

# WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

## Series I

### Sacred Vocal Works

WORK GROUP 1: MASSES AND REQUIEM  
SECTION 1: MASSES • VOLUME 5

PRESENTED BY MONIKA HOLL  
WITH THE COLLABORATION OF  
KARL-HEINZ KÖHLER

1983

Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (New Mozart Edition)\*

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

## The Complete Works

BÄRENREITER KASSEL ● BASEL ● LONDON

En coopération avec le Conseil international de la Musique

Editorial Board: Dietrich Berke ● Wolfgang Plath ● Wolfgang Rehm

Agents for

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS: Bärenreiter Ltd. London

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND: Bärenreiter-Verlag Kassel

SWITZERLAND and all other countries not named here: Bärenreiter-Verlag Basel

As a supplement to each volume a Critical Report (Kritischer Bericht) in German is available

The editing of the NMA is supported by

City of Augsburg

City of Salzburg

Administration Land Salzburg

City of Vienna

Konferenz der Akademien der Wissenschaften in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,  
represented by

Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz,

with funds from

Bundesministerium für Forschung und Technologie, Bonn and

Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus

Ministerium für Kultur der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik

Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst, Vienna

---

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

## CONTENTS

Editorial Principles.....	VII
Foreword.....	IX
Facsimile: leaf 1 <sup>r</sup> of the autograph.....	XX
Facsimile: leaf 2 <sup>v</sup> of the autograph.....	XXI
Facsimile: page 4 of the <i>Organo</i> part from the original Salzburg performance material.....	XXII
Facsimile: page 1 of the <i>Trombone 1:<sup>mo</sup></i> part from the original Salzburg performance material.....	XXIII
Facsimile: page 55 of the score copy by Father Matthäus Fischer.....	XXIV
Facsimile: leaf B <sup>r</sup> of the autograph.....	XXV
Facsimile: page 56 of the score copy by Father Matthäus Fischer.....	XXVI
Facsimile: page 131 of the first printed edition.....	XXVII
Facsimile: autograph of the Solfeggio in F KV 393 (385 <sup>b</sup> ), No. 2.....	XXVIII

17. Missa in C minor KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>)

Kyrie.....	3
Gloria	
Gloria in excelsis Deo.....	21
Laudamus te.....	33
Gratias.....	42
Domine.....	45
Qui tollis.....	49
Quoniam.....	63
Jesu Christe.....	73
Cum Sancto Spiritu.....	75
Credo	
Credo in unum Deum.....	100
Et incarnatus est.....	122
Sanctus.....	132
Benedictus.....	148

## Appendix

## I. Drafts, contrapuntal studies, sketches

1. Fragmentary drafts for the " <i>Laudamus te</i> "	
a) for measures 71—87.....	166
b) for measures 123—138.....	167
2. Contrapuntal studies on the " <i>Cum Sancto Spiritu</i> " theme	
a) beginning of a fugue = KV <sup>6</sup> : 417 B, No. 1.....	169
b) studies on a sketch-leaf (privately owned).....	170
c) studies on a sketch-leaf (Central State Archive, Prague).....	170
3. Sketches for a " <i>Dona nobis pacem</i> " (facsimile and transcription).....	171

II. Solfeggio in F KV 393 (385 <sup>b</sup> ), No. 2.....	172
---	-----

## 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: Sacred 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)
- VII: Large Solo Instrument Ensembles (17–18)
- 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, for which the following scheme applies: 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 have been 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 have been 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 and 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

For the Great Mass in C minor KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup> = No. 17), Mozart composed completely the movements Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Benedictus. A sketch of the score for the Credo up to the end of “*Et incarnatus est*” is extant. The remaining sections of the Credo and the Agnus are missing. The work is presented in this edition in the transmitted form as a fragment without any additions.

**Genesis, performance and re-working**

The first sections of this Mass originated almost certainly in the Autumn and Winter months of 1782/83. The biographical context which a letter from Mozart in Vienna to his father in Salzburg on 4 January 1783 provides has often been quoted:

“The moral aspect is indeed part of it; – it was not without intention that it flowed from my pen – I have genuinely made the promise in my heart, and hope that I can really keep it. – My wife was, as I made the promise, still single – but as I was firmly resolved to marry her shortly after her recovery, I could promise it easily – but time and circumstances prevented our journey, as you yourself know; – but as proof of the reality of my promise the score of half of a Mass can serve, still lying there in the best of hopes. –”<sup>1</sup>

No mass other than the C minor KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>) can be meant here.

What exactly Mozart meant with his “promise” cannot be established: the relevant letter to which Mozart refers has not come down to us.<sup>2</sup> Yet a connection obviously exists with his wife and also with the couple’s promised and repeatedly postponed journey to his father in Salzburg.

Mozart’s statements lend the composition a kind of votive character, and the work certainly originated from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *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. 1971), Bauer–Deutsch III, pp. 247f., No. 719, lines 10ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eibl VI, p. 126, on No. 719, lines 10ff.

deep religious feelings during the early period together with Constanze, but the work was conceived without any regard for ecclesiastical limitations. As a large-scale cantata mass with alternation between monumental choruses and intimately felt or brilliantly bravura sections for solo or solo ensemble voices, the composition is the result of Mozart’s concern for himself with works in the Baroque tradition, the oratorios of George Frederick Handel and the fugal compositions of Johann Sebastian Bach,<sup>3</sup> with which he had become acquainted during the musical matinees in the circle associated with Baron Gottfried van Swieten in Vienna.<sup>4</sup> The conception of the completed sections suggests that a complete setting of the mass text in the same dimensions would have rendered a performance within a church service almost impossible. As an example, Mozart’s Gloria matches the length of that in Bach’s B minor Mass to within a few measures and is thus more than twice as long as Joseph Haydn’s most extensive Gloria settings in the Creation and the Harmony Mass. The first two sections of the Credo set by Mozart show that this part of the Mass was intended to have similarly grand dimensions.

How far the composition of this Mass had progressed by the time the Mozarts finally started on their journey to Salzburg in July 1783 cannot be determined exactly. It is probable that Mozart brought the pages of the score up to the end of the “*Et incarnatus est*” to Salzburg. The Sanctus and Benedictus, for which no complete autograph is extant, could have been written after reaching Salzburg or were completed there from sketches made in Vienna. Mozart certainly continued working on the Mass in Salzburg and proceeded far enough with the work to make it performable (on this, see the section *The Sources* below).

