
*The Music of
Johann Sebastian Bach*

THE SOURCES, THE STYLE,
THE SIGNIFICANCE

^{Lewis}
ROBERT L. MARSHALL

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THE MASS IN B MINOR

The Autograph Scores and the Compositional Process

For virtually every work of Bach's for which an autograph score survives we can usually tell at a glance whether the manuscript is a composing score or a fair copy. With the B-minor Mass this is not always so. As in so many others, in this respect, too, Bach's Mass in B minor is extraordinary.¹ Nonetheless, the available sources do enable us to observe Bach confronting and resolving compositional issues of greater and lesser magnitude posed by this monumental composition as it assumed its ultimate shape in his mind and under his pen. Some of the more enlightening of these are the object of this chapter.

To a great extent the curious nature of the sources is a consequence of the curious history and chronology of the Mass.² Unlike most of Bach's vocal music the work was not written within a week or even a month but rather in several discrete stages years apart. The earliest part was the *Sanctus*: composed in Leipzig in late 1724 for performance during the regular liturgical service on Christmas day, 25 December. The *Kyrie* and *Gloria* sections—that is, the *Missa*, as it was called in contemporary Lutheran terminology (and as it is designated by Bach on the surviving title pages of the score and the original set of parts)—was next: composed, as far as is known with any certainty, during the first half of 1733, not for Leipzig at all but for the Catholic court at Dresden.³ Finally, toward the end of his life, Bach added the missing sections necessary to form a complete, traditional Mass Ordinary: the *Credo* (or, in Bach's words, the *Symbolum Nicenum*), as well as the concluding portions: "Osanna," "Benedictus," "Agnus Dei" and "Dona nobis pacem."

According to Friedrich Smend, the editor of the Mass for the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* (NBA II/1), the autograph of the complete Mass, (SPK) P 180, represents the composing score, or *Urschrift*, for virtually the entire work.⁴ The only exception, in his view, was the *Sanctus*, for which a separate manuscript, clearly a composing score—P 13/1—happens to survive.⁵ Smend in fact criticized Philipp Spitta for taking P 180 to be a fair copy.⁶

MISSA: KYRIE AND GLORIA

As far as the three movements of the *Kyrie* section of the Mass are concerned, it was Spitta who was essentially right. The script is unarguably calligraphic: the written symbols are carefully aligned, the stems of the individual notes straight and upright. The musical content of the manuscript provides further corroboration. For the most part, Bach's corrections are concerned with rectifying copying errors or slips of the pen. No obviously substantial, "formative," corrections are readily discernible. Many corrections seem to be concerned with transposition errors.⁷ The manuscript certainly does not contain any sketches or drafts. Finally, even the ruling of the staves was carefully planned: there are only as many staves on a page as the music requires. This is typical of a Bach fair copy and indicates that the composer had a clear conception of the layout and dimensions of the music he was about to set down. In short, it is clearly impossible to reconstruct the earliest stages in the conception of the *Kyrie* from this source.

On the other hand, the autograph reveals that a number of decisions were reached relatively late in the composition of the work. The inclusion of transverse flutes, for example, was evidently an afterthought; for unlike the other parts, the flutes are not notated on their own staves but share those of the oboes. Moreover, the designations "Traversi et," found at the beginning of the top two staves of the score (i.e., the oboe staves), were a later addition (see Plate 31).

But the first page of the autograph score also contains a fairly large number of corrections in the first four measures of "Kyrie I"—large especially in comparison with the following fugue. The corrections are concentrated in the voice-leading of the inner parts (Viola, Soprano 2, Tenor) and are mostly concerned with voice-leading; but they suffice to reveal that the manuscript here is a composing score. And this fact reveals in turn that even seemingly minor corrections of detail, despite initial appearances, at times can document a substantive change of considerable significance. They indicate here that Bach had decided very late in the conception of the movement—literally "at the last moment" before embarking on the writing down of the autograph score—to begin the work with a massive four-measure adagio introduction and there-



PLATE 31. Autograph score, SPK P 180, f. 1r: BWV 232/1, mm. 1-10

upon proceeded to compose the introduction directly into the otherwise fair-copy manuscript.

