

Exploring Bach's B-minor Mass

The B-minor Mass has always represented a fascinating challenge to musical scholarship. Composed over the course of Johann Sebastian Bach's life, it is considered by many to be the composer's greatest and most complex work. The fourteen essays assembled in this volume originate from the international symposium 'Understanding Bach's B-minor Mass' at which scholars from eighteen countries gathered to debate the latest topics in the field. In revised and updated form, they comprise a thorough and systematic study of Bach's *opus ultimum*, including a wide range of discussions relating to the Mass's historical background and contexts, structure and proportion, sources and editions, and the reception of the work in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century. In the light of important new developments in the study of the piece, this collection demonstrates the innovation and rigour for which Bach scholarship has become known.

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Edited by YO TOMITA, ROBIN A. LEAVER
and JAN SMACZNY

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University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107007901

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First published 2013

Printing in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Exploring Bach's B-minor Mass / edited by Yo Tomita, Robin A. Leaver, and Jan Smaczny.
pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-00790-1

1. Bach, Johann Sebastian, 1685–1750. Masses, BWV 232, B minor. I. Tomita, Yo, editor of compilation. II. Leaver, Robin A., editor of compilation. III. Smaczny, Jan, editor of compilation.

ML410.B13E97 2013

782.32'32–dc23

2013013111

ISBN 978-1-107-00790-1 Hardback

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In Memory of Anne Leahy

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Preface

In November 2007 Queen's University Belfast hosted the international symposium 'Understanding Bach's B-minor Mass', which attracted over seventy Bach scholars from eighteen countries.¹ The present volume is one of the early fruits of this event. The choice of the word 'exploring' (instead of 'understanding') for the title seemed a genuine and more appropriate response to the character of the symposium: there was an overwhelming feeling that we had travelled a long way from where we were as little as five years before. We came to realise that there is still much to be researched before we can begin to 'understand' the work. As Hans-Joachim Schulze predicted in 1985, the B-minor Mass indeed continues to be the 'perpetual touchstone' for Bach research.²

The symposium had its roots in a two-day event that Yo Tomita organised at Queen's University in November 2004, with Joshua Rifkin and Anne Leahy as guests. However, the concrete discussion concerning hosting a more major event did not actually begin until May 2006, when Leahy declared at a dinner during the American Bach Society's biennial meeting in Leipzig that it was time to have 'another Irish Bach conference'.³ Together with Robin A. Leaver, Leahy and Tomita formulated a detailed plan and began to consult with many colleagues to solicit their ideas. We knew that it was exactly fifty years since Friedrich Smend had published the *Kritischer Bericht* of the Mass in the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*,⁴ a work that not only offered a wealth of new information about the origin and transmission of the Mass but also posed many important questions for later scholars to address. It took only a few years for some of Smend's evidence and conclusions to be seriously challenged by Georg von Dadelsen.⁵ In the five decades that followed, many new issues concerning the composition and reception of the

¹ For a detailed review of the event, see *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 5/2 (September 2008), 271–3.

² H.-J. Schulze, 'The B minor Mass: Perpetual Touchstone for Bach Research', in P. Williams (ed.), *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 311–20.

³ For further details, see R. A. Leaver, 'Anne Leahy (1961–2007): In Memoriam', *Bach Notes: The Newsletter of the American Bach Society*, 8 (Fall 2007), 21.

⁴ The edition was published in 1954, but the accompanying *KB* did not appear until 1956.

⁵ Dadelsen C.

Mass have been raised and often intensely debated by scholars. In the last two decades, several noteworthy new editions have also appeared to replace Friedrich Smend's publication: Christoph Wolff (C. F. Peters, 1997) and Uwe Wolf (the '1733 *Missa*' as well as several early sources of the B-minor Mass as separate works as *NBA II/1a*, Bärenreiter, 2005).

Most crucial with regard to the timing of Leahy's suggestion concerning the symposium was the imminent appearance of Joshua Rifkin's long-awaited new edition of the Mass, published by Breitkopf & Härtel (it was in fact published in late November 2006). In a lecture given at Queen's University Belfast in November 2004 entitled 'Whose Mass in B minor? Text, Performance, and Identity', Rifkin aptly outlined the significance of his recent work, spelling out in detail how many of the revised readings in Bach's autograph score were in fact the work of his second son, Carl Philipp Emanuel, who inherited the score and performed the work. Rifkin's colossal efforts in distinguishing the differences between the handwritings of father and son(s),⁶ in order to attempt to decipher near-impossible readings in Bach's autograph score and to reconstruct Bach's final version of the B-minor Mass as presented in his autograph score of 1748–9, was a very significant achievement, as Uwe Wolf acknowledges here in his chapter. Besides that, there was a widespread feeling among scholars that good progress was being made in many other areas of research concerning the wider historical context of the B-minor Mass, such as the political influence of the Saxon electors and that of the German Enlightenment,⁷ the significance of Polish style in the works of Bach and his contemporaries,⁸ the musical style of the 'Crucifixus' as examined from the perspective of a

⁶ As Peter Wollny has recently argued, there is also evidence of interventions by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach in the autograph score, which suggest that the B-minor Mass was being considered for dissemination before December 1749. See Wollny A.,

⁷ See U. Siegele, 'Bachs Stellung in der Leipziger Kulturpolitik seiner Zeit', *BJ*, 69 (1983), 7–50; 70 (1984), 7–43; 72 (1986), 33–67; U. Siegele, 'Bach and the Domestic Politics of Electoral Saxony', in J. Butt (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 17–34; U. Siegele, 'Bachs politisches Profil oder Wo bleibt die Musik?', in K. Küster (ed.), *Bach Handbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Weimar: Metzler, 1999), pp. 5–30; U. Siegele, 'Bach's Situation in the Cultural Politics of Contemporary Leipzig', in C. K. Baron (ed.), *Bach's Changing World: Voices in the Community* (University of Rochester Press, 2006), pp. 127–73.

⁸ S. Paczkowski, 'Über die Funktionen der Polonaise und des polnischen Stils am Beispiel der Arie "Glück und Segen sind bereit" aus der Kantate *Erwünschtes Freudenlicht* BWV 184 von Johann Sebastian Bach', in S. Paczkowski and A. Żórawska-Witkowska (eds.), *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart: Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik* (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002), pp. 207–24; S. Paczkowski, 'On the Problems of Parody and Style in the "Et resurrexit" from the Mass in B minor by Johann Sebastian Bach', *Bach*, 37/2 (2006), 1–44; S. Paczkowski, *Styl polski w muzyce Johanna Sebastiana Bacha* [Polish musical style in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach] (Lublin: Polihymnia, 2011).

broader historical context,⁹ the socio-historical background of Leipzig musicians¹⁰ and Bach's relationship with the musicians of Dresden as seen through the study of the life and work of Zelenka,¹¹ to name only five. Likewise, Bach studies in the last decade have seen a great increase of interest in the reception of Bach's works and how this influenced later generations, particularly with regard to ways of appreciating and engaging with the music.¹² Recognising the cross-currents of Bach scholarship, which sometimes seem to be proceeding in opposite directions, and also the backlog of unanswered questions, the triumvirate came to the conclusion that the time was right for scholars to meet and discuss such issues in a holistic and systematic manner. The hope was that such a gathering of leading authorities would lead to a better understanding of a work that with good reason has frequently been claimed to be the greatest musical work of all time. In pursuit of this goal, Leahy, Leaver and Tomita planned the symposium to be held at Queen's University Belfast, with the generous assistance of colleagues, especially Jan Smaczny.

During the preparation stage of the symposium, several major developments occurred. Early in 2007, there was exciting news about a new high-quality colour facsimile edition of Bach's autograph score of the B-minor Mass; it appeared in May from Bärenreiter. One reviewer commented that it is 'a model for the presentation of musical sources, both in appearance and in documentation',¹³ and that 'because of their extraordinary quality, Rifkin's edition and Wolff's facsimile will serve as foundational tools'.¹⁴ Back in March 2007, we were informed that Michael Maul would examine the archival material of church music at the courts of Count Franz Anton von Sporck at Kuks and Count Johann Adam von Questenberg at Jaroměřice (both today in the Czech Republic), with a view to finding out more about the relationships between Bach and the two Catholic aristocrats,

⁹ J. Cameron, *The Crucifixion in Music: An Analytical Survey of Settings of the Crucifixus between 1680 and 1800* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006).

¹⁰ T. Kevorkian, 'The Reception of the Cantata during Leipzig Church Services, 1700–1750', *Early Music*, 30/1 (February 2002), 26–45; T. Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650–1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹¹ J. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹² See Y. Tomita, 'Bach's Credo in England: An Early History', in A. Leahy and Y. Tomita (eds.), *Bach Studies from Dublin: Selected papers Presented at the Ninth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Held at Trinity College Dublin from 12th to 16th July 2000*, *Irish Musical Studies*, 8 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 205–27.

¹³ D. Boomhower, review of critical editions and facsimile, *Notes*, 65/2 (December 2008), 385–9, at 386.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

particularly in relation to the genesis and early reception of the B-minor Mass. Also in March 2007, it emerged that Uwe Wolf was appointed to produce a revised edition of the B-minor Mass for the *NBA*, at the time when many of us were still digesting the significance of Rifkin's new edition, which had appeared only four months earlier. Unlike Rifkin, who conducted his research by conventional means, Wolf was to use high-tech equipment to conduct micro X-ray fluorescence analysis of Bach's autograph score of the B-minor Mass. No one knew at the time of the planning of the symposium that research in this area would progress at such speed and in such magnitude.

The symposium was held from Friday 2 to Sunday 4 November 2007. During the three-day meeting, the delegates heard twenty-four papers presented by some of today's most distinguished Bach scholars on wide-ranging themes, including the historical background of the Mass, its composition and meaning, its theological background, its sources and editions, performance issues and the reception history of the Mass in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The fourteen papers assembled here were chosen primarily in order to create a coherent volume. In revised and updated form, these chapters demonstrate the depth and rigour for which Bach scholarship has been known.

There were many obstacles to overcome during the preparations for this project, but none was greater or more devastating than the loss of our colleague Anne Leahy, who had fallen seriously ill at the beginning of 2007 and lost her brave battle only a month before the symposium. It was her vision and passion that provided the momentum for us to guide the course of this project, and we wish to dedicate this book to her memory.

Yo Tomita, Robin A. Leaver and
Jan Smaczny
Queen's University Belfast

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge the following libraries for their kind permission to reproduce images from their holdings: the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, for Bach's autograph score (Mus. ms. Bach P 180); the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden, for the Decree of 19 November 1736 (10026 Loc. 907/3, fol. 57); the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden for the cover of Bach's *Missa* (Mus. 2405-D-21) and the title page and dedication of Tobias Butz's *Delicta juventutis meae ne meminere* (Mus. 2834-D-1); the Moravský Zemský Archiv in Brno for the receipt issued to Questenberg for the payment of his membership fee for the Musicalische Congregation in Vienna (1749); the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus for 'Catalogo di tutti li Signori Congregati, e Congregate della Congregazione Musicale' (E 124523); St Petersburg State Conservatory for MS No. 4500; the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main, for the images of Haydn's oratorio *Die Jahreszeiten* (Mus. Hs. Opern 264 B); and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for Mendelssohn's copy of the B-minor Mass (Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.66–7).

Abbreviations and conventions

Voice types and instruments

A	alto
B	bass
bc	basso continuo
bsn	bassoon
cr	corno da caccia
fl	flute
ob	oboe
org	organ
S	soprano
T	tenor
ti	timpani
tr	trumpet
va	viola
vc	violoncello
vn	violin
vne	violone

Library sigla

A-GÖ	Benediktinerabtei, Musikarchiv, Stift Göttweig, Austria
A-Wgm	Archiv, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Vienna, Austria
A-Wn	Musiksammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria
A-Wsa	Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna, Austria
A-Wst	Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Vienna, Austria
CH-Zz	Musikabteilung, Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, Switzerland
CZ-Pak	Archiv Pražského Hradu, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly, Hudební Sbírka Katedrály Svatého Víta – Hudební sbírka Kaple sv. Kříže Katedrály, Prague, Czech Republic
CZ-Pnm	Národní Muzeum, České Muzeum Hudby, Hudebně-Historické Oddělení, Prague, Czech Republic

D-B	Musikabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany
D-Dl	Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Germany
D-Dla	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden, Germany
D-F	Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main, Germany
D-GOI	Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Gotha, Germany
GB-Cu	University Library, Cambridge, UK
GB-Lbl	The British Library, London, UK
GB-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK

Manuscript sources of the B-minor Mass

Autograph score	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 180. For colour facsimile, see Wolff 2007; also available in high-resolution scans in Bach Digital (www.bach-digital.de)
Dresden parts	D-Dl, Mus. 2405-D-21. Facsimile edition: J. S. Bach, <i>Missa in h-Moll BWV 232^I</i> , Faksimile nach den Originalstimmensatz der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden. Mit einem Kommentar von Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: Zentral-Antiquariat der DDR; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1983); also available in high-resolution scans in Bach Digital (www.bach-digital.de)
P, St	The Bach sources in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B) with shelfmarks prefixed 'Mus. mus. Bach P' and 'Mus. mus. Bach St' are abbreviated throughout the volume as P (<i>Partitur</i> = score) and St (<i>Stimmen</i> = parts) respectively

Books, journals, articles and editions

AMZ	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> [1st series] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1798–1848)
Bach	<i>BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute Baldwin-Wallace College</i>
BC I/4	H.-J. Schulze and C. Wolff (eds.), <i>Bach Compendium: Analytisch-bibliographisches Repertorium der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs</i> , vol. I/4, <i>Vokalwerke IV</i> (Frankfurt: C. F. Peters, 1985)
BDok I	W. Neumann and H.-J. Schulze (eds.), <i>Schriftstücke von der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs</i> , Bach-Dokumente, I (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik; Kassel:

- Bärenreiter, 1963); references to individual documents in the form *BDok I/1*
- BDok II* W. Neumann and H.-J. Schulze (eds.), *Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs 1685–1750*, Bach-Dokumente, II (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969); references to individual documents in the form *BDok II/1*
- BDok III* H.-J. Schulze (ed.), *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750–1800*, Bach-Dokumente, III (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972); references to individual documents in the form *BDok III/1*
- BDok V* H.-J. Schulze (ed.), *Dokumente zu Leben, Werk und Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1685–1800: Neue Dokumente Nachträge und Berichtigungen zu Band I–III*, Bach-Dokumente, V (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007); references to individual documents in the form *BDok V/A 1*
- BDok VI* A. Glöckner, A. Hartinger and K. Lehmann (eds.), *Ausgewählte Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1801–1850*, Bach-Dokumente, VI (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007); references to individual documents in the form *BDok VI/A 1*
- Belfast 2007 Y. Tomita, E. Crean, I. Mills and T. Kovačević (eds.), *International Symposium: Understanding Bach's B-minor Mass. Discussion Book*, 2 vols. (School of Music and Sonic Arts, Queen's University Belfast, 2007)
- BG* [Bach-Gesellschaft edition] *Johann Sebastian Bach's Werke*. [Gesamtausgabe von der Bach-Gesellschaft] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1851–99)
- BJ* *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1904–)
- Butt A J. Butt, *Bach: Mass in B minor* (Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- Butt B J. Butt, 'Bach's *Mass in B minor*: Considerations of its Early Performance and Use', *Journal of Musicology*, 9/1 (Winter 1991), 109–23
- BWV W. Schmieder (ed.), *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach: Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis 'BWV'* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel; Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1950); 2nd rev. and enlarged edn (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990); rev. as A. Dürr, Y. Kobayashi and K. Beißwenger (eds.), *Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis: Kleine Ausgabe (BWV^{2a}): Nach*

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- Dadelsen A G. von Dadelsen, *Bemerkungen zur Handschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs, seiner Familie und seines Kreises*, Tübinger Bach-Studien, 1 (Trossingen: Hohner Verlag, 1957)
- Dadelsen B G. von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Tübinger Bach-Studien, 4–5 (Trossingen: Hohner Verlag, 1958)
- Dadelsen C G. von Dadelsen, 'Friedrich Smends Ausgabe der h-Moll-Messe von J. S. Bach', *Die Musikforschung*, 12/3 (July–September 1959), 315–34
- Dadelsen C^{ET} G. von Dadelsen, 'Friedrich Smend's Edition of the B-minor Mass by J. S. Bach', trans. James A. Brokaw II, *Bach*, 20/2 (Summer 1989), 49–74; repr. in Belfast 2007, vol. II, pp. 404–24
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- HStCal* *Königlich-Polnischer und Churfürstlich-Sächsischer Hoff-[from 1733 Hof-] und Staats-Calender* (Leipzig, 1728–, except 1730, 1734, 1758–64)
- Kobayashi A Y. Kobayashi, 'Die Universalität in Bachs h-Moll-Messe: Ein Beitrag zum Bach-Bild der letzten Lebensjahre', *Musik und Kirche*, 57/1 (1987), 12–15
- Kobayashi B Y. Kobayashi, 'Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit von 1736 bis 1750', *BJ*, 74 (1988), 7–72
- MGG*² *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd edn (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2005)
- NBA* [Neue Bach-Ausgabe] *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954–2008); references to series and vol. in the form *I/1*
- NBA KB* *Kritischer Bericht* (critical report) of *NBA*
- NBA*^{rev} *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Revidierte Edition* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010–)

NBR	H. T. David and A. Mendel (eds.), <i>The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents</i> , rev. and enlarged C. Wolff (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998); references to individual documents in the form NBR/1
Rifkin 2006	J. Rifkin (ed.), <i>Messe h-Moll / Mass in B minor. BWV 232 / Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750)</i> , Breitkopf & Härtel Partitur-Bibliothek, 5363 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2006)
RISM	Karlheinz Schlager (ed.), <i>Répertoire international des sources musicales</i> , series A/I: <i>Einzeldrucke vor 1800</i> (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–81)
Schulze	H.-J. Schulze, 'Johann Sebastian Bach, Missa h-Moll, BWV 232 ¹ [Kommentar]', in <i>Johann Sebastian Bach, Missa h-Moll, BWV 232¹: Faksimile nach dem Originalstimmensatz der Sächs. Landesbibliothek Dresden</i> (Leipzig: Zentral-Antiquariat der DDR; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1983), pp. 6–10
Stauffer	G. Stauffer, <i>Bach: The Mass in B minor</i> ('The Great Catholic Mass') (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997; repr. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2003)
Wolff 1997	C. Wolff (ed.), <i>Messe in H-Moll; Mass in B minor. BWV 232 für Soli, Chor und Orchester / Johann Sebastian Bach</i> . Edition Peters, 8735 (Frankfurt am Main: C. F. Peters, 1997)
Wolff 2007	C. Wolff (ed.), <i>Messe in h-Moll BWV 232 mit Sanctus in D-Dur (1724) BWV 232^{III}: Autograph. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz</i> , Bärenreiter Facsimile: Faksimile-Reihe Bachscher Werke und Schriftstücke, new series, 2; Documenta Musicologica, series 2, 35 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007)
Wolff A	C. Wolff, <i>Der stile antico in der Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs: Studien zu Bachs Spätwerk</i> , Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 6 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1968)
Wolff B	C. Wolff, "Et incarnatus" and "Crucifixus": The Earliest and Latest Settings of Bach's B-minor Mass', in Mary Ann Parker (ed.), <i>Eighteenth-Century Music in Theory and Practice: Essays in Honor of Alfred Mann</i> , Festschrift Series, 13 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994), pp. 1–17; repr. with author's postscript in <i>Belfast 2007</i> , vol. II, pp. 357–67
Wolff C	C. Wolff, <i>Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician</i> (New York: W. W. Norton; Oxford University Press, 2000)

Wollny A	P. Wollny, 'Beobachtungen am Autograph der h-Moll-Messe', <i>BJ</i> , 95 (2009), 135–51
Wollny B	P. Wollny, 'Ein Quellenfund zur Entstehungsgeschichte der h-Moll-Messe', <i>BJ</i> , 80 (1994), 163–9
ZWV	W. Reich, <i>Jan Dismas Zelenka: Thematischsystematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke (ZWV)</i> (Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1985)

Conventions used in references to sections and movements

Bach's own divisions of the Mass are shown in *italic*, and the names of individual movements are in roman type and single quotation marks in text (and in roman type only, without quotation marks, in parentheses and tables unless more than one movement is listed). For a full list of movements, see Table 1.1 on p. 10.

PART I

Historical background and contexts

1 | Past, present and future perspectives on Bach's B-minor Mass

CHRISTOPH WOLFF

About 200 years ago the Swiss musician, writer and publisher Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836) of Zurich acquired what he surely considered an incredibly valuable trophy. He had purchased from the estate of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach the unpublished manuscript of a Latin Mass of unprecedented scale in the hand of Bach's father.¹ As a publisher Nägeli was a businessman who wanted to put his investment to work. Therefore, he planned to make the Mass available in print for the first time, and, after careful planning, he advertised the publishing project in 1818.

The public announcement referred to Bach's composition as 'the Greatest Musical Work of Art of All Times and Nations'² – an astonishing assertion, made at a time when the works of Mozart had already become a permanent feature of the musical landscape and when Beethoven's contemporary fame was at its peak. By comparison, conceptions of Johann Sebastian Bach in the early nineteenth century among the musical public were hazy, the most common being that the composer, best known as the author of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, was a supreme master of fugue.³

Nägeli's statement about 'the Greatest Musical Work of Art of All Times and Nations' was essentially an intuitive judgement, for he – a very knowledgeable man – had not seen anything like it before. A present-day critic would certainly avoid such superlatives. Nevertheless, it remains remarkable that the leading music publishers of the day, Breitkopf & Härtel and C. F. Peters, both of Leipzig, as well as Simrock in Bonn, did not file any objections. In fact, all of them had begun to make money out of Bach

¹ See NBA KB II/1, p. 58.

² *Ankündigung des größten musikalischen Kunstwerks aller Zeiten und Völker* (Zurich, 1818); facsimile repr. in NBA KB II/1, p. 215. See also BDok VI.C 50, pp. 462–3; English trans. in NBR/410, pp. 506–7. The same advertisement also appeared in *Intelligenz-Blatt zur allgemeinen musikalischen Zeitung*, No. 7 (August 1818), col. 28.

³ See NBR, pp. 488–91.

editions – Breitkopf with the Chorales,⁴ Motets⁵ and a Mass,⁶ Simrock with two shorter Masses and the *Magnificat*,⁷ Peters with the keyboard works.⁸ Perhaps they hoped that Nägeli's outrageous claim would help boost their business as well. Even Beethoven, a notorious complainer who, after all, happened to be at work on his *Missa solemnis*, remained quiet and, curiously, contacted Breitkopf, asking if the firm could send him Bach's Mass.⁹

Nägeli's use of the phrase 'of All Times and Nations' was deliberate as he was not the first to apply it to Bach. He was merely echoing a statement made almost forty years earlier by Johann Friedrich Reichardt, who, in 1781, announced the forthcoming Breitkopf edition of Bach's four-part chorales as works by 'the greatest harmonist of all times and all nations'.¹⁰ The Ciceronian phrase 'omnium temporum atque gentium' ('of all times and nations')¹¹ had also been used, for example, by the classicist Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812), Johann Matthias Gesner's successor at the

⁴ J. P. Kirnberger (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Imanuel Breitkopf, 1784–7).

⁵ *Joh. Seb. Bach's MOTETTEN in Partitur Erster Heft enthaltend drey achtstimmige Motetten Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied, etc. Fürchte dich nicht, ich bin bey dir, etc. Ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich etc.* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel [1802]) (BWV 225, 228, Anh. 159); *Joh. Seb. Bach's MOTETTEN in Partitur Zweites Heft enthaltend eine fünf- und zwei achtstimmige Motetten Komm, Jesu, komm, mein Leib etc. Jesu! Meine Freude, meines etc. Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit etc.* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1803]) (BWV 229, 227, 226); *Jauchzet dem Herrn, alle Welt c.c. Acht Stimmige Motette von Joh: Sebastian Bach. Herausgegeben und der liberalen, dieser Art Music sich so uneigennützig aufopfernden Officin von Breitkopf und Haertel hochachtungsvoll zugeeignet von IOH: FR: SAM: DOERING. In Commission bei Ch. E. Kollmann* [1818] (BWV Anh. 160); *Lob und Ehre und Weisheit – Achtstimmige MOTETTE Musik von J. S. BACH [recte: Georg Gottfried Wagner]* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1819]) (BWV Anh. 162); *Der 117te Psalm für vier Singstimmen in Musik gesetzt von JOH. SEBASTIAN BACH* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1821]) (BWV 230).

⁶ *MESSA a 8 voci reali e 4 ripiene coll'accompagnamento di due Orchestre composta DA GIOV. SEBAST. BACH* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1805]) (BWV Anh. 167).

⁷ *Missa à 4 Voci Due Flauti, due Violini, Viola ed Organo di GIOV. SEB. BACH. No.1 Dopo Partitura autografa dell'autore* (Bonn: N. Simrock, 1818) (BWV 234); *MISSA Quatuor vocibus cantanda comitante Orchestra a Joanne Sebastiano Bach. No. 2* (Bonn: Simrock, 1828) (BWV 236); *MAGNIFICAT à Cinque Voci, Due Violini, Due Oboe, tre Trombi, Tamburi, Basson, Viola e Basso Continuo del Sigl Joh. Seb. Bach* (Bonn: N. Simrock, [1811]) (BWV 243a).

⁸ *Oeuvres Complettées de Jean Sebastien Bach* (Vienna: Hoffmeister, Leipzig: Bureau de Musique, 1801–4, repr. Leipzig: Bureau de Musique de C. F. Peters, 1814–). See K. Lehmann, *Die Anfänge einer Bach-Gesamtausgabe*, *Leipziger Beiträge zur Bachforschung*, 6 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2004), pp. 125–46.

⁹ Beethoven's letter dated 15 October 1810 (Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer Br 92 und Br 91) is reproduced in *BDok VI/B 99*, pp. 373–4.

¹⁰ J. F. Reichardt, 'Kunstnachrichten' (Berlin, before 2 October 1781), *J. F. Reichardt's musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, 1 (1782), 51; repr. in *BDok III/853*, pp. 342–3: '... der harmonische Bearbeiter: Johann Sebastian Bach, größter Harmoniker aller Zeiten und Völker'.

¹¹ See e.g. A. Koehly (ed.), *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiacorum libri XLVIII* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1857), vol. I, p. xvii.

University of Göttingen and teacher of the Humboldt brothers Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835). As head of the university library from 1765, he established the universal formula 'the most important writings of all times and all nations' ('die wichtigsten Schriften aller Zeiten und Völker') as a policy for developing the collection.¹² The elevation above and beyond all times and all nations of a single author, Johann Sebastian Bach, let alone a single work of art, the B-minor Mass, remains, however, a most unusual affair. Yet it fits the early idolisation of Bach and the normative standards set by him, symptomatically expressed by the ageing Haydn, who in 1799 referred to Bach as 'the man from whom all true musical wisdom proceeded'.¹³

Timelessness and communal appreciation beyond national and confessional borders seem to be views of the B-minor Mass that have their roots in the eighteenth century. Four different aspects are explored here: (1) the performance history of the work; (2) the history of scholarship concerning the piece; (3) the compositional genesis of the work; and (4) Bach's use of time and space as compositional devices.

The performance history of the B-minor Mass

A trivial observation, of course, is to reflect that the piece has been performed frequently in the past and present, and will surely be performed in the future. In Bach's time, however, this was by no means self-evident or in any way predictable, nor even in subsequent periods until the establishment of a retrospective repertoire in the musical life of the Romantics, primarily through the influence of Mendelssohn and his generation.

To this day we know of no performance of the B-minor Mass complete under the composer's direction or during his lifetime, even though I consider it inconceivable that the work as a whole would have been composed without a performance purpose in the background. But this is unknown. This does not, however, invalidate the notion of at least a partial (or additional) function of the B-minor Mass as representing a kind of musical legacy on Bach's part. But even in this sense the Mass does not assume a unique position, for works like *The Art of Fugue*, the *Clavier-Übung* series,

¹² Cf. E. Mittler, '"... die wichtigsten Schriften aller Zeiten und Völker ...": Die Göttinger Bibliothek im Zentrum einer europäischen Gelehrten-Elite des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Georgia Augusta*, 3 (2004), 11–17.

¹³ *NBR*, p. 374.

The Well-Tempered Clavier and others fulfil a similar function as a bequest made by a devoted teacher of music to future generations.

There were partial performances of the B-minor Mass during the eighteenth century that might offer helpful hints; for example, the 1786 Hamburg performance of the *Symbolum Nicenum*, the *Credo* section, under the direction of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. This was definitely not a liturgical performance, but one for a benefit concert in support of a hospital for the poor.¹⁴ Two questions need to be asked: did C. P. E. Bach violate his father's legacy by presenting a 'secular' performance? Or did he perhaps know that it was designed as a concert piece? After all, no Lutheran or Roman Catholic service could under normal circumstances accommodate a Mass of such dimensions.

However, resulting from its heterogeneous genesis (see further below), the Mass does indeed contain sections that were used liturgically. The *Sanctus*, in its original version from Christmas 1724, was apparently a repertoire piece receiving repeat performances. It was customary in Leipzig to perform a polyphonic *Sanctus* at the principal churches on high holidays. Yet, as we know, Bach lent a set of parts to Franz Anton Count Sporck in Bohemia. The loan of performing parts (and *not* a score) would make sense only if this wealthy Roman Catholic music-lover wanted to have this work performed at his palace, but surely not within the context of a liturgical service since Bach's abbreviated Lutheran *Sanctus* lacked the sections essential for the *Sanctus* of the Roman Catholic mass, namely the 'Hosanna' and 'Benedictus':

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloriae tuae [JSB: ejus].¹⁵

Hosanna in excelsis.

Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

Hosanna in excelsis.

In other words, Bach the Lutheran cantor gave or sent the parts to Sporck knowing full well that his work could be presented there only as a concert piece.

The *Kyrie* and *Gloria* sections of what was to become the B-minor Mass offer related perspectives. This *Kyrie-Gloria* Mass, a customary complete unit in both Lutheran and Catholic rites, was dedicated on Monday, 27 July 1733 to the Catholic court of Dresden. It is possible, if undocumented, that it was given in the Sophienkirche in Dresden, where Wilhelm Friedemann Bach was the newly appointed organist and where in previous years Bach had given organ recitals. This performance, involving the Dresden Hofkapelle, would

¹⁴ See *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 41–3; *BDok III/911*, p. 421. ¹⁵ In place of 'tua' Bach used 'ejus'.

then have taken place on the Sunday, the day before the presentation of the used performing parts to the Dresden court. Such a performance could have been either during the morning service or possibly as an afternoon concert.

Regardless of any actual performance, however, the *Missa* of 1733 was deliberately and definitely conceived as a bi-confessional work, neither exclusively Lutheran nor exclusively Catholic but definitely a sacred Christian piece. Moreover, there was a political purpose behind Bach's motivation for the dedication, namely his interest in obtaining an honorary title and in offering his services to the court. As for the wider context in which the Mass originated, it seems worth noting the fact that Bach's musical taste and interests were never genuinely influenced by the doctrinal and religious conflicts among theologians and political rulers. Not only did the beliefs of a Frescobaldi, Couperin or Vivaldi simply not matter to Bach; he considered the religious music of a Palestrina, Lotti or Pergolesi worthy of bringing to the attention of his Lutheran constituency. Additionally, unlike German cantatas and oratorios, the Latin Mass as music transcending confessional and national boundaries offered Bach the unique opportunity of reaching a broader audience.

The reference in C. P. E. Bach's estate catalogue of 1790 to 'the great Catholic Mass' has a clear meaning. In eighteenth-century Protestant Germany, Catholic Christians were ordinarily called Roman or Popish. The term 'Catholic' as such, however, relates less to the Roman rite than to the 'una catholica ecclesia', that is, the 'one universal church' of the ancient Nicene Creed. Thus the B-minor Mass tacitly recognises the situation in the religiously divided electoral Saxony, an aspect certainly understood by Bach the pragmatist. In this sense, the liturgical function of the music is clearly subordinated to the overall Christian-religious character that is in no way compromised by a concert performance of the work, a destination not merely tolerated but probably anticipated by the composer.

The B-minor Mass in the mirror of Bach scholarship

Like no other work by Bach, the B-minor Mass represents, as Hans-Joachim Schulze once put it, 'a perpetual touchstone of Bach scholarship'.¹⁶ The Mass remains to this day a fascinating challenge to musical scholarship, and it seems to resist all attempts of those seeking definitive results in very many areas of

¹⁶ H.-J. Schulze, 'The B minor Mass – Perpetual Touchstone for Bach Research', in P. Williams (ed.), *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 311–20.

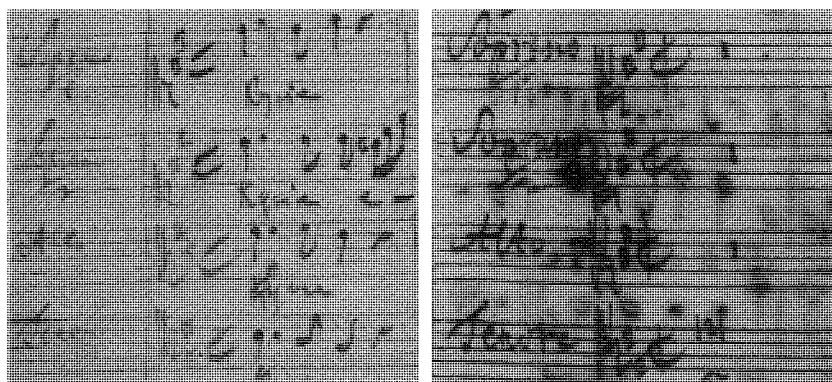


Figure 1.1 Bach's C-clefs in the opening pages of 'Kyrie' I and 'Credo' in Bach's autograph score

investigation, hence my prediction that research on this work will continue for a long time and that the Belfast symposium is unlikely be the last of its kind.

This symposium built on a long line of research accomplishments of the past. This is, of course, not the place to present a comprehensive review of the history of research on the work. I therefore propose to concentrate on a single point: the fact that the study of the original sources of the B-minor Mass had the greatest impact on modern Bach scholarship, leading to a genuine revolution in the chronology of Bach's works, and that this resulted in a very different view on, and more reliable knowledge of, the unfolding over time of the composer's creative output.

It all began with a very important article on the genesis of the B-minor Mass by Friedrich Smend, published in 1937.¹⁷ Smend was the first to explain, on the basis of an analysis of the autograph score, that the work reflected a complex compositional history extending over a number of years. He observed details of Bach's handwriting style that helped to differentiate between different stages. He pointed out that the *Kyrie–Gloria* section reflected a handwriting style different from that of the *Credo* section and showed, for instance, very different types of C-clef in the soprano, alto and tenor parts of the scores (see Figure 1.1).

Hence, he concluded that these two sections were composed at different times, and he was clearly right about this. According to Smend's chronological conclusions, which were refined in the *Kritischer Bericht* to his 1954 edition of the B-minor Mass for the NBA, the *Credo* section originated

¹⁷ F. Smend, 'Bachs h-Moll-Messe: Entstehung, Überlieferung, Bedeutung', *BJ*, 34 (1937), 1–58.

in 1732,¹⁸ the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* section (for which there exist firm external dates) in 1733,¹⁹ the *Sanctus* in 1736,²⁰ and the movements from 'Osanna' through to 'Dona nobis pacem' in 1738–9.²¹

Smend's observations from the 1930s encouraged the editorial office of the NBA, the Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut in Göttingen, established in 1951, which was at the early stages of the editorial project, to undertake a systematic review of all surviving original Bach manuscripts: to analyse not only Bach's own handwriting style, but also to survey his copyists and their different hands, to catalogue the numerous paper types used and to examine carefully all the details revealed by the sources.²² Such a thorough investigation had never been conducted before, for Bach or for any other composer. The results, presented primarily by Alfred Dürr and Georg von Dadelsen, the principal investigators, were stunning.²³ They were also fundamentally different from what Smend had concluded on the basis of his much more limited research. He had remained within the general framework of the composer's life and works as presented in Philipp Spitta's path-breaking Bach studies of the late nineteenth century.²⁴ To return only to the two handwriting samples (Figure 1.1), according to the new research results the square type of C-clef is typical of Bach's handwriting style in the late 1740s whereas its hook-shaped form is typical for Bach's earlier Leipzig period. As for the B-minor Mass, this meant that the compositional history of the work extended from 1724 through to 1748–9, that is, over a twenty-five-year period, rather than over the seven years from 1732 to 1738–9 as assumed by Smend. Not only that, but the order in which the various sections were composed was different as well (see Table 1.1).

Researchers after Dürr and Dadelsen have added further details to the chronology of the B-minor Mass. Of particular importance was the discovery of an early version of the opening movement of the *Credo*, in the key of G mixolydian,²⁵ indicating that the gestation period of the *Symbolum Nicenum* also extended over several years. We certainly do not know what else might come up to shed light on the B-minor Mass or any other work by Bach. If past Bach scholarship teaches us anything, it is that the future still has surprises in store.

¹⁸ NBA KB II/1, pp. 129, 163–5. ¹⁹ NBA KB II/1, p. 85. ²⁰ NBA KB II/1, pp. 171–3.

²¹ NBA KB II/1, p. 186.

²² Cf. A. Dürr, '25 Jahre Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut', *Musica*, 30/3 (1976), 231–2.

²³ Dürr A; Dadelsen A; Dadelsen B. See e.g. Walter Emery's review of the first and the last items in *Music & Letters*, 40/2 (1959), 192–4, and *Music & Letters*, 40/4 (1959), 382–4.

²⁴ P. Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873, 1880).

²⁵ D-GOI, 2° 54c/3. See Wollny B.

Table 1.1 Chronology of Bach's B-minor Mass

I. *Missa*: 1733

1. Kyrie
2. Christe
3. Kyrie
4. Gloria
5. Et in terra
6. Laudamus te
7. Gratias
8. Domine Deus
9. Qui tollis
10. Qui sedes
11. Quoniam
12. Cum Sancto Spiritu

II. *Symbolum Nicenum*: 1748–9

13. Credo
14. Patrem
15. Et in unum
16. Et incarnatus
17. Crucifixus
18. Et resurrexit
19. Et in Spiritum Sanctum
20. Confiteor
21. Et expecto

III. *Sanctus*: 1724; revised 1748–9

22. Sanctus

IV. *Osanna, Benedictus, Agnus Dei et Dona nobis pacem*: 1748–9

23. Osanna
24. Benedictus
25. Osanna [repeated]
26. Agnus Dei
27. Dona nobis pacem

The genesis of the B-minor Mass and the musical genre of the Mass

When we consider the compositional history of the work as we know it today, it seems clear that when Bach wrote various Sanctus compositions in the 1720s, in line with the needs of Leipzig church music, he had no plans for a large-scale Mass. This future idea apparently emerged slowly and in all likelihood only after completing the *Kyrie–Gloria* Mass of 1733. There is no way

to pin it down to a specific moment. However, the *Missa* of 1733 provides a few clues that probably offer some insight into Bach's thought processes.

It is known, again largely on the basis of observations made by Friedrich Smend in the 1930s, that the *Missa* of 1733 contains a substantial number of movements that are parodies or reworkings of pre-existing music. Bach borrowed from his cantata repertoire, not only by looking for movements that would fit the content of specific sections of the Latin mass text as, for example, the cantata chorus 'Wir danken dir Gott' ('We thank thee, God') BWV 29 that provided an ideal match for the text 'Gratias agimus tibi' ('We give thee thanks') from the Latin Gloria. Bach went much beyond this and carefully reviewed his quite extensive cantata repertoire by identifying movements of exquisite quality and considerable variety.

There was, for instance, no given scheme for the subdivision of the fairly long text of the Gloria into segments for individual movements. Bach planned on nine movements for the B-minor Mass *Gloria* whereas his later and shorter *Kyrie–Gloria* Masses all feature five movements and, in this regard, conform to prevailing norms. Bach's dedication letter to the Dresden court of 27 July 1733 explains his ambitious artistic intentions when he refers to the Mass as a 'small work of that science which I have achieved in *musique*'.²⁶ In other words, and despite the polite understatement, this piece is supposed to demonstrate his overall achievements as a composer, his expertise in sophisticated polyphony, his experience in dealing with a varied spectrum of voices and instruments and his command of the musical genre of the Mass (see Table 1.2).

By extension, this approach affects not only the *Missa* of 1733, but the whole composite project of the B-minor Mass as it emerged in the later 1740s. It consists of twenty-seven exemplary movements that reflect the entire span of polyphonic writing for solo voices of different ranges; for four-, five-, six- and eight-part choral textures; movements that make optimum use of the Baroque orchestra and in featuring solo instruments; movements that offer a maximum variety of compositional techniques, including concerto, ritornello, fugue, ostinato, cantus firmus setting, canon and the like; and movements that illustrate an ample range of musical styles, from the sixteenth-century vocal polyphony of the Palestrina tradition through to the most modern musical language inspired by the Pergolesi generation (see Tables 1.3 and 1.4).

²⁶ The letter was lost during World War II. See the facsimile in E. Naumann, *Illustrierte Musikgeschichte: Die Entwicklung der Tonkunst aus frühesten Anfängen bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin and Stuttgart: Spemann, 1885), vol. II, p. 640. See also *BDok* I/27, pp. 74–5; *NBR*/162, pp. 158–9. For a broader historical background, see Chapter 4 below, pp. 54–8.

Table 1.2 Keys and scorings of the individual movements of the B-minor Mass**I. Missa**

SSATB; 3 tr, ti, cr; 2 fl, 2 ob (d'amore), 2 vn, va, bc (2 bsn, vc, vne, org)

1. Kyrie	B	Tutti (minus tr + ti)
2. Christe	D	Solo: S I, II; 2 vn, bc
3. Kyrie	F#	Tutti (minus tr + ti)
4. Gloria	D	Tutti
5. Et in terra	D	Tutti
6. Laudamus te	A	Solo: S II; vn, bc
7. Gratias	D	Tutti
8. Domine Deus	G	Solo: S I, T; fl, str, bc
9. Qui tollis	B	Tutti (minus ob, tr + ti)
10. Qui sedes	B	Solo; A; ob d'amore, bc
11. Quoniam	D	Solo; B; cr, 2 bsn, bc
12. Cum Sancto Spiritu	D	Tutti

II. Symbolum Nicenum

SSATB; 3 tr, ti; 2 fl, 2 ob (d'amore); 2 vn, va, bc

13. Credo	A mixolydian	Chorus (plus 2 vn)
14. Patrem	D	Tutti
15. Et in unum	G	Solo; S I; A; 2 ob d'amore, str, bc
16. Et incarnatus	B	Chorus (plus 2 vn)
17. Crucifixus	E	Tutti (minus ob, tr + ti)
18. Et resurrexit	D	Tutti
19. Et in Spiritum Sanctum	A	Solo; B; 2 ob d'amore, bc
20. Confiteor	F#	Chorus
21. Et expecto	D	Tutti

III. Sanctus

SSAATB; 3 tr, ti; 3 ob; 2 vn, va, bc

22. Sanctus	D	Tutti
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IV. Osanna, Benedictus, Agnus Dei et Dona nobis pacem

I: SATB; II: SATB; 3 tr, ti; 2 fl, 2 ob; 2 vn, va, bc

23. Osanna	D	Tutti
24. Benedictus	B	Solo; T; fl, bc
25. Osanna (repeated)	D	Tutti
26. Agnus Dei	G	Solo; A; 2 vn, bc
27. Dona nobis pacem	D	Tutti

Bach at work on the B-minor Mass was aware that he was dealing with the oldest multi-movement genre in the history of music. He had studied premier examples of Masses composed by Palestrina, Lotti and others. Therefore, an acute sense of timelessness prevailed in his overall concept of the work and propelled his intention of going deliberately beyond all

Table 1.3 Bach's revisions in *Symbolum Nicenum*

First version	Second version
1. Credo	1. Credo
2. Patrem	2. Patrem
3. Et in unum . . . et incarnatus	3. Et in unum ^a
4. Crucifixus	4. Et incarnatus ^b
5. Et resurrexit	5. Crucifixus ^c
6. Et in Spiritum Sanctum	6. Et resurrexit
7. Confiteor	7. Et in Spiritum Sanctum
8. Et expecto	8. Confiteor
	9. Et expecto

^a New text underlay (appended).^b Newly composed (leaf inserted).^c Adding instrumental introduction (4 bars).**Table 1.4** Sanctus and Agnus Dei

Lutheran tradition	Roman Catholic Mass Ordinary
Sanctus	III. Sanctus
	Osanna
	Benedictus
	Osanna (repeated)
	IV. Agnus Dei
Bach's autograph score	
No. 3. Sanctus	
No. 4. Osanna	
Benedictus	
Agnus Dei	
Dona nobis pacem	

previous models. As is the case with *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, the Sonatas and Partitas for solo violin, *The Art of Fugue* and so many other projects, with the B-minor Mass Bach consciously established a new musical paradigm for vocal polyphony.

Textual meaning and musical design: time and space as devices

From the beginning of its reception history, the B-minor Mass has been admired not only for its unparalleled musical strengths but also, perhaps to

an even greater degree, for its power of expression and its spiritual dimension. This important aspect of the work requires further exploration with three representative examples that illuminate Bach as a musical interpreter of sacred texts. The examples also demonstrate rather specifically how his compositional ideas combined with serious theological thought in order to deal with issues of real and virtual space and time.

Sanctus

The *Sanctus*, which became part of the B-minor Mass only in the late 1740s, provides a particularly instructive case of pre-compositional activity, that is, Bach pre-meditating the text to be set. Originally written for the Christmas services of 1724, it was not the first *Sanctus* composed by Bach. Two earlier settings, in C major and D major (BWV 237 and 238), both of 1723, were scored differently, the first one for a larger ensemble of four-part choir, three trumpets and timpani, two oboes, strings and continuo, the second much more modestly for four-part choir, cornetto, strings and continuo, and were clearly repertoire pieces selected according to varying practical needs. Both are of a festive character, fairly easy to perform, reasonable in terms of length (37 and 48 bars respectively) and, therefore, highly effective for their liturgical function.

This cannot be said of the Christmas *Sanctus* of 1724, a work more than four times as long (168 bars) and scored for six-part choir (it is the only work of that kind ever designed by Bach), three trumpets and timpani, three oboes, strings and continuo. It was first performed in the same service as the chorale cantata *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (BWV 91), which is scored more traditionally for four-part choir and two horns, but also three oboes, strings and continuo, but in terms of sonorous splendour, sheer volume and powerful expression, it definitely eclipsed the cantata. Unlike its two precursors, this *Sanctus* does not just serve merely as a festive musical accompaniment to the liturgical rite of Communion: it deals with the traditional text of the Ordinary of the mass in an unprecedented manner.

Unlike the majority of the texts of the Latin mass, the words 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt coeli et terra Gloria ejus' ('Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of your glory') are of biblical origin. They literally quote a phrase from Isaiah 6.1–2, a vision of the prophet: 'I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphim: each one had six wings; with two he covered his face, with two his feet, and with two he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said: Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of

hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.' Bach deliberately takes this concrete scriptural context into consideration in designing his musical vision of this biblical imagery, the image of the invisible God whose 'train filled the temple' and 'above it stood the seraphim' – six in number, each with six wings.²⁷

This prompts Bach to structure the score in the form of a polychoral arrangement for six choirs: two vocal choirs each comprising three parts, three upper (SSS) and three lower (ATB) voices; three instrumental choirs of three trumpets and timpani, three oboes and three upper strings (2 vn, va); and finally the continuo group as the sixth choir.

The organisation of the score makes this arrangement very clear. The rhythmic structure reflects the use of the numbers 3 and 6 as well: triplets throughout for the word 'sanctus', six drum-beats per bar in the timpani part and so on. The harmonic foundation of the whole score moves in octave leaps through the tonal space of the whole gamut, gradually covering a scale of more than two octaves, from *e'* to the low *C#*, going down and up in an alternating manner. Bach translates the atmosphere of awe into widely spaced musical sound and thereby re-creates musically the vision of the presence of God, whose train completely covers the floor of the temple (the continuo part), and above the six singing seraphim (vocal and instrumental choirs).

The opening section of the *Sanctus* at the same time sets the stage for the second section ('Heaven and earth are full of your glory'), again the recreation of the virtual space of heaven and earth in the real space of polychoral musical harmony and the graphic use of encompassing leaps of octave intervals, descending and ascending through the entire gamut (see Figure 1.2).

'Credo'

The opening phrase of the Creed, 'Credo in unum Deum' ('I believe in one God'), is one of the most abstract statements conceivable, pure theological dogma without any reference to imagery (as in the Isaiah-based text of the *Sanctus*) or biblical narrative (like the life of Christ in the second article of the Creed). Therefore, this phrase is truly one of the most challenging with regard to finding an appropriate musical vessel. Bach accepts the challenge in the context of setting the entire *Symbolum Nicenum* in order to

²⁷ In a sense Bach is here following Luther, who in his German *Sanctus, Jesaja, dem Propheten, das geschah*, includes the context of Isaiah 6 and not just the liturgical text.

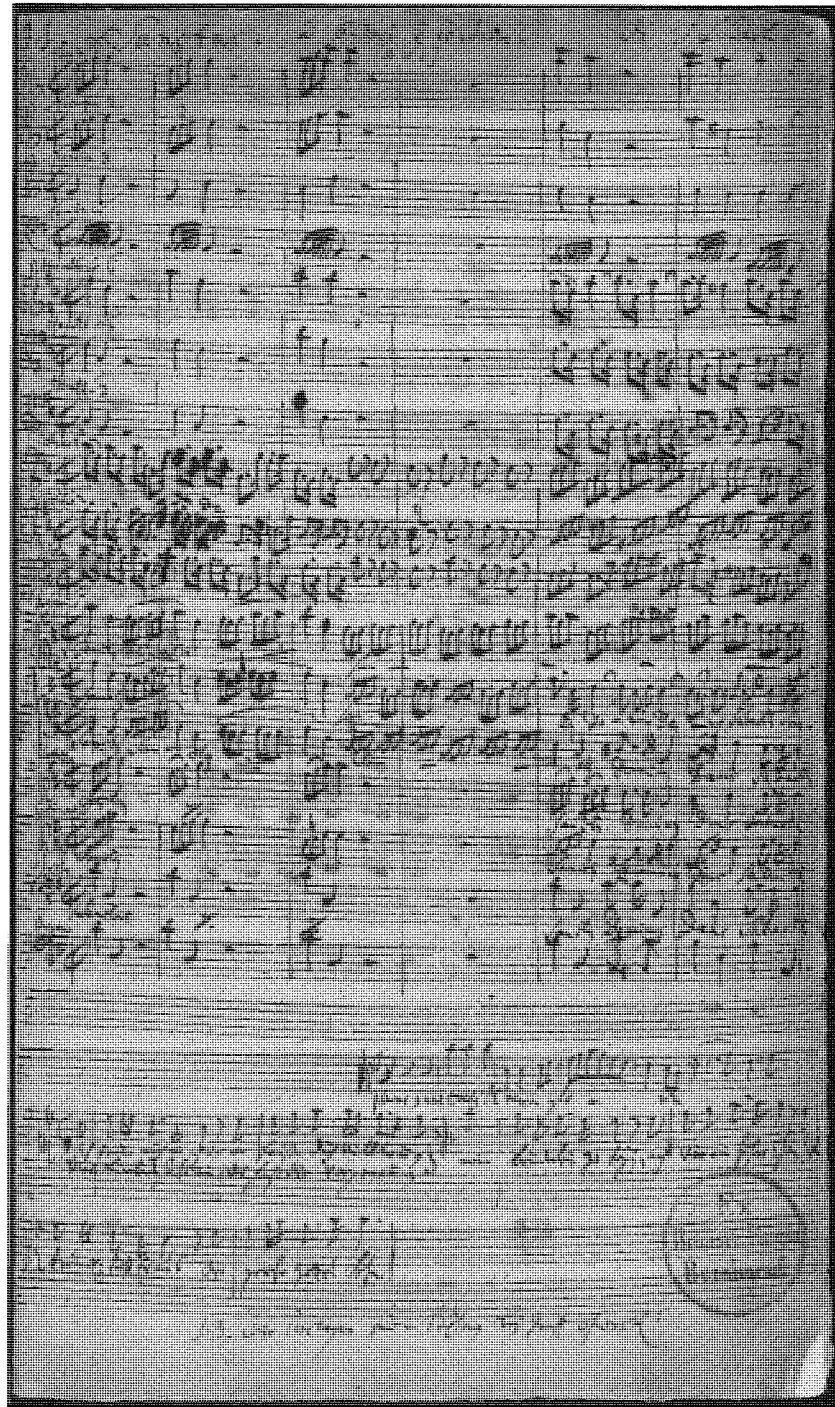


Figure 1.2 Bach's autograph score (P 13) of *Sanctus* (1724): the opening

demonstrate that even tough and difficult texts can be appropriately dealt with if one only approaches them in the right way. This was a clear message to his composition students, one of whom (Johann Friedrich Agricola) specifically copied the early version of the 'Credo' opening apparently with a view to studying the word-note relationship in a complex polyphonic setting.²⁸

Bach's primary concept for the 'Credo' opening was that of a *cantus firmus* setting. He made use of the ancient liturgical 'Credo' intonation, a chant recorded in the Leipzig hymnal and still regularly used in his time. However, he decided to structure the setting in such a way that the medieval chant was not carried by a single voice as intonation but served as the principal subject of a densely imitative contrapuntal movement. In order to give the opening movement sufficient weight, he created a setting of seven-part polyphony by expanding the five choral voices (SSATB) with complementary instrumental voices, played by violins yet treated like choral voices without text in the manner of classic vocal polyphony. Support is provided by a sharply contrasting basso continuo, a modern addition to the retrospective polyphonic texture (see Figure 1.3).

The composer deliberately created a multi-layered structure of considerable complexity. It is not a coincidence, however, that these structural tiers reflect layers of meaning as well – layers that represent Bach's understanding and theological interpretation of the opening words of the Creed. The fourth-century Nicene confession of faith is, however, not only a personal confession written in the first person but generally the common denominator of Christian belief, in the present as in the past. It is this aspect and the historical continuity of the Creed that Bach the composer-theologian tries to capture in the corresponding layers of this musical structure: the ancient plainchant subject represents the Creed of the early church, the sixteenth-century-style polyphonic texture represents the Creed of the church of the Reformation, and the modern basso continuo that of the church of his day. Present, past and very distant past are woven into one, spelling out a crystal-clear message: 'I believe in one God': Bach confessing his faith with his fellow parishioners, but not only contemporary believers but also the generations of the past, all the way back to the early church and its renewal by the Lutheran Reformation. Bach's musical setting in a single structure provides a sweeping perspective from early through to contemporary Christianity.

²⁸ See n. 25 above.

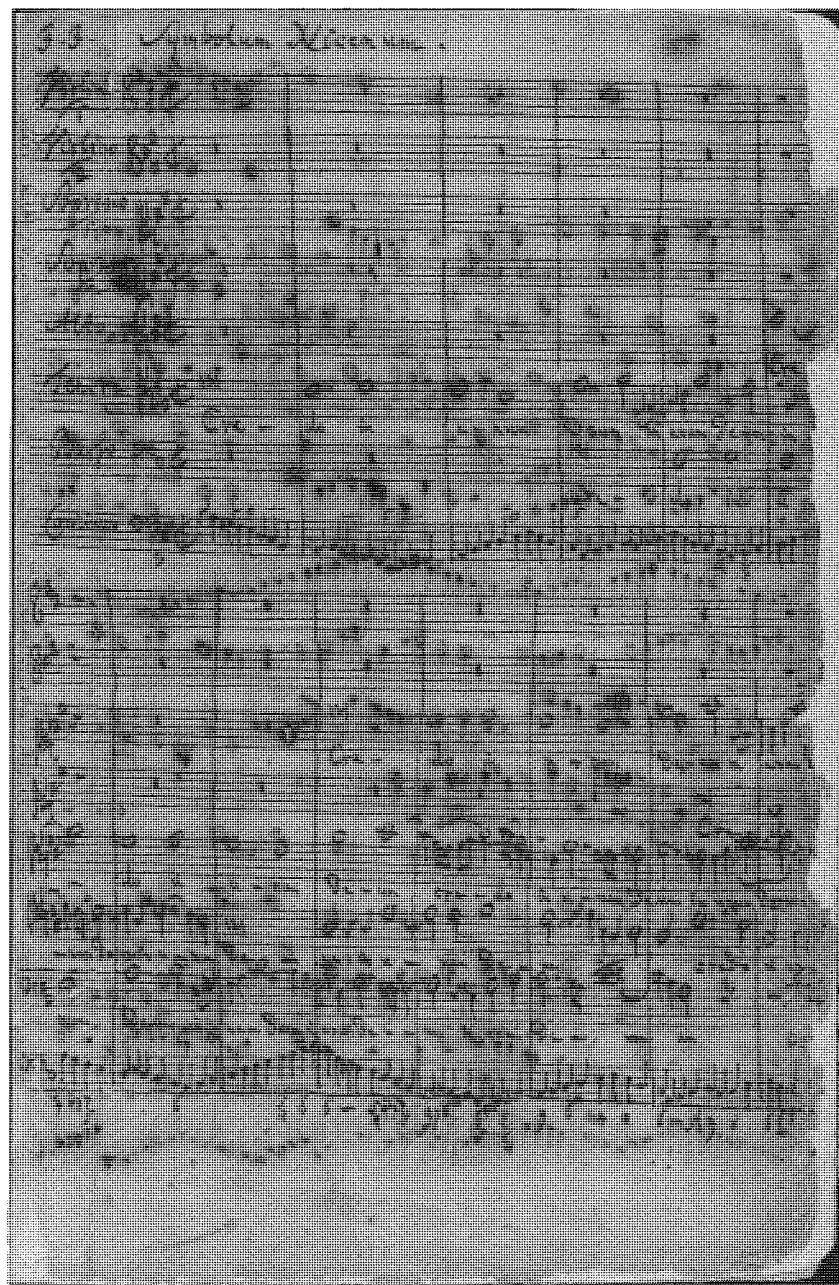


Figure 1.3 Three structural layers of the 'Credo' as reflected in Bach's scoring in his autograph

'Et expecto'

The Nicene Creed concludes with the words 'Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi seculi. Amen' ('And I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come').²⁹ It is the only section of text within the entire B-minor Mass that Bach sets twice, and he does so in sharply contrasting sections that follow one another and yet are directly joined.

What made the composer do this? There are certainly no external reasons. We must, therefore, look again at Bach's interpretative intentions. The contrast between the *Adagio* and *Vivace* sections is striking. However, they are clearly not marked by the division of text as might be suggested by 'resurrectionem mortuorum' on the one hand and 'vitam venturi saeculi' on the other, for the *Vivace* section presents the entire phrase and again begins with 'Et expecto resurrectionem ...'.

The strongly contrasting modes of expression may offer a clue to understanding Bach's reading of the text and his musical translation of it in two sections, which both begin with 'et expecto'. Indeed, the keyword on which Bach focuses is the verb 'expectare' (expect, look for) in relation to death and dying. The composer draws a clear line between 'the expecting' in the world before death and 'the expected' in the world after death, that is, between waiting and hoping. The extremely expressive five-part *a cappella* setting of the *Adagio*, accompanied only by thoroughbass, is filled with unprecedented chromatic and enharmonic devices that very movingly illustrate human suffering, misery and pain invariably and ultimately leading to death. It is the 'I look for', the anxious and worried waiting, which Bach underscores in the *Adagio*. The upbeat *Vivace* section, emphasised by the calculated surprise effect of the sudden entry of the entire orchestra, offers a completely new and different outlook. The music represents, in anticipation, the life of the world to come.

As the opening 'Credo' movement brought into focus the past and the present from early to contemporary Christianity, the concluding 'Et expecto' movement now first sheds light on life in the present with a *memento mori* admonition and then foreshadows the ultimate Christian hope, resurrection and eternal life. This time the focus is on the present and future, both set to music. In this way, the *Symbolum Nicenum* part of the

²⁹ Note that *NBA* II/1, pp. 200–1, Wolff (1997), pp. 281–3, and Rifkin (2006), pp. 182–3 count this section as the end of the movement (bars 123–46), and start a fresh barring from the arrival of the D major tonic on the following bar, whereas *NBA^{rev}* continues to count the bars (see p. 200), regarding the 'Confiteor' and 'Et expecto' as a single movement.

B-minor Mass offers a truly remarkable musical and theological architecture ranging all the way, if only symbolically, from the distant past to an eternal future.

It is not merely Bach's remarkable command of compositional technique, his sophisticated polyphonic style and the wide range of expression in his musical language; it is also his sense of history, his deep knowledge of musical repertoires and styles from chant and Renaissance polyphony through to the wide variety of the musical scene of his day. At work on the B-minor Mass – which was perhaps a commission, yet not an assignment, but at any rate a deliberate personal choice – Bach was conscious of having to deal with an ancient musical genre that had never lost its impact. Accepting the challenge, he realised that the universal claim of the Latin Mass required a commensurate response on his part, one commensurate in terms of both the musical and the theological dimensions. The result not of a short-term but a quarter-century investment in the form of the B-minor Mass preaches a vivid and vibrant musical and spiritual sermon. Its repercussions began in the eighteenth century, and its echo appears to be infinite, for its message is continually revitalised and re-energised with every new performance.

ROBIN A. LEAVER

In recent writing it has become customary to refer to Bach's B-minor Mass as his 'great Catholic Mass', the title that appears in the *Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, published in Hamburg in 1790.¹ Writers such as Hans-Joachim Schulze, Christoph Wolff, Martin Geck and Peter Williams are notable examples, among others.² George Stauffer, for instance, notes that the extended work – mostly in D major – was given the title 'B-minor Mass' only in the nineteenth century, and therefore argues that the older title 'The Great Catholic Mass' 'is far more fitting, for it summarises the work's nature and unique status . . . and one can hope that it will be used more extensively in the future'.³ But this title is not without its problems. What does 'Catholic' mean in this context? Is what is now generally understood by the term the same as what Bach would have understood it? This chapter seeks to explore some of the questions raised by the nature of this superlative setting of the complete Ordinary of the Mass.⁴

The question of definition

How 'Catholic' is Bach's 'Lutheran' Mass? The question as posed begs many other questions. Taken at face value it seems simple enough – if the assumption is made that what is now understood by the term 'Catholic' was understood in the same way by Bach and his contemporaries. Thus when the term is used today, it calls to mind the things that mark out Roman Catholicism as being 'Catholic', particularly those things associated with the Mass: the various parts of the Ordinary, the use of vestments, genuflexion,

¹ BDok III/957, p. 495.

² See e.g. BC I/4, p. 1159; M. Geck, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Life and Work*, trans. J. Hargraves (Orlando: Harcourt, 2006), p. 447, and P. Williams, *J. S. Bach: A Life in Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 260.

³ Stauffer, pp. 254–5.

⁴ This chapter is in part based on my much longer paper prepared for the Belfast conference, R. A. Leaver, 'How "Catholic" is Bach's "Lutheran" Mass?', in Belfast 2007, vol. I, pp. 177–206.

the sign of the cross, the sounding of the Sanctus bell during the consecration and the use of Latin, among other things. For example, Eduard van Hengel and Kees van Houten have proposed an ingenious hypothesis for the two versions of the 'Et in unum' movement in the *Symbolum Nicenum* of the B-minor Mass.⁵ Their view is that the two versions were confessionally inspired: that the first version, which incorporates the text 'Et incarnatus', was intended for Lutheran use and that the second version, with the separate 'Et incarnatus' movement, was intended for Catholic use. Although they adduce other arguments, their principal reasoning is based on what they see as the incontrovertible fact that only Catholics place such an emphasis on the words 'Et incarnatus' by genuflecting when the words are heard, and further that the doctrine of the incarnation was not particularly emphasised by Lutherans. The problem with the argument is that it is based on nineteenth-century Lutheran theology and practice. In the earlier eighteenth century genuflexion was observed by Lutherans, as is clear from the most extensive Lutheran treatise on the liturgy. This is Caspar Calvoer's *Ritualis ecclesiastici* (Jena, 1705), which devotes a whole section to the biblical and historical background of the practice.⁶ Indeed Luther commended the continued use of genuflexion during the words 'Et incarnatus est &c', which, he says, when chanted should continue to be sung with longer note-values.⁷ The suggestion that the doctrine of the incarnation was hardly stressed in Lutheran theology is, to say the least, extremely wide of the mark. For example, the incarnation is given extensive treatment in Martin Chemnitz's *De dvabvs natvris in Christo* (Leipzig, 1580) – a treatise on the two natures in Christ, human and divine, the essence of the doctrine of the incarnation. Similarly, there are hymns that combine incarnation and atonement, such as Martin Luther's *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (1523), Paul Eber's *Herr Jesu Christ, wahr Mensch und Gott* (1566) and Caspar Füger's *Wir Christenleut* (1592), among others.

This is the problem: virtually all the markers that are seen today as being 'Catholic' rather than 'Lutheran' were in use in the Lutheran churches in Leipzig during Bach's tenure as Thomaskantor. The manuscript notebook begun in 1716 by the *Custos* (sexton) of the Thomaskirche, Johann Christoph Rost, confirms the continued use of candles on the altar, parameters for altar and pulpit in the customary liturgical colours throughout the

⁵ Henge and Houten.

⁶ C. Calvoer, *Ritualis ecclesiastici* (Jena: König, 1705), vol. I, pp. 359–63.

⁷ Sermon on John 1.14, in Sermons on John 1–2 (1537–8): *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–1993), vol. XLVI, pp. 624–5; and in *Luther's Works: American Edition* (St Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia and Fortress, 1955–86), vol. XXI, pp. 102–3.

church year, the clergy wearing eucharistic vestments, the ringing of a handbell during the Sanctus, and again during the chanting of the *Verba Testamenti*, and so forth.⁸ Other Leipzig liturgical sources confirm such things as the continued use of Latin and the sign of the cross.

Therefore for Johann Sebastian Bach – as well as later for Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach – 'Catholic' did not mean the same as it does today. 'Catholic' was used as a synonym for the church universal in all generations from its beginnings. This is confirmed by the author of the most extensive commentary on the Lutheran confessional writings, Johann Benedict Carpzov, who writes: '*Ecclesiam Catholicam* is not to be understood as the Roman-Papist church ... [but] the universal community and congregation of saints [= believers].'⁹ If the Roman Catholic Church was meant at this time, then the term preferred by Lutherans was 'Pabsttum' (Papacy), though sometimes 'Katholische' was used,¹⁰ often being qualified as 'Römisch-Katholische'.

The Roman Catholic position was that Protestantism in general and Lutheranism in particular were newly created in the sixteenth century. In response Luther, as well as later Lutherans, argued that it was the Roman church that was the later creation, whereas they (the Lutherans) had re-formed the later church to bring it more into line with the theology and practice of the earliest witness of the church in the first few centuries of the Christian era. Hence August Pfeiffer took a title that others had used before him and called his study *Lutherthum vor Luther* ('Lutheranism before Luther').¹¹ Others, making the same argument, chose a different

⁸ 'Nachricht wie es in der Kirchen zu St. Thom: alhier, mit dem Gottesdienst ... Auffgezeichnet von Johann Christoph Rosten'. The MS is in the Thomasarchiv, Leipzig (no shelfmark), and was a primary liturgical source for C. S. Terry, *Joh. Seb. Bach: Cantata Texts, Sacred and Secular. With a Reconstruction of the Leipzig Liturgy of his Period* (London: Constable, 1926; repr. London: Holland Press, 1964).

⁹ J. B. Carpzov, *Isagoge in libros ecclesiarum Lutheranism symbolicos* (Dresden: Zimmermann, 1725), pp. 46, 77–8, 569: 'Per Ecclesiam Catholicam non intelligitur Romano-Papistica Ecclesia ... Intelligitur autem Universalis Coetus & Congregatio Sanctorum.'

¹⁰ See Chapter 5 below, pp. 103–4, n. 77.

¹¹ A. Pfeiffer, *Lutherthum vor Luthern, oder das alte evangelische durch Lutherum erneuerte Christenthum und das neue römische durch Lutherum aufgedeckte Pabstthum* (Dresden: Hübner, 1683). Bach owned a copy; see R. A. Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek / Bach's Theological Library* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1983), No. 38. Since there are two octavo books by Pfeiffer with 'Christenthum' on the title page, I argued, against Wilhelmi, that Bach probably owned the other title, *Verus Christianismus, Das ist: das wahre Christenthum*, originally published in Rostock in 1693. On reflection I believe that Wilhelmi's suggestion (supported by Johannes Wallmann), that Bach is more likely to have owned *Lutherthum vor Luther*, is the stronger possibility; see T. Wilhelmi, 'Bachs Bibliothek: Eine Weiterführung der Arbeit von Hans Preuß', *BJ*, 65 (1979), p. 121, and J. Wallmann, 'Johann Sebastian Bach und die "Geistlichen Bücher" seiner Bibliothek', *Pietismus und Neuzeit: Ein Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus*, 12 (1986), 172.

title and in so doing differentiated between 'Catholicism' and the 'Papacy' by the use of the term 'Uncatholisch Pabsttum'.¹²

The question of theology

The Wittenberg reformers of the sixteenth century saw themselves as cleansing the existing church rather than creating a new one. This was the essential stance they expressed in the Augsburg Confession, presented to Charles V on 25 June 1530, as can be seen, for example, in Article XXIV, 'Concerning the Mass':

Our people have been unjustly accused of having abolished the Mass. But it is obvious, without boasting, that the Mass is celebrated among us with greater devotion and earnestness than among our opponents. The people are instructed more regularly and with the greatest diligence concerning the holy sacrament, to what purpose it was instituted, and how it is to be used, namely, as a comfort to terrified consciences . . . Moreover, no noticeable changes have been made in the public celebration of the Mass, except that in certain places German hymns are sung alongside the Latin responses for the instruction and exercise of the people.¹³

The words 'no noticeable changes have been made in the public celebration of the Mass' are particularly significant. While the Canon, that is, the Eucharistic Prayer (other than the Words of Institution), had been removed, and the Mass interpreted as a *beneficium* (gift) from God, rather than as a *sacrificium* (sacrifice) offered to God, most towns and cities influenced by the Wittenberg reforms continued to use both the Ordinary and the Propers of the Latin Mass, though sometimes with vernacular versions, which were often additions rather than alternatives to the Latin texts. This Lutheran worship practice was considerably different from that of Calvinist (Reformed) Protestantism, which was biblically based and directly antithetical to the Mass of the Roman rite: only newly formed worship patterns based on clear scriptural warrant could be admitted.¹⁴ But Luther and his

¹² See e.g. J. Heilbrunner, *Uncatholisch Pabsttum/ Das ist: Gründtliche Augenscheinliche Erweisung auß Gottes Wort . . .* (Laugingen: Winter, 1607).

¹³ R. Kolb and T. J. Wengert (eds.), *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), p. 68 (German text).

¹⁴ Calvinist wholesale rejection of liturgical tradition was a significant factor in the antagonism between Lutherans and Calvinists. From the early seventeenth century the saying 'Better Papist than Calvinist' ('Lieber päpstisch, als calvinisch') was a common sentiment expressed by Lutherans; see the sources cited in D. H. Hering, *Historische Nachricht von dem ersten Anfang der Evangelisch-Reformirten Kirche in Brandenburg und Preußen* (Halle: Curt, 1778), pp. 96, 98, 140.

colleagues saw no point in overturning the older traditions of the early church simply because they were old. Providing that no biblical theology was contradicted much of the old traditions should continue. Luther wrote the following in the *Formula missae* (1523):

We therefore first assert: It is not now nor ever has been our intention to abolish the liturgical service of God [*cultus Dei*] completely, but rather to purify the one that is now in use from the wretched accretions which corrupt it and to point out an evangelical use. We cannot deny that the Mass, i.e., the communion of bread and wine, is a rite divinely instituted by Christ himself and that it was observed first by Christ and then by the apostles, quite simply and evangelically without any additions. But in the course of time so many human inventions were added to it that nothing except the names of the Mass and Communion has come down to us.

Now the additions of the early fathers . . . are commendable . . . Those who added the **Kyrie eleison** also did well . . . The reading of the Epistles and Gospels is necessary, too. Only it is wrong to read them in a language the common people do not understand.¹⁵ Later . . . the Psalms were changed into the Introit; the Angelic Hymn **Gloria in Excelsis: et in terra pax**, the Graduals, the Alleluias, the **Nicene Creed**, the **Sanctus**, the **Agnus Dei** and the Communion were added. All of these are unobjectionable, especially the ones that are sung *de tempore* [of the time or season] or on Sundays. For these days by themselves testify to ancient purity, the Canon excepted.

But when everyone felt free to add or change . . . the Mass became a sacrifice. Offertories and mercenary collects were added. Sequences and proses [tropes] were inserted into the Sanctus and the Gloria in Excelsis. Whereupon the Mass began to be a priestly monopoly . . . but who can even name the causes for which the Mass was made a sacrifice?¹⁶

Thus, according to Jaroslav Pelikan's characterisation, the Reformation in Wittenberg under the leadership of Luther was an amalgam of 'Catholic substance and Protestant principle'.¹⁷

There was therefore an ambiguous ecclesiastical climate in the pre-Tridentine period when calls for a general council of the church to resolve the theological differences continued to be made. That ambiguity evaporated in the combined heat generated by the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the Council of Trent (1545–63). The Peace of Augsburg effectively polarised the German territories into Catholic and Lutheran areas according to the

¹⁵ The question of the use of Latin is discussed below.

¹⁶ *Luther's Works*, vol. LIII, pp. 19–20; *Luthers Werke*, vol. XII, pp. 206–7. Boldface added for the elements of the Ordinary of the Mass.

¹⁷ J. Pelikan, *Obedient Rebels: Catholic Substance and Protestant Principle in Luther's Reformation* (New York: Harper, 1964).

principle *cuius regio, eius religio* (lit., 'whose region, that man's religion'); that is, the religious affiliation of the rulers determined the religious confession of the people over whom they ruled. The Council of Trent – which was not the general council that the reformers were looking for – was uncompromising in its decrees by which it anathematised one by one the perceived errors of Lutheranism.¹⁸ The Lutheran response to these decrees was a formidable systematic theological rebuttal written by Martin Chemnitz that became the classic Lutheran statement of its position against Roman Catholicism, *Examen concilii Tridentini*.¹⁹ However, Chemnitz, like Luther, did not condemn the Mass itself, but only the sacrifice of the Mass as expressed primarily in the Offertory and Canon, as well as later non-biblical modifications such as the denial of the cup to the laity.²⁰ It is particularly significant that an edition of this classic work of Lutheran theology was to be found in Bach's personal library,²¹ especially when the progenitor of the musical Bachs, Veit Bach, as is recorded in Johann Sebastian's manuscript 'Ursprung der musicalisch-Bachischen Familie', chose to leave Hungary 'on account of his Lutheran religion'.²² This would have been around the middle of the sixteenth century, when Protestants were expelled from 'Hungary' (the central lands of the Habsburg Empire encompassing contemporary Austria and the Czech Republic as well as Hungary) by the Catholic so-called Counter-Reformation following the Schmalkaldic War (1545–7).

The question of politics

The Thirty Years War (1618–48) which devastated much of Germany began as a Catholic–Protestant conflict, with the Catholic Habsburg dynasty attempting to extend its power and influence. It was brought to a conclusion by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which reinstated the *cuius regio, eius religio* principle of the Peace of Augsburg, except that now confessional

¹⁸ *Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici et generalis Concilii Tridentini* (Rome and Venice: Manutius, 1564; many reprints and translations).

¹⁹ *Examinis concilii Tridentini. Per Martinum Chemnicium scripti*. (Frankfurt: Fabricius, 1566–73; many reprints); German edn: *Examen, das ist/ Erörterung Dess Trientischen Concilij*, trans. Georg Nigrinus (Frankfurt: Raben, 1577).

²⁰ M. Chemnitz, *Examen concilii Tridentini*, ed. E. Preuss (Berlin: Schlawitz, 1861), pp. 298–424; M. Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. F. Kramer (St Louis: Concordia, 1978), part II, pp. 221–541; chapters 4–6: 'De Eucharistiae Sacramento', 'De communione sub utraque specie' and 'De Missa'.

²¹ See Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek*, No. 5.

²² 'Vitus Bach . . . hat im 16ten Seculo der lutherischen Religion halben aus Ungarn entweichen müssen.' *BDok* I/184, p. 255; *NBR*/303, p. 283.

integrity was not only preserved for Catholic and Lutheran domains but also for Calvinist and Anabaptist lands. In the reconstruction of the second half of the seventeenth century, confessional polarity was intensified.

In 1694 Friedrich August I, 'the Strong' (1670–1733), succeeded his brother as the Saxon elector. Three years later (1697) he created a constitutional crisis in Saxony by converting to Catholicism in order to obtain the Polish crown. The fear was that he would try to impose the formula of the Peace of Westphalia, *cuius regio, eius religio*, and make Saxony a Catholic state.²³ Politically such an action would have had disastrous results and, among other things, the elector would have lost his income from the Saxon treasury. Eventually a tenuous coexistence was accomplished. The elector nominally retained his legal right (*ius reformandi*) over the Lutheran churches, though in practice the function was effectively carried out by the Lutheran members of his inner cabinet and government. There were many parallel duplications within the court in Dresden: on the one hand there were the councillors and courtiers of Lutheran electoral Saxony (who worshipped in Dresden's Sophienkirche), and on the other, the royal attendants of Catholic Poland (who attended Mass privately within the electoral residence). For the Lutherans of Saxony the royal elector was publicly their ruler, who should be publicly honoured as such, but privately he was a Roman Catholic, who could be and was privately censured for his defection from the faith of his fathers.

The Mass was given a public location in Dresden from 1708 when the previous court theatre, suitably reappointed, was consecrated on Maundy Thursday as the Hofkirche.²⁴ Lutheran offence was somewhat mitigated by

²³ One of the immediate reactions to the news of the conversion of the Saxon elector was the reissuing in Leipzig of the anti-Roman-Catholic treatise written by a former Dresden court preacher, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg (1580–1645), originally published in 1603. A new edition had appeared in 1691, with a preface by Johann Benedict Carpzov, professor and pastor of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig, but in response to the elector's confessional conversion a new edition was published in 1697 with an additional preface by Carpzov: *Evangelisches Handbüchlein Wider das Pabstthum, Darinnen gründlich dargethan wird, daß Lutherische Glaube recht Catholisch; der Pöpstler Lehre aber irrig und wider das helle Wort Gottes* [Lutheran handbook against the Papacy, wherein is fundamentally presented, that Lutheran faith is correctly Catholic and Papist doctrine is false and against the clear Word of God] (Leipzig: Gross, 1697). By 1718 it had been issued in twelve editions, and more were published in later years (one in 1732). Of course, given the fact that the elector continued as temporal head of the Saxon Lutheran church, Carpzov's new preface did not specifically mention the royal conversion. A similar delicacy was observed in that the anti-Roman book had to be issued with the 'cum privilegio' of the elector, who was now a Roman Catholic!

²⁴ See the description in J. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 27–8; for a reproduction of a contemporary engraving (1719) of the inside of the chapel, see G. J. Buelow (ed.), *Music and Society in the Late Baroque Era: from the 1680s to 1740* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1993), p. 222.

the fact that it was established within the precincts of the Dresden court, rather than taking over one of the city's Lutheran churches, and also by the dedication to the Most Holy Trinity, rather than to a specific Roman Catholic saint. In the same year (1708) the Jesuits created a Catholic chapel in the Pleissenburg, the castle in Leipzig, so that the royal elector could attend mass whenever he and his family were resident in the city.

The uneasy relationship between the two confessions in Saxony can be detected in the seemingly innocent reports of various activities as well as in occurrences of open conflict. The year after the consecration of the royal Catholic chapels in Dresden and Leipzig, the University of Leipzig celebrated its third centenary in December 1709. Georg Christian Lehms, who had been a student with Telemann and Graupner in Leipzig,²⁵ was a chronicler of the event. Even though the university was originally founded as a Catholic institution, and the Catholic royal elector Friedrich August I was accorded appropriate honour as the Saxon ruler, Polish king and patron of the university during the celebrations, nevertheless the church services connected with this *Jubelfest* had much in common with annual celebrations of the Reformation, and Lehms included the quasi-prayer that God would continue to protect and defend Leipzig University so that it would continue in the 'pure light of the Gospel' ('das reine Licht des Evangelii'), a common Lutheran phrase.²⁶

The question of Latin

The B-minor Mass presented something of a problem for nineteenth-century Lutherans. For them Bach was the epitome of the ideal Lutheran cantor, composing superlative examples of Lutheran church music: cantatas, Passions and oratorios, all in German. Times had changed, only the vernacular was heard in Lutheran churches, and many had forgotten, or had never known, that Latin had formerly been commonly used in their worship. Even in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the Lutheran churches were concerned to recover much of their liturgical past that had been neglected since the end of the eighteenth century, the published anthologies of liturgical music consistently presented vernacular

²⁵ He became poet and librarian to the court of Darmstadt-Hesse, where he collaborated with Graupner by writing cantata libretti. Bach set ten of Lehms's cantata libretti, as BWV 13, 16, 32, 35, 54, 57, 110, 151, 170 and 199.

²⁶ G. C. Lehms, *Historische Beschreibung der weltberühmten Universität Leipzig ... Dritten Jubelfeste* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1710), pp. 110–11, 115–16.

translations of the original Latin texts associated with the chants.²⁷ For such Protestants Bach's four Latin (and therefore somewhat Catholic) *Missae* were considered as less important than the cantatas (definitely Lutheran) from which they were parodied, a view that explains much of the neglect of these works until fairly recent times. Even though there was an inconsistency of thought, since the B-minor Mass is also a parodied work, the sheer monumental proportions as well as the breadth of compositional creativity of the complete Mass meant that it could not be ignored. Nevertheless, it had to be established that the B-minor Mass was essentially Lutheran, hence Friedrich Smend's stubborn insistence that it is four independent works rather than an integrated whole.

The Latin Mass was not, however, a problem for Bach and his contemporaries. For example, August Pfeiffer, taking issue with Calvinists who charged Lutherans with continuing a 'relic of the ignorant worship of the papacy' by their use of Latin, wrote:

There is a considerable difference, however, between the senseless service in which the nuns and illiterate monks ... repeat the Latin psalms and other similar prayers without the least knowledge of what they are saying, and our custom of singing a Latin psalm or song of praise at the beginning and close of the public service. For there are always a number of persons present who can understand and enjoy them, while the others, who are not versed in the Latin language, still have the benefit of the other hymns that are sung in German. On the other hand, we too consider the practice entirely superfluous in a place where only the unlearned are present; for in such a place Latin singing would be merely as sounding brass or tinkling cymbal. But where there is a mixed audience, consisting of both learned and unlearned persons, and especially in a place which contains higher schools [for example, Leipzig], where not only the boys who sing, but also the hearers, understand Latin and are edified by the singing, it should not be decried as an unreasonable service.²⁸

²⁷ L. Schoeberlein and F. S. Riegel (eds.), *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs nebst den Altarweisen in der deutschen evangelischen Kirche aus den Quellen vornehmlich der 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts geschöpft mit den nöthigen geschichtlichen und praktischen Erläuterungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1865–72); K. Ameln, C. Mahrenholz, W. Thomas and C. Gerhardt (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1942–76).

²⁸ A. Pfeiffer, *Anti-Calvinismus, Das ist/ Kurtzer/ deutlicher/ aufrichtiger und bescheidentlicher Bericht und Unterricht Von der Reformirten Religion: Wie weit die Reformirten/ oder insgemein genannte Calvinisten/ in ihrem Glauben und Lehre/ von uns Evangelischen abgehen/ und welcher der richtigste Weg zur gewünschten Einigkeit sey* (Lübeck: Böckmann, 1699), pp. 655–6; A. Pfeiffer, *Anti-Calvinism*, trans. E. Pfeiffer (Columbus: Printing House of the Joint Synod of Ohio, 1881), p. 412. Bach owned a copy of the work; see Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek*, No. 37.

The Saxon *Agenda*, first introduced in 1539, revised the following year and constantly reprinted in subsequent centuries, made it clear that all five parts of the Latin Ordinary of the Mass had a place in the *Hauptgottesdienst* of Lutheran worship.²⁹

<i>Des Sonntags ... Communio</i>	<i>Sundays ... Communion</i>
[Kyrie & Gloria]	[Kyrie & Gloria]
Darauf [Introitum] das Kyrie eleison, Gloria in Excelsis, und & in terra, lateinisch ...	Next [after the Introit] the <i>Kyrie eleison</i> , <i>Gloria in Excelsis</i> , and <i>Et in terra</i> in Latin ...
[Credo]	[Credo]
Darauf [Evangelium] das <i>Credo in unum</i> <i>Deum</i> , und das lateinische <i>Patrem &c.</i> Darnach den Glauben teutsch gesungen: Wir glauben all an einen Gott &c ...	Next [after the Gospel] the <i>Credo in unum</i> <i>Deum</i> , and <i>Patrem &c</i> in Latin. Thereafter the Creed in German is sung: Wir glauben all an einen Gott ...
[Sanctus]	[Sanctus]
Auch mag man zu Zeiten, sonderlich auf die Feste ... die lateinische <i>Praefation</i> singen, darauf das lateinische <i>Sanctus</i> ...	Also one may, from time to time, especially on festivals ... sing the Latin Preface, followed by the Latin <i>Sanctus</i> ...
[Agnus Dei]	[Agnus Dei]
darauf [Verba Testamenti] unter der Communion das <i>Agnus Dei</i> lateinisch ...	After [the Words of Institution], during Communion the <i>Agnus Dei</i> is sung in Latin ...

Leipzig liturgical sources confirm that these parts of the Latin Ordinary continued in use during Bach's tenure as Thomaskantor, and the texts were to be found in several locally produced handbooks and hymnals.³⁰

²⁹ *Agenda, Das ist: Kirchen-Ordnung/ Wie sich die Pfarrherren und Seelsorger in ihren Aemtern und Diensten verhalten sollen, Für die Diener der Kirchen In Hertzog Heinrich zu Sachsen, V.G.G. Fürstenthum gestellet, Jetzo auff's neue aus Chur-Fürst Augusti Kirchen-Ordnung gebessert/ Auch mit etlichen Collecten der Superintendenten vermehret* (Leipzig: Lanckisch, 1712), pp. 78–80.

³⁰ *Das privilegierte Vollständige und vermehrte Leipziger Gesangbuch ... Vormal's von Vopelio, itzo aber auff's neue verbessert, und durchgehends geändert herausgegeben von Carl Gottlob Hofmann* (Leipzig: Barnbeck, 1734; contents slightly modified in the 2nd and 3rd edns of 1737 and 1738, thereafter many later reprints; edn of 1758 cited here) (hereafter cited as *LGB*); *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten/ ... [I.] Das Gebetbuch/ oder Die Ordnung des gantzen öffentlichen Gottes-Dienstes durchs ganze Jahr ... [II.] Das Gesangbuch ... [III.] nebst eine Anhang der Lateinischen Hymnorum und Collecten etc. so allhier gebraucht werden ... Nebst einer Vorrede/ Herrn L. Gottlob Friedrich Seligmanns* (Leipzig: Wüdig, 1694) (hereafter cited as *LKA*); *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch: Von den schönsten und besten Liedern verfasset ... eingeführete und gebräuchliche Gesänge/ Lateinische Hymni und Psalmen/ Mit 4. 5. bis 6. Stimmen/ deren Melodeyen ... die Missa ... Symbolum Nicaenum, &c. choraliter, Und was sonst bey dem ordentlichen Gottesdienste gesungen wird/ zu finden: Mit Fleiß verfertiget und herausgegeben von Gottfried Vopelio* (Leipzig: Klinger, 1682) (hereafter cited as Vopelius) – texts repr. in *Leipziger*

The *Missa* (Kyrie and Gloria) was sung – in alternation from week to week with the congregational hymnic versions, *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit* and *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* – usually in monophonic settings.³¹ On major feasts and celebrations the monophonic versions were replaced by concerted settings of the Latin Kyrie and Gloria.

The *Symbolum Nicenum* was sung to monophonic chant by the choir during Advent and Lent, on Apostles' days and on days of public mourning,³² though, according to Bach's predecessor Johann Kuhnau, the congregation tended to sing the Creed as well: '... as can be observed during Lent when even our uneducated join in singing the *Credo in DEum* [sic] *Patrem* with much heartfelt emotion, although they can barely understand even a few of its words'.³³ Concerted settings were reserved for special days, such as, for example, Trinity Sunday, since the Latin text was included in both Vopelius and the 1734 *Leipziger Gesangbuch* under the rubric of the second – specifically Trinitarian – section of the Catechism.