Regarding the Mozarts’ presence in Salzburg – the couple were there from 29 July until 27 October – we are left almost entirely without documentary evidence apart from a few somewhat peremptory entries by his sister Maria Anna (Nannerl) in her diary. We do however learn from these entries that Mozart was busy preparing the performance of the mass he had written,

<sup>3</sup> For literature on different influences from compositions in the Baroque tradition, cf. Otto Schneider–Anton Algtzy, *Mozart-Handbuch. Chronik–Werk–Bibliographie*, Vienna, 1962, pp. 90f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bauer–Deutsch III, p. 201, No. 667, lines 45f.

for Nannerl was “*on the 23rd [October ...] in the Court music school at the rehearsal of the mass, my brother’s. At which my sister-in-law is singing the solo*”.<sup>5</sup> The 23 October was in 1783 a Thursday. For the following Sunday, 26 October,<sup>6</sup> Nannerl recorded: “*to St. Peter’s to the Office, my brother’s Office was performed. The entire Court music was there*.”<sup>7</sup> Whether the sung “*Office*” was really the Mass in C minor KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>) cannot be said with certainty. There is no further evidence through which the mass performed could be unambiguously identified. There is only a vague mention by Constanze Mozart a few years later, on 31 May 1800, in a letter to the publisher Johann Anton André in Offenbach: “*As far as the Mass for Davide penitente is concerned, where it was written or performed, one would have to ask in Salzburg*”;<sup>8</sup> but when André followed this up by asking Mozart’s sister, she could of course not remember anything of the kind, because she knew nothing of the later re-working of the Mass into the cantata in question.<sup>9</sup>

A performance of the completed sections of the C minor Mass was at any rate planned. This is proved by a set of parts by a Salzburg copyist, of which three trombone parts and the organ part – the latter showing autograph corrections in Mozart’s hand – are preserved in Augsburg (see the section *The Sources* below). These parts contain no Credo and no Agnus Dei. Whether Mozart wished to supply the two missing movements from earlier masses or whether he considered possibly leaving the Credo out altogether has to be left unanswered (see below).

The Mozarts certainly had reasons for choosing the church of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter, where Leopold Mozart kept up the most varied connections, for the performance. The monastery was not subject to the Archbishop of Salzburg, and it was thus possible for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart to be active for once outside his employer’s sphere of control. In St. Peter’s, the Feast of St. Amand, bishop of Maastricht and second patron of the monastery, is celebrated on 26 October. The day is marked by particular solemnity

with, for example, a special rite for the Office<sup>10</sup> and a solemn mass, usually celebrated by the abbot himself. The feast could have been of importance for a performance of the C minor Mass on this day because the Credo of the Mass is usually omitted.<sup>11</sup> This does not as a rule apply, however, when the feast days falls on a Sunday, as was the case in 1783. Whether or not the Credo was omitted on this Sunday must be left open to conjecture. For Mozart, who would certainly have known the customs associated with saints’ days, the omission of the Credo would have been an elegant opportunity to conceal to some extent the unfinished state of his composition. It is at least possible that this circumstance played a role in Mozart’s decision to perform his Mass on precisely this day. Unfortunately, the abbot of the monastery at this time, Beda Seeauer, made no entry regarding the music performed in church on 26 October in his diary notes for 1783.<sup>12</sup> The diary of the custodian of the priory<sup>13</sup> and the incomplete series of sacristy diaries<sup>14</sup> likewise furnish no information about the music on this day.

<sup>10</sup> Stiftsarchiv St. Peter, *Hs. A 177*: Ordo temporum ac festorum qualiter ea in Monasterio nostro S. Petri huiusque peracta, et deinceps peragenda sint, ex scriptis tum propriis tum p[er] m[anum] R. P. Gabrielis collectus Pro maiori securitate, in Tesseram confraternae Dilectionis conscriptus ac Communi Recreationis loco destinatus a P[at]re M[ariano] K[aserer] 1779, pp. 200f.:

“26 Octobris. In festo translationis S. Amandi. Applicatio in die feriali est libera. Hora 7<sup>ma</sup> Officium 1<sup>mum</sup> est ad Altare S. Amandi. Officium solenne, ad Cuius Offertorium post Incensationem Oblatorum et Crucifixi incensatur Corpus S. Amandi, nisi ibidem legatur [officium] Missae, Cantatur a Rd<sup>mo</sup> DD. Abbate. Ad Vesperas rursus incensatur Corpus S. Amandi. Vesperas immedia te sequuntur Lytaniae ad S. Vitalem.

Si hoc festum S. Amandi incidat in Dominicam menstruam 7 horarum, primum officium cantatur hora 7<sup>ma</sup> ad Altare S. Scapularis pro 2<sup>da</sup> [oratione] Oratio de V[enera]b[i]li sub una Clausula, et tam ad Officium solenne quam ad Vesperas 2<sup>das</sup> omittitur Incensatio Corporis S. Amandi. Post Processionem et dictas consuetas Orationes in summo Altari datur Benedictio cum Cantu, et statim portatur SS<sup>mum</sup> ad Altare S. Vitalis, dataque Benedictione sine Cantu, ac facta postmodum incensatione inchoantur Lytaniae ut supra & Benedictiones post Lytanas pariter sine cantu dantur.”

<sup>11</sup> We thank Dr. Josef-Horst Lederer, Graz, who first pointed this circumstance out to us.

<sup>12</sup> Stiftsarchiv St. Peter, *Hs. A 67*.

<sup>13</sup> Stiftsarchiv St. Peter, *Hs. A 124*.

<sup>14</sup> Stiftsarchiv St. Peter, *Hs. A 166*.

<sup>5</sup> Bauer–Deutsch III, p. 290, No. 765, lines 181f.

<sup>6</sup> Maria Anna (Nannerl) noted erroneously in her diary “25th [October]”.

<sup>7</sup> Bauer–Deutsch III, p. 290, No. 765, lines 194f.

<sup>8</sup> Bauer–Deutsch IV, p. 356, No. 1299, lines 154f.

<sup>9</sup> Bauer–Deutsch IV, p. 377, No. 1317, lines 28ff.

Beside the Mozart family, the church ensemble of St. Peter's would have been involved in the performance. This consisted of around ten singers (boys and men) and approximately the same number again of instrumentalists.<sup>15</sup> They were joined in addition, as Nannerl recorded, by “*the entire Court music*”, effectively a number of friends of the Mozarts who reinforced the modest St. Peter's ensemble. For trombones and bassoons, which were not in use in St. Peter's,<sup>16</sup> Mozart was dependent on the Stadtturmer (city waits) and Court musicians. Perhaps the boys of the Kapellhaus (Court music school) took part, as far as their obligations at the same time in the cathedral permitted. The soprano solos were sung, as Nannerl wrote, by Mozart's wife Constanze. If one assumes that it really was the Mass KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>) that was performed, it was also possible that one of the two Court castrato sopranos, Francesco Ceccarelli<sup>17</sup> or Michelangelo Bologna<sup>18</sup> took the second soprano part; the tenor solo could have been sung by Giuseppe Tomaselli<sup>19</sup>. All three were close friends of the Mozart family, whose home they frequented almost daily.<sup>20</sup>

Mozart re-worked parts of the Mass in 1785 to form the cantata *Davidde penitente* KV 469 (= NMA I/4/3), whose Italian text was probably by Lorenzo da Ponte. To the Kyrie and Gloria, Mozart underlaid the Italian text, which had been written to fit the music, and filled the work out with an aria for soprano and tenor as well as a solo cadenza at the end of the re-texted “*Cum Sancto Spiritu*” fugue (= closing chorus of the cantata). *Davidde penitente* was performed in a concert under the auspices of the Wiener Tonkünstler-Societät (Vienna Musicians' Society) on 13 March 1785 in the Burgtheater, Vienna and was repeated on 15 March.

