

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF
EMIL NIKOLAUS VON REZNICEK, 1860-1945

by

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The Life and Works of Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek, 1860-1945

Thesis directed by Professor Emerita Deborah Hayes

This biography of Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek (1860-1945) examines his origins, rise to prominence as composer and conductor, and subsequent decline. Annotated catalog of works, 1887-1943, includes location of newly discovered manuscripts and editions in key repositories in Vienna and the United States.

Reznicek's early conducting positions included Graz Landestheater, Zürich Stadttheater, Stettin, Jena, Bochum, Berlin's Wallner-Theater, and Mainz where, like Nikisch, Muck, Clemens Krauss, Felix Mottl, Weingartner and Mahler, Reznicek gained practical experience and skill. His first operas were composed as house composer under Angelo Neumann for Prague Landestheater. Major conducting posts included Weimar and Mannheim Hoftheater and the Warsaw Opera and Philharmonic (Filharmonia Warszawska). A friendship with Mahler developed when Mahler produced Reznicek's opera, *Donna Diana* (1894), at Vienna's Hoftheater in 1898. The opera's well-known overture is still often performed.

Prior to and during the Weimar Republic years, Reznicek's residency in Berlin resulted in numerous prestigious conducting appearances and premieres of his works with the Berlin Philharmonic. His creation of the Berlin Kammerkonzert became an important venue for new works and revivals of neglected Classical and Baroque masterworks. His conductorship of the Berlin Komische Oper under Hans

Gregor provided the impetus for first operetta composition. Reznicek served under Franz Schreker as composition and orchestration faculty at the prestigious Berlin Akademische Hochschule für Musik (1916-1926).

In Berlin he composed most of his major mature works, including three symphonies, symphonic poems *Schlemiel*, *Der Sieger*, and *Der Frieden* (1912-1914); operas *Ritter Blaubart* (1917), *Holofernes* (1923), and *Satuala* (1921); a violin concerto, and numerous choral, solo vocal and chamber works. His style exemplifies the high points of German tonal music ca. 1890-1925, with bold orchestral color and highly complex counterpoint on a stretched framework of traditional forms.

Early friendship with Richard Strauss blossomed in the 1930s into a working relationship in two important composer's organizations, the Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein and the Ständiger Rat für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten. During the Third Reich, letters between Strauss and Reznicek reflect their struggles with Nazi officials and reveal little known coping strategies employed to protect their families, while attempting to preserve small morsels of artistic and personal integrity.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Gordon Banks Wright (1935-2007) who, long before the present author, started a long and difficult path to bring the music of Reznicek back to the listening public in an attempt to engender new interest in his music.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I wish to acknowledge the Faculty Research Fund at the University of Denver that provided the monetary means for my air travel to Berlin during the early years of this project's conception to visit the Berlin Hochschule and the Hochschule Archives, Bote & Boch Publishers, the Staatsbibliothek Unter den Linden and Staatsbibliothek Potsdamer Strasse, and the time while there to locate Reznicek's grave in the Waldfriedhof near Standsdorf outside of Berlin.

My gratitude extends to my colleague Stephen Luttmann from the University of Northern Colorado, who spent many hours helping me with German translations. Additional thanks go to my friend and colleague from the Reznicek Society, Dietrich Stromaier for his translations of opera and choral work texts of Reznicek and his help and companionship to Gordon Wright and me on our research trip to Berlin in 1993 and the journey to Kiel in 2005 for the complete staging there of *Donna Diana*. My unending thanks go to the late Gordon Wright who shared his passion for Reznicek's

music and made the materials he collected, which make up the bulk of the present Reznicek Archives, available to me for my work.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.	iv
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
INTRODUCTION.	1

Chapter

1. Early Life and Works through 1883	10
2. Apprenticeship and Early Operas, 1884 – 1889	23
3. The 88 th Infantry Regiment and a New Opera, 1889-1899	42
4. Wiesbaden, Berlin, Warsaw, 1899-1909	77
5. Return to Berlin and World War I, 1899-1922	119
6. The Latter Years of the Great War and the Weimar Republic Years, 1916-1932	145
7. The Last Years, 1933-1945	173
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	206

Appendices

1. Works Catalogs	215
Chronological Catalog	218
Alphabetical Listing of Works	233
Works by Genre	237
2. Texts and Translations of Songs and Choral Works	243
<i>Der Frieden</i>	243
<i>Vier Bet-und Bussgesänge</i>	246
<i>Tragische Geschichte von Adalbert von Chamisso</i>	249

3.	Berlin Philharmonic Programs of Reznicek's Music, 1903-1982	251
4.	German Texts	264
5.	Correspondence between Reznicek and Richard Strauss	267

INTRODUCTION

Music historians give various labels to the period from the death of Wagner in 1883 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Walter Frisch refers to this time as the “Twilight of Romanticism.”¹ In textbooks it is often labeled “transitional,” “Late Romantic,” “Post-Romantic,” or, as the late Donald Jay Grout proclaimed, the “End of an Era.”² Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek (1860-1945) worked at a time when the major figures in Germany and Austria were Richard Strauss (1864-1949), Gustav Mahler (1860-1911), Hans Pfitzner (1869-1949), and, among the younger composers Franz Schreker (1876-1934), Max Reger (1873-1916), Arnold Schönberg (1874-1951), and Alban Berg (1885-1935). Many of these composers were colleagues or friendly acquaintances, a number of whom Reznicek worked closely with during his career.

Unlike the others, however, Reznicek, when mentioned at all now in the literature about the “mainstream” of European music history during the Austro-German fin de siècle, is neither praised nor damned; he falls into the abyss of obscurity. In general music dictionaries and encyclopedias, coverage of Reznicek and his music has decreased over the years.³ What information is offered typically ends at 1926, almost two decades before the composer’s death. Nonetheless, Reznicek was regarded highly during the height of his career; he left a substantial body of work and was the subject of several short studies. His output, most of it dating from the 1890s

¹ Walter Frisch, *German Modernism; Music and the Arts* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 1.

² Donald Jay Grout, *A History of Western Music*, 3d. ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980), 636.

³ For instance, the 1928 3rd edition of *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians* is a 500-word entry. The 2001 *New Grove* 2nd edition entry is a little over 300 words.

through about 1930, includes fourteen operas and operettas, other theater music, choral settings of sacred and secular texts, collections of songs with piano or orchestral accompaniment, four symphonies, three works for solo violin and orchestra, over two dozen other orchestral works, string quartets and other chamber music, and keyboard compositions. Only his sparkling overture to *Donna Diana* lives on as a frequently performed work in the symphonic literature. It survived also as introductory music for radio and television shows from the 1930s through the end of the 1950s. Children of the 1930s radio era heard it as incidental music for *The Lone Ranger*,⁴ and soon afterward, as the theme and incidental music for *Challenge of the Yukon*. In the late 1950s, it continued to be heard when the latter radio show was adapted for television and renamed *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon*.

An Austrian of aristocratic lineage and a declared nonconformist, Reznicek's ideals rendered him politically naïve and inept in difficult times. As a result, the composer did not fare well under the continual scrutiny of the Third Reich. During the 1930s, he quietly ignored Nazi policies when possible and slowly fell out of favor partly because of his age and partly because he, like Richard Strauss, was not sympathetic to and supportive of Nazi ideals. In 1943, the Reich Propaganda Ministry appeared at his home during the Berlin air raids and confiscated eighty of his manuscripts, packed them in a trunk, and took them away for "safe keeping" to an undisclosed hiding place in the German countryside. After the war, in 1946, the year following his death, the trunk was returned to his daughter, Felicitas von Reznicek (1904-1988), but it contained only fourteen of the original eighty manuscripts. While

⁴ Reginald M. Jones, Jr., *The Mystery of the Masked Man's Music: A Search for the Music Used on 'The Lone Ranger' Radio Program, 1933-1954* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987), 96.

some have appeared at auction, others remain missing. The most recently retrieved manuscript was secured in 1999 when the Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (henceforth in this document referred to as the MÖNB) acquired the manuscript of the B-flat string quartet from a library in Switzerland, which had purchased it from an anonymous private seller.

This dissertation represents an attempt to complete the picture and secure a more visible place for the composer in music history. Based on a survey of existing literature and original research, it explores his life and work, includes a new catalog of his works, and examines the personal and historical circumstances that surround his early success, rise to prominence, and subsequent obscurity. The biography by his daughter Felicitas, *Gegen den Strom (Against the Current)*, in 1960 with an essay by Leopold Nowak on the compositions has been useful. Nowak also provides a list of compositions classified by genre. Two other important early sources are the slender biography by Max Chop, published in Vienna in 1920, and Richard Specht's equally short study published in Leipzig in 1923.⁵ In addition, a portion of Thomas Leibnitz' book *Österreichische Spätromantiker* contains a biographical essay on Reznicek along with an updated list through 1986 of the composer's works in the MÖNB.⁶ The author's visit to the music library of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik in 1993 resulted in an amazing discovery: a copy of Specht's volume with the composer's own penciled corrections of the works list along with additions of new works composed after the book's publication. Archival sources for this dissertation have included the

⁵ Max Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Vienna: Universal-Edition A.-G., 1920); Richard Specht, *Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek: eine vorläufige Studie* (Leipzig: E. P. Tal, 1923).

⁶ Thomas Leibnitz, *Österreichische Spätromantiker: Studien zu Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek, Franz Schmidt und Egon Kornauth; mit einer Dokumentation der handschriftlichen Quellen in der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986).

composer's correspondence with fellow musicians and others, Berlin Hochschule documents, his publisher's records, newspaper and journal accounts of him and his works, and the collections of various German, Austrian, and Swiss libraries and archives, of which the Musiksammlung of the Austrian National Library is the major repository. Other biographical works, most notably Henry-Louis de La Grange's volumes on Mahler and Kurt Wilhelm's on Richard Strauss, have contained some distinctive information not found elsewhere in other writings. Carl Flesch's memoirs include an interesting, albeit highly subjective, assessment of the composer's political leanings. Subjective, too, is the volume about music in the Third Reich by Erik Levi, whose assessments at times are colored by his need to make his point, regardless of whether he has facts upon which to stake his claims. Essays on music by Alfred Einstein were helpful in retrieving commentary and plots of Reznicek's later operas. Whether positive or negative, commentary by musician acquaintances like Ferruccio Busoni and Alban Berg on Reznicek's works and his personality have helped to paint a picture of the composer as seen by others not intimately connected with him. The programs of the Berlin Philharmonic have been very important for dating performances and premières of Reznicek's works not documented in other sources. Materials collected by the late Gordon Wright (1935-2007) in Alaska, called the Reznicek Archives, now in the author's possession in Colorado, have proved invaluable for this study. In addition, Felicitas von Reznicek provided Gordon Wright with a typescript commentary, in English, that she entitles "Reznicek Talk," and attached it to a copy of his 1969 conference paper on Reznicek's symphonies on which she made marginal notes; her commentary and notes have helped to correct

mistakes and add to information found in *Gegen den Strom*. Finally, an extract from Felicitas von Reznicek's unpublished autobiography casts a new light on the family's difficulties with the National Socialists after Hitler's rise to the Chancellorship of Germany in 1933.

The Music

Reznicek's music reflects his lifestyle in a major respect. Although he was by birth a baron and part of a society of privilege exemplified by the courts of Europe, he lived quietly within the outer boundaries of the "aristocratic circle," avoiding the pomp and social expectations of his class. He lived as a commoner, while managing to avoid rendering insult by making the obligatory ceremonial appearance. His music also lived on the outer boundaries of the grand tradition of Late Romanticism and could be described, as Boucourechliev defined budding expressionist music in early twentieth-century Germany, as "the last desperate cry of romanticism in its decline."⁷ In the last years of his life, his works existed in the shadows of those that wholly embraced Expressionism.

The word "modern" often accompanies what little contemporary literature exists about Reznicek. In today's usage, pairing "modern" and "Reznicek" appears to create a *non sequitur*. Reznicek was not a revolutionary; where some of his mature works had characteristics identified as Expressionist, or were incipient examples of Neoclassicism, he was not a modernist. His music was opulent; his bold orchestral color was continually remarked upon by contemporary critics and biographers, and his characterization was frequently satirical. As one of the last of the Late Romantics,

⁷ Willi Apel, ed., *New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 2d. s.v. "Expressionism," by André Boucourechliev.

he never completely broke his ties with the classical-romantic tonal tradition. For that reason, the term “modern” fits poorly, but the word “refined,” in the sense of providing a final surge of that romantic tradition in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, may be a more appropriate description of his work. Nevertheless, as a composer at the culmination of an artistic movement, no clever caricatures, well-crafted satires, or occasional examples of Neoclassicism could prevent him from being eclipsed by a concurrent new movement among younger composers like Schoenberg, who began to forsake tonality and render a new definition of musical expression in the first decade of the twentieth century.

A hallmark of Reznicek’s melodic style is the short theme. Rather than lengthening his material by exact repetition or by extending its melody, Reznicek develops new musical ideas by fragmenting his themes and sequencing them on different pitches. Common in his works are constant modulation, use of bold orchestral color, and highly complex counterpoint, all hung on the framework of traditional forms which, in a number of works, are stretched to their limits. In his larger works, like some of the operas, symphonic poems, and most of the symphonies (the third symphony providing the exception), these fragments often become like Wagnerian motifs, reappearing to heighten the drama of the composition. His rich orchestration for staged works was both lauded for its ingeniousness and criticized for overwhelming the vocal lines. Reznicek mirrors in some ways a highly-organized artistic mind whose artwork seems extreme and almost chaotic to the point of spilling over the canvas onto the floor, but somehow because he knew his craft so well, he never lost control because he knew the force of gravity. What has been said by

journalist Johanna Heller about one of his contemporaries, Alexander Zemlinsky, could apply well to Reznicek:

As a composer, Zemlinsky maintained the principles of tonality even as he pushed the extremes of chromatic Expressionism. His music is often propelled by rising sequences of climactic outbursts, showing the influence of Richard Strauss. And like Wagner, Zemlinsky uses motifs, particularly in *The Dwarf*, to illuminate the drama.⁸

Although Reznicek was a pianist himself, his works for that instrument, if judged by the later *Zwei Phantasiestücke* (*Two Fantasy Pieces*) of 1896/1897, are not very accessible. Highly chromatic and technically difficult, in terms of sheer technique required, they rival keyboard works of his German contemporary Max Reger.

Along with these stylistic practices dwelt another side of Reznicek's artistic personality. Like a number of his contemporaries, Reznicek also experimented with Neoclassicism, which resulted in a group of works that employed earlier, strict formal procedures, like the fugue and baroque dance forms. They are in form and harmonic practice anachronistic models that could have been conceived in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. During his education at Leipzig Conservatory, Reznicek spent hundreds of hours under the master of academic counterpoint, Salomon Jadassohn, studying and writing in the strict style of the late Baroque. Reznicek adored the music of Bach and, as a result, it is not a stretch of reason to understand that he enjoyed revisiting that style of composition from time to time.

Through his own written admission, Reznicek proclaimed his love of parody (admittedly, an important category in "modernism") in composition and willingly

⁸ Johanna Heller, "They Call Him Ugly, and the Pain is in His Music," *New York Times*, 9 June 2002, Arts and Leisure Desk, 30 (L).

acknowledged his overt attempts to imitate his contemporaries and figures of previous generations, sometimes as an homage, as in the case of Mendelssohn.

We have his daughter Felicitas to thank for providing the picture of Reznicek as a real person and not merely a musical figure. It is difficult to capture composers as real people with loved ones. In many respects, it is a privilege to be able to see the artist through the eyes of one who actually lived daily with him, noting the little quirks, flashes of anger and ego, and the family dynamics. Such intimate family life did not enter into literary commentary by Chop, Specht, or any other writers on Reznicek. Of course, along with such a privilege comes the responsibility on the part of the reader to cast a critical eye at times over the prose written about a much loved parent.

It can be said that in the end, the spirit of the time did not favor him. Reznicek suffered artistically for being born too late. Historically speaking, Reznicek and Strauss stand at a stylistic crossroad, as do the composers Giovanni de Macque and Don Carlo Gesualdo in the late sixteenth century. Most musicians know Gesualdo, as they do Richard Strauss, but Macque and Reznicek keep company in the annals of the forgotten artists of their generations. Both deserve more than a passing nod; in fact, a new burgeoning of interest in their art would be appropriate. In Reznicek's case, this awakening began quietly in the northwestern United States in 1969 at a chapter gathering of the American Musicological Society:

Oblivion, like fame, is subject to the currents and whims of society, and it is my hope that a discipline which can bring life in 1969 to the likes of Stamitz, Carl Friedrich Abel, Wranitzky, and even crusty old Ludwig Spohr will be able to tolerate and revere the peculiar genius of Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek.⁹

⁹ Gordon Wright, "The Symphonies of Emil Reznicek," American Musicological Society, Northwest Chapter, Spokane, WA., Spokane, WA, Reznicek Archives III/A/1.

The words of Gordon Wright are as pertinent today as they were in 1969. Where during his career as a conductor Wright pleaded Reznicek's cause primarily by programming his works in America and Europe, the present author attempts another route by way of the written word to address the composer's place in music history and, where appropriate, to attempt to set the record straight, especially with regard to his life after 1933.

Chapter 1

Early Life and Works through 1883

Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek was born in Vienna on May 4, 1860, to Josef Freiherr (Baron) von Reznicek and Clarisse Ghika (or Ghica).¹ On his father's side, he was descended from two generations of Austrian military officers. His grandfather, Joseph Reznicek, was a well known and prominent military music director (Kapellmeister) who composed a series of marches, at least one of which has been preserved in the Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (MÖNB) in Vienna.² The Reznicek family originated in Bohemia, and Josef von Reznicek's mother (the composer's grandmother) was a true Hungarian.³ Reznicek's father, the baron, rose to the rank of Lieutenant Field Marshal. A well known Austrian military leader in the 1860s, he was both musically and artistically talented, also. The composer's mother, Clarisse Ghika, who descended from the royal dynastic line of the Moldau, was a princess and descendant of Prince Ghika,⁴ one of Rumania's last rulers prior to Carol I.⁵ The composer's younger half brother Ferdinand, from Josef's

¹ There are two spellings found of this name, Ghika and Ghica. Josef von Reznicek and Clarisse Ghika were married in April of 1855, according to Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 15.

² The MÖNB reports one work in its collection, an arrangement of a Kromer parthia. The catalog entry reads: Reznicek, Josef. *Parthia von Herr Kromer für die Türkische Musik arrangiert von - Capellmeister im k. k. Ignatz Graf Gyulai Co- Inf. Regiment*. David Whitwell also reports this work as *Parthia*. Military band, arr. Reznicek, and includes a manuscript opening musical incipit. He does not identify the work as by Reznicek's grandfather, Josef. David Whitwell, *The History and Literature of the Wind Band and Wind Ensemble*, vol. 9, *Wind Band and Wind Ensemble Literature of the Nineteenth Century* (Northridge, CA: Winds, 1984), 442.

³ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 18.

⁴ The Ghika family was a Romanian royal family that ruled Wallachia and Moldavia for much of the period from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Handwritten marginalia by Felicitas von Reznicek in her typescript, "Reznicek Talk." Felicitas von Reznicek, Engelburg, Switzerland, to Gordon Wright, Indian, Alaska, [1969], Typed document, Reznicek Archives, III/A/7, Arvada, CO, 1.

⁵ Carol I is synonymous with Karl Eitel Friedrich Zephyrinus Ludwig von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1839-1914), a German prince who was elected King of Romania in 1866.

second marriage, followed the artistic path of his father's side, becoming a painter and designer who was well known in Europe during his lifetime.⁶ His older sister, Helene, was a soprano, but there is no evidence that she ever sang professionally.⁷

Neither exact date nor reason is given, but prior to the composer's fourth birthday, Clarisse Ghika von Reznicek died. This loss may account in part for the composer's lurid fascination with the subject of death in his compositions. The father, who would be considered even in the mid nineteenth century as very Old School European, was an unbendable, affectionately undemonstrative authoritarian figure. Father and equally self-willed son clashed even at this early time. Reznicek had idolized his mother, who was his father's adoring and tender opposite. On her death, with no emotional preparation, Josef Reznicek forced his two young children to view her dead body. Reznicek reminisces, "The end of my childhood had come on that morning, when my father appeared in the room in which my older sister and I played. He took us into the parental bedroom where my mother lay in bed – completely quiet. It took a long time before I understood that she was dead."⁸ Less than two years after the death of Clarisse Ghika von Reznicek, Josef Reznicek married Hermine Conrad, the young daughter of a Privy Councilor. Single-parent households in the military were discouraged; the garrison commander's image dictated that his household must have a wife present. After two years of failed attempts to win over the still

⁶ Ferdinand Freiherr von Reznicek. Born July 16, 1868. Died May 11, 1909. Obituary appears in *Illustrierte Zeitung* 20, no. 3438, 103. The obituary reiterates Reznicek's father's military rank and identifies his mother as "a Princess Ghika." This account is incorrect, for Clarisse Ghika had died in either 1863 or 1864. Ferdinand was Hermine Conrad von Reznicek's son.

⁷ Helene Reznicek, b. 1857. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 21.

⁸ "Das Ende meiner Kindheit war an jenem Morgen gekommen, als mein Vater in dem Zimmer erschien, in dem meine ältere Schwester und ich spielten. Er nahm uns ins Elternschlafzimmer, und dort lag meine Mutter im Bett – ganz still. Ich habe lange gebraucht, bis ich begriff, das sie tot war." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 16-17.

emotionally distraught and rebellious stepson, and with Hermine wanting to start her own family, the couple sent the six-year-old Reznicek away to a boarding school and rarely summoned him home. The experience rendered him homesick and made him more intractable than before.

No document reveals when Reznicek was allowed to return to the household for good, but the musical interests of both Hermine and her stepson eventually established a common ground between them. Hermine Reznicek had more modern taste in music than her husband, who disliked Verdi and favored earlier nineteenth-century Italians like Rossini and Donizetti whose works showed a link to eighteenth-century Italian opera.⁹ Josef and Hermine Reznicek played keyboard instruments and enjoying playing four-hand piano works at home. Besides his stepmother's influence, Reznicek's enthusiasm for music was nurtured further through piano lessons with Fräulein Neeffe (daughter of Beethoven's teacher Christian Gottlob Neeffe¹⁰), whose strength lay not in her technique, but in her highly-developed musicality. Felicitas asserts that Neeffe was more interested in Reznicek's developing the ability to improvise than to play scales well.¹¹

Another contributing musical influence was his own mother's younger brother, Eugène Ghika, a pianist who, upon hearing of his young nephew's musical interests, visited the family in Vienna, bearing a score of the overture to the second act of *Lohengrin*.¹² Wagner's music engendered a wellspring of new ideas in the

⁹ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 20.

¹⁰ Christian Gottlob Neeffe (1748-1798). German composer. Around 1780, Neeffe began teaching Beethoven piano, organ, thoroughbass and composition. Under Neeffe, Beethoven was introduced to Bach's *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* and C. P. E. Bach's *Gellert-Lieder*.

¹¹ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 22.

¹² F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 20-21.

young aspiring composer. Max Chop attributes Reznicek's "unrestrained melody" to Verdi and his "dramatic pathos" and large-scale conception to Wagner. Johannes Brahms, whom the young Reznicek encountered in the Karlskirche in Vienna, was among the well-known personalities who made an impression upon his receptive mind and soul.¹³ Felicitas recounts her father's story about how, when he was fourteen, seventeen-year-old Helene decided to audition for the chorus of the choral society (Singverein). When Reznicek heard that Brahms was directing the chorus, he insisted on going with her. His father forbade it; his stepmother negotiated. The whole family went to the society concert hall where the choral audition was taking place. Brahms, who was accompanying at the piano, wanted Helene to sightread a soprano solo from the *St. John Passion*. When she said that she had not heard or seen the music before, the fourteen-year old Reznicek wrested the music from her and bleated the part, more loudly than aesthetically. He did, however, sing the part correctly. Brahms stroked Reznicek's hair in a friendly manner and told him that he would be allowed to come back in four years. The tale ends with Reznicek so thrilled to be touched by Brahms that he refused to wash his hair for a week.¹⁴

By 1874, the family lived in Graz, having left Vienna on the occasion of Josef's forced retirement and ensuing pension from the Austrian Kaiser. In a fit of anger over a botched set of maneuvers, the elder Reznicek had picked an argument with a young officer who was closely connected with the Austrian Imperial House. The solution was to retire the ill-tempered Lieutenant Field Marshal. Young Reznicek, who had little interest in school, had come to realize that in order to get his

¹³ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 9.

¹⁴ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 25-26.

father to extend his music studies he would have to apply himself academically.

Likewise, in a rare moment of placid contemplation, Josef von Reznicek realized that a *quid pro quo* understanding between father and son would benefit both parties. The elder Reznicek entrusted the music instruction of his son to Kapellmeister Treiber, the second Kapellmeister of the Grazer Landestheater (Graz National Opera Theater).

Treiber, who had an extremely well-developed talent for dealing with text and music and possessed very good keyboard technique, taught Reznicek both theory and composition. According to Felicitas, Reznicek later credited Treiber with teaching him good skills for choral coaching and piano performance. He confided to her that during the time he studied with Treiber, he would only play his own compositions at home when everyone but his stepmother was gone, for the others could not abide the dissonance in his works.¹⁵ During this time in Graz, Reznicek eschewed school and, through an older cousin, became familiar with the music and the musicians of the street cafes and billiard halls. When his father learned of his activities, and forbade them, Reznicek surreptitiously frequented them outside of school hours.¹⁶

In 1874, concerned over his headstrong son's lax education and growing admiration for the billiard hall barmaids, the Field Marshal placed Reznicek in the Internat des Staatsgymnasiums in Marburg an der Drau, about 800 kilometers from Graz. Reznicek's first dated works in Nowak's 1960 list hail from 1877 during his time at Marburg: *Hexenszene aus "Macbeth"* (Witches' Scene from "Macbeth") for orchestra, and the *Chor für die Schulschlussfeier des Gymnasiums in Marburg an der*

¹⁵ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 30.

¹⁶ The Field Marshal, standing in the middle of the door to the café and seeing Emil inside, bellowed, "Marsch, in d'Schul, Lausbub elendiger!" (March to school, you wretched scoundrel!). F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 30.

Drau (Chorus for the School Conclusion Celebration of the High School in Marburg on the *Drau*). No physical evidence of these two works survives today.¹⁷

At the wish of his father who wanted him to become a diplomat or a politician, Reznicek returned to Graz and entered law school there in 1878. The law school was very near the Musikausbildung where Wilhelm Mayer (W.A. Rémy),¹⁸ who had retired as the conductor of the Steirmärkischer Musikverein, taught composition. Reznicek began study with him concurrently with his study of law. From Mayer, who was known throughout Europe as a very learned, exacting, and inspiring teacher, Reznicek acquired grounding in the principles of counterpoint based on Cherubini's treatise, and in orchestration modeled on Berlioz's ideals. Inspired by Mayer, Reznicek composed a lot of music during this time and, consequently, studied very little law. Relationships between father and son continued to be explosive. Although Reznicek lived in student housing, he frequently spent the lunch period with his parents. After an especially bad quarrel with his father one day in 1880, Reznicek disappeared. He was not to be found in his student room and, when contacted by his parents, Mayer could tell them nothing of his whereabouts. At their last lesson, Reznicek had given Mayer his newest composition, a work for solo piano, *Die Gedanken eines Selbstmörders* (*Thoughts of a Suicide*).¹⁹ Mayer feared the worst and the police were called. It turned out to be a false alarm. "It [the panic] didn't last

¹⁷ Leopold Nowak, "Die Kompositionen E. N. v. Rezniceks," in *Gegen den Strom: Leben und Werk von E. N. von Reznicek*, by Felicitas von Reznicek (Zürich: Amalthea-Verlag, 1960), 265, 277.

¹⁸ Benjamin Wilhelm Mayer published his music under the pseudonym W. A. [Wolfgang Amadeus] Rémy under which his older biographical entries appear. Newer sources defer to his birth name.

¹⁹ There is only the date given by Reznicek himself for the composition of this work. No copy, sketches, or fragments have been found.

for a long time. There they found me diverted, not in the waves of Mur [scree], but playing billiards in a coffeehouse.”²⁰

Reznicek’s exceptional abilities and energy attracted notice from the first. His study with Mayer also produced some ancillary advantages of an interpersonal and professional nature. His schoolmates were Felix Weingartner (1863-1942), Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924), and Richard Heuberger (1850-1914),²¹ three, six, and ten years his juniors, respectively. A secondhand comment by Felicitas relating her father’s memories suggests that Mayer held his four very dissimilar students firmly by the reins. Busoni commented later to Reznicek, “He restrained us, God knows! But yes, we were like young wild dogs.”²² Years later, Weingartner reminisced about Reznicek’s Graz and Leipzig training,

I met Emil von Reznicek in 1879, as he and I were students of the Graz music instructor Dr. Mayer. Even at this time, Reznicek’s great musical abilities excited the sympathies of his teacher, who, on the other side, did not conceal that the young man’s extravagances were worrisome. As I encountered Reznicek in Leipzig at the beginning of his eighteenth year, he was by no means extravagant, but on the contrary, in artistic relationships very clear thinking and goal oriented. The compositions he composed at that time displayed the tendency of being original, a tendency that perhaps exhibited itself too clearly and thereby damaged its genuineness. However, everything that he created nevertheless had physiognomy, form and clear design. Particularly in instrumental relationships it was totally astounding with what mastery he wrote complicated scores. He knew what he wanted and was never disappointed in an orchestral effect.²³

²⁰ “Es dauerte aber nicht lange, da fand man mich – jedoch nicht in der Wellen der Mur, sondern vergnügt beim Billardspiel in einem Kaffeehaus.” H. E. Weinschent, “Emil Nicolaus von Reznicek: Der Komponist auf den Schienen,” in *Künstler plaudern* (Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1938), 260.

²¹ Least known is Richard Heuberger, who was musically active in Vienna from 1876 on as a composer, conductor, teacher, and music critic. The libretto to what was to become Lehar’s *Die lustige Witwe* was first offered to Heuberger for the Theater an der Wien.

²² “Zurückgehalten hat er uns, weiss Gott! Aber wir waren ja auch wild wie junge Hunde.” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 33.

²³ Ich lernte Emil von Reznicek bereits im Jahre 1879 kennen, als er, ebenso wie ich, Schüler des Grazer Musiklehrers Dr. Mayer war. Schon damals erregten die grossen musikalischen Fähigkeiten Rezniceks die Anteilnahme seines Lehrers, der auf der anderen Seite aber auch nicht verschwiegen, dass ihm die Extravaganzen des jungen Mannes Sorgen machten. Als ich Reznicek zu Anfang der Achtzigerjahre in Leipzig traf, war er durchaus nicht extravagant, sondern in künstlerischer Beziehung sehr klardenkend und zielbewusst. Kompositionen, die er damals verfasste, zeigten allerdings das

Leipzig Conservatory

Not surprisingly, Reznicek failed his major law examination. That failure finally convinced his father to allow him to pursue a music education at Leipzig Conservatory with the understanding that he would become a Kapellmeister. He entered the conservatory and found that he was classmates with Weingartner again, and also with Wilhelm Kienzl (1857-1941).²⁴ He studied composition with Carl Reinecke (1824-1910), director of the Gewandhaus orchestra concerts, and theory and counterpoint with the composer and noted pedagogue Salomon Jadassohn (1831-1902). He later reminisced:

Under Jadassohn, in one year I composed some 500 canons in all the intervals, . . . He offered nothing else, but from this method, I learned counterpoint. Under Reinecke I had hours alone and composed whatever came to me: overtures, symphonies, and a Requiem for soloists and orchestra. He was an inspirational force, ingenious instructor.²⁵

In 1880, Reznicek composed the *Vier Klavierstücke (Four Piano Pieces)*, titled Burleske – Walzer – Scherzino – Tantalus.²⁶ In Specht's short biography, the

Streben, originell zu sein, ein Streben, das vielleicht zu deutlich hervortrat und dadurch der Natürlichkeit Abbruch tat. Aber alles was er schuf hatte doch bereits Physiognomie, Form und klare Zeichnung. Namentlich in instrumentaler Beziehung war es ganz erstaunlich, mit welcher Meisterschaft er ziemlich komplizierte Partituren schrieb. Er wusste, was er wollte und hat sich auch nie in einer orchestralen Wirkung getäuscht." Contrary to Weingartner's recollection, Reznicek would have been eighteen when he met Weingartner at Graz, not at Leipzig. Felix Weingartner, "Reznicek," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, no. 15 (October 1920): 526.

²⁴ Years later Kienzl would be one of the German composers who along with Reznicek, Richard Strauss and Joseph Marx would be members of the Ständiger Rat für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten. Kienzl also studied in Graz under Mayer prior to Reznicek's tenure with the latter. According to writer Della Couling, Kienzl was the contact person who was influential in effecting the match of Mayer and Busoni as composition instructor and student. Della Couling, *Ferruccio Busoni: "A Musical Ishmael"* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005, 40).

²⁵ Bei Jadason [*sic*] habe ich in einem Jahr etwa 500 Kanons komponiert, in allen Intervallen . . . Er gab nichts anderes auf, aber auf diese Weise habe ich Kontrapunkt gelernt. Bei Reinecke hatte ich allein Stunden und komponierte, was mir einfiel; Ouverturen, Symphonien, ein Requiem für Solo und Orchester. Er war ein hervorragender, geistvoller Lehrer. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 40.

²⁶ Tantalus was the son of Zeus and was the king of Sipylus. Among mortals, he was favored, for he was invited to share the food of the gods. He abused the guest-host relationship, however, and was punished by being "tantalized" with hunger and thirst in Tartarus, the deepest portion of the Underworld, reserved for the punishment of the wicked.

works list at the end of the volume erroneously refers to this work as the *Fünf Klavierstücke* (*Five Piano Pieces*). Reznicek himself corrected the volume in the library of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, crossing out “Fünf” and writing over it “Vier”.²⁷ The set was published by Kistner & Siegel in Leipzig. Reznicek has crossed out the publication date of 1882, leaving 1880 the year of composition, as the publication year as well. More recent works have duplicated Specht’s 1882 as publication date. No extant copies are found in the MÖNB and no manuscript to date has been discovered.

At the conclusion of the 1882 semester, the conservatory gave its end-of-the-season festival concert. Reznicek was selected to conduct his own work, the *Symphonische Suite in e-moll* (*Symphonic Suite in E Minor*).²⁸ According to Felicitas, the music critic for the music periodical *Die Signale für die musikalische Welt* was present at the concert. Because of the enthusiastic review, the work found its way the following year into the publication schedule of music publisher E. W. Fritsch. It is fortunate that the work was published, for no manuscript is extant in the MÖNB. The three movements of this early work have non-programmatic titles: Overture – Adagio – Scherzo finale.²⁹ The orchestral forces are small and call for no unusual instruments. Percussion is kept to a minimum: timpani, triangle and suspended cymbal. The work was performed in Europe, as well as in the United States. The archives of the Boston Symphony Orchestra list the Adagio and Scherzo-Finale

²⁷ Richard Specht, *Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek: Eine vorläufige Studie* (Leipzig: Tal, 1923), 110.

²⁸ This is referred to by Felicitas as the Suite in E minor. F. Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 42.

²⁹ Chop incorrectly identifies the second movement of this suite as “Andante”. Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 13.

movements as having been conducted by Karl Muck (1859-1940), as part of his tour during the 1907 concert season.³⁰

During his time in Leipzig, Reznicek met Milka Thurn of Windisch-Feistritz, with whom he was to have a son and a daughter, both of whom died in childhood, and another son who survived. Chop reports that the marriage took place against his parent's wishes during Reznicek's university period when he was twenty-one and Thurn was sixteen.³¹ According to Duncan Hume and H. V. Hamilton, the authors of the article on Reznicek in *Grove's Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Reznicek met Milka Thurn, relative of conductor Felix Weingartner, and married her at age twenty-one (in 1881).³² There is an error here. Weingartner was not a relative of Milka Thurn, but of Reznicek's second wife, Bertha, by his marriage to Bertha's older sister, Marie Juillerat.³³ Felicitas identifies Milka Thurn as the illegitimate daughter of a countess Thurn Valsassina and a Notar (Notary Public) named Rathey.³⁴ Felicitas writes (in English), "They lived together. This is typical for the mentality of his father the Fieldmarshall and E. N. von. None of them objected that the wife or 'daughter in law' was not born in a legal marriage."³⁵ A more recent book chapter written about the composer states also that after his return to Graz, with his father's consent, the young

³⁰ Karl Muck conducted the BSO in performances of the movements in Boston (Nov. 22-25), Baltimore (Dec. 4), and New York (Dec. 7). Boston, MA: Boston Symphony Orchestra, Library Bureau 067283.

³¹ Chop, E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben, 11. In other printed sources, Thurn is said to be eighteen, not sixteen.

³² Duncan Hume and H. V. Hamilton, "Reznicek, Emil. N. von," in *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed.

³³ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 83.

³⁴ F. von Reznicek, "Gegen den Strom," 31.

³⁵ F. von Reznicek, "Reznicek Talk," 1.

composer married the eighteen-year-old Milka Thurn from Windisch-Freistritz.³⁶

According to Felicitas, when Reznicek did announce to his father his intention to marry, his father went ahead and secured a four-room house for the pair.³⁷ There is no mention of any ceremony, civil or sacred, in any of the literature or letters.

Felicitas offers the astute observation that to understand her father as an individual, it is imperative to take into account his aristocratic ancestral roots, knowledge and practice of which were a part of his upbringing. Reznicek was truly an aristocrat not only by title, but also by character.³⁸ Felicitas submits that from his paternal Hungarian grandmother Reznicek inherited his pride and rebellious nature.³⁹ In her correspondence with Gordon Wright, Felicitas goes further to say that Reznicek came by his nonconformist tendencies naturally. His father was a nonconformist as displayed in his *laissez-faire* attitude toward his son's and Milka Thurn's relationship and her circumstance of birth.⁴⁰

In addition to finding lodging for his son and daughter-in-law, the Field Marshal went to the director of the Grazer Landestheater and secured an agreement to hire his son as a solo coach for fifty gulden a month. In the last half of the nineteenth century, the Graz Landestheater held the distinction of being the first significant post for musicians who would then go on to be associated with Germany's opera theaters.

³⁶ Thurn's actual age is in dispute. In his own writings, Reznicek gives Thurn's age at their marriage as sixteen. He also says he was 23 at the time, which if correct, would have made the marriage year 1883, which is not correct. (MÖNB, Reznicek Fonds 22, no. 2, 1). Thomas Lebnitz, *Österreichische Spätromantiker: Studien zu Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek, Franz Schmidt und Egon Kornauth; mit einer Dokumentation der handschriftlichen Quellen in der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986), 23.

³⁷ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 42.

³⁸ This manifested itself in aristocratic pride that worked to the composer's disadvantage in the real world. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 15.

³⁹ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 13.

⁴⁰ F. von Reznicek, "Reznicek Talk," 1.

Along with Reznicek, conductors like Karl Muck, and Karl Böhm (1894-1981), and Reznicek's friend Clemens Kraus (1893-1954), started their conducting careers there. The position would not last. Older biographical references, if they mention it at all, explain Reznicek's short appointment at Graz as owing to a misunderstanding with the stage manager.⁴¹ According to Felicitas, the misunderstanding was a very insulting altercation between the stage manager and the young Reznicek. She explains,

But one day he had a misunderstanding with the stage manager, who was rude. The son of Princess Ghika let his presence be known! The young baron responded haughtily that he received no payments, after all. He placed himself at his disposal only as a favor. The stage manager retorted coolly: 'In the theater there are no favors.'⁴²

As a result of this exchange, Reznicek's position was terminated. In today's more permissive and indulgent society, particularly in the United States, a certain amount of insolence has come to be expected from teenagers and young adults. In most cases, it is dismissed as an emotional rite of passage where the young are said to "have all the answers." In Austria during the third quarter of nineteenth-century, however, a person in authority would not tolerate such insolence from the young, regardless of the circumstances.

⁴¹ Leibnitz, 23. Chop does not mention it at all in writing about this time in Graz. In fact, he is very diplomatic about the Reznicek's experience there. He merely says, "um hier der Praxis als Theaterkapellmeister sich zu überantworten. Er begann als Correpetitor unter Kapellmeister Skraups Leitung. Es bedurfte nur kurzer Zeit, um Reznicek mit den Kniffen und der Technik des Bühnenwesens bekannt zu machen." ("here the practice as theater Kapellmeister called to him. He began as choral coach under Kapellmeister Skraups' teaching. He needed only a short time, as Reznicek began to get the knack and technique of stage knowledge."). Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 13.

⁴² "Eines Tage aber hatte er eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Regisseur, der grob wurde. Da meldete sich der Sohn der Fürstin Ghika! Der junge Baron gab hochnäsiger zur Antwort, er beziehe ja schliesslich keine Gage. Nur aus Gefälligkeit stehe er sich zur Verfügung. Der Regisseur erwiderte kühl: 'Beim Theater gibt es keine Gefälligkeiten.' " F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 43.

The final work from 1882 is the Streichquartett in c moll (String Quartet in C Minor), the only representative of this genre in Reznicek's early period. It was published by E. W. Fritsch in Leipzig.⁴³ No manuscript or published edition of this early work appear to be extant. Reznicek's next attempt to compose quartet literature would not take place until well into the Berlin years (1906) when the first version of his String Quartet in C-sharp Minor was conceived.

Besides the publication of the *Symphonic Suite*, the only other composition published in 1883 is the *Drei Stimmungen* (*Three Moods*). Current knowledge extends only to its publication date and the Leipzig publisher, Kistner & Siegel. One source identifies the work as *Drei Lieder* (*Three Songs*),⁴⁴ while listings in both MÖNB and *Gegen den Strom* use the word "Stimmungen."

⁴³ This is mistakenly cited and misspelled as "C. W. Fritzsch" rather than "E. W. Fritsch." Specht, 110.

⁴⁴ Specht, 110. There is also a printer's error in the date for the composition of 1893, instead of 1883, which is corrected by the composer. Curiously, Reznicek missed the misprint of the title.

Chapter 2

Apprenticeship and Early Operas, 1884-1889

During the next ten years, there would be little evidence of the genial, more socially adept person that Reznicek would become in his middle and later years. The years up to 1894 show a young composer plagued by an explosive temper and somewhat demanding personality. His professional principles continued to hold a higher priority for him than the welfare of his family. Although he was able to find conducting positions and earn a salary, he was equally capable of being financially irresponsible and too frequently one paycheck away from being homeless and on the streets.

Following his graduation from the Leipzig Conservatory and the curtailed engagement at the Graz opera, Reznicek spent the next two years gaining practical experience as a conductor in several smaller theaters (Stadttheater) in Zürich, Stettin, Jena, Bochum, Berlin (Wallner-Theater), and Mainz. At these local theaters, which lacked the first-rate standards of state or court theaters (Landestheater, Hofbühnen), Reznicek became known as a traveling musician, a musical gypsy, albeit one of aristocratic birth and upbringing. During 1895-1896, he completed a second orchestral suite. In 1887 he moved to Prague, where he held the position of house composer at the German Theater (Deutsches Landestheater) for two years. His first three operas, *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* (*The Young Maid of Orleans*) (1886),¹ *Satanella* (1887), and *Emerich Fortunat* (1888), were produced in Prague.

¹ *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* was staged at Prague prior to Reznicek's appointment there.

Existing accounts of the first two years after his Graz Landestheater experience, 1884-1886, have little to say about the details of his personal life and professional development. Wilhelm Klein (1920) refers to “a series of various short-lived theater conductor (Kapellmeister) positions” that benefited Reznicek’s “practical training.”² Otto Taubmann, in his chapter-length essay (1907), is similarly vague; he credits Reznicek’s teachers Reinecke and Jadassohn with preparing him for his entire career as an opera conductor, first in “Zürich, Stettin, Mainz, etc.” (omitting Jena, Bochum, and Berlin), and later “at the court theaters in Weimar and Mannheim.”³

These two years of unattractive and professionally unrewarding apprenticeships were also educational and adventuresome for the young composer. Other notable composers and conductors of his generation – Gustav Mahler, Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922), Felix Mottl, Karl Muck, Strauss, Weingartner, Zemlinsky – had similar positions early in their careers at some of the same houses: positions with contracts that lasted less than a year, artistically deplorable working conditions, and financially insolvent opera or theater companies.

While these years did provide Reznicek with “practical training,” they were also personally bitter and quite tragic. He and his wife suffered the deaths of their

² “bezog er das Leipziger Konservatorium, nach dessen Absolvierung er eine Reihe von rasch verschiedenen Theaterkappellmeisterstellungen bekleidete, was seiner praktischen Ausbildung zugute kam.” Wilhelm Klein, “Aus den Prager Tagen,” *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, no. 15 (October 1, 1920): 518.

³ “ganz der Vorbereitung auf die spätere musikalische Laufbahn widmete. Diese führte ihn dann als Opernkapellmeister über die Stadttheater in Zürich, Stettin, Mainz usw. an die Hofbühnen in Weimar und Mannheim.” Otto Taubmann, “E. N. von Reznicek,” *Monographien moderner Musiker: Kleine Essays über Leben und Schaffen zeitgenössischer Tonsetzer*, vol. 2, 20 *Biographien zeitgenössischer Tonsetzer* (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1907), 217. Taubmann must mean that Reznicek’s training at the Leipzig Conservatory in general prepared him for opera conducting, since Reinecke and Jadassohn taught composition and counterpoint.

eldest child, Ludwig, and of their baby daughter; the family could not afford medical care.

In the fall of 1883, Reznicek was offered a position in Zürich for the 1883-84 season as second conductor (II. Kapellmeister) and chorus director for the opera company. Although the theater is not identified in existing accounts of his career, even his daughter Felicitas', the Aktientheatre was Zürich's opera house from 1834 until it burned down in 1890; it was rebuilt as the Stadttheater. In his autobiography, Reznicek refers to working at the "old" theater.⁴ In addition to presenting Zürich's orchestral and choral concerts, the Tonhalle Orchestra played for opera productions at this house. Reznicek's father secured the appointment for him, asserting unsought authority, as he had in 1882 with the Graz appointment. "Father did not remain idle," Reznicek writes,

and after a half year I received through the mediation of the principal conductor (I. Kapellmeister) of the place, a contract as second conductor and chorus director in the city of Zürich. I naturally affixed my signature, and was joined in the fall [unreadable word] by wife and child [Ludwig] (I had married in the meantime; I was 23, she 16 years old). Luckily up to now everything was going well, however, bad luck advanced quickly. The Stadttheater (in those days the old) made a shabby impression on the outside and inside, and the manager explained to me immediately at my first visit that principal part of my work lay in the vigorous drilling of the chorus, which in every way left much to be desired.⁵

Chorus rehearsals were scheduled at 9:00 am daily, too early, Reznicek thought. He received no sympathy from one of the other conductors, Arthur Nikisch,

⁴ E. N. v. Reznicek, "Personaldokumente. E. N. von Reznicek," Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Fonds 22 Reznicek, No. 2, 1.

⁵ "Aber Vater was nicht müßig geblieben und nach einen halben Jahr bekam ich durch Vermittlung des dortigen I. Kapellmeisters einem Kontrakt als II. Kapellmeister und Chordirector am Stadttheater in Zürich. Den unterschrieb ich natürlich sofort und [unreadable word] im Herbst mit Frau und Kind (geheiratet hatte ich mittlerweile auch, ich war 23, sie 16 Jahre alt). Bisher was alles gut gegangen, aber das Unglück schreitet schnell. Das Stadttheater (damals noch das alte) machte äusserlich und innerlich einen recht schäbigen Eindruck und der Direktor erklärte mir gleich bei meinem ersten Besuch, dass er das Hauptgewicht meiner Arbeit auf das energische Drillen des Chores lege, der in jeder Beziehung viel zu wünschen lasse." E. N. von Reznicek, "Personaldokumente," 1-2.

a personal acquaintance from when they were both in school at Leipzig. Snatching up the rehearsal schedule, Nikisch saw that his next orchestra rehearsal was at 11:00 pm. “I have a rehearsal at night.”⁶

Chorus rehearsals went badly. Reznicek soon discovered that there was only one tenor who could actually sing his part; the others followed one another in almost canonic fashion. There was no improvement. Reznicek complained to the manager that the chorus was so badly prepared that he could not train them. The manager advised him to improve his own rehearsal skills by studying with the principal conductor. Reznicek went to his colleague and, laying 500 Swiss francs on the table, asked for a lesson on the first and last acts of *Rigoletto*. The second lesson was taken and Reznicek forgot to pay his instructor. Regardless of the situation with the chorus, his neglect of his financial duties was considered very undiplomatic and provided the impetus for releasing Reznicek from his position a few days later, and in a very embarrassing fashion. In a café that the theater crowd made their favorite haunt, the principal conductor showed up with someone Reznicek had not seen before. “Who is this?” he asked. The conductor replied, “This is my second Kapellmeister.”⁷

Reznicek’s next position, in Stettin, began in the summer season of 1884, when he became conductor at the Belleveñetheater (also referred to in some sources as the Bellevue-Theater), a position that the head stage manager at Zürich, who had sympathy for his plight, created for him.⁸ The beginning operating budget was 10,000 marks. From his daughter’s account, it appears that the Stettin stage manager got Reznicek to front the money. According to her, in offering the position to him the

⁶ “Bei nacht hatte ich eine Probe.” E. N. von Reznicek, “Personaldokumente,” 2.

⁷ E. N. von Reznicek, “Personaldokumente,” 2.

⁸ E. N. von Reznicek, “Personaldokumente,” 2.

stage manager said, “I have the practical experience, dear Reznicek, and you have money. We make a brilliant business.”⁹ Reznicek directed popular operettas in their entirety and did gain a lot of experience in Stettin.¹⁰ When the summer season concluded, Reznicek had the practical experience and the head stage manager had all the money.

Felicitas writes that Reznicek and his family traveled to Berlin where he left his wife and son, Ludwig, in a boarding house for some time while he searched theater employment offices. Eventually, he secured a conductor position (Felicitas says, second conductor) in Jena from a Berlin theater agent.¹¹ In Jena, a small university town, the now family of four took up residence in a master plumber’s house where they were given a sitting room, bedroom, kitchen, and a room in the back where Reznicek’s new baby daughter slept. The only quiet room in the group was the daughter’s; at night the couple would read her to sleep in the sitting room, and then Reznicek would go to her room to compose. This is the first reference that is made in the literature to Reznicek’s ill-fated daughter from his union with Milka Thurn.¹² No given name for the girl is mentioned in any of the writings, including Reznicek’s own.

According to Felicitas’ biography of her father, although the engagement at Jena did not last long, it was long enough for him to compose his first opera, *Die Jungfrau von Orléans*.¹³ After two months, she writes, the opera was finished, and so

⁹ “Ich habe die Erfahrung, lieber Reznicek, und Sie haben Geld. Wir werden glänzende Geschäfte machen.” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 48.

¹⁰ E. N. von Reznicek, “Personaldokumente,” 2.

¹¹ Felicitas says that this was a second Kapellmeister position. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 49.

¹² F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 50.

¹³ “Das Engagement dauerte nicht lange, immerhin lang genug, dass E. N. seine erster Jugendoper schreiben konnte; ‘Die Jungfrau von Orléans.’ ” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 49-50.

was the theater engagement; the theater was bankrupt. While this is generally true, it is not entirely accurate. Her father reports in his autobiographical statement that he lost his temper with a percussionist in a dance rehearsal for an operetta because the latter played too softly in a place where Reznicek wanted a double forte stroke. Frustrated, Reznicek wrested the drumstick from the player and hit the drum with such force that he split the drumhead. He had to make remuneration for the head, and shortly thereafter the theater went bankrupt, so he was once again unemployed.¹⁴ This is the first time that Reznicek himself mentions the hot-headedness that other commentators either allude to or describe bluntly. Felicitas makes no mention of her father's outburst in Jena.

After his experience in Jena, Reznicek's theater agent in Berlin secured another position for him, this time in Bochum. Reznicek himself describes how he was received upon his arrival.

As I disembarked at the railway station with my wife and child, we saw a group of ladies and gentlemen whom we soon recognized as theater people. We fell into conversation and I identified myself as the new Kapellmeister, whereupon one of the comedians said to another, 'It's really mean of N. N. (the name of the theater manager there) to lure a new Kapellmeister here with wife and child, when we've been playing for equal shares for four weeks already.'¹⁵

This was yet another position fraught with administrative and personnel problems.

Like the Jena position, the Bochum engagement did not last.

¹⁴ E. N. von Reznicek, "Personaldokumente," 2.

¹⁵ "Als ich dort mit Weib und Kind am Bahnhof landete, sahen wir eine Gesellschaft von Damen und Herren, die wir bald als Theaterleute erkannten. Wir kamen ins Gespräch und ich legitimierte mich als der neue Kapellmeister, was die Wirkung hatte, dass einer der Komödianten zum anderen sagt: 'Es ist doch wirklich eine Gemeinheit von dem N. N. (so hiess der dortige Theaterdirektor) dass er den neuen Kapellmeister mit Weib und Kind daher lockt, wo wir hier doch schon seit von vier Wochen auf Teilung spielen.' " E. N. von Reznicek, "Personaldokumente," 3.

Subsequently, the same agent offered him another contract to finish the 1886 season at the Wallner Theater in Berlin. It was even worse than Bochum, “in his eyes, a wretched position!”¹⁶ The orchestra had only eighteen members. They missed entrances and played during rests. They did not attend rehearsals and failed to show up for performances. Of course, this was seen as the failure of the conductor, so Reznicek’s tenure was again cut short.

Die Jungfrau von Orléans

In the days after he was dismissed from the Wallner, Reznicek wrote, “I took up Schiller’s ‘Jungfrau von Orléans’ and began composing my first opera.”¹⁷ In Felicitas’ account,¹⁸ echoed by Leibnitz,¹⁹ Reznicek began the opera earlier, during the short period in Jena. Felicitas may be confused on this point. She writes that her father’s libretto is faithful to the words from Schiller’s monologue, so it is probable that the composer’s recollections, and not the daughter’s, are correct.²⁰

Aware of his son’s unhappiness, Josef Freiherr von Reznicek, ever the entrepreneur, once again found him a new position for the 1886-1887 season at the Stadttheater in Mainz under Emil Steinbach.²¹ From all accounts, this was a position more suited to the composer; the management and the performers were collegial, disciplined and well-rehearsed. Reznicek writes that he finished *Die Jungfrau von*

¹⁶ Max Chop, “E. N. v. Reznicek: Das Leben,” *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, no. 15 (October 1, 1920): 516.

¹⁷ “nahm ich die ‘Jungfrau von Orléans’ von Schiller vor und begann, meine erste Oper zu komponieren, . . .” E. N. von Reznicek, “Personaldokumente,” 4.

¹⁸ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 50.

¹⁹ Leibnitz, 23.

²⁰ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 59.

²¹ Felicitas only mentions Emil Steinbach *Gegen den Strom*, 56. Chop, on the other hand says that Reznicek served under Preumayer while at Mainz. Chop, *Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek: sein Leben*, 16. Steinbach was the principal conductor there. Preumayer may have had an official administrative position at the Stadttheater, however, so this may not be conflicting information.

Orléans while serving as second conductor in Mainz, a position “that I could finally (!) maintain in a regular way.”²² It was, however, only a temporary post, and he was without a job at the end of the spring of 1887.

In the summer of 1887, the family stayed with Reznicek’s father in Graz. Without his son’s knowledge, once again the old Field Marshal, now seventy-five, intervened on his son’s behalf. Absconding with the score of newly completed *Jungfrau*, he sought out Karl Muck, then the principal conductor of the Graz Opera, and presented it to him. Not long afterward, Muck sent a telegram from the German Theater in Prague announcing the world première of *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* on June 15, 1887.²³ Despite having a long history of conflict with his eldest son, in the end, Field Marshal Reznicek had also been his greatest supporter during the composer’s early career. About one week following his meeting with Muck, exhausted from his considerable efforts, Josef Freiherr von Reznicek died.

Despite what Muck said in his telegram, the actual première took place on June 19, 1887, according to the press announcements in Prague papers, and the poster announcing the première, shown on the next page in Figure 1:

²² “die ich in meinem nächsten Engagement als II Kapellmeister am Stadttheater in Mainz, das ich endlich (!) ordnungsmässig durchhalten konnte, vollendete.” E. N. von Reznicek, “Personaldokumente,” 4.

²³ “Uraufführung Jungfrau von Orléans am 15. Juni. Karl Muck.” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 58.

Fig. 1. Theater Bill of Reznicek's *Jungfrau von Orléans* at the Old German Theater²⁴

Königl. Deutsches Landestheater.

Samstag, den 19. Juni 1887. 161. Abonnements-Vorstellung. (I. Serie.)

Zum ersten Male.

Die JUNGFRAU von ORLEANS.
(JEANNE d'ARC.)

Grosse Oper in 4 Acten. (Frei nach Schiller.) Musik und Text v. E. N. v. Reznicek.

Karl VII. König von Frankreich	Karl Wagner
Der Komtur von Orléans	Georg Thoma
Der Herzog von Burgund	Otto Brandt
Die Frau, Mutter des Herzogs von Burgund	Willy Brandt
Der Bischof von Orléans	Willy Brandt
Ein Knappe	Georg Thoma
Thibaut V. Fr., ein reicher Bauherr	Willy Brandt
Isabelle, eine Zuhälterin	Willy Brandt
Reinold, ihr Bruder	Willy Brandt

Ein jeder Geist. — Der Geist des erkrankten Vaters des Herzogs.
Grafen und regliche Soldaten, Bischöfe, Offiziere, Offiziere des Herzogs, Reiter, Soldaten, Offiziere.
4. Akt: Die Frau (Isabelle) in der Hölle von Orléans; nach der Verurteilung. 5. Akt: In der Hölle von Orléans.
4. Akt: Die Frau (Isabelle) in der Hölle von Orléans; nach der Verurteilung. 5. Akt: In der Hölle von Orléans.
Im dritten Act „Hexentanz“ arrangirt von der Balletmeisterin Bertha Wilde ausgeführt von Anna Götlich,
Korn. Samma und dem Corps de Ballet.

Anfang um 7 Uhr. Ende nach halb 10 Uhr.

Unkosten: Betty Frank, Minna Wolke, Franz Neukirchner, Beurlaubt: Aurelie v. Harger, Katharina Rosen, Johannes Elmblad,
Wilhelm Eichenwald, Volkmar Köhn, Ludwig Stenke, Wilhelm Stenke.

Gewöhnliche Preise der Plätze.

Königl. Deutsches Landestheater.

Montag, den 20. Juni 1887. 162. Abonnements-Vorstellung. 2. Serie.

Der Hüttenbesitzer

Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen von Georges Ohnet.

Der Hüttenbesitzer ist ein Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen von Georges Ohnet. Es wird am 20. Juni 1887 um 7 Uhr abends und um 10 Uhr nachmittags aufgeführt. Der Vorverkauf für den nächsten Tag (Freitag) am 23. Juni 1887 um 12 Uhr nachmittags statt.

Verlag von Götlich & Söhne in Prag. — Verlag der Direktion des Königl. Deutschen Landestheaters.

In 1887, the Prague German Theater was still giving their performances in the old German Theater (also known as the Royal German Theater, Theater of the Estates, and the Prague National Theater).²⁵ At that time, the New German Theater (known today as the Prague State Opera) was under still under construction and

²⁴ Copy from Reznicek Archives. Gift of Felicitas von Reznicek.

