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## Chapter 6

### THE B-MINOR MASS AFTER BACH'S DEATH: SURVIVAL, REVIVAL, AND REINTERPRETATION



#### THE SURVIVAL OF THE MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS

The B-Minor Mass was not published during Bach's lifetime, and it was of little practical use to contemporary musicians. Thus we are fortunate that it survived the half-century following Bach's death, a period when his vocal music attracted little interest. Fate smiled favorably on the manuscript materials of the B-Minor Mass—the Dresden performance parts of the *Missa* and the composite score of the entire work. Were it not for good fortune, we might know little more of the B-Minor Mass than we do of the St. Mark Passion, an equally monumental piece that was lost sometime after 1754.<sup>1</sup>

The *Missa* parts and the score of the B-Minor Mass took very different routes to their present homes. The *Missa* parts, which Bach had presented to Elector Friedrich August II in 1733, stayed in Dresden as part of the Royal Music Collection. There they remained unnoticed until the 1830s, when they were spotted by the Bach enthusiast and manuscript collector Franz Hauser.<sup>2</sup> Hauser shared his discovery with Felix Mendelssohn, who viewed the parts in 1846 and used them to correct his personal copy of the Nägeli edition of the Kyrie and Gloria. Hard at work on his own vocal masterpiece, *Elijah*, Mendelssohn reported to his friend Carl Klingemann:

I obtained from Dresden the parts to the Bach B-Minor Mass (do you recall our Fridays with Zelter?) and from these, which Bach mostly wrote himself and dedicated to the Elector of the time ("To His Most Royal Highness and Elector . . . whose grace shines on Saxony, please accept the enclosed Mass as a sign of . . . the abject devotion of its author J. S. Bach"), I little by little freed my own score from its host of printing errors, which I had noticed, of course, but never had the opportunity to rectify properly.<sup>3</sup>

The Royal Music Collection was transferred to the Saxon State Library in 1896. The *Missa* parts were given their present-day call number, *Mus. 2405-D-21*, in conjunction with the move.

During World War II the *Missa* parts were evacuated from Dresden and consequently survived the Allied bombing raids of February 1945. After the war they were returned to the Saxon State Library, where they remain today. A facsimile edition was issued by Hänssler Verlag in 1983.<sup>4</sup> Bach's dedicatory letter to the Elector was stored separately during the war and perished. It is known today through prewar transcriptions and photographs.<sup>5</sup>

The autograph score of the B-Minor Mass traveled a much more circuitous path to its present location. The score's destiny—and probably its ultimate survival—was determined in the fall of 1750, when Bach's musical estate was divided among his heirs. Although the bulk of the sacred vocal works went to Wilhelm Friedemann, who as organist of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Halle had the most use for church pieces, the B-Minor Mass went to Carl Philipp Emanuel. Friedemann was later forced to sell most of his inheritance (including the now-lost scores of the chorale cantatas and the score and parts of the *St. Mark Passion*). Emanuel, by contrast, made every effort to preserve the manuscripts he received from his father's estate. Characteristically, he retained the B-Minor Mass score to the end of his life. If the manuscript had gone to Friedemann, we would probably have only the Dresden *Missa* portion today.

At first, even Emanuel may not have comprehended the extraordinary nature of the B-Minor Mass. He made no special mention of it in the lengthy Obituary of his father that he helped to prepare in 1754. There we read only of a large body of unpublished miscellaneous vocal compositions: "Many oratorios, Masses, Magnificats, single Sanctus settings, secular cantatas, serenades, cantatas for birthdays, name days, and funerals, wedding cantatas, and several comic vocal pieces."<sup>6</sup> Sometime between 1750 and 1768, however, Emanuel had one of his Berlin scribes (known in modern Bach schol-

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arship as Anonymous 300) write out a copy of the autograph score, a copy that he then revised and appears to have sold or given away (it was no longer in his possession at the time of his death). The manuscript survives today in the Berlin State Library as the three-part complex *P 572 (Missa)/P 23 (Symbolum Nicenum)/P 14* ("Sanctus" to "Dona nobis pacem").

Emanuel left Berlin in 1768 to assume the position of Town Kantor and Music Director in Hamburg. The next year he produced another copy of the B-Minor Mass from the autograph score, this time for his father's former student Johann Philipp Kirnberger, who was serving as court composer and music advisor for Frederick the Great's sister Anna Amalia in Berlin. Emanuel's letter to Kirnberger of July 21, 1769, describes the transaction:

I had a few leaves of the Mass copied, but they were full of errors. So I tore them up and am sending you the original. Do take care and don't write in it, and send it back to me after you have made a copy. The beginning is somewhat torn, but the remainder is fine. No fee is required for the return, for I have prepaid the postage. Perhaps you would like to show the Mass to our Princess.<sup>7</sup>

Kirnberger's copy seems to be the Berlin State Library manuscript *Am.B. 3*, which was made by a professional scribe working at Amalia's court. A second Berlin manuscript, *Am.B. 1-Am.B. 2*, also penned by a court amanuensis, may represent a further copy made specifically for the Princess. Through these manuscripts the B-Minor Mass gained an early foothold in Berlin.

In 1786 Emanuel presented the *Symbolum Nicenum* of the B-Minor Mass in a Hamburg benefit concert for the Medical Institute for the Poor. For the performance (to which we will return in the next section), he edited and revised the music of the Credo portion, writing changes directly into his father's autograph. While this strikes us today as an unforgivable sin, it was not at all unusual in the eighteenth century, when music manuscripts were viewed as working tools (this attitude obtained even in the first half of the nineteenth century: when Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl edited Bach's organ works for the Peters edition in the 1840s, he sometimes jotted down variant readings in the manuscripts themselves). Since Emanuel's alterations in the Credo occasionally obscure his father's text, the *P 23*, *Am.B. 3*, and *Am.B. 1-Am.B. 2* manuscripts, copied before the changes were made, are of great importance for deciphering the original readings of the autograph score (see Plate 6-1).

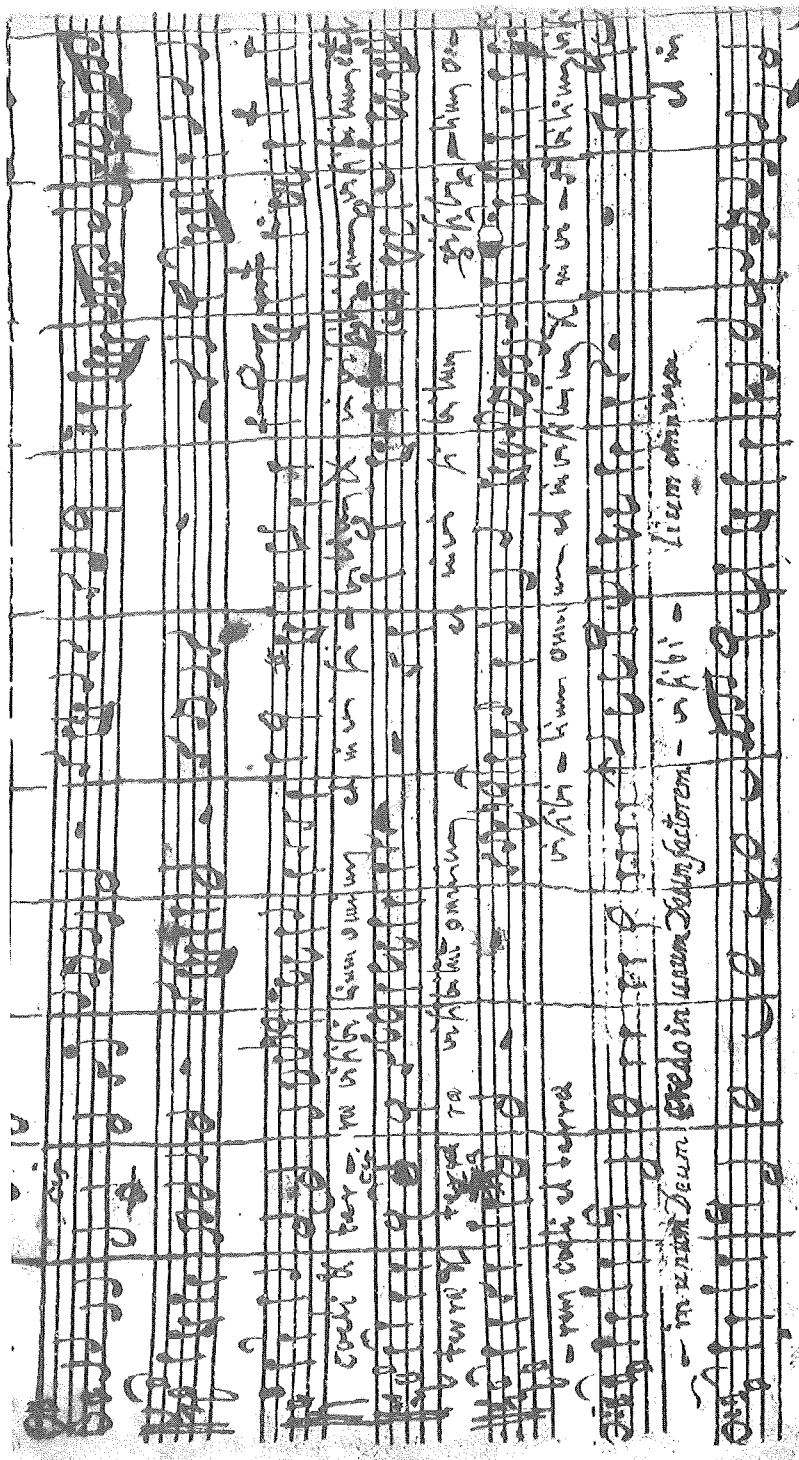


Plate 6-1a. "Patrem omnipotentem," bass line, mm. 64-74: Bach's autograph, with C. P. E. Bach's "Credo in unum Deum" revision of 1786 (Berlin State Library, P 180).

[illegible]

Plate 6-1a. "Patrem omnipotentem," bass line, mm. 64-74: Bach's autograph, with C. P. E. Bach's "Credo in unum Deum" revision of 1786 (Berlin State Library, P 180).

Handwritten musical score for a Latin hymn, featuring ten staves with mensural notation and Latin lyrics. The lyrics are:   
 caeli et ter - ra viſi bi lium omni um et in vi bi li um vi ſi bi li um o -   
 ter ra et ter ra vi ſi bi lium omni um et in vi bi li um vi ſi bi lium et in   
 - rem coe li et ter ra vi ſi bi lium omni um et in vi bi lium vi ſi bi lium et in   
 - in vi bi li um vi ſi bi lium omni um et in vi bi lium vi ſi bi lium et in

Plate 6-lb. "Patrem omnipotentem," bass line, mm. 64-74: An early Berlin copy of the autograph, showing the original text (Berlin State Library, P 23).

