

# WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

## Series I

### Sacred Vocal Works

WORK GROUP 1: MASSES AND REQUIEM  
SECTION 1: MASSES • VOLUME 2

PRESENTED BY WALTER SENN

1975

Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (New Mozart Edition)\*

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

## The Complete Works

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\* Hereafter referred to as the NMA. The predecessor, the "Alte Mozart-Edition" (Old Mozart Edition) is referred to as the AMA.

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## EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The New Mozart Edition (NMA) provides for research purposes a music text based on impeccable scholarship applied to all available sources – principally Mozart's autographs – while at the same time serving the needs of practising musicians. The NMA appears in 10 Series subdivided into 35 Work Groups:

- I: Spiritual Vocal Works (1–4)
- II: Theatrical Works (5–7)
- III: Songs, Part-Songs, Canons (8–10)
- IV: Orchestral Works (11–13)
- V: Concertos (14–15)
- VI: Church Sonatas (16)
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- VIII: Chamber Music (19–23)
- IX: Keyboard Music (24–27)
- X: Supplement (28–35)

For every volume of music a Critical Commentary (Kritischer Bericht) in German is available, in which the source situation, variant readings or Mozart's corrections are presented and all other special problems discussed.





Within the volumes and Work Groups the completed works appear in their order of composition. Sketches, draughts and fragments are placed in an Appendix at the end of the relevant volume. Sketches etc. which cannot be assigned to a particular work, but only to a genre or group of works, generally appear in chronological order at the end of the final volume of the relevant Work Group. Where an identification regarding genre is not possible, the sketches etc. are published in Series X, Supplement (Work Group 30: Studies, Sketches, Draughts, Fragments, Various). Lost compositions are mentioned in the relevant Critical Commentary in German. Works of doubtful authenticity appear in Series X (Work Group 29). Works which are almost certainly spurious have not been included.

Of the various versions of a work or part of a work, that version has generally been chosen as the basis for editing which is regarded as final and definitive. Previous or alternative forms are reproduced in the Appendix.

The NMA uses the numbering of the Köchel Catalogue (KV); those numberings which differ in the third and expanded edition (KV<sup>3</sup> or KV<sup>3a</sup>) are given in brackets; occasional differing numberings in the sixth edition (KV<sup>6</sup>) are indicated.

With the exception of work titles, entries in the score margin, dates of composition and the footnotes, all additions and completions in the music volumes are

indicated according to the following scheme: letters (words, dynamic markings, *tr* signs) and numbers in italics; principal notes, accidentals before principal notes, dashes, dots, fermatas, ornaments and smaller rests (half notes, quarters, etc.) in small print; slurs and crescendo marks in broken lines; grace and ornamental notes in square brackets. An exception to the rule for numbers is the case of those grouping triplets, sextuplets, etc. together, which are always in italics, those added editorially in smaller print. Whole measure rests missing in the source are completed tacitly.

The title of each work as well as the specification in italics of the instruments and voices at the beginning of each piece have been normalised, the disposition of the score follows today's practice. The wording of the original titles and score disposition are provided in the Critical Commentary in German. The original notation for transposing instruments has been retained. C-clefs used in the sources have been replaced by modern clefs. Mozart always notated singly occurring sixteenth, thirty-second notes etc. crossed-through, (i.e.  instead of ); the notation therefore does not distinguish between long or short realisations. The NMA generally renders these in the modern notation  etc.; if a grace note of this kind should be interpreted as "short" an additional indication "[]" is given over the relevant grace note. Missing slurs at grace notes or grace note groups as well as articulation signs on ornamental notes have generally been added without comment. Dynamic markings are rendered in the modern form, e.g. *f* and *p* instead of *for:* and *pia:*

The texts of vocal works are adjusted following modern orthography. The realisation of the bass continuo, in small print, is as a rule only provided for *secco* recitatives. For any editorial departures from these guidelines refer to the relevant Foreword and to the Critical Commentary in German.

A comprehensive representation of the editorial guidelines for the NMA (3<sup>rd</sup> version, 1962) has been published in *Editionsrichtlinien musikalischer Denkmäler und Gesamtausgaben* [Editorial Guidelines for Musical Heritage and Complete Editions]. Commissioned by the Gesellschaft für Forschung und edited by Georg von Dadelsen, Kassel etc., 1963, pp. 99-129. Offprints of this as well as the *Bericht über die Mitarbeitertagung und Kassel, 29. – 30. 1981*, published privately in 1984, can be obtained from the Editorial Board of the NMA.

The Editorial Board



## FOREWORD

The second volume of Masses in the New Mozart Edition (NMA) contains five compositions written in the period between 1773 and probably 1776 (= Nos. 6–10). In the old complete edition of Mozart's works (AMA), these Masses appeared as Nos. 5 to 8 and 12. The order adopted in the NMA is taken from the Köchel Catalogue (KV),<sup>1</sup> which, since the third edition revised by Alfred Einstein, has placed the Mass KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>), printed in the AMA as No. 12, before KV 257 (see below regarding the uncertainties in the dating of KV 262/246<sup>a</sup>). Because of the discovery of authentic performance material intended for Salzburg Cathedral and unknown to editors of the AMA, three trombones could be added to the Masses Nos. 7–10 and timpani to the Mass No. 10, the parts in question being in Mozart's own hand. Compared to the AMA, the Mass No. 7 (KV 192/186<sup>f</sup>) could be extended to include two trumpet parts not contained in the autograph but composed later by Mozart.

The principal types of setting of the *Ordinarium missae* are the *Missa brevis* and the *Missa solemnis* (recte *sollemnis*); it is difficult to define the difference, since the terms do not represent two different levels,<sup>2</sup> but rather only a difference in the degree of ritual. The *Missa brevis* is intended for performance on Sundays, minor feast days or church services without feast character. Masses of this type are KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) and 194 (186<sup>h</sup>). The orchestral forces are limited to the "church trio", i.e. two violins, bass and organ, to which are added in KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) two *clarini*, whose parts were composed later. The "church trio", which probably originated in the trio sonata, is not a Salzburg speciality, but is also encountered elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The supposition that the participation of the viola is "self-evident", running "usually an octave above the bass",<sup>4</sup> can be shown, as in the case of original performance material in Salzburg Cathedral, to be untrue.

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Chronologisch thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke W. A. Mozarts*. The different editions are distinguished by the superior numerals 1, 2, 3, 3<sup>a</sup> (= edition Ann Arbor, 1947 with Supplement) and 6.

<sup>2</sup> Georg Reichert, *Zur Geschichte der Wiener Messenkomposition in der 1. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Phil. Diss., Vienna, 1935 (typewritten), p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> For the Vienna region, cf. Reichert, op. cit., passim.

<sup>4</sup> KV<sup>6</sup>, footnote to KV 167.

In the movements with long texts, individual words are seldom repeated; the traditional exceptions are on the one hand certain passages whose content is to be emphasised, such as in the Gloria at the request for mercy, "miserere", and in the Credo at "descendit" and "non erit finis" and on the other hand single words, not necessarily always at same points in the text, repeated for musical reasons to fill out a phrase which would otherwise break off prematurely. The crowning conclusions of the Gloria and Credo are provided by the more sweeping gestures of the final verses, set as *fugati*. If brevity predominates in the Kyrie and especially in the Sanctus, the Benedictus and in the Agnus the section "dona nobis pacem", the latter usually closing the Mass in a bright expressive attitude as in the *finale* of a symphony, display a treatment on a larger scale with frequent repeated notes. Polytextual setting, a technique going back to the Motet compositions of the 16th century and involving simultaneous performance of different sections of text, made its way into Mass composition as a means of reducing the duration of the wordy movements Gloria and Credo, and was seen, until well into the nineteenth century as being in no way disrespectful to the Liturgy; it is encountered in the Mass KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>), Credo, measures 118–125. The internal climax of the Credo, the verses "Et incarnatus" referring to the incarnation of Christ, receive treatment as an independent section only in KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>). Caesuras marked by double bar-lines interrupt the Sanctus ("Hosanna", repeated in the Benedictus) and Agnus Dei ("dona nobis pacem"). Solo voices emerge from the choir only for episodes. (Regarding the formal structures see below.)