²⁵ This historic structure witnessed many premières of major operas including Mozart's operas *Don Giovanni* in 1787 and *La Clemenza di Tito* in 1791.

would not open until January 5, 1888. Reznicek's *Jungfrau* was one of the last operas to receive its first performance in the old German Theater.

Leopold Nowak, a former head of the library, reported that the manuscripts to both *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* and Reznicek's second opera, *Satanella*, were not amongst the holdings in the MÖNB and were, in fact, lost. *Jungfrau* is listed in the composer's works list in Specht as extant in manuscript only.²⁶ Duplicating the Specht information for the two operas, while reporting the holdings of the MÖNB, Leibnitz updates Nowak's work. In 1988, two years after the publication of the Leibnitz inventory in 1986,²⁷ the library acquired through K. Ingo Nebehay the autograph manuscript of the piano/vocal score of *Jungfrau* that Reznicek had turned over to the Mainz publisher C. Voltz, who controlled the performing rights.²⁸ The libretto was deposited with C. Voltz in 1887, one year after Reznicek composed the opera.²⁹

As a first operatic effort, *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* was successful. It only played at the Prague German Theater, however, and after the season ended it disappeared from the repertoire. Felicitas quotes from reviews in Prague favorable to both the opera and the performance. "The work is brilliantly written and thoroughly developed. The jubilant applause for the artists and composer was seldom heard in Prague."³⁰ The *Montag-Revue* reported: "Interesting wealth of various harmonic progressions; among those (sequences) were some unpleasantly shrill ones. The work

²⁶ Specht, 110.

²⁷ Leibnitz, 105-117.

²⁸ On the final page of the score is written, "Ende der Oper. Windisch-Feistritz 16. 6. 86".

²⁹ E. N. von Reznicek, *Die Jungfrau von Orléans: Grosse Oper in 3 Acten*. (Mainz: C. Voltz, 1887). Reported in the holdings of the University of Connecticut Music Library.

³⁰ "Das Werk ist genial aufgefasst und durchgeführt. Der jubelnde Beifall, den die Künstler und der Komponist fanden, ward in Prag selten gehört." *Briefen aus Prag*, no. 26 (1887). From F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 58-59.

as a whole seems to be done skillfully, but many things still need time to mature.”³¹

A copy of the review written for *Prager Zwischenaktszeitung* resides in the Reznicek Archives. The date of the article is cut off, but the length of the review indicates that it was most likely written for the première. The reviewer labels Reznicek as a young German composer influenced by Wagner and Liszt. He discusses the scenes, libretto, and the singers’ merits, cites Reznicek’s very individual style of orchestration, mentions problems of balance, and renders his summary of Reznicek’s talents in the final sentences:

to us his work has wrestled up more respect than all the ephemeral operas that have lately appeared on our stages. Not all famous composers achieved their laurels with their firstborn works, and if Herr von Reznicek's future work is accompanied by greater artistic balance, then fame will not elude him.³²

In his correspondence over the years, Ferruccio Busoni mentions his former schoolmate Reznicek several times. At least when he was twenty-one, Busoni approved of Reznicek’s compositions, for he writes to Melanie Mayer³³ from Leipzig on July 22, 1887, "and while we're on the subject of opera, let me tell you how delighted I am to hear of a composer like Reznicek, who promises excellent things. – Will he achieve them? How many conditions have to be fulfilled for a talent to reach

³¹ “Interessant ist der Reichtum der verschiedenartigsten Harmoniefolgen, unter denen auch einige recht grelle sich nicht besonders angenehm machen. Es trägt das Werk fast in seinem ganzen Umfang das Gepräge hervorragenden Könnens, aber es scheint noch vieles in Gärung begriffen.” From F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 59.

³² “uns seine Arbeit mehr Respekt abgerungen hat als alle die ephemeren Opern-Erscheinungen der Letztzeit auf unserer Bühne. Nicht alle berühmten Komponisten haben ihre Lorbeeren mit ihren Erstlingswerken errungen, und wenn Herrn von Rezniceks zukünftiges Schaffen mit mehr künstlerischem Ebenmass begleitet ist, dann wird auch sein Ruhm nicht ausbleiben.” *Prager Zwischenaktszeitung* [after June 19, 1887], n.p.

³³ Melanie Mayer, daughter of Wilhelm Mayer (W. A. Rémy), later married an Austrian music critic, Dr. Fritz Prelinger. Busoni and Mayer corresponded when the former was in his twenties.

its fullest development!”³⁴ Busoni could only be referring to *Die Jungfrau von Orléans*, Reznicek’s only opera to date.

Most significantly, *Jungfrau* attracted the attention of the noted opera producer Angelo Neumann (1838-1910), formerly at Leipzig (where he established a notable reputation for his Wagnerian productions, as well as for his productions of Verdi’s *Aida* and Bizet’s *Carmen*), and now director of the Deutsches Landestheater (German Opera Theater) in Prague. Impressed by Reznicek’s opera and what he saw as the young composer’s potential, Neumann offered him a two-year contract to compose and produce an opera for Prague each year. Reznicek complied with Neumann’s terms by completing *Satanella* in 1888, and *Emerich Fortunat* in 1889.

Satanella

Satanella is based on the epic poem of the same name by Jaroslav Vrchlický, nom de plume of the Czech poet, writer, and translator Emil Bohuslav Frída.³⁵ Reznicek undertook the preparation of the libretto and adapted it for the stage. According to Klein, the opera earned the high esteem of Angelo Neumann and many enthusiastic friends.³⁶ Max Chop, in his biography (1920), writes that Reznicek’s opera “already revealed an extraordinary compositional ability”; in particular, “the processional funeral march bore an entirely individual profile.”³⁷ Chop mentions that the libretto, which he finds “absurd,” was a joint effort of Reznicek and Eduard von

³⁴ Ferruccio Busoni, *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, Anthony Beaumont, trans. and ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 27.

³⁵ Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853-1912). Chop spells the name as Vrchlitzky (Chop, *Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek: sein Leben*, 17). Klein spells the last name as Koschitzky (Klein, 518). No doubt, Czech, like Russian surnames, possess a variety of accepted spellings over time and in different languages.

³⁶ Klein, 518.

³⁷ “bekundete bereits ein aussergewöhnliches, tonsetzerisches Vermögen; der grosszügige Trauermarsch trägt ganz individuelles Profil.” Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 17-18.

Dubsky, librettist of Reznicek's next opera.³⁸ Wilhelm Klein (1920) and others agree, however, that Reznicek prepared the *Satanella* libretto himself. *Satanella* was one of the first operas staged in the Neues deutsches Theater (New German Theater) with its première on May 13, 1888, four months after the new facility opened. The top banner on the advertisement below (Fig. 2) announces the new operatic venue.

Fig. 2. Theater Bill for Reznicek's *Satanella* at the Neues deutsches Theater.³⁹

Neues deutsches Theater.

Sonntag, den 13. Mai 1888. Ohne Abonnement.

Festvorstellung
zur Feier
der Enthüllung des Denkmals
Kaiserin Maria Theresia.
Bei festlicher Beleuchtung:
Zum ersten Male:
SATANELLA
Oper in drei Acten von E. N. v. Reznicek.

Der Großmeister des Johannisordens Roberto Donosato, ein junger Cbrensstitter Rastorf, der Leutnant des Großmeisters Ein jährender Sänger Satanella, eine junge Siguenierin Dritter Zweiter / Rind Dritter Sterter	Der Großmeister des Johannisordens Roberto Donosato, ein junger Cbrensstitter Rastorf, der Leutnant des Großmeisters Ein jährender Sänger Satanella, eine junge Siguenierin Dritter Zweiter / Rind Dritter Sterter
--	--

Cbrensstitter: Wände, Denter, Hoff, Siguenier, Peltischen, Prugstovff etc.
 Ein bei der Enthüllung: Jule, von Ernst, Rastorf, Jule: Wirt des verzeigten Jochhanders
 Im ersten Act: „Zircu-vertanz“ arrangiert von der Balletmeisterin Josefine Zimmermann ausgeführt vom Corps de Ballet.
 Die neue Decoration gemalt vom Landesdecorationsmaler Heinrich Reicherl.
Hierauf:
Lebende Bilder
 Erstes Bild: „Maria Theresia auf dem Reichstage zu Pressburg.
 Zweites Bild: „Nach der Schlacht.“
 Drittes Bild: „Maria Theresia und Kaiser Josef.“
 Viertes Bild: „Das Denkmal in Wien.“
 Der verbindende Text gesprochen von Günther Pottera.
 Das Bild des Denkmals ausgeführt vom Obermaschinenmeister Parelval de Vry.

Anfang um 7 Uhr. Ende um 10 Uhr.

Nach dem zweiten Acte findet eine längere Pause statt.
 Besetzt: Otto Brucks, Volkmar Kühn, Gustav Löwe. Uspätsch: Minna Mohler.
Gewöhnliche Preise der Plätze.
 Die Textbücher sind an der Cassa und bei den Billetheurs zu haben.

Neues deutsches Theater.

Montag den 14. Mai 1888 159. Abonnements-Vorstellung (3. Serie.)

Der Hüttenbesitzer.

Schauspiel in 4 Aufzügen von Georges Ohnet.
 Erstes von Wilhelm Schmitt. — Erstes bei Kuchmann.

³⁸ "Aber der Text, den Reznicek gemeinsam mit Dubsky bearbeitet hatte, war unmöglich." Chop, E. N. v. Reznicek: *Sein Leben*, 18.

³⁹ Copy from Reznicek Archives. Gift of Felicitas von Reznicek.

Long thought to be lost, manuscript score versions of *Satanella* have appeared in more recent years since Nowak's list of the works. Reznicek apparently thought enough of the opera that he extracted two orchestral sections for concert works: the "Trauer Marsch" (which Chop mentioned) and the "Trinklied." Full score manuscripts of both these sections are in the Reznicek Archives. They are scored for the large orchestra with the full complement of winds and percussion that is found in his later operas. The "Trauer Marsch," sixty-two measures long and marked "Ungemein gehalten" (Extremely sober) probably seemed longer to Chop because of the slow tempo. With ninety-nine measures, the more lengthy "Trinklied", marked "Lustig und mit dithyremlischen Schwung" (Merrily and with dithyrambic momentum), flies by swiftly. In addition, a manuscript copy of the piano-vocal score with instrumental cues, along with two copies of the libretto, appears in the Tams-Witmark Collection, a special collection of scores and libretti at the University of Wisconsin Library at Madison.⁴⁰ A sketchbook of the opera is in the MÖNB. Approximately fifty-three double-sided pages in length, it is in pencil and only partially bound.

What this opera is really about is the subject of debate. Felicitas has little to say, other than supplying a quotation from a review of the opera from the *Politik in Prag*: "All in all, the work of Mr. Reznicek represents evidence of a considerable talent, but one that is going very much the wrong way and is here and there entirely ridiculous."⁴¹ She recounts her father's comment that *Satanella*, "a frightful story of

⁴⁰ Worldcat lists the two libretti from the collection as published by Reznicek in Vienna in 1888.

⁴¹ "Alles in allem stellt das Werk dem Herrn Reznicek das Zeugnis eines ziemlichen Talentes dar, das aber stark auf Abwegen wandelt und stellenweise ganz ungeheuerlich ist." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 59.

death and horror, was doubtlessly effective on stage. At the close, the heroine of the title is burned at the stake as a witch, and her lover voluntarily shares her fate.”⁴²

Reznicek himself does not write much about any of his early operas.

According to Gordon Wright (interviewed in 1992), *Satanella* was considered to be a vampire opera.⁴³ The only English translation of the epic from the original Czech version, from which Reznicek based his libretto, is by Roderick A. Ginsburg, published in 1932.⁴⁴ In his translation, it is unclear whether the spread of plague from another country, or the arrival of a vampire brought the disaster. A passage from this translation invites divergent interpretations. Consider the following verses:

Neither pirates of the ocean,
Neither Turk, the godless heathen,
Neither hunger nor poor harvest
But a greater, greater evil,
Greater danger dreads the islet.

From the distant steppes past Ural,
From the land of fog eternal,
Monstrous bird to skies has risen
Bringing dread to all the people.

Wheresoever on his journey
Bat-like wings, the monster lowered,
Groves were stilled, the waters vanished,
Orchards wasted, grasses withered.

And much worse, the people dying
Suddenly and naught availing,
Like the playful moths that flutter
To a tempting light attracted.

⁴² “eine furchtbare Mord- und Schauergeschichte, aber zweifellos bühnenwirksam gewesen sei. Am Schluss werde die Titelheldin auf dem Scheiterhaufen als Hexe verbrannt, und ihr Geliebter teile freiwillig ihr Schicksal.” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 59.

⁴³ Gordon Wright, interviewed by Suzanne Moulton-Gertig, 2 July 1992, Indian Alaska.

⁴⁴ Jaroslav Vrchlický, *Satanella: An Epic Poem*, trans. by Roderick A. Ginsburg (Chicago, IL: by the author, 1932).

All grew bare, the glaring sunshine
Bleached the yellow bones, unburied,
Perished all but cloud-dark vultures
And hyenas in the forests.

And this bird – a plague they called him,
Or a punishment from God – now
Lightly flew o’ver every ocean,
Soared above each mountain apex.

In a veil of poisoned vapor
He would fly by night and daylight,
Where he flew, the sun grew crimson,
Howled the dogs where’er he landed.

Fears, lamenting, sighs and curses
Spread he ‘fore him in confusion
As he flew from Ural mountains
To Byzantium with tempests.

On the shores of Asia Minor
Many cities stand deserted,
Ships are rotting in the harbors,
In the streets rot human bodies.⁴⁵

In the epic poem, *Satanella*, a young gypsy woman, beguiles a young Christian knight. The superstitious Christian bishop, along with his order of monks and the island population, conveniently place blame for the inexplicable deaths by the vampire on the gypsy, *Satanella*. She becomes the scapegoat for her innocent and youthful act of lobbing a date pit at her secret lover, Roderigo, a Johannite knight, to get his attention during a religious procession of bishop and monks to a roadside image of the Madonna. Further projectiles are rained down upon the bishop in jest by the young gypsy as the bishop blesses the people kneeling around him with his monstrance holding the Host. Accused as a witch, she is imprisoned and subsequently

⁴⁵ Vrchlicky, 33-35.

executed at the stake. Devoid of all reason, Roderigo throws himself on her burning pyre in the act of relinquishing his immortal soul.

How true to the original Czech is the English translation? Has Ginsburg caught and interpreted the subtleties of the language correctly, or has he interpreted the lines to suit his own contemporary literary proclivity? Reznicek described his opera as a horror story. A story of plague is hardly a horror story, but one about a vampire certainly seems a plausible subject for horror.

Emmerich Fortunat

Reznicek did collaborate with Eduard von Dubsky on the libretto of Reznicek's third opera for Prague, *Emmerich Fortunat*. Unfortunately, the autograph in the MÖNB is incomplete. The overture is extant, but scenes are missing from the second act. The work can be dated for certain; following the overture, the composer wrote above the first scene, "Begun on 16.2.89 *dies nefasta* (an unlucky day)." ⁴⁶ At the end is the date "Prag, 9.7.89." ⁴⁷ The première took place on November 8, 1889. The libretto itself reads like a typical romantic costume drama of the early to middle nineteenth century, replete with exaggerated natural effects like violent thunderclaps and lightning strikes. There are moonlit scenes that look as if inspired by a Caspar David Friedrich painting from the first decade of the nineteenth century, and staging like an opera of Heinrich Marschner (1795-1861) or the Wolf's Glen scene from *Der Freischütz* of Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826). There are a number of dramatic entries, ballet and other dance sequences, tournaments, and prison and convent scenes. There are royal characters, a rabbi and his son, a young woman placed in a

⁴⁶ "Begonnen am 16. 2. 89 *dies nefasta* (einem unglücklichen Tag)." Nowak, 225.

⁴⁷ Nowak, 225.

convent against her will, a hidden treasure, and several characters bent on retrieving the riches for themselves. The plot also involves death (hearkening back to Weber).

In his 1920 article about Reznicek, Wilhelm Klein is very discreet in his narrative about the composer's fate at the German Theater after the production of *Emerich Fortunat*. He mentions that the subject of Reznicek's third opera would be of the composer's own invention, that it was produced again in 1890, and was acknowledged as a successful work. He adds that the score remained in manuscript, for Reznicek's reputation as a composer was not known outside the boundaries of Prague, and his finances had become meager.⁴⁸ What Klein fails to mention is that Reznicek was out of money because his contract was not renewed. Unhappy with the receipts from the performances of *Satanella* and *Emerich Fortunat*, Angelo Neumann wanted to look elsewhere for a new house composer. As a result, Reznicek's contract was not renewed. The winter of 1889-1890, the most tragic period of his career, is not mentioned in any of the earlier twentieth-century biographical works. It is addressed only in Reznicek's own memoirs and Felicitas' account of them in *Gegen den Strom*. Rapidly running out of money, the family had to take refuge in a cheap boarding house in the city. Not long afterward, Reznicek's eldest child, Ludwig, became tubercular and died very quickly, bereft of any medical care. Soon his second child, the little daughter, became ill, at which point they were turned out of the boarding house onto the street by the owner. Because they had no money, hospitals would not receive them and social services were nonexistent. Ultimately, after walking the streets with the feverish daughter dying in his arms, they were admitted to a pauper's home where she was seen by a doctor. It was, however, too late to save her and she

⁴⁸ Klein, 518.

died there.⁴⁹ At this point, with two children dead, no employment, and impoverished, the broken-hearted couple left the city.

⁴⁹ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 63.

Chapter 3

The 88th Infantry Regiment and a New Opera, 1889-1899

Almost concurrent with their departure from Prague, the couple's luck was altered for the better, at least until 1894. The 88th Infantry Regiment in Prague advertised a position for a Military Music Director (Militär Kapellmeister). Reznicek applied and was immediately appointed. No doubt, several circumstances worked in his favor. He came from a musical and military background on his father's side. Memories of his grandfather's musical legacy were still fresh. His father, not long dead, was still a well-known and respected Austrian field marshal lieutenant. Klein writes that Reznicek's principal concern was to support his "young wife and an attractive little offspring," Eugen, born in 1889. Klein identifies him as the son who became an eminent German naval officer during World War I, and received the Iron Cross First Class for his service. Reznicek's oldest living son, Eugen, was born so close to the deaths of the other two children that Milka Thurn was no doubt already pregnant with him at the time, or had recently delivered Eugen when the other children died.¹ Klein notes further that with his "relentless energy, Reznicek set about bringing his band to full bloom, much to the delight of his little rotund music captain."²

¹ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 82-83. The Library of Congress name authority file confirms Eugen's birthdate as 1889. In the 1930s, Eugen Freiherr von Reznicek coauthored a book with Otto Neuerburg: *Schwarze Gesellen: Torpedoboote und Minensucher im grossen Kriege* [*Black Comrades: Torpedo Boats and Minesweepers in the Great War*] (Leipzig: A.H. Payne, 1934).

² "So entschloss sich Reznicek, der eine junge Frau und einen reizenden Sprössling (der sich nun im Weltkrieg als hervorragender deutscher Flottenoffizier das eiserne Kreuz erster Klasse erworben hat) zu versorgen hatte, eine Militärkapellmeisterstelle anzunehmen, die er mit seiner eisernen Energie

Still a reluctant part of the Hapsburg Empire, Czechs did not render Austrians any polite condescension; in fact, they were more likely to treat Austrians as unwanted interlopers. Felicitas notes that although Reznicek is a Czech name, everyone in Prague knew that for generations all the male Rezniceks served as Austrian army officers. Near the end of the nineteenth century, the national antagonism toward the Danube monarchy was unusually caustic. After two years in Prague, Reznicek knew that he must speak Czech to get along. Reporting to his new position, he approached the sentry at the 88th Infantry Regiment barracks.

In his best Czech he asked where the office of the regimental band was. The guard had figured out quickly enough that the “Kapelnik” (“Band Man”) was a ‘German.’ So he responded in broken German, “Scuse me, Mr. Band Man. Not understand ‘Gyman.’”³

Reznicek’s position with the 88th Infantry Regiment lasted until 1894. Accounts of his dismissal from that appointment are documented in several places, but none so succinctly and with what would be referred to nowadays as “spin,” as Klein’s version:

anfasste und seine Kapelle zur vollen Blüte brachte; zur grossen Freude seines kleinen kugelrunden Musikhauptmanns . . .” Klein, 518.

³ “Zunächst hatte es nicht so rosig ausgesehen. Wenn auch der Name Reznicek tschechisch ist, so wusste man in Prag doch genau, dass es sich um eine Familie handelte, deren männliche Mitglieder seit Generationen als Offiziere in der österreichischen Armee gedient hatten. Die nationalen Gegensätze in der Donau-Monarchie spitzten sich gerade um die Jahrhundertwende ausserordentlich zu. . . . Zwei Jahre in Prag hatten ihn darüber aufgeklärt, dass man Tschechisch können müsse, wenn man sich dort halten wolle, und so hatte er die damals gesammelten Sprachkenntnisse erweitert. Als er in der Kaserne angekommen war, um seinen Posten anzutreten, wandte er sich an die Wache, die vor dem Schilderhäuschen auf und abging. In seinem besten Tschechisch fragte er, wo das Büro der Regimentskapelle sei. Der Posten wusste natürlich schon längst, dass er sich bei dem ‘Kapelnik’ um einen ‘Nemecki’ handle. So erwiderte er in gebrochenem Deutsch: ‘Tschuldigung Pan Kapelnik. Nix versteh Deitsch.’ ” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 64-65. “Kapelnik”, using the German “Kapel” with the Czech suffix “nik” would be considered highly derogatory. The connotation is that a Regiment Kapellmeister (“Band Man”) was considered “a beater of music with a stick” rather than “with a baton.” It is similar to the snobbery found in some circles today where “band director” instead of “orchestra conductor” is considered a lesser calling.

The hot-blooded artist, irritated by a malicious remark, let himself be carried away by an insult for which he rendered a chivalrous redress. But now he had to give up his conductor position.⁴

In a similar way, Felicitas paints her father in the best light possible; she recounts a different version of the incident that is no less flattering to her father's pride than Klein's story, but decidedly detrimental to Milka Thurn's reputation. The scene of the dénouement was the garden of the German Club. Reznicek was conducting an outdoor festival concert during which he forcibly put himself in the middle of a multitude of intoxicated uniformed student association members who were not on their best behavior. "Frau Milka," irritated that her handsome husband was being shown far too much devoted admiration, began to flirt, donning "her charming artificial smiles." One student became noticeably forward. Felicitas continues:

Herr Kapellmeister, who a moment ago had wanted to begin the *Tannhäuser Overture*, had raised his baton to give the downbeat when he saw his wife strolling in the garden, where she looked to be warding off a young man. The baton flew down, the saber was drawn, and he sprang from the podium as though he had sudden business. It caused an unfavorable scandal. The comrades of the student whom Herr Kapellmeister felled by a single swipe, picked up their friend. Then a thousand men in record numbers sprung into the garden from where they were sitting, all shouting. The regiment's drum major gave the command, "Take Position!" Instantly the musical instruments were laid aside and musicians transformed themselves into combat-prepared soldiers. A police commissioner with a few guardsmen hurried to his (Reznicek's) side.

"We protect you, Herr Kapellmeister."

"I need no protection."

"Better safe than sorry! You are a German."

The crowd formed a lane. The deathly silence was powerful, but nothing happened. Outside of the garden, Frau Milka waited, wringing her hands. The student junior aide-de-camp demanded satisfaction from Herr Kapellmeister. His friend made the same demand. During his time in Graz, the Field Marshal Lieutenant had his son take fencing lessons from the famous master of the foil, Vandelli. Consequently, Herr Kapellmeister made his mark – in the truest sense of the word – in various duels.

⁴ "Der heissblütige Künstler, gereizt durch eine hämische Bemerkung, liess sich zu einer tätlichen Beleidigung hinreissen, für die er ritterliche Genugtuung leisteten. Aber er musste nun seine Kapellmeisterstelle niederlegen . . ." Klein, 518.

Reaching home there was a slip of paper from the regiment commander, Herrn Oberst [*sic*] telling Reznicek to report to him at 11:00 o'clock, alone.

"My dear Baron," he said. "You have impressed me very much, but you have forgotten one thing: I hired a Kapellmeister, not a fencing master."⁵

Although dramatic, Felicitas' reconstruction is inaccurate. In his autobiographical document, Reznicek tells a somewhat different story. He makes no mention of his wife flirting with anyone. Furthermore, he downplays his legendary temper while talking instead about slashing a student across the nose with an unpolished saber in a humorous fashion:

It was a festival concert in the garden of the German Club in Prague (I don't know more about the occasion), where my band was booked. Before the concert began, numerous guests promenaded in the garden where various occasions were held and where a shooting gallery was located. My wife and one of her devoted admirers, a reserve second lieutenant Eiselt (in plain clothes), completed our group. We also went to the shooting gallery; E. and I shot a few times at the targets; we stuck up our shooting scores and, in the meantime, went into the garden for a walk. There we came across an apparently tipsy uniformed student and fell into conversation and, in fact, made him jolly over our shooting scores. We came across him quite frequently, and time and again overheard him making unsuitable remarks to himself. Then it came time for the concert to begin. I consequently climbed up on the music pavilion, lifted the baton, and would have given a smooth downbeat when close behind me in the garden various people heard a noisy altercation, and I had a bad feeling about it. I twisted around and saw my wife and the second lieutenant encircled by three uniformed students with walking sticks lifted upright menacingly. I threw my baton away, sprang over the six steps of the pavilion with one bound, drew my saber (which was not polished), and slashed the one closest to me where he was standing across the bridge of the nose with the back of the blade in one simple stroke. It was just by chance he who had been foul-mouthed to us already. The effect you can visualize: the thousand garden visitors all springing up shrieking back and forth; the fallen one became hoisted up; the attending police commissioner came about; my drum major commanded my soldiers, "Take position!" Well, etc. It was a deathly scandal. The police commissioner came up to me and said, "Come along with me, I beg you." I: "I have absolutely nothing to fear." The public created an alley through which we had to pass to get out of there. I grasped onto my already-sheathed saber in

⁵ The name Oberst is a misprint in the text. The name was Probszt. The index of the book has only a reference to Emil Probszt von Ohstorff. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 66-67. German text in Appendix 4.

case I noticed any suspicious movement, and so we came out to the street where my wife had been wringing her hands over me.⁶

In *Österreichische Spätromantiker*, Leibnitz contrasts the daughter's and father's versions to make the point that Felicitas has the tendency to manipulate events in retelling her father's life.⁷ This possibility is important to remember, especially concerning her discussions in *Gegen den Strom*, in her other writings, and in her seventies and eighties when she was communicating with Gordon Wright.

For no apparent reason, Chop ignores the events of the period 1889-94 altogether, including Reznicek's time with the 88th Infantry Regiment. He dismisses the period as "a time of storm and stress, – internally and externally!"⁸ Chop explains that Reznicek was torn from all sides, driven by conflicting goals: the expectations of traditional family life and the need to support his family, a commitment to follow the path provided by Wagner as the German model for stageworks, and a desire to break away from that musical model to develop his own musical voice – to forge an artistic individualism which steered against the musical current, *Gegen den Strom*.⁹

Whatever his reasons, Chop insists that Reznicek composed nothing original during this five-year period, but mentions the delayed publication by Fritzsche (in 1893) of the String Quartet in C Minor as a harbinger of more significant works to come.¹⁰ It is impossible to judge the truth of Chop's assertion, for no copies of this early quartet have been found to date. According to the composer's corrections on Specht's works list, it is the quartet that he wrote in 1882. Following Chop, Specht lists a publication

⁶ E. N. von Reznicek, "Personaldokumente," 7. German text in Appendix 4.

⁷ Leibnitz, 24.

⁸ "Eine Zeit des Sturms und Drangs, – innerlich und äusserlich!" Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 19.

⁹ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 19.

¹⁰ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 19.

in 1893 by Fritzsche. Reznicek has, however, crossed out the indication “erscheinen 1893” and written “1882.”¹¹

Not only does Chop discount Reznicek’s military position (he mentions that Reznicek had resigned his post),¹² but he also overlooks two small unpublished works, both now believed to be lost: the *Grünne-Marsch* for piano (1890),¹³ and the *Probszt-Marsch für Militärmusik* (1892). Forty years after Chop, Leopold Nowak, in his works list published in 1960, writes that Reznicek’s regimental music – dance and march compositions, such as these two marches – represent one side of the composer, while the waltz compositions, whether free-standing or within larger works, like the operas, represent his Austrian background.¹⁴ Not only did Reznicek conduct the 88th Infantry Regiment band, but he composed for it as well. He wrote the *Probszt-Marsch* for the birthday of Field Marshal Lieutenant and Troop Division Commander of the 88th Infantry Regiment, Emil Probszt von Ohstorff, and dedicated it to him.¹⁵ Interestingly, it was Probszt von Ohstorff himself who fired Reznicek after the park scandal. Furthermore, he restricted him to quarters with no privileges (something akin to house arrest), took away his military uniform, and forced him to dress in civilian garb.

Earlier in 1894, Reznicek composed the *Requiem in D Minor* in twelve movements for six-part chorus, orchestra, organ and bells, in memory of Czech politician Franz Schmeykal (Francisci Schmeykali), who oversaw the completion of the founding of the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der deutschen Wissenschaft, Kunst

¹¹ Specht, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 110.

¹² Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 22.

¹³ Origin of title unknown.

¹⁴ Nowak, 229.

¹⁵ Nowak, 229.

und Literatur (Society for the Promotion of German Science, Art and Literature).¹⁶ Only an autograph score fragment of two pages is extant in the collection of the MÖNB. From 1907, the earliest Reznicek biographer, Otto Taubmann, is the only writer to give performance information about the Requiem, albeit abbreviated. In listing works that had had successful concert hall performances, Taubmann discloses that Felix Weingartner conducted a performance of the Requiem at the Berlin Opera with the königlichen Opernchor and the königlichen Kapelle (Chorus and Orchestra of the Royal Opera and Chapel). Unfortunately, no date is given for the performance.¹⁷

Donna Diana

When the regimental appointment ended in 1894, Reznicek relinquished his uniform and spent long hours at home waiting for the tailor to finish his civilian clothes. All sources agree, that shortly after his dismissal from the infantry regiment, Reznicek happened across a stage play that inspired his opera *Donna Diana*. Nowak confirms this story about the genesis of the opera in his discussion of the works.¹⁸ Opera reference books claim that the text of Reznicek's three-act opera is a free translation of A. Moreto y Cavana's¹⁹ *El desdén con el desdén*, translated as "Disdain Met with Disdain" or "Meeting Contempt with Contempt."²⁰ Because there is no evidence that Reznicek read Spanish, it appears certain that he came to know of the Moreto play from Schreyvogel's 1829 version of the story that shared the same title

¹⁶ Chop, E. N. v. *Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 21.

¹⁷ Taubmann, 228.

¹⁸ Nowak, 229.

¹⁹ Augustín Moreto y Cavana, 1618-1669.

²⁰ Moreto's comedy *El desdén con el desdén* was also an inspiration to the English-speaking world. Englishman George Hyde used Moreto's original to create his own adaptation of the story in *Love's Victory, or, The School for Pride* (London: Hurst Robinson, 1825).

as the opera, *Donna Diana*.²¹ All Reznicek's biographers identify his source as Moreto's play, but refer to it by Schreyvogel's title, *Donna Diana*. Having read Schreyvogel's version, Reznicek quickly wrote a libretto that was a free adaptation of it. According to Felicitas' account of her father's memories, which agree with all previous accounts of the opera's creation, he composed the music for his libretto in the space of two months.²²

The comedic character of the plot is found in the absurdity of societal behavior. Although there is clearly an underlying attraction between the main characters, on the surface there is cold reserve and disdain. When the Prince of Urgel, Don Cesare, acts on his feelings of attraction to Donna Diana (the daughter of the Count Don Diego, Sovereign of Barcelona), the latter inwardly resolves to keep her hand and heart free and feigns disdain. The setting is seventeenth-century Spain at the time of Catalonia's independence. The main characters, both of noble rank, are equal in social standing. Donna Diana, although of marriageable age, is not even betrothed, much to the dismay of all, especially the hopelessly smitten Don Cesare. The thrust of the play (as well the opera) is the vicissitudes of the lovelorn among all classes, high and low. The insincere and protean attitudes expressed between Donna Diana and Don Cesare, as well as their aristocratic and commoner friends toward one another, suggest the moody romps of modern teenagers.

What helps to break up this ongoing romantic *Sturm und Drang* is the visual opulence of the scene settings and Reznicek's wonderful use of orchestral color.

²¹ Joseph Schreyvogel (1768-1832), playwright and first director of the Burgtheater in Vienna. Schreyvogel held this directorship during the time that the theater was known by its original name, the *K. K. Theater an der Burg*. It was one of the most important German language theaters in the world during the nineteenth century.

²² F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 67.

Appropriate, yet not overused, references are made to Spanish idioms. Triple meters and bolero rhythms flow throughout a number of the arias and recitatives. Reznicek does not forsake the dance; the first act features a waltz (in a Spanish palatial setting), and in the second act, ballet music adds diversion to the plot. The music is superior to the conventional plot it accompanies.

When Reznicek finished the piano score of *Donna Diana*, he contacted Angelo Neumann and offered him his newest opera. Neumann approved of the work and offered him a commission right away to produce it. A week before the opera was set to open, Neumann approached Reznicek about the overture which had yet to be composed. Remembering the composer's previous three operas for Prague all dealt with serious, life-and-death issues, Neumann reminded Reznicek that the new work was a comic opera, so the overture should prepare the audience for that mood. "Write an overture for it. But sparkling!"²³ According to his daughter's reconstruction of the evening that followed, Reznicek did not go to the coffeehouse as usual after rehearsal; he went home and sat at the piano. He composed the overture in his head first, and then laid it out on the piano keyboard. He ate nothing that night, and at five in the morning said to his wife, "Just now I have composed a piece that will make me famous world wide."²⁴ Even though this overture became a popular stand-alone work, and the only work for which Reznicek was known in the later years of the twentieth century, this quotation by Felicitas of her father's words might actually be apocryphal. The overnight creation of the overture, however, is confirmed by the

²³ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 68.

²⁴ "Soeben habe ich ein Stück komponiert, das mich weltberühmt machen wird." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 68.

composer years later in the book *Künstler plaudern* (see discussion later in this chapter).

Although Reznicek penned his overture in an overnight blitz of activity, he took the time to find thematic material from the opera that would work musically and contain the “sparkle” that Neumann desired. As a result, three themes were selected that were not taken from solo arias, but were captured from ensemble passages and a purely instrumental interlude. The introduction, which is only three measures long and comprised of ascending scalar patterns modulating upward by halfsteps, is found most prominently in the *Zwischenspiel* (Intermezzo) between Scenes 7 and 8 of Act 2. (Figs. 3 and 4)

Fig. 3. *Donna Diana Overture*. Introduction. Mm.1-2.

Sehr gehalten

gr. Flöte 1.2. *f*

Kl. Flöte. *f*

Oboe 1.2. *f*

Klarinette A. 1.2. *f*

Fagott 1.2. *f*

Horn 1.2. *f*

3.4. *f*

Tromp. C. 1.2. *f*

Pauken *f*

Triangel *f*

Harfe *mf*

and libitum *mf*

Sehr gehalten

Violine 1. *f*

2. *f*

Bratsche *f*

Violoncello *f*

Kontrabass *f*

Fig. 4. *Donna Diana*. Act. 2. Zwischenspiel. Universal-Edition. U.E. 9450. p. 122.



The overture is a textbook example of sonata procedure. For the exposition, the opening thematic material (first key area material) is found in Act 1 in an accompanied ensemble of the nine major characters. The complete melodic line is played by the instruments. Voice parts sing the melody only partially; two or three of the melody notes in each voice tossed off amongst the other voices make it sound as if the whole of this difficult-to-execute melody were actually being sung note for note. (Figs. 5 and 6)

Fig. 5. *Donna Diana Overture*. Exposition. Mm.4-18.

Fig. 6. *Donna Diana*. Act. 1. Scene 4. Universal-Edition. U.E. 9450, p. 56.

56

[33] So schnell als möglich.
D. Diana.

D. Laura. Das al - so ist's, was man von mir, von mir ver - langt, doch irrt ihr

Floretta. Das al - so ist's, was von ihr man ver - langt, doch irrt ihr

D. Fen. Das al - so ist's, was von ihr man ver - langt, doch irrt ihr

D. Cesar. Das al - so ist's, was von ihr man ver - langt, doch irrt ihr

D. Louis. Das al - so ist's, was man von ihr

Perin. Das al - so ist's, was von ihr man ver - langt, und hof - fen

D. Gaston. Das al - so ist's, was von ihr man ver - langt, und hof - fen

D. Diego. Das al - so ist's, was von ihr man ver - langt, und hof - fen

Hof!

[33] So schnell als möglich.
p leggieriss.

[34]

This material also figures prominently late in Scene 7 under the lines of Don Cesare and Donna Diana, and under Don Cesare several pages later. The second key area material, lyrical in nature, is set in the dominant. Its only appearance is in the closing measures of the opera, as the concluding ensemble of characters and chorus members sing in celebration of the love that unites Don Cesare and Donna Diana. (Figs. 7 and 8)

Fig. 7. *Donna Diana Overture*. Exposition. Second Key Area.

The musical score is for the *Donna Diana Overture*, Exposition, Second Key Area. It is written for a full orchestra and includes parts for the following instruments:

- Fl. 1, 2
- Obo. 1, 2
- Cl. A. 1, 2
- Bs. 1, 2
- Hr. F. 1, 2
- Trp. C. 1, 2
- Tbn.
- Tub.
- Str.
- Viol. 1, 2
- Br.
- Vcl.
- Kb.

The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into two systems. The first system includes parts for Flutes 1 and 2, Oboes 1 and 2, Clarinets in A 1 and 2, Bassoons 1 and 2, Horns in F 1 and 2, Trumpets in C 1 and 2, Trombones, Tuba, and Strings. The second system includes parts for Violins 1 and 2, Basses, Violas, and Cellos/Double Basses. The score features various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *p*, *f*, and crescendos. The tempo/mood is marked *p leggiero sempre*.

1.2
Fl.

3.
Ob. 1.2

1.2
Kl. A. 1.2

1.2
Fg. 1.2

1.2
Hr. F.

3.4
Vi. 1.2

un.
Br.

un.
V/c.
Kb.

Fig. 8. *Donna Diana*. Act 3. Finale. Universal-Edition. U.E. 9450, p.186.

186 Fotografen und Kurbler arbeiten fieberhaft

D. Diana *a tempo*
D. Laura *col Sopr. I.*
Fioretta

D. Fenisa *col Sopr. II.* Das Fest ist

D. Cesar *col Ten. I.* Das Fest ist aus, die Lie - be

D. Louis *a tempo* Das Fest ist aus, das Fest ist

Ten. II Das Fest ist aus, das Fest ist

Perin *col Bass I.* Das Fest ist aus, die Lie - be

D. Gaston *col Bass II.* Das Fest ist aus, die Lie - be

D. Diego Das Fest ist aus, die Lie - be

a tempo
Pes.

aus, die Lie - be siegt, das jun - ge Paar ist

siegt, die Lie - be siegt, das jun - ge Paar ist nun ver-

aus, die Lie - be siegt, das jun - ge Paar ist

aus, die Lie - be siegt, das jun - ge Paar ist

siegt, das jun - ge Paar ist nun ver-

siegt, das jun - ge Paar ist nun ver-

The development uses primarily the material of the first key area tossed from instrument to instrument in different keys to create instability. Material from the second group intervenes in the minor mode, appearing slightly altered as a solo by the oboe whose line is then taken over by the clarinet. All the while, a constant pattern of three-sixteenth-notes in the other voices derived from the first group plays underneath them. The recapitulation follows in the original key with the reappearance of the second group material in the tonic, and a coda completes the overture.

Rudolf Kryzanowski (1859-1911)²⁵ conducted the première of *Donna Diana* on December 16, 1894, at the Prague German Theater. In the composer's words written for the book *Künstler plaudern*, the work

became not only a great success, but even a world success. And the overture, which indeed passed into the repertoire of the concert halls, had a tumultuous story of origin. Initially, that is to say, there was to come from me its overture, but the manager suggested one day before the première, "It is truly unfortunate that this opera has no overture – could you not still write one?" I sat up all night and composed it. I was twenty-four years old back then!²⁶

Kryzanowski figures prominently in Reznicek's induction into a professional society that existed until the end of the Second World War in Prague: the Gesellschaft zur Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur, mentioned previously in connection with Czech politician Franz Schmeýkal in whose memory Reznicek

²⁵ Kryzanowski was a student of Anton Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory. He was a schoolmate of Mahler's with whom he had a long-standing, close friendship. He succeeded Muck in 1892 as first conductor at the Prague German Theater. After Prague, Kryzanowski became an assistant to Mahler in Hamburg. From 1898 through 1907 he was first conductor at the Weimar Theater, where he would conduct that theater's production of *Donna Diana*.

²⁶ "es wurde nicht nur ein grosser Erfolg, sondern sogar ein Welterfolg. Und die Ouvertüre, die ja in das Repertoire der Konzertsäle überging, hat auch eine furiose Entstehungsgeschichte. Ursprünglich nämlich war von mir sein Vorspiel komponiert worden, doch der Direktor meinte einen Tag vor der Premiere: 'Es ist wirklich schade, das die Oper keine Ouvertüre hat – konnten Sie nicht noch eine schreiben?' – Ich setzte mich nachts hin und komponierte sie. Ich war 24 Jahre alt damals!" Weinschent, 264. At that time, Reznicek was actually thirty-four years old. Either he forgot his age at the time of this remark, or, more likely, he meant the comment in jest, since he was in his twenties the first time he worked under Neumann.

composed his *Requiem*. About six months after his dismissal from the 88th Infantry Regiment, Dame Fortune shone on Reznicek once again. Having returned from a research trip, writer Wilhelm Klein encountered his old friend Kryzanowski, who told Klein that following a meeting of the aforementioned Society

their president and founder, Privy Councilor Prof. Philipp Knoll, spoke to Kryzanowski about the talents of the German Bohemian composers, whereupon the latter gave the following answer: he knew only one major talent, and that was Herr von Reznicek.²⁷

Inevitably, the whole scandal of the park concert reemerged as a topic of controversy over the appropriateness of sponsoring an artist who caused such a socially deleterious public affair. In the end, Knoll was persuaded to lend his support to Kryzanowski's nomination.

With a successful opera run underway, Reznicek returned to composing instrumental and sacred music in 1895. It is fortunate that the Berlin publishing firm of Ries & Erler chose to publish Reznicek's *Eine Lustspiel-Ouverture* (A Comedy Overture) that year, for the manuscript is lost, like so many of the composer's early works. A dedicatory page before the title page of the original Ries & Erler and Luck reprint editions states, "Felix Weingartner gewidmet." The MÖNB online catalog lists the Ries & Erler edition publication date in parentheses as 1896, denoting a questionable date, but Reznicek's works list in Specht gives the date as 1895 and was uncorrected by the composer. In his corrected works list in Specht, Reznicek also notes the existence of a four-hand piano arrangement of this overture at one time.²⁸

Like the overture to *Donna Diana*, the *Lustspiel-Ouverture* begins with a short

²⁷ "deren Präsident und Gründer, Hofrat Prof. Philipp Knoll, zu Kryzanowski von den Talenten deutsch-böhmischer Komponisten, worauf dieser die entschiedene Antwort gab, er kenne nur ein musikalisches Volltalent, das sei der Herr von Reznicek." Klein, 518-19.

²⁸ Specht, 110.

introduction marked “Lebhaft,” metronome marking 92 quarter notes to the minute. Unlike *Donna Diana*’s brief three-measure introduction, *Lustspiel*’s is extended to twenty-one measures. The main portion of the overture is a sonata procedure marked “Sehr schnell und leicht.” The exposition ends two pages short of midway in the fifty-page overture. The development sports a new, folk-like theme that is tied to the exposition by an anapestic rhythmic accompanimental figure. Overall, like the *Donna Diana Overture*, this overture shares many characteristics with a Mendelssohnian scherzo. Reznicek often paid homage to Mendelssohn, founder of his *alma mater*, the Leipzig Conservatory. He used Mendelssohnian touches, such as brisk tempi, and also made direct references to thematic materials, form, and style in some of his works, in particular, his Violin Concerto in E minor (1918). The *Lustspiel-Ouverture* was popular for a time, for the Ries & Erler edition was reprinted, with permission, by Luck’s Music Library in the twentieth century, and more recently by Edwin F. Kalmus in an edition made available following their move to Boca Raton, Florida (with no attribution to Ries & Erler).²⁹

No guesswork is required with regard to Reznicek’s *Symphonische Suite für grosses Orchester* (*Symphonic Suite for Large Orchestra*) (D major) from 1895-1896. All sources agree that it was published by Ries & Erler in 1896. An autograph full-score fragment of twenty pages is extant in the MÖNB,³⁰ along with two autograph copies of the four-hand piano version of the work. The work is in three movements: Rondo – Andante – Finale. It calls for no unusual instruments, although the Andante and Finale movements do include a contrabassoon along with the two bassoons

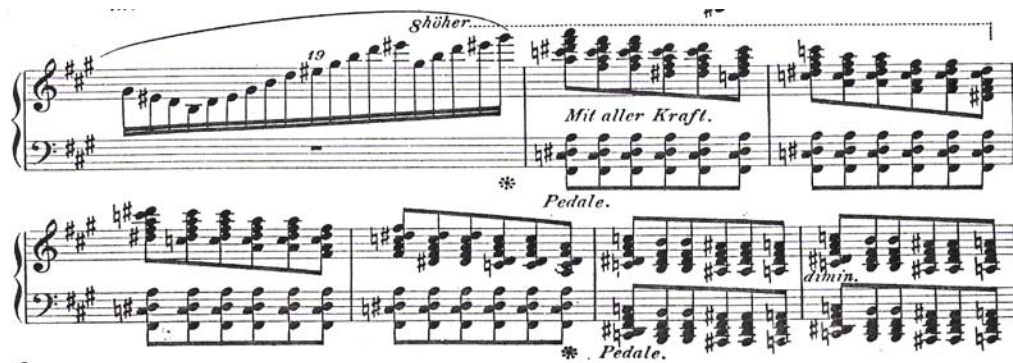
²⁹ Kalmus Edition A 4652. This is a wholesale reprint of the original Ries & Erler. The size has been reduced about two font points smaller to fit Kalmus’ 9”x12” page.

³⁰ The fragment begins in 4/4, which is the time signature of the andante movement.

already present in the Rondo. A possible holdover from Reznicek's experience with *Donna Diana*, the Rondo, marked "Allegretto molto moderato," is in 3/8.

Another short work published by Ries & Erler in 1896 is the *Zwei Phantasiestücke* for piano. Both pieces, Notturmo and Scherzo, are highly chromatic; many chords have such awkward note spacings that only pianists with hands the size and configuration of Percy Grainger's could successfully execute them. (Fig. 9)

Fig. 9. *Zwei Phantasiestücke*. Scherzo, mm. 53-59.



Apparently, Reznicek himself was able to play the works. It remains a mystery how Reznicek could write so well for instruments that he did not play himself, but so uncharacteristically for his own instrument. The work was dedicated to the Liszt pupil Conrad Ansorge (1862-1930), who was a piano instructor at the Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory. Ansorge was at the Leipzig Conservatory at the same time as Reznicek, and so they probably were acquainted through their school days.

Little is known of Reznicek's second set of three songs for solo voice published in 1897. It is listed under two titles: *Trois Mélodies* (in Nowak and Leibnitz) and *Drei Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Klavier* (in Specht, and uncorrected by Reznicek). The publisher listed in Specht, however, is Schott Frères in

Brussels, possibly explaining the French version of the title. The songs are not extant in the collection of the MÖNB under either title.

Reznicek's works list in Specht shows the composer's unpublished Mass (in F) as composed in 1895. The date remains uncorrected by the composer. On the other hand, the MÖNB works list from Leibnitz *Österreichische Spätromantiker* (1986) lists the work with the date of 1898. According to Chop, the work had its première several years after its composition at the Prague Rudolfinum for the Jubilee of Kaiser Franz Joseph.³¹ No sketches or score fragments of the work are mentioned as extant. This is curious, for Nowak (1960) says, "Of the two large works from the turn of the century, only the Mass is extant, but only in a sketchbook. It originates from 1898 and was conceived as a solemn Mass."³² He describes briefly the sketches of the Ordinary, the large orchestral forces and some aspects of the choral setting. Where, then, did the sketchbook go between 1960 and 1986 when Leibnitz completed his list? The MÖNB has yet to yield up its misplaced items. There are several sketchbooks listed in the MÖNB, but if any were the Mass, it would be obvious, since it is Reznicek's only Mass, save the Requiem.

Weimar

After its successful Prague première, *Donna Diana* became a popular production in the significant German opera houses; Felicitas writes that it appeared on forty-five stages.³³ Reznicek was celebrated accordingly as a rising star. Hans

³¹ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 21-22. 1898 was the 50 Year Jubilee of Franz Joseph.

³² "Von den beiden grossen Werken vor der Jahrhundertwende ist derzeit nur die Messe fassbar, aber auch die nur aus dem Skizzenbuch." Nowak, 267.

³³ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 76.

Bronsart von Schellendorf (1830-1910), general manager of the royal theater in Weimar, the largest royal theater in Germany, offered him a position as principal conductor. Despite the honor and prestige, his contract was very unusual; in truth, it was odd. Reznicek was paid by the day a salary of seven marks. Nonetheless, Reznicek was glad to have the position, for the salary (if oddly calculated) supplemented the ample share of the profits he was receiving from the various productions of *Donna Diana*. If an advantage could be gleaned from this arrangement, it would be that there was no contingency in the contract. Unlike the one Reznicek held under Neumann in Prague during 1887-89, Reznicek was not responsible for producing one opera a season. In fact, there was no agreement with regard to composition at all. Now a most idiosyncratic set of circumstances was put in motion. On arrival, Reznicek learned that the former conductor, Lassen, refused to relinquish his position and remained ensconced in the post. Reznicek and Lassen soon had company: a Dr. Beyer had been hired, also. According to Felicitas' account, it was Beyer with whom Reznicek quickly formed a friendly working relationship. Beyer had conducted practically the entire operatic repertoire and Reznicek described the working atmosphere as "remarkable."³⁴ Reznicek's first production was Marschner's *Hans Heiling*, a work he knew well from his abbreviated position back in 1883 with the Graz Opera. He had been in Weimar but a short time when he ran into Eugen d'Albert,³⁵ who said that he had just been engaged as conductor to

³⁴ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 72.

³⁵ Eugen d'Albert (1864-1932). D'Albert is remembered chiefly for his opera *Tiefland*, his piano compositions and life as a concert pianist, and his marital pastime of collecting wives, six in all. The most famous was his second wife, the Venezuelan piano virtuoso Teresa Carreño. Having sequential spouses in common, d'Albert was the third of her four husbands. In 1896, d'Albert was married to his third wife, Herminne. At one time, Reznicek remarked to Felicitas that "as Eugen gets older, his wives

produce the world première of Schillings's *Ingwelde*.³⁶ The conductors' nest was to become more crowded. Forty days later, yet another new conductor showed up: Reznicek's professional acquaintance from his time in Leipzig, the pianist and conductor Bernard Stavenhagen (1859-1914), who had been hired by Princess Reuss, daughter of the Grand Duke (who had himself had hired d'Albert). The nest overflowed when Felix Mottl (1856-1911) arrived from Karlsruhe.³⁷

Good reviews of *Donna Diana* (and accolades for Reznicek) continued to come in from productions elsewhere. Felicitas mentions several reviews in *Gegen den Strom*. In Riga, the *Rigaische Rundschau* mentioned, "the musician Reznicek, a musical Croesus and spendthrift, possesses a superabundance of ideas, of the most modern discoveries in instrumentation, the most complex polyphony, and the most discriminating rhythmical skill . . ." ³⁸ The *Breisgauer Zeitung*: "Once again, here is someone who doesn't reflect and brood over things, but creates straight out of his innermost temperament" ³⁹ Finally, the *Düna Zeitung* posited a negative assessment of the opera's future: "since we are, after all, far from believing that the work will enjoy lasting fame." ⁴⁰

get progressively younger." Felicitas to Gordon Wright in conversation, Rainbow Valley, Alaska, 1984.

³⁶ Either Reznicek's memory or Felicitas' recollections of her father's life (or both) are wrong about this world première. Max von Schillings' *Ingwelde* had its world première in Karlsruhe in 1894. Felix Mottl was the conductor for that production. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 73.

³⁷ This must have been a temporary appointment, for Mottl was in residence at Karlsruhe until 1903.

³⁸ "Der Musiker Reznicek besitzt als Musik-Krösus und Verschwender eine Überfülle an Einfällen, an modernsten Erfindungen der Instrumentation, der kompliziertesten Vielstimmigkeit, der ausgesuchtesten Rhythmisierungskunst . . ." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 76.

³⁹ "Hier ist wieder mal einer, der nicht reflektiert und grübelt, sondern aus seinem innersten Temperament heraus schafft." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 76.

⁴⁰ "sind wir doch weit davon entfernt zu glauben, dass dem Werk dauernder Ruhm beschieden ist." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 76.

Mannheim, 1896-1899

Through his friendship with Basserman, manager at the Nationaltheater in Mannheim, Felix Mottl learned of Weingartner's appointment as Director there, which opened the court conductor (Hofkapellmeister) position. In 1896, Reznicek applied for and secured the position, flying out of the overcrowded conductors' nest at Weimar. As an added bonus, he was appointed to direct the Akademiekonzerte, the yearly concert series that was presented by the Nationaltheater Orchestra.⁴¹ He remained at Mannheim until 1899. Felicitas Reznicek is quick to note that appointments at court or royal theaters are much more prestigious and important than positions at local theaters like Jena and Bochum. She writes that in her father's day the Mannheim opera house was rated third, after Berlin and Munich, and ahead of Stuttgart and Hamburg; she adds that the Warsaw opera was also very prominent.⁴²

One event marred Reznicek's time at Mannheim during his first year there. In 1897 he experienced the agony of personal loss again when Milka Thurn died, leaving him a widower with his eight-year-old son Eugen to raise on his own. According to Felicitas, her father dealt with the loss by throwing himself into his work directing two operas that were new to the Mannheim stage: a revival of Cornelius' *Der Cid* and Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* (1890).⁴³ Reznicek also made the acquaintance of Hans Pfitzner (1869-1949) when he conducted the première

⁴¹ The Akademiekonzerte was founded in 1779. Reznicek was the twelfth conductor, following Hugo Roar (1866-1937), who had been preceded by Felix Weingartner, "Musikalisches Akademie des National-Theater Orchesters Mannheim e.V., available from <http://www.musikalische-akademie.de/geschichte.html>; Internet; accessed 1 May 2007.

⁴² F. von Reznicek, "Reznicek Talk," 1-2.

⁴³ *Der Cid*, the second of Cornelius' three operas, was completed in 1862 and had its première in Weimar in 1865. The work was revived seventeen years after the composer's death in 1891 in a new edition by H. Levi. In all likelihood, Reznicek produced the new edition for Mannheim.

of the latter's *Christelflein* (The Christian Little Elf) that year.⁴⁴ Although *Das Christ-Elflein* was not completed as an opera until 1906, the work existed as a Liederspiel,⁴⁵ and by 1897, had an overture.

Donna Diana in Vienna

The première of *Donna Diana* at the Vienna Opera in 1898 occurred during a time of some unrest in that city's musical history. During Gustav Mahler's first season (1898-99) as the official director of the opera house (he was temporary director during 1897-98), he continued to have a challenging time adjusting to the demands of the people with whom he had to work and whom he had to please, both on and off stage. Problems of casting the role of Kaspar in Weber's *Der Freischütz* led him to choose a baritone (Josef Ritter) instead of the two available basses, much to the indignation of the Viennese critics. His staging of the Wolf's Glen scene was also criticized as changing the work from a Singspiel (a musical play with spoken dialog) into a Wagnerian music drama.⁴⁶ Questions and criticisms couched in aesthetic terms with regard to changing a beloved traditional German genre into the mutant offspring of Wagner became the fodder of contemporary criticism. Charges were leveled against Mahler for failing to observe historical performance practice by forcing music outside of aesthetically proper boundaries. Eduard Hanslick in particular preferred "absolute music,"⁴⁷ and Hirschfeld simply hated Mahler.⁴⁸ Of

⁴⁴ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 83.

⁴⁵ Liederspiel has two meanings: it can be a song cycle, the text of which involves some action, or the German equivalent of a ballad opera in which folk-style songs are used. It is not stated in any source which meaning applies to *Das Christ-Elflein* in this instance.

⁴⁶ Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Mahler*, vol. 1 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973), 494.

⁴⁷ Hanslick only used the term "absolute music" once. Although he loved opera, he disliked modern German works in the Wagnerian style. In his autobiography, Hanslick divulges, "For my heart it

course, not all critics were as caustic as Hanslick and Hirschfeld, and Mahler's production of *Don Giovanni* in early November actually received a mixed, but mostly positive evaluation from Kalbeck.⁴⁹

It was during this controversial time that Mahler chose to expose *Donna Diana* to the demanding Viennese opera denizens. Mahler certainly did not put *Donna Diana* out to the public as some sacrificial lamb; in subsequent years he conducted a number of premières at the Vienna Opera, including Strauss' *Feuersnot*, Pfitzner's *Die Rose vom Liebesgarten*, and a number of other German and Hungarian operas.⁵⁰ It was *Donna Diana*, however, that Mahler found worthy of being his first important new production. It had become a very popular opera by 1897, and Mahler admired Reznicek's musical approach to the play. He wanted to stage it on the second half of the 1898-1899 season with the Vienna Opera. On the first half, he planned to direct a revival of *La Dame Blanche* (1825) by Adrien Boïeldieu, *Tristan, Don Giovanni*, and the aforementioned *Der Freischütz*.⁵¹ Mahler clearly wanted something that he considered new and innovative. On April 26, 1898, Mahler wrote from Vienna to Reznicek,

(music) really begins with Mozart and culminates in Beethoven, Schumann and Brahms." (*Aus meinem Leben*, vol. 1, Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für deutsche Literatur, 1894, 307.).

⁴⁸ Robert Hirschfeld (1858-1914) was virtually unrelenting in his criticism of Mahler and any of Mahler's musical projects throughout the composer's Vienna years.

⁴⁹ Like Hanslick, music critic, author, and editor Max Kalbeck (1850-1921) was a devotee of Brahms to the point of being distinguished as one of Brahms' best early biographers. Although Kalbeck published some musical studies of Wagner's music dramas, he was at times scathing in his criticism of the composer to such a degree that in the April 28, 1880 issue of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, Kalbeck declared, "Wagner is the Antichrist incarnate of art." ("Wagner ist der leibhaftige Antichrist der Kunst.").

⁵⁰ Edward R. Reilly, *Gustav Mahler and Guido Adler: Records of a Friendship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 28.

⁵¹ La Grange, *Mahler*, vol. 1, 492-94.

Your Honour!

I am delighted that I shall be able to mount a production of your beautiful opera *Donna Diana* at the Imperial Hofoper.

If there are no casting difficulties, I intend to perform the work in the autumn.

As you request, I am sending you the score under separate cover and ask you to enter all those observations which you from previous experience consider appropriate.

Respectfully yours,

Mahler

Director of the Imperial Court Opera⁵²

Having received Reznicek's reply, Mahler wrote again the next month. From May 10,

Mahler wrote the following:

Esteemed Herr von Reznicek,

Many thanks for your valuable remarks, which I shall certainly heed and refer to in greater detail as soon as I start to study the work.