It may well be that on one level Bach was influenced in his decision to add the introduction by a precedent he had found in a Mass in G minor by the Palatine court composer Johann Hugo Wilderer (1670–1724).⁸ But there can be little doubt that the decision was ultimately dictated and justified to the composer by his own artistic intuition. The late addition of the adagio introduction—that is, of a completely new and separate, if brief, formal element—would seem to testify to Bach's growing awareness of the aesthetic consequences flowing from the grandiose design of the work: not only of the *Kyrie* section but of the entire *Missa*, if not, indeed (and, if at all, then necessarily only on an unconscious level), of the still-unwritten and, as far as we can know, still-uncontemplated setting of the complete Mass Ordinary. It had presumably become clear to Bach that the *Missa*, given its enormous dimensions, could not begin effectively with the conventional orchestral ritornello but had to be, as it were, much more firmly “anchored” and proclaimed. He therefore decided to preface the ritornello with those majestic block chords serving as powerful supporting pillars. (Perhaps it is not completely far-fetched to perceive a similarity in function here to the long E-flat sonority that both launches and “grounds” Wagner's *Rheingold*—and indeed the entire *Ring des Nibelungen*—that is, another work conceived on the grandest possible scale.)

With respect to the *Gloria* section it is once again not quite accurate to describe the autograph score, as Smend does, as an *Urschrift*. It has long been known that two movements of the *Gloria*—the “*Gratias agimus tibi*” and the “*Qui tollis peccata mundi*”—are not original compositions at all but rather revised versions of movements originally written to different texts. That is, they are “parody” compositions.⁹ The “*Gratias*” is based on the music of the opening chorus, “*Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir*,” of Cantata No. 29, the “*Qui tollis*” on the first part of the opening chorus, “*Schauet doch und sehet*,” of Cantata No. 46. In addition, Smend has demonstrated that the “*Gloria in excelsis Deo*” movement is most likely an arrangement of the final movement of a lost Köthen instrumental concerto.¹⁰ Smend is certainly correct when he describes P 180 as the *Urschrift* of these three movements in the sense that Bach adjusted the preexistent music to the new Mass text as he wrote out this manuscript. But it is clear that the compositional origins of these movements are not to be found in this source. In each instance the formative stages took place while writing the composing scores of the original compositions—the parody “models.” Nonetheless, the Mass version of these movements contains a number of instructive variants, so that a comparison of the model with the later version affords additional insight into the rationale behind Bach's changes.

In the model of the “*Qui tollis*,” for example—the chorus “*Schauet*

doch”—the first eight measures of the instrumental bass part consisted only of single quarter-notes followed by rests (Ex. 10.1).

Example 10.1. BWV 46/1, “*Schauet Doch*,” mm. 1ff: Continuo rhythm



The idea of adding to this isolated downbeat stroke a further rhythmic level in the cello to provide the underlying quarter-note pulse (Ex. 10.2) was an afterthought.¹¹

Example 10.2. BWV 232/9, “*Qui tollis*,” mm. 1ff: Cello and Continuo rhythmic patterns



As a consequence, each of the several instrumental parts is now associated with one of the four rhythmic planes represented in the movement: the continuo with the downbeat, the cello with the quarter-note pulse, the viola with the eighth-note level, and the flutes, finally, with the sixteenth-note embellishments. That is, Bach had not decided until he embarked on the parody version to introduce this abstract rhythmic schema. Corrections of this kind, having as their goal the creation of “sounding hierarchies” of note values, can be found in other Bach manuscripts as well.¹²

It is particularly instructive to consider the differences between the two versions of the theme itself (Ex. 10.3).

Example 10.3.



In both versions the theme is clearly divided into three segments (A, B, C), as suggested by the syntactical structure of the text. But the formal relationships between the segments have been redefined by seemingly minor changes of detail. Specifically, in “*Schauet doch*”

the third segment, owing to the return of both the $\text{f}'\text{-d'}$ rhythm and of the opening falling third $\text{f}'\text{-d'}$, serves to round off the theme. That is, in principle the theme is in ABA' form. In the "Qui tollis," on the other hand, the addition of a few passing tones in the penultimate measure is enough to alter the functional meaning of the third segment. It no longer represents a varied return of the opening A motif but is perceived rather as an outgrowth of the B motif. It now seems to be derived from the second—to develop it by means of sequential repetition and rhythmic acceleration. In other words, a symmetrical formal conception—ABA'—has been transformed into an "organic" developmental one: ABB'. Bach was no doubt able to accomplish this transformation so economically because the final thematic segment happened to combine salient characteristics of the two preceding ones. Like Motif A it begins after a rest, on a weak beat; like Motif B it spans the characteristic falling interval of the diminished fourth.