Shortly after Emanuel's death in 1788 the autograph score of the B-Minor Mass was offered for sale. In the 1790 catalogue of his estate, we find the work listed as "Die große catholische Messe"—"The Great Catholic Mass"—consisting of four manuscripts: *Missa*, *Symbolum Nicaenum*, *Sanctus*, and *Osanna*. Each manuscript is described as an "eigenhändige Partitur"—"a score in the composer's hand." Thus the original B-Minor Mass "score" was probably a group of four discrete manuscripts, each enclosed in a folder of which only the front portion, with the title and required forces, survives. This idea was first posed by Arnold Schering in 1936 and has been reiterated more recently by Georg von Dadelsen.<sup>8</sup> Bach stored most of his works in folders as unbound leaves, a format that greatly facilitated performance and copying. The binding that once enclosed the manuscript of the B-Minor Mass probably stemmed from the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

There were no takers for the B-Minor Mass manuscript in 1790, and with the death of Emanuel's last heir in 1804, his daughter Anna Carolina Philippina, it was put up for sale a second time. In the auction catalogue of 1805 the manuscript is listed once again as "The Great Catholic Mass," giving some weight to the notion that the epithet reflects an oral tradition within the Bach family.

This time the score met with a buyer, the Swiss music publisher Hans Georg Nägeli. In 1818 Nägeli announced his intention to issue the B-Minor Mass in a printed edition at the Leipzig Easter Fair the following year (we will return to his announcement shortly), but for want of subscribers the project was postponed indefinitely. It was not until 1833 that he succeeded in releasing Part I, the Kyrie and Gloria, "engraved from the autograph." Nägeli kept the autograph under close wraps, and after his death in 1836 his son Hermann did the same. Hermann completed the publication of the B-Minor Mass in 1845, releasing the second and final part, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, again "engraved from the autograph." But in 1850, when the newly formed Bach-Gesellschaft wished to inaugurate their scholarly edition of Bach's complete works with the B-Minor Mass, Nägeli refused to let them see the autograph manuscript. The Bach-Gesellschaft postponed publication of the Mass for a number of years, until Julius Rietz finally edited the piece from the Dresden parts and secondary manuscripts. His edition appeared in 1856 as volume 6 of the *Bach-Gesamtausgabe*. By this time, however, the Nägeli firm was running into financial difficulties, and in 1857 Hermann sold the B-Minor Mass score to Arnold Wehner, Kapellmeister at the Royal Court in Hanover, under the mistaken impression that Wehner was acting on behalf of King George V.<sup>10</sup>

the autograph score of the B-Minor Mass in the catalogue of his estate, we find the title "Die Messe"—"The Great Catholic Mass: *Missa, Symbolum Nicaenum*, as described as an "eigenhändige Handschrift." Thus the original B-Minor Mass consists of four discrete manuscripts, each with a front portion, with the title and the first part posed by Arnold Schering in 1850, and by Georg von Dadelsen.<sup>8</sup> Bach used round leaves, a format that greatly influenced the binding that once enclosed the manuscript, which stemmed from the nineteenth

century. The Mass manuscript in 1790, and in 1804, his daughter Anna Carolina owned it. In the auction catalogue of 1804 it was as "The Great Catholic Mass," an epithet that reflects an oral tradition

of the Swiss music publisher Hans Cramer. His intention to issue the B-Minor Mass at the Easter Fair the following year (we know it was not) but for want of subscribers the project was not until 1833 that he succeeded in publishing it, "engraved from the autograph." Cramer's plans, and after his death in 1836 his son completed the publication of the Mass and final part, Credo, Sanctus, and the autograph." But in 1850, when the Bach-Gesellschaft inaugurated their scholarly edition of the B-Minor Mass, Nägeli refused to publish it. The Bach-Gesellschaft postponed the publication, until Julius Rietz finally edited the secondary manuscripts. His edition appeared in the *Bach-Gesamtausgabe*. By this time Cramer was into financial difficulties, and in 1850 he sold the score to Arnold Wehner, Kapellmeister at the St. Thomas School. Under the mistaken impression that the manuscript was in volume V.<sup>10</sup>

Wehner's true backer was the famous Handel scholar Friedrich Chrysander, who immediately turned the manuscript over to the Bach-Gesellschaft for use in reediting volume 6 of the *Bach-Gesamtausgabe*. A revised edition, with a new preface by Rietz, was issued in 1857. With the editing work completed, the Bach-Gesellschaft sold the B-Minor Mass manuscript in 1861 to the Royal Library in Berlin, predecessor of the Berlin State Library. There, ironically, it was reunited with the bulk of Emanuel Bach's estate, which had entered the library twenty years earlier with the purchase of Georg Poelchau's large collection of Bach manuscripts. The autograph was assigned its modern call number *Mus.ms.Bach P 180*, or *P 180* for short.

In 1895 thirty-six pages of the autograph score appeared in facsimile in volume 44 of the *Bach-Gesamtausgabe* ("Johann Sebastian Bach's Handwriting in Chronologically Arranged Reproductions").<sup>11</sup> In 1924 Insel-Verlag issued a facsimile of the complete score.<sup>12</sup> In the 1930s the manuscript was thoroughly restored, and pages suffering from *Tintenfraß* (the acidic action of the ink on the paper) were laminated with thin sheets of silk gauze. During World War II the manuscript was evacuated from Berlin to the Beuron Monastery on the Danube for safekeeping. After a stay in the Music Library of Tübingen University, it was returned to the Preussischer Kulturbesitz division of the Berlin State Library in 1967. It is now part of the reunited State Library collection. In 1965 Bärenreiter issued a new facsimile edition, using plates from the Insel facsimile for a number of pages that were in poor condition.<sup>13</sup> At present the manuscript is again in a perilous state and unavailable to scholars. It is scheduled for further restoration.

### A CURIOSITY FOR CONNOISSEURS (1750–1800)

While Bach's keyboard works enjoyed wide circulation and performance in the second half of the eighteenth century, his vocal pieces generally sat in oblivion on cabinet shelves. Such was the fate of the B-Minor Mass: between 1750 and 1800 it was little more than an historical curiosity, known only to a small group of connoisseurs who were devoted to preserving and studying Bach's compositions as precious relics. We can document only one performance of music from the B-Minor Mass during this time. Yet through word of mouth and circulation of manuscript copies, knowledge of the work spread slowly but steadily from Bach circles in Berlin and Hamburg to more distant regions, preparing the way for the full-scale resurrection that was to take place in the nineteenth century.

Christoph Nichelmann, a composer and theorist who attended the St. Thomas School from 1730 to 1733, seems to have been the first to mention

the B-Minor Mass in print. In his 1755 treatise, *Die Melodie nach ihrem Wesen sowohl, als nach ihren Eigenschaften* ("Melody According to its Nature as well as its Properties"), he printed the *adagio* introduction to "Kyrie" I as a masterful example of harmonization, one in which "the natural *Affekt* of the melodic line is fully realized through the use of strong, expressive, appropriate chords."<sup>14</sup> As second harpsichordist at the court of Frederick the Great, Nichelmann undoubtedly learned of the work from Frederick's first harpsichordist, C. P. E. Bach, who, as we have seen, owned the original manuscript of the work between 1750 and 1788.

Some twenty years passed before the B-Minor Mass was again mentioned in print. Kirnberger, who had come to know the piece through the copy procured from C. P. E. Bach, cited it twice in *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes* ("The Art of Strict Musical Composition"). In the discussion of ostinato technique, he presented the ground bass from the "Crucifixus," describing it as "a ten-voice example . . . from a Mass by J. S. Bach, full of invention, imitation, canon, counterpoint, and beautiful melody"; in the chapter on meters, he referred to the "Credo in unum Deum" as a rare example of  $\frac{2}{1}$  time: "I know of only one Credo by the elder Bach in the large *alla breve* of two beats, which he designated, however, with  $\text{C}$  to show that the rests have the same value as in ordinary *alla breve*."<sup>15</sup> Around the same time, another Bach student, Johann Friedrich Agricola, also pointed to the "Credo" in a discussion of  $\frac{2}{1}$  meter: "From the modern age the reviewer has in hand a piece of this very type on the words *Credo in unum Deum*, from a great Mass by the late J. S. Bach with eight obbligato voices, namely five vocal parts, two violins, and general bass."<sup>16</sup> And in an Amalia Library manuscript from the 1780s that probably represents the draft of an unrealized treatise by Kirnberger, we find the "Kyrie" I fugue subject and answer quoted in a discussion of fugue-writing techniques.<sup>17</sup>

To Nichelmann, Kirnberger, Agricola, and others, the B-Minor Mass represented an *exemplum classicum*—a classical model to be studied and revered. The work was of particular attraction from a theoretical standpoint because it illustrated musical arts that were rapidly vanishing from the scene. It was the *antico* and fugal movements that were of interest; the *moderno* sections were hopelessly out of date. Performing the B-Minor Mass did not come into question, and hence it is no surprise that the work circulated not in parts, the form desired by practical musicians, but in score, the form ideal for contemplation.

Viewed in this light, C. P. E. Bach's decision to present the complete *Symbolum Nicenum* at a benefit concert for Hamburg's Medical Institute for the Poor in the spring of 1786 appears as a bold stroke. Emanuel's program



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 Performing the B-Minor Mass did  
 surprise that the work circulated  
 musicians, but in score, the form

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 Hamburg's Medical Institute for  
 bold stroke. Emanuel's program

was a *potpourri* of the type much loved by middle-class audiences in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was a *potpourri* with an unusual, retrospective slant, however, one that foreshadowed by a half-century Mendelssohn's famous "historical concerts" at the Leipzig Gewandhaus (which were also to include music from the B-Minor Mass). With the exception of the Introduction and possibly the unidentified Sinfonie, the music was "old"—a rare occurrence in concerts of the time:

Introduction by Herr Kapellmeister Bach [H. 848]

Credo, or Nicene Creed, by the late Herr Johann Sebastian Bach

Aria, "I know that my redeemer liveth," by Handel

"Hallelujah" by Handel

Sinfonie by Herr Kapellmeister Bach [unspecified]

Magnificat, or Mary's Hymn of Praise, by Herr Kapellmeister Bach [H. 772, 1749]

Heilig, for Double Chorus, by Herr Kapellmeister Bach [H. 778, c.1776]

The presence of music from *Messiah* suggests that Emanuel knew of the highly popular revivals of Handel's large-scale choral works—and of *Messiah*, in particular—that were taking place in England, Germany, and Vienna. His decision to attempt the Credo may, in fact, have been influenced by the success of the Handel concerts.

