



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Mozart's unfinished Mass in C minor, K. 427 ('Great Mass')

History, Theory, and Practice of its Completion

Kemme, C.

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Kemme, C. (2017). Mozart's unfinished Mass in C minor, K. 427 ('Great Mass'): History, Theory, and Practice of its Completion.

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

A step further on Levin's path of taking Mozart's trombone setting as a guide for the choral reconstruction is the version of Bernius and Wolf (2016). They seem to have taken to heart Levin's assumptions about the trombones and Choir I even more strictly than Levin did himself, and made their A. I, T. I, and B. I complete copies of Mozart's trombone parts, apart from some smoothing-out (e.g. in the Tenor in bar 41) and except for bars 52 and 57-61. This amounts to several changes (deletions or additions) in Levin's Choir I, and an even more unequal subject distribution over the two choirs. Choir II is now relegated the role of a kind of assistant to Choir I, for doing what Choir I cannot do itself. Wolf's argument in the Vorwort is: 'Zur Wiederherstellung der Doppelchörigkeit wurde den erhaltenen Posaunenstimmen ... eine zentrale Bedeutung beigemessen. ... Die Posaunen haben wir in Anlehnung an Mozarts doppelchörigen Offertorium *Venite populi* KV 260 stets Chor I zugewiesen.' As I have argued earlier in this chapter, the *Venite populi* is a much less mature work, arguably not nearly as balanced and convincing as Mozart's later works. Furthermore, the existing trombone parts for it are absent from the autograph score, therefore not necessarily part of the original conception, as the trombones certainly are in K. 427. Moreover, the result of Bernius and Wolf's approach is a distribution in which Bass II has no entry of either subject at all, and Soprano and Tenor II have only two entries of subject **b**. Even more than with Levin's version, the question is how this reconstruction can be matched with any historical examples, and therefore how it can be placed in the context of the long tradition of double-choir writing. The Viola part of this edition is similar to Beyer's and Levin's, with the exception of bar 52, in which Landon's parallel fifths and octaves are now in Choir I.

I end this chapter with an overview of the distributions of the main subjects **a** and **b** in seven available Osanna reconstructions and in the new reconstruction offered here. See Table VI.4.10.

**Table VI.4.10 Mozart, Mass in C minor, K. 427, Osanna:
Distributions of the 10 paired subject entries in various reconstructions.**

1, 2, 3, etc. = subject entries Ep. = episode
S = Soprano (Canto), A = Alto, T = Tenor, B = Bass
a = subject **a** (eighths) **b** = subject **b** (sixteenths)
B-T = **a** in Bass - **b** in Tenor; T-A = **a** in Tenor - **b** in Alto; etc.

Voice types for subject complex **a-b**, deducible from Mozart's wind score

Entries	1	2	3	4	Ep.	5	6	7	8	9	10
Voices	B-T	T-A	A-S	S-B		A-S	A-S	A-S	T-B	S-A	B-T
Keys	I	V	I	V	>	vi	ii	I>iii	iii	V	I

Schmitt (1901): Choir I = Fischer. Subjects apart. Six doublings. Entry 10: **b** 8va in S II.

Entries	1	2	3	4	Ep.	5	6	7	8	9	10	a	b
S I			b				b			a		1	2
A I		b				a		a				2	1
T I	b								a			1	1
B I	a			b					b		a	2	2
S II				a		b		b			b	1	3
A II			a			a	a	a		b		4	1
T II		a										1	0
B II	a			b					b		a	2	2

Landon (1956) = Schmitt (1901)

Eder (1985): Choir I = Fischer. Subjects apart. Three doublings. Entry 10: 8va in S II.

Entries	1	2	3	4	Ep.	5	6	7	8	9	10	a	b
S I			b				b			a		1	2
A I		b				a		a				2	1
T I	b								a			1	1
B I				b					b		a	1	2
S II				a		b		b			b	1	3
A II			a				a	a		b		3	1
T II		a										1	0
B II	a								b		a	2	1

Beyer (1989) = Schmitt (1901)

Mauder (1990): Subjects together. Two doublings. Entry 10: b at correct pitch in T.

Entries	1	2	3	4	Ep.	5	6	7	8	9	10	a	b
S I			b				b			a		1	2
A I			a				a			b		2	1
T I	b										b	0	2
B I	a			b							a	2	1
S II				a		b		b				1	2
A II		b				a		a				2	1
T II		a							a			2	0
B II				b					b		a	1	2

Levin (2005): Subjects apart and together. No doublings.

Entries	1	2	3	4	Ep.	5	6	7	8	9	10	a	b
S I				a		b		b		a		2	2
A I			a			a						2	0
T I		a							a			2	0
B I	a										a	2	0
S II			b				b					0	2
A II		b					a	a		b		2	2
T II	b											0	1
B II				b					b		b	0	3

Bernius & Wolf (2016): Subjects apart and together. No doublings.

Entries	1	2	3	4	Ep.	5	6	7	8	9	10	a	b
S I				a		b		b		a		2	2
A I			a			a						2	0
T I		a							a			2	0
B I	a			b					b		a	2	2
S II			b				b					0	2
A II		b					a	a		b		2	2
T II	b										b	0	2
B II												0	0

Kemme (2017): Subjects together. One doubling.

Entries	1	2	3	4	Ep.	5	6	7	8	9	10	a	b
S I			b				b			a		1	2
A I			a				a			b		2	1
T I	b								a			1	1
B I	a								b		a	2	1
S II				a		b		b				1	2
A II		b				a		a				2	1
T II		a									b	1	1
B II				b							a	1	1

5. Editing the Benedictus

Of the Benedictus, we do not have a note from Mozart except the winds and timpani of the ‘Osanna’ retake at the end. The only sources for the main body of this movement are Estlinger’s organ part (**E**) and Fischer’s score copy (**F**). Again, **E** is the more accurate source, but **F** is the *only* source for all the parts except the one for organ (and orchestral basses). Fortunately, Fischer’s score of this movement is complete, no instruments are missing. Figure VI.5.1 shows Fischer’s first page, high strings on top, horns at the bottom. The bassoon staff will split up to two staves on the next page.