Before I close may I – *quite confidentially* – seek your opinion on the artistic qualities of Miss Hedwig Hübsch who is at present engaged at your Hoftheater.

Assuring you of my deep respect

Yours most sincerely,

Mahler

Director of the Imperial Court-Opera⁵³

In an attempt to meet face to face with Reznicek, Mahler wrote the following on

August 7, 1898:

Esteemed Herr von Reznicek,

I intend staging your opera *Donna Diana* in early October and take this opportunity of inviting you to attend rehearsals. I would very much appreciate it if you could come to Vienna now to discuss matters relating to the casting and staging.

The libretto probably contains the stage-directions, but you might have conceived your own production book or could tell me where to locate it.

⁵² The letter in this citation is presently in the MÖNB, Fonds Reznicek 22, Signatur No. 19. SUIA (Swiss Music Foundation) Archives in Zürich may well have sold the MÖNB this letter. The same is true of the letter in note 161. Prior to 1988, the original letter was in SUIA, Fonds 138 (1898). Reproduced in Herta Blaukopf, ed., *Mahler's Unknown Letters*, trans. by Richard Stokes (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987), 131.

⁵³ Original autograph is in the SUIA, Fonds 138 (1898). Reproduced in Blaukopf, 131.

Hoping that you will accept my invitation, I look forward to welcoming you here soon.

Respectfully yours,

Mahler

Director of the Imperial Court-Opera⁵⁴

What Mahler did not mention, and was probably unaware of, was that an “affair of the heart” had taken precedence over Reznicek’s art – even over the exciting and prestigious prospect of *Donna Diana* in Vienna. Reznicek was involved deeply with Bertha Juillerat-Chasseur and had intended to marry her when her divorce was final. He had met her through his longtime friend, Felix Weingartner, who was married to Bertha’s older sister, Marie Juillerat.⁵⁵ There is some confusion about the actual date of this marriage. In a written communication with Gordon Wright, Felicitas says the following:

Milka Thurn died in 1996 [1896] in Mannheim and there Weingartner introduced him to his “inlaws,” the family Juillerat-Chasseur. Marie, the elder sister of my mother[’]s was married to Weingartner. My mother later divorced her first husband and married my father (in 1900).⁵⁶

The question arises whether Reznicek had actually entered into a legal marriage with Bertha or a common law arrangement in 1898. At that time, Reznicek referred to Bertha as his wife. Before the legal marriage in 1900, the couple was together for a two-year period while Bertha’s divorce was pending.

Having failed to fetch Reznicek to his side, Mahler sent him a telegram.

Reznicek was conducting at Mannheim, but had taken a short respite in an attempt to carve out a few precious honeymoon days with his new wife, or wife-to-be. Mahler

⁵⁴ A handwritten copy of this letter in the original German made by Gordon Wright is in the Reznicek Archives, Arvada, CO. Original autograph in SUIA, Fonds 138 (1898). Reproduced in Blaukopf, 132.

⁵⁵ Marie and Bertha Juillerat were the daughters of the owner of the *Mannheim General Gazette* (*Mannheimer Generalanzeiger*).

⁵⁶ F. von Reznicek, “Reznicek Talk,” 1.

pushed aggressively for a meeting with him. Ultimately, it took place and they spent many hours in conversation about both the opera itself and how it should be produced. Mahler also discussed with Reznicek the prospect of a conducting post for him in Vienna.⁵⁷

Years later, in 1920, after Mahler's death, Reznicek wrote an article for the Mahler issue (*Mahler Heft*) of the periodical *Musikblätter des Anbruch* about his work with Mahler in Vienna. Here he shares an amusing story about Mahler's telegram, an anecdote that Henry-Louis de La Grange omits from the first volume of his three-volume study, *Mahler*:

It was midsummer 1898. Mahler had agreed to produce my opera and the first performance was set for December. I found myself at that time in the idyllic seaside retreat on the northern coast of France where I had retired with my wife on *procul negotiis* [on distant business] potentially to enjoy some undisturbed honeymoon weeks. After we had been there a week, I received a telegram. "Come immediately, Mahler". What's happening? The matter looked important. After a short reflection I made the difficult decision to leave my wife whom I did not want to fatigue by the strain of a rushed journey, and I would travel to Vienna alone. I took the next steam train as far as Paris, and from there the Orient Express (oh wistful memory!) to Vienna. It arrived there early, so I went to the Hotel Bristol where I changed my clothes quickly. I left an hour later and presented myself to Mahler at the Court Opera. He was there, and greeted me with the words: "I say, what do you want here?" I was dumbfounded, and showed him his own telegram. "Oh yes!" he reckoned to himself aside. And without further explanation: "Well, because you are here, by all means could we just discuss various things on account of the performance?" After which he put the score on the piano stand and we conferred about the opera thoroughly for many hours.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Mahler*, vol. 1 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973): 494.

⁵⁸ "Es war im Hochsommer 1898. Mahler hatte meine Oper angenommen und die Erstaufführung für den Dezember desselben Jahres angesetzt. Ich befand mich damals in dem idyllischen Seebad Etretat an der nordfranzösischen Küste, wohin ich mich mit meiner Frau zurückgezogen hatte, um *procul negotiis* und möglichst ungestört die Flitterwochen zu genießen. Nachdem wir einige Wochen dort zugebracht hatten, bekam ich eine Depesche: 'Kommen Sie sofort, Mahler'. Was tun? Die Sache schien wichtig. Nach kurzem Überlegen kam ich zu dem nicht leichten Entschluss, meine Frau, die ich den Strapazen der überstürzten Reise nicht aussetzen wollte, allein zu lassen und *ventre a terre* nach Wien zu fahren. Ich dampfte also mit dem nächsten Zug nach Paris und von da mit dem Orientexpress (o wehmütige Erinnerung!) nach Wien. Dort zeitig früh angekommen, ging ich ins Hotel Bristol, um mich rasch umzuziehen, und liess mich eine Stunde darauf bei Mahler in der Hofoper melden. Er war da und empfing mich sofort mit den Worten: 'Nanu, was wollen denn Sie da?' Ich war starr und zeigte ihm seine eigene Depesche. 'Ach so!' meinte er so nebenhin. Und ohne weitere Erklärung: 'Na, weil

After the long meeting they were tired, so they took Mahler's fiacre that was provided by the opera, and went to lunch in the Prater along the canal, which Reznicek dubbed "Venice in Vienna" (Venedig in Wien). Mahler complained about Kerl the fiacre driver, as La Grange relates in his narrative about the collaboration. Reznicek recounts that they also spent the whole evening in the Prater and talked a lot about questions pertaining to musical art,

So he told me, for example, about the B-major section (6/8) of the last part of [Beethoven's] ninth Symphony (for the tenor solo). In his interpretation, the piece must be conducted as though it came right off the shelf of a military band, which begins far away and then, coming nearer, turns into a powerful crescendo as it passes by.⁵⁹

Sometime in September (for the letter is undated, except for the month and year), Reznicek received another missive from Mahler, who by now was in rehearsals for the production. Mahler's attention to every detail seems extraordinary and, as will be mentioned later, was appreciated greatly by Reznicek. From the following letter, it is evident that Mahler was well acquainted with the Schreyvogel version of the play:

Dear Friend!

A suggestion: the *final scene* is unsatisfactory, for there is no reply from *Don Cesar*, without which the audience remains dissatisfied.

In the original comedy, after Donna Diana's:

"You ask? You are he, you tyrant![""]

Don Cesar makes the following reply: (falling at her feet, and "with the greatest passion")

"Then let me tell you, divine one,

That my whole being throbs for you,

That I love you more than any woman on earth!

To conquer I'll gladly be your slave!"

Sie gerade da sind, können wir ja gleich verschiedenes wegen der Aufführung besprechen.' Darauf stellte er die Partitur auf das Klavierpult und wir sprachen die Oper in mehrstündiger Konferenz gründlich durch." Emil N. v. Reznicek, "Von E. N. v. Reznicek, Berlin," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, no. 7-8 (April 1, 1920): 298.

⁵⁹ "So erzählte er mir z. B. von dem B dur-Teil (6/8) im letzten Satze der Neunten Symphonie (vor dem Tenor-Solo). Nach seiner Auffassung müsste dieses Stück von einem ausserhalb aufgestellten Militärorchester aufgeführt werden, das ganz entfernt anfangt und dann, immer näher kommend, in ein gewaltiges Crescendo übergeht." Emil N. v. Reznicek, "Von E. N. v. Reznicek," 299.

(Both couples embrace, Diego blesses them. Diana has raised up Cesar and sinks on to his breast. The chorus strikes up in jubilation![])

I beg you, dear friend, set these words to effective music and send me them as quickly as possible. *There is no other way!* It would be a great mistake not to do this.

Excuse my haste!

And do me the favour of replying in the affirmative by return!

Yours,

Gustav Mahler⁶⁰

Reznicek dragged his feet on Mahler's suggestions for setting the four missing lines from Schreyvogel's German adaptation of the Moreto play. A number of other disruptions unrelated to the opera took place in the early fall and pushed the production back to December. Despite his more intimate salutation and closing, Mahler aired his dissatisfaction with Reznicek's slow response in the following undated letter:

Dear Friend,

Finally – after many disruptions – we are in the thick of it; the première is scheduled for 5-10 December! You *must* come here, and, if possible as early as November! We are all looking forward to it. The "*enclosed*" must be *re-done*. *Dormitasti*, bonus Homerus! *More brio and melody!* Not recitative, but musical inspiration! Dear Reznicek – see to it quickly and send it at once!

Yours sincerely and in haste,

Mahler⁶¹

Mahler's allusions to Reznicek as a "sleeping Homer" had the desired effect.

Mahler's next letter reveals the successful receipt of the newly-set lines:

⁶⁰ A handwritten copy of this letter in the original German made by Gordon Wright prior to 1988 is in the Reznicek Archives, Arvada, CO. In the Wright transcription, there is one important deviation from Stokes' translation in Blaukopf. Mahler begs Reznicek "to set these 4 lines to effective music" ("Ich bitte Sie, mein Lieber, komponieren Sie diese 4 Zeilen wirkungs voll nach . . .") Original autograph was in SUISA, Fonds 138 (1898) prior to 1988. Reproduced in Blaukopf, 133.

⁶¹ The original letter was stolen while on loan to the MÖNB for a Mahler exhibition in 1960. In conversation with the former head of the MÖNB, Dr. Günter Brosche, the author learned that this letter as well as the letter cited in footnote 141, were both in a glass exhibition case at the MÖNB from which they disappeared mysteriously at the conclusion of the exhibition. In a somewhat mirthful exchange, both parties agreed that most logically the thief was more interested in them as Mahler collectables, not Reznicek items. The text of this letter is reproduced in Blaukopf, 134.

My dear Friend,
Many thanks for the now splendid passage. Rehearsals are well under way.

The 1st *Sitzprobe* is on the 16th (i.e. singers sitting with scores, plus orchestra – putting final touches to the musical side) and the blocking rehearsals start on the 17th. In all, we envisage: 3 Sitzproben, 6 blocking rehearsals, 6 full rehearsals and 2 dress rehearsals with full lighting. The casting has turned out very satisfactorily. I'm hoping for a performance that will do some justice to your delightful work.

The première is on 9 *December*, the two dress rehearsals on 6 and 7 Dec. When shall we have you here? The “Richter problem” is about to be resolved. I'll discuss it in greater length when you are here. Till we meet, then. Warmest wishes!

Gratias ago tibi, amato et amatissimo tuus – G.M.⁶²

Mahler's work with Reznicek on the production is documented in at least two other letters: one that Mahler penned to Guido Adler, and the other to fellow conductor Bruno Walther (or Walter, 1876-1962) in August of 1898. To Adler, he wrote:

Warmest thanks, dear Friend!

Forgive me for not having looked you up yet, but I am harried to death and do not have a minute for myself. – It will interest you to know that I am performing *Donna Diana* by Reznicek. Because of its freshness the work is uncommonly attractive to me and I believe that it will have a great success. . . .⁶³

He wrote a strikingly similar note Walther, “You'll be interested to learn that I am putting on Reznicek's *Donna Diana*. Its freshness attracts me to the work as a whole, and I think it will be a big success.”⁶⁴

Reznicek describes the rehearsals with Mahler in the following passage from his 1920 article in the *Mahler Heft* of the *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, noted earlier:

The work was in every respect superbly prepared and the last rehearsals were as interesting as they were enjoyable. Mahler was a downright ideal conductor for composers. During the stage rehearsals, he turned to me a hundred times and

⁶² Hans Richter was the Kapellmeister at the Vienna Opera for thirteen years prior to Mahler's appointment. Richter also held the coveted post as director of the Philharmonic Concerts in Vienna. The text of this letter is reproduced in Blaukopf, 135.

⁶³ Undated letter to Adler from Mahler. Adler papers, University of Georgia. Reproduced in Reilly, 92.

⁶⁴ La Grange, 920, n. 73.

asked me, "Is that how it should be?" And whenever I replied "Excellent, fantastic," he was not at all pleased. "You must say if it doesn't sound exactly as you conceived it," etc. Indeed, he performed the miracle of making the whole work sound as though I had conducted it myself. Truly a wonderful quality in this rare man!"⁶⁵

La Grange retells Reznicek's story from the *Mahler Heft* about Mahler's warning to the composer prior to the dress rehearsal:

Before the dress rehearsal Mahler warned Reznicek that the invited audience was always lukewarm, and suggested he should congratulate the prima donna, Marie Renard, as soon as the curtain fell. Just as Reznicek was carrying out this advice, he heard Mahler whisper in his ear, "More, more compliments!" During the dress rehearsal some applause broke out after an orchestral interlude, but Mahler turned to quell it with an angry gesture. Later he explained to Reznicek that he had done this as a favor to him. "The interlude is followed by Floretta's lied. Once the rule against applauding had been broken, they would have also clapped this piece and then Perin's lied; in consequence the heroine's great aria would have fallen flat, because of its place at the end of the act and because of its serious character. And if this had happened, the prima donna would have canceled her performance tomorrow."⁶⁶

In spite of all of the drama surrounding the invited audience (referred to by Reznicek as "the claque"), Reznicek was lucky; the performance was a success. He wrote,

Mahler was happy, observing all the same that the première was not important. Success would be indicated to him by the third repetition of the performance. Because I had to return to Mannheim officially, I requested that he inform me about this ominous fourth performance. A few days afterward I received the following telegram: "Fourth performance sold out, opera will be kept." Unfortunately, this prophesy did not come to pass. *Donna Diana* soon disappeared from the repertoire.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ "Das Werk war in jeder Beziehung prachtvoll vorbereitet und die letzten Proben gestalteten sich ebenso interessant wie genussreich. Mahler war für die Komponisten ein geradezu idealer Dirigent. Hundertmal drehte er sich während der Bühnenproben nach mir um und rief mir zu: 'Ist es so recht?' Und wenn ich erwiderte: 'Ausgezeichnet, grossartig,' gab er sich keineswegs zufrieden. 'Sie sollen sagen, wenn es nicht genau so klingt, wie Sie sich es gedacht haben' u. s. w. Tatsächlich vollbrachte er auch das Wunder, dass das Ganze so zum Ausdruck kam, als wenn ich selbst dirigiert hätte. Wahrlich, ein grossartiger Zug an diesem so seltenen Menschen!" Emil N. von Reznicek, "Von E. N. von Reznicek, Berlin," 299-300.

⁶⁶ Emil N. von Reznicek, "Von E. N. von Reznicek, Berlin," 299-300. Quoted in La Grange, 495.

⁶⁷ "Mahler war selig, bemerkte aber gleich, die Premiere sei nicht massgebend. Der Durchschlag zeige sich erst bei der dritten Wiederholung. Da ich dienstlich nach Mannheim zurück musste, bat ich ihn, mich über das Resultat dieser ominösen vierten Aufführung zu unterrichten. Ich erhielt auch wenige Tage darauf folgende Depesche: Vierte Aufführung ausverkauft, Oper wird sich halten. Leider erfüllte

La Grange retells Reznicek's tale of the composer's general impression of Mahler's work on his opera, also:

Reznicek was dazzled and delighted by the trouble Mahler took to satisfy him during rehearsals, turning constantly to ask for his advice. In all his career, he had never met such a scrupulous conductor and had never heard his work so perfectly interpreted. He said that the performance was superior to any he could have given himself.⁶⁸

In its essential details, La Grange's account is true. Reznicek was very pleased. The second and last sentences are deceptive, however. Reznicek's "career" at this time was only about fifteen years old. At the time of the Vienna première, Reznicek was only thirty-eight years old, the same age as Mahler, who had been educated in music from the outset, not derailed by a parent who wanted him to have a career in law. In addition, La Grange's last sentence mistranslates Reznicek's statement, which was, "Indeed he performed the miracle of making the whole work sound as though I had conducted it myself."⁶⁹

Despite its initial popularity with the Viennese public, *Donna Diana* did not find favor with Viennese critics. Eduard Hanslick "regrets the stilted vocal declamation and the poverty of the libretto," adding that "only the orchestra and the ballet dancers have rewarding tasks to perform in *Donna Diana*."⁷⁰ He throws Reznicek a back-handed compliment, however, in the following: "Because of the 'both superb and exasperating virtuosity' of the instrumentation, the voices were

sich diese Voraussage nicht. Die 'Donna Diana' verschwand bald vom Repertoire." Emil N. von Reznicek, "Von E. N. von Reznicek, Berlin," 300.

⁶⁸ La Grange, 495.

⁶⁹ "Tatsächlich vollbrachte er auch das Wunder, dass das Ganze so zum Ausdruck kam, als wenn ich selbst dirigiert hätte." See footnote 172 for the entire quotation in German. Emil N. von Reznicek, "Von E. N. von Reznicek, Berlin," 299-300.

⁷⁰ Hanslick was critic for the *Neue freie Presse* and avowed enemy of Reznicek's friend Felix Mottl. La Grange, 495-96.

always being covered and the ear never had a moment's rest."⁷¹ A master of orchestration and orchestral color, Reznicek also expected the same virtuosic performance from his instrumentalists. Reznicek's instrumental parts are playable, but they are not easy. If a criticism of his operatic works were to be launched, it would be that he favors his instrumentalists over his singers. Vocal parts are also very difficult, but the difficulty is exacerbated by the looming orchestral hoard; the singer is clearly outnumbered in some passages.

Critics like Hanslick and Kalbeck,⁷² who were so very critical of Wagner and sometimes Verdi, had similar contempt for Reznicek's scoring. His aims were antithetical to someone like his French contemporary Reynaldo Hahn, who claimed, "The secret of good music (in the technical sense of the word), is that the music is a sort of glaze which must cover all and which by its neutral transparency, enhances the parts that are pale and attenuates the excess of tints too violently colored,"⁷³ and "the role of music in a song should never be greater than that of the footlights in a play,"⁷⁴ Reznicek gleefully splashes with both feet into the sea of orchestral density and complexity, and the singer must fear for the undertow.

Equally critical of the Viennese production was Mahler's enemy Robert Hirschfeld, who dismissed the score as "passive," "reserved," and lacking in character; "the music 'does not accompany the events, it drags after them,' and in any

⁷¹ La Grange, *Mahler*, 496.

⁷² *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*'s and *Wiener Montags-Revue*'s Max Kalbeck found major fault with the libretto. He also criticized the style of the music, as well as the vocal score. La Grange, 495.

⁷³ "Le secret de la bonne musique (dans le sens technique du mot), c'est une sorte de glacis qui doit tout recouvrir et qui, par sa neutralité transparente, relève les parties peu colorées et atténue l'outrance des teintes trop violentes." Reynaldo Hahn, *Notes: Journal d'un musicien* (Paris: Plon, 1933), 12.

⁷⁴ "Le rôle de la musique dans une mélodie ne devrait pas excéder celui de la rampe devant une pièce de theater." Hahn, 292.

case it seemed a stranger to the action.”⁷⁵ Finally, Theodor Helm, the third of the “three Vienna aitches”, Hanslick - Hirschfeld - Helm, writing for the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, described the work scathingly as a “perpetuum mobile in 3/16 time.”⁷⁶

Donna Diana faded away from the opera repertoire. After its 1933 revision, the opera was only programmed during the decade that followed, then forgotten. In 2003, however, the Kiel Opera opened their 2003-2004 season with the first fully staged performance of the work in over sixty years. CPO records recorded both the dress rehearsal and opening night performance to produce a commercial recording. European Reznicek family descendants were in attendance, as were Reznicek Society Director Gordon Wright and Associate Directors Dietrich Strohmaier and the author. The production had a strong cast. Unfortunately, the Kiel producer chose to stage all his opera productions in settings other than the original, in a botched attempt to create contemporary relevance. *Donna Diana* was not set in seventeenth-century Spain, but in a contemporary health club. Reznicek’s lovely music for these dance scenes sounded throughout the hall, but there was little or no action onstage. The Kiel ballet troupe would not agree to take part in the production, citing conflicts with management, so the actual opera cast members aimlessly milled around the stage during the dance scenes, performed a few cartwheels, did stretching exercises, snapped shower towels, and guzzled liquid at the health club bar. Reviewing the recording for *ClassicsToday.com*, Robert Levine said the following:

⁷⁵ Hirschfeld was the critic for the *Wiener Abendpost*. Quoted in La Grange, 495.

⁷⁶ Theodor Helm (1843-1920). Austrian writer on music and music critic. From 1870-1905 he wrote for the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, continuing to do so after it was taken over by the *Neues Zeitschrift für Musik*. At one time, he wrote also for the anti-Semitic paper, the *Deutsche Zeitung*. Unlike Hanslick, he was not critical of Wagner, which fell in line with the bias of the *Deutsche Zeitung*. Quoted in La Grange, 495.

The entire cast, well-rehearsed and utterly committed, does itself proud. In addition to Sadnik and Pauly, most impressive is Manuela Uhl as Donna Diana. She captures the girl's haughtiness, while in asides she exhibits a softer side. And as pure singing, she shines as well: in recent recordings of Alfano's *Cyrano de Bergerac* and Strauss' *Die Liebe der Danae* she has moments of rawness, but here she seems more frequently at home, and her Moorish Romanza in Act 2 is lovely. Max Wittges has just the commanding bass for Don Diego and mezzo Anne-Carolyn Schlüter presents a self-contained portrait of the standing-back-from-the-crowd Floretta. The rest of the cast, chorus, and Kiel Orchestra – the latter with a brass section any orchestra would be proud of – are polished and should be pleased with their fine work. The sound is excellent despite the intermittent tendency of conductor Ulrich Windfuhr to throw the balance toward the orchestra. It wouldn't surprise me if this recording (and the earlier one of Ritter Blaubart) began a Reznicek rediscovery. Seeing either opera live must be a real treat.⁷⁷

It is fortunate that Levine did not actually see the live performance, for he would have been dismayed with the contemporary staging.

⁷⁷ Robert Levine, review of *Donna Diana*, CPO Records 999991, *ClassicsToday.com*, ©ArkivMusic LLC, 2005.

Chapter 4

Wiesbaden, Berlin, Warsaw, 1899-1909

After the seventh and last Viennese performance of *Donna Diana* on January 25, 1899, Reznicek and Mahler continued written communications for a short time. While at Mannheim, Reznicek became enthralled with the prospect of a conducting position at the Viennese opera that Mahler had mentioned while they were working together on *Donna Diana*.¹ On February 1, 1899, Reznicek wrote to Mahler to remind him of their conversation.

Most esteemed Friend,

In view of the select list of duffers, announced in the papers as candidates for the post of Kapellmeister in Vienna, I cannot resist the temptation of reminding you once again of the existence of yours truly. I know I had resolved not to molest you in this matter, but because you might easily forget me in the turmoil of your work, I believe I owe it to my future to risk a 10 pfennig stamp and your anger, so that I need never reproach myself with having left a stone unturned. I repeat that I am ready to undergo any test and willing to devote myself to any post you give me.

With every good wish
E. N. v. Reznicek²

For whatever the reasons, whether Mahler's own decision or another reason, an offer was not made. Hans Richter, who had made it known that he intended to leave, had second thoughts and decided to stay.³ Before Richter's decision, Mahler had offered the position to Bruno Walther who, having just accepted a conducting post at Riga, turned it down. At the time Reznicek inquired, there probably was no position

¹ La Grange, 494.

² The original letter is in the Vienna Haus-, Hof-und Staatsarchiv (Hofoper File no. 142, Z. 75/1899). This letter is reproduced in Blaukopf, 129.

³ Richter was appointed to the Vienna Hofoper in 1875. While in Vienna, he also conducted the Philharmonic Concerts until he left in 1900 to conduct a series of concerts in England. A legendary interpreter of Wagner, Mahler's Wagner productions were continually compared to Richter's at Vienna by Mahler's critics.

available. With regard to Mahler's decision, he no doubt wanted to secure the best conductor he could for the opera; he was not hiring a composer who also conducted. He would not compromise his artistic goals for friendship or good working relationships. It makes sense that Mahler would have first pursued Bruno Walther, who was already a rising star in orchestral conducting. Mahler makes it evident in one of his hasty notes to Reznicek that he feels that Reznicek and he understand one another. This note, at one time in the possession of Felicitas Reznicek, was given to the MÖNB after 1987. A translation of the portion of the brief letter that Felicitas quotes in *Gegen den Strom* appears in Blaukopf's *Mahler's Unknown Letters*. The complete letter appears below:

My dear friend!

And I often think of you and the hours I have spent in your company; in those few moments we have drawn so close together – as close as we already are by temperament. I feel that your protestations come from the heart, just as you feel that I return from the heart your friendship, which I know is sealed for life. I enjoyed tremendously the rehearsals of your opera which you stood in for me – sub specie aetatis und aeternitatis.

I thank you for your response – likewise as I had previously written to you – only I answered in a few mere words; and in which haste you understand from the manner of my letters.

Consequently: with a word

From your,

Gustav Mahler⁴

⁴ "Mein lieber Freund! Auch ich denke noch oft an Sie und die Stunden, die ich mit Ihnen verbracht; wir sind uns in wenigen Augenblicken so nahe gekommen, als wir es von Natur schon sind, und ich fühle, dass Ihre Versicherungen aus dem Herzen kommen, wie Sie auch fühlen, dass ich diese Ihre Freundschaft von Herzen erwidere [*sic*]. Ich weiss, dass diese für das Leben besiegelt ist. – Ich freue mich unbändig auf die Proben zu Ihrer Oper, die mir Sie doppelt zuführen wird – sub specie aetatis und aeternitatis. Haben sie Dank für Ihre Ansprache – auch ich hatte vor, Ihnen zu schreiben – nun ant (?)worte ich bloss; und in welcher Eile ersehen Sie aus der Form meines Briefes. Also: mit einen Worte (,) Der Ihre Gustav Mahler." MÖNB, Fonds Reznicek 22, Signatur 20. Typed transcription of letter by Christa Hollerbach in Reznicek Archives, Arvada, CO. Misc.: Reznicek Correspondence IV/A. To Reznicek.

Wiesbaden

After about three years at Mannheim, Reznicek decided to leave theater conducting, move to Wiesbaden, where he remained for two years, and devote his energies to composition. Despite his popularity and success as a conductor, his personal life had become the subject of gossip and scandal once again. His affair and subsequent common law marriage with Bertha sat poorly with some elements of Mannheim society. The owner of the *Badische Landeszeitung*, a rival newspaper to Bertha Juillerat's father's, took great pleasure in spreading the affair in his publication. Ultimately, the unpleasantness and stress on Reznicek and Bertha became impossible to bear, so he resigned his position.

Albeit substantial, the only work to emerge during the Wiesbaden period is the 1900 three-act folk opera, *Till Eulenspiegel*. The story of *Till Eulenspiegel* was a popular subject for musical adaptation; Richard Strauss had composed his tone poem *Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks* five years previously. Reznicek fashioned his own libretto after J. Fischart's *Eulenspiegel Reimensweiss*.⁵ Felicitas submits that the choice of theme for this opera was no mere happenstance. In a few respects, she writes, her father "had much of Eulenspiegel in him, the sense of absurd humor, dormant melancholia, a great pleasure and alternative disdain of the world in general, and a propensity to be witty in the way he created music to reflect a sort of contemporary criticism of the world around him."⁶ Because Reznicek harbored an

⁵ Johann Fischart (1546 or 47 -1590) was a German satirist and moralist. He was the principal German literary opponent of the Counter Reformation. He versified the stories of the folk character Till Eulenspiegel in 1571 and published them in 1572.

⁶ "Er hatte viel von Eulenspiegel in sich, den Sinn für skurrilen Humor, eine latente Melancholie, ein grosses Vergnügen daran, andere Leute zu foppen, und eine Tendenz, seinen Witz in zeitkritischen Tonschöpfungen einzusetzen." Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 89.

inveterate disregard for people who were longwinded in their conversation and opinions, he often made fun of them in his music symbolically by overworking certain musical motives to emulate their lengthy and pretentious oratories.⁷ It was his own private commentary on the segment of society he disliked. This is important to remember when listening to his works now. The “overworking” of motives in some of his compositions can be unusually irritating if the listener is not privy to Reznicek’s private joke. It is particularly an anathema to those with a penchant for other compositional styles of the twentieth century that eschew motivic repetition.

In her “Reznicek Talk” commentary to Gordon Wright, Felicitas refers to her father’s Eulenspiegel tendencies again. “My father was an ‘Eulenspiegel’ character. When he talked to democrats he played the wild extremist, was he with extremists, he played the conservative. As a matter of fact, he himself thought that he was a conservative, but he was in fact a liberal and a democrat.”⁸ In later years, this behavior would be misinterpreted politically and cause problems for him with those maintaining extreme political sensibilities.

Till Eulenspiegel’s première did not take place as soon as the opera was completed, but almost two years later. During the 1901-02 season, the work was staged first at the Hoftheater in Karlsruhe on January 12, 1902, conducted by Reznicek’s colleague Felix Mottl. The reviewer for *The Musical Times* reacted favorably to the work:

The general effect of the music at a first hearing, and without a score to follow, is the impression of remarkable inventive talent, great mastery of technical resource, rich, though sometimes bizarre, vein of new combinations and orchestral effects. Reznicek is particularly strong in rhythmical devices, and gives all performers

⁷ Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 90.

⁸ Felicitas von Reznicek, “Reznicek Talk,” 1.

concerned difficult tasks to achieve. The solo voices are, however, never driven to extremes of either compass or endurance, therefore they sound natural and comfortable to the hearer. The chorus has important work to do, both musically and histrionically, and the market scene, and the finale of the second act put it to a severer test. . . . Under Mottl's strong guidance, everything went to perfection, and I hope a long life may be the lot of this pleasant and well-received work.⁹

Specht reports that it had "tumultuous success which, however, astoundingly soon faded away."¹⁰ Later that year, the opera was produced at the Königliche Oper (Royal Opera) in Berlin. A signed contract dated October 20, 1902, from what was then called the Königliche Schauspiel (Royal Theater), is extant in the MÖNB. The contract to produce the opera is between the General-Intendantur and the composer.¹¹ No conductor is mentioned for the Berlin production. While it is possible that Reznicek himself conducted, it was probably Mottl again.

All Reznicek biographers fail to mention his initial hope for Mahler to present the première in Vienna. Mahler's response to his first request was the following note on an undated postcard, probably written in August or September of 1900:

Dear Friend,
Please send me immediately a piano reduction or score of your new work. I find the subject very attractive; when I've a free moment I shall read the text and write to you again.
With best wishes and in haste
Mahler¹²

Evidently, Reznicek sent the score. Mahler liked the music, but not the libretto.

In haste! 24 Sept 1900
Dear Friend,
I have several times reread your libretto attentively and to my *greatest* chagrin I must honestly confess that, despite its outward liveliness, I do not find it effective.

⁹ "Reznicek's 'Till Eulenspiegel' at Karlsruhe," *The Musical Times* 43, no. 708 (February 1, 1902): 116.

¹⁰ "Sie wird im Spieljahr 1901/1902 unter Felix Mottl in Karlsruhe mit ungestümem Erfolg gegeben, der aber wiederum wunderlich bald abklingt." Specht, 38.

¹¹ MÖNB, Fonds Reznicek 22, Signatur 64. Copy in Reznicek Archives, Arvada, CO, Misc: Reznicek Correspondence IV/B. Contracts.

¹² Original postcard in the collection of the SUIA archives in Zürich. Reproduced in Blaukopf, 136.

Do not take my honesty amiss; I've only hurried to give you my reply, so that you won't disadvantage yourself by failing to take steps to secure a performance elsewhere. I think the score is excellent, and I've enjoyed studying it immensely. Despite this, I do not feel that the [word erased] dull text and above all the forced and (you'll pardon the word) flat humour could be saved by the fresh and lively music. And yet the *verse* is pretty and well fashioned. So – I cannot accept a *première*, but I shall follow attentively the fortunes of the work and shall always be ready to admit and rectify any error. I am most terribly sorry, but it is my duty to be honest. With best wishes to you and your wife,
Yours very sincerely,
Gustav Mahler¹³

Till Eulenspiegel was published by Reznicek himself as a piano-vocal score.

The bottom of the title page states, “Wiesbaden. In Selbstverlag”. The original autograph full score of the opera in the MÖNB reads, *Till Eulenspiegel Volksoper in 2 Theilen und einem Nachspiel von E. N. von Reznicek*. Exact dates on the manuscript show a year’s worth of work. The title page reads “Begonnen in Wiesbaden, am 30. September 1899”; the final page is dated “Tegernsee 28. 9. 1900”. In addition, Reznicek composed an overture (*Wie Till Eulenspiegel lebte: Symphonisches Zwischenspiel in forme einer Ouvertüre*) from major themes of the opera. The autograph manuscript full score carries the date of Dec. 16, 1900. No sources indicate that it was ever published.

Years later, Reznicek revised the opera for a 1939 performance in Köln that he was to conduct himself. According to Nowak, the revision was published by Mannheimer Musikverlag in 1939; strangely, no archival or library sources report owning a copy of this revision.¹⁴ During this time, Bertha Reznicek was very ill with a degenerative heart condition. She died two days before the *première*. Reznicek, in despair, succumbed to a bout of influenza. The performance was postponed. After he

¹³ Original letter in the collection of the SUIA archives in Zürich. Reproduced in Blaukopf, 136.

¹⁴ Nowak, 213

recovered from his illness, he returned to Köln to conduct the dress rehearsal and the performance. Still emotionally weakened, he broke down during the third act of the rehearsal and left the podium. Eugen Bodart (1905-1983), who was serving at that time as the second conductor at Köln, took his place and conducted the performance the following evening.¹⁵

Berlin

By 1902, having composed nothing during his two years in Wiesbaden besides *Till Eulenspiegel*, Reznicek came to realize that he could not achieve his artistic goals living so far away from any significant creative centers. In the spring of 1902, he moved the family to the Charlottenburg district of Berlin on Knesebeckstrasse 32. According to Felicitas, her mother finally had a comfortable city home on four levels with gaslights, running water, central heating, and a water heater that worked on either wood or coal.¹⁶ Their neighbor, who also had secured a city house just down the street at no. 28, was Richard Strauss. A social/artistic circle was created there, soon to include Hans Pfitzner and the tenor Ernst Kraus.¹⁷ During the summer of 1902, Reznicek left Berlin to spend time in the Swiss Alps composing and pursuing two of his other passions: alpine climbing and lepidopterology.¹⁸ Here he composed his lengthy first symphony and began the four songs for voice and orchestra, *Ruhm und Ewigkeit* (*Fame and Eternity*).

¹⁵ Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 195-6. Eugen Bodart studied composition with both Reznicek and Pfitzner. The actual date of the rescheduled performance is not mentioned.

¹⁶ Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 92.

¹⁷ Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 93. Ernst Kraus (1863-1941). German dramatic tenor. He was the leading tenor of the Berlin Staatsoper for 27 years beginning in 1896.

¹⁸ At one time, Reznicek had collected as many as 10,000 specimens.

Symphony in D Minor

The first symphony, in D Minor, subtitled “Tragische” (Tragic), exists in manuscript only; it disappeared in the 1940s and has only recently been found. In his 1960 inventory of Reznicek’s works, Nowak offered his readers only Max Chop’s description of the work, which includes Reznicek’s explanation that Chop found included in the symphony’s manuscript.¹⁹ According to Nowak, (based on Chop), although Reznicek subtitled the symphony the “Tragische,” he considered it absolute music. The subtitle, Reznicek explains, is supposed to induce an understanding of the psychological-dramatic development of a character symbolized by the first theme.”²⁰ Chop describes the symphony generally as “a phlegmatic work created out of a serious mood that gives way somewhat only in the second movement with its more animated $\frac{3}{4}$ meter.” He adds that Reznicek’s musical nature was rooted in formal practices which are apparent in his almost continual adherence to the tonic key for all four movements.²¹

Like his four early operas, the first symphony calls for a large orchestra: 3 flutes (1 dbl. picc), 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 3 bassoons (1 contra), 4 horns, 2 trumpets, 3 trombones (1 bass), 1 tuba, harp, percussion battery plus tam-tam, tympani, and strings. Although Reznicek organizes his movements using outwardly traditional forms, Nowak explains that they are manipulated in extreme ways. For instance, the first movement, “Mässig mit Majestät” (Moderate, with majesty), is a large sonata-

¹⁹ This explanation is missing from the manuscript facsimile copy in the Reznicek Archives in Colorado. Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: Sein Leben*, 49.

²⁰ “Die vorliegende Symphonie ist als absolute Musik gedacht, die ohne Programm, lediglich unter der Signatur: ‘tragisch’ das Verständnis für die psychologisch-dramatische Entwicklung eines durch das erste Thema symbolisierten Charakters auslösen soll.” Nowak, 284.

²¹ “ein schwerblütiges Werk, aus ernster Stimmung heraus geschaffen, die nur im zweiten Satze mit seinem bewegteren $\frac{3}{4}$ -Takt-Zeitmasse etwas zurücktritt.” Chop, *E.N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 49.

form movement. The development introduces a fugue on the inversion of the first theme, and this subject later appears together with the original version of the theme. The “Scherzo” second movement is a three-part rondo, A-B-A-C-A; the first couplet’s (B) material is comprised of continual variations on a new theme, and the later couplet (C) is a rhythmic augmentation of some of the variations of the first.²² The third, slow movement is marked “Ziemlich langsam” (Rather slowly). The Finale, marked “Ziemlich gehalten” (Rather sustained), uses an original East African melody (Ostafrikanische Original-Melodie).²³ Nowak writes, “Varied in the manner of an *idée fixe*, a hallucination, which returns again and again in 1000 forms.”²⁴ Reznicek used this melody from the finale later as the death theme in his symphonic poem, *Der Sieger (The Victor)*. The finale ends with a funeral march glorifying the *Mors Imperator (Emperor Death)*.²⁵

According to Chop, the “Tragische” Symphony received its première in Berlin during the 1902-1903 concert season when Felix Weingartner programmed it on one of his concerts with the Berliner Königliche Kapelle (Royal Berlin Orchestra). It was reputed to have received a successful reception.²⁶ Chop comments that the performance “demonstrated the undeniable beauties, which admittedly stand in

²² Nowak, 285.

²³ In the melody that serves as the pathological fixed idea for the fourth movement, Reznicek places a dot over the seventh and an accent (^) over the eighth note of the melody. His performance note on the first page explains, “this figure is always to be phrased · ^.”

²⁴ “Variiert in der Art einer fixen Idee, einer Zwangsvorstellung, die in 1000 Gestalten immer wiederkehrt.” Nowak, 286.

²⁵ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 50.

²⁶ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 50. The manuscript bears the completion date: Wilderswyl, 11.8.1902.

contrast with the following weaknesses: a lack of a uniform style, a lack of risk taking, and occasional *longueur*.”²⁷

Rediscovering the Symphony

Reznicek, too, had reservations about his first venture with the symphonic genre. He withdrew the symphony after the première and put it into his trunk of manuscripts. Prior to the Second World War, the work saw the light of day only one more time in a performance by the Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Emil Bohnke on November 13, 1922.²⁸ The trunk holding Reznicek’s music was confiscated during the Second World War (as noted in Chapter 1), and the symphony was not among the few manuscripts that were returned in 1946. It finally reappeared almost thirty years later under strange circumstances. The discovery, which is documented thoroughly in letters and other writings over more than a decade, began with a paper on Reznicek’s four symphonies by Gordon Wright, who had been collecting Reznicek’s music for several years. Wright presented his paper in the late fall of 1969 to the Northwest Chapter of the American Musicological Society in Spokane, Washington.²⁹ Present at the chapter meeting was Hans Moldenhauer, whose archive of old and rare music and materials about music was at that time in Spokane. Wright took the occasion to ask Moldenhauer whether his archives held any materials by or concerning Reznicek.

²⁷ "erwies die unleugbaren Schönheiten, denen freilich als Schwächen auch das Fehlen eines einheitlichen Stils, des grossen Wurfs und stellenweise Längen gegenüberstehen." Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 50.

²⁸ Peter Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester*, bd. 3 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1982), 203.

²⁹ A specific date for this meeting cannot be determined. It was, however, several weeks prior to Nov. 28, 1969.

Wright followed up his query with a letter to Moldenhauer and a tape of performances he conducted of Reznicek's second and third symphonies.

I have written to Dr. Nowak for the Symphony in D minor and to Simrock for the F minor. I have asked Reznicek's daughter if I might give the first American performances, provided they haven't been done already. I am almost positive the D minor is unperformed.³⁰

Returning Wright's letter, Moldenhauer mentioned three Reznicek autograph letters in his archive, one dealing with the composer's opera *Holofernes* (1922) and a report to be written on it. He also mentioned that one of the letters was a fragment. Of the recordings of the two symphonies, he said,

I used the weekend enjoying the two symphonies by the composer whom you are championing so very ably. These are really masterful works and I feel enriched knowing them. The slow movement of the Second Symphony and the Trio section of the Minuet in the third (which is most engaging, and for members of the fair sex, completely disarming!) are just two of the highlights. . . . I am doing some sleuthing on the Reznicek front myself. Would you believe that the "Tragic Symphony," in D minor, was offered to me in autograph last year? I will try to ascertain what happened to the manuscript since.³¹

In January of 1970, less than two months later, Moldenhauer wrote,

Dear Gordon Wright:

Eureka! I could track down Reznicek's symphony which was offered to me last year. The title of the 118 page-long autograph score is "Tragische Symphonie," the key is d minor, and the dateline August 11, 1902, Wildeswyl.

This is all my correspondent is willing to disclose. He refuses to send the manuscript on approval, stating that he does not wish copies to be made. He will only sell and insists on advance payment. The price runs into many hundreds of dollars, and I know the gentleman to be business-minded enough that he gets it.

I will be in Europe again before long and, if you are interested, would endeavor to bring the manuscript out of Austria where protective laws for cultural monuments are on the book [*sic*] which sometimes are invoked rather capriciously so that one has to be extremely careful with whom and how one is dealing. The first question, therefore, is whether you would wish to acquire the autograph score. I would gladly do so myself for the Archive, having been "sold"

³⁰ Letter by Gordon Wright to Moldenhauer dated Dec. 2, 1969. In 1969, Nowak was the head of the MÖNB. Wright's letter was answered by Franz Grasberger, the Oberstaatsbibliothekar of the MÖNB on Feb. 2, 1970. Nowak had recently died. Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

³¹ Letter dated Dec. 8, 1969. Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

by you on the beauty of Reznicek's symphonic music, but I am heavily engaged in the acquisition of Beethoven and Schubert autographs this year.³²

Moldenhauer was not forthcoming with any real information about his contact for the manuscript, but he continued to lobby Wright for ancillary information helpful for his quest:

February 6, 1970

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter of February 2. You indicate some interesting possibilities. However, before talking of performance, I feel that the autograph manuscript must be secured.

We are just about to set our itinerary for the next safari which our European trips usually turn out to be. Will you be at the university all summer so that I can contact you when I have come close to the game? Or where can I reach you during your absence? This is important for last-minute arrangements which might have to be by cable.

Also, I should have the address of Reznicek's daughter who lives, as I believe to remember you're saying so, in Switzerland. I will be in that country also, and if she holds the rights (if she does not, who does?), I would contact her for performance permission once I have the score in hand. These things can always best be done by way of a personal visit.

Are you certain that the work has not been performed before?

Please forgive my having to be brief today I will look for your answers so that I can write again to the man who has the autograph.

With best Wishes,
Cordially,
Hans Moldenhauer (signature)³³

Wright answered this letter with one on February 17, 1970; he supplied Felicitas' address in Engelberg, Switzerland, and wrote the following,

As to the question of first performance, I just don't know for sure. Nowak's analysis came from Taubmann's [Chop's] description, which came from looking at the manuscript. They don't indicate a performance. But I would like to have the manuscript anyway, and the fact that it is a first performance isn't all that important to me. I know it will be a first USA performance if we can locate the score. . . .

³² Letter dated Jan. 28, 1970. Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

³³ Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

. . . I heard from Dr. Grasberger, but he really doesn't answer my question. A copy of his letter is enclosed. I asked about the D minor Symphony, to which he makes no remark. . . .³⁴

In truth, Dr. Grasberger, who answered in Nowak's place, gave Wright a small piece of valuable information about the first symphony. Grasberger, reported the following,

Very honored Herr Professor Wright,

Concerning your question about the Symphony in B [D] minor by E. N. v. Reznicek, we communicate to you that this autograph with numerous other scores of Reznicek's were evacuated in 1943 to Luckau [a town in Brandenburg, south of Berlin] and plundered there.³⁵

This helped to confirm that the first symphony was one of the manuscripts confiscated by the Nazis during World War II.

Sometime after 1969, Wright sent a copy of his AMS paper to Felicitas, whose comments, which she entitled "Reznicek Talk," corrected Wright's work and contributed various miscellaneous tidbits about her father and his compositions. She insisted that his manuscripts were not destroyed in Reznicek's home library.

The manuscripts were not destroyed in his library. The Propaganda Ministry collected all ms. of all living composers and took them into the Lausitz (for safeguard against air raids). There they survived, but later the whole collection was looted. The trunk they were put in came back to me in 1946 (sent by the East German culture-department) and there were only 14 of the 80 left. One or the other meantime turned up in auctions, but we could never find out who was the original looter – maybe several people.³⁶

Moldenhauer reacted to Grasberger's letter, a copy of which Wright included with his own of February 17, 1970. Three days later on February 20, Moldenhauer wrote, "What is your reaction to the passus in the letter which you received from the

³⁴ Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

³⁵ "Sehr geehrter Herr Professor Wright, auf Ihre Anfrage, die Symphonie b-moll von E. N. v. Reznicek betreffend, teilen wir Ihnen mit, dass dieses Autograph mit zahlreichen anderen Handschriften Rezniceks 1943 nach Luckau verlagert und dort geplündert wurde." Letter dated 2.2.1970. Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

³⁶ Felicitas von Reznicek, "Reznicek Talk," 2.

Nationalbibliothek in which the writer refers to 'looting'? I would like to know since this would certainly have bearing on my procedure."³⁷

Five months later, a short note from Moldenhauer arrived in Wright's mail from Vienna, dated July 16, 1970. Of significance was the following excerpt:

Dear Gordon Wright!

Eureka! The First Symphony ("Tragische") of Reznicek is in my hands. It took considerable doing to "land" the manuscript. Prior to our coming to Vienna, we visited with Felicitas v. R. in Engelberg. She authorized me to make the first performance arrangements for the event that my hunt would lead to success.³⁸

Wright communicated a number of times by paper and phone to no avail, offering to buy the manuscript. He tried to make plans to meet; Moldenhauer put him off or else set a date and later canceled the meeting. Moldenhauer's now obvious avoidance continued through 1974. They finally met during that year and Moldenhauer showed him the score, but refused to sell it. In 1979, Wright once again contacted Moldenhauer,

Dear Dr. Moldenhauer:

I hope this finds you in good health. It has been a long time since (we) have communicated. Enclosed is the first page of a Reznicek symphony which I recently acquired. Could you tell me if this is the same symphony which you have in your possession? I just can't recall the music when you showed it to me in Spokane. Incidentally, if you ever wish to sell that manuscript I would be interested.³⁹

Moldenhauer wrote back that it was not the same work.⁴⁰ In 1982, Felicitas began to take more active involvement. She wrote to Moldenhauer on Nov. 29, 1982, and

³⁷ Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

³⁸ Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

³⁹ Letter dated Feb. 15, 1979. Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

⁴⁰ Letter dated March 3, 1979. Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

included a bottom note in German to Dr. Steiger at SUIISA (Swiss Music Foundation) to let Moldenhauer know the letter was also sent to him:

Dear Mr. Moldenhauer,

Expecting that you/are now back from Europe I want to certify our talk re my fathers [*sic*] symphony D moll "die Tragische".

I do not doubt your [*sic*] right on the script you purchased in Vienna, as far as it is the script itself. The performing rights and all other rights for purchase, copying and so on are naturally with me, as "Universalerbin" of my fathers [*sic*]. The work is listed with Suisa as all other works of my fathers [*sic*] are since more than 10 years. (In former times with Gema.)

In case you find somebody to play the work (in USA it would be the first performance) would you please let me know. Also a possible publisher should get in contact with me.

I only want two things:

1) let me know, where you got hold of the MS, because so many manuscripts have been looted in Calau, at the end of World War II.

2) Please send me a copy of the script, so that the work is absolutely sure to be preserved. It is certainly safe with the Moldenhauer archive, but for public relation [*sic*] and to show it to orchestra leaders I must have one exemplaire. Other copies please only with my consent.

Hoping to hear from you soon

Yours sincerely

Dear Frau Doctor Steiger, enclosed copy of my letter to Moldenhauer. Would you inquire at the department concerned of Suisa whether the Tragic Symphonie in D-moll (1902) is registered there. It was a manuscript and it could be that my father forgot it. Cordial greetings⁴¹

Increasingly frustrated when he failed to comply with her request, or even answer her letter, Felicitas tried to take action by writing a letter to SUIISA granting Wright full power of authority to act officially in her interest, since Moldenhauer ignored her request to tell her the circumstances under which he purchased the manuscript and to provide her with a copy.⁴²

⁴¹ "Liebe Frau Doktor Steiger, anbei Kopie meines Briefes an Moldenhauer. Würden Sie bei der betreffenden Abteilung der Suisa nachfragen, ob dort die Tragische Symphonie in D-moll, (1902) registriert ist. Es war ein Manuscript und so konnte es sein, dass mein Vater sie vergessen hat. Herzliche Grüße." Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

⁴² Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

On August 28, 1984, Felicitas wrote to Bernard Korman in the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) Building in New York. Someone had asked to secure the performing rights from her to the “Tragische” Symphonie. She wrote to Wright,

How can I, as owner of the performing rights, have the work performed when I have no access to it? The manuscript that Mr. Moldenhauer purchased in Vienna was not under those restored, and Mr. Moldenhauer did never disclose how he purchased the manuscript and from whom, which I think will give you an idea whether the manuscript was purchased lawfully or not.⁴³

Ultimately, Moldenhauer decided to sell off his archive in pieces to various libraries and other archives. He mentioned in the course of a letter to Wright the following:

The Reznicek manuscript has been transferred to the “Moldenhauer Archive in der Paul Sacher Stiftung” at Basel. The Sacher Institute is expected to open later this year or in early 1986. It may be well that Dr. Sacher himself wishes to give the first performance of the Reznicek symphony.⁴⁴

Receiving this news from Wright, Felicitas called Sacher and informed him that the work was hers, but she would allow him to keep it provided that he made two copies, one for Wright, the other for Universal Edition.⁴⁵

Over twenty years after the beginning of his quest for the symphony, Gordon Wright conducted the first performance of the work since 1922 on a series of three concerts presented on May 3, 5, and 10, 1990, in New York City’s Town Hall with the Orchestra of St. Luke’s. Recorded by Tritone Recordings for National Public Radio, the series called *The Music of Forgotten Romantics* was preserved on three

⁴³ Letter date is September 10, 1984. Felicitas Correspondence. Wright personal letters, Indian, Alaska.

⁴⁴ Letter is dated June 15, 1985. Wright Correspondence File, Reznicek Archives.

⁴⁵ Facsimile copy of Symphony No. 1 “Tragische” in Reznicek Archives.

cassettes for the Reznicek Society, but remains unreleased on commercial compact disc.⁴⁶

Works in 1903

Based on a poem from Nietzsche's *Dionysus Dithyrambs, Ruhm und Ewigkeit* for tenor (or mezzo soprano) with orchestra, was completed in 1903, but never published. The full score exists in a manuscript fragment in the MÖNB under another title that Reznicek himself affixed to it: *Monologue*, and is dated "Tegernsee 31.8.03." The original orchestral parts are extant in the Reznicek Archives. Below are the verses set:

1. "Wie lange sitztest du schon auf deinem Missgeschick"
2. "Diese Münze, mit der alle Welt bezahlt"
3. "Höchstes Gestirn des Seins"
4. "Still! von grossen Dingen – ich sehe Grosses!"

Thanks to Chop, there is a written record that the work's première was on the opening concert of the Fortieth Tonkünstler-Versammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins in Frankfurt am Main during May of 1904.⁴⁷

Two other works date from 1903: the *Frühlings-Ouvertüre (Spring Overture)* and the *Nachtstück (Night Piece)*. Both works were composed during the summer of 1903 when Reznicek once again went to the lake town of Tegernsee in Bavaria. Reznicek appears to be ambivalent with regard to the title of the first work. Initially, he writes on the MÖNB autograph full score the title, *Gold-Pirol. Idyllische-Ouvertüre (Golden Oriole: Idyllic Overture)*. The title is not inappropriate, for the

⁴⁶ Other works by Reznicek on this series that were recorded are his violin concerto, the *Vier Bet- und Bussgesänge*, and the second and third symphonies. The Reznicek Society, *The Music of Forgotten Romantics*, Orchestra of St. Lukes, Gordon Wright, cond., Tritone Recordings for National Public Radio, 1990. 3 cassettes.

⁴⁷ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 50.

work opens with the clarinet imitating the call of the Gold-Pirol.⁴⁸ Regardless, he crosses out that title in blue pencil and substitutes *Frühlings-Ouvertüre*. Beneath this correction he adds “Im Deutschen Wald” (In the German Woods). There also exists another copy in the MÖNB of an autograph manuscript that is one page longer with corrections in a foreign hand. This bears yet another title, *Konzertouvertüre* (*Concert Overture*), attached to the work in the composer’s handwriting.

Reznicek’s apparent indecision over the title is very telling with regard to his attitude toward anything outwardly programmatic during this period. Like the “Tragische” Symphonie, the *Frühlings-Ouvertüre* was meant to convey a feeling or a mood rather than to paint a picture or illustrate a text musically. In the composer-corrected copy of Specht, Reznicek has written, “ ‘Im Deutschen Wald’ Konzertouvertüre 1930 Manuscript”. In all likelihood, this refers to the autograph copy with the inverted title in the MÖNB. He has also given the date of 1930 for the undated corrected copy. The orchestral parts in the Reznicek Archives show that they have also been altered by the composer. Like the original manuscript score in the MÖNB, the title on each orchestral part has been crossed through with blue pencil. In his own hand Reznicek has written *Im Deutschen Wald*, and directly under that, *Konzert-Ouvertüre*.

Concerning the première, Chop testifies that Nikisch conducted the work for the first time on the fourth concert of the Berlin Philharmonic (November 30, 1903).⁴⁹ This is confirmed by the performance list of the Berlin Philharmonic

⁴⁸ Nowak, 287.

⁴⁹ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 28.

Orchestra, 1882-1982.⁵⁰ After a successful première, Nikisch chose to conduct it again in Hamburg.⁵¹ Supposedly after this performance, the only copy of the manuscript went missing. It was still missing in 1920 when Chop wrote his biography of Reznicek. Between then and the time that Nowak mentions the work in 1960, the manuscript apparently was located and deposited by Felicitas in the MÖNB after World War II. The parts languished for years at Böte & Boch publishers until Felicitas gave the authorization for them to be turned over to Gordon Wright and the Reznicek Society in the 1980s. The parts show a number of corrections in the composer's hand in blue pencil.

Dating also from 1903, *Nachtstück* is a brief seventy-five measures long; it is conceived for a chamber group of either violin or cello solo, plus harp, four horns and string quartet. All sources list the title incorrectly, as *Nachtstück für Violoncello-Solo und Orchester*, and Reznicek fails to correct it on the Specht works list to match the title on the full score, simply *Nachtstück*. The manuscript is missing, but the work was published in Berlin-Halensee by Dreililien in 1905. In the Specht works list, Reznicek crosses out "Dreililien" and writes in "Birnbach", the parent company of Dreililien. Reznicek conducted the first performance of the work on a Berlin Philharmonic concert on January 26, 1906.⁵² In the final decade of the twentieth century, thanks to the efforts of conductor Gordon Wright, the work was programmed at least twice.⁵³

⁵⁰ Muck, 91.

⁵¹ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 28.

⁵² Muck, 104.

⁵³ Both performances were in 1994: Feb. 17 at the Univ. of Idaho by the University Symphony (Moscow, ID), and on Aug. 3 in Alaska by the Anchorage Symphony. Dates of performance are written on the title page of the Xerox copy of the work in the Reznicek Archives.

Conducting in Berlin

Once settled in Berlin, Reznicek searched for a niche for his talents as a conductor. Nikisch was engaged conducting regular seasons of standard large ensemble works at the Berlin Philharmonic. Reznicek, on the other hand, organized a series of twelve chamber orchestra concerts with the Philharmonic between 1903 and 1905. These were introduced as the Tonkünstlerkonzerts (Composer Concerts), but they were more widely known as the Philharmonisches Kammerkonzerts (Philharmonic Chamber Concerts). There was apparently a great variety of new and old musical styles offered on these programs, some of which met with mixed acceptance, according to Reznicek. Felicitas writes that her father said each dissonance was offensive to some (audience members), what suggests that some new works failed to appeal to the older concert attendees.⁵⁴

With regard to the older works, Reznicek pursued archival research in the Königliche Bibliothek (Royal Library), better known in later decades of the twentieth century as the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Prussian State Library). Here he unearthed an unknown manuscript of a symphony in F major by Wilhelm Friedmann Bach and transcribed it into modern notation. According to Felicitas, he programmed it on the chamber orchestra series, although it does not appear in Peter Muck's listing of the works programmed by the Berlin Philharmonic. This may not be significant, for Muck lists only five concerts that are entitled "Kammerkonzert" (and none as "Tonkünstlerkonzert") between 1903 and 1905, so there are likely to have been some concerts that used players from the Berlin Symphony that were not listed as part of

⁵⁴ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 93.

the official season of the orchestra.⁵⁵ On these concerts, Reznicek championed works that had aesthetic value, but had faded from the repertoire and had been unjustly forgotten or ignored. He found a tremendous store of works from baroque and classical composers; he became somewhat concerned with performance practice, presenting early music performed with the smaller instrumental forces for which it was originally conceived, although there is no indication that he sought to employ period instruments. He programmed keyboard concerti and orchestral suites of J. S. Bach. He delighted the audience with performances of Mozart's "Haffner" Serenade (K. 250) using original instrumentation, the flute and harp concerto (K. 299), and Haydn's "La Chasse" Symphony (Hob. 73).⁵⁶ He also programmed smaller works by his friends and colleagues, including Strauss' *Bläuserserenade*, Brahms serenades for chamber orchestra, small works of Weingartner, and Pfitzner's *Christelflein Ouvertüre* that he premièred at Mannheim in 1897.⁵⁷ Using the best players of the Berlin Philharmonic, the chamber series appealed to an unconventional audience of musical epicureans, as Chop describes them.⁵⁸

Second Symphony

During this two-year period, Reznicek did not forsake composition. The most important of his works from 1904 was his second venture into symphonic literature.