Emanuel arranged the Credo score especially for the Hamburg program, fashioning what we would call today a "practical edition." Extant materials from the event—a set of performance parts, *St 118*, and a score, *P 22*, both in the Berlin State Library—allow us to follow his changes in detail. He began by prefacing the *Symbolum* with a twenty-eight-measure Introduction of his own composition. Written for four-part strings in the style of a *Vorimitation* organ chorale prelude (a prelude in which each phrase of the chorale melody is foreshadowed by a series of imitative entries), the music is based on the German Gloria hymn, *Allein Gott in der höh sei Ehr*, which appears in long notes in the bottom voice as a *cantus firmus* (Example 6-1).<sup>18</sup> The Introduction is set in A mixolydian and leads directly into the "Credo in unum Deum" movement, in the same key.

Within the *Symbolum*, Emanuel altered the instrumentation here and there. Like Mendelssohn some forty years later, he had to work around the problem of the oboe d'amore, the alto instrument much beloved by Saxon composers of his father's generation but now obsolete. For the St. Matthew Passion, Mendelssohn simply substituted clarinets. For the Credo, Emanuel

① Adagio

Vln.1

Vln.2

Vla.

Fund.

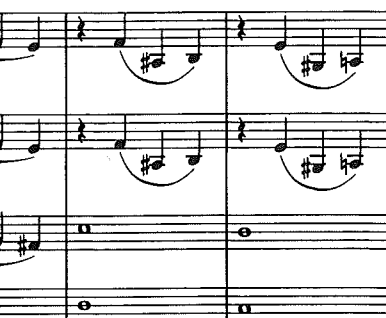
tasto

Example 6-1. C. P. E. Bach: Introduction to the Credo.

took a varied approach: in the aria “Et in unum Dominum” he replaced the oboes d’amore with normal oboes, rewriting the parts where necessary to bring them into a higher range. In the aria “Et in Spiritum Sanctum,” where the oboe d’amore lines are fully obbligato and not easily revised, he replaced the instruments altogether with violins.

Other changes of instrumentation seem to have been motivated by aesthetic considerations. In the “Crucifixus” Emanuel substituted oboes for the flutes, perhaps to create a darker timbre (one thinks of Mozart’s Requiem score of 1791, which calls for sombre reeds rather than flutes). In the “Patrem omnipotentem” Emanuel altered the notes and Latin text of the bass voice toward the end (mm. 69–72), introducing the words “Credo in unum Deum” once again to heighten the “Credo Mass” effect and further strengthen the ties between the “Patrem” and the “Credo” (Plate 6-1, above).

These changes reflect practical circumstances and Emanuel’s personal tastes. Other alterations, such as *colla parte* instrumentation in the “Credo in unum Deum” (Plate 6-2) and the “Confiteor,” paired violin slurrings in



the Credo.

in unum Dominum" he replaced the parts where necessary to a "Et in Spiritum Sanctum," where agitato and not easily revised, he violins.

to have been motivated by aesthetic. Emanuel substituted oboes for the reeds (one thinks of Mozart's Requiem reeds rather than flutes). In the notes and Latin text of the bass producing the words "Credo in unum Mass" effect and further strengthening "Credo" (Plate 6-1, above).

circumstances and Emanuel's personal taste instrumentation in the "Credo confiteor," paired violin slurrings in

the "Et in unum Dominum," and *tasto solo* indications in the continuo part of several movements, may be closer to his father's style than generally assumed and cannot be summarily dismissed as *Empfindsamkeit* updatings. We will return to these matters in Chapter 7.

The care with which Emanuel arranged the Credo underscores his dedication to his father's masterpiece (and the tremorous appearance of his handwriting reminds us that the reworking was no easy task for the seventy-two-year-old—see Plate 6-2). To judge from a contemporary review in the *Hamburg Correspondent*, the *Symbolum* was favorably received:

Hamburg. Among the things that were performed with great approbation at the four concerts given this year for the Medical Institute for the Poor were funeral music and a coronation anthem by Handel, *Armide* by Salieri, *Alceste* by Gluck, *Magnificat* and *Heilig* by C. P. E. Bach, and a Credo by Johann Sebastian Bach. Here one had the opportunity to observe different artifices in the works of the famous, above-named composers and the effect created by the performance of their compositions. Especially admirable was the five-voice Credo of the immortal Sebastian Bach, which is one of the most outstanding musical works that has ever been heard. The vocal parts must be sufficiently manned if it is to achieve its full effect, however. Once again our gallant singers displayed their well-known skill both in meeting and executing the most difficult passages, especially in the Credo. And in all four concerts several female dilettantes ["Liebhaberinnen"] caused the liveliest pleasure through their fine voices and tasteful execution.<sup>19</sup>

Mss. ms. Bach St 118, 35  
Fagott.

### Credo

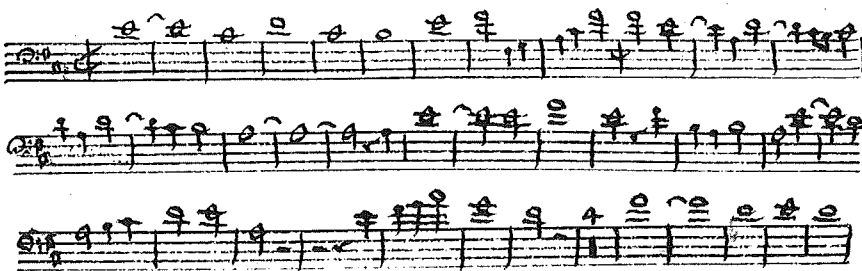


Plate 6-2. C. P. E. Bach's 1786 *colla parte* bassoon part for the "Credo" (Berlin State Library, St 118).

The *St 118* performance materials include just one part per voice and instrument,<sup>20</sup> which points to modest forces closer in nature to the Dresden *Missa* ensemble of 1733 than to the choral-society groups of the nineteenth century. Did Emanuel wish to use such forces, or was he compelled to do so by financial considerations? For church performances in Hamburg he normally employed a small professional group consisting of twelve to fifteen instrumentalists and eight to ten singers.<sup>21</sup> The Credo ensemble of 1786, which seems to have been along the same lines, may thus reflect a Baroque approach that was still normal practice. We will return to this matter, too, in Chapter 7.

Historians have long hailed Emanuel's concert as the initial step in the posthumous rise of the B-Minor Mass. True, it demonstrated the work's potential as a concert piece, played outside the worship service before a paying, public audience. But it also marked the emergence of what we might call a "Credo cult." Emanuel's selection of the Credo rather than the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, or Agnus Dei was surely not just a practical matter. With its tightly organized form and its inner drama—qualities we examined in Chapter 4—the Credo stands as the most transcendent segment of the Mass. No other portion displays such a wide range of styles, such rich chromaticism, such stunning transitions. Emanuel's choice of the Credo may well have represented an artistic judgment on his part, that this portion of the B-Minor Mass most fully represented his father's late aesthetic ideals.

The numerous early manuscript copies of the Credo alone—there are at least seven<sup>22</sup>—also point to an unusual interest in the segment. No other section was circulated independently to such a great degree. Three of the Credo copies can be connected with England and most probably stem from the famous English traveler, music historian, and *homme des lettres* Charles Burney. Writing in 1789 in his *General History of Music*, Burney reported:

Sebastian Bach set innumerable cantatas for the church, besides the Sanctus three times, with accompaniments, excellent in harmony and expression; *Kyrie cum Gloria* six times, all for four voices with instruments; with a *Credo* for five voices with accompaniments, of which I am in possession of the score, which is one of the most clear, correct, and masterly, I have ever seen.<sup>23</sup>

Burney almost certainly procured his Credo score directly from C. P. E. Bach, whom he visited in Hamburg in 1772, a full fourteen years before the Medical Institute performance. *P 1212*, a copy of the *Symbolum* in the

clude just one part per voice and is closer in nature to the Dresden l-society groups of the nineteenth ces, or was he compelled to do so performances in Hamburg he nor-up consisting of twelve to fifteen <sup>21</sup> The Credo ensemble of 1786, lines, may thus reflect a Baroque e will return to this matter, too, in

concert as the initial step in the True, it demonstrated the work's ide the worship service before a rked the emergence of what we ction of the Credo rather than the surely not just a practical matter. er drama—qualities we examined most transcendent segment of the de range of styles, such rich chro-anuel's choice of the Credo may nt on his part, that this portion of his father's late aesthetic ideals. s of the Credo alone—there are at nterest in the segment. No other such a great degree. Three of the and and most probably stem from an, and *homme des lettres* Charles *History of Music*, Burney reported:

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Credo score directly from C. P. E. 72, a full fourteen years before the a copy of the *Symbolum* in the

Berlin State Library with an English connection,<sup>24</sup> shows the music in its “unsullied,” pre-1786 form and suggests that Emanuel was championing the Credo long before the Hamburg concert.

The 1786 performance, then, most likely represents the culmination of an extended—if low-key—campaign by C. P. E. Bach to promote the music of the Credo. His efforts even extended beyond the grave: after his death, the poet Christoph Daniel Ebeling, who had been present at the 1786 performance, recalled the Credo and christened it “the masterpiece of the greatest of all harmonists” in his memorial tribute to Emanuel.<sup>25</sup> And when Gaspare Spontini gave the premiere of music from the B-Minor Mass in his landmark Berlin concert of 1828 (to which we will turn shortly), he not only chose Emanuel's Credo arrangement but even used the 1786 Hamburg performance parts. Many other early concerts of B-Minor Mass music featured the Credo alone. C. P. E. Bach himself appears to have been the founder of this Credo cult.

Finally, the B-Minor Mass also gained a toehold in Vienna in the second half of the eighteenth century. Baron Gottfried van Swieten, the Austrian diplomat who introduced Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven to Bach's keyboard music, owned a copy of the B-Minor Mass, according to the catalogue of his estate. Van Swieten served as ambassador to Berlin during the years 1770 to 1777 and was in close contact with C. P. E. Bach, Kirnberger, and Princess Amalia. It is likely that he obtained the B-Minor Mass at that time.<sup>26</sup>

## A SECOND *MISSA SOLEMNIS* FOR CHORAL SOCIETIES (THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

The transformation of the B-Minor Mass from historical curiosity to mainstay of the choral repertory began with the Bach Revival. Historians generally agree that this movement, which canonized Bach as a cultural hero and led to the resurrection of his “great choral works,” was officially launched in 1802 with the publication of Johann Nikolaus Forkel's biography, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (“On Johann Sebastian Bach's Life, Art, and Works”). Working with information supplied some thirty years earlier by Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Forkel sketched a concise but vivid portrait of Sebastian Bach as an industrious and highly skilled performer, composer, and teacher. Forkel

focused mainly on Bach's accomplishments as a keyboard virtuoso and mentioned the vocal works only in passing, making no reference whatsoever to the St. John Passion, the St. Matthew Passion, or the B-Minor Mass. Nevertheless, by discussing Bach's lineage and moral character, by emphasizing his regimen of steady self-improvement, and by delineating his triumphs as a musician of modest roots working amidst unappreciative aristocratic employers, Forkel laid the groundwork for viewing Bach as a Romantic genius, a *Dauidsbüandler*-like figure battling for the cause of art against philistine forces. It would not be long before the "Crucifixus" of the B-Minor Mass would be granted a psychological dimension and taken to epitomize Bach's personal struggle, much as the Fifth Symphony was taken to represent Beethoven's.

