

Atti del VI Seminario Internazionale di Filologia Musicale.

«La filologia musicale oggi: il retaggio storico e le nuove prospettive»

Image Sharpness versus Loss of the Frames. Readings of Textual Criticism in Mozart's Church Music

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§ Already the first, only sparse editions of Mozart's Church Music brought about considerable changes within musical notation. In some cases the works have even been reduced to vocal parts along with piano score. Remote from the original text habits of performance practice developed, started to circulate and to strengthen. Compared with this the volumes of the (Old) Mozart Edition could hardly stand their ground in the 1870s and 1880s, so that on the basis of a (with regard to textual criticism) corrupt notation an autonomous Mozart-tradition in Church Music revealed itself and has been maintained by a long way up to the 20th century. By means of some smaller works of Church Music (the offertorios *Misericordias Domini* and *Venite, populi*, the motet *Ave verum Corpus*) it will be shown how a process of alienation and reapproaching took place and why aspects of later reception shall be of some importance when editing musical works of the classical era.

(Italian translation by Adriana De Feo).

§ Le prime edizioni di musica sacra mozartiana, apparse all'inizio del XIX secolo, portarono considerevoli cambiamenti del testo musicale originale. In alcuni casi venne ridotta la partitura per voci a spartito per voce e pianoforte. Abitudini legate alla prassi esecutiva, ben lontane dall'originale, iniziarono a prendere piede e a radicarsi. In confronto a ciò, le prime edizioni critiche degli opera omnia mozartiani, apparse tra gli anni '70-'80 dell'Ottocento (*Alte Mozart Ausgabe*), poterono stabilire solo una limitata tradizione. Cosicché si venne a creare una tradizione autonoma e 'corrotta' della musica sacra mozartiana che rimase immutata fino al XX secolo. Attraverso l'analisi di alcuni brani di musica sacra del compositore salisburghese (gli offertorii *Venite, populi* e *Misericordias Domini*, e il mottetto *Ave verum Corpus*) verrà mostrato come l'inserimento di elementi estranei al testo originale si sia radicato e l'importanza della critica testuale e della storia della ricezione per le edizioni critiche di opere appartenenti al periodo classico.

(Traduzione in italiano di Adriana De Feo).

1. Mozart's Church Music in 19th Century Music Publishing

Compared with any other domain in his work, the church music by Wolfgang Amadé Mozart was taken over rather slowly in the course of the 19th century. That is why church music formed the greatest part of those works which – before the editions of (Old) «Mozart-Ausgabe» were published from 1877 on – had not been printed yet (GRUBER 1980, p. 16; BERKE 2005, p. 684). Firstly this is a result of the practice to exclude larger scored church music works from the supply, carried out since Baroque times by music publishers, considering expenditure and marketing. However, with regard to Mozart's church music, a bundle of reasons took influence. On the one hand the romantic aesthetics, by which – proceeding from E.T.A. Hoffmann's ideas – only the Requiem was fully acknowledged, became a playground of 'art religion', consequently denying nearly all the other works of church music by Mozart a timeless quality. On the other hand – as a result of the increasing myths established around Mozart describing Archbishop Hieronymus Graf Colloredo as an enemy many compositions of sacred music were interpreted as the outcome of services to which a haunted genius was forced to. Moreover, beyond aesthetics and myths, very sober accesses expressed a critical attitude. Friedrich Rochlitz, when reviewing the first volumes of Breitkopf & Härtel's *Œuvres complètes* in 1800, valued:

Mozart schrieb *Kirchenmusik*; in frühern Jahren, ehe er auf Reisen seine *hohe* Schule machte, angenehm, zum Theil gar nicht unbedeutend, aber denn doch keine Kirchenmusik; später wenig, aber zweckmäßiger; und zuletzt, für die, welche es fassen können, sein himmlisches *Requiem*. (ROCHLITZ 1800, p. 30)¹

Yet it should not be ignored that looking at the literary discussion hides the real facts to some degree. Besides the Requiem, published in 1800 by Breitkopf & Härtel and two years later by Johann André in Offenbach, at least a number of masses² and other church music works³ were edited until 1877.

¹ Georg Nissen or some later sub-editor plagiarized this passage in part 2, p. 162 of his posthumously published *Biographie W.A. Mozart's*, Leipzig 1828, for the beginning of the chapter «Kirchen-Compositionen». Furthermore a chapter «Das Requiem» can be found. That's all to be mentioned on Mozart's church music in Nissen's book – the sparseness of descriptions converges with the common opinion to be looked up in contemporary comments.

² *Missa brevis F-Dur* ('Kleine Credo-Messe') KV 186f (192), Hoffmeister, Wien, and Bureau de Musique, Leipzig 1802; *Missa brevis D-Dur* KV 186h (194), Lotter, Augsburg 1793; *Missa brevis C-Dur* KV 196b (220), Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1812; *Missa C-Dur* ('Große Credo-Messe') KV 257, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1803; *Missa C-Dur* ('Krönungsmesse') KV 317, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1803; *Missa c-Moll* ('c-Moll-Messe') KV 417a (427), André, Offenbach 1840. Cf. KIRSCH 1992, 74f.; SCHIPPERGES 2006, 412f.

³ Motet *God is our refuge* KV 20, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1863; *Te Deum* KV 66b (141), Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1803; antiphon *Quaerite primum regnum Dei* KV 73v (86), Champan & Hall, London 1845; offertory *Inter natos mulierum* KV 74f (72), Aibl, München 1851; offertory *Misericordias Domini* KV 205a (222), Kühnel, Leipzig 1811; offertory *Venite, populi* KV 248a (260), compressed score, Artaria, Wien 1842; offertory *Sancta Maria, mater Dei* KV 273, André, Offenbach 1825; *Kyrie D minor* KV 368a (341), Novello, Ewer & Co., London 1822, and André, Offenbach 1825; *Ave verum Corpus* KV 618, André, Offenbach presumably 1808. Cf. KIRSCH 1992, 74f.; SCHIPPERGES 2006, 412f.