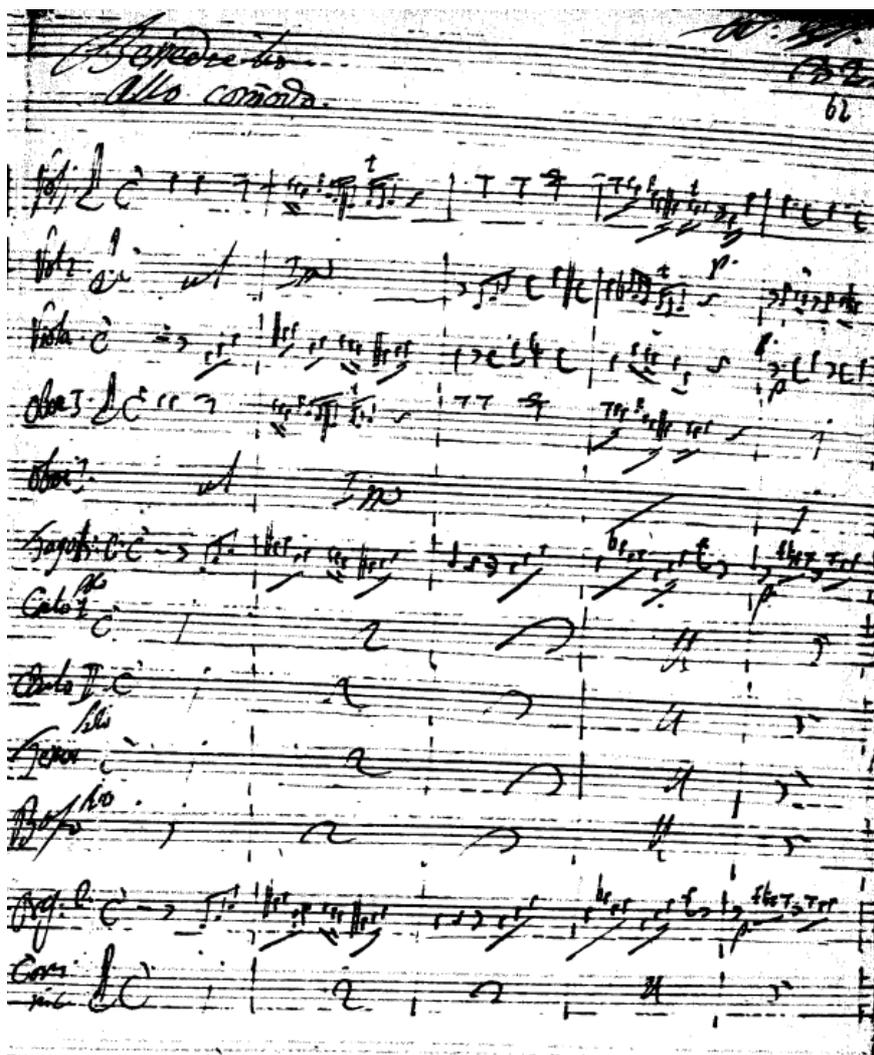


Figure VI.5.1 Mozart, K. 427, Fischer’s score, Benedictus, bars 1-5.

As usual in a Benedictus of a solemn mass, the trumpets and timpani are not used until the ‘Osanna’ retake at the end. Near the end, in bar 107, Fischer adds two staves at the bottom for notating their re-entrance. A few bars later, he refers to the Osanna retake with *segno* – Mozart did the same in his Sanctus wind and timpani score – accompanied by the texts ‘al segno’ and ‘ut sopra’. See Figure VI.5.2.

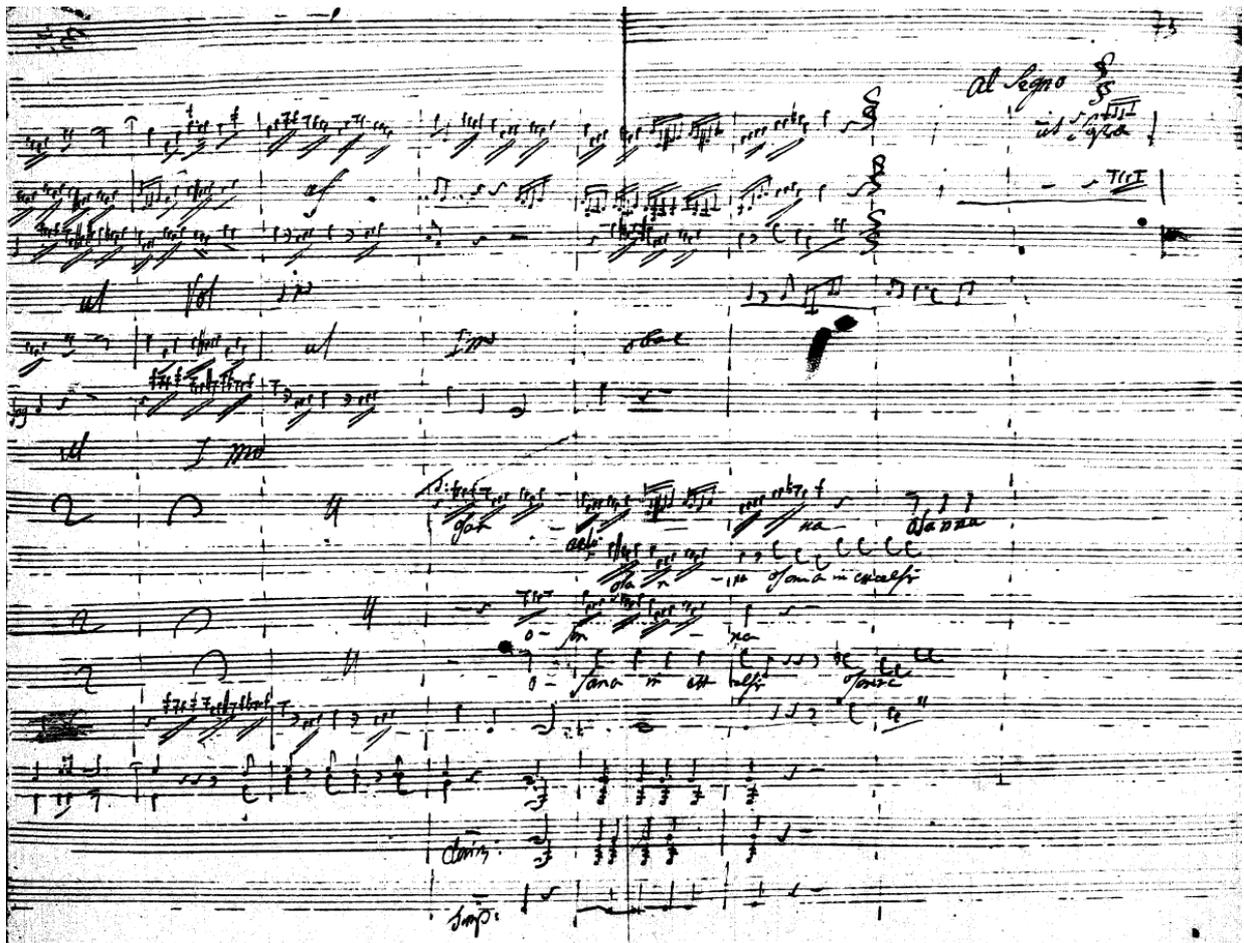


Figure VI.5.2 Mozart, K. 427, Fischer's score, Benedictus, bars 104-111.

