. Populären Orchester-Konzertes. Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7; Mendelssohn Klavierkonzert G-moll; Tchaikovsky Overture Romeo et Juliet.	
Brahms	No.2		28/02/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Robert Schumann Ouvertüre zum dramatischen Gedicht "Manfred" op. 115; Robert Schumann Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester a-moll op. 129; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre op. 80			Fünftes Sinfonie-Konzert im Mitwoch-Zyklus. 3. Bach Sonata für Violoncello allein; 4. Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2. (No Academic festival overture).	
Bruckner	No.7		29/02/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Jean Sibelius "Karelia", Ouvertüre op. 10			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. Oskar Nedbal. VII. Konzert. Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. VII; W.A. Mozart V. Violinkonzert A-dur; Jean Sibelius Karelia-Ouvertüre (I. Aufführung in Wien)	
Bruckner	No.2		12/03/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zum Festspiel "König Stephan" op. 117; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58; Paul Graener "Sinfonietta" für Streichorchester und Harfe op. 27; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)			Wiener Concertverein. Fünftes Sinfonie-Konzert im Dienstag-Zyklus. Ferdinand Löwe. Beethoven Ouvertüre "König Stefan"; Beethoven Klavierkonzert G-dur; Paul Graener Sinfonietta für Streichorchester und Harfe; Bruckner Sinfonie Nr. 2 C-moll	
Mahler	No.8		14/03/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur				NWJ 15.03.1912; NFP 15.03.1912
Mahler	No.8		15/03/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur				NWJ 15.03.1912; NFP 15.03.1912
Bruckner	No.9		31/03/1912		Nicolai Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms <i>Academic Festival Overture</i> , op. 80; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Concerto for Piano and Orchester No. 4 in G Major</i> , op. 58; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll			Wiener Philharmoniker. Außerordentliches Konzert: Vereines "Nicolai", Krankenkasse der Mitglieder des k. k. Hofopernorchesters. Felix Weingartner. Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9; Beethoven Klavier-Konzert G-dur; Brahms Akademische Fest-Ouverture.	DV 01.04.1912; Z 01.04.1912; R 03.04.1912; WZ 05.04.1912
Bruckner	No.5		08/04/1912	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante für Violine, Viola und Orchester Es-Dur KV 364; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)				
Bruckner	No.8		10/04/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)			Wiener Concertverein. Ferdinand Löwe. Sechstes Sinfonie-Konzert im Mitwoch-Zyklus. Brahms Klavierkonzert D-moll; Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8	
Brahms	No.4		24/06/1912		Vienna Music Week		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arthur Nikisch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overture No. 3 to the Opera "Fidelio" ("Leonora Overture) op. 72b; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 9 in D Minor, WAB 109			Wiener Musikwoche. Arthur Nikisch. Beethoven Overture zu "Leonore" Nr. 3; Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4; Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9	Z 25.06.1912; DV 25.06.1912; NFP 25.06.1912; WAZ 25.06.1912
Bruckner	No.9		24/06/1912		Vienna Music Week		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arthur Nikisch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overture No. 3 to the Opera "Fidelio" ("Leonora Overture) op. 72b; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 9 d-moll			Wiener Musikwoche. Arthur Nikisch. Beethoven Overture zu "Leonore" Nr. 3; Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4; Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9	Z 25.06.1912; DV 25.06.1912; NFP 25.06.1912; WAZ 25.06.1912
Mahler	No.9		26/06/1912		Vienna Music Week		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joseph Haydn <i>Symphonie c-Moll, Hob. I:95</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur</i>			Yes. Mahler Uraufführung aus dem Manuskript. Haydn Symphonie Nr. 9 C-moll; Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9	NWJ 27.06.1912; NFP 27.06.1912

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		30/10/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Paul Scheinpflug	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b; Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Volkmär Andreae Sinfonische Fantasie für großes Orchester, Tenor und Orgel op. 7; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			Erstes Sinfonie-Konzert im Mittwoch-Zyklus. Unter Leitung des Herrn Königl Musikdirektors Paul Scheinpflug (als Gast). Brahms Erste Sinfonie; Schubert Sinfonie H-moll; Volkmär Andreae Sinfonische Fantasie (Erste Aufführung in Wien); Beethoven Ouvertüre zu "Leonore" (Nr. 3) [from the programme to a concert on 22 October 1912].	
Bruckner	No.4		12/11/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op. 81 J 291; Bernhard Sekles "Kleine Suite", dem Andenken E. T. A. Hoffmanns; Hugo Wolf "Italienische Serenade" für kleines Orchester; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"			Zweites Sinfonie-Konzert im Dienstag-Zyklus. Dirigent: Ferdinand Löwe. Weber Ouvertüre zu "Euryanthe"; Bernhard Sekles Kleine Suite ("dem Andenken E.T.A. Hoffmanns") (Erste Aufführung in Wien); Hugo Wolf Italienische Serenade; Bruckner Vierte Sinfonie ("Romantische"). [from two concert programmes, both the same but one has a note explaining a change in tenor soloist, on the 30 October 1912. Also given on a concert programme on 3 November]	
Bruckner	No.7		13/11/1912	00:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 41 C-Dur KV 551 "Jupiter"; Richard Strauss "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 TrV 158; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107			für die Studierenden der Hochschulen Wiens. Veranstaltet von der k. k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde im Vereine mit den Rektoren der Wiener Hochschulen. Dirigent: Franz Schalk. W.A. Mozart Sinfonie in C-dur (mit der Fuge); Richard Strauß "Tod und Verklärung"; sinfonische Dichtung; Anton Bruckner Sinfonie Nr. 7, E-dur. Preis des Programmes 10 Heller. [Programme for this concert]	
Brahms	No.4		17/11/1912		3rd Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 97 in C-Dur, Hob. 197 ("I. Londoner"); Erich Wolfgang Korngold Schauspiel-Ouvertüre; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			Philharmonische Konzerte. III Abonnement-Konzert. Unter der Leitung des Herrn Felix Weingartner. Mittags präzise halb 1 Uhr. Haydn Symphonie C-dur (Breitkopf u. Härtel Nr. 7); E.W. Korngold Schanspiel-Ouvertüre (I. Aufführung in den Philharm. Konzerten); J. Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4, E-moll. Öffentliche Generalprobe siehe Rückseite. [On a programme for the II Abonnement-Konzert on 10 November 1912]	Z 18.11.1912
Brahms	No.2		21/11/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-dur op. 73; Josef Suk Serenade Es-Dur op. 6; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61			Konzert. Donnerstag, den 21. November 1912. Mitwirkend: Karl Flesch. Johannes Brahms Sinfonie Nr. 2, D-dur; J. Suk Serenade für Streichorchester Es-dur (Erste Aufführung in diesen Konzerten.); Ludwig van Beethoven Violinkonzert Karl Flesch. [In a programme from the II Abonnement Konzert on 14 November 1912].	
Brahms	No.2		27/11/1912	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Hans Maria Wallner	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-dur op. 73; Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 1 g-moll op. 26; Pause; Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Franz Liszt Ungarische Rhapsodie Nr. 2 c-moll; Johann Strauss (Sohn) "Rosen aus dem Süden"; Walzer op. 388 Johann Sebastian Bach "Nun ist das Heil und die Kraft", Kantate BWV 50; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum 1. Akt des Bühnenweihfestspiels "Parsifal" WWV 111; Richard Wagner "Karfreitagszauber" aus dem Bühnenweihfestspiel "Parsifal" WWV 111; Richard Wagner "Verwandlungsmusik" und "Gralsfeier" aus dem Bühnenweihfestspiel "Parsifal" WWV 111				
Bruckner	No.9		07/12/1912	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Concertverein	Walter Braunfels Serenade für kleines Orchester Es-Dur op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 1 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 138			Wiener Konzertvereines. Franz Schalk, Drittes Fest-Konzert. J.S. Bach Kantate: "Nun ist das Heil und die Kraft"; Anton Bruckner Neunte Symphonie; Richard Wagner Fragmente aus "Parsifal". [A programme book for the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde: Konzertbureau der k. k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Programm Nummer: 1 Preis30Heiter	
Brahms	No.4		07/01/1913	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Walter Braunfels Serenade für kleines Orchester Es-Dur op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 1 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 138			Löwe. Beethoven Ouvertüre zu "Leonore" (Nr. 1); Walter Braunfels Serenade für kleines Orchester (Erste Afführung in Wien); Beethoven Klavierkonzert (Es-dur); Brahms Vierte Sinfonie (E-moll). [On a concert programme for the Drittes Sinfonie-Konzert on 18. Dec 1912].	
Bruckner	No.5		09/01/1913	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878); Franz Liszt "Totentanz", Paraphrase über "Dies irae" für Klavier und Orchester S 126; Vítězslav Novák "V Tatrách" ("In der Tatra"), symphonische Dichtung op. 26			Viertes Abonnement-Konzert. Anton Bruckner Sinfonie Nr. 5, B-dur; Franz v. Liszt "Totentanz"; Vít. Novák "Auf der hohen Tatra" Sinfonische Dichtung (Uraufführung) [Concert programme for the Mitglieder-Konzert on 19. Dec 1912.]	
Bruckner	No.4		19/01/1913	11:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Concertverein	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 96 D-Dur Hob.196 "Le Miracle" ("Das Wunder"); Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"				
Mahler	No.4		22/01/1913	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Franz Schreker "Fantastische Ouvertüre" für Orchester op. 15; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine, Violoncello und Orchester a-Moll op. 102 "Doppelkonzert"; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur			Ferdinand Löwe. Franz Schreker Fantastische Ouvertüre; Brahms Konzert für Violine und Violoncello; Gustav Mahler Vierte Sinfonie. [Concert programme for the viertes Dienstag-Zyklus Sinfonie-Konzert on 7. Jan 1913]	
Brahms	No.4		26/01/1913	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Gustav Guthell	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Pause; Bedřich Smetana Ouvertüre zur komischen Oper "Prodaná nevěsta" ("Die verkaufte Braut"); Camille Saint-Saëns Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 1 a-moll op. 33; Richard Wagner "Kaisermarsch" B-Dur WWV 104				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		02/02/1913	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 3 c-moll op. 37; Hector Berlioz "Le carnaval romain", Charakteristische Ouvertüre op. 9			Großen Musikvereins-Saale (Zyklus historischer Konzerte - Entwicklung der Sinfonie). Martin Spörr. A. Bruckner Sinfonie Es-dur Nr. 4 (Romantische) (Der hauptcharakter dieses Werkes ist zarte Feierlichkeit. Mag er sich in Stimmungen offenbaren, die mehr der großen äußeren Natur abgelauscht erscheinen, wie im ersten und dritten Satze, oder in solchen, die unmittelbarer Ausdruck inneren Seelenlebens sind, wie zumeist Andante und Finale, er verkörpert das Bewußtwerden einer reinen Idealität und ihrer Übereinstimmung mit dem Unendlichen, Ewigen, das hinter den Erscheinungen waltet. In diesem Innwerden aber wurzelt das Grundgefühl der Romantik.); L. van Beethoven Klavierkonzert Nr. 3 C-moll; H. Berlioz Ouvertüre: "Römischer Carneval". [Programme for this concert].	
Brahms	No.4		06/02/1913	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johann Sebastian Bach: Präludium und Fuge von Johann Sebastian Bach, für Orchester eingerichtet von Albert; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 1 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 138; Franz Schubert "Deutsche Tänze", instrumentiert von Johann Herbeck; Richard Wagner Ouvertüre und "Venusberg" aus der Oper "Tannhäuser" WWV 70; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98				
Mahler	No.4		09/02/1913	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; Franz Liszt "Ungarische Fantasie" für Klavier und Orchester; Richard Strauss "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 TrV 158			Wiener Concertverein. Populäres Orchester-Konzert im Großen Musikvereins-Saale, Martin Spörr. Gustav Mahler Vierte Sinfonie (Unter den Sinfonien Mahlers nimmt diese durch ihre Kürze und kleine Orchesterbesetzung eine Ausnahmstellung ein. Zum ersten Male erscheint in einer Sinfonie ein einfaches Lied [4. Satz]. Ein Gedicht aus: "Des Knaben Wunderhorn", betitelt "Der Himmel hängt voller Geigen" [ein bayerisches Volkslied], liegt ihm zugrunde.); F. Liszt Ungarische Fantasie für Klavier mit Orchester; Richard Strauss "Tod und Verklärung", Sinfonische Dichtung. [From the programme for this concert].	
Brahms	No.1		16/02/1913	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hermann Abendroth	Wiener Concertverein	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Piotr Iljitsch Tschalkowski Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 35; Franz Liszt "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo", symphonische Dichtung S 96				
Brahms	No.1		20/02/1913	16:30			Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Friedrich Robert Volkmann "Richard III.", Ouvertüre für Orchester op. 68; Franz Liszt "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo", symphonische Dichtung S 96; Piotr Iljitsch Tschalkowski "Nussknacker", Suite aus dem gleichnamigen Ballett op. 71a				
Brahms	No.1		16/03/1913		8th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Bedřich Smetana Mein Vaterland, "Die Moldau"; Alfred von Arber Klavierkonzert b-Moll; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			Konzert unter der Leitung des Herrn Felix Weingartner. F. Smetana "Vltava" symphonische Dichtung (Aus dem Zyklus "Mein Vaterland"); Alfred v. Arber Klavierkonzert B-moll (Uraufführung). Vorgetragen vom Komponisten; J. Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1, C-moll. [Programme to the VII Abonnement Konzert on 9 März 1913]	
Bruckner	No.5		02/04/1913	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Richard Strauss "Don Juan", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 20 TrV 156; Ernst von Dohnányi Konzertstück für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur op. 12; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)			Wiener Konzertverein. Sechstes Sinfonie-Konzert im Mittwoch-Zyklus. Ferdinand Löwe. Richard Strauss "Don Juan"; Ernst von Dohnányi Konzertstück für Violoncello und Orchester; Bruckner Fünfte Sinfonie (B-dur) [Concert programme for 6. Sinfonie Konzert im Dienstag-Zyklus on 11. März 1913]	
Bruckner	No.5		06/04/1913	17:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Gustav Guthell	Wiener Concertverein	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade Nr. 9 D-Dur "Posthom-Serenade" KV 320; Franz Liszt "Der Tanz in der Dorfschenke", Mephisto-Walzer, Episode aus Lenau's "Faust"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)			Wiener Konzert-Verein. Letztes Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Im Großen Musikvereins-Saale. Dirigent: Gustav Guthell. P. Cornelius Ouvertüre zu: "Der Barbier von Bagdad"; W.A. Mozart Serenade Nr. 9 (Köch.-Verz. Nr. 320); F. Liszt "tanz in der Dorfschenke" ("Mephisto-Walzer"); A. Bruckner Fünfte Sinfonie B-dur (Anton Bruckners Fünfte Sinfonie wurde zum überhaupt ersten Male in Graz am 8. April 1894 durch Josef Schalk aufgeführt. Die Entstehungszeit dieser Sinfonie fällt in die Jahre 1875 bis 1878. Im Nachlasse des einstmaligen Unterrichtsministers und Ministerpräsidenten Karl v. Stremayr wurde eine prachvoll ausgestattete handschriftliche Partitur der Fünften Sinfonie gefunden, welche eine Widmung (4. November 1878, in tiefster Ehrfurcht Anton Bruckner) enthält, die vom Namenstage Stremayrs datiert ist. In die gedruckte Partitur hat Anton Bruckner die Widmung nicht aufgenommen.) [Programme for this concert].	
Bruckner	No.8		16/04/1913	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Werner Wolff	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Richard Strauss "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", symphonische Dichtung op. 28			Konzert-Direktion Gutman (Hugo Knepler). Konzert. Symphonie-Orchester des Wiener Konzert-Vereines. Dirigent: Werner Wolff (Berlin). Großen Musikvereins-Saale. Bruckner Achte Symphonie (C-moll); Mozart Violinkonzert A-dur; Richard Strauß Till Eulenspiegel (Symphonische Dichtung). [Programme for this concert].	

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Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		27/10/1913	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Schmidt	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Leonardo Leo Sinfonia per l'Oratorio "Sant'Elena al Calvario"; Anton Stamitz Orchestertrio C-Dur op. 1; Karl von Dittersdorf Symphonie C-Dur, Krebs 93; Carl Maria von Weber Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 19; Louis Spohr Symphonie Nr. 3 c-moll op. 78; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. Die Entwürfung der Sinfonie. Dr Leopold Schmidt. Veranstaltung der k. k. Gesellschaft er Musikfreunde in Gemeinschaft mit dem Vereine Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester. Leonardo Leo Sinfonie zum Oratorio Sant' Elena al Calvario; Joh. Stamitz Orchestertrio, op. 1, Nr. 1 C-dur; Carl v. Dittersdorf Sinfonie C-dur; C.M. v. Weber Sinfonie Nr. 1 Andante u. Scherzo; L. Spohr Sinfonie Nr. 3, C-moll (Larghetto); J. Raff Sinfonie "Im Walde", 1. Satz; J. Brahms Sinfonie Nr. 1, C-moll. [Programme for this concert]	
Bruckner	No.0		30/10/1913	19:30	Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 35 D-Dur KV 385 "Haffner"; Hermann Graedener Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester No.2; Anton Bruckner Symphonie d-moll "Die Nullte" WAB 100; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur K 385 »Haffner-Symphonien« (1782); Hermann Grädener Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2 (UA); Anton Bruckner Symphonie f-moll »Studiensymphonien« (2. Satz: Andante) (1863) (UA); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67 (1804-1808). Note: Statutory Membership Concert. Presented by the Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.0		31/10/1913	19:30	Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 35 D-Dur KV 385 "Haffner"; Hermann Graedener Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester No.2; Anton Bruckner Symphonie d-moll "Die Nullte" WAB 100 ; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur K 385 »Haffner-Symphonien« (1782); Hermann Grädener Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2; Anton Bruckner Symphonie f-moll »Studiensymphonien« (2. Satz: Andante) (1863); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67 (1804-1808). Note: Statutory Membership Concert. Presented by the Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		02/11/1913	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Großen Musikvereins-Saale	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester				Populäres Orchester Konzert. Klaviervirtuosin Hedwig von Andraessffly. Karl Goldmark Ouvertüre "Sakuntala"; Johannes Brahms Sinfonie Nr. 1, C-moll; 10 Minuten Pause; Franz von Liszt Klavierkonzert in Es-dur; Richard Strauß "Don Juan", Sinfonische Dichtung. [Programme for this concert]	
Brahms	No.1		04/11/1913	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Dienstag-Zyklus) Abonnemement Konzert Sym'1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johann Sebastian Bach Orchestersuite (Ouverture) Nr. 4 D-Dur BWV 1069; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Ouverture / Orchestersuite Nr. 3 D-Dur BWV 1068 (1717-1723 ca.); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93 (1811-1812). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Dienstag-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		07/11/1913	00:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Carl Maria von Weber Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 24; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. Erstes Akademisches Konzert für Studierenden der Hochschulen Wiens. Veranstalter von der k. k. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde im Einvernehmen mit den Rektoren der Wr. Hochschulen. Franz Schalk. Johannes Brahms Sinfonie Nr. 1 (C-moll); Carl Maria v. Weber Klavierkonzert, C-dur; L. van Beethoven Sinfonie Nr. 5, C-moll. [Programme for this concert; the notes about the composers is only partially reproduced and therefore cannot be read].	
Brahms	No.1		09/11/1913	17:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Eugène d'Albert Ouverture zur musikalischen Komödie "Die Abreise"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Richard Mandl Hymnus an die aufgehende Sonne (Eindrücke und Empfindungen bei Besteigung des Chamossaire im Jura); Jean-Philippe Rameau "Rigoudon" aus der Oper "Dardanus"; Johann Sebastian Bach "Air", für Violine und Orchester; Luigi Boccherini Menuett A-dur aus dem "Streichquartett Nr. 11" op. 8/5 G 169; Franz Liszt "Les Préludes", symphonische Dichtung S 97	Programme: Eugen D'Albert Ouverture zu »Die Abreise« (1898); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Richard Mandl Hymnus an die aufgehende Sonne (UA); Jean-Philippe Rameau Rigoudon (Dardanus) (1739/1744/1760); Johann Sebastian Bach Aria; Luigi Boccherini Menuett; Franz Liszt Les Préludes. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 3 S 97 (1848-1854). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		12/11/1913	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Jules Massenet Ouverture zur Bühnenmusik "Phèdre"; Georges Bizet Suite Nr. 1 WD 40, zusammengestellt aus der Bühnenmusik "L. Arlésienne" ("Das Mädchen aus Arles") WD 28; Josef Strauss "Hesperusbahnen", Walzer op. 279				
Brahms	No.1		15/11/1913	15:30			Volksbindungshaus Stöbergasse Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 1 g-moll op. 26; Richard Wagner Ouverture zur Oper "Der fliegende Holländer"				
Brahms	No.4		21/11/1913	19:30	Erstes Konzert für die Arbeiterschaft Wiens	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Christoph Willibald Gluck Arie des Orpheus aus der Oper "Orpheus und Eurydike"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b	Programme: Max Springer Freies Orgel-Präludium; Christoph Willibald Gluck Arie (Orfeo e Euridice), Che farò senza Euridice »Ach, ich habe sie verloren« (Arie des Orfeo aus »Orfeo ed Euridice«) (1762); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884–1885); Franz Schubert Die Allnacht D 852 (1825); Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore«-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805–1806). Note: Erstes Konzert für die Arbeiterschaft Wiens. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.2		23/11/1913		2nd Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joan Manén <i>Juventus. Concerto grosso für Orchester, Klavier und 2 Violinen, op. 5a</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll</i>			Philharmonische Konzerte. II Abonnement Konzert. Felix Weingartner. Joan Manén "Juventus" Concerto für Orchester, Klavier und 2 Violinen; A. Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2, C-moll. [Programme for I Abonnement Konzert on 9. Nov 1913]	
Brahms	No.1		04/12/1913	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten		Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Camille Saint-Saëns <i>Danse macabre. Symphonische Dichtung g-moll op. 40</i> (1874); Engelbert Humperdinck <i>Traumpantomime (Hänsel und Gretel)</i> ; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »Egmont« op. 84 (1809-1810); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Camille Saint-Saëns <i>Danse macabre. Symphonische Dichtung g-moll op. 40</i> (1874); Engelbert Humperdinck <i>Traumpantomime (Hänsel und Gretel)</i> (1891-1893); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft. Worked by:	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		04/12/1913	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Victor von Herzfeld <i>Serenade für Blasinstrumente und Harfe</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58</i> ; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. III Abonnement-Konzert. Brahms Sinfonie IV E-moll; Viki, Herzfeld "Serenade" für Blasinstrumente u. Harfe (Neu. Manuskript. Uraufführung); Beethoven Klavierkonzert G-dur. [Programme for Außerordentliches Konzert on 20 Novemeber 1913].	
Bruckner	No.1		05/12/1913	00:00	Konzertakademie	Deutscher Schulverein	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ernst Hausner	Wiener Concertverein	Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91); Camillo Horn <i>Zwei Gesänge mit Orchester</i> ; Richard Wagner "Gralszählung" aus der Oper "Lohengrin" WWV 75; Richard Wagner "Morgendlich leuchtend in rosigem Schein", <i>Preislied des Walther v. Stolzing</i> aus dem 3. Akt der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Franz Liszt "Les Préludes", <i>symphonische Dichtung S 97</i>	Programme: Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll (Wiener Fassung) (1865-1866/1890-1891); ***; Camillo Horn <i>Wallada. Ballade für Gesang und Orchester, Widmung. Lesung von Viktor Kutschera</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>In fernem Land (Gralszählung des Lohengrin aus »Lohengrin«)</i> (1846-1848); Franz Liszt <i>Les Préludes. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 3 S 97</i> (1848-1854). Note: "Konzertakademie". Presented by Deutscher Schulverein.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		08/12/1913	10:30			Volkoper Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Richard Strauss "Tod und Verklärung", <i>Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 TrV 158</i>				
Mahler	No.4		10/12/1913						Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Gluck Ouvertüre zu "Iphigenie in Aulis"; Mahler IV Sinfonie; Beethoven Klavierkonzerte Es dur; Richard Strauss "Festliches Präludium			Gluck Ouvertüre zu "Iphigenie in Aulis"; Mahler IV Sinfonie; Beethoven Klavierkonzerte Es dur; Richard Strauss "Festliches Präludium. [On programme for III Abonnement Konzert on 4 Dec 1913 and on Orchester-Konzert on 7 dec 1913].	
Bruckner	No.3	1889	16/12/1913	19:30	Abonnement Konzert Symphony 1/3	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 b-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »Egmont« op. 84 (1809–1810); Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 b-moll D 759 »Unvollendete« (1822); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Subscription Series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Dienstag-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		19/12/1913	20:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73 ; Hector Berlioz <i>Sylphentanz aus der dramatischen Legende "La Damnation de Faust"</i> ("Fausts Verdammung") op. 24; Felix Weingartner <i>Lustspiel-Ouvertüre</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67				
Mahler	No.4		21/12/1913	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouvertüre zur Oper "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit Konzertschluß von W. A. Mozart bzw. R. Wagner; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; Robert Zwierzina <i>Stücke für Orchester</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84			Konzert. Toni Konrath. Gluck Ouverture zu "Iphigenie in Aulis"; Gustav Mahler IV. Sinfonie; 10 Minuten Pause; Robert Zwierzina "Nokturno", "Menuet" und "Scherzo"; Beethoven Andante F-dur; Schumann Romanze D-moll, op.32; Grünfeld Ungarische Fantasie; Beethoven Ouvertüre "Egmont" [Programme for this concert]	
Mahler	No.2		28/12/1913	10:30	Kammermusik-Konzert		Kleinen Musikvereins-Saale		Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Mozart Quartett Nr. 14, Es-dur; Richard Strauss "Heimkehr" und Befreit"; Mahler "urlicht" und "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen"; Schumann Klavierquintett Es-dur op.44			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. Kammermusik-Konzert. Kleinen Musikvereins-Saale. Mozart Quartett Nr. 14, Es-dur; Richard Strauss "Heimkehr" und Befreit"; Mahler "urlicht" und "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen"; Schumann Klavierquintett Es-dur op.44. [programme for this concert]	
Brahms	No.2		04/01/1914	17:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Hellmesberger	Wiener Concertverein	Louis Spohr Ouvertüre zur großen Oper "Jessonda"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 24 c-moll KV 491</i> ; A. d'Ambrosio "Hersilia", Suite	Programme: Louis Spohr Ouverture zu »Jessonda« op. 63 (1823); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73 ; ***; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Konzert für Klavier und Orchester c-moll K 491</i> (1786); A. d'Ambrosio <i>Hersilia. Suite</i> . Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		08/01/1914	20:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Fritz Busch	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Felix Weingartner <i>Konzert für Violine und Orchester G-Dur op. 52</i> ; Leopold van der Pals <i>Zwei symphonische Skizzen</i> ; Johannes Brahms <i>Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77</i>	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Felix Weingartner <i>Konzert für Violine und Orchester G-Dur op. 52</i> ; Leopold van der Pals <i>Frühling. Symphonische Skizze (EA)</i> , Herbst. <i>Symphonische Skizze (EA)</i> ; Johannes Brahms <i>Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77</i> (1877-1878). Presented by: KD Gutmann (Hugo Knepler)	Konzerthaus Archive		NFP 08.01.1914

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.3	1889	11/01/1914	17:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Fassung 1877); Pause; Wilhelm Kienzl "Don Quixotes phantastischer Ausritt und seine traurige Heimkehr" aus der musikalischen Tragikomödie "Don Quixote" op. 50; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart "Sull'aria", Duett Susanna - Gräfin aus der Oper "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 492; Paul Dukas "L'apprenti sorcier" ("Der Zauberehrlehn"), symphonisches Scherzo für Orchester	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889); ***; Wilhelm Kienzl Don Quixotes phantastischer Ausritt und seine traurige Heimkehr. Symphonische Zwischenspiele op. 50 für großes Orchester (1898); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sull'aria ..., che soave zefiretto »Nun was soll ich? ... Wenn die sanften Abendlüfte« (Briefduett Gräfin / Susanna aus »Le nozze di Figaro« K 492) (1785–1786); Johannes Brahms Die Schwestern op. 61/1 (Vier Duette) (1860/1871 nach), Die Boten der Liebe op. 61/4 (Vier Duette) (1874); Paul Dukas L'apprenti sorcier »Der Zauberehrlehn«, Symphonisches Scherzo nach Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1897). Piano: Carl Lafite. Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		12/01/1914	20:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Erwin Stein	Wiener Concertverein	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 88 G-Dur Hob.I/88; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Programme: Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur Hob. I/88 (1787–1788); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur (1888–1899). Presented by: KD Gutmann (Hugo Knepler)	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		05/02/1914	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert für Violine und Orchester e-moll op. 64; Alexander Glasunow "Pesn Sudbi" ("Schicksalslied"), dramatische Ouvertüre für Orchester op. 84			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. VII Abonnement Konzert. Oskar Nedbal. 19:30. Bruckner Sinfonie IX. D-moll; Mendelssohn Violinkonzert E-moll op.64; Glazunov "Das Lied des Schicksals" (Neu. Erste Aufführung in Wien). [programme for this concert].	
Brahms	No.3		08/02/1914		7th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie [Nr. 40] in G Minor, K. 550; Franz Schreker Vorspiel zu einem Drama; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90			Felix Weingartner. Mozart Symphonie G-moll (KV. 550); Schreker Vorspiel zu einem Drama (Uraufführung); Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3, F-dur. [Programme for VI Abonnement Konzert on 18 Jan 1914].	
Mahler	No.9		12/02/1914		1 Ausserordentliches Konzert			Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Mahler IX. Dvorak Cello Konzert H-moll; Beethoven Overture Egmont			Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. I Ausserordentliches Konzert. Oskar Nedbal. Mahler IX. Dvorak Cello Konzert H-moll; Beethoven Overture Egmont.	
Mahler	No.7		16/02/1914	19:30			Grossen Musikvereins saale	Hans Pless	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Beethoven Coriolan overture; Mahler Symphonie No. 7; Pless Scherzo			Hans Pless. Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester. Beethoven Coriolana overture; Mahler Symphonie No. 7; Pless Scherzo.	
Brahms	No.2		20/02/1914	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Fritz Steinbach	Wiener Concertverein	Max Reger Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur op. 101; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Programme: Max Reger Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur op. 101 (1907-1908); Johann Sebastian Bach Adagio und Präludium für Violine solo; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73. Presented by: Konzenbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.5		25/02/1914	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll; Franz Schubert "Wanderer-Fantasie" C-Dur op. 15 D 760, symphonisch bearbeitet für Klavier und Orchester (Bearbeitung: Franz Liszt); Franz Liszt "Hunnenschlacht", symphonische Dichtung Searle 105	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 (1901-1902); Franz Liszt Fantasie C-Dur »Wanderer-Fantasie« S 366 (Bearbeitung für Klavier und Orchester nach Franz Schubert D 760) (1822/1852 vor), Hunnenschlacht. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 11 S 105 (1856). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive	Yes. As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		05/03/1914	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Werner Wolff	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Arie der Gräfin aus dem 2. Akt der Oper "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 492; Richard Strauss Gesang der Apollopriesterin op. 33 Nr. 2; Gustav Mahler "Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht?" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Pause; Lio Hans "Die Hexe", symphonische Dichtung; Camille Saint-Saëns Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 1 a-moll op. 33			Also Schubert Impromptu As-dur und Moment musical F-moll; Chopin Etude A-dur und Polonaise A-dur; Schubert "Der Wegweiser" und "Track'ne Blumen" before the Saint Saens.	
Bruckner	No.5		12/03/1914	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Siegmund von Hausegger	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Siegmund von Hausegger "Wieland der Schmied", symphonische Dichtung; Siegmund von Hausegger Lieder mit Orchester; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.3	1889	18/03/1914	19:30	Drittes Sinfonie-Konzert für die Arbeiterschaft Wiens	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Fassung 1877); Carl Goldmark Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op. 28; Franz Liszt "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo", symphonische Dichtung S 96	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889); Carl Goldmark Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op. 28 (1877); Franz Liszt Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 2 c-moll S 96 (1849–1854). Note: Drittes Sinfonie-Konzert für die Arbeiterschaft Wiens. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		18/03/1914	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Pawlikowsky	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 d-moll D 729 "Unvollendete"; Hugo Wolf "Dem Vaterland", Hymne für Männerchor und großes Orchester; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll			As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.4		29/03/1914	17:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Hellmesberger	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Pause; Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Ungarischer Tanz Nr. 5 g-moll und 6 D-Dur (Instrumentierung: Albert Parlow)	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884–1885), O Heiland, reiß die Himmel auf op. 74/2 (1863–1864 ca.), Nachtwache I op. 104/1 »Ruhm Töne der Brust« (1888), Nachtwache II op. 104/2 »Ruhm sie?« (1888), Dein Herzlein mild op. 62/4 (1874), Fahr wohl! op. 93a/4 (Lieder und Romanzen) (1883–1884), An die Heimat op. 64/1 (Drei Quartette) (1864); ***; Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a (1873), Waldesnacht op. 62/3 (1874), O süßer Mai op. 93a/3 (Lieder und Romanzen) (1883–1884), Beherzigung op. 93a/6 (Lieder und Romanzen) (1883–1884), In stiller Nacht, zur ersten Wacht (Deutsche Volkslieder für vierstimmigen Chor Nr. 8) (1854–1873), Morgengesang (Deutsche Volkslieder für vierstimmigen Chor Nr. 12) (1854–1873), Tafellied op. 93b (1884), Ungarischer Tanz Nr. 5 g-moll (Bearbeitung für Orchester: Albert Parlow) (1868/1876). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		01/04/1914	19:30	Abonnement Konzert Symphony 2/3	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Richard Strauss Also sprach Zarathustra. Tondichtung frei nach Friedrich Nietzsche op. 30 (1896); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883)	Programme: Richard Strauss Also sprach Zarathustra. Tondichtung frei nach Friedrich Nietzsche op. 30 (1896); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Subscription Series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		05/04/1914	17:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouvertüre zur »Iphigenie in Aulis«, W.A. Mozart Konzertantes Quartett (1. Satz: Allegro); Hans Pfitzner Blütenwunder und Trauermarsch (Die Rose vom Liebesgarten); Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphony Nr. 7 E-Dur		Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		28/10/1914	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Ferenc Erkel "Magyar himnusz.", ungarische Nationalhymne; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 21; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Richard Wagner "Kaisermarsch" B-Dur WWV 104	Programme: Joseph Haydn Österreichische Volks hymne »Gott erhalte« / Österreichische Bundes hymne Hob. XXVIa/43 (1796-1797); Ferenc Erkel Ungarischer Hymnus; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 21 (1799-1800); Johann Sebastian Bach Toccata und Fuge d-moll BWV 565 (1708 vor); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Richard Wagner Kaisermarsch. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column L	
Bruckner	No.8		05/11/1914	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 20 d-moll KV 466; Richard Wagner "Kaisermarsch" B-Dur WWV 104			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		08/11/1914	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy "Die Hebriden" oder "Die Fingalshöhle"; Konzertouvertüre op. 26; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Richard Wagner "Siegfried-Idyll", symphonische Dichtung WWV 103; Max Bruch "Kol Nidrei"; Konzertstück für Violoncello und Orchester d-moll op. 47; Bedrich Smetana "Vlava" ("Die Moldau") aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland")			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		12/11/1914	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten		Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Ignaz Brüll Ouverture pathétique op. 98; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade Nr. 4 D-Dur KV 203; Engelbert Humperdinck "Traumpantomime" aus der Oper "Hänsel und Gretel"; Richard Wagner "Siegfrieds Rheinfahrt" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D	Programme: Ignaz Brüll Ouverture pathétique; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade Nr. 4 D-Dur K 189b (1774); Engelbert Humperdinck Traumpantomime (Hänsel und Gretel) (1891-1893); Richard Wagner Siegfrieds Rheinfahrt (Götterdämmerung) (1869-1874). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		18/11/1914	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouvertüre zur Oper "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit Konzertschluß von W. A. Mozart bzw. R. Wagner; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Johan Svendsen Norwegische Rhapsodie; Karl Goldmark "Magische Töne", Konzertfassung der Arie aus der Oper "Die Königin von Saba" für Solocello; Giuseppe Verdi Fantasia aus der Oper "La Traviata"				
Brahms	No.4		22/11/1914	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Pause; Richard Strauss "Don Juan", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 20 TrV 156; Carl Maria von Weber Konzert für Klarinette und Orchester Nr. 2 Es-Dur op. 74; Johan Svendsen Polonaise Nr. 2 "Festpolonaise" op. 12	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884–1885); ***; Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888); Carl Maria von Weber Konzert für Klarinette und Orchester Nr. 2 Es-Dur J 118 (1811); Johan Svendsen Fest-Polonaise op. 12 (1873). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		03/12/1914	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten		Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Pause; Karl Goldmark "Sakuntala", Overtüre op. 13; Friedrich Robert Volkmann Serenade Nr. 3 d-moll für Violoncello und Streichorchester op. 69; Richard Wagner Konzertversion von "Wotans Abschied" und "Feuerzauber" aus der Oper "Die Walküre"	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884–1885); ***; Carl Goldmark Overture zu »Sakuntala« op. 13 (1865); Robert Volkmann Serenade Nr. 3 d-moll op. 69 für Violoncello und Streichorchester; Richard Wagner Leb' wohl, du kühnes herrliches Kind (Wotans Abschied und Feuerzauber aus »Die Walküre«) (1852-1856). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		03/12/1914	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Hans Pfitzner Ouvertüre aus der Musik zu Kleists "Das Käthchen von Heilbronn" op. 17; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90			As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.8		06/12/1914	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890); Pause; Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-moll op. 104; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 492			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		09/12/1914	19:30	Abonnement Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy "Die Hebriden" oder "Die Fingalshöhle", Konzertouvertüre op. 26; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur op. 60; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	»Die Hebriden / Fingalshöhle« op. 26 (1829-1833); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur op. 60 (1806); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Subscription Series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		13/12/1914		4th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Louis Spohr <i>Ouv. Jessonda</i> , op. 63; Franz Schubert <i>Symphony No. 7 in B Minor, D. 759 ("Unfinished")</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		20/12/1914	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy "Ruy Blas", Ouvertüre zum Stück von Victor Hugo op. 95; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante für Violine, Viola und Orchester Es-Dur KV 364; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Felix Mendelssohn Symphonie Ouvertüre zu »Ruy Blas« op. 95 (1839); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante Es-Dur K 320d für Violine, Viola und Orchester (1779-1780); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		20/12/1914	16:30	Populäres Orchester(Brahms)-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms "Tragische Ouvertüre" für Orchester d-moll op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Pause; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77; Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre op. 80			As in column K	
Brahms	No.3		23/12/1914	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Ludwig van Beethoven Romanze für Violine und Orchester Nr. 1 G-Dur op. 40; Pause; Edvard Grieg "Lyrische Suite" für Orchester op. 54; Franz Schubert "Ave Maria" in der Fassung für Streicher D 839; Josef Strauss "Sphärenklänge", Walzer				
Brahms	No.1		01/01/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Joseph Haydn Volkshymne ("Kaiserhymne") Hob. XXVla/43; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven Trielkonzert für Klavier, Violine, Violoncello und Orchester C-Dur op. 56; Richard Wagner "Huldigungsmarsch" für Ludwig II. von Bayern Es-Dur WWV 97	Programme: Joseph Haydn Österreichische Volkshymne »Gott erhalte« / Österreichische Bundeshymne Hob. XXVla/43 (1796-1797); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier, Violine, Violoncello und Orchester C-Dur op. 56 »Trielkonzert« (1803-1804); Richard Wagner Huldigungsmarsch. Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		03/01/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 492; Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Christoph Willibald Gluck "Vernehm mich, ihr Töchter der Nacht!", Sopran-Arie aus der musikalischen Tragödie "Alceste"; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zu »Le nozze di Figaro« K 492 (1785–1786); Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a (1873); Christoph Willibald Gluck Divinité du Styx »Ihr Götter ew'ger Nacht« (Arie der Alceste aus »Alceste«) (1767); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862–1867); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899–1901). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		10/01/1915	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bernhard Paumgartner	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107; Pause; Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für 2 Violinen, Streicher und Basso continuo d-moll BWV 1043; Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op. 81 J 291			Bach Konzerte Nr. 3. As in Column K	
Bruckner	No.6		04/02/1915	19:30	Ausserordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 492; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart "Endlich naht sich die Stunde", Rezitativ und Arie der Susanna aus der Oper "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 492; Felix Weingartner Lustspiel-Ouvertüre; Felix Weingartner Lieder mit Orchester; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.3	1889	12/02/1915	19:30	Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 39 Es-Dur KV 543; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1877); Franz Liszt "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo", symphonische Dichtung S 96	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Es-Dur K 543 (1788); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889); Franz Liszt Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 2 c-moll S 96 (1849–1854). Note: Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3	1889	13/02/1915	19:30	Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 39 Es-Dur KV 543; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1877); Franz Liszt "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo", symphonische Dichtung S 96	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Es-Dur K 543 (1788); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889); Franz Liszt Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 2 c-moll S 96 (1849–1854). Note: Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		18/02/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten		Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven "Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus", Ouvertüre op. 43a; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Karl Goldmark "Im Frühling", Ouvertüre op. 36; Richard Wagner Vorspiel und "Liebestod" aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde" WWV 90	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zu »Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus« op. 43 (1800-1801); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Carl Goldmark Ouvertüre »Im Frühling« op. 36 (1888); Richard Wagner Vorspiel und Liebestod (Tristan und Isolde) (1857-1859); Antonin Dvořák Slawischer Tanz As-Dur op. 46/3 (1878). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.6		21/02/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106; Pause; Franz Schubert "Deutsche Tänze", instrumentiert von Johann Herbeck; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart "Martem aller Arten", Arie der Konstanze aus der Oper "Die Entführung aus dem Serail" KV 384; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Oper "Fidelio" op. 72			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.6		24/02/1915	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106; Pause; Carl Maria von Weber Jubel-Ouvertüre op. 59 J 245; Franz Liszt Ungarische Rhapsodie Nr. 2 c-moll; Johann Strauss (Sohn) "Accelerationen", Walzer op. 234				
Brahms	No.2		07/03/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Ignaz Brüll Lieder mit Orchester; Pause; Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op. 81 J 291; Ludwig Rochlitzer 2 Ausschnitte aus der Oper "Myrthia"; Richard Wagner "Wotans Abschied" und "Feuerzauber" aus der Oper "Die Walküre" WWV 86B	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Ignaz Brüll Hohes Lied, Der Steinhauer, Sechse, sieben oder acht; ***; Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Ludwig Rochlitzer Einzug der Chariten und Auferstehung des Adonis (Myrthia) (1901), Sinfonisches Zwischenspiel (Myrthia) (1901); Richard Wagner Leb' wohl, du kühnes herrliches Kind (Wotans Abschied und Feuerzauber aus »Die Walküre«) (1852-1856). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		10/03/1915	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Richard Strauss "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 TrV 158; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92	Programme: Richard Strauss Tod und Verklärung, Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 (1888–1889); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811–1812). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		14/03/1915		6th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 103 in Es-Dur, Hob. I/103 ("Mit dem Paukenwirbel")			As in column K	DV 16.03.1915
Brahms	No.2		18/03/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten		Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 1 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 138; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Richard Wagner Ouvertüre und "Venusberg" aus der Oper "Tannhäuser" WWV 70; Karl Goldmark Ballettmusik aus der Oper "Die Königin von Saba" op. 27	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 1 zu »Leonore« op. 138 »Leonore-Ouvertüre Nr. 1« (1807); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; ***; Richard Wagner Einleitung und Bacchanale (Tannhäuser) (1845-1867); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Eine kleine Nachtmusik G-Dur K 525 (3. Satz: Menuett, Allegretto) (1787); Carl Goldmark Ballettmusik (Die Königin von Saba op. 27) (1875). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		24/03/1915	19:30	Abonnement Konzert Sym.ß	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93 (1811–1812); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862–1867). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		28/03/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Franz Marschner Festmusik; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		04/04/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum 1. Akt der Oper "Lohengrin" WWV 75; Richard Wagner "Elsas Traumerzählung" aus der Oper "Lohengrin" WWV 75; Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg" WWV 70; Richard Wagner Hallenarie der Elisabeth (Einleitung und Szene 1 aus dem 3. Akt) aus der Oper "Tannhäuser" WWV 70; Richard Wagner "Ritt der Walküren" aus der Oper "Die Walküre" WWV 86B	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); ***; Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Lohengrin« (1846–1848), Einsam in trüben Tagen (»Elsas Traum« aus »Lohengrin«) (1846–1848), Ouvertüre zu »Tannhäuser« (1845), Dich, teure Halle, grüß ich wieder (Arie der Elisabeth aus »Tannhäuser«) (1843–1845), Der Ritt der Walküren (Die Walküre) (1852–1856). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		05/04/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bernhard Faumgartner	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Franz Schubert Ballettmusik aus der Schauspielmusik "Rosamunde, Fürstin von Zypern" D 797 (Nr. 2 & 9); Heinrich von Eyken "Judiths Siegeslied" für mittlere Frauenstimme mit Orchester nach einem Gedicht von Felix Dahn op. 20; Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77			Also Brahms "Wie bist du, meine Königin", 'Immer leiser wird mein Schlummer; und 'Sappische Ode' between Schubert and Eyken	
Bruckner	No.4		07/04/1915	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Edvard Grieg Suite Nr. 2 op. 55 aus der Schauspielmusik zu Henrik Ibsens Drama "Peer Gynt"; Pietro Mascagni "Intermezzo sinfonico" aus der Oper "Cavalleria Rusticana"; Eduard Strauss Doktrin-Walzer op. 79				
Brahms	No.2		11/04/1915		8th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Symphony No. 1 in B-flat Major, op. 38, ("Spring"); Josef Bohuslav Foerster Von Frühling und Sehnsucht; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			As in column K	Z 12.04.1915

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.2		14/04/1915	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Levi Vencesonson: barmony "Die Helden" oder "Die Fingalsöhle", Konzertouvertüre op. 26; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Riccardo Drigo "Les Millions d'Arlequin" ("Die Millionen des Harlequin"), Ballettsuite; Richard Wagner Glocken- und Grabszene aus dem Bühnenweihfestspiel "Parsifal" WWV 111; Johann Strauss (Sohn) Ouvertüre zur Operette "Indigo und die 40				
										Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Richard Wagner "Gräberzählung" aus der Oper "Lohengrin" WWV 75; Richard Wagner "Morgendlich leuchtend in rosigem Schein", Preislied des Walther v. Stolzing aus dem 3. Akt der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Pause; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 26 D-Dur "Krönungskonzert" KV 537 ; Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der fliegende Holländer".		As in column K		
Brahms	No.1		18/04/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester- Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		24/04/1915		Nicolaï Concert/ Außerordentliches Konzert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		25/04/1915		Nicolaï Concert/ Außerordentliches Konzert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			As in column K	
Mahler	No.2		12/10/1915		Charity Concert War Relief / öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bernhard Titt	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll</i>			As in column K	
Mahler	No.2		14/10/1915		Charity Concert War Relief		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bernhard Titt	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll</i>				NFP 15.10.1915; AZ 16.10.1915
Brahms	No.1		31/10/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester- Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Wagner "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D; Johannes Brahms "Vier Gesänge" für tiefe Stimme mit Orchester op.121, orchestriert von Karl Maria Zwisser; Richard Strauss, "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für grosses Orchester op.24 TrV 158		Pause before Wagner		
Bruckner	No.7		04/11/1915	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.7 E-Dur WAB 107; Brahms, Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op.77; Beethoven, Overture No.2 zur Oper "Leonore" op.72a				
Brahms	No.1		10/11/1915	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester No.4, op.58; Richard Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", Symphonic poem	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58 (1805-1806); Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894- 1895). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch- Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		10/11/1915	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Richard Strauss, Szenen aus der Oper "Adriane auf Naxos" op.60; Jean Sibelius "Valse triste" aus der Schauspielmusik zu Arvid Jämfelts Drama "Kuolema" ("Der Tod") op.44; Johann Strauss II, Overture zur Operette "Die Fledermaus"				
Bruckner	No.7		14/11/1915	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.7; Karl Goldmark, Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll, op.28; W.A. Mozart Overture to Opera "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 492				
Brahms	No.2		18/11/1915	19:30	II Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No.8; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Dvorak, "Zlatý kolovrat" symphonic poem op.109			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.5	Schalk	24/11/1915	19:30	Abonnement Konzert Symphony /3	Wiener Konzerthausge- sellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Schumann, Overture zum dramatischen Gedicht "Manfred" op.115; George Szell, Variationen über ein eingenes Thema; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Robert Schumann Ouverture zu »Manfred« op. 115 (1848-1849); George Szell Variationen über ein eigenes Thema op. 4 (UA); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch- Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		05/12/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester- Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bernhard Faumgartner	Wiener Tonkünstler- Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, "Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus" Overture; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Schumann, Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester a-moll op.129; Dvorak, "Zlatý kolovrat" ("Das goldene Spinnrad") symphonische Dichtung op.109		Pause after Brahms		
Brahms	No.1		09/12/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester- Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten		Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Concertverein	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Max Bruch, Konzert für Violine und Orchester No.1 g-moll, op.26; Richard Wagner, "Karfreitagszauber" aus dem Bühnenweihfestspiel "Parsifal" WWV 111; Johann Strauss II, "Rosen aus dem Süden", Walzer op.388	Programme: Peter Cornelius Ouverture D-Dur zu »Der Barbier von Bagdad« (1855–1858); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester g-moll op. 26 (1866); Richard Wagner Karfreitagszauber (Parsifal) (1877–1882); Johann Strauß (Sohn) Rosen aus dem Süden. Walzer op. 388 (1880). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		09/12/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten		Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Max Bruch, Konzert für Violine und Orchester No.1 g-moll, op.26; Richard Wagner, "Karfreitagszauber" aus dem Bühnenweihfestspiel "Parsifal" WWV 111; Johann Strauss II, "Rosen aus dem Süden", Walzer op.388	Programme: Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre D-Dur zu »Der Barbier von Bagdad« (1855–1858); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester g-moll op. 26 (1866); Richard Wagner Karfreitagszauber (Parsifal) (1877–1882); Johann Strauß (Sohn) Rosen aus dem Süden. Walzer op. 388 (1880). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		09/12/1915	19:30	III Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Haydn, Symphony No.103 "Mit dem Paukenwirbel"; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 D-Dur; Berlioz, "Le Corsaire" ("Der Korsar"), Overture for orchestra op.21			As in column K	
Brahms	No.2		15/12/1915	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Carl Maria von Weber, Overture to "Der Freischütz"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Selim Palmgren, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester No.2 "Der Fluss"; Mendelssohn, Overture to A Summer Nights' Dream	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Der Freischütz« J 277 (1817-1821); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Selim Palmgren Konzert für Klavier und Orchester cis-moll Nr. 2 »Der Fluss« (EA); Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Ouverture zu »Ein Sommernachtstraum« op. 21 (1826). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		15/12/1915	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Mendelssohn, "Die Hebriden" oder "Die Fingalshöhle", Konzertouvertüre op.26; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Johan Svendsen, "Romeo und Julia" symphonic poem (Fantasie) op.18; Moritz Moszkowski, Serenata op.15; Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Berühmtes Menuett; Josef Strauss, "Freundengrüsse" Walzer op.128				
Bruckner	No.3		19/12/1915		3rd Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll; Julius Bittner Vaterland, sinfonische Dichtung; Richard Wagner Overture and Bacchanale from the Opera "Tannhäuser"			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.2		21/12/1915	19:30	Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Rudolf Braun, "Im Frühling" overture; Beethoven, Konzert for piano and orchestra No.4 op.58; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.5	Schalk	26/12/1915	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878); Pause; W.A. Mozart, Konzert for piano and orchestra No.23 KV 488; R.Wagner, Overture und "Venusberg" aus der Oper "Tannhäuser" WWV 70	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875–1878); ***; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester A-Dur K 488 (1786); Richard Wagner Ouverture zu »Tannhäuser« (1845), Der Venusberg »Bacchanale« (Tannhäuser) (Pariser Fassung) (1845–1867). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		02/01/1916	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); Weber, Arie der Rezia ("Ozean du Ungeheuer") aus der Oper "Oberon"; R.Wagner, Hallenarie der Elisabeth (Einleitung und Szene 1. aus dem 3.Akt) aus der Oper "Tannhäuser" WWV 70; R.Wagner, Overture zur Oper "Rienzi" WWV 49			Pause after Bruckner	
Bruckner	No.2		05/01/1916	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); R.Wagner, Fantasie aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Weber, "Aufforderung zum Tanz" instrumented by Berlioz; Brahms, Hungarian dance No.5, instrumentierung: Albert Parlow				
Brahms	No.3		16/01/1916	12:30	5th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 3 Es-Dur op. 55 ("Eroica")			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		23/01/1916	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture No.1 from "Leonore" Opera op.138; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Franz Liszt, Hungarian Fantasie for piano and orchestra; R.Wagner, Overture to "Der fliegende Holländer" opera	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 1 zu »Leonore« op. 138 »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 1« (1807); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Franz Liszt Fantasie über ungarische Volksmelodien S 123 für Klavier und Orchester (1852 ?); Richard Wagner Ouverture zu »Der fliegende Holländer« (1841). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		31/01/1916	19:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hermann Friedrich von Schmiedel	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Weber, Jubel-Overture op.59 J 245; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Ludwig van Beethoven, Concerto for violin and orchestra op.61; Goldmark, "Sakuntala" overture op.13			As in column K	
Brahms	No.2		03/02/1916	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten		Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Concertverein	W.A. Mozart, Overture zur Oper "Don Giovanni"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture; Henryk Wieniawski, Concerto for violin and orchestra No.2 op.22; R.Wagner, "Einzug der Götter in Walhall" aus der Oper "Das Rheingold" WWV 86A	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zu »Don Giovanni« K 527 (1787); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; ***; Carl Goldmark Ouverture zu »Sakuntala« op. 13 (1865); Henryk Wieniawski Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 2 d-moll op. 22 (1862); Richard Wagner Einzug der Götter in Walhall (Das Rheingold) (1853-1854). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.4		06/02/1916	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Weber, Overture zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op.81; Beethoven, "Ah perfido!", Szene und Arie für Sopran mit Begleitung des Orchesters op.65; Johan Svendsen, "Norwegischer Künstlerkarnaval; Suite for orchestra op.14	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899–1901); ***; Carl Maria von Weber Overture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822–1823); Ludwig van Beethoven Ah perfido! Scene und Arie für Sopran und Orchester op. 65 (1795–1796); Johan Svendsen Norwegischer Künstler-Karneval op. 14 (1874). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		16/02/1916	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Mahler, Symphonie Nr.1	Programme : Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur (1888–1899). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		16/02/1916	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Brahms, Symphony No.3; Mahler, Symphony No.1	Programme : Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur (1888–1899). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		16/02/1916	16:30			Park-Hotel Schönbrunn Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Mendelssohn, Overture op.21 from a Summer Night's Dream; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Charles Gounod, "Faust-Fantasie" for violin; Bedrich Smetana, Potpourri aus der Oper "Prodaná nevěsta" ("Die verkaufte Braut"); Johann Strauss II, "An der schönen blauen Donau" Walzer op.314				
Bruckner	No.4		20/02/1916	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bernhard Paumgartner	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; F.Liszt, Concerto for Piano and Orchestra No.1; F.Liszt, "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo" Symphonic poem				
Brahms	No.3		02/03/1916	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten		Volksgarten Café - Restaurant Seidl Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Dvorak, "Karnaval" Overture op.92; Pause; Alfred Rothberger, Nanie; Mendelssohn, Scherzo from A Summer Night's Dream; Mendelssohn, Notturmo from A Summer Nights Dream; Cyrill Kistler, Vorspiel zum 3.Akt der Oper "Kunihild"; R.Wagner, Overture zur Oper "Rienzi" WWV 49	Programme : Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); Antonín Dvořák Karneval. Overture op. 92 (1891) ; ***; Alfred Rothberger Nanie; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Scherzo op. 61/1 (Ein Sommernachtstraum) (1842). Notturmo op. 61/7 (Ein Sommernachtstraum) (1842); Cyrill Kistler Vorspiel zum 2. Akt (Kunihild) (1884); Richard Wagner Overture zu »Rienzi« (1838-1840). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert im k.k. Volksgarten. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		04/03/1916	19:30	Außerordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan" Overture; Mahler, "Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Mahler, "Ich atme" einen linden Duft" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Mahler, "Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht?" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll			As in column K	
Brahms	No.4		08/03/1916	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	W.A. Mozart, Symphony No.41; Jan Brandts-Buys, Konzertstück for cello and orchestra; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie C-Dur K 551 »Jupiter«-Symphonie (1788); Jan Brandts Buys Konzertstück für Violoncello und Orchester »Tancred« op. 35 (1917 vor) (UA); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884–1885). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.7		12/03/1916		7th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll</i>			As in column K	Z 13.03.1916; NWJ 13.03.1916; 13.03.1916; OR 14.03.1916
Brahms	No.3		12/03/1916	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Goldmark, Konzert for violin and orchestra op.28; Pause; Anton Max Wichtl, Interludium; Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture zur Oper "Fidelio" op.72				NFP 12.03.1916
Brahms	No.3		26/03/1916	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert: Subscription series: Deutsche Meister		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Schumann, Konzert for piano and orchestra op.54; Johannes Brahms, "Ave Maria" for womens choir and orchestra op.12; Schumann, "Vien Gesänge" in einer Bearbeitung von H. Pfitzner	Programme : Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883) ; Robert Schumann Dein Angesicht, so lieb und schön op. 127/2 (Fünf Lieder und Gesänge) (1840), Mondnacht op. 39/5 (Liederkreis) (1840); Johannes Brahms Feinsliebchen, du sollst mir nicht barfuß gehn (Deutsche Volkslieder 1894 Nr. 12) (1894); ***; Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Johannes Brahms Ave Maria op. 12 (1858); Robert Schumann Klosterfräulein op. 69/3 (Romanzen) (1849), Jäger Wohlgemut op. 91/2 (Romanzen) (1849), Soldatenbraut op. 69/4 (Romanzen) (1849). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert: Subscription series: Deutsche Meister. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		NFP 25.03.1916
Bruckner	No.3	1889	29/03/1916	19:30	Abonnement Konzert Symphony /8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Liszt, "Prometheus" Symphonic Poem no.5; Liszt, Konzert for piano and orchestra No.1; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Franz Liszt Prometheus, Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 5 S 99 (1850–1855), Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 Es-Dur S 124 (1848); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.3	1889	02/04/1916	16:30	Abonnement Konzert DM/0 Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1877); Hugo Wolf, "Italienische Serenade" for small orchestra; Hugo Wolf, "Penthesilea" symphonic poem	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889); Hugo Wolf Italienische Serenade G-Dur für kleines Orchester (1892); Wo find' ich Trost? (Mörke-Lieder Nr. 31) (1888), Fußreise (Mörke-Lieder Nr. 10) (1888), Verborgenheit (Mörke-Lieder Nr. 12) (1888), Auf einer Wanderung (Mörke-Lieder Nr. 15) (1888), Gesang Weylas (Mörke-Lieder Nr. 46) (1888), Der Freund (Eichendorff-Lieder Nr. 1) (1888), Penthesilea. Symphonische Dichtung (1883). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Subscription series: Deutsche Meister. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		12/11/1916	16:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Franz Schreker, Vier Stücke im alten Stil; Pause; W.A. Mozart, Konzert for violin and orchestra Nr.4; Karl Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture op.13	Programme : Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); Franz Schreker Vier kleine Stücke (1930); ***; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur K 2711 (1777); Carl Goldmark Ouverture zu »Sakuntala« op. 13 (1865). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		29/11/1916		of the Friends of Music in Vienna In Memoriam Emporer Franz Joseph I of Austria		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7, Adagio</i> ; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Requiem in d-Moll, KV 626</i>				
Bruckner	No.9		06/12/1916	00:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45				
Bruckner	No.1		19/12/1916	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.1 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91); Robert Weigl, Orchesterlieder; Johanna Müller-Hermann, "Heroische Overture" op.21; R.Schumann, Konzert for piano and orchestra op.54				
Bruckner	No.1		26/12/1916	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.1 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91); Chopin, Konzert for piano and orchestra no.2; W.A. Mozart, Overture to "Le nozze di Figaro"				
Mahler	No.2		28/12/1916	19:30	Statutarisches Mitgliederkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Brahms, Tragische Overture for orchestra d-moll op.81; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Johannes Brahms Tragische Overture d-moll op. 81 (1880); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: Statutarisches Mitgliederkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		13/01/1917	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Strauss, "Don Juan", Tondichtung for large orchestra op.20; Pause; R.Wagner, "Wesendonk-Lieder", 5 Gedichte for eine Frauenstimme mit Pianoforte-Begleitung, instrumented by Felix Mottl; Berlioz, Overture for opera "Benvenuto Cellini, ..."				
Bruckner	No.7		17/01/1917	19:30	Abonnement Konzert Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Robert Schumann, Konzert for piano and orchestra a-moll op.54; Pause; Bruckner, Symphony No.7	Programme: Peter Cornelius Ouverture D-Dur zu »Der Barbier von Bagdad« (1855-1858); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		21/01/1917	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Niccolò Paganini, Konzert for violin and orchestra no.1.; Jules Massenet, Overture to Bühnenmusik "Phedre"				
Mahler	No.1		09/02/1917	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Concertverein	Mahler, Symphony No.1.; W.A. Mozart, "Mia speranza adorata" - "Ah, non, sai, qual pena" ("Ach, sie stirbt , meine Hoffnung"), Szene und Rondo for soprano and orchestra; Mahler, "Wo die Schönen Trompeten blasen" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Mahler, "Ich eter' einen linden Duft" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Mahler, "Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht?" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Gaetano Donizetti, "Wahnsinnszene" der Lucia aus der tragischen Oper "Lucia di Lammermoor"				
Brahms	No.1		03/03/1917	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Franz Schreker, Vorspiel zu einem Drama; Ludwig van Beethoven, Trippelkonzert for piano, violin, cello and orchestra				
Brahms	No.1		04/03/1917	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Anton Konrath, Lieder mit Orchester; Otto Nicolai, Recitative and aria der Frau Fluth aus der komischen Oper "Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor"; Richard Strauss, Konzert for violin and orchestra op.8				
Brahms	No.2		11/03/1917	16:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; W.A. Mozart, "Ach ich fühl es ist verschwunden", Arie der Pamina aus der Oper "Die Zauberflöte"; W.A. Mozart, "Endlich naht sich die Stunde" recitative and aria from the opera "Le nozze di Figaro"; Mendelssohn, Konzert for piano and orchestra No.1.; Otto Nicolai, Overture zur komischen Oper "Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor"				
Bruckner	No.5		11/03/1917	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878); Brahms, Konzert for piano and orchestra no.2				