The *Missa solemnis* is intended for use on High Feasts of the church year, on which the Office is celebrated in the presence of numerous clergy. Amongst the High Feasts in the cathedral church of Salzburg are the *Festa Pallii*, at which the Prince-Bishop himself celebrates, wearing the Pallium conferred on him by the Pope as a symbol of Metropolitan status.<sup>5</sup> Masses of the type *Missa*

<sup>5</sup> Amongst the *Festa Pallii*, there is a differentiation between those of *primae* and *secundae classis*; *prima classis* comprises the following Holy Days: Epiphany (6 January), Maundy Thursday, Easter Sunday, Ascension Day, Corpus

*solemnis* are represented by KV 167 and 262 (246<sup>a</sup>). External splendour is provided by both the richer scoring, which includes at least 2 *clarini* and timpani beside strings and organ, as well as by a more sweeping compositional style with frequent word repetitions resulting in dimensions significantly greater than those of the *Missa brevis*. While Mozart's personal statement is heard more often in his *Missa brevis* compositions, in his *Missa solemnis* settings pathos and representational gesture dominate. If the extensive texts of the Gloria and Credo provided most of the opportunities for individual self-contained solo and polyphonic sections in the Masses KV 139 (47<sup>a</sup>) and 66, we here have a recurrence of the solo episodes already encountered in the *Missa brevis* in which they emerge from and re-enter the choral texture. While in the Mass KV 167 it is only in the Credo that particular sections, “*Et incarnatus*” and “*Et in Spiritum Sanctum*”, enjoy independent treatment, in KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>) sections in the Gloria, “*Qui tollis*”, and in the Credo, “*Et incarnatus*”, “*Et resurrexit*” and “*Et in Spiritum Sanctum*”, are employed as contrasting episodes within the composition. Contrapuntal splendour is unfolded in the fugues concluding the Gloria and Credo. In KV 167, the “*Hosanna*” of the Sanctus is re-used in the Benedictus; in contrast, the “*Hosanna*” of KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>) is integrated into the Benedictus. (See below for details of the formal structure.)

This short, festive Mass does not represent a special category, but is more a particular form. In Mozart literature, there is repeated mention of a “prohibition of fugues” supposedly decreed by Prince-Bishop Hieronymus, Count Colloredo, whose period in office started in 1772. No edict or direct source, however, has been named in this

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Christi, Peter and Paul (29 June), St. Rupert, 1st patron saint of the bishopric (*Translatio*, i.e. the Feast of the second interment, 24 September), Foundation Day (25 September), All Saints, St. Virgil, 2nd patron saint of the bishopric (27 November), Christmas Day; to the *secunda classis* belong: New Year's Day, Candlemas, Feast of the Annunciation, St. Rupert (27 March), St. Augustine (28 August), Birth of Mary (8 September), St. Virgil (*Translatio*, 26 September), St. Martin (11 November). Also included are the *Festa Praepositi*, i.e. those celebrated by the Cathedral Provost as well as those celebrated by the Dean and the Canons. Information on the instrumental forces involved on these feast days is found in the directions for those serving in church formulated by Karl Heinrich von Biber in 1746 (quoted from Ernst Hintermaier, *Die Salzburger Hofmusikkapelle im 18. Jahrhundert*, Phil. Diss., Salzburg, 1972 [typewritten], p. XIII).

connection. Otto Jahn was the first to write<sup>6</sup> that the rapid pace of church reform under Archbishop Hieronymus “*also showed itself in a certain way in which the Mass was re-modelled according to his taste, of whose main tendencies Mozart*”, in his letter to Padre Martini on 4 September 1776 (see below), “*gives an outline. It was not only the restriction on the duration which narrowed the space available for artistic treatment, not only the banishing of both genuine solo song and the performance of fugues that indicated a stricter exercise of ecclesiastical discipline against the spread of a one-sided artistic tendency.*” With Hermann Abert,<sup>7</sup> the “*banishing*” had already become a ban. Abert writes: “*In the usual concluding fugue of the Cum sancto spiritu*” and “*at the words Et vitam venturi saeculi in the Credo we find the main playground for that kind of scholarly fugue which the Archbishop, acting on the basis of a correct feeling, finally simply prohibited for his composers.*” Later, Abert<sup>8</sup> wrote expressly of the “*prohibition of the usual dry fugue work in the Masses*”. In his remarks, Jahn referred back to Leopold Mozart's letter of 4 September 1776 to Padre Martini<sup>9</sup> and deduced from it “*the banishing of genuine solo song and of the performance of fugues*”. Jahn's successor took the same line. But Mozart's statement is something completely different:<sup>10</sup> “*Our church music is quite unlike that of Italy, particularly since a Mass with Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, the Epistle Sonata, the Offertory and the Motet, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, even if it is of the most ceremonial kind with the Prince celebrating, is not allowed to last more than three quarters of an hour. A special study [no doubt meaning effort] is necessary for this kind of composition, as it is must be a Mass with all instruments, such as trumpets, timpani, etc.*” In other words: even if the Archbishop himself holds a pontifical office, it must last less than three quarters of an hour. The ecclesiastical prince

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<sup>6</sup> W. A. Mozart, Leipzig, 1856, part 1, p. 478.

<sup>7</sup> W. A. Mozart, Leipzig, 6/1923, part 1, p. 304.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 360.

<sup>9</sup> Mozart. *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, published by the International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg, compiled (and elucidated) by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, 4 volumes of text (= Bauer-Deutsch I-IV, Kassel etc., 1962/63), with commentary based on their preceding work by Joseph Heinz Eibl (2 volumes of commentary = Eibl V and VI, Kassel etc. 1972), register, compiled by Joseph Heinz Eibl (= Eibl VII, Kassel etc., 1975), vol. I, No. 323, pp. 532f., lines 29–35. (Here in the original Italian.)

<sup>10</sup> As footnote 9.

wanted a *Missa brevis*, but with the forces of a *Missa sollemnis*, to which, besides strings and organ, at least trumpets and timpani should belong. That such a short Mass offers no time for extended arias or for fugues in the same style is obvious. Not a word from the Archbishop has come down to us which could indicate that he had forbidden “*his composers*” to write fugues at all. But the wish for a *Missa brevis et sollemnis* was in no sense a purely personal desire on the part of the Archbishop of Salzburg, and it was also not completely new. In the *Catalogus Musicalis* of Salzburg Cathedral (1788),<sup>11</sup> two Masses of this kind by J. E. Eberlin are already recorded: No. XI, *Brevis sollemnis*, and No. XII, *Brevis et sollemnis* (with the remark “*pro Festa Pallii 2<sup>dae</sup> classis*”). The older repertoire included other Masses whose titles in the *Catalogus Musicalis* bear the adjunct “*brevis et sollemnis*”, amongst them works by Georg Reutter (No. IV) and Franz Novotny (No. II). The short, ceremonial Mass satisfied requirements also being stipulated in other churches. To date, there is no firm information on when this special form of Mass composition, which to date has received little attention, found its way into liturgical practice. The *Missa brevis sollemnitatis* by J. J. Fux (K<sup>5</sup>) seems to be amongst the earliest evidence of it.

We can also deduce that the *VII Missae Breviares Solennes* (Augsburg, J. J. Lotter) by F. J. Leontius Meyer of Schauensee enjoyed at least a modest circulation as early as 1757.<sup>12</sup> The category is also evident in manuscript compositions, including works in the repository of the former monastery church at Weyarn, registered as *Missa brevis et sollemnis* or *sollemnis et brevis*.<sup>13</sup> Certain Masses bearing the words *brevis et sollemnis* or the like in their titles were probably registered in the Salzburg *Catalogus Musicalis* in the period following the installation of Archbishop Hieronymus, such as those by Adlgasser (No. II), Gatti (Nos. I, II, IV, VI, VIII,

XII), Michael Haydn (No. I, II, III) and Joseph Haydn (No. I, i.e. the Nicolai Mass).

The first work in which Mozart adopted the form desired by the Prince-Bishop was the Mass KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>). In its form it corresponds exactly to the *Missa brevis*, but differs in including two *clarini* and timpani in the instrumentation; the conclusions of Gloria and Credo are indeed more generously proportioned, but remain homophonic in texture.

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Hermann Abert voiced the following regarding Mozart’s church music composed up to 1777:<sup>14</sup> “Nothing could be further from the truth than the supposition that Mozart had dedicated himself to certain type of composition, regardless of the consequences. Hardly any two of these pieces share completely the same style; it rather the case that the relationship between words and music, between voices and instruments, between homophony and counterpoint is always new, and in this Mozart was formulating criticism, even if unconsciously, of the various styles of the day.” In the compositions in this second volume of Masses, these differences in approach, it seems, are much more prominent than in other categories of work. Whether in fact the stylistic differences are due to a copying from other models – thus expressing a “*conscious criticism*” – must at the moment be left open until more of the almost totally unknown church music of the time receives the attention of scholars. The Mass KV 167 has a predominantly instrumental conception; the same applies also to the polyphonic passages, the concluding fugues of the Gloria and Credo, as well as to the setting of the “*Dona*”. Furthermore, the movements of the Mass are treated like those of a symphony, with a choir incorporated but playing only a subordinate role in the musical events. In the Mass KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>), the proportion of counterpoint – with a strong emphasis on feeling and not as a purely external display – and consequently the degree of independence in the voice-leading is substantially more noticeable; one is tempted to think that Mozart’s Mass composition has entered a new stylistic phase. But the whole thing is an experiment, the traces of which can only just still be heard in the next work, KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>). In KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>), the dominant role of the orchestra resumes, the feature which also impresses its stamp on the greater part of KV

<sup>11</sup> The “*Archivium*” copy (cathedral choir archive). Cf. on this Walter Senn, *Der Catalogus Musicalis des Salzburger Doms (1788)*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1971/72*, Salzburg, 1973, pp. 182ff.