Finally, the rhythmic structure of the theme has been transformed, as well. By replacing the repeated quarter-notes in m. 3 with a dotted half-note (suspended into the following measure), by introducing the eighth-note acceleration in the penultimate measure, and by sharpening the upbeat rhythm at the beginning, the smooth, rather serene rhythmic profile of "Schauet doch" (proceeding as it does exclusively in quarters and half-notes), has been rendered more intense, more sharply profiled, and more dramatic in the "Qui tollis" setting.

In sum, a subtle but fundamental transformation has taken place here: the essentially closed, symmetrical patterning of form and rhythm evident in the cantata version has, in the "Qui tollis," yielded to an emphatically dynamic, organic conception of these same elements.

To return to the autograph: The main impression conveyed by the autograph score of the *Missa*, especially in those movements not known to be parodies, is not that of a composing score. This is especially true of the arias and the duets. In the "Christe," "Laudamus," "Domine Deus," "Qui sedes," and "Quoniam" movements, the autograph score, especially in the instrumental lines, is not only largely free of corrections but is also quite copiously marked with slurs, articulation marks, ornaments, and dynamic indications. Moreover, those corrections and changes that do appear are concentrated in the vocal parts. All this feeds the suspicion that most, if not indeed all, the solo movements of the *Missa*—like, demonstrably, three of the four choral movements of the *Gloria*—are not new compositions but rather parodies of lost originals.

SYMBOLUM NICENUM: CREDO

The second half of the autograph score of the Mass in B minor was not written down until the 1740s. According to Kobayashi, the *Symbolum*

Nicenum, in fact, was penned toward the very end of Bach's life—in late 1748 or even 1749.¹³ Moreover, since it is likely that the *Art of Fugue* was largely completed by the early 1740s,¹⁴ the *Credo* of the Mass would seem to be Bach's last significant composition, perhaps indeed his very last. In contrast to the autograph of the *Missa*, written some fifteen years earlier, an investigation of the *Credo* manuscript leaves no doubt that Smend this time was right: the score is an *Urschrift*. Again, though, as in the case of the *Missa*, the term has to be used in a restricted sense: some of the movements of the *Credo* are known to be parodies. The opening chorus of the Leipzig cantata, *Gott wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm*, BWV 171, served as the model of the "Patrem omnipotentem";¹⁵ the "Crucifixus" is based on the first section of the opening chorus of Cantata No. 12, *Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen*, composed in Weimar in 1714; and the *Et expecto* is a heavily revised arrangement of the principal section of the chorus "Jauchzet, ihr erfreuten Stimmen" from Cantata No. 120, a work presumably composed in 1728. In addition, Smend has demonstrated that the "Et resurrexit" chorus—like the "Gloria in excelsis"—is most likely based on a movement from a lost instrumental concerto (in the case of the "Et resurrexit," a first movement).¹⁶ The manuscript contains numerous traces of the composer at work on the new version of these movements. Finally, the clean appearance of the manuscript in the "Et in unum Dominum" and the "Et in Spiritum sanctum" movements, together with the relatively large number of performance indications, again raises the suspicion—as in the *Gloria*—that the two solo numbers, like most of the choruses, are based on lost models, as well. Of the choral movements only the "Credo in unum Deum" appears to be a fair copy.