Forkel also presented Bach as an object of nationalistic pride, dedicating *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* to "Patriotic admirers of true musical art" and admonishing those admirers to emulate the composer's accomplishments:

Only through the union of the greatest genius with the most indefatigable study was Johann Sebastian Bach able to extend, no matter which way he turned, the bounds of his art so greatly that his successors have never once been in the position to expand this enlarged domain in its whole extent. This alone enabled him to produce such numerous and such perfect works, all of which are and will forever remain true ideals and imperishable models of art.

And this man, the greatest musical poet and the greatest musical orator that ever existed, and probably ever will exist, was a German. Let our country be proud of him. Let it be proud, but, at the same time, worthy of him!<sup>27</sup>

It was precisely this type of nationalistic temperament that spurred the rescuers of the B-Minor Mass.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, however, those wishing to follow in Bach's footsteps and emulate his "imperishable models" had difficulty doing so, at least in the case of the B-Minor Mass. Available in manuscript only, the work was painfully inaccessible. Haydn, according to his estate catalogue, owned a manuscript copy and was thus among the privileged few to know the piece in its entirety. Beethoven, by contrast, attempted without success to procure the B-Minor Mass score. On October 15, 1810, he wrote from Vienna to the music-publishing house of Breitkopf &

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Härtel in Leipzig, requesting a copy of the work and quoting, most probably from Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*,<sup>28</sup> the ground bass from the "Crucifixus" "which it is said to contain." Breitkopf & Härtel was a good bet for obtaining the work, since the firm maintained a large manuscript inventory of Bach vocal works and produced handwritten copies of individual pieces on demand. Unfortunately, Breitkopf's stock did not include the B-Minor Mass.<sup>29</sup> On September 9, 1824, apparently still without a copy, Beethoven made a second attempt to get one, writing directly to Nägeli in Zurich, who, as we have seen, was then in possession of Bach's autograph. This effort, too, appears to have been fruitless, for there is no evidence of the Bach work in Beethoven's estate at the time of his death. Thus Beethoven composed the *Missa solennis*, op. 123, without first-hand knowledge of the B-Minor Mass. It was left to Romantic performers and critics to place the two grand vocal works side by side.

If Beethoven had resided in Berlin, matters might have been different. There the Bach tradition was more vigorous than it was in Vienna and the B-Minor Mass more readily available. In 1811, just one year after Beethoven's request to Breitkopf, the Berlin *Singakademie* began to read through Bach's "Great Mass." Founded by the conductor and composer Carl Friedrich Fasch in 1791, the *Singakademie* gathered weekly to study masterpieces of the choral repertory. Germany's first bourgeois choral society, it was a world apart from Emanuel's *Symbolum* ensemble of 1786. Composed mainly of enthusiastic amateurs, it grew steadily in size, from thirty-seven members its first year to almost 200 by the second decade of the nineteenth century (Mendelssohn's famous *Singakademie* performance of the St. Matthew Passion in 1829 featured 158 singers plus a large instrumental ensemble drawn chiefly from the membership).<sup>30</sup> Fasch led readings from the piano—a tradition continued by his successors—and for difficult works held pre-rehearsals with a smaller group. The *Singakademie* repertory included Bach's music almost from the start. In 1794 Fasch introduced the motets one by one, spending half a year on *Komm, Jesu, Komm*, BWV 229, before moving on to *Fürchte dich nicht*, BWV 228, and *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied*, BWV 225. With a large, unwieldy group of nonprofessionals, progress was slow.

When Fasch died in 1800, the *Singakademie* directorship fell to his student Carl Friedrich Zelter, one of the most important early proponents of Bach's vocal music. Zelter continued the systematic study of the motets but in 1807 began to read through Bach's instrumental pieces with a small group of ten *Singakademie* members. From there he turned to the concerted

vocal works: cantatas, passions, and oratorios. According to the weekly register, Zelter introduced the B-Minor Mass on October 25, 1811, and by November had led the group through the three movements of the Kyrie portion. He then set the music aside until September 1813, when he guided his singers through the entire Mass over the course of three sessions. During the winter of 1814–1815 Zelter returned to the work, reading selected choruses and arias. Although the B-Minor Mass does not reappear in the register, Zelter must have picked it up again, for, as we have seen, Mendelssohn, who joined the *Singakademie* in 1820 as an eleven-year-old alto with his fifteen-year-old sister Fanny (Zelter assessed both as “usable”), later recalled reading through it at the weekly meetings.

We can only speculate on the details of Zelter's approach to the B-Minor Mass, since his *Singakademie* score was lost in World War II.<sup>31</sup> Georg Schünemann, who examined Zelter's manuscript in the 1920s, states that in the “Quoniam tu solus Sanctus” Zelter suggested that the corne da caccia be replaced with a flute, and the bassoons with basset horns or muted cellos. In addition, the text displayed changes and simplifications, especially in the solo sections.<sup>32</sup> In the St. John Passion and other vocal works, Zelter did not hesitate to modify Bach's lines in order to tone down what he considered to be overly ornate extravagances.<sup>33</sup> There is no reason to doubt that he followed the same procedure in the B-Minor Mass.

To Zelter and his contemporaries, Bach's aria writing was too florid, too complicated, too *Baroque*. It was the choruses, with their dense textures, rich chromatic harmonies, and more straightforward vocal writing, that deeply touched Romantic sensibilities. Like Beethoven, Zelter was drawn to the “Crucifixus.” As he wrote to Goethe:

A “passus et sepultus” leads to the last pulse of the silent Might, a “resurrexit” or “In gloria dei patris” to the eternal regions of blessed death compared with the hollowness of the earthly endeavors. It is as if this feeling were indivisible, and it would be difficult to present it as a melody or something tangible.<sup>34</sup>

With Zelter's *Singakademie* readings, and with the growing interest in Bach's choral works in general, enthusiasm for the B-Minor Mass increased, so much so that during the years 1816–1818 three attempts were made to bring the work to print. In February 1816 Samuel Wesley, champion of Bach's music in England, proposed the idea of publishing the Credo to demonstrate Bach's skill in vocal composition. For want of sufficient sub-



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scribers, the project came to naught. In June 1818 in the Leipzig  
*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* Nägeli announced his intention to print  
 the complete Mass, and one month later the journal reported that Georg  
 Poelchau (who had joined the *Singakademie* in 1814) planned to undertake  
 the same endeavor. Of these two, it was Nägeli who finally succeeded,  
 though not for some time. His 1818 solicitation, in which he proclaimed  
 Bach's composition "the greatest musical art-work of all times and all peo-  
 ple," is a remarkable document, highlighting in print for the first time the  
 transcendent qualities of the Mass. Once again we find the Credo portion  
 singled out for high praise:

In technical regards the work contains, in twenty-seven lengthy move-  
 ments, all kinds of contrapuntal and canonic art, in which one can  
 observe Bach's continuous and admirable perfection. The instrumen-  
 tation, too, especially the art of interludes, is astonishingly well car-  
 ried out. With respect to aesthetics, it is sufficient to cite the Credo,  
 which Ebeling in his "Lobgesang auf die Harmonie" . . . described in  
 verse as "the masterpiece of the greatest of all harmonists." This  
 Credo (in itself the first extensive movement on the words "Credo in  
 unum deum" alone) is probably the most wonderful musical art-work  
 in existence. The difficult task, often discussed by the judges of music  
 in his time and our own, of how the Credo is to be handled by church  
 composers, stands here resolved in an eternal model. In it, the  
 strength of faith is revived through the strength of art.<sup>35</sup>

Nägeli concluded by claiming that study of the B-Minor Mass was as  
 salutary for musicians as a trip to Rome for artists. In spite of great expec-  
 tations, his words fell on deaf ears, and the project lay dormant for the next  
 decade.

The year 1828 witnessed the first public performances of music from the  
 B-Minor Mass in the nineteenth century, in Frankfurt on March 10 and in  
 Berlin on April 30. Both featured the *Symbolum Nicenum* alone.

The March performance was given by the *Cäcilien-Verein*, the Society of  
 St. Cecilia, under the direction of its founder, Johann Nepomuk Schelble.  
 Like the *Singakademie*, the *Cäcilien-Verein* was an amateur choral associa-  
 tion, with a membership of about 200. Schelble himself described the  
 preparations and performance of the *Symbolum*: the members of the *Verein*  
 were initially biased against Bach's work because of its extreme difficulties,  
 and in the first rehearsal chaos reigned. But Schelble persevered, working

through the movements little by little, and by the first orchestral rehearsal, all confessed that they had never encountered anything "richer or more elevated."<sup>36</sup> Some two hundred musicians took part in the March performance, with an orchestra that included 18 violins, 4 violas, 4 cellos, and 2 double basses. Performance indications in the conducting score show that Schelble augmented the instrumentation with bassoons, clarinets, and horns, which he used to double vocal as well as instrumental lines in the choruses. Crescendo, diminuendo, ritardando, and other expressive markings point to a heavily Romantic interpretation (Plate 6-3).

Adolf Bernhard Marx, the eminent theorist, critic, and early advocate of Bach's music, reviewed the concert and, in general, praised the performance.<sup>37</sup> But he raised a larger issue: to understand the Credo truly, one had to hear it preceded by the "Cum sancto" of the Gloria and followed by the "Sanctus" and "Osanna." Proceeding further along these lines, Marx advocated a performance of the entire work. Three years later, in January 1831, the *Cäcilien-Verein* performed the Kyrie and Gloria portions; in April of the same year, the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo; and in November, with Mendelssohn in attendance, the Credo once again. Two years later it presented the Gloria and the "Et incarnatus" and "Crucifixus" from the Credo. While the complete performance desired by Marx did not take place until 1861, the 1828-1833 concerts were critical in placing the music of the B-Minor Mass before the public. The *Cäcilien-Verein* pattern was soon to be repeated elsewhere in Germany, and in England, too: initial consternation over the technical difficulties of Bach's score, followed by a resolute struggle to master the music, followed by a triumphant public performance.