The Sanctus had variable usage.³⁴ Vopelius gives three versions: the first two are given with monodic chant melodies and include the Osanna and Benedictus; the third is a polyphonic six-part setting which omits the text of both Osanna and Benedictus. Similarly, the 1734 *Leipziger Gesangbuch* omits the Osanna and Benedictus but also gives a parallel German translation of the Latin Sanctus. The *Agenda* gives the Proper Prefaces in full, with notation, and directs that they are to be followed in each case by the singing of the Sanctus.³⁵ This indicates that on major feasts, such as Christmas, Easter, Ascension and so on, the Proper Preface was intoned, followed by the monodic Sanctus, Osanna and Benedictus; on other Sundays and celebrations, following Luther's directions in both the *Formula missae* and *Deutsche Messe*, the Sanctus was sung during the distribution of Communion, either

Gesang-Buch: Welches Anno 1682. in octavo mit derer Lieder Melodeyen von 4. 5. biß 6. Stimmen: Jetzo aber ohne dieselben/ mit vielen Liedern vermehret ... nebenst Einem Anhang Der Geistlichen Krancken-Chur/ M. Johann Günthers/ Diac. zu S. Nicolai allhier (Leipzig: Klinger, 1693; 3rd edn 1707). See also the discussion in G. Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig*, trans. H. J. A. Bouman, D. F. Poellot and H. C. Oswald, ed. R. A. Leaver (St Louis: Concordia, 1984), pp. 116–29.

³¹ The text of the Kyrie is given in *LKA* [I], p. 10 and [III], p. 236; Vopelius, p. 421; that of the Gloria (with minor variants from the Tridentine form) in *LKA* [III], p. 236; Vopelius, pp. 421–3.

³² The text is given in *LKA* [III], p. 236; Vopelius, pp. 497–500; *LGB*, p. 452 (No. 410).

³³ J. Kuhnau, 'A Treatise on Liturgical Text Settings (1710)', trans. R. Weltsch, in C. K. Baron (ed.), *Bach's Changing World: Voices in the Community* (University of Rochester Press, 2006), p. 223.

³⁴ Vopelius, pp. 1084–5, 1092–7; *LKA* [III], p. 238; *LGB*, p. 1226. ³⁵ *Agenda*, pp. 114–28.

monodically, polyphonically or concerted, without Osanna and Benedictus, which is a characteristic of Bach's Sanctus settings (BWV 232^{III}, 237–8, 240).

According to the Saxon *Agenda* the Agnus Dei could be sung, along with the Sanctus, *sub communione*, during the distribution,³⁶ although the complete Latin text is not found in the Leipzig printed sources. The *Agenda* does give Luther's German version, *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*, with its simple Tone 1 chant melody,³⁷ but neither the Latin nor Luther's German version is found in Vopelius. However, both *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* and the Latin Agnus Dei had been regularly sung in Lutheran churches from the sixteenth century, especially where there were Latin schools, and could be found in manuscripts as well as printed sources. For example, the most widely used anthology in the seventeenth century, *Psalmodia, hoc est, cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta*, edited by Lucas Lossius (Nuremberg: Hayn, 1553, with later Wittenberg imprints until 1595), includes not only three monophonic settings of the Latin Agnus Dei but also Luther's Latin Litany, within which the text of the Agnus appears verbatim.³⁸

In the continued use of the Latin Ordinary of the Mass, Leipzig was no different from other similar towns and cities in Lutheran Germany. For example, when Bach was a pupil at the Michaelisschule in Lüneburg, he would have experienced a similar liturgical usage as directed by the Braunschweig-Lüneburg *Kirchen-Ordnung*:

<i>An gemeinen Sonntagen und Feyertagen</i>	<i>Sundays in General and Festival Days</i>
[Kyrie & Gloria]	[Kyrie & Gloria]
Erstlich sol man einen <i>Introitum de tempore</i> , darauf das <i>Kyrie eleison/ und Gloria in excelsis, item, & in terra pax</i> , zu zeiten Lateinisch/ zu zeiten Deutsch/ singen ...	First one should sing a <i>de tempore</i> Introit, then the <i>Kyrie eleison</i> , and <i>Gloria in excelsis</i> , and <i>Et in terra pax</i> , sometimes in Latin, sometimes in German ...
[Credo]	[Credo]
Wenn also das Evangelium gelesen oder gesungen/ so sol das <i>Patrem</i> oder/ Wir glauben all an einen Gott/ gesungen werden ... <i>Credo in unum Deum</i> ...	After the Gospel has been read or sung, then shall be sung the <i>Patrem</i> or/ Wir glauben all an einen Gott ... <i>Credo in unum Deum</i> ...
[text in full with notation]	

³⁶ *Agenda*, p. 80. ³⁷ *Agenda*, p. 138; the German text is also found in *LGB*, p. 198 (No. 198).

³⁸ L. Lossius, *Psalmodia, hoc est, cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1561; facsimile, Stuttgart: Cornetto, 1996), pp. 301, 302, 303 and 283 respectively.

[Sanctus]	[Sanctus]
Folgen die <i>Praefationes</i> so in hohen Festen ... nach der Predigt/ vor der Communion gesungen werden.	Now follow the Prefaces for high festivals ... sung after the sermon and before Communion. [Preface] ... and saying: <i>Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus</i> ...
[Praefation] ... dicentes: <i>Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus</i> ...	
[text in full without notation]	
[Agnus Dei]	[Agnus Dei]
Nach dem die Wort des Testaments gesungen sind/ Communicire man das Volck/ ... Unter der Communion singe man/ ... der nach gesetzten Gesänge/ einen oder mehr/ veil Communicanten seyn	After the Words of Institution are sung, the people are communicated, ... during Communion can be sung one or more of the following songs, depending on the number of communicants.
Jesus Christus unser Heyland/ etc.	Jesus Christus unser Heyland.
Gott sei Gelobet/ etc.	Gott sei Gelobet.
Sanctus, Agnus Dei.	Sanctus, Agnus Dei.
Esaia dem Propheten/ etc.	Esaia dem Propheten.
O Lam Gottes unschuldig/ etc.	O Lamm Gottes unschuldig. ³⁹

The first two German hymns, the Latin *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*, together with Luther's vernacular *Sanctus* in rhymed couplets, follow the prescriptions of Luther's *Formula missae* and *Deutsche Messe*. The addition of *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig* is understandable since it is an alternative vernacular version of the Agnus Dei.

Since there was a commonality of the use of the Latin Ordinary by both Catholics and Lutherans, Bach was able to use his own settings in the liturgy of the Leipzig churches, as well as settings not only by other Lutherans but also by Catholic composers, a practice that continued for some time after his death. Writing in 1768, Johann Adam Hiller commented on settings of the Latin Mass 'in der römischen Kirche' 'which in some places, as here in Leipzig, are still used also for the Lutheran Gottesdienst on high feasts', the most celebrated composers being: 'Fux, dessen Schüler Zelenka, Caldara, Bach (Joh. Seb.) [!], Harrer, Pergolesi, Jomelli, Ristori, Rutini'.⁴⁰

³⁹ *Kirchen-Ordnung des ... Herrn Friederichen/ Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg ... Wie es mit Lehr und Ceremonien/ auch andern geistlichen Sachen und Verrichtungen in beyden S. fürstl. Gn. Fürstenthümen Braunschweig: Lüneburg/ Cellischen und Grubenhagischen Theils, auch angehörigen Graff: und Herrschafften gehalten werden sol. Auff S. F. Gn. Befehl und Anordnung wiederumb in Druck gegeben* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1643), pp. 171–84, 231–3 and 261.

⁴⁰ J. A. Hiller (ed.), *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (Leipzig: Zeitungs-Expedition, 1766–70; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), vol. III, pp. 52–3.

The question of the Mass, Roman Catholic and Lutheran

Bach not only knew about Catholic settings of the Mass Ordinary but also had access to the details of the complete Tridentine rite. One of the books in his library was Erdmann Neumeister's *Tisch des Herrn, in 52 Predigten über 1. Cor. 11, 23–32* (Hamburg: Kißner, 1722), containing sermons on the Lutheran understanding of the Sacrament of the Altar, together with expositions of hymns for the Lord's Supper.⁴¹ As a preface to the work, Neumeister reprints *Bericht von der Meß* by the Strassburg theologian Balthasar Bebel, which was originally published in 1683 and reprinted in Frankfurt am Main the following year, but by the second decade of the eighteenth century had become a relatively rare book. In Neumeister's format the treatise comprises 130 unnumbered pages. Bebel begins his critique of the Roman Mass by giving a German translation of the complete Tridentine rite, including all the inaudible priestly prayers (*oratio secreta*) with their explicit sacrificial vocabulary. Here is laid out in detail the Roman Catholic practice and theology of the Mass, which is then examined closely by Bebel; he contrasts it with the Lutheran position, which is theologically and, to some extent, liturgically different, though one that respects the oldest traditions of Christianity. Here again are many echoes of Luther and other Lutheran authors.

The three volumes of Michael Praetorius's encyclopaedic *Syntagma musicum* were in C. P. E. Bach's possession, having most probably been inherited from his father.⁴² The first volume (section 2) contains a discussion of and commentary on all the elements of the Mass, both Ordinary and Propers, under the following headings:

- I. Introitus
- II. Κυrie ἑλεηζον [Kyrie eleison]. *DOMINE MISERERE*
- III. *Hymnus Angelicus, cum δοξολογία* [doxologia] *Trinitatis*. [Gloria in excelsis Deo]
- IV. *VERSUS. Dominus vobiscum: et cum Spiritu tuo: COLLECTAE*
- V. *Lectiones Epistolae, post Evangelij*
- VI. *Graduale, Hallelujah & Concio*
- VII. *Alius usus Gradualium & Hallelujah: huc item Tractus & Sequentiae*
- VIII. *Gloria tibi Domine. Credo in unum Deum: Symbolum Nicaenum, &c*
- IX. *Missio primitivae Ecclesiae à Pontificiis transposita. ITE MISSA EST*

⁴¹ Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek*, No. 46.

⁴² U. Leisinger, 'Die "Bachische Auktion" von 1789', *BJ*, 77 (1991), 121 (Nos. 358, 359 and 364).

- X. *Symbolum Fidei*
- XI. *Oblatio triplicis usus, cum Cantilenis & Collectis*
- XII. *Sursum Corda*
- XIII. *Gratias agimus*
- XIV. *Verba Coena, & Oratio Dominica*
- XV. *Sanctus. Benedictus*
- XVI. *PRAEFATIONES ante consecrationem, cui CANON assutus* [to which the Canon was added]
- XVII. *Osculum Pacis* [Kiss of peace]
- XVIII. *Agnus Dei. Discubuit*
- XIX. *Post Communionem*
- XX. *Apprecatio vel Benedictio*⁴³

Here Praetorius makes it clear that he is describing Lutheran usage, since from time to time he is critical of Roman practice, but in terms of most of the structure and content there appears to be little difference between the two. In the commentary Praetorius gives the biblical background as well as referring to the writings of theologians of the early church, such as Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Dyonysius, Eusebius, Gregory, Origen and Tertullian, among others, but he also appeals to later Catholic writers such as the scholastic Gabriel Biel, the Flemish theologian Georg Cassander, the historian Polydore Vergil and especially Guillaume Durand, the thirteenth-century Bishop of Mende, whose *Rationale divinarum officiorum* (in print from numerous publishers after the Mainz edition of Fust and Schoeffer in 1459) is one of the most important and influential of writings on the liturgy. Items I–V in Praetorius's treatment are common to the two confessions, but Lutheran emphasis begins to appear with the reference to *Concio* ('Sermon') under item VI, a vital element in the Lutheran Mass but not a regular feature of the Tridentine Mass. Under item VIII there is an oblique reference to Luther's *Wir glauben all an einen Gott*: 'But today the people sing the Apostles' Creed in a known language.'⁴⁴ Under item XI, 'Oblatio' 'Offertory'), there is no reference at all to the

⁴³ M. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum: Syntagmatis musici tomus primus: Musicae artis analecta* (Wittenberg and Wolfenbüttel: Richter, 1614–15; facsimile, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), pp. 35–61; M. D. Fleming, 'Michael Praetorius, Music Historian: An Annotated Translation of *Syntagma musicum* I, Part I', Ph.D. diss., Washington University (1979), pp. 100–47. See also D. Möller-Weiser, *Untersuchungen zum 1. Band des Syntagma musicum von Michael Praetorius* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993), pp. 52–6: 'Praetorius' Stellungnahme zu den umstrittenen Fragen: Katholische Elemente in der lutherischen Liturgie'.

⁴⁴ Fleming, 'Michael Praetorius, Music Historian', p. 127. 'Hodie etiam Apostolicum Symbolum notā linguā succinit populus'; Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, vol. I, p. 49.

priest's *oratio secreta* associated with the Offertory of the Roman rite, the so-called 'little Canon' anticipating the sacrifice of the Mass in the Canon. As stated earlier, for Luther and Lutherans the Mass was a *beneficium* and not a *sacrificium*, and therefore all references to the Mass as a sacrificial action were eliminated. Thus Praetorius interprets the Offertory against the background and experience of the early church, that is, as an opportunity for giving alms to the poor. Similarly, under item XIV, there is no reference to the Canon of the Mass, since Lutherans had rejected it as a later accretion to the early Mass. Instead Praetorius has a simple statement that only the Words of the Supper ('Verba Coena') are to be recited and followed by the Lord's Prayer. Here it becomes clear that the traditional order of the Roman rite has been altered. Proper Prefaces are discussed out of sequence, at item XVI rather than expected as item XIV. Note that the Canon, which no longer exists in Lutheran usage, is described as having been added to the Preface in the Roman rite. The discussion at this later juncture confirms that, contrary to Roman usage, in which there was a Preface at every celebration of Mass, Lutherans restricted the use to major festivals of the church year, as Praetorius states. On these occasions the Sanctus followed on from the Preface, but on regular Sundays (item XV), the Sanctus and Benedictus, with Osanna, occurred during the distribution of Communion, with the Agnus Dei being sung at its conclusion. All of the various parts of the Latin Ordinary of the Mass were thus retained in Lutheran worship, but with much greater flexibility than in the Roman rite. The Lutherans' argument was that their use of the Mass was more authentic than that of Roman use because they had essentially restored it to its more primitive condition by the removal of later accretions that had distorted its original significance. This is the consistent Lutheran position, found especially in the writings of authors known to Bach, such as Praetorius, Pfeiffer, Bebel and Neumeister.

The question of terminology

Given these theological, political, liturgical, linguistic and confessional questions, the appellation 'Die große catholische Messe' given to Bach's B-minor Mass in C. P. E. Bach's *Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses* of 1790 would appear to be a more nuanced designation than it sounds to modern ears. It cannot mean simply 'Roman Catholic Mass', because of the consistent Lutheran rejection of the Roman usage on theological grounds. Presuming that the title in the *Verzeichniß* is attributable to him, C. P. E. Bach – who served Lutheran churches in Hamburg for twenty

years – used the term 'große' rather than 'Römische', and seems to have been critical of his brother, Johann Christian, after he converted to Roman Catholicism. This seems to be implied by the following note, which Carl Philipp Emanuel added to the basic biography of his younger brother in his father's manuscript genealogy of the Bach family: 'he [J. C. Bach] has managed differently from honest Veit';⁴⁵ Veit Bach, as Johann Sebastian had noted in the first entry of genealogy, had left Hungary 'on account of his Lutheran religion'.⁴⁶

To take the B-minor Mass as a whole, it is related to Bach's *Clavierübung* III. There he had dealt with the role of the organ in worship; here his concern is with concerted music in the liturgy. The background of his settings of *Clavierübung* III is to be found in the studies of Roman Catholic liturgical organ music that he undertook while in Weimar. During these years he copied out and studied the liturgical chant-based organ pieces that were composed to accompany the Roman Mass, in both France and Italy – the *Livre d'orgue* of Du Mage, the *Livre d'orgue* of De Grigny and the *Fiori musicali* of Frescobaldi. These collections were clearly Bach's model for his anthology of liturgical organ music, but he was a Lutheran, and so instead of basing his pieces on the liturgical chants of the Mass he composed settings of the familiar congregational Lutheran chorales that were regularly sung Sunday by Sunday. Similarly, almost throughout the whole of his life Bach had studied and performed a wide range of polyphonic and concerted settings of the Ordinary of the Mass, by Catholic as well as Lutheran composers. These formed the background for his massive setting of the traditional Ordinary of the Mass.

The B-minor Mass, contra Smend, is clearly a unified whole, even though its length precluded its complete liturgical performance in either a Lutheran or a Catholic setting. But its sections could be (and in some cases were) performed within the Lutheran liturgy in Leipzig on different occasions. In this regard the B-minor Mass should be compared with the Christmas Oratorio, a work that was never performed on a single occasion in Bach's time but was spread over the twelve days of the Christmas–Epiphany

⁴⁵ BDok I/184, p. 267; NBR/303, p. 293.

⁴⁶ BDok I/184, p. 255. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel argued in the original edition of *The Bach Reader* (repeated in later edns; see NBR, pp. 293–4, n. 20) that the phrase means nothing more than the contrast between the baker Veit and the music master to the English queen, Johann Christian. But given that the entry on the English Bach appears almost at the end of the genealogy and that of the progenitor Veit at the beginning, where his Lutheran religion is specifically noted, the contrast being drawn seems to be confessional rather than professional.

season. It comprises six individual cantatas that are, however, not independent works but rather together make up a unified whole.

Lutherans respected the musical tradition of Catholicism, but were generally wary of the theological context within which it was heard. For example, Johann Friedrich Fasch wanted his son to experience the music of the Catholic Hofkirche in Dresden, especially a concerted Mass by Zelenka, but made every effort to ensure that the younger Fasch did not convert.⁴⁷ The *Book of Concord*, the confessional writings of the Lutheran church, begins with the three historic creeds, Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian. In Latin editions of the anthology of confessions 'catholicam' is retained in the Nicene Creed: 'Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam'. But in German editions it is translated as 'Christliche': 'Und eine einige heilige Christliche Apostolische Kirche'.⁴⁸ Thus the appellation 'Die große catholische Messe' would seem to denote the universality of the Ordinary of the Mass, shared by both Catholics and Lutherans alike. However, since 'the great Catholic Mass' is liable to be misunderstood if not qualified by various caveats with regard to its meaning, perhaps the most accurate title for this incredible work should simply be 'the great Oratorio Mass'.

⁴⁷ See Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, p. 283.

⁴⁸ *Christliches Concordien-Buch, das ist: Der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche sämtliche gewöhnlichste Symbolischen Schriften . . . Mit einer Vorrede Einer Hochlöbl. Theol. Facultät zu Leipzig . . .* (Wittenberg: Waisenhaus, 1760), p. 30. See also *Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch . . .* (Leipzig: Lanckisch, 1743), p. 395.

Bach's *Missa* BWV 232¹ in the context of Catholic Mass settings in Dresden, 1729–1733

JANICE B. STOCKIGT

On 27 July 1733 a petition addressed to the Saxon elector Friedrich August II – later August III, King of Poland – was signed and dated by Johann Sebastian Bach.¹ His appeal for a court title was accompanied by twenty-one performance parts for a Kyrie–Gloria setting (*Missa*).² Many uncertainties surround Bach's offering. Was the work ever performed in the electoral seat of Dresden? Was it typical of Kyrie–Gloria settings heard at that time in Dresden's Hofkirche? Did Bach have Dresden performers in mind as he compiled the *Missa*, or was he thinking of musical conditions in Leipzig? An examination of music sources held today in Dresden sheds some light on these questions, as well as on the fate of Bach's set of parts.

Background

August II ('the Strong') – King of Poland and Elector of Saxony – died in Warsaw on 1 February 1733. Beginning in Leipzig on 22–3 April, his son and successor – Friedrich August II – commenced visits throughout Saxony to receive expressions of homage, a process that lasted until the end of June. Shortly afterwards, on 13 July, the electress, Maria Josepha, gave birth to Prince Karl of Saxony. On 3 August 1733 elections began in Poland to determine the successor to August II. Despite initial difficulties, on 10 October, Friedrich August II received news that he was successful in gaining the Polish throne, and two months later he set off for his kingdom. On 27 December Maria Josepha followed, and on 17 January 1734 their coronation as King and Queen of Poland was held in Cracow.³

Meanwhile, new brooms swept through the music establishments of the Dresden court. On 29 July 1733 the Jesuit fathers who served in the Hofkirche were told that all but six of the *Kapellknaben*, the sizeable group of young vocal and instrumental musicians who served in this royal

¹ *BDok* 1/27. See also *NBR*/162, p. 158. ² D-Dl, Mus. 2405-D-21.

³ *HStCal* 1735, fol. 4r, col. 2; Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu Fondo Vecchia Compagnia, Rome, 'Provinciae Bohemiae', vol. CL, pp. 29–30.

chapel, were to be dismissed. Their musical role was to be taken over by the royal musicians, the prestigious body of singers and instrumentalists of the Dresden Hofkapelle.⁴ Musical arrangements in the Catholic court church then began to suffer. Certain of the court musicians were less than enthusiastic in the performance of their new duties. Indeed, the annual Jesuit letter of 1733 from Dresden to Rome concluded with a bitter complaint about the non co-operation of the 'Virtuosi Regii', the castrati in particular.⁵ Symptoms of the difficulties experienced with the planning of church music are found in remarks written by the Dresden court composer, Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745), whose accompanying note to the entry into his 'Inventarium' of the Requiem written for the exequies for August II, held between 15 and 17 April 1733, states that the work was composed in a very great hurry ('Raptissime compositu[m]'). A comment at the conclusion of the mass written for the churching ceremony (*Kirchgang*) of Maria Josepha in the Hofkirche on 23 August 1733 confirmed that Zelenka had only ten days to compose the new work.⁶

Many Dresden court musicians presented petitions to the new elector in 1733, including the double bass player George Friedrich Kästner, the chamber musician and Lutheran court church director Pantaleon Hebenstreit, the violinists Augustin Uhlig and Carl Matthias Lehneis, the flautist Johann Joachim Quantz (twice) and Zelenka.⁷ Bach was not alone in waiting for more than three years for a response from the new king-elect. In February 1736 Zelenka was still requesting repayment of money owed to him⁸ –

⁴ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu Fondo Vecchia Compagnia, 'Provinciae Bohemiae', vol. CL, p. 34.

⁵ Ibid., vol. CL, p. 34. See J. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford University Press, 2000), chapter 6.

⁶ These difficulties continued into the following year: entries in the *Diarium* (vol. II, 'Continuatio Diarii seu Protocolli a . . . FREDERICO AUGUSTO Dresdae in urbe sua Electorali institutae Societatis IESU Missionis. Ab Anno 1721. usque ad Annum 1738 . . .', MS Dompfarramt, Dresden) show that Zelenka had two days to prepare the memorial Requiem for August II (1 February 1734). The *Diarium* is excerpted in W. Reich and G. Gattermann (eds.), *Zelenka-Studien II: Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka (Dresden und Prag 1995)*, Deutsche Musik in Osten, 12 (Sankt Augustin: Academia, 1997), pp. 315–75.

⁷ These petitions are found in D-Dla, 10026, Geheimes Kabinett (hereafter cited as Geh. Kab.), Loc. 383/1, Varia, das Theater, die italienische Oper, die musikalische Kapelle und die Musik betreffend 1680–1784. Zelenka's petition of 1733 is reproduced in W. Horn, T. Kohlhasse, O. Landmann and W. Reich (eds.), *Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), vol. I, pp. 94–5, and Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, p. 204 (English), and Appendix B, p. 318 (original German). It was accompanied by the score of eight secular arias (D-Dl, Mus. 2358-J-1) with parts (D-Dl, Mus. 2358-J-1a, incomplete).

⁸ Reproduced in Horn, Kohlhasse, Landmann and Reich (eds.), *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, vol. I, p. 95, and Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, p. 217 (English) and Appendix B, pp. 318–19 (original French).

even though by 1735 he had become listed in the *Königlich-Polnischer und Churfürstlich-Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender* as 'Kirchen Composit[eur]'.

The place of the *Missa* within the liturgy of Dresden's Hofkirche, 1733

In order to become eligible for the Polish crown, both August II and August III had converted to Catholicism. Thus Bach's liturgically neutral *Kyrie–Gloria* might be seen as a highly suitable offering to the Dresden court. Still, a *Missa* composed in the Neapolitan style appears to have been a prestigious and favoured presentation piece to the court.⁹ Even if Bach's *Kyrie–Gloria* was originally composed for performance in Leipzig (as suggested by Arnold Schering),¹⁰ or to be heard in a non-liturgical setting in either Leipzig or Dresden (as proposed by Christoph Wolff),¹¹ the work sits squarely within the style of masses heard in Dresden's Hofkirche as seen in the catalogue of its musical holdings assembled in 1765 under the direction of the Dresden church composer Johann Georg Schürer.¹² Of more than 860 separate listings (many representing multiple works), 205 are of masses and mass movements. Of these, ninety-one are complete masses, and thirty-six are *Kyrie–Gloria* settings, including three examples acquired by Zelenka in or around 1727 of works by the Neapolitans Francesco Durante,¹³ Francesco Mancini¹⁴ and Alessandro Scarlatti.¹⁵ Each *Kyrie–Gloria* had been 'stretched' into either a *missa tota* or a *missa senza Credo* through the creation of new movements from existing mass sections, or by writing new compositions.¹⁶ The absence of a *Credo*

⁹ C. Bacciagaluppi and J. B. Stockigt, 'Italian Manuscripts of Sacred Music in Dresden: The Neapolitan Collection of 1738–1740', *Fonti musicali italiane*, 15 (2010), 14.

¹⁰ Butt A, p. 10. ¹¹ Wolff C, pp. 368–70.

¹² D-B, Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 186. See J. Stockigt, 'Musica senza nome dell'autore: Anonymous Works in the "Catalogo 1765" of the Music collection of the Dresden Hofkirche, 1765', *Studi vivaldiani*, 7 (2007), 3–52.

¹³ D-Dl, Mus. 2397-D-10, a damaged score copy titled *Missa Modestiae* in Zelenka's 'Inventarium rerum Musicarum Ecclesiae servientium', MS, D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787d. See also Horn, Kohlhasse, Landmann and Reich (eds.), *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, vol. II, pp. 169–218.

¹⁴ D-Dl, Mus. 2203-D-2, score copy titled 'Missa Temperantiae/ Kyrie/ Gloria Sanctus et/ Agnus'.

¹⁵ Zelenka's source of Scarlatti's *Kyrie–Gloria* almost certainly came from Prague, CZ-Pak ([1202] Sign 1147). Zelenka's source disappeared during his lifetime.

¹⁶ Such workings are termed 'gestreckte' masses. W. Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720–1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), pp. 149–90.

would not have prevented Bach's Mass from being heard in Dresden. Entries in the *Diarium* of the Dresden Jesuits reported that musical settings of the Credo were heard only on the most solemn feast days.¹⁷ Anyway, a mass 'senza Credo' presented little problem in 1733 since separate Credo settings were available through the collections and compositions of Dresden church composers.¹⁸ Nor did the lack of Sanctus and Agnus settings present difficulties. Apart from a handful of compositions listed in the 'Catalogo' of 1765, fourteen anonymous 'Sanctus et Agnus | a 4 Voci a Capella' have been identified as being excerpted by Zelenka from Palestrina's Masses.¹⁹ This collection, with signs of Zelenka's hand throughout, hints that a solemn Kyrie–Gloria performed by members of the Dresden Hofkapelle might conclude with a *cappella* Sanctus and Agnus settings, performed either by the royal musicians or by the *Kapellknaben*.²⁰

Thus, despite the use of the word 'altissime' in the 'Domine Deus' (inserted at this point in the Lutheran Mass but not in the Catholic rite),²¹ it is conceivable that Bach's solemn *Missa* with three trumpets and timpani could have been heard on a high feast day in Dresden's Catholic court church. Had the *Missa* entered the repertoire of this chapel, the parts eventually would have been located in a cupboard behind the choir gallery of the new Hofkirche (dedicated in 1751) and listed in the 'Catalogo' of 1765. However, the work remained within the royal music collection – as is indicated in royal catalogues and by stamps on the wrapper for the parts.

Locations of Bach's *Missa* within the royal collections of Dresden

At least three Dresden court music catalogues from the eighteenth century list Bach's *Missa*.

¹⁷ On 16 May 1729, the feast of St John of Nepomuk, patron saint of Bohemia and of the Saxon Jesuit mission, the Dresden *Diarium* noted that owing to the solemnity of this occasion, the Credo was sung.

¹⁸ Today, D-Dl holds Credo settings by – among others – Antonio Lotti (Mus. 2159-D-5; Mus. 2159-D-5a), Giuseppe Antonio Vincenzo Aldrovandini (prov. Zelenka: Mus. 2204-D-2) and Zelenka (Mus. 2358-D-28; Mus. 2358-D-30).

¹⁹ D-Dl, Mus. 2-D-502. See Stockigt, 'Musica senza nome dell'autore'.

²⁰ Perhaps this is why Zelenka's reworking in the score of the Kyrie and Gloria from a Mass by Antonio Caldara (*Missa Vix orimur morimur*, D-Dl, Mus. 2170-D-13) is heavily revised, while the concluding 'Sanctus' and 'Agnus' (SATB with figured bass) remain untouched.

²¹ See Schulze, p. 11, n. 44.

Table 3.1 Catalogue entries of the sacred works that possibly belonged to Maria Josepha, D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787^c

Work	Composer	Shelfmark if extant
<i>Missa à 18 voc:</i>	Bach	2405-D-21
<i>Missa à 4</i> [Kyrie–Gloria–Credo]	Putz [Tobias Butz]	2834-D-1 Dedication to 'Son Altesse Roial et Electoral de Saxe'
<i>Oratorio Dio sul Sinai</i>	Kelleri [Fortunato Chelleri]	2414-D-1 '24 Marzo 1731'
<i>Litaniae de O^m Sanctis</i> [<i>Litaniae Omnium</i> <i>Sanctorum</i> ZWV 153]	Zelenka	Missing from Dresden. Composed c.1735
<i>Missa à 5</i>	Feo	2409-D-1
<i>Missa à 5</i>	Fago	2200-D-2
<i>Missa à 5</i>	Sarro	2356-D-1
<i>Missa Mortuorum</i>	Lotti	2159-D-7a
<i>Maria Santissima de' dolori</i> [oratorio]	Principe d'Ardore	[Presentation Neapolitan score]

1. In a partial catalogue without title page (perhaps the collection of Maria Josepha),²² the *Missa* is the first of nine items entered on page 6 (recent pagination). Thus the alteration of 'à 18' to '21' (referring to parts) on Bach's wrapper of the performance materials was made later than the entry of the *Missa* into this incomplete catalogue. The context of Bach's set of parts is of particular interest because it is likely that each listed work was either presented to or acquired by members of the royal Polish and Saxon electoral family. The sacred items (all D-Dl Mus.) listed here are shown in Table 3.1.
2. Catalogo/ della/ Musica e de' Libretti/ di/ S. M. Augusto III:²³ under the heading 'Musica sacra' (page 2) the *Missa* is entered as 'Messa c[on] S[timmen] J. S. Bach'.²⁴

²² Suggested by Uwe Wolf on the advice of Gerhard Poppe. See *NBA KB II/1a*, p. 15, n. 10.

²³ D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787^b. Bound with this volume is a late catalogue of the music collection of Maria Antonia (Walpurgis): 'CATALOGO/ della Musica, e de Libretti/ di/ S[ua]. A[ltrezza]. R[eale]. Maria Antonia'.

²⁴ Neither Zelenka's litany nor the bound presentation scores of the *Missae* by Feo, Fago and Sarro are listed in the later catalogue of August III, hinting that they had entered the collection of the Hofkirche.

3. Catalogo/ della/ Musica, e de' Libretti/ de/ S. M. Augusto III./ la quale si trova/ nella Biblioteca Musicale/ Friedrich August III.:²⁵ 'Missa – Bach' is entered under the heading 'Musica Sacra' (page 24).

Issues arising from a comparison of Bach's *Missa* with selected Masses composed or reworked for use in the Dresden Hofkirche, 1729–1733

From the perspective of Masses heard in Dresden's Hofkirche, Bach's setting presents a set of conflicting features. In 2007 I undertook a comparison of the *Missa* with eight Masses either composed or reworked between 1729 and 1733 by Zelenka,²⁶ a composer known to and esteemed by Bach in his last years.²⁷ These Masses (all in D-Dl Mus.) are listed in Table 3.2.

Features aligning Bach's *Missa* with Catholic mass settings were found to be (a) the manner in which Bach adhered to the Neapolitan large-scale 'number' setting and (b) his broad understanding of the vocal and instrumental requirements for solemn sacred music performed in the Hofkirche in Dresden.

The Neapolitan mass composed in the *stilo misto*, with choral movements interspersed with solo and ensemble arias for solo singers (often with instrumental obbligato), has been well described.²⁸ While Neapolitan influences are evident in Dresden compositions from the late 1720s, these increased following the marriage in 1738 between Princess Maria Amalia of Saxony and Charles of Bourbon, King of the Two Sicilies (King of Spain from 1759), and the *Kavaliersreise* of her brother, Prince Friedrich Christian of Saxony (May 1738–September 1740). Although a Neapolitan setting was absent from the survey, settings of the Gloria from Masses by the Neapolitan composers Domenico Sarro and Giovanni Pisani once held by Zelenka were also taken into account.²⁹ The style most often employed for 'Kyrie' I in

²⁵ D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787¹, the catalogue of Elector Friedrich August III of Saxony, later King Friedrich August I of Saxony (d. 1827).

²⁶ See J. Stockigt, 'Consideration of Bach's Kyrie e Gloria BWV 232¹ within the Context of Dresden Catholic Mass Settings, 1729–1733', in Belfast 2007, vol. I, pp. 84–90, Appendix A.

²⁷ A letter to Forkel by C. P. E. Bach dated 13 January 1775, reproduced in *BDok* III/803, p. 289; *NBR*/395, p. 400.

²⁸ See Stauffer, pp. 8–10.

²⁹ The Gloria of Sarro's *Missa Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini* (D-Dl, Mus. 2356-D-1) is set in seven movements. See Stauffer, pp. 22–3. Horn (*Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, p. 192) notes that Zelenka's reworking of this Mass (D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-42) involved considerable abbreviation of the Gloria: the Gloria of Sarro's *Missa Divi Nepomuceni* (D-Dl, Mus. 2356-D-2) comprises twelve movements (Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, pp. 177–8, and 185–9), whereas the Gloria of Pisani's *Kyrie–Gloria* (D-Dl, Mus. 2500-D-1) comprises ten movements (Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, pp. 185–9).

Table 3.2 The Masses composed or reworked by Zelenka in 1729–1733

Composer	Work	Zelenka's involvement	Shelfmark in D-Dl Mus. if extant	Additional notes
Lotti, Antonio	<i>Missa Sapientiae</i> [Kyrie–Gloria]	Acquired by Zelenka c.1729	2159-D-4	Score held; additional score and unknown number of parts missing
Caldara, Antonio	<i>Missa Matris Dolorosae</i> [Missa tota]	Acquired by Zelenka c.1729	2170-D-4	Score held; 33 parts missing
Conti, Francesco	<i>Missa Mirabilium Dei</i> [Missa tota]	Acquired by Zelenka c.1729	2367-D-2	Score held; unknown number of parts missing
Zelenka, Jan Dismas	<i>Missa Divi Xaverii</i> [Missa senza Credo] ZWV 12	3 September–26 November 1729 Probably for the Xavier octave 1729 (2–10 December)	2358-D-26	Score held; 33 parts missing
Zelenka	<i>Missa Gratias agimus tibi</i> [Missa tota] ZWV 13	Performed 7 October 1730 for Maria Josepha's <i>Kirchgang</i> after the birth of Prince Xavier of Saxony	2358-D-21	Score held; 38 parts missing
Caldara	<i>Missa Quid mihi et tibi</i> [Missa tota]	Acquired by Zelenka c.1730	2170-D-14	Score missing; 19 + 7 (26) parts held
Zelenka	<i>Missa Eucharistica</i> [Kyrie–Gloria] ZWV 15	1733	2358-D-27	Score held; 34 parts missing
Bach, J. S.	<i>Missa</i> [Kyrie–Gloria]	Presented July 1733	2405-D-21	21 parts held
Zelenka	<i>Missa Purificationis B.V.M.</i> [Missa tota] ZWV 16	Performed 23 August 1733 for Maria Josepha's <i>Kirchgang</i> after the birth of Prince Karl of Saxony	2358-D-22	Score held; 32 parts (for Missa tota) + 32 parts (for Kyrie); all missing

Dresden was either a tutti setting or a concerted movement comprising concertante and ripieno singers and instrumentalists.³⁰ In terms of musical style and scoring, 'Christe' settings present a contrast of sonority and style, consisting of either a solo or an ensemble aria accompanied by reduced instrumental forces. In most instances 'Kyrie' II was composed in the *stile antico*, although occasionally 'Kyrie' I was recapitulated (as in Zelenka's *Missa Purificationis B.V.M.*).

The investigation demonstrated that no matter how brief a Dresden mass might be during these years, the *Gloria* comprised concerted choruses interspersed with solo or ensemble arias. The minimum number of independent movements was four: 'Gloria' (or, if the incipit was intoned, 'Et in terra pax'), 'Qui tollis peccata mundi', 'Quoniam' and 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' (usually a contrapuntal movement). To this basic plan Bach added independent musical settings of 'Et in terra', 'Laudamus te', 'Gratias', 'Domine Deus' and 'Qui sedes'. Of all Dresden masses catalogued in 1765, one only is in the key of B minor: *Missa Matris Dolorosae* by Caldara. Each of Zelenka's solemn Masses is in D, the key in which the Saxon natural trumpet then sounded.

Bach provided twenty-one parts for the *Missa*: 'Soprano I', 'Soprano II', 'Alto', 'Tenore', 'Basso', 'Traversiere 1', 'Traversiere 2', 'Hautbois 1 d'Amour', 'Hautbois d'Amour 2', 'Basson' ('à 2' in the 'Quoniam', demonstrating that two players read from the part),³¹ 'Corne da Caccia' (named 'Corne du Chasse' on the cover of the set), 'Clarino I', 'Clarino 2', 'Principale', 'Timpana', 'Violino I', 'Violino I', 'Violino 2', 'Viola' (not listed on the cover of the set of parts), 'Violoncello' and 'Continuo' (figured). Had the work been prepared with a Dresden performance intended, then surely Bach would have considered the capabilities of the instrumentalists and male singers of the Hofkapelle. The instrumental obbligato writing acknowledges the considerable talents of a solo violinist (Laudamus te), one or two flautists (Domine Deus; Qui tollis), players of the oboe d'amore (two important parts in 'Kyrie' I; solo obbligato in 'Qui sedes') and a solo horn with a pair of bassoons (Quoniam). If, indeed, Bach was thinking of the Dresden Hofkapelle when assembling the *Missa*, then the strongest evidence about its membership in 1733 is provided in a salary document

³⁰ Through-composed 'Kyrie eleison' I, 'Christe eleison' and 'Kyrie eleison' II settings were sometimes made. See e.g. Zelenka's *Missa Gratias agimus tibi*.

³¹ In Zelenka's oratorio *Giesù al Calvario*, performed in 1735 (D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-1b), two parts for obbligato players are notated in the oboe I part for an aria (No. 13). At that point the oboe II part is marked 'tacet', an indication that at least three players read from these two parts.

of Dresden court musicians dated 'April 1733'.³² The solo violinist would have been the Dresden concertmaster Johann Georg Pisendel; the flautists were Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin and Johann Joachim Quantz; the principal oboist was Johann Christian Richter; either the *Waldhornist* 'Schindler Sen.' (Johann Adam) or 'Schindler Jun.' (Andreas) could have been the intended soloist for the majestic 'Corne [sic] da Caccia' obbligato in the 'Quoniam',³³ which is accompanied by two bassoons.³⁴ Bach's extensive use of solo wind instruments in the *Missa* is much richer than the usual orchestration of masses performed in Dresden during these years, and this aspect of scoring brings his setting closer to practice in Leipzig – although it is noted that Heinichen's setting of the text 'Fecit potentiam' in his *Magnificat* of 1728 also requires a pair of solo bassoons.³⁵ Conversely, the use of woodwind instruments (the double reeds in particular) as orchestral ripienists in the choruses of Bach's *Missa* accords with Dresden practices, and the four-part string section of violins 1 and 2, viola, and violoncello or violone agrees with the then-usual Dresden arrangement.

Concerning the vocal writing of the *Missa*, choral scoring in both five parts (SSATB or SAATB) and – more often – four parts (SATB) was normal for Dresden's sacred music. One or more soprano or alto soloists, however, might be required on important occasions when members of the Dresden court attended the chapel. In 1730 a group of singers, including castrati, arrived from Italy for the revival of the Dresden opera.³⁶ The soprano and alto soloists for Zelenka's *Missa Gratias agimus tibi*, composed for Maria Josepha's *Kirchgang* on 7 October 1730, were undoubtedly drawn from the castrati of this group. Whereas the 'Laudamus te' of the *Missa Gratias agimus tibi* (SATB soloists accompanied by flutes, oboes, unison violins, viola and basso

³² D-Dla, 10026, Geh. Kab., Loc. 907/4, 'Die Italianischen Sänger und Sängerinnen, das Orchestre, die Tänzer und Tänzerinnen, auch andere zur Opera gehörige Persohnen betr. Ao 1733 ...'. Extract dated 'April 1733', fols 1a–3a, esp. fols. 1a–2a. See also M. Oleskiewicz, 'Bach and Dresden', *Bach*, 38/2 (2007), 24–9, esp. Table 2.

³³ Both Schindlers entered the Dresden Hofkapelle in 1723. A court record of 1726 gives the age of Johann Adam 'Sen.' as forty-eight, and that of Andreas 'Jun.' as forty-seven. D-Dla, 10006 OHMA K II, Nr. 6, 'Königl. Pohnisches und Churfürstl. Sächsisches Hoff-Buch von 1721 usq. 1725', unfoliated. Johann Georg Knechtel replaced Johann Adam Schindler in the Hofkapelle list published in *HS:Cal* 1734 (prepared late in 1733). An entry in 'Totenbuch 1733–1816' (Dompfarramt, Dresden), however, reported the death of the 'Königl. Geh. Cammerier Herr Johann Schindler' on 6 December 1747, 'alt. sechs und funftzig Jahr' (p. 97).

³⁴ In 1733 the court bassoonists were Johann Gottfried Böhme, Johann Casimirus Lincke, Jean Cadet and Caspar Ernst Quatz.

³⁵ D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-25.

³⁶ M. Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen: Friedrich August I. (August II.) u. Friedrich August II* (Dresden: Kuntze, 1862), vol. II, pp. 165–9.

continuo) is a vehicle for vocal display by the soprano and alto,³⁷ 'Agnus Dei' II requires four soloists (SSAA), an indication that four castrati from the Dresden Hofkapelle sang for the occasion. Other works by Zelenka requiring five vocal soloists were the *Missa Sancti Josephi* (composed for Maria Josepha's name-day, c.1732),³⁸ and the *Missa Purificationis B.V.M.* (written for her *Kirchgang* of 1733).³⁹ Moreover, Zelenka's *Te Deum* setting of 1731 bears the instruction 'a 2 Chori: NB in P[rimo] Choro sunt 2 C.'.⁴⁰ Bach must have become familiar with the abilities of the singers of 'Die Königl. Capelle und Cammer-Musique' when he and Wilhelm Friedemann travelled to Dresden in 1731 to hear Hasse's opera *Cleofide*. In 1733 the male singers of the Dresden Hofkapelle were the sopranos Ventura Rochetti ('Venturini') and Giovanni Bindi; the altos Antonio Campioli, Nicolo Pozzi ('Nicolini') and Domenico Annibali; the tenor Johann Joseph Götzl; and the basses Cosimo Ermini and Johann David Bahn.⁴¹ Of these, Rochetti, Campioli, Annibali and Pozzi had sung in *Cleofide*. The small role given to the tenor in Bach's *Missa* (the duet 'Domine Deus' with soprano II) reflects the diminished role for that voice in Dresden immediately after the arrival of the castrati.⁴²

Thus, in matters of large-scale structuring and in aspects of the instrumental and vocal scoring, Bach's *Missa* conformed with the usual style of a Catholic Kyrie–Gloria for Dresden in that era.

Principal differences between Bach's *Missa* and masses in the repertoire of the Hofkirche

Whereas many attributes of BWV 232^I are consistent with the mass repertoire of the Hofkirche in 1729–33, the work does show differences, including the length of the *Missa* and aspects of the choral and instrumental writing. Perhaps these features contributed to Bach's *Missa* remaining in the royal

³⁷ Of the 179 bars, the solo alto has 36 bars with three cadential points – two marked 'ad lib.'; the solo soprano has 43 bars with one cadential point marked 'ad lib.'; and the tenor and bass soloists have a duet of 41 bars with one cadential point marked 'Cadenza ad lib.'

³⁸ The entry in the 'Inventarium' (see n. 13 above) specifies the vocal requirement as 'CC:A:T:B'. Because of damage to the score, the *Missa Sancti Josephi* was not included in the study.

³⁹ The 'Christe eleison' of *Missa Purificationis B.V.M.* is scored for solo sopranos I and II.

⁴⁰ This *Te Deum* setting (D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-48) was probably sung on 5 November 1731, the day after the birth of Princess Maria Josepha of Saxony.

⁴¹ D-Dla, 10026, Geh. Kab., Loc. 907/4, 'Die Italianischen Sänger und Sängerinnen', extract, dated 'April 1733', fols 1a–2a.

⁴² The tenor Matteo Lucchini, for whom Heinichen and Zelenka had composed important vocal solos in sacred works during the 1720s, left the Hofkapelle in 1731. His replacement was Johann Joseph Götzl, one of the very few German singers of the ensemble.

collection and not being transferred into the chapel's repertoire, as were the scores of *Missae* by Feo, Fago and Sarro, and Zelenka's *Litaniae*.

The duration of Bach's offering presents a major problem. On 9 September 1719 the Saxon electoral prince instructed the Jesuit Superior always to have the sung mass performed at 11 o'clock. It was never to exceed forty-five minutes.⁴³ Six years later, a *Diarium* entry of 28 October 1725 noted that the Gloria and Credo would always need to be brief.⁴⁴ Neither the *Kyrie* nor the *Gloria* of Bach's *Missa* lies within the usual time limit of Dresden masses. 'Kyrie' I lasts for between nine and ten minutes – more than twice the length of any other example examined. Indeed, this one movement approximates to the duration of the entire *Kyrie* and *Gloria* from Zelenka's *Missa Gratias agimus tibi* of 1730 (admittedly a work written for a *Kirchgang*).⁴⁵

Table 3.3 shows original sets of parts for sacred works. It demonstrates that the more usual vocal requirements of SATB soloists and SATB chorus were accompanied by an orchestra of at least two or three first violins, two or three second violins, one or two violas, at least two oboes and a continuo section of at least one or two bassoons, one or two violoncellos, one or two violoni,⁴⁶ organ and, in some cases, theorbo.⁴⁷ Although the organisation of vocal and instrumental resources into two tiers of 'Solo' and 'Tutti' (or 'Ripieno') was normal in the choruses of Dresden's sacred music (and in the continuo section of arias as well), such concerted writing does not feature in the *Missa*. While Bach's one continuo part suggests many possibilities, he did not even specify the instrument to be used, although it is likely that since the part is untransposed, an organ tuned to the pitch at which the

⁴³ 'Missus est ad me a Serenissimo Principe R. P. Kogler, insinavitque Confessor Regius Serenissimum Principem velle habere ut deinceps Sacrum cantatum semper habeatur hora undecima, et ut nunquam ultra tres quadrantes horae protrahatur.' ('Reverend Father Kogler, the royal confessor, was sent to me by the prince and he indicated that from now on the prince wished the sung mass always to be performed at 11 o'clock and that it should never exceed forty-five minutes.') On the following day (10 September 1719) the superior noted that the sung mass which began at 11:00 a.m. did not last for more than the time specified by the prince.

⁴⁴ *Diarium*, 28 October 1725: 'debebit Gloria et Credo constanter esse breve'.

⁴⁵ Wolfgang Horn used the objective measurement of bar counts to demonstrate the span of Gloria settings in the Dresden mass repertoire. See also Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, p. 192.

⁴⁶ In 1717 Lotti brought the Italian double bass player Girolamo Personelli (d. 1728) to Dresden. An account dated 'di 16 Maggio 1719' shows that a Venetian order for instruments, including two matching 'Violoni', had been filled for Dresden. D-Dla, 10026 Geh. Kab., Loc. 907/3, 'Die Operisten, Musicos, Sänger und andere zur Opera gehörige Personen betr: ao 1717, 18, 19, [17] 20', fol. 124. According to Friedrich Kästner's petition of 1733 (D-Dla, 10026, Geh. Kab., Loc. 383/1, fols 108a–109a), he replaced Personelli in the Hofkapelle – an indication that the sixteen-foot string bass instrument(s) were retained.

⁴⁷ See Stockigt, 'Consideration of Bach's Kyrie e Gloria', Table 3, p. 68.

Table 3.3 Original sets of parts for selected sacred works performed in Dresden

Work, date, shelfmark in D-Dl Mus.	Vocal soli	Vocal ripieni	ob I	ob II	bsn	vn I	vn II	va	vc	vne	org	tiorba
Grua, Carlo Luigi Pietro <i>Laelatus sum</i> (composed May 1713) 2221-D-2a	SATB	SATB	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	–
Zelenka, Jan Dismas <i>Kyrie ZWV 27</i> (autograph 1725) 2358-D-32a	SATB	SAT ^a	1	1	1	2	2	1 A 1 T	–	–	1	1
Lotti, Antonio <i>Confitebor</i> (copied c.1728) 2159-E-7a	SATB	SATB	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1 rip.	1	1
Reichenauer, Antonin <i>Litaniae Lauretanae</i> (copied c.1731) 2494-D-3	SATB	SATB	1	1	2	2	2	2	[1] ^b	2	[1] ^v	[1]
Lotti, Antonio <i>Requiem</i> (copied c.1733+) 2159-D-7b ^d	SSAATBB	SSAATB	1	1	2	3	3	2	2 rip.	1 rip.	1	1
Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista <i>Domine ad adjuvandum</i> (copied after 1740) ^e 3005-D-22	SSATB	ATB	1	1	2	3	3	2	1 rip.	1 rip.	1	1
Hasse, Johann Adolf [O] <i>Quam laeta</i> (copied before 1755) 2477-E-35	S solo [missing]	–	1	1	2	3 ^f	3	2	1	1 rip.	1	–
Ristori, Giovanni Alberto <i>Litaniae de V Sacram[ento]</i> (c.1751) 2455-D-6 ^h	SATB	SATBB	1	1	2	4	4	2	2 rip.	1 rip. ^g	1	1

Note: rip. = ripieno instrument.

^a No ripieno vocal bass part survives.

^b Titled 'Organo ò Violoncello'.

^c 'Organo, e Tiorba. Basso pro Direttore'.

^d 'Catalogo', 1765: 'a 4 voci con strom^{ti} e 1 Tromba'. This uniform set of thirty-one parts ('tromba' not shown here) was prepared by the Dresden copyist Johann Georg Kremmler.

^e Mus. 3005-D-22 comprises two sets of parts: twenty-two Italian parts set for 'Choro' (and orchestra), 'Primo' and 'Secondo', and twenty-six parts arranged for Dresden (shown here) 'a 5 voci, con VVni, Vla, Basso e Corni' ('Catalogo', 1765).

^f One vn I part with initials 'S[ignor] P[isendel]' (d. 1755).

^g Titled 'Contrabasso R'.

^h 'Catalogo', 1765: 'a 4 voci co' VVni Vla Basso e Corni'.

instruments played was expected, and this suggests a Dresden rather than a Leipzig instrument.⁴⁸

Since tutti, ripieno and solo indications abound in Dresden's sacred music,⁴⁹ this question might be asked: is it possible that Bach left this aspect of the organisation of vocal and instrumental forces open to interpretation? Could it be that the parts for the *Missa* were to become the basis of a Dresden score to be reworked, and from which new parts would be drawn to suit the Dresden conditions? Rare surviving sets of materials hint at the process followed by the Hofkirche composers when they reworked sacred works for Dresden. From a basic set of materials – parts or score – obtained by a composer, a new score was prepared, usually by a Dresden copyist. This then became a working document in which the court composer noted orchestration and revisions. From this score a new set of parts was prepared by Dresden copyists, who might further modify the performance materials because they had the ability – and, it seems, the authority – to interpret and tidy up minor vocal and instrumental trouble spots. Three Dresden sources for a *Salve Regina* setting for solo soprano and instruments attributed to 'Mayer' reflect this procedure:⁵⁰

- D-Dl Mus. 2371-E-1b is a basic set of four parts for 'Canto Solo', 'Violino Primo', 'Violino Secondo' and 'Organo' in an unknown hand;
- Mus. 2371-E-1 is a score of this work in the hand of a copyist with Zelenka's revisions, which include the addition of parts for violas and oboes;
- Mus. 2371-E-1a is a set of ten parts in the hand of yet another Dresden copyist for 'Soprano solo', 'Violino P^{mo}', 'Violino P^{mo} "S. P." [Signor Pisendel]', 'Violino 2^{do}', 'Violino 2^{do}', 'Viola', 'Violone Ripieno', 'Organo', 'Oboe P^{mo}' and 'Oboe 2^{do}'.⁵¹

An unusual feature for Dresden in Bach's *Missa* is the inclusion of oboes d'amore. Although this instrument was strongly represented in works

⁴⁸ Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, vol. II, pp. 289–90, reported that the tuning fork of the Dresden Hofkapelle sounded at a' = 417 in Hasse's time. In Wolff C, p. 369, Christoph Wolff notes that the organ of the Sophienkirche of Dresden was tuned to 'chamber pitch'.

⁴⁹ The organisation of the Dresden orchestra into three instrumental sections for Caldara's *Missa Quid mihi et tibi* is demonstrated in Stockigt, 'Consideration of Bach's Kyrie e Gloria', Diagram 1, p. 69; Music Example 2 (pp. 70–3) illustrates how the Dresden basso continuo section functioned in the 'Christe eleison' of that work.

⁵⁰ Perhaps this was Wenzel Mayer SJ, composer of several items kept at the Cistercian monastery at Osek, northern Bohemia, listed in CZ-Pnm 65/52, 'Catalogues im 1720, 1733'.

⁵¹ Such adaptations are also evident in double sets of parts from Naples and Dresden for Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *Domine ad adjuvandum* (D-Dl, Mus. 3005-D-22) and *Confitebor* (D-Dl, Mus. 3005-D-19,1; Mus. 3005-D-19,2).

composed for Leipzig, by 1733 it seems to have been rarely required in Dresden – at least as far as can be seen in the repertoire of the Hofkirche. If Heinichen's specification 'Hautbois en Chalmeaux' really meant that oboes d'amore were to be used, then he must have been among the last of Dresden's church composers to include them in sacred music.⁵² Bach's employment of these instruments, however, may have been caused by an oversight. The two parts were originally intended for oboes notated with treble clef and a key signature of two sharps. The copyist 'Anonymous 20' – assuming that he was copying and even transposing from a score⁵³ – must have noted that by bar 27 the second oboe was sitting in a particularly low register and had even descended to *a*♯, a tone below the bottom of its range. By the end of the tenth stave of the part for 'Hautbois I' the problem seems to have been resolved by replacing oboes with oboes d'amore. Treble clefs on the preceding staves were altered to French violin clefs; the key signature of *F*♯ and *C*♯ (B minor) was amended to *B*♭ (D minor); accidentals were adjusted;⁵⁴ and 'd'Amour' was added to the original 'Hautbois I' heading.

Bach's setting of the 'Domine Deus' presents a minor dilemma: is one solo flute required (as indicated in the parts of 1733), or should two play 'in unison', as shown in Bach's score? The use of at least two flutes in sacred music increased after the formal appointment to the Hofkapelle in March 1728 of Quantz (whose salary rise to 800 thalers placed him on an equal footing with the principal flautist Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin by the end of 1733). From 1729 two solo flutes came to have prominent roles in Zelenka's Masses, as is seen in *Missa Divi Xaverii*, *Missa Gratias agimus tibi*, *Missa Sancti Josephi*, *Missa Eucharistica*, *Missa Purificationis B.V.M.* and *Missa Sanctissimae Trinitatis* of 1736 (the 'Benedictus' has an obbligato for unison solo flutes).

Despite its size, the Dresden Hofkapelle was a flexible body, and its ability to adapt to various circumstances is illustrated in 1739, at which time it comprised about forty-one instrumentalists, excluding trumpeters and timpanists.⁵⁵ In that year a small ensemble drawn from the Hofkapelle travelled to the hunting castle Hubertusburg, at Wermsdorf, during the extended residence there of the Dresden court. While the occasion was unusual, it demonstrates how rules about performance numbers – both vocal and instrumental – had to be adaptable when unexpected situations

⁵² See e.g. the autograph title page: 'Litania/ pro Festo Corporis Domini/ à 4 Voc./ con Flaut. Travers/ Hautbois en Chalmeaux/ Violini etc./ 3 Bassoni/ di Giov. Heinichen/ 1727' (D-Dl, Mus. 2398-D-30).

⁵³ Butt A, p. 11, takes the same view.

⁵⁴ These alterations are in Bach's hand. See Schulze, p. 6. ⁵⁵ *HStCal* 1740, fol. 14.

arose, including performances outside Dresden and in limited space. (The Hubertusburg court chapel had not yet been renovated.) Following the birth on 28 September 1739 of Prince Clemens of Saxony, the feast of All Saints (1 November) was chosen for Maria Josepha's *Kirchgang*. When the procession reached the palace chapel, trumpets and timpani played 'eine Intrade', and ceremonies then began at 10:30 a.m. At 11:00 a solemn mass ('Hoch-Amt') was celebrated by the Papal Nuncio in the presence of August III and the royal mother, and during it royal musicians were heard.⁵⁶ In addition to the trumpeters, five singers (SSATB, including three castrati), fourteen instrumentalists led by Pisendel (four violins, two violas, violoncello, double bass, two flutes, two oboes, bassoon and 'Positiv') and 'Zelenka Composit.' were brought from Dresden for the occasion.⁵⁷ It is not known which mass was heard, and although Zelenka's role is not recorded, it is possible that he directed from the violone.

Conclusion

Bach's request of 1733 to the Dresden court was eventually successful. Notwithstanding the granting of a Dresden court title in 1736, his name was first published in the list 'Die Königl. Capell und Cammer-Musique' in the 1738 edition of the *Königlich-Polnischer und Churfürstlich-Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender* as 'Kirchen-Composit[eur] Tit[ular]', together with the names of the church composers Zelenka and Butz. When the *Missa* is considered from a Dresden standpoint, it is difficult to imagine that Bach was not thinking of the superb singers and instrumentalists of the Hofkapelle as he revised and reworked earlier movements or composed new ones. Yet, despite similarities between features of his *Missa* and those then heard in the Dresden Catholic court church, the *Kyrie-Gloria* lacked performing materials for a chorus, and the basso continuo was presented in outline only. It was, however, the duration of the work – 'Kyrie' I in particular – that placed it outside the norm, and this, perhaps, was the chief reason why Bach's offering to the Saxon elector did not enter the collection of the Hofkirche, remaining instead within the confines of the Royal Library (*Bibliotheca musica regia*).

⁵⁶ *HStCal* 1741, fol. 6[r].

⁵⁷ D-Dla, 10006 OHMA J 66/b, 'Königl. Herbst Reise von Dresden nach Hubertusburg 1739', vol. II, fol. 36a. Musicians from the Frey-Compagnie, the hunt and the 'Commedianten' also visited Hubertusburg during this sojourn of the court.

4 | The role and significance of the polonaise in the 'Quoniam' of the B-minor Mass

SZYMON PACZKOWSKI

We seem to have a clear idea of the circumstances in which Bach composed the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria*, the first two sections of the B-minor Mass, identified in his autograph score simply as the *Missa*. On 27 July 1733, Bach enclosed a set of parts with an application seeking the title of court composer to the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony in Dresden.¹ A gift for Elector Friedrich August II (soon to become King August III of Poland), the Mass served to establish Bach's credentials by showcasing his mastery of the craft of liturgical composition. The precise motives which prompted Bach to apply are less well established, and the scholarly discussions as to whether the work was performed at any time before or after Bach's petition or eventual appointment remain speculative, with questions and conjectures far outweighing firm answers.² Given Friedrich August II's background as son of the Elector of Saxony and prospective heir to the King of Poland, it seems an obvious line of approach to examine Bach's work in the context of the distinctive style of sacred music performed at Dresden's Hofkirche. Surprisingly, this perspective has remained largely unresearched; this essay intends to show that the politics and culture of eighteenth-century Dresden provide a useful context for opening up to fresh enquiry some of Bach's creative intentions in the B-minor Mass.

Changes to the Dresden Hofkapelle following the death of August II

On 1 February 1733, August II 'the Strong', King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, died in Warsaw. His death engendered a number of political

Translated by Piotr Szymczak. This is a revised version of a chapter published in Polish in the author's *Styl polski w muzyce Johanna Sebastian Bacha* (Lublin: Polihymnia, 2011), pp. 235–64.

¹ BDok I/27, p. 74: 'Gesuch an Kurfürst Friedrich August II. von Sachsen, Dresden, 27.7.1733'. The dedication does not refer to Friedrich August II as King of Poland because he was not elected king until 5 October 1733.

² For the most recent overview of current research, see NBA KB II/1a. As shown by Uwe Wolf, there is no *post quem* date for this composition. The watermarks in Bach's autograph score are dated 1732; *ibid.*, p. 23.

consequences for both countries. Among other things, it triggered a cultural ripple effect at the Dresden court that involved the restructuring of the court's musical ensembles.³ This process of transformation had already been set in motion towards the end of the reign of King August II with the reactivation of Dresden's Italian opera and the appointment of Johann Adolf Hasse as Kapellmeister.⁴ Because the new elector, Friedrich August II (who would rule Poland as King August III 'the Saxon'), did not exactly share his father's musical tastes, the French comedy and dance ensemble was disbanded, and most of its musicians were handed their notice.⁵ From that point onwards, Italian opera in the Neapolitan style became predominant in the Dresden musical scene. This focus on opera (which involved hiring expensive artists and other kinds of costly outlay) had an adverse impact on the economic situation of the music ensemble of the Catholic court chapel. A leading musical institution at court in the 1720s, it suffered a sharp decline in its fortunes when Friedrich August II became the elector. The effects were felt soon afterwards. In 1733, a new set of regulations was enacted concerning musical performances in the royal

³ M. Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen: Friedrich August I. (August II.) u. Friedrich August II* (Dresden: Kuntze, 1862), vol. II, pp. 180–216; W. Reich, "Chorus" und "Musici regii" an der Dresdener Katholischen Hofkirche in der Ära Augusts des Starken', in J. Gmeiner, Z. Kokits, T. Leibnitz and I. Pechotsch-Feichtinger (eds.), *Musica Conservata: Günter Brosche zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1999), p. 355; see also J. B. Stockigt, 'The Court of Saxony-Dresden', in S. Owens, B. M. Reul and J. B. Stockigt (eds.), *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 29–32.

⁴ Johann Adolf Hasse was first retained at the Dresden court in 1731 in connection with the first performance of the opera *Cleofide* (13 September). This was probably the date on which Hasse was made Kapellmeister to the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony (as noted for the first time in the 'Hof- und Staats-Calender' for 1732), although formally he did not assume his duties until early 1734. Hasse did not have a hand in preparing the funeral music after the death of August II, which was composed (along with a suitable Requiem) by Jan Dismas Zelenka, *Officium defunctorum* (ZWV 47) and Requiem in D (ZWV 46). W. Horn, T. Kohlhasse, O. Landmann and W. Reich (eds.), *Zelenka-Dokumentation: Quellen und Materialien*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), vol. II, p. 208; W. Horn, "Requiem" und "Vivat Rex": Bemerkungen zum Charakter der Dresdner "Requiem zum Herrschertod" von Jan Dismas Zelenka (1733) und Johann Adolf Hasse (1763)', in U. Omonsky and K. Reichel (eds.), *Tod und Musik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: XXVI. Internationale wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung Michaelstein, 12. bis 14. Juni 1998*, Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte, 59 (Michaelstein/Blankenburg: Institut für Aufführungspraxis, 2001), pp. 163–4; J. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745): A Bohemian Musician at the Court of Dresden* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 197–8. See also A. Żorawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III* [Music at the Polish court of August III] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Muzyczne Polihymnia, 2012), vol. I, p. 217.

⁵ A. Żorawska-Witkowska, 'Tancerze na polskim dworze Augusta III' [Dancers at the Polish court of August III], in E. Z. Wichrowska (ed.), *W stronę Francji . . . Z problemów literatury i kultury polskiego Oświecenia* [Towards France . . . problems of literature and culture in the Polish Enlightenment] (Warsaw: Wydział Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2007), pp. 203–4.

chapel,⁶ superseding the previous detailed rules set out in the so-called 'Règlements' of 1708.⁷ The church music ensemble shrank dramatically. The chapel choir (the so-called *Kapellknaben* and *Juvenes*) was practically disbanded,⁸ and most of the instrumentalists were dismissed, including Augustin Uhlig, the ensemble's organist.⁹ In their place, the task of providing liturgical music went to the musicians from the court ensemble (*Musici regii*) with some help, as and when required, from the few remaining choristers and musicians formerly belonging to the disbanded chapel ensemble.¹⁰ Johann Adolf Hasse, the newly appointed court Kapellmeister, also became responsible for providing solemn music for the Catholic chapel, a development which undermined the standing of Jan Dismas Zelenka. Owing to the deteriorating health of his predecessor, Johann David Heinichen, Zelenka had effectively been running the chapel ensemble in the latter 1720s, and his standing became even stronger following Heinichen's death in 1729. But the turning tide undermined Zelenka's years of hard work in the royal chapel, and his position became insecure. From that point onwards, he occupied a less high-profile position, supplying simpler music of the kind once performed by the disbanded chapel ensemble. Zelenka lost the ensemble he had worked to expand and improve,¹¹ and, Hasse being absent until December 1733, he was, paradoxically, put in charge of implementing the new church music arrangements with the *Musici regii*, who resented their new responsibilities and took a dim view of Zelenka. Presumably frustrated by this turn of events, in November 1733 the experienced composer petitioned King August III, asking to be made Kapellmeister and requesting reimbursement of the

⁶ According to Wolfgang Reich, the document outlining the revised arrangements for music performed in the Catholic chapel has not survived. It may have been lost in 1945 along with the collection 'Katholischen ecclesiastica' from Dresden's Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv. What information we do have about the new arrangements comes from the 'Diarium missionis' of the Dresden Jesuits for 1734. Reich, "Chorus" und "Musici regii", p. 339, n. 33.

⁷ 'Règlements du Roi pour l'Eglise et Chapelle Royale, ouverte aux Catholiques' (1708). Document described in W. Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720-1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), pp. 35-7.

⁸ On 29 July 1733, Pater Nonhard noted in the Jesuit 'Diarium missionis' at Dresden: 'Misit Excellentissimus Dominus Sulkowsky resolutionem Serenissimi propter Juvenes dimittendos, et non nisi retinendos item propter Juvenem qui Pragae alitur.' Quoted in Reich, "Chorus" und "Musici regii", p. 335.

⁹ The Dresden Jesuits complained about the situation in the *Diarium* dated 1734. Reich, "Chorus" und "Musici regii"; and Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, pp. 200-1.

¹⁰ Under the new 'regulamentum' (first referred to in a *Diarium* entry for 1 November), all church music other than monophonic psalm singing was transferred from the *Juvenes* to the *Musici regii*. Reich, "Chorus" und "Musici regii", p. 355.

¹¹ Reich, "Chorus" und "Musici regii", p. 395.

costs incurred in providing music for the chapel.¹² For all his good services in the past, Zelenka's position at court never improved.

Although Zelenka had every right to expect the promotion, the death of August II blocked his career path. But for many musicians the change of elector was an opportunity to request pay rises, overdue payments or promotion at court. Applications duly streamed into the electoral chancery. The influx of petitions placed an extra strain on a bureaucratic apparatus already made sluggish by the fraught political situation and August III's journeys to Poland. In a note inscribed on Zelenka's petition, Heinrich Brühl recommended that the composer 'Soll sich gedulden' (Cracow, 12 February 1734), a fairly typical reaction which gives some idea of the serious tests of patience involved in the petitioning process.¹³ With no reply forthcoming, Zelenka petitioned again two years later (11 February 1736), again to no avail.¹⁴ Musicians, such as Johann Joachim Quantz and the violinist and double bassist Georg Friedrich Käßner, also petitioned for overdue salaries and promotion.¹⁵ Tobias Butz, once a horn player and church composer who in the 1720s went on to become the third-ranking church composer after Heinichen and Zelenka, also sought to improve his situation. He submitted to the court a manuscript copy of a Mass entitled *Delicta juventutis meae ne meminere* and dedicated to the elector. The dedication named the elector as 'Son Altesse Roial et Electoral de Saxe',¹⁶ a title which recurs in many dedications to Friedrich August II of

¹² D-Dla, loc. 383, 'Varia', fols. 54-5; Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, p. 203 includes an English translation of the application. Stockigt, *ibid.*, Annex B, pp. 318-19, quotes the original German from Susanne Oschmann, *Jan Dismas Zelenka: Seine geistlichen italienischen Oratorien* (Mainz, 1986), pp. 37-8; the quoted document also appears in Horn, Kohlhasse, Landmann and Reich (eds.), *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, vol. I, pp. 94-5. The application was preceded by a similar petition dated 24 October, never signed or submitted by Zelenka. See also G. Haußwald, 'Johann Dismas Zelenka als Instrumentalkomponist', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 13 (1956), 243-6. The original copy of the application is D-Dl, Mscr. Drs. App. 310, 298. In the commentary to the facsimile edition of the Dresden *Missa* parts (p. 6), Schulze established that Zelenka's unsigned petition was drafted by his copyist, Gottfried Rausch. Schulze, p. 9.

¹³ D-Dla, loc. 383/1, fol. 53. My recent studies led me to conclude that this document was signed by Brühl, and not the king himself as suggested in musicological literature. See Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, p. 203. Here Stockigt cites the work of Richard Petzold ('The Economic Conditions of the 18th-Century Musicians', in W. Salmen (ed.), *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, trans. H. Kaufman and B. Reisner, New York: Pendragon Press, 1983, p. 168), who emphasised that notes along the lines of 'Let him have patience' or 'Put aside owing to lack of funds' are depressingly frequent in the Dresden records of that time.

¹⁴ D-Dla, loc. 907, 'Italienische Sänger'; Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, pp. 318-19, cites a French translation of the application in Oschmann, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, pp. 38-9, and Horn, Kohlhasse, Landmann and Reich (eds.), *Zelenka-Dokumentation*, vol. I, p. 95.

¹⁵ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, p. 199. ¹⁶ D-Dl, Mus. 2834-D-1.

Saxony before he became August III of Poland, suggesting that Butz drafted the manuscript (see Figure 4.1) following the death of August II but before the royal election was held in Poland on 5 October 1733 (otherwise the dedication would have opened with a reference to 'His Majesty King of Poland'). The same applies to the dedication in the set of parts for Bach's *Missa* (see Figure 4.2), addressed as it was to Friedrich August as 'Seyen Königl. Hoheit und Fürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen', and not to 'His Majesty King of Poland'. Like Bach's, the Mass by Butz was probably enclosed with a currently unknown application or petition. If the changes were hard on Zelenka, they were positively dire for others. Augustin Uhlig and Louis André, both of whom were handed their notices, are cases in point.¹⁷ Each petitioned the king to be retained in a new position, and each immediately accepted a deep cut in his salary.¹⁸ Giovanni Alberto Ristori, a composer of Italian music affiliated with the *Polnische Kapelle*, likewise suffered a decline in his fortunes. In 1730 he aspired to the position of Kapellmeister made vacant by the death of Heinichen (the plan never came to anything because Ristori was found to be 'negligent in the discharge of his duties'). In October 1733 he was demoted to the role of a mere organist.¹⁹

Bach's petition: contents and fortunes

Given this context we are much better placed to appraise the circumstances in which Bach petitioned to be made court composer. His application was one of the many petitions arriving at the royal chancellery in what was a period of confusion and change for the court ensemble. Where Bach's application differed from the rest was in the fact that he was not applying

¹⁷ Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, p. 200; Żórawska-Witkowska, *Tancerze na polskim dworze Augusta III*, p. 203; A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie* [Music at the court of August II in Warsaw] (Warsaw: Arx Regia Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1997), p. 414.

¹⁸ On 17 November 1733, the demoted Uhlig, who was hanging on to the downgraded position of chapel violinist, submitted a petition emphasising his long years of hard work as a church musician at court (his career had spanned fifteen years, the first four of which were unpaid) and asking for a pay rise necessitated by the high costs of living and the difficulties involved in having to get by on 200 thalers. After losing his position as organist for the *Kapellknaben*, from 1 September 1733 Uhlig was also no longer entitled to his daily board at the Jesuit house. Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, p. 200. In the case of Louis André, Alina Żórawska-Witkowska writes that he did not leave Dresden after his dismissal on 3 June 1733. He applied to be reinstated at the court as a composer of ballet music, and was prepared to accept an annual remuneration of 400–500 thalers. A rescript dated 11 June 1734 gives the position to André with a salary of 400 thalers. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II*, p. 414.

¹⁹ Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II*, pp. 469–70.

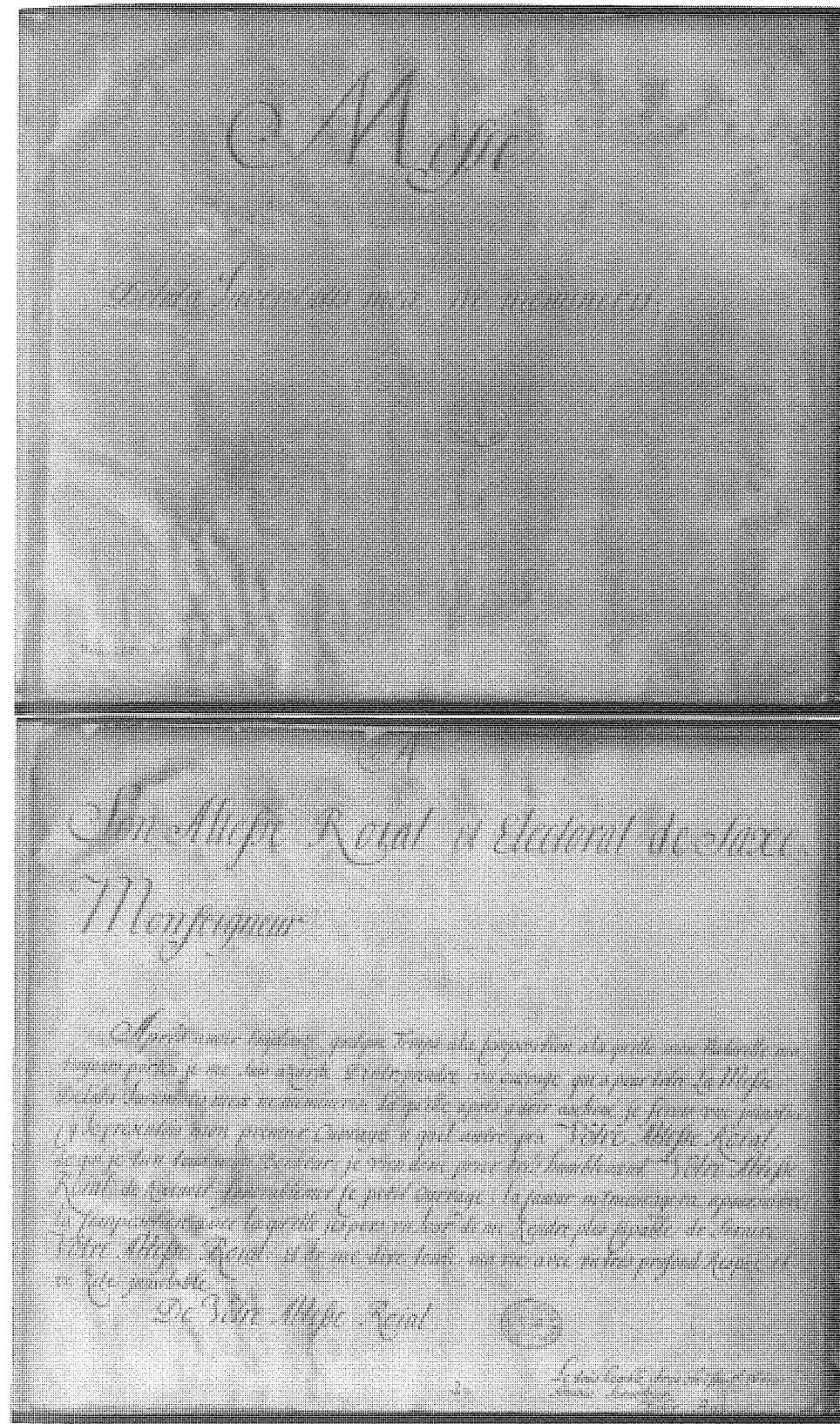


Figure 4.1 Title page and dedication of Tobias Butz's Mass *Delicta juventutis meae ne meminere* (D-Dl, Mus. 2834-D-1)

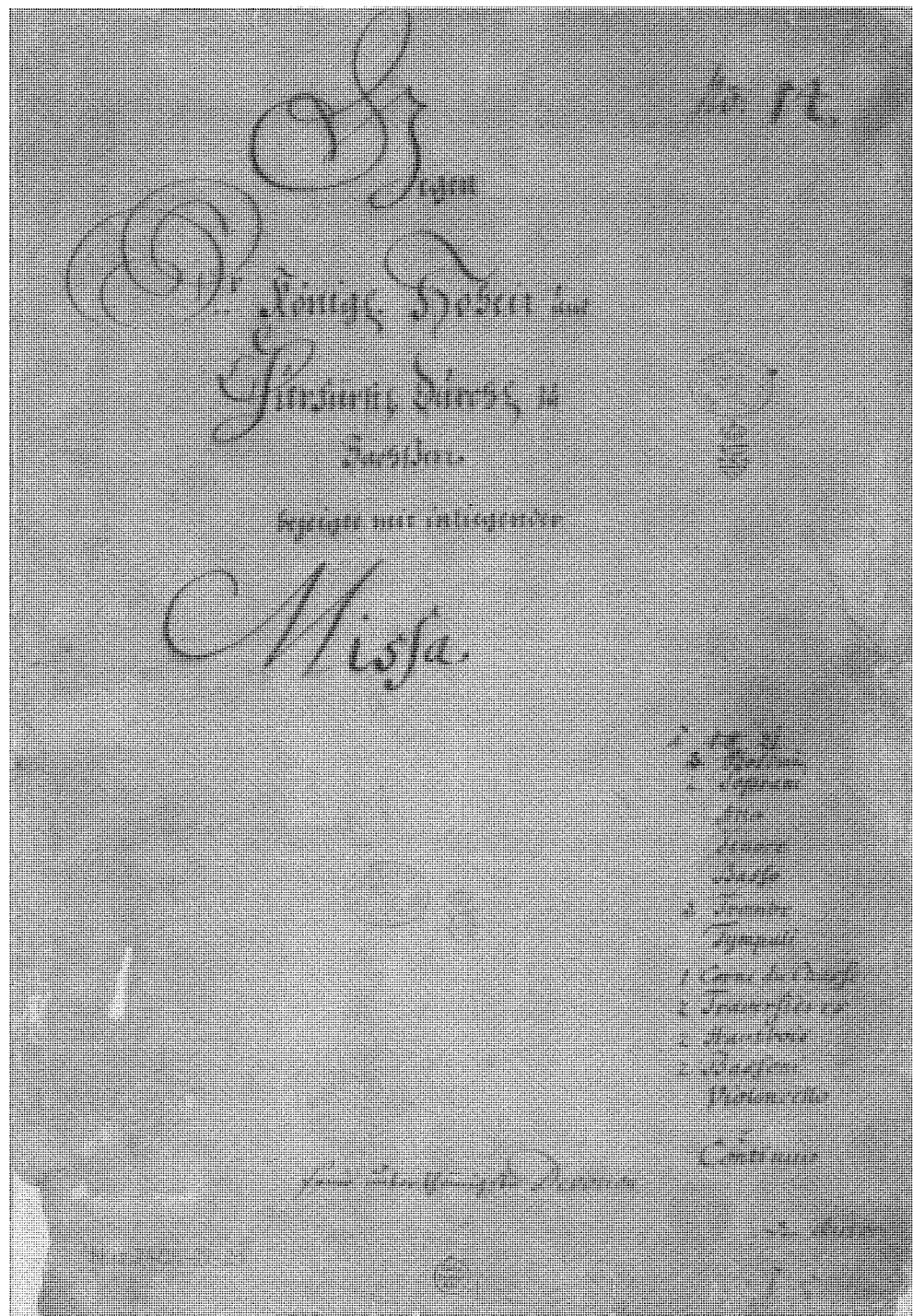


Figure 4.2 The cover of Bach's *Missa* (1733) containing the dedication (D-Dl, Mus. 2405-D-21)

for a salary or a position at court: no other composer is known to have applied on similar terms. Notably, Bach offered his services in a dual capacity as both church and orchestral composer, although he was probably unlikely to whip up much enthusiasm regarding the latter role; not only was he seen as a musical conservative, but the court was already retaining a sufficient number of salaried composers and had available an extensive existing musical repertoire. All of this may go some way to explain why the chancellery took over three years to reply to Bach, but the long delay is unlikely to have been caused by a lack of recognition of his talents. In the end, his petition was duly granted: Bach received the position in the autumn of 1736, and in 1738 his name was listed in the Dresden 'Hof- und Staats-Calender' as a church composer to the Polish-Saxon court, where it appeared next to the names of Zelenka and Butz. A more likely explanation of the delay lies in the itineraries of the court. In 1734, the court removed to Warsaw, where it remained for two years.²⁰ In this period, the king's attention must have been focused on bringing the war of Polish succession to a close and calling a parliament to pacify the country, presumably to the exclusion of attention to nearly everything else. Given these considerations and the evident political turmoil, Bach's petition to be named court composer might easily have waited until the king's bureaucratic machine was safely back in Dresden.

Late in July 1733, Bach was in Dresden, probably concerned with the business of establishing his son Wilhelm Friedemann as organist at the Sophienkirche.²¹ We do not know whether that was when he filed his petition to be made court composer; it may be that he had been prepared to apply at an earlier date, and was prompted to act by the changes made to the Hofkapelle following the death of August II.

He may also have been persuaded to act by another party; we know that his petition was drafted by one Gottfried Rausch, copyist at the Dresden excise office (Rats-Kommissionsstube), who did some copying work of

²⁰ See the chronology of visits of the Polish-Saxon court to Warsaw co-authored by Alina Żórawska-Witkowska in the Polish-language exhibition catalogue *Pod jedną koroną: Kultura i sztuka w czasach unii polsko-saskiej, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie 26 czerwca – 12 października 1997* [Under one crown: culture and art in the period of the Polish-Saxon union, Royal Palace in Warsaw, 26 June – 12 October 1997] (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie; Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 1997), p. 60.

²¹ *BDok* 1/25, pp. 71–2: ‘Brief an den Rat der Stadt Dresden, Leipzig, 7.6.1733’, a petition by Johann Sebastian Bach on behalf of his son Wilhelm Friedemann. An audition was held on 22 June, and the following day Wilhelm Friedemann was appointed by the Dresden city council as organist at the Sophienkirche.

music by Zelenka as well.²² In the petition, only the laudatory opening formula and the signature are in Bach's hand. Rausch also wrote the title page on the cover of the *Missa*.²³ Hans-Joachim Schulze has made the intriguing discovery that Rausch also drafted an unsubmitted petition from Zelenka, dated 24 October 1733,²⁴ which bore the annotation 'ad inst. c. D Carl Friedrich Jümpelt'.²⁵ This is probably a reference to Carl Friedrich Jümpelt, a Dresden solicitor who after 1740 became a neighbour of Zelenka in Moritzstrasse. Schulze suggests that Jümpelt may have prompted both Zelenka and, at an earlier date, Bach to make their respective petitions. This hypothesis, although it must remain wholly conjectural, seems attractive. If this was the case, the authorship of the contents of Bach's petition remains open, with the odds split between the composer and the petition's actual instigator, for example Jümpelt. There is no record of Bach and Zelenka communicating about their respective petitions, although it seems likely that they did so.

Bach had to wait for three years to receive a reply from the royal chancellery in Dresden. In the mean time, he made regular and determined efforts to refresh the memories of the officials at the Dresden court. He composed many secular cantatas in honour of members of the ruling family,²⁶ and resubmitted his petition on 27 September 1736.²⁷ His efforts were noticed: we have a document dated 14 October 1734 in which Bach acknowledges the receipt of 50 thalers from the royal coffers.²⁸

In the context of Bach's repeated petition it seems worthwhile to revisit the hypothesis first put forward by Heinz Hermann Niemöller, who suggested that Bach started work on the Goldberg Variations (BWV 988) as early as 1736, possibly prompted by Count Hermann Carl von Keyserlingk, and intended to send the work to the court as proof of his skill as an instrumental composer. In justification of his hypothesis, Niemöller pointed out the polonaise character of the first variation, which he took to be a respectful nod to

²² BDok I/27, p. 75 (commentary on Bach's petition). See also Schulze, pp. 5–6, and NBA KB II/1a, p. 15.

²³ BDok I/27, pp. 74–5, and I/166, pp. 233–4. ²⁴ See n. 12 above.

²⁵ Quoted in Schulze, p. 8.

²⁶ See S. Paczkowski, 'A Polonaise Duet for a Professor, a King and a Merchant: On Cantatas BWV 205, 205a, 216 and 216a by Johann Sebastian Bach', *Understanding Bach*, 2 (2007), 19–26; repr. in *Musicology Today* (2009), 90–112.

²⁷ BDok I/36, p. 91: 'Gesuch an Kurfürst Friedrich August II. von Sachsen (?)'. This repeat petition has not survived, but it was recorded in the Privy Council's register of incoming correspondence (Sächsisches Landeshauptarchiv, Dresden, 1318: 'Johann Sebastian Bach bittet umb den titul alß Compositour von der Königlichen Hoff-Capelle. Den 27 7^{br} 1736.'). See also BDok II/384, p. 276: 'Eingang von Bachs Bittschreiben um den Titel Hofcompositour, Dresden, 27.9.1736.'

²⁸ BDok I/119, p. 196: 'Honorarquittung: Kantatenaufführung, Leipzig, 14. 10. 1734.'

the king.²⁹ In this context, it is notable that whereas the music inventory of Queen Maria Josepha from the former Royal Library (*Bibliotheca musica regia*) in Dresden includes only a single work by Bach, 'Missa à 18 voc.' (item 1 in the section 'Musica di Chiesa di varii Autori'),³⁰ the catalogue of the music collections of King August III (later copied into the catalogue of the music collections of Elector Friedrich August III, a grandson of King August III, who reigned in Saxony from December 1763) also includes a *Clavierübung* by Bach (no specific number was given).³¹ Other copies of the music inventory of August III (including the extra entries describing later gifts and acquisitions) also include a *Clavierübung* by Bach,³² as well as a set of parts of the *Missa* (BWV 232¹).³³ It is difficult to estimate when the mysterious copy of the *Clavierübung* became part of the music collections of the royal family, or whether it was a gift or a purchased acquisition. The Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden currently holds a printed copy of *Clavierübung* I (BWV 825–30) bound in green velvet,³⁴ but there is no way of telling whether that is the same item as the one listed in the old catalogues.

²⁹ H. H. Niemöller, 'Polonaise und Quodlibet: Der innere Kosmos der Goldberg-Variationen', in *Johann Sebastian Bach: Goldberg-Variationen*, Musik-Konzepte, 42 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985), pp. 3–28, esp. pp. 22–6. Rolf Dammann made a similar suggestion in *Johann Sebastian Bachs 'Goldberg Variationen'* (Mainz: Schott, 1986), p. 94.

³⁰ D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787^c. Gerhard Poppe and Uwe Wolf believe that the inventory is only a fragment of the music catalogue of Maria Josepha. See also NBA KB II/1a, p. 15.

³¹ 'CATALOGO | della | Musica | di | S.A.S. FEDERICO AUGUSTO | Elettore di Sassonia || Catalogo della Musica di S.M. Augusto. III. [. . .]', D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787^e, section 'Musica Stromentale', p. 98 (Schränk 1, Fach 8). Ortrun Landmann described the story of the original music catalogue of King August III (now lost) in *Katalog der Dresdner Hasse-Musikhandschriften: CD-ROM-Ausgabe mit Begleitband. Die handschriftlich überlieferten Kompositionen von Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783) in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1999), p. 17.