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Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		18/03/1917	15:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; W.A. Mozart, Serenade No.13 'Eine kleine Nachtmusik'; Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture No.3 zur Oper "Leonore"	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Eine kleine Nachtmusik G-Dur K 525 (1787); Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805-1806); Max Reger Introduction und Passacaglia d-moll (1899); Benedictus Des-Dur op. 59/2 (Zwölf Stücke für Orgel) (1901); Canzone (Zwölf Stücke für Orgel op. 65) (1902). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		25/03/1917	15:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	W.A. Mozart, Overture zur Oper "Die Zauberflöte"; Robert Schumann, Adagio und Allegro for piano and horn; Mahler, "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen" Five Songs after Rückert; Mahler, "Wer hat dies Leidlein erdacht?"; Des Knaben Wunderhorn; Mahler, "Wo die Schönen Trompeten blasen, Des Knaben Wunderhorn; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zu »Die Zauberflöte« K 620 (1791); Robert Schumann Adagio und Allegro As-Dur op. 70 (Fassung für Violoncello und Klavier) (1849); Gustav Mahler Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen (Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert) (1901); Wer hat dies Leidlein erdacht (Des Knaben Wunderhorn) (1892); Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen (Des Knaben Wunderhorn) (1898); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantisch« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Populäres Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		25/03/1917	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Schumann, Konzert for piano and orchestra op.54; Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture op.13			Brahms Zigeunerlieder after Bruckner.	
Brahms	No.1		03/04/1917		Charity Home for the Blind of the War		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arthur Nikisch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overture to the Tragedy "Egmont" by J. W. v. Goethe, op. 84; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso g-Moll; Richard Strauss Tod und Verklärung (Death and Transfiguration), op. 24; Richard Wagner Prelude to the Opera „Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg“ ("The Master Singers of Nuremberg"), WWV 96	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »Egmont« op. 84 (1809–1810); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso g-moll op. 6/6 HWV 324 (Bearbeitung und Kadenz: Ferdinand David) (1739); Richard Strauss Tod und Verklärung. Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 (1888–1889); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862–1867). Note: Öffentliche Hauptprobe zum Sinfonie-Konzert zugunsten des unter dem Protektorate Sr. k.k. Hoheit des Durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzogs Stefan stehenden Vereines »Kriegsblindenheimstätten«. Presented by: KD Gutmann (Hugo Knepler)	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		04/04/1917	18:00	Charity Home for the War Blind		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arthur Nikisch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overture to the Tragedy "Egmont" by J. W. v. Goethe, op. 84; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso g-Moll; Richard Strauss Tod und Verklärung (Death and Transfiguration), op. 24; Richard Wagner Prelude to the Opera „Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg“ ("The Master Singers of Nuremberg"), WWV 96			As in column K	
Mahler	No.3		09/04/1917	19:30	VIII Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.9		11/04/1917	18:30	Letztes Sinfonie-Konzert; Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No.6	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur op. 68 »Pastorale« (1807-1808). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Brahms	No.3		28/10/1917	19:00	Schweizer Musikwoche, Zweiter Abend		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Fritz Brun	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Johannes Brahms, "Alt-Rhapsodie", Rhapsody for alto solo, mens choir and orchestra op.53; Othmar Schoeck, "Der Postillon" for mens choir, tenor, and orchestra op.18; Schubert, "Ständchen" in einer Bearbeitung von Mottl; W.A. Mozart, Symphonie Nr. 33	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); Rhapsodie op. 53 für Alt, Männerchor und Orchester (1896); Friedrich Hegar, Walpurga; Othmar Schoeck Der Postillon op. 18 »Lieblich war die Maiennacht« (1909); Franz Schubert Ständchen / Notturno D 920a für Alt / Bariton, Männerchor und Klavier »Zögernd leise« (Bearbeitung für Orchester: Felix Mottl) (1827); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie B-Dur K 319 (1779). Note: Schweizer Musikwoche, Zweiter Abend. Presented by: KD Hugo Heller	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		11/11/1917	16:00	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture zur "Egmont"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Pause; Grieg, Konzert for piano and orchestra op.16; R.Wagner, Overture to "Der fliegende Holländer"	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »Egmont« op. 84 (1809–1810); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); ***; Edvard Grieg Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 16 (1868); Richard Wagner Ouverture zu »Der fliegende Holländer« (1841). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		15/11/1917	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Fritz Rothschild	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Giovanni Battista Viotti, Konzert for violin and orchestra no.22; Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture to Egmont				
Bruckner	No.8		20/11/1917		Charity Concert Funeral Music for Emperor Franz Joseph I		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Schicksalslied (Song of Destiny) for Choir and Orchestra op. 54 (Hölderlin); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		25/11/1917		Memorial Celebration Bernhard Baumeister		Burgtheater	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Max von Millenkovich Gedenkrede Bernhard Baumeister; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7, Adagio				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.5	Schalk	05/12/1917	19:00	Abonnement Konzert Sym/3	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Pfitzner, Overture aus der Musik zu Kleists "Das Käthchen von Heilbronn" op.17; Mendelssohn, Konzert for violin and orchestra op.64; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Hans Pfitzner Ouverture zu »Das Käthchen von Heilbronn« op. 17 (1905); Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert für Violine und Orchester e-moll op. 64 (1844); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		09/12/1917	16:00			Grosser Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.3; Weber Ozaen-Arie aus "Oberon"; Sauer Klavierkonzert E-moll; Massenet Overture "Phädra"			Brahms Symphony No.3; Weber Ozaen-Arie aus "Oberon"; Sauer Klavierkonzert E-moll; Massenet Overture "Phädra"	
Mahler	No.2		10/12/1917	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	"Kindertotenlieder", Liederzyklus nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert; Richard Strauss "Morgen" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 4; Richard Strauss "Wiegenlied" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 41 TrV 195 Nr. 1; Richard Strauss "Ständchen" nach Gedichten von Adolf Friedrich Graf von Schack aus Sechs Lieder für hohe Stimme und Klavier op. 17, Nr. 2 (Bearbeitung für Gesang und Orchester; Felix Monti); Richard Strauss "Cacilie" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 2; Pause; Richard Strauss "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", symphonische Dichtung op. 28; Gustav Mahler "Der Schildwache Nachtlied" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Gustav Mahler "Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Gustav Mahler "Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Richard Strauss Walzerfolge aus der Oper "Der Rosenkavalier" op. 59 (Bearbeitung: Otto Singer, Orchestrierung: Johannes Doebber)				
Mahler	No.4		16/12/1917	16:00	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Beethoven, "Freudvoll und leidvoll", Lied des Klärchens aus der Schauspielmusik zu Goethes Trauerspiel "Egmont"; Beethoven, "Die Trommel gerühret", Lied des Klärchens aus der Schauspielmusik zu Goethes Trauerspiel "Egmont"; Pause; Jan Brandts-Buys, "Tancred" Konzertstück for cello and small orchestra op.35; R. Wagner, "Keisermarsch" B-Dur WWV104	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901); Ludwig van Beethoven Klärchen-Lieder (Egmont op. 84) (1809-1810); ***; Jan Brandts Buys Konzertstück für Violoncello und Orchester »Tancred« op. 35 (1917 vor); Richard Wagner Kaisermarsch. Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		16/12/1917	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; R. Wagner, Hallenarie der Elisabeth (Einleitung und Szene 1 aus dem 3.Akt) aus der Oper "Tannhäuser"; Grieg, "Solveigs Wiegenlied" aus der Schauspielmusik zu Henrik Ibsens Drama "Peer Gynt"; Franz Liszt, Konzert for piano and orchestra no.1; Anton Max Widich, Overture to einem heiteren Spiel			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.3		22/12/1917	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Julius Zaiczek-Blenkenau, "Helmbrecht" Symphonic poem; W.A. Mozart, Konzert for piano and orchestra no.25; Felix Gotthelf, Schluss-Szene aus dem Mysterium "Mahadeva"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1877)				
Mahler	No.4		31/12/1917		Special Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Willem Mengelberg	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i> ; Richard Strauss <i>Ein Heldenleben</i> , op. 40				
Mahler	No.4		01/01/1918		Special Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Willem Mengelberg	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i> ; Richard Strauss <i>Ein Heldenleben</i> , op. 40			Mahler No.5	
Bruckner	No.3		01/01/1918	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Pause; Tchaikovsky, Concerto for Violin and orchestra op.35; Weber, overture to "Euryanthe" op.81			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		20/01/1918	16:00	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Felix Mendelssohn, Overture op.21 from a Summer Night's Dream; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Liszt, Ungarische Fantasie for piano and orchestra; Liszt, "Les Préludes" Symphonic poem	Programme: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Ouverture zu »Ein Sommernachtstraum« op. 21 (1826); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Franz Liszt Fantasie über ungarische Volksmelodien S 123 für Klavier und Orchester (1852 ?), Les Préludes. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 3 S 97 (1848-1854). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		03/02/1918	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 ; Pause ; Hermann Goetz Arie der Katharina aus der komischen Oper "Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung" ; Gustav Mahler "Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" ; Gustav Mahler "Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht?" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Flöte und Harfe C-Dur KV 299; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b				
Bruckner	No.4		10/02/1918	16:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Hugo Wolf "Italienische Serenade" for viola and orchestra; Liszt, Konzert for Piano and Orchestra no.2; R. Wagner, "Huldigungsmarsch" for Ludwig II von Bayern	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); ***; Hugo Wolf Italienische Serenade G-Dur für kleines Orchester (1892); Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur S 125 (1848); Richard Wagner Huldigungsmarsch. Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.4		16/02/1918		6th Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert Symphony No. 7 in B Minor, D. 759 ("Unfinished"); Georg Szell Variationen über ein eigenes Thema, op. 4; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in column K	
Brahms	No.4		17/02/1918	16:00	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	J.S.Bach, Orchestral suite no.4; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Pause; W.A.Mozart, Konzert für Violin und Orchester no.5; Gustav Grube: "Widukind" Symphonic prologue	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Ouverture / Orchestersuite Nr. 4 D-Dur BWV 1069 (1717-1723 ca.); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885); ***; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); Gustav Grube Widukind. Sinfonischer Prolog zum gleichnamigen Schauspiel von A. Beranek-Rau, Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		17/02/1918	12:30	6th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert Symphony No. 7 in B Minor, D. 759 ("Unfinished"); Georg Szell Variationen über ein eigenes Thema, op. 4; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.2		24/02/1918	16:00				Anton Konrad	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Bruckner Symphony No.2; Beethoven Klavierkonzert Es-dur; Mozart Rosenarie aus "Hochzeit des Figaro"; Bizet Arie der Micaela aus "Carmen"; Weber Overture "Freischütz"			Bruckner Symphony No.2; Beethoven Klavierkonzert Es-dur; Mozart Rosenarie aus "Hochzeit des Figaro"; Bizet Arie der Micaela aus "Carmen"; Weber Overture "Freischütz"	
Brahms	No.1		27/02/1918	19:00	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms, "Gesang der Parzen" for sechsstimmigen Chor und Orchester; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Johannes Brahms, Konzert für Violin und Orchester op.77; Johannes Brahms, Academic Festival Overture	Programme: Johannes Brahms Gesang der Parzen op. 89 (1882), Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68 (1876); ***; Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77 (1877-1878), Akademische Festouvertüre op. 80 (1881). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		02/03/1918	15:00	7th Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture "Abu Hassan"; Gustav Mahler Symphony No. 1 in D Major; Franz Liszt Mazeppa (Tone Poem No. 6)			As in column K	
Mahler	No.1		03/03/1918	12:30	7th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture "Abu Hassan"; Gustav Mahler Symphony No. 1 in D Major; Franz Liszt Mazeppa (Tone Poem No. 6)			As in column K	WZ 04.03.1918; NWT 04.03.1918
Bruckner	No.2		10/03/1918	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrad	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); Franz Schubert "Die junge Nonne" D 828 in einer Bearbeitung von Franz Liszt; Joseph Marx "Marienlied" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Novalis; Gustav Mahler "Ich atme' einen Linden Duft" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Pause; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 g-moll op. 25; Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper "Oberon"				
Mahler	No.3		16/03/1918	19:00	Außerordentliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll für großes Orchester, Altsolo, Knabenchor und Frauenchor (1893-1896), Note: Außerordentliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		Z 04.04.1918
Brahms	No.2		25/03/1918	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrad	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Cherubini, Overture to Opera "Anacréon ou l'Amour fugitif"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Rossini, "Selva oscura", Arie aus dem 2. Akt "Guillaume Tell"; Robert Manzer, Zwei Lieder mit Orchester; Tchaikovsky, Konzert für piano und Orchester no.1 op.23			As in column K	
Mahler	No.8		08/04/1918		Charity Concert Military Widow and Orphan Funds		k.u.k. Court Opera House, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur				WZ 09.04.1918
Bruckner	No.8		10/04/1918	19:00	Abonnement Konzert SYM/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung von 1890); R.Wagner, Vorspiel "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge pro organo pleno Es-Dur BWV 552 »St. Anna« (1737); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Erste Fassung von 1887) (1884-1887); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.8		11/04/1918		Charity Court Pensioners Court Opera		k.u.k. Court Opera House, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur				
Bruckner	No.4		14/04/1918	12:30	Nicolai Concert/ Außerordentliches Konzert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Wagner Ouv. Der fliegende Holländer; Richard Wagner Parsifal, Vorspiel und Schluss; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1880)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		21/04/1918	16:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; R.Wagner, Overture "Der fliegende Holländer"; R.Wagner, "Gralsarählung" from "Lohengrin"; R.Wagner, "Morgendlich leuchtet in rosigem Schein" 3-Akt "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"; R.Wagner, "Vorspiel zum 3. Akt", "Tanz der Lehrbuben" und "Aufzug der Meisterzinger" from Der Meistersinger von Nürnberg	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); Richard Wagner Ouverture zu »Der fliegende Holländer« (1841), In fernem Land (Gralsarählung des Lohengrin aus »Lohengrin«) (1846–1848), Morgendlich leuchtend (Preislied des Stolz) aus »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862–1867), Vorspiel zum 3. Akt (Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg) »Tanz der Lehrbuben und Aufzug der Meister« (1862–1867). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		15/10/1918	19:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester No.3, op.37; R.Wagner, Overture zur "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg"	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach: Toccata und Orgel in c-moll BWV 565 (1708 vor); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 3 c-moll op. 37 (1800-1802); Richard Wagner Overture zu »Tannhäuser« (1845). Presented by: Organisation Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		10/11/1918	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.1; Weber Ozean-Arie aus "Oberon"; Pause; Schumann Klavierkonzert A-moll; Beethoven Overture "Leonore III"			Brahms Symphony No.1; Weber Ozean-Arie aus "Oberon"; Pause; Schumann Klavierkonzert A-moll; Beethoven Overture "Leonore III"	
Bruckner	No.6		14/11/1918	19:00	II Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.6; Beethoven, Konzert for violin and orchestra op.61			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		16/11/1918		1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouverture zu "Alceste" mit Schluß von Felix Weingartner; Joseph Haydn Symphonie C-Dur, Hob. E7 "Le Midi"; Luigi Cherubini Ouverture "Ali Baba"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				MWM 18.11.1918; FB 19.11.1918; DV 22.11.1918
Brahms	No.1		17/11/1918	12:30	1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouverture zu "Alceste" mit Schluß von Felix Weingartner; Joseph Haydn Symphonie C-Dur, Hob. E7 "Le Midi"; Luigi Cherubini Ouverture "Ali Baba"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			As in column K	DV 22.11.1918
Bruckner	No.4		24/11/1918	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Bruckner Symphony No.4; Liszt Klavierkonzerte A-dur (in einem Satz); Weber Overture zu "Euryanthe"			Bruckner Symphony No.4; Liszt Klavierkonzerte A-dur (in einem Satz); Weber Overture zu "Euryanthe"	
Bruckner	No.3		27/11/1918	18:30	Abonnement Konzert Sym/2	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Hermann Hans Wetzler, Overture to Schakespeare's "Wie es euch gefällt" (1917) (EA); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante Es-Dur K 320d für Violine, Viola und Orchester (1779–1780); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Programme: Hermann Hans Wetzler Overture zu »Wie es euch gefällt« (1917) (EA); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante Es-Dur K 320d für Violine, Viola und Orchester (1779–1780); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		30/11/1918	19:00	Zweites Symphonie-Konzert veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des Roten Kreuzes	KD Hugo Heller	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	R.Strauss, "Don Juan" Tondichtung; Mahler, "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen"; Liederzyklus; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888); Gustav Mahler Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen (1884–1885); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Zweites Symphonie-Konzert veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des Roten Kreuzes. Presented by: KD Hugo Heller.	Konzerthaus Archive		Z 11.12.1918
Brahms	No.4		05/12/1918		III Abonnement Konzert				Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester				Brahms Symphony No.4; Schumann Klavierkonzert A-moll; Oberleithner Zwischenspiel aus der Oper "Der eiserne Heiland" (advert)	
Brahms	No.2		14/12/1918	15:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker				Strauss "Also Sprach Zarathustra"; Brahms Symphony No.2 (advert)	
Brahms	No.2		15/12/1918	12:30	III Abonnement Konzert			Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker				Strauss "Also Sprach Zarathustra"; Brahms Symphony No.2 (advert)	
Brahms	No.2		21/12/1918		3rd Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss Also sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spoke Zarathustra), op. 30; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Brahms	No.2		22/12/1918	11:30	3rd Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss Also sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spoke Zarathustra), op. 30; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			As in column K	M 23.12.1918; NWT 23.12.1918; Z 23.12.1918; NFP 24.12.1918; NWJ 24.12.1918; WZ 24.12.1918
Bruckner	No.3		22/12/1918	15:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Grossen Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester				Bruckner Symphony No.3; Liszt Klavierkonzert F-dur; Wagner Overture zu Tannhäuser	
Brahms	No.1		25/12/1918	15:00	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; W.A.Mozart, "Mich zu trennen von Dir", Konzertarie for Sopran und Orchester; Pause; Grieg, Konzertfor piano and orchestra op.16; Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture no.3 "Leonore"	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ch'io mi scordi di te ... Non temer, amato bene »Verlassen sollte ich dich? ... Fürchte nimmer, o mein Geliebter«. Szene mit Rondo für Sopran mit obligatem Klavier und Orchester K 505 (1786); Rudolf Pehm Sehnsucht, Das war der Tag der weißen Chrysanthemen, Herbstsonnenschein (UA); ***; Edvard Grieg Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 16 (1868); Ludwig van Beethoven Overture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonoren-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805–1806). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		11/01/1919	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-konzerte	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Bruckner, Adagio from Symphony No.7 in einer Bearbeitung von Ferdinand Löwe; Beethoven, Symphony No.9	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (2. Satz: Andante »Trauermusik«) (Bearbeitung für Bläser: Ferdinand Löwe) (1881-1883); Worte des Gedenkens von David Josef Bach; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll op. 125 (1822-1824). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte 1918/1919, Erstes Konzert, Dem Andenken Viktor Adlers. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-konzerte.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		16/01/1919	17:30	III Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; R.Schumann, Konzert for piano and orchestra op.54; Max von Oberleithner, Vorspiel zum 3.Akt "Der eiserne Heiland"			As in column K	
Brahms	No.3		18/01/1919	14:00	5th Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93; Felix Weingartner Cellokonzert op. 60; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90			As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.4		19/01/1919	15:00	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein Wiener Symphonie-Orchester	R.Wagner, Vorspiel zum 1. Akt des Bühnenweilfestspiels "Parsifal"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 c-moll op. 98; W.A.Mozart, Arie der Aminta aus dem Drama per musica "Il re pastore" ("Der König als Hirte"); Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture op.13	Programme: Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Parsifal« (1877–1882); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 c-moll op. 98 (1884–1885); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart L'amerò, sarò costante »Dein bin ich, ja dein auf ewig« (Arie der Aminta aus »Il rè pastore« K 208) (1775); Franz Schubert Fischerweise D 881 (1826), Geheimes D 719 (1821), Die Unterscheidung D 866/1 (Vier Refrainlieder) (1828); Carl Goldmark Ouverture zu »Sakuntala« op. 13 (1865). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		19/01/1919	11:30	5th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93; Felix Weingartner Cellokonzert op. 60; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90			As in column K	
Brahms	No.2		22/01/1919	17:30	Subscription series: Viertes Sinfonie-Konzerte		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Max Reger, Variationen und Fuge on a theme by Ludwig van Beethoven op.86; R.Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", Symphonic poem	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Max Reger Variationen und Fuge B-Dur über ein Thema von Ludwig van Beethoven op. 86 für Klavier zu vier Händen (1904); Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894-1895). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Brahms	No.3		24/01/1919	14:00	5th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93; Felix Weingartner Cellokonzert op. 60; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90			As in column K	NWT 27.01.1919
Mahler	No.2		01/02/1919	17:30	Drittes Symphonie-Konzert veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Concertverein	Schubert, Symphony No.7; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendet« (1822); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: Drittes Symphonie-Konzert veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«. Presented by: KD Hugo Heller	Konzerthaus Archive		MWM 03.02.1919
Bruckner	No.5		09/02/1919	15:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	J.S.Bach, Prelude and fugue for orchestra, eingerichtet von Abert; W.A.Mozart, Konzert für flöte und harp KV 299; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Introduction, Choral und Fuge (Bearbeitung und Komposition des Choral: Johann Joseph Abert); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Flöte, Harle und Orchester C-Dur K 297c (1778); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		15/02/1919	18:30	Beethoven-Brahms-Abend			Carl Maria Artz	Philharmonischen Orchester (unclear whether Vienna or Berlin)	Beethoven Overture to Egmont; Beethoven Symphony No.1; Brahms Symphony No.1			Beethoven Overture to Egmont; Beethoven Symphony No.1; Brahms Symphony No.1. Unclear whether this concert was actually in Vienna. No venue info. Carl Maria Artz.	
Mahler	No.4		20/02/1919	17:30	VI Abonnement-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 C-Dur: Hugo Reichenberger, Marienlieder; Egon Kornauth, Ballade for orchestra with cello obbligato op.17			Kornauth second and Reichenberger third (advert and concert programme)	WZ 11.03.1919
Mahler	No.2		28/02/1919	17:30	Drittes Symphonie-Konzert (Wiederholung) veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: Drittes Symphonie-Konzert (Wiederholung) veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«. Presented by: KD Hugo Heller	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.5		03/03/1919	18:00	V. Symphonie-konzert		Grosser Konzerthausaal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Concertverein	Mahler Symphony No.5			Mahler Symphony NO.5	NFP 10.03.1919
Mahler	No.5		04/03/1919	15:00	Fünftes Symphonie-Konzert (Wiederholung) veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Mahler, Symphony No.5	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 (1901-1902). Note: Fünftes Symphonie-Konzert (Wiederholung) veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«. Presented by: KD Hugo Heller	Konzerthaus Archive		NFP 10.03.1919; NWT 10.03.1919; WZ 11.03.1919; WM 13.03.1919
Brahms	No.1		08/03/1919	18:00	Symphoniekonzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.1; Debussy L'apres midi d'un faune; Marx Fünf Orchesterlieder; R. Strauss Tod und Verklärung			Brahms Symphony No.1; Debussy L'apres midi d'un faune; Marx Fünf Orchesterlieder; R. Strauss Tod und Verklärung (advert and concert programme)	NWT 10.03.1919
Brahms	No.4		08/03/1919	14:00	8th Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Adagio und Fuge in c-Moll, KV 546; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C Major, op. 21; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in column K	NFP 10.03.1919; NWT 10.03.1919; WZ 11.03.1919
Brahms	No.4		09/03/1919	11:30	8th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Adagio und Fuge in c-Moll, KV 546; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C Major, op. 21; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in column K	NFP 10.03.1919; NWT 10.03.1919; WZ 11.03.1919
Brahms	No.4		12/03/1919	14:00	8th Subscription Concert/ Populäres Konzert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Adagio und Fuge in c-Moll, KV 546; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C Major, op. 21; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in column K	NFP 10.03.1919; NWT 10.03.1919; WZ 11.03.1919
Mahler	No.2		13/03/1919	18:30	IV Konzert mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester			Konzert-direktion: Hermann Wolff und Jules Sachs	Philharmonischen Orchester (unclear whether Vienna or Berlin)	Selmar Meyrowitz, Wagner Vorspiel zu "Parsifal"; Mahler Symphony No.2			Selmar Meyrowitz, Wagner Vorspiel zu "Parsifal"; Mahler Symphony No.2. Note: Unverkäuflich	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.4		16/03/1919	15:00	Vollstämmliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.4; Pause; Meyerbeer Schattentanz aus "Dinorah"; Haydn Cellokonzert in D-dur			Mahler Symphony No.4; Pause; Meyerbeer Schattentanz aus "Dinorah"; Haydn Cellokonzert in D-dur	
Mahler	No.3		22/03/1919		Nicolai Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll				NWT 24.03.1919; NWT 24.03.1919
Brahms	No.1		22/03/1919	17:30	Sechstes Symphonie-Konzert veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture Nr.1 from "Leonore" op.72a; R.Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche" Symphonische Dichtung op.28; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Overture Nr. 2 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 2« (1804-1805); Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894-1895); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Sechstes Symphonie-Konzert veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«. Presented by: KD Hugo Heller	Konzerthaus Archive		NWT 24.03.1919; NT 25.03.1919
Mahler	No.3		23/03/1919	11:30	Nicolai Concert/ Außerordentliches Konzert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll			As in column K. (I. Aufführung in den Philharm. Konzerten.)	MWM 24.03.1919; NWT 24.03.1919
Mahler	No.1		25/03/1919	17:30	III Ausserordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Nedbal	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Brahms, "Alt-Rhapsodie", Rhapsodie for alto solo, mens choir, and orchestra op.53; J.S.Bach, "Ich habe genug", Kantate am Feste Mariä Reinigung; Mahler, Symphony No.1			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		03/04/1919	00:00	gemäß Direktionsbericht Saison 1918/19; Trauerfeier für Carl August Artaria	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Foyer Großer Saal (vor GS=Sohmen-Foyer) 01	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphony No.7 E-dur (2. Satz: Andante); Trauerrede von Paul Hammerschlag				
Bruckner	No.4		09/04/1919	18:00	Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Schubert, "Trauermarsch" es-moll; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; R.Wagner, Vorspiel "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"	Programme (In memoriam Karl August Artaria): Franz Schubert Grande marche es-moll D 819/5 »Trauermarsch« (Bearbeitung für Orchester) (1824); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862–1867). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		14/04/1919	18:30:00	IV. (letztes) Konzert mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester			Hermann Scherschen	Philharmonischen Orchester (unclear whether Vienna or Berlin)	Schreker Vorspiel zu einem Drama; Mozart Konzert Nr. 5 für Violine A-dur; Bruckner Symphony No.9 d-moll (unvollendet)			Schreker Vorspiel zu einem Drama; Mozart Konzert Nr. 5 für Violine A-dur; Bruckner Symphony No.9 d-moll (unvollendet)	
Mahler	No.9		19/04/1919	18:30	Viertes Symphonie-Konzert (Öffentliche Hauptprobe) veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 (1908-1909). Note: Viertes Symphonie-Konzert (Öffentliche Hauptprobe) veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des »Roten Kreuzes«. Presented by: KD Hugo Heller	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K. Veranstaltet durch die Kunstgruppe des "Roten Kreuzes"	NT 19.04.1919; NFP 20.04.1919
Mahler	No.9		20/04/1919	18:00	IV Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Konzerthausaal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur			Mahler Symphony No.9 (advert)	
Bruckner	No.8		23/04/1919	18:00	Erstes Orchester-Konzert Bruckner-Fest	Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner, "Psalm 150" for soprano, mixed choir, and orchestra; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Anton Bruckner Der 150. Psalm für Sopran, Chor und Orchester (1892), Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Note: Bruckner-Fest 1919. Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.9		27/04/1919	18:00	Zweitest Orchester-Konzert Bruckner-Fest	Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896), Te Deum (1881-1884). Note: Bruckner-Fest 1919. Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Mahler	No.9		09/05/1919	18:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 (1908-1909). Presented by: KD Hugo Heller	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		14/05/1919	18:30	Brahms-Fest IV Abend		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Willy van Hoogstraten	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms, "Tragische Ouvertüre" for orchestra op.81; Johannes Brahms, Konzert for piano and orchestra no.1 op.15; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98			As in column K	
Mahler	No.2		21/05/1919		Brahms Fest - Öffentliche Generalprobe		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester				Mahler Symphony No.2	
Mahler	No.2		22/05/1919		Brahms-Fest Symphonie-Konzerte Abend II		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester				Mahler Symphony No.2	
Mahler	No.2		23/05/1919	18:30	Vorankündigung Programm 18.5.1919 GS; Drei Symphonie-Konzerte zu Gunsten des Orchester-Hilfsfonds; Zweiter Abend		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: gemäß Vorankündigung Programm 18.5.1919 GS; Drei Symphonie-Konzerte zu Gunsten des Orchester-Hilfsfonds; Zweiter Abend. Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	NT 23.05.1919; NWT 23.05.1919
Bruckner	No.9		29/05/1919	18:30	Wiederholung	Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896), Te Deum (1881-1884). Note: Wiederholung. Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	No mention of the Te deum (advert)	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		18/06/1919	19:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Concertverein	Felix Mendelssohn, Overture to A Midsummer Night's Dream; R.Schumann, Konzert for Piano and Orchestra op.54; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Overture zu »Ein Sommernachtsstraum« op. 21 (1826); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.3		25/06/1919	19:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1877); F.Liszt, "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo" Symphonic poem; R.Wagner, Vorspiel "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889); Hugo Wolf Die Spröde (Goethe-Lieder Nr. 26) (1889), Nixe Binsefuß (Mörke-Lieder Nr. 45) (1888), Der Gärtner (Mörke-Lieder Nr. 17) (1888); Franz Liszt Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 2 c-moll S 96 (1849–1854); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862–1867). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column L	
Mahler	No.2		01/07/1919	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Concertverein	Oskar Fried, "Enteiled" for mens choir and orchestra; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Oskar Fried Enteiled op. 15 für Männerchor und Orchester; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Presented by: Zentralstelle für Bildungswesen der deutschösterreichischen Sozialdemokratie	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		02/07/1919		Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Konzerthausaal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.2; Reger Konzert im alten Stil; R.Strauss "Don Juan" Sinfonische Dichtung			Mahler Symphony No.2; Reger Konzert im alten Stil; R.Strauss "Don Juan" Sinfonische Dichtung	
Mahler	No.2		03/07/1919	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Concertverein	Oskar Fried, "Enteiled" for mens choir and orchestra; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Oskar Fried Enteiled op. 15 für Männerchor und Orchester; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Presented by: Zentralstelle für Bildungswesen der deutschösterreichischen Sozialdemokratie	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		04/07/1919	19:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert; »Von Bach bis Richard Strauss«		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Max Reger, "Ballett-Suite" for orchestra op.130; R.Strauss, "Don Juan" tone poem for large orchestra op.20	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899–1901); Max Reger Eine Ballett-Suite D-Dur op. 130 (1913); Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert; »Von Bach bis Richard Strauss«. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		05/07/1919	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Concertverein	Oskar Fried, "Enteiled" for mens choir and orchestra; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Oskar Fried Enteiled op. 15 für Männerchor und Orchester; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Presented by: Zentralstelle für Bildungswesen der deutschösterreichischen Sozialdemokratie	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		07/09/1919	19:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Camille Saint-Saëns, Danse macabre op.40; Karl Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture op.13	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); ***; Camille Saint-Saëns Danse macabre. Symphonische Dichtung g-moll op. 40 (1874); Carl Goldmark Overture zu »Sakuntala« op. 13 (1865). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert; Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		11/09/1919	19:00	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Pause; Tchaikovsky, Nutcracker suite aus dem gleichnamigen Ballett; Berlioz, "Le carnaval romain" Characteristic overture	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884–1885); ***; Peter Iljitsch Tschaiakowsky Ballett-Suite op. 71a (Der Nussknacker) (1892); Hector Berlioz Le carnaval romain. Overture caractéristique op. 9 (1844). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		20/09/1919	18:30	L Bruno-Walter-Konzert			Bruno Walter	Philharmonischen Orchester (unclear whether Vienna or Berlin)	Mahler Fünf Lieder: 'Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen', 'Ich atmet' einen linden Duft', 'Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht?' Das irdische Leben', 'Ich bin der Walt abhanden gekommen'; Das Mahler Symphony No.2			Mahler Fünf Lieder: 'Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen', 'Ich atmet' einen linden Duft', 'Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht?' Das irdische Leben', 'Ich bin der Walt abhanden gekommen'; Mahler Symphony No.2	
Mahler	No.9		20/09/1919	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 (1908-1909). Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		05/10/1919	15:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1877); Pause; Grieg, Suite No.2 op.55 from "Peer Gyn"; R.Wagner, Overture to Tannhäuser	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889); ***; Edward Grieg Peer Gyn-Suite Nr. 2 op. 55 (1874–1875); Richard Wagner Overture zu »Tannhäuser« (1845). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.6		11/10/1919	19:00	Erstes Orchesterkonzert des »Anbruchs«		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll (1903-1904). Note: Erstes Orchesterkonzert des »Anbruchs«. Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		19/10/1919	15:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Brahms Symphoby N.4; J.S. Bach Passacaglio u. Doppelfuge in C-moll; Weber Ozean-Arie aud Oberon; Beethoven Overture Leonore 3			Brahms Symphoby N.4; J.S. Bach Passacaglio u. Doppelfuge in C-moll; Weber Ozean-Arie aud Oberon; Beethoven Overture Leonore 3	
Bruckner	No.7		08/11/1919		1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Overture to the Opera "Fidelio"</i> , op. 72c; Lio Hans <i>Die Heve. Ballade f. Bariton mit Orch.</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107</i>				
Mahler	No.4		09/11/1919	15:30	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; R.Wagner, "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung"; R.Wagner, "Schmerzen" No.4 aus den "Wesendonck-Liedern"; R.Wagner, Overture zur Oper "Tannhäuser"	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901); ***; Richard Wagner Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds (Götterdämmerung) (1869-1874), Träume (Fünf Gedichte für eine Frauenstimme »Wesendonck-Lieder« Nr. 5) (1857), Schmerzen (Fünf Gedichte für eine Frauenstimme »Wesendonck-Lieder« Nr. 4) (1857), Overture zu »Tannhäuser« (1845). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		09/11/1919	11:30	1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Overture to the Opera "Fidelio"</i> , op. 72c; Lio Hans <i>Die Heve. Ballade f. Bariton mit Orch.</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107</i>			As in column K	
Mahler	No.1		12/11/1919	18:00	Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Beethoevn, Overture no.2 zur Oper "Leonore" op.72a; Mahler, Symphony No.1; Pfitzner, Overture zur Oper "Das Christ-Eilfflein" op.20; Pfitzner, Overture aus der Musik zu Kleists "Das Käthchen von Heilbronn" op.17	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 2 zu »Leonore« »Leonore«-Ouverture Nr. 2« (1804–1805); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur (1888–1899); Hans Pfitzner Ouverture zu »Christelflein« op. 20 (1906), Ouverture zu »Das Käthchen von Heilbronn« op. 17 (1905). Note: Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		16/11/1919	11:00	Wiener Festspiel-Zyklus II Symphonie Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bernhard Tittel	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Overture "Sakuntala"; Brahms-Lieder; Lieder; Brahms Symphony No.1			Overture "Sakuntala"; Brahms-Lieder; Lieder; Brahms Symphony No.1	
Mahler	No.4		16/11/1919	18:00	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; R.Wagner, "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus "Götterdämmerung"; R.Wagner, "Schmerzen" No.4 aus den "Wesendonck-Liedern" (orchestrated Felix Mottl); R.Wagner, Overture to "Tannhäuser"	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901); ***; Richard Wagner Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds (Götterdämmerung) (1869-1874), Träume (Fünf Gedichte für eine Frauenstimme »Wesendonck-Lieder« Nr. 5) (1857), Schmerzen (Fünf Gedichte für eine Frauenstimme »Wesendonck-Lieder« Nr. 4) (1857), Overture zu »Tannhäuser« (1845). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		19/11/1919	00:00	II Ordentliches Gesellschaftskonzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.6; Bruckner, Messe No.1			As in column K	
Mahler	No.3		29/11/1919	18:00	I Ausserordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll			As in column K	
Mahler	No.6		03/12/1919				Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk		Mahler Klagende Lied; Mahler Symphony no.6			Mahler Klagende Lied; Mahler Symphony no.6	
Bruckner	No.3		04/12/1919	18:00	Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture to "Euryanthe"; W.A.Mozart, Konzert for violin and orchestra no.5; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822–1823); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		05/12/1919	18:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture to "Euryanthe"; W.A.Mozart, Konzert for violin and orchestra no.5; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1877)	[Not in Konzerthaus records]	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		06/12/1919	18:00	I Orchesterkonzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mozart Divertimento D-dur Nr.17; Beethoven Liederkreis an die ferne Geliebte; Mahler Symphony No.1			Mozart Divertimento D-dur Nr.17; Beethoven Liederkreis an die ferne Geliebte; Mahler Symphony No.1	
Brahms	No.2		28/12/1919	15:00	Populäres Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven, Tripelkonzert for piano, violin, cello, and orchestra op.56; Paul Dukas, "L'apprenti sorcier" symphonic scherzo for orchestra	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Carl Führich Entelied op. 81/1 (1913), Freier amnest du, Natur, Im goldnen Netz, Hoch in der Frühe op. 81/3 (1913); ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier, Violine, Violoncello und Orchester C-Dur op. 56 »Tripelkonzert« (1803-1804); Paul Dukas L'apprenti sorcier »Der Zauberelehrlings, Symphonisches Scherzo nach Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1897). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		06/12/1919	15:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Bruckner Symphony No.3; Liszt Klavierkonzert F-dur; Weber Overture Der Freischütz			Bruckner Symphony No.3; Liszt Klavierkonzert F-dur; Weber Overture Der Freischütz	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		01/01/1920	15:00	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Wagner, Overture to "Der fliegende Holländer"; Wagner, Ballade der Senta aus der Oper "Der fliegende Holländer"; Wagner, Vorspiel und "Liebestod" aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde"	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); ***; Richard Wagner Overture zu »Der fliegende Holländer« (1841), Traft ihr das Schiff im Meere (Ballade der Senta aus »Der fliegende Holländer«) (1841), Vorspiel und Liebestod (Tristan und Isolde) (1857–1859). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		04/01/1920	11:00	III Symphonie-Festkonzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bernhard Tittel	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Weber Overture "Euryanthe"; Weber Duett aus "Butterfly"; Weber Violinvortrag Konzertmeister ZIMBLER; Bruckner Symphony No.4			Weber Overture "Euryanthe"; Weber Duett aus "Butterfly"; Weber Violinvortrag Konzertmeister ZIMBLER; Bruckner Symphony No.4	
Bruckner	No.3		10/01/1920	18:00	Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Debussy, "Prélude a l'après-midi d'un faune" symphonic poem; Rimsky-Korsakov, "Sweetly prasniki" overture über liturgische Themen op.36			As in column K. Korsakoff "Russische Ostern" Overture	
Bruckner	No.3		15/01/1920	15:00	III. Jugend-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Mozart Overture "Die Zauberflöte"; Mozart Violinkonzert D-dur; Pause; Bruckner Symphony No.3			Mozart Overture "Die Zauberflöte"; Mozart Violinkonzert D-dur; Pause; Bruckner Symphony No.3	
Bruckner	No.2		29/01/1920	18:00	Abonnement Konzert Sym/4 Symphoniekonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Beethoven »Coriolan« Overture c-moll op.62; Brahms, Konzert for violin and orchestra D-Dur op.77; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811-1812); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877). Note: Symphoniekonzert; laut Änderungszeitel mußte das geplante Brahms-Violinkonzert abgesagt werden [According to the change slip, the planned Brahms violin concerto had to be cancelled]. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.5		30/01/1920	18:00	Drittes Orchesterkonzert des »Anbruch«		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler, "Der Schildwache Nachtlid" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Mahler, "Liebst Du um Schönheit" aus Fünf Lieder nach Rückert; Mahler, "Um Mitternacht" aus Fünf Lieder nach Rückert; Mahler, "Revelge" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" (sowie aus "Lieder aus letzter Zeit"); Mahler, Symphony No.5	Programme: Gustav Mahler Der Schildwache Nachtlid (Des Knaben Wunderhorn) (1892), Liebst du um Schönheit (Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert) (1902), Um Mitternacht (Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert) (1901), Revelge (Des Knaben Wunderhorn) (1899), Symphonie Nr. 5 (1901-1902). Note: Drittes Orchesterkonzert des »Anbruch«. Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		18/02/1920	18:00	Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	W.A.Mozart, Overture to Opera "Idomeneo"; W.A.Mozart, Konzert für Flöte und Harp C-Dur; Ernst Kanitz, Heitere Overture op.4; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 e-moll op.98	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zu »Idomeneo, Rè di Creta« K 366 (1780-1781); Konzert für Flöte, Harfe und Orchester C-Dur K 297: (Kadenz: Karl Reinecke) (1778); Ernst Kanitz Lustige Ouverture; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885). Note: Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		20/02/1920	00:00	Abends	Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Werner Wolff	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouverture zur Oper "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit Konzertschluss von W. A. Mozart bzw. R. Wagner; Ludwig van Beethoven "Freudvoll und leidvoll", Lied des Klärchens aus der Schauspielmusik zu Goethes Trauerspiel "Egmont" op. 84; Ludwig van Beethoven "Die Trommel gerühret", Lied des Klärchens aus der Schauspielmusik zu Goethes Trauerspiel "Egmont" op. 84; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouverture zu »Iphigenie in Aulis« (1774); Franz Schubert Ellens Gesang I D 837 »Ruhe, Krieger, Krieg ist aus« (1825), Ellens Gesang II D 838 »Jäger, ruhe von der Jagd!« (1825), Ellens Gesang III D 839 »Ave Maria« (1825); Ludwig van Beethoven Freudvoll und leidvoll (Lied des Klärchens aus »Egmont« op. 84) (1809–1810), Die Trommel gerühret (Lied des Klärchens aus »Egmont« op. 84) (1809–1810); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875–1878). Note: Abends. Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		26/02/1920	18:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms, Konzert für Violin and Orchestra D-Dur op.77; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98				NWT 15.03.1920
Mahler	No.7		05/03/1920	18:00	Öffentliche Hauptprobe		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll</i>			(Advert)	
Mahler	No.7		06/03/1920	18:00	Viertes Orchesterkonzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll</i>			As in column K	WAZ 23.03.1920
Mahler	No.7		07/03/1920	18:00	Wiederholung		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll</i>			(Advert)	WAZ 23.03.1920
Mahler	No.4		11/03/1920	18:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	für Singstimme und Orchester op.27 TrV 170 Nr. 4; R.Strauss, "Cäcilie" für Singstimme und Orchester op.27 TrV 170 Nr.2; R.Strauss, "Liebeshymnus" H-Dur op.32 Nr.3; R.Strauss, "Don Juan" Tondichtung für grosses Orchester op.20 TrV 156				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		17/03/1920	00:00	Gesellschafts-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms symphonie nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Hugo Wolf, "Verwandlungsmusik" und "Monolog des Tio Lukas" aus der Oper "Der Corregidor"; Hugo Wolf, "Gesang Weylas", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf, "In dem Schatten meiner Locken" aus "Spanisches Liederbuch"; Hugo Wolf, "Er ist's", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf, "Christnacht" Hymnus für Christus und Christus			Brahms Zwei Motetten op 74/1 and 2 to begin the concert, then as in column K	
Bruckner	No.6		17/03/1920				Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk		Bruckner Messe in D-moll; Bruckner Syphony No.6			Bruckner Messe in D-moll; bruckner Syphony No.6	
Bruckner	No.9		27/03/1920		8th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 40] in G Minor, K. 550</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll</i>				
Bruckner	No.9		28/03/1920		8th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 40] in G Minor, K. 550</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll</i>				
Bruckner	No.7		08/04/1920	18:30	VIII Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Beethoven, <i>Symphony No.8</i> ; Bruckner, <i>Symphony No.7 E-Dur WAB 107</i>			As in colum K	
Mahler	No.3		10/04/1920	18:30	Wiederholung		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll</i>			As in colum K	
Bruckner	No.5		14/04/1920	18:30	Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Carl Maria von Weber, Overtüre zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op.18 J291; Karl Weigl, Drei Gesänge mit Orchester; Pause; Bruckner, <i>Symphony No.5 B-Dur WAB 105</i> (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Overture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Karl Weigl Erscheinung, Beatrix, Das Abendlied; ***; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur</i> (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: Symphoniekonzert. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		17/04/1920	18:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture No.2 zur Oper "Leonore" op.72a; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll</i>				
Bruckner	No.9		18/04/1920	12:00	VIII Abonnement Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Mozart <i>Symphony G-moll K.550</i> ; Bruckner <i>Symphony No.9</i>			Mozart Symphoby G-moll K.550; Bruckner Symphony No.9	
Bruckner	No.5		25/04/1920	15:30	Populäres Orchester-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Bruckner, <i>Symphony No.5 B-Dur WAB 105</i> (Fassung 1878); Pause; R.Wagner, Ansprache des Wolfram aus dem 2-Akt der Oper "Tannhäuser" WWV 70; R.Wagner, Overture zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg" WWV 70; R.Wagner, Konzerversion von "Wotans Abschied" und "Feuerzauber" aus der Oper "Die Walküre"	Programme: Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur</i> (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875–1878); ***; Richard Wagner Blick' ich umher (Wolframs Ansprache aus »Tannhäuser«) (1843–1845), O du, mein holder Abendstern (Cavatine des Wolfram aus »Tannhäuser«) (1843–1845), Overture zu »Tannhäuser« (1845), Leb' wohl, du kühnes herrliches Kind (Wotans Abschied und Feuerzauber aus »Die Walküre«) (1852–1856). Note: Populäres Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		07/05/1920	00:00	Orchester-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal		Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Lise Maria Mayer, Lieder mit Orchester; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i>			As in column K	
Mahler	No.4		19/05/1920	00:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i>				
Bruckner	No.4		28/05/1920	18:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104</i> "Romantische"; ***; Richard Wagner Overture zu »Der fliegende Holländer« (1841), Traft ihr das Schiff im Meere (Ballade der Senta aus »Der fliegende Holländer«) (1841), Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds (Götterdämmerung) (1869–1874), Schlusszene (Götterdämmerung) (1869–1874)	Programme: Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur</i> »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); ***; Richard Wagner Overture zu »Der fliegende Holländer« (1841), Traft ihr das Schiff im Meere (Ballade der Senta aus »Der fliegende Holländer«) (1841), Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds (Götterdämmerung) (1869–1874), Schlusszene (Götterdämmerung) (1869–1874). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		29/05/1920	18:30	Fest: MWM	Gemeinde Wien	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 3</i> (Fassung 1889); Anton Bruckner <i>Messe Nr. 3 F-moll</i> (1867–1868)	Programme: Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll</i> (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889), Messe Nr. 3 F-moll (1867–1868). Festival: Meisteraufführungen Wiener Musik. Presented by: Gemeinde Wien.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		30/05/1920		Master Performance Viennese Music		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Richard Strauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i> ; Richard Strauss <i>Also sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spoke Zarathustra), op. 30</i>				
Brahms	No.2		01/06/1920		Master Performance Viennese Music		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur</i> op. 73; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Konzert für Violine [Nr. 5] in A-Dur, KV 219</i> ; Franz Schubert <i>Symphony No. 7 in B Minor, D. 759</i> ("Unfinished")				
Mahler	No.3		08/06/1920	18:30	FestivalMeisteraufführungen Wiener Musik		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll</i>	Programme: Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll</i> für großes Orchester, Altsolo, Knabenchor und Frauenchor (1893-1896). FestivalMeisteraufführungen Wiener Musik. Presented by: Gemeinde Wien	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.2		24/09/1920	19:00	Mahler-Zyklus		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: Mahler-Zyklus. Presented by: Komitee zur Förderung sinfonischer Musik in Wien	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		28/09/1920	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler, Symphony No.1 D-Dur; Mahler, Symphony No.4 G-Dur				
Mahler	No.4		28/09/1920	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur				
Mahler	No.3		30/09/1920	19:00	Mahler-Zyklus; Mitveranstaltet vom Komitee zur Förderung sinfonischer Musik in Wien.		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll für großes Orchester, Altsolo, Knabenchor und Frauenchor (1893-1896). Note: Mahler-Zyklus; Mitveranstaltet vom Komitee zur Förderung sinfonischer Musik in Wien. Presented by: Komitee zur Förderung sinfonischer Musik in Wien	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.3		03/10/1920	19:00	Mahler-Zyklus; Mitveranstaltet vom Komitee zur Förderung sinfonischer Musik in Wien		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll für großes Orchester, Altsolo, Knabenchor und Frauenchor (1893-1896). Note: Mahler-Zyklus; Mitveranstaltet vom Komitee zur Förderung sinfonischer Musik in Wien. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.5		04/10/1920	19:00	Mahler-Zyklus IV Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Lieder Des Knaben Wunderhorn; Mahler Sinfonie No.5			Mahler Lieder Des Knaben Wunderhorn; Mahler Sinfonie No.5	
Mahler	No.6		07/10/1920	19:00	Mahler-Zyklus: V Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler, "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen", Liederzyklus; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen (1884-1885), Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll (1903-1904). Note: Mahler-Zyklus. Presented by: Komitee zur Förderung sinfonischer Musik in Wien	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Mahler	No.7		11/10/1920	19:00	Mahler-Zyklus: VI Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Kindertotenlieder; Mahler Symphony No.7			Mahler Kindertotenlieder; Mahler Symphony No.7	
Brahms	No.2		17/10/1920	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Mahler, "Kindertotenlieder", Liederzyklus nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert; Pause; Henri Viextemps, Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr.4 d-moll op.31; Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture Nr.2 zu Oper "Leonore" op.72a	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Gustav Mahler Kindertotenlieder für eine Singstimme und Orchester (1901-1904); ***, Henri Viextemps Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 4 d-moll op. 31 (1850 ca.); Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 2 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 2« (1804-1805). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		17/10/1920	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll				
Mahler	No.9		18/10/1920	19:00	Mahler-Zyklus: VIII Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Sinfonie No.9			Mahler Sinfonie No.9	
Brahms	No.1		03/11/1920	18:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Arnold Schoenberg, "Pelleas und Melisande" Symphonische Dichtung op.5; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				
Brahms	No.1		04/11/1920	18:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Arnold Schoenberg, "Pelleas und Melisande" Symphonische Dichtung op.5; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				
Bruckner	No.6		06/11/1920	14:30	2nd Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Wagner <i>Eine Faust-Ouverture</i> ; Ottorino Respighi <i>Fontane di Roma</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 6 in A Major, WAB 106</i>			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.6		07/11/1920	12:30	2nd Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Wagner <i>Eine Faust-Ouverture</i> ; Ottorino Respighi <i>Fontane di Roma</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 6 in A Major, WAB 106</i>			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		07/11/1920	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Bedrich Smetana, "Vltava" ("Die Moldau") aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland")				
Brahms	No.3		10/11/1920	18:30	Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphonie Nr.2 D-Dur op.36; R.Schumann, Koziert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op.54; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 36 (1801-1802); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883). Note: Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		13/11/1920	14:30	Popular Concert/ Wiederholung		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Wagner <i>Eine Faust-Ouverture</i> ; Ottorino Respighi <i>Fontane di Roma</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 6 in A Major, WAB 106</i>			As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		14/11/1920	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Beethoven, Overture zum Festspiel "Die Ruinen von Athen" op.113; R.Schumann, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op.54; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »Die Ruinen von Athen« op. 113 (1811); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841–1845); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		19/11/1920	19:00	II Tittel-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bernhard Tittel	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.1; Beethoven Violinkonzert; Dvorak Carneval			Brahms Symphony NO.1; Beethoven Violinkonzert; Dvorak Carneval	
Brahms	No.3		21/11/1920	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven, Romanze für Violine und Orchester Nr.1 G-Dur op.40; Ludwig van Beethoven, Romanze für Violine und Orchester Nr.2 F-Dur op.50; Mahler, "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen" aus Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert; Mahler, "Blicke mir nicht in die Lieder!" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Mahler, "Um Mitternacht" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Edvard Grieg, Suite Nr.1 op.46 aus der Schauspielmusik "Peer Gynt"	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); *** ; Ludwig van Beethoven, Romanze für Violine und Orchester G-Dur op. 40 (1802 vor), Romanze für Violine und Orchester F-Dur op. 50 (1802 vor); Gustav Mahler, Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen (Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert) (1901), Blicke mir nicht in die Lieder (Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert) (1901), Um Mitternacht (Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert) (1901); Edvard Grieg Peer Gynt-Suite Nr. 1 op. 46 (1874-1875). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		25/11/1920	18:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	W.A.Mozart, Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr.4 D-Dur KV 128; Bruckner, Symphony No.7 E-Dur WAB 107				
Bruckner	No.7		27/11/1920	15:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	W.A.Mozart, Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr.4 D-Dur KV 128; Bruckner, Symphony No.7 E-Dur WAB 107				
Bruckner	No.4		28/11/1920	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; R.Wagner, "Wesendonck-Lieder", 5 Gedichte für eine Frauenstimme mit Pianoforte-Begleitung, instrumentiert von Felix Mottl; R.Wagner, Overture zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg" WWV 70				
Brahms	No.4		12/12/1920	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven, "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Carl Maria von Weber, Arie der Rezia ("Ozean, du Ungeheuer") aus der Oper "Oberon"; R.Strauss, "Cécile" für Singstimme und Orchester op.27 TrV 170 Nr.2; Liszt, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr.2 A-Dur S 125; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 e-moll op.98	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture c-moll zu »Coriolan« op. 62 (1807); Carl Maria von Weber Ozean! Du Ungeheuer! (Arie der Rezia aus »Oberon« J 306) (1825–1826); Richard Strauss Cécile op. 27/2 (Vier Lieder) (1894); Felix Weingartner Liebesfeier op. 16/2; Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur S 125 (1848); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884–1885). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		29/12/1920	18:30	Abonnement Konzert Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Beethoven, Symphony No.4; Pause; Bruckner, Symphony No.1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur op. 60 (1806); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll (Wiener Fassung) (1865-1866/1890-1891). Note: Symphoniekonzert. Subscription series; Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		05/01/1921	18:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Willy van Hoogstraten	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Mendelssohn, "Ruy Blas" Overture zum Stück von Victor Hugo op.95; Ludwig van Beethoven, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr.5 Es-Dur op.73; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Brahms	No.2		06/01/1921	18:30	IV Abonnement-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Willy van Hoogstraten	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Mendelssohn, "Ruy Blas" Overture zum Stück von Victor Hugo op.95; Ludwig van Beethoven, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr.5 Es-Dur op.73; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.1		09/01/1921	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.1 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91); Pause; Beethoven, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr.4 G-Dur op.58; Karl Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture op.13				
Mahler	No.4		16/01/1921	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; Martin Spörr, Drei Lieder mit Orchesterbegleitung; Beethoven, Overture No.3 zur Oper "Leonore" op.72b	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901); ***; Martin Spörr Ein neues Pilgerlied, Antwort Maria auf den Gruß der Engel, Die widerspenstige Braut; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonoren-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805-1806). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		16/01/1921	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Friedrich Robert Volkmann, Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester; Edvard Grieg, "Zwei norwegische Weisen" für Streichorchester op.63				
Brahms	No.4		22/01/1921	14:30	5th Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss "Don Juan" op. 20; Hugo Wolf Italian Serenade in G major; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.4		23/01/1921	12:30	5th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20; Hugo Wolf Italian Serenade in G major; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in column K	IWE 24.01.1921; OR 24.01.1921
Brahms	No.4		26/01/1921	14:30	5th Subscription Concert/ Wiederholung		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20; Hugo Wolf Italian Serenade in G major; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in column K	
Mahler	No.3		26/01/1921	18:30	Ausserordentliches Konzert I		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Knaaben Wunderhorn"; Mahler, "Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Mahler, "Ich atme" einen linden Duft" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Mahler, "Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht?" aus "Des Knaaben Wunderhorn"; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll			Mahler Klagen Lied; Mahler Symphonie No.3	
Mahler	No.4		30/01/1921	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Beethoven, "Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus" Overture; W.A.Mozart, Sinfonia concertante für Violine, Viola und Orchester Es-Dur KV 364; Christopher Willibald Gluck, "Vernehmt mich, ihr Töchter der Nacht!", Sopran-Arie aus der musikalischen Tragödie "Alceste"; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur				
Mahler	No.2		07/02/1921		II Symphonie Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Hans Pless	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.2			Mahler Symphony No.2	
Mahler	No.4		18/02/1921	19:00	II Orchester-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mozart Symphony D-dur K.385; Walter Braunfels Vorspiel und Prolog der Nachtigall zu dem lyrisch-phantastischen Spiel "Die Vogel"; Mozart Arie der Constanze "Entführung", "Martern aller Arten"; Mahler Symphony No.4			Mozart Symphony D-dur K.385; Walter Braunfels Vorspiel und Prolog der Nachtigall zu dem lyrisch-phantastischen Spiel "Die Vogel"; Mozart Arie der Constanze "Entführung", "Martern aller Arten"; Mahler Symphony No.4	
Brahms	No.1		27/02/1921	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Richard Wagner, Vorspiel zum 1.Akt des Bühnenweihfestspiels "Parsifal" WWV 111; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven, Rondo B-Dur für Klavier und Orchester op.posth.; Tchaikovsky, Capriccio Italien op.45	Programme: Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Parsifal« (1877-1882); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Rondo für Klavier und Orchester B-Dur WoO 6 (1795 ca.); Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowsky Capriccio Italien A-Dur op. 45 (1880). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		27/02/1921	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Schubert, Overture zum Melodram "Die Zaubervharfe" D 644; Schubert, "Wanderer-Fantasie" C-Dur op.15 D 760, symphonisch bearbeit für Klavier und Orchester (Bearbeitung: Franz Liszt); Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Mahler	No.4		28/02/1921	19:00	Mitgliederkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Wilhelm Kienzl, "Don Quixotes phantastischer Austritt und seine traurige Heimkehr" aus der musikalischen Tragikomödie "Don Quixote" op.50; W.A.Mozart, Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr.4 D-Dur KV 218; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Programme: Wilhelm Kienzl Don Quixotes phantastischer Austritt und seine traurige Heimkehr. Symphonische Zwischenspiele op. 50 für großes Orchester (1898); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur K 2711 (1777); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901). Note: Mitgliederkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		04/03/1921	18:30	Mitgliederkonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Liszt, "Orpheus", Symphonische Dichtung Nr.4 S.98; Liszt, "Totendanz", Paraphrase über "Dies irae" für Klavier und Orchester S 126; Pause; Bruckner, Symphony No.7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Franz Liszt Orpheus, symphonische Dichtung Nr. 4 S 98 (1853–1854); Totentanz. Paraphrase über »Dies irae« S 126 für Klavier und Orchester (1849–1859); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881–1883). Note: Mitgliederkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		06/03/1921	18:30	Aufführungen der II. Symphonie von Gustav Mahler in der Stadtkirche		Stadtkirche	Walter Reinhart	Das Verstärkte Stadtorchester	Mahler Symphony No.2			Mahler Symphony No.2	
Bruckner	No.4		11/03/1921		VI Tittel Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bernhard Tittel	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner Symphony No.4; Lieder Heinrich Schlusnus; Berlioz Trauer- und Triumphsymphonie			Bruckner Symphony NO.4; Lieder Heinrich Schlusnus; Berlioz Trauer- und Triumphsymphonie	
Mahler	No.2		17/03/1921	18:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll				
Bruckner	No.8		22/04/1921	00:00	Viertes Sinfoniekonzert	KD Gutmann (Hugo Knepler)	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Pless	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890); R.Wagner, Vorspiel "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Viertes Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: KD Gutmann (Hugo Knepler).	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		24/04/1921	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	W.A.Mozart, Overture zur Oper "Die Zaubervflöte" KV 620; Beethoven, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester D-Dur nach dem Violinkonzert op.61; Pause; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zu »Die Zaubervflöte« K 620 (1791); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61 (Fassung für Klavier und Orchester) (1806/1808); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.3		30/04/1921	18:30	Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Beethoven, Symphony No.8; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93 (1811–1812); Frédéric Chopin Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 f-moll op. 21 (1829); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Symphoniekonzert. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		13/09/1921	19:00	Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Fritz Reiner	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805-1806) ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883) ; Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805-1806) ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883) ; Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Symphonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		18/09/1921	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Pause; Gaetano Donizetti, Alt-Arie aus der Oper "La Favorita"; R.Strauss, "Don Juan", Tondichtung für grosses Orchester op.20 TrV 156				
Mahler	No.8		21/09/1921	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.8		22/09/1921	19:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.8		24/09/1921	19:00	Erste Wiederholung vom 22.9.1921		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Note: Erste Wiederholung vom 22.9.1921. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		25/09/1921	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Rachmaninov, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr.2 c-moll op.18; F.Liszt, "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo", symphonische Dichtung S 96				
Mahler	No.8		28/09/1921	19:00	Zweite Wiederholung vom 22.9.1921		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Note: Zweite Wiederholung vom 22.9.1921. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		29/09/1921	19:00	1 Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Beethoven, Overture No.2 zur Oper "Leonore" op.72a; Brahms, Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op.56a; Pause; Mahler, Symphony No.1 D-Dur			As in column K	
Mahler	No.1		30/09/1921	19:00	1 Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Beethoven, Overture No.2 zur Oper "Leonore" op.72a; Brahms, Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op.56a; Pause; Mahler, Symphony No.1 D-Dur			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		07/10/1921	19:30	Bruckner-Festkonzert	Kunststelle des Landesverbandes des Wien und Niederösterreich	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ludwig Kaiser	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Overture g-moll WAB 98; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Programme : Anton Bruckner Ouverture g-moll (1862-1863) (EA), Gedenkrede; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Bruckner-Festkonzert. Presented by: Kunststelle des Landesverbandes Wien und Niederösterreich.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		10/10/1921		Memorial Celebration commemorating the 25th Anniversary of Anton Bruckner's Death		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 1 in C Minor</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 9 in D Minor</i> , WAB 109				
Bruckner	No.9		10/10/1921		Memorial Celebration commemorating the 25th Anniversary of Anton Bruckner's Death		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 1 in C Minor</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll				
Bruckner	No.5		16/10/1921	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert anlässlich des 25. Todestages Anton Bruckners	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Beethoven, Symphony No.3 Es-Dur op.55 "Eroica"; J.S.Bach, Konzert für Violinen, Streicher und Basso continuo d-moll BWV 1043 (1717-1723); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert anlässlich des 25. Todestages Anton Bruckners. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.		Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		16/10/1921	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; R.Wagner, Vorspiel und "Liebestod" aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde" WWV 90; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"				
Brahms	No.1		18/10/1921	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Carl Schuricht	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr.2 B-Dur op.19; R.Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Striche", symphonische Dichtung op.28	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 19 (1794-1795); Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894-1895). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		19/10/1921	19:00	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Carl Schuricht	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr.2 B-Dur op.19; R.Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Striche", symphonische Dichtung op.28	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 19 (1794-1795); Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894-1895). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		26/10/1921	00:00	I Tittel-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bernhard Tittel	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Tchaikovsky Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr.1 b-moll op.23; Berlioz, "Le carnaval romain" Charakteristische Overture op.9				
Brahms	No.1		30/10/1921	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Louis Spohr, Overture zur grossen Oper "Jessonda"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Sergei E. Bortkewitsch, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr.1 B-Dur op.16; R.Wagner Overture zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg" WWV 70	Programme : Louis Spohr Overture zu »Jessonda« op. 63 (1823) ; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68 ; ***; Sergei Bortkiewicz Konzert für Klavier und Orchester B-Dur op. 16 (1912); Richard Wagner Overture zu »Tannhäuser« (1845). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		30/10/1921	12:00	Ausserordentliches Gesellschafts-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890); Bruckner, "Psalm 150" für Sopran, gemischten Chor und Orchester WAB 38			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		30/10/1921	12:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890); Bruckner, "Psalm 150" für Sopran, gemischten Chor und Orchester WAB 38				
Brahms	No.1		05/11/1921		1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Genoveva, Ouverture c-Moll, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 2 in D Major, op. 36				
Brahms	No.1		05/11/1921		1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Genoveva, Ouverture c-Moll, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 2 in D Major, op. 36				
Mahler	No.4		06/11/1921	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; R.Strauss, "Cäcilie" für Singstimme und Orchester op.27 TrV 170 No.2; R.Strauss, "Morgen" für Singstimme und Orchester op.27 TrV 170 No.4; Martin Spörr, Drei Lieder mit Orchesterbegleitung; R.Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Striche", symphonische Dichtung op.28	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901); ***; Richard Strauss Cäcilie op. 27/2 (Vier Lieder) (1894), Morgen op. 27/4 (Vier Lieder) (1894); Martin Spörr Ein neues Pilgerlied, Antwort Mariä auf den Gruß der Engel, Die widerspenstige Braut; Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894-1895). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		06/11/1921		1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Genoveva, Ouverture c-Moll, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 2 in D Major, op. 36				
Brahms	No.1		06/11/1921		1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Genoveva, Ouverture c-Moll, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 2 in D Major, op. 36				
Brahms	No.1		09/11/1921		1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Genoveva, Ouverture c-Moll, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 2 in D Major, op. 36				
Brahms	No.1		09/11/1921		1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Genoveva, Ouverture c-Moll, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 2 in D Major, op. 36				
Bruckner	No.8		10/11/1921	19:00	II Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Händel, Concerto grosso No.11 B-Dur; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		11/11/1921	19:00	II Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Händel, Concerto grosso No.11 B-Dur; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)			As in column K	
Brahms	No.2		13/11/1921	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Carl Maria von Weber, Arie des Adolar aus der romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op.81 J 291; Rudolf Josef Patsch, Lieder mit Orchester; Pause; W.A.Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester No.5 A-Dur KV 219; Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op.84				
Brahms	No.1		15/11/1921		1st Concert of the Vienna Philharmonic		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria, Konzerthaus, Großer Saal	Felix Weingart	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Genoveva, Ouverture c-Moll, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 2 in D Major, op. 36	Programme: Robert Schumann Overture zu »Genoveva« op. 81 (1847-1849); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 36 (1801-1802). Note: Programm ohne Ortsangabe. Presented by: Kunststelle für die öffentlichen Angestellten	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		17/11/1921	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Siegmund von Hausegger, "Aufklänge", symphonische Variationen über ein Kinderlied; Alexander Glasunov, Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op.82; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Brahms	No.2		18/11/1921	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Siegmund von Hausegger, "Aufklänge", symphonische Variationen über ein Kinderlied; Alexander Glasunov, Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op.82; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.6		22/11/1921	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Der Freischütz« J 277; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Der Freischütz« J 277 (1817-1821); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73 (1809); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		23/11/1921	19:00	Abonnement Konzert Sym2	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Der Freischütz« J 277; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Der Freischütz« J 277 (1817-1821); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73 (1809); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		18/12/1921	10:30	Drittes Sinfonie-Konzert	Kunststelle für christliche Volksbildung	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Auerieth	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Haydn, Symphony No.104 D-Dur Hob.I:104 "London"; W.A.Mozart, "In diesen heiligen Hallen", Arie des Sarastro aus der Oper "Die Zauberflöte" KV 620; Albert Lortzing, Arie des Hans Stadlinger aus der komischen Oper "Der Waffenschmied"; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 2; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart O Isis und Osiris, schenket der Weisheit Geist (Arie des Sarastro aus »Die Zauberflöte« K 620) (1791); Albert Lortzing Auch ich war ein Jüngling mit lockigem Haar (Arie des Stadlinger aus »Der Waffenschmied«) (1846); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Drittes Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Kunststelle für christliche Volksbildung.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		19/12/1921	19:00	Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Schubert, Symphony No.7: Johannes Brahms, "Zur Rhapsodie", Rhapsodie für Altsolo, Männerchor und Orchester op.53; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op.68			As in column K	
Mahler	No.5		21/12/1921	00:00	Drittes Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Pless	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Debussy, "Nocturnes" für Orchester und Frauenchor; Mahler, Symphony No.5 cis-moll	Programme: Claude Debussy Nocturnes (1897-1899) Erste vollständige Aufführung in Wien; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 (1901-1902). Note: Drittes Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: KD Gutmann (Hugo Knepfler)	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.3		01/01/1922	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Pause; Karl Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture op.13				
Bruckner	No.4		13/01/1922	19:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte	Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Huber	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture zum Singspiel "Abu Hassan" J 106; Robert Fuchs, Serenade for Streichorchester No.3 e-moll op.21; Weber, Konzert for Clarinet and Orchestra No.1 f-moll op.73; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Abu Hassan« J 106 (1810–1811); Robert Fuchs Serenade e-moll op. 21 für Streichorchester; Carl Maria von Weber Konzert für Klarinette und Orchester Nr. 2 Es-Dur J 118 (1811); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte 1921/22, mit Unterstützung der Gemeinde Wien; Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		15/01/1922	16:00	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Weber, Arie der Rezia ("Ozean du Ungeheuer") aus der Oper "Oberon"; Pause; Grieg, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op.16; R.Wagner, Overture zur Oper "Rienzi"	Programme : Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); Carl Maria von Weber Ozean! Du Ungeheuer! (Arie der Rezia aus »Oberon« J 306) (1825–1826); ***; Edvard Grieg Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 16 (1868); Richard Wagner Overture zu »Rienzi« (1838–1840). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		16/01/1922	19:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte	Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Huber	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture zum Singspiel "Abu Hassan" J 106; Robert Fuchs, Serenade for Streichorchester No.3 e-moll op.21; Weber, Konzert for Clarinet and Orchestra No.1 f-moll op.73; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Abu Hassan« J 106 (1810–1811); Robert Fuchs Serenade e-moll op. 21 für Streichorchester; Carl Maria von Weber Konzert für Klarinette und Orchester Nr. 2 Es-Dur J 118 (1811); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte 1921/22, mit Unterstützung der Gemeinde Wien; Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		29/01/1922	16:00	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bernhard Seidmann	Wiener Concertverein	Weber, Overture zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op.81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 e-moll op.98; Pause; J.S.Bach, Konzert für Violine, Streicher und Basso continuo E-Dur; R. Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche" Symphonische Dichtung op.28	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885); ***; Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für Violine, Streicher und Basso continuo E-Dur BWV 1042 (1717-1723); Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894-1895). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		06/02/1922	10:00	Memorial Service for Artur Nikisch		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Andante aus der 4. Sinfonie; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 3 in E-flat Major, op. 55 ("Eroica"); Richard Wagner Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermarsch aus "Götterdämmerung", WWV 86d			Andante aus IX Sinfonie. Otherwise as in Column K	
Bruckner	No.7		23/02/1922	00:00	V Tittel-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bernhard Tittel	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op.81; Bernhard Tittel, Symphonie d-moll; Bruckner, Symphony No.7 E-Dur WAB 107			Mozart Symphony C-dur Jupiter; Bruckner Symphony NO.7	
Bruckner	No.4		07/03/1922	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Carl Prohaska Serenade for small orchestra G-Dur op.20; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture c-moll zu »Coriolan« op. 62 (1807); Carl Prohaska Serenade G-Dur op. 20 für kleines Orchester (1917); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe; Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		NFP 08.03.1922