Associating the B-Minor Mass with the Romantic concept of struggle and triumph was even clearer in the April 1828 performance of the *Symbolum Nicenum* given in the Berlin Opera House by opera director Gaspare Spontini. Like C. P. E. Bach's Medical Institute concert of 1786, the Berlin program was a miscellany:

Beethoven: Fifth Symphony

Beethoven: Kyrie and Gloria from the *Missa solennis*

Beethoven: Coriolanus Overture

J. S. Bach: *Symbolum Nicenum* from the B-Minor Mass [from "Credo in unum Deum" to "Et resurrexit" only]

C. P. E. Bach: *Heilig*

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B-Minor Mass [from "Credo in

Plate 6-3. Johann Nepomuk Schelble's 1828 conducting score of the "Et in Spiritum Sanctum"  
(Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus.Hs. 145).

Indeed, there was a direct connection with the 1786 concert, since Spontini used Emanuel's arrangement of the Credo (complete with the newly composed instrumental introduction) as well as his performance materials for it and the *Heilig*.<sup>38</sup>

But Spontini obviously had new programmatic goals in mind. As Gerhard Herz has noted, Spontini's concert represented, in a sense, a gigantic composite "concert Mass"—Kyrie and Gloria (Beethoven), Credo (Bach), and Sanctus (C. P. E. Bach)—that bridged three generations of composers.<sup>39</sup> Marx, reviewing this concert, too, found such a juxtaposition offensive.<sup>40</sup> Ever the idealist, he claimed that such a "mélange" would work well in Paris, "par curiosité," but not in Germany, where it would be preferable to perform the entire B-Minor Mass alone. Marx distinctly disliked Emanuel's "hurdy-gurdy-like" introduction and found the placement of the *Heilig* directly after the Credo "ridiculous." By contrast, Ludwig Rellstab and an anonymous critic in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* raised no objections to the heterogeneous programming.<sup>41</sup> What is most important is that the joining of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, with its victorious finale, the Coriolanus Overture, with its portrayal of the Roman patrician's struggles, and Bach's Credo, with its Latin affirmation of faith and its redemptive "Et resurrexit" conclusion (in the Berlin version), blurred the boundaries between secular and sacred to an even greater degree than Emanuel Bach's Medical Institute concerts. It pointed toward the creation of a secular, humanistic, universal religious experience of the type that was to be espoused in the second half of the century by Wagner and Mahler.

The spirit of the moment was best captured by Fanny Mendelssohn, who reported emotionally two weeks before the concert:

Whether or not we want to admit it, we live in a time in which unbelievable things are being accomplished in every regard, including art. The Passion will be published without fail by Schlesinger before the year is out, and Schelble performed a part of the Mass in Frankfurt to great approbation. In all corners it is stirring, in all branches it is rustling, one has to cover one's ears not to hear it! Long-deceased Phoenix does nothing but search for his funeral pyre, and he will certainly find it. The time is not far off—we will experience great things. I don't know why I'm in such an historical mood and have such a great desire to measure everything by centuries and nations. Would it be because Spontini is going to present the first half of Beethoven's Mass and the second half of Bach's on Repentance Day?<sup>42</sup>

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e live in a time in which unbe- d in every regard, including art. t fail by Schlesinger before the part of the Mass in Frankfurt to s stirring, in all branches it is not to hear it! Long-deceased is funeral pyre, and he will cer- we will experience great things. ical mood and have such a great uries and nations. Would it be e first half of Beethoven's Mass ntance Day?<sup>42</sup>

Spontini's pairing of the B-Minor Mass with the *Missa solennis* had far-reaching consequences: it led to the linking of the two works by critics and audiences.<sup>43</sup> It undoubtedly influenced Nägeli and Simrock's decision to change the title of Bach's piece from simply "Messe" to "Die hohe Messe" for their 1845 print of part II, in parallel to Beethoven's "Grosse Messe" (as it was commonly termed at the time). And it most probably determined Julius Rietz's decision, in the *Bach-Gesamtausgabe*, to assign a violin to the unlabeled obbligato instrumental line of the "Benedictus," in imitation of Beethoven's scoring for the same section.<sup>44</sup> But even more fundamentally, it marked the B-Minor Mass as a grand choral masterpiece, a work to be presented in the secular arena of the concert hall, with immense vocal and instrumental forces, in the monumental style of the *Missa solennis* or the Ninth Symphony.

The performance parts used by Spontini for the Credo attest to this monumentality. We find that C. P. E. Bach's Hamburg materials were augmented with fifteen new chorus parts<sup>45</sup> and then combined with an entirely new set of materials<sup>46</sup> that utterly transformed the nature of the piece: seventy-five additional choral parts, thirty additional string parts, and seven new wind parts (calling for two clarinets, two bassoons, and three "corni" [which despite their "horn" label double the trumpet parts at pitch]). Assuming that the vocal and string parts of both sets were shared by two performers each, as was common practice (see Chapter 7), this would have resulted in an ensemble of Bruckneresque proportions and character: 190 singers, 68 string players (18 first violins, 18 second violins, 12 violas, 12 cellos, and 8 double basses), two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, three trumpets, three horns (or brass instruments of some sort), and timpani.<sup>47</sup>

If Marx criticized Spontini's programming, he nevertheless praised the performance of the "Crucifixus," which he viewed as the emotional center of the Credo:

The Crucifixus can be named as the sanctuary of this most holy Mass, in whose tonal dance one perceives the wonder, the unending pain, the deepest compassion—the full extent of the purpose of consecration in death leading to the redemption of mankind. Here no line can be altered without damage and sacrilege to the whole, either in the voices or in the orchestra, which presents the following figure in the strings and winds over the basso ostinato [measures 1 to 4 given here]. These soft exhalations, these sighs of the lamenting flutes were strengthened with clarinets and oboes.<sup>48</sup>

The oboes in the "Crucifixus" performance were a carry-over from Emanuel's Hamburg arrangement, of course. But Spontini's addition of clarinets and, as the parts indicate, bassoons (doubling the vocal bass and continuo) enhanced even further the plaintive, tragic nature of the "Crucifixus" for nineteenth-century listeners. The new instruments brought the reed group into line with typical early nineteenth-century wind bands, such as those used by Beethoven in the *Marcia funebre* of the "Eroica" Symphony and the *Allegretto* of the Seventh Symphony, two pieces whose cataclysmic journeys caught the imagination of Romantic audiences. Spontini's Berlin performance, with its massive chorus, operatically schooled soloists (evaluated in detail by the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reviewer), and large, Romanticized orchestra helped even more than Schelble's concert to set the course of the B-Minor Mass as a choral-society colossus, a second *Missa solemnis*. The extensive doubling and the dominating choral forces (which now outweighed the instrumentalists almost three to one) transmogrified Bach's score, obscuring the details of counterpoint and creating, as Nikolaus Harnoncourt has nicely put it, a "magnificently harmonized, monumental sound," a "chordal Bach."<sup>49</sup>

The full-scale revival of Bach's large vocal works followed soon thereafter. On March 11, 1829, Mendelssohn led the *Singakademie* in the first public performance of the St. Matthew Passion. During the next two years, the St. Matthew and St. John Passions were published in full score and piano-vocal reductions. In 1833, Nägeli, together with Simrock of Bonn, issued the full score of the Kyrie and Gloria of the B-Minor Mass. A year later the two firms released vocal parts and a piano-vocal score (arranged by Marx) of the entire Mass. The second part of the full score, containing the Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, did not appear until 1845. The printed piano-vocal reductions and vocal parts, especially, greatly facilitated large-scale choral-society performances.

In 1834 Zelter's successor, Karl Friedrich Rungenhagen, led the Berlin *Singakademie* in a public performance of the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo sections of the B-Minor Mass. A reviewer for the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* singled out the "Crucifixus" once again for special praise but also extended sympathy toward the solo instrumentalists, who were "forced to fight with the strangeness of the figurations, especially in terms of range and divisions."<sup>50</sup> In Braunschweig the same year, Konrad Friedrich Griepenkerl, editor of the complete Bach organ works for C. F. Peters, performed the "Sanctus." Here, too, we encounter the element of gigantism: Griepenkerl used the combined vocal forces of the local Gymnasium chorus

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and the Braunschweig *Singakademie* and a large orchestra with more than  
 seventy string players.<sup>51</sup>

After 1834, performances of music from the B-Minor Mass proliferated:  
 Rungenhagen with the Berlin *Singakademie* in 1835 (Kyrie to Osanna); the  
 Choral Harmonists' Society of London in 1838 (Credo); Mendelssohn in a  
 "historical retrospective" in the Leipzig Gewandhaus in 1841  
 ("Crucifixus"-*"Et resurrexit"* sequence and the "Sanctus"); Mendelssohn,  
 again, at the inauguration ceremonies for the Bach monument in Leipzig in  
 1843 ("Sanctus"). The B-Minor Mass was not performed in its entirety  
 until after the mid-century mark. The first complete performance—albeit  
 in German—appears to have been given by Karl Riedel and the *Riedel-*  
*Verein* in Leipzig in 1859, with Liszt in attendance. Other early complete  
 performances include Christian Carl Müller conducting the *Cäcilien-*  
*Verein* in Frankfurt in 1861; Otto Goldschmidt, the Bach Choir in London  
 in 1876 (with Jenny Lind singing the soprano arias); Alessandro Costa, a  
 mixed choir in Rome in 1885;<sup>52</sup> Frederick Wolle, the Bethlehem Bach  
 Choir in 1900; and Frank Damrosch, the Oratorio Society of New York,  
 also in 1900. During this time, the vocal forces continued to grow in size.  
 By the end of the century, a chorus of 200 singers was *passé*—still larger  
 forces were desired. Damrosch's greatly applauded Oratorio Society, for  
 instance, featured 500 singers.

During the course of the nineteenth century, then, the B-Minor Mass  
 went from an obscure work, unmentioned by Forkel, to a staple of the choral  
 repertory. Philipp Spitta devoted thirty pages to the B-Minor Mass in his  
 epic *Johann Sebastian Bach* of 1873–1880. Carl Hermann Bitter gave it a  
 full chapter in the 1881 revised edition of his similarly named biography.  
 The Mass had finally come to life again, but it was reborn in new clothes: it  
 was no longer a Baroque work. In 1786 C. P. E. Bach altered the instru-  
 mentation here and there, but preserved the size of the forces and the bal-  
 ance between chorus and orchestra. In the nineteenth century, the chorus  
 grew to the point where it overwhelmed the orchestra, obscuring the details  
 of the scoring. It was as if Bach, like Beethoven with the *Missa solemnis* or  
 Brahms with the German Requiem, had written a work specifically to  
 exhibit the capabilities of a new and mighty instrument, the mixed chorus.  
 In performance, the lines of the B-Minor Mass were agglutinated, through  
 the use of heavier voices (older men, rather than young, for the tenors and  
 basses; women, rather than boys, for the sopranos and altos), more melliflu-  
 ous instruments (horns, trombones, clarinets), and excessive numbers of  
 performers on both vocal and instrumental parts. In the Romantic quest for

overall effect, the Latin text could even be discarded as long as the harmony and melodic lines were preserved: Mendelssohn's solo organ arrangements of "Kyrie eleison" II and the "Gratias agimus tibi"<sup>53</sup> result in a "Mass without Words" of sorts.