The composition

The Benedictus is another movement in minor, A minor again, like the 'Gratias'. It is in the same tempo as the Osanna fugue, Allegro comodo, to which it can return easily this way. Like in many masses by Haydn and Mozart, it is a solo quartet. It has the form of an *opera seria* aria or ensemble, like one finds in *Idomeneo* for example. In its dramatic power, it may even remind one of that great quartet from *Idomeneo*, 'Andrò ramingo e solo' (No. 21), in spite of its much more ritualistic text, 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini', repeated over and over again. The form used in such pieces, whether arias or ensembles, is actually the same as used in first and second movements of classical concertos (hence also called 'concerto form' there), which may partly explain the enormous successes of the concerto genre. It is as if the dramatic power of the *opera seria* aria or ensemble was transplanted to the concerto. Even when Mozart changed his aria forms considerably in the Da Ponte operas, the concerto was there to keep the dramatic spirit of the *opera seria* alive for many years to come, maybe thanks to its 'dramatic' formal strategy.³³³

³³³ See Martha Feldman's interesting article from 1996.

The form we are talking about is in fact an extended ‘sonata form’. In this Mass, we have seen it also in the ‘Laudamus te’, the ‘Quoniam’ and the ‘Et incarnatus est’, its defining feature being the return ‘home’, that is in the main key, of the music that was first heard in a remote key area (the dominant or, in minor, the relative major key). In a Mozart piece in minor, this plan works all the more dramatically, since at its ‘homecoming’, the second theme, which we remember as being in major, is now recomposed, ‘reframed’ in minor, which changes its character considerably and can make us feel deeply moved.

The Benedictus has the strongest resemblance to the ‘Quoniam’ because of its ensemble scoring and its minor key, and also because of its substantial development section, broaching new key areas, which did not happen in the two solo arias (both in F major). The Quoniam’s style, however, is more Baroque, with its typical ‘motto’ openings, introducing both of its more ‘classically’ structured themes. The Benedictus themes are, in principle, more straightforward (Schoenbergian) *sentences*. The first theme (bar 1-7, 13-20, and 65-72) develops a two-bar basic idea based on the rhythm of the title word, a tone repeat, emphatically starting on the downbeat, of the key’s fifth, followed by a descent to the tonic. It is repeated, according to the model that Schoenberg called *sentence*, a fourth higher this time, then further developed and ending in a half-cadence.

Typical for a vocal piece, its ‘transition’ to the secondary key area is done with just a few quick chords (end of bar 20, with its non-modulating parallel in bar 72). After the ‘on-the-downbeat’ character of the first theme, the second theme (bars 21-37) features, on the same text, *off*-downbeat chordal arpeggiation. And after the clear-cut two-bar units of the first theme, the second theme takes off in units of one-and-a-half bars, one for each soloist. It is a perfect illustration of what Mozart must have meant when writing to his father about his piano concertos from the same time: ‘hie und da – können auch *kenner allein* satisfaction erhalten – doch so – daß die nicht-kenner damit zufrieden seyn müssen, ohne zu wissen warum’.³³⁴ The second theme then continues with one-bar units, then a *forte* half-bar interruption, one-bar-units again with imperfect cadences, and finally a two-bar unit with the perfect authentic cadence.

The ensuing closing section is just as miraculous, but for other reasons, doing completely new things with elements from the previous themes, such as the descending $\wedge 5-\wedge 1$ pentachords derived from Theme 1, speeded-up and using *chiaroscuro* effects (*mf-p*), in bars 37-41, and the off-downbeat chordal arpeggiations in eighth-notes (from Theme 2, but already present in the accompaniment of Theme 1), now in block harmony, in bars 43 and 45. The *chiaroscuro* effects also remind one of the ‘Quoniam’, which contained similar effects in bars 120-127.

The Benedictus is even more like a classical concerto movement than the ‘Quoniam’, since its orchestral introduction gives both the first theme and the ritornello that will also close both the

³³⁴ *MBA* III, 245-246, No. 715/11-13.

exposition and the recapitulation. That ritornello is actually what connects it to the Sanctus, since it is based on the Osanna's subject **b**, which was also intensely used in its last 15 bars, the stretti on dominant and tonic pedal points and the last homophonic exchanges between the two choirs. This is exactly the section that is taken up again at the end of the Benedictus, bringing the Sanctus-Benedictus pair, but incidentally (for lack of an Agnus Dei) also the whole Mass to an end. Table VI.5.1 gives a formal overview, just showing the sections and the harmonic plan, without pretending, of course, to do justice to the rich content.

Table VI.5.1. Mozart, K. 427, Benedictus: form overview

Bar	Sections	Text, musical material	Keys, cadences
1	Introduction	Th. 1 motif: $\hat{5}-\hat{5}-\hat{5}$ + cadence	Am: i – i:HC
7	Ritornello	Sanctus subject b , extended	i – i:PAC
13	Exp. Theme 1 + Trans.	<i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini</i>	i – i:HC > III
21	Theme 2A (a-b-c)	<i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini</i>	III – III:PAC
37	Closing section A - B	<i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini</i>	III – III:PAC (2x)
47	Ritornello	Sanctus subject b , extended	III – III:PAC
52	Development	<i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini</i>	III - iv - i – i:HC
65	Recap. Theme 1	<i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini</i>	i – i:HC > i
73	Theme 2A (a-b-c)	<i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini</i>	i – i:PAC
89	Closing section A - B	<i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini</i>	i – i:PAC (2x)
102	Ritorn./ Trans. to Osanna	Sanctus subject b , extended	i > C maj. I:HC
107	<i>Stretti</i> and Closing	<i>Osanna in excelsis</i>	C maj. – I:PAC (3x)

The editing

A first and straightforward task is of course the comparison of Estlinger's organ/bass part with Fischer's. As mentioned before, Estlinger's part is transposed a tone lower, so written in G minor. Just as in earlier movements, therefore (see Chapter IV.3), we can expect some transposition errors. In fact there is only one, the last note of bar 32, and one can hardly miss it. Estlinger also erroneously writes thirty-seconds instead of sixteenths in bar 37-39, but has it right in the parallel bars in the recapitulation. Much more important are the differences with Fischer. As we saw in other movements, Fischer left out many articulation marks and dynamics. All the more lucky we are with Estlinger's precision in these matters.