In published literature, it is referred to as the B-dur Symphonie (B-flat Major

⁵⁵ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 93. A 4-page fragment of Reznicek's transcription of this work is present in the collection of the MÖNB.

⁵⁶ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 29. Chop identifies Bach's works as the piano concerto in D and the orchestral suite in D. In the case of the former, it could have been the harpsichord concerto BWV 1054 (a reworking of the E major violin concerto BWV 1042 from the Cöthen period). The latter orchestral suite could have been either BWV 1068 or BWV 1069, for both are in D major.

⁵⁷ Chop is incorrect in stating that Reznicek premièred the *Christelflein Ouvertüre* for Pfitzner on this series. Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 30.

⁵⁸ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 29.

Symphony).⁵⁹ Chop refers to the work by this name initially, and then later by the moniker that was bestowed on the work three years later: “Ironische” Symphonie (Ironie Symphony). In the first edition of the score that was published in Leipzig by Simrock, the title page and first page bear the title Symphonie B dur.⁶⁰ That great assimilator Kalmus gleefully reprinted the Simrock edition at an undisclosed date, retaining the Simrock artwork on the title, but removing all Simrock plate numbers and printing the Kalmus publication statement at the bottom of the first page of the score. The telling printer information remains, however, at the bottom of the final page of the score: “Stich und Druck von C. G. Röder G.m.b.H. Leipzig.” Years later, after their move to Boca Raton, Florida, the company reissued this work as part of the Kalmus Orchestra Library, giving it the title Symphony in Bb (“Ironie”) for the English-speaking market. Kalmus removed the original title page and Röder’s printer statement at the end, cleaned up the typeface somewhat, but left all the errors in the original score. Nonetheless, Felicitas and Nowak recognized the confusion in 1960. In the index of *Gegen den Strom* they provide a “see reference” – “*Symphonie B-dur* siehe *Symphonie, ironische*”, and an additional entry “*Symphonie, ironische* = *Symphonie B-dur*.”

The second symphony represents a departure from the first in orchestration and length. It is scored for small orchestra, more like the *Nachtstück*. Until 1903, with the exception of student works, Reznicek’s operas and symphonic works are scored for very large Wagnerian forces, heavy on woodwinds and brass. Suddenly Reznicek changes his creative horses in midstream. Both *Nachtstück* and the second symphony

⁵⁹ Specht works list also lists the work as *Symphonie B-Dur*.

⁶⁰ Specht identifies Simrock as the publisher in his works list. Reznicek concurs, but corrects the city of publication from Berlin to Leipzig.

represent his experimentation with smaller forces and appear as aberrant examples in the context of his late nineteenth-century musical training and experience. While no Reznicek biographer has accounted for this abrupt departure from his normal course, both works were conceived during the time when Reznicek was first involved with organizing chamber orchestra concerts and studying early music; these circumstances could account for the unexpected change. The second symphony is scored for chamber orchestra – all winds in pairs (except for the addition of piccolo, and the absence of trombones and tuba), and pair of tympani, and strings. Reznicek himself conducted the Berlin Philharmonic in the first performance of his second symphony on March 30, 1905, in a concert for the benefit of the Witwen- und Waisenfonds des Philharmonischen Orchesters (Widows and Orphans Fund of the Philharmonic). On the same program he conducted the *Donna Diana Overture* and accompanied Ernst Kraus on piano in a group of three of his solo Lieder.⁶¹ This concert predates the Berlin Beethovensaal concert of April 1905 given by Chop for the première.⁶²

During the late fall of 1907, Reznicek traveled to England with one of his private composition students named H. Vivian Hamilton.⁶³ While there, he conducted a set of concerts. It was at the performance in Queen's Hall on November 9th that the second symphony received its nickname "Ironische."⁶⁴ Gordon Wright describes the work and its ironical nature,

This title I suspect comes from the very nature of the first movement, which is very disjointed and full of ironic twists of melody, harmony and orchestration.

⁶¹ The actual Lieder are not identified. The program lists them as "Drei Lieder mit Klavierbegleitung". Reznicek also conducted the Brahms *Serenade Op. 16*, and the Weber/Berlioz *Aufforderung zum Tanze*. Muck, 96.

⁶² Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 52.

⁶³ Hamilton was a male, reputed to be an excellent pianist, and was also a composer.

⁶⁴ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 52.

There is a strong Mahler influence on the symphony, which can be seen in the over poignant harmonic formulas, as well as the basic melodic material. Reznicek also leans heavily on pompous instructions, such as “Lustig, aber nicht schnell”, and “etwas weniger straff in Zeitmass”. The first movement is very short, and the structure is more sonatina in form than anything. The B-flat recapitulation is prepared by the key of A major rather than the dominant, typical of the restlessness of the harmony throughout the symphony.⁶⁵

Although no review is available of the concert, there is information about one of the other concerts in this series from a review published on November 23, 1907 in the London periodical *The Musical News*. On November 12, Reznicek conducted the première of the following works to a full concert hall: *Two Orchestral Impressions* of Vaughan Williams (who was present), H. Vivian Hamilton’s *Suite de Ballet*, and three of the *Four Songs* by Ethel Smyth.⁶⁶ The other works on the program were the Scharwenka first piano concerto (B-flat minor), and Reznicek’s own *Donna Diana Overture*. The reviewer, identified by the initials “W.H.W.”, pronounced *Donna Diana* “delightful” and the Hamilton work “well received”. Concerning Reznicek, he said,

Herr Reznicek is a “reliable” conductor. His beat is always sure and clear and the leads [entrances] well indicated. Though in general his actions are quiet and restrained, there are moments when he is dominated by intense passion, the power of which is quickly reflected by the orchestra.⁶⁷

Other Works from 1904-1905

Dating from 1905, one other instrumental composition from these early years in Berlin was conceived for small forces. The *Serenade for String Orchestra* received

⁶⁵ Gordon Wright, “The Symphonies of Emil Reznicek,” 3.

⁶⁶ Thanks to an article by Kenneth L. Thompson where he disputes the dates given in the 5th edition of *Grove* for performances of British Isles composers’ works, the date of the Nov. 12, 1907 Queen’s Hall concert is mentioned once again in connection with the Ethel Smyth songs. Of them, Thompson says, “In fact the songs were first performed, with the omission of *Odelette*, on 12 Nov. 1907 at a concert of the Queen’s Hall Orchestra conducted by Emil von Reznicek.” Kenneth L. Thompson, “GROVE and Dates,” *The Musical Times* 104, no. 1445 (July 1963): 483.

⁶⁷ W.H.W., review of “Queens Hall Concert, Nov. 12, 1907,” *The Musical News* (Nov. 23, 1907): 8.

its first performance on the Philharmonic Chamber Concerts on Nov. 4, 1905, while still in manuscript.⁶⁸ This first version exists today only as an autograph manuscript in the MÖNB and is dated July 27, 1905. It underwent revision in 1920 and was eventually published in 1923. Apparently, fifteen years after its creation the composer revisited this work for publication and made alterations in the second, fourth and fifth movements, along with some minor cosmetic changes to the first and third movements. The fifth and last movement underwent a title change from “Finale” to “Bauernmarsch” (“Peasant March”). Nowak notes that four measures are tacked on the beginning of the movement. In these opening measures, the top three string parts are scored in double stops in fifths on open strings, like a string group tuning their instruments. Beginning in m. 5, the instrumental voices copy one another in a plodding pattern to imitate the march of bucolic denizens.⁶⁹ (Fig. 10)

Fig. 10. *Serenade for String Orchestra*. Mov. 5. Bauernmarsch, mm 1-22.

Of further interest is the fourth movement, called “Kanon-Walzer” (Canonic Waltzes). Marked “Tempo di Valse lente (wiegend)” (Slow lilting waltz tempo), a

⁶⁸ Muck, 104.

⁶⁹ Nowak, 305.

canon exists between the first violins and the upper voice of the divisi celli. Reznicek indicates in the score that the whole waltz may be played through twice.⁷⁰ The Serenade is a very short work; the full score published by Birnbach in 1923 is only twenty-one pages long.

The years 1904 and 1905 witnessed a return to Lieder composition, a genre that Reznicek had only really dallied with in the *Drei Stimmungen* of 1883 and the *Trois Mélodies* in 1897. Dating from 1904 are the *Drei Gesänge eines Vagabunden*, (*Three Songs of a Vagabond Drei Gedichte*) (*Three Poems*), and the *Drei deutsche Volkslieder aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"* (*Three German Folksongs from 'the Youth's Magic Horn'*).⁷¹ The composer also orchestrated the first and last of these Lieder groups. They were followed in 1905 by *Drei Gedichte* and *Drei Lieder*.⁷² The question of why Reznicek turned to this genre after so many years is not addressed in the literature. A clue, however, may be found in the list of his works that were programmed by the Berlin Philharmonic. Beginning on March 30, 1905, several of his lieder with piano accompaniment are listed. The first is identified only as *Drei Lieder mit Klavierbegleitung*, sung by Ernst Kraus. Kraus may have been the impetus

⁷⁰ "Der ganze Walzer kann zweimal gespielt werden". Reznicek indicates on the autograph manuscript in the MÖNB that he finished the work on Jan. 31, 1920. A modern performance of the work was recorded in 1979 and released in 1984 under the KOCH International Schwann label on compact disc (RIAS-SINFONIETTA, Jiří Starek, cond., CD 311 128). This recording also includes Reznicek's violin concerto (Michael Davis, vln.; Philharmonia Hungarica, Gordon Wright, cond.).

⁷¹ The texts of *Drei Gesänge eines Vagabunden* by Martin Drescher are entitled "Die Wölfin," "Vagantenlust," and "Geh Heim." Drescher adapted the last of these from Hans Ostwald's *Lieder aus dem Rinnstein*. Drescher also wrote the text for *Drei Gedichte*. The three songs are entitled "Gebt mir ein Stübchen," "Bettelleut," and "Ein Weib." The first two lieder are also from Ostwald. The folksongs set from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* are "Der traurige Garten," "Gedankenstille," and "Schwimm hin, Ringelein."

⁷² Karl Henckell wrote the *Drei Gedichte* texts that are entitled "Auf dem See," "Lenzestrost," and "Die Braut." Each of the *Drei Lieder* texts has a different author: "Schmied Schmerz" (Otto Julius Bierbaum), "Schwesterlein" (Klara Forrer), and "Frühling" (Karl Henckell).

for the new Lieder; in fact, the *Drei deutsche Volkslieder aus “Des Knaben Wunderhorn”* is dedicated to him.

Three of these Lieder groups were also programmed on the Philharmonic Chamber Concerts: the *Drei deutsche Volkslieder aus “Des Knaben Wunderhorn”* (Nov. 4, 1905, Paul Riemers, soloist, with orchestra), another unidentified set of Lieder with piano accompaniment (Dec. 1, 1905, no soloist listed), and the vocal/piano version of *Drei Gesänge eines Vagabunden* (Jan. 26, 1906, Felix Lederer, soloist). Since no pianist is listed, and Reznicek’s name only appears as conductor, it is not out of the realm of possibility that he was the accompanist.

Family Life

Reznicek had done well professionally in a short time and had become a well known figure in Berlin society, not only because of his music or his conducting but, oddly, for his very long and full black beard that he grew during his first years in Berlin. (Fig. 11)

Fig. 11. Pre-1906 Photo of Reznicek. Reznicek Archives.



Now that he was over forty years old, the beard had developed a few white hairs which the composer did not think much about until a young girl on the metropolitan railway mistook him for an old man. That was enough to send Reznicek straight to the barbers to have the foot-long growth removed. According to Felicitas, in those days a beard represented the height of masculinity. When he ran into his wife on the way home, Bertha failed to recognize him at first, then broke into hysterics when he addressed her. Finally calming down she blurted, "You have a terribly naked chin."⁷³ The act of shaving caused such a social sensation that it became fodder for the Berlin newspapers.⁷⁴

Felicitas was born in Berlin in 1904. She was the youngest of the couple's four children and the only girl. Somewhere between the time of their union in 1898 and 1904, Reznicek and Bertha added three more children to the family circle which already included Eugen from Reznicek's marriage to Milka Thurn. In the course of *Gegen den Strom*, Felicitas writes about her family but, with the exception of herself, never discloses the birth years of her father's other children. Burghard was the next oldest son, who by 1915 was in the military on the Western front. Even if he were seventeen or eighteen, it would place his birth during the first year of Reznicek's and Bertha's union, around 1898, no doubt adding fire to the gossip surrounding their affair in Mannheim. Felicitas' youngest brother, Emil, was sixteen in 1915, placing his birth in 1899.⁷⁵ Felicitas followed after a five-year hiatus from procreation.

⁷³ "Du hast ein scheusslich nacktes Kinn." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 94.

⁷⁴ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 94.

⁷⁵ This birth sequence was pieced together through Felicitas' comments about her brothers during World War I. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 128.

Warsaw

When Reznicek returned to the continent after the London concerts, he assumed a new position at the Warsaw Opera.⁷⁶ Although he had the support of well-wishers in launching the Philharmonic Chamber Concerts, he had assumed all the financial risk himself. His personal finances were once again in disarray. The baron feared he would not raise enough capital to support his family. Forever haunted by the tragedy in Prague, Reznicek resolved to find a means of keeping his family in their home. Recounting her father's memories from that period, Felicitas says that he presented himself to the well-known concert agent Luise Wolf, dubbed by Berlin musicians as "Königin Luise"(Queen Luise), of the Wolf und Sachs agency. Luise Wolf "received him benevolently, took his hand and pressed it, as usual, to her chest, 'No my friend,' said she, 'This is not for me. I am a brute, but go to Humperdinck. He will help you. He is a good man, a very good man – a sap!' ”⁷⁷ Humperdinck, demonstrating an almost eerie prescience about forthcoming European conductor positions, introduced Reznicek to Herr A. Rajchmann, who was seeking a conductor for the Warsaw Opera and Philharmonic.

Reznicek accepted a season in Warsaw that was only six months long, but with a high salary of two thousand marks per month. Bidding farewell to his now sizeable family, which also included his artist brother, Ferdinand, who had moved in with them, Reznicek left alone for Warsaw. Most travel there was on foot, creating

⁷⁶ The Warsaw Opera was housed at the famous Wielki Grand Theater (opened in 1833) that was destroyed during World War II and subsequently rebuilt under the Communist government. It reopened in 1965 after over twenty years of lying in ruin.

⁷⁷ " 'Königin Luise' empfing ihn huldvoll, nahm seine Hand und drückte sie, wie üblich, an ihre Brust: 'Nein, lieber Freund,' sagte sie, 'das ist nichts für mich. Ich bin ein Biest. Aber gehen Sie zu Humperdinck. Er wird Ihnen helfen. Humperdinck ist ein guter Mensch, ein sehr guter Mensch – ein Trottel!' ” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 98.

difficulties for transportation of large families. In his new position, Reznicek was expected to spend an ample amount of time at official dinners and receptions where family attendance was not appropriate. Those factors aside, the salary, as generous as it was, could not maintain two households for long. Friends in Berlin offered to assist Bertha with the children and her day-to-day needs in her husband's absence.⁷⁸

During the nineteenth century, particularly following the November Uprising of 1831 when the country was under the direct administration of czarist Russia, political and cultural upheavals prevented Poland from developing much of an instrumental concert tradition. Some loose, temporary musical societies attempted to fill this niche, but without success. Until 1856, symphonic and other large ensemble genres fell to the orchestra of the Warsaw Opera. Any attempt to establish a permanent orchestra not dependent on the backing of St. Petersburg was doomed. Finally in 1901, the Warsaw Philharmonic was formed.

Arriving one year following the Revolution of 1905, Reznicek found an operatic organization in political and financial chaos. The opera personnel's day-to-day routines, as well as stage rehearsal procedures, were in need of reorganization and change. As the administrator of the orchestra and the opera, A. Rajchmann was ineffective and clearly incompetent. The opera company was comprised of people who spoke only Polish or other Slavic languages, while guest artists, brought in for the predominantly Italian and French repertoire, often spoke only Italian and French. Neither group understood the other and, as a result, sensibilities were raw and little art was being created.

⁷⁸ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 99.

Fortunately, Reznicek could resurrect his Slavic language skills from his time in Prague to help reorganize and muster the tact needed to work with the multilingual and emotionally charged assembly under him. He conducted three seasons there. He conducted the first Polish performance of Strauss' *Salomé*, but not in German: his chorus was Russian and his soloists were Polish and Italian. For a number of years the company had produced primarily operas of Verdi, Meyerbeer, and an increasing number of Polish offerings from contemporary composers like Żeleński⁷⁹ and Noskowski.⁸⁰ The manager of the opera house had extensive experience in Italian opera houses, but was amenable to adding German opera to the company's repertory.⁸¹ The Italian soprano Gemma Bellincioni⁸² learned the title role of *Salomé* in Polish to sing opposite the Polish tenor Konrad Zawilowski as John the Baptist.⁸³ Reznicek brought *Die Meistersinger* to the Warsaw stage for the first time, not in German, but in Polish. Reznicek writes that in the role of Walter von Stolzing was "a Polish tenor whose name I have forgotten, unfortunately. I have never forgotten how he sang the 'Prize Song.' Only one other sang it as exquisitely: Ernst Kraus."⁸⁴ It was an accomplishment to stage Wagner at this opera house. During the early years of the twentieth century, the only Wagnerian production prior to Reznicek's staging of *Die*

⁷⁹ Władysław Żeleński (1837-1921) composed four operas that display a mix of Polish folk music and 18th and 19th century Western art music traditional compositional foundations.

⁸⁰ Zygmunt Noskowski (1846-1909) composed six operas, the fifth of which, *Wryok (The Judgment)*, had its première at the Warsaw Opera on Nov. 15, 1906. In all likelihood, Reznicek was involved in the production, for he went to Warsaw in the fall of 1906.

⁸¹ His last name was Hörschelmann.

⁸² Gemma Bellincioni (1864-1950) was born Cesira Matilda. She created the role of Santuzza in the 1890 première of *Cavalleria Rusticana*. She is also celebrated in opera history as the first Italian *Salomé* which was in this production under Reznicek.

⁸³ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 101. In later years, Konrad Zawilowski would teach in Berlin where he was one of Hungarian tenor Sigismund Pilinszky's teachers.

⁸⁴ "Den Stolzing sang ein polnischer Tenor, dessen Namen ich leider vergessen habe. Nicht vergessen habe ich, wie er das Preislied sang. Nur einer sang es genau so herrlich: Ernst Kraus." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 102.

Meistersinger was a 1903 production of *Die Walküre*. Despite the language barriers, the Warsaw position was productive and successful for Reznicek. He worked with well-known international artists, some of whom he identified to Felicitas in their conversations. In particular, he mentioned Jean de Reszke,⁸⁵ baritone Mattia Battistini,⁸⁶ Adelina Patti,⁸⁷ Georgy Baklanoff,⁸⁸ and Feodor Chaliapin.⁸⁹

At the Philharmonic, Reznicek found a more cohesive group of musicians, some of whom were from Germany and Austria, as well as Poland. Concerning the concert hall⁹⁰ and his first concert there, Reznicek was quoted by his daughter as follows,

The concert hall was simply elegant and had excellent acoustics. The audience was appreciative of art and intelligent, and I was surprised with the sympathetic reception that they extended to me, an Austrian, at the first concert. We played my *Donna Diana Overture*, the cello concerto by Dvorak, the *Danse macabre* by Saint-Saëns, and the *Eroica*. During fifty concerts that I directed in the course of three seasons with Warsaw, I never had any complaints about my audience⁹¹

⁸⁵ Jean de Reszke (1850-1925). Polish tenor. Reputed to be one of the greatest tenors of his generation and acclaimed for his roles in French, Italian and German opera repertory. Despite his retirement from the stage in 1904 due to illness, he apparently did continue singing for a time in his native country and teaching the next generation of opera singers in Paris and breeding racehorses in Poland.

⁸⁶ Mattia Battistini (1856-1928). Italian baritone. In particular, Battistini enjoyed his social relationships with the Russian royal family and made Russia his artistic home, rather than Italy until the First World War. He made his first recordings in Warsaw in 1902.

⁸⁷ Adelina Patti (1843-1919). By 1909, Patti went into semi retirement from the stage. Her appearance at the Warsaw Opera, then, would have been considered the twilight of her professional career.

⁸⁸ Georgy Baklanov (1881-1938). Russian baritone. Having made his debut in Kiev in 1903, he sang for the Warsaw Opera early in his career. While Reznicek was conducting at the Comic Opera in Berlin during 1911, Baklanov sang the role of Scarpia for the production of *Tosca* there.

⁸⁹ Feodor Chaliapin (1873-1938). During 1907, Chaliapin would have sung at Warsaw during the same period that made his debut at the Met (1907). At Warsaw, he was cast in *The Ring* along with Jean de Reszke in Reznicek's production.

⁹⁰ Reznicek does not identify the concert hall by name, but during that period, the major concert stage for instrumental concerts was the Dolina Szwajcarska. It is identified as the concert venue for the newly formed Warsaw Philharmonic in 1901.

⁹¹ "Der Konzertsaal war einfach, vornehm und hatte eine ausgezeichnete Akustik. Das Publikum war kunstsinnig und verständig, und ich war erstaunt über den sehr sympathischen Empfang, den man mir, einem Österreicher, beim ersten Konzert bereitere. Wir spielten meine 'Donna Diana'-Ouvverture, das Cello-Konzert von Dvorak, die 'Danse macabre' von Saint-Saëns und die 'Eroica'. Während 50 Konzerten, die ich im Laufe der drei Saisons in Warschau dirigierte, hatte ich über mein Publikum nie zu klagen." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 100-101.

Although the concert seasons were successful, nationalistic Poles resented the Russian occupation of their country and foreigners in their concert halls. There were repeated bomb threats at the Philharmonic. On one occasion, Reznicek was not allowed into the concert hall. In another instance, two hours prior to a performance, someone threatened to blow up the concert hall as soon as the Minister of the Interior, who was Russian, set foot in the structure. Although Reznicek was known to be an Austrian, his ability to speak several languages, including Czech, and his willingness to get along with well the artists sheltered him from nationalistic scrutiny for over two years.

The problems that led to his departure began when he accepted an invitation to be a Russian governor's house guest. That perceived political indiscretion, along with the cordial reception he had begun to receive in Russian society, enflamed Polish sensibilities. The Polish press became hostile in their coverage of productions. One by one, contracts were not renewed. Rajchmann, the opera and orchestra administrator who had hired Reznicek, was the first to go. Then remuneration for foreign artists and administrators was withheld. At that point, Reznicek, whose temper had been held in abeyance since the disaster with the 88th Infantry Regiment, lost all control. Reaching the committee office (he remembers), "I took a chair in hand and swore, demanded to know why I hadn't got my money immediately. Five minutes later I had it."⁹² In reality, Reznicek said that when they told him "Puzuy" ("Later"), he took a chair and

⁹² "Ich bin ins Büro gegangen, haben einen Stuhl genommen und geschworen, die ganze Einrichtung zusammenzuschlagen, wenn ich nicht sofort mein Geld bekäme. Fünf Minuten später hatte ich es." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 113.

threatened one of the committee members, “Later? Shit!”⁹³ Shortly afterward, the now unemployed baron was on his way back to Berlin.

Except where Polish composers and artists are concerned, there is a great lacuna of information about instrumental concert life and opera in Warsaw during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. Neither Gluszczy-Zwolińska in her article on Warsaw in the *New Grove* (1980) nor Zofia Chechlińska in her editorial revision of the same article in the 2001 edition address this period adequately. While Gluszczy-Zwolińska mentions that Richard Strauss’ operas were staged, no mention is made of the directors who served after 1903 except that “thereafter, in the early 20th century the directorship changed frequently.”⁹⁴

About the Warsaw Philharmonic, Gluszczy-Zwolińska’s information is a bit confusing:

The Filharmonia Warszawska (Warsaw Philharmonic) was not formed until 1901; its directors and conductors included Młynarski (1901-5), Noskowski (1906-8), Melcer-Szczawiński (1908-9) and Fitelburg (1909-11 and 1923-34). Eugen d’Albert, Richard Strauss, Oskar Nedbal and others appeared there as guest conductors.⁹⁵

There is no mention of Reznicek during the conductorships of Noskowski and Melcer-Szczawiński, probably because he was on a six-month contract and returned to Berlin, or at least was not in residence during the other six months of the year. This is similar to the contracts of today’s principal opera and symphony conductors. While Reznicek was gone, both the opera and the orchestra had off-season performances to

⁹³ “E. N. merkte sich das, ging ins Büro und verlangte sein Geld. ‘Puzuy’, (später) wurde er vertröstet. E. N. schrie: ‘Puzuy? Guvno!’” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 113.

⁹⁴ Elżbieta Gluszczy-Zwolińska, “Warsaw 1795-1918,” in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (New York: MacMillan, 1980), xx, 220.

⁹⁵ Gluszczy-Zwolińska, 220.

keep their players employed and used assistant conductors. Quoted in *Gegen den Strom*, Reznicek recounts a tale of an off-season performance of his young colleague Vivian Hamilton's comic opera version of *Salomé*. The score was very complicated, and Reznicek had begun rehearsals for it at the end of his first six-month contract. Before he left, he turned the orchestra over to a young Polish conductor who, while he declared his readiness to assume the orchestra rehearsals, was hesitant about conducting and cueing the singers. The choir director offered to conduct them. It had to be a unique sight to behold at the performance when both orchestra and choral conductors stood together on the podium like Siamese twins. The press, too, was titillated by the novelty. According to Reznicek, who was told about the performance on his return to start his second season, a critic wrote, "Four-hand piano playing I've already seen; four-hand conducting is for me somewhat new."⁹⁶

Czechlińska has no further contributions in the updated article in the second edition of the *New Grove*, except to verify a 1909 performance of *Die Meistersinger* at the Warsaw Opera that is now known, thanks to his memoirs, to have been Reznicek's production. About the Warsaw Philharmonic, she writes:

From that date [1901] there were regular orchestral concerts whose programmes increasingly featured contemporary works. From 1906 there were a series of concerts devoted to music by the group of composers known as Młoda Polska (Young Poland), represented by Szymanowski, Grzegorz Fitelberg, Ludomir Różycki and Apolinary Szeluto.⁹⁷

Once again, it is fortunate that Reznicek chose to share his memories of this period with his daughter. Both Chop and Specht, who wrote biographical sketches during Reznicek's lifetime, mention his service in Warsaw. Other writers have made

⁹⁶ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 107.

⁹⁷ Zofia Czechlińska, "Warsaw, 1795–1918," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), xxvii, 99.

use of these two writers' works when pressed to generate encyclopedic entries or program notes for recordings of the *Donna Diana Overture*. Polish writers tracing their musical past only mention composers whose works continued to be performed and whose career and biographical details remained an ongoing concern in the twentieth century. Polish musicians would remain in generational memory to be passed on as national treasures. Foreigners, especially those with ties to St. Petersburg, would be deliberately forgotten. For those foreigners involved in Polish musical life whose records were obliterated there, only those surviving in the contemporary canon of European literature, like Strauss, receive a nod in Polish literary historical reconstruction. Eventually, with the leveling of Warsaw in World War II, the performance halls, official records, and concert programs associated with Reznicek's tenure were lost. Memories and knowledge of his contributions to music in Warsaw were eradicated with the death of those who knew him there during that short three-year period.

Works from the Warsaw Years

In Warsaw, the exceedingly busy six-month opera and philharmonic seasons were not particularly conducive to composition. Three of the works that Reznicek managed to complete during the Warsaw years are tied musically to several compositions that were written following his return to Berlin in 1909. For that reason, all will be mentioned in this chapter.

During 1906, Reznicek composed two works: the *Introduktion und Capriccio für Violine und Orchester* and the String Quartet in C-Sharp Minor. There is confusion about the actual title of the violin work. Nowak identifies the composition

as the *Introduktion und Valse Capriccio für Violine und Orchester*, and Leibnitz duplicates Nowak's title.⁹⁸ There is nothing listed for this work in the MÖNB. The Reznicek Archives contain the orchestra parts under the title, *Introduction und Capriccio von E. N. von Reznicek*.⁹⁹ Unfortunately, the full score and the solo violin part are missing. All the parts indicate that the first twenty-eight measures are played by the solo violin unaccompanied. Measures 25-28 of the solo part are written in the contrabass part as an instrumental cue, and make use of both double and triple stops; these are the final four measures before the orchestra enters in m. 29. The entire introduction, including the 28-measure unaccompanied solo, is 119 measures, followed by the 596-measure valse section that is set in 3/8 and marked "Not too quickly, but lightly and piquantly". The work is conceived for chamber orchestra, once again showing Reznicek's interest in composing for smaller orchestral forces. No doubt, there is a practical reason for this orchestration: Reznicek had a performance in mind, one that took place on the last of the five documented Berlin Philharmonic Chamber Concerts on January 17, 1907, with Bernard Dessau¹⁰⁰ playing the solo part.

The String Quartet in C-Sharp Minor exists in two versions: the aforementioned 1906 version, and a substantially reworked and lengthened one from 1921. Both versions of the autograph manuscript have survived and are in the

⁹⁸ Nowak, 277; Leibnitz, 112.

⁹⁹ These parts were placed with Bote & Boch publishers by Felicitas for safe keeping after World War II and then turned over to the Reznicek Society in the 1980s. The spelling of "Introduction" is curious. The copyist may not have been German; this is, however, the same copyist who wrote the parts for *Ruhm und Ewigkeit* and the *Frühlings Ouvertüre*. The paper maker for *Ruhm* and *Introduction und Capriccio* is the same: J. J. Berlin. No. 39.

¹⁰⁰ Bernard Dessau was a pseudonym for Bernard Dessoux. He was born in Hamburg in 1861 and died in Berlin in 1923. He does not appear to be related to violinist Paul Dessau (1894-1979).

MÖNB. Lacking current access to the first version of this quartet prompts me to cite Nowak's observations from his examination of the two versions.¹⁰¹

What is apparent at first glance is the difference between the beginning time signatures: 2/4 for the 1906 version and 6/4 for the 1921 reworking. Further investigation reveals copious new musical materials, to the extent that the revision really is a new work altogether. Only the Scherzo has material truly reminiscent of the third movement of the 1906 version.¹⁰² There is a reason for this drastic change. By the time Reznicek decided to revise the 1906 quartet, he had already taken much of that work to fashion another quartet, set one halfstep higher, in D minor. This work also underwent revision and was published by Birnbach the next year in 1923. This edition shows that Reznicek had performers in mind for the work. It bears a dedication to the Rosé Quartet on both the cover and the first page of the score and each part. The Rosé Quartet was named after the Austrian violinist Alfred Rosé, who founded the quartet in 1882. He was concertmaster at both the Vienna Opera and Philharmonic when Reznicek was there working on the production of *Donna Diana* with Mahler. Rosé was married to Mahler's sister Justine.

Besides the key of C-sharp minor, a deeper connection may be drawn between this quartet and Reznicek's only composition from 1907, the *Präludium und Fuge in cis-moll für grosses Orchester* (*Prelude and Fugue in C-Sharp Minor for Large Orchestra*). The finale from the original 1906 quartet provided source material for this orchestral work. At the place in the quartet manuscript where the fourth movement begins is an inserted sheet of the same type of paper used for the quartet.

¹⁰¹ Nowak, 316.

¹⁰² Nowak, 315.

On it, in the same ink, is notated both an opening prelude incipit and a fugue subject.¹⁰³ The fugue subject that Nowak has copied by hand matches the subject in the manuscript score of the orchestral fugue in the Reznicek Archives. (Figs. 12 and 13).

Fig. 12. Nowak, *Die Kompositionen E. N. von Rezniceks*, 315. String Quartet in C-Sharp Minor. Mov. 4 Insert. Fugue Subject, Mm. 1-3.

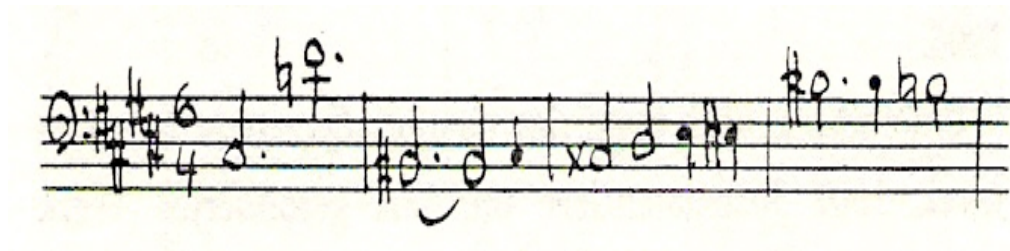


Fig. 13. *Prelude and Fugue in C-Sharp Minor for Large Orchestra*. Fugue Subject, Mm. 1-5.

3 Fl. *Ziemlich gehalten, schmerz lich.*

Ob. *Ob. I. 1^o espr. flebile*

Cl. *1^o espr. flebile*

Fg. *1^o espr. flebile*

Pr. *1^o espr. flebile*

I *1^o espr. flebile*

II *1^o espr. flebile*

Pr. *1^o espr. flebile*

Cl. *1^o espr. flebile*

B. *1^o espr. flebile*

¹⁰³ Since the manuscript of the 1906 version is currently unavailable (and there is no published score of this version), the author is taking Nowak at his word with regard to this discovery. Nowak, 315.

Nowak's description of the autograph manuscripts confirms the dates of both works. "Berlin, 4.7.06" appears at the end of the quartet, and "Berlin, 5.5.1907" on the orchestral prelude and fugue.¹⁰⁴

Although the work was never published, Felicitas mentions, incorrectly, that Richard Strauss conducted the first performance of the Prelude and Fugue in C-sharp Minor at the Königliche Opernhaus in the beginning of 1913.¹⁰⁵ No other sources confirm this. In his works list, Specht cites Reznicek's second orchestral prelude and fugue (in C minor), another work entirely, as the composition premiered on February 14, 1913. Reznicek has written on the Specht copy "Berlin" before that date. The autograph manuscript of this score in the MÖNB bears the date of 23.10.1912. It is more likely that having finished this work three months earlier, Reznicek sought a performance for it rather than resurrecting the first work that had been finished for over five years. Specht helps to clear up the confusion in the text of his book where he mentions that Reznicek's orchestral fugue in C-sharp minor (1907) was conducted by Schuch in Dresden.¹⁰⁶ The manuscript parts for the 1907 orchestral prelude and fugue along with a manuscript score copy in the Reznicek Archives bear evidence of having been played on some occasion. Corrections in different handwritings appear in the parts along with performance instructions, such as bow markings for certain notes. The conductor's score has cues, rehearsal numbers, and dynamic markings in both blue pencil and grey lead pencil throughout in a hand that is neither Reznicek's nor

¹⁰⁴ The 1907 date for the *Prelude and Fugue in C-sharp Minor* differs from the works list listing in Specht of 1906. The title in Specht is also aberrant: *Orchesterfuge cis-moll*. There is no mention of another orchestral fugue in C-sharp minor, however, in the Specht listing or in any other source, so there is little doubt that this is the same work.

¹⁰⁵ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 121.

¹⁰⁶ Specht does not give a date for the performance. Whether this was Specht's shorthand way of citing the work or whether only the fugue was performed at Dresden cannot be determined. Specht, 32.

Strauss', clearing up any confusion about Strauss conducting the work. In all likelihood, then, these are the parts played at Dresden and the score markings are Schuch's.

For Reznicek, who at the time of the Berlin première was considered a forward-looking modern composer, to compose an eighteenth-century style orchestral prelude and fugue without pretext appears puzzling. He had incorporated contrapuntal writing in his works, but he had not up to this point composed a work in the strict style of Bach. Why did he suddenly become interested in this style of composition in 1906? It could be viewed as an example of Reznicek's incipient neo-classicism, which had also appeared in the works of his contemporaries. Another answer comes from an unanticipated source. At the end of *Gegen den Strom*, Felicitas reminisces that while Reznicek was on a trip before the war (WWII), he wrote to her from Athens. Visiting the Acropolis, he wrote, "I don't understand anything about building, but the Acropolis made a tremendous impression on me. Thus one should be able to compose. Thus the great Johann Sebastian Bach composed."¹⁰⁷ Felicitas casually mentions that her father once wrote an article stating his opinion of Bach's music.¹⁰⁸ What she omits are the date and the circumstances. In late 1904, the journal *Die Musik* released a questionnaire to its readers to ask what Bach meant to them personally and what relevance he proffered for the present day. The results of the questionnaire were printed in the journal's first issue of 1905/06. Reznicek was one of the respondents whose reply was published. After extolling the liberty and boldness of Bach's counterpoint, as exemplified in the B minor prelude and fugue from the

¹⁰⁷ 'Ich verstehe nichts von Bauten, aber die Akropolis hat einen ungeheuren Eindruck auf mich gemacht. So sollte man komponieren können. So hat der grosse Johann Sebastian Bach komponiert.'

¹⁰⁸ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 196.

first volume of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, Reznicek addresses a time that, although past, is closer his own. He writes,

I would like to call him (Bach) the Richard Wagner of his time (in a purely musical sense). Because all of Wagner's daring thematic, harmonic, and polyphonic accomplishments can be found in the music of that great eighteenth-century Gothic. To my mind, the polyphony of Wagner's second period (from *Tristan* on) can no doubt be related to Bach as well. . . . He (Bach) was a great innovator, a brilliant enthusiast, a visionary, a Romantic – and all that within the context of thrice glorified holy counterpoint. I pray to Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner. Amen.¹⁰⁹

Having pondered the query and written a thoughtful response to *Die Musik*, Reznicek may have felt inspired to create his own musical homage to Bach. Between 1906 and 1920, this reverence for the Baroque master resulted in the aforementioned preludes and fugues for orchestra and the subsequent setting of these two works for organ solo (published by Simrock 1918 and 1920). The C minor prelude and fugue was actually written and published first. It is dedicated to Walter Fischer.¹¹⁰ According to the Specht works list, it had its first performance in April of 1919. The C-sharp minor work's title is altered to reflect the chromatic fugue subject to *Präludium und chromatische Fuge in cis-moll (Prelude and Chromatic Fugue in C-Sharp Minor)*. No documentation of a contemporary performance has been found.

¹⁰⁹ "Ich möchte ihn den Richard Wagner seiner Zeit nennen (im rein musikalischen Sinn). Denn alles was dieser in thematischer, harmonischer und polyphoner Beziehung gewagt hat, finden wir bereits bei dem grossen Gotiker des 18 Jahrhunderts. Meiner Meinung nach passt auch die Polphonie der zweiten Wagnerschen Periode (vom 'Tristan' an) zweifellos auf Bach. . . . Er war ein grosser Erfinder, ein genialer Schwärmer, ein Phantast, ja ein Romantiker – und alles im Rahmen des dreimal gebenedeiten, heiligen Kontrapunktes. Ich bete zu Bach, Beethoven und Wagner. Amen." E. N. von Reznicek, "Was ist mir Johann Sebastian Bach und was bedeutet er für unsere Zeit?" *Die Musik* 5, no. 1 (1905/06): 61.

¹¹⁰ Walther Fischer was the organist for the Berlin Cathedral.

Chapter 5

Return to Berlin and World War I, 1899-1922

Existing biographical accounts depict Reznicek's transition from Warsaw to his new position in Berlin at the Komische Oper (Comic Opera) as a virtually seamless affair. Chop cites personnel changes in Warsaw as a reason for his departure, Leibnitz hints at political intrigue, Taubmann's book ends with 1907, and Specht does not mention the Warsaw position at all.¹ Then all announce his new appointment with the Berlin Comic Opera. In truth, Reznicek returned to Berlin in both financial and physical shambles. With only his final paycheck from Warsaw, Bertha von Reznicek sensed the impending financial crisis and, as Reznicek's father had done previously, took the initiative to ferret out local openings for musicians. The Warsaw experience had done its damage: Reznicek was admitted to the hospital with ulcers when he reached Berlin. Bertha presented herself to stage director Hans Gregor² at the Comic Opera bearing her husband's musical credentials. Subsequent to his discharge from the hospital, Reznicek only had to report to Gregor and sign a three-year contract.³

Hans Gregor had diverse interests in opera and theater production and had what was at that time revolutionary ideas in programming, comparable to today's new music and experimental theater. In an article from 1974, author Robert Cowden says of Gregor: "Hans Gregor at the Komische Oper in Berlin was among the first to place great emphasis on the stage director and this initiated a drift which has gathered

¹ Chop, "E. N. v. Reznicek: Das Leben," 517; Leibnitz, 27; Taubmann, 217.

² Hans Gregor eventually became a director of the Vienna Opera.

³ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 114.

momentum up to the present time.”⁴ Gregor gave Reznicek leave to hire good musicians for the orchestra and offered him an attractive contract to direct thirteen operas. Leibnitz’s list of operas Reznicek conducted includes Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Delius’ *Roméo et Juliette*, and Oscar Straus’ (1870-1954) *Das Tal der Liebe* (*The Valley of Love*).⁵ In *Gegen den Strom*: Felicitas mentions more: Offenbach’s *Hoffmanns Erzählungen* (*Tales of Hoffmann*), d’Albert’s *Tiefland* (*Low Country*), Gounod’s *Der Arzt wider Willen* (*Le médecin malgré lui*), and Verdi operas *Rigoletto* and *Un ballo in maschera*. During the course of his contract at the Comic Opera, Reznicek also directed his first operettas. Discovering that he enjoyed the experience, he decided to compose some: “I am not of the opinion that it is a dishonor to compose operettas. Finally, I wrote one myself: *Die Angst vor der Ehe* [*The Fear of Marriage*].”⁶ This operetta, however, was the composer’s second venture with the genre. Either in his old age, or because of Felicitas’ error, *Die verlorene Braut* (*The Lost Bride*), begun in 1909 during Reznicek’s first season with the Comic Opera predates *Die Angst vor der Ehe*. It is also absent from the Specht works list. Finished in 1910, the work is a short three-act operetta of 151 pages and remains in manuscript in the MÖNB. The three-act *Die Angst vor der Ehe*, with text by Louis Taufstein and Erich Urban, was composed in 1913, two years after Reznicek left the Comic Opera, and published the following year. The two operettas stand as an example of circumstance acting as the impetus to creativity. It is unlikely that Reznicek would ever have thought to compose operetta had he not conducted them at the Comic

⁴ Robert H. Cowden, “Acting and Directing in the Lyric Theater: An Annotated Checklist,” *MLA Notes* 30, no. 3 (March 1974): 449.

⁵ Leibnitz, 27.

⁶ “Ich bin nicht der Ansicht, dass es eine Schande ist, Operetten zu komponieren. Schliesslich habe ich selbst eine, ‘Die Angst vor der Ehe’ geschrieben.” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 116.

Opera. In another twist of fate, “when Reznicek was director [conductor] at the Komische Oper, he and the Intendant (Gregor) approached playwright Wedekind for permission to set ‘Lulu’ after the Reinhart production. This met some obstacles, and the matter was dropped.”⁷

Schlemihl, Der Sieger, Frieden

It would be impossible to say how long Reznicek would have remained at the Comic Opera conducting and possibly becoming Berlin’s Johann Strauss, Jr., had his salary been higher, had the opera not become the target for critics of Hans Gregor, and in light of the criticism leveled against him, had Gregor not decided to accept a position as stage director of the Vienna Opera. With his contract at an end, Reznicek taught theory at the Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory and maintained a small studio of private composition students. In desperation, Reznicek accepted a stage conducting position with Hermann Gura’s Italian Stagione (italienische Saison) now to make ends meet. Concurrently, Bertha Reznicek’s health became a serious issue to the extent that she was hospitalized for an extended period, endured a difficult operation, and almost died. Yet again, fate would dictate art, or at least, desperate circumstances stimulated his productivity. Where some personalities turn to substance abuse or engage in zealous religious fervor for convenient answers in times of personal crisis, Reznicek’s more positive obsession was composition. During 1911, Reznicek started work on the first of his three symphonic tone poems, *Schlemihl* (*The Bungler*). According to Felicitas, Reznicek refers to the Yiddish moniker for the individual for whom good luck is unattainable and for whom nothing ever goes

⁷ Gordon Wright, "The Symphonies of Emil Reznicek," 3.

correctly, not the character “Peter Schlemihl” from the well known Chamisso novella.⁸ In creating *Schlemihl*, Reznicek constructed his own musical autobiography as he saw his life and fortunes. Reznicek recounts the following story:

When years ago I had been stricken by great grief in my family, and in other matters, too, the little ship of my life was on the verge of sinking. I resolved the following: Before I vanished from the face of the earth in some way, I would set down all my distress and sufferings in a sort of self confession, leave something behind, as it were, in a testament of notes. It was in this way that *Schlemihl* came about.⁹

Despite Bertha’s near fatal illness, she slowly regained her health after a month-long stay in the hospital. Now in a “self-confession” that on the title page bore a dedication to his wife (“Meiner lieben Frau, Bertha gewidmet”), Reznicek had produced his first symphonic poem.¹⁰ On December 18, 1912, on the third of six symphony concerts of the Berlin Philharmonic sponsored by the concert bureau of Emil Guttman, *Schlemihl*, whose full, more descriptive title is *Schlemihl. Symphonisches Lebensbild für Tenor Solo mit grosses Orchester* (*Schlemihl. Symphonic Biographical Sketch for Tenor Solo with Large Orchestra*) was performed for the first time.¹¹ Felicitas may be

⁸ In *Peter Schlemihl* (1814), the character Schlemihl sells his shadow to the devil for a bottomless purse. This tale contains possible anti-Semitic overtones. Felicitas says the following: “Er nannte es ‘Schlemihl’. Häufig wird dieser Titel falsch interpretiert. Es handelt sich nicht um Peter Schlemihl, sondern mit Schlemihl ist ein Mann gemeint, der vom Pech verfolgt wird. (‘Schlemihl’ ist das jüdische Wort dafür).” [“He called it ‘Schlemihl.’ This title is frequently interpreted falsely. It isn’t concerned with Peter Schlemihl, but rather the term ‘Schlemihl’ refers to a man who is constantly pursued by bad luck (‘Schlemihl’ is the Hebrew word for that)”. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 120.

⁹ “Als mich vor Jahren schwerer Kummer in meiner Familie getroffen hatte und auch sonst mein Lebensschifflein zu scheitern drohte, hatte ich mir vorgenommen: Ehe ich von der Bildfläche auf irgendeine Art verschwand, alle meine Not und Schmerzen vorher in einer Art Selbstbekenntnis niederzulegen, – gleichsam als Testament in Tönen zu hinterlassen. Auf diese Art entstand der ‘Schlemihl’. E. N. v. Reznicek, *Personaldokumente*, 5.

¹⁰ *Schlemihl* was the first of Reznicek’s works to be published by Bote & Bock in Berlin. Reznicek had Roeder do the printing before he offered it to Bote & Bock who, after accepting it, added their publication statement to the bottom of the title page. The bottom of the first page of the score still retains the copyright statement, “Copyright 1913 by E. N. v. Reznicek, Berlin.”

¹¹ Muck, 143.

incorrect in her assertion that Theodore Spiering conducted the première.¹² Although Oskar Fried is listed as the conductor for that particular series and general conductor for that concert, the program from December 18 notes that Reznicek conducted the work himself and Felix Senius (1868-1913) was the tenor soloist.¹³

In capsule, as *Schlemihl*, Reznicek recounts his life as a cocky young man who is seduced by various vices to be redeemed subsequently by the woman who would become his wife. They receive the gift of their child (Felicitas) and experience the hand of unlucky fate that leaves them rife with illness and strife. Through suffering they are finally delivered to a state of peace, as the tenor sings Goethe's *Wandrer's Nachtlied I*:

You who are from heaven
Calm all grief and pain,
Fill him who doubly suffers
With double refreshment –
Ah, I am tired of busy doings
What's the point of all the pain and joy?
Sweet peace,
Come, ah, come into my embrace.¹⁴

It is fortunate that Bote & Bock publishers accepted the work for publication shortly after the première in Berlin in 1913, for no manuscript is extant. The work itself is about forty-five minutes long and calls for Reznicek's largest orchestra to date: 3 flutes + 1 picc, 3 oboes + 1 Eng. Horn, 3 clarinets + 1 bass clarinet, 3 bassoons + 1 contra bsn, 4 horns, 4 trumpets + 2 offstage, 3 trombones, tuba, percussion (timpani, bells in a-flat & e-flat, cuckoo, glockenspiel, xylophone, triangle,

¹² F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 122.

¹³ Muck, 143-4. See Appendix 3 for complete program.

¹⁴ "Der du von dem Himmel bist, – Alles Leid und Schmerzen stillest, – Den, der doppelt elend ist, – Doppelt mit Erquickung füllest – Ach, ich bindes Treibens müde! – Was soll all der Schmerz und Lust? – Süßer Friede, – Ach komm in meine Brust."

tambourine, cymbals, snare and bass drums, tam-tam, celesta, organ), 2 harps, 32 violins, 12 violas, 10 celli, and 8 basses.

It is impossible not to draw parallels between Reznicek's choices of subject matter for his compositions from 1912 on and those of his friend and colleague, Richard Strauss. Thoughts of the 1903 *Symphonia domestica* and *Ein Heldenleben* inevitably spring to mind. Regardless of Strauss' removal of the detailed program, it remains very much the intimate autobiography of the House of Strauss. Reznicek's *Schlemihl* is another household altogether. In character, this music is closer to the opium nightmares of Berlioz than the domestic or heroic music of Strauss, or Mahler's prescience of despair, or even Wagner's homage to Valhalla. The work is loosely organized into five main areas;

- I. The introduction of a young man (Reznicek) who is seduced by the vices, enters into orgies (actually marked "Orgie. Scherzo" in the score); encounters characters decidedly out of a darker version of the commedia dell'arte: a naked fat witch with hanging belly and breasts, an Aubrey Beardsleyesque figure, a mad flutist, hunchback dwarf, and a singer, and engages with them in waltz sequences, slow gavottes (marked "Gavotte with satanic grace"), and more wild orgiastic scherzi – all to dissipate swiftly with the entrance of
- II. The Woman (marked "The Woman. Very slowly, somewhat majestically.").
- III. Eventually, the Child appears accompanied by score indications of "animated," "lightly agitated with gracefulness."

IV. Domesticity is interrupted by fate (“very moderately”; then “lively, with majestic pride”); a return to the opening material, interrupted by suspenseful sounding and melodically disruptive material – splintered recognizable melodic and rhythmic motives from other parts of the work; a death march-like sequence representing illness follows, then a large fugue-like section finally resolves to the music of

V. The healed Woman spared from death represented by the tenor solo, and a final spiritual transformation of the Man.

The work received good reviews from Max Chop in the *Signalen für die musicalische Welt* and Oskar Bie from the *Börsenkurier*.¹⁵

The première of *Schlemihl*, a work considered modern and almost “cutting edge” in 1912 Berlin, was followed less than two months later with a performance of the very retrospective *Präludium und Fuge in c-moll für grosses Orchester (Prelude and Fugue in C Minor for Orchestra)* that Reznicek had finished on Oct. 23, 1912. It must have shocked many concert goers who, after hearing the tone poem, were expecting Reznicek’s next work to be equally “modern,”¹⁶ especially because both works were composed during the same time period.

The success of *Schlemihl* had to have emboldened Reznicek to attempt a second symphonic poem immediately. *Der Sieger (The Victor)* received its world première exactly one year later on December 18, 1913, on the second of two Symphonie-Abende (Symphony Evenings) with the Philharmonic that Theodore Spiering conducted. As *Schlemihl* had been, *Der Sieger* was the featured final work

¹⁵ Felicitas v. Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 121.

¹⁶ Felicitas uses the term “Wilden Neutöner.” *Gegen den Strom*, 121.

of the evening.¹⁷ *Der Sieger* was not autobiographical, but was it an allusion to the life of Richard Strauss? Even in 1913, it was a rumor that invited speculation and debate. Was Reznicek so envious of Strauss' success that he composed a musical satire of his colleague and friend? Was he poking fun with his gallows humor at Strauss' commercial success as a composer, one that rendered him and his family the willing social figures of the European artistic world? Strauss was the man with the commercial success of a modern-day Andrew Lloyd Webber or John Rutter. In comparison to Strauss, whose maternal side traced back to brewery people and paternal side to a career horn player from the Munich Court Orchestra, Reznicek was a baron in lineage, albeit rarely and reluctantly one in practice. In contrast to Strauss, for whom almost every move seemed to turn into success, Reznicek's three steps forward unfailingly resulted in two-and-a-half steps backward. Was there truly something to the superstition of being born under the wrong star? Writing after her father's death, Felicitas is moved to try to dispel the rumors. "After the great success of *Der Sieger*, even when some envious people tried to whisper to Strauss that Reznicek had wanted to compose a parody of him with this symphonic poem, he did not allow himself to be misled and was the first to stand up to it."¹⁸ Felicitas' statement invites all to draw their own conclusions after reading the program and listening to the music. What is undeniable, however, is the composer's program printed on the verso page opposite the first page of the full score:

¹⁷ This concert is particularly interesting for its American connection. That evening Amy Beach was the piano soloist for the performance of her own C-sharp minor piano concerto. Muck, 151.

¹⁸ Selbst als einige Nieder, nach dem grossen Erfolg des 'Sieger', Strauss einzuflüstern versuchten, dass Reznicek mit dieser symphonischen Dichtung eine Parodie auf ihn hätte schreiben wollen, liess er sich nicht beirren und war der erste, der diesem Gerücht entgegentrat." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 122-3.

This work is meant as a contrasting work to the composer's aforesaid 'Schlemihl'. Here an unlucky man – there a man who succeeds in everything: cold, hard, but daring and enterprising. He renounces love and takes a companion of his own sort. So, made for each other, they both climb the pinnacle of success and gather wealth.

Unexpectedly, he falls ill. His companion leaves him. On his deathbed he sees his whole life passing before his eyes. The horror of death grips him with terrible force. He, used to success, fights with the force of despair against inescapable doom. Visions. The procession of death. Death – Redeemer.¹⁹

Like its very long title, *Der Sieger. Symphonisch-satyrisches Zeitbild für grosses Orchester, Alt-Solo und Chor*, (*The Victor. A Symphonic-Satirical Contemporary Picture for Large Orchestra, Alto Solo and Chorus*) the work itself requires an even longer list of performers than its predecessor. Besides the orchestral forces of *Schlemihl* are added: E-flat clarinet, 4 more horns, 2 more trumpets, 3 more trombones, castanets, tambourine, a third harp, 8 more 1st and 4 more 2nd violins, 4 more violas, 2 more celli, and 2 more basses. Reznicek only subtracts one of the bells, the cuckoo, and the organ from the mix. Reznicek notes that the extra horns, trumpets, trombones, and third harp are optional. The extra oboe and strings are only an ideal number of players.

The score of *Der Sieger* is divided into three separate movements with titles and subdivisions:

I. Der Aufstieg und die Gefährtin (Ascent and the Companion)
A. Die Gefährtin

II. Der Tanz um das goldene Kalb (Dance around the Golden Calf)

¹⁹ "Dieses Werk ist als Gegenstück zu des Komponisten 'Schlemihl' gedacht. Hier ein Pechvogel, dort ein Mensch, dem alles gelingt, kalt, hart, aber kühn und unternehmend. Der Liebe entsagt er und wählt sich eine Gefährtin nach seinem Schlag. So, füreinander geschaffen, erklimmen beide den Gipfel des Erfolges und sammeln Reichtümer. Plötzlich erkrankt er. Die Gefährtin verlässt ihn. Auf dem Totenbette sieht er sein ganzes Leben vor seinem geistigen Auge vorüberziehen. Das Grauen vor dem Tode packt ihn mit fürchterlicher Gewalt. Er, der Sieggewohnte, kämpft mit der Kraft der Verzweiflung gegen das unabwendbare Verderben. Visionen. Der Zug des Todes. Tod – Erlöser. E. N. von Reznicek, *Der Sieger. Symphonisch-satyrisches Zeitbild für grosses Orchester, Alt-Solo und Chor* (Berlin: Bote & Boch, 1914), 2.

III. Der Tod (Death)

- A. Das Grauen (Horror)
- B. Der Tod (Death)
- C. Der Zug des Todes (Procession of Death)
- D. Der Tod tanzt (Death is Dancing)
- E. Wiegenlied (Cradle Song)

The opening movement is the most clearly satirical section replete with *Ein Heldenleben*- and *Till Eulenspiegel*-like fanfares and waltz sequences reminiscent of *Der Rosenkavalier*, all altered and overdone to sound like musical hyperbole. The second movement combines fanfares and a wild waltz interrupted sporadically with Reznicek's own version of the *Dies irae* melody based on notes 4-7 of the old *Dies irae* melody. (Fig. 14)

Fig. 14. Reznicek. *Der Sieger*. Mov. III. Measures Beginning at the Double Bar.

The musical score for Figure 14 shows the beginning of measures at a double bar line for various instruments. The instruments listed are: 3 Flg., K. Flg., 1. 2. 3 Hr. in F, 2 Trpt. in C, Pk. in A e, Tamb., Beck., Gr. Tr., 3 Harfen, 1. Viol., 2. Viol., Br., Vcll., and Kb. The score includes dynamic markings such as *f*, *mf*, and *arco*. A tempo change is indicated by the text: "Dasselbe Zeitmaß, sehr gewichtig (L'istesso tempo, molto pesante)".

The final movement with five named subsections may hold the clue to a deeper meaning in this work. At the time of its first performance, no one knew that for “Der Tod,” Mov. III. B., Reznicek borrowed the East African melody from the fourth movement of his first symphony (“Tragische”). That movement ends with a funeral march glorifying the *Mors Imperator*. This choice introduces the question of double satire, or at least a double meaning. Reznicek shelved the symphony after its première and lukewarm reviews: was he now also seeking his own musical deliverance, or even redemption for the main characters of both *Schlemihl* (himself) and *Der Sieger* (the spiritually misguided)? It is certainly possible that he liked the death theme and reused it, as some composers reused their material before him. The former reason is possible, however, especially considering the words of the alto solo and chorus taken from the Persian of Anwari Soheili²⁰ that bring the work to an end:

If a world's wealth for you is lost,
Do not feel regret about it, it is nothing;

And if a world's wealth you have won,
Do not be happy about it, it is nothing.

Pains and pleasures pass on,
Pass by in the world, it is nothing.

Anwari Soheili²¹

Stretching this point a bit further, in its construction, Anwari's poem may well have served Reznicek's purpose even more directly than if only taken at face value as the

²⁰ Twelfth-century Persian poet Auad-uddin Ali Anwari is better known by the single name Anwari or Anvari. While long in the favor of various Persian rulers, he was eventually banished to Balkh, more commonly known as Bactra in Northern Afghanistan. Other sources say that he disliked a life dependent on patronage and chose to leave court. He was very erudite and was fond of employing satirical wit and very obscure allusions in his writing.

²¹ "Ist einer Welt Besitz für dich zerronnen, Sei nicht im Leid darüber, es ist nichts; Und hast du einer Welt Besitz gewonnen, Sei nicht erfreut darüber, es ist nichts. Vorüber gehen die Schmerzen und die Wonnen, Geh an der Welt vorüber, es ist nichts.

message or redemption for *Der Sieger*. The first couplet is reflective of the fate of *Schlemihl* (Reznicek), the second of *Der Sieger* (Strauss), and the third, the ultimate fate of both artists – a twelfth-century aphorism on the transitory nature of life.