To nineteenth-century ears, the massive sound of the choruses was overwhelming. The anonymous reviewer of Rungenhagen's 1834 *Singakademie* performance of the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo found the "Crucifixus" and "Et resurrexit" "especially gripping" and the "Confiteor" "of extraordinary harmonic magnitude." He ranked the arias, however, as "relatively less appealing,"<sup>54</sup> undoubtedly because they did not match the thick textures, the dynamic extremes, the very *Gesamtness* of the choruses. Spitta expressed the nineteenth-century viewpoint well:

The arias stand among the choruses like isolated valleys between gigantic peaks, serving to relieve the eye that tries to take in the whole composition. The choruses, indeed, are of a caliber and grandeur that almost crush the small and restless generation of the present day. Throughout the entire work the most essential portions are given to them, and they are best understood by a general consideration of the whole.<sup>55</sup>

The "gigantic peaks" of the choruses, scaled surefootedly by European and American choral societies by the end of the nineteenth century, would not be forgotten easily in the twentieth century. In the "original forces" movement, it was the concept of the B-Minor Mass as a large choral work that would be most difficult to set aside.

### THE GROWING ISSUE OF ORIGINAL FORCES (THE TWENTIETH CENTURY)

Just as the nineteenth-century choral-society tradition was reaching its peak in the form of Mahler's Eighth Symphony (the "Symphony of a Thousand," composed in 1906 and premiered in 1910), the use of gigantic forces for Bach's music began to be questioned. Albert Schweitzer was one of the first to take up the issue. Writing in the revised edition of his influential *J. S. Bach, le musicien-poète*, Schweitzer complained that the sound of women's voices was foreign to Bach's music and expressed the hope that



be discarded as long as the harmonic texture of Mendelssohn's solo organ arrangement of "Kyrie eleison" result in a "Mass" whose sound of the choruses was over-whelming. Rungenhagen's 1834 *Singakademie* credo found the "Crucifixus" and "Et ecce" "Confiteor" "of extraordinary harmonic texture," however, as "relatively less" than the "Gloria" and "Agnus Dei," which did not match the thick textures, but the richness of the choruses. Spitta expressed

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the time would come when more attention would be given to the advantages of boy sopranos and altos.<sup>56</sup> To Schweitzer, Bach's church works were "a type of sacred chamber music," and the desire to hear them "with original equipment" was fully justified. While Schweitzer did not go so far as to reject a large-scale performance of the B-Minor Mass, he at least urged a reduction in the size of the chorus:

Bach indeed never dreamed of a performance of the "Gloria," the "Et resurrexit," and the "Osanna" of his B-Minor Mass by three or four hundred singers; nevertheless we may venture to perform them in this way, and it has been done successfully. We ought to recognize, however, that it is all a matter of chance. Even with a choir of a hundred and fifty voices there is a danger of lines of the vocal polyphony coming out too thickly and heavily in a way directly opposed to the nature of Bach's music.<sup>57</sup>

Others writing about Bach's music were moving in the same direction. In an article appearing in 1904 in the first issue of the *Bach-Jahrbuch*, Arnold Schering pointed to the loss of Baroque traditions and reasoned that their passing made it difficult—if not impossible—to re-create Bach's performance practices.<sup>58</sup> The rise of middle-class music making, the advent of the public concert, the training of musicians in the Classical and Romantic schools, and the disappearance of many Baroque instruments created an immense gulf between Bach's time and the twentieth century. Schering doubted that a return to Bach's performance style was possible.

Nevertheless, the picture of Bach's performance conditions soon became much clearer, thanks to archival studies. In an article appearing in the 1912 *Bach-Jahrbuch*, Schering examined the practices of Bach's Thomas-kantor predecessors.<sup>59</sup> Charles Sanford Terry explored in remarkable detail Bach's instrumental players and their instruments in *Bach's Orchestra* (1932). Schering presented a broad portrait of Leipzig music making in the second volume of *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* (1926) and in *Johann Sebastian Bachs Leipziger Kirchenmusik* (1936), and in his highly influential article in the 1936 *Bach-Jahrbuch* argued that Bach performed the *Missa* of the B-Minor Mass in Leipzig on April 21, 1733, as an homage and coronation piece for Friedrich August II.<sup>60</sup> As we noted in Chapter 2, most scholars now agree that if the *Missa* was performed at all in 1733, it most probably was given in Dresden, not Leipzig. But Schering's thesis was persuasive when first presented, and its implications for performance were clear: it

removed the B-Minor Mass from the lavish, professional circles of Dresden and placed it squarely in Leipzig, where Bach's resources—described in the carefully documented investigations of Terry and Schering himself—were unquestionably modest.

Finally, Smend, in a probing 1937 essay on the genesis, transmission, and meaning of the B-Minor Mass, underscored in a clinical way the imbalance inherent in choral-society performances.<sup>61</sup> In discussing Bach's transformation of the chorus "Jauchzet, ihr erfreuten Stimmen" of Cantata 120 into the "Et expecto" of the Mass, Smend noted that in mm. 25–26 of the "Et expecto," thematic material carried by soprano, alto, and bass in the cantata was reassigned to two flutes and a bass (Example 6–2).

"Jauchzet, ihr erfreuten Stimmen"  
(Cantata 120/2):

⑮ S Jauch - - - zet  
A Jauch - - - zet  
B Jauch - - - zet,

"Et expecto":

⑮ Fl.tr. 1  
Fl.tr. 2  
B o - - - nem

Example 6–2. "Et expecto" rescoring.

In terms of scoring, this meant, logically, that Bach viewed the flute lines as the dynamic equivalent of soprano and alto lines. Such equality was irreparably distorted in choral-society performances:

In the Passions or the B-Minor Mass, at least, every vocal part is assigned to a large, strongly manned chorus. If we are not already convinced, for various reasons, that the strong manning of the vocal parts must have as its consequence a falsification of the timbral picture, then passages like this must win us over. The flutes of the Mass are the equivalent of the vocal parts of the cantata. If the chorus is not of the very smallest type, then the threefold harmony between the vocal part and the two flutes is destroyed. One will hear only the vocal part. Bach was, as Schering has set before our eyes in a lively manner, an eminently practical musician—something confirmed by his scores. He created his works with a view to the performance forces that he had at hand.<sup>62</sup>

Smend's argument was convincing indeed, and as performers began to move toward the idea of using "original forces" for Bach's vocal music, the

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restoration of balance between chorus and orchestra was among their high-  
est priorities. The Bach Cantata Club of London, formed in 1926 by Hubert  
Foss, E. Stanley Roper, and Charles Kennedy Scott to perform Bach's  
choral music with a new degree of authenticity, was one of the first groups  
to spurn the choral-society tradition. With the active encouragement of  
Schweitzer, Terry, and others, the Club performed Bach's vocal works with  
small forces. In 1929, it presented the B-Minor Mass with a choir of thirty-  
six voices. This was still almost twice as many singers as Bach normally  
used (as we shall see in Chapter 7), and the Club employed a mixed group  
of men and women and modern instruments. Nevertheless, it was a decisive  
step away from nineteenth-century practices.

In New York, the Cantata Singers, directed from 1936 to 1953 by Arthur  
Mendel, moved in the same direction, performing Bach cantatas with a  
small chorus and a chamber ensemble (of modern instruments, for the most  
part). In a paper entitled "Problems in the Performance of Bach's Choral  
Music," presented in New York in 1941, Mendel argued that modern per-  
formers were using the "alleged inadequacy of performances in Bach's  
time" as an excuse to ignore the character of his ensemble.<sup>63</sup> Mendel  
appraised the historical documents regarding Bach's singers and instru-  
mentalists—documents that were soon to be made widely accessible to  
English-reading audiences through *The Bach Reader*—and discussed the  
practical problems of trying to re-create eighteenth-century conditions with  
a mixed chorus and modern instruments. The greatest obstacle to restoring  
Bach's sound, Mendel felt, was the Romantic training of modern performers  
and listeners—the very problem mentioned by Schering back in 1904.

In Germany, Wilhelm Ehmann helped to revive interest in Baroque  
vocal practices through his work at the Hochschule für Kirchenmusik in  
Münster in the 1950s and 1960s and his concerts and recordings with the  
Westfälische Kantorei. Equally influential, especially with regard to the  
B-Minor Mass, was Ehmann's series of articles on the role of concertists and  
ripienists in Bach's choir, published in 1960.<sup>64</sup> Pointing to accounts by  
Praetorius, Schütz, Demantius, Walther, and others, Ehmann demonstrated  
that the use of a small choir divided into soloist and tutti groups, outlined  
by Bach in his "Short but Necessary Draft" of 1730, was a Baroque con-  
vention of long standing. Ehmann proposed that the practice be applied to  
the B-Minor Mass and enumerated passages in the choruses that could be  
taken by the solo group. Although Ehmann's specific suggestions were  
flawed in a number of regards (we shall return to this in Chapter 7), the gist  
of his argument was both accurate and convincing: Bach's choir was as  
small and as flexible as his instrumental group.

Ehmann's theory was quickly put into practice in Robert Shaw's 1961 recording of the B-Minor Mass, which featured a chorus of thirty-three select professional singers and an orchestra of twenty-nine players. "Apparently, Bach was used to an equal numerical and auditory balance between singers and instrumentalists," Shaw stated in the liner notes.<sup>65</sup> "We have granted to this present chorus a slight numerical advantage, perhaps justified by the greater sonority of today's instruments." Shaw divided his chorus into concertists and ripienists and used the concertists for arias and solo passages in the choruses, in Baroque fashion. His streamlined performance demonstrated for the first time in a recording the merits of a scaled-down approach to the B-Minor Mass, albeit with a mixed chorus and modern instruments.

