

Bruckner's sacred music: Part 1

Biographical: Bruckner's early Mass and motet settings (c.1835-1855)

Most of Bruckner's sacred works belong to the period in which he was either partly or wholly devoted to the composition of church music - from 1841 in Windhaag until his move to Vienna in 1868. In fact, his first faltering attempts at composition were made earlier than this: in the mid-1830s while he was staying with his cousin, Johann Baptist Weiss, in Hörsching. Weiss gave him organ lessons and some basic instruction in harmony and counterpoint, and one of the results was a setting of the *Pange lingua* hymn in C major (WAB 31), for unaccompanied four-part choir in a simple homophonic style; Bruckner thought highly enough of this early motet to revise it more than fifty years later.¹ During the sixteen months he spent as a school assistant at Windhaag (1841-43), Bruckner wrote his first setting of the Mass -- a Mass in C major (WAB 23) -- for the best singer in the church choir, an alto called Anna Jobst, two horns and organ. It is unpretentious, obviously circumscribed by the limited musical forces available in a village church and, in its omission of portions of the text in the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements, typical of the many *Landmessen* (country/rural masses) written during the first half of the 19th century. It has been described as a *Choralmesse*, a designation that does not refer to any particular association with a pre-existing Gregorian plainchant but suggests that it was written specifically for one of the more penitential periods of the church year, Lent or Advent.²

1 It may have been written slightly later, during his time as a choirboy at St. Florian (1837-40), but certainly pre-dates his teacher training year in Linz (1840-41). For a facsimile of the autograph of the revised 1891 version, see Göllicher-Auer (G-A), *Anton Bruckner. Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild* [4 volumes in 9] (Regensburg: Bosse, 1922-37, 2/1974), II/1, 230. For scores and critical reports of all Bruckner's motets see *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke (ABSW) XXI/1* and 2, *Kleine Kirchenmusikwerke*, ed. Hans Bauernfeind and Leopold Nowak (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1984). Three of the German semi-sacred settings can be found in *ABSW XXIII/2*, however; see later and footnotes 149-51. For online access to the original manuscripts of Bruckner's works, including his sacred and semi-sacred pieces, visit www.bruckner-online.at.

2 The work was first printed in *G-A I* (1922), 173-89. For a modern edition and commentary, see *ABSW XXI/1*, 4-11 and 183-87 and *ABSW XXI/2*, 4-9. There is a facsimile of a page from the autograph of the organ part (end of *Gloria*, beginning of *Credo*) in *ABSW XXI/1*, xiv. The original is in the *Wels Stadtmuseum* (no. 2692). For a discussion of the *Landmesse*, see Rudolf Flotzinger,

Bruckner was transferred to Kronstorf in January 1843 and worked there as an assistant teacher until September 1845. The few works written during this period are not quite so restricted in scope and provide evidence of a clearer grasp of traditional styles and an improved technical facility, for which his teacher, Leopold von Zenetti, should no doubt take much of the credit. Some pieces have been lost, including a setting of *Salve Maria* (WAB 134) and a *Requiem* for male voices and organ (WAB 133) that was written in memory of his friend Johann Nepomuk Deschl, schoolmaster in Kirchberg bei Eferding, and first performed in March 1845, with Bruckner playing the organ. Of the works still extant, which include The *Maundy Thursday Mass* (*Messe für den Gründonnerstag*, WAB 9, 1844), in which the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* are replaced by the gradual, *Christus factus est* and the offertory, *Dextera Domini*, and the *Messe ohne Gloria und Credo* (WAB 146), not all can be dated precisely and it is possible that one or two of the smaller pieces were written either just before or immediately after his move to St. Florian in the late summer of 1845. The *Libera me* in F (WAB 21), the first of Bruckner's two settings from the Absolution at the end of the Requiem Mass, the three settings of the antiphon *Asperges me* (WAB 3/1 and 2, and WAB 4), and the two settings of the *Tantum ergo* (WAB 32 in D major and WAB 43 in A major) are all for four-part mixed-voice choir and organ accompaniment, with the exception of WAB 4 and WAB 32 which are a cappella.³

From September 1845 until the end of 1855, Bruckner was an assistant schoolteacher at the St. Florian village school. His increasing involvement as organist at the abbey resulted in his first two important sacred music works, a *Requiem* in D minor (WAB 39, 1848-49) and the *Missa solennis* in B flat minor (WAB 29, 1854). Sketches of two *Kyrie* movements, in G minor (WAB 140) and E flat major (WAB 139), both un-dated but probably written during the first years of his St. Florian period, indicate that Bruckner had already been contemplating a larger-scale setting

'Versuch einer Geschichte der Landmesse', *BSL 1985 Bericht: Anton Bruckner und die Kirchenmusik* (Linz, 1988), 59-69.

3 For the music of these works, see G-A I , 243ff., G-A II/2, 67-76, G-A III/2, 140-1, ABSW XXI/1, 12-33 and 167-71, and ABSW XXI/2, 10-31 .WAB 3 was originally printed in G-A III/2 because Auer considered it a later composition, written during the Linz years - but this must be ruled out on stylistic grounds.

of the Mass. The former, scored for mixed-voice choir, trombones, and organ continuo, is no more than a fragment with only a few voice entries and part of the organ bass. The latter, a 58-bar fragment scored for mixed-voice choir, two oboes, three trombones, strings, and organ continuo, is quite ambitious in scope but can hardly be regarded as a preparation for the *Missa solennis*.⁴

The *Requiem* in D minor, Bruckner's first composition of any length, was written in memory of his friend Franz Sailer, registrar of St. Florian abbey where it was first performed on 15 September 1849, the first anniversary of Sailer's death. It is scored for four soloists, mixed-voice choir, strings, three trombones and organ continuo. Bruckner's knowledge of the *Requiem* literature was not confined to Mozart's great work, Franz Joseph Aumann's *Requiem* in C minor, which he would have sung as a choirboy at St. Florian in 1839 and his cousin, Johann Baptist Weiß's *Requiem* in E flat which had been a favourite of his since his year's stay at Hösching in the mid-1830s. Although it probably did not include Cherubini's two settings, the first (in C minor) composed in 1816 for the anniversary of Louis XVI's execution and the second (in D minor) for male voices written twenty years later in 1836, or Berlioz's highly individual and colourful setting (1837), it would have extended at least to those Austrian and South German settings performed at St. Florian during the first four years of his appointment there as assistant village schoolmaster and organist at the abbey (including Josef Preindl's *Requiem* in C minor, Johann Baptist Gänsbacher's *Requiem* in D minor, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger's *Requiem* in C minor, Maximilian Johann Stadler's *Requiem* in F, Michael Haydn's *Requiems* in C minor and E-flat major, Johann Caspar Aibling's *Requiem* in D minor, Johann Baptist Schiedermayr's *Requiem* in E-flat major and another three settings by Aumann in F major, B-flat major and E-flat major).⁵ There were another two performances of

4 The *Kyrie* in G minor is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 63, *ABSW XXI/1*, 186 and *ABSW XXI/2*, 163. There is a facsimile of the original manuscript in *G-A II/2*, 84-85, and a realization in *ABSW XXI/1*, 172. The *Kyrie* in E flat major is discussed in *G-A II/1*, 63-64, *ABSW XXI/1*, 186 and *ABSW XXI/2*, 164-67. There is a facsimile of the original manuscript in *G-A II/2*, 86-93, and a realization in *ABSW XXI/1*, 173-78.

5 The first detailed discussion of Bruckner's *Requiem* can be found in *G-A II/1*, 68-92. The autograph full score (Mus. Hs. 2125 in the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*) was completed on 14 March 1849. Various later annotations in the manuscript indicate that Bruckner revised the work in 1894 and, possibly, two years earlier in 1892. In its revised version it was dedicated to Franz Bayer,

Bruckner's *Requiem* during this period: on 11 March 1852 at the funeral of the choir director, Franz Xaver Schäfler and on 4 April 1854, the second day of the funeral rites for Provost Michael Arneth. More than 30 years later, on 15 October 1887, Bernhard Deubler, director of the choir at St. Florian from 1884 to 1906, wrote to Bruckner for the parts of the *Requiem*. "The work has marvellous beauties", he said, "and attests to the presence of a powerful genius even in those years. I should certainly desire a few little things to be altered from a liturgical point of view, but nevertheless, if it is possible, if the work is not beyond our capabilities, and if you would be so good as to fulfil my request for the parts, I am eager to perform it this year, on All Souls Day."⁶ There is no record of this proposed performance, but Deubler did conduct it nine years later in St. Florian on 16 October 1896, a few days after Bruckner's death. Another two performances of the work, conducted by Franz Bayer, were given in Steyr Parish Church in the last twelve months of Bruckner's life, the first on 4 December 1895 at the funeral of the parish priest, Johann Evangelist Aichinger, the second on 22 May 1896 at the funeral of Archduke Carl Ludwig.⁷

The *Missa solennis* in B-flat minor, scored for soloists, mixed-voice choir and an orchestra comprising two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, three trombones, timpani, strings and organ continuo, is the crowning achievement of Bruckner's years at St. Florian and, in Leopold Nowak's words, a "summa musices" of the first 30 years of his life.⁸ It was composed between March and August 1854 and, according to Bruckner's own insertion at the end of the dedication score for Friedrich Mayr, the new provost of the abbey, was completed on 8 August "at

director of music at Steyr Parish Church, who performed it there on 2 December 1895. The *Requiem* was first published by Benno Filser Verlag, Augsburg in 1930. See Leopold Nowak's comments regarding the layout of the score in the foreword to his edition of the work, *ABSW XIV* (Vienna, 1966); see also Haas/Bornhöft, *Requiem D-Moll Revisionsbericht* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2000).

6 See Andrea Harrant and Otto Schneider (eds.), *Bruckner Briefe vol.2 (HSABB 2)* [Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2003], 24-25.

7 See Franz Zamazal, 'Bruckners D-moll-Requiem (WAB 39)', *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 47 (December 1996), 19 for extracts from reports in the *Steyrer Zeitung*, 5 December 1895 and 24 May 1896 respectively; also Erich Wolfgang Partsch, 'Anton Bruckner und Steyr', *Anton Bruckner Dokumente & Studien* 13 (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2003), 256-58 and 286.

8 Foreword to Leopold Nowak's edition of the Mass, *ABSW XV* (Vienna, 1975).

midnight". The parts for the first performance were copied between 24 August and 4 September by Franz Schimatschek from Linz whom Bruckner used frequently in later years to copy scores and parts.⁹ The first performance was during Mayr's induction ceremony on 14 September 1854. In later life, Bruckner recalled the favourable impression made by his Mass setting. Mayr advised him to contact Simon Sechter in Vienna and the same advice was apparently given him by Robert Führer, formerly music director of St. Veit's cathedral in Prague and now a peripatetic organist, who visited St. Florian in the spring of 1855. Bruckner travelled to the Austrian capital in July 1855, taking the score of the Mass with him, and Sechter, who realised that there was scope for development despite Bruckner's shortcomings as a contrapuntist, accepted him as a pupil. Bruckner's marathon course of study with Sechter began towards the end of 1855, at about the same time as he was appointed, at first provisionally then definitively, organist of Linz Cathedral; it continued until 1861. This intensive training and Bruckner's subsequent lessons in form and orchestration from Otto Kitzler (1861-63) prepared the way for an outpouring of original composition in the 1860s, including his three great settings of the Mass, in D minor, E minor and F minor.

As one would expect from a young composer who became increasingly involved with church music during his ten years at St. Florian, there are several shorter sacred works from this period. Most of them are no more than competent but Bruckner was happy to return to five of them, all settings of the *Tantum ergo*, viz. *Vier Tantum ergo* WAB 41 (1846), for mixed-voice choir and organ (ad lib.) and a *Tantum ergo* in D major, WAB 42 (1846), for five-part mixed-voice choir and organ, and revise them in 1888.¹⁰ Yet another setting of the text: in B-flat major, WAB 44 (c.1854), scored for mixed-voice choir, two trumpets, violins and organ, has typically 'busy' string accompaniment but is more adventurous melodically and harmonically.¹¹

9 For further discussion, see *G-A II/1*, 155-77, Nowak's foreword and the *Revisionsbericht* of *ABSW XV* (Vienna, 1977) in which Robert Haas's earlier revision report of the Mass in the old Complete Edition (Vienna, 1930) is updated, corrected, and amplified by Nowak. There is a facsimile of the original dedication score in *G-A II/2*, 189-228.

10 All five settings were published by Gross of Innsbruck in 1893.

11 It may have been performed together with Bruckner's setting of the *Magnificat* (1852) at St. Florian on 1 August 1854. The work was printed for the first time in *G-A II/2*, 255-58.

As well as providing a secular piece, *Die Geburt*, in 1852 for his friend Josef Seiberl in Marienkirchen, Bruckner also sent him two funeral songs, *Totenlieder*, WAB 47 and 48, for unaccompanied mixed-voice choir.¹² In similar vein, but for the mellow combination of three trombones, are the two *Aequale*, WAB 114 and 149, written in January 1847 possibly in memory of his aunt, Rosalia Mayrhofer.¹³ The two *Totenlieder* are examples of settings of texts in the German vernacular. Bruckner's attraction to the Lutheran chorale resulted in the composition of a few chorale or hymn-like pieces during the Kronstorf and St. Florian periods: *Dir, Herr, Dir will ich mich ergeben*, WAB 12 (1844 or 1845), for mixed voices a cappella, *O du liebes Jesukind*, WAB 145 (1845 or 1846), for solo soprano and organ, *Herz-Jesu-Lied*, WAB 144 (c.1846) for mixed voices and organ, and *In jener letzten der Nächte*, WAB 17 (c.1848), a hymn for Passion week which exists in two versions, the first for voice with organ accompaniment, the second for mixed voices a cappella.

In 1854 the death of Michael Arneth, who had been prelate of St. Florian abbey since 1823 and had taken a great interest in Bruckner's education and early musical development, came as a bitter blow to the composer. Bruckner composed two pieces in F minor for Arneth's funeral: *Vor Arneths Grab* (WAB 53), a musical setting of a poem by the St. Florian priest Ernest Marinelli for male voices and three trombones and intended for the funeral procession; and *Libera me* (WAB 22) for 5-part choir (SSATB), 3 trombones, cello, bass, and organ for the benediction at the end of the Requiem Mass. The latter is an extended composition and by far the longest of the smaller sacred works up to this time.

Bruckner as church musician in Linz (1856-1868)

Bruckner's appointment as organist at both the Cathedral and the Parish Church in Linz after a two-part competition to find a successor to Wenzel Pranghofer meant that he was able to devote himself entirely to church music for the first and only time

12 Printed for the first time in *G-A II/2*, 141-44.

13 The first piece was printed for the first time in *G-A II/2*, 83. In *ABSW XXI/1*, 52-53, Hans Bauernfeind has provided the missing bass part of the second piece.

in his career. That he enjoyed good working relationships with both his immediate superior, Karl Zappe, music director of the cathedral from 1840 to 1870, and Bishop Franz Joseph Rudigier, who not only admired and sought to encourage his musical gifts but also had a pastoral concern for his welfare, was of undoubted value to him as he began to spread his wings as a composer.¹⁴ One of the most pressing problems facing Bruckner when he took up his appointment was the state of the organs at both churches. Bruckner had enough knowledge of organ construction to take the organ builder and restorer, Ludwig Mooser, to task for spending so much time carrying out the necessary repair work on the parish church organ. Mooser's excuse was that he had not been able to find the necessary help to accomplish the task adequately. But it is evident that Bruckner was not a man to be trifled with in matters of organ playing and organ maintenance.

Motet settings

From the beginning of the Linz period comes a setting of the *Ave Maria* (WAB 5) for four-part mixed-voice choir, cello and organ. Written on 24 July 1856 and dedicated to Ignaz Traumihler, director of the St. Florian abbey choir, it provides a good example of Bruckner's contrapuntal facility shortly after the beginning of his marathon course in harmony and counterpoint with Simon Sechter. Significantly, it was with another setting of the same text - the *Ave Maria* (WAB 6) for unaccompanied seven-part mixed-voice choir - that Bruckner ended his self-imposed abstinence from original composition during his studies with Sechter.¹⁵ It was composed specifically

14 Bishop Franz Joseph Rudigier was enthroned as Bishop of Linz in June 1853. For further information about him and the state of church music in Linz during his episcopacy, see Harry Slapnicka, *Bischof Rudigier: eine Bildbiographie* (Linz, 1962) and 'Bischof Rudigier und die Kunst', *Bruckner Symposium Linz 1985 Bericht*, ed. Othmar Wessely *et al.* (Linz 1988), 23-31; also Elisabeth Maier, 'Kirchenmusik auf schiefen Bahnen; zur Situation in Linz von 1850 bis 1900', and 'Musikstadt Linz – Musikland Oberösterreich', *Bruckner Symposium Linz 1990 Bericht*, ed. Othmar Wessely *et al.* (Linz, 1993), 109-17.

15 One of the few exceptions is *Am Grabe*, WAB 2, composed in haste for the funeral on 11 February 1861 of Josefine Hafferl, the mother of the chairman of *Frohsinn*. Bruckner made use of the same text as *Vor Arneths Grab*, WAB 53, written seven years earlier, but omitted the final verse; the music is different, however. The work is discussed in Paul Hawkshaw, *The Manuscript Sources for Anton Bruckner's Linz Works (HMSAB)* [PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1984], 221-26 and, earlier, in G-A II/1 (1930), 92ff. It was first published in Friedrich Eckstein, *Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner* (Vienna, 1923). For possible reference to a successful performance in Linz in 1858 of a smaller sacred piece that has been lost, viz. *Litanei* (WAB 132), see Sechter's letter of 26 September to Bruckner (*HSABB* 1, Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1998, 2/2009), 15.

for the anniversary celebrations of the *Frohsinn* choir in Linz, performed for the first time on 12 May 1861 in Linz Cathedral as an offertory hymn during a sung Mass by Lotti, and received a favourable review in the *Linzer Zeitung*. Like the contemporary *Afferentur regi*, it was frequently included in later performances of the D minor Mass. *Afferentur regi* (WAB 1) was written on 7 November 1861 and first performed at St. Florian on 13 December. It was unaccompanied originally, but Bruckner added three optional trombone parts later.¹⁶

Four years elapsed before Bruckner's next small-scale sacred piece. In the meantime, he had written the first of his three great settings of the Mass, the Mass in D minor, WAB 26 (1864). *Trauungsschor* (WAB 49), set to a German text by Franz Proschko, is really a semi-sacred composition, an occasional work for male-voice choir and organ written in January 1865 to celebrate the wedding of Karl Kerschbaum, the president of *Frohsinn*, and Marie Schimatschek, a concert singer and the daughter of Franz Schimatschek, his Linz copyist. It was given its first performance by *Frohsinn*, with Bruckner at the organ, in Linz Parish Church on 6 February 1865.¹⁷

Just as the *Ave Maria* and *Afferentur regi* motets are closely associated with the D minor Mass, a motet written near the end of the Linz period - *Pange lingua und Tantum ergo* (WAB 33) - has modal (Phrygian) and thematic connections with the E minor Mass, particularly its *Kyrie* movement. It was composed on 31 January 1868 and Bruckner's original intention was to have it performed at the same time as the first performance of the Mass in Linz on 29 September 1869; but he had to wait twenty years before hearing it.¹⁸ In the 1880s, Franz X. Witt included this small motet in a collection of *Eucharistic Songs* and, to Bruckner's great annoyance, "corrected"

16 For a facsimile of the autograph of *Afferentur regi*, see Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner als Kirchenmusiker* (Regensburg, 1927), 64.

17 There is a facsimile of the autograph in *G-A III/2*, 219-24.

18 Bruckner referred to the 1868 setting of *Pange lingua* as "my favourite *Tantum ergo*" in a letter of 18 October 1892. Writing to Oddo Loidol in Kremsmünster, he said that it should be performed "very slowly and solemnly"; see *HSABB 2*, 194.

the slight dissonance near the end of the piece. Witt claimed that, although the suspended dissonance was “justified”, the alto singers “would have found it very difficult to sing the dissonant B against the C entering above in the tenors.”¹⁹ Like the majority of his church music colleagues, with the notable exception of Ignaz Traumihler in St. Florian, Bruckner was unsympathetic to the more ‘hard-line’ attitude adopted by the German wing of the church music reform movement and preferred the much more moderate Austrian stance adopted by Johannes Evangelist Habert who advocated a balanced mixture of the best aspects of the old and the new.

Bruckner wrote two other small sacred works during his final year in Linz. The offertory *Inveni David* (WAB 19) for male voices and four trombones was composed on 21 April for the church service on 10 May which formed part of the anniversary celebrations of *Frohsinn*. In contrast, *Iam lucis orto sidere* (WAB 18) is a simple strophic hymn for mixed-voice choir a cappella, probably written during the summer months for the Gymnasium pupils in Wilhering abbey.²⁰

Mass in D minor (WAB 26)

The first information we have concerning Bruckner’s Mass in D minor, scored for soloists, chorus and orchestra comprising double woodwind, two horns, two trumpets, three trombones, timpani, strings and organ, is in an article written in the *Linzer Zeitung* in June 1864 – “Mr. Anton Bruckner, the cathedral organist, is working most assiduously at the composition of a Mass which is to receive its first performance in Ischl during this summer.”²¹ According to dates on the autograph

19 Franz Xaver Witt, *Musica sacra* 19 (1886), 39. This “correction” was amended in the Gross edition of 1895 and subsequent editions of the piece. Prior to its publication in Franz X. Witt, *Eucharistische Gesänge* 3 (1888), it appeared in the supplement of Witt (ed.), *Musica sacra* 18 (1885), 44. Witt also made some other changes, including doubling note values in bars 9-10. These are discussed by Leopold Nowak in *ABSW XX1/1 Revisionsbericht*, 75. For an account of Bruckner’s reaction, see Friedrich Eckstein, *Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner* (Vienna, 1923), 13-17.

20 The dedicatee of *Iam lucis* was the abbot of Wilhering Abbey, and Robert Riepl, a priest in the abbey, supplied the text; see G.K. Mitterschiffthaler, ‘Die Beziehungen Anton Bruckners zum Stift Wilhering’, *Bruckner Studien*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Vienna, 1975), 128. It was first published in Linz in 1868 and was printed again, in a transposed version and with four of the original eight verses omitted, in the Viennese magazine *An der schönen blauen Donau*, in May 1886.

21 From *Linzer Zeitung* 126 (4 June 1864).

score, the *Kyrie* was finished on 4 July, the *Credo*, begun during July, was completed on 1 September, and the *Sanctus*, *Agnus* and *Benedictus* were also completed in September - on the 6th, 22nd and 29th (at "7 o'clock in the evening") respectively. The *Gloria* is not dated but, in view of the dates on which the other movements were commenced, it is probable that Bruckner began work on it in June or July, if not earlier. Bruckner's copyist, Franz Schimatschek, with the assistance of four other copyists (Anonymous L1, Anonymous W12, Anonymous 24 and Anonymous 25) wrote the parts.²² Bruckner was not able to meet his self-imposed deadline of having the Mass ready for performance at Emperor Franz Josef's summer residence at Bad Ischl. When he wrote to his friend Rudolf Weinwurm in October, however, he was able to say that the Mass was finished and that he was hoping for a performance on St. Caecilia's day.²³ The first performance, in Linz Cathedral on 20 November 1864, was favourably received, the *Linzer Abendbote* reporting that "Bruckner's Mass in D major (sic) performed yesterday in the Cathedral is the finest of its kind to be produced for a long time, according to the judgment of our most worthy connoisseurs."²⁴

The premiere of the work clearly made a sufficient impression for Bruckner's friend, Moritz von Mayfeld, to feel justified in organising a repeat of the performance at a

22 See Paul Hawkshaw, *HMSAB*, 168 and 278ff. for details of autograph sketches in Kremsmünster and other material, including the autograph score Mus. Hs. 19.483) in the *ÖNB*. Hawkshaw also discusses the Mass in the context of a survey of Bruckner's larger sacred works in 'Bruckner's large sacred compositions', *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge, 2004), 41-53. The Mass is also fully discussed in *G-A III/1*, 259-306, and there is a facsimile of a page from the autograph of the *Credo* between pages 264 and 265. Max von Oberleithner had the responsibility of preparing the score and checking the proofs of the first edition of the score which was published by Groß of Innsbruck at the beginning of 1892; Ferdinand Löwe was responsible for the piano score. The first modern edition is *ABSW XVI* (Vienna, 1957) which includes an informative foreword by Leopold Nowak. See also Rüdiger Bornhöft, *Messe D-Moll Revisionsbericht* (Vienna, 1999) for supplementary information. This includes facsimiles of pages from the autograph score and sketches. A new edition of the full score of the Mass, with Introduction and detailed Editorial Report, is to be published as part of the *Neue Anton Bruckner Gesamtausgabe*. It has been prepared by A.C. Howie and is currently in press.

23 See *HSABB* 1, 49 for this letter, dated Linz, 10 October 1864.

24 From the review in the *Linzer Abendbote*, 21 November 1864; see Susanna Taub, *Zeitgenössische Bruckner-Rezeption in den Linzer Printmedien (1855-1869)*, Ph.D. dissertation (Salzburg, 1987), 46 for a facsimile of the review in the *Linzer Zeitung* 266 (21 November 1864).

'Concert spirituel' in the *Redoutensaal* on 18 December. In another letter to Weinwurm, Bruckner provided details of both Linz performances:

Through the good offices of several music patrons my Mass was performed in the Cathedral on 20 November and at a 'Concert spirituel' in the Redoutensaal, Linz, on 18 December. The fact that the attendance at the latter was exceptional, even to overflowing, will prove to you just what effect it had in church; and this surprises me even more because the mood of the work is very serious and its form very free.