Reznicek did not forget the charge of parody leveled against him. Six years following the composition of *Der Sieger*, Reznicek wrote a section of a large article in the Austrian periodical *Der Merker*, where he addressed his tone poems. Strauss' name is mentioned in this article. Reznicek neither overtly denies nor admits to creating a musical caricature of his colleague:

During my last stay in my beloved city of Vienna on the occasion of the performance of my "Der Sieger" in the second Philharmonic concert, I frequently heard the following opinion. Now that Richard Strauss was turning from the symphony to opera, I was taking advantage of this fortunate occurrence in order to cultivate this abandoned field alone. I, however, believe that I am justified in seizing the word and asserting that I turned the opposite way and changed from the operatic to the symphonic for other reasons. I have never said to myself: I now want to write a quartet, a symphony or songs – or it is about time again to compose an opera. I have always created only according to inspiration and out of an inner need. Without in the least wanting to compare myself: it was for me as it was for Goethe. What drove me was an internal or external experience, the irresistible drive, and need to express something that weighed upon my heart.

Years ago, as heavy hardship struck my family and my tiny life's vessel threatened to founder, I decided before I was to disappear from this surface in whatever manner: to set down all my misery and pain – as it were, to leave behind a testament in tones. In this manner "Schlemihl" was born. However, things changed and I drew new courage for life. What was more logical than the thought to embody the opposite musically? It was "Der Sieger." If I am reproached that in this piece caricature figures prominently, I can call upon Richard Wagner whose highest law: "Truth in Musical Expression," I have written upon my banner. I wanted to portray caricatures. That I succeeded in my intended purpose I can only credit to my account. The decision as to whether such a subject is even suitable for symphonic treatment, is one I am content with.²²

²² Typescript translation by Dietrich Strohmaier of E. N. von Reznicek, "Frieden - eine Vision," in "Werkeinführung durch den Komponisten," *Der Merker: Österreichischer Zeitschrift für Musik und Theater* 11 (December 1919): 636. German text in Appendix 4.

So far as Reznicek's life influencing his art, he has said as much here. Regardless of the rumors of intentional or unintentional parody, the collegiality and friendship between Strauss and Reznicek lasted for the rest of their lives. Reznicek spent time at Garmisch and even taught flute lessons to Strauss' grandson. The grandson, also named Richard, said of Reznicek,

When I was seven I said I wanted a flute, meaning a recorder – a block flute; that was all. Lo and behold, on my birthday I was given a silver flute and informed that Professor Reznicek of the Vienna Philharmonic had been engaged to give me lessons twice a week, the full drill.²³

In 1912, somewhere between the two symphonic poems, Reznicek composed two Lieder for bass voice with orchestral accompaniment. *Zwei Balladen aus Friedricianischer Zeit* (*Two Ballads from the Time of Friedrich* [The Great]) resurrect the spirit of Reznicek's military Kapellmeister years. The Lieder are infused with trumpet and drum rhythmic motives in the accompaniment, and the last Lied duplicates a small portion of the Austrian General March with its characteristic military signal.²⁴

Following the success of *Der Sieger*, Reznicek composed *Frieden* (Peace) in 1914. While the two preceding symphonic poems had been commentaries on life, *Frieden*, came from a source impossible to control, his unconscious mind, the world of dreams. The work had its première with the Berlin Philharmonic on January 14, 1915, with the composer as guest conductor. This concert was part of the

²³ Richard Strauss (b. 1927). This would have taken place around 1934. Kurt Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss: An Intimate Portrait*, trans. Mary Whitall (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1989), 198.

²⁴ The Lieder titles are "Der Husar" (text by Friedrich de la Mott-Fouqué) and "Das Regiment Forkade bei Hochkirch" (text by Georg von Krier). Much later in 1921, Birnbach (Challier) published a version for voice and piano. Nowak, 271.

Philharmonischer Chor (Philharmonic Chorus) series of the orchestra season directed by Siegfried Ochs.²⁵

In the 1919 article in *Der Merker*, Reznicek also wrote about the origins of *Frieden*:

I did not want to deliver a music-aesthetic discussion, but rather to explain in what manner the inspiration for my third symphonic work “Frieden” arose. And for that I beg permission to speak of something essentially everyday. It deals with a dream. It occurred on December 20, 1913 – I remember the exact day, because I noted it in the score. I dreamt the following – I was a soldier. After a bloody battle! I lay mortally wounded upon the battlefield among thousands of fellow sufferers. The groans and cries of those calling for help and water penetrated horribly throughout the night, out of the distance sounded signals, drum rolls and the thunder of the guns of the pursuit. Watch fires flared up, the despoilers (hyenas) of the slaughter field pounced upon us defenseless sacrifices. A gigantic figure, death, on horseback, rode slowly across the corpses. I writhed in a feverish delirium. Suddenly, as though by magic, it grew light around me. I am at home with my family, peace has been declared, the people rush jubilantly together in order to celebrate the happy event, bells sound their bronze tones, the solemn song of the faithful flows from the churches, everything unites in a tumultuous crescendo of happiness. Suddenly it becomes clear to me that all of this is a vision, a deception, a birth of my sick, overheated imagination. It becomes dark again around me, the jubilation has died away; I lie upon the battlefield and – die! At this moment I awake. On the next day I began the outline of my symphonic creation “Frieden” which then unfortunately became reality through the political events of the years 1914-1918.²⁶

The première shared the program with Bruckner’s F minor Mass and was the final work of the evening. The program from the Berlin Philharmonic concert appears on the next page (Fig. 15).

²⁵ Siegfried Ochs (1858-1929). German conductor and composer. In March 1889, a contract was drawn up between the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and the Ochs’ Philharmonic Chorus. Ochs became a professor at the Berlin Hochschule in 1889. In 1900 he created the *Neue Bach-Gesellschaft* with Joachim.

²⁶ E. N. von Reznicek, “*Frieden* - eine Vision,” 636. German Text in Appendix 4.

Fig. 15. Berlin Philharmonic Archive. Philharmonic Program of Jan. 14, 1915.

BERLIN 1914/15.

PHILHARMONISCHER CHOR
(Dirigent: Professor SIEGFRIED OCHS).

Donnerstag den 14. Januar 1915, abends 7 1/2 Uhr

IN DER PHILHARMONIE:

III. Vereinskonzert
(zum Besten der notleidenden oesterreichischen und ungarischen Staatsangehörigen in Berlin).

PROGRAMM:

1. Grosse Messe in F-moll . *Anton Bruckner.*
(Zum ersten Male).
2. Frieden *E. N. von Reznicek.*
(Uraufführung; unter Leitung des Komponisten).

MITWIRKENDE:

Frau **Klara Senius** (Sopran); Frau **Paula Weinbaum** (Alt); die Herren Kammer Sänger **Paul Schmedes** (Tenor) und **Anton Sistermans** (Bass).
Herr Professor **Bernhard Irrgang** (Orgel).
Der **Anna-Schultzen-von-Asten-Chor** (Dir. Frl. Marg. Herrmann).
Das verstärkte Philharmonische Orchester.
(Soli: Violine: Herr Konzertmeister J. Thornberg.
Bratsche: Herr Willy Höber,
Violoncello: Herr Paulus Bache).

Celesta: Schiedmayer Pianofortefabrik.

Nach der Messe von Bruckner eine Pause von 15 Minuten.

IV. Vereinskonzert, Montag den 15. März, 7 1/2 Uhr
in der Philharmonie: Die hohe Messe in H-moll von
Johann Sebastian Bach.



Along with the Berlin critics covering the concert, K. Schurzmann was present from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (Leipzig). With the description of the work and the choral text already provided by Reznicek for the concert program, Schurzmann offered the following critical comments:

The audience had to go through a considerable metamorphosis as Reznicek lifted his baton for the première of his "Frieden." A vision is the basis of this piece of program music. . . . Reznicek's overly rich multicolored orchestral palette, often rising to an offensively glaring effect, is well known from his earlier works; he also throws in the light and shade of the Vision of Peace. With respect to the composition, the piece is inferior to earlier works, for instance, "Der Sieger." It is less eccentric, but also in addition, weaker in originality. The choirs are also

embarrassingly unison and monosyllabic in places; the chorale is more beautiful in effect. All in all, no particularly lucky shot, the reception was divided.²⁷

By the word “Choral,” Schurzmann may well have been speaking about the hymn- or chorale-like portion of the work where all are thanking God. (in Reznicek’s words from his article in *Der Merker*, “the solemn song of the faithful flows from the churches”). Whether Reznicek actually included a German chorale melody, or composed a chorale melody of his own, is not clear. Like the “Tragische” Symphony, the score and parts to *Frieden* disappeared during World War II.

It is a cruel irony that this work with its theme of peace should have gone missing in wartime. It remains missing to date. In 1953, Felicitas von Reznicek deposited most of her father's manuscripts that were restored to her after the war with the firm of Bote & Bock for safe keeping. It is not known whether *Frieden* was amongst those materials. In the 1980s, Felicitas gave permission for the Reznicek Society to pick up all manuscript materials from Bote & Bock then housed somewhere in their cellar. *Frieden* not being amongst the scores, the Reznicek Society was hopeful that Bote & Bock might have overlooked the work in their inventory and that it had not succumbed to the bombing during the war that destroyed some of their music. As recently as May of 1993, members of the Reznicek Society conducted an interview with Herr Herold Kunst of Bote & Bock publishers in Berlin, optimistic that he could shed some light on the missing tone poem. Along with

²⁷ “Eine bedeutende Metamorphose hatte die Zuhörerschaft durchzumachen, als E. N. v. Reznicek den Stab zur Uraufführung seines ‘Frieden’ hob. Diesem Stück Programmusik liegt eine Vision zugrunde, . . . Das bunte, überreiche, oft bis zum beleidigend grellen Effekt gesteigerte Orchesterkolorit Rezniceks ist aus seinen früheren Werken bekannt, es wirft auch in der Vision des Friedens Licht und Schatten. Bezüglich der Erfindung steht das Stück früheren Werken nach, z. B. dem Sieger; es ist weniger exzentrisch, dafür aber auch schwächer in der Originalität, Die Chöre sind stellenweise von nahezu befangener Einstimmigkeit und Einsilbigkeit, von schöner Wirkung ist der Choral. Alles in allem kein besonders glücklicher Wurf, die Aufnahme war geteilt.” K. Schurzmann, review of *Frieden*, by E. N. v. Reznicek, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (Leipzig) 82 (1915): 43-44.

Schlemihl and *Der Sieger*, this third work of what has come to be called “The Trilogy” was in the publication schedule by the firm. During this interview, Herr Kunst expressed no knowledge of the work and suggested that the firm had not published it. His surprise was genuine when he was shown the following flyleaf from score of *Der Sieger* advertising the trilogy for sale by Bote & Bock. (Fig. 16)

Fig. 16. Bote & Bock Advertising Flyleaf for *Frieden*.



Considerably puzzled, Kunst could only rejoin that the firm must have published this work, but they had no record of it in their archives, and the Reznicek Society had all the music held by Bote & Bock in their inventory, as well as that deposited by Felicitas. Several scenarios as to fate of *Frieden* may be suggested. Both *Schlemihl*

and *Der Sieger* were programmed more than once on Berlin Philharmonic concerts, *Frieden* only once. Whether it was programmed elsewhere is not known. Although Bote & Bock accepted the work for publication, three possible explanations could account for its disappearance:

1. The escalation of the war may have postponed the typesetting or they may have been behind in their publication schedule because of the war. As a result, the manuscripts (full score, orchestra parts and chorus parts) lay at Bote & Bock on hold. They were never typeset and perished with a number of other scores belonging to the firm in the World War II bombing that destroyed part of the building.
2. A postponement of the typesetting prompted Reznicek to take the scores back to his home in Berlin. A firebomb hit his bedroom during World War II and destroyed some music that was stored there, including *Frieden*.
3. A postponement of the typesetting prompted Reznicek to take the scores back to his home in Berlin. *Frieden* was amongst the eighty scores in the composer's trunk that was taken by the Nazis in 1943 and later looted after the war.

Religious Music

One other significant work comes from 1913. The *Vier Bet- und Bussgesänge für Alt oder Bass und kleines Orchester* (*Four Prayer and Biblical Songs for Alto or Bass and Small Orchestra*) are most often referred to simply as the *Four Biblical*

Songs. The text comes from the Sirach, one of the apocryphal texts from the Bible.²⁸

A great portion of the Sirach deals with a variety of subjects pertaining to the individual, the family, and the community in its relation with its members and with God. Given the time during which Reznicek composed the songs, on the brink of World War I, the texts from this book may well have appealed to his sensibilities.²⁹

The *Four Biblical Songs* were first programmed on February 24, 1914, on an evening of Reznicek's music with the Berlin Philharmonic.³⁰ The composer conducted his own works that evening, beginning with the *Overture to Donna Diana*, followed by the songs with Marie Götze as the alto soloist,³¹ and ending with the second Berlin performance of *Der Sieger*.³²

Other than his early Mass and the Requiem, both created in the mid-1890s, Reznicek composed only three other overtly religious works. Neither Reznicek nor his daughter mentions personal religious affiliations in their writings; they render the impression of being very secular individuals. One exception to this appears with the circumstances surrounding the creation of *In Memoriam* completed in 1915. As with the *Biblical Songs*, *In Memoriam* was written during a time of national upheaval, and can be construed to have been influenced by it. Where the connection in the pre-War *Biblical Songs* is more subtle, *In Memoriam* is overt. During the second year of

²⁸ The Book of Sirach derives its name from the author, Jesus, son of Eleazar, son of Sirach. Its earliest title seems to have been "Wisdom of the Son of Sirach." The designation "Liber Ecclesiasticus," meaning "Church Book," appended to some Greek and Latin manuscripts was due to the extensive use which the church made of this book in presenting moral teaching to catechumens and to the faithful.

²⁹ The Specht works list gives a very specific period of time: Winter 1913. Specht, 111. See Appendix 2 for text and translations.

³⁰ Muck, 149.

³¹ Marie Götze was the prima donna in the Hamburg Opera during the later 1880s. During a rehearsal for *Carmen*, she had an argument with the director and she was replaced by Ernestine Schumann-Heink. The performance in 1914 with Reznicek was much later in her career. By then, she was decidedly not a soprano anymore, so the alto solo may well have suited her range.

³² *Der Sieger* would appear three times on Berlin Philharmonic concerts. The *Four Biblical Songs* would be repeated during the 1922 season with alto Maria Olszewska.

hostilities, Felicitas (then ten years old) was taking Catholic confirmation classes at the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church. Through the court chaplain there, Reznicek came to know Privy Councilor Konrad, who acted as an advisor in helping Reznicek with the text of *In Memoriam*. As a result, the text pays homage to God and country, and the work was dedicated to those who died in the war.³³ The first performance was in Schwerin in northern Germany on July 2, 1916. Another performance may have taken place soon after in Stettin, which at the time had a military post.³⁴ *In Memoriam* is scored for alto and baritone solo, mixed choir, organ and string orchestra. The work is divided into two large untitled sections with further subdivision of four and three short movements, respectively. The fourth movement adds two trumpets and timpani as optional. The string parts never play by themselves, but only double the choral lines. In this way, the work can be performed with organ as sole accompaniment, making the work ideal for church performance.

The third of Reznicek's religious works of the 1910s, his setting for unaccompanied choir with optional organ accompaniment of *Vater Unser* (*Our Father*, or the *Lord's Prayer*), would follow four years later in 1919.

Theater Music

Interested in the cultural life of Berlin, Reznicek frequented the Unter den Linden Theater Club where he made a number of social contacts and met some of the influential individuals connected with the dramatic arts. Two directors from one of

³³ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 130.

³⁴ Above the date for the work in the Specht works list, Reznicek has written "Schwerin". Reznicek has also written next to that "Stettin". Specht, 110. Today, Schwerin is the capital of the state Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. At the time that Reznicek was composing, Stettin was in Germany. Hindenburg was at one time stationed at Stettin. It is part of Poland today.

the theaters on the Königsgrätzer-Strasse, Carl Meinhard and Rudolf Bernauer, engaged Reznicek to compose incidental music to Strindberg's *Ein Traumspiel* (*A Dream Play*, 1901).³⁵ Because of the limited space for musicians in these theaters, Reznicek composed the music for *Ein Traumspiel* for a chamber ensemble. It was successful enough that the composer extracted six parts from the work and fashioned a suite that was later published by Simrock in 1921: *Traumspiel-Suite: Sechs Stück nach dem gleichnamigen Schauspiel von A. Strindberg* (*Dream Play Suite: Six Pieces after the Play of the Same Name by Strindberg*). This was followed the next year with more incidental music, this time for Strindberg's *Nach Damaskus III* (*After Damascus III*), of which only the manuscript survives in the MÖNB. Reznicek composed incidental music for two more plays during his career. Meinhard and Bernauer collaborated on a 1922 production based on E. T. A. Hoffmann's tales of the bizarre music director Johannes Kreisler. Entitled *Die wunderlichen Geschichten des Kapellmeisters Kreisler* (*Conductor Kreisler's Fantastic Stories*), it is a fantasy play that is a dark, rather grotesque comedy. The score was published by Drei Masken Verlag the same year as the production.³⁶ For his final venture into theater music, Reznicek returned to Herbert Eulenberg (with whom he had collaborated in the 1917 opera *Ritter Blaubart*), and created a *Zwischenspiel* for his play *Polizei* (*Police*) in 1926. The manuscript score and parts are in the MÖNB and remain unpublished.³⁷

³⁵ Strindberg's play at this time was still rather new to audiences, particularly German ones. It was first produced in Stockholm in 1907. Strindberg himself died in 1912, just three years before the 1915 production in Berlin.

³⁶ Drei Masken Verlag was a Jewish firm that would be dissolved during World War II.

³⁷ This *Zwischenspiel* was never published. Oddly, it is not mentioned in any of the biographical portraits. Nowak also avoids any discussion about the work. It is listed in his inventory for the MÖNB, as it is also in Leibnitz.

No one can agree on a date for Reznicek's setting of Karl Henckell's poem, *Schelmische Abwehr* (*Roguish Defense*). In his works list, Specht assigns a date of 1915, which is copied by Leibnitz. Nowak points to Reznicek's still possessing a sense of humor after composing so many serious works (particularly *Ritter Blaubart*) by his composition of *Schelmische Abwehr* in 1925.³⁸ This date, however, cannot be correct since Universal-Edition published the song in 1922. Elsewhere, Nowak gives the date of 1915, thus correcting a simple misprint involving the third digit of the date.

Ritter Blaubart

The 1917 opera *Ritter Blaubart* (*Knight Bluebeard*) was one of Reznicek's most successful stage works. The Bluebeard tales had attracted several opera composers – Grétry, whose *Raoul Barbe-bleue* was composed astonishingly during the first year of the French Revolution in Paris as an opéra-comique,³⁹ and Offenbach's opera in 1866.⁴⁰ Dukas' *Ariane et Barbe-Bleue*, rather remarkable in that Dukas did not commit it to the flames as he did the majority of his manuscripts, appeared in 1907.⁴¹ The most celebrated is Bartok's early twentieth-century version of the tale *Duke Bluebeard's Castle* in 1918.⁴² The story was ripe for interpretation; Bluebeard, with its origin in fairy tale, had enjoyed numerous iterations. All stories centered on a man possessing a very thick and dark beard which was referred to as a "Bluebeard." Other attributions, both positive and negative, included great physical

³⁸ Specht, 111; Leibnitz, 111; Nowak, 272

³⁹ Its première was at Paris' Comédie Italienne on March 2, 1789.

⁴⁰ *Barbe-Bleue* was first performed at the Paris Variétés on February 5, 1866.

⁴¹ Dukas used Maeterlinck's text for his three-act opera. Première was in Paris on May 10, 1907.

⁴² Libretto by Daniel Balázs (1884-1929). Première was at the Budapest Opera on May 24, 1918.

power and a sexual energy that, while initially appealing to many women, subsequently led to their ruin once they became involved with him. A version of the tale can be traced back to French writer Charles Perrault in his *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé (Stories or Tales of Times Past, 1697)*. In his tale set in the fourteenth century, Perrault retained the character's beard as an essential element, further ascribing a blue appearance to the growth. Perrault distilled all the magical elements associated with the character in various tales down to one: a permanently bloodied magic key. Late nineteenth- and twentieth-century mutations of the Bluebeard story deal more with the psychological interpretations behind Bluebeard's behavior once the inevitable rejection of his unreasonable demands transpire.

At the time of composition, Reznicek had enjoyed only one continuous stage success: *Donna Diana*. *Till Eulenspiegel* never reached the artistic or commercial success of his 1894 creation, and his two operettas were conceived more as experiments rather than major artistic endeavors. In creating his Bluebeard opera, *Ritter Blaubart*, Reznicek avoided one of his former pitfalls by not writing his own libretto. Instead, he turned to Herbert Eulenberg, who had a predilection for subjects from the past, and, even more to Reznicek's own proclivities, relished the fantastic. Although it eschewed fantastic elements, Eulenberg's play was perfect for Reznicek's penchant for tragedy and attraction to things pathological. It contained violence, slow psychological degeneration, madness, and final release through death. Eulenberg's original play was presented for the first time at Berlin's Lessing Theater on November 8, 1906. It was not a success; the public was not ready for the vivid realism of spousal serial killing and onstage burial scenes. They were outraged, and

the play closed immediately. Reznicek left for Warsaw that month, but he and Bertha were both present at the première. Nine years later in 1915, Bertha brought the work back to his attention, and they engaged in a lengthy and detailed discussion of its operatic potential.⁴³ Sensing its promise as an opera, Reznicek still had misgivings about the public's reaction to the violent tale that created such controversy and scandal in 1906. Eventually, Reznicek and Eulenberg began to exchange letters and work on shrinking the text to fit into three acts. Reznicek worked on the opera for two years, longer than any work he previously had composed. It lay finished in the fall of 1917 with no performance scheduled.⁴⁴ Because of the dramatic content and the ability to stir the sensibilities, it was considered too volatile to be released to the public during time of war. As a result, the Kaiser Wilhelm II (through Georg Graf von Hülsen-Haeseler, the general manager of the Royal Opera), censored its performance, not only in Berlin, but throughout Germany. Richard Strauss saw the work's artistic potential, but not even his intervention with von Hülsen in 1917 could move the latter to try to lift the ban.⁴⁵ With the termination of hostilities, the opera was sanctioned for its first performance on January 29, 1920, not in Berlin, but at the Darmstadt State Theater.⁴⁶ Michael Balling (1866-1925) directed the première, and the title role was sung by Johannes Bischoff.⁴⁷ Critics from the *DarmstädterTagblatt*, *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, and *Hessische Landeszeitung* were present for the première. Reviews overall were positive. Negative

⁴³ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 133.

⁴⁴ Chop, *E. N. v. Reznicek: sein Leben*, 88.

⁴⁵ Felicitas mistakenly identifies the general manager as Hans von Hülsen (1890-1969), who was an author and editor, not the stage manager for the Royal Opera. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 137.

⁴⁶ Margaret Ross Griffel, *Operas in German, A Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 606.

⁴⁷ Johannes Bischoff (1874-1935). German baritone. Later toured North America in 1904-05 with the Savage opera company. Married to German soprano Sophie Bischoff-David.

comments from Behr (Leipzig) and Samet (*Hessische Landeszeitung*) centered on what they perceived to be Reznicek's use of sharp dissonance.⁴⁸ The success of the work assured its staging nine months later in October of 1920 in Berlin at the German Opera House (Deutschen Opernhaus), and the work would be staged twenty-seven times in that city during the following six years.⁴⁹

Despite the popularity of the opera and the positive criticism it received, Reznicek's old schoolmate Busoni, who praised *Der Jungfrau des Orléans*, clearly had less charitable thoughts about *Ritter Blaubart*. Busoni saw a Berlin City Opera (Berlin Staatsoper) performance at the end of 1920 and wrote the following disparaging letter from Berlin to Volkmar Andreae⁵⁰ on Dec. 28, 1920:

I have not heard Reznicek's symphony [no. 4], but have, on the other hand, seen his opera 'Ritter Blaubart'. The wonderful story has been ruined here by the text and the music! The librettist adheres to the generally accepted story of the locked-up women and a murder cabinet – but the infamous *Gil de Rais* was Marshal of France, an alchemist and exorcist. He made a pact to sacrifice children to the Devil and himself had a perverse predilection for the sexual abuse of his victims. It is a Faust story turned macabre, and a colossal theme. . . .⁵¹

Further allusions to *Ritter Blaubart* appear in a subsequent letter to Andreae the following year. Speaking about the Berlin City Opera productions of his own operas *Turandot* and *Arlecchino* in the spring of 1921, Busoni mentions to Andreae in a letter from Berlin on May 14,

⁴⁸ Bruno Behr, review of *Ritter Blaubart*, by E. N. von Reznicek, *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, 3 Feb., 1920, reprinted in *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, no. 15 (October 1, 1920): 530; Samet, review of *Ritter Blaubart*, by E. N. von Reznicek, *Hessische Landeszeitung*, 30 Jan. 1920, reprinted in *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, no. 15 (October 1, 1920): 530.

⁴⁹ Leo Blech (1871-1958) was the conductor for this performance. *Blaubart* was sung by German bass Karl Braun (1886-1960). F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 149.

⁵⁰ Volkmar Andreae was a Swiss composer and conductor. He served as an assistant conductor at the Munich Opera, and from 1906-49 was the chief conductor of Zurich's Tonhalle Orchestra. He also served as director of the Zurich Conservatory from 1914-39.

⁵¹ Ferruccio Busoni, *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, Anthony Beaumont, trans. and ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 330.

It was a fortunate coincidence for me that the latest novelty preceding my pieces was a most effective and successful production of '*Così fan Tutte*'. By fortunate, I mean that the public was able to cross a light, airy and pleasurable bridge from Schreker and Reznicek – to me.⁵²

Like all of Reznicek's works, *Ritter Blaubart* faded from the German repertoire after several years. It was revived in a recording of a 2002 performance for Deutschland Radio by Michail Jurowski conducting the soloists and the Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester of Berlin. A review of the recording by Robert Levine of *ClassicsToday.com* included the following with regard to Reznicek's music:

The musical tension never flags, the vocal lines, while not attractive in themselves, are expressive and impressive (and difficult), and if Reznicek were more interested in melody, this would be a hands-down masterpiece. The only flaw is a lack of tunes; onstage this must be simply grand.

Reznicek will remind listeners of Schreker and/or Strauss and/or Wagner, but his sense of drama and concision is unique to him. Almost 30 minutes of this 130-minute opera consists of purely orchestral interludes, which in addition to allowing scene changes, keep the mood of the piece alive – besides being handsome, richly orchestrated pieces in their own right. The whole is dark-hued and driven, and I mean this last word in the most complimentary way.⁵³

⁵² The Berlin City Opera programmed Reznicek's *Ritter Blaubart* and Schreker's *Die Gezeichneten* along with the Busoni works, and operas by Eugen d'Albert and Max von Shillings. Ferruccio Busoni, 334.

⁵³ Robert Levine, Review of *Ritter Blaubart*, by E. N. von Reznicek. CPO Records CPO 999 899-2, *ClassicsToday.com*. ©ArkivMusic LLC, 2003.

Chapter 6

The Latter Years of the Great War and the Weimar Republic Years, 1916-1932

In Berlin, despite what must have seemed an interminable waiting period between 1917, when he finished *Ritter Blaubart*, and its staging at Darmstadt in 1920, Reznicek continued to actively but quietly promote his music for performance with Strauss, accepting premières and performances of his works with the Berlin Philharmonic, composing, and even beginning a teaching appointment at the flagship of Prussian music educational institutions and Germany's première conservatory, the Berlin Akademische Hochschule für Musik.¹

Regardless of their friendship, there were times that Strauss did turn his friend down flatly for scheduling performances of his music, as he happened in a letter dated May 20, 1916. In a previous missive to Strauss where Reznicek suggested that rather than programming the *Donna Diana Overture*, Strauss consider his *Traumspiel Suite*,² Strauss wrote back,

Dear Herr von Reznicek!

Please don't hold this against me, but these little sketches, which contain very charming details and would certainly be appealing and lively in a theatrical setting, absolutely do not fit in among great symphonies. What one performs in concert must have at least a musically somewhat coherent form. I don't mind the shortest little minuet, but the listener should be able to grasp something concrete – or am I turning into an old Philistine here?

I would much rather stick with the *Donna Diana Overture*. It is a pity that you have not written more that is as pretty and dainty. You are becoming so terribly modern now. Perhaps you could try a dozen or so 8-measure country waltzes à la Schubert – something that was recommended to me by our Father Brahms once upon a time, and rightly so – or a ball suite (modern dances) for orchestra. Old Franz Lachner's efforts turned out a little too pedestrian here, but it

¹ Today known as the Berlin Conservatory.

² This letter was dated May 14, 1916.

is a good idea nonetheless. However, you do not want lessons from me, but rather performances, and with these I cannot be of help this time. You should try the concert effect of the little suite at the Choral Academy or the Beethoven Hall!

Most cordial greetings

Your always devoted

Dr. Richard Strauss³

Works from 1918

Besides his friendship with Richard Strauss, Reznicek developed a friendship with a man who, like Strauss, could help him. Earlier in 1913, a young Swiss named Hans C. Bodmer approached Reznicek for composition lessons. Bodmer lived in an unfashionable section of Charlottenburg in a single furnished room. Unbeknownst to Reznicek, Bodmer was actually quite wealthy and came from one of the richest families in Zurich. Bodmer quickly became one of Reznicek's most passionate devotees; he attended every rehearsal, concert, and première and was effusive in his championing of the middle-aged composer. He would even travel to Darmstadt with the family in 1920 for the rehearsals and première of *Ritter Blaubart*.⁴ On his invitation, he brought the Reznicek family to St. Moritz for a needed vacation, and was always very generous with his money, a commodity of which the family was continually short. Reflecting on her father's life, Felicitas emphasizes the important roles that Bodmer and Strauss played in Reznicek's survival after his move to Berlin.

For E. N., among the most beautiful experiences in an existence otherwise rich in tragedy belonged the unrestricted admiration and unselfish promotion that he received from the greatest living composer, Richard Strauss. Without him and the

³ It is not clear for what ensemble Reznicek was suggesting his work, possibly the Royal Opera. This letter is in the collection of SUIA in Zurich. The original German version of this letter appears in Appendix 5.

⁴ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 169.

Swiss friend H. C. Bodmer, he would have probably suffered a shipwreck prematurely.⁵

By 1918, Reznicek must have come to recognize and value the friendship and support of Bodmer. On the score of his third symphony published by Universal-Edition in 1918, Reznicek indicates the dedication to Bodmer: “Hans G. Bodmer gewidmet.” The date on the autograph manuscript from the MÖNB shows that Reznicek completed the work, titled the *Symphonie “im alten Stil”* (*Symphony in Olden Style*), on his fifty-eighth birthday, May 4, 1918. The symphony is conceived for chamber orchestra. Gone are the lower brass, harp, and percussion except for a pair of timpani. Winds are in pairs, except for horns (4), and the composer indicates no definite number of string players. Observations made by Gordon Wright underscore the musically anachronistic character of the symphony.

I inherited the score to this symphony when I acquired the orchestral library of Fritz Lehmann, the noted Bach conductor some years ago. My immediate and unsubstantiated reaction was that the work was from the late 1880s and was a superb but early effort of the composer. The copyright date convinced me otherwise, however, and I eventually saw this symphony in relation to other anachronistic works such as Prokofiev’s *Classical Symphony* or Strauss’ Concerto for Oboe.⁶

Reznicek never identifies the fifteenth-century folk melody that he uses for the andante introduction and as the melodic basis for development in the rest of the movement. The melodic material that comprises the second key area of the exposition is a simple A major arpeggio. Concerning the development section and recapitulation of the movement Wright comments,

⁵ "Zu den schönsten Erlebnissen in einem sonst an Tragik reichen Dasein, gehörte für E. N. die uneingeschränkte Bewunderung und uneigennützig Förderung, die er von dem grössten lebenden Komponisten, Richard Strauss, erfuhr. Ohne ihn und den Schweizer Freund H. C. Bodmer hätte er wohl vorzeitig Schiffbruch erlitten." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 198.

⁶ Gordon Wright, "The Symphonies of Emil Reznicek," 7.

The climax of the development is a fugue, which is preceded by a brilliantly scored canonic entrance. The theme's resemblance to a southern American song is coincidental. The fugue leads into a rousing cadence and the recapitulation, which goes directly to the counterstatement, thus omitting the original statement of the theme. The coda features some spectacular horn passages, and the final cadence is plagal, a touch for a symphony which is supposed to suggest older times.⁷

Wright's comparison of the fugue theme to a southern American song is interesting in that he, like Reznicek, does not identify the source. (Fig. 17)

Fig. 17. Fugue subject. *Symphonie "im alten Stil"*. Mov. 1. Rehearsal 13.

The musical score for Rehearsal 13 of the Fugue subject in the first movement of *Symphonie "im alten Stil"* by Emil Reznicek. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for woodwinds, brass, and strings. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The score is marked with 'a. 2' (second ending) and 'f' (forte). The woodwinds (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon) and strings (Violins, Violas, Cellos, Double Basses) play the fugue subject. The brass (Trumpets, Trombones) play a supporting role. The score is marked with 'f marc. pesante' (forte, marked, pesante) and 'f marc.' (forte, marked). The score is marked with 'muta in D A' (change to D major). The score is marked with '13' in a circle.

⁷ Gordon Wright, "The Symphonies of Emil Reznicek," 8.



The second movement adagio, while beautifully and gracefully presented, is simple and formally unremarkable. Concerning the minuet and trio third movement, Wright notes,

In 1918, the decision to include a minuet in his symphony left Reznicek with some excellent choices: write an old-fashioned minuet or combine the poetic and satirical elements of Mahler. Reznicek struck a happy medium, and in a modestly brilliant way, has written a satire of a satire. The abrupt alternation of major and minor leaves you fairly breathless. . . . The second section of the minuet is a continuation of the rousing harmonic dislocations, culminating in a chromatic scale of five notes which leaps from the middle of the orchestra through four octaves. . . . The trio is a Ländler, the very essence of Reznicek's later period, a sentimental backward look to the nineteenth century, where the horrors of war were not so prominent, that haven for all sentimentalists, Vienna of the 1890s. The minuet is repeated without change, and a coda of eighteen bars finishes the movement⁸

Of the finale, Wright says,

The last movement is a rousing 6/8 affair, reminiscent of the last movement of Mendelssohn's *Italian Symphony*. Marked *Allegro con anima*, the movement is dominated by three themes, the first of which suggests a college fight song [not identified]. The second theme is in B major and sets a strong duple idea against the 6/8 idea. The rondo structure is marked by a return of the initial melody, which soon moves toward F-sharp major, and a new theme. The illusion is that of a slower theme, but Reznicek has been careful to keep the same tempo. Now he extends the melody to two and three bar phrases. The rhythm is a constant conflict between 3/4 and 6/8. The melody dominates the section. The recapitulation is delayed considerably through working out of the two previously heard themes

⁸ Gordon Wright, "The Symphonies of Emil Reznicek," 8.

through various keys. The main theme is finally heard again, however, and moves quickly toward a rather unexpected *poco maestoso*, which combines all three themes in a rather cacophonous but distinctively clever contrapuntal working out. The furious ending is interrupted by a restatement of the F-sharp major theme, and the symphony ends in a burst of D major.⁹

Reznicek's outward choice of a rondo format bears the more integrated structure of sonata rondo rather than simple couplet rondo and is impregnated with Reznicek's penchant for unexpected flights of formal, melodic, and harmonic fancy.

While studying the symphony in preparation for performance and recording, Wright was prompted to write to Felicitas that the score seemed to indicate that Reznicek conducted with his first and second violins separated, left and right. Felicitas wrote back to him on November 5, 1983, to confirm that such was the case: "As far as I can remember, my father always had the first violins to the left of the conductor and the seconds to the right."¹⁰

Even without the subtitle, the symphony is purposefully backward looking in a couple respects: the classically labeled sonata movements and the intentional melodic homage to past masters whom Reznicek admired and whose spirits dominated his musical training. Nikisch conducted the first performance of the symphony on the sixth of his opening concerts of the Berlin Philharmonic 1918-1919 season. Reznicek's stylistic turn was not lost on critic August Spanuth, who said,

The extremely modern Reznicek shows up in historical garb; that must be piquant! It was more than only piquant, it was thoroughly interesting and quite refreshing because, for the bold Program-Musician Reznicek, despite most daring modern experiments and trips, never becomes strange in the classical form of absolute music: he is born and educated in it. . . . Nikisch conducted the symphony with sympathy and helped it to an honest, strong success. . . .¹¹

⁹ Gordon Wright, "The Symphonies of Emil Reznicek," 8-9.

¹⁰ Letter is in personal collection of Gordon Wright.

¹¹ "Der überaus moderne Reznicek zeigt sich im historischen Gewande, dass muss pikant sein! Es war mehr als bloss pikant, es war durchwegs interessant und recht erquicklich, denn dem verwegenen

Like the third symphony, the remaining works from 1918 are retrospective in some way. The *Konzertstück für Violine mit Begleitung des Orchester (Concert Piece for Violin with Orchestral Accompaniment)* (E major) remains in manuscript.¹² The work is in two movements and, other than trombone and triangle, the orchestration is that of a classical orchestra. More important is the next violin concerto in E minor. Felicitas mentions the work in conjunction with summing up her father's views of composing for soloists. "My opinion is that my father was a typical orchestra composer. The violin concerto is the only work for a soloist (except singers). He was not considering the virtuoso wishes of soloists, but composed also the Violin Concerto in the same manner as his symphonies."¹³

The famous violinist and pedagogue Carl Flesch was responsible for perpetuating two myths about Reznicek, one concerning his political leanings, and the other about the E minor violin concerto. Following the end of World War I, Flesch was seeing subversive behavior everywhere, imagining that some of his colleagues had "Spartacist" or Socialist leanings.¹⁴ In his memoirs, published for the first time in English from the unpublished German manuscript, Flesch talks about Reznicek and the violin concerto.

Programm-Musiker Reznicek ist die klassische Form der absoluten Musik trotz gewagtester moderner Experimente und Ausflüge niemals fremd geworden; er ist in ihr geboren und erzogen. . . Nikisch dirigierte die Symphonie mit Sympathie und verhalf ihr zu einem ehrlichen, starken Erfolge . . ."

August Spanuth, review of *Symphonie im alten stil* by E. N. v. Reznicek (Berlin Philharmonic), *Berliner 8 Uhr Abendblatt*, 7 January 1919, reprinted in *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, no. 15 (October 1, 1920): 528.

¹² Sometime during the composer's lifetime, he changed the name to *Violinekonzert* [spelling conforms with that of the autograph manuscript]. It is therefore distinguished from the violin concerto in E minor to follow by the key and the number of movements. Autograph manuscript gives a completion date of August 30, 1918.

¹³ Felicitas never mentions the *Introduction and Valse Capriccio*. She was probably unaware that the work existed. Felicitas von Reznicek, "Reznicek Talk," 1.

¹⁴ Spartacist refers to the Spartacist League, a radical group of German Socialists. The Spartacists goal was to form a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The composer Reznicek too, was infected with the Spartacist epidemic. At that time, he had just heard me play the "Hungarian" concerto of Joachim and, strongly impressed, had decided to write a violin concerto for me. "Mind you, something popular, easily comprehensible, accessible to the multitude," as he put it. I was attracted by his noble personality, and he too liked to drop in for a chat between working hours. On these occasions, I was both perplexed and amused to note that this aristocrat turned out to be a radical anarchist who regarded the out-and-out destruction of existing conditions as the sine qua non of a future and better world. He was completely impoverished, and his wife earned their livelihood by giving bridge lessons: in his desperate situation, the annihilation of the existing order seemed to him the only possible solution, Russia serving as a shining example.¹⁵

In 1970, Felicitas dispels this rumor in a statement to Gordon Wright,

My father was a declared nonconformist, was against monarchy and very liberal, not a nationalist at all. How Flesch could think he had communist ideals, I cannot understand. He (Reznicek) was very much impressed by personalities, like Lenin and also went to a memorial demonstration after his death, but he did not share his ideals. He was for social thinking and had no heart for Standesunterschiede [class distinction], but he was not even a socialist. . . . My father was a [*sic*] "Eulenspiegel" character. When he talked to democrats he played the wild extremist, was he with extremists, he played the conservative. As a matter of fact, he himself thought that he was a conservative, but he was in fact a liberal and a democrat.¹⁶

With regard to the violin concerto, Flesch adds,

In contrast to these confused dreams of the future, his violin concerto proved to be a reactionary salon piece, intentionally shallow, and showing a confounded resemblance to de Bériot's students' concertos. As he asked me for my unreserved opinion, I gave him a candid description of the crushing impression his work had made on me. He seemed to share my view, for he committed the manuscript to the flames.¹⁷

Felicitas counters this claim. According to her, the violin concerto was dedicated to his former pupil Alice Schönfeld, then later to Mäzen, and finally to Hans C. Bodmer. The published score shows no dedicatory reference, however. She continues, "Flesch was offered the first performance, but he did not like it and refused, which, by no

¹⁵ Carl Flesch, *The Memoirs of Carl Flesch*, trans. and ed. Hans Keller (New York: MacMillan, 1958), 310-11.

¹⁶ Felicitas von Reznicek, "Reznicek Talk," 1.

¹⁷ Flesch, 311.

means urged my father to throw it away. It was performed several times, is in the archives of many radio stations with Alice Schönfeld as soloist.”¹⁸

Although Flesch rejected the work, as Felicitas affirms, the violin concerto was performed. While the date of the première is not known, Reznicek’s personnel file in the Berlin Hochschule does divulge the name of the performer. On October 27, 1941, Reznicek sent a typed letter to Fritz Stein, then head of the Hochschule, addressing an upcoming concert at the school. Reznicek says he would like to suggest that Alice Schönfeld, a student of Karl Klingler’s, play his concerto at the Hochschule. Reznicek mentions that the real première of the work by Waghalter was so “mucked up” (*versauen*) that he wanted to forget it.¹⁹ On February 13, 1945, less than six months before Reznicek’s death, violinist Erich Röhn²⁰ performed the concerto with the Berlin Philharmonic. It is doubtful that Reznicek or Felicitas were aware of the performance.²¹ In 1984, the concerto was recorded with American violinist Michael Davis with Gordon Wright conducting the Philharmonia Hungarica.²²

Along with the aforementioned C minor organ prelude and fugue discussed in chapter 5, in 1918 Reznicek composed the last of three groups of songs to which he

¹⁸ Felicitas von Reznicek, “Reznicek Talk,” 1.

¹⁹ Reznicek File, Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik Archives, Berlin.

²⁰ Röhn figures prominently in the programs of the Berlin Philharmonic during WWII, as well as afterward into the 1950s. He is featured in some wartime recordings of the orchestra made with Furtwangler that have been preserved.

²¹ The performance was at the Beethoven-Saal with Robert Heger conducting. Muck, 313.

²² The concerto shares the recording with the RIAS-Sinfonietta’s performance of the Reznicek’s *Serenade in G Major for String Orchestra* conducted by Jiří Stàrek. Koch Schwann/Music Mundi CD 311 128.

affixed the name *Drei Lieder* in 1918.²³ The text to the first song, “März,” is attributed to Dr. Owiglass.²⁴ Reznicek chose E. F. Mörike’s and Joseph Eichendorff’s poems for the remaining two songs, “Denk’es, O Seele” and “Der Glückliche.”

Berlin Hochschule and Works from 1919

Two works have their naissance in 1919. *Vater unser* has been previously mentioned in chapter 5. More important is the composition of Reznicek’s fourth and last symphony in F minor.²⁵

If the D Major Symphony is a fond backward glance to the era of Mendelssohn and Schumann, the fourth symphony is in homage to Johannes Brahms. The thematic outline is a verbatim quote of the third Brahms symphony, and the last movement is a set of nine variations in passacaglia style. The central movements are a funeral march and a minuet.²⁶

What Reznicek has done is to move away from the principles and transparency of Mendelssohn and toward an ideal of what Wright refers to as an “homage to Brahms”: a style from the later nineteenth century that retains the formal structures of Classicism while being Romantic in its harmonic idiom. His progression of movements, save the third, is somewhat unconventional, however: a large ternary form, a programmatic funeral march, the minuet and trio (with coda), and a set of variations for the finale.²⁷ The part of the symphony that created some controversy, if

²³ The prior two groups were composed in 1883 and 1905. They were published as a group rather than as single songs by Simrock in 1918 with versions for high and for middle voice ranges. Leibnitz lists their dates in his inventory as 1921.

²⁴ Pseudonym for German physician, writer, and poet Hans Erich Blaise. During 1912-1924 he was an editor for the satirical magazine *Simplicissimus*. Reznicek’s brother Ferdinand (1868-1909) was an illustrator for the publication at one time.

²⁵ Some refer to the *Tanz-Symphonie* (1924) as a fifth symphony. In reality, it is an orchestration of disparate dances put together. Reznicek even made a piano arrangement of the work the same year.

²⁶ In his discussion of the third symphony, Wright does not mention Schumann. He only mentions Mendelssohn and Mahler. Wright, "Symphonies of Emil Reznicek, 9.

²⁷ The finale points certainly to Brahms with an adoption of the same form that was Brahms' choice for the finale of his fourth symphony.

only in its interpretation, was the second movement, “Trauermarsch auf den Tod eines Komödianten” (Funeral March for the Death of a Comedian). Preparing the work for a commercial recording, Gordon Wright questions Felicitas, apparently for the second time judging by Felicitas’ reply, about the interpretation of the second movement.²⁸ She answers him, “As I told you, the second movement was intended by my father as a little bit ironically, with the goosestep of comedians. But he was overwhelmed when Nikisch took it absolutely seriously, so you must take it as you feel.”²⁹ Her allusion to Nikisch in the letter refers to the 1920 première that he conducted with the Berlin Philharmonic.³⁰ The programs of the Berlin Philharmonic reveal that the F minor symphony was presented two more times: in 1924 and 1940. In his country of birth, Austria celebrated its composers with various concerts of their music. On one such occasion there was a Reznicek Week (Reznicek-Woche) in Graz where Karl Böhm conducted the symphony and Clemens Krauss presented *Der Sieger*.³¹ According to Wright, prior to his performances in the United States and the subsequent recording, the last American performance of the F minor symphony was by Karl Muck in Chicago during the early 1920s.³² There is a possibility that the symphony was also programmed in Munich. In the Edward Fleisher collection in Philadelphia, PA, a note about the work mistakenly says that it had its première with

²⁸ Wright recorded both the third and fourth symphony with the Philharmonia Hungarica in Recklinghausen at the Festspielhaus there in August of 1984. It was released on the Schwann Musica Mundi label in 1985. CD 11091, Digital LP version VMS 2091.

²⁹ Felicitas von Reznicek, Engelberg, Switzerland, to Gordon Wright, Indian, Alaska, 5 December 1983.

³⁰ Nikisch conducted the fourth symphony on October 25, the second concert of the 1920-1921 season.

³¹ Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 198.

³² Wright, “Symphonies of Emil Reznicek,” 9.

Bruno Walter in Munich. While it may have been the first time it was performed in Munich, it was certainly not the world première.³³

During 1919, Reznicek was elected to the Berlin Academy of the Arts (Akademie der Kunst), a contemporary union card of approval from the artistic elite of the city. In the fall of 1920, he was appointed to the faculty of the prestigious Berlin Hochschule für Musik. During the Weimar Republic years, the Hochschule, along with other institutions of its type, was supported by the Prussian Ministry of Culture. At the time of Reznicek's appointment, the Democratic Socialist and music expert Leo Kestenberg was the head of the Music, Art and Theater Division of the Ministry. During these years, the Hochschule continued to prosper and gain recognition thanks to Kestenberg's clear vision of and aggressive approach to music pedagogical reforms. Kestenberg also made the progressive decision to install Franz Schreker as director of the Hochschule and retain Georg Schünemann in the capacity of assistant director. New faculty members were to be hired besides Schreker, and Kestenberg polled Schreker for his suggestions. Of particular concern was the theory and composition faculty. In 1920, with the retirement of Humperdinck who headed that division, the time was ripe for change.³⁴ In the theory and composition division, including Schreker himself, contracts were offered and accepted by Otto Taubmann and Reznicek.³⁵ Reznicek's official appointment was Professor of Orchestration and

³³ Edward A. Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music in the Free Library of Philadelphia: A *Cumulative Catalog, 1927-1977* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1979), 671.

³⁴ Faculty remaining after Humperdinck's retirement were Friedrich Koch, Paul Juon, and Robert Kahn. None of these composers were very forward-looking. Christopher Hailey, *Franz Schreker, 1878-1934: A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 121-22.

³⁵ There were eleven other faculty contracts signed in the other departments, including a part time appointment for Carl Flesch and one for Curt Sachs. Hailey, 120.

Composition.³⁶ For the next six years he put to use his knowledge of counterpoint and storehouse of creative orchestration in the service of educating Germany's next generation of artists, while simultaneously maintaining a compositional schedule of his own. An interesting and somewhat baffling detail of Reznicek's contract with the Hochschule is that he took no salary for his services. If ever there were a financial need it was now, after the war, when Germany was forced to pay financial reparation to the Allies. Money was in shorter supply than ever. It could have only been a matter of aristocratic pride that Reznicek insisted not only that his contract specify that he not be monetarily compensated, but that also the words appear that he was not a civil servant.³⁷ There is no mention anywhere, with the exception of Flesch's claim that Reznicek and Bertha earned money by giving bridge lessons, that money was being earned during this time except through performances of his works.³⁸ Most likely, Reznicek was receiving a small sum from publishers. It is likely that the very wealthy Bodmer was quite generous with his gifts and promotion of Reznicek's music.

Reznicek's new appointment may have taken up a considerable portion of his creative time that fall and into 1920 for, besides the first staging of *Ritter Blaubart*, the only work to emerge was a new version of his *Serenade for in G Major for String Orchestra*.³⁹

³⁶ Contract no. 2813.1 was issued by Kestenberg and signed on October 23, 1920 by Reznicek. Archives of the Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik, Berlin.

³⁷ It is unfortunate that at the time of access to this contract in 1993, the Hochschule Archives did not have a copy machine for duplicating this document or any of the items in Reznicek's personnel file. Translation of contract onsite by Dietrich Strohmaier. Contract no. 2813.1.

³⁸ In all likelihood, if what Flesch said was true, this activity would have taken place in their home on Knesebeckstrasse 28. Anywhere else would have had the outward manifestations of being a commercial venture.

³⁹ This revision of the original work is sometimes referred to as No. 2, which may be confusing.

The Chamisso-Variationen and Solo Songs

Only one work emerges as a significant creation during 1921: the *Thema und Variationen für grosses Orchester und Bass- (Bariton) Solo nach dem Gedichte “Tragische Geschichte” von Adalbert von Chamisso* (Theme and Variations for Large Orchestra and Bass-(Baritone) Solo on the Poem “Tragic History” of Adalbert von Chamisso). Too ridiculously long to print on any program, the title appears usually as *Chamisso-Variationen*. Reznicek chose Chamisso’s tale of the tragic-comic hero who, despite all efforts, fails to rid himself of his pigtail.⁴⁰ The theme appears as a minuet followed by increasingly complex and satirically written variations. At the conclusion, the solo voice sings Chamisso’s text to the melody of the original theme. This work has all the hallmarks of Reznicek’s style – rapid-fire modulations and vivid orchestral color. The large orchestra is replete with auxiliary percussion, and comical lines are delivered by contrabassoon and bass clarinet. It does not, however, display the thoughtful artistic and creative ideas found in the two extant symphonic poems or the symphonies. Rather it is an entertaining set of exaggerated character variations that has an appeal similar to that of Dukas’ *Sorcerer’s Apprentice*. It is perhaps for that reason that the work was programmed six times by the Berlin Philharmonic between 1924 and 1949. It found a post-war advocate in Carl Schuricht who conducted a performance by the Radio Sinfonieorchester Stuttgart which is preserved on a recording issued by Southwest German Radio in 1950.⁴¹

A little mystery surrounds Reznicek’s one song published in 1921 by Richard Birnbach’s subsidiary, C. C. Challier: there is no dedicatory note in Reznicek’s short

⁴⁰ See Appendix 2 for text and translation.

⁴¹ This recording is a part of the Carl Schuricht Collection released by Hänssler Classics in 2004. CD 93.154.

four-page song “Die Schiffbrüchigen” (“The Shipwrecked Ones”) on a text by Martin Drescher that is commonly found in his other song literature.⁴² Most notable is the piano accompaniment where Reznicek attempts to duplicate the storm at sea; it is very much “Augenmusik” with the wave-like figures in both hands. That Drescher had died the year before in 1920 might account for Reznicek’s interest in setting the text, but a verified reason for this compositional afterthought remains unknown. The same is true for the two-page “Madonna am Rhein: Ein deutsches Wiegenlied,” published by Birnbach in 1925. With text by Hanns Hermann Cramer, this lullaby, about which little is known, bears no dedicatory note; as is made evident by the title, the Lied is as placid in character as “Die Schiffbrüchigen” is tempestuous. A photocopy provided by Birnbach exists in the Reznicek Archives. It appears nowhere in the library inventories or work lists, and even Reznicek neglects to add it to his corrections in Specht. The composer does not, however, forget to note in Specht that he worked for nearly five years on and off before publishing his *Sieben Lieder für eine mittlere Singstimme*. He lists each Lied and captures them all together under the dates 1925-1930. The actual scores give the Universal-Edition publication date of 1929, bringing the composer’s memory into question again.⁴³

One other simply-set grouping comes from the period 1921-1929: the *Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert*. Composed in 1924, it was published the next year by Birnbach. The Lieder exist in two versions: for mixed

⁴² Martin Drescher (1863-1920). Two of Drescher’s other texts (*Heimat* and *Der Sieger*) were set to music by Hugo Kaun.

⁴³ Texts for these songs are by Ginzkey, Liliencron, and Höcker. Franz Karl Ginzkey was a writer and lyricist after the tradition of old Austria. Detlev Liliencron was actually a baron by birth. A novelist and a writer of short stories, his verse has been said to be a forerunner of the Realist movement in Germany. Karla Höcker is remembered for a biographies of Clara Schumann and singer Erna Berger.

choir and for men's choir. The anonymous texts bear dates from exactly 1400 ("Martinsgans") to 1724 ("Jägerlied"). Clearly, the composer "mistitled" his work. The arrangements, nonetheless, appeared to be successful, for Reznicek composed a new series for mixed choir in 1928. It is probably this set that was performed on a Berlin Philharmonic Reznicek Festival in 1935 and sung by the choir of the Berliner Solistenvereinigung.⁴⁴

Works through 1930

After *Die wunderlichen Geschichten des Kapellmeisters Kreisler* (1922, mentioned in chapter 5), Reznicek wrote a two-act, through-composed opera, *Holofernes*, to his own libretto that was based on Friedrich Hebbel's 1841 tragedy *Judith*, taken from the Old Testament story of Judith and Holofernes.⁴⁵ Little is written about the opera as compared to *Ritter Blaubart* or *Donna Diana*.

In 1923, Germany defaulted on its war reparations while committing passive resistant behavior against the French troops occupying the industrialized Ruhr district. The German government's strategy to discourage the French unexpectedly led to deteriorating economic conditions and hyperinflation, embittering segments of the population against the Weimar government.⁴⁶ Inflation was rampant and expenses skyrocketed while *Holofernes* was in rehearsal. The bass in the title role, Michael Bohnen,⁴⁷ whom Felicitas describes as a "prima donna" at the height of his career,

⁴⁴ See Appendix for listing of Reznicek's music performed by the Berlin Philharmonic, 1882-1982.

⁴⁵ Friedrich Hebbel (1813-1863). German dramatist and poet. A number of composers set Hebbel poems and text, including Schumann, Brahms, Hugo Wolf, Hindemith, and Alban Berg.

⁴⁶ As a result, a number of those who lost all their money as a result of this failed strategy became supporters of an anti-democratic right and enemies of the Weimar Republic.

⁴⁷ Michael Bohnen (1887-1965). Operatic bass-baritone and actor. Bohnen was known for his Wagnerian roles and was equally convincing as an actor in silent films as well as talkies.

was unhappy with the tempi, the conducting, and even his costume.⁴⁸ The première at the German Opera in Berlin on Oct. 27, 1923, was conducted by Leo Blech, conductor for *Ritter Blaubart* in Darmstadt three years before.⁴⁹ A piano-vocal score was published by Universal-Edition before the end of the year. Despite the twenty-four sold-out performances, the family's financial difficulties were not ameliorated by this seeming success; inflation quickly devoured the percentage Reznicek received from the box office. Reznicek returned to the opera in 1926, arranging the overture for piano trio with the title *Kol Nidrey: Vorspiel zu Holofernes*. He returned much later in 1929 to the German version of the *Kol Nidrey* melody for a set of orchestral variations.⁵⁰

The *Tanz-Symphonie* was the major work to follow in 1924.⁵¹ It is an orchestrated arrangement of the composer's *Vier sinfonische Tänze* for piano composed that same year.⁵² It is not a symphony in the formal sense at all. Despite its date of completion, the *Tanz Symphonie* would not be performed for the first time until Reznicek's old friend from his school days in Graz, Felix Weingartner, conducted it in the second subscription concert of the Vienna Philharmonic on October 31, 1926.⁵³ At the beginning of 1927, it was staged as a dance piece at the opera house in Dresden.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 153-4.

⁴⁹ Reznicek would chose Blech once again for the première performance of *Spiel oder Ernst* in 1930.

⁵⁰ The ancient melody of the *Kol Nidrey* was adapted by various nations and the melody would be changed slightly.

⁵¹ The manuscript of this work in the MÖNB gives a date of Nov. 30, 1924.

⁵² The piano version of the work would be published by Birnbach in 1925. The publication of the orchestrated version followed the next year.

⁵³ Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 168.

⁵⁴ A review of the work appeared in the *Dresdner Nachrichten* on January 14, 1927. In the dance version it is renamed, *Marionetten des Todes* (*Marionettes of Death*).

The orchestration of the composer's 1924 *Valse pathétique* appears, like the original piano version, never to have been published. Lastly, the *Ernster Walzer* also exists as a piano solo and an orchestrated work. Both works exist in manuscript in the MÖNB, the orchestrated version as a fragment for salon orchestra.

During 1925 Reznicek worked on his next opera, *Satuala* and also returned to a genre that he had abandoned as a stand-alone creation since 1903: the overture. Unlike the pleasant sounds of the German forest in *Goldpirol*, Reznicek turns to a dark psychological theme in an attempt to capture the personalities of Raskolnikoff and other chief characters from Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. From the autograph of the score, the date of the work is established: April 10, 1925. Reznicek was not satisfied with his creation, however, for he returned to the work and completed a second version in mid September of 1929. Both *Raskolnikoff I and II* bore the subtitle of "Overtüre-Phantasie." In addition, the second version includes the composer's handwritten analysis that was reproduced for the published edition by Adler Verlag in Berlin in 1932. More critical of his work than in his youth, prior to releasing the score to Adler, he reworked some places and altered some of the orchestration from the second version.⁵⁵ The following page, Figure 18 shows Reznicek's handwritten analysis of the work taken from the verso side of the title page of the published score:

⁵⁵ Nowak, 310.

Fig. 18. Reznicek's Handwritten Analysis of *Raskolnikoff*.