Immediately in bar 2, and in the parallel bar 66, Estlinger has a slur from the first to the second note. Schmitt and Landon did not use Estlinger, and Fischer was known to them only via André or Spitta (although Landon could have known about both Estlinger and Fischer), so they don't have the slur. But also Holl and Köhler (the *NMA* editors of the edition for which Eder did the completions) left it out; Monika Holl just mentioned it in her *Kritischer Bericht*. The newer editions all have the slur. Further slurs or ties missing in **F**, but present in **E**, occur in the following bars: 5-6, 14, 16, 32, 37-39, 40, 49 (tie), 55, 58, 62-64, 89-91, 93-94 (tie), and 107-109 (ties). Staccato

strokes are missing in 37-39 and 89-91, dynamics in 31-32, 38-39, 89-91. All these markings in Estlinger make perfect sense, also in relation to the markings in the other parts in Fischer. It is clear: we have to rely on Estlinger.

The most serious omission in **F**'s bass part, however, again in contrast to **E**, is his missing of the cello parts – notes, articulation, dynamics and all – in bars 33-35 and the parallel bars 85-87. These are places (see the score in the back of this dissertation) where the double basses are silent, and the cellos play a high bass line alone, an effect Mozart uses very often (see e.g. the 'Cum Sancto') and which he usually marks by changing to the tenor clef and the indication 'Violoncelli', followed by 'Tutti Bassi' and a bass clef where the double basses come in again. It could be that Fischer copied from a part that was intended for the double basses alone, not thinking of the possibility that the cello part could contain other notes as well. Or maybe he did not have cellists in his orchestra; we don't know. What we do know is that Landon, whose edition was the most used for many years, does not have these cello passages either, so in all performances using it, we hear the solo tenor fulfil the (high) bass function alone.³³⁵

There are also places where we find what seem to be contradictions, possibly mistakes, in both **E** and **F**. This is in the closing sections, bars 43-46 and 96-101, and in bars 47 and 102, the starting points of the ensuing ritornellos. In the second half of the closing sections, bars 43-46 and 96-101, we get these off-beat chordal arpeggiations in eighth notes. Musically, this figure derives from the accompanying figures in Theme 1, becoming the main motif of Theme 2. Their start after the downbeat is their rhythmical essence. So both Estlinger and Fischer are almost certainly wrong here in putting their *forte* signs below (**E**) or even before (**F**) the first bass note of the bar. We can be quite sure about this because in bar 45 both Estlinger and Fischer write their *forte* slightly (**E**) or even clearly (**F**) before the *second* eighth-note. Alas, Estlinger does it wrong again in bars 96 and 98, while Fischer has it right in 96, but wrong in 98. As to the ritornello's dynamics, there seem to be contradictions in the dynamics in both **E** and **F**. **E** has the *forte* first slightly, then even clearly before the downbeat, **F** both times before the downbeat. The contradiction is that these first notes of the bar are the closing notes of the cadence in *piano* that just happened, not the beginning of the new phrase in *forte*. But the bassoons do not take part in these *piano* cadences and need to have one clear dynamic instruction for what is a new start for them. The high strings have a leap between the cadencing tone and their continuation (except the Viola in bar 102), so musically the *forte* seems better from their second note onwards. Yet Fischer has this only in the violins in bar 102. It is therefore possible that the dynamics should be unified in all bass instruments, or even in all instruments except the ones with leaps to their second notes. We cannot be sure. André copied what he saw in Fischer, but Spitta corrected it, following the musical logic per part. And most later

³³⁵ This happened in the first performances, in April 2006, of the first version of my completion by Frans Brügger and the Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century, when I had not yet made my own edition of the Benedictus and we used the performance material of the Landon edition for this movement and the Kyrie and Gloria.

editors followed him. Levin decided for a compromise and is followed by Bernius and Wolf. I stayed with Spitta, but I inform conductors in the Critical Commentary, so they can decide for themselves.

With regards to all the other parts in the Fischer score, it is clear that Fischer left out many slurs, ties, staccato strokes, and dynamic markings. However, most of these can simply be deduced from the inner musical logic of the piece, by comparing simultaneous articulations in other parts, or similar, if not parallel places elsewhere in the piece. Surprising is the absence of ties in the long notes in the winds in the first closing section (bars 37 ff.). They do however pop up in the recapitulation (bars 89 ff.), in the bassoons.

A special case is formed by the chordal arpeggiations in the second part of the closing section, bars 43-46. Mozart mostly gives a note that ends a phrase on the downbeat the duration of the beat, in this case a quarter note. One has to know that in the eighteenth century the duration of a note on a strong or relatively strong beat should not be taken literally. 'A good eighth', as Frans Brügger used to say, seems to be a good rule of thumb in case of quarter notes amidst eighths.³³⁶ Yet, in the parallel place in the recapitulation, where this passage is extended and the harmony becomes more chromatic, with chord changes on the second eighth note, introduced by the vocalists and the strings, it is crucial that the downbeat notes of the winds do not overlap. And here we see in Fischer's score that these downbeat notes in the bassoons in bars 99 and in all four woodwinds in bar 100 are written as eighth notes. It seems unlikely that Fischer decided to 'correct' Mozart here, so probably Mozart was taking precautionary measures himself. André still copied Fischer literally, but Spitta decided to give downbeat eighth notes in all winds in these two bars. He was followed by Schmitt, Landon and Maunder. However, the *NMA* (Eder) decided to 'correct' Fischer the other way around and made all the downbeats quarter notes. And this policy was followed by Beyer, Levin and Bernius/Wolf. I follow Spitta here, for the reason I have mentioned.

Another special place is bar 57 in the development section. It is part of a very peculiar sequence, that is not literal, which raises some doubts about the second violin part. The development starts in bar 52 in C major with a unit of three-and-a-half bars. In bar 55, on beat three, follows the sequence, a tone higher. For one bar the sequence is literal, bar 55/3 to 56/2. But then things start to change. However, in bar 57/1, the second violin probably has to be literally a tone higher (a^{\flat}) than the g^{\flat} in bar 53/3. Fischer, arriving at a new page, probably lost sight of the sequence, and changed it to b^{\flat} , a note he saw in the first violin. The a^{\flat} is of course a special note, actually a suspension resolving by skip because the stepwise resolution comes in the first violin. So the a^{\flat} is definitely right. Moreover, Mozart must have enjoyed giving the second violin three open-

³³⁶ An interesting case is the overture and penultimate scene of *Don Giovanni*. Most conductors are still unaware that the half note is the beat in this *alla breve*, which means that the half notes in bars 2 and 4 are most likely not intended to sound longer than the quarter notes in the higher instruments. This is confirmed by Mozart's notation in his *Verzeichniß aller meiner Werke*.

string notes in a row. Spitta already corrected Fischer's mistake and everybody followed him. However, Maunder and Levin surprisingly changed other VI. II notes in this bar. Maunder accepted Spitta's *a'* but changed the rest of the bar, maybe because he wanted the stepwise resolution anyway and probably because he could not accept the *d'* in the short A minor triad on beat 3. But the stepwise resolution of the suspension is unnecessary and the *d'* on beat three is a suspension just as the *a'* half a bar before. Levin has the *a'* too, but followed by an *e'*; probably a printing error.