<sup>12</sup> Amongst printed compositions, this intermediate form is also expressed in the title *Missa solemnior*, as in works by Marianus Königspurger (1747), Gregor Rösler (1749), Evermodus Groll (1798) and others.

<sup>13</sup> R. Münster – R. Machold, *Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften der ehemaligen Klosterkirchen Weyarn, Tegernsee und Benediktbeuern*, Munich–Duisburg, 1971, Sign. WEY 162, 177, 191, 192, 292, 315, 316, 357–360, 362, IX; 375, 377, 378, 407, 413, 421.

<sup>14</sup> Op. cit., p. 501.



262 (246<sup>a</sup>); alongside these, polyphonic episodes are interpolated, such as the *fugati* in the Kyrie (with two subjects), in the Credo, “*Et incarnatus*”, “*Crucifixus*” and Sanctus, “*Hosanna*” (with a development section) as well as large fugues which close the Gloria (with two contra-subjects which enter simultaneously) and Credo.

In all works in the second volume, Mozart’s search for formal compactness in individual movements, or in the case of KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) even in the whole work, is clearly noticeable. But here again, Mozart does not hold onto a fixed scheme, but is quite free in his approach, simply following his ingenious intuition. A pre-existent form adopted by the composer for the Kyrie of KV 167 is sonata form with two subjects, development section and a regular recapitulation. It is also found in the Kyrie of KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) and 220 (196<sup>b</sup>), in the Benedictus of KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>) as well as in the “*Dona*” of KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>) and 262 (246<sup>a</sup>). Modified sonata form, with “*Qui tollis*” as a free insertion, appears in the Gloria of KV 167 (the second subject does not appear in the recapitulation) and without development section in the Kyrie of KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>). Exposition and recapitulation of a sonata movement enfold the verses “*Et incarnatus*” to “*Et in Spiritum*” in the Credo of KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>). The following have three formal sections: the “*Dona*” of KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) in AAB form and, apart from the concluding fugue, the Gloria of KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>) (ABA), of whose double central section only one part is really contrasting, (“*Qui tollis*”), as well as the first section of the Agnus Dei in the same work.

A freely adapted rondo form is used for the Credo of KV 167, the sections being of quite different lengths: A – B – C – A' – A' – C – A" – D – A' – B – A'" – E (“*Et incarnatus*”) – A – C – F – B' – A'" – G (“*Et in Spiritum*”; the measures 121 to 231 are again in a free rondo form) – A – C – A – fugue. The closest of thematic relationships mark the free rondo form of the Credo of KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>); here the word “Credo” is inserted ten times in foreign contexts, and the “Credo” theme is repeated twelve times, usual with variations. The theme is taken from Gregorian chant (the intonation of the Gloria of Missa IV [In festis Duplicibus I.] or from the 3rd Cantica Tone<sup>15</sup>).

<sup>15</sup> This much-favored theme appears for example in a Mass by Franz Heinrich Biber, in Michael Haydn’s Graduale “*Qui sedes*”, Joseph Haydn’s Symphony No. 13, Finale, in Mozart’s Symphony KV 16, Andante, Symphony KV 129, Dixit and Magnificat KV 193 (186<sup>g</sup>), Symphony KV 199

According to Abert,<sup>16</sup> this Credo is “*the most unified Mass movement written by Mozart in his youth*”. Further examples of free rondo form are the Agnus Dei of KV 167, first section, the Gloria of KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) and the Credo of KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>). In the contrapuntally conceived Kyrie of KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>), based on a broken triad theme varied in the course of its several continuations, and again in the Gloria of the same Mass and of KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>), both of which are through-composed in free form, a recapitulation of the brief principal idea leads into the final section, thus giving at least the impression of a rounded-off form. Mozart resorts to similar techniques in other movements as well, in the course of which secondary musical thoughts recur, e.g. in the Credo of KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>), music from “*Deum de Deo*” recurs at “*cum gloria, judicare*”, from “*per quem omnia facta sunt*” at “*qui locutus est per Prophetas*” and from “*descendit*” at “*Et in unam sanctam*”. The recapitulation of the ideas is not related in any visible way to the text and satisfies purely musical needs.

Amongst the various forms encountered in the Benedictus settings, the structure of KV 167 is predominantly based on the thematic material of the instrumental introduction and thus approaches in this regard the first section of the Agnus Dei of KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>). – The Mass KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) represents Mozart’s first attempt to connect motivically the opening and closing movements; in the course of the Agnus Dei, the main musical idea of the Kyrie is introduced. In both thematically self-contained as well as in free-form Gloria and Credo movements, there are occasional applications of the technique, familiar since the first quarter of the 18th century, of an ostinato figure in the violins during a choral movement. Mozart no longer applies this principle strictly, as was still the case in the Credo of KV 140 (Appendix 235<sup>d</sup> = KV<sup>6</sup>: Appendix. C. 1. 12, in: *Masses • Volume 1*, No. 5), but limits it to occasional recurrences; as a result the figure, split off from the principal idea or from its accompaniment, can be integrated into the thematic development. In the Credo of KV 220

(161<sup>b</sup>), 3rd movement, Symphony KV 319, 1st movement, Vesperae de Dominica KV 321, 1st movement, String Quartet KV 387, Finale, Duo for Violin and Viola KV 424, Adagio, Five Divertimentos KV 439<sup>b</sup>, No. IV, 1st movement, Sonata for Piano and Violin KV 481, 1st movement, Symphony KV 551, closing fugue, in the Mass KV 257, Sanctus, and also in the second Finale of The Magic Flute.

<sup>16</sup> Op. cit., p. 375.

(196<sup>b</sup>), a re-working of the technique is achieved by the re-appearance of variants of parts of measures 1 and 2 (Violino I, II) as an accompanying figure. In choral passages in this movement, an ostinato rhythm also appears in the bass.

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Die *Missa in honorem SS.<sup>mae</sup> Trinitatis* KV 16 (= No. 6) is the only one of Mozart's Masses whose title includes a dedication and, disregarding the orchestra, is composed for choir alone without soloists. This work also originated in response to a specific occasion, with which the dedication was likewise connected, but the occasion has not yet been identified. As the autograph is marked with the date *Giugno 1773*, and as Trinity Sunday that year fell on the 5th June, the work could have had its first performance on that day. The large orchestral forces of two oboes, two each of clarini (in the AMA erroneously designated trombe) and trombe (AMA: erroneously trombe ripiene), timpani, two violins, bass and organ, justify the assumption that the Mass owed its existence to a special festivity. Two each of high and lower trumpets were also used by Mozart in his two previous Missae solemnes, KV 139 (114<sup>a</sup> = KV<sup>3a</sup>: 47<sup>a</sup>, in: *Masses • Volume 1*, No. 2) and 66 ("Dominicus Mass", in: *Masses • Volume 1*, No. 4). In these Masses, the trombe are notated in the alto and tenor clefs, but in KV 167, however, in bass clef. The tones required from tromba I are c°, e° (only three times) and g°, from tromba II G and c°. But the tones G and e° do not occur in the natural harmonic series of the Trumpet in C, and c° speaks only with difficulty; Mozart must therefore have envisaged bass trumpets (tromba in C basso).<sup>17</sup> If instruments with this range are not

<sup>17</sup> Bass trumpets, wide-bore instruments, similar in sound to tenor trombones, have been traced back to at least the beginning of the 18th century. They cover the tenor range and would therefore have been better described as "tenor trumpets". They used to be common in brass ensembles (today they are hardly seen there any more), and were encountered occasionally in formally composed music, e.g. in Richard Wagner (*Ring of the Nibelungen*), who originally demanded a tuning an octave lower, and furthermore in R. Strauss, Schönberg, Stravinsky, Wellesz. Cf. on this Curt Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, Berlin, 1913, p. 40; Erich Valentin, *Handbuch der Instrumentenkunde*, Regensburg, 1954, p. 343, 434; Hans Kunitz, *Die Instrumentation, Teil 7, Trompete*, Leipzig, 1961, pp. 571ff. – Salzburg Museum has a low trumpet in C from the Mozart period, made in Vienna in 1763 by Anton Kerner; cf. Karl

available, we suggest replacing the trombe by trombones for performances of the Mass KV 167. Bass trumpets are usually notated in treble clef, an octave higher than they sound. In this edition, however, the original notation has been retained.