Raskolnikoff
 Overture = Phantasie
 für großes Orchester von
 Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek
 kurze Formalanalyse:
 Hauptsatz: *Raskolnikoff*
 Seitensatz: *Sonja, das erdverbundene Naturkind*
 Schlusssatz: *Porphyri Petrowitsch, der Untersuchungsrichter*
 kurze Überleitung
 II.
 Wie I. entsprechend modifiziert.
 Coda:
*Zusammenbruch und Genesung in der
 heissen Natur Sibiriens.*
*N.B. Obiges soll kein Programm sein, sondern
 lediglich die Haupttypen des Romanes
 musikalisch charakterisieren*
 E. N. v. R

Reznicek's handwritten analysis reads:

Raskolnikoff. Overture-Fantasy for Large Orchestra by Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek. Short formal Analysis. Main part: Raskolnikoff. Secondary part: Sonja, the earth-connected nature child. Concluding part: Porphyri Petrowisch, the Examining Magistrate. Short transition. II. Like I. correspondingly modified. Coda. Collapse and recuperation in the harsh climate of Siberia Above is not to be a program, but to characterize in music the main characters of the novel.

According to Nowak, the autograph of the second version in the MÖNB contains a little more detail as follows:

Raskolnikoff. Overture-Fantasy for Large Orchestra by Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek. Short Analysis. Sonata form. I. a) Main part (thematic material): Raskolnikoff directly before that Disaster b) Secondary part (thematic material): Sonja, the earth-connected nature child. Promise, song and dance. (B-flat major). c) Concluding part: Porphyri Petrowisch, the Examining Magistrate. In form of a fugue. Short transition. II. Like I. in correspondingly modified form. (E major).

Coda. More reconciling in the out of doors. Final quotation taken completely from the Pastoral Symphony [Beethoven's] (E major).⁵⁶

One other overture was produced between the years 1925-1932. The *Fest-Ouverture* was conceived between the first two versions of *Raskolnikoff*. With a subtitle, "Dem befreites Köln" (For the Release of Cologne), the overture was composed to celebrate the evacuation of foreign troops from the occupied city after the war. The overture was never published and, while the autograph score remains in the MÖNB, the orchestral parts reside in the Reznicek Archives in Colorado.

Reznicek remained on the Hochschule faculty through 1926. According to Felicitas, he grew tired of teaching; by and large, he discovered his students to be untalented. No longer finding the position personally rewarding, he invented a health problem.⁵⁷ A short typed letter dated October 1, 1926, requesting a release from his contract appears in Reznicek's personnel file in the Hochschule Archives. Present also in this file is a reply from Schreker accepting "with great sadness" Reznicek's request. Schreker continues,

Thank you from the bottom of my heart for your fruitful work here. You gave artistic knowledge in a sacrificial way in service to the Hochschule, and transmitted great motivation and knowledge to your students. You should be pleased to know that your work was in line with the goals of the Hochschule.⁵⁸

Regardless of his overall musical preferences, Reznicek was not totally ignorant of other music being composed in Europe and in the Western Hemisphere.

⁵⁶ "Kurze Analyse. Sonatinenform. I. a) Hauptsatz: Raskolnikoff unmittelbar vor der Katastrophe. b) Seitensatz: Sonja, das erdverbundene Naturkind. Verheissung, Lied und Tanz. H-dur. c) Schlusssatz: Porphyri Petrowisch, der Untersuchungsrichter. In Form einer Fuge. Kurze Überleitung. II. Wie I. in restringierter Form. b) in E-dur. Coda. Versöhnender Ausklang in der Natur. Ganz zum Schluss Zitat aus der Pastoral Symphonie. E-dur." Nowak, 309.

⁵⁷ Felicitas von Reznicek, Engelberg, Switzerland, to Gordon Wright, Indian, Alaska, 22 August 1983, typed letter, personal collection of Gordon Wright.

⁵⁸ Franz Schreker, Berlin, to Emil N. von Reznicek. Berlin, 16 January 1926, typed letter, Archives of the Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik, Berlin. Translation of letter onsite by Dietrich Strohmaier.

Sometime during 1927 the composer felt pressed to write a letter to the editor of an unidentified newspaper or periodical⁵⁹ about a letter that was published addressing the growing presence of jazz in classical music.

Berlin. 10. 9. 27

Dear Mr. Editor!

Of you letter of 8.d.M., I have to say the following: The possibility of exercising fertilization of Western music with jazz elements is certainly present in a certain sense. It depends only on how one does it because it will be very difficult to make the right choice (More or less successful attempts of American composers regarding the symphony have already been made). Whether the nerves of a normal listener will bear a whole opera in jazz style, remains to be seen, I think. (A notable German composer is supposed to be at work or even already finished with something of that kind.) However – people grow accustomed to everything, and therein also the danger lies: Namely that the taste of the masses will become even more confused and coarsened by an all too careless transplantation into our concert and opera music than is already the case.

Faithfully

E. N. v. Reznicek⁶⁰

The letter in the journal that attracted Reznicek's attention and subsequent missive to the editor may itself have been prompted by the appearance of Hans

Stuckenschmidt's column in an issue of *Melos* (February 1927) that summed up the creative efforts of composers during 1926 and included some comments with regard to the influence of jazz in some of their music.⁶¹ Despite Reznicek's attitude toward

⁵⁹ This is a typed transcription of a letter found in the Reznicek Archives. No original source is noted, only the transcription of the text. The original letter appeared for sale in antiquarian J. A. Stargardt's Auction Catalog No. 642 from late 1988. J. A. Stargardt, D-3550 Marburg, Germany.

⁶⁰ Sehr geehrter Herr Redaktör! Auf Ihre gef. Zuschrift vom 8.d.M. habe ich folgendes zu sagen: Die Möglichkeit der Befruchtung der abendländischen Musikübung durch die Jazzelemente ist in gewissem Sinne zweifellos vorhanden. Es kommt nur darauf an, wie man es macht, denn es wird sehr schwierig sein, die richtige Auswahl zu treffen. (Mehr oder weniger gelungene Versuche amerikanischer Komponisten die Symphonie betreffend sind bereits gemacht.) Ob die Nerven eines normalen Zuhörers eine ganze Oper im Jazzstil aushalten werden, lasse ich dahin gestellt sein. (Ein namhafter deutscher Komponist soll etwas derartiges in Arbeit, oder gar schon vollendet haben.) Allerdings – der Mensch gewöhnt sich an alles, und darin liegt auch die Gefahr: Dass nämlich der Geschmack der Massen bei allzu sorgloser Überpflanzung in unsere Konzert- und Opernmusik noch mehr verwirrt und vergrößert wird, als bereits der Fall ist. Hochachtungsvoll E. N. v. Reznicek.

⁶¹ H. H. Stuckenschmidt, "Die Lebenden. Perspektiven und Profile. Wichtigste Stilveränderungen der letzten Jahre," *Melos* 6, no. 2 (February 1927): 72-78.

jazz in 1927, the Leipzig correspondent for *Melos* (Alfred Baresel) gleaned what he thought were jazz elements in Reznicek's next opera *Satuala*:

Finally, an interesting contribution for the natural history of jazz is offered by Reznicek's Indian opera "Satuala." The character of today's utilitarian music is stripped away entirely and instead of that, folkloric ties are intended to be exposed by means of the sensory recreation of images of nature. Reznicek introduces the basic elements of jazz out of South American Indian folklore (with a Spanish wrapper) here, . . . The music that he wrote for his aborigines can hardly be considered ethnographically objectionable.⁶²

Of course, there are problems with Baresel's observations. *Satuala* is not set in South America, but in Hawaii. The characters are not aborigines, but Hawaiians. Alfred Einstein was present for the world première in Leipzig of *Satuala* and wrote a review of it in the *Berliner Tageblatt* on December 5, 1927.

There is only one outstanding new operatic novelty to be reported – *Satuala* by Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek. Schiller once wrote to Goethe that there is a limited number of dramatic motifs and situations which appear on stage in all sorts of costumes and variations again and again. That is what comes to mind – must come to mind – while considering the libretto by Rolf Lauckner [stepson of Hermann Sudermann, the German poet] – a writer who knows his way around old and new opera literature and has studied the conditions of good opera texts. Whether he was conscious of it or not, he had a superior model for his text, one of the best opera libretti because *it* doesn't originate from the librettist but from the musician, Giuseppe Verdi, composer of *Aida*. Lauckner transferred the scene from ancient Egypt to the Hawaiian Islands and from antiquity to 1893.⁶³

Einstein then describes the plot with comparisons to elements in the plots of *Aida* and *Madame Butterfly*. He returns to Reznicek's efforts at this point saying the following,

It is a simple and unambitious text. But that does not make it bad.

⁶² "Ein interessanter Beitrag zur Naturgeschichte des Jazz bietet sich schliesslich in Rezniceks Indianoper 'Satuala' wo der Charakter der heutigen Gebrauchsmusik völlig abgestreift wird und statt dessen durch Nachempfingung von Naturaufnahmen folkloristische Bindungen aufgedeckt werden sollen. Reznicek leitet die Grundelemente des Jazz aus der südamerikanisch-indianischen Folklore (mit spanischem Einschlag) her, . . . Eine einwandfreie ethnographische Bedeutung kommt seiner Eingeborenenmusik indessen kaum zu." Alfred Baresel, "Kunst-Jazz," *Melos* 7, no. 7 (July 1, 1928): 357.

⁶³ Alfred Einstein, review of *Satuala* by E. N. v. Reznicek (Leipzig), *Berliner Tageblatt*, 5 December 1927, in *Alfred Einstein on Music: Selected Music Criticisms*, Catherine Dower, ed. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 39-40.

Reznicek aimed at nothing higher or lower than to write a good and enjoyable opera. The composer of *Donna Diana*, *Holofernes*, and *Bluebeard* was old-fashioned and in those works went his own way. Unlike *Holofernes* and *Bluebeard*, *Satuala* has been more successful. What stands in his way of complete success, and not just the success of the premiere, is a kind of artistic restraint, an inclination not to let the melodic stream flow too copiously. His problem is not too great, but he is burdened with too many ideas. In the first act there is too ponderous a choral scene, a brief *allegro guerriero* of the black chieftain, a dramatic duet by the chieftain and the heroine, and a hymn by Satuala which scintillates with iridescent colors.

All of this is effective, but the music does not have sufficient color to assure that "eternity" of twenty or thirty years which is allotted to today's best operas. The same thing applies to the passionless but intriguing love scene, the conversation between the sisters, the conflict between Satuala and her fiancé in the second act, and to the great nocturnal dance pantomime, for which Reznicek uses a syncopated theme that is strong yet primitive. There, however, in a truly original fashion, he achieves an exotic and savage climax. The same may be said of the closing scene, with the young officer's monologue and the love-death of the pair; there we find rich sonorities and a full and blooming tone. There are a few trivialities, but to offset them there are passages of great charm, especially Carson's tender greeting to Satuala's little sister. There are only three chords in that, but they characterize the kindly man better than several leading motives. Scenically, musically, and in its conception, the entire work is inherently popular in style, but these gracious touches are the ones that fascinate the musician as well; they reveal both an artistic sense and an ability to attain an exotic feeling, all with a minimum of effort. Under the direction of Gustav Brecher, the performance was in many respects quite remarkable.⁶⁴

According to Schreker biographer Christopher Hailey, *Satuala* is an example of *Zeitoper* in post-war Germany. Following the American stock crash of 1929, European economies felt the deleterious impact of the failed market in their own countries. *Zeitopern* from composers like Krenek, Antheil, and Weill, while popular for several seasons, were printed quickly by Universal-Edition and created deficits for the publisher. According to Hailey, German audiences looked for distractions from both the political tension of the unraveling Weimar Republic and the dreary economy. In the fallout from this pressure, *Zeitoper* gave way to the comfortable shoes of the

⁶⁴ Alfred Einstein, review of *Satuala* by E. N. v. Reznicek, 40-41.

German and Italian classics, along with those same nations' older comic operas and operettas.⁶⁵

It might be for the above reasons that Reznicek became interested in even lighter themes and shorter lengths for his next two staged works. *Benzin* (*Gasoline*) followed in 1929. The two-act humorous satire, a theater work with music, is full of dance forms and bizarre characters.⁶⁶ In Reznicek's version, *Benzin* involves the antics of a military pilot (Jeremias D. Thunderbolt) whose airplane called a "Z 69"⁶⁷ runs short of fuel, has an engine malfunction, and must make an emergency landing on an unknown island. The island, which miraculously has an abundance of refined gasoline, is overseen by a very remarkable woman who is a hypnotist and delights in hypnotizing men to act like animals. Like *Donna Diana*, but even more absurd in plot, the major characters feign dislike while actually being attracted to one another. Hypnotist Gladys is unable to hypnotize the pilot, heightening her simultaneous dislike and sexual attraction to him. The composer laces the opera with dance music, from polacca and tempo di valse to contemporary numbers, including a Boston lente, a tango and a foxtrot. To the score, the composer adds the real sounds of airplane propellers, sirens, and hammering to imitate the sound of airplane repairs.⁶⁸ The opera was not published and no sources reveal a performance, although a column

⁶⁵ Christopher Hailey, *Franz Schreker, 1878-1934: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 259.

⁶⁶ Reznicek wrote the text that was a free adaptation of a work that he identifies only as by 17th-century Spanish playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Reznicek brings Calderon's original forward to contemporary Germany. The manuscript of the opera in the MÖ NB states that it is "in two acts after Calderon."

⁶⁷ Reznicek uses Z 69 for the name of the plane as a humorous and overt sexual innuendo. The use of the Arabic number 69 as a sexual reference goes back for hundreds of years.

⁶⁸ Although it would be a fair assumption, it is not known whether Reznicek was familiar with Antheil's *Ballet mécanique* from 1925. During the time Reznicek was working on *Benzin*, Antheil was working in the Berlin Stadttheater as assistant musical director.

entitled “Music in Central Europe” in the *New York Times* (December 22, 1929) mentions the work as “a new two-act musical drama which its German [Austrian] author, von Reznicek describes as ‘fantastically merry’ ”⁶⁹ Along with an inaccurate description of the plot, this column leads one to believe that there must have been a performance before the end of 1929. From the autograph manuscript in the MÖNB, it can be determined that the work was completed on June 27, 1929. Reznicek’s second comedy from this time was more successful, however. His one act *Spiel oder Ernst*, with text by Danish writer Poul Knudsen,⁷⁰ was composed the next year and published immediately by Universal-Edition. The première was in Dresden on November 11, 1930.⁷¹ The opera calls for only five lead characters, with dancers and stage workers only used as extras for the onstage action. The comedy takes place around one rehearsal for a performance of Rossini’s *Otello*. The work in Reznicek’s version is now an “opera about an opera.” The Otello character experiences difficulty in achieving the necessary anger for his part. The acting coach tells him to act as though his wife (who is actually played by the Desdemona character) is committing adultery with another cast member. He believes that the coach is telling him discreetly that she actually is having an affair. The remainder plays on false assumptions of sexual indiscretions and comedic confusion, somewhat of a trope for Reznicek’s comedies. This particular opera enjoyed a revival later in the twentieth century as the Opera Theatre of St. Louis’ first production of the 1980 season.

⁶⁹ “Music in Central Europe,” *New York Times*, 22 Dec. 1927, sec. X, p. 9.

⁷⁰ Poul Knudsen (1889-1974), also known as Paul Knudsen. Danish writer who was most widely known for his screenwriting. His most famous film is the 1943 *Day of Wrath*.

⁷¹ Griffel, 330.

The one-act *Der Gondoliere des Dogen*, once again with text by Knudsen, followed in 1931. Einstein mentions it as an aside in his review of Wolf-Ferrari's *Die schalkhafte Witwe* (*The Cunning Widow*). Asking, "What would opera composers do without Venice, Seville or Paris?" he follows, "In a few days [Emil Nikolaus von] Reznicek's new opera *Der Gondoliere des Dogen* will be performed in Stuttgart, and the real heroine is Venice! Mysterious and sultry Venice is full of lurking dangers behind the sparkling mask of murder."⁷² Unlike the comic *Spiel oder Ernst*, *Gondoliere*, while still offering a love triangle, also includes murder and eventual madness. Since the opera is set in eighteenth-century Venice, Reznicek takes the opportunity to mimic Baroque style, and even quotes Bach note for note in the latter's "Furlana" from the C major orchestral suite.⁷³ The first performance of the opera took place on October 29, 1931, in Stuttgart.⁷⁴

A more contemporary reference to *Der Gondoliere des Dogen* appeared in the 1990s. Writer Erik Levi looked at opera in Germany and the trend in writing toward familiarity and comfort differently than Hailey did in his discussion of *Zeitoper*. Levi saw this trend as a conservative one influenced by politics. Levi deals a hard hand to German and Austrian composers who remained in their countries during World War II, implicating or stating outright that they were sympathetic to and sometimes complicit with what would become National Socialism. According to Levi, "The general trend throughout Germany was toward greater conservatism in repertoire. This is supported by an examination of the new operas presented during the 1931/2

⁷² Alfred Einstein, review of *Die schalkhafte Witwe* by Ernanno Wolf-Ferrari (unnamed city and venue), *Berliner Tageblatt*, 21 October 1931, 2, in *Alfred Einstein on Music*, 123.

⁷³ Nowak, 253.

⁷⁴ Griffel, 301.

season in which composers sympathetic to nationalist parties were predominant.”⁷⁵ In addition, he adds, “The other composers sympathetic to conservative-nationalist opinion were Hans Pfitzner, whose opera *Das Herz*, was given in Berlin, and Emil Reznicek, whose *Der Gondoliere des Dogen* was staged at Stuttgart.”⁷⁶ Whether in 1931, or in the midst of the Second World War, the financial means of survival in the Reznicek household (other than Flesch’s suggested bridge lessons) was to seek performances or be open to invitations for them.

Reznicek’s final opera, *Das Opfer* (*The Victim*) was composed in 1932 and remains in manuscript in the archives of the MÖNB. For the third time the composer used Poul Knudsen’s work as a libretto for his three-act opera set in contemporary times. It is a tragic interplay between two worlds: one represented by depravity, prostitution and alcoholism, and the other by Christian Army workers (akin to the Salvation Army) and their efforts to rescue and rehabilitate the first group. It appears never to have been staged. Using Levi’s logic, had Reznicek been sympathetic or in the political pocket of national conservative elements of the government, *Das Opfer* would have found its way to the stage.

Reznicek’s final quartets come from the late 1920s and early 1930s: the unfinished E minor (1928) and the B-flat major (1932). With her comment that it was written for the Rosé Quartet, Felicitas confuses the E minor quartet with her father’s D minor offering published in 1923.⁷⁷ Although there is no dedicatory note in the published edition, the autograph manuscript indicates that Reznicek’s final quartet in

⁷⁵ Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 170.

⁷⁶ Levi, 259.

⁷⁷ Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 168.

B-flat major is dedicated to Dr. Wilhelm Abegg.⁷⁸ His last name was the inspiration for the opening motive of the quartet where the second violin and the viola play the notes A-B-E-G-G in octaves. (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17. Opening of String Quartet in B-flat Major (“Abegg”).



No doubt, Reznicek made the association of Abegg's name with Schumann's op. 1 piano variations when he created the quartet. Felicitas says that it was written for colleague Karl Klingler.⁷⁹ With the turning of the calendar year to 1933, musical life in Germany would change. In Reznicek's case, with the exception of a new version of *Donna Diana*, the composer would publish only two more new works between 1933 until his death in 1945.

⁷⁸ Abegg was the State Secretary of the Prussian Interior Ministry at the time.

⁷⁹ Karl Klingler was the violin instructor at the Berlin Hochschule and teacher of violinist Alice Schönfeld who played Reznicek's violin concerto.

Chapter 7

The Last Years, 1933-1945

Following Hitler's rise to the Chancellorship in January of 1933, Reznicek's troubles increased several fold. For whatever reason, his increased age certainly being a factor, he was less aware of political currents in the 1930s than he had been during World War I and in the postwar years. During the early 1920s, he understood the numerous and multifarious details of the struggle to maintain a viable government following Germany's defeat. In 1933, at the age of seventy-three, he was sometimes mystified by events that his daughter understood clearly. Felicitas writes of the family becoming caught up in the Berlin torch march on January 30, 1933, on Unter den Linden. After having picked up an English acquaintance at the Hotel Adlon to escort him to the public transportation station at Friedrichstrasse, they were prevented from crossing the street because of the crowd of marchers. Perplexed, Reznicek and his friend questioned the meaning of the march, to which Felicitas, after a certain pause, finally replied, "War." Both Reznicek and his friend were incredulous. Felicitas continues:

But E. N. also would experience only too soon what all this had to mean for us. The family was not acquainted with the internal terminology of the National Socialists. Only my brother Burghard and I knew this information and therefore held a consultation in private. We knew what plans the National Socialists had concerning an official and a culture law, but didn't want my parents to worry prematurely, however. Still one did not know how the situation would develop, and the National Socialists were still not alone at the rudder. Then the Reichstag fire and the first arrests came. Personal friends were under it [arrest]. When the Parliament building burned, E. N. still asked doubtingly, "Nevertheless, perhaps it was the Communists."¹

¹ "Doch auch E. N. sollte nur zu bald erfahren, was das für uns alle zu bedeuten hatte. Die Familie war über die Interna der nationalsozialistischen Terminologie nicht orientiert. Nur mein Bruder Burghard

Some background is needed in order to understand Reznicek's later years, including his work with organizations promoting German music. He had always kept to the fringes of two worlds, one that he inherited and the other that depended upon his own creative efforts. From his aristocratic birth, he had access and privilege, as Felicitas explains:

He came and went in the house of the Earls Coudenhove, he knew King Alphonse XII of Spain, the then Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, the Shah of Persia and Prince Bismarck. Everyone of them said to him "Dear Baron, someday when you need anything . . ."²

Yet from these people, Reznicek asked nothing. Felicitas says that from the time of Wilhelm II (ruled 1888-1918) Reznicek was not to be seen at court. He was not a monarchist.³ By ignoring that world, he lost ground, at least during his earlier years when continental Europe still had some regard for aristocracy.

With regard to the musical world, Reznicek did not discover until very late in his life that however great his talents, in order to prosper as an artist he had to develop personal connections. Instead, at least prior to his move to Berlin in 1902, with the exception of the unsolicited influence of his father, he tended to muddle through his personal adversities in his own fashion. After 1902, he developed close associations with only two men, Hans Bodmer and Richard Strauss. Eventually his relationship

und ich wussten Bescheid und hielten daher unter vier Augen eine Beratung ab. Wir wussten, welche Pläne die Nationalsozialisten bezüglich eines Beamten- und Kulturgesetzes hatten, wollten jedoch meine Eltern nicht vorzeitig beunruhigen. Noch wusste man ja nicht, wie sich die Lage entwickeln würde, und noch waren die Nationalsozialisten nicht allein am Ruder. Dann kam der Reichstagsbrand und die ersten Verhaftungen. Persönliche Freunde waren darunter. Als das Parlamentsgebäude brannte, fragte E. N. noch zweifelnd: "Vielleicht waren es doch die Kommunisten." Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 182.

² "Er verkehrte im Hause des Grafen Coudenhove, er lernte König Alphons XII. von Spanien kennen, den damaligen Prince of Wales, späteren König Eduard VII., den Schah von Persien und den Fürsten Bismarck. Jeder einzelne hatte ihm gesagt: 'Lieber Baron, wenn Sie einmal etwas brauchen . . .'" F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 70.

³ This practice of swimming through life "against the current" provided the inspiration for Felicitas' title of her father's biography. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 71.

with Strauss became so well known that his name was inextricably linked with Strauss', especially during the Second World War. Unlike Strauss, however, Reznicek did not devote the considerable energy required to lock in his own public presence. By the 1930s it had become increasingly difficult for him to get works published, or even to put food on the table. Reznicek's subsequent involvement with Richard Strauss in professional organizations would increase his visibility as a composer and provide some opportunities for his works to be performed.

The Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein and the Ständiger Rat

Now Strauss came to his aid. Their friendship notwithstanding, Strauss recognized the worth of Reznicek's work. He was particularly taken with the *Chamisso-Variations* (1921) and was incredulous that it had not been performed very much. In an effort to bring Reznicek, and subsequently the family, into a protective sphere, Strauss drafted a letter inviting him to a biennial meeting in Venice in June 1934 of the Ständiger Rat für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten (Permanent Council for the International Cooperation of Composers).

Some background is in order at this juncture. During the mid-nineteenth century, professional music societies partially independent of national and local governments were formed to promote the musical activities of their members. One of the more prominent was the Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein (AdMV), the first national music society in Germany, founded in 1861 in Weimar to promote new music primarily through performance. In 1901 Richard Strauss was elected president and served for eight years, during which the organization, which had become extremely conservative, regained its focus. Strauss led the AdMV in a renewed

commitment to the principles of Liszt and the other founders and to the promotion of contemporary German music. As a result, musicians put great stock in Strauss' ability to act in their best interests. In 1935, no doubt through Strauss' influence, Reznicek was made an honorary member in order to help Strauss plan music festivals.

Although from its creation the AdMV attempted to provide exposure for German music, it did not address the financial concerns of musicians. As a result of an 1898 conference in Leipzig, Strauss was instrumental in spearheading the creation of another organization that in 1903 became known as the *Genossenschaft deutscher Tonsetzer* (Society of German Composers), or GdT. Close to Strauss' side even at that time, Reznicek was amongst a number of German composers who, like Strauss, outlined the GdT's primary mission as reform of the German copyright laws. The GdT grew to eight hundred members. With the advent of the Third Reich, both the AdMV and GdT were subsumed into the government and lost their autonomy.

For some time prior to 1934 Strauss wanted to create an international organization that both addressed the material rights of musicians and provided an avenue for the performances of their works. An archetype existed at the time in the *Gesellschaft für Musikalische Aufführungs- und Mechanische Vervielfältigungsrechte* (GEMA), but its mission and focus were disorganized because of the diverse interests and aesthetic values of its members. Strauss was even more concerned about the decreasing performance opportunities for new works by composers of tonal music, on an international level, but especially in Germany.

For years, tensions in Europe had been building between the younger generation of composers and the artists of Strauss' generation. At its founding in

1922, the Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, or International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), announced its mission to champion contemporary music without reference or preference toward a composer's political, religious or aesthetic views, nationality or race. While the intention was pure, there was immediate disagreement about the definition of "contemporary music." Some countries like pre-War Germany, Austria and the former Czechoslovakia, defined it as "avant garde" creations.⁴ Others, including Britain, France and the United States defined it as anything newly composed, actually following the spirit of the mission as originally stated.

As a result, ISCM concerts in Germany and Austria accordingly provided invaluable forums for twelve-tone composers and other "modernists" like Stravinsky, Berg, Schönberg, and Hindemith, but because of their stated preference for promoting "avant garde" music, they were devastatingly exclusionary events for tonal composers of Strauss' and Reznicek's generation. Lacking Strauss' iconic status, Reznicek suffered substantially more from the denigrating label of "old-fashioned," which described tonal music like his in comparison to the music of younger colleagues like Hindemith, Alban Berg, and even Schoenberg, only fourteen years his junior.⁵

In Germany and elsewhere, tonal composers finding themselves being "put out to pasture" like old racehorses, formed their own group. In 1934, a meeting in

⁴ Stanley Sadie, ed., *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), s.v. "International Society for Contemporary Music," by Anton Haefeli.

⁵ ISCM concert programs from Germany and Austria the 1920s and 1930s reported in *The Musical Times* and in correspondence between Schönberg and Berg show the presense of works by Schönberg, Berg, Webern, Wiesengrund, Conrad Beck, Vladimir Vogel, Kaminski, Otto Jokl, Hindemith, Erwin Schulhoff, Krenek, Ludwig Zenk, Josef Hauer, Stravinsky, Zemlinsky (criticized by Berg), Reti, Poulenc, and Prochazka. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris, eds. *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987).

Venice took place of another international musicians organization to which Strauss, and later Reznicek, belonged: the Conseil Permanent pour la Cooperation internationale des Compositeurs (Permanent Council for the International Cooperation of Composers), better known by its German name, the Ständiger Rat für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten. The year before, Goebbels had nominated Strauss, without his prior agreement, as honorary president of the Reichsfachschaft Komponisten (German National Association of Composers),⁶ In 1934, Strauss sensed his untenable position and looked to the Ständiger Rat to realize his own goals free of National Socialist control. At the Ständiger Rat meeting, he suggested that Reznicek be the German delegate to what would become a twenty-nation organization. Felicitas explains,

The idea was Richard Strauss['], and the idea was that non dodecaphonic modern living composers come together, as the “Gesellschaft für neue Musik” did. The latter tried to maneuver out the non dodecaphonist composers and the Ständiger Rat wanted to save interest of the others.⁷

Something else that Felicitas says in connection with the Ständiger Rat is very important, for it gives an earlier date (1932) for its founding than Kurt Wilhelm does in his 1984 book on Strauss. Wilhelm says the following,

Another honour Strauss received in 1934 was to be elected president of the Conseil Permanent pour la Coopération Internationale des Compositeurs [Ständiger Rat], founded that year by distinguished composers from many European nations with the aim of breaking down national barriers, to promote the spread and exchange of music: the performance of German, English, Polish music in Italy, French music in Austria, Czech music in Denmark.⁸

⁶ According to Michael Meyer, the Reichsfachschaft Komponisten was also known as the “Berufsstand der deutschen Komponisten – Reich [*sic*] Professional Estate of German Composers,” a small division of the Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Music Chamber, RMK). The RMK was a multi-layered subdivision of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich Culture Chamber, RKK). Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 106.

⁷ F. von Reznicek, “Reznicek Talk,” 3.

⁸ This date is found in much of the literature concerning the Conseil (Ständiger Rat). See Wilhelm, 223.

Felicitas' explanation of the Ständiger Rat to Gordon Wright follows:

After having [been] elected Senator in the Preussische Akademie der Künste [1919], E. N. later belonged to the little circle, who in 1932 at the Biennale decided to form a "Verein" "Ständiger Rat für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten." . . . The Nazis were at that time not in power and therefore had nothing to do with the whole affair. But: When the Nazis came to power in 1933 the men from Venice decided to postpone the definite establishment of the Ständiger Rat. They wanted to take enough time to put the thing into shape, to do the utmost to bring it out of reach of the Nazis. That is the reason that the "Ständiger Rat" was never established as a "Verein", but was a loose group of representatives of about 20 nations. There were no statutes, no official language, no official seat.

I am eager to give [sic] those informations [sic]. I have taken part in everything my father had to deal with, from 1920 to his death. In 1942 my father resigned and informed the delegates, he could depend on, that he would have nothing to do with the "Rat" anymore, because the Nazis now tried to take over.⁹

A yellowed two-page typewritten document with handwritten corrections and additions in Felicitas' hand identifies the Ständiger Rat's officers and members. This document shows a twenty-nation council, reproduced in Figure 12.¹⁰

Figure 12. Membership Roster of the Conseil Permanent (Ständiger Rat)

Names and Addresses of the Delegates to the
Conseil Permanent pour la Coopération Internationale des Compositeurs

Pres.:	Dr. Richard Strauss, Garmisch
Vice. Pres:	Maestro Adriano Lualdi, R. Conservatorio di musica, Naples
2nd. Vice Pres.:	Jean Sibelius, Helsinki, Finland
3rd Vice Pres.:	Jacques Ibert (Address to follow later)
Honorary Member:	Dr. Wilhelm Kienzl, Vienna II. Schreigasse 6
1. Deutschland	Emil N. von Reznicek, Berlin-Charlottenburg 2 Knesebeckstrasse 32
2. Belgium	Emiel Hullebroeck, Boitsfort-Brüssel, 107 Avenue de la forêt
3. Bulgaria	Prof. Pantscho Wladigeroff, Sofia Boulevard Ferdinand 8
4. Finland	Yrjö Kilipinen, Helsingfors, Mailathi 11

⁹ F. von Reznicek, "Reznicek Talk," 3.

¹⁰ "Namen und Adressen der Delegierten des 'Conseil'," Reznicek Archives I/F/1.

5. Denmark	Peder Gram, Kopenhagen, Alhambravej 6 Pvt. Maltegaardsvej 8, Gentofte
6. France	Carol-Bérard, Paris, 19 Rue Philippe Hecht
7. Great Britain	Herbert Bedford, London W 2 4 Orme Court, Hyde Park
8. Holland	Henk Badings, Willem de Zwizgerlaan 4-I Landport-Station, Nederland
9. Iceland	Jon Leifs, Rehbrücke bei Potsdam Moltkestrasse
10. Italy	Maestro Adriano Lualdi, Naples R. Conservatorio di musica
11. Yugoslavia	Boris Papandopulo, Samobor, Krah Zagreba, Villa Pečić-Strossi
12. Norway	Svere Hagerup Bull, Oslo 9 Torno Klingenberggaten 5 VIII
13. Poland	Ludomir von Rożycki. Warsaw Zoliborz Pogonowskiego 29
14. Sweden	Kurt Atterberg, Stockholm, Tegnérkunden 3
15. Switzerland	Direktor Karl Vogler, Zürich, Sophienstrasse 6
16. Bohemia and Moravia	Prof. Jar. Křička, Prague, Orechovka Lomena 24
17. Hungary	Dr. Eugen von Huszka, Budapest II Batthyány-utca 6-I
18. Spain	M José Forns, Madrid, Catedrático de Estética et Historia de la musica del conservatorio Dr. Letamendi. Societat General de autores de Espana. Plaza de Canovas 4
19. Greece	Petro Petridis, Athens, rûe Peñtarchīs 3
20. Luxemburg	Alfred Kowalsky, Directeur de l'Ecole Municipale de Musique, à Arch s. Alzette

On the original list, the entry for Poland has been crossed through with pencil with the words “vorläufig gestrichen” (temporarily restricted) added. This is significant in dating the time that the list was created. Poland was invaded in 1939 by Germany.

Losing its sovereignty as a nation, it lost its delegate. The word “temporarily” denotes some hope on the part of the group (or of Reznicek’s) for the Polish delegate Rożycki’s reinstatement. Reznicek’s name as German delegate dates the creation of the list at the earliest to be after the June meeting in 1934 and at the latest January of 1935. Kurt Atterberg, who would become the Secretary General of the organization in

1935, is listed only as the Swedish delegate. In *Gegen den Strom*, Felicitas mentions one other name that does not appear on the list and his position as Secretary General: Julius Kopsch. From all appearances, Kopsch insinuated himself into the organization. Kopsch was a conductor and a lawyer in the RMK (Reich Music Chamber). His name becomes more significant with the discussion of the Hamburg Festival of 1935 to come.

Other Concerns

By 1933, life in Germany became a series of day-to-day crises leading to feelings of disorientation and uncertainty that were created by the National Socialist government to keep the citizens off track, confused and under control.

What happened here was the gradual habituation of the people, little by little, to being governed by surprise; to receiving decisions deliberated in secret; to believing that the situation was so complicated that the government had to act on information which the people could not understand, or so dangerous that, even if the people could understand it, it could not be released because of national security. . . . This separation of government from people, this widening of the gap, took place so gradually and so insensibly, each step disguised (perhaps not even intentionally) as a temporary emergency measure or associated with true patriotic allegiance or with real social purposes. And all the crises and reforms (real reforms, too) so occupied the people that they did not see the slow motion underneath, of the whole process of government growing remoter and remoter.¹¹

One of the early strategies to divert the average German citizen was to create an enemy where there was none. The Jews became the chosen target. Although Felicitas never explains in *Gegen den Strom* exactly what the reason was for their problem in those early years of the Third Reich, she does reveal the following: “Then the first of April came with what became the historical ‘Jewish boycott.’ ‘Well, this I do not

¹¹ Milton Mayer, *They Thought They Were Free: The Germans, 1933-45* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 166-7.

understand,’ said E. N. The first denunciations came. My mother’s family did not conform to the requirements of the party.”¹² She adds,

From this day on she lived under Damocles’ sword. She knew that if it fell, it could destroy not only her, but also her husband and her children. E. N. did not understand that: “Of course I will protect you”, he said to my mother. In the first year, one denunciation followed hot on the tail of another. The family had to meet frequently, in order to confer, which had to happen, because none could act arbitrarily, [what] concerned her nevertheless [concerned] all. And nobody could help. My mother suffered, my father suffered, because she suffered, and nevertheless he could not believe that the situation was so serious.¹³

The suggestion seems to be that Bertha’s family had Jewish background, or had some “non-Aryan undesirable” element in her family line. Writing years later in an autobiography left unpublished at her death in 1988, Felicitas reveals the reason in connection to a much earlier event: the public criticism her father received about a scene he created in his 1900 opera *Till Eulenspiegel*:

While nobody found fault with Richard Strauss for the scene involving the quarrel between the Jews in the opera “Salome,” he [E. N.] was shouted down as an anti-Semite on account of the “Eulenspiegel” because he had set the prank played by Eulenspiegel on the Jews. My father was married to a woman who was half-Jewish (as so many a person knew) and the quite headstrong wife of Richard was anti-Semite (which also so many a person knew).¹⁴

¹² “Es kam der erste April mit dem historisch gewordenen ‘Juden-Boykott.’ ‘Also das verstehe ich nicht’, sagte E. N. Es kamen die ersten Denunziationen. Die Familie meiner Mutter entsprach nicht den Anforderungen der Partei.” Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 183.

¹³ “Von diesem Tag an lebte sie unter dem Damokles-Schwert. Sie wusste, dass es, wenn es fiel, nicht nur sie, sondern auch ihren Mann und ihre Kinder vernichten könnte. E. N. verstand das nicht: ‘Selbstverständlich werde ich dich beschützen’, sagte er zu meiner Mutter. Im ersten Jahr jagte eine Denunziation die andere. Die Familie musste häufig zusammenkommen, um zu beraten, was zu geschehen habe, denn keiner konnte eigenmächtig handeln, betraf es doch alle. Und niemand konnte helfen. Meine Mutter litt, mein Vater litt, weil sie litt, und doch konnte er nicht glauben, dass die Lage so ernst sei.” Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 183.

¹⁴ “Während kein Mensch Richard Strauss die Szene des Streites der Juden in der Oper “Salome” übel nahm, wurde er [E. N.] wegen des “Eulenspiegel” als Antisemit verschrien, weil er den Streich, den Eulenspiegel den Juden spielte, vertont hat. Dabei war mein Vater mit einer Halbjüdin verheiratet (war so mancher wusste) und die recht eigenwillige Frau von Richard Strauss war antisemitisch angehaucht (was auch so mancher wusste).” F. von Reznicek, “Ich war dabei – Bericht über 75 Jahre 20. Jahrhundert,” Unpublished autobiography of Felicitas von Reznicek, Personal collection of Horst Michael Fehrmann, n.p.

Bertha's Jewish background certainly would have been a problem; as music history played out, it might not have been an insurmountable one. Hindemith's spouse was Jewish, but his reputation as one of Germany's finest younger composers allowed him to work with some degree of success within Germany. Strauss, too, would worry for his Jewish daughter-in-law and her children, especially after his opera *Die schweigsame Frau* (*The Silent Woman*) was banned in Germany because of his collaboration with Austrian Jewish librettist, Stefan Zweig, in 1935.¹⁵

Organizing the Tonal Composers

Together Strauss and Reznicek began to plan concerts and festivals of international music. Thanks to Strauss' overt championship, Reznicek's name became a household word in musical circles almost instantly. Conductors asked for his scores, singers remembered that he had composed solo songs; Reznicek's "musical market share" increased exponentially in ways that all his charm and quiet competence had failed.¹⁶ At the same time, investigations into the family background miraculously dissipated to an occasional dribble of questions and veiled threats of denunciation.¹⁷

Reznicek's new fortune coincided closely with another milestone: his seventy-fifth birthday in 1935. He was made an honorary member of the Allgemeine deutsche Musikverein (AdMV) and the city of Hamburg awarded him the Brahms medal. He composed a ballet and an orchestral suite during this time. Some confusion reigns about the *Suite in alten Stil* (*Suite in Olden Style*) and an antecedent work *Karneval*

¹⁵ Stefan Zweig (1881-1942). Austrian novelist, dramatist, poet, biographer, and pacifist. Zweig dreamt of a united Europe, and was so crushed by the First World War, that it was a turning point in his career. He turned to writing short stories and became famous quickly. Because he was Jewish, after Hitler's rise to power, Zweig had to leave Austria in 1934. He removed to Brazil, but failing to find peace of mind, and in deep despair over the war, he committed suicide on February 22, 1942.

¹⁶ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 185.

¹⁷ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 184.

Suite in alten Stil (*Carnival Suite in Olden Style*). They are two editions of the same work. The *Carnival Suite* was published in 1935 in Leipzig by Heinrichshofen Verlag. On the occasion of his birthday celebration, the Berlin Philharmonic programmed a Reznicek Festival (Reznicek Feier) on May 16, the first of four concerts honoring the Prussian Academy of Arts. Along with the première of the *Carnival Suite*,¹⁸ the Reznicek concert had the following works on the program: *Konzertouverture: Im deutschen Wald* (*Concert Overture: In the German Forest*) (originally titled *Goldpirol*), “Volksliederbearbeitungen” (Folk Song Settings),¹⁹ and the Symphony in F minor. In 1943, the *Carnival Suite* was reissued with a name change as the *Suite in Olden Style*.²⁰

More interesting historically is Reznicek’s only ballet *Die goldene Kalb* (*The Golden Calf*). A lengthy production of four acts, the composer must have started work on it in early 1934 at the latest. Reznicek was anxious to produce it for a 1935 Hamburg Festival that was being planned under the auspices of the AdMV. Following the 1934 June meeting of the Ständiger Rat in Venice, Strauss and Reznicek must have set to work on preliminary plans for this AdMV festival.²¹ In his position as honorary president of the composer’s division of the RMK,²² Strauss wrote to Reznicek in September about a meeting he had with Siegmund von Hausegger, the then chairman of the AdMV.

¹⁸ The program omits “in alten Stil”.

¹⁹ Probably the new edition of the mixed choir setting of *Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert*. The program shows that the chorus from the Berliner Solistenvereinigung was listed on the program. Muck, 268.

²⁰ Heinrichshofen’s Verlag Nr. 13532.

²¹ This would also explain Reznicek’s honorary induction into the AdMV in 1935 in order that he be able to work with Strauss on the festival.

²² In 1933, the AdMV had been taken over by the National Socialists.

President of the
Reich Music Chamber

Berlin, September 23, 1934

Dear colleague!

Hausegger visited me today, and quite naturally he represents the interests of the General German Music Association ("A.d.M.V.") with regard to its review board: Haas, Vollerthun, etc. I informed him of your viewpoints regarding program development as well as the attached proposal, which I consider as the basis for the A.d.M.V.'s international music festival. For the time being we agreed that Munich will screen the submissions from the German provinces by about January 1, and will then make a final selection (15 works at the most, which will have to withstand the most severe critical scrutiny), while you will receive the foreign submissions and select the German works recommended by our review board. At the beginning of November we will also discuss foreign soloists with Jochum and Strohm in Berlin, and the last, definitive program conference will be in February: with Strohm, you, Hausegger and myself.

I will write to Strohm about the operas.

In the meantime, please discuss my program outline with Kopsch. With most heartfelt greetings I remain your

Always devoted

Dr. Richard Strauss²³

Work continued on the AdMV Hamburg Festival, which is a multi-day affair.

In their correspondence during January of 1935, they discuss the series of staged works, as well as orchestral and chamber music concerts to be held for the event.

Writing to Reznicek from Garmisch on January 9, 1935, Strauss sent the following letter:

Dr. Richard Strauss

Garmisch Zöppritstrasse
9.1.35

Dear friend and colleague!

Strohm writes that we will accept 4 theatre evenings:

I. *Ariane et Barbe-bleu* (Dukas). I have immediately informed Carol Bérard, with the news that any further collaboration with Kopsch is impossible for me, and that I am very glad that the Vichy festival will materialize.

²³ Eugen Jochum, was the conductor who followed Muck at the Hamburg Opera and Symphony starting 1/1/34. Heinrich Karl Strohm was the General Manager of the theater at Hamburg. Strauss' letter on RMK letterhead was in the possession of Felicitas von Reznicek. She allowed a copy to be made for the Strauss Archives at Garmisch. She later deposited the original with SUISA in Zürich. Richard Strauss, Berlin, to E. N. v. R., Berlin, 23 September 1934. Copy of original in Reznicek Archives IV/A/10. German text in Appendix 5.

II. *Halka* von Moniuszko

III. An evening of ballet with Reznicek and de Falla's *Dreispitz*.

With regard to the 4th evening you recommended Kienzl's *Testament*. Do you know this opera? I have nothing against it unless it is too senile, and provided that there is no German piece amongst the submissions which we could premiere. Should the latter *not* be the case, and should our good Kienzl also turn out to be impossible, I insist on *Cid*. It is unacceptable that Dr. Tischler (who should be discharged as soon as possible anyway) takes his private suggestions to Strohm, *against* my wishes.

I have just received the enclosed schedule from Lualdi. Since we can stage no additional Italian operas this year, the Italians must be favored in our concerts: the two short pieces by Martucci, which I am sending you, as well as Verdi's *Sacri Pezzi* should find a place if at all possible. Furthermore Pizetti, Respighi, as well as Lualdi and whatever else turns out to be recommendable.

I will be in Munich on the city's ballet day, and have already notified Hausegger about having a short program conference of the A.d.M.V. the day after. Could you also attend the Munich meeting and present your international selections? In any case, have Lualdi (Mailand, Via Goldoni 32) send you all the scores immediately.

I will also write to Lualdi. Most of all, we need to know how many Italian works we will have room for in the Hamburg program, besides German, Austrian, Scandinavian, Czech, Hungarian, English. 3 orchestral concerts, 3 chamber music concerts.

Most cordial greetings,
Dr. Richard Strauss²⁴

Significant in this letter is the differentiation between the AdMV Hamburg Festival concerts and the Ständiger Rat programs. The second paragraph beginning, "I have just received the enclosed schedule from Lualdi. Since we can stage no additional Italian operas this year, the Italians must be favored in our concerts" denotes a definite separation between the two organizations, at least in their minds.

From Strauss' letter of January 11, 1935, it is evident that that Kopsch, the Reich Musikkammer lawyer, has become meddlesome with plans for the AdMV festival. After telling Reznicek that he was still awaiting suggestions from the Italians, which he would be glad to receive, Strauss says,

²⁴ Richard Strauss, Garmisch, to E. N. v. R., Berlin, 9 January 1935. Copy at Garmisch, original at SUIA. Copy of original in Reznicek Archives IV/A/7. German text in Appendix 5.

In addition, I state, however, that up to now I did *not* receive anything from you, and now I come to Kopsch. Lately, the same [Kopsch] approached me several times personally and in writing and performed as if nothing happened and he would still be Secretary-General. (I have in any case announced it to Rasch). In his – Kopsch's – last letter he also communicated to me that he had already received numerous printed scores from abroad, which he will dispatch to me immediately. . . . Anyhow, you can draw out of the report above of the situation that the results of my efforts were negative so far, probably my opinion mainly because of plotting little Kopsch, who at all times is known to me is as a dangerous personality.²⁵

Both men seemed to feel the need to get Kopsch out of the Ständiger Rat (where he was appointed Secretary General) in order to protect that organization from Nazi assumption. They want to install the Swedish delegate Kurt Atterberg in his place. In a letter to Reznicek on January 17, 1935, Strauss thanks Reznicek for his letter and acknowledges Reznicek's news that the Ständiger Rat was able to oust Kopsch from the organization. No details of the mechanics of his extrication are disclosed. Felicitas writes, "Only one incident is to be noted: the very adroit Secretary-General Julius Kopsch remained in the background and was removed from the Ständiger Rat by drastic means. The Swedish composer Kurt Atterberg took his place."²⁶ Actually, Reznicek received a letter from Kopsch while he was writing the aforementioned letter of January 11 to Strauss concerning Kopsch. He adds as a postscript, "Just now I receive a letter from Kopsch where he communicates that at

²⁵ "Dazu stelle ich aber fest, dass ich bis jetzt von Ihnen *nichts* erhalten habe und nun komme ich auf Kopsch. Derselbe hat sich mir in letzter Zeit mehrfach persönlich und brieflich genähert und getan als ob nichts geschehen und er noch Generalsekretär wäre. (Ich habe es Rasch jedesmal gemeldet.) In seinem – Kopsch' – letzten Brief teilte er mir auch mit, dass er schon zahlreichen Musikalien von auswärts erhalten habe, die er mir sofort zuschicken werde. . . . Jedenfalls können Sie aus obigem Situationsbericht entnehmen, dass die Resultate meiner Bemühungen bisher negative waren, m. E. wohl hauptsächlich wegen der Miniarbeit Kopschens, der mir von jeher als gefährliche Persönlichkeit bekannt ist." Richard Strauss, Garmisch, to E. N. v. R., Berlin, 11 January 1935, in Gabriele Strauss and Monika Reger, *Richard Strauss im Briefwechsel mit zeitgenössischen Komponisten und Dirigenten*, Vol. 2, *Ihr Aufrichtig Ergebener* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 1998), 273-4.

²⁶ "Nur ein Vorgang ist zu vermerken: Der sehr gewandte Generalsekretär Julius Kopsch blieb auf der Strecke und wurde mit drastischen Mitteln aus dem Ständiger Rat entfernt. Der schwedische Komponist Kurt Atterberg nahm seine Stelle ein." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 187.

your desire he himself has decided to tender his resignation to the Ständiger Rat, thereby making my choice of Mr. Atterberg possible.”²⁷

Otherwise, plans for the Hamburg Festival went well until Strauss discovered the extraordinary length of Reznicek's *Golden Calf* ballet. Strauss suggested in a very polite way to his friend that he might consider presenting only a part of the ballet for the Hamburg production, that is, about one hour's portion. Apparently, Reznicek was very displeased with the suggestion,²⁸ for Strauss wrote back to him the very next day from Garmisch (January 27, 1935) after receiving Reznicek's reply,

Dear Colleague!

Although I am sorry that you are so stubborn, but of course I will grant your wish and stage your work in its unabridged form. Please discuss everything else personally with Strohm at the Hamburg meeting in mid-February.

Having said this by way of preface, please allow me a cordial question: do you really intend to send a 2 1/2 hour long ballet out into the world? According to my experience the possibilities for staging such a work are slim to none, especially given current circumstances (!). Yes, in imperial Russia, evening-length ballets were still performed. But which theater superintendent is nowadays willing to risk the settings for this? This is just some well-intentioned advice. Perhaps you will reconsider.

With sincere greetings, and hoping that you will not hold this collegial meddling against me.

Yours,

Dr. Richard Strauss

There is no hurry with regard to the rest of the program, it can be put off until the Hamburg meeting, which I will not attend since I already discussed all important matters with Hausegger and Haas last week. Just be careful that Haas does not once again push for his 50% German bit. He should be happy to discover 20% music that is worth listening to. In any case, please do not forget Belgium, where they will hold the World's Fair and Music Festival next year, at least two Martucci pieces and the Yugoslav Dobronic, whom you praised. I have turned down *Boris Godunoff*! Totally superfluous! Strohm proposes a choral work by Kaminski. I have nothing against it in principle, but I find the pompous *100. Psalm* by Reger unnecessary.

²⁷ “Eben erhalte ich einen Brief von Kopsch worin er mir mitteilt, dass er sich auf Ihren Wunsch entschlossen hat, sein Amt zur Verfügung des ständigen Rates zu stellen, um dadurch die Wahl des Herrn Atterberg zu ermöglichen.” E. N. v. Reznicek, Berlin, to Richard Strauss, Garmisch, 11 January 1935, in Strauss and Monika Reger, *Richard Strauss im Briefwechsel*, 274.

²⁸ Reznicek's letter to Strauss is not extant.

The *Arme Heinrich* [*Poor Henry*] will suffice for our audience's entertainment. I have agreed to it on Hausegger's request instead of the non-existent German première.

Possibly consider Pizetti! Orchestrated Bach-nonsense! Also, the Swede Ture Rangström, the new delegate [Strauss refers to the Ständiger Rat delegate here] is said to be very talented.²⁹

While the interchange of opinion is interesting, it is also significant to note that both men were devoted to planning an international event, regardless of the wishes of Germans involved in the AdMV (like Hausegger) or the Reich Music Chamber (like Kopsch). It is regrettable that Reznicek's letter to Strauss is not extant. Several other letters follow with more discussions of repertoire and production details. Up to this point, members of the Reich Music Chamber, while annoying, had not been overly officious, with the exception of Kopsch. That was to change suddenly when ten weeks before the Hamburg Festival an unknown person discovered that Dukas, whose opera *Ariane et Barbe-bleu* had from the very beginning been scheduled for the Festival, was a Jew.

The Propaganda Ministry then became involved and prohibited the performance. Reznicek was embarrassed and uncomfortable; as a festival planner he felt personally responsible that he had disgraced the international musical community and would be viewed as one who had broken his word with his international colleagues. Strauss was furious; Goebbels would not even discuss the affair. Strauss wrote to Reznicek,

February 19, 1935

Very dear Mr. Colleague!

Best thanks for your dear interesting letter, the natural result of which is that I must herewith confirm my complete lack of interest in the Hamburg

²⁹ Richard Strauss, Garmisch, to E. N. v. R., Berlin, 27 January 1935. Copy at Garmisch, original at SUIA. Copy of original in Reznicek Archives IV/A/3. German text in Appendix 5.

festival. If Hamburg wants to economize, it does not have to invite us to a “festival.” Thus, Mr. Strohm should do what he wants.

And please make your program after your discretion. I insist neither on 80% foreign country versus 20%, I insist not on Liszt, Elgar and Verdi. I shall therefore not come to Hamburg – the devil take the whole pack of them! Why cannot Dukas's opera be performed? . . . My withdrawal automatically means my resignation from the Conseil [Ständiger Rat] and that I relinquish my honorary presidency of the A.d.M.V. From further consequences for the present to be silent.

With best regards
Your sincerely devoted
Dr. Richard Strauss³⁰

In colloquial terms, Reznicek was “left holding the bag” and considered resigning from the AdMV himself. Desperate to ameliorate the situation, Reznicek called AdMV president Hausegger who, like Strauss, had tried to speak to the Propaganda Ministry in vain.³¹ Like her grandfather and mother before her, Felicitas took the initiative, presenting herself to the Reich Chancellery to talk to Hitler’s aide de camp Fritz Wiedemann, but was refused an audience.³² She ended up with Hitler’s former captain from World War I whom he had just brought to Berlin in 1934. Although Felicitas gives no details of the meeting, she does say, “The matter came quickly to order and the prohibition was taken back. In the meantime, the Frenchmen had gotten wind of the story and Dukas had withdrawn.”³³ Reznicek does, however, give details,

³⁰ “Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege! Besten Dank für Ihren lieben interessanten Brief, der aber natürlich zur Folge hat, dass ich hiermit für das Hamburger Fest mein völliges désintéressement erklärte muss. Wenn Hamburg sparen will, muss es uns nicht zu einem ‘Festival’ enladen. Herr Strohm soll also tun was er will. Und Sie bitte machen Ihr Programm nach Guidance. Ich bestehe weder auf 80 % Ausland contra 20 %, ich bestehe nicht auf Liszt, Elgar and Verdi – ich komme auch nicht nach Hamburg und im Uebrigen Götz v. B.! Warum wird die Ducas’sche Oper nicht gegeben? . . . Meine Desavouierung in diesem Fall hat automatisch meinem Rücktritt aus dem Conseil und Verzicht auf die Ehrenpräsidentschaft des A.d.M.V. zur Folge. Von weiteren Konsequenzen vorläufig zu schweigen. Mit besten Grüßen Ihr aufrichtig ergebener Dr. Richard Strauss.” Richard Strauss, Garmisch, to E. N. v. R., Berlin 19 February 1935. Copy at Garmisch, original at SUIA.

³¹ Felicitas says that Hausegger went to an undersecretary of state in the Propaganda Ministry. The individual's name is not mentioned. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 187.

³² F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 187.

³³ “Die Sache kam schnell in Ordnung und das Verbot wurde zurückgenommen. Die Franzosen hatten allerdings von der Geschichte Wind bekommen und Dukas sein Werk zurückgezogen.” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 187.

which would lead to the assumption that Reznicek was with Felicitas. In a letter of February 26, 1935, Reznicek says to Strauss, “Today I had a long conversation with the Ministry Council von Keudell and now I also know how the whole Dukas “stink” developed.”³⁴ From there he explains that the Propaganda Ministry did not know how long the opera had been planned, that France (by way of Carol Bérard) had been a part of the program planning for a long time, and that the inclusion of Dukas on the program was not a secret that was being kept from anyone in the German government. Keudell was surprised to hear that and concerned when Reznicek went further to say that Germany would lose face with the international artistic community if it were to insist on canceling Dukas, especially as Germany was the host country. “Now Keudell saw the seriousness of the situation and that everything had to happen, in order to prevent serious damage.”³⁵ Regardless of whether Felicitas, her father, or both were in the meeting, the end result was the same. The French did hear about the situation, and Dukas withdrew from the festival. Although Strauss still refused to attend, leaving Reznicek in charge by himself to take care of all the particulars, he continued to contribute his opinions and demands on the programming in the letters leading up to the date of the festival.

The composer’s seventy-fifth birthday year (1935) passed by with little forms of celebration and well-wishing. Felicitas sent out the picture postcard of the now elderly Reznicek to colleagues and friends. (Fig. 19)

³⁴ “Heute hatte ich eine lange Unterredung mit dem Ministerialrat v. Keudell und jetzt weiss ich auch, wie der ganze Ducas-Stunk entstanden ist.” Otto von Keudell was in the Propaganda Ministry beginning in April of 1933. He formerly served in the Reich Interior Ministry. Letter from E. N. v. R., Berlin, to Richard Strauss, *n.p.*, 26 February 1935, in Strauss and Reger, 288.

³⁵ “Nun sah Keudell den Ernst der Lage ein und dass alles geschehen müsse, um grösseren Schaden zu verhüten.” Letter from E. N. v. R., Berlin, to Richard Strauss, *n.p.*, 26 February 1935, in Strauss and Reger, 288.

Fig. 19. 75th Birthday Postcard of Reznicek and Felicitas. Reznicek Archives.



1935 was also a very difficult year for Reznicek. His friend Leo Blech, who had conducted both premières of *Ritter Blaubart* and *Holofernes*, was forced out of his long term conducting position at the Berliner Staatsoper (Berlin State Opera) by the Third Reich. He wrote to Reznicek that the official reason was his age; the authorities imposed an age limit. He added, “What this means for me requires no explanation.”³⁶ The press said that Blech had asked for a discharge from his obligations. The real reason for his dismissal, however, was that he was Jewish. Because he was a popular and prominent figure for years in German musical life, the Nazis tried to hide the real reason with a bogus age limit for service.³⁷ Another blow followed on December 24: Alban Berg died. Reznicek had made friends with him during the time *Wozzeck* was being staged. While there is evidence that Berg had little regard for Reznicek’s

³⁶ “Was das für mich bedeutet, bedarf wohl keiner Erklärung.” F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 188.