Another point of attention is the possibility of dynamics in the vocal parts. Normally Mozart gives no dynamics to solo vocals. However, in the 'Quoniam', he makes an exception. In the recapitulation, he writes a *pp* and three *fp*'s in an extension of his first theme, bars 120-127. It is the *chiaroscuro* effect I mentioned in my analysis. In the Benedictus we see a similar play with dynamic contrasts, even over much longer stretches of music, in bars 33-47 and bars 85-102. After the example from the 'Quoniam', I have decided to include dynamics in the vocal parts, as mere suggestions.

A last problem is the lack of a bass figuration. In a work of which the finished movements all have bass figuration, it is strange to leave the completed movements without. Yet many editors have refrained from giving one. Only Landon, Beyer and Levin offer one. I have tried a figuration too, taking Mozart's examples in the finished movements as models. The choices to be made here are not always obvious and it would deserve a separate study to discuss Mozart's figuration policy and all the situations and possibilities in this work. Some of the figurations in the score in Part B (the fifth proof, not yet the definite one) have been simplified or slightly changed in the meantime. As with so many other aspects of Mozart's music: one keeps learning.

In conclusion we can say that the problems of the Benedictus are relatively small. It is a matter of carefully editing the sources in combination. Estlinger seems to be very reliable. But Fischer appears to be better than one would expect at first sight. As far as we can judge (without having the autograph), there is enough information there to make a convincing edition. We have to recognize, also, that Spitta did a relatively good job in editing André, who had many mistakes, probably also because he did not have (or make) a good *Stichvorlage* for this movement. Yet Spitta did his editing without having access to Fischer. Neither had Schmitt. Landon could have had access to both Estlinger and Fischer, but apparently was not aware of their retrieval. Schmitt and Landon therefore both miss the cello bars (bars 33-35 and 85-87). Eder has the dynamics wrong in bars 43-45 and 96-98. A few details aside, Beyer, Maunder, Levin and Bernius/Wolf all do very well in this movement. But obviously one has to judge their versions in relation to their reconstructions of the Sanctus. Then, I would argue, Beyer, Levin and Bernius/Wolf drop out on the basis of their choral distributions. That would leave us Maunder as the only serious contender. But his versions of the other incomplete movements are much less convincing.

VII. Conclusions. Some reflections on the nature of research in the arts

It is time to come to conclusions, summarizing the starting points, the methods of investigation, and the results of this inquiry. Furthermore it may be useful to take some distance and try to position this project in the broader field of research in the arts.

Conclusions

The research question and its background

Mozart's Mass in C minor, K. 427, has remained unfinished. The Kyrie and Gloria (the latter in seven movements), together more than half an hour of music, are complete. The two only surviving Credo movements (of probably seven planned) are composed in outlines, but many bars in the staves of the accompanying instruments remained empty. Without some kind of a completion, they remain unperformable. Mozart must have finished the Sanctus and Benedictus, but the main score containing the eight-part double choir and the strings for the Sanctus, and the solo vocals and the entire orchestra for the Benedictus, is lost. We only have Mozart's wind and timpani score for the Sanctus and two secondary sources for the Sanctus and the Benedictus, from which the full score for both movements has to be reconstructed. There is no Agnus Dei.

Eight completions of the Mass are available. Some of them (Landon, Eder, Beyer, Maunder, and Bernius/Wolf) just supply the missing parts of the movements of which we have substantial material from Mozart. Others (Schmitt, Levin, Cohrs) also supply movements missing altogether. The quality of all of these versions depends primarily on their renditions of the three movements of which substantial material from Mozart survives, but in which additions have to be made in order to make the Mass performable: the 'Credo in unum Deum', the 'Et incarnatus est', and the Sanctus. Objections can be raised against all existing renditions of these movements, if looked at from historical and stylistic perspectives. Conductors keep making different choices from the available editions. Clearly, none of the existing versions has reached the status of a generally preferred choice.

Therefore, the starting point of this research project was the following question: is it possible to manufacture a performing version of the Mass that succeeds better in conforming to historical and stylistic criteria, better than the now available versions do? And is it possible to find substantial evidence in support of such a new completion? My hypothesis was that this should be possible. What was needed, it seemed to me, was:

- skill in music analysis, counterpoint, harmony (the main traditional music-theoretical subdisciplines);
- skill in arranging (or instrumentation, or orchestration; not a standard music-theoretical subdiscipline);

- knowledge of eighteenth-century music theory and styles of composition and instrumentation;
- close familiarity, also in a technical sense, with Mozart's individual style from its early development to its full maturity; his treatment of voices and instruments, his way of developing ideas, contrapuntally, harmonically, his way of building and structuring phrases and larger forms;
- a thorough study of the original sources of the work;
- study of the historical context of the work, both regarding the work's history and the developments in the musical world around him at the time of composition;
- acquaintance with historical performance practice, including the debates around it;
- more detailed study of the existing completions, their starting points, methods, and solutions.

This list contains elements from three musical disciplines: musicology, music theory, and musical performance practice. My research question implied that the inquiry should draw from all three of them and try to bring together their respective angles. What seemed to have been in the way of better editions of the C-minor Mass, so it seemed, was that the communication between these disciplines was often problematic, each inhabiting its own world, separated from each other by institutional boundaries, often even separated by boundaries between departments within one institute. My long collaboration, as a music theorist and arranger teaching at the Conservatory of Amsterdam, with several colleagues in performance practice, and my acquaintance with many musicologists, seemed to offer chances at realizing such a confluence of knowledge and experience. Moreover, as a music theorist, practitioner of a discipline that is part of both musicology and performance studies, I hoped to be in a good position to bridge gaps between institutions or departments.

Methods

Having already made initial versions of my completions of the Mass and Mozart's Requiem, the path to follow for me was:

- a) to further study of the music surrounding and preceding the Mass in order to find more parallels between the movements to be completed and earlier and contemporary works of Mozart himself and composers who could have influenced him in this work;
- b) to digest a vast and growing literature on Mozart's music, the sacred music in particular, and its historical context;
- c) to collect and scrutinize (copies of) the sources, trace their histories, assess their qualities and their value for the editing of the finished movements and the completion or reconstruction of the incomplete ones;
- d) to improve my first attempts at completion wherever I could, as a result of (a), (b), and (c); try them out whenever possible, and try to come to a version worth publishing;
- e) to report my findings and write the chapters of this dissertation.