He also referred to the possibility of a performance in Vienna:

Archduke Rudolf also attended my concert... I am having a fair copy of the full score made at present. Do you think I should send it later through you to Hanslick and Herbeck? It requires too many rehearsals for a church performance (even when the singers and instrumentalists involved are the most capable court musicians). And what choir director would be pleased with that situation? My own feeling is that the best solution would be for Herbeck to deem it good enough to be performed as part of a *Musikverein* concert (or Dessoff, if that was not appropriate) - or Krenn?... What do you think?...²⁵

Bruckner also enclosed part of the favourable review in the *Linzer Abendbote* and an extract from a long article in five weekly instalments written by Franz Gamon in the *Linzer Zeitung*. Gamon attempted to place Bruckner's D minor Mass in context by discussing the development of the Mass from the end of the fifteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century, and described Bruckner's work as "the most important modern work in the realm of church music", referring particularly to Bruckner's "predilection for the polyphonic style" which he employed "certainly not to appear competent or out of mere pleasure in self-imposed difficulties but because it alone is worthy of the highest thoughts. The realization of the artistic ideal is seen at its most admirable in the strict forms of complex counterpoint, as these admit depth and

25 See *HSABB* 1, 52-53 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 26 December 1864.

strength of characterization in a flexible conception.” Gamon concluded his discussion by giving special mention to the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements:

... it is the *Gloria* and *Credo* in particular which attest to Bruckner’s great talent insofar as the instrumental writing, while conditioned by the nature of the vocal writing, nonetheless leads an independent existence. These two movements can be ranked justifiably among the best in the domain of church music. The other movements are not on the same high level, although the *Benedictus* and the *Dona nobis pacem* are outstanding, the former in its voice-leading, the latter in its soothing translucence.²⁶

When Weinwurm responded to Bruckner’s letter, he gave him the excellent news that, as conductor of the *Wiener Männergesangsverein*, he would be prepared to conduct a performance of the Mass during the University of Vienna’s 500th birthday celebrations in 1865. Bruckner was understandably delighted:

... As soon as a fair copy of the score has been made, you will receive it together with all the individual parts. As from now the Mass must not be performed anywhere else before the University jubilee. Above all I must tell you that it is by no means easy to perform. Even with the best Viennese forces at your disposal, you will require very thorough study of the chorus parts and many rehearsals because the intonation is difficult. Several orchestral rehearsals will be necessary as it requires the most delicate shading. And then, finally, a couple of dress rehearsals. It goes without saying that I will place all the means that I possess at your disposal... I beg you to remain firm and not accept any other Mass...²⁷

26 Gamon’s long article appeared in five weekly instalments in the *Linzer Zeitung* from 30 November to 29 December (nos. 274, 278, 283, 290 and 297). See Franz Gräßlinger, Anton Bruckner. *Bausteine zu seiner Lebensgeschichte* (Munich: Piper, 1911 (GrBL), 36ff. for the complete text of Gamon’s discussion of the D minor Mass, which constituted the fourth and fifth articles, 20 and 29 December respectively; facsimiles of substantial parts of the articles can be found in Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, 47-58.

27 See *HSABB* 1, 53-54 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 3 January 1865.

When he sent Weinwurm the score and parts of the Mass later in the month, Bruckner emphasised once again the need for the chorus parts to be rehearsed thoroughly and asked his friend to allow Hanslick and other potential reviewers to see the score. He also pointed out that the organ solo before 'Et resurrexit' in the *Credo* had been transferred to the woodwind (two clarinets and two bassoons).²⁸ Writing again a few days later in response to Weinwurm's request for a piano score of the Mass for rehearsal purposes, Bruckner regretted that he did not have sufficient time to prepare a score but recommended Ignaz Dorn, who was in Vienna at the time, as a suitable accompanist, and added that it would not be difficult to construct a piano part from the vocal parts. As he hoped to be able to send Weinwurm 100 florins for the Vienna performance, he suggested that some of this money could be used to prepare a proper piano score.²⁹

Although Weinwurm's plans did not come to fruition, it appears that he passed on some information about the Linz performances to Eduard Hanslick who provided a sympathetic second-hand account in the *Neue freie Presse* on 1 April 1865. It was Johann Herbeck who was responsible for the first Viennese performance of the D minor Mass in the Court Chapel on 10 February 1867. Three weeks before the performance, Bruckner wrote to Herbeck, thanking him for his willingness to perform the Mass and asking if his *Afferentur* (WAB 1) and *Ave Maria* (WAB 6) could be used as the Gradual and Offertory respectively. He hoped to be in Vienna on the 8th or 9th of February.³⁰ Ludwig Speidel, the Viennese music critic who had written a complimentary report of Bruckner's organ playing in the *Piaristenkirche* nine years earlier, had the distinction of providing the first review of the performance of a Bruckner work in Vienna. Writing about the performance of the D minor Mass in the *Hofkapelle*, with Herbeck conducting and Bruckner playing the organ, he pointed out that Bruckner had nothing to be modest about, in view of his "great theoretical

28 See *HSABB* 1, 54 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 21 January 1865.

29 See *HSABB* 1, 55-56 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 29 January 1865.

30 See *HSABB* 1, 70 for the text of this letter, dated Linz, 17 January 1867.

knowledge” and his “truly outstanding organ playing.”³¹

In performances of the Mass before 1876, which included another performance in Linz on 6 January 1868, a performance in Salzburg Cathedral on 11 September 1870 and another Viennese performance on 18 July 1875, the work was given in its original form. During the summer of 1876, however, Bruckner worked on all three of his mature Masses and, after scrutinizing their periodic structure, made “rhythmical” adjustments. In the autograph, the beginning of each movement apart from the *Gloria* has an indication of this 1876 scrutiny. *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus* have “Rhythmus fertig, 1876”, while the *Credo* has a precise date, “neu revidiert 12 August 1876”. The orchestration also underwent some revision. Further small corrections, particularly in the *Credo*, were made in 1881/82 perhaps as the consequence of some performances in the *Hofkapelle* in the late 1870s and early 1880s and in anticipation of further performances there.³² These corrections to the score of the Mass in 1876 and 1881/82 also necessitated small alterations in the parts, carried out by copyists Anonymous W12, Anonymous 24 and Anonymous 25.

Keen interest in the Mass was shown by Father Georg Huemer, director of music at Kremsmünster abbey. Oddo Loidol, a pupil in Bruckner’s Harmony and Counterpoint class at the Vienna Conservatory during the 1879/1880 session, became a Benedictine priest at the abbey. Writing to Loidol on 17 October 1880, Bruckner congratulated his ex-pupil on his move to Kremsmünster and asked him to procure the score of the Mass, which he had lent to Huemer in 1877, and return it to Vienna “as this Mass is now being performed more often again and is beginning to find

31 From Speidel’s review in the *Fremdenblatt* 41 (11 February 1867). The review was reprinted in the *Linzer Abendbote* on 13 February; see Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, 66 for facsimile.

32 See Paul Hawkshaw, *HMSAB*, 278-79, Rüdiger Bornhöft, *op.cit.*, 11-31 and A.C. Howie, *op.cit.* for details of Bruckner’s later annotations in the autograph score and Schimatscheck’s copy score (which also includes insertions by Johann Noll, one of the Hofkapelle copyists), both of which are in the ÖNB. There were performances of the Mass in the *Hofkapelle* on 9 November 1879, 2 February 1880 and 6 June 1880. In one of Bruckner’s diaries, the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1880*, the composer has written “6.Juni s[ehr] g[ute] Aufführung meiner Messe in D in kk. Hofkapelle unter meiner Direction. Grad[uale] Locus iste. Offert[orium] Os justi” on the June page, a reference to one of these performances of the Mass (together with Gradual and Offertory) in the Court Chapel, under his direction, on 6 June 1880. See Elisabeth Maier, *Verborgene Persönlichkeit. Anton Bruckner in seinen privaten Aufzeichnungen [MVP]* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2001, part 1, 150 and part 2, 133.

exceptional favour.”³³ Although the first complete performance of the Mass outside Austria was not until 31 March 1893 when it was conducted by Gustav Mahler in Hamburg, Bruckner’s letters to Ernst Schuch in 1885 and Josef Thiard-Laforest in Pressburg (Bratislava) in 1890 and correspondence between Bruckner and Siegfried Ochs in Berlin indicate increasing interest in the work outside Vienna in the late 1880s and early 1890s.³⁴ Franz Bayer, director of music at Steyr Parish Church, was one of Bruckner’s most enthusiastic devotees and gave tangible expression to his support by conducting some of the composer’s works in the town, including two performances of the D minor Mass in April 1893 and April 1896. Bruckner himself played the organ in the 1893 performance and paid tribute to the performers at a reception in his honour held afterwards. In a letter to Bayer, he remarked that the Mass had been performed “astonishingly well”.³⁵

Mass in E minor (WAB 27)

The Mass in E minor (WAB 27), scored for eight-part choir and a wind band consisting of two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, four horns, two trumpets and three trombones, was composed in Linz between August/September and November 1866. The autograph score, with some entries made by an anonymous scribe, in the Linz Cathedral library, has dates at the end of the *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and

33 The text of this letter can be found in Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (1956), 751ff. There are two autograph sketches of the Mass, viz. a continuity draft of part of the *Credo* (bars 225-end) and a score sketch of five bars of the *Credo* (bars 177-81) in the Kremsmünster abbey library (A-Kr C56/2).

34 Ernst Schuch, a pupil of Otto Dessoff, conducted a performance of Bruckner’s Third Symphony in Dresden on 11 December 1885. Bruckner enclosed a copy of his D-minor Mass when he wrote to Schuch on 23 November; see *HSABB* 1, 278-79. Laforest conducted a successful performance of Bruckner’s Seventh Symphony in Bratislava on 27 April 1890. Ten days later, on 7 May 1890, Bruckner wrote to Thiard-Laforest and enclosed the score of the Mass which he asked Laforest to have copied with a view to a possible performance in Pressburg. This letter, together with two earlier ones to Laforest, was first published in the *Pressburger Zeitung* 134 no. 77, *Morgenblatt* (18 March 1897); see also *HSABB* 2, 69 and 74-75. For Bruckner’s correspondence with Ochs (January and February 1892), see *HSABB* 2, 167-69. A review in the *Hamburgische Korrespondent* of Mahler’s performance of the work, which is critical of the perceived lack of structural unity, is printed in *G-A* IV/3 (1936), 324ff.

35 Bruckner’s letter to Bayer is dated Vienna, 22 April 1893 and its text can be found in *HSABB* 2, 218. There is a facsimile in *GrBL*, after page 58. Bayer took no less than 26 rehearsals in preparing the work and augmented the church choir with singers from the local choral society. See also Erich Wolfgang Partsch, *op.cit.*, 281-86; on page 284 there is a facsimile of the review of the performance in the *Steyrer Zeitung*, 6 April 1893.

Agnus but no dates at the end of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*; the completion date is 25 November.³⁶ The work was dedicated to Bishop Rudigier who had commissioned it earlier in the year for the consecration ceremony of the *Votivkapelle* for the new cathedral, and Bruckner informed Weinwurm in Vienna of its completion when he wrote to him at the beginning of December – “The Mass for voices in eight parts with wind accompaniment [written] for the dedication of the *Votivkapelle*, is finished.”³⁷

As the consecration ceremony was postponed until 29 September 1869, Bruckner had to wait almost three years for the first performance of the Mass. By this time, he was in Vienna and he had to ask Johann Schiedermayr, the dean of the Cathedral, to arrange preliminary rehearsals of the work. When he wrote to him in May 1869, he suggested that the *Frohsinn* and *Musikverein* choirs in Linz would have to amalgamate and start rehearsing immediately because of the great difficulty of the Mass. A further letter the following month was more urgent in tone:

... Weilnböck wrote to me that Waldeck had said that if the Mass was not studied now with the *Musikverein* students, its performance was out of the question; and they cannot postpone rehearsal until later, as it is difficult.³⁸

Bruckner was so concerned about the performance of his Mass that he spent a good part of his summer vacation in Linz, rehearsing the work no fewer than 28 times during the months of August and September. On 9 August he received a letter of thanks from the bishop for his sterling efforts in preparing the Mass for its first

36 See Paul Hawkshaw, *HMSAB*, 286-87 for details of the autograph score, autograph sketches, copy scores and parts. A facsimile of the dedication page appears between pages 552 and 553 in *G-A III/1* and after the foreword in *ABSW XVII/2* (Vienna, 1959). The work was first published by Doblinger (Vienna, 1896). There are modern editions of the original 1866 version in *ABSW XVII/1* (ed. Leopold Nowak, Vienna, 1977) and the revised 1882/83 version in *ABSW XVII/2* (ed. Nowak, Vienna, 1959). A new edition of the work in the *Neue Anton Bruckner Gesamtausgabe* is also in preparation.

37 For the complete text of this letter, dated Linz, 2 December 1866, see *HSABB 1*, 68.

38 See *HSABB 1*, 110-11 and 113-14 for the texts of these two letters, dated Vienna 20 May and 19 June 1869. Karl Weilnböck was a member and former choirmaster of *Frohsinn*. Karl Waldeck was Bruckner's successor as organist at Linz Cathedral.

performance. Rudigier was able to tell Bruckner that the entire *Sängerbund*, some members of *Frohsinn* and other individuals in the town had offered their services.³⁹ Bruckner had to obtain official permission for a few days' leave from Conservatory duties so that he could direct the final rehearsals of the Mass. He made this request indirectly through Herbeck when he wrote to him to acknowledge receipt of an honorarium from the Lord Chancellor and to convey Rudigier's invitation to attend the consecration ceremony and the official dinner afterwards.⁴⁰ At the open-air performance conducted by Bruckner on 29 September, a choir made up of members of *Frohsinn*, *Sängerbund* and the *Musikverein* was accompanied by the military band of the Austro-Hungarian military regiment *Ernst Ludwig, Grossherzog von Hessen und bei Rhein Nr. 14*. The press reviews were largely favourable. In his review of the Mass in the *Linzer Volksblatt*, J.E. Habert discussed the work and its performance in some detail, extolling its many fine points but finding fault with what he considered to be excessive chromaticism in the *Benedictus*. He also observed that there were some problems of ensemble and balance at times, noticeably in the *Sanctus*.⁴¹ The reviewer for the *Linzer Zeitung*, probably Moritz von Mayfeld, also provided a detailed account of the work, singling out many fine details of word-setting in the *Credo* movement, drawing particular attention to the "enchanted beauty" of the *Benedictus*, and praising the performance. He was aware that there were several blemishes and miscalculations that were due to the acoustics of the location but was convinced that there should be an opportunity to hear the Mass "in a suitable hall so that its rich beauties could be more fully displayed."⁴²

39 See *HSABB* 1, 116 for this letter from Rudigier.

40 See *HSABB* 1, 116-17 for this letter, dated Linz, 13 September 1869. Bruckner said that he was "terribly harassed" by the rehearsals.

41 The full text of the review, which was spread over three issues of the *Linzer Volksblatt* on 6, 7 and 9 October, is printed in *G-A III/1*, 551-57; there are facsimiles in Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, 85-87. Göllerich surmises that a report of the first performance by Josef Seiberl (*G-A III/1*, 549-51), which was not published at the time, was probably intended for the *Volksblatt* but was superseded by Habert's review. See also Karl Pfannhauser, 'Zu Anton Bruckners Mess-Vertonungen (2. Teil)', *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 26 (October 1985), 16-17 for extracts from another article by Habert - 'Die Aufführung der Bruckner'schen Fest-Messe bei der feierlichen Einweihung der Votivkapelle des Mariä-Empfängnis-Domes in Linz am 29. September d.J.' - in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Kirchenmusik* 2/11 and 12 (1869), 98-100.

42 From the review in the *Linzer Zeitung*, 6 October 1869. For the full text, see *G-A III/1*, 557ff.; there is a facsimile in Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, 88-89.

Bruckner received fees amounting to 225 florins after the performance and, in letters to Bishop Rudigier and Schiedermayr, expressed his gratitude in moving terms.⁴³ One of the singers at the first performance, Linda Schönbeck, later recalled the event and the rehearsals preceding it. Bruckner was evidently so pleased with the Linz performance that he conceived the idea of hiring a special train to take all the performers to Vienna so that the Mass could be heard there; but this project did not materialise.

The E minor Mass did not escape the inevitable revision process! Bruckner used a copy of the work made by Schimatschek to carry out his “rhythmical modifications” in 1876 and to enter further changes in 1882. A handwritten entry at the end of the *Benedictus* movement in this copy – “Restauriert: Wilhering 26 Juli 1882. A. Br.” -- indicates that Bruckner stopped off at Linz and Wilhering on his way to Bayreuth in the summer of 1882. As Nowak observes, “it is difficult to say with certainty when exactly Bruckner made his emendations” to the work as there is no noticeable difference in the handwriting between the structural or ‘metrical’ changes made in 1876 and the alterations made in 1882.⁴⁴ Having completed his revision, which almost certainly involved the other movements as well as the *Benedictus*, Bruckner asked Johann Noll, copyist of the Vienna *Hofkapelle*, to prepare a new score and parts. There is no known reason why Bruckner should have made alterations to the Mass in 1882, unless he was hoping for a performance in the *Hofkapelle*; but there is no recorded performance of the work there at this time.⁴⁵ The Mass was not performed in this venue until October 1907, but its earliest recorded performance in Vienna was eight years earlier, on 17 March 1899, at a concert of the *Akademisches*

43 See *HSABB* 1, 117-19 for the texts of these letters, dated Vienna, 19 October and 18 October respectively.

44 Leopold Nowak, foreword to *ABSW* xvii/2, *Messe E-moll Fassung von 1882* (Vienna, 1959). Schimatschek's copy is in the *ÖNB*, Mus.Hs. 29.301.

45 The date at the end of the first oboe part - 29 September 1882 - indicates that Noll began the process of correcting the original parts, which had been copied by Schimatschek, shortly after Bruckner's return to Vienna from St. Florian in September 1882. The revised score, Mus. Hs. 6014 in the *ÖNB*, was completed on 24 January 1883. An entry in the January 1883 page of the *Neuer Krakauer Schreib-Kalender für das Jahr 1883* – “Hr Noll 18 fl gezalt. 2 fl schuldig” - indicates a payment of 18 florins to Noll for his work, with 2 florins still to be paid. See *MVP*, Part 1, 211; Part 2, 186.

Gesangsverein. In 1885, however, there was a second performance of the Mass in Linz, during the centennial diocesan celebrations. Bruckner was also asked to write a setting of *Ecce sacerdos magnus* (WAB 13) for this occasion and, when he sent a copy of the motet to Johann Burgstaller, the choir director of Linz Cathedral, in May 1885, he also referred to some revisions he had made to the Mass since its first performance in 1869:

... The Mass is dedicated to the late Right Reverend Bishop [Rudigier] and is the property of the Cathedral Chapter. I have made alterations, and perhaps these should be copied into the parts now that we have a new bishop. The Mass is for a choir with woodwind and brass accompaniment but without strings. In 1869 I rehearsed it and then conducted it on the greatest day of my life at the consecration of the Votive Chapel. The bishop and the Emperor's representative drank a toast to me at the episcopal banquet.⁴⁶

Adalbert Schreyer, director of the Linz *Musikverein*, was responsible for the second Linz performance of the Mass on 4 October 1885, Emperor Franz Josef's name-day. Göllerich reports that Bruckner not only provided an organ prelude and postlude but also accompanied the Mass at times.⁴⁷ One of the handwritten annotations which Bruckner added to the Noll copy was "NB Sanctus 4/4 Tact" at the beginning of the *Sanctus*, suggesting that he wanted the movement to be sung slowly regardless of intonation difficulties. Adalbert Schreyer's report to Gräflinger of the 1885 performance throws some light on this:

... Bruckner would have preferred the *Sanctus*, which begins a *cappella* but in strict polyphony according to the Palestrinian style, to have been even slower. However, he certainly understood that for important reasons, specifically to avoid a vacillating intonation, I could not reduce the tempo any further. Bruckner appeared particularly

46 See *HSABB* 1, 283-84 for the complete text of this letter, dated Vienna, 18 May 1885.

47 See *G-A III/1*, 591. There is no autograph organ part, however. See also Nowak's foreword to *ABSW xvii/1*.

pleased not only with the precise execution of the work but also with the expressive rendering in which the performers demonstrated that they had a deep understanding of the music.⁴⁸

Writing to Schreyer from Vienna on 28 October 1885, Bruckner expressed his delight at the “heroic performance” and asked Schreyer to pass on his grateful thanks to all the participants.⁴⁹ On the same day he wrote a letter of thanks to Burgstaller and asked him if he would become the dedicatee of the motet *Afferentur regi*. He also enclosed the score of the Mass, together with a sheet of alterations made to the performance directions, as well as giving him about three weeks to mark up his own score accordingly before returning Bruckner’s score and the sheet to Vienna.⁵⁰

Arthur Nikisch’s performances of Bruckner’s Seventh Symphony and of two movements from the same work in Leipzig at the end of 1884 and beginning of 1885 had one interesting repercussion. The *Riedel-Verein*, a choral society founded and conducted by Karl Riedel, sang two movements from the E minor Mass with organ accompaniment in St. Peter’s Church, Leipzig on 3 July 1886. Bruckner’s insertion of a note – “7. Sinf[onie] in Leipzig u[nd] München. Messe No.2 H[er]r Riedl in Leipzig” -- between prayer entries for the period 15 - 30 January 1885 in one of his diaries is a reference not only to the performance of the two middle movements from the Seventh in Leipzig on 27 January 1885 and the complete work in Munich in May but also to the interest in the Mass shown by Karl Riedel.⁵¹ In a preliminary notice which appeared in the *Leipziger Tageblatt* on the morning of the concert, Riedel described the principal features of the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements, referring erroneously to the Mass in question as “an unprinted Mass in C major which is in regular use in the liturgy of the imperial court chapel in Vienna and which has also been performed in

48 See *GrBL*, 98-99.

49 See *HSABB* 1, 301 for the text of this letter.

50 See *HSABB* 1, 300-01 for the text of this letter. The original, which contains details of Bruckner’s alterations in another hand, is in the *ÖNB*.

51 The entry is in the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1879*. See *MVP* Part 1, 104-05 and Part 2, 104.

Linz.” After the concert there were reviews of the performance in the main Leipzig papers. The reviewer of the *Leipziger Zeitung* considered that the acoustics of the church hindered a true appreciation of the music with its frequent modulations and chromatic passages.⁵² Writing in the *Leipziger Nachrichten*, Bernhard Vogel praised the initiative of Riedel and his choir but regretted that the work had been accompanied by an organ instead of wind instruments as in the original:

... However, if we accept this as a necessary expedient and concentrate on the vocal parts, we must concede that there is an abundance of striking individual features and bold ideas in surprising harmonic garb. Just as Bruckner in his symphonies appears to be a contemporary of Berlioz, so here the frequent bold changes of key are most clearly reminiscent of this French composer’s great Requiem. In Bruckner’s work, just as in Berlioz, the abundance of important individual ideas seems oppressive and unclear to us at times, and just as it can happen that one is unable to see the wood for the trees, many will look in vain for the desired unity and the large, all-encompassing main idea in the coincidental fusion of clever details.

But how these individual features astonish us! The ‘Amen’ fugue, although suitably more subdued in character than the bright Gloria, is a veritable masterpiece of modern counterpoint.⁵³

Martin Krause, the critic of the *Leipziger Tageblatt*, also regretted the lack of the original wind accompaniment and would have preferred to hear the two movements in the context of the whole Mass rather than sandwiched between various sacred pieces.⁵⁴ Intonation problems in the Credo reduced its impact but the Gloria had many strikingly beautiful passages:

52 See Steffen Lieberwirth, *Anton Bruckner und Leipzig. Die Jahre 1884-1902, Anton Bruckner Dokumente und Studien* [ABDS] 6 (Graz, 1988), 65 for this review of 5 July 1886.

53 See Lieberwirth, *op.cit.*, 65-66 for this review of 6 July 1886.

54 The concert included motets by Palestrina, Victoria, Eccard. Bach and Franck, arias/songs by Handel, Beethoven and Hiller, and organ pieces by Frescobaldi, Huber and Liszt.

...the 'Qui tollis peccata mundi' and the great upswing after the 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus' can only come from the mind of a composer of genius. Another performance will no doubt give us a clearer understanding of the remarkable 'Amen' which has a strange physiognomy that is probably without parallel.⁵⁵

The performance was also reviewed in two music journals, the *Musikalische Wochenblatt* and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. In the former the reviewer was impressed by the demonstration of harmonic and contrapuntal skill but was critical of the "many profane and secular sounds emanating from this music, reminiscent of the theatre rather than the house of God." In the latter the reviewer commented that the stirring effect produced by the *Gloria* had been weakened by the final 'Amen' which was too long-drawn-out. In his opinion, the *Credo* did not reach the same heights.⁵⁶

The Schalk brothers' correspondence during the final eighteen months or so of Bruckner's life inevitably contains reports of the composer's failing health, but there are also several references to the printing of both the Fifth Symphony (based on Franz Schalk's revision) and the E minor Mass. According to Josef, the latter also needed some correction and he suggested that his brother peruse it. All this was done without or with very little reference to Bruckner. Josef's letter to Franz on 6 July 1895 was mainly concerned with the score of the E minor Mass which he considered to be in "great need of revision", a task he hoped Franz would be willing to take on.⁵⁷ Franz was indeed prepared to assume this task and was able to report to Josef at the end of July that he had almost completed the *Credo* movement.⁵⁸ Franz moved to Prague in August to take up the position of music director at the *Deutsches Landestheater*. Josef was keen to know what his brother thought of the Mass as he

55 See Lieberwirth, *op.cit.*, 66 for this review of 5 July 1886.

56 See Lieberwirth, *op.cit.*, 67 for extracts from these reviews, dated 15 July and 9 July 1886 respectively.

57 See *HSABB* 2, 312 for this letter.

58 See Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 199 for an extract from this letter, dated Graz, 31 July 1895.

was hoping to include it in the *Wagner-Verein* programme for the following season.⁵⁹ At the beginning of September, Franz Schalk reassured Josef that the Mass was well worth performing, claiming that the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* movements in particular would have a powerful effect on a wider audience. But there were some considerable difficulties in the vocal parts. Later in the month Josef asked his brother to send him the corrected Mass as soon as possible so that parts could be prepared.⁶⁰ The *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* movements from the Mass were performed at a *Wagner-Verein* concert in Vienna on 19 March 1896.⁶¹

Mass in F minor (WAB 28)

The original version of the Mass in F minor, scored for soloists, chorus and orchestra comprising double woodwind, two horns, two trumpets, three trombones, timpani, strings and organ, was written between 14 September 1867 and 9 September 1868, shortly before Bruckner's move to Vienna. The existence of two bifolios of sketches containing a continuity draft for the first 296 bars of the *Credo* as well as some E minor Mass sketches might suggest an earlier conception of the movement, but it is more likely that Bruckner, having begun sketching the *Kyrie* in September 1867 after the treatment of his illness at Bad Kreuzen, sketched the other movements in order.⁶²

59 See Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 199-200 for extracts from Josef's letters to Franz, dated Vienna, 7 and 24 August 1895.

60 See Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 200-01 for an extract from Franz's letter to Joseph, dated Prague, 2 September 1895 and *HSABB* 2, 318 for Josef's letter to Franz, dated Vienna, 19 September 1895.

61 This performance is mentioned by Karl Pfannhauser in the second part of his article 'Zu Anton Bruckners Mess -Vertonungen', *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 26 (October 1985), 18. We can assume that Josef Schalk conducted these two movements with piano accompaniment (by Cyrill Hynais, whose piano score of the Mass was published by Doblinger in 1899?)