³⁷ Blech was certainly a popular artist. For a length of time Hermann Göring, an admirer of Blech’s artistry, was able to protect him.

music,³⁸ he did like him personally. On the other hand, Reznicek championed Berg's *Wozzeck*. This was apparent to Berg, for in a letter to his wife, he mentions Reznicek in connection with the 1928 Berlin performance of the opera. While criticizing some of the cast, he says, "Meanwhile Johanson might sing again, a lot of people like *her* anyhow – Reznicek, for instance, who really is a great *Wozzeck* enthusiast."³⁹ In a letter from the previous day, he discloses, "I've phoned Reznicek: we're traveling together at ten o'clock tomorrow: he's going third-class to suit me, which is very nice of the old gentleman."⁴⁰ In his letter the following day while on the train, he says, "After a restful night I packed, and met Reznicek at the station. A funny chap, but really a good sort. He brought lunch for two and asked me to join him, so that I didn't need to go into the dining-car."⁴¹

Another important festival took place in Vichy during September of 1935. By this time Reznicek, who had previously used only personal stationery, began using the letterhead of the Ständiger Rat in his communications with Strauss. For all intents and purposes, in planning the Hamburg Festival of the AdMV, both men tried to make the event an international affair. International consultants were the delegates from the Ständiger Rat like Bérard, Sibelius, Atterberg and Lualdi, composers whom Strauss and Reznicek already knew and trusted for their work. In conjunction with her

³⁸ In a letter to Schönberg in 1933, Berg is unhappy with the choices made for an upcoming Munich concert of the AdMV. After mentioning the choice of Webern's op. 6 and a quartet of Peter Schacht (one of Schönberg's students), of the rest he says, "Otherwise the unavoidable, for example, Pfitzner, Braunfels, Reznicek, Franckenstein, Wolfurt, Lechthaler, and consorts." Alban Berg, Vienna, to Arnold Schönberg, 8 March 1933, in Brand, Hailey, and Harris, *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence*, 441.

³⁹ Alban Berg, on the train from Berlin to Duisberg, to Helene Berg, Duisberg, 27 October 1928, in *Alban Berg: Letters to His Wife*, ed. and trans. Bernard Grun (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971), 367.

⁴⁰ Alban Berg, Berlin, to Helene Berg, Duisberg, 26 October 1928, in *Alban Berg: Letters to His Wife*, 367.

⁴¹ Alban Berg, on the train from Berlin to Duisberg, to Helene Berg, Duisberg, 27 October 1928, in *Alban Berg: Letters to His Wife*, 368.

short discussion of the Vichy festival, Felicitas mentions that Albert Roussel is now a vice president of the Ständiger Rat.⁴² In a letter to Strauss, Reznicek discusses the Vichy program and an unidentified work by Roussel that Bérard suggested programming.⁴³ It is understandable that contemporary writers have confused the two groups (AdMV and Ständiger Rat), and that the Ständiger Rat was viewed as a part of the National Socialist network completely under the control of the Reich Musikkamer from the beginning. From the time that Strauss was appointed honorary president of the RMK's composers' division, all of his musical activities attracted the interest and attention of the National Socialists, regardless of their nature or pre-existent status. Any German musicians working with him became persons of interest and certain scrutiny. Ultimately, he was removed from the RMK in 1935 for his work with Stefan Zweig on his opera *Die Schweigsame Frau*.⁴⁴ Strauss' dream of ameliorating the lot of German composers by securing full copyright protection through his position in the cogs of the RMK, however, was realized.

Increasingly, concerts in Germany became more carefully monitored by the RMK. Strauss and Reznicek's concert planning became more and more conservative, and they fell into the pocket of the National Socialists. To work and to protect their families, they both had to cooperate to a degree. Cooperation, however, did not mean

⁴² This is a particularly interesting fact that is left out of biographical information about Roussel. Roussel may have taken Ibert's place. There is no information that Ibert did any work on behalf of the Ständiger Rat. Carol Bérard is the active French delegate. Biographical accounts do mention, however, Roussel's work with the ISCM, of which he was the president in 1937. Nevertheless, Roussel would have served at the most two years in the Ständiger Rat, for he died in 1937.

⁴³ E. N. v. R., Berlin, to Richard Strauss, *n.p.*, 3 October 1935, in Strauss and Reger, 291.

⁴⁴ Despite the ban on working with Jewish artists, Strauss continued to work on the Dresden production with Stefan Zweig, who had fled to Zürich, through the mails. Strauss had discovered that Zweig's name had been eliminated from all programs and posters for the opera. Strauss demanded their reinstatement. An indiscreet letter from Strauss to Zweig was intercepted by the Gestapo. Hitler and Goebbels refused to attend the opera and it was subsequently banned after four performances.

sympathy for the government. Luckily, their letters were never intercepted, for they were indiscreet with their sarcastic remarks and names for various RMK officers and musicians who were sympathetic to the Nazis. For instance, from a postscript to his letter of January 23, 1935, while speaking about the difficulties of putting together the Hamburg Festival, Reznicek says, “But what is going on with our friend Strohm and with the Head Cultural Bolshevist Jochum? That Dr. Tischer is said to have the ear of the Führer – Hence those tears!”⁴⁵

It is the tragic timing of the Ständiger Rat’s formation and the ensuing political explosion that allowed, despite the efforts of Strauss and Reznicek, the group’s slow infiltration and eventual assumption by the National Socialists to the extent that both men eventually left the organization. According to Felicitas, over the eight years that Reznicek was involved with the organization, from 1934 to 1942, it hosted more than twenty exchange concerts and music festivals.⁴⁶ International festivals were held in Stockholm in February 1936 and in Brussels in November 1938. She adds that with the exception of the Hamburg and Vichy Festivals, Reznicek did not try to program his own works outside of Germany. An exception to this was a program in Naples that included the *Donna Diana Overture*. He recognized the importance of the international aspect of the programs. Only on the programs given in Germany did he entertain the performance of his own music.⁴⁷ Reznicek’s last published work, save the reissue by Heinrichofen in 1943 of the *Carnival Suite* as the

⁴⁵ "Aber was ist mit unserem Freund Strohm und mit dem Oberkultur-Bolschewisten Jochum? Der Dr. T[ischer] soll das Ohr des Führers haben – hinc illae lacrimae!" Dr. Gerhard Tischer was a music publisher (Tischer & Jagenberg) and known for his dissolution of the executive committee of the AdMV. E. N. v. R., Berlin, to Richard Strauss, *n.p.*, 23 January 1935, in Strauss and Reger, 277.

⁴⁶ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 193.

⁴⁷ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 193.

Suite in Olden Style, was the 1939 *Wächterlied* (*Watchman's Song*) published by Universal-Edition. The published score reads: *Wächterlied (Nach einer Volksmelodie aus dem 16. Jahrhundert) für eine mittlere Singstimme mit Klavierbegleitung* (*After a Folk Melody from the 16th Century*). As was his practice, he did not identify the folk melody.

Family Concerns

By the mid-1930s, Bertha Reznicek's health was slowly failing. She slipped into bouts of depression and rarely left the apartment. During 1939, she succumbed to heart disease.⁴⁸ The very next year, six weeks before Reznicek's eightieth birthday, his youngest son Emil died after an illness of only thirty-six hours.⁴⁹ Felicitas never reveals the cause of death.

The last international music festival that Reznicek took an active part in was in Frankfurt during 1940. It was also his eightieth birthday year and, as he had been in his seventy-fifth year, he was appropriately feted. His interestingly unconventional honors included the Grand Cross of the Order of the Italian Crown, bestowed on him by the King of Italy, and the conferring of honorary membership in the Federation of Styrian Composers.⁵⁰ Once again, Fritz Stein sent him a short note from the Berlin Hochschule as he had (albeit belatedly) for his seventy-fifth year.⁵¹ On May 11, 1940,

⁴⁸ This event is mentioned in more detail in Chapter 4 with regard to the revival of Reznicek's *Till Eulenspiegel* in Köln.

⁴⁹ Felicitas mentions that all her brothers took part in World War I and that her youngest brother, who turned sixteen during the war years, joined the military where he served on a U boat. This made him Felicitas elder by about two years. F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 198.

⁵⁰ The Styrian Federation was that composer's group from Southeastern Austria from around the Graz area.

⁵¹ Fritz Stein, Berlin Hochschule, to E. N. v. R., Berlin, 5 May 1940. In Stein's letter he recognizes that "even in your 80th year, you're still in great strength." Stein further thanks Reznicek for the latter's

Reznicek wrote Stein a thank you note on the letterhead of the Ständiger Rat. Two days later, Stein sent a note back to Reznicek telling him that there will be a Reznicek-Feier on May 21 in his honor. For the first time to Reznicek, Stein concluded his note with an official “Heil Hitler.”⁵² Reznicek did not reply. In October of 1941, after attending a concert at the Hochschule, Reznicek wrote to Stein suggesting that Alice Schönfeld play his violin concerto on a Hochschule performance.⁵³ Reznicek received a reply from Stein; he would have loved to schedule the concerto, but the winter programs were already scheduled. He added that the school was short of players because the military called up students and took them out of school. He again ended with the salutation, “Heil Hitler.”⁵⁴ Reznicek did not write a reply. Reznicek never used the salutation “Heil Hitler” in any correspondence, regardless of whether it was used in communications to him.

Given both Reznicek’s minor status as a musical figure and the concurrent chaos of the war years in Germany, it is understandable that the composer’s declining years are documented solely by his daughter, who acted as his secretary from 1920 onward. Never marrying herself, Felicitas cared for both parents until they died. As a result, biographical details, even from before his declining years, are also solely dependent on her accounts. In 1940, with her mother dead and her father in his

birthday greetings on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Translation of letter onsite by Dietrich Strohmaier. Reznicek File, Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik Archives, Berlin.

⁵² There is nothing further in Reznicek’s file to suggest that this “Feier” ever took place. Fritz Stein, Berlin Hochschule, to E. N. v. R., Berlin, 13 May 1940. Translation of letter onsite by Dietrich Strohmaier. Reznicek File, Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik Archives, Berlin.

⁵³ Letter of October 29, 1941. This is the letter where Reznicek mentions the première of the concerto with Waghalter. Translation of letter onsite by Dietrich Strohmaier. Reznicek File, Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik Archives, Berlin.

⁵⁴ Fritz Stein, Berlin Hochschule, to E. N. v. Reznicek, Berlin, 10 October 1941. Translation of letter onsite by Dietrich Strohmaier. Reznicek File, Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik Archives, Berlin.

eightieth year, Felicitas was acutely aware of her father's mortality. She made the decision to spend numerous hours interviewing him in the attempt to chronicle his life and contributions, the fruit of which is *Gegen den Strom*.⁵⁵

The number of letters and documents to Strauss after 1935 represent a meager offering as compared with those from the earlier years of the decade. Certainly after 1939 when Germany had thrown itself totally into its war effort, cultural affairs took a seat further back in importance except for occasions when they served political purposes. Goebbels was especially fond of sponsoring musical competitions for particular political purposes in order to boost the morale of the people or to distract them from negative war news. He even funded serious composers who had fallen on economic hardship, including Anton Webern.⁵⁶ Even Strauss was left alone more often. Out of the RMK, the aging Strauss was of little use or interest to the Nazis. That was undoubtedly the case for Reznicek, as well, as the Nazis became more interested in their younger composers. There was still interest in fostering serious music, however. Goebbels awarded thousands of Reich Marks to composers to encourage them to write new music, music that he hoped would represent the new Germany of the Third Reich. In 1942, Strauss was given 6,000 RM. Composers like Hugo Distler and Harald Genzmer were awarded 2,000 RM each. Reznicek was given 4,000 RM⁵⁷ and in turn, rewarded the Third Reich by composing nothing and leaving the Ständiger Rat that year. Of Reznicek's departure from the Ständiger Rat, Felicitas says,

⁵⁵ In reality, Felicitas von Reznicek became more than her father's secretary and caregiver. She was a novelist and did some film writing. Like her father, she had a love of the Alps, was an expert alpine climber and writer on that subject.

⁵⁶ Meyer, 282.

⁵⁷ Meyer, 282

A so-called historian for music pretends to know better, but he is wrong. He pretends that my father stayed on to the end. This is nonsense. In 1943 already my father was so ill (loss of memory and slow increasing “Gehirnaufweichung”) [literally, softening of the brain: today’s dementia] that he could not have been able to do this.⁵⁸

After 1935, Reznicek all but ceased composing. The *Wächterlied* from 1939 and a little solo piano work, *Liebeserklärung* (*Declaration of Love*) (1943), published in 1959, long after his death, were his only creations at the end of his life.⁵⁹

Becoming increasingly senile, he took pleasure in looking through his scores and butterfly specimens, while giving occasional music lessons to young children. During 1943, the air raids began and an incendiary bomb hit the roof of the house, broke through the ceiling and started a fire in Reznicek’s bedroom. In a lucid moment, the composer located a shovel, scooped up the burning mass, and launched it over the balcony to the street below, but not before it had destroyed some of his scores that were sitting out in the room. The air raid officials wanted him to evacuate, but Reznicek did not want to leave his scores and butterflies.⁶⁰

The decision, however, was made for him when officials from the Reich Propaganda Ministry appeared and, on the pretext of collecting the manuscripts of all living composers for protection from air strikes,⁶¹ loaded the music into a trunk and took it to the area of the Lausitz.⁶² Reznicek was put on the train by himself and sent to Vienna to stay in a two-room apartment in a small hotel where he was to be looked

⁵⁸ F. von Reznicek, “Reznicek Talk,” 3.

⁵⁹ The catalog entry in the MÖNB identifies the little two-page work as *Liebeserklärung*. Words on a Theme by Felicitas J. von Reznicek. This probably means a theme inspired by words of Felicitas J. von Reznicek. Published by Mannheimer Musik-Verlag, 1959.

⁶⁰ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 202.

⁶¹ This practice was carried out throughout Berlin, the evacuation of the music in Preussische Staatsbibliothek being the most famous example.

⁶² The Lausitz is a very large geographical area, spanning the territory between the Elbe and Oder rivers.

after by the family's housekeeper from the early days in Berlin, Marie Seeger. Air raids continued with more frequency. On December 16, 1943, Felicitas' brother Burghard lost his home completely, and a great number of buildings around the Knesebeckstrasse 32 house were destroyed. The following day, the word came from Vienna that Reznicek had been taken seriously ill. Still having a working automobile, Felicitas and Burghard obtained travel papers and drove to Vienna. Reznicek had developed bronchitis, from which he would recover, but his brain functions were deteriorating further due to stroke.⁶³ Felicitas summed up the experience to Gordon Wright, "Shortly after having to leave the place he was loving in [*sic*] for more than twenty years, he had a brainshock and declined. Twenty months later he could finally die."⁶⁴

Those twenty months were not spent in Vienna. Felicitas and Burghard received permission to take him to the Grabley Sanatorium in Saarow-Pieskow. The party which also included Marie Seeger, arrived only to find that it had been taken over as a military hospital. They stayed for some time at a small nearby hotel. Then just two days before the Russians reached Saarow-Pieskow, Reznicek, Felicitas and Marie Seeger were able to leave for Berlin where the house had been made habitable again.⁶⁵ Sometime in April of 1945 (Felicitas is often penurious in her writing about actual dates and details) after the Russians had seized Berlin, she was deported for some weeks to Siberia by the Soviets. In her *Gegen den Strom* account she merely says, "Owing to a last denunciation, I was at that time on the way to Siberia, but after

⁶³ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 203.

⁶⁴ F. von Reznicek, Engelberg, Switzerland, to Gordon Wright, Indian, Alaska, 4 September 1970. Wright personal letters, Indian, Alaska.

⁶⁵ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 204.

weeks of time I could return to see him still living.”⁶⁶ Many years later Felicitas explained this “denunciation” to Gordon Wright in the course of talking about royalties she received from score sales of the *Donna Diana Overture*:

Russia I cannot judge, because I do not get special scores from there, but the work [*Donna Diana Overture*] must be known in Russia too, because, when I was taken away by the Russians, because an old Nazi wanted me out of the way, the commander (a major) asked me first, why my name is Reznicek. He evidently thought I was a Czech collaborator. When I answered, because my father had this name, he laughed and wanted to know whether I was related to the composer. I said, he was my father, and then he laughed happily. His interpreter went to an old Grammophon (still with a tubalike [*sic*] piece) and played the Donna Diana Ouverture. “It is the Major[']s favourite piece,” the Interpreter said. Next morning I was free.⁶⁷

She returned and remained with her father. His death came on August 2, 1945, after forty-eight hours of death roes. His final illness was typhoid fever, what Felicitas refers to as Hungertyphus. By now, what little remained of Berlin’s infrastructure had been destroyed by bombing and by Soviet troops. Sanitary services had ceased, and disease had broken out, attacking the most vulnerable populations first: the old and the weak. Further details are found in a short article published in the United States the month after Reznicek’s death:

In July, dysentery spread throughout Berlin. The disease was carried by flies that swarmed in the wreckage, and struck an undernourished people: 705 died of it. In August came typhoid fever, which also flourishes on flies and filth. In the week of Aug. 18 there were 538 typhoid cases (up from 43 in July) and 50 deaths.⁶⁸

Along with disease and shortages of food, there was no fuel for transportation, even for transporting Reznicek's body to the cemetery. Somehow Felicitas was able to procure a vehicle for the purpose and, through the kindness of an American garrison

⁶⁶ "Ich war damals, dank einer letzten Denunziation, auf dem Weg nach Sibirien, doch konnte ich nach Wochen rechtzeitig zurückkehren, um ihn noch lebend zu sehen." F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 204.

⁶⁷ F. von Reznicek, “Reznicek Talk,” 3.

⁶⁸ “Diseased Berlin,” *Time Magazine*, 10 September 1945, 51.

officer who gave her twenty liters of gas, was able to provide a hearse for her father. He was to be buried in the eastern zone on the outskirts of Berlin in the Waldfriedhof (Forest Cemetery) near Standsdorf. When the small burial party came to the border beyond which lay territory in Communist occupation, the border guard forced them to leave the car and take a small wagon for the body, for fear that the car could be taken by the Communists. Their safety still could not be insured as they were liable to be mugged for their clothing, so the guard forced them to take off their shoes and strip to their underwear. In their underwear and barefoot they accompanied the wagon bearing the casket about a mile into the eastern zone to the cemetery and laid the composer to rest next to his beloved wife, Bertha.⁶⁹

Last Words

How did he fare, then, this composer who always swam against the tide? Sometimes he flourished. In his middle career he occasionally enjoyed forefront concert billing with figures like Richard Strauss and Hans Pfitzner. Leibnitz is correct in saying that Reznicek's overall reputation has suffered from his being pigeonholed as "an amiable, uncomplicated old Austrian who wrote with a light hand something always in the neighborhood of the entertaining genres."⁷⁰ Older writers like Richard Specht who tried to pin down Reznicek's style, misunderstood the presence of different styles of composition in his catalog. In Specht's case, he attributed what he could not explain to a multiple personality disorder where "three or four entirely opposing beings live side by side that seem to know nothing about each other."⁷¹ It is

⁶⁹ F. von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 9.

⁷⁰ Thomas Leibnitz. *Österreichische Spätromantiker* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986), 19.

⁷¹ Specht, 45.

now clear that Reznicek's style shows an organic development from the past, not a derivative one. Although it is impossible not to say in passages, "this sounds like Mahler, Wagner, Strauss, Mendelssohn," he goes beyond derivation by way of satire, through use of copious modulation, caprice with traditional formal procedure, and exaggerated orchestral color to make "late Romanticism" his own. His music has an anachronistic flavor whose visual equivalent could be an electric clock placed on an old basilica tower. Not all are offended by this phenomenon; some welcome this unorthodoxy.

For those few who have been able to gain access to and spend time with his music, the realization that he is not someone else in disguise, but purely Reznicek has led to a deeper appreciation of the creative mind of the composer and, for lack of a more elegant term, a certain cult-like dedication to his music. In the words of Gordon Wright,

Reznicek is one of the few who went their [*sic*] own way undeterred by fashion and the whims of the day, intelligent, somewhat skeptical, humorous with a touch of sarcasm, observant with a touch of irony, not destined to be a leader yet too independent to be led, discriminating, possessing a fine awareness of the technical inventiveness of his contemporaries, deftly selecting what was useful to him – but in the last analysis remaining the true Austrian, delighting in harmonious sound and sensual appeal, whose aim is not experiment but just to enjoy making music.⁷²

In conclusion, only through an examination of his major works exemplified in the symphonic tone poems, the symphonies, the operas, and works like the E minor violin concerto and the *Biblical Songs*, does the composer's interest in irony and satire, along with his real mastery of counterpoint and understanding of form and thematic treatment show its best side. Reznicek did compose in different styles, but

⁷² Gordon Wright, "The Penumbra of Obscurity," *Wooster, A Quarterly Magazine for Alumni and Friends of The College of Wooster* 105, no. 2 (Winter 1991): 29.

they were not due to a mental disorder, as Specht offers; they were conscious choices. He did so because he could, and he enjoyed it. While it is true that his corpus of works is uneven in quality, there can be no argument that even the great canons of musical creativity showed qualitative inconsistency in their works. Judging Reznicek's worth based on his minor works, like the *Suite in Olden Style* or the youthful *Symphonic Suite in E minor*, equals assessing the creative talents of Charles Ives, Aaron Copland, and Beethoven based solely on their works *The Circus Band*, *Emblems*, and *Variations on a Swiss Air*, respectively.

During the last two decades of the twentieth century, there have been fledgling attempts to bring Reznicek's music back to the concert hall. Valiant efforts have been made by the Reznicek Society, and in particular, by its late director, Gordon Wright, to perform and seek funding for programming and recording the composer's works.⁷³ The last recording made by the Franz Schubert Quartet of Vienna before its dissolution in 1996 was a compact disc of the Reznicek String Quartet in C-sharp minor and Korngold's first string quartet.⁷⁴ In the beginning of this century, there has been a renewed interest in Germany by CPO records to release two of the operas and some of the orchestral music.⁷⁵ With the release of some of his

⁷³ Wright recorded Symphonies nos. 3 and 4 with the Philharmonia Hungarica in 1985 (Schwann/Musica Mundi CD 11091). He also recorded the Violin Concerto in E minor (Michael Davis, violin) with the same orchestra on a joint recording with Jiří Stárek, who recorded the RIAS Sinfonietta in the *Serenade for Strings* in 1984 (Koch Schwann/Musica Mundi, CD 311 128).

⁷⁴ Erich Wolfgang Korngold and E. N. v. Reznicek, *Korngold Reznicek: String Quartets*, Nimbus NI 5506, 1997. Compact Disc.

⁷⁵ CPO has released *Donna Diana* (Windfuhr, Kiel Opera, 2004. CPO 999 991-2); *Ritter Blaubart* (Jurowski, Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Berlin, 2003. CPO 999 899-2); *Schlemihl and Raskolnikoff Overture* (Jurowski, WDR Sinfonieorchester Köln, 2004. CPO 999 795-2); *Der Sieger* (Jurowski, WDR Sinfonieorchester Köln, 2004. CPO 999 898-2); and Symphony no. 2 and *Dance Symphony* (Beerman, Berner Symphonie-Orchester, 2005. CPO 777 056-2).

works on recordings, Reznicek may find his way out of what Gordon Wright once called “the penumbra of obscurity.”⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Gordon Wright, “The Penumbra of Obscurity,” *Wooster, A Quarterly Magazine for Alumni and Friends of The College of Wooster* 105, no. 2 (Winter 1991): 26-29.

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APPENDIX 1

WORKS CATALOG

This catalog represents current information on Reznicek's works in table format. It includes several titles whose existence was apparently unknown to previous authors. In some cases, works were known, but had not been located. Such is the case of the composer's first symphony that was lost for years, then mysteriously came available for purchase by an unnamed seller in the early 1970s. A number of manuscript sets of orchestral parts, separated from their conductor scores, lay for years in the warehouse of Bote & Boch music publishers until they were turned over to the Reznicek Society on the request of Felicitas von Reznicek.

Works are identified by title, arranged chronologically and given an identification number (Gertig Number – G No.). G 1 through G 104 are dated works. Undated works (G 105 – G 116), as well as unidentified sketches (G 117 – G 120), appear at the end of the chronological table.

Each title is followed by: the key of the work (especially if needed to distinguish the work from another with a similar title); alternate titles, movements, and song titles; author of text; year and place of composition; information on first performance; location of manuscript; year of publication and publisher; library location of published work; remarks on other versions; and genre of the work.

The Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (MÖNB) is one of two main repositories of Reznicek's manuscripts, autographs, and published editions, along with a large collection of letters, photographs and other printed materials about the composer. It is the major archive for the composer's manuscripts

and autographs. Of the 120 listings in the works catalog, the MÖNB holds over 79 manuscripts (including manuscript fragments).

The other main repository is the Reznicek Archives (RA), now located in Arvada, Colorado. Holdings include a greater proportion of published editions than the MÖNB collection. Holdings in the Colorado archives include many items that were until recently thought to be lost. Besides materials collected by the present author, the collection also contains correspondence between Felicitas von Reznicek and the late Gordon Wright, along with photographs, hand typed documents, and photocopies of printed materials given to Wright by Felicitas between 1970 and 1988. Other related materials include Wright's correspondence with publishers, record company and music festival producers, librarians, and other musicians with regard to Reznicek's music. Wright conducted several professional orchestras in performances of Reznicek's music in the 1980s and 1990s, some of which were issued on long playing records, audio cassettes, and compact discs. His intensive searches resulted in the recovery of several missing works. He presented a paper at a scholarly meeting on his findings, a program on National Public Radio, and a featured segment on the television program *Sunday Morning on CBS*. In the fall of 2002, Wright offered to sell his collection to the present author. With the death of Wright on February 11, 2007, the directorship of the Reznicek Society fell to the present author. The Reznicek Society is a loose aggregation of musicians and scholars who were assembled by Wright in the early 1990s to help and support him in the dissemination of Reznicek's music, chiefly by concerts and recordings. Notable deceased members

include Felicitas von Reznicek, Igor Kipnis, and Maurice Abravanel. The most recent member is composer Christopher Rouse.

Two other libraries hold rare manuscript materials; the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, Switzerland (SS) holds the autograph manuscript score of the First Symphony (G 25), and the University of Wisconsin UWis) has the manuscript piano-vocal score of *Satanella* (G 9).

For quick reference, two works lists follow the chronological table: one alphabetical list by title, and the other, classified by genre.

The following abbreviations are used:

B	Ballet
C	Choir
Ch	Chamber
ChO	Chamber Orchestra (Small Orch.)
Con	Solo Instrument w/Orchestra, Concerto
I	Incidental Music
K	Keyboard
L	Songs
O	Orchestra
Op	Opera, Operetta
U	Unknown Genre
V	Voice w/Orchestra
W	Wind Band (Military Music)

auto	autograph	pub	published, publishing
arr	arranged	rec	recorded
CD	compact disc recording	rept	reprint
ded	dedicated	rev	revised, revision
frag	fragment	sc	full score
hds	hands	ser	series
mvt	movement	trans	transcription
nd	no date	unpub	unpublished
orch	orchestra	v	voice
pf	piano	vc	violoncello
pf/v	piano/vocal score	vers	version
pts	orch parts	vn	violin

EMIL NIKOLAUS VON REZNICEK **CHRONOLOGICAL WORKS CATALOG**

Gertig No.	Title/Key	Other Titles/ Mov/Song Titles	Text	Year/ Place of Comp.	1st Perf/ Conductor/ Soloist	Library/ Ms. No.	Year/ Publisher	Library/ Pub Copy No.	Reprint/ Revisions/ Remarks	Genre
1	Hexenszene aus 'Macbeth'		n/a	1877 Marburg an der Drau		lost	unpub			O
2	Chor für die Schlussfeier des Gymnasiums in Marburg an der Drau		unknown	1877 Marburg an der Drau		lost	unpub			C
3	Die Gedanken eines Selbstmörders, pf		n/a	1880 Graz		lost	unpub			K
4	Vier Klavierstücke	Burleske/Walzer/ Scherzino/ Tantalus	n/a	1880 Leipzig			1880 Kistner & Siegel		No copy found	K
5	Streichquartett, c		n/a	1882 Leipzig			1882 E.W. Fritsch		No copy found	Ch
6	Symphonische Suite, e	Overture/Adagio/ Scherzo finale	n/a	1882 Leipzig	1882 Leipzig Conservatory Orch Reznicek		1883 E.W. Fritsch	RA sc & pts	Kalmus rept	O
7	Drei Stimmungen	Drei Lieder (Specht)	unknown	1883 Leipzig,			1883 Kistner & Siegel		No copy found	L
8	Die Jungfrau von Orléans	4 Acts	Reznicek after Schiller	1886 Windisch- Feistritz 6/16/1886	6/15/1887 Prague Landestheater Muck	MÖNB Mus.Hs.39177	1887 Reznicek self-pub Carl Voltz, (pub rights)			Op
9	Satanella	3 Acts	Reznicek after Vrchický	1887-88 Prague	5/13/1888 Prague Landestheater Muck	MÖNB Mus.Hs.33814. a+b ; UWis (US) pf/v RA (Trauermarsch & Trinklied sc)	unpub			Op

Gertig No.	Title/Key	Other Titles/ Mov/Song Titles	Text	Year/ Place of Comp.	1st Perf/ Conductor/ Soloist	Library/ Ms. No.	Year/ Publisher	Library/ Pub Copy No.	Reprint/ Revisions/ Remarks	Genre
10	Emerich Fortunat	3 Acts	Dubsky/ Reznicek	1889 Prague, 7/9/1889	11/8/1889 Prague Landestheater Muck	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29624 Auto frag Act 2 (missing scenes)	unpub			Op
11	Grünne-Marsch, pf		n/a	1890 Prague		lost	unpub			K
12	Probszt-Marsch für Militärmusik		n/a	1892 Prague		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29624 Auto Frag.	unpub		ded Emil Probszt von Ohstorff	W
13	Requiem, 5 solo v, SATB, orch		Traditional Latin	1894 Prague	Berlin Königl Opern-chor und Kapelle Weingartner	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29616 (frag)	unpub		ded Franz Schmeykal	C
14	Donna Diana	3 Acts	Reznicek after A Moreto y Cavana	1894 Prague	12/16/1894 Prague Landestheater Kryzanowski	lost	nd Schuberth	MÖNB OA1214 (sc) MS872 (pf/v) RA (pf/v)	rev 1933 see G 15	Op
15	Donna Diana, rev vers		rev 1933 new text by Julius Kapp	1931 Berlin	unknown	lost	1931/33 UE	MÖNB MS21478 (sc) MS21543 (pf/v) RA (pf/v)	see discograph y	Op
16	Mass, F		Traditional Latin	1895 Prague	unknown	lost	unpub	n/a	Leibnitz gives date as 1898. Sketchbook reported from 1960 in MÖNB missing	C

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17	Eine Lustspiel- Ouvvertüre, E		n/a	1895 Weimar	unknown	lost	1895 Ries & Erler	RA DU M1004/ R49 /L8	Lucks, nd; Kalmus, nd ded Felix Weingart- ner see Discograph y	O
18	Eine Lustspiel- Ouvvertüre, E, arr pf- 4hds		n/a	1895 Weimar	unknown	MÖNB MS70254	1896 Ries & Erler	not located		K
19	Symphonische Suite, D	Rondo/Andante/ Finale	n/a	1895-96 Weimar	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29600 (frag)	1896 Ries & Erler	MÖNB MS93841-4 RA		O
20	Symphonische Suite, D, arr pf-4hds	Rondo/Andante/ Finale	n/a	1896 Weimar	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29633; - 34	unpub	n/a		K
21	Zwei Phantasiestücke	Notturmo/Scherzo	n/a	1896 Weimar	unknown	lost	1896 Ries & Erler	RA DU M 22/R387/ 1990	Ries & Erler, 1990	K
22	Trois Mélodies	Drei Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Klavier	unknown	1897 Weimar	unknown	lost	1897 Brussels, Schott frères	not located		L
23	Till Eulenspiegel	3 Acts	Reznicek after J. Fischart <i>Eulenspiegel</i> <i>Reimensweiss</i>	1900 Tegernsee 9/28/1900	1/12/1902 Karlsruhe Hoftheater Orchester Felix Mottl	MÖNB Mus.Hs.30083 (sc) Mus. Hs. 29629 (pf/v)	1901 Self pub (pf/v)	MÖNB OA2165 (pf/v) RA (pf/v)	rev 1939	Op
24	Wie Till Eulenspiegel lebte. Symphonisches Zwischenspiel in forme einer Ouvvertüre, A		n/a	1900 Tegernsee 12/16/1900	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29589 (sc) Mus.Hs.29651 (pf-4hds)	unpub	n/a	Uses themes from G 23	O

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25	Symphonie no. 1, d 'Tragische'	Tragische Symphonie Mässig mit Majestat/Scherzo/ Ziemlich langsam/Ziemlich gehalten	n/a	1902 Wildeswyl, Switzerland 8/11/1902	1902-1903 season Berlin Royal Berlin Orch Weingartner	SS (sc); RA Facsimile ms sc copy ms pts	unpub	n/a	see Discog- raphy	O
26	Frühlings-Ouvertüre: Im deutschen Wald, Es	Idyllische Ouvertüre (Gold- Pirol), 'Im deutschen Wald'; Konzert-Ouvertüre	n/a	1903 Tegernsee 8/31/1903	11/30/1903 Berlin Phil Nikisch	MÖNB Mus.Hs.30088 (sc) RA ms pts	unpub	n/a	rev 1903 Goldpirol Ouvertüre (Im deutschen Wald); rev 1930 (Konzert- Ouvertüre)	O
27	Nachtstück, F	Nachtstück für Violoncello und kleines Orchester; Nachtstück für Violoncello-Solo und Orchestra	n/a	1903 Tegernsee 8/31/1903	1/26/1906 Berlin Phil. Reznicek	lost	1905 Berlin- Halensee, Dreililien (Bimbach)	MÖNB MS64312-4 RA		ChO
28	Nachtstück, F, arr vn/pf or vc/pf	Nachtstück für Violoncello und kleines Orchester; Nachtstück für Violoncello-Solo und Orchestra	n/a	ca. 1903	unknown	lost	1905 Berlin- Halensee, Dreililien (Bimbach)	RA		Ch
29	Ruhm und Ewigkeit, Tenor o. Mezzo Sop	Wie lange sitzt du schon auf deinem Missgeschick/ Diese Münze, mit der alle Welt bezahlt/Höchstes Gestirn des Seins/ Still! von grossen Dingen – ich sehe Grosses!	Nietzsche	1903 Berlin	May 1904 Frankfurt am Main	MÖNB Mus. Hs. 29.581 (orch); MÖNB Mus.Hs.29582 pf/v (frag) RA orch pts	unpub	n/a		V

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30	Symphonie, F, arr			(1902-1905) Berlin	1903-1905 Berlin Phil	MÖNB Mus. Hs. 29646 (frag, 4 p)	unpub	n/a	trans of W. F. Bach.	O
31	Symphonie no. 2, B-dur	Ironische Ironic Symphony Symphonietta	n/a	1904 Berlin	3/30/1905 Berlin Phil Reznicek	lost	1905 Simrock	MÖNB MS93840-4 RA DU M1001/R386/ no.2	Kalmus Ed. Kalmus is rept of Simrock ed. see Discog- raphy	O
32	Drei Gesänge eines Vagabunden	Die Wölfin/ Vagantenlust/ Geh Heim	Drescher	1904 Berlin	1906 Berlin Phil Felix Lederer, solo; Reznicek, pf	lost	1904 C.A. Challier	MÖNB MS64310-4 RA	“Geh Heim”. adapted from Hans Ostwald’s <i>Lieder aus dem Rinnstein</i>	L
33	Drei Gedichte [I]	Gebt mir ein Stübchen/ Bettelleut/ Ein Weib	Drescher	1904 Berlin	unknown	lost	1904 C.A. Challier	MÖNB MS64308-4 RA		L
34	Drei deutsche Volkslieder aus ‘Des Knaben Wunderhorn’	Der traurige Garten/ Gedankenstille/ Schwimm hin, Ringelein	<i>Des Knaben Wunderhorn</i>	1904 Berlin	11/4/1905 Berlin Phil Reznicek Paul Reimers, solo	lost	1904 C.A. Challier (Birnback) (sc & pts)	MÖNB MS64315-4 (sc) RA (sc & pts)	ded to Ernst Kraus	V
35	Serenade für Streichorchester, G	Auftakt/ Intermezzo/ Liebesklärung/ Kanon-Walser/ Bauernmarsch rev vers (1920) sometimes referred to as Serenade für Streichorchester No. 2	n/a	1905 Berlin	11/4/1905 Berlin Phil Reznicek	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29606 (1st vers) MÖNB Mus.Hs.29607 (2nd vers)	1923 Birnback (1920 vers)	RA	rev 1/31/1920	O

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36	Drei Gedichte [II]	Auf dem See/ Lenzestrost/ Die Braut	Henckell	1905 Berlin	unknown	lost	1905 C.A. Challier	MÖNB MS64309- RA	ded to Emilie Herzog	L
37	Drei Lieder [I]	Schmied Schmerz/ Schwesterlein/ Frühling	Bierbaum/ Forrer/ Henckell	1905 Berlin	unknown	lost	1905 C.A. Challier	MÖNB MS64311-4 RA	ded to Emmy Destinn see Discog- raphy	L
38	Introduktion und Valse Capriccio, vn, orch, D	Introduccion und Capriccio Introduktion und Valse Caprice	n/a	1906 Berlin	1/17/1907 Berlin Phil Reznicek Bernard Dessau, vn	Sc and solo pt lost RA (ms pts)	unpub	n/a		Con
39	Streichquartett, c#		n/a	1906 Berlin	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29639 (1906) MÖNB Mus.Hs.29640 (1921)	unpub (1906 vers); Simrock (1921 rev)	MÖNB MS68284-8 RA	1921 ded to Rosé Quartet see also G 70	Ch
40	Präludium und Fuge in cis-moll für grosses Orchester	Orchesterfuge c [sic] (Specht)	n/a	1907 Berlin, 5/5/1907	nd Dresden Schuch	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29586 (sc) RA (sc copy & ms pts)	unpub.	n/a	Same as organ Präludium und Fuge, c#, 1921 (G 65)	O
41	Die verlorene Braut (operetta)	3 Acts	unknown	1910 Berlin	1910 Berlin Komische Oper Reznicek	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29623	unpub.	n/a		Op
42	Präludium und Fuge, orch, c	Orchesterfuge	n/a	1912 Berlin 9/23/1912	2/14/1913 Berlin Königliche Opernhaus Richard Strauss	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29585	unpub	n/a	Same as organ Präludium und Fuge, c, 1918 (G 57)	O
43	Zwei Balladen auf Friedricianischer Zeit, Bass solo, orch	Die Hussar/ Das Regiment Forkade bei Hochkirch	Mott-Fouqué/ von Kries	1912 Berlin	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29617 (w/orch) Mus.Hs.29618 (pf/v)	1921 Challier (Birmbach)	MÖNB MS64307-4 (pf/v) RA (pf/v)	see Discog- raphy	V

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44	Schlemihl. Symphonisches Lebensbild für T solo mit grosses orch	1 continuous movement (5 sections)	Goethe	1912 Berlin	12/18/1912 Berlin Phil Reznicek Felix Senius, solo	lost	c. 1913 Leipzig Self pub	MÖNB MS64493 RA	Bote & Boch ded to Bertha von Reznicek see Discog- raphy	O
45	Die Angst vor der Ehe, (operetta)	3 Acts	Taufstein/ Urban	1913 Berlin	11/28/1913 Frankfurt an der Oder Stadttheater	lost	1914 Ahn & Simrock	MÖNB MS16706		Op
46	Die Angst vor der Ehe. Waltz-Intermezzo, arr, orch		n/a	ca. 1913	unknown	lost	1955 Ahn & Simrock	RA		O
47	Der Sieger. Symphonisch- satyrisches Zeitbild für grosses Orchester, A- Solo und Chor		Anwari Soheili	1913 Berlin	12/18/1913 Berlin Phil Spiering	lost	1914 Bote & Boch	MÖNB MS64364-2 RA	No soloist listed for première	O
48	Vier Bet- und Bussgesänge, A/B solo, orch	Four Biblical Songs	Sirach	1913 Berlin	2/24/1914 Berlin Phil Reznicek Marie Göetze, solo	lost	1913 (pf/v) 1914 v/orch UE	MÖNB MS5750 (v/orch); RA (both vers)	see Discog- raphy	V
49	Frieden. SATB solo vv, chor, orch		Reznicek	1914 Berlin	1/14/1915 Berlin Phil Reznicek	lost	Bote & Boch (scheduled)	Missing to date		O
50	Ein Traumspiel (Musik zu Schauspielen)		“After Strindberg”	1915 Berlin	3/17/1916 Berlin Theater in die Königsgrätzer- Strasse	MÖNB Mus.Hs.7859 (pf/v)	1916 Drei Masken Verlag	MÖNB MS18025/26	Drei Masken Verlag, 1931	I
51	Traumspiel-Suite, salon orch		n/a	1915 Berlin	unknown	lost	1921 Simrock	RA	6 pieces from Ein Traumspiel incidental music	ChO
52	Traumspiel-Suite, arr pf		n/a	ca. 1915 Berlin	unknown	lost	1921 Simrock	not located		K

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53	In Memoriam. A&B solo, chor, org, orch	Pt I (4 movts) Pt II (3 movts)	Reznicek/ Konrad	1915 Berlin	7/2/1916 Schwerin Reznicek(?)	lost	1915 (pf/v) 1916 (orch) UE	MÖNB MS5722 (pf/v) MS18633 (orch) RA (orch)	ded to WWI dead	O
54	Schelmische Abwehr		Henckell	1915 Berlin	unknown	lost	1922 UE	MÖNB MS4284-4 RA		L
55	Nach Damaskus III (Musik zu Schauspielen)		n/a	1916 Berlin 10/18/16	Berlin Theater in die Königsgrätzer- Strasse (?)	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29580	unpub	n/a	after Strindberg	I
56	Ritter Blaubart	3 Acts	Eulenberg	1917 Berlin	1918 Darmstadt State Theater Michael Balling Johannes Bischoff, lead	MÖNB Mus.Hs.33815 (sc) Mus.Hs.30561 (pf/v)	1917 Self pub	MÖNB OA2166	rept 1920 UE (sc) (pf/v) RA (sc) (pf/v)	Op
57	Präludium und Fuge, org, c		n/a	1918 Berlin	April 1919 Berlin Walter Fischer, organ	lost	1918 Simrock	RA	ded to Walter Fischer. Same as Präludium und Fuge, orch, c. 1912 (G 42)	K
58	Konzertstück, E, vn, orch	Violinekonzert	n/a	1918 Berlin 8/30/1918	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29950	unpub.	n/a		Con
59	Violin-Konzert, e		n/a	1918 Berlin 12/20/1918	nd Berlin Hochschule Waghalter, vn	MÖNB Mus.Hs.30091	1924 Birnbach	MÖNB MS64314-4 RA	see Discog- raphy	Con
60	Symphonie 'im alten Stil', D	Symphonie no. 3	n/a	1918 Berlin 5/4/1918	1/6/1919 Berlin Phil Nikisch	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29630	1918 UE	MÖNB MS18664 RA	ded to Hans G. Bodmer	O

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61	Drei Lieder [II]	Marz/ Denk'es, O Seele/ Der Glückliche	Dr. Owiglass (Hans Erich Blaise)/ Mörike/ Eichendorff	1918 Berlin	unknown	lost	1918 Simrock	RA		L
62	Vater unser: Choral-Fantasie, SATB, org	Our Father; Lord's Prayer	New Testament Lord's Prayer	1919 Berlin	Early perf on Berlin Phil ser 11/21/1920	lost	1919 Simrock	MÖNB MS45346 RA	Composer's note: can be sung without organ accompani- ment	C
63	Symphonie no. 4, f		n/a	1919 Berlin, 5/2/1919	10/25/1919 Berlin Phil Nikisch	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29631	1919 Simrock	RA	see Discog- raphy	O
64	Trauermarsch auf den Tod eines Komödianten, arr pf		n/a	ca 1919 Berlin	unknown	lost	1922 Simrock	RA	arr for pf of Sym 4, mvt 2	K
65	Präludium und Fuge, c#, org		n/a	1921 Berlin	unknown	lost	Simrock 1921	RA	Same as Präludium und Fuge in cis-moll für grosstes Orchester (G 40)	K
66	Thema und Variationen nach Chamissos 'Tragische Geschichte', B/Bar solo, orch, A	Chamisso- Variationen	after Chamisso	1921 Berlin 7/19/1921	Early perf Berlin Phil 11/10/1924	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29588	1921 Simrock	RA	see Discog- raphy	O
67	Die Schiffbrüchigen		Drescher	1921 Berlin	unknown	lost	1921 Challier (Birmbach)	MÖNB MS64313-4 RA		L
68	Für unsere Kleinen, vn, vc, pf		n/a	1921 Berlin	unknown	lost	Pub unknown, nd	not located		Ch
69	Die wunderlichen Geschichten des Kapellmeisters Kreisler (Musik zu Schauspielen)		Meinhard/ Bernauer after E.T.A. Hoffmann	1922 Berlin	2/11/1922 Berlin Theater in die Königsgrätzer- Strasse	lost	1922 E. Reiss	UConn 832.91 M477		I

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70	Streichquartett, d		n/a	1922 Berlin 5/2/1921	10/1922 Vienna	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29641 (frag)	1923 Birnbach	MÖNB MS12914-8 RA	Substantial material taken from 1906 quartet ms (G 39) ded to Rosé Qt	Ch
71	Holofernes	3 Acts	Reznicek after Hebbel's Judith	1923 Berlin 7/16/1923	10/27/1923 Charlottenberg (Berlin) German Opera Leo Blech Michael Bohnen, lead	MÖNB Mus.Hs. 41651-GF	1923 (pf/v); 1931 (orch) UE	MÖNB MS7390 (pf/v) MS18804 (orch) RA (pf/v)	UE 1931 ded to Bohnen	Op
72	Ernster Walser, pf, G	Valse serieuse Ernster Walser (orchestrated vers)	n/a	1924 Berlin 1/5/1924	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29644 (pf) Mus.Hs.29635 (orch) (frag)	nd Birnbach	not located	Orchestrat- ed version date ca. 1924	K
73	Valse pathétique, pf, G	arr salon orch, 1924	n/a	1924 Berlin	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29645 (pf) Mus.Hs.29636 (sc) (orch revs) RA (ms pts) (orch vers)	unpub		see Discog- raphy (pf vers)	K
74	Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert, SATB	Von rechter Lieb und Stätigkeit/ Tummler/Runda/ Gruss aus der Ferne/Tanz Mägdlein, tanz/ Marienruf/ Im Maien/ Tagelied	Traditional (sources unknown)	1924 Berlin	unknown	lost	1924 Birnbach	MÖNB MS64316 (SATB) RA (SATB)	arr men's chorus (TTBB), 1925. See G 75 rev: See G 88	C
75	Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert, TTBB	same as G 74	same as G 74	1925 Berlin	Unknown	lost	1925 Birnbach	MÖNB MS64317 (TTBB) RA (TTBB)	arr. of G 74	C

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76	Madonna am Rhein: Ein deutsches Wiegenlied		H. H. Cramer	ca. 1924 Berlin	unknown	lost	1925 Challier (Birnback)	RA		L
77	Vier symphonische Tänze, pf	Polonaise/Csárdás/ Ländler/Tarantella	n/a	1924 Berlin	unknown		1925 Birnback	RA	Orchestra- tion of this work is the Tanz Symphonie (G 78)	K
78	Tanz-Symphonie	Polonaise/Csárdás/ Ländler/Tarantella Symphonie no. 5	n/a	1924 Berlin 11/30/1924	11/25/1929 Berlin Phil Furtwangler	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29632	1926 Birnback	RA	Tanz-Sym is orchestra- tion of Vier symphon- ische Tänze for pf (G 77) see Discog- raphy	O
79	Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre- Phantasie I		None. Programmatic after Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment	1925 Berlin 4/10/1925	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29601	unpub	n/a	rev Raskolni- koff. Ouvertüre- Phantasie II (1929) (G 91)	O
80	Sieben Lieder für eine mittlere Singstimme	Das Schiff/ Dauerndes Licht/ Raubzug/ Unvergesslicher Morgan/ Abendwolke/ Seliges Ende/ Flieg aus, mein Herz	Ginzkey/ Liliencron/ Höcker	1925-1929 (composed five years between) Berlin	unknown	lost	1929 UE	MÖNB MS39843 RA	see Discog- raphy	L
81	Streichquartett, e		n/a	1925-1930 Berlin	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29652/ Mus.Hs.29613	unpub	n/a		Ch

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82	Polizei (Musik zu Schauspielen)		Eulenberg	1926 Berlin	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29626 (sc) Mus.Hs.29627 (pts)	unpub	n/a		I
83	Polizei. Intermezzo, arr salon orch		n/a	1926 Berlin	unknown	lost	unpub			ChO
84	Menuett aus Polizei, arr pf		n/a	1926 Berlin	unknown	lost	1926 Jede Woche Musik (periodical) (11/27/1926)	RA		K
85	Fest-Ouvertüre ('Dem befreiten Köln')		n/a	1926 Berlin 9/5/1926	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29583 (sc) RA (pts)	unpub	n/a		O
86	Kol Nidrey, vn/vc, pf	Kol Nidrey. Vorspiel zu Holofernes	n/a	1926 Berlin	unknown	MÖNB L1.UE.339	1926 UE	MÖNB MS8584		Ch
87	Satuala	3 Acts	Lauckner	1927 Berlin	12/4/1927 Leipzig Städtisches Theater G. Brecher	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29573 (sc)	nd Self pub (pf/v) 1927 UE (sc)	MÖNB MS21479 (sc) OA2154 (pf/v) RA (pf/v)		Op
88	Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert, new ser, SATB	Von rechter Lieb und Stätigkeit/ Tummler/Runda/ Gruss aus der Ferne/Tanz Mägdlein, tanz/ Marienruf/ Im Maien/ Tagelied	Traditional (sources unknown)	1928 Berlin	Possible early perf SATB, orch: 1935 5/16/1935 Berlin Phil.	lost	1936 Birnbach	RA	Same Lieder as 1924 (G 74 & G 75)	C
89	Benzin		Reznicek after Calderón de la Barca	1929 Berlin (6/27/1929)	between 6/1929 & 12/1929	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29571- GF (sc) Mus.Hs.29578 (pf/v)	unpub	n/a		Op

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90	Symphonische Variationen über 'Kol Nidrei'		n/a	1929 Berlin	unknown	lost	nd UE	RA		O
91	Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre-Phantasie II		None. Programmatic after Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment	1929 Berlin 9/11/1929	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29602	unpub	n/a	rev Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre- Phantasie [III] (G 95)	O
92	Die steinerne Psalm, SATB, org, orch		Bröger	1929 Berlin 11/16/1929	1930 Deutschen Sängerfest (unknown location)	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29576	1930 Birnbach (pf/v), (sc)	RA (pf/v) (sc)	ded to the working people of all lands	C
93	Spiel oder Ernst?	Fact or Fiction?	Knudsen	1930 Berlin 1/9/1930	11/11/1930 Dresden Opera	MÖNB L1.UE.761-GF (sc) Mus.Hs.29628 (pf/v)	1930 pf/v; 1931 sc UE	MÖNB OA2167 (sc) OA2223 (pf/v) RA (sc) (pf/v)	English translation for Opera Theatre of St. Louis by Henry Pleasants (1980)	Op
94	Vom ewigen Frieden, S/T solo, SATB, Knabenchor, orch		unknown	1930 Berlin 2/20/1930	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29575	unpub	n/a		O
95	Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre-Phantasie [III]		None. Programmatic after Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment	1930 Berlin 11/4/1930	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29577	1932 Edition Adler	RA	see G 79 and G 91 see Discog- raphy	O
96	Fantasie, org	Orgel-Fantasie "Kommt Menschenkinder, rühmt und preist"	n/a	1930 Berlin	unknown	lost	1930 Birnbach	RA	ded to Fritz Hetmann	K
97	Karneval Suite im alten Stil, orch		n/a	1931 Berlin	5/16/1935 Berlin Phil Reznicek	lost	1935 Heinrichofen	RA	rev as Suite im alten Stil (1943) (G 103)	O

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98	Der Gondoliere des Dogen		Knudsen	1931 Berlin	10/29/1931 Stuttgart Opera	lost	1931 Heinrichofen	MÖNB OA.2155 (frag)		Op
99	Streichquartett, B-dur		n/a	1931 Berlin 3/13/31	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.42478	1932 Birnbach	MÖNB MS57979-8 RA	ded William Abegg	Ch
100	Das Opfer		Knudsen	1932 Berlin 7/6/1932	unknown	MÖNB Mus.Hs.20572 (sc) Mus.Hs.29597 (pf/v)	unpub	n/a		Op
101	Das goldene Kalb		n/a	1935 Berlin	1935 (after Feb.) Hamburg	MÖNB Mus.Hs.29574 (sc)	unpub	n/a	Story from Bible – Old Testament	B
102	Wächterlied (nach einer Volksmelodie aus dem 16. Jahrhundert)		after folk melody from the 16th c	1939 Berlin	unknown	lost	1939 UE	RA		L
103	Suite im alten Stil, orch	rev vers of Karneval Suite im alten Stil (G 97)		1943 Berlin	unknown	lost	1943 Heinrichofen	RA		O
104	Liebesklärung, pf		n/a	1943 Berlin	unknown	lost	1959 Mannheimer Musik	MÖNB MS64363-4		K
105	Hindenburgmarsch, wind band			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29605	unpub			W
106	Hindenburgmarsch, orch			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29604 (frag)	unpub			O
107	Hindenburgmarsch, arr pf			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29603	unpub			K
108	Vorspiel für Streichorchester 'Mea culpa'			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29638	unpub			O
109	Symphonietta, B			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29587	unpub			O
110	Walzerlied, vn, vc, pf			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.2643	unpub			Ch

Gertig No.	Title/Key	Other Titles/ Mov/Song Titles	Text	Year/ Place of Comp.	1st Perf/ Conductor/ Soloist	Library/ Ms. No.	Year/ Publisher	Library/ Pub Copy No.	Reprint/ Revisions/ Remarks	Genre
111	Variante zum Violinkonzert, E	Konzertstück		nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29611 (solo pt) Mus.Hs.29612 (solo pt) (frag, 4 Bl)	unpub			Con
112	Der rote Sarafan			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.30090	unpub			W
113	Komposition für Orchester			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29608 (frag)	unpub			O
114	Komposition für Orchester, A			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.30092 (frag)	unpub			O
115	Komposition für Klavier			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29614 (frag)	unpub			K
116	Don Quichotte			nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.30098	unpub	n/a	Scene sketches	Op
117	Skizzenbuch. 1 Band, 42 Bl		n/a	1881-82		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29595	unpub	n/a		U
118	Skizzenbücher. 5 Bände, 468 Bl		n/a	nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29647	unpub	n/a		U
119	Skizzenbuch. 1 Band, 99 Bl		n/a	nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29615	unpub	n/a		U
120	Skizzen. 29 Faszikel, 745 Bl		n/a	nd		MÖNB Mus.Hs.29648	unpub	n/a		U

EMIL NIKOLAUS VON REZNICEK
ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF WORKS

GERTIG NO.	TITLE	PUBLICATION INFORMATION
45	Angst vor der Ehe (operetta) (1913)	Ahn & Simrock, 1914
46	Angst vor der Ehe. Waltz-Intermezzo, arr, orch (ca. 1913)	Ahn & Simrock, 1955
89	Benzin (1929)	unpub
2	Chor für die Schulschlussfeier des Gymnasiums in Marburg an der Drau (1877)	unpub
116	Don Quichotte (nd)	unpub (scene sketches)
14	Donna Diana (1894)	Schuberth/nd
15	Donna Diana, rev vers	UE, 1933
34	Drei deutsche Volkslieder aus 'Des Knaben Wunderhorn' (1904)	C.A. Challier (Birnbach)
33	Drei Gedichte (1904)	C.A. Challier, 1904
36	Drei Gedichte (1905)	C.A. Challier, 1905
32	Drei Gesänge eines Vagabunden (1904)	C.A. Challier, 1904
37	Drei Lieder (1905)	C.A. Challier, 1905
61	Drei Lieder (1918)	Simrock, 1919
7	Drei Stimmungen (1883)	Kistner & Siegel, 1883
10	Emerich Fortunat (1889)	unpub
72	Ernster Walser, arr orch (ca. 1924)	unpub
72	Ernster Walser, pf (1924)	Birnbach, nd
96	Fantasie, org (1930)	Birnbach, 1930
85	Fest-Ouvertüre ('Dem befreiten Köln') (1926)	unpub
49	Frieden. SATB solo vv, chor, orch (1914)	Bote & Boch, missing
26	Frühlings-Ouvertüre. 'Im deutschen Wald' (1903)	unpub; rev 1903 (Goldpirol), unpub; rev 1930 (Konzert- Ouvertüre), unpub
68	Für unsere Kleinen, vn, vc, pf (1921)	Pub unknown, nd
3	Gedanken eines Selbstmörders, pf (1880)	unpub
101	Goldene Kalb (1935)	unpub
98	Gondoliere des Dogen (1931)	Heinrichofen, 1931
11	Grünne-Marsch, pf	unpub
1	Hexenszene aus 'Macbeth' (1877)	unpub
107	Hindenburgmarsch, arr pf (nd)	unpub
106	Hindenburgmarsch, orch (nd)	unpub
71	Holofernes (1923)	UE, 1923

53	In Memoriam. A&B solo, chor, org, orch (1915)	UE, 1915
38	Introduktion und Valse Capriccio, vn, orch (1906)	unpub
8	Jungfrau von Orléans (1886)	Reznicek/Voltz, 1887
97	Karneval Suite im alten Stil, orch (1931)	Heinrichofen, 1935
86	Kol Nidrey, vn/vc, pf (1926)	UE, 1926
115	Komposition für Klavier (nd)	unpub
113	Komposition für Orchester (nd)	unpub
114	Komposition für Orchester, A (nd)	unpub
58	Konzertstück, E, vn, orch (1918)	unpub
104	Liebeserklärung, pf (1943)	Mannheimer Musik, 1959
17	Lustspiel-Ouverture (1895)	Ries & Erler, 1985
18	Lustspiel-Ouverture, arr pf-4hds (1895)	Ries & Erler, 1896
76	Madonna am Rhein: Ein deutsches Wiegenlied (ca. 1924)	Challier (Birnbach), 1925
16	Mass, F (1895)	unpub
84	Menuett aus Polizei, arr pf (1926)	Jede Woche Musik (periodical), 11/27/1926)
55	Nach Damaskus III (1916)	unpub
28	Nachtstück, arr vn/pf or vc/pf	Dreililien (Birnbach), 1903
27	Nachtstück, violoncello, kleines orch (1903)	Dreililien (Birnbach), 1905
100	Opfer (1931)	unpub
82	Polizei (1926)	unpub
83	Polizei. Intermezzo, salon orch	unpub
40	Präludium und Fuge in cis-moll für grosses Orchester (1907)	unpub
65	Präludium und Fuge, c#, org (1921)	Simrock, 1921
42	Präludium und Fuge, orch, c (1912)	unpub
57	Präludium und Fuge, org, c (1918)	Simrock, 1918
95	Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre-Phantasie [III] (1930)	Edition Adler, 1932
79	Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre-Phantasie I (1925)	unpub
91	Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre-Phantasie II (1929)	unpub
13	Requiem, 5 solo v, SATB, orch (1894)	unpub
56	Ritter Blaubart (1917)	Self pub, 1917; rept UE, 1920
29	Ruhm und Ewigkeit, Tenor o. Mezzo S (1903)	unpub
9	Satanella (1887-88)	unpub
87	Satuala (1927)	Reznicek, nd/UE, 1927
54	Schelmische Abwehr (1915)	UE, 1922
67	Schiffbrüchigen (1921)	Challier (Birnbach), 1921