³² 'Catalogo della Musica, e de' Libretti di S.M. Augusto III.', D-Dl, Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787^h; the same source lists a *Clavierübung* by Bach in the section 'Musica Stromentale', p. 10 (Schränk 1, Fach 8), and 'Messa c.s.' (the set of parts of the *Missa*) by Bach on p. 2 (Schränk 1, Fach 2). In a copy of the music catalogue of Friedrich August III entitled 'Catalogo della Musica, e de' Libretti di S.M. Augusto III. la quale si trova nella Biblioteca Musicale' dated 1820 (Bibl. Arch. III Hb 787^h), the item described as *Clavier-Übungen* (p. 3, Schränk 1, Fach 3) is difficult to interpret since it is attributed to Handel, with only the 'Miscellanea 1 ed 2.' being listed as Bach's. See also Landmann, *Katalog der Dresdner Hasse-Musikhandschriften*, p. 18.

³³ NBA KB II/1a, p. 15.

³⁴ D-Dl, Mus. 2405-T-46. This refers to an edition of *Clavierübung* I dated 1731. According to Richard Jones, this copy comes from the royal collection and did not become part of the collections of the Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek in Dresden until 1894 (since 1919 it has been held at D-Dl). Perhaps Bach did, indeed, personally donate the work to the royal collection. See also NBA KB V/1, p. 24. There is another copy of *Clavierübung* I in the collection (D-Dl, Mus. 2405-T-506), which came from the collection of Johann Christoph Bach from Bindersleben and

Missa would be eligible for performance in the royal chapel only on a major church holiday or else with the king in attendance as part of some solemn occasion, as stated in clause 8: 'There will be sermons on all Sundays and holidays, and mass will be celebrated on all those days with the king's vocal and instrumental music [i.e. music performed by the royal orchestra] with a splendour befitting Catholic kings and sovereigns. Musicians of the chapel must also perform during private masses on ordinary days if the king attends.'⁴⁰ We know nothing about the masses composed for the Protestant court chapel in Dresden, which would provide a counterpart for the *Missa*. Those scholars who approach Bach's work from a Protestant angle have argued that Bach's Mass could not have been performed in the Catholic chapel because the wording of the duet 'Domine, fili unigenite, Jesu Christe, altissime' departs from the canonical version of the Gloria in the Roman Missal (which does not include the adjective 'altissime').⁴¹ This Lutheran addition had probably found its way into the *Missa* because Bach relied on the Latin form of the mass as published in the *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten*.⁴² The *Missa* contains further departures from the Latin original. In the fourth repetition, the alto aria 'Qui sedes ad dextram Patris' contains an extra word, 'Dei', before 'Patris',⁴³ and the original form 'ad dexteram' consistently appears in a truncated version ('ad dextram'). Wolf has drawn attention to how the canonical wording was restored in the manuscript score of Bach's *Missa* by removing the word 'Dei' from before 'Patris', causing multiple evident corrections and deletions,⁴⁴ but the elision of the second vowel *e* in the word 'dextram' went unnoticed. The same elision takes place in the *Credo*, where a passage in the chorus 'Et resurrexit' contains the phrase 'sedet ad dextram Dei Patris', likewise a departure from the original wording in the Roman Missal ('ad dexteram Patris').⁴⁵ Incidentally, the adjective 'Altissimus' in 'Domine, fili unigenite, Jesu Christe' does not appear in any of the Glorias in Bach's later Lutheran

⁴⁰ 'Les Predications se feront tous les Dimanches et Festes commandées et ces jours la on chantera une Messe solennelle avec la Musique à voix et Instruments du Roi et avec la splendeur accoutumé des Roix et Souverains Catholiques et meme dans les Messes privées des jours ouvriers toutes les fois que le Roi s'y truovera les Musicines de la Chapelle doivent s'y trouver.' Quoted in Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, p. 36.

⁴¹ Including, among others, W. Blankenburg, *Einführung in Bachs h-Moll-Messe* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), p. 14.

⁴² *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten* (Leipzig: Würdig, 1694), p. 236 (see above, Chapter 2 n. 30). See also S. Paczkowski, 'On the Problems of Parody and Style in the "Et resurrexit" from the Mass in B minor by Johann Sebastian Bach', *Bach*, 37/2 (2006), 3–4.

⁴³ P. 23 in the MS alto part.

⁴⁴ NBA KB II/1a, p. 31. See also Bach's autograph score, *Gloria*, p. 67, middle system.

⁴⁵ See Paczkowski, 'On the Problems of Parody and Style in the "Et resurrexit"', pp. 3–4.

Masses. This means that Wolf is correct in arguing that it is not enough to invoke the Protestant tradition to explain the *Missa*'s departure from the Roman Missal.⁴⁶ Johann Christoph Altnickol (Bach's son-in-law) may not have been aware of that tradition, as he did not include either the *Kyrie* or the *Gloria* in his manuscript copy of Bach's Lutheran Masses.⁴⁷

Although some scholars have speculated in good faith about the possible performance of the *Missa* at the Dresden Sophienkirche (despite the obvious difficulties involved in such a venture),⁴⁸ there has been no discussion of the topic of the liturgical repertoire composed for Dresden's various Protestant churches. This is unsurprising in that only by looking at the *Missa* from the viewpoint of the Catholic Hofkirche do we ensure an accurate appraisal of its uniqueness and artistic grandeur. An actual performance of his Mass by the Hofkapelle at the Catholic Hofkirche, famed as it was all over Europe for its splendid music, would have been a mark of highest distinction for the composer. It was not by accident that many of the Masses that Bach copied for study purposes originated, whether directly or indirectly, from the court chapel.⁴⁹ Kirsten Beißwenger has noted in her catalogue of Bach's musical library Masses by Giovanni Battista Bassani, Francesco Durante, Antonio Lotti, Johann Christoph Pez and Johann Christoph Schmidt, all of which belonged to the court chapel repertoire.⁵⁰

The *Missa* and the 'vermischter Geschmack'

The Dresden Hofkapelle in Bach's day is often characterised as cultivating a 'mixed style' ('vermischter Geschmack', or *stile misto*), which Quantz would later describe as typical of mid-eighteenth-century German music.⁵¹ The

⁴⁶ NBA KB II/1a, p. 31. Source texts for the *Missa* listed in BC I/4, p. 1186, also include Vopelius's *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* (Leipzig, 1682) and regional pre-Reformation mass variants, e.g. the thirteenth-century *Graduale* from the Thomaskirche in Leipzig. Robin A. Leaver provides a detailed study of the problem of the work's disputed Lutheran/Catholic character in Chapter 2 above, p. 34.

⁴⁷ Schulze, p. 7, n. 56. ⁴⁸ See Wolff C, pp. 369–70.

⁴⁹ Christoph Wolff drew attention to this fact in *Der stile antico in der Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs: Studien zu Bachs Spätwerk* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1968), pp. 24–5; see also Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, p. 121.

⁵⁰ K. Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), pp. 272–7, 282–3, 303–6, 308–9, 371–2. The task of matching the works indicated by Beißwenger with the relevant items in the catalogue of the Dresden Hofkirche collection still awaits scholarly attention. The fact that some of the items in Bach's library (e.g. Lotti's *Missa Sapientiae*) came from Zelenka's collection has been mentioned in the literature of the subject.

⁵¹ J. J. Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversière zu spielen* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voss, 1752), p. 332.

mixed style in the liturgical music of Dresden was the product of a long process of development, and it did not attain its distinctive and recognisable artistic form until 1728.⁵² This resulted mainly from the cosmopolitan nature of the Dresden ensemble, which comprised musicians of a number of different nationalities, including Italian, French, German, Czech and Polish. This diversity contributed to numerous and well-researched flare-ups among the musicians, such as the infamous fracas between Senesino and Heinichen or the conflicts between Pisendel and Francesco Maria Veracini.⁵³ In terms of church music, the diversity meant that the stylistic preferences of the ensemble were shaped by the identity of the person at its helm at any given time. As Gerhard Poppe notes, Ristori favoured cooperation with the Italian members of the ensemble and used Italian composing practices (e.g. in his use of woodwind instruments), whereas Zelenka preferred to collaborate with musicians who had spent more time in Dresden and leaned towards the French style. In Heinichen's music, the two styles were integrated.⁵⁴

In addition to the closeness to the Dresden practice that the *Missa* displays in its formal characteristics, it would seem that its internal stylistic diversity also situates the work close to the mixed style typical of the court orchestra. Bach considered the Hofkapelle a model of accomplished versatility. In a 1730 memorandum he famously presented it as an exemplar for his Leipzig employers:

It is somewhat strange that German musicians are expected to be capable of performing at once and *ex tempore* all kinds of music, whether it comes from Italy or France, England or Poland, just as may be done, say, by those virtuosos for whom the music is written and who have studied it long beforehand, indeed, know it almost by heart, and who, *quod notandum*, receive good salaries besides, so that their work and industry thus is richly rewarded; while, on the other hand, this is not taken into consideration, but the German musicians are left to look out for their own wants, so that many a one, for worry about his bread, cannot think of improving – let alone distinguishing – himself. To illustrate this statement with an example one need only go to Dresden and see how the musicians there are paid by His Royal Majesty; it cannot fail, since the musicians are relieved of all concern

⁵² G. Poppe, 'Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik von 1717 bis 1725: Über das Verhältnis von Repertoirebetrieb, Besetzung und musikalischer Faktur in einer Situation des Neuaufbaus', in P. Wollny (ed.), *Mitteldeutschland im musikalischen Glanz seiner Residenzen: Sachsen, Böhmen und Schlesien als Musiklandschaften im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Jahrbuch: Ständige Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik in Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt und Thüringen e.V., 2004* (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2005), p. 331; see also Kohlhase, "'Vermischter Kirchenstil'" und dramatische Konzepte in Zelenkas kirchenmusikalischem Spätwerk', *passim*.

⁵³ Poppe, 'Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik von 1717 bis 1725', p. 331. ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

for their living, free from chagrin, and obliged each to master but a single instrument: it must be something choice and excellent to hear.⁵⁵

Clearly, as far as Bach was concerned, the members of the Dresden Hofkapelle were allowed to be, given their working conditions, 'ultimate musicians' capable of performing and composing in any style – Italian, French, English and Polish – but they also included excellent specialists. The *Missa* appears to bring to the foreground the flexibility of the orchestra but it also leaves room for feats of individual virtuosity from leading singers and instrumentalists.

Bach's general adherence to the Neapolitan model of the mass has already been noted. More specifically, elements of the Italian style can be found in such passages as the soprano duet 'Christe eleison' and the soprano aria 'Laudamus te', both of which are presumably parodies of similarly affecting passages from lost secular cantatas. In addition to its virtuoso vocal part, the 'Laudamus te' also showcases the brilliant virtuosity of the famous violinist Pisendel, the orchestra's concertmaster. It has also been conjectured that Bach composed the spectacular soprano aria specifically for Faustina Bordoni, an opera star of European fame whom he had probably heard in September 1731 during the Dresden premiere of Hasse's *Cleofide*.⁵⁶ However, although the aria is certainly a bravura piece fit for the finest of prima donnas, the conjecture ignores the fact that the royal chapel would have been off-limits to a female performer.

Elements of the French style, including French performance practice, can be found in the soprano–tenor duet 'Domine Deus',⁵⁷ where the Lombard rhythms of the concertato flute seem to have been tailor-made for

⁵⁵ 'Es ist ohne dem etwas Wunderliches, da man von denen teütschen Musicis praetendiret, Sie sollen capable seyn allerhand Arthen von Music, sie komme nun aus Italien oder Franckreich, Engeland oder Pohlen, so fort ex tempore zu musiciren, wie etwa die jenigen Virtuosen, vor die es gesetzt ist, und welche es lange vorher studiret ja fast auswendig können, überdem auch quod notandum in schweren Solde stehen, deren Müß und Fleiß mithin reichlich belohnet wird, proestiren können; man solches doch nicht consideriren will, sondern läßet Sie ihrer eigenen Sorge über, da denn mancher vor Sorgen der Nahrung nicht dahin denken kan, um sich zu perfectioniren, noch weniger zu distinguiren. Mit einem exempel diesen Satz zu erweisen, darff man nur nach Dreßden gehen, und sehen, wie daselbst von Königlicher Majestät die Musicis salariret werden; Es kan nicht fehlen, da denen Musicis die Sorge der Nahrung benommen wird, der chagrin nachbleibet, auch überdem iede Persohn nur ein einziges Instrument zu excoliren hat, es muß was trefliches und excellentes zu hören seyn.' *BDok I/22*, pp. 60–6, 'Kurzer, iedoch höchstnötiger Entwurff einer wohlbestaltten Kirchen Music; nebst einigem unvorgreiflichen Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben', esp. p. 63. English trans. quoted in *NBR/151*, pp. 145–51, at p. 150.

⁵⁶ See C. Wolff, 'Anmerkungen zu Bach und "Cleofide"', in C. Wolff (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bachs Spätwerk und dessen Umfeld: Bericht über das wissenschaftliche Symposium anlässlich des 61. Bachfestes der Neuen Bachgesellschaft Duisburg 1986* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988), pp. 167–9; see also Butt A, p. 47.

⁵⁷ See G. Herz, 'Der lombardische Rhythmus im "Domine Deus" der h-Moll-Messe', *BJ*, 60 (1974), 90–7.

Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin, a French flautist in the Dresden ensemble (or possibly Johann Joachim Quantz). Arguably, elements of the French style are also present in the alto aria 'Qui sedes' with its concertato oboe d'amore.⁵⁸ *Stile antico* elements appear in the choruses of 'Kyrie' II and 'Gratias', and modern German contrapuntal style can be found in the opening 'Kyrie', 'Et in terra' and the closing 'Cum Sancto Spiritu'. Finally, Bach's *Missa* also features the Polish style, represented by a stately polonaise in the bass aria 'Quoniam', which features a concertato corno da caccia (see Example 4.1).

Potential performers of the solo oboe d'amore and corno da caccia parts among the members of the Dresden ensemble in 1733 would have included the oboist Johann Christian Richter, a pupil of Franciscus le Riche,⁵⁹ and three horn players: Johann Adam Schindler, Andreas Schindler (both listed in the 'Hof- und Staats-Calender' in 1733, the latter also in 1735) and Johann Georg Knechtel (listed in 1735);⁶⁰ it is possible that Andreas Schindler and Knechtel came to Dresden from Poland.⁶¹ However, it should be borne in mind that the passages in the *Missa* containing concertato solo instruments are most likely to be parodies. Unless Bach decided to change the instruments from his original models, the virtuoso parts would have predated Bach's Dresden plans and would have had to be performed by musicians of comparable ability at Köthen or in Leipzig.⁶²

The polonaise in the Dresden tradition

After August II 'the Strong' ascended the Polish throne in 1697, Dresden became a royal city. By securing the royal crown of Poland the elector hoped to strengthen his leading position among the different duchies and principalities of the Holy Roman Empire, and possibly to gather enough political momentum to elevate him to the imperial throne. Among the king's many projects (some of them distinctly utopian) was the idea of integrating the

⁵⁸ Butt A, pp. 72–6. ⁵⁹ Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, vol. II, pp. 66–7.

⁶⁰ The calendar for 1733 reflects the situation in 1732. No calendar was published in 1734, and the 1735 edition presumably reflects the roster of the ensemble following its reorganisation in 1733.

⁶¹ See P. Damm, 'Zur Frage der Horntradition der Sächsischen Staatskapelle Dresden (Teil 1): Über den "Dresdner Clarinohornstil" in der 1. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in H.-G. Ottenberg and E. Steindorf (eds.), *Der Klang der Sächsischen Staatskapelle Dresden: Kontinuität und Wandelbarkeit eines Phänomens. Bericht über das Symposium vom 26. bis 27. Oktober 1988* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2001), p. 103. Damm cites Wolfgang Reich ('Zelenka ante portas', *Ars musica* (1994), 40) in suggesting that Johann Adam Schindler arrived at Dresden from Vienna, and Andreas Schindler from Poland.

⁶² P. Damm, 'Zur Ausführung des "Corne da caccia" im Quoniam der Missa h-Moll von J.S. Bach', *BJ*, 70 (1984), 91–103.

Example 4.1 J. S. Bach, B-minor Mass, 'Quoniam', bars 1–5 and 12–21: polonaise rhythm is present in the bassoon (bars 2, 4, 12) and continuo (bars 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 17)

The musical score for Example 4.1 consists of three systems of staves. The first system (bars 1–5) includes staves for Corno da caccia, Bassono I, Bassono II, Basso, and Continuo. The second system (bars 12–21) includes staves for Corno da caccia, Bassono I, Bassono II, Basso, and Continuo, with vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and lyrics. The third system (bars 17–21) includes staves for Corno da caccia, Bassono I, Bassono II, Basso, and Continuo, with vocal parts and lyrics. The polonaise rhythm is indicated by a 'P' symbol above the bassoon and continuo staves in bars 2, 4, 12, 14, 15, and 17.

populations of Poland and Saxony into a lasting union of two states ruled by the House of Wettin. The idea was reflected in the new *modus operandi* of the Dresden court. Early in the reign of August II (before the political situation deteriorated), the court moved between Warsaw and Dresden, serving in each

location as a joint institution for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Saxony.⁶³ In a symbolic gesture, Polish customs were introduced in Dresden to emphasise the close relations between the two nations. Polish dancing was one example, and the polonaise attained great popularity in Saxony. In a vivid indication of the polonaise's ascendancy, the grand ball held in Dresden on 4 September 1719 to celebrate the high-profile wedding of Crown Prince Friedrich August (son of August II) and Archduchess Maria Josepha of Austria (daughter of Emperor Joseph I) opened with a polonaise. King August II and his royal consort led the procession of dancers. A contemporary account stated: 'Accompanied by splendid music, His Royal Majesty and the queen opened the ball with a Polish-style dance, and ladies and gentlemen followed the king in pairs.'⁶⁴

The dancing of a polonaise became a standard way to open court balls in Dresden, a custom which survived in Saxony until the demise of the monarchy in 1918 and which was also adopted by other courts in the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁵ Johannes Mattheson wrote about the new-found enormous popularity of the dance in Germany, noting that composers would set even the most serious of verses to tunes *à la polonaise*.⁶⁶

The stately polonaise was seen as a splendid and chivalrous processional dance. Because it was usually danced in boots and with swords at the side (and occasionally with torches in hand),⁶⁷ the dance was slow-paced.⁶⁸ According to contemporary accounts, the polonaise embodied the ultimate expression of true chivalric virtues, and many treated it simply as a triumphal march in triple time.⁶⁹ The diaries of Charles Burney, the famous

⁶³ J. Staszewski, *August II Mocny* [August II the Strong] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1998), *passim*.

⁶⁴ 'Und führten Ihre Majestät mit der Königin unter einer herrlichen Music den Ball ein, dabey polnisch getantz wurde, und paar und paar Dames und Cavaliers dem Könige nachfolgten.' *Das königliche Denckmal* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1719), p. 43. Later descriptions of that famous ball can be traced back to this source.

⁶⁵ O. Landmann, 'Bemerkungen zu den Hasse-Quellen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek', in F. Lippmann (ed.), *Colloquium 'Johann Adolf Hasse und die Musik seiner Zeit'* (Siena 1983), *Analecta musicologica*, 25 (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1987), pp. 493–4.

⁶⁶ J. Mattheson, *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1737), pp. 116–17.

⁶⁷ The so-called *Fackeltänze* (torch dances), which formed part of the dance repertoire not only at the Dresden court but also in Berlin, were in fact polonaises. The few surviving MS copies of such dances are inscribed 'Polonaise'. See e.g. J. Adam, *Fackel-Tanz*, composed to open a ball at the Dresden court in 1769 in D-B, Mus. ms. 335/20; see also the anonymous *Fackeltänze* written in 1793 for the King of Prussia (D-B, KHM 318 and 319).

⁶⁸ On the polonaise tempo, see J. P. Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, vol. II/1 (Berlin and Königsberg: G. J. Decker and G. L. Hartung, 1774), pp. 202–3.

⁶⁹ F. M. Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886), vol. I: *Darstellender Teil*, p. 214; C. Sachs, *World History of the Dance* (New York: Bonanza, 1937), p. 425.

traveller and musical historian, note the continued popularity of the dance in eighteenth-century Saxony. Burney ascribed its reputation to the long-standing political union of Poland and Saxony under the Wettin kings: 'Musical airs, known by the name of *Polonoises*, are very much in vogue at Dresden, as well as in many other parts of Saxony; and it is probable, that this was brought about during the long intercourse between the Poles and Saxons, during the reigns of Augustus the second and third.'⁷⁰ Owing to its stable position in court life the polonaise acquired a number of symbolic meanings in Saxony. Initially, it served simply as a musical shorthand for the Polish crown; then it came to symbolise monarchy and royal majesty in general, and finally it took on the status of a musical symbol of the King of Heaven. The Dresden-based scholar Ortrun Landmann appears to have been the first to recognise this symbolic meaning.⁷¹ In a study of Hasse's sources in Dresden, Landmann writes: 'For instance, one might point out the symbolic meaning of the polonaise arias and the Polacca section in the operatic sinfonias (e.g. in *Didone abbandonata*, D-DI, Mus. 2477-F-35), representing a nod to the Polish crown.'⁷² In her description of the 'Quoniam' from Johann Adolf Hasse's *Missa ultima* in G minor (1783), Hasse's last Mass composed for Dresden, Landmann notes: 'The *Quoniam* sounds like a brilliant polonaise. This dance was a trademark of Polish kings, and belonged, as it were, to the insignia of royal power. This way Hasse demonstrated his devotion to the Heavenly King by musical means.'⁷³

⁷⁰ C. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces. Or the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, undertaken to collect Materials for a General History of Music*, 2nd rev. edn (London: T. Becket, J. Robson and G. Robinson, 1775), vol. II, p. 71.

⁷¹ O. Landmann, 'Dresden', *MGG*², Sachteil, vol. II, col. 1537.

⁷² 'Es wäre z.B. hinzuweisen auf den Symbolgehalt der Polonaisenarien und der Polacca-Sätze in Opernsinfonien (z.B. bei *Didone abbandonata*, D-DI, Mus. 2477-F-35), die eine Verbeugung vor der polnischen Krone darstellen.' Landmann, 'Bemerkungen zu den Hasse-Quellen', pp. 493–4. For similar conclusions on the significance of polonaise arias in the operas of Hasse, see A. Żóławska-Witkowska, 'La "Zenobia" per il teatro reale di Varsavia', in Reinhard Wiesend (ed.), *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Zeit: Symposium vom 23. bis 26. März 1999* (Hamburg and Stuttgart: Carus, 2006), p. 125; R. Strohm, 'Zenobia: Voices and Authorship in Opera Seria', in S. Paczkowski and A. Żóławska-Witkowska (eds.), *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart: Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik* (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002), pp. 77–8.

⁷³ 'Quoniam erklingt hierzu als strahlende Polonaise. Dieser Tanz war das "Markenzeichen" der polnischen Könige, er gehörte gleichsam zu den königlichen Insignien. Mittels einer Königsmusik also bezeugt Hasse dem Himmelskönig seine Devotion.' O. Landmann, 'Johann Adolf Hasse und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Anregungen zu einer der möglichen Behandlungen des Themas', in E. Thom (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Ein Beitrag zum 200. Todestag. Aufführungspraxis – Interpretation – Edition*, Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts, 44 (Michaelstein/Blankenburg: Institut für Aufführungspraxis, 1991), p. 76.

The polonaise in Dresden liturgical music

It would appear that Hasse's polonaise 'Quoniam' from the 1783 *Missa ultima* (see Example 4.2) relies on a convention reaching back to the first

Example 4.2 J.A. Hasse, *Missa ultima* in G minor (1783), chorus 'Quoniam' (D-Dl, Mus. 2477-D-48)

Example 4.2 (cont.)

half of the eighteenth century. There are many passages in the Dresden court chapel's pre-1740 mass repertoire in which Polish dance patterns are recognisable, primarily those of the polonaise. In those cases where Polish-style passages were used, they were mostly deployed for two parts of the text of the mass in particular: 'Quoniam' in the *Gloria*, and articles 9–11 of the

Credo ('Et resurrexit tertia die', 'Et ascendit in coelum' and 'Et iterum venturus est'). Broadly speaking, the theological import of these passages is linked to the image of the victorious risen Christ as King.⁷⁴ Given its association with all things royal, the polonaise was a natural match for these liturgical texts.

Richly orchestrated polonaise settings of the 'Et resurrexit' can be found in the following surviving Masses by Johann David Heinichen:⁷⁵

Missa (1721), D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. J.D. Heinichen 2 N

Missa à 4 voci (1721), D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-13

The above Mass in an abbreviata version (1727), D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-13a

Missa à 4 voci (1722), D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-12

The above Mass in an abbreviata version (1725–8?), D-DI, Mus.-D-12a

Missa à 4 voci (1726), D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-6

Missa à 4 voci (1728), D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-10

Missa à 4 voci (1728?), D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-1 (MS copy by Johann Schuster)

Missa à 4 voci (1729), D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-11

Heinichen also composed a splendid polonaise with an alto solo and concertato corni da caccia and violin for the 'Quoniam' in his *Missa à 4 voci* (D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-11; see Example 4.3).

In Masses by Zelenka the polonaise occurs primarily in the 'Quoniam' movements. Polonaise passages have been identified in the following pieces by the Czech composer:

Missa S. Spiritus (1723), D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-18₁₋₂

Missa Paschalis (1726), D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-19

Missa Nativitatis Domini (1726), D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-20

Missa Charitatis (1727), D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-23 (see Example 4.4)

Missa Corporis Domini (c.1727), D-B, Am. B. 362 (MS copy by Gottlob Harrer)

Missa Divi Xaverii (1729), D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-26

Missa ultimarum prima: Missa Dei Patris (c.1740), D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-11⁷⁶

Missa ultimarum secunda: Missa Dei Filii (c.1740), D-DI, Mus. 2358-D-15₁₋₂⁷⁷

⁷⁴ On the conformity between the theological interpretation of articles 9–11 of the Credo and the symbolic use of the polonaise in the 'Et resurrexit' chorus in Bach's B-minor Mass, see Paczkowski, 'On the Problems of Parody and Style in the "Et resurrexit"', pp. 20–5.

⁷⁵ See Schmitz, *Die Messen Johann David Heinichens*, Anhang II (thematic catalogue of Heinichen's Masses), pp. 219–321.

⁷⁶ R. Kubik's edn, in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 93.

⁷⁷ R. Kubik's edn, in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 100.

Example 4.3 J. D. Heinichen, *Missa à 4 voci*, 'Quoniam', bars 14–25 (transcribed from D-DI, Mus. 2398-D-11)

Violino conc.
Violini
Viole
Alto
Cont.
Quo-ni-am tu so-lus san-ctus, tu so-lus Do-mi-nus, quo-ni-am tu so-lus san-ctus, tu so-lus

Example 4.4 J. D. Zelenka, *Missa Charitatis*, 'Quoniam', bars 20–4 (transcribed from D-B, Am. B. 361, and not from the composer's manuscript, D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-23, owing to textual problems)

20

Quo-ni-am tu so-lus san-ctus tu so-lus Do-mi-nus tu so-lus Al-tis-si-mus

Quo-ni-am tu so-lus Do-mi-nus so-lus Al-tis-si-mus

Zelenka also composed polonaise settings of the 'Et resurrexit', for instance in the *Missa votiva* in E minor (1739), D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-33₁₋₂.⁷⁸

Later court composers in Dresden imitated Heinichen's and Zelenka's polonaise settings of the 'Quoniam', for example in many Masses by Hasse, Joseph Schuster and Johann Gottlieb Naumann. Hasse composed polonaise settings of 'Quoniam' in the following Masses found in the Hofkirche repertoire:

Messa in D minor (1751), D-Dl, Mus. 2477-D-44

Messa intiera (riformata) in F (c.1760), D-Dl, Mus. 2477-D-3

Messa intiera in E-flat (1779), D-Dl, Mus. 2477-D-2

Messa ultima in G minor (1783), D-Dl, Mus. 2477-D-48⁷⁹

Polonaise style has also been identified in the following Masses by Schuster:

Messa per la presentazione al sacro fonte di Maria Augusta (?), D-Dl, Mus. 3549-D-16

Missa à 4 concertat. in G minor (1772), D-Dl, Mus. 3549-D-18

Missa à 4 voci con stromenti in E-flat (1785), D-Dl, Mus. 3549-D-15

Missa à 4 voci con stromenti in E minor (?), D-Dl, Mus. 3549-D-8

⁷⁸ R. Kubik's edn, in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 108.

⁷⁹ Landmann, *Katalog der Dresdner Hasse-Musikhandschriften*; W. Hochstein, 'Die Überlieferung von Hasses Messen in den Bibliotheken zu Dresden und Mailand', in Paczkowski and Żórawska-Witkowska (eds.), *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart*, pp. 165–6.

Finally, polonaise settings of 'Quoniam' can be found in numerous Masses by Johann Gottlieb Naumann:⁸⁰

Missa in G (1766), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-65

Missa in D minor (1767), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-63

Missa in G minor (1771), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-80

Missa in D minor (1774), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-23

Missa in B-flat (1776), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-25

Missa in D minor (1778), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-26

Missa in E minor (1779), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-86

Missa in A (1782), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-88

Missa in D minor (1794), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-518

Missa in C minor (1801), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-66

Kyrie and Gloria (?), D-Dl, Mus. 3480-D-523

These are by no means the only Polish-style passages in the liturgical repertoire of the Dresden Hofkirche; recognisable polonaises also appear in such works as the 'Gloria Patri' section of Zelenka's *Miserere* (D-Dl, Mus. 2358-D-62). Even visiting composers at the Dresden court clearly saw fit to include polonaises in the works they contributed to the chapel repertoire, as was done by Johann Friedrich Fasch in the 'Domine Deus Rex Coelestis' section of his Mass in D (before 1729, D-Dl, Mus. 2423-D-1).

The examples listed above are probably the tip of an iceberg. They comprise a mere fraction of the vast amount of source material available from the collection of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden, not to mention other works scattered in other libraries. Nor is the concept of the Polish style limited to the polonaise alone. Research by Janice B. Stockigt has brought to light the use of mazurka rhythm in the music of Zelenka,⁸¹ and the Dresden repertoire could well hold more surprises. One thing is certain: Dresden composers made a point of including polonaises in their liturgical works where the texts referred to the King of Heaven, to Christ as the King or to Mary as the Queen of Heaven. By the mid-eighteenth century, this specialised use of the polonaise had become a local tradition. Owing to its transparent symbolism and attractive musical qualities, the polonaise tradition was both noticed and imitated by composers outside Dresden. The same symbolism made its mark on the cantata repertoire in

⁸⁰ I. Forst, 'Die Messen von Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1741–1801): Untersuchungen zu den Quellen und zu Formproblem', Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität, Bonn (1987), pp. 41–311.

⁸¹ J. Stockigt, 'Is the "Polish style" Present in the Music of Zelenka?', *Context*, 3 (Winter 1992), 18–26; Stockigt, *Jan Dismas Zelenka*, pp. 127, 165, 167.

Dresden's Protestant churches,⁸² indicating the emergence in the city of a recognisable convention. This is the convention Bach follows in his polonaise chorus 'Et resurrexit' in the *Credo*,⁸³ and in the bass aria 'Quoniam' in the *Gloria* of the Mass in B minor.

Theological aspects of the 'Quoniam' text

The lines 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe' and 'Cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris' conclude the liturgical hymn *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. The words attribute to the Son of God and the Holy Spirit the divine qualities of holiness, power and supreme majesty, according the same degree of praise to the other two members of the Holy Trinity as to God the Father. Like most texts in the Ordinary of the Mass, the words 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe', which appear in Bach's *Missa* as a bass aria, contain allusions to several scriptural passages, as shown in boldface below.

2 Kings 19.19

Nunc igitur Domine Deus noster, salvos nos fac de manu eius, ut sciant omnia regna terrae quia tu, Dominus, es Deus solus.	Now therefore, O LORD our God, I beseech thee, save thou us out of his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the LORD God, even thou only.
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Psalm 83.19

Et cognoscant quia nomen tibi Deus: tu solus Altissimus super omnem terram	That men may know that thou , whose name alone is JEHOVAH, art the most high over all the earth.
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Psalm 86.9–10

Omnes gentes quascumque fecisti, venient et adorabunt coram te, Domine, et glorificabunt nomen tuum: quoniam magnus es tu , et faciens mirabilia: tu es Deus solus. ⁸⁴	All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord; and shall glorify thy name. For thou art great , and doest wondrous things: thou art God alone.
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⁸² e.g. the opening chorus in the cantata *Gott fährt auf mit Jauchzen* by Gottfried August Homilius (D-DI, Mus. 3031-D-10), with a setting of Psalm 47.

⁸³ Paczkowski, 'On the Problems of Parody and Style in the "Et resurrexit"', pp. 35–44.

⁸⁴ The close ties between Psalm 86 and the Gloria text are particularly evident in the Ambrosian rite, where the singing of 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' followed the singing of Psalm 86.

The Revelation of St John 15.3–4

Et cantant canticum Moysis servi Dei et canticum Agni dicentes: 'Magna et mirabilia opera tua, Domine, Deus omnipotens; iustae et verae viae tuae, Rex gentium! Quis non timebit, Domine, et glorificabit nomen tuum? Quia solus Sanctus , quoniam omnes gentes venient et adorabunt in conspectu tuo, quoniam iudicia tua manifestata sunt.'	And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy ; for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest. ⁸⁵
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Each of the divine qualities present in the 'Quoniam' and in the above-mentioned passages from the Old Testament relate to the majesty of the King of Heavens, and in the passage from Revelation these are applied to Christ as King. The latter passage is the so-called 'Canticle of the Lamb', which is a paraphrase of the Canticle of Moses in Exodus 15.1–18; this is woven together almost wholly from Old Testament passages, including fragments of Psalm 86. The song is a hymn of victory, jubilation and adoration for Christ, who according to the gospel will rule over all nations for all time.

Johannes Olearius (1611–1684), author of *Biblischer Erklärung*, a multi-volume series of biblical commentaries published in 1681, discusses Revelation 15 in a separate section entitled 'De Musica'.⁸⁶ He states that 'Die Music zeigt den Lobgesang',⁸⁷ and describes the Canticle of the Lamb as an 'Evangelische Triumph-Lied über den Sieg deß Herrn . . . welches alle Heiligen im Himmel ewig singen'.⁸⁸ This vision of musical praise, sung for the Messiah in heaven, must have been familiar to Bach, who owned a copy of Olearius's commentaries,⁸⁹ and it provided an excellent opportunity to broaden out the interpretation of the liturgical text of 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus'.

⁸⁵ All four English translations from the King James Bible version.

⁸⁶ J. Olearius, *Biblischer Erklärung Fünfter und letzter Theil. Darinnen das gantze Neue Testament. Nämlich die vier Evangelisten, die Apostel-Geschichte, die Apostolischen Episteln und die H. Offenbarung Johannis* (Leipzig: Tarnov 1681), vol. V, pp. 1980–2.

⁸⁷ 'The music shows a song of praise.'

⁸⁸ 'A triumphal song on the victory of the Lord, ceaselessly sung by all the saints in heaven'.

⁸⁹ R. A. Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek / Bach's Theological Library* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1983), pp. 80–4.

The symbolic functions of the polonaise and the corno da caccia in the 'Quoniam' aria

With these theological meanings of 'Quoniam' in mind, we can recognise the seamless alignment between the meaning of the text and Bach's polonaise treatment of the aria. To give proper musical expression to a text exalting Christ as King seated at the right hand of the Father, Bach used the ceremonial music of his times. The occasion called for such stylistic qualities as involved musical and allegorical references to secular power and to the majesty and might of kings. By using a polonaise, a decision in keeping with the Dresden convention, Bach achieved a double purpose: he expressed the meaning of the liturgical text by musical means, and paid homage to his prince, to whom the *Missa* was dedicated. The polonaise in the aria 'Quoniam' must be interpreted in the context of Polish-Saxon court custom as a 'royal dance', symbolising sovereign power in secular and religious contexts alike.⁹⁰

In the same polonaise aria, Bach further augmented his allusion to royal power by using a concertato corno da caccia. The hunting horn was not an unusual element of court and church music as performed in Dresden at the time of Bach's petition. Horn players had been employed by the Hofkapelle on a permanent basis as early as 1710.⁹¹ Heinichen, the Kapellmeister of the Dresden Hofkapelle, had something of a soft spot for the instrument, which he used a great deal for concertato parts. This prominence of the corno da caccia in the Masses of Heinichen has no parallel in the liturgical repertoire of the day.⁹² The basic allusion is obviously related to hunting, one of the

⁹⁰ I have written extensively on the allegorical function of the polonaise in Bach's other works; see S. Paczkowski, 'O polonezowej arii "Lobe, Zion, deinen Gott" z kantaty "Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied" BWV 190 Johanna Sebastiana Bacha' [On the polonaise aria 'Lobe, Zion, deinen Gott' from the cantata "Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied" BWV 190 by Johann Sebastian Bach], in T. Jeż (ed.), *Complexus effectuum musicologiae: Studia Mirosłao Perz Septuagenario dedicata* (Cracow: Rabid, 2003), pp. 503–9; 'Über die Funktionen der Polonaise und des polnischen Stils am Beispiel der Arie "Glück und Segen sind bereit" aus der Kantate "Erwünschtes Freudenlicht" BWV 184 von Johann Sebastian Bach', in Paczkowski and Żorawska-Witkowska (eds.), *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart*, pp. 212–16; 'Motet "Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied" BWV 225 Johanna Sebastiana Bacha – styl, forma i znaczenie' [The motet *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied* BWV 225 by Johann Sebastian Bach – style, form and meaning], *Muzyka*, 50/2 (2005), 17–43; on the allegorical function of the polonaise in Bach's other works, see S. Paczkowski, *Styl polski w muzyce Johanna Sebastiana Bacha* [Polish musical style in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach] (Lublin: Polihymnia, 2011).

⁹¹ Damm, 'Zur Frage der Horntradition der Sächsischen Staatskapelle', p. 96.

⁹² Poppe, 'Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik von 1717 bis 1725', pp. 329–32.

favourite court pastimes.⁹³ Both Augusts were known for their love of the hunt, a highly ritualised activity which by the early eighteenth century had become a sort of embodiment of such old chivalric and courtly virtues as courage, bravery, honesty and dignity. Horn music was an inseparable element of the hunt, and virtuosi on the hunting horn were highly prized and well paid. They communicated messages to the scattered hunters using an elaborate system of musical signals, which developed over time into virtuoso pieces performed in honour of the highest-ranking member of the hunting party. Because of its ceremonial and communicative functions, the horn consequently became a musical symbol not only of the hunt as such, but also of all the values associated with this aristocratic pastime.⁹⁴

What, then, is the significance of the hunting horn in Bach's 'Quoniam'? The question would be easier to answer if we knew the original pieces used as the basis for the parody.⁹⁵ But there is no doubt that by using the instrument in his *Missa* Bach was making another respectful nod to Friedrich August II. In repaying to God what belonged to God, and to Caesar what belonged to Caesar, Bach was demonstrating his mastery of the conventions of musical language of the Dresden Hofkapelle in order to prove that he deserved the title of *Hof-Compositeur*.

⁹³ H. Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680–1830* (Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 16–21.

⁹⁴ M. Marissen, 'Concerto Styles and Signification in Bach's First Brandenburg Concerto', in R. Stinson (ed.), *Bach Perspectives I* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), p. 87.

⁹⁵ Klaus Häfner has speculated that the aria 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus' is a parody of the aria of Mars (movement 10) from the lost birthday *dramma per musica* for August II *Entfernet euch, ihr heitern Sterne* (BWV Anh. 9), a conjecture which I believe is insufficiently supported by the documentation. Cf. K. Häfner, *Aspekte des Parodieverfahrens bei Johann Sebastian Bach: Beiträge zur Wiederentdeckung verschollener Vokalwerke*, Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 12 (Laaber-Verlag, 1988), pp. 286–91.

5 | 'The Great Catholic Mass': Bach, Count Questenberg and the Musicalische Congregation in Vienna

MICHAEL MAUL

In 1981 Alois Plichta published the astonishing find of an extract from the correspondence between the Leipzig student Franz Ernst von Wallis (1729–1784) and Count Johann Adam von Questenberg (1678–1752).¹ On 2 April 1749 Wallis wrote the following puzzling lines to the count about visiting Bach:

Immediately after the receipt of your gracious letter, I enquired in various places about Mr Bach's residence and, the information having been obtained, the lieutenant went to him in person and communicated the things mentioned in the letter to him. He was greatly pleased to receive news from Your Excellency, as his generous patron, and asked me to forward the enclosed letter. He sent it to me late on Saturday, the last post day, so Your Excellency was obliged to wait until today for my humble report. The *Herr Musique-Director's* letter will convey the various matters that Your Excellency has wanted to know.²

What exactly these 'things' were that the lieutenant (probably Wallis's steward, or *Hofmeister*) had told Bach on Questenberg's behalf remains unknown; in two other surviving letters from Wallis to Questenberg (dated

I am grateful to Dr Jana Perutková (University of Brno) and Viera Lippold (Bach-Archiv, Leipzig) for their help concerning my archival research in the Czech Republic in 2007. I would also like to thank Dr Christine Blanken (Bach-Archiv, Leipzig) for informing me about the relevant archival situation in Vienna and Dr David Black (University of Cambridge), who gave me important information concerning the location of sources pertaining to the Musicalische Congregation. An earlier German version of this article was published in *BJ*, 95 (2009), 153–75. I dedicate this chapter to the memory of Dr Alison Dunlop (1985–2013), the translator of my text and a much-valued colleague and friend.

¹ Only Wallis's side of the correspondence is preserved. See A. Plichta, 'Johann Sebastian Bach und Johann Adam Graf von Questenberg', *BJ*, 67 (1981), 23–8, and A. Plichta, 'Questenberg – Jaroměřice – Bach', *Opus musicum*, 10/9 (1978), 268–71.

² Moravský Zemský Archiv, Brno (Moravian regional archive, hereafter cited as MZA), G 436 (Rodinný archiv Kouniců), Inv. No. 6361, repr. in *BDok* V/B 581a: 'Alsogleich nach erhaltung dero gnädigsten Brieffes habe mich an verschiedenen Örthern umb die Behausung des H. Bachs angefragt, nach eingeholten Bericht ist H. Lieutenant selbst zu Ihme gegangen, und Ihme die Sachen, wie der Brieff gemeldet, eröffnet. Er hat ungemeine Freude bezeigt von EuerExcellenz, als seinen gnädigsten hohen Patron, und Gönner einige Nachrichten zu erhalten, und mich ersuchet gegenwärtigen Brieff beizuschliessen. Allein Er hat mir selben Sambstags, als verflossenen Posttag, also spath zugesendet, das bis anheüt EuerExcellenz meinen Unterthänigsten Bericht abzustatten verspahren müssen. Der Brieff des H. *Musique Directoris* wirdt das mehrers andeüten, so Eüre Excellenz zu wissen verlanget hatten.'

5 February and 8 March 1749), the matter is not mentioned again. Furthermore, Plichta was unable to find any more information about the connections between Bach and Questenberg predating this correspondence.³ The Catholic count, who resided in Moravian Jarmeritz (today Jaroměřice), was a true connoisseur of music who maintained a small court chapel and staged ambitious performances of operas and oratorios. He was also an accomplished lutenist.⁴ Given this activity, there can be little doubt that Questenberg was contacting Bach about musical matters. In a postscript to Plichta's article, Christoph Wolff speculated that this puzzling request did not necessarily concern lute music. The fact that Questenberg initiated regular performances of large-scale vocal works also allows us to speculate 'if perhaps the completion of the B-minor Mass had something to do with Questenberg's oratorio performances'.⁵ Given that it was almost impossible at the time of Plichta's research to gain access to the Questenberg materials kept in the Moravský Zemský Archiv in Brno, this supposition could only be based on secondary literature, principally a study from 1916 about musical life at Questenberg's residence.⁶ These allowed Wolff at least to establish a personal relationship between Questenberg and a fellow music connoisseur, Count (*Reichsgraf*) Franz Anton von Sporck, to whom Bach seemingly had lent the original vocal parts of the *Sanctus* BWV 232^{III},⁷ and to whom Picander dedicated his 1725 *Sammlung erbaulicher Gedanken*. Wolff also managed to establish a connection between Questenberg and Protestant poetry: a *sepolcro* by Questenberg's Kapellmeister, František Antonín (Václav) Míča, dating from 1727 (*Abgesungene Betrachtungen*

³ At any rate, statements made by Wallis, in particular his comments – seemingly noted down at Questenberg's request – about Leipzig and its university, would suggest that Questenberg had never visited the town. The connection between Wallis and the count can be explained by the fact that Wallis had once lived in Questenberg's Viennese residence. This is known from an entry in the Questenberg accounts: 'Ausgaben des Wiener Agenten Václav František Haymerle in Wien für den Zeitraum 26. Dezember 1748 bis Juni 1749' [Expenses of the Viennese agent Václav František Haymerle for the period 26 December 1748 to June 1749]: 'Nach dem Ausziehen des H. Grafen v. Wallis die Zimmer putzen lassen ...' ('To have the rooms cleaned after Count von Wallis has moved out ...'); MZA, F 460, Inv. No. 9768 (unpaginated).

⁴ E. G. Baron, *Historisch-theoretische & praktische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (Nuremberg: J. F. Rüdiger, 1727), p. 77.

⁵ C. Wolff, 'Nachwort' to Plichta, 'Johann Sebastian Bach und Johann Adam Graf von Questenberg', *BJ*, 67, (1981), 28–30: 'ob nicht vielleicht die Komplettierung der h-Moll-Messe gar etwas mit den Questenbergschen Oratorienaufführungen zu tun habe'.

⁶ V. Helfert, *Hudební barok na českých zámcích: Jaroměřice za hraběte Jana Adama z Questenberku* [The musical Baroque in Czech castles: Jaroměřice under Count Jan Adam Questenberg] (Prague: Česká Akademie, 1916).

⁷ See *BDok* III, p. 638.

über etwelche Geheimnisse des bitteren Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi),⁸ includes the text of the chorale verse 'Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe' (verse 4 of Johann Heermann's *Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen* of 1630),⁹ well known because of its use in Bach's St Matthew Passion. In 1981 Wolff could only conclude: 'We can only hope that further findings will eventually shed more light on Bach's connections to Bohemia . . . and Moravia. We are obviously dealing here with one of the most important grey areas in Bach's biography.'¹⁰ In conjunction with the on-going source cataloguing project 'Expedition Bach', commenced several years ago at the Bach-Archiv in Leipzig, this 'grey area' in Bach's biography has once more been taken into consideration and answers have been sought for the following questions in the available Questenberg archival materials, which include an enormous number of account books,¹¹ numerous documents pertaining to the administration of the estate¹² and a large private collection containing a significant portion of his correspondence:¹³

For what reason did Questenberg and Bach correspond and how far back does their correspondence go?

Was Bach's music, or indeed any music from Protestant central and north Germany, found in Questenberg's library?

Is it plausible that Questenberg was the initiator of the completion of the B-minor Mass, and what exactly was the reason for his communication with Bach early in 1749?

To turn now to Questenberg's life and court chapel,¹⁴ he began his career in 1702 as a court councillor (*Hofrat*) in Vienna. In 1723 he was

⁸ Autograph score in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 18145.

⁹ Miča's setting, an aria for soprano, is not in any way reminiscent of the melody of the original chorale.

¹⁰ Wolff, 'Nachwort', p. 30: 'Es bleibt zu hoffen, daß weitere Quellenfunde mehr Licht auf Bachs Beziehungen nach Böhmen . . . und Mähren werfen. Wir haben es hier offensichtlich mit einer der wichtigsten noch unerkannten Grauzonen in Bachs Biographie zu tun.'

¹¹ Mostly in MZA, F 460: 'Ústřední správa a ústřední účtárna Kouniců Slavkov, oddělení Questenbergů' [The central management and central accounting department Kounic Austerlitz, Section Questenberg].

¹² MZA, F 459: 'Velkostatek v Jaroměři', Karton 2423–34.

¹³ MZA, G 436: 'Rodinný Archiv Kouniců'. Questenberg's estate went to Prince Dominik Andreas II. von Kaunitz-Rietberg-Questenberg (1739–1812)); an overview of these holdings is found in the printed research guide by M. Zaoralová, G 436: *Rodinný Archiv Kouniců (1272) 1278–1960: Inventáře a Katalogy Fondů Moravského Zemského Archivu v Brně č. 30* [G 436: The family archive of Kaunitz (1272), 1278–1960. Inventories and catalogues of the Moravian National Archive in Brno, No. 30] (Brno: Moravský Zemský Archiv, 1998).

¹⁴ Where not stated otherwise, the following discussion is based on V. Helfert, *Hudební barok na českých zámcích*; A. Plichta, *Jaroměřicko: Dějiny Jaroměří nad Rokytnou a okolí* [Jaroměřice: the

appointed to the positions of privy councillor (*Geheimrat*) and chamberlain (*Kammerherr*). At the beginning of the 1730s he ran into financial difficulty – partly because his first wife Maria Antonia, née Countess von Friedberg und Scheer (d. 1736), a lady-in-waiting (*Hofdame*) to the dowager Empress Amalia Wilhelmine, spent enormous sums on theatre performances and expensive clothes – which damaged his position at the Viennese court. In 1732 he was considered for the position of *Cavaliere direttore della musica* (principal director of the court music, succeeding Prince Ludwig Pius von Savoy), but this lucrative office finally went to Count Ferdinand von Lamberg.¹⁵ In 1735 Questenberg was appointed commissar of the imperial commission in the Moravian state parliament; from this time on he spent most of his time in Moravia, firstly primarily in Brünn (today Brno), then increasingly almost exclusively at his castle in Jarmeritz, which he expanded and reconstructed in 1738 at great expense.¹⁶ Here, from as early as the 1720s, Questenberg put on costly performances of operas, which sometimes engaged the local people of Jarmeritz. He also staged plays in the Czech language and concerts of music by composers such as A. Caldara, F. B. Conti, I. M. Conti, G. Giacomelli, J. A. Hasse, N. A. Porpora, D. Sarro and L. Vinci, most of which had already been performed elsewhere.¹⁷

The financial situation of the count – both accounts and original receipts survive¹⁸ – and the correspondence with his Viennese steward, Georg Adam

history of Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou and the surrounding area] [Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou: Městský Úřad, 1994], vol. II; and J. Dvořáková, 'Die Musikkultur von Schloss Jarmeritz und František Václav Miča (1694–1744)', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, 24 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1995), pp. 83–111.

¹⁵ Overview provided in L. Ritter von Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna: Beck, 1869), p. 72.

¹⁶ The question of to what extent Questenberg was, or rather should have been, present in Vienna from the 1730s onwards, which has often been discussed in the literature (in particular in Dvořáková, 'Die Musikkultur von Schloss Jarmeritz und František Václav Miča', pp. 88–9), seems to me to be hardly justifiable in the light of what the archival materials tell us. Questenberg kept a sumptuous staffed palace in the Johannesgasse in Vienna until his death, travelled frequently to the capital and acquired most of his goods from there.

¹⁷ See the literature mentioned in n. 14 above and the following studies by J. Perutková: 'Libreto k opera Amalasunta Antonia Caldary – nový příspěvek k opernímu provozu v Jaroměřicích nad Rokytnou za hraběte J. A. Questenberga', *Musilogica Brunensia: Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, H38–40 (2006), 207–18; 'Caldarova opera *L'Amor non ha legge* pro hraběte Questenberga aneb 'Horší nežli čert je to moderní manželství', *Musilogica Brunensia: Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, H41 (2006), 125–46; and 'Zur Identifizierung der Questenbergischen Partituren in Wiener Musikarchiven', *Hudební věda*, 44/1 (2007), 5–36.

¹⁸ MZA, F 459, Karton 862–75 ('Burggrafenrechnung und Belege') and 1173 ('Kirchenrechnungen: Jarmeritz'); F 460, Karton 2424–34 (Questenberg's unbound consumption bills with receipts).

Hoffmann,¹⁹ illustrate that Questenberg took great pains to acquire the newest music (in particular Italian opera scores, collections of arias and libretti current at the Viennese court)²⁰ – sometimes by somewhat adventurous means.²¹ However, there is no information in the Questenberg archival materials about sources obtained from Protestant areas of the

¹⁹ MZA, G 436, Inv. No. 6133. Hoffmann was the father of the famous Viennese composer Leopold Hoffmann, later Kapellmeister at St Stephen's Cathedral.

²⁰ He requested weekly reports from Hoffmann about works staged in Vienna and sent for the corresponding libretti (Helfert, *Hudební barok na českých zámcích*, pp. 245–6); in the 1730s and early 1740s he had several hundred volumes of 'Opernbüchl' bound by Viennese bookbinders for his library. The c.40,000 pages of accounts examined in conjunction with this study have revealed, among other things, information about the (mostly Viennese) copyists working for Questenberg:

In 1724 a Johannes Kornhofer (MZA, F 460, Inv. No. 9734);

In 1737 'dem Hof-Copisten wegen Abschreibung einer Hof-Serenada vom H: Pasquini' (ibid., Inv. No. 9746);

In 1741–2 several opera scores copied by Sebastian Senfft (named works mentioned include *La fedeltà sino alla morte*, *Antigona*, *Hypermnestra*, *Ezio*, *Ambletto*, *Temistocle* and the 'Comoedie' *Der Verschwender*; the copyist's receipts, ibid., Inv. No. 9754, fol. 8, and Inv. No. 9755, fols. 20, 23, 55, 68, 70, 92 and 111);

In 1743, among other things, copies of arias from various 'Comoedien' (ibid., Inv. No. 9757, fol. 27);

In 1742 a 'Hof-Opera', copied by a 'Herrn Cis' (the Viennese court copyist Andreas Johann Ziss) (ibid., Inv. No. 9754, fol. 18).

Questenberg also extended his collection by exchanging music with other noblemen, often from imperial court circles, e.g.:

In 1724 with Würzburg (ibid., Inv. No. 9734);

In 1728 with Count Halleweil in Pressburg (today Bratislava): 'den 6ten dito, für ein Paquet Musicalien an den Graff Halleweil nacher Presburg zu schicken' (ibid., Inv. No. 9738, fol. 108);

In 1737 with Count von Auersperg: 'vor die Copierung der opera: la Clemenza di Tito, durch Hrn. Gr. von Auersperg' (ibid., Inv. No. 9746, fol. 2); 'Hrn. Gr. v. Auersperg zu Bestellung der opera vom ii. *Scudi Romani*' (ibid., fol. 4r). Letters from Hoffmann (see n. 19), Questenberg's subsequent agent Frantz Marx for the years 1748–50 (ibid., Inv. No. 6299) and the Viennese court scholar (*Hofgelehrter*) Konrad Adolf von Albrecht for the years 1748 and 1749 (MZA, G 436, Inv. No. 6224).

These documents offer further concrete evidence about Questenberg's opportunities to purchase music and how it was delivered to him. Many of these documents are reproduced in Helfert, *Hudební barok na českých zámcích*, *passim*.

²¹ An extract from a letter dated 28 April 1736 from Hoffmann to Questenberg illustrates this: 'Die Opera Medo, oder Medea riconosciuta samt denen von Albertoni überkommenen 2. Arien werde durch die am Donnerstag von hier abreisende Fr: Gräfin von Rogendorf gehors: einsenden. H: Albertoni bedancket sich vor die gnad wegen überschickung eines Briefs an Gr: Zeirotin, er will sich bemühen, die Sinfonien (wann anderst möglich) umbsonst zu procurieren. Ich werde nicht vergessen den Gianquir so wohl, als die opere dramatiche, so bald solche ankommen, gehors: zu übermachen. Der Arricetto lieget ohnpäßlich in Beth, undt solle eine Fieberische alteration ihn befallen haben. Er versprach aufs neue, den 3.ten Act ehist zu verfertigen; das Büchl hat er nicht mehr unter seinen sachen ... Der Caldara solle auf 3. Monath

empire, and indeed it would appear that Questenberg was either not interested in this repertoire or had no reliable means of acquiring it. On one occasion, for example, his head steward (*Hauptmann*) at Jarmeritz, Sebastian Dismas Kruba, relayed the following information to him: 'The composition in Latin by Kapellmeister Fux, and translated into German in Leipzig or Dresden, is not yet available at any bookseller, therefore I obediently ordered it from Monath and Krauß. Monath had already requested it but has not yet received a reliable answer about whether or not this work has definitely been translated into German.'²² It was only two years later that Questenberg had the book to which this letter must refer in his hands,²³ namely Lorenz Christoph Mizler's translation of Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*,²⁴ after it finally became available for purchase in Vienna. According to an inventory of the count's estate (1752)²⁵ – apart from the contents of the music collection – at least a few older works from the north

ins Wälschland mit seiner Frauen verreisen, das Oratorium hat er dem Bibiena nicht gegeben, sondern ihn zum Hof-Copisten gewissen, zu welchen zu gehen er ein Bedencken hat.' ('I will obediently send the opera *Medo*, or *Medea riconosciuta*, together with two arias by Albertoni with the Countess von Rogendorf, who is travelling from here on Thursday. Mr Albertoni is grateful for the favour regarding the delivery of a letter to Count Zeirotin, he will do his best to procure the symphonies (if at all possible) for nothing. I will not forget to obediently send the *Gianquir*, as well as the *opere dramatiche*, as soon as they should arrive. Arricetto lies indisposed in bed, having been overcome by a feverish turn. He promised to produce the third act as quickly as possible; he no longer has the book among his possessions ... Caldara is to travel to Italy for three months with his wife, he did not give the oratorio to Bibiena, rather to a certain court copyist about whom he had misgivings.') See n. 19 above.

²² MZA, G 436, Inv. No. 6188, 'Wirtschaftliche Korrespondenz 1739–1744', fol. 57, letter dated 15 March 1741: 'Die von den H. Capellmaister Fux edirte Latainische, undt zu Leiptzig oder Dreßden verteutschte Composition, ist noch biß dato dahier bey keinem Buchführer zu haben, dannhero solche bey den Monath undt bey den Krauß gehorsambst bestellt habe, der Monath hätte zwar darumb schon vorhin geschrieben, jedoch aber keine verlässliche Antworth bekommen, ob dießes Werk wäre gewiß verteütscht worden.'

²³ According to a receipt in MZA, F 460, Inv. No. 9757, fol. 32.

²⁴ *Gradus ad Parnassum oder Anführung zur Regelmäßigen Musikalischen Composition Auf eine neue, gewisse, und bishero noch niemahls in so deutlicher Ordnung an das Licht gebrachte Art*, ed. and trans. Lorenz Mizler (Leipzig: Mizlerischer Bucherverlag, 1742). This book was first mentioned in the book catalogue of the Leipzig Easter fair in 1742 but was already being discussed in Leipzig early in 1741. For the pertinent comments in Johann Elias Bach's correspondence, see E. Odreich and P. Wollny (eds.), *Die Briefentwürfe des Johann Elias Bach (1705–1755)*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bachforschung, 3 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2000), pp. 153 and 158.

²⁵ MZA, G 436, Inv. No. 6126 ('Inventarium über die Pupillar-Verlassenschaft 1752'). Instruments which were in the count's possession are also listed in the inventory (fols. 16–17): 'An Musicalischen Instrumenten. | Geigen 6 Stück. Alto-Viola 1. Violonzello | Violon 2. Jägerhorn 5 paar Trompetten | Paucken 1 paar, Posaunen 2. Fagoth | Stock-Fagoth 1. Hautbois 1 paar, Flauten 1 paar und darzu ein Fagoth alls von Helffenbein in denen Futeralen. | Lauthen Theorba 1. Pantaleon 1. Fliegel mit einer Orgel 1 laquirter Fliegel 1. dito | zusammengelegter 1. dergleichen Ordinari.'

are mentioned: 'Neumarcks Musicalisch poetischer Lustwald' and 'Risten Himmlische Lieder'.²⁶

The most famous member of Questenberg's small but ambitious chapel, was the Kapellmeister and chamberlain (*Kammerdiener*), František Antonín (Václav) Míča (1694?–1744). There were up to a dozen other musicians serving at any given time; it is impossible to determine a more exact figure as most musicians simultaneously held other offices in the service of the count. Questenberg himself had also taken part in Viennese court operas in the 1720s. He, his first wife Maria Antonia and their daughter Maria Karolina (d. 1750) may well have belonged to the larger circle of the orchestra. Maria Karolina was also taught the harpsichord by the court organist, Gottlieb Muffat.²⁷

From reading the correspondence and accounts in the Questenberg archive, one gets the impression that the count's chapel, like the cultivation of music generally at Jarmeritz, had passed its zenith by the time of Questenberg's known communication with Bach. After the death of the Kapellmeister, Míča, in 1744, the office was occupied by a clerk (*Kanzlist*) called Karl Müller who was also active as composer, opera performances seemingly took place only sporadically, and Questenberg's efforts to persuade famous musicians to perform at Jarmeritz, or even to find new forces for his own chapel, became increasingly infrequent.²⁸ Also his enthusiasm for collecting music and opera libretti appears to have waned.²⁹ His correspondence with Count Joseph Franz Wenzel von Würben (Vbrna) und Freudenthal (1675–1755), who resided in Prague, provides further insight into the life and interests of the ageing count;³⁰ it is also the most extensive and intimate correspondence of Questenberg's to survive from the period of his

²⁶ *RISM A/I/6*, N 512, and *RISM A/I/7*, p. 190.

²⁷ According to the accounts showing the count's expenditure from November 1723 onwards (8 Kreuzer monthly). Questenberg also paid Muffat at this time for a 'Schlagbuch so er [Muffat] für gnädige Freyle machen lassen' ('for him [Muffat] to prepare an exercise book for the gracious young lady'). See MZA, F 460, Inv. No. 9734, fol. 161. In 1735–6 Questenberg also acquired 'Musicalien von Muffat' ('music by Muffat'). See MZA, F 460, Inv. No. 9744.

²⁸ See e.g. Questenberg's correspondence of autumn 1750 with his Prague agent Franz Anton Dietzler concerning his attempt to persuade Nicola Antonio Porpora to perform at Jarmeritz (MZA, G 436, Inv. No. 6246: 'Briefe des Prager Agenten Franz Anton Dietzler'). In 1750 Questenberg searched, seemingly without success, for a tenor for his chapel who could also serve as clerk and violinist (MZA, G 436, Inv. No. 6366).

²⁹ At any rate, entries in account books and extant correspondence would suggest this.

³⁰ MZA, G 436, Inv. No. 6366 ('Ihro Excellenz Graf Würmbische Briefe pro Ao 1750 etc.'). The identity of this Count Würben, whose first name is abbreviated and illegible in his letters, can be ascertained from the biographical information communicated in the letters: his birthday was at the end of July or start of August (2 August), and he was a cousin of Count (Max Norbert) Kollowrat, who was a brother of Countess Brühl. Questenberg's confidant Würben was also the

communication with Bach, although again only one side is preserved. Occasionally, Würben reports about musical events which were taking place in Prague at the time, and he never neglects to praise Questenberg's chapel at Jarmeritz excessively;³¹ however, at the core of their correspondence are the concerns of two old frail men who are primarily interested in exchanging experimental cures and tinctures. Unfortunately, no evidence of what 'things' Questenberg contacted Bach about early in 1749 can be found in his correspondence with Würben or in the other archival materials of the count.³² Two letters from Bach to Questenberg, which could have given us information about this, seemingly disappeared some time before 1930,³³ and the trail to find Questenberg's library is lost at the end of the eighteenth century in Vienna.³⁴ Given the evident decline of Questenberg's chapel, it is highly unlikely that the count would have 'ordered' a Mass for Jarmeritz: he simply did not have enough musicians to perform the B-minor Mass. Also, the surviving accounts for the years 1749 and 1750 and the inventory of the count's estate rule out the possibility that he could have received a piano

uncle of Count Eugen Wenzel von Würben and Freudenthal (1728–1790), who was the son of Norbert Frantz Wenzel von Würben and is familiar to Bach scholars since he studied in Leipzig from 1746, took keyboard lessons with Bach and borrowed an instrument ('Clavier') from him (*BDok I/130–2* and *134–5*, *BDok V/A 134*). For a history of the Bohemian branch of the Würben-Freudenthal family see the family tree in C. von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, vol. LVII (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1889), pp. 174–5.

³¹ e.g. in a letter dated 3 July 1748: 'Daß Eure Excell: die Russische Generalität bey sich nicht nur zur Taffel tractiret, sondern auch dero Musiqve Ihnen produciren lassen, so ist es ausser allen Zweifel, daß Sie hierüber umb so mehr Content sein werden, alß es bekant, daß Eürer Excell: Musiqve eine von denen besten ist. Ich hätte gewünscht solche mit anhören zu können.' ('As Your Excellency not only entertains Russian generals at his table, but also presents his music to them, it is beyond all doubt that they will be all the more content, as it is known that Your Excellency's music is one of the best. How I wish that I could also hear it.')

³² It is known from an overview of travel costs (MZA, F 460, Inv. No. 9728, fols. 107–8), however, that Questenberg seems to have visited Karlsbad (now Karlovy Vary) in May–June 1718 for a cure, during which time Bach was also residing with Prince Leopold von Anhalt-Köthen (from mid-May until the end of June; see M. Hübner, 'Neues zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Reisen nach Karlsbad', *BJ*, 92 (2006), 97–105). Could the foundations of the relationship between Bach and the count have been laid here?

³³ This information was communicated orally to André Burguete by Alois Plichta (according to a letter from Burguete to Hans-Joachim Schulze dated 24 November 1988; see also *BDok V*, p. 265). It should be noted, however, that Helfert, *Hudební barok na českých zámcích*, does not mention this, even though he apparently studied the Questenberg accounts and other related archival materials intensively, which would suggest that by the early twentieth century they were no longer extant. In addition, these letters are not mentioned in Plichta's writings about the cultivation of music at Jarmeritz, *Jaroměřicko* (which was published after his death in 1993; see n. 14 above); here it is simply mentioned on p. 170 that a letter from Bach to Questenberg written early in 1749 may today be in the possession of a collector.

³⁴ According to Perutková, 'Zur Identifizierung der Questenbergischen Partituren', the opera scores from Questenberg's music library are today found in A-Wn and A-Wgm.

possibly made by Silbermann, which the Thomaskantor seemingly distributed on commission around 1749.³⁵ If we look for evidence concerning the count's musical interests in his account books from the late 1740s there is only one clue: while expenses for books and music rarely appear at this time (apart from opera scores), one aspect of Questenberg's music-related expenses remains consistent until his death in 1752. It seems that from the mid-1730s,³⁶ he paid a fixed yearly sum to a 'Musicalische Congregation'. The surviving receipts for a few payments, issued by the 'Segretario' of the society, reveals that this 'Congregation' was situated in Vienna and that Questenberg's payment was a membership fee (see Figure 5.1). In publications by Eduard Hanslick and Ludwig Köchel it was also referred to as the 'Cäcilien-Congregation'.³⁷ This congregation, with St Cecilia as its patron and modelled on an existing Cecilian congregation in Rome,³⁸ was founded in 1725 by imperial court musicians and 'anderen Zugethanen, und Liebhabern der Music' ('other devotees and lovers of music') and presided over by the director of the Hofkapelle, Prince Ludwig Pius of Savoy. According to a printed 'Catalogo di tutti li Signori Congregati, e Congregate della Congregazione Musicale' (see Figure 5.2),³⁹ the brotherhood at this time consisted of a total of about 180 people: half of these were musicians (predominantly from the imperial chapel), and the other half comprised some Viennese artists (including Pietro Metastasio and Apostolo Zeno), but primarily members of the

³⁵ See n. 25 above and the receipt that Bach sent to Count Branitzky in Białystock (BDok III/142a, p. 633).

³⁶ There are gaps in the accounts in the 1720s and 1730s.

³⁷ See E. Hanslick, *Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Wien* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869), pp. 12–13 and 28–9; L. Ritter von Köchel, *Johann Joseph Fux: Hofcompositor und Hofkapellmeister der Kaiser Leopold I., Joseph I. und Karl VI. von 1698 bis 1740* (Vienna: Hölder, 1872), pp. 169–71; the basis for their comments was primarily J. Ogesser, *Beschreibung der Metropolitan-Kirche zu St. Stephan in Wien* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1779), p. 293, and C. F. Pohl, *Denkschrift aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät* (Vienna: self-published, 1871). Further information is to be found in O. Biba, 'Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783', in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Jahrbuch für österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1/2 (Eisenstadt: Institut für Österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1971), pp. 7–79; K. Schütz, *Musikpflege an St. Michael in Wien* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), pp. 76–81; B. C. MacIntyre, 'The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period', Ph.D. diss., City University of New York (1984), pp. 36–9; G. Rohling, 'Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften: A Study of Music and Liturgical Piety', Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, Washington, DC (1996), pp. 178–200; and D. Black, 'Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music, 1781–91', Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (2007), pp. 382–3. On the background of the brotherhood, see Rohling, 'Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften', pp. 180–1.

³⁸ Rohling, 'Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften', pp. 192–3.

³⁹ A single printed sheet in A-Wst, E 124523. I am grateful to Dr Christine Blanken (Bach-Archiv, Leipzig) for informing me about this document.

Austro-Hungarian nobility who were known to be patrons of music. According to the surviving statutes of the Musicalische Congregation,⁴⁰ the members of the brotherhood assembled every year on 22 November, the name-day of their patron – the patron saint of music – to celebrate with a 'gesungenen Hoch-Amt' ('sung high mass') and a 'Musicalischen Vesper' ('musical vespers'),⁴¹ and to provide for sick members and commemorate dead members with a 'gesungenen Seelen-Amt' ('sung requiem mass') and 'mit Absingung des ersten Nocturni des Todten-Officii' ('with singing of the first Nocturn of the Office for the Dead') and the reading of '30 kleinen Messen' ('30 low masses'), for a monthly fee of 10 Kreuzer.⁴² The main event was the collective celebration of St Cecilia's day. The *Wienerisches Diarium* reports the following in the founding year of the brotherhood:

Next, a Virtuos-Musicalische Congregation was founded with the permission of His Princely Grace the Archbishop and Ordinary of Vienna, under the illustrious protection of His Roman Imperial and Royal Catholic Majesty, in order to praise God and honour the Holy Virgin and Martyr Cecilia, this praiseworthy congregation, in the imperial parish church of the WW. EE. PP. Cler Regul. S. Pauli, celebrated last Thursday, on the 22nd of this [month], the feast of its holy patron with the most grave solemnities, namely with the most excellent music, three-part trumpet choir, with two vespers, high mass, a morning sermon in German and an afternoon one in Italian; therewith the first vespers were conducted by the provost of the college: the high mass by Provost Esterhazy: the second vespers by Antoni Abbot of Monte Serrato; the German sermon of worship by D. Greipl, preacher on feast days there, on the theme: *Exulta fatis Filia Sion, jubila Filia Jerusalem* . . . presenting in this jubilee year a joyful feast of jubilee, simultaneously in adoration of the holy musician Cecilia, in conjunction and accordance with a new Musicalische Congregation;⁴³ however, the argument of the

⁴⁰ *Articulen/ und Puncten/ Oder so genannte STATUTA, Der Musicalischen Congregation, Welche Unter glorreichen Schutz Der Röm. Kaiserl. und Königl. Spanisch. Catholischen Majestät CAROLI Des Sechsten* (Vienna: J. P. von Ghelen, 1725); copy (also in an Italian version) in A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein, A 1/1; extracts of its contents are given in Hanslick, *Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Wien*, pp. 28–9, and C. M. Brand, *Die Messen von Joseph Haydn* (Würzburg: Triltsch, 1941), p. 56.

⁴¹ *Articulen und Puncten*, rubric I/3. ⁴² *Ibid.*, rubric II, chapters 2 ff.

⁴³ Sermon printed under the title *Fröhliches Jubel-Fest Einer Neu-aufgerichteten wol-einstimmenden Virtuos-Musicalischen CONGREGATION Zu Lob Gottes und Ehren der Heiligen Jungfrau und Martyrin CAECILIAE, Unter Glorreichen Schutz der Roem. Kais. und Königl. Catholischen Majestät CAROLI VI. So Mit Bestättigung Ihro Hoch-Fürstl. Gnaden Hn. Hn. Sigismundi Grafen von Kollonitz/ Ertz-Bischoffen zu Wien/ Und dero Obristen Vorsteher Ihro Hoch-Fürstlichen Gnaden des Printzen Ludwigs Pio von Savoyen/ Praesidenten der Kaiserlichen Music Mit vorgehender Lob-Rede Von P. Don PAULO GREIPL . . . Ordinari Feyertag-Prediger bey S. Michael, in der Kaiserl. Residentzstadt Wien/ unter öffentlichen Kirchen-Gepräng einem Hoch-Adelichen Volkreichen Auditorio, in benannter Kaiserl. Pfarr Kirchen/ bey Einführungs-Fest*

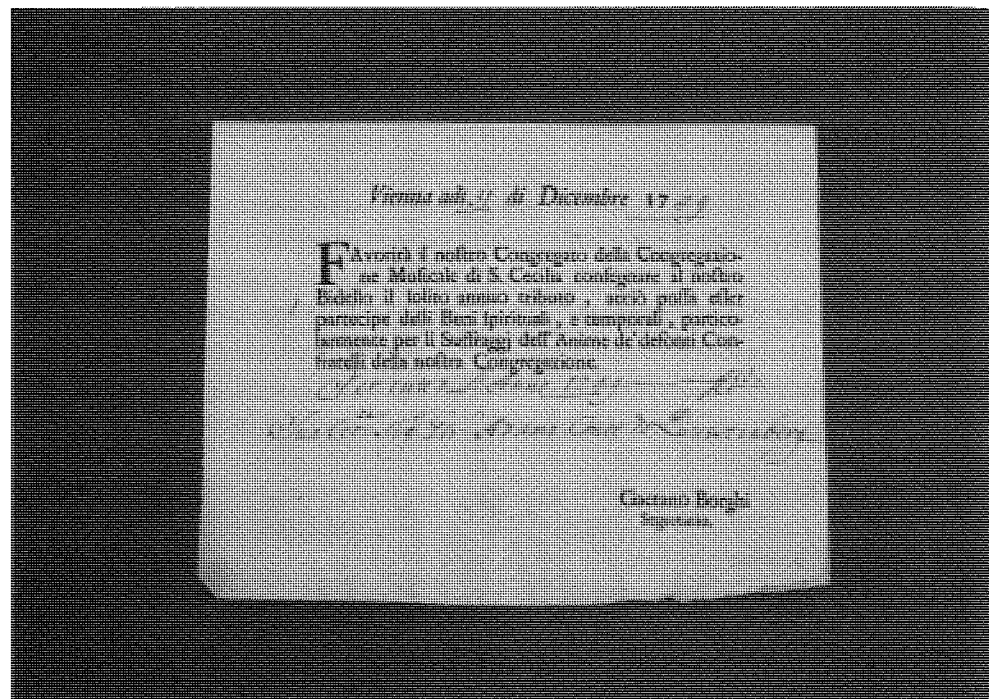


Figure 5.1 Receipt issued to Questenberg for the payment of a membership fee for the Musicalische Congregation in Vienna (1749) (Moravský Zemský Archiv, Brno, MCA, F 460, 'Spotřební účty vídeňského dvora (domu) Jana Adama hr. Questenberka, 1701–1752' [Account books of Count Questenberg], Nos. 9721–52, No. 9769: Jan.–Dec. 1749)

Italian A. R. P. Sebastianus Pauli Cler. Matris Dei, imperial historian and court preacher, was: *Santa Cæcilia à Somiglianza di Daniele fù inflessibile à piaceri, e Constantissima ne pericoli*: at which solemnities an innumerable gathering of people from all ranks participate.⁴⁴

dieser Brüderlichen Versammlung den 22. Novemb. 1725. Vorgeſtellet worden (copy in the Barnabitenarchiv, Vienna, mentioned in Schütz, *Musikpflege an St. Michael in Wien*, pp. 76–7). Other printed 'Lob- und Ehrenreden' for the St Cecilia's day celebrations of the Musicalische Congregation (which always had St Cecilia or a musical theme as their subject matter and apparently always took place during vespers) include those from 1748 (by Antonio Staudinger), 1751 (Johann Michael Schnell), 1752 (Georg Grill), 1753 (Edmund König; in A-Wn, 220276-B. Mus), 1758 (Procop Burckhart; in A-Wn, 306790-B), 1763 (Marian Reuter), 1766 (Joseph Franz) and 1776 (Ignaz Wurz) as well as one which is undated (Dominik Benedino). The sermons for which the location is not mentioned are listed in W. Welzig, *Lobrede: Katalog deutschsprachiger Heiligenpredigten in Einzeldrucken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989); see also W. Welzig, *Katalog gedruckter deutschsprachiger Katholischer Predigtsammlungen* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984).

⁴⁴ Issue of 24 November 1725; a digital copy was consulted at: anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?apm=0&aid=wurz (accessed June 2009): 'Nachdeme mit Bewilligung Ihrer Hochfürstlichen

Until the dissolution of religious orders in 1783 under Emperor Joseph II,⁴⁵ St Cecilia's day was celebrated by the Musicalische Congregation with extraordinarily magnificent musical performances, first in St Michael's Church, and later – apparently from 1748 – in St Stephen's Cathedral.⁴⁶ There are no further reports of the first decades, and consequently none for the time of Questenberg's membership, but there are later reports in the *Wienerisches Diarium*, in which music is as a rule treated with 'absolute

Gnaden/ des Herrn Ertz-Bischofens und Ordinarii zu Wienn/ aufgerichtet worden/ eine Virtuoso-Musicalische Congregation, zu Lob Gottes/ und Ehr der Heiligen Jungfrauen und Martyrin Cæciliæ, unter Glorreichem Schutz Ihrer Röm. Kaiserlich- und Königl. Catholischen Majestät/ als hat gedachte Hochlöbl. Congregation, in der Kaiserl. Pfarr-Kirchen deren WW. EE. PP. Cler. Regul. S. Pauli, vergangenen Donnerstag/ als den 22. dieses mit höchst-eyerlicher Solennität das Fest ihrer Heiligen Patronin begangen/ als nemlichen unter fürtrefflichster Music, und dreyfachen Trompetten-Chor/ mit zwey Vespren/ Hoch-Amt/ vor-Mittägiger Teutschen- und nach-Mittägiger Welschen Predigt; darbey die erste Vesper gehalten/ P. Præpositus aldasigen Collegii: das Hoch-Amt (Titl.) Herr Probst Esterhazy: die anderte Vesper/ Herr Antoni Abt von Monte Serrato; die Teutsche Lob-Predigt I'D. Greipl, Feyertags-Prediger alda/ über das Thema: Exulta fatis Filia Sion, jubila Filia Jerusalem ... vorstellend in diesem Jubel-Jahr ein fröhliches Jubel-Fest, gleichzeitig in Verehrung einer Heiligen Musicantin Cæciliæ, also in Verbindung und wol-Übereinstimmung einer neuen Musicalischen Congregation; die Welsche aber A.R.P. Sebastianus Pauli Cler. Matris Dei, Kaiserl. Historicus und Hof-Prediger/ dessen Argumente ware: *Santa Cæcilia à Somiglianza di Daniele fù inflessibile à piaceri, e Constantissima ne pericoli*: welcher Solennität eine unzahlbare Menge Volkes von allen Ständen beygewohnt.'

⁴⁵ See Rohling, 'Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften', pp. 200–1, and Black, 'Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music, 1781–91', pp. 382–3.

⁴⁶ The date of the brotherhood's move to St Stephen's, specified in the literature only as some time after 1725 (see e.g. Rohling, 'Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften', p. 181), is likely to have been 1748: in the accounts of St Stephen's the following income is listed for the first time in that year: 'Von der löbl: Congregation deren H: Musicanten wegen bey St: Stephann gehaltenen St: Cæcilia Fest die jährl: gebühr ... von ihren Festen bezahlt, zum erstenmahl mit 5 [Gulden].' ('From the praiseworthy congregation of musicians the yearly fee ... of their feast paid for the St Cecilia's day celebrations held in St Stephen's, for the first time for 5 [Gulden].') (Archiv der Erzdiözese Wien, no shelfmark: 'Des Küssern Raths und der Metropolitan Kirchen ad Sanctumalhier Verordneten Kirchenmeisters geführte Kirchen Ambts-Rechnung von Ersten Januario bis Lezten Decembris Anno 1748', unpaginated; I am grateful to Dr Annemarie Fenzl and Dr Johann Weißensteiner for their kind permission to work in the archive and for extensive information about the Viennese archival situation.) A document in the Barnabitenarchiv mentions the brotherhood's move from St Michael's 'wegen ihrer grossen praedomination' ('because of its great importance'), and if Schütz's dating of this to 1725 is correct (*Musikpflege an St. Michael in Wien*, pp. 77–8), then the brotherhood must have celebrated St Cecilia's day in another church between 1725 and 1748 or have been permitted to celebrate in St Stephen's free of charge, an occurrence which seems unlikely. The membership list (see n. 39 above) would suggest that it was still located in St Michael's in 1740. In this list Giacinto Dietrich, 'Preposito dal Collegio di S. Michele', is listed as prefect ('geistlicher Präsident') of the congregation – an office which according to the statutes of the brotherhood (*Articulen und Puncten*, rubric III/3) was always held by a priest from the church where St Cecilia's day was celebrated.

indifference',⁴⁷ about the exceptional nature of the music on this occasion (similar notices are found in the years 1768 and 1771):

Wienerisches Diarium, 23 November 1765:

On the 22nd of this [month] a praiseworthy musical congregation of the blessed Virgin and Martyr Cecilia most solemnly celebrated the name-day of this saint, following vespers on the previous evening, with a eulogy, a high mass, in *pontificalibus*, and in the evening again with vespers, with the most sublime music and magnificent illumination in the Metropolitan Church of St Stephen. On the following day, the usual Requiem with many exequial Masses for the help and comfort of all deceased members of this praiseworthy congregation also took place there.⁴⁸

Wienerisches Diarium, 25 November 1767:

On this evening (i.e. on 22 November) a praiseworthy musical brotherhood held vespers following the feast of their patron, St Cecilia, which fell on a Sunday; on Monday morning, however, this feast was celebrated with a solemn high mass, during which several excellent musicians were heard with arias and concertos. The front part of the church and the high altar were decorated with expensive carpets and illuminated with many candles.⁴⁹

Wienerisches Diarium, 25 November 1769:

Last Wednesday, the feast day of St Cecilia, the local musical brotherhood, as is their annual custom, sang solemn vespers on the eve of the feast in St Stephen's Cathedral, and on the day of the feast itself sang a high mass with excellent vocal and instrumental music, for which the high altar was most splendidly decorated and illuminated; the whole thing, performed by excellent musicians, some of whom were famous, was met with great éclat.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ See Hanslick, *Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Wien*, p. 13, and Brand, *Die Messen von Joseph Haydn*, p. 57.

⁴⁸ 'Den 22. dieses wurde von einer Löblichen musicalischen Congregation der H. Jungfrau und Martyrin Cäcilia das Titular-fest dieser Heiligen nach einer am Vorabend gehaltenen Vesper mit einer Lobrede, einem Hochamt, in Pontificalibus, und Abends wieder mit einer Vesper, unter herrlichster Musick und prächtigster Beleuchtung in der Metropolitankirche bey St. Stephan allhier feyerlichst begangen. Folgenden Tag darauf wurde eben allda das gewöhnliche Requiem unter vielen Heil. Seelen-messen zu Hülfe und Trost aller abgelebten Glieder dieser Löbl. Versammlung gehalten.'

⁴⁹ 'Diesen Abend [22 November] hat eine löbl. Bruderschaft der Tonkunst in folge des am Sonntag eingefallenen Fest ihrer Patroninn der H. Cäcilia die Vesper gehalten; Montag Vormittags aber dieses Fest mit einem feyerlichen Hochamt begangen, dabey sich verschiedene vortrefliche Tonkünstler mit Arien und Concerten hören ließen. Der Vordere Theil der Kirche, und der Hochaltar waren mit kostbaren Tapeten bekleidet, und mit vielen Wachslatern beleuchtet.'

⁵⁰ 'Verflossenen Mittwoch, als an dem Festtage der heil. Cäcilia, hat die hiesige musicalische Bruderschaft, wie alle Jahre gewöhnlich, in der St. Stephans Domkirche am Vorabend eine feyerliche Vesper, und den Tag darauf ein Hochamt, wobey der Hochaltar auf das prächtigste ausgeschmückt, und beleuchtet war, unter einer vortreflichen Vocal- und Instrumentalmusik absingen lassen; alles, was dermalen von vortreflichen und theils berühmten Tonkünstlern allhier sich befindet, ließ sich dabey mit allgemeinem Beyfalle hören.'

Wienerisches Diarium, 25 November 1772:

The feast of St Cecilia, which fell on Sunday (i.e. on 22 November), which is the feast for the protection and praise of musicians, was celebrated with the usual splendour by them in the Metropolitan Church of St Stephen. On the evening of this day, the pre-espers took place; the solemn mass and hymn of praise were on the following Monday. Both were conducted with artful and excellent music, for which all local virtuosos were present ... Never was the competitive zeal among the musicians surpassed or livelier as on this occasion, which appeared to embody the most sublime feelings of the purpose of their art and their holy purpose.⁵¹

The special significance of this occasion, in particular for the Hofkapelle, appears also to be reflected in the fact that the emperors – in deference to the musicians? – often spent St Cecilia's day outside Vienna. Prince Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, *Obersthofmeister* and *Oberstkämmerer* to Empress Maria Theresa, indicated this when he wrote in his diary on 21 November 1752: 'On the 21st, the Emperor went ... to high mass at Maria Stiegen; the worship at the columns did not take place because of the music, which today celebrates the great vespers in St Stephen's for the St Cecilia's day feast tomorrow.'⁵² Only a few musical works have so far been identified or at least considered as possibly having been performed during St Cecilia's day celebrations,⁵³ and they underline the importance of the Musicalische Congregation in their unusually large scale, virtuosity and diversity, as is also reflected in the reports of the *Wienerisches Diarium*. One *Missa St. Caeciliae* in C major by Ferdinand Schmidt (c.1693–1756), from 1743 Kapellmeister at the Gnadenbild Maria Pötsch at St Stephen's (set for

⁵¹ 'Das am Sonntage [22 November] eingefallene Fest der heiligen Cäcilia, welches zugleich das Schutz- und Lobfest der Tonkünstler ist, wurde von denenselben in der Metropolitankirche zu St. Stephan mit dem gewöhnlichen Prachte gefeyert. Eben dieses Tages am Abend war die Vorvesper; das feyerliche Amt und der Lobgesang aber war am folgenden Montag. Beydes wurde unter einer der Kunstreichsten und vortreflichsten Musiken, wobey sich alle hiesigen Virtuosen einfanden, verwaltet ... Nie war der Wetteifer sich selbst zu übertreffen unter den Tonkünstlern lebhafter als bey dieser Gelegenheit, welche ihnen die erhabensten Begriffe von der Bestimmung ihrer Kunst und der Heiligkeit ihres Zwecks einzuflößen schien.'

⁵² R. Graf Khevenhüller-Metsch and H. Schlitter (eds.), *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, Kaiserlichen Oberhofmeisters 1742–1776*, vol. III (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1910), p. 75: 'Den 21. fuhr der Kaiser ... nach Maria-Stiegen zum Hoh-Ammt; die Andacht zur Säulen aber unterblieb auf Instanz der Music, welche heut zu St. Stephan die grosse Vesper wegen ihres morgigen Caeciliae-Fests celebriret.'

⁵³ In the case of masses, their identification has been based on the assumption that works by Viennese composers whose titles include a dedication to St Cecilia and were written between 1725 and 1783 were performed at high mass on St Cecilia's day by the Musicalische Congregation (see below); see MacIntyre, 'The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period', pp. 36–9. In the case of two psalm settings by Johann Joseph Fux (a *Dixit Dominus* and a *Nisi Dominus*), the identification was based on performance dates noted on Viennese parts (Köchel, *Johann Joseph Fux*, p. 169 and Appendix X, Nos. 75 and 107).

SSATBB, two trumpets, two trombones, timpani, two violins and basso continuo), which survives in a copy from the year 1746,⁵⁴ is 1,042 bars long, monumental in its dimensions by comparison with typical Viennese settings of the 1730s and 1740s, and follows the model of the cantata mass (for example, it has a six-movement *Gloria* and a five-movement *Credo*).⁵⁵ A *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* in C major, probably written in 1743 by Georg Reutter the younger (1708–1772), first Kapellmeister at St Stephen's from 1738, and set for SSAATTBB solos, four-part choir, two trumpets, 'Kornetto', two trombones and timpani, two violins, viola and basso continuo, conforms to the same type and boasts a twelve-movement *Gloria*;⁵⁶ evidently here too 'several excellent musicians with arias and concertos' must have been heard (see the above report from the *Wienerisches Diarium*, 1767). A *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* in C major composed some time before 1771 by Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729–1774), founder of the Viennese Tonkünstlersocietät, also surpasses the dimensions of older works with a length of 1441 bars and a six-movement *Gloria*, and returns in the 'Dona nobis pacem' to the music of the second 'Kyrie'.⁵⁷ This work is likely to have served as a model for Haydn's *Missa Cellensis in honorem Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* in C major Hob. XXII:5, begun in 1766 (and either first completed in 1773 or then reworked), which is on an even grander scale and is the largest Viennese mass of the eighteenth century and in many respects similar to Bach's B-minor Mass.⁵⁸ It is referred to in various sources (from 1802 at the latest) as a Cecilian mass and was believed by Haydn scholars to have been composed for the Musicalische Congregation until part of the

⁵⁴ In A-GÖ (shelfmark unknown). It is listed in the thematic catalogue compiled in 1830 by P. Heinrich Wondratsch as No. 528. See F. W. Riedel (ed.), *Der Göttweiger thematische Katalog von 1830*, Studien zur Landes- und Sozialgeschichte der Musik, 2 (Munich: Katzschler, 1979), p. 88.