62 The first edition of the F minor Mass, revised by Josef Schalk (Doblinger, 1894) was re-edited by Josef Wöss in 1924. Later 20th-century editions of the Mass include those by Robert Haas (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol.14, Leipzig, 1944), Leopold Nowak (*Anton Bruckner Gesamtausgabe* vol. 18, Vienna, 1960) and Hans Ferdinand Redlich (London: Eulenburg, 1967). In 2005, Paul Hawkshaw provided a new edition of the Mass, a collaboration of the Austrian National Library and the International Bruckner Society, in which he clearly identifies the 1883 and 1893 versions of the work as Bruckner's definitive ones and acknowledges the earlier editorial contributions of Haas and Nowak (*ABSW XVIII*, Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag). See also Paul Hawkshaw, *HMSAB*, 294-97, 'Anton Bruckner's revisions to the Mass in F minor', *Bruckner Studies* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 3-31, and 'Revision und Bearbeitung in den Quellen der f-moll Messe', *Bruckner-Vorträge: Anton Bruckner zwischen Idolatrie und Ideologie*, ed. Andrea Harrandt et al. (Vienna, 2004), 131-44, and *Anton Bruckner Messe F-Moll Revisionsbericht, zu ABSW XVIII* (Vienna, 2004) for full details of source material. There is a facsimile of the *Credo* continuity draft, with commentary, between pages 114 and 115 of *GrBL*. Facsimiles of other sketches can be found in (1) *G-A III/1* (*Gloria* sketches, between

Annotations in the autograph score reveal that the sketches for the *Kyrie* were completed on 19 October 1867 and those for the *Gloria* were begun on 6 November.

On 30 December, Bruckner wrote to Herbeck in Vienna, sending greetings for the New Year and referring to current progress in composing the Mass:

... The *Credo* of my new Mass will soon be ready. *Kyrie* and *Gloria* are sketched. I am gathering my strength...⁶³

Moritz von Mayfeld's second report of the Linz performance of the D minor Mass in January 1868 contained a reference to a new Mass:

... According to reports Mr. Bruckner, the cathedral organist, is fully occupied at present with a new Mass which has already progressed as far as the *Credo*, and upon which we place our highest hopes.⁶⁴

The events of 1868 prevented Bruckner from working intensively on the Mass again until his future employment at Vienna had been secured. Almost certainly wishing to finish the work before moving from Linz, he spent August and the early part of September completing the *Benedictus* and writing the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*.

Bruckner's original intention, no doubt encouraged by Herbeck, was to establish his position in Vienna by having the work performed as early as possible. According to Mayfeld's letter to Bruckner of 14 November 1868, a performance of the Mass was

pages 480 and 481; fragment of the autograph score of the end of the *Credo*, 465-69; (2) foreword to H.F. Redlich's edition of the work [Eulenburg E.E. 961, 1968] (fragment of the autograph score at the end of the *Credo*); (3) Paul Hawkshaw's chapter in *Bruckner Studies* (sketches of the *Credo*: 6f. and 14f., *Kyrie*: 11, *Gloria*, 12f.); (4) Paul Hawkshaw, 'Messe F-Moll Revisionsbericht', *zu ABSW XVIII* (Vienna, 2004) 259-326 (facsimiles of various pages from the sources).

63 See *HSABB* 1, 80-82 for the complete text of this letter to Herbeck as well as letters to Anton Imhof von Geißlinghof, a councillor in the Vienna court chancellery, and Rudolf Weinwurm, in which he also mentions work on the Mass. The first two letters are both dated Linz, 30 December 1867, and the third Linz, 7 January 1868.

64 From Mayfeld's article in the *Linzer Zeitung* 9, 12 January 1868. See *G-A III/1*, 421f.; there is a facsimile in Taub, *op.cit.*, 69.

scheduled for either the 22nd or 29th of the month.⁶⁵ There was certainly a rehearsal of the work on 20 November, but the planned performance in the *Hofkapelle* did not take place. It was postponed initially until January 1869, because “further rehearsals are needed and Imhof has not been available.”⁶⁶ There was a rehearsal on 16 January but its scheduled performance the following day was replaced by a Mass by Johann Baptist Gänsbacher, a former director of music at St. Stephen’s. Despite several changes made by Bruckner, Herbeck considered the Mass to be too long. There was yet another rehearsal on 18 June and a performance was scheduled for later in the year, but nearly three years were to elapse before its first performance on 16 June 1872, not in the *Hofkapelle* but in the *Augustinerkirche*.

A few days before its premiere, Bruckner wrote to Moritz von Mayfeld to inform him that he would be responsible for the performance - conducting the Court Opera chorus and orchestra led by Hellmesberger - and inviting him to be present.⁶⁷ The first performance in the *Hofkapelle*, also conducted by Bruckner, took place on 8 December 1873 and he conducted other performances of the work in the same venue during the 1870s and 1880s. For the first performance in the *Augustinerkirche*, Bruckner had to pay the cost involved, 300 florins, out of his own pocket and experienced many difficulties in rehearsal but no doubt considered all the effort and money well spent in view of the favourable critical and public reaction. Writing in the *Fremdenblatt*, Ludwig Speidel praised the work as

.. a composition which bears the most eloquent testimony to the composer’s powers of invention and unusual ability. He has immersed himself in the Mass text with poetical understanding, and his enormous grasp of counterpoint makes it easy for him to take the most difficult problems in his stride. The excellent composer was also unable to avoid the temptation of adopting a too close reading of the text at times, a dangerous procedure

65 See *HSABB* 1, 104 for the text of this letter.

66 See *HSABB* 1, 105 for Bruckner’s letter to J.B. Schiedermayr, dated Vienna, 8 December 1868.

67 See *HSABB* 1, 140 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 11 June 1872.

that leads him all too often into longueurs and threatens the general structure of the movement (as in the *Credo*, for example). And then – again in the *Credo*, where one imagines oneself in the midst of a sacred ‘Wolf’s Glen’ at one point -- he allows the content of the text to seduce him into bordering on the theatrical at times. Viewed as a whole, however, Bruckner’s Mass is a work that inspires great respect for the composer’s learning and ability.⁶⁸

Hanslick (or, possibly, Theodor Helm), writing in the *Neue Freie Presse*, also provided a positive and favourable review:

... [Bruckner’s F minor Mass] caused a considerable stir as a result of its artistic handling of contrapuntal and fugal material, as well as several strikingly original beauties. In style and conception -- not only because of its great dimensions and performance difficulties -- it points to the *Missa solennis* as its model but also displays strong Wagnerian influences. It would be interesting if the Mass were granted a good concert performance and thereby brought to the notice of a larger public.⁶⁹

Shortly after its first performance Bruckner wrote to J.B. Schiedermayr in Linz:

... It is only a week ago that the Mass in F no. 3, the most difficult of all Masses, was performed for the first time in the *Augustinerkirche*. (It cost more than 300 florins, as I had the forces of the court theatre at my disposal.) It was written in praise of the Highest, and I wished its first performance to be in a church. There was a tremendous response from both performers and audience.⁷⁰

68 See Paul Hawkshaw, ‘Messe F-Moll Revisionsbericht’, 243-44 for the text of this review in the *Fremdenblatt*, 20 June 1872.

69 Paul Hawkshaw, ‘Messe F-Moll Revisionsbericht’, 244-45 for the text of this review in the *Neue Freie Presse* (29 June 1872), 8. Hawkshaw also provides the texts of Eduard Kremser’s review of the first performance in *Das Vaterland* (20 June 1872) and an unsigned review of the 1873 *Hofkapelle* performance in the *Neue freie Presse* (13 December 1873) on pages 244-45.

70 See *HSABB* 1, 140-41 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 23 June 1872.

The Mass underwent a significant amount of revision, almost entirely confined to the instrumental parts, prior to its eventual publication in 1894. As well as some changes made between the first and second performances, it was “rhythmically altered” in August 1876 and subtle changes affecting pitch, metrical structure and harmony were made in the *Credo* in 1877; Bruckner conducted two performances in the *Hofkapelle* on 30 July 1876 and 17 June 1877.⁷¹ The original autograph score also has traces of a further revision of the *Credo*, again affecting metrical structure but also with an important bearing on some of the cadential harmonies, which Bruckner made in 1881, possibly in preparation for a performance of the Mass in the *Hofkapelle* on 30 April 1882. As Leopold Nowak points out in his foreword to the “2nd revised edition” of the Mass, these changes “stand out very well against the brown of the original handwriting” because they were inserted in black ink. Some bars were cut but others were added or doubled by repetition.⁷² The 1882 performance, which also included the gradual and offertory motets *Locus iste* and *Os justi*, was given an extensive review by Albert von Hermann in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. It is a graphic description of both the music and the different reactions it provoked among the members of the ‘congregation’:

... It is not surprising that a kind of civil war commenced. It would be easy to give a humorous description of the different groups who made up the audience in the chapel and their reaction to the performance, but factual details will suffice. The adversaries of the inspired composer looked at him grimly and, after the *Gloria*, left the church ostentatiously like parliamentary dissidents; the regular attenders shook their heads and gesticulated in all kinds of ways to express

71 The reviews of the July 1876 and June 1877 performances in *Das Vaterland* and the *Deutsche Zeitung* are provided by Paul Hawkshaw in *op.cit.*, 245.

72 See Nowak, foreword to *ABSW XVIII* (1960), as well as Paul Hawkshaw’s comments in his ‘An anatomy of change. Anton Bruckner’s revisions to the Mass in F minor’, *Bruckner Studies* (Cambridge, 1997), 1-31, 19ff. in particular. The autograph of the Mass is in the *ÖNB*, Mus.Hs. 2106. Leopold Brauneiss also discusses Bruckner’s metrical numbers and other aspects of proportion in ‘Skizzen und Zahlen. Überlegungen zur f-Moll Messe von Anton Bruckner’, *BJ 1997-2000* (Linz, 2002), 47-61.

their amazement at the “storm and stress” of the music, while even the court police, who were standing like living pillars, cast anxious glances at the buttresses and had reservations about the mighty brass fanfares proceeding from the choir. The friends of the singers looked at them with equal anxiety, fearing that their voices would not hold out. And that would have been most unfortunate because it would have rendered impossible the performance of a work which must be recognised as important despite all faults and misgivings.

Bruckner's work is a large dramatic tone picture. There is dramatic movement in this Mass as in very few compositions of this type. This is most valid in the truly colossal 'Et resurrexit'. It is reminiscent of a famous painting by Führich of the day of resurrection. Similarly in Bruckner's 'Resurrexit', thousands upon thousands of the dead seem to rise from their graves after the usual resurrection sounds. There is no end to the awakening and rising up, and the uniformity of a continually recurring insistent accompaniment pattern produces an aura of immensity. All those who ever lived appear to awaken to a new and better life - now they are all together and their overwhelming hymn of praise, an expression of unshakeable confidence, thunders forth to the Lord who awakens them all. It would be difficult to find a more powerfully effective musical portrayal. The *Benedictus* has an equally large-scale structure. The character of the music produces an atmosphere of blissful peace and delightful happiness. The movement is beautiful from beginning to end and a shimmer of transfiguration hovers over it. The two-part *Agnus* also offers many surprisingly splendid moments. A folk-like reminiscence of one of our *Landmesse* song melodies is artistically developed.

The *Kyrie* and *Gloria* are less satisfying than the movements which have already been mentioned in this excellently orchestrated Mass. There are many reminiscences of Wagner, incomprehensible passages and, unfortunately, the ever-popular contrast effects such as the alternation of voices. This is particularly true of the *Gloria* where there are musical figures which recall Beckmesser's hopping and fidgeting [in *Die Meistersinger*] when he first appears. The *Amen*

also has something very imposing about it, but the composer is frequently his own worst enemy in allowing a movement which has begun well to fall away...

Hermann was convinced, however, that the Mass would only achieve its full effect with a large choir in the concert hall.⁷³

Bruckner conducted the Mass (and the same gradual and offertory motets) again in June 1883. Johann von Woerz's favourable and sympathetic review in the *Allgemeine Wiener Zeitung* was certainly much more positive than Hermann's and perhaps indicated a gradual shift in the climate of opinion:

... Today more than ever we had the impression of an unusual and -- we certainly choose the right words -- undoubtedly inspired work. This Mass is one of the best works that Bruckner has composed. It is written with an understanding for polyphony, an inexhaustible fund of imaginative ideas and a mastery of orchestration that only the greatest composers possess. Bruckner's work is a magnificent religious music drama of thrilling energy and inspiration. The finest part and crown of the Mass is certainly the *Credo*. The 'Incarnatus' is treated with the utmost delicacy, and the 'Passus' and 'Crucifixus est' have an equally effective nobility of expression, but the 'Resurrexit' surpasses everything in this Mass with its colossal power and the impression it gives of overpowering strength. To be sure, if Bruckner had written nothing more than this 'Resurrexit' his name would last for ever! How sublimely the composer has used the first section's affirmation of faith throughout the final section. If the *Credo* is the most powerful movement of the Mass, the beautifully wrought *Benedictus* is the warmest and most tuneful. There is a continual stream of melodic invention, and it is as if a thousand birds are warbling and singing! Only someone with a Croesus-like musical imagination can write like this. The *Sanctus* with its delightful 'Hosanna' should be remembered as readily as the *Agnus* which is

73 The complete review (*Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 May 1882) can be found in Hawkshaw, *op.cit.*, 246-47.

richly endowed with beautiful things. And when the gradual, *Os justi*, solemn and rich in content, is also taken into consideration, we come to the happy conclusion that we possess in Bruckner, a son of delightful, splendid Upper Austria, a musical talent of the first order, a master whose greatness will only be completely understood by generations to come.⁷⁴

In 1883 Bruckner asked Johann Noll to make a copy of the Mass.⁷⁵ Noll completed it in November, including all the alterations Bruckner had made up to the end of 1881. Bruckner mentioned the fee he paid Noll in the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1879*. It can be found among the prayer entries for the period 9 - 28 February 1884 – “9. Febr[uar] Noll 14 fl 10 xr für Part[itur] f[ür] F. Messe gezalt.”⁷⁶ There is another diary entry in *Fromme’s Neuer Auskunfts-Kalender für Geschäft und Haus 1884* which concerns a performance of the Mass conducted by Bruckner in November 1884. On the left-hand side of the November 1884 page, the date Sunday 9 November has been underlined and marked with NB; and on the right-hand page, the composer has entered “Am 9. Nov[ember] meine F Messe, Christus factus, Os justi in der Hofkapelle dirigirt.”⁷⁷ Reviewing this performance in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, Theodor Helm was full of praise for the work:

Bruckner’s inspired work was performed brilliantly and tastefully under the composer’s personal direction. Despite its great length, this significant and impressive composition was listened to with great attention. We must also repeat this year what we were able to say last year. Whoever is not able to discover Bruckner’s genius in this work, whoever cannot sense that a divinely inspired composer has written it, has slept through the last decades of musical development

74 From review of the performance of the Mass in the *Hofkapelle* on 24 June 1883 in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* 1197, 29 June 1883; quoted in *G-A IV/2*, 87-88.

75 Mus. Hs. 29.302 in the *ÖNB*.

76 *MVP*, Part 1, 94; Part 2, 95. The month has been crossed out.

77 *Ibid*, Part 1, 231; Part 2, 208.

and so there is no point in arguing with him. As far as we are concerned, however - despite a few features which militate against the work and the enormous demands it makes on the singers - we are always very pleased when it is in the repertory, we can have heartfelt enthusiasm for this splendid piece, and we feel that deep devoutness and the pure naivety of true genius had an equal share in its creation. We also have the same admiration for the two enclaves, 'Os justi' and the new and surprisingly beautiful 'Christus factus'. There is no "if and but" about the 'Resurrexit' of the Mass. Friend and foe alike are so emotionally moved that they forget about criticism and analysis. The colossal overall impression certainly leads to self-reflection and true religious exaltation! And, in my opinion, that is the greatest praise that can be given to church composers at any time.⁷⁸

What by now seems to have become a tradition of giving an annual performance of the Mass in the *Hofkapelle* was continued in December 1885. In the meantime, Bruckner had lent a score of the work to Father Georg Huemer, director of music at Kremsmünster abbey. When he wrote in September to Oddo Loidol, a former student who had just been ordained a priest at the abbey, he specifically requested that Huemer make a copy of the Mass and return the score as soon as possible.⁷⁹ There are references to the 1885 performance of the Mass in both the *Akademischer Kalender der Österreichischen Hochschulen für das Studienjahr 1879* and *Fromme's Österreichischer Hochschulen-Kalender für Professoren und Studierende für das Studienjahr 1884/85*. Among the prayer entries for the period 1 - 21 December, 1885 in the former is the note "Bass Posaune, F Messe Virga Jesse Tenor dis", possibly a reference to problems encountered in rehearsal of both Mass and motet. On the December page of the latter is the note "[1]885. Am 8. Dez[ember] F Messe in Hofkapelle dirigirt."⁸⁰ In another, undated, diary entry in the *Notizbuch um 1885/86*:

78 See G-A IV/2, 198-99 for this review. This also marked the first performance of *Christus factus est* (WAB 11).

79 See HSABB 1, 299 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 25 September 1885

80 See MVP, Part 1, 113 and 249; Part 2, 110 and 220. Two Marian motets, the newly composed *Virga Jesse* (WAB 52) and *Ave Maria* (WAB 6), were also sung during the Mass. There was another favourable review of the Mass - by Robert Hirschfeld - in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15 December 1885. The German text is provided by Paul Hawkshaw, *op.cit.*, 247-48.

which contains entries made at different times during the years 1884-1889, Bruckner makes intriguing reference to cadences in different parts of his F minor Mass and in a Gradual and Offertory presumably performed at the same time. "Cunten" possibly implies "Quinten" ("fifths"), and there is an obvious connection here with his concerns about voice-leading, doubling and avoidance of consecutives which are revealed in earlier revisions and in later revisions to parts of the *Credo* in the 1890s.⁸¹

The Schalk correspondence at the beginning of 1890 is concerned *inter alia* with Bruckner's work on the revision of his Eighth Symphony and Franz and Josef's plans to carry out their own revision of the F minor Mass. This no doubt stemmed from Josef's wish to perform the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* movements in a *Wagner-Verein* concert in March.⁸² When he wrote to Franz at the end of January, he asked him if he could have his (Franz's) revised material in time for the final rehearsals at the end of February which Bruckner was planning to attend. A few weeks later he was able to report that Bruckner had been delighted with the rehearsals of the two movements he attended and hoped that the enthusiasm he had succeeded in engendering in the singers would remain until the performance on 5 March. He regretted not having an orchestra at his disposal, however – "then it would really go like a bomb." The performance, in which the choir was accompanied by piano and brass, was not to everyone's taste. Some people left before the end. Nevertheless, Josef was even more keen to conduct it in a church with full orchestra. The most important outcome was that Bruckner was delighted.⁸³ Josef accompanied Bruckner to Pressburg at the end of April to attend a performance of the Seventh Symphony. On his return he told Franz about the visit and hoped that his brother would come to Vienna at the beginning of June and bring with him his revisions of the *Gloria* of the Mass and the

81 See *MVP*, Part I, 273, and Part 2, 230; also Timothy Jackson, 'Bruckner's *Oktaven*: the problem of consecutives, doubling and orchestral voice-leading', *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 39-46.

82 There was an earlier performance of the *Kyrie* from the Mass at a *Wagner-Verein* concert at the end of February 1888, and a brief report in the *Wiener Abendpost* on 1 March 1888. Josef mentioned his rehearsals of the work in a letter to Franz on 18 January 1890; see Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 148.

83 See Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 148 for the first of these letters, dated Vienna, 31 January, and *HSABB 2*, 66-68 for the second and third letters, dated 22 February and 6 March respectively.

Adagio of the First Symphony.⁸⁴ Three months later Josef wrote to Franz again to tell him about his visit to Bad Ischl in the company of Bruckner who had been asked to play the organ at the wedding of Archduchess Marie Valerie, the Emperor's daughter, and Archduke Franz Salvator, and asked him to look at the *Credo* of the Mass with a view to revising it. He had attempted to revise the *Kyrie* himself but had not got very far because of his lack of orchestral experience. It would be far better if Franz could complete it. As soon as Franz returned the *Credo*, he would send him his attempt at scoring the *Kyrie* so that he could examine it.⁸⁵ But Franz was unable to devote any time to revising the Mass, particularly because he was now occupied with revising the Fifth Symphony with a view to performance in Graz. He was happy, however, to make suggestions and give advice to his relatively inexperienced brother who made slow but steady progress with his own revision.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Josef was concerned that his brother may not have taken so much care with his supervision as he had hoped.⁸⁷

Bruckner was seriously ill at the end of 1892 and beginning of 1893. His doctor instructed Kathi Kachelmayr, his housekeeper, not to allow any visitors and Bruckner understandably felt increasingly isolated. When he wrote to August Göllerich in March 1893, he complained that, although he had heard a few months previously from friends that Josef Schalk was intending to perform his F minor Mass, Schalk himself had only told him about it "a few days ago."⁸⁸ Six years earlier, Schalk had also left it rather late to inform Bruckner of his intention of giving a performance (with

84 See *HSABB* 2, 72-73 for this letter, dated Vienna, 1 May 1890.

85 See Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 152 for an extract from this letter, dated Vienna, 14 August 1890. Josef Schalk conducted a performance of the *Credo* of the Mass (with piano accompaniment) at a *Wagner-Verein* concert in the small *Musikverein* hall on 29 December 1890. See Paul Hawkshaw, *op.cit.*, 248 for Theodor Helm's review of the performance in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, 30 December 1890, 6.

86 See Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 169 for an extract from Josef's letter to Franz, dated Vienna, 25 October 1892, in which he refers to difficulties he was experiencing. Schalk inserted his alterations in pencil in the copy of the Mass made by Johann Noll in 1883. They included the addition of third and fourth horns, filling-out of the woodwind texture, "revision" of the brass parts and alteration in the dynamics. For further information about Schalk's involvement, see Hawkshaw, *Revisionsbericht*, 27-30.

87 See *HSABB* 2, 209 for Josef's letter to Franz, dated Vienna, 1 March 1893.

88 See *HSABB* 2, 210 for Bruckner's letter to Göllerich, dated Vienna, 10 March 1893.

Franz Zottmann) of his four-hand piano arrangement of the Fifth Symphony and again there were some unpleasant scenes at the final rehearsals which Bruckner attended. The performance of the Mass, under the auspices of the *Wagner-Verein*, took place in the large *Musikverein* hall on 23 March. Schalk conducted the Eduard Strauss Orchestra and the *Wagner-Verein* choir supplemented by members of the *Akademischer Gesangverein*. Bruckner was delighted with the performance, and it is reported that Brahms, who was present, visibly joined in the applause. Theodor Helm wrote that, as “an apostolically inspired singer for the Lord”, the composer had achieved “a triumph no less brilliant than the one secured as a bold, mighty symphonist in the fourth Philharmonic Concert on 18 December.”⁸⁹ In his review for the *Fremdenblatt*, Ludwig Speidel pointed out that the Mass text had acted as a restraining influence on the composer, with the result that there was a well-judged balance between the old and the new. Of the many fine passages in the work, the most successful were those depicting the Passion and the Last Judgement in the *Credo* where the composer’s inventive powers were at their greatest.⁹⁰

In reporting to his brother, Josef Schalk mentioned Hans Richter’s complimentary reference to his conducting and Bruckner’s seemingly unbearable behaviour at the final rehearsals.⁹¹ This was partly attributable to the composer’s ill-health at the time, and there is also no doubt that he had some reservations about Schalk’s re-scoring of the work.

Between 1890 and 1893 Bruckner inserted his own changes in another copy of the

89 See G-A IV/3, 315ff and Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 176-77 for extracts from Helm’s review in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, 24 March 1893. Helm followed this up with another review on 28 March; see extract in G-A IV/3, 317. Bruckner’s Eighth Symphony was given its first performance on 18 December 1892.

90 See Hawkshaw, *op.cit.*, 252-53 for this review, dated 23 April. See also Rudolf Louis, *Anton Bruckner* (Munich, 1905), 336-37 and Othmar Wessely, *Bruckner Symposion Linz 1991 Bericht*, 143-44 for Felix Warteneck’s later but equally complimentary review in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 89 (27 September 1893), 400. Other reviewers of the performance included Max Graf in the *Musikalische Rundschau* 8/7, 58-59, Luigi von Kunits in the *Österreichische Musik- und Theaterzeitung* 5 (1892/93), 13/14, 4, Camillo Horn in the *Deutsches Volksblatt* (25 September) and Richard Heuberger in the *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung* 20 (1 April 1893), 82. The texts of Graf’s and Heuberger’s reviews are printed in Hawkshaw, *op.cit.*, 249-52.

91 See HSABB 2, 215 for Josef’s letter, dated Vienna, 15 April 1893.

Mass. These include the addition of both horns to the fugue at the end of the *Gloria* (in bars 292 -300) and alterations in the woodwind and string parts in the 'Et incarnatus est' and 'Crucifixus' sections of the *Credo*.⁹² Apart from the second clarinet part in the second half of bar 138, these were incorporated in the first edition, the preparation of which was not without its difficulties, however. Max von Oberleithner, one of Bruckner's private pupils, helped Schalk to prepare the engraver's copy of the Mass in 1894 and hoped to include certain of his own revisions in the printed version. Oberleithner and Schalk had already collaborated in the first edition of Symphony no. 8 in 1892 and certain "corrections" had been made which had not been noticed by Bruckner. In the case of the F minor Mass, however, there was an altercation between Bruckner, Schalk and Oberleithner concerning changes in the proof copy which had been made without his knowledge. Writing to his brother Franz on 24 May 1894 and, incidentally, thanking him for sending a copy of the revised Symphony no. 5 which he had conducted with great success in Graz in April, Josef referred to the impasse and hoped that Franz might be able to act as an intermediary:

... The cause of it was a sudden outbreak of anger on Bruckner's part that something could have been altered without his knowledge in the F minor Mass which is now at the printing stage. With the greatest impetuosity he demanded back his score which is in Oberleithner's safe keeping at present. Fortunately, the printed score has not yet been published and it can only be hoped that Bruckner will forget the whole matter in the meantime -- otherwise there will be a terrible fuss. The agitation has made him ill again, and he won't allow any of us to visit him...⁹³

There was undoubtedly a breach in the Schalk-Bruckner relationship at this point, but

92 This copy score (Mus. Hs. 6015 in the *ÖNB*) was the work of two unknown copyists. It belonged originally to the *Hofkapelle*. Nowak's edition of the Mass, *ABSW XVIII* (Vienna, 1960), with its informative foreword, includes the changes made by Bruckner himself from 1868 to 1893. Paul Hawkshaw's edition (2005) updates this information.