<sup>15</sup> Stiftsarchiv St. Peter, *Hs. A 311*: Catalogus musicorum S. Petri.

<sup>16</sup> Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Mozart und die Salzburger Tradition*, (= *Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte* 24), Tutzing, 1976, p. 253.

<sup>17</sup> 1752–1824, Court soprano from 1777; quoted from Ernst Hintermaier, *Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806. Organisation und Personal*, Phil. Diss., Salzburg, 1972 (type-written), pp. 59ff.

<sup>18</sup> Dates not known, in service in Salzburg from 1 July 1782 – 31st October 1783; quoted from Hintermaier, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>19</sup> 1758–1836, Court tenor 1781–1806; quoted from Hintermaier, op. cit., p. 434.

<sup>20</sup> Bauer–Deutsch III, pp. 284–291, No. 765: Diary of Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart.

In the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, various attempts were undertaken to make up the fragmentary Mass to a full setting, or at least to provide instrumentation for the unfinished or only sketched sections so as to enable a performance. The first version of a comprehensive completion, intended for a performance in St. Stephan's Cathedral in Vienna on St. Leopold's day, 15 November 1847, was provided by the Vienna Music Director Joseph Drechsler. It was left unpublished, the performance material is lost. The only record is the announcement and the review of the performance in the *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung*.<sup>21</sup> Another complete version was produced by Alois Schmitt in 1901 (in collaboration with Ernst Lewicki);<sup>22</sup> its first performance was on 3 April 1901 in the Lutherkirche in Dresden, it was printed,<sup>23</sup> was heard in numerous subsequent performances and thus made Mozart's work known for the first time to a broad audience. The *Agnus Dei* was formed by Schmitt after the *Kyrie* of the Mass, the missing parts of the *Credo* were made up with music from other works of Mozart's for the church (from the Masses KV 139/114<sup>a</sup> = KV<sup>3a</sup>: 47<sup>a</sup> and KV 262/246<sup>a</sup>, the two fragmentary *Kyrie* movements KV 322/296<sup>a</sup> and KV Appendix 15/323 as well as the Mass KV 337), while the “*Crucifixus*” made use of music from KV Appendix 21 (93<sup>c</sup>), which was later identified as a composition by the Salzburger Ernst Eberlin<sup>24</sup> and therefore placed in Appendix A (2/3) of the Köchel Catalogue (1964). Another completion was attempted by H. C. Robbins Landon in 1956.<sup>25</sup> Landon's additions were essentially confined to a cautious instrumentation of the unfinished *Credo* sections and to the working-out of a double-choir version of the *Sanctus* and the double-fugue of the “*Hosanna in excelsis*”, as had already been suggested by Schmitt (see the section *Concerning this Edition* below).

<sup>21</sup> Year 7, No. 129 of 28 October 1847, and No. 139 of 20 November 1847; cf. on this: Alfred Schnerich, *Messe und Requiem seit Haydn und Mozart*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1909, p. 52, footnote, and Alexander Weinmann, *Ein ins Leere gehender Fundbericht*, in: *Mozartgemeinde Wien. Wiener Figaro* 46 (December 1979), pp. 30–33.

<sup>22</sup> Ernst Lewicki, *Die Vervollständigung von Mozarts großer C-Moll-Messe durch Alois Schmitt in ihrem Werdegang nach authentischen Quellen dargestellt*, in: *Die Musik* 5 (1905/06), Issue 7, pp. 3–12; Issue 9, pp. 168–175.

<sup>23</sup> Leipzig, 1901.

<sup>24</sup> Karl Pfannhauser, *Mozart hat kopiert!*, in: *Acta Mozartiana* 1 (1954), Issue 2–3.

<sup>25</sup> London–Zurich etc., 1956.

\*

## The Sources

The edition is based on the following sources:

1. The autograph: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin<sup>26</sup>
2. Four parts (Trombone I–III, Organo), without Credo, but with Sanctus and Benedictus, from the original Salzburg performance material: Dominican monastery, formerly monastery of the Augustinian canons, Heilig Kreuz (Holy Cross) in Augsburg (today kept in the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg)
3. A score copy after Mozart's autograph (without Sanctus and Benedictus), made in 1827 as the basis for a printed version by the publishing house André. Today in the André Archive in Offenbach.
4. A score copy (without Credo, but with Sanctus and Benedictus) by Pater Matthäus Fischer (1763–1840), choir director at the monastery Heilig Kreuz in Augsburg; probably made between 1827 and 1840 for Johann Anton André in Offenbach on the basis of the complete original performance material from Salzburg still available at that time in the monastery Heilig Kreuz. Today in the music collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna
5. The first printed edition, published in 1840 by André in Offenbach, publisher's number 6318, with an introductory report by Johann Anton André (the copy used is in the music collection of the Bavarian State Library in Munich).

### Source 1

The manuscript is in good condition. It amounts to 73 leaves and is dated 1783 in Mozart's hand on the top right of leaf 1<sup>r</sup>. The completed sections extend from leaves 1 to 47, marked by Mozart as *No 1–8*, while the folios are numbered 1–47, again in his hand. After folio 47 follows a blank leaf, marked in pencil in an unknown hand as 47<sup>a</sup>. (The pencilled folio numbers continue from folio 49 to folio 63.) Folio 48 is the last to be numbered in ink by Mozart and is headed *No 9*

<sup>26</sup> Facsimile edition of the autograph score: Leipzig, 1982 (Karl-Heinz Köhler); Kassel etc., 1983 (= *Documenta Musicologica. Zweite Reihe: Handschriften-facsimiles*, vol. 9; Karl-Heinz Köhler and Monika Holl).

and *Credo*. The work on the sections “*Credo in unum Deum*” and “*Et incarnatus est*” extends as far as folio 63<sup>v</sup>. In the first sections of the Credo, only as much was completed as was absolutely necessary for the first phase of work according to Mozart's principles of composition. Blank staves were left for later orchestration. The typical visual effect of this “double” writing-out with different ink colours is clearly recognisable in the Kyrie and Gloria. In the Credo, however, the second phase of composition was not carried out.