Results

To start with the historical context of the C-minor Mass: even the most recent investigations into the history of the work do not give conclusive evidence about the original incentive for composing it or about the reason why it was not finished. The character of the music, though, the large orchestra and the double chorus, the many movements in minor, the frequent use of *lamento* basses, and the choice of text for the parody-cantata *Davide penitente* (using the music of the Kyrie and Gloria), cast doubts on the incentive and intended venue that is still mostly assumed following what seems to be suggested in Mozart's letter of 4 January 1783: to celebrate his marriage to Constanze at the occasion of the couple's visit to Mozart's father and sister in Salzburg. Indeed the Mass was almost certainly performed there, in incomplete form, in St. Peter's abbey church. However, an occasion of a greater and more official and public status and a larger venue (church), probably in Vienna, seem to be more likely. Evidence for such an occasion is however missing altogether. Neither has the reason for the work's unfinished state become clear so far. It could have been a combination of reasons.

Many earlier letters from Mozart in Vienna to his father, and many musical quotes, half-quotes and stylistic similarities in the Mass show that Mozart was greatly inspired by his new and more intense exposure to the music of Handel and Bach at the Sunday meetings organized by the court librarian and diplomat Gottfried van Swieten, who owned a fine collection of score copies of works by the two masters, of which Andreas Holschneider already assembled a reconstruction in 1963. It is clear that an attempt at completion of the Mass should take this inspiration seriously. The influence of Handel's *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt* is overly clear in several movements of the Gloria. And more and more evidence suggests that van Swieten indeed possessed a copy of Bach's B-minor Mass. Mozart's C-minor Mass has a similar choral scoring, in four, five and eight parts. Not only Handel's and Bach's choral works and Bach's keyboard works, also various works by other contemporary and earlier composers show similarities with certain movements of the Mass, especially sacred works from Italian composers such as Leonardo Leo, Antonio Caldara and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, or works composed under strong Italian influence like Johann Christian Bach's Requiem. These similarities can of course only give general stylistic directions for completing the incomplete movements. More concrete and typically Mozartian clues can be found in the finished movements of the Mass itself and in works by Mozart dating from around the time of composition of the Mass.

The completion of the (partially) missing strings in the 'Credo in unum Deum' can simply be based on the model Mozart himself supplies in bar 10 of his unfinished score: ascending fourths in parallel thirds. Most of the existing editions have overlooked this. The most exposed parts to complete in this movement, however, are those for the missing trumpets and timpani, almost certainly required in the 'Credo in unum Deum' of a *missa solemnis*. The challenge is to avoid the

overstatement resulting from doubling the string unisons on the one hand, and to avoid disturbing the colour of the woodwinds and the text statements of the choir on the other. Models followed in this completion are the opening choruses of Bach's Magnificat and Cantatas such as BWV 34, 91 and 137. Schmitt, Landon, Eder, and Beyer leave the trumpets and timpani out. Of the others, Maunder and Cohrs choose for letting them go along with the woodwinds and the choir, Levin and Bernius/Wolf (and myself until 2011, when I changed my mind) for with the strings.

For many listeners, the completion of the soprano aria 'Et incarnatus est', with three solo wind instruments, will be the touchstone of any completion. From the entry of the soprano onwards, the staves for the violins and viola are empty, all the way until the fully composed cadenza for the soprano and the three wind soloists. Models can be found in arias like 'Se il padre perdei' from the opera *Idomeneo* and the slow movements of the piano concertos composed between 1782 and ca. 1786. The string writing of some of the editors, however, Landon, Eder and Bernius/Wolf especially, clearly differs from Mozart's style. Whether Mozart intended to write horn parts for the movement, remains an open question. I supply them as an option, modeled on Mozart's horn writing in some of his arias and slow movements of piano concertos. Some other completers do so too (Eder, Maunder, Cohrs), but here again, Maunder's and Cohrs's writing style can easily be shown to be different from Mozart's.

The most difficult task is no doubt the reconstruction of the Sanctus double choir, especially in the eight-part double fugue 'Osanna'. Obviously, the material for reconstructing the missing half of its vocal parts and its missing viola part has to be deduced from Mozart's surviving winds, a surviving organ and bass part, and the four voices and two violin parts contained in a surviving incomplete score copy (the Fischer score). As to the 'Osanna' fugue, a study of the source material in the light of the tradition of double-choir writing suggests that the subject pairs most likely should be together in the same choir. This is also what happens in the few double-choir double fugues I have found, by Antonio Caldara and Johann Christian Bach. In performance practice, furthermore, one can notice that spreading the subjects over two choirs does not work well. The attention of the listener is tossed from left to right and back too often, and typical 'sbattimento' effects are all but lost. This means that Fischer's four voices are not equal to one of Mozart's choirs. During transcribing, Fischer must have switched a few times, from one part to another, per voice type, in order to capture as many of Mozart's notes as possible. Therefore the distribution of the material over the eight voices has to be reconsidered. Paired entries in the same choir should be created, in both choirs in alternation, without making too many switches in Fischer's parts. This can be done in a perfectly convincing way, in line with the historical models. Yet all the existing completions except Maunder's opt for spreading the subjects over the choirs in most combined entries, whether regarding Fischer's voices as one of Mozart's choirs, or considering Fischer's voices as patchwork. The most surprising of these reconstructions is the most recent one, from Bernius and Wolf, modeling their Choir I completely on Mozart's trombones.

This idea, borrowed from Mozart's only other double-choir piece *Venite populi*, K. 266, a work about which we don't know whether its surviving trombone parts (supporting Choir I) were part of its original conception, results in an extremely unequal subject distribution in which the second basses have no subject entry at all, and the second tenors to have none of the main subject. In view of the tradition of double-choir writing, this version seems extremely unlikely.

The Benedictus survives in the same score copy that contained a selection of the voices for the Sanctus-Osanna. Fortunately no voices are missing here. The task at hand is much easier than the completions and the reconstruction discussed above: it is limited to editing the score carefully, adding the many missing articulation marks and dynamics, most of which can be deduced from the music's internal logic.

In Mozart's own music and the music that is very likely to have inspired and influenced him while composing this Mass, there is plenty of material suggesting and backing up choices to be made in completing the two Credo movements and reconstructing the Sanctus. And although most of the existing completions possess individual qualities in at least some passages or movements, they all have their shortcomings too. None of them is satisfactory in its entirety.

This dissertation offers an alternative. It is based on a thorough study of the various eighteenth-century styles that Mozart brings together in this exceptionally rich and multifaceted work, in which Mozart indeed seems to want to summarize the history of about a century of music up to 1782 in the most glorious way he could think of. He will do it in the Requiem too. It is as if he does this in church music by preference. Just like Bach already did, he gladly integrates the styles of his secular music into his church music. (After all, there may be truth in Constanze's statement that church music was his favorite genre.) It is therefore both necessary and extremely rewarding to study all these styles and their prehistories as well as one possibly can, immersing oneself in all kinds of works that may have been inspirations for Mozart. From historical reports and from Mozart's letters we know what the renewed confrontation with Handel's and Bach's music meant to him, and how utterly serious he was in his studies of these composers' works. Studying all twelve movements of the mass, complete or incomplete, while simultaneously expanding one's knowledge of all kinds of music composed around the same time and earlier, is a treasure hunt. One keeps finding parallel fragments, similarities.