93 See Leibnitz, *op. cit.*, 191-92.

certainly not the “final breach” suggested in the Göllerich-Auer biography.⁹⁴ Indeed, the Schalk correspondence reveals that, after an interruption of a few months, relationships with Bruckner returned to a reasonably amicable level. Josef mentions intended visits to Bruckner in two letters to his brother.⁹⁵ Bruckner himself wrote to Josef on 6 October (albeit with the formal greeting “Hochverehrter Herr Professor”) to ask him if he would act as his representative in forthcoming rehearsals of the F-minor Mass and, before that, play through the work for Wilhelm Gericke, who was to conduct it, as he was too ill to leave his apartment.⁹⁶ This was hardly the act of a man who had lost trust in his young colleague. And yet, although a “terrible fuss” was averted and despite the regular fluctuations in Bruckner’s health from the end of 1894 until his death in October 1896, the composer did find time to make comparisons between the 1894 first edition of the Mass and the copy score (Mus.Hs. 6015) in his possession.⁹⁷ For instance, he made some annotations in the margins of this copy and, as Paul Hawkshaw points out:

... he observed, probably much to his chagrin, that his student had failed to avoid the ubiquitous parallels he himself had laboured so hard over many years to eliminate.⁹⁸

The performance of the F minor Mass at a *Gesellschaft* concert in Vienna on 4 November 1894 was intended as a 70th birthday celebration and, in fact, was one of Bruckner’s last public appearances. He was also well enough to attend the final rehearsal on 3 November.⁹⁹ Hanslick reviewed the performance of the Mass in the

94 See G-A IV/3, 527. However, there is a footnote which refers to several visits which Josef Schalk paid Bruckner, as related in Lili Schalk, *Franz Schalk. Briefe und Betrachtungen mit einem Lebensabriss von Victor Junk* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1935), 64.

95 These letters are dated 1 August and 3 October 1894 respectively; see Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 195.

96 See Leibnitz, *op.cit.*, 195.

97 The F minor Mass was published in 1894 by Doblinger (full score: D.1866; piano score arr. Joseph Schalk: D.1861).

98 Paul Hawkshaw, ‘Anton Bruckner’s revisions to the Mass in F minor’, *Bruckner Studies* (Cambridge, 1997), 31.

99 For Bruckner’s own account of the performance (and his recollection of Karl Waldeck’s criticism of the original ‘Et incarnatus est’) during his penultimate University lecture on 5 November, see G-A

Neue Freie Presse. The main points of his criticism were that the work belonged to the church and not to the concert hall, and the same weaknesses evident in the symphonies were also present in the Mass, namely lack of musical logic and stylistic inconsistency – “Albrechtsberger arm in arm with Wagner.”¹⁰⁰

Bruckner’s last words on his F minor Mass are contained in a letter to Siegfried Ochs, the conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic choir, who had already directed two very successful performances of the *Te Deum* in May 1891 and January 1894 and was now contemplating a possible performance of the work:

... Bruckner is getting old and would really like to hear the F minor Mass again! Please, please! That would be the highpoint of my life. But there are many changes which don’t appear in the score. At the D flat major passage in the *Credo* – “Deum verum de Deo vero” -- full organ, please! Spare no stops! And the cellist should be prominent with a very rich, warm tone at the beginning of the *Benedictus*. When shall I hear it? Please reply...¹⁰¹

Anton Meißner’s entries on the May 1895 page of Bruckner’s copy of *Fromme’s Österreichischer Professoren- und Lehrer-Kalender für das Schuljahr 1894/95* indicate scores which were missing: Meißner was making an inventory of Bruckner’s manuscripts in connection with his imminent move to the Belvedere. They included “Die Originalpartitur der F. Messe” and “Die Partitur der F-Messe die zum Druck verwendet worden ist”, namely the autograph score and the score used for engraving. Meißner’s entry on the June page was more specific:

Dr. Speidel handed over the original score of the Mass in F

IV/3, 444-45. See also *GrBL*, 114 for Waldeck’s own recollection of his criticism, and Stephen Johnson, *Bruckner Remembered* (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), 109 for an English translation.

100 See Hawkshaw, *op.cit.*, 254-56 for Hanslick’s review in the *Neue Freie Press* 10857 (13 November 1894), 1-2. Hawkshaw (*op.cit.*, 253-54 and 256-57) also provides the texts of Max Kalbeck’s review in the *Montags-Revue* (19 November 1894), 1 and Hans Paumgartner’s review in the *Wiener Abendpost* (6 November 1894), 5-6

101 See *HSABB* 2, 303 for this letter, dated Vienna, 14 April 1895.

immediately after the performance [on 4 November 1894]; it was probably collected by the publisher.

According to information received from Prof. Schenner on 9 May 1895.¹⁰²

The autograph score, one of many bequeathed to the *Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek* by Bruckner in his will, was finally traced to a Mrs. Winkler and purchased from her in 1922, 26 years after the composer's death.¹⁰³ The dedication score sent to Anton Ritter Imhof von Geisslinghof eventually came into the possession of the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* in the 1960s.¹⁰⁴ It is of primary importance insofar as it "contains the only surviving reading of the earliest complete version" of the Mass, and it provides information that was not available to either Haas or Nowak when they published their editions.¹⁰⁵

Bruckner as church musician in Vienna

Several of Bruckner's contemporaries were highly critical of the state of church music in Vienna and their remarks are both observations of the church music situation in general and more detailed comments on the cultivation of church music in the three principal churches: the Hofkapelle, St. Augustin's and St. Stephen's. Otto Müller, for instance, criticised the musical ignorance of the clergy, the resistance to change exhibited by some of the choir directors, the failure to remedy the great dearth of competent singers, and the over-reliance on amateurs.¹⁰⁶ Josef Böhm, artistic director of the Ambrosiusverein and conductor of the Choral Academy, presented another point of view when he discussed the situation a year later. He said that the poor state of church music in Vienna was attributable primarily to the great lack of

102 See *MVP*, Part 1, 481-82; Part 2, 400-01.

103 The full account of the re-discovery and purchase is related in Robert Haas, 'Die Originalpartitur von Bruckners Messe in f-Moll', *Der Auftakt* 4 (1924), 106.

104 Mus. Hs. 31.246.

105 Hawkshaw, 'Anton Bruckner's revisions to the Mass in F minor', *Bruckner Studies* (Cambridge, 1997), 8.

106 Otto Müller, 'Eine Studie über die Kirchenmusik in Wien', *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchenmusik* 20:5 (1885), 44; quoted by Walburga Litschauer in her article 'Bruckner und die Wiener Kirchenmusiker', *Bruckner-Symposium Linz 1985 Bericht* (Linz, 1988), 95.

singers suitable for church music. While some of the 70 or so secular music societies in Vienna had 250-300 singers, church choirs had often to rely on a few solo singers. The money was not available to sustain professional church choirs.¹⁰⁷ Otto Müller was also critical of the extremely conservative, traditional and no longer suitable and tasteful church music repertoire in the three main churches and recommended that the “old lumber” and “these inherited and faded legacies of the 18th century” be cleared out. Even the modern repertoire that was used in the Hofburgkapelle did not include works by Moritz Brosig, Bernhard Hahn and Josef Schnabel and Caecilian works by Franz Xaver Witt and others which, in his opinion, were superior to many 16th-century works in their flowing harmonic and melodic movement. He suggested that Hellmesberger, the court music director, should also be more careful in his balance of vocal and instrumental forces when performing the large-scale Masses, as the small number of choirboys (about a dozen), for instance, were often overpowered by the instruments – “Hellmesberger is certainly a good violinist, but he is neither a singer nor a conductor.”¹⁰⁸

Müller was much more complimentary in his comments on the music at St. Stephen's and the efforts of Gottfried Preyer, the music director (who was also assistant court music director), in spite of the conservative repertoire and Preyer's apparent unwillingness to include more modern church music; there was also much scope for improvement in the singing of plainsong which was unworthy of St. Stephen's and fit to “drive the people from the church.” Litschauer sums all this up by pointing out that the cultivation of church music in Vienna c. 1880 had to struggle with the following deplorable circumstances: the clergy's lack of interest in church music reform, the desire of the public for “entertaining” church music, “conservative” repertoire, lack of money, bad performance practice (for instance, the insertion of solo numbers in the Mass) and amateurishness.¹⁰⁹

107 Josef Böhm, ‘Aus Wien’, *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchenmusik* 21:7/8 (1886), 83; quoted by Litschauer in *BSL 1985 Bericht*, 96.

108 Müller, *op.cit.*, 45-46.; quoted by Litschauer in *BSL 1985 Bericht*, 96-97.

109 *Ibid*, 97.

The main responsibility of the Hofmusikkapelle in Vienna was to organise regular performances of church music in the court chapel. Bruckner was appointed initially as an unpaid “reserve” organist in 1868, then as a paid organist during the period January 1878 - October 1892. The following were Bruckner’s superiors and colleagues during the period 1868-1892:

Court music director

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>Johann Ritter von Herbeck</i> | 1866-1877 |
| <i>Joseph Hellmesberger</i> | 1877-1893 |

Assistant court music director

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <i>Gottfried Preyer</i> | 1862-1876 |
| <i>Joseph Hellmesberger</i> | 1876-1877 |
| <i>Hans Richter</i> | 1877-1893 |

Nominal assistant court music director

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| <i>Ludwig Rotter</i> | 1870-1895 |
| <i>Pius Richter</i> | 1877-1893 |

| <u>Organists</u> | <u>(Supernumerary)</u> | <u>(Full)</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Ludwig Rotter</i> | | 1862-1895 |
| <i>Pius Richter</i> | 1863-1867 | 1867-1893 |
| <i>Rudolf Bibl</i> | 1863-1875 | 1875-1902 |
| <i>Anton Bruckner</i> | 1868-1877 | 1878-1892 |

A celebratory High Mass took place in the court chapel each Sunday; this involved the members of the Hofmusikkapelle and the choirboys. The court music director chose the appropriate music, asked the librarian to supply the musical material, held rehearsals and indicated the programme as well as the conductors of the performances in some cases in the so-called “Austheilungen”.¹¹⁰ Before Herbeck’s time, most of the music performed was by past and present Viennese court music

110 See Hildegard Herrmann-Schneider, ‘Status und Funktion des Hofkapellmeisters in Wien (1848-1918)’, Walter Salmen, ed., *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 5 (Innsbruck, 1981), 98.

directors. While Herbeck was director, however, he introduced more pieces from outside this narrow orbit. As soon as Bruckner became a full court organist, he began to make occasional diary notes about his organ-playing duties in the court chapel, for instance an entry for 17 February 1878 which recorded his playing at a service of blessing for Archduke Franz Karl: "Sonntag 4 Uhr Segen. 1.mal in Wirklichkeit" followed by "Erzherzog Franz Karl im Segen".¹¹¹

As there was a weekly rota system for the organists, Bruckner was on duty one or two weeks each month. At first, he indicated his duties with the letter "D" in his diary; later he differentiated between "Br" (= Bruckner), "B" or "Bl" (= Bibl) and "R" (= Richter). As a result of these diary entries, one can consult the "Austheilungen" to confirm the services in which he took part. The repertoire ranged from the customary Masses by Joseph and Michael Haydn, Mozart, Schubert (E flat, A flat, G) through Lotti, Albrechtsberger, Salieri, Aßmayr, Randhartinger, Sechter, Vorisek, Cherubini, Hummel, Gounod, Liszt ("Coronation" Mass) to Preindl, Rotter, Käsmayer, Gänsbacher, Preyer, Eybler, Grutsch, Bibl, Richter, Brosig, Habert and Herbeck. There are occasional references in the "Austheilungen" to rehearsals of new works.

There are only fleeting references to Bruckner's organ playing in the court chapel. According to Auer, Bruckner was mainly required to accompany German Mass songs in simple services, as he gave too much free rein to his improvisatory skills and lengthened the liturgy unnecessarily when playing organ interludes in the main services.¹¹² It seems that Hellmesberger was responsible for taking this step shortly after he succeeded Herbeck as chief music director at the end of 1877. According to contemporary reports and his own admission, Bruckner's strengths as an organist undoubtedly lay in free improvisation rather than repertoire playing. It is interesting that the normally critical Hellmesberger is alleged to have remarked that "no one has ever played so beautifully as Bruckner did in the Hofkapelle today" after one of Bruckner's improvisations on 26 December 1890; Bruckner made a note of this in his

111 This entry was made in the *Neuer Krakauer Schreib-Kalender 1878*. See MVP, Part 1, 63; Part 2, 70.

112 See Max Auer, 'Anton Bruckner, der Meister der Orgel', *Die Musik* 16 (1923/24), 873.

diary.¹¹³

Bruckner appears to have got on well with his organist colleagues and they often stood in for each other during holiday periods. Pius Richter and Bruckner frequently deputised for each other at other times. Except for the first Viennese performance of his Mass in D minor WAB 26 (conducted by Johann Herbeck, 10 February 1867), Bruckner conducted performances of his own church music in the court chapel. Diary entries also indicate that he occasionally attended performances in which he was not directly involved as organist or conductor, for instance Schubert's Mass in E-flat major (April 1, 1883), Beethoven's Mass in C major (15 November 1887) and a Liszt Mass (8 December 1887).

Bruckner also played the organ at the court parish church of St. Augustine (Augustinerkirche) where Leopold Eder was director of music.¹¹⁴ Eder was conservative in his musical preferences and had no time for Caecilian ideas. As he had cultivated good relationships with many prominent singers and instrumentalists in Vienna since assuming the position in 1860, he could call upon them to take part in church music performances which were so well attended -- many of the "congregation" consisting of people who would not normally attend church and whose behaviour attracted unfavourable comments -- that the church authorities had to increase the number of stewards and, in 1889, the parish priest considered it necessary to have a balustrade with a wrought-iron grille erected for the choir so that the female singers could be protected from prying eyes!

Bruckner was active as an organist at St. Augustine's from 1870 to the late 1880s and under Eder's direction he played for an average of two services each month. It has not yet been established whether Bruckner played during the whole mass or only

113 The diary is *Fromme's Österreichischer Professoren- und Lehrer-Kalender 1889/90*. See MVP, Part 1, 401; Part 2, 331.

114 Leopold Eder (1823-1902) also held positions as organist of the Schottenstift and musical director in the Alservorstadt and Minorite churches. See Walburga Litschauer, *op.cit.*, 98-99 and 'Anton Bruckner als Organist in Wien', *Anton Bruckner. V. Internationales Gewandhaus-Symposium Leipzig 1987. Kongreßbericht* (Leipzig, 1988), 70-73.

at the end. The repertoire consisted mainly of works by the Viennese Classical composers, particularly Joseph Haydn ("Theresa", "Nelson" and "Mariazell" Masses). Other composers represented were Mercadante, Schubert, Führer, Diabelli, Gyrowetz, Weiß, Preindl, Hahn, Vitásek, Rotter, Wenusch and Horak. The inserted solo pieces for the Gradual and Offertory were mainly by contemporary composers and Eder's choice of repertoire for these solos, the compositions of a certain Baroness Ernestine de Bauduin in particular, drew some stinging criticism from Franz Witt who did not mince his words when he commented on their "dire" musical qualities.¹¹⁵ The performances were advertised in the press and there was often an indication that Bruckner would play a large fugue at the end of the service. On particular occasions Bruckner used the melody "Gott erhalte" as the basis for his improvisations, for instance the 25th anniversary of Franz Josef's reign (2 December 1873), the Emperor's silver wedding celebrations (27 April 1879), and the knighthood of Archduke Eugen (9 January 1887).

Bruckner also worked as an organist occasionally at other Viennese churches - the Minorite church in the Alservorstadt district (on an average of twice a year, together with Eder), the parish church in Währing (at the Mass to celebrate the founding of the Währinger Liedertafel of which Bruckner was an honorary member), the church of Maria am Gestade, the Minorite church in the first district, and the Karlskirche.

Of the 1833 performances of church music works by members of the Hofkapelle between 1867 and 1896 only 40 were by Bruckner (including the D minor and F minor Masses and several motets, the most popular of which were the motets *Locus iste*, WAB 23, sung eleven times, and *Ave Maria*, WAB 6, sung eight times). During the same period there were 797 performances of Rotter's works, 561 of Preyer's, 160 of Herbeck's and 109 of Bibl's. There were also occasional performances of Bruckner's smaller sacred works as graduals and offertories in the Kirche am Hof, the Votivkirche, the Minorite church, St. Elisabeth auf der Wieden, the Dominikanerkirche and the Gumpendorf parish church, St. Ägyd. It is almost certain that some of his

¹¹⁵ See Franz Witt, 'Ernestine de Bauduin', *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchenmusik* 22/5 (1887), 40; part of this article is quoted by Litschauer in *BSL 1985 Bericht*, 99.

smaller works would also have been sung from time to time in church concerts.

The Vienna sacred works

Apart from the *Te Deum* and the setting of *Psalm 150*, all the religious music written during the Vienna period is in the “smaller sacred” category. There is also the beginning of a *Requiem* in D minor (WAB 141) that Bruckner began to write in 1875, during the period when he was composing his Symphony no. 5. The 18-bar sketch on three staves, dated “Vienna, 18 September 1875”, is probably the beginning of the instrumental opening of the Introit. There is no external evidence to suggest that Bruckner was intending the work for a particular occasion, and no other sketches are extant.¹¹⁶

Like the 1869 *Pange lingua*, the gradual *Locus iste* (WAB 23), composed for unaccompanied mixed voices and later dedicated to Bruckner’s friend Oddo Loidol, was written in August 1869 for the dedication of the new cathedral’s Votivkapelle in Linz at the end of September. The first work composed for performance in Vienna, specifically the Hofkapelle, is the gradual *Christus factus est* (WAB 10), scored for eight-part mixed-voice choir, three trombones and strings and written towards the end of 1873 - at the time that Bruckner was completing the Finale of his Third Symphony.¹¹⁷ There is a gap of five years before Bruckner’s next motet, *Tota pulchra es* (WAB 46), written in Vienna on 30 March 1878. This Marian antiphon for tenor soloist, mixed-voice choir and organ was commissioned for the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations of Bishop Rudigier’s episcopate and first performed at a special benediction service held in the Votivkapelle of the new Linz cathedral on the evening of 4 June.¹¹⁸ Later in the year, on 27 November, Bruckner wrote an unaccompanied male-voice chorus, *Zwei Herzen haben sich gefunden* (*Zur*

116 The autograph of the sketch is in the ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 2105. See Robert Haas, *Anton Bruckner* (Potsdam, 1934), 59 for facsimile and G-A IV/1, 361-62 for realisation.

117 There is an entry in the Hofkapelle schedule for 8 December 1873 which clearly refers to a performance of this setting of *Christus factus est*. See Theophil Antonicek, *Anton Bruckner und die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle* (Graz, 1979), 142.

118 Bruckner sent a signed copy of the work to Rudigier, its dedicatee, on 30 May 1878. See HSABB 1, 183-84.

Vermählungsfeier, WAB 54), for the wedding of his landlord, Dr. Anton Oelzelt von Newin. Although the original intention was to have the work performed at Klosterneuburg, Auer suggests that it was too difficult for the Klosterneuburg Male Voice Society and that the wedding did not take place at Klosterneuburg in any case as Oelzelt von Newin was a Protestant. 119

Despite his lack of sympathy with the ideals of the Caecilian movement, Bruckner responded to an invitation from Ignaz Traumihler to write a motet for the feast of St. Augustine on 28 August by composing *Os justi* (WAB 30) for mixed voices a cappella. A week after completing the motet in July 1879, Bruckner sent it, with an accompanying letter to its dedicatee, and went out of his way to stress the deliberately archaic style of the piece, underlining the avoidance of sharps, flats, seventh chords and other “modern” features.¹²⁰

Bruckner’s third setting of the Marian hymn *Ave Maria* (WAB 7) is in the same key - F major - as the two earlier settings but differs from them in being composed not for choir but for solo voice with organ or harmonium accompaniment. It was written on 5 February 1882 and dedicated to Luise Hochleitner, a young contralto from Wels who had attracted the composer’s attention when he visited the town probably during his summer vacation in 1881. Erwin Horn suggests that, just as Bruckner sublimated his feelings for Aloisia Bogner when he wrote his cantata *Entsagen* 30 years earlier, so in this *Ave Maria* he put his obvious affection for Luise Hochleitner on one side, and argues that “separated from the private connection... it is ‘religious’ in the best sense of the word and can be conducive to religious edification at any time” as its ‘religious worth’ is in no way diminished by the presence of other resonating factors.”¹²¹

119 See *G-A IV/1* (1936), 520-21 for further information; but the date of composition is given wrongly here as 11 November 1878. The piece was published for the first time, ed. J.Kluger, in the *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg III* (1910), 133. It was published again 11 years later, together with *Ave regina coelorum* (WAB 8), by Universal Edition, Vienna, edited and with a foreword by J.V Wöss, in the series *Kirchenmusikalische Publikationen der Schola Austriaca*.

120 See *HSABB*, 188 for the text of this letter, dated Vienna, 25 July 1879. Traumihler asked Bruckner to make some changes, particularly in the middle section. Bruckner complied and on 28 July added the organ-accompanied versicle *Inveni David*. See Nowak, ‘Die Motette “Os justi” und ihre Handschriften’, *Über Anton Bruckner* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1985), 246-49.

121 See Erwin Horn, ‘Eros und Marienlob: Gedanken zu Anton Bruckners Marienmotetten’, *BJ*

During 1884, a year which was largely taken up with negotiations with Arthur Nikisch concerning the first performance of the Seventh Symphony and with the completion of the revised version of the *Te Deum*, Bruckner had time to compose two short sacred pieces, his third setting of *Christus factus est* (WAB 11) and *Salvum fac populum* (WAB 40), both for unaccompanied four-part mixed-voice choir. The former was written on 28 May and dedicated to his young friend, Oddo Loidol, in Kremsmünster but it is not known for what purpose Bruckner wrote the latter, a setting of lines from the *Te Deum*, composed in Vienna on 14 November. It is possible that he intended it for inclusion in a Caecilian publication or for performance at either St. Florian or Kremsmünster.¹²² Bruckner's setting of *Veni Creator Spiritus* (WAB 50), which dates from 1884 at the latest, is nothing more than a simple organ accompaniment to the plainchant melody, typical of the period and no doubt similar to the unobtrusive type of accompaniment he would have provided when accompanying monophonic plainsong in the court chapel or elsewhere.

In 1885, Johann Burgstaller, the music director of Linz Cathedral, asked Bruckner to provide a work for the centenary of the Linz diocese in October, specifically a sacred composition to accompany the procession of the bishop into the cathedral. Bruckner wrote his *Ecce sacerdos magnus* (WAB 13) for double choir, three trombones, and organ at the end of April and sent it to Burgstaller together with an accompanying letter on 18 May, but it had to wait another 27 years for its first performance. One of Bruckner's finest motets, *Virga Jesse floruit* (WAB 52) for unaccompanied mixed-voice choir, was completed on 3 September 1885 at the end of a short visit to St. Florian. Like *Ecce sacerdos*, it was possibly intended originally for the Linz diocesan centenary celebrations the following month. It was dedicated to the memory of Traumihler, who had died in October of the previous year, and its first performance was probably as a gradual during the F minor Mass which Bruckner conducted in the Hofkapelle on 8 December 1885.

1989/90 (Linz, 1992), 225.

122 The work was first published in a facsimile of the autograph in *G-A IV/2*, 496-97.

In the seven years between *Virga Jesse* and *Vexilla regis*, the last of his smaller sacred works, Bruckner concentrated almost entirely on orchestral composition, including the revision of some of his earlier symphonies, the production of the original and revised versions of the Eighth Symphony and ongoing work on the Ninth. In 1886, however, he wrote a short piece, *Ave regina coelorum* (WAB 8) for the novitiate priests at Klosterneuburg to sing on Annunciation Day (25 March). It is akin to *Veni Creator Spiritus* in its scoring for unison voices and organ accompaniment.

Vexilla regis (WAB 51) is a Passiontide motet for a cappella mixed voices, written between 4 and 9 February 1892 - possibly in response to a request from Bernhard Deubler, Ignaz Traumihler's successor as choir director at St. Florian, for a hymn for the Good Friday liturgy. Bruckner's reference to his "inner compulsion" to compose it, however, may indicate that the motet was not commissioned.¹²³

Bruckner's Masses - analytical aspects

General Features

It was not until the three mature masses - in D minor, E minor and F minor - that Bruckner finally achieved a successful integration of vocal and instrumental forces, with the role of the orchestra far exceeding that of an accompanying body. Passages in which the main interest lies in the vocal part, with the orchestra perhaps developing a counter-motif, alternate with those where the orchestra takes the lead and the voices act as harmonic fillers.¹²⁴ The closely-knit motivic network, rich harmonic colouring and symphonic technique are all derived from Beethoven and the early Romantics, and the F-minor Mass is adorned with a Schubertian lyricism. There are only a few echoes of the late 18th-century sacred style, consciously cultivated by Bruckner in his early works up to and including the Mass in B-flat minor

123 Bruckner sent the motet to Deubler on 7 March 1892 and mentioned this "inner compulsion" in an accompanying letter. He also asked Deubler to ensure that Karl Aigner rehearsed the choirboys "really well and very slowly." See *HSABB* 2, 170.

124 Bruckner's imaginative and sensitive handling of the orchestral forces at his disposal is discussed at some length by Dieter Michael Backes, in 'Die Instrumentation in den Messen von Anton Bruckner - eine Studie zum Phänomen des Symphonischen' in *Bruckners Kirchenmusik*, Riedel, ed., *Anton Bruckner - Tradition und Fortschritt in der Kirchenmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 2001), 253-305.

and the Psalm settings.¹²⁵ The blend of traditional (including fugal writing) and modern (harmonic) elements and of polyphonic and homophonic textures, including many powerful octave-unison passages, is not forced and is particularly successful. Florid solo passages are eschewed, and the roles of soloists and chorus are closely related.

As far as key-schemes are concerned, the early C major Mass is particularly conservative as all its movements, apart from the *Benedictus* (in E flat major), are in the tonic key. Bruckner moves further afield harmonically in the F major (*Maundy Thursday*) Mass where both the Gradual and Offertory are in F major, the *Agnus* begins in D minor and ends in the main key of the work, the *Credo* is in A minor (ending on a half-close), the *Sanctus* in B flat major and the *Benedictus* in G major (cadencing in E major!). In the final *Agnus* movement of the *Messe ohne Gloria und Credo* we find Bruckner at his most adventurous harmonically. The movement begins and ends in F major but, not unlike the youthful Schubert in his early string quartets, Bruckner indulges in sudden harmonic transitions and enharmonic changes. All but three of the movements in the Requiem are either in the tonic key (*Requiem aeternam*, *Dies irae*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, *Cum sanctis*) or in the relative major (*Domine*, ending on a half-close in G minor; *Requiem aeternam*). The exceptions are *Hostias* in B flat, *Quam olim* in F minor, and *Benedictus* in B flat major. The B-flat minor Mass, like the C major Mass, is unadventurous in this respect; the *Kyrie* is the only movement in B flat minor, all the other movements being in B flat major. In the D minor Mass, both the *Kyrie* and the *Agnus* are in the home key,¹²⁶ and the other movements are in the tonic major, except the *Benedictus* which is in G major. The *Kyrie* and *Agnus* of the E minor Mass are in the tonic, the final 'Dona' of the latter begins in E major and slips back to E minor again; the *Gloria*, *Credo* and *Benedictus* tend towards C major and the *Sanctus* towards G. Finally, in

125 During his time at St. Florian, Bruckner encountered the music of several Austrian and South German composers, including the lesser-known Franz Joseph Aumann, who was active as a priest and composer at the abbey in the latter part of the 18th century. He made copies of several of his works, including responsories and a setting of 'Ave Maria'. See Peter Dormann, *Franz Joseph Aumann (1728-1797). Ein Meister in St. Florian vor Anton Bruckner* (Munich-Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1985).