⁵⁵ For more on this work, see MacIntyre, 'The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period', pp. 383–6, 343, 983–4, 1026 and *passim*. On the length of Viennese mass compositions, see the statistics presented in *ibid.*, pp. 283–4.

⁵⁶ See N. Hofer, 'Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Georg Reutter jun.', typescript, A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 28.992, No. 79 (p. 43), and MacIntyre, 'The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period', p. 450.

⁵⁷ See MacIntyre, 'The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period', pp. 258–72, 857–60, 983–4 and *passim*; the music is found on pp. 1084–339. It is likely that the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* of this Mass were performed again on 9 December 1779 in Leipzig by the Musikübende Gesellschaft under the direction of Johann Adam Hiller, as part of the Concerts Spirituels series; the programme included a 'Kyrie und Gloria von Gassmann'. See A. Dörrfel, *Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1884), p. 14, and F. Kosch, 'Florian Leopold Gassmann als Kirchenkomponist', Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna (1924), p. 42.

⁵⁸ On the question as to whether or not the work was conceived as a unified whole, see Brand, *Die Messen von Joseph Haydn*, p. 58.

autograph score resurfaced in 1969 (the work is here entitled *Missa Cellensis*);⁵⁹ Haydn's employer Nikolaus I, Prince Esterházy (1714–1790), was a member of the brotherhood at least from 1740 (see Figure 5.2). Finally, it has recently been suggested by Ulrich Konrad that Mozart's unfinished C-minor Mass K. 427 (1783) was also conceived for the St Cecilia's day celebrations of the Musicalische Congregation; Mozart may have decided to terminate the project after the dissolution of the brotherhoods in 1783, since outside this particular context the performance of a work of such mammoth proportions would have been inconceivable.⁶⁰

Given the fact that Count Questenberg was a member of the Musicalische Congregation and that it cultivated mass compositions on an unprecedented scale and of the highest artistic demands for its St Cecilia day celebrations, we must ask the question: could the count have contacted Bach in March 1749 on behalf of the brotherhood to ask whether the Thomaskantor would be prepared to compose a Mass in honour of the patron saint of sacred music for the next St Cecilia's day celebrations of the Musicalische Congregation, on 22 November 1749, or simply to test the water? At present it is not possible to answer this question. Nor can we determine from the count's archival materials what role Questenberg played in the brotherhood, or whether it was customary ever to commission works from outsiders and, moreover, from Protestants. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to imagine that such a society consisting primarily of musical 'connoisseurs' would have made use only of compositions by its own members, that is to say exclusively Viennese repertoire. Faustina Hasse-Bordoni's membership in 1740 at least (see Figure 5.2) bears witness to the fact that the society also accepted virtuosos from elsewhere – in this case even from the Saxon court. Only one thing can be said with certainty:

⁵⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 52–9, and Leopold Kantner, 'Das Messenschafter Joseph Haydns und seiner italienischen Zeitgenossen – ein Vergleich', in G. Feder (ed.), *Joseph Haydn, Tradition und Rezeption: Bericht über die Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Köln 1982* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1985), pp. 145–59; the purpose for which the Mass was composed has not yet been explained, but it is conceivable that Haydn reworked or expanded the work for the St Cecilia's day celebrations of the Musicalische Congregation around 1773 (see the presentation of plausible scenarios about its origins in J. Dack and G. Feder (eds.), *Joseph Haydn: Werke*, series XXIII, vol. 1a: *Messen* (Munich: Henle, 1992), pp. viii–x).

⁶⁰ See Konrad, 'Die Missa in c KV 427 (417*) von Wolfgang Amadé Mozart: Überlegungen zum Entstehungsanlaß', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 92 (2008), 105–19. The Berlin copy of the B-minor Mass now preserved in Eisenstadt is likely to have reached Vienna in 1777 via Baron Gottfried van Swieten, and can later be traced to Haydn's estate. On the extent to which the B-minor Mass influenced Mozart's Mass, see U. Leisinger, 'Viennese Traditions of the Mass in B minor', in Belfast 2007, vol. I, pp. 278–85. See also Chapter 11 below.



Figure 5.2 'Catalogo di tutti li Signori Congregati, e Congregate della Congregazione Musicale' (A-Wst, E 124523)

Questenberg was in all likelihood not in Vienna on 22 November 1749,⁶¹ and the St Cecilia's day celebrations were, at least according to the 1725 printed statutes of the brotherhood, organised by the *Festaroli*, two officials elected for a two-year term, under the direction of the imperial Kapellmeister (who was always the *Dekan*, or dean of the congregation)⁶² and the *Rat* (councillor) of the society, who were also all members of the imperial chapel.⁶³ The only nobleman who belonged to the council of the Musicalische Congregation was apparently, according to the statutes (rubric I/1) and the membership list of 1740, its president, who was always the director of the Hofkapelle; in 1749 this was the double bass player Count Adam Philipp Losy von Losinthal (1705–1781), who served as music director at the Viennese court in 1746–61 and was the son of Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal (c.1650–1721?), an 'excellent lutenist' who had visited Leipzig at the end of the 1690s and had performed in a concert with Pantaleon Hebestreit and Johann Kuhnau.⁶⁴ Both father and son were in contact with the lute-playing Count Questenberg.⁶⁵

Let us assume, however, that Questenberg actually did contact Bach in March 1749 about a St Cecilia Mass for the Musicalische Congregation in Vienna.⁶⁶ This would provide us with a scenario for the completion of the B-minor Mass which was determined by practical considerations, thus explaining its many idiosyncrasies (such as the extensive drawing on material from older compositions, the lack of a uniform setting and the problem of religious affiliation),⁶⁷ which have not yet been satisfactorily explained. It would indeed be easier to understand the Thomaskantor's decision to expand the *Missa* BWV 232¹ into a great *Missa tota*, which would not be performable as a whole in a Protestant church service and whose duration in performance would also exceed the length of a Catholic high mass in the

⁶¹ If he was not, it cannot be explained why on this day his agent Václav František Haymerle sent him a letter from Vienna to Jarmeritz (MZA, G 436, Inv. No. 6265, fol. 127).

⁶² See the overview of the distribution of the various offices of the Musicalische Congregation in the brotherhood's *Articulen und Puncten*, p. 28, where Johann Joseph Fux and Antonio Caldara are listed as 'Dekane' (deans); in the printed membership list of 1740 (see n. 39) Luca Antonio Predieri is listed as successor to the deceased vice-Kapellmeister Caldara second dean.

⁶³ See Figure 5.2 and *Articulen und Puncten*, rubrics II/4, II/7, IV/1.

⁶⁴ See Johann Kuhnau's letter to Johann Mattheson dated 8 December 1717, printed in *Critica musica* (Hamburg, 1725), vol. II, pp. 229–39, esp. p. 237.

⁶⁵ See 'Losy, Johann Anton', in *MGG*², Personenteil, vol. XI, col. 493, and Helfert, *Hudební barok na českých zámcích*, pp. 218 and 220.

⁶⁶ It also would need to be explained why the 'things' discussed with Bach left no trace in Questenberg's own account books.

⁶⁷ See H.-J. Schulze, 'J. S. Bach's Mass in B minor: Observations and Hypotheses with Regard to Some Original Sources', in *Belfast 2007*, vol. I, pp. 235–6; Kobayashi A, pp. 12–15.

German-speaking lands in the eighteenth century, with the exception – apparently unique – of the Viennese St Cecilia's day festivities.⁶⁸

Let this scenario be addressed as follows: since the great masters of Viennese church music in the so-called *stile antico*, Johann Joseph Fux and Antonio Caldara, whose compositions Bach 'hoch schätzte' (valued highly) in his advanced years,⁶⁹ died in 1736 and 1741 respectively, perhaps the Musicalische Congregation occasionally sought out renowned composers from elsewhere to write for their St Cecilia's day festivities. The idea that in 1749 Bach – at the very least a *Hof-Compositeur* for a Catholic ruler – was contacted regarding a *Missa longa* in honour of St Cecilia is not inconceivable given that his music was probably known at least in some form in Viennese court circles.⁷⁰ He was also considered, along with Fux, as the supreme German authority in counterpoint,⁷¹ a standing much enhanced by the report in the national press about his fugue improvisations in Potsdam (1747) and the subsequent publication of his *Musikalisches*

⁶⁸ I know of one special case, an earlier example of the practice of reverence for St Cecilia in Italy: on the feast of St Cecilia in 1717, the 'Operisten' engaged by Antonio Lotti to come to Dresden organised a special musical performance, probably of a cantata mass, in honour of their patron, which is described in *Historia Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae in Saxonia*: 'The Italian musicians, who were sent from Venice to Dresden by His Serene Highness the Crown Prince, have brought our church to life, in honour of St Cecilia, during the octave after her feast day, they have organised a sung high mass, which lasted almost three hours, with such astonishing virtuosity in both the vocal and instrumental parts, the like of which has never before been heard in Dresden' (quoted in W. Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720–1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), p. 49; trans. based on Horn's German trans. of the original Latin). It is possible that many later Dresden masses were written in conjunction with Cecilian celebrations. At any rate, an agent from Weißenfels reported from Dresden on 23 November 1725: 'Gestern wurde in der Catholischen Schloß-Capelle das Fest der heiligen Caeciliae mit einen hohen Ambte unter vortreffl. Vocal und Instrumental Musique celebriret.' ('Yesterday the feast of St Cecilia was celebrated with a high mass in the Catholic castle chapel with excellent vocal and instrumental music.' (D-Dla, Sekundogenitur Weißenfels, Loc. 11980 (9938): 'Ein Convolut Wiener und Dresdener Diarien 1707–1736', unpaginated). Could this remark pertain to a performance of Jan Dismas Zelenka's *Missa Sanctae Caeciliae* ZWV 1b (a reworked version of a composition written c.1710–11), which according to Horn dates from c.1720–8? This would correspond with the fact that since the time of Heinichen's serious illness in May 1725, Zelenka had had to use his own works for performances at the court chapel (see Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik*, pp. 55–8, 68 and 77–8, and Horn's article 'Jan Dismas Zelenka', in *MGG*², Personenteil, vol. XVII, col. 1384).

⁶⁹ *BDok* III/803, pp. 288–90. On *stile antico* in Vienna and its influence on Bach, see Wolff A, pp. 7, 17, 21–9 and *passim*.

⁷⁰ F. W. Riedel, 'Aloys Fuchs als Sammler Bachscher Werke', *BJ*, 47 (1960), p. 90; F. W. Riedel, 'Musikgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Johann Joseph Fux und Johann Sebastian Bach', in A. A. Abert and W. Pfannkuch (eds.), *Festschrift Friedrich Blume zum 70. Geburtstag* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), pp. 290–304, esp. p. 292, where a copy of the Fugue BWV 904/2 (now in D-B, Mus. ms. 30112) is identified as probably having come from the circle of the Viennese court organist Gottlieb Muffat (who also was in contact with Quastenbergs; see n. 27 above).

⁷¹ *BDok* II/408, 465 and 620.

Opfer BWV 1079.⁷² Bach could have viewed this offer as an opportunity: on the one hand, to carry out a project which could otherwise not have been realised; on the other, to leave behind a 'visiting card' of the highest quality in the capital of the empire, and all of this with a minimum of effort: in April 1749 he already had the superstructure of the B-minor Mass based on his own pre-existent compositions: Bach's reuse of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* of the *Missa* BWV 232¹, which was dedicated to the Elector of Saxony, would not have been problematic for a Viennese performance. It should also not be considered a coincidence that the influence of a Viennese model can be found for the largely newly composed *Symbolum Nicenum*.⁷³ It is possible that Bach sent now lost performance parts or even loaned his score to Vienna some time around the end of October. This would coincide with the dates of his last entries in his autograph score, apparently made in autumn 1749 at the latest.⁷⁴ This hypothesis concerning the dating of the score is further supported by Peter Wollny's recent observations concerning Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach's annotations in the score.⁷⁵ Hans-Joachim Schulze's findings – concerning the instrumentation of various parts in the autograph score and Bach's great ambitions in this undertaking, which was clear right from the outset – would also correspond with this scenario.⁷⁶

Why Bach's activities for the Viennese Musicalische Congregation would never have been made public might also be explained as follows. Naturally, the acceptance of such a commission would be a contentious issue on grounds of religious denomination, and thus he may have preferred to keep silent about it. Firstly, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach – or at least the person who was directly (or indirectly) responsible for the description of the autograph score of the B-minor Mass in his estate – consciously or unconsciously indicated the circumstances of its performance when he spoke of the 'große catholische Messe' in the printed *Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Hamburg, 1790).⁷⁷ To what extent it was normal in Vienna to communicate the names of the authors of

⁷² *BDok* II/554 and *BDok* V/B 568a; the *Wienerisches Diarium* did not reprint the report.

⁷³ See e.g. Wolff A, p. 151; MacIntyre, 'The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period', pp. 608–12, and J. Cameron, 'Placing the "Et incarnatus" and "Crucifixus" in Context: Bach and the Panorama of the Baroque Mass Tradition', in *Belfast 2007*, vol. I, pp. 12–13.

⁷⁴ See Kobayashi A, pp. 61–2, and P. Wollny, 'Neue Bach-Funde', *BJ*, 83 (1997), pp. 42–3.

⁷⁵ P. Wollny, 'Beobachtungen am Autograph der h-Moll-Messe', *BJ*, 95 (2009), pp. 135–51.

⁷⁶ See Schulze, 'J. S. Bach's Mass in B minor', pp. 235–6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72; *BDok* III/957, p. 495. This title should not be disregarded on the assumption that it does not tell us anything about the contexts of the performance of the B-minor Mass: cf. R. A. Leaver, 'How "Catholic" is Bach's "Lutheran" Mass?', in *Belfast 2007*, vol. I, pp. 177–206, esp.

performed works to the public is cannot be determined with any certainty. Therefore, the connection between the Musicalische Congregation and the B-minor Mass remains a hypothesis. What can be confirmed, however, is that the yearly high mass sung by the Viennese brotherhood on St Cecilia's day presents a scenario in which the performance of an exceedingly demanding Mass, of almost two hours' duration, could actually have taken place, given that performances of such extraordinary dimensions were seemingly routine. Moreover, the documented communication between Count Questenberg and Bach early in 1749 provides a concrete link between the brotherhood and the Thomaskantor.

pp. 177 and 204–6; see also Chapter 2 above. The term 'Catholic', which I have encountered on many occasions in passages in contemporary archival materials, in the everyday parlance of Lutherans always meant – as it usually does today – 'Roman Catholic'. Three examples can be cited. Firstly, Gottlieb Mignon stated on his appointment as dancing master at the Weißenfels court in 1721 that as a born Lutheran he no longer wanted to live with Catholics ('denn ihm wolle "das relations Leben bey denen Catholischen . . . alß ein gebohrner Luderahner nicht länger gefallen wollen"'); D-Dla, Sekundogenitur Weißenfels, Loc. 11778 (689): 'Acta, Der Pagen-Hoffmeister, Sprachmeister, Tanz- und Exercitien-Meister Bestallungen betr. Ao. 1672–1724', fol. 46). Secondly, an informant reported from Dresden on 13 January 1726 to the Weißenfels court: 'Bey gegenwärtiger WinterKälte halten sich Ihre Hoheit die Königl. ChurPrinzessin in dero Zimmern inne, außer daß Sie heute Vormittags nebst der Prinzessin von Weißenfels Durchl. und denen sämbl. Hoff-Dames in der Catholischen Schloß-Capelle den hohen Ambte und Nachmittags der Vesper beygewohnt. Hiernechst wird vor glaubwürdig erzehlet, daß, als vor einiger Zeit eine Weibes Person die Römisch-Catholische Religion angenommen, und derselben Wohlthäter hernach gefragt, warum sie solches gethan? hätte sie zur Antwort gegeben: Die schöne Music in der Catholischen Kirche habe sie darzu bewogen, und wenn der H. Wohlthäter sie solte hören, würde er ebenfalls Catholisch.' ('With the current cold winter Her Highness the royal crown princess stays in her room, with the exception of going to the Catholic castle chapel with the Serene Princess of Weißenfels and their court ladies this morning to high mass and this afternoon to vespers; here it was proclaimed as truth, that some time ago a female person had accepted the Roman Catholic religion, and her benefactor asked why she had done such a thing. She should have given the answer: the beautiful music in the Catholic Church had moved her and if the benefactor should hear it, he would also be Catholic'; D-Dla, Sekundogenitur Weißenfels, Loc. 11980 (9938): 'Ein Convolut Wiener und Dresdner Diarien 1707–1736', unpaginated.) Thirdly, a Reformed schoolteacher of Köthen, Johann Bernhard Göbel, complained in 1726 about the Lutheran cantor of the Church of St Agnus there because he was planning to lure a Reformed boy to his school with the following argument: 'Er der Knabe lerne bey den Reformirten kein recht Christenthum, Sie verstünden kein recht Christenthum, und wenn so ein Kind ein Handwerk lernte und kähme in die Welt hinein, so fiel es ab, und würde catholic.' ('He, the boy, does not learn any law of Christianity at the Reformed school, they don't understand any law of Christianity, and if such a child learned a trade and entered the world, he would defect and become Catholic'; Magdeburg, Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Abteilung Dessau, Abteilung Köthen, C 17, No. 147: 'Acta betr. unpassende Rede des lutherischen Cantors Schulze zu Cöthen bezüglich des zur reformirten Religion erzogenen Joh. Andreas Kühne und was dem anhängig 1726', fols. 1–2.)

PART II

Structure and proportion

6 | Some observations on the formal design of Bach's B-minor Mass

ULRICH SIEGELE

To Alexander Goehr on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday in 2007

A remarkable piece of advice

In 1754 Lorenz Christoph Mizler published a piece of advice for composers of church music, informing them of how to estimate the duration of a musical work by counting the number of its bars:

During winter, church pieces ought to be somewhat shorter than during summer . . . By experience, one can define a standard, namely that church music of 350 bars of different metres may require roughly twenty-five minutes of time to perform, which is sufficient in winter. But in summer one may add some eight to ten minutes, whereby a church cantata may contain roughly 400 bars. It is not the intention that a composer should feel more bound to the duration than to the music in producing a piece properly and in fine order. A few minutes do not matter.¹

This is a comparatively clear statement comprising four points:

1. In general, there is a correlation between the number of bars in a work and the regular computation of time in minutes.

¹ L. C. Mizler, *Musikalische Bibliothek, oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von alten und neuen musikalischen Schriften und Büchern* (Leipzig: Mizlerischer Bücher-Verlag, 1754), vol. IV, pp. 108–9: 'Im Winter sollen die Kirchenmusiken etwas kürzer seyn als im Sommer . . . Aus der Erfahrung kann man das Maaß bestimmen, nemlich eine Kirchenmusik aus 350 Tackten, verschiedener Mensur, wird ohngefehr 25 Minuten Zeit erfordern, solche aufzuführen, welches im Winter lange genug ist, im Sommer aber könnte man 8 biß 10 Minuten zugeben, und also eine Kirchencantate ohngefehr 400 Takte in sich halten. Es ist dabey die Meinung nicht, daß ein Componist sich mehr an die Zeit, als die Musik, einen Satz gehörig und in schöner Ordnung vorzubringen, binden solle. Es kommt auf etliche Minuten nicht an.' The figure 400 is an understandable paleographic misprint which should be corrected to 490. Cf. R. Tatlow, 'Towards a Theory of Bach's Pre-Compositional Style', in M. Geck (ed.), *Bach und die Stile: Bericht über das 2. Dortmunder Bach-Symposion 1998*, *Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen*, 2 (Dortmund: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 1999), pp. 19–36, esp. pp. 21–3 and 34; U. Siegele, 'Planungsverfahren in Kantaten J. S. Bachs', in M. Geck (ed.), *Bachs 1. Leipziger Kantatenjahrgang: Bericht über das 3. Dortmunder Bach-Symposion 2000*, *Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen*, 3 (Dortmund: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 2002), pp. 95–113, with discussion on pp. 113–20, esp. p. 115.

2. This correlation refers only to the number of bars: it does not consider either the metre (as is explicitly stated) or the tempo (which can be added).
3. The general correlation must be specified: in the present case, 350 bars are equivalent to twenty-five minutes. Consequently, 14 bars are equivalent to one minute, 70 bars to five minutes, and 105 bars to seven-and-a-half minutes (or half of a quarter of an hour, which was formerly a common subdivision of time).
4. The amounts given for a cantata and the correlative specifications are standard values, that is to say, they are not necessarily exact, but rather only approximate values.

Mizler seemingly provides composers with a tool for determining and controlling the extent of a work. Since I became familiar with Mizler's advice, I have wondered whether this tool was just an idea invented by Mizler for himself, or whether it was really used by composers, and if so, how it was used.²

Searching for evidence

The first example I came across was in connection with an investigation into the *Ricercar tabulatura*, published in 1624 by Johann Ulrich Steigleder (1593–1635), who held a post as an organist in Stuttgart.³ Its total of twelve pieces divide into two equal groups, six large and six small. All twelve pieces collectively add up to 1891 bars; the six large pieces consist of 1251 bars and the six small pieces of 640 bars. If the number of bars for the large pieces is rounded off by 1 to 1250 (and consequently the total to 1890), the bar numbers of the large and small pieces may respectively be understood as $1260 - 10$ and $630 + 10$. This balanced exchange discloses two characteristics implied by the arrangement of the collection: (1) the relationship between the large and small pieces is formally defined by the ratio 2:1; and (2) average values may be calculated for each type of piece, amounting to 210 for the large pieces and 105 for the small pieces.

² I am indebted to Ruth Tatlow for drawing my attention to Mizler's advice some ten years ago.

³ J. U. Steigleder, *Ricercar tabulatura* (1624), ed. U. Siegele, 2 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008); U. Siegele, 'Johann Ulrich Steigleders "Ricercar Tabulatura" (1624) als Kunstbuch: Eine Einführung in Formprinzipien imitatorischer Tastenmusik', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 28 (2006), 157–206, esp. 157–61 and 204–6 (the two numbers on p. 205, line 1, should be changed to 210 and 105).

These average values correspond exactly with the scheme outlined by Mizler, except that Mizler supposes bars of four beats in crotchets whereas Steigleder notates bars of two beats in minims. Hence, the average bar values of Steigleder's pieces must be halved in order to calculate the equivalent times. On this basis, the 210 bars of each large piece are assumed to be equivalent to 7'30" and the 105 bars of each small piece to 3'45". Consequently, the planned time extends to 45'00" for the six large pieces and 22'30" for the six small pieces, producing a total of 67'30" for the whole work. The consistency of this disposition proves that Steigleder, 130 years earlier, was in accord with the guidelines handed down by Mizler. Thus it seems that the procedure recommended by Mizler had been in practice long before his time. Indeed, it works remarkably well.

The second example I found is dated almost a hundred years later. The Passion oratorio *Seliges Erwägen* by Georg Philipp Telemann was first performed at Hamburg in 1722.⁴ This oratorio consists of nine so-called 'Betrachtungen' or meditations. The basic plan assigns two arias, two recitatives and one chorale to each meditation, and allots fixed average values to each class of piece, producing a total of 2592 bars, to which a supplement of two ariosi, two chorales and one sinfonia add a further 216 bars. Two problems arise in working out the time equivalent of these bars. The sum of 2592 bars is not divisible by 105, the value equivalent to seven-and-a-half minutes according to Mizler's specifications. If we consider that the number 12 underlies Telemann's disposition as a unit, a slight accommodation produces $108 = 9 \times 12$ bars. But this accommodation poses a new problem: assuming that 108 bars are equivalent to seven-and-a-half minutes, the 2592 bars of the basic plan would extend to 180 minutes and the 216 bars of the supplement to fifteen minutes, which together form a rather unlikely expansion of the primary design. On the other hand, the double value of 216 bars as an equivalent would halve the duration, which is a rather unlikely contraction. In view of this dilemma, I tried the mean of both values, namely three halves of 108 or three quarters of 216. This choice of 162 bars as an equivalent for seven-and-a-half minutes produced a plausible result. For on this premise, the time equivalent of the sum of 2592 bars amounts to 120 minutes, with the supplement adding 216 bars or

⁴ U. Siegele, 'Zum Aufbau von Telemanns Passionsoratorium "Seliges Erwägen"', in M. Falletta et al. (eds.), *Georg Philipp Telemanns Passionsoratorium 'Seliges Erwägen' zwischen lutherischer Orthodoxie und Aufklärung: Theologie und Musikwissenschaft im Gespräch*, Arnoldshainer Texte, 127 (Frankfurt am Main: Haag + Herchen, 2005), pp. 125–55, esp. pp. 143–55.

ten minutes. Provided that the equivalent for seven-and-a-half minutes is changed to 162 bars, the procedure recommended by Mizler works as well with Telemann as it did with Steigleder some one hundred years before.

Moreover, the number of 162 bars is corroborated by the fact that it is roughly double a number named by Michael Praetorius. In 1619 he stated that 80 *tempora* (or, so to speak, 80 bars of four minims) are equivalent to seven-and-a-half minutes – a number presumably as retrospective as Mizler's number more than a hundred years later.⁵ In any case, there exists a rising sequence with the ratio 3:4:6 from 80 via 105 to 162 or, more consistently, from 81 via 108 to 162 bars, which is equivalent to seven-and-a-half minutes. The change from 105 or 108 to 162 bars between the first quarters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be due to the occurrence of new metres of shorter dimension which led to an increasing number of bars for the pieces in question.

Instrumental collections

Encouraged by these findings, I have scrutinised the role of bar numbers as an organisational principle in all of Bach's instrumental collections.⁶ There are only two collections in which this procedure could not be identified, the Brandenburg Concertos (BWV 1046–51) and the Schübler Chorales (BWV 645–50). The results from the twenty remaining collections can be summarised under the following six points, which outline a compendium of the procedure used to design the formal disposition of a work:

1. Bar numbers constitute one of many different organisational principles in Bach's compositional technique, not in terms of individual pieces, but rather relating to sums of bar numbers and their resulting averages from groups of pieces. They are a matter of disposition rather than of

⁵ M. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, vol. III: *Termini musici* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), pp. 87–8.

⁶ U. Siegele, 'Taktzahlen als Schlüssel zur Ordnung der Klavierübung III von J. S. Bach: Ein Vorschlag für die Aufführung', *Musik und Kirche*, 76 (2006), 344–51; U. Siegele, 'Taktzahlen als Ordnungsfaktor in Suiten- und Sonatensammlungen von J. S. Bach: Mit einem Anhang zu den Kanonischen Veränderungen über "Vom Himmel hoch"', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 63 (2006), 215–40; U. Siegele, 'Taktzahlen der Präludien und Fugen in Sammlungen mit Tastenmusik von J. S. Bach', in R. Emans and W. Steinbeck (eds.), *Bach und die deutsche Tradition des Komponierens: Wirklichkeit und Ideologie. Festschrift Martin Geck zum 70. Geburtstag: Bericht über das 6. Dortmunder Bach-Symposium 2006*, *Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen*, 9 (Dortmund: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 2009), pp. 77–107.

compositional elaboration or performance. In any case, bar numbers are not an end in themselves, but function as one specimen among the manifold compositional tools involved in the production of a musical work, particularly with respect to its extent.

2. The significance of the various sums is revealed when both their basic values and the modifications applied to them, namely large structural and small pragmatic ones, are considered, the counted sums of bars being split into these three different classes of components, that is (1) the basic values, (2) the large structural modifications and (3) the small pragmatic modifications. The basic disposition does not have to be strictly fulfilled; rather it is the starting point in a wide field of possible modifications. These modifications, however, are not arbitrary: instead they facilitate the use of the procedure in that they allow the composer to react to compositional or even practical needs. Comprehension of formal design is not so much a matter of counting bars as one of categorising bars; in fact, it is a matter of interpretation.
3. There exists a fixed correlation, irrespective of metre and tempo, between the number of bars and the regular computation of time in minutes. In general, Bach uses the same correlation as his contemporary Telemann. Accordingly, 162 bars are equivalent to seven-and-a-half minutes, the total of 162 being subdivided into six units of 27 as a rule.
4. The basic correlative values between bars and the duration of the collections tend towards round numbers with respect to the regular computation of time. The most prominent correlation, which applies to roughly half of the instrumental collections, is between the figure of 1944 bars and its planned duration of ninety minutes.
5. Neither the large structural nor the small pragmatic modifications affect the validity of the basic values, which continue to be the foundation of the formal disposition. Therefore, Bach rarely took pains to balance the small modifications that he made to the bar numbers. Such unbalanced pragmatic modifications cause the actual values of an elaborated composition to differ slightly from the standard given by both the basic values and the large structural modifications; in this regard, the actual values are mostly approximate.
6. An illuminating aspect of the procedure is the calculation of the basic values, and sometimes the large structural modifications, of a work, divided by the number of single pieces or sets of pieces contained within it. The resulting averages hint at standard values of the single pieces or sets which make up the group. They act as a point of reference in the actual composition since they provide a mean boundary for bar numbers and duration.

In particular, this analytical method yields new insight into the developing correlation between preludes and fugues in the two parts of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*. Furthermore, it supports the statement in the obituary concerning the planned completion of *The Art of Fugue*,⁷ and discloses four consecutive working stages: (1) an experimental approach to the project in the first part of the autograph; (2) the establishment of a valid ordering system in the fugue categories introduced in its second part; (3) the transfer of this ordering system to the fugue categories of its first part, accomplished in the main part of the original edition (where the apocryphal additions of the editors should be eliminated); and (4) the elaboration of the annexe to the original edition, characterised by the new category of the quadruple fugues, which was begun but not completed.

One may conclude that numbers of bars and their time equivalents were used as an organisational principle in Bach's instrumental collections, providing a significant tool for the design of their formal disposition. Having explored this field, we are impelled to turn to a choral work while asking the crucial question: does Mizler's advice also apply to the B-minor Mass? It may seem necessary to discuss in advance the effect of parody on the procedure. But in the case of the B-minor Mass, all the parodies differ from their models, in so far as they are known, in terms of their bar numbers. This demonstrates that Bach was able to adapt his models to the requirements of the new context with ease, and thus parodies present no particular problems.

The Missa

The *Missa*, which forms the first part of the original score, comprises twelve movements, three comprising the *Kyrie* and nine the *Gloria*. The three movements of the *Kyrie* respectively have 126, 85 and 59 bars, amounting to a total of 270 bars (see Table 6.1). In splitting these values into their components, I relate the bar numbers of the *Kyrie* to multiples of the unit 27, reading 126 as $5 \times 27 - 9$, 85 as $3 \times 27 + 4$, 59 as $2 \times 27 + 5$ and 270 as $10 \times 27 \pm 0$. Obviously, small, pragmatic modifications are balanced within the *Kyrie*.

The numbers by which the unit 27 was multiplied require further consideration. Their series of 5, 3 and 2 may be understood as $3 + 2$,

⁷ BDoK III/666, p. 86; NBR/306, p. 304.

Table 6.1 The number of bars and their disposition in the *Kyrie*

Kyrie I	126	$5 \times 27 - 9$	$(3 + 2) 27 - 9$
Christe	85	$3 \times 27 + 4$	$(3 \pm 0) 27 + 4$
Kyrie II	59	$2 \times 27 + 5$	$(3 - 1) 27 + 5$
TOTAL	270	$10 \times 27 \pm 0$	$(9 + 1) 27 \pm 0$

3 ± 0 and $3 - 1$. If the addition of 2 in the first position is read as $1 + 1$, one of the two digits may be perceived as a balance of the subtraction that occurs in the last position, the other digit as a structural modification which has an effect on the sum as well. If the balancing exchange and the structural modification are set aside, the basic value of the *Kyrie* consists of three movements, each containing three units of 27 bars, making 81 bars. This underlying standard value appears unchanged in the 'Christe', while the last 'Kyrie' is curtailed by one unit; this reduction is balanced in the first 'Kyrie', which is augmented moreover by another unit and thereby receives its unusual extension. This unusual extension of the *Missa*, in particular of the first 'Kyrie', requires comment. Could it be that the duration has an allegorical function? As the *Missa* exceeds the requirements of a normal service, so the greatness of the royal dedicatee surpasses the grandeur of all normal kings. Thus the unrealistic extension of the work implies the real message of the dedication.

The three movements of the *Kyrie*, which fundamentally total $3 \times 3 \times 27 = 243$ bars, amount to one quarter of all the movements in the *Missa*. Consequently, we may assume that the basic value of the *Missa*'s disposition is $4 \times 243 = 972$ bars, the equivalent in dispositional time of forty-five minutes.

The four sections shown in Table 6.2 vary in two respects. Both the first and second sections consist of three movements, but the third section is augmented by one movement, and the fourth correspondingly has one fewer. Although the bar numbers of each of the four sections are based on $9 \times 27 = 243$ bars, this value is maintained only by the even sections (the second and fourth) as both of the odd ones (the first and third) are expanded through the structural addition of one unit. Indeed, the disposition of the *Missa* includes $4 \times 243 = 972$ bars, or forty-five minutes, with a structural addition of $2 \times 27 = 54$ bars or $2'30''$. Each of the twelve movements has an average share in the basic value, that is, $972 \div 12 = 81$ bars or $3'45''$. Small pragmatic additions and subtractions are balanced within the first section, but not within the three others or the *Missa* as a whole.

Table 6.2 The number of bars and their disposition in the *Missa*

Kyrie I, Christe, Kyrie II	270	270 ± 0	(9 + 1) 27 ± 0
Gloria, Et in terra, Laudamus te	238	243 - 5	(9 ± 0) 27 - 5
Gratias, Domine Deus, Qui tollis, Qui sedes	277	270 + 7	(9 + 1) 27 + 7
Quoniam, Cum Sancto Spiritu	255	243 + 12	(9 ± 0) 27 + 12
TOTAL	1040	1026 + 14	(4 × 9 + 2) 27 + 14

This formal disposition, represented by the bar numbers and equivalents in dispositional time, may be materialised on three interrelated levels comprising the key structure, the genre of the pieces and the scoring. In the first section of the *Missa*, the key structure offers an open progression: the first 'Kyrie' is based on the key of B minor (the relative minor of D major, the principal key of the work), with the other degrees contained in the B minor triad realised successively in the 'Christe' and the concluding 'Kyrie'. Thus the first and fifth degrees surround the third degree, or – interpreting the degrees according to their tonal function – the tonic and the dominant surround the relative major of the tonic, which turns out to be the main key of the work. In fact, D major underpins the remaining sections, which constitute the *Gloria*. The beginning of each of these three sections is highlighted by the first degree or tonic; in the second section this is followed by another first degree or tonic and then the fifth degree or dominant, in the third section by the fourth degree or subdominant and the doubled sixth degree or the relative minor – actually a reminiscence of the beginning of the first section and the part – and in the fourth section by the closing first degree or tonic. So the *Gloria* leads from the tonic via its dominant, subdominant and relative minor back to the tonic itself, in this manner framing a consistent circuit.

Because a concertante Mass Ordinary normally has no place either for chorale settings or for recitatives, it is reliant on the two genres of chorus and aria. In the present case, a chorus marks the beginning of a section and the end of a self-contained sequence as a rule. Thus the first section, which contains the three movements of the *Kyrie*, features an aria framed by two choruses. The second section, which contains the first three movements of the *Gloria*, begins with two interconnected choruses followed by an aria. The third section, which comprises four movements in the middle of the *Gloria*, presents two chorus-aria pairs; but the interconnection of the second chorus with the preceding aria indicates that the second chorus does not open a new section.

In addition, the particular key structure adopted helps to clarify the situation in connecting the three movements following the opening chorus. The aria placed second in the section starts in G major, but as the anticipated da capo is missing, it ends with the middle section in B minor, the key of the following chorus. This chorus, utilising only the first section of its parody model, ends on the dominant F♯ minor (with a tierce de Picardie), in its turn waiting for the confirmation of B minor in the final aria. The fourth section, containing the last two movements of the *Gloria*, ends with a chorus preceded by an aria: the expected order of chorus-aria is reversed to aria-chorus by placing the chorus as the conclusion. This means that the two arias at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth sections are juxtaposed. Any doubts as to the proper positioning of the aria in opening the fourth section are dispelled by its connection to the following chorus, especially since the aria restores the tonic. (This insight into the work's dispositional structure may provide valuable information for performers when determining suitable pauses between the various groupings of movements.)

The examination of the scoring has to discriminate between the choruses and the arias and, with regard to the arias, between the arrangement of the vocal and the instrumental parts. The scoring of the choruses is separated into two types, on the one hand with trumpets and timpani, on the other hand without, the type with trumpets being bound to the key of D major (which does not imply that all choruses in D major are obliged to employ trumpets). Accordingly, choruses in other keys use an unobtrusive scoring dispensing with trumpets. This distinction applies to all four parts of the B-minor Mass. In contrast, an elaborate disposition in the scoring of the arias, comparable, for example, to the Christmas Oratorio or some cantatas,⁸ can be identified in the *Gloria* only. Five vocal solo parts and four classes of instruments are on hand to be assigned to the four arias with the assumption that each vocal part and each class of instruments may be used only once, their combination being left to the discretion of the composer. Consequently, one of the arias has to involve two vocal parts at the same time, thus becoming a duet. Concerning the vocal solo parts, the former two arias receive the lead voices, that is, soprano II on the one hand, and soprano I with tenor as duet on the other hand; subsequently the latter two arias receive the following voices, alto and bass respectively – the higher register preceding the lower one within each pair. The classes of the concertising instruments, attributed to the arias in turn, grow more and more

⁸ Cf. U. Siegele, 'Das Parodieverfahren des Weihnachtsoratoriums von J. S. Bach als dispositionelles Problem', in A. Laubenthal and K. Kusan-Windweh (eds.), *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), pp. 259–66; Siegele, 'Planungsverfahren in Kantaten J. S. Bachs', pp. 101–12.

Table 6.3 The number of bars and their disposition in the *Symbolum Nicenum* (earlier version)

Credo	45		
Patrem	84	135 – 6	(4 + 1) 27 – 6
Et in unum	80		
Crucifixus	53	135 – 2	(4 + 1) 27 – 2
Et resurrexit	131	135 – 4	(4 + 1) 27 – 4
Et in Spiritum	144	135 + 9	(4 + 1) 27 + 9
Confiteor	146	135 + 11	(4 + 1) 27 + 11
Et expecto	105	108 – 3	(4 ± 0) 27 – 3
TOTAL	788	783 + 5	(3 × 8 + 5) 27 + 5

characteristic, being specified as violin, transverse flute (or two of this kind in unison), oboe (d'amore) and corno da caccia, which are, always together with the thoroughbass, accompanied in the first three arias by the normal strings, and in the last one by two bassoons (belonging to the same class as the foregoing concertising instrument).

The *Symbolum Nicenum*

Two versions of the *Symbolum Nicenum* have been handed down in Part II of the original score. The 'Et incarnatus' being a later addition, the earlier version comprises eight movements (see Table 6.3), which divide into three groups according to bar numbers. The first group contains four movements that are ordered in pairs, while both the second and third groups each contain two movements. Each of the three groups is based on $8 \times 27 = 216$ bars or ten minutes, resulting in a total of $3 \times 216 = 648$ bars or thirty minutes for the whole *Symbolum*. Consequently, each of the eight movements has an average share in this basic value, that is, $648 \div 8 = 81$ bars or $3'45''$, which conforms to the mean value in the *Missa*.

This primary disposition, however, undergoes a significant diversification. To start with, each pair of movements in the first group and each movement from the second and the third groups are given half of the portion of their group, that is, $4 \times 27 = 108$ bars. Moreover, all these units except for the last movement present a structural addition of 1×27 bars. Finally, each movement of both the pairs of the first group gets half of the

Table 6.4 The number of bars and their disposition in the *Symbolum Nicenum* (later version)

Credo	45		
Patrem	84	135 – 6	(4 + 1) 27 – 6
Et in unum	80		
Et incarnatus	49	135 – 6	(4 + 1) 27 – 6
Crucifixus	53	54 – 1	(0 + 2) 27 – 1
Et resurrexit	131	135 – 4	(4 + 1) 27 – 4
Et in Spiritum	144	135 + 9	(4 + 1) 27 + 9
Confiteor	146	135 + 11	(4 + 1) 27 + 11
Et expecto	105	108 – 3	(4 ± 0) 27 – 3
TOTAL	837	837 ± 0	(3 × 8 + 7) 27 ± 0

basic portion, the structural addition being assigned to one of the two movements; consequently the basic values within each pair are defined as 54 and $54 + 27 = 81$ bars. The end result is that the whole *Symbolum Nicenum* amounts to a basic value of $3 \times 8 \times 27 = 648$ bars with a large structural addition of $5 \times 27 = 135$ bars, which gives a total of 783 bars. Small pragmatic modifications comprise the addition of 5 bars. Therefore, it would appear that Bach had a concise disposition of 648 bars or thirty minutes in mind, but during the process of composition felt impelled to enlarge this and expand its original limit by 135 bars or $6'15''$.

In the earlier version, the 'Crucifixus', which consists of 53 bars, is placed as the second movement of the second pair in the first group. In the later version this position is occupied by the newly composed 'Et incarnatus', which consists of 49 bars (see Table 6.4). The 'Crucifixus' fills now a supplementary position between the first and second groups, which means it is located exactly in the middle of the other movements. Altogether, the later version adds $7 \times 27 = 189$ bars, or $8'45''$, to the former basic sum of $3 \times 8 \times 27 = 648$ bars or thirty minutes, creating a total of 837 bars, or $38'45''$. The small pragmatic modifications are finally balanced: the addition of the 'Et incarnatus' has been of use in rounding off the *Symbolum Nicenum* with regard to its formal disposition.

In order to investigate the key structure, the keys of the 'Credo' and the 'Confiteor' have to be determined. As is well known, these two movements are built on Gregorian chant in the fourth ecclesiastical mode, based on *mi*. In the 'Credo', it is evident from the initial imitation at the fifth below and the augmented final entry in the bass (starting in bar 33) that the plainchant

Table 6.5 The key structure in the *Symbolum Nicenum* (earlier version)

Credo	D major	I	Tonic	Chorus
Patrem	D major	I	Tonic	Chorus
Et in unum	G major	IV	Subdominant	Aria
Crucifixus	E minor	II	Relative minor of subdominant	Chorus
Et resurrexit	D major	I	Tonic	Chorus
Et in Spiritum	A major	V	Dominant	Aria
Confiteor	F \sharp minor	III	Relative minor of dominant	Chorus
Et expecto	D major	I	Tonic	Chorus

is transposed up one degree. In the original position of the natural hexachord, the *mi* degree *e* refers to the *ut* degree *c*. As a result of the upward transposition of the plainchant by one degree to *f* \sharp , the *ut* degree is likewise transposed up to *d*. In fact, the polyphonic setting of the plainchant on the transposed *mi* degree makes use of the key D major, which is based on the correspondingly transposed *ut* degree. This is indicated by the general key signature of two sharps, the movement ending with a half close. Despite its being in the key of D major, Bach avoids the use of trumpets in this chorus, reserving them for the following 'Credo' chorus, as they would not have suited the *stile antico* demeanour of the first chorus. The transposition is of particular significance in the *Symbolum Nicenum* because it did not occur in a copy of the earlier version by Agricola.⁹ Incidentally, the relationship noted between the mode of the cantus firmus and the key of its polyphonic setting may also be found in the concluding concertante chorale of the Christmas Oratorio (BWV 248/64). In the 'Confiteor', the plainchant is transposed up a sixth; this is confirmed by the augmented final entry in the tenor part (starting in bar 92). But the polyphonic setting does not make use of A major, the tonality based on the related *ut* degree, turning instead to the related key of F sharp minor (see Table 6.5).

Regarding key structure, the earlier version of the *Symbolum Nicenum* divides into two groups of four movements, with the pause between the halves signifying an allegorical representation of Jesus Christ reposing in the Holy Sepulchre. Each half shows two movements on the first degree, or tonic, occurring in succession at the opening of the first half, but not in the second, where they occupy the opening and concluding positions. Thus the two halves are connected by a common tonic, D major. In terms of the other movements, the first half comprises movements which are, apart from the two based on the tonic, on the fourth degree, or subdominant (G major), and on the second degree, or the relative minor of the subdominant (E

⁹ D-GOI, 2° 54c/3. See Wollny B.

minor); the second half comprises movements which are, apart from the two based on the tonic, on the fifth degree, or dominant (A major), and the third degree, or the relative minor of the dominant (F sharp minor). Although this creates a tonal contrast between the two halves, they are nevertheless connected since the non-tonic movements of each side are respectively based on the primary keys of the subdominant and dominant together with their secondary related keys.

An examination of the movements according to genre reveals a correlation with the key structure as the three choruses in each half are combined with the tonic and the minor relatives of the non-tonic primary keys, while the aria in each half is combined with the corresponding non-tonic primary key. In addition, the sequence of genres is presented in retrograde, with the pattern of chorus-chorus-aria-chorus in the first half becoming chorus-aria-chorus-chorus in the second half. Within the pairs of choruses at the beginning of the first half and the end of the second half, the textural style of presentation follows the same order: first *stile antico* and then a concertante piece. Regarding the solo vocal parts, these are divided between two and one as well as between high and low and the instrumental accompaniment between strings and reeds as well as between tutti and solo. In detail, the 'Et in unum' uses the two higher voices, soprano I and alto, accompanied by continuo and combined strings (violins supported now and then by two oboes d'amore), whereas the 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum' uses just one voice, the lowest, the bass, accompanied by continuo and two oboes d'amore alone.

In the earlier version, Bach decided to incorporate the text 'Et incarnatus' into the duet 'Et in unum'. However, in the later version he removed this text from the duet and allotted it a movement of its own (see Table 6.6). A suitable key had to be chosen for the new piece: the only key not used as yet was B minor, the sixth degree or relative minor of the tonic. This distorted the previously established and convincing key structure because the insertion of the 'Et incarnatus' movement shifted the 'Crucifixus' to an exceptional mid-point between the two halves, the 'Et incarnatus' thus becoming the last movement of the first half. The resulting key structure cannot be explained in terms of harmonic function, but rather in terms of modal degrees. The 'Crucifixus' in its middle position occupies the second degree, the most remote degree in the modal hierarchy, accompanied in the first half by the fourth degree (Et in unum) and its upper third (Et incarnatus), and in the second half by the fifth degree (Et in Spiritum Sanctum) and its lower third (Confiteor). This explanation, however, seems quite forced, and in any case the change from a functional to a modal conceptualisation implies an unsatisfactory change from a later to an earlier historical notion.

Table 6.6 The key structure in the *Symbolum Nicenum* (later version)

Credo	D major	I	Tonic	Chorus
Patrem	D major	I	Tonic	Chorus
Et in unum	G major	IV	Subdominant	Aria
Et incarnatus	B minor	VI	Relative minor of tonic	Chorus
Crucifixus	E minor	II	Relative minor of subdominant	Chorus
Et resurrexit	D major	I	Tonic	Chorus
Et in Spiritum	A major	V	Dominant	Aria
Confiteor	F \sharp minor	III	Relative minor of dominant	Chorus
Et expecto	D major	I	Tonic	Chorus

Although Bach deliberately chose the additional key, it remains recognisable as an afterthought.

So far, the key structure has been examined in relation to a formal plan divided into two halves. But it needs also to be examined in relation to the ordering of the Creed as disposed into three articles on Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In the earlier version, each of these articles comprises two choruses, with the second and third articles each preceded by an aria, destined to mark their entries respectively. The three articles start with different degrees, but close with the same: the beginnings feature the three primary keys, that is, the first, fourth and fifth degrees, or tonic, subdominant and dominant, and the conclusions are in the first degree, or tonic, each time; in the second and third articles the starting primary keys are followed immediately by the relative minors, that is, the second and the third degrees, or the relative minors of the subdominant and dominant, respectively. In the later version, the 'Et incarnatus' chorus is inserted in second place in the second article. This entails the insertion of the relative minor of the tonic between the subdominant and its relative minor, harming the parallel between the second and the third articles. From this point of view, too, the new key appears an intrusion. Evidently, the separate movement for the 'Et incarnatus' takes priority over the consistency of key structure.

The *Sanctus* and remaining portions of the Mass

The *Sanctus* and the remainder, Parts III and IV of the original score, form one part with respect to bar numbers (see Table 6.7). This third and final part of the formal disposition is divided into three sections – the first containing the 'Sanctus' and the 'Pleni sunt coeli', the second the

Table 6.7 The number of bars and their disposition in the *Sanctus* and the remainder of the Mass

Sanctus	47		
Pleni sunt coeli	121	162 + 6	(6 ± 0) 27 + 6
Osanna	148		
Benedictus	57		
Osanna	148	351 + 2	(12 + 1) 27 + 2
Agnus Dei	49		
Dona nobis pacem	46	108 – 13	(6 – 2) 27 – 13
TOTAL	616	621 – 5	(24 – 1) 27 – 5

'Osanna', 'Benedictus' and repetition of 'Osanna', the third the 'Agnus Dei' and 'Dona nobis pacem'.

The first section comprises two interconnected choruses, namely the 'Sanctus' and the 'Pleni sunt coeli', which comprise 47 and 121 bars respectively – a total of 168 bars which should be understood as the basic value of 162 with a small pragmatic addition of 6 bars. The average comes to $162 \div 2 = 81$ bars, which conforms to the standard value of a single movement from both the *Missa* and the *Symbolum Nicenum*. This section demonstrates that Bach made use of this working procedure in 1724, just as he did nine years later when the *Missa* was designed.

In the second section, the twofold appearance of the 'Osanna' chorus results in $2 \times 148 = 296$ bars, a total to be understood as the basic value of $10 \times 27 = 270$ bars with a structural addition of 1×27 bars less a pragmatic subtraction of 1 bar. The 'Benedictus' aria comprises the basic value of $2 \times 27 = 54$ with a pragmatic addition of 3 bars. Consequently, the second section as a whole amounts to the basic value of $12 \times 27 = 324$, which is 2×162 bars, together with a structural addition of 1×27 and a pragmatic addition of 2 bars. As the section comprises three movements, the average is $324 \div 3 = 108$ bars, in this instance not corresponding to the standard value of 81 bars per movement.

The third section comprises two movements, an aria followed by a chorus. Its basic value of $6 \times 27 = 162$ is diminished by a structural subtraction of $2 \times 27 = 54$ and a pragmatic subtraction of 13 bars. One unit of the structural subtraction balances the structural addition applied to the second section, while the other relates to the whole of the work. The average for the two movements of the third section is $108 \div 2 = 54$ bars, again not conforming to the standard value of 81 bars. But as the average of the preceding section is 27 bars above this amount, the same value as the

average of the present section is below it, the differences balance each other. Taken together, the two sections conform to the general standard value of 81 bars per movement just as the first section of this part and the other two parts do. As a whole, the sum of the third part is apportioned to the three sections in the ratio 1:2:1, amounting to the basic value of $24 \times 27 = 648$ bars or thirty minutes, less a structural subtraction of 1×27 bars or $1'15''$ and a pragmatic subtraction of 5 bars.

Each of the choruses in the third part is in the key of D major, the first degree or tonic (and furnished with trumpets as usual), whereas the two arias deviate: the 'Benedictus', which is framed by the 'Osannas', is in the key of B minor, the sixth degree or relative minor of the tonic, and the 'Agnus Dei', before the closing 'Dona nobis pacem', is in G minor, the minor variant of the fourth degree or subdominant. The 'Benedictus' rounds off by referring to the beginning of the work, and the 'Agnus' creates fresh interest just before the end by a hitherto unused and consequently new tonality, namely the unexpected and surprising variant of the fourth degree or subdominant. In counterbalancing the increasing number of vocal parts up to the maximum of six and even eight in the concertante choruses of the 'Sanctus' and the 'Osannas' respectively, the arias contract to the minimum of a genuine trio texture, placing above the continuo one vocal and one instrumental part for the first and only time; in the end, the 'Dona nobis pacem' chorus attests the convention of the standard four vocal parts. Within their common texture, the arias vary the vocal range, moving from the lower to the higher of the two adjacent middle voices, that is, from tenor to alto, but distinguish the instrumental parts, with solo woodwind in the first and tutti strings in the second, in detail transverse flute alone (as may be assumed at least) and the violins all together.

In quest of the whole

Do the parts, whether the four parts of the original score or the three parts of the disposition, represent a whole? An analytical assessment of the bar numbers of the three parts of the disposition may contribute to answering this question.

The synopsis provided in Table 6.8 unites the three parts of the disposition of the whole B-minor Mass, calculates their total, and displays the three classes of the basic values, the large structural modifications and the small pragmatic modifications (the *Symbolum* numbers relate to its earlier version). In the first instance, the basic values of $36 \times 27 = 972$ and double

Table 6.8 Synoptic disposition of the B-minor Mass

<i>Missa</i>	972 + 54 + 14	(36 + 2) 27 + 14	45'00" + 2'30"
<i>Symbolum</i>	648 + 135 + 5	(24 + 5) 27 + 5	30'00" + 6'15"
<i>Sanctus</i> etc.	648 - 27 - 5	(24 - 1) 27 - 5	30'00" - 1'15"
TOTAL	2268 + 162 + 14	(84 + 6) 27 + 14	105'00" + 7'30"

$24 \times 27 = 648$ add up to $84 \times 27 = 2268$ bars; their time equivalents of 45 and 2×30 minutes make a total of 105 minutes, or one hour and forty-five minutes. These values of $36 \times 27 = 972$ and double $24 \times 27 = 648$ may be transformed to multiples of 162 bars or seven-and-a-half minutes, that is, $36 \times 27 = 6 \times 162$ and $24 \times 27 = 4 \times 162$ respectively. In a sense, 162, the equivalent of seven-and-a-half minutes, acts as a greatest common divisor. Thus the *Missa* consists of six of these comprehensive units of 162, the *Symbolum Nicenum* of four, and the last part of four, giving a total of fourteen comprehensive units of 162 overall.

Secondly, the structural modifications amount to additions of 2×27 and 5×27 bars in the *Missa* and the *Symbolum Nicenum* respectively, and a subtraction of 1×27 bars in the last part. Their combined total of $6 \times 27 = 162$ bars, which is equivalent to seven-and-a-half minutes, corresponds with the basic values and adds another comprehensive unit of 162 to their total of 14×162 bars.¹⁰ The seamless incorporation of the structural modifications into the system of the basic values is particularly revealing. If the *Symbolum Nicenum* were included in its later version, the structural modifications would increase by 2×27 to a total of $8 \times 27 = 216$ bars, which could not be similarly incorporated into the system, which is founded on the comprehensive unit of $6 \times 27 = 162$ bars and its positive whole-number multiples. This confirms that the insertion of the 'Et incarnatus' as well as the revision of text underlay in the duet 'Et in unum' occurred after the

¹⁰ The secular cantata *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen* (BWV 215) displays a corresponding procedure. Its basic value (and probably the commissioned extent) amounts to 36×27 or $6 \times 162 = 972$ bars, equivalent to 45'00". This basic value is allotted to the two choruses and the three arias in equal shares of 18×27 or $3 \times 162 = 486$ bars, equivalent to 22'30". The large structural additions comprise $4 \times 27 = 108$ bars for the four recitatives and $2 \times 27 = 54$ bars for the arias, with both together constituting one further, namely the seventh unit of $6 \times 27 = 162$ bars, equivalent to 7'30". The sum total of $(6 + 1) 162 = 1134$ bars is reduced by a small pragmatic subtraction of only 2 bars. The cantata had to be completed within three days at the most. This extreme brevity of time demanded the utmost accuracy in planning the work. Concerning the key structure, the first degrees or tonics of the opening and concluding choruses frame the rising sequence of the arias, consisting of the fourth, fifth and sixth degrees or respectively the subdominant, dominant and relative minor of the tonic.

disposition of the whole had been finished. Indeed, the insertion was a supplement that extended the primary disposition. In the third range, the small pragmatic modifications are negligible, being limited to 14 bars or less than 40 seconds, although the subtraction in the third part to some extent decreases the additions in the first and second parts.

The structural additions in the *Missa* and the *Symbolum Nicenum* in its earlier version together amount to 7×27 bars, thereby exceeding by 1×27 bars the comprehensive unit of 6×27 bars that fits with the system of basic values. The reduction to the comprehensive unit of $6 \times 27 = 162$ bars results from the structural subtraction of 1×27 in the last part of the disposition (the *Sanctus* and the remainder). It is realised in its third section (comprising the 'Agnus Dei' and the 'Dona nobis pacem'), the last possible place where it could have been carried out. The piece concerned must have been the 'Agnus Dei', since the extent of the 'Dona nobis pacem' was determined by the 'Gratias' beforehand. Actually, the 'Agnus Dei' is contracted by 30 bars in comparison to its model. The difference exceeds the required structural subtraction of 1×27 by 3 bars and so correspondingly diminishes the sum of the pragmatic additions. The demands of formal disposition may well have impelled this exceptional operation in the adaptation of the piece to its new context.

This confirms that even at the end Bach kept his eye on the whole. Therefore, the whole was an essential issue in his conception. Moreover, the general standard value of 81 bars per movement acts as both a unifying element and a structural backbone. The bar numbers produce consistent evidence: Bach designed the B-minor Mass as a whole; in fact, he conceived it as a single work.

Chiastic reflection in the B-minor Mass: lament's paradoxical mirror

MELVIN P. UNGER

Despite the heterogeneous origins of its individual movements, Bach's B-minor Mass demonstrates a remarkable unity. In particular, the *Symbolum Nicenum* manifests a symmetrical structure in which the 'Crucifixus' marks the centre of an arch. Furthermore, quasi-symmetrical, cyclical unity on a large scale is achieved by the reappearance of the 'Gratias' music in the 'Dona nobis pacem', the two movements being equidistant from the 'Crucifixus'. The present study examines aspects of chiastic structure in Bach's B-minor Mass, and especially how they relate to the symbolism of the 'Crucifixus'. The term 'chiastic' is used here in its broadest sense, to include procedures of both formal reversal and melodic inversion.

It is well known that many of Bach's works employ arch form. Like the keystone in an arch, the turning point of such symmetry (where the mirror image begins) often reveals the crux of the work's meaning. Frequently antithetical text elements meet there, paradoxical elements becoming reconciled through a process of retrograde steps.

For the pivoting point in the *Symbolum Nicenum*, Bach recycled music from an earlier work: the chorus following the opening sinfonia of BWV 12, *Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen*, whose most significant musical feature is the 'lamento bass' – a ground bass consisting of a chromatically descending fourth. The figure was commonly used in the Baroque, appearing in works by composers as diverse as Claudio Monteverdi and Henry Purcell.¹ In the 'Crucifixus' it appears in slightly modified form: each pitch is repeated, giving the gesture a plodding or throbbing effect.²

Interestingly, the present design of the *Symbolum Nicenum* is different from Bach's original conception. Signs of revision in the manuscript make clear that he originally treated the 'Et in unum' and the 'Et incarnatus' as a single movement (a duet):

¹ See e.g. E. Rosand, 'The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament', *Musical Quarterly*, 65 (1979), 346–59.

² For a detailed discussion of Bach's various adjustments to the material from BWV 12 in the 'Crucifixus', see J. M. Cameron, 'Adaptation of Preexisting Music for a Setting of the *Crucifixus*: J. S. Bach: *Crucifixus* from *Mass in B minor* BWV 232', in *The Crucifixion in Music* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006), pp. 121–42 and Appendix C.

Crucifixus – Et resurrexit

Et in unum & Et incarnatus (Article 2) Et in Spiritum Sanctum (Article 3)

Credo – Patrem (Article 1) Confiteor – Et expecto

However, this design, too, is chiastic. The main difference is that its pivot point falls *between* two movements (i.e. between the 'Crucifixus' and the 'Et resurrexit'); there is no 'keystone' movement as such. Nevertheless, the centre is marked. At the very beginning of the 'Et resurrexit', Bach writes a melodic palindrome (chiasm) of thirteen notes in the soprano I (see bars 1–3). The perfect symmetry of this arching line can hardly be coincidental, since it requires the two soprano parts to cross unnecessarily on the last note – soprano I dipping down to *a'* (the pitch required to complete the palindrome) while soprano II remains on *d''*. When the figure is repeated later at 'Cujus regni' (bar 86), more normal voice-leading is employed, the two voices remaining in their respective ranges. Furthermore, while the soprano I line doubles the high instruments in the opening bars, it does not continue up to *b''* as the instrumental parts do, and as it does later (bar 15). These anomalies in the first three bars of the soprano I part suggest that Bach was deliberately creating a melodic palindrome.

But Bach apparently was not satisfied with this structure. A study of the autograph score reveals that he decided to increase the number of movements to nine by making the 'Et incarnatus' self-contained. To accomplish this he removed the 'Et incarnatus' words from the duet (not changing the music, but simply redistributing the foregoing text at the end of the movement – bars 63–80), and then writing new, self-contained music for the 'Et incarnatus'. This action pushed the 'Crucifixus' into the 'keystone' position; it also ultimately ensured that the 'Crucifixus' would be equidistant from the 'Gratias' and 'Dona nobis' movements.

Most probably Bach made the change in order to clarify the *Symbolum Nicenum's* chiastic shape with a central, pivoting movement. As Eric Chafe has demonstrated, the entire cantata from which Bach took the music for the 'Crucifixus', BWV 12, focuses on the *theologia crucis*.³ Furthermore, Bach had masterfully explicated Luther's distinction between a *theologia*

³ Eric Chafe suggests that the meditative stages of BWV 12 correspond to the basic stages outlined in Luther's *A Meditation of Christ's Passion* (1519). However, the anguish portrayed in Cantata 12 is not that of a 'terror-stricken heart and despairing conscience' but rather the expected emotional state of the cross-bearing Christian. See E. Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 134–6. Nevertheless, in every vocal movement the libretto affirms suffering as the believer's path to glory – most immediately in the first part of movement 2 (from which the 'Crucifixus' derives its material: 'Weinen, Klagen . . . sind der Christen Tränenbrot'), but also in the following fugue (which Bach did not reuse in the

gloriae (God revealing himself through glory, e.g. the glory of visible creation – commonly called natural revelation) and a *theologia crucis* (God revealing himself through the abasement of Christ's crucifixion) in his Leipzig debut cantatas, BWV 75 and 76.⁴ Similarly, Bach used mirror forms to explore Luther's *theologia crucis* and its implications in BWV 4, 12, 227, 245 and 1077 (see below). By creating a more explicitly chiastic shape in the *Symbolum Nicenum*, he seems to be following a similar path.

To what extent is the inversion principle of Luther's *theologia crucis* at work in Bach's Mass? Examples of contrasting *anabasis* (rhetorically rising figures) and *catabasis* (descending figures) are not hard to find. But can we know their symbolic intent? A good starting point for investigating the issue is the question of *when* Bach changed the structure of the *Symbolum Nicenum*.

Since Bach apparently changed his mind also about the very last movement (Dona nobis pacem),⁵ and since that decision appears to be linked to his thinking about the 'Crucifixus', one might suppose that these two changes were made at the same time, that is, as Bach was finishing the Mass. But John Butt has argued convincingly to the contrary.⁶ His reasons are as follows: as Bach reached the end of the 'Et expecto' (the last part of the *Symbolum Nicenum*), he prepared two bifolia of ruled paper (eight sides). However, the remaining music of the 'Et expecto' would consist of only 30.5 more bars, fitting comfortably within the span of four pages (one bifolium; see Figure 7.1).⁷ Why so much extra paper? Since Bach must have known how long the movement was going to be before he ruled the last eight pages,⁸ he must have had some other purpose for the extra four sides of paper. Most probably he was already

Mass: 'die das Zeichen Jesu [i.e. das Kreuz] tragen'), the alto recitative (BWV 12/3: 'Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal in das Reich Gottes eingehen'), the alto aria (BWV 12/4: 'Kreuz und Kronen sind verbunden'), the bass aria (BWV 12/5: 'Ich folge Christo nach in Wohl und Ungemach') and the tenor aria (BWV 12/6: 'Sei getreu, alle Pein wird doch nur ein Kleines sein; nach dem Regen blüht der Segen'), and more generally in the final chorale (BWV 12/7: 'mag er mich auf die rauhe Bahn Not, Tod und Elend treiben, so wird Gott mich ganz väterlich in seinen Armen halten').

⁴ See M. Unger, 'Bach's First Two Leipzig Cantatas: The Question of Meaning Revisited', *Bach*, 28 (1997), 113, 118–20. Luther had argued that when God's initial revelation through glory (Creation) failed to produce the intended human response, he revealed himself a second time through the mirror image of glory, namely the humiliation of the cross. See P. Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. R. C. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), pp. 26–31.

⁵ Butt A, p. 18. This is discussed further below. ⁶ Butt A, p. 15.

⁷ For a diagram of the gathering structure in the MS, see Wolff 2007, pp. xxxv–xxxvii.

⁸ Bach usually planned all architectural details before putting pen to paper. Thus Robert Marshall writes, 'Bach almost always knew "at once" how many movements a work would contain, and what type they would be – recitative, aria, chorus, chorale . . . Such matters, therefore, were usually decided before "formal" composition – that is, the putting of notes on paper – had begun.' See R. L. Marshall, *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: Sources, Style, Significance* (New York:

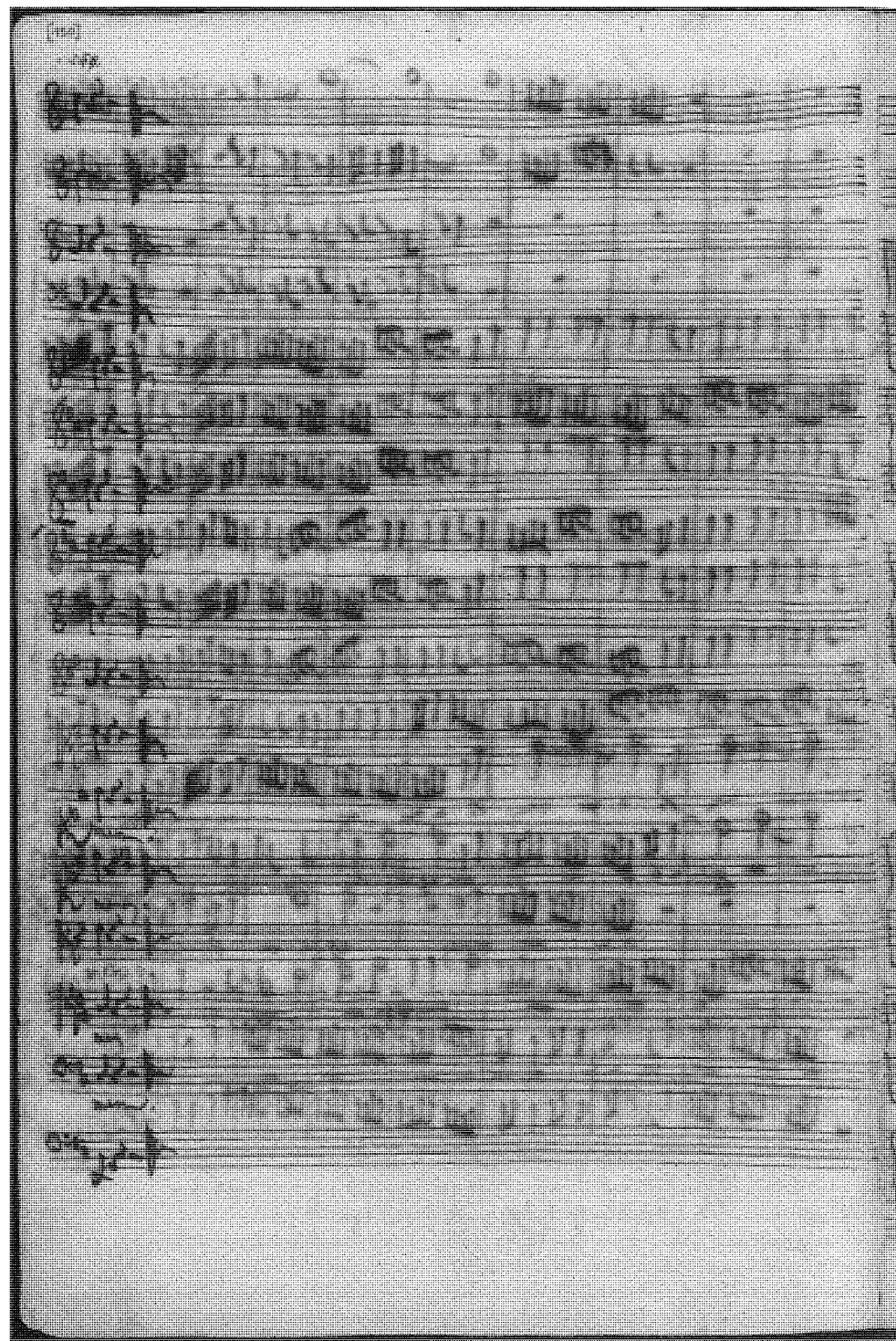


Figure 7.1 The end of 'Et expecto' in Bach's autograph score (p. 150)

planning to make changes to the 'Et in unum' at this point – taking out the words of the 'Et incarnatus' text, redistributing the words of the 'Et in unum' and composing a new movement for the 'Et incarnatus' text. To save labour, he planned to rewrite only the vocal lines of the 'Et in unum' (since the instrumental parts would not change). This would take two pages. The two remaining pages were intended for the new 'Et incarnatus' movement (which, however, would be out of position sequentially). Indeed, in its final form the autograph manuscript devotes two pages to the newly texted voices of the 'Et in unum' (see Figure 7.2), which are followed by two ruled but unused pages. Ultimately, Bach apparently decided to write the 'Et incarnatus' on a separate sheet, which allowed him to insert it in its proper sequential place. However, because the last page of the 'Et in unum' was already included with the first four bars of the 'Crucifixus' (see Figure 7.3), he had to mark the insertion point for the new movement. In the autograph score, therefore, the music of the 'Crucifixus' begins on the last page of the 'Et in unum' duet and continues after the inserted 'Et incarnatus' leaf.⁹ Thus Butt concludes, 'It seems unlikely, then, that the insertion of the "Et incarnatus" can be used as evidence for a "later return" (and hence performance?) of the *Symbolum*.'¹⁰

Why did Bach want a more explicitly chiastic shape? Various theories have been suggested. Perhaps he wanted to place greater emphasis on the doctrine of Christ's incarnation by giving it a self-contained movement.¹¹ Perhaps he wished to address an imbalance in the musical styles represented in the Mass by providing a thoroughly modern movement

Schirmer, 1989), p. 181. In support of this idea, Marshall (*ibid.*, p. 173) quotes Philipp Spitta: 'Despite the great complexity of [Bach's] music we know of few cases where the layout of a piece was rejected once it had been worked out' (P. Spitta, 'Beethoveniana', in *Zur Musik: Sechzehn Aufsätze* (Berlin: Gebr. Paetel, 1892), p. 181). See also R. Marshall, 'Beobachtungen am Autograph der h-moll-Messe: zum Kompositionsprozeß J. S. Bachs', *Musik und Kirche*, 50 (1980), 235, cited in Butt B, p. 113.

⁹ Contrary to the prevailing view that Bach's decision to separate out the text of the 'Et incarnatus' and create a new movement was an afterthought, Eduard van Hengel and Kees van Houten argue: 'Considerations of symmetry, tonal structure, and traditions of Roman Catholic mass composition suggest that Bach must have planned the independent 'Et incarnatus' from the beginning ... It would seem that Bach deliberately inserted the choral 'Et incarnatus' in the autograph on an extractable leaf in order to provide his *missa tota* with alternative performing options, both Lutheran and Roman Catholic. A performance that avoids the structural and musical weaknesses of both these confessional alternatives is both possible and preferable, and would be fully in line with Bach's old-age universalist orientations. This calls for a change in the prevailing performance practice.' See Henge and Houten, p. 81.

¹⁰ See Butt A, p. 106, n. 34. See also Butt B, pp. 112–14.

¹¹ See Wolff 2007, p. vii: 'Evidently Bach felt, in retrospect, that the theologically significant pronouncement "et incarnatus est ..." was not prominent enough.'

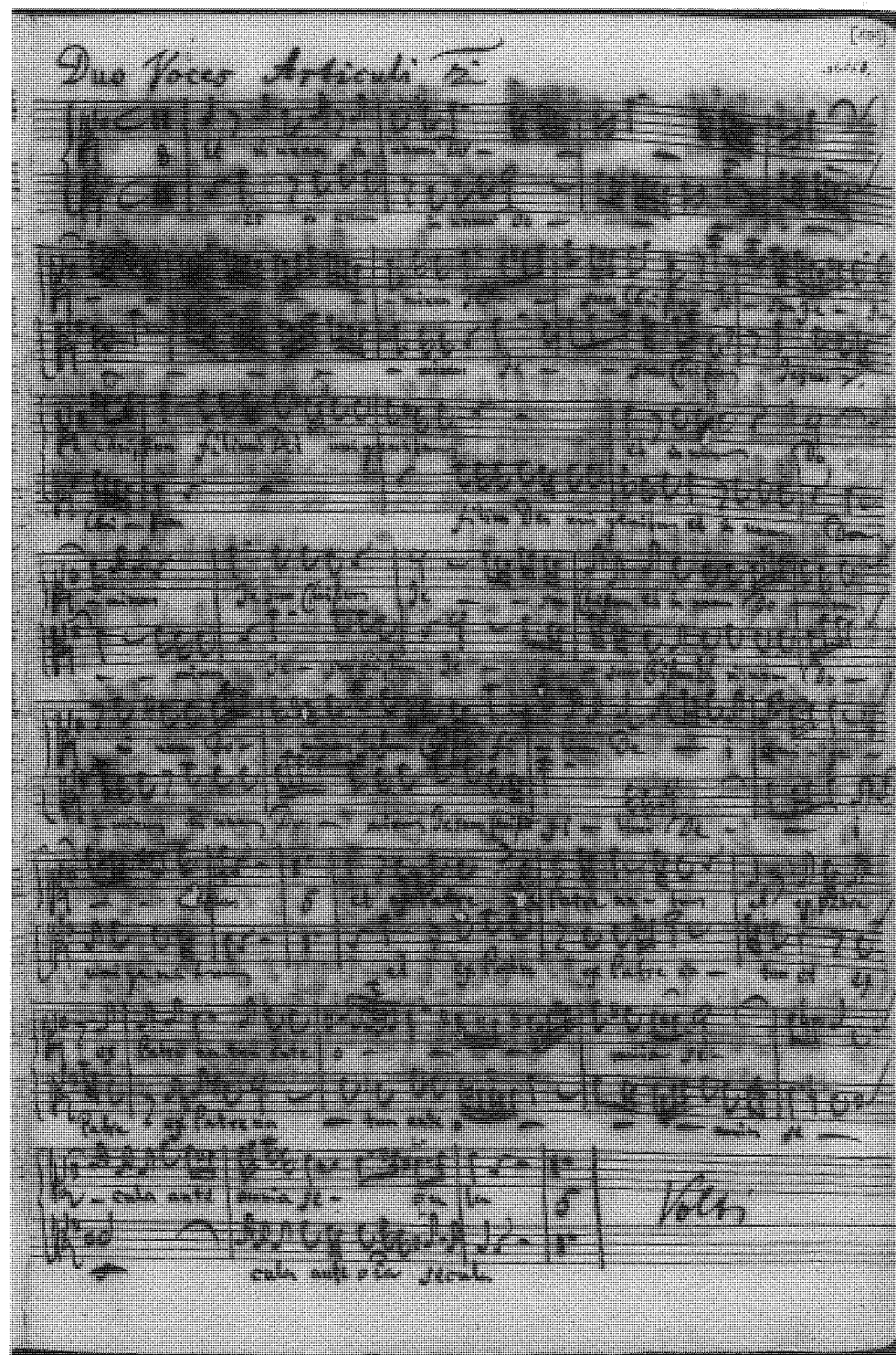


Figure 7.2 The 'Duo voces' in Bach's autograph score (p. 151)

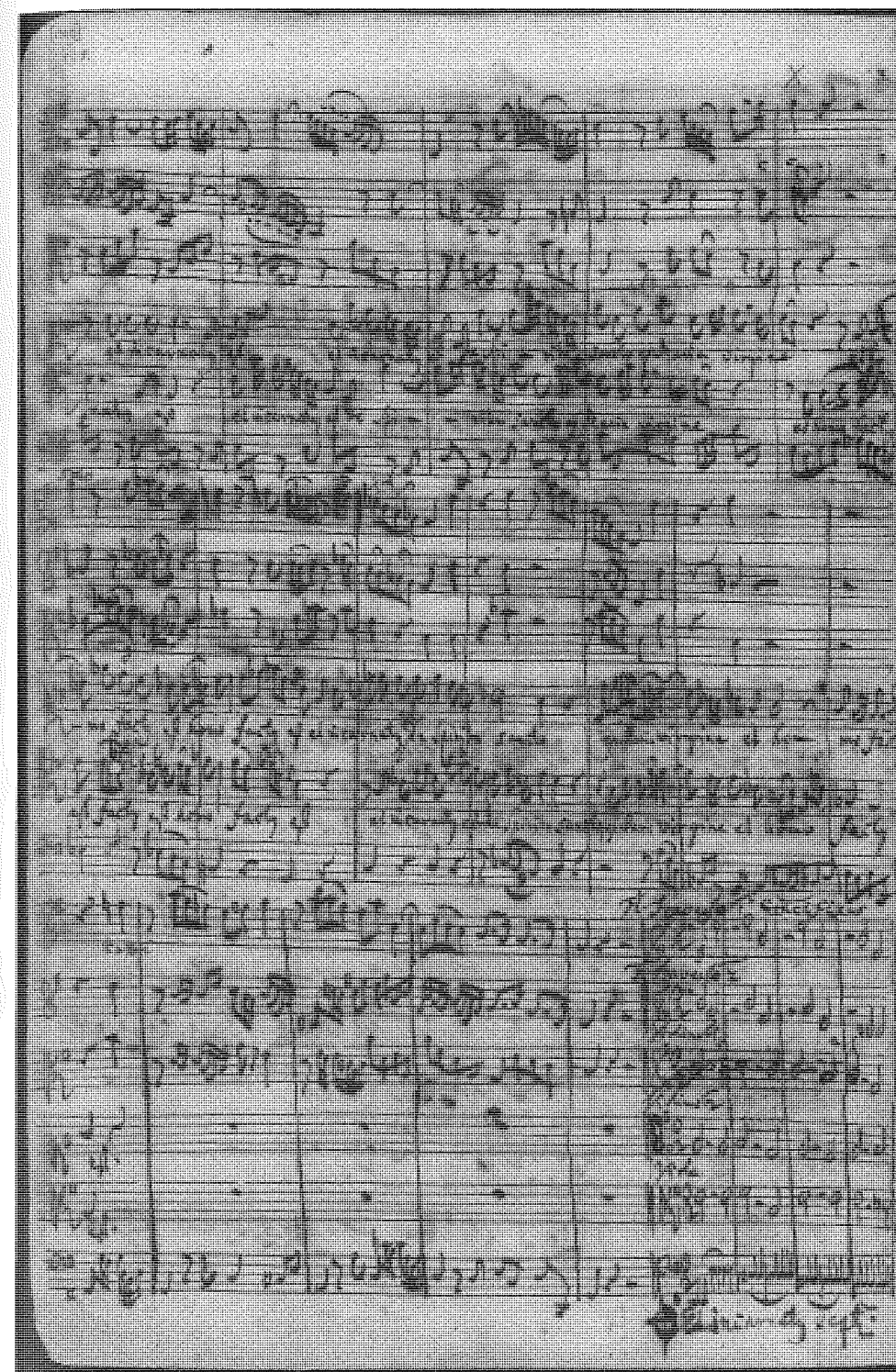


Figure 7.3 The end of 'Et in unum' with the beginning of 'Crucifixus' in Bach's autograph score (p. 110)

(the 'Et incarnatus').¹² Most probably he wanted to give central place to the confessional statement about Christ's crucifixion. In support of this theory, Robin A. Leaver writes, 'There was an obvious theological reason for [moving the "Crucifixus" into the centre], since the work of Christ on the cross stands at the centre of Christianity and also at the centre of the classic confession of faith.'¹³

The most characteristic feature of the 'Crucifixus' is, of course, its lamento bass. As Bach now revises his overall structure by writing a new 'Et incarnatus' movement (to precede the 'Crucifixus'), he sneaks in a mirror image of the figure at the very end, on the words 'Et homo factus est'. Perhaps even as he was completing this new movement, he was thinking ahead to the descending chromatic fourth of the following one.

Connections between the 'Crucifixus' and the 'Confiteor'

If Bach's decision to change the formal design of the *Symbolum Nicenum* was made shortly before he completed the 'Et expecto' – as Butt argues – perhaps we can find hints of Bach's compositional thinking in this final movement of the *Symbolum Nicenum*, or in one of the movements just preceding it. Of the four movements following the 'Crucifixus', only the penultimate one (the 'Confiteor') is definitely newly composed; many of the others are (or seem to be) based on pre-existing music. One indication that the 'Confiteor' was newly composed is that Bach modified the opening fugue theme after writing it down. In each of the opening five statements, the third note of the subject was originally a tone higher. Bach then changed it on the stave and penned a new letter name above. Perhaps it was during the very process of inventing this new movement that he re-evaluated the overall design of the *Symbolum Nicenum* and decided to modify it, highlighting the 'Crucifixus'.

It is noteworthy that in the overall structure of the 'Confiteor', Bach introduces a liturgical chant at the exact mid-point, presenting it immediately in canon between bass (*vox Christi?*) and alto at the interval of one bar, against both of the previous fugue subjects. There is no new text. Instead, the foregoing words are simply repeated: 'I confess one baptism for the remission of sins.' By introducing the cantus firmus at the mid-point (and with a

¹² See Wolff B, p. 17.

¹³ See R. A. Leaver, 'The Mature Vocal Works', in J. Butt (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 118.

forceful harmonic preparation) Bach appears to be making a symbolic statement regarding the centrality and timelessness of baptism. An examination of the manuscript demonstrates that Bach was keeping track of bar totals as he wrote (bars 61, 100 and 141 are all numbered), which allowed him to introduce the chant at the very centre point.

Significantly, Bach departs from the pattern established in this movement's symmetrical counterpart (the 'Credo') by not introducing the liturgical tune at the beginning, or deriving a fugue subject from it.¹⁴ Instead, the chant appears (at mid-point) immediately in canon. A more traditional approach would have been to present it first in long notes in the tenor – as Bach does later in the movement (bar 92) and as he had done at the beginning of the 'Credo'. Using canonic procedure here was probably intended to signal both dogma (the first voice giving the 'rule' to the other) and discipleship (the second voice imitating the first: *imitatio Christi*).¹⁵ In the context of a movement written in a style that is academic and archaic, Bach's introduction of an ancient liturgical cantus firmus, presented immediately in canon, appears to signify the dogmatic and traditional character of the church's teaching regarding the relationship between Christ and the individual in baptism.

The connection between 'Confiteor' and 'Crucifixus' texts would not have been lost on Bach's listeners, for they understood baptism as a re-enactment of, and identification with, the death and resurrection of Christ.¹⁶ What this meant for the believer on a daily basis was made clear in Luther's *Small Catechism* (1529): in baptism 'the cross and resurrection become contemporaneous with the believer'.¹⁷

Bach's preoccupation with the chiastic principle is evident already in the first half of the 'Confiteor', where he employs inversion and cross-shaped design. This can be seen in the basic shape and handling of the two underlying themes of the movement. Their 'combinatorial potential'¹⁸ results from the fact that the 'in remissionem' theme (outlining the

¹⁴ See Wolff A, p. 95.

¹⁵ See e.g. the soprano aria 'Ich folge dir' from Bach's St John Passion, in which the soprano and flute lines imitate each other. An important and widely circulated source of inspiration for devotional mystics during the seventeenth century was *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis (c.1380–1471). Bach may well have owned a copy since some editions of Johann Tauler's book of sermons (a volume of which was listed in his estate) often included it. See R. A. Leaver, *Bach's Theological Library* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1983), pp. 23–4 and 74.

¹⁶ See Romans 6.4, Colossians 2.12.

¹⁷ M. D. Tranvik, 'Luther on Baptism', *Lutheran Quarterly*, 13 (1999), 79. Tranvik cites R. Kolb, 'God Kills to Make Alive: Romans 6 and Luther's Understanding of Justification (1535)', *Lutheran Quarterly*, 12 (1998), 33–56.

¹⁸ Butt A, p. 34.

descending scale degrees from dominant to tonic: $c\sharp' - b - a - g\sharp - f\sharp$) is, in a sense, a mirror image of the opening theme (outlining the diatonic scale from dominant up to tonic: $c\sharp'' - d'' - (e'') - f\sharp''$).¹⁹ When the two themes are joined in bar 31 a chi-shaped union of *anabasis* and *catabasis* is fully achieved.²⁰

The implied antithesis of the two themes is also reflected in the relationship between the melodic contours of each and the voice order in which they are presented. Theme 1 has an ascending contour and is presented in a descending order of voices (SI–SII–A–T–B). Theme 2 has a descending contour and is presented in a mostly ascending voice order (T–A–SII–SI–B).²¹

While a union of *anabasis* and *catabasis* is fully achieved only when the two fugue subjects are combined (bars 31 ff.), a brief union occurs already before that point. In bar 16, where the second theme ('in remissionem') is first introduced (appearing in the tenor), it is accompanied by a chromatically ascending continuo line, which outlines the fourth from the dominant $C\sharp$ to the tonic $F\sharp$.

Chromatic fourths (either rising or falling) are actually rare in the Mass²² – except, of course, in the 'Crucifixus'.²³ The fact that the 'Confiteor' contains one of the few other examples of a chromatic fourth is not insignificant, providing further indication that Bach may have been thinking back to the 'Crucifixus' and the structure of the *Symbolum Nicenum* as he composed the 'Confiteor' – deciding at this time to rewrite the 'Et in unum' duet and make the 'Crucifixus' (with its lamenting bass) the centrepiece of the *Symbolum Nicenum*.

We have already seen that the ascending melodic tetrachord appears at the end of the new 'Et incarnatus' movement, foreshadowing (in mirror image) the lamento bass of the 'Crucifixus'.²⁴ The fact that the inverted lament also appears in the 'Confiteor' (doing so in a similar structural and

¹⁹ In Bach's original conception, the third note of the 'Confiteor' theme was a tone higher, thus completing the ascending melodic fourth (see above).

²⁰ Similar writing occurs in BWV 28/2, bars 50–3, at the introduction of the words 'Hat dir dein Sünd vergeben' ('has forgiven thy sin'). Later, where Bach uses this chorale movement in the motet *Jauchzet dem Herrn*, the text is 'dass wir ihm fest vertrauen' ('that we may trust steadfastly in him').

²¹ See Wolff A, p. 64.

²² Another chromatically ascending fourth may be found in the second 'Kyrie' on the word 'eleison' in the bass, bars 27–9: $c\sharp$ to $f\sharp$.

²³ The ostinato is repeated thirteen times. The final statement is adjusted and traverses only four of the five semitones. See below.

²⁴ In the 'Et incarnatus', it occurs in the alto at the words 'et homo factus est' (from the dominant $f\sharp'$ up to the tonic b' ; see alto, bars 42–4). Increased animation in the strings (which, in a sense,



Figure 7.4 The 'Fulde' canon (BWV 1077) in Bach's autograph

textual context) reinforces the idea that Bach conceived the idea of a separate 'Et incarnatus' movement while writing the 'Confiteor'.

The importance of the *theologia crucis* in Bach's day

The cross and Christ's crucifixion were central to orthodox preaching in Bach's day. We have already cited some examples in support of the notion that Bach too was preoccupied with the idea. But probably the clearest example of Bach's interest in the *theologia crucis* and its implications for the believer is the riddle canon BWV 1077 (see Figure 7.4), which Bach presented to a theology student named Johann Gottlieb Fulde on 15 October 1747, that is, shortly before compiling the B-minor Mass.²⁵ The riddle is solved by inverting the voices, with the pitch c'' acting as

negates the chromatic figure) enhances the tension of the upwardly striving vocal figure. Until this point, the prevailing motive of the accompaniment (a kind of descending sighing or cross figure) has been rendered by both violins in unison. Now two independent violin parts and the instrumental bass animate the texture with three-part counterpoint in stretto.

²⁵ See BDok I/174, pp. 243–4.