For all sections of the composition, twelve-staff ruled paper was used, but the twelve staves were not always required (four staves were left blank in the “*Laudamus te*”, three in the “*Quoniam*” and two in the “*Et incarnatus est*”), while in other sections the twelve were insufficient, making additional wind scores necessary. Four leaves with wind parts subsequently written by Mozart on ten-staff paper are inserted in the manuscript (Fagotto I, II for the *Gloria*; Oboe I, II, Fagotto I, II, Corno I, II in G and Trombone I–III for the “*Qui tollis*”; Fagotto I, II for the “*Jesu Christe*” and “*Cum Sancto Spiritu*”).

The five last leaves of the autograph were marked by Mozart with the letters A to E and contain, likewise on ten-staff paper, a score of all wind parts and the timpani for the Sanctus. The autograph scores for strings, chorus and bass instruments for the Sanctus and entire Benedictus are missing. On the last autograph folio, folio E, there is a remark in the hand of Georg Nikolaus Nissen on the recto page: “*Fragment of the end of a whole, perhaps for an old opera or theatrical serenade*”. This remark was crossed out by Johann Anton André, who set below it the following assertion: “*Conclusion of the Sanctus of the C minor Mass of 1783*”. From both comments and from André's gloss at the beginning of the Sanctus on leaf A<sup>r</sup>, “*from the Missa C minor of 1783*”, it can be deduced that the leaves were not kept with the rest of the manuscript after Mozart's death and were only later identified as belonging to the Mass. They were no doubt separated in connection with Mozart's re-working of the Mass for the cantata *Davidde penitente*, for which he did not, obviously, use the Sanctus. Four autograph glosses in the manuscript refer to the re-working as a cantata, for which Mozart apparently wrote no independent score: these are on leaf 3<sup>v</sup> (“*Christe eleison*”): “*NB this solo is for the first female singer.*”, on leaf 11<sup>r</sup> (“*Laudamus te*”): “*NB this is sung by the second female singer.*”, on



leaf 22<sup>v</sup> (before “*Qui tollis*”): “NB here a tenor aria can come before this chorus.” and on leaf 27<sup>v</sup> (end of the “*Qui tollis*”): “NB after this chorus a bravura aria for soprano can come. – for the First Lady.” On leaf 1<sup>r</sup> of the manuscript, Franz Gleißner, who helped after 1800 in looking through and putting into order the material left by Mozart and bought by André, noted in red ink: “was re-worked as *Davide paenitente*”.

The transmission of the autograph following the death of Johann Anton André can be outlined here: after the settlement of André’s will in 1842, the manuscript passed by so far unexplained channels to the Berlin autograph collector Friedrich August Grasnick. After his death, an unidentifiable “*Frau Professor Vadke*” completed in 1879 a transaction with the Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin involving, amongst other things, the Grasnick legacy with its 28 Mozart manuscripts.<sup>27</sup> On 7 January 1879 the autograph was registered in the music department of the same library and remained in the Cimelia collection in this music archive. During WW II, it was transferred for safety out of Berlin with the rest of the archive and reached Książ Castle (Fürstenstein) between 27 October and 5 November 1941, probably moving, as a result of developments in the war, at the end of 1944 with the particularly valued items in the former Prussian State Library to the Benedictine abbey of Krzeszów (Grüssau) in Middle Silesia, today in Poland.<sup>28</sup> At the end of the war the autograph passed, as part of the Polish government’s “Action for the protection of cultural goods”, to the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków. On 28 May 1977 it was handed over to the government of the German Democratic Republic along with five other original manuscripts by Mozart, Bach and Beethoven and on 1 June 1977 once again placed in the keeping of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.<sup>29</sup>

Regarding the dimensions of the autograph, various data have appeared in the literature and given rise to the view that the manuscript had been more complete after Mozart’s death and had contained the whole Sanctus or even the Benedictus – after all, André had published the work complete with these movements (an attempt will

be made below to explain how this could be possible) –, a view that can be refuted by a close examination of all the transmitted autographs:

In the first edition of his catalogue in 1862, Köchel specified the size of the manuscript as “79 leaves with 147 written pages”. Köchel was probably referring to a commented copy of the printed catalogue of the Mozart manuscripts in the possession of André published in 1841.<sup>30</sup> This special copy<sup>31</sup> was later provided with hand-written comments by Heinrich Henkel,<sup>32</sup> the young assistant to the already almost blind Johann Anton André. These included Henkel’s figures on the dimensions of the manuscripts. For the C minor Mass he wrote “39½ sheets with 147 written pages” (= 79 leaves). For his edition in the supplementary volumes of the first Mozart Complete Edition (AMA),<sup>33</sup> Philipp Spitta found the manuscript, now in the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin, to have only “71 written folios in oblong format”.<sup>34</sup> In a concluding remark to this statement, however, Spitta already provides half an explanation for the differing figures in his statement that the whole bound manuscript consists, “if one chooses to include a cadenza additionally composed for the oratorio ‘*Davide penitente*’, of 73” leaves. That means that the solo cadenza written later for the cantata *Davide penitente*<sup>35</sup> on two bifolios (4 written, 4 unwritten pages) was kept with the manuscript and had been counted by both Henkel and Köchel. The cadenza was therefore not mentioned in its own right in any of the catalogues. The second edition of the Köchel Catalogue in 1905 gives the total size of the manuscript as 73 written pages (or 77 with the cadenza).<sup>36</sup> There are still

<sup>30</sup> *Thematisches Verzeichnis derjenigen Originalhandschriften von W. A. Mozart, welche Hofrath André in Offenbach a. M. besitzt*, Offenbach, 1841, pp. 8f.

<sup>31</sup> In the possession of the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt on Main.

<sup>32</sup> Wolfgang Plath, *Mozartiana in Fulda und Frankfurt (Neues zu Heinrich Henkel und seinem Nachlaß)*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1968/70*, Salzburg, 1970, p. 335.

<sup>33</sup> Series XXIV, Supplement No. 29, Leipzig, 1882.

<sup>34</sup> *Revisionsbericht*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 57.

<sup>35</sup> The manuscript belongs to those possessions of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin which are today kept in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków.

<sup>36</sup> “In the possession of the Königl. Bibliothek in Berlin, consisting of 73 written leaves in oblong format or, if one wishes to count the additionally composed cadence for the oratorio ‘*Davide penitente*’, of 77 leaves.” (The unwritten pages are included in this count.)