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		08/03/1922	19:00	Abonnement Konzert Sym/6	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Carl Prohaska Serenade for small orchestra G-Dur op.20; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture c-moll zu »Coriolan« op. 62 (1807); Carl Prohaska Serenade G-Dur op. 20 für kleines Orchester (1917); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		19/03/1922	16:00	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Concertverein	Beethoven, Overture zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op.84; Beethoven, "Freudvoll und leidvoll", Lied des Klärchens aus der Schauspielmusik zu Goethes Trauerspiel "Egmont" op.84; Schubert, "Wanderer-Fantasie" C-Dur op.15, symphonisch bearbeitet für Klavier und Orchester (Bearbeitung: Franz Liszt); Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »Egmont« op. 84 (1809–1810), Klärchen-Lieder (Egmont op. 84) (1809–1810); Richard Strauss Morgen op. 27/4 (Vier Lieder) (1894), Breit über mein Haupt dein schwarzes Haar op. 19/2 (Sechs Lieder aus Lotusblättern) (1885–1888), Alf mein Gedanken op. 21/1 (Schlichte Weisen) (1887–1888); Franz Liszt Fantasie C-Dur »Wanderer-Fantasie« S 366 (Bearbeitung für Klavier und Orchester nach Franz Schubert D 760) (1822/1852 vor); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		26/03/1922		Memorial Concert commemorating the 25th Anniversary of Brahms' Death		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms "Schicksalslied" für gemischten Chor und Orchester op. 54; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98				
Bruckner	No.4		26/03/1922	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Weber, Overture zur "Euryanthe" op.81; W.A.Mozart, "Lass o Freund", Konzartarie; Édouard Lalo, Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr.2 d-moll op.21, "Symphonie espagnole"; F.Liszt, Die Loreley; Grieg, "Im Kahne", Nr.3 aus "Gedichte von Vilhelm Krag" op.60; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"				
Brahms	No.2		02/04/1922	12:30	Symphony Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	George Georgescu	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Georges Enescu 2. Rumänische Rhapsodie			As in column K	
Brahms	No.3		03/04/1922	19:00	Brahms-Fest I Orchester-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.3; Brahms Rhapsodie op.53 für eine Altstimme; Brahms Klavierkonzert B-dur op.83			Brahms Symphony No.3; Brahms Rhapsodie op.53 für eine Altstimme; Brahms Klavierkonzert B-dur op.83	
Brahms	No.1		07/04/1922	19:00	Brahms-Fest II Orchester-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ernst V. Dohnanyi	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Johannes Brahms, Symphony No.2			Die vier ersten Gesänge between the two symphonies	
Brahms	No.2		07/04/1922	19:00	Brahms-Fest II Orchester-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ernst V. Dohnanyi	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms, Symphony No.1; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			Die vier ersten Gesänge between the two symphonies	
Brahms	No.1		08/04/1922		Nicolai Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Tragische Overtüre (Tragic Overture), D minor, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Concerto for Violin in D Major, op. 77; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				
Brahms	No.1		09/04/1922	12:30	Nicolai Concert/ Außerordentliches Konzert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Tragische Overtüre (Tragic Overture), D minor, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Concerto for Violin in D Major, op. 77; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		09/04/1922	11:00	Siebtes Sinfoniekonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op.84; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Smetana, "Vltava" ("Die Moldau") aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland")	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »Egmont« op. 84 (1809–1810); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Franz Schubert Dem Unendlichen D 291 (1815), An die Musik D 547 (1817), Wiegenlied D 498 »Schlafe, schlafe, holder süßer Knabe« (1816); Bedřich Smetana Vltava »Die Moldau«. Symphonische Dichtung T 111 (Má vlast »Mein Vaterland«) (1874). Note: Siebtes Sinfoniekonzert. Presented by: Kunststelle für christliche Volksbildung	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		09/04/1922	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Johannes Brahms, Konzert für Violin, Cello und orchestra a-moll op.102 "Doppelkonzert"; Johannes Brahms, "Alt-Rhapsodie", Rhapsodie for Alto solo, mens choir and orchestra op.53				
Brahms	No.1		17/04/1922	12:30	Johannes Brahms Festival IV Philharmonisches Konzert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Tragische Overtüre (Tragic Overture), D minor, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Variations on a Theme by Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			As in column K	
Mahler	No.3		18/04/1922	19:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Friedrich Gruber	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll für großes Orchester, Altsolo, Knabenchor und Frauenchor (1893-1896). Presented by: KD Hugo Heller	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		20/04/1922	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Beethoven, Konzert für Piano und Orchestra No.4 G-Dur op.58; Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture op.13				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.3		21/04/1922	19:00	Völkstümliche Wiederholung		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Friedrich Gruber	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.3			Mahler Symphony No.3	
Mahler	No.1		01/05/1922	19:00	Gustav Mahler-Abend		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Nils Grevillius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler, "Kindertotenlieder", Liederzyklus nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert; Pause; Mahler, Symphony No.1 D-Dur			As in column K	
Brahms	No.4		04/05/1922	19:00	Statutarisches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Johannes Brahms, "Tragische Ouvertüre" for orchestra op.81; Johannes Brahms, Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op.56a; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Johannes Brahms Tragische Ouverture d-moll op. 81 (1880), Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a (1873), Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885). Note: Statutarisches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		06/05/1922	19:00	Statutarisches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Concertverein	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Friedrich Klose Präludium und Doppelfuge; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Note: Statutarisches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		10/05/1922	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888 - 1894). Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		11/05/1922	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888 - 1894). Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		14/05/1922	16:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Otto Nicolai, Overture zur komischen Oper "Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor"; Hermann Goetz, Arie der Katharina aus der komischen Oper "Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung"; Emil George Konrad Sauer, Konzert for Piano and Orchestra No.1 e-moll; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur				
Mahler	No.3		20/05/1922	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		24/05/1922	19:00	Viertes Ordentliches Gesellschafts-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45			As in column K	
Mahler	No.3		27/05/1922	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, mit Unterstützung der Gemeinde Wien		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll für großes Orchester, Altsolo, Knabenchor und Frauenchor (1893-1896). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, mit Unterstützung der Gemeinde Wien. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Konzerthaus Archive		AZ 09.06.1922
Brahms	No.1		28/05/1922	19:00	Romantiker-Abend		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Alfred Wolf	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber Overture "Freischütz"; Schumann Requiem für Mignon; Brahms Symphony No.1; Liszt Der XIII Psalm			Weber Overture "Freischütz"; Schumann Requiem für Mignon; Brahms Symphony No.1; Liszt Der XIII Psalm	
Mahler	No.3		29/05/1922	19:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, mit Unterstützung der Gemeinde Wien		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll für großes Orchester, Altsolo, Knabenchor und Frauenchor (1893-1896). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, mit Unterstützung der Gemeinde Wien. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Konzerthaus Archive		AZ 09.06.1922
Mahler	No.3		24/09/1922	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll für großes Orchester, Altsolo, Knabenchor und Frauenchor (1893-1896). Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		25/09/1922	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Oskar Fried	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Presented by: Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		28/09/1922	19:00	1 Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphonie Nr.7 A-Dur op.92			As in column K	
Brahms	No.3		29/09/1922	19:00	1 Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphonie Nr.7 A-Dur op.92			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		01/10/1922	16:00	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	W.A.Mozart, Symphony No.41 "Jupiter"; R.Wagner, "Siegfried-Idyll", symphonische Dichtung; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie C-Dur K 551 »Jupiter-Symphonie« (1788); Richard Wagner Siegfried-Idyll (1870); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878 - 1880). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		05/10/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus I Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven Overture "Egmont"; Beethoven Klavierkonzert G-dur op.58; Pause; Bruckner Symphony No.3			Beethoven Overture "Egmont"; Beethoven Klavierkonzert G-dur op.58; Pause; Bruckner Symphony No.3	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		08/10/1922	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Theodor Christoph	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Ludwig van Beethoven, Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op.61; Pausel Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture c-moll zu »Coriolan« op. 62 (1807), Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61 (1806); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		14/10/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus II Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner Symphony No.4; Brahms Klavierkonzert D-moll; Pause; Beethoven Symphony No.8			Bruckner Symphony No.4; Brahms Klavierkonzert D-moll; Pause; Beethoven Symphony No.8	
Bruckner	No.5		18/10/1922	19:00	Subscription Series/ I Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	R.Strauss, "Don Juan" Tondichtung; Hans Gál, Zwei Vorspiel aus der Oper "Der Arzt der Sobelde"; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 B-Dur (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Richard Strauss Don Juan, Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888); Hans Gál Zwei Zwischenspiele (Der Arzt der Sobelde, Komische Oper op. 4) (E.A.); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875–1878). Subscription series: Abonnementkonzerte Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Mahler	No.3		21/10/1922	19:00	Gustav Mahler III. Sinfonie D-moll		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.3			Mahler Symphony No.3	
Bruckner	No.3		29/10/1922	15:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Overture zum Festspiel "Die Ruinen von Athen" op.113; Beethoven, Türkischer Marsch aus dem Festspiel "Die Ruinen von Athen" op.113; Max Reger, Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von W.A. Mozart op.132; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		31/10/1922		Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Cester MacKee	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner Symphony No.8; Mac Kee "Dagmara" Symphonisches Gedicht mit einer Gesangsstimme; Henri Rabaud Procession nocturne; R.Strauss Tanz- und Schluß-Szene a. "Salome"			Bruckner Symphony No.8; Mac Kee "Dagmara" Symphonisches Gedicht mit einer Gesangsstimme; Henri Rabaud Procession nocturne; R.Strauss Tanz- und Schluß-Szene a. "Salome"	
Bruckner	No.5		01/11/1922	15:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	R.Wagner, Vorspiel zum der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 B-Dur (Fassung 1878); R.Wagner, Overture zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg"	Programme: Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878); Richard Wagner Ouverture zu »Tannhäuser« (1845). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		04/11/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus III Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.4; Bruckner Symphony No.5 (programme)			Brahms Symphony No.4; Bruckner Symphony No.5 (programme)	
Bruckner	No.5		04/11/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus III Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.4; Bruckner Symphony No.5 (programme)			Brahms Symphony No.4; Bruckner Symphony No.5 (programme)	
Brahms	No.3		06/11/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus III Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klaveirkonzert Es-dur; Bruckner Symphony no.8 (advert)			Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klaveirkonzert Es-dur; Bruckner Symphony no.8 (advert)	
Bruckner	No.8		06/11/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus III Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klaveirkonzert Es-dur; Bruckner Symphony no.8 (advert)			Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klaveirkonzert Es-dur; Bruckner Symphony no.8 (advert)	
Mahler	No.1		10/11/1922	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 18. Jahr; Dieses Konzert gilt sowohl der Feier der Republik als auch dem Andenken Viktor Adlers (gestorben am 11. November 1919)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Jascha Horenstein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Salmhofer, Der Ackermann und der Tod; Franz Salmhofer, Konzertstück für Trompete und Orchester; Mahler, Symphony No.1	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge C-Dur; Franz Salmhofer Ouverture zu »Der Ackermann und der Tod«; Konzertstück für Trompete und Orchester op. 8 (1922); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur (1888–1899). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 18. Jahr; Dieses Konzert gilt sowohl der Feier der Republik als auch dem Andenken Viktor Adlers (gestorben am 11. November 1919). Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-konzerte	Konzerthaus Archive		AZ 10.11.1922
Mahler	No.1		12/11/1922	19:00	Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Jascha Horenstein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Salmhofer, Der Ackermann und der Tod; Franz Salmhofer, Konzertstück für Trompete und Orchester; Mahler, Symphony No.1	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive	Bach Preludium und Fuge in C-Dur before Salmhofer but otherwise as in column K	
Brahms	No.1		13/11/1922		II Tittel-Konzert			Bernhard Tittel	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.1; Goldmark Violinkonzert; R.Strauss "Till Eulenspiegel"			Brahms Symphony No.1; Goldmark Violinkonzert; R.Strauss "Till Eulenspiegel"	
Bruckner	No.7		23/11/1922	19:00	II Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz von Hoesslin	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Overture No.3 zur Oper "Leonore" op.72b; Schubert, Symphony No.7; Bruckner, Symphony No.7 E-Dur			Schubert Symphony No.8 but otherwise as in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		24/11/1922	19:00	II Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz von Hoesslin	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Overture No.3 zur Oper "Leonore" op.72b; Schubert, Symphony No.7; Bruckner, Symphony No.7 E-Dur			Schubert Symphony No.8 but otherwise as in column K	
Brahms	No.1		02/12/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus IV Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven Overture "Coriolan"; Beethoven Violinkonzert D-dur; Brahms Symphony No.1			Beethoven Overture "Coriolan"; Beethoven Violinkonzert D-dur; Brahms Symphony No.1	
Bruckner	No.4		03/12/1922	15:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, "Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus" Overture; Weber, Arie der Rezia ("Ozean, du Ungeheuer") aus der Oper "Oberon"; Sergej E. Bortkewitsch, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester No.1 B-Dur op.16; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"			As in column K	NWJ, 03.12.1922
Brahms	No.1		04/12/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus IV Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven Overture "Coriolan"; Beethoven Violinkonzert D-dur; Pause; Brahms Symphony No.1			Beethoven Overture "Coriolan"; Beethoven Violinkonzert D-dur; Pause; Brahms Symphony No.1	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		08/12/1922	15:30	Sinfonie-Konzert	KD Kontheke "Internationale Konzert- Direktion Kontheke"	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörk	Wiener Sinfonie- Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Richard Wagner Overture zu »Rienzi« (1838–1840), Die Frist ist um (Arie des Holländers aus »Der fliegende Holländer«) (1841), Leb' wohl, du kühnes herrliches Kind (Wotans Abschied und Feuerzauber aus »Die Walküre«) (1852–1856)	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); Richard Wagner Overture zu »Rienzi« (1838–1840), Die Frist ist um (Arie des Holländers aus »Der fliegende Holländer«) (1841), Leb' wohl, du kühnes herrliches Kind (Wotans Abschied und Feuerzauber aus »Die Walküre«) (1852–1856). Note: »Sinfonie-Konzerte. Presented by: KD Kontheke »Internationale Konzert-Direktion Kontheke«	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		13/12/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus V Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klavierkonzert C-moll op.37; Bruckner Symphony NO.7			Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klavierkonzert C-moll op.37; Bruckner Symphony NO.7	
Bruckner	No.7		13/12/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus V Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klavierkonzert C-moll op.37; Bruckner Symphony NO.7			Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klavierkonzert C-moll op.37; Bruckner Symphony NO.7	
Brahms	No.3		14/12/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus V Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klavierkonzert C-moll op.37; Bruckner Symphony NO.7			Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klavierkonzert C-moll op.37; Bruckner Symphony NO.7	
Bruckner	No.7		14/12/1922	19:00	Beethoven-Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus V Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klavierkonzert C-moll op.37; Bruckner Symphony NO.7			Brahms Symphony No.3; Beethoven Klavierkonzert C-moll op.37; Bruckner Symphony NO.7	
Bruckner	No.7		26/12/1922	15:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gluck, Overture zur Oper "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit Konzertschluss von W.A.Mozart bzw. R.Wagner; Beethoven, Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op.61; Pause; Bruckner, Symphony No.7			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		01/01/1923	15:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Albert Lortzing, Arie des Baculus aus der komischen Oper "Der Wildschütz"; R.Strauss, "Don Juan", Tonichtung für grosses Orchester op.20			As in column K	
Brahms	No.2		10/01/1923	19:00	Subscription series: Abonnementkonzerte Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester/ IV Abonnement Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Julius Weismann, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester B-Dur op. 33 (1909–1910/1936) (EA); Franz Liszt Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne ("Was man auf dem Berge hört") (»Bergsymphonie«) (1848–1849/1854). symphonische Dichtung nach einem Gedicht von V. Hugo	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Julius Weismann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester B-Dur op. 33 (1909–1910/1936) (EA); Franz Liszt Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 1 S 95 »Bergsymphonie« (1848–1849/1854). Subscription series: Abonnementkonzerte Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.9		25/01/1923	19:00	I. Ausserordentliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven Symphony No.4; Bruckner Symphony No.9			Beethoven Symphony No.4; Bruckner Symphony No.9	
Mahler	No.7		26/01/1923	19:00	Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Hans Pless	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven Overture "Coriolan"; Mahler Symphony No.7			Beethoven Overture "Coriolan"; Mahler Symphony No.7	
Bruckner	No.7		31/01/1923		V Abonnement Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mozart Sinfonie C-dur; Jul.Bittner "Lieder f. eine Altstimme; bruckner Symphony No.7			Mozart Sinfonie C-dur; Jul.Bittner "Lieder f. eine Altstimme; bruckner Symphony No.7	
Mahler	No.4		25/02/1923	15:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; Erich Wolfgang Korngold, "Schauspiel-Ouverture" für grosses Orchester op.4; Mahler, "Ich atme' einen linden Duft" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Mahler, "Rheinlegndchen" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; R.Strauss, "Morgen" für Singstimme und Orchester op.27; R.Strauss, "Ständchen" nach Gedichten von Adolf Friedrich Graf von Schack aus Sechs Lieder für hohe Stimme und Klavier op.17, No.2 (Bearbeitung für Gesang und Orchester: Felix Mottl); R.Strauss, "Don Juan" Tondichtung für grosses Orchester op.20	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899–1901); ***; Erich Wolfgang Korngold Schauspiel-Ouverture op. 4 (1911); Gustav Mahler Ich atme' einen linden Duft (Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert) (1901), Rheinlegndchen (Des Knaben Wunderhorn) (1893); Richard Strauss Morgen op. 27/4 (Vier Lieder) (1894), Ständchen op. 17/2 »Mach auf, mach auf, doch leise mein Kind« (1885–1887), Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		28/02/1923	19:00	Abonnement Konzert Sym/6	Wiener Konzerthausg esellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture zum Beherrscher der Geister op.27; Julius Bittner, fünf Lieder für eine Altstimme mit Orchester; Bruckner, Symphony No.7 E-Dur	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Overture zu »Rübezahl« op. 27 (1804-1805); Julius Bittner Es dankelt (1910), Gesang der Liebenden (1910), Das Ständchen (1910), Des Abends (1910), Hymnus (1910); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Subscription series: Abonnementkonzerte Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		05/03/1923		VI. Titel-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bernhard Tittel	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mozart Symphony Es-dur; Bernhard Tittel "Agnes-Totenfeier" Frauenchor mit Orchester; Bruckner Symphony No.3			Mozart Symphony Es-dur; Bernhard Tittel "Agnes-Totenfeier" Frauenchor mit Orchester; Bruckner Symphony No.3	
Bruckner	No.9		10/03/1923	18:30	Satzungsgemäßes Orchesterkonzert	Wiener Schubertbund	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Viktor Keldorfer	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner, "Das deutsche Lied" für Männerchor und Blasinstrumente WAB 63; Anton Bruckner, Symphony No.9; Anton Bruckner, "Helgoland", weltliche Kantate für Männerchor und grosses Orchester	Programme: Anton Bruckner, Das deutsche Lied (1892), Träumen und Wachen (1890), Trösterin Musik (1877), Um Mitternacht für Tenor solo und Männerchor (1886), Interhodium für Orgel »Feierlich langsam«, Abendzauber (1878); ***; Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896), Helgoland (1893). Note: Satzungsgemäßes Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Schubertbund.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.9		11/03/1923	18:30	Satzungsgemäßes Orchesterkonzert	Wiener Schubertbund	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Viktor Keldorfer	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner, "Das deutsche Lied" für Männerchor und Blasinstrumente WAB 63; Anton Bruckner, Symphony No.9; Anton Bruckner, "Helgoland", weltliche Kantate für Männerchor und grosses Orchester	Programme: Anton Bruckner, Das deutsche Lied (1892), Träumen und Wachen (1890), Trösterin Musik (1877), Um Mitternacht für Tenor solo und Männerchor (1886), Interludium für Orgel »Feierlich langsam«, Abendzauber (1878); ***; Symphony Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896), Helgoland (1893). Note: Satzungsgemäßes Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Schubertbund.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		15/03/1923	19:00	Ausserordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 3 Es-Dur op. 55 ("Eroica")			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		18/03/1923	15:30	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Wilhelm Kienzl, "Don Quixotes phantastischer Austritt und seine traurige Heimkehr. Symphonische Zwischenspiele op. 50 für großes Orchester (1898), An den Schlaf op. 81/4, Der Einsame im Herbst, Neck und Nymphe (Onkels Liedermappe), Sandmännchen; Franz Schmidt Zwischenspiel und Kamevalsmusik (Notre Dame) (1902–1904). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive			
Brahms	No.3		02/04/1923	15:30	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Pause; W.A.Mozart, Overture zum Drama per musica "Il re pastore" ("Der König als Hirte"); W.A.Mozart, "Exsultate, jubilate", Motette für Sopran KV 165; R.Strauss, "Morgen" for Singstimme und Orchester op.27 Nr.4; R.Strauss, "Ständchen" nach Gedichten von Adolf Friedrich Graf von Schack aus Sechs Lieder für hohe Stimme und Klavier op.17 Nr.2 (Bearbeitung: Felix Mottl); F.Liszt, Konzert for piano and orchestra Nr.2; R.Wagner, Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"			As in column K	
Mahler	No.5		10/04/1923	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Robert Schumann Ouverture zu »Genoveva« op. 81 (1847-1849); Franz Liszt Fantasie C-Dur »Wanderer-Fantasie« S 366 (Bearbeitung für Klavier und Orchester nach Franz Schubert D 760) (1822/1852 vor); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 (1901-1902). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive			
Mahler	No.5		11/04/1923	19:00	Subscription series: Abonnementkonzerte Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester/ VII Abonnement Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Schumann, Overture zur Oper "Genoveva" op.81; Schubert, "Wanderer-Fantasie" C-Dur, symphonisch bearbeitet für Klavier und Orchester; Mahler, Symphony No.5 cis-moll	Programme: Robert Schumann Ouverture zu »Genoveva« op. 81 (1847-1849); Franz Liszt Fantasie C-Dur »Wanderer-Fantasie« S 366 (Bearbeitung für Klavier und Orchester nach Franz Schubert D 760) (1822/1852 vor); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 (1901-1902). Subscription series: Abonnementkonzerte Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	Schumann Konzert for Klavier instead of Schubert but otherwise as in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		19/04/1923	19:00	Ausserordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture No.3 zur Oper "Leonore"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)			As in column K (advert and programme)	
Mahler	No.4		22/04/1923	15:30	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Joseph Marx, "Hat dich die Liebe berührt" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Joseph Marx, Venetianisches Wiegenlied "Nina Ninana" for mittlere Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Joseph Marx, "Marienlied" for high voice and orchestra nach einem Text von Novalis; Pause; R.Schumann, Konzert for cello and orchestra a-moll; Carl Prohaska, 10 Variations und finale über eine Romanze aus Rousseaus Oper "Le devin du village"			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		06/05/1923	15:30	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Symphony No.2; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"			As in column K	
Mahler	No.2		13/05/1923	19:30	Gustav Mahler: II. Sinfonie		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.2			Mahler Symphony No.2	WM 26.05.1923
Bruckner	No.9		22/05/1923	19:30	Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No.6	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur op. 68 »Pastorale« (1807-1808). Note: Statutarisches Mitgliederkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.9		23/05/1923	19:30	Statutarisches Mitglieder-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No.6	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur op. 68 »Pastorale« (1807-1808). Note: Statutarisches Mitgliederkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		24/09/1923	19:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Theodore Spiering	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; A. Albert Noelte Vor einem Bilde. Gesangsszene für eine Frauenstimme und Orchester (EA); Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894-1895); Richard Wagner Vorspiel und Liebestod (Tristan und Isolde) (1857-1859)	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; A. Albert Noelte Vor einem Bilde. Gesangsszene für eine Frauenstimme und Orchester (EA); Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894-1895); Richard Wagner Vorspiel und Liebestod (Tristan und Isolde) (1857-1859). Presented by: KD Hugo Heller	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		27/09/1923	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; R. Strauss, "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für grosses Orchester op.24				
Bruckner	No.4		28/09/1923	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; R. Strauss, "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für grosses Orchester op.24				
Brahms	No.2		30/09/1923	15:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Leone Sinigaglia, "Le Baruffe Chiozotte", Konzertouvertüre zur Komödie von Carlo Goldoni op.32; Gustav Mahler, "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie No.5; Mendelssohn, Konzert for violin and orchestra; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			As in column K	
Mahler	No.5		30/09/1923	15:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Leone Sinigaglia, "Le Baruffe Chiozotte", Konzertouvertüre zur Komödie von Carlo Goldoni op.32; Gustav Mahler, "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie No.5; Mendelssohn, Konzert for violin and orchestra; Pause; Brahms, Symphony No.2			As in column K	
Mahler	No.4		30/09/1923	15:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Händel, Concerto grosso op.6 No.6; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; pause; R. Strauss, "Liebeshymnus" op.32 no.3; R. Strauss, "Wienlied" for Singstimme und Orchester op.41 no.1; R. Strauss, "Cécile" für Singstimme und Orchester op.27 no.2; Carl Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture op.13	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso g-moll op. 6/6 HWV 324 (1739); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901); ***; Richard Strauss Liebeshymnus op. 32/3 (1896), Wienlied op. 41/1 (1899), Cécile op. 27/2 (Vier Lieder) (1894); Carl Goldmark Overture zu »Sakuntala« op. 13 (1865). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		07/10/1923	15:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Glück, Overture zur Oper "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit Konzertschluss von W.A.Mozart bzw. R.Wagner; Delius, "In a summer garden" Rhapsodie für Orchester; Brahms, Drei Lieder in einer Bearbeitung von Max Reger; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104			As in column K	
Mahler	No.4		11/10/1923	19:00	Erstes Sinfoniekonzert, 340. Veranstaltung		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spörr	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; *** Cyrill Kistler Vorspiel zum 2. Akt (Kunihild) (1884); Carl Maria von Weber Ozean! Du Ungeheuer! (Arie der Rezia aus »Oberon« J 306) (1825–1826); Franz Liszt Les Préludes, Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 3 S 97 (1848–1854). Note: Erstes Sinfoniekonzert, 340. Veranstaltung. Presented by: Kunststelle für christliche Volksbildung	Konzerthaus Archive			
Bruckner	No.6		13/10/1923	19:00	I. Orchesterkonzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mozart Adagio u. Fuge f. Streichorchester C-moll; Beethoven Klavierkonzert Es-dur op.73; Bruckner Symphony No.6			Mozart Adagio u. Fuge f. Streichorchester C-moll; Beethoven Klavierkonzert Es-dur op.73; Bruckner Symphony No.6	
Bruckner	No.6		14/10/1923	19:00	I. Orchesterkonzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mozart Adagio u. Fuge f. Streichorchester C-moll; Beethoven Klavierkonzert Es-dur op.73; Bruckner Symphony No.6			Mozart Adagio u. Fuge f. Streichorchester C-moll; Beethoven Klavierkonzert Es-dur op.73; Bruckner Symphony No.6	
Bruckner	No.1		16/10/1923	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll (Wiener Fassung) (1865-1866/1890-1891); ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811-1812). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive			
Bruckner	No.1		17/10/1923	19:00	Subscription Series: Bruckner-Zyklus Sym/1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.1 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91); Beethoven, Symphony No.7	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll (Wiener Fassung) (1865-1866/1890-1891); ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811-1812). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		27/10/1923	19:00	II Orchester-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Berlioz Overture to König Lear; Brahms Violin-Konzert; Bruckner Symphony No.7			Berlioz Overture to König Lear; Brahms Violin-Konzert; Bruckner Symphony No.7	R 10.11.1923
Bruckner	No.7		28/10/1923		II Orchester-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Berlioz Overture to König Lear; Brahms Violin-Konzert; Bruckner Symphony No.7			Berlioz Overture to König Lear; Brahms Violin-Konzert; Bruckner Symphony No.7	R 10.11.1923
Brahms	No.1		28/10/1923	15:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Anton Konrath	Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.1; Mahler Lieder eines Fahrendes Gesellen; Strauss Tod und Verklärung			Brahms Symphony No.1; Mahler Lieder eines Fahrendes Gesellen; Strauss Tod und Verklärung	
Mahler	No.5		09/11/1923	19:00	Gustav Mahler-Zyklus		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.5			Mahler Symphony No.5	
Bruckner	of.7		22/11/1923		Symphonie Konzerte I		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven Symphony No.4; Dvorak Scherzo Capriccioso; Bruckner Symphony No.7			Beethoven Symphony No.4; Dvorak Scherzo Capriccioso; Bruckner Symphony No.7	
Bruckner	No.2		27/11/1923	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877); ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811–1812); Joseph Haas Heitere Serenade C-Dur op. 41; Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888); Hector Berlioz Le carnaval romain. Overture caractéristique op. 9 (1844)	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871–1872/1877); ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811–1812); Joseph Haas Heitere Serenade C-Dur op. 41; Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888); Hector Berlioz Le carnaval romain. Overture caractéristique op. 9 (1844). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.2		28/11/1923	19:00	Subscription Series: Bruckner-Zyklus Sym/2	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); Josef Haas, "Heitere Serenade" C-Dur op.41; R. Strauss, "Don Juan" Tondichtung op.20; Berlioz, "le carnaval romain" Charakteristische Ouvertüre op.9	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871–1872/1877); ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811–1812); Joseph Haas Heitere Serenade C-Dur op. 41 (EA); Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888); Hector Berlioz Le carnaval romain. Ouverture caractéristique op. 9 (1844). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		04/12/1923	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Peter Iljitsch Tschaiakowsky Romeo und Julia. Ouverture-Fantasie nach Shakespeare (1869/1870/1880); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Peter Iljitsch Tschaiakowsky Romeo und Julia. Ouverture-Fantasie nach Shakespeare (1869/1870/1880); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		05/12/1923	19:00	Subscription Series: Bruckner-Zyklus Sym/3	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Peter Iljitsch Tschaiakowsky Romeo und Julia. Ouverture-Fantasie nach Shakespeare (1869/1870/1880); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Peter Iljitsch Tschaiakowsky Romeo und Julia. Ouverture-Fantasie nach Shakespeare (1869/1870/1880); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		AZ 07.01.1924
Bruckner	No.6		16/12/1923	15:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Haydn, Symphony No.98; Händel, Konzert für Violoncello und Streichorchester (Bearbeitung von Robert Emil Bockmühl); Pause; Bruckner, Symphony No.6 A-Dur				
Bruckner	No.2		28/12/1923	19:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte	Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ludwig Rüh	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Händel, Concerto grosso op.6 No.6; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); F.Liszt, Konzert for Piano and Orchestra no.2; R.Wagner, Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso g-moll op. 6/6 HWV 324 (1739); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877); Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur S 125 (1848); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 19. Jahr. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		28/12/1923	15:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Mahler, "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen"; R. Strauss, "Tod und Verklärung"				
Bruckner	No.2		29/12/1923	19:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte	Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ludwig Rüh	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Händel, Concerto grosso op.6 No.6; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); F.Liszt, Konzert for Piano and Orchestra no.2; R.Wagner, Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso g-moll op. 6/6 HWV 324 (1739); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877); Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur S 125 (1848); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 19. Jahr. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		29/12/1923	14:30	4th Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouvertüre zu "Alceste"; Luigi Boccherini Sinfonie C-Dur, op. 16, Nr. 3; Ludwig van Beethoven Grosse Fuge für Streicher, B-Dur, op. 133; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90			Without Gluck but oterwise as in column K	
Brahms	No.3		30/12/1923	12:30	4th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouvertüre zu "Alceste"; Luigi Boccherini Sinfonie C-Dur, op. 16, Nr. 3; Ludwig van Beethoven Grosse Fuge für Streicher, B-Dur, op. 133; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90			Without Gluck but oterwise as in column K	
Brahms	No.1		03/01/1924	19:00	Symphonie Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Max Reger, Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin op.128			JS.Bach Praludium und Fuge A-moll first and then as in column K	AZ 07.01.1924
Bruckner	No.4		08/01/1924	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig Thuille Romantische Ouvertüre op. 16; Robert Schumann Introdution und Allegro appassionato G-Dur op. 92 für Klavier und Orchester (1849); Richard Wagner Eine Faust-Ouverture (1839–1854); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Programme: Ludwig Thuille Romantische Ouvertüre op. 16; Robert Schumann Introdution und Allegro appassionato G-Dur op. 92 für Klavier und Orchester (1849); Richard Wagner Eine Faust-Ouverture (1839–1854); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		09/01/1924	19:00	Subscription Series: Bruckner-Zyklus Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig Thuille, "Romantische Ouvertüre" D-Dur; R.Schumann, Konzertstück für Klavier und Orchester G-Dur; R.Wagner, "Eine Faust-Ouvertüre" d-moll (überarbeitete Version); Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Ludwig Thuille Romantische Ouvertüre op. 16; Robert Schumann Introdution und Allegro appassionato G-Dur op. 92 für Klavier und Orchester (1849); Richard Wagner Eine Faust-Ouverture (1839–1854); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		17/01/1924	19:00	Drittes Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Reger, "Eine romantische Suite" for orchestra; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.3		18/01/1924	19:00	Drittes Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Reger, "Eine romantische Suite" for orchestra; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)			As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.5		23/01/1924	19:00	Subscription Series: Bruckner-Zyklus Sym/5	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Paul August Klenau	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	W.A.Mozart, Overture to Opera "Idomeneo"; Haydn, Konzert für Cello und Orchestra no.2; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zu »Idomeneo, Rè di Creta« K.366 (1780-1781); Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur Hob. VIIb/2 (1783); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		26/01/1924	19:00	II.Orchester Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	F. Waller	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony N0.4; Aubert Habanera (Erstaufführung); Skrjabin Poeme de l'Extase			Mahler Symphony N0.4; Aubert Habanera (Erstaufführung); Skrjabin Poeme de l'Extase	
Bruckner	No.7		31/01/1924	19:00	Viertes Ordentliches Symphonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Symphony No.4; Bruckner, Symphony No.7			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		31/01/1924		Symphony Konzerte 4		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	J.S.Bach Orgelwerk; Brahms Symphony No.1; Reger Böcklin-Suite			J.S.Bach Orgelwerk; Brahms Symphony No.1; Reger Böcklin-Suite	
Bruckner	No.6		05/02/1924	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881); Franz Liszt Zwei Episoden aus Lenau's Faust S 110 (1860 ca.); Bedřich Smetana Vltava »Die Moldau«. Symphonische Dichtung T 111 (Má vlast »Mein Vaterland«) (1874), Ouverture zu »Libuše / Libussa« T 107 (1869-1872). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881); Franz Liszt Zwei Episoden aus Lenau's Faust S 110 (1860 ca.); Bedřich Smetana Vltava »Die Moldau«. Symphonische Dichtung T 111 (Má vlast »Mein Vaterland«) (1874), Ouverture zu »Libuše / Libussa« T 107 (1869-1872). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		06/02/1924	19:00	Subscription Series: Bruckner-Zyklus Sym/6	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.6; Pause; F.Liszt, 2 Episoden aus Lenau's "Faust"; Smetana, "Vltava" ("Die Moldau") aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland"); Smetana, Overture zur Festoper "Libuše"	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881); Franz Liszt Zwei Episoden aus Lenau's Faust S 110 (1860 ca.); Bedřich Smetana Vltava »Die Moldau«. Symphonische Dichtung T 111 (Má vlast »Mein Vaterland«) (1874), Ouverture zu »Libuše / Libussa« T 107 (1869-1872). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		09/02/1924		V. Orchester Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Serenade D-dur; Korngold Lieder des Abschieds; Bruckner Symphony No.1 (advert)			Brahms Serenade D-dur; Korngold Lieder des Abschieds; Bruckner Symphony No.1 (advert)	
Bruckner	No.2		10/02/1924	15:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	W.A. Mozart, Overture zur Oper "Le nozze di Figaro"; Gluck, Arie des Orpheus aus der Oper "Orpheus und Eurydike"; W.A.Mozart, Arie des Sextus aus der Opera seria "La Clemenza di Tito" ("Die Milde des Titus"); Beethoven, Konzert für piano und orchestra no.3; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)				
Mahler	No.7		14/02/1924	19:00	IV. Ordentliches Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Schubert, Overture zur romantischen Oper "Alfonso und Estrella"; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll			As in column K	
Mahler	No.7		15/02/1924	19:00	IV. Ordentliches Abonnement Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Schubert, Overture zur romantischen Oper "Alfonso und Estrella"; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.1		17/02/1924	14:30	Extraordinary Concert/ Charity Pension Fund		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 1 in C Minor</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 9 in D Minor</i> , WAB 109			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.9		17/02/1924	14:30	Extraordinary Concert/ Charity Pension Fund		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 1 in C Minor</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll			As in column K	
Mahler	No.9		23/02/1924	19:00	VI. Orchester Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Erwin Stein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.9			Mahler Symphony No.9	
Mahler	No.3		24/02/1924	12:30	Concert of the Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		11/03/1924	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Antonio Vivaldi Concerto d-moll RV 565 für zwei Violinen, zwei Violoncelli, Streicher und Basso continuo (L'estro armonico) (1711); Johann Sebastian Bach Partita Nr. 3 E-Dur BWV 1006 (Bearbeitung für Streichorchester und Orgel: Ottorino Respighi) (1720); Arcangelo Corelli Sonata d-moll op. 5/12 »La Follia« (1700); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883)	Programme: Antonio Vivaldi Concerto d-moll RV 565 für zwei Violinen, zwei Violoncelli, Streicher und Basso continuo (L'estro armonico) (1711); Johann Sebastian Bach Partita Nr. 3 E-Dur BWV 1006 (Bearbeitung für Streichorchester und Orgel: Ottorino Respighi) (1720); Arcangelo Corelli Sonata d-moll op. 5/12 »La Follia« (1700); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		12/03/1924	19:00	Subscription Series: Bruckner-Zyklus Sym/7	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Vivaldi, Konzert für string orchestra and organ; J.S.Bach, Partita 3 E-Dur for string orchestra and organ in einer Bearbeitung von O. Respighi; Arcangelo Corelli, Violinsonate op.5 no.12 "La Folia"; Pause; Bruckner, Sympony No.7 E-Dur	Programme: Antonio Vivaldi Concerto d-moll RV 565 für zwei Violinen, zwei Violoncelli, Streicher und Basso continuo (L'estro armonico) (Bearbeitung für Streichorchester und Orgel: Alexander Siloti) (1711); Johann Sebastian Bach Partita Nr. 3 E-Dur BWV 1006 (Bearbeitung für Streichorchester und Orgel: Ottorino Respighi) (1720); Arcangelo Corelli Sonata d-moll op. 5/12 »La Follia« (1700); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.4		23/03/1924	15:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Beethoven, "Freudvoll und leidvoll", Lied des Klärchens aus der Schauspielmusik zu Goethes Trauerspiel "Egmont"; Beethoven, "Die Trommel gerühret", Lied des Klärchens aus der Schauspielmusik zu Goethes Trauerspiel "Egmont"; Pause; Grieg, Konzert for piano and orchestra a-moll; Weber, Overture zur oper "Oberon"			As in column K	
Mahler	No.4		04/04/1924	19:00	Symphony Konzerte 7		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Danse Piemontese (Piemontesischer Tanz) op.32 No.1; R.Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche" symphonic poem			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		05/04/1924	14:30	8th Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108; Richard Wagner <i>Lohengrin</i> prelude			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		06/04/1924	12:30	8th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108; Richard Wagner <i>Lohengrin</i> prelude			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		08/04/1924	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Christoph Willibald Gluck Overture zu »Iphigenie in Aulis« (Bearbeitung: Richard Wagner) (1774/1847); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Programme: Christoph Willibald Gluck Overture zu »Iphigenie in Aulis« (Bearbeitung: Richard Wagner) (1774/1847); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		09/04/1924	19:00	Subscription Series: Bruckner-Zyklus Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Christoph Willibald Gluck Overture zu »Iphigenie in Aulis« (Bearbeitung: Richard Wagner) (1774/1847); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Programme: Christoph Willibald Gluck Overture zu »Iphigenie in Aulis« (Bearbeitung: Richard Wagner) (1774/1847); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Subscription series: Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		26/04/1924	19:30	Mahler-Schillings-Festkonzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Rudolf Lustig	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.1; Mahler Kindertotenlieder; Schillings "Das Hexenlied"			Mahler Symphony No.1; Mahler Kindertotenlieder; Schillings "Das Hexenlied"	
Bruckner	No.7		04/05/1924	15:30	VI Ordentliches Konzert/ Sinfonie-Konzert (Letztes in der Saison) Bruckner-Wagner Beethoven		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.7; pause; R.Wagner, "Wotans Abschied" und "Feuerzauber" aus der Oper "Die Walküre"; Beethoven, Overture No.3 zur "Leonore"			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.9		09/05/1924	19:00		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendet« (1822); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendet« (1822); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		14/05/1924		Ausserordentliches Konzert Abschluß des Bruckner-Zyklus			Ferdinand Löwe	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner Symphony No.9; Bruckner Te Deum			Bruckner Symphony No.9; Bruckner Te Deum	
Brahms	No.4		15/05/1924	19:00	IV außerordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Dvorak, Symphony No.9; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98			As in column K	
Brahms	No.4		16/05/1924	19:00	IV außerordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Dvorak, Symphony No.9; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		21/09/1924	15:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Symphony No.8; Beethoven, "Freudvoll und leidvoll", Lied des Klärchens aus der Schauspielmusik zu Goethes Trauerspiel "Egmont"; Beethoven, "Die Trommel gerühret", Lied des Klärchens aus der Schauspielmusik zu Goethes Trauerspiel "Egmont"; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"				
Bruckner	No.9		28/09/1924	15:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896), Te Deum (1881-1884). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		01/10/1924	19:00	Sinfonie Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Peter van Anrooy	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms Symphony No.1; Liszt Klavierkonzert A-dur; Peter v. Anrooy "Piet Hein" Holländische Rhapsodie			Brahms Symphony No.1; Liszt Klavierkonzert A-dur; Peter v. Anrooy "Piet Hein" Holländische Rhapsodie	
Mahler	No.4		19/10/1924	15:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; Dvorak, Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-moll op.104; Mendelssohn, Scherzo (Korngold); Weber, Overture zum Singspiel "Abu Hassan"	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901); ***, Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-moll op. 104 (1894-1895); Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Scherzo op. 61/1 (Ein Sommerachtsraum) (Bearbeitung: Erich Wolfgang Korngold) (1842); Carl Maria von Weber Overture zu »Abu Hassan« J 106 (1810-1811). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		21/10/1924	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Max Reger Wachtet auf, ruft uns die Stimme E-Dur op. 52/2 für Orgel (1900); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Richard Wagner Vorspiel und Liebestod (Tristan und Isolde) (1857-1859); Alexander Skrjabin Le poème de l'extase op. 54 (1905-1908). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Programme: Max Reger Wachtet auf, ruft uns die Stimme E-Dur op. 52/2 für Orgel (1900); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Richard Wagner Vorspiel und Liebestod (Tristan und Isolde) (1857-1859); Alexander Skrjabin Le poème de l'extase op. 54 (1905-1908). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		22/10/1924	19:00	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; R. Wagner, "Vorspiel und "Liebestod" aus "Tristan und Isolde"; Scriabin, "Le Poème de l'Extase"	Programme: Max Reger Wachtet auf, ruft uns die Stimme E-Dur op. 52/2 für Orgel (1900); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Richard Wagner Vorspiel und Liebestod (Tristan und Isolde) (1857-1859); Alexander Skrjabin Le poème de l'extase op. 54 (1905-1908). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		23/10/1924	19:00	I. Ausserordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 36; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			As in column K	
Brahms	No.2		24/10/1924	19:00	I. Ausserordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 36; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		26/10/1924	15:30	Sinfonie Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Felix Mendelssohn, Overture to A Midsummer Night's Dream; Mahler, "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen"; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68			Before Brahms: Delius Klavierkonzerte	
Bruckner	No.8		06/11/1924	19:00	II. Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Reznicek, "Tragische Geschichte" Thema und Variationen nach dem Gedicht von A.v.Chamisso; pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		07/11/1924	19:00	II. Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Reznicek, "Tragische Geschichte" Thema und Variationen nach dem Gedicht von A.v.Chamisso; pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)			As in column K	
Brahms	No.2		16/11/1924	15:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Verdi, "Ah, fors'è lui...Seppmè libera" from "La Traviata"; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven, Konzert für piano and orchestra no.3; R. Wagner, Overture zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg"			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		22/11/1924	15:00	3rd Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Karl Goldmark Ouv. <i>Sakuntala</i> , op. 13; Jean Roger-Ducasse <i>Nocturne de Printemps</i> ; Jean Roger-Ducasse <i>Le Joli Jeu de Furet. Orchesterscherzo</i> ; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		23/11/1924	12:30	3rd Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Karl Goldmark Ouv. <i>Sakuntala</i> , op. 13; Jean Roger-Ducasse <i>Nocturne de Printemps</i> ; Jean Roger-Ducasse <i>Le Joli Jeu de Furet. Orchesterscherzo</i> ; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		30/11/1924	12:30	Bruckner Gala Concert/ Bruckner-Fest-Konzert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Overture g-moll WAB 98; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur</i>			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		08/12/1924	15:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890); Pause; Mendelssohn, Konzert für violin and orchestra; Weber Overture to "Euryanthe"			As in column K	
Mahler	No.2		08/12/1924	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 20. Jahr		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Viktor Zuckerkandl	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Max Reger Fantasie und Fuge d-moll op. 135b (Fantasie) (1916); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 20. Jahr. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.10		10/01/1925	12:30	5th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouv. <i>Coriolan c-Moll</i> , op. 62; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 10 in F-sharp Major</i> ; Peter Iljitsch Tschaiakowsky <i>Symphony No. 4 in F Minor</i> , op. 36			Mahler second movement of No.10. Otherwise as in Column K	WZ 19.01.1925
Mahler	No.2		11/01/1925	19:00	II Sinfonie Konzert		Großen Konzerthaus Saale	Richard Ehrmann	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.2			Mahler Symphony No.2	
Mahler	No.10		11/01/1925		5th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouv. <i>Coriolan c-Moll</i> , op. 62; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 10 in F-sharp Major</i> ; Peter Iljitsch Tschalkowsky <i>Symphony No. 4 in F Minor</i> , op. 36				WZ 19.01.1925
Brahms	No.4		17/01/1925	15:00	4th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Antonin Dvořák Carnival Overture, op. 92; Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in colum K	NFP 19.01.1925; WZ 19.01.1925
Brahms	No.4		18/01/1925	12:30	4th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Antonin Dvořák Carnival Overture, op. 92; Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98			As in colum K	NFP 19.01.1925; WZ 19.01.1925