Working on the preparation of the best possible completion is of course hunting for models. From trying to apply them, one learns what does and what does not work, and how every parameter has to be taken into account: text, tempo, melody, motivic development, phrase structure, texture, relation between main melody and accompaniment, counterpoint, harmony, articulation, dynamics, the choice of instrumental colours and combinations of colours, the balance in the instrumentation. Studying more and more of Mozart's other music, with a similar care for all these aspects in combination, brings an ever deeper understanding of Mozart's art and an ever growing natural feeling for what Mozart's choices would likely have been in case of an unfinished

work. His striving for naturalness, clarity of texture, and transparency is proverbial and clear from both his statements about it, in his letters about the composition of *Idomeneo* and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, and from every page of his works.

Some reflections on the nature of research in the arts

It is clear that many of the activities involved in this project, and described above, can be labeled as academic research, and that a good deal of the results to which they have led can file as knowledge. It is knowledge in various degrees of certainty, corroborated by the facts as far as we know them, and open to repeated verification, or indeed falsification, if new evidence would show up. And to this extent this project can qualify and will be judged as a research project, aimed at producing knowledge, to be judged by academic standards.

Part of the results, however, cannot be filed as knowledge: the completion itself, part B of this dissertation. It is, in whatever modest sense, an art product, a work of art, and will be judged as such. And it is equally clear that part of the activities described above cannot be labeled as research activities. The initial versions of my Mozart completions were even made before this project became a 'research project'. And although a certain amount of research had been involved in the process of manufacturing them, the intended result of these commissions had not been the knowledge the accompanying research would undoubtedly generate, but the artistic product itself, whatever it had taken to produce it. Activities, that were part of the project, but that cannot be claimed to be research wholly, or research only, are for instance: finding parallel places in Mozart's and other composers' works, and musical assessment of analytical literature and of alternative completions. Such activities are also a matter of what one could call 'artistic judgement'. This can be informed by large amounts of knowledge, but it is also largely depending on something that is a bit harder to pin down and which we can only tentatively label with concepts like 'musicality', 'the musical ear', or 'musical intuition' or 'musical intelligence'. And this 'artistic' element was undoubtedly an essential part of this project as well. We need it for recognizing similarities and differences, for feeling the large scale plan of a work, for recognizing cadences, hence phrases and phrase structure and its articulation, for recognizing harmonies and instrumental colours, and much more. But even such a thing as musicality was not enough. It does not automatically generate new ideas. And new ideas, in the style of the composition, is what was needed in this project. To get ideas, to be open to them, we also need something that we have no grip on, the phenomenon that comes and goes, the element for which we have few other words than 'inspiration' or 'creativity'. One can hate the terms, for they escape any rational grip. But the phenomena exist, and art cannot do without. They represent a state of mind that I have always experienced as quite different from

the state of mind while doing research. One cannot command it, the only thing one can try to do is to create the best possible circumstances for it to appear.

The question then arises: is this project really a research project? Can it be? Isn't it basically and ultimately an art project? And nowadays one comes across more and more art projects of which we ask ourselves this question. As I already mentioned in my Introduction, Chapter I of this dissertation, we can speak of a trend: the rise of what has often been called 'practice-based research' in the arts. Other terms often used are 'practice as research' and 'artistic research'. My project, although initiated with very a practical aim in mind, was seen by many as a good example of this new trend. But is it?

In his book *The Conflict of the Faculties. Perspectives on Artistic Research and Academia* (2012), Henk Borgdorff discusses a very useful distinction of three types of research in art, stemming from Christopher Fraylings: "research into art", "research for art", and "research through art". Borgdorff gives this 'trichotomy' a 'slightly different twist' by calling them '(a) research on the arts, (b) research for the arts, and (c) research in the arts.' '(a) Research on the arts is research that has art practice ... as its object' and 'is common in the meanwhile established academic humanities disciplines, including musicology, art history, theatre studies, media studies, and literature.' It represents what Borgdorff calls 'the interpretative perspective'. '(b) Research for the arts can be described as applied research in a narrow sense', in which 'art is not so much the object of investigation, but its objective'. It 'delivers, as it were, the tools and the knowledge of materials that are needed during the creative process or in the artistic product. I have called this the "instrumental perspective".' '(c) Research in the arts is the most controversial of the three ideal types. Donald Schön speaks in this context of "reflection in action", and I [HB] earlier described this approach as the "immanent" and "performative perspective". It concerns research that does not assume the separation of subject and object, and does not observe a distance between the researcher and the practice of art.'³³⁷

This division in three types of art research offers an interesting theoretical framework for trying to answer the question on the nature of my project.

At first sight, it seems that my project belongs to type (b), research *for* the arts. It started as a performance project for the Mozart year 2006, for which the new completion was intended. The research involved 'delivered the tools and the knowledge ... needed during the artistic process' of manufacturing the new score, the completed work of art. So the research was 'instrumental' to the new completion, the work of art.

Yet I think it is not that simple. On the one hand, a concert claiming to present a new version of a work like the unfinished C-minor Mass can raise new interest, and therefore be of additional interest for performers, hoping to draw more audience. On the other hand, the

³³⁷ Borgdorff 2012, 37-38.

perspective of an imminent performance, especially by performers of great renown, can give the research involved additional urgency. After all, the new knowledge it results in will have a wider dissemination than a written report alone will have, one in sounding music.

In other words: situations can occur, or be created, of mutual interest, of mutual ‘instrumentality’, situations in which it is not just research ‘in service of’ (*for*) performance practice but equally performance practice in service of research *on* art, of producing new knowledge. As a researcher I have learned much more from being also involved in a performance project than I could ever have learned from theoretical research only. Here, research type (a) is in full play as well: research *into* or *on* the arts, but including living performance practice. In order to manufacture a completion of high quality (or even a better edition of a finished work) one obviously has to delve deep *into* the world of the composer, the composing styles and performing practices of the time, the history, the character and structure of the work itself etc. The ‘interpretative perspective’ is there, certainly if that term is allowed to imply interpretation by both the researcher and the performer. Performers and researchers may not always need each other, but obviously their collaboration can be of great mutual benefit and of great interest to audiences as well.