Example 7.1 J. S. Bach, 'Fulde' canon (BWV 1077): realisation (bars 1–4 only)

the axis for the inversion (c'' is the note midway between the pitch on which the given melodies begin, b' , and the pitch on which the inversions must begin, d'' ; see Example 7.1). C is also the note in the bass that signals when the new voices should enter.²⁶ Bach's cryptic inscription, 'Symbolum: Christus Coronabit Crucigeros' ('Christ Crowns Cross-Bearers'), suggests that he expected a theology student to be intimately familiar with Luther's 'Heidelberg Disputation' of 1518, where thesis 20 states that the only true theologian is one 'who comprehends the visible and manifest things of God seen through suffering and the cross'.²⁷ Bach appears to be saying, 'Any theologian worth his salt will understand that the solution to this little musical puzzle lies in turning the tunes upside down.'

Anabasis and catabasis in the B-minor Mass

In completing the *Symbolum Nicenum*, Bach made several important compositional decisions: (1) he designed a highly structured contrapuntal

²⁶ With the entry of the new voices, harmonic and melodic descent turns to ascent.

The letter C must have held a particular significance for Bach. Eric Chafe observes that Bach often used C major and minor to represent fundamental dualisms. See Chafe, *Tonal Allegory*, pp. 138–9, 165 and 173. In the alto recitative of Cantata 12, C minor and C major scales are placed in opposition. For the tonal importance of C major as a pivoting tonality in Cantatas 75 and 76 and the importance of C minor in the central aria of Cantata 12, see Unger, 'Bach's First Two Leipzig Cantatas', pp. 113, 118–20.

²⁷ *Luther's Works: American Edition* (St Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia and Fortress, 1955–86), vol. XXXI, p. 52.

setting of the 'Confiteor', in which the contours of a double fugue's two subjects form an 'x', and in which a liturgical cantus firmus is introduced at mid-point, appearing in canon and in combination with both subjects; (2) he created a separate, self-contained movement for the 'Et incarnatus', which pushed the 'Crucifixus' into the 'keystone' position of a chiastic structure; and (3) he introduced the mirror image of the lamento figure in two structurally and rhetorically significant spots in the two new movements ('Et incarnatus' and 'Confiteor'). All of these compositional choices appear to have been made with the paradoxical *theologia crucis* in mind, for the two procedures involved – formal chiasm and melodic chiasm – are particularly well suited to expressing this all-important Lutheran concept. The fact that the 'Crucifixus' and 'Confiteor' movements are linked theologically further strengthens our supposition that Bach wanted to emphasise the symbolic associations of these chiastic procedures.

It goes without saying that no movement in the Mass depicts the suffering of the cross more clearly than the 'Crucifixus', with its repeated descending chromatic fourth in the continuo bass. In the context of Bach's chiastic structures and procedures, it now becomes clear that Bach was giving this traditional figure additional meaning: it signifies not merely sorrow but also humiliation or abasement. To strengthen its effect, Bach incorporates it even in two of the vocal lines in the centre of the movement: (T, $e'-b$: bars 23–6; S, $a'-e'$: bars 24–7). Significantly, at the thirteenth and last appearance of the ground bass (which Bach adjusts, presumably so that he can end the movement in G to prepare for the D-major opening of the 'Et resurrexit'), the upper instruments fall silent, 'abandoning' the voices. This ending – a musical extension that repeats the words 'et sepultus est' – is particularly evocative with its chromatic harmonic language, low range, descending melodic movement and subdued dynamic. To reinforce the effect, the vocal bass joins the continuo in its chromatic descent, while the soprano presents the descending chromatic motive in parallel motion, a tenth above ($g'-d'$).

But if Bach was indeed thinking of the *theologia crucis* when he adjusted the architecture of the *Symbolum Nicenum*, where is the corresponding rising motion (*anabasis*) representing glorification (exaltation), which is also part of Luther's *theologia crucis*? In the Mass as a whole, the movements most obviously characterised by rising lines are those with identical music: the 'Gratias' and the 'Dona nobis pacem'. The most significant aural feature of these movements (which are cast in the form of a double fugue) is the rising diatonic fourth (D–G) with which the first

subject begins. The theme then returns stepwise to its starting pitch.²⁸ The second subject, on the other hand, outlines a descending diatonic major scale, which traverses a whole octave.²⁹ One could argue that the music employs *anabasis* and *catabasis* in equal measure. However, it is the rising figure that strikes the ear most forcefully.

Did Bach intentionally decide to counterbalance the key musical feature of the 'Crucifixus' with the rising diatonic fourths of these outer framing movements? Certainly, if the 'Crucifixus' is to be understood as God's revelation in the suffering of the cross (Luther's *theologia crucis*), the 'Gratias' can be seen as an apt representation of natural revelation (Luther's *theologia gloriae*): 'Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam' ('We give thanks to thee for thy great glory').³⁰ Furthermore, regardless of when Bach made the decision to reuse the music of the 'Gratias' for the 'Dona nobis pacem', it hardly seems coincidental that these two movements are equidistant from the centre point (now the 'Crucifixus').³¹

Several writers have observed that the text of 'Dona nobis pacem' does not suit its music very well. Indeed, Bach's decision to reuse the 'Gratias' music for this final movement necessitated sacrificing a close relationship between text and music. For the first subject Bach had to repeat the word 'pacem'. For the second subject he had to repeat the entire text. Interestingly, he chose to invert the word order at this point: 'pacem dona nobis'. The fact that other solutions are not hard to invent makes one wonder whether the decision to use the inverted word order was itself motivated by a desire to reflect the chiastic formal implications of the *theologia crucis*.³² It is likely that Bach originally had a different plan for the 'Dona nobis pacem'. In the autograph score, with the exception of

²⁸ Except for one pitch, the subject as a whole forms a melodic palindrome.

²⁹ In its first appearance the second subject of the 'Dona nobis pacem' (with the text in inverted word order) outlines a D major descending scale – a *catabasis* foreshadowed in the preceding 'Agnus Dei', whose opening solo vocal line outlines a descending minor scale.

³⁰ In the mass text an even more explicit reference to God's 'revelation in glory' is 'Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria ejus' ('Heaven and earth are full of his glory'). Significantly, Bach's fugue theme for this text outlines the ascending diatonic fourth (see tenor, bars 48–52: *a–b–c♯–d*). Noteworthy too is the ascending and descending order of entries in the third (and last) fugal development in the polychoral 'Osanna' (bars 62–79). There the subject works its way systematically (at two-bar intervals) through choir I and then choir II – ascending from bass to soprano in choir I, and descending from soprano to bass in choir II.

³¹ If the repeated statement of the 'Osanna' is counted.

³² Stauffer provides alternative solutions (p. 169) and calls Bach's version a 'makeshift solution' (p. 170). Friedrich Smend considered it the 'product of a pronounced predicament' ('ein ausgesprochenes Verlegensheitsprodukt'); see *NBA KB II/1*, p. 180.

the page on which the movement begins (which has twenty staves in all, the first six of which are devoted to the final thirteen bars of the 'Agnus Dei'), all of the pages of the 'Dona nobis pacem' have an extra four (unused) staves – for a total of eighteen per page. In this regard, Joshua Rifkin has proposed,

In all probability . . . he [Bach] meant . . . to notate the eight voices of the 'Dona' on separate staves, even though they sing in pairs; when the instrument that he used for ruling failed to register properly, leaving a sizeable gap in the lowest stave, he no doubt felt it most expedient to abandon his idea and compress the voices into the four staves that they now occupy.³³

However, stave lines in the manuscript had to be completed by hand in several places. The process can be deduced from the final page, where the music does not extend to the right-hand margin. Evidently Bach (or a helper) fixed the lines considerably earlier, for by the time he reached the end of the movement he would have known that the full page-width was not needed. It is therefore more likely that Bach intended to end the Mass with a double chorus,³⁴ employing all the voices required by the 'Osanna'. For this purpose, he or an assistant prepared three leaves (six sides) with eighteen staves on each page.³⁵ Then Bach changed his mind, deciding to reprise the 'Gratias' music. This required only fourteen staves and so he was able to begin the movement already on the previous page.

³³ Notes accompanying Rifkin's 1982 recording (Nonesuch 79036, New York, 1982; unpaginated). Friedrich Smend believed that Bach composed the final movements of the Mass (from 'Osanna' through to the 'Dona nobis pacem') with a lack of care, and that the extra staves on the final pages provide further evidence of a 'certain indifference' ('eine gewisse Sorglosigkeit'). See *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 179 and 181, at p. 185. Stauffer calls the unused staves a 'notational lapse' (p. 172). Butt suggests that Bach may have intended to use the sets of four staves on the final pages for a second 'Agnus Dei' movement, typical in Dresden masses (see Butt A, p. 18; Stauffer, p. 163). Stauffer agrees and suggests that the planned movement could have been an aria (Stauffer, p. 171). It does seem noteworthy that the liturgically required third statement of 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi' is missing. One could argue, as Helmuth Rilling has done, that the closing ritornello of the 'Agnus Dei' functions as a third (non-verbal) statement: 'It seems as if Bach formulated the third "Agnus Dei" in the instruments alone.' See H. Rilling, *Johann Sebastian's B-minor Mass*, trans. Gordon Paine (Princeton: Prestige Publications, 1984), p. 185.

³⁴ The planned chorus might have begun with the words 'Agnus Dei' since the liturgically required third iteration of this text has not appeared up to this point.

³⁵ The intended movement was not long: the gathering structure of the MS suggests that a movement of the present length was planned. See Butt A, p. 18.

In any case, Bach must have had good reason for accepting the compromises involved in reusing the 'Gratias' music in the 'Dona nobis pacem'. Since the affect of the two movements is praise and thanksgiving, it seems likely that Bach intended them as mirrors of the lament, alluding to the fundamental antithesis of Luther's *theologia crucis*.

Conclusion

It would be overreaching to suggest that rising melodic fourths (chromatic or diatonic) held a fixed symbolic meaning for Bach.³⁶ As for chromatic fourths (rising or falling) in the Mass, as already noted, they are rare except in the 'Crucifixus'. One could argue that the construction of well-balanced counterpoint and structural forms invariably leads to various manifestations of contrary motion. Nevertheless, Bach's interest in Luther's distinction between the *theologia gloriae* and the *theologia crucis* (demonstrated so clearly in BWV 75 and 76) and the correlation in the Mass between the combination of descending chromatic fourths and ascending diatonic fourths on texts that relate to these theological concepts suggest that Bach was making allusion to them. Despite many unanswered questions, we may reasonably conjecture that at the end of his life Bach was contemplating his legacy (especially, perhaps, in light of the lingering controversy with Johann Adolph Scheibe),³⁷ and perhaps even his heavenly reward. As he neared the completion of the Mass, he made one final adjustment. He decided to forgo an eight-part setting of the 'Dona nobis pacem', choosing instead, perhaps with the Fulde canon in mind,³⁸ to create an architecturally large-scale allusion to the *theologia crucis* by repeating the music of the 'Gratias' with its characteristic rising motive (signifying glorification). His earlier decision to compose a new movement for the 'Et incarnatus' (thereby making the 'Crucifixus' the 'keystone' of the *Symbolum*) ensured that these two identical movements would be equidistant from the 'Crucifixus', the heart of it all. By these adjustments he was able to use formal chiasm and melodic inversion as apt symbols for the *theologia*

³⁶ For a discussion of chromatic fourths elsewhere in Bach's vocal works and organ works associated with texts, as well as in the works of other German composers, see Peter Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 77–86.

³⁷ See NBR/348, pp. 352–3; BDok II/522.

³⁸ The combination of descending chromatic fourth and ascending diatonic fourth can be seen in the two canonic voices of the canon.

crucis. Not only does the return of earlier material produce a sense of cyclical unity; it also serves as a hermeneutical device, illuminating the new text. While the words 'Dona nobis pacem' are ordinarily heard as supplication, they become here an assurance of prayer answered, a promise of heavenly welcome and glorification.³⁹

³⁹ This is perhaps reflected in Bach's inverted word order: 'pacem dona nobis'. See above.

Perhaps Bach intended the final movement also as a kind of doxology; if so, he was evidently employing the musical pun traditionally used in settings of the Lesser Doxology at 'Sicut erat in principio' ('As it was in the beginning') by repeating earlier musical material.

8 | Parallel proportions, numerical structures and *Harmonie* in Bach's autograph score

RUTH TATLOW

Bach's autograph score of the B-minor Mass is notoriously difficult to understand. Its compilation as four discrete sections raises the question of whether Bach intended it as a *missa tota* or as a collection of independent units. The numerous handwritten corrections, including notational features rendered ambiguous by C. P. E. Bach's amendments,¹ and Bach's late addition of fifty-three bars² raise uncertainty over the compositional status of Bach's autograph score. In this chapter I will use principles from the theory of proportional parallelism to shed new light on the final status of the score, on Bach's revision method and on what motivated him to make the numerical refinements.

Proportional parallelism

The theory of proportional parallelism was formulated after I noticed three characteristics common to all of Bach's publications and fair copies:

1. The total number of bars is almost invariably a multiple of 10, and frequently a multiple of 100;
2. The total number of bars forms 'perfect' proportions, usually 1:1 or 1:2,³ at two or more constructional levels; and
3. There is a recognisable reference to Bach's name formed either by the keys framing the work (B–A–C) or in the total number of bars (a form of 2–1–3, 14 or 41).⁴

¹ See the preface to Rifkin 2006; see also J. Rifkin, 'Blinding us with Science? Man, Machine and the Mass in B minor', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 8/1 (March 2011), 77–91; repr. in *Understanding Bach*, 5 (2010), 49–63. See also U. Wolf, O. Hahn and T. Wolff, 'Wer schrieb was? Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse am Autograph von J. S. Bachs Messe in h-Moll BWV 232', *BJ*, 95 (2009), 117–51.

² 'Crucifixus' extended by 4 bars, and a new 49-bar movement 'Et incarnatus' added.

³ The simplest proportions 1:1, 1:2, 2:3 and 3:4 are known as 'perfect'.

⁴ Using the natural-order number alphabet, in which A = 1, B = 2, C = 3, etc., to V = 24, Bach's name could be 41 (J + S + BACH = 9 + 18 + 2 + 1 + 3 + 8), or 14 (B + A + C + H), or 213 (B + A + C), or 813 as H and B were used interchangeably for the musical letter 'B'. 3120 is the sum total of both keyboard collections: *The Well-Tempered Clavier* Book I and *Aufrichtige Anleitung*

These characteristics are missing in the majority of his sketches, early versions and composing scores. One can see how Bach created many levels of perfect proportion by comparing the number of bars in an early score with its final version in a publication. There is nothing approximate about the numbers creating these proportions. Their precision demonstrates how extraordinarily important they were to Bach: they were a defining ingredient in his revision method. Proportional parallelism does not replace the primary importance of textual and musical considerations in Bach's compositional choices, but it does provide an additional tool to help Bach scholars assess the status of a composition.

Perfection expressed by the proportions in *Harmonie* lies at the heart of my new theory. By Bach's time the proportions or, more properly, the ratios of musical intervals (1:1, 1:2, 2:3, 3:4, 4:5 and 5:6) formed by the first six natural numbers (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)⁵ had been fundamental to philosophy, science and the arts for two millennia.⁶ Although advanced mathematics and calculus were in common use, the proportions describing harmonic perfection remained extremely simple. As Bach's cousin Johann Gottfried Walther wrote: 'the closer a proportion is to the unity or equality, the more perfect it is; the further a proportion lies from the unity or equality, the more imperfect and confusing it is'.⁷ Proportions and *Harmonie* became an integral part of a Lutheran theology of creation and, for some, the basis of a prescriptive doctrine of music.⁸ Walther's treatise opens with the following definition of music: 'Music is a heavenly-philosophical science based specifically on mathematics that consists of sound, so long as the sound itself produces a good and artistic *Harmonie* or agreement.'⁹ Amplifying the

(3120 bars), and *Clavierübungen* I and II (3120 bars). 213 (B + A + C) also expresses Bach's birthdate (21 March 85 = 21 3 (85), and his surname: B–A–C(H) = 2–1–3(8). Permutation of numbers and letters were commonplace in Bach's day. See R. Tatlow, 'Collections, Bars and Numbers: Analytical Coincidence or Bach's Design?' *Understanding Bach*, 2 (2007), 55–6.

⁵ 6 is also the first 'perfect number' defined in J. G. Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), s.v. 'Numerus perfectus'.

⁶ 'Ratio' is technically correct, but in Bach's time the term 'proportio' was used even it was though known to be erroneous. See J. G. Walther, 'Praecepta der musikalischen Composition' (1708), MS, Landesbibliothek, Weimar, Hs. Q 341c, Tome 1, p. 9; see also P. Benary (ed.), J. G. Walther: *Praecepta der musikalischen Composition* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955), p. 76.

⁷ Benary (ed.), Walther: *Praecepta*, p. 79: 'Je näher eine Proportion der Unität oder Gleichheit, je vollkommener und begreiflicher ist sie; je weiter aber eine Proportion der Unität oder Gleichheit abgelegen, je unvollkommener und verwirrter ist sie.'

⁸ See R. Tatlow, *Bach's Numbers: The Riddle Unravels* (in preparation).

⁹ Walther, 'Praecepta', Tome 1, p. 1; Benary (ed.), Walther, *Praecepta*, p. 13: 'Die Music ist eine himmlisch-philosophische, und sonderlich auf Mathesin sich gründende Wissenschaft, welche umgehert mit dem Sono, so fern aus selbigen eine gute und künstl. Harmonie oder Zusammenstimmung hervor zubringen.'

word *Harmonie*, Walther explains the spiritual motivation for the correct use of music:

Good *Harmonie* is produced not just when musical principles are observed, but above all when it is used in virtuous and God-pleasing exercises . . . Even the blind heathen had noticed these qualities about *Harmonie*. How much more therefore should we Christians use this noble gift of God correctly, so that God might take pleasure in his handiwork; for man rejoices [in music], because Music not only shows him his own image (i.e. that he is harmonically proportioned), it [music] also confronts God with his own Divine Wisdom.¹⁰

Adding biblical weight with a 'how much more' construction,¹¹ Walther states that the duty of the Lutheran musician is to use music correctly as a virtuous and God-pleasing exercise, giving reasons that music is synonymous with *trias harmonica*,¹² and *trias harmonica* is an image of the triune God. Walther also applies the proportions of music to man, writing: 'As man is a true formula of music, he takes delight in seeing his own image reflected in musical proportions.'¹³

Walther later defines *Musica Poetica*, a subsection of *Musica*: '*Musica Poetica*, or musical composition, is a mathematical science according to which one creates and puts down on paper a lovely and pure agreement of sounds, which can afterwards be sung or played, above all to move Man to great devotion to God, and also to delight and please the ear and the spirit.'¹⁴

Born within months of each other, Walther and Bach had known each other since childhood. They lived as close neighbours in Weimar between

¹⁰ Walther, 'Praecepta', Tome 1, p. 5; Benary (ed.), *Walther: Praecepta*, p. 14: 'Eine gute *Harmonie* hervorbringen und machen, *importiret* vornehmlich dieses, daß solche nicht allein nach denen Kunst Regeln wohl eingerichtet, sondern auch züföhrdest und einig zu tugendsamen, und Gott wohlgefälligen Übungen angewendet werde . . . Dieses haben auch schon die sonst blinden Heyden Erkennet . . . Wie viel mehr sollen wir Christen diese edle Gottes Gabe recht gebrauchen, damit Gott einen Gefallen an seinen Wercken haben möge; denn durch die *Musik* wird dem Menschen nicht allein sein Ebenbild (nemlich daß er *harmonisch* zubereitet sey) vorgelegt, sondern es wird auch Gott sein göttl. Weißheit vorgehalten, darinnen Er sich belustiget.'

¹¹ The *pollo mallon* (πολλὸν μᾶλλον) construction is frequently used by Jesus in the Gospels, e.g. Matthew 6.30, 7.11, 10.25, 18.13 and parallel passages, and by Paul in his epistles, e.g. Romans 5.9, 10, 15, 17; 1 Corinthians 12.22; 2 Corinthians 3.9, 11.

¹² Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, s.v. 'Trias harmonica'.

¹³ Walther, 'Praecepta', Tome 2, p. 6, Benary, *Walther: Praecepta*, p. 75: 'Weil nun der Mensch ein rechtes Formular der Music ist, so belustiget er sich freylich, wenn ihm sein Ebenbild durch musicalische Proportionen vorgestellt wird.'

¹⁴ Walther, 'Praecepta', Tome 1, p. 75, '*Musica Poetica*, oder die musicalische Composition, ist ein *mathematische* Wißenschaft, vermöge welcher man eine Liebl. und reine Zusammenstimmung der Sonorum aufsetzet und zu Papier bringet, daß solche nachmahls kan gesungen oder gespielet werden, den Menschen fürnehmlich zu eifriger Andacht gegen Gott dadurch zubewegen, und dann auch das Gehör und Gemüth deßelben zu ergetzen und zu vergnügen.'

1708 and 1717, and both were dedicated musicians. When Bach adapted Niedt's treatise for his own teaching in 1738, his selection showed the extent to which he recommended the theology of music espoused by Walther:

The thorough-bass is the most perfect foundation of music. It is played with both hands on a keyboard . . . This results in a full-sounding *Harmonie* to the Honour of God and the permissible delight of the soul. The ultimate end or final goal of all music, including the thorough-bass, shall be nothing but for the honour of God and the renewal of the soul.¹⁵

This theology of music is also suggested in his motivation for composing his *Clavierübung* series as a God-pleasing exercise 'to delight the spirits'.¹⁶

Because harmonic proportions pleased God and because he used them in creation, Christian artists were encouraged to imitate his creativity and use his blueprint for their own artworks. Perfect proportions were still held to be the objective measure of beauty in Leipzig in 1743: 'Beauty in architecture is the perception or a semblance of perfection that generates pleasure . . . The rules of beauty for a building are based on symmetry, or the proportional agreement and well-disposed ordering of all the parts of a building.'¹⁷ Although throughout Europe belief in the universality of proportions began to waver at the end of the seventeenth century, evidence suggests that in a small area with Thuringia at its centre, it remained central to the Lutheran doctrine of music at least until the 1740s.¹⁸

Widely known music treatises of Bach's time recommend the composer to make a detailed layout of a composition. If architectural plans were the model, as both Meinrad Spiess and Mattheson recommended, then the layout would be numerically ordered:

Disposition is a well-thought-out division of a musical work, which can be general and particular. The general division of a musical work is when the composer follows the example of an architect, and makes a draft or plan to show where a hall, where a barn, a parlour, chamber, kitchen, etc. should be positioned. That is, when the composer has fathomed out his complete musical work in his head and formed a perfect system from it. The particular division of a musical work is when the composer makes a detailed division of a well invented theme, fugue, aria, etc. . . .

¹⁵ P. L. Poulin (trans.), *J. S. Bach's Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-Bass or Accompanying in Four Parts: Leipzig, 1738* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 10–11.

¹⁶ The title pages include the phrase 'Denen Liebhabern zur Gemüths Ergoetzung'.

¹⁷ 'Schönheit in der Baukunst', in J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1743), vol. XXXV, cols. 821–2.

¹⁸ In treatises by Werckmeister, Walther and Buttstett, and later (influenced by Bach) in Mizler's writings.

One must also decide how long or short the movement should be. These and many other particulars must be decided in advance and brought into good order.¹⁹

The three characteristics of proportional parallelism demonstrate that Bach must have made detailed numerical plans for the structures of his works, and that these numerical plans changed whenever he revised movements or placed them in collections. If Bach had completed his revisions of the B-minor Mass and intended it as a unit, I would expect to find the three characteristics in his autograph score. However, the score is neither a fair copy nor a publication. Bach left it in four sections, numbered sequentially as *No. 1 Missa*, *No. 2 Symbolum Nicenum*, *No. 3 Sanctus* and *No. 4 Osanna, Benedictus, Agnus Dei et Dona nobis pacem*. There we find every type of handwriting – composing, revising, calligraphic fair copy. Nor is Bach's pagination continuous throughout the score: he wrote page numbers for the *Missa* only.²⁰ We do not know why he decided to add sections 2, 3 and 4 to the already complete 1733 *Missa*, nor why he organised the score into four parts. Nor do we know why he decided to add fifty-three bars (four bars to the 'Crucifixus' and a whole 'Et incarnatus' movement), nor, if he had lived longer, whether he would have made further additions and alterations to the score. Although the discrepancies and ambiguities within the score show that orthographically it was not ready for publication,²¹ it is possible to assess its numerical structure to see whether or not Bach had perfected the structure when he added the final stroke of his pen.

The number of bars in a score is non-negotiable. Bach worked around this non-negotiability, however, by introducing two ambiguous notational features into his score. The first is the notation of *stile antico* movements,

¹⁹ M. Spiess, *Tractatus Musicus. Compositorio Practicus* (Augsburg: Lotter, 1746), Cap. 25, p. 134: 'Dispositio, oder die Einrichtung überhaupt ist eine wohl ausgesonnene Eintheilung eines Musicalischen Wercks. Wird eingetheilet in *Generalem*, allgemeine, und *Specialem*, oder *Particularem*, sonderheitliche. *Generalis* ist, wann E. g. der *Symphoniurgus* den gantzen Text einer *Opern* zc. wohl überlesen, überlegt, ausgesonnen, jeder *Ariæ* einem gewissen *Modum Musicum*, gewisse *Instrumenta*, gewisse Ausdrückungen der Leidenschafften zc. ausersehen, nach dem Beyspiel eines *Architecti*, so einen Entwurff oder Riß macht, anzuzeigen, wo der Saal, wo der Stadel, Stuben, Zimmer, Kuchen zc. solte angeleget werden. Kurtz: Wann der *Componist* sein gantzes vorhabendes *Musicalisches* Werck im Kopf zu Faden schlägt, und sich davon ein vollkommenes *System* formirt. *Particularis Dispositio* geschicht, wann ein dem Text anständiges, wohl *inventirtes Thema, Fuga, Aria &c.* in seine sonderheitliche Eintheilungen, Abschnitt zc. gesetzt wird . . . Weiters muß man sich *resolviren*, wie lang, oder kurtz man ein Stuck wolle *prosequen*, oder *abbrechen*.' See also J. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739), part II, chapter 14, §4, p. 235.

²⁰ The pagination of the *Symbolum Nicenum* (97–112), *Sanctus* (153–63) and *Osanna* (169–88) is in a later hand.

²¹ NBA KB II/1a, p. 32.

with full-length barlines at the breve and short barlines at the semibreve.²² In the orchestral parts of the *Missa*, copied from the score, Bach drew barlines at the semibreve in the two *stile antico* movements, the second 'Kyrie' and the 'Gratias', and he counted the rest bars in semibreves for these movements. But he also included the designation *alla breve* at the head of both movements and strong barlines at the breve, to indicate one bar per breve. Bach knew that the second 'Kyrie' had both 59 and 118 bars, and the 'Gratias' both 46 and 92 bars. The one exception to this dual usage is the final 'Dona nobis pacem'.²³

The second ambiguous feature is Bach's inconsistent notation of the time signature at a barline. Occasionally he omits the barline when a time signature changes in the middle of a movement. An omission of this nature occurs three times in the score.²⁴ (This feature is marked 'TS' in the tables below).

The TS feature might seem more characteristic of a lapse in orthographic consistency than of conscious numerical design. However, introducing an element of numerical flexibility when constructing an exact 1:1 proportion was a well-tried and tested technique, recommended by paragrammatists of the period. Johann Friedrich Riederer explains how the imprecision of German orthography should be exploited when aiming for an exact total 1:1 proportion: 'What to do here? If I were to put an extra "n" in the word "Wanze" I would get 91 more, but that is unfortunately not sufficient.'²⁵

The time signature as barline and the barring in the *stile antico* movements gave Bach numerical flexibility in an otherwise fixed structure, and facilitated the accommodation of alternative constructional plans as the work or collection evolved. Documentary evidence of how Bach designed and kept tabs on two numerical structures in tandem is unfortunately lacking as no numerical jottings in his hand have survived.²⁶ Bach's consciousness of the number of bars can be demonstrated by his annotation of bar numbers at the ends and tops of pages in the

²² This ambiguity appears also in some 6/8 movements. ²³ See discussion below.

²⁴ In the *Missa* it occurs in the 'Gloria' at the change from 3/8 to c before 'Et in terra pax', in the 'Domine Deus' from c to 3/4 before 'Qui tollis', and in the *Sanctus* at the change from c to 3/8 before 'Pleni sunt coeli'.

²⁵ J. F. Riederer, *Catalogus derer eintausend funffzig Paragrammatum Cabbalisticorum Trigonalium* (Nuremberg, 1719), introduction, p. 4: 'Was hier zu thun? Wolte ich ein n an das Wort Wanze flicken, so käme zwar 91 mehr heraus, das ist aber noch nicht suffisant.' The poetic paragram is in 1:1 form.

²⁶ If Bach had used an erasable palimpsest the jottings would not have survived.

score in two movements.²⁷ In this context it is worth mentioning the curious numerical annotations found on the reverse of a secular cantata text for BWV Anh. 8; these are tantalising as they may indicate Bach's numerical thought processes and workings, but, so far, the figures and their context remain unintelligible.²⁸

Parallel proportions and the 1733 *Missa*

In 1733 Bach single-handedly copied the score of the *Missa* and, with only a little help from family members, wrote out the majority of the parts,²⁹ before delivering the latter with a dedicatory letter to the elector. The score has the characteristics of an independent section, being headed 'JJ' and paginated throughout in Bach's hand, and ending with the words 'Fine SDGL'.³⁰ Double barlines divide the twelve clear textual sections or 'movements' into nine.³¹ Before Bach died he put the *Missa* score in a wrapper, on the front of which he wrote: 'No 1. Missa'.

Counting the *stile antico* notation in the second 'Kyrie' and the 'Gratias' as one bar per breve, and ignoring the TS feature, in other words counting as in the *NBA*,³² there are exactly 1040 bars in the *Missa*.

Missa: parallel proportions in 1040 bars

Table 8.1 shows all three characteristics of a finally revised Bachian composition: the total number of bars, 1040, is a multiple of ten, and 1040 is allusively self-referential ($B + A + C + H = 2 + 1 + 3 + 8 = 14$). There are also various layers of parallel proportions:

²⁷ In the 'Quoniam', pp. 72, 73 and 74 of the autograph, Bach writes bar numbers 94 (end), 100 (top) and 131 (end) (although they are overwritten), and in the 'Confiteor' at the end of pp. 137, 138 and 139 Bach writes bar numbers 61, 100 and 141.

²⁸ I would like to thank Hans-Joachim Schulze for drawing my attention to the document, which is reproduced in *NBA KB I/35*, p. 176. There is some doubt over whether it is in Bach's handwriting.

²⁹ *NBA KB*, II/1a, pp. 16–19.

³⁰ 'JJ' stands for 'Jesu Juva' ('Help, O Jesus'), and 'SDGL' stands for 'Soli Deo Gloria' ('to God alone be the Glory').

³¹ The 'Gloria', 'Domine Deus' and 'Quoniam' lack a double barline, which was customarily used to mark the end of a movement, the 'Gloria' and 'Domine Deus' having the TS feature at the change.

³² BWV, Schmieder's thematic catalogue, has been a valuable aid to double-check numerical results, but not a primary source because it reflects *NBA* editorial policies that can disguise Bach's layout, e.g. bars in a da capo section (Bach was not consistent: *NBA* editorial policy is) and repeats. The figures in Table 8.1 can be found in BWV and BWV^{2a} (1999).

Table 8.1 Parallel proportions in the 1733 *Missa: stile antico* counted at the breve

	Movement	Bars	1:1		1:1	
1	Kyrie I	126	126		126	
2	Christe	85		85		85
3	Kyrie II	59	59		59	
4	Gloria	100		100		100
TOTAL	4 movements 2:2	370	185:185			
5	Et in terra	76	76		76	
6	Laudamus te	62		62		62
7	Gratias	46	46		46	
8	Domine Deus	95		95		95
9	Qui tollis	50		50		50
10	Qui sedes	86	86		86	
11	Quoniam	127	127		127	
12	Cum Sancto Spiritu	128		128		128
TOTAL	8 movements 4:4	670	335:335			
TOTAL	12 movements 6:6	1040			520:520	

1. A double 1:1 proportion in the 370 bars of the first four movements (Kyrie I–Gloria): 2:2 movements with 185:185 bars. There is evidence on the score that Bach had not originally planned to open the *Missa* with the four first bars.³³ This double 1:1 proportion gives a numerical explanation for Bach's four-bar addition.
2. A double 1:1 proportion in the 670 bars of the remaining movements (Et in terra–Cum Sancto Spiritu): 4:4 movements with 335:335 bars.
3. Consequently a double 1:1 proportion in the 1040 bars of the entire *Missa*: 6:6 movements with 520:520 bars.

Since the proportions appear consecutively, Bach was able to check the numerical relationships as he copied the score. Evidence to support

³³ Butt A, p. 44, referring also to Rifkin's notes accompanying his recording of Bach's Mass in B minor, Nonesuch 79036 (New York, 1982).

Table 8.2 Parallel proportions in the 1733 *Missa: stile antico* counted at the semibreve, and time signature as non-barline (marked TS)

		Movement	Bars	1:1	1:1:1	2:1
1	1	Kyrie I	126	126	126	126
2	2	Christe	85	85	85	
3	3	Kyrie II [stile antico]	118	118	118	
4	4	Gloria [no barline] TS	100	175	175	
	5	Et in terra	75			
5	6	Laudamus te	62	62	62	
6	7	Gratias [stile antico]	92	92	92	
7	8	Domine Deus [no barline] TS	95	329:329	144	
	9	Qui tollis	49			
8	10	Qui sedes	86		86	
9	11	Quoniam	127		255	127
	12	Cum Sancto Spiritu	128			128
		TOTAL	1143		381:381:381	254:127

this consecutive method can be found in the score of the 'Quoniam' at the end of the *Missa*. If the 'Quoniam' was new music written with the help of a draft or sketch to guide him, as Stauffer thinks, then Bach's handwritten bar numbers 94, 100 and 131 would also have helped guide him as he developed the B section in the tripartite text to a modified da capo design: A (bars 1–53), B (bars 53–89) and A¹ (bars 90–128).³⁴

Missa: parallel proportions in 1143 bars

Table 8.2 shows the alternative numerical structure counting the *stile antico* movements at the semibreve, including the TS feature where it occurs and dividing the *Missa* in the nine sections indicated by Bach's double barlines.

³⁴ Stauffer, p. 91.

1. A double 1:1 proportion in the 658 bars of the first six sections (Kyrie I–Gratias): 3:3 sections with 329:329 bars.
2. A large-scale 1:1:1 proportion formed across the 1143 bars of the *Missa*: 381:381:381 bars, with either 2:3:4 sections or 3:4:5 movements.
3. A smaller-scale double 2:1 proportion with 254:127 bars between the three outer movements, 2:1.
4. 381 is a self-referential number (a permutation of 8–1–3, H–A–C).

The alternative structure fulfils only two of the three characteristics of a finally revised version: there are more than two levels of parallel proportion and there is an allusive signature in 381, but the total is neither a multiple of 100 nor of 10.

When Bach submitted the dedicatory letter and parts of the *Missa* to the new Elector of Saxony, Friedrich August II, in July 1733, he did so knowing that it displayed *Harmonie*. He had not only followed musical rules, but also created a perfectly proportioned structure at the unity 1:1, reflecting God's wisdom and perfection. Bach must have recognised the beauty in the 1040 bars and in the alternative parallel structure and its 1:1:1 proportion, which reflected the three-in-oneness of the Trinity.

Parallel proportions: first plan in the remainder of the Mass: 1400 bars

At some unknown point after 1733, and probably between August 1748 and October 1749,³⁵ Bach began work on what would form the *Symbolum Nicenum*, *Sanctus* and *Osanna*, *Benedictus*, *Agnus Dei et Dona nobis pacem* (Nos. II–IV). The more obviously laboured handwriting in the final movements indicates a weakening of Bach's eyesight as well as his diminishing fine motor skills. The addition of 53 bars and the numerical structure of the score, on the other hand, show that his mental faculties were as sharp as ever.

The figures in rows 2–5 of Table 8.3 suggest that Bach began by creating a double 1:1 parallel structure in the first four movements of the *Symbolum*, just as he had years earlier in the first four movements of the *Missa* (Table 8.3 columns 6–9). This may simply have been a regular

³⁵ Koybayashi B, p. 66.

Table 8.3 Double 1:1 proportions opening both Part II, *Symbolum Nicenum*, and Part I, *Missa*

II	<i>Symbolum</i>	Bars	1:1	I	<i>Missa</i>	Bars	1:1	Alt. ^a 1:1
1	Credo	45	45	1	Kyrie I	126	126	126
2	Patrem	84	84	2	Christe	85	85	85
3	Et in unum	80	80	3	Kyrie II	59/118	59	118
4	Crucifixus	49	49	4	Gloria	100	100	175
	TOTAL	258	129 : 129	5	Et in terra	75 TS		
				6	Laudamus	62		62
				7	Gratias	46/92		92
				TOTAL		185:185	329:329	

^a Alt. = alternative parallel structure.

compositional habit, or it may have been motivated by a desire to forge a parallel link between the *Missa* and the *Symbolum*.

The figures in Table 8.4 suggest that before Bach began to copy the *Symbolum Nicenum* he had a perfect numerical plan that specified the precise number of bars for every movement, even if the movements were in draft form or, as in the case of the 'Confiteor', still to be composed.

Table 8.4 shows all three characteristics of a finally revised Bachian composition: the total number of bars, 1400, is a multiple of 100, there are several layers of parallel proportion, and 1400 is allusively self-referential ($B + A + C + H = 14$). There are also various layers of parallel proportion:

1. A fourteen-movement structure with a self-referential 1400 bars (Credo–Dona nobis)
2. A double 1:1 proportion with 7:7 movements in 700:700 bars (Credo–Dona nobis)
3. Each of these 700 bars forming a double 3:4 proportion, with 3:4 movements in 300:400 bars.
4. A double 1:1 proportion with 5:5 movements in 550:550 bars (Credo–Osanna)
5. A double 1:1 proportion with 2:2 movements in 129:129 bars (Credo–Crucifixus)

Table 8.4 Parallel proportions in 1400 bars 'Credo'–'Dona nobis pacem' before the addition of 53 bars to the *Symbolum Nicenum*

II	<i>Symbolum Nicenum</i>	Bars	1:1	1:1	3:4	3:4	1:1	3:4	1:1
1	Credo	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45
2	Patrem	84	84	84	84	84	84	84	84
3	Et in unum	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80
4	Crucifixus	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
5	Et resurrexit	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131
6	Et in Spiritum Sanctum	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144
7	Confiteor	146	146	146	146	146	146	146	146
8	Et expecto	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105
III	<i>Sanctus</i>								
9	Sanctus; Pleni sunt coeli	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	168
IV	<i>Osanna etc.</i>								
10	Osanna	148	148	148	148	148	148	148	148
11	Benedictus	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57
12	Osanna	148	148	148	148	148	148	148	148
13	Agnus Dei	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
14	Dona nobis pacem	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46
	TOTAL	1400	550:550	300	700:700	300:400	300:400	300:400	129:129

Table 8.5 300-bar block in score of Part IV

IV	<i>Osanna etc.</i>	Bars
	Osanna	148
	Benedictus	57
	Osanna [not copied out]	
	Agnus Dei	49
	Dona nobis pacem	46
	TOTAL	300

The superscript 'JJ' at the head of the 'Osanna' score indicates that Bach perceived Part IV as a unit. By choosing not to copy the second 'Osanna' he created a unit of exactly 300 bars (see Table 8.5), while introducing an element of numerical flexibility. This rational unit of 300 bars is typical of Bach's construction. He frequently reused rational units of 50 and 100 bars from earlier compositions when creating a larger structure: in the score the previously composed 100-bar- and 50-bar units can still be detected in the 'Gloria' and 'Qui tollis'.

Although the final movement, 'Dona nobis pacem', is virtually identical notation-wise to the 'Gratias' in the *Missa*, I have come to the conclusion that Bach counted the 'Dona nobis pacem' only at the breve because (a) he omitted the designation *alla breve* for the 'Dona nobis pacem' whereas he wrote it clearly in the 'Gratias', and (b) he rarely included a line at the semibreve in 'Dona nobis pacem', unlike the frequent short barlines at the semibreve, and the rests counted at the semibreve in the 'Gratias'.³⁶ These small orthographic indications, combined with evidence from the numerical plans, also imply that Bach wished the final 'Dona nobis pacem' to be performed and perceived with four beats per bar (always 46 bars) and the 'Gratias' to be performed in two, *alla breve* (simultaneously 46 and 92 bars) and probably twice as fast.³⁷

Table 8.6 shows an alternative numerical plan for Part IV, exploiting the TS feature in the 'Sanctus' and counting the second 'Osanna'. The

³⁶ Bach (or a copyist) also wrote the number 69 on page 50 of 'Gratias' in his autograph score, showing that the rests had been counted at the semibreve, as in the Dresden parts.

³⁷ In *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende*, 2nd edn (Leipzig and Halle: Schwickert, 1802), p. 103, Daniel Gottlieb Türk stated that an *Andante allabreve* was proportionally much slower than *Allegro allabreve*.

Table 8.6 The double 2:1 proportion 'Sanctus'–'Dona nobis pacem'

III	<i>Sanctus</i>	Bars	2:1	
1	Sanctus TS Pleni sunt coeli	167	167	
IV	<i>Osanna etc.</i>			
2	Osanna	148	148	
3	Benedictus	57		57
4	Osanna	148		148
5	Agnus Dei	49	49	
6	Dona nobis pacem	46	46	
	TOTAL	615	410:205	

plan incorporates the pre-existent 'Sanctus' to form a self-referential double 2:1 structure with 4:2 movements in 410:205 bars.

Towards a *missa tota*: the addition of four introductory bars to the 'Crucifixus'

The perfection of Bach's 1400-bar plan was dependent upon counting the *stile antico* movements ('Credo' and 'Dona nobis pacem') at the breve.³⁸ At this point the *missa tota* was two independent sections rather than an integrated whole: *Missa* (1040 bars) and 'Credo'–'Dona nobis pacem' (1400 bars). There was no true integration of the bipartite structure: an overall double 1:1 proportion worked only when combining the two sets of proportion, that is, 6:6 movements and 520:520 bars of Table 8.1 column 5 with the 7:7 movements and 700:700 bars of Table 8.4 column 6. There was no parallel numerical structure throughout (counting at the breve and TS) as there had been in the *Missa*. If Bach wanted to form a genuinely integrated *missa tota*, with a perfectly proportioned parallel numerical structure, he would have to make some adjustments.

Evidence from the gathering of paper, the layout and the handwriting shows that while he was copying the score Bach changed his numerical

³⁸ The bar numbers in Tables 8.4 and 8.5 can be found in BWV.

plan. Firstly, after he had copied the 'Crucifixus' and the 'Et resurrexit' he decided to add four introductory bars to the 'Crucifixus', and then, before completing the 'Et expecto', according to Butt, he was careful to leave enough paper to accommodate the substitute vocal parts to the 'Et in unum' and add the 'Et incarnatus'.³⁹ The layout implies that Bach wrote the four extra bars on the score before he inserted the sheet on which he had copied 'Et incarnatus'. Instead of writing the four bars after 'Et incarnatus' (p. 112 of the score), which would have followed the consecutive performance order and where there was space, he wrote them after 'Et in unum' (p. 110 of the score). With these clues it is possible to reconstruct Bach's method of working and to investigate the changing numerical structures.⁴⁰

Bach had used the technique of adding introductory bars to adapt a pre-existent plan at least once before, specifically when he added four introductory bars to the first 'Kyrie' to generate a perfect structure in the *Missa*.⁴¹ Repeating the technique, he added four bars to the 'Crucifixus' to transform the *Missa* and *Symbolum Nicenum* from a disproportionate 1972 bars into a quadruple 1:1 proportioned unit of 1976 bars by using the alternative numeration (*stile antico* at the semibreve, and TS feature). In combination with the double 2:1 proportion in Parts III and IV (see Table 8.6), a *missa tota* with a dual numerical plan was beginning to take shape.

Table 8.7 shows various layers of parallel proportion:

1. 1976 bars in sixteen movements with 8:8 movements in 988:988 bars;
2. 658 bars in six movements with 3:3 movements in 329:329 bars;
3. Potentially self-referential 1318 bars in ten movements,⁴² with 5:5 movements in 659:659 bars.

The plan of the three consecutive sections 1–6, 7–11, and 12–16 is just one bar short of a perfect triple 1:1:1 proportion of 659:659:659 bars. If the TS feature in the 'Gloria' is ignored, however, there is a perfect 1:1:1 proportion. Would Bach have accepted the numerical inconsistency of including the TS

³⁹ Butt A, p. 15. See also Butt B, p. 113.

⁴⁰ Eduard van Hengel and Kees van Houten use the four extra bars in support of their view that the 'Et incarnatus' was part of Bach's original plan rather than a later addition. Although this is an interesting hypothesis, the parallel proportions confirm the commonly accepted interpretation. See Hengel and Houten, pp. 104–6.

⁴¹ See Joshua Rifkin's review of the facsimile editions of Bach's Mass in B minor in *Notes*, 44 (1988), 787–8, and Butt A, p. 44.

⁴² See n. 4 above.

Table 8.7 Quadruple 1:1 proportion with additional four-bar introduction to the 'Crucifixus', before Bach added the 'Et incarnatus'

	Movements	Bars	1:1	1:1	1:1
1	Kyrie I	126	126	126	
2	Christe	85	85	85	
3	Kyrie II [<i>stile antico</i>]	118	118	118	
4	Gloria TS Et in terra	175		175	
5	Laudamus te	62		62	
6	Gratias [<i>stile antico</i>]	92		92	
7	Domine Deus TS Qui tollis	144		144	144
8	Qui sedes	86		86	86
9	Quoniam; Cum Sancto Spiritu	255		255	255
10	Credo	90		90	90
11	Patrem	84		84	84
12	Et in unum	80	80		80
13	Crucifixus [additional 4 bars]	53	53		53
14	Et resurrexit	131	131		131
15	Et in Spiritum Sanctum	144	144		144
16	Confiteor; Et expecto	251	251		251
	TOTAL	1976	988:988	329:329	659:659

feature where he needed it in the 'Domine Deus' but excluding it in the 'Gloria'? Although the paragrammatists would have been satisfied with this compromise,⁴³ Bach apparently was not.

Musically, textually and proportionally Bach did not need to add a movement with the text 'Et incarnatus'. Additional bars would wreck the near-perfection of his plan, but Bach nevertheless decided to make a further change. He found that by adding a 49-bar movement he could create proportional unity across the *missa tota*, including a parallel self-referential 1:1 proportion with alternative numeration.

⁴³ See n. 20 above.

Table 8.8 Parallel plan 1 with 2345 bars: *stile antico* counted at the breve

	Movement	Bars	1:1	2:1	2	2:2:2:1
I	<i>Missa</i>					
1	Kyrie I	126			126	
2	Christe	85			85	
3	Kyrie II	59			59	
4	Gloria	100			100	
						(370)
5	Et in terra	76	76			
6	Laudamus te	62		62		
7	Gratias	46	46			
8	Domine Deus	95		95		
9	Qui tollis	50		50		
10	Qui sedes	86	86			
11	Quoniam	127	127			
12	Cum Sancto Spiritu	128		128		
			335:335			670
II	<i>Symbolum Nicenum</i>					
13	Credo	45		45		
14	Patrem	84		84		
15	Et in unum	80		80		
16	Et incarnatus	49		49		
17	Crucifixus	53		53		
18	Et resurrexit	131		131		
19	Et in Spiritum Sanctum	144		144		
20	Confiteor	146		146		
21	Et expecto	105		105		

Table 8.8 (cont.)

	Movement	Bars	1:1	2:1	2	2:2:2:1
III	<i>Sanctus</i>					
22	Sanctus	47		47		
23	Pleni sunt coeli	121		121		
				670:335		670 + 335
IV	<i>Osanna etc.</i>					
24	Osanna	148			148	
25	Benedictus	57			57	
26	Agnus Dei	49			49	
27	Dona nobis pacem	46			46	
						(300)
	TOTAL	2345	670	1005	370 + 300	2345

Perfect proportions and *Harmonie* in a *missa tota*

Table 8.8 shows the large-scale proportion when the *stile antico* bars are counted at the breve.⁴⁴ Even though the total 2345 is not a multiple of ten, and there is no self-referential allusion, the overarching proportions are striking. Constructed from blocks of 670 bars, the 1:1:1 proportion is almost identical to the structure of the first and implied fourth version of the St John Passion, whose 2010 bars form 1:1:1 in consecutive 670:670:670 bars.

1. The outer two sections (Kyrie–Gloria and Osanna–Dona nobis) have 670 bars, 370 bars (Kyrie–Gloria) in a 1:1 proportion (185:185 bars) and 300 bars (Osanna–Dona nobis).
2. The two inner sections are proportioned 2:1 with 1005:670 bars, leaving 670 bars in the remaining *Missa* movements ('Et in terra'–'Cum Sancto', proportioned 1:1 with 335:335 bars), and 1005 bars in the *Symbolum Nicenum* and *Sanctus* (proportioned 2:1 with 670:335 bars).

Table 8.9 shows the alternative plan for 2640 bars, counting the *stile antico* bars at the semibreve, including the TS feature, and coexisting with the

⁴⁴ The bar numbers in Table 8.7 can be found in BWV.

Table 8.9 Parallel plan 2 with 2640 bars: *stile antico* at the semibreve and TS feature

	Movement	Bars	1 : 1	1 : 1	2 : 1
I	<i>Missa</i>				
1	Kyrie I	126	126	126	
2	Christe	85	85	85	
3	Kyrie II	118	118	118	
4	Gloria TS Et in terra	175	175		175
5	Laudamus te	62	62		62
6	Gratias	92	92		92
				329:329	
7	Domine Deus TS Qui tollis	144	144		
8	Qui sedes	86	86		
9	Quoniam; Cum Sancto Spiritu	255	255		
II	<i>Symbolum Nicenum</i>				
10	Credo	90	90		
11	Patrem	84	84		
12	Et in unum	80	80		
13	Et incarnatus	49	49		
14	Crucifixus	53	53		
15	Et resurrexit	131	131		
16	Et in Spiritum Sanctum	144	144		
17	Confiteor; Et expecto	251	251		
III	<i>Sanctus</i>				2:1
18	Sanctus TS Pleni sunt coeli	167	167		167
IV	<i>Osanna etc.</i>				
19	Osanna	148	148		148
20	Benedictus	57	57		57
21	Osanna	148	148		148
22	Agnus Dei	49	49		49
23	Dona nobis pacem	46	46		46
					410:205
	TOTAL	2640	1320:1320		

structure in Table 8.8. The structure incorporated the small-scale double 1:1 proportion in 329:329 bars, and the double 2:1 proportion uniting the *Sanctus* and *Osanna*. The plan displays all three characteristics of a Bach publication: the total number of bars, 2640, is a multiple of 10; there are several layers of parallel proportion; and 1320 is allusively self-referential. As there are many different ways in which 1320:1320 can be formed from 23 terms ranging from the smallest total of bars, 53, to the largest, 255, the fact that 1320 is a self-referential number cannot be taken as evidence that this total was consciously planned. However, taken in the context of recurring incidences of 1–3–2 found in the total numbers of bars of Bach's publications and collections, the 1320:1320 of the *missa tota* must be taken seriously.⁴⁵

The three characteristics of a finally revised work can be seen in the parallel numerical plan of the *missa tota* (2345 bars and 2640 bars), indicating that Bach left the score numerically ready to publish, and implying that the 53 bars were added partly to create these two parallel and perfect mega-structures. Tracing the numerical changes from smaller to larger compositional units explains how Bach created the perfectly proportioned structures. The Lutheran theology of music that Bach seems to have kept alive in his compositional practice and teaching explains why he did it.

In 1742, commenting on Fux's statement that the perfection of proportions in creation reflect the proportions of musical intervals, and that the octave 1:2 is the most perfect of all, Bach's former student and colleague Christoph Mizler wrote: 'These edifying thoughts are based on the old truth:⁴⁶ the more a thing is constructed, the more imperfect it is, and the more simple a thing is, the more perfect it is. That is why philosophers have always believed and for good reason always had to believe God to be the simplest and the most perfect Being.'⁴⁷ Whereas in 1708 Walther had stated that the most perfect proportion was the unity, 1:1,⁴⁸ for Fux in 1725 and

⁴⁵ R. Tatlow, 'Collections, Bars and Numbers: Analytical Coincidence or Bach's Design?', *Understanding Bach*, 2 (2007), 37–58. See also n. 4 above.

⁴⁶ Although the Walther citation (see n. 7 above) and the Mizler are not identical, the principles are the same and the 'old truth' very recognisable.

⁴⁷ J. J. Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum oder Anführung zur Regelmäßigen Musikalischen Composition Auf eine neue, gewisse, und bishero noch niemahls in so deutlicher Ordnung an das Licht gebrachte Art*, ed. and trans. L. C. Mizler (Leipzig: Mizlerischer Bucherverlag, 1742), pp. 35–6, n. 12: 'Diese erbauliche Gedancken gründen sich auf die alte Wahrheit: ie mehr eine Sache zusammen gesetzt ist, ie unvollkommener ist sie, und ie mehr eine Sache einfach ist, ie vollkommener ist sie. Drum haben die Weltweisen GOTT allezeit vor das aller einfachste Wesen unter allen Dingen, und also vor das allervollkommenste allezeit gehalten und der Vernunft zu Folge davor halten müssen.'

⁴⁸ See n. 3 above.

Mizler in 1742, 1:2 was the most perfect: 'because the first quantity is the beginning, i.e. the Unity, whereas the second is the number 2, which stands next to the Unity. That this order was observed by God in all his works or creations in a wonderful way can easily be noticed.'⁴⁹ Nowhere did Bach state that the perfect proportions 1:1 and 1:2 were integral to his compositional technique. Nonetheless there is sufficient evidence in his scores to suggest that he used perfect proportions, and there is substantial philosophical, theological and confessional evidence to suggest that he used them intentionally. Bach was in control of every numerical change he made as he integrated the *Missa* into a large-scale *missa tota*, creating a unity across the whole while keeping the four parts as discrete entities. Although the perfect parallel proportions were hidden and silent, he believed that their *Harmonie* would delight God and inspire man to greater devotion.

⁴⁹ Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum*, chapter 15, 'Von der Octave', p. 35: 'Da ihre erste Grösse selbst der Anfang ist, nemlich die Einheit, die andere Grösse aber die Zahl 2, die der Einheit am nechsten stehet. Daß diese Ordnung von GOTT in allen seinen Wercken oder Geschöpfen auf eine wunderbare Art beobachtet sey, kan leicht angemercket werden.'

PART III

Sources

9 | Many problems, various solutions: editing Bach's B-minor Mass

UWE WOLF

Plans to publish an edition of Bach's B-minor Mass have seldom run smoothly. Despite the work's being heralded as 'the Greatest Musical Work of Art of all Times and Nations',¹ Part I of the first edition – published by Hans Georg Nägeli in 1833² – sold poorly; publication of Part II – which was initially planned for spring 1834 – was delayed until 1845 (nine years after Nägeli's death). Only the vocal score, edited by Adolph Bernhard Marx, was published complete by Simrock at Bonn in 1833; after a difference of opinion, both Nägeli and Simrock agreed that the full score and vocal score were to be sold under the names of both publishing houses.³

The timing of the publication of the second part of Nägeli's edition was unfortunate; it was released almost simultaneously with the news of the forthcoming *Bach-Gesamtausgabe*. Despite great financial problems, Nägeli's son, Hermann, was understandably unwilling to sell the autograph to the Bach-Gesellschaft; his father, Hans Georg, had bought the autograph score from Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke, who, in turn, had bought it from Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's estate.⁴ After several attempts to gain access to this manuscript, the *Bach-Gesellschaft* editors decided to publish the B-minor Mass without consulting the autograph. Crucially, instead of the autograph they used Nägeli's edition, a few manuscript copies and the original sources of the early versions. This edition appeared in 1856.⁵

In 1857, shortly after the publication of this edition of the B-minor Mass, Hermann Nägeli sold the autograph indirectly to the *Bach-Gesellschaft* editors. The directorate of the Bach-Gesellschaft could now see the many differences between their edition and the autograph; this forced them to add a 'new

¹ BDok VI/C 50, pp. 462–3.

² *Messe in h-Moll. Nach dem Autographum gestochen* (Zurich: Hans Georg Nägeli, 1833).

³ BDok VI/C 58–60, pp. 469–72. In fact, the vocal parts were offered for sale at the same time as the vocal score.

⁴ BDok VI/C 57, p. 468.

⁵ BG VI, ed. Julius Rietz (Leipzig, 1856). See pp. vii–viii, 'An die Mitglieder der Bachgesellschaft. Die Ausgabe der H Moll Messe betreffend', for the problems concerning this edition.

edition', containing only Parts II to IV.⁶ In later reissues, the first part was also updated according to the autograph, but these updates were not comprehensive.

The edition of the B-minor Mass in the *NBA* was also ill-fated;⁷ indeed, the Mass was planned for the inaugural volume, but did not appear until 1954, after the first volume of cantatas. Friedrich Smend, who had been researching Bach's B-minor Mass since the 1930s,⁸ was engaged as editor. Significantly, the early publication date of the B-minor Mass meant that the ground-breaking research on the chronology of Bach's works by Alfred Dürr and Georg von Dadelsen was not available to him.⁹ Smend thus made numerous errors regarding questions of chronology and copyists. His edition was met with some of the most substantive criticism of any of the *NBA* editions.¹⁰ Smend had recognised that the B-minor Mass had no uniform history but was assembled from different movements, composed at different times; with hindsight, we must credit him with discovering some hitherto unknown models for parody. Ultimately, however, Smend arrived at the wrong conclusions: he thought that the autograph did not contain a Mass in B minor but, instead, four independent works.¹¹

The early versions of the *Missa* and *Sanctus* were not included in Smend's edition; significantly, this fact contradicted the *NBA*'s editorial guidelines of 1954. Many years later, the *NBA*'s editorial board, towards the end of its project, decided to add a volume with these early versions of parts of the Mass (the *Sanctus* of 1724, the *Missa* of 1733 and the early G-major version of the *Credo* fugue), which was published in 2005.¹²

After many years, the ensuing problems with Smend's *NBA* edition of the B-minor Mass prompted the emergence of the three new editions which are currently available: the Peters edition by Christoph Wolff (1997),¹³ the Breitkopf edition by Joshua Rifkin (2006)¹⁴ and, as the first volume of the revised volumes of the *NBA*, an edition by myself (2010). In the pages that follow I would like to discuss the main problems and the various solutions presented in these editions that have appeared since the mid-twentieth

⁶ BG VI.2 ('Zum sechsten Jahrgang') was also edited by Rietz. The foreword is entitled 'Einleitendes zur neuen Redaktion der zweiten Hälfte der H Moll Messe von J. S. Bach'. It also contains some information concerning the differences in the *Missa*.

⁷ *NBA* II/1 (1954); *NBA KB* II/1 (1956).

⁸ See Friedrich Smend, 'Bachs h-Moll-Messe: Entstehung, Überlieferung, Bedeutung', *BJ*, 34 (1937), 1–58.

⁹ Dürr; Dadelsen B. ¹⁰ Dadelsen C (see Dadelsen C^{ET} for English translation).

¹¹ The title of *NBA* II/1 is *Missa. Symbolum Nicenum. Sanctus. Ossanna, Benedictus, Agnus Dei et Dona nobis pacem, später genannt: Messe in h-Moll*.

¹² *NBA* II/1a. ¹³ Wolff 1997. ¹⁴ Rifkin 2006.

century. Since each part has its own problems, it would seem best to do this looking at one part of the Mass at a time in the following sequence: Parts I, III and IV and then Part II, because Part II – the *Credo* – contains the most difficult problems and is the touchstone of every edition of this work.

Part I: *Missa* (*Kyrie* and *Gloria*)

The *Missa* is the oldest part of the autograph score of Bach's B-minor Mass. As Smend has demonstrated, it is the *Kopiervorlage* (the model used for copying out) for the so-called Dresden parts which Bach dedicated to the new elector in 1733. The score therefore cannot have originated after this time and, for a number of reasons, it probably was not written before the summer of 1733.¹⁵ Smend has also shown that there are some differences between the score and the Dresden parts: first, there are the usual differences between scores and parts which are often to be found in Bach's music: the parts contain more slurs, tempo indications, dynamics and figuration. Because the Dresden parts are mostly autograph, they contain even more additions than usual. Occasionally there are different readings, small corrections or improvements which Bach made while copying the parts,¹⁶ but this situation is not fundamentally different from that found in other vocal works with autograph parts or, indeed, parts revised by Bach himself.

A second set of differences between the score and parts must be considered: corrections in the autograph score which Bach undertook after 1733, partly while he was working on his Christmas cantata *Gloria in excelsis Deo* BWV 191 (1743–6), based on movements of the 1733 *Missa*,¹⁷ but mostly in his last years while assembling the B-minor Mass (some fifteen years after the 1733 *Missa*). There are many late corrections in the score: these consist almost entirely of small alterations, including eliminations of hidden parallels and small corrections in the text underlay. After Bach's revision, a few places in the score remain defective: as in many autographs of vocal works, the text is sometimes incomplete (or wrong),¹⁸ and sometimes it is impossible to underlay the text without making a few changes.¹⁹ Hitherto seldom

¹⁵ See *NBA KB* II/1a, pp. 23–4.

¹⁶ See *NBA KB* II/1a. All differences between score and parts are reported under 'Spezielle Anmerkungen', pp. 32–3.

¹⁷ e.g. 'Gloria', bar 61, alto; bar 97, tenor; bar 159, viola; see *NBA* II/1a and *NBA* I/2 (ed. A. Dürr, 1957).

¹⁸ See *NBA*^{rev} I, pp. 301–2.

¹⁹ e.g. 'Cum Sancto Spiritu', bars 249–50 (in *NBA*^{rev} I; = *NBA* II/1, bars 122–3), basso; see *NBA*^{rev} I, p. 307.

noticed is that the autograph score of the *Missa* contains not only layers of revision from 1733, 1743–6 and 1748–9, but also some alterations made by C. P. E. Bach after his father's death, although only a few such interventions are to be found in the *Missa* section.²⁰ In addition there is a small number of entries made by someone else, possibly Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach.²¹

It is possible to construct an edition from the early (1733) version without problems; in this instance, the Dresden parts are the most authoritative. The 'only' problem the editor faces is that of providing a coherent system of slurs as opposed to the sometimes contradictory slurs found in the source. This is – as always – not an easy task, but it is possible.

Other problems concern the editing of the 1748–9 version. In this respect, there is more than one issue to consider:

1. The parts originate from a separate branch of the revision process which is not connected to the later revisions carried out in the score. Can we thus assume that the additions in the Dresden parts of the 1733 version – slurs, tempo marks, trills etc. – are also intended for the 1748–9 version? For an editor, is it acceptable to incorporate these additions into the later revised version?
2. Early parts of the *Missa* are extant, but not of the *Credo*. In the autograph score, both *Missa* and *Credo* have been marked up with performance indications in almost the same way. If we transfer the markings from the Dresden parts into the B-minor Mass, we have markings from very different stages in these two sections.
3. The score and the Dresden parts each contain more developed readings than those found in the other sources. Some readings in the score from the 1748–9 stage of revision look obsolete with respect to the 1733 version, because Bach's corrections and improvements in the parts were not taken into the score. Should we, or must we, consider these readings in an edition of the late Mass in B minor?
4. May we ignore the substantial additional information preserved in the Dresden parts (tempo, slurs, dynamics, continuo figuration, complete scoring, complete flute parts, complete bassoon part, sometimes better readings) in editing the late version? Had Bach dissociated himself from his former ideas regarding articulation, tempo or scoring?

In his *Kritischer Bericht* of 1956, Smend advanced the view that the parts should not be used for the edition.²² For justification, he referred to the fact

²⁰ See *NBA*^{rev} I, pp. 301–2. ²¹ Wollny A. ²² *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 205–6.

that the additions in the parts would falsify the score because entries which seemed reasonable in the parts would appear incorrect in the context of the entire score. This argument should not be disregarded. Indeed there are editorial rules which apply to instrumental parts, but not to the score (a feature which is not restricted to the B-minor Mass). Nevertheless, the editorial board of the *NBA* – aware of this dilemma – decided to include the additional information from the parts in its editions by way of default. Bach's scores give us an error-free musical text, but only the original set of parts contains substantial information for performance.

Smend's example for these issues, the *Lente* at the beginning of the 'Qui tollis', is also problematic. In Smend's opinion, *Lente* would apply only in the parts not participating in the preceding movement (i.e. it did not indicate a new tempo, but only the retention of a slow tempo, as in the 'Domine Deus'). However, the metre changes from *c* to 3/4; because of this change, it would be necessary to have some alteration to the tempo: a new indication would thus be needed to tell performers to retain a slow tempo. Furthermore, *Lente* is not only indicated in the parts for newly added instruments, but also in the two continuo parts which contain the 'Domine Deus' and the 'Qui tollis'. *Lente* is thus a helpful source of information, not only in the parts, but also in the score. Consideration must also be given to the first 'Kyrie'. Without an indication, the music has the appearance of an *Adagio*, but in the parts this is not immediately clear. This is why Bach wrote *Adagio* in the instrumental parts.

In his edition, Smend followed his own guidelines rather too freely. He included all dynamic indications from the parts;²³ some slurs are also taken from the parts, while some slurs from Bach's score were ignored.²⁴ However, for the notes themselves, Smend nearly always followed the score.

In the postscript to his 1997 edition, Christoph Wolff discussed the shortcomings of Smend's edition, most notably the 'insufficient attention given to the so-called "Dresden parts"'.²⁵ The integration of the Dresden parts was thus the most notable feature of his edition: he made a conscious decision to combine sources carefully, in a style similar to the normal practice of the *NBA* editors. The musical text is faithful to the autograph score in its later state, and only in a few cases does Wolff follow the divergent

²³ See *NBA KB II/1*, p. 207.

²⁴ First page of music in *NBA II/1*: bar 2, oboe I, slur in neither the score nor the parts; slur to notes 3–4 of the tenor in the autograph score, not in *NBA II/1*; bar 3, soprano II, slur to notes 5–6 in the autograph score, not in *NBA II/1*; bar 4, violin I, all slurs only in the parts (but the slur in the viola, notes 1–2, from the Dresden parts, is missing in *NBA II/1*).

²⁵ Wolff 1997, p. 406.

readings of the Dresden parts;²⁶ he also presents some alternative readings in footnotes.²⁷ With regard to the well-known problems with the slurs, he resorts to double slurring, the original from the source and the editorial alternative, shown as a dotted line, sometimes appearing together.²⁸ Wolff's edition was made with performance in mind. The inclusion of performance-related marks exclusively found in the Dresden parts would be useful for performers. However, Wolff does not discuss the problem associated with the conflation of the sources: questions such as to how and why he has made certain editorial decisions are not explained.

Joshua Rifkin's editorial policy is very different. In his preface, he attaches great importance to the Dresden parts, but, as he explains, his goal is to maintain 'a strict distinction between the earlier *Missa* and Part I of the Mass as Bach ultimately left [it] in his autograph score'.²⁹ This decision is supported by convincing arguments. He explains that the *Missa* was 'embodied definitively in the parts of 1733' and that Bach did not have access to these parts when later revising the score.³⁰ Also, Bach did not include his revisions from the 1733 parts in the Christmas cantata *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (BWV 191) (for instance, rescoring the 'Domine Deus' for one flute, not two). Rifkin reiterates his editorial principles: 'The text presented here depends exclusively on the autograph score, with the parts serving only to clarify ambiguous readings'.³¹

Rifkin – like Smend – handled his own guidelines freely. In the autograph score, the flute parts are not fully written out in large-scale movements. For example, in the 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' in the autograph score, the flutes are not mentioned at the beginning of the movement, but appear suddenly on the last three pages with their own staves. Rifkin's solution is to include the flutes in his score always on their own staves, taking the musical text from the instruments that they are doubling – judging from the Dresden parts, that is, mostly the oboe or oboe d'amore – even when there is no indication in the score that flutes are to play.³² But instead of the actual flute parts found in the Dresden parts, the flute parts in Rifkin's score follow the oboes or oboe d'amore literally as doubling, even where the oboe d'amore parts are

²⁶ e.g. 'Domine Deus', bar 80, tenor, and 'Quoniam', bar 56, bassoon II.

²⁷ See pp. 3, 53, 58, 67 etc. ²⁸ e.g. p. 15, bar 70, flute, oboe and violin I.

²⁹ Rifkin 2006, p. xii, section 'The Text of the New Edition'. ³⁰ Ibid. ³¹ Ibid.

³² Rifkin draws his readers' attention to this issue only in a footnote in the edition referring to the 'Kritischer Bericht', where he explains it fully. In addition, Rifkin's use of the Dresden parts, rather than the autograph score, is found in 'Kyrie' I, where he makes the flute parts *tacet* in bars 30–48 (with flute I extended to bar 50), and for bars 72–8 he assigns the flutes the text of violin parts: this orchestration is not indicated in the autograph score, but discernible only from the Dresden parts.

unplayable on the flute.³³ In the performing parts of Rifkin's edition the readings of the Dresden parts are given as an *ossia*, so that in a performance the music which is heard follows the Dresden parts, while the score has staves with music that the instruments could not play.³⁴

Furthermore, most of the additional information from the Dresden parts is represented in Rifkin's edition, where it is marked as an editorial addition (e.g. slurs are given as dotted slurs). If a slur is notated in the autograph score and the Dresden part, Rifkin follows the precise positioning in the more accurate part; if the slur appears only in the part, it is missing in Rifkin's edition or, in most cases, supplied with a dotted line. However, Rifkin incorporated only a selection of these slurs and intermingled them with true editorial interventions (mainly slurs).³⁵ This may be practical, but it is questionable in theoretical terms. Here Rifkin is departing from one main principle of critical editions: to distinguish between what is to be found in sources and what is not.

Other markings which are to be found only in the parts, such as tempo indications and dynamics, are not incorporated into the main text in Rifkin's edition, although a detailed list of these is given in the preface, so that performers can make up their own minds.³⁶ The continuo figuration of the Dresden continuo part is not integrated into Rifkin's score, but is included in the organ part of the performance material.³⁷

Rifkin's approach is perfectly reasonable, but there is an evident problem: no one would disregard source material as authentic and richly marked as the mostly autograph Dresden parts.

The wide gulf between theory and practice in Rifkin's edition was a clear warning for the editor of the B-minor Mass for the revised NBA. I absolutely agree with Rifkin that it is problematic to intermingle the parts of the *Missa* from 1733 with the autograph score of the whole Mass from 1748–9, even though the score of the *Missa* was only slightly revised after 1733 and there are nearly no contradictions, for example, in slurring between the *Missa* and Part I of the Mass (and if there are contradictions they have been there since 1733!). The fact that Rifkin did not utilise all the information from the

³³ e.g. in 'Kyrie' I, flute II, bars 10–11, 25, 27–30 and so on.

³⁴ This would have been a possible solution only if Rifkin had put the flutes and the oboes together in the same staves, as they are (mostly) in the autograph score.

³⁵ In the performing parts to Rifkin 2006 – as, unfortunately, in most performing material – all slurs are printed normally.

³⁶ Rifkin 2006, pp. xiii–xiv.

³⁷ The organ part (order number OB 5363) is realised by Alfred Dürr.

Dresden parts, but used it in various discreet ways, shows that this procedure is problematic, too, if not impossible.

Therefore, in order to show all the information together and to make clear what is found in the score and what stems from the Dresden parts, the revised *NBA* prints the text of the autograph score in normal black type and all the additional information from the Dresden parts in grey.³⁸ In this way the two are clearly separated and there is the opportunity to include some editorial additions such as dotted slur marks (in black as well as in grey). Thus, as far as possible, the distinction between source information and editorial additions is clear.³⁹

Part III: *Sanctus*

Leaving the *Credo* aside for a moment, we turn first to the later sections of the Mass. In the *Sanctus* the issues are similar to those in the *Missa*: an earlier version, transmitted in score and parts, must be considered. But the problems are not identical. Bach wrote different scores for the earlier and later versions of the *Sanctus*, so, unlike those of the *Missa*, the earlier performing parts are not linked to the autograph of the B-minor Mass in any way. Bach wrote the new score, presumably because he changed soprano III to alto I. It is possible that Bach overestimated the complexity of the necessary corrections. Overall the differences between the two versions are not very extensive; there is only one major alteration in the vocal parts (bars 84–8).⁴⁰ Minor alterations are more frequent, but no more than in some of the other heavily corrected Bach autographs.⁴¹ It is probable, in this instance, that Bach was aiming to produce a fair copy.

The existence of the new autograph score containing the *Sanctus* of the B-minor Mass is not the only reason to exercise caution when taking the slurs and trills from the early parts: the performance indications of the early parts are themselves problematic. Bach revised the set of parts before the first performance in 1724. Following this performance, most of the parts were sent to Bohemia, and it seems that Bach did not get them back;⁴²

³⁸ The grey additions follow *NBA* II/1a; for detailed information about the slurring in the parts it is necessary to use the *Kritischer Bericht* to this volume. Following the principles of the *NBA*^{rev}, this information is not presented again in the new volume.

³⁹ As opposed to the principles adopted in Wolff 1997, in both the *NBA* and the *NBA*^{rev} corrections in the placement of slurs are not shown in the musical text but are discussed in their respective critical reports.

⁴⁰ See *NBA* II/1a for the earlier version.

⁴¹ A list of all differences is given in *NBA KB* II/1a, p. 103. ⁴² See *NBA KB* II/1a, p. 102.

he retained only the duplicate parts. For the next performance (probably in 1727) Bach needed to make some new parts. Where possible, he had them copied from the 1724 duplicate parts kept at Leipzig (violin I and II and continuo), rather than from the score; as these are the copies of the revised state of the original parts, the parts for violin I and II and the continuo already contained the slurs and trills which Bach added before the first performance. The remaining parts do not contain any markings. Bach never revised these new parts.

In my edition of the earlier version,⁴³ I did not 'transplant' the slurs and trills to the other instruments. Had I done so, the dotted slurs would have been overwhelmingly in a majority. Therefore, the edition of the early version contains only the original markings in the parts for violin I and II and continuo. The other instrumental parts – for viola, oboes, trumpets – show only the few marks found in the autograph score. In my view, the striking difference between the violins and the viola in the edition highlights the problem better than adding a footnote.



Smend's errors relating to the *Sanctus* – dating, scribes of the parts and so on – are not discussed here: they are well known,⁴⁴ and are of little significance for the edition. It should be noted, however, that he also recognised correctly that the early score and parts belong together, and that the autograph of the B-minor Mass is a later version of the composition. For his edition Smend follows the latter, but for the placing of slurs he goes further than *all* the sources: in his edition slurs are absent only from the oboe parts, and in the trumpet parts slurs are given only in the first three bars as they appear in the autograph score; Smend was aware of the fact that Bach sometimes slurred strings and winds in a different way and that thus one should not routinely transplant slurs from the strings to the wind. But the violin and viola parts in Smend's edition are fully marked with slurs, and all those he added were not identified as editorial additions. This is discussed only briefly in the *Kritischer Bericht*.⁴⁵

Christoph Wolff follows Smend in this regard. In a footnote Wolff remarks that the strings have no slurs in the autograph score;⁴⁶ yet regarding the parts, there is no mention of the fact that slurs are not found in the viola either.

Joshua Rifkin makes a clear distinction between the slurs found in the autograph score and those which he added. And, for the first time, the slurring is adopted in the oboe and trumpet parts (shown in the score in

⁴³ *NBA* II/1a, pp. 141–2. ⁴⁴ See Dadelsen C, esp. pp. 323–4. ⁴⁵ *NBA KB* II/1, pp. 359–60.

⁴⁶ Wolff 1997, p. 302.

dotted lines).⁴⁷ But there remains one further problem: Rifkin discriminates between the two different triplet rhythms,  (as in bars 5–9, slurred) and  (as bars 1–3, not slurred). The very few slurs found in the autograph hardly provide grounds to argue for such a distinction; in fact, in the early version the two rhythms are treated identically. In my edition of 2010 I rejected any addition of slurs, but provided a footnote describing the slurring in the three 1724 duplicate parts.⁴⁸

The greatest problem in editing the *Sanctus*, however, is the poor state of the autograph score, which was not discussed in the editions of Smend, Wolff and Rifkin. Many pages are hard to read because of heavy ink bleed and holes. But thanks to the facsimile edition of 1924,⁴⁹ the musical text is seldom in question. Still, there are issues to discuss, for example the question of where the notes are taken from: as is visible in the new facsimile of 2007 and the image of the autograph score in Bach Digital, many of the notes are illegible.⁵⁰

Part IV: *Osanna, Benedictus, Agnus Dei et Dona nobis pacem*

Here, too, the state of the autograph today presents the greatest editorial problem, and in some cases resorting to the facsimile of 1924 does not help. In such cases all editions follow the earliest surviving manuscript copy, that in the hand of Johann Friedrich Hering (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 14), which is acceptable because we have no evidence that C. P. E. Bach had altered much in these movements. So it can be assumed that Hering copied these movements more or less as J. S. Bach wrote them. Although some accidentals and slurs are still questionable, there are no great differences among the four recent editions in the final part of the Mass.

Part II: *Credo*

The most difficult editorial problems – and, consequently, the greatest differences among the recent editions – are found in the *Symbolum Nicenum*, the *Credo*. With the exception of the first movement,⁵¹ we have

⁴⁷ In the majority of more recent NBA volumes this is done only if we have indications that Bach wanted to have the same articulation in all instruments (e.g. if there are also slurs in the winds).

⁴⁸ NBA^{rev} I, p. 215. ⁴⁹ Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1924. ⁵⁰ Wolff 2007; www.bach-digital.de.

⁵¹ NBA II/1a, pp. 135–9.

neither extant early versions nor performing parts; the autograph score is the only original source. And this autograph score poses further problems:

1. It seems that this score was never really completed during Bach's lifetime. This is most evident in the text underlay, which was not fully entered, as well as in errors and incomplete corrections subsequently completed by C. P. E. Bach.⁵²
2. Besides the initial layer of musical text written by J. S. Bach, one can distinguish at least five layers of corrections by C. P. E. Bach,⁵³ as well as the entries by other scribes whose hands have since been partially identified. They have completed Johann Sebastian's text (music as well as words) by correcting and changing it.
3. Because of heavy corrections, the actual physical condition of the autograph is poor. Often it is almost impossible to decipher. Readings *ante correcturam* as well as those *post correcturam* are often impossible to decipher, and it is also difficult to detect who has written what.

Before examining the details, it is necessary to look more closely at C. P. E. Bach's methods of revision. Much can be gleaned from editing C. P. E. Bach's Hamburg church music, which comprises mostly pastiches of works by other composers.⁵⁴ In these instances, it is on the whole less complicated to separate C. P. E. Bach's entries from the original text and music. There are many parallels between these interventions and what can

⁵² See e.g. the 'Et resurrexit', bars 92–8. Here part of the wrong text (from bars 9–15) stood until C. P. E. Bach changed it. Missing and sometimes incorrect texts are to be found in most autograph scores of vocal works by Bach, and also in the other sections of the B-minor Mass including the earlier *Missa* (see the critical reports to NBA); it seems that he did not take so much care over text underlay. But in the *Credo* the text is so much less complete and so defective that we must look for a special explanation. Wollny A, pp. 138–9, argues that this was due to Bach's illness; in that case these defects would also be found in Parts III and IV of the Mass, but these are no more serious than the defects of Part I. So it seems more likely that special difficulties, e.g. complex reworking from the assumed *Parodievorlage* (the model used for working out the parody) in the 'Et resurrexit', may have caused these problems. To me it seems plausible that Bach tried to complete the Mass quickly (perhaps before the day of his eye operation) and hoped to revise it later, but in the end did not have the time.

⁵³ See U. Wolf, 'C. P. E. Bachs Revisionen am Autograph der h-Moll-Messe seines Vaters und der Hamburger Stimmensatz zum Credo BWV 232^{II}', in P. Corneilson and P. Wollny (eds.), *Er ist der Vater, wir sind die Buben: Essays in Honor of Christoph Wolff* (Ann Arbor: Steglein Publishing, 2010), pp. 1–19.

⁵⁴ *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works*, series IV and V. The changes that C. P. E. Bach made to the score of Homilius's St Mark Passion HoWV I.10, for example, are listed in the edition of his own St Mark Passion of 1770 (which is a shortened and slightly revised version of Homilius's composition). See U. Wolf (ed.), *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works*, IV/5.1, C. P. E. Bach: *Passion According to St. Mark (1770): An Adaptation of the St. Mark Passion by Gottfried August Homilius* (Los Altos: Packard Humanities Institute, 2006), pp. 140–1.

be observed in the B-minor Mass (even though there are, of course, differences between C. P. E. Bach's treatment of his father's Mass and of a cantata by Georg Benda, for example).⁵⁵

The clues we can glean from C. P. E. Bach's Hamburg sacred repertoire are helpful and reassuring, but at times alarming. They are reassuring because, predominantly, C. P. E. Bach did not change anything other than to clarify the text and the music. His efforts were directed towards correcting the often endemic negligence in consistency in eighteenth-century manuscript copying: for example, if a *piano* marking is given to violin I and basso continuo, C. P. E. Bach also added a *piano* marking to violin II, viola and so on. He would also complete deficient text underlay (as is often to be seen in eighteenth-century scores) and slurring. The almost error-free performing parts of C. P. E. Bach's Hamburg church music indicate a fundamental distrust on his part of the editorial capacity of his copyists and also of performing musicians. There is, of course, a great difference between the practices of C. P. E. Bach and his father.

Apart from editorial intervention C. P. E. Bach occasionally made changes to the musical text. This was normally done for practical reasons, for example to avoid high notes in the tenor part, but sometimes we find very surprising minor changes (e.g. to declamation).⁵⁶ To modern-day editors, these modifications may often seem incomprehensible and even irrational.⁵⁷ This makes C. P. E. Bach's editorial interventions in the *Credo* extremely problematic: we have a partly unfinished and partly defective score left by Johann Sebastian, with many additions and corrections, with, presumably, some new mistakes added by C. P. E. Bach, alongside a collection of nearly or completely unreadable sections by copyists whose hands are difficult to distinguish.

On a more positive note, we have some copies made from the autograph score between about 1760 and 1786.⁵⁸ There are two copies of the whole Mass, by Johann Friedrich Hering and an unknown copyist most probably from the early 1760s (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 23)⁵⁹ and another by Anon. 402

⁵⁵ e.g. C. P. E. Bach replaced both the text and the vocal line of Benda's *Münster-Jahrgang*. See U. Wolf, 'Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und der "Münster-Jahrgang" von Georg Anton Benda', *BJ*, 92 (2006), 205–28, esp. 222–4.

⁵⁶ See n. 54 above. ⁵⁷ See e.g. Rifkin 2006, p. 266 and *passim*.

⁵⁸ *NBA^{rev}* I, 'Revisionsbericht', pp. 290–2, sources D1–2 and E1–4, and p. 300 (evaluation of sources).

⁵⁹ See P. Wollny, 'Ein "musikalischer Veteran Berlins": Der Schreiber Anonymus 300 und seine Bedeutung für die Berliner Bach-Überlieferung', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 1995 (1996), 90–1.

made in or shortly after 1769 (D-B, Am. B. 3),⁶⁰ and also some later copies of the *Credo*.⁶¹ They allow us to distinguish the different layers of corrections, and in many cases transmit Bach's original readings, thus helping to determine many of the later changes made by C. P. E. Bach and others. Unfortunately, however, it is still impossible to separate out all the changes, as it seems that C. P. E. Bach's first layer of revision took place before the first copy was made. This can easily be seen in the text underlay: Hering's fellow scribe copied much of C. P. E. Bach's additional text underlay from the autograph score.⁶² In addition, ink analysis of the autograph score indicates that there are actually more areas than hitherto supposed where C. P. E. Bach's corrections and revisions are found also in the first copy.⁶³ Furthermore, Hering and his unknown fellow copyist were unable to read some problematic passages in the autograph score. They left the most difficult, and often interesting, sections blank, leaving them for C. P. E. Bach to fill in.⁶⁴ At these points we find later interventions by C. P. E. Bach, who eventually managed to rectify most of these problems in the autograph score; the next copyist, Anon. 402,⁶⁵ reproduced C. P. E. Bach's readings in most of these sections.⁶⁶ Yet some of them remained unclear,⁶⁷ and both copies, P 23 and Am. B. 3, still contained many copying errors even where the autograph appears to offer no problems with regard to reading these places.

Smend was aware that there were editorial changes made by C. P. E. Bach. But he thought that they all resulted from the well-known performance of the *Credo* in 1786.⁶⁸ Unfortunately for Smend, he was misled by incorrectly identified copyists and wrong dating. As a result, some inauthentic and obsolete readings were included in his edition. Since Bach had interposed the 'Et incarnatus', the first text underlay of the 'Et in unum' was obsolete; the replaced vocal lines with the new text underlay were appended at the end of the *Credo*.⁶⁹ Although Bach's notation here is reasonably clear, a copyist

⁶⁰ *NBA^{rev}* I, sources D1–2.

⁶¹ *NBA^{rev}* I, sources E1–4. See Wolf, 'C. P. E. Bachs Revisionen' for further details.

⁶² *NBA^{rev}* I, p. 300. Rifkin 2006, *passim*, assumes, on the contrary, that the copyists themselves filled the gaps in the text underlay. If he is right, it would be incredible that the copyists filled in every missing text in the same way as C. P. E. Bach, and that C. P. E. Bach and Hering left blanks in the same places.

⁶³ See U. Wolf, O. Hahn and T. Wolff, 'Wer schrieb was? Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse am Autograph von J. S. Bachs Messe in h-Moll BWV 232', *BJ*, 95 (2009), 117–33, and the 'Revisionsbericht' of *NBA^{rev}* I, pp. 307–46.

⁶⁴ See *NBA^{rev}* I, pp. 300 and 311–12. ⁶⁵ *NBA^{rev}* I, source D2.

⁶⁶ See the facsimiles in *NBA^{rev}* I, pp. xxx–xxxiii.

⁶⁷ e.g. the well-known marginal supplement in the 'Confiteor'; see below for further details.

⁶⁸ *NBA* KB II/1, pp. 23, 73–6, 130–2, 212, 231–4. ⁶⁹ See pp. 152–3 of the autograph score.

who did not look into the context of musical text would fail to understand Bach's intention.

In fact, most copyists failed to realise what Bach did here. Their copies contain either the older version only or, as in the autograph, both the older version and the new vocal parts from the end of the *Credo*, referred to respectively in the first two copies, P 23 and Am. B. 3. However, since Smend misdated them as originating in Bach's lifetime,⁷⁰ he thought that Bach had reverted to his first version.⁷¹ Today we know that this was not the case.⁷²

These, and many more of Smend's mistakes, are corrected in Christoph Wolff's edition. But given the more practical focus of his edition, editorial issues were, understandably, minimised: only a few of them are discussed in footnotes.⁷³

Rifkin's treatment of the *Credo* is the opposite of Wolff's: he discusses the contributions of later copyists in detail in the 'Kritischer Bericht'. In his edition the text underlay completed by C. P. E. Bach is placed in brackets, and many problematic readings are discussed in footnotes or by reference to the 'Kritischer Bericht'.⁷⁴ The very detailed discussions in Rifkin's 'Kritischer Bericht' set new standards for every subsequent edition.

Most of Rifkin's identifications of copyists are plausible, but, above all, his in-depth and well-informed discussions set this edition apart from earlier attempts; his conclusions – at least in the case of the non-autograph additions – are often similar to those of Wolff and Smend. Rifkin's focus is on the distinction between autograph and non-autograph additions, which sometimes does not appear consistent. For example, text underlay by C. P. E. Bach is placed in brackets, but unreadable text (for instance in the 'Et resurrexit') is not identified as such where words and notes are missing owing to the damage incurred by acid corrosion. In these cases Rifkin follows Hering's copy without challenge.

Rifkin believes that Hering made his copy before C. P. E. Bach changed anything in his father's autograph; hence he uses Hering's copy effectively as an account of the original readings as they stood in the autograph at Sebastian's death in 1750. Rifkin recognises that the text in the early copies

⁷⁰ See *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 16–17 and 21–3. ⁷¹ See *NBA KB II/1*, p. 334.

⁷² The attempt by Eduard van Hengel and Kees van Houten to construct two alternative versions of the *Symbolum* (see Hengel and Houten) is for good reasons not accepted by today's scholars.

⁷³ Wolff 1997, pp. 186, 209, 211, 220–2, 226, 237, 265, 267 and 287. It is made clear in some of these footnotes that Wolff has deliberately incorporated some of C. P. E. Bach's changes in his edition.