<sup>27</sup> Karl-Heinz Köhler, *Die Erwerbung der Mozart-Autographe der Berliner Staatsbibliothek – Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Nachlasses*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1962/63*, Salzburg, 1964, p. 64.

<sup>28</sup> *Festschrift. 300 Jahre Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Berlin*, 1961, p. 266.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. daily press in the GDR, 28 May – 1 June 1977.

two leaves to account for which had disappeared since Henkel's count. KV<sup>2</sup> mentions for the first time, however, a further autograph for the Mass: "*Part of the Laudamus in the Veste Coburg from the possessions of Duke Ernst*".<sup>37</sup> This manuscript in the art collection of the Veste (fortress) consists of a double leaf (4 written pages) on which Mozart notated a first sketch of measures 71 to 87 and 123 to 138 of the "*Laudamus te*" (see also below and Appendix I/1, pp. 166ff.). This manuscript was previously part of the André collection, as the visible number "210"<sup>38</sup> and the remark in André's hand, "*For the Laudamus of the great C minor Mass of 1783*" clearly prove. The double leaf could only have been acquired from André's estate and was included with the other parts of the autograph at the time of Henkel's count.

All leaves counted together give precisely the size noted by Henkel. Here is the information again in summary:

Autograph:	139 written, <sup>39</sup>	7 blank pages
(Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Berlin)		
Cadenza:	4 written,	4 blank pages
(Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków)		
" <i>Laudamus te</i> " sketch:	4 written,	0 blank pages
(Veste Coburg)		
Sub-totals:	147 written,	11 blank pages

The total is therefore 158 pages = 79 leaves = 39½ sheets.

Mozart notated the Mass on twelve- and ten-staff paper (see above). The last nine leaves of ten-staff paper with the wind parts for the Gloria and the extant partial score for the Sanctus point to an origin of these sections in

Salzburg, since twelve-staff paper was not obtainable there,<sup>40</sup> forcing Mozart to make do with what he could get. The twelve-staff paper Mozart used in the rest of the manuscript is of three sorts. Examination of the paper and comparison with the paper of manuscripts of the same period, as carried out by Alan Tyson, could perhaps reveal further information for a precise dating. It is at any rate clear that the first movement of the Gloria is notated on the same paper as the beginning of the Horn Concerto KV 417, which Mozart dated as "27 May 1783".<sup>41</sup> The identification of the paper sorts also explains why the sketch for the "*Laudamus te*" referred to above contains two such widely separated passages from this composition. The double leaf had originally provided leaves 1 and 4 in a gathering of two bifolios of the same paper sort as that on which Mozart had notated the first sketch for this composition. When he later felt dissatisfied with the vocal lines in the sketch and wanted to change measures 130 to 136, he took the whole double leaf out of the score in order to avoid cutting and having to glue in a single leaf, although there were no changes to the composition on leaf 1 of the gathering. The new double leaf on which he wrote and which is included in the gathering belongs to another paper sort, one which Mozart first used for the following Gloria movements.<sup>42</sup>

It is also important to mention two further sketches, amounting to a few measures, for a "*Dona nobis pacem*" in C major (see Appendix I/3, p. 171) at the end of Mozart's extensive sketch for KV 422, *L'oca del Cairo* (NMA II/5/13).<sup>43</sup> Mozart started setting this opera on a text by the Salzburger abbé Giambattista Varesco during his stay in Salzburg. The sketch is without doubt connected with the composition of KV 427 (417<sup>a</sup>) and proves once more that Mozart was thinking of and working on a completion of the Mass.

<sup>37</sup> Ernst II., Duke of Saxony-Coburg and Gotha, 1818–1899, ruled from 1844, a great friend of the arts and sciences and owner of an extensive collection of autographs; he also attempted poetry and composition.

<sup>38</sup> André drew up in his own hand in 1833 a catalogue of all Mozart manuscripts in his possession. The catalogue itself is no longer extant, but a copy in the British Library, London lists the Mass under the number "210" (emended from "110").

<sup>39</sup> For the purposes of this count, leaf 7<sup>v</sup> with a crossed out single measure of a sketch for the "*Gratias*" has been included.

<sup>40</sup> Mozart had for example to send to Salzburg, where he wanted to have his opera *The Abduction from the Seraglio* copied, "5 books of 12 lined paper"; Bauer–Deutsch III, p. 237, No. 700, lines 50f.

<sup>41</sup> Information communicated by Dr. Alan Tyson, London.

<sup>42</sup> Information communicated by Dr. Alan Tyson, London.

<sup>43</sup> Autograph in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz; cf. also Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Neue Quellen zu Werken Mozarts*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1956*, Salzburg, 1957, p. 44, and the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available in German only] (Hellmut Federhofer) for NMA VIII/22/Section 1, pp. 52f.

Closely associated with the Mass is also the *Solfeggio* No. 2 from KV 393 (385<sup>b</sup>; see Appendix II, p. 172).<sup>44</sup> The melody of this vocal exercise, supposedly written for Constanze in August 1782, recurs, slightly transformed, in the soprano solo in the “*Christe eleison*” – a further indication of the participation of Constanze Mozart in the performance of the work.

Of the “*sketches and fragments*” listed in KV<sup>6</sup> (pp. 449f.) as “*probably belonging to the C minor Mass 417<sup>a</sup> (427)*” as 417 B, only the first number (see Appendix I/2a, p. 169),<sup>45</sup> in which the fugue subject of the “*Cum Sancto Spiritu*” briefly appears, can be associated with the Mass. The other numbers can be ruled out either because they are either of a substantially earlier date (Nos. 2–4) or in some cases because they are without text and cannot securely be shown to belong to the C minor Mass. (KV 417 B / Nos. 2–6 have been included in NMA X/30/2–4: *Other Studies, Sketches, Fragments, Varia.*) In a sense as substitutes for KV 417 B / Nos. 2–6, two further sketches sheets of Mozart’s have come to light (privately owned and State Central Archive in Prague respectively). Amongst the numerous separate jottings in these sketches there are some counterpoint studies on the “*Cum Sancto Spiritu*” subject; from the voluminous contents, only those passages have been taken which are immediately connected with this subject (see Appendix I/2b and 2c, p. 170). The studies on the leaf in private ownership date from an earlier period in Mozart’s occupation with the subject. The sketches on the leaf in Prague show a later phase in this development in which the counterpoint is broken up syllabically.

#### Source 2

<sup>44</sup> The autograph (1 leaf with one written page) was auctioned in 1972; cf. *Katalog 599 J. A. Stargardt. Autographen aus allen Gebieten*, Marburg, 1972, pp. 178f., No. 711 (with facsimile).