In the autograph of this work, parts for tromba I, II and timpani are notated on one staff. Johann Georg Albrechtsberger<sup>18</sup> informs us that when four trumpets are used (two each of clarini and trombe), tromba II runs "with the timpani an octave lower", but this cannot apply in this case because of the low tessitura. Tromba II and timpani must therefore have played in unison.

The Trinity Mass was not intended for Salzburg Cathedral; one sign of this is the absence of solo voices, another is that the part *Organo e Bassi* in the autograph has no *Solo* indications, which show that in choral works for which two organs were available, as in Salzburg Cathedral, one organ should rest during the orchestral introductions and interludes before entering again at the indication *Tutti*. An authentic set of copied parts, such as those preserved for other church compositions by Mozart in the archives of Salzburg Cathedral or the Dominican Monastery Heilig Kreuz (Holy Cross) in Augsburg, were apparently once kept in a church in Salzburg; if it can be assumed that Franz Josef Weindl († 1812), choir director from at least 1791 in the Stadtpfarrkirche, was responsible for having a copy made (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available in German only]), then the first performance of the Mass took place in Salzburg (Dreifaltigkeitskirche [Trinity Church] or Kollegienkirche [Fellows' Church]?).

In this work, one definite development is visible compared to Mozart's previous Masses. Expressly dramatic traits and marked contrasts are absent; the atmosphere is generally more earnest and sometimes approaches that of impersonal representation. There is a remarkable striving for rounded-off form in all movements.

The autograph of the *Missa brevis* KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup> = No. 7), known as the little Credo Mass (because of the interjections of the word Credo recurring throughout the third movement),<sup>19</sup> is dated Salzburg, 24 June 1774. This Mass,

Geiringer, *Alte Musik-Instrumente im Museum Carolino Augusteum Salzburg*, Leipzig, 1932, p. 30, No. 175.

<sup>18</sup> *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition*, Leipzig, 1790, p. 428. Printed in W. Senn, *Foreword to NMA I/1: Masses • Volume 1*, p. XI.

<sup>19</sup> See in this regard G. Reichert, *Mozarts "Credo-Messen" und ihre Vorläufer*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1955*, Salzburg, 1956, pp. 117ff.

intended for Sundays and lesser Feast Days, was likewise composed for Salzburg Cathedral, in whose archive an authentic set of parts copies with additions by Mozart and his father is preserved (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*). When the master traveled to Paris in 1777, he took the autograph of this work with him and left it with the canons of Holy Cross in Augsburg for them to make parts copies.<sup>20</sup> The orchestral forces, with the “Church Trio” supplemented by two clarini (clarino I: KV *deest*, clarino II: KV<sup>6</sup> 626<sup>b</sup>/20), remained small; he wrote the additional parts personally and apparently in haste, as some faulty progressions (consecutive fifths and octaves) found their way into the composition. The characteristics of the hand-writing indicate that the additional parts belong to a later date; they were probably used only in his own performances and have therefore not been transmitted in other copies of the work. Only two of the three stripes into which the first leaf of *clarino I* was cut have survived (the second leaf is missing); they cover the Kyrie, measures 1–59, and on the reverse side the Gloria, measures 49–179. The missing parts were made up by the editor and rendered in the edition in small print. These parts were not known to the editors of the AMA; they appear in the NMA for the time.

In Abert’s view,<sup>21</sup> this work is for “*many the climax of Mozart’s early Masses*” and “*surpasses, in terms of the motivic unity of the individual movements and the strengthening of the contrapuntal element, everything that had gone before*”. Failing to recognise the liturgical significance of the *Missa brevis*, Abert<sup>22</sup> sees in the “*return to the old orchestra*”, i.e. the “Church Trio”, a weakness: “*This means not only the renunciation of a splendid outer garment, but also a reduced role for the instruments altogether, amounting to a hefty setback with respect to the practice established in the last Masses, although this does not of course mean that the orchestra has returned to the task of mere doubling and filling-out.*” – The proportions of this Mass, in which contrapuntal elements have been incorporated, remain within the sphere of chamber-music; it is certainly one of the most important works of this genre that Mozart wrote.

The autograph of the *Missa brevis* KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup> = No. 8) is dated Salzburg, 8 August 1774 and could, like KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>), likewise have been

intended for Salzburg Cathedral. The popularity of this work is evinced by the fact that this was the first of Mozart’s Masses to be printed (Augsburg, 1793, J. J. Lotter). On 15 February 1775 Leopold Mozart mentioned in a letter to his wife from Munich a number of points, including:<sup>23</sup> “*last Sunday, a little Mass by Wolfgang was performed in the Court Chapel, and I conducted. On Sunday another one will be put on.*” It has generally been taken that the works in question are the *Missae breves* KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) and KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>).<sup>24</sup>

In KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>), the counterpoint plays a smaller part than in the previous work. While the Kyrie displays a thematic unity and the Agnus Dei is formally rounded-off, Gloria and Credo are constructed more freely. “*Et incarnatus*” appears as an independent section with changes of time signature and tempo. Harmonically, the preference for minor keys is noticeable, even in those sections of the composition where normally major keys are used, such as “*Quoniam*” and “*Et in Spiritum Sanctum*”.

The *Missa* KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup> = No. 9) is known, on account of the characteristic figure in the violins in the Sanctus (measures 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19) and Benedictus (measures 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42) as the Sparrow Mass. The autograph was once the first of five Mozart Masses (KV 262/246<sup>a</sup>, 257, 258, 259), all in C major, bound in one volume as a collection, but was already missing when Mozart’s estate passed into the hands of Johann Anton André in 1800. On the cover, still extant, of the bound collection,<sup>25</sup> Leopold Mozart had noted the incipits of the compositions, complete with titles and scoring. Although two clarini and timpani are involved in KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>), the work is described here as *Missa brevis*. The nomenclature was at this time not uniformly defined. In the *Catalogus Musicalis in Ecclesia Metropolitana* (1788), the composition is listed as *Missa solennis*, while the title on the envelopes for the contemporary performance material in Salzburg Cathedral<sup>26</sup> and in the Dominican Monastery of the Holy Cross in Augsburg is *Missa*, as it was certainly also designated in the heading on the autograph; this

<sup>23</sup> Bauer–Deutsch I, No. 316, p. 522, lines 15–17.

<sup>24</sup> Eibl V, p. 355, commentary on No. 316/16.

<sup>25</sup> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

<sup>26</sup> The remark concerning the copied part in Salzburg Cathedral in KV<sup>1-6</sup>, that “*the title specified by Mozart corresponds exactly to that on the libretto of ‘Idomeneo’*”, is wrong.

<sup>20</sup> Bauer–Deutsch II, No. 376, p. 136, lines 32–34.

<sup>21</sup> Op. cit., p. 372.

<sup>22</sup> Loc. cit.



has been adopted by the NMA (in AMA and KV<sup>1-6</sup>: *Missa brevis*).<sup>27</sup> – The most important, although incomplete, source for this edition was the set of copied parts from the archive of Salzburg Cathedral Choir (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*); the missing part for the alto trombone was made up by the editor (rendered in small print).