The leap to boys' chorus and original instruments was taken by Nikolaus Harnoncourt in 1968, in a recording of the B-Minor Mass with the *Concentus Musicus Wien* and the *Wiener Sängerknaben* and *Chorus Viennensis*.<sup>66</sup> Harnoncourt noted that Bach's major works were conceived more or less as chamber music in terms of forces, the 150-year-old Romantic tradition notwithstanding. In his opinion, reducing the size of the ensemble was not enough to recapture the balance of Bach's delicate scoring—it was also necessary to use boys' voices and period instruments, with their lighter, more transparent timbre. Echoing Smend, Harnoncourt reasoned:

When a choral part is played in thirds or in sixths with *one* instrument, it makes musical sense only if the number of singers is very small, or if multiple wind instruments are used. There are many such passages in the B-Minor Mass: for example, in the "Kyrie," measures 35–36, or "Et expecto," measures 27, 29, 31, 69, 71, 73. Similar problems of balance arise also in the "Et resurrexit," where two flutes are played for long stretches quite independently and must remain audible against both the chorus and the orchestra. Also the reinforcement of the trumpets by the flutes in mm. 101–105 is only plausible if the flutes are not drowned out by the trumpets. From these few randomly chosen examples it is evident that the distribution of the voices and instruments, weighed most subtly by Bach, loses its meaning completely if even one link is changed in this complicated chain.<sup>67</sup>

Harnoncourt also employed what he considered to be Baroque performance techniques—lighter, meter-oriented articulations, faster tempos, softer dynamic levels, the use of a conductorless ensemble, etc.—which he

to practice in Robert Shaw's 1961 featured a chorus of thirty-three select twenty-nine players. "Apparently, auditory balance between singers and liner notes."<sup>65</sup> "We have granted to advantage, perhaps justified by the Shaw divided his chorus into concertists for arias and solo passages in streamlined performance demonstrations of a scaled-down approach to chorus and modern instruments. Instruments was taken by Nikolaus the B-Minor Mass with the *Concentus* and *Chorus Viennensis*.<sup>66</sup> Harnoncourt conceived more or less as chamber and Romantic tradition notwithstanding the ensemble was not enough to scoring—it was also necessary to with their lighter, more transparent soned:

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considered to be Baroque perfor- mented articulations, faster tempos, ctorless ensemble, etc.—which he

had refined with *Concentus Musicus* in the fifteen-year period preceding the recording.

Reaction to Harnoncourt's approach was mixed. Rudolf Klein, writing in the *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, voiced unreserved enthusiasm for the recording, praising both the clarity and balance of the orchestra and chorus and the elegant, "fatless" nature of the overall interpretation.<sup>68</sup> *High Fidelity Magazine*, posing the question "Bach's B-Minor Mass: Does the Concentus Musicus' Authenticity Make Musical Sense?" presented positive and negative views side by side.<sup>69</sup> Clifford F. Gilmore, speaking for the "Yes" camp, lauded the extraordinary clarity of the "new" instrumental ensemble and smaller chorus and found that the generally fast tempos and short, distinct articulations made the work "come alive" in an unprecedented fashion. Certainly the tempos *were* much faster than those taken in previous recordings. Even Shaw's 1961 performance runs two hours and thirteen minutes; Harnoncourt's, at one hour and forty-five minutes, is almost half an hour shorter. Paul Henry Lang, writing for the "No" camp, labeled Harnoncourt's recording "an example of overzealous antiquarianism; long on well-meant but naïve musicology, and short on plain musicianship." High on Lang's list of complaints was the very nature of early instruments and boys' voices:

When the baroque flute descends to its lower regions, what we hear mostly is the *pft-pft* of the player blowing into it; the baroque horn is afraid of its own shadow; and the baroque bassoons haven't even a shadow—the "Quoniam" is really funny. Only the baroque oboes sound pleasant with their plaintive, slightly nasal tone . . . The choral treble and alto are sung by boys, the famed Vienna Choir Boys, who do a good job. But of course boys cannot do justice to this kind of music, and a mixed chorus is infinitely preferable to the combination of men, falsettists, and boys.<sup>70</sup>

Sharply rejecting the notion that early forces might offer certain advantages over modern, Lang sided with the nineteenth-century practitioners and expressed the conviction that the B-Minor Mass was inarguably a large choral work: "Whatever the historical data, the B minor Mass is not chamber music; we must not confuse economic history with musical actuality." He concluded by admitting that while the Bethlehem Bach Choir and the Boston Handel and Haydn Society might give one "inflated Bach,"

Harnoncourt was offering up "deflated Bach." Despite Lang's rebuke, within six months *High Fidelity* awarded the Harnoncourt recording the Gold Prize in its "Best Records of the Year" competition.<sup>71</sup> "Deflated Bach" was moving into the mainstream.

Part of Harnoncourt's goal was to trim down the forces used for the B-Minor Mass and eliminate the extreme contrast between chorus and aria that had been created by the Romantic tradition. His performance nevertheless displays certain aspects of the choral-society approach that he wished to overthrow. To judge from the liner materials, his chorus contained approximately thirty boys and men—still a much larger group than Bach's in either Leipzig or Dresden (see Chapter 7). Harnoncourt reasoned<sup>72</sup> that boy sopranos and altos are younger and smaller in modern times than they were in Bach's day (in the eighteenth century, boys normally reached puberty three or four years later than they do now),<sup>73</sup> and hence more are needed to achieve the same amount of sound. Harnoncourt also used professional soloists—men and women—for the arias, on the assumption that Bach performed the *Missa* in Dresden, where opera singers were available.

The performing forces were reduced still further by Joshua Rifkin in his 1982 recording of the B-Minor Mass made with the Bach Ensemble.<sup>74</sup> Proceeding on the premise that Bach's resources in Leipzig were extremely limited, and that his "chorus" normally consisted of no more than a quartet of voices, Rifkin presented the Mass with an ensemble of twenty instrumentalists (including 2 first violins, 2 second violins, 1 viola, 1 cello, 1 violone, and 1 bassoon) and eight professional singers (men and women), with no more than one singer per part in each portion of the work. To many, Rifkin's one-on-a-part choral approach, which we will examine more closely in Chapter 7, seems extreme. But without question, it endows the choruses of the B-Minor Mass with an unprecedented degree of clarity and detail. The choral "peaks" so admired by Spitta in the nineteenth century are brought to the same level as the arias, and the Mass is unveiled as a work in which monumentality is created mostly by changes in texture, rather than changes in forces. Rifkin's B-Minor Mass is Schweitzer's "sacred chamber music" indeed.

Whether or not Rifkin's approach will gain wide acceptance remains to be seen. Some have dismissed it as an aberration, as "Baroque Minimalism." Others have embraced Rifkin's thesis, at least in part. Recent recordings by John Eliot Gardiner and Andrew Parrott feature the use of one voice per part in selected chorus passages<sup>75</sup> (though not necessarily along the same lines as Ehmann's complex concertist-ripienist schemes). And still more

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recently, Harnoncourt has made a second recording of the B-Minor Mass, one in which he retreats somewhat from the "original forces" concept by combining an enlarged *Concentus Musikus Wien* ensemble of early instruments (including 6 first violins, 6 second violins, 3 violas, 2 cellos, 2 violones, and 2 bassoons) with the *Arnold Schönberg Chor*, a mixed choir of men and women. In an interview, Harnoncourt explained his decision not to use a boys' choir:

We take the view that women's voices are just as accurate, that they reproduce the rhythmic structures and coloratura just as clearly, but that they also contribute the sensuous flair of adults to the music. As far as I am concerned—and probably today's listener—this is an essential element in the work and it is no longer all that important whether the ideal, historically accurate rendering is by a boys' choir or a mixed choir.<sup>76</sup>

This approach seems to represent the beginning of a new, "post-original forces" stage, in which performers knowingly—and unabashedly—seek a middle ground between Bach's conventions and modern tastes.

38. See Alfred Dürr's diagram of the fascicle structure in *Johann Sebastian Bach. Messe in H-Moll, BWV 232. Faksimile der autographen Partitur*, Commentary, 14–15.
39. Rifkin, Notes to Nonesuch recording no. 79036 (1982).

## CHAPTER 6

*The B-Minor Mass after Bach's Death*

1. It is presumably one of "five passions" mentioned in the works list of the 1754 Obituary. Bach composed the St. Mark Passion, "Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein," for Good Friday, 1731. Its surviving madrigal text shows that it contained forty-six movements and was thus roughly equal in size to the St. John Passion. A handful of choruses, arias, and harmonized chorales can be reconstructed from secondary sources.
2. Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Franz Hauser und seine Bach-Handschriftensammlung" (Ph.D. diss., University of Göttingen, 1973), 297.
3. Letter of December 6, 1846, to Carl Klingemann, printed in *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 zu 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1865), 471.
4. Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach: Missa H-Moll, BWV 232<sup>1</sup>. Faksimile nach dem Originalstimmensatz der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1983).
5. The text is transcribed in *Bach-Dokumente* 1: no. 27 and translated in *The Bach Reader*, 128–129; a photograph is given in *Bach-Dokumente* 4: no. 459.
6. *Bach-Dokumente* 3: no. 666.
7. *Bach-Dokumente* 3: no. 754, Commentary.
8. Schering, "Die Hohe Messe in h-moll," 22; Dadelsen, "Friedrich Smends Ausgabe der h-moll Messe von J. S. Bach," 318–319.
9. The binding was discarded in the 1930s during a restoration.
10. The intrigues of the purchase are related in marvelous detail by Smend in NBA II/1, KB, 66–71.
11. BG 44, ed. Hermann Kretzschmar (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895), plates 89–124.
12. *Hohe Messe in h-moll. Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1924).
13. *Johann Sebastian Bach. Messe in h-Moll BWV 232. Faksimile der autographen Partitur*, with Commentary by Alfred Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1965; reprint, 1984).
14. Christoph Nichelmann, *Die Melodie nach ihrem Wesen sowohl, als nach ihren Eigenschaften* (Berlin, 1755), 138. Reprinted in *Bach-Dokumente* 3: no. 668.
15. Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes* 2, part 2 (Berlin and Königsburg, 1777), 172, and idem, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes* 2, part 1 (Berlin and



cicle structure in *Johann Sebastian Bach's autograph Partitur*, *Commentary* no. 79036 (1982).

# 6 *Bach's Death*

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nd seine Bach-Handschriftensamm- (3), 297.

ingemann, printed in *Briefe aus den ertholdy*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bar- Hermann Mendelssohn, 1865), 471. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Missa H-Moll, BWV 113* der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek (1983).

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s reinen Satzes 2, part 2 (Berlin and reinen Satzes 2, part 1 (Berlin and

Königsburg, 1776), 118, respectively. Kirnberger's treatise is available in an English translation, *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*, trans. David Beach and Jürgen Thym (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

16. Johann Friedrich Agricola, review in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, part 1, vol. 25 (Berlin, 1775), 108.

17. *Bach-Dokumente* 3: no. 870.

18. Emanuel's Introduction is reproduced in full in the new Peters edition.

19. *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, 1786, no. 57 (April 11). Reprinted in *Bach-Dokumente* 3: no. 911.