Nevertheless, from the beginning the attempt to present an authentic text remained marginal, compared with the amount of manifoldly revised editions. Among the latter, revisions keeping the original function can be distinguished from those losing it, e.g. when German church cantatas were arranged on the basis of various of Mozart's choir compositions by underlining a new text. On the whole the print of 14 such cantatas can be proved (SCHIPPERGES 2006, 412f., 415f.). The considerably broad effect of apocryphally transformed Mozartian church music can also be observed in editions presenting arias from Mozart operas with German sacral texts (SCHIPPERGES 2006, p. 417-419). Apart from the voices of critics, all these moments of reception called forth a positive echo, wherever Mozart's church music profited by the nimbus of a genius proven in secular music, but turned out negative, as soon as the secularization of church music was deplored or even – as for the Caecilianists – was struggled against (KIRSCH 1992, 76f.).

Manuscript sources in Austrian and southern German regions actually reflect the image printed music delivers, but additionally a certain esteem for Mozart as a composer of church music can be seen. Because of the widespread appreciation for German texts and smaller orchestras, accompanied by changes in taste, for common occasions a new repertory was established, whereas Mozart's masses remained standard on Sundays and high church festivities. Consequences of two kinds resulted: On the one hand Mozart was regarded as a veritable mass composer, on the other hand the reception of other church music works ran out. Theoretical discussion adapted to these circumstances: Following Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut's writing *Über Reinheit der Tonkunst* (1824/1825) nearly exclusively Mozart's masses were to be dealt with in publications (cf. KIRSCH 1992, *passim*).

2. Procedures in 19th Century Music Editions

Two sorts of special texts, Critical Edition and Thematic Catalogue, could be underneath methodically only as soon as musicology had been established as an academic discipline during the second half of the 19th century. Before, editions had been made with ambition, but without a filed know-how. That is why Ludwig Ritter von Köchel tried to take into account each edition in his *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichniss sämmtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amade Mozart's. Nebst Angabe der verloren gegangenen, unvollendeten, übertragenen, zweifelhaften und unterschobenen Compositionen desselben* (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1862), as to distinguish between the authentic Mozartian version and later adaptations. However, this challenge led to an uncritical listing of music prints which came across by chance to Köchel, who was not able to filter the important (DEUTSCH – OLDMAN 1931-1932, p. 135). To some extent this was due to the lack of suitable reference books. In preparing the volumes of the (Old) «Mozart-Ausgabe» the editors then almost entirely did without a comparison between manuscript as well as printed tradition,

taking autographs and First editions as a proof how a work should be represented in its ‘true’ appearance. As a result, the editions entrusted to different editors – published in the very close period of six years as *W.A. Mozart’s Werke. Erste kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe* between 1877 and 1883 in 23 series and a supplement at Breitkopf & Härtel’s office in Leipzig – reached editorial reliability, as far as autographs of Mozart could be consulted,⁴ but remained inconsistent because of missing editorial guidelines. Insights into the process of performance and interpretation were not provided at all; habits common to musicians, adaptations in the work-concept of compositions got lost when trying to cancel all later additions.

Within the course of the 20th century the search for a most ‘authentic’ text became the declared aim of critical editions (cf. DAHLHAUS 1978, p. 23), striven for also by «Neue Mozart-Ausgabe» and the presently following «Digital Mozart Edition». Up to the issues of (Old) «Mozart-Ausgabe», however, the printing of music had always followed the publisher’s paradigms of actuality and modernity, whereas the criteria of the ‘Exemplary’ and ‘Classical’ taken up in the so called Complete Editions around 1800 had been given up very soon. The valuation of an «Edition faite d’après la partition en manuscrit» which Johann Anton André added to the title in his first Mozart editions (BEER 2006, 26f.) – being singular in the production of that time (EISEN 1991, p. 513) – became stunted and was considered as a negligibility. Moreover, André himself used other formulations: «Edition faite d’après le manuscrit original de l’auteur», «Edition d’après le manuscrit original», «Partitur nach dem Original-Manuscripte», «Nach dem Originalmanuscripte des Autors herausgegeben» (GRÜN 2006, p. 67). All these additions enclose the term ‘original’, in other words ‘not revised’, which should separate them from the multitude of diverse adaptations available at that time – by the way, a branch provided by André himself, too (GRÜN 2006, p. 66). Thus to claim authenticity is nothing more than a side effect of an editorial strategy, which can also be found with Breitkopf & Härtel’s *Œuvres complètes*, as the publishing house referred to Constanze Mozart’s ownership of the sources as a guarantee for authentic versions (EISEN 1991, p. 526).

Editions of the 19th century reflect moments of the tradition, and for the very reason preserve a specific expressiveness with regard to the reception and interpretation of musical works. This is – to some extent – even the case in the (Old) «Mozart-Ausgabe», because the various editors often did not respect the appeal to base their editions on a careful comparison of autographs and early editions prescribed in the subscription announcement (cf. EISEN 1991, p. 527). Fully valid scientific character for the first time emerges in editions published in the beginning 20th century, when e.g. Heinrich Schenker requested as «allerer-

⁴ The facts that the composer himself sometimes commits errors when writing down his composition, that an autograph sometimes does not represent the composer’s last version, have not been reflected upon at all. This has not even been considered when editing the «Neue Mozart-Ausgabe» after World War II (cf. FLOTHIUS 1991, 534f.).