44	Schlemihl. Symphonisches Lebensbild für Tenor solo mit grosses orch (1912)	Reznicek/Bote & Boch, 1913
35	Serenade für Streichorchester, G (1905)	unpub; rev vers 1920, Birnbach, 1923
88	Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert, new ser, SATB (1928)	Birnbach, 1936
74	Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert, SATB (1924)	Birnbach, 1924
75	Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert, TTBB (1925)	Birnbach, 1925
80	Sieben Lieder für eine mittlere Singstimme (1925-1929)	UE, 1930
47	Sieger. Symphonisch-satyrisches Zeitbild für grosses Orchester, Alt-Solo und Chor (1913)	Bote & Boch, 1914
93	Spiel oder Ernst? (1930)	UE, 1930
92	Steinerne Psalm, SATB, org, orch (1929)	Birnbach, 1930
99	Streichquartett, B-dur (1931)	Birnbach, 1932
5	Streichquartett, c (1882)	E.W. Fritsch, 1882
39	Streichquartett, c# (1906)	unpub
70	Streichquartett, d (1922)	Birnbach, 1923
81	Streichquartett, e (1925-1930)	unpub
103	Suite im alten Stil, orch (1943)	Heinrichofen, 1943
60	Symphonie 'im alten Stil', D (1918)	UE, 1918
25	Symphonie no. 1, d 'Tragische' (1902)	unpub
31	Symphonie no. 2, B-dur (1904)	Simrock, 1905; rept Kalmus
63	Symphonie no. 4, f (1919)	Simrock, 1919
30	Symphonie, F (W. F. Bach), arr (1902-1905)	unpub (frag)
109	Symphonietta, B (nd)	unpub
19	Symphonische Suite, D (1895-96)	Ries & Erler, 1896
20	Symphonische Suite, D, arr pf-4hds (1896)	unpub
6	Symphonische Suite, e (1882)	E.W. Fritsch, 1883; rept Kalmus
90	Symphonische Variationen über 'Kol Nidrei' (1929)	UE, nd
78	Tanz-Symphonie (1924)	Birnbach, 1926
66	Thema und Variationen nach Chamisso's 'Tragische Geschichte', B/Bar solo, orch (1921)	Simrock, 1921
23	Till Eulenspiegel (1900)	Self pub, 1901; rev 1939

64	Trauermarsch auf den Tod eines Komödianten, arr pf (ca. 1919)	Simrock, 1922
50	Traumspiel (1915)	Drei Masken Verlag, 1916; rev 1931
52	Traumspiel-Suite, arr pf (ca. 1915)	Simrock, 1921
51	Traumspiel-Suite, salon orch	Simrock, 1921
22	Trois Mélodies (1897)	Schott frères, 1897
73	Valse pathétique, arr salon orch (1924)	unpub
73	Valse pathétique, pf (1924)	unpub
111	Variante zum Violinkonzert, E (nd)	unpub
62	Vater unser: Choral-Fantasie, SATB, org (1919)	Simrock, 1919
41	Verlorene Braut (operetta) (1910)	unpub
48	Vier Bet- und Bussgesänge, A/B solo, orch (1913)	UE, 1913
4	Vier Klavierstücke (1880)	Kistner & Siegel, 1880
77	Vier symphonische Tänze, pf (1924)	Birnbach, 1925
59	Violin-Konzert, e (1918)	Birnbach, 1924
94	Vom ewigen Frieden, S/T solo, SATB, Knabenchor, orch (1930)	unpub
108	Vorspiel für Streichorchester 'Mea culpa' (nd)	unpub
102	Wächterlied (nach einer Volksmelodie aus dem 16. Jahrhundert) (1939)	UE, 1939
110	Walzerlied, vn, vc, pf (nd)	unpub
24	Wie Till Eulenspiegel lebte. Symphonisches Zwischenspiel in forme einer Ouvertüre (1900)	unpub
69	Wunderlichen Geschichten des Kapellmeisters Kreisler, (1922)	E. Reiss, 1922
43	Zwei Balladen auf Friedricianischer Zeit, Bass solo, orch (1912)	Challier (Birnbach), 1921
21	Zwei Phantasiestücke (1896)	Ries & Erler, 1896

**EMIL NIKOLAUS VON REZNICEK
WORKS BY GENRE**

OPERA/OPERETTA

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
8	Die Jungfrau von Orléans (1886)	Reznicek/Voltz, 1887
9	Satanella (1887-88)	unpub
10	Emerich Fortunat (1889)	unpub
14	Donna Diana (1894)	Schuberth/nd
15	Donna Diana, rev vers	UE, 1933
23	Till Eulenspiegel (1900)	Self pub, 1901; rev 1939
41	Die verlorene Braut (operetta) (1910)	unpub
45	Die Angst vor der Ehe (operetta) (1913)	Ahn & Simrock, 1914
56	Ritter Blaubart (1917)	Self pub, 1917; rept UE, 1920
71	Holofernes (1923)	UE, 1923
87	Satuala (1927)	Reznicek, nd/UE, 1927
89	Benzin (1929)	unpub
93	Spiel oder Ernst? (1930)	UE, 1930
98	Der Gondoliere des Dogen (1931)	Heinrichofen, 1931
100	Das Opfer (1931)	unpub
116	Don Quichotte (nd)	unpub (scene sketches)

ORCHESTRA

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
1	Hexenszene aus 'Macbeth' (1877)	unpub
6	Symphonische Suite, e (1882)	E.W. Fritsch, 1883; rept Kalmus
17	Eine Lustspiel-Ouverture (1895)	Ries & Erler, 1985
19	Symphonische Suite, D (1895-96)	Ries & Erler, 1896
24	Wie Till Eulenspiegel lebte. Symphonisches Zwischenspiel in forme einer Ouvertüre (1900)	unpub
25	Symphonie no. 1, d 'Tragische' (1902)	unpub
26	Frühlings-Ouvertüre. 'Im deutschen Wald' (1903)	unpub; rev 1903 (Goldpirol), unpub; rev 1930 (Konzert- Ouvertüre), unpub
30	Symphonie, F (W. F. Bach), arr (1902- 1905)	unpub (frag)
27	Nachtstück, violoncello, kleines orch	Dreililien (Birnbach), 1905

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
	(1903)	
31	Symphonie no. 2, B-dur (1904)	Simrock, 1905; rept Kalmus
35	Serenade für Streichorchester, G (1905)	unpub; rev vers 1920, Birnbach, 1923
40	Präludium und Fuge in cis-moll für grosses Orchester (1907)	unpub
42	Präludium und Fuge, orch, c (1912)	unpub
44	Schlemihl. Symphonisches Lebensbild für Tenor solo mit grosses orch (1912)	Reznicek/Bote & Boch, 1913
46	Die Angst vor der Ehe. Waltz- Intermezzo, arr, orch (ca. 1913)	Ahn & Simrock, 1955
47	Der Sieger. Symphonisch-satyrisches Zeitbild für grosses Orchester, Alt-Solo und Chor (1913)	Bote & Boch, 1914
49	Frieden. SATB solo vv, chor, orch (1914)	Bote & Boch, missing
51	Traumspiel-Suite, salon orch	Simrock, 1921
53	In Memoriam. A&B solo, chor, org, orch (1915)	UE, 1915
60	Symphonie 'im alten Stil', D (1918)	UE, 1918
63	Symphonie no. 4, f (1919)	Simrock, 1919
66	Thema und Variationen nach Chamissos 'Tragische Geschichte', B/Bar solo, orch (1921)	Simrock, 1921
72	Ernster Walser, arr orch (ca. 1924)	unpub
73	Valse pathétique, arr salon orch (1924)	unpub
78	Tanz-Symphonie (1924)	Birnbach, 1926
79	Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre-Phantasie I (1925)	unpub
83	Polizei. Intermezzo, salon orch	unpub
85	Fest-Ouvertüre ('Dem befreiten Köln') (1926)	unpub
90	Symphonische Variationen über 'Kol Nidrei' (1929)	UE, nd
91	Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre-Phantasie II (1929)	unpub
94	Vom ewigen Frieden, S/T solo, SATB, Knabenchor, orch (1930)	unpub
95	Raskolnikoff Ouvertüre-Phantasie [III] (1930)	Edition Adler, 1932
97	Karneval Suite im alten Stil, orch (1931)	Heinrichofen, 1935
103	Suite im alten Stil, orch (1943)	Heinrichofen, 1943
106	Hindenburgmarsch, orch (nd)	unpub
108	Vorspiel für Streichorchester 'Mea	unpub

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
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	culpa' (nd)	
109	Symphonietta, B (nd)	unpub
113	Komposition für Orchester (nd)	unpub
114	Komposition für Orchester, A (nd)	unpub

CONCERTO

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
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38	Introduktion und Valse Capriccio, vn, orch (1906)	unpub
58	Konzertstück, E, vn, orch (1918)	unpub
59	Violin-Konzert, e (1918)	Birnbach, 1924
111	Variante zum Violinkonzert, E (nd)	unpub

INCIDENTAL MUSIC

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
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50	Ein Traumspiel (1915)	Drei Masken Verlag, 1916; rev 1931
55	Nach Damaskus III (1916)	unpub
69	Die wunderlichen Geschichten des Kapellmeisters Kreisler, (1922)	E. Reiss, 1922
82	Polizei (1926)	unpub

BALLET

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
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101	Das goldene Kalb (1935)	unpub
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SOLO VOICE AND ORCHESTRA

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
29	Ruhm und Ewigkeit, Tenor o. Mezzo S (1903)	unpub
34	Drei deutsche Volkslieder aus 'Des Knaben Wunderhorn' (1904)	C.A. Challier (Birnbach)
43	Zwei Balladen auf Friedricianischer Zeit, Bass solo, orch (1912)	Challier (Birnbach), 1921
48	Vier Bet- und Bussgesänge, A/B solo, orch (1913)	UE, 1913

CHORAL

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
2	Chor für die Schulschlussfeier des Gymnasiums in Marburg an der Drau (1877)	unpub
13	Requiem, 5 solo v, SATB, orch (1894)	unpub
16	Mass, F (1895)	unpub
62	Vater unser: Choral-Fantasie, SATB, org (1919)	Simrock, 1919
74	Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert, SATB (1924)	Birnbach, 1924
75	Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert, TTBB (1925)	Birnbach, 1925
88	Sieben deutsche Volkslieder aus dem 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert, new ser, SATB (1928)	Birnbach, 1936
92	Die steinerne Psalm, SATB, org, orch (1929)	Birnbach, 1930

SONGS

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
7	Drei Stimmungen (1883)	Kistner & Siegel, 1883
22	Trois Mélodies (1897)	Schott frères, 1897
32	Drei Gesänge eines Vagabunden (1904)	C.A. Challier, 1904
33	Drei Gedichte (1904)	C.A. Challier, 1904
36	Drei Gedichte (1905)	C.A. Challier, 1905
37	Drei Lieder (1905)	C.A. Challier, 1905
54	Schelmische Abwehr (1915)	UE, 1922

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
61	Drei Lieder (1918)	Simrock, 1919
67	Die Schiffbrüchigen (1921)	Challier (Birnbach), 1921
76	Madonna am Rhein: Ein deutsches Wiegenlied (ca. 1924)	Challier (Birnbach), 1925
80	Sieben Lieder für eine mittlere Singstimme (1925-1929)	UE, 1930
102	Wächterlied (nach einer Volksmelodie aus dem 16. Jahrhundert) (1939)	UE, 1939

INSTRUMENTAL CHAMBER

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
5	Streichquartett, c (1882)	E.W. Fritsch, 1882
28	Nachtstück, arr vn/pf or vc/pf	Dreililien (Birnbach), 1903
39	Streichquartett, c# (1906)	unpub
68	Für unsere Kleinen, vn, vc, pf (1921)	Pub unknown, nd
70	Streichquartett, d (1922)	Birnbach, 1923
81	Streichquartett, e (1925-1930)	unpub
86	Kol Nidrey, vn/vc, pf (1926)	UE, 1926
99	Streichquartett, B-dur (1931)	Birnbach, 1932
110	Walzerlied, vn, vc, pf (nd)	unpub

KEYBOARD

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
3	Die Gedanken eines Selbstmörders, pf (1880)	unpub
4	Vier Klavierstücke (1880)	Kistner & Siegel, 1880
11	Grünne-Marsch, pf	unpub
18	Eine Lustspiel-Ouverture, arr pf-4hds (1895)	Ries & Erler, 1896
20	Symphonische Suite, D, arr pf-4hds (1896)	unpub
21	Zwei Phantasiestücke (1896)	Ries & Erler, 1896
52	Traumspiel-Suite, arr pf (ca. 1915)	Simrock, 1921
57	Präludium und Fuge, org, c (1918)	Simrock, 1918
64	Trauermarsch auf den Tod eines Komödianten, arr pf (ca. 1919)	Simrock, 1922
65	Präludium und Fuge, c#, org (1921)	Simrock, 1921

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
72	Ernster Walser, pf (1924)	Birnbach, nd
73	Valse pathétique, pf (1924)	unpub
77	Vier symphonische Tänze, pf (1924)	Birnbach, 1925
84	Menuett aus Polizei, arr pf (1926)	Jede Woche Musik (periodical), 11/27/1926)
96	Fantasie, org (1930)	Birnbach, 1930
104	Liebeserklärung, pf (1943)	Mannheimer Musik, 1959
107	Hindenburgmarsch, arr pf (nd)	unpub
115	Komposition für Klavier (nd)	unpub

SKETCHES

GERTIG NO.	TITLE/YEAR	PUBLISHER/YEAR
117	Skizzenbuch. 1 Band, 42 Bl	n/a
118	Skizzenbücher. 5 Bände, 468 Bl	n/a
119	Skizzenbuch. 1 Band, 99 Bl	n/a
120	Skizzen. 29 Faszikel, 745 Bl	n/a

APPENDIX 2

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF SONGS AND CHORAL WORKS

Frieden

Allgemeiner Chor (SATB).

Friede, Friede, Friede!
Es läuten die Glocken,
Es lachen die Fluren,
Es leuchtet die Sonne –
Der Friede ist kommen!
Kling, klang, kling, klang.

Chor der Männer.

Haltet fest den Schwur der Treue,
Lasst den Krieg nicht mehr herein,
Gegen ihn lasst uns marschieren –
Arbeit soll die Losung sein.

Allgemeiner Chor.

Danket Gott dem Herrn in Liebe,
Reicht dem Feind die Freundeshand –
Brüder seien alle Völker,
Ewig sei der Krieg verbannt.

Chor der Frauen.

Väter, Söhne, teu're Brüder,
Kehrt zurück in uns're Arme,
Bräute, trocknet eure Tränen –
Friede, Friede ist gekommen!

Chor der Jungfrauen und Jünglinge.

Heil, holder Knabe mit lockigem Haupt,
Schwing die Palme mit wonniger Hand,
Lass deine silbernen Glocken ertönen
Mit kling, klang, gloria!

Allgemeiner Chor.

Schliesst zusammen euch in Liebe,
Steht, wenn's gilt, wie Mann an Mann.
Völker, seid wie Brüder einig,
Wenn der Hydra Haupt sich reckt.
Wahrt der Menschheit heilig' Recht:
Frieden, Frieden, Frieden!

Peace

Mixed choir (SATB).

Peace, peace, peace!
The bells ring,
Laughter in the fields,
The sun shines –
The peace comes
Ding, dong, ding, dong.

Men's Choir.

Keep the oath of loyalty firm,
No longer let the war in here,
Against it let us march –
Work should be the battle cry.

Mixed Choir.

Thank God to the man of love,
Offer to the enemy the hand of friendship –
Brothers are all peoples,
War is banished forever.

Women's Choir.

Father, son, beloved brother,
Come back into our arms,
Brides, dry your tears –
Peace, peace has come!

Choir of Young Maidens and Young Men.

Hail, the pleasing youth with curly head.
Whose palm with sweet hand swings,
Let your silver bells sound
With ding, dong, gloria!

Mixed Choir.

Close together you in love,
Stand, if meant, as man to man.
Peoples, are like brothers united,
If the Hydra's head is real.
Mankind holy right protects:
Peace, peace, peace!

Vier Bet-und Bussgesänge

I.

O, wie ist die Barmherzigkeit des Herrn so gross
und lasset sich gnädig finden denen, so sich zu ihm bekehren!
Denn was kann doch ein Mensch sein, sintemal er nicht unsterblich ist?
Was ist heller als die Sonne?
und dennoch wird sie verfinstert;
und was Fleisch und Blut dichtet, das ist ja böses Ding.
Das Heer der Himmelshöhe hält er in Ordnung;
aber alle Menschen sind Erde und Staub.

Sirach 17: 29-32

II.

Willst du Gottes Diener sein,
so schicke dich zur Anfechtung.
Halte fest und leide dich und wanke nicht,
wenn man dich davon loket.
Halte dich an Gott und weiche nicht,
auf dass du immer stärker werdest.
Alles was dir widerfähret, das leide
und sei geduldig in allerlei Trübsal.
Denn gleich wie das Gold durchs Feuer,
also werden die so Gott gefallen durchs Feuer der Trübsal bewährt.

Sirach 2: 1-5

III.

Alles was aus der Erde kommt muss wieder zu Erde werden,
wie alle Wasser wieder ins Meer fließen.
Alle Geschenke und unrecht Gut müssen untergehen;
aber die Wahrheit bleibt ewiglich.
Der Gottlosen Güter versiegen wie ein Bach,
wie ein Donner verrauscht im Regen.
Wohltun aber ist wie ein gesegneter Garten
und Barmherzigkeit bleibet ewiglich.
Wein und Saitenspiel erfreuen das Herz;
aber die Weisheit ist lieblicher denn die beide.
Pfeife und Harfe lauten wohl;
aber eine freundliche Rede besser denn die beide.

Dein Auge siehet gern, was lieblich und schön ist,
aber eine grüne Saat lieber denn beides.

Sirach 40: 11-13, 17, 20-22

IV.

Tod, wie bitter bist du, wenn an dich gedenkt ein Mensch,
der gute Tage und genug hat und ohne Sorge lebt,
und dem es wohl gehet in allen Dingen.
O Tod, wie wohl tust du dem Dürftigen,
der da schwach und alt ist,
der in allen Sorgen steckt
und nichts Bessers zu hoffen noch zu gewarten hat.
Fürchte den Tod nicht. Gedenke,
dass es also vom Herrn geordnet ist über alles Fleisch, beide,
derer die vor dir gewesen sind und nach dir kommen werden.
Und was weigerst du dich wider Gottes Willen,
du lebest zehn, hundert oder tausend Jahre,
Denn im Tod fraget man nicht, wie lange einer gelebt habe.

Sirach 41: 1-4

Four Biblical Songs

I.

O, how great is the compassion of the Lord
and his mercy toward those who turn to him!
For what can a man be, since he is not immortal?
What is brighter than the sun? Nevertheless, its light fails.
And what flesh and blood devise, that is an evil thing.
God holds the host of high heaven in order;
But all men are earth and dust.

Sirach 17: 29-32

II.

If you wish to be God's servant, submit to tribulation.
Hold fast, endure, and do not waver when you are tempted.
Cleave to God and do not yield, so that you become stronger.
Bear all that falls to you and be patient in distress.

For as gold is tested in fire, so are those who please
God proved in the fire of affliction.

Sirach 2: 1-5

III.

All that comes from the earth must return to the earth,
as all waters flow to the sea.
All bribery and ill-gotten gain must pass away;
but truth endures forever.
The wealth of the godless dries up like a stream,
as thunder dies away during a rain.
Goodness however is like a blessed garden,
and mercy endures forever.
Wine and the music of the lyre gladden the heart;
but sweeter still is wisdom.
The pipe and harp sound well;
but better still is a friendly word.
The eye looks gladly on things pleasing and beautiful,
but still more gladly on a green seedling.

Sirach 40: 11-13, 17, 20-22

IV.

Death, how bitter is the thought of you to a man
who lives easily and without sorrow,
and is prosperous in everything.
O Death, how comforting you are to the needy man,
who is weak and old, fixed in sorrows,
who has nothing better to wait or hope for.
Do not fear death. Remember, it is so ordained
by the Lord for all flesh, both those who were
before you and those who will come after.
And why do you reject the will of God, whether
you live ten, a hundred, or a thousand years?
For in death, one is never asked how long
one has lived.

Sirach 41: 1-4

**Tragische Geschichte
von
Adalbert von Chamisso**

s'war einer, dem's zu Herzen ging,
Dass ihm der Zopf so hinten hing.
Er wollt' es anders haben.

So denkt er denn: "Wie fang' ich's an?
Ich dreh' mich um, so ist's getan – "
Der Zopf, der hängt ihm hinten.

Da hat er flink sich umgedreht,
Und wie es stund, es annoch steht –
Der Zopf, der hängt ihm hinten.

Da dreht er schnell sich anders 'rum,
's wird aber noch nicht besser drum –
Der Zopf, der hängt ihm hinten.

Er dreht sich links, er dreht sich rechts,
Es tut nichts Guts, es tut nichts Schlechts –
Der Zopf, der hängt ihm hinten.

Er dreht sich wie ein Kreisel fort,
Es hilft zu nichts, in einem Wort:
Der Zopf, der hängt ihm hinten.

Und seht, er dreht sich immer noch
Und denkt: "Es hilft am Ende doch –"
Der Zopf, der hängt ihm hinten.

**Adalbert von Chamisso's
Tragic Story**

There once was one who took it to heart,
That his pigtail hung behind him,
He wanted to change that.

So he thought, "How should I go about it?
I'll turn around, that'll do it,"
The pigtail hangs behind him.

Then he quickly turned around,
And the outcome of the maneuver was,
that the pigtail hung behind him.

And look, he's still turning around
And thinking "it will help in the end - "
The pigtail hangs behind him.

Then he quickly turned the other way,
but that was none the better,
The pigtail hung behind him.

He turned to the left, he turned to the right
he does no wrong, he does no good,
The pigtail hangs behind him.

He turned and turned like a top,
but nothing helped in a word –
The pigtail hangs behind him.

And look, he's still turning around
And thinking "it will help in the end - "
The pigtail hangs behind him

APPENDIX 3

BERLIN PHILHARMONIC PROGRAMS OF REZNICEK'S MUSIC, 1903 - 1982

Zehn Philharmonische Konzerte - Dirigent: Arthur Nikisch

30. November 1903

Klavier: Arthur Schnabel

R. Schumann: Ouverture zu Genoveva

Brahms: Klavierkonzert Nr. 1

Reznicek: Idyllische Ouverture Es-Dur (zum ersten Mal)

Beethoven: Symphonie Nr. 8

Konzert zum Besten des Witwen- und Waisenfonds des Philharmonischen Orchesters

30. März 1905

E. N. Reznicek und Klavierbegleitung

Gesang: Ernst Kraus

Reznicek: Ouverture zu Donna Diana - Sinfonietta (Uraufführung)

Drei Lieder mit Klavierbegleitung

Brahms: Serenade op. 16

Weber-Berlioz: Aufforderung zum Tanz

Drei Orchester-Kammerkonzerte Dirigent: Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek

4. November 1905

Gesang: Paul Reimers

Klavier: Ferruccio Busoni

Violine: Jan Gesterkamp

Flöte: Max Reinicke

J. S. Bach: Konzert D-Dur für Klavier, Flöte und Violine

Reznicek: Drei deutsche Volkslieder mit Orchesterbegleitung

Serenade für Streichorchester G-Dur (Manuskript, erste Aufführung)

1. Dezember 1905

Gesang: Dora Moran, Eva Reinhold, Albert Jungblut, Felix Lederer-Prina

Violine: Anton Witek

Mozart: Haffner-Serenade

Beethoven: Elegischer Gesang für vier Solostimmen

Reznicek: Lieder mit Klavierbegleitung

Brahms: Serenade D-Dur

26. Januar 1906

Cello: Heinrich Grünfeld

Gesang: Felix Lederer-Prina

R. Strauss: Suite B-Dur für zwei Flöten, zwei Oboen, zwei Klarinetten, zwei Fagotte, Kontrafagott und vier Hörner

Reznicek: Nachtstück für Cello, Harfe, Hörner und Streichquartett

Drei Gesänge eines Vagabunden mit Klavierbegleitung

Weingartner: Serenade F-Dur für Streichorchester (zum ersten Mal)

Zwei Orchester-Kammerkonzerte

Dirigent: E. N. von Reznicek

23. November 1906

Flöte: Max Reinicke

Harfe: Otto Müller

J. S. Bach: Suite D-Dur für 3 Oboen, 3 Trompeten und Streichorchester

Beethoven: Rondino Es-Dur für 2 Oboen, 2 Klarinetten, 2 Hörner und Fagott

Mozart: Konzert für Flöte und Harfe

Pfitzner: Ouvertüre zu Das Christ-Elflein (Uraufführung)

Dubitzky: Suite für Streichorchester d-moll (Manuskript, Uraufführung)

17. Januar 1907

Violine: Bernhard Dessau

Klavier: Moritz Violin

C. Ph. E. Bach: Klavierkonzert a-moll

Reznicek: Introduction und Capriccio für Violine und Orchester (Uraufführung)

E. E. Taubert: Suite D-Dur für Streichorchester (Uraufführung)

R. Strauss: Serenade Es-Dur für Flöten, Oboen, Klarinetten, Fagotte, Kontrafagott und vier Hörner

Haydn: Abschieds-Symphonie fis-moll

Novitäten-Abend

30. Oktober 1911

Ernst Kunwald

Gesang: Emmy Destinn und Dinh Gilly

Wagner: Vorspiele zu Lohengrin und Rienzi - Duett aus Der fliegende Holländer

Weber: Arie aus Der Freischütz

Reznicek: Arie aus Till Eulenspiegel, Arien von Massenet und Leoncavallo

Sechs Sinfoniekonzerte des Konzertbüros Emil Guttmann Dirigent: Oskar Fried

18. Dezember 1912

E. N. von Reznicek (eig. Werk)

Gesang: Felix Senius

Cello: Pablo Casals

Orgel: Bernhard Irrgang

Chor: Herren des Charlottenburger Lehrer-Gesangsvereins (Ltg.: I. Frobe)

Reznicek: Schlemihl, symph. Lebensbild (Uraufführung, Manuskript)

R. Schumann: Cellokonzert

Liszt: Eine Faust-Symphonie

Zwei Symphonie-abende mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester

Dirigent: Theodore Spiering

18. Dezember 1913

Gesang: Gertrud Fischer-Maretzki

Klavier: Amy Beach

Ein Chor

Händel: Concerto Grosso, Arie aus Rinaldo

Beach: Klavierkonzert in cis-moll (zum ersten Mal)

Reznicek: Der Sieger, symph. Zeitbild (Uraufführung)

Deutscher Monistenbund - Ernst-Haeckel-Feier im Kaisersaal des Zoologischen
Garten

24. Februar 1914

E. N. von Reznicek

Gesang: Marie Götze

Der pfannschmidt'sche Chor

Reznicek: Ouverture zu Donna Diana - Vier Bet- und Busslieder

Der Sieger, symph.-satyrisches Zeitbild

Zum Besten der Notleidenden öterr. und ung. Staatsangehörigen in Berlin

14. Januar 1915

als Gast: E. N. von Reznicek (eig. Werk)

Gesang: Clara Senius, Paula Weinbaum, Paul Schmedes, Anton Sistermans

Orchestersolisten: Julius Thornberg, Willi Höber, Paulus ssache

Chorverstärkung: Der Anna-Schultzen-von-Asten-Chor (Ltg.: M. Herrmann)

Orgel: Bernhard Irrgang

Bruckner: Grosse Messe in f-moll (zum ersten Mal)

Reznicek: Frieden (Uraufführung)

Tanz-Abend - Ellen Petz - Komische Oper

7. Januar 1916

Camillo Hildebrand

Dvorak: Karneval, Konzertouverture

Nicodé: Tarantella op. 13 (Tanz)

Bizet: Adagietto

Chopin: Prélude op. 28 Nr. 20 (Tanz)

K. Kämpf: Suite Hiawathas Klage - Bettlertanz (Tanz)

Mendelssohn: Scherzo aus Ein Sommernachtstraum

Liszt: Zweite Polonaise Waldstimmung (Tanz)

Reznicek: Ouverture Donna Diana

Chopin: Etude op. 25 Nr. 9 (Tanz)

Sibelius: Elegie

Chopin: Polonaise op. 26 Nr. 2 (Tanz)

Schubert: Zwischenaktsmusik aus Rosamunde

Mendelssohn: Lied ohne Worte op. 62 Nr. 3 (Tanz)

Berlioz: Ungarischer Marsch

Brahms: Ungarischer Tanz Nr. V (Tanz)

Konzert zu Gunsten der Kriegswitwen und Waisen

15. März 1918

E. N. von Reznicek

Gesang: Hermann Jadowker

Orgel: Walter Fischer

Reznicek: Ouverture zu Donna Diana

Drei deutsche Volkslieder

Eine Lustspiel-Ouverture

Ariette und Arie aus Ritter Blaubart

Schlemihl, symph. Lebensbild

Zehn Philharmonische Konzerte - Dirigent: Arthur Nikisch

6. Januar 1919

Klavier: Edwin Fischer

Reznicek: Symphonie im alten Stil (zum ersten Mal)

d' Albert: Klavierkonzert op. 2

Brahms: Symphonie Nr. 1

Volkskonzerte während der ganzen Saison

14. Januar 1919

Camillo Hildebrand und E. N. v. Reznicek (eig. Werk)

u. a. Reznicek: Symphonie D-Dur (im alten Stil)

Fünf Konzert mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester
Dirigent: Selmar Meyrowitz

9. November 1918
Selmar Meyrowitz
Gesang: Helene Wildbrunn
Wagner: Vorspiel und Liebestod aus Tristan und Isolde
Siegfried-Idyll
Schlussgesang der Brünnhilde aus Götterdämmerung
Debussy: Das Mer, drei symph. Skizzen (zum ersten Mal)
Reznicek: Der Tanz um das goldene Kalb
Scherzo aus Der Sieger

24. Januar 1919
Selmar Meyrowitz
Gesang: Barbara Kemp und Hermann Jadowker
Reznicek: Ouverture zu Donna Diana
Ravel: Was das Märchen den Kindern erzählt (zum ersten Mal)
Schillings: West-Östlicher Divan
Vier Gedichte für Sopran und Tenor mit Orchester (Uraufführung, Manuskript)
Tschaikowsky: Symphonie Nr. 6

Chor der Sing-Akademie - Leitung: Georg Schumann
Totensonntag

23. November 1919
Gesang: Elisabeth Ohlhoff, Marta Stapelfeldt, Maria Malchin, Valentin Ludwig,
Eduard Kandler
Orgel: Fritz Heitmann
Reznicek: Choralkantate
J. S. Bach: Kantate Jesu meine Freude
Kiel: Requiem

Zehn Philharmonische Konzerte
Dirigent: Arthur Nikisch

25. Oktober 1920
Gesang: Maria Pos-Carloforti
Reznicek: Symphonie f-moll (zum ersten Mal)
Handel: Rezitativ und Arie aus Alcina
Rameau: Ballett-Suite (Bearb. F. Mottl)
Bellini: Arie aus Casta Diva
Berlioz: Ouverture zu Le carnaval Romain

Zum Besten der Vertriebenen aus Elsass-Lothringen

14. April 1921

Hermann Henze

Gesang: Fritz Huttmann

Orgel: Johannes Senftleben

Reznicek: Suite Nr. 2 (zum ersten Mal)

Kaun: Sir John Falstaff, Symph. Dichtung

Reznicek: Schlemihl

Ordentliche und ausserordenliche Konzerte des Anbruch

31. März 1921

Leo Blech

Gesang: Josef Mann

Reznicek: Ouverture zu Donna Diana

Drei Orchesterlieder

Der Sieger, symph. Dichtung

Chor der Sing-Akademie - Leitung: Georg Schumann

Totensonntag

21. November 1920

Gesang: Ilse Helling-Rosenthal, Marta Stapelfeldt, Ludwig Hess, Wolfgang

Rosenthal Orgel: Fritz Heitmann

Brahms: Nanie

Reznicek: Vater unser, Choral-Fantasie

Mozart: Requiem

Konzert der Revalo-Tonveredlungs A. G.

10. Januar 1922

Richard Hagel und E. N. von Reznicek (eig. Werk)

Gesang: Fritz Huttmann Klavier: Ella Pancera

Celesta: Bruno Poswiansky

Orgel: Johannes Senftleben

R. Strauss: Don Juan

Liszt: Klavierkonzert A-Dur

Reznicek: Schlemihl, symph. Lebensbild

Konzerte des "Anbruch - Berlin"

2. Januar 1922

Josef Rosenstock und E. N. von Reznicek (eig. Werk)

Cello: Ewel Stegmann

Gesang: Fritz Huttmann

Rosenstock: Ouvertüre zu einem heiteren Spiel (Erstaufführung)

d' Albert: Cellokonzert

Reznicek: Schlemihl, symph. Lebensbild

13. November 1922

Emil Bohnke

Klavier: Dorothea Burmester-Maggs

Mendelssohn: Ouverture Ruy Blas

R. Schumann: Klavierkonzert

E. N. v. Reznicek: Symphonie Nr. 1

Tschaikowsky: Klavierkonzert b-moll

4. Dezember 1922

E. N. von Reznicek

Gesang: Maria Olszewska und Alexander Kipnis

Orgel: Walter Fischer

Bruno Kittel'scher Chor

Reznicek: Vier Bet- und Bussgesänge für Alt mit Orchester

In memoriam für Alt- und Basssolo, gem. Chor, Orchester und Orgel

Zur Förderung der Kunst

28. November 1924

Richard Hagel und E. N. v. Reznicek (eig. Werk)

Kaun: Markische Suite

Reznicek: Symphonie f-moll

Busoni: Turandot-Suite

Sechs Konzerte mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester Dirigent: Bruno Walter

10. November 1924

Klavier: Georg Benram

R. Schumann: Symphonie Nr. 1

Mozart: Klavierkonzert Nr. 15, K.V. 450

Reznicek: Chamisso-Variationen

Berlioz: Ouverture zu Benvenuto Cellini

Konzerte der Bruckner- Vereinigung
Dirigent: Felix Maria Gatz

19. Oktober 1928
Klavier: Frieda Kwast-Hodapp
Reznicek: Chamisso-Variationen
Schubert: Wanderer-Fantasie
Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 3

Zehn Philharmonische Konzerte
Leitung: Wilhelm Furtwangler

25. November 1929
Gesang: Maria Ivogün
Haydn: Symphonie Nr. 11 G-Dur
Rameau: Arie aus Hyppolite et Aricie
Reznicek: Tanz-Symphonie (Erstaufführung)
Debussy: Rezitativ und Arie aus L'enfant prodigue
Saint-Saens: Thème varié op. 9
Liszt: Les Préludes, symph. Dichtung

Kunst- und Vortragsabend Friedenau

7. November 1929
Kurt Soldan
Gesang: Eugenia Vandever
Mozart: Marsch D-Dur K.V. 335

Orchesterlieder von R. Strauss, J. Marx, Griffes, Taylor, Carpenter
Reznicek: Ouverture Donna Diana

Sech Konzerte der Bruckner. Vereinigung (Gesellschaft zur Pflege österreichische Musik) Dirigent: Felix Maria Gatz

9. April 1930
Violine: Alexander Schmueller
Klavier: Leonid Kreutzer
Reznicek: Ouverture Donna Diana
Prokofieff: Violinkonzert D-Dur
Liszt: Klavierkonzert Es-Dur
Mahler: Symphonie Nr. 1

Fünf Konzerte der Bruckner- Vereinigung Dirigent: Felix Maria Gatz

10. Dezember 1930

Gesang: Gertrud Bindernagel

Reznicek: Lustspiel-Ouverture

Beethoven: Arie: Ah! perfido

R. Strauss: Arie aus Ariadne auf Naxos

J. Marx: Symphonische Nachtmusik (Erstaufführung)

Festkonzert aus Anlass des Ersten deutschen Komponistentages

18. Februar 1934

Wilhelm Furtwangler (Werke von Richard Strauss und Max von Schillings),
Siegfried von Hausegger, Paul Hindemith (eigene Werke), Paul Graener, E. N. von
Reznicek, Hans Pfitzner (eigene Werke)

Cello: Paul Grümmer

Gesang: Gerhard Hüsch

Schillings: Vorspiel zu Ingwelde, II Akt

Hausegger: Wieland der Schmied, symph. Dichtung

G. Schumann: Gersten Abend war Vetter Michel da

Humoreske

Hindemith: Konzertmusik für Streicher und Blechbläser

Graener: Cellokonzert, op. 74

Reznicek: Symphonische Variationen (Chamisso)

Pfitzner: Zwei Gesänge für Bariton: Zorn und Klage

R. Strauss: Till Eulenspiegel

Eröffnungs-Konzert der Sonn- und Dienstagsreihe

25. September 1934

Burle Marx

Gesang: Erika Grothe

Berlioz: Ouverture Romischer Carneval

J. J. Castro: Suite infantile Mignone: Suite Brasileira

Gomez: Ouverture II Guarany

Reznicek: Arie aus Satuala

Ballettsuiten aus Holofernes und Satuala

Tschaikowsky: Symphonie Nr. 5

13. Januar 1935

Georg Oscar Schumann

Lendvai-Chor

Weber: Ouverture zu Euryanthe

Wagner: Ouverture zu Der fliegende Holländer
Chor von Lendvai, Weber und Wagner
Reznicek: Ouverture Donna Diana
J. Strauss: Ouverture zu Die Fledermaus

22. April 1935
Leo Borchard
Gesang: Emmi Leisner
Violine: Erich Rohn
Wagner: Vorspiel zu Parsifal
Mozart: Violinkonzert (Adelaide)
Reger: An die Hoffnung
Rimsky-Korsakov: Osterfest, Konzertouvertüre
Reznicek: Ouverture Donna Diana
Brahms: Lieder mit Orchester
Tschaikowsky: Capriccio italien

Vier Konzerte der Preussischen Akademie der Künste
E. N. von Reznicek-Feier

16. Mai 1935
E. N. von Reznicek
Chor.: Berliner Solistenvereinigung (Ltg.: Waldo Favre)
Reznicek: Konzertouvertüre Im deutschen Wald
Karneval Suite (Uraufführung)

Volksliederbearbeitungen
Symphonie f-moll

Konzert im Funkhaus

5. September 1935
Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg
ein Chor
Lortzing: Ouvertüre zu Hans Sachs
Bruckner: Vier kleine Stücke
Sibelius: Nachtllicher Ritt und Nordischer Sonnenaufgang
Heuberger: Ouverture zu Der Opernball
R. Schumann: Ouverture Am Rhein mit Chor
Reznicek: Karnevalstänze

Konzert im Funkhaus

9. Februar 1936

Hans Pfitzner

Klavier: Maria Korfer

Gesang: Maria Schafer

Reznicek: Ouverture Donna Diana

Pfitzner: Klavierkonzert

Liebesmelodie und Lieder

Rossini: Ouverture zu Wilhelm Tell

Volkstümlicher Abend

8. Dezember 1936

Alois Melichar

Cello: Tibor de Machula

Orchestersolisten: Hugo Kolberg, Friedrich Thomas, Heinz Breiden

J. S. Bach: Brandenburgisches Konzert Nr. 4

Haydn: Cellokonzert

Mozart: Eine kleine Nachtmusik

Reznicek: Ouverture zu Donna Diana

Melichar: Französische Suite

Borodin: Polowetzer Tanze

Chor der Sing-Akademie - Leitung: Georg Schumann

12. Februar 1937

Gesang: Gertrude Pitzinger und Paul Gümmer

G. Schumann: Vita somnium

Reznicek: In Memoriam (Neubearbeitung, zum ersten Mal)

E. N. von Reznicek-Feier

30. Mai 1940

Georg Schumann und E. N. von Reznicek (die beiden Symphonien)

Orgel: Egon Birchner

Chor der Sing-Akademie

Reznicek: Der Steinerne Psalm für gem. Chor, Orgel und grosses Orchester

Symphonie B Dur (die ironische)

Symphonie f-moll

Zehn Philharmonische Konzerte mit öffentlichen Voraufführungen und Wiederholungen

3./4. und 5. November 1940

Wilhelm Furtwangler

Cello: Enrico Mainardi

Beethoven: Symphonie Nr. 6

Reznicek: Chamisso-Variationen

R. Schumann: Cellokonzert

Wagner: Ouverture zu Tannhäuser

Berliner Kunstwochen im Kriegsjahr 1942

14. Juni 1942

Carl Schuricht

Trautonium: Oskar Sala

Reznicek: Chamisso-Variationen

H. Genzmer: Konzert für Trautonium und Orchester

M. Trapp: Allegro deciso op. 40

Th. Berger: Rondino giocoso op. 4

P. Hoffer: Symphonische Variationen über einen Bass von J. S. Bach

Sonderkonzerte und andere Veranstaltungen

14 November 1943

Ferdinand Leitner

Gesang: Erna Berger

Nicolai: Arie der Frau Fluth aus Die lustigen Weiber

Flotow: Letzte Rose aus Martha

Reznicek: Ouverture zu Donna Diana

Mozart: Zwei Arien aus Die Entführung aus dem Serail

Verdi: Arien aus Maskenball und Traviata

Rossini: Ouverture zu Semiramis

Puccini: Arie aus La bohème

Rossini: Arie aus Der Barbier von Sevilla

Konzerte für die Rüstungs-Industrie

Beethoven-Saal

13. Februar 1945

Robert Heger

Violine: Erich Röhn

Weber: Ouverture zu Der Freischütz

Reznicek: Violinkonzert

Bruckner: Symphonie Nr. 4

Für die Besatzungsmacht

29. Dezember 1946 (abends)

Nicolai: Ouverture zu Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor

Schubert: Zwischenaktsmusik aus Rosamunde

Dvorak: Zwei slavische Tänze

Verdi: Ballettmusik aus Aida

Reznicek: Ouverture zu Donna Diana

Tschaikowsky: Nussknacker-Suite

Delibes: Ballettmusik aus Coppelia

J. Strauss: Kaiserwalzer

Wiederholung des Programms

8./9. Mai 1949

Violine: Siegfried Borris

Reznicek: Chamisso-Variationen

Busoni: Violinkonzert op. 35a

Strawinsky: Konzert in RE für Streichorchester (1946)

R. Stephan: Musik für Orchester

Philharmonische Revue (aus Anlass des 100jährigen Jubiläums)

8./9. Mai 1982

Seiji Ozawa

Reznicek: Ouverture zu Donna Diana

APPENDIX 4

GERMAN TEXTS

Chapter 3

Felicitas von Reznicek, *Gegen den Strom*, 66-67.

“Der Herr Kapellmeister, der soeben mit der ‘Tannhäuser’-Ouverture beginnen wollte und den Taktstock zum Niederstreich erhoben hatte, sah seine Frau plötzlich im Park, wie sie sich eines jungen Herrn zu erwehren suchte. Den Dirigentenstab hinwerfen, den Säbel ziehen, vom Podium springen, war eine Angelegenheit von Sekunden. Es gab einen unerhörten Skandal. Die Kameraden des Studenten, der vom Herrn Kapellmeister mit einem Hieb gefällt worden war, hoben ihren Freund auf. Die an tausend Menschen zählende Menge im Garten sprang von ihren Sitzen auf, und es ertönte ein vielstimmiger Schrei. Der Regimentstambour kommandierte: ‘Stellung!’ Im Nu waren die Instrumente der Musiker beiseite gelegt, und diese verwandelten sich in kampfbereite Soldaten. Ein Polizeikommissär mit einigen Schutzleuten eilte herbei. ‘Wir beschützen Sie, Herr Kapellmeister.’ ‘Ich brauche keinen Beschützer.’ ‘Sicher ist sicher! Sie sind ein Nemecki.’ Die Menge bildete eine Gasse. Es herrschte tödliches Schweigen, doch es geschah nichts. Draussen, vor dem Garten, wartete mit gerungenen Händen Frau Milka. Der Stud. jur. Flügel sandte Herrn Kapellmeister eine Forderung. Sein Freunde taten das gleiche. Der Feldmarschall-Leutnant hatte seinem Sohn seinerzeit in Graz bei dem berühmten Meister des Floretts, Vandelli, Fechtunterricht erteilen lassen. Infolgedessen schnitt der Herr Kapellmeister bei den verschiedenen Duellen im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes hervorragend ab. Als sie alle bestanden waren, flatterte in die Wohnung des Kapelnik ein Zettel vom Herrn Oberst, auf dem zu lesen war, dass der Herr von Reznicek sich ‘in commodor Adjustierung’ um 11 Uhr beim Regimentskommandeur einzufinden habe. ‘Mein lieber Baron’ sagte der, ‘Sie haben mir sehr imponiert, aber Sie haben eines vergessen: Ich habe einen Kapellmeister engagiert und nicht einen Fechtmeister.’”

Chapter 3

E. N. von Reznicek, “Personaldokumente,” 7.

“Es war ein Festkonzert im Garten des Deutschen Kasinos in Prag (ich weiss nicht mehr, zu welcher Gelegenheit) angesagt, zu dem meine Kapelle bestellt war. Bevor das Konzert anfang, promenierte die zahlreichen Gäste im Garten, wo verschiedene Gelegenheiten zur Unterhaltung u. a. eine Schiessbude aufgestellt waren. Meine Frau und einer ihrer Verehrer, ein Reserveleutnant Eiselt (in Zivil) leisteten uns Gesellschaft. Wir gingen auch in die Schiessbude, E. und ich schossen einige Mal nach der Scheibe, steckten uns die dabei gewonnenen Schiessorden an und gingen wieder im Garten spazieren. Da begegnete uns ein offenbar schon angeheiterter

Couleurstudent und rempelte uns an u. z. machte er sich über unsere Schiessorden lustig. Wir begegneten ihm noch öfter und immer wieder machte er sich unangenehm bemerkbar. In dem wurde es Zeit, das Konzert zu beginnen. Ich bestieg also den Musikpavillon, hob den Taktstock und sollte eben den Niederstreich geben, als ich dicht hinter mir im Garten einen lauten Wortwechsel verschiedener Personen hörte und mir schwante Böses. Ich drehte mich um und sah meine Frau und den Leutnant, umgeben von drei Couleurstudenten, mit drohend erhobenen Spazierstöcken stehen. Ich werfe den Taktstock weg, springe mit einem Satz über die 6 Stufen des Pavillons, ziehe den Säbel (der nicht geschliffen war) und haue den zu mir mit dem Rücken stehenden mit einem Hieb nieder. Es war zufällig gerade der, der uns bereits angestänkert hatte. Den Effekt kann man sich vorstellen: die tausend Besucher des Gartens springen alle zugleich auf; Geschrei hin und her; der Gefällte wird aufgehoben; der anwesende Polizeikommissär greift ein; mein Regimentstambour kommandiert meinen Soldaten, 'Stellung nehmen!' Na usw. Es war ein Mordsskandal. Der Polizeikommissär kommt auf mich zu und sagt: 'Kommen Sie bitte mit mir hinaus, ich beschütze Sie.' Ich: 'ich habe aber gar keine Angst.' Das Publikum bildet eine Gasse, durch die wir durchmüssen, um heraus zu kommen. Ich greife an der bereits wieder in der Scheide steckenden Säbel, sobald ich eine verdächtige Bewegung bemerke und so kommen wir heil auf die Strasse heraus, wo meine Frau schon händeringend auf mich gewartet hatte."

Chapter 4

E. N. von Reznicek, "*Frieden* - eine Vision," in "Werkeinführung durch den Komponisten," *Der Merker: Österreichischer Zeitschrift für Musik und Theater* 11 (Dezember 1919): 636.

Bei meiner letzten Anwesenheit in meiner geliebten Vaterstadt Wien gelegentlich der Aufführung meines 'Sieger' im zweiten Philharmonischen Konzert hörte ich mehrfach die Ansicht, ich hätte jetzt, da Richard Strauss sich von der Symphonik abgekehrt und der Oper zugewandt hat, von dieser günstigen Gelegenheit Gebrauch gemacht, um das nunmehr brachliegende Feld allein zu beackern. Nun glaube ich berechtigt zu sein, in dieser eignen Sache das Wort zu ergreifen und zu behaupten, dass mich andere Beweggründe leiteten, als ich den umgekehrten Weg einschlug und von der Oper zur Symphonik überging. Ich habe mir niemals gesagt: Jetzt will ich ein Quartett, eine Symphonie oder Lieder schreiben, – es wäre an der Zeit, wieder einmal eine Oper zu komponieren. Ich habe immer nur nach Inspiration, aus innerer Notwendigkeit geschaffen. Ohne mich im Geringsten vergleichen zu wollten: es ging mir darin wie Goethe. Ein inneres oder äusseres Erlebnis, der unwiderstehliche Drang, etwas, was mir auf dem Herzen lag, auszusprechen, trieb mich an.

Als mich vor Jahren schwerer Kummer in meiner Familie getroffen hatte und auch sonst mein Lebensschifflein zu scheitern drohte, hatte ich mir vorgenommen: Ehe ich von der Bildfläche auf irgend eine Art verschwand, alle meine Not und Schmerzen vorher in einer Art Selbstbekenntnis niederzulegen, – gleichsam als Testament in Tönen zu hinterlassen. Auf diese Art entstand der 'Schlemihl'. Doch das

Blatt wendete sich und ich schöpfte neuen Lebensmut. Was war natürlicher, als der Gedanke, das Gegenstück musikalisch zu verkörpern? Es war der 'Sieger'. Wenn mir der Vorwurf gemacht wurde, dass in diesem Stück vielfach die Fratze figuriert, so kann ich mich auf Richard Strauss berufen, dessen obersten Grundsatz: Wahrheit des musikalischen Ausdrucks – ich auch auf mein Panier geschrieben habe. Ich wollte Fratzen schildern. Dass ich den entsprechenden Zweck erreicht habe, kann ich nur auf mein Gewinnkonto schreiben. Der Entscheidung ob ein solches Sujet sich überhaupt für die symphonische Behandlung eignet, sehe ich mit Ruhe entgegen.

Chapter 5

E. N. von Reznicek, "*Frieden* - eine Vision," 636.

"Ich wollte keine musikalischästhetische Abhandlung liefern, sondern nur erzählen, auf welche Weise mir die Inspiration zu meinem dritten symphonischen Werke 'Frieden' kam. Und da muss ich um die Erlaubnis bitten, von etwas recht Alltäglichem sprechen zu dürfen. Es handelt sich um einen Traum. Es war am 20. Dezember 1913 – ich entsinne mich genau des Tages, weil ich ihn in der Partitur vermerkt habe –, da träumte mir Folgendes: Ich war Soldat. Nach einer blutigen Schlacht! Ich lag tödlich verwundet unter Tausenden von Leidensgefährten auf der Walstatt. Das Ächzen und Stöhnen der nach Hilfe und Wasser Rufenden drang schauerlich durch die Nacht, aus der Ferne ertönten Signale, Trommelschlag und der Geschützdonner der Verfolgung. Wachtfeuer flammten auf, die Hyänen des Schlachtfeldes stürzten sich auf uns wehrlosen Opfer. Eine riesenhafte Gestalt zu Pferde, der Tod, ritt langsam über die Leichen. Ich winde mich in Fieberdelirien. Plötzlich wird es wie durch einen Zauber licht um mich herum. Ich bin daheim bei den Meinen, der Friede ist geschlossen, jubelnd strömt das Volk zusammen, um das frohe Ereignis zu feiern, Glocken lassen ihren ehernen Schall vernehmen, aus den Kirchen erklingt der feierliche Gesang der Andächtigen, alles vereint sich zu einem brausenden Crescendo des Glücksgefühls. Plötzlich wird mir klar, dass dies alles eine Vision, eine Täuschung, eine Ausgeburt meiner kranken, überhitzten Phantasie ist. Es wird wieder dunkel um mich, der Jubel ist verhallt, ich liege auf dem Schlachtfelde und – sterbe! In diesem Augenblicke erwache ich. Am andern Tage begann ich den Entwurf zu meiner symphonischen Dichtung 'Frieden', die ja dann durch die politischen Ereignisse der Jahre 1914-1918 leider so aktuell geworden ist."

APPENDIX 5

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN REZNICEK AND RICHARD STRAUSS

Chapter 6

Letter of May 20, 1916

Landhaus Richard Strauss
Garmisch

20.5.16

Lieber Herr von Reznicek!

Seien Sie mir nicht böse: aber mitten unter grosse Sinfonien hinein passen diese kleinen Skizzen, die sehr reizende Details enthalten, und sicher im Theater von guter Wirkung und Stimmung sind, absolute nicht. Was man im Konzert bringt, muss doch einige musikalische geschlossene Formen besitzen. Meinetwegen das kleinste Menuettchen, aber der Zuhörer muss doch irgend was bestimmtes fassen können, – oder bin ich schon ein alter Philister?

Da bleibe ich schon bei der Donna Diana Ouverture: schade, dass Sie nicht mehr derartiges Hübsches und Pikantes geschrieben haben. Sie werden jetzt so schrecklich modern. Machen Sie doch mal ein Dutzend so 8 taktige Ländler à la Schubert, wie mir s. Z. Vater Brahms gar nicht dumm angeraten hat, oder eine Ballsuite (moderner Tänze) für Orchester, wie sie dem alten Franz Lachner allerdings zu ledern geraten ist, die aber an sich eine gute Idee ist. Doch Sie wollen auch keine guten Lehren von mir, sondern Aufführungen und damit kann ich diesmal nicht helfen. Probieren Sie die Konzertwirkung der kleinen Suite doch mal in der Singakademie oder Beethovensaal aus!

Mit freundlichsten Gruss

Ihr stets aufrichtig ergebener

Dr. Richard Strauss

Chapter 7
Letter of September 23, 1934

Der Präsident
der
Reichsmusikkammer
Berlin, den 23.9.34

Lieber Herr College!

Heute war Hausegger bei mir, der natürlich die Belange des A.d.M.V. (resp. seines Prüfungsausschusses: Haas, Vollerthun etc.) vertritt. Ich teilte ihm Ihren Standpunkt in puncto Programmbildung und beiliegenden Entwurf mit, den ich mir als Basis für [ein] internationales Musikfest des A.d.M.V. denke. Wir sind vorläufig dabei verblieben, dass München vorerst bis 1. Januar ungefähr die Einsendungen der deutschen Gaue sichtet, und seine letzte Auswahl (höchstens 15 Werke, die strengster Kritik Stand halten müssen) trifft, während Sie die ausländischen Eingänge in Empfang nehmen und diejenigen deutschen Werke bestimmen, die unser Werkprüfungsausschuss als empfehlenswert begutachtet. Anfangs November besprechen wir uns in Berlin (mit Jochum und Strohm) auch bezüglich ausländischer Solisten und im Februar letzte definitive Programmsitzung: Strohm, Sie, Hausegger und ich.

Wegen der Opern schreibe ich jetzt selbst an Strohm.

Bitte besprechen Sie meinen Programmentwurf einstweilen auch mit Kopsch und seien Sie schönstens begrüsst von Ihrem
stets aufrichtig ergebenden
Dr. Richard Strauss

Chapter 7
Letter of January 9, 1935

Dr. Richard Strauss
Garmisch Zoppritzstrasse
9.1.35

Lieber Freund und College!

Strohm schreibt mir soeben, dass er 4 Theaterabende acceptiert:

I. Ariane et Barbebleu (Dukas) ich habe dies sofort Carol Berard mitgeteilt mit der Nachricht, dass mir eine weitere Zusammenarbeit mit Kopsch unmöglich und dass ich mich sehr über das Zustandekommen des Festes in Vichy freue.

II. Halka von Moniuszko

III. Einen Ballettabend mit Reznicek und dem Dreispitz von de Falla.

Bezüglich des 4. Abends haben Sie Kienzl's Testament empfohlen!

Kennen Sie diese Oper? Wenn sie nicht zu senil ist, habe ich nichts dagegen, falls sich unter den Einsendungen nicht ein deutsches Werk zur Uraufführung gefunden hat. Wenn dies nicht der Fall ist und auch der gute Kienzl nicht möglich sein sollte, bestehe ich auf dem Cid. Es geht nicht an, dass Dr. Tischer, (der überhaupt möglichst bald auszuschiffen wäre) gegen meine Wünsche mit Privatvorschlägen an Strohm sich wendet.

Soeben erhalte ich beiliegendes Verzeichnis von Lualdi. Da wir dieses Jahr keine italienische Oper mehr bringen können, müssen die Italiener in den Concerten bevorzugt werden: die beiden kurzen Stücke von Martucci, die ich Ihnen schickte, sowie die Sacri Pezzi von Verdi sollten möglichst untergebracht werden. Im Übrigen Pizzetti, Respighi, auch Lualdi und was sich sonst als empfehlenswert erweist.

Am Tage des Balletts der Stadt München [?] komme ich in die Stadt und habe Hausegger bereits avisiert, am Tage nachher [?] eine Programmsitzung des A.d.M.V. mit mir abzuhalten. Könnten Sie mit Ihrer internationalen Programmauswahl auch dazu nach München kommen? Jedenfalls lassen Sie sich sofort von Lualdi (Mailand, Via Goldoni 32) alles Notenmaterial schicken!

Ich schreibe auch noch an Lualdi! Vor allem müssen wir auch wissen, für wie viel italienische Werke wir in Hamburg Platz haben neben Deutschem, Österreichern, Skandinaviern, Tschechen, Ungarn, Engländern. 3 Orchesterkonzerte, 3 Kammermusiken.

Mit besten Grüßen Ihr
Dr. Richard Strauss

Chapter 7
Letter of January 27, 1935

Dr. Richard Strauss
Garmisch
27.1.35

Lieber College!

Es tut mir zwar leid, dass Sie unerbittlich sind, aber natürlich werde ich Ihrem Wunsch willfahren und Ihr Werk ungekürzt zur Aufführung beantragen. Alles Übrige, bitte besprechen Sie Mitte Februar mündlich in Hamburg mit Strohm.

Dies prinzipiell vorausgeschickt, gestatten Sie mir eine freundschaftliche Anfrage: wollen Sie wirklich ein 2 1/2 stündiges Ballet in die Welt hinausschicken? Nach meinen Erfahrungen hat dasselbe, besonders bei den heutigen Verhältnissen (!) so gut wie gar keine Aufführungsmöglichkeiten! Ja, im kaiserlichen Russland, da gab es noch abendfüllende Ballets! Aber welcher Theaterintendant riskiert heute die Ausstattung dafür? Es ist nur eine gut gemeinte Anregung. Vielleicht überlegen Sie sich's doch.

Mit besten Grüßen und der Bitte meine collegiale Einmischung mir nicht zu verübeln.

Ihr Dr. Richard Strauss

Bezüglich der übrigen Programmwahl bitte sich nicht zu beeilen, hat gut bis zur Hamburger Sitzung Zeit, zu der ich nicht komme, da ich mit Hausegger und Haas vergangene Woche alles Wichtige besprochen habe. Sehen Sie nur zu, dass Haas nicht wieder mit seinen 50 % deutsch daherkommt! Soll froh sein, wenn er 20 % anhörbare Musik herausfindet. Jedenfalls bitte ich Belgien nicht zu vergessen, die nächstes Jahr Weltausstellung und Musikfest haben, jedenfalls die beiden Martuccistücke und den von Ihnen gerühmten Jugoslaven Dobronic, "Boris Godunoff" habe ich abgelehnt! Total überflüssig! Strohm schlägt ein Chorwerk von Kaminski vor, gegen das ich grundsätzlich nichts einzuwenden habe, dagegen den proponierten 100. Psalm von Reger für überflüssig halte.

Zur Unterhaltung des Publikums genügt schon der "Arme Heinrich" dem ich an Stelle der nicht vorhandenen deutschen Uraufführung auf Hauseggers Wunsch zugestimmt habe!

Pizetti eventuell berücksichtigen! Instrumentierter Bach-Unfug! den Schweden Ture Rangström, der neue Delegierte soll sehr begabt sein!