The autograph also contains evidence of a radical change of mind regarding the form and the dimensions of the *Credo*. As is clear from the text of the NBA edition (p. 155f.), the words "et incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine, et homo factus est" were, at one time, incorporated into the "Et in unum Dominum" duet, as the fourth of four formal segments. Sometime afterward Bach decided to set the "Et incarnatus est" as a separate movement—a chorus. That is, the total number of movements in the *Credo*—and with it, the formal design underlying this section of the Mass—was altered. Belated decisions operating on this level of magnitude are rarely observable in the Bach manuscripts.¹⁷ Bach almost always knew "at once" how many movements a work would contain, and what type they would be—recitative, aria, chorus, chorale. After all, the text of a cantata, for example, practically dictated that to him. Such matters, therefore, were usually decided before "formal" composition—that is, the putting of notes on paper—had begun. But external circumstances, too, such as the availability (and ability) of particular singers and instrumentalists, normally played a large role in Bach's preliminary but basic deliberations, notably as to the scoring of the several movements.

The text of the Mass Ordinary—at least in the two lengthy sections, the *Gloria* and the *Credo*—does not unambiguously suggest any particular subdivision or formal ordering. The design is therefore up to the composer. The autograph of the B-minor Mass reveals that Bach at first had conceived of the *Symbolum* as a symmetrical arrangement of eight movements, as follows:

- 1, 2: Two connected choruses ("Credo" and "Patrem") in direct succession, both in D major (more precisely: D mixolydian—D major)
- 3: A solo movement (the duet "Et in unum Dominum") in G major
- 4, 5: Two choruses in succession ("Crucifixus" and "Et resurrexit"), in E minor and D major, respectively
- 6: A solo movement ("Et in Spiritum sanctum") in A major
- 7, 8: Two connected choruses ("Confiteor" and "Et expecto") in direct succession, in F-sharp minor and D major, respectively

As Smend observes, the modulation plan underlying this sequence of movements was as follows: The tonic, D major, prevails at the beginning ("Credo" and "Patrem"), in the middle ("Et resurrexit"), and at the end ("Et expecto").

We hear the two "dominants,"—the lower (sub)dominant and the upper dominant—in the solo movements: "Et in unum Dominum" (G major) and "Et in Spiritum sanctum" (A major). The relative minors of the two dominants appear as well: in the "Crucifixus" (E minor), and in the "Confiteor unum baptisma" (F-sharp minor). So much, then, for the original disposition of the movements. Note that it lacked the relative minor of the tonic degree itself. Bach therefore inserted a chorus in B minor [the "Et incarnatus"]. But doing so substantially enhances the effect of the E-minor tonality of the following "Crucifixus." In the first version it was preceded by the C-major conclusion of the duet. But when the E-minor chorus follows a movement a fifth higher than itself, then the plunge into the depths, into the night of the cross, becomes immeasurably more expressive." (pp. 155–56)

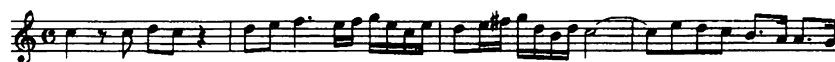
In short, the often-mentioned Trinitarian attributes of Bach's *Credo* setting—a total of nine movements with a central core consisting of three choruses which together constitute the central core of Christian faith: Incarnation, Crucifixion, Resurrection¹⁸—that conceit, which one would have assumed was the point of departure, the initial inspiration, for Bach's formal conception of the *Symbolum*, was in fact an afterthought! It is not clear whether Bach executed this change soon after the first draft (i.e., as a later stage during the course of the main period of work on the score) or whether it was truly a later revi-

sion: that is, whether the eight-movement form ever actually existed as an independent, complete entity. There is no doubt, though, that the nine-movement version is the final version.

It is not surprising that this fundamental revision brought a series of further changes in its wake, changes that are visible in the autograph, as well. As mentioned earlier, it was necessary to revise the text setting of the "Et in unum Dominum" duet in order to remove from it the words "et incarnatus est," and so forth. For this purpose Bach wrote out the two vocal parts on an extra leaf inserted into the autograph at the end of the *Symbolum Nicenum* (pp. 151–52 of the manuscript). This version has been reproduced in the *NBA* edition (p. 216) as a variant, since Smend was of the opinion that Bach, as part of a later stage in the history of the work—years later, according to Smend's chronology—had reinstated the earlier version of the duet, despite its redundant presentation of the "et incarnatus" text, because the word-tone relationship in that version, as Smend convincingly demonstrates, was far superior to the later one.¹⁹

As for the duet, it must be mentioned that despite its remarkably apt text setting—especially in the first version—it was not originally composed to this text at all. It is a parody. The first four measures of the Violin I part appear—in C major and crossed out—in the autograph score of the secular cantata *Lasst uns sorgen, lasst uns wachen*, BWV 213 (Ex. 10.4).