<sup>45</sup> Autograph (1 leaf with one written page): Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Berlin. The leaf is bound together with further single autograph leaves on which sketches and studies, in each case from different periods, are notated. On one of these leaves, the same subject appears again as the cantus firmus in two further, short counterpoint exercises. The corresponding leaf can however at the earliest be dated to 1786/87 and therefore does not concern us here (Cf. also the *Kritischer Bericht* and NMA X/30/2–4.)

Of the set of parts, almost certainly originally received complete, in Augsburg (see *Source 4* below), today only the organ parts and the parts for the three trombones have been preserved. This is probably because these four parts were not used in the monastery Holy Cross and were therefore separated. They are in fact not notated in C minor but in B<sup>b</sup> minor, the parts being intended for instruments constructed for the higher "choir" pitch. These parts were transposed for the Salzburg performance, no doubt at Mozart’s request, because it took place at the lower "chamber" pitch. There has been much speculation about Mozart’s reasons for doing this. One reason may have been Mozart’s being considerate to the other wind instruments involved, which were tuned to "chamber" pitch. The most plausible explanation is however probably the conjecture voiced by Wolfgang Plath<sup>46</sup> that the soprano Constanze Mozart had technical problems with the exposed top notes in her solo part.

The organ part, in the hand of the Salzburg copyist Joseph Richard Estlinger,<sup>47</sup> was transposed *ad hoc* from Mozart’s C minor autograph to B<sup>b</sup> minor. In the course of the work, the copyist erred repeatedly in the numerous accidentals which had to be changed in the thorough-bass figures ( $\#$  to  $\flat$ ,  $\flat$  to  $\flat$ ), errors which were corrected by Mozart with his own hand (see the facsimile on p. XXII). From measure 33 of the Sanctus, no more figures are present in the part. As the copy was made from Mozart’s autograph, one could assume that Mozart completed his composition in haste – perhaps just before the performance – and therefore had not written the figures out.

The parts for the three trombones are in the hand of Felix Hofstätter.<sup>48</sup> Both copyists were Court musicians

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Arthur Mendel, *Pitch in Western Music since 1500. A Re-examination*, in: *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978), Fasc. I/II, p. 34, footnote 21.

<sup>47</sup> Hintermaier, op. cit., pp. 91ff.; according to Walter Senn, *Die Mozart-Überlieferung in Stift Heilig Kreuz zu Augsburg*, in: *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch (= Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben 62/63)*, Augsburg, 1962, p. 368: copyist B.

<sup>48</sup> Hintermaier, op. cit., pp. 182ff.: in Senn, op. cit., p. 368, erroneously described as Copyist H. Comparisons with the index of scribes in: Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Die Musikaliensammlung der Erzabtei St. Peter in Salzburg. Katalog. Erster Teil. Leopold und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Joseph und Michael Haydn*, Salzburg, 1970 (copy in the Musicological Institute of Salzburg University) revealed

in Salzburg and often made copies privately for the Mozarts.

The entire material for the Salzburg performance was left with his father after Mozart's departure from Salzburg and, together with other copies, reached the Augustinian monastery Holy Cross in Augsburg<sup>49</sup> from Leopold Mozart's estate via Mozart's sister Maria Anna. Here most of the parts must have been lost.

### Source 3

The score copy from the publishing house André follows the Mozart autograph very exactly. Even the marginal glosses referring to the re-working for *Davidde penitente* were taken over faithfully. This copy, which contains neither Sanctus nor Benedictus, ends after the "*Et incarnatus est*" of the Credo with the final date *23 Febr: 1827*. This is again proof that Johann Anton André possessed nothing more of this Mass in Mozart's hand than what is extant today, for any further complete sections would have had to follow at this point, and the date could have been written when they were finished. This copy served as the basis for engraving the first edition and was therefore revised later, displaying cuts and changes in the phrasing and in the text of the vocal parts, directions for the engraver in black and red ink, a provisional division into pages in pencil and also the engraver's final division into pages in red crayon.

### Source 4

The score copy made by Pater Matthäus Fischer was probably a commission for Johann Anton André. On one of his journeys, André, who made systematic efforts to complete his Mozart collection,<sup>50</sup> obviously discovered the set of parts in the Augustinian monastery Holy Cross in Augsburg<sup>51</sup> and asked their choir director, Fischer, for a copy. The manuscript was at any rate in André's possession, passed after his death to André's collaborator mentioned above, Heinrich

---

however the identity of Senn's Copyists C and H with Scribe 31 from St. Peter's, whom Hintermaier (see above) showed to be Felix Hofstätter (cf. also the facsimile on p. XXIII).

<sup>49</sup> Senn, op. cit., p. 354.

<sup>50</sup> Plath, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>51</sup> André writes in his introductory report for the first edition of the Mass "*that Mozart [...] also left a copy of it to a monastery in Bavaria, where I discovered the same and have compared it with the original manuscript in my possession.*"

Henkel,<sup>52</sup> and came from his estate along back-paths to the Austrian National Library in Vienna.<sup>53</sup>

The existence of Fischer's score proves that at this time all parts for Mozart's Mass were present in Holy Cross. It is also clear from Fischer's copy that he had put the score together from the individual parts, for he repeatedly omits measures in part or another or writes them twice, correcting himself afterwards. Although the visual impression of Fischer's writing is one of haste, the copy is however very precise. The organ and trombone parts are notated with the same facility as the other sections and the thorough-bass figures are error-free, so that one has to conclude that Fischer also copied these parts directly from originals in C minor. This in turn would mean that the parts material in Augsburg must have included organ and trombone parts in C minor. These could possibly have been already included with the Salzburg parts (implying that Mozart's decision to perform the work at the lower pitch must have been made at the last minute, at which point he would have commissioned additional transposed parts for these instruments), or else someone in Augsburg had wanted a uniform set of parts and wrote out new parts in C minor for organ and trombones.

Fischer's score copy of the Mass was without doubt an important source for André's planned edition, and was probably even the only basis available for the printed versions of the parts missing from Sanctus and Benedictus in the autograph. Here an error in the first printed edition should be mentioned, a direct result of Fischer's notation: in the bassoon parts of the "Sanctus" setting, measures 13 to 15, Fischer indicated the parallel motion of the bassoons in octaves in measure 13 and measure 15 using the abbreviation  $8^a$  below the melodic line of the first bassoon. A very fine vertical dash in measure 14 of Fischer's score, showing the continuation of the parallel octaves, was not seen by the publishers André or was interpreted wrongly (although they had the autographs, including the separate score containing the bassoon, at their disposal!), with the consequence that in the first printed edition the second bassoon was indeed notated at the octave in measure 13 and measure 15, but had rests in measure 14 (see the facsimiles on pp. XXV–XXVII).

---

<sup>52</sup> On the manuscript, besides Fischer's original title, a remark in Henkel's hand and his signature are visible.