126 The *Agnus* begins in G minor, however.

the F minor Mass, the *Kyrie* and *Agnus* are in the tonic, the *Sanctus* and 'Dona nobis' are in the tonic major, the *Gloria* and *Credo* are in C major and the *Benedictus* in A flat major.

The first and last movements of the D minor, E minor and F minor Masses remain closer to the penitential tone of the text than most Classical settings. Outer brilliance is eschewed, both movements have an inner solemnity and are linked thematically. In the B-flat Minor Mass, however, Bruckner conformed to the standard Classical procedure of a "happy ending". While the relationship between the outer movements in the E minor Mass is not so marked, it can still be observed: material from the *Kyrie* appears at the end of the 'Dona nobis pacem'. In the D minor and F minor Masses, other sections are also recalled in the closing 'Dona nobis'.¹²⁷

In the B-flat minor, D minor, E minor and F minor Masses, the *Kyrie* maintains the usual tripartite structure with a uniform tempo throughout. There is no real counter-theme in the 'Christe' and the second 'Kyrie' is not an exact repetition of the first, the thematic treatment being varied. Everything is on a much smaller scale in the B-flat minor Mass.

The formal disposition of a symphonic exposition can be discerned in the first parts of the *Gloria* movements in the final three Masses, each of which has a marked subsidiary theme in the character of a second subject. In the F minor Mass, a third limb even appears, corresponding to the closing group of Bruckner's symphonic expositions, and with the same strong unison character. After the slow middle section ('Qui tollis'), the reprise begins at 'Quoniam'. Although the principal theme also re-appears here in the D minor and E minor Masses, it is the subsidiary theme ('Gratias agimus') which is re-stated at this point in the F minor Mass, the re-entry of the principal theme being delayed until 'cum sancto spiritu'. The same textual divisions occur in the B-flat minor Mass but there is very little sense of sonata-form structure; the third section is in no way connected with the first, except in the general mood of rejoicing. The closing fugues in this work and in the F minor Mass are set to

127 cf. Liszt's *Gran Festival Mass*.

the words 'in gloria Dei Patris Amen', but, in the D minor and E minor Masses, to 'Amen' only.

The *Credo* movements in the D minor, E minor and F minor Masses conform to the Schubertian type in that the reprise begins at 'Et in spiritum' with the re-entry of the principal theme in the tonic key. In the B-flat minor Mass, however, the sections are sharply divided from one another. The original tempo, key and time-signatures return at 'Et resurrexit', but there is no re-statement of previous thematic material. Unity is achieved through the extensive use of all or part of a *basso ostinato* which first appears at the beginning of the movement. Great intensity of feeling is concentrated in the slow middle section. The 'Et incarnatus est' is set for eight-part voices in the E minor Mass, for solo quartet in the B-flat minor Mass, and for soloists and chorus in alternation in the D minor and F minor Masses.¹²⁸ The basic mood of the 'Crucifixus' is one of distress in the D minor Mass and, to a certain extent, in the B-flat minor mass as well, but of grief and mourning in the E minor and F minor Masses. There is also a slower tempo here in the F minor Mass. Bruckner's depiction of the Resurrection and Last Judgment far surpasses all earlier examples, possibly excepting Liszt's *Gran Festival Mass*. Christ's resurrection was of central importance in Bruckner's Christian beliefs. With the possibilities of modern orchestral technique at his disposal, he was able to drive home the significance of the words in the D minor and F minor Masses. The gradual *crescendo* over a bass pedal, a feature of the orchestral introductions to this section in these two Masses, is already present in embryo form at the parallel point in the B-flat minor Mass. In the E minor Mass, where there is also a repeated bass pedal, the reality of the Last Judgment is conveyed with no less power by the simplest means. The final fugue in the B-flat minor Mass is a triple fugue with regular exposition, development, and stretto treatment of the third subject. The final sections of the *Credo* in the D minor and E minor Masses are contrapuntal without being fugal, and are drafted into the service of that process of climactic development peculiar to Bruckner, a process which is even more strongly in evidence in the closing fugue of the F minor Mass.

128 Bruckner follows Josef Haydn's example in his use of choral interjections in the F minor Mass.

One tempo is maintained throughout the *Sanctus* in all the Masses (including the Requiem) except those in D minor and F minor, where the movement is divided into two sections - a slow 'Sanctus' and a quicker 'Pleni sunt'.

The *Benedictus* is the most intimate and lyrical movement in each setting. The form is rondo-like in the Requiem, bipartite in the B-flat minor Mass, but tripartite in the three later Masses, where the third part is a considerably altered repeat of the first part. In the D minor and F minor Masses, the 'Osanna' of the *Sanctus* is repeated at the end of the movement, but, in the other Masses, the text is integrated into the closing bars of the movement, forming a short, powerful coda in the E minor Mass.

The threefold prayer determines the formal disposition of the *Agnus Dei*. Bruckner's repetitions are never exact, however, and the thematic material is enriched and intensified. The light, almost operatic, character of the 'Dona' in the B-flat minor Mass is replaced in the later Masses by a mood of calm serenity. All four Masses, which begin in the minor, end in the tonic major.

Mass in C major

The C major and F major Masses were written for the modest requirements of the village churches in Windhaag and Kronstorf respectively. In the C major Mass, the texts of both *Gloria* and *Credo* are drastically shortened. Words omitted in the former are 'Domine Fili... Filius Patris', 'suscipe deprecationem nostram', 'Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis' and 'tu solus Dominus', and in the latter 'et invisibilium', 'et in unum Dominum... Qui propter nos homines', 'sub Pontio Pilato' and 'Et iterum... resurrectionem mortuorum'. The harmonic style is understandably derivative, particularly at cadences, and extremely simple throughout, but there are occasional progressions, such as the sudden move from C major to A-flat major in the 'Christe; and the modulation to E-flat major at 'passus et sepultus est' in the *Credo*, which show some originality and foreshadow later stylistic fingerprints. Octave leaps for the voice (at 'Gloria', 'voluntatis', 'adoramus', 'tollis', 'tu solus' in the *Gloria*, 'amen' at the end of the *Credo*, and 'nobis pacem' in the *Agnus*) and unison, plainchant-like passages (at 'et in terra pax', 'adoramus te', 'cum sancto spiritu' in the *Gloria*, 'Crucifixus etiam pro nobis', 'Et resurrexit' and 'et vitam venturi' in the *Credo*)

also point to the future. The bareness of texture resulting from the unison phrases is a positive advantage at 'Crucifixus' where the turn to the minor underlines the tragic import of the words.

Both *Gloria* and *Credo* are devoid of tempo changes. Contrasts in the former are provided by two lyrical passages in F major - at 'Gratias agimus' and 'Quoniam' – both of which follow phrases in A minor. The opening plainchant melody of the *Credo* reappears at the end of the movement and thus provides some measure of formal unity, although the *basso corrente* which accompanies its first appearance is not maintained. The range of keys is again modest and the vocal line predominantly diatonic apart from a chromatic ascending phrase at 'propter nostram salutem'.

The short *Sanctus* makes an intermediate cadence in the dominant of A minor but maintains a uniform tempo and texture throughout. The setting of the *Agnus* is equally unadventurous, the second invocation being in the relative minor and the third returning to the home tonic via excursions to F major, D minor and G major. Schubert's spirit hovers over the lyrical *Benedictus* whose phrase structure, particularly in the extended final cadence, is notably original.

Mass in F major

Written for the Maundy Thursday service in Holy Week, this Mass contains neither *Kyrie* nor *Gloria* and has no instrumental accompaniment. It includes two movements from the Proper of the Mass and consists of *Gradual* ('Christus factus est'), *Credo*, *Offertory* ('Dextera Domini'), *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*. and *Agnus Dei*. The *Credo* is again curtailed, breaking off at 'descendit de coelis'; the words 'Deum de Deo... omnia facta sunt' are also omitted. The 'Osanna' of the *Sanctus* is not repeated at the end of the *Benedictus* where there is a change of time from 3/4 to 4/4 for the second setting of the words.

The vocal writing is almost entirely homophonic but there are some short imitative phrases disposed between male and female voices grouped in pairs in the Gradual, Offertory and 'Dona nobis pacem'. Bruckner's debt to Classical models is seen in many melodic turns of phrase, most strikingly at the words 'Et in unum Dominum

Jesum Christum' in the *Credo*. There are several harmonic, rhythmical, and declamatory irregularities throughout the work. The transition to F major is made too brusquely in the opening bars of the *Credo* and, later in the movement, the switch between E minor and E major chords jars unpleasantly. Rhythmical monotony in the Offertory is produced by the constant repetition of a dotted crotchet-quaver figure set to the word 'dextera'.

The *Sanctus* and *Agnus* movements display a more mature grasp of declamatory problems. The former moves from sustained *Sanctus* chords through a more active 'Pleni sunt' to an unusually restrained 'Osanna'. In the *Agnus* the threefold invocation again determines the structure. The first limb makes a cadence in A minor, the flow of the second is interrupted by several pauses before a final cadence is reached in D major and the third, beginning in G minor, comes to rest in F major. The phrase lengths in the *Benedictus* are again surprisingly irregular - the first paragraph, eleven bars in length, is divided into two phrases of four and seven bars respectively - and add a touch of originality to an otherwise conventionally handled movement.

Mass in D minor (Messe ohne Gloria und Credo)

Texturally this is a very conservative setting. It is homophonic throughout, apart from one or two phrases in the *Sanctus* which, incidentally, is identical with the setting of this movement in the F major Mass. In other respects, however, Bruckner appears to have made a deliberate decision to "experiment" harmonically and rhythmically. He tests his ability to modulate to far-flung keys in the *Agnus Dei* (F major - E flat major - F minor - half-close in E minor - F major) and the phrase-structure of the *Kyrie* is by no means orthodox - the 28-bar movement has the following subdivisions: 2 - 3 - 5 - 4 - 7 - 7 bars.

Mass in E flat major (*Kyrie* fragment)

The 58-bar sketch of this movement of a projected Mass in E-flat major suggests that Bruckner had planned an extended setting of the movement. The instrumental disposition in the autograph (reading from the top downwards) is alto, tenor and bass trombones (separate staves, but no parts written out), two oboes (sharing one staff),

violas, second violins, first violins, soprano, alto, tenor, bass voices (separate staves and C clefs for S A T), organ-cello-bass (one staff but no figures). The oboe and viola parts are discontinued after bar 21, the second violin part after the first beat of bar 24, and the first violin part after the end of bar 25. Thereafter, only the voice parts and instrumental bass (with some omissions) remain. The textual underlay is also very sparse. The style still betrays a conscious imitation of Classical procedures, and there are examples of the 'Marian' cadence in bars 10-11, 23-24 and 50-51. Faults found in his previous settings - for instance harmonic immaturity and rhythmical monotony - are no less obvious here. There is a marked advance in technique, however, and the imitative treatment of the 'Kyrie' theme in the central section is, although somewhat gauche, far more adventurous than previous attempts at contrapuntal writing.

Requiem in D minor

Bruckner's debt to Mozart, whose Requiem he knew, in points of style and structure and in various other details becomes evident in any detailed comparison between their settings.¹²⁹ The most obvious and immediately audible similarity is at the very beginning of the work. Apart from a small rhythmical alteration, the main theme of Bruckner's *Introit* is identical with Mozart's. Bruckner's setting is mainly homophonic, except for a short imitative phrase at 'exaudi' which is akin to the parallel passage in Mozart's setting. Bruckner seems to have been shackled to the figured bass which, apart from the first choral entry where the trombones provide the accompaniment, moves almost continuously in quavers. The first and second violins have the same material and are in syncopation throughout. Unlike Mozart's setting, Bruckner's *Kyrie* section begins in choral unison and the melodic line is repeated as a type of *cantus firmus* in the bass shortly before the end of the movement (bars 56ff.); it also permeates the short orchestral ritornello at the beginning in the active bass line and

129 There are also some close connections with Michael Haydn's Requiem in C minor, for instance the bass quaver movement and the syncopated unison first and second violin parts in the *Introit*, the disposition of the solo and choral parts in the *Dies irae*, some of the melodic writing in the *Offertorium* and the formal structure of the *Agnus Dei*. Bruckner also made a copy of the *Cum sanctis tuis* fugue from Haydn's Requiem. Manfred Schuler discusses various influences on Bruckner's *Requiem* in 'Bruckners Requiem und das St. Florianer Repertoire', *Anton Bruckner - Tradition und Fortschritt in der Kirchenmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. F.W. Riedel (Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 2001), 125-38.

syncopated violin parts. The expressive treatment of the word 'luceat' ('shine', bars 40ff.) provides an early example of Bruckner's technique of climax building, which is developed and perfected in the D minor, E minor and F minor Masses and in subsequent choral and symphonic works.

The *Dies irae* is not subdivided - as it is in Mozart's Requiem - but is through-composed and cast in a rondo-type form. A fourteen-bar orchestral ritornello, which is repeated almost exactly after its first appearance, acts as a structural link for the entire movement. Internal unity is also provided by the frequent recurrence of an arc-shaped five-note melodic phrase which makes its first appearance (twice) at 'solvet saeculum in favilla' (bars 7-10) and is used subsequently in both solo and choral passages. There are three main choral enclaves (bars 1-42, 102-45, 197-end) which alternate with passages for the soloists. As in the opening movement, the choral writing is mainly homophonic. The lyrical 'Recordare' passage (bars 116ff.) is accompanied by the type of "fussy" string writing commonly found in orchestrally accompanied sacred music of the Classical period, and the only contrapuntal interest is provided by a short fugato passage at 'Oro supplex' (223ff.) before the *ff* homophonic outburst at 'Lacrimosa', and by some imitative writing in the final bars ('Dona eis Requiem') which draws on the fugato material. The harmonic idiom is conservative until the end of the second choral section. A descending chromatic phrase for basses at 'tantus labor' (140ff.) recalls a similar descending motion in the corresponding part of Mozart's Requiem. The most daring harmonic stroke occurs at 'confutatis maledictis' (209ff.) where a surprising transition to C flat major is succeeded by an equally sudden enharmonic change to a quiet setting of 'voca me' in E major.

The *Offertorium* begins with an extended melody for the bass soloist that is taken up by the choir, in four parts at first then in octave-unison at 'libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum'. The falling tenths for bass at 'Rex gloriae' (bars 6-7) foreshadow phrases of similar textual connotation in Bruckner's later works, for instance bars 29ff. in the solo tenor's 'Aeterna fac' movement from the *Te Deum* and bars 165ff. in *Psalm 150*. As in Mozart's setting, the illustrative qualities of the text awaken a musical response - the descending chromatic line at 'defunctorum de

poenis inferni' ([deliver the souls of the] faithful departed from the punishments of hell', bars 12-14, 29-31) and the imitative writing for choir, with voices paired in sixths and tenths, at 'ne cadant in obscuram' ('lest they fall into darkness', bars 41ff.). A Schubertian phrase for solo soprano ('sed signifer sanctus Michael') flows into 'Quam olim Abrahae', set homophonically for chorus and ending on a half close in G minor. In the *Hostias*, the combination of male voices and occasional trombone accompaniment foreshadows the dark colouring of *Vor Arneths Grab* (WAB 53, 1854) and *Am Grabe* (WAB 2, 1861), but its lyrical mood is in the vein of the 'Recordare' section in the preceding *Dies irae* and there is a symbolical turn to the major at 'transire ad vitam'. The closing double fugue ('Quam olim Abrahae') has a broad first theme which begins with the minor third step that has already played such an important role in the *Introit* and *Dies irae*. A striking feature is the minor seventh leap followed by a descent through a dominant seventh - a figure which is employed in both its direct and inverted forms in later development (bars 78ff.). The second subject is more uniform rhythmically but is relatively short-lived and fades from the scene towards the end of the long development process when the first subject appears in inversion (bars 86ff). The final section begins with stretto entries of the main subject but ends homophonically above a sustained bass pedal.

Bruckner's *Benedictus*, like Mozart's, is in B-flat major and breathes the same spirit of blissful assurance and peaceful resignation. The 'Osanna' of the preceding *Sanctus* is not repeated but is replaced by a short epilogue for unaccompanied choir.

The vivid contrast between the picture of the suffering Christ – 'Agnus Dei' - and the moving plea for eternal rest – 'dona eis' - is not portrayed dramatically in Bruckner's Requiem but is suggested by the change of medium from solo voices (alto, tenor, and bass respectively) to chorus. The orchestral accompaniment is uniform throughout, first and second violins alternating with a sextuplet-triplet figure. Broad homophonic phrases ('lux aeterna') and contrasting quiet imitative phrases ('cum sanctis tuis') bring the movement to rest on a half-close in D minor. It is followed by an *a cappella* harmonised plainchant setting of *Requiem aeternam* which derives its material from the *Introit*, bars 37-38 and 48-49. The concluding *Cum sanctis* begins with the same melodic gesture which appears at the opening of the *Introit*, and

continues with octave-unison phrases for chorus, to which a powerful string unison with trombone underlay provides a continuous crotchet counterpoint. Bruckner's characteristic falling octave appears in the two 'Adagio' final bars.

Missa solemnis in B flat minor

Two important features of the opening *Kyrie* movement of this Mass setting are the recurring minor third interval, a motif which leaps into prominence again nearly forty years later at the beginning of the Ninth Symphony, and the antiphonal deployment of the male and female voices. The movement is through-composed, the two pleas for mercy – 'Kyrie eleison' and 'Christe eleison' - alternating above a constant syncopated pattern maintained by first and second violins, reminiscent of the *Introit* in the Requiem. Although the structure is well-knit, it is not so cohesive as in the three later Masses, and two short climactic processes at bars 20-27 and 28-32 do not have the same roundness and inevitable sweep as later examples. The motivic use of a falling arpeggio figure which first appears in bars 25-27 lends further unity to this essentially tripartite movement.

The *Gloria* is in three distinct sections, 'Et in terra pax' (bars 1-66), 'Qui tollis' (bars 67-100) and 'Quoniam' (101-end). The choral writing is homophonic throughout, apart from the obligatory fugal setting of the final words, 'In gloria Dei Patris, amen'. The instruments either double the voices or, in the case of the violins, weave a discreet decorative filigree around them. The central 'Qui tollis' section recalls earlier settings of these words, in Haydn's *Nelsonmesse* for instance,¹³⁰ and contains *concertante* parts for oboe and cello. Three entries for bass soloist are interspersed with choral phrases, the second of which effects an expressive transition from C minor to G flat major. The enharmonic change from G flat to F sharp in the ensuing bass solo facilitates a return to G minor by way of a dominant pedal.

In the *Credo* the orchestral role is enhanced by the recurrence of all or part of an instrumental *basso ostinato* which is similar in contour to the ostinato bass in the

130 The same flowing quaver movement can also be found in the 'Et incarnatus est' section of the *Credo* movement in Schubert's Mass in E-flat major, D.950.

'Recordare' section of the *Dies irae* in Mozart's Requiem. The descending line of the first bar of the theme provides one of the three subjects of the closing triple fugue ('Et vitam venturi'), and the third, fourth and fifth bars of the theme followed by three cadential bars bring the movement to a close. The outer sections are thus endowed with a structural unity which can bear comparison with Bruckner's latter attempts at architectural cohesion in extended movements. Apart from a short fugato passage over an organ pedal at 'et ex Patre natum', the choral writing in the first section is homophonic throughout. The second section falls into two parts - a gentle 'Et incarnatus est' in F major for solo quartet, in which contrapuntal and homophonic elements are intermingled, and a doleful 'Crucifixus' in F minor for chorus, enriched by warm instrumental colouring (staggered trombone entries and falling semiquaver figures for violins)¹³¹ and expressive vocal phrases, particularly the repeated "dying falls" for basses in bars 54-56. The *tierce de picardie* ending suggests the idea of victory over the grave. The third section leads from a realistic portrayal of the resurrection to an affirmation of Christ's second coming by way of emphatic treatments of 'sedet ad dexteram Patris', 'judicare vivos et mortuos' and 'Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam' and, just before the outset of the final fugue, a most imaginative dynamic contrast at 'mortuorum', sung four times by six-part choir with the dark accompaniment of three trombones and organ *tasto solo*.

The *Sanctus* begins with three homophonic statements of the keyword over a tonic pedal, increasing in intensity and culminating in the F minor harmony of 'Dominus'. Sequential phrases at 'Pleni sunt', in which the word 'gloria' receives particular emphasis, lead to a spirited 'Hosanna' section, beginning over a chromatically ascending bass.

In the *Benedictus*, the two trumpets are replaced by two horns. Its character is akin to that of the *Benedictus* in the Requiem, and both movements are almost identical in structure. The short opening orchestral ritornello, which is not repeated later, is followed by two paragraphs in which phrases for the soloists are capped by tutti

131 Cf. the string figuration in the 'Et incarnatus est' section of the *Credo* of Mozart's 'Coronation Mass', K.317.

passages. The whole movement is pervaded by an ostinato quaver bass, and the accompaniment is confined almost entirely to strings, except in the tutti passages. The expressive dynamic contrasts in the first tutti passage are clearly Haydn-inspired.

The traditional Adagio-Allegro contrast is maintained in the *Agnus*. There is no orchestral introduction, and the *a cappella* chorus has three finely gradated phrases, punctuated by orchestral interjections of ever-increasing intensity, and making cadences in D minor (bars 11-12) and A flat major (bars 25-26). Chorus and orchestra come together towards the end of the section which terminates on a half-close in B-flat major. The ensuing 'Dona nobis' has a rondo-like structure, the second part of the main theme providing material for the episodes which ring the changes between soli and tutti.¹³² The string writing is again decorative for the most part but there are some flashes of solo woodwind colour between bars 15 and 37 that provide some necessary textural variety in this somewhat extended movement.

Mass in D minor

The Mass in D minor, written ten years after the Mass in B flat minor, shows a remarkable advance in all respects, but Auer surely goes too far in disclaiming any connection between the two when he writes:

The 'Missa solennis', which is still very much Mozart-inspired, and the Requiem from the St. Florian period can hardly be considered precursors to this astonishing first masterwork... Compared to its predecessors, the work is so extremely bold that its conception is still a mystery to us today.¹³³

During his period of instruction under Otto Kitzler, Bruckner's dormant creative powers, suppressed for so long as a direct result of his theoretical studies with Sechter, were now awakened into activity. A new and hitherto unimagined world of

132 Cf. the 'Dona nobis' of Mozart's K.192 (KE 186f).

133 Max Auer, 'Anton Bruckners Kirchenmusik', *Musica Divina* (1914), 178ff.

sound was now available to him through his growing acquaintance with more modern works, not least Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. And yet there is very little Wagnerian influence in the D minor Mass. Bruckner certainly makes use of Wagnerian orchestral colours and harmonic gestures, but they are superimposed on an already existing structure and are not integrated into his compositional technique. Both in this work and in later compositions, there is always a strong diatonic element. One result of the already highly developed harmonic and melodic processes is the much more independent role given to the orchestra in this Mass. The basic framework, reinforced by Mozart and the Haydn brothers in their Mass settings, has been retained and the new symphonic elements added by Beethoven have been invested with a Romantic sound that has its origins in Schubert - the Schubert of the A-flat major and E-flat major Masses. The richly scored *Gloria* and *Credo* movements demonstrate this most clearly; the instrumental and vocal forces in both movements exist independently but Bruckner creates a tightly knit complex by employing accompaniment figurations which are sometimes varied and sometimes return in their original guise. Robert Haas draws our attention to three melodic gestures which recur as significant musical symbols throughout the Mass - the downward octave leap, the chromatically-filled descent through a fourth, and the diatonic descent through a fourth - and which are "all placed in the service of a refined interpretation and enhanced by means of a fully developed modulatory freedom, a carefully-assessed formal technique, and a monumental art of climax building with its roots in symphonic writing."¹³⁴

The *Kyrie* is in a concise sonata form, its two subjects being thematically related. The exposition is regular and contains two climactic surges in E-flat major and F major which are disposed sequentially. Only the main material is used in the development section which explores a wide range of keys in its course. In the reprise (beginning at bar 82), the two climactic surges end in G major and E-flat major respectively. The choir is then given the descending scale passage (bars 114-17) that was taken by the oboe in the exposition (bars 32-33, 41-42) and by the flute in the preceding bars

¹³⁴ Haas, *op.cit.*, 67. Bruckner's use of melodic motifs is also discussed exhaustively by Winfried Kirsch in his *Studien zum Vokalstil der mittleren und späten Schaffensperiode Anton Bruckners*, Ph.D. dissertation (Frankfurt, 1958).

(107-08, 112-13), coming to rest eventually on a unison D. The merging of quavers into triplet quavers in the orchestral accompaniment (bars 24-28, 99-103) helps to prepare the ground for the climactic processes which are based essentially on strong progressions of common chords. The development section, from which these passages are absent, is confined to the plea to Christ ('Christe eleison'), although some overlapping is caused by the re-appearance of the words 'Kyrie eleison' (bars 71-78) before the beginning of the reprise. The preparation for the latter is skilfully conceived, a woodwind motif derived from the main thematic material being introduced at bar 64 and then acting as a backcloth for the octave-unison voices (bars 70-78).

The recapitulation is extended, mainly because of the fugato entries of the main idea and the imitative treatment of its descending chromatic line by voices grouped in pairs. A possible model for this movement was the *Kyrie* of Haydn's *Nelsonmesse*, a work which shares not only the same key but also various structural elements with Bruckner's Mass.

In the two larger movements - the *Gloria* and *Credo* - the formal structure maintains the simple succession of tonally self-sufficient sections with more than a passing glance at sonata form and its modulatory processes. Most striking is the strong return of the opening material at 'Quoniam' in the *Gloria* and at 'Et in spiritum sanctum' in the *Credo*. Whereas the *Gloria* is essentially concise, the *Credo* is quite extended with a long stretch of development before the reprise.