Example 10.4. BWV 213/11: Rejected thematic sketch



The theme was evidently intended for the duet "Ich bin deine, du bist meine," whose text so happily fits the opening measures of the "Et in unum Dominum." In the end Bach composed different music for the secular text. But the sketch reveals clearly that the music which was ultimately used for the "Et in unum Dominum" had already existed even before the composition of Cantata No. 213. The sketch does not represent the formulation of a new melodic idea. If it had, Bach would surely have composed the two canonic parts simultaneously and would not have written out one part through to the cadence, leaving the imitation to be worked into the rests and held notes of the *dux*. On the other hand, when Bach copied from a source, he first wrote in the top part for a whole line—as he did here—before writing the other parts.

Bach's decision to set the "Et incarnatus" as an independent chorus had consequences not only for the preceding movement, but for the following one, the "Crucifixus," as well. The autograph reveals that the

containing several sketches and preliminary drafts. For an attempt to reconstruct Bach's compositional process, then, the situation with regard to the *Sanctus* and *Pleni* sections is as favorable as it ever is. We possess two autograph scores: the fair copy, as a constituent part of the complete Mass, and also the composing score.

Bach's sketches, as we have seen in Chapter 6, are not to be compared with those of a composer like Beethoven. For the most part they are brief marginal notations that served primarily as memory aids when work was temporarily interrupted (as for example at the bottom of a page, before a turn, while the ink was drying). But they did on occasion record the composer's first written formulation of a thematic idea.

Both sketch types are represented in the *Sanctus* manuscript. On the bottom of the first page of P 13/1, under the first six measures of the *Sanctus* section, Bach entered a sketch for the theme of the *Pleni* section. It is reproduced and discussed in Chapter 6 (Ex. 6.2). As we have seen, the sketch can best be understood as Bach's first attempt to render the declamation and the imagery of the text in musical terms. A second sketch, however, entered on p. 8 (f. 4^v) of the manuscript—under the score system containing mm. 41-46a of the *Sanctus* (the final measures of the section)—is in effect both a thematic and a continuation sketch. In it Bach was concerned with purely musical issues (Ex. 10.9).

Example 10.9. BWV 232/21, "Sanctus," mm. 46b-53: Second sketch. P 13/1, f. 4^v



Not only is the text missing in this entry, it was apparently neglected entirely: the beaming of the eighth-note passage in the third measure of the theme overlooks the syllabic requirements of the text. The opening interval has been sharpened from an octave to a sixth—probably not only to increase the "kinetic energy" of the melody (a sixth is far less stable than an octave), but for tonal reasons as well. The new tone, f[#], serves a pivotal function in the transition from the end of the *Sanctus* section in F-sharp minor to the D-major beginning of the *Pleni*. The first two melodic and harmonic intervals formed by the two principal voices

a	f [#]
	and
F [#]	D

were to negotiate between the two tonalities via the ambiguous pitch combination a-F[#], while the entire configuration (a, f[#], d) formed a D-major chord. (It should be noted, however, that in the final instrumentation the orchestra provides the c[#] of the F-sharp minor chord that concludes the *Sanctus* section.) Bach's concern for a subtle transition between the two tonalities, along with his interest in introducing a counterfigure to the fugue subject, no doubt explains why the continuo part was entered in this draft—a rare occurrence in the thematic sketches.

The final version, found on the following page of the manuscript (f. 5^r) can be understood as a synthesis of the two tentative sketches, combining the opening motif of the second sketch (the ascending sixth) with the continuation of the first version (Ex. 10.10).