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.7		20/01/1925	19:00	Zum Zeichen der Trauer für Ferdinand Löwe: Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (2. Satz: Andante »Trauermusik«) (1881–1883); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-moll K 550 (1788); Richard Strauss Tod und Verklärung, Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 (1888–1889); Richard Wagner Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds (Götterdämmerung) (1869–1874)	Programme: Zum Zeichen der Trauer für Ferdinand Löwe: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (2. Satz: Andante »Trauermusik«) (1881–1883); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-moll K 550 (1788); Richard Strauss Tod und Verklärung, Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 (1888–1889); Richard Wagner Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds (Götterdämmerung) (1869–1874). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		21/01/1925	19:00	Zum Zeichen der Trauer für Ferdinand Löwe: Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 40 g-moll KV 550; Louis Spohr: Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 8 a-moll op. 47 "In Form einer Gesangsszene"; Richard Strauss "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 TrV 158; Richard Wagner "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D	Programme Zum Zeichen der Trauer für Ferdinand Löwe: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (2. Satz: Andante »Trauermusik«) (1881–1883); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-moll K 550 (1788); Richard Strauss Tod und Verklärung, Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 (1888–1889); Richard Wagner Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds (Götterdämmerung) (1869–1874). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.10		24/01/1925		Popular Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouv. <i>Coriolan c-Moll</i> , op. 62; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 10 in F-sharp Major</i> ; Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowsky <i>Symphony No. 4 in F Minor</i> , op. 36				
Mahler	No.2		05/02/1925	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll				
Mahler	No.2		06/02/1925	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll				
Bruckner	No.2		08/02/1925	15:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); Julius Wachsmann Drei Lieder für Bariton und Orchester; Paul Dukas "L'apprenti sorcier" ("Der Zauberschüler"); Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1897); Carl Goldmark Ouverture »Im Frühling« op. 36 (1888). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive			
Mahler	No.2		24/02/1925	15:00	Populäres Konzert			Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Beethoven Coriolan Overture; Mahler 2 Satze aus einer nachgelassenen Symphonie (IX); Tchaikovsky IV Symphony			Beethoven Coriolan Overture; Mahler 2 Satze aus einer nachgelassenen Symphonie (IX); Tchaikovsky IV Symphony	
Brahms	No.2		24/02/1925	19:00	Sonder-Abonnementskonzerte 1924-1925 Zyklus von Acht Orchester-(Symphonie)-Konzerte (Klassiker und Romantiker-Abende)		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77; Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 b-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			As in column K	
Mahler	No.2		05/03/1925		VI Ordentliches Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale		Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.2			Mahler Symphony No.2	
Mahler	No.2		06/03/1925		VI Ordentliches Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale		Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.2			Mahler Symphony No.2	
Brahms	No.2		14/03/1925	15:00	7th Subscription Concert/ Öffentliches Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Fritz Dr. Busch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Overture to Oberon; Max Reger Var u Fuge f. Orch. über ein Thema v. Mozart A-Dur, op. 132; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			As in column K	
Brahms	No.2		15/03/1925	12:30	7th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Fritz Dr. Busch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Overture to Oberon; Max Reger Var u Fuge f. Orch. über ein Thema v. Mozart A-Dur, op. 132; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73			As in column K	
Mahler	No.2		19/03/1925		Gustav Mahler: II. Sinfonie		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Fritz Stiedry	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.2			Mahler Symphony No.2	
Mahler	No.4		22/03/1925	16:00	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; Richard Strauss "Freundliche Vision" aus Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Otto Julius Bierbaum und Karl Henckel für Singstimme und Orchester op. 48, Nr. 1; Richard Strauss "Morgen" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 4; Richard Strauss "Wiegenlied" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 41 TrV 195 Nr. 1; Richard Strauss "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", symphonische Dichtung op. 28			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.6		24/03/1925	19:00	VII. Sonder-Abonnementkonzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Brahms, Variations for Orchestra on a theme by Joseph Haydn op.56a; Bruckner, Symphony No.6 A-Dur			As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		29/03/1925	16:00	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zur Oper "Don Giovanni" KV 527; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 1 g-moll op. 26; Franz Liszt "Les Préludes", symphonische Dichtung S 97	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zu »Don Giovanni« K 527 (1787); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester g-moll op. 26 (1866); Franz Liszt Les Préludes. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 3 S 97 (1848-1854). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		12/04/1925	12:30	Concert of the Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna/ Außerordentliches Konzert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Hector Berlioz <i>Ouverture zur Oper "Benvenuto Cellini"</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.5		16/04/1925	19:00	VII Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture to "Abu Hassan"; Schumann, Concerto for cello and orchestra a-moll op.129; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.5		17/04/1925	19:00	VII Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture to "Abu Hassan"; Schumann, Concerto for cello and orchestra a-moll op.129; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		28/04/1925	19:00	Sonder-Abonnementskonzerte 1924-1925 Zyklus von Acht Orchester-(Symphonie)-Konzerte (Klassiker und Romantiker-Abende), VIII (letztes) Abend.		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)			JS.Bach Praludium und Fuge Es-dur für Orgel first and then as in column K	
Mahler	No.3		02/05/1925	19:00	Gustav Mahler: III. Sinfonie D-moll		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler Symphony No.3			Mahler Symphony No.3	
Bruckner	No.3		05/05/1925	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Erich Wolfgang Korngold Schauspiel-Ouverture op. 4 (1911); Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein lustiges Thema von Johann Adam Hiller op. 100 (1907); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Erich Wolfgang Korngold Schauspiel-Ouverture op. 4 (1911); Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein lustiges Thema von Johann Adam Hiller op. 100 (1907); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		06/05/1925	19:00	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Erich Wolfgang Korngold Schauspiel-Ouverture op. 4 (1911); Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein lustiges Thema von Johann Adam Hiller op. 100 (1907); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Erich Wolfgang Korngold Schauspiel-Ouverture op. 4 (1911); Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein lustiges Thema von Johann Adam Hiller op. 100 (1907); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		16/05/1925	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 20. Jahr		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Fritz Stiedry	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Stravinsky, "Pulcinella" Suite for orchestra (Version 1949); Goldmark, concerto for violin and orchestra a-moll op.28; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Igor Strawinski Suite (Pulcinella) (1922/1949) ; Carl Goldmark Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op. 28 (1877); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 20. Jahr. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		17/05/1925	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 20. Jahr		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Fritz Stiedry	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Stravinsky, "Pulcinella" Suite for orchestra (Version 1949); Goldmark, concerto for violin and orchestra a-moll op.28; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme : Igor Strawinski Suite (Pulcinella) (1922/1949); Carl Goldmark Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op. 28 (1877); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 20. Jahr. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		06/10/1925	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 39 Es-Dur KV 543; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Brahms	No.3		10/10/1925	15:00	1st Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert F-Dur für 2 Bläserchöre und Streichorchester; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 in D Major, op. 36			As in column K	
Brahms	No.3		11/10/1925	12:30	1st Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert F-Dur für 2 Bläserchöre und Streichorchester; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 in D Major, op. 36			As in column K	
Mahler	No.5		11/10/1925	11:05			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Overture zum Festspiel "König Stephan" op.117; Chopin, Concerto for Piano and Orchestra no.2 f-moll; Mahler, Symphony No.5; Tchaikovsky, "Nussknacker" suite				
Mahler	No.1		15/10/1925	19:00	I Ordentliches Konzert (Mahler Zyklus)		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler, Symphony No.1; Pause; Mahler, Symphony No.4			As in column K	
Mahler	No.4		15/10/1925	19:00	I Ordentliches Konzert (Mahler Zyklus)		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur			As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.2		18/10/1925	11:05			RAVAG Wien	Ludwig Kaiser	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Berlioz, "Le roi Lear" overture; Saint-Saëns, "Le Rouet d'Omphale" symphonic poem; Mendelssohn, concerto for piano and orchestra no.2; Liszt, "Die Ideale, symphonic poem no.12				
Mahler	No.4		03/11/1925	20:15			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mendelssohn, "Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt" concert overture; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Mahler, "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen" Liederzyklus; Mussorgsky, "eine Nacht auf dem kahlen Berge" symphonic poem				
Mahler	No.2		05/11/1925	19:00	II Ordentliches Konzert (Mahler Zyklus)		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan" Overture; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll			As in column K	
Mahler	No.2		06/11/1925	19:00	II Ordentliches Konzert (Mahler Zyklus)		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan" Overture; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll			As in column K	
Brahms	No.4		11/11/1925	19:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Emil Bohnke	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Strauss Don Juan; Bohnke Konzert für Violine und Orchester op.11; Brahms Symphony No.4			Strauss Don Juan; Bohnke Konzert für Violine und Orchester op.11; Brahms Symphony No.4	
Bruckner	No.5		14/11/1925	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture to "Euryanthe"; R.Schumann, concerto for piano and orchestra a-moll; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)				
Mahler	No.4		17/11/1925	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hector Berlioz Roméo et Juliette, Symphonie Dramatique op. 17 (1839); Rudolf Mengelberg Symphonische Elegie op. 9 (EA); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Programme: Hector Berlioz Roméo et Juliette, Symphonie Dramatique op. 17 (1839); Rudolf Mengelberg Symphonische Elegie op. 9 (EA); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		18/11/1925	19:00	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hector Berlioz "La Reine Mab, ou la fee des songes" ("Königin Mab oder die Fee der Träume"); Scherzo aus der dramatischen Symphonie "Roméo et Juliette" op. 17; Hector Berlioz Liebeszene aus der dramatischen Symphonie "Roméo et Juliette" op. 17; Hector Berlioz "Romeo allein ... Fest bei den Capulets" aus der dramatischen Symphonie "Roméo et Juliette" op. 17; Willem Mengelberg Symphonische Elegie op. 9; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Programme: Hector Berlioz Roméo et Juliette, Symphonie Dramatique op. 17 (1839); Rudolf Mengelberg Symphonische Elegie op. 9; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		24/11/1925	19:00	Sonder-Abonnementkonzerte 1925-26 Zyklus von Acht Orchester-(Symphonie)-Konzerte. III Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Symphony No.4; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		29/11/1925	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; W.A.Mozart, Concerto for Piano and Orchestra no.26 "Krönungskonzert"; Beethoven, Menuett und Contranz; Schubert, Overture in italienischen Stil C-Dur				
Mahler	No.3		03/12/1925	19:00	III Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		07/12/1925	20:15			RAVAG Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Johannes Brahms, Concerto for violin and orchestra D-Dur; Johannes Brahms, Akademische Festouvertüre op.80				
Brahms	No.4		08/12/1925	19:00	IV Sonder-Abonnementskonzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Haydn, Symphony No.104 D-Dur Hob.I:104 "London"; Ludwig van Beethoven, Concerto for piano and orchestra no.5 Es-Dur op.73; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.5		12/12/1925	19:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 21. Jahr	Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878)	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 21. Jahr. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		13/12/1925	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 21. Jahr	Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture to "Euryanthe"; R.Schumann, concerto for piano and orchestra a-moll; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte, 21. Jahr. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		27/12/1925	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture zum Beherrscher der Geister op.27; W.A.Mozart, Symphony No.35 "Haffner"; W.A.Mozart, Arie der Zerlina aus "Don Giovanni"; W.A.Mozart "Endlich naht sich die Stunde" recit and aria der Susanna from "Le nozze di Figaro"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98				
Brahms	No.2		02/01/1926	20:00			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Mozart, Concerto for Piano and orchestra no.20; R.Wagner, "Wesendonk-Lieder" 5 Gedichte for womens choir with pianoforte-Begleitung, instrumented by Felix Mottl; Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture op.13				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		03/01/1926	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	R. Strauss, „Don Juan“ (Entwurf: K. Wagner, Vorspiel und „Liebestod“ aus der Oper „Tristan und Isolde“); Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.8		05/01/1926	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93 (1811-1812); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		06/01/1926	19:00	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93 (1811-1812); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Mahler	No.5		14/01/1926	19:00	Viertes Konzert des Mahler-Zyklus		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mendelssohn, „Die Hebräiden“ oder „Die Fingalshöhle“, Konzertouvertüre op.26; Max von Oberleitner, „Fahrt zur Roten Wand“ symphonic poem; Pause; Mahler, Symphony No.5			As in column K	
Mahler	No.1		16/01/1926	15:00	6th Subscription Concert/ Öffentliche Generalprobe		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Joseph Moser <i>Suite für 17 Blasinstrumente, op. 37</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 1 in D Major</i>			As in column K	
Mahler	No.1		17/01/1926	12:30	6th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Joseph Moser <i>Suite für 17 Blasinstrumente, op. 37</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 1 in D Major</i>			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.4		17/01/1926	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Brahms, Concerto for piano and orchestra no.1; Beethoven, Overture to "Egmont"	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur "Romantische" (1874/1878-1880); Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15 (1854-1859/1875); Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu „Egmont“ op. 84 (1809-1810). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.5		24/01/1926	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll; Gustav Mahler "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen", Liederzyklus; Gustav Mahler "Ich atme' einen linden Duft" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler "Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht?" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Gustav Mahler "Rheinlegendchen" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Adagietto (Symphonie Nr. 5) (1901-1902), Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen (1884-1885), Ich atme' einen linden Duft (Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert) (1901), Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht (Des Knaben Wunderhorn) (1892), Rheinlegendchen (Des Knaben Wunderhorn) (1893); ***; Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		24/01/1926	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll; Gustav Mahler "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen", Liederzyklus; Gustav Mahler "Ich atme' einen linden Duft" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler "Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht?" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Gustav Mahler "Rheinlegendchen" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Adagietto (Symphonie Nr. 5) (1901-1902), Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen (1884-1885), Ich atme' einen linden Duft (Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert) (1901), Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht (Des Knaben Wunderhorn) (1892), Rheinlegendchen (Des Knaben Wunderhorn) (1893); ***; Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		31/01/1926	12:30	Extraordinary Concert/ Charity		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Adagio und Fuge in c-Moll, KV 546</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		31/01/1926	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Hugo Reichenberger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johann Sebastian Bach Orchestersuite (Ouvertüre) Nr. 4 D-Dur BWV 1069; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107; Hugo Wolf "Verborgeneheit", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Richard Strauss "Freundliche Vision" aus Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Otto Julius Bierbaum und Karl Henckel für Singstimme und Orchester op. 48, Nr. 1; Richard Strauss Winterweih op. 48 Nr. 4; Richard Strauss "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", symphonische Dichtung op.28				
Mahler	No.6		04/02/1926	19:00	V Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ernst Kanitz, Four Songs for soprano and orchestra op.11; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll			as in column K	
Brahms	No.4		08/02/1926	19:30	Sinfonie-Konzert		Grosser Musikvereins saale	Erich Cheitlander	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Löwe Overture to "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem"; Chopin Konzert f. Klavier mit Begleitung des Orchesters E-moll; Krenek Concerto grosso II, op.25; Brahms Symphony No.4			Carl Löwe Overture to "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem"; Chopin Konzert f. Klavier mit Begleitung des Orchesters E-moll; Krenek Concerto grosso II, op.25; Brahms Symphony No.4	
Bruckner	No.5		13/02/1926	15:00	7th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy <i>Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt, Konzertouvertüre, op. 27</i> ; Guido Peters <i>Sym. Vorspiel zu einer Tragikomödie</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>			As in column K	
Mahler	No.10		13/02/1926	19:30	Sinfonie-Konzert. Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Alexander von Zemlinsky	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Haydn, Symphony No.97 C-Dur Hob.1:97; Hugo Kauder, Concerto for violin and orchestra; Gustav Mahler, "Adagio" aus der Symphonie No.10 Fis-Dur for large orchestra (Bearbeitung Erwin Ratz); Alexander von Zemlinsky, "23.Psaln" für gemischten Chor und Orchester op.14			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.5		14/02/1926	12:30	7th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy <i>Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt, Konzertouvertüre, op. 27</i> ; Guido Peters <i>Sym. Vorspiel zu einer Tragikomödie</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>			As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.10		14/02/1926	19:30	Sinfonie-Konzert. Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Alexander von Zemlinsky	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Haydn, Symphony No.97 C-Dur Hob.I:97; Hugo Kauder, Concerto for violin and orchestra; Gustav Mahler, "Adagio" aus der Symphonie No.10 Fis-Dur for large orchestra (Bearbeitung Erwin Ratz); Alexander von Zemlinsky, "23.Psaln" für gemischten Chor und Orchester op.14			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		16/02/1926	19:00	VI Sonder-Abonnementskonzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107			As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		21/02/1926	16:30	Populäres Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Overture zur Oper "Oberon"; Franz Schmidt, Konzertante Variationen über ein Thema von Ludwig van Beethoven für Klavier und Orchester F-Dur in einer Bearbeitung von Friedrich Wührer; Joseph Marx "Märienlied" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Novalis; Joseph Marx "Und gestern hat er mir Rosen gebracht" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Thekla Lingen; Joseph Marx Venetianisches Wiegenlied "Nina Ninana" für mittlere Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Joseph Marx "Hat dich die Liebe berührt" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie No.1 c-moll op. 68	Not in Musikverein Archives	Musikverein Archive	As in column K	
Mahler	No.7		04/03/1926	19:00	VI Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	W.A.Mozart, Overture to "Le nozze di Figaro"; Joseph Marx, "Idylle, Concertino on a pastoral Quart" for orchestra; pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll			As in column K	
Brahms	No.2		15/03/1926	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Martin Spanjaard	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Camille Saint-SaënsKonzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 g-moll op. 22 (1868); Ernest Chausson Poème op. 25 für Violine und Orchester (1896); Camille Saint-Saëns Introduction et Rondo capriccioso a-moll op. 28 für Violine und Orchester (1863); Maurice Ravel Ma mère l'oye. Ballettmusik (1911)	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Camille Saint-SaënsKonzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 g-moll op. 22 (1868); Ernest Chausson Poème op. 25 für Violine und Orchester (1896); Camille Saint-Saëns Introduction et Rondo capriccioso a-moll op. 28 für Violine und Orchester (1863); Maurice Ravel Ma mère l'oye. Ballettmusik (1911). Presented by: KD Georg Kugel	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.9		08/04/1926	19:00	VII Ordentliches Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Symphony No.1; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur			As in column K	
Mahler	No.4		11/04/1926	12:30	Extraordinary Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i> ; Claude Debussy <i>Fantasia für Klavier und Orchester</i> ; Richard Strauss „ <i>Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks)</i> “, op. 28			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		11/04/1926	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wagner, Overture zum "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg"; Bruckner, Symphony No.7; Pause; R. Strauss, "Also sprach Zarathustra" Tondichtung			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.7		15/04/1926	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal		Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms, Akademische Festouvertüre op.80; Wolf, "Ich hab in Penna einen Liebesten wohnen" aus "Italienisches Liederbuch"; Wolf, "Verborgenhait" Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Wolf, "Er ist's" Lied nach einem Gedicht von Deuand Mörike; Wolf, Vur- und Zwischenspiel auf der Oper "Der Corregidor"; Bruckner, Symphony No.7	Programme: Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre op. 80 (1881); Hugo Wolf Ich hab in Penna einen Liebesten wohnen (Italienisches Liederbuch, Bd. 2/46) (1896). Verborgenhait (Mörrike-Lieder Nr. 12) (1888), Er ist's (Mörrike-Lieder Nr. 6) (1888), Vorspiel und Zwischenspiel (Der Corregidor) (1895); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.8		18/04/1926	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte; 21. Jahr; Konzertprogramm mit Statistik		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	R. Strauss, Fanfare TrV 250; Mahler, Symphony Nr.8 Es-Dur	Programme: Richard Strauss Fanfare zur Eröffnung der Musikwoche der Stadt Wien im September 1924 AV 110 (1924); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte; 21. Jahr; Konzertprogramm mit Statistik. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.8		19/04/1926	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte; 21. Jahr; 200. Konzert; Konzertprogramm mit Statistik		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	R. Strauss, Fanfare TrV 250; Mahler, Symphony Nr.8 Es-Dur	Programme: Richard Strauss Fanfare zur Eröffnung der Musikwoche der Stadt Wien im September 1924 AV 110 (1924); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Note: Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte; 21. Jahr; 200. Konzert; Konzertprogramm mit Statistik. Presented by: Arbeiter-Sinfoniekonzerte	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		20/04/1926	19:00	Achtes (letztes) Sonder-Abonnementkonzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Concerto for piano and orchestra no.22; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll			As in column K	
Bruckner	No.5		04/05/1926	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hans Pfitzner Overture zu »Christelflein« op. 20 (1906); Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 4 c-moll D 417 »Tragische« (1816); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878)	Programme: Hans Pfitzner Overture zu »Christelflein« op. 20 (1906); Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 4 c-moll D 417 »Tragische« (1816); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		05/05/1926	19:00	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Pfitzner, Overture zur "Das Christ-Elllein"; Schubert, Symphony No.4; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Hans Pfitzner Overture zu »Christelflein« op. 20 (1906); Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 4 c-moll D 417 »Tragische« (1816); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	Respighi Pini di Roma instead of Schubert. Otherwise as in column K	
Mahler	No.10		13/05/1926	19:00	Ordentliches Konzert / 7 Mahler-Zyklus	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler, "Adagio" and "Scerzo" from Symphony No.10 in einer Bearbeitung von Jockl/Alma Mahler; Mahler, "Kindertotenlieder" song cycle; Pause; Joseph Marx, "Symphonische Nachtmusik" for large orchestra	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 10 Fis-Dur · · Kindertotenlieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert · · — Pause — · Joseph Marx Symphonische Nachtmusik (Erstaufführung in Wien)	Musikverein Archive	As in column L	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.2		08/08/1926	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Henryk Wieniawski, Concerto for violin and orchestra no.2; Schubert, "Die Allmacht", Bearbeitung Felix Mottl; Gluck, Arie des Orpheus aus der Oper "Orpheus und Eurydike"; Ignaz Brüll, Drei Intermezzi op.99; Johan Strauss II, "Künstlerleben" Walzer op.316				
Brahms	No.4		29/08/1926	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Martin Spörr	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ignaz Brüll, Overture pathétique op.98; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Mendelssohn, Concerto for piano and orchestra no.1; Liszt, "Der Tanz in der Dorfschenke", Mephisto-Walzer, Episode aus Lenau's "Faust"				
Mahler	No.5		07/09/1926	20:00			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Schumann, Symphony No.4; Chopin, Concerto for piano and orchestra no.2; Mahler, "Adagietto" from Symphony No.5; Liszt, Hungarian Rhapsodie No.1				
Bruckner	No.1		05/10/1926	19:00	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 1 * Zum Gedächtnis an Carl Maria von Weber, Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (18. Dezember 1786 - 5. Juni 1826); Worte des Gedenkens	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture zur "Oberon"; Weber, Concerto for Piano and Orchestra no.1; Bruckner, Symphony No.1 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)	Programme: Zum Gedächtnis an Carl Maria von Weber, Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (18. Dezember 1786 - 5. Juni 1826); Worte des Gedenkens: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur romantischen Oper „Oberon“, Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 11 — Pause — Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.5		08/10/1926	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Felix M. Gatz	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Der 150. Psalm für Sopran, Chor und Orchester (1892), Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878)	Programme: Anton Bruckner Der 150. Psalm für Sopran, Chor und Orchester (1892), Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		16/10/1926	15:00	1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Largo; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C Major, op. 21; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Georg Friedrich Händel Largo aus der Oper „Sese“ · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive	As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		17/10/1926	12:30	1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Largo; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C Major, op. 21; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Georg Friedrich Händel Largo aus der Oper „Sese“ · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.9		17/10/1926	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896), Te Deum (1881-1884), Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		21/10/1926	19:00	Ordentliches Konzert/2 Richard Strauss-Zyklus	Verein Wiener Tölkunstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Richard Strauss, "Macbeth" Tondichtung; R.Strauss, "Paregon zur Symphonia Domestica" Klavierkonzert für die linke Hand; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Richard Strauss Macbeth. Tondichtung nach dem Drama von Shakespeare für großes Orchester, op. 23 · · · „Paregon“ zur Sinfonia Domestica. Konzert für Klavier (linke Hand) und Orchester · · · — Pause — Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.2		26/10/1926	19:00	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll · · · Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive	As in column K	
Bruckner	No.3		26/10/1926	19:00	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 (Fassung 1877); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll · · · Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive	As in column K	
Brahms	No.1		01/11/1926	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Bernhard Paumgartner	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, "Coriolan" Overture c-moll op.62; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Mahler, "Kinderotenlieder", Liederzyklus; R.Strauss, "Tod und Verklärung" Tondichtung for large orchestra op.24				
Brahms	No.1		06/11/1926	19:00	Erstes außerordentliches Konzert des Wiener Konzertvereines; Infolge Verhinderung des Herrn Prof. Dirk Fock hat Herr Ignaz Neumark die Leitung des Konzertes übernommen		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Ignaz Neumark	Orchester des Wiener Konzertvereines	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Béla Bartók Rhapsodie op. 1 (Fassung für Klavier und Orchester) (1904 ?); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867)	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Béla Bartók Rhapsodie op. 1 (Fassung für Klavier und Orchester) (1904 ?); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Erstes außerordentliches Konzert des Wiener Konzertvereines; Infolge Verhinderung des Herrn Prof. Dirk Fock hat Herr Ignaz Neumark die Leitung des Konzertes übernommen. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		14/11/1926	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener Tölkunstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Schubert, Symphony No.4; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Sinfonie-Konzert (Meister oer Romantik): Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 4 c-Moll, D 417, „Tragische“ · · · Chöre, eingerichtet für dreistimmigen Knabenchor von Professor Heinrich Müller · · · Conradin Kreutzer Schon die Abendglocken klangen. Abendchor aus „Das Nachtlager von Granada“ · · · Robert Schumann Der Wassermann · · · Carl Maria von Weber Lützows wilde Jagd · · · Robert Schumann Zigeunerleben · · · Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Elfenchor · · · — Pause — · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, WAB 104 „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive	As in column L.	
Bruckner	No.4		23/11/1926	19:00	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Symphony No.2; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 36 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive	As in column K	

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		26/11/1926	19:30	Erstes Komitee-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Felix M. Gatz	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	E. T. A. Hoffmann Ouverture zu »Undine«; Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Max von Schillings Das Erntefest (Moloch) (1906); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: E. T. A. Hoffmann Ouverture zu »Undine«; Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Max von Schillings Das Erntefest (Moloch) (1906); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Erstes Komitee-Konzert. Presented by: Komitee zur Förderung reichsdeutscher Kunst in Wien	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		07/12/1926	19:00	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, Symphonie for 2 flutes and string-orchestra; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)	Johann Sebastian Bach Passacaglia und Doppelfuge c-Moll · · Wilhelm Friedemann Bach Symphonie für zwei Flöten und Streichorchester · · Anton BrucknerSymphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive	As in column L	
Bruckner	No.3		17/12/1926	19:00	Zweites außerordentliches Konzert des Wiener Konzertvereines	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77 (1877–1878); Franz Liszt Ungarische Rhapsodie Nr. 1 cis-moll S 244/1 (Bearbeitung für Orchester) (1846–1851)	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889); Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77 (1877–1878); Franz Liszt Ungarische Rhapsodie Nr. 1 cis-moll S 244/1 (Bearbeitung für Orchester) (1846–1851). Note: Zweites außerordentliches Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive	As in column K	
Brahms	No.3		01/01/1927		Radio Concert		Ravag	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Hebrides") or „Die Fingalshöhe“ ("Fingal's Cave"), op. 26; Luigi Mancinelli Venezianische Szene (Flucht der Liebenden nach Chioggia); Felix Weingartner Dame Kobold, Walzer; Hector Berlioz Tanz der Erlichter aus "Fausts Verdammnis"; Hector Berlioz Sylphen-Tanz aus "Fausts Verdammnis"; Hector Berlioz Rákóczy March from "La Damnation de Faust", op. 24; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90				
Bruckner	No.6		04/01/1927	19:00	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 5	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Symphony No.8; Bruckner, Symphony No.6	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		09/01/1927	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Ludwig van Beethoven, "Ah perfido!", Szene und Arie for Soprano with Begleitung des Orchesters op.65; Dvorak, Concerto for cello and orchestra op.104; Emmanuel Chabrier, "España" Rhapsodie for orchestra				
Brahms	No.1		11/01/1927	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67; Joseph Marx Eine Herbstsymphonie H-Dur; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67; Joseph Marx Eine Herbstsymphonie H-Dur; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		12/01/1927	19:00	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) – Ludwig van Beethoven-Zyklus		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67; Joseph Marx Eine Herbstsymphonie H-Dur; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67; Joseph Marx Eine Herbstsymphonie H-Dur; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) – Ludwig van Beethoven-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		15/01/1927		Concert of the Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna, Außerordentliches Konzert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Symphonie Nr. 3 in a-Moll, op. 56, "Schottische"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Symphonie Nr. 3 a-Moll, op. 56 „Schottische“ · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		16/01/1927		Concert of the Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna, Außerordentliches Konzert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Symphonie Nr. 3 in a-Moll, op. 56, "Schottische"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Symphonie Nr. 3 a-Moll, op. 56 „Schottische“ · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.4		16/01/1927	16:30	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener Tölkunstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath, Ignaz Leo Weber	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	"Japanisches Regnen!" for Gesang und Orchester; J.Marx, "Marienlied" for high voice and orchestra; J.Marx, "Und gestern hat er mit Rosen gebracht" for high voice and orchestra; Pause; H.Wolf, "Der Feuerreiter" Ballade for choir and orchestra; H.Wolf, "Christnacht" Hymn for choir, soli and orchestra; Bruckner, "Psalm 112" for mixed doublechoir and large orchestra	Österreichische Meister: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur · · Joseph Marx Japanisches Regnen! · Marienlied · Und gestern hat er mir Rosen gebracht · — Pause — Hugo Wolf Der Feuerreiter · Christnacht · · Anton Bruckner 112. Psalm	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.4		16/01/1927	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; Wilhelm Kienzl, "Bonapartes Heimkehr" for baritone and orchestra nach einem Gedicht von Richard Wagner op.48; W.Kienzl, "Don Quixotes phantastischer Austritt und seine traurige Heimkehr" from the musical tragic-comedy "Don Quixote"; W.Kienzl, Lieder mit Orchester 2; W.Kienzl, Zwischenspiel aus dem musikalischen Schauspiel "Der Kuhuereigen"	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901); ***, Anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Wilhelm Kienzl: Wilhelm Kienzl Bonapartes Heimkehr (EA), Don Quixotes phantastischer Austritt und seine traurige Heimkehr. Symphonische Zwischenspiele op. 50 für großes Orchester (1898), Maria auf dem Berge, Sandmännchen, Der Mutter Wiegenlied, Meine Lust ist Leben! op. 44/4, Mai op. 73/5, Zwischenspiel (Der Kuhuereigen op. 85) (1911). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		28/01/1927	19:30		Wiener Oratorienvereinigung	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Jugendkonzert · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.2		29/01/1927	19:30		Wiener Oratorienvereinigung	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nilius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Jugendkonzert · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		04/02/1927	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No.3; Ravel, "Daphnis et Chloé" suite No.2; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				
Bruckner	No.3		06/02/1927	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener Tölkunstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath, Erich Wolfgang Korngold	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Pause; Korngold, Suite aus der Musik zu "Viel Lärmen um Nichts" op.11; Korngold, "Einfache Lieder" für Singstimme und Orchester op.9; Korngold, "Glück des mir verblieb" Marietas Lied aus der Oper "Die tote Stadt" op.12; Brahms, Akademische Festouvertüre op.80	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll · · · Erich Wolfgang Korngold Suite aus der Musik zu „Viel Lärmen um nichts“, op. 11 · Sommer, op. 9/6 · Liebesbriefchen, op. 9/4 · Marietas Lied aus der Oper „Die tote Stadt“ · · Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre c-Moll, op. 80	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		08/02/1927	19:00	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 6	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mozart, Symphony No.40; Bruckner, Symphony No.7	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-Moll · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		20/02/1927		Radio Concert		Ravag	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Wagner <i>Lohengrin prelude</i> ; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1889); Richard Wagner <i>Overture to the Opera "Tannhäuser"</i>				
Bruckner	No.8		22/02/1927	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811-1812); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		23/02/1927	19:00	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) – Beethoven-Zyklus Abonnement Konzert Sym7	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811-1812); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) – Beethoven-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		01/03/1927	19:00	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 7	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Richard Wagner, Vorspiel zum 1. Akt des Bühnenweihfestspiels "Parsifal"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum Bühnenweihfestspiel „Parsifal“ · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		03/03/1927	19:00	Ordentliches Konzert / 6 / Richard Strauss-Zyklus	Verein Wiener Tölkunstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Liszt, Concerto for piano and orchestra Nr.2; Pause; R. Strauss, "Don Quixote, Fantastische Variationen über ein Thema ritterlichen Charakters", Tondichtung für grosses Orchester op.35	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur · · — Pause — · Richard Strauss Don Quixote. Fantastische Variationen über ein Thema ritterlichen Charakters, op. 35	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		05/03/1927		8th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 8	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 in F Major, op. 93; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		06/03/1927		8th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 in F Major, op. 93; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		06/03/1927	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, "Carillon" Overture c-moll op.62; Ludwig van Beethoven, Arie der Leonore aus der Oper "Fidelio"; Franz Moser, Scherzo op.43; Max Bruch, Concerto for violin and orchestra Nr.1; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3				
Bruckner	No.6		03/04/1927		Extraordinary Concert/ Charity	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Ouverture zur Namensfeier</i> , op. 115; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Concerto for Piano and Orchestra No. 5 in E-flat Major</i> , op. 73; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 6 in A Major</i> , WAB 106	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture „Zur Namensfeier“ C-Dur, op. 115 · · Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur, op. 73 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		03/04/1927	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Bernhard Paumgartner	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms, Variations for orchestra on a theme by Joseph Haydn; Johannes Brahms Concerto for violin and orchestra; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98				
Bruckner	No.8		04/04/1927	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Dirk Fock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811-1812); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		18/04/1927		Radio Concert		Ravag	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Ouverture zur Namensfeier</i> , op. 115; Antonin Dvořák <i>Waldesruhe f. Cello u. Orch.</i> ; Antonin Dvořák <i>Rondo f. Cello u. Orch.</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Siegfried Idyll</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 6 in A Major</i> , WAB 106				
Bruckner	No.9		26/04/1927	19:00	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 8	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-Moll, D 759, „Unvollendete“ · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		14/09/1927	20:05			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; R. Schumann, Concerto for Piano and Orchestra a-moll; Berlioz, "Le carnaval romain"				
Mahler	No.2		13/10/1927	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Vittorio Gnecci Prolog für Bariton, Chor und Orchester zur Oper "Cassandra"; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Not in Musikverein Archives	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.2		13/10/1927	19:30	Ordentliches Konzert / 1	Wiener Tölkunstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Vittorio Gnecci Prolog für Bariton, Chor und Orchester zur Oper "Cassandra"; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Vittorio Gnecci Prolog zur Oper „Cassandra“ · · — Pause — · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		16/10/1927	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hector Berlioz "Le carnaval romain", Charakteristische Ouvertüre op. 9; Modest Petrowitsch Mussorgski Vorspiel "Morgenstimmung am Flusse Moskwa" aus der Oper "Chowantschina"; Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für zwei Klaviere (Cembal), Streicher und Basso continuo C-Dur BWV 1061; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Hector Berlioz Le carnaval romain. Ouverture caractéristique op. 9 (1844); Modest Mussorgski Vorspiel zum 1. Akt (Chowantschina) »Morgendämmerung am Flusse Moskwa« (Bearbeitung / Instrumentierung: Nikolai Rimski-Korsakow) (1875/1881–1883); Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für zwei Klaviere C-Dur BWV 1061 (1733 um); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		22/10/1927		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Walter Braunfels Präludium und Fuge, op. 36; Igor Strawinsky Pastorale (Wolgalied); Igor Strawinsky Faun und Schäferin, Liederzyklus f. Ges. u. Orch. op. 2; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Walter Braunfels Präludium und Fuge, op. 36 · · Igor Strawinsky Pastorale. Lied ohne Worte · · Faun und Schäferin, op. 2 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		23/10/1927		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Walter Braunfels Präludium und Fuge, op. 36; Igor Strawinsky Pastorale (Wolgalied); Igor Strawinsky Faun und Schäferin, Liederzyklus f. Ges. u. Orch. op. 2; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Walter Braunfels Präludium und Fuge, op. 36 · · Igor Strawinsky Pastorale. Lied ohne Worte · · Faun und Schäferin, op. 2 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		23/10/1927	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Richard Strauss "Morgen" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 4; Richard Strauss "Ständchen" nach Gedichten von Adolf Friedrich Graf von Schack aus Sechs Lieder für hohe Stimme und Klavier op. 17, Nr. 2 (Bearbeitung für Gesang und Orchester: Felix Motil); Joseph Marx Venetianisches Wiegenlied "Nina Ninana" für mittlere Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Joseph Marx "Hat dich die Liebe berührt" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Bedrich Smetana "Vltava" ("Die Moldau") aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland"); Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Peter Cornelius Ouverture D-Dur zu »Der Barbier von Bagdad« (1855-1859); Richard Strauss Morgen op. 27/4 (Vier Lieder) (1894), Ständchen op. 17/2 »Mach auf, mach auf, doch leise mein Kind« (1885-1887); Joseph Marx Nina Ninana, Hat dich die Liebe berührt (Italienisches Liederbuch) (1908); Bedrich Smetana Vltava »Die Moldau«, Symphonische Dichtung T 111 (Má vlast »Mein Vaterland«) (1874); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		30/10/1927	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener Tölkunstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Manzer	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77; Richard Strauss "Cäcilie" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 2; Camillo Horn Wallada; Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für 2 Violinen, Streicher und Basso continuo d-moll BWV 1043; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper „Der Freischütz“ · · · Richard Strauss Cäcilie, op. 27/2 · · Camillo Horn Wallada · · Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für zwei Violinen, Streicher und Basso continuo d-Moll, BWV 1043 · · — Pause — · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		08/11/1927	19:30	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Schmecker Vorspiel zur Oper „Die Gezeichneten“, Hans Pfitzner Zwei Gesänge für Bariton und Orchester; Hans Pfitzner Vorspiel zum 1. Akt der musikalischen Legende "Palestrina"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Franz Schmecker Vorspiel zu der Oper „Die Gezeichneten“ · · · Hans Pfitzner An den Mond, op. 18 · · Lethe, op. 37 · · Vorspiel zu der musikalischen Legende „Palestrina“ · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		27/11/1927	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener Tölkunstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Pawliskowsky	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre op. 80; Karl Meyer-Frenner Zwei Szenen für Gesang und großes Orchester; Johannes Brahms "Schicksalslied" für gemischten Chor und Orchester op. 54; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre c-Moll, op. 80 · · Karl Meyer-Frenner Dir (Uraufführung) · Vom Walde (Uraufführung) · · Johannes Brahms Schicksalslied, op. 54 · · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		29/11/1927	19:30	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johann Sebastian Bach Fantasie und Fuge g-moll BWV 542 (1708–1723); Antonio Vivaldi Concerto a-moll RV 161 für Streicher und Basso continuo; ***; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Fantasie und Fuge g-moll BWV 542 (1708–1723); Antonio Vivaldi Concerto a-moll RV 161 für Streicher und Basso continuo; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		30/11/1927	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym2	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Antonio Vivaldi Concerto grosso für Streichinstrumente a-moll RV 161; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Fantasie und Fuge g-moll BWV 542 (1708–1723); Antonio Vivaldi Concerto a-moll RV 161 für Streicher und Basso continuo; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Mittwoch-Zyklus. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		04/12/1927		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Erich Kleiber	Wiener Philharmoniker	Henry Purcell Suite für Streichorch. , zus. gest. v. A. Bliss; Alexander Glazunow Violin-Konzert a-Moll, op. 82; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Wohlfahrtsleistungen der Wiener Philharmoniker · Henry Purcell Suite für Streichorchester; zusammengestellt von Arthur Bliss · · Alexander Konstantinowitsch Glasunow Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-Moll, op. 82 · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.3		04/12/1927	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Karl Goldmark "Sakuntala", Overtüre op. 13; Christoph Willibald Gluck "Vernehm mich, ihr Töchter der Nacht!", Sopran-Arie aus der musikalischen Tragödie "Alceste"; Hermann Goetz Arie der Katharina aus der komischen Oper "Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung"; Josef Mayseder Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 2 E-Dur; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Carl Goldmark Overture zu »Sakuntala« op. 13 (1865); Christoph Willibald Gluck Divinité du Styx »Ihr Götter ew'ger Nacht« (Arie der Alceste aus »Alceste«) (1767); Hermann Goetz Die Kraft versagt (Arie der Katharina aus »Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung«) (1872); Joseph Mayseder Concertino Nr. 2 E-Dur für Violine und Orchester; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		06/12/1927	19:30	Sonder-Abonnement-Konzert / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Tripelstufe in Es · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.1		08/01/1928		Special Concert	Konzertdirektion Georg Kugel	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 1 in D Major</i> ; Johann Sebastian Bach Chaconne; Franz Liszt <i>Piano Concerto No. 1, E-flat major</i> ; Richard Strauss, <i>Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks)</i> , op. 28	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur · · · Johann Sebastian Bach Chaconne · · · Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 Es-Dur · · · Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche nach alter Schelmenweise in Rondeauform für Orchester, op. 28	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		08/01/1928	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Karl Goldmark "Der gefesselte Prometheus", Ouvertüre op. 38; Johannes Brahms "Schicksalslied" für gemischten Chor und Orchester op. 54; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	IV. Orchesterkonzert: Dem Andenken Engelbert Pernertorfers · Karl Goldmark Overture zum „Gefesselten Prometheus“ · Worte der Erinnerung · · Johannes Brahms Schicksalslied, op. 54 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		10/01/1928	19:30	Öffentliche Generalprobe		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Arthur Honegger Ouvertüre aus der Bühnenmusik "La Tempête" zu Shakespeares "Der Sturm" H 48; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 36 C-Dur KV 425 "Linzer"; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Arthur Honegger Ouverture zu »Der Sturm« (Shakespeare) (1923) (EA); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie C-Dur K 425 »Linzer Symphonie« (1783); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		11/01/1928	19:30	Mittwoch-Zyklus; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Arthur Honegger Ouvertüre aus der Bühnenmusik "La Tempête" zu Shakespeares "Der Sturm" H 48; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 36 C-Dur KV 425 "Linzer"; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Arthur Honegger Ouverture zu »Der Sturm« (Shakespeare) (1923); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie C-Dur K 425 »Linzer Symphonie« (1783); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885). Note: Mittwoch-Zyklus; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.8		26/01/1928	19:00	Öffentliche Generalprobe		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Paul von Klenau	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.8		27/01/1928	19:00	Subscription series: Chor-Konzerte		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Paul von Klenau	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Subscription series: Chor-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		29/01/1928	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Bernhard Paumgartner	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	François Couperin Suite für Orchester; Richard Strauss "Die heiligen drei Könige" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 56 Nr. 6; Richard Strauss Nachtschmerz; Richard Strauss "Morgen" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 4; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur				
Mahler	No.8		30/01/1928	19:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Paul von Klenau	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		11/02/1928		5th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Wagner <i>Eine Faust-Ouverture</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Siegfried Idyll</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major</i> , WAB 105	Richard Wagner „Eine Faust-Ouverture“ d-Moll · Siegfried-Idyll · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		12/02/1928		5th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Wagner <i>Eine Faust-Ouverture</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Siegfried Idyll</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major</i> , WAB 105	Richard Wagner „Eine Faust-Ouverture“ d-Moll · Siegfried-Idyll · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		23/02/1928	19:30	Außerordentliches Konzert / 2	Verein Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Richard Strauss <i>Also sprach Zarathustra</i> , <i>Einleitung</i> und nach Friedrich Nietzsche für großes Orchester op. 30; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58; Pause; Max von Oberleitner "Feueridyll", Melodram für einen Sprecher und Orchester nach einem Text von Heinrich Glücksmann; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Richard Strauss <i>Also sprach Zarathustra</i> , <i>Einleitung</i> und frei nach Friedrich Nietzsche für großes Orchester, op. 30 · · Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur, op. 58 · · — Pause — · Max Oberleitner Feueridyll. Melodram für Sprecher und Orchester · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		25/02/1928		6th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 6	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Hector Berlioz <i>Le carnaval romain</i> . Ouverture caractéristique, op. 9; Igor Stravinsky <i>Petruschka</i> , Suite, 1911; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Hector Berlioz Le Carnaval Romain. Ouverture, op. 9 · · Igor Stravinsky Petruschka. Konzertfassung · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		26/02/1928		6th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Hector Berlioz <i>Le carnaval romain</i> . Ouverture caractéristique, op. 9; Igor Stravinsky <i>Petruschka</i> , Suite, 1911; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Hector Berlioz Le Carnaval Romain. Ouverture, op. 9 · · Igor Stravinsky Petruschka. Konzertfassung · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Musikverein Archive		NWJ 27.02.1928

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.7		26/02/1928	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert; Hugo Wolf-Gedenkfeier anlässlich des 25. Todestages (22. Februar)	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan", Ouvertüre c-moll op. 62; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107; Richard Wagner "Siegfrieds Rheinfahrt" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D; Pause; Hugo Wolf Vorspiel und Zwischenaktmusik aus der Oper "Der Corregidor"; Hugo Wolf "Mignon", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Goethe; Hugo Wolf "Gebet", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf "In dem Schatten meiner Locken" aus "Spanisches Liederbuch"; Hugo Wolf "Gesang Weylas", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf "Verborgenheit", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf "Elfenlied" aus dem "Sommernachtstraum" für Sopran, Frauenchor und Orchester nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf "Der Feuerreiter", Ballade für Chor und Orchester nach einem Text von Eduard Mörike	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture c-moll zu «Coriolan» op. 62 (1807); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (2. Satz: Andante »Trauermusik«) (1881–1883); Richard Wagner Siegfrieds Rheinfahrt (Götterdämmerung) (1869–1874); ***; Hugo Wolf Vorspiel und Zwischenspiel (Der Corregidor) (1895); Mignon (Goethe-Lieder Nr. 9) »Kennt du das Land« (Bearbeitung für Sopran und Orchester) (1888); Gebet (Mörike-Lieder Nr. 28) (Bearbeitung für Sopran und Orchester) (1888); In dem Schatten meiner Locken (Spanisches Liederbuch, Weltliche Lieder Nr. 2) (Bearbeitung für Sopran und Orchester) (1889); Gesang Weylas (Mörike-Lieder Nr. 46) (Bearbeitung für Sopran und Orchester) (1888); Verborgenheit (Mörike-Lieder Nr. 12) (1888); Elfenlied für Sopran, Bariton, vierstimmigen Frauenchor und Orchester (1889–1891); Der Feuerreiter. Ballade für Chor und großes Orchester nach E. Mörike (1888–1892). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert; Hugo Wolf-Gedenkfeier anlässlich des 25. Todestages (22. Februar). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		26/02/1928	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77; Erich Wolfgang Korngold Suite aus der Musik zu "Viel Lärm um Nichts" op. 11; Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert für Violoncello und Streichorchester g-moll in einer Bearbeitung von Robert Emil Bockmühl; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				
Bruckner	No.6		28/02/1928	19:30	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 95 c-moll Hob.195; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Peter Cornelius Ouverture D-Dur zu »Der Barbier von Bagdad« (1855-1858); Joseph Haydn Symphonie c-moll Hob. 195 (1791); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		29/02/1928	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnemement Konzert Sym/6	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 95 c-moll Hob.195; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Peter Cornelius Ouverture D-Dur zu »Der Barbier von Bagdad« (1855-1858); Joseph Haydn Symphonie c-moll Hob. 195 (1791); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Note: Mittwoch-Zyklus; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		08/03/1928	19:30	Ordentliches Konzert / 6	Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillus	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum 1. Akt des Bühnenweihfestspiels "Parsifal" WWV 111; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner "Psalm 150" für Sopran, gemischten Chor und Orchester WAB 38	Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum Bühnenweihfestspiel „Parsifal“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll · 150. Psalm	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		09/03/1928	19:30	Monstre Concert	Verein Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3; Richard Strauss Eine Alpensinfonie (An Alpine Symphony), op. 64; Giacomo Meyerbeer Der Prophet; Krönungsmarsch	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3; Richard Strauss Eine Alpensinfonie (An Alpine Symphony), op. 64; Giacomo Meyerbeer Der Prophet; Krönungsmarsch	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		09/03/1928	19:30	Monstre Concert	Verein Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3; Richard Strauss Eine Alpensinfonie (An Alpine Symphony), op. 64; Giacomo Meyerbeer Der Prophet; Krönungsmarsch	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3; Richard Strauss Eine Alpensinfonie (An Alpine Symphony), op. 64; Giacomo Meyerbeer Der Prophet; Krönungsmarsch	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		11/03/1928	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Theodor Christoph	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Artur Henneberg Konzert für Klavier und Orchester b-moll; Carl Frühling "Gesang Buddhas" für Bariton und Bläserorchester op. 59; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Oberon“ · · Artur Henneberg Konzert für Klavier und Orchester b - Moll, op. 8 · · Carl Frühling Gesang Buddhas (Uraufführung) · · — Pause — · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		KVZ 11.03.1928; RF 11.03.1928
Bruckner	No.6		13/03/1928	19:30	Sonder-Abonnemement-Konzert / 6 Memorial Gala for Gustav Mahler/ Charity	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Henri Joseph Rigel Symphonie D-Dur; Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin op. 128; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Henri-Joseph Riegel Symphonie D-Dur (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.2		17/03/1928				Operntheater (Vienna, Austria)	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Das klagende Lied. Kantate für Solisten, Chor u. Orch.; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll				
Bruckner	No.7		14/04/1928		Nicolai Concert Außerordentliches Konzert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5, D-Dur, BWV 1050; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5, D-Dur, BWV 1050 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur. Remarks: Konzert zugunsten des Vereines Nicolai, Krankenkasse der Mitglieder des	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		15/04/1928		Nicolai Concert Außerordentliches Konzert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5, D-Dur, BWV 1050; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5, D-Dur, BWV 1050 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur. Remarks: Konzert zugunsten des Vereines Nicolai, Krankenkasse der Mitglieder des	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.7		17/04/1928	19:30	Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hans Pfitzner Ouvertüre aus der Musik zu Kleists "Das Käthchen von Heilbronn" op. 17; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 38 D-Dur KV 504 "Prager"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Hans Pfitzner Ouvertüre zu »Das Käthchen von Heilbronn« op. 17 (1905); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur K 504 »Prager Symphonie« (1786); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		18/04/1928	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert SymB	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hans Pfitzner Ouvertüre aus der Musik zu Kleists "Das Käthchen von Heilbronn" op. 17; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 38 D-Dur KV 504 "Prager"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Hans Pfitzner Ouvertüre zu »Das Käthchen von Heilbronn« op. 17 (1905); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur K 504 »Prager Symphonie« (1786); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Mittwoch-Zyklus; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		20/04/1928	19:30	115. Jugendkonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendete« (1822); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1867-1896). Note: 115. Jugendkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		21/04/1928	19:30	116. Jugendkonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendete« (1822); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1867-1896). Note: 116. Jugendkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		06/05/1928	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 h-moll op. 90; Franz Schmidt Konzertante Variationen über ein Thema von Ludwig van Beethoven für Klavier und Orchester F-Dur in einer Bearbeitung von Friedrich Wührer; Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von W. A. Mozart op. 132; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper "Fidelio" op. 68				
Mahler	No.2		02/10/1928	19:30	Kunsterziehlche Veranstaltungen der Volksstelle des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht	Volksbildung	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Selim Palmgren Konzert für Klavier und Orchester; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Selim Palmgren Konzert für Klavier und Orchester · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.2		04/10/1928	19:30		Wiener Oratorienvereinigung	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Nillius	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Selim Palmgren Konzert für Klavier und Orchester; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Selim Palmgren Konzert für Klavier und Orchester · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		07/10/1928	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107; Pause; Richard Wagner "Wotans Abschied" und "Feuerzauber" aus der Oper "Die Walküre" WWV 86B; Richard Strauss "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 TrV 158	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881–1883); ***; Richard Wagner Leb' wohl, du kühnes herrliches Kind (Wotans Abschied und Feuerzauber aus »Die Walküre«) (1852–1856); Richard Strauss Tod und Verklärung. Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 (1888–1889). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		09/10/1928	19:30	Orchester-Symphonie-Konzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op. 81 / 291; Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Violine und Orchester h-moll op. 34; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe"; op. 81 · · Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Violine und Orchester h-Moll, op. 34 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		21/10/1928	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan", Ouvertüre c-moll op. 62; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Franz Liszt "Ungarische Fantasie" für Klavier und Orchester; Richard Wagner "Vorspiel zum 3. Akt", "Tanz der Lehrbuben" und "Aufzug der Meistersinger" aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture c-moll zu »Coriolan« op. 62 (1807); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; ***; Franz Liszt Fantasie über ungarische Volksmelodien S 123 für Klavier und Orchester (1852 ?); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum 3. Akt (Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg) »Tanz der Lehrbuben und Aufzug der Meister« (1862-1867). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		21/10/1928	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Hugo Reichenberger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für Violine, Streicher und Basso continuo E-Dur BWV 1042; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy "Capriccio brillant" für Klavier und Orchester h-moll op. 22; Paul Dukas "L'apprenti sorcier" ("Der Zauberlehrling"), symphonisches Scherzo für Orchester; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Brahms	No.1		01/11/1928	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Theodor Christoph	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms "Fräulein Overture" für Orchester h-moll op. 81; Gustav Mahler "Kindertotenlieder", Liederzyklus nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Richard Strauss "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 TrV 158				
Mahler	No.9		06/11/1928	19:30	Orchester-Symphonie-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Georg Christoph Wagenseil Symphonie D-Dur; Alban Berg "Sieben frühe Lieder" für hohe Stimme und Orchester (Uraufführung); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur	Georg Christoph Wagenseil Symphonie D-Dur (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Alban Berg Sieben frühe Lieder · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		08/11/1928	19:30	Abonnement-Konzert / 2	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz von Hoesslin	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 6 C-Dur D 589; Louis Spohr Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 8 a-moll op. 47 "In Form einer Gesangsszene"; Ottorino Respighi "Poema Autunnale" ("Herbstgedicht") für Violine und Orchester; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 6 C-Dur, D 589, „Kleine C-Dur Symphonie“ · · Louis Spohr Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 8 a-Moll, op. 47 („In Form einer Gesangsszene“) · · Ottorino Respighi Poema Autunnale (Herbstgedicht) · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.2		11/11/1928	00:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Republik-Feier · Arnold Schönberg Friede auf Erden, op. 13 · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Musikverein Archive		S 11.11.1928; RF 11.11.1928; NWJ 11.11.1928
Bruckner	No.3		12/11/1928		Radio Concert		Ravag	Robert Heger	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Liszt Fest-Klänge. Symphonische Dichtung; Ludwig van Beethoven Concerto for Violin and Orchestra in D Major, op. 61; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3				