The *Gloria* begins quietly with a unison passage for voices, expands to four-part harmony at 'laudamus te', with the usual dynamic contrast at 'adoramus te' which also includes a move to the dominant, and clinches the home key with a perfect cadence at 'glorificamus te'. The two ensuing paragraphs ('Gratias agimus... Agnus Dei', bars 24-66) both begin similarly on the brink of E minor, the first rising to a climax on a dominant seventh chord in D-flat major, the second dying away, after a short duet for soprano and alto soloists, in a bass solo centred on the dominant of C minor. The second section ('Agnus Dei... miserere nobis', bars 67-106), in which the tempo slackens to *Meno mosso*, begins in A-flat major but eventually returns to

within sight of the home key of D by establishing a dominant pedal in bars 98ff. Chains of sixth chords for divided female voices alternate with a phrase for unison male voices (bars 79-81) and a longer bass solo (bars 87ff.), the final bars of which are interrupted by drooping 'miserere' phrases. The dominant pedal is continued in the short orchestral interlude which links the second section to the third ('Quoniam... in gloria Dei Patris', bars 117-61). The opening of the movement is suggested merely by three bars in the orchestra, particularly the descending bass (bars 117-19), while the bass soloist presents a free counterpoint above it. New material, in which chorus and soloists alternate, gives rise to colourful harmonic shifts ('Jesu Christe', bars 127-29 and 135-37). Another orchestral interlude leads to a re-statement of earlier material at 'Jesu Christe' (bars 145-50; cf. 'Domine Deus', bars 33-38), and the section ends with a strong choral unison of psalmodic nature, the orchestra embellishing the extended cadential passage with rich harmonies. The fourth section, essentially a continuation of the third, comprises the 'Amen' fugue, the short four-note subject of which is extensively developed. The upper strings embellish with an *ostinato* figure and the lower strings maintain a continuous quaver accompaniment which is both an extension of preceding material and an echo of the opening of the movement. There are stretto entries of the inverted subject (tenors and altos, bars 176ff.) followed by a close stretto of both direct and inverted forms (bars 180ff.). The final stretto (bars 191ff.) casts off the contrapuntal continuation of the countersubject, and four bars of orchestral interlude are followed by a jubilant homophonic passage in which the sopranos have the fugal theme in augmentation.

Bruckner's intensely expressive treatment of the text is displayed in such features as the brass entry at 'laudamus te' (bar 9), the *fff* climax at 'omnipotens' (bar 42), the quiet intonation of 'Jesu Christe' by soprano soloist (bars 58-59), the repeated sighing figure for bass soloist at 'Domine Deus, Agnus Dei' (bars 61ff.), the choir's extremely tender 'Agnus Dei, Filius Patris' (bars 67ff.), the special treatment of the 'Jesu Christe' phrases (bars 127-29, 135-37) and the unison climax at 'Jesu Christe, cum sancto spiritu in gloria Dei Patris' (bars 145ff).

The *Credo* is in four large sections. In the first ('Patrem omnipotentem... descendit de coelis', bars 1-63), the tonic key of D major is strongly confirmed despite

temporary excursions to F major, G major and D minor. A plunge into diminished 7th colouring at 'coelis' (bar 63), however, is maintained in the ensuing orchestral interlude (bars 64-68). The first limb ('Et incarnatus est') of the slower second section (bars 69-112) is in F-sharp major, a key already touched upon in the 'Christe' section of the *Kyrie* and the third section of the *Gloria* ('Jesu Christe', bars 127-32). There is a sudden shift to C major at 'et homo factus est' with a little instrumental tailpiece for oboes and bassoons, whereupon a short orchestral passage of gradually increasing momentum leads to the second limb ('Crucifixus'), characterised by sudden dynamic contrasts and hectic violin figurations, and ending with an unaccompanied passage in F major for solo quartet, echoed in an extremely quiet epilogue for organ (or clarinets and bassoons) and trombones.¹³⁵ The ensuing third section (*Allegro*, bars 113-214) begins with a long orchestral prelude over a dominant pedal in D minor, supported by a timpani roll, and rises in a wave of cumulative energy to the first choral entries of 'Et resurrexit' on different positions of an A major chord, a graphic portrayal of the resurrection.¹³⁶ The six-part choir, divided into male and female groups, is arranged antiphonally before amalgamating at bar 145. There is a quick change to minor tonality and two sequential 'et ascendit' phrases are set against repetitions of a rhythmic accompaniment figure for strings (bars 151-59). Strong octave-unison phrases for voices over a rushing semiquaver string accompaniment, obviously derived from the opening of the movement, and a striking triadic idea for unison trombones (bars 160-69) are followed by a vivid representation of the Last Judgment. The voices are set contrapuntally over a jerky dotted quaver-semiquaver organ point in F minor and the prominent tenor line is doubled by two trombones in unison. The rising arpeggio figures from the opening of the movement return at 'cuius regni', and earlier accompaniment figurations reappear towards the end of the section, namely trill figures from 'qui propter nos homines' (bars 55ff.) and 'judicare' (bars 176ff.). A short ritornello over an A pedal in the bass, in the same dotted rhythm as at 'judicare', leads to the final section ('Et in spiritum... Amen', bars 215-320). The opening bars of the movement are re-stated but, after a perfect

135 This is the passage Bruckner refers to in his letter to Weinwurm (21 January 1865). See earlier and footnote 28.

136 Cf. bars 15ff. ('Jesus') of the *Ave Maria* (WAB 6), 1861.

cadence in D major ('procedit'), two new episodic passages follow, the first ('Qui cum Patre...', bars 225ff.) for solo quartet and chorus in alternation, closing in G major and strengthened by an orchestral postlude, the second ('Et unam sanctam Catholicam...', bars 252ff.) presenting the acknowledgement of the church by means of a monumental unison in plainchant-style, heightened by a strongly rhythmical accompaniment for octave-unison strings and sustained wind chords. There is a further short appearance of the rising orchestral arpeggios from the opening at 'Et exspecto resurrectionem' (bars 272ff.). The customary change of colour at 'mortuorum' is followed not by a fugue but by an independent section, constructed over a series of long pedal points. It is connected thematically with the *Gloria* 'amen', and its first twenty bars, altered rhythmically from 3/4 to 4/4 time, reappear note for note at the beginning of the 'Dona nobis'.

The descending octave leap plays a particularly prominent role in this movement, and the frequent octave-unison passages endow it with an elemental strength. As in the *Gloria*, Bruckner's interpretation of the text shows great discernment. Particularly memorable are the quiet unaccompanied 'passus et sepultus est' after the turbulent 'Crucifixus', the repeat of 'Et ascendit' a semitone higher, the idiomatic use of brass at 'sedet ad dexteram', the bold accompaniment of the words 'cum gloria' (brass and timpani), the sudden transition from F major to D major at 'cuius regni', followed by a unison rise to D flat, and the gentle lyricism of 'et vitam'. The chorus again assumes the main burden of vocal interest in this movement, and the solo quartet appears only in three short sections.

The *Sanctus* takes the form of a slow introduction (*Maestoso*) followed by a quicker movement (*Allegro moderato*) in two self-sufficient sections, the second of which - the 'Hosanna' - is repeated after the *Benedictus* and contains some antiphonal deployment of the voices.

Sonata-form structure can be discerned in both the *Benedictus* and *Agnus* movements; and, in both, the orchestra plays an integral part by means of preludes and interludes and the employment of its figuration as a binding force. The second thematic idea of the *Benedictus*, a semiquaver figure for violins (bars 12ff. and 27ff.),

remains in the tonic key but eventually closes in the dominant (D major). In the free recapitulation this idea reappears in the subdominant but eventually moves to the tonic in preparation for the lovely coda in which a solo horn unfolds a lyrical melody that is akin to the 'Hosanna' theme but also foreshadows the opening of the Fourth Symphony. The middle section begins with new material in which strings and woodwind alternate in sustaining a continuous quaver backcloth. The prevailing mood of contemplation is broken only at bars 62-65 where brass and voices alternate with pointed *ff* chords. Earlier ideas are recalled in the orchestral transition that overlaps with the intensified re-entry of the first subject. Solo interest is confined to the quartet at the beginning of the movement and to a short passage for tenor in the middle section (bars 57-59).

The vocal part of the *Agnus* is confined mainly to a single melodic line for voices in octave-unison, only the ends of phrases swelling out to four-part harmony. The main theme resembles that of the *Kyrie* in its initial melodic gesture of a rising fifth, and the descending passages for strings (bars 1-4, 26-29, 62-65) are derived from similar passages in the *Kyrie* (for oboes: bars 32-33, 41-42; flutes: bars 107-08, 112-13; voices: bars 114-17). The gradual dynamic swell from *pp* (bar 1) to *ff* (bar 62) is achieved by purely symphonic means, namely the gradual intensification of thematic material. In the second of the three sub-sections there is a short contrapuntal passage at 'peccata mundi', the sustained character of which stands out in relief against the agitated first violin figuration. After the opening 'Agnus Dei' phrase in the third sub-section, the words 'qui tollis' are treated imitatively and the cadential passage at the end refers to the earlier four-note 'peccata mundi' for basses (bars 35-37) in the soprano part. The 'miserere nobis' passages (bars 9-21, 42-54) are identical in their alternation of solo bass with the three upper parts. The second begins a tone higher (B-flat major) than the first (A-flat major) but diverges at the final cadence to E-flat major. The 'Dona nobis' brings a return of major tonality (D major) and of earlier material. It is essentially a résumé of several of the important motives and themes in the Mass and, in its attempt to create an overall unity, goes far beyond the typical Classical procedure of repeating material from the *Kyrie* in the final movement of the Mass. A repeat of the first twenty bars of the 'Et vitam venturi' passage from the end of the *Credo* flows into the latter part of the *Kyrie* recapitulation

with the climactic surges by way of the descending crotchet passage from the same movement. Accompanied by a timpani roll, the woodwind choir restates the 'Et vitam venturi' material, the horn echoes its falling phrase from the end of the *Benedictus*, sopranos and altos intone the 'Amen' fugue subject from the *Gloria*, and the descending crotchet figure appears in first and second violins in thirds accompanied by bassoons in contrary motion. The timpani roll moves to the tonic and the rising fifth motif makes its final appearance in stretto and *pp* in the upper strings.

Mass in E minor

Although the E minor Mass has certain structural and stylistic characteristics in common with the Masses in D minor and F minor, it inhabits a quite different spiritual and technical plane from these symphonically conceived works. The orchestra does not have the important function which it has in the other two Masses. It serves not to provide dramatic illustration of the text but merely to accompany and provide a backcloth for the voices. In the *Kyrie*, for instance, there are long stretches for unaccompanied voices, and instrumental accompaniment is confined to a few harmonic 'fillers' and chords for horns and trombones. A similar sparse accompaniment is found in the 'Et incarnatus' section of the *Credo*, and the first 26 bars of the *Sanctus* dispense with instrumental support in favour of a rich eight-part vocal texture. Bruckner's imagination was obviously fired by 16th-century polyphony. His earlier training as a choirboy and his experiences as an organist at St. Florian and Linz had brought him into contact with the music of Palestrina and his contemporaries, particularly the Slovenian composer Jacob Handl (1550-1591) who had sung in the Vienna *Hofkapelle* and spent some time in the monasteries of Melk and Zwettl. His artistic use of Renaissance polyphonic techniques shows just how deeply Bruckner had immersed himself in the spirit of older music. Polyphonic writing appears particularly in the central part of the *Kyrie* (bars 39ff.), at the end of the *Gloria* ('Amen' fugue, bars 133ff.), in the *Sanctus*, which makes canonic use of a theme borrowed from Palestrina's *Missa brevis*, and in the *Agnus Dei*.

Other features which point to a much older idiom are the bare fifths in the midst of rich harmonic textures in parts of the 'Et incarnatus est' (*Credo*, bars 56, 64, 80), the modal harmonies at 'omnipotens' in the *Gloria* (bars 38-9) and 'Pleni sunt coeli' in the

Sanctus (bars 33ff.), the crossing of parts in the *Agnus* (particularly tenor and bass parts) and at the end of the first 'Kyrie' (bars 24ff), and the division of choral forces into high and low sound complexes to produce antiphonal effects reminiscent of Venetian polychorality (for instance 'Et incarnatus est', 'Et resurrexit', 'Et iterum venturus est' and 'Et vitam venturi' in the *Credo*). But it is Bruckner's use of plainchant-inspired melodic ideas which link him most closely to the older *stile antico*. A contemporary work which also makes use of plainchant-derived themes or original themes with a distinctive Gregorian flavour is Liszt's *Missa choralis* (1865). While Bruckner knew Liszt's earlier symphonic *Gran Festival Mass* (1855) and was no doubt influenced by his technique of cyclic thematic recurrence in composing the *Agnus Dei* movements of both his D minor and F minor Masses, there is no evidence that he knew the *Missa choralis*. Nevertheless, the unaccompanied fugal passages in the opening *Kyrie* of the latter and in the E minor Mass invite comparison. In the E minor Mass, plainchant fertilises the main *Kyrie* theme, the opening subjects of the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements, and the initial unison motif in the *Agnus*. Passages in octave-unison, which stem from the same source, are extended in this Mass, notably in the *Credo*.

The ostinato technique, which also has its origins in earlier musical practice, is much used. An undulating bassoon figure pervades the first and third parts of the *Gloria*, becomes, in its diminished form, the woodwind embellishment in the second section, and returns in the 'judicare' episode in the *Credo* as an accompaniment to a plainchant-inspired melody (bars 131ff.). The recurrence of a chromatic bass figure is of particular significance in the *Benedictus*. It is announced first by a solo horn (bars 1ff.) and appears subsequently at bars 19ff. (oboes), 43ff. (horns), 53ff. (bassoons) and 61ff. (horns and bassoons in octaves). In the *Credo*, however, the opening plainchant melody participates in the ostinato treatment and is used in both the vocal and instrumental parts, sometimes in a varied form ('Deum de Deo', 'genitum non factum...', 'confiteor', 'peccatorum'), experiencing a majestic harmonic apotheosis at 'Et vitam venturi' (bars 212ff.). It is amalgamated with the orchestral figuration of the Resurrection episode which proceeds to a broader transformation of the *Credo* ostinato at 'Et iterum' (bars 116ff.) and becomes a series of tonic-dominant hammer-blows at 'cum gloria' (bars 121ff.) and, later, at 'judicare' (bars 142ff.).

The descending octave is the predominant motif in the D minor Mass; in the E minor Mass it is the diatonic descent through a fourth. This motif provides the climax in the 'Christe' section of the *Kyrie* (bars 66-67), the second subject in the *Gloria* ('Domine Deus' - sopranos, bars 31ff.; altos, bars 43ff.), the *Credo* ostinato, and is treated imitatively by sopranos and tenors in the 'Et incarnatus est... Crucifixus' middle section of this movement (bars 57-58, 65-66 and 81-82). As in the *Gloria*, where it is outlined in the opening plainchant theme of the movement, it is outlined in the 'judicare' section of the *Credo*. It is also an important structural element in the *Sanctus*, appears fleetingly in the alto part during the *Benedictus* ('venit', bars 45-47), is an integral part of the orchestral unison at the beginning of the *Agnus* and occurs often in its inverted (ascending) form, as in the 'Hosanna' of the *Benedictus* (bars 83ff.).

The formal layout of the various movements of the Mass conforms to the traditional structural scheme but is intensified by the more thorough application of the technique of climax building which was later to become an integral part of Bruckner's symphonic works. The *Sanctus*, for instance, is essentially a gigantic climactic process. Twenty-six bars of canonic writing for unaccompanied voices generate an ever-increasing tension which is suddenly released in the full-throated homophonic cries of 'Dominus Deus Sabaoth' (bars 27-31). Vocal homophony continues to the end of the movement, while the wind instruments, horns and trombones in particular, surround it with a contrapuntal network inspired by the earlier canonic theme.

In the first section of the *Gloria* ('Et in terra pax... Filius Patris', bars 1-59), particular stress is laid on the subsidiary idea which first appears in the dominant ('Domine Deus', bars 29ff.) and later in B-flat major ('Domine fili', bars 41ff.), finally closing in the second dominant (D major), with repeated chords for five-part choir and brass in alternation ('Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris', bars 53ff.). The horn quartet effects a transition to the second section ('Qui tollis... miserere nobis', bars 65-94), which contains a most beautiful passage in A-flat major for eight-part voices accompanied by decorative quavers for oboes and clarinets in unison ('suscipe deprecationem') and ends with an equally ravishing modulation to E major. The

simultaneous re-entry of the bassoon ostinato figure (bars 94ff.) leads to the third section ('Quoniam tu solus sanctus', bars 98ff.) which recalls only the opening bars of the first section before proceeding to new material at 'Jesu Christe', clothed in a mystical-sounding F sharp major. The ostinato is still retained (clarinets and bassoons from bar 115), extending its ambit as the voices rise through a diminished seventh chord to a climax at 'Patris', bolstered by full horn and brass chords. The final G major chord is maintained by the wind instruments for three and a half bars, closing into the final fugal 'Amen'. As in Bruckner's later fugues, a part of the motivic material from the counterpoint appears together with the main subject as a countersubject right from the beginning, a technique borrowed from fugal writing in many 18th-century Masses and one which gives the external appearance of a double fugue. The exposition is 'irregular' in that the first pair of entries begin on the same notes (altos a¹, basses a) and the answer at the interval of a fifth does not appear until the second pair of entries (tenors e', sopranos e²). The inverted form of the main subject appears twice (altos, bars 158ff.; sopranos, bars 162ff.) and, after a short homophonic cadential phrase with a pause on an E major chord, there is a stretto of the subject, sequential treatment of the first three notes including augmentation (sopranos, bars 176-86), and a repeated cadential figure making use of its tailpiece (sopranos and altos in sixths, bars 186ff.).

The outer sections of the *Credo* are closely connected through the detailed repetition of the ostinato material in the reprise. The first section ('Patrem omnipotentem... coelis', bars 1-49) modulates through E minor to D minor and seems to be approaching F minor at the end and in a short postlude (bars 49-54). The slower middle section ('Et incarnatus est', bars 55ff.) begins in F major, however, and the opening phrase is repeated, with different cadential colouring on each occasion ('virgine' - bar 59, A major; bar 67, A flat major). The 'Crucifixus' (bars 71ff.) in F minor is provided with a syncopated woodwind accompaniment and, at 'etiam pro nobis', the earlier 'Et incarnatus est' phrase reappears in the minor. Sighing phrases at 'passus' are followed by a cadential passage for voices in F major overlapping with descending trombone chords (bars 89ff.), mostly first inversion but with a concluding augmented (French) sixth. This provides an extremely effective transition to the third section ('Et resurrexit... non erit finis', bars 93-154). The antiphonal voice entries at

'Et resurrexit' (and, later, at 'Et iterum') recall the parallel section in the D minor Mass. An accompaniment of repeated quavers (woodwind, joined later by horns) is replaced at bar 121 by a figuration derived from the main 'Credo' theme, interrupted in bars 130-42 by the bassoon ostinato figure from the *Gloria*. The voices at this point recall the main *Gloria* theme but proceed to mighty unison phrases – 'judicare' (bars 142ff.). The fourth section ('Et in spiritum', bars 155ff.), preceded by two bars of horn and trumpet fanfares (one bar in the 1866 version), restores the original tempo and begins by recapitulating the first section, but is extended, modulating through A minor, D flat major ('adoratur'), F minor ('conglorificatur'), E major ('apostolicam ecclesiam'), B flat major ('resurrectionem') and G minor (unaccompanied 'mortuorum' passage) before reaching the home tonic in the uplifting coda.

In the *Sanctus*, whose powerful climactic process has already been discussed, a two-part canon at the lower fifth in different voice-pairings permeates the movement (first altos and first tenors, bars 1ff.; first sopranos and first basses, bars 7ff.; second basses and second altos, bars 13ff.; first altos / second tenors and second sopranos, bars 20ff.; alto / tenor and bass trombones, bars 33ff.). Around the canonic process are woven several counterpoints which derive momentum and strength from the opposition of ascending and descending scale passages.

The *Benedictus*, pervaded by a chromatic motif announced by the horn and echoed by the female voices, is in a concise sonata form with a development section in A-flat major (bars 42ff.), the rich instrumental accompaniment of which derives its arpeggio figuration from the latter part of the exposition (bars 26ff.). In the recapitulation (bars 61ff.), which flows seamlessly from the end of the development, the arch-shaped second idea, having enjoyed extensive imitative treatment in the exposition, reappears in the orchestral parts (first horn, then oboes, bars 79-83) before being taken by sopranos, now set to the words 'Hosanna in excelsis'.

The relationship between the *Kyrie* and the *Agnus* is not as close as it is in the D minor and F minor Masses, but the final bars of the *Kyrie* are recalled in the contrapuntal woodwind texture at the end of the 'Dona', outlined in the imitative voice

parts. The *Kyrie* itself is tripartite, female and male voice groups making separate entrances in the first section. In the fugal 'Christe' (bars 39-73), a four-note motif appears in its original and inverted forms, with and without free continuation as the movement proceeds. Its two final appearances at the end of the section (second basses, bars 62ff.) are in a slightly altered and compressed form (without the falling third). An obligatory countersubject (on the word 'eleison'), which is also altered and disappears entirely after bar 60, attaches itself to the head-motif at first and a descending scale motif, partly based on this free countersubject, makes its first appearance in bars 51ff. (first basses) but is used more extensively later in the thrilling final climactic bars of the section. At the return of the 'Kyrie' (bars 74ff.) the female group begins as in the opening section but is joined after five bars by male voices who enter simply with a falling phrase taken from an earlier cadential passage (bars 35ff.). After this phrase has been treated imitatively by first basses and second sopranos over a bass pedal E, a climactic homophonic passage for full choir follows, sinking gradually to a quiet cadence in E minor. A beautiful, syncopated tenor entry (bar 104) sets off further imitative treatment of the falling phrase before a *tierce de picardie* final cadence.

The three *Agnus* pleas, the second of which is in the dominant, begin similarly but diverge at the cadences. The third 'Agnus', moreover, is disposed in a two-part counterpoint of female and male voices. In each of the intervening 'miserere nobis' passages, the upper voices carry a falling second motif upwards sequentially while the lower voices intensify the rising tendency with great overlapping leaps of a tenth, embellished by arpeggio figures for bassoons and clarinets in alternation.

Mass in F minor

Symphonic techniques again take precedence in the F minor Mass but certain details, such as the more extensive use of plainchant-inspired melodic lines, betray traces of the E-minor Mass experience. Although both the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements begin with the repetitions of the priest's incantatory words and are thus at variance with strict liturgical precepts, they both owe much to plainchant. The liturgical 'Gloria' and 'Credo' formulas are outlined in their opening phrases, each of which begins with a rise through a major third. This major third ascent can be

observed in all the jubilant parts of the *Gloria* ('Gloria in excelsis', bars 1-2; 'laudamus te', bars 13-15; 'gloriam tuam', bars 49-50; 'solus sanctus', bars 180-81; '[cum] sancto Spiritu', bars 232-33 [second half of fugue subject]; and in the coda, bars 311ff.). In the *Credo* the full power of this motif is unleashed in several high soprano entries ('Patrem omnipotentem', bars 7-8; 'Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum', bars 31-32; 'Et in Spiritum sanctum', bars 327-28; '[et] vitam venturi' [fugue subject], bars 439-40; and in the coda, bars 504ff.). Furthermore, the 'head' of the 'Credo' theme, which contains the major third ascent, appears in C major at 'factorem coeli' (bars 11-12), 'qui propter nos' (bars 93-94) and 'et propter nostram salutem' (bars 97-98), in D-flat major at 'Deum verum' (bars 61-63), in A-flat major at 'Deum de Deo' (where it is extended to a fifth, bars 49-51) and, finally, as an extended phrase at 'Et resurrexit' (bars 199-203) and '[et exspecto] resurrectionem' (bars 425-27). The rising third motif also provides the first three notes of the bass line in the *Benedictus* and appears at the beginning of the three vocal pleas in the *Agnus* (F minor, bars 9-10; E flat major, bars 28-29; D flat major, bars 47ff.)

The drop of a fifth, which often follows the rising third motif in this Mass, is also derived from plainchant. It occurs several times during the 'Gratias agimus' (bars 39ff.) and 'Quoniam' (bars 170ff.) sections of the *Gloria*, the *Gloria* fugue (bars 230ff.), throughout the *Credo* (bars 2-3, 8-9 *et passim*) and *Agnus* (bars 10-11 *et passim*).

Other features which recall Bruckner's earlier Mass settings or develop stylistic traits which were only in an embryonic state formerly are the psalmodic incantations in two passages near the end of the *Kyrie* (solo bass, bars 105ff.; choir in octave-unison, bars 139-42) and in the 'miserere' passage (alternation of male and female voices) in the *Gloria* (bars 160-6), the use of the ostinato device in parts of the *Kyrie* (bars 104ff.), *Gloria* ('Deus Pater omnipotens... Filius Patris', bars 76-115) and *Credo* ('Et resurrexit', bars 199ff.), certain features of choral disposition, including the antiphony of choir and solo quartet (*Credo*, bars 49-59: solo quartet quietly echoing the choir's *ff* phrases) and the ending of a choral section allotted to basses only (ending of first 'Kyrie', bars 32-35) and, finally, orchestral features such as the mighty string figurations, triadic but without either major or minor third, in the *Credo* (at 'Et

resurrexit', bars 199ff.; 'judicare', bars 265ff; and 'Et exspecto', bars 421ff.) and the soft repeated woodwind chords in the 'Et incarnatus est' section of the same movement.¹³⁷

As in the E minor Mass, the diatonic melodic descent through a fourth is extensively used. Not only does it frame the whole work in the *Kyrie* and 'Dona', where it appears both in the opening bars of the former (in the minor) and the closing bars of the latter (in the major) in such a way as to suggest the idea of an earnest prayer finally answered, but it can be observed frequently in other movements of the Mass. It permeates the string figuration throughout the *Gloria*, particularly towards the end of the fugue (bars 322-28), appears in the oboe parts at the very beginning of the movement (bars 1-2), and plays an important part in the solo soprano enclaves ('Gratias', bars 39-41; 'Quoniam', bars 170-72). In the *Credo* it appears in inverted form after the leap of a fifth during the main theme (bars 3, 9 *et passim*) and again at 'cuius regni' (bars 297-300), while another inverted form, appearing in the 'Christe' section of the *Kyrie* (bars 67-69), is combined with the original direct form to mould an expressive melodic curve in the *Benedictus* (bars 41ff.).

In contrast, two other motifs first encountered to any significant extent in the D minor Mass -- the descending octave leap and the chromatic descent through a fourth -- seldom occur and are of only secondary importance, although the former, in both its direct and inverted forms, permeates the *Gloria* fugue and the latter, noticeably absent from the 'Crucifixus' section of the *Credo*, effects a tense preparation for the final fugue at 'mortuorum' (bars 431-34).

The reduction to a minimum of chromaticism, so striking in the D minor Mass and of occasional occurrence in the E minor Mass, is one of the most surprising features of this work. Consequently, when it does occur - to convey a sense of mystery at 'visibilium omnium et invisibilium' (strings, bars 15-24) in the *Credo* or to suggest jubilation at 'in excelsis Deo' (bars 3-4) in the *Gloria* - its effect is enhanced.