<sup>53</sup> Plath, op. cit., p. 344.

In Matthäus Fischer's score it is also noticeable that no trombones or timpani are notated in the "*Hosanna in excelsis*" fugue, and that the horns and trumpets are missing from measure 35 of the Sanctus onwards. Fischer must apparently have been informed precisely by André about the autograph parts for the Mass already in Offenbach and have known of Mozart's wind score for the Sanctus.

### The Edition

1. Use of trombones, in particular of a descant trombone in the Kyrie: In his autograph, Mozart did not notate the trombones for the Kyrie on their own staves, indicating instead their entries or rests by corresponding directions in the vocal parts. There are in fact two such directions in the choral soprano part, once in measure 6, where this part has its first entry, *tro:* and then in measure 27 *Senz: trom:* (see the facsimiles on pp. XXf.). All of Mozart's remarks regarding the use of trombones in the Kyrie were entered at a later point, as can be seen in several places from the positioning of the remark in question or from its being written on top of already existing remarks. It is possible that Mozart carried out this part of the work more or less mechanically and paid little attention to how often and in which parts he wrote the directions. The two directions in the choral soprano part could therefore be an error, for he gave no more directions of this kind in the choral soprano part in the remaining course of the composition. The use of a descant trombone, seldom called for and known in only a few locations, is therefore very unlikely.

It is well-known that three trombones were normally used in church music in Salzburg, playing as a rule *colla parte* with choral alto, tenor and bass. The three extant trombone parts for Salzburg are marked, in keeping with this tradition, *Trombone 1:<sup>mo</sup>* for the alto part, *Trombone 2:<sup>do</sup>* for the tenor part and *Trombone 3:<sup>tio</sup>* for the bass. – It was also standard practice at that time for trombones to join in at *forte* passages. It is therefore not necessary for Mozart to indicate explicitly the inclusion of trombones in the *tutti* movements "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*", "*Gratias*" and "*Jesu Christe*". In the "*Jesu Christe*" immediately after the "*Cum Sancto Spiritu*" fugue, however, the final note for the three trombones is clearly marked in the first quarter of measure 53 (cf. p. 80) in the choral parts alto, tenor and bass, followed by the direction *senza trom:* (in the further course of the movement Mozart then marks the

alternation "*con Tromboni*" – "*senza Tromboni*" quite precisely), so that for the "*Jesu Christe*" and the beginning of the "*Cum Sancto Spiritu*" the use of trombones is also unambiguously shown in the autograph. In the *Tromboni* parts from Salzburg, all movements are of course present.<sup>54</sup>

2. For the formal principle of the "*Sanctus*" movement realised in this edition, the double choir setting discernible in the music has been chosen. The double choir concept was recognised for the first time by Alois Schmitt and reflected in his, as in H. C. R. Landon's, realisation. In Pater Matthäus Fischer's score, which until now has represented the only authentic source for this part of the composition, Mozart's intention of using two choirs is clearly shown by the directions *Choro II.* in Soprano II in measure 8 and *Choro I.* in Soprano I in measure 9 (see the facsimile on p. XXIV). Fischer notated the "*Sanctus*" as a five-part choir with divided soprano, a model adopted by André, although without the directions *Choro I.* and *Choro II.* It is not to be supposed that in Fischer's transcription the filling-out voices necessary for the complete double choir effect were accidentally forgotten. For even his confusing visual representation of the "*Qui tollis*", in which Fischer notated both choirs interwoven on four staves, contains all notes which can be shown from Mozart's autograph to belong to the vocal parts. One must therefore assume – since Fischer's reliability has been sufficiently demonstrated – that Mozart had indeed intended a double choir setting of the "*Sanctus*" movement, but by the time of the Salzburg performance had not completed the work.

Special mention should be made of measure 7 of the "*Sanctus*". Here Fischer's score definitely shows that both choirs have rests and that these blank measures must have been intended by Mozart in order to make the step-by-step intensification to the *tutti forte* in measure 10 particularly effective.<sup>55</sup>

At "*Hosanna in excelsis*", the blank staves for Choir II running for the whole length of the piece show that a double fugue for the choirs was planned by Mozart, as

<sup>54</sup> On the use of trombones, cf. Walter Senn in the Foreword to NMA I/1/Section 1: *Masses • Volume 3*, p. XVIII, footnote 48.

<sup>55</sup> The arrangers Schmitt and Landon suggest for these measures that the first entries in Choir I for tenor and bass or, in Landon's case, alto, tenor and bass should already take place at this point.

the musical material in the trombone parts show. It is quite possible that Mozart also completed this double fugue. There is certainly weight in H. C. Robbins Landon's conjecture when he opines, on the basis of the extant autograph score for the entire wind and timpani, that Mozart had to write such an extensive score because he already needed all the twelve staves on his paper to notate both choirs, the strings and instrumental bass.<sup>56</sup> Pater Matthäus Fischer's manuscript, however, provides only for a single fugue in the vocal parts of the "*Hosanna in excelsis*". It is therefore quite conceivable that for the St. Peter's performance Mozart decided from the beginning, faced with an indeed well-trained but rather thin choir available for only one rehearsal, to dispense with the full vocal counterpoint and to achieve the double choir effect with trombones.

3. Matthäus Fischer's score contains no viola in the "*Hosanna in excelsis*". It must be assumed that the viola part engraved in the first printed edition was an addition by André. This has therefore been rendered in this edition in small print.

4. In the Benedictus, Fischer did not write out the repeat of the concluding section of the "*Hosanna in excelsis*" (more precisely put: from measure 110), but pointed after measure 109 via *al Segno* to measure 50 of the Sanctus. In the autograph wind score of the Sanctus, however, the corresponding sign is encountered earlier at measure 48. Since the two bassoon parts in measures 107–109 and measures 47–49 of Matthäus Fischer's score differ, two different versions result for these three measures. The present edition adopts the version resulting from the repeat sign in Mozart's wind score. The first printed edition followed Fischer's score and also adopted from its measures 108/109 the unison entry notated in the viola staff with the choral alto. (On the abbreviated notation in the sources cf. in detail the *Kritischer Bericht*.) – This example shows yet again that Pater Matthäus Fischer's copy must have been the immediate source for those parts of Sanctus and Benedictus missing in the autograph.

5. The instrumental bass line was played in church music not only by the organ but also by the double bass and bassoon. Mozart wanted a violoncello included, as can be seen from the relevant remarks in the *Bassi* staff in the autograph in the movements "*Quoniam*" and "*Credo in unum Deum*". The bassoon parts were

notated by Mozart in his own hand and are in unison with the *Bassi* only in the movements "*Laudamus te*" and "*Domine*", where this is additionally confirmed by Mozart with the direction *Fagotto col Basso*. The *Bassi* have no *tutti* function and therefore do not rest during instrumental introductions and interludes or during solo passages. They have rests only together with the choral bass, at which points the entries of the higher voices are indicated in the organ part.