⁷⁴ Rifkin 2006, pp. 127, 130, 134–6, 139–42, 144–7, 149, 152, 159, 161, 166–7, 172–3, 179–80, 182, 188–90 and 192.

is more complete than what Johann Sebastian wrote in his score, but he assumes that this was done on the copyist's own initiative. So Rifkin – like Smend and Wolff – follows the Hering copy when encountering problematic readings, believing that it was validated by reference to the composer's original text. But we now know that Bach's score was not unadulterated when Hering copied it, and that his copy contained too many mistakes to be a reliable version of the original text of Johann Sebastian.⁷⁵

So, when starting the editorial work for the revised *NBA* edition, I was aware that there is no extant source which can reliably indicate the condition of the autograph at the time of Johann Sebastian's death. Therefore, I did not attempt to make an edition of the original text by Johann Sebastian in all aspects, simply because the task is impossible. My intentions were to ensure that as much as possible is verifiable where the original text is available and to indicate where it is not. Rifkin did a good job in identifying inks and copyists, but I do not agree with all of his conclusions. This is not surprising: many of the copyists' entries are very difficult to identify; Rifkin has managed to identify some of them, only by way of using indirect arguments referring to early copies. But strictly speaking, scribes should be identified only by their handwriting or, where possible, by the ink they used. The use of musical content ('der Lesart nach eher CPEB'⁷⁶) is even more problematic and, in my view, very close to a circular argument.

Other visible parameters, ink colours for instance, do not always categorically resolve issues concerning the identification of scribes. For instance, ink analysis of the autograph of W. A. Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* has shown great differences between the visual impression and the physical result.⁷⁷ To establish who wrote what in the *Credo* – Johann Sebastian, C. P. E. Bach or another hand – we have chosen about 500 minute areas where there are extreme difficulties in distinguishing the nature of the scribal entry and subjected them to micro X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF), a reliable and proven technique for non-destructive material analysis.⁷⁸ This was undertaken in collaboration with Oliver Hahn and Timo Wolff of the Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung in Berlin. They are the leading team of scientists using this technique for ink analysis, which has been much improved in recent years.

⁷⁵ See *NBA^{rev} I*, pp. 300 and 307–46. ⁷⁶ Rifkin 2006, p. 270.

⁷⁷ See O. Hahn and C. Maurer-Zenck, 'Die Tinten des *Zauberflöte*-Autographs: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen neuer Analyseverfahren. Ein Nachtrag zur Chronologie und eine biographische Pointe', *Acta Mozartiana*, 50 (June 2003), 2–22.

⁷⁸ See *NBA^{rev} I*, 'Revisionsbericht', and Wolf, Hahn and Wolff, 'Wer schrieb was?', which include some references to the method and its use in ink analysis.

First we analysed notes and letters that were undoubtedly written by Johann Sebastian and those by C. P. E. Bach to see whether there are clear differences between the inks each used. This was, indeed, found to be the case: the ink used by Johann Sebastian contains lead, a mineral which is very seldom found in iron-gall ink. However, it was not possible to identify different lead-free inks because of the variability and inconsistency of the lighter elements that may have been erased by the invasive restoration of the manuscript undertaken in 2004. This means that Johann Sebastian's ink can be readily identified, but not the inks of C. P. E. Bach and Hering.

We have checked the presence of lead in Johann Sebastian's ink, and the absence of lead in C. P. E. Bach's ink, on every page on which single notes or letters were scrutinised; this was done by analysing not only the ink used by the writer whose identity is in question, but also where the writer's identity is clear. Moreover, the paper of each sheet was subjected to the same analysis in order to avoid misleading results. Establishing the veracity of these results was undertaken with utmost care to avoid any erroneous conclusions. We must always ask whether every result is *possible*, but we should also be prepared to accept findings which do not fit our preconceptions. The results may be accurate even when the information appears contradictory at first sight, a salutary reminder of how little we know about the corrections undertaken by different people at different times. Above all, we have no clear idea of how the autograph looked in 1750. A complete and coherent explanation of the problematic autograph may well be beyond the bounds of possibility. A small sample of the results, together with their implication, was published in *Bach-Jahrbuch* in 2009.⁷⁹ The final results from this research were used in the 'Revisionsbericht' of the new edition in the revised *NBA*: for each reading requiring an assessment of authenticity, an annotation based on or supported by the analysis was indicated with the letters '(RFA)' (*Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse*).

In an article published in 2011, Rifkin raises questions concerning our findings.⁸⁰ First Rifkin asks why we have used the XRF technique and not 'any of the newer methods of digital analysis that . . . had particular success in sorting out layers of palimpsests'.⁸¹ The answer to this point is simple: the goal is to discern copyists rather than separating out layers. There are indeed some areas in the autograph of the B-minor Mass which would benefit from having their layers sorted out, even if the situation is much more complex

⁷⁹ Wolf, Hahn and Wolff, 'Wer schrieb was?', pp. 123–4.

⁸⁰ J. Rifkin, 'Blinding us with Science? Man, Machine and the Mass in B minor', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 8/1 (March 2011), 77–91.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

than in a 'simple' palimpsest.⁸² But even if we were able to read the different layers, we would know only the discarded readings, and not who wrote them or, more difficult but very important, who discarded them. For the edition, deciphering early readings, possibly abandoned by J. S. Bach himself, was not a primary concern.

Rifkin rejects some of the results of XRF analysis. To illustrate the difference in our approaches, let us look first at a small reading from the 'Confiteor' (bar 47), which Rifkin has discussed extensively.⁸³ What we see here in the autograph is that someone has changed the second note of soprano II from *c♯*'' to *b'* and back to *c♯*'' – or from *b'* to *c♯*'' and back to *b'*. By visual analysis it is impossible to say who has written what and which corrections were entered first. In his edition, Rifkin does not discuss this bar in the 'Kritischer Bericht', so we can only make assumptions as to what he has done. The early copies all have *b'*. As we have already discussed, Rifkin believes that the first of them was written before C. P. E. Bach had started to rework the autograph. Thus it seems that he follows the copies believing that they transmit the original reading. He then attempts to support his view analytically, but the question is: which method should one choose? By analysing the compositional structure of the 'Confiteor' we can, if successful, provide an answer to the question as to which is the 'better' reading; and indeed the *b'* seems to be the better one. But can we also identify the scribe by analysing a fugue? Does the better reading automatically mean that the reviser is always Johann Sebastian?⁸⁴ What the composer *should* have written and what he actually wrote are not always the same. Conversely we have indeed more than one reading in the autograph of the B-minor Mass where the judgement of the son seems to have been the better one. Because at most of these points there is no doubt about the scribe, neither Rifkin's edition nor the revised *NBA* has an apparently better reading than the original one by the father.⁸⁵

⁸² We have paper instead of parchment (which makes a great difference); we also have more than two layers, and the paper is often damaged as well as the MS having been restored in a very invasive way.

⁸³ Rifkin, 'Blinding us with Science?', pp. 86–8.

⁸⁴ This is reminiscent of the nineteenth-century editors, who were convinced that Bach did not write parallel fifths and who if they found one diagnosed it as an error and emended it: in the end the edition had no parallel fifths.

⁸⁵ See e.g. bar 218 of the 'Confiteor–Et expecto' (in Rifkin's edition movement 21, bar 72). In the original reading there are parallel octaves between the alto and continuo, which C. P. E. Bach has removed by adding some notes in the alto (see *NBA* II/1, Part II, movement 9, bar 72). Unfortunately the editions – as well as the two editions of the BWV – count the movements in different ways; see *NBA*^{rev} I, p. 354 for a concordance.

In a case like the correction at bar 47 of the 'Confiteor', only an ink analysis can show what in all probability happened. It can show that in the first instance, where the fourth note of the 'Confiteor' theme drops, for harmonic reasons, a third and not a second below the third note, Johann Sebastian was indecisive as to whether he should follow the melodic character or retain the original head motive. In this case he decided to follow the head motive; in two later instances he followed the melodic character. Perhaps he planned to do so in the first place, or maybe C. P. E. Bach made the change, for the same reasons as Rifkin identified the *b'* as the better reading.⁸⁶ This is very plausible, bearing in mind that in most cases we can find a comprehensible reason for C. P. E. Bach's interventions; most of his readings are 'better' in some aspect. (It would often be misleading to suppose that every 'correct' reading was automatically written by Johann Sebastian.)⁸⁷ We should take advantage of the additional information obtainable from ink analysis, especially when it does not match a convenient view of the story.

Another well-known place that Rifkin discusses in his article of 2011 is the marginal supplement for bars 138–40 of the 'Confiteor–Et expecto'.⁸⁸ In the report of the 2000 Leipzig Bach conference Rifkin discussed this later addition and argued that the handwriting of this small entry is very close to that of Johann Sebastian, but he could not comprehend why the earliest copyist did not follow this reading.⁸⁹ In his edition, Rifkin does not discuss this marginal supplement in depth but gives only the following statement: 'am unteren Seitenrand von CPEB'.⁹⁰ Wollny takes the same view that the footnote was entered by C. P. E. Bach.⁹¹ The marginal supplement consists of the caption 'Ten.', only four notes of music and one word of text underlay

⁸⁶ To be correct we should say 'most likely C. P. E., but surely not Johann Sebastian'; see above.

⁸⁷ The ink analysis shows that the letter 'c' (owing to the heavy correction it is impossible to tell if the extra tail necessary for the letter to be read as 'cis' was originally written and later erased) was written in the same ink as the main musical text of the autograph, which contains lead, while the ink of the 'h' is similar to that of the other entries by C. P. E. Bach containing no lead. Rifkin later discusses the length of the stem of the amended note under discussion, which offers very little for the argument in respect of Johann Sebastian's practice. As shown in the short example given in Wolf, Hahn and Wolff, 'Wer schrieb was?', p. 132, reproduced in Rifkin, 'Blinding us with Science', p. 58, one can easily see in the last bar that the stem of the last crotchet *a'* is a good deal shorter than the stem of the preceding *b'*; it is also shorter than the stem of the first *a'* in the same bar. In a wider context many more stems can be found which appear to be longer or shorter in comparison to the nearby notes than stems which have the 'right' lengths in respect of our expectations.

⁸⁸ Rifkin, 'Blinding us with Science?', pp. 81–5.

⁸⁹ J. Rifkin, 'Eine schwierige Stelle in der h-Moll-Messe', in U. Leisinger (ed.), *Bach in Leipzig – Bach und Leipzig: Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz Leipzig, 27. bis 29. Januar 2000* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2002), pp. 329–30.

⁹⁰ Rifkin 2006, p. 270. ⁹¹ Wollny A, pp. 137–8.

('expe-cto'). The musical notes are – as Wollny states – not very characteristic, and the letters are written on the last millimetres of the page, a place where it is impossible to write in a normal way and the characters must be inscribed very carefully. So we should not be surprised that the letters written in this situation do not look very typical for J. S. Bach or for C. P. E. Bach. Indeed, some characters look like the handwriting of the son, others more like that of the father.⁹²

The scientific evidence speaks for the father. We have analysed this supplement several times as well as the paper surrounding it: beyond doubt there is lead, and the lead is in the ink and not the paper. Lead is seldom to be found in iron-gall ink and has never been found in any words or notes written by C. P. E. Bach. Of course examples of the handwriting of both were tested. The musical notation looks more like that of Johann Sebastian but is not conclusively characteristic. If one looks for the word 'expecto', one can find similar characteristics in the handwriting of both Bachs;⁹³ but the word 'Ten.' written above the music, especially the letter 'T', has an appearance which is very close to many another 'T' by Johann Sebastian to be found, for example, in the autograph of the B-minor Mass. It is a form which is – as far as I know – not to be found in any autograph by C. P. E. Bach. So here a closer look at the shape of the letters agrees with the ink analysis, even though at a first glance the entries look untypical of Johann Sebastian.

The remaining problem is why the two early copies mentioned above did not follow the marginal supplement, a fact that Rifkin and Wollny discussed extensively and which was probably the main factor leading them to identify C. P. E. Bach as the scribe of this supplement. Hering and his fellow copyist indeed left this highly corrected passage in the autograph partly blank in their copy, and Anon. 402, too, did not follow the reading of the supplement but provided another variant which probably was never written in the autograph.

C. P. E. Bach filled in all the missing notes and letters, normally at the same time as clarifying the autograph, so that Anon. 402 in these cases no longer had problems in making his copy. We must assume that C. P. E. Bach also clarified these, the most problematic bars of the whole Mass; and indeed

⁹² It is always important to compare scribes while paying attention to different writing situations. It is not very helpful to compare small additions that someone has entered in an MS with consecutively written text. And in a case like the words written on the very edge of a page, we must look for another special situation where a scribe has been forced more to paint than to write – e.g. the large letters on a title page or calligraphy; see *NBA^{rev}* I, pp. 334–5.

⁹³ Examples of every letter found in the score that is either similar to or unquestionably written by J. S. Bach are listed in *NBA^{rev}* I, pp. 334–5.

Anon. 402 had obviously no problems in deciphering these bars. If Anon. 402 had copied the reading of the marginal supplement, this would be a striking argument for assuming that it was written by C. P. E. Bach: then we would be able to say that C. P. E. Bach added the footnote because Hering failed here. But Anon. 402 supplied a different reading without any correction and without any visible problems. Therefore, we can be sure that things must have happened the other way around. It is quite unbelievable that Anon. 402 copied from the same autograph page which Hering, like modern scholars, was not able to read with total confidence. Most probably C. P. E. Bach, perhaps after he had failed to make it readable, decided to insert a sheet of paper with the few problematic bars clearly written on it; we simply do not know. I am not able to give an explanation of how the facts we have today come together; and I think ascribing the supplement to C. P. E. Bach may help us to understand a part of Hering's problem, but not the reading of Anon. 402. Neither Rifkin, Wollny nor I can provide the 'coherent whole' that Rifkin appears to desire.⁹⁴ But as historians we must become accustomed to the reality that there are many things behind our – at best – fragmentary view of events that happened in the eighteenth century. Ink analysis provides one way of side-stepping grid-locked theories by providing objective evidence, even if in the process our existing constructs and ideas are displaced by the opening of such new doors.

Thus the new edition in the revised *NBA* differs from its predecessors as a result not only of the ink analysis, but of all the points mentioned above concerning the text of the *Credo*. It has some different readings and a very detailed 'Revisionsbericht' and, perhaps most importantly and originally, makes a clear distinction between authentic and questionable passages, using brackets in the musical text. Contrary to Rifkin, I did not bracket only what I think was not written by Johann Sebastian, but rather all those sections where I cannot decipher whether they were written by him or by someone else (e.g. where the notes disappeared from the pages as a result of ink corrosion).

Conclusion

The five editions of Bach's B-minor Mass that have been published since the middle of the twentieth century differ fundamentally in their approaches. Smend's theoretical ideas about the development and lack of unity of the

⁹⁴ Rifkin, 'Blinding us with Science?', pp. 79–80.

B-minor Mass are now discredited; it was simply unfortunate that he did not have the benefit of the new chronology established by Dürr and Dadelsen in the late 1950s. He misidentified some copyists, including those of the alleged autograph entries in the manuscripts written after Johann Sebastian's death. Nevertheless, his confidence in his profound and thorough work paved the way for further research. Although the musical text of Smend's edition required major revision, it was a significant advance over the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition. Many of the defects in Smend's edition are in fact details: there are only a few instances where the edition is *really* wrong, mainly in the 'Et in unum' from the *Credo*.

Christoph Wolff first confronted Smend's misjudgements when preparing his 1997 performance-orientated edition. The fact that a full 'Kritischer Bericht' is missing in this edition is regrettable; most of Smend's mistakes are corrected, but it was an edition for performers, and not *the* new critical edition.

My 2005 edition of the early versions does not seek to compete with these editions. It contains only the early versions of the *Missa* (1733), the *Sanctus* (1724 and later) and the first movement of the *Credo* (1740s). It is meant as a supplement to the older editions and thus avoids many of the problems discussed here.

Rifkin's edition of 2006 has set new standards which all subsequent editions must match. In particular, he attempted to address many of the difficult issues surrounding the *Credo* through a visual inspection of the autograph score and copies. This painstaking process has taken many years, and his edition will endure as one of great scholarly merit, even though some of his decisions have now been disproved.

My edition of 2010 owes much to Rifkin's efforts. His edition and 'Kritischer Bericht' were the starting point for my further research. In terms of methodology, there is some distance between Rifkin's edition and my new one. As I have outlined above, I have other ideas as to how best to deal with the Dresden parts in particular. Furthermore, the new edition offers a physical description of the autograph, especially with regard to its defects as a result of ink corrosion. Finally, I believe that broader issues have to be considered beyond the necessity for establishing specific details for practical editions. The many later copies of the Mass dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are important sources for understanding the history of the work. Here the 'Revisionsbericht' of the revised *NBA* not only follows the practice that the *NBA* established more than a half century ago, but also provides the starting point for further research.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ See e.g. Chapter 10 below.

10 | Manuscript score No. 4500 in St Petersburg: a new source of the B-minor Mass

TATIANA SHABALINA

Georg von Dadelsen, in his important review of Friedrich Smend's edition of the B-minor Mass,¹ points out that 'the investigation of the principal sources A, B, A1, B1, C, and D leads us to findings that deviate significantly from those of Smend . . . But Smend's classification of secondary sources and his ordering of lost sources (KB, pp. 17–54) remain of fundamental importance.'² However, a study of the sources not mentioned in Smend's edition appears to throw new light on our knowledge of numerous copies of the work which circulated in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Moreover, constructing a stemma of all existing manuscripts of the Mass continues to pose problems for Bach research. Although Smend presented separate branches of the source tradition of the B-minor Mass in the 'Tabellen', he apparently did not consider it necessary to produce a full picture of how all the manuscripts are related.³ The elaboration of a stemma of the secondary sources of the Mass was not a primary task in Uwe Wolf's newly revised edition,⁴ but this continues to be a desirable requirement. New sources of the Mass have recently come to light, and at the same time others are being re-evaluated. The correlation and presentation of this knowledge in a detailed stemma

The author expresses her thanks to the staff of the Research Music Library of the St Petersburg State Conservatory, the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main and the library of the Martin-Luther-Universität in Halle, and personally to Dr Tamara Skvirskaya, Dr Martina Rebmann and Dr Ann Kersting-Meuleman, for kindly giving her the opportunity to study the original sources. She would also like to thank Professor Dr Christoph Wolff and Dr Ulrich Leisinger for their suggestions during discussions at the Belfast Symposium in 2007 as well as Professor Dr Yo Tomita, Dr Alison Dunlop, Dr Wolfram Enßlin and Dr Tobias Schwinger for their help in the assessment of various manuscripts. Special thanks are expressed to Joshua Rifkin and Nobuaki Ebata for their comments on reading the early draft of this article. All the facsimiles are reproduced by permission of the St Petersburg State Conservatory Library, the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg in Frankfurt. The author would also like to express gratitude to the George Bell Institute, the Stiftung Kreisau and the Robert Bosch Stiftung for their financial support for research trips.

¹ *NBA* II/1 (1954), *NBA KB* II/1 (1956). See also Chapter 9, p. 166. ² Dadelsen C^{ET}, p. 61.

³ See *NBA KB* II/1, pp. 193–200. Moreover, these 'Tabellen' are in need of re-evaluation by taking into account the sources that have resurfaced since.

⁴ See *NBA*^{rev} I, pp. 286–99.

would be of great value in further advancing Bach research. In this chapter I shall focus on one such source, examining how it is related to other manuscripts of the B-minor Mass; it contributes not only to the elaboration of the stemma of secondary sources but also to a better understanding of the early reception history of this great work.

The same source is held in the manuscript department of the Research Music Library of the Rimsky-Korsakov St Petersburg State Conservatory, shelfmark No. 4500. It has been briefly discussed by Ludmilla A. Fedorowskaja,⁵ but was not studied either by scholars specialising in the field or by editors of the various editions of the Mass until 2007.⁶

How and when this manuscript found its way into the conservatory's library is unknown. The volume contains no owners' marks, signatures or stamps to indicate its previous ownership or origin.⁷ The score contains Parts II–IV of the Mass. These movements are notated on pages 1 to 187; pages 188 to 190 are blank, while a small draft of an unknown fragment in blue pencil is notated on the last page. This bound manuscript measures 37.3 × 26.8 cm. A stiff cardboard cover has a strip of paper pasted onto it with the following inscription: 'Sebastian Bach | Missa in h moll | II.' The title page is blank, and only the library shelfmark '4500' is written in pencil at the upper-right corner of the fly-leaf. On the first page the movement's title 'Symbolum Nicenum' appears above the musical text and the note '46 3/4 Bog[en]' on the right lower corner (see Figure 10.1).

Ludmilla Fedorowskaja dated the manuscript to the early 1790s and assumed that it could have been connected with J. C. Kittel's student Johann Wilhelm Häßler (1747–1822), who went to St Petersburg in 1792.⁸

The paper has the watermark 'HONIG & ZOONEN'. The first blank (title) leaf reads 'J HONIG', and the further marks 'I V' and 'C. H. J. HONIG' are found alternating in the following leaves. Pages 81–174 use different paper bearing a watermark of a Dutch lion on the pedestal with the marking 'HONIG | J H & Z' and with the counter-mark 'J HONIG | & | ZOONEN'. This watermark is fairly close to one reproduced in the watermark catalogues:

⁵ See L. A. Fedorowskaja, 'Bachiana in russischen Bibliotheken und Sammlungen: Autographe, Abschriften, Frühdrucke, Bearbeitungen', *BJ*, 76 (1990), 31.

⁶ See T. Shabalina, 'Manuscript Score No. 4500 in St. Petersburg: A New Source of the B-minor Mass', in *Belfast 2007*, vol. I, pp. 207–25. Later a reference to this source was included in the new edition of BWV 232 (*NBA*^{rev} I, p. 297).

⁷ The library has no information on the provenance of No. 4500. This may indicate that the MS is among the oldest holdings of the conservatoire, because the later contributions to the library were recorded as a rule in the register of acquisitions.

⁸ See Fedorowskaja, 'Bachiana in russischen Bibliotheken', pp. 30–1. The article contains, however, no further grounds for this dating besides 'Handschrift und Papier' (*ibid.*, p. 31).



Figure 10.1 The opening page of 'Credo' of the St Petersburg manuscript (St Petersburg State Conservatory, No. 4500, fol. 1r)

W. Churchill's No. 120, H. Voorn's No. 100 and E. Laucevičius's No. 2329.⁹ The remaining portion of the source has the watermarks 'J HONIG', 'I V' and 'C. H. J. HONIG', as in the first portion. Horizontal chain-lines pass through all the sheets, and the watermarks are found near the edges of the sheets. The pictures of the lion on the pedestal and 'J HONIG | & | ZOONEN' appear to be split across two separate pages throughout. Thus originally, it was a large paper close to the Imperial format (57 × 78 cm.), which was used for longer periods of time than more common formats.¹⁰ Although documents with similar watermarks date from 1798 and 1807,¹¹ and even from 1817,¹² the watermarks of the manuscript differ in some details from those reproduced in the above-mentioned catalogues.¹³ Certain peculiarities in the musical script – for example, the omission of clefs and key signatures from the second and subsequent systems in each movement, many abbreviations in the musical text and some performance indications – were also typical for manuscripts from the end of the eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth.

The pagination has been written in ink and continues from the beginning of the *Symbolum Nicenum* to the end of 'Agnus Dei'. 'Dona nobis pacem' begins with a new pagination, and this movement is separated from the others by the eighty-seventh folio, on the blank verso side of which 'Seque Dona nobis' is written. There are neither separate title pages nor movement headings or numbers within the manuscript. The text contains numerous pencil corrections; the majority of these concern copying errors. However, some of them, as I shall demonstrate below, are related to the corrections of the errors in Bach's autograph score. A new version of the vocal parts 'Et in unum' found in the autograph score at pages 151–2 is missing in the St Petersburg manuscript. Some movements (e.g. 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum') contain performance indications such as *crescendo* and *diminuendo*, accents, slurs of later origin and crossed appoggiaturas (the latter in 'Et in unum' and 'Benedictus').

⁹ W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co., 1935), [p. lxxxv]; H. Voorn, *De papiermolens in de provincie Noord-Holland* (Haarlem: Papierwereld, 1960), p. 170; E. Laucevičius, *Paper in Lithuania in XV–XVIII Centuries* (Vilnius: Mintis, 1967), vol. of watermarks, p. 300.

¹⁰ See NBA IX/1, p. 14.

¹¹ See Laucevičius, *Paper in Lithuania in XV–XVIII Centuries*, vol. of text, p. 207; Voorn, *De papiermolens in de provincie Noord-Holland*, p. 135.

¹² The similar watermarks are found at the paper of sessions' statements of the St Peter and Paul Church council in St Petersburg (19 October 1817 – 13 July 1823), now kept in the Central State Historical Archive, St Petersburg (F. 708, opis' 1, No. 82).

¹³ The difference concerns the details of the picture of the lion (e.g. the left paw of the lion lacks a sheaf of arrows). The distance between the chain-lines is 29 mm. rather than the more normal 24 or 26 mm.

A comparison between Bach's autograph score and the St Petersburg manuscript

A comparison between Bach's autograph score and the St Petersburg manuscript reveals many common features in the layout of the score and the musical text. Firstly, the two manuscripts have matching page-turns and inner page-breaks, for example:

Bach's autograph	117	121	129	142	159	162	163	164	173	175	176	178	188
St Petersburg MS	41	48	63	88	121	127	129	131	153	158	161	166	187

There are also coinciding system changes, for example in the 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum' and the 'Confiteor', as well as in the 'Benedictus'.

Secondly, the St Petersburg manuscript reproduces a number of errors and other specific notational features of Bach's score, such as omitted ties and slurs at page-turns and between different pages. The following are some examples:

- 'Patrem', bar 29: Bach's score splits the bar between pages 101 and 102. In the continuo part the note *d* on page 101 lacks a tie, but on page 102 the tie is given before the note *d*. This is reproduced exactly in the St Petersburg manuscript between pages 8 and 9.
- 'Et resurrexit', bar 51: a slur in the alto is omitted at the page-turn in Bach's score (pp. 121–2). This is reproduced in the St Petersburg manuscript, though it occurs in an inner page-break (pp. 48–9).
- 'Et expecto', bars 20–1: a tie in the tenor is omitted again before the page-turn at p. 141 in Bach's score; in the St Petersburg manuscript it is also omitted, although it is not located at the page-turn.
- 'Et expecto', bars 30–1: a tie in the bass is omitted in both manuscripts. In both sources these bars appear at the inner page-break (pp. 142–3 in Bach's score and pp. 88–9 in the St Petersburg manuscript).

There are some even more striking similarities between these manuscripts:

1. *Sanctus*, bars 99–104: in Bach's score (see Figure 10.2, top) the bass part was copied out incorrectly, starting one bar too late. The copyist of the St Petersburg manuscript reproduced this error (Figure 10.2, bottom); afterwards, the incorrect bars were crossed out, and a note 'col Basso' was added in pencil in bar 99 above the continuo part and the text 'gloria ejus' under it.
2. 'Osanna', bars 2–6: the St Petersburg manuscript gives the erroneous text here, obviously originating from the misunderstanding of Bach's

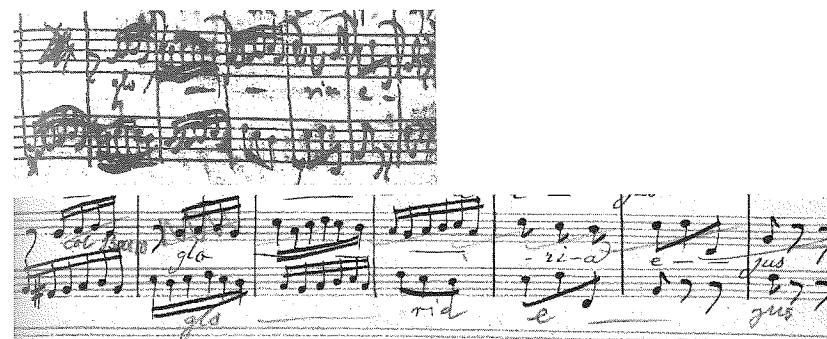


Figure 10.2 Bars 99–105 of *Sanctus* (showing bass and basso continuo parts only) in Bach's autograph score and the St Petersburg manuscript

crossed-out bars in his score (p. 169). So there are 149 bars in the movement in the St Petersburg manuscript instead of 148.

3. 'Dona nobis pacem', ending: the concluding page in both manuscripts contains only two last bars written as one bar. This may not be a simple coincidence in the St Petersburg manuscript: of the many copies compared only a very few follow this format.

In addition, the St Petersburg manuscript inherits the following textual features of Bach's autograph score:



- 'Et resurrexit', bar 17: consecutive octaves between soprano I and bass;
- *Sanctus*, bar 7, trumpet II: the second note is *e''* ($= f\sharp''$ in D major), but the correct reading is *d''* ($= e''$ in D major);
- *Sanctus*, bars 21–2, alto I: the note *c\sharp'* is a result of Bach erroneously copying from the earlier version, where the note *g'* was given in soprano III;
- *Sanctus*, bar 24, violin I: the second note *b''* is commonly reproduced in modern editions as *c\sharp'''*;
- *Sanctus*, bar 119, alto I: the note *b* originates from the note *f\sharp'* in the soprano clef as a variant of soprano III in the early version (Bach's autograph P 13);
- *Sanctus*, bar 147, oboe III: the second note is *f\sharp'*, but the correct reading is *e'*;
- 'Osanna', bar 29, viola: the second note is *f\sharp'*, but the correct reading is *g'*;
- 'Osanna', bar 102, trumpet I: the second note is *d''* ($= e''$ in D major), but the correct reading is *e''* ($= f\sharp''$ in D major) and so on.

Many slurs in the St Petersburg manuscript are written in a similar style to those in Bach's score (see, for example, 'Confiteor', bar 136, tenor;

'Benedictus', bars 19 and 23, continuo). A copyist even reproduced the uncertainty in the placing of many slurs, a well-known feature of Bach's notation.

Variants and errors in the St Petersburg manuscript

Like many other secondary sources, the St Petersburg manuscript contains various errors caused by careless copying. The number of them is quite significant; however, it is worth stressing that some of the errors and variants derive from unclear or ambiguous readings in Bach's score. The following are some examples:

1. 'Patrem', bar 77, bass: Bach's score has ink corrosion damage as a result of corrections (see Figure 10.3). Although the final reading of the second half of the bar is unclear, the majority of copies give the reading that is always reproduced in modern editions: . However, the St Petersburg manuscript has a different reading: . Taking into account the correlation of the bass part with other parts in the score (especially with the tenor and continuo), this variant seems correct. The vertical alignment of the visible notes and the letter 'e' in Bach's score suggests that the latter is the corrected reading. Although the autograph score is not in a good condition at present, it was surely in a better state at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. But since the earlier manuscripts give the different reading as shown above, the variant of the St Petersburg manuscript remains a questionable reading.

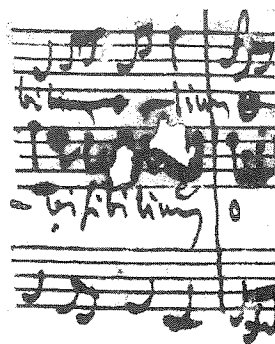


Figure 10.3 Bar 77 of 'Patrem' (showing tenor, bass and basso continuo parts only) in Bach's autograph score

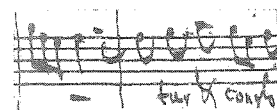


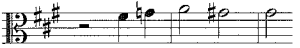
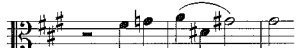



Figure 10.4 Bars 69–70 of 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum' (showing bass part only) in Bach's autograph score

2. 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum', bars 69–70, bass: the St Petersburg manuscript gives the following variant: ; Bach's autograph and the majority of copies give the reading: . The former appears to have misread Bach's notation: here a tie between bars 69 and 70 can be mistaken for a quaver g# (see Figure 10.4).
3. 'Confiteor', bars 138–40: Bach's autograph contains substantial corrections, and this 'difficult place' has often been discussed by scholars.¹⁴ These bars must have been problematic for copyists. The St Petersburg manuscript gives a variant reading in the alto: . Other copies such as Am. B. 3, P 23, P 1212, P 22 and P 7 give the other reading reproduced in the NBA and other modern editions: . According to Uwe Wolf, this is Bach's corrected reading, which Carl Philipp Emanuel later clarified by adding pitch names.¹⁵
4. *Sanctus*, bar 11, oboe III: on the first beat, where there are corrections and even ink corrosion damage in the autograph (see Figure 10.5, left), a gap has been left in the St Petersburg manuscript (right). There are also a few other places in the St Petersburg manuscript which have been left empty or filled in later.
5. 'Dona nobis pacem', bar 23, violin II: in the autograph this part reads: . In the St Petersburg manuscript this bar appears

¹⁴ See Stauffer, pp. 135–7; J. Rifkin, 'Eine schwierige Stelle in der h-Moll-Messe', in U. Leisinger (ed.), *Bach in Leipzig – Bach und Leipzig: Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz Leipzig, 27. bis 29. Januar 2000* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2002), pp. 321–31; C. Wolff, 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Regeln für den fünfstimmigen Satz', *BJ*, 90 (2004), 96–7; Rifkin 2006, p. 270.

¹⁵ See NBA^{rev} I, p. 341.

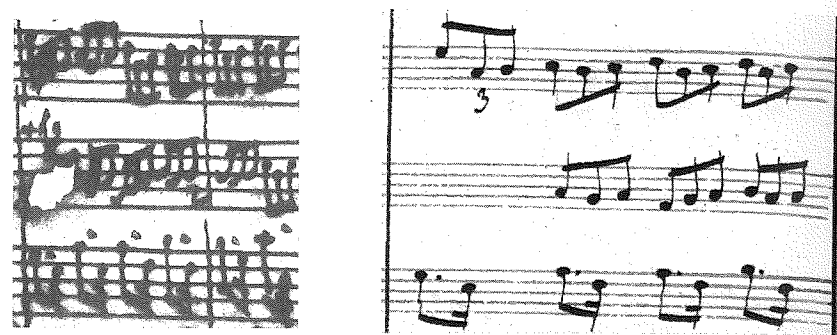


Figure 10.5 Bar 11 of *Sanctus* (showing oboe II, oboe III and violin I parts only) in Bach's autograph score (left) and the St Petersburg manuscript (right)

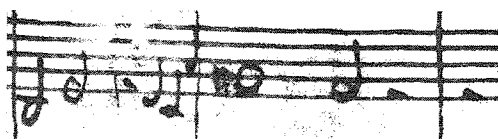



Figure 10.6 Bars 23–5 of 'Dona nobis pacem' (showing violin II part only) in Bach's autograph score

rather erroneously: .¹⁶ Apparently Bach's augmentation dot has been misinterpreted. In fact, the shape of this dot in Bach's autograph resembles very closely the minim rests shown in Figure 10.6.

The St Petersburg manuscript reflects the corrected readings of Bach's autograph

A comparison between Bach's autograph and the St Petersburg manuscript shows that the latter follows Bach's autograph with the corrections of C. P. E. Bach and others. They include such radical revisions as those in the 'Patrem' (bars 64–74, bass) and small revisions such as accidentals in bars 61, 62 and 89 in the bass and a *tr* marking in bar 91 in the same part in the 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum'. Although many notational features of Bach's autograph score appear in the St Petersburg manuscript, some of its textual faults seem to have been corrected, as follows:

¹⁶ The same rhythm is also found in alto I and II.

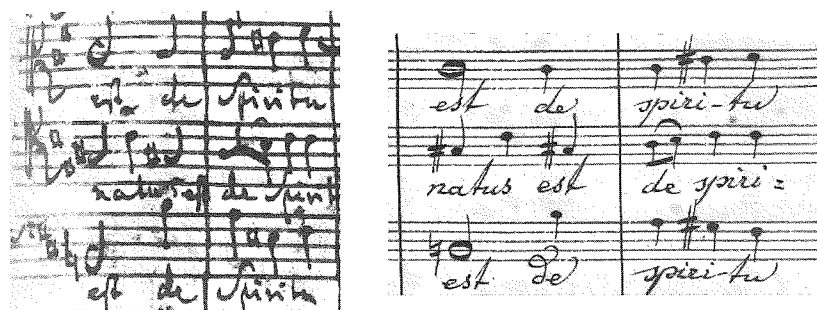
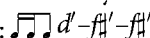


Figure 10.7 Bars 10–11 of 'Et incarnatus' (showing alto, tenor and bass only) in Bach's autograph score (left) and in the St Petersburg manuscript (right)

1. 'Et incarnatus', bar 11, bass: the second note in the majority of sources, including Bach's autograph (Figure 10.7, left, showing bars 10–11), is e^\sharp . Although there are consecutive octaves with the alto part, these are left uncorrected in the majority of sources. However, the St Petersburg manuscript (right, showing bars 10–11) contains g^\sharp instead of e^\sharp without any sign of correction.
2. 'Et resurrexit', bar 65, alto: Bach's autograph and many other manuscripts have the notes on the third beat as follows:  $d' - f^\sharp - f^\sharp$. However, this variant can hardly be considered valid, and all the modern editions give $d' - e' - f^\sharp$. The St Petersburg manuscript contains the latter variant here.
3. *Sanctus*, bars 3 and 15, trumpet I: in both bars in Bach's autograph, a flat before the note b'' is omitted, although this is necessary given the harmonic context. In the St Petersburg manuscript, these flats are added in pencil. It is curious that the flats were also omitted in the autograph score of the 1724 version (P 13), and that the mistake was again repeated here (P 180). The performance parts St 117 also lack flats in these bars (St 117 has a flat in bar 15, but for the third note, which is certainly a mistake). This case demonstrates that the presence of uncorrected errors in manuscripts is not sufficient to show how the work was performed (or not performed) at the time. After all, it is well known that the *Sanctus* is the only movement of the B-minor Mass that was performed more than once during Bach's lifetime.
4. *Sanctus*, bars 92–3, soprano I: in his autograph score (P 180) Bach wrote 'tu-a' (a Missal variant) instead of 'e-jus' (the Lutheran variant of this text, which is used in his *Sanctus*).¹⁷ The St Petersburg manuscript has the correct reading 'e-jus' at this point; this is significant as the other parts read 'ejus'.

¹⁷ Kobayashi A, pp. 12–13.

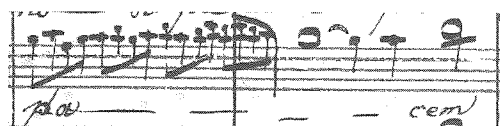


Figure 10.8 Bars 14–15 of 'Dona nobis pacem' (bass part only) in the St Petersburg manuscript

5. 'Dona nobis pacem', bars 14–15, bass I and II: towards the end of page 183 of his autograph Bach wrote the syllable 'do-', but in bar 15 after the page-turn he continued with '-cem' instead of '-na'. The copyist of the St Petersburg manuscript first wrote 'do-' in bar 14 and then changed it to 'pa-' (see Figure 10.8).
6. 'Dona nobis pacem', bars 37–8, alto I and II: in bar 37 of his autograph score, at the end of page 186, Bach wrote 'do-na', but on page 187 he continued with the syllable '-cem'. The copyist of the St Petersburg manuscript, as in other cases in this score, initially reproduced the original text; he then noticed the error and corrected it subsequently by adding a syllable 'pa-' on the first beat of bar 38.

The Frankfurt group of sources and the origin of the St Petersburg manuscript

Comparisons were made between the St Petersburg manuscript and the other well-known secondary sources of the B-minor Mass, Am. B. 3, P 7, P 23, P 14, P 1212, P 22, St 118, St 595, as well as the lesser-known manuscripts:

- Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle, Ms. 174;
- D-F, Musik- und Theaterabteilung, Mus. Hs. 145;
- the score of the *Symbolum Nicenum* in the private collection of Michael D'Andrea;
- Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, D. 538.¹⁸

¹⁸ MS scores D-B, Am. B. 2; D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 8, P 10, P 12, P 182, P 1172, P 1208; D-DI, Mus. 2405-D-14; and University of Warsaw MS RM 5943 are not listed here because they are copies of 'Typus Am. B. 3'. Other MS scores (GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1230; GB-Lbl, R.M.21.e.27; GB-Cu, Add. 9484) are also excluded from the comparison because their textual origin can be traced back to D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 1212 (see Y. Tomita, 'Bach's *Credo* in England: An Early History', in A. Leahy and Y. Tomita (eds.), *Bach Studies from Dublin: Selected Papers Presented at the Ninth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Held at Trinity College Dublin from 12th to 16th July 2000*, Irish Musical Studies, 8 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 205–27). I am indebted to Yo Tomita for sharing information with me on the MS in the D'Andrea collection. This source was studied for the first time in Joshua Rifkin's edition (Rifkin 2006, p. 255).

These comparisons have revealed that the St Petersburg manuscript has a majority of features in common with the Frankfurt, Paris and Halle manuscripts. The last source contains the movements from the 'Credo' to the 'Dona nobis pacem', and was copied by Franz Xaver Gleichauf.¹⁹ The Frankfurt manuscript consists of two volumes in the hands of unknown copyists (it previously belonged to the Cäcilien-Verein); the second volume contains movements from the 'Credo' to the 'Dona nobis pacem', and has the title 'Missa in H moll | J. S. Bach | Partitur II^{ter} Th.' on the cover.²⁰ The Paris manuscript is a copy of the whole work in one volume; its main title is 'Missa de J. S. Bach'.²¹

The most significant common errors and variant readings from the St Petersburg, Frankfurt, Paris and Halle manuscripts are given in Table 10.1.²² In the last column, I suggest the reasons why these variants were introduced as follows: (a) variant interpretation of ambiguous reading in Bach's autograph; (b) musical improvement and (c) copying error.

As the fourth column shows, the majority of these variants are the results of copying errors, but a few of them appear to be conjectures relating to either unclear or ambiguous readings in Bach's autograph.²³ Beyond the musical text, there are also other significant features that are shared by this group of sources, including a different designation for the instruments in the 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum': instead of 'Hautb. 1 d'Amour' and 'Hautb. 2 d'Amour', this source group gives 'Hautb. 1' and 'Hautb. 2' (or 'Oboe 1^{mo}' and 'Oboe 2^{do}'), though without any essential changes in the musical text of these parts; the time signature given for the 'Dona nobis pacem' in this group is *c*, although *♩* is used in other manuscripts including Bach's autograph; and the newly texted vocal parts of the 'Et in unum' placed at the end of *Symbolum Nicenum* in Bach's autograph score are missing from all four copies.

¹⁹ See Bach-Quellendatenbank, <http://www.bach.gwdg.de> (accessed 3 January 2012). This score has turned out to be in Halle by way of a collection of M. Schneider (see *NBA^{rev}* I, p. 296).










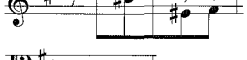

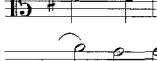

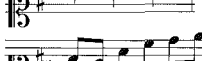





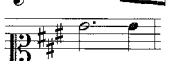













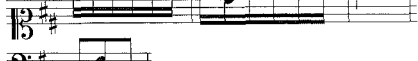







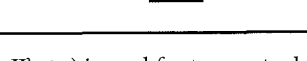
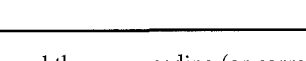
²⁰ D-F possesses another MS score of the B-minor Mass, shelfmark Mus. Hs. 146. It is an adaptation by C. C. Müller, the title page of which reads 'H-Moll-Messe | von Seb. Bach. | Instrumentation von Chr. Carl Müller'. As it is clearly a later MS, it is not included in the present text-critical study.

²¹ Uwe Wolf dates this copy 'aus der Zeit um 1800 (?)'. See *NBA^{rev}* I, p. 296.

²² This list includes only those significant variants and errors which are found exclusively in this group of sources. There are also other variants and errors, e.g. in bar 77 in the 'Patrem' (bass), bars 69–70 in the 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum' (bass) and bar 139 in the 'Confiteor' (alto), and the mistake on the first page of the 'Osanna' discussed on p. 190 above.

²³ Only two of them may be interpreted as improvements of the text in the exemplar. It is worth noting that one of the copies contains corrections in those bars. But, as is discussed below, these emendations could have been made without using a correction exemplar.

Table 10.1 Select list of errors and variants found in the St Petersburg, Frankfurt, Paris and Halle manuscripts^a

Movement, bar(s) (part)	Bach's autograph score	Shared variants in St Petersburg, Frankfurt, Paris and Halle MSS	Reason for error or variant
Patrem, bar 6 (ob II) ^b			(a)
Patrem, bars 38–40 (B)			(c)
Et in unum, bar 24 (bc)			(c)
Et in unum, bar 79 (vn II)			(c)
Et incarnatus, bar 14 (vn)			(c)
Et incarnatus, bar 33 (A)			(c)
Crucifixus, bar 44 (S II)			(c)
Et resurrexit, bar 51 (S II)			(c)
Et resurrexit, bar 62 (S I)			(c)
Et in Spiritum, bar 43 (ob II)			(a/c)
Confiteor, bar 10 (S II)			(c)
Confiteor, bar 143 (bc) ^c			(b)
Sanctus, bar 72 (vn I)			(c)
Sanctus, bar 91 (vn I)			(c)
Sanctus, bar 92 (S II)			(c)
Sanctus, bar 102 (va)			(a/c)
Sanctus, bar 165 (ob III)			(c)
Osanna, bars 72–4 (S II)			(c)
Osanna, bar 100 (bc)			(a)
Osanna, bar 122 (ob I+II)			(b)
Agnus Dei, bar 21 (bc)			(c)
Dona nobis pacem, bar 41 (va)			(c)

^aThe form 'T I+II' (or 'ob I+II' etc.) is used for two parts sharing a staff, and thus one reading (or correction) affects both parts.

^bThe fourth note *g'* in Bach's autograph is shared with the majority of manuscript copies, and is taken by all the modern editions. However, a number of copies (D-B, Am. B. 3, Am. B. 2, Warsaw MS RM 5943 etc.) have *z* instead of *g'*. Joshua Rifkin suggests that, in spite of all the sources, it should be *a'* (see Rifkin 2006, p. 262), the reading which is given in the St Petersburg, Frankfurt, Paris and Halle MSS.

^cThe variant in the St Petersburg, Frankfurt, Paris and Halle MSS must have been considered the correct reading, because the continuo part moves in unison with the bass (which progresses *d'-d-d-c* | *B*). Moreover, the harmony is also simpler and clearer if the continuo moves with the bass on the fourth beat of bar 143.

There is a particular similarity between the Frankfurt and St Petersburg manuscripts. Firstly, their score layouts match on a majority of the pages. Many of the page-turns and inner page-breaks, as well as the omitted ties and slurs at the page-turns and between different pages in Bach's autograph that have been discussed in relation to the St Petersburg manuscript, apply equally to the Frankfurt manuscript. The last page of the Frankfurt manuscript likewise follows the format of Bach's autograph, as does the St Petersburg one (see above). Even the gap left in the musical text in oboe III in bar 11 of the *Sanctus* appears in the Frankfurt manuscript as well (only afterwards was this empty space filled in in pencil).

The most crucial point, however, is that many such peculiar textual features in Bach's autograph have been changed in the Frankfurt manuscript as revisions, and the *post correcturam* readings appear in the Halle, Paris and St Petersburg manuscripts. For example, the second note in the bass in bar 11 of the 'Et incarnatus' was changed from *e♯* – the reading of Bach's autograph (making consecutive octaves with the alto, as discussed above) – to *g♯*, the reading which was reproduced in the St Petersburg, Paris and Halle manuscripts without correction. Similarly, these manuscripts contain the *post correcturam* readings of the Frankfurt manuscript in bar 143 of the 'Confiteor' (continuo) and bar 122 of the 'Osanna' (oboes I and II – see the musical examples in Table 10.1). Furthermore, in the Frankfurt manuscript the tempo indication *Vivace è allegro* for the 'Et expecto' was first written in bar 147 of the 'Confiteor' under the system exactly as in Bach's autograph. Later on it was crossed out in the Frankfurt manuscript, and *All^o vivace* was added in pencil above soprano I in bar 146; this is reproduced in the St Petersburg manuscript. Moreover, the word 'tua' in soprano I in bars 92–3 of the *Sanctus* in the Frankfurt manuscript is written as in Bach's autograph, while the St Petersburg and Halle manuscripts have 'ejus'. Similarly, the bass part in bars 14–15 of the 'Dona nobis pacem' in the Frankfurt manuscript reproduces the autograph error 'do – cem' (see above), but the St Petersburg, Paris and Halle manuscripts give the corrected variants at this point.

It appears, therefore, that the Frankfurt manuscript is the *Urquelle* of this source group, and that many peculiar features of Bach's autograph as reflected in the St Petersburg manuscript, discussed above, are reproduced through the Frankfurt manuscript. Judging from these scribal peculiarities, the copyist of this score (or possibly its model) produced a copy from Bach's autograph in a very painstaking manner, but, not being familiar enough with Bach's handwriting, occasionally misread his notation. The Frankfurt manuscript contains

numerous corrections entered by another hand in both ink and pencil (sometimes in red or blue pencil). A comparison of the corrections in the Frankfurt manuscript with the text of other manuscripts in this group serves to show that the St Petersburg manuscript was copied from the Frankfurt one before many of the corrections were entered; the Paris and Halle manuscripts were copied after these corrections had been entered. The layers of corrections in the Frankfurt manuscript are summarised in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2 Four layers of corrections of the Frankfurt manuscript as reflected in the St Petersburg, Paris and Halle manuscripts^a

Layer 1 (before the making of the St Petersburg, Paris and Halle MSS) ^b
Credo, bar 29 (T)
Patrem, bar 33 (T, B), bar 34 (A)
Et incarnatus, bar 11 (B), bar 48 (vn II, S I)
Crucifixus, bar 44 (S II)
Et resurrexit, bar 51 (S II), bar 56 (fl II), bar 65 (A), bars 100, 102–3 (S II), bar 109 (T), bar 131 (bc)
Et in Spiritum Sanctum, bar 19 (bc)
Confiteor, bar 10 (S II), bars 14–15 (B), bar 88 (S I), bar 133 (bc), bar 135 (B), bar 140 (S I), bar 143 (bc)
Et expecto, bar 3 (T), bar 25 (S I), bar 50 (tr I, fl I, fl II, ob I, vn I), bars 83–4 (S I), bar 88 (bc), bar 94 (T), bar 99 (S I)
Sanctus, bar 29 (A II), bar 39 (S I, S II), bar 88 (vn I)
Osanna, bar 28 (tr I), bar 73 (A II), bar 122 (ob I)
Agnus Dei, bar 35 (A)
Dona nobis pacem, bar 4 (T I+II)
Layer 2 (after the making of the St Petersburg MS and before the making of the Paris and Halle MSS)
Patrem, bars 26–7 (S I+II), bar 37 (ob I + vn I), bars 37–8 (S I+II)
Et in unum, bar 14 (vn I), bars 24–5 (vn II), bar 55 (va)
Et incarnatus, bars 46–7 (S I, B)
Et resurrexit, bar 7 (vn I, vn II, va), bar 29 (S I), bar 33 (T), bar 49 (tr I), bar 51 (A), bar 96 (fl II), bar 102 (vn I, vn II, va), bar 106 (A), bars 107–8 (ob II), bar 109 (ti)
Et in Spiritum Sanctum, bar 61 (B), bar 97 (ob II), bar 105 (B), bars 115–16 (ob I)
Confiteor, bar 37 (T), bar 39 (A), bar 45 (S I), bar 87 (T), bar 121 (B), bars 135–6 (S II)
Et expecto, bar 33 (vn II), bar 39 (ob I), bars 48–9 (A, T), bar 69 (B), bars 72–5 (T), bar 76 (vn II), bar 87 (T), bar 97 (S I)
Sanctus, bar 9 (A I, A II, T), bar 11 (ob III, A I), bar 12 (A I), bar 16 (S I), bar 19 (B, bc), bar 20 (vn I), bars 21–2 (B), bar 23 (A I), bars 30–1 (vn I), bars 31–2 (va), bar 33 (A II), bars 39–41, 47–8, 81–2 (B), bars 87–8, 101–2 (A II), bars 124, 141 (ob II)
Osanna, bars 26–7 (S I), bars 30–1 (fl II, ob I, T I), bar 35 (fl I), bar 88 (B II), bars 97–100 (S II), bar 113 (bc), bar 147 (va)
Benedictus, bars 38, 48, 50 (vn)
Dona nobis pacem, bar 6 (T I+II), bar 36 (S I+II), bars 37–8 (A I+II)

Table 10.2 (cont.)

Layer 3 (after the making of the St Petersburg and Paris MSS and before the making of the Halle MS) ^c
Patrem, bar 47 (va), bar 54 (A)
Et in unum, bar 20 (vn I), bar 62 (bc)
Et incarnatus, bar 28 (A)
Et resurrexit, bar 24 (vn I, vn II), bar 102 (S II)
Confiteor, bar 121 (B)
Et expecto, bar 39 (vn I), bars 48–9 (A, T)
Sanctus, bar 11 (vn I, A I), bar 23 (va), bar 32 (vn II), bar 36 (ob II, va), bar 37 (B, bc), bar 40 (ob III), bar 42 (A II), bar 48 (ob II), bar 90 (S I), bars 99–105 (B), bar 110 (ob II)
Osanna, bar 13 (S I), bar 102 (tr II)
Benedictus, upbeat, bar 10, bar 29 (vn)
Dona nobis pacem, bar 19 (T I+II, bc), bar 36 (tr II), bars 40–1 (ob II), bar 41 (fl+ob I)
Layer 4 (after the making of the St Petersburg, Paris and Halle MSS)
Patrem, bar 37 (S I+II), bar 77 (ob I, vn I, bc)
Et in unum, bar 43 (bc)
Et incarnatus, bar 19 (vn), bar 38 (A)
Crucifixus, bar 21 (va), bars 23, 26, 31 (fl II), bar 40 (S II)
Et resurrexit, bars 4, 7 (tr III), bar 8 (tr II, tr III), bars 15, 17 (B), bar 18 (A), bar 20 (tr III), bar 49 (tr III), bar 51 (B), bar 52 (S I), bar 54 (B, S II), bar 63 (S II), bars 76, 79–80 (B), bar 80 (vn II), bars 89, 93 (tr III), bar 99 (bc), bars 101–2 (tr III), bar 101 (vn I, vn II)
Et in Spiritum Sanctum, bar 72 (bc), bar 82 (B), bars 83, 84, 87 (bc), bars 86, 105–6 (ob II), bars 107–8, 112–14, 120, 122, 128–9, 132 (bc)
Confiteor, bars 21, 85 (T), bar 88 (S I), bar 111 (B)
Et expecto, bar 6 (T), bars 19–20 (fl II), bars 20–4 (T), bar 47 (A), bar 52 (T), bars 53–6, 59 (tr III), bars 68–9 (T), bars 70–1 (ob I, ob II), bars 85–6 (tr III), bars 94–5 (A)
Sanctus, bar 6 (S II), bar 7 (tr II, A I), bars 7–8 (ob III), bar 15 (tr I), bars 21–2 (A I), bar 23 (B, bc), bar 24 (A II), bar 25 (A I), bar 36 (A I), bar 39 (tr I, tr II, tr III), bar 40 (tr I), bar 56 (bc), bar 74 (ob III, A I), bar 91 (S II), bar 98 (ob I), bar 110 (ob III), bars 114–17 (tr I), bar 132 (S I, T), bars 137, 142 (S II), bar 151 (tr II), bar 152 (vn I), bar 153 (tr I), bars 155, 157 (vn I), bar 166 (tr II)
Osanna, bars 1–5 (full score), bar 19 (B I), bar 22 (B I, bc), bar 37 (vn II), bar 38 (fl I, fl II), bars 44, 46 (B II, bc), bar 94 (tr III), bar 102 (tr I)
Benedictus, bar 9 (vn), bar 18 (T), bar 19 (vn), bars 20, 23 (T), bar 24 (vn, T), bar 30 (vn), bar 34 (T), bar 36 (T), bar 41 (vn), bar 42 (T), bars 54–5 (vn)
Agnus Dei, bars 9, 14 (vn), bar 17 (bc), bar 33 (vn)
Dona nobis pacem, bars 7, 22 (va, T I+II)

^aThe form 'T I, T II' means that tenor I and tenor II have separate staves. See also Table 10.1, n. a.

^bThe list of corrections in the first layer contains mainly later ones and does not include many immediate corrections made during the copying process.

^cThere are some contradictions where later corrections are reflected in the Paris MS but not in the Halle MS (e.g. 'Patrem', bar 65, vn I, vn II; or 'Et resurrexit', bar 22, B). However, these could have resulted from misunderstandings by the copyists or their own corrections of obvious mistakes. The majority of readings point to the Halle MS as the latest copy among this group of sources.

An analysis of these revisions in the Frankfurt manuscript shows that they must have been made on musical merit rather than by taking the readings of a correction exemplar. Many of these revisions were corrected from the readings of Bach's autograph to other variants (e.g. 'Et incarnatus', bar 38, alto; 'Crucifixus', bar 31, flute II; 'Et resurrexit', bar 49, trumpet III; bar 100, soprano II); elsewhere copying errors were corrected to variant readings (e.g. *Sanctus*, bar 117, trumpet I).

It is significant that all the layers of corrections, even the first one, involve changes to the initial text. Broadly speaking, corrections in the first three layers are those of minor details and of obvious mistakes. The fourth layer, besides these, includes new variants, such as pitch revisions to octaves, fifths and so on as well as the addition of passages and separate notes (sometimes these are effected by squeezing in small symbols without actually deleting the original symbols). The final stage of the corrections in the Frankfurt manuscript also includes numerous indications of dynamics (*p*, *pp*, *f*, *mf*, *cresc.*, *dim.*), articulation signs (slurs and dots) and markings such as 'ritard.', 'Tempo', 'Fine', 'Solo', 'Tutti' as well as indications of instruments doubling the main lines, such as 'Clarineti', 'Fagotti', 'Corni' and so on, which were marked in pencil.

The sheer number of these corrections paints a picture of very careful and intense work on the text of the B-minor Mass. A comparison of handwriting in the majority of these corrections and conducting marks with similar entries in the manuscripts of the Frankfurt Cäcilien-Verein and its circle, such as the score of Bach's St Matthew Passion (D-F, Mus. Hs. 147), Beethoven's *Elegischer Gesang* (D-F, Mus. Hs. 152), a *Sammelhandschrift* (D-F, Mus. Hs. 142) and Johann Nepomuk Schelble's *Deutsche Messe* and other works (D-F, Mus. Hs. 201), shows that they are in the hand of the founder and conductor of the Cäcilien-Verein in Frankfurt am Main, Schelble (1789–1837).²⁴ Although a number of these corrections were presumably made before the first performance of the Mass movements by the Cäcilien-Verein in 1828, many of them were added later, after the making of the Paris and Halle manuscripts. In 1831 Schelble performed

²⁴ Other hands besides Schelble's are present among these corrections in the Frankfurt MS. For example, a small semiquaver in bar 124 of oboe II in the *Sanctus* was supposedly added by a copyist of the Paris MS (this error had been noticed by the time when it was made, and handwriting of the added note is very close to that of the Paris MS). Similarly two semiquavers in bar 13 of soprano I in the 'Osanna' were apparently added by Gleichauf (such details are first encountered in the Halle MS, and the handwriting is also similar). Moreover, the first layer contains some corrections made by the main copyists of the score. However, the overwhelming majority of the later corrections in the Frankfurt MS and all the performance-related marks are Schelble's.

the majority of the Mass movements (the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* for the first time, and a repeat performance of the *Credo*). This may have been the occasion when layer 4 of the corrections in the Frankfurt manuscript was made, because the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* received intensive revision. Still, it is possible that some of the corrections and the addition of performance-related marks occurred later, for we know that Schelble performed several Mass movements again in 1833 and 1835.²⁵ It is also conceivable that he intended to perform Bach's B-minor Mass in its entirety, because all the movements in the Frankfurt manuscript (including movements from the *Sanctus* to the 'Dona nobis pacem') contain numerous annotations in his hand.²⁶

It should also be remembered that the Frankfurt manuscript is known to have been related to the manuscript lent to Schelble by the Zurich publisher Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836).²⁷ It is well known that after acquiring Bach's autograph score of the Mass in 1805, Nägeli forbade access to it by anyone. One of the most famous episodes concerning this state of affairs occurred on 9 September 1824, when Beethoven wrote to Nägeli with a request for a copy of a '5stimmige Meße von Sebastian Bach'.²⁸ His request was presumably refused since his estate did not include a copy of Bach's Mass.²⁹ Even after Nägeli's death, when Bach's autograph score was passed on to his son Hermann, the editors of the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition could not gain access to it at the time of their preparations for the Mass in B minor volume in 1856.³⁰ Although not all of the correspondence between Schelble and Hans Georg Nägeli from the

²⁵ See O. Bormann, 'Johann Nepomuk Schelble 1789–1837: Sein Leben, sein Wirken und seine Werke. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte in Frankfurt am Main', Ph.D. diss., University of Frankfurt am Main (1926), pp. 104–5, 107; *Festfeier des Cäcilien-Vereins zu Frankfurt am Main bei Gelegenheit seines 50jährigen Jubiläums am 28. und 29. October 1868* (Frankfurt am Main: Mahlau & Waldschmidt, 1868), p. 47; H. Hoshino, 'J. S. Bach's Mass in B minor: A Study of its Reception History in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century especially regarding the Activities of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy', in *Belfast 2007*, vol. II, pp. 462–3.

²⁶ If Schelble's conducting score of Bach's St Matthew Passion (D-F, Mus. Hs. 147) has been the subject of special studies, his score of Bach's B-minor Mass has attracted comparatively scant attention. However, this source represents Schelble's attitude to Bach's text as well as his interpretative intentions with great clarity and deserves special attention. See G. Feder, 'J. N. Schelbles Bearbeitung der Matthäuspassion J. S. Bachs', *Die Musikforschung*, 12/2 (April–June 1959), 201–6; M. Geck, *Die Wiederentdeckung der Matthäus-Passion im 19. Jahrhundert: Die zeitgenössischen Dokumente und ihre ideengeschichtliche Deutung* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1967), pp. 79–82.

²⁷ See *NBA KB II/1*, p. 35.

²⁸ See S. Brandenburg (ed.), *Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, 7 vols. (Munich: G. Henle, 1996), vol. V: 1823–1824, No. 1873.

²⁹ See Stauffer, p. 189. ³⁰ See *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 62–71.

1820s is extant, it is obvious that the conductor of the Cäcilien-Verein must have made extraordinary efforts to borrow a manuscript of the B-minor Mass from Zurich.

Friedrich Smend considered that this could not have been Bach's autograph score. Referring to the entry in the card catalogue of the Frankfurt university library which noted 'Abschrift nach der von Nägeli', he proposed two possibilities: (1) Nägeli prepared a copy of the Mass (a 'Tochterkopie') and left it with a Frankfurt musician, and (2) he only lent Schelble a copy that he already had in his possession.³¹

Two scribes were involved in making the Frankfurt manuscript. To judge from all the diplomatic features common in the sources of the Cäcilien-Verein circle, they were Frankfurt copyists.³² Moreover, an analysis of the surviving correspondence indicates that Johann Nepomuk Schelble was in a privileged position at the time when he requested the loan of a score of the B-minor Mass.

In a letter dated 15 June 1825 Hans Georg Nägeli wrote to Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee:³³

I loan Bach's *Missa* to Mr Schelble for a copy [in order to make a copy] on certain conditions, one of which concerns you; if you want it to be scrutinised, then you should not let a messenger carry it unguarded in the street and you should yourself take it with your own hand and then return it.³⁴

Although the letter does not specify what kind of source of the Mass Nägeli was going to pass to Schelble, all the precautions he issued point to its having been the autograph score. Moreover, it seems that by that time the

³¹ *NBA KB II/1*, p. 35.

³² The main copyist who copied the first volume of the Frankfurt MS and part of the second volume is also found in other MSS made in Frankfurt in the 1820s and 1830s (e.g. D-F, Mus. Hs. Opern 264 B). Watermarks of the Frankfurt MS are described in *NBA^{rev} I* as 'Göttin Fortuna, darunter JS, sonst kein WZ' (p. 296). However, many pages in the first and second volumes have weak outlines of 'M. HEUSLER', and this watermark is clearly visible on the last page of the Frankfurt MS. Paper with such watermarks was used in Schelble's circle as well (see below).

³³ The Swiss musician and composer Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee (1786–1868) was by then living in Frankfurt am Main, but he had kept in touch with Nägeli since the time of their contact in Zurich in 1810–11. See W. Schuh (ed.), *Erinnerungen Xaver Schnyder's von Wartensee: Ausgewählt und mit einer Einführung und Erläuterungen* (Berlin and Zurich: Atlantis, 1940), p. 23.

³⁴ 'Ich teile dem Herrn Schelble die Bachsche Missa zur Abschrift mit unter Bedingungen, deren eine auch Dich angeht: willst du sie zur Einsicht geben, so darfst Du sie nicht durch Dienstboten über die Straße tragen lassen, sondern mußt Dich bequemen, sie höchst eigenhändig abzulangen und wieder zurückzutragen.' See P. O. Schneider (ed.), *Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee und Hans Georg Nägeli*, 2 vols., vol. II: *Briefe aus den Jahren 1822 bis 1835*, Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich, 146 (Zurich: Hug & Co., 1962, No. 26, p. 24; see also *BDok VI*, p. 466.

manuscript was already in Frankfurt, at Schnyder von Wartensee's, and that Nägeli had not sent it expressly to the conductor of the Cäcilien-Verein.

A letter from Ferdinand Keßler to Nägeli,³⁵ dated 1 March 1826, gives evidence that Schelble had received that score:

I have one more request to you, namely, if your lectures which you gave here were to be published, to provide me with a copy of them; then I would like to know whether you are going to engrave Bach's Mass which you loaned to Mr Schelble; and if not, I would wish to ask your permission to make a copy, concerning which I give you my word that I will not give it to anyone and will make no further use of it except for my own studies.³⁶

In a letter to von Wartensee dated 19 March 1827, Nägeli expressed his concern about the return of the manuscript of Bach's Mass, which was long overdue:

My dearest friend!

Thank you for the news concerning Bach's Mass. By today's post I ask Mr Schelble to return the missing movements urgently because I have to continue to engrave it. The first part has already been engraved, that is, up to the 'cum sancto spiritu' ... Because Schelble is not businesslike by nature, there may be a delay in returning it; therefore I beg you to act promptly to send me by express mail a letter notifying me when the missing [pieces] are dispatched. If he sends it to me, without having copied it, then I myself or Hermann will copy it at once and send it back speedily.³⁷

³⁵ Ferdinand Keßler (1793–1856) was a violinist, theorist and composer from Frankfurt am Main.

³⁶ 'Ich habe noch eine zweifach-Bitte an Sie, nämlich wenn Ihre Vorlesungen, welche Sie hier gehalten haben, erschienen sind mir ein Exemplaire davon zu kommen zu lassen, und dann wünschte ich zu wissen ob Sie die Messe von Bach welche Sie Herrn Schelble geliehen haben, stechen werden; und wenn dieses nicht wäre wollte ich Sie bitten mir die Erlaubniß zu ertheilen, daß ich mir sie abschreiben kann, wofür ich Ihnen mein Ehrenwort gäbe, sie Niemand zu geben, auch weiter kein Gebrauch davon zu machen, als zu meinem Studium.' CH-Zz, Ms Car XV 188.40.3; see *BDok* VI, p. 466. In his comments on this letter, Friedrich Smend pointed out that Nägeli's answer was unknown; but it is unlikely that 'permission' was given, because the Zurich publisher was preparing his edition at that time (*NBA KB* II/1, p. 35).

³⁷ 'Theuerster Freund!

Dank für die Nachricht wegen Bachs Messe. Durch heutige Post bitte ich Hn. Schelble um baldige Uebersendung der fehlenden Stücke, weil ich sonst den Stich einstellen muß. Der erste Theil ist schon gestochen d. h. bis zum "cum sancto spiritu" ... Weil Schelble keine kaufmännische Person und Natur ist, und die Sendung verzögern könnte, so bitte ich Dich um einen schnellen Gang zu ihm, und hinauf um einen Eilpostbrief, welcher mir ankündet, wann das mir fehlende abgesendet werde. Schickt er mir dasselbe, ohne es copieren zu lassen, so will ich es eigenhändig oder durch Hermann sogleich copieren, und schnell wieder zurücksenden.' CH-Zz, Ms Car XV 197.3.83; see *BDok* VI, pp. 465–6.

Nägeli's mention of 'returning the missing movements' of the Mass for engraving and even of the possibility of himself or his son Hermann making a copy of them before returning them to Schelble could well be an indication that Nägeli was worried about the return of Bach's autograph.

However, the first volume of the Frankfurt manuscript originated from the copy that has the textual state of 'Typus Am. B. 3'.³⁸ The score's layout, the occurrences of page-turns, inner page-breaks and system changes in many movements, and common errors such as the rhythmic variant in the solo violin part in bars 6, 26, 40, 58 of the 'Laudamus te' should be added to the list of common features of Am. B. 3 and the Frankfurt manuscript as discussed by Smend. But the second volume of the Frankfurt manuscript is derived from Bach's autograph with the last stage of corrections. This suggests that what Nägeli sent to Frankfurt was not a single bound volume but several different manuscripts of the B-minor Mass, for instance, a copy of 'Typus Am. B. 3' for the first part and the composer's autograph for the other movements. As the *Missa* (*Kyrie* and *Gloria*) was already in the process of being engraved, Nägeli may have withheld the first part of Bach's autograph; but he could pass on to von Wartensee (and afterwards to Schelble) the rest of the movements of the autograph. If Bach's score had not been bound by that time, Nägeli could easily have sent the movements from *Symbolum Nicenum* onwards as separate items. In this context his words about 'the missing movements' of the work in the above-mentioned letter make perfect sense,³⁹ though this question must remain open and contingent on finding stronger evidence.

Franz Xaver Gleichauf (1801–1856), a musician, teacher and composer from Frankfurt am Main, had been in contact with Schelble. According to Oskar Bormann he was the latter's pupil and cousin.⁴⁰ Clearly they had close

³⁸ See *NBA KB* II/1, pp. 35, 197 ff.

³⁹ It is also possible that Schelble had already returned the first part of the MS to Nägeli by that time but had delayed returning the rest. Although, as we have seen, many peculiar features of Bach's autograph could have been mirrored in any intermediate sources, the extreme similarity of volume II of the Frankfurt MS to Bach's autograph may once more indicate their direct connection. It is curious that the copyists of the Frankfurt MS sometimes hesitated in their notation, leaving small, erroneous notes (e.g. 'Et expecto', bar 32, ti) or missing some of them ('Crucifixus', bar 40, S II; *Sanctus*, bar 14, vn II; bar 36, ob II; bar 43, A II, etc.). Moreover, abnormal notation (e.g. 'Et resurrexit', bar 33, T, *Sanctus*, bar 12, A I) and frequent hesitation in the positioning of note-heads ('Et expecto', bar 1, bc; bar 33, vn II; bar 39, ob I, etc.) as well as several layers of corrections in those bars where there are also intense corrections in Bach's autograph (e.g. 'Et resurrexit', bar 102, S II; 'Confiteor', bar 39, A; bar 140, S I) can be explained if the copyists of volume II of the Frankfurt MS worked from Bach's autograph directly.

⁴⁰ See Bormann, 'Johann Nepomuk Schelble', p. 8.

connections.⁴¹ In 1856 he compiled the 'Thematisches Verzeichniß von Compositionen von J. N. Schelble' (D-F, Mus. Hs. 179). Gleichauf prepared a number of music manuscripts for the Cäcilien-Verein (among them a huge copy of a score of *Saul* by Handel, D-F, Mus. Hs. 168, which was performed by the Cäcilien-Verein on 23 October 1835). In this context, presumably Gleichauf copied the Halle manuscript from Schelble's conducting score of the Mass. If the majority of the final layer of corrections in the Frankfurt manuscript were entered for the Cäcilien-Verein's performance in 1831, the Halle manuscript would certainly have been prepared before that time.

To return to the St Petersburg manuscript, we may conclude that it was made in Frankfurt am Main as well. A study of various early nineteenth-century manuscripts kept at the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Musik- und Theaterabteilung, Frankfurt am Main, indicates that a scribe of the St Petersburg manuscript was one of the Frankfurt copyists active in the 1820s and 1830s. His handwriting is identical to that found in the parts of Haydn's *Die Jahreszeiten* (D-F, Mus. Hs. Opern 264 B)⁴² and *Zemire und Azor* by Louis Spohr (D-F, Mus. Hs. Opern 552);⁴³ in addition a similar hand copied *Volksgesang* by Gaspard Spontini (D-F, Mus. Hs. Opern 556)⁴⁴ and other works. The closest match with the St Petersburg manuscript is to be found in the parts for Haydn's oratorio.⁴⁵ This can be demonstrated by Figures 10.9 and 10.10.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 10, 92–3; NBA KB IV/5+6, pp. 254–5. According to Bormann, Gleichauf wrote *Briefbiographie Schelbles im Archiv des Cäcilien-Vereins* (no date). See Bormann, 'Johann Nepomuk Schelble', p. 11.

⁴² Among the parts of Haydn's oratorio written out by different copyists between 1802–5 and 1837 (see R. Didion and J. Schlichte (eds.), *Thematischer Katalog der Opersammlung in der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main (Signaturengruppe Mus Hs Opern)*, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1990, p. 112) those of Hanne (2/1), Lucas (2/2) and Simon (2/3) are mainly by the same copyist as the St Petersburg MS.

⁴³ The part of Fatme (2/4 in Didion and Schlichte's catalogue, *ibid.*, p. 271).

⁴⁴ The parts for violin I (2 parts), viola, piccolo I, piccolo II, oboe I, oboe II, clarinet I, clarinet II and others. They were prepared for Paganini's concert in Frankfurt am Main on 31 August 1829 (*ibid.*, p. 275).

⁴⁵ The Cäcilien-Verein under Johann Nepomuk Schelble performed *Die Jahreszeiten* several times in the 1820s, on 7 March and 2 May 1825, 4 January 1828 and 7 November 1829, and later in the 1830s (see *Hundert Jahre Cäcilien-Verein in kurzer Fassung zusammengestellt nach den in dem Archiv des Vereins niedergelegten Protokollen und Schriftstücken* (Frankfurt am Main: Schrodt, 1918), p. 40). Although the parts shown in Figure 10.9 bear the stamp 'Manskopfsches Museum für Musik- u. Theatergeschichte Frankfurt a. Main' and belonged to the Frankfurt opera theatre, they could have been used by Schelble in his performances, and moreover some of them may have been prepared for the first performance of *Die Jahreszeiten* by the Cäcilien-Verein in 1825. It seems significant that, besides the copyist whose hand is found in the St Petersburg MS, these parts contain several pages copied by F. X. Gleichauf and the copyist of Schelble's conducting score of the Mass (vol. I and part of vol. II). Didion and Schlichte give the date of these parts of *Die Jahreszeiten* as 1837 (*Thematischer Katalog*, p. 112). But all the names of performers found at the upper right-hand corners of the title



Figure 10.9 Handwriting samples taken from Haydn, *Die Jahreszeiten*, D-F, Mus. Hs. Opern 264 B (2/1–3) made by the copyist of the St Petersburg manuscript

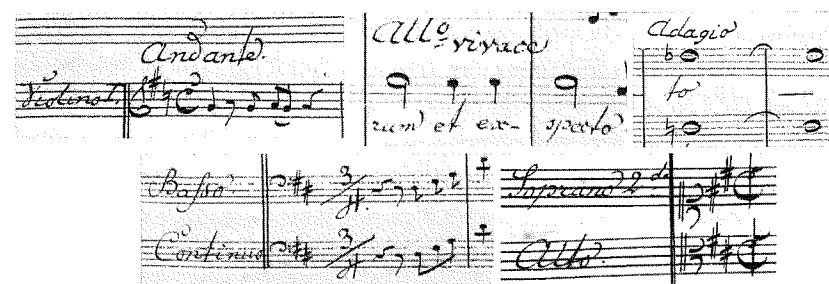


Figure 10.10 Handwriting samples of the copyist of the St Petersburg manuscript

This confirms the final argument in ascertaining the Frankfurt origin of the copy presently kept in the St Petersburg State Conservatory. The watermarks of the St Petersburg manuscript have also been found among manuscripts from Schelble's circle.⁴⁶

The score of the Mass in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris also goes back to the Schelble conducting score. It is evident from letters of 1830 that François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) asked Ferdinand Hiller (1811–1885) for a copy of Bach's B-minor Mass for the library of the École de Musique in Paris.⁴⁷ Schelble accordingly prepared a copy of the Mass, and it was given

pages, as well as the dating on one of the parts ('Montag den 25 Decmb. 1837 | Aufgeführt'), were certainly entered by another hand and could have been added later. At any rate the extremely similar handwritings in the St Petersburg MS and D-F, Mus. Hs. Opern 264 B (2/1–3) show that the same copyist made both about the same time.

⁴⁶ e.g. the paper inserted at the time of binding in D-F, Mus. Hs. 156 bears the watermark 'HONIG & ZOONEN' with a picture of the Dutch lion on the pedestal without a sheaf of arrows in its left paw, which has been noted as a very rare watermark in the St Petersburg MS (see n. 13 above).

⁴⁷ See R. Sietz, *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826–1861): Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*, Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte, 28 (Cologne: Volk, 1958), p. 11; NBA^{rev} I, p. 297.

to Hiller by Hiller's father, Justus, in 1830. On 19 November 1830 Schelble wrote to the latter:

Your Nobleness,

I have the pleasure of making the requested copy of J. S. Bach's Mass in B minor. I would appreciate it if you would send it to your son at your earliest convenience. It contains the greatest and grandest artwork in the sphere of church music and it will certainly give him much pleasure to have this colossal work. This copy is destined for the Royal Library, so it is prepared by a calligraphic copyist. I have found the attached account to be accurate. The copying is fine and correct.⁴⁸

The Paris manuscript has the watermark 'M. HEUSLER', which is also visible on many pages of the Frankfurt manuscript as well as in other manuscripts from Schelble's years with the Cäcilien-Verein (e.g. the *Missa solemnis* by Durante, D-F, Mus. Hs. 159, the Choral Fantasia by Beethoven Op. 80, D-F, Mus. Hs. 153, and others). Besides this, many peculiarities of this score, as demonstrated above, leave no doubt that it belongs to this branch of the source tradition of the B-minor Mass.

Thus at least four copies of Bach's B-minor Mass were made in Frankfurt between 1825–6 and the early 1830s. The study of the different layers of corrections in the Frankfurt manuscript presented above and their relationship with the St Petersburg, Halle and Paris manuscripts, along with the analysis of the existing correspondence of people associated with these sources, gives reasons to consider the dating of these manuscripts as follows: Frankfurt in 1825–6, St Petersburg shortly after 1825–6, Paris by 1830 and Halle in the early 1830s. Their relationship can be summarised in the stemma of sources shown in Figure 10.11.⁴⁹

The performances of movements of the Mass by the Cäcilien-Verein under Schelble's direction are well known in the reception history of the B-minor Mass. This chapter has also shown the significance of the role Schelble played as the distributor of copies of the Mass in the early

⁴⁸ 'Euer Wohlgebohren

habe ich das Vergnügen, die versprochene Abschrift von J. S. Bachs Messe in H minor zu übermachen. Ich bitte Sie, dieselbe, wenn es möglich ist, bald Ihrem Herrn Sohne zu übersenden. Er erhält hier das größte und erhabenste Kunstwerk im Gebiete der Kirchenmusik, und gewiß wird es ihm viele Freude machen, dieses Riesenwerk bald zu erhalten. Diese Abschrift ist für die Königliche Bibliothek bestimmt, daher sie von einem Schönschreiber verfertigt ist. Beyliegendes Conto habe ich richtig erfunden. Die Copiatur ist vortrefflich und correct' (Sietz, *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel*, p. 11).

⁴⁹ As the St Petersburg and Halle MSS contain only the second half of BWV 232, the stemma is based on the comparison of the corresponding movements in all the MSS. But it is conceivable that all of them existed as copies of the whole work. Thus they are likely to be related in a similar order.

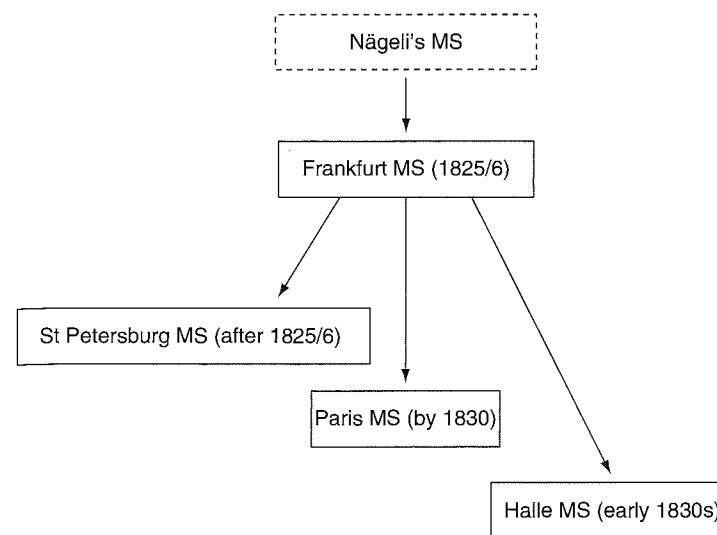


Figure 10.11 The stemma of the sources of the B-minor Mass related to the Frankfurt manuscript

nineteenth century. In a period when access to Bach's autograph score was closed, the Frankfurt manuscript happened to be one of the most important sources giving rise to several new copies of the Mass. In this context Frankfurt am Main can once more be seen as an important centre in the early reception history of Bach's Mass in B minor.⁵⁰ In 1825–6, at his own risk, Nägeli provided Schelble with a manuscript of the Mass (probably Bach's autograph, but of the second half of the Mass only) and must have warned him not to spread it by making further copies. It should be remembered that Ferdinand Keßler, in his letter to Nägeli dated 1 March 1826, promised to pass the copy to no one and to use it only for his own studies. It is worth adding that Schelble's letter to Hiller of 19 November 1830 concluded with the following: 'Until then I ask you to tell *nobody* that a copy of the said work has been made by me.'⁵¹ But apparently Schelble did not keep his word to Nägeli, and thus Schelble played a historic role in the spread of

⁵⁰ It should be remembered that the first known performance of the Mass in its entirety was given in Frankfurt am Main by the Cäcilien-Verein under the direction of F. J. Messer on 28 November 1856. See H. Hoshino, 'J. S. Bach's Mass in B minor: A Study of its Reception History in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century especially Regarding the Activities of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy', in Belfast 2007, vol. II, pp. 461–5.

⁵¹ 'Bis dahin bitte ich Sie, *Niemandem* zu sagen, daß von besagtem Werke von mir eine Abschrift veranstaltet wurde' (Sietz, *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel*, p. 11).

manuscripts of the B-minor Mass and contributed to its rich reception history in the nineteenth century.

Among the scores of this branch of the source tradition, only the Frankfurt manuscript was mentioned by Smend in *NBA*.⁵² It was then considered an isolated manuscript connected with the performance of the Mass movements by the Cäcilien-Verein in 1828.⁵³ However, my study of the sources that have come to light recently has shown that the Frankfurt manuscript proved to be the starting point for the creation of several copies of the Mass, forming a discrete branch of its manuscript tradition covering Frankfurt am Main, St Petersburg and Paris, a wider European spread than those of the hitherto known source groups in Berlin and Hamburg. The main features of the St Petersburg manuscript as demonstrated above represent the common features of this group of sources, which in turn can be used for identifying other copies if and when they are discovered.

The gradual establishment of choral societies in different countries at the beginning of the nineteenth century was closely connected to the early reception history of Bach's B-minor Mass. The Singakademie in Berlin, the Cäcilien-Verein in Frankfurt, the Singakademie in Braunschweig, the Riedel-Verein in Leipzig and the Choral Harmonists' Society in London are well known for their early performances of the Mass. In the context of the rise of the choral society movement in the nineteenth century, Russia must be considered as one of the countries where the reception of Bach's B-minor Mass fell on fruitful ground. It is worth remembering that the first and only complete performance of Beethoven's *Missa solennis* during the composer's lifetime took place in St Petersburg in 1824.⁵⁴ The St Petersburg Singakademie was founded in 1818 as a choral society for the performance of German sacred music, and had many roots and aims in common with similar *Singakademien* in Europe.⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the uncertain transmission history of the St Petersburg manuscript, there is strong evidence

⁵² See *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 15–54. ⁵³ *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 35, 194.

⁵⁴ The world premiere of Beethoven's *Missa solennis* took place in St Petersburg on 26 March 1824. It was performed by the court Kapelle with singers from the St Petersburg German opera troupe. See N. Fishman, *Etyudy i ocherki po beethoveniane* [Studies and essays on Beethoven] (Moscow: Muzyka, 1982), pp. 221–2.

⁵⁵ It was founded by a German conductor, Heinrich Behling (1793–1854), and existed for almost a hundred years until 1914. Although firm documentary evidence is still lacking, there are some hints about the first performance of the B-minor Mass in St Petersburg by the Singakademie under Behling in the early nineteenth century. It is plausible that the performance of the Mass (or rather movements from it) in those years was a 'closed' one within the regular practices of the Singakademie, similar to those which took place in the Berlin Singakademie between 1811 and 1815. For further discussion see T. Shabalina, 'Reception History of the Mass in B minor in Russia', in *Belfast 2007*, vol. I, pp. 309–21.

that the in B-minor Mass was already known in Russia by the middle of the nineteenth century. Although the reception of the work in Russia was not simple, and complete public performances occurred much later than in other countries, the understanding of Bach's Mass as 'the Greatest Musical Work of Art of All Times and Nations' appeared to be typical for 'Russian thought about Bach' throughout a long period of its history.⁵⁶ Thus in Russia the work's reception resonated fully with the views of Hans Georg Nägeli, Johann Nepomuk Schelble and other pioneers of Bach reception in the nineteenth century.

⁵⁶ See Shabalina, 'Reception History of the Mass in B minor in Russia', pp. 309–21.

PART IV

Reception

11 | Haydn's copy of the B-minor Mass and Mozart's Mass in C minor: Viennese traditions of the B-minor Mass

ULRICH LEISINGER

Haydn's copy of the B-minor Mass

From the early 1800s Bach's B-minor Mass was easily accessible to connoisseurs in Vienna. A copy of the Mass is listed in Johann Traeg's sales catalogue of 1804. The entry on page 58 of the 'First' and, as it were, last 'supplement to the catalogue of manuscript and printed music which are to be had at the purveyors of art and music Johann Traeg and Son in Vienna' reads:

[No.] 151 Bach, J. S. Missa a 5 Voci 2 Viol. 2 Fl. 2 Ob. 3 Trombe Tymp A e B.¹

In the same catalogue Bach's *Magnificat*, a 'Missa a 4 Voci con Stromenti', the six parts of the Christmas Oratorio, six chorale cantatas (BWV 101, 125, 133, 94, 69a [?], 14),² the cantata *Phoebus and Pan* (BWV 201) and an

The paper on which this text is based was first read under the title 'Haydn's Copy of the B minor Mass and Mozart's C minor Mass' at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Quebec in November 2007. A German version of this paper was presented at a symposium during the eighty-third Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft in Salzburg in October 2008 and published as 'Haydn's Exemplar von Bachs h-Moll-Messe und die Messe in c-Moll von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart', in T. Hochradner and U. Leisinger (eds.), *BACH – Beiträge zur Rezeptionsgeschichte, Interpretationsgeschichte und Pädagogik: Drei Symposien im Rahmen des 83. Bachfestes der Neuen Bachgesellschaft in Salzburg 2008*, Klang-Reden Schriften zur Musikalischen Rezeptions- und Interpretationsgeschichte Herausgegeben vom Institut für Musikalische Rezeptions- und Interpretationsgeschichte der Universität Mozarteum Salzburg, 5 (Freiburg: Rombach 2010), pp. 73–87. Since the initial presentation of the paper several articles have appeared discussing this hitherto unknown source, proving the significance of the topic. For the present version, the section on Mozart's Mass in C minor and Viennese traditions was added, inspired by but independent of Michael Maul, who refers to some of the same sources in his article 'Die große catholische Messe: Bach, Graf Questenberg und die "Musikalische Congregation" in Wien', *BJ*, 95 (2009), 153–76. I am grateful to Yo Tomita (Belfast) and Kristen Kopp (Salzburg) for their assistance in preparing the final English version of this text and to James C. Webster (Ithaca, NY) for numerous suggestions. My former colleagues at the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig, Uwe Wolf and Christine Blanken, generously shared information on copyists and sources.

¹ See A. Weinmann, *Johann Traeg: Die Musikalienverzeichnisse von 1799 and 1804* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1973), p. 58. 'A e B' is probably to be read as 'A[lto viola] e B[asso]' and does not refer to the two parts of the Mass.

² It may be worth noting that Traeg refers to these cantatas as 'Motetto'.