Modality, encountered already in the D minor and E minor Masses, is an important

¹³⁷ Cf. bars 93ff. in the *Credo* of the E minor Mass. Robert Haas (*op.cit.*, 78) suggests that this figuration is derived from the 'Ruhig bewegt' section in Act 3, Scene 2 of Wagner's *Lohengrin* ('Atmest du nicht mit mir die süssen Düfte').

means of melodic and harmonic colouring in the Mass. The minor second which first appears in the orchestral introduction to the *Kyrie* (G flat - F, bars 4-5) is developed as a melodic characteristic throughout the movement. It lends a particularly mournful quality to the 'passus et sepultus est' phrase in the *Credo* (bars 183ff.), echoed immediately afterwards by horns and trombones.

The *Gloria* and *Credo* movements are again characterised by frequent octave-unison passages, but contrapuntal writing is much more extensive than in earlier works both in these and the other four movements. Small points of imitation both extend and intensify the second 'Kyrie' (bars 85-88, 93-96, 105-12), fugato passages occur in the slow sections of both *Gloria* (bars 124-27, 141-44) and *Credo* (bars 170-74), there is canonic writing in the 'Moderato' episode (bars 348ff., 378ff.) of the *Credo*, and the calm lyricism of the *Benedictus* is not disturbed but rather enhanced by the staggered solo and choral entries throughout. The closing sections of both the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements take the form of great fugues, the themes of which are more sharply chiselled than those of the earlier Masses. Both fugues have regular countersubjects which disappear after the first part of the development in each case, however.

As in the D minor Mass, the use of solo voices or solo ensemble is kept to a minimum. Bass and soprano soloists punctuate the choral phrases in the 'Christe eleison', in which there are also decorative phrases for solo violin, and the second 'Kyrie', and alternate antiphonally with the chorus in the latter (bars 114ff.). Solo soprano, solo alto, and chorus alternate in the 'Gratias' (bars 39ff.) and 'Quoniam' (170ff.) sections of the *Gloria*, and there is a short three-bar duet for the same soloists during the 'Qui tollis' (bars 157-59). The *Credo* contains solo quartet / tutti contrasts at 'Deum de Deo' and 'lumen de lumine' (bars 49-59), and passages for solo tenor ('Et incarnatus est'), solo bass ('Crucifixus'), solo quartet ('qui cum Patre', bars 348ff.) and soprano and bass soloists ('Amen', bars 509ff.). Further passages for solo quartet occur in the *Sanctus* ('Hosanna'), *Benedictus* and *Agnus* ('miserere'), and the soprano soloist echoes choral phrases in the 'Dona' section of the latter (bars 76, 78, 82-83).

The formal structure of all the movements is based on traditional procedure but demonstrates a considerable extension of it. The outer sections of the opening *Kyrie* are pervaded by the descending fourth motif which first appears in imitative string entries in the twelve-bar orchestral prelude. Contrapuntal treatment of the inverted form of this motif (bars 85ff.) effects modulations to E major (bars 90ff.) and D-flat major (bars 97ff.). There are two comparable climactic phrases in the central 'Christe' section, also aided by swelling string semiquavers (in G minor, bars 55ff.; and G-flat major, bars 67ff.). A leaping fourth motif which provides further imitative treatment in the final section (bars 105ff.) has its roots in the 'Christe' where it appears in inverted form in the choral parts (bars 63ff.).

The first words of the *Gloria* are set antiphonally between female and male voices, and the hushed setting of 'et in terra pax' and 'adoramus te', both in octave-unison and accompanied by a lapping string figuration, contrast with the surrounding jubilant phrases. Female soloists and chorus alternate at 'Gratias', the second paragraph of which begins in E major (solo alto, bars 52ff.) but moves to F major at the cadence (bar 64). The quaver movement in the strings which pervades the entire section is joined by a new trill motif for first and second violins in alternation at 'Domine Deus'. This trill motif recurs at 'Domine Fili' (bar 86) and 'Domine Deus, Agnus Dei' (bars 100ff.) while the voices fluctuate between imitative treatment of a descending octave idea ('Domine Deus', 'Domine Fili') and homophonic or octave-unison statements. The sudden change of colour at 'Jesu Christe' (bars 95-97) is in keeping with Bruckner's interpretation of these words in his other Masses. The slow middle section ('Qui tollis... miserere nobis', bars 116-78), in Bar (AAB) form, begins in D minor but explores a wide range of keys in its course, notably D-flat major in the second melodic extension of 'peccata' (bars 135-40) and E major at the climactic 'suscipe deprecationem nostram'. The orchestral accompaniment is discreet and highly sensitive throughout. At 'qui sedes' (bars 148ff.), the rising vocal phrases are echoed by woodwind, and similar sighing figures recur above psalmodic monotones for the chorus at 'miserere nobis' (bars 160ff.) The 'Gratias' material returns at 'Quoniam' (bars 179ff.), leading to another *sotto voce* unaccompanied setting of the words 'Jesu Christe' (bars 207-11). Special stress is laid on the word 'gloria' in the ensuing octave-unison passage, in which the voices are doubled by upper woodwind,

horns and trombones, and immediate contrast is provided by an enharmonic change and a quiet homophonic rendering of the words 'in gloria Dei Patris. Amen' (bars 231ff.) in E major before they are set fugally (238ff.). Stretto and inversion of the fugue subject appear in the early stages of the fugal process. A long episode (bars 281ff.) is enlivened by a descending chromatic chordal sequence punctuated by statements of the 'head' of the subject in the bass. Finally (bars 295ff.) there is a complete stretto, occurring twice and involving all four voices, which leads to an entry of the theme in augmentation (sopranos and basses in tenths, bars 306ff.). A cadence at bar 331 is followed by three homophonic phrases over an increasingly agitated orchestral accompaniment, the first two of which present the rising third motif in the sopranos, while the third and more extended one begins in *fff* octave-unison and broadens out to a plagal cadence, outlining the main *Credo* theme in its course.

In many respects, not least structurally, the *Credo* is the most mature of all Bruckner's Mass movements, the principal theme being deployed in a huge symmetrical process from the beginning ('Credo in unum Deum', C major) over the middle ('cuius regni', A minor, bars 297ff.; 'Et in spiritum', C major, bars 327ff. [the actual reprise, albeit much altered]) to the closing fugue ('Et vitam venturi', C major, bars 437ff.). The mediant key-relationship is also an essential component of the large-scale structure, and the slow 'Et incarnatus est' (bars 117ff.), lively 'Et resurrexit' (bars 191ff.) and 'Et exspecto' (bars 421ff.) sections, the latter recalling material from 'Et resurrexit' and 'iudicare' (bars 260ff.), are all in the key of E major. Bruckner's astonishing attention to detail commands attention. The strongly affirmative opening subsides to quiet vocal unisons at 'visibilium omnium et invisibilium' (bars 16ff.), shrouded in chromatic string figurations and falling woodwind phrases. Returns of the opening material at 'Et in unum Dominum' (bars 31ff.) and 'Qui propter nos' (bars 92ff.) both generate climactic processes which tail off with similar descending scale passages ('omnia saecula' and 'descendit de coelis'). They are separated by antiphonal phrases between chorus and solo quartet at 'Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine' which display *in nuce* the prevailing mediant relationship of keys, and by a sparse unison setting of the words 'consubstantialem Patri' in which 'omnia' (bars 81ff.) receives particular emphasis. The *misterioso* character of the 'Et incarnatus est' section (bars 117-59, E major) is reflected in the pulsating high

woodwind chords and the ethereal strains of a solo violin and solo viola. Sopranos and altos in unison comment quietly on the marvel of the Incarnation revealed by the tenor soloist, and lower voices enter towards the end with short imitative phrases ('et homo factus est'). A syncopated figuration, first introduced by solo violin in bar 137, pervades the succeeding 'Crucifixus' (bars 160-90, E flat major) in which the death of Christ is portrayed in moving terms, the bass soloist adding a personal note of sorrow in his two descending octave leaps ('passus', bars 172-73). The kinship of the final 'passus et sepultus est' passage (and succeeding horn and trombone echo) to parallel passages in the D minor and E minor Masses suggests an unchanging conception of the suffering and burial of the Lord. Of comparable character to previous settings also is the short introduction to the 'Et resurrexit' where the rising third motif appears in E major above a magnificent panoply of orchestral splendour in which brass play a particularly prominent part. This orchestral ostinato is maintained relentlessly until 'cuius regni', while the chorus proceeds in a predominantly homophonic fashion, with occasional imitative interest ('et iterum', bars 236ff.; 'judicare', bars 260ff.). The range of keys is no less wide than in previous sections - A major at 'et ascendit' (bars 212ff.), F minor moving quickly to D minor by way of an enharmonic change of harmony at 'sedet ad dexteram' (bars 221ff.), D-flat major – B-flat minor at 'cum gloria' (bars 252ff.) where the key word 'gloria' is again highlighted, G-flat major at 'judicare' (bars 272ff.) and F minor at 'vivos et mortuos' (bars 287ff.) where the descending fourth motif (with the additional interest of Phrygian colouring) is outlined in the string parts above an F pedal. The F falls to E and the ostinato accompaniment is replaced by a new dotted figuration (bars 298ff.), joined at bar 309 by repeated woodwind chords which recall the 'Et incarnatus'. The choir's initial positive statements give way to utterances in a mystical undertone (bars 309ff.). Varied repetition of the initial 'Credo' material ('Et in Spiritum', bars 327ff.) is interrupted by a 'Moderato' passage (G major, 3/4 time, bars 348ff.) in which canonic entries of the solo quartet frame a *tutti* passage ('simul adoratur et conglorificatur') that has a suitably evocative orchestral cushion of string tremolandos, soft woodwind and trombone echoes and rises to a cadence in D major. The melismas at 'qui locutus est' in the second solo passage point to an older style, and the affirmation of "one holy catholic and apostolic church" is strengthened by the usual octave-unison vocal writing (bars 399ff.). Rushing string semiquavers and brass interjections

provide a highly charged backcloth. 'Et exspecto' (bars 421ff.) brings a return of the earlier ostinato figuration, but it is short-lived and the tense preparation for the final fugue is enhanced by the hushed setting of 'mortuorum'. The fugue is based on the main theme of the movement (with an additional upbeat) and is interspersed with the regular repetitions of 'Credo' utterances, arranged as a group of four-part chords, and thus contrasting sharply with the surrounding contrapuntal material. It pervades the fugal texture, including all the first voice entries, and appears eight times in all (*ff* each time) and in a variety of keys. A broad exposition is followed by two stretto entries of the subject (sopranos and altos, bars 462ff.; tenors and basses [inverted form], 467ff.) and the development continues with treatment of the 'head' of the theme, which is embellished at first with phrases derived from the countersubject (sopranos, bars 475ff.; basses, bars 476 and 478) and ends with a short stretto (bars 497-502) concluding sharply on a German sixth chord. Over a quiet timpani roll, the coda begins with a harmonised version of the subject (sopranos, altos, tenors), continues with a short decorative passage for soprano and bass soloists, and ends with a broad statement of the subject in augmentation (voices in octave-unison, bars 519-23).

The three sections of the *Sanctus* dovetail into each other. In the first 'Moderato' section, the main interest lies in the woodwind, against which sopranos and altos in unison present a three-note motif three times, one step higher at each appearance and with intervening octave leaps for the tenors and basses. Heavy brass and timpani strengthen the sudden *ff* at 'dominus Deus'. A trill figure for strings heralds the 'Pleni sunt coeli' (Allegro) in which the word 'gloria' is underlined yet again in an extended melodic line already suggested in the preceding instrumental bass passage. A rising phrase for solo soprano, repeated later by solo tenor and solo alto, initiates the 'Hosanna' whose joyful mood is reflected in the decorative string and woodwind semiquavers.

The *Benedictus* (Allegro moderato, A flat major) is in sonata form, with a lyrical main theme which is announced by cellos in the orchestral introduction and then taken up by the solo quartet at bars 18ff. The solo bass provides a continuation of the theme (bars 22ff.), echoed by sopranos and altos (bars 26-28), and the theme and its

extension now reappear in *tutti* and *solli* (tenor, bass) respectively. The second subject, a sinuous quaver figure, alternates between orchestra and solo soprano (bars 41ff.) and a solo flute carries it up to the heights over unison phrases for female and male voices in alternation (bars 54ff.). The short development section, beginning in G flat major, is concerned entirely with this second subject and its augmented mirror form (see the earlier unison soprano and alto passage, bars 44-45) and flows into the recapitulation by way of a remarkable canonic passage for first and second violins derived from it. The recapitulation is extended by imitative treatment of the first subject group, while flutes and oboes (bars 92ff.) and, later, oboes and clarinets (bars 104ff.) recall the second subject (and its reflection), the rising part of which is transformed into a sequential phrase for cellos in the instrumental coda. A repetition of the 'Hosanna' from the *Sanctus* concludes the movement.

With the *Agnus Dei* (Andante, F minor) we return to the mood of the *Kyrie*, suggested by the sinking phrases in the orchestral introduction. The second and third 'Agnus' pleas each begin a tone lower than the preceding one. While the first and second both contain the antiphonal contrasts of female and male voices with direct and inverted forms of the theme, the third extends the phrase by means of canonic entries of the direct form. The 'qui tollis' phrases are also similar, ending with the 18th-century Marian cadence at 'mundi' in each case. The second is a tone higher than the first, however, and the third, a seventh higher, is also extended by two sequential 'Agnus Dei' phrases, accompanied by rising string arpeggios and strong wind chords, and a final unaccompanied 'qui tollis' which ends with an imperfect cadence. Solo quartet and tutti alternate in the 'miserere' passages, the pleading quality of which is enhanced by the agitated figures for unison strings.

In the D minor Mass, Bruckner's achievement in recalling earlier material in the final 'Dona' was striking. But that pales in comparison with the exceptional cyclic *tour de force* of the parallel section in this Mass in which all the earlier movements are recalled to a greater or lesser degree. The descending four-note 'Kyrie' motif, now in the major, returns in the woodwind at the beginning (bars 66ff.) and the octave leaps for voices (bars 68, 70, 95) suggest the opening of the *Sanctus*. The G flat phrase from the 'Christe' (bars 67ff.) appears at bars 79ff. now with brass support and with

rising scale passages for strings also derived from this section, and there are re-statements of the *Gloria* fugue subject in *ff* octave-unison (bars 99ff.) and the second half of the *Credo* theme (sopranos, bars 108-10, 111-14). A quiet statement of the main *Kyrie* motif by first oboe brings the movement and the work to a peaceful conclusion.

Bruckner's shorter sacred works - analytical aspects

1 The *Pange lingua* settings¹³⁸

Text

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Pange, lingua, gloriosi Corporis mysterium, Sanguinisque pretiosi, Quem in mundi pretium Fructus ventris generosi Rex effudit Gentium. | <i>Sing, my tongue, the Saviour's glory, of his flesh the mystery sing; of the blood, all price exceeding, shed by our immortal King, destined for the world's redemption, From a noble womb to spring.</i> |
| 2. Nobis datus, nobis natus Ex intacta Virgine, Et in mundo conversatus, Sparso verbi semine, Sui moras incolatus Miro clausit ordine. ¹³⁹ | <i>Of a pure and spotless Virgin, born for us on earth below, He, as Man, with man conversing, stayed, the seeds of truth to sow. Then He closed in solemn order wondrously His life of woe.</i> |
| 5. Tantum ergo sacramentum veneremur cernui: et antiquum documentum novo cedat ritui. Praestes fides supplementum Sensum defectui. | <i>Down in adoration falling, Lo, the sacred Host we hail; Lo, o'er ancient forms departing, Newer rites of grace prevail. Faith for all defects supplying, When the feeble senses fail.</i> |
| 6. Genitori, Genitoque Laus et jubilatio, Salus, honor, virtus quoque Sit et benedictio: Procedenti ab utroque Compar sit laudatio. Amen. | <i>To the everlasting Father, and the Son who reigns on high, with the Holy Ghost proceeding forth from Each eternally, be salvation, honour, blessing, might and endless majesty/ Amen.</i> (Translation: Edward Caswall) |

138 The text of *Tantum ergo* comprises verses 5 and 6 of the *Pange lingua*.

139 This verse was added to verses 1, 5 and 6 by GÖllerich in Franz Bayer's copy of the score of *Pange lingua und Tantum ergo*, WAB 33 (1868); see Mus.Hs. 19.714 in the ÖNB. In the early and revised versions of WAB 31, only verse 1 is provided.

***Pange lingua* in C, WAB 31 (1835 or 1836; revised 1891)**

In his revision of this simple homophonic setting, Bruckner corrected some 'grammatical' faults and infelicities in the part-writing of the original version as well as providing a more interesting bass line at the words 'rex effudit gentium'.

***Pange lingua und Tantum ergo (Phrygian)*, WAB 33 (31 January 1868)**

Although archaic elements such as the unison opening, restricted voice ranges, pure chordal progressions and modal cadences recall 16th-century polyphony,¹⁴⁰

Bruckner does not attempt to adhere strictly to the older style but makes extensive use of dissonance at 'quem in mundi pretium' (bars 19-23) and drives home the climax at 'generosi' (bars 26-27) with a diminished seventh chord.

2 The *Tantum ergo* settings

***Tantum ergo* in D, WAB 32 (c.1845)**

This setting is in a tuneful, Schubertian vein and contains some bold harmonic gestures, including a switch from B minor to G major at 'praestet fides supplementum' (bars 17-20). It is possible that it was composed for St. Florian and the fact that it would have been sung by a better choir than he had available at Kronstorf no doubt stimulated his inventive powers.

***Tantum ergo* in A, WAB 43 (1845 or 1846)**

Bruckner is clearly in 'experimental vein' in this setting, introducing some imitative writing at 'novo cedat ritui' as well as moving from F sharp minor to a half-close in G sharp minor (bars 13-16), perhaps to underline the 'newer rites of grace'.

***Vier Tantum ergo*, WAB 41, in B flat, A flat, E flat and C (1846, revised 1888) ¹⁴¹ and *Tantum ergo* in D, WAB 42 (1846, revised 1888)**

¹⁴⁰ Anthony F. Carver discusses the mixture of diatonic and modal elements in this and other motets as well as the inclusion of modal references in his symphonies in 'Bruckner and the Phrygian Mode', *Music and Letters* 86/1 (February 2005), 74-99.

¹⁴¹ Bruckner retained the same order in his 1888 revision, but the sequence was altered to E flat – C – B flat – A flat in the first edition of 1893.

The composer's firmer grasp of harmony is already noticeable in the original versions, but the Classical cadential formulae are made more personal and many refinements in voice leading are introduced in the revised versions. This can be seen clearly if one compares the following examples taken from the original and the revised versions of three of the motets. In 1a (*Tantum ergo* in A flat major, 1st version), the words 'praestet fides supplementum' are harmonised boldly, touching on E flat minor and B flat minor before moving to the dominant of f minor; in 1b (revised version), the minor ninth at 'prae-' and the passing note harmonies caused by the crotchet movement in alto and bass illustrate the difference between the fledgling composer and the Bruckner engaged in revision work on his Eighth Symphony. Similarly, the words 'novo cedat ritui', ably harmonised in 1c (*Tantum ergo* in E flat major, 1st version), are brought to life in 1d (revised version) as a result of the upward semitone movement in the bass and the *Parsifal*-like cadence. The *Tantum ergo* in D, conceived on a broader canvas than the other four settings and written for larger forces, is left virtually unchanged in its revised version, apart from some alterations to the cadential bars and the addition of a plagal 'Amen'.

***Tantum ergo* in B flat, WAB 44 (c.1854)**

This has an engaging melodiousness but falls far short of the contemporary *Libera me* in originality. The continuous quaver patterns for violins and the rather laboured chromatic phrase for sopranos at '[supple]-mentum' are unfortunate weaknesses, but the extension of the final phrase to five bars in an otherwise periodic four-bar structure is as effective as it is surprising.

3 The three *Asperges me* settings

The words are from the opening of the Mass and are taken from Psalm 51. They do not form part of the Ordinary but are sung during the purification of the altar at the beginning of the service.

Text

Domine, hyssopo, et mundabor:

Sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be clean:

lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor

Wash me, and I will be whiter than snow.

Miserere mei, Deus,

Have mercy on me, Lord,

| | |
|--|---|
| secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto: | <i>according to your great compassion. Glory to the Father, and to the Son and the Holy Spirit,</i> |
| Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen. | <i>As it was in the beginning, is now and shall be forever. Amen.</i> |

***Asperges me* in F, WAB 4 (1843 or 1844)**

Homophonic throughout, this motet is not without its passages of harmonic adventurousness, for instance the move from G major to D minor in bars 12-13 ('misericordiam tuam') and then to A flat major in bars 13-15 ('Gloria Patri et Filio'). It ends with a plainchant intonation – 'Asperges me'.

***Zwei Asperges me*, WAB 3 (c.1845)**

The first of these two settings, intended for performance on the Sundays between Septuagesima and the fourth Sunday in Lent, has as its 'cantus firmus' an Aeolian melody which undergoes a full fugal exposition, not without a certain stiffness in the movement of the individual voice parts. The middle section – 'Miserere' – is sung by the voices in octave-unison as a plainchant with organ accompaniment, and the closing section – 'sicut erat' – begins with a passage of simple imitation. The second setting, for performance on Passion Sunday (the fifth Sunday in Lent), has a similar A-B-A structure, the middle section again in plainchant but without organ accompaniment.

4 The three *Ave Maria* settings

The words of the first part of this Latin prayer are derived from Luke 1, 28 and 42 and formed part of the Christian liturgy as early as the fourth or fifth centuries. The words of the second part ('Sancta Maria...') were probably added in the 14th or 15th centuries.

Text

| | |
|---|---|
| Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus. | <i>Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you, You are blessed among women, and blessed is Jesus, the fruit</i> |
|---|---|

Sancta Maria, Mater Dei,
ora pro nobis peccatoribus
nunc et in hora mortis nostrae.

Amen.

*of your womb.
Holy Mary, mother of God,
pray for us sinners
now and in the hour of our
death.
Amen.*

***Ave Maria* in F, WAB 5 (July 1856)**

Bruckner is not entirely successful in his attempt to combine the old – it is the last of his sacred works to contain a figured bass – and the new in this motet. It begins with a rather free fugal exposition which culminates in a ‘Marian’ cadence in bars 8-9. Two somewhat angular solo passages for alto (‘Gratia plena’) and soprano (‘Benedicta’) follow. The final three bars of the latter proceed from a characteristic octave leap to a surprising appearance of Wagner’s ‘Fate’ motif at ‘tui’ (bar 17). The threefold ‘Jesus’ forms a modulatory five-bar phrase cadencing in A flat major. The sweet ‘Sancta Maria’ phrases begin canonically and lead to a bold ‘ora pro nobis’ (bars 30-32), the confident mood of which is changed to a hushed and penitent ‘peccatoribus’ thrice repeated (bars 32-35). After a repetition of the words ‘Sancta Maria... peccatoribus’ to new, mainly homophonic material, the motet ends quietly with a four-fold ‘Amen’.

***Ave Maria* in F, WAB 6 (c. May 1861)**

As in the contemporary *Afferentur regi*, there are anticipations of the D minor Mass, particularly the threefold ‘Jesus’ phrase allotted to different voice combinations and building up to a glorious seven-part A major chord (cf. ‘Et resurrexit’ in the *Credo* of the Mass). In the following ‘Sancta Maria’ passage the antiphonal answering phrases overlap to produce a rich sound spiced with seventh and ninth chords, the repeated high A for sopranos in bars 25-26 marking the climax of the whole piece. No less effective are the hushed descending sixth chords over a pedal C at ‘ora pro peccatoribus’ (bars 31-33), the expressive sequential octave leaps at ‘mortis nostrae’ (bars 39-42) and the subtle placing of the diminished chord in the final ‘ora pro nobis’ (bars 45-48).

***Ave Maria* in F, WAB 7 (February 1882)**

In this setting, his only sacred work for solo voice and organ, Bruckner employs a

very wide dynamic range (*fff-ppp*) and his interpretation of the text fluctuates between passages in which is there much enharmonic change ('Sancta Maria... peccatoribus', bars 39-52) and unison plainchant-like phrases ('nunc et in hora mortis', bars 53-58). The latter is followed by two bars (bars 59-60) which clearly recall his setting of the words 'Sancta Maria' in the 1861 setting (bars 43-44). As in the two previous settings, particular prominence is given to the threefold 'Jesus' (bars 23-31). Here it takes the form of a slow-moving, almost chorale-like presentation of the words, beginning in A flat major but ending on the dominant of E flat minor. In the final 'Amen' the soloist is required to make an impressive two-octave descent to a low f.

5 The three *Christus factus est* settings

The text of this gradual, which is used as part of the Mass liturgy on Maundy Thursday in Holy Week, comes from Philipians 2: 8-9.

Text

| | |
|--|---|
| Christus factus est pro nobis, | <i>Christ became obedient to death for us,</i> |
| Obediens usque ad mortem autem crucis. | <i>even to death on a cross.</i> |
| Propter quod et Deus exaltavit illum | <i>Therefore God exalted him to the highest place</i> |
| et dedit illi nomen, | <i>and gave him the name</i> |
| quod est super omne nomen. | <i>that is above every name.</i> |

***Christus factus est* in F (Gradual for the *Messe für den Gründonnerstag*, WAB 9, 1844)**

This is the first movement of his setting of the Mass for Maundy Thursday in 1844. It is a simple homophonic treatment of the words, made more interesting by the frequent avoidance of regular four-bar phrases.

***Christus factus est* in D minor, WAB 10 (1873)**

In the context of the normal a cappella four-part setting for Bruckner's smaller sacred works, the scoring for eight-part mixed-voice choir, three trombones and strings is unusual. A striking feature is the wide variety of textures, beginning with the sopranos and altos in unison with a contrapuntal accompanying part for unison first and second violins, followed by a fugato for unaccompanied mixed voices ('propter

quod est Deus', bars 12-14) and gradually leading to the *tutti* of all eight parts supported by strings and trombones, with an impressive climax at the words 'dedit illi nomen'. But what follows is even more remarkable. As in the later, third setting of the text, Bruckner places particular emphasis on the words 'quod est super omne nomen'. Over a bass A flat pedal, the ascending scale of E-flat major (beginning on the submediant) is distributed among the voices in a terraced structure, culminating in a C major cadence (bars 31-38). The same generative process, albeit in slightly altered form, is repeated for the second statement (bars 38-45), and the final climax is reached in the tonic major key (D major). The final section, imitative and full of characteristic suspensions, is remarkably akin to the closing section of the later setting. Furthermore, both share a thematic relationship with the 'in aeternum' passage in the *Te Deum*.¹⁴²

***Christus factus est* in D minor, WAB 11 (May 1884)**

Although there are close motivic connections with the Seventh Symphony, *Te Deum* and the second movement of the later Eighth Symphony (soprano, bars 2-4; final soprano entries, bars 68 and 73; final alto entry, bar 72), it is the allusion in several places (at the words 'exaltavit illum' in bars 23-24 and 27-28, for instance) to the 'Grail' motif from Wagner's *Parsifal*, a work which he had heard for the first time in Bayreuth in the summer of 1882, which makes an immediate impact. Throughout the motet the skilful voice-leading, the smooth stepwise progression of the outer voices, and the many beautifully judged dynamic changes and exquisite modulations combine to produce an effect of great nobility. Timothy Jackson has also drawn attention to the religious implication of the gradual enharmonic shift from Db (in bar 19) to C#, the long-held leading-note of D minor (in bar 39).¹⁴³

6 The two *Libera me* settings

The *Libera me*, a prayer for mercy at the Last Day, is a responsory and forms part of

142 See Imogen Fellingner, 'Die drei Fassungen des "Christus factus est"', *Bruckner Symposion Linz 1985 Bericht* (Linz, 1988), 53-57.