What, then, is the status of this new third category (c), research *through* or *in* the arts? Is it something that categories (a) and (b) cannot cover? Are there elements in the research described in this dissertation that can only qualify as ‘reflexion in action’, as ‘practice as research’, as ‘artistic research’? Above, I mentioned two factors, hard to pin down, but decisive for the success of this project: ‘the musical ear’ on the one hand and ‘inspiration’ or ‘creativity’ on the other. But can they be caught by concepts like ‘practice as research’, ‘research in action’, or ‘artistic’ research? I doubt it. As I said, I experience ‘inspiredness’ as a different state of mind. I had to learn to be open to it. I never learned it during my conservatory studies, in the 1970s, at a time when modernist rationalism was dominating all thinking about music. One did not talk about ‘inspiration’, which does not mean that there were no inspiring teachers. To open up to a state of inspiredness I learned from a personal coach, who saw my ‘conflict of the faculties’. I learned from her to embrace them all, and to make sure to keep the gate to what she called the area (or realm) of inspiredness open. And fortunately I knew right away what to do for that to happen: listen to music that inspired me, *Die Zauberflöte* in John Eliot Gardiner’s performance especially. And even if some of its numbers featured textures and tempos completely unlike the one of the piece I was working on, it made me sometimes find the solution in a split second, directly, not knowing why, or only in hindsight.

But isn’t that exactly what ‘art as research’ means? This state of mind in which creativity has free reign, isn’t that ‘research in action’. I doubt it. Research is a different state of mind, a different ‘faculty’. One researches an object. Creating an object is another thing. Research is cool, one articulates a question, defines concepts, lays out methods, follows logical paths, one works systematically. Art is the opposite. It is open to the unexpected. Often we don’t know what exactly

happens until after it happened. Things can happen that can be analysed afterwards as following certain patterns, but we often don't know much about what happened in our mind when we 'composed' it. As far as I am a composer (of small pieces mainly, serving as harmony exercises), I know that the best ideas often came at unexpected moments, while doing the dishes, taking a shower, enjoying Sunday morning breakfast. And indeed, often the elaboration is a process in which other, more rational faculties of the brain have to be called in for support. Also, there are genres of composition, in which the conscious brain in all likelihood plays a bigger role than in others. On the basis of analysing many eighteenth-century fugues, one has to decide that equal subject distribution over the voices is more or less a 'rule of the game' and that by consequence there will have been a lot of planning ahead for such a piece: What kind of a subject do I make? Does it lend itself for many kinds of countersubjects? Is the counterpoint of the subject and countersubject invertible? Can the countersubject be adapted to become invertible (see the *Osanna* fugue)? How many keys do I need to keep the fugue interesting and yet to keep the piece in balance? These questions can be sorted out in sketches, or possibly by improvising at the piano, before starting to write the actual score. And this sorting out comes close to 'doing research' for sure. But most other genres are not so 'rational', or at least their 'rationality' is a lot harder to pin down, even if we can find certain forms and patterns (schemata) that are used often. What decides whether a sequence will work well in a musical phrase, whether a four-bar structure becomes too predictable, whether an early perfect authentic cadence is detrimental or positively surprising and raising curiosity? Do composers always know these things during the act of composing? I don't have any indications, so far, to believe this, except maybe of some twentieth-century composers.

Therefore, I recognize and embrace the state of not knowing while doing, ignorance while creating, however much I love knowledge and research. And I do not see the need for a third kind of research. I certainly believe in combining art and research, as I have explained, and as I hopefully have shown in this dissertation. But I do not see why these human faculties would have to be in conflict. Sometimes one is prevailing, sometimes the other. Some people are better in one, others in the other. Universities focus more on research, conservatories more on art. But we all possess both capacities, so why not use them as they appear? When we get stuck in art, research can help. When research loses momentum, art can help. But art is not research. Research is not 'artistic', *art* is. Research is both interesting by itself and potentially helpful and inspiring for art. Art can stand alone but can also inspire research.

A major problem of 'artistic research' and 'art as research' besides that I fail to see the need of these concepts, is that the usual meanings of certain terms are stretched up beyond recognizability. This becomes most clear when the products of 'artistic research' have to be evaluated without there being any written report. How can we evaluate the research element if all we see is the work of art? If all we have is its convincingness as art. The legitimation of this new practice, however, is sought in the 'immanent' and 'performative perspective' and in the notion that

this kind of research ‘does not assume the separation of subject and object, and does not observe a distance between the researcher and the practice of art.’ as Donald Schön wrote, quoted by Borgdorff. I can’t see how this saves the concept. If there is no distance between the researcher and the practice of art, how can we still distinguish between research and mere self-advertisement? Also, any judgement or statement based on such vague definitions is liable to be just wishful thinking. Thus, while Borgdorff recognizes ‘a justifiable reticence among artists... towards any form of academism’, he believes: ‘Art ... is highly reflexive, even though pre-reflective (tacit) aspects also figure in its production and reception. This reflexivity of art, in conjunction with the reflexive stance of the artist, is one of the most important rationales for research in the arts.’³³⁸ Do we see realities here, or a dream?

I believe we should happily continue to distinguish subject and object as much as we can, to avoid conflicts of interest as much as we can, see art as art and research as research, art as the realm of freedom and imagination, subjective by definition, and research as the realm of striving for clarity and objectivity.

This dissertation reports of a happy combination of research ‘into’ art, music in this case, and research ‘for’ art, ‘in service of’ art, its performance. The latter was as instrumental to the former, the development of knowledge, as the former was instrumental to the latter, the practice of performance, as Part A and Part B of this dissertation hopefully shows. The research element was logically quite large in this case since the nature of the project was the completion of a work of art that existed, but in incomplete state. Therefore I believed it to be researchable in an objective way and went to a university, not to an institute for artistic research. I sought guidance of two musicologists, one of them also a composer, the other a renowned Mozart-specialist. I had enough contacts with performing musicians already, among my colleagues at the Conservatory, and in the many performances that ran parallel to my research. It was a perfect combination. I would recommend it to future conservatory-trained theorists with ambition to do a doctoral dissertation.

The focus for me had to be on the research. And during the process I discovered various possibilities for improvement. Most of the improvements came from trying to hear better and better whether what I did was really what Mozart was likely to have done on the basis of studying more and more scores, of Mozart himself and his biggest inspirations. The literature, I must admit, was sometimes a bit disappointing. But digesting it also makes one see new opportunities. In this dissertation I have tried to do a little bit better. The musicological world may judge.

The final musical product, though, the score, represents the art element. And I am not the person to judge this. It is possible that the great amount of research I put into it gives it a better chance of artistic success. But that is not at all guaranteed. Music has to be judged in the concert

³³⁸ Borgdorff 2012, 117.

hall (or in a church in this case). A solution I offer may look good on paper, it has to be heard, in adequate performance of course, to be judged. The proof of the pudding remains in the eating.