'Aria' for two choirs and instruments (probably the final chorus of the St Matthew Passion) were also listed. The scoring 'a 5 Voci' obviously refers to the B-minor Mass, whereas the setting 'a 4 Voci' cannot yet be securely identified. Around the same time, the B-minor Mass shows up as No. 193 in 'J. Haydn's Verzeichniss musicalischer Werke theils eigner, theils fremder Comp[o]sition':

Joh: Sebastian Bach. Missa. à 5 Voci, erster und zweyter Theil in der Partitur.³

The whereabouts of either manuscript copy formerly remained unknown. Until recently, a manuscript score copied after 1800, which later was given or sold to the avid Bach collector Georg Poelchau and finally ended up in his collection in the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin (now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; shelfmark Mus. ms. Bach P 11–12), was regarded as the earliest evidence of the B-minor Mass in Vienna. It went unnoticed that a twin of this copy was preserved in the same library (shelfmark Mus. ms. Bach P 182). Like P 11–12, P 182 contains the vocal parts of the movement 'Et in unum Deum' as an *ossia*, whereas most manuscripts containing both versions give them one after the other. This remarkable notation is found in only one further copy of the Mass, preserved in the Benedictine abbey of Göttweig (shelfmark Mus. Pr. 59) and probably stemming from P 182 after 1833.⁴

Strangely Friedrich Smend, the editor of the Mass for the NBA, did not recognise the similarity of the notation, and classified P 182 only as a manuscript written in the 1820s. This erroneous assessment was based on the inscription 'herauszuschreiben angefangen den 25 Sept [1]822', that is, 'started to write [this] out on 25 September 1822', which had been entered, however, not in the copyist's hand but in a later one. Although neither the handwriting nor the paper type sheds light on the origins of the manuscripts, paper studies suggest that the twin copies P 11–12 and P 182 date from the first decade of the nineteenth century. Since the copyist of P 11–12, referred to among scholars as Silverstolpe A, and that of P 182, Johann Georg Anton Mederitsch, are known to have worked for Johann Traeg, it seems entirely possible that both copies are offsprings of a now lost master

³ H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. V: *Haydn: The Late Years 1801–1809* (Bloomington and London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), pp. 299–325, at p. 313. The exact date of the catalogue (c.1804–5) is unknown.

⁴ Cf. C. Blanken, *Die Bach-Quellen in Wien und Alt-Österreich: Katalog*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bachforschung, 10 (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2011), vol. I, pp. 40–1.

copy once in Traeg's possession. No trace of the B-minor Mass in Vienna before 1800 has been detected thus far.

It appears that the copy of the B-minor Mass documented in the 1805 catalogue of Joseph Haydn's music library, and four years later in the catalogue of his musical estate, played a seminal role in Viennese Bach reception. Haydn's estate was acquired in its entirety by the princes Esterházy and was integrated into their musical library in 1810. Nevertheless, the fate of the manuscript in the twentieth century remained unclear. Unlike the works by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach or George Frideric Handel once in Haydn's possession, the copy of the B-minor Mass was not among those items that finally ended up in the Széchenyi Library, the national library of Hungary. The most authoritative reference in modern Bach scholarship is found in the critical commentary to Friedrich Smend's edition of the B-minor Mass (NBA II/1). There, Smend reported that the musicologist Ernst Fritz Schmid had seen the copy in the 1930s in Eisenstadt, Austria, but that all attempts to locate the copy after World War II had failed. Requests at the Esterházy'sche Güterverwaltung in Eisenstadt initially did not lead to any results. A note published by H. C. Robbins Landon in 1961 did not arouse the curiosity of Bach scholars, although it was repeated later in his monumental Haydn biography. In the preface to his Bärenreiter edition of Haydn's *Missa In tempore belli*, Robbins Landon stated that, during the war, the autograph of Haydn's Mass was hidden in a chimney in the Esterházy castle in Eisenstadt for safe-keeping, as was the manuscript of the B-minor Mass.⁵ On the basis of this report the manuscript could indeed be traced to the music collection in Eisenstadt in 2000. The Eisenstadt collection was catalogued in 1958 by Leopold Nowak, who later became head of the music department of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; the Mass was not included, however, at this point. The old number '193' from Haydn's music library can still be seen in the lower left corner of the title page. As Marko Motnik reported in 2008, the collection had been reorganised in the mean time; the manuscript has been assigned the new shelfmark KIR 1449, the entire manuscript has been digitised, and several pages from it have been reproduced.⁶

⁵ See Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. V, p. 404 (comment to item No. 546 in 'Catalog der hinterbliebenen Joseph Haydnischen Kunstsachen welche lizitando verkauft werden').

⁶ See M. Motnik, 'Bach-Werke in der Fürstlich-Esterházy'schen Musikaliensammlung', in Hochradner and Leisinger (eds.), *BACH – Beiträge zur Rezeptionsgeschichte*, pp. 51–72. For a fuller source description, see Blanken, *Die Bach-Quellen in Wien und Alt-Österreich*, pp. 3–4. Presumably, the source referred to by Warren Kirkendale as A-Ee MS 272/27 in *Fugue and Fugato in Rococo and Classical Chamber Music* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979), p. 139, n. 21, is the same source with a previous shelfmark.

It may come as a surprise that this copy is among the earliest sources of the Mass. The unbound manuscript of the Mass is in two parts. Part I contains the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, and part II the movements from the *Symbolum Nicenum* to the end. The title page reads:

Missa | a | 5 Voci | 2 Soprani. | Alto. | Tenore. | Basso. | 3 Trombe. | Tamburi. | 2 Traversi. | 2 Oboi | 2 Violini. | 1 Viola | e | Continuo | von | Johann Sebastigan [sic] Bach. | erster Theil.

The manuscript is not, as one might surmise, a copy from the period around 1800 but was written entirely by the Berlin copyist Anon. 403, who was active in the circle of Johann Philipp Kirnberger and Princess Amalia of Prussia. The Berlin origin of the manuscript is further corroborated by the watermark 'COFS', commonly found in Berlin manuscripts around 1770. The manuscript thus forms an exact counterpart to a copy by the same scribe now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Am. B. 1–2), which was copied for the personal library of Princess Anna Amalia (Amalienbibliothek) some time before 1783. Both manuscripts were copied independently of each other after the Berlin manuscript Am. B. 3, which was copied by Anon. 402 and was formerly in Kirnberger's private collection.⁷ The Eisenstadt manuscript was thus expressly prepared in order to be given away. In short, the manuscript originated in Berlin and can be dated to the period around 1770 and is closely related to the copies in the Amalienbibliothek and therefore to an early and authorised transmission (via C. P. E. Bach and Kirnberger). It seems unlikely that Haydn was the first owner of the manuscript. Rather, the manuscript may have originally belonged to the Austrian ambassador to the Prussian court, Gottfried van Swieten, before it came into Haydn's hands, possibly not until van Swieten's death in 1803.

Certainly there were several connoisseurs in Vienna who showed a lively interest in the music of the Bach family: Joseph Philipp Baron Dubaine (Du Beyne) de Malechamp (1717–1813), Got(t)fried Rudolf Baron von Dittmar (1716–1795), Franz Joseph Reichsritter von Heß (1739–1804), Fanny von Arnstein, Emperor Franz II (1768–1835) and his wife Marie Thérèse (1772–1807), Archduke Rudolph (1788–1831) and Raphael Kiesewetter (1773–1850). However, the Mass neither appears in the extensive catalogue of the emperor's collection nor in the archduke's collection, nor is it listed in Baron Dubaine's estate.⁸ As far as we know, Baron von Dittmar and

⁷ See Chapter 9 above, pp. 177–8, for further details.

⁸ For the holdings of these collections, see H. Krones, 'Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach im Wien des 18. Jahrhunderts', in H. J. Marx (ed.), *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und die europäische Musikkultur des mittleren 18. Jahrhunderts: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium der Joachim*

Reichsritter von Heß were primarily interested in instrumental music. Kiesewetter was not born until 1773, so he cannot possibly have been the first owner of the manuscript; furthermore his library was bequeathed to the Hofbibliothek in Vienna and has survived there fairly intact. This leaves us with two names closely associated with the Berlin Bach tradition, Fanny von Arnstein and Gottfried van Swieten.

Fanny von Arnstein, née Itzig, was born in Berlin in 1758. At the age of eighteen, she married Nathan Adam von Arnstein and moved to Vienna. A few keyboard works by members of the Bach family from her personal library have been preserved; her name also appears as a subscriber to a number of musical publications, predominantly keyboard music, whereas her husband preferred chamber music with keyboard. The only larger vocal piece that can be traced in their collection was C. P. E. Bach's *Klopstocks Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste* Wq. 239.⁹ Overall, it is quite unlikely that this young Jewish family should have brought the manuscript of a Mass to Vienna.

Van Swieten, on the other hand, is known for his eclectic musical library. He certainly owned a copy of at least one major work by J. S. Bach, namely the *Magnificat* BWV 243a, if we can rely on the inscription 'Copie fuer Baron van Swieten' on manuscript Mus. ms. Bach P 40 of the Berlin Königliche Bibliothek, a copy in the hand of Johann Heinrich Michel, the main copyist of C. P. E. Bach in Hamburg.¹⁰ Van Swieten served from 1771 to 1777 as the Habsburg ambassador to the Prussian court in Berlin and participated in the musical life of the city. The most likely scenario is that he acquired the aforementioned copy of the B-minor Mass directly from Johann Philipp Kirnberger for his personal collection.

Early Viennese performances of the Mass?

Two sets of manuscript entries in the Eisenstadt manuscript show that the copy was not just sitting on the shelves of a private library. One set of entries

Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Hamburg 29. September – 2. Oktober 1988 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), pp. 529–46.

⁹ See P. Wollny, 'Sara Levy and the Making of Musical Taste in Berlin', *Musical Quarterly*, 77 (1993), 651–88, and more recently, P. Wollny, 'Ein förmlicher Sebastian und Philipp Emanuel Bach-Kultus': *Sara Levy und ihr musikalisches Wirken* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2010), p. 23.

¹⁰ Christine Blanken was able to locate a copy of the motet *Fürchte dich nicht* in the Lobkowitz archives at Nelahozeves castle near Prague (shelfmark X Ae 31). This MS is also in the hand of Anon. 403, thus strengthening the hypothesis of the provenance of the copy of the Mass. See Motnik, 'Bach-Werke in der Fürstlich-Esterházy'schen Musikaliensammlung', p. 67.

is in pencil. These entries are apparently in the same hand that counted the fascicles of the manuscripts. A number of obvious mistakes were marked in pencil and corrected. Evidently the score was studied to check the correctness of the contrapuntal writing. Parallel fifths and octaves, hardly avoidable in a five-part setting, were indicated with small crosses. Unfortunately, there is little if any chance to determine who undertook this study and when. These marks may even have not been added until the nineteenth century.

There are, however, a few entries in light ink, which can be clearly distinguished from the readings of the original copy. The majority of these entries are corrections to the underlay of the Latin text. More than once Anon. 403 misspelled or left out syllables in a way which could easily be remedied by any literate person in the Habsburg lands. Sometimes the corrections extend to the music. This indicates that the entries were not added by a scholar-editor, but by a (Viennese) musician. In bar 62 of 'Et in unum', for example, the soprano part was assimilated into the alto part by adding an augmentation dot. Given the small number of entries and their brevity, it is not yet possible to find out who marked up the score. It is very unlikely that they are in Haydn's hand. The mark-ups – whoever undertook them – show that the score of the B-minor Mass was not only known in Vienna, but also diligently studied there.¹¹ Motnik suggests that several entries such as the added part names 'Alto' and 'Tenor' on folio 5 and several clefs could be in van Swieten's hand. Certainly, any pedantic school-master could have corrected the text underlay, but for what purpose? These minor mistakes did not hinder a study of the music; a correct text underlay was necessary only if a performance was intended, be it in a public or a private venue.

It is a good scholarly tradition to request proof for any claim of a performance; ideally a contemporary report or announcement or at least a contemporary set of parts should be documented. Sometimes, however, this request cannot be answered owing to an inadequate source situation. Let us take a brief look at a simple and closely related example, the assumed premiere performance of the *Credo* of the B-minor Mass. It is well known that C. P. E. Bach chose to perform the *Credo* at a benefit concert for the Medizinisches Armeninstitut (medical institute for the poor) in Hamburg on 9 April 1786. Both a programme sheet and several newspaper reports are extant; furthermore a set of parts in the hand of C. P. E. Bach's main copyist has been preserved, and the autograph of the B-minor Mass contains entries

¹¹ Ibid.

by C. P. E. Bach that are apparently related to this performance. A close look at the son's entries reveals, however, that not all of the bass figures were added in 1786. By this time, the handwriting of C. P. E. Bach is characterised by a heavy tremor, which the septuagenarian could no longer control. The bass figures that C. P. E. Bach added to the score of the *Credo* are, however, in a steady handwriting and are likely to stem from around 1775, a period when he is known to have performed several compositions by his ancestors in the main churches of Hamburg. Figured bass was not needed for studying a score, but only for performance. Although we have no documentary proof of any performance of the *Symbolum Nicenum* before 1786, C. P. E. Bach must at least have *intended* to have it performed one decade earlier.

The inscription on one of the later copies quoted above raises questions of a performance, though it refers to a much later date: What does 'herauszuschreiben angefangen den 25 Sept [1]822' on P 182 actually mean? The typical German term for a mere copy is not 'herausschreiben' but 'abschreiben' or just 'schreiben'. In a letter of 21 July 1769 C. P. E. Bach informed Kirnberger that he had copied several sheets of the B-minor Mass but that they were too faulty to be sent to Berlin: 'I had a few pages of the Mass copied, but they were full of mistakes.'¹² On the other hand, when Mozart sent a short score with newly composed parts for timpani and trumpets to be used in a performance of a violin concerto by Giovanni Battista Viotti he asked the organiser, 'Have the trumpets and timpani copied right away.'¹³ This usage of 'herausschreiben' as 'copying performance parts' seems to have been fairly consistent in German-speaking lands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Friedrich Smend thus erred when he read the date September 1822 as the copying date of the score. Rather, someone apparently started to write a set of performance parts for the Mass in Vienna in 1822, a few years after the first rehearsals of the work at the Berlin Singakademie, but still many years before the first public performances of individual movements, which occurred between 1827 and 1831 under August Wilhelm Bach and Gaspare Spontini in Berlin and under Johann Nikolaus Schelble in Frankfurt. We do not know whether the scribe – perhaps Josef Fischhof, who owned the score before 1857 – ever finished his task and, even if he did so, whether or not a performance was

¹² Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach to Johann Philipp Kirnberger, 21 July 1769, *BDok* III/754, p. 203 (commentary): 'Ich hatte ein Paar Bogen von der Messe abschreiben lassen, aber sie waren voller Fehler.'

¹³ See the facsimile of Mozart's MS in M. H. Schmid, 'Ein Violinkonzert von Viotti als Herausforderung für Mozart und Haydn', *Mozart Studien*, 5 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1995), pp. 149–71, at pp. 151–2: 'Lassen Sie gleich die trompeten und Paucken herausschreiben.'

actually realised. What we can say, however, is that the B-minor Mass aroused so much curiosity in Vienna that performances of the work were seriously considered at a time when Nägeli's announcement to publish the '... größten musikalischen Kunstwerks aller Zeiten und Völker' ('Greatest Musical Work of Art of All Times and Nations') remained virtually unheard. In this context, a manuscript set of performance parts located in the music archive of the Piaristenkirche in Vienna (shelfmark Messe 23), first mentioned by Otto Biba,¹⁴ awaits further study. According to the commentary in the revised *NBA*, the parts were not really suited for a performance because shorthand notations such as *colla-parte* indications have not been written out.¹⁵ It remains to be determined whether this set of parts can be related to the 1822 efforts documented in P 11–12.

In this light, the manuscript annotations and improvements to the Eisenstadt score may indicate that a performance of the B-minor Mass was intended already in late eighteenth-century Vienna. It is commonly known that van Swieten, who settled in Vienna in 1777, introduced Mozart to the music of Johann Sebastian Bach. Mozart tells us that van Swieten owned 'a highly valuable, but with respect to numbers very small, trove of good music'.¹⁶ In a letter to his sister Mozart stated that 'Baron von Swieten, whom I visit every Sunday, gave me all the works of Handel and Sebastian Bach, after I had played them for him, to take home with me.'¹⁷ This letter has generally been interpreted as a reference to Handel's and Bach's keyboard works, but there is no reason to assume that Baron van Swieten should have hidden the scores of large-scale vocal works from the members of his musical circle, particularly if his music library was rather small. A few years later he must have loaned the scores of Handel's oratorios to Mozart, who arranged three of them on the baron's behalf. It seems unlikely that he prevented his copy of the B-minor Mass being studied.

Mozart not only played fugues for van Swieten, but participated in private performances of vocal music within his circle. On 12 March 1783, he wrote to his father with the request that manuscript copies of church music be sent

¹⁴ O. Biba, 'Von der Bach-Tradition in Österreich', in I. Fuchs (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bach: Beiträge zur Wirkungsgeschichte* (Vienna: Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1992), pp. 25–6.

¹⁵ *NBA*^{rev} I, p. 297.

¹⁶ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart to his sister, 20 April 1782. See Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum (ed.), *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe*, 8 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–2005), vol. III (1963), p. 203: 'am Werthe einen sehr grossen – an der zahl aber freylich sehr kleinen schatz von guter Musick'.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 202: 'Baron van suiten zu dem ich alle Sonntage gehe, hat mir alle Werke des händls und Sebastian Bach |: nachdem ich sie ihm durchgespielt :) nach hause gegeben.'

to him from Salzburg with the explanation that 'This is only because baron van suiten [*sic*] should hear it. – he sings soprano, I sing alto (and accompany as well) Starzer sings tenor – the young Teyber from Italy sings bass.'¹⁸ These were clearly not concert performances, but rather study sessions where the participants studied works that were also new to them. A vivid picture of these gatherings is provided in the autobiography of Joseph Weigl (1766–1846):

At the time, the dean of studies was Baron van Swieten, who was also a great music connoisseur and he had learned composition from the famous Kirnberger himself. Every Sunday at noon there was music at his home. Only compositions of Bach, Handel and Graun and those of the oldest and most famous masters were performed. Mozart accompanied at the fortepiano. Salieri, Starzer, Teyber and the baron sang. Such a treat can scarcely be imagined.¹⁹

Weigl, himself an accomplished accompanist and entrusted already in his early twenties with the direction of operas at the Hofburgtheater, admired Mozart's multi-versatility: 'He who has not seen how Mozart played Handel scores with sixteen and more parts while singing at the same time as well as correcting the mistakes of the others does not know Mozart well. He was as grand in this respect as in his own compositions. One always heard an entire orchestra.'²⁰ By coincidence this description closely matches Johann Matthias Gesner's famous comparison of J. S. Bach to Orpheus and Arion.²¹ As we learn from these quotations, a performance did not necessarily require a full orchestra. Thus the earliest 'performance' of the B-minor Mass may have taken place with a handful singers in van Swieten's home under the direction of Mozart at the pianoforte.²²

¹⁸ Mozart to his father, 12 March 1783, *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 259: 'daß ist alles nur, um es dem B: van suiten hören zu lassen. – er singt den Discant, ich den alt |: und spielle zugleich :) Starzer den Tenor – der Junge Teyber aus italien den Baß'.

¹⁹ O. E. Deutsch (ed.), *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), p. 446: 'Damahls war Studien Präses Bar[on] van Swieten, der zugleich ein grosser Musikkennner war, u[nd] selbst die Composition von dem berühmten Kirnberger erlernt hatte. Alle Sonntage um, 12 Uhr Mittags war bei ihm Musik. Nur Bachische, Haendliche, u[nd] Graunische Compositionen u[nd] jene der ältesten und berühmtesten Meister wurden gemacht. Mozart accompagnirte auf dem Fortepiano. Salieri, Starzer, Teiber u[nd] der Baron sangen. Diesen Genuß kann sich niemand vorstellen.'

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 447: 'Wer Mozart nicht 16 und mehrzeilige Händelsche Partituren mit unübertrefflicher Fertigkeit spielen, selbst dazu singen und zugleich die Fehler der andern Sänger verbessern sah, der kennt Mozart nicht ganz, denn er war darin eben so groß, als in seinen Compositionen. Man hörte stets ein ganzes Orchester.'

²¹ *NBR*/328, pp. 328–9.

²² Besides Mozart, there is also another candidate who may have been acquainted with the Mass through van Swieten, Ludwig van Beethoven, although in a letter to Breitkopf dated 15 October

Similarities between the B-minor Mass and the Mass in C minor

From this discussion, we may conclude that Mozart was able to study Bach's Mass, a work of unprecedented scope and complexity, in detail shortly before he began working on his own Mass in C minor K. 427. There are obvious similarities between the two works, starting with the five-part 'chorus' with two sopranos for the *Kyrie* and an eight-part double chorus for the 'Osanna' – settings that are not commonly found in Mass compositions of the period. A small section from the 'Gloria' (bars 20–1 and repeated as bars 42–3) seems to allude to Handel's *Messiah*, a work that was definitely known to Mozart (see Example 11.1).²³

Example 11.1 W. A. Mozart, Mass in C minor, 'Gloria', bars 20–1 (vocal parts and instrumental bass only): allusion to G. F. Handel, *Messiah*, 'Halleluja'?

20
De-o, in ex-cel-sis, in ex-cel-sis, in ex-cel-sis.
De-o, in ex-cel-sis, in ex-cel-sis, in ex-cel-sis.
De-o, in ex-cel-sis, in ex-cel-sis, in ex-cel-sis.
[De]o, in ex-cel-sis, in ex-cel-sis, in ex-cel-sis.

1810, he requested from the publisher and music dealer a Mass by Bach with a 'crucifixus with a basso ostinato', quoting the Mass in B minor from memory. See *BDok* VI/B 99, pp. 373–4. (The wrong key signature in his musical incipit – E major, instead of E minor – gives rise to the possibility that he was referring to Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, vol. II/2 (Berlin and Königsberg: G. J. Decker and G. L. Hartung, 1777), p. 172, which makes the same error; repr. in *BDok* III/767, p. 231.) In 1810, however, the score which had once been in van Swieten's possession was no longer accessible, since it had been transferred with Haydn's estate to the Esterházy music collections. Beethoven apparently knew the music: again van Swieten's musical salon would have been the most likely venue for an encounter with the work.

²³ Ulrich Konrad notes that Mozart became acquainted with Handel's *Messiah* no later than 1777, when he attended a performance in Mannheim. The reference to the 'Alleluja' is already apparent in Mozart's *Regina coeli laetare* K. 276, bars 133–4. See U. Konrad, 'Unter den ältern Komponisten schätzte er am allerhöchsten aber Händeln', in H. J. Marx and W. Sandberger (eds.), *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart und Georg Friedrich Händel: Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, 12 (2008), pp. 5–31, at p. 14.

Example 11.2 W. A. Mozart, Mass in C minor, 'Domine Deus', bars 1–13 (string parts only): melodic invention

Allegro moderato
p
f

Bachian and Handelian traits can also be observed in Mozart's duet 'Domine Deus' with its Baroque melodic invention (see Example 11.2).²⁴ After a few bars, the melody and its harmonisation return to the musical language of the Classical era; it remains a matter of opinion whether this sudden shift to a different musical style is a successful effort to amalgamate Baroque and Classical idioms, or a sign that Mozart was not yet entirely familiar with the music of the past.

The opening of the 'Credo', where two instrumental 'choirs' are juxtaposed in fast triple metre, also recalls Baroque models (see Example 11.3). Furthermore, the 'Jesu Christe' chorus with the subsequent 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' fugue does not fit into the musical language of the 1780s. However, two of the Masses in four parts by J. S. Bach, those in A major BWV 234 and in G major BWV 236, use the same device to introduce an extended 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' fugue – and at least one of them was known in Vienna around 1800 according to the Traeg catalogue mentioned above.

The most striking example is arguably Mozart's 'Qui tollis', which seems to have been derived from Bach's 'Crucifixus'. In both instances, we encounter a basso ostinato on a *passus duriusculus* which has troubled generations of Mozart scholars. Stefan Kunze has analysed the structure of the 'Qui tollis' in some detail before summarising that 'The "Qui tollis" is reminiscent of the "Crucifixus" from Bach's B-minor Mass, which Mozart cannot

²⁴ Ulrich Konrad names as a potential model the duet 'Thou in thy mercy' from Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, which shares the same key, metre and instrumental forces, though neither the same soloists nor the same tempo.

Example 11.3 W. A. Mozart, Mass in C minor, 'Credo', bars 1–5: use of double chorus

Allegro maestoso

Ob I/II
Cr I/II
Fg I/II
VI I/II, Va
Bassi

possibly have known, however.²⁵ The same caveat has since been repeated by more than one Bach and Mozart scholar, a judgement which is now, arguably, unfounded.

The Mass in C minor and the Viennese tradition

When we consider the anomalies of the Mass in C minor the question arises whether some, if not all, of these peculiarities can sufficiently be explained by models of works from other Viennese composers or whether there remain features which may best be understood by Mozart's acquaintance with Bach's Mass.

Only Masses of the 'solemn' type, that is, those with extended *Gloria* and *Credo* movements as opposed to the 'brevis' type, can have served as models for Mozart's Mass in C minor. As Bruce MacIntyre has demonstrated, the composition of large-scale masses was never completely abandoned in Vienna in the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁶ It is difficult to talk

²⁵ S. Kunze, 'Bach und Mozart: Von zwei Kulturen der Kirchenmusik', in A. Koch (ed.), *Mozart 1991: Die Kirchenmusik von W. A. Mozart in Luzern* (Lucerne: Mozartgesellschaft Luzern, 1992), pp. 41–51, at p. 50: 'Das "Qui tollis" gemahnt an das Cruzifixus aus Bach h-Moll-Messe, die Mozart aber nicht gekannt haben kann.'

²⁶ B. MacIntyre, 'The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period', Ph.D. diss., City University of New York (1984). In the present study, the Viennese masses are identified by their numbers.

about a tradition, however, since these masses form only a small fraction of a vast repertoire, and little is known about the circumstances under which the performance of grand masses was deemed adequate. A significant percentage of these grand masses are referred to as 'Missae St. Caeciliae' in the sources. St Cecilia was not only regarded as the patron of music in a general sense, but received particular veneration by the 'Musicalische Congregation' or Cecilian Brotherhood, founded in 1725 and dissolved as a result of the Josephinian reforms in 1783, at a time when Mozart was still working on his Mass in C minor. The activities of this brotherhood have long been regarded as a potential stimulus for the Mass in C minor as well as for the B-minor Mass.²⁷ The by-laws of the congregation yield little insight into the festivities around 22 November, the feast of St Cecilia; they largely deal with the duties of its members and financial matters.²⁸ Regarding music to be performed at this occasion, only a small amount of information is offered:

Annually, in the octave of St Cecilia [i.e. within eight days after 22 November] or in case of obstacles on one of the subsequent days, but as early as possible afterwards, the feast of the saint will heartily be observed by means of a sung high service, and musical vespers at a gathering of all members of this congregation in the church specifically announced for this purpose.²⁹

Leopold Mozart apparently attended performances by the congregation during his brief tour to Vienna in 1762; unfortunately his report to his Salzburg landlord was not written down, but delivered only orally.³⁰ The performance of a concerted mass, which in all likelihood was composed by a member of the congregation, was an integral part of the service as apparently was a laudatory speech in German ('Ehren-Rede') in honour of the patron saint. No records have yet surfaced to show which of the masses entitled *Missa St. Caeciliae* and written by members or associates of the congregation were actually composed for and performed at this occasion.

²⁷ See Chapter 5 above.

²⁸ *Articulen/ und Puncten/ Oder so genannte STATUTA, Der Musicalischen Congregation, Welche Unter glorreichen Schutz Der Röm. Kaiserl. und Königl. Spanisch. Catholischen Majestät CAROLI Des Sechsten* (Vienna: J. P. von Ghelen, 1725); copy in A-Wgm; excerpts in E. Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869), pp. 28–9.

²⁹ *Articulen und Puncten*, p. 2 ('Erste Rubric, Das dritte Capitel'): 'Jährlichen wird in der Octav St. Cæcilie/ oder bey vorfallender Hinderung ehister Tagen darnach/ so bald die Möglichkeit seyn wird/ das Fest dieser Heiligen mit einem gesungenen Hoh-Amt/ und Musicalischen Vesper/ In Versammlung aller Mit-Glieder dieser Congregation, herzlich begangen werden in der jenigen Kirche/alwo die Verabredung geschehen wird/ ...'

³⁰ See Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum (ed.), *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, vol. I (1962), p. 62.

Besides the B-minor Mass and the Mass in C minor, the following grand masses (each totalling at least 900 bars) by Viennese composers and/or preserved in eighteenth-century copies of Viennese provenance have been taken into consideration; still, the selection may at best be regarded as representative, and is by no means exhaustive.

- Matthias Georg Monn, *Missa* in C major, M. 38, 1741 (A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17314)
- Matthias Georg Monn, *Missa* in B-flat major, M. 39, before 1750 (A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17315)
- Johann Adolph Hasse, *Missa* in D minor, M. 24 (omposed for the consecration of the Hofkirche at Dresden, 1751 (A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17321)
- Joseph Haydn, *Missa Cellensis/Missa St. Caeciliae*, Hob. XXII:5, 1766 (*Credo* to *Agnus Dei* apparently not added until c.1773; *Joseph Haydn Werke* edition)
- Georg Reutter, *Missa St. Caeciliae* in C major, before 1768 (A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 16661; *Kyrie* and *Gloria* only)
- Florian Leopold Gassmann, *Missa St. Caeciliae* in C major, M. 19 before 1771 (A-Wn, H.K. 30)
- Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Missa solemnis* in C major, Krebs 326, M. 15, before 1771 (Carus edition 2003)

A first indicator of a potential relationship to other masses might be the division of the text in these movements; owing to the fragmentary state of the *Credo* in Mozart's Mass in C minor, the comparison is restricted to the *Gloria*. Reflecting the religious nature of the text, the *Gloria* is usually subdivided into at least three sections starting with the verses 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', 'Qui tollis' and 'Quoniam' respectively. More often than not, the final section, 'Cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei patris, Amen', is set apart musically as well. MacIntyre has shown that there is great variety of further subdivisions; his table lists those sections where entire 'movements' are separated from one another as indicated by the use of double barlines. His tables provide no details within movements, although changes of metre, key and/or tempo are not uncommon; a stark contrast within a movement may be achieved without even altering any of these external parameters. For the B-minor Mass, MacIntyre distinguishes eight sections – rather than the nine sections applied here – distributed in five 'movements'. As is apparent, Mozart does not follow the model of J. S. Bach in the distribution of the text of the *Gloria* (see Table 11.1). Even if one ignores the unique treatment of the words 'Jesu Christe' before the 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' fugue there is no obvious predecessor in the Viennese repertoire for

Table 11.1 Disposition of the *Gloria* in Bach's B-minor Mass and Mozart's Mass in C minor

Text incipit	Bach				Mozart			
	Form	Key	Metre	Bars	Form	Text incipit, tempo indication	Key	Metre Bars
Gloria in excelsis Deo	Chorus	D	3/8	101	Chorus	Gloria in excelsis Deo <i>Allegro</i>	C	4/4 60
Et in terra pax	Chorus	D	4/4	76				
Laudamus te	S + vn solo	A	4/4	62	S solo	Laudamus te <i>Allegro aperto</i>	F	4/4 143
Gratias	Chorus (fugue)	D	4/2	46	Chorus	Gratias <i>Adagio</i>	A ⁶ -a	4/4 12
Domine Deus	Duet S + T + fl solo	G	4/4	95	Duet S, S	Domine Deus <i>Allegro moderato</i>	D	3/4 99
Qui tollis	Chorus	B	3/4	50	Chorus	Qui tollis <i>Largo</i>	G	4/4 56
Qui sedes	A + ob d'amore	B	6/8	86				
Quoniam	B + cr + 2 bsn	D	3/4	128	Trio S, T, B	Quoniam <i>Allegro</i>	E	4/4 171
					Chorus	Jesu Christe <i>Adagio</i>	C-G	4/4 6
Cum Sancto Spiritu	Chorus vivace	D	3/4	128	Chorus (double fugue)	Cum Sancto Spiritu [<i>Allegro</i>]	C	4/4 190

Mozart's distribution of the verses – except his own *Missae solennes* K. 139 of 1768 and K. 66 of 1769.³¹

Consideration of the instrumental and, particularly, the vocal forces proves to be more significant. Remarkably, even quite lengthy masses did not require a large orchestra. Strings and brass, usually two to four trumpets and/or clarini, timpani and two trombones, were often deemed sufficient. Occasionally obligato woodwinds – two oboes (rather than flutes) and two bassoons – were added, more rarely also two horns. Not even trumpets and timpani were essential in order to achieve solemn effects: in the Mass in B-flat major by Monn, M. 39, for example, they are lacking. Whereas solos for trombone are not uncommon in Viennese masses, particularly those predating 1750, movements with independent or soloistic woodwinds are predominantly found in St Cecilia masses. This might indicate that these masses were indeed destined for the Musicalische Congregation, whose orchestra consisted of professional musicians, creating music themselves for the glory of their patron. The exceptional quality of the performers is addressed in the 'Ehren-Rede' delivered in 1753 by Edmund König: 'In your noble ensemble almost as many masters as numerous members have gathered ...'.³² The use of a five-part chorus, previously mentioned as a characteristic trait of both Bach's and Mozart's Mass settings, is less remarkable than one might think: in the body of the seventy-two masses discussed by MacIntyre, five masses surpass the typical four-part chorus, among them Hasse's Mass in D minor for the consecration of the Dresden Hofkirche of 1751, M. 24. The others were also composed decades before the Mass in C minor: Holzbauer's Mass in C major (M. 30) predates 1739, Ferdinand Schmidt's *Missa St. Caeciliae* M. 50 was composed in 1746, and Reutter's *Missa Conceptionis* M. 46 was written in 1749, while the latest – a work by Leopold Hofmann in his early twenties if the attribution is correct, a *Missa Sanctae Theresiae* M. 27 – stems from before 1761. In the seventy-odd masses by Georg von Reutter,³³ eight employ more than four vocal parts. As in Hasse's Mass, where in the 'Laudamus te' the second soprano concertato

³¹ See R. D. Levin (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Missa in c KV 427 (417a): Rekonstruktion und Ergänzung* (Stuttgart: Carus, 2004), preface, p. xiii.

³² E. König, *Lob- und Ehren-Rede über Leben und Tod der heiligen Jungfrauen und Martyrin Caeciliae, als eine Hochlöbl. allhier in Wien aufgerichtete Musicalische Congregation in der hohen Metropolitan-Kirche bey St. Stephan das gewöhnliche Titular-Fest Ihrer Schutz-Frauen den 22 ten November mit jährlich=feyerlicher und prächtiger Andacht begiege* (Vienna: von Ghelen, 1753), fol. A3: 'In eurem sittlichen Körper seynd fast so viele Meister, als zahlreiche Mit-Glieder vereiniget ...'. Copy in A-Wn.

³³ N. Hofer, 'Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Georg Reutter jun.', typescript (1947), A-Wn, shelfmark S.m. 28992.

doubles the first soprano, except for two bars, the additional parts are rarely used to expand the chorus; they serve rather as additional soloists in brief sections of the Mass. Choruses with five real parts are rarely found, a notable exception being the 'Qui tollis' of Reutter's *Missa St. Caeciliae*. There is no trace, however, of any other mass from the Viennese repertoire employing varying numbers of choral parts – four, five and eight – as in the B-minor Mass and the Mass in C minor, with the possible exception of a *Missa St. Francisci de Paula* by Georg von Reutter, Hofer 75, which could not be consulted. In the *Gloria* of Mozart's Mass in C minor we find a four-part chorus for the 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' and the 'Jesu Christe' with the subsequent 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' fugue, a five-part setting for the 'Gratias' and a double choir in the 'Qui tollis'. In this respect, Bach's B-minor Mass may indeed be regarded as an immediate forerunner of Mozart's Mass in C minor, although in Bach's work the double choir is not employed until the 'Osanna'. It should be mentioned that – outside the mass repertoire – double choirs are occasionally found in those of Handel's sacred works and oratorios that are known to have been available in Vienna during Mozart's time.³⁴

The slow introduction to the 'Cum Sancto Spiritu', on the other hand, is less exceptional than one might believe. A two-bar introduction leading from D minor to G major occurs in Monn's Mass in C major (M. 38) as shown in Example 11.4. A five-bar introduction starting in A minor and ending on the dominant (before a fugue subject in C major) is employed in Reutter's *Missa St. Caeciliae* (see Example 11.5). Arguably the best-known example (starting on E major in first inversion and ending on the dominant of C major) is Haydn's *Missa Cellensis* Hob. XXII:5.

This leaves us with the 'Qui tollis' of Mozart's Mass in C minor. Virtually none of Mozart's Viennese predecessors or contemporaries missed the chance for an expressive setting of the 'Qui tollis' by using 'diminished and augmented intervals, chromatic melodies, rhythmic agitation, melodic sighs, accented dissonances, dynamic contrasts, woefully descending melodies, and dramatic pauses or gaps'.³⁵ The parallel structure of the text naturally supports a three-part division of the music:

Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
 Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem meam.
 Qui sedes at dexteram patris, miserere nobis.

³⁴ See e.g. Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate* HWV 278–9.

³⁵ MacIntyre, 'The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period', p. 295.

Example 11.4 G. M. Monn, *Missa* in C major, M. 38, 'Cum Sancto Spiritu': introduction

Adagio

Tr. I/II in C

Hn I/II in C

Timp

S/A

T/B

Strings

Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu

Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu

Example 11.5 G. von Reutter, *Missa St. Caeciliae*, 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' (vocal parts and string parts only): introduction

Adagio

Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris.

Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris.

Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris.

Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris.

6# 5 — — — — — 6 5 4 #

4 — — — — — 4 # 2 #

Example 11.6 G. von Reutter, *Missa St. Caeciliae*, 'Qui tollis' (excerpts): ground bass

Adagio

1

13

28

40

tasto solo

Often composers use the same musical material placed solely on different degrees of the scale for each verse. Mozart's treatment, however, as a basso ostinato is unparalleled in the Viennese repertoire. Reutter's five-part chorus from *Missa St. Caeciliae*, mentioned above, is probably the closest example; there the repetition of the musical material occurs on varying degrees of the scale, and the setting is strictly homophonic as opposed to Mozart's contrapuntal setting. The figured bass alone demonstrates the ostinato-like organisation of the movement (see Example 11.6).³⁶ Very similar is Dittersdorf's treatment in his Mass in C major (see Example 11.7). This model, however, is restricted to the opening bars of each section of the movement. Between the sections a contrasting element, a duet between violins I and II without accompaniment, is introduced. Dittersdorf's setting therefore lacks the density and concision of Mozart's movement. There is also no counterpart in Viennese sources for the sharp rhythmic profile found in Mozart's composition.

Although similarities with the forms and procedures applied in the Mass in C minor may be discovered in various pieces, there is apparently no example from mid-eighteenth-century Vienna that shows the remarkable combination of unusual traits extant in Mozart's work.

Two more recent masses, Gassmann's *Missa St. Caeciliae* and Haydn's *Missa Cellensis*, are closer to Mozart's Mass than most of the older pieces

³⁶ The figuration in Examples 11.6 and 11.7 is incomplete in the sources consulted and has been emended.

movement are in C major. Gassmann's Mass, on the other hand, shows a carefully designed tonal plan, gradually moving away from C major and then shifting from G minor to G major in the 'Qui tollis' and 'Quoniam' movements for a convincing arrival in the home key of C major.

In his study Bruce MacIntyre describes the following general stylistic trends for the composition of orchestral masses during the forty-year period of the reign of Maria Theresia:

1. Fewer but larger movements
2. Greater unity of key
3. Greater variety in metre
4. Vocal solos in the choral movements instead of solos in independent arias
5. More independent oboe, violin, and cello parts; decrease in solos for trombone
6. Forms reflecting the influence of sonata and concerto designs.³⁸

Gassmann's Mass in C major – in contrast with the masses by Reutter or Monn – may have served as a model for the new type of *Gloria*. Both Haydn's *Missa Cellensis* and Mozart's Mass in C minor adhere to the historically older type. In Mozart's Mass, only MacIntyre's criteria 3, 5 and to some extent 6 can be observed. The Mass – like Haydn's *Missa Cellensis* – is clearly retrospective with respect to criteria 1 and 4, which cannot be seen as being entirely independent of one another.

Mozart's approach to keys and tonalities is exceptional, at least for the period after 1750. The home key of C major is used only in the opening and final sections of the extended movement; the two sections 'Gratias' and 'Jesu Christe' are unstable, and in the other sections the keys of F major, D minor, G minor and E minor are juxtaposed. A similar variety is not found even in Bach's B-minor Mass. Mozart's treatment of the 'Quoniam' as a solo movement, in this case a trio, in the minor mode is extraordinary; in the body of works discussed in MacIntyre's study only three out of seventy-two settings of the 'Quoniam' are in the minor mode. The broad harmonic spectrum seems to be Mozart's specific response to music of the past; the same principle can be observed in his fragmentary keyboard suite K. 399, where each movement is set in a different key – C minor, C major, E-flat major, G minor – negating rather than simply ignoring the tradition of the suite with its unity of key.

³⁸ MacIntyre, 'The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period', pp. 566–7.

It might appear as if a work such as Haydn's *Missa Cellensis* is entirely sufficient to 'explain' the characteristic features of the Mass in C minor, particularly with respect to the overall organisation and the forms of the movements. There is, however, a decisive difference between Mozart and Haydn with respect to the arias: in Haydn's Mass, the solo movements are up to date in their melodic invention and overall formal arrangement. This is not the case in the Mass in C minor, where the 'Domine Deus' and 'Quoniam' are clearly set apart from the up-to-date and almost operatic 'Laudamus te'. The 'Domine Deus' is particularly 'Baroque' (or 'gothic' as contemporaries might have termed it), not only with respect to melody as described above, but also in its ritornello structure. The motto (*Devise*) from the main theme is presented on the following degrees of the scale: i (bars 1, 15), III (bar 27), i (bars 50, 56) and VII (bar 82) – before the aria is concluded with the second half of the ritornello. The imitative treatment of the theme adds significantly to the 'sublime' effect. There are virtually no parallels with Mozart's canonic settings at the distance of one beat (from bar 50 onwards) in Viennese masses composed after 1750, whereas there is a striking similarity to Bach's B-minor Mass, where this device not only is restricted to the 'Domine Deus' movement (see bar 49) but is also prominent in the 'Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum' of the *Credo*. While Haydn's *Missa Cellensis* in all its movements is traditional – in the proper and positive sense of the word as 'respectful to the achievements of the past' – Mozart's Mass in C minor is retrospective in alluding to musical styles of the past such as imitative counterpoint in soloistic movements and the implementation of the basso ostinato, a movement type that was no longer in use, even among the most learned composers.

Mozart, Handel and Bach

The rediscovery of the Eisenstadt score and the exploration of its early history provide an entirely new basis for understanding the astonishing similarities between two of the most demanding mass compositions of the eighteenth century. A score of the B-minor Mass was not only available in Vienna at the time when Mozart started composing his Mass in C minor around 1782–3, but was also subject to diligent study there, apparently in the circle of Gottfried van Swieten, in which Mozart played a crucial role. Mozart may thus have used the B-minor Mass as a source of inspiration and as model for movements 'in the ancient style'. It is safe to assume that no connoisseur – in either Mozart's or our day – would mistake Mozart's

setting for Bach, since it contains sufficient individual traits and cannot be regarded as a mere copy. Additionally, even if its substance were shown to mirror Bach, its treatment recalls Handel no less: the repeated dotted rhythms in the strings are often found in Handel's music but rarely, if ever, in Bach's, as has often been remarked in the Mozart literature. Using an observation by Wolfgang Plath as their point of departure, Silke Leopold and Ulrich Konrad have convincingly demonstrated that the texture of the 'Qui tollis' closely resembles the chorus 'The people shall hear' in Handel's oratorio *Israel in Egypt* HWV 54 (No. 25a), published for the first time in the 1760s.³⁹ The correlation is restricted to the sharp rhythmic profile of the accompaniment and the relationship between the chorus and the orchestra; Handel's movement, however, provides no model for the formal organisation and the text-related 'pathopoeia' of the Mass movement. In this respect, Bach's 'Crucifixus' remains much closer to Mozart's 'Qui tollis'.

To understand better what Mozart may have intended when alluding to the music of Baroque masters such as Bach and Handel, we need to consider a different genre. In his Mozart anecdotes, Friedrich Rochlitz describes Mozart's veneration for Handel:

He knew the most excellent works of this master, who in several fields has not yet been surpassed, as if he had been the director of the London Academy of Ancient Music for all his life. His love of Handel went so far that he wrote many works – without concealing it – in his manner . . . He did not only appreciate and admire Händel's choruses, but also many of his arias and solos . . . He even had such fancy ideas as to write an aria in *Don Giovanni* in Handel's manner and to refer to this openly in his score'.⁴⁰

³⁹ Regrettably, Wolfgang Plath's paper 'Zwischen Bach und Händel: Bemerkungen zum "Qui tollis" aus Mozarts c-Moll-Messe', read at the conference 'Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart' in Stuttgart in 1985, remains unpublished. See, however, S. Leopold, 'Händels Geist in Mozarts Händen: Zum "Qui tollis" aus der c-Moll-Messe KV 427', *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, 1994 (1995), 89–112; U. Konrad, 'On Ancient Languages: The Historical Idiom of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart', in S. Gallagher and T. F. Kelly (eds.), *The Century of Bach & Mozart. Perspectives on Historiography, Composition, Theory & Performance*, Isham Library Papers, 7; Harvard Publications in Music, 22 (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 253–78.

⁴⁰ Friedrich Rochlitz, 'Anekdoten aus Mozarts Leben. (Fortsetzung)', *AMZ*, 1/8 (21 November 1798), cols. 115–16: 'Die vorzüglichsten Werke dieses in einigen Fächern noch nie übertroffenen Meisters, hatte er so innen, als wenn er lebenslang Direktor der Londner Akademie zur Aufrechthaltung der alten Musik gewesen wäre . . . Diese Liebe zu Händeln ging bey ihm so weit; daß er vieles – was er aber nicht bekannt werden ließ – in dessen Manier schrieb . . . Er hatte sogar die Grille, eine Arie in seinem D. Giovanni in Händels Manier zu sezzen, und seiner Partitur dies offenherzig beyzuschreiben.'

Indeed the aria 'Ah fuggi il traditor' from *Don Giovanni* sounds 'like Handel', but all efforts to trace a direct model in his oeuvre have led to nothing.⁴¹ Mozart apparently did not copy Handel, but was able to integrate Handelian ideas into his own music so that the spirit of both contributors, Handel as well as Mozart, can be grasped by the listener, though perhaps eluding description. Remarkably, another contemporary, Ignaz Ferdinand Cajetan Arnold, when describing the same aria attributed its inspiration to the music of J. S. Bach:

How zealously he studied the works of the old masters from Italy and Germany! How he tried to penetrate the spirit of a Bach, Handel, Graun, Hasse, Durante, Leo, Gluck, Piccini! . . . Mozart is equally capable in melody and harmony. One need only glance at his operas and Requiem, or at his *Don Juan*, where the finest dalliances combine with utmost seriousness, the loftiest melodies with the weightiest counterpoint. For example the aria in Act I, where Elvira warns Zerlina: 'Ah Fuggi il traditor' . . . ; this is entirely in the manner of Bach with pure counterpoint, as compared with the aria of Don Juan: 'Fin ch'han dal vino'.⁴²

In his chapter on *Don Giovanni* Arnold explains this idea in greater depth:

Elvira's aria [. . .] 'Ah fuggi il traditor' is a contrapuntal masterpiece. It is as if Mozart wanted to prove that he, too, could compose in Bach's style – the style is beautiful but so infinitely dissimilar from all other pieces in this opera that its performance is disconcerting and as with a stroke of a magic wand moves into the golden age of the Bachs, Handel and Hasse.⁴³

⁴¹ Not surprisingly the autograph score of Mozart's aria, now held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, does not contain any note such as 'in Handel's style'. Cf., however, the editorial addition 'dans le style de G. F. Händel' in the first edition of the non-fragmentary movements of the Keyboard Suite in C K. 399 in vol. XIV of Breitkopf & Härtel's *Oeuvres complètes de W. A. Mozart*.

⁴² I. F. C. Arnold, *Mozarts Geist: Seine kurze Biographie und ästhetische Darstellung seiner Werke. Ein Bildungsbuch für junge Tonkünstler* (Erfurt: Müller, 1810), pp. 140–3, and p. 453, 'Verbesserungen': 'Mit welchem Eifer studirte er die Werke der alten großen Tonkünstler Italiens und Deutschlands! Wie suchte er in den Geist eines Bach, Händel, Graun, Hasse, Durante, Leo, Gluck, Piccini einzudringen! . . . Mozart ist in Melodie und Harmonie gleich groß. Man werfe einen vergleichenden Blick auf seine Opern und seine Seelenmesse, oder auf seinen Don Juan, wo sich die feinste Tändelei mit dem höchsten Ernst, die schwebendste Melodie mit dem vollsten Gewichte des Kontrapunkts vereinigen. Z.B. die Arie im ersten Akte, wo Elvire Zerlinen warnt: *Ah Fuggi il traditor* . . . ; sie ist ganz in Bachischer Manier und reinem Kontrapunkt, gegen jene des Don Juan: *Fin ch'han dal vino*.'

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 313–14: 'Elvirens Arie . . . *Ah fuggi il traditor!* . . . ist ein kontrapunktisches Kunststück. Mozart scheint, als habe er zeigen wollen, daß er auch in Bachischer Manier setzen könne. – Ihr Stil ist schön, aber von allen andern Piecen dieser Oper so unendlich verschieden, daß ihre Ausführung bei den Vorstellungen befremdet und wie mit dem Schläge einer Zauberruthe in das goldne Zeitalter der Bache, Händel und Hassen versetzt.'

In a similar way one of the earliest references to the unfinished Mass in C minor is made to Handel. Maximilian Stadler reports about his involvement with the settling of Mozart's estate:

For the rest I cannot resist speaking of the pleasure this investigation gave me. I discovered how diligent Mozart was in his youth, how he committed to paper not only his own original ideas but also those of other masters that especially appealed to him, in order to work them up later in his own manner and transform them, as the saying is, *in succum et sanguinem*. I discovered that he constantly studied the great Handel and chose him as his model in serious vocal music. There was a large mass, which he did not fully complete but rewrote many years later as the oratorio *Davide penitente*. It is composed entirely in the style of Handel.⁴⁴

The reports by Rochlitz and Stadler about Mozart's indebtedness to Handel make it obvious that allusions to Baroque masters in his operas and church music were regarded as deliberate stylistic choices by the composer. It is not surprising that Stadler refers to Handel and not to Bach; apparently Stadler – like most people in Vienna – was more familiar with Handel's music than with Bach's. In this respect the often-raised question of whether Mozart owes more to Handel or Bach is anachronistic. Compared with the immense gap between the musical languages of the Baroque and Classical eras, the stylistic differences between Bach and Handel are subtle and perhaps solely of scholarly interest. We should not forget that the names of Handel and Bach (rather than Bach and Handel) were regularly used to mean 'composers of the past' in eighteenth-century reports. Mozart's own usage of the pair of names in his letters is no exception to the rule.

Stadler's observation is of primary importance in that Mozart assimilated ideas by other masters, transforming them into his own language. Mozart certainly did not learn from Bach how to write a six-bar introduction to a fugue or how to use a basso ostinato. Rather, the B-minor Mass – more than any other work – proved to be a model for a Mass that decisively moved beyond the limits of church music in its liturgical context. Each work may

be described as a summary and culmination of all the features of liturgical music of its time. In its kaleidoscopic juxtaposition of seemingly unrelated though discretely ordered styles, the B-minor Mass served as a successful model combining historical elements with up-to-date musical styles in an eclectic and exemplary manner. When writing his Mass in C minor, Mozart was indebted to Bach and Handel in the same way as Bach had been indebted to the *stile antico* of the seventeenth century when he composed and compiled his B-minor Mass.

The strong focus on Berlin and Hamburg has probably led to an underestimation of Vienna as an important centre of Bach reception in German-speaking lands since the 1770s. It now appears that the B-minor Mass played a crucial role there in the reception of Bach's vocal music. The Berlin provenance of the oldest manuscript associated with Vienna seems to prove that the copy was originally prepared for Gottfried van Swieten, who in all likelihood had acquired it already before he left Berlin for Vienna in 1777. The entries of a Viennese musician in the score – however insignificant each of them may seem – make it very likely that van Swieten showed the valuable manuscript to musicians like Mozart who took part in the study sessions and performances at his home. In the first decade of the nineteenth century several copies of the Mass circulated in Vienna, indicating a broader interest in this work, one no longer limited to a small circle of admirers of ancient music. The strong transmission history of the Mass in Vienna invites further investigation into its reception history prior to publication of the work. The recovery of the long-lost manuscript from Haydn's library makes it a worthwhile endeavour to pursue in greater detail the idea that Mozart may have known Bach's B-minor Mass before he started composing his own Mass in C minor – a tempting and tantalising premise which has had little justification until now.

⁴⁴ M. Stadler, *Vertheidigung der Echtheit des Mozart'schen Requiem* (Vienna: Tendler and von Manstein 1826), pp. 9–10: 'Inzwischen kann ich nicht verhehlen, daß mir diese Untersuchung viel Vergnügen verschaffte. Ich fand, wie fleißig Mozart in seiner Jugend war, wie er nicht nur seine eigenen originalen Ideen, sondern auch von andern Meistern, die ihn besonders anreizten, zu Papier brachte, um späterhin sie auf seine eigene Art auszuführen, und wie man sagt, in succum et sanguinem zu verwandeln. Ich fand, wie er unausgesetzt den großen Händel studierte, und ihn zu seinem Muster in ernsthaften Singsachen wählte. Es fand sich eine große Messe vor, die zwar nicht ganz vollendet, aber nach längerer Zeit von ihm selbst in das Oratorium: Davide penitente, umgeschaffen wurde. Es ist ganz in Händels Manier geschrieben.' English trans. from C. Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 149.

12 | 'A really correct copy of the Mass'? Mendelssohn's score of the B-minor Mass as a document of the Romantics' view on matters of performance practice and source criticism

ANSELM HARTINGER

In the early nineteenth century connoisseurs of music were in general agreement as to the superior musical qualities of the B-minor Mass and its unique position within Bach's oeuvre. But despite the high esteem it enjoyed, the Mass continued to be overshadowed for a long time by others of his works. In terms of the number of performances and their consequent reception, it was clearly outshone by the St Matthew Passion.¹ The present study intends first to search for the reasons for this remarkable neglect, and then, on the basis of Mendelssohn's personal score of the Mass, to describe, with greater precision than has hitherto been attempted, the source-critical and performance-related difficulties that Mendelssohn encountered in the early nineteenth century when dealing with this composition, and, finally, to capture a sense of the sound Mendelssohn created in his performances.

Today Bach's B-minor Mass, without doubt, is regarded as one of the most prominent compositions in the international Bach repertoire. With its rather unspecified function and its Latin text – even though it clearly has to be considered a sacred work – it approaches the realm of 'absolute' music and thus conforms to our image of Bach as a supra-confessional master of high style uniting the nations. In the nineteenth century, these particular qualities had little effect, however, since its extensive scale and proportions were beyond the liturgical and musical context of the time.

In view of the continuous confessional divisions after 1800, the original purpose at least of the *Missa* of 1733, dedicated to the Saxon elector and Polish king as music for the Catholic liturgy, could be realised less than ever,

The author wishes to thank Stephanie and Peter Wollny for their kind advice in providing the first English version of this paper, given at the Belfast conference in November 2007.

¹ In 1995 Hiromi Hoshino presented a first survey of the early performances of the Mass. See H. Hoshino, 'J. S. Bach's Mass in B minor: A Study of its Reception History in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century especially regarding the Activities of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy', in Belfast 2007, vol. II, pp. 459–73. Performances in 1850 in Dresden and 1859 in Leipzig were among the earliest complete performances of the Mass.

particularly as the performance conventions since the eighteenth century had noticeably changed in favour of concision, comprehensibility and uniform scoring (mainly without obligato instruments). In other words, a composition that was too long and too complex even for the splendid and highly professional musical establishment at the Baroque Dresden court,² in an era that promoted a simpler and more edifying church music, would have transcended acceptable dimensions.

Owing to a prevailing tendency to regard Bach as a Protestant German national artist, the reception particularly of his vocal works was for a long time associated almost exclusively with the predominantly Protestant German north-east.³ For the nineteenth-century Lutheran liturgy, however, the Mass was particularly unsuitable because of its length, fundamentally changed stylistic preferences, and its character as a 'great Catholic Mass'.⁴

On the other hand, for the concert hall and much-favoured oratorio performances, the piece would have been seen as not only too voluminous, but also too old-fashioned and dry. A composition containing seventeen choral numbers, which at times expanded to involve five and even eight vocal parts, obviously would have overtaxed most secular choral societies, particularly since its movements were longer and technically more demanding than those of either the St Matthew Passion or those Bach cantatas known in the nineteenth century. And connoisseurs of the old vocal polyphony following the tradition of Thibaut would probably have considered Bach's opulent concertato scoring to be rather suspect and too 'secular'.⁵

A realistic venue might have been one of the major music festivals: the financial and musical resources at their disposal would probably have been sufficient for mastering the work; but these in particular were subject to massive commercial pressures and restricted rehearsal time. Thus it is no surprise to find the composer and conductor Ferdinand Ries, when he contemplating a performance of the *Credo* from the B-minor Mass in 1829, remarking that it was 'extraordinarily beautiful, but extremely

² This assessment of the composition as fitting only extraordinary purposes, demands and resources could be advanced as an argument in support of Michael Maul's theory of a possible relationship of the Mass to the Viennese 'Musicalische Congregation' (see Chapter 5 above).

³ See e.g. Ferdinand Adolph Gelbcke's statement of 1841 relating Bach's music to the political purposes of the Prussian king Frederick II, as reproduced in *BDok* VI/B 14, p. 211.

⁴ As referred to the autograph of the B-minor Mass in the listing of Bachiana in the estate of C. P. E. Bach. See *BDok* III/957, p. 495.

⁵ See A. F. J. Thibaut, *Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst* (Heidelberg: Mohr, 1825).

difficult and dangerous for the only one or two rehearsals you normally can have with all participants'.⁶ Besides, performing a Latin Mass in a concert hall would have been unthinkable in the Catholic Lower Rhine region. In order to secure the presentation of any compositions by Bach at the Cologne music festival of 1838, Mendelssohn had to make huge compromises by arranging a pasticcio consisting of impressive movements from several of Bach's cantatas and drastically altering and simplifying the scoring.⁷ It is significant that when searching for repertoire appropriate for the 1838 Cologne music festival Mendelssohn asked Hauser for some of Bach's cantatas 'in der Art des Gloria oder Sanctus der großen Messe', wrongly assuming that the Gloria parody BWV 191 was set to a German text.⁸

By contrast with the usually drastically shortened performances of Bach's Passions current at this time⁹ (notwithstanding their giving the impression of being 'complete performances' because of the narratives on which they are based), any arbitrary abbreviation of the Mass, with its 'holy' text, would have appeared highly unsatisfactory.¹⁰ Given these circumstances, Mendelssohn's approach of using the occasion of a 'historical concert', the first concert in his 1841 cycle, or the festive dedication of the Leipzig Bach monument in 1843 to present at least a few separate movements of the Mass appears to have been the only feasible way to proceed. For us to expect a full performance of the Mass at this time would be to ignore the work's 'displaced' status in the Romantic period. Only later in the nineteenth century, when Bach was firmly established as a 'classical master' within a more broadly European cultural heritage, could the Mass be seen and celebrated complete as a universally religious work of art.

⁶ 'Er [Schelble] hat mir das Credo und Offertorium [Sanctus] aus der großen Bachischen Messe für 5 Stimmen in H moll vorgeschlagen. Es ist außerordentlich schön, ein Chor in D dur sehr effektiv, allein ungeheuer schwer und gefährlich für eine oder zwei Proben – und mehr hat man doch nicht, wo alle zugegen sind.' Ferdinand Ries, letter to Friedländer, Frankfurt am Main, 26 December 1826, cited in C. Hill (ed.), *Ferdinand Ries, Briefe und Dokumente*, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Bonn, 27 (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1982), p. 406.

⁷ See A. Hartinger, 'Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und die Aufführung der "Himmelfahrtskantate" auf dem Kölner Musikfest 1838: Aufführungspraktische, quellenkundliche und ästhetische Konnotationen', in A. Hartinger, C. Wolff and P. Wollny (eds.), *Zu groß, zu unerreichbar: Bach im Zeitalter Mendelssohns und Schumanns* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007), pp. 281–314.

⁸ Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, letter to Franz Hauser, 9 December 1837; see D-B, Nachl. 7, 30/1. See also n. 37 below.

⁹ Beginning with the Mendelssohn-Zelter performances of 1829.

¹⁰ It is true that Baroque masses had been performed in their original liturgical context, but only with various portions intermingled with diverse spoken and sung prayers and orations.

Mendelssohn's score of the B-minor Mass

The two-volume manuscript score of the B-minor Mass from Mendelssohn's library – now held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.66–7) – is a unique document attesting both contemporary performance practice and source-critical approaches to the music of J. S. Bach in the first half of the nineteenth century. This source throws light on the problems the Mass posed in both the institutional and the performance-practice situations of the time. It is similarly fascinating to investigate how Mendelssohn, in editing and annotating the score, was influenced by the aforementioned problems and the measures he took to solve, or at least ease, the immense problems inherent in performing the composition.

Apart from the basic text, a copy of the complete Mass in the hand of Johann Friedrich Rietz,¹¹ the Oxford score contains various types of marking which, on the one hand, can be seen as reflecting different layers of Mendelssohn's work *on this particular source* and, on the other, correspond with different approaches to *the actual composition*. They also reflect a broad spectrum of possible interests that might have stimulated his and his contemporaries' encounter with Bach. These ranged from studies in compositional technique to employing source-critical methods in establishing a correct musical text which might even be used in creating an edition, and finally to preparing a specific performance by arranging the score to suit the available singers and instrumentalists. Not the least important aspect in all of this is seeing the enjoyment derived by high-level amateur performers from the contemplation of this music in authentic sources.

The fact that throughout his life Mendelssohn worked only with the manuscript score that he and his sister Fanny had owned since 1823 points to the poor source situation concerning the B-minor Mass in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹² After having been announced for decades, the first – and for a long time the only – edition of the work, by Nägeli and Simrock, did not appear until 1833, and the full-score edition contained

¹¹ Contrary to the information given by Margaret Crum in *Catalogue of the Mendelssohn Papers in the Bodleian Library* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1983), vol. II, p. 29, naming Eduard Rietz as the scribe, the score was in fact copied by Eduard's father Johann Friedrich Rietz. I owe this information to Peter Ward Jones. Rietz's copy was almost certainly based on D-B, Am. B. 3.

¹² See R. Elvers and P. Ward Jones, 'Das Musikalienverzeichnis von Fanny und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy', *Mendelssohn-Studien*, 8 (1993), 85–103. The entry from 1823 reads: 'Bach. Johann Sebastian, *Große Messe* aus h moll, 5 stimmig, mit Orchester. (manuscript v. Ritz. Sen.) Partitur' (p. 89).

only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*.¹³ Hans Georg Nägeli had in fact described the Mass in 1818 as the 'Greatest Musical Work of Art of All Times and Nations', but then kept the autograph score locked away for decades.¹⁴ Whereas the availability of reliable printed editions of the six 'Marxsche Kantaten' BWV 101–6 (1830) and of BWV 80 (1821) contributed considerably to the dissemination of these works, musicians interested in the performance of the Mass, such as Johann Nepomuk Schelble, the director of the Frankfurt Cäcilien-Verein in 1828, had to resort to difficult negotiations with Nägeli¹⁵ or to undertake their own laborious source studies, which posed another major obstacle for performances beyond from the musical difficulty of the work.¹⁶ Also, Nägeli barely consulted Bach's autograph score in his possession for his edition, which gave it a bad reputation among experts such as Moritz Hauptmann, who in 1844 wrote to Franz Hauser:

Dear Hauser,

How is one to obtain a copy of Bach's B-minor Mass? The *Kyrie* and *Gloria* have been printed, but in such a terrible manner that nobody likes it. If you could provide [a copy] for me in Vienna, I would willingly pay for it. Mendelssohn also owns it [the Mass], but God only knows, when he comes back to us or to Berlin.¹⁷

Hauptmann was right when he supposed that Mendelssohn possessed his own score. But when he presumed that Mendelssohn at this time had a considerably better source at his disposal, he was far from the truth. In fact, Mendelssohn himself strove throughout his life to establish a reliable score by trying to revise it according to the best sources available.

¹³ This score, published jointly by Nägeli and Nicolaus Simrock of Bonn in 1833, lacks the title page, but the cover describes the work as follows: 'MESSE VON IOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH: NACH DEM AUTOGRAPHUM GESTOCHEN. Erste Lieferung. Die zweite Lieferung wird spätestens zur Ostermesse 1834 sammt einem Haupttitel, Umschlag und Subscribenten-Verzeichniss geliefert.' The second instalment did not in fact appear until 1845. It should be noted that shortly after the appearance of the first instalment of the full score, the vocal score with piano reduction by A. B. Marx and a separate set of choral parts were also issued in full by the same firms (though this project was led by Simrock). Cf. *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 58–62.

¹⁴ For the history of this publication project, see *BDok VI/C* 48–60 and *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 55–77.

¹⁵ See Nägeli's letter to Schelble, 19 March 1827, as reproduced in *BDok VI/C* 54.

¹⁶ See Chapter 10 above for details.

¹⁷ 'Lieber Hauser, wie fange ich's denn an, eine Abschrift der Bachschen *Hmoll*-Messe zu bekommen? *Kyrie* und *Gloria* ist gedruckt, aber so scheußlich daß man's nicht mag. Wenn Sie mir's in Wien besorgen könnten, ich möcht's gern bezahlen. Mendelssohn hat sie auch, aber Gott weiß ann [wann!] der in unsre Nähe oder nach Berlin zurückkommt.' Moritz Hauptmann, letter to Franz Hauser, 30 July 1844, reproduced in A. Schöne (ed.), *Briefe von Moritz Hauptmann, Kantor und Musikdirektor an der Thomasschule zu Leipzig, an Franz Hauser* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1871), vol. II, pp. 17–19, at p. 18.

Mendelssohn's own – partly justified – scruples concerning the correctness of his source also strongly impeded and delayed his efforts towards giving a performance of the complete Mass. In addition, as will be shown, his knowledge of both the location and value of the main sources of the B-minor Mass was comparatively sketchy.

Mendelssohn as source-critical editor

The first layer of Mendelssohn's entries into the score was intended both in part to correct the text and to supply missing information (for example, continuo figures). To this end, and after prolonged research, he consulted mainly the following two sources: the original Dresden set of parts of the *Missa* and the Berlin copy D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 22.

Mendelssohn probably began to work with P 22 – which contains only the *Credo*, including the introduction by C. P. E. Bach – after receiving a letter from Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn dated 24 March 1843.¹⁸ In this letter Dehn, the librarian of the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin, who later managed to acquire the Singakademie Bach sources, responded negatively to Mendelssohn's earlier enquiry concerning Bach's autographs of the Mass at the Königliche Bibliothek. It is certainly no coincidence that Mendelssohn was searching for them at the same time as he was preparing the inaugural concert for the dedication of the Leipzig Bach monument on 23 April of the same year, an occasion which was originally planned to be held on Bach's birthday, 21 March, and for which initially he considered a complete performance of the Mass.¹⁹ The relevant passage of Dehn's answer reads: 'Answering your request: "Does any original score or parts of Sebastian Bach's B-minor Mass exist in the Royal Library?", I beg to inform you that there are neither score nor parts in J. S. Bach's handwriting.'²⁰ Dehn then mentions three copies, all coming from the former collection of Georg Poelchau bequeathed to the Königliche Bibliothek in 1841. The first two are complete copies of the

¹⁸ GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, d.43, No. 154.

¹⁹ According to a draft programme schedule, included in his correspondence with Heinrich Conrad Schlemitz, Mendelssohn also considered a performance of the *Gloria* in the regular Leipzig subscription concert series in January–February 1843 but later cancelled his plan. See GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.33, fol. 78v.

²⁰ 'In Beantwortung Ihrer Anfrage: "Existirt auf der K. Bibliothek Sebastian Bach's H moll Messe, in original-Partitur oder in Original-Stimmen?" zeige ich Ihnen an, daß weder Partitur noch Stimmen von J. S. Bach's Hand daselbst vorhanden sind.' GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, d.43, No. 154.

Mass in two and three volumes, which can be identified respectively as P 11 and P 12, and P 6, P 7 and P 8. Of special interest, however, is the third item: '3, the Creed from the B-minor Mass Collect. Poelchau MS. 29. with an Introduction for 2 Violins, Viol and Bass composed by C. Phil. E. Bach, in an unknown hand'²¹ – a description which corresponds only with P 22.

For the entries into the second volume of his score, Mendelssohn frequently used the words 'Nach der Berliner Partitur' ('According to the Berlin score') as a rationale for both his correction of the scoring of the instruments and the addition of dynamics. And, indeed, they are numerous, demonstrating how carefully Mendelssohn corrected and altered his own score with reference to P 22. Thus it becomes clear – in itself an interesting aspect of the reception history – that Mendelssohn's opinion concerning the dynamics as well as the scoring of Bach's *Credo* was influenced by a source linked to C. P. E. Bach's performance of 1786.²² Following P 22, Mendelssohn, for example, replaced oboes d'amore with violins in the 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum', clearly misinterpreting a chance measure taken by C. P. E. Bach as originating from J. S. Bach himself (see Figure 12.1). Here Mendelssohn's source-critical findings happily met with the performance-related needs of the 1840s. Since there is no indication that Mendelssohn used sources other than P 22 to correct the second volume of his score, Dehn's letter of March 1843 may be used as a *terminus post quem* for this layer of Mendelssohn's entries in volume II of his score. Thus he introduced all these new readings after he had performed the 'Crucifixus' and 'Et resurrexit' in 1841 from his pre-revised score, which he himself considered to be 'full of mistakes and strange additions'.²³

It is difficult to understand why Mendelssohn placed so much trust in P 22 in particular. Besides the fine character of the manuscript, described by both Dehn and himself as 'very correct',²⁴ his decision to make use of it was based on the knowledge that it came from members of the Bach family, for he surely knew that his father Abraham had bought many Bach manuscripts from the former estate of the Hamburg Bach.

²¹ '3, das Credo der Hmoll Messe. Collect. Poelch. MS 29. mit einer Einleitung für 2 Violinen, Viola u. Baß von C. Phil. E. Bach, von unbekannter Hand. 1 Vol. hoch fol.'

²² See *BDok* III/910–11, pp. 420–1.

²³ 'da mein Exemplar von Fehlern und Aenderungen fremder Hand voll ist'. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, 3 March 1845, quoted from R. Elvers (ed.), *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Briefe an deutsche Verleger* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968), No. 166. See n. 17 above.

²⁴ GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, d.43, No. 154. As for Mendelssohn, he wrote '(Violini steht in der sehr correcten Abschrift die in der Berliner Bibliothek (vom Symbolum Nicenum allein) ist.)' at the beginning of 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum' in his score of the Mass; see Figure 12.1.

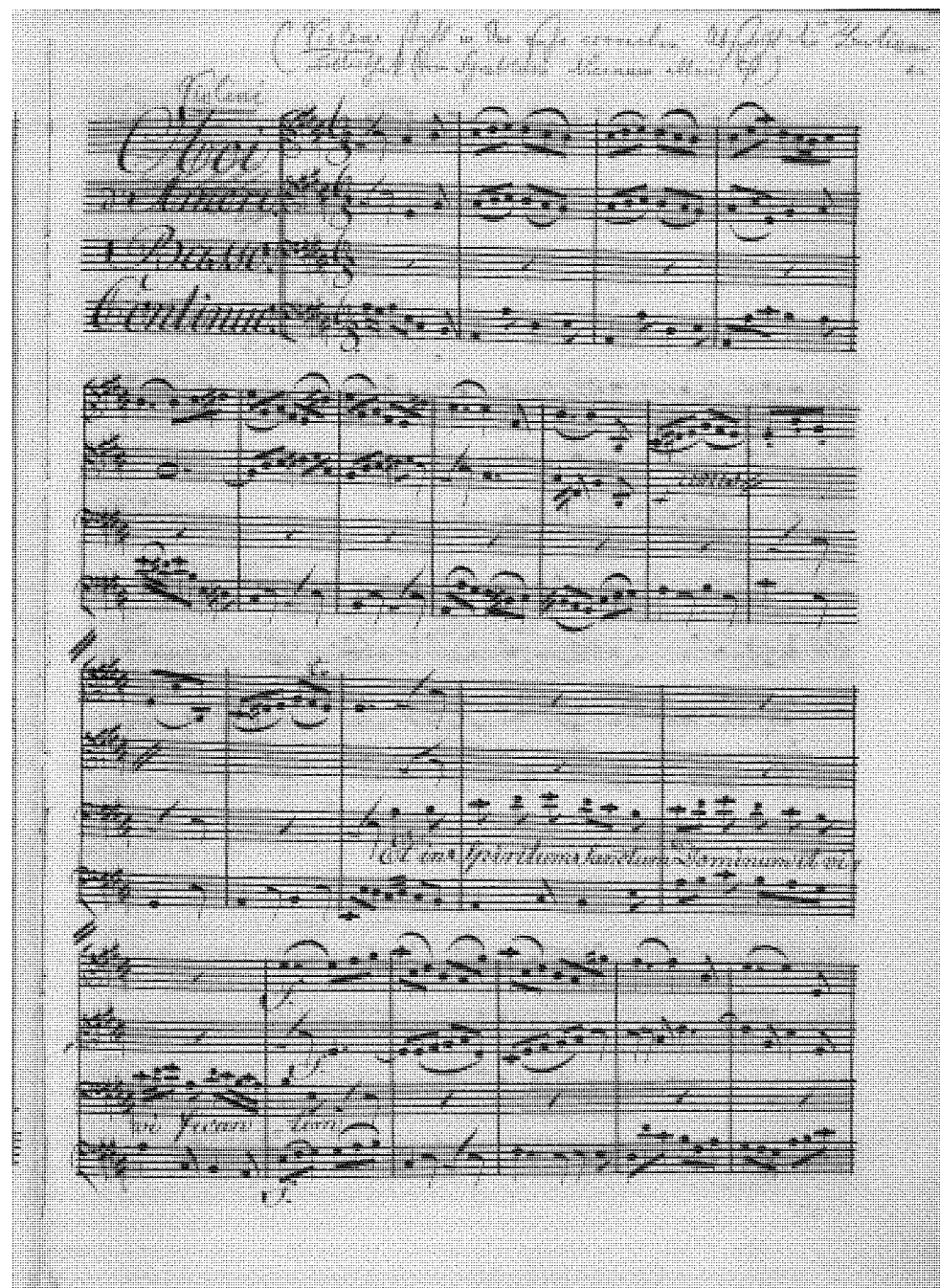


Figure 12.1 The beginning of 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum' with the change of scoring by Mendelssohn (GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.67, fol. 40r)

The other main source that Mendelssohn used comprised the original parts preserved in the Royal Private Library in Dresden. From his letter to Breitkopf & Härtel dated 3 March 1845, we learn that Mendelssohn had planned for a long time to make a trip there to compare his score with the Dresden parts:

I would gladly have sent my score of Bach's B-minor Mass to you, but it is packed with other music of mine in a box in Berlin, and thus I cannot get at it in order to do so. But you do not lose anything by this because my copy is full of errors and changes in someone else's hand, and so you would not want it for your purposes. A copy of the second part [of the Mass] I could have made here if you wish, as there are some copies of the Mass here, which are at least as good as if not better than mine. The best thing for you, and from which you will derive real benefit in my opinion, would be to use the parts in Bach's own hand, which are located in Dresden; you could compile the second part while correcting the first. I have wanted for a long time to correct my copy from these parts, but I could not find the time. They are to be found in the king's private library (I believe that was the title of the library, but you can find it out easily enough from Schneider or Reissiger) under the supervision of a librarian whose name unfortunately has escaped my memory (a poor report you might say), and which would certainly be available to you. It would be very good if we were eventually to have access to a really correct copy of the Mass. If the parts in Dresden cannot be obtained for your purpose, and if you want a copy of the second part from here, I am at your service; please let me know your decision by dropping me a few lines.²⁵

²⁵ 'Gern würde ich Ihnen meine Partitur der Bachschen hmoll Messe geschickt haben, aber sie steht mit andern meiner Musikalien in einer Kiste verpackt in Berlin und ich kann somit für jetzt nicht dazu gelangen. Aber Sie verlieren nichts dabei, da mein Exemplar von Fehlern und Aenderungen fremder Hand voll ist, und sich also zu dem Zwecke, wozu Sie es brauchen wollen nicht eignet. Eine Abschrift des 2ten Theils könnte ich Ihnen, wenn Sie es wünschen, hier anfertigen lassen, da hier einige Abschriften der Messe sind, die wenigstens ebenso gut, wenn nicht besser als die meinige sind. Das beste, was Sie nach meiner Meinung thun könnten, und womit Sie sich ein rechtes Verdienst erwürben, das wäre, wenn Sie aus den Stimmen von Bachs eigner Hand, welche sich in Dresden befinden sollen, den 2ten Theil zusammenschreiben und den ersten corrigiren ließen. Ich wollte schon längst mein Exemplar nach diesen Stimmen berichtigen, konnte aber noch immer keine Zeit dazu finden. Sie sollen in der Privatbibliothek des Königs (ich glaube so hieß der Titel der Bibliothek, jedenfalls erfahren Sie ihn leicht durch Schneider oder Reissiger,) unter Aufsicht eines Bibliothekars, dessen Namen mir aber leider auch entfallen ist (ein schlechter Bericht werden Sie sagen) zu finden sein, und sind Ihnen gewiß zugänglich. Es wäre sehr schön, wenn wir auf diese Weise endlich zu einem recht correcten Exemplar der Messe kämen. Können Sie die Stimmen in Dresden aber nicht zu dem Zwecke erhalten, und wünschen Sie ein Abschrift des 2ten Theils von hier so steht sie Ihnen wie gesagt zu Diensten, und ich bitte Sie nur mich Ihren Entschluß durch ein Paar Zeilen alsdann wissen zu lassen.' Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, 3 March 1845. See R. Elvers (ed.), *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Briefe an deutsche Verleger* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968), No. 166, pp. 152–3. The Frankfurt source Mendelssohn that refers to is probably Schelble's copy held at the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt, Mus. Hs. 145. See *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 21 and 35.

That Mendelssohn finally managed to consult this important source is confirmed by his oft-quoted letter to Karl Klingemann, dated 6 December 1846, referring to the fact that he had seen the parts and removed erroneous passages from his score:

Luckily I was able to work the whole time (although not composing). From Dresden I obtained the parts of Bach's B-minor Mass (you might remember the piece from Zelter's Friday rehearsals) and from them, written mainly in his own hand and dedicated to the then elector ('Gegen Sr. Königl. Hoheit und Churfürstliche Durchlaucht zu Sachsen bezeugte mit inliegender Missa seine unterthänigste Devotion der Autor J. S. Bach' written on the envelope), I gradually cleared my score of the numerous mistakes, which I recognised very often but never had the opportunity to revise. Although mechanical, this sometimes interesting work was very welcome to me.²⁶

The fact that Mendelssohn had examined the Dresden parts has long been known; but it has hitherto remained uncertain exactly where his comparison of sources took place or whether he consulted the original parts himself or obtained copies.²⁷

In fact, Mendelssohn's inspection of the Dresden parts is actually recorded on the flyleaf of volume I of his score. After naming the library as the location of the parts and quoting Bach's original dedication, he added: 'The corrections which I inserted in the score with ink have been taken from the parts I mentioned. The pencil marks, however, are exclusively my own. Leipzig, 21 November 1846. FMB.'²⁸ This remark

²⁶ 'Arbeiten habe ich zum Glück die ganze Zeit her können (wenn auch freilich nicht komponieren) ich hatte mir aus Dresden die Stimmen der Bach'schen H moll Messe verschafft (erinnerst Du Dich ihrer von Zelter's Freitagen her?) und aus diesen, die er größtentheils eigenhändig geschrieben und dem damaligen Churfürsten dedicirt hat ("Gegen Sr. Königl. Hoheit und Churfürstliche Durchlaucht zu Sachsen bezeugte mit inliegender Missa seine unterthänigste Devotion der Autor J. S. Bach" steht auf dem Umschlag) habe ich meine Partitur nach und nach von den Fehlern befreit, die in Unzahl drin stecken, und die ich wohl oft bemerkt, aber niemals richtig zu corrigiren Gelegenheit hatte. Die mechanische, und doch ab und zu interessante Arbeit war mir recht willkommen . . .'. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, letter to Karl Klingemann in London, 6 December 1846. See K. Klingemann (ed.), *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys Briefwechsel mit Legationsrat Karl Klingemann* (Essen: Baedeker, 1909), p. 316.

²⁷ According to his letters and account books, he also used to send copyists to libraries to do such work for him.

²⁸ 'Die sämtlichen Stimmen dieses ersten Theils, größtentheils von Bachs Hand geschrieben, sind in der Privat-Bibliothek des Königs von Sachsen. Auf dem Umschlag steht: Gegen Sr. Königl. Hoheit und Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen bezeugte mit inliegender Missa seine unterthänigste Devotion der Autor J. S. Bach. Die Correcturen welche ich in die Partitur mit Dinte eingetragen habe sind aus diesen oben erwähnten Stimmen entnommen. Die Bleistiftbemerkenungen dagegen rühren nur von mir her. Leipzig d. 21. November 1846 FMB.'

is revealing in a number of respects. Firstly, it is remarkable to see how precisely Mendelssohn distinguishes his approach to sources. It looks as though he made the corrections not only for himself, but also for other users of his score (especially later editors or copyists, perhaps even for future musicologists).²⁹ Mendelssohn here opts for a clear distinction between the musician on the one hand and the scholar and editor on the other.

However, it is interesting to note that Mendelssohn's plans regarding the work he undertook on the Mass differed from his initial best intentions. In fact, it is even more fascinating to note that, contrary to a first impression, he was not describing work that *he had done*, but more the general rule he *wanted to follow* or impose on himself. If we read Mendelssohn's words literally, we might suppose that he finished his work on the date mentioned, 21 November. But as I shall show, this was not the case. It is important to recall that Mendelssohn's letter to Klingemann, telling him that he had collated the sources, was dated 6 December.³⁰ But even this later date does not provide an end date for Mendelssohn's dealing with the parts. Both the Klingemann letter and the flyleaf inscription bearing 'Leipzig' make no sense if Mendelssohn had done the work in the Dresden library. Unfortunately, there are no records of the activities of readers in or their borrowings from the library until the mid-1850s, when the famous Dresden music historian and librarian Moritz Fürstenau took over management responsibility there. But it was, apparently, possible for a prominent person to get special permission to take items out of the library; this could easily have been the case with Mendelssohn, who was on excellent terms with the Dresden court and the king himself.³¹ There is no trace of the *Missa* or any other library items in the surviving letters from Fürstenau and from his father Anton Bernhard Fürstenau to Mendelssohn. However, an investigation into all of Mendelssohn's correspondence from late 1846 to early 1847 led to surprising results.

²⁹ Indeed, already in his letter to Schleinitz dated 12 January 1841 he had asked for a reliable scribe who was able to copy out the vocal and orchestral parts of the *Sanctus* from his own score. For that purpose Mendelssohn was willing to send his source immediately to Schleinitz. So the Oxford score with its entries was definitely intended also as a source for performance parts (D-B, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachl. Fam Mendelssohn, K 4, Mappe 1841, fol. 86).

³⁰ In the letter Mendelssohn writes that after collating the parts he is now again spending some days on revising his *Elijah*. So at least the main body of his comparison must have been finished probably around 1 December.

³¹ The author would like to thank Dr Karl Wilhelm Geck, the director of the music department of the Dresden Staatsbibliothek, for this information.

A hitherto overlooked letter from Mendelssohn to Cornelia Schuncke, a Dresden relative of Mendelssohn's sister-in-law Julie Schuncke née Jeanrenaud, dated Leipzig, 2 January 1847, sheds new light on the matter. In this letter Mendelssohn requested a special delivery:

Dear Cornelia,

Would you be kind enough to take for me the enclosed parcel to your neighbour in Dresden, Concertmeister Morgenroth (in the Ostra-Allee, opposite Prince Max's palace, the house abutting the corner, entrance in the courtyard, first floor, straight on), but only in exchange for the receipt I wrote to him concerning this matter? And also to ask him on my behalf if 'the rest of it has been found'? And to report his answer to me together with the receipt whenever possible?³²

Furthermore, Mendelssohn insisted on her bringing back the receipt he filled in when he borrowed the manuscript from the library, and he gave a detailed description of the address. It is clear that he was there in person to collect the parts. Mendelssohn also urged Cornelia Schuncke to ask Morgenroth whether in the mean time he had found the rest of the item and to bring back the answer to this question together with the receipt. Mendelssohn finally explained: 'The parcel contains an autograph manuscript of Seb. Bach that belongs to the Royal Private Library', a remark that allows us to identify it as comprising the parts of the *Missa*. In the remainder of the letter Mendelssohn makes some jokes about his carelessness in entrusting such an important manuscript to the hands of a young lady – but notwithstanding the humour, it is obvious that he really cared about the manuscript; clearly it was as a result of his urgent request that this priceless source was released.³³

³² GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.31, No. 4: 'Liebe Cornelia, wollen sie mir wohl den Gefallen thun, das beifolgende Paket nach Dresden zu nehmen, und es dort an ihren Nachbarn, den Concertmeister Morgenroth (in der Ostra-Allee, dem Palais des Prinzen Max gegenüber, das Haus an der Stumpfen Ecke, Eingang im Hof, 1ster Stock, gerade aus) aber nur gegen Einhäudigung des Scheins den ich ihm darüber geschrieben habe, abgeben zu lassen? Ihn auch zugleich in meinem Namen fragen zu lassen, ob sich "der Rest davon gefunden hätte"? Und mir seine Antwort nebst meinem Leihschein gelegentlich zukommen zu lassen. Das Paket enthält ein Autographon von Seb. Bach, das der dortigen Königl. Privat-Bibliothek gehört und eigentlich begreife ich nicht, wie ich es wagen kann, ein solches Autograph in ihre Hände zu legen, da ich doch gar nicht gewiß überzeugt bin, ob Sie nicht vielleicht ein Flederwisch sind. Ich habe mir aber vorgenommen, nie mehr einen alten Witz zu wiederholen (wie Sie aus obigem ersehen) daher vertraue ich Ihnen ganz und bin ohne Furcht (aber mit Tadel) Ihr FMB.' I wish to thank Ms Katharina Lenke for her kind assistance with the research on the Mendelssohn letters of 1846–7.

³³ It is amusing to imagine this young lady travelling to Dresden with this invaluable source in her bag. The new railway from Leipzig to Dresden had been constructed in the late 1830s and was often frequented by Mendelssohn and his friends, not least to carry music MSS and to exchange performing parts.

Mendelssohn's letter highlights the fact that Franz Anton Morgenroth was the person responsible for the 'Musicalia' at the Königl. Privatbibliothek in Dresden.³⁴ Morgenroth, born in 1780, became chamber musician in the royal orchestra in 1812 and concertmaster in 1838. Though his name does not appear elsewhere in Mendelssohn's correspondence, the composer would have known him as a result of his collaboration with the royal court orchestra on Palm Sunday, 9 April 1843, when he directed a performance of his oratorio *Paulus* in Dresden. During rehearsals, or perhaps after the concert, he could easily have discussed problems relating to the Mass with Morgenroth, a hypothesis that becomes still more plausible when we consider that during the Easter of 1843 Mendelssohn was preparing his second Leipzig performance of the *Sanctus* (23 April).³⁵ That Mendelssohn had not investigated the parts by 1843 could be explained by the fact that the Dresden parts could not have helped him in improving his second volume, which contained the music from the *Credo* onwards. But it is revealing that in his letter of January 1847 Mendelssohn was still looking for the remaining portions of the original parts. He was obviously convinced that the Dresden library must have owned the parts for the complete Mass, and he, as well as Morgenroth, must have assumed that the remainder of the parts had been lost or misplaced. So Mendelssohn's knowledge of the situation had not increased since 1845, when in his letter to Breitkopf & Härtel he recommended the Dresden parts as the best source available, especially for the second part of the Mass. Mendelssohn clearly misunderstood the phrase in Bach's dedication 'mit beiliegender *Missa*', reading it as a description of a full Mass and not of a *Missa brevis*.