Example 10.10. BWV 232/21, "Sanctus," mm. 46-54: Final version. P 13/1, f. 5^r

After writing down the third measure (or perhaps the fourth) of the *Pleni*, Bach changed the meter from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$, probably to clarify the tempo relation between the two sections.²³

The second sketch of the *Pleni* theme (Ex. 10.9) is instructive in another respect as well. It begins not with the *Pleni* itself but rather with last two measures of the *Sanctus* section, specifically with the continuo part for those measures. It is thus one of those instances where Bach drafted the harmonic progression of a passage as represented by the continuo before the melodic line. (See Chapter 6, p. 122.) One could argue, however, that the continuo (and bass) line in fact constitutes the "melody" in this particular case, developing as it does the pervasive triplet motif that dominates the movement. But its primary function is clearly to spin out via this motif the harmonic sequence of fifths

initiated in m. 41 in B minor to the final F-sharp minor cadence. In the fully-scored form the violins move largely in parallel with the continuo, while the upper voices of the chorus (and the doubling instrumental parts) provide what is in effect a chordal thoroughbass realization—"rhythmicized" to accommodate the syllables of the text.

The concluding portions of the Mass—from the "Osanna" through the "Dona nobis pacem"—are contained in the autograph of the entire Mass. Although we are dealing, once again, with a fair copy and not a composing score, the autograph does allow us a final observation—one bearing on the final movement of the work, the "Dona nobis pacem." As mentioned earlier, Bach penned the autograph score of the Mass with extreme care. His clear intent was to produce a particularly fine fair copy. For this reason he set out to rule exactly as many staves on each page of the score as the music required—and managed to do so with but three exceptions. Two of them relate to his subsequent decision, discussed above, to set the "Et incarnatus est" as an independent chorus (entered on pp. 111-12 of the score, with seven unused staves on p. 112) and the consequent need to revise the text of the "Et in unum Dominum" (appended at the end of the *Symbolum Nicenum*, on pp. 151-52 of the score, after the conclusion of the "Et expecto" chorus, with two unused staves on the bottom of p. 152, and followed by a completely ruled but unused—and unpaginated—page with fourteen staves).²⁴

The third instance concerns the "Dona nobis pacem" movement. Here Bach could rule the staves for a fair copy—since the movement is a parody of the "Gratias agimus," its layout was clear. But in doing so he seemingly miscalculated the number of staves required. The score for the movement is notated on a fourteen-stave system; yet the pages on which the chorus appears (pp. 183-88) are consistently ruled with eighteen staves. The most obvious explanation for this would be that Bach had originally planned to write out separately each of the eight voice parts of the double chorus employed in this movement—as he had done in the "Osanna"—and had therefore chosen an eighteen-stave layout for the score. Thereupon—presumably as soon as he recalled that, in contrast to the "Osanna," the second chorus in this movement was not independently led—he decided simply to indicate at the beginning of the movement that each voice part was to be doubled as "Soprano 1 + 2," Alto 1 et 2," and so on.

There is a more fascinating explanation, however, for Bach's "miscalculation"—one that was once suggested to the author by Arthur Mendel—namely, that Bach may originally have intended some completely different music for the "Dona nobis pacem" before he hit upon the splendid idea of returning to the music of the "Gratias agimus tibi" for the conclusion of the Mass. One would love to believe that this is the true explanation of the evidence, for it would bear witness to con-

siderably more than the composer's momentary forgetfulness about the number of voices in a particular chorus—to testify, as it were, to his mortality. It would declare rather that Johann Sebastian Bach, in a final flash of inspiration close to the end of his life, had found a decisive way of assuring that posterity would understand that his last and greatest church composition, despite its protracted and sporadic gestation extending over a full quarter-century (virtually the entirety of his career in Leipzig), was indeed an emphatically unified whole: a single, profoundly monumental, yet integral masterpiece.