ste Pflicht» of editors «den musikalischen Originaltext so stehen zu lassen, wie sie ihn vorgefunden haben [the maintenance of the original as the first duty of an editor]» (SCHENKER 1908, p. 32; quoted from FEDER 1987, p. 56). In the very year the Berlin musicologist Max Friedlaender published an extensive contribution on editing music, *Über die Herausgabe musikalischer Kunstwerke*, in «Jahrbuch Peters» complaining about the negligence of editors. He states that «die ersten großen Gesamtausgaben der Werke Bachs, Beethovens, Mozarts usw. [...] zum großen Teil nicht ‚kritisch durchgesehen‘ [waren; had not been revised critically], wie die Titelblätter verhießen [as promised on the title pages], sondern oberflächlich und unzuverlässig revidiert [but had been revised superficially and carelessly]», and that «die berühmten als Herausgeber genannten Männer» have not always offered «eine Gewähr für fehlerfreie oder auch nur brauchbare Arbeit [the frequently prominent names of editors did not guarantee a correct or useful work]» (FRIEDLAENDER 1908, p. 14). Then Friedlaender modifies the value of autographs and First editions, placing them after a last will («letzten Willensmeinung») of the author (FRIEDLAENDER 1908, 18f.), and encloses a catalogue of phenomena that should be observed when doing an edition of music (FRIEDLAENDER 1908, pp. 23-33). Thence conclusions give way to what consequently had not been done before: the marking of editorial additions in phrasing, dynamics, accidentals, the unification of clefs (in the elder form), a retention in adding ornaments, caution with an assimilation of similar passages, the maintenance of original keys, and a careful revision of the verbal text.

In other words: Friedlaender reports the tremendous store of additions, modifications and supplementations, on the basis of which music editions of the 19th century guided the contemporary performance practice. Compared to Mozart's autographs they brought about a radical loss of articulation marks, and a flood of dynamic signs instead (BARTH 1991, pp. 538-540). Erasing these leads to a rise of valid authenticity, respecting them opens the view for reception contexts and sensibilizes for the social framework of music. Both efforts, however, have to deal with an economic background, because marketing controlled (and still controls, of course) the activities of the publishing houses.⁵

3. Three Case Studies on Mozart's Smaller Church Music Works

3.1 Offertorium de tempore «Misericordias Domini» K 205a (222)

None of Mozart's smaller church music works is mentioned more often in the Mozart correspondence than the Offertorium de tempore *Misericordias Domini* K 205a. The work was composed in Munich at the beginning of the year 1775 following a request of Kurfürst Maximilian III Joseph, who wanted

⁵ George Barth has shown that already early editions of Mozart's keyboard music within 'Complete editions' differed in their strategy: Breitkopf & Härtel's tended to remove additional remarks, Simrock's on the contrary added a lot to Mozart's notation (BARTH 1991, p. 542).

to listen to a «musica in contrapunto» written by Wolfgang Amadé just before the boy and his father – who had come to Munich for the production of the opera *La finta giardiniera* ordered by the Wittelsbachian court – left for Salzburg again. Mozart finished the composition in quite a hurry and it was sung in the presence of the Kurfürst on March 5th, 1775, in the chapel of the Munich residence (MÜNSTER 1975, p. 33). The following year Leopold Mozart decided to send the *Misericordias* to the famous teaching authority Padre Martini in Bologna, who did not spare his appreciation when answering on December 18th, 1776:

ho ricevuto il Motto. [Motetto]. Con piacere l'ho considerato dal ppio [principio] sino al fine, e le dico con tutta sincerità che mi piace singolarmente ritrovando in eßo tutto qllo [quello] che richiede la Musica Moderna, buona Armonia, matura modulazione[,] moderato movimento de Violini, modulazione delle parti naturale e buona condotta. (*Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* 1962, vol. I, p. 534)

Travelling to Paris Mozart left the score of his «offertorium in Contrapunct in D minor» in the Augsburg monastery Heilig-Kreuz (*Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* 1962, vol. II, p. 136), regretting this only a few months later in Mannheim, and finally being reproached with by his father when staying in Paris: [I think] «daß du das *Misericordias*, da es nicht viel Copiatur [copies of the parts] macht, sobald es von Augsburg zurückgekommen, hättest sollen Copieren lassen» (*Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* 1962, vol. II, p. 183). Obviously Leopold estimated the polyphonic skills shown in this composition, and obviously his understanding proceeded from a small cast.

Specific in this composition is firstly the choice of the key, of Mozart's within church music seldomly taken, expressive D minor, and secondly the, for such a motet, extremely brief text of just one hemistich from the Book of Psalms. This hemistich is divided by Mozart in two parts, *Misericordias Domini* and *cantabo in aeternum*, which follow each other eleven times in the course of the work. With few exceptions, *Misericordias Domini* is set to music in homophonic chords within three bars, whilst *cantabo in aeternum* is realized using imitative passages of different length. Here Mozart relies on a motive from Johann Ernst Eberlin's offertory *Benedixisti Domine* E minor as the starting point of polyphonic composing. Only finally Mozart combines both motives (counterpoint m. 143-153). Within the, strictly speaking, repetitive procedure (result of the diversified presentation of both passages and especially a continuously manifold plan of modulation) forcefulness though by no means monotony results. This had also impressed Padre Martini, whose approval explicitly refers to the whole composition, not only to its polyphonic parts.