Similarly misleading information concerning the Mass also appears in the famous 'Franz Hauser Katalog I', a manuscript to which Mendelssohn contributed much information. With the entry 'grosse *Missa* à 5 voc.' Hauser seems to be referring to the set of parts for the whole Mass in the Dresden library, which he later corrected to 'only *Kyrie* and *Gloria*'.³⁶ Thus Mendelssohn's remark and his letters prove that even this most learned Bach expert had no idea of the complex compositional history of the B-minor Mass. Although he had knowledge of a parody version of the *Gloria* (BWV 191/1) – though he wrongly assumed that it was a German

³⁴ Thus the letter proves the idea that Hans-Joachim Schulze had about his role; see Schulze, p. 6.

³⁵ See L. R. Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 451. See also Mendelssohn's letter of 30 January 1843 to Carl Gottlieb Reissiger (Stockholm Stiftelsen, Nydahl collection, 2579). The author wishes to thank the staff of the Leipziger Ausgabe der Briefe Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys for their helpful advice.

³⁶ D-B, Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 419, p. 38. This correction and the fact that Hauser quotes the dedication in the course of his remark about the Dresden parts make it plausible that he got his information from Mendelssohn.

parody³⁷ – he was obviously not aware of the different stages of Bach's dealings with the Mass and did not understand why the Dresden library had only the parts for the 1733 *Missa*. So in his pursuit of a definitive version of the Mass, he produced a garbled one: using Bach's late complete Mass as a basis, he altered the text according to the earlier Dresden version for the *Missa* and C. P. E. Bach's 1786 version of the *Credo*. With this (albeit incomplete) collation of sources, Mendelssohn, nevertheless, had at his disposal what was probably, by the beginning of the year 1847, the best-prepared working score of the B-minor Mass hitherto. His source-critical efforts, therefore, may be seen as a preliminary step towards the edition that Julius Rietz published in 1856 as part of the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition which for the most part used the same sources.

The beginning of Mendelssohn's collation of the Dresden parts can be traced more accurately. In his diary Robert Schumann wrote on 21 November 1846: 'In the morning ... Mendelssohn at my place, farewell to him – in the afternoon farewell to Krägen.'³⁸ Schumann, who had been in Leipzig from 13 to 19 November but lived in Dresden from 1845 onwards, wrote this note in Dresden. On the same day, 21 November, Mendelssohn wrote his remark on the flyleaf in 'Leipzig': this can only mean that Mendelssohn got the Dresden parts from Morgenroth on the day before or early on the same day; he then met Schumann later on the same day in Dresden, travelled back to Leipzig by train, and then started, but did not finish, the revision of his score that afternoon or evening. This itinerary indicates that the original parts of one of Bach's greatest compositions were once again in Leipzig from 21 November 1846 and at least until 2 January 1847.³⁹

The outcome of Mendelssohn's work with the Dresden parts – as with his use of P 22 – appears somewhat different from his twofold strategy inscribed on the flyleaf. His interpretative additions concerned dynamics, rubato or

³⁷ In his letter to Hauser dated 9 December 1837, Mendelssohn – after regretting that it would be impossible to perform the B-minor Mass at the forthcoming Cologne music festival – wrote: 'Existiert nicht das Gloria selbst mit deutschem Text (sowie er andere Stücke aus seinen messen oft gebraucht hat).' Lost letter, copy in D-B, Nachl. 7, 30/1.

³⁸ 'Früh ... Mendelssohn bei mir, Abschied von ihm – Nachmittag Abschied von Krägen.' See G. Nauhaus (ed.), *Robert Schumann: Tagebücher*, vol. III/1: *Haushaltsbücher, 1837–1847* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1982), p. 332. Philipp Heinrich Krägen was a friend of Schumann's who lived in Dresden.

³⁹ Another interesting feature of this study is the proof that the musical treasures of the Royal Private Library were not restricted as strictly as Friedrich Rochlitz described with respect to Zelenka's compositions, and that it was clearly possible to borrow the Bach parts from the Dresden library. This fact raises possible lines of enquiry concerning the mysterious copying marks found in the first violin part, which cannot so far be linked to any edition and which do not coincide with Mendelssohn's score. See NBA KB II/1a, p. 20.

other details of performance. Mendelssohn also emended inconsistent passages in the continuo group, particularly deviations in the bassoon part. He specified more clearly which instruments were to participate in 'Kyrie' II. He also added the tempo indication *Molto Adagio* at the beginning of 'Kyrie' I as well as supplying the entire figuring for the continuo. As there is absolutely no indication that Mendelssohn ever performed movements from the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, this layer of annotations can only be seen as evidence of his deep interest in this work as a musician and Bach scholar. Even if these annotations may have been prompted in part by projected performances, they may also have served in part for purposes of study. Manuscript evidence suggests that the interpretative additions in pencil were at least partly entered before the corrections that were made as a result of consulting the Dresden manuscript; this means that Mendelssohn worked on his score over a long period (see Figure 12.2).

Mendelssohn's performances of movements from the B-minor Mass

In the second volume of Mendelssohn's score of the B-minor Mass, there is a completely different layer of markings: additions directly related to the performance of the 'Crucifixus', 'Et resurrexit' and *Sanctus* on 21 January 1841, and again of the *Sanctus* on 23 April 1843. The fact that the remaining movements are nearly free of these kinds of markings prompts the conclusion that plans for a performance of the complete *Credo* or, perhaps, the entire Mass never even reached the stage of concrete preparation.

Mendelssohn's entries in these movements can be classified in four groups as follows.

Mendelssohn's addition of dynamics

Some of the inserted dynamics are very detailed and elaborate (*Crucifixus*), some widely spaced (*Sanctus*, *Et resurrexit*); *crescendi*, *diminuendi* and *sforzati* are frequently used. (Mendelssohn was perhaps aiming at 'modern' symphonic effects similar to the manner adopted in his own choral cantatas, orchestral psalms and oratorios; there also appears to be an underlying tendency to provide the professional orchestra with greater dynamic complexity than the amateur choir, which perhaps, he considered, had more difficulty in mastering the score.)

Figure 12.2 The beginning of 'Et in terra' with interpretative and source-critical comments by Mendelssohn (GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.66, fol. 23r)

Mendelssohn's interpretation of the 'Crucifixus'

Mendelssohn's interpretative response to the 'Crucifixus' appears to be quiet and sad rather than agitated. For example, he made a marked contrast between the two phrases 'Crucifixus etiam pro nobis' and 'passus et sepultus est'. But, contrary to many modern performances, Mendelssohn preferred a dynamic of *piano* for the 'Crucifixus' and provided, by contrast, a distinct *forte* for the 'passus et sepultus est'. In terms of a musical-theological interpretation, it seems that he did not wish to treat Christ's burial as a peaceful end to torture but rather saw the killing of God's Son at the hands of humans as a much more scandalous episode (see Figure 12.3). With his additional dynamics, Mendelssohn introduces a certain contemporary, even 'romantic' atmosphere to the score; but in general his performance practice is still remote from the monumental style adopted by the late nineteenth century. It still retains the rhetorical approach of the Baroque, preserving full sensitivity toward the 'natural' accents of the words and music.⁴⁰

The ending of the 'Crucifixus', accompanied only by the continuo, made a deep impression on the Leipzig audience, as is reflected in a highly emotional review in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* commenting in detail on the last five bars of the piece.⁴¹ This surely resulted from Mendelssohn's delicate dynamic interpretation, using *pp*, a short *crescendo-decrescendo* and again a *pp*. There exists a remarkable parallel in Mendelssohn's oeuvre: the unaccompanied passage at the end of chorus No. 10, 'Siehe wir preisen selig', from the oratorio *Paulus*. The unexpected *a cappella* scoring and the *piano* dynamics, not to mention the similar text, 'Denn wenn der Leib gleich stirbt, wird doch die Seele leben', prompt a comparison with Bach's 'passus et sepultus est'.

Mendelssohn's handling of the chorus

Mendelssohn attempted to help the choir in various ways. Apart from eliminating a number of trills and supplying additional cautionary accidentals, his main concern was to support exposed choral entries with added *colla parte* strings, notably at the 'Pleni sunt coeli' (bars 79–82, 84–7, 104–7, 109–10) in the *Sanctus*. These additions concerned only the sopranos and

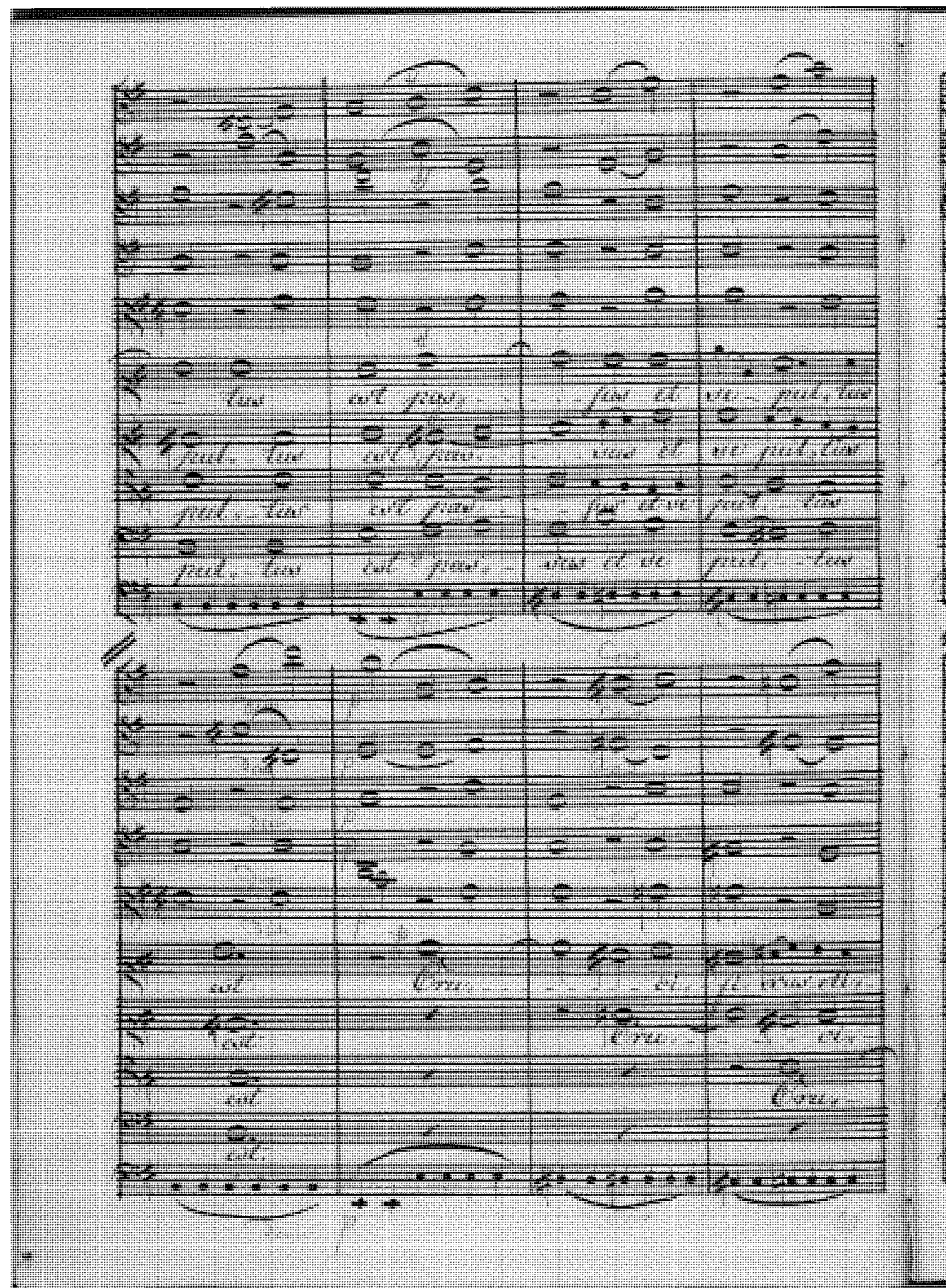


Figure 12.3 'Crucifixus' (bars 32–9) with dynamics added by Mendelssohn for his 1841 Leipzig performance (GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.67, fol. 22v)

⁴⁰ A feature which is clearly to be seen also in the bass of the *Sanctus*: the *sforzati* are used mainly to mark the first phrase of the words in the orchestral bass section.

⁴¹ AMZ, 43/8 (24 February 1841), cols. 174–8.

altos, a state of affairs corroborated by newspaper reports commenting on the great difficulties that the female voices of the Leipzig oratorio choirs had with Bach's demanding vocal lines.⁴² Such *colla parte* additions were also made for the partial performance of Cantata 43 on 23 April 1843, but not for the 'Et resurrexit' presented in 1841: this may imply that in 1843 Mendelssohn's choir, despite the participation of the boys' choir of the Thomaskirche, was less well prepared, or less well balanced, than in 1841. But it could equally well be that this measure was taken largely to improve the passages that had turned out unsatisfactorily in the 1841 performance.⁴³ Corrections in the doubling of the parts show that the final version emerged only during rehearsals. Even so, this should not necessarily be seen as a 'Romantic' addition but as the free expansion of a technique used by Bach himself in the work (cf. the oboes from bar 114). While Bach employed the *colla parte* technique to intensify the orchestral sound, Mendelssohn used it here to support the choir: a clear indication of the qualitative gulf between a professional orchestra and an amateur choir by comparison with the more homogenous ensemble enjoyed in Bach's time.

Mendelssohn's *colla parte* additions did not reduce the great impression that Bach's scoring made on the listeners. A review published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* after Mendelssohn's performance of 21 January 1841 hailed especially the obligato character of Bach's orchestral parts: 'It is remarkable how Bach always treats the orchestra in an obligato manner, while hardly ever merely accompanying or doubling the vocal parts, which is so often the case today even in the compositions of the greatest masters.'⁴⁴ The more homogeneous sound produced by doubling vocal lines by the orchestra, a common practice in Mendelssohn's own choral works, should perhaps be considered in the light of this reviewer's observation.

Mendelssohn's handling of trumpets

Mendelssohn completely reworked the trumpet parts in both the 'Et resurrexit' and the *Sanctus*. In the nineteenth century the high-pitched

⁴² *Leipziger Tageblatt und Anzeiger*, 305 (1 November 1851), supplement.

⁴³ Probably bars 109–10 with the low entry in the alto part. Vulnerable passages such as this of course made the lack of an organ in the Gewandhaus auditorium painfully apparent.

⁴⁴ *AMZ*, 43/8 (24 February 1841), col. 177: 'Merkwürdig ist noch, dass bei Seb. Bach das Orchester immer selbständig auftritt und fast nirgends als bloße Begleitung oder Verstärkung der Singstimmen erscheint, wie dies doch heut zu Tage, bei der so sehr fortgeschrittenen Orchestererweiterung und Ausbildung, auch in den Werken der grössten Meister häufig der Fall ist.'

trumpet parts of Bach's cantatas and orchestral pieces posed a nearly insurmountable obstacle for performers. On the one hand, most performers still playing on natural instruments could not reach the *clarino* register any more. The new valve trumpets that from the 1830s slowly became standard, however, had been constructed with a view to supporting the middle range of the modern orchestral texture; they were less suited than natural trumpets to solo playing.⁴⁵ Simplifying the trumpet parts was a laborious process in which each problematic passage had to be evaluated individually; this is reflected in Mendelssohn's varying approach to notation. Examined from a source-critical angle, these pragmatic alterations constitute the 'youngest layer' and have nothing to do with the careful emendations of the text. Apart from deletions and instructions, such as '8va bassa', there are changes to the staves, newly composed passages and even corrections to notes by letter. Mendelssohn's revision, while aimed at avoiding extended virtuoso passages in a very high tessitura, obviously attempted to preserve the original musical substance. However, his attempt to embed his manipulation of the first trumpet part led to far-reaching changes in the character of the two movements. Examples 12.1 and 12.2 respectively show the opening bars of the three trumpet parts of the 'Et resurrexit' and *Sanctus* in Mendelssohn's arrangement compared with Bach's original version. One may wonder why Mendelssohn did not attempt to allocate the very high line of the first trumpet to clarinets as he had done very successfully in his 1838 reworking of Bach's D-major Overture BWV 1068.⁴⁶ It may have been the specifically 'sacred' character of the Mass that prevented him from relying on more secular instrumentation, notwithstanding the fact that he had introduced clarinets to reinforce the cantus firmus in the opening chorus of his performances of the St Matthew Passion.

As a result, the trumpets in Mendelssohn's reworking, including the 'Et resurrexit' and *Sanctus*, no longer functioned as virtuosic peaks crowning the instrumental texture, but as a compact *fortissimo* reinforcement within

⁴⁵ A thorough discussion of these processes is to be found in the author's dissertation "Alte Neuigkeiten": Bach-Aufführungen und Leipziger Musikleben im Zeitalter Mendelssohns, Schumanns und Hauptmanns 1829–1852. Studien zu Repertoirebildung, Aufführungspraxis, Aufführungsbedingungen und Ästhetik, Philipps-Universität, Marburg (2010) (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, forthcoming). See also C. Ahrens, *Eine Erfindung und ihre Folgen: Blechblasinstrumente mit Ventilen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986); E. Tarr, *Die Trompete: Ihre Geschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 3rd rev. edn (Mainz: Schott, 1994).

⁴⁶ Mendelssohn scored the first trumpet part of the Gigue BWV 1068/5 for two clarinets in C. This instrumentation had already been used and recommended by other Bach enthusiasts of the time such as C. F. Zelter and R. G. Kiesewetter.

Example 12.1 J. S. Bach, B-minor Mass, 'Et resurrexit' (opening bars), trumpet parts I, II and III: the simplified version by Mendelssohn for the 1841 Leipzig performance (above) compared with Bach's original version (below) as given in Mendelssohn's copy (GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.67)

Example 12.2 J. S. Bach, B-minor Mass, *Sanctus* (opening bars), trumpet parts I, II and III: the simplified version by Mendelssohn for the 1841 Leipzig performance (above) compared with Bach's original (below) as given in Mendelssohn's copy (GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.67)

an altogether fuller orchestral sound. Thus they tend to play a role similar to that of the organ in Mendelssohn's 1841 Leipzig performance of the St Matthew Passion, being employed only occasionally to augment the overall sound. Subjected to Mendelssohn's Romantic performance principles,

Bach's orchestration – despite the superficially unaltered texture – loses its characteristic contour. At the same time, the thinned-out texture, no longer shaped by the continuo, had to be compensated for by a more extensive profile of dynamics.

Conclusion

The analysis of the different layers of Mendelssohn's interventions in his score of the B-minor Mass indicates a balance between a pragmatic approach to sources and the needs of contemporary performance. Even the initiation of the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition in 1851, with its notoriously imperfect but serious effort to produce a 'clean' score with no editorial performance-related additions, was by no means the beginning of an era of correct or 'authentic' performance. To Mendelssohn's credit, it is clear that the chronology of his work on the B-minor Mass shows that again and again, prompted by plans for specific performances, he took a critical look at the sources.⁴⁷

Finally, Mendelssohn's confrontation with the B-minor Mass, as it is documented in the sources, shows that in the first half of the nineteenth century Bach's great work was seen primarily as a single large-scale composition. While there was a certain awareness of Bach's use of parody, the notion of divergent sources existing simultaneously was still an unfamiliar concept. Thus Mendelssohn was convinced, for example, that 'the remaining original parts' would eventually show up in Dresden. The fact that he worked primarily with P 22, which contained only the *Credo*, suggests that for him the fact that at Dresden only performance parts of the *Missa* had been found was merely a problem of transmission. While the performance of individual movements appeared to have been the only way to present the Mass to the musical public at that time, nevertheless it continued to be seen as a unified work of art which might eventually be presented in concert. However, the performance of individual sections of the Mass did not contradict the contemporary view, corroborated by comparisons in reviews of the time with Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*, that it was an integral work.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ The revisions of November–December 1846 thus may well have been undertaken in connection with plans for an edition, particularly since Mendelssohn had conferred with Breitkopf & Härtel on this topic as early as 1845.

⁴⁸ See e.g. *BDok* VI/B 86, pp. 315–18.

Elevating it to the status of an abstract and timeless, unified opus would have estranged it increasingly from its compositional process and the contemporary performing context. It may partly be due to this particular view that with the much more source-orientated approaches adopted in the twentieth century the pendulum swung another way, and scholars such as Friedrich Smend were able to attempt a radically different interpretation of the individual sections.

13 | The B-minor Mass in nineteenth-century England

KATHARINE PARDEE

In his fascinating book *The Mirror of Music*, Percy Scholes describes how Bach 'wins a footing' in the British choral repertoire of the nineteenth century.¹ He shows that between the years 1846 and 1926 the number of annual choral performances of Bach increased from none to forty-four.² This was second only to Handel, at sixty-two performances in 1926 (forty-six of which were the *Messiah*), and significantly more than Elgar or even Mendelssohn. When the *Bach-Gesellschaft* volumes began appearing in the middle of the century, nearly 12 per cent of the subscribers were British³ (a greater percentage than that from any other country apart from Germany), and by the turn of the twentieth century hundreds of English editions of Bach's works were available, including countless individual numbers from the Cantatas, Passions, Masses and other works. Bach's music clearly resonated in England.

From its early, piecemeal introduction to the massive 1886 Leeds Festival performance under Sir Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900) and beyond, the history of the B-minor Mass in nineteenth-century England makes an absorbing case study. A comparison of its reception with that of the St Matthew Passion reveals a strikingly different path, in which the Passion paved the way for the Mass, but performance of the latter, like that of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, was preceded long before by claims that it was among the most learned and exalted music ever written.

Table 13.1 shows the chronology of the introduction of the St Matthew Passion and the B-minor Mass in England, including some other relevant events.⁴ The table shows that there was far more activity early on with the Mass than with the Passion, but that the premiere of the complete Mass nonetheless came twenty-two years after that of the Passion. A brief

¹ P. A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times*, 2 vols. (London: Novello and Co., 1947), vol. I, p. 69.

² *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 70, 144–7.

³ 'Johann Sebastian Bach: Died July 28, 1750', *Musical Times*, 91/1289 (July 1950), 259–60. I am grateful to Yo Tomita for supplying the full list of subscribers to the BG.

⁴ References to these entries will be provided in the discussion below.

Table 13.1 Chronology of the St Matthew Passion and B-minor Mass in nineteenth-century England

Year	St Matthew Passion	B-minor Mass
1789		Burney writes about the <i>Credo</i>
1815		S. Wesley plans to publish the <i>Credo</i>
1829	Mendelssohn's performance in Berlin	
1830	Full score published by Schlesinger in Berlin	
1833	A. B. Marx publishes <i>Klavierauszug</i>	Nägeli publishes the full score of <i>Missa</i> ; A. B. Marx publishes <i>Klavierauszug</i> of entire Mass
1835	The 'Passion Chorale' is published in <i>Sacred Minstrelsy: A Collection of Sacred Music by the Great Masters of All Ages and Nations</i>	'Crucifixus' is published in <i>Sacred Minstrelsy: A Collection of Sacred Music by the Great Masters of All Ages and Nations</i>
1837	Mendelssohn plays Bach at the Birmingham Festival, and some movements from the Passion are performed	
1838		1 May: The (London) Choral Harmonists perform the <i>Credo</i> 23 May: Ancient Concerts perform movements from the <i>Gloria</i> ; Gauntlett publishes a collection of Bach fugues transcribed for organ, including the 'Gratias agimus'
1840s		Sacred Harmonic Society puts the Mass into rehearsal
1841	Mendelssohn performs the Passion in Leipzig	
1845		Nägeli and Simrock publish the full score of the rest of the Mass
1849	Bach Society founded	Henry Smart, 'possessing three copies of the Mass in B Minor presents one to the Bach Society and one to William Sterndale Bennett'
1850		'Et in unum' from the <i>Credo</i> performed at first Bach Society concert
1851		John Hullah performs the <i>Credo</i> with his choir
1852		'Duet from the B-minor Mass' is performed in a Bach Society concert
1854	Bach Society performs the Passion for the first time (twice, several months apart). Published in <i>BG</i>	

Table 13.1 (cont.)

Year	St Matthew Passion	B-minor Mass
1856-7		Published in <i>BG</i>
1858	Bach Society performs the Passion again	
1860		Bach Society programmes the first eleven movements of the Mass
1862	English edition published by Bach Society	
1868		<i>Sanctus</i> performed by Henry Leslie's Choir
1870	Bach Society dissolved Novello publishes cheap edition. Barnby performs the Passion at St James's Hall	
1871	Barnby performs the work during a service at Westminster Abbey. The Passion is performed at the Gloucester Festival	
1873	Barnby performs the Passion four times in Albert Hall during Passion Week. Stainer gives the first of many annual performances during Holy Week at St Paul's Cathedral. Costa conducts the Passion complete, for the first time	
1875		The Bach Choir is formed
1876		Premiere of the Mass by the Bach Choir (two performances)
1876-88		Annual performances by the Bach Choir
1885		Bach bicentenary: Mass performed in Albert Hall
		Novello publishes cheap vocal score
1886		Leeds Festival performance

comparison of the reception of each work will illuminate some of the reasons for the delay.

The St Matthew Passion, with its resemblance to an oratorio, its sacred subject matter, learned counterpoint and Protestant hymn tunes, and its advocacy by the beloved Mendelssohn, was a natural focus for enthusiasm on the part of the English music-loving public in the nineteenth century. Its massive structure involved the popular huge choruses, and audiences could join in the chorales, enabling a communal experience that was monumental in scale and sublime in effect. It is true that the work was too long for a nineteenth-century English audience, so cuts had to be made, as Mendelssohn himself had done in his own performances in Berlin and Leipzig. In addition, also following Mendelssohn's practice, modern woodwinds and strings were used in place of some of the older instruments that

could no longer be found. Finally, passages in the text that were felt to be offensive in their graphic imagery or incompatible with Anglican theology were tempered in translation. The St Matthew Passion in England thus took on a decidedly English appearance.

The B-minor Mass was harder to adjust to English requirements, even though it was hailed early on as a compositional tour de force. Burney, for example, wrote in the later eighteenth century: '[Bach's] *Credo* for five voices with accompaniments, of which I am in possession of the score, ... is one of the most clear, correct, and masterly, I have ever seen.'⁵

Thus was the Mass – or part of it – introduced to the educated Englishman: a tantalising report which was to remain unverifiable for most of the music-loving public until parts of the work began to be performed almost fifty years later. For in contrast to the preludes and fugues of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, or other keyboard music which people could have heard or played themselves, the *Credo* lived on its reputation from study and word of mouth alone. The English musicians who saw the score immediately recognised its qualities, and thus this movement became one of the foundations on which the Bach 'awakening' was built, long before anyone was able to hear the music.⁶ The technical difficulties of the piece were not the only barriers to performance. Its extreme length made it inappropriate for a church service; yet its form was clearly specifically referential to the church. (This was awkward not only in England but also for early performances in Germany.) It was not regarded as a Protestant work by any means, and in fact the Roman Catholic mass rite was forbidden in the nineteenth-century Anglican church. In addition, the work does not tell a dramatic story, has no hymn tunes in which audiences could participate, and apparently did not have the active endorsement of Mendelssohn. The Latin language was perhaps less of a barrier than the German of the St Matthew Passion, but it was repellent to Nonconformists as well as to many Anglicans, and was difficult to understand for the average layman. (It seems that it was not until Vaughan Williams's 1930s Leith Hill Festival performance that a 'British' – Vaughan Williams's own term – translation appeared, though isolated movements were rendered earlier than that in English, particularly for use as church anthems.)

The work did have some advantages where contemporary performers were concerned. Firstly, there were no recitatives, sections which had created significant problems in English performances of the St Matthew

⁵ C. Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols. (London, 1789), vol. IV, p. 592.

⁶ Cf. M. Kassler (ed.), *The English Bach Awakening: Knowledge of J. S. Bach and his Music in England, 1750–1830*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

Passion.⁷ Secondly, the Mass was particularly attractive to English music-lovers in its extensive use of fugues. Bach had never lost his reputation as the supreme writer of fugues, and indeed, it was on that tide that he rode into England at the turn of the nineteenth century. Samuel Wesley, the most vocal of the Bach converts, called him the 'Master of Harmony', and his efforts, along with those of the other 'Bachists' of the early part of the century, to promote the works of Bach, particularly *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, are well known.⁸ The most appealing fugues to the English were those in the slow, unornamented, white-note Palestrina-style – the *stile antico*. This style fitted particularly well the criteria of 'sublime' as described by Crotch and many other writers, for whom music that was elevated, solemn and full of deep science was the height of sublimity.⁹ The Ecclesiologists, the mid-nineteenth-century group who applied the lessons of the Tractarians to liturgy, church decoration and architecture, promoted a 'severe and colourless style of church music'.¹⁰ Typical of the view of Bach's fugues in mid-century are these passages from George Hogarth about Bach's works for the church:

But all is grave and elevated, and calculated to inspire deep religious feeling. This is the pure ecclesiastical style, unmingled with the light and florid graces of the theatre ... The pure ecclesiastical style ought to be kept separate and distinct from every other. The music which we hear in our churches ought to resemble those holy edifices themselves, in massive simplicity of proportions, and solemnity of character ... It is by a reform in this respect, – by introducing, in an English dress, the sublime works of Sebastian Bach and his countrymen who have worthily followed in his footsteps, – that the general taste for ecclesiastical music in this country would be purified and exalted.¹¹

Late in the century the view of the superiority of mind over emotion was still prevalent: in his book *My Thoughts on Music and Musicians*, Heathcote

⁷ Performers did not know how to handle the continuo, which was out of fashion by the nineteenth century. The choice of instruments used was also problematic, as organs were regarded as too inexpressive, were generally tuned to a different pitch from orchestras and persisted in being tuned in modified meantone temperaments.

⁸ See Y. Tomita, 'The Dawn of the English Bach Awakening Manifested in Sources of the "48"', in Kassler (ed.), *The English Bach Awakening*, pp. 35–6.

⁹ See e.g. W. Crotch, *Specimens of Various Styles of Music*, 3 vols. (London: R. Birchall, 1809), vol. III, p. i, and *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831), p. 115; see also E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 3rd edn (London, 1761).

¹⁰ W. E. Dickson, *Fifty Years of Church Music* (Ely: T. A. Hills and Son, 1894), p. 42.

¹¹ G. Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism: Being a General Survey of Music, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (London: J. W. Parker, 1835), pp. 199–201.

Statham wrote of the virtue of inexpressiveness in church music: the 'victory' of the intellect over the 'more partial and poignant human emotions . . . The glory of an organ fugue is above nature – it is an appeal to the perception of metaphysical rather than physical beauty.'¹²

With this in mind, it is no surprise that the *Credo* made such an impression on English musicians. Of course it cannot be discounted that it was apparently the only movement of the B-minor Mass available in England at the turn of the nineteenth century, but Wesley could not have wished for a better piece to demonstrate that Bach could write elevated choral pieces as well as keyboard fugues, and his attempt to publish the *Credo* in 1815,¹³ instead of, say, the motet *Jesu, meine Freude*, which he had performed in 1809 in the Hanover Square Rooms,¹⁴ bears out the fact that he thought extremely highly of it and was convinced that it would appeal to other musicians as well. The attempt at publication was not successful, however, and it was a further twenty-three years before the *Credo* was performed in England.

Regardless of the attraction of its fugues and the endorsement of respected musicians, the complete B-minor Mass had to wait even longer for its first performance. Through the efforts of the Bach Society, the St Matthew Passion was first performed in England in 1854,¹⁵ paving the way for the Mass, which was finally performed in relative entirety in 1876.¹⁶ The delay was fortunate for the Mass's reception, because those things that reviewers complained about with regard to the Passion were no longer issues by the time the Mass was introduced. By 1876 there was less need to 'sell' Bach to the public. Concert-goers knew and accepted his choral style, and with the vivid memory of the moving participatory performances of the St Matthew in St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey fresh in their minds, they were well primed to like the Mass. The question of elaborate 'additional accompaniments' – those attempts to add colour to Bach's orchestra by adding other instruments – was also beginning to fade, and the increasingly predominant view of them was that they were an 'excrement'.¹⁷ By the 1870s professional musicians such as Michael Costa (conductor of the London Philharmonic Society) were moving on

¹² H. Statham, *My Thoughts on Music and Musicians* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892), p. 188.

¹³ See P. Olleson (ed.), *The Letters of Samuel Wesley: Professional and Social Correspondence, 1797–1837* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 249–50, 253, 261–2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110. ¹⁵ See 'The Bach Society', *Musical World*, 32/14 (8 April 1854), 237–8.

¹⁶ See the discussion below.

¹⁷ Frederick Bridge, commenting on additional accompaniments in Handel, as quoted by Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, p. 69. Scholes does point out however that some nineteenth-century editors

to new vistas with the St Matthew: performing the entire work without cuts; tracking down the instruments Bach called for.¹⁸ Generally speaking therefore, reviews of the B-minor Mass were more favourable than those of the St Matthew Passion, even though not all the problems (particularly regarding adequate instruments) were solved.

One final aspect of the introductions of the B-minor Mass and the St Matthew Passion in England requires discussion: the scores used in the earliest performances. The St Matthew Passion arrived in England via an easily traceable route: the choral and orchestral parts used by Mendelssohn were sent for Sterndale Bennett's Bach Society performances.¹⁹ In addition, the subscription list for the full score of Schlesinger's edition of the St Matthew Passion (1830) records two English music publishing houses,²⁰ so we know that it was available for purchase. (Mendelssohn's full score and orchestral parts are now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford,²¹ alongside Sterndale Bennett's performing copies from the 1840s and 1850s.)

The scores used for the B-minor Mass are considerably more complicated to track down. We know that the *Credo* was in England in manuscript copies long before the rest of the Mass. Copies of the section are the only manuscript sources of the B-minor Mass that exist in England, and as noted earlier the first reported performance of any movement from the Mass was of the *Credo*. In his paper on early *Credo* sources in England, Yo Tomita has traced and described the early manuscript copies of this movement in England.²² All the extant copies of the *Credo* derived from Burney's copy, which he probably acquired from C. P. E. Bach. Tomita has pointed out that most extant copies with an English connection bear evidence that they were

regarded judicious additional accompaniments as necessary, because of the problem of balance between the larger choral forces and the orchestra.

¹⁸ See K. Pardee, 'The Earliest Complete Performance of the St. Matthew Passion?', *Bach*, 40/1 (2009), 80–1.

¹⁹ M. Crum, *Catalogue of the Mendelssohn Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1983), vol II: *Music and Papers*, pp. 32 and 146. This is also mentioned in J. R. Sterndale Bennett, *The Life of Sir William Sterndale Bennett* (Cambridge University Press, 1907), p. 233.

²⁰ GROSSE PASSIONSMUSIK nach dem Evangelium Matthaei VON JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH. Partitur. Seiner Königlichen Hoheit dem Kronprinzen von Preussen in tiefster Ehrfurcht vom Verleger zugeeignet (Berlin: Schlesinger, [1830]), plate number 1570. T. Boosey and R. Cocks subscribed to three copies of the score each. The former also subscribed to three copies of the Klavierauszug edition.

²¹ GB-Ob, Ms. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, c.66–7. See Chapter 12 above, p. 247.

²² Y. Tomita, 'Bach's *Credo* in England: An Early History', in A. Leahy and Y. Tomita (eds.), *Bach Studies from Dublin: Selected Papers Presented at the Ninth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Held at Trinity College Dublin from 12th to 16th July 2000*, Irish Musical Studies, 8 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 205–27.

used for study and perhaps even performance.²³ It was not until 1833 that Nägeli published the *Missa*,²⁴ almost at the same time as Simrock issued A. B. Marx's *Klavierauszug* (vocal score with piano reduction) as well as the choral parts of the entire Mass,²⁵ but no orchestra parts were offered. The full score of the second half of the B-minor Mass did not appear in print until 1845. Thus any performance with orchestra of the *Credo* or indeed any movement in England before 1845 presents a mystery regarding what score was used. From 1845 the Nägeli-Simrock score was readily available; and the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition came out in 1856–7.

Some amplification of performance and reception details relevant to the appearance of the B-minor Mass in England will help to round out the picture.

1815: Mention of the *Credo* appears in Samuel Wesley's letters.²⁶ Beginning in September 1815 we read of his enthusiasm for the *Credo*, which he had seen – probably in Burney's copy, and which he also may have transcribed. As late as 1819 he was planning to publish the movement, according to a notice in the press: publication by subscription of the *Credo* from J. S. Bach's B-minor Mass was announced as being 'in a forward state of preparation for the press'.²⁷ Unfortunately this publishing project came to naught. There were no known performances of movements from the B-minor Mass for almost twenty years after this.

1833–4: The B-minor Mass appeared in print: Simrock published Marx's *Klavierauszug* with the separate choral parts of the entire Mass, while Nägeli published the *Missa* in full score. Because there was not yet a published copy of the complete Mass in full score, and Marx's vocal score was of the complete work, it seems likely that this was based on copies owned by the Berlin Singakademie.²⁸ It is known that Zelter had rehearsed the entire Mass with the Singakademie in 1813,²⁹ and that in the 1820s he again rehearsed the work when Mendelssohn himself was a chorister. Marx had published a

²³ Ibid., p. 220.

²⁴ *MESSE VON IOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH: NACH DEM AUTOGRAPHUM GESTOCHEN. Erste Lieferung...* (Zurich: Hans Georg Nägeli; Bonn: N. Simrock, [1833]), plate number 6.

²⁵ *Die Hohe Messe in H-moll von Joh. Seb. Bach für zwei Sopran, Alto, Tenor und Bass. Im Clavierauszug von Adolph Bernhard Marx*, *Kirchen-Musik*, 3 (Bonn: N. Simrock; Zurich: H. G. Nägeli, [1834]), plate number 3038. Cf. *NBA KB II/1*, pp. 58–62.

²⁶ See n. 13 above.

²⁷ *English Musical Gazette* (1 January 1819), p. 14, cited in M. Kassler and P. Olleson, *Samuel Wesley (1766–1837): A Source Book* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 53.

²⁸ Mendelssohn also owned a copy of the full score of the Mass, to which Marx also would probably have had access. Mendelssohn's copy may well have been made from the missing Singakademie score(s) as well.

²⁹ Stauffer, p. 190.

piano-reduction copy of the St Matthew Passion as well,³⁰ along with the full score, possibly based on a Singakademie copy, in 1830.³¹ It is reasonable to assume that he would also have had access to the B-minor Mass. Perhaps after this date choirs could have rehearsed and even performed the complete Mass using this score, though they would not yet have had the full score to work from.

1835: The 'Crucifixus' was published as 'Quartet, "Crucifixus." / From a MS. Mass, by John Sebastian Bach' in *Sacred Minstrelsy: A Collection of Sacred Music by the Great Masters of All Ages and Nations*.³²

1838 brought increased activity where Bach and the B-minor Mass were concerned. Mendelssohn had just made his triumphant debut at the Birmingham Festival in the autumn of 1837, not only with his own *St Paul*, but with selections from the St Matthew Passion as well as a performance of the E-flat Prelude and Fugue (BWV 552) on the magnificent new town hall organ at the start of his final concert.³³ Undoubtedly this event was responsible for the enthusiastic attempts to perform Bach choral works over the next year.

On 26 April, several choral works of Bach were performed by the Ancient Concerts. The works were chosen by Lord Burghersh, who had attended the Birmingham Festival, and included Bach's *Magnificat*, as well as a 'double-chorus Kyrie'.³⁴

On 1 May 1838, according to Scholes, the Choral Harmonists' Society performed the *Credo*.³⁵ Since this performance took place before the publication of the first full printed edition of the Mass, it must be assumed that the Choral Harmonists were working from a (presumably English) manuscript copy. Tomita speculates that this was R.M.21.e.27, a copy of the *Credo* with numerous handwritten annotations that seem to be performance-related, or certainly study-related.³⁶ Unfortunately, the British Library reports that the records of the Choral Harmonists were destroyed during World War II, and a programme or other contemporary

³⁰ *Grosse Passionsmusik nach dem Evangelium Matthäi VON JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH. Vollständiger Klavierauszug von ADOLPH BERNHARD MARX. Seiner Königl. Hoheit dem Kronprinzen von Preussen in tiefster Ehrfurcht gewidmet vom Verleger* (Berlin: Schlesinger, [1830]), plate number 1571.

³¹ See n. 20 above.

³² *Sacred Minstrelsy: A Collection of Sacred Music by the Great Masters of All Ages and Nations* (London: John William Parker, 1834–45), vol. II, pp. 90–2. See R. A. Leaver, 'An Early English Imprint of the "Crucifixus" of the B minor Mass (BWV 232^{II}/5)', *Understanding Bach*, 3 (2008), 39–54. Professor Leaver shows that the unnamed editor used the MS copy in GB-Lbl, shelfmark R.M.21.e.27, as his model.

³³ See *BDok VI/D* 148, p. 669. ³⁴ See *Examiner*, 1578 (29 April 1838), 261.

³⁵ Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, p. 71. ³⁶ Tomita, 'Bach's *Credo* in England', pp. 219–20.

confirmation of this performance has not been found. Smend mentions it,³⁷ as do other later writers, but whether their reports were from first-hand knowledge is unknown.³⁸

Later in the month, on 23 May, the Ancient Concerts performed movements from the *Gloria* of the Mass. The responsibility for selecting the programme for this concert fell to the Archbishop of York, who chose the 'Gloria', 'Qui sedes' and 'Quoniam' movements, calling them ('protestantly', to use Scholes's word) 'Selections from Service'.³⁹ Unfortunately the archbishop did not understand the challenge that this music would pose, for the performance was reportedly dismal. *The Musical World* 'applaud[ed] the zeal but lament[ed] the indiscretion of its originator . . .':

The chorus [*Gloria*] is accompanied, we believe, by three obligati [*sic*] trumpets, the alto tromba extending to E in alt. This part of course Mr. Harper could not play, nor indeed could any body, with the instrument now in use in our orchestras. The aria 'Qui sedes,' has an obligato accompaniment for the tenoroon or oboe d'amore, an instrument which extended below the corno Inglese. This Mr. Grattan Cooke attempted on the common oboe, and of course stopped at the very outset of his exertions. The Bass Solo 'Quoniam tu solus,' is accompanied by a corno and two fagotti. The passages for the horn were next to impracticable, and Mr. Denman was furnished with a fagotti part which appeared greatly incorrect. Of course the selection was slaughtered, the soli players retiring in dismay, and leaving Mr. Knyvett to play their parts on the organ, which he did most manfully, after the fashion of the men of the last generation, 'Solo on the cornet stop.'⁴⁰

Later in the century, F. G. Edwards, looking back in *The Musical Times* to the early days of the Bach revival, was to refer to this as the "'Farewell Symphony" performance'.⁴¹

A few months later, on 16 August, an advertisement soliciting subscriptions for the second part of the B-minor Mass appeared in *The Musical World* (Figure 13.1). While the identity of the publisher is not known

³⁷ NBA KB II/1, p. 43.

³⁸ George Grove (ed.), *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. I (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879, p. 352) and Scholes both report that the Choral Harmonists was a high-quality society of amateurs, 'backed by the collaboration of the most eminent professional vocalists and instrumentalists' (Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, p. 28), including Vincent Novello. The group performed many important works with orchestra, including the *Missa solemnis* in 1839 and 1844.

³⁹ Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, p. 71.

⁴⁰ 'Metropolitan Concerts . . . Ancient Concert', *Musical World*, 9/115 (new series, 2/21) (24 May 1838), 67.

⁴¹ F. G. Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England', *Musical Times*, 37/646 (December 1896), 800.

SEB. BACH'S GRAND MASS
IN B MINOR.
The 2nd part of the *Full Score* of the above Work
is now in course of Publication by SUBSCRIPTION.
Price of the First Part, 12s; Second Part, 6s;
Pianoforte Score, 12s; the Five Vocal Parts, 8s.
The Third, and last Part of the Full Score will
be Published in December, Subscriptions will be
received by
G. ANDRE, Importer of Foreign Music, 70,
Berners Street, Oxford Street.
Catalogues of some Unpublished *original MSS.* of
Mozart to be had Gratis.

Figure 13.1 Advertisement for the B-minor Mass score, *Musical World*, 9/127 (new series, 2/33) (16 August 1838), 238

conclusively, Tomita speculates that it was Nægeli, whose London agent was Gustav André (1816–1874).⁴²

Also in 1838, Henry John Gauntlett published the first of his *Choral and Instrumental Fugues of John Seb. Bach in Continuation of the English Edition of his 48 Preludes and Fugues Arranged from his Masses Litanies Oratorios and Exercises*.⁴³ Included in the first volume is an organ arrangement of the 'Gratias' – again, one of the *stile antico* fugues. A note at the bottom of the page indicates that this is from the Marx edition (see Figure 13.2). The review of this work in *The Musical World* states:

The subject is as old as the hills (the same which concludes the oratorio of St Paul), but the genius of Bach has added a second, which, although it renders the performance somewhat difficult, throws around it the charm of novelty and interest. The close inwoven points have been previously used by Palestrina, and will be found in an elaborate chorus from the Canon Mass in C, by the Roman composer.⁴⁴

Thus in a few sentences the writer assured his readers that Bach would be familiar, not completely strange; that he was linked with the exalted church

⁴² Tomita points out that *Musical World*, 8/97 (new series, 1/3) (19 January 1838), 47, had given a date of March 1838 for the forthcoming publication of the second instalment of Nægeli's full score. The advertisement from August 1838 reproduced in Figure 13.1 shows that this did not happen and conveys the latest, newly revised, plan for publication. In reality, the second part did not appear until 1845, and though the text announces the intention to publish a third part of the Mass, the second instalment of the score was its last.

⁴³ 9 vols. (London: C. Lonsdale, 1838–51).

⁴⁴ *Musical World*, 8/110 (new series, 1/16) (19 April 1838), 262.

8

"GRATIAS AGIMUS TIBI"

(From a Gloria in D major)

Legatissimo e pesante.

MAESTOSO
ALLÀ BREVE

* In Marx's Edition this note and its corresponding one in the Soprano of the next bar is marked Ch. I think Marx at times incorrect; he unquestionably is so in his reading of the celebrated G Minor Pedal Fugue. J. Sebastian Bach's Works, No. 9.

Figure 13.2 Gauntlett's arrangement of the 'Gratias' from the B-minor Mass (London: C. Lonsdale, 1838)

music style of Palestrina; and that his genius surpassed previous composers' efforts with similar material.

1840s: Scholes reports that the Sacred Harmonic Society put the B-minor Mass into rehearsal.⁴⁵ The society never performed the Mass, however (though it did programme the St Matthew Passion in 1873).

1850, 29 July: The duet 'Et in unum' from the *Symbolum Nicenum* was performed at the first Bach Society concert. Sterndale Bennett was the nominal conductor, but according to the Bach Society's records, Henry Smart actually filled that duty. (It was reported in the Bach Society's records that for some rehearsals when a chorus proved too difficult, Sterndale Bennett would ask Smart to take his place as the conductor, and went himself to the piano to accompany.⁴⁶)

1851: John Hullah performed the *Credo* with his choir at St Martin's Hall. The review in the *Athenaeum* reflected the general feeling about Bach at this time: he was worthy to be studied and admired, but the style was still strange and difficult, and as always the obsolete instruments were a problem. The reviewer (probably Henry Chorley) contrasted 'Giant Bach the scarcely accessible' with 'Giant Handel the majestically familiar'. He continued:

The pomp of the opening of the 'Credo,' with its artful intertexture and stupendous harmonies, the deep expression and dramatic modulations of the 'Et incarnatus,' the jubilant glory of the 'Et resurrexit' and the confession succeeded by triumph in the final chorus from the 'Confiteor' up to the 'Amen,' were absorbing ... in the dignity of their first ideas and the consummate science and unexpectedness with which these are amplified ... The *solos* are strange, – and, we think, of an inferior excellence ... In the duet 'et in unum Dominum' two *soprani* voices are perpetually taxed, in reply, with the most harassing divisions of time and the strangest setting of the Latin text. Yet, were this duet once thoroughly mastered, it might possibly sound as naturally flowing as 'Cantando in di.' So, again, the *bass solo* in the 'Et resurrexit' is tantamount to the most crabbed of *solfeggi*; – while throughout the air 'Et in spiritum sanctum' with its lovely pastoral *ritornel* for the *oboe* (why pastoral to such words?), the singer has to grope his way, distanced oftener than supported by the accompaniment, through zig-zag mazes of sound, where the eye must lead him because the ear offers no assistance – and in which the mind suggests no clue – so arbitrarily purposeless seems the ordinance of the song, if the words are studied.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, p. 71.

⁴⁶ See C. Steggall's 'Short History of the Bach Society' in the papers of William Sterndale Bennett in the library of the Royal College of Music, London. Steggall (1826–1905) was Secretary of the Bach Society.

⁴⁷ *Athenaeum*, 1221 (March 1851), 331.

1854: Sterndale Bennett premiered the 'complete' St Matthew Passion with the Bach Society in two identical concerts.⁴⁸ In a long *Athenaeum* review, which was quite critical of the performers, the writer (probably Chorley again) 'congratulated the Society for arranging to perform the work but stressed that the creative powers of Bach were shown in the B-minor Mass'. Basil Keen, historian of the Bach Choir, notes that 'the last remark, contained in both reviews, is interesting, as no public performance of the Mass had yet taken place in this country'.⁴⁹

1875: The Bach Choir was founded in this year, with the aim of performing the B-minor Mass. (The Bach Society had similarly been formed almost thirty years earlier with the intention of performing the St Matthew Passion.) The history of the Bach Choir has been described in detail by Basil Keen in his history of the organisation,⁵⁰ but its founding, including a description of the earliest rehearsals of the Mass, is worth summarising.

The first plan to perform the Mass belonged to Arthur Duke Coleridge (1830–1913), who had learned of it from Thomas Attwood Walmisley (1814–1856) in Cambridge. Coleridge approached his good friend Otto Goldschmidt (1829–1907), who with his wife, the soprano Jenny Lind (1820–1887), was enthusiastic about the idea. They used their excellent social connections to arrange rehearsals and recruit singers, and Jenny Lind herself led supplementary rehearsals for the women in her house.⁵¹ Goldschmidt travelled to Germany to examine Rietz's score of the Mass in Leipzig, and arranged for the orchestral parts to be borrowed from the Hamburg Cäcilienverein. A page of the choral parts from the edition prepared for the Bach Choir by Goldschmidt (still widely used) is reproduced in Figure 13.3.

1876, 26 April and 8 May: The first performances of the relatively complete B-minor Mass were given in St James's Hall by the Bach Choir. As listed in *The Musical Times*, the soloists were Mme. Lemmens-Sherrington, Mme. Patey, Mr Cummings and Signor Federici.⁵² (For the second performance Mr Kempton stepped in for Mr Federici, who was indisposed.) Subsequent to the performances – perhaps realising that the premiere

⁴⁸ This performance was far from complete. The cuts were those which Mendelssohn had taken in his Berlin and Leipzig performances, plus additional ones prescribed by Sterndale Bennett.

⁴⁹ B. Keen, *The Bach Choir: The First Hundred Years* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 8.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Jenny Lind was not a soloist. Several contemporary reviews state that her role was only as leader of the sopranos, and her name is not listed with those of the other soloists. According to her biographer Joan Bulman, 'Jenny, with a dignity and self-effacement that people spoke of as "glorious" in a great prima donna, coached the ladies and herself led the sopranos' (J. Bulman, *Jenny Lind: A Biography* (London: J. Barrie, 1956), p. 312).

⁵² 'Bach's Mass in B minor', *Musical Times*, 17/400 (June 1876), 499–500.

MASS in B minor
(DIE HOHE MESSE in H moll.)

Edition of the Bach Choir,
London.
Editor
OTTO GOLDSCHMIDT.
1885.

1

by
JOHN SEBASTIAN BACH.
SOPRANO I.
CHORUS PARTS.

No 1. KYRIE.
(5 part Chorus.)

Adagio.

Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e - - le - i - son, e - le - - i - son.

Largo.

Ky - ri - e - - le - - i - son, Ky - ri - e - - le - i -

- son, e - le - Ky - ri - e - - le - - i - son, Ky - ri - e - - le -

- i - son, e - le - - i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le - i -

- son, e - le - - i - son, e - le - - i - son, e - le - i -

- son, Ky - ri - e - - le - - i - son, Ky - ri -

- e - le - i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e -

- le - i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le -

- i - son, e -

This edition of John Seb. Bach's "Hohe Messe" is in accordance with the rendering of the work at these seven public performances as yet given by the Bach Choir. The Editor is responsible for almost all the marks of expression, a few of the Tempi, (the greater part being Bach's own) and for any occasional redistribution and strengthening of voices. The reading and marking are the result of the experience obtained at the before mentioned performances, as well as others given in Germany. The mark + is inserted in important places as a suggestion for taking breath.

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Figure 13.3 Goldschmidt's edition of the B-minor Mass (MASS in B minor (DIE HOHE MESSE in H moll) by John Sebastian Bach, Edition of the Bach Choir, London: Novello & Co., 1885): soprano I part (p. 1)

would generate excitement and interest – *The Musical Times* printed a three-part article analysing the work. This article, by Ebenezer Prout,⁵³ parallels a similar one written by George Alexander Macfarren at the time of the publication of the Novello octavo edition of the St Matthew Passion in 1870.⁵⁴ A number of books and pamphlets were produced in subsequent years with the aim of helping the average person understand the work. Typical of the approaches was the Rev. J. Eckersley's in his book *Remarks on Bach's Mass in B minor*, which begins by noting the complaints often heard about Bach's choral music, that 'a single theme is dwelt upon for a very long time as it passes from one set of voices to another ... Even people of considerable musical taste often find it difficult to keep their attention fixed. Why should it not suffice to say what has to be said at once and have done with it?'⁵⁵ Other monographs that appeared in England around the turn of the twentieth century included Alan Gray and Sedley Taylor's *John Sebastian Bach's Mass in B minor* and Charles Sanford Terry's *Bach: The Mass in B minor*.⁵⁶

As in the first performance of the St Matthew Passion, substantial cuts were taken in the 1876 performance. A note included in the programme states that 'owing to the unusual length of the work some abbreviation is absolutely necessary for the convenience of both singers and audience'.⁵⁷ In a letter to *The Musical Times* in 1953, Stanley Godman reported that

the omissions at the first performance were the second Kyrie, Gratias agimus and the first Hosanna ... Some omissions were also made 'in some of the solo numbers (nos. 2, 7, 9, 10, 14 and 18 in 1876 and nos. 2, 7, 9, 14 and 18 in 1883) either in the vocal portions or in the orchestral ritornels'. Even with all these cuts it was still thought that some of the audience might want to leave before the end of the first performance in 1876 and a special printed slip was therefore included in the programme, which stated: There will be a pause before the Agnus Dei to allow

⁵³ E. Prout, 'Bach's Mass in B minor', *Musical Times*, 17/400 (June 1876), 487–90; 17/401 (July 1876), 519–23; 17/402 (August 1876), 553–5.

⁵⁴ G. A. Macfarren, 'Bach's Grosse Passions-Musik', *Musical Times*, 14/323 (January 1870), 327–9; 14/324 (February 1870), 359–61; 14/325 (March 1870), 91–3; 14/326 (April 1870), 423–6.

⁵⁵ *Remarks on Bach's Mass in B Minor being an endeavour to ascertain the meaning of its movements, and to draw attention to some of its beauties, without the use of the technical terms of contrapuntal composition* (London: Novello and Co., [1904]), p. 3.

⁵⁶ A. Gray and S. Taylor, *John Sebastian Bach's Mass in B minor in Cambridge, 1908: Three Papers* (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1908); C. S. Terry, *Bach: The Mass in B minor* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924) and subsequent edns.

⁵⁷ R. Sterndale Bennett, 'The St. Matthew Passion in England', letter to the editor, *Musical Times*, 94/1329 (November 1953), 521.

time for those wishing to leave before the conclusion of the performance. BY ORDER.⁵⁸

Sir George Grove wrote the programme notes, noting the following changes to the orchestration: clarinets substituted for the oboes d'amore; the high trumpet parts were rearranged for trumpet and clarinets; trumpets were added in the *Credo* to support the voices; the flute parts were doubled in number; and violas were added.

The reviews were generally very positive, in contrast to those of the first performances of the St Matthew Passion. The performers were all praised, though there was some grumbling about Goldschmidt's editing and the substitutions of clarinets. Reviewers were even complimentary about the behaviour of the audiences: at the early St Matthew Passion performances, the disruptive repetition of movements as encores had been much lamented in the newspapers. Much to the relief of *The Times*, at least, this reprising did not happen at the premiere of the B-minor Mass.⁵⁹

Between 1876 and 1888 the Bach Choir presented annual performances of the B-minor Mass in its near-entirety, with Goldschmidt at the podium until 1885. Interestingly, the Passions were forbidden from performance by the policy of the Bach Choir's committee, which stated that they should be performed only in a sacred building. Thus the B-minor Mass was again differentiated from the St Matthew Passion, which was often said to have its true home in the church. On the other hand, the Mass was often compared to the *Missa solemnis*, another sacred work more usually associated with the concert hall.

1885 saw the bicentenary of Bach's birth, and at the invitation of the Bach Choir a number of choral societies came together to present the B-minor Mass in a festival concert in the Albert Hall on 21 March. By this time, Goldschmidt's relations with the Bach Choir had become strained, though he did conduct this performance. Participating choirs included the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society, the Sacred Harmonic Society, Henry Leslie's Choir, the South London Choral Association, members of the Chapel Royal and the choirs of St Paul's Cathedral and St George's Chapel, Windsor. There were about 120 in the orchestra, with John Stainer playing the organ, and 600 in the chorus. Two thousand books of words were ordered from Novello, but no record of the actual number of audience members survives. For this performance, the previously unavailable oboes d'amore were used

⁵⁸ S. Godman, 'The B minor Mass in England', letter to the editor, *Musical Times*, 94/1330 (December 1953), 575.

⁵⁹ 'Bach's Mass in B minor', *The Times* (Thursday, 11 May 1876), 5.

and a suitable trumpet was found (a special player for the latter being brought in from Berlin, according to the review in *The Musical Times*).⁶⁰ The reviews of the concert were mostly favourable, although *The Musical Times* criticised the cuts taken in the work as 'inappropriate in a festival performance intended as a tribute to the composer'. It also complained that the doubling of the bassoons in the 'Quoniam' drowned out the horn, and that trumpets were improperly used in the first movement of the *Credo* to double the voices, contrary to Bach's scoring.⁶¹ *The Monthly Musical Record* stated:

The chorus, which included many professionals, was augmented to the number of about six hundred voices, and many and careful had been the rehearsals. The vocal tone, good in quality, was somewhat disappointing in quantity, however, for notwithstanding the earnest exertions of all concerned, in so large a space the voice parts made little or none of the effect desired.⁶²

The 1885 bicentenary festival was to be Goldschmidt's last appearance with the Bach Choir. His successor, Charles Villiers Stanford, performed his first B-minor Mass with that group on 12 May 1888. Stanford took a 'fresh approach', indicative of the next stage of Bach performance, which was mostly welcomed by the press after what they had begun to see as Goldschmidt's quirky tempos and overly expressive interpretations. Stanford deleted Goldschmidt's phrasing and dynamic markings, and continued to use Bach's original instruments as far as he was able. In a curious move however, reminiscent of *Messiah* performances, Stanford tried to make the audience stand for the *Sanctus*. George Bernard Shaw, writing as 'Corno di Bassetto', said that this was a 'manufactured gesture; and in any event audiences would be reluctant to rise the more they came to know how long the *Sanctus* lasted!'⁶³ The Mass continued to be a prominent feature of the London Bach Choir's programmes, as well as of those of the other Bach Choirs that sprang up around the country – and indeed around the world.

In 1886 the Mass was presented in a monumental programme at the triennial Leeds Festival, with Sir Arthur Sullivan conducting. In his edition of the Mass, prepared for the festival, Sullivan notes that the 'few marks of expression' were inserted by him for the Festival, and that they were

⁶⁰ 'The Bach Choir', *Musical Times*, 26/506 (April 1885), 203. ⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² 'The Bach Choir', *Monthly Musical Record*, 15/172 (April 1885), 91.

⁶³ G. B. Shaw, *London Music in 1888–89 as Heard by Corno di Bassetto* (London: Constable, 1937), p. 33.

'indications of degrees of force, rather than of expression'.⁶⁴ For the first time the B-minor Mass was performed without any cuts, and again, as in the bicentenary performance given the year before in the Albert Hall, suitable trumpets were sought. Instead of being imported from Germany this time, they were manufactured for the occasion by the principal trumpeter of the Leeds Festival, Walter Morrow (1850–1937). These and similar high-pitched trumpets came to be known as 'Bach' trumpets, and became a well-known feature of British performances.

An extensive organ part was arranged by Mr Frederic Cliffe (1857–1931), 'under Sir Arthur Sullivan's personal supervision' as was noted in the programme.⁶⁵ The chorus numbered 300, and the orchestra over 100. Several reviews of the festival began by noting that the orchestra was made up almost entirely of British players, including several who had been born in the British colonies and dominions. *The Musical Times* wrote,

Apart from three or four artists in the orchestra ... everybody concerned represented native talent. In a sense, we do not except Madame Albani, who may stand for the Greater Britain beyond the sea, and who is a born subject of the Queen ... Sir Arthur Sullivan evidently aimed at a 'monumental' performance ... It seemed that the choir became, for the time, an immense organ, *plus* all that raises the human voice above the noblest of instruments.⁶⁶

A reviewer for *The Daily News* of this performance wrote,

Those who attended were fortunate in their presence, for they heard a performance which might well furnish a remembrance for a lifetime ... The stupendous force of the 'Sanctus', the 'Cum Sancto Spiritu', and the 'Hosanna', defies description, but it wrought upon the enthusiasm of the audience in a manner seldom witnessed when a composition of this character is concerned ... Sir Arthur Sullivan displayed pre-eminently his fitness for the position he holds, and in a firm but undemonstrative fashion led on his forces to a signal victory.⁶⁷

In later years F. G. Edwards wrote about this performance, 'It has been said that "Sullivan nearly killed himself over that performance," so completely did he throw himself, body and soul, into the preparation and presentation of Bach's colossal work. The rendering of the "Osanna" has been described

⁶⁴ O. Goldschmidt and A. Sullivan (eds.), *J. S. Bach: Mass in B minor* (London: Novello, 1907).

⁶⁵ Cf. F. R. Spark and J. Bennett, *History of the Leeds Musical Festivals 1858–1889* (Leeds: Fred R. Spark & Son, 1892), p. 302. Thanks to Teri Noel Towe for providing the reference for this source.

⁶⁶ 'Leeds Musical Festival', *Musical Times*, 27/525 (November 1886), 653–7, at 654–5. Emphasis in the original.

⁶⁷ As quoted in Spark and Bennett, *History of the Leeds Music Festivals*, p. 313.

as literally overwhelming.⁶⁸ One of the reasons for the success of this performance was the unusually large number of rehearsals. According to *The Monthly Musical Record*, 'it was currently reported that there had been fifty meetings of the choir. The band had had three days' rehearsal in London, and choir, band, and principals, meeting together for the first time at Leeds, had the advantage of three long and heavy rehearsals on the Monday and Tuesday of the festival week.'⁶⁹

Performances and reviews of Bach's choral works throughout the nineteenth century in England show how thoroughly his music was embraced. According to Scholes, by the turn of the twentieth century he was the second most popular composer (after Handel) of the larger choral societies.⁷⁰ The B-minor Mass was a staple of these choral societies, something that is demonstrated by the fact that in 1908 there were nine performances of the work in only four months.⁷¹ This enthusiastic adoption of Bach in England was an effort spearheaded by a relatively small number of knowledgeable and ambitious musicians, whose conviction and energy eventually persuaded the general public that it was worthwhile to spend time on Bach's music in order to understand and appreciate it. Patterns of performance practice, however, also show that his music had to be adapted to fit English tastes; but once it had been, it significantly altered the course of English musical history.

⁶⁸ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England', p. 800.

⁶⁹ Anon., 'The Leeds Triennial Festival', *Monthly Musical Record*, 16/191 (1 November 1886), 247.

⁷⁰ Scholes, *Mirror of Music*, p. 75. ⁷¹ Ibid., p. 74.

14 | Bach's B-minor Mass: an incarnation in Prague in the 1860s and its consequences

JAN SMACZNY

The reception of Bach's music throughout Europe is still imperfectly known. While the progress of editions and performances in western European countries, such as Germany and England, is fairly well researched, Bach reception in central and eastern Europe has only recently begun to be investigated. This chapter explores Czech Bach influences and is representative of the kind of research that is currently being undertaken with regard to other areas in Europe.

Interest in Prague as a musical city in the nineteenth century has, inevitably, focused largely on its being the centre of the so-called Czech national revival, dating principally from the opening of the Provisional Theatre (Královské Zemské České Divadlo – Royal Provincial Czech Theatre) on 18 November 1862 with its mission to perform opera and plays solely in Czech. The fact that the revival was vested largely in the creation of a repertoire of nationally inspired operas, alongside music cultivated by various choral societies, notably Hlahol ('Sound', founded in 1854), has tended to overlay the extensive nature of other musical activities in the city. Understandably, the sheer novelty of much that was going on, notably the much-heralded appearance of Wagner as a conductor on 8 February 1863, has claimed the major part of attention in musical literature. The fact that there was a flourishing interest in pre-Classical music has not entirely escaped attention in Czech musical scholarship,¹ but in the Anglophone literature there is very little acknowledgement of this state of affairs.

It might seem rash to claim that mid-nineteenth-century Prague was home to a 'Bach cult', but an examination of pre-Classical repertoire performed in the city indicates that his music was a very firm presence from the early decades of the century. Recent research has revealed not

¹ An early appraisal of the activities of the Prague Organ School is to be found in Karel Hoffmeister's centenary study, 'Sto let varhanické školy pražské' [One hundred years of the Prague Organ School], *Hudební výchova*, 12/6–7 (1931), 81–93. More recently, Jaroslav Bužga has examined the nineteenth-century context for interest in earlier music and the collecting of MS sources in 'Bach, Zelenka a Česká hudba 19 století' [Bach, Zelenka and nineteenth-century Czech music], *Hudební věda*, 19/1 (1982), 49–60.

only a profound reverence among key figures in the Prague Organ School (Varhanická Škola v Praze), but that in 1845 a performance of the second 'Kyrie' from the B-minor Mass was given.² The starting point for this study was rather less an investigation into the incidence of Bach performance in Prague in the mid-nineteenth century, but a desire to contextualise the Czech composer Dvořák's musical experience particularly with regard to pre-Classical repertoire.³ In establishing the level of performance of early music in the period dating from September 1857, when he arrived in Prague in order to study at the Organ School, to 1865 (educationally a critical period in Dvořák's development since it marked his first encounter with a broad range of repertoire), it became abundantly evident that the music of J. S. Bach was by far the most frequently encountered by any pre-Classical composer (see Table 14.1).⁴

A major nexus for the propagation of the music of J. S. Bach in the period under examination was the Prague Organ School. In general, musical education in the Czech lands was remarkably well developed through the later seventeenth century and the eighteenth century, Charles Burney noted on more than one occasion in *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*,⁵ and in rural centres this state of affairs continued with sporadic distinction well into

² See T. Kovačević, 'Bach Reception in Prague: An 1845 Performance of the Second Kyrie from the B minor Mass', *Understanding Bach*, 5 (2010), 23–48; www.bachnetwork.co.uk/ub5-2010.html (accessed 21 December 2010).

³ A first exploration was in my paper delivered to the sesquicentenary Dvořák conference in Dobříš, 1991, published as 'Dvořák and the *seconda pratica*', in M. Ottlová and M. Pospíšil (eds.), *Report of the International Musicological Congress, Dobříš 17th–20th September 1991* (Prague: Centre for Musicology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 1994), pp. 271–80. My further work on the performance of early music in mid-nineteenth-century Prague and Dvořák's experience of it was presented in two papers: 'Dr Dvořák Steps off his World of Baroque Certainty', Society for Musicology in Ireland, second annual plenary conference, Queen's University, Belfast, 2004; and 'Dvořák and Early Musics', Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, 2004, published as 'Dr. Dvořák Steps off his World of Baroque Certainty: Dvořák and Early Music', in J. Gabrielová and J. Kachlík (eds.), *The Work of Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904)* (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2007), pp. 310–23.

⁴ I am very grateful to Dr Karl Stapleton (University of Cardiff) for providing access to statistics relating to concert life in Prague in this period and related press sources; see also the database *Prague Concert Life, 1850–1881*, Cardiff University, www.cf.ac.uk/music/news/2007PragueConcertLife.html (accessed 30 April 2012). Both Table 14.1 and Table 14.2 run from Dvořák's arrival in Prague to study at the Organ School until the end of 1865.

⁵ C. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces. Or the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, undertaken to collect Materials for a General History of Music*, 2nd rev. edn (London: T. Becket, J. Robson and G. Robinson, 1775); see also P. A. Scholes (ed.), *Dr Burney's Musical Tours in Europe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

Table 14.1 Compositions by J. S. Bach performed in Prague between September 1857 and the end of 1865

Unspecified concerto for two keyboards
Unspecified fugue for five voices (organ; ?'St Anne' BWV 552/2)
Unspecified prelude and fugue in G minor (BWV 542; arr. H. Schellenberg for four hands and pedal)
Unspecified 'Great prelude and fugue' for five voices in E-flat (organ; probably 'St Anne')
'Great prelude and fugue' in A minor (?BWV 543)
Chaconne in D minor from Violin Partita No. 2 (BWV 1004/5)
Prelude and fugue in D minor (?Tocatta and fugue; BWV 538)
Gavotte in D major for keyboard (?transcription of BWV 1012/5–6)
Final chorus from cantata <i>Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis</i> (BWV 21/11)
Unspecified organ works (various)
<i>Credo</i> from Mass in B minor (BWV 232 ^{II}) ^a
Unspecified fugue in C minor (keyboard; ?WTC I/2)
Arrangement of Prelude in C major (WTC I/1; arranged by J. Goltermann)
Unspecified 'Great Fugue' (organ; ?'St Anne')
Concerto in A minor for pianoforte, violin, flute and string quintet (BWV 1044)
Unspecified works for violin and pianoforte
Unspecified gavotte
Chorale prelude <i>Durch Adams Fall</i> (organ; BWV 637)
Chorale prelude <i>Christe, du Lamm Gottes</i> (BWV 619)
Unspecified fugue in B minor (keyboard; ?WTC I/24)
Passacaglia in C minor (BWV 582); also in an orchestral arrangement by Esser
Unspecified prelude and fugue (?WTC I)
Unspecified extracts from Mass in B minor
Unspecified sarabande and gavotte
French Suite No. 5 (BWV 816)
Chorus and chorale from <i>Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen</i> ('Ascension Oratorio', BWV 11)
Cantata <i>Schlage doch, gewünschte Stunde</i> (BWV 53; spurious)
Unspecified prelude and fugue in C minor (organ)
Fugue in A minor (WTC II/20)
'Introductio' from St Matthew Passion (BWV 244)

Note: WTC = *The Well-Tempered Clavier*.

^a See pp. 290–1 below for details of concert.

the nineteenth century. Dvořák himself, recalling his own experience of a provincial musical training, attested that 'in Bohemia every school-teacher is bound to know sufficient music to give instruction in it' and also gave clear evidence of the conservative nature of his early musical

education: 'I used to read whole Masses from old copies written with a "figured bass".'⁶ The main drivers of musical education at the lowest level were well-schooled local cantors whose initial, fairly modest, training was reinforced by a substantial network of Jesuit seminaries throughout Bohemia and Moravia. The disjunction in educational continuity created by the expulsion of the Jesuit order from the empire by Joseph II in 1773⁷ took nearly two generations to work through the educational system, resulting in a general impoverishment of the musical infrastructure in Bohemia and Moravia, particularly where church music was concerned. Where once the Jesuit seminaries had provided a more or less seamless point of transition for composers such as Jan Ignáz Brenntner, František (Franz) and Jiří (Georg) Benda, and Antonín and Leopold Koželůch from the schoolroom to a professional career, by the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, no such facility existed. A significant indicator of this slow collapse in musical education is the fact that the emigration of musicians from Bohemia in the first five decades of the nineteenth century was markedly less than through much of the eighteenth century, a time when excellently educated Czech musicians were to be found in all parts of Europe and even beyond.⁸

The concert in which the *Credo* of the Mass in B minor was given

According to the *Prager Morgenpost* the concert, held at 4.30 p.m. on 28 February 1861 in the concert hall on Žofín (Sophia) Island, included the following works:

Part I:

1. Overture in C major (Orchestral Suite No. 1, BWV 1066);
2. Unspecified recitative and aria from the 'Passionmusik nach dem Evangelium Mathias von Joh. Sebastian Bach' (? 'Er hat uns allen wohlgetan' and 'Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben');
3. Sinfonia in D major by Philipp Emanuel Bach [*sic*].

⁶ From an interview with the *Sunday Times*, 10 May 1885, repr. in D. Beveridge (ed.), *Rethinking Dvořák* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 281–8.

⁷ This was part of a general ban on religious orders in the Austrian Empire.

⁸ See J. Racek, *Česká hudba* [Czech music] (Prague: State Publishers, 1958).

Part II:

'Credo aus der hohen Messe in h moll von Joh. Sebastian Bach ...' (in addition the participation of four soloists – two female, two male – is mentioned).

[At the end of the notice is a sentence stating that all the pieces were being heard there for the first time.⁹]

Stepping into this gap came the Prague Organ School, which opened its doors in 1830.¹⁰ From its inception, the Organ School was the major provider of the most traditional sort of musical education in Bohemia. The founders had been led by a member of the aristocratic Schwarzenberg family, and much of the funding for the school came from the Habsburg state. The Organ School's aims were fundamentally conservative, having been born of a desire to prevent a further fall in standards as the result of dwindling patronage and an invasion of secular styles into the music of worship. Notwithstanding these high ideals, the school's facilities were modest: situated in Konviktská street in the Old Town in Prague, it possessed only three small organs in rooms barely adequate to house them.

In defence of its mission to protect musical orthodoxy, the Organ School followed an essentially eighteenth-century approach to technical musical education. Textbooks included Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*,¹¹ and the curriculum had a distinctly retrospective quality. In the second year at the Organ School (1858–9), Dvořák studied figured bass, church modes, modulation, the improvisation of preludes and interludes, chant and hymnody, fugue and canon. Sonata form, orchestration and the more contemporary developments in composition were not part of an academic diet designed to preserve a dogmatically old-fashioned image of what was appropriate musically in church. The staff in Dvořák's time as a student, under the leadership of Karel Pitsch, included teachers of distinction. Theory was taught by František Blažek, whose textbook on harmonic practice (published in 1866 and reprinted in 1878) was widely used in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The composer Josef Zvonař was responsible for teaching on the subject of church music, and Josef Foerster, organist of St Vitus Cathedral from 1887 until his death in 1907 and choir

⁹ *Prager Morgenpost*, 2 March 1861.

¹⁰ Dvořák studied there for two years from September 1857.

¹¹ See J. Ludvová, *Česká hudební teorie novější doby 1850–1900* [Czech musical theory in a newer age, 1850–1900] (Prague: Academia, 1989), p. 37; interestingly, Dvořák possessed a copy of Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, although it is not clear when he acquired it (his copy was presented to the Dvořák memorial archive in Zlonice by his grandson Antonín in 1979).

Table 14.2 Other pre-Classical composers featured in concert life in Prague between September 1857 and the end of 1865

Astorga, E.	Handel, G. F. ^a	Rossi, L.
Bach, C. P. E.	Hasse, J. A.	Scarlatti, A.
Bennett, J.	Holan, V.	Scarlatti, D.
Bixi, F. X.	di Lasso, O.	Schnabel, J.
Caldara, A.	Leo, L.	Stradella, A.
Cimarosa, D.	Lotti, A.	Thibaut IV (King of Navarre)
Donato, B.	Marcello, B.	Tuma, F. I. A.
Dowland, J.	Muffat, G.	Veracini, F.
Durante, F.	Palestrina, G.	Von Wolkenstein, O.
Frescobaldi, G.	Pergolesi, G. B.	Zelenka, J. D.
Gabrieli, G.	Praetorius, M.	
Goudimel, C.	Rameau, J. P.	

^a Handel, with some fifteen works specified, approaches Bach most closely in terms of number of performances. Oratorios given included *Israel in Egypt* and *Solomon*; there were numerous excerpts from other operas and oratorios including *Hercules*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Messiah* and *Rinaldo*.

master at St Adalbert's Church from 1863 to 1888, including the period when Dvořák served as organist (1874–7), taught the organ.¹² Both men were early-music enthusiasts. Zvonař gave public lectures on and concerts of early repertoires,¹³ and Foerster was a vigorous champion of Gregorian chant and early polyphony (see Table 14.2).

The programmes of the Organ School's graduation concerts, avidly covered by Czech musical periodicals of the day such as *Dalibor*, indicate that Bach was axiomatic to the graduating organists' repertoire. When Dvořák gave his graduation exercise on 30 July 1859 the critic of *Dalibor* recorded that he played Bach's A-minor prelude and fugue (probably BWV 543) 'excellently' alongside two of the composer's own graduation exercises, a prelude in D major and a fugue in G minor (B 302, Nos.1 and 5).¹⁴ In addition, Dvořák took part in a duet arrangement by Hermann Schellenberg of Bach's Fugue in G minor for organ (BWV 542; see

¹² According to an account in the Prague musical periodical *Dalibor*, 4/7 (1 March 1861), 53, Pitsch was key in developing Zvonař's admiration for Bach (see also Kovačević, 'Bach Reception in Prague').

¹³ One given on 12 March 1864 included repertoire ranging from von Wolkenstein to Hasse and Bach. For a list of pre-Classical composers performed in Prague in the period 1860–5, see Table 14.2.

¹⁴ *Dalibor*, 2/21 (20 July 1859), 167, and 2/22 (1 August 1859), 176.

Table 14.1). Dvořák seems to have retained a veneration for Bach throughout his career, citing him when describing his own religious beliefs in relation to the completion of his Mass in D major (Op. 86, B 153): 'Do not be surprised that I am so religious; an artist who does not have this [belief] could not write such a work. Do we not have enough examples in Beethoven, Bach, Raphael ...?'¹⁵ And when writing to his daughter, Otilie, from New York, he cautioned her to practise much, '... especially Bach ...'.¹⁶

More pertinently, there is also evidence that the B-minor Mass was very much a part of Dvořák's musical experience since he made an interesting comparison between a performance he heard of the work in Leeds with, presumably, other occasions on which he had heard it. This occurred during a lengthy visit to England, between 1 October and 7 November 1886, when he conducted the premiere of his oratorio *St Ludmila* at the Leeds Festival (15 October) and gave two further performances in London (29 October and 6 November). On the two days before the Leeds premiere of *St Ludmila*, he heard Handel's *Israel in Egypt* (13 October) and the B-minor Mass (14 October), conducted by Sir Arthur Sullivan. The performance of the latter was widely admired at the time,¹⁷ and it clearly made a major impression on Dvořák since he wrote to his friend Emanuel Chvála in unusually excited terms: 'Now something about the performance. It was magnificent! I have never heard anything like it. The sound, the power, the gentleness was captivating! I've never heard Bach's B minor [Mass] that way before and I will never forget it!'¹⁸

While the graduation programmes of the Organ School grew more imaginative, eventually incorporating accompanied items, Bach remained an enduring part of the aspiring organists' repertoire, as the programme advertised in *Dalibor* indicates:

Caldara: unspecified motet for three voices

Mozart: unspecified 'Hymnus' for four voices and organ in D major (probably *Ave verum*, K. 618)

Astorga: duet from an unspecified *Stabat mater* setting;

F. X. Bixi: 'Quoniam' with fugato 'Amen' from an unspecified Mass in B-flat major;

¹⁵ Letter to Josef Hlávka, 17 June 1887; see M. Kuna (ed.), *Antonín Dvořák: Korespondence a dokumenty* [Antonín Dvořák: correspondence and documents] (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1988), vol. II, pp. 251–2.

¹⁶ See Kuna (ed.), *Antonín Dvořák*, vol. III, pp. 380–1. ¹⁷ See Chapter 13 above, pp. 284–6.

¹⁸ See Kuna (ed.), *Antonín Dvořák*, vol. II, p. 196.

- J. S. Bach: Chorale Prelude *Durch Adams Fall* (BWV 637);
 J. S. Bach: Chorale Prelude *Christ du Lamm Gottes* (BWV 619);
 J. S. Bach: Great Fugue in B minor (?BWV 544/2);
 J. S. Bach: Passacaglia in C minor (BWV 582).¹⁹

Beyond the confines of the Organ School and its annual graduation concerts there were other opportunities to hear earlier repertoires, including a broader range of music by J. S. Bach. Important in all of this were the activities of the Cecilská Jednota (Cacilien-Verein) conducted by Antonin Apt. Founded in 1840, the St Cecilia Society performed a wide range of orchestrally accompanied choral music. In addition to contemporary repertoire such as Schumann's *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* (27 November 1858), *Manfred* (20 November 1859) and *Szenen aus Goethes Faust* (6 December 1862) and excerpts from Wagner's *Lohengrin* (12 May 1853) and *Rienzi* (21 November 1855), they performed music by J. S. Bach and Handel.²⁰ A particularly remarkable concert of music by Bach was advertised by the *Prager Morgenpost* on 27 February 1861 for the following day, to be held in the concert hall on Žofín (Sophia) Island (see pp. 290–1), including the First Orchestral Suite, an unspecified recitative and aria from the St Matthew Passion and the *Credo* from the B-minor Mass.

The review of the concert published in the *Prager Morgenpost* on 2 March was extensive and indicated prior knowledge of the B-minor Mass, describing the extract as 'Das "Simbolum Nicaenum" oder "Credo" aus des grossen Meisters wunderbaren hohen Messe in h-moll' [sic], and speaking volubly about the activities of the Leipzig Bach-Gesellschaft as well as stating that, as a work of art, the Mass was in certain respects 'eclipsed' only by Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*. The *Prager Zeitung* of 3 March 1861 was equally fulsome in its praise of the work's sublimity and 'magisterial greatness', and both reviews praised Apt's direction. The *Prager Zeitung* also identified the aria from the St Matthew Passion as 'Mache dich, mein Herze, rein' (BWV 244/65), noting that the instrumental accompaniment was provided by a flute,

¹⁹ Organ School accompaniment trial and graduation concert, 30 July 1863, *Dalibor*, 6/23 (10 August 1863), 184.

²⁰ For further information on the repertoire performed by the St Cecilia Society see K. Maýrová, 'Činnost hudebních spolků a sdružení z XIX. A 1. poloviny XX. století, jak je dokumentována ve sbírkovém fondu tiskové dokumentace Českého muzea hudby, s akcentací na hudební aktivitu tzv. Cecilské jenoty v Praze' [The activity of musical societies and groups from the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century as documented in the collection of published documents in the Czech museum of music, with emphasis on the musical activities of the Cecilia Society in Prague], in *Miscellanea z výročních konferencí 2001 až 2005* (Prague: Česká společnost pro hudební vědu, 2006), pp. 144–83.

two oboes and bassoon.²¹ It is also clear from these reviews that the orchestral accompaniment to the *Credo* was of an elaborate nature including the use of clarini. The source used for the performance is unclear. It is likely that Apt and his performers had access to Nägeli's editions, published jointly with Simrock, of 1845, or Marx's vocal score, also published by Simrock jointly with Nägeli, of 1834, as both are presently in the holdings of the Prague Conservatoire Library.²² Given the clear knowledge of the activities of the Bach-Gesellschaft, Apt may well have had access to Rietz's edition of 1856 (or its revised version that appeared in the following year) for the *Gesamtausgabe*. However, the surviving material from Apt's time with the St Cecilia Society has now been made available in the collection of the Prague Conservatoire and may well reveal an alternative source for the performance.

One particularly interesting result of this St Cecilia Society performance was its impact on Dvořák. As one of Prague's busiest professional viola players, he almost certainly took part in the concert (his participation in St Cecilia Society events is well documented).²³ Dvořák's knowledge of a range of early music as well as contemporary fare is attested by his pupil and son-in-law, the composer Josef Suk, who recounted, 'Dvořák's knowledge of musical works was truly astounding. Bach, Handel, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart . . . – he knew the works of all these masters in detail.'²⁴ The various points of convergence between Dvořák's style and that of pre-Classical music, notably the work of Handel and Bach, have been documented,²⁵ and are dealt with at length in the present author's paper 'Dr. Dvořák Steps off his World of Baroque Certainty: Dvořák and Early Music'.²⁶ While

²¹ *Prager Morgenpost*, 2 March 1861, and *Prager Zeitung* 3 March 1861; I am grateful to Dr Karl Stapleton for supplying the press material concerning this concert. See also *Prague Concert Life, 1850–1881*.

²² See Kovačević, 'Bach Reception in Prague', pp. 35–6. For further discussion on these editions, see above, Chapter 9, p. 165, Chapter 12, n. 12, and Chapter 13, nn. 24–5. The inventory of Apt's possessions, also kept in the Prague Conservatoire Library, but without shelfmark, includes the following entry: '[inventory no.] 683 | [no. of copies] 1 | [description] Bach's, Oratorium u Messen | Klavierauszug mit Text'. This must refer to the vocal score edited by Hugo Ulrich published by C. F. Peters in 1864.

²³ See O. Šourek, *Život a dílo Antonína Dvořáka* [The life and works of Antonín Dvořák] (Prague: Státní Nakladatelství, 1954), vol. I, pp. 36–7; see also J. Burghauser, *Antonín Dvořák: tematický katalog* [Antonín Dvořák: thematic catalogue] (Prague: Bärenreiter Editio Supraphon, 1996), esp. chronological appendix, pp. 501–4.

²⁴ In O. Šourek, *Antonín Dvořák: Letters and Reminiscences*, trans. Roberta Finlayson-Samsour (Prague: Artia, 1954), p. 138.

²⁵ See J. Clapham, *Antonín Dvořák: Musician and Craftsman* (London: Faber, 1966), p. 251.

²⁶ See details of Smaczny, 'Dr. Dvořák Steps off his World of Baroque Certainty: Dvořák and Early Music' in n. 3 above.

Dvořák had shown considerable confidence in handling conventional Baroque figures such as the *saltus duriusculus* in the (perforce) conservative graduation exercises written for the Organ School (*Preludia a fugy pro varhany* – Preludes and Fugues for Organ, B 302), the appearance of such techniques was not confined to his student efforts. In his *Stabat mater* (Op. 58, B 71), completed in 1877, he made extensive use of Baroque figures in the first and final movements, and the fluid, compound-time setting of 'Tui nati vulnerati' (No. 5) seems to owe much to the opening chorus of Bach's St Matthew Passion; in the one solo aria (No. 9, 'Inflammatum et accensus') there is also the use of a clearly Baroque ritornello structure. The oratorio *St Ludmila* also owes a great deal to Baroque models. Where critical reaction was concerned, the focus was on his debt to Handel,²⁷ but there is more than a sideways glance at Bach in the chorus depicting the panic of the heathen Czechs as their idol is toppled by the Christian missionary Ivan: twelve bars after rehearsal letter A in chorus 13, there is an unmistakable reference to the chorus 'Sind Blitze, sind Donner' from the St Matthew Passion (BWV 244/27b).²⁸

More specifically, his knowledge of the B-minor Mass had an unexpected effect on a work written at the height of his maturity, the Requiem Mass composed for the Birmingham Festival of 1891. The opening idea of the work, effectively the lead motive for the whole Requiem, is not just used, to quote the composer's most extensive biographer, Otakar Šourek, as a dramatic 'remembrance of death',²⁹ but is a pervasive element in the fabric of the whole work. The theme itself is the same Baroque figure that Bach uses in the second 'Kyrie' of the B-minor Mass. Foreknowledge of Bach's work, which Dvořák certainly had,³⁰ is perhaps less important than the way in which he uses a figure that he may well have encountered during his studies in the Prague Organ School; his use of the figure, in particular in the latter parts of the 'Agnus Dei', approaches the sequential, note-spinning manner beloved of his Baroque predecessors.

The extent to which the music of Bach was a powerful presence among performers and composers in Prague in the 1860s, many of them leading figures in the city's musical life, is now beyond dispute. For Dvořák, the essentially Baroque nature of his education at the Organ School was

fundamentally reinforced by his early encounters with the music of Bach and his continued exposure to it later in his career. While there is more work to be done on the impact of Bach in Prague, the sources employed and their routes of transmission, there can be no doubt that, like Wagner and other exemplars for composers in the national revival, he has to be seen as being of decisive importance.

²⁷ See *Musical Times*, 27/525 (November 1886), 656.

²⁸ See Antonín Dvořák, *St Ludmila*, vocal score (Prague: Státní Hudební Vydavatelství, 1965), pp. 121–6.

²⁹ It is described as 'memento mori' in O. Šourek, *Život a dílo Antonína Dvořáka* [The life and work of Antonín Dvořák] (Prague: Státní Nakladatelství, 1955), vol. III, p. 339.

³⁰ See Kuna (ed.), *Antonín Dvořák*, vol. II, p. 196.

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