Mozart mentioned in the letter to his father on 20 November 1777:<sup>28</sup> “*I have left with them* [i.e. the canons of Holy Cross] *the Mass ex f* [i.e. KV 192/186<sup>f</sup>] *and the first of the short Masses in C* [i.e. KV 220/196<sup>b</sup>] *and the Offertorium in Contrapunct in D minor* [i.e. KV 222/205<sup>a</sup>].” Otto Jahn<sup>29</sup> interprets “*left with them*” as meaning a present, an error which was also taken over in KV<sup>1-6</sup>. That it was in fact only a matter of lending them the music manuscripts is confirmed in the continuation of the letter:<sup>30</sup> “*My cousin* [i.e. Maria Anna Thekla Mozart] *is chief supervisor over them* [i.e. over the manuscripts]. *I have received the Offertorium back punctually, because that was the one I demanded right away.*” The hypothesis that the autograph of KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) was lost in Holy Cross is therefore superfluous.<sup>31</sup>

Otto Jahn<sup>32</sup> dated the composition “1775–76”. Köchel (KV<sup>1</sup>) suspected that it was written in “1775”, but filled this out to “1775–76”.<sup>33</sup> According to a heading in the catalogue of church music in *St. Peter in Salzburg: Missa 31*. The catalogue is the *Catalogus Rerum Musicarum pro choro figurato Ecclesiae S. Petrensis 1822*,<sup>34</sup> written by Pater Martin Bischofreiter.<sup>35</sup> The dates given in this catalogue for these Masses and for other church compositions by Mozart were added subsequently in a different hand and agree

completely with the figures given by Otto Jahn;<sup>36</sup> they were doubtless transferred to the catalogue from Otto Jahn’s work and have therefore no value beyond that of an approximate estimate. Wyzewa/Saint-Foix<sup>37</sup> made an error in interpreting Leopold Mozart’s letter to Salzburg of 15 February 1775 (cf. footnote 22), in which he recorded the performance of a short Mass by Wolfgang in the Court Chapel in Munich; as a result, they assumed that the work concerned must have been a new composition, which they then, without any justification, identified with KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>). Since KV<sup>3</sup>, the following remark has been attached to this work: “*Supposedly composed in Munich in January 1775*”. Since KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) is the first work to reflect the wishes expressed by the Archbishop (*Missa brevis et solemnis*), it is likely that the work was written in Salzburg, probably in the course of the year 1775 or the beginning of 1776.<sup>38</sup>

For 7 April 1776 (Easter Sunday), Joachim Ferdinand von Schiedenhofen noted in his diary:<sup>39</sup> “*And then to the Cathedral, where His High Princely Grace* [i.e. the Prince Bishop] *pontificated. The Office was new, by the young*

<sup>36</sup> The dates given for the Mozart Masses listed in the St. Peter catalogue (p. 10), Nos. 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, correspond to those offered by Jahn (op. cit., pp. 665 ff.), Nos. 9, 13, 12, 14, 11, 3, 8.

<sup>37</sup> Théodore de Wyzewa et Georges de Saint-Foix, W. A. Mozart. *Sa vie musicale et son œuvre*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1912, p. 208.

<sup>38</sup> A. Einstein, *Mozart. Sein Charakter – Sein Werk*, Zürich–Stuttgart <sup>3</sup>/1953, p. 381, proposes the doubtless correct view that in February 1775 the two *Missae breves* written in the previous year were performed, but assumes that KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) was composed at about this time in Munich; he writes “*I prefer to believe in a sudden commission by Colloredo, who saw this as a way of keeping Mozart at his call; and Mozart carried out this commission hastily and in such a way that it was as if he wanted to say the following clearly to his employer: now you are getting exactly what you asked for!*” Einstein’s postulation is completely without foundation. Mozart was neither obliged to deliver composition commissions from the Archbishop. In his letter to Padre Martini on 4 September 1776, he writes (Bauer–Deutsch I, No. 323, p. 532, lines 24–25, translation): “*My father is music director at the Metropolitan Church, which provides me with the opportunity to write as much for the church as I want.*” Even in the decree of 17 January 1779 installing Mozart as Court Organist, the only requirement was that he “*provide the Court and church, as far as possible, with new compositions by himself*” (H. Abert, op. cit., II, p. 906). So here again there is no obligation!

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Mozart. *Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, collected and elucidated by Otto Erich Deutsch (= *Dokumente*, NMA X/34), Kassel etc., 1961, p. 140.

<sup>27</sup> There is also a reference to the wrong use of the title *Missa brevis* for KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) in Felix Schröder’s *Foreword* to the edition of that composition in the series Edition Eulenburg, No. 988, 1958.

<sup>28</sup> Bauer–Deutsch II, No. 376, p. 136, lines 32–34.

<sup>29</sup> Op. cit., pp. 667f., footnote 3.

<sup>30</sup> Bauer–Deutsch II, No. 376, p. 136, lines 34–36.

<sup>31</sup> One of the statements in KV<sup>6</sup>, footnote to KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>), p. 226, is that “*Mozart had, in Göhler’s opinion, parted with the manuscript himself.*” The quotation he refers to here, taken from K. A. Göhler, *Die Meßkataloge im Dienste der musikalischen Geschichtsforschung*, Diss., Leipzig, 1901, does not however relate to the previous remark.

<sup>32</sup> Op. cit., p. 668.

<sup>33</sup> In KV<sup>3</sup> a printing error (1775–“1777”) corrupted this information; the error has so far (KV<sup>6</sup>) not been emended.

<sup>34</sup> Tomus I<sup>mus</sup>, p. 10

<sup>35</sup> Cf. on this Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Die Musikaliensammlung der Erzabtei St. Peter in Salzburg*. Part I = *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, Vol. 3/4, Salzburg, 1970, p. 47.

*Mozart.*” O. E. Deutsch<sup>40</sup> assumed that the “Office” was the *Missa longa*, KV 262 (242<sup>a</sup>). But since the Archbishop always wanted short, festive Mass compositions when he celebrated, apart from on special Feast Days, the “Office” cannot refer to the *Missa longa*, but rather to KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>), unless the Masses KV 257, 258 or 259, whose dating is not secure, are also considered eligible.

Besides KV 65 (61<sup>a</sup>, in: *Masses • Volume I*, No. 3) and KV 275 (272<sup>b</sup>), KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) belongs, with a total of 360 measures, to Mozart’s shortest Masses. Counterpoint is almost totally absent from this work, but on the other hand sensitive melody is remarkably prominent, and the orchestra dominates over the voices. Mozart’s aim was obviously to write a particularly accessible Mass close to the folk tradition. Since the composition occupies a unique position in this regard, approached perhaps only by the “popular” *Missa brevis* KV 140 (Appendix 235<sup>d</sup> = KV<sup>6</sup>: Appendix C. 1.12), one could speculate that Mozart was seeking to emulate an existing model. One could see a reference to examples from works by Joseph and Michael Haydn in the recapitulation in the Agnus Dei of material from the Kyrie, introducing a new unifying principle in a large-scale form. Einstein<sup>41</sup> judged this Mass – failing to recognise the prevalent influence of folk tradition – to be Mozart’s “weakest”, “all too Salzburg-like ecclesiastical work”. The popularity that this Mass enjoyed is demonstrated not only by the numerous copies, but also by the re-working of certain sections for cantatas: Kyrie and Gloria as the first movement of “Cantata No. 4” with the German text “*Ewiger, erbarme dich*” (Leipzig, 1823, Breitkopf & Härtel), and again as the first movement of “Cantata No. 9” (Bonn, c. 1823, Simrock); the Benedictus re-appeared as the second movement of “Cantata No. 3” with the German text “*Selig werden*” (Leipzig, 1812, Breitkopf & Härtel), and again as the second movement of “Cantata No. 7” (Bonn, c. 1816, Simrock).

The Mass KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup> = No. 10) is known as the *Missa longa*. This title was attached by Leopold Mozart to its incipit on the cover of the volume in which the autographs of Mozart’s five Masses in C major were once bound (cf. footnote 25).<sup>42</sup> In the Mozart literature, a date of

1776 is given for the work, with no suggestion that this might be nothing more than a guess. One must conclude that this date was on the autograph, missing since 1945 from the possessions of the former Prussian State Library. When Johann Anton André acquired Mozart’s estate in 1800, this bound volume lacked not only the first work, KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) (see above), but also the first folio of the following composition, KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>). André entered the work in his catalogue of Mozart’s autographs<sup>43</sup> as No. 113 with the date 1776, and remarked that “*Since the first two pages of this Missa were written on the last folio of the previous Mass, which has already been removed from this volume in which it was likewise bound, it has been necessary to copy these 2 pages. I therefore do not know whether a note with a more precise date for this Mass was written on the first page of the manuscript in Mozart’s hand.*” Next to the incipit of the *Missa longa* on the old cover of the bound collection the date “1776” is in fact visible, beside a crossed-out date, but not in Leopold Mozart’s hand – the figures were written by André. The association of the date 1776 with the *Missa longa* is therefore not derived from the autograph, but was simply assigned by André.<sup>44</sup>

KV<sup>1+2</sup> base their dating of this composition on André’s catalogue and on Otto Jahn.<sup>45</sup> Besides a reference to André, Jahn speaks of another “source”: “*on the copy of the Missa longa*” in Salzburg Cathedral, the year 1776 is written. The copy in question is a score copy belonging to W.A. Mozart jun. and made around 1840. Aloys Fuchs, a close acquaintance of Mozart’s son, could have instigated the copying. Fuchs was in contact with André, knew his catalogue and, after a number of visits, drew up in 1837 two catalogues in which he enumerated the Mozart autographs in André’s possession.<sup>46</sup> There can be no doubt that the date on the Salzburg score is due to Fuchs or André.