How different the motet had been understood soon after Mozart's death, how the compositional intention had been misinterpreted, is to be shown by a review published in Leipziger «Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung», volume 1807/1808:

Das oben übergangene, am 17 Trinitat. zum erstenmal in Leipzig aufgeführte, und sonst schwerlich irgendwo, ausser in einigen Böhmischen Kirchen gehörte Meisterwerk, bestand aus einem einzigen, sehr langen, langsamen, und im edelsten Kirchenstyl verfassten Chore von Mozart, über die Worte: *Misericordias Domini cantabo in aeternum*. Wann, wo und für wen der unsterbliche Mann dieses preiswürdige Stück geschrieben hat, ist Ref. unbekannt, und er erinnert sich nur dunkel, von Mozart selbst in seinen letzten Jahren gehört zu haben, dass es unter die Stücke gehöre, die er hochhielt, und von denen er, in seiner kindlichen Sorglosigkeit, nicht einmal eine Abschrift behalten zu haben, bedauerte. Wir kennen unter allen Mozartschen Kirchenkompositionen keine, die den andächtigsten Sätzen des Requiem, in jedem Betracht, so an die Seite gesetzt werden könnten, als diese. Die Wirkung ist unwiderstehlich, mag der Zuhörer Musik verstehen, oder nicht; die tiefste Rührung, die frömmste – eine wahrhaft religiöse Stimmung wird dieses Stück überall bewirken, und von ersten bis zum letzten Tone erhalten, wo man es in der Kirche, mit einem guten und starken Chore, und mit einem genauen Orchester, von durchgängiger Reinheit und Schönheit des Tons, ausführt. Wolten [sic] wir es nun im einzeln durchgehen, so würden wir nicht ohne den Enthusiasmus sprechen können, der dem Beurtheiler nirgends recht anstehen will. Wir geben also lieber nur einige Winke über die Eigenthümlichkeit und rechte Ansicht des Ganzen, und lassen, statt aller weitem Erörterungen, lieber kurze Belege, wie sie dem Kenner schon allenfalls genügen können, aus dem Werke selbst beydrucken. (ANONYMOUS 1807, 43f.)

The reviewer criticizes a version with added parts for woodwinds (KÖCHEL 1983⁸, p. 228). Mozart, on the contrary, might intentionally have refrained from the full orchestra of his time which would have watered down the contrapuntal lines. That is why the violins are left out in these passages, whereas they accompany the *Misericordias* melodically. However, interferences of 19th century performance practice did not stop at an enlargement of the orchestra, they also included the number of singers and musicians involved and the putting of text to the tune. What is mentioned in the above quoted review as «mit einem guten und starken Chore» conceded the aesthetic ideals of the time, that combined monumentality and sensibility, also within church music (cf. HOFFMANN 1814). After the offertory had been published by Ambrosius Kühnel in Leipzig in 1811 for the first time in score, an announcement of this novelty especially emphasized that the motet should be casted as intensely as possible, in order to reach its full effect (ANONYMOUS 1811, p. 316). The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna preserves performance material of some early 19th century decade, consisting of 364 parts for the choir, 90 handwritten parts for the strings and likewise 36 handwritten parts for the woodwinds (A-Wgm, Mozart I 7355) – so on the whole at least 490 performers must have been at work [!] (KÜTHEN 1990, p. 45, 47).

The attempt to introduce a German text for the *Misericordias* clearly aimed at a wider spreading of the work (and a better sale, of course). Translations of the first and – by Mozart not even assigned – second hemistich have already been added in the First edition in score, 1811: «Ewig erschalle mein Lob dem Herrn, der unser sich erbarmet» resp. «Ohn' Unterlass ertönt unser Chor zum Preise seiner Güte». What is startling: The contents of the text of the first 'stanza' are reversed⁶ – accordingly, a relation between words and melodies was not considered as important at all, though Mozart attached great importance to this. Otherwise he would not have borrowed the melodic line appearing four times in the violin's postlude to «in aeternum» in exactly the same shape from Gregorian Chant: from Agnus Dei of *Missa cum júbilo* (Missa IX. In festis B. Mariae Virginis 1) respectively (RUILE-DRONKE 2002, 392f.; *Graduale triplex* 1979, p. 744). There the word order discussed significantly appears to «Miserere [nobis]».

When in 1807 the «Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung» comments

Dass es [the *Misericordias*] aus Mozarts spätester, bester Zeit sey, zeigt schon der erste sorgfältige Anblick, und zeigt vornämlich [sic] – in Absicht auf den Geist, das sicher, stark, geradehin ergriffene und unverrückt festgehaltene religiöse Gefühl; [...] Der ganz originelle Schluss ist ebenfalls noch besonders auszuheben, und ebenfalls wegen seiner kunstreichen Behandlung nicht nur, sondern auch wegen der erschütternden Wirkung, die er macht (ANONYMOUS 1807, p. 44, 46),

a ramification of performances in churches on the one hand, concert halls on the other hand – similar to presentations of Mozart's Requiem – can be seen. What is obvious is a quick de-contextualization, and the consequences persisted for a long time. Hellmut Federhofer in his edition of the motet for «Neue Mozart-Ausgabe» was the first who settled upon manuscript sources; he took the copy of the parts once possessed by Stift Heilig-Kreuz in Augsburg as the primary tradition (FEDERHOFER 1963, pp. 182-198), whereas Gustav Nottebohm's edition in the (Old) «Mozart-Ausgabe» was based on Kühnel's print of 1811. Only the denomination of «Basso ed Organo» for the lowest part instead of «Violoncelli e Bassi» in Kühnel's printed score leads back to church music. The tempo mark 'Moderato', the participation of two oboes and two horns etc. were taken over, and above all, the voluminous character remained.

⁶ This was also criticized by Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut when polemizing against a «gespaltenen» (split) character of the «*Misericordias*» and its «*ärgsten Possen*» (THIBAUT issue 1907, 100f).

Moderato. Wahrscheinlich componirt in München i. J. 1775.