143 Timothy Jackson – in 'The Enharmonics of Faith: Enharmonic Symbolism in Bruckner's *Christus factus est* (1884)', *B-J 1987-88* (Linz, 1990), 19 – argues that it is the 'overwhelming significance of this "rising" Db become C# that "raises" Jesus' name above all others' ('super omne nomen').

the Absolution at the end of the Requiem Mass.

Text

Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna
in die illa tremenda
quando coeli movendi sunt et terra,

dum veneris judicare saeculum per ignem.

Tremens factus sum ego et timeo,
dum discussio venerit atque ventura ira.

Dies illa, dies irae, calamitatis et miseriae,

dies magna et amara valde.

Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine,
Et lux perpetua luceat eis.

*Deliver me, o Lord, from eternal
death on that awful day*

*when the heavens and earth shall be
shaken,*

*and you shall come to judge the world
by fire.*

*I am seized with fear and trembling
until the trial is at hand and the wrath
to come.*

*On that day, the day of wrath,
calamity and misery,*

On that day of great bitterness.

*Grant them eternal rest, o Lord,
And may your everlasting light be
upon them.*

Libera me in F, WAB 21 (c.1843)

This has an attractive melodiousness, despite its dependence on well-tried cadential formulae.

Libera me in F minor, WAB 22 (1854)

Written for the same occasion as *Vor Arneths Grab* (WAB 53), namely the funeral ceremony of Michael Arneth, the prelate of St. Florian abbey, this is a noble and quite extended composition – by far the longest of the smaller sacred works up to this time and one of the most mature works from the St. Florian period. It is imbued with something of the grandeur of the contemporary *Missa solemnis* in B flat minor.

Although certainly derivative in places, there are several passages in which Bruckner begins to exercise more contrapuntal freedom – the five-part double fugue exposition in the contrapuntal middle section (bars 19-31) and the extensive use of imitative counterpoint at the words ‘dies illa’ (bars 42-47) are the two most obvious examples – and others in which he succeeds in bringing the words to life, for instance the leap of a tenth for second sopranos at ‘dies’ (bar 44), the arresting first soprano entry on a high g² flat at ‘et amara valde’ (bar 55) and the extremely tender ‘Requiem aeternam’ (bars 67-76) before the recapitulation of the opening ‘Libera me’ section.

7 The other Latin settings

***Afferentur regi*, WAB 1 (November 1861)**

This offertory from the Mass for Virgins and Martyrs begins imitatively and works up to a joyous shout for full choir with trombone underlay at ‘*afferentur tibi in laetitia*’ (bars 13-15). The bass descent to a pedal A at ‘*exultatione*’ looks forward to the mighty phrase for solo bass in the ‘*Salvum fac*’ section of the *Te Deum*, while the sixth chord harmonies over this pedal and the imitative voice entries at the beginning and elsewhere no doubt provided material for the ‘*Qui cum patre*’ section in the *Credo* of the D minor Mass.¹⁴⁴

Text

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Afferentur regi virgins post eam; proximae eius afferentur tibi in laetitia et exultatione.; adducentur in templum regi Domino.</i> | <i>After her shall virgins be brought to the King; her neighbours shall be brought to you in joy and exultation; they will be led into the temple of the Lord.</i> |
|--|--|

***Ave regina coelorum*, WAB 8 (1886)**

The text, whose author is unknown, is taken from a Lenten antiphon – the concluding antiphon in *The Liturgy of the Hours* from the Presentation of the Lord until Holy Thursday.

Text

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Ave, Regina caelorum, Ave, Domina angelorum, Save radix, salve porta, ex qua mundo lux est orta</i> | <i>Hail, Queen of heaven, Hail, Mistress of the angels, Hail, root of Jesus, the gate through which the light rose over the earth.</i> |
| <i>Gaude, Virgo gloriosa, super omnes speciosa. Vale, o valde decora, et pro nobis Christum exora.</i> | <i>Rejoice, Virgin most renowned, and of unsurpassed beauty. Fairest of all, Plead with Christ to spare our sins.</i> |

The earliest manuscript of the original plainchant dates from the twelfth century, but the plainchant used by Bruckner is taken from a gradual verse with ‘*Alleluia*’ in the *Missa de Sancta Maria ab Adventu usque ad Navitatem Domini*.¹⁴⁵ Bruckner

144 Wolfgang Hoffmann discusses Bruckner’s predilection for sixth-chord sequences in ‘“Sextaccord”-Folgen im geistlichen Vokalschaffen Anton Bruckners’, *BJ* 1994/95/96 (Linz, 1997), 157-73.

145 See Elisabeth Maier, ‘Der Choral in den Kirchenwerken Bruckners’, *Bruckner Symposion Linz 1985 Bericht* (Linz, 1988), 115.

mingles tonal and modal (Phrygian) elements in his setting.

Ecce sacerdos magnus, WAB 13 (1885)

The text of *Ecce sacerdos magnus* is from the Apocrypha and is used in the Mass of the Common for a Confessor Bishop.

Text

| | |
|---|---|
| Ecce sacerdos magnus. qui in diebus suis placuit Deo. Ideo jurejurando fecit illum Dominus | <i>Behold a great priest, who in his days was pleasing to God. Therefore with an oath the Lord has made him</i> |
| crecere in plebem suam. Benedictionem omnium gentium dedit illi, | <i>to increase among his people. God has given to him the blessing of all people,</i> |
| et testamentum suum confirmavit super caput eius. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. | <i>and has confirmed his covenant with his own. Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.</i> |
| Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen | <i>As it was in the beginning, is now and shall be for ever and ever. Amen</i> |

This motet comes from the same spring as the *Te Deum*, and the bare fifths at the opening, the rapid harmonic transitions, the modal tendency of the harmonies, the mediant relationship of keys, and the majestic ceremonial mood all point to that work. The most enthralling feature of the motet is undoubtedly the antiphonal writing of Gabrielian grandeur – the alternation of three-part female voices and four-part male voices, with the additional weight of three trombones and full organ chords -- at 'Ideo jure jurando' (bars 23-30, 64-71, 83-90). The third and final appearance of these rising sequences makes an even greater impact as it follows the plainchant doxology ('Gloria Patri et Filio').¹⁴⁶ No less striking is the hushed 'in plebem suam' on a repeated seven-part A major chord after an *fff* climax on the flattened supertonic (bars 33-9, 74-80, 93-99).

Iam lucis orto sidere (In S. Angelum Custodem Hymnus), WAB 18 (1868; rev. 1886)

¹⁴⁶ This doxology is taken from the fourth psalm tone in the *Tonus solemnus*. See Elisabeth Maier, 'Der Choral in den Kirchenwerken Bruckners', op.cit., 118.

Although the first four words of the text are the same as those of the famous hymn attributed to St. Ambrose ('Now that the daylight fills the sky'), the rest – provided by Robert Riepl, a priest at Wilhering Abbey – is substantially different, while preserving something of the essence of the original. Bruckner's modally inspired strophic setting is very simple and homophonic throughout.

***Inveni David*, WAB 19 (April 1868)**

This is an offertory from the Mass for the Common of Pope and Confessor.

Text

Inveni David servum meum,
oleo sancto meo unxi eum;
manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei,
et brachium meum confortabit eum.
Alleluja.

*I have found David my servant,
with my holy oil have I anointed him.
My hand shall hold him fast.
And my arm will comfort him.
Alleluia.*

In the same key as its great contemporary, the F minor Mass, and sharing such common features as the opening phrase in unison octaves, the motet makes great demands on the voices, particularly in the closing 'Alleluia' section, introduced by a tremendous downward sweep in the second basses with trombone support. The four trombones intensify the frequent antiphonal effects and dynamic changes, of which the most striking is undoubtedly the sudden whisper of 'manus enim mea' after three *ff* trombone chords (bars 13-15).

***Locus iste*, WAB 23 (August 1869)**

The gradual *Locus iste* is used in the Mass service for the dedication of a church (Missa in Anniversario Dedicacionis Ecclesiae). Bruckner uses only the first section of the text.

Text

Locus iste a Deo factus est;
inaestimabile sacramentum,
irreprehensibilis est.

*This place was made by God;
a priceless mystery,
it is beyond reproach.*

The motet begins with Mozartian phrases, but soon introduces characteristic Brucknerian progressions such as the sequential 'inaestimabile sacramentum' (bars 13-20). The short middle section comprises a threefold repetition of the words 'irreprehensibilis est' with chromatic descending movement in the tenor part initially.

The final section recapitulates both the words of the first section and the music as far as bar 39. After a strong affirmation of 'Deo' followed by a bar's silence, the work ends peacefully and serenely.

***Os justi*, WAB 30 (July 1879)**

The text of *Os justi* comes from Psalm 37: 30-31.

Text

Os justi meditabitur sapientiam,
et lingua eius loquetur iudicium.
Lex Dei eius in corde ipsius,
et non supplantabuntur gressus eius.
Alleluia.

*The mouth of the righteous man
utters wisdom,
and his tongue speaks what is just.
The law of God is in his heart,
his feet do not slip.
Alleluia.*

The asceticism of this work is in complete contrast to the luxuriant string writing of the contemporary String Quintet in F which was completed only a few weeks earlier. It is tripartite and strictly modal, beginning and ending in the Lydian mode but with a fugal middle section that moves towards a Mixolydian cadence. There are suitably hushed repetitions of an F major chord at the end before the 'Alleluia' and the appended 'Inveni David' versicle, both of which are in plainsong, the latter with organ accompaniment.

***Salvum fac populum*, WAB 40 (November 1884)**

The words are taken from the final part of the early Christian hymn of praise, the *Te Deum*, ascribed variously to Saints Ambrose and Augustine and Bishop Nicetas.

Text

Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine,
et benedic hereditati tuae.
Et rege eos, et extolle illos
usque in aeternum.
Per singulos dies benedicimus te,
et laudamus nomen tuum in saeculum saeculi.

Dignare Domine die isto
sine peccato non custodire.
Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri.

Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos,
quemadmodum speravimus in te.

*O Lord, save your people,
and bless your heritage.
Govern them and lift them up
for ever.
Day by day we magnify you,
and we worship your name, world
without end.
Vouchsafe, o Lord, to keep us
this day without sin.
Have mercy upon us, o Lord, have
mercy upon us,
O Lord, let your mercy be upon us,
as our trust is in you.*

Bruckner's setting of these words, in which short sections of plainchant, falsobordone homophony, and polyphony alternate, is in complete contrast to their treatment in his *Te Deum* where he unleashes the full force of voices, orchestra and organ at the words 'Per singulos dies'.

Tota pulchra es, WAB 46 (March 1878)

The text of this Marian antiphon is derived partly from the Song of Solomon (Chapter 4, verses 7-8) and partly from the Book of Judith in the Apocrypha (Chapter 15, verse 10).

Text

Tota pulchra es, Maria.
Et macula originalis non est in te.

*You are fair, o Mary.
And the original stain is not in
you.*

Tu Gloria Jerusalem.

*You are the glory of
Jerusalem.*

Tu laetitia Israel.
Tu honorificentia populi nostril.

*You are the joy of Israel.
You are the honour of our
people.*

Tu advocata peccatorum.

*You are the advocate of
sinners.*

O Maria, virgo prudentissima,
mater clementissima, ora pro nohis.

*O Mary, virgin most prudent,
mother most tender, pray for
us.*

Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Jesum Christum.

*Intercede for us with Jesus
Christ, our Lord.*

The scoring for tenor soloist, mixed-voice choir and organ enables Bruckner to alternate phrases for the tenor precentor and harmonisations of the same material for chorus in a responsorial fashion. The work is clearly fertilized by plainchant or plainchant-like material, but Bruckner does not allow himself to be restricted by modality or to be fettered by Caecilian considerations.¹⁴⁷ The passage at 'mater

147 Elisabeth Maier identifies the similarity of the opening phrase to the second, third or eighth psalm-tone or the 'Alleluia' of the *Officium in festo immaculatae Conceptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis* in 'Der Choral in den Kirchenwerken Bruckners', *Bruckner Symposium Linz 1985 Bericht* (Linz, 1988), 118. Hartmut Krones also discusses the three-note head-motif of this opening phrase in the context of Bruckner's use here and elsewhere of what Constantin Floros has identified as 'the tonal symbol of the cross', in 'Musiksprachliche Elemente aus Renaissance und Barock bei Anton Bruckner', *Bruckner Symposium Linz 1997 Bericht* (Linz, 1999), 57. The "subtle relationship between the linear modal [Phrygian] elements and the piece's harmonic structure" effected by Bruckner is discussed by Anthony Carver in *op.cit.*, 80ff.

clementissima' (bars 49-52), where the choir diverts the previous tenor phrase into the key of D flat major and provides a startling dynamic contrast, illustrates his desire to be faithful to the text and use elements of melodic and harmonic expressivity to accomplish this. The ending is most original. F major is reached at bar 71, but the basses descend a semitone to E and the antiphon ends in an ethereal E major, clinched by a plagal cadence.

Veni Creator Spiritus, WAB 50 (c.1884)

The text of this famous hymn is attributed to Rabanus Maurus (d. 856). It is used at Vespers, Pentecost, Dedication of a Church, Confirmation and on occasions when the Holy Spirit is invoked.

Text (1st verse only)

Veni, Creator Spiritus,
mentes tuorum visita,
imple superna gratia
quae tu creasti pectora.

*Come, Creator Spirit,
take up your rest in our souls,
fill with heavenly grace
the hearts which you have made.*

Bruckner's setting is nothing more than a simple organ accompaniment to the plainchant melody, typical of the period and no doubt akin to the unobtrusive type of accompaniment he would have provided when accompanying monophonic plainsong in the Hofkapelle or elsewhere.¹⁴⁸

Vexilla Regis, WAB 51 (February 1892)

The text of this hymn for Holy Week is by Venantius Fortunatus (530-609) who wrote it in honour of a large relic of the True Cross sent to Queen Radegunda by the Emperor Justin II and his Empress Sophia. It was first sung during the procession (19 November 569) in which the relic was carried with great ceremony from Tours to Radegunda's monastery of Saint-Croix at Poitiers. The hymn originally comprised eight stanzas. In the 10th century, however, stanzas 7 and 8 were gradually replaced by new ones ('O crux ave, spes unica' and the doxology, 'Te summa Deus

¹⁴⁸ Elisabeth Maier suggests that Bruckner's harmonization is closer to a Lutheran chorale harmonization. In addition, Bruckner has 'compromised' the modality of the piece by harmonizing the first syllable of 'Creator' with an A major chord. See Maier, loc.cit., 114-15. For the use of plainsong in Austrian abbeys and larger churches, particularly St. Florian, during the 19th century, see Franz K. Prassl, 'Die österreichische Choralpflege im 19. Jahrhundert', *Bruckner Symposion Linz 1997 Bericht*,

trinitas') although they were still retained in some places. In his setting, Bruckner makes use of verses 1,3,4,5,6, 7 and 8.

Text

Vexilla Regis prodeunt;
fulget crucis mysterium:
quo carne carnis conditor
suspensus est patibulo.

*Abroad the regal banners fly,
now shines the Cross's mystery:
upon it life did death endure,
and yet by death did life procure.*

Quo vulneratus insuper
mucrone diro lanceae,
ut nos lavaret crimine,
manavit unda et sanguine.

*Who, wounded with a direful spear,
did purposely to wash us clear
from stain of sin, pour out a flood
of precious water mixed with blood.*

Impleta sunt quae concinit
David fideli carmine,
dicendo nationibus:
regnabit a ligno Deus.

*That which the prophet-king of old
hath in mysterious verse foretold,
is now accomplished, whilst we see
God ruling the nations from a tree.*

Arbor decora et fulgida,
ornata Regis purpura,
electa digno stipite
tam sancta membra tangere.

*O, lovely and refulgent tree,
adorned with purpled majesty,
culled from a worthy stock, to bear
those limbs which sanctified were.*

Beata, cuius brachiis
pretium pependit saeculi
statera facta corporis
tulitque praefata tartari.

*Blest tree, whose happy branches
bore the wealth that did the world
restore: the beam that did that
body weigh, which raised up hell's
expected prey.*

O Crux ave, spes unica,

hoc Passionis tempore
piis adauge gratiam,
reisque dele crimina.

*Hail cross, of hopes the most
sublime
Now, in the mournful Passion time
grant to the just increase of grace,
and every sinner's crimes efface.*

Te, fons salutis Trinitas,
collaudet omnis spiritus:
quibus crucis victoriam
largiris adde praemium.

*Blest Trinity, salvation's spring,
may every soul thy praises sing:
to those Thou grantest conquest by
The Holy Cross, rewards supply.*

(English translation by Walter
Kirkham Blount, d. 1717)

The remarkable mixture of the old and the new in this strophic piece could perhaps

be interpreted as Bruckner's attempt to sum up his life's work, albeit on a smaller scale than the coda of the third movement of the Ninth Symphony, by synthesizing a wealth of stylistic elements. The old is represented by the Phrygian modality, the plainsong-inspired melodic phrase at the opening of each verse and some of the cadential formulae (bars 21-23, 56-58, 91-93). The new can be seen in references to the 'Grail' motif and the enharmonic transformations symbolizing the change from 'death' to 'life' near the end of each verse. This is particularly relevant in the first verse where the B dominant seventh chord at 'morte' is followed by the first inversion E flat major chord at 'vitam' (bars 25-29).¹⁴⁹

Virga Jesse, WAB 52 (September 1885)

This is an Alleluia verse (based on Isaiah 11:10) which replaces the gradual in the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin during the Easter season.

Text

| | |
|--|--|
| Virga Jesse floruit. | The rod of Jesse has blossomed. |
| Virgo Deum et hominem genuit. | A virgin has brought forth God and man. |
| Pacem Deus reddidit, in se reconcilians ima summis. | God has restored peace, reconciling in Himself the lowest with the highest. |
| Alleluia. | Hallelujah. |

Bruckner draws on so many different ideas (psalmodic, homophonic, and polyphonic) in this work, arguably the finest of his motets, and yet succeeds in fusing them into a successful whole. A plainchant-inspired motif literally blossoms ('floruit') into the 'Grail' motif in the two opening phrases. The expressive minor sixth leap for sopranos at 'Virgo Deum' (bars 22-3, 26-7) recalls the 'Tu Rex Gloriam' phrase in the *Te Deum* and foreshadows the glorious horn phrase at the opening of the Ninth Symphony (bars 20-21). The preparation of the first great climax in bars 49-51 is achieved with an economy of means and deceptive simplicity. The earlier rising minor sixth is complemented by a descending minor sixth at 'in se reconcilians' (bars 52-54) and, once again, a rising chromatic bass leads to a breath-taking chromatic

149 Timothy Jackson refers to the sketches in noting that the corrections the composer made to the music and metrical numbers "testify eloquently to Bruckner's considerable effort in setting the last line of text", particularly the enharmonic passage. See Timothy L. Jackson, 'Bruckner's Metrical Numbers', *Nineteenth-Century Music* 14 (1990-91), 114 and 118.

change and a cadence in E major. And it is in this key (the key of the contemporary Seventh Symphony) that the final section begins and ends. Twice, great 'Alleluia' acclamations give way to quiet passages of self-communing, the transitions accomplished in each case by descending phrases for the basses, the second one reaching a bottom E which provides a pedal during the closing bars of the motet. The tenors, marked *falseto*, echo the bass phrase, and the work comes to an infinitely peaceful conclusion.

8 The German settings

Bruckner was attracted to the Lutheran chorale and wrote some chorale or simple hymn-like pieces in the German vernacular during the Kronstorf and St. Florian periods.

Dir, Herr, Dir will ich mich ergeben, WAB 12 (1845 or 1846)

This chorale, with pause marks at the end of each phrase, begins and ends in A major but modulates to C sharp minor in its middle section. Bruckner avoids regular four-bar phrases, and makes use of three-, five- and even seven-bar phrases.

Herz Jesu-Lied, WAB 144 (1845 or 1846)

In this short Communion song, Bruckner begins and ends with *tutti* voices but has short phrases for solo voices (tenor, bass, soprano) in the middle section.

In jener letzten der Nächte, WAB 17 (c.1848)

In this Maundy Thursday setting, Jesus reminds believers of his sufferings in the garden of Gethsemane. The piece is in F minor but moves to A flat major and C minor in its course. Apart from the final two phrases (three-bar) Bruckner makes consistent use of four-bar phrases.

O du liebes Jesukind, WAB 145 (1845 or 1846)

This is a simple, unpretentious song to the Christchild.

Zwei Totenlieder, WAB 47 and 48 (1852)

Although fairly typical of the funeral songs of the day in their harmonic simplicity,

there are one or two features that point forward to the composer's more mature later style, particularly the soprano surge at 'sucht nur Gottes Reich' ('seek only the kingdom of God', bars 8-9) in which the bold false relation between altos and tenors helps to heighten the effect.

***Vor Arneths Grab*, WAB 53 (March 1854)**

Written at the same time as the *Libera me* in F minor and exhibiting some of the harmonic features of the latter, this setting swings between the keys of F minor and A flat major in the first and second versions (set identically). Bruckner moves through D flat and G flat major to reach a half-close in B flat minor at the end of the third verse. A quiet trombone interlude effectively veers the music to B flat major for the beginning of the fourth verse. In the final six-bar phrase, D flat major is re-visited at 'der Selige dort oben' ('the blessed one above', bars 23-24), as a stepping-stone, via a German sixth chord, to a cadence in F major. 150

***Am Grabe*, WAB 2 (February 1861)**

Although Bruckner borrowed the text of *Vor Arneths Grab*, he avoided providing an identical musical treatment; but there are some motivic connections and a few harmonic gestures, including the use of a German sixth in the cadential bars at the end, that are clearly derived from the earlier setting. In general, the handling of the text is more mature and the harmonic layout more expansive; Paul Hawkshaw appositely asserts that it was "not so much revision designed to update an earlier work as... a new composition using material from an older one." The review of the piece in the *Linzer Zeitung* on 12 February 1861 highlighted the "atmosphere of gentle feeling" which pervaded the work 151

***Trauungsschor*, WAB 49 (January 1865)**

In the four years between *Am Grabe* and *Trauungsschor*, Bruckner, partly as a result of his lessons in form and orchestration from Otto Kitzler and partly due to his own

150 'Vor Arneths Grab' is printed in *ABSW XXIII/2*, ed. Angela Pachovsky and Anton Reinhaller (Vienna, 2001), 26-28.

151 See *HMSAB*, 223 and 264. See also Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, 22, for a facsimile of the review of the piece in the *Linzer Zeitung* 35. *Am Grabe* is printed in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 47-48.

eagerness to acquaint himself with the music of some of his contemporaries, expanded his harmonic vocabulary. The Mass in D minor (1864) marked a significant breakthrough, and, in this small “musical wedding gift”, it is evident that performances of Wagner’s *Tannhäuser* in Linz in February 1863 and his own study of the score of the opera had left an abiding impression. This can be observed most clearly in the middle section, set for a quartet of solo voices, where the quiet repeated chords in the accompaniment and the chromatic harmony at the words ‘nehmt in Denken, nehmt in Handeln’ (‘take in mind, take in action’, bars 29-31) echo Wagner. 152

***Zur Vermählungsfeier*, WAB 54 (27 November 1878)**

This is another “musical wedding gift”. Chronologically it comes between *Tota pulchra es* and *Os justi*, two of the Latin sacred pieces that demonstrate most convincingly Bruckner’s ability to draw on elements of plainchant and modality and use them convincingly in a 19th-century context. While there are some deliberately ‘ecclesiastical’ cadences in *Zur Vermählungsfeier* – at the phrase ‘gesegnet hat des Priesters Hand das Paar’ (‘the priest’s hand has blessed the pair’, bars 11-15), for instance - the harmonic language is essentially that of the contemporary Fifth Symphony and String Quintet. The preceding phrase (to the same words, bars 8-11) ends with a half-close in D. Bruckner moves up a semitone from A to B flat to begin a sequential harmonic process which ends in C at bar 15, but then embarks on another semitone shift to reach another extended cadence in D flat at ‘Liebesband’ (‘band of love’, bars 20-22). This marks the end of Section A. Section B (bars 23-36) begins with the voices in octave-unison but moves, by way of an enharmonic shift at ‘himmlisches’ (‘heavenly’, bar 31) to a cadence in F-sharp major. At the beginning of Section C, Bruckner repeats the first four bars of Section A but proceeds, by way of seventh chords over a chromatically rising bass, to a final diatonic flourish, invoking God’s blessing on the newly married pair (‘Gott segne Bräutigam und Braut’, bars 50-

152 *Trauungsschor* (also called *Trauungslied*) is discussed in *G-A III/1*, 309ff. and *HMSAB*, 280-81. August Göllerich’s discussion includes a factual report of the performance in the *Linzer Zeitung* 31 (8 February 1865); see Susanna Taub, *op.cit.*, for a facsimile of this report. The work is printed in *ABSW XXIII/2*, 70-74.

68). 153

9 *Zwei Aequale*, WAB 114 and 149 (January 1847)

It was common practice in Austria for a piece of music for trombone quartet to be played before, during or after a funeral service. It is possible that Bruckner knew Beethoven's three short *equali* which were performed for the first time in Linz cathedral in November 1812. His own two pieces are for three trombones (alto, tenor, and bass). Both are in C minor and end with a *tierce de picardie*.

Conclusion

In Bruckner's Mass settings we see his development from unexceptional beginnings in the early Masses up to and including the *Requiem* through the more ambitious *Missa solemnis* in B flat minor to the Masses written in the latter years of his time at Linz, the combination of his profound knowledge of the liturgical text and his ever more grasp of symphonic technique and instrumental colour resulting in three of the finest large-scale settings of the Mass in the nineteenth century. In the motets written during the fifty-seven years that separate his first and last motets we are presented with a fascinating microcosm of Bruckner's development as a musician, from the first tentative steps to the confident strides of a fully mature composer. We see an engagement with both old and new stylistic elements, ranging from monophonic plainchant to late nineteenth-century chromatic harmony, a process also observable in the church music of his great contemporary Franz Liszt. We observe Bruckner's suspicion of the more extreme manifestations of Caecilianism and his deliberate avoidance of 'rules' that would have hindered true originality. Above all, we marvel at his ability to bring the different sacred texts to life in both Mass and motet settings. But it could be argued that it is in the latter that we encounter the most intimate and the most profound expressions of his Christian faith.

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