20. As Joshua Rifkin has demonstrated in "' . . . wobey aber die Singstimmen hinlänglich gesetzt seyn müssen . . .': Zum Credo der h-Moll-Messe in der Aufführung Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," *Bach-Tage Berlin 1986* (Berlin, 1986), 104–116.

21. See the pay receipts reproduced in Heinrich Miesner, *Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1929; reprint, Wiesbaden: M. Sandig, 1969), 121–128; and the discussion in Rifkin, "' . . . wobey aber die Singstimmen hinlänglich gesetzt seyn müssen . . .,'" 104–116. A group of *Chorknaben* is also mentioned in the Hamburg documents, but its role seems to have been very limited. In the 1786 Credo performance the use of female dilettantes means that there may well have been people singing who did not get paid. Thus the group may have exceeded Emanuel's normal vocal ensemble in size (though the parts do not point in that direction).

22. To the five listed in NBA II/2, KB, 17–20, and the *Bach Compendium* 4:1162, I can add two more: a manuscript owned by Alan Tyson of London and a manuscript, copied by one of C. P. E. Bach's Hamburg scribes (Anonymous 305), owned by Michael D'Andrea of Princeton, N.J.

23. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* 4 (London, 1789; reprint, London: G. T. Foulis, 1935), 591–592.

24. The title page of the copy contains the remark (in English): "Nicene creed by Sebastian Bach."

25. Christoph Daniel Ebeling, "Lobgesang auf die Harmonie," reprinted in full in NBA II/2, KB, 401–403, and in abridged form in *Bach-Dokumente* 3: no. 940.

26. A late eighteenth-century manuscript copy written by a Viennese scribe, *P 11-P 12* in the Berlin State Library, reflects the text of *Am.B. 1-Am.B. 2* from Princess Amalia's Collection and may stem from van Sweiten's circle.

27. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802; reprint, Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1982), 127.

28. There can be no doubt that Beethoven was familiar with *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*, for he cited music examples from it in his personal studies of counterpoint. See Richard Kramer, "Notes to Beethoven's Education," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975): 72–101 (pp. 86 and 97, in particular).

29. Breitkopf's stock of Bach manuscripts is surveyed in Ernest May, "Connections Between Breitkopf and J. S. Bach" and Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Johann

Sebastian Bach's Vocal Works in the Breitkopf Nonthematic Catalogues of 1761 to 1836," both in *Bach Perspectives II: J. S. Bach and the Breitkopfs*, ed. George B. Stauffer (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 11–26 and 35–49, respectively.

30. The picture of the *Singakademie* sketched here is derived principally from Georg Schünemann, "Die Bachpflege der Berliner Singakademie," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 25 (1928): 138–171. Schünemann's account is the most important, since many of the archival documents cited by him were lost in World War II (see n. 31).

31. Zelter's score is discussed in Christoph Albrecht, "Zum 'größten musikalischen Kuntswerk, das die Welt gesehen hat,'" *Deutsches Bachfest Berlin 1976*, 145–154. Although parts of the library of the Berlin *Singakademie* appear to have been lost in World War II, a substantial portion of the music turned up in Kiev in 1999. See Christoph Wolff, "Recovered in Kiev: Bach et al.: A Preliminary Report on the Music Archive of the Berlin Sing-Akademie," *Notes*, 58/2 (2001): 259–271.

32. Schünemann, "Die Bachpflege der Berliner Singakademie," 145.

33. Fascinating examples are given in Schünemann, "Die Bachpflege der Berliner Singakademie," 149–150 and 154–155. Forkel, too, preferred simpler versions of Bach's works and incorrectly considered the early, less embellished version of the *Inventions* and *Sinfonias* to be the composer's refinement of the later, more ornate version.

34. Letter of June 9, 1827, cited by Smend in NBA II/1, KB, 398, n.26.

35. *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1818, "Intelligenz-Blatt," no. 3, col. 28. Nägeli also distributed the solicitation in the form of a single sheet, which is reproduced in facsimile in NBA II/1, KB, 215.

36. Johann Nepomuk Schelble, letter to his family, quoted in *Hundert Jahre Caecilien-Verein in kurzer Fassung zusammengestellt nach den in dem Archiv des Vereins niedergelegten Protokollen und Schriftstücken* (Frankfurt, 1918), 10.

37. Adolf Bernhard Marx, review in the *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5 (1828): no. 17, 138.

38. Which Spontini borrowed from Georg Polechau, who had obtained them from C. P. E. Bach's estate.

39. Gerhard Herz, "The Performance History of Bach's B-Minor Mass," in Herz, *Essays on Bach* (Ann Arbor: U.M.I. Research Press, 1985), 193.

40. Adolf Bernhard Marx, review in the *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5 (1828): no. 18, 146, and no. 19, 152–154.

41. Ludwig Rellstab, review in *Vossische Zeitung Berlin*, no. 102 (May 2, 1828), and *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1828, no. 30, 365. Both reviews are cited in NBA II/1, KB, 400, 401.

42. Fanny Mendelssohn, letter to Carl Klingemann of April 14, 1828, quoted in Martin Geck, *Die Wiederentdeckung der Matthäuspasion* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1967), 23.

43. This is obvious not just from Marx's influential review of Spontini's concert

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but from later comments on the B-Minor Mass. For instance, the Berlin manuscript P 182, a nineteenth-century copy of the B-Minor Mass, contains the remark: “On April 23, 1843, the Sanctus from this Mass was performed under Mendelssohn’s direction as the closing piece in a concert for the Bach Monument. One names Beethoven’s Mass in D and that of Bach in B minor as the two greatest creations of this type, even though the approaches in the two are different.” See NBA II/1, KB, 20–21.

44. As first suggested by Smend, NBA II/1, KB, 184–185.

45. Written out by Polechau and other scribes in November and December of 1827. The “old” (1786) and “new” (1827) portions of *St 118* are described by Smend in NBA II/2, KB, 17, 41, and 231–234, and more accurately by Rifkin in “‘... wobey aber die Singstimmen hinlänglich besetzt seyn müssen ...,’” 107 and 114, n. 33.

46. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *St 595*.

47. Smend already deduced such numbers for the voices and strings but believed that only the newly made wind and brass parts were used in the performance (NBA II/2, KB, 44). Marx’s comments on the “Crucifixus,” cited below, seem to indicate, on the contrary, that all the woodwind parts, old and new, were used. It would seem equally likely that all the brass parts were utilized as well.

48. Adolf Bernhard Marx, review in *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5 (1828): no. 19, 154.

49. Nikolaus Harnoncourt, “Zu Problemen der Wiedergabe von Bachs Chor-Orchester-Werken,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 24 (1969): 78.

50. *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1834, no. 14 (April 2), 227.

51. According to Smend’s calculations in NBA II/2, KB, 47.

52. Herz, “The Performance History of Bach’s B minor Mass,” 202, n. 42.

53. Preserved in the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, Leipzig, Rudorff Sammlung, *Ms.R. 16*.

54. *Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1834, no. 14 (April 2), p. 227.

55. Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 3:52–53.

56. Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, 2:414.

57. Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, 2:417–418.

58. Arnold Schering, “Versehwundene Traditionen des Balchzeitalters,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 1 (1904): 104–115.

59. Arnold Schering, “Über die Kirchenkantaten vorbachischer Thomaskan-toren,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 9 (1912): 86–123.

60. Arnold Schering, “Die Hohe Messe in h-moll,” 7–8.

61. Friedrich Smend, “Bachs h-moll-Messe: Entstehung, Überlieferung, Bedeutung,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 34 (1937): 1–58.

62. Smend, “Bachs h-moll-Messe: Entstehung, Überlieferung, Bedeutung,” 30–31.

63. Abstract in *Bulletin of the American Musicology Society* 7 (1943): 2–3.

64. Wilhelm Ehmman, “‘Concertisten’ und ‘Ripienisten’ in der h-moll Messe

Johann Sebastian Bachs," *Musik und Kirche* 30 (1960): 95–104, 138–147, 227–236, 255–73, and 298–309.

65. Notes to RCA recording no. LM 6157 (1961).
66. Telefunken *Das Alte Werk* recording no. SKH 20/1–3 (1968).
67. Nikolaus Harnoncourt, "Zu Problemen der Wiedergabe von Bachs Chor-Orchester-Werken," 79. Translation from Harnoncourt, *The Musical Dialogue: Thoughts on Monteverdi, Bach and Mozart*, ed. Mary O'Neill (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1989), 188.
68. Rudolf Klein, review in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 24 (1969): 60.
69. *High Fidelity/Musical America* 19 (1969): July, 76–78.
70. *High Fidelity/Musical America* 19 (1969): July, 77.
71. "The Best Records of the Year: An International Jury Decides," *High Fidelity/Musical America* 19 (1969): December, 67–72.
72. In a later interview, printed in the liner notes to his 1986 recording of the B-Minor Mass, TELDEC 8.35716 (1986).
73. This is evident from archival records of church choirs. Bach sang soprano in the Lüneburg Mettenchor until his fifteenth year, for instance. See *Bach-Dokumente* 2: no. 5 and 3: no. 666.
74. Nonesuch recording no. 79036.
75. Deutsche Grammophon recording no. ARC-415514–2 (Gardiner) and Angel recording no. CDCB 47292 (Parrott). In the liner notes Parrott acknowledges an indebtedness to Rifkin.
76. Notes to TELDEC recording no. 8.35716 (1986).

## CHAPTER 7

### *Issues of Performance Practice*

1. Joshua Rifkin, "Bach's 'Choruses'—Less Than They Seem?" *High Fidelity* 32 (1982): 42–44; idem, "Bach's Chorus: A Preliminary Report," *The Musical Times* 123 (1982): 747–754; and idem, "Bachs Chor—ein vorläufiger Bericht," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 9 (1985): 141–155. Rifkin's views were challenged by Robert L. Marshall in "Bach's 'Choruses' Reconstituted," *High Fidelity* 32 (1982): 64–66, 94; and idem, "Bach's Chorus: A Preliminary Reply to Joshua Rifkin," *Musical Times* 123 (1982): 19–22.
2. Joshua Rifkin, "'... wobey aber die Singstimmen hinlänglich besetzt seyn müssen ...,'" 114, n. 33.
3. Alfred Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs*, 93.
4. Schulze, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach, Missa h-Moll BWV 232<sup>1</sup>*, Commentary.
5. Giovanni Lorenzo Gregori, *Concerti grossi a più stromenti* (Lucca, 1698), Preface.
6. Walther, *Briefe*, 72.
7. Reproduced in *Bach-Dokumente* 1: no. 22, and translated in *The Bach Reader*, 120–124.

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