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Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.2		12/11/1928	00:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Erwin Stein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Republik-Feier · Arnold Schönberg Friede auf Erden, op. 13 · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		M 13.11.1928
Bruckner	No.4		02/12/1928	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77; Edvard Grieg Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 16; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Freischütz" 1277 (1817–1821); Edvard Grieg Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 16 (1868); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		02/12/1928	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Dmitri Schostakowitsch Symphonie Nr. 1 f-moll op. 10; Hermann Ambrosius Konzert für Violine und Orchester; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90				
Brahms	No.2		04/12/1928	19:30	Orchester-Symphonie-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73 ; Richard Strauss "Don Quixote, Fantastische Variationen über ein Thema ritterlichen Charakters", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 35 TrV 184; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73 · · Richard Strauss Don Quixote. Fantastische Variationen über ein Thema ritterlichen Charakters, op. 35 · · Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 3, op. 72a	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.4		05/12/1928	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy "Die Hebriden" oder "Die Fingalshöhle", Konzertouvertüre op. 26; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 20 d-moll KV 466; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Programme: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Ouverture »Die Hebriden / Fingalshöhle« op. 26 (1829-1833); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester d-moll K 466 (1785); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		08/12/1928		2nd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 2	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 1 in C Major</i> , op. 21; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		09/12/1928		2nd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 1 in C Major</i> , op. 21; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.5		10/12/1928	20:30			RAVAG Wien	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Georg Christoph Wagenseil Symphonie D-Dur; Hugo Wolf "Italienische Serenade" für kleines Orchester; Gustav Mahler "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 35 D-Dur KV 385 "Haffner"; Erich Wolfgang Korngold Sopran-Arie aus der Oper "Das Wunder der Heliane" op. 20; Franz Schmidt Zwischenspiel aus der romantischen Oper "Notre Dame" <i>Notre-Dame-Ouverture</i> zur Oper "Der Kain der von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Max von Oberleitner "Feueridyll", Melodram für einen Sprecher und Orchester nach einem Text von Heinrich Glücksmann; Max von Schillings "Hexenlied" für Sprecher und Orchester op. 15; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper „Der Barbier von Bagdad“ · · Max Oberleitner Feueridyll. Melodram für Sprecher und Orchester · · Max Schillings Das Hexenlied von Ernst von Wildenspruch mit begleitender Musik für Orchester, op. 15 · · — Pause — · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“			
Bruckner	No.4		16/12/1928	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Julius Katay	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Euryanthe"; Claude Debussy Trois Nocturnes, "Nuages" et "Fêtes"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Euryanthe“, op. 81 · · Claude Debussy Nuages · · Fêtes · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		22/12/1928		3rd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 3	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Euryanthe"; Claude Debussy Trois Nocturnes, "Nuages" et "Fêtes"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Euryanthe“, op. 81 · · Claude Debussy Nuages · · Fêtes · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		23/12/1928		3rd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Euryanthe"; Claude Debussy Trois Nocturnes, "Nuages" et "Fêtes"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Euryanthe“, op. 81 · · Claude Debussy Nuages · · Fêtes · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		30/12/1928	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Dmitri Schostakowitsch Symphonie Nr. 1 f-moll op. 10; Hermann Ambrosius Konzert für Violine und Orchester; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90				
Bruckner	No.8		03/01/1929	19:30	Abonnement-Konzert / 4	Wiener Tonkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hermann Abendroth	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner, Te Deum; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Anton Bruckner Te Deum · · — Pause — · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		06/01/1929	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Brahms, Akademische Festouvertüre; Beethoven, Concerto for piano and orchestra no.4; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"				
Mahler	No.5		06/01/1929	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Overture no.3 zur Leonore; J.S.Bach, Concerto for Cambalo, Flute, Violin, Strings and Basso Continuo a-moll; Mahler, Adagietto aus der Symphony No.5; Pause; Friedrich Robert Volkmann, Concerto for Cello and Orchestra; R.Strauss, "Don Juan" tonepoem	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonoren-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805–1806); Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für Flöte, Violine, Cembalo, Streicher und Basso continuo a-moll BWV 1044 (1730 nach?); Gustav Mahler Adagietto (Symphonie Nr. 5) (1901–1902); ***; Robert Volkmann Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester a-moll op. 33; Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		08/01/1929	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wolf, "Penthesilea" Symphonic poem; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Hugo Wolf Penthesilea, Symphonische Dichtung (1883); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.5		09/01/1929	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wolf, "Penthesilea" Symphonic poem; Berlioz, "Les nuits d'été" op.7; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Hugo Wolf Penthesilea. Symphonische Dichtung (1883); Hector Berlioz Le spectre de la rose op. 7/2 (Les nuits d'été) (1840–1841), Absence op. 7/4 (Les nuits d'été) (1840–1841), Sur les lagunes op. 7/3 (Les nuits d'été) (1840–1841), L'île inconnue op. 7/6 (Les nuit d'été) (1840–1841); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875–1878). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		20/01/1929	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Adam Szpák	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mahler, Symphony No.1; Pause; Mendelssohn, Concerto for violin and orchestra e-moll; R.Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche" Symphonic poem	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur · · · Pause · · · Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert für Violine und Orchester e-Moll, op. 64 · · · Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche nach alter Schelmenweise in Rondeauforn für Orchester, op. 28	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.2		24/01/1929	19:30	Abonnement-Konzert / 5	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Josef Rosenstock	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b; Sergij E. Bortkiewicz Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 B-Dur op. 16; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 3, op. 72a · · · Sergel Eduardowitsch Bortkiewicz Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 B-Dur, op. 16 · · · Pause · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.4		09/02/1929	11:10			RAVAG Wien	Erwin Stein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus", Ouvertüre op. 43a; Alfredo Casella "Scarlattiana", Divertimento für Klavier und kleines Orchester op. 44; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur				
Bruckner	No.9		12/02/1929	00:00	Orchester-Symphonie-Konzert / 6	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ottorino Respighi "Gli Uccelli" ("Die Vögel"), symphonische Dichtung; Antonin Dvorák Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-moll op. 104; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Ottorino Respighi Gli uccelli. Suite für kleines Orchester („Die Vögel“) · · · Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-Moll, op. 104 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.1		16/02/1929		5th Subscription Concert, Öffentliches Generalprobe / 5	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel <i>Concerto grosso, d-Moll, op. 6, Nr. 10</i> ; Ottorino Respighi <i>Antiche danze ed arie per liuto</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 1 in D Major</i>	Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert für Streichorchester, zwei obligate Violinen und obligates Violoncello d-Moll, · · · Ottorino Respighi Antiche arie e danze per liuto. Suite Nr. 2 für Orchester · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.1		17/02/1929		5th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel <i>Concerto grosso, d-Moll, op. 6, Nr. 10</i> ; Ottorino Respighi <i>Antiche danze ed arie per liuto</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 1 in D Major</i>	Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert für Streichorchester, zwei obligate Violinen und obligates Violoncello d-Moll, · · · Ottorino Respighi Antiche arie e danze per liuto. Suite Nr. 2 für Orchester · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.4		24/02/1929	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Julius Katay	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Richard Strauss "Don Juan", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 20 TrV 156; Richard Strauss "Freundliche Vision" aus Fünf Lieder nach Gedichten von Otto Julius Bierbaum und Karl Henckel für Singstimme und Orchester op. 48, Nr. 1; Gustav Mahler "Liebst Du um Schönheit" aus Fünf Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Gustav Mahler Drei Orchesterlieder, instrumentiert von Robert Heger; Gustav Mahler "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen", Liederzyklus; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · · Freundliche Vision, op. 48/1 · · · Gustav Mahler Liebst Du um Schönheit · · · Hans und Grete · · · Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen · · · Pause · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		26/02/1929	19:30		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein		Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 91 Es-Dur Hob.I.91; Walter Bricht Konzert für Klavier und Orchester F-Dur; Pause; Max Reger Fantasie und Fuge d-moll; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Programme: Joseph Haydn Symphonie Es-Dur Hob. I/22 »Der Philosoph« (1764); Walter Bricht Konzert für Klavier und Orchester F-Dur (1926) (UA); ***; Max Reger Fantasie und Fuge d-moll op. 135b (1916); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		27/02/1929	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 91 Es-Dur Hob.I.91; Walter Bricht Konzert für Klavier und Orchester F-Dur; Pause; Max Reger Fantasie und Fuge d-moll; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Programme: Joseph Haydn Symphonie Es-Dur Hob. I/22 »Der Philosoph« (1764); Walter Bricht Konzert für Klavier und Orchester F-Dur (1926); ***; Max Reger Fantasie und Fuge d-moll op. 135b (1916); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		09/03/1929	19:30		Universität Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Pawlikowsky	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Oberon“; Hans Pfitzner Das Christelflein. Szene Nr. 10 und 12 aus der Oper (Erstaufführung in Wien); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Orchester-Konzert zu Gunsten der Mensa academica: Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Oberon“ · · · Hans Pfitzner Das Christelflein. Szene Nr. 10 und 12 aus der Oper (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		10/03/1929	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Schwarz	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy "Ruy Blas", Ouvertüre zum Stück von Victor Hugo op. 95; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58; Paul Amadeus Pisk Arbeitersage; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Ouvertüre zu Victor Hugos Drama „Ruy Blas“, op. 95 · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur, op. 58 · Lieder der Arbeit · Paul A. Pisk Arbeiter-Sage · · Beach Auf der Straße · · · Darius Milhaud Lied des Landmanns · · · Batka Vision · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		16/03/1929		7th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 7	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphony [No. 41] in C Major, K. 551 ("Jupiter"); Ernest Bloch Schelomo. Hebräische Rhapsodie f. Solocello u. Orch.; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie C-Dur, KV 551, „Jupiter-Symphonie“ · · · Ernest Bloch Schelomo. Hebräische Rhapsodie für Violoncello und Orchester · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		17/03/1929		7th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphony [No. 41] in C Major, K. 551 ("Jupiter"); Ernest Bloch Schelomo. Hebräische Rhapsodie f. Solocello u. Orch.; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie C-Dur, KV 551, „Jupiter-Symphonie“ · · · Ernest Bloch Schelomo. Hebräische Rhapsodie für Violoncello und Orchester · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		28/03/1929	19:30		Konzertdirektion Georg Kugel	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ossip Gabrilowitsch, Ignaz Neumark	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur, op. 83	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68 · · · Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur, op. 83	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.3		31/03/1929	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Richard Wagner Glocken- und Gralszene aus dem Bühnenweihfestspiel "Parsifal" WVV 111; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Richard Wagner Glocken- und Gralszene (Parsifal) (1877–1882); Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77 (1877–1878); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		07/04/1929	19:30	Chorkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Arnold Schönberg Friede auf Erden op. 13 für gemischten Chor a cappella (1907); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Arnold Schönberg Friede auf Erden op. 13 für gemischten Chor a cappella (1907); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: »Chorkonzert«. Presented by: Gesangverein »Freie Typographia«	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		09/04/1929	19:30	Orchester-Symphonie-Konzert / 8	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre op. 80; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 83; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre c-Moll, op. 80 · · · Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur, op. 83 · · · Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		NWJ 10.04.1929; NFP 11.04.1929
Mahler	No.2		14/04/1929	19:30	Chorkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Arnold Schönberg Friede auf Erden op. 13 für gemischten Chor a cappella (1907); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Arnold Schönberg Friede auf Erden op. 13 für gemischten Chor a cappella (1907); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: »Chorkonzert«. Presented by: Gesangverein »Freie Typographia«	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		15/04/1929		Monstre Concert	Verein Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Wagner <i>Ouv. Rienzi</i> , <i>WV 49</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major</i> , <i>WAB 107</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Overture and Bacchanale from the Opera "Tannhäuser"</i> ; Hector Berlioz <i>Rákóczy March from "La Damnation de Faust"</i> , <i>op. 24</i>				
Bruckner	No.7		15/04/1929	20:00	Monster-Konzert	Verein Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur op. 3 Nr. 6; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107; Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Rienzi" WV 49	Programme: Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zu »Rienzi« (1838–1840); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881–1883); ***; Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zu »Tannhäuser« (1845), Der Venusberg »Bacchanale« (Tannhäuser) (Pariser Fassung) (1845–1867); Hector Berlioz Ungarischer Marsch (La damnation de Faust op. 24) (1846). Note: »Monster-Konzert«. Presented by: Verein Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		16/04/1929	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Armin Hochstetter Thema und Variationen für Solovioline und Streichorchester; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Armin Caspar Hochstetter Thema mit Variationen für Violine und Streichorchester (1925) (UA); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		17/04/1929	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Armin Hochstetter Thema und Variationen für Solovioline und Streichorchester; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Armin Caspar Hochstetter Thema mit Variationen für Violine und Streichorchester (1925); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.7		01/05/1929	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wannem kienzi rhyme nach einem Text von Karl Kienzi, Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 40 g-moll KV 550				
Bruckner	No.4		29/08/1929		Radio Concert		Ravag	Robert Heger	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Overture No. 3 to the Opera "Fidelio"</i> ("Leonora Overture) op. 72b; Gustav Mahler <i>Kindertotenlieder (Songs on the Death of Children - Poems by Rückert)</i> ; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)				
Mahler	No.5		13/09/1929	20:00			RAVAG Wien	Ludwig Kaiser	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek Ouvertüre zur komischen Oper "Donna Diana"; Gustav Mahler "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll; Robert Schumann Konzertstück für Klavier und Orchester G-Dur op. 92; Hans Pfitzner "Blütenwunder" und "Trauermusik" aus der romantischen Oper "Die Rose vom Liebesgarten"; Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 8 C-Dur D 944 "Große C-Dur"				
Bruckner	No.7		08/10/1929	19:30	Orchester-Symphonie-Konzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan", Ouvertüre c-moll op. 62; Josef Haas Variationensuite über ein altes Rokokothema op. 64; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zu dem Trauerspiel „Coriolan“ c-Moll, op. 62 · · · Joseph Haas Variationensuite über ein altes Rokokothema, op. 64 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.5		15/10/1929	19:30	Jugendkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 21; Hugo Wolf "Anakreons Grab" nach einem Text von Goethe; Hugo Wolf "Harfenspieler 1-3" für eine Singstimme und Orchester nach Gedichten von Goethe; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 21 (1799-1800); Hugo Wolf Anakreons Grab (Goethe-Lieder Nr. 29) (1888), Harfenspieler I-III (Goethe-Lieder Nr. 1-3) (1888); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 (1901-1902). Note: Jugendkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.5		16/10/1929	19:30	Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 21; Hugo Wolf "Anakreons Grab" nach einem Text von Goethe; Hugo Wolf "Harfenspieler 1-3" für eine Singstimme und Orchester nach Gedichten von Goethe; Hugo Wolf "Gebet", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 21 (1799-1800); Hugo Wolf Anakreons Grab (Goethe-Lieder Nr. 29) (1888), Harfenspieler I-III (Goethe-Lieder Nr. 1-3) (1888), Gebet (Mörke-Lieder Nr. 28) (1888); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 (1901-1902). Note: Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.1		19/10/1929	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johann Sebastian Bach Orchestersuite in einer Bearbeitung von Gustav Mahler; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)	Johann Sebastian Bach Suite für Orchester; zusammengestellt und bearbeitet von Gustav Mahler · · Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur, op. 73 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		26/10/1929		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel <i>Konzert für Streichorchester D-Dur</i> ; bearbeitet von G.F. Kogel · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert für Streichorchester D-Dur; bearbeitet von G.F. Kogel · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		27/10/1929		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel <i>Konzert für Streichorchester D-Dur</i> ; bearbeitet von G.F. Kogel · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert für Streichorchester D-Dur; bearbeitet von G.F. Kogel · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		27/10/1929	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Richard Strauss Burleske für Klavier und Orchester d-moll TrV 145; Franz Liszt "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo", symphonische Dichtung S 96; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Oberon« J 306 (1825–1826); Richard Strauss Burleske d-moll AV 85 für Klavier und Orchester (1885–1886); Franz Liszt Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo, Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 2 c-moll S 96 (1849–1854); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantisches« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		01/11/1929	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms "Tragische Ouvertüre" für Orchester d-moll op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54; Richard Strauss "Tod und Verklärung", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 24 TrV 158				
Brahms	No.3		05/11/1929	19:30	Jugendkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Antonio Vivaldi Konzert für Viola d'amore und Orchester; Pause; Erich Wolfgang Korngold "Schauspiel-Ouvertüre" für großes Orchester op. 4; Paul Hindemith "Kammermusik Nr. 5", Konzert für Viola und Orchester op. 36 Nr. 4; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96	Programme : Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883) ; Antonio Vivaldi Concerto a-moll RV 397 für Viola d'amore, Streicher und Basso continuo; Erich Wolfgang Korngold Schauspiel-Ouverture op. 4 (1911); Paul Hindemith Kammermusik Nr. 5 op. 36/4 für Viola solo und größeres Kammerorchester (1925) (EA); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Jugendkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		06/11/1929	19:30	Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Antonio Vivaldi Konzert für Viola d'amore und Orchester; Pause; Erich Wolfgang Korngold "Schauspiel-Ouvertüre" für großes Orchester op. 4; Paul Hindemith "Kammermusik Nr. 5", Konzert für Viola und Orchester op. 36 Nr. 4; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); Antonio Vivaldi Concerto a-moll RV 397 für Viola d'amore, Streicher und Basso continuo; *** ; Erich Wolfgang Korngold Schauspiel-Ouverture op. 4 (1911); Paul Hindemith Kammermusik Nr. 5 op. 36/4 für Viola solo und größeres Kammerorchester (1925); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Symphoniekonzert; Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		07/11/1929	19:30			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Stanley Chapple	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Edward Elgar Introduktion und Allegro für Streichorchester (Erstaufführung); Edward Elgar Lambert Musik für Orchester (Erstaufführung); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier, Violine, Violoncello und Orchester C-Dur, op. 56, „Tripelkonzert“; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Republikfeier · Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge Es-Dur, BWV 552; Bearbeitung von Arnold Schönberg · · Johannes Brahms Beherzigung, op. 93 · · Arnold Schönberg Zwei Volksliedersätze (Schein uns, du liebe Sonne/Herzlieblich Lieb, durch Scheiden) (Uraufführung) · · Hanns Eisler Naturbetrachtung · · Auf den Straßen zu singen · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.1		10/11/1929	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge Es-Dur für Orgel BWV 552, für Orchester gesetzt von Arnold Schönberg; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Republikfeier · Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge Es-Dur, BWV 552; Bearbeitung von Arnold Schönberg · · Johannes Brahms Beherzigung, op. 93 · · Arnold Schönberg Zwei Volksliedersätze (Schein uns, du liebe Sonne/Herzlieblich Lieb, durch Scheiden) (Uraufführung) · · Hanns Eisler Naturbetrachtung · · Auf den Straßen zu singen · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		10/11/1929	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der fliegende Holländer"; Erich Wolfgang Korngold Vorspiel und Serenade aus der Ballettpantomime "Der Schneemann"; César Franck Symphonische Variationen für Klavier und Orchester FWV 46; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Mahler	No.1		11/11/1929	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge Es-Dur für Orgel BWV 552, für Orchester gesetzt von Arnold Schönberg; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Republikfeier · Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge Es-Dur, BWV 552; Bearbeitung von Arnold Schönberg · · Johannes Brahms Beherzigung, op. 93 · · Arnold Schönberg Zwei Volksliedersätze (Schein uns, du liebe Sonne/Herzlieblich Lieb, durch Scheiden) (Uraufführung) · · Hanns Eisler Naturbetrachtung · · Auf den Straßen zu singen · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		01/12/1929	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Karl Rorich Ouvertüre zu "Weh dem, der lügt"; Karl Goldmark Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op. 28; Lothar Kempner "Capriccio" für Flöte und Orchester; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90				
Brahms	No.2		05/12/1929	19:30	Abonnement-Konzert / 4	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Franz Schubert Ouvertüre im italienischen Stil C-Dur D 591; Franz Schubert Ouvertüre im italienischen Stil D-Dur D 590; Clemens von Franckenstein Tanzsuite für Orchester; Karol Szymanowski Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 1 op. 35; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Franz Schubert Zwei Ouvertüren „im italienischen Stile“ · · Clemens von Franckenstein Tanz-Suite (Erste Aufführung in Wien) · · Karol Szymanowski Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 1, op. 35 · · — Pause — · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.2		10/12/1929	19:30	Jugendkonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Siegfried Wagner Vorspiel zur Oper "Die heilige Linde" op. 15; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Siegfried Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die heilige Linde« (UA); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73 (1809); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877). Note: Jugendkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		11/12/1929	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Siegfried Wagner Vorspiel zur Oper "Die heilige Linde" op. 15; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Siegfried Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die heilige Linde«; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73 (1809); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877). Note: Symphoniekonzert: Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		21/12/1929		5th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 5	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Richard Strauss Ein Heldenleben, Symphonische Dichtung, op. 40	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · Richard Strauss Ein Heldenleben. Tondichtung für großes Orchester, op. 40	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		22/12/1929		5th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Richard Strauss Ein Heldenleben, Symphonische Dichtung, op. 40	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · Richard Strauss Ein Heldenleben. Tondichtung für großes Orchester, op. 40	Musikverein Archive		NWJ 23.12.1929
Bruckner	No.9		26/12/1929	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Pause; Richard Wagner "Wotans Abschied" und "Feuerzauber" aus der Oper "Die Walküre" WWV 86B; Richard Wagner "Karfreitagszauber" aus dem Bühnenweihfestspiel "Parsifal" WWV 111; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896); ***; Richard Wagner Leb' wohl, du kühnes herrliches Kind (Wotans Abschied aus »Die Walküre«) (1852-1856), Karfreitagszauber (Parsifal) (1877-1882), Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		09/01/1930	19:30	Abonnement-Konzert / 5	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hermann Abendroth	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Debussy, "Rondes de Printemps" aus den "Images pour orchestre"; Liszt, Concerto for Piano and Orchestra no.2; Pause; Bruckner, Symphony No.5	Claude Debussy Rondes de printemps. Images Nr. 3 (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur · · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		12/01/1930	16:30	Populäres Konzert	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spör	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Brahms, Concerto for Violin, Cello and Orchestra op.102; Brahms, Hungarian Dance No.5 (Instrumented: Albert Parlow)	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“ · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Violoncello mit Orchester a-Moll, op. 102, „Doppelkonzert“ · Ungarischer Tanz Nr. 5 fis-Moll · Ungarischer Tanz Nr. 6 Des-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		19/01/1930		Extraordinary Concert/ Charity	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach, Gustav Mahler <i>Suite aus den Orchesterwerken Bachs</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Ouv. Coriolan c-Moll</i> , op. 62; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Außerordentliches Konzert zugunsten der Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen der Wiener Philharmoniker · · Johann Sebastian Bach Suite für Orchester; zusammengestellt und bearbeitet von Gustav Mahler · · Ludwig van Beethoven Overtüre zu dem Trauerspiel „Coriolan“ c-Moll, op. 62 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.1		21/01/1930	19:30	Orchester-Symphonie-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Berlioz, "Le carnaval romain"; Hermann Hans Wetzler, Symphonischer Tanz im baskischen Stil op.14; Mahler, Symphony No.1	Hector Berlioz Le Carnaval Romain. Overture, op. 9 · · Hans Hermann Wetzler Symphonischer Tanz in baskischen Stil, op. 14 (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		04/02/1930	19:30	Orchester-Symphonie-Konzert / 5	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Smetana, Overture to the comic opera "Prodaná nevěsta"; Tchaikovsky, Concerto for violin and orchestra; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Bedřich Smetana Overtüre zur Oper „Die verkaufte Braut“ · · Peter Iljitsch Tschairowskij Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 35 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		15/02/1930		7th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 7	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Max Reger Var u Fuge f. Orch. über ein Thema v. Mozart A-Dur, op. 132; Karl Weigl Phantastisches Intermezzo für Orch. · op. 18; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, op. 132 · · Karl Weigl Phantastisches Intermezzo für Orchester, op. 18 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		16/02/1930		7th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Max Reger Var u Fuge f. Orch. über ein Thema v. Mozart A-Dur, op. 132; Karl Weigl Phantastisches Intermezzo für Orch. · op. 18; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, op. 132 · · Karl Weigl Phantastisches Intermezzo für Orchester, op. 18 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		01/03/1930	20:00		Konzertdirektion Georg Kugel	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spanjaard	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hector Berlioz Le Carnaval Romain. Overture, op. 9; Claude Debussy Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune. Eglogue pour Orchestre d'après Mallarmé („Der Nachmittag eines Fauns“); Arthur Honegger Pastorale d'Été; Maurice Ravel La Valse. Poème chorégraphique pour Orchestre; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Hector Berlioz Le Carnaval Romain. Overture, op. 9 · · Claude Debussy Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune. Eglogue pour Orchestre d'après Mallarmé („Der Nachmittag eines Fauns“) · · Arthur Honegger Pastorale d'Été · · Maurice Ravel La Valse. Poème chorégraphique pour Orchestre · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.3		06/03/1930	19:30	Abonnement-Konzert / 7	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hermann Abendroth	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture to "Euryanthe"; Mahler, "Ich atmet' einen linden Duft" from 5 Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Mahler, "Liebst Du um Schönheit" from 5 Lieder nach Friedrich Rückert; Mahler, Drei Orchesterlieder, instrumentiert von Robert Heger; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Carl Maria von Weber Overtüre zur romantischen Oper „Euryanthe“, op. 81 · · Gustav Mahler Ich atmet' einen linden Duft · · Liebst Du um Schönheit · · Scheiden und Meiden · · — Pause — · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.5		16/03/1930	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Schubert, Symphony No.8; Pause; Mendelssohn, Concerto for violin and orchestra; Mahler, "Adagietto" aus der Symphony No.5; Eugen Zádor, Ballett-Suite für Kammerorchester	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 8 C-Dur D 944 »Große C-Dur-Symphonie« (1825 ?–1828); ***; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert für Violine und Orchester e-moll op. 64 (1844); Gustav Mahler Adagietto (Symphonie Nr. 5) (1901–1902); Eugen Zádor Ballett-Suite für Kammerorchester (Teilaufführung). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		09/04/1930		Monstre Concert	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888); Franz Liszt <i>Mazeppa</i> (Tone Poem No. 6); Richard Wagner <i>Siegfrieds Tod</i> und <i>Trauermarsch</i> aus "Götterdämmerung", WWV 86d; Richard Wagner <i>Schlußgesang der Brünnhilde</i> aus "Götterdämmerung"				
Bruckner	No.4		09/04/1930	20:00	Monster-Konzert	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal; Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Schalk	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Berlioz, Ballettmusik aus der dramatischen Symphonie "Roméo e Juliette"; Liszt, "Mazeppa" Symphonie poem; R.Wagner, "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung"; R.Wagner, "Schlusszene der Brünnhilde" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung"	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); ***; Dem Andenken Cosima Wagners: Franz Liszt <i>Mazeppa</i> . Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 6 S 100 (1851); Richard Wagner Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds (Götterdämmerung) (1869–1874). Starke Scheite schichtet mir dort (Schlussgesang der Brünnhilde aus »Götterdämmerung«) (1869–1874). Presented by: Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester (KV).	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		29/04/1930	19:30	Jugendkonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture to "Euryanthe"; W.A.Mozart, Konzert für violin and orchestra no.5; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Overture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Note: Jugendkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		30/04/1930	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture to "Euryanthe"; W.A.Mozart, Konzert für violin and orchestra no.5; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Overture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Note: Symphoniekonzert: Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.5		01/05/1930	11:00			RAVAG Wien	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Egon Wellesz, "Vorfürhling", symphonisches Stimmungsbild op.12; W.A.Mozart, Symphony No.38; Mahler, "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie No.5; J.S.Bach, Concerto for two pianos, strings and basso continuo; Beethoven, Symphony No.8				
Mahler	No.2		05/06/1930		Vienna Festival Weeks		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert <i>Symphony No. 7 in B Minor, D. 759 ('Unfinished')</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll</i>	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendet« (1822); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: Im Rahmen der Wiener Festwochen 1930; Zweites Außerordentliches Konzert der Wiener Philharmoniker. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.10		06/07/1930		Radio Concert		Ravag	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 10 in F-sharp Major, Adagio</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Das Lied von der Erde (The Song of the Earth)</i>				
Brahms	No.3		15/09/1930	20:35			RAVAG Wien	Max Ast	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture to Schauspielmusik "Egmont"; R.Strauss, "Morgen" für Singstimme und Orchester op.27; Mahler, "Wo die schönen Trompeten blasen" aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Max Ast, Die Frau vor dem Spiegel; Max Ast, Im Kahn; J.S.Bach, Concerto for 2 violins, strings and basso continuo; Johannes Brahms				
Brahms	No.4		10/10/1930	19:30	Abonnement-Orchester-Konzert / 1	Konzertdirektion Georg Kugel	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spanjaard	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Luigi Maria Cherubini Overture zu „Anacréon“ · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 61 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Luigi Maria Cherubini Overture zu „Anacréon“ · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 61 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		12/10/1930	16:30	Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Goldmark, "Sakuntala" Overture; Tomaso Antonio Vitali, "Chaconne" for violin, organ, and orchestra; Smetana, "Vltava" ("Die Moldau") aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland"); Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Carl Goldmark Overture zu »Sakuntala« op. 13 (1865); Giovanni Battista Vitali Chaconne für Violine, Streichorchester und Orgel; Ludwig van Beethoven Romanze für Violine und Orchester F-Dur op. 50 (1802 vor); Bedřich Smetana Vltava »Die Moldau«. Symphonische Dichtung T 111 (Má vlast »Mein Vaterland«) (1874); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		14/10/1930	00:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	J.S.Bach, Toccata and Fugue for Organ in einer Bearbeitung von Leo Weiner; W.A.Mozart, Divertimento no.17 for strings and 2 horns; Paul Graener, Comedietta op.82; Bruckner, Symphony No.1 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)	Johann Sebastian Bach / Leo Weiner Orgeltoccata und Fuge C-Dur für großes Orchester · · · Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Divertimento D-Dur, KV 334 · · · Paul Graener Comedietta, op. 82 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll; Wiener Fassung 1890/91	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		18/10/1930		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Präludium und Fuge Es-Dur</i> , Ochesterfassung von A. Schönberg; Richard Strauss „ <i>Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche</i> (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks)“; op. 28; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3	Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge Es-Dur, BWV 552; Bearbeitung von Arnold Schönberg · · · Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche nach alter Schelmenweise in Rondeauform für Orchester, op. 28 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		19/10/1930		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Präludium und Fuge Es-Dur</i> , Ochesterfassung von A. Schönberg; Richard Strauss „ <i>Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche</i> (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks)“; op. 28; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3	Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge Es-Dur, BWV 552; Bearbeitung von Arnold Schönberg · · · Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche nach alter Schelmenweise in Rondeauform für Orchester, op. 28 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.1		20/10/1930	20:30			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Korngold, "Lieder des Abschieds" for middle voice and piano op.14; Mahler, Symphony No.1				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.6		21/10/1930	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll; Sibelius, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra; Rossini, Overture to "La gazza ladra"	Programme: Siegfried Wagner Glaube, Zwischenspiel (Der Heidenkönig); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll (1903-1904); ***; Jean Sibelius Konzert für Violine und Orchester d-moll op. 47 (1903-1904/1905); Gioachino Rossini Ouverture zu »La gazza ladra« (1817). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.6		22/10/1930	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll; Sibelius, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra; Rossini, Overture to "La gazza ladra"	Programme: Siegfried Wagner Glaube, Zwischenspiel (Der Heidenkönig); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll (1903-1904); ***; Jean Sibelius Konzert für Violine und Orchester d-moll op. 47 (1903-1904/1905); Gioachino Rossini Ouverture zu »La gazza ladra« (1817). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		04/11/1930	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll · · Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		04/11/1930	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 (Fassung 1877); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll · · Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		12/11/1930		Radio Concert		Ravag	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108				
Mahler	No.2		24/11/1930	19:30	Abonnement-Konzert / 3	Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Haydn, Concerto for cello and orchestra no.2; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur, Hob. VIIb/2 · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		25/11/1930	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Handel, "Wassermusik" suite for orchestra arranged by Hamilton Harty; Mendelssohn, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Georg Friedrich Händel Wassermusik, Suite; bearbeitet von Hamilton Harty (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert für Violine und Orchester e-Moll, op. 64 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		08/12/1930	20:30			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre op. 80; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 83; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				
Bruckner	No.1		09/12/1930	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester C-Dur WoO 5 (Bruchstück); Niccolò Paganini Konzert für Violine und Orchester h-moll in einer Bearbeitung von Joan Manén; Eugen Zádor "Rhapsodie" für großes Orchester	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll (Wiener Fassung) (1865-1866/1890-1891); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester C-Dur WoO 5 (Bruchstück) (Bearbeitung: Juan Manén) (1790-1792); ***; Niccolò Paganini Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 2 h-moll op. 7 »La campanella« (1826); Eugen Zádor Rhapsodie (1930) (UA). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		10/12/1930	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/3	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester C-Dur WoO 5 (Bruchstück); Niccolò Paganini Konzert für Violine und Orchester h-moll in einer Bearbeitung von Joan Manén; Eugen Zádor "Rhapsodie" für großes Orchester	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll (Wiener Fassung) (1865-1866/1890-1891); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester C-Dur WoO 5 (Bruchstück) (Bearbeitung: Juan Manén) (1790-1792); ***; Niccolò Paganini Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 2 h-moll op. 7 »La campanella« (1826); Eugen Zádor Rhapsodie (1930). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.7		13/12/1930		4th Subscription Concert, Öffentliches Generalprobe / 4	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 7 e-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.7		14/12/1930		4th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 7 e-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.6		14/12/1930	00:00	Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hanns Eisler "Gesang der Besiegten", Nr. 2 aus "Vier Stücke nach eigenen Texten" op. 13; Hanns Eisler "Naturbetrachtung", Nr. 3 aus "Vier Stücke nach eigenen Texten" für gemischten Chor op. 13; Hanns Eisler "Auf den Straßen zu singen" für gemischten Chor nach einem Text von David Weber op. 15; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll	Hanns Eisler Gesang der Besiegten (Uraufführung) · · Naturbetrachtung · · Auf den Straßen zu singen · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-Moll, „Tragische“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		16/12/1930	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Paul Hindemith "Neues vom Tage", Ouverture mit Konzertschluss, arrangiert aus der gleichnamigen Oper; Maurice Ravel "Alborada del gracioso", Fassung für Orchester (aus "Miroirs"); Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester A-Dur Wq 172, H 439; Piotr Iljitsch Tschaiowski Variationen über ein Rokoko- Thema für Violoncello und Orchester op. 33; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1873)	Paul Hindemith "Neues vom Tage", Ouverture mit Konzertschluss (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Maurice Ravel Alborada del gracioso (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester A-Dur, Wq 172 (Revision und Kadenz von Fernand Pollain) · · Peter Iljitsch Tschaiowski Variationen über ein Rokoko- Thema für Violoncello und Orchester, op. 33 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		30/12/1930	20:30			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Paul Hindemith "Kammermusik Nr. 3", Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester op. 36 Nr. 2; Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von W. A. Mozart op. 132; Richard Strauss "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", symphonische Dichtung op. 28				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.5		01/01/1931	11:05			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Symphony No.5; Bruckner, Symphony No.5 (Fassung 1878)				
Bruckner	No.6		06/01/1931	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 5	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Reger, Symphonic prolog to a Tragedy op.108; Beethoven, Concerto for piano and orchestra no.4; Bruckner, Symphony No.6	Max Reger Symphonischer Prolog zu einer Tragödie, op. 108 · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur, op. 58 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.4		17/01/1931	19:30	Abonnement-Orchester-Konzert / 3	Konzertdirektion Georg Kugel	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Martin Spanjaard	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Weber, Overture zur "Oberon"; Max von Shillings, "Hexenlied" for speaker and orchestra op.15; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Oberon“ · · · Max Schillings Das Hexenlied von Ernst von Wildenspruch mit begleitender Musik für Orchester, op. 15 · · — Pause — · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		10/02/1931	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Handel, Concerto for organ and orchestra A major; J.S.Bach, "Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen!" Cantata for Sunday 15 after Trinity and for all time; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert A-Dur op. 7/2 HWV 307 für Orgel und Orchester (1738–1740); Johann Sebastian Bach Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen BWV 51 (1730); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		11/02/1931	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/5	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Handel, Concerto for organ and orchestra A major; J.S.Bach, "Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen!" Cantata for Sunday 15 after Trinity and for all time; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert A-Dur op. 7/2 HWV 307 für Orgel und Orchester (1738–1740); Johann Sebastian Bach Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen BWV 51 (1730); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		17/02/1931	00:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 6	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hindemith, "Kammermusik Nr.7", concerto for organ and chamber orchestra; Otorino Respighi, "Vetrare di Chiesa", Four symphonic impressions; Bruckner, Symphony No.7	Paul Hindemith Konzert für Orgel und Kammerorchester (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Otorino Respighi Vetrare di Chiesa, P 150 (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		26/02/1931	19:30	Abonnement-Konzert / 6	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	W.A.Mozart, Symphony No.39; Pfitzner, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-Moll, KV 550 · · · Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, KV 218 · · — Pause — · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		14/03/1931		8th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 8	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouv. Le Nozze di Figaro KV 492; Franz Schmidt Variationen über ein Husarenlied; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper „Le nozze di Figaro“, KV 492 · · Franz Schmidt Variationen über ein Husarenlied (Uraufführung) · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		15/03/1931		8th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouv. Le Nozze di Figaro KV 492; Franz Schmidt Variationen über ein Husarenlied; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper „Le nozze di Figaro“, KV 492 · · Franz Schmidt Variationen über ein Husarenlied (Uraufführung) · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		24/03/1931	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 7	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Kurt von Wolfurt Tripel-Fuge, op. 16; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Kurt von Wolfurt Tripel-Fuge, op. 16 (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · — Pause — · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.2		29/03/1931	16:30	Letztes Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Beethoven, Overture No.1 from "Leonore"; R.Strauss, Burleske for Piano and orchestra; Pause; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 1 zu »Leonore« op. 138 »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 1« (1807); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: Letztes Sonntags-Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		07/04/1931	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 8	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Handel, Concerto grosso op.6 no.3; Beethoven, Symphony No.8; Pause; Bruckner, Symphony No.9	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso e-Moll, op. 6/3 · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.3		20/04/1931	20:30			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll				
Bruckner	No.4		27/04/1931		Radio Concert		Ravag	Franz Schalk	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 6 in F Major, op. 68</i> ("Pastorale"); Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)				
Mahler	No.4		18/05/1931		Radio Concert		Ravag	Oskar Fried	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i>				
Brahms	No.4		02/06/1931		Radio Concert		Ravag	Robert Heger	Wiener Philharmoniker	Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128; Emil von Sauer Klavierkonzert e-Moll; Johannes Brahms Symphonie No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98				
Brahms	No.3		15/06/1931		Vienna Festival Weeks	ITHMA	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur, Hob. I:100 "Militär-Symphonie"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 in C Minor, op. 67	Konzert im Rahmen der Wiener Festwochen · Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur, Hob. I:100, „Militär-Symphonie“ · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · — Pause — · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-Moll, op. 67	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		19/07/1931	11:05			RAVAG Wien	Hans Pless	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 21 A-Dur KV 134; Robert Zwierrina Das Veilchen; Alfred Ehmann Vorfrühling; Charles Weinberger Kahnfahrt; Joseph Marx "Und gestern hat er mir Rosen gebracht" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Thekla Lingens; Richard Strauss "Cäcilie" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 2; Robert Schumann Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester a-moll op. 129; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)				
Bruckner	No.7		07/08/1931	21:00			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Haydn, Symphony No.103; Bruckner, Symphony No.7				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.3		13/09/1931	12:15			RAVAG Wien	Wilhelm Jerger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Mozart, Symphony No.28; Saint S��ns, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra No.3; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Bruckner	No.7		04/10/1931		Franz Schalk Memorial Celebration	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Wagner <i>Eine Faust-Ouvert��re</i> ; Alexander Wunderer <i>Gedenkrede</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7, Adagio</i>	Franz Schalk Ged��chtnisfeier · Richard Wagner „Eine Faust-Ouvert��re“ d-Moll · Gedenkrede: Gesprochen von Regierungsrat Prof. Alexander Wunderer · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur - Adagio	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		23/10/1931	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	C. Studer	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Mendelssohn, "Die Hebriden" oder "Die Fingalsh��le" Concert overture; Abram Chasins, Concerto for Piano and Orchestra; Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture No.3 from "Leonore"	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Ouverture »Die Hebriden / Fingalsh��le« op. 26 (1829-1833); Abram Chasins Konzert f��r Klavier und Orchester f-moll op. 14 (EA); Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805-1806). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		27/10/1931	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.6; Pause; Mendelssohn, Concerto for Violina and Orchestra; Beethoven, Symphony No.2	Bruckner, Symphony No.6; Pause; Mendelssohn, Concerto for Violina and Orchestra; Beethoven, Symphony No.2	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		28/10/1931	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.6; Pause; Mendelssohn, Concerto for Violina and Orchestra; Beethoven, Symphony No.2	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881); ***; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert f��r Violine und Orchester e-moll op. 64 (1844); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 36 (1801-1802). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		03/11/1931	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Georg Friedrich H��ndel, Concerto Grosso No.11; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Georg Friedrich H��ndel Concerto grosso B-Dur, op. 6/7; bearbeitet von Max Seiffert · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.4		08/11/1931	16:30	Volkst��mliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Verein Wiener T��nk��nstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hugo Gottesmann	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Pause; Richard Strauss "Morgen" f��r Singst��mme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 4; Richard Strauss "C��cilie" f��r Singst��mme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 2; Richard Strauss "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche"; symphonische Dichtung op. 28	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur · · · · Pause · · Richard Strauss Morgen, op. 27/4 · · C��cilie, op. 27/2 · · Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche nach alter Schelmenweise in Rondeauform f��r Orchester, op. 28	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.8		11/11/1931	19:20	Au��erordentliches Gesellschaftskonzert	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur, „Symphonie der Tausend“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		21/11/1931	19:45			RAVAG Wien	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Bruckner, Symphony No.1 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)				
Mahler	No.5		30/11/1931	19:30	Jubil��ums-Konzert / 2	Verein Wiener T��nk��nstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Ouvert��re op. 21 zu "Ein Sommernachtstraum"; Musik zum gleichnamigen Schauspiel von William Shakespeare; Pj��tr Iljitsch Tschaikowski Konzert f��r Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 35; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Ouvert��re zur Schauspielmusik „Ein Sommernachtstraum“, op. 21 · · Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowski Konzert f��r Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 35 · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		06/12/1931		Memorial Celebration Franz Schalk		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Ouv. Coriolan c-Moll</i> , op. 62; Gustav Mahler <i>Um Mitternacht</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Scherzo und Adagio from Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Te Deum, WAB 45</i>				
Bruckner	No.9		06/12/1931	12:00	Ged��chtnisfeier Franz Schalk		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan", Ouvert��re c-moll op. 62; Gustav Mahler "Um Mitternacht" aus F��nf Lieder nach Friedrich R��ckert; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture c-moll zu »Coriolan« op. 62 (1807); Gustav Mahler Um Mitternacht (F��nf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich R��ckert) (1901); Ged��chtnisrede von Prof. Dr. Robert Konta; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896), Te Deum (1881-1884). Note: Ged��chtnisfeier Franz Schalk. Presented by?	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		06/12/1931	12:00	Ged��chtnisfeier Franz Schalk		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan", Ouvert��re c-moll op. 62; Gustav Mahler "Um Mitternacht" aus F��nf Lieder nach Friedrich R��ckert; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture c-moll zu »Coriolan« op. 62 (1807); Gustav Mahler Um Mitternacht (F��nf Lieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich R��ckert) (1901); Ged��chtnisrede von Prof. Dr. Robert Konta; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896), Te Deum (1881-1884). Note: Ged��chtnisfeier Franz Schalk. Presented by?	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		08/12/1931	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Carl Maria von Weber Konzertst��ck f��r Klavier und Orchester f-moll op. 79 J 282, Bearbeitung des Klavierparts: Franz Liszt, S 367a; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur op. 60; Franz Liszt "Ungarische Fantasie" f��r Klavier und Orchester	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896); Carl Maria von Weber Konzertst��ck f-moll op. 79 (J 282) f��r Klavier und Orchester (1821); ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur op. 60 (1806); Franz Liszt Fantasie ��ber ungarische Volksmelodien S 123 f��r Klavier und Orchester (1852 ?). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		09/12/1931	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/3	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Carl Maria von Weber Konzertst��ck f��r Klavier und Orchester f-moll op. 79 J 282, Bearbeitung des Klavierparts: Franz Liszt, S 367a; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur op. 60; Franz Liszt "Ungarische Fantasie" f��r Klavier und Orchester	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896); Carl Maria von Weber Konzertst��ck f-moll op. 79 (J 282) f��r Klavier und Orchester (1821); ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur op. 60 (1806); Franz Liszt Fantasie ��ber ungarische Volksmelodien S 123 f��r Klavier und Orchester (1852 ?). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.2		11/12/1931	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Adam Szpak	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73; César Franck Erlösung - Arie des Erzengels (Erstaufführung in Wien); Maurice Ravel Ma mère l'oye, Cinq Pièces Enfantines („Meine Mutter, die Gans“); Ernest Bloch 114. Psalm (Erstaufführung in Wien); Mieczysław Karłowicz Uralte Lieder. Tondichtung (Erstaufführung in Wien)	Symphonie-Konzert · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73 · · César Franck Erlösung - Arie des Erzengels (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Maurice Ravel Ma mère l'oye. Cinq Pièces Enfantines („Meine Mutter, die Gans“) · · Ernest Bloch 114. Psalm (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Mieczysław Karłowicz Uralte Lieder. Tondichtung (Erstaufführung in Wien)	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.3		12/12/1931		4th Subscription Concert, Öffentliches Generalprobe / 4	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.3		13/12/1931		4th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		25/12/1931		Radio Concert		Ravag	Robert Heger	Wiener Philharmoniker	Hans Pfitzner Ouv. zum Singspiel "Das Christelklein"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Max Reger Var u Fuge f. Orch. über ein Thema v. Mozart A-Dur, op. 132; Richard Strauss Zueignung, aus: Acht Gedichte aus „Letzte Blätter“, op. 10/1; Richard Strauss Allerseelen, aus: Acht Gedichte aus „Letzte Blätter“, op. 10/8 (Orch. Robert Heger); Richard Strauss Traum durch die Dämmerung f. Sopran u. Orch.; Richard Strauss Heimliche Aufforderung; f. Sopran u. Orch.; Richard Strauss Ich trage meine Minne. Lied, orchestr. v. Robert Heger				
Bruckner	No.2		08/01/1932	19:40			RAVAG Wien	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)				
Brahms	No.1		18/01/1932	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Fabien Seivitzky	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ernest Bloch Concerto grosso Nr. 1 für Streichorchester und obligates Klavier (1924–1925); Claude Debussy Nuages (Nocturnes Nr. 1) (1897–1899), Fêtes (Nocturnes Nr. 2) (1897–1899); Igor Strawinski L'oiseau de feu. Symphonische Suite (Fassung von 1919) (1909–1910/1919); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Ernest Bloch Concerto grosso Nr. 1 für Streichorchester und obligates Klavier (1924–1925); Claude Debussy Nuages (Nocturnes Nr. 1) (1897–1899), Fêtes (Nocturnes Nr. 2) (1897–1899); Igor Strawinski L'oiseau de feu. Symphonische Suite (Fassung von 1919) (1909–1910/1919); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Presented by: Brucknerfonds des Wiener Sinfonieorchesters	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		23/01/1932		5th Subscription Concert, Öffentliches Generalprobe / 5	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Alban Berg <i>Lyrische Suite</i> , 3 Stücke für Streichorch.; Richard Strauss „Don Juan“, op. 20; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Alban Berg Drei Stücke aus der „Lyrischen Suite“ · · Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		24/01/1932		5th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Alban Berg <i>Lyrische Suite</i> , 3 Stücke für Streichorch.; Richard Strauss „Don Juan“, op. 20; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Alban Berg Drei Stücke aus der „Lyrischen Suite“ · · Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		11/02/1932	19:30	Jubiläums-Konzert / 4	Verein Wiener Tönkünstler Orchester	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hermann Abendroth	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Frédéric Chopin Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 f-moll op. 21; Zoltán Kodály Marosszéki Táncok (Marosszéker Tänze) für Orchester; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Oberon“ · · Frédéric Chopin Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 f-Moll, op. 21 · · Zoltán Kodály Marosszéker Tänze · · · · Pause — · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		21/02/1932	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Arie der Rezia („Ozean, du Ungeheuer“) aus der Oper „Oberon“; Richard Strauss "Cäcilie" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 2; Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für 4 Cembali und Streichorchester (nach Vivaldis Konzert h-moll für vier Violinen); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		22/03/1932		Radio Concert		Ravag	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 8 in F Major</i> , op. 93; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)				
Mahler	No.1		29/03/1932	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 8	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Zoltán Kodály Ouverture zum Singspiel "Harry-Janos"; Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-moll op. 104; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Zoltán Kodály Singspiel-Ouverture (Uraufführung) · · Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-Moll, op. 104 · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		09/04/1932		Nicolai Concert, Außerordentliches Konzert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major</i> , WAB 107; Richard Strauss „Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks)", op. 28; Richard Wagner <i>Overture to the Opera "Tannhäuser"</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur · · Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche nach alter Schelmenweise in Rondeauform für Orchester, op. 28 · · Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper „Tannhäuser“ . Remarks: Nicolai-Konzert zugunsten der Wohlfahrtsseinrichtungen der Wiener Philharmoniker.	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		10/04/1932		Nicolai Concert, Außerordentliches Konzert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major</i> , WAB 107; Richard Strauss „Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks)", op. 28; Richard Wagner <i>Overture to the Opera "Tannhäuser"</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur · · Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche nach alter Schelmenweise in Rondeauform für Orchester, op. 28 · · Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper „Tannhäuser“ . Remarks: Nicolai-Konzert zugunsten der Wohlfahrtsseinrichtungen der Wiener Philharmoniker.	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		12/04/1932	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93 (1811-1812); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		13/04/1932	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym7	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93 (1811-1812); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.4		21/04/1932	19:30		Amerikanische Kolonie in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper „Le nozze di Figaro“, KV 492 · · ; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester A-Dur, KV 488 · · — Pause — · · ; Gustav Mahler Kindertotenlieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert · · ; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Festkonzert zu Gunsten der „Winterhilfe“ unter dem Protektorat des amerikanischen Gesandten Sr. Exzellenz Gülich-Baker Stockton · Ansprachen: Bundespräsident Wilhelm Miklas · Gesandter der Vereinigten Staaten Gülich-Baker Stockton · Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper „Le nozze di Figaro“, KV 492 · · ; Konzert für Klavier und Orchester A-Dur, KV 488 · · — Pause — · · Gustav Mahler Kindertotenlieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert · · Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		06/05/1932	21:10			RAVAG Wien	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)				
Bruckner	No.8		08/05/1932		Memorial Celebration Wildgans		Burgtheater	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr.8 3rd Movement: Adagio. <i>Feierlich langsam, doch nicht schleppend</i>				
Mahler	No.7		27/05/1932		Radio Concert		Ravag	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 e-moll</i>				
Mahler	No.2		21/06/1932	00:00	Zehntes Musikfest / Arbeiter-Sinfonie-Konzerte		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Arnold Schönberg Begleitmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene op. 34 · „Drohende Gefahr, Angst, Katastrophe“; Alban Berg „Der Wein“, Konzertarie für Sopran und Orchester; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Arnold Schönberg Friede auf Erden, op. 13 · · Begleitmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene, op. 34 („Drohende Gefahr, Angst, Katastrophe“) · · Alban Berg Der Wein, Konzertarie (Erste Aufführung in Wien) · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		29/06/1932	19:25			RAVAG Wien	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106				
Mahler	No.10		19/07/1932	20:20			RAVAG Wien	Fritz Mahler	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik „Egmont“ op. 84; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 83; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 10 Fis-Dur (Bearbeitung: Ernst Krenek)				
Mahler	No.9		22/08/1932	20:25			RAVAG Wien	Hermann Scherchen	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Kudolf Mengdenberg „Symphonische Variationen“ für Violoncello und Orchester; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 c-moll				
Bruckner	No.4		18/10/1932	19:30	Kunsterzieherische Veranstaltung des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 „Romantische“	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58 (1805–1806); ***, Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (EA mit dem bisher unveröffentlichten 3. Satz: Scherzo, Bewegt - Trio, Nicht zu schnell, Keinesfalls schleppend) (1874/1878–1880) (EA). Note: Kunsterzieherische Veranstaltung des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		19/10/1932	19:30	Eröffnungskonzert des internationalen Bruckner-Festes. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte, Brahms-Bruckner, Zyklus Abonnement Konzert Sym/1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 „Romantische“	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58 (1805–1806); ***, Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (EA mit dem bisher unveröffentlichten 3. Satz: Scherzo, Bewegt - Trio, Nicht zu schnell, Keinesfalls schleppend) (1874/1878–1880). Note: Eröffnungskonzert des internationalen Bruckner-Festes. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte, Brahms-Bruckner, Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9	Orel	22/10/1932		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3, G-Dur, BWV 1048</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 2 in D Major, op. 36</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (<i>Original Version</i>)	Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur, BWV 1048</i> · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 36 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		WZ 23.10.1932; R 24.10.1932
Bruckner	No.9	Orel	23/10/1932		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3, G-Dur, BWV 1048</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 2 in D Major, op. 36</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (<i>Original Version</i>)	Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur, BWV 1048</i> · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 36 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		WZ 23.10.1932; R 24.10.1932
Brahms	No.4		05/11/1932		2nd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 2	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Paul Hindemith Philharmonisches Konzert , Variationen für Orchester; Hector Berlioz Romeo und Julia, Scherzo: Fee Mab; Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello in h-Moll, op. 104; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Paul Hindemith Philharmonisches Konzert. Variationen für Orchester · · Hector Berlioz Romeo und Julia - Scherzo: Fee Mab · · Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-Moll, op. 104 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		06/11/1932		2nd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Paul Hindemith Philharmonisches Konzert , Variationen für Orchester; Hector Berlioz Romeo und Julia, Scherzo: Fee Mab; Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello in h-Moll, op. 104; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Paul Hindemith Philharmonisches Konzert. Variationen für Orchester · · Hector Berlioz Romeo und Julia - Scherzo: Fee Mab · · Antonin Dvořák Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester h-Moll, op. 104 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		06/11/1932	16:30	Vollstämmliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper „Oberon“; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert für Violine und Orchester e-moll op. 64; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 „Romantische“	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Oberon« J 306 (1825–1826); Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Konzert für Violine und Orchester e-moll op. 64 (1844); ***, Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Vollstämmliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		08/11/1932	19:30	Kunsterzieherische Veranstaltung des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Franz Schmidt Variationen über ein Husarenlied für Orchester; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Drei deutsche Tänze KV 605; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper „Leonore“ op. 72b	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***, Franz Schmidt Variationen über ein Husarenlied (1931); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Drei deutsche Tänze K 605 (1791); Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805-1806). Note: Kunsterzieherische Veranstaltung des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		09/11/1932	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Johannes Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Franz Schmidt Variationen über ein Husarenlied für Orchester; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Drei deutsche Tänze KV 605; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Franz Schmidt Variationen über ein Husarenlied (1931); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Drei deutsche Tänze K 605 (1791); Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805-1806). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Johannes Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		22/11/1932	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); Jan Brandts-Buys "Tancred", Konzertstück für Violoncello und kleines Orchester op. 35; Giuseppe Tartini Konzert für Viola da Gamba und Kammerorchester; Franz Liszt "Les Préludes", symphonische Dichtung S 97	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877); ***; Jan Brandts Buys Konzertstück für Violoncello und Orchester »Tancred« op. 35 (1917 vor); Giuseppe Tartini Konzert für Viola da Gamba (Violoncello) und Streicher G-Dur; Franz Liszt Les Préludes. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 3 S 97 (1848-1854). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		23/11/1932	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus Abonnement Konzert Sym/3	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877); Jan Brandts-Buys "Tancred", Konzertstück für Violoncello und kleines Orchester op. 35; Giuseppe Tartini Konzert für Viola da Gamba und Kammerorchester; Franz Liszt "Les Préludes", symphonische Dichtung S 97	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877); ***; Jan Brandts Buys Konzertstück für Violoncello und Orchester »Tancred« op. 35 (1917 vor); Giuseppe Tartini Konzert für Viola da Gamba (Violoncello) und Streicher G-Dur (Bearbeitung für Viola da gamba und Klavier); Franz Liszt Les Préludes. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 3 S 97 (1848-1854). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.5		26/11/1932	00:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms "Nänie" für gemischten Chor und Orchester nach einem Text von Friedrich Schiller op. 82; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll	Johannes Brahms Nanie, op. 82 · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		13/12/1932	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Joseph Haydn "Sinfonia Concertante" für Violine, Violoncello, Oboe, Fagott und Orchester B-Dur Hob.I:105; Rudolf Kattmigg Abendmusik für Orchester	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885); ***; Joseph Haydn Sinfonia concertante B-Dur Hob. I/105 (1792); Rudolf Kattmigg Abendmusik für Orchester (UA). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		14/12/1932	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Joseph Haydn "Sinfonia Concertante" für Violine, Violoncello, Oboe, Fagott und Orchester B-Dur Hob.I:105; Rudolf Kattmigg Abendmusik für Orchester	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885); ***; Joseph Haydn Sinfonia concertante B-Dur Hob. I/105 (1792); Rudolf Kattmigg Abendmusik für Orchester. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		19/12/1932		Radio Concert		Ravag	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 4 in B-flat Major</i> , op. 60; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll				
Brahms	No.1		03/01/1933	20:00	Orchester-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-Moll, op. 15 · · — Pause — · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.6		07/01/1933		4th Subscription Concert, Öffentliches Generalprobe / 4	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert <i>Symphony No. 7 in B Minor</i> , D. 759 (<i>"Unfinished"</i>); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-Moll, D 759, „Unvollendete“ · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-Moll, „Tragische“	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.6		08/01/1933		4th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert <i>Symphony No. 7 in B Minor</i> , D. 759 (<i>"Unfinished"</i>); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-Moll, D 759, „Unvollendete“ · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-Moll, „Tragsche“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		17/01/1933	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 35 D-Dur KV 385 "Haffner"; Philipp Heinrich Erlebach Drei Gesänge für Bariton und Orchester; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur K 385 »Haffner-Symphonie« (1782); Philipp Heinrich Erlebach Seine Not recht überlegen, wird manch Tränenbad erregen, Die Zeit verkehret, was uns beschweret, Wer geliebet Wein und Bier, der geselle sich zu mir; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		18/01/1933	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus Abonnement Konzert Sym/5	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 35 D-Dur KV 385 "Haffner"; Philipp Heinrich Erlebach Drei Gesänge für Bariton und Orchester; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur K 385 »Haffner-Symphonie« (1782); Philipp Heinrich Erlebach Seine Not recht überlegen, wird manch Tränenbad erregen, Die Zeit verkehret, was uns beschweret, Wer geliebet Wein und Bier, der geselle sich zu mir; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		02/02/1933	19:30		Konzendirekt von Dr. Artur Hohenberg	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Ernst Hoffmann	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Peter Iljitsch Tschairowskij Romeo und Julia. Fantasie-Ouvertüre nach William Shakespeare; William Woodin Oriental Suite (Erstaufführung); Peter Iljitsch Tschairowskij Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 b-Moll, op. 23; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Peter Iljitsch Tschairowskij Romeo und Julia. Fantasie-Ouvertüre nach William Shakespeare · · William Woodin Oriental Suite (Erstaufführung) · · Peter Iljitsch Tschairowskij Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 b-Moll, op. 23 · · — Pause — · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.4		02/03/1933		Concert of the Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna, Orchester-Konzert / 8	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Adrian Boult	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphony [No. 40] in G Minor, K. 550; Edward Elgar Introduction und Allegro op.47; Gustav Theodore Holst Ballett aus der Oper "The perfect fool"; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-Moll, KV 550 · · · Edward Elgar Introduction und Allegro für Streichquartett und Streichorchester, op. 47 (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · · Gustav Theodore Holst Ballettmusik aus der Oper „The perfect fool“ (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.5		19/03/1933	16:30	Volkstümliches Nachmittags-Konzert	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Robert Schumann Symphonie Nr. 1 B-Dur, op. 38, „Frühlings-symphonie“ · · · Peter Iljitsch Tschaiakowskij Variationen über ein Rokoko-Thema für Violoncello und Orchester, op. 33 · · · Edvard Grieg Solveigs Wiegenlied · · · Im Kahne · · · Eros · · · — Pause — · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 - 4. Satz (Adagietto) · · · Franz Liszt Tasso. Lamento e Trionfo. Symphonische Dichtung in einem Satz	Robert Schumann Symphonie Nr. 1 B-Dur, op. 38, „Frühlings-symphonie“ · · · Peter Iljitsch Tschaiakowskij Variationen über ein Rokoko-Thema für Violoncello und Orchester, op. 33 · · · Edvard Grieg Solveigs Wiegenlied · · · Im Kahne · · · Eros · · · — Pause — · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5 - 4. Satz (Adagietto) · · · Franz Liszt Tasso. Lamento e Trionfo. Symphonische Dichtung in einem Satz	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		23/03/1933	20:00	Orchester-Konzert / 9	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Pause; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll · · · — Pause — · · · Anton Bruckner Te Deum	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		04/04/1933	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hans Pfitzner "Hoffest" und "Liebesmelodie" aus dem Drama für Musik "Das Herz" op. 39; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge a-moll BWV 543 (1708-1717); Hans Pfitzner Hoffest und Liebesmelodie (Das Herz op. 39) (1931); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		05/04/1933	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus Abonnemement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Hans Pfitzner "Hoffest" und "Liebesmelodie" aus dem Drama für Musik "Das Herz" op. 39; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge a-moll BWV 543 (1708-1717); Hans Pfitzner Hoffest und Liebesmelodie (Das Herz op. 39) (1931); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Erste Fassung von 1887) (1884-1887). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte. Brahms-Bruckner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		08/04/1933		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Concerto for Piano [No. 20] in D Minor, K. 466</i> ; Richard Wagner " <i>Fünf Gedichte für Frauenstimme und Klavier</i> " (" <i>Five Poems for female Voice and Piano</i> ", <i>Wesendonck-Lieder</i>), <i>Orchestration by Felix Mottl</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 1 in D Major</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester d-Moll, KV 466 · · · Richard Wagner Stehe still; instrumentiert von Felix Mottl · · · Schmerzen; instrumentiert von Felix Mottl · · · Träume; instrumentiert von Felix Mottl · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.1		09/04/1933		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Concerto for Piano [No. 20] in D Minor, K. 466</i> ; Richard Wagner " <i>Fünf Gedichte für Frauenstimme und Klavier</i> " (" <i>Five Poems for female Voice and Piano</i> ", <i>Wesendonck-Lieder</i>), <i>Orchestration by Felix Mottl</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 1 in D Major</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester d-Moll, KV 466 · · · Richard Wagner Stehe still; instrumentiert von Felix Mottl · · · Schmerzen; instrumentiert von Felix Mottl · · · Träume; instrumentiert von Felix Mottl · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.8		11/04/1933	19:30	anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens der Wiener Singakademie	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Note: anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens der Wiener Singakademie. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.8		12/04/1933	19:30	anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens der Wiener Singakademie. Subscription series: Chorkonzerte	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Note: anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens der Wiener Singakademie. Subscription series: Chorkonzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		23/04/1933		Gala Concert for Viennese High-School Graduates	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 40] in G Minor, K. 550</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 3rd Movement: <i>Adagio. Feierlich langsam, doch nicht schleppend</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Overture No. 3 to the Opera "Fidelio"</i> (" <i>Leonora Overture</i> ") op. 72b	Tag der Musikpflege, Fest-Konzert für die Abiturienten Wiens · Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-Moll · · · Ansprache des Präsidenten des „Tag der Musikpflege“, Professor Robert Konta · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll - Adagio · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 3, op. 72a	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		23/04/1933		Special Concert	Konzertdirektion Dr. Artur Hohenberg	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Otto Klemperer	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 1 in C Major, op. 21</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.5		23/04/1933	11:30		RAVAG Wien	RAVAG Wien	Rudolf Weirich	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 104 D-Dur Hob.I:104 "London"; Franz Schubert "Wanderer-Fantasie" C-Dur op. 15 D 760, symphonisch bearbeitet für Klavier und Orchester (Bearbeitung: Franz Liszt); Gustav Mahler "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll; Hugo Wolf "Penthesilea", symphonische Dichtung	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 104 D-Dur Hob.I:104 "London"; Franz Schubert "Wanderer-Fantasie" C-Dur op. 15 D 760, symphonisch bearbeitet für Klavier und Orchester (Bearbeitung: Franz Liszt); Gustav Mahler "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll; Hugo Wolf "Penthesilea", symphonische Dichtung			
Brahms	No.2		29/04/1933		8th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 8	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphony [No. 35] in D Major, K. 385 ("Haffner"); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 5 in C Minor, op. 67	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur, KV 385, „Haffner Symphonie“ · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73 · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-Moll, op. 67	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		30/04/1933		8th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphony [No. 35] in D Major, K. 385 ("Haffner"); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 5 in C Minor, op. 67	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur, KV 385, „Haffner Symphonie“ · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73 · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-Moll, op. 67	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.3		01/05/1933		Radio Concert		Ravag	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 in C Major, op. 21; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Richard Wagner Prelude and Isold's Liebestod from "Tristan und Isolde", WWV 90				
Brahms	No.2		07/05/1933	20:00			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 83; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Brahms	No.3		19/05/1933		Brahms Festival, Johannes Brahms-Fest Wien	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft (Berlin)	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Tragische Overtüre (Tragic Overture), D minor, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Johannes Brahms Concerto for Violin and Violoncello in A Minor, op. 102; Johannes Brahms Academic Festival Overture, op. 80	Johannes Brahms Tragische Overture d-Moll, op. 81 · · · Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · · Konzert für Violine und Violoncello mit Orchester a-Moll, op. 102, „Doppelkonzert“ · · · Akademische Festouvertüre c-Moll, op. 80	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		21/05/1933		Johannes Brahms Festival, Johannes Brahms-Fest Wien	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / Deutsche Johannes Brahms-Gesellschaft (Berlin)	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Concerto for Piano No. 2 in B-flat Major, op. 83; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · · Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur, op. 83 · · · Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.6		23/05/1933	20:40			RAVAG Wien	Anton Webern	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 6 a-moll				
Bruckner	No.7		28/05/1933		Radio Concert		Ravag	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joseph Haydn Hymne Deutschland; Joseph Haydn Symphony No. 104 in D major, Hob. I:104 "Salomon"; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107; Johann Strauß II. An der schönen blauen Donau (The Blue Danube), Waltz, op. 314				
Bruckner	No.7		28/05/1933	11:30			RAVAG Wien		Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Joseph Haydn Symphony No. 104 D-Dur Hob. I:104 "London"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde"				
Mahler	No.1		01/09/1933	18:35			RAVAG Wien	Erwin Stein	Wiener Symphoniker	WWV 90; Richard Wagner "Siegfried-Idyll", symphonische Dichtung WWV 103; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur				
Bruckner	No.3		07/09/1933	20:45			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso Nr. 11 B-Dur; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Bruckner	No.9	Orel	10/09/1933		Clerical Gala Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Otto Klemperer	Wiener Philharmoniker	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina Missa iste Confessor (4 vocum); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (Original Version)	Geistliches Festkonzert im Rahmen des Deutschen Katholikentages zugunsten der Dr.-Ignaz-Seipel-Gedächtnisstiftung · Giovanni Palestrina Missa Iste Confessor · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		17/10/1933	19:30	Jugendkonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overtüre Nr. 2 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72a; Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur BWV 1048; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Overture Nr. 2 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 2« (1804–1805) ; Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur BWV 1048 (1711–1713); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879–1881). Note: Jugendkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		18/10/1933	19:30	Subscription series: Österreichische und Deutsche Tondichter Abonnement Konzert Sym/1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overtüre Nr. 2 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72a; Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur BWV 1048; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Overture Nr. 2 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 2« (1804–1805); Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur BWV 1048 (1711–1713); *** ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879–1881). Note: Symphoniekonzert im Zyklus »Österreichische und Deutsche Tondichter«. Subscription series: Österreichische und Deutsche Tondichter. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		19/10/1933	20:45			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 b-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Requiem d-moll KV 626, III. Sequenz "Lacrimosa"; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Finale des 1. Aktes aus der unvollendeten Oper "Loreley"; Modest Petrowitsch Mussorgski Vorspiel "Morgenstimmung am Flusse Moskwa" aus der Oper "Chowanschtschina"; Giacomo Puccini Arie der Liu aus der Oper "Turandot"; Hugo Wolf "Frühlingschor" aus dem Opernfragment "Manuel Venegas"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll				
Brahms	No.3		28/10/1933		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arturo Toscanini	Wiener Philharmoniker	Luigi Cherubini Overtüre Anakreon; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Claude Debussy La Mer. Trois Esquisses symphoniques; Ottorino Respighi Pini di Roma	Luigi Maria Cherubini Overture zu „Anacréon“ · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · · Claude Debussy La Mer. Drei symphonische Skizzen für Orchester · · · Ottorino Respighi Pini di Roma. Symphonische Dichtung	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		29/10/1933		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arturo Toscanini	Wiener Philharmoniker	Luigi Cherubini Overtüre Anakreon; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Claude Debussy La Mer. Trois Esquisses symphoniques; Ottorino Respighi Pini di Roma	Luigi Maria Cherubini Overture zu „Anacréon“ · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · · Claude Debussy La Mer. Drei symphonische Skizzen für Orchester · · · Ottorino Respighi Pini di Roma. Symphonische Dichtung	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.2		10/12/1933	16:30	Vokstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Pause; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine, Violoncello und Orchester a-moll op. 102 "Doppelkonzert"; Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre op. 80	Programm: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; ***; Konzert für Violine, Violoncello und Orchester a-moll op. 102 (1887); Auf dem Kirchhofe op. 105/4 (1886); Immer leiser wird mein Schlummer op. 105/2 (1886); Wiegenlied op. 49/4 »Guten Abend, gut Nacht« (1868); Sapphische Ode op. 94/4 (1884 ?); Ständchen op. 106/1 »Der Mond steht über dem Berge« (1886); Akademische Festouvertüre op. 80 (1881). Anmerkung: Vokstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Veranstalter & Verantwortlicher: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		20/12/1933	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 77 · · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		21/01/1934	16:30	Vokstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert; »Österreichische Meister«	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 100 G-Dur Hob.I:100 "Militär"; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 3 G-Dur KV 216; Franz Schubert "Deutsche Tänze"; instrumentiert von Johann Herbeck; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106; Joseph Marx "Marienlied" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Novalis; Joseph Marx "Selige Nacht" für Gesang und Orchester nach einem Text von Otto Erich Hartleben; Joseph Marx Venetianisches Wiegenlied "Nina Ninana" für mittlere Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Joseph Marx "Hat dich die Liebe berührt" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Wilhelm Kienzl "Don Quixotes phantastischer Ausritt und seine traurige Heimkehr" aus der musikalischen Tragikomödie "Don Quixote" op. 50	Programme: Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur Hob. I/100 »Militär-Symphonie« (1794); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester G-Dur K 216 (1775); Franz Schubert Fünf Deutsche und sieben Trios mit Klava D 90 für Streichquartett »Deutsche Tänze« (1813); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (2. Satz: Adagio. Sehr feierlich) (1879-1881); Joseph Marx Marienlied (1909), Selige Nacht (1912), Venetianisches Wiegenlied (Italienisches Liederbuch) (1912), Hat dich die Liebe berührt (Italienisches Liederbuch) (1908); Wilhelm Kienzl Don Quixotes phantastischer Ausritt und seine traurige Heimkehr. Symphonische Zwischenspiele op. 50 für großes Orchester (1898). Note: Vokstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert; »Österreichische Meister«. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		23/01/1934	19:00		Bundesministerium für Unterricht	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre c-Moll, op. 80; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 77; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Jugendkonzert · Johannes Brahms Akademische Festouvertüre c-Moll, op. 80 · · Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 77 · · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		04/02/1934	11:20			RAVAG Wien	Richard Alpeburg	Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Konzertstück für Klavier und Orchester f-moll op. 79 J 282, Bearbeitung des Klavierparts: Franz Liszt, S 367a; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)				
Mahler	No.2		09/02/1934	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Fritz Busch	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		21/02/1934	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Heger	Wiener Symphoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 2 F-Dur BWV 1047; Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2 D-Dur Hob. VIIb/2; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 2 F-Dur, BWV 1047 · · Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur, Hob. VIIb/2 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.2		01/03/1934	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Carl Schuricht	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan" Overture; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture c-moll zu »Coriolan« op. 62 (1807); Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		03/03/1934		5th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 5	Wiener Philharmoniker	Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso h-Moll, op. 6 Nr. 12; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 8 in F Major, op. 93; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso h-Moll, op. 6/12, HWV 330 · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		04/03/1934		5th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso h-Moll, op. 6 Nr. 12; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 8 in F Major, op. 93; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso h-Moll, op. 6/12, HWV 330 · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.5		04/03/1934	16:30	Vokstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 8 C-Dur D 944 "Große C-Dur"; Pause; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante für Oboe, Klarinette, Horn, Fagot und Orchester Es-Dur KV 297b; Gustav Mahler "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll; Richard Strauss "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", symphonische Dichtung op. 28	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 8 C-Dur D 944 »Große C-Dur-Symphonie« (1825 ?–1828); ***; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzertantes Quartett K 297b (= K Anh. C 14/1) für Oboe, Klarinette, Horn und Fagot (1778); Gustav Mahler Adagietto (Symphonie Nr. 5) (1901–1902); Richard Strauss Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894–1895). Note: Vokstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.3		06/03/1934	19:30			RAVAG Wien	Karl Audieth	Wiener Symphoniker	Vincenzo Bellini Ouverture zur tragischen Oper "Norma"; Heinrich August Marschner Arie der Königin aus der romantischen Oper "Hans Heiling"; Richard Wagner Ouverture zur Oper "Rienzi" WWV 49; Richard Wagner Monolog des Holländers aus der Oper "Der fliegende Holländer"; Richard Wagner Hallenarie der Elisabeth (Einleitung und Szene 1 aus dem 3. Akt) aus der Oper "Tannhäuser" WWV 70; Franz Liszt "Der Tanz in der Dorfschenke", Mephisto-Walzer, Episode aus Lenaus "Faust"; Richard Wagner "Isoldes Liebestod" aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde" WWV 90; Richard Wagner "Vorspiel zum 3. Akt", "Tanz der Lehnruhen" und "Aufzug der Meistersinger" aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Viktor Nessler Lied des Werner aus der Oper "Der Trompeter von Säckingen"; Bedrich Smetana "Vltava" ("Die Moldau") aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland"); Giuseppe Verdi "Credo" des Jago aus der Oper "Otello"; Hugo Wolf "Gesang Weylas", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Richard Wagner "Wotans Abschied" und "Feuerzauber" aus der Oper "Die Walküre" WWV 139				
Bruckner	No.3		18/03/1934	16:30	Letztes Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Pause; Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77; Carl Maria von Weber Arie der Agathe aus der romtischen Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77 J 277; Bedrich Smetana "Vltava" ("Die Moldau") aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland")	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		26/03/1934	20:45			RAVAG Wien	Fritz Reiner	Wiener Symphoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge D-Dur in einer Bearbeitung von O. Respighi; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Leo Weiner Divertimento Nr. 1 op. 20; Hector Berlioz "Le carnaval romain", Charakteristische Ouverture op. 9				
Bruckner	No.9		10/04/1934	19:30	Jugendkonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendete« (1822); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Note: Jugendkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		11/04/1934	19:30	Subscription series: Österreichische und Deutsche Tondichter Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendete« (1822); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Note: Symphoniekonzert im Zyklus »Österreichische und Deutsche Tondichter«. Subscription series: Österreichische und Deutsche Tondichter. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.3		25/04/1934	20:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Eugen Szenkar	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll für großes Orchester, Altsolo, Knabenchor und Frauenchor (1893-1896). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		01/05/1934		Radio Concert		Ravag	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert <i>Symphony No. 7 in B Minor, D. 759</i> ("Unfinished"); Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)				
Mahler	No.5		08/06/1934	22:40			RAVAG Wien	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Robert Schumann Ouverture zum dramatischen Gedicht "Manfred" op. 115; Gustav Mahler "Adagietto" aus der Symphonie Nr. 5 cis-moll; Charles Gounod Gebet des Valentin aus der Oper "Faust" ("Margarethe"); Richard Wagner Monolog des Holländers aus der Oper "Der fliegende Holländer"; Franz Liszt "Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo", symphonische Dichtung S 96				
Brahms	No.3		26/06/1934		Radio Concert		Ravag	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 in D Minor, WAB 103				
Bruckner	No.3		26/06/1934		Radio Concert		Ravag	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms <i>Symphony No. 3 in F Major, op. 90</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3				
Brahms	No.4		06/09/1934	21:00			RAVAG Wien	Manfred Willfort	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan", Ouverture c-moll op. 62; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 22 Es-Dur KV 482; Bedrich Smetana "Vltava" ("Die Moldau") aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland")				
Bruckner	No.1		11/10/1934	21:15			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Vier Orchesterstücke; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Linzer Fassung 1866)				
Brahms	No.4		13/10/1934		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arturo Toscanini	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gioachino Rossini Ouverture zu "La scala di seta"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98; Claude Debussy Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune; Hector Berlioz „Königin Mab oder die Fee der Träume“ aus der dramatischen Symphonie „Romeo und Julia“, op. 17 · · · Johann Sebastian Bach Passacaglia; bearbeitet von Ottorino Respighi	Gioachino Rossini Ouverture zur Oper „La scala di seta“ („Die seidene Leiter“) · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98 · · · — Pause — · Claude Debussy Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune. Eglogue pour Orchestre d'après Mallarmé („Der Nachmittag eines Fauns“) · · · Hector Berlioz „Königin Mab oder die Fee der Träume“ aus der dramatischen Symphonie „Romeo und Julia“, op. 17 · · · Johann Sebastian Bach Passacaglia; bearbeitet von Ottorino Respighi	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.4		14/10/1934		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arturo Toscanini	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gioachino Rossini Ouverture zu "La scala di seta"; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98; Claude Debussy Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune; Hector Berlioz Romeo und Julia, Scherzo: Fee Mab; Ottorino Respighi, Johann Sebastian Bach Passacaglia	Gioachino Rossini Ouverture zur Oper „La scala di seta“ („Die seidene Leiter“) · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 c-Moll, op. 98 · · — Pause — · Claude Debussy Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune. Eglogue pour Orchestre d'après Mallarmé („Der Nachmittag eines Fauns“) · · Hector Berlioz „Königin Mab oder die Fee der Träume“ aus der dramatischen Symphonie „Romeo und Julia“, op. 17 · · Johann Sebastian Bach Passacaglia; bearbeitet von Ottorino Respighi	Musikverein Archive		NWT 15.10.1934
Bruckner	No.4		17/10/1934	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Georg Ludwig Jochum	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b; Frédéric Chopin Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 e-moll op. 11; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouverture Nr. 3, op. 72a · · Frédéric Chopin Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 e-Moll, op. 11 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		23/10/1934	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Sinfonie-Orchester	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouverture zur Oper "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit Konzertschluß von W. A. Mozart bzw. R. Wagner; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)	Programme: Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouverture zu „Iphigenie in Aulis“ (Bearbeitung: Richard Wagner) (1774/1847); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll (Wiener Fassung) (1865-1866/1890-1891). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		24/10/1934	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouverture zur Oper "Iphigenie in Aulis" mit Konzertschluß von W. A. Mozart bzw. R. Wagner; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)	Programme: Christoph Willibald Gluck Ouverture zu „Iphigenie in Aulis“ (Bearbeitung: Richard Wagner) (1774/1847); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll (Wiener Fassung) (1865-1866/1890-1891). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		03/11/1934		Special Concert		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Willem Mengelberg	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Christian Bach <i>Symphonie B-Dur, op. 18, Nr. 2</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 6 in F Major, op. 68 ("Pastorale")</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i>	Programme: Johann Christian Bach Sinfonia B-Dur / Ouverture zur Oper »Lucio Silla« T 232 (1774); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur op. 68 »Pastorale« (1807-1808); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901). Note: Öffentliche Generalprobe. Presented by: KD Dr. Artur Hohenberg	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		04/11/1934		Special Concert		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Willem Mengelberg	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Christian Bach <i>Symphonie B-Dur, op. 18, Nr. 2</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 6 in F Major, op. 68 ("Pastorale")</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i>	Programme: Johann Christian Bach Sinfonia B-Dur / Ouverture zur Oper »Lucio Silla« T 232 (1774); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur op. 68 »Pastorale« (1807-1808); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901). Presented by: KD Dr. Artur Hohenberg	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		17/11/1934		2nd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 2	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (2nd Version 1878/1880); Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowskij <i>Symphony No. 6 in B Minor, op. 74 ("Pathétique")</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“ · · — Pause — · Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowskij Symphonie Nr. 6 h-Moll, op. 74, „Pathétique“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		18/11/1934		2nd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (2nd Version 1878/1880); Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowskij <i>Symphony No. 6 in B Minor, op. 74 ("Pathétique")</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“ · · — Pause — · Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowskij Symphonie Nr. 6 h-Moll, op. 74, „Pathétique“	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		21/11/1934	00:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 23 A-Dur KV 488; Paul Dukas "L'apprenti sorcier" ("Der Zauberlehrling"), symphonisches Scherzo für Orchester; Riccardo Pick-Mangiagalli "Sortilegi", symphonische Dichtung für Klavier und Orchester	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68 · · Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester A-Dur, KV 488 · · Paul Dukas Der Zauberlehrling, Symphonisches Scherzo nach einer Ballade von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe („L'apprenti sorcier“) · · Riccardo Pick-Mangiagalli Sortilegi	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		05/12/1934		Anniversary Concert Former Students State Academy	Staatsakademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schmidt <i>Präludium und Fuge D-Dur</i> Franz Grillparzer <i>An die Musik</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 2 in C Minor, Urlicht</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7, Adagio</i> ; Emil von Sauer <i>Gebet (Pregiera) für Klavier</i> ; Emil von Sauer <i>Konzert -Étude 6 "Esenlaub"</i> ; Hugo Wolf <i>Gebet "Herr schicke was du willst"</i> ; Hugo Wolf <i>Harfenspieler III "Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen aß"</i> ; Hugo Wolf <i>Der Freund (Lied) "Wer auf den Wogen schliefe"</i> ; Joseph Marx <i>Castelli Romani f. Klavier u. Orch., I: Villa Hadriana</i> ; Karl Goldmark <i>Ouv. Sakuntala, op. 13</i>	Jubiläumskonzert der Staatsakademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst · Komponisten, Dirigenten und Mitwirkende waren ehemalige Schüler oder Lehrer der Akademie · beziehungsweise ihrer Vorgängerin des Konservatoriums der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde · · Franz Schmidt Präludium und Fuge D-Dur · · Franz Grillparzer An die Musik · Gustav Mahler Urlicht · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll - Adagio · · — Pause — · Emil von Sauer Pregiera · Esenlaub · · Hugo Wolf Gebet · Harfenspieler III · Der Freund · · Joseph Marx Castelli romani - I. Villa Hadriana · · Karl Goldmark Ouverture „Sakuntala“, op. 13	Musikverein Archive		IKZ 05.12.1934
Mahler	No.2		05/12/1934		Anniversary Concert Former Students State Academy	Staatsakademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schmidt <i>Präludium und Fuge D-Dur</i> ; Franz Grillparzer <i>An die Musik</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie No. 2 c-moll, Urlicht</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7, Adagio</i> ; Emil von Sauer <i>Gebet (Pregiera) für Klavier</i> ; Emil von Sauer <i>Konzert -Étude 6 "Esenlaub"</i> ; Hugo Wolf <i>Gebet "Herr schicke was du willst"</i> ; Hugo Wolf <i>Harfenspieler III (Lied) "Wer auf den Wogen schliefe"</i> ; Joseph Marx <i>Castelli Romani f. Klavier u. Orch., I: Villa Hadriana</i> ; Karl Goldmark <i>Ouv. Sakuntala, op. 13</i>	Jubiläumskonzert der Staatsakademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst · Komponisten, Dirigenten und Mitwirkende waren ehemalige Schüler oder Lehrer der Akademie · beziehungsweise ihrer Vorgängerin des Konservatoriums der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde · · Franz Schmidt Präludium und Fuge D-Dur · · Franz Grillparzer An die Musik · Gustav Mahler Urlicht · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll - Adagio · · — Pause — · Emil von Sauer Pregiera · · Esenlaub · · Hugo Wolf Gebet · · Harfenspieler III · · Der Freund · · Joseph Marx Castelli romani - I. Villa Hadriana · · Karl Goldmark Ouverture „Sakuntala“, op. 13	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		09/12/1934	16:30	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner "Eine Faust-Ouvertüre" d-moll WWV 59 (überarbeitete Version); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Pause; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Franz Liszt Ungarische Rhapsodie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Richard Wagner Eine Faust-Ouverture (1839-1854); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58 (1805-1806); Franz Liszt Ungarische Rhapsodie Nr. 2 cis-moll S 244/2 (1846-1851). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		06/01/1935	16:30	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 Es-Dur S 124; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Peter Cornelius Ouverture D-Dur zu »Der Barbier von Bagdad« (1855-1858); Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 Es-Dur S 124 (1848); ***; Zur Erinnerung an Ferdinand Löwe: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		08/01/1935	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde" WWV 90; Hugo Wolf "Penthesilea", symphonische Dichtung; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Tristan und Isolde« (1857-1859); Hugo Wolf Penthesilea, Symphonische Dichtung (1883); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		09/01/1935	19:30	»Ferdinand Löwe-Gedenkfeier«, Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Vorspiel und "Liebestod" aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde" WWV 90; Hugo Wolf "Penthesilea", symphonische Dichtung; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Richard Wagner Vorspiel und Liebestod (Tristan und Isolde) (1857-1859); Hugo Wolf Penthesilea, Symphonische Dichtung (1883); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: »Ferdinand Löwe-Gedenkfeier«. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		12/01/1935		5th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 5	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Dr. Albert Coates	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Juri Schaporin Symphonie c-Moll, op. 11	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68 · · Yuri Schaporin Symphonie, op. 11	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		13/01/1935		5th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Dr. Albert Coates	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Juri Schaporin Symphonie c-Moll, op. 11	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68 · · Yuri Schaporin Symphonie, op. 11	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		20/01/1935	11:45			RAVAG Wien	Rudolf Weirich	Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2 D-Dur Hob. VIIb/2; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)				
Brahms	No.2		04/02/1935		Radio Concert		Ravag	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 3 in F Major, op. 90; Johannes Brahms Academic Festival Overture, op. 80; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Brahms	No.3		04/02/1935		Radio Concert		Ravag	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Johannes Brahms Academic Festival Overture, op. 80; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 in D Major, op. 73				
Brahms	No.4		06/02/1935	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Carl Schuricht	Wiener Symphoniker	Claude Debussy "La Mer", Drei symphonische Skizzen für Orchester; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Claude Debussy La Mer. Drei symphonische Skizzen für Orchester · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.4		10/02/1935	16:30	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Johann Christian Bach <i>Symphonie B-Dur, op. 18, Nr. 2</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphony No. 6 in F Major, op. 68 ("Pastorale")</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur</i>	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur für großes Orchester und Sopran-Solo (1899-1901); ***; Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); Paul Dukas L'apprenti sorcier »Der Zauberlehrling«. Symphonisches Scherzo nach Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1897). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		12/02/1935	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Liszt »Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo«, symphonische Dichtung S 96; Rudolf Kattnigg "Partita giocosa" für Klavier und Orchester; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Franz Liszt Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo, Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 2 c-moll S 96 (1849–1854); Rudolf Kattnigg Partita giocosa für Klavier und Orchester op. 15 (UA); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		13/02/1935	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/5	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Liszt »Tasso, Lamento e Trionfo«, symphonische Dichtung S 96; Rudolf Kattnigg "Partita giocosa" für Klavier und Orchester; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Franz Liszt Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo, Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 2 c-moll S 96 (1849–1854); Rudolf Kattnigg Partita giocosa für Klavier und Orchester op. 15; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		14/02/1935	20:40			RAVAG Wien	von Zemlinsky	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur				
Bruckner	No.9		06/03/1935	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 5	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabata	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur, op. 73 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		09/03/1935		7th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 7	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 35] in D Major, K. 385 ("Haffner")</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur, KV 385, „Haffner Symphonie“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.5		10/03/1935		7th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 35] in D Major, K. 385 ("Haffner")</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur, KV 385, „Haffner Symphonie“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		23/03/1935		8th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 8	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Symphony No. 1 in B-flat Major, op. 38, ("Spring"); Florentin Schmitt Etude sym. pour le "Palais Haute" d'E. Poe, op. 49; Maurice Ravel Le Tombeau de Couperin; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Robert Schumann Symphonie Nr. 1 B-Dur, op. 38, „Frühlingsymphonie“ · · Florent Schmitt Etude Symphonique pour le „Palais Haute“ d'Edgar Poe · · Maurice Ravel Le Tombeau de Couperin · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		24/03/1935		8th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Symphony No. 1 in B-flat Major, op. 38, ("Spring"); Florentin Schmitt Etude sym. pour le "Palais Haute" d'E. Poe, op. 49; Maurice Ravel Le Tombeau de Couperin; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Robert Schumann Symphonie Nr. 1 B-Dur, op. 38, „Frühlingsymphonie“ · · Florent Schmitt Etude Symphonique pour le „Palais Haute“ d'Edgar Poe · · Maurice Ravel Le Tombeau de Couperin · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.3		06/04/1935		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel <i>Konzert für Orchester und Orgel, op. 3 Nr. 6</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll</i>	Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert für Orchester und Orgel D-Dur · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.3		07/04/1935		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel <i>Konzert für Orchester und Orgel, op. 3 Nr. 6</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll</i>	Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert für Orchester und Orgel D-Dur · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		09/04/1935	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Toccata, Adagio und Fuge C-Dur BWV 564 (1708-1717); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		10/04/1935	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Toccata, Adagio und Fuge C-Dur BWV 564 (1708-1717); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Toccata, Adagio und Fuge C-Dur BWV 564 (1708-1717); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Zweite Fassung von 1890) (1884-1887/1890). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		16/04/1935		Radio Concert		Ravag	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Symphony No. 1 in B-flat Major, op. 38, ("Spring"); Maurice Ravel Le Tombeau de Couperin; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Bruckner	No.4		20/04/1935	12:00			RAVAG Wien	Hans Pless	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Hans Pitzner Drei Vorspiele zur musikalischen Legende "Palestrina"; Arnold Röhrling Rhapsodie für Klavier und Orchester; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84				
Bruckner	No.4		26/06/1935		Radio Concert		Ravag	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888); Richard Strauss „Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche (Till Eulenspiegels Merry Pranks)“, op. 28				
Bruckner	No.3		30/08/1935	20:30			RAVAG Wien	Ernst Kunwald	Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 102 B-Dur Hob.I:102; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Bruckner	No.7		09/10/1935	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 2 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72a; Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2 D-Dur Hob. VIIb2; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 2, op. 72a · · Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur, Hob. VIIb2 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		16/10/1935	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg" WWV 70; Friedrich Bayer Konzert für Klavier und Orchester b-moll; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zu »Tannhäuser« (1845); Friedrich Bayer Konzert für Klavier und Orchester b-moll; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871–1872/1877). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		17/10/1935	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg" WWV 70; Friedrich Bayer Konzert für Klavier und Orchester b-moll; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zu »Tannhäuser« (1845); Friedrich Bayer Konzert für Klavier und Orchester b-moll; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871–1872/1877). Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		19/10/1935		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joseph Haydn <i>Symphony No. 94 in G major, Hob. I:94 ("Surprise")</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouv. <i>Coriolan c-Moll</i> , op. 62; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major</i> , WAB 107	Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur, Hob. I:94, „Mit dem Paukenschlag“ · · Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zu dem Trauerspiel „Coriolan“ c-Moll, op. 62 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		20/10/1935		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joseph Haydn <i>Symphony No. 94 in G major, Hob. I:94 ("Surprise")</i> ; Ludwig van Beethoven Ouv. <i>Coriolan c-Moll</i> , op. 62; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major</i> , WAB 107	Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur, Hob. I:94, „Mit dem Paukenschlag“ · · Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zu dem Trauerspiel „Coriolan“ c-Moll, op. 62 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		06/11/1935	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Richard Strauss "Don Juan", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 20 TrV 156; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zu »Oberon« J 306 (1825–1826); Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		07/11/1935	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Richard Strauss "Don Juan", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 20 TrV 156; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zu »Oberon« J 306 (1825–1826); Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.2		08/11/1935	20:45			RAVAG Wien	Josef Krips	Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Joseph Haydn Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 11 D-Dur Hob. XVIII:11; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Mahler	No.1		23/11/1935		3rd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 3	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wilhelm Jerger <i>Partita für Orchester</i> , op. 21; Sergej Rachmaninow <i>Piano Concerto No. 3 in D minor</i> , op. 30; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 1 in D Major</i>	Wilhelm Jerger <i>Partita für Orchester</i> · · · Sergej Wassiljewitsch Rachmaninow Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 3 d-Moll, op. 30 · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.1		24/11/1935		3rd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wilhelm Jerger <i>Partita für Orchester</i> , op. 21; Sergej Rachmaninow <i>Piano Concerto No. 3 in D minor</i> , op. 30; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 1 in D Major</i>	Wilhelm Jerger <i>Partita für Orchester</i> · · · Sergej Wassiljewitsch Rachmaninow Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 3 d-Moll, op. 30 · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		04/12/1935	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/3	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Max Trapp <i>Divertimento für Kammerorchester</i> op. 27; Pjotr Iljitsch Tschaikowski Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 35; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Max Trapp <i>Divertimento für Kammerorchester</i> op. 27 (1931); (EA); Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowsky Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 35 (1878); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		05/12/1935	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Max Trapp <i>Divertimento für Kammerorchester</i> op. 27; Pjotr Iljitsch Tschaikowski Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 35; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Max Trapp <i>Divertimento für Kammerorchester</i> op. 27 (1931); Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowsky Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 35 (1878); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		15/01/1936	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Orchestersuite (Ouvertüre) Nr. 2 h-moll BWV 1067; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Antonín Dvořák Konzert für Klavier und Orchester g-moll op. 33; Zoltán Kodály "Galánta Táncok" ("Tänze aus Galánta"); George Enescu Rumänische Rhapsodie Nr. 1 A-Dur op. 11	Johann Sebastian Bach Suite für Flöte und Orchester h-Moll, BWV 1067 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · · Antonín Dvořák Konzert für Klavier und Orchester g-Moll, op. 33 · · · Zoltán Kodály Tänze aus Galánta (Erstaufführung) · · · George Enescu Rumänische Rhapsodie Nr. 1 A-Dur, op. 11 (Erstaufführung)	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		19/01/1936	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der fliegende Holländer"; Franz Liszt "Ungarische Fantasia" für Klavier und Orchester; Richard Strauss "Don Juan", Tondichtung für großes Orchester op. 20 TrV 156; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zu »Der fliegende Holländer« (1841); Franz Liszt »Fantasie über ungarische Volksmelodien S 123 für Klavier und Orchester (1852 ?); Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau op. 20 (1887–1888); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884–1885). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		29/01/1936	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/5	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Antonín Dvořák Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op. 53; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zu »Egmont« op. 84 (1809-1810); Antonín Dvořák Konzert für Violine und Orchester a-moll op. 53 (1879-1882); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		30/01/1936	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur op. 68 "Pastorale"; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur op. 68 »Pastorale« (1807-1808); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		22/02/1936		6th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 6	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre "Abu Hassan"; Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Symphonie Nr. 3 in a-Moll, op. 56, "Schottische"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zu „Abu Hassan“ · · · Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Symphonie Nr. 3 a-Moll, op. 56, „Schottische“ · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		23/02/1936		6th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Felix Weingartner	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre "Abu Hassan"; Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Symphonie Nr. 3 in a-Moll, op. 56, "Schottische"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zu „Abu Hassan“ · · · Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Symphonie Nr. 3 a-Moll, op. 56, „Schottische“ · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		26/02/1936	20:25			RAVAG Wien	Josef Krips	Wiener Symphoniker	Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von W. A. Mozart op. 132; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 4 D-Dur KV 218; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98				
Bruckner	No.8		04/03/1936	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 6	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Franz Schmidt Toccata und Fuge für Orgel As-Dur (Uraufführung) · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		08/03/1936	16:30	Letztes Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106; Georg Friedrich Händel "Dank sei dir Herr", Arioso für eine Altstimme aus der "Canata con strumenti"; Franz Schubert "Die Allmacht" D 852 in einer Bearbeitung von Felix Mottl; Pause; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Antonín Dvořák "Zlatý kolovrat" ("Das goldene Spinnrad"), symphonische Dichtung op. 109	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 3« (1805-1806) ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (2. Satz: Adagio. Sehr feierlich) (1879-1881); Georg Friedrich Händel Dank sei dir Herr, Arioso; Franz Schubert Die Allmacht D 852 (Bearbeitung für Orchester; Felix Mottl) (1825); ***; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); Antonín Dvořák Das goldene Spinnrad. Symphonische Dichtung op. 109 (1896). Note: Letztes Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		11/03/1936	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/7	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Liszt "Die Ideale", symphonische Dichtung Nr. 12; Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur S 125; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Franz Liszt Die Ideale. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 12 S 106 (1857), Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur S 125 (1848); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.7		12/03/1936	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Liszt "Die Ideale", symphonische Dichtung Nr. 12; Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur S 125; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Franz Liszt Die Ideale. Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 12 S 106 (1857), Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 A-Dur S 125 (1848); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		13/03/1936	20:05		Verein Wiener Symphoniker	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner "Psalm 150" für Sopran, gemischten Chor und Orchester WAB 38; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Anton Bruckner "Psalm 150" für Sopran, gemischten Chor und Orchester WAB 38; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.8		16/03/1936	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		04/04/1936		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphonyie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		05/04/1936		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Symphonyie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		09/04/1936		Radio Concert		Ravag	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Bruckner	No.9		15/04/1936	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Volkmar Andreae	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendete« (1822); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887–1896). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		16/04/1936	19:30		Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendete« (1822); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.2		25/04/1936		8th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 8	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie No. 2 c-moll</i>	Unter dem Ehrenschutze des Herrn Bundeskanzlers Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg · Gustav Mahler-Gedächtnisfeier · (gestorben am 18. Mai 1911) · Gustav Mahler Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen · · Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.2		26/04/1936		8th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphonie No. 2 c-moll</i>	Unter dem Ehrenschutze des Herrn Bundeskanzlers Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg · Gustav Mahler-Gedächtnisfeier · (gestorben am 18. Mai 1911) · Gustav Mahler Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen · · Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		03/05/1936		Memorial Celebration Georg Reimers		Burgtheater	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 3rd Movement: <i>Adagio. Feierlich langsam, doch nicht schleppend</i>				
Mahler	No.8		15/05/1936	19:30	gemäß Vorankündigung Kalendarium; Voraufführung		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Note: gemäß Vorankündigung Kalendarium; Voraufführung. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.8		16/05/1936	19:30	Subscription series: Chorkonzerte		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 8 Es-Dur in zwei Sätzen für großes Orchester, acht Solisten, zwei gemischte Chöre und Knabenchor (1906–1907). Subscription series: Chorkonzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.9		22/05/1936	20:20			RAVAG Wien	Bruno Walter	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen", Liederzyklus; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur				
Brahms	No.1		17/06/1936	19:30	Festwochen in Wien	Konzertdirektion Georg Kugel	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Bruno Walter	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Tragische Ouvertüre d-Moll, op. 81; Johannes Brahms Schicksalslied, op. 54; Johannes Brahms Nanie, op. 82; Johannes Brahms Rhapsodie für eine Altstimme, Männerchor und Orchester, op. 53, „Alt-Rhapsodie“; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Johannes Brahms-Abend · Johannes Brahms Tragische Ouvertüre d-Moll, op. 81 · Schicksalslied, op. 54 · Nanie, op. 82 · Rhapsodie für eine Altstimme, Männerchor und Orchester, op. 53, „Alt-Rhapsodie“ · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		08/07/1936	20:30			RAVAG Wien	Theodor Christoph	Wiener Symphoniker	Karl Goldmark "Im Frühling", Ouverture op. 36; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Emmanuel Bondeville "Bal des Pendus", Scherzo; Franz Liszt "Mazeppa", symphonische Dichtung Nr. 6; Piotr Iljitsch Tschaiakowski "Ouverture solennelle 1812", Festouvertüre op. 96				
Brahms	No.2		16/08/1936	11:45			RAVAG Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Karl Goldmark "Sakuntala", Overtüre op. 13; Alexander Tscherepnin Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 F-Dur op. 12; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Brahms	No.2		09/09/1936	20:45			RAVAG Wien	Eugene Ormandy	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Isaac Albéniz "El Corpus Christi en Sevilla" aus "Iberia" 12 Impressionen in vier Bänden für Klavier (Bearbeitung: Enrique Arboleya); Claude Debussy "La Mer", Drei symphonische Skizzen für Orchester				
Bruckner	No.4		07/10/1936	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll WAB 109	Konzert zur Erinnerung des 7. internationalen Bruckner-Festes anlässlich der 40. Wiederkehr des Todesages von Anton Bruckner · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“; Originalfassung · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll;	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		07/10/1936	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Konzert zur Erinnerung des 7. internationalen Bruckner-Festes anlässlich der 40. Wiederkehr des Todesages von Anton Bruckner · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“; Originalfassung · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll;	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.7		10/10/1936		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Otto Klemperer	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7, Adagio</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>	Bruckner-Gedächtnis-Feier · Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur - Adagio</i> · · · <i>Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur</i> ; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		10/10/1936		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Otto Klemperer	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7, Adagio</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>	Bruckner-Gedächtnis-Feier · Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur - Adagio</i> · · · <i>Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur</i> ; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		11/10/1936		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Otto Klemperer	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7, Adagio</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>	Bruckner-Gedächtnis-Feier · Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur - Adagio</i> · · · <i>Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur</i> ; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		11/10/1936		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Otto Klemperer	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7, Adagio</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, WAB 105</i>	Bruckner-Gedächtnis-Feier · Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur - Adagio</i> · · · <i>Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur</i> ; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		11/10/1936	17:00	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert im Rahmen des 7. Internationalen Brucknerfestes	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101</i> (Linzer Fassung 1866); Pause; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104</i> "Romantische"	Programme: Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll</i> (Linzer Fassung) (1865–1866); ***; <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur</i> »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert im Rahmen des 7. Internationalen Brucknerfestes. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		11/10/1936	17:00	Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert im Rahmen des 7. Internationalen Brucknerfestes	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101</i> (Linzer Fassung 1866); Pause; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104</i> "Romantische"	Programme: Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll</i> (Linzer Fassung) (1865–1866); ***; <i>Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur</i> »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Völkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert im Rahmen des 7. Internationalen Brucknerfestes. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		12/10/1936	21:00			RAVAG Wien	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106</i>				
Bruckner	No.8		13/10/1936	19:30	Festkonzert anlässlich der 40. Wiederkehr des Todestages Anton Bruckners und des 7. Internationalen Brucknerfestes in Wien	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108</i> (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Präludium und Fuge pro organo pleno Es-Dur BWV 552 »St. Anna«</i> (1737); Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur</i> (1881-1883). Note: Festkonzert anlässlich der 40. Wiederkehr des Todestages Anton Bruckners und des 7. Internationalen Brucknerfestes in Wien. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		14/10/1936	19:30	Wiederkehr des Todestages Anton Bruckners und des 7. Internationalen Brucknerfestes in Wien. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108</i> (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Präludium und Fuge pro organo pleno Es-Dur BWV 552 »St. Anna«</i> (1737); Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur</i> (1881-1883). Note: Festkonzert anlässlich der 40. Wiederkehr des Todestages Anton Bruckners und des 7. Internationalen Brucknerfestes in Wien. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		25/10/1936		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Otto Klemperer	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann <i>Overture from "Manfred"</i> ; Dramatic Poem in Three Parts, op. 115; Alban Berg <i>Concerto for Violin and Orchestra</i> , „Dem Andenken eines Engels“ ("To the Memory of an Angel"); Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68</i>	Konzert zugunsten der Wohltätigkeitsvereine der Wiener Philharmoniker · Robert Schumann <i>Ouvertüre zu Lord Byrons „Manfred“</i> , op. 115 · · · Alban Berg <i>Konzert für Violine und Orchester</i> , „Dem Andenken eines Engels“ · · · Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll</i>	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		21/11/1936		4th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 4	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arturo Toscanini	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Ouv. Coriolan c-Moll, op. 62</i> ; Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68</i> ; Ferruccio Busoni <i>Harlekins Reigen, op. 46</i> (Rondo <i>Arlecchinesco</i>); Dmitri Schostakowitsch <i>Symphony No. 1 in F minor, op. 10</i>	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Ouvertüre zu dem Trauerspiel „Coriolan“ c-Moll, op. 62</i> · · · Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68</i> · · · Ferruccio Benvenuto Busoni <i>Harlekins Reigen, op. 46</i> · · · Dmitrij Schostakowitsch <i>Symphonie Nr. 10 e-Moll, op. 93</i>	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		22/11/1936		4th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arturo Toscanini	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Ouv. Coriolan c-Moll, op. 62</i> ; Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68</i> ; Ferruccio Busoni <i>Harlekins Reigen, op. 46</i> (Rondo <i>Arlecchinesco</i>); Dmitri Schostakowitsch <i>Symphony No. 1 in F minor, op. 10</i>	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Ouvertüre zu dem Trauerspiel „Coriolan“ c-Moll, op. 62</i> · · · Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68</i> · · · Ferruccio Benvenuto Busoni <i>Harlekins Reigen, op. 46</i> · · · Dmitrij Schostakowitsch <i>Symphonie Nr. 10 e-Moll, op. 93</i>	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		24/11/1936	19:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Rondo für Klavier und Orchester A-Dur KV 386</i> ; Robert Schumann <i>Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54</i> ; Pause; Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73</i>	Programme: in memoriam Theodor Köcher: Richard Wagner <i>Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds</i> (Götterdämmerung) (1869-1874); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Konzerttrondo A-Dur K 386</i> (1782); Robert Schumann <i>Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54</i> (1841-1845); *** ; Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73</i> . Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		25/11/1936	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Rondo für Klavier und Orchester A-Dur KV 386</i> ; Robert Schumann <i>Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54</i> ; Pause; Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73</i>	Programme: in memoriam Theodor Köcher: Richard Wagner <i>Trauermarsch / Trauermusik beim Tode Siegfrieds</i> (Götterdämmerung) (1869-1874); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Konzerttrondo A-Dur K 386</i> (1782); Robert Schumann <i>Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54</i> (1841-1845); *** ; Johannes Brahms <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73</i> . Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.2		13/12/1936	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Peter Cornelius Ouverture zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Edouard Lalo Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 2 d-moll op. 21 "Symphonie espagnole"; Claude Debussy "Petite Suite"; orchestriert von Henri Büsser L. 65; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Programme: Peter Cornelius Ouverture D-Dur zu »Der Barbier von Bagdad« (1855-1858); Edouard Lalo Symphonie espagnole d-moll op. 21 (1874); Claude Debussy Petite suite (1886-1889); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73. Note : Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		13/12/1936	11:45			RAVAG Wien	Manfred Willfort	Wiener Symphoniker	Hans Pfitzner Ouverture aus der Musik zu Kleists "Das Käthchen von Heilbronn" op. 17; Robert Schumann Ouverture, Scherzo und Finale op. 52; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				
Mahler	No.5		16/01/1937		5th Subscription Concert, Öffentliches Generalprobe / 5	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 40] in G Minor, K. 550</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 5 in C-sharp Minor</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-Moll, KV 550 · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.5		17/01/1937		5th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 40] in G Minor, K. 550</i> ; Gustav Mahler <i>Symphony No. 5 in C-sharp Minor</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-Moll, KV 550 · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 5	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		17/01/1937	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15; Wilhelm Kienzl Lieder mit Orchester 3; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15 (1854-1859/1875); Wilhelm Kienzl Meine Mutter op. 66/2, Meine Lust ist Leben! op. 44/4, Bonapartes Heimkehr; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872-1873/1877/1889). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.4		24/02/1937	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 6	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur; Paul Hindemith "Der Schwanendreher", Konzert nach alten Volksliedern für Viola und kleines Orchester; Antonin Dvořák "Karneval", Ouverture op. 92	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 4 G-Dur · · Paul Hindemith „Der Schwanendreher“. Konzert nach alten Volksliedern für Bratsche und kleines Orchester (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Antonin Dvořák Karneval. Ouverture, op. 92	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		28/02/1937	11:45			RAVAG Wien	Herbert Winkler	Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper "Oberon"; Georg Friedrich Händel Konzert für Violoncello und Streichorchester g-moll in einer Bearbeitung von Robert Emil Bockmühl; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				
Brahms	No.3		13/03/1937		7th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 7	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Eugen Zádor Tanzsinfonie; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 in C Major, op. 21	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · Eugen Zador Tanzsinfonie · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		14/03/1937		7th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Eugen Zádor Tanzsinfonie; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 in C Major, op. 21	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · Eugen Zador Tanzsinfonie · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		20/03/1937		Nicolai Concert, Außerordentliches Konzert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture "Der Freischütz"; Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5, D-Dur, BWV 1050; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper „Der Freischütz“ · · Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5 D-Dur, BWV 1050 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		21/03/1937		Nicolai Concert, Außerordentliches Konzert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture "Der Freischütz"; Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5, D-Dur, BWV 1050; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper „Der Freischütz“ · · Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5 D-Dur, BWV 1050 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		14/04/1937	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 8	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / RAVAG	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine, Violoncello und Orchester a-Moll op. 102 "Doppelkonzert"; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Zum 40. Todestag von Johannes Brahms · Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · Konzert für Violine und Violoncello mit Orchester a-Moll, op. 102 „Doppelkonzert“ · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		NWT 16.04.1937
Brahms	No.4		17/04/1937		8th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 8	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Kurt Weill Sym. Phantasie (1.Sym.); Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Kurt Weill Symphonische Fantasie · · Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		18/04/1937		8th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Kurt Weill Sym. Phantasie (1.Sym.); Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20 · Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Kurt Weill Symphonische Fantasie · · Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		09/05/1937		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Luigi Cherubini <i>Ouverture Anacreon</i> ; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Concerto for Piano [No. 20] in D Minor, K. 466</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107</i>	Luigi Maria Cherubini Ouverture zu „Anacréon“ · · Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester d-Moll, KV 466 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		17/05/1937	11:45			RAVAG Wien	Ignaz Waghalter	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde" WWV 90; Vittorio Rieti Konzert für Klavier und Orchester in 1 Satz C-Dur; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				RW 14.05.1937
Brahms	No.3		09/06/1937	20:00	Wiener Festwochen 1937	Konzertdirektion Georg Kugel	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Peter Iljitsch Tschaikowski Symphonie Nr. 5 e-Moll, op. 64	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · Peter Iljitsch Tschaiakowski Symphonie Nr. 5 e-Moll, op. 64	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		07/07/1937	19:25			RAVAG Wien	Kurt Pahlen	Wiener Symphoniker	Alexander Moyzes "Nikola Subaj", dramatische Ouverture; Giuseppe Tartini Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur in einer Bearbeitung von Louis Delune; Hans Ewald Heller "Wandlungen", Thema und Variationen; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		05/10/1937	19:30	Kunsterziehliche Veranstaltungen des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper "Oberon"; Carl Maria von Weber Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur in einer Bearbeitung von G. Cassado; Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester G-Dur op. 42; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Oberon« J 306 (1825-1826), Konzert Nr. 2 Es-Dur op. 74 (Fassung für Violoncello und Orchester) (1811); Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester G-Dur op. 42 (1935) (EA); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Kunsterziehliche Veranstaltungen des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		06/10/1937	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zur Oper "Oberon"; Carl Maria von Weber Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur in einer Bearbeitung von G. Cassado; Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester G-Dur op. 42; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Oberon« J 306 (1825-1826), Konzert Nr. 2 Es-Dur op. 74 (Fassung für Violoncello und Orchester) (1811); Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester G-Dur op. 42 (1935); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		13/10/1937	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert (Beethoven-Zyklus) / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / Österreichisc he Radio- Verkehrs A.G. (Ravag) Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 21; Paul Hindemith "Mathis der Maler", Symphonie; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21 · · · Paul Hindemith Symphonie „Mathis der Maler“ · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		16/10/1937		2nd Subscription Concert, Öffentliches Generalprobe / 2	Wiener Philharmonik er	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arturo Toscanini	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Serenade Nr. 2, A-Dur, op. 16; Johannes Brahms Variations on a Theme by Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Johannes Brahms Serenade Nr. 2 A-Dur, op. 16 · · · Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · · Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		17/10/1937		2nd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmonik er	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Arturo Toscanini	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Serenade Nr. 2, A-Dur, op. 16; Johannes Brahms Variations on a Theme by Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Johannes Brahms Serenade Nr. 2 A-Dur, op. 16 · · · Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · · Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		27/10/1937		Radio Concert		Ravag	Hans Knappertsbus ch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphony [No. 41] in C Major, K. 551 ("Jupiter"); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Bruckner	No.3		28/10/1937		Concert in the Konzerthaus	Wiener Konzerthausg esellschaft	Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hermann Abendroth	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven <i>Overture No. 3 to the Opera "Fidelio" ("Leonora Overture) op. 72b</i> ; Johannes Brahms <i>Concerto for Violin in D Major, op. 77</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805–1806); Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77 (1877–1878); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		30/11/1937	19:30	Kunsterziehliche Veranstaltungen	Wiener Konzerthausg esellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Ouverture zur Oper "Berenice" HWV 38; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Ouverture zu »Berenice« (1736–1737); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73 (1809); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Kunsterziehliche Veranstaltungen. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		01/12/1937	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausg esellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Ouverture zur Oper "Berenice" HWV 38; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Ouverture zu »Berenice« (1736–1737); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73 (1809); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		06/12/1937		Radio Concert		Ravag	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 in B Minor, D. 759 ("Unfinished"); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90				
Bruckner	No.8		09/12/1937	19:30	Festkonzert / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 83; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	125-jähriges Bestandesjubiläum der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien · Unter dem Ehrenschatz des Herrn Bundespräsidenten · Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur, op. 83 · · · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		T 11.12.1937
Bruckner	No.4		02/01/1938	16:30	Vollstämmliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausg esellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862–1867); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61 (Kadenzen: Joachim) (1896); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantisches« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Vollstämmliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.9		15/01/1938		5th Subscription Concert, Öffentliches Generalprobe / 5	Wiener Philharmonik er	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony No. 38 in D Major, K. 504 "Prague"</i> ; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur, KV 504, „Prager“ · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		NWJ 17.01.1938; NFP 18.01.1938; R 18.01.1938
Mahler	No.9		16/01/1938		5th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmonik er	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony No. 38 in D Major, K. 504 "Prague"</i> ; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur, KV 504, „Prager“ · · · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 9 D-Dur	Musikverein Archive		NWJ 17.01.1938; NFP 18.01.1938; R 18.01.1938