6. *Solo* and *tutti* indications in the organ staff – to be understood primarily as a guide for registration – can in Mozart also refer to use of two spatially separated organs for solo and tutti ensembles respectively, as practised in large churches including Salzburg Cathedral.<sup>57</sup> In the monastery church of St. Peter in Salzburg, however, all the musicians were together on the rear balcony directly in front of the organ;<sup>58</sup> the use of a *ripieno* organ was therefore not necessary and must be ruled out for the performance of 1783.

7. The thorough-bass figures in the autograph are usually placed below, but in a few cases above, the *Bassi ed Organo* staff. In the present musical text, they have been placed uniformly below this staff. Various conventions regarding the indication of accidentals in the autograph have also been standardised. Editorially added thorough-bass figures and prolongation strokes have been set in square brackets. The figures in the Sanctus were adopted from the Holy Cross organ part and from Matthäus Fischer's score.

8. In Mozart's autograph, staccato marks appear mostly as dashes. The dash can however also indicate, particularly in the instrumental bass line, an accent. In the organ part, dashes can also stand for the thorough-bass figure "1".<sup>59</sup> In the present musical text, dashes in such places in the *Bassi ed Organo* staff have been retained as accent marks for the *Bassi* and the *tasto solo* realisation in the organ part has been indicated under the staff by the figure "1" in square brackets.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Hellmut Federhofer in the *Foreword* to NMA Series I/2/1: *Litanies*, p. XVI, and Walter Senn in the *Foreword* to NMA Series I/1/Section 1: *Masses • Volume 3*, p. XVIII.

<sup>58</sup> Schmid, *Mozart und die Salzburger Tradition* (op. cit.), p. 252.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Hellmut Federhofer, *Striche in der Bedeutung von "tasto solo" oder der Ziffer "1" bei Unisonostellen in Continuoimmen*, in: *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch* (op. cit.), pp. 497ff.

<sup>56</sup> Foreword to the edition London–Zürich etc., 1956, p. VI.

9. Missing phrasing marks have only been made up when they appear in analogously led voices in the same measure or in parallel passages. This process applies where phrasing marks from vocal parts can be transferred to corresponding figures in instrumental parts, but not vice-versa. Throughout the incompletely transmitted sections of the Sanctus and Benedictus, no attempt at a consistent making-up or harmonising of phrase marks has been made.

10. The text of the Mass had been harmonised in spelling, syllable separation and punctuation with the most recent edition of the *Graduale Romanum*. The word “*eleison*” however appears only once (end of the Kyrie), for musical reasons, in the correct four-syllable separation. At word repetitions or in homophonic passages in the vocal parts, Mozart dispenses on several occasions with a complete text underlay. This was made up tacitly in the present edition.

\*

For advice, information and co-operation in using the sources, the editors thank Dr. Wolfgang Goldhan (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), Dr. Adolf Hahl (Stiftsarchiv St. Peter, Salzburg), Dr. Ernst Hintermaier (Salzburg), Prof. Dr. Klaus Hortschansky (Frankfurt on Main), Privatdozent Dr. Manfred Hermann Schmid (Munich) and Dr. Alan Tyson (London). The undersigned also owe thanks to Prof. Dr. Marius Flothuis (Amsterdam) and Prof. Karl Heinz Füssl (Vienna) for proof-reading. The members of the Editorial Board of the New Mozart Edition have supported and guided the editor’s efforts with their knowledge and experience. They have earned especially heart-felt thanks.

Munich, March 1983

Monika Holl

Weimar, December, 1981

Karl-Heinz Köhler

Translation: William Buchanan



Facs. 1: Folio 1<sup>r</sup> of the autograph (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin). Cf. pages 3–4, measures 1–6, and Foreword, p. XVII.





Facs. 2: Folio 2<sup>v</sup> of the autograph. Cf. pages 7–9, measures 22–27, and Foreword, p. XVII.

Handwritten musical score for the Organ part of a Mass, page 4. The score is written on ten staves. The first staff is marked "All. Vivace" and "Tutti". The word "Gloria" is written across the first two staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ornaments. Fingering numbers (1-5) are written above many notes. The tempo marking "Allegro Solo" appears on the sixth staff. The manuscript shows signs of being a working draft, with some corrections and annotations.

Facs. 3: Page 4 of the *Organo* part from the original Salzburg performance material (Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg: on loan from the Dominican Monastery Heilig Kreuz). Cf. pages 21–30, measures 1 to 43 (1st half), and Foreword, p. XV.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the Trombone 1:mo part. The title at the top is "Trombone 1:mo" in a cursive hand. The tempo marking "Ad: mod:" is written above the first staff. The music is written on ten staves, with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as "p." and "20". The notation is in a historical style, characteristic of the original Salzburg performance material. The page number "24" is visible at the bottom center.

Facs. 4: First page of the *Trombone 1:mo* part from the original Salzburg performance material. Cf. pages 3–16, mm. 1–74, and Foreword, p. XV.



Facs. 5: Page 55 of Pater Mattheus Fischer's score copy (music collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna). Cf. pages 132–134, measures 6–12, and Foreword, p. XVII.

Handwritten musical score for a Mass, folio B of the autograph. The page contains six systems of staves, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The tempo marking "Al: Con moto" is written in the first, second, and fifth systems. The notation is in a cursive hand, characteristic of Mozart's autographs.

Facs. 6: Folio B<sup>r</sup> of the autograph. Cf. pages 135–137, measures 14–19, and Foreword, p. XVI.



Facs. 7: Page 56 of Pater Matthäus Fischer's score copy. Cf. pages 135–136, measures 13–17, and Foreword, p. XVI.

131

sunt coe - li et ter - - ra, glo - ri - a, glo - - ri - a tu - - a

glo - ri - a tu - - a

6 3 1 8

Facs. 8: Page 131 of the first printed edition, Offenbach, 1840 (copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich). Cf. pages 135–136, measures 14–17, and Foreword, p. XVI.

K. 393. *Adagio* *1. Solfeggio.* 2.

Leipz. für K. 393, No. 2, am 1. August 1880. C. Gerick.  
 Hauptstadt Leipzig, im Druck gedruckt.  
 Leipzig.

Facs. 9: Autograph of the *Solfeggio in F* KV 393 (385<sup>b</sup>), No. 2 (privately owned. Reproduced from Stargardt Catalogue 599/No. 711, Marburg 1972). Cf. page 172 and Foreword, p. XIV.