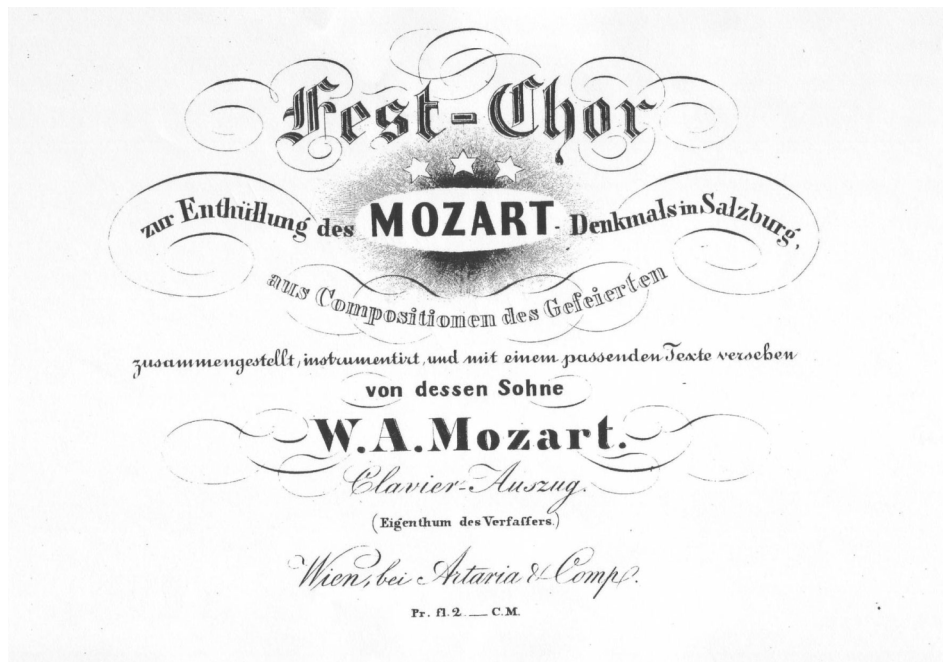
Oboi.
Corni in D.
Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola.
Soprano.
Alto.
Tenore.
Basso.
Basso ed Organo.

Mi-se-ri-cor-dias Do-mi-ni
Mi-se-ri-cor-dias Do-mi-ni
Mi-se-ri-cor-dias Do-mi-ni
Mi-se-ri-cor-dias Do-mi-ni
Mi-se-ri-cor-dias Do-mi-ni
can-ta-bo in ae-ter-nis
can-ta-bo in ae-ter-nis

Example 2. Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, Offertory *Misericordias Domini* K 205a (222), opening bars from the (Old) «Mozart-Ausgabe», Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1880, p. (77) 1.

3.2 Offertorium de venerabili sacramento «Venite, Populi» K 248a (260)

According to the Köchelerverzeichnis the offertory *Venite, populi* for double choir has been composed for a service on Ascension of Christ. Introduction and critical report of «Neue Mozart-Ausgabe» pre-cautiously do not propose any occasion for the composition. As the text clearly refers to Eucharistic adoration, an origin in connection with a service on Corpus Christi Day is most probably and can be underlined by further observations: Another setting of the text exists, composed by Mathias Siegmund Biechteler (c. 1768-1743), maestro di capella at the Salzburg archiepiscopal court since 1706, most probably in the 1720s. This motet must have been used up to Mozart's days, as the original parts are damaged a lot, and some of them were even copied again e.g. by Felix Hofstätter, a copyist active from about 1773 until after 1800. But within this time a new concept of performing the work in the Salzburg metropolitan church arose. About 1750 Johann Jakob Rott, a Salzburg copyist, completed the elder material, mainly vocal parts, by adding parts for two violins and the continuo instruments bassoon and violone, furthermore an extra part for the maestro di cappella. Such an extension emerged from the wish to accomplish full effect of the cathedral's acoustics, determined by the special position of chorus and orchestra on the platforms around the crossing and in the presbytery (cf. HINTERMAIER 1991). Mozart willingly conceded to this by scoring for choir, violins, three trombones and basso continuo when replacing Biechteler's motet by his own in 1776.



Example 3. Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, Offertory *Venite, populi* K 248a (260), arranged as *Fest-Chor zur Enthüllung des Mozart-Denkmales in Salzburg* by Franz Xaver alias Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart 1842, piano reduction, Wien: Artaria 1842, title page.

References to the performance habits in Salzburg cathedral completely got lost in the history of edition. When Mozart's *Venite, populi* was published for the first time in 1842, the work became part of a cantata written by Mozart's son Franz Xaver alias Wolfgang Amadeus, who had been entrusted with the presentation of a composition at the uncovering of the Mozart monument in Salzburg. Pointing out that for such an occasion only works of his father could suit, Mozart's son decided to compile from two compositions, one of which was *Venite, populi*, the other the Adagio H minor K 540 that replaced the middle part of the offertory and obviously should serve as a mournful counterpart to the jubilee sections framing it. Finally, what remained for Franz Xaver Mozart was the composition of an introduction (15 metres) and a short final (2 metres) (NEMETH 1959, pp. 306-308). Other alterations related to common taste and the moment's ceremoniousness: parts for woodwinds and brass instruments – led more or less *colla parte* – were added, the tempo mark 'Allegro' got changed to 'Allegro maestoso', a big amount of dynamic and agogic signs were supplied. Monumentality towered above – the cantata was performed by 248 singers and musicians;⁷ but creative artistry turned sour – Franz Xaver Mozart underlined his compilation with a self-made very banal text, charming and minimizing his father's genius (NEMETH 1959, pp. 308-312, 314).

⁷ Not at all well-balanced: 18 sopranos, 13 altos, 46 tenors and 57 basses formed the choir! (NEMETH 1959, p. 314).

3

F E S T - C H O R
Z U R
Enthüllung des MOZART-Denkmal in Salzburg,
zusammengesetzt von dessen Schue
W. A. MOZART.

*Allegro
maestoso.*

CORO 1^{mo}
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn

CORO 2^{do}
Hier seht ihn dargestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn

f
Hier seht ihn dargestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn
Hier seht ihn dar-gestellt den Meister Hier seht ihn

p

Example 4. Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, Offertory *Venite, populi* K 248a (260), arranged as *Fest-Chor zur Enthüllung des Mozart-Denkmal in Salzburg* by Franz Xaver alias Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart 1842, piano reduction, Wien: Artaria 1842, p. 3ff.