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.3		13/02/1938	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner "Einzug der Götter in Walhall" aus der Oper "Das Rheingold" WWV 86A; Richard Wagner "Schlusszene der Brünnhilde" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D; Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 Es-Dur S 124; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Richard Wagner Einzug der Götter in Walhall (Das Rheingold) (1853–1854), Starke Scheite schichtet mir dort (Schlussgesang der Brünnhilde aus »Götterdämmerung«) (1869–1874); Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 Es-Dur S 124 (1848); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 4-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		17/02/1938		Radio Concert		Ravag	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Max Reger Var u Fuge f. Orch. über ein Thema v. Mozart A-Dur, op. 132; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98				
Bruckner	No.4		19/02/1938		6th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 6	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy <i>Ein Sommernachtstraum</i> ", Op. 21; Egon Wellesz <i>Prosperos Beschwörungen</i> , op. 53; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Ouverture zur Schauspielmusik „Ein Sommernachtstraum“, op. 21 · · Egon Wellesz Prosperos Beschwörungen, Fünf symphonische Stücke nach Shakespeares „Der Sturm“, op. 53 (Uraufführung) · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur „Romantische“, Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		20/02/1938		6th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Bruno Walter	Wiener Philharmoniker	Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy <i>Ein Sommernachtstraum</i> ", Op. 21; Egon Wellesz <i>Prosperos Beschwörungen</i> , op. 53; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)	Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy Ouverture zur Schauspielmusik „Ein Sommernachtstraum“, op. 21 · · Egon Wellesz Prosperos Beschwörungen, Fünf symphonische Stücke nach Shakespeares „Der Sturm“, op. 53 (Uraufführung) · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur „Romantische“, Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		20/02/1938	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Richard Strauss "Traum durch die Dämmerung" in einer Fassung für Orchester op. 29 Nr. 1; Richard Strauss "Morgen" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 4; Joseph Marx "Selige Nacht" für Gesang und Orchester nach einem Text von Otto Erich Hartleben; Joseph Marx "Waldseligkeit" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Richard Dehmelt; Pause; Vincent d'Indy Symphonie G-Dur über ein Thema aus den Cevennen op. 25 "Symphonie cévenole"; Franz Liszt "Les Préludes", symphonische Dichtung S 97	Programme : Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883); Richard Strauss Traum durch die Dämmerung op. 29/1 (1894-1895); Joseph Marx Selige Nacht (1912); Waldseligkeit (1911); ***; Vincent d'Indy Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français op. 25 für Klavier und Orchester »Symphonie Cévenole« (1886) (EA); Franz Liszt Les Préludes, Symphonische Dichtung Nr. 3 S 97 (1848-1854). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		13/03/1938	16:30	Letztes Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Haydn Variationen über die Volkshymne für Streichorchester; Hugo Wolf "Harfenspieler 1-3" für eine Singstimme und Orchester nach Gedichten von Goethe; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106, Adagio; Joseph Marx "Hat dich die Liebe berührt" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Joseph Marx "Marienlied" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Novalis; Joseph Marx "Und gestern hat er mir Rosen gebracht" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Thekla Lingen; Johann Strauss (Sohn) "Seid umschlungen, Millionen", Walzer op. 443	Programme: Joseph Haydn Variationen über die Volkshymne für Streichorchester (Streichquartett C-Dur Hob. III/77); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester c-moll K. 491 (1786); ***; Hugo Wolf Harfenspieler I-III (Goethe-Lieder Nr. 1–3) (1886); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (2. Satz, Adagio. Sehr feierlich) (1879–1881); Joseph Marx Hat dich die Liebe berührt (Italienisches Liederbuch) (1908), Marienlied (1909), Und gestern hat er mir Rosen gebracht (1909); Johann Strauß (Sohn) Seid umschlungen, Millionen. Walzer op. 443 (1892). Note: Letztes Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		19/03/1938	19:30	Fünftes Abonnementkonzert Wagner-Zyklus		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Leopold Reichwein Drei Melodramen im Geiste Adolf Hilders; Richard Wagner Ouverture zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867)	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Euryanthe« J 291 (1822-1823); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Leopold Reichwein Drei Melodramen im Geiste Adolf Hilders; Richard Wagner Ouverture zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862-1867). Note: Fünftes Abonnementkonzert Wagner-Zyklus. Presented by: Wiener Tonkünstlerorchester	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		21/03/1938		Extraordinary Concert Welfare Institutions	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Brandenburgisches Konzert</i> Nr. 3, G-Dur, BWV 1048; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	POSTPONED FROM 15 MARCH 1938: Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur, BWV 1048 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		04/05/1938	00:00		Reichsender Wien Wien		Robert Kolisko	Wiener Symphoniker	551 "Jupiter"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90				
Brahms	No.2		07/05/1938	00:00			Reichsender Wien Wien	Anton Konrath	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zum Festspiel "Die Ruinen von Athen" op. 113; Ludwig van Beethoven Türkischer Marsch aus dem Festspiel "Die Ruinen von Athen" op. 113; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Armin Hochstetter Romantische Ballade für großes Orchester; Hugo Wolf Vorspiel und Zwischenaktmusik aus der Oper "Der Corregidor"; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade Nr. 13 G-Dur KV 525 "Eine kleine Nachtmusik"; Joseph Lanner "Die Schönbrunner", Walzer op. 200; Johann Strauss (Sohn) Ouverture zur Operette "Waldmeister"				
Bruckner	No.7		11/05/1938	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/8	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Karl Höller "Hymnen über gregorianische Choralmelodien" für Orchester op. 18; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Karl Höller Hymnen, Vier sinfonische Sätze über gregorianische Choralmelodien op. 18 (1933) (EA); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.8		05/07/1938	00:00			Wiener Rathaus, Rathaus Wien Festsaal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)				
Brahms	No.4		21/09/1938	00:00			Reichssender Wien Wien	Otto Wartsch	Wiener Symphoniker	Pjotr Iljitsch Tschairowski Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 b-moll op. 23; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98				
Bruckner	No.4		09/10/1938	16:30	Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert; »Deutsche Romantiker«	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77; Louis Spohr Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 8 a-moll op. 47 "In Form einer Gesangs Szene"; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Freischütz" J 277 (1817–1821); Louis Spohr Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 8 a-moll op. 47 "in modo di scena cantata" (1816); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert; »Deutsche Romantiker«. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		12/10/1938	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Symphoniker	Werner Egk "Olympische Festmusik", Ballettmusik zum Festspiel "Olympische Jugend" für Orchester von Carl Diem; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Werner Egk Olympische Festmusik · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		22/10/1938	00:00		Organiser: NSDAP. - Gau Wien - Kreis I	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zu Goethes Trauerspiel „Egmont“, op. 84 · · Kreisleiter Dr. Wolfgang Scholz: Die kulturelle Sendung der Ostmark · Richard Wagner Vorspiel zur Oper „Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		02/11/1938	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Alfredo Casella Orchesterfassung der "Chaconne" BWV 1004 von J. S. Bach; Yrjö Kilpinen "Lieder um den Tod" op. 62; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Johann Sebastian Bach / Alfredo Casella Ciaconna für großes Orchester und Orgel (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Yrjö Kilpinen Lieder um den Tod, op. 62 (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Max Reger Fantasie über den Choral „Alle Menschen müssen sterben“, op. 52/1 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		03/11/1938	19:30		Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / NSDAP. / Die Deutsche Arbeitsfront / NS.-Gemeinschaft „Kraft durch Freude“ - Abteilung Feierabend	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Alfredo Casella Orchesterfassung der "Chaconne" BWV 1004 von J. S. Bach; Yrjö Kilpinen "Lieder um den Tod" op. 62; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Johann Sebastian Bach / Alfredo Casella Ciaconna für großes Orchester und Orgel (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Yrjö Kilpinen Lieder um den Tod, op. 62 (Erstaufführung in Wien) · · Max Reger Fantasie über den Choral „Alle Menschen müssen sterben“, op. 52/1 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		06/11/1938	16:30			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Wiener Symphoniker	Pjotr Iljitsch Tschairowski Serenade für Streichorchester C-Dur op. 48; Richard Strauss Burleske für Klavier und Orchester d-moll TAV 145; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Peter Iljitsch Tschairowsky Serenade C-Dur op. 48 für Streichorchester (1880); Richard Strauss Burleske d-moll AV 85 für Klavier und Orchester (1885–1886); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Volkstümliches Sinfonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		08/11/1938	19:30	Orchesterkonzert für die deutsche Arbeitsfront. N.S. Gemeinschaft »Kraft durch Freude«, Abteilung Feierabend	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg" WWV 70; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zu »Tannhäuser« (1845); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (1875–1878). Note: Orchesterkonzert für die deutsche Arbeitsfront. N.S. Gemeinschaft »Kraft durch Freude«, Abteilung Feierabend. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		09/11/1938	19:30	Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnement Konzert Sym/2	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Karl Böhm	Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg" WWV 70; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zu »Tannhäuser« (1845); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (1875–1878). Subscription series: Sinfonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft.	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5	Haas	12/11/1938		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Suite Nr. 2 h-Moll f. Flöte u. Streichor. BWV 1067</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, Original Version</i>	Johann Sebastian Bach Suite für Flöte und Orchester h-Moll, BWV 1067 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5	Haas	13/11/1938		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Suite Nr. 2 h-Moll f. Flöte u. Streichor. BWV 1067</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, Original Version</i>	Johann Sebastian Bach Suite für Flöte und Orchester h-Moll, BWV 1067 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		25/11/1938	00:00		NSDAP. - Gau Wien / Die Deutsche Arbeitsfront / NS.-Gemeinschaft „Kraft durch Freude“ - Abteilung Feierabend / Reichssender Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Jean Sibelius Historische Szenen; Pjotr Iljitsch Tschairowski Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 35; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Symphoniekonzert · Jean Sibelius Historische Szenen · · Peter Iljitsch Tschairowskij Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 35 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.4		17/12/1938		3rd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 3	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Hans Pfitzner Ouv. Kätzchen von Heilbronn, op. 17a · · · Herr Oluf. Ballade für Bariton und Orchester · · Richard Strauss Also sprach Zarathustra, op. 30; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Hans Pfitzner Overture zu Kleists „Kätzchen von Heilbronn“, op. 17a · · · Herr Oluf. Ballade für Bariton und Orchester · · Richard Strauss Also sprach Zarathustra. Tondichtung frei nach Friedrich Nietzsche für großes Orchester, op. 30 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		18/12/1938		3rd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Hans Pfitzner Ouv. Kätzchen von Heilbronn, op. 17a; Hans Pfitzner Herr Oluf, Ballade für Bariton u. Orch. , op. 12; Richard Strauss Also sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spoke Zarathustra), op. 30; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Hans Pfitzner Overture zu Kleists „Kätzchen von Heilbronn“, op. 17a · · · Herr Oluf. Ballade für Bariton und Orchester · · Richard Strauss Also sprach Zarathustra. Tondichtung frei nach Friedrich Nietzsche für großes Orchester, op. 30 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		08/01/1939	16:30	Orchesterkonzert für die deutsche Arbeitsfront. N.S. Gemeinschaft »Kraft durch Freude«, Abteilung Feierabend; »Die drei großen B« (Ausspruch Bülow's)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge pro organo pleno Es-Dur BWV 552 »St. Anna« (1737)); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73 (1809); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73. Note: Orchesterkonzert für die deutsche Arbeitsfront. N.S. Gemeinschaft »Kraft durch Freude«, Abteilung Feierabend; »Die drei großen B« (Ausspruch Bülow's). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		25/01/1939		Radio Concert		Reichssender	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Carl Maria von Weber Overture to Oberon; Franz Schubert 5 Deutsche Tänze m. Coda u. 7 Trios f. 2 Vl. , Vla. Johann Strauß II., Josef Strauß Pizzicato-Polka; Johann Strauß II. Emperor Waltz, op. 437				
Bruckner	No.7		14/02/1939	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 6	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	MOVED FROM 15 FEBRUARY 1939: Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur, op. 73 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur · · Vorher: · In memoriam Franz Schmidt · Richard Wagner Trauermusik aus dem Musikdrama „Götterdämmerung“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		28/03/1939	19:30	Orchesterkonzert für die deutsche Arbeitsfront. N.S. Gemeinschaft »Kraft durch Freude«, Abteilung Feierabend	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Walter Pflüger	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 94 G-Dur Hob.I:94 "Mit dem Paukenschlag"; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper "Die Zauberflöte" KV 620	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); ***; Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur Hob. I/94 »Mit dem Paukenschlag« (1791); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zu »Die Zauberflöte« K 620 (1791). Note: Orchesterkonzert für die deutsche Arbeitsfront. N.S. Gemeinschaft »Kraft durch Freude«, Abteilung Feierabend. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		29/03/1939	19:30	Orchesterkonzert für die deutsche Arbeitsfront. N.S. Gemeinschaft »Kraft durch Freude«, Abteilung Feierabend	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Walter Pflüger	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Pause; Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 94 G-Dur Hob.I:94 "Mit dem Paukenschlag"; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper "Die Zauberflöte" KV 620	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880); ***; Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur Hob. I/94 »Mit dem Paukenschlag« (1791); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zu »Die Zauberflöte« K 620 (1791). Note: Orchesterkonzert für die deutsche Arbeitsfront. N.S. Gemeinschaft »Kraft durch Freude«, Abteilung Feierabend. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		10/04/1939	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade Nr. 13 G-Dur KV 525 "Eine kleine Nachtmusik"; Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum 3. Akt der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96; Friedrich Reidingen Vorspiel aus der Oper "Der Römerzug"; Otto Siegl "Concerto grosso antico" g-moll op. 86; Julius Bittner "Tänze aus Österreich"	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		17/04/1939	00:00			Reichssender Wien Wien	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade Nr. 9 D-Dur "Posthorn-Serenade" KV 320; Max Reger "An die Hoffnung" für Altsolo mit Orchester; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Brahms	No.2		22/04/1939		8th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 8	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Victor de Sabata	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Zoltán Kodály Tänze aus Galánta [Fassung für Orchester]; Giuseppe Martucci Notturmo; Richard Wagner Overture to the Opera "Tannhäuser"	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73 · · Zoltán Kodály Tänze aus Galánta für Orchester · · Giuseppe Martucci Notturmo · · Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper „Tannhäuser“	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		23/04/1939		8th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Victor de Sabata	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Zoltán Kodály Tänze aus Galánta [Fassung für Orchester]; Giuseppe Martucci Notturmo; Richard Wagner Overture to the Opera "Tannhäuser"	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73 · · Zoltán Kodály Tänze aus Galánta für Orchester · · Giuseppe Martucci Notturmo · · Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper „Tannhäuser“	Musikverein Archive		IKZ 26.04.1939
Bruckner	No.8		25/04/1939	20:00		NSDAP. / Die Deutsche Arbeitsfront / NS. - Gemeinschaft „Kraft durch Freude“ - Abteilung Feierabend	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms "Tragische Ouvertüre" für Orchester d-moll op. 81; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Johannes Brahms Tragische Ouvertüre d-Moll, op. 81 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		26/04/1939	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 8	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms "Tragische Ouvertüre" für Orchester d-moll op. 81; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Johannes Brahms Tragische Ouvertüre d-Moll, op. 81 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		25/05/1939		Symphony Concert	Philharmoniker / Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Heinz Drewes	Wiener Philharmoniker	Max Reger Var u Fuge f. Orch. über ein Thema v. Mozart A-Dur, op. 132; Paul Graener Violin-Konzert op. 104; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Symphonie-Konzert · Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, op. 132 · · Paul Graener Konzert für Violine und Orchester, op. 104 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		05/06/1939		Rally Reichs-Theaterkammer		Vienna State Opera, Vienna, Austria	Clemens Krauss	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert <i>Ouvertüre Die Zauberharfe und Rosamunde, D 644</i> ; Richard Strauss <i>2 Hymnen von Friedrich Hölderlin, op. 71</i> ; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888); Joseph Goebbels <i>Rede</i>				
Bruckner	No.3		17/06/1939	00:00			Heldenplatz Wien	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan", Ouvertüre c-moll op. 62; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Bruckner	No.2		04/07/1939		Concert Greater Germanic Bruckner Festival	Deutsche Bruckner-Gesellschaft e.V. Wien	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Weisbach	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Haas)</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (Haas)</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll; Originalfassung · · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		NWT 05.07.1939
Bruckner	No.6		04/07/1939		Concert Greater Germanic Bruckner Festival	Deutsche Bruckner-Gesellschaft e.V. Wien	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Oswald Kabasta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 2 in C Minor, WAB 102</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 6 in A Major, WAB 106</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll; Originalfassung · · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8	Haas	05/07/1939		Concert Greater Germanic Bruckner Festival	Deutsche Bruckner-Gesellschaft e.V. Wien	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 8 in C Minor, WAB 108 (Original Version)</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll; Originalfassung (Uraufführung)	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		26/08/1939	00:00			?	Kurt Wöss	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"				
Bruckner	No.3		20/09/1939	00:00			Reichssender Wien Wien	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Brahms	No.2		20/09/1939	00:00			Reichssender Wien Wien	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll WAB 103 "Wagner-Symphonie" (Fassung 1889); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73				
Bruckner	No.9		18/10/1939	20:00	1. Symphonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnemement Konzert Sym/1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Anton Bruckner Te Deum (1881-1884); *** Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		03/11/1939	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		17/11/1939	20:15	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum 1. Akt des Bühnenweilfestspiels "Parsifal" WWV 111; Max Reger Phantasie und Fuge d-Moll op. 135b; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Parsifal« (1877-1882); Max Reger Fantasie und Fuge d-moll op. 135b (1916); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Erstes Konzert im verdunkelten Saal. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		22/11/1939	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“ · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		NWT 24.11.1939; VB 24.11.1939; KV 25.11.1939
Brahms	No.4		22/11/1939	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“ · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		NWT 24.11.1939; VB 24.11.1939; KV 25.11.1939
Brahms	No.1		06/12/1939	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine, Violoncello und Orchester a-Moll op. 102 „Doppelkonzert“; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Violoncello mit Orchester a-Moll, op. 102, „Doppelkonzert“ · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		VB 08.12.1939
Brahms	No.1		07/12/1939	19:30		Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / Deutsche Studentenschaft	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Kurt Wöss	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Johannes Brahms-Abend · Musik und Dichtung · Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Hochzeitslied · Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · Hans Carossa Lebenslied · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		12/12/1939	20:00 19:30	Großer Ring	HJ / Veranstaltungsring der HJ	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 88 G-Dur Hob.I/88; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 21 C-Dur KV 467; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Joseph Haydn Symphonie Es-Dur Hob. 199 (1793); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester C-Dur K 467 (1785); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Note: »Großer Ring«. Presented by: HJ / Veranstaltungsring der HJ	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		13/12/1939	20:00	Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus) Abonnemement Konzert Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 88 G-Dur Hob.I/88; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 21 C-Dur KV 467; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur Hob. I/88 (1787-1788); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester C-Dur K 467 (1785); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		NWT 18.10.1939; KV 19.10.1939; NWT 20.10.1939; VB 20.10.1939