Alfred Einstein had obviously realised that the date referring to the *Missa longa* on what had

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also written by L. Mozart on the cover of the bound collection next to the incipit of the Mass KV 257, later known as the *Credo Mass*.

<sup>43</sup> *Thematisches Verzeichnis W. A. Mozartscher Manuscripte, chronologisch geordnet von 1764–1784 von André*. Manuscript, completed 6 August 1833.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. in this connection a more comprehensive discussion in W. Senn, *Zur Missa longa, KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>)*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1975* (in preparation).

<sup>45</sup> Op. cit., p. 668, No. 10.

<sup>46</sup> A. Einstein, in: KV<sup>6</sup>, *Foreword to the third edition*, p. XXXIX

<sup>40</sup> *Dokumente*, p. 140.

<sup>41</sup> Op. cit., p. 382.

<sup>42</sup> *Missa longa*, in the sense of *Missa solemnis* – a designation which father and son Mozart did not use – was



once been the cover of the bound collection (see above) is not authentic or is at least not in Leopold Mozart's hand; instead, he suspected that in the fixing the date (1776) another "source" would be more reliable. He wrote in KV<sup>3</sup> (a view adopted in subsequent editions) that "*The date of origin of this work, the most amply proportioned of Mozart's Masses<sup>47</sup> is transmitted only by the Lambach copy.*" Einstein adopted the dating – certainly without further examination – given in Franz Espagne's Editorial Report on the old Mozart complete edition;<sup>48</sup> amongst the "originals" mentioned here for KV 262 are: "*Old written parts in the possession of the monastery at Lambach, bearing the date '1776.'*" This passage is certainly not unambiguous, but was nevertheless taken as a ground, from KV<sup>3</sup> on, for including in first place amongst the "copies" that of "*Lambach Monastery (1776)*". Karl Pfannhauser<sup>49</sup> has already pointed out that the copy in Lambach dates "*from the time around the middle of the 19th century*". The manuscript in question is not even a copy from a primary source, but rather from an inaccurate exemplar with cuts in the musical text. Furthermore, there are changes in the first and second violin parts so that they double soprano or alto where the original had rests. In view of these circumstances, it can hardly be expected that the authentic date of the composition could have been copied from such an exemplar. In fact, the date 1776 is not in the copyist's hand, but was added later, obviously from a printed source. The original work title of *Missa in C* had obviously been supplemented, in the same hand, by the word "*longa*". Since the term *Missa longa* was used for the time by Otto Jahn,<sup>50</sup> but neither by André<sup>51</sup> nor in KV<sup>1</sup> nor in an early copied set of parts, Otto Jahn is the only person who could have been responsible for the additions, including the date.

<sup>47</sup> The *Missa longa* is not Mozart's longest Mass. In terms of measures, the first place belongs to KV 66 with 1097 measures, followed by KV 139 (114<sup>a</sup>) with 1010 and KV 167 with 847 measures; only then comes the *Missa longa* with 824 measures.

<sup>48</sup> *Mozarts Werke*. Revisionsbericht [Editorial Report], Leipzig, 1886, p. 21.

<sup>49</sup> W. A. Mozarts *Messe in C-dur, Missa longa, K.-V. 262 (= K.-E. 246<sup>a</sup>)*, edited by Ernst Tittel = *Österreichische Kirchenmusik*, Vol. 6, Vienna-Wiesbaden (1955), Table of Sources VI (following p. 102).

<sup>50</sup> Op. cit., p. 668.

<sup>51</sup> *Thematisches Verzeichnis derjenigen Originalhandschriften von W. A. Mozart, welche Hofrat André in Offenbach a. M. besitzt*, Offenbach am Main, 1841 (compiled by H. Henkel), No. 21.

The fact remains, then, that the supposedly authentic date for the composition is an approximate estimate by André. All attempts to place the month of the composition are thus invalidated: Wyzewa–Saint-Foix<sup>52</sup> had proposed May 1776 as a time in which otherwise no known compositional work took place; KV<sup>6</sup> suggests "*in April*", and O. E. Deutsch<sup>53</sup> supposed that the entry for Easter Sunday, 7 April 1776, in the diary of Joachim Ferdinand von Schiedenhofen (see below, footnote 38), was a reference to KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>); he consequently placed the date of composition even earlier. In KV<sup>6</sup>, we read in the "*Anmerkung*" [footnote] to KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>) that "*from the use of the horns and from the conclusions of Gloria and Credo with fugues, which were forbidden in the Cathedral, Schiedermaier (p. 454)<sup>54</sup> and Paumgartner (1957, p. 176)<sup>55</sup> deduced that the Mass was intended for St. Peter's, not for the Cathedral*".<sup>56</sup> Einstein<sup>57</sup> adopts the same view; in one place he wrote that the "*length as well as the scoring show that it was not intended for use in the Cathedral, but rather for St. Peter's Church, to whose brand-new Rococo opulence it was well suited.*" The occasion for which the Mass was written can only be guessed at (see below); in any case, it has been established that a performance of the work did take place in Salzburg Cathedral. The proof of this is in performance material written by Salzburg copyists and preserved in the archive of the former canonic foundation Holy Cross in Augsburg; the number of additional copies, the instrumentation of the bass section and the transposed oboe parts notated in D can only have been intended originally for Salzburg Cathedral. The manuscript material, with plentiful corrections and additions by both father and son Mozart, once belonged to Leopold and was given

<sup>52</sup> Op. cit. II, Paris, 1936, p. 297.

<sup>53</sup> O. E. Deutsch (*Dokumente*, p. 140) was so sure of his opinion that he wrote "*The Mass in C, KV 262, was therefore not written later in May 1776 and was not performed in St. Peter's, as had been supposed.*"

<sup>54</sup> Ludwig Schiedermaier, *Mozart. Sein Leben und seine Werke*, Munich, 1922.

<sup>55</sup> Bernhard Paumgartner, *Mozart*, Zurich, <sup>4</sup>/1957.

<sup>56</sup> This is followed by the completely misleading remark that "*Schiedenhofen shows that there was a performance in the Cathedral on 7 April 1776.*" Schiedenhofen comments simply that a new Mass by Mozart was performed in the Cathedral on that day.

<sup>57</sup> Op. cit., p. 384.

to the canons of Holy Cross by his daughter, Marianne.<sup>58</sup>

It was probably Leopold Mozart who prepared the *Report on the current state of the music of His High-Princely Grace, the Archbishop of Salzburg in the year 1757*,<sup>59</sup> in which we read that the “French Horn” is “never heard in the Cathedral Church”. This statement led to the erroneous conclusion by Schiedermaier,<sup>60</sup> Paumgartner<sup>61</sup> and others that the *Missa longa*, for which the orchestra requires horns, could not have been performed in Salzburg Cathedral. It appears, however, that there had been a change since the presentation of the report. It is well known that the orchestra for Mozart’s Litany KV 125 and Mass KV 317 calls for horns – without leading to speculation that these works were not performed in the Cathedral. Furthermore, works by other composers in the repertory of Salzburg Cathedral Choir also call for horns.<sup>62</sup> After 1757, their use is no longer an argument that a work could “therefore” not have been performed in the Cathedral. In KV<sup>6</sup> (“Anmerkung” [footnote] to KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>)), there is mention of “conclusions to Gloria and Credo in fugues forbidden in the Cathedral”. Einstein proposes purely on the basis of the length of a work that it was not intended for use in the Cathedral.<sup>63</sup> A general prohibition of fugues was never issued. The Archbishop simply desired, when he personally was at the altar, short and festive Masses. It was thus possible to perform a *Missa solennis* in Salzburg Cathedral when the Archbishop himself was not celebrating; at the same time, the Archbishop obviously permitted exceptions to his wish for brevity on special occasions, e.g. for the 1200th anniversary of the founding of the bishopric in 1782, for which Michael Haydn composed the large-scale

*Missa St. Ruperti* (with fugues). It is possible that Mozart’s *Missa longa* or also e.g. those three Masses by Michael Haydn listed in the *Catalogus Musicalis* (see above) and marked as *longa et solennis* were performed as “exceptions”, even during a High Mass celebrated by the Archbishop.