5. See Dürr 1957/76, p. 64.
6. The most extensive discussion of Bach's use of the traditional figures in the *Magnificat* appears in Meyer 1973.
7. See Hans-Joachim Schulze's commentary in the facsimile edition of the *Magnificat*, pp. 7-9.
8. For a closer description of the manuscripts see NBA II/3, KB, pp. 10-15, 18-21, and Marshall 1972, vol. 1, pp. 47-53, 54-56.
9. See Marshall, 1972, *passim.*, and, especially, Alfred Dürr's critical report, NBA II/3, KB, pp. 37-51.
10. The most recent and most comprehensive survey of the Leipzig traditions bearing on Bach's setting is presented in Cammarota 1983.
11. Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, Sammlung Becker III.2.124.
12. See Tunger 1978.
13. See the order of service in Terry 1929, p. 5. A slightly different, and even longer, program appears in Terry 1925, pp. 66-67.
14. Since the same tonal plan underlies both the E-flat and D-major versions, the keys are indicated here by Roman numerals rather than pitch names (capital = major mode; lowercase = minor mode).
15. Open noteheads represent movements in the major, filled-in noteheads movements in the minor mode. D major, as the key of the more familiar version, has been selected for the diagram.
16. See Terry 1929, pp. 17, 19. The score is published in the Edition Eulenburg, No. 1074, edited by Felix Schröder. According to Talbot 1980, pp. 216-17, the ascription to Albinoni is "of dubious authenticity."
17. Hans-Joachim Schulze raises this possibility, too. See the *Nachwort* to his edition of the D-major version (Edition Peters), p. 76-77.
18. There were at least fourteen such occasions, besides Christmas. See Stiller 1970, pp. 65, 80-81.
19. See Cammarota 1983, pp. 87-89.
20. Schulze, on the contrary, believes that the inclusion of the hymns "had undesirable consequences for the tonal organization of the whole." See the facsimile edition, pp. 6, 12; and Edition Peters, pp. 76, 79.
21. See Geck 1961, especially p. 264.
22. On this point see Schulze's foreword to the facsimile edition, pp. 8-9.
23. Spitta 1892, p. 181.

10. THE MASS IN B MINOR

1. Some of the Mass's remarkable stylistic features are discussed in "Bach the Progressive" [Chapter 2, this volume].
2. See Dadelsen 1958, pp. 143-56, for a comprehensive discussion of the evidence supporting this chronology.
3. See "Bach's *Orchestre*," [Chapter 3, this volume], also Schulze's commentary in the facsimile edition of the original parts.

4. NBA II/1, KB, pp. 98-113, 130-51, 178-87. Two facsimile editions of P 180 have been published—most recently in 1965 with a commentary by Alfred Dürr. See the review of the latter in Marshall 1967.
5. NBA II/1, KB, pp. 166-68. It is important to recognize, too, that Smend's edition—and his understanding of the chronology of the work as presented in the critical report—appeared in print in 1956 and therefore did not have the benefit of the manuscript and chronological research published by Dürr and von Dadelsen in the late 1950s.
6. NBA II/1, KB, p. 98, and *passim*.
7. Rifkin 1982b suggests that "Kyrie I" was originally in C minor.
8. See Wolff 1967.
9. See also the remarks concerning Cantata No. 171 in "Composing Scores" [Chapter 5, this volume].
10. NBA II/1, KB, pp. 108-12.
11. See the facsimile edition, p. 60.
12. See Marshall 1972, vol. 1, pp. 189-92.
13. See Kobayashi 1988, pp. 61-62.
14. See Wolff 1983.
15. See the discussion of the autograph of BWV 171, pp. 97-99.
16. NBA II/1, KB, pp. 145-47.
17. A related case is found in the *Magnificat*. See "The Origin of the Magnificat" [Chapter 9, this volume]. See also Eric Chafe's illuminating study of the St. Matthew Passion (Chafe 1982).
18. See, for example, Wolff 1968, p. 133.
19. NBA II/1, KB, pp. 147-48, 153-54.
20. See the facsimile edition.
21. In this connection see Wolff 1969.
22. See Dürr 1957/76, p. 77.
23. Exactly what this tempo relation is has been a matter of dispute. See the exchange between Bernard Rose and Arthur Mendel in Mendel 1959, Rose 1959, Mendel 1960b, and B. Rose 1960.
24. See the facsimile edition.

THE AUTOGRAPH FAIR COPIES OF THE FANTASIA PER IL CEMBALO, BWV 906

- [1. Only the following autograph scores of J. S. Bach compositions are presently in American possession, public or private: BWV 9, 10, 33, 80 (fragment), 97, 112, 118¹, 131, 171, 188 (fragment), 197a (fragment), 544, 906, 1073, and the *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*. See Herz 1984, especially the "Epilogue," p. 303. Marshall 1985 is a facsimile edition of the eight complete cantata autographs. Chapter 5 in this volume is a revised version of the introduction to that volume.]

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