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.5		04/01/1940	00:00	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: Zweites Konzert im verdunkelten Saal. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		26/01/1940	00:00	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Josef Reiter Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Bundschuh"; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Josef Reiter Vorspiel zu Oper "Der Bundschuh"; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77 (1877-1878); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878-1880). Note: Drittes Dunkelkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		29/01/1940	00:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		31/01/1940	20:00	Symphonie-Konzert / 5	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 36; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Fuge D-Dur · · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 36 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		IKZ 02.02.1940
Bruckner	No.6		02/02/1940	00:00	Unter dem Ehrenschutz des Königlich Dänischen Generalkonsulates in Wien zugunsten des Winterhilfswerkes 1939/40	Nordische Gesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Symphoniker	Edvard Grieg "Im Herbst", Konzertouvertüre op. 11; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Edvard Grieg Im Herbst, Konzertouvertüre op. 11 (1866/1887); Peder Gram Stimmungsbild Fis-Dur; Lanny Gröndahl Ambeske cis-moll; Ebbe Hamerik Fantasia Des-Dur; Edvard Grieg Aus Holbergs Zeit, Suite op. 40 für Streichorchester (1884), Solveigs sang »Solveigs Lied« op. 23/1 (1874-1875); Herman Sandby Sensommerasten »Spätsommerabend«; Eduard Assmusen Frühling; Herman Sandby Halling. Orchestertanz; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Note: Unter dem Ehrenschutz des Königlich Dänischen Generalkonsulates in Wien zugunsten des Winterhilfswerkes 1939/40. Presented by: Nordische Gesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		11/02/1940	16:30	Volkstümliches Symphonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15 (1854-1859/1875); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872-1873/1877/1889). Note: Volkstümliches Symphonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		14/02/1940	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 6	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 77; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 77 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		16/02/1940	20:00	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Vorspiel zum 1. Akt der Oper "Lohengrin" WWV 75; Richard Wagner "Siegfried-Idyll", symphonische Dichtung WWV 103; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)		Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		17/02/1940		6th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 6	Wiener Philharmoniker	Goldener Saal, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3, G-Dur, BWV 1048; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur, BWV 1048 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		18/02/1940		6th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Goldener Saal, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3, G-Dur, BWV 1048; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur, BWV 1048 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		WNN 27.01.1940
Brahms	No.4		20/02/1940	19:30	Großer Ring		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur op. 6 Nr. 5; Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur op. 6/5 HWV 323 (1739); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885). Note: »Großer Ring«. Presented by: HJ / Veranstaltungsring der HJ	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		21/02/1940	19:30	Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus)		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur op. 6 Nr. 5; Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur op. 6/5 HWV 323 (1739); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885). Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte (Mittwoch-Zyklus). Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		06/03/1940	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 7	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 6 B-Dur BWV 1051; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 6 B-Dur, BWV 1051 · · · — Pause · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		10/03/1940		Extraordinary Concert Opening Vienna Trade Fair	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ottorino Respighi Antiche danze ed arie per liuto; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade in G-Dur, KV 525, "Eine kleine Nachtmusik"; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Frühjahrsmesse Ottorino Respighi Antiche arie e danze per liuto. Suite Nr. 2 für Orchester · · · Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Eine kleine Nachtmusik. Serenade G-Dur, KV 525 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.1		15/03/1940	00:00	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b; Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll WAB 101 (Wiener Fassung 1890/91)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonoren-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805-1806); Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 »Unvollendete« (1822); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll (Wiener Fassung) (1865-1866/1890-1891). Note: Fünftes (letztes) Dunkelkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		KV 16.02.1940 VB 16.02.1940

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		20/04/1940		8th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 8	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Eugen Suchon Balladische Suite, op. 9; Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Eugen Suchon Balladeske Suite, op. 9 · · Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		21/04/1940		8th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Eugen Suchon Balladische Suite, op. 9; Richard Strauss "Don Juan", op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Eugen Suchon Balladeske Suite, op. 9 · · Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		07/05/1940	00:00			Reichssender Wien Wien	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90				
Brahms	No.4		16/05/1940	00:00	Außerordentliches Orchester-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Otto Eisenburger	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98; Hugo Wolf "In der Frühe", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf "Neue Liebe", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf Schlafendes Jesuskind; Hugo Wolf "Mignon", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Goethe; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885); ***; Hugo Wolf In der Frühe (Mörrike-Lieder Nr. 24) (1888), Neue Liebe (Mörrike-Lieder Nr. 30) (1888), Schlafendes Jesuskind (Mörrike-Lieder Nr. 25) (1888), Mignon; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur op. 92 (1811-1812). Note: Außerordentliches Orchester-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		06/10/1940	00:00			Arbeiterheim Favoriten Wien	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Bruckner	No.3		09/10/1940	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 2 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72a; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 2, op. 72a · · Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur, op. 58 · · — Pause — · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		12/10/1940		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		13/10/1940		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		07/11/1940		125 Year Gala University of Technology		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Rudolf Moralt	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schmidt <i>Königsfanfaren aus "Fredigundis"</i> ; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888); Franz Schubert <i>Ouvertüre Die Zauberharfe und Rosamunde, D 644</i>	Festakt anlässlich der 125-Jahrfeier der Technischen Hochschule in Wien · Franz Schmidt Königsfanfaren aus der Oper „Fredigundis“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, WAB 104, „Romantische“; 3. Fassung 1888 · · Franz Schubert Ouvertüre zu „Die Zauberharfe“ und zu „Rosamunde, Fürstin von Zypern“, D 644	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		15/11/1940	20:00	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart "Regina coeli" für Sopran, Chor, Orchester und Orgel B-Dur KV 127; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Programme: Im halbverdunkelten Saal: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Regina Coeli K 127 (1772); ***; Im gänzlich verdunkelten Saal: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Note: Zur 40-Jahr-Feier der Orchestergründung Festliches Dunkelkonzert. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		20/11/1940	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Eugen Jochum	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-moll op. 15; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper „Der Freischütz“ · · Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 d-Moll, op. 15 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		24/11/1940	10:00			Mödlinger Bühne Wien	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Bruckner	No.7		06/12/1940	20:00	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 41 C-Dur KV 551 "Jupiter"; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Im halbverdunkelten Saal: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie C-Dur K 551 „Jupiter-Symphonie“ (1788); ***; Im gänzlich verdunkelten Saal: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Zweites Dunkelkonzert in der anlässlich der 40-Jahr-Feier der Orchestergründung ausgeführten Mozart-Bruckner-Reihe. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		14/12/1940	19:30		Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien / Deutsch-Japanische Gesellschaft, Südstödtisches	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hidemaro Konoye	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b; Yorisune Matsudaira; Pastorale; Hidemaro Konoye "Etenraku", Bearbeitung einer aljapanischen Hofmusik; Akira Ifukube Japanische Rhapsodie; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Orchesterkonzert unter der Schirmherrschaft des Reichsstatthalters und Reichsleiters Baldur von Schirach Deutsche und Japanische Musik · Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 3, op. 72a · · Yorisune Matsudaira Pastorale · · N.N. Etenraku. Aljapanische Hoforchestermusik; instrumentiert von Hidemaro Konoye · · Akira Eto Musik zu einem Drama · · Akira Ifukube Japanische Rhapsodie · · — Pause — · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		21/12/1940		5th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 5	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Theodor Berger Rondo giocoso f. Streichorch. , op. 4; Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5, D-Dur, BWV 1050; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Theodor Berger Rondino giocoso für Streichorchester, op. 4 · · Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5 D-Dur, BWV 1050 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		22/12/1940		5th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Theodor Berger Rondo giocoso f. Streichorch. , op. 4; Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5, D-Dur, BWV 1050; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Theodor Berger Rondino giocoso für Streichorchester, op. 4 · · Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 5 D-Dur, BWV 1050 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.6		10/01/1941	19:30	Fest-Konzert anlässlich des 80. Geburtstages von Camillo Horn	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Camillo Horn Symphonie Nr. 1 f-moll op. 40; Camillo Horn "Gedenzug" für Männerchor und Orchester; Camillo Horn Drei Lieder mit Orchester; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Camillo Horn Symphonie Nr. 1 f-moll op. 40, Gotenzug op. 12, Die Verlassene. Ballade für Gesang und Orchester, An die große Glocke, Wallada. Ballade für Gesang und Orchester; ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (2. Satz: Adagio. Sehr feierlich) (1879–1881); Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg« (1862–1867). Note: »Fest-Konzert anlässlich des 80. Geburtstages von Camillo Horn«. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		19/01/1941	16:30	Vollstümliches Symphonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Guido Binkau	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der fliegende Holländer"; Carl Maria von Weber Arie der Agathe aus der romantischen Oper "Der Freischütz" op. 77 J 277; Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zu »Der fliegende Holländer« (1841); Carl Maria von Weber Wie nahte mir der Schlummer ... Leise, leise, fromme Weise (Rezitativ und Arie der Agathe aus »Der Freischütz« J 277) (1817–1821); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841–1845); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Vollstümliches Symphonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		01/02/1941		Extraordinary Concert, Außerordentliches Konzert / 4	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Willem Mengelberg	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overture No. 3 to the Opera "Fidelio" ("Leonora Overture) op. 72b; Peter Iljitsch Tschalkowsky Ouvertüre Romeo und Julia (Fantasieouv.); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 3, op. 72a · · Peter Iljitsch Tschalkowskij Romeo und Julia. Fantasie-Ouvertüre nach William Shakespeare · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		VB 22.11.1940 IKZ 22.11.1940
Brahms	No.1		02/02/1941		Extraordinary Concert, Außerordentliches Konzert / 5	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Willem Mengelberg	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overture No. 3 to the Opera "Fidelio" ("Leonora Overture) op. 72b; Peter Iljitsch Tschalkowsky Ouvertüre Romeo und Julia (Fantasieouv.); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 3, op. 72a · · Peter Iljitsch Tschalkowskij Romeo und Julia. Fantasie-Ouvertüre nach William Shakespeare · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		07/02/1941	20:00	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart "Kyrie di Monaco" für Chor, Orchester und Orgel d-moll KV 341 (368a); Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Im halbverdunkelten Saal: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Kyrie d-moll K 368a (1780–1781); ***; Im gänzlich verdunkelten Saal: Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (1875–1878). Note: Drittes Dunkelkonzert in der anlässlich der 40-Jahr-Feier der Orchestergründung ausgeführten Mozart-Bruckner-Reihe. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		08/02/1941		7th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 7	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade No. 10 for Winds in B flat major, K. 361 (370a) "Gran Partita"; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade B-Dur, KV 361, „Gran Partita“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		09/02/1941		7th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade No. 10 for Winds in B flat major, K. 361 (370a) "Gran Partita"; Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade B-Dur, KV 361, „Gran Partita“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		14/02/1941	19:30	Außerordentliches Orchesterkonzert	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Giovanni Di Bella	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Gioacchino Rossini Ouvertüre zur Opera buffa "Il barbiere di Siviglia" ("Der Barbier von Sevilla"); Theodor Berger Rondino giocoso für Streichorchester op. 4; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Gioacchino Rossini Ouvertüre zur Oper „Der Barbier von Sevilla“ · · Theodor Berger Rondino giocoso für Streichorchester, op. 4 · · Franz Liszt Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 1 Es-Dur · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		05/03/1941	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 6	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Moralt	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 73 D-Dur Hob.IV/3 „La Chasse“ ("Die Jagd"); Joseph Marx Barkarole; Joseph Marx "Hat dich die Liebe berührt" für hohe Stimme und Orchester nach einem Text von Paul Heyse; Hugo Wolf "Verborgenheit", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf "Heimweh", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Joseph von Eichendorff in einer Bearbeitung von Franz Schreker; Richard Strauss "Cäcilie" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TV 170 Nr. 2; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Joseph Haydn Symphonie D-Dur, Hob. I/3, „La Chasse“ · · Joseph Marx Barkarole · · Hat dich die Liebe berührt · · Hugo Wolf Verborgenheit; orchestriert von Joseph Marx · · Heimweh; orchestriert von Joseph Marx · · Richard Strauss Heimliche Aufforderung, op. 27/3; instrumentiert von Robert Heger · · Cäcilie, op. 27/2; instrumentiert von Robert Heger · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		14/03/1941	20:00			Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Opera seria "La Clemenza di Tito" KV 621; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 4 D-Dur KV 218; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Not in Konzerthaus archiv	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		27/03/1941	19:30		Konzertdirektion Carl Voss Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Rolf Heger	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Luigi Cherubini Ouvertüre zur Oper "Anacréon ou l'Amour fugitif" ("Anakreon oder Die flüchtige Liebe"); Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Luigi Maria Cherubini Ouverture zu „Anacréon“ · · Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-Moll, op. 67 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		30/03/1941		Extraordinary Concert Winter Relief	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Leopold Reichwein	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Ausserordentliches Konzert zu gunsten des Kriegswinterhilfswerkes · Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-Moll, D 759, „Unvollendete“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		18/04/1941	20:00	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Flöte und Harfe C-Dur KV 299; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Flöte, Harfe und Orchester C-Dur K 297c (1778); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Erste Fassung von 1887) (1884-1887). Note: Fünftes (letztes) Dunkelkonzert in der anlässlich der 40-Jahr-Feier der Orchestergründung ausgeführten Mozart-Bruckner-Reihe. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		11/10/1941		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 8 in F Major, op. 93; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · · Zum Gedenken Franz Schalks, anlässlich des 10. Todestages (3. September 1931) · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		12/10/1941		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 8 in F Major, op. 93; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 · · Zum Gedenken Franz Schalks, anlässlich des 10. Todestages (3. September 1931) · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.3		15/10/1941	19:30	Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte Abonnement Konzert Sym/1	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b; Hermann Goetz Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 18; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805–1806); Hermann Goetz Konzert für Klavier und Orchester B-Dur op. 18 (1867); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		05/11/1941	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Eugen Jochum	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op. 81 / 291; Gian Francesco Malpiero Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester; Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2 D-Dur Hob. VIIb2; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Euryanthe“, op. 81 · · · Gian Francesco Malpiero Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester · · · Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur, Hob. VIIb2 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		07/11/1941	19:30	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Max Reger Requiem "Dem Andenken unserer gefallenen Helden" für Chor, Ahsolo und Orchester nach einem Text von Hebbel op. 144b; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Reger; Bach Präludium und Fuge h-moll BWV 544; Pause; Bruckner	Konzerthaus Archive		KV 16.03.1941 IKZ 16.03.1941 NWT 16.03.1941
Bruckner	No.3		09/11/1941	16:30	Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Ouvertüre zum Melodram "Die Zaubervarle" D 644; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Franz Schubert Ouverture zu »Die Zaubervarle« D 644 »Rosamundenuouvertüre« (1820); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 5 Es-Dur op. 73 (1809); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		21/11/1941	19:30		Konzertdirektion Carl Voss Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Rolf Heger	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie Nr. 40 g-moll KV 550; Antonín Dvořák Symphonie Nr. 7 d-moll op. 70; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie g-Moll, KV 550 · · · Antonín Dvořák Symphonie Nr. 7 d-Moll, op. 70 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		KV 01.04.1941 KVZ 01.04.1941
Brahms	No.3		22/11/1941		2nd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 2	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto Grosso op. 6 Nr. 5, D-Dur; Max Reger Var u Fuge f. Orch. über ein Thema v. Mozart A-Dur, op. 132; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Johannes Brahms Ungarische Tänze	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur · · · Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, op. 132 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · · Ungarische Tänze, WoO 1	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		23/11/1941		2nd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto Grosso op. 6 Nr. 5, D-Dur; Max Reger Var u Fuge f. Orch. über ein Thema v. Mozart A-Dur, op. 132; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90; Johannes Brahms Ungarische Tänze	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur · · · Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, op. 132 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 · · · Ungarische Tänze, WoO 1	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		09/12/1941	19:30	Meisterzyklus; Zweiter Abend; Orchesterkonzert; gemäß Wochenspielfplan Voraufführung Abonnementkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur op. 6 Nr. 5; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61 (1806); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Meisterzyklus; Zweiter Abend; Orchesterkonzert; gemäß Wochenspielfplan Voraufführung Abonnementkonzert. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		10/12/1941	19:30	Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur op. 6 Nr. 5; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Georg Friedrich Händel Concerto grosso D-Dur op. 6/5 HWV 323 (1739); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur op. 61 (1806); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		20/12/1941		3rd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 3	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Hans Pfitzner Kleine Sinfonie, op. 44; Antonín Dvořák Symphonische Variationen, op. 78; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Hans Pfitzner Kleine Symphonie G-Dur, op. 44 · · · Antonín Dvořák Symphonische Variationen über ein Originalthema, op. 78 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		21/12/1941		3rd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Hans Pfitzner Kleine Sinfonie, op. 44; Antonín Dvořák Symphonische Variationen, op. 78; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Hans Pfitzner Kleine Symphonie G-Dur, op. 44 · · · Antonín Dvořák Symphonische Variationen über ein Originalthema, op. 78 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		03/01/1942		4th Subscription Concert, Öffentliches Generalprobe / 4	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade No. 10 for Winds in B flat major, K. 361 (370a) "Gran Partita"; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1889)	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade B-Dur, KV 361, „Gran Partita“ · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		04/01/1942		4th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade No. 10 for Winds in B flat major, K. 361 (370a) "Gran Partita"; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1889)	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade B-Dur, KV 361, „Gran Partita“ · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.3		16/01/1942	19:30	Dunkelkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wilhelm Kienzl "Don Quixotes phantastischer Ausritt und seine traurige Heimkehr" aus der musikalischen Tragikomödie "Don Quixote" op. 50; Antonin Dvorák Konzert für Klavier und Orchester g-moll op. 33; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Programme: willehm Kienzl Don Quixotes phantastischer Ausritt und seine traurige Heimkehr. Symphonische Zwischenspiele op. 50 für großes Orchester (1898); Antonín Dvořák Konzert für Klavier und Orchester g-moll op. 33 (1876); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883). Note: Drittes Dunkelkonzert. Presented by: Wiener	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		23/01/1942	00:00	Großer Ring / 4	Veranstaltung der HJ - Gebiet Wien (27)	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Milo von Wawak	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Gioacchino Rossini Ouverture zur Oper "Guillaume Tell"; Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur D 485; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Gioacchino Rossini Ouverture zur Oper „Guglielmo Tell“ · · · Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur, D 485 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		24/01/1942	00:00			Buschkino Wien	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.3		27/01/1942	19:30	Orchesterkonzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für Violine, Streicher und Basso continuo Nr. 1, a-moll BWV 1041; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Programme: Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 8 C-Dur D 944 »Große C-Dur-Symphonie« (1825 ?–1828); Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für Violine, Streicher und Basso continuo a-moll BWV 1041 (1717–1723); *** ; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90 (1883). Note: Orchesterkonzert. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		28/01/1942	19:30	Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte Abonnement Konzert Sym5	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Ouvertüre e-moll D 648; Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für Violine, Streicher und Basso continuo Nr. 1 a-moll BWV 1041; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Programme: Franz Schubert Ouverture e-moll D 648 (eventuell für Adrast D 137) (1819); Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für Violine, Streicher und Basso continuo a-moll BWV 1041 (1717-1723); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll (Erste Fassung von 1887) (1884-1887). Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		06/02/1942	19:30	Ausserordentliche Symphonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Bruckner) / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 3 Es-Dur op. 55 "Eroica"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	POSTPONED FROM 1 FEBRUARY 1942: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 3 Es-Dur, op. 55, „Eroica“ • • • Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		07/02/1942		6th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 6	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Piero Calabrin Ariet degli Astri. Symphonische Historie für großes Orchester; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Flöte und Harfe in C-Dur, KV 299; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Piero Calabrin Ariet degli Astri. Symphonische Historie für großes Orchester (Uraufführung) • • • Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Flöte, Harfe und Orchester C-Dur, KV 299 • • • Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		08/02/1942		6th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Piero Calabrin Ariet degli Astri. Symphonische Historie für großes Orchester; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Flöte und Harfe in C-Dur, KV 299; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Piero Calabrin Ariet degli Astri. Symphonische Historie für großes Orchester (Uraufführung) • • • Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Flöte, Harfe und Orchester C-Dur, KV 299 • • • Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		15/02/1942	16:30	Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Opera seria "La Clemenza di Tito" KV 621; Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2 D-Dur Hob. VIIb2; Bedrich Smetana "Z českých luhů a hájů" ("Aus Böhmens Hain und Flur"), 4. symphonische Dichtung aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland"); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zu »La Clemenza di Tito« K 621 (1791); Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur Hob. VIIb2 (1783); Bedrich Smetana Z českých luhů a hájů »Aus Böhmens Hain und Flur«, Symphonische Dichtung T 114 (Má vlast »Mein Vaterland«) (1875); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73. Note: Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		22/02/1942	16:30	Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper "Le nozze di Figaro" KV 492; Louis Spohr Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 8 a-moll op. 47 "In Form einer Gesangsszene"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106; Emanuel Seidler Fantasie für Klavier und Orchester; Gioacchino Rossini Ouvertüre zur Oper "Guillaume Tell"	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouverture zu »Le nozze di Figaro« K 492 (1785–1786); Louis Spohr Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 8 a-moll op. 47 »in modo di scena cantata« (1816); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantisches« (Adagio?) (1874/1878–1880); Emanuel Seidler Fantasie für Klavier und Orchester; Gioacchino Rossini Ouverture zu »Guillaume Tell« (1829). Note: Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		08/03/1942	09:30	Ausserordentliche Symphonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Bruckner) / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 7 A-Dur, op. 92 • • • Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		10/03/1942	19:30	Meister-Zyklus; Vierter Abend; Wegen plötzlicher Erkrankung des Solisten Vasa Prihoda entfällt das Violinkonzert von Anton Dvorak. An dessen Stelle gelangt von Anton Bruckner die IV. Symphonie Es-Dur (Romantische) in der Originalfassung zur Aufführung	KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Marx "Nordland-Rhapsodie" für großes Orchester; Hans Pfitzner Symphonie Nr. 2 "An die Freunde" C-Dur op. 46 ; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Joseph Marx Nordlands-Rhapsodie (1927–1929); Hans Pfitzner Symphonie C-Dur op. 46 (1940); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantisches« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Meister-Zyklus; Vierter Abend; Wegen plötzlicher Erkrankung des Solisten Vasa Prihoda entfällt das Violinkonzert von Anton Dvorak. An dessen Stelle gelangt von Anton Bruckner die IV. Symphonie Es-Dur (Romantische) in der Originalfassung zur Aufführung. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.4		11/03/1942	19:30	Wegen plötzlicher Erkrankung des Solisten Vasa Priboda entfällt das Violinkonzert von Anton Dvorak. An dessen Stelle gelangt von Anton Bruckner die IV. Symphonie Es-Dur (Romantische) in der Originalfassung zur Aufführung. Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte Abonnement Konzert Sym7	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Marx "Nordland-Rhapsodie" für großes Orchester; Hans Pfitzner Symphonie Nr. 2 "An die Freunde" C-Dur op. 46 ; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Joseph Marx Nordlands-Rhapsodie (1927–1929); Hans Pfitzner Symphonie C-Dur op. 46 (1940); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Wegen plötzlicher Erkrankung des Solisten Vasa Priboda entfällt das Violinkonzert von Anton Dvorak. An dessen Stelle gelangt von Anton Bruckner die IV. Symphonie Es-Dur (Romantische) in der Originalfassung zur Aufführung. Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		28/03/1942		8th Subscription Concert, Jahrhundertfeier 1842-1942 / Öffentliche Generalprobe / 8	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		29/03/1942	00:00			Orpheum Margarethen Wien	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)				
Bruckner	No.8		29/03/1942		8th Subscription Concert / Jahrhundertfeier 1842-1942	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		30/03/1942		8th Subscription Concert / Jahrhundertfeier 1842-1942	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		13/04/1942	17:30			Reichssender Wien Wien	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"				
Bruckner	No.4		18/04/1942	20:30			Reichssender Wien Wien	Robert Kolisko	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Ouvertüre zum Melodram "Die Zauberberarle" D 644; Ludwig van Beethoven Romanze für Violine und Orchester Nr. 2 F-Dur op. 50; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" 3. Satz (Scherzo. Bewegt); Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Johann Strauss (Sohn) "Kaiserwalzer" op. 437				
Bruckner	No.6		29/04/1942	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 7	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Moralt	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner "Siegfrieds Tod und Trauermusik" aus der Oper "Götterdämmerung" WWV 86D; Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; Johannes Brahms Liebeslieder-Walzer aus op. 52 und op. 65 (Auswahl und Orchestrierung vom Komponisten); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	in memoriam Fritz von Sauer, Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien (Gestorben am 27. April 1942) · Richard Wagner Trauermusik aus dem Musikdrama „Götterdämmerung“ · · Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Oberon“ · · Johannes Brahms Liebeslieder-Walzer aus Opus 52 und 65 · · Ausgewählt und instrumentiert vom Komponisten, nach dem Manuskript herausgegeben von Wilhelm Weismann · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		13/05/1942	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 8	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Eugen Jochum	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schmidt Konzertante Variationen über ein Thema von Beethoven für Klavier und Orchester F-Dur in einer Bearbeitung von Friedrich Wührer; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Franz Schmidt Konzertante Variationen über ein Thema von Ludwig van Beethoven für Klavier (linke Hand) und Orchester · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		17/05/1942	19:30	Ausserordentliche Symphonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Bruckner) / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	POSTPONED FROM 3 MAY 1942: Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur, op. 93 • • Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		15/06/1942	19:30		Veranstaltung ring der HJ - Gebiet Wien (27)	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Milo von Wawak	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper "Euryanthe" op. 81 J 291; Armin Kaufmann Musik für Horn und Streichorchester op. 35; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	POSTPONED FROM 22 MAY 1942: Großer Ring - Sechstes Konzert • Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur romantischen Oper „Euryanthe“, op. 81 • • Armin Kaufmann Musik für Horn und Streichorchester, op. 35 • • Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		01/07/1942	19:00			Reichssender Wien Wien	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Hugo Wolf "Verborgenheit", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Ouvertüre zur Oper "Die Zauberflöte" KV 620; Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2 D-Dur Hob. VIIb:2; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 8 F-Dur op. 93; Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67; Franz Schubert Entr'acte Nr. 1 aus der Schauspielmusik "Rosamunde, Fürstin von Zypern" D 797; Franz Schubert Ballettmusik aus der Schauspielmusik "Rosamunde, Fürstin von Zypern" D 797 (Nr. 2 & 9); Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.6		28/09/1942	17:30			Reichssender Wien Wien	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zum Festspiel "König Stephan" op. 117; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante für Violine, Viola und Orchester Es-Dur KV 364; Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 88 G-Dur Hob.I:88; Hans Pfitzner "Hoffest" und "Liebesmelodie" aus dem Drama für Musik "Das Herz" op. 39; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106; Max Reger "Ballett-Suite" für Orchester op. 130				
Bruckner	No.4		30/09/1942	19:30		Konzertdirektion Voss	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Rolf Heger	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Jean Sibelius Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 43; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Jean Sibelius Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 43 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		10/10/1942	19:30	Wiener Künstlering: Erster Abend	KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre Nr. 3 zur Oper "Leonore" op. 72b; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture Nr. 3 zu »Leonore« »Leonore-Ouverture Nr. 3« (1805–1806); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur K 219 (1775); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Wiener Künstlering; Erster Abend. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5	Haas	31/10/1942		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms <i>Concerto for Violin in D Major</i> , op. 77; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, Original Version</i>	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 77 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5	Haas	01/11/1942		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms <i>Concerto for Violin in D Major</i> , op. 77; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 5, B-flat Major, Original Version</i>	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur, op. 77 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		15/11/1942	16:30	Sechstes Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Der Freischütz« J 277 (1817–1821); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841–1845); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Sechstes Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		29/11/1942	19:30	Ausserordentliche Symphonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Bruckner)	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur op. 60; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur, op. 60 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		30/11/1942	19:30		Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur op. 60; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 4 B-Dur, op. 60 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“; Originalfassung	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		05/12/1942	19:30	Wiener Künstlering: Zweiter Abend		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Jean Sibelius "Kunigas Kristian II" ("König Christian II"), Orchestersuite op. 27 (?); Jean Sibelius "Valse triste" aus der Schauspielmusik zu Arvid Jämfelts Drama "Kuolema" ("Der Tod") op. 44; Richard Strauss "Liebeshymnus" H-Dur op. 32 Nr. 3; Richard Strauss "Morgen" für Singstimme und Orchester op. 27 TrV 170 Nr. 4; Richard Strauss "Ständchen" nach Gedichten von Adolf Friedrich Graf von Schack aus Sechs Lieder für hohe Stimme und Klavier op. 17, Nr. 2 (Bearbeitung für Gesang und Orchester: Felix Mottl); Richard Strauss "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", symphonische Musik op. 28	Programme: Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; ***; Jean Sibelius Ballade (Kunigas Kristian II op. 27) (1898), Valse triste op. 44/1 (Kuolema) (1904); Richard Strauss Liebeshymnus op. 32/3 (1896), Morgen op. 27/4 (Vier Lieder) (1894), Ständchen op. 17/2 »Mach auf, mach auf, doch leise mein Kind« (1894–1887), Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche op. 28 (1894–1895). Note: Wiener Künstlering; Zweiter Abend. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		05/12/1942		3rd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 3	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss Don Quixote op. 35; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante in Es-Dur, KV 297b; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Richard Strauss Don Quixote. Fantastische Variationen über ein Thema ritterlichen Charakters, op. 35 · · Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante für Oboe, Klarinette, Horn, Fagott und Orchester Es-Dur, KV 297b · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		NWT 02.10.1942
Brahms	No.2		06/12/1942		3rd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Richard Strauss Don Quixote op. 35; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante in Es-Dur, KV 297b; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Richard Strauss Don Quixote. Fantastische Variationen über ein Thema ritterlichen Charakters, op. 35 · · Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sinfonia concertante für Oboe, Klarinette, Horn, Fagott und Orchester Es-Dur, KV 297b · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		09/12/1942	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 4	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Eugen Jochum	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Jean Sibelius "En Saga", symphonische Dichtung op. 9; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 3 c-moll op. 37; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Jean Sibelius En Saga. Tondichtung für Orchester, op. 9 · · Ludwig van Beethoven Klavierkonzert Nr. 3 c-Moll, op. 37 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		16/12/1942	19:30	Aussordentliches Konzert / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108 (Fassung 1890)	Johann Sebastian Bach Präludium und Trippelfuge in Es · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll · · Zur 50. Wiederkehr des Tages der Uraufführung (18. Dezember 1892)	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		19/12/1942		4th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 4	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 35] in D Major, K. 385 ("Haffner")</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur, KV 385, „Haffner Symphonie“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		20/12/1942		4th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart <i>Symphony [No. 35] in D Major, K. 385 ("Haffner")</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Symphonie D-Dur, KV 385, „Haffner Symphonie“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.7		12/01/1943	19:30	Konzertring; Dritter Abend; gemäß Wochenspielplan »Voraufführung«	KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Hans Pfitzner Elegie und Reigen für kleines Orchester op. 45; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 21 C-Dur KV 467; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Hans Pfitzner Elegie und Reigen op. 45 für kleines Orchester (1940); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester C-Dur K 467 (1785); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Konzertring; Dritter Abend; gemäß Wochenspielplan »Voraufführung«. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		13/01/1943	19:30	Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte Abonnement Konzert Sym/4	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Hans Pfitzner Elegie und Reigen für kleines Orchester op. 45; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 21 C-Dur KV 467; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Hans Pfitzner Elegie und Reigen op. 45 für kleines Orchester (1940); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester C-Dur K 467 (1785); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		23/01/1943		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	George Georgescu	Wiener Philharmoniker	Antonio Vivaldi Concerto grosso, op. 3, Nr. 11, d-Moll; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll op. 68; Paul Constantinescu Tanz-Suite aus dem Ballett "Hochzeit in den Karpaten"; Maurice Ravel Boléro, Ballet for Orchestra	Antonio Vivaldi Concerto grosso d-Moll, op. 3/11 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68 · · · Paul Constantinescu Tanz-Suite aus dem Ballett „Hochzeit in den Karpaten“ · · · Maurice Ravel Boléro	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		24/01/1943	19:30	Ausserordentliche Symphonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Bruckner) / 2	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-Moll, op. 67 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		24/01/1943		Extraordinary Concert, Aussordentliches Konzert der Wiener Philharmoniker / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	George Georgescu	Wiener Philharmoniker	Antonio Vivaldi Concerto grosso, op. 3, Nr. 11, d-Moll; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68; Paul Constantinescu Tanz-Suite aus dem Ballett "Hochzeit in den Karpaten"; Maurice Ravel Boléro, Ballet for Orchestra	Antonio Vivaldi Concerto grosso d-Moll, op. 3/11 · · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68 · · · Paul Constantinescu Tanz-Suite aus dem Ballett „Hochzeit in den Karpaten“ · · · Maurice Ravel Boléro	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		25/01/1943	19:30		Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll op. 67; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 5 c-Moll, op. 67 · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		27/01/1943	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Rudolf Moralt	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Max Reger "Eine romantische Suite" für Orchester nach Gedichten von Joseph von Eichendorff op. 125; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »Egmont« op. 84 (1809–1810); Max Reger Eine romantische Suite nach Gedichten von Eichendorff op. 125 (1912); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: Symphonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.2		07/02/1943	16:30	17. Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zum Festspiel "König Stephan" op. 117; Louis Spohr Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 8 a-moll op. 47 "In Form einer Gesangsszene"; Ernst Ludwig Uray "Aus der Biedermeierzeit", 5 Tänze für Orchester; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »König Stephan« op. 117 (1811); Louis Spohr Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 8 a-moll op. 47 »in modo di scena cantate« (1816); Ernst Ludwig Uray Aus der Biedermeierzeit. Fünf Tänze für Orchester; ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73. Note: 17. Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		07/02/1943		6th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joseph Haydn <i>Symphony No. 88 in G major, Hob. I:88</i> ; Hans Pfitzner <i>3 Vorspiele aus Palestrina</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3	Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur, Hob. I:88 · · · Hans Pfitzner Drei Vorspiele zur musikalischen Legende „Palestrina“ · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		03/03/1943	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 6	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Oswald Kabasta	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Gotfried Müller Variationen und Fuge für großes Orchester über das deutsche Volkslied "Morgenrot, Morgenrot" op. 2; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Gotfried Müller Variationen und Fuge über ein Deutsches Volkslied „Morgenrot, Morgenrot“ für Orchester, op. 2 · · · Johann Sebastian Bach Toccata und Doppelfuge F-Dur · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		07/03/1943	19:30	Ausserordentliche Symphonie-Konzerte (Beethoven-Bruckner) / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur op. 68 "Pastorale"; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur, op. 68, „Sinfonia pastorale“ · · · — Pause — · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		08/03/1943	19:30		Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur op. 68 "Pastorale"; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 6 F-Dur, op. 68, „Sinfonia pastorale“ · · · — Pause — · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		10/03/1943	19:30	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde" WWV 90; Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Bach op. 81, für Klavier und Orchester bearbeitet von K. H. Pillney; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Note: Zweites Dunkel-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Programme: Richard Wagner Vorspiel zu »Tristan und Isolde« (1857-1859); Max Reger Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Johann Sebastian Bach op. 81 (Bearbeitung für Klavier und Orchester: K. H. Pillney) (1904); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll (1887-1896). Note: Zweites Dunkel-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		14/03/1943	16:30	22. Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre zur Schauspielmusik "Egmont" op. 84; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106; Edvard Grieg "Lyrische Suite" für Orchester op. 54; Pause; Richard Wagner Hallenarie der Elisabeth (Einleitung und Szene 1 aus dem 3. Akt) aus der Oper "Tannhäuser" WWV 70; Richard Wagner Vorspiel und "Liebestod" aus der Oper "Tristan und Isolde" WWV 90; Richard Wagner Ouvertüre zur Oper "Rienzi" WWV 49	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouverture zu »Egmont« op. 84 (1809–1810); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (2. Satz: Adagio. Sehr feierlich) (1879–1881); Edvard Grieg Lyrische Suite op. 54 (Fassung für Orchester) (1891/1904); Richard Wagner Dich, teure Halle, grüß ich wieder (Arie der Elisabeth aus »Tannhäuser«) (1843–1845), Vorspiel und Liebestod (Tristan und Isolde) (1857–1859). Note: 22. Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		16/03/1943	19:30	Konzertring, Vierter Abend	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2 D-Dur Hob. VIIb/2; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur Hob. VIIb/2 (1783); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875–1878). Note: Konzertring, Vierter Abend. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.5		17/03/1943	19:30	Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte Abonnement Konzert Sym/6	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester Nr. 2 D-Dur Hob. VIIb/2; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Joseph Haydn Konzert für Violoncello und Orchester D-Dur Hob. VIIb/2 (1783); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875–1878). Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		12/05/1943	19:30	Symphonie-Konzert / 8	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Eugen Jochum	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll; Anton Bruckner Te Deum WAB 45	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll · · Te Deum	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		01/06/1943	19:30	Aussordentliches Gesellschaftskonzert	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 (Fassung 1889); Pause; Engelbert Humperdinck Vorspiel zum 3. Akt der Märchenoper "Königskinder"; Hugo Wolf "Härfenspieler 1-3" für eine Singstimme und Orchester nach Gedichten von Goethe; Richard Wagner Vorspiel aus der Oper "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" WWV 96	Meister um Richard Wagner (Zum 130. Geburtstag Richard Wagners) · Peter Cornelius Ouvertüre zur Oper „Der Barbier von Bagdad“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll · · — Pause — · Engelbert Humperdinck Einleitung zum 3. Akt der Märchenoper „Die Königskinder“ · · Hugo Wolf Gesänge des Harfner I, II, III · · Richard Wagner Vorspiel zur Oper „Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		04/06/1943		Radio Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major</i> , WAB 107	Rundfunk Konzert · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		05/06/1943		Radio Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major</i> , WAB 107	Rundfunk Konzert · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		26/06/1943		6th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 6	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joseph Haydn <i>Symphony No. 88 in G major</i> , Hob. I:88; Hans Pfitzner <i>3 Vorspiele aus Palestrina</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3	POSTPONED FROM 6 FEBRUARY 1943: Joseph Haydn Symphonie G-Dur, Hob. I:88 · · Hans Pfitzner Drei Vorspiele zur musikalischen Legende „Palestrina“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		27/06/1943		6th Subscription Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Joseph Haydn <i>Symphony No. 88 in G major</i> , Hob. I:88; Hans Pfitzner <i>3 Vorspiele aus Palestrina</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3	NOT IN MUSIKVEREIN ARCHIVE	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.3		28/09/1943	00:00	Deutsch-Kroatisches Konzert	Wiener Symphoniker	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Lovro von Matatic	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Boris Papandopulo "Sinfonietta" für Streicher; Kresimir Baranovic Suite (Das Lebzelterherz); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: »Deutsch-Kroatisches Konzert«. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Programme: Boris Papandopulo Sinfonietta für Streicher; Kresimir Baranovic Suite (Das Lebzelterherz); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll (Dritte Fassung von 1889) (1872–1873/1877/1889). Note: »Deutsch-Kroatisches Konzert«. Presented by: Wiener Symphoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.3		06/10/1943	19:00	Zyklus I - Symphoniekonzerte / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Wilhelm Sieben	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven "Die Weihe des Hauses", Ouvertüre C-Dur op. 124; Joseph Haydn Symphonie Nr. 95 c-moll Hob.I:95; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre „Die Weihe des Hauses“ C-Dur, op. 124 · · Joseph Haydn Symphonie c-Moll, Hob. I:95 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 3 F-Dur op. 90	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		09/10/1943	19:30	Zyklus III - Aussordentliche Symphoniekonzerte / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Joseph Keilberth	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 21; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		10/10/1943	19:30	Zyklus III - Aussordentliche Symphoniekonzerte / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Joseph Keilberth	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur op. 21; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 1 C-Dur, op. 21 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		15/10/1943		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine, Violoncello und Orchester a-Moll op. 102 "Doppelkonzert"; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Vorkonzert des 1. Abonnementkonzertes der Wiener Philharmoniker vom 17. Oktober 1943: Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · Konzert für Violine und Violoncello mit Orchester a-Moll, op. 102, „Doppelkonzert“ · · Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		16/10/1943		1st Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine, Violoncello und Orchester a-Moll op. 102 "Doppelkonzert"; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · Konzert für Violine und Violoncello mit Orchester a-Moll, op. 102, „Doppelkonzert“ · · Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		17/10/1943	16:30	Zweites Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper "Oberon"; César Franck "Variations symphoniques" ("Symphonische Variationen") für Klavier und Orchester FWV 46; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Carl Maria von Weber Ouverture zu »Oberon« J 306 (1825–1826); César Franck Variations symphoniques fis-moll M 46 für Klavier und Orchester (1885); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Zweites Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		17/10/1943		1st Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms Konzert für Violine, Violoncello und Orchester a-Moll op. 102 "Doppelkonzert"; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · Konzert für Violine und Violoncello mit Orchester a-Moll, op. 102, „Doppelkonzert“ · · Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Bruckner	No.6		23/10/1943		2nd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 2	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 6 in A Major, WAB 106</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Trauermarsch aus "Götterdämmerung"</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Schlusszene aus "Götterdämmerung"</i> , <i>WWV 86d</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur; Urfassung · · Richard Wagner Trauermarsch aus dem Musikdrama „Götterdämmerung“ · · Schlussgesang aus „Götterdämmerung“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		24/10/1943		2nd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 6 in A Major, WAB 106</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Trauermarsch aus "Götterdämmerung"</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Schlusszene aus "Götterdämmerung"</i> , <i>WWV 86d</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur; Urfassung · · Richard Wagner Trauermarsch aus dem Musikdrama „Götterdämmerung“ · · Schlussgesang aus „Götterdämmerung“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		25/10/1943		2nd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 6 in A Major, WAB 106</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Trauermarsch aus "Götterdämmerung"</i> ; Richard Wagner <i>Schlusszene aus "Götterdämmerung"</i> , <i>WWV 86d</i>	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur; Urfassung · · Richard Wagner Trauermarsch aus dem Musikdrama „Götterdämmerung“ · · Schlussgesang aus „Götterdämmerung“	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		26/10/1943	09:30		Deutsch-Japanische Zweiggeseellschaft Wien / Konzertdirektion Carl Voss Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Robert Schumann Ouvertüre zur Oper „Genoveva“ op. 81; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 5 A-Dur KV 219; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Robert Schumann Ouvertüre zur Oper „Genoveva“, op. 81 · · Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester A-Dur, KV 219 · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		28/10/1943	19:30	Erstes Außerordentliches Symphonie-Konzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Franz Konwitschny	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 4 D-Dur KV 218; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur WAB 105 (Fassung 1878)	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Violine und Orchester D-Dur K 218 (1775); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur (Fassung von Franz Schalk) (1875-1878). Note: Erstes Außerordentliches Symphonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		29/10/1943		3rd Subscription Concert, Wehrmachtskonzert / 1	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert Symphony No. 5 in B-flat Major, D. 485; Richard Strauss “Don Juan”, op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur, D 485 · · Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		30/10/1943		3rd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 3	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert Symphony No. 5 in B-flat Major, D. 485; Richard Strauss “Don Juan”, op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur, D 485 · · Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		31/10/1943		3rd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert Symphony No. 5 in B-flat Major, D. 485; Richard Strauss “Don Juan”, op. 20; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur, D 485 · · Richard Strauss Don Juan. Tondichtung nach Nikolaus Lenau für großes Orchester, op. 20 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-Moll, op. 68	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		28/11/1943	15:30	Achtes Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Ouvertüre zum Melodram "Die Zaubervarle" D 644; Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für Violine, Streicher und Basso continuo E-Dur BWV 1042; Erich Marckhl Bukolische Musik; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Programme: Franz Schubert Ouvertüre zu »Die Zaubervarle« D 644 »Rosamundenuouvertüre« (1820); Johann Sebastian Bach Konzert für Violine, Streicher und Basso continuo E-Dur BWV 1042 (1717-1723); Erich Marckhl Bukolische Musik; ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73. Note: Achtes Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		30/11/1943	19:00	Konzerttring; Zweiter Abend	KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Robert Schumann Ouvertüre zur Oper "Genoveva" op. 81; Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Es-Dur op. 31; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Robert Schumann Ouvertüre zu »Genoveva« op. 81 (1847-1849); Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Es-Dur op. 31 (1923); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877). Note: Konzerttring; Zweiter Abend. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Kunst und Unterhaltung	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		01/12/1943	19:00	Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte Abonnement Konzert Sym3	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Robert Schumann Ouvertüre zur Oper "Genoveva" op. 81; Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Es-Dur op. 31; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Robert Schumann Ouvertüre zu »Genoveva« op. 81 (1847-1849); Hans Pfitzner Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Es-Dur op. 31 (1923); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877). Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		03/12/1943	19:00	Klassiker-Abende / 1		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 36; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Ludwig van Beethoven Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 36 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.2		02/01/1944	15:30	Zwölftes Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven "Coriolan", Ouvertüre c-moll op. 62; Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 3 c-moll op. 37; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung 1877)	Programme: Ludwig van Beethoven Ouvertüre c-moll zu »Coriolan« op. 62 (1807). Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 3 c-moll op. 37 (1800-1802); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll (Fassung von 1877) (1871-1872/1877). Note: Zwölftes Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		05/01/1944	19:00	Zyklus 1 - Symphoniekonzerte / 2 in Wien	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Joseph Keilberth	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper „Der Freischütz“; Carl Philipp Stamitz Konzertante Symphonie F-Dur; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Carl Maria von Weber Ouvertüre zur Oper „Der Freischütz“ · · Carl Stamitz Konzertante Symphonie F-Dur · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.1		08/01/1944	19:00	Wiener Künstlerring; Dritter Abend		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade Nr. 9 D-Dur "Posthorn-Serenade" KV 320; Georg Friedrich Händel Arie aus der Oper "Rodelinda, regina de' Langobardi" HWV 19; Hugo Wolf "Gesang Weylas", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Eduard Mörike; Hugo Wolf "Anakreons Grab" nach einem Text von Goethe; Hugo Wolf "Der Rattenfänger", Lied nach einem Gedicht von Goethe; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Serenade D-Dur K 320 »Posthorn-Serenade« (1779); Georg Friedrich Händel Confusa si miri »Ich seh' dein Begehren« (Arie aus »Rodelinda« HWV 19) (1725); Hugo Wolf Gesang Weylas (Mörike-Lieder Nr. 46) (1888), Anakreons Grab (Goethe-Lieder Nr. 29) (1888), Der Rattenfänger (Goethe-Lieder Nr. 11) (1890); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: Wiener Künstlerring; Dritter Abend. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Kunst und Unterhaltung	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		08/01/1944		7th Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 7	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Peter Cornelius Ouverture zu "Der Barbier von Bagdad"; Hugo Wolf Italian Serenade in G major; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)	Peter Cornelius Ouverture zur Oper „Der Barbier von Bagdad“ · · · Hugo Wolf Serenade für Streichquartett G-Dur („Italienische Serenade“); Fassung für kleines Orchester · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		09/01/1944		7th Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Peter Cornelius Ouverture zu "Der Barbier von Bagdad"; Hugo Wolf Italian Serenade in G major; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)	Peter Cornelius Ouverture zur Oper „Der Barbier von Bagdad“ · · · Hugo Wolf Serenade für Streichquartett G-Dur („Italienische Serenade“); Fassung für kleines Orchester · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		10/01/1944		7th Subscription Concert, Wehrmachtskonzert / 2	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Hans Knappertsbusch	Wiener Philharmoniker	Peter Cornelius Ouverture zu "Der Barbier von Bagdad"; Hugo Wolf Italian Serenade in G major; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische" (3rd Version, 1888)	Peter Cornelius Ouverture zur Oper „Der Barbier von Bagdad“ · · · Hugo Wolf Serenade für Streichquartett G-Dur („Italienische Serenade“); Fassung für kleines Orchester · · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.1		19/01/1944	19:00	Drittes Außerordentliches Symphonie-Konzert		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Heinz Bongartz	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 83; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Johannes Brahms Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 B-Dur op. 83 (1878-1881); ***; Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68 (1876). Note: Drittes Außerordentliches Symphonie-Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.1		20/02/1944	15:30	19. Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Anton Konrath	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Peter Cornelius Ouverture zur Oper "Der Barbier von Bagdad" (Originalversion); Frédéric Chopin Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 f-moll op. 21; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68	Programme: Peter Cornelius Ouverture D-Dur zu »Der Barbier von Bagdad« (1855–1858); Frédéric Chopin Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 2 f-moll op. 21 (1829); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 1 c-moll op. 68. Note: 19. Symphonie-Konzert am Sonntag-Nachmittag. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		22/02/1944	19:00			Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms "Schicksalslied" für gemischten Chor und Orchester op. 54; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Not in Musikverein Archives	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		23/02/1944	19:00	Zyklus 1 - Symphoniekonzerte / 3	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Hans Knappertsbusch	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Johannes Brahms "Schicksalslied" für gemischten Chor und Orchester op. 54; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn („St. Antoni-Choral“) für Orchester B-Dur, op. 56a · · · Schicksalslied, op. 54 · · · Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		29/02/1944	19:00	Konzerttrng; Fünfter Abend		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Paul August Klenau Symphonie Nr. 5; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 24 c-moll KV 491; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Paul von Klenau Symphonie Nr. 5; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester c-moll K 491 (1786); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885). Note: Konzerttrng; Fünfter Abend. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Kunst und Unterhaltung	Konzerthaus Archive		
Brahms	No.4		01/03/1944	19:00	Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte		Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Paul August Klenau Symphonie Nr. 5; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 24 c-moll KV 491; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Paul von Klenau Symphonie Nr. 5; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Konzert für Klavier und Orchester c-moll K 491 (1786); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885). Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.6		15/03/1944	19:00	Dunkelkonzert	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Max Reger Symphonischer Prolog zu einer Tragödie op. 108; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur WAB 106	Programme: Max Reger Symphonischer Prolog zu einer Tragödie a-moll op. 108 (1908); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 6 A-Dur (1879-1881). Note: Zweites Dunkelkonzert; Viertes Außerordentliches Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		21/03/1944	19:00	Konzerttrng; Sechster Abend	KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 1 g-moll op. 26; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester g-moll op. 26 (1866); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: Konzerttrng; Sechster Abend. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Kunst und Unterhaltung	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		22/03/1944	19:00	gemäß Arztbuch; Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte Abonnement Konzert Sym7	Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester Nr. 1 g-moll op. 26; Pause; Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Max Bruch Konzert für Violine und Orchester g-moll op. 26 (1866); ***; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: gemäß Arztbuch; Subscription series: Symphonie-Konzerte. Presented by: Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft	Konzerthaus Archive		