The monumentality of the *Missa longa* permits the conclusion that it was composed for a particularly festive occasion. If one looks for special ecclesiastical occasions in the 1770s, these must certainly include the consecration on 17 November 1776 in Salzburg Cathedral of Ignaz Josef, Count von Spaur, coadjutor and administrator of the diocese of Brixen (Bressanone), as titular Bishop of Chrysopol. Erich Schenk argued<sup>64</sup> that Wolfgang’s “*Spaur Mass*”, mentioned in Leopold Mozart’s letter of 28 May 1778, referred to the consecration of Ignaz Josef Spaur, a long-standing family friend of the Mozarts; it is therefore all the more likely that the composition for the consecration was a personal homage. The only setting of the Ordinary of the Mass from this period fulfilling the requirements for such a particularly solemn occasion is the *Missa longa*. The ascription of the number KV 257 or KV 258 to the Spaur Mass was based on the invalid assumption that the *Missa longa* could not have been performed in the Cathedral because of the use of horns and fugues. If the hypothesis that the Spaur Mass and the *Missa longa* are identical is true, the work must have been completed at the latest in October 1776, which would confirm André’s dating.

In the first performance of the work, timpani were not employed and are not notated in the score; their absence from the large orchestra was felt to be a weakness (in 19th century copies a timpani part was made up). For a later performance in Salzburg, Mozart wrote a separate timpani part, but without the Credo. The Mass in this form must therefore have been intended either for a minor church feast falling on a week-day, for which the liturgy did not include the Credo, or the movement was possibly substituted because of its length – with 406 measures the longest Credo composed by Mozart – with one taken from another work. In the timpani part, the space for the Credo is left blank – Mozart had intended to add the notation later. In

<sup>58</sup> Walter Senn, *Zur Erbteilung nach Leopold Mozart*, in: *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch = Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins von Schwaben*, Vol. 62/63, 1962, pp. 383ff., and the same author, *Die Mozartüberlieferung im Stift Heilig Kreuz zu Augsburg*, id., pp. 333ff.

<sup>59</sup> In: Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, Berlin, 1757, III, p. 195.

<sup>60</sup> See footnote 54.

<sup>61</sup> See footnote 55.

<sup>62</sup> In the *Catalogus Musicalis in Ecclesia Metropolitana* (Archive of the Cathedral Choir) compiled by Luigi Gatti in 1788, although the orchestral forces involved are not given for all works listed, “2 Corni” are encountered in at least the following compositions: Anton Cajetan Adlgasser, 4 litanies; Domenico Fischietti, 2 offertories, Regina Caeli, litany, Mass; Luigi Gatti, litany, 11 vespers, 6 offertories, 4 Masses, Te deum; Michael Haydn, litany, 11 graduals; Joseph Haydn, Mass; Leopold Hofmann, 2 Masses.

<sup>63</sup> Op. cit., p. 384.

<sup>64</sup> Erich Schenk, *Ein unbekannter Brief Leopold Mozarts = Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsbericht 225, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Musikforschung Heft 1* (1947), p. 10.

this edition, it has been added by the editor and rendered in small print.

In the *Missa longa*, counterpoint does indeed play a major role once again, with weighty fugues closing Gloria and Credo. At the same time, the orchestra dominates, while the choir – within the musical structure – mostly has an accompanying function. The most impressive aspects of Mozart’s work are the episodes in slow tempo in Gloria and Credo. Abert,<sup>65</sup> for example, writes that “*the Qui tollis is one of the most ingenious conceptions in the whole of this Mass, and at the same time one of the most dramatic: it opens with grave, ecclesiastical earnest, accompanied by a sharply rhythmical orchestral motif, but already in the third measure a shudder passes through the choir, and in measures 6 and 7 there follows a completely surprising outburst of despair leading to a tutti pause; the rest is the despairing sobbing of the miserere nobis. During this, the bass line descends chromatically, producing constant harmonic ambiguity in the chords built upon it, from g to B. This game is repeated three times, the harmonic expression becoming more intensive every time, following a dramatic course as emotionally shaking as it is typically Mozartian.*” – In particular, the instrumentally conceived passages are of emphatic dignity and loftiness, a fitting expression of the representational function required of the music at such a solemn event.

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The text of the Ordinary of the Mass is treated correctly, apart from orthographic errors, remaining free of re-ordering and elimination even in the wordy movements. Only in the Credo of KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>), after measure 223, did Mozart accidentally omit the “*et conglorificatur*” from his setting. If Mozart set the priest’s intonation verses in the Credo of KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) as well as in the Gloria and Credo of KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>), he was simply following the example, not considered contrary to the liturgy, of other composers. He treated the Kyrie more freely. Although the tripartite text might appear to call for a corresponding musical form, he only once set “*Christe eleison*”, in KV 194 (186<sup>h</sup>), in the middle of the musical movement. These words otherwise appear either at the end of the development section (KV 167), as the development section (KV 192/186<sup>f</sup>) or as the second subject, with a

<sup>65</sup> Op. cit., p. 493.

corresponding repeat in the recapitulation (KV 220/196<sup>b</sup> and KV 262/246<sup>a</sup>). In the second section of the Agnus Dei, “*dona nobis pacem*”, the usual form used at this time, “*dona pacem*”, is encountered in all Masses.

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Of the five Masses in this volume, photocopies of the extant autographs of three of the compositions were available: KV 167 (amongst the possessions of the former Prussian State Library, Berlin, now in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Music Department), KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) and 194 (186<sup>h</sup>) (both in the Austrian National Library, Vienna). Also used were additional parts for two clarini for KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) written by Mozart, as well as authentic copies. Revisions and corrections by Mozart and his father were made to the copies of KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) and 194 (186<sup>h</sup>) (both in Salzburg, archive of the Cathedral Choir). Substitutes for the lost autograph of KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) were the incomplete parts copies, some of which contain additions and corrections by Mozart (Salzburg, archive of the Cathedral Choir), and a set of parts copied by a Augsburg scribe from the autograph (Augsburg, Dominican Monastery of the Holy Cross, formerly Foundation of Augustinian Canons). In place of the autograph of KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>), missing since 1945, an authentic set of parts could be consulted (Augsburg, Holy Cross; formerly belonging to Leopold Mozart); these were intended, as the title pages and number of copies suggest, for performance in Salzburg Cathedral. The musical text displays numerous additions by Leopold and W. A. Mozart, particularly regarding articulation marks; comparison with the edition of this Mass in the AMA shows that many of these additions were not in the autograph, from which the AMA was edited. In the performance material there is also a separate timpani part (without Credo), not present in the autograph, written in Mozart’s hand.

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Baroque tradition remained alive in the music in Salzburg Cathedral into the first decades of the 19th century. This included the use of three trombones, employed *colla parte* with the choral *alto*, *tenore* and *basso* in the *tutti*.<sup>66</sup> Although

<sup>66</sup> General remarks on the areas with which this custom is associated are made in Joseph Gabler, *Die Tonkunst in der Kirche*, Linz, 1883, p. 170. In church music in Vienna, it



there is no indication in this regard in the autographs of Masses nos. 7 and 8, primary sources show that this use of trombones is certainly authentic for these as well as for nos. 9 and 10.<sup>67</sup> The same practice can reasonably be posited for no. 6, but as no old trombone parts have come down to us, we have decided not to make up the trombone parts in the musical text.

The separate positions of soloists and choir in Salzburg Cathedral with one organ per ensemble is reminiscent of the polychoral tradition.<sup>68</sup> Correspondingly, the parts copies for the soloists and for the first organ, which contained the entire musical text, were marked *concerto* and those of the choir singers *ripieno*. In the *Organo concerto* part, which was identical with the *Battuta* part intended for the conductor (from “battere”, i.e. to beat), the direction *solo* is attached not only to vocal sections, but also to instrumental introductions and interludes. In the solo sections, the *Organo ripieno* has *tacet* until the next *Tutti* entry. If the *Organo concerto* continues in eighth-notes at the transition from *Tutti* to *Solo* sections, the final *Tutti* note value in the *Organo ripieno* can be extended to a quarter-note. Divergences at these transitions are noted in the *Kritischer Bericht*. The *Bassi*, running in unison with the organ bass line (see below), do not have a *Tutti* function and do not have rests during instrumental introductions and interludes or during solo passages; they rest at the same time as the choir bass. If *basso*, *tenore* or *alto* have rests, the lowest remaining vocal part is notated in the organ staff. The original notation, in tenor, alto or soprano clefs, has been transcribed for this edition into bass or treble clefs. Rests in the *Bassi*

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was customary to double only *Alto* and *Tenore* by trombones. Reichert, op. cit., p. 4 (“*More than two trombones are never used*”).

<sup>67</sup> In the meantime, the use of trombones has become contentious. One point is that massive choirs were not yet known in the 18th century, but only small forces. In Salzburg Cathedral, whose choir was amongst the largest in its day, around 28 singers were active. At the same time, these three ranges were not realised, as they are today, using tenor trombones, one of which is equipped with a bass valve, but using instruments of different dimensions; their wider bores and narrower bells produced a substantially more delicate sound than today’s instruments. See on this also K.G Fellerer and Felix Schröder, *Foreword to NMA I/2/2, Vespers and Vesper Psalms*, pp. XI f.