Franz Xaver Mozart's cantata means nothing more than an episode within the history of *Venite, populi*'s reception. Looking at the possessors of the autograph deserves further attention. First owner was Regens chori Anton Stoll in Baden near Vienna, second headmaster Joseph Schellhammer in Graz. Soon after Ludwig Ritter von Köchel had received the sheets in 1868, Johannes Brahms must have had a look at them and finally performed the *Venite, populi* on December 8th, 1872, in one of the concerts at Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. Brahms' reading of the work is represented by the first print published by J.P. Gotthard in Vienna 1873, for which Köchel wrote an introduction. However, the hidden editor was Brahms; as Imogen Fellinger has shown: Brahms' performance score and Gotthard's print coincide (FELLINGER 1995, pp. 138-142, expressing the anonymity Brahms often sought when editing works of other composers cf. SCHMITZ 2007; STRUCK 2007). Striking is a change within editorial practice, «[indem] die auffallend wenigen Vortragsbezeichnungen des Originalen, im Interesse der Aufführung um einige weitere Vortragszeichen vermehrt wurden [because the strikingly few entrances in the autograph concerning the performance get completed]» (quoted from FELLINGER 1995, p. 139), but now are carefully indicated by

brackets. Thus, a historically informed performance temporarily turned out to be an option, a contemporary one being its alternative; a few years later however, a critical study of the source(s) obliged to or at least reinforced attempts of reconstruction – Gustav Nottebohm, when editing *Venite, populi* in the (Old) «Mozart-Ausgabe», did without any additional remarks.

3.3 «*Ave verum corpus*» K 618

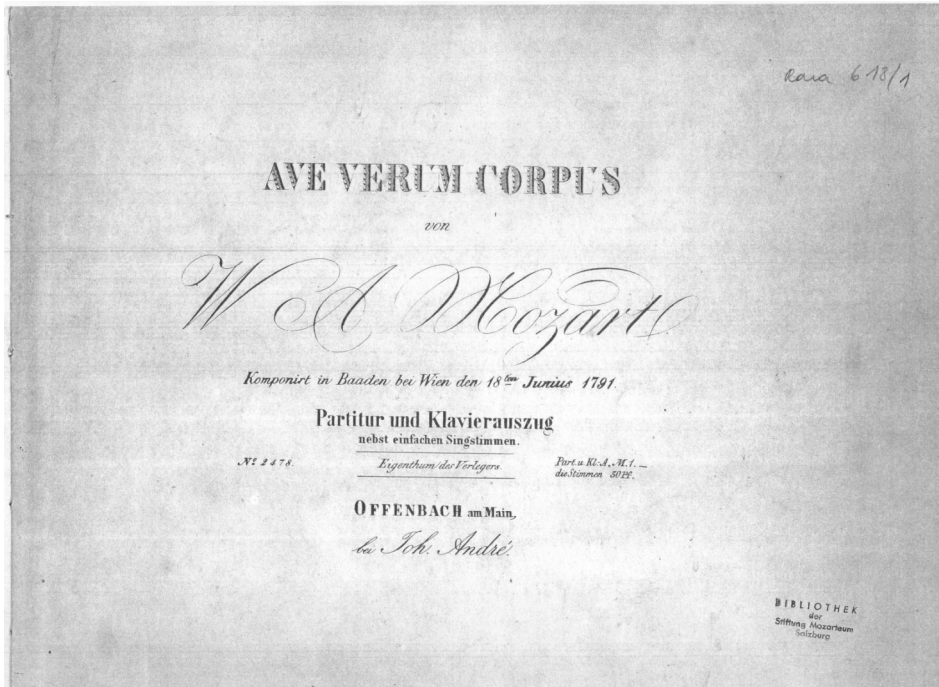
Mozart's *Ave verum corpus* was created on June 17th, 1791, during a short stay at Baden, where his wife Constanze cured. Presumably Anton Stoll, the local Regens chori who gave accommodation to Constanze, had wanted a motet for Corpus Christi service, and most probably the *Ave verum* was sung as an offertory within. Afterwards Stoll possessed the autograph of the composition, a fact not known by the publishing houses Breitkopf & Härtel and André, both competing for the first veritable Mozart editions in the early 1800s. Finally André published the motet, based on a copy authorized by Constanze Mozart, in about 1808. To the posterity this was enough to prove reliability; although the edition lacks the formula «Edition faite d'après la partition en manuscrit», it was supposed to be an absolutely authentic version. Even Otto Jahn, one of the most conscientious researches in the 19th century, writes, adding «Die Partitur ist bei André in Offenbach gedruckt»:

Eine Gelegenheitscomposition ist der mit Saitenquartett begleitete wunderschöne Chor Ave verum corpus [...], der sichtlich rasch hingeschrieben ist, aber den Ausdruck einer innigen, kindlich reinen Empfindung mit einer so herzwinnenden Einfachheit und einem so zauberischen Wohlklang wiedergibt, daß man auf Augenblicke allen irdischen Zweifeln und Sorgen entrückt und in einen höheren Frieden aufgenommen wird. (JAHN 1859, p. 560)

Similar passages in other literature confirm that beside the Requiem the *Ave verum corpus* was the only church music composition of Mozart being broadly accepted in the 19th century⁸ – from which deduces a particular importance of the First edition.

At first the fact that André in a short preface enlarges the function of the motet to any kind of service attracts attention: «Dieses AVE welches in den Messen bey der Wandlung gebraucht werden kann und von Mozart zu diesem Behufe komponiert wurde, wird jedem Verehrer desselben um so willkommener seyn, da es nach Mozart's eigenhändigem thematischen Catalog eines seiner letzten Werke ist.»