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Brahms	No.2		01/04/1944		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	George Georgescu	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Claude Debussy La Mer. Trois Esquisses symphoniques; Wilhelm Jerger Thersianische Feste	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73 · · Claude Debussy La Mer. Drei symphonische Skizzen für Orchester · · Wilhelm Jerger Thersianische Feste	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		02/04/1944		Extraordinary Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	George Georgescu	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; Claude Debussy La Mer. Trois Esquisses symphoniques; Wilhelm Jerger Thersianische Feste	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73 · · Claude Debussy La Mer. Drei symphonische Skizzen für Orchester · · Wilhelm Jerger Thersianische Feste	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.9		05/05/1944	19:00	Klassiker-Abende / 3		Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Leopold Reichwein	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-moll D 759 "Unvollendete"; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-moll	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-Moll, D 759, „Unvollendete“ · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 9 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		06/05/1944	19:00	Wiener Künstlering; Sechster Abend	KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Feierabend	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Hans Weisbach	Stadtorchester Wiener Symphoniker	Johannes Brahms Variationen für Orchester über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a; Joseph Haydn Alt-Arie aus der Kantate "Ariadne auf Naxos" Hob. XXVlb/2; Max Reger An die Hoffnung für Altsolo mit Orchester, Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur WAB 107	Programme: Johannes Brahms Variationen über ein Thema von Joseph Haydn op. 56a (1873); Joseph Haydn Arianna a Naxos »Ariadne auf Naxos«. Kantate Hob. XXVlb/2 (Bearbeitung für Solostimme und Orchester) (1789 spätestens); ***; Max Reger An die Hoffnung op. 124 (1912); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur (1881-1883). Note: Wiener Künstlering; Sechster Abend. Presented by: KDF / Kraft durch Freude, Abt. Kunst und Unterhaltung	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		14/10/1944		Philharmonic Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overture No. 2 to the Opera "Fidelio" ("Leonora Overture") op. 72a; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 2, op. 72a · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		15/10/1944		Philharmonic Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overture No. 2 to the Opera "Fidelio" ("Leonora Overture") op. 72a; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 2, op. 72a · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		16/10/1944		Philharmonic Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Ludwig van Beethoven Overture No. 2 to the Opera "Fidelio" ("Leonora Overture") op. 72a; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Ludwig van Beethoven Leonoren-Ouvertüre Nr. 2, op. 72a · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8	Haas	17/10/1944		Radio Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphony No. 8 in C Minor, WAB 108 (Original Version)	Rundfunk Konzert · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		20/01/1945		Philharmonic Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Walter Berten Intrada Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Walter Berten Intrada · · Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		21/01/1945		Philharmonic Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Walter Berten Intrada Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Walter Berten Intrada · · Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		22/01/1945		Philharmonic Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Karl Böhm	Wiener Philharmoniker	Walter Berten Intrada Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128; Johannes Brahms Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, op. 98	Walter Berten Intrada · · Max Reger Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin, op. 128 · · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-Moll, op. 98	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		27/01/1945		Philharmonic Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	César Franck Symphonie in d-Moll; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	César Franck Symphonie d-Moll · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		28/01/1945		Radio Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73; César Franck Symphonie in d-Moll	César Franck Symphonie d-Moll · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		28/01/1945		Philharmonic Concert		Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	César Franck Symphonie in d-Moll; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	Rundfunk Konzert · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73 · · César Franck Symphonie d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.2		29/01/1945		Philharmonic Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Wiener Philharmoniker	César Franck Symphonie in d-Moll; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur op. 73	César Franck Symphonie d-Moll · · — Pause — · Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 2 D-Dur, op. 73	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.1		03/06/1945		Extraordinary Concert		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Robert Fanta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Hermann und Dorothea, Ouverture op. 136; Alexander Borodin Eine Steppenskizze aus Mittel-Asien Manuel de Falla Danse Espagnole Nr. 1; Gustav Mahler Symphony No. 1 in D Major	Programme: Robert Schumann Ouverture »Hermann und Dorothea« op. 136 (1851); Alexander Borodin Eine Steppenskizze aus Mittelasien (1880); Manuel de Falla Danza española »Spanischer Tanz« (La vida breve) (1905); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur (1888-1899). Note: Außerordentliches Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Philharmoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Mahler	No.1		06/06/1945		Außerordentliches Konzert		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Robert Fanta	Wiener Philharmoniker	Robert Schumann Ouverture »Hermann und Dorothea« op. 136 (1851); Alexander Borodin Eine Steppenskizze aus Mittelasien (1880); Manuel de Falla Danza española »Spanischer Tanz« (La vida breve) (1905); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur (1888-1899). Note: Außerordentliches Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Philharmoniker	Programme: Robert Schumann Ouverture »Hermann und Dorothea« op. 136 (1851); Alexander Borodin Eine Steppenskizze aus Mittelasien (1880); Manuel de Falla Danza española »Spanischer Tanz« (La vida breve) (1905); ***; Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 1 D-Dur (1888-1899). Note: Außerordentliches Konzert. Presented by: Wiener Philharmoniker	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		19/07/1945		Charity Concert St. Stephen's Cathedral		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108				

Appendix 1: Performances of Brahms, Bruckner, and Mahler Symphonies in Vienna by the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphonic Orchestras, 1911–1945.

Composer	Symphony	Edition	Date	Time	Concert Title	Organiser	Venue	Conductor	Orchestra	Programme	Details from other source	Source	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde programmes	Press Coverage
Mahler	No.2		01/09/1945		gemäß Saalbuch		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: gemäß Saalbuch. Presented by?	Konzerthaus Archive		NÖ 29.08.1945
Mahler	No.2		02/09/1945		gemäß Saalbuch		Vienna Konzerthaus, Large Hall, Vienna, Austria	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll	Programme: Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 2 c-moll für Sopran, Alt, Chor und Orchester »Auferstehungs-Symphonie« (1888-1894). Note: gemäß Saalbuch. Presented by?	Konzerthaus Archive		NÖ 29.08.1945
Bruckner	No.7		16/09/1945		Opening Concert Musikverein	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert <i>Symphony No. 7 in B Minor, D. 759 ('Unfinished')</i> ; Anton Bruckner <i>Symphony No. 7 in E Major, WAB 107</i>	Eröffnungs-Festkonzert aus dem Anlasse der Wiederherstellung des Musikvereinsgebäudes · Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-Moll, D 759, „Unvollendete“ · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.3		16/09/1945	17:30		Amt für Kultur und Volksbildung	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Fanta	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Festkonzert unter dem Ehrenschild des Bürgermeisters der Stadt Wien, General a.D. Theodor Körner, anlässlich der Neubildung des Orchesters Wiener Symphoniker · Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.3		20/09/1945	17:30		Amt für Kultur und Volksbildung	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Robert Fanta	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-moll	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 3 d-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.7		23/09/1945			Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-Moll, D 759, „Unvollendete“; Pause; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Franz Schubert Symphonie Nr. 7 h-Moll, D 759, „Unvollendete“ · — Pause — · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 7 E-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Mahler	No.10		31/10/1945	17:30	Symphoniekonzert / 1	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Josef Krips	Wiener Symphoniker	Gustav Mahler "Adagio" und "Scherzo" aus der Symphonie Nr. 10 Fis-Dur in einer Bearbeitung von Jockl/Alma Mahler; Gustav Mahler "Das Lied von der Erde", Sinfonischer Liedzyklus für Tenor, Alt (oder Bariton) und Orchester	Gustav Mahler Symphonie Nr. 10 Fis-Dur - Adagio und Scherzo · · Das Lied von der Erde, Symphonie für zwei Solostimmen und Orchester nach Hans Bethges „Die chinesische Flöte“	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		24/11/1945		3rd Subscription Concert, Öffentliche Generalprobe / 3	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Kindertotenlieder (Songs on the Death of Children - Poems by Rückert)</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Gustav Mahler Kindertotenlieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		25/11/1945		3rd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Kindertotenlieder (Songs on the Death of Children - Poems by Rückert)</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Gustav Mahler Kindertotenlieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		26/11/1945	18:00	gemäß Saalbuch; Titel gemäß Saalbuch »Eröffnungskonzert der Kulturreferate«; gemäß Plakat der Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek »Symphonie-Konzert für den Wiederaufbau des Wiener Rathauses«; Interpreten, Werke und Veranstalter gemäß Plakat	Bezirksvorstellungung Mariahilf / Kulturreferat	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Robert Fanta	Wiener Symphoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Toccata, Adagio und Fuge C-Dur BWV 564 (1708–1717); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58 (1805–1806); Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"	Programme: Johann Sebastian Bach Toccata, Adagio und Fuge C-Dur BWV 564 (1708–1717); Ludwig van Beethoven Konzert für Klavier und Orchester Nr. 4 G-Dur op. 58 (1805–1806); Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur »Romantische« (1874/1878–1880). Note: gemäß Saalbuch; Titel gemäß Saalbuch »Eröffnungskonzert der Kulturreferate«; gemäß Plakat der Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek »Symphonie-Konzert für den Wiederaufbau des Wiener Rathauses«; Interpreten, Werke und Veranstalter gemäß Plakat. Presented by: Bezirksvorstellung Mariahilf / Kulturreferat	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.5		30/11/1945	18:30		Osterreichische Kulturvereingung	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Felix Prohaska	Wiener Symphoniker	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur, BWV 1048; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Johann Sebastian Bach Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 3 G-Dur, BWV 1048 · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 5 B-Dur	Musikverein Archive		
Bruckner	No.8		01/12/1945		3rd Subscription Concert	Wiener Philharmoniker	Musikverein, Golden Hall, Vienna, Austria	Josef Krips	Wiener Philharmoniker	Gustav Mahler <i>Kindertotenlieder (Songs on the Death of Children - Poems by Rückert)</i> ; Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-moll WAB 108	Gustav Mahler Kindertotenlieder nach Gedichten von Friedrich Rückert · · Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 8 c-Moll	Musikverein Archive		
Brahms	No.4		05/12/1945	18:30	Subscription series: Fünf Symphonie-Konzerte an Mittwochen im Großen Konzerthaus-Saal	internationale Kulturverein Akademisches Collegium	Wiener Konzerthaus, Grosser Saal	Felix Prohaska	Wiener Symphoniker	Bedřich Smetana "Z českých luhů a hájů" ("Aus Böhmens Hain und Flur"); 4. symphonische Dichtung aus "Má vlast" ("Mein Vaterland"); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54; Pause; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98	Programme: Bedřich Smetana z českých luhů a hájů »Aus Böhmens Hain und Flur«. Symphonische Dichtung T. 114 (Má vlast »Mein Vaterland«) (1875); Robert Schumann Konzert für Klavier und Orchester a-moll op. 54 (1841-1845); ***; Johannes Brahms Symphonie Nr. 4 e-moll op. 98 (1884-1885). Subscription series: Fünf Symphonie-Konzerte an Mittwochen im Großen Konzerthaus-Saal. Presented by: Wiener Kulturreferat	Konzerthaus Archive		
Bruckner	No.4		28/12/1945	18:30	Symphoniekonzerte / 2	internationale Kulturverein Akademisches Collegium	Musikverein Wien, Grosser Saal	Josef Krips	Wiener Symphoniker	Anton Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur WAB 104 "Romantische"; Antonin Dvořák Symphonie Nr. 9 e-Moll, op. 95, „Aus der Neuen Welt“	Anton Bruckner Symphonie Nr. 4 Es-Dur, „Romantische“ · · Antonin Dvořák Symphonie Nr. 9 e-Moll, op. 95, „Aus der Neuen Welt“	Musikverein Archive		

Appendix 2: Itemised List of Journal Articles, with Author Identification (where possible)

<i>Allgemeine Radio-Zeitung</i>	
1924 December 26	Z.K. 'The Broadcasting Facilities Abroad and in Vienna'
<i>Arbeiter Zeitung</i>	
1911 January 9	D.B., 'Philharmonic Concert'
1911 March 16	'Arbeiter-Symphoniekonzert'
1911 December 12	D.B. 'Concerts'
1912 July 4	D.J. Bach, 'Gustav Mahler's Ninth Symphony'
1915 October 16	D.B. 'Mahler's Second Symphony'
1919 March 26	D.B., 'Orchestra and Choir Concerts'
1921 May 6	D.B. 'Max Kalbeck Died'
1921 October 12	'Bruckner Celebration of the City of Vienna'
1922 June 9	David Josef Bach, 'Memories: On the Last Arbeiter-Symphoniekonzert: Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony'
1924 January 7	pp. 'Orchestra Concerts'
1926 November 11	D.B. 'Viktor Adler and Gustav Mahler'
1930 January 3	'Philharmonic Concerts'
1933 May 7	D.J. Bach, 'Johannes Brahms'
	Paul Pisk, 'Johannes Brahms and Vienna'
1933 June 20	'Symphony Orchestra deal with RAVAG'
<i>Badener Zeitung</i>	

1933 April 22	‘Day of Music Care’
1933 May 24	‘In Brahms Month’
<i>Das Deutsche Volkslied</i>	
1922 May–June	Karl Liebleitner, ‘Johannes Brahms’
<i>Das Interessante Blatt</i>	
1936 July 23	Robert Konta, ‘The Bruckner Festival’
<i>Das Kleine Volksblatt</i>	
1939 October 7	Max Rote, ‘The Four Big “B”s’
1939 November 25	Max Rote, ‘Hans Knappertsbusch interprets Bruckner and Brahms’
1940 February 2	Max Rote, ‘Ostmärkische Landscape in Music’
1943 October 26	Heinrich Damisch, ‘Furtwängler and Bruckner’s Sixth’
<i>Das Vaterland</i>	
1911 April 24	‘Music Pedagogical Congress’
<i>Der Fremdenverkehr</i>	
1912 April 28	‘The Vienna Music Festival Week 1912’
<i>Der Kuckuck</i>	
1933 May 7	P.A. Pisk, ‘On the Brahms Memorial Day’
<i>Der Morgen. Wiener Montagsblatt</i>	
1911 April 24	Yer. ‘Music Pedagogical Congress’
1918 November 18	Hedwig Kanner, ‘Philharmonic Concert’
1918 December 23	Hedwig Kanner, ‘Philharmonic Concert’
1919 February 3	Hedwig Kanner, ‘Mahler’s Second Symphony’
1919 March 24	H. K – r. ‘Extraordinary Philharmonic Concert’

1934 March 5	Hedwig Kanner, 'V Philharmonic Concert'
<i>Der Neue Tag</i>	
1919 March 25	E.W. 'Sixth Symphony Concert. Conductor: Wilhelm Furtwängler'
1919 April 25	K., 'The Bruckner Festival'
1919 May 10	E.W. 'Brahms Festival'
<i>Der Tag</i>	
1924 October 14	Max Graf, 'Gustav Mahler's Death Symphony'
1924 December 2	Max Graf, 'Bruckner Celebration'
1928 March 18	Max Graf, 'Viennese Musicians'
1928 March 20	Mg. 'Mahler Concert at the State Opera'
1928 April 17	Mg., 'Nicolai Concert'
1933 January 10	Mg., 'Fourth Philharmonic Concert'
1933 February 12	I.R. 'Wagner, Brahms and Hugo Wolf'
1933 April 30	'A National Award for What "in the judgement of those called, was a stirring experience"'
1933 May 7	Max Graf, 'Brahms's Hundredth Birthday'
	Alfred Rosenzweig, 'Brahms Relics Look at You'
1933 May 9	Xyz. 'Wagner, Brahms and the Nazis'
1933 May 17	'Opening Ceremony of the Brahms Festival'
1933 May 19	Mg., 'Brahms Festival'
1934 November 1	A. Rosenzweig, 'Two Hours with Mengelberg'
1935 April 9	Alfred Rosenzweig, 'Mahler's "Third" under Walter'
1935 April 10	A.R. 'Mahler Premiere on the Radio'

1935 July 7	Max Graf, 'Gustav Mahler: For his 75th birthday'
1935 November 16	'Mahler Concerts of the Philharmonic Orchestra under Bruno Walter'
1936 March 15	Max Graf, 'The so-called "Original Version" of the V Bruckner'
1936 May 17	Max Graf, 'Gustav Mahler: On the 25 th anniversary of his death on 18 May'
1936 October 13	'Bruckner Festival of the University'
1937 January 19	Mg., 'Fifth Philharmonic Concert'
1937 April 22	Mg., 'Symphony Concert of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde'
1937 May 12	'Philharmonic Concert'
1937 October 19	Mg. 'Second Philharmonic Concert'
1937 December 11	a.r. 'The Third Anniversary Concert'
1937 December 17	a.r. 'Mahler Cycle of the Musica Viva Orchestra'
1937 December 24	'The Bruckner Festival 1938 Linz, 23. December'
1938 January 29	Mg., 'Gustav Mahler Cycle'
1938 February 22	Mg., 'VI Philharmonic Concert'
Deutsche Musikkultur	
1936, Heft 4	Alfred Orel, 'Original and arrangement by Anton Bruckner'
Deutsches Volksblatt	
1911 February 6	H. 'Concert Review'
1911 March 13	Kamillo Horn, 'Concert Report'
1911 April 24	H. 'Festival Concert'

1912 February 15	H. 'Bruckner Celebration'
1912 April 1	'Concerts'
1912 June 25	H. 'Vienna Music Festival Week: The Second Concert'
1913 November 13	Walter Niemann, 'Anton Bruckner'
1915 February 19	Kamillo Horn, 'Ferdinand Löwe'
1915 March 16	H. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1918 November 22	H. 'Philharmonic Concert'
<i>Die Bühne</i>	
1927, Heft 125	Paul Stefan, 'Brahms'
1933, Heft 344	Paul Stefan, 'The Magic of the Artist: Gustav Mahler'
1933, Heft 352	Ernst Lissauer, 'The Difficult One'
<i>Die Neue Zeitung</i>	
1911 April 3	'Concerts'
1913 February 24	'Wagner – Bruckner – Hanslick'
<i>Die Rote Fahne</i>	
1922 April 14	Paul Friedländer, 'On the 25 th anniversary of the death of Johannes Brahms'
<i>Die Stunde</i>	
1923 March 21	P. Stf., 'World Premiere of Bruckner's Youth Symphony'
1926 December 4	'What Should the Memorial to Gustav Mahler Look Like and Where Should it be Erected?'
1928 March 9	Paul Stefan, 'A Mahler Memorial'
1929 October 10	'The Programme of the Philharmonic Concerts'
1930 July 10	P. Stf., 'the omitted Mahler celebrations'

1931 May 19	'The Mahler Bust in the Opera House'
1933 January 10	P. Stf. 'Philharmonic Concert: Rare Mahler'
1933 May 17	""Furtwängler is wrong here!""
1933 May 18	P. Stf., 'Start of the Brahms Festival'
1934 March 30	'Race and Music'
1934 October 31	P. Stf. 'Mengelberg in Vienna'
1935 July 7	P. Stf., 'Mahler and our time'
1936 May 19	P. Stf. 'Composer and Conductor of the Eighth Symphony'
1936 August 21	P. Stf. 'Memorial Service for Mahler in Salzburg'
1936 October 16	P. Stf., 'Epilogue to the Bruckner Festival'
1937 April 4	P. Stf. 'Johannes Brahms and Vienna'
1937 June 5	'A new German concert guide'
1937 July 23	P. Stf. 'From the Austrian Bruckner Festival'
1938 March 6	P. Stf. 'The Unknown Youth Symphonies of Mahler'
Die Zeit	
1911 January 9	Rb. 'Philharmonic – Orchestra Association'
1911 March 5	Rb. 'Concerts'
1911 March 19	Bgr. 'Concerts'
1911 May 10	Schn. 'Concerts'
1911 May 19	Ferdinand Scherber, 'Gustav Mahler'
1912 February 15	F., 'Bruckner Festival Concert'
1912 April 1	Mg., 'Nicolai-Concert'
1912 June 23	'Bruckner on His "Ninth": Remarks of the Master'
1912 June 25	Mg., 'Philharmonic Concert under Nikisch'

1915 April 12	Mg., 'Philharmonic Concert'
1916 January 17	Mg., 'Philharmonic Concert'
1916 March 13	Mg., 'Philharmonic Concert'
1917 April 16	Mg. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1917 September 18	'Brahms the England-hater'
1918 April 4	Max Graf, 'From the Concerthall'
1918 December 11	Max Graf, 'From the Concerthalls'
1918 December 23	Mg. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1919 February 23	Paul Stefan, 'The Reich Music City'
1919 April 30	Max Graf, 'Feuilleton: From the Concerthalls'
1919 June 18	Rudolf Reti, 'Feuilleton: Mahler's VIII Symphony: An Epilogue to the Last Festive Performance of the Opera Theatre'
<i>Fremden-Blatt</i>	
1915 February 19	R. Batka, 'Ferdinand Löwe – on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday'
1918 November 19	R.B. 'The State Council and the Court Theatres: First Philharmonic Concert'
<i>Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung</i>	
1939 February 1	H.D., 'Philharmonic Concert'
1939 April 26	H.D. 'The Philharmonic at the Close of their Concert Year'
1940 February 2	Heinrich Damisch, 'A Concert Evening in D Major'
1942 January 7	Heinrich Damisch, 'The Philharmonic with Furtwängler'
<i>Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt</i>	

1921 January 24	h.l. [Hans Liebstöckl], 'Fifth Philharmonic Concert'
1922 April 4	'Brahms's 25 th anniversary of his death'
<i>Kleine Volks-Zeitung</i>	
1929 June 12	'The Festival Weeks'
1935 July 27	'The Bruckner Festival'
<i>Kleine Wiener Kriegszeitung</i>	
1944 November 19	H.D., 'Bruckner's "Eighth" on the Radio'
<i>Moderne Welt</i>	
1920, Heft 4	Robert Kosta, 'Masterful Performances of Viennese Music'
1921	Issue no.7 volume 3, <i>Gustav Mahler Issue</i>
<i>Neue Freie Presse</i>	
1873 October 28	H., 'Concerts'
1877 December 18	H., 'Concerts'
1883 February 13	Eduard Hanslick, 'Concerts'
1886 March 30	Eduard Hanslick, 'Concerts'
1911 October 20	r. 'Mahler Memorial'
1911 November 6	J.K. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1911 December 3	r. 'Mahler Commemoration'
1912 February 15	R., 'Festival Concert'
1912 March 3	Wilhelm Freiherrn v. Weckbecker, 'Vienna Music Festival Week 1912'
1912 March 15	J.K. 'Mahler's Eighth Symphony'
1912 June 21	Julius Korngold, 'To the Vienna Music Festival Week'

1912 June 25	J.K., 'The Vienna Music Festival Week: First Philharmonic Concert'
1912 June 27	J.K. 'The Vienna Music Festival Week'
1913 November 3	Jos. R. 'Music'
1913 December 22	Julius Korngold, 'Concerts'
1915 April 25	Stefan Zweig, 'Gustav Mahler's Return'
1915 October 15	J.K. 'Performance of Mahler's Second Symphony'
1916 March 13	J.K. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1916 April 10	J.K. 'Nicolai Concert of the Philharmonic'
1916 August 15	'General Music Director Fritz Steinbach'
1917 October 22	J.K. 'Concerts'
1917 December 22	Julius Korngold, 'Concerts'
1918 December 24	J.K. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1919 March 10	Julius Korngold, 'Feuilleton: Philharmonic Concert – Society Concerts – Alfred Grünfeld – Franz Moser – Mahler's Fifth'
1919 March 26	Guido Adler, 'Vienna Music Festival'
1919 October 20	I. 'Concerts'
1919 November 14	Julius Korngold, 'Feuilleton: Music'
1920 May 23	Hugo Wittmann, 'Vienna Festival Days'
1920 May 31	Egon Wellesz, 'The Mahler Festival in Amsterdam'
1921 May 7	Julius Korngold, 'Max Kalbeck'
1922 April 1	Julius Korngold, 'On the Brahms Commemoration'
1922 August 25	Julius Korngold, 'Music in the World Crisis'
1923 September 26	St – g, 'Gustav Mahler, the Man'

1924 October 15	Julius Korngold, 'Mahler's Tenth Symphony'
1925 January 19	J.K. 'Feuilleton: Concerts'
1929 April 3	'A New Brahms Biography'
1929 April 11	r. 'Brahms Concert'
1938 January 18	R. 'Philharmonic Concert'
<i>Neues Österreich</i>	
1945 June 2	Zeno Liebl, 'Gustav Mahler and Vienna'
1945 June 6	Hugo Huppert, 'Music in Response: After the First Mahler Concert in Vienna'
1945 June 13	Peter Lafite, 'Philharmonic Concert'
1945 September 11	'Renewal of the Bruckner Society'
<i>Neues Wiener Journal</i>	
1911 January 9	E.B., 'Philharmonic Concert'
1911 April 25	'The Music Pedagogical Congress'
1911 May 19	Max Graf, 'Gustav Mahler'
1912 March 15	E.B. 'Mahler's Eighth Symphony'
1912 June 27	Elsa Bienenfeld, 'Mahler's Ninth Symphony: Premiere in the third concert of the Vienna Music Festival Week'
1912 November 4	'Arnold Schönberg on Gustav Mahler'
1913 May 11	'The Opening of the Wiener Konzerthaus'
1914 April 7	'Interesting artefacts from a French music critic about Brahms, Bruckner, Mahler and Richard Strauss'
1915 December 24	S. D. Gallwitz, 'The War, the Music and Us'
1916 March 13	E.B. 'Mahler's Seventh Symphony'

1917 December 25	Karl Marilaun, 'General Music Director Bruno Walter about Gustav Mahler'
1918 March 4	Rp, 'Feuilleton: Concerts: Philharmonic Concert – "Helmbracht" by Zaiczek-Blankenau'
1918 December 24	'Philharmonic Concert'
1919 March 30	Elsa Bienenfeld, 'Conductors: Changes and New Appointments in Vienna'
1919 April 10	Felix Weingartner, 'On the "Arbeiter-Zeitung": A Rebuttal'
1919 April 15	Karl Marilaun, Feuilleton: Conversation with Oskar Fried'
1919 October 11	'Artur Nikisch and Anton Bruckner'
1920 March 23	E.B., 'Mahler Performances'
1920 June 20	Max Graf, 'Glosses on Art and Culture: Gustav Mahler's Jewish Melodies'
1920 July 6	Paul Stefan, 'A Remembrance of Gustav Mahler'
1921 March 1	Elsa Bienenfeld, 'Paul Bekker's Mahler Book'
1921 July 3	A.W., 'The Fourth Brahms Festival'
1922 April 10	E. Bienenfeld, 'Brahms Memorial Days'
1923 January 19	Felix v. Lepel, 'Johannes Brahms and his Relations with Vienna'
1923 May 9	Siegmund Münz, 'Viennese Brahms Memories'
1923 July 21	Felix v. Lepel, 'New Contributions to the Bruckner Problem'
1924 November 19	J.B., 'The tone poet in the National Council: On the Bruckner Celebration of the Ministry of Education'
1925 April 12	Oskar Nedbal, 'What Brahms and Dvorak Entrusted to me'

1927 March 7	E.B. 'Weingartner's Farewell to the Philharmonic Orchestra'
1928 February 27	E.B. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1928 April 18	E.B. 'The Nicolai Concert under Furtwängler'
1928 November 6	Erwin Kondor, 'Feuilleton: Brahms's First Failure'
1928 December 24	E.B. 'The Philharmonic, the Opera and Furtwängler'
1929 January 13	E.B. 'How Brahms Composed'
1929 April 10	E.B. 'The Celebration of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde'
1929 September 20	'The Centenary of Karl Goldmark's Birth'
1929 December 23	E.B. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1931 May 19	O.K., 'Impressive Mahler Celebration at the State Opera'
1931 November 11	Karl Moser, 'The Symphony of a Thousand'
1937 April 3	Oswald Kabasta, 'What we owe to Johannes Brahms'
1938 January 17	Joseph Marx, 'Bruno Walter Conducts Mahler's "Ninth"'
<i>Neues Wiener Tagblatt</i>	
1911 April 24	'Concerts'
1912 April 29	'Vienna Music Festival Week'
1915 March 20	Max Kalbeck, 'Artist and Patriot'
1915 May 18	Max Kalbeck, 'Brahmsiana'
1916 January 20	Max Kalbeck, 'Two hero symphonies'
1917 January 26	Ludwig Karpath, 'Orchestra and Choir Concerts'
1918 March 4	Rp. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1918 December 23	'Feuilleton'
1919 January 22	Ludwig Karpath, 'Cheerful works by Brahms, Bruckner and Menzel'

1919 January 27	Max Kalbeck, 'Philharmonic Concert – New Books of the Brahmsgesellschaft'
1919 March 10	Max Kalbeck, 'Philharmonic Concert'
	Heinrich v. Kralik, 'Feuilleton: Bruno Walter – Society Concert – Dr Felix Gotthelf – Klara Musil – Josef Frank'
	Ludwig Karpath, 'Feuilleton: Symphony Concert – Alfred Grünfeld'
1919 March 24	Ludwig Karpath, 'Feuilleton: Concerts: Mahler's Third with the Philharmonic'
1920 March 15	Ludwig Karpath, 'Feuilleton: Concerts'
1922 April 3	Heinrich Kralik, 'Feuilleton: Johannes Brahms on the 25 th Anniversary of his Death'
1922 October 2	E.D. 'Feuilleton: Music'
1923 October 22	E.D. 'Feuilleton: Music'
1924 October 13	Heinrich Kralik, 'Gustav Mahler's X Symphony: World Premiere of the fragment at the Opera Theatre'
1925 January 7	'Feuilleton: Ferdinand Löwe'
1927 March 7	Ernst Decsey, 'Weingartner's Farewell'
1929 February 9	'The struggle for the extension of the protection period'
1934 October 15	Ernst Decsey, 'Philharmonic Concert'
1935 July 6	Alfons Wallis, 'Feuilleton: Gustav Mahler. For his 75th Birthday'
1936 May 19	Heinrich Kralik, 'Feuilleton: Gustav Mahler: On the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of his Death'

1936 July 1	Ludwig Karpath, ‚Feuilleton: A few more things about Gustav Mahler’
1937 April 16	A.W. ‘Brahms Concert under Kabasta’
1939 May 3	Fritz Brust, ‘A German Brahms Festival’
1939 July 5	Robert Haas, ‘Posterity canonises Bruckner’s Intention: On the text of the Eighth Symphony’
1939 July 6	Hans Rutz, ‘Wilhelm Furtwängler on Bruckner: Bruckner Symphonies under Weisbach and Kabasta’
1939 October 20	Hans Rutz, ‘Hans Weisbach Conducts Bruckner’
1939 November 24	Hans Rutz, ‘Anton Bruckner and Johannes Brahms’
1940 February 16	Hans Rutz, ‘Enthusiasm around Wolfgang Schneiderhan’
1940 October 9	Roland Tenschert, ‘Anton Bruckner Teaches Music Theory’
1940 October 17	Ilse Meuer-Kuhlmann, ‘Bruckner Fragments Premiered’
1941 February 17	Hans Rutz, ‘The Path to Anton Bruckner: Walter Abendroth: “The Symphonies of Anton Bruckner” Published by Bote and Bock, Berlin, 1940’
<i>(Neuigkeits) Welt Blatt</i>	
1927 April 6	Hannes, ‘On the 30 th Anniversary of Johannes Brahms’s Death’
1938 March 23	Ber-., ‘The Festive Concert of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra’
1939 July 6	LdO, ‘Reich Minister Rust in Vienna’
1939 July 7	L. Schmid., ‘Festive Finale to the Bruckner Festival’
1940 February 20	Willibald Bertl, ‘Knappertsbusch Conducts’

	L. Schmid. 'Dunkelkonzert by the Vienna Symphony Orchestra'
1940 October 8	L. Schmid., 'Anton Bruckner is all of ours: Morning celebration of District IV of the NSDAP'
<i>Ostdeutsche Rundschau</i>	
1916 March 14	D. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1918 April 16	Max Auer, 'Anton Bruckner's 8 th Symphony'
1920 June 11	'The Jews in Music'
1921 January 24	D. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1921 October 11	D., 'Anton Bruckner: On the 25 th anniversary of his death'
1923 May 9	Alfred Schnerich, 'A New Bruckner Book'
1925 June 25	Viktor Junk, 'News About Anton Bruckner'
1925 July 5	H. Justus, 'Vienna as a City of Music'
1927 January 8	D. 'Bruckner Cycle'
1928 March 14	'The Bruckner Movement'
1928 December 10	D. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1929 February 19	'Festive Meeting of the International Bruckner Society: Transfer of Headquarters from Leipzig to Vienna – Franz Schalk Honorary President – The annual general meeting of the Vienna Bruckner Society'
1929 May 28	'The International Bruckner Society to the Friends of Music'
1929 June 11	D. 'Musical Review'
1930 January 20	D. 'Philharmonic Concert'
1930 December 1	We. 'Music'

1933 May 7	Heinrich Damisch, 'Johannes Brahms'
1933 May 17	'Opening Ceremony of the Brahms Festival'
Österreichische Volksstimme	
1945 December 2	I.W. 'Symphony Concert under Felix Prohaska'
Österreichische Zeitung	
1945 June 5	Kr. Then T.K. 'Gustav Mahler's Return'
Radio Wien	
1924 October 19	'Concert Evening'
1924 November 29	'Bruckner Celebration: as part of the Bruckner Centenary Celebration of the Federal Ministry of Education'
1925 November 27	R.S. Hoffmann, 'Bruckner and His Fourth Symphony'
1926 September 24	Josef Reitler, 'Johannes Brahms'
1930 October 17	Max Graf, 'For the concert on Monday 20 October: Gustav Mahler as a Symphonist'
1931 May 15	Paul Stefan, '2 Decades since Mahler'
1932 March 18	Josef Lechthaler, 'To the concert broadcast from Berlin on Saturday, 26 March: Gustav Mahler's Symphony No.II'
1932 May 20	Julius Biströn, 'Gustav Mahler's Symphony [No.7]: Memories of the Premiere'
1935 February 8	'Mahler's Fourth Symphony: Performance on Thursday, 14 February, 20:40'
1935 July 19	Franz Gräflinger, 'Art and Culture in Brucknerland: Bruckner Festival in Linz and St Florian, 26-28 July 1935'

1936 October 2	'In Memory of Anton Bruckner: I Subscription Concert Conductor: Oswald Kabasta: Broadcast from the Großer Musikvereinssaal on Wednesday 7 October, 19:35 hrs'
1936 October 9	'The Original Version of Bruckner's VI Symphony'
1939 January 15	(Radio broadcasts and concert listings from Holland and Czechia)
1939 March 4	(Radio broadcasts and concert listings from Poland)
1939 April 15	(Radio broadcasts and concert listings from Stockholm)
1939 April 22	(Radio broadcasts and concert listings from Kopenhagen and Brussels)
Reichspost	
1911 March 11	Maximilian Muntz. 'Bruckner Cycle'
1911 April 24	M.M. 'The First Music Pedagogical Congress'
1911 May 19	Maximilian Muntz, 'Gustav Mahler'
1912 February 15	G.v.B., 'Bruckner Festival Concert'
1912 April 1	C.B. 'Theatre, Art, Music'
1917 February 10	H., "'Honour your German Masters!'" A word about the upcoming Bruckner performance by the "Dreizehnlinden" Singerbund'
1918 January 10	M.S., 'Viennese Music'
1919 April 2	M.S., 'Gustav Mahler Performances'
1921 March 17	M.S., 'Bruckner's "Third"'
1921 March 26	Drag., 'the "Gustav Mahler" Problem'
1923 November 10	R. 'Concert Review'

1925 September 22	'Bruckner Celebration in Berlin'
1929 May 9	'Orchestra Recordings'
1932 October 24	Max Springer, 'World Premiere of the Ninth Symphony by Bruckner'
1938 January 18	M.S. 'Philharmonic Concert'
<i>Völkischer Beobachter</i>	
1939 July 6	F.B., 'The German Bruckner Society to its festive assembly in the Großer Musikvereinssaal'
1939 November 24	Friedrich Bayer, 'Subscription Concert in the Musikverein'
1939 December 8	Friedrich Bayer, 'Kabasta in the Musikverein'
1941 May 30	H. Müllner, 'Paths to Anton Bruckner'
1943 June 4	Alexander Witeschnik, 'Cultural Police and Entertainment: Anton Bruckner and Vienna'
<i>Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	
1886 March 30	Gustav Dömpke, 'Concerts'
1912 May 18	B.Z., 'In Memory of Gustav Mahler'
1912 June 25	'The Vienna Music Festival Week'
1920 March 23	R.B. 'Mahler Evenings'
1921 October 10	Max Graf, 'Anton Bruckner (on the 25 th Anniversary of his Death)'
1921 November 7	Max Graf, 'Music from Sunday'
1922 March 27	Mg., 'Brahms Celebration of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde'
1922 April 3	Mg. 'Music from Sunday'

1922 April 4	Max Graf, 'Johannes Brahms'
1927 April 3	'The Protection Period for Brahms Works has Expired'
1928 January 10	R.K., 'Bruno Walter with the Philharmonic'
1928 March 20	R.K. 'The Mahler Celebration at the State Opera'
1930 July 8	Robert Konta, 'Gustav Mahler: On His 70 th Birthday'
1931 March 26	R.K. 'The Mahler Monument'
1933 January 5	R.K. 'Festive Brahms Concert'
1933 April 13	'Bruno Walter on the Attempted Sabotage of His Mahler Concert: The "Eighth Mahler" as an "internal Jewish affair"'
1933 April 14	R.K., 'Bruno Walter Conducts the VIII Mahler: Anniversary of the Singakademie'
1933 May 6	Robert Konta, 'Johannes Brahms's 100 th Birthday'
1933 May 7	'Singers and Modern Composers about Brahms'
1933 May 17	'Furtwängler gave the Brahms Speech Today'
Wiener Bilder	
1913 December 28	'A New Mahler Plaque'
Wiener Kurier	
1945 September 17	Zeno von Liebl, 'Mahler's Third Symphony'
1945 November 2	'Late Mahler Music'
Wiener Morgenzeitung	
1919 March 13	Dr K.M. 'Philharmonic Concerts – Mahler: Fifth Symphony – Berlioz: Toten-Messe'
1920 September 9	Konrad Maril, 'A Mahler Rescue'
1920 October 27	K.M. 'The Mahler Cycle'

1921 October 24	Erwin Felber, 'Concerts'
1923 May 26	Erwin Felber, 'Concerts'
1926 December 2	'A Viennese Monument to Gustav Mahler'
Wiener Sonn- und Montags-Zeitung	
1911 April 17	Rbt. 'Concerts'
Wiener Zeitung	
1911 February 21	R.h., 'Feuilleton: Music'
1911 April 19	R.h., 'Orchestra- and choral concerts'
1912 April 5	r.h. 'Concerts'
1914 May 7	Alfred von Ehrmann, 'Brahms'
1918 March 4	Kr. 'Sunday Concert'
1918 April 9	Kr., 'Feuilleton: Hofoper Theatre: Gustav Mahler's Eighth Symphony: By order of the Most High: in favour of the Imperial-Royal Austrian Military Widows' and Orphans' Fund'
1918 December 24	Kr. 'Third Philharmonic Concert'
1919 March 11	Kr. 'Concerts'
1920 October 25	Erwin Schaeffer, 'Mahler Cycle'
1925 January 19	Erwin Schaeffer, 'Concerts'
1926 November 4	Ferdinand Scherber, 'Lecturer and Doctor Anton Bruckner'
1929 April 26	Alfred Orel, 'The Musical from Billroth's Letters'
1931 October 6	'Memorial Speech for Franz Schalk'
1932 October 23	Rb. 'Conference of the International Bruckner Society: Bruckner Exhibition'

<i>Critic Signature Initials</i> ⁵⁴²		
A.R.		Alfred Rosenzweig
A.W.		Alfons Wallis
Ber-		Willibald Bertl
B.Z.		Berta Zuckerkandl-Szeps
D.B.	D.J. Bach	David Josef Bach
E.B.		Elsa Bienenfeld
E.D.		Ernst Decsey
F.B.		Friedrich Bayer
H. (<i>Neue Freie Presse</i> , 1825–1904)		Eduard Hanslick
H. (<i>Deutsches Volksblatt</i> , 1860–1941)		Camillo Horn
H.D.		Heinrich Damisch
H. K – r.		Hedwig Kanner
H.L.		Hans Liebstöckl
J.K.		Julius Korngold
K.M.		Konrad Maril
Mg.		Max Graf
M.M.		Maximilian Muntz
M.S.		Max Springer
O.K.		Oswald Kabasta
pp.	P.A. Pisk	Paul Amadeus Pisk
P. Stf.		Paul Stefan
R.B.	R. Batka	Richard Batka
R.h.		Robert Hirschfeld
R.K.		Robert Konta
rp		Ludwig Karpath

⁵⁴² This is a non-exhaustive list, but one which I would have found useful at the beginning of this project.

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Das Kleine Volksblatt (KV)

Das Vaterland (V)

Der Fremdenverkehr (F)

Der Kuckuck (K)

Der Morgen (M)

Der Morgen. Wiener Montagsblatt (MWM)

Der Neue Tag (NT)

Der Tag (T)

Deutsche Musikkultur (DM)

Deutsches Volksblatt (DV)

Die Bühne (B)

Die Neue Zeitung (NZ)

Die Rote Fahne (RF)

Die Stunde (S)

Die Zeit (Z)

Fremden-Blatt (FB)

Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung (IKZ)

Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt (IWE)

Kleine Volks-Zeitung (KVZ)

Kleine Wiener Kriegszeitung (KWK)

Moderne Welt (MW)

Neue Freie Presse (NFP)

Neues Österreich (NÖ)

Neues Wiener Journal (NWJ)

Neues Wiener Tagblatt (NWT)

(Neuigkeits) Welt Blatt (N)WB

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Österreichische Volksstimme (ÖV)

Österreichische Zeitung (ÖZ)

Radio Wien (RW)

Reichspost (R)

Völkischer Beobachter (VB)

Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ)

Wiener Bilder (WB)

Wiener Kurier (WK)

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