<sup>68</sup> Regarding scoring and positioning, see Leopold Mozart, *Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustand der Musik Sr. Hochfürstlichen Gnaden des Erzbischofs zu Salzburg im Jahr 1757*, in: Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* III, Berlin, 1757, pp. 183ff.

are indicated by the remark “*senza B.*”, their renewed entry with “*con B.*”. – The *tasto solo* occasionally demanded in the organ part is cancelled automatically when the bass figures reappear.

Mozart wrote *Organo* at the beginning of the staff containing *Bassi* and *Organo* (KV 167, 192/186<sup>f</sup>), and in one case wrote *Organo et Violone* (KV 194/186<sup>h</sup>). As the performing material for Salzburg Cathedral Choir contains two parts for the *Bassi*, marked *Violone* and *Fagotto*, and as the Augsburg and Munich sources described here (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*) only have in each case a *Violone* part, it cannot be assumed that the participation of a violoncello was originally intended; it appears at least debatable.

Dynamic markings are missing in the sources at the beginning of movements or sections wherever a *forte* character would have been obvious for contemporary practising musicians. At *tutti* entries and also at instrumental introductions and interludes, an *f* has therefore been made up. On the other hand, the initial dynamic level for solo passages has not indicated editorially. In the course of *forte* sections, Mozart set the marks *fp* or *f* seemingly unnecessarily; they indicate however that the part in question should stand out dynamically above the others. It was decided not to emend these to *ff* or *sf* (cf. KV 167, Credo, measures 127, 128, 169, 170, 188, 189; KV 192/186<sup>f</sup>, Kyrie, measures 24, 58).

Occasionally, the original sources indicate *Tutti* and *Solo* simply with the letters *T.* and *S.* These have been written out and printed in upright letters without typographical differentiation.

It is striking how seldom slurs are set in the vocal parts. While they are always absent in long melismas, they sometimes appear over short groups of notes on one syllable, even within extended melismas. This apparent inconsistency does in fact reflect an intention on the part of the composer, the slurs expressing a wish for a *legatissimo* realisation. We therefore decided against a general making up of such slurs as in the AMA. Slurs have been made up in vocal and instrumental parts only when they are already present in analogous parts in the same or parallel measures. Slurs in vocal parts were adopted in analogous figures in the instrumental parts (but not vice-versa).

Articulation marks in the form of a dash, tending towards a dot when written hurriedly, should not automatically be understood as

staccato. This mark was explained by Leopold Mozart<sup>69</sup> as “*Abstoßen*” [“thrusting off, detaching”] of a tone, but this can have various meanings: 1. accent, 2. true staccato, interpreted today as having only a slight tendency towards an emphasis, 3. the detachment of a tone without producing an accent, i.e. *non legato*. 4. in the organ part, the dash can replace the thorough-bass figure “1”, i.e. *tasto solo* or octaves in the case of orchestral unisono,<sup>70</sup> although it can occasionally mean detaching the tones. In the musical text, the interpretation of the dash as “1” has always been set in square brackets, since this is an editorial decision, even if a double significance, simultaneously “1” and accent, can be ruled out.

The thorough-bass figures in the autographs are usually placed below, but occasionally above, the *Organo* staff. It also sometimes happens that the higher number is written below the lower. Occasional missing figures and prolongation dashes signifying that the chord should continue sounding have been added editorially. Additions are enclosed in square brackets. Erroneous figures have been corrected (without square brackets, but with a remark in the *Kritischer Bericht*). The inconsistent indications of alterations in the old sources has been normalised. Figures are often absent at runs or leaps in the bass involving eighth or sixteenth notes and where auxiliary or passing notes are involved. In these cases, the harmony implied by the first note is to be held.<sup>71</sup>

The text underlay in the autographs is generally not present in all vocal parts in homophonic passages (underlaid often only in *Soprano* and *Basso*). It has been made up tacitly in this edition. Orthography, separation of syllables and punctuation have been brought into line with the text of the Mass given in the *Graduale Romanum* (1957 edition). An emendation of the almost ubiquitous setting of “*eleison*” as three syllables instead of four was rejected for musical reasons.

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<sup>69</sup> *Gründliche Violinschule*, Augsburg, 1787, p. 45.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. on this Hellmut Federhofer, *Striche in der Bedeutung von “tasto solo” oder der Ziffer “1” bei Unisonostellen in Continuostimmen*, in: *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch* [...], Augsburg, 1962, pp. 497ff.

<sup>71</sup> According to Petri, op. cit., p. 226, “*a principal chord is always placed on a strong beat of the measure, and the weak [i.e. the notes on weak beats of the measure] pass by without a chord being placed on them*”.

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Walter Senn      Igls by Innsbruck, August, 1974

Translation: William Buchanan



*Allegro.* *Missa in honorem SS. Trinitatis.* *W. A. Mozart del giugno 1779*

*figura Gauspühl*

*Allegro.* *15.*

Facs. 1: *Missa in C* (“*Missa in honorem SS.<sup>mae</sup> Trinitatis*”) KV 167 = No. 6: folio 1<sup>r</sup> of the autograph once in the former Prussian State Library, Berlin and now in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Music Department, signature: *Mus. ms. autogr. Mozart KV 167*. Cf. page 3, measures 1–6.



*Missa brevis*

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart  
d. Salzburg 28. d. August 1756.

*Allegro*

*Figur*  
*Grundriff*

*No 7.*  
*altes Autogr.*  
*Leutl.*  
*Kon. H. A. Mozart*  
*Lehramt*  
*O. 7. 24. 20.*

*Allegro*

*Parto solo.*

Facs. 2: *Missa brevis in F* KV 192 (186<sup>f</sup>) = No. 7: folio 1<sup>r</sup> of the autograph in the possession of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, signature: *Mus. Hs. 1704 A*. Cf. page 75, measures 1–8.



The image shows a facsimile of a handwritten musical score page. At the top, it is titled "Missa Brevis" and "Kyrie". The date "Salzburg ii 8 August 1777" is written in the upper right corner. The score is for a Kyrie section, starting with the lyrics "Kyrie eleison". The instruments listed on the left are Violini, Flute, Oboe, Alto, Bass, and Cello/Double Bass. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and notes.

Facs. 3: *Missa brevis in D* KV 194 (186<sup>b</sup>) = No. 8: folio 1<sup>r</sup> of the autograph in the possession of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, signature: *Cod. 18975*. Cf. page 121, measures 1–7.



The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the first violin part of the first movement of Mozart's Mass in C, KV 220. The manuscript is written in dark ink on aged paper. At the top, the tempo is marked 'allegro' and the instrument is 'Violino I<sup>mo</sup>'. The name 'Mozart' is written in the upper right corner. The score consists of ten staves of music, each with a treble clef and a common time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as 'p' and 'f'. The handwriting is characteristic of the late 18th century.

Facs. 4: *Missa in C* KV 220 (196<sup>b</sup>) = No. 9: first page of the *Violino I<sup>mo</sup>* part from the manuscript parts material in the possession of the Archive of Salzburg Cathedral Choir (without signature). Cf. pages 163–167.



The image shows a facsimile of a page from the organ part of the manuscript for Mozart's *Missa longa in C* KV 262. The page contains ten staves of handwritten musical notation. The first staff is marked 'tutt' and '4/8'. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as 'for.' and 'tutti'. The bottom two staves show the incipits for 'Kyrie' and 'Gloria'.

Facs. 5: *Missa longa in C* KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>) = No. 10: a page from the *Organo* part from the manuscript parts material in the possession of the Dominican Monastery of the Holy Cross, Augsburg, signature: *H1* + 5. Cf. pages 207–216, measures 44–83. (In the last line of music are incipits for Kyrie and Gloria Leopold Mozart's hand.)

Handwritten musical score for the Tympani part of the Missa longa in C KV 262. The score is written on ten staves. The first section is marked "Allegro" and "Tympani". The second section is marked "Allegro con spirito" and "Gloria". The third section is marked "Andante". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Handwritten annotations include "H+5" in the top left, "Allegro" and "Tympani" at the top, and "Allegro con spirito" and "Gloria" above the second section. The bottom of the page is marked "Andante" and "V.S."

Facs. 6: *Missa longa in C* KV 262 (246<sup>a</sup>) = No. 10: first page of the *Tympani* part written by Mozart himself, in the possession of the Dominican Monastery of the Holy Cross, Augsburg, signature: *Hl + 5*. Cf. pages 197ff. and the *Foreword*.