⁸ The musicologist August Wilhelm Ambros goes so far as to defend the work against the accusation of being too mawkish: «Indessen sind Glaube und Liebe, wenn sie im Geiste eines genialen Meisters aufleuchten, im Stande jede Form zu verklären. Mozarts himmlisches, ja wohl *himmlisches* ave verum gehört in Bau, Melodieführung und Harmonisierung wesentlich jener Richtung an, die anderweitig so viel taube, mattsüßlich duftende Blüten getrieben hat – allein es ist die höchste Idealisierung derselben, dieser Gesang, der recht eigentlich für einen Chor von Engeln gedichtet zu sein scheint, erreicht auf anderem Weg dasselbe Ziel, das Palestrina und Sebastian Bach (jeder wieder auf seinem Wege) erreicht haben – er beweist, daß wo der rechte Geist ist, Form und Art sich ihm fügen muß.» (AMBROS 1855, R 1976, p. 120, quoted from KIRSCH 1992, p. 92).



Example 5. Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, Motet *Ave verum Corpus* K 618, First edition, Offenbach: Johann Anton André, c. 1808, title page.

Moreover the choice of modern clefs which was mainly favoured in piano reductions at that time surprises. This elucidates that Mozart's *Ave verum corpus* was directed to interpretations without strings at an early stage – a practice frequently maintained today.

In so far, the essential variations that occurred in the First edition did not matter too much; in fact, the phrasing of the first violin had been altered considerably, as well as the writing of the text, especially concerning capital letters. Whereas the phrasing was already corrected in the (Old) «Mozart-Ausgabe», the writing of the text still differs from Mozart's autograph in the «Neue Mozart-Ausgabe»'s edition. However, who shall actually doubt that Mozart's manner of writing and punctuation ensued his personal reading of an interpretation of the motet? In the following, red colour marks the differences between autograph and First edition, (Old) «Mozart-Ausgabe» as well as «Neue Mozart-Ausgabe»:

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Adagio. *Sotto Voce.*

Violini.

Viola.

Canto.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Organo e Basso.

tacty solo.

Cembalo.

Adagio.

Sotto Voce.

p

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Example 6. Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, Motet *Ave verum corpus* K 618, First edition, Offenbach: Johann Anton André, c. 1808, p. 3.

Autograph

Ave ave verum Corpus natum de Maria Virgine, vere passum immolatum in Cruce pro homine. Cujus latus perforatum unda fluxit et Sanguine esto nobis praegustatum in Mortis examine in Mortis examine.

First edition

Ave ave verum corpus natum de Maria virgine, vere passum immolatum in cruce pro homine. cujus latus perforatum unda fluxit et sanguine esto nobis praegustatum in mortis examine in mortis examine.

(Old)«Mozart-Ausgabe»

Ave, ave verum corpus, natum de Maria virgine, vere passum immolatum in cruce pro homine. Cujus latus perforatum unda fluxit et sanguine, esto nobis praegustatum in mortis examine, in mortis examine.

«Neue Mozart-Ausgabe»

Ave, ave verum Corpus, natum de Maria Virgine: Vere passum, immolatum in cruce pro homine: Cujus latus perforatum unda fluxit et sanguine: Esto nobis praegustatum in mortis examine, in mortis examine.

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W. A. MOZART, *Misericordias Domini*. 3

Moderato.

SOPRAN.
ALT.
TENOR.
BASS.

PIANOFORTE.

Mi - se - ri - cor - di - as Do - mi - ni
Mi - se - ri - cor - di - as Do - mi - ni
Mi - se - ri - cor - di - as Do - mi - ni
Mi - se - ri - cor - di - as Do - mi - ni

can - ta - ho in ae - ter
can - ta - ho in ae - ter
can - ta - ho in ae - ter
can - ta - ho in ae - ter

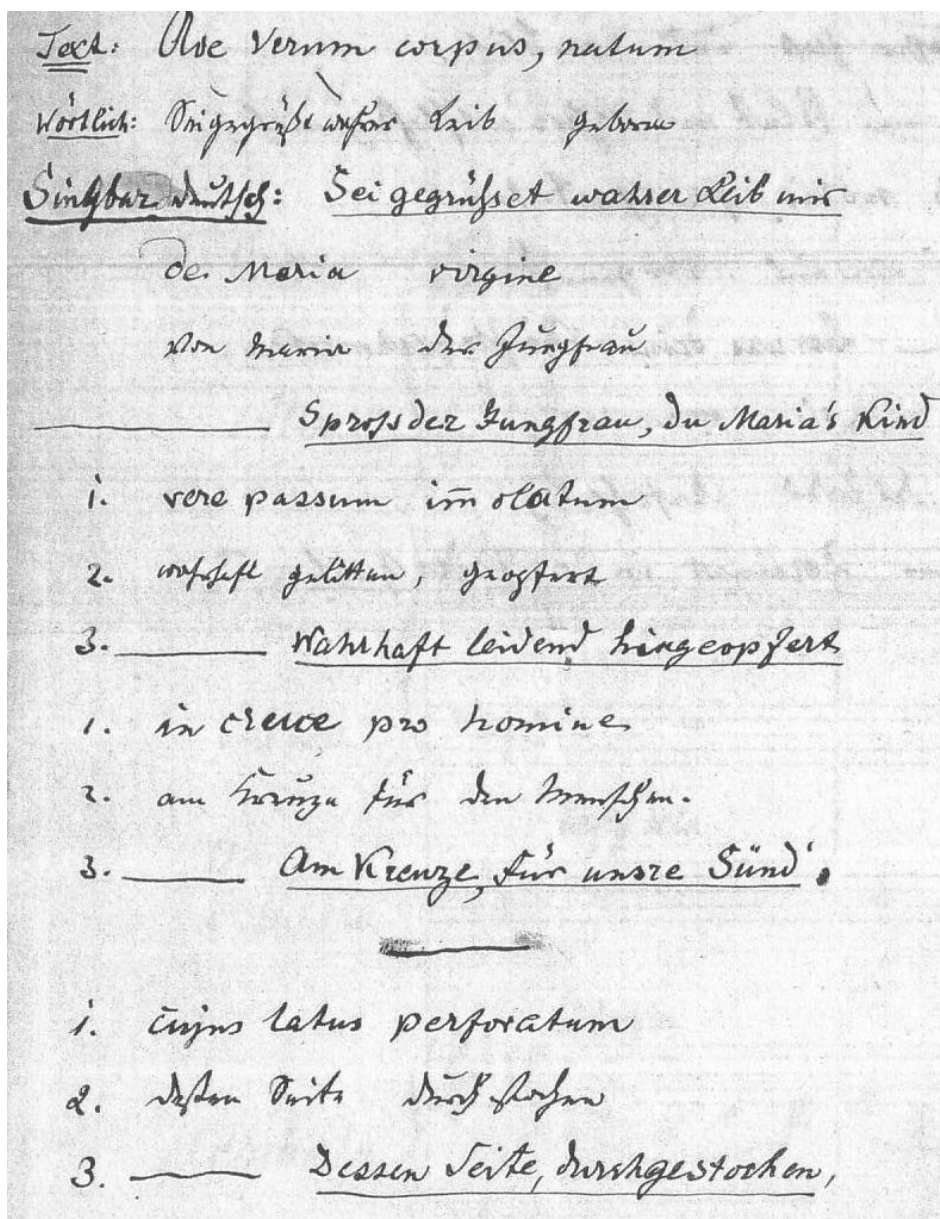
num, can - ta - ho
num, can - ta - ho
num, can - ta - ho
num, can - ta - ho

num, can - ta - ho
num, can - ta - ho
num, can - ta - ho
num, can - ta - ho

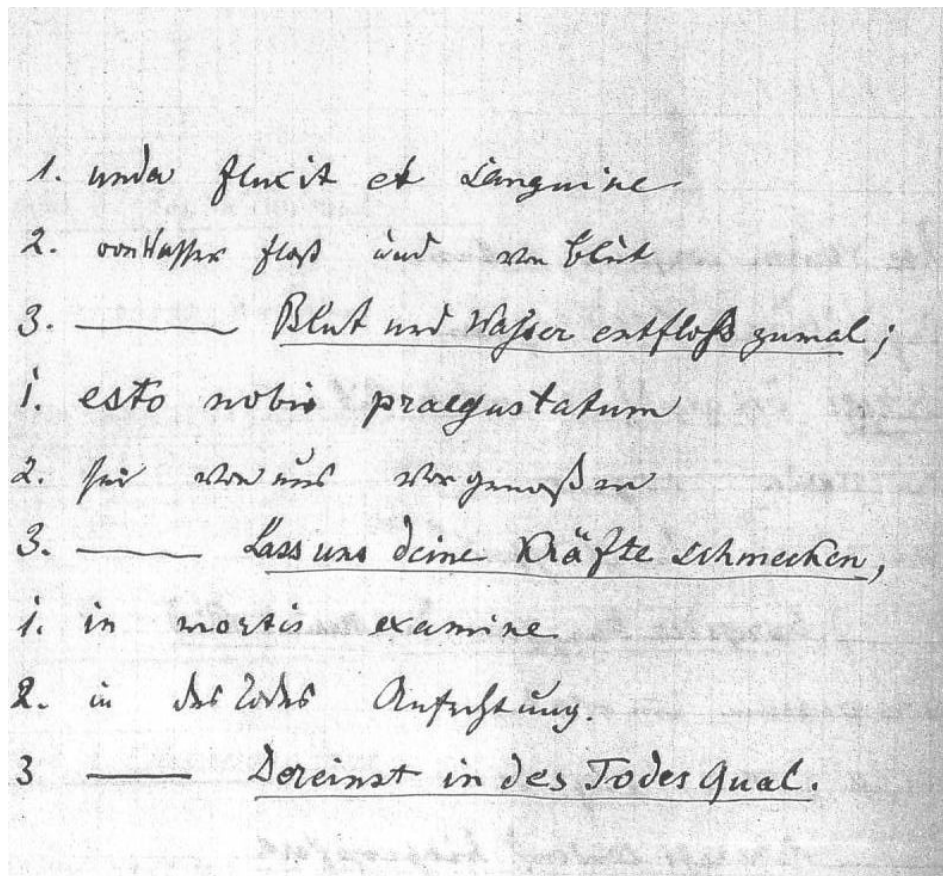
P.M. N.º 4763.

Example 7. Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, Offertory *Misericordias Domini* K 205a (222), piano reduction by Gustav Nottebohm, Wien: Pietro Mechetti sel. Witwe [after 1851], p. 3.

More and more the writing withdraws from the original; the use of colons in the «Neue Mozart-Ausgabe» totally perplexes. But the matter can be seen as the result of a long-time development: Editors as a rule carefully took notice of the musical texture, but often neglected the words underlined, following an instability set up early in 19th century performance practice. E.g., in the copy of the First edition preserved in the Bibliotheca Mozartiana of Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, an anonymous user inserted a sheet containing two versions of a German text to the «Ave verum corpus», one in «wörtlicher» (word-for-word), the other one in «singbarer» (suitable to sing) translation.



Example 8. Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, Motet *Ave verum Corpus* K 618, inserted sheet with German translations of the text in the exemplar preserved in the Bibliotheca Mozartiana of Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum.



Summarizing, three case studies should have shown aspects of a manifold grey area concerning authenticity, considering problems that one is inevitably encountered with when dealing with editorial practice. Its reception history depends on philological accesses, as on the other hand these accesses themselves become part of reception history. Renouncing this ambiguity will lead to misunderstandings.

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